



# The Role of External Actors in the Fight against Trafficking in Persons in Bosnia and Herzegovina

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## I. Introduction

Most experts agree that trafficking in human beings is a modern form of slavery and a grave violation of fundamental human rights. Although trafficking may take different forms, its aim is always the exploitation of the victim, i.e. through sexual exploitation. Trafficking involves a chain of individuals that starts with a recruiter and ending with a buyer or receiver of the victim, who is held in conditions of slavery or bonded labor. Trafficking in human beings is the third largest criminal enterprise in the world after drug and arms trafficking.<sup>2</sup> It also considered one of the most profitable criminal industries, and is closely related to other criminal activities such as the smuggling of aliens, and the trafficking of drugs and other contraband. The United States Department of State estimates that the annual profit for the trafficking in human beings is between seven and thirteen billion US dollars, and that 700,000 persons are being trafficked every year.<sup>3</sup>

The fall of the Berlin Wall in the early 1990s opened the door to an influx of people from ex socialist countries to the wealthier Western European countries. The transition period in most of the ex-socialist countries has been marked by sharp economic recession, hyperinflation and growth in foreign debt, rising unemployment, social upheavals and in some cases, even armed conflict. The massive upheavals in daily life that this transition produced have been successfully used by the traffickers for the simple reason that persons living in difficult situations are attracted by the possibility of improving their living conditions in more affluent countries. Although the majority of victims are women, trafficking in human beings affects people of all ages and of both genders.

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<sup>2</sup> Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons, *Trafficking in Person Report*, U.S. Department of State Publications, 14 June 2004. Available online at: <http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/34158.pdf> (All websites used in this essay were last checked on 23 November 2007)

<sup>3</sup> Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons, *Trafficking in Persons Report*, U.S. Department of State Publications, 5 June 2002. Available online at: <http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/10815.pdf>



In BiH, trafficking in human beings was virtually unknown until the start of war in 1992, and only isolated cases of local women who had been trafficked into prostitution in Western European countries emerged before 1992.<sup>4</sup> In December 1993 a story about women held in sexual slavery appeared in the article “Shame in Bosnia,” written by well-known British journalist Roy Gutman and published in *Newsday*. Gutman reported about Sonja’s Kon Tiki brothel in Sarajevo, where Serbs held Muslim women in sexual slavery.<sup>5</sup> This report also focused on the role of United Nations peacekeepers in Bosnia who were regular “clients” of women held as sex slaves.

In the postwar period, the demand for sex workers further increased with the arrival of 60,000 peacekeeping troops, the private military companies that accompany them, and the large number of international organizations. Brothels with predominantly women from Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union were established near military bases. The majority of trafficked women in Bosnia came from Moldova, Romania and Ukraine, with smaller numbers from Russia, Belarus, and Bulgaria. Many of these women were lured by the promise of well-paying jobs abroad, and came in hope of improving their socioeconomic situation. Many women responded to advertisements that offered work in Italy or Germany as dancers, waitresses, and housekeepers.<sup>6</sup>

While trafficked women and girls reported that approximately 70% of their clients were local citizens, and that international clients made up the remaining 30%<sup>7</sup>, local NGOs believe that the presence of thousands of peacekeeping soldiers and expatriate civilians has been a significant motivation for traffickers. It is also suspected that the percentage of international clients is much higher<sup>8</sup>. A report published by UNICEF, UNHCHR and OSCE/ODIHR noted that international clients pay higher rates and spend more money in the bars than local men. This report estimated that the international clientele accounts for 70% of all profits from prostitution<sup>9</sup>.

Trafficking operations flourished in Bosnia in the postwar period, aided by corruption, and complicity and neglect by state. A response to trafficking emerged only on an *ad hoc* basis, and usually when victims came to the attention of various local law enforcement agencies.

An official anti-trafficking campaign in BiH did not start until late 1998, when a trafficking conference organised by the Council of Europe and UNHCHR (United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights) in Tuzla brought together for the first time representa-

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<sup>4</sup> Obradovic, Vladimir and Edin Vranj, *Trafficking in Women in Purpose of Sexual Exploitation in Bosnia and Herzegovina*, Scientific Research Project SBK 800-03-GR-066, Office of Public Affairs, Sarajevo, 2003, at pp. 9-10.

<sup>5</sup> Gutman, Roy, *A Witness To Genocide*, Macmillan, New York, 1993.

<sup>6</sup> Human rights report on in 2000 Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor, *Bosnia and Herzegovina*, U.S. Department of State, Released by the Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor, 2001. Available online at: <http://www.state.gov/g/drl/rls/hrrpt/2000/eur/693.htm>

<sup>7</sup> Human Rights Watch, *Trafficking of Women and Girls to Bosnia and Herzegovina for Forced Prostitution - A Submission for the United Nations Committee on the Rights of the Child from the Human Rights Watch Children’s Right Division*, Human Rights Watch, 2003, at p. 5. Available online at: [http://www.crin.org/docs/resources/treaties/crc.39/Bosnia\\_HRW\\_ngo\\_report.pdf](http://www.crin.org/docs/resources/treaties/crc.39/Bosnia_HRW_ngo_report.pdf)

<sup>8</sup> International Organization for Migration, *Victims of Trafficking in the Balkans - A study of trafficking in women and children for sexual exploitation to, through and from the Balkan Region*, IOM, Slovakia, 2001, at p. 43.

<sup>9</sup> Limanowska, Barbara, *Trafficking in Human Beings in South Eastern Europe*, UNICEF/UNOHCHR/OSCE ODIHR, June 2002. Available online at: <http://www.unicef.org/ceecis/Trafficking.Report.2005.pdf>



tives from the BiH government, international organisations, and local women's NGOs to discuss the problem of human trafficking for the purposes of sexual exploitation.<sup>10</sup> The work done at this conference gave rise to the National Action Plan (NAP).

Parallel to the development of the NAP, the International Police Task Force (IPTF) within the United Nations Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina (UNMIBH) began in July 2001 a "Special Trafficking Operations Programme" (STOP) wherein special teams of international police monitors conducted a series of law enforcement raids against known establishments in the sex industry in cooperation with local police.

The efforts of the NAP and the STOP teams were met with limited success. The international community realised it would have to create an institutional framework within BiH and make state institutions accountable for their anti-trafficking work.

Establishing a state level institutional framework (which would encompass the creation of state level law enforcement agencies and judiciary mechanisms) was a highly sensitive issue. Most of the anti-trafficking laws had to be imposed by the High Representative and then pushed to be implemented. It remains an open question whether these institutions would exist today had the International Community not taken the lead in the process.

