

International Conference on International Law

THE DAYTON AGREEMENT AT 30:

Legal Reflections, Politics of Fragmentation and the Future of Peacebuilding

27-28 NOVEMBER 2025 | VENUE: ISTANBUL UNIVERSITY RECTORATE, DOCTORATE HALL, BEYAZIT, ISTANBUL, TÜRKİYE



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Balkan Studies Foundation (BSF)

The Balkan Studies Foundation is the continuation of the Fethah Efendi Education and Thought Association, which was founded in September 2016 by young academicians, students, and young businessmen based in Skopje. It has been reorganized under a different institutional framework due to the expansion of activities carried out under the association's umbrella and the necessity of including all of the Balkans. Between 2016 and 2022, it conducted thousands of educational activities and undertook significant research and publication endeavors. Since September 2022, it has continued its activities through research centers, training centers, and publishing houses under the name of the Balkan Studies Foundation.



Worldwide Lawyers Association (WOLAS)

Worldwide Lawyers Association (WOLAS) was established by lawyers and academics working in Türkiye, with the aim of conducting activities in the international arena. It is open to individuals who advocate for rights, and its main focus is advocating for rights. Protecting the rights of individuals against both major and minor authorities is one of the association's primary objectives. In pursuit of this goal, WOLAS adopts an approach that constantly questions the assumptions and blind spots in the understanding of human rights, renewing them with a demand for a more holistic and inclusive concept of justice. As an Istanbul-based organisation, WOLAS is dedicated to conducting a rights-based struggle to promote justice. Their mission includes raising awareness among all relevant circles, providing necessary training to take a stance and fight against rights violations, and fostering organised mobilisation.



Istanbul University

Istanbul University, founded in 1453, is one of Turkey's oldest and most prestigious higher education institutions. It has evolved into a comprehensive university with 17 faculties, 14 institutes, a state conservatory, several vocational schools, and many research centers across multiple campuses. Its mission is to generate and share scientific knowledge while educating individuals who contribute to national and global progress. Guided by values of innovation, quality, sustainability, and social responsibility, it follows a student-centered and ethical approach to education. With a strong international orientation, English-taught programs, and global collaborations, Istanbul University bridges tradition and modernity, maintaining a pioneering role in research, education, and social development both in Turkey and worldwide.



Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency (TİKA)

The Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency (TİKA), founded in 1992, coordinates Turkey's development cooperation efforts worldwide. Initially focused on Turkic republics, it now operates in over 170 countries through 63 offices. As Turkey's main development agency, TİKA promotes sustainable development, human capacity building, and social and economic growth through demand-driven, locally aligned projects. Its work spans education, health, agriculture, institutional development, cultural heritage, and infrastructure. Guided by values of transparency, participation, and effectiveness, TİKA prioritizes cooperation based on equality and mutual benefit. By emphasizing knowledge transfer and community empowerment, it delivers sustainable results that foster human development, peace, and shared prosperity, reflecting Turkey's humanitarian and collaborative approach to global challenges.



Univerzitet u Sarajevu
Institut za historiju

University of Sarajevo Institute of History

The University of Sarajevo Institute of History is a prominent research institution dedicated to the study and analysis of historical processes, particularly focusing on Bosnia and Herzegovina and the broader Balkan region. The institute conducts interdisciplinary research on political, social, cultural, and economic history, with an emphasis on understanding historical developments within regional and global contexts. It also publishes scholarly works, organizes conferences, and collaborates with international institutions to promote historical research and education.



INTERNATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF SARAJEVO
INTERNACIONALNI UNIVERZITET U SARAJEVU

The International University of Sarajevo (IUS)

The International University of Sarajevo (IUS), founded in 2004 by the Foundation for Education Development Sarajevo, is a leading higher education institution in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Its vision is to provide high-quality, internationally oriented education and serve as a multicultural center for learning, innovation, and research. Guided by values such as excellence, diversity, integrity, and transparency, IUS promotes intellectual growth and regional and global cooperation. With a student-centered and research-focused approach, it aims to foster multicultural understanding, peace, and sustainable development. From its beginnings with 68 students, IUS has grown into a diverse academic community with over 200 staff and around 2,000 students from more than 45 countries, contributing to knowledge, collaboration, and global citizenship.

SPEAKERS



Admir Mulaosmanović, born in Sarajevo on July 1, 1973, played an active role in the Bosnian War, initially joining the Territorial Defense and later the Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina. He holds a degree in History from the University of Sarajevo and completed his postgraduate studies at the University of Zagreb, specializing in the political and economic history of Bosnia and Herzegovina. His doctoral research at the University of Zagreb focused on the political trajectory of Alija Izetbegović. He has held positions at the Institute for History, University of Sarajevo, and served as a lecturer and dean at the International University of Sarajevo from January 2020 until January 2023. He also served as an advisor to the Ministry for Human Rights and Refugees of Bosnia and Herzegovina. He is an accomplished author, having published several books and numerous scholarly articles. Currently, he is an associate professor at the Department of Political Sciences and Public Administration at Balikesir University.



Ahmed Žilić born March 9, 1956, in Visoko, B&H, is a prominent Sarajevo-based attorney. He graduated from the Sarajevo University Faculty of Law and passed the bar exam in 1985. His extensive legal career began in 1986 and includes serving as a legal expert in the B&H delegation to the International Conference of Former Yugoslavia in Geneva (1993) and as an adviser on international and human rights law to the Co-Chairman of the Council of Ministers in B&H. Žilić served as a member of the Council of Europe's Advisory Committee for Minority Rights (2002-2006) and co-founded the Dayton Project association, focusing on constitutional reform. He was a key legal expert for the privatization of "BH Steel Željezara Ltd. Zenica". He has also served as a guest lecturer at the University of Sarajevo and is the author of several works, including the Bosnia and Herzegovina Human Rights Code. His human rights work has been recognized with several awards, including the proclamation of "Ahmed Žilic Day" in Chattanooga, Tennessee.



Ben Gerstein is a visiting research fellow at the Institute for the Research of Crimes Against Humanity and International Law. A recipient of the Promise Institute for Human Rights Fellowship, his current work examines the legal challenges of prosecuting genocide denial, offers comparative analyses of domestic and international genocide jurisprudence, and traces the origins of debates over genocide as a legal concept. Broadly, Ben deploys historical and legal methodologies to examine the possibilities and restraints of human rights law and international criminal law. His research stretches across regions and beyond borderlands, including Australia, Occupied Palestine, the United States, Haiti, and former Yugoslavia. Ben is a graduate of the Ford School of Public Policy at the University of Michigan and University of California-Los Angeles School of Law. He has published his work in *Comparative Southeast European Studies* and the *Law and Political Economy* blog.



Bernd Christoph Ströhm Bernd Christoph Ströhm is a Senior Research Associate and Analyst at the Vienna Institute for International Economic Studies (wiiw) and S&P Global, specializing in Central, Eastern, and Southeastern Europe (CESEE). He is also a Senior Fellow at the European Centre for International Political Economy (ECIPE), a Postdoctoral University Assistant at the University of Vienna, and a Postdoctoral Research Fellow at the Diplomatic Academy of Vienna. His research and teaching focus on Russian foreign policy, East European history, Soviet dissent, the evolution of the international system, the Western Balkans, and the geopolitical and economic influence of Russia and China on the region and the EU bloc.



