

PD-ABR-647
1. 1

IFES *International Foundation for Election Systems*

1101 15th Street N W • 3rd Floor • Washington D C 20005 • (202) 828 8507 • FAX (202) 452 0804•

U.S. AGENCY for INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Contract *AEP 5468-I-00-6003, Delivery Order No 806*
Contractor *The International Foundation for Election Systems*

USAID Project Office *USAID/Sarajevo*

Date *9 September 1999*

Document *Completion Report*

Authors *Igor Beros, Livno Office Manager*
Natasa Borcanin, Program Assistant
Stephen H Connolly, IFES/W Project Manager
James Heilman, DoboJ Office Manager
Edgar Morgan, Project Director
Velko Miloev, , DoboJ Office Manager

Project No *AEP-5468-I-00-6003-00 D O #806*

Project Title *Civic Education Program Bosnia and Herzegovina*

TABLE OF CONTENTS

1	<i>The Delivery Order</i>
I	<i>Executive Summary</i>
II	<i>Background</i>
III	<i>Program Description</i>
	<i>A Project Design</i>
	<i>B Benchmarks</i>
	<i>C Deliverables</i>
2	<i>The Program</i>
IV	<i>Project Implementation</i>
	<i>A Mobilization and Methodology</i>
	<i>i Introduction</i>
	<i>ii Recruitment</i>
	<i>iii Training</i>
	<i>iv Meetings with Local Officials</i>
	<i>v Materials Development</i>
	<i>vi Voter Education Sessions (GOGs)-Pre-Election Period</i>
	<i>vii Civic Action Initiative (GAIN)- Post Election Period</i>
	<i>viii Related Democracy-building Activities requested of IFES</i>
	<i>ix IFES Staff Initiatives</i>
	<i>x Special Visitors, Observers, Meetings</i>
	<i>xi Media</i>
V	<i>Results</i>
	<i>A Achievement of Benchmarks and Deliverables</i>
	<i>B Impact</i>
	<i>C Conclusions and Recommendations</i>
VI	<i>Appendices</i>
1	<i>RFP and Technical Proposal</i>
2	<i>Delivery Order No 806</i>
3	<i>Amendments</i>
4	<i>Workplan</i>
5	<i>List of Staff and involved personnel</i>
6	<i>List of abbreviations used</i>
7	<i>Index of reports and information products</i>
8	<i>Inventory of non-expendable materials</i>

- 9 IFES Staff Biographical Sketches
- 10 Letters from Officials
- 11 Municipal Reports
- 12 IFES Brochure in Cyrillic
- 13 Election Brochure
- 14 Election Brochure
- 15 English Translation
- 16 Sample Ballots
- 17 Pre-election GOG Agenda and Reporting Form
- 18 UNHCR Brochure – Questions Frequently Asked at IFES GOGs
- 19 VOA Wire Story
- 20 List of Localities IFES Trainers Visited
- 21 1998 Election Results in IFES AOR
- 22 Post-election GOG Agenda
- 23 GAIN Reporting Form0
- 24 GAINs Summary
- 25 Proposed IFES Survey
- 26 OSCE Survey
- 27 Training Agenda for OSCE Facilitators
- 28 PELIC GOG Agenda
- 29 PELIC Findings Summary
- 30 Conclusions on RS Roundtable on Self-government Law
- 31 Survey of RS Local Governments by Dobo Staff
- 32 List of Books for Zenica Public Library & Resource Center
- 33 Letter to the High Representative Westendorp and Response
- 34 Copy of Ambassador Barry's Letter to IFES Trainers
- 35 IFES Livno Office Press Release
- 36 Slobodna Story on IFES & Vecernje Novine
37. Misc Articles on IFES from local papers (Story re Mayor Mlaco; RS News Stories on RS Self-government; Glas Srpski & Svitnje)

1 THE DELIVERY ORDER

I EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Delivery Order No 806 (DO806), the Civic Education Program for Bosnia and Herzegovina, was approved on 22 May 1998 with an effective date of 13 April 1998. Prudent fiscal management resulted in cost savings which permitted a no-cost extension of the original activity completion date of 12 April 1999 to 7 July 1999. DO806 had a Ceiling Price of \$1,800,000.

The purpose of DO806 was to promote the development of democratic principles through an informed electorate and a responsive government. To achieve this, IFES re-established the Zenica field office and established offices in Livno and Doboï. From these offices, supervised by an ex-patriate, a staff of 18 national civic education trainers implemented a program involving civic education seminars and promoting civic action initiatives (please see Part III, Program Description below for details).

Over the life of the activity Project staff conducted 2180 civic education seminars which reached 32,217 citizens directly, distributed 41,650 pieces of election related literature throughout 44 municipalities, and established 203 civic action initiative groups which achieved 69 verified cases of action by elected authorities.

In addition to accomplishing the specific program goals, the Project hosted visits from the USAID Mission Director, the US Ambassador to BiH, the GAO, the Brookings Institute, the OHR and others, contributed to the OSCE's Permanent Election Law Public Information Campaign (PELIC) by organizing the training of facilitators, and conducted over 160 roundtables.

By any objective measure DO806 was an unqualified success. Nevertheless, it is much too soon to expect the foundation of democracy in Bosnia Herzegovina to be firm. If the experiment is to be successful, it is essential that activities that foster the continued growth and expansion of democracy and, in particular, citizen participation, receive continuing support. Only when the electorate views itself as a stakeholder will it be possible to say that democracy has been established in Bosnia-Herzegovina. In view of the lingering aftereffects of the war, the process will take years of effort, but it is under way and the initial results are encouraging.

II BACKGROUND

The 1995 General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina called on the authorities of BiH to lay the foundations for representative government and ensure the progressive achievement of democratic goals through the organization of internationally-supervised elections for five to seven levels of government within nine months. Elections for the BiH and Republika Srpska (RS) Presidencies, for the BiH and Federation House of Representatives, for the RS National Assembly and Federation cantonal legislatures were held in September 1996. Local elections, postponed twice in 1996 due to widespread allegations of electoral engineering, took place in Bosnia and Herzegovina's 136 municipalities on 13-14

September 1997. Lastly, extraordinary elections for the RS Assembly, dissolved by RS President Plavsic in July 1997, took place in November. Although each set of elections took place calmly and peacefully, the socio-political environment continues to fall far short of democratic standards. The electorate has met its civic responsibility by participating in the electoral process, but the elected authorities of Bosnia and Herzegovina are neglecting their responsibilities to the citizenry.

At the national level, elected representatives continue to stymie the full functioning of the common institutions. Widespread delays in municipal council formation do not bode well for functioning, representative local government. As of February 28, five and a half months after local elections, 124 of 136 municipalities have met the requirements of final certification. Of the remaining 12 municipalities, 5 are in the proposed area of activity. Although the electoral process has sensitized people to focus attention on their leadership, it has failed to provide them adequate representation and therefore threatens to undermine their already limited engagement in the political process. Effective and stable democratic governance, however, relies on active citizen involvement. Democracy presupposes that citizens, beyond a small educated elite, understand, internalize and take the initiative to exercise their rights and responsibilities in their daily lives. It requires that democracy be institutionalized through a culture of participation in which individual citizens emerge as central political actors and give direction to political structures. This culture is neither natural nor spontaneous. It must be encouraged through the creation of an "enabling" political environment, and nourished through activities designed to develop democratic habits and a culture of citizenship.

During 1996 (DO2) and 1997 (DO9) IFES, with USAID support, developed a comprehensive, interactive voter education program designed to inform and directly engage voters in the 1996 and 1997 elections. IFES established voter education resource centers in Zenica and Bihac to facilitate production and dissemination of education materials and train Bosnian teams to organize and moderate voter education seminars for community leaders in four Federation cantons. By disseminating practical information, IFES staff assuaged anxiety related to ballot completion, documentation, registration procedures, absentee and cross-IEBL voting. By provoking discussion, IFES voter education teams have identified a series of common concerns related to electoral transparency and political accountability. IFES teams held a grand total of 2,367 voter education sessions with over 30,000 participants in two cycles. Included in this program was a component which addressed citizen involvement in government. Also, using non-USAID funding, IFES conducted a series of NGO workshops designed to both strengthen the organizations and professionalize their operations and to empower them to solicit the government support necessary to further their activities. The broader Civic Education Program funded under DO806 was a natural outgrowth of these previous activities and built on the foundation established during the 96-97 election calendars.