## II. The International Community in Bosnia and Herzegovina

The Dayton Peace Agreement marked the end of war in Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) and provided a structural framework for the postwar political, legal, and economic regime. The political structure of the Dayton Agreement was a legal novelty. It divided BiH into two entities: the Republika Srpska and the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Republika Srpska would be composed of municipalities, and the Federation would be further divided administratively into ten cantons. In addition, Brcko was made a separate administrative district under the direct supervision of the international community. Bosnia has thirteen constitutions: one for each entity, canton and state. There are thirteen governments, and thirteen assemblies to govern these units.

As a sovereign territory, BiH is in a unique position. Under the Dayton Peace Agreement, the international community has executive powers through the Office of the High Representative unlike any other country in the region, apart from the UN Administered Province of Kosovo.

The key international actors in BiH are as follows:

*OHR*: Office of the High Representative is an *ad hoc* international institution responsible for overseeing implementation of civilian aspects of the accord.<sup>11</sup> The High Representative is now also the European Union's Special Representative (EUSR). The OHR long term goal is to support the establishment of institutions and processes that

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<sup>10</sup> Wennerholm, Carolina and Eva Zillen, *IOM Regional Counter-Trafficking Program in the Western Balkans*, in: SIDA Evaluation (Volume 3 Issue 37), Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency - Department for Central and Eastern Europe, Stockholm, June 2003. Available online at: <http://www.sida.se/publications>

<sup>11</sup> Office of the High Representative and EU Special Representative, Sarajevo.



will ensure Bosnia and Herzegovina's path towards membership in European Union and NATO.

*UNMIBH*: the UN Mission in BiH was mandated by the UN Security Council resolution 1035, and its mission was to contribute to the establishment of the rule of law in BiH by assisting in reforming and restructuring the local police, monitoring and auditing the performance of the police and others involved in the maintenance of the rule of law.<sup>12</sup> (Mandate expired in December 2002).

*UNIPTF*: the International Police Task Force was established by the UN Security Council resolution 1088, and was responsible for assisting the restructuring and training of law enforcement agencies, with the aim of creating democratic, multi-ethnic police forces that would adhere to accepted international standards. IPTF was comprised of international civilian police officers from member states of the UN.<sup>13</sup> (Mandate expired in December 2002).

*EUPM*: The European Union Police mission succeeded UNIPTF mission. EUPM aims to establish sustainable policing arrangements under BiH ownership in accordance with the best European and international practice.<sup>14</sup>

*UNHCHR*: UN High Commissioner for Human Rights focuses on discrimination surrounding gender and diversity, the protection of minorities and the rule of law with an emphasis on social and economic rights. UNHCHR's principle role is to advise on the human rights of dimensions of the problem and to propose appropriate responses.

*EUFOR*: The EUFOR or European Union Force is a military deployment in Bosnia and Herzegovina mandated to oversee the military implementation of the Dayton Agreement. The launch of EUFOR-ALTHEA marks the beginning of a new phase in BiH's recovery: its transition from the era of Dayton to the era of Brussels.<sup>15</sup>

*NATO*: The NATO Alliance decided to conclude SFOR's successful operation in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and welcomed the readiness of the European Union to deploy a new and distinct United Nations' mandated mission in BiH. The principal task of NATO is to provide advice on defense reform and assistance to the Bosnian authorities in reforming the armed forces.<sup>16</sup>

*OSCE*: Organization for Security and Co-operation. The OSCE's work is divided into the categories of education, democratization, human rights, and security co-operation. The mandate also includes promoting democratic values, monitoring and furthering the development of human rights.<sup>17</sup>

Neither the international community nor local institutions viewed the fight against trafficking in human beings as a priority for their agenda. It took a few years and several NGO reports

<sup>12</sup> Available online at: <http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/missions/unmibh>

<sup>13</sup> Available online at: [http://www.un.org/Depts/DPKO/Missions/unmibh\\_p.htm](http://www.un.org/Depts/DPKO/Missions/unmibh_p.htm)

<sup>14</sup> Available online at: <http://www.eupm.org/Our%20Mandate.aspx>

<sup>15</sup> Available online at: <http://www.euforbih.org>

<sup>16</sup> Available online at: <http://www.state.gov/p/eur/rls/fs/39436.htm>

<sup>17</sup> Available online at: <http://www.oscebih.org/overview/statement.asp?d=7>

and media articles in their home countries to direct their attention to the matter. The problem was first addressed in 1998 on the initiative of international organizations and local non-governmental organizations. It was then put on the agenda for the first time of a conference organized by the Council of Europe in cooperation with the UNHCHR in Tuzla (16-17 December 1998). Recommendations issued stressed the necessity to undertake a thorough analysis of the extent of the problem, to initiate legislative reforms and to set up a steering group which would draft an action plan for combating trafficking.

The Bosnian authorities have largely failed to criminally prosecute traffickers, failed to discipline or prosecute corrupt police officials, and failed to make it possible for witnesses to remain in Bosnia to testify. Without shelter, government protection, legal sources of income, or witness protection, women and girls opted quickly to return home. By 1999, there were no systems in place to address the needs of the women and girls that were caught up in trafficking. IOM, IPTF and UNHCHR were the leading agencies for organizing the aid to the women. While IPTF was discovering victims during bar raids, IOM established shelters where the victims could stay and receive 24 hour protection, and UNHCHR was responsible for legal support.<sup>18</sup>

In November 2000, a national coordinator and an inter ministerial working group on trafficking issues were set up at the state level. The working group, which consists of representatives of the state (Ministries of Justice, police from both entities), international organizations (OHR, UNHCHR, UNICEF) and NGOs (the Ring Network<sup>19</sup> - which regroups several NGOs from both entities - and the International Human Rights Law Group) elaborated a National Plan of Action. The coordination, development and implementation of this plan were under the responsibility of the Government, supported by technical and financial assistance from the international community.

After initializing National Plan of Action and establishing UNIPTF STOP teams that attained only limited success, the international community came to a conclusion that they would have to establish an institutional framework within BiH and make BiH institutions accountable for anti-trafficking work.

The most significant problems hampering the fight against trafficking were lack of engagement of governmental institutions, porous borders, ineffective local police and a weak judiciary.

