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Perspectives on the Future of Bosnia and Herzegovina

Sarajevo, 5-6 May 2004

Seminar Report

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Sarajevo & Geneva, 7 June 2004

The Association Bosnia and Herzegovina 2005 held its first large member seminar in Sarajevo on 5-6 May 2004. Fifty-seven members and eight observers attended the seminar, which comprised twenty-eight presentations in seven panels, a General Assembly, two media conferences, and a cocktail reception. The event was held at the premises of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), which also provided financial and in-kind support, the latter through the United Nations Volunteers (UNV). The main sponsor of the event was the Federal Department of Foreign Affairs of Switzerland, represented by its Division for Human Security and the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation.

The seminar had three main aims: (i) to build the intellectual community of the Association through networking and exchange; (ii) to shape the Association's forthcoming research program through presentations and debate; and (iii) to assess options for future organizational development and substantive activities.

The following report summarizes the proceedings of the individual panels. A separate document provides an overview of the debate at the General Assembly. The final section of this report outlines the Executive Council's views on how to proceed on the basis of an analysis of seminar proceedings.

1. Keynote speeches

The seminar was opened by **Jens Anders Toyberg-Frandzen**, the Resident Representative of UNDP in Bosnia and Herzegovina. He stressed the unity of purpose in the programs of the Association and the UNDP, which has been supporting local capacities in demining, aid coordination, and refugee return for several years. Mr Toyberg-Frandzen highlighted the importance of ownership strategies—implemented through concrete projects—to ensure that the disengagement of the international community will be conducted in a responsible manner.

The next keynote came from **Wolfgang Petritsch**, chairman of the Association's Senior Advisory Board. He described the changed regional and European setting in which BiH finds itself and stated that subtle but significant change had occurred in BiH as well. The concept of ownership was ill-understood a few years ago but is now at the center of handover strategies; what BiH needs is not an exit but an entry strategy—a strategy of entry into European institutions embedded in a clear and coherent regional strategy. Civil society and organizations like UNDP that promote local ownership were critical in promoting realistic perspectives for the future of BiH. The Association is starting its work at an important moment when a comprehensive policy for BiH is in the making. The younger generation is a critical factor in combating the gloom of the general population in BiH, and the Association—by providing a platform or mechanism for concrete action—is right to involve this dimension.

Sonja Biserko, in her keynote speech, stated unambiguously that BiH will remain divided as long as there are entities. The peace settlement is unjust and unfair, crimes and genocide have paid out. Belgrade is a champion of the status quo, and BiH elites are equally responsible for this situation; the

international community also missed a chance to produce unity. However, some important change has happened, such as a unified military. Any durable, comprehensive solution for the region must be moral, based on the recognition of one truth that must be faced.

A presentation by **Bozidar Matic** made clear that BiH needs to develop innovative capacities if it wants to close the gap separating it from more developed countries. In a talk that drew heavily on statistics and empirical information, Mr. Matic described the sorry state of BiH research and development, notably the absence of strategic policy-making. His presentation also drew attention to the critical importance of higher-education reform for any future development strategy for BiH.

Ivan Barbalic's speech was an impassioned plea for academics not to stay aloof but rather provide concrete policy advice based on sound research. BiH's problem is not an absence of academic research and studies, but their application to the realities on the ground. Researchers have no right to be lethargic and need to get involved in the future of BiH.

Manfred Nowak described the four main objectives of the Dayton accords: to end the war, to end ethnic cleansing, to reverse ethnic cleansing, and to create the conditions for longer-term development. Minority return, which touches upon several of these issues, has not been a success as far as post-war minorities are concerned, and it may well be too late for true progress to still be achieved. The lack of integrated education continues to be an impediment for minority return. Annex 4 is a major obstacle for BiH's long-term development and should have been changed years ago. It is, however, not too late for some change at constitutional level.

Ivo Komsic suggested that the Dayton accords now need to be evaluated in relation to the prospects they create or allow for the future of BiH. He emphasized that while European integration (including into Nato structures) is unopposed in BiH, many fail to grasp the implications and requirements that will have to be fulfilled. For example, BiH now has one army but no consensus on how it should be used, especially regarding peacekeeping operations. Once European integration gets seriously underway, Dayton will become completely untenable since Dayton has inherent obstacles to such integration. One example is how Cantons use universities to satisfy political needs (e.g., to keep unemployment figures down) instead of regarding them as initiators of scientific innovation. Dayton was a peace agreement and no more and should be treated as such; instead, it has become a limiting factor for BiH's development. One interesting aspect is that Dayton has not the same limiting effect on the co-signatories.

