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The Rise and Fall
of Peacebuilding
in the Balkans

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The intention of this book is to appraise twenty years of peacebuilding in the Balkans. The actions of different international and domestic players are all evaluated against the overarching liberal framework which has influenced peacebuilding since the end of the Cold War and which involved primarily, but exclusively, rapid democratization and marketization. In this context, corruption and civil society—both key elements cutting across the liberal peacebuilding agenda—are recurring themes across all chapters, thus providing the focus around which the analysis is structured. Some of the individual chapters rework material from a wide range of my research over the last decade or so.

I began working on peacebuilding in the Balkans more than 20 years ago, first as a practitioner and then as an academic researcher. Over that time, I have benefited from the help of dozens of friends, colleagues, officials working for international organizations, civil society activists and, most importantly, family members. Any list would be too long, since it would lose the individuals in a ridiculously long stream of names. At the same time, it would likely be too short since, because of the poor state of my records, it would neglect mentioning at least a few people who contributed to the book. Accordingly, let me just say: Thanks to all of you (you know who you are).

However, I cannot skip mentioning four special debts. First, Oliver Richmond was the first who encouraged me to pursue this project at a time when I was not sure I would be able to bring it to fruition, and later accepted it in his book series. Second, some of the ideas discussed

in Chapter 3 evolved from a paper I wrote with Francesco Strazzari (Corruption in Post-Conflict Bosnia-Herzegovina and Kosovo: A Deal Among Friends, *Third World Quarterly*, 35 (5), pp. 132–148). Likewise, Chapter 8 develops issues I first explored with Stefanie Kappler and Jasmin Ramović (Bosnia-Herzegovina: Domestic Agency and the Inadequacy of the Liberal Peace, in Sandra Pogodda and Oliver P. Richmond, eds., *Post-liberal Peace Transitions*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, pp. 47–64). I am greatly indebted to the three of them for their help in developing my thinking on peacebuilding in the region. Third, for many years Sarajevo represented my research hub in the region. I cannot mention all the friends and colleagues who helped me navigate both the city and Balkan politics, but I want to single out Simone Ginzburg, whose friendship and warmth have been incredible. Finally, the writing of this book coincided with perhaps the most difficult period of my life thus far. I doubt it I could get through it without the help of Anna, Ilaria and Luce. I will always be grateful for all of their help and understanding.

This book is dedicated to Anna, my mother: *Vivamus dum licet esse bene.*

CONTENTS

1	Peacebuilding in the Balkans	1
2	The Evolution of Peacebuilding	27
Part I Dayton, or Liberal Imposition		
3	Stability and the Anti-corruption Agenda	55
4	Addressing the Symptoms Through Civil Society Building	81
Part II Brussels, or the Power of Attraction		
5	EUtopia and the Pull of Integration	109
6	Western Balkans Transitions and the Role of the European Union	135

Part III Tuzla, or the Local Turn

7	Local Views: Scepticism Towards Europe and Its Consequences	173
8	Undoing International Peacebuilding from Below?	203
9	Conclusions	229
	Index	245

ACRONYMS

ACCOUNT	Anti-Corruption Civic Organizations Unified Network
BiH	Bosnia-Herzegovina
CEE	Central and Eastern European
CEFTA	Central European Free Trade Area
CFSP	Common Foreign and Security Policy
CSOs	Civil Society Organizations
DPA	Dayton Peace Agreement
DPs	Displaced Persons
EU	European Union
EUFOR	European Union Force
EULEX	European Union Rule of Law Mission in Kosovo
EUSR	European Union Special Representative
FYROM	Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
ICB	International Commission on the Balkans
ICO	International Civilian Office
ICR	International Civilian Representative
ICTY	International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IPA	Instrument for Pre-Accession Assistance
KLA	Kosovo Liberation Army
KTA	Kosovo Trust Agency
LGBT	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender
MBOs	Member Benefit Organizations
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organizations

NSS	National Security Strategy
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OHR	Office of the High Representative
OSCE	Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe
PBOs	Public Benefit Organizations
RCC	Regional Cooperation Council
RS	Republika Srpska
SAA	Stabilization and Association Agreement
SAP	Stabilization and Association Process
SFOR	Stabilization Force
UN	United Nations
UNMIK	United Nations Mission in Kosovo
USAID	United States Agency for International Development