

EUROPEANISATION OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA: EUROPEAN UNION (NON) ACTORNESS

Bedrudin BRLJAVAC*

Abstract

For a long time Bosnia and Herzegovina has been grappling with deep political crisis. It has become common to hear that the country's political elites are to hold greatest responsibility because they have not demonstrated necessary political will and determination to reach expected compromise and speed up BiH's reforms on the road to the European Union. Although domestic political elites are to a large extent responsible for the country's stagnant reform processes the main aim of this paper was to explore to what extent can the European Union be held responsible for its approach towards Bosnia and Herzegovina. To do that I have used a Europeanization perspective as the main theoretical framework to measure the EU's power and capability to influence domestic policies in BiH. Although European Union has developed numerous institutional means in the post-war Bosnia and Herzegovina it's approach is still lacking coherence, commitment and unity. Also, such an approach of the EU member states have enabled Bosnian politicians to understand the EU standards and norms expected from them in a hundred of thousands different ways. That's why, the EU, as one among other parties within Europeanization process, can to a large extent be held responsible for Bosnia's enduring political deadlock.

Keywords: *European Union, Europeanization, Copenhagen Criteria, Capability-expectations Gap, Bosnia and Herzegovina*

BOSNA HERSEK' in AVRUPALILAŞTIRILMASI: AVRUPA BİRLİĞİ' nin AKTÖR OLAMAMASI

Özet

Bosna Hersek oldukça uzun bir süredir derin politik krizlerle mücadele etmektedir. Beklenen uzlaşmaya ulaşmak ve Bosna Hersek'in Avrupa Birliği yolundaki reformalarını hızlandırmak için gerekli siyasi irade ve kararlılığı göstermedikleri için ülkenin siyasi elitlerinin en büyük sorumluluğa sahip olduğu

* Ph.D Candidate, Department of Political Science, University of Sarajevo, e-mail: bedrudin07@yahoo.com

yaygın bir fikir haline gelmiştir. Her ne kadar iç siyasi elitler ülkenin durgun reform sürecinden büyük oranda sorumlu olsa da, bu çalışmanın amacı, Avrupa Birliği'nin Bosna Hersek'e karşı ne derece sorumlu tutulabileceğinin incelenmesi olmuştur. Bu çerçevede AB'nin Bosna Hersek'in iç politikaları üzerindeki güç ve etkisini ölçmek için Avrupalılaştırma perspektifini temel teorik çerçeve olarak kullandım. Her ne kadar Avrupa Birliği savaş sonrası Bosna Hersek'te çok sayıda kurumsal araç geliştirmiş olsa da, yaklaşımı halen bütünlük, bağlılık ve birliğe sahip değildir. Ayrıca, AB üye ülkelerinin bu yaklaşımı Bosnalı politikacıların kendilerinden yüz binlerce farklı biçimde beklenen AB standart ve normlarını anlamalarını sağlamıştır. Bu nedenle, AB, Avrupalılaştırma sürecindeki taraflardan biri olarak, Bosna'nın süregelen siyasi çıkamazından büyük ölçüde sorumlu tutulabilir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: *Avrupa Birliği, Avrupalılaştırma, Kopenhag Kriterleri, Beklenen Kapasite Boşluğu, Bosna Hersek*

1. Introduction and a Research Question

According to the European Commission's Annual Report for the year 2011 which evaluates the country's progress in the EU integration process, Bosnia and Herzegovina (hereinafter, Bosnia or BiH) has been lagging behind other countries from the western Balkans. Albania and Bosnia turned out to be the weakest Western Balkan students this year (Topalova, 2011). As it was expected even before its official release date, the European Commission report note on Bosnia and Herzegovina has been very negative. In other words, it was the most negative report that the European Union delivered regarding Bosnia's EU-related reform process. Although some positive developments were achieved such as visa liberalization granted for travel freely to the Schengen area the overall pace of reforms has been very limited. What's more, before its release local media and EU experts even called it a "stagnation report" instead of the progress report. The Report says that the failure to reach a political agreement on the formation of state-level authorities has hampered Bosnia and Herzegovina's progress on key reforms needed to make further progress towards European Union integration (NOA, 2011). Furthermore, the European Commission stresses that no expected progress has been achieved on the EU-set preconditions, namely, passing a law on state aid at central level, passing a law on nation-wide population census and changes to the constitution to scrap discrimination against minorities (Topalova, 2011). Thus, the last Report of the European Commission clearly demonstrates that there is no doubt that success and influence of the European Union policies and approach in the country's Europeanization process are largely debatable issues. Even though for majority of

Bosnians an idea of European Union represents “change”, it has not help break years-long political and social sclerosis in the country (Tuathail, 2006: 75).

To put it differently, the promise of European Union membership has not be “sufficient instrument” for the Bosnian politicians to make them respect the European values, norms and rules and work on their implementation into domestic policies. Although ruling political elites are from time to time making statements that their objective is the accession into the EU most of them are doing very little to make the country closer to Brussels. Furthermore, most of the ruling Bosnian politicians are still living in the past while the EU-related agenda should encourage them to look towards common and peaceful future. As Lana Pašić argues: “Instead of promoting reconciliation, cooperation and forgiveness, which would facilitate a common life together and bring Bosnia closer to the road of nation-building, stability and eventual EU integration, the political leaders are keeping their supporters in the past, talking about history- not only the recent war, but also going as far back as the Ottoman rule of the Balkans” (2011). Such political constellations explicitly demonstrate deepness and seriousness in which Bosnian political sphere is confronted with since the very end of the war in Bosnia 1992-1995. Rather than focusing on issues related with the European integration and the well being of the ordinary citizens, most of Bosnian politicians try to win votes by emphasizing fear from other ethnic groups in the country. Further, as Kurt Bassuener stresses, “the Dayton constitution makes leveraging fear politically profitable and politicians unaccountable. Bosnian politicians pursue their self-aggrandizing, maximalist goals at the expense of the general welfare. (2009: 1). As a result, under the domination of the same nationalist political elites Bosnia has been suffering more than a decade long status quo.

To put it differently, ethno-nationalist parties have been dominating political life in Bosnia from the first democratic elections held in 1990. Such a trend of preferring strictly ethnic parties by BiH electorate has repeated each election with the only exception of the elections from 2000 when Social Democratic Party, (Socijaldemokratska partija, SDP), a multi-national political party, won the elections. Thus, a political competition for votes has been based mainly on extremist rhetoric, so-called politics of outbidding, has continuously taken place in the post-war BiH as nationalist parties have cemented their early seize of power in successive elections (Jarstad, 2006:16). However, on very important issues ethnic political leaders could not reach necessary compromises for the whole country to continue its reform process toward the EU membership. As the EC concluded: “In BiH, nationalist rhetoric by key political leaders is challenging the arrangements established by the Dayton/Paris peace agreement and has stalled reforms. Much needed reforms of the police and of the constitutional framework have failed to make progress” (2007: 5). In fact, the “road toward Brussels” so far proved its

potential to initiate and strengthen a modernization process and moderation of nationalist party platforms, and to focus nationalist voters on building a common and peaceful future (Vachudova, 2005). However, in the post-war Bosnia ethnic politics has for years been a rule of the game. While a large part of the responsibility for the current impasse lies with Bosnia's leaders, the "unwieldy structures" and the negative dynamics created by the Dayton Peace Agreement, the EU is to be blamed for not opening up a walkable path for Bosnia (Tirak, 2010: 2). Although domestic political leaders are rightly blamed for slow reform process in the country rarely is the position and responsibility for the deadlock sought among the European Union members states. Since Europeanization process is a two-way street both the EU and aspirant country hold a responsibility for the pace of the process. Thus, the research question in this paper is: To what extent is the European Union responsible for continued political status quo in Bosnia and Herzegovina?