The first step was to assume stricter border control. After years of failed political negotiations, the High Representative had to impose the Law on the State Border Service (SBS), creating

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<sup>18</sup>The process of identification and referral was as follows. Victims of trafficking discovered during bar raids without legal documents were divided into two groups: those that declare willingness to return home are identified as trafficked and those that do not. These 'trafficked' women had to sign a form provided to IPTF by IOM, stating that they wish to be repatriated. Only then they were identified as the victims of trafficking. See: Wenerholm, Carolina and Eva Zillen, *IOM Regional Counter-Trafficking Program in the Western Balkans*, at p. 28.

<sup>19</sup> In 1999, in Bosnia and Herzegovina, 10 nongovernmental organizations created an alliance of NGOs working on trafficking called the RING Network. The alliance includes Lara from Bijeljina, Udruzene Zene from Banja Luka, Buducnost from Modrica, Zena BiH from Mostar, Medica from Zenica, Zene Zenama in Sarajevo, Most in Visegrad, La Bella Dona in East Sarajevo, Liga Zene Glasaca from Sarajevo and Zene sa Une from Bihac.. LA Strada Mostar also joined the alliance at later stage.

the first multinational law enforcement agency that began its work in 2000.<sup>20</sup> Founding the State Border Service was a part of the UN Mission in BiH. At the time it covered about 10 % of the border. Until 2002, it controlled the green border and three airports – in Sarajevo, Banja Luka and Mostar. By 2005, the State Border Service controlled and administered 100 % of the border zones, airports and river border crossings.

In 2001, the BiH government established a State Commission for Fight against Trafficking in Human Beings. In May 2002, the High Representative imposed a package of decisions establishing the institutional framework necessary to reform the judiciary in the coming months.<sup>21</sup> These decisions strengthened the judicial reform process at the state and entity level in BiH, establishing the basis for a truly independent judiciary as the third branch of democratic government. The cooperative measures established under this law facilitated a more effective approach to the discovery, investigation and prosecution of all kinds of crime across BiH.

In July 2002, the BiH parliament adopted the law on SIPA (State Information and Protection Agency) under enormous pressure from the international community. When local politicians could not agree on the management of SIPA, the High Representative imposed it in November 2002.<sup>22</sup> SIPA is a state level law enforcement agency, envisaged like the FBI, to deal with organized crime (trafficking in human beings), war crimes, white collar crime and money laundering. However, it was not until 2004 that the SIPA law was changed and the agency became the State *Investigation* and Protection Agency and was given investigative powers and a mandate of supporting the work of the State Prosecutor's Office and State Court.

When local institutions first faced the problem of trafficking in human beings, solving it proved extremely difficult due to the non-existence of a legal framework that recognized trafficking in human beings as a criminal offence. In this regard, it is important to emphasize the enactment of BiH Criminal Code and BiH Criminal Procedure Code laws that entered force on 1<sup>st</sup> March 2003,<sup>23</sup> The BiH Criminal Code defines trafficking in human being as a criminal offence and also defines other situations similar to trafficking as criminal offences. These correspond to different components of the common trafficking situations and scenarios, such as: Establishing of Slavery and Transport of Slaves (article 185); International Procuring for Prostitution (article 187); Unlawful withholding of identity papers (article 188), Smuggling of individuals (article 189). Both of these laws were imposed by the High Representative.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> Office of the High Representative and EU Special Representative, *Decision imposing the Law on State Border Service*, 13 January 2000. Available online at:

[http://www.ohr.int/decisions/statemattersdec/default.asp?content\\_id=358](http://www.ohr.int/decisions/statemattersdec/default.asp?content_id=358)

<sup>21</sup> The High Representative also imposed laws to advance the fight against crime and professionalize the judiciary: the *Law on Legal Assistance and Official Co-operation in Criminal Matters between the FBiH, the RS and the District of Brcko* will simplify procedures for co-operation between courts, prosecutors and law enforcement agencies across BiH. Serving arrest warrants, providing legal assistance, court summonses and other types of co-operation can now be completed on receipt of a written request, without the need for further, higher level.

Available online at : <http://www.ohr.int-dept/press>

<sup>22</sup> The High Representative decision appointing a Director and Deputy Directors of the Agency of Bosnia and Herzegovina for Information and Protection of 6<sup>th</sup> October 2002. Available online at: [http://www.ohr.int/decisions/statemattersdec/default.asp?content\\_id=28096](http://www.ohr.int/decisions/statemattersdec/default.asp?content_id=28096).

<sup>23</sup> *Criminal code of BiH*, Official Gazette of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Volume 3), Sarajevo, March 2003.

<sup>24</sup> High Representative of Bosnia and Herzegovina, *Decision Enacting the Criminal Code of Bosnia and Herzegovina*, January 2003. Available online at:

[http://www.ohr.int/decisions/judicialrdec/default.asp?content\\_id=29095](http://www.ohr.int/decisions/judicialrdec/default.asp?content_id=29095)



The U.S. Department of State put Bosnia and Herzegovina into a group of Tier 3 (tier 3 means that a country does not fully comply with the minimum standards for the elimination of trafficking and is not making significant efforts to do so) countries in its annual Trafficking in Persons Report released in March 2003.

The report specifically assessed Bosnia as a major destination and transit country for women trafficked from Eastern Europe and the newly independent states, especially Moldova, Romania, and Ukraine, for the purpose of sexual exploitation.<sup>25</sup> The State Department threatens sanctions for Tier 3 countries who do not take serious anti-slavery action in the next 90 days, including a cutoff of U.S. aid and support for World Bank and IMF loans. This serious threat coming up from the U.S. State Department and a possibility of imposing sanctions to BiH, has shaken up some “sleepy” institutional structures which finally decided to do more in this area.

In July 2003, the Council of Ministers (CoM) appointed the Office of the State Coordinator and each ministry appointed its officials to the State Group for Combating Trafficking in Human Beings and Illegal Migration, which replaced the previous coordination body, the State Commission.<sup>26</sup> According to the CoM’ decision, the State Coordinator reports directly to the Chairman of the Council of Ministers instead of to the Ministry of Human Rights and Refugees. The State Coordinator is also responsible for coordinating activities in relation to trafficking of human beings with relevant domestic and international institutions and organisations. In addition, the State Coordinator has to direct activities and establish contacts with other ministries at the state and entity levels based on the needs.

In addition, the CoM also appointed the Strike Force, special units established within the police force to combat human trafficking, consisting of one representative of the key government bodies at the state and entity levels. The Strike Force is tasked with conducting operative actions (investigations to suppress trafficking and illegal migration), sharing information and data, carrying out other duties important to combating trafficking and ensuring implementation of the NPA.

