The speeches of the High Representative for Bosnia and Herzegovina: cosmopolitanism in practice?

By: Emma E.M. de Leeuw

3495612, University Utrecht, Languages and cultures (TCS), OZS III Cosmopolitanism,
Supervisor: Marijke Huisman, Word count: 8284, Date/Place: Sarajevo, 29-7-1016

"I believe in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and I believe in you.
But what really matters is that you believe in yourselves."

[Ashdown, Paddy. 2003]

This thesis was written in honour of all the people inside and outside Bosnia and Herzegovina who work hard to provide people in Bosnia and Herzegovina with a better future.

In that light I would like to thank some people and organisations that assisted me in getting to know the country Bosnia and Herzegovina and its people: First of all, the Dutch Young Democrats in cooperation with Mladi Liberali who introduced me to Bosnia and Herzegovina, secondly 'The Erasmus + EVS program' and the Centre for Conflict Studies and Human rights of the University of Utrecht who provided me with a deeper knowledge and more understanding of Bosnia and Herzegovina and its conflicts. Last, but most importantly, all my friends and family in Bosnia and Herzegovina and in the Netherlands who always supported me and helped me to reflect on all the

Picture front page:

Sarajevo today

By: Emma de Leeuw (April 2016)

Summary

This paper tries to answer the question how the High Representative (HR) for Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) expressed cosmopolitan notions in his public speeches between 1995 and 2015 and what changes in these expressions can be seen after the general elections of 2006. Four cosmopolitan notions are especially relevant as drivers in the peace process that started with the Dayton Agreement of 1995: 'identity and belonging', 'empathy', 'human rights' and 'democracy'. These notions are described as a challenge for the HR, whose main task is to monitor the civil implementation of the peace agreement and to promote human rights. Cosmopolitanism was implicitly referred to in the public speeches of the HR. Placed in a historical context these speeches show that after 2006 this reference to the four cosmopolitan notions changed. It is concluded that:

- Until 2006 the HR appealed to the connection with the international community, thus stimulating a feeling of belonging to the people of the world. After the elections of 2006 he tended to refer more to the European or pan Atlantic community. In both periods he occasionally also referred to the position of BiH in the region, but not to the cosmopolitan world community. Over the whole period the HR did not unambiguously define the landscape or place with which the citizens of BiH could identify.

- Especially in the first years after the war, the HR showed empathy is his speeches, for instance by sharing common memories. He also showed compassion, but in this he seemed to struggle to define his position in relationship to the people of BiH;

- The HR often and explicitly promoted democracy and referred to many specific cases of human rights, especially in the years before the elections of 2006.

    For this study twenty-one public speeches of the HR for BiH were studied, with a focus on the message and on the wording used to express this message. The method used was inspired by the Critical Discourse Analysis although a full application of this method fell outside the scope of this study. In addition to these speeches, secondary sources and a few primary sources were used to describe the historical and cosmopolitan context.

Contents

Introduction

"I believe that it is not possible to achieve lasting stability in a post-conflict environment without communicating with the people concerned, explaining to them what you are doing, why you are doing it and what you would like to achieve. They are the ones who have to develop ownership of the peace process and carry it forward once the internationals leave. This requires a communication effort that is credible, coherent and connected to the people concerned." Stiglmayer (2012)

With the above statement Alexandra Stiglmayer, a former spokeswoman for the Office of the High Representative (HR) in Sarajevo, defended that communication within a peace process should always involve the people concerned.[1] This also applied to the post peace process which started in Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) after a horrible civil war (1992-1995) that followed the breakup of Yugoslavia. During this war people were confronted with crimes such as the genocides in Srebrenica and Priodor and with detention camps that were compared with the concentration camps in Nazi Germany. This war ended officially with the signing of 'The General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina' in Dayton in 1995 by the Republic of BiH, the Republic of Croatia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. This Dayton Agreement (DA), as it is usually called, was meant to bring an end to the conflict and to promote enduring peace and stability.[2]

At that time, BiH was free of extensive shelling and violence but was still far away from peace. This was also seen by the international community that witnessed the signing of the DA.[3] For this reason the installation of the Office of the HR was arranged in annex 10 of the DA. This was the organisation that would monitor and promote civil implementation of the DA and,

---

[1] Stiglmayer, "Credibility, coherence and connectedness", 17.
[2] General Assembly Security Council, "General framework agreement for peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina".
[3] The signing of the Dayton agreement was witnessed by: the republic of Germany, The Russian federation, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America.

especially, human rights.[4] Over the years, the HR has used, among other means, his public speeches for this promotion. In Annex 6 of the DA a general agreement on human rights was reached: "The parties shall secure to all persons within their jurisdiction the highest level of internationally recognized human rights and fundamental freedoms."[5] The post war peace process that started following the DA can be seen as cosmopolitanism in practice: leaders from all over the world thought that all citizens, also the 'fellow citizens' of the Balkan, deserved the same human rights. In this paper this cosmopolitanism in practice was studied and therefore the context of cosmopolitanism relevant to the peace process in BiH needs some further explanation.

The principle that everyone should have his human rights respected stems from the concept of cosmopolitanism. This concept, which dates from the philosophic schools of Greek and Roman Stoics, refers to the perception that people are world citizens rather than citizens of their own polis. As a citizen of the world you have the duty to take care of the well-being of other world citizens. According to these philosophers, a cosmopolitan considers moving away from his town or country in order to serve the idea of cosmopolitanism. This also means advising and supporting people in difficult situations in other countries.[6]

In the 16th century, philosophers like Grotius, Comenius and Erasmus developed theories on how to reach global peace.[7] Erasmus, for instance, believed that all humans were equal and worldwide peace should be pursued. Moreover, writers in the 18th century, such as Kant and Smith, and in the 20th century Friedman as well, emphasized that the world should be organized in a different way to reach this world peace which thinkers such as Erasmus promoted. These views created a framework on which international institutions were based: after the First World War the League of Nations, and after the Second World War the United Nations.

---

[4] The Dayton accords were signed by: republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the republic of Croatia and The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. This signing was witnessed by European Union special negotiator, The French republic, Federal republic of Germany, The Russian federation, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America.
[5] General Assembly Security Council, "General framework agreement for peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina", 82.
[6] Kleingeld and Brown, "Cosmopolitanism", 3.
[7] Ibid., 5.

Cosmopolitanism is a concept that attracted the attention of historians in the last decade of the twentieth century. Some of these historians referred explicitly to the Stoics and to the philosophers of the Enlightenment. [8],[9] Historians related the concept of cosmopolitanism to the concept of peace. The two World Wars, followed by the Cold War, resulted in a need for a global solution to reach world peace. Historians, following other scientists, discovered the concept of cosmopolitanism as a way to understand past societies.[10] After the collapse of the Berlin Wall, that marked the beginning of a new period, not only changes in the political field but also in sciences and finally in the field of historical studies sparked a renewed interest in cosmopolitan theory. Until then, cosmopolitanism had been studied as a concept by philosophers. In the eighties and nineties of the 20th century historians also started to study cosmopolitanism, but now in an ethical-political context.[11] At the beginning of the 21th century, under the influence of anthropology, academic studies took a practical turn. Sociologists, anthropologists, political scientists and later historians, as well, found new ways to study the practice of cosmopolitanism. They did not approach cosmopolitanism as a political theory, but as a way people or organisations behave. They studied cosmopolitanism as a grassroots movement.[12] Afterwards, the concept of cosmopolitanism covered multiple fields such as the economic, the social, the political, the cultural and the moral field. In the light of cosmopolitanism new debates emerged about belonging, sovereignty, multiculturalism, mono cultural approaches and diversity.

