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State-Building in Bosnia

by Chris Saeger

Although the idea of state-building is at least as contentious as the idea of the state itself, international technocrats and foreign policymakers remain resigned to this project. International state-building has been conceived of as maintaining intermestic social order, protecting individual rights, and consolidating transnational linkages of power. Yet whatever the motive, effect or standard form of state-building, some political organization called “the state” is a necessary condition for membership in international society, if not for protecting individual human rights.

The formation of Bosnia-Herzegovina is a critical moment for the relationship political theory and international law suppose between the state and human rights. For all the discussion of the “Responsibility to Protect”, state-building in Bosnia has also meant the visible reintroduction of international trusteeship. The implications of state-building for human rights are profound under conditions of full sovereignty. Under amended or shared sovereignty human rights outcomes are mixed at best, atrocious at worst and rather unpredictable in any event.

The development of the Bosnian state holds lessons for Iraq and Afghanistan, as specifically demonstrated in the report by Marcus Cox (<http://www.casin.ch/web/pdf/cox.pdf>) and article by Mladen Ivanic. The materials in this section are therefore useful on their own and in contrast to the efforts described in the sections on Iraq and Afghanistan.

Political Economy

2001. *Bosnia: Reshaping the International Machinery*. International Crisis Group.
<http://www.crisisgroup.org/home/index.cfm?id=1495&l=1>.

Sets forth observations on and recommendations for the formation of a European-integrated states after Dayton. Specific focus on the importance of key state functions, such as those that facilitate economic growth.

1997. “The disunited state of Bosnia.” *Economist*. 343(49).

Abstract: Surveys the efforts to unite Bosnia following the Dayton peace conference. The projected pull-out dates for North Atlantic Treaty Organization troops; Relations between Bosnia's Muslims, Serbs, and Croats; The passing of laws by parliament that will create a central bank, common currency, customs union, and common external tariffs; The efforts to fund reconstruction; The status of the war-crimes tribunal; The role of Carlos Westendorp.

Peter Andreas. 2004. “The Clandestine Political Economy of War and Peace in Bosnia.” *International Studies Quarterly*. 48(29).

Abstract: Most contemporary intrastate military conflicts have a criminalized dimension: In various ways and to varying degrees they use smuggling networks and criminal actors to create and sustain the material basis for warfare. Despite its importance, the criminalized side of intrastate war and its legacy for postwar reconstruction is not a central focus of analysis in most scholarly accounts of armed conflict. A detailed examination of the Bosnian conflict illustrates the explanatory usefulness of a “bottom up” clandestine political economy approach to the study

of war and post-war reconstruction. Drawing on interviews with former military leaders, local and international officials, and in-country observers, I argue that the outbreak, persistence, termination, and aftermath of the 1992-1995 war cannot be explained without taking into account the critical role of smuggling practices and quasi-private criminal combatants. The article suggests the need for greater bridging and broadening of the study of security, political economy, and crime.

Klas Bergman. 1996. "Rebuilding Bosnia--a race against time." *Christian Science Monitor*. 88(19).

Abstract: Opinion. Comments on international efforts to rebuild Bosnia & Herzegovina. Urgency of the situation; Fragile state of peace; Need to keep the people content through job creation and immediate normalcy of daily activities; Provision of funding by the European Union and the World Bank; Direction of future funding and reconstruction efforts.

Michael Bhatia. 2005. "Postconflict Profit: The Political Economy of Intervention." *Global Governance*. 11(205).

Abstract: Whereas the various forms of international political involvement are generally predictable after a decade of U.N. peace operations. In comparison, the various elements involved in economic reconstruction are rarely examined. The economic dimension of these interventions is more characterized by its totality-by the interaction between a variety of actors and policies-than by the dominance of a single issue. This article examines the interaction between the actors and issues involved in the economic dimension of interventions in the Balkans (Bosnia, Croatia, Kosovo), East Timor, Afghanistan, and Iraq. Each case is assessed in terms of five thematic areas: the war economy and the previous power competitors; international financial institutions and donors; the international and national administration; international, regional, and national business; and long-term development.