2. Effective governance

This panel was moderated by **Zarko Papic** and consisted of three presentations:

Florian Bieber vividly described the elements that characterize the Dayton settlement: ethnification (though this is not simply a consequence of Dayton), complexity, unclear division of tasks, external legitimacy that is unmatched by internal legitimacy, and capacity to integrate into the EU. The two basic alternatives to the Dayton straitjacket are ethnic homogenization, which would entail massive population shifts, or a civic state based on procedural democracy, which seems unrealistic under present conditions and in fact undesirable because it would lead to discrimination and injustice considering the continued importance of ethnic politics. The very idea of BiH remains contested within BiH; a domestic agreement is needed or else external peacebuilding will fail. It is ironic but undeniable that the attempt to reduce ethnic discrimination resulted in the further ethnification of public life. A process-oriented approach is now needed to gradually reduce the

overinstitutionalization of ethnicity without denying the legitimate place of ethnicity in political organization.

Zlatan Burzic underlined that there is no need to reinvent reform programs from scratch since models do exist. To date, no objective assessment of the quality of local government has been undertaken in BiH. Reform strategies are also hampered by a conceptual confusion: creating an integrated system is not the same as creating a centralized system. The BiH system of governance makes internal communication especially important; hence, serious resources must be devoted to Information and Communication Technology (ICT), as was done for example in Estonia. ICT competency must become one of the criteria for civil service hiring.

Massimo Diana gave a concrete example of an international-local partnership resulting in a substantial transfer of authority to local structures. The Sutra project, a consortium of the European Commission, the State Ministry for Human Rights and Refugees (MHRR), and UNDP, is advancing the goals of the Annex 7 Strategy by (a) handing basic authority over the return process over to MHRR and (b) helping MHRR focus on its role in strategic policy-making and monitoring rather than direct implementation, an approach successfully implemented by UNDP in supporting national ownership in demining through developing the BiH Mine Action Centre. At the municipal level, this is mirrored by support to ad-hoc consortia between local government and civil society (including business) in the implementation of return projects, which all have a housing reconstruction component. The initiative further assists partner municipalities in applying strategies formulated by higher-level governments, thus promoting vertical communication between State and municipalities. This has forced all involved parties to become more responsive to each other and to their constituencies in the field. It has helped manage the departure of previous international structures (RRTF) in the return sector. However, he stressed the importance of a coordinated effort by the international community to support a realistic partnership between state and non-state actors in order to mobilize social capital for local development and to do so by including youth in decision-making, which will contribute to the sustainability of return. This must be matched by a genuine desire to complete the implementation of Annex 7 as part of a strategy to support community development. We need to move away from viewing return as limited to property restitution; return is more than a logistical or statistical exercise.

The three presentations were followed by an animated **discussion** that tended to focus on the vehicle for change: should the Dayton accords be abolished or revised? Is amending the Dayton constitution (Annex 4) the more promising avenue? A consensus seemed to emerge that the current situation is very bad indeed, and that much of it stems from the structures created by Dayton: for example, one participant called the political parties pure instruments to the project of destroying BiH, while another participant drew attention to the liquidation of local self-rule through three parallel, mono-ethnic, single-party regimes. The Council of Ministers is a composite of a Croat, a Bosniak, and a Serb rather than of ministers representing (and working for the benefit of) citizens. Under such a system, no elections are really needed (just a census, which is not happening) since ethnic parties receive preferential treatment under the constitution.

At the same time, openings for change do exist. For example, even without amending or replacing the current constitution, much could be achieved simply by curbing the power of the High Representative (OHR). The statement that there is no turning back the clock and that ethnicity can no longer be ignored in politics created much debate; one participant rejected the notion of group rights, saying priority needed to be given to the protection of individual human rights. If the citizens of RS do not see themselves as citizens of BiH, this is mainly due to the media and the failure of the international community. It is futile to distinguish between good and bad nationalism, instead universal individual human rights must be guaranteed.

The suggestion was also made that the Association undertake an in-depth study of the status of the internally displaced in BiH and of refugees returning here, including their reintegration situation.

3. Constitutional issues and rule of law

This panel was moderated by **Manfred Nowak** and consisted of three presentations:

Midhat Izmirlija described and assessed the recent constitutional amendments and their implications for reform in BiH. A key point was his insistence that the accountability and transparency routinely demanded of local institutions be extended to the international bodies that are implementing the Dayton accords in-country. There exists an extra-constitutional zone that is not accessible to citizens of BiH (or even the taxpayers abroad who fund these missions). The unaccountability of international institutions creates a vicious circle by allowing local politicians to hide behind decisions by OHR and others without ever having to take responsibility.