2. BiH and the European Union

BiH and the European Union have been in tight economic and political relations more than a decade. That is, in the aftermath of the war in Bosnia which ended in December 1995 the European Union has intensified its strategic activities towards the western Balkans region in whole, including Bosnia. The end of the war was the shift in the EU governance towards the western Balkans in general and BiH in particular. That is, the EU proposed one after another the initiatives that were supposed to strengthen the European perspective of BiH (Hadzikadunic, 2005: 51). The first such initiative came from France during its EU presidency in December 1996 within the framework of the so-called Royaumont Process. The initiative's main objective was the stabilization and peace-building in South-East Europe. The Royaumont Process was the first regional strategy towards the WB. Furthermore, the EU developed a regional approach launching a political and economic conditionality for the development of bilateral relations. Better to say, through the PHARE and OBNOVA humanitarian programmes, beginning in 1997, the EU initiated for the first time in the region political and economic conditionality as its economic assistance under the mentioned initiatives was provided on condition that recipients respect human rights, democracy, and the rule of law (Juncos, 2005: 96).

In addition, the intensification of the Kosovo war in 1999 showed that existing EU strategy based on the Regional Approach was weak to adequately face the new challenges in the region. In fact, the war in Kosovo made EU leaders to rethink their approach towards the WB. The German Foreign Minister at the time best summarized the EU policy shift when stressing, "if the awful conflict in Kosovo has brought something good with it, it is that we understand our belonging together far better" (Friis and Murphy, 2000: 779). This was a clear sign that the EU has changed its approach towards western Balkans region and towards Bosnia from passive and incoherent to more active and united one. That is, a new model built on

the closer relationships with the regional countries has consisted of the Stability Pact and the Stabilization and Association Process. The Stability Pact was officially adopted in Koln on 10 June 1999. Comparing to the previous EU regional policy the SP was more ambitious because it had a long-term perspective. Although the SP was mainly initiated by the EU leaders it was not exactly the EU instrument. The Pact was a complex multilateral platform that included 40 countries and several major international organizations. As such, “the SP aimed at strengthening countries in SEE in their efforts to foster peace, democracy, respect for human rights and economic prosperity, in order to achieve stability in the whole region” (SP, 2001: 5). Most importantly, the launch of the SP was a visible commitment of the EU member states to integrate the countries from the region into the Union’s structures. In fact, only the promise of the future EU membership seemed as the best strategy to cope with the challenges in this troubling part of Europe.

Furthermore, in June 1998 the EU-BiH Consultative Task Force was established. Its major area of responsibility was to provide technical and expert advice in the field of judiciary, education, media, administration, and economy. In Susko’s words, this marked BiH official approximation towards the EU membership (2009: 104). Furthermore, the same year in June the EU and BiH officials signed the “Declaration of Special Relations between EU and BiH”. Then in 1999 the EU has initiated Stabilisation and Association Process (SAP) establishing more concrete and tangible political and economic links with the regional countries. In fact, SAP has become the centerpiece of the EU’s long-term strategy towards the region. The central objective of the SAP was to push democratic transition of the countries from the region through substantial domestic reforms which are based on European values and structures. Also, the SAP has been built on the idea of first stabilization of the region and its latter integration into the EU structures. In June 2000 in the Feira European Council, the member states agreed that all the SAP countries, including Bosnia, are potential candidates for future EU membership. Also, on 8 March 2000 the EU Commissioner Chris Patten announced the Road Map for BiH as the first step in the framework of SAP. The document identified 18 initial steps which had to be implemented and which could lead to a feasibility study for a SAA with the EU. In addition, the Thessaloniki European Council of 19-20 June 2003 endorsed the introduction of the European Partnerships as a means to materialize the European perspective of the WB countries (EC, 2007: 3). A new European partnership with Bosnia and Herzegovina was adopted by the Council on 18 February 2008. Following a difficult and slow reform process Bosnian government signed a Stabilisation and Association Agreements (SAA) with the EU in June 2008, which was the first pre-accession tool towards the country’s EU membership (Vucheva, 2008). Since then little progress has been done due to harsh ethno-nationalist rhetoric. Similarly, the role

and influence of the EU as other actor in Bosnia's Europeanization process has not been explored and clarified.

3. Europeanization Process

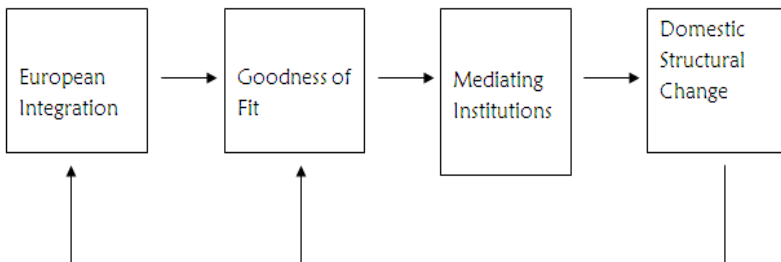
Since Bosnia and Herzegovina has been more than a decade passing through deep and thorough European Union-related reform process, in the literature of the European integration better known as Europeanization process, the European Union is expected to develop more clear-cut and coherent strategy toward this EU aspirant country. That is, as Tuathail argues, one of the biggest hopes of BiH's reform process toward Brussels is that this process can provide the necessary external stimulus to break internal BiH political stalemate (2006: 69). That is, Domm stresses that "the recommendation here is for the EU, aided by the [European External Action Service] (EEAS), to move towards a more coherent, credible policy towards Bosnia (Domm, 2011: 64). In fact, Europeanization process is not only about adopting and implementing EU policies, rules, norms and values into the domestic economic, legal and political context it is equally important that the EU has set clear standards, measures and rules which are to be adopted by aspirants on the membership. As Anastasakis and Bechev conclude, "the criteria and benefits of (EU) conditionality must be visible not just to the elites but also to the citizens, in order to sustain momentum for reform along the long and difficult road to accession (2003: 5). Better to say, Europeanization process as a comprehensive reform and transformation oriented process is a two-way street between the European Union and the countries that aspire for the EU membership. That's why, it is of paramount importance that the roles and responsibilities both of the European Union and the EU aspirant, in this case Bosnia, are clearly defined and stressed.