Timothy Donais. 2005. "A tale of two towns: human security and the limits of post-war normalization in Bosnia-Herzegovina." *Journal of Southern Europe & the Balkans*. 7(19).

Abstract: Focuses on the security and the limits of post-war normalization in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Details on the elements of the functional Bosnian state; Accounts on the issue of post-conflict human security in the region; Dissonance between relative progress at the state level and socio-economic and political stability; Commitment of the international community to the region.

Amra Festic and Adrian Rausche. 2004. "War by Other Means How Bosnia's Clandestine Political Economies Obstruct Peace and State Building." *Problems of Post-Communism*. 51(27).

Abstract: Focuses on how Bosnia's clandestine political economies obstruct peace and state building. Wartime political figures' occupation of key economic posts.

International Monetary Fund. Bosnia and Herzegovina—2005 Article IV Consultation, Concluding Statement of the IMF Mission. <http://www.imf.org/external/np/ms/2005/041705.htm>.

Abstract: Preliminary statement of the IMF Mission to Bosnia. Recounts the state of banking, monetary and fiscal sectors in Bosnia to date in view of IMF orthodoxy on these matters. Vladimir Gligorov. 2000. "The Role of the State in the Balkans." UNDP and The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Romania. Sinaia, Romania: UNDP for Europe and CIS.

Tom Ichiniowski and Judy Schriener. 1996. "Bosnia reconstruction going quickly but some gaps exist." *ENR: Engineering News-Record*. 237(9).

Abstract: Reports on the civilian reconstruction projects in Bosnia and Hercegovina. International aid for the projects; Gaps in the funding of the projects; Estimated cost of the rebuilding program.

Mark M. Nelson and Carla Anne Robbins. 1995. "Companies jockey for share of effort to rebuild Bosnia." *Wall Street Journal - Eastern Edition*. 226(A3).

Abstract: Focuses on companies' land share reconstruction of Bosnia as soon as the peace accord is signed. United States' troops in Bosnia.

A. Ohanyan. 2002. "Post-Conflict Global Governance: The Case of Microfinance Enterprise Networks in Bosnia and Herzegovina." *International Studies Perspectives*. 3(396).

Abstract: The article examines the institutional infrastructure that supports the foreign aid flows in the microcredit sector in postconflict Bosnia and Herzegovina. It documents the mobilization of transnational networks between different international agencies in the course of the policy formulation and implementation, and elicits the effects that certain network attributes exert on the policy choices made by individual organizations. How and why do international governmental and nongovernmental organizations, with at times conflicting goals, join forces in such networks? More important, whose goals are eventually implemented, and under what conditions? Whose goals are diluted in the process of network mobilization? The article seeks some answers to these questions, demonstrating how transnational networks intermediate between the organizational goals and the final policy outcomes that result from such a network-based mode of global governance in postconflict regions.

Vanessa Pupavac. 2005. "Empowering women? an assessment of international gender policies in Bosnia." *International Peacekeeping*. 12(391).

Abstract: International policy-making promises to empower women in Bosnia through encouraging their participation in the political process, giving them a voice in civil society and providing enhanced opportunities for economic independence. This essay challenges these claims, suggesting that while a narrow echelon of young middle-class urban professionals have benefited from international gender approaches, the prospects for ordinary Bosnian women have not improved. First, the essay considers international attempts to promote the political empowerment of women through quota mechanisms and support for women's organizations operating in civil society. Secondly, it considers international policies intended to further the economic empowerment of women and how these relate to broader neo-liberal prescriptions for the post-war state. It concludes that international policies, in both the political and economic realms, contain fundamental limitations which look likely to frustrate the long-term advancement of women in Bosnia.

Transition to Autonomy

Florian Bieber. 2002. "Bosnia-Herzegovina: Developments towards a More Integrated State?" *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs*. 22(205).