Blerim Morina born in Prishtina, Kosovo. He holds a Master's degree from the European Tempus Program in Economic Development and is currently pursuing doctoral courses abroad in International Relations and Economic Policy. Lecturer and Researcher in several education and research institutions. His research interests include International Development Economics and Policy. He has held various roles and positions in the private and public sectors and in academia as a lecturer and researcher. He is the author of several research articles and a speaker at several international conferences and forums, and has worked on several international projects.



Büşra Balat graduated with honours from the School of Law, Istanbul University. She completed her LLM (2018) and PhD (2024) at the University of Reading, UK. She is currently a faculty member at the School of Law, Istanbul Medeniyet University. Her research focuses on international human rights law, accountability, international organizations, and international criminal law.



Darko Radić born on January 28, 1985 in Gradiška, he completed his primary and secondary education in Gradiška, Bosnia and Herzegovina. He graduated Geography and Demography at the Faculty of Science, University of Banja Luka, in 2007. He earned his master's degree at the Faculty of Geography, Belgrade University in 2010. He obtained his doctoral degree at the Institute of Graduate Studies in Social Sciences of Istanbul University in 2019 with a thesis on "Dayton Peace and Bordering Problems in Bosnia and Herzegovina". He is long-time associate at the Ministry of Security of Bosnia and Herzegovina and project coordinator of numerous domestic and international projects including Interreg IPA Cross-border Cooperation Programme. He published several scientific articles dealing with the issue of nationalism and identity in International Relations. He is fluent in English and Turkish.



Edina Sudžuka is an Associate Professor of Financial Law at the University of Sarajevo, Faculty of Law. She earned her Doctor of Legal Sciences degree from the same institution in 2014, with a dissertation titled “Financial and Social Aspects of Value Added Tax (VAT) and Personal Income Tax (PIT) Implementation in the Tax System of Bosnia and Herzegovina.” She also holds a Master of Science in Macroeconomic Theory and Policy – International Economics from the University of Sarajevo’s School of Economics and Business, where her research focused on “VAT in the Function of Tax Reform with Particular Emphasis on Bosnia and Herzegovina.” In addition to her studies in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Dr. Sudžuka completed a professional development program at the University of Kansas School of Law (JFDP Certificate, 2007-2008). Since her appointment as Associate Professor in 2020, she has been engaged in teaching, mentoring, and research in the fields of Financial and Tax Law, including Public Finance, International Financial Law, Monetary and Banking Law, and Budgetary Law, across undergraduate, graduate, and doctoral levels. Her academic work focuses on the interrelation between taxation, public finance, and economic policy within Bosnia and Herzegovina and in international contexts.



Ena Beganović originally from Bosnia and Herzegovina, is a Master’s student in Diplomacy and International Studies at the Diplomatic Academy of Vienna. She holds a Bachelor’s degree in Economics from the International University of Sarajevo, where she was recognized on both the Dean’s and Rector’s Honor Lists. Her academic background includes exchanges at the American Business School of Paris and the University of Cádiz, focusing on financial research, international trade, and economic data analysis. She has gained professional experience in sustainability, economic development, and international cooperation through internships and fellowship programs. As a Humanity in Action Fellow, she led the “Dear Friend” initiative to promote social inclusion and strengthen partnerships among NGOs. Her academic and professional interests center on advancing diplomacy, fostering international security, and promoting sustainable development and global trade.



Emel Topçu is a distinguished academic in the field of Political Science and Public Administration and currently serves as the Dean of the Faculty of Economics, Administrative and Social Sciences at the International University of Sarajevo (IUS). She obtained her Doctorate in Public Administration from Gazi University in 1999, following her Master's and Bachelor's degrees in the same discipline from Gazi University and Ankara University, respectively. Throughout her extensive academic career, Prof. Dr. Topçu has held various teaching and administrative positions at leading universities, including Hasan Kalyoncu University and Gazi University, where she served as Deputy Dean, Head of Department, and Director of Research Centers on Migration and Population Studies. Her scholarly work primarily focuses on migration, multiculturalism, social inclusion, gender and politics, and public policy. She has authored and co-authored numerous academic publications addressing migration governance, integration policies, and gender equality in public administration. Prof. Dr. Topçu has actively participated in international conferences, research collaborations, and academic projects promoting intercultural dialogue and inclusive governance. She has also supervised numerous postgraduate theses and contributed to the advancement of interdisciplinary research in social sciences. In addition, she was a visiting fellow at the Indian Institute of Public Administration in New Delhi. Prof. Dr. Topçu is fluent in Turkish, English, and German, with working knowledge of Arabic and Persian.



Hamza Preljević is an Assistant Professor and Program Coordinator in the Department of Political Science and International Relations (PSIR) at the International University of Sarajevo (IUS). Dr. Preljević has held various academic-administrative positions at IUS, including Demonstrator (2015-2016), Managing Editor at Epiphany – Journal of Transdisciplinary Studies (2019-2021), Secretary of the Balkan Studies Center (2019-2023), Senior Assistant (2016-2024), and Director of Balkan Studies Center (2023-2025). His research interests encompass a wide range of topics, including Bosnian politics, Bosnian Muslims' issues, Western Balkan studies, EU integration, and security studies, with a particular focus on transatlantic relations and NATO's engagement with



the Western Balkans. He has authored/co-authored numerous articles, book chapters, and book reviews published in reputable journals and by respected publishers. He was the project coordinator and lead editor of “Shifting Paradigms: Three Decades after the Signing of the Dayton Peace Agreement” (Palgrave Macmillan, 2025). Dr. Preljević has also managed several projects, showcasing his organizational skills and proactive approach to academic initiatives.



Haris Hadžijusufović was born in 1994 in Sweden. He graduated from Gymnasium in Bihac, Bosnia and Herzegovina in 2013. After graduation he started law studies at Faculty of Law - University of Sarajevo. He graduated in 2017 and started his master's degree (Department for Legal and Economic sciences) at Faculty of Law - University of Sarajevo. His master thesis was: Institutional and Legal Framework for Combating Aggressive Tax Planning in European Union. At the moment, He has enrolled in a doctoral degree program at Faculty of Law – University of Sarajevo. In 2021 he completed judicial examination (bar exam for Bosnia and Herzegovina). He is employed as a Research and Teaching Assistant at University of Sarajevo – Faculty of Law since 2022. His previous work experience was in CNC machinery industry, airlines and hotel industries. He is a Secretary of the Department for Legal and Economic Sciences and Coordinator of the Faculty's Debate club.



Harun Išerić (b. 1993) is a Senior Teaching and Research Assistant at the Faculty of Law, University of Sarajevo. He is currently pursuing a Ph.D. at the same faculty, focusing his dissertation on the role of courts in achieving environmental justice. His academic and research interests lie in constitutional and human rights law, with a particular emphasis on constitutional judiciary, the European Court of Human Rights (ECHR), comparative administrative law and procedure, environmental law, elections, media, and transitional justice. His specific areas of focus include freedom of expression and genocide denial, the role of public administration in the final stages of genocide, and administrative reform as a component of post-conflict reparation processes. Harun was awarded the ReThink.CEE Fellowship (2022-2023) by the German Marshall Fund of the United States and the Sakharov Fellowship by the

European Parliament in 2023. He is a co-founder of the Media Law School, organized in cooperation with the Faculty of Law Sarajevo, the EU Delegation to Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the OSCE. From 2018 to 2020, he served as Director of the Legal Clinic in Human Rights Law. In 2023, he was appointed by the State Central Election Commission to the Municipal Election Commission of Sarajevo for a seven-year term (2023–2030). That same year, he was appointed as a member of the Constitutional Affairs Council of the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina (for member Dr. Denis Bećirović). He also served as a member of the Complaints Commission of the Press and Online Media Council in BiH (2021–2025).