Jakob Finci outlined the key elements that make effective governance in principle possible in BiH. BiH has always been part of a larger, federal arrangement, even though the present is its first direct experience of federalism within BiH, with de facto three self-governing entities. Annex 4 is the de facto implementation framework for effective governance, and a new international conference (Dayton 2) is not realistic, but amending the constitution is. While there are many unanswered questions, for example relating to their number and demarcation, creating regions within BiH seems to be the way forward.

Peter Neussl analyzed the recent process of amending the Entity constitutions following four Decisions of the BiH Constitutional Court in 2000 eliminating a series of provisions of these constitutions which discriminated against one or the other constituent people in the respective Entity. Within the framework of constitutional commissions in both Entities and with the participation of all three constituent peoples as well as the group of “Others”, proposals were elaborated to implement this so-called “Constituent Peoples Decision.” Following this process, the remaining open questions were resolved in several rounds of high-level negotiations which did bring together key political actors from both the Federation and Republika Srpska, with a facilitation role of the High Representative and resulting in the Mrakovica-Sarajevo agreement. What made Mrakovica-Sarajevo unique was the fact that for the first time since Dayton, the political parties, partly representing one or the other constituent people, came together to peacefully discuss fundamental questions that only recently had been fought over.

As a result, peoples’ rights have been established in both Entities, through vital interest mechanisms as well as participation in key public functions and the inclusion of minority peoples at all levels of administration, allowing for the respect of their individual rights that had been violated on the basis of ethnic discrimination over the years following Dayton. Only peoples’ protection instruments established in the entities can secure, for the time being, the sustainability of minority return; once that has happened, and once the notion of peoples has evolved into a cultural concept rather than a concept of domination over others, reform should turn towards citizen rights as the only category.

As a step forward and instead of focusing on grand schemes of constitutional reform, the Association should therefore analyze how the layers of administration could be removed, making BiH an efficient and effective state ready to join the EU cooperation and association framework.

The **discussion** quickly turned to fundamental political and constitutional questions. One discussant said that the constitution absolutely needed to be changed because through its “ethnic” provisions it restricted the right to vote, and because the entities embody the principle of a divided BiH created through ethnic cleansing and genocide. Further research on constitutional implementation is needed, possibly in the framework of an international conference assessing peace implementation more generally. Another discussant held that ethno-religious identities had won in the war but that civic identities focusing on a country, a culture, and a system of government were needed to integrate BiH into European structures. A third intervention also aimed at the idea of group rights: individual rights are the only valid constitutional approach to rule of law—why would BiH be any different from all the other countries where this is the norm? Identities are completely irrelevant to political order. Historically, identities emerge in specific circumstances and are an instrument to protect groups, but they are irrelevant from a rule-of-law viewpoint. BiH is unsustainable in its present form because Dayton was an inappropriate answer to the political problems of the 1990s.

Another participant seconded the need to assess the actual implementation of constitutional provisions but criticized that the notion of rule of law had been absent from the discussion. As an earlier speaker had pointed out, the civic character of the RS constitution’s preamble is nullified by discriminatory practices; there exists across BiH a quasi-institutional approach based on custom (or what some would call corruption) that invalidates even progressive provisions of the law. In consequence, drafting laws and constitutions does not on its own address key problems since such institutionalized practices continue. In fact, citizens are today a minority, not Bosniaks, Croats, or Serbs.

Wolfgang Petritsch used this opportunity for an impassioned plea to the citizens of BiH to consider radical change by asking themselves, how much are citizens ready to spend on their government? What can a poor country afford? This goes beyond purely technical and legal solutions to the core of the BiH problem, which is an utter lack of confidence and trust, which led to the emergence of a rigid, ethnified system as described by Mr. Bieber. The initial main concern of the international community in BiH was security, overriding other considerations. The constitutional amendments were a necessary interim step in a long process towards effective government, but they make the system even more complex: the BiH constitution has today more amendments than original articles. We have passed the phase where such interim solutions are appropriate, and we need to consider more radical steps—which can be done only by the citizens of BiH. Another participant confirmed Mr. Petritsch’s evaluation that the international community has overall been too reactive in its policymaking in BiH. BiH has too often been an experiment; instead, we need new directions based on a proper assessment of the situation.