The concept of Europeanization has become very popular within the study of European integration. There have been a variety of definitions made in relation to Europeanization. However, most of them interpret this process as reform process in domestic political and economic system affected by policies decided at the European level. That is, we can define Europeanization as some form of domestic change that is caused by European decision-making. Similarly, Radaelli defines Europeanization as a "processes of (a) construction, (b) diffusion and (c) institutionalization of formal and informal rules, procedures, policy paradigms, styles, ways of doing things and shared beliefs and norms which are first defined and consolidated in the making of EU decisions and then incorporated in the logic of domestic discourses, identities, political structures and public policies" (2000). However, not rarely it happens that European values, standards and policies are completely different from the EU aspirant's norms, values and policies. Additionally, Europeanization process as a transformation project is based on long-term interests while an interests of political establishment in the EU aspirants are based on short-term interests of winning periodical elections. Thus, Domm points

out that “despite the rhetoric, Europeanization, whereby vast numbers of detailed, non-negotiable rules are adopted by applicant countries, is hardly always consistent with local ownership” (2011: 58). It is of utmost importance that a Europeanization is pursued with joint efforts and aspirations in form of a partnership by the EU and aspirant countries in order to make it legitimate and attractive to local constituents.

In fact, Europeanization is a logical extension of the EU integration theory. It gained special popularity among academia during the 1990s and beyond (Ladrech, 1994; Borzel and Risse, 2003). Europeanization process may have two functions. First, it explains the influence of the European politics and institutions on the domestic politics. Second, Europeanization stresses the process of change through which domestic actors adapt to European integration. Such a Europeanization effect is best illustrated through the ‘basic paradigm’, although very general one (Figure 1.1). The paradigm emphasizes that European integration leads to pressures to make necessary adjustments which are then influenced by a domestic factors, and finally to outcomes (Risse et al. 2001: 6-12). Indeed, the Europeanization has critical transformative power in the member states. Here, degree of pressure created by the Europeanization is of crucial importance. That is, this pressure is a function of the degree of fit (misfit) or congruence (incongruence) between “Europe” and the domestic level (Caporaso, 2008: 29). As a result, degree of fit or misfit leads to adaptational pressures. Simply put, if the EU policies and its standards are similar to those at the domestic level then pressure for reform is much lower. However, such pressure is a necessary but not a sufficient condition for reforms to be made by domestic actors (Borzel and Risse, 2003: 58).

Figure 1.1. Europeanization and Domestic Change



Source: Risse et al. (2001: 6), in Cowles et al., p. 1-20.

4. The EU's Actorness

In European studies literature referring to its role in international stage the European Union has often been portrayed as important and unavoidable civilian, normative, economic, humanitarian, and even military power. Nevertheless, before making overambitious statements it is of utmost significance to understand and evaluate practical influence and concrete results of such academic statements. In other words, it is of utmost importance to measure and explain whether there is relevance between the idea of “European actorness” and tangible results achieved in practical delivery. Thus, in 1993 it was Christopher Hill who analyzed the European Union from the angle of its international role and came to conclusion that there is the so-called “capability–expectations gap” - between what the EU has been talking to be doing and what it is actually able to deliver in practice. Hill (1993: 315) points out that the capability–expectations gap has resulted from three closely related factors: namely, the ability to agree, resource availability, and the instruments at the EU's disposal. As Toje claims, “without capabilities and frameworks in place, the lack of agreement on foreign policy goals and the means by which they are to be attained could remain clouded in ambiguity” (2008: 124). That is, for the EU to promote itself as a capable and powerful actor in global politics it is important that it shifts from mere rhetoric about its “actorness” to resolving acute problems in world and in its neighborhood. As Hill claimed, if the capability–expectations gap is to be closed, the notion of European international activities must be grounded in demonstrated behaviour rather than potential and aspirations (Toje, 2008: 123). David Kanin proposes even more radical solution stating that the EU member states can break free of this [Balkan, or Bosnia] pathology, but only if it overcomes its rhetoric and accepts that its most efficacious strategy depends on acknowledging and leveraging its own considerable weaknesses and limitations as an international player (2011).

Therefore, it is of crucial importance to acknowledge the role and potential of the EU to press for reform process in Bosnia and Herzegovina in order to make the country functional and self-sustaining instead of being threat to Europe's peace and stability. To put it differently, without confronting Bosnian malaise seriously and constantly accusing the domestic ethno-nationalist political elites inflammatory rhetoric as a primary reason for years-long deadlock the EU is pursuing risky policy which describes it as a weak and not-serious-enough to challenge sensitive global problems. In fact, eighty-eight percent of Bosnians support Bosnia's European ambitions, according to the poll conducted by the Bosnian agency for European integration for which 1,200 people were questioned (Eubusiness, 2011). Furthermore, the poll results show that support for EU membership is strongest in Bosnia's Muslim (Bosniak) community with 97 percent in favor, while 85 percent of Bosnian Croats support it and 78 percent of Bosnian Serbs (Kotonika, 2011).

Furthermore, probably one of rare and common vision of the political elites in BiH is the Euro-Atlantic integration of the country (Kapetanovic, 2005: 27). Such a significant number of proponents for EU integration among both the citizens and politicians of all the three ethnic communities has been an opportunity for the EU to prove its practical capabilities. Also, statements such as, “Bosnia would not exist today as a state but for international support” (Bose 2002: 22) summarize the extent of expectation of Bosnians from international community and the EU as well. However, there is a question mark whether the EU can meet the expectations of the Bosnian citizens? Does it have necessary tools and resources to help resolve Bosnian enigma? Therefore, as Hill stresses it is very important for all sides involved to measure the effectiveness of current Europeanization process in Bosnia and sketch “a more realistic picture of what the Community (EU) does in the world” (Hill, 1993: 306).

Europeanization process in aspirant countries such as Bosnia itself is to a largest extent driven by the so-called EU conditionality that stimulates domestic reforms. Better to say, the EU conditionality is based on “strict conditions” that the candidate or potential candidate countries have to meet in order to become full members in EU (Noutcheva, 2006: 1). As Schimmelfennig and Sedelmeier argue, “the dominant logic underpinning EU conditionality is a bargaining strategy of reinforcement by reward, under which the EU provides external incentives for a target government to comply with its conditions” (2004: 670). So far, the EU has established several strategic tools through which it attempts to press the process of institutional adjustment to EU standards and values. Overall, the EU conditionality in the Western Balkans, including Bosnia, is established by the following tools:

1. the general Copenhagen criteria – political, economic and *acquis*-related – applied to all candidate and potential candidate countries;
2. the 1997 Regional Approach and the 1999 SAP;
3. country-specific conditions to be met before entering the SAA negotiation phase and conditions arising out of the SAAs and the CARDS framework;
4. conditions related to individual projects and the granting of aid, grants or loans;
5. conditions that arise out of peace agreements and political deals (e.g. Resolution 1244 of the UN Security Council, and the Dayton, Ohrid, and Belgrade agreements) (Anastasakis & Bechev, 2003: 8).