Harun Halilović born in 1985, Bosnia and Herzegovina is an Assistant Professor at the Faculty of Law, International University of Sarajevo (IUS). He earned his LLB from the University of Sarajevo, completed a double LL.M. program at the Sarajevo School of Science and Technology and the University of Buckingham, and later obtained an LL.M. in Tax Law from Queen Mary University of London as a Chevening scholar. He holds a PhD in Law from the University of Tuzla. Alongside his academic career, Halilović has extensive professional experience, having worked as a legal associate and attorney in Sarajevo, where he continues to practice law with a focus on property, corporate, tax, and dispute resolution. His research interests include civil and property law, international law, human rights, and European integration, with publications in internationally indexed journals and contributions to books and law reviews. Halilović is the author of works on property rights, waqf law, civil procedure, EU integration, and genocide prevention.



Mahir Muharemović is a Senior Research Associate and Program Manager for the Western Balkans within the Rule of Law Programme South East Europe of the Konrad Adenauer Foundation, based in Bucharest. He also serves as Assistant Professor of Public and International Law at the University of Tuzla. He earned his Ph.D. in Public and International Law (summa cum laude) from the University of Tuzla, with a dissertation on the application of human rights before international investment tribunals. His professional background spans academia, judiciary, and international organizations. He has worked as a judge in Bosnia and Herzegovina, a Visiting Professional at the European Court of Human Rights, and a consultant for organizations including the OSCE. His research and publications focus on constitutional law, human rights, rule of law, international law, and the impact of technology on justice. Dr. Muharemović is the author and co-author of several books and numerous peer-reviewed articles in leading journals, and he serves as a peer reviewer for international legal publications.



Marko Attila Hoare is an Associate Professor and Head of Research for the Department of Political Science and International Relations at the Sarajevo School of Science and Technology. He was born in London and received his BA from the University of Cambridge in 1994 and his PhD from Yale University in 2000. His research focuses on themes related to nationalism, genocide, fascism and antifascism, and state-building. He is the author of four books: *The Bosnian Muslims in the Second World War: A History* (Hurst and Oxford University Press, London and New York, 2013); *The History of Bosnia: From the Middle Ages to the Present Day* (Saqi, London, 2007); *Genocide and Resistance in Hitler's Bosnia: The Partisans and the Chetniks, 1941-1943* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2006), which won the British Academy Postdoctoral Fellow Monograph Competition in 2004; and *How Bosnia Armed* (Saqi, London, 2004). He is currently leading the Bosnian Genocide research project at the SSST and is also working on a history of modern Serbia.



Miro Kovač received his bachelor's, master's and doctorate degrees from the universities of Paris-Sorbonne (Paris IV) and Sorbonne Nouvelle (Paris III). He defended his PhD thesis in the history of international relations on the topic "La vision française de la question croate, 1914-1929" in June 1999. He also holds a master's degree from the University of Hannover. He participated twice in Harvard University's (John F. Kennedy School of Government) training programmes: "21st Century Governance: Critical Skills for Leading and Sustaining Innovative Organizations" (in 2007) and "Senior Executives in National and International Security" (2009). He is the author of several scientific books and articles. Among his roles in state government, Miro Kovač served as Minister of Foreign and European Affairs, a Member of Parliament, the Chairman of the Foreign Policy Committee in the Croatian Parliament, and Ambassador to Germany. He teaches at the University North in Croatia as a professor.



Mirza Ljubović is an Assistant Professor of State and Public International Law at the Faculty of Law, International University of Sarajevo (IUS), where he also serves as Program Coordinator. He obtained his LL.B. and LL.M. degrees from the University of Sarajevo and completed his Ph.D. in Public International Law at the University of Mostar. He also holds a Comparative Constitutional and European Law certificate from the University of Virginia School of Law, USA. His research focuses on public international law, legal theory, constitutionalism, and democratic governance. Dr. Ljubović has authored several peer-reviewed relevant scientific articles, including some of them: "Contested statehood and EU integration: the case of Bosnia and Herzegovina", "Re-thinking About Muslim Migration into the European Union", "Kosovo's Membership of International Organisations", "Sustainability and foreign workers in Bosnia and Herzegovina: Addressing labor shortages and concerns over UN 2030 Agenda", and "State of Affairs in Building in Bosnia and Herzegovina: Corruption Check (and/or)". He regularly speaks at international and domestic conferences and other academic events.



Muhidin Mulalić is currently a professor at the Department of Political Science and International Relations, International University of Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina. He obtained his Ph.D. in 2007 at the International Islamic University Malaysia (IIUM), Malaysia. He began his academic career at the University Tenaga Nasional (UNITEN), Malaysia, where he taught for five years at the Institute of Liberal Studies. In 2007, Dr. Mulalic returned to Bosnia and Herzegovina and joined the Department of Social and Political Sciences at the International University of Sarajevo. At the International University of Sarajevo, he began developing his academic-administrative career by holding the following positions: Program Coordinator of Social and Political Sciences (2007-2010), Vice-Rector for Academic and Student Affairs (2010-2011), Vice-Dean of Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences (2011-2013), the Dean of Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences (2013-2016) and the Director of the Balkan Studies Center (2019-2023).



Nikola Dacev holds a doctoral degree in legal sciences from the Faculty of Law, Justinijan Primus, St. Cyril and Methodius in Skopje, North Macedonia, and currently works as an associate professor at the Faculty of Law, International Balkan University, Legal Studies Department. He previously worked in the banking sector as a legal adviser in the legal affairs department and as a project coordinator for bank insurance, in a law office, as a lawyer, and as a professional representative for industrial property. He has been working as a lecturer at the Faculty of Law at International Balkan University since 2015. He published many scientific research papers in international and domestic journals and publications. His research activities are focused on civil law, law of obligations, insurance legislation, health law, international agreements on e-commerce, artificial intelligence and law, and more.



Yunus Dilber (b. May 5, 1983, Trabzon, Türkiye) holds both a bachelor's and a master's degree from the University of Vienna, where his research focused on the impact of international organizations on democratic development in Bosnia and Herzegovina, with particular emphasis on the role of the United Nations Office of the High Representative (UN-OHR) in the post-Dayton period. He earned his Ph.D. from the International University of Sarajevo with a dissertation entitled *Foreign Language Studies as an Executive Instrument of Soft Power Politics in International Relations: A Comparative Study of Language Policies Implemented by the "Goethe Institute" and the "Yunus Emre Enstitüsü" in Bosnia and Herzegovina*.