III PROGRAM DESCRIPTION

A Project Design

Under DO 806 IFES was charged with implementing a comprehensive civic education project designed to encourage Bosnians to participate in political life enhancing their confidence in the

democratic political system. The project complemented the previous voter/civic education program. One goal was to ensure that citizens develop a better conceptual understanding of how a democratic system works and exercise that knowledge through increasingly active engagement in local political life. Various proven methods were used to educate, motivate and assist in organizing individuals. The Project had five areas of concentration:

- 1 Establishment of Civic Education Resource Centers
- 2 Development and Dissemination of Materials on Local Government
- 3 Civic Education Discussion Groups
- 4 Civic Organization
- 5 Consultation and Provision of Advice on Organizing

The following program description is excerpted from DO806

1 Establishment of Civic Education Resource Centers

This activity expanded on the base established by IFES under DOs 2 and 9. In addition to maintaining the infrastructure previously set up in 1996-1997 in the Middle Bosnia (6) and Zenica-Doboj Cantons (4), IFES established two additional centers: one in the Federation Hercegovbosanski Canton (10), and one in Northern Republika Srpska covering the RS municipalities of Srbac, Prnjavor, Teslic, Doboj, Derвента, Bosanski Brod, Modrica, Bosanski Samac, Vukosavlje, Pelagicevo and Federation Posavina Canton (2).

The Centers were provided a wide selection of information including Municipal Statutes, and Cantonal and Entity Constitutions, as well as sample materials on local and global electoral laws and procedures, civic and voter education programs, and training programs. The Centers also served as repositories for information on local and regional politics developed by the Contractor (see below) and as represented in various media, including alternative and cross-Entity newspapers. Using the IFES/Washington Resource Center and the network of IFES activities worldwide, this Civic Education Project obtained information on civil society development in the region with a view to motivating, and offering civic action models to interested individuals or groups.

The information housed at the Resource Centers was used to moderate civic education discussion groups and was made available to non-governmental organizations and other actors who are implementing programs designed to stimulate civil society development. It was also shared with the OSCE, the Provisional Election Commission (PEC), members of the media, professional educators, and political activists.

The Centers were created primarily to facilitate implementation of the civic education program outlined below. While the need for the Centers is expected to diminish as citizens learn to access resources independently they have been maintained as part of the program which follows DO806.

2 Development and Dissemination of Materials on Local Government

IFES will empower Bosnian citizens to participate in the political process by informing them about the activities of their local representatives through production and dissemination of educational materials and training of prospective local community leaders. Structured dissemination of information on local government initiatives will augment the information provided by government-controlled local media which often report only selectively on municipal government practices and decision-making.

As was successfully carried out under DOs 2&9, IFES will establish constructive relationships with local officials, including Mayors, Governors, and Municipal and Cantonal Presidents as appropriate. IFES Trainers will continue the program of regularly attending municipal/cantonal assembly sessions and overseeing production of region-specific guides to local government explaining "who is who," elucidating the division of responsibilities, and describing methods of communication with locally elected officials. IFES will collect documents that emerge from local elected bodies and analyze these in meetings to involve citizens progressively in public decision-making.

3 Civic Education Discussion Groups

Building on strategies successfully implemented in DOs 1&9, IFES hired and trained 18 Bosnians to serve, in teams of two, as civic trainers. A core group of trainers will be selected from individuals who have worked with IFES under both DO 1 and 9.

When choosing topics and designing training materials, IFES will solicit maximum input from the trainers to ensure their resonance and local relevance. A minimum of 2 "train the trainer" (TOT) sessions will be run through the Resource Centers. A TOT Specialist with experience in imparting democracy concepts will be brought to the Project area for two 20-day series of training sessions. The first series will be conducted as soon as the different Resource Centers are established and the complement of local trainers is engaged. A second series will be conducted after Trainers have acquired necessary field experience. In addition, Bosnian Trainers will be offered continuing education in democratic structures, processes and principles throughout the program to increase their investment in and ownership of the project. This continuing education will be provided during regular reviews and in-house evaluations of civic education sessions.

Once trained, each civic education team will hold a minimum of 20 discussion groups monthly. Teams will build on previously discussed election-related education sessions to introduce topics such as constitutionalism, government accountability, and methods of political participation. Teams will focus on ensuring that participants recognize that they have a right, as well as an obligation to express their views to their political representatives. Concentrating their resources in areas where elected authorities are particularly unresponsive to practical issues that resonate within the community, including employment, social welfare, or municipal infrastructure repair, teams will use discussion of democratic concepts to encourage participants to hold elected leaders accountable to the community.

4 Civic Organization

Contact with groups and individuals established during the 1996/1997 USAID-funded delivery orders will be expanded. After early and widespread contact with possible discussion groups, Trainers will selectively intensify their focus on groups disposed towards civic action and target the same for more systematic education. Targeted groups will meet regularly with a view to moving organically towards citizen organization. Teams will thereby encourage citizens to emerge as central political actors that give direction to representative bodies. Though teams will remain flexible and responsive to citizen concerns, they will, to the extent feasible, focus civic organization around the issue of political accountability at the local level. This will encourage parties to remain fully committed to the implementation of election results through the formation of functioning representative bodies to shift progressively from international, to national actors.

IFES will create an environment which is conducive to the formation of community action groups. This will be accomplished primarily by means of the civic education seminars but also by providing access to the Resource Centers which represent non-partisan facilities with access to civic education resource materials and equipment such as computers and photocopiers which can be used in organizing and pursuing specific actions aimed at recently or to be elected officials.

On conclusion of Project activities these Resource Centers and their equipment may, with USAID approval, be ceded to viable civic action groups.

5 Consultation and Provision of Advice on Organizing

IFES will assist the teams in facilitating community activities, including the conduct of opinion surveys to identify issues of common interest, the organization of panel discussions or public hearings, individual or group liaison with elected representatives and design and implementation of civic advocacy campaigns. IFES will also facilitate contact between like-minded groups, associations, indigenous and international organizations to lay a foundation for regional advocacy mechanisms.

6 Program Coordination with Involved Entities

As previously mentioned, information housed in the Resource Centers will be shared with the OSCE, the PEC, media, educators, political activists and interested NGOs. IFES will continue to nurture the previously established coordinated relationship with the OSCE and other organizations involved in similar efforts in order to ensure that the different civic education and information campaigns fully address issues of concern and interest regarding the upcoming fall elections. The information bridge already established between the OSCE and the IFES Resource Centers will be maintained. Immediately on concluding an agreement with USAID, IFES will re-open its Zenica Center and establish the Canton 10 and Northern RS Centers. In order to permit the rapid start-up of civic education activities, it is proposed that the Washington DC-based Senior Adviser travel to BiH on signature of the agreement in order to oversee start-up activities and program implementation planning.

B BENCHMARKS

Progress in attaining Project goals will be measured by achievement of the following benchmarks

- Three Resource Centers will be established
- Two series of TOT sessions will be completed
- 18 Civic Education Trainers will be trained
- Materials related to electoral law, Municipal Statutes, civic and voter education programs, training programs, and democratic governance will be housed in the Resource Centers and will be made available for civic education training sessions as well as other to interested individuals and groups
- 9 teams of Trainers will conduct a minimum of 2160 civic education training seminars over the life of the Project in 40 municipalities
- Trainers will attend municipal council sessions and will produce a minimum of one report per opchina in 1998
- Production of at least one handout related to democracy building and civic education
- At least one discussion group in each opchina will make a presentation in a formal council session of each opchina that addresses the concerns or needs of their community
- Community groups and radio stations will be informally linked resulting in regular civic-oriented radio broadcasts, including appearances by appropriate local government officials (cantonal and/or opchina level), discussing issues of community importance, action and initiatives
- Approximately 30 autonomous civic action groups will be established in the Project area
- Lobbying by civic action groups will result in at least one instance of improvement of municipal services
- IFES will, as requested by local civic action groups, act as a conduit to the OSCE on issues pertaining to the upcoming elections and will document the nature and success/failure rate of each intervention

C DELIVERABLES

- 1 Approved workplan/schedule for implementation [COTR and USAID/Washington (ENI and G Bureaus)]
- 2 Monthly reports containing review of progress, evaluation of program impact and constraints to the achievement of program goals
- 3 Verbal briefings as requested by COTR and USAID/Washington
- 4 Quarterly progress reports and a final report as required by the IQC contract under which this delivery order is made
- 5 One Resource Center continued in Zenica and one each established in the Hercegovobosanski Canton and Northern Republika Srpska in sites to be determined in consultation with COTR

- 6 Approximately 18 Bosnians trained as civic educators Mobile civic education teams will travel regionally organizing at least 20 discussion groups each on a monthly basis
- 7 At least one situation in which citizen advocacy produces a tangible result

2 THE PROGRAM

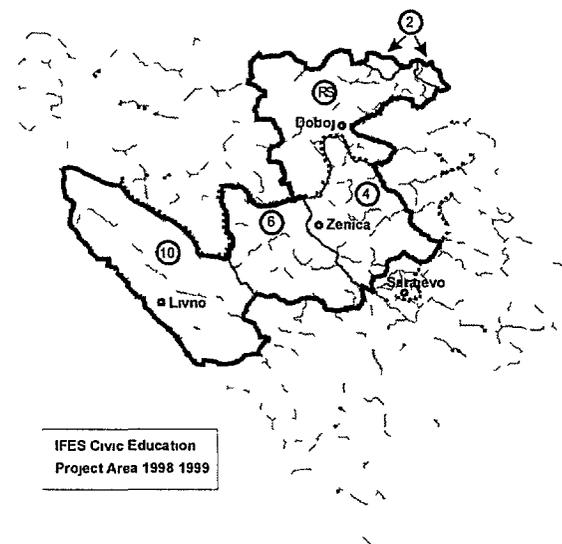
A Mobilization and Methodology

1 Introduction

DO806 was a follow on to an IFES program initiated in July 1996 as a Voter Education Project that ran for ten weeks which was followed by a similar but expanded project in 1997 that operated in BiH for thirty weeks The goal of these projects was to further the aims of the Dayton Peace Accords by promoting democratic principles through an informed electorate and a responsive government

