

CHANDLER

Reviews

International Crisis Group, *Is Dayton Failing: Bosnia Four Years after the Peace Agreement* Brussels: International Crisis Group, 1999, 144 pp., n.p. p.b.

International Crisis Group, *Reality Demands: Documenting Violations of International Humanitarian Law in Kosovo 1999* Brussels: International Crisis Group, 1999, 278 pp., n.p. p.b.

David Chandler, *Bosnia – Faking Democracy after Dayton* London: Pluto Press, 2000, 2nd edition, 254 pp., £45.00 h.b. (ISBN 0 7453 1408 2); £14.99 p.b. (ISBN 0 7453 1403 1)

Can consociationalism be enforced? Students of the Balkans have seen in Bosnia-Herzegovina what might ironically have looked like the first example of 'post-modern' state building. The irony, however, has a bitter taste if one feels that, rather than reproducing Switzerland, 'the international community has created a monstrous state in which the peoples of Bosnia-Herzegovina have to live for the rest of their lives', to quote Zdravko Grebo. Four years after Dayton, David Chandler presented an intriguing analysis of the social reconstruction efforts undertaken by the international community in Bosnia-Herzegovina. A year later the second, updated edition, *Bosnia – Faking Democracy after Dayton*, is published, including a postscript with lessons for Kosovo.

Chandler undertakes a sober assessment of achievements through the power-sharing and multi-ethnic administrations, protection of human rights, political pluralism and civil society building. It is grim reading set out to kill illusions. Chandler opens with a theoretical review of democratisation theory and analyses the discourse on democratisation and Eastern Europe, particularly emphasising the Balkans. This background targets the 'culturalisation' and 'balkanisation' of East European and Balkan societies and illustrates how *ad hoc* criteria are continuously invented in order to exclude these societies from the 'fitness' of liberal democracy. Everything that makes them 'different' from 'Western societies' will do, right down to cultural differences explaining the obstacles to

'democratisation'. The student of aid and development recognises the discourse from economic growth theory of the 1950s, where underdeveloped states were seen to be in need of institutional change, which in turn meant 'cultural change'.

In the second chapter Chandler reviews the Dayton Agreement and the extensions of mandate in the post-Dayton period. Then follows an analysis of the constitution in terms of power-sharing and consociationalism, with good empirical examples from various levels, including state, entity, city and municipal levels where the local scale focuses on Sarajevo, Mostar and Brcko as three interesting case studies. Chandler criticises how the international representatives (particularly embodied in the High Representative, the OSCE and NATO) impose decisions, ignore election results, dismiss mayors, etc., resulting in a disempowerment of the local leaders and ethnic communities: By depriving local agents of any control over policy-making there is little reason or possibility to develop alliances or for consociationalism to take root. The result is a *de facto* protectorate and the introduction of foreign authoritarian rule. Developments in the spheres of human rights protection, political pluralism or civil society building are no more impressive. While Bosnia-Herzegovina has received the most ambitious human rights protection legislation among states, the problem of implementation is emphasised in that there is little possibility for the local representatives (political, judicial) to exercise this themselves under the governance of international institutions. The idea of 'building' civil society is particularly scrutinised from a perspective of how (un)representative the efforts of NGO development are for the local population.

[With a thorough and solid use of the written and interview material Chandler never lets go his grip of an analysis of the theory and practice of the discourse on 'Balkanism', revealing the occasional entanglement with a 'primordialist' view from international implementers that the local population are unable to accommodate civic values. Also, human rights organisations such as Amnesty International, the ICG and Helsinki Watch will have to take criticism for feeding such discourse through lack of methodological professionalism in some of their work.

With the overall effect of policy not only being mundane towards its explicit aims, but possibly even counterproductive, Chandler turns to processes in the West itself, rather than within Bosnia-Herzegovina, to seek explanations for its reproduction. It is in the new forms of international co-operation, the relationship between the US and EU, the new challenge for US foreign policy, the maintenance of hegemony, NATO credibility, and the new potentials for global governance that one must search for explanations as to how policy is exacted through the international institutions in Bosnia. Bosnia has taken the nature of an ongoing process of international co-operation and given new life to NATO, the OSCE, US hegemony, and to European political identity. However, the forced nature of international calls for their perpetual extension indicates that the question of legitimacy needs more than a new language of democracy and human rights but also an active interventionist role (p. 187).

A paler, and less theoretically informed, analysis of the same problems is presented by the International Crisis Group (ICG) *Is Dayton Failing: Bosnia Four Years after the Peace Agreement*. The structure follows the Dayton annexes, but here the methodology is less developed and the sources weaker. While a reading of the ICG report indicates a severe failure in implementing the goals of the Dayton Agreement beyond a cease-fire, the conclusions drawn are in stark opposition to Chandler's. The ICG report rather suggests that the implementation of Dayton fails primarily due to weaknesses of international enforcement. Enforcement as such is not problematised, but instead seen as being 'too little' and the international community (OHR, OSCE, and NATO) as 'lacking teeth', constantly being resisted by organised obstructions from the local nationalists. It appears here that the elected representatives and the voters are the obstacles to democracy. The 'democratic solution', here, seems to be *not* to have democracy, but to move another step towards a full protectorate. With this view on *democratisation* it is easier to understand why the international policy strategies as such are not problematised. While the 'patient' is blamed for the disease, the 'doctor' is criticised for not giving more of that same medicine to which the patient does not respond. While many who have worked in Bosnia would have to agree that local administrations and politicians do not necessarily host the most consociational of values, and that a large part of the problem indeed lies within Bosnia (Chandler, too, would have to agree on this), it is still necessary to extend the analysis to the international dynamics and policies. The ICG report is however useful reading as a commentary by a

private, field-present, organisation with a political agenda. The 'monitoring' of developments within different segments produces a kind of implementation 'diary' which can be of interest despite its shortcomings in terms of perspectivation and problematisation of international policy.