Professionally, Dr. Dilber has served as the Director of the Yunus Emre Institute in Mostar (2014-2023) and currently in Skopje (2025-present), where he continues to promote Turkish culture and language. His primary research interests include Austrian history, Ottoman-Austrian relations, Türkiye's policy in the Balkans, and the intersections of cultural, linguistic, and educational strategies within Turkish foreign policy, with a particular focus on Bosnia and Herzegovina. Selections of his academic publications are available through his Academia.edu and ResearchGate profiles.



Zeynep Esra Dönbekci (b. 2000, Istanbul) graduated from the Department of Political Science and International Relations at Istanbul 29 Mayıs University, Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences, in 2022. She is currently pursuing her master's degree in Colonial History and Genocide Studies at Istanbul University's International Institute for Genocide and Crimes Against Humanity. Her academic interests include genocide studies, post-conflict memory, and the culture of remembrance. As a scientific researcher, she has participated in various national and international seminars and conferences and published papers. She currently works as a researcher at the Center for Urban Studies at Bilad Association, focusing on genocide in Palestine and Palestine-Balkans relations.

SCHEDULE



THE DAYTON AT 30: LEGAL REFLECTIONS, POLITICS OF FRAGMENTATION AND THE FUTURE OF PEACEBUILDING

27 NOVEMBER 2025, THURSDAY, ISTANBUL UNIVERSITY RECTORATE, DOCTORATE HALL

- 10:00-10:30 Opening Remarks
- 10:30-11:15 Keynote Address, Prof. Dr. Numan Kurtulmuş, Speaker of Grand National Assembly of Türkiye
- 11:30-12:45 Session I, The Constitutional Order under the Dayton Framework
- 14:00-15:30 Session II, Ethnopolitics and Fragmentation: Governance Challenges in Post-Dayton Bosnia and Herzegovina
- 16:00-17:30 Session III, Between Security and Reconciliation: Regional Actors and Mediation

28 NOVEMBER 2025, FRIDAY, ISTANBUL UNIVERSITY RECTORATE, DOCTORATE HALL

- 10:00-11:15 Session IV, Institutional and Cultural Architecture after Dayton
- 11:30-12:45 Session V, Human Rights, Accountability, and the Limits of International Responsibility
- 14:30-15:45 Session VI, Lessons from Dayton: Comparative Peacebuilding Efforts in the Region



27 NOVEMBER 2025, THURSDAY

Opening Remarks, 10:00-10:30

Keynote Address, 10:30, **Prof. Dr. Numan Kurtulmuş**, Speaker of Grand National Assembly of Türkiye

Session I, 11:30-12:45: “The Constitutional Order under the Dayton Framework”

Moderator: Assist. Prof. Dr. Hasan Basri Bülbül, Boğaziçi University

The Importance of the Constitutional Court of Bosnia and Herzegovina in Safeguarding the Sovereignty of the State

Assist. Prof. Dr. Harun Halilović, International University of Sarajevo

A Politicized Court: Does Appointment Shape Judges' Voting and Judicial Reasoning at the Constitutional Court of Bosnia and Herzegovina

Assist. Prof. Dr. Mahir Muharemovic, University of Tuzla

Foreign Judges at The Domestic Constitutional Judiciary: Evidence From Bosnia and Herzegovina

Harun Iserić, University of Sarajevo

Session II, 14:00-15:30, “Ethnopolitics and Fragmentation: Governance Challenges in Post-Dayton Bosnia and Herzegovina”

Moderator: Assoc. Prof. Dr. Admir Mulaosmanović, Balikesir University

The False Promise of the Dayton Agreement

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Marko Attila Hoare, Sarajevo School of Science and Technology

Managing Memory, Criminalizing Denial The Dayton Agreement at 30

Ben Gerstein, Research of Crimes Against Humanity and International Law

Fragmented Past, Fragmented Future: Ethnic Identities and Future(s) of Post-Dayton Bosnia and Herzegovina

Dr. Darko Radić, Ministry of Security of Bosnia and Herzegovina

Session III, 16:00-17:30: “Between Security and Reconciliation: Regional Actors and Mediation”

Moderator: Dr. Birce Altıok Karşıyaka, Koç University

Beyond Dayton, Beyond Enlargement Fatigue: A New Framework for the EU and Bosnia and Herzegovina?

Dr. Miro Kovač, Historian and former Croatian Foreign Minister, University North

Framework for the Negotiations in Dayton 1995

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Admir Mulaosmanović, Balikesir University

Türkiye’s Peace Mission Experience in Post-Dayton Bosnia and Herzegovina: From Security to Social Reconciliation

Dr. Yunus Dilber, Coordinator of the Skopje Yunus Emre Institute, Prof. Dr. Emel Topçu, International University of Sarajevo



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Moderator: Assist. Prof. Dr. M. Behešti Aydoğan, Boğaziçi University

Financing State Cultural Institutions in Post-Dayton Bosnia and Herzegovina: Culture in the Jaws of Non-existing “Consensus”

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Edina Sudžuka, Haris Hadzijusufović, University of Sarajevo

Fundamental Freedoms and the Property Restitution in the Dayton Peace Agreement

Prof. Dr. Muhidin Mulalić, Assist. Prof. Dr. Hamza Preljević, International University of Sarajevo

Bosnia and Herzegovina: Code of Human Rights

Ahmet Žilić, Attorney

Session V, 11:30-12:45: “Human Rights, Accountability, and the Limits of International Responsibility”

Moderator: Deniz Baran, Istanbul University

From Yugoslavia to Dayton and Beyond: Historical Foundations of Bosnia and Herzegovina’s Constitutional Paralysis

Ena Beganović, Dr. Bernd Christoph Ströhm, Diplomatic Academy of Vienna

From “Safe Area” to Genocide: The Question of the UN’s Accountability

Dr. Büşra Balat, Istanbul Medeniyet University

The Right of Return in Peacebuilding: Bosnia-Herzegovina under the Dayton Agreement Framework

Zeynep Esra Dönbekçi, Istanbul University

Session VI, 14:30-15:45: “Lessons from Dayton: Comparative Peacebuilding Efforts in the Region”

Moderator: Hüseyin Dişli, Worldwide Lawyers Association

Post-Conflict Legal Frameworks in the Balkans: A Comparative Analysis of the Dayton and Ohrid Agreements

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Nikola Dacev, *International Balkan University*

Learning from Bosnia and Herzegovina: Building Sustainable Peace, Justice, and Statehood in Post-war Ukraine

Assist. Prof. Dr. Mirza Ljubović, *International University of Sarajevo*

Impact of the Dayton Agreement on Kosovo's Political Status

Blerim Morina, *University of Prishtina*

ABSTRACTS



Framework for the Negotiations in Dayton 1995

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Admir Mulaosmanović

Balikesir University

Abstract: The Bosnian-Herzegovinian crisis began to unravel towards the end after the climax of the genocide against Bosniaks that took place in Srebrenica in mid-July 1995. None of the conflicting parties had the strength or the ability to radically change the situation on the ground, and the upcoming presidential elections in the USA were demanding a major foreign policy success for President Clinton in his hunt for a second term. All previous negotiations on achieving peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina were converging on the final, decisive round.

