

JICA's Assistance for Post Conflict Reconstruction



Project Sites Bosnia Herzegovina

1. Evaluation Outline

(1) Evaluation Objective

For approximately five years (1996 – 2000), after the General Framework Agreement for Peace (Dayton Accords), JICA has provided various cooperation to support reconstruction in Bosnia Herzegovina. This evaluation was carried out to review JICA's support, and then to present both lessons and recommendations for the future. It was headed by Mr. Tadao Kano, an editorial writer for Mainichi Shimbun, who has a deep understanding of Japan's international cooperation and activities for peace establishment.

(2) Members of Evaluation Team

Team Leader:

Tadao KANO, Editorial Writer, Mainichi Shimbun

Evaluation Planning:

Ikufumi TOMIMOTO, Resident Representative, JICA Austria Office

(3) Period of Evaluation Period

10 – 20 December, 2000

2. Current Situation in Bosnia Herzegovina

The civil war in Bosnia started with independence-related conflicts in the former Yugoslavia in April 1992. The Muslims¹⁾ and Croats that supported independence from the former Yugoslavia, fought against the Serbs, who were against independence, or desired to form a new Yugoslavian state. The conflict between the three ethnic groups developed into a civil war. From the beginning of 1995 to the summer of that year, NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) forces carried out massive air strikes against the Serbs. On November 1 of the same year, peace negotiations began in Dayton, Ohio in the United States, and on November 21, the Dayton Accords were initiated.

The final Peace Agreement was officially signed in Paris on December 14.

Before the civil war, Bosnia Herzegovina's population was 4.38 million (1991), but the population declined drastically during the war to 2.92 million (1995). Some 200 to 300 thousand people were killed in the war, while around 1 million were injured. Some 1.3 million refugees were displaced within the country, while 1.25 million people fled to outside the country's borders.

At present (2000), Bosnia Herzegovina remains divided into two separate entities. One entity is the Federation of Bosnia Herzegovina, which is inhabited by Croats and Muslims, and takes up 51% of the territory. The other is known as the Republic of Srpska (or Republika Srpska), occupied by Serbs, which forms 49% of the territory. Although a cabinet called the "Council of Ministers" was set up in January 1997 by the central government, there has been difficulty in coordinating the two entities, which possess their own political structures and administrations. Confusion still remains on the political front.

In addition, the country's economy has only recovered to 30% of its pre-war level, and the unemployment rate has reached as high as 40%. According to the central government statistics, the Federation of Bosnia Herzegovina had a GDP of US\$1 billion (approximately 122.9 billion yen) in 1995. This is only one eighth of pre-war levels (1990) and the country's per-capita GDP was also only US\$200-US\$500 (between 25,000 yen and 60,000 yen). Up to 60% of the country's industrial facilities were phys-

¹⁾ During the 15th Century, the Ottoman Empire conquered Serbia and Bosnia Herzegovina. With this, a number of Serbs and Croats adopted Islam independently. As a result, a Serbo-Croatian-speaking, Islamic ethnic group was born, although their appearance was no different from non-Muslim Serbs and Croats. The former Yugoslavian government recognized the peoples' right to a separate cultural identity, and identified them as a separate ethnic group from the Serbs and Croats.

ically destroyed during the civil war, and industrial production fell to 5-10% of pre-war levels. Similarly, in the Republika Srpska, industrial production in many sectors fell to 5-10% of pre-war levels in 1995.

Since the signing of the Dayton Accords in 1996, there have been signs that reconstruction had begun, as the international community joined in offering support. In 1996, the per-capita GDP in the Federation of Bosnia Herzegovina rose by 35% to \$728 (around 90,000 yen), and an economic growth of 35% was seen in the next year as well. Remarkably, the country has struggled to achieve a "sustainable economy," especially since the process of privatization had started in April 1999. Although there still remains challenging tasks such as the improvement of legal systems.

Meanwhile, international support to the Republika Srpska had been halted after the entity failed to fulfill some provisions of the Dayton Accord. However, after the election of the moderate Milorad Dodik as the Bosnian Serb Prime Minister, donor countries began to give full-fledged support.

A number of problems still remain. The number of displaced refugees amounts up to 600,000, and the removal of an estimated three million landmines is still looming.

It appears that the public safety situation was stable at the time of the field study. On the visit to the two cities of Sarajevo and Mostar, SFOR (Stabilization Force) and IPTF (International Police Task Force) troops were seen everywhere. It is safe to say that Bosnia Herzegovina remains under the administration of international authori-



Sarajevo citizens enjoying road chess. Peace seems to be returning.

ties.

