



Sveučilište u Zagrebu

Fakultet Hrvatskih studija

Željko Cvrtila

**POVIJEST SIGURNOSNO –
OBAVJEŠTAJNOG SUSTAVA
REPUBLIKE HRVATSKE
OD 1990 - 2020. GODINE**

DOKTORSKI RAD

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University of Zagreb

Faculty of Croatian Studies

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**HISTORY OF THE SECURITY AND
INTELLIGENCE SYSTEM OF THE
REPUBLIC OF CROATIA
FROM 1990 TO 2020**

DOCTORICAL THESIS

Mentor:

Prof. dr. sc. Josip Jurčević

Zagreb, 2026.

INFORMACIJE O MENTORU

Prof. dr. sc. Josip Jurčević je redoviti profesor i znanstveni savjetnik u području humanističkih znanosti, polju povijesti. Tijekom svoje akademske i znanstvene karijere sustavno se bavio istraživanjem suvremene hrvatske povijesti s posebnim naglaskom na razdoblja totalitarnih režima, Domovinski rat, prijelaz iz komunističkog u demokratski sustav te poslijeratne tranzicijske izazove.

Njegov istraživački opus obuhvaća širok raspon tema: od sustavne analize komunističkih represija i političkih zločina, preko proučavanja sustava masovnih grobnica i žrtvoslovlja, do problematike nacionalnog identiteta, državotvornosti i uloge političkih elita u hrvatskom društvu. Autor je brojnih znanstvenih i stručnih radova, te niza knjiga i publikacija koje su postale važna referentna literatura u hrvatskoj historiografiji.

Sudjelovao je i vodio više znanstvenoistraživačkih projekata financiranih od strane Ministarstva znanosti i drugih domaćih i inozemnih institucija. Aktivno je surađivao s državnim arhivima i institucijama za istraživanje i dokumentiranje totalitarnih sustava, te je često angažiran i kao stručni konzultant u povijesno-pravnim analizama.

Ima bogato iskustvo u mentorskom radu te je dosad uspješno vodio više diplomskih, magistarskih i doktorskih radova, osobito iz područja suvremene povijesti, političkih znanosti i tranzicijskih društvenih procesa.

Zahvala

Iznimnu zahvalnost dugujem svojoj obitelji na strpljenju, podršci i razumijevanju posebice u danim kada sam manje bio dostupan za njih te pomoći koju su mi pružali tijekom izrade ove doktorske disertacije. Mojoj supruzi Gabrijele, na njezinoj strpljivosti, toleranciji i potpori, koja je bila uz mene u trenucima sumnje i umora, te mojoj dragoj kćeri Dori i sinu Leonu, koji su mi ujedno bili nadahnuće i podsjetnik na ono što je u životu najvažnije.

Posebnu zahvalnost upućujem i svojem mentoru prof. dr. sc. Josipu Jurčeviću, na njegovu stručnom vodstvu, podršci i strpljenju kroz cijeli proces istraživanja i pisanja. Njegova znanstvena širina, iznimno poznavanje teme rada i osobno svjedočanstvo vremena stvaranja Republike Hrvatske i njezinih institucija bili su mi trajna motivacija i orijentir.

Ova disertacija nastajala je u više od tri godine intenzivnog rada, ali bez njihove vjere u mene, konstantnu pomoć i spremnosti na brojna odricanja, ne bi bila moguća.

SAŠETAK NA HRVATSKOM JEZIKU

U ovoj doktorskoj disertaciji detaljno je istražen proces ustrojavanja i demokratizacije sigurnosnih službi Republike Hrvatske u periodu od 1990. do 2020. godine, te je razmatrana i učinkovitost cjelokupnog sigurnosno-obavještajnog sustava u realizaciji hrvatskih nacionalnih interesa. Izvršena je i usporedba hrvatskih sigurnosnih službi i sigurnosno-obavještajnog sustava s jugoslavenskim, u više područja (ustroj, ovlasti, nadzori, demokratičnost). Također, problematizirani su suodnosi nacionalnih vrijednosti, interesa, ciljeva i sigurnosti, te mehanizmi zaštite nacionalnih vrijednosti i nacionalnih interesa, kao i uloga hrvatskih nacionalnih resursa u ostvarivanju hrvatskih nacionalnih interesa.