EU conditionality is aimed at integrating the Balkan states into the EU: its intention is to promote reform, to prescribe criteria attached to EU-granted benefits, and to differentiate among countries by assessing each on its own merit (Anastasakis & Bechev, 2003: 1). However, Turkes and Goksoz believe that “The

manner in which conditionality applied in the case of the WB clarified the contours of a distinctly different mode of relations that the EU would maintain with the region: there was no prospect for rapid membership but the countries meeting the conditions were to be rewarded with trade concessions, financial assistance and economic cooperation on the part of the EU” (2006: 676). Further, although it is often taken for granted that EU member states possess wide-ranging conditionality power which can “naturally” press domestic officials to implement required EU-related agenda often it results in opposite direction as EU aspirants demonstrates significant level of resistance. That is, while many expected that Europeanizing reform process will have critical impact on the crisis-driven western Balkans region and especially Bosnia as its very unstable part the entire process resulted in fixed positions of ethno-nationalists that are only declaratory ready for Brussels. In addition, the idea that EU conditionality will work in Bosnia and solve its post-war political, economic and legal problems seems to result in complete disappointment as seen so far. In that regard, Sebastian points out that the EU jeopardized and failed to link the power and incentives inherent in its accession conditionality to the constitutional reform process in Bosnia (2009: 344). As Noutcheva notes: in essence, the reforms demanded by the EU as conditions for establishing contractual relations with BiH link its membership prospects to changes in the internal state structure of BiH (2009, pp. 1070-71). However, internal politics in Bosnia could not be significantly affected by EU promise of membership.

5. The EU-dominated Brussels Era

Recently, it is the EU rather than other bigger world players from international community such as United States of America (USA), Russia, and China, more heavily involved in the political and economic affairs in the western Balkans and in Bosnia and Herzegovina particularly. During the Yugoslavian crisis in the early 1990s the EU had played very weak and incoherent role due to a serious lack of commitment and political will of its member states to pool more sovereignty in order to build stronger and more coherent security and defense policy at the European level. As Javier Solana points out, “when the Yugoslav wars broke out in the 1990s we watched as our neighborhood burned because we had no means of responding to the crisis (2009). Although, at the beginning of the Yugoslav crisis the Luxembourg Foreign Minister Jacques Poos, then head of the EC Presidency, declared that the organization would intervene in the Yugoslavian crisis because it was “the hour of Europe, not the hour of the United States [US]” the opposite proved true since it was a diplomatic fiasco for Europe and a diplomatic and military domination of the USA. Thus, famous Henry Kissinger's question, “what is Europe's phone number?” proved its relevance here. What’s more, it was only with United States leadership and initiative which created the Dayton peace agreement in

November 1995, ending a brutal three and one-half year bloody war in Bosnia (Kim, 2008: 1).

However, after the war the EU developed more strategic and tangible approach towards the Western Balkans countries. There has been an understanding that instability and possible conflicts in the region pose direct and serious threat to the EU. As a response, the EU developed more pro-active and comprehensive security and defense policy at the European level. As pointed out by Chris Patten, the European Commissioner for External Relations, “the dreadful humiliation Europe suffered in the Balkans in the early nineties also made us realize that Europe had to finally get its act together (2003: 2). Among other things, in December 2004, the EU launched a peacekeeping military operation in BiH, replacing NATO’s SFOR mission. In addition, the EU sent its Police Mission to Bosnia in January 2003 to replace the UN’s International Police Task Force (IPTF) as part of the broader rule of law strategy in BiH and in the region. The police and military missions in BiH aim to strengthen the role of the EU in the country in order to more effectively promote EU’s values, norms, and standards (Juncos, 2005: 99). On the other hand, the US put diplomatic and military priority and deployed most of its troops in Iraq and Afghanistan. Following initiation and later signing of SAA the western Balkan countries the region shifted from the US-dominated Dayton era into the EU-dominated Brussels era. As Javier Solana, the former High Representative of the EU pointed out, the most fundamental objective of the EU at this transition stage is to move from “the era of Dayton” to “the era of Brussels” (2004). The problems in the EU’s backyard will not be solved overnight and without extensive help and mediation of the Europeans. Although officially Bosnia is not member of the EU it is still European country. As Vaclav Havel stressed during his speech at the European Parliament:

“The idea that there could forever be two Europes – a democratic, stable and prosperous Europe engaged in integration, and a less democratic, less stable and less prosperous Europe – is, [...] totally mistaken [...] There is only one Europe, despite its diversity, and any weightier occurrence anywhere in this area will have consequences and repercussions throughout the rest of the continent” (2000).

6. New Institutional Relations with Bosnia

Following the US shift in its foreign policy of prioritizing other regions more than Bosnia such development has left significant diplomatic space for other global powers such as the EU to assert its influence in this highly problematic country. As a result, Hadzikadunic believes that gradual withdrawal of the US from the western Balkans towards more critical world regions has signalized leaving the Balkans region to the EU as its natural and strong ally (2005: 23). Although the Union developed new institutional relations with the regional countries through newly

initiated SAA it has faced a lot of challenges, and especially in Bosnia. The SAA include provisions and measures for future EU membership of the western Balkan countries. In fact, SAA is similar to the Europe Agreements that the EU signed with the Central and Eastern European countries in the 1990s and to the Association Agreement with Turkey. However, since a long-lasting political malaise in Bosnia it is obvious that the “EU's carrot” in the form of SAA has not worked with the local country's officials. In fact, Bassuener and Lyon in this light claim that not only did the SAA not generate momentum, but Republika Srpska (RS) is busy unraveling some of the hard-won gains of the previous 13 years, including reforms required by the EU as preconditions for signing the SAA (2009: 2). That's why, the EU leaders duty is to make the bloc's values, norms, and standards more attractive and more concrete both for Bosnian politicians and its citizens.

Furthermore, the “EU sticks” have not been effective in interactions with the Bosnian political elites. Better to say, the EU has not developed adequate “stick policy” which could be applied to politicians, political parties, and organizations that support policies that are opposed to Euro-Atlantic integration principles and that question the state institutions. Thus, only recently has the EU foreign minister Lady Ashton demanded that her new Bosnian envoy, part of her newly created diplomatic service, be given new powers by the Council of EU foreign ministers to impose travel bans and asset freezes on obstructionist Bosnian politicians (Waterfield, 2010). Even the EU financial aid directed for the country has not been enough motor force that would motivate domestic politicians to implement necessary measures that Brussels had set beforehand. For instance, the EU provides targeted assistance to candidates and potential candidates countries through IPA (Instrument for pre-accession assistance) which supersedes the five previously existing pre-accession instruments, Phare, ISPA, SAPARD, Turkey instrument, and CARDS. Thus, the European Commission has allocated 440 million Euro of support to BiH in its transition from a potential candidate country to a candidate country for the period 2007-2011 under the IPA. BiH as a potential candidate is currently eligible for assistance to transition and institution building and cross-border cooperation. Although facing a constant lack of money Bosnia has not so far adequately used generous IPA funds which are the key segment of pre-accession assistance, so till last year less then ten percent of available assistance was utilized (Revicon, 2011). In addition, it even happens that the EU sends a messages that it will cut its financial assistance to BiH due to slow reform process. For example, due to enduring political quarrelling in the country the EU officials have even mentioned the full suspension of accession (IPA) funds (Zvijerac, 2011). However, by blocking its IPA funds the EU is further pushing the country behind other Balkan countries on the road to the EU membership. Thus, the EU member states would pursue reactive policy towards Bosnia instead of active and dynamic approach which could help Bosnians solve their political problems. The EU has

created institutions in Bosnia, and the crucial matter now is how to utilize those in an effective and smart manner.

