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Bosnia and Herzegovina's Foreign Policy Since Independence

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Dedicated to our sisters Selma Hasić and Adna Karabegović

FOREWORD

On November 21, 1995, in a peace agreement negotiated at a US Air Force base in Dayton, Ohio, Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) emerged from a devastating three-year war in which more than 100,000 people were killed, genocide and war crimes were committed on a vast scale against civilians, and the country was torn apart by ethnic conflict. The Dayton Peace Process was sponsored by the United States and led by my late colleague Richard Holbrooke, who skillfully deployed an aggressive diplomatic strategy backed by the credible threat of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) force to save lives and end the war. As the US Assistant Secretary of State for Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor, I worked with Holbrooke to bring the warring parties to Dayton and negotiate an agreement in which the sovereignty of BiH and the human rights of its people could be protected. The imperfect peace that followed was based on a compromise that established the framework for a new hybrid state of BiH, encompassing separate governing structures for the majority Bosniak and minority Serb and Croat populations of the country.

Over the last 23 years, BiH has emerged from its genocidal disaster to become a complex but weak sovereign state. The international community has played a fitful and uneven role in assisting it as a post-conflict state. The first and most important international task was to work with Bosnians to provide security and create the institutions to support it. One of the chief lessons from international engagement with BiH was that to establish security, the military and civilian aspects of peacebuilding had to be closely coordinated. In fact, the civilian authority was weak and

disconnected from the military command, compounding the difficulties of providing a secure environment.

Two important tasks—arresting war criminals and creating an effective civilian police force—fell between the cracks. Scores of indicted war criminals continued to roam the country and were able to disrupt the peace process for years. The international peacekeeping force should have been explicitly ordered by its civilian leaders to arrest all persons indicted by the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia as soon as possible. At the same time, a poorly trained international civilian police force failed to establish a working relationship with the peacekeeping force. By more closely coordinating military and civilian operations—for example, through integrated training programs and command structures—the gap between these two crucial aspects of peace implementation could have been narrowed so that other longer term challenges such as the establishment of a functioning sovereign state could have been addressed sooner.

As steps were taken to establish a secure environment, halting efforts were made to construct a constitutional foundation for the rule of law. These efforts were impeded by the continuing influence of hardline leaders who had stimulated the conflict in the first place. Reviving civil society was another long-term challenge of the peacebuilding process. Indigenous media and civic organizations should be the backbone of Bosnia's political culture, but they were the first victims of the conflict. Civic and religious organizations were hit hard by the destructive forces of genocide, ethnic cleansing, and state-sponsored terror that swept through Bosnian society.

As civil society slowly re-emerged, the institutions of democratic governance began to be created. Because the international community was preoccupied by its search for an "exit strategy" after its initial role in ending the conflict, it tended to push too early for the formalities of democracy before the society was ready for them. The most visible of these processes, democratic elections, were the most difficult and even the most dangerous to undertake. When an election is conducted too soon after a conflict, it can be manipulated by the former combatants. This is what happened in Bosnia when the United States insisted on conducting internationally supervised elections less than nine months after the ink was dry on the Dayton Accords. The unintended result was an early ratification of the authority of political opponents of the peace process and a firming up of the very ethnic divisions that the hardliners had used to propel themselves to power.

The largest task of peacebuilding in Bosnia depended on all the others. Sustainable social and economic development was ultimately the only path for a society shattered by war to escape the conditions of poverty, inequality, lawlessness, hatred, and repression that had caused the conflict. But development could be successful only when internal security, civil society, and democratic governance were all on the road to recovery, and leaders who had carried out the war were finally removed from the scene. War criminals too often were allowed to benefit from international economic assistance before they were arrested or sidelined. The deeply corrupt economy of the Milošević era, for example, was sustained in Serbia by European investors who found loopholes in the international sanctions regime. The international community sometimes failed to avoid the extremes of development assistance: providing aid too early to the wrong people, or too little and too late. As a result, the creation of a durable peace and the establishment of a functioning Bosnian state remain works in progress nearly a quarter century after Dayton.

How can a weak post-conflict country struggling with basic issues of governance formulate its external goals and implement policies to achieve them? That is the question addressed by this remarkable path-breaking book. While there is a myriad of research on post-conflict state-building and democratization, there is a dearth of literature on the foreign policy aspirations and activities of post-conflict countries. *Bosnia and Herzegovina's Foreign Policy since Independence* fills this gap and provides a unique case study of a network of actors who, against great odds and internal impediments, have formulated foreign policy decision-making processes within a weak state and a complex domestic political system.