A practice of the South East Europe countries showed that establishment of the national focus point for fight against trafficking enhances coordination of the apparatus. The State Coordinator proved to be a success, being a focus point in organizing and coordinating the activities with the aim of strengthening the supporting framework, prevention, victims and witness protection. In the field of prevention, the State Coordinator was engaged in planning and implementation of the campaign called “Stop the Chain of Human Trafficking” that was the first one of that kind, which was directed to the law enforcement agencies in BiH (police officials, immigration offices, State Border Service). Posters designed for this purpose showed a young

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<sup>25</sup> The highlights of this report are: the international organizations and NGOs present in Bosnia with the participation of many Bosnian officials conduct most of the anti-trafficking efforts in the country. The central government’s ability to deter trafficking is limited by budgetary constraints, minimal border controls, inadequate criminal laws and corruption. Some police and judicial authorities tacitly accept or actively facilitate trafficking. Neither of the entities has a law that specifically prohibits trafficking, although prosecutors can use charges of assault, provision of false documents, procuring and promoting prostitution. The courts have convicted at least two traffickers. Bosnia has an inter-agency anti-trafficking task force, which conducted a raid in the spring of 2001 on brothels suspected of having trafficking victims. Bosnia supports no prevention or protection measures and routinely has charged victims with prostitution and illegal residency before deporting them.

<sup>26</sup> *The Decision on Procedures and Method of Coordination of Activities in Fight Against Trafficking in Persons and Illegal Immigration in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Establishment of the Office of the State Coordinator*, Official Gazette of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Volume 24/03).

girl through various phases of her life, as she becomes a victim of trafficking, appealing to all the relevant officials to perform their duties and tasks.<sup>27</sup>

Within the legislative reforms of 2004, it is important to emphasize the enactment of the new by-laws concerning the protection of trafficking victims. The Ministry of Security passed a Rulebook on the Protection of Foreigners-Victims of Trafficking, Rulebook on Asylum, and Rulebook on Travel Documents for Foreigners, while the Ministry of Foreign Affairs adopted the Rulebook on Conditions and Procedures for issuing visas to foreigners, visa extensions, visa cancellations, types of visas and records of the Visa issued.<sup>28</sup>

The international community played a very significant role in all of these positive changes which created a solid base for the fight against trafficking in persons. While OHR has been pushing laws and creating state institutions and institutional framework, the OSCE, UNHCHR, USAID, UNICEF, IOM, UNDP UNMIBH have been providing guidance and technical assistance to all relevant local institutions (relevant ministries, local police, prosecutors and judges, NGOs). For the purpose of capacity building, the international community organized a series of educational seminars and training sessions for law enforcement authorities, prosecutors, judges, NGOs. Numerous donations were provided in the form of specialized police equipment (i.e. hearing rooms for potential victims of trafficking, vehicles and specialized technical equipment);<sup>29</sup> numerous mass public campaigns were funded and organized, as well as multi agency training programs.<sup>30</sup>

The work conducted by the Office of the State Coordinator in 2003 and 2004 was praised by the many anti-trafficking actors and most of the international nongovernmental reports mentioned year 2004 as a turning point in BiH's assuming "local ownership" in the fight against trafficking in human beings. Examples of this shift to local ownership include local police anti-trafficking FIGHT teams that develop and conduct investigations with only a limited advisory role of the international community in contrast to earlier dominated IPTF STOP teams which did little to build local capacity. In the following years, most of the brothels were closed, and public awareness of the problem was raised. The international community has continued providing guidance and technical assistance to BiH law enforcement officials, prosecutors and NGOs.

### III. Efforts Undertaken by the IPTF STOP Team

The UN established a CIVPOL operation, an International Police Task Force (IPTF) to carry out BiH wide program of assistance to the local law enforcement agencies. IPTF was created

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<sup>27</sup> Office of the State Coordinator for Combating Trafficking in Human Beings and Illegal Immigration in BiH, *Report on Trafficking in Persons in Bosnia and Herzegovina*, Sarajevo, July 2004, at p. 7. Available online at: [http://www.anti-trafficking.gov.ba/fajlovi/izvjestaj\\_THB\\_za\\_2004.pdf-33.pdf](http://www.anti-trafficking.gov.ba/fajlovi/izvjestaj_THB_za_2004.pdf-33.pdf)

<sup>28</sup> State Coordinator for Combating Trafficking in Human Beings and Illegal Immigration, *State Action plan for Combating Trafficking in Human Beings 2005-2007*, Sarajevo, January 2005, at p. 6.

<sup>29</sup> State Coordinator for Combating Trafficking in Human Beings and Illegal Immigration, *Annual Report 2004*, Sarajevo, 2005. Available online at: <http://www.anti-trafficking.gov.ba/?otvori=dokumenti&kat=2&lang=eng>

<sup>30</sup> Office of the BiH State Coordinator. for Combating Trafficking in Human Beings and Illegal Immigration, in *BiH: Quarterly Newsletter* (Issue 5), Sarajevo State Coordinator for Combating Trafficking in Human Beings and Illegal Immigration, Feb-May 2006, at pp. 1-2. Available online at: <http://www.anti-trafficking.gov.ba/fajlovi/newsletter5.pdf-61.pdf>





under Annex 11 of the Dayton Agreement for the purpose of assisting, advising, monitoring and training local law enforcement personnel and advising governmental authorities in order to facilitate the creation of a democratic police force in BiH.<sup>31</sup>

Between 1999 and 2001, UNMBIH took action to protect the human rights of trafficked persons through support of an International Organization for Migration (IOM) program of victim protection and through the creation of anti-trafficking law enforcement units. The objective of the Special Trafficking Operations Program (STOP) was to more effectively combat the problem of trafficking. Special teams of international police monitors together with local police conducted a series of law enforcement operations against known establishments of the sex industry, referred to mostly as “bar raids”.

In March 2001, as the result of co-operation between the Ministries of the Interior of both entities, and under the auspices of UNIPTF, operation Macro was conducted with the aim of revealing acts of trafficking.<sup>32</sup> In one instance, 39 bars were raided in the course of one night. The police found 177 foreign women in the bars.<sup>33</sup> Out of these 177 women, only 13 (including two girls under 18) were referred to IOM.<sup>34</sup> Only four of these women had identification documents. As result of “Macro”, 34 foreign women and eight Bosnians were charged with prostitution. The women were found guilty of prostitution and sentenced (14 women were sentenced to 15 days of imprisonment and deportation from the canton, 19 women were financially fined and sentenced to deportation). However, in practice the measure of deportation had no consequences, since there were no instruments for implementing the order.

