

German policies and practices in Bosnia and Herzegovina

- A promising future and a lack of initiative -

Sarajevo, August 2013

Disclaimer

The views and opinions expressed in this policy analysis are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the official position of the Centre for Security Studies. The research has been conducted by Susanna Thiel, BA student of Politics and History at the University of Jena, Germany, during her internship at the Centre for Security Studies and is based only on limited open source information. The author received guidelines and assistance from the CSS team. However, assumptions made within the analysis are not reflective of the position of the Centre for Security Studies.

Contents

- 1. Introduction4
- 2. Aspects of German-Bosnian relations6
 - 2.1. Political relations: Of initiatives and negligence6
 - 2.2. Economic relations: Possibilities and downfalls 11
 - 2.3. Cultural initiatives and social bonds.....15
- Conclusion.....18
- Bibliography.....21

1. Introduction

Since the beginning of the tragic Yugoslav dissolution wars from 1992 to 1995, the international community has taken new interest in the region of former Yugoslavia and its people. The big amount of foreign aid as well as the multitude of international actors and organisations bears witness to that: Lana Pasic finds that until 2005 at least 9.9 billion dollars have been sent to Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) as international humanitarian aid and reconstruction purposes, which is not taking into account the ongoing support from private donors and NGOs.¹ In addition to that, a country profile on BiH drafted by the Michigan State University in March 2012 mentions the impressive amount of 15 billion US-Dollars of international aid being given to BiH for a vast variety of purposes since the end of the war until the beginning of 2012, such as humanitarian aid, de-mining and the improvement of Bosnian infrastructure.²

Germany's contribution to this foreign aid sums up to about 680 million Euros between 1995 and 2012.³ This sum provides an idea of how relevant BiH is to German politics – and gives an impression of how relevant Germany might be within BiH and the first decades of this state. It leads to the assumption that Germany is taking great interest in the new Bosnian state and is politically active for this purpose. For the newly united Germany after 1990 that was indeed the case: it was of high relevancy during and after the dissolution wars. It was the first country to recognise the states of Croatia and Slovenia and took in at least 345,000 refugees from BiH from 1992 until 1996. Also, it initiated the Stability Pact for South-Eastern Europe⁴ and portrays itself as one of the leading partners of BiH's way to accessing the EU.⁵ This approach is based on a long, multi-faceted relationship between Germany and the region of BiH: for example, immigrants from German territories settled on Bosnian ground as early as the 13th century⁶, the two World Wars had a deep

¹ Lana Pasic: Bosnia's Vast Foreign Aid Financial Assistance Re-Examined: Statistics and Results, published on Balkanalysis on June 21, 2011, <<http://www.balkananalysis.com/bosnia/2011/06/21/bosnia%E2%80%99s-vast-foreign-financial-assistance-re-examined-statistics-and-results/>>, accessed on July 20, 2013.

² Michigan State-University (2012): Bosnia and Herzegovina: Government, <<http://globaledge.msu.edu/countries/bosnia-and-herzegovina/government>>, accessed on July 20, 2013.

³ German Embassy Sarajevo: Entwicklungspolitische Zusammenarbeit (EZ), <http://www.sarajewo.diplo.de/Vertretung/sarajewo/de/05/Wirtschaftliche_Zusammenarbeit/Wirtschaftliche_Zusammenarbeit.html>, accessed on August 2, 2013.

⁴ Britta Joerißen: Der Balkan. Von Krieg, Frieden und Europe (=Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (Ed.): Kompass 2020. Deutschland in den internationalen Beziehungen), January 2007, <<http://www.fes.de/kompass2020/pdf/Balkan.pdf>>, p. 5.

⁵ Ministry for Foreign Affairs: Bosnien und Herzegovina. Beziehungen zu Deutschland, <http://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/DE/Aussenpolitik/Laender/Laenderinfos/BosnienUndHerzegovina/Bilateral_node.html>, accessed on August 1, 2013.

⁶ Noel Malcolm (1994): Bosnia: A Short History, pp. 24-25.

impact on the region – e.g. for the Titoist partisan founding myth – and guest workers came to Germany after the German-Yugoslav guest worker contract in 1968.

But history and financial aid are not the only links between BiH and Germany: Germany's current engagement in BiH and the Balkans is marked by the redefinition of the German foreign policy in the context of the Yugoslav wars, which was marked by new military activity. Until the German reunification and during the first years of the 1990s, Germany had followed a non-interventionist policy as a civilian power and did not participate in military action. This policy was due to the belief that Germany – and German soldiers – should never participate in a war again, let alone a war of aggression after the horrors of World War II. But after three peaceful decades, national as well as international actors demanded a 'normalisation' of Germany's foreign policy. Especially after the reunification in 1990, Germany as the biggest and wealthiest country in the EU and Europe was prompted to finally take international responsibility and become a reliable partner within the European Union. This resulted in German military participation in missions in the early 1990s (in Somalia, Cambodia and surveillance flights over parts of Yugoslavia), and the recognition of Croatia and Slovenia. The latter is interpreted as a first step towards German power politics⁷. That as well as the intensified remilitarisation of Germany by sending troops on UN missions worried many, especially among German left-wing politicians.⁸ The German Socialdemocrats had filed a lawsuit against the surveillance flights that happened in the context of the war in BiH, but military participation in UN-authorized missions for international peace and security was judged to be constitutional by the Federal Constitutional Court of Germany in 1994.⁹

In addition to this shift in military activity, the security policy of Germany changed with the publication of a White Paper in 1992. It claims the German responsibility for peace and stability in Europe is highlighted, even if conflicts are not directly influencing Germany, and promotes a security concept that involves stability and prosperity.¹⁰ This resulted in the pursuit of a European perspective for the newly independent states of Eastern Europe, including the ones that constituted themselves after the Yugoslav dissolution.¹¹ Moreover, the unrest in the Balkans was classified as a threat for national security as the influx of refugees sparked worries in Germany about the conflict spilling over

⁷ Franz-Lothar Altmann (2007): Die Bundeswehr auf dem Westlichen Balkan, in: Stefan Mair (Ed.): Auslandseinsätze der Bundeswehr (SWP-study), pp. 88/89.

⁸ E.g. the Green politician and 1998 Minister of Foreign Affairs: Joschka Fischer (1994): Risiko Deutschland. Krise und Zukunft der deutschen Politik, Cologne. He later changed his opinion in his position as Minister of Foreign Affairs when deciding on Germany's participation in the Kosovo intervention. Also: Altmann (2007), pp. 89/90.

⁹ BVerfG Ruling on July, 12 1994 (2 BvE 3/92): Auslandseinsatz der Bundeswehr im Rahmen der NATO und Beteiligung des Bundestages.

