

1995
2005

Ten Years of Dayton and Beyond
International Conference for Bosnia and Herzegovina
Geneva 20-21 October 2005



Association Bosnia and Herzegovina 2005

Annual Report 2005

Summary

The Association Bosnia and Herzegovina 2005 was established in the fall of 2003 as a support mechanism to facilitate domestic and international dialogue on the future of Bosnia and Herzegovina. It provides a framework for analysts, scholars, and professionals to influence the policy process through policy-relevant research and debate. The Association gathers established figures as well as emerging voices in an internally-driven process that is closely focused on promoting ownership-oriented strategies during a period that will prove critical for the country's future development and its very existence as a viable state. The Association aims to stimulate a debate based on facts, not partisanship. By facilitating informed debate rather than advocating for specific solutions, it intends to act as a catalyst for effective, policy-relevant ideas to emerge and gain influence at a time when the country is in urgent need of a vision to achieve full, sovereign statehood.

This report reviews briefly activities organized between 2004 and 2005 and presents a more detailed analysis of 2005 focusing on the international conference organized in October 2005.

With the successful organization of the conference "Bosnia and Herzegovina – Ten Years of Dayton and Beyond" in Geneva and the forthcoming publication of a book containing chapters on key dimensions of post-war development in the country, the Association successfully fulfilled its aims. Thus, the Association's Executive Council decided to launch the Center for European Integration Strategies (CEIS) as a think tank to follow up on the work initiated by the Association and implement the conclusions of the Geneva conference and of a seminar held in Vienna on 18 November 2005, focusing on the regional dimension and the EU integration process.

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1. Background and context

The approaching tenth anniversary of the General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina (GFAP) in 2005 puts the issues of the strategy of the "international community" and of the indispensable government structures' reform in sharp relief, it also provides an opportunity to take stock of past achievements and future challenges. The academic literature on transition processes often includes an implicit assumption that such transitions—from war to peace, from command to market economies, from single-party systems to open societies—are essentially completed within ten years. By year ten, post-conflict settlements have either consolidated and given rise to permanent constitutional orders, or deteriorated into all-out conflict. In Bosnia and Herzegovina (Bosnia), the picture is murkier: while any immediate security threat seems fairly remote (especially with the recently concluded defense reform and the regime changes in Zagreb and Belgrade), the institutions of government have not uniformly achieved full legitimacy, and many reform projects are only taking place thanks to continued international pressure and support. While much progress has been made—notably in the fields of refugee return, property law implementation, administrative reform, and democratization—much still remains to be done. This was most recently underlined in a Feasibility Study by the European Commission, which listed sixteen specific issues that must be addressed before Bosnia can conclude a Stabilization and Association Agreement with the European Union (COM (2003), 692 final, Brussels, 18 November 2003).

Against this background, and in light of the upcoming anniversary of the GFAP, a number of individuals have joined forces to create a process for focused analysis and advice. In the short to medium term, analysis and advice will relate to a much-needed refocusing of international assistance policies and primarily target international policy-makers and implementers in Bosnia; in the longer term, it will help Bosnia find its place as a full member of the European comity of states and primarily assist Bosnia policy-makers.

The framework for such an initiative was created in the form of the Association Bosnia and Herzegovina 2005, founded in September 2003 in Sarajevo following a panel discussion that was opened by the Swiss Foreign Minister, Mme Micheline Calmy-Rey. Ambassador Wolfgang Petritsch, the previous High Representative of the international community in Bosnia, was among the panelists, and it is on his initiative that the Association was established. Many of the panelists subsequently became members of the Association. The Association was formally incorporated in October 2003 as a non-profit body according to article 60 and following of the Swiss Civil Code; its statutes, in English, are deposited in Geneva, Switzerland and available on the Association's website. (www.bosnia2005.org)

2. Goals and approaches of the Association

The main goal of the Association is to assist the necessary process of social and political development and transfer of authority in Bosnia by providing solid analysis and strategic advice to both international and domestic stakeholders in government and civil society. The main vehicle for such analysis and advice will be an international conference on and for Bosnia, to be held 20-21 October 2005 in Geneva under the title "Bosnia and Herzegovina 1995-2005: Ten Years of Dayton and Beyond." The conference is scheduled to mark the tenth anniversary of the GFAP. At the same time, a book will present the most innovative and thought-provoking research emerging from this project.