The post war situation in BiH is a unique situation in which cosmopolitanism in practice can be studied.[13] For the first time in history the international community tried to establish a peaceful state by giving a HR substantial powers and the explicit task to promote and guard cosmopolitan values, such as human rights and democracy. However, the post war situation in BiH changed after the general elections of 2006. These elections, that were the first elections

---

[8] Sluga and Horne, "Cosmopolitanism: Its Pasts and Practices", 370-371.

[9] Robertson, "The Enlightenment above national context", 667-697.

[10] Sluga and Horne, 369-74.

[11] Rapport and Stade, "A Cosmopolitan Turn? Or Return?", 223.

[12] Ibid.

[13] The High Representative Westendorp commented on his task as "[…] an experiment that is unique in modern times, the international stewardship and reconstruction of a post-conflict nation." Speech 1999: Westendorp, "Remarks to the UN Security Council".

since the 1995 DA to be fully administered by the countries' own authorities, brought about some positive changes, but for many these changes were not enough. The period before the elections can be seen as a period of stabilization and democratization and the subsequent period can be characterized by restructuring and Europeanization. Over the years, and especially after the elections, an increasing number of critics commented on the role of the HR and the progress that was made. In this context, the specific words the HR used in his public speeches to connect with the people of BiH and to express cosmopolitan notions, may have changed after these elections. These words have not yet been studied before in this context, and may therefore shed a new light on the post war period in BiH and on the way cosmopolitanism can be brought into practice.

In this paper the focus is on the moral as well as the political field of cosmopolitanism. In the light of cosmopolitanism, the moral concepts 'identity and belonging' and 'empathy' are studied. 'Human rights' and 'democracy', as cosmopolitan notions, are studied in a political context. These four notions have been chosen as they seem to be most relevant for bringing cosmopolitanism in practice in post war BiH.

Firstly, the notion of 'identity and belonging' is essential to the cosmopolitan concept because in this concept all humans belong to the world. When referring to 'identity and belonging', people are connected to the place and the other people they belong to.[14] Secondly, the notion of 'empathy' is characteristic for the concept of cosmopolitanism because empathy connects the self with the distant other. Thus, in the reconciliation process the HR may have connected the people of BiH with the international community by showing empathy or by referring to empathy shown by others. The HR is a political institute with a political task. The concepts of 'human rights' and 'democracy' were central to the development of cosmopolitan ideas within the politics of the 20st and 21st century. Because of the international intervention in

---

[14] Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 29; Calhoun, "Belonging in the cosmopolitan imaginary", 541; Vertovec and Cohen, "Conceiving cosmopolitanism", 25; Hedetoft and Hjort, *The post national self*, IX.

the post peace process in BiH, these two notions are also expected to be used in the public speeches of the HR.[15]

The aim of this paper is to provide an answer to the question:

How did the expression of the cosmopolitan notions of 'belonging and identity', 'empathy', 'human rights' and 'democracy' in the public speeches of the HR change after the general elections of 2006?

This study aimed to answer the following questions:

-   How can 'belonging and identity', 'empathy', 'human rights' and 'democracy' be explained within the context of cosmopolitanism, in relation to the challenges the HR faces in his speeches?
-   How does the expression of cosmopolitan notions in the public speeches of the HR fit in the historical context of the period of stabilization and democratization (1995-2016)?
-   How does the expression of cosmopolitan notions in the public speeches of the HR fit in the historical context of the period of restructuring and Europeanization (2006-2015)?

Methods and sources

This paper is the result of a multidisciplinary approach. Primary and secondary sources have been used for this paper. Secondary sources have been used to study the historical and cosmopolitan context and to create an analytical scheme to study the speeches. In addition, as a primary source, the DA, a report of the HR and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights have been used. The public speeches of the HR are the main primary source of this study.

---

[15] United Nations, "Universal Declaration Human Rights", Article 21: "Everyone has the right to take part in the government of his country, directly or through freely chosen representatives. […] The will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government; this will shall be expressed in periodic and genuine elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret vote or by equivalent free voting procedures."

Speeches can be studied from different angles, such as the political, sociological, historical, psychological field. Important components that can be studied are the personal characteristics of the speaker, the audience who attends the speech, the occasion for the speech and the speaker's message.[16] The HR is an institution but 'the individual colour' of the speeches may have been influenced by the background of the person in office in a certain year. However, the historical context of the speeches is expected to be most relevant. The speeches that were held for a broad public are expected to be most prominent on the reference to the selected cosmopolitan notions. Speeches were held on different occasions, such as openings or closings of meetings and events or the start or ending of a term of a HR. The public speeches have often been broadcasted and thus reached a broad public. Within the historical context the speaker's message as regards the concept of cosmopolitanism has been the focus of this study. The most extensive method to study the message of speeches is the Critical Discourse Analysis.[17] Although a full application of this method is far beyond the modest scope of this study, some inspiration was taken from it in the analysis of the speeches. According to Alexandra Stiglmayer it is important in the peace process to convince the people of your goals and by that to make them your allies from the very beginning.[18] The wording of the message is essential to be credible and convincing, and above all it is important to connect with the audience. Therefore, in this study special attention has been paid to the wording the HR used for his messages, such as the use of personal pronouns and the relative number of some crucial words related to the four cosmopolitan notions, such as 'human rights', 'democracy', 'war', 'International', 'Europe', 'Region' and 'Balkan'.

From the 483 speeches held in the full years of the period of his installation (1995-2015) twenty-one speeches of the HR were selected. All speeches were taken from the website of the Office of the HR. From each year one public speech was chosen at random from those speeches that were addressed to the society of BiH as a whole or to a certain group within the society of BiH.

---

[16] Putnam, "Critically Analyzing a Speech", 1-2.
[17] An interesting example of this method is the study of the published press releases of the HR: Majstorović, "Construction of Europeanization in the High Representative's Discourse", 629.
[18] Stiglmayer, 17.

In the first chapter of this paper the four selected notions are described in relation to cosmopolitanism and the challenges the HR faced if he wanted to relate to these notions. The second chapter describes the position of the HR and analyses his speeches held in the period 1995-2006 within the historical and cosmopolitan context. In the third chapter the speeches from the period after the general elections of 2006 are analysed in the same way. Both in chapter two and three the speeches are analysed with respect to the four characteristic notions of cosmopolitanism mentioned above. These analyses form the basis for the conclusion on how the expression of cosmopolitan notions in the public speeches of the HR changed along with the changes in historical context before and after the general elections of 2006.

1. Notions of Cosmopolitanism

In 1995, when the civil war in BiH ended, the international community found in the concept of cosmopolitanism its legitimation to interfere in the peace process. Cosmopolitan notions were important drivers of this peace process, in addition to the economic and political stability in the region and in Europe. Therefore, it is expected that the HR would try to keep the people (and politicians) of the country motivated in the difficult peace process by referring to cosmopolitan notions. As explained in the introduction, four notions of cosmopolitanism are expected to be prominent in the speeches: 'identity and belonging', 'empathy', 'human rights' and 'democracy'. In this chapter an explanation of these four notions is given within the context of cosmopolitanism, in relation to the challenges the HR faced in his speeches.

