The Chicago Initiative for a New BiH

One Vision for a Constructive Future

Proposals and Supporting Measures to Bring BiH New Government, Attitudes and Behaviors

A project constructed around a singular purpose: to set Bosnian society on a course toward a healthy, competitive, and peaceful future.

"If you want truly to understand something, try to change it." *Kurt Lewi*

"We cannot solve problems using the same kind of thinking we used when we created them." *Albert Einstein*

"You see, idealism detached from action is just a dream. But idealism allied with pragmatism, with rolling up your sleeves and making the world bend a bit, is very exciting. It's very real. It's very strong." *Bono*

"As a member of the bureaucracy myself, I feel its shortcomings with a special keenness. It is hard to decide whether to play the drama as tragedy, comedy, or simply theater of the absurd." *Richard Holbrooke*

NOTE: *Only those items which follow in **italics** are intended to be included in a constitutional document.

The model developed here is the sum total of the efforts of a number of organizational entities and the thinking of a broad spectrum of scholars and policy-makers. It was directed by Prof. Dick Farkas (DePaul University, Political Science) with intellectual guidance from General Chuck Tucker, President of the World Engagement Institute. Ever-widening circles of advanced social science students, law students, university scholars and veteran diplomats and policy-makers have contributed significantly. It is above all else, a creative and workable solution to the pressing problems left in the wake of the Yugoslav wars of the 1990s and the noble but limited "solutions" created by the Dayton Peace Accords. As the title suggests, those accords were designed to stop the carnage and brutality that characterized those conflicts. They were never intended to frame a lasting design for the political system. In the arena of that misunderstanding, the Bosnian people – all of them – have been struggling with an unworkable and dilapidated structure of government. In the 21st century of accelerating change and relentless competition for talented people and resources, Bosnia has drifted into a state which some characterize as "failing;" others see as "comatose."

There is broad agreement among Bosnian elites that the system is broken. The BiH public also has a clear sense that it is not performing. There is less agreement about whether it can be fixed and no agreement about how it can be fixed. When the rest of the world, especially the EU, NATO and the UN turn to the realities in Bosnia, they have concluded that the remedy must be swift and fundamental. This project takes from those analyses that "tinkering" with reform or with patient and incremental adjustments, the inescapable result will be that the problems become worse. Only with re-design, fundamental re-engineering, can the people and the system begin to work and begin to have faith in one another.

Any model is necessarily partial. This model is no different. It provides the critical elements of a structure for governing that has the potential to be successful and sustainable. Leaders with other agenda, politics and external events can frustrate any government. The model alone is not the solution. It is a foundation on which a set of solutions to specific problems can be built. It is quite inevitable that two questions will be asked. First, is there another political system which is designed just this way? To our knowledge this is a unique combination of political structures and mechanisms scaled to Bosnia's special circumstances and needs as we understand them. However, all of the elements can be found in the comparative political science literature which has contemplated both the strengths and weaknesses of those features. We have accounted for those and found balance and net strength in the composite. To be clear, given Bosnia's complex situation and recent political frustrations often stemming from ethnic politics and identity, we searched for political components that have the greatest

potential to turn Bosnia deliberately toward its future as a country and as a healthy member of the European community.

The second question is: doesn't a society need to resolve the issues of its past before it can go deliberately into its future? This project grows out of a concern for the trauma of Bosnia's recent past and the propensity of many to conclude that all Bosnians are irrevocably trapped by that past. Many believe that there is no hope for escaping the scars and memories of those events. Social science reminds us that people are resilient and adaptable. That they can, with will and determination, face forward. Without forgetting or disrespecting the past, they can ask the critical questions: how can we construct a better life, build hospitals, schools and housing? How can we create jobs and reasons to think positively about our future? How can we more objectively see and build upon the common interests among our peoples in achieving those goals? We believe, perhaps controversially, that responsibly managing the future will require **ALL** of Bosnia's human capacities. All, not some, of its human resources. It faces catching up to a world and competitors that have their own laser-like focus on the future.

Some see Bosnia as a post-conflict society. Others see parallels with post-colonialism. Still others see change in a revolutionary context. All such perspectives have something important to tell us about the challenge of redesigning the society. For those of you willing to invest yourselves in reading and considering what follows, we ask for two considerations. First, please resist the temptation to dismiss these ideas as "naive." We have many faults and shortcomings but we have buffered ourselves from that failing. We have worked carefully to consider the complexities in the creation, buy-in and application of our ideas. Second, please do not measure the desirability of this model against some conceptually perfect scenario that would manage to do all things for all people and interests. It is perfectly reasonable to measure what this conceptual vehicle can do for Bosnia compared to the current reality of the political system or against even today's system with modest reform.

At the risk of over-simplifying, one might see Bosnia today characterized by a bus sitting on the shoulder of a highway unable to move meaningfully down the road toward an undetermined destination (or perhaps any destination). Other busses and societies are speeding by focused predictably on their own journeys. This project (our model vehicle) then pulls up to the Bosnia bus offering a newly designed bus – no cost, no obligation. The reaction of some (perhaps most) is we don't like the color of your bus. We don't like the size of the tires. We don't like the manufacturer of the engine. Etc. Reasonable insights from a skeptical public! However, the reaction veils the real choice: a bus that will carry the population to a destination versus one that cannot. It can be an unsettling choice to be sure. And it is reasonable to question the motives of those offering the new option. Permit me to put that concern to rest. There is no selfish motive in what is offered here. It has searched, in a benevolent way, for a human

solution to an essentially de-humanized reality. It would seem reasonable to reject this model if it genuinely is believed that it will function less effectively and less responsively than what exists today. Otherwise, we argue, it desires your serious consideration.

In the course of this project, we have encountered a number of scenarios that capture the radically different levels of political concern and hope for Bosnia. One scenario with the greatest probability is the one where the international community retains a merely glancing eye on developments in Bosnia and trusts that the system will drift to a mediocre but acceptable future. Such a passive, "finger-in" approach becomes the default option when no agreement or courage is forthcoming either from within or without. A second scenario is built around embracing the notion that all politics is local and that small municipalities offer the best hope for citizen understanding and acceptance of rules and policies. This model promotes de-centralization because it is believed that centralization is simply not an option. Duplication, unevenness and inefficiency are embraced because there is no way to rationalize the society as a whole. A third scenario is constructed with the above premise but carries the argument to its logical conclusion: that the unwillingness of groups to live together should be accepted and that all groups should be provided the option of independence particularly if they conclude that they are "unprotected" by central authorities. This case, germinating from a notion of the "right of peaceful secession," portends a continuing spiral of new mini-states that may lack any basis for their own sustainability or stability. This scenario is comfortable with "re-engineering borders" with little consideration for the consequences. This was precisely what happened when three leaders of Soviet republics met in Minsk and triggered the disintegration of the USSR. Still another scenario in vogue in Washington is the notion that "Dayton" is an unfinished platform for Bosnian politics and that a Dayton 2 can build upon that platform and steer positive change. If Americans think this is possible; Bosnians know better. The "entities" and the concentric circles of administration created by Dayton enable far too many elements in the system to block or stifle ANY public policy. Dayton 2, if it is the option of the international community, will result in a hollow and ineffective gesture by the international community to caring about Bosnia. It will, in fact, be an exercise to massage the conscience of the western leadership.

These are the options against which this Initiative must be evaluated. It is built upon the central notion that the people of Bosnia are more than just Serb, Croat or Bosniak. They are workers, family members, Europeans, creatures of conscience, consumers, people of faith and many other identities which can challenge that they are trapped by their singular ethnic identities and fears. If, as some suggest, it is true that the people of Bosnia cannot or will not recognize goals other than those driven by nationalist identity, then the system created herein to thrust Bosnia into a brighter future will not find traction. We reject that cynical view and

persist in seeking, with our Bosnian friends, a healthy and productive society in southeastern Europe.

Element 1 **CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS & VALUES** *See Figure A*

The proposed constitution will aspire to do three practical things. First, it will specify in clear and understandable terms what the people of Bosnia can expect from the government in terms of guarantees ("rights"). It avoids exotic and futuristic language that sets goals that glow with sweeping promises but pales in terms of the lives of the citizenry. The key notion is that legitimacy for a new system will congeal around realism and the observable reality that every person can "see" when the government does what it says it will. The long term vision for society will be framed by the Bosnian commitment to full and active membership of Bosnia in the European family of peoples.

Second, the constitution will frame the relationships among component parts of the system that have responsibility to the people. Parts of government are designated, with mechanics for governing and responsibilities. The delicate balance required is to both empower and restrain those who fill the leadership and administrative positions.

Third, it will purposively build in the paths by which the citizens can engage and influence the management of society thus insuring the genuine democratic texture of the political system. Elections are insufficient bases for a democratic society. Political scientists affirm that the texture of the relationship between people and government between elections will more meaningfully characterize a democratic society. The modest size of Bosnia makes it possible to design into the system direct and meaningful options for citizens acting individually or collectively.

The proposed Bosnian constitution and all other recommendations embedded in this proposal are predicated on the pursuit of six broad and critical political values. These shape the commitments built into this architecture on the "front-end" of this process as well as providing the yardstick by which one can measure the efficacy of the model. The six are: tolerance, voice, legitimacy, transparency, obligation and constraint.

Tolerance is a broad political value that triggers the behaviors that are essential to create and sustain democracy. But its necessity goes well beyond that. Capitalism requires tolerance in the form of appreciation for the intrinsic value of competition. The education system that is required in a democratic setting can only be premised on intellectual tolerance – that is, an environment where a full range of ideas find expression. Democracy does not compel us to like, value or promote competing ideas, groups, leaders, firms or products. It demands that we tolerate them. In essence, to agree in advance to co-exist with such things to which others attach value. In this crucial sense, tolerance is the basis for inclusion. That, in turn, can reduce the sense of victimization -- or in more positive terms, can induce a minimum level of comfort among the governed.

Obligation is the idea that government is mandated to seek out and mirror public sentiment, and to pursue publicly-defined interests, albeit selectively and on its own schedule. This involves the structures which are built into the political architecture of the system. Legislatures, interest groups and editorials may serve as examples. It also requires leadership behavior that frames, reinforces and institutionalizes the mandate. In a democracy, this is not an option. Obligation provides focus for those governing and compels them to appreciate the ruminations of the masses.

Voice is an element that represents potential power as much as manifest power in a political system. The channels need to be open, accessible, and understood by the general public, even though they may be used intermittently. In political systems, voice is the capacity to send a signal, the confidence that it will be heard, and the potential that it will resonate between elites and masses. Democracies create public space for coalescing and manifesting voice. Perception of this commitment in the minds of both rulers and those ruled is key.

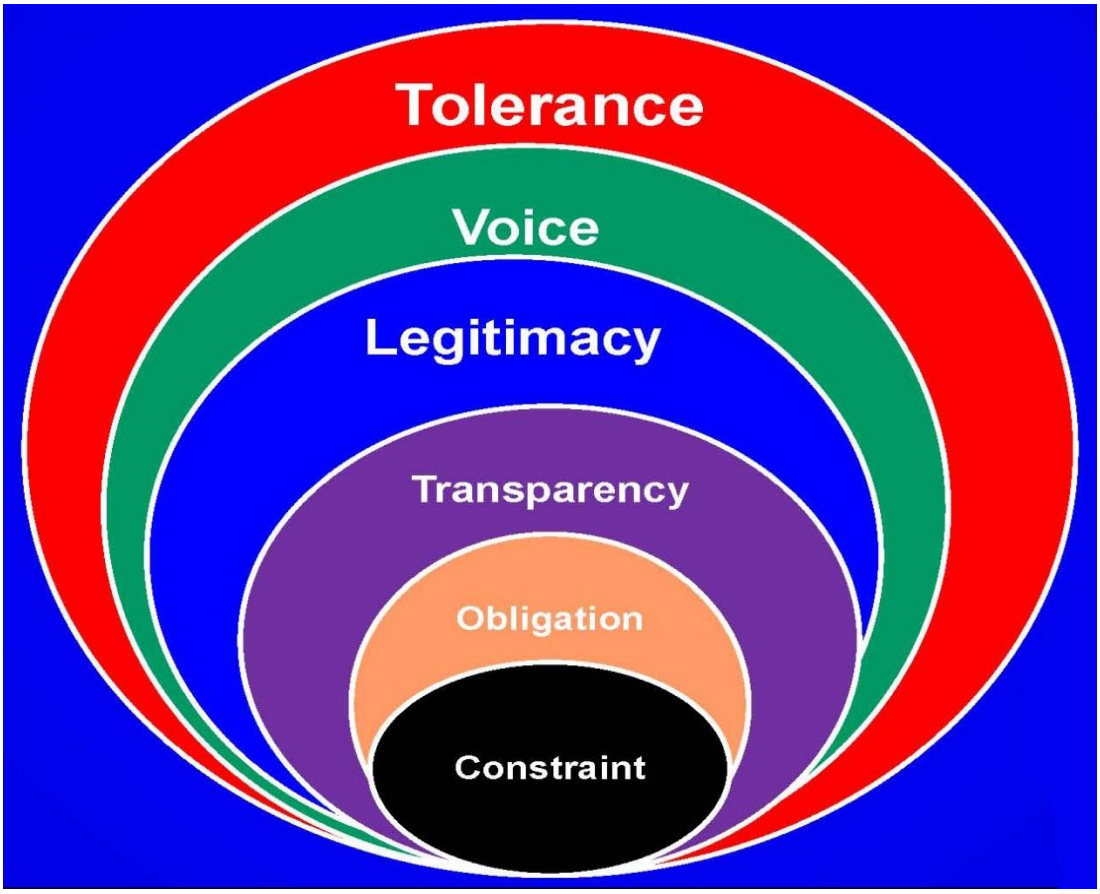
Constraint is the notion that those in power understand and accept that they are constrained to curb their impulses to exercise authority. This involves behavior that conforms to system mandates and the appreciation for the need to impose on oneself added boundaries to promote the balance between individual and collective interests in the society. Political authorities are expected to be both constrained and restrained in their conduct.

