

UNIVERSITY OF BELGRADE

Faculty of Political Science

Belgrade, March 2021

At the Department of International Studies meeting, held on 12 November 2020, the Master Thesis Defense Commission (hereby the Commission) for the candidate Katarina Pavlović was formed with the following members: prof. dr Filip Ejdus, prof. dr Nemanja Džuverović and doc. dr Goran Tepšić. The Council for the Second and Third Cycle of Studies has accepted the proposal made by the Department.

After reading the master thesis, the Commission is submitting the following report.

REPORT

The master thesis of Katarina Pavlović, entitled “Liberal Peacebuilding in post-conflict societies of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Kosovo”, analyses peacebuilding processes in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Kosovo after 1995 and 1999, respectively. The main goal of the thesis is to identify the causes of unsuccessful peacebuilding in Bosnia and Kosovo and assess their relevance for peacebuilding in general.

The thesis offers a critical perspective on the liberal peace theory and its practical implications, and it is comprised of 3 chapters, besides the Introduction, Conclusion, and the References. In the first chapter, the author provides a historical overview of liberal peace and explains its main elements. The second and third parts of the thesis deal with *how* and *why* liberal peacebuilding proved to be unsuccessful in the Western Balkan post-conflict societies, namely Bosnia-Herzegovina and Kosovo. Each chapter, referring to the respective society, examines five dimensions central to liberal peacebuilding: democratization, the rule of law, civil society, human rights, and economic liberalization. The conclusion highlights the important lessons of liberal peacebuilding in these societies, which should be considered in any future similar venture.

In the Introduction, the author defines the main objective of the research and explains liberal peacebuilding. The negative impacts of this process in post-conflict societies of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Kosovo are also briefly outlined.

In the first chapter, the thesis examines the integral premises of liberal peace and the historical development up to its modern implications in post-conflict zones. The author explains Richmond's concept of four strands of peace (victor's peace, institutional peace, constitutional peace, and civil peace) and graduation models of liberal peace (conservative model, orthodox model, and emancipatory model). The first chapter's essential part is analyzing the main components of a peacebuilding mission: *democratization, the rule of law, civil society, human rights, and economic liberalization*.

The second chapter focuses on the peacebuilding mission in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The author briefly outlines the root cause and the course of the Bosnian conflict. After that, follows the analysis of the Dayton Peace Agreement and its implications on the Bosnian sovereignty. The author mainly focuses on Annex X, which deals with the appointment of the High Representative for Bosnia-Herzegovina. OHR is criticized for its lack of transparency and accountability, imposing external strategies, and forced democratization in Bosnia-Herzegovina. This chapter also analyzes the role of civil society in liberal peacebuilding. The author concludes that three ethnic groups are still politically and socially divided and that specific strategies deployed by the international actors in Bosnia-Herzegovina made this gap even worse.

The third chapter, which deals with peacebuilding in Kosovo, briefly outlines the Kosovo crisis's roots and course. This chapter focuses on three main international actors in Kosovo – KFOR, UNMIK, and EULEX. The author elaborates how each of these actors failed to establish a meaningful connection with the local communities, which determined the course of the mission. The results of poor international governance over Kosovo are visible in every domain – from corruption in the judicial system and institutional weakness to structural issues such as unemployment, poverty, and crime. The author also outlines that Kosovo's final status will need to unravel in the following years because currently, it stands in the way of progress for both Serbia and Kosovo.

In the Conclusion, the author compares peacebuilding models in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Kosovo by using Richmond's graduations of liberal peace. Internal and external factors that determined these missions as unsuccessful are further elaborated. The author concludes that there is still a chance for the international actors to contribute to the reconciliation and building local capacities in both societies. In order to do so, they will need to focus more on the local needs and capabilities.

The Commission is convinced that the candidate Katarina Pavlović has shown a good understanding of the conflict and post-conflict processes in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Kosovo and their theoretical and practical relevance for the concept of peacebuilding. Also, the Commission is satisfied with the paper's analytical contribution and the candidate's capability to accomplish the primary goal of the thesis – to identify and assess the main causal factors of unsuccessful peacebuilding in these two Western Balkan post-conflict societies. Therefore, the Commission concludes that the master thesis “Liberal Peacebuilding in post-conflict societies of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Kosovo” by Katarina Pavlović fulfills all the formal criteria for the public defense.

The Commission

prof. dr Filip Ejđus

prof. dr Nemanja Džuverović

doc. dr Goran Tepšić