1.1 Identity and belonging

Cosmopolitanism can be described as promoting the sense of belonging to humanity.[19] Thus, belonging is a central topic in the promotion of cosmopolitanism. According to Osborn (2001) people live in a place and identify with it.[20] When 'the self' identifies with a place, the objective

---

19 Vermeulen, "Flights of Memory", 49.
20 Osborn, "Landscapes, Memory, Monuments, and Commemoration", 68.

place turns into a subjective place. In general, the place is not only connected with 'the self', but also with specific activities that 'the self' undertook in this place. So, knowledge about the places is connected with knowledge about 'the self'. This means that 'the self' cannot create an identity without a place to refer to. Places are not only connected to activities, but often also to emotions that can refer to positive or negative images of the place. Apart from how 'the self' identifies with the place, there is also a collective memory. Such shared identities are mostly defined by legends and landscapes.[21] The sharing of legends is often coordinated by organisations and especially by leaders or politicians. In the 19th and 20th century those leaders were inspired by nationalism, telling people nationalistic stories and thus giving them an identity connected to a nation. After the Second World War another form of identity appeared, namely a 'European identity' and later a 'world identity'. However, a major problem with these identities was that, although they were based on ideals of cosmopolitanism, they lacked a place with a common memory or a legend. Europe was experienced differently by different groups as it was connected to each group's own subjective space.

The new European identity was open to a misunderstanding of belonging, because it was not only based on a European identity but also on the identity that was created by the sovereign states within Europe. So there was a dual layered identity. As Rigney (2012) described it: "Fellow Europeans are others as well as one of us. They are both domestic and foreign." [22] A major step to be taken, therefore, is integrating existing narratives of sovereign nations into a bigger European narrative. A world identity, or cosmopolitan identity, will primarily face the same challenge of creating a narrative for all who belong to the world, but even a bigger threat for such an identity is that there is no defined recognizable space to identify with. If shared points of reference can be found there is a possibility to create solidarity between all people of the world. Consequently, the challenge of the HR was to express these shared points of reference in a worldwide context, or at least an international or European context. In doing so he would refer to the cosmopolitan notions of 'identity and belonging'.

---

21 Ibid., 71.
22 Rigney, "Transforming memory and the European project", 609.

1.2 Empathy

One of the other crucial means to create solidarity among people is to develop empathy among them. Empathy and sympathy are two constructs that are loosely defined by scientists. Decety and Jackson (2004) describe empathy as follows: "Empathy accounts for the naturally occurring subjective experience of similarity between the feelings expressed by self and others without losing sight of whose feelings belong to whom. […] This sharing of the feelings of another person does not necessarily imply that one will act or even feel impelled to act in a supportive or sympathetic way."[23] Others distinguish sympathy from empathy in a different way. According to Decety and Jackson sympathy means to understand and respond to feelings without re-experiencing the emotions of the other, whereas in empathy people may completely forget that they are different persons.[24]

In the moral field of cosmopolitanism 'the self' should connect with 'the other' who is suffering.[25] One should show 'the other' empathy and help him to overcome his struggle and suffering. The cosmopolitan connection can also be made in a different way, namely by creating, or referring to, positive cosmopolitan events such as the Olympic Games and World Championships.[26] Those events create an empathy that is not based on suffering but on a common positive memory.

The challenge of the HR was to show sympathy and to relate to common memories. By carefully choosing words and deliberately using personal pronouns such as "I", "we" and "you" he was able to connect himself with the people of BiH and thus bring into practice the cosmopolitan element of 'empathy'.

1.3 Human rights

Human rights are central in the political concept of cosmopolitanism. Human rights are rights that belong to all people because they have a human status. In a very radical sense this implies

---

[23] Decety and Jackson, "The functional architecture of human empathy", 71.
[24] Ibid., 73.
[25] Kyriakidou, "'Feeling the pain of others': Exploring cosmopolitan empathy", 158.
[26] Liu, "The strategy of city cultural governance", 55.

that for the basic human rights one should give absolute priority to "the demands of the cosmopolitan moral community."[27] From this radical universalistic point of view cultures not expressing the human rights as universally accepted might be seen as lower moral communities. However, if one accepts that also local cultures may, or even have to, define the way one should translate human rights into legal or even day-to-day practice, one may choose for the concept of cultural relativism. This concept holds that "[...] culture is the principal source of the validity of a moral right or rule."[28] There seems to be a logical contradiction here because on the one hand human rights are by definition universal but on the other hand moral communities demand respect or at least tolerance from those outside a culture when human rights are applied within a specific culture.

In introducing human rights to an existing moral community one has to make a connection between local morality and human rights. Not only on an institutional level, but also on the level of the actual members of the community one must work on an understanding of the 'the other' on an emotional level.[29] A mutual empathetic relationship should be built to create a cosmopolitan basis for citizenship. Cosmopolitan politics need cosmopolitan laws that include the cosmopolitan principles. This requires going from cosmopolitan legal theory to legal practice. Legal cosmopolitanism can provide a transition toward institutional cosmopolitanism.[30] Laws covering human rights are based on moral principles such as 'good' or 'bad'. Moral principles are an essential part of a cultural identity.

According to Rapport and Stade (2007) cosmopolitan anthropology "recovers crucial tensions – analytical and political equally – between 'individual', 'culture' and 'society'."[31] This shows that bringing universal human rights into practice in an existing community is not as straightforward as it might seem.

The challenge of the HR was to promote universal human rights referring specifically to the rights that were relevant to the time and situation, such as religious freedom, freedom of

---

[27] Donnelly, "Cultural relativism and universal human rights", 410.
[28] Ibid., 409.
[29] Stevenson, "Cosmopolitanism, multiculturalism and citizenship", 9.
[30] O'Neill, "A Kantian approach to transitional justice", 46.
[31] Rapport and Stade, 228.

press and the return of displaced persons. In doing so he had to keep in mind the local culture and existing morality, especially when 'translating' these human rights into preferred legal and institutional changes.

1.4 Democracy

Human rights are essential notions of democracy and democracy provides a suitable environment for the protection and realization of human rights.[32] The United Nations even see democracy as one of the human rights.[33] With the fall of the Soviet system many had the hope that democracy would prevail as a global form of government. Archibugi (2004) reviewed the development of cosmopolitan democracy and the globalization of democracy. She described the tension between national democracy and global democracy. She stated "[…] that an international order founded both on peace and the rule of law proves a necessary condition for the progression of democracy within states."[34] Democracy within states may thus favour peace between states. However, democracy among and beyond states, that is cosmopolitan democracy, does not follow automatically from democracy within states, even when all states are democratic at national level.

National governments might have been elected democratically but in their foreign policy they might show non-democratic behaviour by interfering with the rules and democracy within other states, or – in the worst case – by starting a war with other states. Luckily, other drivers are present that prevent too many non-democratic foreign policies: democratic states have a tendency to join international institutions and transnational associations. Also, they usually have a greater respect for the rules of others when these rules are similar to those of their own nation.

According to Archibugi (2004) "the best way to conceptualize cosmopolitan democracy is to view it in terms of its different levels of governance."[35] She reviewed how democratic norms are dealt with at local, state-wide, interstate, regional and global level. A strong local network of

---

[32] United Nations, "Democracy and Human Rights".
[33] United Nations, "Universal Declaration Human Rights", Article 21.
[34] Archibugi, "Cosmopolitan democracy and its critics", 437.
[35] Ibid., 446.