Another intervention was quite pessimistic but also drew attention to the fact that BiH represents something precious, possibly unique: after the dissolution of Yugoslavia, BiH remained a specific model for something that is impossible anywhere else. Now, the “Frankenstein constitution” with its many godfathers—including the Washington agreement, which, by defining the Federation, also implicitly defined RS—needs to be scrapped; it is more important to be radical than wise. BiH is a state without substance, unloved by many of its citizens. Yugoslavia was a state, BiH is only a society, not a small Yugoslavia; the question is whether there are any alternatives? We must not think that Dayton is the source of all that is bad in BiH. If no social consensus can be achieved, what does this mean for the very idea of BiH—does it not become unsustainable?

The Mrakovica agreement was also criticized because it removed the problem from parliamentary scrutiny to hand it over to political parties; the result is that to this day, the amendments have not been adopted by the Federation parliament.

4. Culture and education

This panel was moderated by **Jasmina Husanovic** and consisted of two presentations:

Adila Kreso described how the virus of division entered and spread through the education systems in BiH. Education today is used as a mechanism to divide rather than unite. The decentralization of education has led to its ethnification. What kind of citizens are we bringing up when curricula are based on the will to destroy the state rather than to preserve it? There is a lack of objective research into the exact aspects that need to be changed in any reform: in order to reform, we need to know what has been deformed in the first place.

Jelena Gajevic asked how the cultural “passivization” of BiH can be reversed. There has been a subtle but decisive elimination of obstacles to an open society created by the nationalist parties. But cultural values are still used to divide rather than unite, and there hasn’t been sufficient attention (even among reformists) to the power of culture in identity formation. How come then that science, culture, and education are almost entirely absent from Dayton? How come the BiH state cannot support any statewide cultural institutions? BiH should be regarded as a “work in progress” rather than a finished project, and culture has a key role to play in its development.

The **discussion** was fairly short, mainly due to time constraints, but discussants agreed with the importance of culture and education in the peace-building and state-building process and its sorry situation at present. One discussant in fact talked of a cultural suicide that had taken place and whose consequences are still present. There was also a metaphorical complaint that everyone cared about their own nice furniture and nobody cared about the stability of the building in which they live. One point made with regard to culture and education is in fact highly relevant to the methodology of the Association’s research program in other issue areas as well: quite a bit of work has been undertaken in recent years by local actors, for example through the Annex 8 Commission [on cultural monuments] or the EC-funded Shared Modernization Strategy [on education] and should be reviewed by all researchers prior to generalizing about a lack of local initiative.

5. Economic dimension

This panel was moderated by **Vladimir Gligorov** and consisted of three presentations:

Josef Pöschl explained with the help of economic game models that under present conditions, cooperation can be achieved but is likely to have suboptimal results. He discussed the idea of overcoming local problems by trading directly with EU countries and attracting Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) from there. As seductive as this idea may be, it is unlikely to work. BiH has an acute trade dilemma: its inability to export is a measure of the uncompetitive character of its industry. The trade deficit shows that BiH citizens are spending money, but they are not spending it in BiH on BiH products. Free trade will not solve that problem, nor will FDI: viable domestic firms are an essential precondition for increased FDI and improved export performance. Key questions the Association’s research program should consider are the fate of individual firms in BiH, about which little is known, and mechanisms to develop economic regions.

Rajko Tomas presented some statistics that painted a very dark picture of BiH’s position in Europe; on most parameters, only Moldova lags BiH. An important economic factor is the presence of the international community in BiH, which recently made up around 13% of GDP but is now declining. Together, the IC presence, remittances from abroad, and international assistance made up around 34%

of GDP, with a lot of money also circulating in the informal sector. A deep restructuring is needed since all factors are structured for a command system. War elites have been transformed into business elites, and a very small number of individuals continues controlling most resources. A specific aspect of BiH's unsustainable economy is that elected officials hide behind decision of the OHR instead of taking responsibility for the bad situation; they speak with one voice to OHR and the international community, with a different voice to their domestic audience. BiH's progressive economic legislation is not the result of a domestic policy process but just a facade; prospective foreign investors understand this and do not invest for fear of instability, especially once OHR is no longer there. An example is labor law, which is being implemented by Communist institutions with Communist attitudes. The same holds true for macroeconomic policy-making, which is removed from the BiH policy process. At the same time, things are gradually changing, and the BiH Development Strategy (PRSP) is evidence for the growing awareness of the need to act domestically. Supporting the implementation of the PRSP could be an important role for the Association.

Haris Abaspahic contended that some space for macroeconomic policymaking was available but remained unused by domestic actors for fear of taking responsibility. In consequence, there is no strategic policy at the State level. For example, the current free trade agreement with Slovenia, which of course has just joined the EU, is about to expire, and no plans exist to follow up. Likewise, the introduction of value-added tax in 2005 will have various implications on the domestic economy that have not been studied at all; the Association could play a role in such specific research.