In 1998 IFES was not only selected to continue its efforts but expand its program, both in content and constituency It was envisioned that coverage of local municipal council meetings would be broadened and more intensive reporting on these sessions would be made to the residents of the various municipalities in its AOR This in addition to an active pre-election voter education program leading up to the 12 September elections Further, it was intended that after the election IFES would foster the creation of civic activist groups who would undertake initiatives to improve their respective communities

In addition to the original area of Zenica-Doboj (No 4) and Middle Bosnia (No 6) Cantons, IFES was also asked to add the six opchinas (municipalities) in the Hercegbosanski Canton (No 10) as well as eleven opstinas(sic) in central Republika Srpska (RS), thereby operating for the first time on both sides of the Inter-Entity Boundary Line (IEBL) Pre-election voter information sessions were also conducted in the Posavina Canton (No 2)



The quality of work our trainers performed over the previous two years established a well-earned reputation of excellence in job performance This proved to be somewhat of a mixed blessing as the project continued under this new contract as we were called upon to assist others in carrying out their tasks as well These will be cited later in this report as we chronicle the events covered during this period Biographical sketches of the IFES staff are included in Appendix 9

Beginning on Monday, 13 April 1998, the IFES teams based in Zenica immediately set to work updating the municipal council reports that were printed at the end of 1997. During the winter the staff continued to cover council meetings, on their own initiative, in anticipation that information on these meetings would be necessary for updated reports in the event that this project would be extended. By the first of June the Zenica trainers were holding GOGs in the field, explaining various election rules changes and giving information on the registration process. GOG is our acronym for Grupa za Obuku Gradjana which translates to "group for educating citizens."

Meanwhile, Igor Beros, Jim Heilman, Project Managers for the Livno (Canton 10) and Dobož (RS) offices respectively along with Steve Connolly, the Senior Program Implementation Specialist from IFES in Washington, and Ed Morgan, Project Director based in Zenica, visited office sites in Livno and Dobož and screened candidates for trainer positions in the new Livno and Dobož locations.

Upon completion of recruitment of the new trainers for Livno and Dobož, but before these individuals could undertake field activity, three steps were necessary: training of the new trainers, visits with local officials, and preparation and printing of materials to be used in the field.

11 Recruitment

With the establishment of offices in Dobož and Livno it was necessary to recruit trainers for these two new locations: six for Dobož and four in Livno. As was the case in Bihać in 1997 and in Zenica in 1996, there was no shortage of candidates once word got out that we were looking for staff. The local offices of OSCE as well as contacts we made through professional and enterprise sources ultimately provided us with 23 candidates for the four Livno positions and 14 for the six in Dobož.

As with most projects, the value of an activity is not in its goals but rather in its achievements. As the two previous IFES voter and civic projects in BiH illustrated, our success was directly attributed to the staff selections. While all the prospective candidates had varied skills it was necessary to identify complimentary skills and abilities that would blend well in making productive teams. In the evaluating process we looked for stable, mature, intelligent, self-confident, open, somewhat extroverted without being domineering or imperious individuals. In this we succeeded.

111 Training

Phase I - GOGs

The initial training took place between June 15 - July 10, 1998, in the towns where the two new offices were located. The primary concern was training the newly hired trainers in Livno and Dobož offices. The trainer was Mila Brooks who has extensive experience in working in countries with newly emerging democracies. Mila, with the help of already experienced Zenica trainers, Nino Badrov and Miroslav Stjepanovic, and the head of the Dobož office, Jim Heilman, spent two weeks with each group of new trainers.

By the end of June ten new trainers were assimilated into the cadre of IFES trainers in BiH. The training followed the same pattern for both groups with trainers receiving basic GOG and democracy training during the first week followed by time in Zenica during the second week visiting field sites with the Zenica trainers.

During the first week Brooks focused on team building and public speaking exercises, GOG agenda training, GOG role-playing exercises, discussion on human rights and democratization. Jim Heilman, who was present at both sites during the training, provided trainers with an overview of election rules and procedures, discussed the levels of government in BiH and distribution of election mandates, particularly with regard to the new provision allowing political parties to form alliances and coalitions. Nino Badrov assisting in Livno and Miroslav Stjepanovic working with the Doboj trainers provided insight into their previous two years' experience and prepared the new trainers for what they could expect in the field.

In addition, the trainers in Doboj were briefed by Niall McCann and Gojko Ivanic, OSCE Election Officers from the Doboj field office, on regional election issues in the Republika Srpska and the latest changes in rules and regulations. The same training was done for the Zenica staff, prepared by Velko Miloev who was the OSCE election officer for the Zenica field office.

One of the most helpful aspects of the training was enabling the new trainers to see how everything discussed at the training was actually put to work in the field. The trainers from both the Livno and Doboj offices visited Zenica, in pairs of two, and went to the field for one day with the staff from Zenica who were now in their third year of civil society building. The experience proved to be a confidence booster. The trainers expressed a level of comfort with conducting GOGs which they showed as they began working in their respective municipalities.

In addition to providing the trainers with a practical experience this exercise was an opportunity for most of the trainers from Republika Srpska to cross the inter-entirety boundary line (IEBL) to the Federation side of BiH for the first time since the war broke out in 1991. Although this exercise was not meant to be an inter-entirety cooperation project it certainly served that purpose for the trainers from both the Republika Srpska and the BiH Federation side. After that week trainers exchanged their experiences and compared notes which led to one conclusion: people on both sides were facing the same problems as they were patching their lives back together.

By the end of the first week of training the new trainers were knowledgeable about IFES programs world-wide and in BiH in particular. They were fully trained in elements of democracy and other aspects of civic education, had learned new training techniques for effective communication in a group setting, and were thoroughly familiar with the agenda and purpose of the GOG and were able to conduct them on their own. A useful device used in these training sessions was the video camera by which we taped each trainer's performance and played these back so that they and their colleagues could critique each presentation. It helped everyone to see how they stood, spoke, and related to their audiences.

During this time one of our veteran Zenica trainers, Hikmeta Seleskovic, was utilized by the OSCE Democratization Section to speak on civic activism to women's groups assembled in

Sarajevo, Bihac, Banja Luka, and Zenica. These women came from throughout BiH and this was the first in a series of assists IFES provided to OSCE as mentioned in the introduction above.

Aside from this formal training immediately related to their work, the trainers were continually updated and educated on certain issues as the need for such education arose. For example, the trainers in Doboj were visited by a UNHCR officer to educate them on returnee and property rights. Even though educating people on such subjects was not IFES' primary objective, making our trainers competent in answering frequently asked questions made them more credible. In the same way, the trainers of Zenica were visited by the OSCE's Human Rights Officer from the Zenica field office and the trainers in Livno were visited by the OSCE election officer there.

Follow-up training was supervised by Mila Brooks from July 6 to July 9. At these sessions, team members could operate with the benefit of having observed Zenica GOGs as well as having conducted a few GOGs on their own. Topics covered in these sessions included how to handle difficult and rhetorical questions, evaluating GOG performance, defining "democracy," rights of minorities, Dayton Peace Accords, and team goal-setting. Evaluations by team members and by Mila reflected the success of these follow-up sessions.

Phase II - GAINS

With the elections over, the IFES trainers wasted no time. The very next day, September 15, 1998, after the elections, a seminar in Neum took place preparing for the second phase of the project: training and strengthening grassroots civic groups in order to properly address their issues to the relevant authorities. GAIN was the acronym for Gradjanska Aktivna Inicijativa, which translates to "citizen activists initiative."



A working group during the IFES staff training in Neum

This was the first time that all of the BiH IFES staff was together at one place, jointly deciding on the future activities of the project. In order to encourage and enhance interaction of the trainers, a seating chart was used to guarantee that staff from the three offices would not cluster together. The five-day schedule provided trainers with an insight into new topics,

taught them new skills, enabled them to share their pre-election experiences and develop a new direction for the project in addition to building a healthy, dynamic esprit de corps

On the first day Ed Morgan opened the session by giving the most recent project statistics for the first fifteen weeks of operation which was a motivational booster for the deserving trainers. The rest of the first day was spent in a discussion of the meaning of politics and government and conflicts that arise, leading into a review of the basic elements of democracy. As an extension of this discussion, Tatjana Bogdanovic, a trainer from Teslic with an extensive experience in human rights development, gave a lecture on human rights followed by a series of exercises.