In November 2002, UNMIBH gave a statement on the involvement of eleven local police officers found to have violated codes of professional conduct when frequenting night clubs and using sexual services in these establishments.<sup>35</sup> In June 2002, two inspections were carried out in the night club Roki in Vitez. Several women were located in the night club and interviewed by IPTF; some of them requested assistance from the IPTF. In a court hearing in July 2002, several women identified six police officers as frequent customers of the night club, all six having served in Vitez Police Administration in Canton 6. In June 2001, the IPTF STOP team in co-operation with local police conducted a raid on a night club in Kiseljak. After the raid, two police officers stayed behind and used the sexual services of the club. It was also established later on that these two police officers had tipped off the club owner about the raid.<sup>36</sup> In December 2001, the IPTF STOP team conducted a raid at the Don Night club in

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<sup>31</sup>United Nations Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina, at p. 2. Available online at:

<http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/missions/unmibh/background.html>

<sup>32</sup> Obradovic, Vladimir and Edin Vranj. *Trafficking in Women in Purpose of Sexual Exploitation in Bosnia and Herzegovina*, Scientific Research Project SBK 800-03-GR-066, Office of Public Affairs, Sarajevo, January 2003, at p. 11.

<sup>33</sup> Obradovic, Vladimir and Edin Vranj. *Trafficking in Women in Purpose of Sexual Exploitation in Bosnia and Herzegovina*, at p. 11.

<sup>34</sup> Limanowska, Barbara, *Trafficking in Human Beings in South Eastern Europe*, UNICEF/UNOHCHR/OSCE ODIHR, June 2002, at p. 65. Available online at: [http://www.unicef.org/ceecis/Trafficking\\_Report.2005.pdf](http://www.unicef.org/ceecis/Trafficking_Report.2005.pdf)

<sup>35</sup> Haupt, Kirsten, *Transcript- Press Conference*, United Nations Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina - Coalition Press Information Center, Sarajevo, 17 October 2002. Available online at: <http://www.nato.int/sfor/trans/2002/t021017a.htm>

<sup>36</sup> Fadila Hadzic from NGO La Strada said: “Everyone knows that the price to get information beforehand about if your bar will be raid is 150 KM. The bar owner then hides the girls, the only one allowed out in the bar are the ones the owner do not really want anymore, or the girls who wants to go home and that the owner allows to do so” in: Wennerholm, Carolina and Eva Zillen, *IOM Regional Counter-Trafficking Program in the Western Bal-*

the Brcko District. In connection with this raid it was established that two police officers had informed the club management about the planned raid. In the last case, a Crime Inspector of Police Administration Bugojno used his official position and authority to sexually abuse a number of women in the period from January to May 2002. These eleven cases of removal of provisional authorization were the result of the efforts of the IPTF STOP team

The total results of bar raids were not clear, as UNMIBH upon the end of its mission in December 2002 did not hand over the information gathered by the STOP teams to the BiH government, the local police, or EUPM, which took over the task of police monitoring in BiH from January 2003 onwards. However, statistics published by UNMIBH as of November 2002 refer to over 800 raids identifying 240 establishments suspected of activities involving trafficking. Of these, 151 were closed. UNMIBH helped to repatriate 264 trafficked victims with the support of the International Organization for Migration.<sup>37</sup>

The approach and results of the STOP team were criticised by many actors for not leading to significant numbers of convictions of traffickers, and for failing to protect trafficking victims. Some argued that STOP had primarily been set up to deter UNMIBH staff from frequenting establishments of the BiH sex industry following allegations that UNMIBH staff were implicated in the exploitation of trafficking victims. Critics argued that STOP lacked an overall prosecutorial strategy that would lead to systematic gathering of evidence for consequent prosecutions and subsequent convictions of traffickers; repetitive raids without convictions would merely serve to disrupt the operations of traffickers and eventually drive the problem underground to less visible forms of commercial sexual exploitation, such as escort services or the use of private apartments.

At the end of 2002, the United Nations Mission to Bosnia and Herzegovina declared victory and closed up shop. In its final press release, the mission - which had been tasked with transforming the country's politically compromised, ethnically biased and deeply corrupt law enforcement into a modern, democratic police force - stated that "*Bosnia and Herzegovina now has 'a police force fit for Europe' firmly based on international standards of democratic policing and in the service of all citizens.*"<sup>38</sup>

#### **IV. IPTF / International Community Complicity in Trafficking in Persons**

UNIPTF officials could not be arrested or detained and had absolute immunity from criminal prosecution. Without a waiver of immunity from the Security Council, IPTF monitors could never face charges in Bosnian courts for crimes they may have committed. Although IPTF contributed to a more organized and comprehensive approach in combating trafficking, there is evidence that indicates its involvement in acts of trafficking as well. There were two types of international actors' involvement in trafficking. First are those activities where internation-

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kans, in: SIDA Evaluation (Volume 3 Issue 37), Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency - Department for Central and Eastern Europe, Stockholm, June 2003, at p. 27.

Available online at: <http://www.sida.se/publications>.

<sup>37</sup> United Nations Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina, *UNMIBH Official Page. Background* at p. 7. Available online at: <http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/missions/unmibh/background.html>

<sup>38</sup> United Nations Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina, *UN Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina (UNMIBH): The end of a mandate*, UNMIBH Press Release, 31 December 2002.



als are actively engaged such as using the service of victims of trafficking in brothels (as clients) or using them as domestic labor. The other form of involvement is thorough direct participation in organized crime activities such as transporting women from their countries of origin to brothels, or purchasing women and their passports from traffickers and brothel owners. More importantly, the presence of IPTF monitors in night clubs as clients discouraged women from seeking shelter in IPTF stations.

One of the flagrant examples of IPTF complicity in trafficking in human beings is the *Prijedor Case*. In November 2000, 25 IPTF officials with SFOR assistance raided three brothels in Prijedor. The raid resulted in freeing 37 women and girls who claimed to have been trafficked into BiH for forced prostitution. After the raids, IPTF officers transported the women from Prijedor to a Sarajevo IOM shelter for victims.<sup>39</sup> During the transport as well as in later interviews, these women recognized among the IPTF officers men who had been their clients. The women identified 11 international officers who had visited brothels.<sup>40</sup> Nine of them were clients and two had gone to the bar to drink. As a result of internal investigations, six IPTF officers were sent home for “*exceeding the mandate of IPTF*”.<sup>41</sup>

At the press conference that followed that raid, the United Nations public affairs office issued a statement in which it said that six UN police officers resigned after facing disciplinary action for exceeding their authority in a November 13 raid on three nightclubs in the town of Prijedor. While praising the freeing of the women, the head of the UN Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina said he had accepted the resignations “*more out of sorrow than anger*”, but that the investigation would continue.<sup>42</sup>

David Lamb, a former American police officer who served as IPTF human rights investigator in BiH, stated that he was looking into allegations against six Romanian, Fijian and Pakistani officers in the town of Bijeljina. He was in charge of investigating the allegations that two of the Romanian police officers recruited Romanian women by using false documents and then sold the women to Bosnian brothel owners. Other Romanian police officers allegedly tipped off brothel owners about impending raids.