The **discussion** began with an assertion that ethnic discord in fact does constitute an impediment to development and that institutional barriers are in fact significant, at least in the short and medium term. There is a regional dimension to BiH's economic problem, since the entire region is dealing with serious development challenges, with implications for market access. Another discussant drew attention to the fact that even many local businesses were not particularly interested in creating strong, competitive domestic companies and were content with short-term profits. Economic policy-making is ad-hoc and lacks strategy. The acute brain drain also contributes to this situation. Finally, there's an important moral dimension to economic development since many successful businessmen are in fact war profiteers.

6. Politico-military dimension

This panel was moderated by **Besim Spahic** and consisted of two presentations:

Jovan Divjak's talk started with the paradox that the U.S. military involvement in BiH and the Balkans more generally is something that is welcome and unwelcome at the same time: welcome because it is necessary, unwelcome because this is essentially a European task. The U.S. role is necessary because Europe is incapable of providing security. However, the prospect of accession to the Nato Partnership for Peace (PfP) has led to the creation of a joint, though not integrated, BiH army, even though less than one-third of PfP requirements have been met to date. What is less clear is the main task of this joint army; participation in peacekeeping operations—especially, of course, in Iraq—is controversial. The recent dismissal by Sfor of senior officers as unfit to serve is shameful since no explanation has been given and recourse is impossible.

Hamdija Hadzihasanovic stressed the critical importance of the media in war and for war: TV is more destructive than shells and missiles. Nato is the only winner of the war in BiH; locals pretend to rule and international pretend not to rule. The fundamental flaw of governance in BiH generally applies to the security sector as well: citizens are expected to keep their part of the social contract

without the state keeping its part. Citizens should sue the state in order to make government better and more responsive.

The lively **discussion** centered around the issues of peacekeeping, which is another way of saying, the role of the armed forces in a democratic society. Armed forces must not be linked to peoples but to political structures, that is, states and governments. One commentator advocated for the demilitarization of BiH since war among the Balkan states has become a structural impossibility. Another participant supported that view: armed forces in the Balkans are national and party armies that cannot foster peace; but paradoxically, demilitarization will be faster through membership in the PfP or even Nato, which is in any case more important than EU at present since it is more realistic. Demilitarization is a serious option that should be taken up by the Association. Another discussant contradicted this view by pointing to the non-military uses of the army, such as assistance to the population, including assistance in housing reconstruction. Also, peacekeeping operations could be an integrating factor contributing to the overall state-building project in BiH. A dissenting voice characterized it as outmoded to think that we can build a society through the military.

7. Conclusion

This panel was moderated by **Christophe Solioz** and consisted of four brief interventions:

John Allcock opened his comments by saying that we all know the deficiencies of the Dayton settlement: it entrenches ethnarchy, disempowers the locals, is expensive, and does not provide mechanisms for effective state-building. But let us not blame all of BiH's problems on Dayton—in fact, Bosnians seem to have a very cozy relationship to Dayton since it absolves them of responsibility for their own fate. The Association needs to answer some hard questions if it wants its activities to be policy-relevant: why is the continued existence of BiH desirable? How can Dayton be improved—might it not represent the best solution available under the circumstances?

Miodrag Zivanovic mentioned that the positive legacy of BiH—what BiH stands for—must not be neglected in this discussion. He applauded the fact that the seminar did not spend too much time debating whether Dayton needs to be revised but instead focused on reform constituencies that could be mobilized.

Dino Abasovic reiterated that there are several BiHs or visions of BiH, and that the key question was how to reconcile these visions or at least find sufficient overlap between them to make BiH function as a state. The young in BiH cannot afford pessimism.

Zarko Papic reacted to Mr Allcock's questions by highlighting the continuity of BiH's borders, the most stable in fact of all borders in the region. We need to focus on the damage that has been done by the massive international industry of assistance: why is it that recovery and reconstruction after World War II were so much faster, without any major international assistance, than at present? The overall investment seems to have achieved exceptionally bad value for money.

The **discussion** highlighted that civil society is not a collection of NGOs but rather the social search for solutions, in other words, precisely what is happening today at this seminar. The burden of the past cannot be ignored, but neither should it prevent us from finding pragmatic, forward-looking solutions, for example through constitutional amendments. At the same time, several commentators cautioned that simply changing institutions and revising legislation is not going to substantially affect

social reality. A final speaker implored the Association not to become yet another think tank producing papers and no impact. We should not pin too much hope on the Europeanization of BiH—just look at the EU and the confusion prevailing there. Instead, BiH must find solutions itself, especially through focusing on the municipality as the level of government that is closest to citizens and can be made most directly answerable.

8. Analysis

The seminar was a key step in shaping the Association's future operations. The following section aims to pull together some of the threads that ran through the presentations and debate and to focus the attention of Association members on issues and approaches with which the Association can realistically expect to make an impact.

At the most basic level, participants agreed that Dayton has overburdened the country with too many levels of government; in consequence, public administration is largely ineffective. It is true that any assessment of the results achieved by local authorities and international actors in implementing Dayton must take into account the specific historical context of peace-building in BiH and the many obstacles that had to be overcome in BiH's triple transition from war to peace, from a command economy to a market system, and from an authoritarian one-party state to democratic governance. At the same time, the expectation is entirely reasonable that ten years should be sufficient time for such transition processes to unfold. Therefore, the Association also agreed on the need to go beyond stating the obvious by developing concrete proposals for improvements to the current situation. The proceedings were very focused on overcoming the Dayton legacy of overbearing but ineffective government by articulating a vision for the country and mechanisms to implement it. These mechanisms will focus on two aspects: possible amendments to the BiH constitutions, above all the entity constitutions, and administrative reform to reduce the many layers of government in BiH.

Participants also agreed on the basic approaches of the Association: to engage in sound scholarship as a basis for effective policy advocacy; to systematically include a younger generation of scholars and professionals in all aspects of the Association's work; and to focus on a set of rather concrete issues where policy change is most pressing and achievable.

In light of this, the Association will convene working groups along the three dimensions (or "interest groups") centered around issue areas that will outline the main points that any reform program should address. This work will be conducted over the coming weeks and form the basis for a reform platform to be discussed at a broader meeting that should focus on administrative and constitutional reform. It is important that the Association's members in BiH be fully engaged in this process and provide some of the substance around which the research program will revolve.

The Association needs to be clear on the need to influence policy-making at the strategic and implementation levels while also paying attention to reform constituencies in society. While the nature of the Association's concerns and approaches as well as its operational capacity preclude a grassroots approach in the strict sense, the Association's members must not lose sight of the necessity to carry the reform message into their communities, and to feed community needs back into the analytical work of the Association.

With regards to research, the Association has three main functions: (i) to provide funding for individual or joint research projects, based on comprehensive grant applications submitted by the Association to donors; (ii) to assist researchers or research teams in identifying potential donors and in

developing and submitting grant applications for research funding; (iii) to ensure that research remains focused on policy-relevant issues in support of reform in BiH, and to help disseminate interim findings by organizing presentations to policymakers in BiH and abroad. Furthermore, the Association could also operate a mentoring program for junior researchers by networking them with senior members and associates abroad to discuss research design and methodologies.

All research conducted in the framework of the Association should contain an analysis of the current situation, including a brief overview of related studies and initiatives already underway in BiH, thereby providing an important fact-finding function. An important aspect of making research policy-relevant is responsiveness to concrete needs by partner agencies. The Association will provide an opportunity to key domestic and international partners to help shape the research agenda; for example, if a particular agency has specific research needs in an area where Association members are working, complementarity of results could be achieved by ensuring that methodologies are compatible.

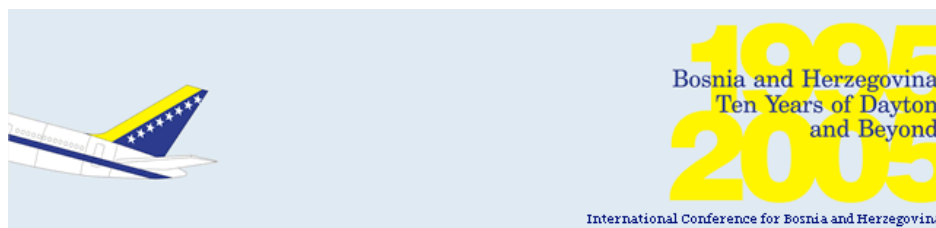
Overview: future activities

The next steps in the Association's research and advocacy will be developed along four strategic orientations, as follows:

- **Coordination:** a series of coordination meetings of the executive council will be organized in BiH and abroad. These meetings will focus on the overall strategy of the Association in close consultation with members and other stakeholders. First meetings have already taken place in Geneva on 26 May, in Sarajevo on 27 and 28 May, and in Banja Luka on 29 May. This approach helps give this initiative a dynamic, process-oriented character with full partnership between the Association's officers and its members. A second activity in the coming period will be the re-design of the Association's website to make it more directly useful to members. It is envisaged that there will be an interactive element (implemented through web-log or collaboration technology) that would allow teams to work on one document, comment on work in progress, etc.
- **Publications:** Seminar papers will be published in English and local language in the fall of 2004 to carry the debate to a wider audience in BiH and abroad. As previously foreseen, the English-language book will be published by Nomos (Germany), while the local-language book will be published in partnership with the Heinrich Boell Foundation Sarajevo. These books will contain seminar papers written by Association members; a preface by Wolfgang Petritsch; introductions by the co-editors to each section; and a manifesto for reform in BiH drafted by a working group of younger Association members. The books may therefore serve as a framework for the Association's research program and as a roadmap for further activity in support of reform in BiH.
- **Outreach:** In late August, a roundtable of Association members from BiH, BiH constitutional and public administration experts, political representatives, and a very limited number of international experts will consider a platform for public administration reform and constitutional amendments previously drafted by BiH members (this is a version of the manifesto for reform mentioned in the publication section above). The main drafters of the platform will be the members of several "interest groups" or informal working groups that will meet in Sarajevo on an ad-hoc basis. All drafting work will be undertaken by Association members with some support from the Executive Council. The draft will first be shared with youth members of BiH parties; with selected civil servants; and finally with parliamentarians and other members of political parties.

- **Research:** Policy-oriented activities will be conducted throughout the fall by small research teams, which include a new generation of scholars and professionals. These research projects will form the basis for vigorous lobbying with international and domestic policy-makers. A first step will be the presentation of the reform manifesto to OHR at the end of summer 2004. The Association should provide partner organizations with access to the considerable expertise gathered in its membership basis. Sharing arrangements should now be established with other stakeholders by matching knowledge gaps to relevant expertise. Each research project is expected to produce a review of past and ongoing projects in its field and to assess the state of knowledge in the sector.

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Christian Schwarz-Schilling
Berlin

Ramesh Thakur
Tokyo

Prospects on the Future of Bosnia and Herzegovina

Closed Seminar - Sarajevo, 5-6 May 2004

Time	5 May	Moderator	Speakers
9:00	Welcome	W. Petritsch	J. Toyberg-Frandzen
9:15 10:15	Keynotes	Wolfgang Petritsch	Ivan Barbalic Sonja Biserko Ivo Komsic Bozidar Matic Manfred Nowak
10:30 12:30	Human dimension: panel (i)	Effective governance	
		Zarko Pacic	Florian Bieber Zlatan Burzic Massimo Diana
14:30 17:30	Human dimension: panel (ii)	Constitutional issues and rule of law	
		Manfred Nowak	Midhat Izmirlija Jakob Finci Peter Neussl
14:30 17:30	Human dimension: panel (iii)	Culture and education	
		Jasmina Husanovic	Jelena Gajevic Adila Kreso

Time	6 May	Moderator	Speakers
9:00 11:00	Economic dimension	Vladimir Gligorov	Haris Abaspahic Josef Pöschel Rajko Tomas
11:30 12:30	Press conference	Svebor Dizdarevic	Sonja Biserko Belma Ejupovic Vladimir Gligorov Wolfgang Petritsch Christophe Solioz
11:15 12:00	General assembly		
15:00 16:30	Politico-military dimension	Besim Spahic	Haris Basic Jovan Divjak Hamdija Hadzihasanovic
16:30 17:30	Conclusion	Christophe Solioz	Dino Abazovic John Allcock Miodrag Zivanovic

International Executive Council

Christophe Solioz (Geneva), Executive director
Svebor Dizdarevic (Lyon), Senior director

Association Bosnia and Herzegovina 2005

Welcome

Jens Toyberg-Frandzen, UNDP RR, Sarajevo

Keynotes

Wolfgang Petritsch, chairman of the Senior Advisory Board, Association Bosnia and Herzegovina 2005, Geneva

Ivan Barbalic, Alumni Ass. of the Center for Interdisciplinary Postgraduate Studies of the University, Sarajevo

Sonja Biserko, Helsinki Committee for Human Rights in Serbia, Belgrade

Ivo Komsic, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Sarajevo

Bozidar Matic, Academy of Sciences and Arts of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Sarajevo

Manfred Nowak, Ludwig Boltzmann Institute of Human Rights at Vienna University

Human dimension: panel (i)

Zarko Papic, Independent Bureau for Humanitarian Issues, Sarajevo

Florian Bieber, European Center for Minority Issues, Flensburg, based in Belgrade

Zlatan Burzic, International Republican Institute in BiH, Sarajevo

Massimo Diana, SUTRA Programme Manager, UNDP, Sarajevo

Human dimension: panel (ii)

Manfred Nowak, Ludwig Boltzmann Institute of Human Rights at Vienna University

Midhat Izmirlija, Faculty of Law, University of Sarajevo

Jakob Finci, Association Truth and Reconciliation, Sarajevo

Peter Neussl, IDP Unit OCHA, Geneva

Human dimension: panel (iii)

Jasmina Husanovic, University of Tuzla

Jelena Gajevic, Alumni Ass. of the Center for Interdisciplinary Postgraduate Studies of the University, Sarajevo

Adila Kreso, Department of Education, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Sarajevo

Economic dimension

Vladimir Gligorov, Vienna Institute for International Economic Studies, Vienna

Haris Abaspahic, Sarajevo Economic Region Development Agency, Sarajevo

Josef Pöschl, Vienna Institute for International Economic Studies, Vienna

Rajko Tomas, Faculty of Economy, University of Banja Luka

Politico-military dimension

Besim Spahic, Faculty of Political Sciences, University of Sarajevo

Haris Basic, Noel Barker Institute for Commercial Management, Sarajevo

Jovan Divjak, Education builds Bosnia and Herzegovina, Sarajevo

Hamdija Hadzihasanovic, Alliance for Security Bosnia and Herzegovina, Sarajevo

Conclusion

Christophe Solioz, Association Bosnia and Herzegovina 2005, Geneva

Dino Abazovic, Human Rights Center of the University of Sarajevo

John Allcock, Research Unit in South East European Studies at the University of Bradford

Miodrag Zivanovic, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Banja Luka

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Sarajevo, 5-6 May 2004

List of participants

1	Haris Abaspahic, Sarajevo
2	Dino Abazovic, Sarajevo
3	John B. Allcock, Bradford
4	Ioannis Armakolas, Sarajevo
5	Neven Andjelic, London
6	Ivan Barbalic, Sarajevo
7	Haris Basic, Sarajevo
8	Florian Bieber, Belgrade
9	Sonja Biserko, Belgrade
10	Zlatan Burzic, Sarajevo
11	Massimo Diana, Sarajevo
12	Jovan Divjak, Sarajevo
13	Srdjan Dizdarevic, Sarajevo
14	Svebor Dizdarevic, Lyon
15	Zija Dizdarevic, Sarajevo
16	Dina Durakovic, Tuzla
17	Azra Dzajic, Sarajevo
18	Vedran Dzihic, Vienna
19	Belma Ejupovic, Sarajevo
20	Yvana Enzler, Pristina
21	Jakob Finci, Sarajevo
22	Jelena Gajevic, Sarajevo
23	Vladimir Gligorov, Vienna
24	Zdravko Grebo, Sarajevo
25	Hamdija Hadzihasanovic, Sarajevo
26	Albana Hana, Sarajevo
27	Tarik Haveric, Paris
28	Lejsa Hećimović, Sarajevo
29	René Holenstein, Sarajevo
30	Jasmina Husanovic Tuzla
31	Midhat Izmirlija, Sarajevo
32	Zehra Kacapor, Sarajevo
33	Emina Keco-Isakovic, Sarajevo
34	Ivo Komsic, Sarajevo
35	Adila Kreso, Sarajevo
36	Tihomir Loza, London
37	Rajko Macura, Prijedor
38	Jasna Malkoc, Warsaw
39	Bozidar Matic, Sarajevo
40	Irena Mitro, Sarajevo
41	Raphael Nägeli, Sarajevo
42	Peter Neussl, Geneva
43	Manfred Nowak, Vienna
44	Davide Orifici, Geneva
45	Marko Orsolic, Sarajevo
46	Zarko Papic, Sarajevo
47	Valery Perry, Sarajevo
48	Josef Pöschl, Vienna
49	Wolfgang Petritsch, Geneva
50	Steven Sampson, Lund
50	Christophe Solioz, Geneva
51	Besim Spahic, Sarajevo
52	Nicola Tiezzi, Sarajevo
53	Inger Thorun Hjelmervik, Lund
54	Sejfudin Tokic, Sarajevo
55	Rajko Tomas, Banja Luka
56	Tobias K. Vogel, Sarajevo
57	Jens Toyberg-Frandzen, Sarajevo
58	Murat Yucer, Sarajevo
59	Miodrag Zivanovic, Banja Luka