¹⁰ German Ministry of Defence: Verteidigungspolitische Richtlinien fuer den Geschäftsbereich des Bundesministers der Verteidigung, November 26, 1992, pp. 4/5.

¹¹ Angela Merkel: Europäische Perspektive für den Balkan, <<http://www.bundesregierung.de/Content/DE/Artikel/2011/08/2011-08-20-podcast.html>>, accessed on July 30, 2013.

the own borders as well as xenophobic slurs and concerns about the economic impact of asylum seekers. This and the ongoing violence in BiH led to Germany's participation in NATO's Deliberate Force mission in June 1995 as well as the deployment of soldiers to the Implementation Force in BiH in December 1995.¹²

All of these aspects, the humanitarian crisis of the dissolution wars and the large amount of refugees from BiH, the Federal Constitutional Court decision and the pressure from international actors thus contributed to a shift within German politics in the 1990s. This paper will provide an overview of the key interests and actors of the German engagement in BiH and analyse if Germany's attitude towards BiH has changed since the active engagement twenty years ago. It will do so by conducting an analysis of the official German policy, of the political and media attention towards BiH, the economic relations between the two countries and the cultural and social activities of German organisations within BiH. As a conclusion, it will provide a brief outlook into chances and possibilities for a future cooperation and intensification of the bilateral relationship.

2. Aspects of German-Bosnian relations

2.1. Political relations: Of initiatives and negligence

Diplomatic relations between Germany and newly independent Bosnia-Herzegovina were established in November 1992. Due to direct security implications for Germany's stability and prosperity which came with Yugoslav dissolution war as stated by the German White Paper of 1994¹³ and the large influx of refugees, both of which was accompanied by the urge to become a larger international player, Germany got involved. It did so exclusively in international, multilateral contexts such as the Contact Group, the EU and the IFOR/SFOR troops (which were replaced by EUFOR Althea in which Germany participated until 2012¹⁴) instead of acting on its own.

Following this pro-European and multilateral approach, Germany consequently became a strong supporter of a potential Bosnian EU-accession which was described as the only way to improve the situation in the post-Yugoslav state (the implementation of the Stability and Association Agreement is currently on hold due to the failure of BiH to put the Sejdić and Finci ruling from 2009 into action¹⁵). Also, a common future of all Western Balkan states in the EU was viewed as the sole

¹² Altmann 2007, pp. 88-92.

¹³ Weissbuch 1994 (Artikel 235 and 311).

¹⁴ Bundeswehr: Rückkehr aus Bosnien: Ein Einsatz endet, <http://www.bundeswehr.de/portal/a/bwde/!ut/p/c4/NYu7DsIwEAT_yGeLgkBHIAaFKg2YJrrEp8jCj8i-EAnx8dgFu9I0swtPKA34tguyjQEdPEDP9jztYtoNCXzxRs5RFrj10ZAfyYaM_IF7fZbFHANxJVNgW7gk5JjEGhO7araUihHWgJaqa9VR_qO-jW76W386yO7aDrB6f_kBQoRqvg!!/>, accessed on August 3, 2013.

¹⁵ Sabine Wölkner: Bosnien und Herzegowina, die EU und das Urteil „Sejdic-Finci“. Countdown für Verfassungsreform läuft, in: Konrad Adenauer-Stiftung Länderbericht, April 4, 2013, <http://www.kas.de/wf/doc/kas_33984-1522-1-30.pdf?130404180526>.

solution for a secure EU environment with safe borders. The two long-term political interests of Germany for BiH are the membership in the EU as well as in NAT. To follow up on these purposes, the German government initiated the aforementioned Stability Pact for South-Eastern Europe, which was transformed into the more autonomous Regional Cooperation Council with German support. Germany also contributed over 10% of the ICTY funding and donated about 102.5 million USD for reconstruction to BiH between 1995 and 2011. Thus Germany has supported BiH with big financial and humanitarian efforts.¹⁶

Consequently, a huge emphasis is put by Germany on the judicial review of the 1990s war and on improving the Bosnian infrastructure. The GIZ (German agency for international cooperation) outlines the main field of German-Bosnian cooperation to be supporting a sustainable economic development by initiating reform suggestions, offering expertise. Also, improvement of the water and electricity supply, the sewage disposal system, stabilising democracy and strengthening civil society are projects pursued by Germany. These projects target a wide range of different topics, including the support of small local projects as incentives for regional economy, education of adults, humanitarian de-mining, investment in renewable energy sources, interreligious dialogue and an open regional fund for South-East Europe.¹⁷ The goal is to make BiH attractive for foreign investors and to decrease its dependency on international aid. As its own successes, the German Ministry of Economic Cooperation and Development names the creation of a federal central bank, the value added tax system and the introduction of the currency Marka. After talks between the governments in April 2013, the German Ministry of Economic Cooperation and Development decided to focus its development aid on renewable energy sources, energy efficiency and initiatives for democracy, civil society and public administration.¹⁸

Political efforts in the recent past and the media

It has become obvious that besides focusing on cooperating with BiH through the EU-instruments and the effort of Germany to pursue BiH's NATO- and EU-accession through initiating the Stability Pact, the German centre of attention lies on infrastructure projects and, especially in the 1990s, humanitarian aid. Still, in the light of the amount of aid given to BiH and the mantra of a future EU-accession repeated by the Germany ambassador and the German government¹⁹ a deeper

¹⁶ Foreign Policy Initiative BiH VPI (2011): Policy analysis. Germany in Bosnia – from intention to initiative (Analysis 3/11), Sarajevo, pp. 1-3.

¹⁷ Deutsche Gesellschaft für internationale Zusammenarbeit GIZ (2012): GIZ in Bosnia and Herzegowina, pp. 7-14.

¹⁸ German Ministry of Economic Cooperation and Development: Bosnien und Herzegowina. Situation und Zusammenarbeit, <http://www.bmz.de/de/was_wir_machen/laender_regionen/Mittel-Ost-und-SuedostEurope/bosnien_herzegowina/zusammenarbeit.html>, accessed on August 4, 2013.

