

Contents

Acknowledgements	7
List of Acronyms	9
Foreword by Jakob Finci (Sarajevo)	11
Introduction	13
1. From Protectorate to Sovereignty	17
1.1. New approaches	17
1.2. Perceptions of ethnic warfare and (dis)integration processes	22
1.3. Democratisation and transition processes	26
1.4. Towards new peace-building processes	31
1.5. Why Bosnian civil society matters	38
1.6. OSCE Mission to Bosnia and Herzegovina's field experience	48
1.7. Challenges for the Stability Pact and for Bosnia	57
2. Informality in Bosnia	61
2.1. Informality and formality of social networks	61
2.2. Past and present [in]formal networks in Bosnia	67
2.3. State building, [in]formal networks and foreign intervention	84
3. The Art of the Possible	86
3.1. State building in a globalising world	86
3.2. Structural defects and challenges of the IC's intervention	87
3.3. The first post-war turning point	93
3.4. The responsibility of the international community and of Bosnian politicians	98
3.5. The challenge of controlled democracy and the future of Bosnia	104
4. Moving towards the Turning Point	107
4.1. Ten years of Dayton and beyond	107
4.2. Integration as a multilayered process	117
4.3. The strategic issue: Conditionality versus ownership	133
4.4. Forthcoming changes	139

5. The Balkans in Post-Referendum Europe	144
5.1. What the EU has not done in the past and what it can do	144
5.2. Western Balkans: First case of a 'Wider Europe'?	147
5.3. Western Balkans: The last case of the EU?	149
5.4. EU's future: Strong and inclusive or weak and exclusive?	150
Afterword by Tihomir Loza (London)	153
Selected Bibliography	156
About the Author	171

Acknowledgements

The complexity of the post-war transition and democratisation processes in the Western Balkans, especially in Bosnia, is well known. In light of this, my conviction is that collective works, bringing together experts with different backgrounds, may represent an appropriate approach, especially when working on policy-oriented papers. This is the background to various publications I have edited – together first with Svebor André Dizdarević and then with Tobias K. Vogel – in English, French, German and Bosnian-Serbo-Croat.

In this very stimulating environment, I was also able to develop my own thoughts and arguments and give them a specific space. Against the background of ten years of the Dayton-Paris Accord, I wanted to collect papers written in the past five years focusing on Bosnia. They analyze the current situation from different viewpoints and outline perspectives for the future. This book presents significantly updated papers written between 2001 and 2003, as well as new contributions written specifically for the present publication. Thus, these chapters originated as separate papers and can to some extent stand on their own and be read in isolation; therefore, there is a small amount of repetition that seemed inevitable.

'Samoodgovornost' is the thread that runs through this book, which means both ownership and responsibility. Country ownership of the transformation and integration processes demand in my view, firstly, thinking from within the country, and, secondly, the exploration of alternative ways for local and foreign stakeholders to interact. Responsibility – as I understand it – refers more to a personal and collective position: readiness as a citizen to act and as an intellectual to think politically (Hannah Arendt). These thoughts are closely related to the Wolfgang Petritsch philosophy. One of the purposes of these collected essays is to attempt to work out this approach.

I owe so much to many people with whom I have shared my ideas over the past years, who have helped me develop them, and who have provided encouragement and support, that the list would be too long. I have benefited in particular from the advice and comments of Christian Ebner and Tobias K. Vogel. Thanks are also due to Alex Potter for editing the manuscript. A generous grant from the Charles Veillon Foundation (Lausanne) made the production of this volume possible. But most of all, my thanks go to Géraldine and Augustin for their love and encouragement throughout these years.

Christophe Solioz

Geneva, 18 September 2005