Transparency is a rather straightforward idea. If democracy compels the governed to have opinions and play some role in interacting with those in power, the governed must be able to see what, who and when authority is being exercised. Given that this does not happen naturally in bureaucracies, the system must design windows that can shed light on operations, decisions and administration when the public or its agents choose to scrutinize the authorities. Commitment to procedures that make this possible and productive is central to democratic processes.

Legitimacy is the vision that the governed have of those in authority. As such, it may reflect many of the assessments made of the other five dimensions. The public is the singular source of legitimacy – specifically, the sense that those in power achieved that authority by proper, established (prescribed) means. It may be measured periodically but is, in fact, a persistent and fluid factor in the texture of any political system. If, as suggested here, legitimacy is a requisite for democracy, then one crucial role for the public is set in stone. They will have the responsibility to accept or reject the path to power. With this established, it is predictable that they will also evaluate the leadership.

Figure A

Basic Values



It is certainly also a goal to have the six values mesh in creating accountability. While affected by many internal and external factors, accountability is the ultimate insurance that leaders and others will act in constructive ways and in a manner that connects leaders to their work.

The six elements outlined here are broad conditions that will be nurtured if a political system is to set its course toward democracy. In real political and policy terms, these values can appear to conflict with one another. In those cases, the political system should have *a priori,* albeit preliminary, notions of its hierarchy of these values. Given Bosnia's reality, we recommend that "tolerance" trump all other pursuits when such conflicts surface.

Apart from these systemic goals, the recommended political architecture must meet other standards. It must be understandable, supportable, sustainable, EU compatible, change-inducing, efficient and adaptable. The dynamic nature of the world and of contemporary Europe dictates that the people of BiH embrace and acknowledge adaptability as a key value. The people must recognize that reasoned, orderly change and fine tuning of the system will be a constant.

Reiterating that the framing premise in this constitution will be the requisite to guarantee ONLY those commitments that can genuinely be delivered, the following is an inventory of principles. The italicized words are intended to be included in a constitutional document.

Voice / Speech

All BiH citizens have a right to articulate and advocate their views and interests. This right is abridged ONLY when such a person or persons advocates violence or harm to other members of society.

Public Access to Information

All BiH citizens have a right to access any information held by the government on themselves or a family member who is under 18 regardless of its content or nature.

Role of the Media

The media in all its forms has a responsibility to provide accurate and truthful information to the public. All information appearing in any media that cannot be factually validated must be labeled "opinion."

Mobility

All BiH citizens are entitled to live, work and travel within Bosnia without limitation. Citizens who are not under indictment or sentence have the right to a passport.

Education

All persons between the ages of five and sixteen shall have access to free public education at an appropriate level. Resources will be made available for children with "special needs" or disabilities.

Health Care for Special Populations

All persons under eighteen shall be provided with free immunizations and emergency or trauma health care. Pregnant women of all ages shall receive pre-natal medical care,

delivery and short-term maternal medical services following delivery. All medical personnel and facilities are obligated to provide this care at no cost to the patient. All members of the population shall be entitled to free emergency or trauma care at any facility available.

Common Treatment

The Bosnian state shall embrace the principle of common and universal treatment for all citizens regardless of physical, ethnic, religious, gender or national characteristics.

Legal Procedures

All persons in Bosnia shall have equal standing under the law with regard to rights and privileges. Equal standing shall be understood to include equality, regularity and predictability in the processes and procedures used in the adjudication of any legal proceeding.

Limits on Political Authority

All officeholders shall respect the legal limits of their authority. Leaders must embrace both the letter and the intent of constraint on government authority.

Protection for Children, Women, People with Disabilities

Given Bosnia's commitment to sensitively nurturing the human condition, Bosnia shall strive to provide policies that protect its children, women and people with disabilities to the extent that resources are available. BiH shall broaden and deepen this commitment over time and conform with all European and international covenants on these populations.

Suffrage

All registered residents of BiH 18 years old and older are entitled to vote in all elections for the executive positions and in all elections for their age-segment in legislative elections. Convicted felons shall be excluded from participation while institutionalized. Persons with intellectual disabilities shall be enfranchised if they indicate at the time of voting they understand that they are casting a ballot for a political office.

Element 2 **<u>The DESIGN FOR THE EXECUTIVE</u>** *See Figure B & C*

The current political architecture of Bosnia enables multiple actors to block decisions or policies. The political dialogue in Bosnia today is dominated by the discussion of these structural "barriers." They are design features of the Dayton Accords platform and once had useful, if short-term, purpose. Following our own prescription, we advocate facing forward and focusing on what the new design is meant to achieve. The new model is designed to:

(a) Recast the Executive to <u>enable</u> policy-making by removing most "barriers"
(b) Refocus the political dialogue in the government and in the society at large –

from the past to the future & from differences among peoples to common purpose

(c) Eliminate redundancy
(d) Induce the creation of idea-based and platform-based politics

It proposes to do these things by promoting tolerance through non-partisan elections (i.e. no political party affiliation for candidates) that encourage focus on political platforms rather than ethnic identities and divisions. With a "run-off" provision requiring 50% plus 1 to win, this system insures that no candidate could win with an exclusively ethnic appeal or support.

This model proposes to increase government legitimacy by balancing the voices in the "Executive Circle." The proposed Executive includes eleven persons who will make executive decisions by majority rule. The composition is: President, four Vice Presidents, Premier (MP chosen by the legislature to serve in both the legislature and the Executive Circle), and five Ombudsmen. These eleven collectively make executive decisions. The President is the functional chair of the group. This can be understood as an executive cabinet. The balance comes from the variety of perspectives brought to any deliberation. The President and the VPs are elected by all the people. Each VP heads a Super Ministry (one of four) and has presumably special understanding of the needs and problems in that specific policy realm. The Premier is from the legislature and has the position in the Executive Circle by the support of a majority of MPs in the legislature. He/she remains in the Executive Circle only as long as he/she maintains their "confidence." Finally, five members of the Executive Circle are ombudsmen nominated by the Executive Circle and endorsed by the legislature. They are the most direct link between the people and the Executive. Each has a specific area of policy concern and expertise and is linked explicitly with one super ministry. These five are full members of the Executive Circle. Thus the "balance." All eleven members have specific terms and staggering insures that wholesale changes are not made at any one moment in time.

It proposes to reinforce accountability by more clearly linking the executive leadership with the ministries, the legislature, interest groups and the citizenry. Each element has voice, a place at

the "table," and an ability to scrutinize and negotiate with the others. It may also be argued that being structurally forced to interact, the various elements may develop a greater appreciation for their common goals.

It proposes to enhance the citizens' voice in government by providing a direct link to the Executive Circle via the ombudsmen. Though ideas that percolate from the public by way of the ombudsmen are likely to be distilled and modified, the image that the common man has an immediate potential for input could prove most valuable for the perception of the new system.

President

The President shall be elected in a non-partisan general election (i.e. system-wide voting) with IRV (instant run-off voting). This system establishes a winner even if the first count of the vote indicates that no candidate received 50% plus one of the initial votes. The term shall be five years. A president may run for re-election once. The President shall be one of eleven votes in the Executive Circle and shall be charged with chairing the meetings of the Executive Circle.

Vice-Presidents

There shall be four vice-presidents each elected in non-partisan general elections. A candidate must declare his/her candidacy for a specific vice-presidency, the VP for Education, or the VP for External Affairs, or VP for Economy & Budget, or VP for Health & Human Services. IRV will be used for these elections. The VPs are elected for four year terms. Two contests will be held every two years. VPs can be re-elected one time. Each elected VP shall serve as the administrative head of the appropriate ministry. VPs shall each have one of the eleven votes in the Executive Circle.

Premier

The Premier will be elected by a majority of the MPs in the legislative chamber and will be a member of the Executive Circle with one of eleven votes. The individual holding that position will change whenever the legislature chooses to support another person in this role. To be premier, one must have been elected to the legislature as an MP. (see details on election of MPs)

Ombudsmen

Five persons shall hold the position of ombudsmen with specific policy-area responsibilities. These officials shall make themselves available to the members of the general public from whom ideas, complaints and issues will be directed to the government. The ombudsman is the conduit directly into the appropriate ministry and/or the Executive Circle. Four of the five

are tasked with issues linked to one of the four Super Ministries (Education, External affairs, Health & Human Services, and Economy & Budget). A fifth is charged with issues specifically relating to "state guaranteed rights" and is linked to the Ministry of Health & Human Services. Individual ombudsmen are nominated by the Executive Circle and approved by a majority of the legislature for a term of four years. Two new ombudsmen take their positions in one cycle; three in the alternate cycle. These appointment cycles are scheduled two years apart. Each ombudsman shall have a vote in the Executive Circle.

Executive Election Rules (President & Vice Presidents)

Elections shall be non-partisan elections.

Campaigns shall be limited to four weeks.

Candidates are required to participate in open, public, broadcast forums to present their platforms. These forums will be scheduled by the Central Election Authority.

The only candidate media advertising permitted shall be the rebroadcast or reprinted segments of official candidate forums.

Campaign funding and spending shall be limited by legislation and strictly enforced.

IRV elections require the voter to rank their choices among candidates for a specific office (i.e. 1,2 3, etc.). If a candidate gets a majority of the first choice votes, he/she is elected. If not, the last place candidate is "defeated", and all ballots are counted again. The recount then counts the second choice on the ballots of the defeated candidate. Recounting continues in this same pattern until one candidate receives a majority of the votes.

Figure B

Executive Design

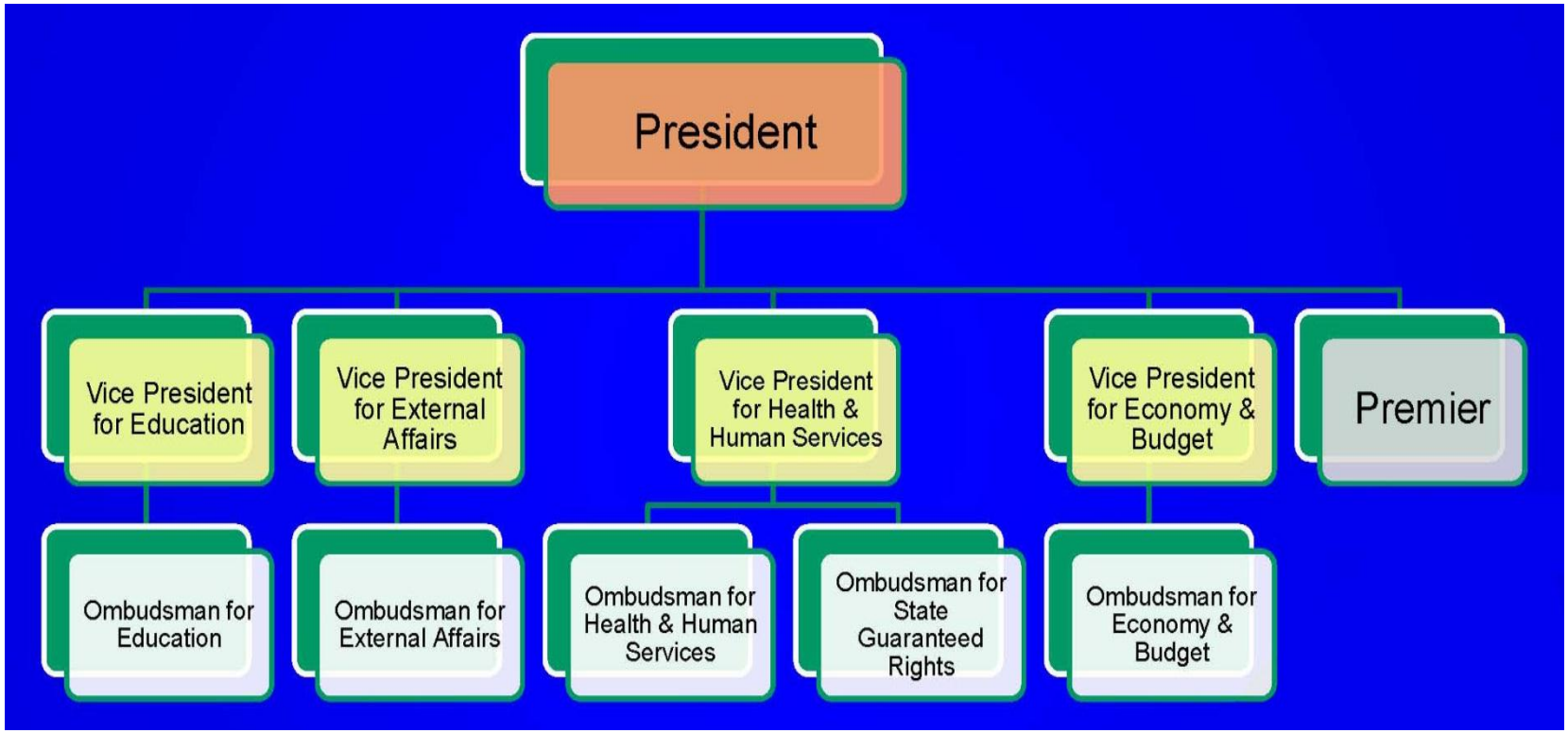


Figure C

Sample IRV Ballot

For President:

Slava ☐

Mirko ☐

Ivo ☐

Josip ☐

Ali ☐

For VP Education:

Alija ☐

Vlad ☐

Mladen ☐

Jasmina ☐

Element 3 **MINISTRIES OF GOVERNMENT** *See Figure D*

The current complexity, redundancy and overlapping responsibilities of the current administrative agencies cries out for re-organization, improved clarity of responsibility and enhanced efficiency. "De-centralization" in the current format has resulted in policy-making chaos and inertia. Both effective management and transparent access by citizens and groups requires that the government be organized in ways and in terms that all BiH persons can understand. The four suggested components of government can embrace all of the currently disparate elements of the government. Many of those remain necessary but can find new perspective and effectiveness in a larger administrative and policy-recommending framework.