The next day's presentation focused on Conflict Resolution, a session held by Natasa Borcanin, program assistant in Doboj and trained at the George Lakey Peace Center in Philadelphia. At the beginning of the day the trainers said that they were not familiar with the subject. However, by the end of the day they were using strategies for conflict prevention through exercises encompassing elements of conflict.

The focus of the discussion on the third day was the status of women in Bosnia and Herzegovina relevant to our work. The discussion was led by the trainers Hikmeta Seleskovic, Tanja Bogdanovic, Snjezana Lazic, Amra Zijadic and Natasa Borcanin. The session turned into an open discussion, which led to definitions of specific tactics which could be used by trainers in order to encourage greater participation of women in the civic education sessions.

In the afternoon the discussion moved on to the importance of knowing the organization of local government structures. Along the same lines, the trainers defined the purpose of Phase II as one of educating people to self-organize and to solve problems in cooperation with local officials. Their role was to act as catalysts for action rather than implementers or agents for the citizen groups. Following the definition of purpose for the citizen groups the trainers discussed specific steps each group should take while organizing a group such as prioritizing issues, documentation of the agreed upon problem, writing requests, and lobbying.

On Friday, the session on media relations was a collaboration of IFES staff that had experience with the subject. Ljubinko Djuric (correspondent for the RS news agency), Velko Miloev (journalist), Natasa Borcanin (BA in Communications), and Mila Brooks. The purpose of the session was to train the trainers on how to gain favorable media attention for the issues of citizen's groups as a part of the whole GAIN effort.

On Saturday there was a wrap up session summarizing the week. At the end of the seminar the trainers expressed they had a clearer picture of their role under phase II. They had already identified 114 potential groups of citizens during the pre-election phase of the project.

Several months later, in December, the trainers met once again but this time in Teslic, in the RS, for two days. This comparing of notes proved to be quite productive and therefore it was decided that such meetings should be held on three-month bases.

In March, the trainers had an opportunity to gain one more experience polling in collaboration with OSCE as a part of an Information Campaign on the Permanent Election Law. The trainers were schooled by PRISM Research, based in Sarajevo, on the specifics of

conducting surveys. The experience was valuable in exposing the trainers to the elements involved in getting an impartial survey, reflecting opinions of average citizens.

iv Meetings with Local Officials

Mayoral Visits

In 1996 and 1997, the IFES Voter Education Project in Bosnia established the practice of meeting with local heads of government in each municipality before local trainers conducted GOGs there. This practice was continued this year in the Dobož and Livno AORs. The purpose of these meetings was to introduce IFES to the municipality, explain the purpose and methods of our project, provide a pamphlet describing the project, and seek letters that acknowledge our meetings and that the local officials understood our role. These letters were used by local trainers to placate fears of any GOG participants that we were operating without the knowledge of the local authorities.

In the Zenica AOR, letters were no longer necessary as this was the third year of working in the Zenica-Dobož and Middle Bosnia Cantons. However, to assure all was well with our work, Morgan visited each mayor, asking how things were and re-emphasizing our presence. It also proved to be a good opportunity for these officials to tell us how much they appreciated our efforts and to suggest that similar projects should be performed in the rest of the country.

The first meetings in the Dobož AOR were conducted by Ed Morgan and Jim Heilman in Dobož, Teslic, Derventa, and Modrica. Jim held the next three on his own, and Velko Miloev, who was about to assume the role of Dobož Project Manager, assisted with the final four. Natasa Borcanin served as interpreter for all these meetings. Seven weeks were required to complete these visits. This long time frame was due to difficulty arranging appointments resulting from the poor phone/fax communications in the area and to the absence of many key local officials during the summer vacation season.

In Republika Srpska, the key local officials are the President of the Municipal Assembly (somewhat similar to a mayor) and the President of the Executive Council (somewhat similar to a City Manager). The Assembly President is an elected member of the Assembly who is selected president by the other Assembly members. The Executive Council President is appointed by the Assembly, but in many cases holds more power than the Assembly members. In general, we attempted to visit with Assembly Presidents. In most cases, we were able to meet with both. (Only in the Prnjavor opstina were we not able to meet with either, but we were assured that the Assembly Vice-President, with whom we did meet, held authority equivalent to either of the other positions.)

In general these meetings were quite successful, although the tenor of the meetings and the receptiveness of the officials varied greatly among opstinas. All of the officials acknowledged our right to operate in their opstinas, and all but one provided the requested letter. In Modrica, the Assembly President advised that only the Deputy Prime Minister of Administration and Local Autonomy could provide such a letter. Sample copies in the local language, and in English, of the letters we received are included in Appendix 10.

In a few cases, we were told that the citizens know everything they need to know about democracy and elections and are tired of hearing about these subjects. At the other end of the spectrum, several officials were extremely courteous and offered their assistance to our teams in arranging GOGs. Several officials voiced complaints about election laws, the conduct of last year's elections, and the inability of some citizens to register. There appeared to be a tendency toward more reserved receptions in the larger localities with more tense political situations. In sum, the meetings were more cordial than expected, given the political volatility and general mistrust toward the international community in much of the RS.

Similar meetings with mayors in the Livno area, Canton 10, were held by Igor Beros, the project manager there, and Ed Morgan. In one week, for example, Beros and Morgan met with the Cantonal Governor, Mirko Bakovic, who provided us with a letter within one hour of our meeting. Ivan Madunic, Mayor of Tomislavgrad, however, indicated he would have to check with the "party" before providing a letter. Ivan Damjanovic, Mayor of Glamoc, Dragisa Kovacevic, a Serb, who is Mayor of Grahovo and the Deputy Mayor, Zlatko Circija, who is Croat all pledged their support and provided letters. Mayors of Glamoc, Livno, and Kupres also furnished letters. Only Drvar's mayor, a Serb who commuted occasionally from Banja Luka, was not met but we were not prevented from working there as a result of this.

Ultimately all the letters deemed necessary were received and our staff never experienced hostile attitudes anywhere in our AOR, even in the RS in spite of the NATO bombing of the FRY. The NATO action resulted in an evacuation order from the American ambassador requiring all international personnel working for U.S. contractors to leave the RS. This affected Velko and Natasa who worked in "exile" nearby in Jelah and Zenica for a few weeks. They maintained daily contact with the Doboj staff and met with them when the staff came across the IEBL for meetings in Doboj South and Tesanj in the Federation.

Municipal Council and Assembly Sessions

In order to provide some recognition to the local legislative bodies, known as councils in the Federation and assemblies in the Republika Srpska, IFES presented an engraved gavel to each body after it was certified by OSCE as having complied with certain requirements. These presentations were well received and illustrated that these local legislatures were recognized as "official" bodies by an international organization.



Hamza presenting IFES gavel in Doboj Jug

These brief ceremonies also provided the opportunity to expose our program to all the members of these bodies and not simply rely upon our contacts with the mayors. Such presentations also assured our being welcome as we planned to cover the sessions of these councils and assemblies and prepare reports on their deliberations that would be disseminated in each municipality.

The goodwill engendered by this gesture has proven to be quite useful in spite of the care necessary to avoid possible negative connotations where boycotts and walkouts often occur.

due to strong political divisions in many of these bodies. By treating all groups the same, no matter which party controlled a particular council or assembly, helped to underscore our non-partisan approach.

v Materials Development

Initially the Zenica staff had different needs from those in Livno and Doboj. In Zenica the staff immediately began preparing reports on the municipal council sessions they attended over the winter and spring. Subsequently, the Livno and Doboj offices prepared similar reports for their respective AORs. See Appendix 11 for examples.

Several pieces of literature were created for dissemination to local officials. In Livno the brochure describing the IFES mission prepared in 1997 was used. For the Doboj office in the RS however, Ed Morgan and Jim Heilman edited and updated this same brochure and then Natasa transcribed it into Cyrillic, the alphabet most commonly used in Republika Srpska. This brochure was used in the meetings with local officials described above, and also with contact persons in businesses, factories, and villages. See Appendix 12.

Once training was completed, an educational brochure was needed for distribution at GOGs. While Livno was able to use last year's IFES pre-election brochure, Jim Heilman and the Doboj staff developed a new brochure tailored to the needs of the mostly Serb population in their AOR. Since development and printing of a more formal brochure would take some time, a first "fast-track" brochure was produced in-house. (See Appendix 13.) It covers the responsibilities of the local government, the Republika Srpska government, and the Bosnia and Herzegovina government. It also delineates some human rights principles mandated by the Dayton Peace Accords. Finally, it includes a chart of organization of the Bosnian government and its two entities. This brochure was in use for the first four weeks of project operation.

During that period, a final educational brochure to be used in the run-up to the September 12-13 election was prepared. Staff input was sought concerning the overall brochure design and content. Two graphic designers were interviewed, and a local printer (with an in-house graphic designer) was contracted to produce and print the brochure. (See Appendix 14.) The text (found in English in Appendix 15) includes the following elements:

- an introduction to IFES and to the purpose of the brochure,
- responsibilities of the municipality,
- responsibilities of the government of Republika Srpska, including the makeup of the National Assembly and the responsibilities of the President and Vice-president,
- responsibilities of the government of Bosnia and Herzegovina, including the makeup of the Parliament and the responsibilities of the Collective Presidency, human rights outlined in the Dayton Peace Accords, and the roles of the Ombudsman and Office of Human Rights in protecting them,
- procedures for voting,
- glossary of election-related terms, and
- a chart showing the organizational structure of government, those units that were previously directly elected, and those units that will be elected in September.