The book chapters, authored by a new generation of forward-looking Bosnian scholars and scholars who focus on BiH, explore territory in international relations that has rarely if ever been examined. For example, can there be foreign policy agency in a weak state with a hybrid institutional governance structure and an absence of clear legal and constitutional foundations? Can a state that is not fully independent in decision-making from international actors, in which sovereignty is internally contested, and where there is no consensus on foreign policy positioning, nonetheless, formulate and implement a foreign policy? The results speak for themselves. In its quarter century of independent statehood, BiH has presided over the United Nations (UN) Security Council and the Council of Europe (COE); has begun to prepare applications for admission to membership in NATO and the European Union (EU); has

contributed to international crisis management, peacekeeping, and peace-building missions around the world; and has turned to international courts for the resolution of its own disputes with neighboring states. This record illustrates the resilience and determination of externally oriented Bosnian foreign affairs professionals to help their country find a place in a complex and tumultuous globalized world and thereby overcome its own legacy of deadly conflict.

Boston, MA, USA

John Shattuck

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Regardless of the time and, occasionally, continental distances that separated us throughout the process, this book really is a testament to the value of collaborative work, learning from one another, and an ever-evolving personal and professional relationship. The volume materialized from ideas about policy governance to a discussion about gaps in literature on BiH between the two of us, into a lively conversation with scholars who were just as intrigued as we were to delve into discussing foreign policy of BiH from different perspectives. This led us to move quickly toward realization. We are indebted to our contributors for going on this journey with us and to the team at Palgrave for supporting this project.

We are very grateful for Amra Karčić's careful review of the book and being in charge of the index. Moreover, we wish to thank our families for their constant encouragement and our friends and colleagues, particularly Armela Ramić, who were patient throughout the writing and editing process, listening to us discuss different aspects of BiH foreign policy.

September 2018

Sarajevo and Shanghai

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ABBREVIATIONS

AF	Armed Forces
AII	Adriatic Ionian Initiative
BiH	Bosnia and Herzegovina
CEFTA	Central European Free Trade Area
CoE	Council of Europe
CSCE	Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, now OSCE
D4D	Diaspora for Development
DCP	Danube Cooperation Process
DPA	Dayton Peace Agreement
EBRD	European Bank for Reconstruction and Development
EC	European Commission
ECOSOC	United Nations Economic and Social Council
ECtHR	European Court of Human Rights
EU	European Union
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations
FBiH	Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina
FP	Foreign Policy
FPA	Foreign Policy Analysis
FRY	Federal Republic of Yugoslavia
FYROM	Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia
GCC	Gulf Cooperation Council
HDZ	Croat Democratic Union
HVO	Croat Defense Council
IAEA	International Atomic Energy Agency
ICC	International Criminal Court
ICJ	International Court of Justice

ICTY	International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia
IFOR	Implementation Force
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IPAP	Individual Partnership Action Plan
IR	International Relations
ISA	International Seabed Authority
ISAF	International Security Assistance Force
JNA	Yugoslav People's Army
MAP	Membership Action Plan (NATO)
MFA	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
MHRR	Ministry of Human Rights and Refugees
NAM	Non-Aligned Movement
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
OHR	Office of High Representative
OIC	Organisation of Islamic Cooperation
OPCW	Organisation for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons
OSCE	Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe
PCIJ	Permanent Court of International Justice
PfP	Partnership for Peace Program
PIC	Peace Implementation Council
PSOTC	Peace Support Operations Training Center
RACVIA	Regional Arms Control and Verification and Implementation Assistance Center
RAI	Regional Anticorruption Initiative
RBiH	Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina
RCC	Regional Cooperation Council
RS	Republika Srpska (BiH)
SAA	Stabilization and Association Agreement
SDA	Party of Democratic Action
SDC	Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation
SDS	Serbian Democratic Party
SFOR	Stabilization Force
SHAPE	Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe
SNSD	Alliance of Independent Social Democrats
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNGA	UN General Assembly
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's
UNSC	UN Security Council

US	United States
USAID	United States Agency for International Development Emergency Fund
WB	World Bank
WB6	Western Balkan Six
WCC	War Crimes Chamber
WTO	World Trade Organization

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