(governmental) institutions supports local democratic values. On a national level, equality and human rights, accepting diversity among the civilians, and also accepting autonomy in the relation to other states are important for implementing a peaceful democracy. States can go one step further by acknowledging in their foreign policy the international law and the autonomy of other states. They may even actively contribute to interstate agreements and institutions like the United Nations, although one may argue whether these institutions are democratic in themselves.[36] At a global scale democracy is difficult because a real democratic global government seems almost impossible. However, intergovernmental organisations may be 'corrected' by non-governmental organisations and more and more have to be 'self-correcting' when the global community raises its voice.

The challenge of the HR was to promote democracy in relation to cosmopolitanism. Relating democracy in BiH with cosmopolitanism was difficult for him if he also wanted to refer to the importance of a national government and international institutions and had to take into account the transatlantic ideas about democracy.

In summary, it can be said that to express the four notions of cosmopolitism in speeches, the HR faced a number of challenges. He had to express shared points of reference in a worldwide context, or at least an international or European context to relate to identity and belonging. He had to show sympathy, relate to common memories and pay attention to his wording if trying to connect himself with the people of BiH and thus bring into practice the cosmopolitan element of 'empathy'. In promoting human rights, he preferably had to keep in mind the local culture and existing morality. Finally, in promoting (cosmopolitan) democracy he had to keep in mind that the cosmopolitan ideals of democracy are not easily combined with the ideals of a national government and the involvement of international institutions. In the next two chapters the speeches of the HR will be analysed, keeping in mind these challenges in expressing the four cosmopolitan notions.

---

[36] Ibid., 448.

2. Speeches of the High Representative - the period of stabilization and democratization (1995-2006)

This chapter describes how the speeches of the HR are consistent with the historical and cosmopolitan context in the period before the general elections of October 1st, 2006. Special reference is made to the cosmopolitan notions 'belonging and identity', 'empathy', 'human rights' and 'democracy'. First a short description of the position of the HR is given. Then, twelve speeches of the HR from the period 1995-2006 are analyzed within the cosmopolitan and historical context. This analysis tries to shed a light on how the expression of cosmopolitan notions in the public speeches of the HR is consistent with the historical context of the period of stabilization and democratization.

The DA was a very basic agreement. After the signing of it many articles still needed to be explained further to be able to put them into practice. The first meeting with this goal was held in London, on December 8 and 9, 1995. It was during this meeting that the signing parties and the witnessing parties of the DA installed the Peace Implementation Council (PIC).[37,38] The PIC consists of 55 countries and agencies that support the peace process in many different ways. [39,40] One of these ways is to implement human rights and to monitor the abuse of human rights. This is one of the main responsibilities of the HR. The PIC steering board serves as an advisory board for the HR. [41] The PIC is funding the Office of the HR and grants substantial powers to the HR to implement the DA. In Annex 10 of the DA the mandate and actions of the HR are

---

[37] The Dayton Accords were signed by: republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the republic of Croatia and The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

[38] Witnessed parties: European Union special negotiator, The French Republic, Federal Republic of Germany, The Russian Federation, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States.

[39] Countries in the PIC: Albania, Austria, Belgium, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Canada, Croatia, Czech Republic, Denmark, Egypt, Serbia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Jordan, Luxembourg, Republic of Macedonia, Malaysia, Morocco, Netherlands, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Poland, Romania, Russian Federation, Saudi Arabia, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, Ukraine, United Kingdom and United States of America.

[40] Agencies in the PIC: Office of the High Representative, Council of Europe, European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, European Commission, International Committee of the Red Cross, International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia, International Monetary Fund, North Atlantic Treaty Organization, Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe, United Nations, UN High Commissioner for Human rights, UN High Commissioner for Refugees), and the World Bank.

[41] The PIC steering board consists of: Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, Russia, United Kingdom, United States, Presidency of the European Union, European Commission, and Organization of the Islamic Conference, represented by Turkey.

described in more details. The HR was installed for the implementation of the civilian aspects of the peace settlement. For instance, one of tasks of the HR was described as the "promotion of respect for human rights".[42] For this reason, the HR's tasks and mandates were clearly described; he was legitimated by the international community because of the promotion of cosmopolitan notions such as human rights and democracy. All seven HRs that held office from 1995 until 2015, were European diplomats.[43]

The post war period of 1995-2006 in BiH can be described as a period of stabilization and democratization. Although the war had officially ended, armed conflicts still had to be stopped and people had to find a place and a way to start living peacefully. They had to feel safe again, protected by police and law. At the same time a start had to be made to build a more stable nation and start with the foundations of democracy. In this post war period the efforts of the HR focused on respecting human rights such as those related to security, justice and the return of refugees and displaced persons.[44] In his speeches this can be seen by the number of times he referred explicitly to human rights: a word count on this combination of words in the studied speeches shows 0.25% of the total number of words before the elections of 2006 compared to 0.02% after 2006. In the way he referred to 'identity and belonging' and in the way he showed empathy towards the people that suffered it can also be seen that the remembrance of the war was fresh and the people were offered a new identity to promote stability in the region.

In the speeches of the first years after the war, 'identity and belonging' were mainly referred to by making a connection with (common) experiences of suffering during a war. In 1996 Carl Bildt for instance referred to the common memory of the war: "The conflict in Bosnia has witnessed some of the most flagrant violations of basic Human rights in recent History – certainly the wars we have seen in Europe in decades."[45] And half a year later Carlos Westendorp shared his own memories of civil war in Spain and connected these with those of the people in BiH: "The other is that I come from a country that went through a civil war which

---

[42] General Assembly Security Council, 111.
[43] Carl Bildt, Carlos Westendorp, Wolfgang Petritsch, Paddy Ashdown, Christian Schwarz-Schilling and Valentin Inzko.
[44] In 1996 he was helped in this by the establishment of the Institution of the Human Rights Ombudsman.
[45] Speech 1996: Bildt, "Speech at the International Round Table on Human Rights in BiH."

caused more than a million deaths."[46] In the same speech Westendorp showed sympathy by stating that he would make a "personal effort in seeing such a tragedy does not occur again."[47] This personal connection was also shown by the way he used personal pronouns. In circumstances in which he saw positive progress he usually sympathetically used 'us' and 'we'. For instance, in 1996 Bildt used 'we' to connect with the people: "We have made progress in the past few months, but much remains to be done."[48] On the other hand, negative situations were often attributed to the people of BiH, and by using 'I' and 'you' he created a distance between himself and the people, just like Westendorp did: "If you the people do not avail of today's opportunities to build political institutions [...] you will not be given another chance."[49] It had become clear that such a firm tone was needed as local officials still violated the DA. The result of this was that in Bonn, in December 1997, the HR was granted more substantial powers by the PIC (the 'Bonn powers'). He was authorized to make binding decisions when local politicians could not come to an agreement and he was able to remove public officials when they violated the DA.

As regards identity, the HR referred to the ambition of becoming a part of Europe. For instance, in the speech of 1998 the future was described as follows: "Europe will reach out to both entities and people of this country as long as both support a future based on the guiding principle of European nations."[50] In the following years the HR compared BiH with other countries in the region, with the intention of giving the people a regional identity as well. For instance in 2004: "[...] we are approaching the point at which Bosnia and Herzegovina will have the most politically independent and effective judicial system in the region."[51]

Democracy as a goal, as one of the human rights, was mentioned in many speeches, right from the start. The road from authoritarianism towards democracy however was a long one. In the first years the speeches focused more on the importance of democratic conditions than on explicit steps in how to reach this democracy. For instance in 1997 it was said that: "[...]