Printing of the brochure was completed on July 30, and was in use until the election

While the primary emphasis of the GOGs was on principles of democracy and governmental structure, another important function was to distribute information concerning the September ballot

As soon as it was available, we obtained from OSCE the final certified list of parties, independent candidates, coalitions, and alliances. This list also included the ballot order for each, and a chart of the offices for which each was running. Using this list, we were able to design and print sample ballots for all the offices relevant to our AOR. These included

- President and Vice-president of Republika Srpska
- Members of the RS National Assembly
- Serb Member of the Collective Presidency of BiH
- RS Members of the BiH House of Representatives
- Bosniak and Croat Members of the Collective Presidency of BiH
- Federation Members of the BiH House of Representatives
- Members of the Federation House of Representatives
- Members of the Cantonal Assemblies in Cantons 1 and 10

Ballots for the Federation of BiH were printed for distribution to the many displaced persons in the RS who chose to vote by absentee ballots for their pre-war homes in the Federation. Ballots for Cantons 1 and 10 were printed because we had several pockets of displaced persons from Bosanski Petrovac (located in Canton 1) and Drvar (located in Canton 10). Copies of the sample ballots may be found in Appendix 16.

To our knowledge, these were the first realistic sample ballots to be printed and distributed anywhere in the country. They were well-received by GOG attendees and by several organizations who asked permission to use them. During the last week of August OSCE began distribution of poster-sized sample ballots. Since these were true images of the real ballots, we subsequently copied and distributed the OSCE version.

Because the electoral system in BiH is based on proportional representation, most of the names appearing on the ballots were those of parties and not the individuals whom the parties had nominated. During our early GOGs, we found that people were very interested in knowing who these individuals were. In mid-August, OSCE made these lists of party candidates available, and we began copying and distributing them along with the sample ballots. Both these efforts provided voters in our AOR with valuable information that helped them become better informed and prepared for the upcoming election.

In addition to the IFES-created literature discussed above, our teams also distributed various OSCE-produced materials. These included election posters, sugar packets imprinted with this year's election slogan, and, most importantly, tabloids that included the political platforms for all the parties involved in the election.

vi GOG Phase – Pre-Election Period

With the completion of the training, the development of materials to be used in our voter education sessions, and the visits with officials initiated, the teams worked on a GOG agenda. This served as a checklist of items to be covered during the pre-election sessions leading up to the September 12-13, 1998 elections. It was designed to be a flexible tool to permit adjusting each GOG to the needs and interests of the citizens attending these meetings. See Appendix 17 for agenda and reporting form.

In general, the topics in the GOGs were an introduction to IFES and why we were there, the purpose of the GOG, a basic civics lesson on the organization of the government, the importance of registering and voting. We provided information on the voting process, media, political parties and candidates, human rights, and refugee issues. Team members emphasized at the beginning of each session that IFES is completely non-partisan. The overarching message of the GOGs was that “this is your government and that in order to establish a functioning democracy in Bosnia and Herzegovina you must understand it and become an active participant in it.”

Our GOGs were held in a variety of settings including factories, commercial enterprises, health care facilities, DP camps, refugee centers, saw mills and other work sites, as well as villages and local communities either near towns or in extremely remote locales. Usually our trainers found a contact person such as a company director or village leader who assisted in bringing the people together.

In some instances where great distances were covered to reach a GOG site and there was no telephone service available, if people could be collected, an impromptu session was held. It is interesting to note that in these latter sessions there was a greater likelihood that more women were in attendance than in those prearranged, except in workplaces where women were employed. Most of our sessions were held in villages or other residential areas and the attendance varied from 10 to 20 voters. In employment facilities attendance could reach as many as 100 or more.

The rhythm of life, particularly in central Bosnia, is influenced by the seasons and growing patterns of certain crops. For instance hay harvesting is at its peak in July and August with villagers in the field from early morning until late in the evening. In order to maximize our impact, teams often departed around 6:00 A.M. to visit factories and enterprises before 1:00 P.M. and then went out again between 6:00 P.M. and 10:00 P.M. to visit villages after the residents returned from the fields. With temperatures often reaching over 100 degrees in the summer this was an exhausting time for our trainers to work. However, again to show their commitment to this work, they sometimes held sessions on Saturdays or Sundays instead of weekdays because those days would assure greater attendance at the GOGs.

The sessions our trainers held with local citizens were very interactive and often quite intensive. As people got to know us better they felt more comfortable with us and were most open in sharing their thoughts and concerns. Many times they would raise issues that were only tangentially related to the elections but nevertheless we listened patiently as we were the only source many of these people had to direct their concerns to and with whom they could share their problems. After only two weeks of working in Livno, for example, the following issues surfaced:

- Desire to get information from other media sources
- Medical workers desired to create their own union
- People must pay for most of their drugs, despite valid health insurance
- Lawyers stressed the problems of federal laws not applying to Canton 10
- Bugojno refugees must pay 100 DM for paperwork to return to their homes
- Violations of human rights, particularly right to private property
- Refugees from Caprazlije had not received assistance to rebuild their homes
- Anger with municipal leaders for poor infrastructure east of Livno
- Current politicians heavily involved in creation of school history programs

In Doboij our staff were often the only outsiders visiting communities, particularly DP camps and refugee centers. Talking about elections was impossible without addressing questions related to returns and property rights. The trainers compiled a list of the most frequently asked questions. An approach to UNHCR resulted in a six page document with short, clear answers which they prepared upon our request and these were widely distributed. See Appendix 18 for a copy of this brochure.



Snjezana and Nebojsa with Serb DPs near Derventa

Our trainers in Zenica were confronted with similar non-election related questions. On one occasion, one of our teams took the OSCE Head of Mission in BiH, Ambassador Robert Barry, with them to the local community of Rodovlje in the municipality of Visoko. He was impressed with the free flow of dialogue our trainers, Hika Seleskovic and Miroslav Stjepanovic, maintained throughout the GOG and their ability to answer questions on a variety of issues. He witnessed a representative sampling of issues that typically arose in our GOGs and because he is fluent in the local language he understood all that was happening and fielded the following six items raised:

- Why can't we vote for individual candidates instead of party lists?
- Do you think we have democracy here in Bosnia?
- What kind of voting process exists in the U S ?
- When will privatization certificates be available to the citizens?
- Why can some parties get more access to television than others?
- Why are local polling station committee members all from "downtown"?

These questions reflected thoughtful concerns we heard in many places. The question regarding party lists, along with another issue, direct election of mayors, were commonly raised throughout our entire AOR. These would come up later during the OSCE election law information campaign.

Often our trainers would bring surprising revelations to their audiences. On one such occasion Hamza Smajic and Ninoslav Badrov told a GOG in the Bosniak village of Mecevic in the municipality of Zavidovic that Alija Izetbegovic would not be President after the 1998 election. The crowd was astonished because they knew there were more Bosniaks (Muslims) than Croats or Serbs who would probably be voting in the election. Hamza and Nino proceeded to explain the constitutional provisions for the rotating presidency as provided in the Dayton Agreement. Within a few minutes the crowd's initial hostile reaction subsided and the attendees listened patiently for the duration of the session.

In this northern section of the Zenica-Doboj Canton there is a heavy presence of Mujahadin which is disturbing to many of the long-time Bosniak residents who would welcome back their former Croat and Serb neighbors. On one particular occasion, due to the presence of Mujahadin, Hamza introduced Nino, a Croat, as Islam to make him more acceptable. A member of the municipal council happened to be in the audience and recognized Nino from his attendance at council meetings. The councilor assured Nino, privately, that everything was alright and that he should not be concerned and he did not "blow his cover."

By mid-July OSCE released the list of 55 parties certified for the September election, however it was many more weeks before the lists with candidates' names were available since the Provisional Election Commission was confronted with more than 15,000 names that had to be cleared for the ballots.

Throughout the pre-election campaign we continued to liaise with the international community as well as local officials. Jim Heilman, Igor Beros, and Ed Morgan regularly attended the UNHCR meetings and monitored the Refugee Return Task Force (RRTF) meetings. Heilman also met with David Sip of NDI's office in Banja Luka and Stephen Schneider, NDI's Political Party Director in the RS. Morgan met with Nick Green in Tuzla and representatives of the NDI staff there met with the Zenica staff to compare notes and approaches.

Exchanges with others is a vital part of our approach here in BiH. For example, in the third week in July the Livno staff met with the local OSCE office there, Doboj trainers met with UNHCR's DP/Refugee Field Officer, and the Zenica teams had a session with Selver Kelestura, the Zenica Municipal Secretary. These sessions attested to the fact that we have access to the best sources available, and that our work is taken seriously by those in authority.