During our evaluation, the following international organizations were active in Bosnia Herzegovina:

- **Peace Implementation Council (PIC)**
Comprised of approximately forty nations (including Japan) and twenty international organizations, based on the Dayton Accords.
- **Office of the High Representative (OHR)**
Subordinate agency to the PIC, facilitates and mobilizes civilian aspects of peace settlement.
- **Stabilization Force (SFOR)**
Composed mainly of NATO forces, currently 20,000 troops are stationed. Immediately after the ceasefire, 60,000 troops were stationed.
- **U.N. International Police Task Force (IPTF)**
Currently numbers 1,600 persons.
- **Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE)**
- **United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR)**
- **Representatives of the European Union (EU), Japan, the U.S., and other donor nations**
- **World Bank, European Reconstruction and Development Bank (ERDB), International Monetary Fund (IMF)**
- **NGOs**

In Sarajevo alone, almost 12,000 representatives from various countries were present. Nine groups from Japan were active in the area.

In East Timor, where peace building and nation building are in progress after conflicts related to independence, a Special Representative of the Secretary - General and Transitional Administrator is assigned as the head of the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET), and the Military Observer Group and peace-

keeping force are stationed under the UNTAET to maintain security.

When comparing the structure of Bosnia Herzegovina to the East Timor case, PIC and OHR are the organizations that would correspond as UNTAET and the Special Representative of the Secretary-General and Transitional Administrator. SFOR and IPTF would correspond to the Military Observer Group and peacekeeping force.

The difference between the two would be that in East Timor, the U.N. is taking initiative, whereas in Bosnia Herzegovina, the EU, NATO, and OSCE are in the position to take initiative.

3. Focus of Evaluation

The evaluation will focus on the following four points;

1) The extent to which peace-building consideration was taken into account when formulating and implementing JICA cooperation.

What role has JICA's cooperation played in preventing a reemergence of the conflict, and in promoting reconciliation between ethnic groups?



A bus that runs through Sarajevo is provided by grant aid cooperation from Japan

2) Position of JICA within the framework of the international community providing reconstruction aid

Has JICA linked with and coordinated efforts well with other donors and NGOs? What relation did this have to peace-building initiatives?

3) Positive and negative impacts of JICA projects on Bosnia Herzegovina

Is development support promoting peace, or instead leading to further conflict?

4) What is the possibility of a collaboration with JICA and the OSCE's peace-building efforts?

4. Evaluation Results

(1) The extent to which peace-building consideration was taken into account when formulating and implementing JICA cooperation.

<Conclusion> Activities to enhance peace-building were implemented taking due consideration to prevent reigniting tensions and to reconcile ethnic groups.

<Evidence #1>: Rehabilitation of Public Transportation in Sarajevo city, Rehabilitation of Public Transportation System in Banja Luka (FY2000)

The project provided buses in each of the two entities' capital cities: Sarajevo, the Muslim/Croat capital, and Banja Luka, the Serbian capital. By helping both of the previously warring groups, the bus project has helped contribute to maintaining a good balance between the two cities and ethnic groups.

The Sarajevo buses are particularly important, as buses cross the border of the two entities, surpassing the ethnic barrier. As the traffic becomes more frequent, this should help contribute to further reconciliation between the ethnic groups. From this perspective, the bus project in the two cities has worked towards building peace.

<Evidence #2>: Rehabilitation of Public Transportation System in Mostar (FY2000)

Moves are being made to implement a new project to provide grant-aid cooperation for bus procurement to the city of Mostar, similar to the project in Sarajevo and Banja Luka. Mostar is a city inhabited by both Croats and Muslims, and heavy fighting broke out in January 1993 between the Muslims who resided mainly in the east-side of the city and the Croats in the west-side. Both sides suffered heavy damage.

The company that received aid, Mostar Bus Company, was located on the east (Muslim dominated) side of Mostar

before the civil war. Bus lines covered the entire city, and they also had international routes. However, after the war, the bus company has split into two as that of the west (Croat dominated) side of Mostar became independent and began providing city and international services.