¹⁹ German Embassy in Sarajevo: Interview mit der deutschen Botschafterin Ulrike Maria Knotz für die

involvement and cooperation between Germany and BiH should be expected. But Germany's political activity in the country has been remarkably small, especially in comparison to the attention paid to Croatia and Serbia, on which all German governments since 1991 have relied on as the main columns for stability in the Western Balkans. Therefore, while the aforementioned financial and humanitarian aid for BiH was plentiful, a political negligence and disregard of the national situation of BiH has been noticed by analysts from the Foreign Policy Initiative BiH. They also conclude that Germany heavily relies too heavily on multilateral approaches to face BiH. German representatives in the region with high-profile positions, such as the EU administrator in Mostar, Hans Koschnik, and the High Representative Christian Schwarz-Schilling even quit their positions, after which the latter claimed that Germany lacked the will to take the lead, which is coinciding with the previously made observations.²⁰

The most active European politician in the region is Doris Pack, German member of the European Parliament and Vice-Chair of the Delegation to South-East Europe. She recently promoted a more drastic approach due to the slow progress within BiH: she called for the suspension of the Bosnian membership in the Council of Europe as well as a freezing of EU-payments to the country. To support this argument, she added that the aid for a corrupt country, which didn't show any willingness to improve the situation – namely to change the problematic constitution of Dayton -, could not be justified in front of her voters and European citizens.²¹ Despite the overall agreement within the Parliament about the lagging progress, these measures were not agreed upon and do not have the support from the German government.

To further worsen the difficult situation, Germany risked to be perceived as an ambassador for Croatia within BiH due to its fast recognition of Croatia as a state in 1991 and because of chancellor Merkel's efforts in 2011 to get the two Croat national parties involved in the federal government and presidency of BiH.²² Despite this assumed bias, her initiative was perceived positively as 'a surprise to see the readiness of Germany to take the lead in this process'²³ for once by researchers of the Foreign Policy Initiative BiH as the first and only try to get involved politically after more than a decade. This is due to the fact that BiH does not receive much high-profile political attention without being put into context of the bigger neighbouring states or as 'part of the Balkans' and therefore, this

Tageszeitung Večernji list, 28.06. 2013, <http://www.sarajewo.diplo.de/Vertretung/sarajewo/de/06/Presseservice/interview_bo_vecernji_list_jun_u_2013.html>, accessed on August 27, 2013.

²⁰ VPI 2011, pp. 3/4.

²¹ Doris Pack: Progress report on Bosnia and Herzegovina (debate) in the European Parliament, 2012/2865(RSP), Strasbourg, May 22, 2013.

²² Norbert Mappes-Niediek: Merkel im bosnischen Schlamassel, in: Frankfurter Rundschau online, February 1st, 2011, <<http://www.fr-online.de/politik/balkan-merkel-im-bosnischen-schlamassel,1472596,7143490.html>>, accessed on August 3, 2013.

²³ VPI 2011, p. 5.

initiative almost seemed like a surprise. For example, the last trip of the chancellor Angela Merkel to BiH is unknown (she visited Croatia in 2011, Serbia in 2012, Kosovo in 2011), Dirk Niebel came to BiH in 2011 (Croatia: no records; Serbia in 2011, Kosovo in 2011) and the Minister of Foreign Affairs Guido Westerwelle visited BiH in 2010 (Croatia 2011, Serbia 2010, Kosovo 2011). Moreover, the German ambassador stated in an interview with the Republika Srpska newspaper Glas Srpske that it could not be the task of the Germans to provide proper solutions to the difficult situation in BiH, quite clearly refusing any German responsibility or willingness to engage politically.²⁴

To understand the attention that Germany, German policy makers and the German people give to BiH, an analysis of newspaper reports (as well as their online news range) serves as an indicator of as to how well the public is informed and what kind of articles are published. For this purpose, the weekly paper Die Zeit and the weekly magazine Der Spiegel were searched for articles that mentioned BiH. These articles were further distinguished by applying filters for sports/football, the neighbouring countries, the German chancellor Angela Merkel, the German Minister of Foreign Affairs Guido Westerwelle and Dirk Niebel, the Minister of Economic Cooperation and Development, whose ministry is responsible for the GIZ, Germany's foreign aid and development agency. To enable comparisons, a briefer analysis of articles that mention Serbia and Croatia has been conducted, testing the hypothesis that the German attention for BiH falls behind the media and political attention that the two neighbours receive. To collect the data, the online available internet search in the archives of the newspapers and magazines is used in combination with search operators.

²⁴ German Embassy Sarajevo: Interview mit der deutschen Botschafterin Ulrike Knotz für die Tageszeitung Glas Srpske, May 2013, http://www.sarajewo.diplo.de/Vertretung/sarajewo/de/06/Presseservice/interview_bo_glas_srpske_mai_2013.html, accessed on August 2, 2013.

Tab.: Articles that mention BiH, divided by context

Timeframe of analysis: 01.01.2011-16.07.2013

	Spiegel/Spiegel online	Die Zeit
Articles that mention BiH*	194	151
- of which concern themselves with sports	85	/
- of which mention BiH in the context of a possible German intervention a) in Libya and b) in Syria	a) 36 b) 18	a) 24 b) 22
- of which mention chancellor Angela Merkel in context with BiH	19; 14 in 2011; none mention Merkel's vision for BiH	14; 8 of them referring to German military policy
- of which mention Croatia	31	24
- of which mention Serbia	51	47
- of which focus on war crimes and war criminals, especially Ratko Mladić	23	24
- of which Niebel or Westerwelle are quoted with a statement about BiH	0	0
- of which discuss current Bosnian events and BiH's (political) situation	15; 6 of which are 'portraits' of war survivors	7
Articles that mention Croatia*	496	234
- of which concern themselves with sports	267	36
- of which describe the EU-accession, the current state of Croatia and its options	16	17
Articles that mention Serbia*	596	266
- of which concern themselves with sports	357	14
- of which do <u>not</u> refer to Syria, Libya and sports	207	231
- of which in some way relate to Serbian politics, the relations with Kosovo, and its EU-option	120; of which 45 refer to Ratko Mladic	82; 14 of which concentrate on Serbia
* "To mention" means that the country could have been mentioned as a reference, a comparison, the nationality of e.g. a football player within an (possibly otherwise unrelated) article.		

After analysing this sample of articles from two German newspapers, it becomes obvious that BiH serves in German media as an argument in several contexts, especially when discussing the possibility and necessity of an international intervention in a crisis (Libya, Syria), or when crime and war are the topics (persecution of war criminals, smuggling). Sport is also a factor, which is largely due to the international composition of sports teams and the high amount of international competitions. Frequently articles discuss the living situation within BiH, such as the everyday life

throughout the war. But the actual German policy towards BiH is, if at all, mainly discussed in an EU accession context, and country portraits largely focus on remembering the siege of Sarajevo. Also, the analysis showed that Croatia and Serbia are mentioned more frequently (more than twice as often), and that the topics of travel and sports are related to a big portion of the reports. This might be because in case of Croatia of the geographic and cultural proximity to the EU borders and the big Croat diaspora in Germany (about 360.000 Croats or people with a Croatian background lived in Germany in 2011 in comparison to 220.000 people in Germany with – or formerly with – Bosnian citizenship. 155.000 of these people still have the Bosnian passport, see chart in 2.3²⁵). But the upcoming EU-accession of Croatia also played an important part in the articles.

