Building Sustainable Institutions?

The results of international administration in Bosnia & Herzegovina and Kosovo: 1995 - 2008
Promotiecommissie

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'These administrations face challenges and responsibilities that are unique among United Nations field operations. No other operations must set and enforce the law, establish customs services and regulations, set and collect business and personal taxes, attract foreign investment, adjudicate property disputes and liabilities for war damage, reconstruct and operate all public utilities, create a banking system, run schools and pay teachers and collect the garbage (...) In addition to such tasks, these missions must also try to rebuild civil society and promote respect for human rights, in places where grievance is widespread and grudges run deep.'


‘If the intervening international force is acting, even temporarily, as a government then it has to take on the full responsibilities of a government - from the rule of law, to the economy, to transport infrastructure, to the defence and intelligence services, to protecting human rights, to local government, to the customs and the police, to health and education, to the operation of the utilities and the setting up and managing of political and governmental institutions.’

*Paddy Ashdown, Swords into Ploughshares. Bringing Peace to the 21st Century, 2007:78-19*

‘The desire for European integration is one issue shared by all in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Europe must use this desire to shape a multi-ethnic, democratic country based on the rule of law’

*Wolfgang Petritsch, Address to the European Parliament’s Foreign Affairs Committee, 22 January 2002.*

‘Ultimately, Kosovo is, and will remain until resolved, a European problem’

*International Crisis Group, Kosovo: No Good Alternatives to the Ahtisaari Plan, Pristina, 2007: i*
Preface

When I first started working on this dissertation little had been written about international administration. However, since this time several well documented studies have been published on the topic. With this study I aim to contribute to the discussion and add to the increasing body of knowledge about this particular phenomenon in international politics. The choice for studying international administration was not difficult. Having been trained as an historian with some knowledge of international law, I found myself comfortable with the multidisciplinary character of the topic. International administration can be studied from a historical, legal or political point of view or from all three perspectives together. In that respect, the topic of this dissertation represents a well established multidisciplinary tradition in the study of international affairs.

Writing this dissertation was made possible with the support of the Netherlands Royal Military Academy and the University of Leiden. I would like to thank these institutions for facilitating the research project, but also for enabling me to develop myself as a scholar and teacher. Although much of the research could be done from a desk in Leiden, it was still necessary to make several field trips to Bosnia and Herzegovina and Kosovo. I am grateful to those people working for the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo, the Office of the High Representative and other relevant international and domestic organizations for their willingness to grant me interviews.

Writing a dissertation is impossible without the help, support and advice from family, friends and colleagues. I thank all those who have showed interest in the project during the past few years and who haunted me with the seemingly everlasting question: ‘when will it be finished?’ Without under emphasizing the value of support given by others, I would like to mention in particular two colleagues from Leiden who helped me organizing my thoughts on the topic. I thank Huib Pellikaan and Hans Oversloot for commenting on earlier drafts of this thesis. With their direct and honest comments they kept me on track. ‘Thank you’ also to all those fellow Ph.D. students who commented on parts of the study during our formal and informal meetings, including the ECPR European International Relations Summer Schools, the Ph.D. courses at the Netherlands Institute of Governance, and the Ph.D. meetings of the Departments of Political Science and Public Administration at Leiden University. I want to thank in particular Janne Malkki with whom I exchanged many ideas during the beginning stages of my dissertation while on a hiking tour in Lapland.

Collegial support consists of more than giving specific advice on the topic of one’s dissertation. Therefore I also would express my gratitude to those colleagues who have shared an office with me: Ruben Verheul, Floris Vletter, Tom Louwverse, and Robin Best. To this list, I should also add Petr Kopecky, with whom I did not share my office, but who visited room 5b13 daily for a cup of ‘black
death’ (coffee) and who enlightened me and my roommates off and on in the art of professional cycling.

Speaking of practicing an art, this dissertation would not have come about without the opportunity to let off steam by practicing budo. Therefore I would like to thank my friends from Sportschool Breedveld for helping me clear my mind with martial arts training. Especially the study trips to France, England and Japan were great for setting aside concerns about international administration for a moment. The same goes for the many other times my friends and my family were kind enough to make me think of something else or to inspire me during my work in progress. That being said, Esme Caubo has undoubtedly been the most important person in all of this and without her, this project would not have been so much fun.
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List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

CEC = Central Election Commission
EAR = European Agency for Reconstruction
ECMM = European Community Monitoring Mission
ESDP = European Security and Defence Policy
EU = European Union
EUFOR = European Union Force (operation Althea in Bosnia and Herzegovina)
EULEX = European Union rule of law mission in Kosovo
EUPM = European Union Police Mission
G8 = Group of eight leading industrial nations
ICO = International Civilian Office
ICTY = International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia
IFOR = Implementation Force
IMF = International Monetary Fund
IPTF = International Police Task Force (UN police mission in Bosnia)
JNA = Jugoslovenska Narodna Armija (Yugoslav People’s Army)
KFOR = Kosovo Force
KIPA = Kosovo Institute of Public Administration
KIPRED = Kosovar Institute for Policy Research and Development
KLA = Kosovo Liberation Army
KVM = Kosovo Verification Mission
NATO = North Atlantic Treaty Organization
OHR = Office of the High Representative
OSCE = Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe
PEC = Provisional Elections Commission
PIC = Peace Implementation Council
PISG = Provisional Institutions of Self Government
SAA = Stability and Association Agreement
SAP = Stability and Association Process
SFOR = Stabilization Force
UCDP = Uppsala Conflict Data Program
UCK = Ushtria Çlirimtare e Kosovës (Kosovo Liberation Army)
UK = United Kingdom
UN = United Nations
UNDP = United Nations Development Program
UNFICYP = United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus
UNHCR = United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNMIK = United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo
UNMIBH = United Nations Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina
UNOSEK = United Nations Office of the Special Envoy for Kosovo
UNPROFOR = United Nations Protection Force
UNTAC = United Nations Transitional Administration in Cambodia
UNTAES = United Nations Transitional Administration of Eastern Slavonia, Baranja and West-Sirmium
UNTAET = United Nations Transitional Administration of East Timor
UNTAG = United Nations Transitional Assistance Group
US(A) = United States (of America)