Based on the memory of participants at Dayton peace talks and literature produced on the same topic, the author has attempted to present the contours of an erected stage in the small American town in order to end the war against Bosnia and Herzegovina. Through the presentation of a few events, the author has attempted to illuminate the path paved by the international negotiators and their teams, the way that they managed to make the framework for the negotiations, as well as the context of the negotiations themselves which were successfully finished in the “last attack”. The author presents dilemmas and concepts of the sides engaged in the conflict and the mediators. The text shows the willingness of the great powers to satisfy their own interests, without wanting to achieve the implementation of a political system in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the relations that would lead it towards healing and prosperity.

The DPA has stopped the killings and devastation but have frozen Bosnia and Herzegovina in an unclear status quo which does not suit any of the three ethnic communities. The issue of normalization of Bosnia and Herzegovina will not be treated differently until the internal political representatives decide that the state should be functional and unburdened. Then the global concept would have a secondary significance and could be partially redefined.

Keywords: Dayton Peace Accords, war, Bosnia and Herzegovina, negotiations



Bosnia and Herzegovina: Code of Human Rights

Ahmet Žilić

Attorney

Abstract: The study “Bosnia and Herzegovina: Human Rights Code” by Ahmed Žilić (Amadeus, 1996) was written in the immediate aftermath of the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina, yet its intellectual depth and analytical scope transcend the time in which it was conceived. As a direct participant in the 1993 Geneva peace negotiations, the author provides a precise diagnosis of the moral and legal paradoxes, legal inconsistencies and intricacies of applicable international law within the international community, exposing the failure of global institutions to uphold the universal principles of human rights. Genocide and crime became the metaphor of Bosnia’s very existence in the late twentieth century. The aura of a war instigator has been felt in the Dayton Agreement. In the complex global, regional, and Bosnian (internal) circumstances, the Dayton arrangements remain the lesser evil that the West imposed upon Bosnia and Herzegovina. Through the Dayton Agreement, the international community conceived the state of Bosnia and Herzegovina - which is influenced by the interpretations of this international treaty (including the Constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina) - as the cornerstone of its survival as a complete and viable European state. Especially after the advocates of the division of Bosnia and Herzegovina as well as advocates of its integrity - call for the consistent implementation of the Dayton Agreement?! Žilić’s approach is methodologically unique: within academic circles, his knowledge as a legal practitioner/lawyer puts him in a dominant position, while with the knowledge of a lawyer-practitioner it goes beyond academic legal-political reflection. Written in 1996, the text carries an almost prophetic resonance. Žilić foresees the lasting consequences of selective humanism, double standards, and political relativism that already at the time were undermining the credibility of Western democracies. The Bosnian case is presented as a paradigm of a world order in which the ideals of justice and peace are subordinated to pragmatism and realpolitik.

Through the Dayton Agreement, the international community conceived the state of Bosnia and Herzegovina - which is influenced by the interpretations of this international treaty (including the Constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina) - as the cornerstone of its



survival as a unique state. Especially after the advocates of the division of Bosnia and Herzegovina as well as advocates of its integrity - refer to the Dayton Agreement. Through a synthesis of legal reasoning and moral reflection, the „Human Rights Code“ emphasizes that lasting peace can only be achieved on the foundations of truth, justice, and the rule of law, establishment of democratic institutions and respect for human rights for everyone without of any discrimination. Nearly three decades after its publication, the work remains remarkably relevant for understanding the interdependence of human rights, international responsibility, and the future of Bosnia and Herzegovina within the broader context of Euro-Atlantic integrations.

Political and intellectual circles from the neighboring countries of BiH should be reminded (and taught) that the famous British intellectual and historian Noel Malcolm wrote ... „Bosnia and Herzegovina is the country that has had its historical identity – as a matter of fact it is one of historical countries in Europe, with almost uninterrupted history as an exclusive geopolitical whole from the Middle Ages until today“ (Noel Malcolm, Bosnia: A Short History, London, 1994).

Keywords: Bosnia and Herzegovina, human rights, international law



Managing Memory, Criminalizing Denial The Dayton Agreement at 30

Ben Gerstein

Research of Crimes Against Humanity and International Law

Abstract: Annex 10 of the Dayton Agreement provided for the creation of the Office of the High Representative (OHR), with the explicit mandate to promote peace and stability. Implicitly embedded within the OHR's litany of responsibilities was the responsibility to ensure respect for the judgments of international courts regarding conduct during the wars in the 1990s. The addition of OHR's "Bonn Powers" in 1997 extended the office's implementing power—providing OHR with the capacity to impose legislation. This power was used for an explicit mnemonic purpose on July 23, 2021, when High Representative Valentin Inzko authorized criminal punishment for acts of denial and perpetrator glorification. Early monitoring suggests that the law may indeed have a deterrent effect. The Srebrenica Memorial Center documented only 90 instances of denial in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 2023, compared to an average of 460 annual acts from 2020-2022. However, despite more than 100 complaints being filed under the memory law since its authorization in 2021, few complaints have progressed to the investigatory phase. Only a handful of these investigations have resulted in official indictments, and the first conviction is currently on appeal with a judgment expected in November. For an act of denial be indictable under the law, the act must be "likely to incite incidents of hate or violence." This standard is high compared to other memory laws in Europe. It is intended to balance an American-style principle of free speech with the goal of limiting denialism. However, this requirement makes the law particularly difficult to enforce, rendering investigations into complaints and criminal indictments rare and thereby potentially empowering denialism. Additionally, many commentators suggest that prosecutorial impetus to materially enforce the law is limited. The law's sudden introduction, at the end of High Representative Inzko's term, as produced threats of secession and constitutional obstruction from Republika Srpska. This research project, which aligns with the thirty-year anniversary of the Dayton Agreement, reflects on the OHR's current role in managing the memory of the war in Bosnia. I will present early research on the drafting, substantive content, and implementation of the OHR's criminal ban on denial and glorification, assessing both its effectiveness and inherent limitations. This will yield valuable insights into the role and capacity of OHR to act as a mnemonic institution in the contested landscape of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Keywords: memory politics, post- Dayton governance, Bosnia and Herzegovina



Impact of Dayton Agreement in Kosovo's Political Status

Blerim Morina

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Abstract: The Dayton Agreement, formally known as the General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina, was signed in 1995 to end the Bosnian War. It was a peace treaty between Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, which later became Serbia and Montenegro. The agreement did not directly address the political status of Kosovo, a region that was then part of Serbia, but was seeking independence. However, the Dayton Agreement did indirectly influence Kosovo's political status in several ways. Firstly, it established a precedent for international intervention in the Balkans, which later played a significant role in Kosovo's struggle for independence. The international community's willingness to intervene in Bosnia and Herzegovina to stop ethnic cleansing and establish peace suggested that similar actions might be taken in Kosovo if necessary. Secondly, the Dayton Agreement highlighted the importance of respecting human rights and minority rights in the region. This reinforced the arguments of those in Kosovo who were advocating for greater autonomy or independence on the grounds of alleged human rights abuses by the Serbian government. Thirdly, the agreement's focus on decentralisation and power-sharing as a means of resolving ethnic conflicts may have influenced the thinking of those involved in determining Kosovo's political status. Finally, the Dayton Agreement's failure to address the Kosovo issue may have indirectly contributed to the escalation of tensions in the region. Some argue that the international community's focus on Bosnia and Herzegovina allowed the situation in Kosovo to deteriorate, eventually leading to the Kosovo War in 1998-1999. While the Dayton Agreement did not directly determine Kosovo's political status, it did set important precedents and provide lessons that influenced subsequent developments in Kosovo.