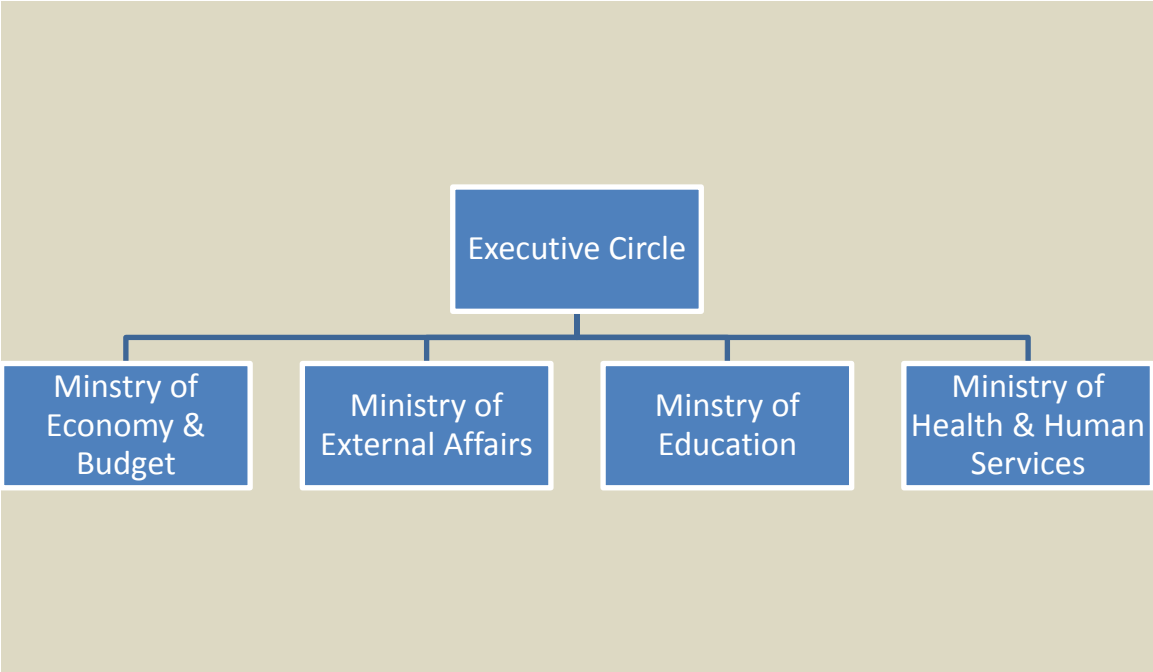
Ministries

Four super ministries shall be established. Ministry of Economy & Budget; Ministry of Education; Ministry of External Affairs; Ministry of Health & Human Services. All other administrative agencies and units shall be folded into one of these organizations. The administrative head of each of these will be the Vice-president elected for each policy-specific position. Each ministry shall also have a "permanent secretary" which functions as a non-elected, professional (non-political) administrative manager in each ministry. This role serves the VP of each ministry and counsels on ministry continuity and policy memory. Each ministry is also obligated to give a special "ear" to the ombudsman assigned to that policy realm.

All public office holders must respect the limits of their authority, interpreting the boundaries of their authority as narrowly as consistent with the need to perform their function.

Figure D

Super Ministries



Element 4 **<u>ADMINISTRATIVE DISTRICTS</u>** *See Figure E*

The "Entities" with their separate forms of local administration and government are a problem. They represent the presumption that all interests -- political, economic and social – are best organized around ethnic geography. This has given credibility to ethnic politics of the most crude sort. People in certain regions often do have common interests stemming from occupation, environment, local needs, economic potential, etc. By creating districts which have the greatest prospect of reflecting these factors, the system can press ahead to meet these needs. When policy is made it will speak to all those sharing the issue or problem not only to those with a particular ethnic identity.

BiH shall be divided into ten administrative districts which will function to accommodate the application and assessment of public policies. These are administrative districts and are required to implement policies emanating from the central government. Elections will be organized in these districts but will be tallied system-wide in both executive and legislative elections. Five districts are urban districts with proximate populations and five districts are rural districts also with proximate populations. Urban districts are: Sarajevo, Banja Luka, Tuzla, Zenica, and Mostar. These districts shall include areas surrounding the formal cities to reach the desired population figure. Rural districts are: Northwest, North Central, Northeast, Southwest and Southeast as indicated on the official district map.

Figure E

New Districts

Element 5 **<u>The DESIGN OF THE LEGISLATURE</u>** *See Figure F*

The legislative design also requires major innovation. The current multiple legislative arrangement is dysfunctional. The new design seeks to insure representation of ALL elements of the population by implementing **partisan proportional representation elections.** One key advantage of this system is that it detaches the MPs from a narrow commitment or allegiance to a locale which may have an exclusive ethnic texture or special baggage from the conflict in the 1990s. It is also designed to insure generational representation by creating an age-based quota allocation of seats in the parliament. The premise here is that young adult Bosnians have a critical role to play in the creation and evolution of the new Bosnia. They may bring a more focused concern about the long-term future of the country and are the group who must make the decision to remain and contribute to the country's future. The generational representation in the legislature is a guarantee of that role.

There is a perceived need to explicitly and organizationally commit to re-linking those who fled or were driven from Bosnia during the conflict. This can be accomplished by underlining their role by guaranteeing them a voice (albeit a modest one) in the legislature. Three seats in the parliament shall be designated for person from the Bosnian diaspora.

By far the most pressing objective is to create a design that nurtures legislators who have the broad system's interest and future in focus and 'at heart.'

To reiterate, the proposed system will encourage tolerance by holding proportional representation partisan elections that will require citizens to vote for a "party list" based upon a party's political platform rather than for ethnic individuals. It will improve legitimacy by segmenting the legislature into three age divisions to insure that Bosnians of all ages are, and recognize that they are, represented. We anticipate that this will also encourage new ideas. It is very probable that the dialogue and issue framing that takes place within political parties will also be affected by the need to run candidates from each of the three age segments.

Assembly Structure

The legislature shall be a single chamber with ninety-three members. Thirty seats will be reserved for successful candidates eighteen to thirty-five years old at time of entry. Thirty seats will be reserved for successful candidates **thirty-six and fifty-three** ***years old at time of entry, and thirty seats will be reserved for successful candidates fifty-four and older. Three seats shall be reserved for members of the diaspora – one from North America, one from Europe and one from any other region regardless of age. These three seats shall have special electoral provisions and mechanics. The term of office shall be four years. Half of the members (half of each segment) will be elected every two years. The parliament shall***

convene before the tenth of January of every year and recess, but not adjourn, as it prescribes. The legislature shall determine its internal rules and procedures.

Election Rules for MPs

To be listed as a candidate by any political party, a person must be a citizen of BiH, make public an affidavit of past crimes and offenses, and be within the age range for the position sought. Political parties must publicly disseminate a list of fifteen candidates numbered one through fifteen in each age segment. This information must reach voters in all ten districts at least one month before the election. The official political platform of the party must also be posted on a website and in the popular media in all districts. During legislative election campaigns, this must be done once each week. Political parties are prohibited from linking themselves or focusing their appeal to a single ethnicity. Vote totals in each age segment will be tallied system-wide and the percentage of votes received by a political party will be the percentage of the fifteen contested seats assigned to that party. If one such listed person is "elected," it shall be the first person listed on the "party list" and if others are elected the candidates shall be taken in order from the party's list. Campaigns shall be restricted to four weeks prior to the election. Candidates #1 through #10 from a party list shall be required to participate in one open candidate forum in one district.

Campaign funds and campaign advertising will be limited by specific legislation. No party or candidate may receive funds from foreign sources. Each party must publicly list all donations in the popular media. Business corporations and worker unions may not contribute to electoral campaigns.

Powers of the Legislature & Policy-creation

The following policies require a simple majority vote: new legislation, the budget, regulating commerce, and other policy-making except for the following types. Amending the constitution, impeachment of members of the Executive Circle, or a declaration of war shall require a ¾ vote of the legislature.

Policies of all sorts can be initiated by the Executive Circle, a legislator, a minister, or an ombudsman. It should first receive support (vote at appropriate level) in the legislature and then a majority of the Executive Circle. It shall then become a policy for the state of BiH.

The legislature shall elect by simple majority one of its members (from any segment) to serve as "premier." This person will chair the sessions of the legislature, formally call it into session, and serve as a full voting member of the Executive Circle. The premier's role in the Executive Circle will continue as long as the premier retains the "confidence" of the majority of the legislature.

Figure F

Legislative Design

1 Premier	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
21									30
31									40
41									50
51									60
61									70
71									80
81									90
91 Diaspora	92 Diaspora	93 Diaspora							

Figure G

Sample Legislature Ballot

For Legislators 18-35: (vote for one political party)

☐ *Social Reform Party*	☐ *Radical Party*	☐ *Conservative Party*	☐ *Liberation Party*
1. Zoran	*1. Alina*	*1. Marko*	*1. Branka*
2. Saad	*2. Georg*	*2. Mario*	*2. Biljana*
3. Darko	*3. Dusko*	*3. Dusan*	*3. Milos*
4. Milan	*4. Gigi*	*4. Miro*	*4. Katarina*
5. David	*5. Omar*	*5. Iva*	*5. Zoran*
6. Bosko	*6. Alex*	*6. Anya*	*6. Radovan*
7. Lana	*7. Amma*	*7. Vladimir*	*7. Ratko*
8. Katya	*8. Kamal*	*8. Milorad*	*8. Bojana*
9. Milo	*9. Gaspar*	*9. Janet*	*9. Alina*
10. Lazslo	*10. Ion*	*10. Jacques*	*10. Faad*
11. Berta	*11. Nicolae*	*11. Tatiana*	*11. Veronica*
12. Peotr	*12. Renne*	*12. Karl*	*12. Drago*
13. Ali	*13. Isabel*	*13. Yuri*	*13. Deda*
14. Faad	*14. Ahmed*	*14. Jasenka*	*14. Nikola*
15. Elizabeth	*15. Lidia*	*15. Otto*	*15. Keka*

Element 6 **<u>The DESIGN FOR THE JUDICIARY</u>** *See Figure H*

The judiciary has a credibility problem owing to its opaque qualities. Public opinion has not endowed the current judiciary with confidence given that its role is to defend and protect the common person from the arbitrary exercise of power by the state. These qualms may not be well deserved but change is required to address the problems nonetheless. This design is directed at creating and implementing a functioning judicial system that is trusted, reliable, consistent and scaled to the country's needs. The ultimate goal is the creation of a system which is validated in the eyes of the citizenry.

The district and appellate courts will make up the backbone of the judicial process.

BiH shall have a civil law system. Bosnia shall have a single, unified commercial code, based upon Civil Law codes of the European states and the European Union, the provisions of which shall be enforced uniformly throughout the country.

The court system shall have three levels: district, appellate and supreme courts. Each level will have a pool of qualified judges from which panels will be drawn to hear cases. The courts will be evenly distributed across the landscape of BiH.

High profile cases involving public officials, corruption and other cases of high public interest shall be held and televised on weekends and evenings to enable the public to see the system at work. Cases involving official misconduct shall be directed initially to the appropriate appellate court.

BiH is entitled to prosecute any and all offenses that are codified in the constitution or in criminal and civil codes.

In criminal cases, the accused has a right to a court appointed attorney and shall be presumed innocent until proven guilty.

Appellate and district court judges shall be recommended by a Judicial Commission and appointed by the president.

District Courts

District court cases shall be heard by a panel of three consisting of one professional judge and two community citizens. Verdicts are handed down when two or more of the panel agree.

Appellate Courts

Appellate court cases shall be heard by a panel of three professional judges assigned to each case from a pool of fifteen. These shall be assigned and rotated among the three appellate regions.