In regards to Serbia, the news reports focus hugely on the relationship between Kosovo and Serbia and Germany's political involvement in finding a solution - suggesting a much higher political involvement of Germany in this field of tension. Thus Serbia receives more attention from two of the biggest German political magazines and newspapers than BiH. This further enhances the impression of BiH being out of focus – not only neglected by politicians and their politics, but also German media, unless it is in reference to possible interventions in other conflicts. For the country, this might have crucial consequences – being a small country, soon-to-be surrounded by several EU countries, it could remain the last unstable spot in South-Eastern Europe and become hugely corrupted by organised crime, especially if it stays in this position of neglect.²⁶ Political attention and improved economic and social bonds can resolve this difficult situation.

2.2. Economic relations: Possibilities and downfalls

The economic relations between German and BiH have been increasing in strength and depth since the late 1990s. They are monitored and aided by the delegation of German economy to BiH as well as the aforementioned GIZ. The GIZ is focusing on supporting structure reforms such as the creation of a unified economic area within BiH as the lack of which frustrates potential investors as well as the complicated legal system. Also, the high level of corruption, unreliable banks in the public as well as private sector and the unstable political situation decrease the willingness of companies to invest in BiH. The complicated administrative structures in BiH increase the difficulty of attracting potential investors, as is also regularly criticised by the EU.²⁷

²⁵ Destatis (German Statistical Office): Bevölkerung und Erwerbstätigkeit. Bevölkerung mit Migrationshintergrund – Ergebnisse des Mikrozensus 2011, <https://www.destatis.de/DE/Publikationen/Thematisch/Bevoelkerung/MigrationIntegration/Migrationshintergrund2010220117004.pdf?__blob=publicationFile>, downloaded on August 3, 2013, pp. 56-58.

²⁶ VPI 2011, p. 4.

²⁷ Deutsche Gesellschaft für internationale Zusammenarbeit GIZ (2013): Bosnia and Hercegovina <<http://www.giz.de/en/worldwide/289.html>>, accessed on August, 12, 2013.

Despite these issues, German companies are already very visible in BiH. The Sparkasse-bank, the chain drugstore *dm* and the shoe manufacturers *Deichmann* are just some examples. Much less noticeable, but higher in trade rates are goods such as furniture and furniture parts (29.9% of export products from BiH to Germany in 2012), the supply of component parts for the automobile industry (3.2%) and discarded copper (2.6%). For example, the cement factory TBG BH d.o.o. Kakanj, a daughter of the German company Heidelberg cement, which is active in BiH since 2000 and has opened three more plants since then, investing 80 million Euros until 2012.²⁸ With that amount, the company is the biggest German direct investor in BiH.²⁹

In total, the exports of BiH to Germany amounted to a sum of 619 million Euros whilst the imports from Germany amount to 882 million Euros, the biggest part of which are used cars (11%), new cars (3.6%) and medicinal products (2.6%).³⁰ With these numbers, Germany ranks high on the list of the most important trade partners of BiH, even though it was only named 6th in the ranking of top investor countries since 1994 until 2011. In 2011, German direct foreign investment comprised of 54 million Euros.³¹ On November 11th, 2007, a bilateral agreement on supporting and protecting investment was signed between the two countries.

Tab.: Relevant trade and trade related agreements between Germany and BiH

Bilateral trade agreements	
Double tax agreement with the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia Agreement on the support and protection of investment	01.01.89 11.11.2007
Agreements between the EU and BiH	
EU-BiH: Agreement on easier access to the Schengen area for BiH-citizens Interim agreement on trade and trade issues	2008 2008

The renewable energy market, especially in solar, water, wind and biomass, has the most promising future as BiH is the only net exporter of electricity in the Western Balkans, and the German Ministry of Development has invested in renewable energy sources, such as a big wind park in Southern Hercegovina (72 million Euros) and a hydroelectric power station in Trebinje (7.2 million Euros).

²⁸ Ulm Kompetenzzentrum: Bosnien und Herzegowina: Potenzial mit Hindernissen, <http://www.ulm.ihk24.de/international/Kompetenzzentrum/Laenderinformationen/Bosnien-Herzegowina/Landes-und_Wirtschaftsinformationen_/2023454/Bosnien_und_Herzegowina_Potenzial_mit_Hindernissen.html> accessed August 28, 2013.

²⁹ GTAI: Bosnien und Herzegowina hofft auf mehr auslaendische Investitionen, <<http://www.gtai.de/GTAI/Navigation/DE/Trade/maerkte,did=75490.html>>, accessed on August 28, 2013.

³⁰ Predstavništvo njemačke privrede u BiH (2013): Wirtschaftliche Indikatoren für BuH, <http://bosnien.ahk.de/fileadmin/ahk_bosnien/Dokumente/Wirtschaftliche_Indikatoren.pdf>, accessed August 14, 2013.

³¹ Deutsche Bundesbank (2013): Unmittelbare deutsche Direktinvestitionen im Ausland / Summe; Bosnien und Herzegowina vom 30.07.2013.

These investments are controlled by the KfW Development Group and the GIZ, focusing on sustainable economy development and infrastructure measures.³²

Moreover, further sectors with the large potential named by the delegation of the German economy are tourism, agriculture and food, as well as the component supply for various industries. Furthermore, several raw materials are considered to exist within BiH, such as wood, raw metals and coal. The climate, affluent water resources and rich soil offer good conditions for Mediterranean fruits and vegetables for the food and drinks market, also for biological food. The tourism sector can profit from the multi-faceted, untouched and unique landscapes and good climate conditions. The lack of infrastructure will offer growth possibilities for constructions firms as the country will seek to improve. A current project is the motorway that is planned to connect Budapest, Sarajevo and Ploče – and it is securely financed through credits over 5 bn. Euros from the European Investment Bank and the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

Tab. Basic data on BiH, Croatia and Serbia

	BiH	Croatia	Serbia
<i>Population</i>	3.87 million	4.47 million	7.24 million (1.87 times as many as BiH)
<i>Size (km²)</i>	51,197 sq km	56,594 sq km	77,474 sq km
<i>GDP (US dollars) according to World Fact Book</i>	\$32.43 billion (2012)	\$79.69 billion (2012 est.)	\$80.02 billion (2012 est.)
<i>Amount of German direct foreign investment (Euro)</i>	1994-2011: 288 million 2010: 11 million (BiH National Bank)	1993-1 st quarter of 2013: 3.12 bn. 2011: 223.6 million (Croatian National Bank)	2000-2012: 1.6 bn. (incl. Kosovo) 2011. Estimated 63 million (Serbian National Bank)
<i>Exports to Germany (Euro)</i>	619 million (2011)	967 million (2011)	1.02 bn. (2012)
<i>Imports from Germany (Euro)</i>	882 million (2011)	2 bn. (2011)	1.6 bn. (2012)
<i>Trade volume</i>	1.5 bn.	2.967 bn.	2.62 bn.