Keywords: Dayton Agreement, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Yugoslavia, Kosovo



From “Safe Area” to Genocide: The Question of UN’s Accountability

Dr. Büşra Balat

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Abstract: In 1995, European states and all other actors of international relations witnessed the act of genocide against Bosnian Muslims (Bosniaks). This genocide was not prevented neither by member states of European Union nor the United Nations (UN). In December 1995, Dayton Agreement was signed because this mass killings in the middle of the Europe triggered the calls for cease-fire for the ongoing warfare on Bosnian territory. However, this agreement arises some questions about accountability of international actors who breached their responsibilities under international law. Even though the UN established an ad hoc justice mechanism for individual criminal accountability for crimes committed during the Bosnian war, there has been no effective transnational justice mechanism through which the UN be held accountable for its own failures in Srebrenica. UN’s accountability was demanded by the association known as “The Mothers of Srebrenica” for the occurrences in Srebrenica, which had also been declared as “a safe area” by the UN Security Council. Their claim was dismissed by the Dutch court based on the organisational immunity (Article 105 of the UN Charter). Drawing on international legal frameworks governing UN peacekeeping and peace-building, this paper explores the limitations of the existing accountability regimes. Ultimately, this paper argues that the lack of transnational accountability for the failures of the UN – who asserts itself as guardian of peace – raises pressing questions about the future of peacebuilding: to what extent peacebuilding efforts retain legitimate when the responsible ones remain unaccountable for the past failures?

Keywords: Srebrenica, United Nations, accountability



Fragmented Past, Fragmented Future: Ethnic Identities and Future(s) of Post-Dayton Bosnia and Herzegovina

Dr. Darko Radić

Ministry of Security of Bosnia and Herzegovina

Abstract: In light of the Social Constructivist theoretical approach of International Relations, which places identity at the center of its inquiry, this article examines how ethnic identities shape the future(s) of post-Dayton Bosnia and Herzegovina. The interplay of ethnic identities and the future prospects of Bosnia and Herzegovina is analysed through an investigation of the official statements of the country's most prominent politicians. These politicians are also the leaders of the strongest political parties and are considered as "ethnic leaders" in Bosnia and Herzegovina. This research demonstrates that different ethnic communities within the country hold different visions for the future of Bosnia and Herzegovina. These visions or future prospects are built upon ethnic identities. Therefore, "Our" ethnic vision of future post-Dayton Bosnia and Herzegovina is, by default, in opposition to "Their" ethnic vision of the country. Consequently, inter-ethnic othering in Bosnia and Herzegovina is highly visible in the ongoing debate over the direction the country should take. In this paper, Bosnia and Herzegovina is conceptualised as a "New Yugoslavia," divided by ethnic identities and with a weak Bosnian and Herzegovinian supranational identity in which every ethnic community strives to shape and pave the way for a different future(s) of post-Dayton Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Keywords: ethnic identity, Dayton Peace Agreement, inter-ethnic othering



Financing State Cultural Institutions in Post-Dayton Bosnia and Herzegovina: Culture in the Jaws of non-existing “Consensus”

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Edina Sudžuka

University of Sarajevo

Haris Hadzijasufovic

University of Sarajevo

Abstract: During the establishment of the legal and institutional framework for financing public cultural institutions in post-Dayton Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH), characterized by the primacy of entity jurisdiction in the cultural sector, „Seven state-level cultural institutions’ (7CI) were entirely left outside the scope of the legally regulated framework of cultural governance and funding. Office of the High Representative (OHR) has imposed Council of Ministers of BiH to propose a regulative framework for governing and financing 7CI by Order Supporting the Functioning of the National and University Library of BiH and Other Cultural Institutions of Significance for BiH from November 2024, however, status quo persisted.

The legal mechanisms of political decision-making at the state level, established by the Dayton PA., in conjunction with the systematic devaluation of the cultural identity of BiH and the lack of consensus among the three constituent peoples of BiH, have caused continual degradation of cultural heritage institutions and jeopardized its sustainability. Dominance of the ethnic element over state identity is main reason for the absence of political will to adopt a legal framework. The actual patterns of budgetary spending, the allocation of public expenditures for culture within the entity frameworks, are themselves permeated by ethnic divisions, thus negatively affecting the existence, the efficiency and optimal redistribution of public revenues in regard to the cultural institutions.

The existing financing framework is more of an ad-hoc nature rather than a permanent, comprehensive and effective legal solution, hence this paper focuses on the analysis of public financing of the seven state-level cultural institutions in BiH, seeking to highlight



the inadequacies of the current legislative framework in addressing the problems faced by state cultural institutions. This paper analyzes legal consequences of the OHR Order to Council of Ministers and certain aspects of the existing models of budgetary management in the cultural sector.

Keywords: cultural heritage financing, Dayton Peace Agreement, seven state cultural institutions, sustainability of cultural heritage



From Yugoslavia to Dayton and Beyond: Historical Foundations of Bosnia and Herzegovina's Constitutional Paralysis

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Diplomatic Academy of Vienna

Dr. Bernd Christoph Ströhm

Diplomatic Academy of Vienna

Abstract: This paper examines the current constitutional crisis in Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH), which represents the institutional and political complexities arising from the implementation of the 1995 Dayton Peace Agreement. Although the Agreement served its purpose in ending the war in the early 1990s, it also established a form of government plagued by intensified ethnic division, multiple fragmented power centers, and overlapping competences, thereby impacting democratic governance, administrative effectiveness, and social integration. Central to the new political tensions are the actions and policy trajectories of Republika Srpska President Milorad Dodik, whose challenges to the legitimacy and authority of central state institutions, particularly the Office of the High Representative (OHR), have directly challenged BiH's constitutional integrity. By focusing closely on internal political gridlock, domestic geopolitical rivalries, and institutional constraints on international post-war intervention practices, this paper situates the contemporary crisis within the broader context of post-conflict state-building and governance dynamics. The paper also assesses how deeply entrenched ethno-political fault lines, combined with external geopolitical interference by key actors such as the European Union (EU), the United States, and Russia, further complicate the domestic political landscape. Using an encyclopedic methodological approach with the inclusion of historiographic texts, relevant legal documents, and multiple secondary scholarly sources, the paper argues that successful constitutional reform and reconfigured strategic intervention by foreign actors, particularly the EU, are necessary to prevent ongoing political stagnation and reduce the risk of BiH's state disintegration or dissolution.