Supreme Court

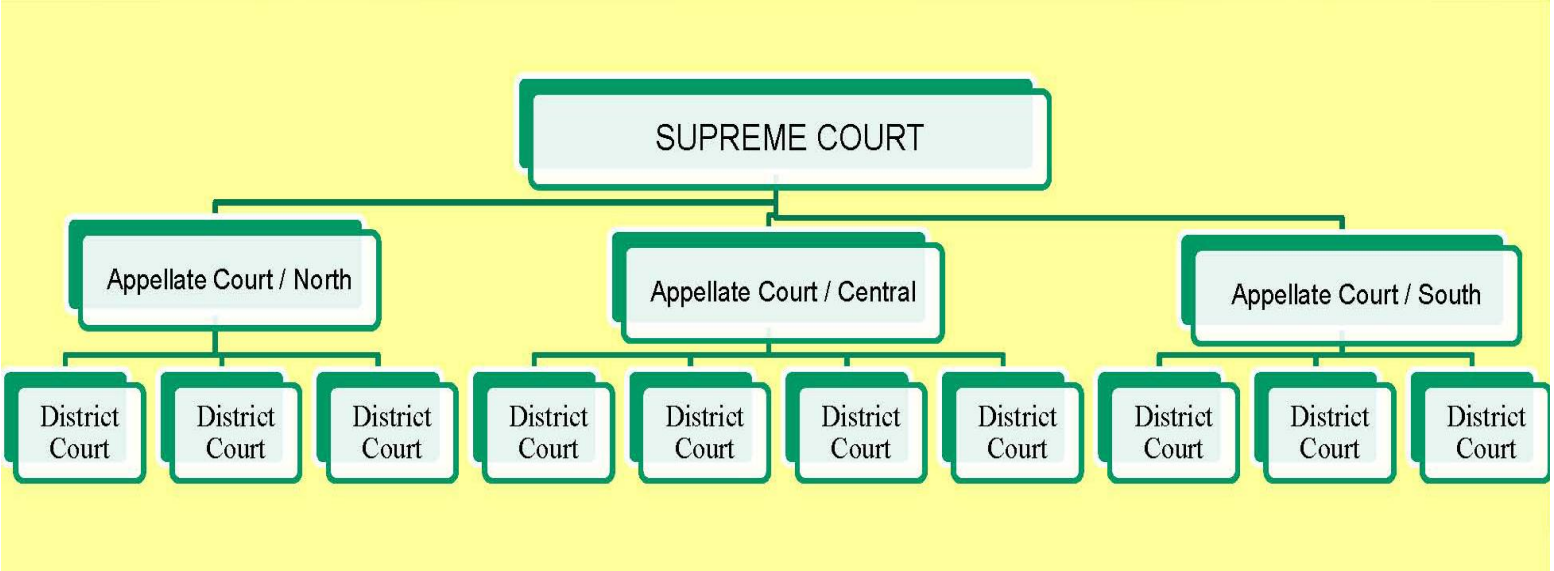
The Supreme Court is the highest court, from which no case may be further appealed. Cases that come before the Supreme Court shall be heard by a panel of five judges.

Judges on the Supreme Court shall be nominated by the Judicial Commission and approved by the Executive Circle. Each will serve a ten year non-renewable term and must have judicial experience in the lower courts to be eligible for appointment. Terms shall be staggered with one new judge appointed every two years. Non-routine vacancies shall be filled for unexpired terms only with no possibility of re-appointment.

In all criminal cases, the accused shall have the right to examine all evidence under the control of the prosecution, the right to remain silent without a presumption of guilt, and the right to appointed counsel.

Figure H

Judicial Design



Element 7 LAW ENFORCEMENT

Naturally, the objective is to create a meaningful component in the political system that can enforce and/or encourage compliance with the rules. This will require a police force that is well-trained, capable, supported and trusted. People should feel both managed and protected by the police. Clearly, the judicial system and the law enforcement mechanisms are altogether dependent upon one another to insure equitable application of the law and systemic order.

Most of the changes in this arena will not find their way into a constitutional document. However, one key organizational element will.

Law Enforcement

BiH shall have an organized police force administered by one central system-wide authority.

Central records, administration and key departments shall be located in a system-wide headquarters in Sarajevo.

All officers, whether newly recruited or veterans, shall undergo regular training (or re-training) including educational programs at the university level required for advancement. There shall be minimum educational standards and minimum test scores for current and new officers. Training must include discussion of the appropriate relationship between rights and privileges of the individual and the authority of the state, the appropriate relationships between police officers and individual citizens and the community at large, the negative consequences of profiling, discrimination, abuse of authority, corruption, and the appropriate use of force against citizens.

Service in the BiH police force should be open to all applicants with competitive, universally administered exams determining appointment. Recruitment paths can include (a) application following service in the "Responsibility Corps," (b) application following military service, or (c) application following university coursework in criminal justice or forensic science. Exceptions can be made for applicants with other extraordinary abilities. All hiring and firing must be approved by the system-wide Police Commission. Newly hired or re-hired officers will be placed on "probation" for five years during which the Police Commission will review performance records including annual reviews by local supervisors.

Officers shall be rotated in their assignments within their administrative district. Each district will have an internal affairs investigator and a staff sufficient for that person to function effectively. There shall be a system-wide standard ratio of officers to population deployed to each district.

One university center (likely Tuzla given its experience with forensic science) will create a program of criminal justice and forensic sciences.

Districts can use civil and criminal fines for their own operations. These will be augmented by funds authorized by central government authorities. These central funds will be carefully balanced among all ten districts.

The BiH Police Commission shall be composed of equal numbers of academics, police administrators, police officers and citizens.

Element 8 <u>The ECONOMY</u>

The economy faces many challenges but that is a given in all countries in the competitive 21st century. The economy has been dramatically impacted by the dysfunctional nature of the political architecture. That design has stifled production, development, marketing and efficiency essential for a competitive and growing economy. The implications for jobs, financial security, investment and revenues have been significant. In particular, segmenting the marketplace to parallel the political and ethnic divisions of Bosnia have created artificial boundaries for all sorts of economic activity. Four objectives emerge that can be meaningfully addressed by altering the political architecture: (1) create conditions for growth, (2) encourage productivity and the work ethic, (3) create jobs, and (4) incentivize improved business - government relations.

Latitude for Business

Commerce and entrepreneurship shall be provided with broad opportunities in Bosnia. Only those products, services or activities specifically prohibited by BiH and EU law shall be prohibited and punishable by law. Unless proscribed by law, all business or economic activity shall be permitted. All commercial enterprises shall have the right to engage in their business throughout the system-wide common market, enjoying the same privileges and immunities as all competing businesses. Taxation on businesses, which is the exclusive domain of the central government, shall not discriminate against any businesses from any area of the country.

Economic Structures

The country shall have a single, unified commercial code including business regulations that shall apply system-wide.

All economic firms duly and legally licensed in BiH shall have the right to engage their businesses in all of BiH. This shall include all production and marketing of goods and services.

Corporate and individual tax regimes and licensing shall be the exclusive domain of the central government.

This last provision is designed to insure that district governments are not able to prevent or delay the development of any business. It does mean that the central authorities will need to work very hard to provide adequate funds for effective district administration. With transparency and a commitment to provide roughly comparable support for the ten districts, businesses will know that the full territory of the country is open to them.

The tax codes must be simple and harmonized with any and all efforts by the districts to raise revenue.

All districts shall have at least one designated “free-enterprise” zone. These zones will be areas where development of industry or agri-business is encouraged via special exemptions, incentives and “tax holidays.”

A special provision shall be created which adjusts a firm’s corporate tax downward in proportion to its hiring workers. A simple ratio with other specific provisions will be created.

It is crucially important to shift large numbers of current public employees to private sector employment. This should be accomplished in increments. Government employees who are retired or whose jobs are eliminated due to re-organization shall be given first opportunity to fill newly created supervisory jobs in the “Responsibility Corps.”

Balkan free trade initiatives should be encouraged and supported.

New businesses requiring licenses or established businesses renewing licenses shall be guaranteed processing and decisions within six weeks of their application. One section of the Ministry of Economy and Budget shall process all applications interfacing as necessary with other government agencies for the applicant. Businesses must be able to deal with just one agency (Office of Business Services) to be licensed.

Element 9 **ANTI-CORRUPTION MEASURES**

Systems of all sorts, sizes and designs experience and seek to reduce corruption. It impacts any system by contorting economic behavior and penalizing the general public by elevating costs of goods and services public and private. The mechanics suggested in this initiative put in place coherent provisions to lessen incidents of corruption. Since corruption is agile and remarkably adaptive, political systems must attempt to minimize motivating factors and opportunities. To address the corrupt behaviors of those who would prefer to behave legally and honestly, government employees especially those in contact with the public should be paid their salaries predictably; and when resources allow, provided with compensation in response to positive performance. These measures can be reinforced with clear and transparent procedures for licensing and receiving publicly available goods.

The public and the media should also have access to the appointment records of all ministry officials and their communications with interest groups.

In response to those in Bosnia who relish in corrupt practices and illegal commerce of all sorts, the system will become more effective in its fight only with increased government efficiency, legitimacy, and public support. To make this kind of progress, it is essential that open bidding be required for all government procurement and construction contracts.

For those corrupt individuals who require confrontation with the system, it is recommended that a standing, professional anti-corruption unit be supported in the prosecutor's office as well as a permanent anti-corruption committee in the parliament. All judicial decisions involving corrupt practices should be aggressively disseminated to the general public.

For long term effectiveness, school education programs should include lessons on the damage that corruption does to all the people and to the country-at-large and its attractiveness as an investment venue. Children should learn that international standards exist and corruption robs the people of their modest resources.

Element 10 **MEDIA MANAGEMENT**

The challenge for any country in formation or in transition is to guide the form and evolution of the media (broadly defined) so that it becomes able to support the system's health and development while exercising its responsibility and independence. This crucial set of players may well be one of the most meaningful predictors of systemic health over time. It is a very delicate balance that must be built into the political architecture.

The challenge is to give all citizens access to information in which they can have confidence. This will require a relationship between media and government that reflects trust and mutual respect without diminishing responsible criticism. The citizenry should also come to see the media as a channel for their voices. In essence, not only a sources of information but also a megaphone for their interests.

Information

Media outlets including broadcast, print, or electronic have a legal responsibility to disseminate information that can be validated. The factual basis of any publicly reported information may be challenged through the legal system. Any information that cannot be validated must be clearly labeled "opinion."

All media outlets must make public their ownership and all funding sources.

No political party may own a radio, television or print news medium.

A government watchdog agency shall be established with the legal authority to rule on the validity of media disseminated information. Decisions of this agency can be challenged in an appellate court.

To constructively connect the media and the government, public funds should be made available to private media companies contingent on the company allocating 5-10% of programming to government authorized public programming.

Element 11 **PUBLIC EDUCATION** *Three Dimensions* *See Figure I*

Higher Education:

BiH shall establish a single state supported University system with four university centers in Sarajevo, Tuzla, Mostar and Banja Luka.

The current situation suffers from lack of credibility, isolation of intellectual communities of students and faculty, and inefficient use of resources. In small countries with limited resources, it is crucial that the system of universities and other advanced academic units be rational and productive. This requires the complete use of all skills and capabilities by prolific interaction among groups. Only in this way will scholars be stimulated and only in this way will the younger generation be ignited in their own academic and professional pursuits. Organizational change, once embraced can ignite the full potential of the people of Bosnia.

More specifically, the changes suggested are designed to: (1) restore faith in the structural integrity of the higher education system, (2) insure objectivity in the admissions process, (3) move deliberately away from ethnically driven standards while moving toward scientific standards that can serve all of Bosnia.

To accomplish these goals, Bosnia shall establish one publicly funded "national" university with four university centers. A "blind" admissions process shall be created for all university centers which would hide (to the extent possible) gender, age, ethnic identity. This may need to include other "clues" including family name or locale of residence. This will require some refinement but this is essential for fair and credible admissions processes.

The reorganization of degree programs among the four centers is important. The four centers in Sarajevo, Tuzla, Banja Luka and Mostar shall offer the full range of "first degree" diploma programs. All will also have advanced foreign language programs. Sarajevo will also house the Center for Advanced and Graduate Studies and offer MBA, LLM, Ph.D., specialized Medicine and Engineering degrees. Each of the other university centers will have the option of which advanced degrees they wish to offer.

All university centers and all students at those centers will be required to take one course in multi-culturalism and development, one foreign language and computer literacy.

Each center will have a cap on full time enrollment and will receive financial support by a simple head count formula. One option would be a 2500 students cap in all first degree programs per university center and 200 students in every advanced program.

Each university center will be responsible for maintaining a ration of faculty ranks by the following guidelines: 40% assistant professors; 40% associate professors; 20% full professors.

Deans shall be elected for five year terms by faculty with all faculty voting (1 faculty member / 1 vote regardless of rank).