In comparison to the activity of Germany and German investors in BiH's, the neighbouring countries seem be more attractive. In Croatia, the German foreign direct investment between 1993 and the 1st quarter of 2013 amounts to 3.12 bn., making Germany third in direct foreign investment in Croatia (next after Austria and the Netherlands). For the year 2011, the German foreign direct investment is stated as 223.6 bn. Euros. In 2011, the Croatian export to Germany comprised of 967 million Euros, and the import from Germany 2 bn. Euros.³³

³² GIZ: BiH.

³³ Njemačko-hrvatska industrijska i trgovinska komora (2012): Njemačko-hrvatski gospodarski odnosi, <<http://kroatien.ahk.de/hr/informacije-o-zemlji/njemacko-hrvatski-gospodarski-odnosi/>>, accessed on August 16, 2013.

The Eastern neighbour of BiH, Serbia, also has an impressive record: Not only is the German-Serbian trade association the biggest bilateral trade association, but the export is labeled as 1.02 bn. Euros whilst the import of German goods comprises of 1.6 bn. Euros in 2012.³⁴ Still, in 2011, German foreign direct investment amounted to an estimated 63 million Euros, showing that investors are not as strongly inclined to invest in Serbia yet as they are in Croatia. But the amount of trade exceeds the German-Bosnian exchange of goods by a billion.³⁵

In general, these numbers come as no surprise as both countries are either EU candidate state or an EU-member and have to obey several EU rules and guidelines. Also, they both possess strong historical and diaspora links to Germany (see 2.3). Moreover, besides the improved infrastructure and market rules, the political stability is an important factor for investors. Indicator for this is the survey on the economic situation in BiH by the German delegation for economy in 2013. It becomes obvious that BiH is lagging behind its neighbours in developing a strong economic relationship with Germany. The companies that participated in the survey point out severe problems with access to EU funding, transparency in the distribution of public contracts, the fight against corruption and political and social stability. They also criticise the dependability of economic legislation in BiH, public administration and legal security. All of these factors score more than 3.8 on a scale of 1 (very good) to 5 (very bad). As an investment location it is judged as being even less attractive with a ranking of 3.88 – the same as Macedonia – than Albania (3.83), Montenegro (3.69), Serbia (3.549) and Croatia (3.35).³⁶

For a stronger relationship between Germany and BiH, the most obvious and necessary solution to encourage foreign investment in BiH would require the Bosnian leaders to face the existing problems and to find a way of reducing administrative struggles within the two entities and the Brcko district and fighting corruption. Also, an increased effort from the delegation of German economy to build connections between German investors and local companies might be helpful. However, with sending information brochures to possible investors, providing support for them on all sorts of subjects (e.g. legal advice, organising trade shows, providing specific information about BiH, economic surveys) the delegation is doing a lot to solve the complicated structured. Therefore, the system of BiH is likely to not be the main reason for investors staying away, as the following list shows – it seems reasonable to argue that the instable political situation in BiH and the fear of another outbreak of conflict has a big impact on this. This is supported by the fact that the

³⁴ German Embassy in Belgrad (2012): Wirtschaftsdatenblatt Serbien 2013, <http://www.belgrad.diplo.de/contentblob/3819426/Daten/3044877/Kurzinformationen_ber_Serbien.pdf>, accessed on August 16, 2013.

³⁵ Deutsche Bundesbank (2013): Unmittelbare deutsche Direktinvestitionen im Ausland / Summe; Serbien vom 30.07.2013.

³⁶ Predstavništvo njemačke privrede u BiH (2013): Rezultati Privrednog istraživanja 2013 (46 firmi-učesnika), Sarajevo, pp. 9/10.

neighbouring countries, that are – especially in the case of Serbia³⁷ – not necessarily less bureaucratic, attract more than four (Serbia) or even twenty times (Croatia) as much German FDI per capita. To improve the investment situation, the companies partaking in the survey by the German delegation of economy suggest that BiH should pursue:

1. membership in the EU and NATO,
2. harmonisation of laws and rules of the national economy on all levels,
3. Fight against corruption,
4. Simplification of the procedures and administrative process for foreign investors,
5. Stabilisation of the political situation,
6. Increase of legal security,
7. Reformation of tax legislation,
8. Improvement of industrial and employment law.³⁸

Therefore, the emphasis needs to rely on a shift in politics, which can be supported by strengthening cultural and social bonds through reaching out. A close cooperation between the Bosnian [Foreign Investment Promotion Agency](#) and the German delegation for Economy in BiH is necessary to ensure access to country information and to create a coherent support system in BiH for potential investors.

2.3. Cultural initiatives and social bonds

The third important layer in bilateral relations is the cultural and social ones. These relations between German and BiH can be divided into three categories:

1. *Official*: This includes the [Goethe-Institut](#), whose task it is to promote cooperation in cultural projects, supports the learning of German by offering language courses, and it provides information on the German state and culture. This category is completed by three of the biggest German public foundations with offices in Sarajevo ([Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung](#), [Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung](#) and [Heinrich-Boell-Stiftung](#)). They do research on various societal topics and fund local projects and NGOs, based on their respective values.
2. *Non-governmental organisations*: Several German NGOs and social groups have created bonds with BiH and promote friendship between the two countries, by informing about the situation in Germany (e.g. [Merhamet Deutschland. Bosnische humanitaere Organisation e.V.](#)) or run projects within BiH (e.g. [Pax Christi Aachen](#), [Omladinski Centar Jajce](#), [Amica e.V.](#)). Several youth exchanges are organised and cooperation with local NGOs is frequent. 9

³⁷ Ministry of Economic Cooperation and Development BMZ: Serbien. Situation und Zusammenarbeit, <http://www.bmz.de/de/was_wir_machen/laender_regionen/Mittel-Ost-und-SuedostEurope/serbien/zusammenarbeit_serbien.html>, accessed on August 20, 2013.

³⁸ Predstavništvo Njemačke 2013, p. 12,

Bosnian schools have partners in Germany, with 5 still searching for partners for exchange projects. A further meeting of pupils and students from both countries is [supported by the German embassy since June 2013](#). Also, the state-funded German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) takes action by supporting students from BiH who study in Germany (221 received a scholarship in 2012) and funding travel costs and living expenses for students from Germany who do courses in BiH (66 in 2012).³⁹ Moreover, there are more than a dozen of university and college partnerships between Germany and BiH.⁴⁰ Besides that, there are several locations of the [German adult education centre](#).