Abstract: Explores the developments in Bosnia-Herzegovina towards the development of a more integrated state. Structure of Bosnian power-sharing; Peace accords seeking to strike a balance between competing demands; Bosnia as a multinational federation; Functioning of power-sharing to the elected officials holding positions in this system.

Elizabeth M. Cousens. 2001. "Building Peace in Bosnia." Peacebuilding as Politics: Cultivating Peace in Fragile Societies. with Karin Wermester and Chetan Kumar. Boulder and London: Lynne Rienner.

Argues that Dayton has not been helpful to Bosnian peacebuilding, but has actually presented obstacles to the process. Asserts that international state-building has not provided concrete guidance for local and international actors, and that it has been effectively abandoned in any event. Calls for a redirection of focus away from elites and toward more popular participation in the democratization process.

Marcus Cox. 2001. State Building in Post-Conflict Reconstruction: Lessons from Bosnia. Centre for Applied Studies in International Negotiations. <http://www.casin.ch/web/pdf/cox.pdf>.

Identifies a dispersed constitutional structure, violent vested interests within the state, and weak institutional capacity as principal obstacles to state-building. Further identifies three stages in post-fighting reconstruction: military stabilization, the rise of the High Representative, and the inception of state building. Lists numerous recommendations for this final period.

Ivo H. Daalder. 1997. "Bosnia after SFOR: Options for continued U.S. engagement." *Survival*. 39(5).

Abstract: *Presents information on Bosnia and Hercegovina and the options for United States armed forces continued presence within the countries. Detailed information of the situation within Bosnia; Reference to Dayton Agreement problems, political constraints, Stabilization force (SFOR); Effects of the Bosnian situation on the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO).*

Marianne Ducasse-Rogier. 2004. "Recovering from Dayton: From 'peace-keeping' to 'state building' in Bosnia and Herzegovina." *Helsinki Monitor*. 15(76).

Abstract: *Focuses on the international involvement of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Expansion of the Office of the High Representative; Division of the country in two entities; Steps taken to alleviate the ethno-territorial partition of the territory; Analysis of the difficulties in the state-building effort of the country.*

Phil Gunby. 1996. "Military medicine's role continues in Bosnia." *JAMA: Journal of the American Medical Association*. 276(1370).

Abstract: *Reports that United States military medical personnel will probably work in Bosnia-Herzegovina beyond the one-year stay, originally expected to end December 20, 1996. Brief details on troops participation in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) peace-enforcement effort; Problems caused by ticks in the area.*

European Stability Initiative. 2005. List of Dismissed Politicians. <http://www.esiweb.org/statebuilding/dismissals.php>.

List and some brief explanations of politicians dismissed by the Office of the High Representative.

Sally Morphet. 2002. "Current International Civil Administration: The Need for Political Legitimacy." *International Peacekeeping*. 9(140).

Abstract: The article examines the three current international transitional civil administrations in Bosnia, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and East Timor, as well as the former United Nations (U.N.) transitional Administration in Eastern Slavonia, Baranja and Western Sirmium in Croatia. It is argued that transitional civil administrations are more likely to achieve political legitimacy, nationally and internationally, as well as in the long terms, if the states involved base their peacebuilding work on international legal standards and norms. These standards also need to be mirrored in the establishment of acceptable and accepted frameworks of law at the national level. It is argued that U.N. member states were able to set up East Timor's transitional civil administration with only certain procedural difficulties because U.N. member states conformed to international legal standards and norms in this respect. Peacebuilding was defined by U.N. Secretary-General in 1997 as 'the various concurrent and integrated actions undertaken at the end of a conflict to consolidate peace and prevent a recurrence of armed confrontation', or, putting it differently, the achievement of peace with sufficient justice, reconciliation and development in the state concerned.