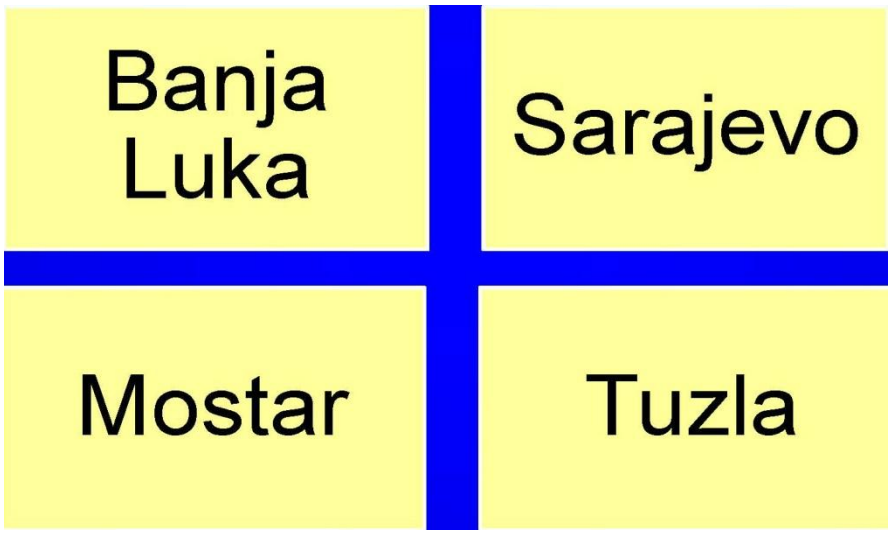
Financial contributions from sources outside BiH to university centers must pass through a special committee of university center rectors and the VP for Education of the State to insure that the funds are not supporting the corruption or principles of the broad university system.

To operate in BiH, a private university must be licensed by the BiH Ministry of Education and must be accredited by a European or American authority. State university centers in BiH shall also be accredited by outside examiners (European or US).

All of these changes will rationalize faculty resources, provide clearer and stronger choices for students, create a genuinely comprehensive system for BiH, and place administrators, faculty, staff and students in an integrated intellectual environment.

Figure I

Four University Centers



"Responsibility Corps"

A state supported program of required service will be established for BiH young adults between the ages of eighteen and twenty. Participants will both contribute to and benefit from their participation. The year of service required of all citizens between the ages of eighteen and twenty years may be postponed or waived upon a judgment that such service will involve a hardship to the server or his or her family.

The objectives of the program are to nurture a feeling of common purpose, amplify the voice of the younger generation and build tolerance through shared experiences. It can create social responsibility and, through the efforts of those working in it, can reconstruct and reinforce all kinds of BiH infrastructure. This obligation will cause Bosnian young adults to feel invested in their country.

The program will require BiH persons between the ages of 18 and 20 to commit one year to the corps to engage in projects of social service or domestic construction or renovation. Participants will be assigned to a locale and will be provided with basic housing and food.

During this year of service, all participants shall receive computer training at the most appropriate of three levels (elementary, intermediate or advanced). All those completing their commitment, will receive a bonus stipend for their pension when they reach 60 years of age.

Youth Rewards Program: "Bosnia's Best"

This program directed at BiH youth in the years of public education is designed to create experience with and faith in participation and achievement. It can reinforce the idea that BiH society is performance based. Systems that have transitioned from socialism often face issues that stem from the impression that "connections" and maneuvering are or can be the most rewarded undertakings. The long term health of BiH depends on replacing this notion with one that the system and individuals in it are most rewarded by the genuine quality of their performance and productivity. This idea is framed best in a child's early years. The "Bosnia's Best" program proposes to reward excellence in academics, art, athletics, public service and other realms deemed worthy by district officials.

The central government (Ministry of Education) will create standards for this recognition at the various levels of public schooling. District officials shall be responsible for the administration and promotion of the program. Actual rewards should be scaled to the interests of the youth. Examples may include travel within Bosnia, visits by BiH celebrities (athletes, artists, musicians, entertainers, scholars), improvements of facilities or equipment, or celebrations of any appropriate sort. Naturally, public visibility for their achievements is also an important "reward."

Libraries

All local libraries in BiH shall be transformed into "Tech Centers." This will not mean that books and other classic library materials will be abandoned. To the contrary, all will remain and be augmented by new computer equipment that will open new frontiers of information. All community members (children and adults) will have the opportunity to take classes in computer literacy and develop their digital skills as resources become available. All libraries, large and small, will be provided with the necessary equipment by the central authorities in Sarajevo. Training for librarians will also be provided by the central authorities.

"E-government" is clearly a priority for future government efficiency and performance. Limited resources in many states would seem to stifle efforts in this direction. However, as BiH libraries are transformed into tech centers, e-government functions can be built in. E-government, when functioning effectively, is a two way dynamic. Bosnians will be able to access new levels and dimensions of information about their government and the broader system via such technological innovations – hardware and software. This will crucially involve business regulations, citizen contact points to government including but not limited to ombudsmen, and

all sorts of forms, licenses and registrations. They should find information about government policies, decisions and processes readily accessible with the barest of digital skills. E-government can also cement its place in the new Bosnian system by using the tech centers as input mechanisms for opinion polling, policy evaluation (and implementation) and referenda (non-binding) when desired. The technical facilities should also serve all voting functions.

On balance, the tech centers become a living link between the citizen and the government; and in a hopeful way, between the citizen and the future.

Element 12 **PEOPLE POWER** *An Overview of this System Redesign*

One of the very premises of this redesign is the notion that if people see the ways in which they are invited to participate in the political system, they will be more engaged. Having VOICE validates people. If they have direct and easy access to their government, they will see it as more credible and legitimate. They may also come to understand that moderation, tolerance, negotiation, patience and political realism are necessary elements of our political world. A system that invites them in is a confident one, an honest one, a caring one.

With these goals at heart, the Chicago Initiative builds in multiple paths for people to have power. It enhances the ability of all citizens to speak truth to power. This design will be recognized for creating five paths to power that are accessible to ALL Bosnians. The five are: **electoral, ombudsmen, interest group, media and legal**. These are channels available to all persons by which they can communicate with and attempt to influence government.

Elections

Elections can routinize and equalize a person's voting power. It can strengthen the linkage between voters and their officials. With these reforms, it is possible to de-link ethnicities and political parties. The proposed architecture will encourage authorities to represent all of the people and reward those who do. The broad public (suffrage for all 18 and older) elect the President, and the four Vice-presidents in a direct and system-wide election at regular intervals. They also vote for political parties to be seated in the legislature insuring that young, middle-aged and senior citizens will both vote for and sit in the legislature. Indirectly their votes impact on the choice of Premier.

Most crucially, the principle of one person; one vote is guaranteed. All votes regardless of location are counted by a common procedure and with common weight.

Ombudsmen

Perhaps the most direct and potentially powerful link between people and government is the ombudsman. This is a person with the explicit responsibility to listen to any and all people with issues of a particular kind. This design includes five such officials each tied to a particular ministry (Education, External Affairs, Economy & Budget, Health & Human Services, Constitutional Rights). More significant still is the significant power vested in these persons as five of the eleven in the Executive Circle. Conditioned by their judgment, they represent a powerful element in what is done in the system. They have a special capacity to channel ideas through the ministry to which they are attached and which has an obligation to listen. They can also directly impact the Executive Circle if the problem is acute enough in their opinions. They

have an obligation to not only listen to inputs but to move about the country to enable common people to access them.

Interest Groups

Each ministry will publicly identify interest groups that will have special and priority access to those ministries. These identified groups must have open membership.

Naturally, interests will coalesce in any system and people will come together to promote their support, issues or demands. Thus groups will form that frame civil society. However, this project suggests that while all groups should be able to form, some groups should be given special status and opportunity to access government. This arrangement is called "neo-corporatism." It is advocated because it has the ability to insure access by obligating the government in advance of any specific grievance to listen first to those pre-identified groups. This does not preclude other groups with similar messages from existing nor does it marginalize their messages. It simply prioritizes the sequence by which government will listen. This can be very valuable in that pensioners, for example, know in advance that they can be a part of the designated organization that the government will listen to first on their issues. Such neo-corporatist interest groups (the one's given priority) must be open to all members who wish to belong and must responsibly aggregate the interests of its membership in exchange for this special access. If either of these conditions is violated, a change in prioritized grops can be made.

The net effect of this design is that all people with a concern for issue X, can know that they have another effective channel for expressing that interest. This reinforces the notion that the system is predictable and one's access to it is predictable.

Media

The various media serve to bring information to people. But they can also function to channel public sentiment to the government. The proliferation of media companies and media types especially computer-based information networks will increasingly serve the public as yet another channel for political influence and messaging. Media should be encouraged to designate a portion of their formats to public input on issues of local or system-wide relevance.

Legal

By streamlining the legal system citizens will have easier access and clearer understanding of the system. Building simplicity and predictability in to all legal proceedings will enhance the common man's confidence in the system. As established earlier, all citizens have comparable standing before the law and rights are clear and guaranteed. This means that all citizens have

recourse especially if given the guarantee of legal aid and assistance for defendants in criminal cases. This advantage is compounded as “red tape” is limited by simplifying filing claims, securing licenses, official permits, and official documents of all sorts.

The pursuit of “justice” and “fairness” in any system is a delicate objective. The major step forward here is the creation of understandable and predictable procedures which cannot guarantee positive outcomes but can buffer against arbitrary behavior by the system.

Creating clear, direct points of access in the new political system will have the effect of empowering and legitimizing the system. Encouraging participation and integration can guarantee a functional and responsive system. These five channels go well beyond the breadth of options in many democratic political systems. This represents a formidable commitment in response to a system with profound problems.

Element 13 **PERSUADING THE BiH PUBLIC**

Change is never easy either for those making the decision to change nor for those having to transition. It is natural for all parties to approach such initiatives with caution and criticism. In fact, it is vitally important that this be done. While healthy, such reaction can result in such delay that nothing new happens. For BiH this can be devastating. All public policy-makers know that the optimal choice is never available for any number of reasons. All decisions are, at best, the most positive option for moving ahead at the moment with available resources. The acute danger is that as each segment of persons assessing this initiative find what they do not like in it, they will neglect to balance that with what they think will work.

If each of the actors central to these changes chooses to support some of the ideas and other support different ideas, it is unlikely that anything will happen. This has been the record of recent policy-making in BiH. Every element presented here will have its supporters and detractors. Unfortunately, political systems are "integrated" systems meaning that when you begin to pull pieces out of the machinery, the machine itself fails.

The only solution we have for this dilemma apart from our appeal is that the composite architecture will function. It is engineered to function and produce results – some short-term; many long-term.

It is also our conviction that a carefully designed campaign to emphasize the positive can and should be constructed to enlist support of the broad public. This requires the same sort of careful planning that the redesign does. The campaign is called **"Sve Zajedno 20:20"** It asks all Bosnians to face forward together and to see clearly both the issues and these proposals as the solutions. 20:20 is normal perfect vision. It is also a target date by which results can be expected.

It will require enlisting many sectors of the public that can effectively serve as "opinion-makers." Tapping into key advocates (supporters) – athletes, artists, media personalities, religious leaders, entertainers, academics, entrepreneurs, musicians, community leaders, even politicians -- can create momentum for change by emphasizing the positive. We can learn from our marketing colleagues that coordination of messages and penetration of an information environment can enhance acceptance. Infomercials, documentaries, testimonials, symbols in pop culture can all serve to reinforce a message for change.

This can be important not only for the public's willingness to try the new architecture but also to create momentum for the realization of the goals of the initiative.

Though on the surface of it simple, we are convinced that using popular messaging and fashion, the campaign could become overwhelming. To accomplish this, we will need "opinion-makers"

and everyday folks to wear shirts (of desirable quality and style) which read, “I see _____.” The blank space will be filled with things meaningful to the type of individual wearing it. For example, an unemployed person, I see jobs. An athlete, I see championships. A businessperson, I see investment. A religious leader, I see respect for faith. I see brotherhood or security or opportunity or peace or stability or EU or better schools or good health care or … the possibilities are endless.

The campaign could build momentum through its essential symbol: 20:20. There could be folk songs, pop songs, even graffiti. Each district could create a contest for resident artists and musicians to support the campaign with appropriate rewards.

BiH is in reality a tragically divided and unsettled country reflecting little or no common purpose. Yet all people living in a single country can find such common purpose if encouraged to do so. Everyone wants a better life, more secure and with more opportunity. All people want to be able to trust one another and their government. Sve Zajedno 20:20 is designed to focus attention on those shared ideas and the machinery to bring them to reality.

Element 14 **Projecting ECONOMIC COSTS & PAYOFFS**

BiH is among the political systems in the entire world that fail to construct a workable budget or a functional budgeting system. Under the guise of "de-centralization," it precludes any possibility that the central government could predict or plan functions of a normal governmental sort. The revenue system is dismembered and mysterious. The OECD claims, "The State has almost no revenue sources of its own … and is heavily reliant on transfers from the two Entities and the district of Brčko." The introduction of indirect taxation (VAT) at the state level could begin to address this problem. Tragically, the revenues are allocated by a Governing Board composed of the Ministers of Finance of the State and the two Entities. The Board is chaired by the OHR, creating remarkably cumbersome management of the budget. Some believe that the VAT will result in a reduction of the rampant tax evasion in the country but the record is not yet clear. The Consolidated Budget of the State and the Entities defines Entity contributions to the State. However, these contributions are also subject to negotiation between the Entities, Brčko, and the State. One expert describes the parts of the economy as bloated, fractured, turf conscious, inefficient, and stifled by red tape, capricious laws, rampant corruption, venality, nepotism, and cronyism. Clearly, not a pretty picture.

BiH has managed to create a Central Bank, stabilize its currency, introduce a banking and treasury system, target corruption, and address some pension issues. It has negotiated trade agreements with the EU and its neighbors though trade among the internal parts of BiH is minimal. It continues to suffer from foreign investor disinterest. Revenue streams are problematic and the threat of emigration is constant. External debt, aid dependency (including émigré's remittances) and illicit commerce are heavy weights on the system's future. Agriculture is non-competitive except in very localized markets. Bosnia has been called an "economy in search of a state."