His preliminary inquiry found evidence to justify a full-scale criminal investigation, but Lamb and his colleagues said they faced physical threats and were repeatedly stymied in their inquiries by their superiors, including a senior Ukrainian police officer who ordered an end to the investigation.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>39</sup>, United Nations Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina, *Hopes Betrayed: Trafficking of Women and Girls to Post-Conflict Bosnia and Herzegovina for Forced Prostitution*, Human Rights Watch, (Volume 14, Issue 9), Sarajevo, November 2002, at p. 49.

<sup>40</sup> Lynch, C, *UN Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina (UNMIBH): The end of a mandate*, The Washington Post, 27 December, 2001.

<sup>41</sup> United Nations Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina, *Hopes Betrayed: Trafficking of Women and Girls to Post-Conflict Bosnia and Herzegovina for Forced Prostitution*, in: Human Rights Watch (Volume 14, Number 9) Sarajevo, 9 April 2001 (D)-November 2002, at p. 49.

<sup>42</sup> Emert, Rick, *Six U.N. Police Officers Resign After Raid on Bosnia Nightclubs*, in: Stars and Stripes, 1<sup>st</sup> December 2000. Available online at: <http://pstripes.com/dec00/ed120100e.html> (last accessed July 2007).

<sup>43</sup> Lamb, David, *Hearing before the United States Subcommittee on International Operations and Human Rights*, April 2002. Available online at: [http://commdocs.house.gov/committees/intrel/hfa78948.000/hfa78948\\_of.htm](http://commdocs.house.gov/committees/intrel/hfa78948.000/hfa78948_of.htm) The highlights of the testimony: during investigations by my office into U.N. personnel involvement in women trafficking, my investigators and I experienced an astonishing cover-up attempt that seemed to extend to the highest levels of the U.N. headquarters. Investigators found themselves under fire by the subjects of the investi-



One of the cases most closely followed by media was a Kathryn Bolkovac case. Bolkovac was a former IPTF human rights officer from the U.S. and a former DynCorp employee posted to Sarajevo in 1999 to investigate the trafficking in human beings. When she started collecting evidence from the victims of sex-trafficking, it was clear that a number of UN officers were involved.<sup>44</sup> However, when she told the supervisors they ignored her findings. Ms. Bolkovac said that she had witnessed club owners giving frightened young women exotic dance costumes and telling them to perform sex acts on customers, including UN personnel.

Women who refused were locked in rooms where they were denied food and outside contact for days or weeks. After this time they were told to dance naked on table tops and sit with clients, recommending the person buy a bottle of champagne for DM<sup>45</sup> 200, a price which included a room and 'escort'.

*"If the women still refuse to perform sex acts with the customers, they are beaten and raped in the rooms by the bar owners and their associates. They are told if they go to the police they will be arrested for prostitution."<sup>46</sup>*

Human Rights Watch monitors in its report<sup>47</sup> from November 2002 explained that within days of reporting Bolkovac' findings in an e-mail to Jacques Paul Klein, then chief of the UN mission in Bosnia-Herzegovina, she was demoted and six months later fired.<sup>48</sup>

Bolkovac filed the lawsuit before an employment tribunal in the UK for alleged wrongful dismissal, sex discrimination and breach of contract. She won the case on 1<sup>st</sup> August 2002.<sup>49</sup> The employment tribunal ordered DynCorp to pay her £ 110,221. The appeal was scheduled for the 2<sup>nd</sup> May 2003, however DynCorp unexpectedly withdrew their appeal at the last minute and paid the damages awarded to Ms. Bolkovac plus interest.

Richard Monk, a former senior British policeman who also served in the UN police operation in Bosnia until 1999, was sympathetic to Ms. Bolkovac. He stated that there were truly dreadful things going on among UN police officers from a number of countries. He was in charge of setting up an internal affairs department to investigate complaints that officers were having sex with minors and prostitutes. He stated that British officers were on the whole good and

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gation, and the U.N. headquarters launched formal investigations against the investigators while giving no support to the original investigation, a scenario which was not new to the U.N. Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina. What could have been a major break into the problem of U.N. involvement in the sex slave problem turned into another closed investigation with limited results and several more good investigators feeling defeated.

<sup>44</sup> McGrory, Daniel, *Woman sacked for revealing UN Links with Sex Trade*.

Available Online at: [http://www.prisonplanet.com/woman\\_sacked\\_for\\_revealing\\_un\\_links\\_with\\_sex\\_trade.html](http://www.prisonplanet.com/woman_sacked_for_revealing_un_links_with_sex_trade.html)

<sup>45</sup> At the time German Deutschmark was used as a currency.

<sup>46</sup> McGrory, Daniel, *Woman sacked for revealing UN Links with Sex Trade*.

<sup>47</sup> Human Rights Watch, *Hopes Betrayed: Trafficking of Women and Girls to Post-Conflict Bosnia and Herzegovina for Forced Prostitution*, (Volume 14, Issue 9), New York, November 2002, at pp. 54-55.

<sup>48</sup> Payne, Stuart, *Teenagers 'Used for Sex by UN in Bosnia'*, Telegraph, 25 April, 2002. Available online at: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/main.jhtml?xml=/news/2002/04/25/wbos25.xml>

<sup>49</sup> Payne, Stuart. *Investigator Wins UN Sex Abuse Case*, Telegraph, 7 August 2002. Available online at:

<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/main.jhtml?xml=%2Fnews%2F2002%2F08%2F07%2Fwbos07.xml>; United Nations Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina, *Hopes Betrayed: Trafficking of Women and Girls to Post-Conflict Bosnia and Herzegovina for Forced Prostitution*, Human Rights Watch (Volume 14, Issue 9), Sarajevo, 9 April 2001, at p. 54.



professional, but there were police officers from other countries who should not have been in uniform.<sup>50</sup>

Bolkovac was not the only employee of DynCorp to seek legal redress for unfair dismissal. Ben Johnston filed a lawsuit against his dismissal in 1999 after he also disclosed information about the involvement of co-workers and supervisors in the sex trade at the DynCorp hangar at Comanche Base in Bosnia.<sup>51</sup> His allegations led to a raid on the base by the military police detachment in June 2000. The operation by the US Army Criminal Investigation Division (CID) began to uncover evidence supporting the claims made by Johnston; however, the investigation was concluded after the CID determined that under the Dayton Agreement UN officials and contractors enjoyed immunity. Johnston was sacked the day before the raid for disciplinary reasons that were unsubstantiated. He merely received a letter of discharge for bringing “discredit to the company and the US Army while working in Tuzla, Bosnia-Herzegovina”. Since 1998, eight DynCorp employees have been sent home from Bosnia, three have been dismissed for using prostitutes, and none have been prosecuted.