Through its activities, the project will help overcome the contradictions and inadequacies that have marred international support policies from their very inception, many of them implicit in the Dayton accords. The Association's founders, however, believe that the debate on a hypothetical "Dayton II"



are of purely academic interest and will not contribute to an effective solution of the most pressing problems facing Bosnia today. In fact, they might divert attention from workable options to a discussion that would only raise the stakes and encourage political posturing. Instead, the Association wants to take up the challenge of overcoming Dayton’s shortcomings by implementing its provisions to the fullest extent possible wherever appropriate, and by providing longer-term options for effective political, social, and economic development within the considerable space provided by the GFAP, which would include, in the medium term, a debate on Bosnia’s constitution. This can only happen through a forward-looking analytical approach that deals resolutely and pragmatically with the conditions needed for the success of international support policies and with the challenges the state of Bosnia will face in the future. Such a targeted and strategic approach must be based on solid analytical work. The Association believes that sound scholarship is ultimately the most effective advocacy, and will therefore refrain from any direct involvement in politics. This also includes the ongoing debates about the tenure of the current High Representative.

A related goal that will be achieved through the proposed project is to strengthen the policy-relevance of academic research in Bosnia and to link emerging young scholars with the global academic community. All too often, young researchers lack the means and opportunities to contribute to the development of their communities; often, they also lack an understanding of the mechanisms of influence in the policy process. By partnering with established international scholars and providing access to a network of analysts working on the same issues, the Association hopes to maximize the impact of the research undertaken in the framework of this project. In the formation of the Association’s Senior Advisory Board, special care was taken to include individuals who are in a position to assist this networking function, notably Mr Ramesh Thakur, the Vice-Rector of the United Nations University in Tokyo, and Sir Marrack Goulding, warden of St. Antony’s College in Oxford. On the technical side, preliminary consultations were held with an information technology consultant affiliated with the Center for International Conflict Resolution in New York to explore options for IT-supported collaboration and networking.

3. Activities in 2003

In preparation for the Association’s activities, its founders had wide-ranging, in-depth consultations—both formal and informal—with a number of practitioners, diplomats and analysts in Sarajevo, Geneva, New York and elsewhere between September and November 2003. These consultations resulted in the project design summarized in this document, in the Association’s statutes, and in a membership that at present includes more than sixty individuals (about equally international and Bosnian), many of whom will directly contribute to either the conference or the book. The consultations were also useful in testing the validity of the approaches described here as well as the implementation arrangements foreseen in the Association’s statutes and other documents.

The Association established its various bodies—notably the International Executive Committee and the Senior Advisory Board, chaired by Ambassador Petritsch—during October and November 2003 and is organizationally functional as of now. At the time of this writing, members of the Senior Advisory Board are Wolfgang Petritsch, Sonja Biserko, Erhard Busek, Jovan Divjak, Daniel Cohn-Bendit, Marrack Goulding, Sonja Licht, Bozidar Matic, Jose-Maria Mendiluce, Tadeusz Mazowiecki, Vreni Müller-Hemmi, James O’Brien, Jasmina Pasalic and Ramesh Thakur.

The months of November and December 2003 were devoted to reflection on the future direction of the project, both in a strategic and a methodological sense. To that end, a workshop was held at the New School for Social Research in New York, whose Department of Political Science co-sponsored the event. The seminar was moderated by Susan L. Woodward, Professor of Political Science at the

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Graduate Center of the City University of New York, a well-known scholar of the Balkans, and attended by 14 individuals from institutions including Harvard University, Columbia University, the New School, the UN, and the International Rescue Committee, including the three current members of the Association's International Executive Council. The seminar's lively debate generated preliminary proposals regarding mechanisms, approaches, and topics for activities during the coming period. Five key areas were identified in which additional research is especially desirable:

- economic development;
- regional stability and cooperation (including in the cultural field);
- governance (state institutions and decentralization);
- security (including military reform);
- rule of law.