7. The EU's Main Institution

The EU has established bodies and instruments through which it attempts to speed up Bosnia on the road to full membership. One such body is the European Union Special Representative in BiH (EUSR) which is currently acting as a High Representative as well. In March 2001 Lord Paddy Ashdown was named as the first EUSR in BiH. The main and the most important duty of EUSR has been to help the BiH government in making EU reforms. As the Commission stresses, the mandate of the EUSR is to promote overall political coordination and offer the EU advice and facilitation to BiH to help the country meet necessary requirements for the EU membership (EC, 2009: 8). The EUSR's Special mandate is derived from the European Union's policy objectives in Bosnia, and they, among other things, consist of helping local politicians to achieve progress in implementing the Dayton Peace Agreement as well as in the Stabilisation and Association Process (EUSRBiH, 2011). In addition, the EUSR regularly reports to the Council of the European Union, the inter-governmental body representing the 27 EU member states, through the High Representative for the Common Foreign and Security Policy and Secretary-General of the Council. Thus, the EUSR has been of crucial importance to put pressure on domestic political leaders to continue with the EU-related reform process. However, due to vague position of the EU on the Bosnian crisis the EUSR has played unclear and ambiguous role.

Thus, very often there has been serious imposition of reform process from the HR/EUSR on local politicians. Probably this was clearest during recent police reform. The Commission Feasibility Study published in November 2003 identified weaknesses in the policing system in BiH and concluded that it is necessary to "proceed with structural police reforms with a view to rationalizing police services" (2003: 26). As BiH political elites could not make compromise on the necessary reforms the EUSR imposed the reforms on them and thus solved the deadlock. This finally enabled the EC to recommend the start of SAA negotiations with the BiH government on 21 October 2005. However, such an imposition was clear forced Europeanizing reform. Previous HR Petritsch summarized the situation by stressing: "I furthermore wanted to move this country away from a situation where it seemed, that fundamental changes – at times even alien to its local traditions – were being simply imposed on this state and its citizens. More often than not – the country was treated as object" (2006: 4). BiH future in the EU is thus highly uncertain and even problematic because of the underdeveloped domestic policy-making structures and serious marginalization of both political representatives and ordinary citizens from open democratic deliberation. That is, coerced Europeanization by the EUSR has hampered genuine democracy to flourish. Thus,

the EU is implicitly paralysing active involvement in policy-making and political responsibility of the Bosnian politicians. As Wolfgang Petritsch pointed out in 1999:

“Every piece of legislation that I impose with my authority as the High Representative, gives politicians in Bosnia and Herzegovina a perfect excuse not to do their job properly. The Bosnians have to take ownership of the progress of their country. My job is to ensure that the direction in which they go is that of a proper European country” (1999).

In addition, very often disunited position of the EU member states makes the role of the EUSR in BiH ineffective and highly irrelevant. For instance, the status of the double-hatted OHR/EUSR was sometimes very unclear and disputed. Thus, commenting on the appointment of Lord Ashdown as the EUSR the EUPM official claimed that without dedicated EUSR staff, it was felt that “he was the right person for the job...but he never really was the EUSR” (Mustonen, 2007: 20). Also, another EUPM official put it that “the EUSR position was essentially irrelevant.” (Mustonen, 2007: 20). This was the case when in January 2009, the international community’s High Representative and the EUSR in Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) unexpectedly announced his resignation in order to take up the post of Slovak Foreign Minister instead. From his early mandate he knew very well that his position was like ‘riding a dead horse’ as he used to say. Therefore, as Judy Batt points out, “the abrupt departure of HR/EUSR Lajcak has exposed drift and disarray in the EU’s policy towards BiH” (2009: 1). It would not be far from truth to say that Lajcak did not have clear-cut message of support from Brussels which would help him to do his job effectively. As the International Crisis Group pointed out in its report, “There is some reluctance in Brussels for taking up such responsibilities, especially if its means deployment of the largest ever EUSR office, and increased EC funding (2007: 27). Without clear and visible EU commitment the outlook will remain poor for the WB in general; the vicious circle will remain, as well as the European border north of the Balkan region (Demetropoulou, 2002: 104).

8. Imposing Copenhagen Criteria in BiH

Very often the EU leaders seem very divided and deliver oppressing messages when the European integration reforms in Bosnia are concerned. In view of the former US Ambassador Charles English, “part of the problem is that the EU itself is divided about Bosnia. Among member states, only a handful, most notably the UK, appear to have a clear grasp of the dangers posed by Bosnia's current political dynamics” (Tanner, 2011). Probably the best demonstration and proof to this fact has been diverse views and opinions of the EU officials regarding the future design and content of the Bosnian constitutional framework. In fact, the Bosnian authorities are expected to implement the European democratic values and effective

bureaucratic standards that are based on the Copenhagen and Madrid criteria, respectively. However, although the Copenhagen and Madrid criteria propose what are the standards and measures that have to be implemented by the Bosnian politicians the EU member states have not demonstrated a common and principled position on the necessary constitutional changes. Thus, while EU officials have been vocal in their demands and calls for constitutional change, they have not been clear enough and committed about the specific requirements expected (Sebastian, 2011: 4). As a result, the EU member states are as divided as the local politicians are over the design and shape of the future Bosnian constitution. In this respect, Turkes thinks that:

“the EU is not committing itself enough to create necessary platform to integrate BiH into the EU structures. Given the fact that current EU vision from Thessalonica to today has been to keep BiH at arms length, the EU has followed a strategy of `neither total exclusion nor a rapid integration`” (2010).

Over time there have been even oppressing messages from the EU politicians and officials regarding the content and degree of reform within the country's constitution. To clarify, the European Commission President Barroso pointed out that while constitutional reform was not a strict condition for signing the SAA, “there is [a] link between these two processes. . . . The EC and EU have to be convinced that they have a partner in BiH, which will be capable to respect its promises and implement the Agreement that we negotiate now” (2006). Thus, this has been a sort of informal requirement that the EU officials expect from the Bosnian political representatives to implement in order to speed up the whole European integration process. However, there have been a number of European leaders who do not support the idea that Bosnia needs a new or modified constitution in order to enter the EU family. For instance, Welner Almhofer, Austrian Ambassador to BiH, claims that the European Union had never set the successful implementation of constitutional reforms as a condition for BiH's EU membership (2006). Better to say, the EU authorities have perceived the constitutional reform as an informal conditionality without clearly stated rewards or punishments for BiH politicians. Thus, Juncos argues that mixed signals from the EU, the wrong approach, or tough conditions without the necessary assistance could further slow down the process of integration of BiH into the EU family (2005: 93).