Od početka stvaranja Republike Hrvatske te srbijanske agresije na integritet i suverenitet hrvatske nacije, Hrvatska je bila suočena s nedostatkom vlastitog sigurnosno-obavještajnog sustava koji je bio neophodan za stvaranje, očuvanje i oslobođenje njezinog međunarodno priznatog teritorija. Pored toga, Hrvatska je bila suočena s problemom (jugoslavenskog) sigurnosnog sustava kojeg je preuzela iz totalitarnog komunističkog razdoblja, te s neprijateljskim djelovanjem svekolikih obavještajnih jugoslavenskih (srbijanskih) službi u cilju sprečavanja uspostave i opstanka Republike Hrvatske.

U takvim okolnostima, novo izabrana demokratska vlast je morala usporedno djelovati na razdruživanju od jugoslavenskog sustava i ustrojavanju vlastitog sigurnosno-obavještajnog sustava kao i na oblikovanju demokratskog okvira njegovog djelovanja. Dakle, unatoč specifičnoj sigurnosnoj situaciji u Hrvatskoj, događao se uspješni proces razdruživanja s jugoslavenskim sigurnosnim sustavom i stvaranja sigurnosno-obavještajnog sustava Republike Hrvatske koji je bio ključni obavještajni element u obrani i provođenju briljantnih vojno-redarstvenih operacija tijekom Domovinskog rata radi oslobođenja Hrvatske i mirne reintegracije hrvatskog Podunavlja.

Nakon Domovinskog rata i mirene reintegracije hrvatskog Podunavlja, slijedio je ubrzaniji proces promjena u sigurnosno-obavještajnom sustavu Republike Hrvatske prema proklamiranom cilju demokratizacije, što je uključivalo i ukidanje niza ovlasti sigurnosnim službama i njenim pripadnicima. Sigurnosno-obavještajni sustava RH se uspješno demokratizirao u razdoblju od 1990.-2020. godine.

Analiza učinkovitosti sigurnosno-obavještajnog sustava u ostvarivanju hrvatskih nacionalnih interesa, pokazala je najveću učinkovitost upravo u razdoblju od 1990. – 1999. godine, odnosno

u razdoblju stvaranja, obrane, oslobođenja Republike Hrvatske i mirne reintegracije, a značajnije manju učinkovitost nakon toga.

Ključne riječi: sigurnosno-obavještajni sustav Republike Hrvatske, hrvatske nacionalne vrijednosti i interesi, nacionalna sigurnost, sigurnosne službe, demokratizacija i učinkovitost sigurnosno-obavještajnog sustava.

EXTENDED SUMMARY IN ENGLISH

This doctoral dissertation provides a detailed examination of the process of organizing and democratizing the security services of the Republic of Croatia in the period from 1990 to 2020, and considers the effectiveness of the entire security-intelligence system in realizing Croatian national interests. A comparison is also made between the Croatian security services and security-intelligence system and the Yugoslav one, across several areas (organization, powers, oversight, democratic character). In addition, the dissertation addresses the interrelationships between national values, interests, goals, and security, the mechanisms for protecting national values and national interests, and the role of Croatian national resources in achieving Croatian national interests.

From the very beginning of the establishment of the Republic of Croatia, and in the face of Serbian aggression against the integrity and sovereignty of the Croatian nation, Croatia was confronted with the lack of its own security-intelligence system, which was indispensable for the establishment, preservation, and liberation of its internationally recognized territory. In addition, Croatia was faced with the problem of the (Yugoslav) security system that it had inherited from the totalitarian communist period, as well as the hostile activities of all kinds of Yugoslav (Serbian) intelligence services aimed at preventing the establishment and survival of the Republic of Croatia.

In such circumstances, the newly elected democratic authorities had to act simultaneously to shape their own security-intelligence system. The formation of all the components of the Croatian security-intelligence system began. Thus, a state strategic body for national security was established, which on several occasions changed its name — from the Presidential Council to the Defence and National Security Council (VONS). A central coordination and oversight body for national security was also established, which likewise changed its name — from the Office for the Protection of the Constitutional Order (UZUP), through the Office for National Security (UNS), within which additional coordinating bodies were formed (the Headquarters Committee for National Security, SONS, and the Coordinating Committee of the Intelligence Community, KOOZ), to the Council for the Coordination of the Work of the Security and Intelligence Agencies.

In addition to the civilian counter-intelligence State Security Service (SDS), which was taken over from the Yugoslav system in 1990 and renamed the Service for the Protection of the Constitutional Order (SZUP) in 1991, the Croatian intelligence service — the Croatian

Intelligence Service (HIS) — was not established until 1993. In 1991, the Croatian military services were also founded, namely the counter-intelligence Security Information Service (SIS) and the Military Intelligence Service (VOS).

