

Kakav pristup za prevazilaženje bh. situacije

Novo partnerstvo između Evrope i BiH je očigledno

Situacija u BiH je teška i ostat će takva još neko vrijeme • Sadašnje administrativne strukture su neodržive i mnogi slojevi troše novac - vaš i naš • Hajde zajedno da promijenimo ustavno uređenje zemlje i uložimo novac i izvore tamo gdje su hitno potrebni

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Pošto visoki predstavnik i specijalni predstavnik Evropske unije Miroslav Lajčák napušta BiH, došlo je vrijeme da se sa zakasnele tranzicije pređe na pravičnije i efikasnije veze između BiH i EU. Naš prijedlog je iskoristiti priliku i krenuti s potpuno novim pristupom ozbiljnim shvatanjem partnerstva. Potreba za ovim je još hitnija, jer svijet ulazi u najgoru ekonomsku krizu od Drugog svjetskog rata. Značajne promjene u Vašingtonu, također, signaliziraju novu priliku da se u BiH stvari ovaj put dovedu u red.

Podsticaj za promjene

Situacija u BiH je teška i ostat će takva još neko vrijeme. U regionu nema zemlje čije postojanje toliko zavisi od produžene integracije Evrope. No, ujedinjenje Evrope nije jednosmjerna ulica. Evropa, također, mora rasti unutar BiH. Čekali smo lokalne vlasti da okončaju neodgovorne međusobne prepirke i ostave maksimalističke pozicije iza sebe. Evropa ne bi bila tamo gdje je danas da nije uspjela premostiti historijske podjele. Građani BiH trebaju biti svjesni da je to moguće i u njihovoj zemlji.

Šteta je kako se politika još vodi u ovoj zemlji, kako uslovi postavljani u Sporazumu o stabilizaciji i pridruživanju, koji bi dozvolili zatvaranje Ureda visokog predstavnika - i time se okončala ovisnost i međunarodno nadgledanje - ni-

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DRAMATIČNO
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su ispunjeni. Sve ovo je postalo sve manje prihvatljivo čak i za najjače pristalice BiH.

Ponekad se pitamo da li je svakodnevna politika svjesna rastućih teškoća koje stvara Evropi u doba ogromnih ekonomskih tegoba. Dok Evropa još mora posvećivati previše pažnje na region mnogo godina poslije ratova, druge, potencijalno daleko opasnije situacije ostaju zanemarene: sudbina Palestinaca u Gazi; nasumična ubistva u subsaharskoj Africi; Irak, Afganistan, Iran; izazovi globalnih proporcija, poput klimatskih promjena i rastuća borba za oskudnim prirodnim bogatstvima - poput one koju smo nedavno imali s ruskim gasom.

Nasuprot rastućim globalnim izazovima, hitnost da se obnov-



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ljeni i ozbiljni naponi brzo nađu na zajedničkom dnevnom redu i stvore novo partnerstvo između Evrope i BiH je očigledna.

Zajednički za novo partnerstvo

Ono što mi predlažemo je ući u zajedničku potragu za izrazito uspješnijim procesima izgradnje države. Koji su to suštinski elementi održive BiH u proširenoj Evropi? Sadašnje administrativne strukture su neodržive i mnogi slojevi troše novac - vaš i naš. Stoga, hajde zajedno da promijenimo ustavno uređenje zemlje i uložimo novac i izvore tamo gdje su hitno potrebni.

Kada se složimo oko tih - vrlo dobro poznatih - neophodnih promjena, odluke o realnom vremenskom okviru, zajednički predviđenom budžetu, nadzornim mehanizama i mogućim sankcijama mogu biti utvrđene. Nakon širih konsultacija s bh. interesnim stranama - vlada i civilno društvo - o profilu sljedećeg međunarodnog predstavnika, EU tada može odlučiti o osobi koja će voditi ove napore.

Ubiješeni smo da će - ukoliko bude ozbiljno shvaćeno i u Briselu i u Sarajevu - ovo novo partnerstvo između svih uključenih strana konačno BiH postaviti na put ka lokalnom vlasništvu i političkoj odgovornosti. Zauzvrat bi, također, povećalo odgovornost međunarodne zajednice - naročito EU.