Although an EU officials have often pointed out that Bosnia cannot realize its EU aspirations if it does not reform its constitutional framework most of them have not explicitly stated what are these constitutional reforms expected from the Bosnians. This happened to a large degree due to diverse national interests of the EU member states on foreign policy questions and due to vagueness of the Copenhagen and Madrid criteria that are open to political manipulation. As

Govedarica points out: “It is true that the EU has had no clear stance towards Bosnia. For a long time the EU officials have believed that the mere process of European integration will solve the country’s problems. However, when it was clear that it was not the case then the EU could not find adequate alternative instrument” (2010). Better to say, since the EU has not stressed clearly the measures required the Copenhagen and Madrid criteria can be understood in thousand of different ways as is the case with the Bosnian elites. As a result, Bosnian Muslims want to enter Brussels as a country with strong and powerful central state. Bosnian Croats are in support of highly decentralized country. Bosnian Serb leaders see Bosnia in the EU as a weak central state with strong entities. Obviously, without setting clear standards and measures the EU will for long wait for Bosnian politicians to agree on necessary reform processes. Further, Batt argues that the EU needs to rebuild its credibility in BiH by forging a unified position on a long-term strategy for the country, actively engaging in the constitutional reform process and giving more effective support to the next EUSR (2009: 1).

9. 'Dayton Two'

Dayton Peace Agreement (DPA) established the Constitution of BiH in an annex of the Agreement deciding on the division of the country into two Entities: the Bosniak/Croat Federation of BiH (mainly controlled by the Bosniaks and Bosnian Croats), and the Republika Srpska (mainly governed by the Bosnian Serbs). Both country’s entities have their own political and administrative structures. The Federation of BiH is divided into three levels: the Entity level, the Cantonal level, and the Municipal level. The RS does not have a cantonal level, it only has municipalities.

As a result, Traynor described the Dayton Agreement as “one of the most complicated and wasteful systems of government ever devised” (2005). Overall, the DPA has succeeded in keeping BiH as an independent and sovereign country with a joint multi ethnic government. Thus, the current political system in Bosnia is a product and result of the DPA. Also, one of the most important goals of the DPA, restoration of security and physical infrastructure, has been satisfactorily met. However, the broader objective of organizing a multi-ethnic, democratic, and economically self-sustaining country is still a long way to happen (Daalder and Froman, 1999: 107). That is, while the DPA brought the war to an end and laid the foundation for consolidating peace, many observers also believe that the agreement as a document reflects wartime circumstances cannot by itself ensure BiH’s future as a functioning and self-sufficient democratic state (Ashdown, 2005). The DPA hammered out at Dayton was, first and foremost, a peace treaty brokered by an impatient American administration determined more to end the war in BiH than to establish the basis for a viable and sustainable state (Holbrooke, 1998). Therefore,

so far there appeared a number of initiatives to reform Dayton Agreement but they all ended in almost complete failure and disappointment.

Because local political elites could not agree on necessary changes within the constitution it has become more than obvious that external mediation is deadly required if any significant progress is expected. And this happened when the EU authorities decided to take decisive and concrete diplomatic lead in fixing Dayton and thus paving a way for a new era of functional, self-sustaining and democratic BiH. Thus, during the Swedish EU Presidency there has been such initiative on the constitutional reform on 10 October and again on 20-21 October, when Carl Bildt, Sweden's foreign minister, Olli Rehn, the European commissioner for enlargement, and Jim Steinberg, the US deputy secretary of state, called most of Bosnia's political party leaders together at Butmir, outside Sarajevo, where they outlined a 'package' of reforms necessary, as they sold it, for deeper Euro-Atlantic integration of their country (Bassuener, 2009). In media, the meeting in Butmir was called 'Dayton 2' which best demonstrates its importance for the BiH future governance. Also, the Venice Commission was informally involved in the drafting process of the constitution. However, it ended in complete failure. Bosnian Serb representatives rejected the proposed reforms as too drastic while Bosniak and Croat leaders described them as insufficient to solve the long-standing political stalemate. Thus, ambiguous and ill-prepared EU-US initiative at the Butmir NATO base just contributed to deepening of current crisis rather than resolving it (Bieber, 2010: 1). Similarly, Alic argues that the talks held at the EUFOR military base in Butmir ended in a complete failure, even further distancing the leaders of the country's three main ethnic communities (2009).

Although the Butmir negotiations on the constitutional reforms was joint initiative of the EU and US officials, the European Union is more responsible for its failure. Keeping in mind the fact that over the past decade the European Union has been increasingly perceived more active actor in Bosnia than the US, then its responsibility rises regarding Bosnian reform attempts. Thus, expressing high expectations from the EU one member of the Bosnian presidency stated that Bosnia would soon be celebrating the replacement of the Dayton constitution with a "Brussels" constitution (BH Radio, 2004). US also wants more active and committed EU in BiH. For example, Joseph claims that "Washington's central policy challenge has shifted from getting the Bosnians to cooperate to goading the Europeans to act. Although Brussels has far more at stake than Washington does, and although it finally has a collective foreign minister, it still act only when galvanized by the Americans or by crisis, or both" (2010: 62). That is, the EU do not know how to behave like a global player what is happening in Bosnia. In addition, domestic and foreign civil society groups were not invited to propose their possible solutions to constitutional deadlock in Butmir. That was rather strange and

contradictory since civil society should play active role in democratic deliberation and constitution-making in any democratic and open country. Also, among the suggested proposals during the Butmir meeting there was not a single word about a highly controversial principle of ethnic voting which seriously hamper every legislative proposal from *acquis communautaire*. Even though the EC clearly stressed that the 'entity voting' has often prevented swift adoption of legislation which hinders country's rapid progress towards the EU membership (EC, 2009: 9). Thus, Butmir talks was a good showcase for domestic and global public that international community is still relevant actor in Bosnian enigma. However, in Butmir all incoherence and impotence of international community, including the EU, was evident.

10. Conclusions

Bosnia and Herzegovina has been going through extensive Europeanizing reform process since late 1990s when it entered the Stabilisation and Association Process (SAP) jointly with other countries from western Balkans. It was expected that Europeanization process will bring about positive change in the country after implementing political, economic, and legal norms from the *acquis communautaire*. In fact, as it happened in Central and Eastern European (CEE) countries it was expected that European integration process will make Bosnia peaceful, stable, secure, prosperous and functional country. Today, neither of these happened in Bosnia. As it is stated in the Commission's Report of 2011, Bosnia has been lagging behind other countries from the western Balkans in terms of an EU-related reform agenda. Despite the fact that almost two decades after the war passed the Bosnian society is still fragmented along ethnic lines. Furthermore, extensive inflammatory rhetoric by political elites has resulted in continued political and social deadlock. As a result, in most scholarly works country's politicians are said to bear responsibility for continual status quo. Even though Bosnian political elites are to a large extent responsible for economic stagnation and political crisis it would be naïve to take this situation for granted. In other words, it is of crucial importance to examine all the actors and policy makers involved which in one way or another have had an influence over the Bosnian policy-making process. Thus, European Union as one of the actors closely linked to a Europeanization project in Bosnia is also bearing responsibility for the country's years-long status quo.