These broad issue areas were further developed during a second seminar held in Sarajevo in May 2004, which considered these topics at greater length and in more concrete terms in order to articulate a full research program (see below). The New York event has therefore helped establish the programmatic outlines of the project's 2004 activities.

4. Activities in 2004

January 2004 marked the beginning of a process that will culminate in the October 2005 conference in Geneva and in the book to be published subsequently. In preparation for these two events, a single research program—consisting of various individual and joint research projects—was developed during the first half of 2004 based on the preliminary conclusions of the New York seminar.

Based on the preliminary debate during 2003, the critical first step in 2004 was to take time for reflection in order to define a framework and methodology that will allow the Association to achieve its goals. To that end, the Association convened a *seminar* in May of 2004 in Sarajevo with a number of concrete objectives, building on the debate during the December 2003 New York seminar. The Sarajevo seminar reaffirmed the existing consensus with regard to the priority objectives of the overall project and determined expected outcomes of the 2005 conference. The seminar further tried to achieve a number of procedural and substantive goals:

- To determine the format and topics to be covered by the 2005 conference;
- To establish a conceptual and methodological framework that will allow participants to go beyond a simple “lessons (not) learned” exercise and adopt a forward-looking approach;
- To form specific research projects, both joint and individual, and define the networking dimensions to such projects;
- To identify ownership approaches that will facilitate the transfer of responsibility and various transition processes, including the establishment and development of the rule of law in Bosnia;
- To assess practical (political, financial, institutional, legal and administrative) aspects of the current situation in order to enable the rapid implementation of recommendations emerging from this process.

A separate report on the seminar is available on the homepage of the association (<http://www.bosnia2005.org/documents.html>).

The second half of 2004 was then devoted to:

- Coordination of research and other activities, including start-up of individual and joint research projects and networking activities;
- Communication with members and contributors;
- Two working seminars in Banja Luka and Sarajevo (December 2004)
- Finalization and publication/promotion of the 2004 book in English and local language
- Preparation of the 2005 conference;
- Preparation of the 2005 book.

These activities involved the International Executive Council, whose task it is to stimulate and guide the conceptual work undertaken by individual contributors to the book and the conference and members of the Association. In addition to organizing the workshop and seminar, this included outreach and coordination activities vis-à-vis international agencies, domestic authorities in Bosnia, donors, and academic institutes and think tanks.

From mid-2004 onwards, the International Executive Council started to establish concrete individual and joint research projects and coordinate similar relevant activities as may be undertaken by partner organizations, and established eight Task Forces. It also secured funding for most of their operations during 2005.

5. Activities in 2005

The following figures will illustrate the results achieved in 2005:

Activities	Number	Location	Participants
Coordination meetings	17	Sarajevo (12), Geneva (2), Vienna (1), Zurich (1), Dubrovnik (1)	
Press Conferences	10	Sarajevo (5), Geneva (2) Banja Luka (1), Trebinje (1), Vienna (1),	
Public events	3	London Brussels Vienna	100 200 200
Conference & seminars	3	Mostar (closed door meeting) Geneva Vienna	10 400 60
Articles in print media	136	Bosnia (70), Italy (30), Switzerland (16), France (11), Austria (7), Germany (2)	

5.1. Coordination:

Coordination meetings were absolutely essential in order to prepare the conference and, as most of them were organized in Sarajevo, to hold at the same time press events and meet various stakeholders and sponsors. These meetings – organized by the Executive Council – were regularly attended by Wolfgang Petritsch and Jakob Finci; most of the panel and Task Force chairs were also present, though not on a regular basis with the exception of Jasmina Husanovic-Pehar. To these official meetings, one should add the many informal meetings organized at the level of the Executive Council, involving essentially Toby Vogel, Vedran Dzihic, Senad Slatina, Christian Ebner, Envera Selimovic, Wolfgang Petritsch, Vreni Müller-Hemmi and Jakob Finci. While those meetings proved to be



absolutely necessary, they were organized under difficult financial circumstances. The Association had no financial capacities to organize and pay for any pre-conference review seminars.

