

incoherent and contradictory stories, reveal difficulties in accepting the facts, and ask themselves how such things could “be allowed” to happen. They develop counter-narratives to the dominating public ones. Such parallel narratives, the author argues, represent ordinary people’s responses to being marginalized in the public debate. They feel they have become a forgotten dimension in the top-down transitional justice projects in Serbia. Instead, “we should not ignore the ‘ordinary’ [people], or their everyday worlds and discourses, nor think of them only as passive recipients of ‘our’ knowledge about the conflicts. Invisibility of certain voices from the public debate on confronting the past in Serbia does not mean that they have nothing at all to say on the issues” (227). The author thus detects a serious disconnection between the Serbians on the streets and the ongoing transitional justice projects promoted by domestic civil society and the international community. The respondents in this study appear alienated from these initiatives to understand the violent past and guide the political present in Serbia.

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Ana Juncos, *EU Foreign and Security Policy in Bosnia. The Politics of Coherence and Effectiveness*. Manchester, New York: Manchester University Press, 2013 (Europe in Change). 204 pp., ISBN 978-0-7180-8240-5, £ 70.00

Ana Juncos’ book on the role of the European Union (EU) in Bosnia and Herzegovina is a welcome contribution to our understanding of the EU’s involvement in the post-conflict reconstruction and integration of the Western Balkan states. In particular, the use of process tracing to understand why the EU acted in the way

it did at different time periods (from 1991 onwards) provides insights into why the Union’s approach to the Balkans in general, and Bosnia in particular, has fundamentally changed in the last 25 years. This process tracing is framed by an analysis of the coherence and effectiveness of the EU’s actions.

The book is divided into seven chapters. In the introduction, Juncos frames her research question: Has the institutionalization of the CFSP, i.e. the development of foreign policy institutions at the EU level, increased the EU’s effectiveness and coherence in Bosnia? (3). Chapter 2 goes into detail about EU foreign and security policy. Juncos analyses the developments in this policy area from the start of European Political Cooperation in the 1960s until the most recent changes to the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) in the Lisbon Treaty in 2009. Chapter 3 puts into practice the two main analytical concepts, *coherence* and *effectiveness*. In chapter 4, Juncos examines the EU’s early engagement in Bosnia once Yugoslavia began to disintegrate in the early 1990s. In particular, she examines the European Monitoring Mission to observe the ceasefire in Slovenia and the EC Peace Conference, which started in 1991. She concludes that, during this period, EU policy had a low level of coherence and effectiveness, and argues that this was a result of weak institutionalization, as it was only the Maastricht Treaty of 1993 that provided stronger provisions for foreign policy coordination.

In Chapter 5, the author explores the EU’s intervention in Bosnia after the end of the violent conflict in 1995. Focusing on the EU’s administration of Mostar, Juncos concludes that the EU was generally less involved in the immediate post-war period than NATO and the UN. She argues that the EU’s non-intervention decision put it in a weaker position in post-war Bosnia

and that only the rising tensions and the outbreak of war in Kosovo in the late 1990s shifted the EU's perspective, not only on Bosnia but on the former Yugoslav region as a whole. The Stability Pact and the commitment to an EU membership perspective for the Western Balkan states after the Kosovo War highlight these changing dynamics.

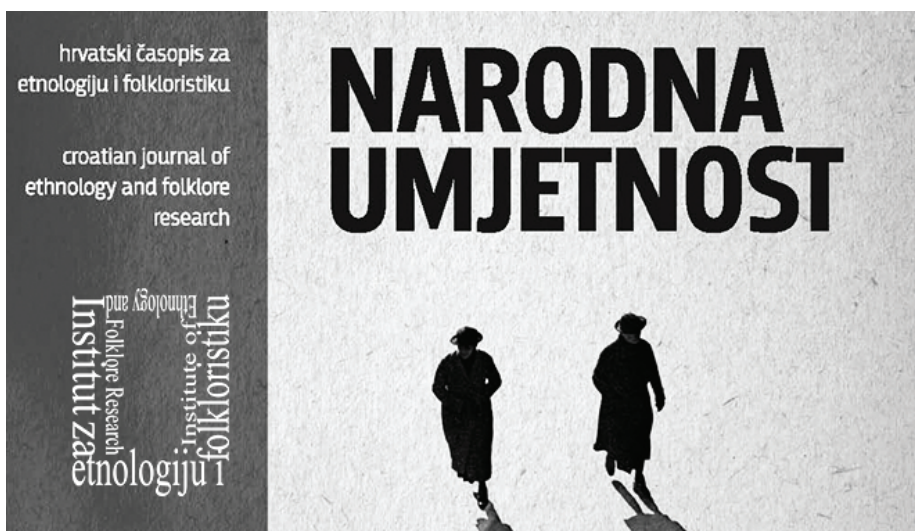
Chapter 6 illustrates the EU's renewed focus by examining several initiatives in Bosnia, including the EU Special Representative (EUSR), the EU Police Mission (EUPM), and the EU Military Mission (EUFOR). In her last chapter, Juncos concludes that the EU's involvement in Bosnia has been characterized by "increasing institutionalization of EU foreign and security policy in the form of increasing numbers of CFSP bureaucratic bodies, formal rules and informal norms, as well as an increasing presence of the EU in Bosnia" (163). Yet, she argues that "CFSP institutionalization has not resolved deficiencies in coherence and effectiveness, there are still problems with the institutionalization of lessons learned, and coherence and effectiveness continue to be negatively affected by unintended consequences and path dependency, as well as intergovernmental, bureaucratic and local politics" (163).

Indeed, Juncos' conclusion is confirmed by recent developments in Bosnia. From the failed police reform to attempts to improve the human rights situation in Bosnia after the *Sejdić-Finci* Judgement of the European Court of Human Rights, recent attempts of the EU to promote state-strengthening reforms and enhance democratic governance have been unsuccessful. This can be explained by a variety of factors, including

the inability of the different European actors to promote a coherent reform agenda and connect it with conditionality. More recent developments in the field of judicial reform point towards Juncos' earlier conclusion that local resistance remains of key importance when explaining why EU engagement has resulted in limited policy change (or, indeed, none at all).

As a whole, this is a well-written and solidly researched contribution to our understanding of EU foreign policy and engagement with the Western Balkan region. The findings point towards the need for closer policy cohesion, more institutionalization and stronger supranational decision-making in key aspects of foreign and security policy-making. It remains to be seen if the EU will be able to "push" Bosnian elites towards more substantial reforms, which would enable the country to move closer towards Brussels. The German-British Initiative of 2014, and the EU's recent involvement in judicial reform, however, highlight what Juncos describes as key weaknesses of the EU's engagement in Bosnia – a lack of clear and coherent policy formulation, the involvement of too many actors with little cooperation and coordination, and most importantly, the failure to overcome local resistance by connecting reform efforts strongly to conditionality. Juncos' assessment that EU foreign and security policy has gone a long way and developed substantially since the first involvement of the Union in the former Yugoslav space in 1991 is correct, but equally it can be argued that the EU's approach to the integration of that space in general, and Bosnia in particular, still has a long way to go before we can see a "policy of coherence and effectiveness".

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