UNMIBH officials admitted that repatriation served as the only punishment for involvement in trafficking-related misconduct. They could not point to any cases where the SG had waived immunity, nor could they point to any prosecutions in home countries. As a result of allegations of the involvement of peacekeeping personnel in trafficking, the code of conduct for UN personnel was changed in 2001 to specifically include trafficking and status of enforcement. In April 2002, Nancy Ely-Raphel, Director of the Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking testified before the United States House International Relations Committee, stating that there were several instances of sexual misconduct among officers who deployed prior to the institution of these trafficking briefings. When these instances occurred, the Bureau of International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Affairs followed through with its zero tolerance policy and the individuals’ contracts were terminated. INL also referred several cases of serious misconduct by U.S. CIVPOL officers to the Justice Department for possible prosecution.<sup>52</sup>

Starting 2001, the Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons began to participate in pre-deployment briefings for U.S. police personnel.<sup>53</sup>

## V. The Bosnian Government Response

When Bosnia and Herzegovina first faced this problem, addressing it proved extremely difficult due to the non-existence of legal framework recognizing trafficking in human beings as a criminal offence. In December 2000, BiH signed the Stability Pact Declaration against trafficking in human beings and the UN Convention signed against transnational organized crime with two protocols. Soon after, the Council of Ministers of BiH adopted the Action Plan on

<sup>50</sup> Barnett, Antony and Solomon Hughes, *International Police in Bosnia Face Prostitution Claims*, in: The Observer, 29 July 2001. Available online at: <http://observer.guardian.co.uk/international/story/0,,529136,00.html>

<sup>51</sup> United Nations Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina, *Hopes Betrayed: Trafficking of Women and Girls to Post-Conflict Bosnia and Herzegovina for Forced Prostitution*, Human Rights Watch (Volume 14, Issue 9), Sarajevo, 9 April, 2001, at p. 56.

<sup>52</sup> Testimony of Nancy Ely-Raphel, Director of the Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking, before the House International Relations Committee, Subcommittee on International Operations and Human Rights Washington, DC, 24 April, 2002.

<sup>53</sup> Testimony of Nancy Ely-Raphel.

Prevention of Trafficking in Human Beings in BiH. Although many assessed this plan as a general document, it became the framework for the activities and measures that the authorities of BiH and some non-governmental and international organizations strove to carry out. It led further to the activities that included establishment of the body for implementation of the Action Plan, State Commission and Strike Force i.e. carrying out of activities with the aim to build up the resources for an expert-operational link of the work of the key institutions - ministries which were engaged in the implementation of the Action Plan according to their competence.

The new process of reorganization of the authorities on the BiH level started with the establishment of new state ministries such as the Ministry of Security and the Ministry of Justice while the Court of BiH and Prosecutor's Office had already been formed.

The authorities started working at an accelerated pace towards the creation of a legislative framework which would enable the processing of trafficking and related crimes, as well as provisions of assistance to victims of trafficking.<sup>54</sup> As part of the legislative reform, it is important to emphasize enactment of new laws and by-laws which regulate criminal offences related to anti-trafficking and related crimes as well as to smuggling in persons (which have been entirely harmonized with provisions of UN Convention against Transnational Organized Crime and its Protocol to prevent, suppress and punish trafficking in persons and Protocol against the Smuggling of Migrants by Land, Sea and Air), movement and stay of aliens, protection and assistance of human trafficking victims, program of witness protection, including victims of human trafficking who appear as witnesses before the courts, and the control and surveillance of state borders.<sup>55</sup> The above mentioned improvements created adequate legislative basis for efficient prevention of illegal migration, and consequently prevention of human trafficking.

Starting in 2003, when Bosnian law enforcement officials took over from the IPTF, and they proved to be very cognizant of the importance of successful trafficking in persons prosecutions, and have placed increased emphasis on building strong cases to ensure that state-level BiH Prosecutor has sufficient evidence to obtain conviction. This is in direct contrast to the previous approach taken by the IPTF, whose raids on bars and brothels produced arrests but failed to produce convictions due to lack of coordination with local police and no effort to build an evidentiary background to support cases.

In 2004, the first cases of trafficking were successfully prosecuted by the Court of Bosnia and Herzegovina. With the Office of State Coordinator, BiH for the first time instated a centralized place where all official information could be collected, stored and analyzed. The illustration below shows the official numbers and the scale of trafficking in human beings in Bosnia and Herzegovina for the period 1999-2006.

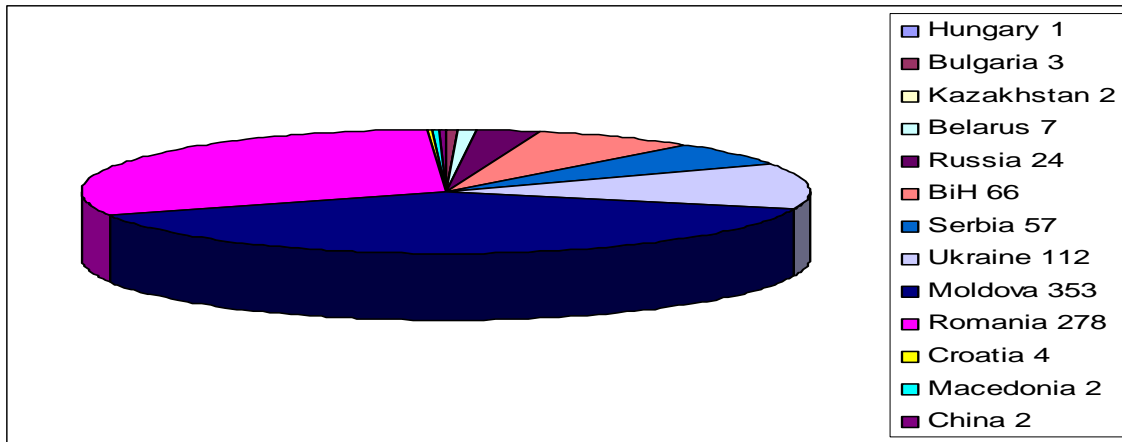
Data on the total number of sheltered victims (Period 1999-2006)<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>54</sup> State Coordinator for Combating Trafficking in Human Beings and Illegal Immigration, *Annual Report 2004*, Sarajevo, 2005. Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights in Bosnia and Herzegovina, *Legal Manual on Protection of Victims of Trafficking in Persons in Bosnia and Herzegovina*, Sarajevo, 2005, at p. 25-34.