Keywords: Dayton Peace Agreement, Bosnia and Herzegovina, constitutional crisis, Office of the High Representative (OHR), European Court of Human Rights (ECtHR), EU accession



The Importance of Constitutional Court of Bosnia and Herzegovina in Safeguarding the Sovereignty of the State

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International University of Sarajevo

Abstract: In past years the authorities of Republic of Srpska, an entity within Bosnia and Herzegovina, have undertaken several political and legislative activities that seriously undermine the very foundations of the Dayton Peace Agreement and the Constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The entity parliament has adopted a series of laws aimed at usurping state owned property, excluding the jurisdiction of the state Court and Prosecutors office, and even prohibiting any activities of the law enforcement agencies at state level, such as State Investigations and Protection Agency. Within the framework of the Dayton Peace Agreement and the Constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the only instances that can challenge and annul the legislation adopted at entity levels are the Constitutional Court of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the High Representative. While the Office of High Representative, even though equipped with broad powers which include the possibility of annulment and imposition of the legislation (so called “Bonn powers”), it is making decisions under the condition of securing sufficient political backing by the member states of the Peace Implementation Committee, which can depend on the existence of the political will and climate, the Constitutional Court of Bosnia and Herzegovina is the only legislative body authorized and tasked with ensuring the protection of the Constitution. On the other hand, the composition of the Constitutional Court of Bosnia and Herzegovina is criticized by some due to existence of the “foreign judges” (which are foreseen by the Constitution), while others state that their presence is vital to ensure ethnic balance and professionalism of the Court. This research aims to analyze recent jurisprudence of Constitutional Court of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the position of “foreign judges”, especially in the light of the requirements related to the EU accession path of the country.

Keywords: Constitutional Court, sovereignty, Bosnia, Dayton



Foreign Judges at the Domestic Constitutional Judiciary: Evidence from Bosnia and Herzegovina

Harun Iserić

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Abstract: Foreign judges at the Constitutional Court of Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) represent the last remaining foreign element within the country's institutions. Although the Constitution allows for their removal through amendments and the adoption of new appointment methods, a few draft laws introduced aimed to unconstitutionally end the mandate of foreign judges and not to explore a new appointment method. The role of foreign judges in the Court's case law, decision-making process, and constitutional interpretation—particularly after their initial five-year mandate—remains largely unexamined. Politicians argue that foreign judges tend to align with Bosniak judges in rendering judgments often described as anti-Serbian or anti-Republika Srpska. Conversely, there are growing questions about the necessity of foreign judges in the Constitutional Court, given that their primary role was to impart knowledge on human rights and the case law of the European Court of Human Rights (ECtHR), and Bosnia has been a member party to the ECtHR since 2002. If foreign judges are to remain, should their method of appointment be revised to avoid reliance on a single individual—the president of the ECtHR? The current appointment procedure lacks transparency and public awareness, raising concerns about the legitimacy of these judges.

Keywords: Constitutional Court, International judges, Hybrid judiciary, Bosnia and Herzegovina



A Politicized Court: Does Appointment Shape Judges' Voting and Judicial Reasoning at the Constitutional Court of Bosnia and Herzegovina?

Assist. Prof. Dr. Mahir Muharemović

University of Tuzla

Abstract: This article investigates the influence of ethno-territorial appointment mechanisms on judicial behavior at the Constitutional Court of Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH), a key institution in a post-conflict and deeply divided society. The study examines whether judges' institutional origins shape their voting patterns and reasoning styles in politically sensitive cases. Using an original dataset of abstract constitutional review cases involving Republika Srpska (RS) from 1996 to March 2023, this research employs a mixed-methods approach, combining quantitative analysis of judicial votes and qualitative coding of reasoning in dissenting opinions. The findings reveal a strong and statistically significant association between appointment source and judicial behavior. First, a chi-square analysis ($\chi^2 = 30.1249$, $p < 0.05$) demonstrates that judges appointed by the Republika Srpska are nearly five times more likely to vote in favor of RS interests compared to judges from other appointing bodies. Second, an analysis of dissenting opinions shows that RS-appointed judges employ a starkly more formalist reasoning style (median Formalist Score of 1.0) than their non-RS appointed colleagues (median score of 0.0), a difference confirmed by a Mann-Whitney U test ($p = 0.0002$). These results provide compelling empirical evidence that the Court's appointment structure, designed to ensure representation, instead reproduces the country's ethno-political cleavages within its highest judicial body, raising critical questions about judicial independence and impartiality in power-sharing systems. The study contributes to the literature on judicial politics in divided societies by systematically linking appointment origins not only to voting outcomes but also to the strategic use of legal reasoning.

Keywords: Constitutional Court of Bosnia and Herzegovina, judicial behavior, judicial appointments, ethnic voting, legal reasoning, formalism, divided societies



The False Promise of the Dayton Agreement

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Marko Attila Hoare

Sarajevo School of Science and Technology

Department of Political Science and International Relations

Abstract: The Dayton Peace Accord of 1995 was widely celebrated for bringing an end to a war that for three and a half years had defied the efforts of international peacemaking. Yet in the thirty years since, its legacy appears at best ambiguous. The accord was reached when the Bosnian Serb nationalist forces responsible for the war were already on the verge of defeat, yet it largely legitimized and consolidated their conquests, while making permanent their deconstruction and fragmentation of the Bosnian state. The resulting Dayton constitutional order has produced a politically dysfunctional Bosnian polity and prevented any reintegration or reconciliation between the three Bosnian constituent peoples, Bosniaks, Serbs and Croats, ensuring they remain locked in an unending political power-struggle. This constitutional order has nevertheless proven remarkably resilient while defying all attempts at reform; it denies Bosnian citizens democracy or sovereignty while leaving the country ineligible for EU membership. The dysfunctional Dayton Bosnian state is a weak spot that actors hostile to the existing international order in the Balkans are seeking to exploit. In these circumstances, the Dayton Agreement cannot reasonably be considered a success.

Keywords: Dayton, Bosnia constitution peacemaking



Beyond Dayton, Beyond Enlargement Fatigue: A New Framework for the EU and Bosnia and Herzegovina?

Dr. Miro Kovač

Historian and former Croatian Foreign Minister, University North

Abstract: Thirty years after the signing of the Dayton Peace Accords, Bosnia and Herzegovina remains a deeply divided country – a confederation of two entities and three constituent peoples. The least common denominator shared by Bosniaks, Serbs, and Croats appears to be integration into the European Union. Yet, a dual failure blocks this path. On the one hand, domestic officials lack the maturity to adapt the country's structures for integration. On the other hand, the EU itself is confronted with an existential crisis and therefore lacks the innovativeness to reform its enlargement process for Western Balkan membership. Hence, there is an urgent need for a reform of the EU as such, including a new enlargement framework, which should be proposed by Croatia and other neighbouring countries of the Western Balkans.

Keywords: Dayton, EU, Bosnia and Herzegovina



Learning from Bosnia and Herzegovina: Building Sustainable Peace, Justice, and Statehood in Post-War Ukraine

Assist. Prof. Dr. Mirza Ljubović

International University of Sarajevo

Abstract: Three decades after the Dayton Peace Agreement brought an end to the aggression in Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH), the country remains a complex case of post-genocide governance. While Dayton succeeded in halting violence, it institutionalized deep ethnic divisions and created a fragmented state structure that continues to challenge efforts toward justice, reconciliation, and functionality. This article analyzes the key lessons from BiH's post-Dayton experience, focusing on peacebuilding, constitutional design, transitional justice, and political consensus-building. It critically assesses both the achievements and shortcomings of BiH's peace architecture, identifying elements that may serve as cautionary or guiding principles for other post-conflict societies. Drawing parallels with the ongoing war in Ukraine, this study considers how international actors and domestic stakeholders might approach Ukraine's future peace settlement and state reconstruction. It emphasizes the importance of making compromise processes and institutional reforms to avoid replicating the structural paralysis seen in BiH. The article argues that while no two aggressions are identical, comparative analysis can illuminate the risks of over-engineered peace frameworks and underscore the value of adaptable, justice-centered solutions. By reflecting on BiH's enduring struggles and partial successes, this research aims to contribute to policy debates on designing sustainable post-war transitions that promote stability, justice, and democratic resilience.