The daily coordination work, including of course the implementation of the decisions of the above-mentioned meetings, was done by the dramatically understaffed Executive Council. Lacking funds to hire a Senior Director based in Sarajevo who could have given support to the Deputy Director, the latter was overwhelmed by the work to be done, to a point that her work became unproductive. To involve at this level an emerging voice without any past similar responsibility and without any coaching proved to be a mistake. In the last months before the conference, the effective and highly professional coordination work done by Senad Slatina contributed to save the situation.

5.2. Press and communication strategy:

According to a decision made by the Senior Advisory Board, Bosnia was the focus of our media work, but the lack of funding again made it impossible to hire a professional international press officer. However, our Sarajevo-based press officer Mirela Vucak-Latic proved to work very effectively: she organized perfectly the many press events in Bosnia as well as our regular visibility in Bosnian media.

Our conference spokeswoman Envera Selimovic worked for the Association for one month under very difficult circumstances. On the one hand she developed the media strategy of the international conference and secured the high visibility of the Geneva Conference in Bosnia and well as in media from the region. On the other hand, she also contributed to the preparatory work of the Conference facilitating many high level contacts in Bosnia.

Despite the absence of an international media officer, the Association was nevertheless present in some prominent media including the International Herald Tribune, Libération, the Neue Zürcher Zeitung, Le Temps, Süddeutsche Zeitung, and Die Presse. But for a high-profile conference it was an obvious shortcoming not to be even more present in the media.

At a more general level, the Association and the conference was visible through its homepage, the distribution of leaflets and posters, and the Conference was promoted internationally during two months with the help of Fabio Oliva. Again, the focus was essentially Bosnia and the Association had absolutely no financial capacities to promote its activities in a professional manner. Announcements were published by Le Temps (Geneva) and Tages-Anzeiger (Zurich) in the framework of our media partnership. Well-known internet networks such as L'Osservatorio sui Balcani and Le Courier des Balkans contributed effectively to our visibility in Italy in France.

The experience of the Association shows that a professional approach is the only way to develop a coherent and effective media strategy.

5.3. The Geneva Conference:

While regular meetings in preparation of the Conference were organized in Bosnia in the framework of the Task Forces focusing on economics and on education and culture, two other kinds of meeting were organized. The first was held in Mostar on 8 September. This was a closed-door meeting aiming to prepare the state-building and constitutional panels of the Geneva conference. Participants were four members of the Association including Jakob Finci, two representatives from the Council of Europe (the deputy secretary of the Venice Commission and the Special Representative of the Secretary General), and three high-profile members of the HDZ including Martin Raguz.



The Committee on Foreign Affairs of the European Parliament organized a public hearing in Brussels on 11 October 2005. Thanks to the excellent collaboration with the organizers, we could bring into the program Sumantra Bose (member for the International Executive Committee of the Association), Jakob Finci (president of the Association) and Martin Raguz and present our conference background paper, which was made public on the same day.

The preparatory meeting of the Task Forces, the Mostar meeting, the Brussels public hearing paved the way toward the Geneva conference, which was held on 20-21 October 2005.

Firstly, we must acknowledge the fact that despite very difficult financial conditions, the Association nevertheless managed to achieve its main goal as publicly announced in Sarajevo on 22 November 2003. The facilities provided by the CICG proved to be ideal and the CICG staff were highly competent, efficient and helpful.

Secondly, despite many doubts, after only one hour everyone was convinced that Geneva was the right place to be.

Thirdly, by bringing together some 400 participants -- including such high-profile political personalities as Olli Rehn, Carla Del Ponte, Paddy Ashdown, Adnan Terzic, Micheline Calmy Rey, Wolfgang Petritsch to name only a few; well-known academic figures; experts; journalists; activists and above all emerging voices from Bosnia -- the Association achieved its intention to bring together various stakeholders in the framework of an international event.