Christophe Solioz and Wolfgang Petritsch. 2003. "THE INTERVIEW: The fate of Bosnia and Herzegovina: an exclusive interview of Christophe Solioz with Wolfgang Petritsch." *Journal of Southern Europe and the Balkans*. 5(3): 355-373.

Abstract: Interviews Wolfgang Petritsch, special envoy of the European Union for Kosovo from 1998 to 1999 and European Union chief negotiator at the Kosovo peace talks in 1999. Regional approach and conflict management; Local elites and political culture; Situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1999.

Dominik Zaum. 2003. "The Paradox of Sovereignty: International Involvement in Civil Service Reform in Bosnia and Herzegovina." *International Peacekeeping*. 10(102).

Abstract: This article explores the normative framework within which international administrations engage in post-conflict statebuilding. By looking at the aims and justifications for the involvement of the international community in the reform of the civil service in Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH), it shows how this intervention is shaped by a liberal conception of state sovereignty that emphasizes legitimate state authority. The international administration tries to establish legitimate state authority by pushing for certain reforms. The article concludes that international involvement can be characterized as a 'paradox of sovereignty': the international administration compromises aspects of Bosnia's sovereignty to enable Bill to fulfil its obligations as a sovereign. The tensions this creates have important implications for liberal thinking about the subject of international relations, and for the policymaking of international administrations.

NGOs and Civil Society Organizations

Bronwyn Evans-Kent and Roland Beilker. 2003. "Peace Beyond the State? NGOs in Bosnia and Herzegovina." *Mitigating Conflict*. Henry F. Carey and Oliver P. Richmond. London and Portland, OR: Frank Cass.

Scrutinizes the impact of donors, international organizations, and coordination between reconstruction actors on NGO peacebuilding efforts. Stresses the importance of local knowledge and inter-organizational cooperation for effective NGO programming.

Bronwyn Evans-Kent and Roland Bleiker. 2003. "Peace beyond the State? NGOs in Bosnia and Herzegovina." *International Peacekeeping*. 10(103).

Abstract: The article focuses on nongovernmental organizations (NGO) in Bosnia and Herzegovina. NGO played an important role during the Cold War. But the significance of the contribution has often been limited by a political climate dominated by states and international security organizations. Once the bipolar structures of Cold War politics had collapsed, the international community became increasingly aware of benefits of non-state organizations. In recent years, NGO have become a popular vehicle for the delivery and implementation of services that states are unable or reluctant to provide. The article scrutinizes the potential and limits of NGO contributions to peacebuilding and long-term stability. Works of several organizations in the context of post-conflict reconstruction in Bosnia and Herzegovina are examined in the article. NGO have been active in Bosnia for a decade and hundreds of organizations have developed and implemented various projects, from victim advocacy to income generation and agricultural drainage. Some lessons can, indeed, be drawn from the Bosnian case, and they are of relevance to the general debate about advantages and disadvantages of NGO. Those who stress benefits of the nongovernmental sector focus primarily on the ability of NGO to act outside the formal structures of national and international politics.

Adam Fagan. 2005. "Civil society in Bosnia ten years after Dayton." *International Peacekeeping*. 12(3): 406-419.

Abstract: A core element of the international community's state-building efforts in Bosnia has been the development and strengthening of civil society. Since Dayton, the imperative to rebuild and refashion civil society has been identified as critical for the emergence of a democratic state. It has also been viewed as being instrumental in weakening the grip of nationalist political parties. In addition to the perceived political dividend, the development of civil society is seen as fundamental for stimulating the development of the economy and for entrenching the rule of law. Yet to place such enormous and onerous responsibilities on NGOs and civic organizations stretches the conceptual boundaries of an already contested and elastic concept. This essay assesses what has emerged under the banner of "civil society," considers the roles and functions of the various local and international NGOs, and assesses their relationship and contribution to the overall project of state-building.

David W. Hendon and Mark Long. 1998. "Notes on church-state affairs: Bosnia." *Journal of Church & State*. 40(507).