Amidst these conditions, in 1998, the Ministry of Transport and Communications asked Japan to supply funding for the purchase of 52 buses for both companies. The Japanese side requested that, in order to promote cooperation between the two ethnically-separated companies, an agreement be committed to paper and agreed to between the two sides before the request was formally presented. The two ethnic groups accepted these conditions, ironed out an agreement (in September 1999), and presented a formal request to Japan regarding the provision of buses. Consequently in September 2000, the two bus companies from the east and west sides of Mostar merged again. Conventionally, Japan has refrained from attaching conditions to its aid, but the Mostar case is one noteworthy example of how conditions can be a success. In this case, they helped to promote reconciliation between ethnic groups, and this is a positive development from a peace-building perspective. In September 2000, a basic design survey was completed, and in the end the funds necessary for the purchase of 40 buses was planned to be provided. The buses should actually be handed over to the company in early 2002.

(2) Position of JICA within the framework of the international community providing reconstruction aid

<Conclusion 1>: JICA's cooperation is mostly viewed positively by the international community.

<Evidence #1>: An OHR staff member said that Japanese aid was "welcomed with pleasure." Assistance from Japan is appreciated as anti-American or anti-European sentiment is strong. However, there were some criticism as well, saying Japan is "known as a big spender, a rich country with no philosophy or mission behind its aid." The reason **<conclusion 1>** notes that Japanese efforts are "*mostly viewed positively*" is due to comments like this.

Needless to say, Japan's aid and support activities do have philosophy and mission. Humanitarian aid and emergency aid have been implemented for the best possible results in Bosnia Herzegovina. However, if local people cannot see the philosophy behind the aid, much will need to be improved.

Regarding this point, the UNHCR representative noted that "Japan should put more effort on public relations



Building in downtown Sarajevo that remains in a state of disrepair

for its aid activities." The representative brought up the example of the European Union, saying, "Let's assume that the EU provides housing for people. In that case, the EU will make a video, and put up signs with ample funds for advertising. Basically, I just mean 'make sure to advertise your support activities well.' Japan should learn from the EU's example." This is a very important suggestion.

Perhaps another reason why people cannot see a mission or philosophy behind Japan's aid activities is the insufficiency of personnel contribution. From this perspective, a "contribution with a face" (aid in the form of personnel dispatch) is necessary, and during this evaluation trip alone, we heard various opinions regarding this issue. While recognizing the need for increased personnel at the JICA offices and Japanese embassies, there is a recognized necessity to improve the situation with the stationing of Japan Overseas Cooperation Volunteers (JOCV).

There was also a request from OHR representatives regarding the stationing of Japanese staff in their economic and legal departments.

In this respect, there are great expectations for the placement of Japanese personnel, and this "contribution with a face" should be realized in the near future.

<Evidence #2>

The department head of Bosnia Herzegovina's Foreign Ministry Reconstruction and Aid Coordination Office highly rated Japanese cooperation. The department head confirmed the necessity of Japan's development study covering transport infrastructure for the entire country (the "Study for Transport Master Plan in Bosnia Herzegovina"), and expressed an intention to welcome the support.

As mentioned earlier, the two entity governments in Bosnia Herzegovina hold sway over carrying out domestic political and economic activities. Because of this, it is extremely difficult to form a national consensus, making reconstruction efforts more difficult.

Under these conditions, Japan has continued its support activities while respecting local political structures, and basing its actions on decisions made through the central government. Aid has always taken particular consideration of the balance between the two entity governments and three ethnic groups. As a result, Japan has earned a high reputation and trust from the central government, which helped the country implement the "Study for the Transport Master Plan in Bosnia Herzegovina," the first national development plan, ahead of other donor countries.

Official requests to undertake a feasibility study to implement what was recommended in the Master Plan were turned in by the government. When the plan is realized, it will be considered as one part of the peace-building and stabilization activities aimed at rebuilding Bosnia Herzegovina.

<Conclusion 2> JICA has attained some progress in collaboration with other donor countries and NGOs.

<Evidence #1>: UNCHR representatives commented that "The UNCHR and JICA have strengthened cooperation regarding refugee issues, but as aid efforts in Bosnia Her-

zegovina are now shifting from humanitarian aid to development, we would like to cooperate with JICA in a pilot project on ethnic coexistence." Further cooperation and connection between JICA and the UNCHR is expected.

<Evidence #2>: An information exchange between JICA and other NGOs, including JEN (which has been implementing a project to repair livestock shelters) and World Vision (which has been working to reconstruct elementary schools and rebuild housing), was being carried out.

World Vision also provides wheelchairs to people with physical disabilities, manages a rehabilitation center for mine victims, and also implements trauma counseling services (efforts to heal psychological traumas). The organization hopes for further cooperation with JICA and the Japanese government.