Thus, despite the specific security situation in Croatia, a successful process of separation from the Yugoslav security system and of building the security-intelligence system of the Republic of Croatia took place — a system that was the key intelligence element in the defence and execution of the brilliant military-police operations during the Homeland War for the liberation of Croatia and the peaceful reintegration of the Croatian Danube region.

With the democratic changes of 1990 in the Republic of Croatia, following the introduction of a multi-party system and the holding of democratic elections — that is, with the establishment of a new government and the appointment of democratic leaders (from ministers to the very heads of the services) — the security services also began to democratize. In this initial phase of creating the Croatian security services and the entire security-intelligence system, understandably, not all democratic elements were established. Gradually, various oversight mechanisms were introduced, the organizational and managerial forms of the operation of the security services were modified, and the powers of the members of the security services as well as the manner of authorizing their use were changed.

After the Homeland War and the reintegration of the Croatian Danube region into the political and legal system of Croatia, an accelerated process of change in the security-intelligence system of the Republic of Croatia followed, in line with the proclaimed goal of democratization, which also included the abolition of a number of powers held by the security services and their members. Thus, with the Act on the Security Services of the Republic of Croatia in 2002, the entire security-intelligence system was reorganized. The existing coordination and oversight body for national security — the UNS — was abolished, while the civilian intelligence and counter-intelligence services became independent agencies outside any ministry or other competent body. In place of the abolished HIS and SZUP, two civilian services were formed — the Intelligence Agency (OA) and the Counter-Intelligence Agency (POA) — together with one Military Security Agency (VSA). A permanent state strategic body for national security — the National Security Council (VNS) — was also established, along with a permanent coordination and oversight body for national security, the Council for the Coordination of the Work of the Security Services. A number of (so-called police) powers were abolished, and additional oversight mechanisms were introduced, such as judicial and civilian oversight of the work of the services and of the application of their powers.

Only four years later, in 2006, the legal framework governing the work of the security-intelligence system was again amended, with the adoption of the Act on the Security-Intelligence System of the Republic of Croatia. The state strategic body for national security — VONS — was retained, with only minor changes in its composition and competences. The central coordination and oversight body for national security was renamed the Council for the Coordination of the Security and Intelligence Agencies, with minor changes in its composition and tasks. The civilian intelligence and counter-intelligence agencies were abolished, and instead of the two of them a single civilian service — the Security and Intelligence Agency (SOA) — was established. The only previously existing military agency was formally given intelligence tasks as well and was renamed the Military Security and Intelligence Agency (VSOA). No significant changes occurred in the organizational and managerial form of the operation of the system and the services, nor in the prescribed powers, the authorizations for their application, or the oversight of the work of the security services. The only significant change in powers was the possibility for the SOA to apply secret data-collection measures also in the intelligence portion of its work. After analyzing all the indicators, it was concluded that the Croatian security services successfully democratized throughout the entire period studied.

The dissertation also addresses the analysis and assessment of the effectiveness of the security-intelligence system in realizing Croatian national interests during the period studied. For the purposes of this assessment of effectiveness, 6 national interests and 45 national goals deriving from those interests were defined — goals that could be analyzed across the entire period studied. Within the overall research period (1990–2020), three sub-periods were analyzed and compared:

- 1990–1999, the period of the establishment, defence, and reintegration of the occupied territory of the Republic of Croatia, and of essential changes in the governing system of the Republic of Croatia,
- 2000–2013, the period of adjustment to and accession to Western associations,
- 2013–2020, the period of the Republic of Croatia's functioning within the European Union.

From the analysis and assessment, it is evident that the largest number of Croatian national goals were realized in the first period — that of the establishment, defence, and reintegration of the occupied territory of the Republic of Croatia, and of essential changes in its governing system — when only 4 goals remained unrealized. Realization was significantly weaker in the second period, when as many as 22 goals remained unrealized, and in the third period, when 19

goals remained unrealized. It was therefore concluded that, in the first period, the security-intelligence system of the Republic of Croatia was effective, whereas in the other two periods it was ineffective in realizing Croatian national interests.

Keywords: security and intelligence system of the Republic of Croatia, Croatian national values and interests, national security, security services, democratization and efficiency of the security and intelligence system.