Our trainers worked very hard to gain respect and it was showing in their credibility as in the case when Dragan Pavlic and Ljubinko Duric held a GOG in Doboj with thirteen journalists. While this group's level of awareness was quite high, they had many questions that were successfully answered. An unsolicited by-product of this session was a report on Radio Doboj (VOA) and a wire service story. See Appendix 19.

The atmosphere in BiH was generally calm during this project, however, the last week in July included three bombings in our AOR, resulting in one death. A Muslim-owned butcher shop in Novi Travnik was blown up, a mine was detonated alongside the Catholic Church in Kakanj, and in Travnik, a bomb killed a 25 year-old Croat policeman in front of the police station, bringing to 9 the number of killings in Travnik since the end of the war. This latter incident prompted HDZ to once again call for boycotts, urging refugees not to return to

Travnik, and encouraging Croat municipal employees to leave their jobs until the perpetrators were found. Several employees heeded this advice. Croat policemen temporarily removed to Nova Bila, several kilometers from downtown Travnik, and refused to participate in the recently established joint police force.

Elsewhere, the situation was stable, but restless. When Milorad Dodik, Prime Minister of Srpska, fired 16 radio and television station managers, most of whom were in our portion of Srpska, SRS, the hard-line Serbian party, raised a storm, blaming the international community. As a result some of the letters we expected to receive from officials were delayed but were ultimately received and we had no difficulty there with our work.

Our trainers in Doboj were somewhat surprised with the cordial, but reserved, reception they received. Due to the heavy party influence, both in Doboj and in Livno, it would take time, beyond the election, before we would be able to initiate the creation of civic activist groups. A transition period, just as we experienced in the Zenica AOR, was necessary in order to assure people that we were genuinely helping to establish democracy and not threatening the existing power structure. One rather rye comment made by a GOG attendee when one of our trainers spoke about electing the president "But we have a president for life. His name is Westendorp!" On another occasion the director of the Modrica Medical Center when asked by our team for permission to hold a GOG at his facility said, "Well, of course I know that all of you from the international community are spies, but you can go ahead."

Meanwhile, in the Zenica AOR we continued to see spontaneous refugee returns throughout the summer. We visited 36 villages that were abandoned last year, but now had families beginning to come back, in a few instances both Croats and Muslims to the same village. However, some local authorities were still trying to push a nationalist line. In the case of one Muslim, who visited his village but continued to live in Zenica, he indicated he would not return until the school refrained from advocating the Croatian program that included a religious and language bias.

In the first week of August Velko Milojev arrived from Sofia to assume the program manager duties in Doboj upon the departure of Jim Heilman on August 21. They worked together so that Velko, former OSCE Election Officer in Zenica, became fully apprised of the Doboj AOR. He visited GOGs with each pair of trainers and, along with Jim, met the Vukosavlje Assembly president, Jovica Kovacevic, the President of the Executive Board, Borko Tubakovic, and the LEC Secretary, Djordjo Bozic. Our usually requested letter was provided by the end of the meeting. Another letter was also received from Prnjavor after meeting with its Municipal Assembly Vice-President, Vlado Zivkovic.

In early August a visit was made by Morgan and Nisic to Posavina Canton. This is a three opchina canton north of Republika Srpska on the Sava River, bordering Croatia. Domaljevac-Samac was a newly created opchina now added to Orasje and Odzak. They had to take a chance in catching people since the telephone lines were not functioning well. The local officials were not in due to a new Thanksgiving Holiday, celebrated by the Croats in this area, commemorating the Battle of Oluja when the Croatian Army re-took Knin and the Serb Krajina in 1995. Fortunately the OSCE personnel were available and Christian Ouimet, OSCE Democratization Officer, proved to be very informative.

“Good-bye Bosnia, I’m going to Sarajevo ” This is a local expression, pre-dating the war, which people in BiH say when going to Sarajevo It sums up the reaction of many Bosnians living beyond the metropolitan Sarajevo area as to the distance they feel between themselves and the trappings of officialdom and “society” in their capital city

Unfortunately, the distance expressed in the above quip is only exceeded by the lack of comprehension of its truth by those in Sarajevo charged with planning schedules of visitors coming to Bosnia to learn about this country A scheduled visit to the field for a visitor from Washington was cancelled so that the visitor could “spend the day in Sarajevo ” Just as one cannot know the US by visiting Washington, the situation is no less true for Bosnia However, it also requires a desire to learn on the part of the visitor as well

In mid-summer Morgan met with the two teams in Livno to get their impressions to date They were very positive about their work and had experienced little difficulty with their GOGs In a visit to Bosansko Grahova to get a list of community leaders for Serb returnees from the Mayor more than a dozen Serb returnees were seen working on various structures in the town, unbothered and uninhibited about their work Similar scenes had not been seen or reported, as yet, in Republika Srpska for Croat and Bosniak returnees there

By this time all our teams were the first in their respective areas to distribute party candidate lists – the most interesting piece of material to the voters Sample ballots were also of great interest A third item was the series of political party platform tabloids printed by OSCE

On August 14th Morgan had an appointment at the US Embassy with Ambassador Richard D Kauzlarich also attended by John L Klekas, Political Officer, and Susan Kosinski, USAID During this thirty-minute meeting he described the *IFES* Civic Education Project and invited the ambassador to visit a GOG In response to the ambassador’s questions, Morgan reiterated what he told Ambassador Robert L Barry, in a meeting the previous Saturday, that the voters were generally tired of all the election coverage on television and that they wanted to vote for individual candidates, rather than be forced to choose a party list that may include candidates for which they do not want to vote

In August, Livno lost a trainer to another USAID project, a newly funded radio station which Zeljka Mihaljevic had been working on prior to coming to IFES Since she was a good journalist, and this was her true calling, we wished her well although we were disappointed to lose her Igor Beros replaced her with a good back up in Boris Bralo who he hired as a driver/trainer a few weeks earlier

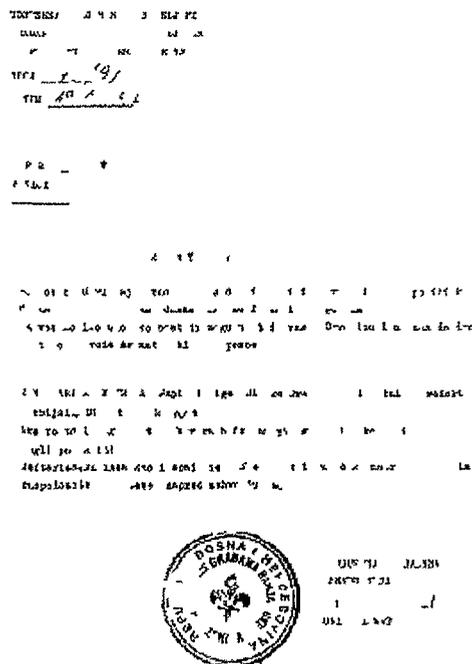


Ivo and Boris hear refugee complaints in Tomislavgrad

The last week in August Nermin Nistic and Nino Badrov worked for seven days in the Posavina Canton, north of the RS. Contacts were renewed with many local community leaders who recognized this team from 1997. The HDZ is very strong in this canton and, for instance, in Orasje, presidents of local communities were paid professionals who also served on the local HDZ boards. Turmoil was pervasive here as reflected in the OSCE notification that the Mayor of Orasje, Marko Benkovic, would be removed from the HDZ list of candidates now running for the Federation Parliament (He was No. 7 on a list of 133 names). Westendorp also removed Benkovic as mayor due to obstruction to returning DPs.

Odzak, the second opchina in this canton was a ghostly specter in 1997, but flowered into a renewed community with the restoration of electricity through the USAID Municipal Infrastructure Program. Coffee bars, rebuilt homes and local trade centers illustrated an amazing transformation and it appeared that the new NHI (New Croatian Initiative – a break-off from HDZ headed by Kresimir Zubak) was popular in these opchinas, albeit not more popular than HDZ.

Domaljevac-Samac, a newly created opchina, was the third municipality in this canton, and held a municipal election in 1998 due to its newness. The economy there is generally supported from abroad except for the local ferry which earns 6 million DM/yr. The destroyed bridge was rebuilt by December.



Letter and Certificate of appreciation from Banja Luka DP Association signed by Ismet Gunic

In August we learned of the murder of Ismet Gunic, President of the Banja Luka DPs based in Zenica. We had met with him several times and he was most appreciative of our help and interest in his people's plight. He was attacked in his apartment while his wife was in the

hospital He was one of the best people we met in the course of this project He will be missed

By the time the election took place we managed, unintentionally, to achieve a distribution record of material printed by IFES as well as OSCE – more than 41,650 pieces which consisted of the following

- 19,000 Opchina Reports from 22 opchinas compiled & printed by IFES
- 2,500 Blue, IFES Election Guides in Croatian for Livno & Posavina
- 7,500 Cyrillic Election Guides for Republika Srpska printed by IFES
- 8,000 Sample ballots (5,000 designed & printed by IFES)
- 2,550 OSCE Party Platform tabloids
- 1,600 OSCE Posters
- 500 Party Candidate Lists photocopied by IFES from one copy from OSCE

41,650 Total Printed Items Distributed Between 1 June - 11 September, 1998

In the last two weeks before the election we had visitors who observed our trainers approach first-hand and were very impressed Sonja Valtasaari, USAID Sarajevo, visited two GOGs conducted by the Livno teams one in Tomislavgrad comprised of Croat refugees from Vlasic mountain area, and another in a village in Glamoc of Serb refugees GOGs continued to reveal the lack of knowledge people have regarding voting procedures and the levels of government under Dayton Young citizens are frustrated with lack of employment and their perception of “crooked politicians” Many voters expressed that HDZ is not going to solve their problems, but they would vote for HDZ because they thought that party would best support the “Croat cause” and they were indifferent to the future of BiH

In Zenica, Sonja also attended a GOG, in the local community of Serici, in Zenica Opchina Here she heard about the local young people being unable to hold a dance because the police would not grant the necessary permit for a public gathering In the course of discussion it was learned that some other local young people, Mujahadeen, protested the idea of a dance and this was the excuse the police used for their denial of the permit It was suggested that the dance supporters discuss this issue with the local IPTF unit

Another visitor was Susan Woodward, author of Balkan Tragedy and who was on loan to Ambassador Barry at OSCE from the Brookings Institution After a briefing at the Zenica office, she accompanied Hika and Miro on two GOGs in the Visoko Opchina Bosniak refugees from Republika Srpska living in the former Serb village of Cekrcici, and the local community of Kula Banjer Due to her fluency with the language she participated in the discussions and was impressed with the ability of our trainers to handle issues unrelated with the election as well as their initial presentations Her reaction was as positive as that of Ambassador Barry two weeks earlier

Some final observations and comments relating to this phase

The Livno teams were seeing, generally, an older population than was prevalent in the rest of our AOR, with most of the younger people either in Germany or in Croatia The out-migration here is resulting in dying communities These teams reached approximately 12% of the voters in this canton, the largest percentage for our three offices

The attempted manipulation of the voters, as experienced last year in Zenica, Zepce and elsewhere perpetrated on the electorate by officials, appeared to be present in the Livno area in 1998. One example was a man who could not receive his salary without his registration receipt (voting card)

In Dobož, Velko secured polling station lists from OSCE which were being shared with the voters. The lists from Prnjavor were still not finalized up to a few days before the election. In addition to OSCE coordination, Velko and Natasa briefed Andrew Carpenter, ODIHR Long Term Observer (Morgan did the same thing with Miles Staunton, ODIHR Observer in Zenica). The OSCE International trainer briefed all Dobož staff on the latest technicalities and the Prnjavor Local Election Officer shared updates on the political situations and the municipal councils in that area.

The trainers in Dobož showed their commitment to this project by working the last two weekends to reach as many voters as possible. In addition, each team made seven radio appearances, both live and pre-recorded, further enhancing the exposure of information we brought to the public. In those broadcasts they discussed the voter education material as well as their approach which was direct and non-partisan. In addition to emphasizing the importance of voting, they shared with the audiences the most commonly asked questions by the voters, how to mark a ballot, secrecy of the vote and particularly of tendered ballots.

Since 1 June, when the first *IFES* trainers went into the field from the Zenica office, the combined efforts of the Dobož, Livno, and Zenica teams reached more than 32,000 voters in over 2,100 discussion sessions, Grupa za Obuka Gradjana (GOGs), during the 15 weeks leading up to the election weekend. Without question, this *IFES* project is the broadest and the most penetrating civic education activity this country ever experienced.

The final figures for each staff office in this phase is as follows:

Dobož	587 GOGs with	9,063	participants
Livno	570 GOGs with	6,744	participants
Zenica	1,023 GOGs with	16,430	participants
Total	2,180 GOGs with	32,217	participants

VII GAIN Phase – Post Election Period

Transition Interval

Immediately following the election we held a five-day training session described above in the training section. It was during this time that the staff, after considerable discussion, decided upon a slogan that was to be used during this second phase and that would be imprinted on pens to be handed out to attendees at subsequent meetings. The slogan was **Budi aktivan, osjeti svoju snagu – Be active, feel your power**.

Following the training we concentrated on putting people in closer touch with their municipal governments to obtain from these institutions the services required in the villages and local communities throughout our AOR. Strengthening the dialogues between these governments

and the governed, in open fora and without these levels of government feeling threatened, was our emphasis for the remainder of this project

The Zenica teams had a two-year head start on Livno and Doboj so they were somewhat better able to initiate this next phase, however, since it was also a new activity for them as well it was necessary for them to proceed cautiously

The Zenica teams had conducted 1,024 GOGs in 663 towns, villages, communities, and settlements. In fifteen weeks they met 16,438 individuals in these localities. During this time the teams identified 134 places that had the potential for becoming home-sites for civic activist groups which we decided to call GAINS, Gradjanska Aktivna Inicijativa, Citizen Activists Initiatives

Meanwhile, the Doboj and Livno teams began assessing their initial GOG site groups and started to prepare new material to be included in their respective Opchina Reports. These teams held GOGs in 351 localities that they would be re-visiting to determine which ones were best suited for initiating civic action groups

Concurrently, we were all becoming more familiar with the petition process for presenting issues to the municipal governments (both to the councils and assemblies and the executive branches) and the structure of local communities. The status of Local Communities (mjesna zajednica), which is the lowest level of government in BiH, varies not only between Srpska and the Federation, but also between Croat and Bosniak villages and communities within the Federation. In the Bosniak areas LCs are commonly found while in the areas controlled by the Croatian nationalist party, HDZ, the local party leader is generally the decision maker

In 1997 IFES established a practice of attending municipal council sessions and preparing periodic reports for distribution to the citizenry. This year the Livno and Doboj staffs read the BiH constitution, the entity constitutions, and in the case of Doboj, the RS law on local self-government. Trainers also collected municipal statutes and the various councils' Rules of Procedure. These latter items were necessary to learn how an issue was placed on the council's or assembly's agenda, how public attendance at meetings might be regulated, and how to petition or address officials with requests. Often these varied from one opchina to another

The municipal or opchina reports typically contained the following

- Cover page with municipality name and coat of arms, if any,
- Election results and allocation of seats on the councils or assemblies,
- Summary of council or assembly meetings by topic,
- Responsibilities of municipal officials
- Municipal budget
- Heads of departments with telephone numbers
- Acknowledgement of USAID as sponsor of this civic project

See Appendix 3 for sample copies of IFES Municipal Reports

Armed with these reports and the election results our teams were able to renew field visits to share this information with citizens and make preliminary assessments and inquiries as to which groups might make the best GAINs groups. See Appendix 12 for list of localities visited during the 1998-1999 contract period.

The election results offered few surprises to us, but some disappointments to others. In central Bosnia the SDA in coalition with S BiH, GDS, and Liberals BiH took the lion's share of the vote with the SDP (former Communist Party) in second place and others far behind. Appendix 21 provides the cantonal assemblies' breakdown for our AOR. Totals by municipality are unavailable except in those ten newly created opchinas holding elections in 1998.

In the Doboje area nine of the eleven opchinas moved more to the right of the political spectrum than the Republika Srpska as a whole. Except in Srbac and Petrovo, the nationalist parties received 10% to 30% more than the average entity-wide results for these parties. While the U.S. strongly supported Biljana Plavsic in her bid for re-election to the RS Presidency, Nikola Poplasen, an ultra-nationalist and former war-lord, easily won.

Before the election only seven parties were represented in the RS National Assembly, afterwards twelve parties shared the 83 seats. For the first time the two main Croat parties, HDZ and NHI, are represented but with only one seat each. Five new parties account for only 8 seats. The fragmentation of the assembly made the forming of a new government difficult, particularly since the main parties, the coalitions Sloga and SDS-Radicals, were not close to an absolute majority. Both sides were not inclined to seek the support from the Federation-based parties who had a total of 19 members in the RS parliament. It is also noteworthy that for the first time a RS based party had seats in the Federation H of R (two mandates for the Socialist Party of RS).

The election of Poplasen, who was ultimately removed by HR Westendorp, along with the seizure of Stevan Todorovic, an indicted Serb war criminal, and the high number of ballots in the RS ruled invalid, 17% of Serb ballots compared to 10% of Bosniaks' ballots and 0.8% of Croat ballots, created a potentially tense situation for the Doboje staff. Indeed, on Monday, October 12, we received an evacuation order from the U.S. embassy requiring Natasa and Velko to travel to Zenica. In their absence the Doboje staff carried on, cautiously, and while this only lasted two days, it was an omen of further difficulties.

In Livno there was less tension than in the RS. However, the U.S. openly backed another losing candidate, this time the incumbent Croat member of the BiH Presidency who created a new party, the New Croatian Initiative, NHI. With Kresimir Zubak losing to Ante Jelavic it was important for us to keep a low profile in the immediate aftermath of the election. However, within a short time it was evident that this change would not have any effect on our work and we continued as usual.