---

[46] Speech 1997: Westendorp, "Presentation on SRT." (SRT: Srpska Radio-Television).
[47] Ibid.
[48] Speech 1996: Bildt.
[49] Speech 1998: Westendorp, "Speech at the opening ceremony of Dom Zdravlja in Rogatica."
[50] Ibid.
[51] Speech 2004: Ashdown, "Speech at the Press Conference on Judicial Reform."

it will be very hard for you to choose freely, at least until the police behave in a democratic way [...]."[52] In 1999 it was stressed that to reach democracy the country needed: "[…] fundamental reform, modelled on western-style institutions before anything approaching a real democracy could be achieved."[53] From 2000 onwards we see some impatience in the speeches concerning this development towards democracy: "time is running out, and the window of opportunity will not remain open forever."[54] In 2002 Ashdown described the road he sees for Bosnia, a road towards a "mature democracy" in which he was no longer needed.[55] Although every year some progress can be seen, in the speech just one month before the general elections of 2006 Schwarz-Schilling seemed to be sceptical: "But in this country – where the parliamentary tradition is relatively short – we have seen that the parties [...] have significant limitations. [...] The figures are frightening – and in democratic terms unsustainable. […]."[56] He may have exaggerated slightly, because he was addressing his speech to NGOs, to ask them to coax voters, but he had seen the number of voters decrease from 2.4 million in 1996 to below 1.3 million in 2002. It was clear that to realize democracy not only western-style institutions were needed, but also people who believed in democracy.

So, all four cosmopolitan notions are represented in the studied speeches. However, explicit reference to the concept of cosmopolitanism was made only on a few occasions, such as in 2000 when the HR gave the message that without cosmopolitanism a war may start again.[57]

Towards the end of this period, on the 10th anniversary of the DA in 2005, the feeling was that there was little to celebrate. The fights had ended, but the central government was weak. The people were frustrated with unemployment, economic stagnation, criminality and politics. Most people thought a new constitution was necessary to prepare for the EU, although many Bosnian Serbs still favored the ethno territorial entity of Republika Serpska. The symbolic day of the 10th anniversary was chosen by the EU to open the negotiations on a Stabilization and

---

[52] Speech 1997: Westendorp.
[53] Speech 1999: Westendorp.
[54] Speech 2000: Petritsch, "Address at the University of Banja Luka."
[55] Speech 2002: Ashdown, "Television Address to the Citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina."
[56] Speech 2006: Schwarz-Schilling, "Speech at a Meeting of BiH Non-Governmental Organisations."
[57] Speech 2000: Petritsch.

Association Agreement.[58] Talks on a constitutional change started in 2006, in preparation of the general elections in October of that year. The EU asked for a more effective and functional government, more respect for human rights (for individuals and minorities) and a transition from the rotating presidency to a single president. Because of these developments it was expected that the next ten years were likely to be much more progressive.[59] However, this constitutional reform became a failure. Sebastian, who studied the role of the EU in Bosnia, blamed the EU for this failure.[60] However, none of the parties in BiH seemed eager either to bring about the proposed constitutional change with the elections ahead.

To sum up, in the years before the elections of 2006 we see a clear reference to the four cosmopolitan notions in speeches of the HR. 'Identity and belonging', 'sympathy' and specific human rights were very relevant for him in this post war period, in which the need for basic safety and stabilization was most prominent. He succeeded in referring to the cosmopolitan notion of 'identity and belonging' by mentioning shared points of reference although he related mostly to shared negative memories. He showed sympathy by expressing the personal relationship, but also held distance when he was not satisfied with the developments. He often promoted human rights, especially particular human rights that were relevant to the time and situation. However, it cannot be said that he explicitly showed that he kept the local culture and existing morality in mind. As the difficult process of democratization had to start in this period, it is not surprising that this notion was also expressed in the speeches, although mostly by explaining what democratic conditions were needed to start the democratic process, as it was a new concept for this country. In promoting the cosmopolitan notion of 'democracy' he explicitly mentioned the importance of national and international democratic institutions and took into account the transatlantic ideas about democracy. Consequently, he did not promote

---

[58] In the context of accession to the European Union, the agreement serves as the basis for implementation of the accession process. This agreement entered into force ten years later, on June 1, 2015. European Union, press release.
[59] Tuathail et al., "Bosnia-Herzegovina Ten Years after Dayton", 65.
[60] Sebastian, "The Role of the EU in the Reform of Dayton in Bosnia-Herzegovina", 343.

cosmopolitan democracy, but, as stated in chapter one, a real democratic global government seemed almost impossible.

3. Speeches of the High Representative - the period of restructuring and Europeanization (2006-2015)

This chapter describes how the speeches of the HR are consistent with the historical and cosmopolitan context in the period after the general elections of October 1st, 2006. Special reference is made to the cosmopolitan notions of 'belonging and identity', 'empathy', 'human rights' and 'democracy'. This chapter starts with a short description of the importance of the elections of 2006. Then, nine speeches of the HR from the period 2006-2015 are analyzed within the cosmopolitan and historical context. This analysis forms the basis for the conclusion on how the expression of cosmopolitan notions in the public speeches of the HR for BiH are consistent with the historical context of the period of restructuring and Europeanization.

The stabilization and democratization phase was followed by a phase in which restructuring (social and political) and Europeanization stood central. The era of Dayton was followed by one of European integration.[61] The phase started with the general elections of October 2006. These elections were the first elections since 1995 to be fully administered by the countries' local authorities. Nine days before the elections the HR had explained the importance of this election: "The leaders elected in the forthcoming poll have to take responsibility for the future of the country and to lead it towards Europe after the closure of the Office of the High Representative next year. […] One issue on which I will be looking for your input in the coming months is constitutional reform."[62] The Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) summarized the evaluation of these elections: "The manner in which these elections were conducted was generally in line with international standards for democratic elections […].

---

[61] Venneri, "Modelling states from Brussels?", 9.
[62] Speech 2006: Schwarz-Schilling.

Therefore, the elections represented further progress in the consolidation of democracy and the rule of law."[63] Although the elections were conducted reasonably well, the constitutional reform was still a failure, as already mentioned in chapter two.[64] The constitutional amendments agreed upon in April 2006 failed to win approval by the Parliamentary Assembly in the House of Representatives. Two other attempts to re-initiate constitutional reform failed in 2007 and 2009, according to Woelk because of "a lack of coordination and the absence of a uniform position within the International Community."[65] This influenced the perception of the role of the HR: more often citizens of BiH and also western journalists criticized him.[66,67] However, it was not only the slow progress, but also the use of the Bonn powers and the absence of an exit strategy of the HR, the inability to give more responsibilities to local authorities that bothered politicians as well as civilians.[68] Inzko later described the situation since 2006 as follows: "[...] Bosnia and Herzegovina has been on a downward trajectory since 2006, and its citizens expect and deserve more from their newly elected leaders than more time wasted."[69] Before the elections it was announced that June 2007 was the target for the HR mandate to end, but at its meeting in May 2007 the PIC agreed to the aim of closure by June 2008 "due to [...] the virtual halt in reforms and the prolonged void in government following the elections."[70]

Over the years the position and focus of the HR changed, especially after the more activist Ashdown was replaced by the more moderate Schwarz-Schilling in February 2006, who did not want to make use of the Bonn powers.[71] In 2007 the HR also gained the position of European Union Special Representative. This position, which was separated from that of the HR in 2011, was brought into existence again for the European Union pre-accession strategy.[72] In the years 2006-2015 international state-building and democracy promotion were important