PRAVIČNIJA SARADNJA
Trebalo bi se angažirati za pravičniju saradnju među zemljama regiona i time promovirati zajednički bosansko-hrvatsko-srpski program rada

Drugi ključni prioritet je unprijediti regionalnu saradnju. Regionalno vijeće za saradnju u Sarajevu ovoj dimenziji daje više vidljivosti u BiH. RCC se uglavnom fokusira na državni nivo, i to će biti dobro primljeno. Trebalo bi se angažirati za pravičniju saradnju među zemljama regiona i time promovirati zajednički bosansko-hrvatsko-srpski program rada.

Širenje procesa izgradnje regiona

U stvari, vrijeme je za balkanske lidere da se suoče sa svojom ulogom konstruktivnih regionalnih igrača. Vrsta Benelux eksperimenta - naravno, adaptirana specifičnostima regiona - mogla bi udvostručiti uspješnu strategiju Višegradske grupe. To bi trebalo inspirirati inovativno političko razmišljanje u BiH, Hrvatskoj i Srbiji. Kako se balkanske zemlje udaljavaju od teških postkonfliktnih godina, regionalna saradnja može efikasno dopuniti - čak pojačati - proces izgradnje članica zemalja EU.

No, izgradnja regiona - naročito na prostoru bivše Jugoslavije - višestepeni je proces. Kao što je ilustrirano EU "Programom transnacionalne saradnje jugoistočne Evrope" - jedan od 13 EU progra-

ma transnacionalne saradnje - regionalizam djeluje simultano u različitim omjerima - nad, pod i na državnim nivoima - jer se fokusira ne samo na nacionalne, već i regionalne i lokalne vlasti. U takvom okviru, lokalna demokratija, decentralizacija i subregionalna prekogranična saradnja kompletiraju program rada izgradnje države na konstruktivan način.

Ima toga još

Ali, ima još toga: Regionalni programi EU i Vijeća Evropa na Balkanu, zanimljivo, također uključuju zemlje članice EU - Italiju, Austriju, Sloveniju, Mađarsku, Slovačku, Grčku, Rumuniju i Bugarsku - i zemlje uključene u Evropsku politiku susjedstva - poput Ukrajine. Kroz ove programe, zemlje takozvanog zapadnog Balkana već su sada dio nove Evrope. To ilustrira kako novi trendovi u regionalizmu također pojačavaju izgradnju zemalja članica EU.

Uzeto sve zajedno, trenutne okolnosti izgledaju sumorno. U pogledu globalne krize i nastavka bh. zastoja, bojimo se: situacija u i oko BiH čini se dramatičnijom nego samo prije nekoliko mjeseci. Predložena agenda partnerstva o zajedničkoj odgovornosti između EU (podržana od SAD-a) i BiH mogla bi dati novi podstrek za dugo odgađane reforme. Novi vjetar puše u Vašingtonu. Promjena je, također, moguća u BiH.

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OSLOBODENJE

A Novel Approach to Overcome the Bosnian Quagmire

Wolfgang Petritsch and Christophe Solioz

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As Miroslav Lajčák—High Representative and European Union Special Representative since July 2007—leaves Bosnia and Herzegovina to become Slovakia's new foreign minister, the time has come for the overdue transition to a more equitable and effective working relationship between Bosnia and Herzegovina and the European Union (EU). Our proposal is to seize the opportunity and adopt a wholly new approach by taking partnership seriously. This is all the more urgent because the world is entering the worst economic crisis since World War II. The momentous changes in Washington, too, signal a new opportunity for getting it right in Bosnia and Herzegovina this time.

Impetus for Changes in a New Context

Bosnia and Herzegovina's situation is still difficult and will remain so for some time to come. There is no other country in the region whose existence depends so much on the continued integration of Europe. But the unification of Europe is not a one-way street. Europe needs to grow within Bosnia and Herzegovina as well. We have been waiting with rising exasperation for the local authorities to stop their irresponsible infighting and leave maximalist positions behind. Europe would not be where it is today had it not successfully built bridges across historical divides. Bosnia and Herzegovina—and its citizens above all—need to be aware that this is possible in their country as well.