Weaknesses in critical analysis and in presenting sources are a problem also re-occurring in the ICG report *Reality Demands: Documenting Violations of International Humanitarian Law in Kosovo 1999*. The documentation of violations of humanitarian law in Kosovo is of course a highly important task, and requires the utmost carefulness and detail in terms of methodology, treatment and selection of sources, interpretation and presentation. The preparation of case-files as such, to be submitted to the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY), is one thing; and a matter of what can be used in terms of evidence for indictments, the publishing of findings in a book, is another, and will have a different purpose and a different audience. The published work will, due to its sensitive nature, also become political. The purpose of the fieldwork is explicitly stated as being to gather evidence for handing over to the ICTY. It is here the lack of clarity begins. It should perhaps be left for jurists to evaluate to what extent the material presented in book form would be useful in terms of presenting evidence in a court case. It does, however, contain a well-written diary of grim and inhumane violations of civilians as well as presentations of relevant laws and their applicability. The problem for readers is that they have no possibility of controlling, or even keeping track of, how sources are treated, how the story has been re-created. They are expected to take certain statements at face value. If they are prepared to do that, the reading will offer a fairly detailed catalogue of events and of violations of humanitarian law, as well as a good chronology, descriptions of organisational structure, and presentations of involved actors on the ground. The reading is certainly useful, although it has to be treated with the usual source-criticism of the historian or social scientist. Somewhat disturbing perhaps are the weak arguments as to why NATO action has not been included in the investigation, particularly since it is international humanitarian law (and during spring 1999), which is in focus. Is there a political motive behind this? If there is, one has the right to suspect that this also affects the methodology. The board membership of ICG consists largely of current and former state officials. Is it possible that this has influenced the work? The background description for the Rambouillet process, as well as several facts, is also somewhat confused (or simply misunderstood?). The

reader should complement this with other reports.

Any disappointment derived from the lack of critical analysis of external dynamics in the ICG report is cured when contrasted with Chandler's study. To take the latter study further would probably require thorough ethnographic fieldwork, but would then need to pose the questions differently. While Chandler's criticism is as important as it is devastating, one does not, of course, necessarily agree with all his conclusions. His view on the disempowerment of local leaders and the 'hollowing out' of sovereignty can be questioned and targeted from a different angle. Rather than focusing on the issue of sovereignty one could pose the question differently and look for changing forms of power. Indeed, there is an 'army' of international implementors in Bosnia-Herzegovina in order to ensure the 'Faking Democracy' endeavour; however instead of local power merely becoming 'anaemic', the local elites may have alternative ways to exercise power which would be worth studying. New forms of power are worked out both in the centre (liberal democracies) and in the periphery, showing remarkable structural similarities, indicating that they are two sides of the same process. It is here one might need to turn to ethnographic fieldwork to understand how power among local populations is wielded. The latter indicates something completely different from, and goes beyond, the 'obstructions' noted by the ICG. It is perhaps here, in the realm of power and sovereignty, that the three studies show the most similarity. It is perhaps here, also, that one might wish to open new questions in relation to governance; how it is exercised and what it actually means in an environment such as the post-Yugoslav one. Chandler's study, particularly, will be recommended and even necessary reading for the student of aid policy in the Balkans, as well as for the student of democratisation or interventionism in international relations, although for the policy-maker the reading may seem more disheartening.

The failures of democratisation/transition policy and governance strategies in Bosnia may accentuate the importance of the regional dynamics of the former Yugoslav space and the entire Balkans. Separate strategies in different entities or new states (Serbia, Kosovo, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Macedonia, Montenegro, etc.) seem to be unrealistic if one expects economic development and social and political stabilisation, just as it is unrealistic to work on the whole region itself without taking into account macro-structural aspects and the relationship between local capital and labour and global capitalism. Ideas of regional co-operation/integration, regional approaches, and a 'Marshall Plan' for

the Balkans have been voiced and incorporated into political documents, yet there have been neither the instruments nor the capital or political unity to realise such an endeavour. Instead the 'global governance' which is developing rests on a centralised policy-making seeking new forms of instruments of surveillance and implementation of aid and 'post war' reconstruction strategies. Perhaps the various reports, assessments and policy evaluations all re-emphasise the old question of how the region can be (re)incorporated into one single policy framework.

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International Organization for Migration, **World Migration Report 2000**

Geneva: International Organization for Migration and the United Nations, 2000, 287 pp., \$39.00 p.b. (ISBN 92 9068 089 X)

The justification for this publication is that, although a multitude of books and articles have been written on the causes, characteristics and effects of migration in various parts of the world, there are very few studies that survey global trends in migration. Co-published by IOM and the UN, this report aims to fill that agenda, and it is anticipated that it will be updated on a regular basis.

The purpose of the *World Migration Report*, then, is to provide an authoritative account of contemporary trends, issues and problems in the field of international migration. It is written in a straightforward style to appeal not only to migration students and policy-makers but also to those with a more casual interest in the subject. For the real migration specialist there is probably not much that is new beyond a useful set of up-to-date statistics; the analysis ranges from the bland to the thoughtful, but rarely reaches the level of agenda-setting originality. Its appeal will therefore be to the general reader, and also to the undergraduate student who will find a balanced overview written in an accessible style. The text is clearly and attractively laid out, and there are 55 tables. Some will find the inset boxes on IOM's activities in various migration fields in different parts of the world informative; others may see this as something of an IOM propaganda exercise.

The volume is in two parts. The first, some 50 pages, examines the scale and growth of migration in the world, the types of movement now underway, the key factors which contribute to migration, the global context of contemporary migration, and associated policy issues. The