---

[63] Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights, "Bosnia and Herzegovina general elections", 1.
[64] Sebastian, 341-354.
[65] Woelk, "Bosnia-Herzegovina: Trying to Build a Federal State on Paradoxes", 109-139
[66] Majstorović, 629.
[67] Chandler, "Back to the future?", 492.
[68] Venneri, 28.
[69] Inzko, "47th Report of the High Representative", 2.
[70] United Nations, "Bosnia and Herzegovina has historic window of opportunity".
[71] Parish, "The demise of the Dayton protectorate", 15.
[72] Venneri, 20.

ends for the HR as an international institution.[73] Other states and the international community had strong opinions about what was right and wrong for BiH, however the general attitude was that "[...] there is alleged to be no self-interest at work in external intervention […] merely enforcing international or 'cosmopolitan' norms and laws."[74]

In the phase of restructuring and Europeanization the cosmopolitan notion of 'identity and belonging' was usually expressed in the speeches of the HR by a belonging to Europe or, in the future, the European Union. Schwarz-Schilling expressed this as follows: "[...] I am speaking as a man who is able to compare the difference between being out of EU and being in the EU on the basis of my own experience."[75] Moreover, in doing so he related to a common experience. However, he also positioned BiH between the EU and the region: "[...] in the process of European integrations BiH is today on the last place and it is further from the EU than any other country in your region. […]."[76] In later years the people of BiH were explicitly compared with other Europeans, as for instance in 2010: "In this vision, Bosnia and Herzegovina citizens think and act in just the same way as other Europeans."[77] However, on an occasion organised by the International Institute for Middle-East and Balkan Studies the country was also explicitly positioned within the region: "And this means that the success of BiH is integral to the success of the Western Balkans as a whole."[78] Moreover, in 2014 it was stressed that BiH had to move "with the rest of the region in a more promising direction."[79] In contrast to the speeches prior to 2006, references to common experiences, personal connections and the deliberate use of personal pronouns were more or less absent.

The notion of 'empathy' is less clear in the speeches of this phase. A word count on the speeches shows that 'war' scores 0.41% of the total words in the period before 2006 and only 0.1 % after 2006. The suffering of that war was further away, and apparently the HR felt there

---

[73] Nowadays the tasks of the High Representative are summarized as follows: "The High Representative is working with the people and institutions of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the international community to ensure that Bosnia and Herzegovina evolves into a peaceful and viable democracy on course for integration in Euro-Atlantic institutions." Office of the High Representative, "General Information".

[74] Chandler, 485.

[75] Speech 2007: Schwarz-Schilling, "TV Address to Citizens of BiH."

[76] Ibid.

[77] Speech 2010: Inzko, "Speech on the Closure of OHR Mostar."

[78] Speech 2012: Inzko, "Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Role of the OHR."

[79] Speech 2014: Inzko, "Speech Celebrating Bosnia and Herzegovina's Membership in the UN."

was less need to refer to this suffering. An exception can be found in the speech of 2007: "I am aware that Bosnia-Herzegovina is the country whose people suffered most during the tragedy that took place in the first half of the nineties."[80] In recent years people, especially the younger generations, have not been eager to talk about the war, but many (traumatized) people in BiH still seem to link the identity of the people of BiH to the suffering in the war.[81] Of course, on occasions of official remembrance, as in 2008, empathy was explicitly shown in the speeches.[82] Similarly, the suffering during the floods of 2012 lead Inzko to express his sympathy.[83] In 2012 he gave the reassurance that it "[...] has never been the intention of the International Community simply to abandon the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina to the uncertainties of a dysfunctional domestic political system."[84] In this example empathy was expressed not by relating to the suffering of the war, but by relating to the suffering caused by the domestic political system. Furthermore, in 2015 the commitment of the international community was confirmed, so that BiH was able to "[...] take its rightful place at the heart of the European family."[85] In short, showing empathy and stressing the affiliation with a European family was expressed in the speeches until the end of the studied period.

Human rights received less explicit attention in this period as well, which is shown in the word count on this subject: it decreases from 0.25% to 0.02 % after the elections of 2006. In 2010 the successes in the field of human rights were mentioned in the speech of Inzko: the staff in the Office of the HR working, inter alia, on human rights had been reduced from 100 to 20.[86] In the speeches of the years 2006-2015 only occasionally reference to specific human rights were made (concerning justice, imprisonment, education and free press).

Democracy and state building were stimulated by the HR via a technocratic approach and administrative approach, neglecting the people and local politics.[87] Apart from this problem Fukuyama saw two inherent problems in these tasks of the HR: that governance from the

---

[80] Speech 2007: Schwarz-Schilling, "TV Address to Citizens of BiH."
[81] Personal observation
[82] Speech 2008: Lajčák, "Remarks at the Ceremony to Commemorate the Victims of the Genocide in Srebrenica."
[83] Speech 2014: Inzko.
[84] Speech 2012: Inzko.
[85] Speech 2015: Inzko, "Remarks on the Occasion of Brcko District Day."
[86] Speech 2010: Inzko.
[87] Venneri, 31-32.

outside possibly undermined the ability of the people to develop their own political institutions and that state-building sought to build power while democracy sought to limit it.[88] As there seemed to be no optimal way of solving these problems, one can image they may have been a source of frustration, especially after the elections of 2006. In the speeches of the HR democracy as such was not often mentioned explicitly, but it was often stressed that the "job has not yet been fully completed."[89] With 'this job' the restructuring and Europeanization was meant, so these processes can be seen as a way to implement democracy further. The country moved forward but according to Inzko "too slowly in important areas."[90] The HR was still needed to maintain "an environment in which this transition can be completed."[91] Near the end of the period, at the elections of 2013, the role of the citizens in the democratic process became more important, according to Inzko: "Citizens have been taking the initiative and forcing their political representatives to react. [...] This is a positive development in a healthy democracy."[92]

To summarize, in the years after the elections of 2006 a clear reference to the four cosmopolitan notions in speeches of the HR could be seen. However, 'identity and belonging' and 'sympathy' were referred to in a different way compared to the preceding period. The HR succeeded in referring to the cosmopolitan notions of 'identity and belonging' mostly by referring to belonging to Europe or, in the future, the European Union and not so much by referring to common experiences or making personal connections. He expressed sympathy less often, with the exception of special occasions for remembrance or when showing empathy with the present situation in the country. As some important successes had already been realized in the field of human rights, this element is less prominent in the speeches. When promoting the cosmopolitan notions of 'democracy' he explicitly connected this with state building, in a predominantly technocratic way, and so he still adhered to the importance of national and international democratic institutions. More often than not this notion was mentioned in relation to the slow process to improve the situation in BiH.

---

[88] Fukuyama "'Stateness' First", 87-88.
[89] Speech 2010: Inzko.
[90] Speech 2011: Inzko, "Remarks at a Ceremony Marking the 14th Anniversary of the Helicopter Crash at Prokosko Lake."
[91] Speech 2012: Inzko.
[92] Speech 2013: Inzko: "Speech Opening the 20th Zenica International Trade Fair."

Conclusion: Cosmopolitanism in the speeches of the High Representative – before and after 2006

This paper shows how the High Representative (HR) for Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) expressed cosmopolitan notions in some of his public speeches between 1995 and 2015 and what changes can be seen in these speeches after the elections of 2006. The number of speeches was limited and the method to study them mostly qualitative; more substantiated conclusions require a more extensive study. Keeping this in mind, some trends and relevant findings may still be stated here.