Focusing on creating bonds between young people and the two countries can help to form long-lasting relationships through living and studying together. Programs that allow students to stay at the partner country, perhaps conditioned to a public presentation of the results are an important part of the bilateral cultural relations and should be increased. Also, cultural and social NGOs are an important grassroots network, strengthening the civil society from the bottom, often having a wider outreach than governmental programs. The cooperation of NGOs, schools and universities between Germany and BiH is essential for good cooperation and sustainable relationships.

3. *The diaspora*: The social network that resulted from 345,000 people who sought and found refuge in Germany during the war led to a growing diaspora of 220,000 Bosnians living in Germany. This number does not account for spouses, who might not have a Bosnian passport or parent, but are related to BiH in one way or another. During the 1990s war, the large amount of refugees seeking asylum in Germany sparked a big debate about the abilities of Germany's asylum system and its society to cope with refugees.⁴¹ So whilst other countries gave thousands of Bosnian refugees permission to stay or even received their respective citizenships, Germany – after initially gaining a lot of praise for taking a lot of refugees in – tried to send as many refugees back as possible once the war had ended. Several minister presidents of various German states – especially those who sheltered high amounts of refugees – took measures of revoking permits of stay, promoted initial deportations as 'motivation' for others to follow this example and to give financial incentives to leave Germany. Many refugees returned to BiH, receiving financial support from Germany to rebuild their houses whilst others, especially the heavily traumatised ones left for other

³⁹ DAAD: Homepage – Bosnia und Herzegowina, <<https://www.daad.de/laenderinformationen/bosnien-und-herzegowina/de/>>.

⁴⁰ Ministry of Economic Development and Cooperation: Länderprofil Bosnien und Herzegowina, <http://www.bmz.de/de/was_wir_machen/laender_regionen/Mittel-Ost-und-SuedostEurope/bosnien_herzegowina/index.html>, accessed on August 20, 2013.

⁴¹ Torsten Jäger/Jasna Rezno (2001): Zur Situation der bosnischen Kriegsflüchtlinge in Deutschland.

countries and emigrated for good, e.g. to the USA.⁴² The remaining 40,000 Bosnians (1998), mostly those who had managed to find and keep a socially insured job in Germany or those that had not been convinced to leave, remained in Germany and joined the group of 113,000 Bosnians who lived in Germany before the war started⁴³ and who were part of the Yugoslav minority – which formed the biggest group after the Turkish minority.⁴⁴

Tab.: People with migration background in Germany from BiH, Croatia and Serbia

	<i>Total amount of people with a migration background living in Germany</i>	<i>Amount of those who still have their original citizenship living in Germany</i>	<i>Amount of those who migrated themselves and have either their original or the German citizenship</i>
Bosnia-Hercegovina	228 000	137 000	155 000
Croatia	360 000	204 000	227 000
Serbia	286 000	170 000	185 000

Data from Destatis (Federal Statistical Office): Mikrozensus 2011

The Bosnian diaspora formed communities in Germany after those that existed before the wars dissolved or became nationalist. Through refugees seeking shelter with their families and friends who already lived in Germany, the former Yugoslav diaspora became radicalised into the three national groups, who became important financial supporters on all warring sides.⁴⁵

After the war ended, the biggest organisation newly formed is the [Community of Islamic-Bosniak Mosques](#) (IGBD), which consists of over 60 mosques and communities. It advertises the Islamic-Bosnian faith, but also addresses Bosniak interests and problems in Germany. Also, a Bosnian student association and smaller NGOs have formed to address Bosnians living in Germany. Oslobodjenje, the daily newspaper from BiH as well as Dnevni Avaz are the most read newspapers from BiH in Germany, the former being sold 20,000 times in Germany.⁴⁶ However, in comparison to the [UK](#), the [USA](#) and [Austria](#), the Bosnian diaspora in Germany does not seem well organised, even when taken into account that Bosnian Serbs and Bosnian Croats might rather join the respective national diaspora groups instead of creating their own. This leads to the conclusion that BiH, despite having a smaller diaspora than Croatia and Serbia in Germany, has a reasonably sized group of migrants in Germany, offering a potential that has not been used yet. The biggest Bosnian communities – here only numbering those with a Bosnian passport living in Germany – can be found in Munich (16,500,

⁴² Saskia van Laere: Bosnienfluechtlinge: Im Schraubstock, in: FOCUS Magazin 15 (1997), pp. 30-33.

⁴³ Belma Fazlagic-Sestic: Bosnier in Deutschland: Eine zweite Heimat, Deutsche Welle online, <<http://www.dw.de/bosnier-in-deutschland-eine-zweite-heimat/a-16475659>>, accessed on August 22, 2013.

⁴⁴ Katja Kukulj (2010): Die Südslawen und ihre Identität(en) - Eine Untersuchung in Deutschland lebender Bosnier, Kroaten und Serben, Munich, p. 75.

⁴⁵ Kukulj 2010, pp. 81/82.

⁴⁶ Kukulj 2010, pp. 89/90.

Bosnians in Bavaria in total: 35,881 in 2011), Baden-Wurttemberg 31,588 (2011) with 11,000 Bosnians in Stuttgart, 16,000 in Hessen, 10,128 in Berlin (2012) and 3,000 in Cologne (2011).⁴⁷

The IGDB is the biggest organisation, and efforts could be made on the German side to create bilateral programs of cultural and social exchange, such a language courses and community building events. Traditionally the Yugoslav diaspora has been the best integrated minority in Germany whilst still fostering strong bonds with their families and communities back home, e.g. by visiting every year for the summer holidays and by teaching the children the language of their origin.⁴⁸ The same was true for the refugees from BiH in the 1990s.⁴⁹ It is essential to involve these people also in the political and economic realm, and thus to support the bond between the German and Bosnian society.

Conclusion

This paper has explored the German-Bosnian relationship on three levels: political, economic and socio-cultural. Also, it took a glimpse at Germany's foreign policy and its assumed shift towards more responsibility within the international community. Thus there are two actors who need to invest into the bilateral relationship.

It became obvious that the biggest obstacle to BiH's success is the political instability and its consequences for international relations, such as an insecure legal situation and corruption. All researched official statements and surveys criticise the dysfunctional administrative and political system of BiH as the most important field for future reforms, progress and foreign relations. It seems unlikely that the situation will improve any time soon, as the political leaders in BiH continuously block each other's initiative. Thus political efforts from within the country as well as from the international community are needed, especially regarding the amount of foreign aid that has already been spent on BiH.

What is more, German security policy has a vital interesting in BiH being in the EU and NATO. Not only does BiH share a big part of its borders with an EU-member, it is also located on an important strategic trade corridor. The current state of legal insecurity, corruption and political instability puts BiH at risk to become the last European stronghold of organised crime, which again is not in the interest of the EU and Germany. It also makes BiH less attractive for investors.