<sup>55</sup> High Commissioner for Human Rights in BiH, *Legal Manual on Protection of Victims of Trafficking*.

<sup>56</sup> Total of 911 victims largely from Moldova, Ukraine and Romania. Information provided by the State Coordinator for Combating Trafficking in Human Beings and Illegal Immigration, *Report on Situation of Human Traf-*



In April 2005, the State Department of the United State of America published its annual report on trafficking in which it placed Bosnia and Herzegovina in Tier 2, a designation for countries that have not fully met the minimum required standards, but are investing efforts to do so. This designation denoted an improvement in comparison to the previous year when Bosnia and Herzegovina was placed amongst the countries in Tier 2 but under special watch list, which was certainly an acknowledgment to Bosnia and Herzegovina on measures undertaken in the fight against trafficking in human beings.<sup>57</sup>

Even though significant progress has been made, combating trafficking in human beings is a problem which is still very present in this country and which requires continued efforts from competent institutions in order to achieve success. Since trafficking in human beings is not as evident as it was in the previous years, and the number of registered cases by police, prosecutors and NGOs is far lower than before, that unfortunately does not mean that this problem is under control.<sup>58</sup> It is noticeable that traffickers have changed the *modus operandi*.

Traffickers are now looking for new ways of conducting business. They are studying the system and trying to find flaws. Recent available information show that the most widespread form of trafficking in human beings in BiH, for the purpose of sexual exploitation, is increasingly being carried out in private houses and apartments. In these instances, victims are ‘ordered’ over the phone and ‘hired’ for a set period of time. In comparison to police raids, which recently used to be common, due to better cover up of these activities it is much harder to break the chains of human trafficking.

*ficking and Illegal Immigration in Bosnia and Herzegovina for 2006*, Sarajevo, 2006, at pp. 21-25. Available online at: [http://www.anti-trafficking.gov.ba/fajlovi/Annual\\_report\\_2006\\_loc.pdf-98.pdf](http://www.anti-trafficking.gov.ba/fajlovi/Annual_report_2006_loc.pdf-98.pdf)

<sup>57</sup> From the contents of the above mentioned report, the following is important to mention: “Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) is a country of origin, transit, and destination for women and girls trafficked for the purpose of sexual exploitation. Victims most commonly come from Moldova, Ukraine, Russia, Romania and, increasingly, Serbia and Montenegro. Victims often transit en route to Slovenia, Croatia, and Western Europe. Many of the victims from BiH and Serbia and Montenegro are trafficked throughout the former Yugoslav republics and then back again in a seasonal, rotating pattern”. The Government of BiH does not fully comply with the minimum standards for the elimination of trafficking; however, it is making significant efforts to do so.

<sup>58</sup> Limanowska, Barbara, *Trafficking in Human Beings in South Eastern Europe*, UNICEF/UNOHCHR/OSCE ODIHR, June 2002, at pp. 104-105.

Available online at: <http://www.unicef.org/ceecis/Trafficking.Report.2005.pdf>

Particularly alarming are the indications that in the course of the past few years, the number of foreign victims has been decreasing while the number of victims who are citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina has been on the rise.<sup>59</sup>

It is also important to note that the entry into BiH of foreign women from high risk countries like Ukraine, Moldova, Romania as victims of human trafficking has gone up, most likely ‘fake’ marriages with BiH citizens.<sup>60</sup> One can only assume that foreign women who enter into marriages with BiH citizens with whom they were not previously acquainted run the risk of becoming victims of human trafficking.

There is an evident need for the continuation of activities to suppress human trafficking and illegal migration through institutionalization and, for the further strengthening of the coordination structure, improvement of the legal and regulatory framework, strengthening of institutional capacities and the execution of preventative activities. It is necessary to secure additional funds from the budget of the state institutions in Bosnia and Herzegovina for implementation of these activities. The plans for mobilization of additional funding are also necessary due to the fact that the majority of international donors have already prepared exit strategies, expecting that the state institutions will entirely take over the role in regards to sustainability of the aforementioned activities. This is recognition for BiH, as well as a test, because BiH shall finally start doing things completely on its own.

## **VI. Conclusion**

Bosnia and Herzegovina was initially assessed as a destination country for women from Southeastern and Central Europe, but also as a transit country toward Western Europe. The latest indications show that victims of human trafficking are increasingly citizens of BiH, which means that BiH is now a country of origin.

The arrival of peacekeeping forces and various international organizations to Bosnia and Herzegovina has made sex trafficking in Bosnia and Herzegovina lucrative, and has been a significant motivating factor for traffickers. The international community then engaged in the fight against sex trafficking, while local institutions lagged behind.

There were numerous reported cases of the international community members direct involvement in trafficking in persons (particularly UNIPTF), and these cases should be noted as lessons learned for future missions of United Nations around the world.

The establishment of NPA and UNIPTF STOP teams marked the beginning of the serious fight against the modern slavery in BiH. The international community succeeded in establishing BiH institutional framework which took a local ownership in fight against trafficking in human beings. If not for the actions of international actors, the institutional framework might have never been established. The international community played a vital role in this whole

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<sup>59</sup> The 2006 annual report of the Office of the State Coordinator shows that there has been a significant increase in local victims of trafficking in comparison to previous years. Out of 66 victims identified in 2005, 22 were from BiH.

<sup>60</sup> 2006 annual report of the Office of the State Coordinator.



process, as well as in the process of raising awareness, training and supporting local institutions in BiH.

Even though significant progress has been made, combating trafficking in human beings is a problem which is still very present in BiH and which requires significant efforts from the competent institutions in order to combat it successfully. Various sources, including law enforcement agencies and several non-governmental agencies suggest that patterns and trends in trafficking in human beings are changing. It appears that traffickers have adjusted their methods of operation in order to avoid detection and increase profit in response to actions taken by governments and NGOs. As a result, trafficking has become less visible and the number of victims identified has decreased.

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