The main concept of cosmopolitanism used in this study is based upon the philosophy of the Greek and Roman Stoics who were convinced that all human beings are part of the world and so should help and advise each other to avoid suffering and to create world peace. Although these philosophers and many other philosophers like Grotius, Comenius and Erasmus studied the concept of cosmopolitanism, it was only in the nineties of the 20th century that the concept gained attention within the fields of history and sociology. Under the influence of anthropologists the focus of the studies of cosmopolitanism changed from developing the theoretical concept itself to how the concept is used in practice. In this change in direction, studies mainly concentrated on how cosmopolitanism is used by "normal people" and in a lesser extent on how the concept is used in the context of political leaders and international institutions.

This paper focused on a couple of core notions found within moral and political cosmopolitanism. Firstly, it focused on 'belonging', which means that the cosmopolitan believes that he belongs to the world more than to any region or country. In the light of belonging, this paper also discussed 'identity' as it is closely connected to belonging. Secondly, this paper studied 'empathy' because this component of cosmopolitanism forms the basis for connecting people all over the world. Two other notions of cosmopolitanism, human rights and democracy, and especially the latter, were studied in the light of political cosmopolitanism. Human rights, including the aim of democracy, are used to spread cosmopolitanism over the world.

To explore how these notions are used in practice, a number of speeches of the HR were analysed. The institution of the HR was established in 1995 by an international committee and promoted cosmopolitan ideas such as human rights and democracy. A historical moment in the period 1995-2015 was the general elections of 2006, the first elections since 1995 to be fully administered by the countries' local authorities. The period before 2006 was seen as a period of stabilisation and democratisation, whereas the following years were a period of restructuring and Europeanization.

This paper exposed firstly and most apparently that the HR appealed for a connection with the international community. Being and feeling part of the international community is essential for creating peace, a basis for democracy and overcoming human rights abuses, especially in the post war period. After the elections this international community was more explicitly referred to as the European community. Only in a few cases did the HR describe citizens in BiH to be part of a larger world community. This may have led to a feeling of exclusion among people in BiH, because they are not yet really part of a European community and on the other hand they also may not feel part of a world community, even when they are helped by an international community.

Secondly, this paper showed that belonging to a community with shared values is important but only the places and landscapes really define people's identity. This is also the case for world citizens. This forms a major threat to the promotion of the concept of cosmopolitanism and identity in BiH, because cosmopolitan is not connected to a particular landscape or place but to the world as a whole. In the period before the elections the HR connected with the people of BiH by referring to common experiences and by often making deliberate use of personal pronouns. In the later years he predominantly tried to connect them with the people of Europe. This struggle with the promotion of a cosmopolitan identity can also be observed in the speeches of the HR. It could be argued that not defining unambiguously the landscape to which citizens of BiH should relate may have lead to a problem of identification. This would be a relevant topic for further research.

Thirdly, this paper offered a reflection on cosmopolitan empathy. Empathy is a central element in cosmopolitanism because it is the connection between 'the self' and 'the distant

other'. The 'self' is only able to understand the suffering and the joy of his distant peer by feeling empathy or sympathy. The HR showed empathy in a number of ways, especially in the period before the elections. In most cases, he showed empathy by sharing common memories about war and suffering and in only a few cases did he refer to positive common events. To give his empathy more power it could be argued that it would be better if the HR more clearly defined his relationship with the people of BiH and related to more positive common memories and successes.

Finally, in the years after 2006 the speeches focused less prominently on the notions of human rights and democracy than in the early years. While the speeches of the years before the elections mostly referred to the conditions necessary for democracy, in the later years the HR explicitly connected the subject of democracy with state building, in a predominantly technocratic way, and so adhering to the importance of national and international democratic institutions.

In conclusion it can be said that to a certain extent the HR referred to all four notions of cosmopolitanism, but that the elections of 2006 brought a shift from referring mainly to belonging, empathy, human rights and the conditions for democracy in an international or cosmopolitan context towards referring to institutional democracy and state building in a more European context.

References

Primary sources

- Ashdown, Paddy. "New Year's Message to the People of Bosnia & Herzegovina from Paddy Ashdown, High Representative and European Union Special Representative." Sarajevo, OHR, 12/31/2003, 2003.
- ———. "The High Representative Paddy Ashdown Television Address to the Citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina." Sarajevo, OHR, 05/31/2002, 2002.
- ———. "Remarks by the High Representative, Paddy Ashdown at the Opening of a Photo Exhibition Marking 10 Years of Refugee Return in BiH." Sarajevo, OHR, 12/07/2005, 2005.
- ———. "Speech by High Representative, Paddy Ashdown at the Press Conference on Judicial Reform." Sarajevo, OHR, 11/29/2004, 2004.
- Bildt, Carl. "Introductory Remarks by the High Representative, Carl Bildt at the International Round Table on Human Rights in BiH." Vienna, OHR, 03/04/1996, 1996.
- ———. "Speech by the High Representative at the Signing of the Peace Agreement on Bosnia, Elysée Palace." Paris, OHR, 14/12/1995, 1995.
- European Commission. "Stabilisation and Association Agreement with Bosnia and Herzegovina enters into force today." Press release, June 1, 2015. http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_IP-15-5086_en.htm (accessed 6/30, 2016)
- General Assembly Security Council. "General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina." General Assembly Security Council. http://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/BA_951121_DaytonAgreement.pdf (accessed 4/27, 2016).
- Inzko, Valentin. "47th Report of the High Representative for Implementation of the Peace Agreement on Bosnia and Herzegovina to the Secretary-General of the United Nations." United Nations, 2009. https://www.ecoi.net/file_upload/1226_1433253549_47th-report-of-the-high-representative-for-implementation-of-the-peace-agreement-on-bosnia-and-herzegovina-to-the-secretary-general-of-the-united-nations.pdf (accessed 4/21, 2016).
- ———. "Remarks by High Representative Valentin Inzko on the Occasion of Brcko District Day Brcko, 8 March." Brcko, OHR, 03/09/2015, 2015.
- ———. "Speech by HR Valentin Inzko Opening the 20th Zenica International Trade Fair." Zenica, OHR, 05/19/2014, 2013.
- ———. "Lecture by the High Representative, Valentin Inzko, "Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Role of the OHR." OHR, 04/20/2012, 2012.
- ———. "Remarks by High Representative Valentin Inzko at a Ceremony Marking the 14th Anniversary of the Helicopter Crash at Prokosko Lake." Prokosko Lake, OHR, 09/19/2011, 2011.