Keywords: Bosnia and Herzegovina, Dayton Peace Agreement, Ukraine, peacebuilding, governance



Fundamental Freedoms and the Property Restitution in the Dayton Peace Agreement

Prof. Dr. Muhidin Mulalić

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Assist. Prof. Dr. Hamza Preljević

International University of Sarajevo

Abstract: The research studies tackle the Dayton Peace Agreement (DPA) within the context of peace and conflict resolution frameworks. The political framework for peace, human rights protection and post-conflict reconstruction would have been impossible without constitutional and legislative harmonizations with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR). DPA addressed critical post-conflict issues, including the fundamental freedoms of refugees and displaced people, as well as their property rights. Thus, Annex VII of the DPA has addressed these questions, whereby all refugees and displaced people, regardless of their ethnicity and place of origin, have the right to return to their homes freely and the right to the restitution of property. This study aims to analyze how Annex VII ensured these fundamental freedoms and property restitution by examining the roles of international organizations and state institutions in facilitating returns. This study employs qualitative analysis of Annex VII, legal texts, international human rights documents and case studies on returnee experiences. The expected results highlight the effectiveness of implementing Annex VII in enforcing fundamental freedoms and property restitution, offering lessons for similar post-conflict situations.

Keywords: DPA, Annex VII, fundamental freedoms, property restitution, sustainable return



Post-Conflict Legal Frameworks in the Balkans: A Comparative Analysis of the Dayton and Ohrid Agreements

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Nikola Dacev

International Balkan University

Abstract: This comparative analysis examines the legal arrangements and implications of the Dayton Agreement (1995) and the Ohrid Framework Agreement (2001), with a focus on their impact on post-conflict governance, constitutional reform, and interethnic relations in Bosnia and Herzegovina and North Macedonia, respectively. While both agreements emerged from international mediation to end ethnic conflicts in the Balkans, their legal frameworks and institutional outcomes differ substantially. The Dayton Agreement, which ended the Bosnian War, institutionalized a consociational model by creating a complex state structure composed of two highly autonomous entities, the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Republika Srpska, under a weak central government. It also introduced the Office of the High Representative (OHR), with far-reaching executive powers to oversee the civilian implementation of the peace agreement. In contrast, the Ohrid Agreement, which resolved the armed conflict between ethnic Albanian insurgents and the Macedonian state, promoted a more integrative approach by amending the Constitution of North Macedonia to enhance minority rights, especially in language use, education, and equitable representation in public administration, without dismantling the unitary nature of the state. The legal implications of the Dayton Agreement include entrenching ethnic divisions within the constitutional order and limiting the functionality of state institutions due to rigid power-sharing mechanisms. Meanwhile, the Ohrid Agreement, although also based on power-sharing principles, emphasized decentralization and institutional reform within a unified constitutional framework. This research argues that while both agreements achieved peace, the Dayton model has faced prolonged challenges in fostering functional governance and constitutional evolution. In contrast, the Ohrid model presents a relatively more adaptable and sustainable legal framework for interethnic coexistence. The comparative evaluation provides insights into the effectiveness of international legal engineering in post-conflict societies and raises important questions about sovereignty, constitutionalism, and the role of external actors in domestic legal orders.

Keywords: Dayton Agreement, Ohrid Framework Agreement, post-conflict governance, constitutional reform, interethnic relations



Türkiye's Peace Mission Experience in Post-Dayton Bosnia and Herzegovina: From Security to Social Reconciliation

Dr. Yunus Dilber

Coordinator of the Skopje Yunus Emre Institute

Prof. Dr. Emel Topçu

International University of Sarajevo

Abstract: This paper aims to examine Türkiye's role in post-war peacekeeping operations in Bosnia and Herzegovina within the framework of the EU, NATO, and the UN. This study's main focus is on the Turkish Armed Forces (TSK) efforts to uphold peace and promote social harmony in Bosnia and Herzegovina, especially in the years after the Dayton Agreement was signed in 1995. The study's foundation is qualitative analysis, which draws from scholarly works and reports from international organizations. Cooperation with the local people is taken into consideration when evaluating the military and civilian operations conducted by the Turkish Armed Forces (TSK) as part of its peacekeeping mission. In 1994, as part of UNPROFOR, Türkiye deployed troops to Bosnia-Herzegovina, marking its first peace contribution. Türkiye later took part in NATO's IFOR (1995-1996), SFOR (1996-2004), and the current EUFOR Althea (2004-) after the Dayton Agreement. About 250 Turkish soldiers are presently serving in Bosnia-Herzegovina, most of them at the BUTMIR camp in Sarajevo and five LOT Houses spread throughout different cities. The majority of LOT Houses are found in neighborhoods with a mix of Bosnian, Croat, and Serb residents.

Türkiye has emerged as a crucial player in maintaining regional stability as the country with the second-largest military force, behind Austria, assigned to the peacekeeping effort in Bosnia and Herzegovina. But Türkiye's role goes beyond its military presence; it has followed a multipronged approach that promotes peace through initiatives in the social, cultural, educational, and medical spheres. An efficient model for reconstructing post-conflict societies is provided by the Turkish Armed Forces (TSK) civil-military collaboration, which not only guarantees security but also establishes a long-lasting basis that fortifies societal harmony. Türkiye's all-encompassing contribution is a prime example of how to create and preserve regional peace throughout time.

Keywords: Bosnia and Herzegovina, peace studies, Turkish Armed Forces, Dayton Agreement



The Right of Return in Peacebuilding: Bosnia-Herzegovina under the Dayton Agreement Framework

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Abstract: This paper aims to examine the impact of the Dayton Peace Agreement on the return processes of the Bosniak population displaced from the Srebrenica region of Bosnia and Herzegovina during the war (1992-1995) and the reflections of these processes on social peace. The study hypothesizes that, while the Dayton Agreement guarantees the right of return at the legal and political levels, the genocide in Srebrenica, political tensions, and ongoing ethnic nationalism have prevented this right from being fully implemented, and the process has been hampered. In this context, it is emphasized that the return process is not only about spatial settlement but also about rebuilding social trust and establishing a sense of collective identity and belonging. Adopting a literature review method, the study utilized relevant academic literature, international reports, human rights documents, and official treaty documents. The study's findings indicate that the Dayton Agreement provided the legal basis for the right of return in Srebrenica, but political divisions, property and security issues, economic inadequacies, and the nationalist attitude of local governments were detected as the primary obstacles to return. In this context, it is concluded that returns play a key role in establishing social peace and healing collective trauma, but the political structure that emerged after Dayton made ethnic reconciliation difficult. This study analyzes how the legal and political legacy of the Dayton Agreement is reflected in returns processes through the example of Srebrenica, revealing the complex nature of peacebuilding in post-conflict societies. In this context, the study aims to contribute to the literature by making significant contributions to the design and implementation of return policies not only in Bosnia and Herzegovina but also in other post-conflict regions and societies.

Keywords: Dayton, Srebrenica, right of return, Bosnia and Herzegovina



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