Although EU employed a number of instruments and institutional tools in the post-war Bosnian democratic transition very often its approach towards Bosnia has been characterized by mixed signals, unclear vision, and insufficient commitment. Thus, most of a European officials believe that mere process of European integration of Bosnia will bring stability and prosperity to the country. Given very complex and problematic relations between the country's three ethnic groups then such expectations among EU leaders are rather naïve and simplistic approach. For

instance, as pivotal agreement with the EU, the SAA so far has not generated expected momentum for reform process in Bosnia. In addition, ambiguous and disunited position of the EU member states make a potential of the EUSR in BiH ineffective and highly irrelevant as it happened to former EUSR Miroslav Lajcak. Similarly, an international community, including EU member states, have sent diverse and mixed signals with regards to the future design and content of the Bosnian constitution. Even though they are aware of the fact that Bosnian ethnic politicians have completely different interests concerning the country's constitution most of EU leaders still expect from them necessary reforms including constitutional changes which satisfy all three ethnic communities. It seems that a EU leaders are making the same mistake again and again since Bosnian political elites thus manipulate with their reluctance and ambiguous position as it happened in the war in early 1990s.

References:

- Alic, Anes, (2009). "Bosnian Impasse Over 'Dayton Two'", ISN Zurich, International Relation and Security Network, 6 November 2009.
- Anastasakis, O, & Bechev, D, (2003), "EU Conditionality in South East Europe: Bringing Commitment to the Process", South East European Studies Programme, European Studies Centre, St Antony's College University of Oxford, April 2003.
- Ashdown, Paddy, (2005), "A superb agreement to end a war, but a very bad agreement to make a state", Former HR in BiH, Lord Paddy Ashdown, Farewell, Sarajevo, The Guardian, 2 November 2005, available at www.guardian.co.uk/article/0..i6o64.8Q.oo.html.
- Barroso, Jose Manuel, (2006), cited in OHR, BiH Media Round-up, 18 February 2006.
- Bassuener, Kurt, (2009), "It is Time for Plan B for Bosnia", in European Voice, 22.10.2009.
- Bassuener, Kurt, (2009), "How to pull out of Bosnia-Herzegovina's dead-end: A strategy for Success", Democratization Policy Council, February, 2009.
- Bassuener, K, and Lyon, J, (2009), "Unfinished Business in Bosnia and Herzegovina: What Is To Be Done?", May 2009, United States Institute of Peace, www.usip.org.
- Batt, Judy, (2009), "Bosnia and Herzegovina: the international mission at a turning point", FRIDE, Policy Brief, No 5 – February 2009.
- BH Radio 1, (2004). "Jelena Kisić Reporting for BH Radio 1," November 22, 2004 (in Bosnian, Serbian, and Croatian).
- Bieber, Florian, (2010), "Constitutional reform in Bosnia and Herzegovina: preparing for EU accession", European Policy Center, Policy Brief, April 2010.
- Borzel, Tanja and Risse Thomas (2003). Conceptualizing the Domestic Impact of Europe, in Kevin Featherstone and Claudio M. Radaelli (eds.). *The Politics of Europeanization*, Oxford University Press, pp. 55–78.
- Bose, Sumantra. 2002. *Bosnia after Dayton. Nationalist Partition and International Intervention*. London: Hurst & Co.
- Caporaso, James (2008). *The Three Worlds of Regional Integration Theory*, in Graziano, Paolo and Vink, Maarten P., (2008). *Europeanization: New Research Agendas*, Palgrave Macmillan.
- Daalder, Ivo H, and Froman, Michael B.G. (1999). "Dayton's Incomplete Peace", in *Foreign Affairs*. November/December 1999. pp. 106-113.
- Demetropoulou, Leeda, (2002), "Europe and the Balkans: Membership Aspiration, EU Involvement and Europeanization Capacity in South Eastern Europe", in *Southeast European Politics*, Vol. III, No. 2-3, pp. 87-106.

- Domm, Rory, (2011), "Next steps on Bosnia-Herzegovina: key elements to a revised EU strategy" Southeast European and Black Sea Studies, Vol. 11, No. 1, March 2011, 53–67.
- EC, European Commission, (2003). "Report from the Commission to the Council on the preparedness of Bosnia and Herzegovina to negotiate a Stabilization and Association agreement with the European Union", Brussels, 18 November, 2003, available at www.dei.gov.ba.
- EC, European Commission, (2007). "Commission Staff Working Document: Bosnia and Herzegovina 2007 Progress Report", Brussels, 6.11.2007.
- EC, European Commission, (2007). "Proposal for a Council decision on the principles, priorities and conditions contained in the European Partnership with Bosnia and Herzegovina and repealing Decision 2006/55/EC", presented by the European Commission, COM (2007) 657, Brussels, 6.11.2007.
- EC, European Commission, (2009). "Commission Staff Working Document, Bosnia and Herzegovina 2009 Progress Report accompanying the Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament and the Council, Enlargement Strategy and Main Challenges 2009-2010", Brussels, 14.10.2009.
- Eubusiness, (2011), "Nine in 10 Bosnians want EU membership: poll", 24 March 2011, www.eubusiness.com.
- EUSRBiH, (2011), "European Union Special Representative for BiH: EUSR Mandate", Official Website of EUSRBiH, available at <http://www.eusrbih.org/gen-info/?cid=2000,1,1>.
- Friis, Lykke, and Murphy, Anna, (2000). "Turbo-charged negotiations": the EU and the Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe", *Journal of European Public Policy*, 7(5), 2000, p. 779.
- Govedarica, Dobrila, (2010). "The Executive Director at Open Society Fund-Bosnia and Herzegovina", Personal Interview, May, 2010.
- Hadžikadunic, Emir, (2005), *Od Dejtona do Brisela*, ACIPS, Sarajevo.
- Havel, Vaclav, (2000), "Overcoming the division of Europe" (speech given to the European Parliament on 15th June 2000) in *Enlargement and the Finality of European Integration*, Zielonka Jan, *Harvard Jean Monnet Working Paper 7/00*, Symposium: Responses to Joschka Fischer.
- Hill, Christopher, 1993. 'The Capability–Expectations Gap or Conceptualising Europe's International Role', *Journal of Common Market Studies* 31(3): 305–328.
- Holbrooke, R., (1998). *To End a War*. New York, NY: Random House, 1998.
- ICG, (2007). "Ensuring Bosnia's Future: A new international engagement strategy", International Crisis Group, Europe Report N°180 – 15 February 2007.