<Evidence #3>: There was a plan for Japan and the U.K. to construct power transmission lines between the two entities. Japan would provide the funds for purchasing materials, and the U.K. was scheduled to perform the construction. However, the plan was cancelled due to the change of policy in the U.K. The Bosnia Herzegovina government applied to the World Bank and other institutions for loans, and the World Bank approved. If the construction begins in 2001, the materials purchased through cooperation in grant aid by Japan will be used. However, delay in the construction by the World Bank is expected.

(3) Positive and negative impacts of the projects on Bosnia Herzegovina

<Conclusion #1> Positive impacts include results in promoting the prevention of a reemergence of conflict and encouraging ethnic reconciliation (as mentioned in the Conclusion of Section (1)).

<Conclusion #2> Negative impacts include signs of the country becoming dependent on aid, and lacking efforts for self-help.

<Evidence #1> Three hospitals in the two cities of Sarajevo and Mostar were visited, for this evaluation study. Grant aid from Japan was used to purchase medical equipment and supplies, which were all being utilized effectively, and well appreciated. However, there were requests for further supply of parts, equipment, and materials, and also orders and complaints regarding maintenance of installed equipment from hospitals. Behind these orders and complaints, a "dependence on aid" was likely to be found.

Although there was a severe shortage of both funding



Market in Sarajevo. Artillery shells exploded here during the war.

and personnel, for the future of Bosnia Herzegovina, perhaps a way to provide aid that would enable the people to gradually work towards self-rehabilitation should be considered.

<Evidence #2>

Currently, the OHR handles most issues, including reformation of the legal system. However, if this continued long enough, the local politicians would lose all sense of responsibility, and come to depend on external assistance.

(4) What possibility of collaboration does JICA have with the OSCE's peace-building efforts?

Currently, the OSCE has 55 member countries and institutions. OSCE's activities are based on the principles of consensus rule, preventive diplomacy (aimed at the quick admonition to parties possibly in conflict, fact-finding missions, etc.), and non-coercive measures (dispatch of mission staff from a third-party country, common declaration of intentions from member countries regarding the conflict). Japan has participated since 1992 as a "cooperative partner," or advisor.

The OSCE mission stationed in Bosnia Herzegovina is a long-term arrangement, with 23 offices around the country. The OSCE is a large organization with international staff numbering 200, and some 1,200 local staffers as well. Since 1996, members of the OSCE have made various efforts towards national reconstruction, peace-creation, and peace-building activities through the monitoring and management of various elections, financial support, the protection and promotion of human rights, and the promotion of democratization. Its undertakings are all based on the framework outlined in the Dayton Peace Accords.

<Conclusion>: In order to gain more expertise in peace-building activities, JICA should strengthen its cooperative relationship with the OSCE. This is still possible.

<Evidence>: OSCE's Sarajevo Office is open to cooperation with JICA, saying "We hope that the experience and methodology regarding OSCE's peace-building can be spread throughout the world by the Japanese government and JICA." Regarding concrete examples of future cooperation, the following ideas were proposed: ① hope for financial cooperation with regard to specific projects designed to promote further self-reliance among Bosnia Herzegovina citizens, in order to return the country to local rule, and ② the stationing of staffs from the Japanese government at OSCE, so they can take back what they learn to Japan.



House-rebuilding conducted by a NGO "World Vision"

5. Lessons and Recommendations for More Effective and Efficient Cooperation in the Future

(1) Communicating Japan's philosophy and mission for cooperation

1) Realizing the provision of "cooperation with a face"

When considering Japan's international contribution for the 21st century, we are sure that personnel contribution will become more important. When personnel are dispatched, presumably more information is fed back, which allows for an accurate grasp of local needs. Using the fed back information in making Japan aid policies increases the relevance of the aid, thus raises the reputation of Japanese cooperation activities among the local people. This should help Japan communicate its philosophy and mission for cooperation.

The areas of humanitarian aid and development aid are particularly important in peace-building activities, and personnel contributions, in addition to financial cooperation, will be extremely effective. This is one area in which Japan can play a large role, and expectations from other countries are high.

It is certain that a balanced approach to international aid will be achieved and appreciated if Japanese people become active in working in international organizations or in this field. This should also help to collaborate with the nine Japanese NGOs currently working in Bosnia Herzegovina.