Personally speaking, it is a crying shame how politics is still being conducted in this country, and how conditions set out in the EU Stabilisation and Association Agreement that would allow the closure of the Office of the High Representative—and thus put an end to dependency and international custodianship—are not met. This all has become less and less acceptable even for the strongest supporters of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

We sometimes wonder whether day-to-day politics is aware of the increasing difficulties that it is creating for Europe at a time of gigantic economic hardship. While Europe still has to pay too much attention to a region many years after the wars, other—potentially far more dangerous—situations remain unattended to: the fate of the Palestinians in Gaza; the random killings in sub-Saharan Africa; Iraq, Afghanistan and Iran; and challenges of global proportions like climate change and the growing conflict for scarce natural resources, as Europe experienced only recently with regard to Russian gas supplies.

Against this backdrop of mounting global challenges, the urgency of renewed and serious efforts to quickly arrive at a common agenda and create a new partnership between Europe and Bosnia and Herzegovina is patently clear.

A Common Agenda for a New Partnership

What we suggest is for Europe and Bosnia and Herzegovina to embark on a joint search for a decidedly more successful state-building process. What are the essential elements of a viable Bosnia and Herzegovina in an enlarged Europe? It has been stated time and again that the present administrative structures are unsustainable and that the many layers of governance are wasting the money of everyone concerned. Let's thus together change the country's constitutional set-up and get

money and resources to where they are urgently needed.

Once agreed on these—extremely well known—necessary changes, decisions on a realistic time frame, on the jointly provided budget, on the monitoring mechanism and possible sanctions could be fixed. After broad consultations with Bosnian stakeholders—government and civil society alike—about the profile of the next international representative, the EU could then decide on the person to lead this effort.

We are convinced that—if taken seriously in both Brussels and Sarajevo—this novel partnership among all parties involved would finally put Bosnia and Herzegovina on the road to local ownership and political responsibility. It would in turn enhance the responsibility and accountability of the international community—especially the EU—as well.

Expand the Region-Building Process

Another key priority is to push ahead with regional cooperation. The Regional Cooperation Council (RCC) in Sarajevo gives the regional dimension more visibility in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The RCC focuses mainly on the state level, and this is to be welcomed. It should push for more equitable cooperation among the countries of the region, and thus promote a common Bosnian-Croat-Serb agenda.

Indeed, it is time for Balkan leaders to face their role as constructive regional players. A kind of Benelux experiment—adapted to the specificities of the region, of course—could duplicate the successful strategy of, for example, the Visegrád Group. This should inspire innovative political thinking in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, and Serbia. As the Balkan countries move away from the difficult post-conflict years, regional cooperation could effectively complement—even reinforce—the EU member-state-building process.

But region building—particularly in the post-Yugoslav space—is a multi-level process. As illustrated by the EU “Transnational Cooperation Programme South East Europe”—one of the 13 EU transnational cooperation programmes—regionalism operates simultaneously at different levels—above, below and at the state level—as it focuses not only on national, but also on regional and local authorities. In such a framework, local democracy, decentralisation and subregional cross-border cooperation complete the state-building agenda in a constructive way.

But there is more to it than this: the EU and the Council of Europe regional programmes in the Balkans interestingly also involve EU member states—Italy, Austria, Slovenia, Hungary, Slovakia, Greece, Romania and Bulgaria—and countries affected by the European Neighbourhood Policy—such as Ukraine. Through these programmes, the countries of the so-called Western Balkans are already now part of the New Europe. This illustrates how emergent trends in regionalism also reinforce EU member state-building.

All things considered, the current circumstances look gloomy. In view of the global economic crisis and the continued Bosnian stalemate, we are concerned that the situation in and around Bosnia seems even more dramatic than it was only a few months ago. The proposed partnership agenda of joint responsibility between the EU (backed by the US) and Bosnia and Herzegovina could give a new impetus for the long overdue reforms. A new wind is blowing in Washington. Change is also possible in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

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