Because reliable figures are not readily available that would sketch the current cost basis of the central government and because that in itself would be a mere skeleton of the costs associated with the functioning Entities, it is nearly impossible to make a confident projection about how the Chicago Initiative package of changes would compare.

The actual direct costs for administration of the new model would certainly be less than is currently the case. Ministries will be folded into the four Super Ministries and the massive duplication reduced. The judicial system is also streamlined and pared. In essence, we expect bureaucratic costs to be trimmed. By how much it is very difficult to predict. However, it is clear that if the entire package of changes proposed in the Initiative are embraced, the savings will be greater than if the model is sliced into a myriad of pieces.

New costs will be incurred in the reorganization of the universities, in the Responsibility Corps and in the Bosnia's Best program. These along with the transformation of libraries to Tech Centers with a computer skills teaching function are the areas that most easily sell themselves to outside funding sources. External aid for these should be anticipated.

Election costs may remain stable or, with the use of technology, come down modestly. Campaign costs will be controlled and for many will decline.

Police training will add to costs. In the broad perspective, only modestly. Centralization may actually reduce costs to the point of offsetting the increases.

Ombudsmen will add a new budget line but this too should remain modest given that internal travel should not be particularly expensive.

While we do expect the cost structures to change, in the medium term, costs of running the government should go down. However, this veils the very real economic benefit of the restructuring. BiH will have a budget which both leadership and population can scrutinize and understand. This is essential for transparency and accountability. It is critical that BiH demonstrate that it can conform to common state standards in the management of its financial affairs both on the input and the output side.

The very real prospect then is that resources will be marshaled, more rationally and productively allocated, and the system will begin to do what people desperately want it to do.

CONCLUSION

In reality, this is the beginning not the end of the process of change. There is NO conclusion. Only a genuine effort to move the composite ideas toward the crucial decision – to drift ahead or to set an affirmative course with a vessel that neither leaks nor is anchored in place. It is a tough and ominous choice but one that begs for a firm and committed decision.

Appendix A Proposed Constitutional Provisions

Basic Contract between the People of BiH and their Government

I. **Guarantees for ALL the People**
II. **Design & Function of the Executive**
III. **Design & Function of the Legislature**
IV. **Design & Function of the Judiciary**
V. **Rules for the Economy**
VI. **Rules for the Media**
VII. **Design for Public Education**
VIII. **Adopting and Changing the BASIC CONTRACT**

Objective:

The citizens of BiH, in order to create a government and enable it to serve the people, do establish and recognize the institutions and fundamental rights contained herein interpreted in a manner consistent with the structures and processes of the EU.

I. Guarantees for ALL the People

Voice / Speech

All BiH citizens have a right to articulate and advocate their views and interests. This right is abridged ONLY when such a person or persons advocates violence or harm to other members of society.

Public Access to Information

All BiH citizens have a right to access any information held by the government on themselves or a family member who is under 18 regardless of its content or nature.

Role of the Media

The media in all its forms has a responsibility to provide accurate and truthful information to the public. All information appearing in any media that cannot be factually validated must be labeled "opinion."

Mobility

All BiH citizens are entitled to live, work and travel within Bosnia without limitation. Citizens who are not under indictment or sentence have the right to a passport.

Education

All persons between the ages of five and sixteen shall have access to free public education at an appropriate level. Resources will be made available for children with "special needs" or disabilities.

Health Care for Special Populations

All persons under eighteen shall be provided with free immunizations and emergency or trauma health care. Pregnant women of all ages shall receive pre-natal medical care, delivery and short-term maternal medical services following delivery. All medical personnel and facilities are obligated to provide this care at no cost to the patient. All members of the population shall be entitled to free emergency or trauma care at any facility available.

Common Treatment

The Bosnian state shall embrace the principle of common and universal treatment for all citizens regardless of physical, ethnic, religious, gender or national characteristics.

Legal Procedures

All persons in Bosnia shall have equal standing under the law with regard to rights and privileges. Equal standing shall be understood to include equality, regularity and predictability in the processes and procedures used in the adjudication of any legal proceeding.

Limits on Political Authority

All officeholders shall respect the legal limits of their authority. Leaders must embrace both the letter and the intent of constraint on government authority.

Protection for Children, Women, People with Disabilities

Given Bosnia's commitment to sensitively nurturing the human condition, Bosnia shall strive to provide policies that protect its children, women and people with disabilities to the extent that resources are available. BiH shall broaden and deepen this commitment over time and conform with all European and international covenants on these populations.

Suffrage

All registered residents of BiH 18 years old and older are entitled to vote in all elections for the executive positions and in all elections for their age-segment in legislative elections. Convicted felons shall be excluded from participation while institutionalized. Persons with intellectual disabilities shall be enfranchised if they indicate at the time of voting they understand that they are casting a ballot for a political office.

II. Design & Function of the Executive

President

The President shall be elected in a non-partisan general election (i.e. system-wide voting) with IRV (instant run-off voting). This system establishes a winner even if the first count of the vote indicates that no candidate received 50% plus one of the initial votes. The term shall be five years. A president may run for re-election once. The President shall be one of eleven votes in the Executive Circle and shall be charged with chairing the meetings of the Executive Circle.

Vice-Presidents

There shall be four vice-presidents each elected in non-partisan general elections. A candidate must declare his/her candidacy for a specific vice-presidency, the VP for Education, or the VP for External Affairs, or VP for Economy & Budget, or VP for Health & Human Services. IRV will be used for these elections. The VPs are elected for four year terms. Two contests will be held every two years. VPs can be re-elected one time. Each elected VP shall serve as the administrative head of the appropriate ministry. VPs shall each have one of the eleven votes in the Executive Circle.

Premier

The Premier will be elected by a majority of the MPs in the legislative chamber and will be a member of the Executive Circle with one of eleven votes. The individual holding that position will change whenever the legislature chooses to support another person in this role. To be premier, one must have been elected to the legislature as an MP. (see details on election of MPs)

Ombudsmen

Five persons shall hold the position of ombudsmen with specific policy-area responsibilities. These officials shall make themselves available to the members of the general public from whom ideas, complaints and issues will be directed to the government. The ombudsman is

the conduit directly into the appropriate ministry and/or the Executive Circle. Four of the five are tasked with issues linked to one of the four Super Ministries (Education, External affairs, Health & Human Services, and Economy & Budget). A fifth is charged with issues specifically relating to "state guaranteed rights" and is linked to the Ministry of Health & Human Services. Individual ombudsmen are nominated by the Executive Circle and approved by a majority of the legislature for a term of four years. Two new ombudsmen take their positions in one cycle; three in the alternate cycle. These appointment cycles are scheduled two years apart. Each ombudsman shall have a vote in the Executive Circle.

Executive Election Rules (President & Vice Presidents)

Elections shall be non-partisan elections.

Campaigns shall be limited to four weeks.

Candidates are required to participate in open, public, broadcast forums to present their platforms. These forums will be scheduled by the Central Election Authority.

The only candidate media advertising permitted shall be the rebroadcast or reprinted segments of official candidate forums.

Campaign funding and spending shall be limited by legislation and strictly enforced.

IRV elections require the voter to rank their choices among candidates for a specific office (i.e. 1,2 3, etc.). If a candidate gets a majority of the first choice votes, he/she is elected. If not, the last place candidate is "defeated", and all ballots are counted again. The recount then counts the second choice on the ballots of the defeated candidate. Recounting continues in this same pattern until one candidate receives a majority of the votes.

Ministries

Four super ministries shall be established. Ministry of Economy & Budget; Ministry of Education; Ministry of External Affairs; Ministry of Health & Human Services. All other administrative agencies and units shall be folded into one of these organizations. The administrative head of each of these will be the Vice-president elected for each policy-specific position. Each ministry shall also have a "permanent secretary" which functions as a non-elected, professional (non-political) administrative manager in each ministry. This role serves the VP of each ministry and counsels on ministry continuity and policy memory. Each ministry is also obligated to give a special "ear" to the ombudsman assigned to that policy realm.

All public office holders must respect the limits of their authority, interpreting the boundaries of their authority as narrowly as consistent with the need to perform their function.

Interest Groups

Each ministry will publicly identify interest groups that will have special and priority access to those ministries. These identified groups must have open membership.

Administrative Districts

BiH shall be divided into ten administrative districts which will function to accommodate the application and assessment of public policies. These are administrative districts and are required to implement policies emanating from the central government. Elections will be organized in these districts but will be tallied system-wide in both executive and legislative elections. Five districts are urban districts with proximate populations and five districts are rural districts also with proximate populations. Urban districts are: Sarajevo, Banja Luka, Tuzla, Zenica, and Mostar. These districts shall include areas surrounding the formal cities to reach the desired population figure. Rural districts are: Northwest, North Central, Northeast, Southwest and Southeast as indicated on the official district map.

III. Design & Function of the Legislature

Assembly Structure

The legislature shall be a single chamber with ninety-three members. Thirty seats will be reserved for successful candidates eighteen to thirty-five years old at time of entry. Thirty seats will be reserved for successful candidates thirty-six and fifty-three *years old at time of entry, and thirty seats will be reserved for successful candidates fifty-four and older. Three seats shall be reserved for members of the diaspora – one from North America, one from Europe and one from any other region regardless of age. These three seats shall have special electoral provisions and mechanics. The term of office shall be four years. Half of the members (half of each segment) will be elected every two years. The parliament shall convene before the tenth of January of every year and recess, but not adjourn, as it prescribes. The legislature shall determine its internal rules and procedures.*

Election Rules for MPs

To be listed as a candidate by any political party, a person must be a citizen of BiH, make public an affidavit of past crimes and offenses, and be within the age range for the position sought. Political parties must publicly disseminate a list of fifteen candidates numbered one through fifteen in each age segment. This information must reach voters in all ten districts at least one month before the election. The official political platform of the party must also be posted on a website and in the popular media in all districts. During legislative election

campaigns, this must be done once each week. Political parties are prohibited from linking themselves or focusing their appeal to a single ethnicity. Vote totals in each age segment will be tallied system-wide and the percentage of votes received by a political party will be the percentage of the fifteen contested seats assigned to that party. If one such listed person is "elected," it shall be the first person listed on the "party list" and if others are elected the candidates shall be taken in order from the party's list. Campaigns shall be restricted to four weeks prior to the election. Candidates #1 through #10 from a party list shall be required to participate in one open candidate forum in one district.

Campaign funds and campaign advertising will be limited by specific legislation. No party or candidate may receive funds from foreign sources. Each party must publicly list all donations in the popular media. Business corporations and worker unions may not contribute to electoral campaigns.

Powers of the Legislature & Policy-creation

The following policies require a simple majority vote: new legislation, the budget, regulating commerce, and other policy-making except for the following types. Amending the constitution, impeachment of members of the Executive Circle, or a declaration of war shall require a ¾ vote of the legislature.

Policies of all sorts can be initiated by the Executive Circle, a legislator, a minister, or an ombudsman. It should first receive support (vote at appropriate level) in the legislature and then a majority of the Executive Circle. It shall then become a policy for the state of BiH.

The legislature shall elect by simple majority one of its members (from any segment) to serve as "premier." This person will chair the sessions of the legislature, formally call it into session, and serve as a full voting member of the Executive Circle. The premier's role in the Executive Circle will continue as long as the premier retains the "confidence" of the majority of the legislature.

IV. Design & Function of the Judiciary

BiH shall have a civil law system. Bosnia shall have a single, unified commercial code, based upon Civil Law codes of the European states and the European Union, the provisions of which shall be enforced uniformly throughout the country.

The court system shall have three levels: district, appellate and supreme courts. Each level will have a pool of qualified judges from which panels will be drawn to hear cases. The courts will be evenly distributed across the landscape of BiH.

High profile cases involving public officials, corruption and other cases of high public interest shall be held and televised on weekends and evenings to enable the public to see the system at work. Cases involving official misconduct shall be directed initially to the appropriate appellate court.

BiH is entitled to prosecute any and all offenses that are codified in the constitution or in criminal and civil codes.

In criminal cases, the accused has a right to a court appointed attorney and shall be presumed innocent until proven guilty.

Appellate and district court judges shall be recommended by a Judicial Commission and appointed by the president.

District Courts

District court cases shall be heard by a panel of three consisting of one professional judge and two community citizens. Verdicts are handed down when two or more of the panel agree.

Appellate Courts

Appellate court cases shall be heard by a panel of three professional judges assigned to each case from a pool of fifteen. These shall be assigned and rotated among the three appellate regions.

Supreme Court

The Supreme Court is the highest court, from which no case may be further appealed. Cases that come before the Supreme Court shall be heard by a panel of five judges.

Judges on the Supreme Court shall be nominated by the Judicial Commission and approved by the Executive Circle. Each will serve a ten year non-renewable term and must have judicial experience in the lower courts to be eligible for appointment. Terms shall be staggered with one new judge appointed every two years. Non-routine vacancies shall be filled for unexpired terms only with no possibility of re-appointment.

In all criminal cases, the accused shall have the right to examine all evidence under the control of the prosecution, the right to remain silent without a presumption of guilt, and the right to appointed counsel.