Abstract: Presents information relating to the affairs of church and state within Bosnia, with reference to reports made by the Western and Bosnian officials regarding Iranian intelligence agents infiltrating the United States program to train the Bosnian army. Estimated number of Iranian agents who have reportedly infiltrated Bosnian Muslim groups.

Oliver P. Richmond and Henry F. Carey. 2003. *Mitigating conflict: the role of NGOs*. London; Portland, OR: Frank Cass.

Ivan Krastev. 2002. *The Inflexibility Trap: Frustrated Societies, Weak States and Democracy*. UNDP for Europe and the CIS. http://www.cls-sofia.org/publications/papers/inflexibility_trap.pdf

Presents a citizen-centered approach to democratization in the Balkans. Focuses on the problem of corruption in the context of both post-war and post-communist reconstruction. Recommends reform of the media in addition to the judiciary in order to regenerate public trust in the nascent Bosnian state.

Monica Llamazares and David Crosier. 1999. "The Myth of Civil Society: Approaches to Societal Reconstruction in Southeastern Europe." *Higher Education in Europe*. 24(553).

Abstract: As a concept, "civil society" in the minds of some people has become a panacea for the problems besetting eastern and central Europe in transition, particularly former Yugoslavia. Citing the case of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the authors argue that the situation is not being helped by the fact that Western donors of aid are imposing their own conceptions of civil society that are not necessarily what the country needs. Citing the case of Kosovo, the authors further argue that the long period of Kosovar resistance preceding the outbreak of hostilities in March 1999 had already enabled Kosovar society to develop a vibrant democratic movement, hence the elements of a civil society, that may not be well served by the international aid effort that began in June 1999. The wellspring of a true democratic and civil society is indigenous. If its development can, in some cases, be aided from outside, it can never be successfully imposed.

Maureen Taylor. 2000. "Media Relations in Bosnia: A Role for Public Relations in Building Civil Society." *Public Relations Review*. 26(1).

Abstract: Examines the status of media relations in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Role of public relations in the development of civil society; Importance of media relations to the success of nongovernmental organizations; Similarities and differences between the media relations in Bosnia and Western countries; Different perspectives offered by the alternative media.

Martha Walsh. 2000. Aftermath: The Role of Women's Organizations in Postconflict Bosnia and Herzegovina. <http://www.microfinancegateway.org/content/article/detail/2783>.

Abstract: This paper examines women's organisations in postconflict Bosnia-Herzegovina; Describes their emergence, activities, and programs and the changes in their activities over time; Assesses the impact of these organisations in addressing gender issues associated with the conflict; Discusses the nature of assistance provided to them by the international community and the areas of tension between them. The paper is based on interviews with the leaders and staff of women's organisations, staff of international organizations, representatives of the donor agencies and a cross section of Bosnian women. It gives good coverage of microcredit programs.

Dominik Zaum. 2003. "The Paradox of Sovereignty: International Involvement in Civil Service Reform in Bosnia and Herzegovina." *International Peacekeeping*. 10(102).

Abstract: This article explores the normative framework within which international administrations engage in post-conflict statebuilding. By looking at the aims and justifications for the involvement of the international community in the reform of the civil service in Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH), it shows how this intervention is shaped by a liberal conception of state sovereignty that emphasizes legitimate state authority. The international administration tries to establish legitimate state authority by pushing for certain reforms. The article concludes that international involvement can be characterized as a 'paradox of sovereignty': the international administration compromises aspects of Bosnia's sovereignty to enable BiH to fulfil its obligations as a sovereign. The tensions this creates have important implications for liberal thinking about the subject of international relations, and for the policymaking of international administrations.

Institutions

2000. "Justice, Accountability and Social Reconstruction: An Interview Study of Bosnian Judges and Prosecutors." *Berkeley Journal of International Law*. 18(102).

Abstract: Investigates the relationship between justice, accountability and reconstruction in the former Yugoslavia, according to judges and prosecutors in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Acceptability of international justice; Factors that may contribute to non-acceptance of international criminal trials; Relationship between criminal trials and social reconstruction.