In addition, placing young Japanese in these positions, and having them gain experience and knowledge will help in the development of human resources.

The personnel cooperation measures listed below are all in non-military areas. These are topics that the Japanese government and JICA can accomplish immediately. They are expected to be implemented in the

near future:

- a) increase staff at the Japanese Embassy in Bosnia Herzegovina, and in the local JICA office (including experts, project formulation and planning officer);
- b) station Japan Overseas Cooperation Volunteers (JOCV) in Bosnia Herzegovina;
- c) dispatch personnel to the OHR economic and legal divisions;
- d) dispatch personnel to the OSCE Office in Sarajevo.

2) Enhancing advertising of Japan's aid activities

By advertising that Japan has set necessary conditions serving peace-building in the course of implementing an aid project, it will help to promote understanding of Japan's cooperation philosophy and contributions. This will also help to further promote effective ethnic reconciliation.

(2) Cooperating in peace-building activities

- 1) JICA teamed up with Canada to implement a plan to equip a "local rehabilitation center" for land-mine victims with both equipment and materials. In addition, there have been plans to construct elementary schools, and also a project to provide the equipment and materials necessary to detect and disassemble land mines.
- 2) JICA should strengthen its ties with Japanese NGOs in Bosnia Herzegovina. Currently, ties between JICA and the NGOs are being strengthened, but it seemed necessary for both parties to cooperate more by carrying out meetings and a detailed information exchange, and developing specific projects.



Repairing livestock shelters.

- 3) The construction of power transmission lines across the two entities is as important as developing a transport infrastructure. The equipping of lifelines will contribute to the citizens' lifestyle stability, and to the country's economic revitalization. The project has important significance for the prevention of future conflict. JICA should keep close watch over the progress of construction made by the World Bank, and should cooperate, for example, by considering to take on some of the construction fees.
- 4) JICA should also consider media support. The OHR media support supervisor said they expected to be provided with old (analog) television cameras, and filming and broadcast equipment no longer being used in Japan. Establishing and supporting a fair and neutral media in the beginning of the reconstruction process is an important factor in peace-building. One-sided media reporting often leads to a flare-up of old conflicts. JICA should examine what is needed when by the Bosnia Herzegovina media industry to actually carry out the aid.

6. In Conclusion

On February 5, 2001, full-fledged debate began in the United Nations Security Council in New York regarding the start of concrete action in comprehensive peace-building activities, covering the range from conflict prevention through post-conflict peace resolution.

Secretary General Kofi Annan stated that "The primary purpose of peace-building activities is to prevent conflict before it starts, and also to prevent the reoccurrence of conflict." He also stressed the necessity of forming an efficient system to carry this out by international organizations and member states.

The basis for discussion in the Security Council was the Brahimi Report (published in August 2000), which was put together by the "Panel on United Nations Peace Operations," a subordinate organization under the U.N. Secretariat.

The essence of this report is that: ① the purpose of U.N. Peacekeeping Operations (PKO) has changed in the ten years since the end of the Cold War, from a traditional format (ceasefire monitoring after wars between states, transfer of military power, etc.) to a new multi-purpose/composite format (resolution of internal conflicts within a state, duties including peace-building), and ② the importance of peace-building, is indicated that a combination of peacekeeping and peace-building is indispensable in multi-

purpose/composite format PKO.

The only Japanese member of the Panel, Hisako Shimura, President of Tsuda College, brought up the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC) as an example. She noted that "Some member nations feel that peace-building activities are not a proper PKO activity. Then, the Brahimi Report emphasized that such idea was a mistake. Composite PKO forces should make efforts to incorporate peace-building into their operations. Otherwise, PKO forces will never be able to leave a country, and peace will not be maintained." This was an important point. In the Security Council, many voices were heard in response to the report that were in favor of requiring efficient coordination between organizations such as the U.N. headquarters, the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), the UNHCR and other groups, and also requiring the active participation of NGOs.

This debate in the Security Council shows the U.N.'s strong interest in peace-building activities, and means that concrete consideration on the issue has begun. With these developments afoot, the Japanese government must also realize the necessity of making active efforts towards peace-building.

The provision of cooperation in Bosnia Herzegovina could be described as a major, valuable experiment in peace-building activities. Recently among Western countries and international organizations there has been a sense of "aid fatigue," and moves to cut back on cooperation. However, it is considered very important to cooperate with peace-building activities for Japan as a new form of international contributions for the 21st century. Japan should continue to make long-term efforts in the region.