Law Enforcement

BiH shall have an organized police force administered by one central system-wide authority.

V. Rules for the Economy

Latitude for Business

Commerce and entrepreneurship shall be provided with broad opportunities in Bosnia. Only those products, services or activities specifically prohibited by BiH and EU law shall be prohibited and punishable by law. Unless proscribed by law, all business or economic activity shall be permitted. All commercial enterprises shall have the right to engage in their business throughout the system-wide common market, enjoying the same privileges and immunities as all competing businesses. Taxation on businesses, which is the exclusive domain of the central government, shall not discriminate against any businesses from any area of the country.

Economic Structures

The country shall have a single, unified commercial code including business regulations that shall apply system-wide.

All economic firms duly and legally licensed in BiH shall have the right to engage their businesses in all of BiH. This shall include all production and marketing of goods and services.

Corporate and individual tax regimes and licensing shall be the exclusive domain of the central government.

VI. Rules for the Media

Information

Media outlets including broadcast, print, or electronic have a legal responsibility to disseminate information that can be validated. The factual basis of any publicly reported information may be challenged through the legal system. Any information that cannot be validated must be clearly labeled "opinion."

All media outlets must make public their ownership and all funding sources.

No political party may own a radio, television or print news medium.

VII. Design for Public Education

Higher Education:

BiH shall have a single, unified public university system, with four university centers in Sarajevo, Tuzla, Mostar, and Banja Luka. Members of the university Board of Trustees shall be appointed by the president, and approved by the parliament by a majority vote.

"Responsibility Corps"

A state supported program of required service will be established for BiH young adults between the ages of eighteen and twenty. Participants will both contribute to and benefit from their participation. The year of service required of all citizens between the ages of eighteen and twenty years may be postponed or waived upon a judgment that such service will involve a hardship to the server or his or her family.

VIII. Ratification and Changing the BASIC CONTRACT

Ratification of this constitution shall be by majority vote of the citizenry after 60 days of public dissemination and discussion.

Amending the Basic Contract (constitution) shall require a ¾ vote of the legislature and a majority vote in the Executive Circle.

APPENDIX B Application Ideas for RESPONSIBILITY CORPS

Researcher: Matthew Graham

Who are the young people of Bosnia and Herzegovina?

- By definition, young people in Bosnia and Herzegovina are individuals between 14 and 29 years of age.
- The Bosnian youth makes up 20 % of the entire electoral body
- 77% of youth want to leave Bosnia, 24% of which want to leave forever without return, while 18% have already taken concrete measures.
- 80% of youth is unsatisfied with the educational system and they think it is old fashioned
- Most frequent reasons for Bosnian youth leaving are: 1. an inefficient educational system, 2. unemployment, 3. a lack of perspective and 4. an unstable political situation.
- Only 1% percent of youth believe they can have an impact on politics
- 6% of youth are members of a political party
- Less than 25% of youth attend elections – the three most frequent reasons for absence during elections for youth are "there is nobody I can vote for," "I am disappointed with the politicians" and "I am not interested."
- There are over 250 youth organizations in BiH, and statistics show that 9% of youth are actively involved in them while 8% volunteer in different organizations
- 48% of youth in BiH regularly use contraceptives
- Use of free time for young people in BiH: in coffee-shops - 78% of youth,
  actively participating in sports - 29%,
  15% of youth regularly use the Internet,
  only 3% of youth regularly go to the movies (few movie theaters)
  50% of them have said to regularly read books

More than half of young people in BiH (55%) smoke cigarettes regularly
while 60% frequently drink alcoholic beverages

Source: UN- Independent evaluation of the national youth policy in Bosnia-Herzegovina
http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unyin/documents/wpaysubmissions/bosnia.pdf

Youth organizations in BiH

There are over 250 youth organizations in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Those are nongovernmental and non-profit organizations that were registered as associations at the level of the entities or the state. Youth organizations represent important institutions for additional education of youth, for their extra curriculum activities, for special services or the support (scholarships, student cards for discounts, international exchanges, youth travels etc.). Toward the end of the 1990s youth organizations themselves were pioneers in bringing down the walls between different ethnic groups in the Balkans through a number of gatherings of youth from all over BiH and former Yugoslavia (for example the School of Peace in the period of 1997-2001) General characteristics of youth organizations in BiH are that they are mainly financed by international organizations and some local municipalities but with very weak support from the state. Most of the organizations do not have their own offices. There is no university program for youth workers and youth leaders are mostly educated through numerous programs of non-formal education. Many organizations are not specialized but some focus on programs of additional education, workshops in human rights, nature protection, HIV/AIDS, and drug addictions.

At the level of BiH there is no umbrella youth organization (national youth council) as in most European countries. Nevertheless there is a consensus about the need for one.

Source: UN- Independent evaluation of the national youth policy in Bosnia-Herzegovina- http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unyin/documents/wpaysubmissions/bosnia.pdf

Young and Unemployment in Bosnia and Herzegovina

Unemployment in Bosnia and Herzegovina is one of the most important issues for young people. According to the latest Bosnian government statistics, more than 517,000 people are out of work - most of them are Bosnian youth.

The education system in Bosnia and Herzegovina has not fully adjusted to meet market needs. When young people finish school, they are unable to find jobs, leading to discouragement, apathy and social exclusion.

Lack of work is also the main reason why many young Bosnians want to leave the country.

The Youth Employability and Retention Program was created to respond to high youth unemployment and to prevent the drain of valuable resources – young Bosnians – from the country.

In partnership with the Bosnian Government, the program is funded by the Spanish Government and is being carried out by United Nations agencies in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

"Most people in the west think today of Bosnia as the post-conflict society with mostly political problems," said Yuri Afanasiev, UN Resident Coordinator in Bosnia and Herzegovina. "The truth of the matter is that Bosnia is the country that actually needs economic development and employment. And five UN agencies are working together as one to create such opportunities, especially for the young people."

Youth centers will be opened throughout Bosnia and Herzegovina providing information, education and counseling to unemployed youth. The centers should secure first time employment for more than 550 unemployed young people.

By the end of the 2012, approximately 8,500 young people are expected to benefit from the job-training program, providing them with valuable skills to access the job market and to be prepared when they get their first job.

As unemployment in Bosnia is the highest among people with only a high school education, the country's youth employment programme is open for all without a University diploma under the age of 30. "The programme will introduce new services for employment bureaus and will modernize the education system," said Erol Mujanovic project manager, UNDP in Bosnia and Herzegovina. "Also, it will provide jobs and new skills for young people." Education of future generations plays an important role in the youth employment programme. Improvement of curriculum in 100 schools, within 14

municipalities is planned in order to make the young and newly graduated better adapted to the needs of the labour market.

Source: United Nations Development Program - http://www.undp.ba/index.aspx?PID=3&RID=55

Possible Infrastructure Projects for the RESPONSIBILITY CORPS

- Based on the penetration of internet in BiH, it would be wise to consider a project that would establish a wider internet base in the country. This would not only provide greater access to the internet for young people in BiH but would also provide one of the key components necessary for external investment. The establishment of new internet facilities could be utilized in the education system but also in the compulsory computer classes as many recent high school graduates said that they felt unprepared for the workplace after graduation. The internet is essential in helping to prepare them for entering the workplace.

- It would appear that from the statistics relating to the use of contraceptives by young people that they are lacking a basic knowledge of public health. Some form of public health classes would appear necessary to provide young people with basic hygiene skills. This could be incorporated into basic money management skills that also appear to be lacking severely.

- A large portion of the population does not have central heating; rather they utilize other methods of heating such as coal and gas. While these methods do the job they are still old fashioned. A lack of basic heating infrastructure could potentially discourage external investors and thus laying a more elaborate central heating system would not only make life easier for locals it would modernize the country and make it more appealing to external investment.

- Statistics reveal a current and growing elderly population, many of which will have little or no savings. As such, some form of home help, predominately staffed by young people would be extremely beneficial. The CORPS could assist with general medical information and services as well especially in village settings. The “barefoot doctor” campaign in China could be a general model.

- A program that would involve young people more in politics, again this could be incorporated into the hygiene/money management classes. Huge proportions of young people have little interest in politics and feel that there is indeed no place for them in the political arena. Thus something similar to what is present in EU countries where special classes take place with the specific aim of teaching children from a young age about BiH and its relationship to Europe and the EU would be beneficial.

- The European Computer Driving License is the main project that is needed by young people in BiH. Their mission is, “to enable proficient use of Information and Communication Technology (ICT) that empowers individuals, organizations and society, through the development, promotion, and delivery of quality certification programmes throughout the world”. They are the, “certifying authority of the leading international computer skills certification programme – ECDL / ICDL*. The quality and reputation of our certification programmes are built on over a

decade of experience in successfully delivering ICT certification programmes to millions of people in various languages around the world".

- The US Department of State says of BiH, "...many roads are poorly maintained and sometimes blocked due to landslides, de-mining activity, and traffic accidents. Bosnia and Herzegovina has fewer than forty kilometers of four-lane highways. The existing two-lane roads between major cities are quite narrow at places, lack guardrails, and are full of curves. Travel by road can be risky due to poorly maintained roads" As such one important project would be to improve the road network in the country. Install road side barriers, street lights and just generally repair and maintain the actual roads themselves.

Costs associated with the RESPONSIBILITY CORPS as proposed

- **Housing**: The costs associated with starting and maintaining such a program can be difficult to accurately predict. In some instances accommodation may already exist and only require a small financial input to bring the accommodation up to an appropriate standard. However, in other instances accommodation may have to be built from scratch. This could be achieved at a relatively small cost to the government through utilization of "pre-fabs". Obviously the building of "pre-fabs" will involve connecting the building to the national grid for electricity, water and gas. The costs and benefits of converting already existing buildings into housing opposed to building completely new buildings would have to be assessed and this can only really be done on a case by case basis. Maintenance of these buildings could be carried out by the CORPS themselves thus eliminating much of the need to bring in external contractors.
- **Food**: Food can be expensive; however, there are ways to reduce the cost. Where appropriate a vegetable garden could be planted and managed by the CORPS. This may not produce a huge amount of produce but it would supplement other sources. Potential deals could be struck with local supermarkets / farms to receive discounts on food or to receive any excess that is produced by farms but is over their quota for the season. Food could be given to the students on weekdays and at the weekend a stipend could be issued for them to provide for themselves. The preparation of food is something else that has to be considered and this could be done largely by the individual members of the CORPS working on a rotational basis. By working together, camaraderie can be fostered among the group regardless of race, religion national origin.
- **Transport**: Transport costs can vary greatly depending largely on the proximity between the housing and where the project is going to take place. If the project is in a city, then transport costs would be substantially lower than if it were in a rural setting where busses/vans would have to be used. Those in a city could take advantage of public transport. Likewise, a free rail card/bus card could be issued to all members of the CORPS. This would not only be an added **incentive** for their participation in the program but would also allow them to travel to and from their homes-housing-project.
- **Equipment**: The equipment needed to perform the tasks associated with each project will vary from project to project. In some instances such as the building of roads, the majority of equipment should already be in place. However, things such as overalls,

gloves, hard hats would have to be purchased. These products would last a considerable amount of time before having to be replaced. Naturally, projects will vary signficantly in terms of equipment needs.

- **Materials**: The cost of materials will vary greatly between projects. A road construction project will require different materials than say a computer literacy class. But essentially some form of materials is necessary for the successful completion of all projects.

Costs associated with compulsory computer classes

The European Computer Driving License (ECDL) already has a presence within the country. Thus the objective would be to expand the program through the CORPS so that it would reach every 18-20 year old. The ECDL provides them with European recognized skills. Not only will this make them more attractive to European/international companies but it will also encourage companies to invest in BiH as they would know that the next generation of workers possess the same skills that other Europeans have.

Due to the already existing presence of the ECDL program in the country, initial start up costs would be eliminated. The only costs would for expansion. Other costs would obviously be equipment and teachers. This could prove expensive but various deals could be established between the ECDL program and various businesses to sponsor the program in return for them receiving access to the students once they graduate the program. Another option would be for the students at the advanced level to work in some capacity for businesses. This would not only provide the students with the ability to apply their skills in the workplace but it could also lead to full time employment upon leaving the program or after completion of university. In return for their labor, the businesses could help support the program.

Obviously the costs associated with the program would vary at each level. Those at the beginning level would require more attention than the advanced level. The most expensive part of the entire program initially would be obtaining computer hardware. There are various discount schemes available for educational institutions. There are many charities that will take old computers from businesses, many of which are still in perfect condition and refurbish them before donating them to people and organizations around the world.

Costs associated with administering the program country wide

In administering the program country wide, one would have to consider the differences in costs of rural vs. urban programs. Certainly all the necessary infrastructure could be found in an urban setting which would reduce the costs substantially when compared to a rural setting where certain aspects of the infrastructure would have to be built from scratch. Likewise the skills necessary to teach in the program and the businesses needed to support the advanced level classes would be found most easily in an urban area.

Administrative Mechanics

Registration: One of the main challenges is to remove the ability for discrimination to take place. The simplest way to accomplish this would be to use a system similar to the Scottish Qualifications authority (SQA). In Scotland every high school student sits the same exams at exactly the same time regardless of where they are in the country. As such the SQA implemented a system whereby every high school student received an SQA number. This number is the only form of identification that they have. It ruled out the possibility of discrimination based on what school you went to, where you are from, your name etc. A similar number system would be ideal for registration in the responsibility corps with a person's individual data that is linked to he or she's number stored on a secure database.