- ———. "Remarks by the HR/EUSR Valentin Inzko at the Cooperation Project between Sarajevo Municipal Court and Banja Luka Basic Court." Vlasic, HR/EUSR, 12/22/2009, 2009.
- ———. "Speech by HR on the Closure of OHR Mostar." Mostar, OHR, 06/10/2010, 2010.
- ———. "Speech Celebrating Bosnia and Herzegovina's Membership in the UN." Sarajevo, OHR, 05/19/2014, 2014.
- Lajčák, Miroslav. "Remarks by High Representative/EU Special Representative Miroslav Lajčák at the Ceremony to Commemorate the Victims of the Genocide in Srebrenica." Srebrenica, OHR / EUSR, 07/11/2008, 2008.
- Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights. "Bosnia and Herzegovina general elections 1 October 2006. OSCE/ODIHR Election Observation Mission Final Report." Warsaw, 2007. http://www.osce.org/odihr/elections/bih/23945?download=true (accessed 6/7, 2016).
- Office of the High Representative. General information. http://www.ohr.int/?page_id=1139 (accessed 6/1/2016).
- Petritsch, Wolfgang. "Address of the High Representative, Wolfgang Petritsch, at the Launch of Federation TV." Sarajevo, OHR, 10/27/2001, 2001.
- ———. "Address by the High Representative, Wolfgang Petritsch at the University of Banja Luka: Postgraduate Course in European Studies." Banja Luka, OHR, 04/19/2000, 2000.
- Schwarz-Schilling, Christian. "HR/EUSR Christian Schwarz-Schilling at a Meeting of BiH Non-Governmental Organisations." Sarajevo, OHR, 09/22/2006, 2006.
- ———. "High Representative's and EU Special Representative's TV Address to Citizens of BiH" Sarajevo, OHR, 07/02/2007, 2007.
- United Nations. "The Universal Declaration of Human Rights." http://www.un.org/en/universal-declaration-human-rights/ (accessed /27/5, 2016).
- United Nations. "Bosnia and Herzegovina has historic window of opportunity to move closer to Europe, leaders must 'seize the moment'". Press release May 16, 2007. http://www.un.org/press/en/2007/sc9018.doc.htm (accessed 30/6/2016).
- Westendorp, Carlos. "Presentation by the High Representative Mr. Carlos Westendorp on SRT." Banja Luka, OHR, 09/10/1997, 1997.
- ———. "Remarks by the High Representative, Ambassador Carlos Westendorp to the UN Security Council." New York, OHR, 07/28/1999, 1999.
- ———. "Speech by the High Representative, Carlos Westendorp, at the Opening Ceremony of Dom Zdravlja in Rogatica." Rogatica, OHR, 06/11/1998, 1998.

Secondary sources

- Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities. Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism.* London: Verso, 1983.

- Archibugi, Daniele. "Cosmopolitan Democracy and its Critics: A Review." *European Journal of International Relations* 10, no. 3 (2004): 437-473.
- Calhoun, Craig. "'Belonging' in the Cosmopolitan Imaginary." *Ethnicities* 3, no. 4 (2003): 531-553,
- Chandler, David. "Back to the Future? the Limits of Neo-Wilsonian Ideals of Exporting Democracy." *Review of International Studies* 32, no. 3 (2006): 475-494.
- Decety, Jean and Philip L. Jackson. "The Functional Architecture of Human Empathy." *Behavioral and Cognitive Neuroscience Reviews* 3, no. 2 (Jun, 2004): 71-100.
- Donnelly, Jack. "Cultural Relativism and Universal Human Rights." *Human Rights Quarterly* 6, no. 4 (1984): 400-419.
- Fukuyama, Francis. "'Stateness' First." *Journal of Democracy* 16, no. 1 (2005): 84-88.
- Hedetoft, Ulf and Mette Hjort. *The Post National Self: Belonging and Identity*. Vol. 10. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002.
- Kleingeld, Pauline and Eric Brown. "Cosmopolitanism." *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* 28, (2006): 3-20, http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/fall2014/entries/cosmopolitanism/ (accessed 3/1/2016).
- Kyriakidou, Maria. "'Feeling the Pain of Others': Exploring Cosmopolitan Empathy in Relation to Distant Suffering." *Democracy, Journalism and Technology: New Developments in an Enlarged Europe. The Intellectual Work of ECREA's* (2008): 157-168.
- Liu, Jerry CY. "The Strategy of City Cultural Governance: 2009 Kaohsiung World Games and Globalized City Cultural Images." *Journal of Leisure Studies* 10, no. 1 (2012): 47-71.
- Majstorović, Danijela. "Construction of Europeanization in the High Representative's Discourse in Bosnia and Herzegovina." *Discourse & Society* 18, no. 5 (2007): 627-651.
- O'neill, Onora. "A Kantian Approach to Transitional Justice." *The Cosmopolitanism Reader*, Garrett W. Brown and David Held (eds), 45-61. Cambridge: Polity, 2010.
- Osborne, Brian S. "Landscapes, Memory, Monuments, and Commemoration: Putting Identity in its Place." *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 33, no. 3 (2001): 39-77.
- Parish, Matthew. "The Demise of the Dayton Protectorate." *Inside the Bosnian Crisis: Documents and Analysis. Journal of Intervention and State building* 1, (2007): 11-23.
- Putnam, Mike. "Critically Analyzing a Speech: The Classical System." University of Texas Arlington: Department of Communication. http://www.uta.edu/faculty/mputnam/COMS3312/Notes/Intro.html (accessed 6/12/2016, 2016).
- Rapport, Nigel and Ronald Stade. "A Cosmopolitan Turn? Or Return?" *Social Anthropology* 15, no. 2 (2007): 223-235.
- Rigney, Ann. "Transforming Memory and the European Project." *New Literary History* 43, no. 4 (2012): 607-628.
- Robertson, John. "The Enlightenment Above National Context: Political Economy in Eighteenth-Century Scotland and Naples." *The Historical Journal* 40, no. 3 (1997): 667-697.

- Sluga, Glenda and Julia Horne. "Cosmopolitanism: Its Pasts and Practices." *Journal of World History* 21, no. 3 (2010): 369-374.
- Stevenson, Nick. "Cosmopolitanism, Multiculturalism and Citizenship." *Sociological Research Online* 7, no. 1 (5/31/2002, 2002): 1-17, http://www.socresonline.org.uk/7/1/stevenson/stevenson.pdf (accessed 3/3/2016).
- Sebastian, Sofia, "The Role of the EU in the Reform of Dayton in Bosnia-Herzegovina, 343. *Ethno politics*, 8: no. 3-4 (2009) 341-354. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/17449050903086948
- Stiglmayer, Alexandra. "Credibility, Coherence and Connectedness: Communication in Post-Conflict Interventions." *Preparing for peace: Communications in conflict resolution,* Sarah Crozier and Sonya Yee Vienna (eds), 17-20. OSCE, 2012.
- Tuathail, Gearóid Ó (Gerard Toal) et al., "Bosnia-Herzegovina Ten Years after Dayton: Constitutional Change and Public Opinion", *Eurasian Geography and Economics*, 47, 1 (2006): 61-67.
- Venneri, Giulio. "Modelling States from Brussels? A Critical Assessment of the EU-Driven State-Building of Bosnia and Herzegovina." *Cyprus Center of European and International Affairs* (2007): 1-42.
- Vertovec, Steven and Robin Cohen. "Introduction: conceiving cosmopolitanism". *Conceiving cosmopolitanism: theory, context and practice*, Steven Vertovec and Robin Cohen (eds), 1-22. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.
- United Nations, Democracy and Human Rights: The human rights normative framework. http://www.un.org/en/globalissues/democracy/human_rights.shtml.
- Vermeulen, Pieter. "Flights of Memory: Teju Cole's Open City and the Limits of Aesthetic Cosmopolitanism." *Journal of Modern Literature* 37, no. 1 (2013): 40-57.
- Woelk, Jens. "Bosnia-Herzegovina: Trying to Build a Federal State on Paradoxes". *Constitutional Dynamics in Federal Systems: Sub-national Perspectives*, Michael Burgess and G. Alan Tarr (eds), 109-139. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2012.