Florian Bieber. 2002. "Bosnia-Herzegovina: Developments towards a More Integrated State?" *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs*. 22(205).

Abstract: Explores the developments in Bosnia-Herzegovina towards the development of a more integrated state. Structure of Bosnian power-sharing; Peace accords seeking to strike a balance between competing demands; Bosnia as a multinational federation; Functioning of power-sharing to the elected officials holding positions in this system.

Sumantra Bose. 2002. *Bosnia after Dayton: nationalist partition and international intervention*. New York: Oxford Univ. Press.

Rigorous and far-reaching assessment of post-Dayton Bosnia. In the chapter most relevant to state-building, the author considers forms of federalism most compatible with the liberal international system. Isolates the importance of "good neighborly" relations for internal peace and security.

Marcus Cox. 2001. State Building in Post-Conflict Reconstruction: Lessons from Bosnia. Centre for Applied Studies in International Negotiations. <http://www.casin.ch/web/pdf/cox.pdf>.

Identifies a dispersed constitutional structure, violent vested interests within the state, and weak institutional capacity as principal obstacles to state-building. Further identifies three stages in post-fighting reconstruction: military stabilization, the rise of the High Representative, and the inception of state building. Lists numerous recommendations for this final period.

1993. "Saving Sarajevo, from below." *New Yorker*. 69(39): 45-7.

Abstract: Discussion of Sarajevo's problems by the head and founder of Intertect Relief & Reconstruction. Problem on water supply; Lack of heating; Importation of thousand tons of basic seeds.

Timothy Donais. 2005. "A tale of two towns: human security and the limits of post-war normalization in Bosnia-Herzegovina." *Journal of Southern Europe & the Balkans*. 7(19).

Abstract: Focuses on the security and the limits of post-war normalization in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Details on the elements of the functional Bosnian state; Accounts on the issue of post-conflict human security in the region; Dissonance between relative progress at the state level and socio-economic and political stability; Commitment of the international community to the region.

Vladimir Gligorov. 2000. "The Role of the State in the Balkans" in Balkan Reconstruction: Economic Aspects. UNDP and The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Romania. Sinaia, Romania: UNDP for Europe and CIS.

Regional analysis of the role of the state in democratic transitions from conflict and communism. Discusses both common indicators and means for successful transitions. Pays special attention to the desirable size and quality of the state vis-a-vis corruption and economic growth.

Kathleen Hill Hawk. 2002. *Constructing the stable state: goals for intervention and peacebuilding*. Westport, CT: Praeger.

Examines Bosnia among other cases of post-conflict state-building. Begins with a discussion of both state theory and a broad assessment of recent state-building efforts. The chapter on Bosnia gives a good overview of the development of the state there.

Timothy Donais and Andreas Pickel. 2003. *The International Engineering of a Multiethnic State in Bosnia: Bound to Fail, Yet Likely to Persist*. <http://www.cpsa-acsp.ca/paper-2003/pickel.pdf>.

Argues that ethnic identities should be seen as resources rather than obstacles to state-building in Bosnia.

Christophe Solioz. 2004. "The Constitution at Stake." *Transitions Online*. <http://www.tol.cz/>.

Abstract: Reports on the importance of constitutional issues on the reconstruction of political authority in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Significance of constitutional reforms to the diplomatic initiatives of the international community; Information on the European Stability Initiative; Details of the constitutional amendments proposed by the Serbian Civic Council in 1998 postulating the equality of the three constituent peoples and all citizens.

Also available at <http://www.christophesolioz.ch/papers/2004/doc/tol29012004.pdf>.

Heike Alefsen; Wolfgang Benedek; Michael O'Flaherty; Ermin Sarajlija (eds.). 1999. *Human rights in Bosnia and Herzegovina after Dayton: from theory to practice*. The Hague; Boston, MA: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers.