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## **External Review of the Contribution to Constitutional Reform in Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH), Phase 3** **7F-04170.03**

*(Final Report; including also answers in italic to 10 questions send after the first debriefing at the 22<sup>nd</sup> December 2010 and comments concerning BiH in the January 2011 session of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe)*

### **A. Assessment of the political and context developments**

#### **A1 Before the elections from October 2010**

The context is well analysed and described in the first chapters of the Terms of references for this external review as well as in the internal reviewer's paper (p3-5). I do not want to repeat them here. It has to be stressed however, that as a consequence of the incapacity of the BiH-authorities to implement the judgement of the European Court of Human Rights in the case of Sejdic&Finci v. BiH of 22 December 2009 in a constitutional reform, the elections of the 3 October 2010 were organised in a way that did not prevent several articles of the European Convention of Human Rights to be violated (Art.14, Art.3 of Protocol 1 and Art.1 of Protocol Nr.12). This undermines the legitimacy of the political composition of the institutions which results out of this elections what might have a negative impact for the ability of these institutions to find the constitutional compromises this country so urgently needs.

#### **A2 After the elections from October 2010**

Nevertheless many observers of the elections saw "some degree of progress". The climate of the election campaign was peaceful, the polling took place "in a calm, organised matter" (Doc.12432 of the Parl. Assembly of the Council of Europe). And even the results show a slight shift towards candidates who show a greater will for transethnic cooperation and compromise.

Nevertheless, nobody should expect any quick progress after the elections. It will take a lot of time until the executive institutions will be formed. And it will take even more time until the so much needed constitutional reform process will continue and lead to real achievements. Many actors in the country stress that they are fed up with big solutions imposed from abroad and underline the necessity to find solutions themselves. On the other hand there is nearly no other part in Europe where people could acquire so less experience to govern themselves and to learn how to overcome different differences in common compromises. In this context the position and power of the HR expresses the problematic continuity of a bad autocratic tradition.

### **A3 Assessment of the further contextual and institutional Developments**

How much the big picture really changed to the better in the last 10 years seems to be very difficult to judge. One citizen who works for a NGO in the Rep.Serbs. told me for instance:

- We are politically today at the same point as 1996: Again we need “Democratisation”, more pluralism and less un-free and biased media, especially the TV. The social and economic situation is even harder, more people went to the elections, but produced the same result, so few people know, what it would be to be a citizen.

### **B. Evaluation of the overall achievements of the project objectivities and the quality of performance and management**

#### **B1 Review of the beneficiaries’ satisfaction with the achievements of the project and the Swiss approach among political actors**

I met and spoke with nearly 20 persons – politicians, academics, diplomats, businesspersons, civil-society activists. Nearly all were aware of the Swiss engagements and none of them expressed any negative or critical opinion or comment.

Those who participated in the Swiss events and study-trips were full of positive memories and expressed independently of their partisan positions and political interests their high appreciations for the Swiss efforts and contributions. Not one of them didn’t praise the Swiss efforts, wise approach, skills and methods. Particularly admired was the engagement of the Ambassador, whose preliminary explanations to the leaders of the parties and other ambassadors paved the way to large acceptance and support.

Here some specific remarks which were made to me<sup>1</sup>:

- The seminars and meetings organised by the Swiss led us to discuss between ourselves in a way we seldom do here at home.
- The Swiss shared with us their experiences without any attempt to impose anything to us; this is a big difference to other countries and NGO’s who often have a hidden agenda and specific interests.
- The Swiss stressed, that we should find out what is good or better for us.
- Substantially the Swiss experiences are enormously helpful; and that they can be presented even in our language was a great positive surprise.
- The Swiss worked a lot with local people and people who spoke our language, which was great.

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• <sup>1</sup> Such Enumerations are always quotes from people I talked with and which might be found in my 60-pages-notes which I made in my five days in BiH.  
 ▪ Are followed with enumerations made by myself.

- The Swiss did not work behind closed doors and did not exclude anybody, but informed in advance all those who had to be informed and prepared.
- The Swiss approach puts the citizen in the centre of politics and they can credibly do so and we need this very much.
- I would like to continue to learn in this way.
- We learned from the Swiss because they have a similar context and have a specific contextual sensitivity.
- The Swiss produced a great difference, in the way how the public discusses today constitutional matters; before it was for most of the people a no-go, today it's an open possibility and even opportunity for many. No there is a real fundament to built on.
- The Swiss were not afraid of sharing with us their own problems they have at home and to include us in their reflections. This was the best way for us to learn for ourselves.
- We learned how to include people not only after the decisions have been made, but to include them in the decision making process itself.
- The Swiss listened to the demands of us, they did not know in advance what to do.

Personally and in view of the management of the project I think it's important to underline the specific and high quality role of Azra and Nenad, who have been and should stay "key figures" in the project as well as the extraordinary engagement of the Ambassador and the Chief of the Bureau in Sarajevo and their excellent cooperation and common understanding which as I know from other places and other times can not be taken for granted.

## **B2 Quality of the implemented activities and outputs**

- Before the Swiss projects started the idea of a constitutional reform was in the big public a taboo. Today you may speak and think and discuss about it, and nobody mind's you. It might not be politically always helpful, but nobody denies you the right to do so.
- There is nothing in Switzerland that we wouldn't like to thin about; such is the credibility of your country.
- The Swiss are never aggressive or arrogant, what you can not say from all international actors. Norway perhaps come closest to the Swiss.
- It was great that the Swiss addressed both, citizens and elites and tried to bring them closer together. You need both and they need to be able to interact better.
- The Swiss tried to educate the citizens, showed them how to be not afraid to express her opinions and how important it is to overcome a certain apathy.
- The way the Swiss addressed the citizens and organised assemblies and seminars in the regions mobilized also the media in a unprecedented way which had very good effects. This created special coverage of the constitutional debate, which was highly needed.
- The Swiss created an especially good atmosphere for deliberations and reflections we did not have and did not know before.

- A two chamber parliament (with a overrepresentation of the minorities in the second) with a double majority for legal and constitutional changes seem for many of the interlocutors an credible option for the future.

### **B3 Relevance of the implemented activities and outputs**

Many people acknowledge that thanks to the Swiss effort and work:

- The constitutional debate is today a general public issue, not any more a subject of some elitist circles.
- The municipalities have been strengthen in their weight in the debate and in the future design of the political order.
- Many more citizens and NGO's feel that they are the owners of the constitution and they know better how to address their representatives.
- Many of the representatives are better aware that they have to listen to the citizens and NGO's and that they are accountable to them.
- Many more people (some estimated about 260'000 citizens) voted because of the Swiss efforts in the last elections, however not dramatically changing the results...

### **Assessment of the strategy of intervention, it's contribution to the constitutional reform process, the local ownership and the sustainability of the project investments**

### **C.Recommendations and advices regarding te future intervention and support by Switzerland**

The most important recommendation concerns the time notion: we have to be aware that the process of constitutional reforms and changes need a lot of time. There will be no „quick fix“. The next projects have to be designed in a way that they lead the process substantially in the right direction, but that the way he takes and the concepts followed produce side-effects, learning-products which are valuable in itself.

This means that we give time to the process but we do our work in a way that we produce side- effects, which are valuable on their own and strengthen the process even if this one is very time consuming. Concretely I have the following positive side effects in mind:

- The debates about constitutional reform in small towns and even villages illustrate to the people who are the owners of a constitution.
- In these debates people learn what it means to be a citizen in a democracy.
- They learn to formulate their interests and wishes and learn to address their MP's.
- The MP's learn in these debates that they have to listen and include the citizens in the constitutional reform process and that this is not only

their business as a BiH-MP stated in a PACE-Meeting in Paris mid November.<sup>2</sup>

- The more meetings are organised with people from different ethnic groups the more these participants learn to acknowledge that ethnicity is not the basic or at least the only line of divergences.
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## **D1 Opportunities for improvements to strengthen the role of the civil society, the parliament and the developments of democratic mechanism**

There seem to be in the coming years the same good opportunities to address citizens, NGO's, municipalities and the Parliament and its leaders to get together and involved in the constitutional Reform-process as in the past. What the Swiss have done, created a perfect opportunity to go on. Nobody challenge the Swiss efforts and would like to take it on. Everybody expects the Swiss to do so and go on.

By doing it again in the way which was successful you strengthen the civil society, it's ownership of the constitution, the learning-processes which makes citizens out of human beings and how to address the elites and the Parliament and in doing so strengthen it towards the leaders.

Many stressed that the genuine and careful analyse of the first amendment to the constitution ("Brcko-District") with it's non-ethnic but citizen based logics could path the way to the second ("Inclusion of the Others" in the sense of the ECHR ) and the third (Creation of a Constitutional Court?) and the forth (Indirect elections of executive bodies?)...

There seems to be also a broad will to come up with a second amendment to the constitution in order to match the ECHR-Ruling. However many disagree when it comes to the time frame of this so much needed first step.

Many MP's do agree that a permanent and representative constitutional committee should be created within the Parliament to lead this process and to speed it up as much as possible. There seem however to be quite a lot of differences concerning the position of this committee, it's integration in the Parliament and it's composition.

## **D2 Main challenges for the constitutional reform**

- We can only establish a good system of governance, when the tensions between us are less big; so we need a lot of time to overcome these tensions.
- We need many changes of the constitution, this could lead once and become once a reform; but to start with a reform is much too frightening for some of us.

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<sup>2</sup> Meeting of the Monitoring Committee of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, which met the 16th of November 2010 in Paris and discussed the outcome of the elections in BiH together with two special guests from BiH.

- We live in tensions since 1000 years (since 1050). Now the time has come to overcome them, but this needs time and can not be done in few years only.
- There is a lot of room for improvement in the political order; but the main question is, if there is also a political will to do so. For me the main problem is, that only few really have the will to do something to improve the daily life of the people.
- Many parts of the elites do not have a real interest in change; this would undermine their positions and sometimes even incomes.
- There is a widespread mistrust from many citizens towards the political parties and their leaders.
- We have to demonopolise the ownership of the constitutional reform process; the Swiss efforts are positive and to be seen, but not yet sufficient.
- We have to overcome the general mindset that everybody just has to listen and to follow it's leader; this is our autocratic legacy. They are used to get solutions, not that they are invited to search for them together and think about them.
- The constitution is our biggest problem.
- The last four years established in general a very bad political climate which has to be overcome in the years to come.
- We need the Swiss approach even more: They create a space for progress, they do not want to impose any progress.

## **D2. B. The impact of a bad living standard**

On the impact of the very difficult economic context and the bad living standard of many people for the political reform debate I heard different and controversial statements:

- In our region the cultural differences (religion) are much more important as obstacles of change than the living standards. Improving the latter does not yet pave a way to the political reforms.
- Others say, that when the living standards can be improved and the perspectives for the way of live get better than also the constitutional reforms made be easier realised.
- Because many do not work so much, they always look TV and think about politics based on one-sided (TV-)informations; could they work more they would discuss less politics and perhaps even come to more wise politics.
- The bad economic situation reinforces the aggressiveness towards other communities and the fear from them.
- Ordinary citizens are fed up with constitutional issues, if they do not have jobs. There is a vicious circle: No foreign direct investments (FDI), no jobs; no jobs, no const. Reform; no const.reforms ,no FDI's.....
- The capacity of the civil society to participate in the constitution making process has to be enlarged and strengthened.
- Politics are even worse than the day to day life which is not easy at all.

## D2. C. Two schools on the size of the cultural differences in BiH

How deep are the cultural cleavages and differences in BiH really ? There seem to be two schools in the different intellectual circles who have different answers to this basic question. One told me:

- Because we speak nearly the same language and very similar historical roots we have less differences in our country than for instance Switzerland. But we are “Narcists of the small differences”; we cheer them and do not want to see the common interests and realities.
- Too many children still go in to segregated schools and are teched in a way that they are afraid from the other communities. Between the Rep.Serbs. and others are very few interethnic marriages, there is hardly no internal migration.
- I think the divisions between the communities are not in the process of being overcome but they are even deepening today.
- We face a paradox in BiH: The cultural differences are produced politically and by purpose and serve the interests of the different elites in power.
- We shouldn't create too big illusions. The ethnic cleavages are big and profound and can't be overcome quickly and soon. Religion as the source of a collective identity produces politics here, this can't be overestimated. We are still there where Europe was in the 17.century...

## D2. D. The impact of the legacy of the Past

I think it was Churchill who said, that in the Balkan you face more history than you are able to digest. This is especially true in BiH. The legacy of this history of different, but nearly 1000 years long oppressions, repressions and foreign rule are enormous. People did not know the freedom you need in order to learn to live with others differences. People got used to see their destiny defined and managed by others and could hardly learn how to do this on their own. This shows us because so many people need so much time in order to learn

- To find our own way to come to compromises and to reform steps. But the Internationals have to give us more time and space and should interfere less.
- Officially many will tell you, that people from abroad should stop to interfere in our issues; but on the other hand, many of us follow a kind of a parasitizing mentality: They still expect, that the foreigners will solve all our problems...
- The impact of ethnicity is to be understood in a clear correlation of the lack of democracy. Totalitarian structures do allow nobody to learn to live with differences.
- History made of our people sheeps. We have to invest much more in civic education !
- We are too much occupied by ourselves; foreign impulses have difficulties to come trough.

- To face the reality you have to go to the countryside of BiH: Sarajevo always was exceptional not the standard in this country.

## D3 My Recommendations

### I. Allow Continuity

- **Continue the Swiss engagement and efforts in the same logic and conception. Anything else would disappoint many people and would even undermine the positive results of the past efforts.**

*The Swiss way of enabling BiH a constitutional reform process (all inclusive, citizen-oriented, solid, serious) was highly welcomed by all actors in the country as well as the broad international community from the EU until Japan. The Swiss profit in their approach from their high credibility as a living, motivating example and the fact that nobody suspects the Swiss of having any hidden agenda.*

- **Choose a longterm strategy, address again citizens and elites, central authorities as well as municipalities, small villages, educate and be a source of alternative information and civic knowledge.**

*In order to underline the seriousness, importance and sustainability of this approach we could propose to our partners the creation of two new institutions to realise the inclusive and citizen based constitutional reform process:*

- A. A kind of Civic Constitutional Reform Association (CCRA) in which representatives of the most important partners (Parliaments, Academics, Citizen-Groups, Communal Bodies, Administrations, International Community and Kobü) are regularly gathered, perspectives, experiences and also disappointments might be discussed, evaluated and developed. Such a body could guarantee the continuity and the keep the process going as well as a kind of democratically perfectly legitimate pressure. In this Association also actual or former Swiss MP's with specific knowledges in constitutional affairs, politics in multicultural societies and/or experiences in Balkan history and politics.*
- B. A kind of Civic Constitutional Reform Foundation (CCRF) which would guarantee the financial needs of the work of the CCRA especially after the Swiss Financial Credits have to be lowered. This CCRF collects funds of different sources, international as nationals.*

### II. Needed Bridgebuilders

- **Don't loose the specific qualities and bridge-building capacities of Azra and Nenad as a central source of the quality for this project. There specific way and sensitivity for details should not be understood negatively as bad micromanagement of the Helvets but is needed in the environment to reach the quality we look for.**

*Both personalities provide a unique personal quality which is fundamental for the credibility and the success of the project as well as the Swiss investment: They can address the locals in their language and with the deepest knowledge of their cultural context and mentality; they know as well the Swiss specific approach as well, especially in Nenads case, all the historical and political background you need if you would like to learn anything from the Swiss and other federation's constitutional experiences. Nenads integration in the future of the project should not depend on his status within or without the ZDA; he has a quality and a knowledge on it's own.*

### **III. Reform as collective learning**

- **Do this with a perspective of nearly ten years but in a way that will produce welcomed side-effects on which the future process is easier to be built and strengthened.**

*To motivate and educate the citizens, learning MP's and citizens how to work together, including the municipalities in a nationwide process as well as prioritising civic common purposes over religious and ethnic belongings have a great educative, integrative and civic conscious building value in themselves. That's why the Swiss approach creates a specific added value independently of the timing and the success of the needed constitutional reform process.*

- **Try to develop the individual citizens concrete interests in a improved constitution: We have not only to involve and empower them in the process but also make very concrete why he and she have a real and practical interest in a better constitution. Define also those institutions the citizens really need.**
- **The citizens and municipal centred orientations are crucial and of outmost importance; they are exactly those two dimensions which are most ignored by most of the others.**

*This republican approach is nearly natural for a Swiss citizen. They know that only with the citizens you may change the constitution. But in a post-totalitarian society with it's extremely heavy heritage this understanding of politics and constitutions is the most alien attitude but also the most needed reform-approach in general. In this sense the republican way of approaching the needed constitutional reform process in BiH has a added value for the change o the political culture In itself. Or in other terms: Even though the real constitutional reforms might take a lot of time – even too long – the approach and the methods of the Swiss project have side-effects which are valuable in itself and might be qualified as side-effects which are welcome independently of the constitutional reform.*

- **Continue to organise specific workshops for BiH-MP's, NGO's, representatives of municipalities together with Swiss academics and experts, MP's and civil servants in BiH as well as in Switzerland.**

- The critical, but proactive presentation of the Swiss way of implementing the US-design of Federalism (Two chamber-Parliament, overrepresentation of minorities in federal institutions) might be of special interest and help for the BiH actors in the future.
- Continue to reach to both (citizens and municipalities) by NGOs who are well educated in our approach.
- In such a workshop could also be debated a comparative study which compares analytically the Lebanon and the Cyprus case with the cases of Switzerland and BiH in order to be able to learn how to realise which kind of the best reforms. Such a study still has to be made which could be the task of a small group of Swiss and BiH academic experts.

*All the statements of those in BiH who participated in such workshops in Switzerland praise them enormously. This might not only be explained by the need of the BiH actors to get of what they feel to be a mess. But it's also related with the fact that Switzerland is a interesting living experience which is for many actors in multicultural a source of real inspirations although the perception of the realities in Switzerland might be sometimes better then the real life.*

- **I personally would be very much interested to continue to contribute my part in a form which would be seen as most useful for the process !**

C. **Appendix:**

- 1. External Review of the Local Evaluator, Sead Traljic**
- 2. Program of the expert's visits in Banya Luka and Sarajevo in the last months of 2011 (28.10.-3.11.) and the meetings in Aarau (Stojanovic, 3.11.) and Zurich (Ambassador Lenz, 15.11.)**

**External Review of the  
Contribution to Constitutional changes in Bosnia and Herzegovina Project  
(Phase 3: 1 August 2008 – 31 July 2010, extended to November 30)**

**7F-04170.03**

**Evaluator: Sead Traljic**

## **1. Objectives and scope of the evaluation**

The external review evaluator has been tasked to assess phase III of The Contribution to Constitutional changes in Bosnia and Herzegovina Project (thereafter the "Project") which ran from August 2008 and is scheduled to finish in November 2010. The external review was conducted in the period between 11.10.2010. and 29.10.2010. The external evaluator was asked to prepare:

- An assessment and preparation of a brief overview of the contextual developments during the period of the Project Phase 3 (relevant framework conditions, the impact of elections, political and institutional developments, civil society, international actors), including situating of the Project in the given context.
- An assessment of the effectiveness and efficiency of the Project implementation, Project management and organisation.
- An assessment of the outcomes and outputs achieved and the Project's contribution to process development.
- A review of the quality and relevance of the implemented activities and outputs.
- A review of the beneficiaries' satisfaction with the Project's achievements and the Swiss approach among civil society organisations, including women's organisations, associations of municipalities and cities, Masters students and at least one of the participating media.
- Recommendations and advice regarding further improvements to be effected by local stakeholders, their future role in terms of ensuring their continued involvement and continuation of those initiatives developed up to the present time.
- Recommendations and advice regarding future SDC interventions and support to the vertical integration of Project results.

## **2. Method and timing of the Review**

The evaluation took place in October 2010, one month before the official end of the Project. The evaluation has relied on extensive documentation provided by the Project team and interviewed stakeholders and semi-structured interviews conducted with the following individuals:

- Miroslav Zivanovic, Project Manager Human Rights Centre Sarajevo and Deputy Mayor of Sarajevo;
- Vesna Travljanin, director, Association of Municipalities and Cities FBiH;
- Amir Kupusija, Project manager , Association of Municipalities and Cities FBiH;
- Sanel Huskic, ACIPS implementing partner;
- Emir Vajzovic, Political Science Faculty;
- Radomir Kezunovic, member of the Advisory Board;

- Faris Vehabovic, member of the Advisory Board;
- Snjezana Ivandic, ADI, implementing partner;
- Darko Brkan, “Why Not”?, implementing partner;
- Muhamed Mujakic, Young Lawyers implementing partners;
- Brano Jovicic, Association of Municipalities and Cities, RS;
- Djordje Marilovic, Masters student, Faculty of Political Sciences, University of Zurich
- Faruk Boric, journalist Oslobodjenje Daily.

The Project management team was extensively interviewed. All interviews took place between 18.10.2010. and 22.10.2010.

### **3. Assessment of the overall Project context**

Prior to the commencement of the Project, the Stabilisation and Association Agreement (SAA) between Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) and the EU was signed in June 2008. Although this was a major milestone in the country’s progress towards EU membership, it once again became apparent that the robust reform agenda required by the EU integration process will be extremely difficult, if not impossible, to implement with BiH’s existing constitutional and political set up. The Dayton/Paris Peace Agreement (DPA) put an end to the 1992-1995 war and brought peace and stability to BiH. However, the Constitution, which is contained in Annex IV to the DPA, establishes a complex institutional architecture. While some progress has been made under the current constitutional structure, it still offers numerous possibilities for political obstructionism. Several provisions are also problematic from a human rights perspective. An international presence under UN auspices — the Office of the High Representative (OHR) — has been in place in BiH since 1995. Its closure is being considered by the IC, but a decision depends on BiH’s progress in meeting specific objectives and conditions determined by the Peace Implementation Council Steering Board. In the run up to the 2010 general elections, reforms stalled. With the exception of the status of Brcko, no other condition required by the international community has been discussed.

In Bosnia, a shared vision on the direction of the country remains necessary for the smooth operation of institutions, for creating more functional and efficient State structures, and for speaking with one voice on EU and international matters. However, the last three years have been characterized by deeply rooted political divisions and the re-emergence of nationalistic rhetoric. There has been little consensus among BiH’s politicians on reform priorities and there have been attempts to reverse previously agreed reforms. Certain politicians from the Federation have questioned the existence and legitimacy of Republika Srpska (RS), while the Republika Srpska leadership continued to claim the right to self-determination and remained systematically opposed to the transfer of new competencies to the State level, including in the context of the SAA. Moreover, The RS leadership unilaterally requested the return of competencies that have been transferred to the State in recent years.

The Council of Europe's Venice Commission (European Commission for Democracy through Law) concluded in March 2005 that constitutional reform is necessary because the current constitution lacks democratic content. Furthermore, it is widely acknowledged that BiH can neither function as an effective EU member state, nor take part in the European Economic Area (EEA) under its current constitutional arrangements. The misuse of provisions such as

'entity voting' and complex rules on quorums prevents swift decision-making and, therefore, hinders reform and the country's capacity to make rapid progress towards the EU.

EC regularly reports on the country's lack of progress in addressing key European partnership priority, particularly those that aim to create a more functional and sustainable state structure.

The view that the BiH constitution deviates from the European Declaration on Human Rights and Freedoms was confirmed by the ruling of the European Court of Human Rights (ECHR) in the *Finci-Sejdic* case in December 2009. The Bosnian constitution was found to be in breach of the European Convention on Human Rights, as elections to the Presidency and the House of Peoples, are only open to Serb candidates from Republika Srpska and Bosniak and Croat candidates from the Federation, thus excluding minorities and members of constituent peoples from the 'wrong' entity.

#### *Attempts to change the constitution*

Amendments were proposed to the BiH constitution in April 2006. Under the leadership of the US administration, the main parties agreed to a package of amendments that addressed human rights concerns in the election of the collective state Presidency and House of Peoples, and strengthened the state-level government, codifying its new competencies and giving the state responsibility for enforcing BiH's EU accession commitments. The amendments failed primarily because two Federation parties (SBiH and HDZ1990) deemed that were not far-reaching enough. Most commentators, including the Venice Commission, concluded that the overall effect of the proposed amendments would have been positive. However, the process was criticised as being excessively 'top-down', opaque and lacking any meaningful public debate and participation.

During the life of the Project there were two additional attempts to reform the constitution. Both processes were extra-institutional, focused on the main political party leaders, and lacked any constructive institutional and public debate. In November 2008, leaders of the three main political parties committed themselves to initiate a process of constitutional reform and introduce measures to harmonise the Constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina with the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR). This was the first ever domestic attempt to reach agreement on reform matters without the involvement of the international community. However, consensus was short-lived and it became apparent that diverging views on the future organization of the country could not be reconciled. However, the agreement did result in Parliamentary Assembly adopting an amendment to the Constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina that establishes Brčko District as a unit of local self-governance. This was considered a major development, opening the way to the termination of supervision over the District once all conditions are met. According to the amendment, Brčko remains under the sovereignty of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the areas falling within the competencies of the institutions of Bosnia and Herzegovina, while its territory is a shared property of the Entities. The constitutional amendment on Brčko is one of the five objectives set by the Peace Implementation Council (PIC) for the closure of the Office of the High Representative.

The second attempt at constitutional change was an EU-US initiative undertaken at the Butmir NATO base in autumn 2009. International mediators hoped to kick-start constitutional changes and secure a deal on implementation of the outstanding criteria that have to meet in order to close the Office of the High Representative. The initiative was designed to put pressure on political parties to agree to major concessions, but most walked away from the talks and rejected the internationally proposed reforms when they realised that the international community lacked overall determination and a strategy on bringing the process to a successful end. After the failure of the Butmir talks, there was one more failed attempt to trigger the process of constitutional change led by US Deputy Secretary of State James Steinberg and Spanish Foreign Minister Miguel Ángel Moratinos. During a visit to Sarajevo, they tried to convince the parties to sign up to constitutional reforms and a common reform agenda after this year's general election. Their efforts failed.

Most constitutional reform initiatives in BiH have been top-down, and narrowly focused on a tight circle of political party leaders. Key political decisions have therefore been taken outside democratic institutions, undermining them and the broader democratic process. This effectively became the *modus operandi* and favoured model when it comes to not only constitutional reform but all major reforms in BiH. This Project has attempted to facilitate a completely new approach towards constitutional debate. In this sense, the overall political context was not favourable to the premise of this Project, which aims to promote a new political culture which involves citizens and civil society organizations in addressing and debating constitutional subjects. Unlike any initiative before, the Project promoted networking among civil society representatives who dealt with some of the pressing reform issues by introducing panel discussions at municipal and regional levels, conducted by local civil society organizations. Therefore, this is a culture-changing Project which requires time and flexibility to succeed.

In BiH, civil society is only engaged to a limited extent in national level politics and nationwide issues. The significant role of the international community (IC) in governance in BiH has contributed to this, with both positive and negative consequences. With respect to civil society, the IC has sought to strengthen this sector while often setting its agenda, driving its development, and – at times – usurping its role. High levels of international funding have, in part, contributed to a situation whereby NGOs may be serving more as proxies of the IC. While there is a relatively small number of NGOs routinely engaged in advocacy, the number is growing. However, the NGO sector role in advocacy is not yet sufficiently recognized by the public or decision-makers. Advocacy is most evident at local levels, declining as government becomes more removed from the public. National-level advocacy is lacking. Initiatives continue to be disproportionately directed toward health, social welfare, and ecology, while some major issues of a 'national interest' remain largely unaddressed by domestic initiatives.

#### **4. *Assessment of Project implementation related to its effectiveness and efficiency, Project management and organisation***

In the context of highly-charged and fragmented public debate, it is a significant challenge to organize and manage a Project whose subject matter is constitutional reform. As discussed

earlier, all previous attempts to facilitate constitutional reform followed a top-down approach. This Project was legitimately focused on a bottom-up approach. The Project relied and believed in the “demonstrative effect” of micro success to encourage more constructive engagement of citizens in the constitutional debate over time. This has resulted in the active participation of great number of civil society organizations and local government representatives in constitutional reform debates.

To manage such a complex process, flexibility on the side of the management was desirable and largely demonstrated. This required the direction and redirection of activities where and when demand was expressed; commencing and ceasing activities at appropriate times (for example, ideas on direct democracy and referendum were put on hold after the referendum on the issue of mosque minarets in Switzerland); providing extra funding for new critical demands (for example, the request of Young Lawyers to visit Swiss institutions was granted and the number of initially planned workshops was increased at the request of State MPs). A flexible approach to Project management has facilitated the successful continuation of the process, ensured required participant commitment, but has affected neither overall funding nor Project implementation plans.

Selected Project partners demonstrated the competence and leverage required to be taken seriously by decision makers. They also demonstrated the ability to mobilize relatively easily and swiftly large numbers of citizens and activists throughout Bosnia around particular issues. Through the network of civil society organizations, the Project ensured good geographical coverage across BiH. The project was therefore high visible throughout the country. Through pragmatic selection of public debate locations it appears that a very high proportion of citizens were afforded the chance to express their view on constitutional reform.

The Project’s objective system was based on number of clearly set objectives and outputs. Here it is worth noting that the overall goal of the Project represented more its vision and directional aims, rather than realistic and achievable Project goals.<sup>1</sup> The Project’s design incorporated a very sound risk register, mitigation plans and stakeholder analysis, which facilitated the implementation of highly-charged and politically sensitive projects. Although the Project was locally-led, it has wisely used support from the SDC and Swiss Embassy when needed in order to ensure smooth implementation and international recognition of some of the key agents and *Project champions*.

Project management organization and responsibilities were divided into four units:

1. The *Human Rights Centre (HRC)* was responsible for effective Project implementation, building strategic partnership with all subcontractors (including ToR/contracts), financial management, monitoring and reporting in accordance with the Project document.

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<sup>1</sup> The overall goal as identified in the Project proposal stated following: *Constitutional changes are a result of wide compromise, representing the interest of all citizens of BiH and giving emphasis to state and nation building in BiH.*

2. The *Institute for Political Science at the University of Zurich* was subcontracted to organise and facilitate the exchange visit and expertise of Swiss Institutions and experts concerning capacity building within Switzerland and BiH.
3. The *SCO/Embassy* was in charge of the overall guidance and activities related to upper level of government and Swiss visibility.
4. The *Project Advisory Body* consisting of representatives of all relevant stakeholder groups (Parliament member, academic community, civil society, municipality, SCO, Embassy). It was aimed to ensure the widest possible applicability of the Project results.

The Human Rights Centre was in charge of managing the overall process of consultations with civil society organizations. The Institute for Political Science at the University of Zurich was in charge of overall capacity building and awareness raising among political party advisers and BiH parliamentarians. It is the evaluator's view this division of management responsibilities proved to be cumbersome. The two strands managed by the HRC and the IPS seem to have, to some extent, operated independently with insufficient interaction and flow of information between these two Project components. Some issues, for example, could have been better coordinated improving overall effectiveness of the invested resources (for example, amendments stemming from consultative processes carried by the NGOs could have been tested with the political parties' advisers. At the same time, the capacity building plan carried by the IPS could have been extended to participating NGOs).

It is also the evaluator's view that there was a lack of coordination among those CSOs responsible for public consultations on various subjects. It is clear that all four CSOs together with their partners completed their task of conducting the public consultations and submitting constitutional amendments to respective parliamentary constitutional committees. However, this process could have been better orchestrated and coordinated so that any proposed amendments were complementary, rather than being in some cases contradictory<sup>2</sup>. There also seemed to be a lack of synchronization and synergy between NGOs (for example uncoordinated and isolated appearances before Parliament, lack of strategic meetings, etc).

##### **5. Assessment of the outcomes and outputs achieved by the Project**

Assessment of the Project outcomes and outputs was carried in consultation with adopted Project logframe. The evaluator will use this opportunity to identify key achievements under each Project objective.

As established earlier, the overall Project goal was defined as follows:

*Constitutional changes are a result of wide compromise, representing the interest of all citizens of BiH and giving emphasis to state and nation building in BiH.*

Although the implementation of the Project has not resulted in the adoption of constitutional amendment(s) by the state legislature, it is important to acknowledge that many aspects of the overall goal were accomplished. Bearing in mind the sensitivity of the subject matter and taking into account the overall political and social context within which

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<sup>2</sup> Proposal submitted by the ACIPS and Young Lawyers in some aspects contradicted each other.

Project was implemented, it unlikely that the overall Project goal as originally stated would be accomplished. Considering the complexity of these issues, this would be better viewed as the Project *vision* rather than the overall Project goal. The evaluator recognizes the intensive work carried out by selected civil society organizations. Amendments presented to parliamentary committees demonstrate the CSOs' ability to articulate their respective interest and advocate different *public* interests in the field of constitutional change. It was clear that there was frequent and repeated initiation and use of official channels of communication between public institutions and civil society actors in the framework of constitutional changes. Intensive interaction of CSO representatives and respective MPs not only increased the visibility of the CSO sector and communication with parliamentarians, but also ensured that CSOs will be viewed as crucial stakeholders in future debates on constitutional matters.

***Objective 1:*** *Public discussions with special focus on local communities are initiated and local actors are supported in the process of constitutional changes; using a regional/inter-municipal approach in order to foster exchange and wide participation through involvement of different local organisations and to transfer common concrete suggestions to the higher political level.*

This objective has been accomplished. The Project managed to implement 16 public debates in different parts of BiH. This process was entirely domestically led by the entity associations of cities and municipalities, and succeeded in mobilizing local communities to take an active role in debating key challenges of local government as well as proposing ideas for its strengthening. The focus of debates were topics essential to good governance at the local level, such as: constitutional protection of the right to local self-governance; financial framework for well-functioning local communities; the theory and practice of European Charter on local self-governance in BiH.

More than 100 local communities were represented during the 16 public debates. Of note is the good level of inter-entity cooperation. Representatives of neighbouring local communities from both entities were invited to public debates, and often invitations were accepted. Debates and discussions were moderated by locally engaged experts in constitutional law and involved municipal authorities, civil society, business community representatives, youth organizations and human rights organizations. The wide consensus among municipalities on key challenges and shortcomings in the existing constitutional arrangement strengthened inter-municipal relations and culminated in the joint submission of constitutional amendments to the Constitutional and Legal Committee of the Parliamentary Assembly of BiH. Importantly, two submissions handed to the Parliamentary Assembly of BiH by entity associations of cities and municipalities did not contain precisely the same recommendation. However a major breakthrough was that both initiatives sought that local self government become enshrined in the constitution of BiH.

***Objective 2:*** *Networks between actors dealing with constitutional reform issues (youth networks, returnees' networks, connecting mayors, political movements and civil movements, civil initiatives, minorities, women) are strengthened, in order to achieve an organised and continuous influence on political decisions and processes, as well as vertical integration of good practices.*

This objective has been partially achieved. The evaluation has found that networks of CSOs in BiH exist and are capable of the relatively swift mobilization of large numbers of activists. It is of significant that organizations such as “Why Not” or ACIPS could involve local civil society partners in constitutional reform campaigns, even in areas of BiH where discussion of constitutional reform is considered taboo. There is no doubt that civil society organizations have succeeded in raising awareness and interest in constitutional issues among local communities and citizens and acquiring support for constitutional amendments. Amendments prepared by the civil society organization “Why Not” introducing the concept of direct democracy into the Constitution of BiH were supported with the signatures of 30 000 citizens. Solutions developed by the Young Lawyers Association have been made publicly available at their official website and announcements were installed on publicly visible billboards opposite the Parliamentary Assembly of BiH. An additional 3000 signatures were signed across the country supporting proposed constitutional amendments drafted by ACIPS. All these initiatives were in the form of constitutional amendments submitted to constitutional parliamentary committees, followed by media coverage.

However, more attention could have been paid to better integration and coordination of existing networks, and better alignment of lobbying strategies and advocacy approaches by civil society representatives. The decision of four CSOs to submit constitutional amendments to parliamentary committees at different times and independently of each other may have increased the number of interactions between civil society and parliamentarians. However it is the evaluator’s view that this approach decreased the impact of public pressure which could have been better harnessed if appearances in parliament had been joint, i.e. less frequent but more powerful and if the lobbying strategy was better planned. Furthermore, a capacity-building training programme for selected CSOs scheduled to be organized and delivered by ADI Sarajevo has not yet been implemented, which may be the reason for the identified weaknesses.

***Objective 3: Capacity of BiH Parliamentary members (MP) and other politically relevant stakeholders is build up, in order to facilitate power-sharing with special emphasis on consensus making and strengthening institutional processes and decision-making.***

This objective has been accomplished. The capacity-building programme with parliamentarians and political party advisers had multiple benefits. First and most importantly it engendered trust and confidence among participants in the good intentions of the SDC funded Project, which in return resulted in both good turnout and participation. Secondly, this initiative has opened communication channels with all leading political parties and brought together key constitutional advisers. Thirdly, it initiated a series of constitutional debates with some of the leading European constitutional scholars contracted by the Political Science Institute of the University of Zurich. Organized through a series of workshops, party members and parliamentarians had the opportunity to meet and to discuss constitutional concepts such as power-sharing, the management of multicultural society, election laws and their effects on power sharing etc. They were also provided with study tours to Switzerland where they were exposed to some of the key aspects of the Swiss constitutional system such as direct democracy, distribution of power among various levels of government, fiscal federalism and the position of minorities. Reviewed reports

demonstrate that participants expressed a great interest in all subjects covered by this element of the Project. That party members sat together to discuss various ideas and options in how to manage a multiethnic society is a great success in itself, bearing in mind the previous lack of any structured debate and complete refusal to engage in any professional or academic debate across ethnic lines in BiH. Based on positive experience and confidence gained from this Project, MPs who took active roles in this Project initiated the establishment of a committee for constitutional reform which was approved by the Council of Ministers and which aimed to provide a forum in which pressing constitutional issues could be debated and considered. Unfortunately due to pre-election political polarization and fear that such initiative may affect electoral results, this committee for constitutional reform never launched. However, there is clearly a potential for revisiting this possibility should there result a continuation of this Project.

An indirect benefit of this objective is greater openness of the BiH Parliament to such initiatives, and a greater acceptance that civil society organizations should be involved in debates about constitutional matters. This openness is manifested in different ways, through the Parliamentary Assembly providing a stage for many events organized by civil society actors and dealing with constitutional reform to parliamentary constitutional commissions and their members being available to receive and discuss prepared draft constitutional amendments.

***Objective 4: Basic knowledge about the constitution and its meaning is improved within young academics and master students with particular emphasis on the development of students' capability to critically analyse ways of designing mutual comprehension in a divided society.***

This objective has been fully accomplished. An interview with one of the participants of this programme suggested that programme's original design has fully matched students' expectations and provided a new insight in constitutional matters. Students appreciated interactive teaching methods used by the lecturers, and practical exercises that followed. Students were selected from different universities in BiH and this mix seemed to be well-accepted by students. The interviewed student, who comes from Biljeljina (RS), was delighted to feel accepted by colleagues at Sarajevo University and has remained in close contact with many of them. Apparently, a small group of students has continued to maintain professional contact and have ideas of writing joint papers on constitutional issues.

***Objective 5: Capacity of civil society exponents is build up through exchange visits in Switzerland, enabling them to report neutrally and with good background knowledge on constitutional reform, incorporating their informed opinion into the process of reform building.***

This objective has been partially achieved. Linking media representatives with the constitutional reform process is essential, bearing in mind that there is an obvious lack of journalistic specialization in this area within both the BiH printed and electronic media. Attempts were made to familiarize journalists with key aspects of constitutional law, especially those areas affecting the BiH constitutional system, with the aim that reporting on constitutional change be based more on informed opinion and less on ill-informed,

sensationalist reporting. Workshops were provided to five selected journalists on the area of comparative political systems, constitutional reform and distribution of powers, direct democracy, minority rights and religious rights, power sharing, etc. A study tour to Switzerland allowed participating journalists to see examples of direct democracy and referenda being held. During the Project at least one article has been published which is directly relevant to constitutional reform and which reported on the progress of constitutional reform consultations carried out by civil society organizations. However, the view of Project manager of the Human Right Centre is that number of events and initiatives supported and carried out by the civil society or some other relevant programs were inadequately covered by media and therefore that citizens were deprived of the possibility to develop more informed opinions in relation to the process of constitutional change.

#### **6. Relevance of the implemented activities and outputs.**

It is the evaluator's view that selected Project activities and topics are of great relevance for future constitutional reform and the overall process of democratization in BiH. The evident results represent a valuable source of information and knowledge for future constitutional reform. The constitutional amendments that emerged from the consultative processes facilitated by civil society organizations are very much at the heart of the constitutional challenges faced by BiH. "New Ideas, Better Constitution" is a document developed by an expert group organized by the Young Lawyers Association of BiH. Young law experts, coming from different areas of BiH and different public universities, reached full consensus on several constitutional issues and proposed solutions for constitutional amendments concerning local self-governance in BiH, refugees and displaced persons, the division of jurisdictions between BiH and its entities; the parliamentary assembly, presidency, Council of Ministers, Constitutional Court and judicial system of BiH. ACIPS has identified constitutional amendments which offer one solution as to how to implement the rulings of the European Court on Human Rights in the *Finci-Sejdic* case. As discussed earlier, this is the most urgent constitutional reform being faced by BiH. The position of local self government is another pressing issue. BiH is signatory of the convention on local self government, but mechanisms for its protection are still not adequately enshrined in the current constitution. This Project has developed ideas regarding how to overcome this particular issue.

A focus on the involvement of citizens in constitutional reform is of great relevance for further democratization of the country. As previously established, the political culture in BiH is one whereby crucial decisions - including those that require constitutional reform - have until now been made in a non-transparent manner and within closed circles of political leaders. All negotiations thus far have been conducted far from democratic institutions such as parliaments. Furthermore, lower level political and state officials are completely dependent on their political leaderships who act in the name of institutions or local communities. Officials are accountable exclusively to their political organizations. Through this Project, officials are now more aware of the issues and problems that could be resolved with the proper amending of the Constitution of BiH, especially in the area of local self-government. This Project has therefore pioneered a completely new approach, enabling constitutional debate, empowering disenfranchised politicians and empowering previously weak democratic institutions. Although the outcome of constitutional change was not achieved, the process has been important, achieving important, often 'first time' results.

## **7. Beneficiaries' satisfaction with the Project achievements and the Swiss approach**

All interviewed beneficiaries have expressed their unreserved gratitude to the Swiss government and commended its commitment to fund this project. Beneficiaries greatly appreciate the attempt to combine bottom-up and top-down approaches to constitutional reform. This is seen as an effective tool in managing a highly sensitive process while maintaining a relatively low profile, thus avoiding unnecessary politicisation and political manipulation of the process. Furthermore, bringing constitutional debate back into democratic institutions was seen as the right approach among both politicians and civil society activists. Vertical integration of locally developed ideas and initiatives was understood as an effective way of introducing big ideas through local perspectives. Flexibility and the absence of any hidden agendas in the Project goals have engendered trust in beneficiaries and ensured their commitment throughout the process. Wide networks and links with other SDC-funded local programs have been noted and facilitated, so the visibility of overall SDC support has been significantly increased in the country. Inter-entity cooperation has not only saved Project funds but increased communication among local communities and civil society activists and young academics.

## **8. Recommendations and advice regarding further improvements to be taken by the local stakeholders, their future role in terms of ensuring their sustainable involvement and continuation of developed initiatives up to now.**

- All participating civil society organizations still have to improve advocacy and lobbying capacities in order to effectively engage in discussion with political institutions and decision makers.
- Civil society organizations have to improve inter-organizational dialogue and develop aligned strategic approaches on how to effectively engage in the political process.
- Networks of civil society organization exist, but they need to continue to build issue-based coalitions.
- Co-operation between NGOs and political parties to advance policy reform needs to be improved.
- Using the momentum created by this project, debates involving civil society groups, parliamentarians and constitutional advisers to political parties should continue. Forums should be carefully designed so as not to create unnecessary media pressure and to allow for focused expert discussion. Such debates should be carefully facilitated.