- Jarstad, Anna, (2006). "Dilemmas of War-to-Democracy Transitions". The Paper prepared for presentation at the conference 'State, Conflict, and Democracy', 12- 13 May 2006 at Lund University, Sweden.
- Joseph, Edward, (2010), "Bosnia and Herzegovina", in *Western Balkans Policy Review, A Report of the CSIS Lavrentis Lavrentiadis Chair in Southeast European Studies, Center for Strategic and International Studies*, September 2010.
- Juncos, Ana, E., (2005), "The EU's post-Conflict Intervention in Bosnia and Herzegovina: (re)Integrating the Balkans and/or (re)Inventing the EU?", in *Southeast European Politics*, Vol. VI, No. 2, pp. 88 – 108.
- Kanin, David, (2011). "Western Balkans: Leveraging Weakness – Analysis", *Eurasia Review*, November 9, 2011.
- Kapetanovic, Amer, (2005). "Izazovi proširenja EU". In *Bosna i Hercegovina od regionalnih integracija do Evropske Unije*, ed. *Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung Sarajevo*, 7–48. Sarajevo.
- Kim, Julie, (2008), "Bosnia: Overview of Current Issues", Foreign Affairs, Defense, and Trade Division, Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress, June 16, 2008.
- Kotonika, Mikel, (2011), "Waitlisted: The Western Balkans", Center for Strategic and International Studies, April 5 2011.
- Ladrech, Robert, (1994). "Europeanization of Domestic Politics and Institutions; the Case of France", *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 32 (1). P. 69-88.
- Mustonen, Jari, (2007), "Coordination and Cooperation on Tactical and Operational Levels: Studying EU-ESDP Crisis Management Instruments in Bosnia and Herzegovina", *CMC Finland Civilian Crisis Management Studies 1: 1/2008*.
- NOA, (2011).** "Key Findings of the 2011 Progress Report on Bosnia and Herzegovina", Agjencia Kombetare e Lajmere (NOA), October 12, 2011., available at <http://www.noa.al/2011/10/key-findings-of-the-2011-progress-report-on-bosnia-and-herzegovina>
- Noutcheva, Gergana, (2006), "EU Conditionality, State Sovereignty and the Compliance Patterns of Balkan States", Centre for European Policy Studies, Paper prepared for the 3rd Pan-European Conference on EU Politics, European Consortium for Political Research, Bilgi University, Istanbul, 21-23 September 2006.
- Pasic, Lana, (2011), *The Dreams of One Nation? The Role of Political Leaders in Reconciliation and Nation-building in Bosnia and Herzegovina*, Balkanalysis, March 17, 2011, available at <http://www.balkanalysis.com/bosnia/2011/03/17/the-dreams-of-one-nation-the-role-of-political-leaders-in-reconciliation-and-nation-building-in-bosnia-and-herzegovina>
- Petritsch, Wolfgang, (1999). "Speech by the High Representative for Bosnia and Herzegovina, at the Steering Board Ministerial Meeting, Sarajevo, 22 September 1999.

- Petritsch, Wolfgang, (2006), “My lessons learnt in Bosnia and Herzegovina”, 9th International conference, Balkan Political Club, “Bosnia and Herzegovina: Crossing from Dayton’s to Brussels Phase and the Role of the International Community”, Sarajevo, 6 May 2006.
- Radaelli, C. (2000) Wither Europeanisation? Concept stretching and substantive chance, European Integration Online Papers 3, no. 7, accessed online on February 5, 2011 at <http://eiop.ot.at/eiop/comment/1999-007c.htm>.
- Revicon, (2011), Neiskoristenost IPA fondova u BiH, Revicon, 24.05.2011., available at <http://www.revicon.info/novost/11703/Neiskoritenost-IPA-fondova-u-BiH>.
- Risse, Thomas, Cowles Maria, G., and Caporaso James, (2001). Europeanization and Domestic Change: Introduction, In Cowles et al., p. 1-20.
- Schimmelfennig, F, and Sedelmeier, U, (2004), “Governance by conditionality: EU rule transfer to the candidate countries of Central and Eastern Europe”, *Journal of European Public Policy* 11:4 August 2004: 669 – 687.
- Sebastian, Sofia, (2009), “The Role of the EU in the Reform of Dayton in Bosnia-Herzegovina”, *Ethnopolitics*, Vol. 8, Nos. 3–4, 341–354, September–November 2009.
- Sebastian, Sofia, (2011), “Breaking the Impasse: Constitutional Reform in Bosnia”, No. 69 – March 2011, FRIDE.
- Solana, J, (2004), “The European Journey” London, UK: Institute for War and Peace Reporting: Balkan Crisis Report No. 493, April 22, 2004, available at www.iwpr.net.
- Solana, Javier, (2009), “EU makes its mark on the world stage”, *Guardian*, 11 October 2009, www.guardian.co.uk.
- SP, Stability Pact, (2001). “Combating the Proliferation of Small Arms and Light Weapons, Stability Pact Regional Implementation Plan For South East Europe”, 28 November, 2001, available at <http://www.stabilitypact.org>.
- Šuško, Dževada, (2009), “EU Enlargement and the Case of Bosnia and Herzegovina: A Brief Historical Sketch”, in *Journal of the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences*, No. 2, Spring 2009, International University of Sarajevo.
- Tanner, Adam, (2011), “Bosnian Serb leader threat to stability: U.S. Cables”, in Reuters, April 2011.
- Tirak, Goran, (2010). “The Bosnian Hiatus, A Story of Misinterpretations”, CEPS, Policy Brief, No. 219 / November, 2010.
- Toje, Asle, (2008), “The Consensus–Expectations Gap: Explaining Europe’s Ineffective Foreign Policy”, *Security Dialogue*, Vol. 39(1): 121–141, 2008.
- Topalova, Sofia, (2011). “Albania and Bosnia are Lagging Behind its Balkan Peers in EU-related Reforms, Euinside, October 13, 2011.

- Traynor, I., (2005). "Revealed: US Plans for Bosnian Constitution," *The Guardian*, November 10, 2005.
- Tuathail, Geraoid, (2006). "Bosnia-Herzegovina Ten Years after Dayton: Constitutional Change and Public Opinion", *Eurasian Geography and Economics*, 2006, 47, No. 1, pp. 61-75.
- Turkes, Mustafa, and Goksoz, Goksu, (2006). "The European Union strategy towards the Western Balkans: exclusion or integration?", *East European Politics and Societies*, 20 (4), 2006, pp. 675-677.
- Turkes, Mustafa, (2010), "Professor at the Department of International Relations, Middle East Technical University", Personal Interview, April, 2010.
- Vachudova, M. A., (2005). *Europe Undivided: Democracy, Leverage, and Integration after Communism*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2005.
- Vucheva, Elitsa, (2008), "Bosnia signs EU pre-accession deal", Euobserver, 17.06.2008.
- Waterfield, B, (2010), "Baroness Ashton moves to take control of Bosnia", in Telegraph, July 2010.
- Zvijerac, Predrag, (2011). "Katastrofalne ocjene iz EU-a, BiH daleko najgora od svih", 20 September 2011, Dnevni list.