But the past history has shown that, besides one political initiative by the German government in 2011, Germany has been willing to give money, but has not taken the lead in political initiatives and

⁴⁷ All data from the respective State Agencies for Statistics.

⁴⁸ Kukolj 2010, pp. 87-89.

⁴⁹ Zoran Arbutina: Jugoslawische Gastarbeiter in Deutschland, in: Deutsche Welle, 12.01.2013, <<http://www.dw.de/jugoslawische-gastarbeiter-in-deutschland/a-16475757>>.

to ignore its importance, power and responsibility in the region. Also, the German government has recently put an emphasis on a reduced amount of projects – renewable energy sources and certain civil society building initiatives. This as well as the demand for a fast retirement of the OHR show a further retraction from a full-scale engagement in BiH – which is the wrong way to go as it leaves the country and its problems to themselves. It also neglects the fact that it is the structure from the Dayton Treaty that enables and encourages the current elites to stay in their positions and keep their privileges. Therefore, future projects need to undergo a touch system of checks and conditions, including the demand for drastic political changes. A time frame needs to be set, and strict corruption measures need to be set into place.

A multilateral joint approach from the EU with a strong German lead could be able to do so. According to Germany's powerful position in the EU, its strong economic role and its sizeable diaspora, it is predetermined and responsible to prise this leading role. At the same time, even though some rumours about Germany's pro-Croatia bias are existent, it is one of the few countries that are respected and liked by all three ethnicities in BiH, especially as there are big diasporas from all of them in Germany. Thus the country has a unique position to get a dialogue to happen and to initiate a change in BiH.

Therefore, by supporting the proper and consistent use the EU soft powers which come with a potential EU accession, Germany can help reform of the legal system, executing anti-corruption measures and, in the long run, a major reform of the constitution. The withdrawal or freezing of funds like suggested by Doris Pack could be an effective instrument to put pressure on the BiH government to improve the political and social situation, and the German leaders should back these measures. At the same time, taking into account that BiH offers a plethora of good investment and growth possibilities in tourism, (biological) agriculture, construction and the energy sector it is also in Germany's economic interests to tighten cooperation between the German and Bosnian economy through trade fairs, close-knitted bonds between the FIPA and the German AHK and through personal links. In either way, it is essential for Germany to take more interest in BiH and to accept its responsibility as EU's biggest member state.

Moreover, Germany should reconsider supporting grass root organisations in BiH as well as in Germany that promote small, but sustainable goals in their field. The big German institutions such as the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung and the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung do important research. But they are not connected to the foundations of the Bosnian society, which would be necessary for improving civil society from within.

However, whilst it might be a wise decision for German parties to involve people with a background of migration in their structures, as the feeling of being well represented through someone with a

similar story helps with the identification with a state⁵⁰, the Bosnian leaders have more to do. Not only are reforms of the legal system and the administration long overdue, but they also have to realise that they need every international partner that they can get if there is an honest try to improve the Bosnian state situation. And whilst all signs are pointing at Germany retreating from BiH after 18 years of involvement, this retreat is against the vital interest of BiH. Thus they need to grow bonds for the future, which they can a) do through reforms in BiH, b) intensifying contacts to German politicians to get back on their political landscape, and c) through local initiatives, reaching out to Bosnian communities in Germany. Especially big communities can be found in Munich, Stuttgart and Berlin, which makes these cities good places for a first approach. This way, individual bonds can create awareness and cooperation with a bottom-up approach.

Overall, BiH is too important for Germany and the EU to fail, not only because of its relevancy in recent history as a failure of EU foreign policy, but also as a strategic, historic and political location that is closely tied with Europe. Moreover, the economic opportunities in the country are still not sufficiently seized due to several severe systemic and administrative obstacles. Lowering these as well as improving the political checkmate situation must be a Bosnian and also a German priority, and neither one of the countries can afford to neglect these issues.

⁵⁰ Migazin: 1,8 Millionen Ausländer würden zur Wahl gehen, wenn sie wählen dürften, 16.08.2013, <<http://www.migazin.de/2013/08/16/18-millionen-auslaender-wuerden-zur-wahl-gehen-wenn-sie-waehlen-duerften/>>, accessed August 27, 2013.