Assign: For the compulsory computer classes the best method to decide "who goes where" would be to have a compulsory placement test upon completion of high school to determine if an individual is beginner, intermediate or advanced. In regards to infrastructure projects, a quota for each project should be established each year and students would be required to list what they would like to do in order of preference. **All** persons who have a disability will have the opportunity to participate in their desired project and all available measures will be taken to accommodate them.

Manage: The program should be managed by a private organization, funded by the government. BUT is should be operated as a private organization with the freedom to appoint who it wishes. It should be free from political interference. The program should have a set budget that is determined by the number of persons participating in the program. The budget would be adjusted accordingly to meet inflation. Importantly, the government would possess no power to alter or interfere in the budget unless sufficient justification for it to do so could be demonstrated.

Evaluate: Evaluation would take place through an independent body linked to the department responsible for education. The reason for this would be that they would already possess the skills necessary for the evaluation of schools and thus could apply it to the responsibility corps program. Similarly various goals could be determined at the start of each year that would be an ideal measurement of success. Tests conducted before and after the compulsory computer classes' would demonstrate strengths and weaknesses in that particular program. The number of students graduating from the program and going on to full time employment or further education would indicate the success of the program. Questionnaires filled out by both the participants and the wider community who they have helped would provide an idea of whether or not the program is succeeding as was hoped.

Rewards: To receive the full commitment from students some form of rewards would have to be devised.

- Air Miles/travel vouchers
- Driving Lessons: Learning to drive can be expensive but it is something that all young people want to do as soon as possible. It may well be that they could learn to drive while "on the job" or after they have completed their service.
- Student rail card that allows them to travel for free all over the country could be extended for a set period of time after they complete their service.

- Salary: Payment could come in the form of vouchers for shops or amenities.
- Housing Vouchers: As a way to encourage more people to not only attend university but also to remain in BiH, a method of payment could be to issue housing vouchers to be used for student accommodation while at university or starting work.
- Those who are on the advanced level of the computer classes would have the opportunity to work for a company to further improve and “try out” the skills they had learned in class. This “internship” format would be limited to the last three months of any year-long commitment.

Appendix C WHAT'S IN A NAME?

From all the research to which we are privy, it appears that the name Bosnia is derived from the Bosna River which runs through modern BiH. The territory of BiH was originally part of Illyria, an advanced civilization on the Balkan Peninsula. From the 12th century, it would appear that the name Bosnia came into common use for different portions of territory in the central western Balkans. It does not appear to be especially connected with nor especially endearing to any specific group of inhabitants – simply a functional, recognized label for a region. As the socialist system of Yugoslavia was delineated, Bosnia and Herzegovina was a geographic label for the land remaining in the center of a series of ethnically defined "republics" i.e. Serbia, Croatia, and Montenegro. It is easy to understand the momentum in a name albeit as awkward as Bosnia and Herzegovina. Unfortunately, the name itself validates a division and differences that are modest when compared to all the shared characteristics of those living in BiH.

The Chicago Initiative has recommended many sweeping and significant changes in government, attitudes and behaviors to enable BiH to move forward. We would be remiss if we did not also recommend that a fresh start with a new name is desirable – one that resonates with the population and simultaneously sends a signal to the international community that BiH is on a new course. A modest option is Bosniah. The "h" at the end signally the embrace of Herzegovinians. Our sense is that this does not go far enough. We believe that changing the official name of the country to "ZAJEDNO" would send a resounding signal that the peoples of BiH are ready to tackle their problem together. To debate and deliberate but then to act as one. To ultimately bond around the idea that societies sink or swim together … that a better life and a stronger society are most quickly and effectively created when emphasizing the commonness of its people.

Appendix D "OUR" LANGUAGE

Language in non-conflict settings is a vehicle for communication and understanding. In post-Yugoslav countries, it has become a symbol of difference and separation. All who know the environment, <u>know</u> that a common language platform existed and de facto exists. "Serbo-Croatian" is spoken and understood by all countries spawned from the former socialist Yugoslavia. Rather than invest in desperate and often thinly rationalized changes to distance Serbian from Croatian from Bosnian, we recommend efforts by government and academe to construct and endorse a South Slavic language for all. The current path creates what is largely an illusion and underscores separateness and exclusion. Dialects aside, regional integration, commerce and collaboration benefit from the real advantage that a common platform of communication exists.

Appendix E SUGGESTED IMPLEMENTATION PROCESS

Sketching the process by which our new political architecture for BiH could become reality is extremely difficult. We can lay out a pattern but we do not control enough of the variables to program more than a desirable sequence of events. Political machinations in the US legislature and executive agencies will impact. Economic conditions may affect donor enthusiasm. And the rate of growing political dysfunction and the potential for violence in BiH can thwart or delay our efforts. Still, it is reasonable for anyone to ask, "how can this get done?" Our best, but admittedly partial, answer follows. It will require attentive adjustment as the process unfolds.

Winter 2012 Presentation to Congressional Bosnian Caucus

Congressional hearings on future of Bosnia

Spring 2012 US State Dept. consideration & endorsement of the concept

Fall 2012 Funds raised from corporate and foundation worlds for Responsibility Corps, Tech Centers and "Bosnia's Best" programs

(Foundations: Clinton, Rockefeller Bros., Soros, etc.)

(Corporations: Dell, Microsoft, Apple, HP, IBM, etc.)

BIH "Opinion-makers" identified & enlisted / also diaspora leadership

(Bosnian-Am Academy of Arts & Sciences)

Spring/Summer 2013 Implement Responsibility Corps, Tech Centers and Bosnia's Best with assistance of US Embassy / Sarajevo & BiH government officials

EU endorsement of programs & model

Fall 2013/Winter 2014 Public relations campaign: Sve Zajedno 20:20

Spring 2014 BiH Legislature votes on comprehensive model OR

BiH public vote in referendum on plan

Fall 2014 If accepted, implementation plan is to be graduated …

Police and education reforms –

Winter 2014 Judicial reforms

Winter 2015	Ministry reforms
Winter 2016	Legislative elections & reforms
Winter 2017	Executive elections & reforms
2018-2020	Refinement of Political mechanics
2020	Celebrate the new BIH!

Appendix F TWELVE QUESTIONS about the Chicago Initiative

Who produced these ideas?

A small and energetic team of young scholars who have studied law, politics and economics. The challenge was to create something that has a genuine chance of bringing BiH to a viable and healthy state. The approach was to draw on broad social science to develop features which are scaled and responsive to the specific problems BiH faces persistently. The professor leading the team was Prof. Dick Farkas, Political Science, DePaul University, Chicago.

Why was DePaul the source of the effort?

A candid answer (and the best one) is that the project was undertaken in response to the awareness in the American academic community that a traumatic set of events lies just over the horizon unless a functional political system is created in BiH. The energy at DePaul University was a function of two prominent University officers who had formidable reputations in the European diplomatic community and in post-conflict Bosnia: Ambassador JD Bindenagel and Major General Charles Tucker. Their visibility as experts, stimulated the project. Reasonable speculation is that had there been typical high level funding for such a project, other major universities may have been more interested. DePaul, with its philosophical commitment to serving the public – at home and abroad – is prepared to tackle such challenges.

Is there a political system designed like this one?

Simply, NO! While there are numerous failed or failing states in the world and many victims of protracted violence and conflict, the task was to design a system that meets the requirements of this one case. Elements of the design (or even the whole package) could be of interest to other failing states. However, our narrow objective was to design a "custom" framework for dealing with BiH's size, experience, resources, external relations and culture. The model is engineered to have complementary, mutually supporting and functional parts that generate whole solutions. It is a machinery that will work though perhaps in ways not yet seen in the 21st century world. In one sense, the uniqueness could cause BiH to go from failing state to model state.

What can an individual do to further the serious consideration of these changes?

Americans:

Press your congressional representatives to pay attention to BiH. A casual look will reveal the potential hazards of inaction. The perception in Bosnia is that the US (via the Dayton Accords) is partially responsible for creating their malaise. We have some real obligation to offer a solid solution. Encourage media to revisit BiH and its issues to enable the public to refocus on the volatility there.

People of BiH:

Re-think not how these problems were created but how they can be solved. Face-forward and ask the critical questions about the survival and growth of the society. Ask yourselves who and how more jobs can be created, how education can be guaranteed, how health and welfare can be extended? In essence, ask what every Bosnian values? Replace ethnic identities with already existing but suppressed identities like parent, citizen, person of faith, European, worker, entrepreneur, care-giver, or any other that can point the direction to a brighter, more peaceful future.

Other Europeans:

Recognize that at the heart of the Balkans, there exists a deteriorating situation that can impact on all of Europe. While Europe is engaging in a remarkable and noble set of changes to insure peace, unity and prosperity, the need for support – behavioral, attitudinal, financial and philosophical – is pressing in BiH. If for no other reason, recognize that an investment now will pay significant dividends tomorrow and avoid the need to traumatically bandage the ruptures that can result if BiH is ignored now.

Why not leave the problems to the people of BiH?

The people of BiH are indeed capable. But they are scarred by recent history and without the resources – human and otherwise – given emigration, the physical destruction of infrastructure and the unworkable platform of "ethnic geography and politics" left by the Dayton Accords. In fact, leadership has tried repeatedly to introduce reforms and structural changes but in each case fear and jealousies prevailed. The people of BiH MUST be central to any effort to change their system but most agree the stimulus just at this point in time MUST come from outside BiH. The Chicago Initiative is powerfully mindful of the degree to which success or failure will hinge on the Bosnians themselves.

Can the changes be implemented piecemeal?

We do not believe that slow, incremental change or bits and pieces of the kind of change suggested will manage the problems. We do not believe that one can massage away the cancers. Change must be comprehensive, workable, understandable and each element must enhance rather than undermine the others. Simply, it must be coherent – designed to be consistent, durable and publicly supported. To this end, every feature recommended is framed in plane language and is "testable" by the citizenry. All that said, it may be that elements of the Initiative can be implemented leading to confidence and interest in other parts of the design.

What happens if no changes are made?

It is uncomfortable to predict dismay and worse. The system now is dysfunctional. In terms of people's lives, this means it is not providing the basic goods and services that are required for support or growth. While everyone recognizes that change always carries risk, NOT changing carries greater risk in this situation. The 21st century is a time of accelerating global change. No country can avoid the challenges associated with those currents. If BiH neglects or avoids change, it will slide to a state many will call "third world" and others will see it as a threat to regional stability.

Is there a guarantee that these plans will work?

Certainly not, but the Initiative should be viewed as a machinery that will require Bosnians to acclimate and manage. They will need to learn to use it, maintain it, enliven it, and adjust it. All these things involve learning and change. No political system runs independent of its citizenry and leadership. No political machinery is perpetually productive or in motion. It must be nurtured from within and appreciated and respected from without. Guarantees are a fantasy. The system will work when the people decide they need it to work. The Initiative provides the vehicle to enable Bosnians to move toward their own goals.

Would EU membership make these changes irrelevant or unnecessary?

No. The Initiative will provide a platform for BiH to approach EU membership. The elements have been designed with a solid focus on developing a system consistent with EU principles and practice. In fact, were BiH to adopt these changes, it could become a meaningful model to other small constituent parts of the EU. We speculate that no fundamental changes would need to be made if and when BiH were to be embraced by the EU.

Would this plan <u>require</u> the support of BiH's neighboring states?

Without question! The states formed by the disintegration of socialist Yugoslavia understand in an acute way how important it is for regional stability, politics and commerce that BiH re-engineer itself in a way that rejects ethnic prejudice and emphasizes tolerance in all things. Croatia and Serbia are crucial to this process. They must support and even cheerlead for the new system. They must reinforce the message to re-orient public identity toward a common <u>political</u> identity and a meaningful recognition of those factors that draw people of the region together rather than apart. Bih's neighboring states do not have the financial resources to aid such sweeping changes. Their responsibility is attitudinal and symbolic. The richer states of the western alliance system need to reward such impetus with their own (albeit modest) levels of aide and support.

Have other attempts been made to address such an obvious need?

In the past five years two significant efforts have been made to address basic issues of political and policy-making structure in BiH. Though from different origins, both had the support of the US State Department and generated some consideration in Bosnia itself. Both approached the challenge by attempting to enlist established political elites in a process to modify the political order by building upon the Dayton agreement and using established mechanics for embracing change. Both avoided the public dialogue that might have informed and altered the measure of flexibility needed from the political elites. In the end, both failed by a small margin owing to the ease with which political elites could withhold support based upon their own singular perceptions and interests.

What distinguishes this effort from those failures?

Considerable effort has been made to gauge the past experiences with reform and to assess the strategies they utilized. Both previous efforts neglected the very essence of democratic change – that is, change supported by and understood by the mass public. This effort will attempt to engage all echelons

of Bosnian society. It specifically addresses the need to communicate with and enlist the broad sectors of the governed. They will need to see the advantages for themselves in the new design. They need to see the compelling interest they have in what a new system can do for them. This is not to say that the political elite will be neglected. For some, public interests and public pressure will push the leadership to create new space for negotiation and re-engineering of the system. Given that previous efforts came close (especially in 2008), a public genuinely interested in change and another sub-set of leaders nudged to consider change, may spell the margin of success needed for system re-design.

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