- The Decision of the Council of Ministers on the Establishment of the Constitutional Reform Committee which was initiated by parliamentarians participating in the Project should be revisited and revitalized. Election results indicate that some of the MPs who were engaged in the Project have been re-elected, so it would be wise to use the momentum and their unreserved commitment to further this process.
- Journalist already participating in the Project should be encouraged to increase their reporting about the process keeping in mind that inadequate coverage of constitutional reform debate may prove counterproductive.
- Political Science Faculties from Sarajevo, Banja Luka and Mostar should explore modalities of closer cooperation with the Institute of Political Science of the University of Zurich in order to extend similar capacity building programs of young BiH political science and constitutional law scholars to these universities.

***9. Recommendations and advice regarding future SDC's interventions and support to the vertical integration of the project results.***

As established earlier, this Project has accumulated a significant amount of useful information and ideas on improving the current constitutional framework. This Project has also mobilized a great deal of civil society organizations and activists in discussions on constitutional change. This Project also fostered the support of local communities and raised the expectations of units of local self government. The Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina has become more sensitive and open to initiatives submitted by civil society. The Evaluator does not believe that accumulated knowledge will disappear with the seizure of the project, but effective engagement of civil society with political actors does require ongoing support in order to make the advocacy process more effective.

To reach a higher level of sustainability, it is recommended that support is continued for at least one more year. Future support should concentrate on facilitating more interactive forums where CSOs, parliamentarians and political party advisers debate constitutional reform ideas. This process should be led by Swiss partners (preferably the Political Science Institute) in order to ensure the buy-in and responsiveness of local politicians, and to act as a quality assurance agent in facilitating debates. It is recommended that last consolidating phase of the project includes two objectives:

- To assist CSO organization involved in constitutional reform consultations to more precisely articulate their proposals and strengthen their capacity for more effective advocacy and lobbying strategies and approaches.

- Work with CSO to enhance the quality of prepared amendments in terms of their relevance, objectivity, and applicability in terms of existing political context in Bosnia and Herzegovina.
  - Assist CSOs in consolidating all various proposals making them mutually complementary.
  - Work with CSOs to enhance their capacity for advocacy and lobbying and more effective engagement with Parliamentary committees.
- Support direct interaction of politically relevant stakeholders and all relevant CSOs involved in constitutional reform.
- Assist in organizing thematic forums on key priority issues of constitutional importance;
  - Assist forums by moderating and facilitating debates;
  - Assist in submissions of all relevant materials to constitutional parliamentary committees.

**External Review of the Contribution to Constitutional Reform in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Oct-Nov 2010**

Program Swiss Expert -0041 79 401 71 01  
27 -30 Oct und 1-3 Nov 2010

Date	Time	Topic	Location
Mi 27 Oct	09-11h	Briefing mit Alfred Fritschi (Leiter Abteilung Westbalkan) und Stephanie Guha (Programmbeauftragte BIH)	DEZA, Freiburgstrasse 130, Bern Ausserholligen
	20.05	Check- In Abflug Zürich (Croatia Airlines)	Flughafen Zürich
	21.25	Ankunft Zagreb Transfer nach Banja Luka mit DEZA	<a href="#">Abholung Srecko Bajic, Liaison Officer in BL 065 522 154</a>
		Übernachtung Hotel Vidovic Banja Luka	
Do 28 Oct	8.30	Mirjanic Zeljko, SNSD Allianz der Unabhängigen Sozialdemokraten (065 512 347) War mit politischen Berater Teilnehmer am Workshop in der Schweiz	Banja Luka koledz Milosa Obilica 30, bivsi servis za skode Vidovic prosvjetni pedagogski zavod
	10.00	Nagradic/Ivanic/Dokic, PDP Party of Democratic Progress – Nagradic 065 788 778 Nagradic war mit politischen Berater Teilnehmer am Workshop in der Schweiz	Prvog Krajskog korpusa 130 (051 346 210 Office)
	11.30	Frau Tanja Topic, political analyst, Dokortitel Politik und Medien (065/588 217)	Kralja Petra I Karadjordjevic 111
	13.00	Frau Svetlana Cenic (Professorin, ehemalige Ministerin in RS) (065 884 151)	
	15.00	Damir Miljevic Transfer mit DEZA nach Sarajewo	<a href="#">Übersetzung in Banja Luka Michael Resanovic 065 525 352</a>
		Übernachtung Hotel Art, Vladislava Skarica 3	
Fr 29 Oct	09.00	SNSD Zoran Koprivica, Mitglied der Verfassungskommission	Parliamentary Assembly Club of Serb people
	10.30	Adis Arapovic, Zentrum für Zivilinitiativen (521 279) - English	Zmaja od Bosne 40
	12.00	HDZ 1990 – Martin Raguz (061 483 006)	Parliament
	14.00	Miroslav Zivanovic (SDP, deputy mayor of	Skenderija (zgrada

		Sarajevo, Project manager)- (061 276 478)- English	DPO)
	15.30	Briefing Kobü (RUT/SARAZ/	Übersetzung in Sarajevo Frau Divna Jakic Subasic (061 138 893)
	16.30	Sead Traljic, local reviewer	
		Hotel ART	
Sa 30 Oct	05.00 06.30 08.40	Transfer zum Flughafen Abflug mit Bosna Airlines Ankunft Zürich	

Date	Time	Topic	Location
Mo 1 Nov	07.10 10.45	Abflug via Wien Ankunft Sarajevo	Flughafen Zürich
	12.00	Sefik Dzaferovic (Vorsitzender der Verfassungskommission des Repräsentantenhaus) 061 488 304	Parliamentary Assembly
	13.30	Prof. Asim Mujkic, Faculty of Political sciences 061 557 466	Faculty of Political sciences
	15.00	Mr. Susumu, deputy Head of the Mission, Mr. Yoshiaki Makino, first secretary, Ms. Vesna Jakovljevic, Japan Embassy (Japan PIC member and important donor)	Japan Embassy Bistrik 9
		Übernachtung Hotel ART	
Di 2 Nov	9.00	HDZ Ivo-Miro Jovic (Vorsitzender der Verfassungskommission House of People)	Parliamentary Assembly
	10.30	Ivan Lovrenovic, Schriftsteller/Journalist (Bosnian history, religious,cultural, ethnic influences)	
	12.00	Narcisa Poturak-Doenmez 061 841 805	Hotel Evropa
	13.30	Slavisa Sucur, Parliament FBiH, (GAP local self-government) – English, 061 135 059	
	15.00	Debriefing Kobü/Botschaft (Botschafter Schaler/SARAZ)	
	22.00	Corinne Ravaud, European Commission	
Mi 3 Nov	05.00 06.30 09.25	Transfer zum Flughafen Abflug mit Bosna Airlines Ankunft Zürich	