Bibliography

- Altmann, Franz-Lothar (2007): Die Bundeswehr auf dem Westlichen Balkan, in: Stefan Mair (Ed.): Auslandseinsätze der Bundeswehr (SWP-study), pp. 88-98.
- Arbutina, Zoran: Jugoslawische Gastarbeiter in Deutschland, in: Deutsche Welle, 12.01.2013, <<http://www.dw.de/jugoslawische-gastarbeiter-in-deutschland/a-16475757>>.
- Bundeswehr: Rückkehr aus Bosnien: Ein Einsatz endet, <http://www.bundeswehr.de/portal/a/bwde/!ut/p/c4/NYu7DsIwEAT_yGeLgkBHIAaFKg2YJrrEp8jCj8i-EAnx8dgFu9I0swtPKA34tguYjQEdPEDP9jztYtoNCXzxRs5RFrjI0ZAfyYaM_IF7fZbFHANxJVNgW7gk5JjEGhO7araUihHWgJaqa9VR_qO-jW76W386yO7aDrB6f_kBQoRqvg!!/>, accessed August 3, 2013.
- BVerfG Ruling on July, 12 1994 (2 BvE 3/92): Auslandseinsatz der Bundeswehr im Rahmen der NATO und Beteiligung des Bundestages.
- DAAD: Homepage – Bosnia und Herzegowina, <<https://www.daad.de/laenderinformationen/bosnien-und-herzegowina/de/>>.
- Destatis (German Statistical Office): Bevölkerung und Erwerbstätigkeit. Bevölkerung mit Migrationshintergrund – Ergebnisse des Mikrozensus 2011, <https://www.destatis.de/DE/Publikationen/Thematisch/Bevoelkerung/MigrationIntegration/Migrationshintergrund2010220117004.pdf?__blob=publicationFile>, downloaded on August 3, 2013
- Deutsche Gesellschaft für internationale Zusammenarbeit (2012): GIZ in Bosnia and Herzegowina.
- Deutsche Gesellschaft für internationale Zusammenarbeit (2013): Bosnia and Hercegovina <<http://www.giz.de/en/worldwide/289.html>>, accessed August 12, 2013.
- Fazlagic-Sestic, Belma: Bosnier in Deutschland: Eine zweite Heimat, Deutsche Welle online, <<http://www.dw.de/bosnier-in-deutschland-eine-zweite-heimat/a-16475659>>, August 22, 2013.
- Foreign Policy Initiative BiH (2011): Policy analysis. Germany in Bosnia – from intention to initiative (Analysis 3/11), Sarajevo.
- German Embassy Belgrade (2012): Wirtschaftsdatenblatt Serbien 2013, <http://www.belgrad.diplo.de/contentblob/3819426/Daten/3044877/Kurzinformationen_ber_Serbien.pdf>, accessed August 16, 2013.
- German Embassy Sarajevo: Entwicklungspolitische Zusammenarbeit (EZ), <http://www.sarajewo.diplo.de/Vertretung/sarajewo/de/05/Wirtschaftliche_Zusammenarbeit/Wirtschaftliche_Zusammenarbeit.html>, accessed August 2, 2013.
- German Embassy Sarajevo: Interview mit der deutschen Botschafterin Ulrike Knotz für die Tageszeitung Glas Srpske, May 2013, <http://www.sarajewo.diplo.de/Vertretung/sarajewo/de/06/Presseservice/interview_bo_glas_srpske_mai_2013.html>, accessed August 2, 2013.
- German Embassy in Sarajevo: Interview mit der deutschen Botschafterin Ulrike Maria Knotz für die Tageszeitung Večernji list, 28.06. 2013, <http://www.sarajewo.diplo.de/Vertretung/sarajewo/de/06/Presseservice/interview_bo_vecernji_list_jun_u_2013.html>, accessed August 27, 2013.
- German Ministry of Defence: Verteidigungspolitische Richtlinien fuer den Geschäftsbereich des Bundesministers der Verteidigung, November 26, 1992.
- GTAI: Bosnien und Herzegowina hofft auf mehr auslaendische Investitionen, <<http://www.gtai.de/GTAI/Navigation/DE/Trade/maerkte,did=75490.html>>, accessed August 28, 2013.
- Jäger, Torsten/Rezno, Jasna (2001): Zur Situation der bosnischen Kriegsflüchtlinge in Deutschland.
- Joerißen, Britta (2007): Der Balkan. Von Krieg, Frieden und Europa (=Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (Ed.): Kompass 2020. Deutschland in den internationalen Beziehungen), January 2007, <<http://www.fes.de/kompass2020/pdf/Balkan.pdf>>.
- Kukolj, Katja (2010): Die Südslawen und ihre Identität(en) - Eine Untersuchung in Deutschland lebender Bosnier, Kroaten und Serben, Munich.
- Laere, Saskia van: Bosnienfluechtlinge: Im Schraubstock , in: FOCUS Magazin 15 (1997), pp. 30-33.
- Malcolm, Noel (1994): Bosnia: A Short History.
- Mappes-Niediek, Norbert: Merkel im bosnischen Schlamassel, in: Frankfurter Rundschau online, February 1st,

- 2011, <<http://www.fr-online.de/politik/balkan-merkel-im-bosnischen-schlamassel.1472596.7143490.html>>, accessed on August 3, 2013.
- Michigan State-University (2012): Bosnia and Herzegovina: Government, <<http://globaledge.msu.edu/countries/bosnia-and-herzegovina/government>>, accessed July 20, 2013.
- Migazin: 1,8 Millionen Ausländer würden zur Wahl gehen, wenn sie wählen dürften, 16.08.2013, <<http://www.migazin.de/2013/08/16/18-millionen-auslaender-wuerden-zur-wahl-gehen-wenn-sie-waehlen-duerften/>>, accessed August 27, 2013.
- Ministry of Economic Development and Cooperation: Länderprofil Bosnien und Herzegovina, <http://www.bmz.de/de/was_wir_machen/laender_regionen/Mittel-Ost-und-Suedosteuroopa/bosnien_herzegovina/index.html>, accessed August 20, 2013.
- Ministry of Economic Cooperation and Development BMZ: Serbien. Situation und Zusammenarbeit, <http://www.bmz.de/de/was_wir_machen/laender_regionen/Mittel-Ost-und-Suedosteuroopa/serbien/zusammenarbeit_serbien.html>, accessed August 20th, 2013.
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs: Bosnien und Herzegovina. Beziehungen zu Deutschland, <http://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/DE/Aussenpolitik/Laender/Laenderinfos/BosnienUndHerzegovina/Bilateral_node.html>, accessed August 1, 2013.
- Merkel, Angela: Europäische Perspektive für den Balkan, <<http://www.bundesregierung.de/Content/DE/Artikel/2011/08/2011-08-20-podcast.html>>, accessed July 30, 2013.
- Njemačko-hrvatska industrijska i trgovinska komora (2012): Njemačko-hrvatski gospodarski odnosi, <<http://kroatien.ahk.de/hr/informacije-o-zemlji/njemacko-hrvatski-gospodarski-odnosi/>>, accessed August 16, 2013.
- Pack, Doris: Progress report on Bosnia and Herzegovina (debate) in the European Parliament, 2012/2865(RSP), Strasbourg, May 22, 2013.
- Pasic, Lana: Bosnia's Vast Foreign Aid Financial Assistance Re-Examined: Statistics and Results, published on Balkananalysis on June 21, 2011, <<http://www.balkananalysis.com/bosnia/2011/06/21/bosnia%E2%80%99s-vast-foreign-financial-assistance-re-examined-statistics-and-results/>>, accessed July 20, 2013.
- Predstavništvo njemačke privrede u BiH (2013): Wirtschaftliche Indikatoren für BuH, <http://bosnien.ahk.de/fileadmin/ahk_bosnien/Dokumente/Wirtschaftliche_Indikatoren.pdf>, accessed August 14, 2013.
- Predstavništvo njemačke privrede u BiH (2013): Rezultati Privrednog istraživanja 2013 (46 firmi-učesnika), Sarajevo.
- Wölkner, Sabine: Bosnien und Herzegovina, die EU und das Urteil „Sejdic-Finci“. Countdown für Verfassungsreform läuft, in: Konrad Adenauer-Stiftung Länderbericht, April 4, 2013, <http://www.kas.de/wf/doc/kas_33984-1522-1-30.pdf?130404180526>.
- Ulm Kompetenzzentrum: Bosnien und Herzegovina: Potenzial mit Hindernissen, <http://www.ulm.ihk24.de/international/Kompetenzzentrum/Laenderinformationen/Bosnien-Herzegovina/Landes-und_Wirtschaftsinformationen_/2023454/Bosnien_und_Herzegovina_Potenzial_mit_Hindernissen.html>, accessed August 28, 2013.

*Centar za sigurnosne studije
Centre for Security Studies*

Branilaca Sarajeva 13/I, 71 000

Sarajevo

Tel: +387 33 262 455 / 262 456

Fax: +387 33 223 250

e-mail: info@css.ba

www.css.ba