Political parties in Bosnia

HDZ = Hrvatska Demokratska Zajednica (Croat Democratic Community)
HDZ1990 = Hrvatska Demokratska Zajednica 1990 (Croat Democratic Union 1990)
NHI = Nova Hrvatska Iniciativa (New Democratic Initiative)
NSRZB = Narodna Stranka ‘Radom Za Boljitak’ (People’s Party ‘Work For Betterment’)
PDP = Partija Demokratskog Progres (Party of Democratic Progress)
SBiH = Stranka za Bosnu i Hercegovinu (Party for Bosnia and Herzegovina)
SDA = Stranka Demokratske Akcije (Party for Democratic Action)
SDP = Socijaldemokratska Partija (Social Democratic Party)
SDS = Srpska Demokratska Stranka (Serb Democratic Party)
SNS = Srpski Narodni Savez (Serb People’s Assembly)
SNSD = Savez Nezavisnih Socialdemokrata (Alliance of Independent Socialdemocrats)
SPRS = Socijalistička Partija Republike Srpske (Socialist Party of the Serb Republic)
SRS = Srpska Radikalna Stranka (Serbian Radical Party)

Political parties in Kosovo

AAK = Aleanca për Ardhmërine e Kosovës (Alliance for the Future of Kosovo)
ADK = Alternativa Demokratike e Kosovës (Democratic Alternative of Kosovo)
AKR = Aleançë Kosova e Re (Kosovo new Alliance)
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<td>BSDAK</td>
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<td>BSK</td>
<td>Bošnjačka Stranka Kosova (Bosniak Party of Kosovo)</td>
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<td>DOS</td>
<td>Demokratska Opozicija Srbije (Democratic Opposition of Serbia)</td>
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<td>DSB</td>
<td>Demokratska Stranka Bošnjaka (Democratic Party of Bosniaks)</td>
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<td>DSV</td>
<td>Demokratska Stranka Vatan (Democratic Party Vatan)</td>
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<td>GIG</td>
<td>Građanska Inicijativa Gore (Civic Initiative Gora)</td>
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<td>GIS</td>
<td>Građanska Iniciativa Srbija (Civic Initiative Serbia)</td>
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<td>IRDK</td>
<td>Iniciativa e Re Demokratike e Kosovës (New Democratic Initiative of Kosovo)</td>
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<tr>
<td>KDTP</td>
<td>Kosova Demokratik Türk Partisi (Kosovo Democratic Turkish Party)</td>
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<td>KP</td>
<td>Koalicija Povratak (Coalition Return)</td>
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<td>Lidhja Demokratike e Dardanisë (Democratic League of Dardania)</td>
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<td>ND</td>
<td>Nova Demokratija (New Democracy)</td>
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<td>ORA</td>
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<td>PD</td>
<td>Partia e Drejtësisë (Justice Party)</td>
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<td>PDK</td>
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<td>SLKM</td>
<td>Srpska Lista za Kosovo i Metohiju (Serbian List for Kosovo and Metohija)</td>
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<td>Full Name</td>
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<td>SKMS</td>
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<td>SLS</td>
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<td>SNC</td>
<td>Serb National Council</td>
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<td>SNSDKIM</td>
<td>Savez Nezavisnih Socijaldemokratia Kosova i Metohije (Independent Social Democratic League of Kosovo and Methohija)</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNIKOMB</td>
<td>Partia e Unitetit Kombëtar (Party of Albanian National Unity)</td>
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Note on the terminology

In this study the term Bosnia refers to the country Bosnia and Herzegovina. The three major peoples or ethnic communities living in Bosnia are referred to as Bosnian Serbs, Bosnian Croats and Bosniaks (in the literature also referred to as Bosnian Muslims, but ‘Bosniak’ is the self-chosen term used by this community). The adjectives Croat and Serb refer to the national or ethnic identity, while the terms Croatian and Serbian relate to Croatia and Serbia respectively. The term Bosnian is used when a reference is made to all inhabitants of Bosnia, including the smaller ethnic communities. The two political entities of Bosnia are referred to as the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (abbreviated as Federation) and the Serb Republic. Together these two entities form the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina is referred to as the federal state, the central state or simply as the state. Its institutions are referred to as federal state institutions, central state institutions or state level institutions. The term Kosovo refers to the territory which used to be a province of Serbia, but whose official self-declared name since 17 February 2008 is Republic of Kosovo. The term Kosovo Albanian is used when referring to the Albanian community living in Kosovo. For the Serb community in Kosovo, the term Kosovo Serb is used. When referring to all communities living in Kosovo the term Kosovar is applied. Regarding the place-names in Kosovo both Albanian and Serbian forms are mentioned, unless both forms are similar (like in the case of Mitrovica). Because people outside Kosovo are still more familiar with the Serbian form, this one is mentioned first. An exception is made for Kosovo’s capital. I chose to use one term only, namely Pristina (instead of the Serbian Priština or Albanian Prishtina/Prishtinë), because this internationalized form is commonly used in English texts. The same goes for the term Kosovo. The Republic of Serbia is referred to as Serbia. Only in case of quotations a reference is made to the federation which Serbia formed with Montenegro, i.e. the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia from 1992 to 2003 and the Federation of Serbia and Montenegro from 2003 to 2006. Finally, the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is referred to as (the former) Yugoslavia.