Fourthly, in addition to a substantial cultural program consisting of five exhibitions and one concert that was broadcast live, the Association maintained its full program with four plenary sessions and 12 panels.

Fifthly, despite pressure from senior officials trying to get onto panels at the last minute (which would have resulted in a decrease in the number of speakers from the region and from the emerging voices), the Association trusted the selected speakers. It was the first conference at such a level at which emerging voices were given the floor, both at panels and in plenary sessions.

From the information available to the Association, this was the biggest truly international conference with so many speakers from the region and so many participants. The fact that the conference was supported not only by the Swiss Foreign Office, but also by the German, Austrian and Dutch Foreign Offices is another fact that proves that the Association reached an international audience. With additional financial means and less competition among various stakeholders, the Association could have achieved even more. Nevertheless, taking into consideration the financial means, the amount of volunteer work and the involvement of some solidarity networks, the Association is looking back to this event with satisfaction.

The post-conference seminar, to be organized in Bosnia in summer 2006, will review the effects of the conference. In the meantime, some of the conference papers are available on the homepage of the Association, the Conference report was presented on 4 November in Sarajevo and a book – moving beyond the Conference results – will be published in 2006, provided sufficient financing will be available.

6. Follow-up in 2006 and beyond

On 4 November, we presented our conference report in Sarajevo and announced the various aspects of our follow-up. The most important of these is our new initiative to monitor and improve EU integration processes in Bosnia and other EU hopefuls in the region. As a first step we already organized, together with the Center for the Study of Global Governance of the London School of Economics, a seminar in Vienna on 18 November focusing on the Austrian Presidency of the EU (published as *Austrian Presidency of the EU: Regional Approaches to the Balkans*, Vienna, 2006). This seminar was based on various panels from the Geneva Conference, mainly those dealing with the regional dimension and EU integration process, but also those focusing on the economy as well as on the culture and education.

With the Geneva Conference, the Association Bosnia and Herzegovina 2005 has achieved its main aim. In accordance with the Statutes, Article 4, the Executive Council has therefore taken the decision to formally disband the Association and to mandate a new body with follow-up activities. The new think tank, the Center for European Integration Strategies (CEIS), will focus on the regional dimension and the EU integration process and continue the work of the Association, the Geneva conference, and the Vienna seminar.

As announced on 4 November, on 1 January we will open an office in Sarajevo directed by Senad Slatina. Among its many tasks is a follow-up seminar to the Geneva conference to be held in Bosnia in the summer of 2006. It will also publish regular policy briefs focusing on integration processes and the security dimension. The office is the result of a review of our work in the past, which highlighted organizational weaknesses mostly due to lack of funding.

The CEIS is about to be registered in Geneva, Sarajevo and Vienna with the aim of monitoring and helping to shape the state-building, democratization and European integration processes in Bosnia and the Western Balkans. In its work CEIS will rely on and closely cooperate with a network of academics, analysts and journalists that the Association established and fostered in past years. Their professional knowledge and expertise will be respected, reflected, maintained and further developed through CEIS' future activities.

CEIS activities include, but are not limited to:

- **Publishing** of analytical and investigative briefings on political, economic, social, human rights and other trend-setting issues in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the wider region.
- **Fostering** public dialogue through round tables, conferences, and other public debates on important developments in the society.
- **Training** political and other analysts, especially those involved in local government, on European integration processes and the functioning of European institutions.
- **Supporting** the work of emerging voices in the region, especially as it relates to the interests of the CEIS.
- **Promoting** local ownership in policy processes and policy research in the region.

In addition to its public work, CEIS will establish friendly relations with various stakeholders in Balkan affairs and offer them specific analytical briefings on demand or whenever it is deemed necessary by the CEIS.

The focus of the CEIS' advisory work will be the incoming EU presidency; the CEIS will advocate with the incoming presidency for proactive regional and EU integration strategies.