By the first week in October all IFES teams were in full swing, holding GOGs and identifying GAINs groups. The teams had a new agenda for this phase and the one developed by the Doboje teams is included in Appendix 22.

GAINs Groups

Establishing citizen activist groups was a very intensive, time-consuming activity involving many visits with each group in order to provide them with the necessary guidance in pursuing their particular needs. Potential groups were identified in the earlier pre-election phase and immediate post-election interval. Trainers made initial selections based upon how audiences responded to presentations made by the teams during earlier meetings. Those showing interest in the elections or in what was happening with municipal council and assembly meetings were deemed to be likely targets to meet with around an issue of local community interest.

After returning to a village or local community to determine that the residents had at least one issue they collectively wished to pursue, a team would schedule a second meeting to be attended by as many residents as possible. At this meeting or, if necessary, at a third meeting, it was expected that the residents would prioritize the issues they wished to address, select a small working group and a spokesperson. This smaller group would be responsible for preparing any necessary material to document the issue and incorporate this into a letter or petition requesting assistance that would be delivered to the appropriate municipal authorities.

The next step was a somewhat intimidating factor. If a response from the municipality was not forthcoming within two weeks, the spokesperson was counseled by our team to visit the municipal office involved and inquire what was happening with the request. If no satisfactory answer was received, the spokesperson was urged to lobby the appropriate officials, executive or legislative levels, or both, until a response was given.

It was understood that many of these requests might be legitimately turned down due to lack of adequate funds at the municipal level. However, because it was anticipated that funding could be a problem, GAIN groups were advised to choose projects that in most cases were not very expensive, preferably in the 1,000KM to 15,000KM range.

An important factor in this phase was to emphasize to both GAIN groups, as well as to the authorities, that acknowledging receipt of the request by the municipality followed up with an adequate response was a reasonable expectation for the GAIN group. Denial of a request could be acceptable, but not without an explanation. Heretofore, under the previous Communist system, hearing nothing from the authorities was not uncommon. This project was aimed at changing that attitude by insisting upon accountability, responsiveness, and transparency from the local governments. See Appendix 15 for GAIN Reporting Form.



Starting with transparency and accountability and recounting a few other examples such as local government structure and infrastructure needs, the following six GAINs projects from the three offices typify the activity in this phase

* One of several examples demanding transparency and accountability took place in the Srbski Brod LC of Brodsko Polje where citizens were attempting to secure agricultural credits. The municipality was involved in this process but was reluctant to divulge any information when our GAIN group first raised questions in December. After urging from Snjezana Lazic and Nebojsa Bljajic, one of our Doboj teams, the residents became more vocal and insistent in getting an explanation from the municipal authorities as to how beneficiaries are selected and when this type of assistance is available. They also wanted to know what criteria was being used in enabling people to qualify for loans. By February, 1999, after several visits, the municipal officials opened the process to public scrutiny and responded, in writing, to our GAIN group.

* A rather unusual GAIN action was encouraged by another Doboj team that involved the creation of a new sub-municipal area government level known as a "mjesna zajednica" or local community. Early in this phase Tanja Bogdanovic and Branko Buzakovic visited Stari Martinac, a somewhat isolated village in Srbac. The people here complained of many problems and the difficulties they had in getting attention from the authorities. They felt they were regarded as "poor stepchildren" by the LC in which they were included. After some discussion it was learned that they wanted to be a separate LC but did not know how this could be done. Through some counseling from Branko, who is a lawyer and former judge, the citizens organized an assembly of residents, known as "Zbor Gradjana". They prepared a meeting agenda, drafted a LC statute, and obtained wide support in their village. Upon successful completion of this GAIN activity we subsequently learned this LC remained active and solved other local issues such as electricity supply, bus service, and getting a local medical unit for their community.

* In the Livno village of Ljubuncic, Sasa Cosic and Amra Zijadic helped the residents with a petition to the local authorities to rebuild an outpatient clinic. Their first meeting took place on December 23rd followed on the 29th by a determination that the clinic should be the priority issue and a request was drafted. This was filed on January 14, 1999. In the subsequent twelve visits by the team to this GAIN, progress was tracked, the local CIMIC unit located funding through the Belgian government with the approval of the local authorities, and work began on June 15th. Now the building is rebuilt but the GAIN is still searching for the necessary 39,000 DM to equip the facility.

* Another GAIN by the Livno staff was concluded by Ivo Ceko and Boris Bralo in the Bosansko Grahovo village of Obljaj. Approximately 100 Serb families lived here before the war but fled during the conflict. In their absence the power supply network was destroyed. In late 1998 several families attempted to return but found the lack of electricity a serious hindrance. Our team had its first meeting with a group of families there on November 30th. Over the subsequent seven months a series of seventeen visits were made to this village to encourage the residents to persist in their request. Finally, on June 21, 1999, the reconstruction work began and by the first week in July, 35 families had returned to this village and more were anticipated by the end of the summer.

* The Zenica-based team of Zoran Adzaj and Sead Muslimovic worked with a total of 25 GAINs in the course of eight months. One of them was the village of Goles in the municipality of Travnik. The Lasvansko Logging Co., in using local roads to transport out its cut trees, caused considerable damage to the roads. On October 13th seven citizens, representing this LC of 2,000 Bosniak returnees, met with Zoran and Sead to formulate a request to the municipality for repairs. The following week an inspector was located who met with the GAIN committee to survey the damage. By November 6th the company director agreed to assist with the cost of repairs and two weeks later a firm was identified that would do the work. In early December work began and by January 16, 1999 the road was completely repaired. This GAIN success was unusual in that it was completed within a short period of time and did not require many visits by our team. Quite often many attempts are required simply to have an update meeting as telephones are not available and visits must be made merely to attempt to find people at home.

* A second example from Zenica is the results of Hamza Smajic and Nino Badrov in the Novi Seher area of Maglaj municipality. This local community is a political hotbed of activity with the Croat population wanting to be reattached to the adjacent municipality of Zepce of which they were a part prior to the Communist era. Hamza and Nino traveled the 110km roundtrip approximately 20 times to help the mixed ethnic portion of this LC. After seven months this GAIN succeeded in obtaining water pipes to three Bosniak and three Croat homes as well as the 4,000 KM worth of construction material to connect additional houses to the water supply system.

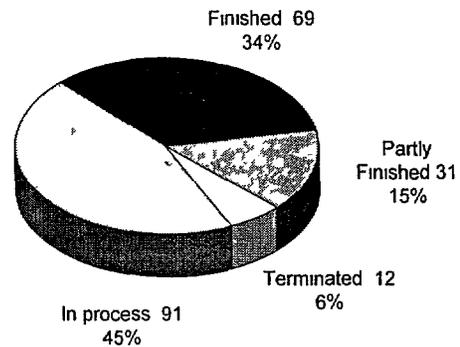
While these are only six out of the 203 initiatives undertaken during a nine month period of this contract, they provide some idea of the time, distance, endurance and creativity required to successfully pursue this activity. The types of projects varied from one GAIN to another. The following list classifies most of them.

- Agriculture
- Ambulanta
- Apartments
- Bridge
- Bus Service
- Cemetery
- Community Building
- Construction Material
- Electrical Service
- Ecology
- Food Supplies
- Fire Brigade
- Flood Prevention
- New Local Community
- NGOs
- Prisoners of War
- Road
- School
- School Buses
- Sewage
- Social Welfare
- Soil Erosion
- Street Lights
- Telephone Service
- Traffic Safety
- Transparency
- Trash Collection
- Veterinary Station
- Water Supply or Quality
- Youth Club

By early November our teams had established 90 GAINs groups. This number grew to 163 by the end of January, 183 by mid-March, and reached a final total of 203 by April 16, 1999. For a description and status summary of the 203 GAINs undertaken by our teams between October, 1998 and July 7, 1999 see Appendix 24.

Many individuals observing this project, not to mention the staff itself, were skeptical over the possibility of success regarding these civic initiatives. The chart below is a statistical overview.

Office	Doboj	Livno	Zenica	Total
Finished	23	13	33	69
Partly Fin	24		7	31
In Process	10	20	61	91
Terminated	5	2	5	12
Total	62	35	106	203



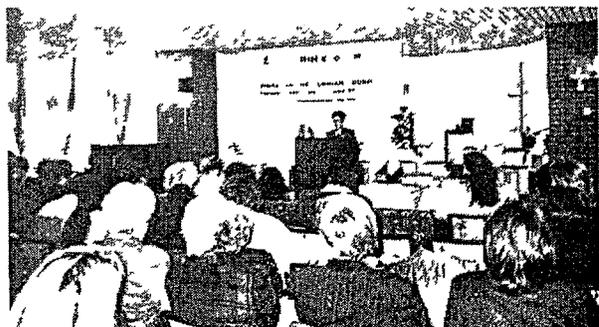
These figures indicate a monumental achievement by our trainers in light of the initial distrust and wariness on the part of both the people and the local politicians. In spite of the deteriorated social conditions, poor economy, nationalistic impulses of the major political parties, and desperate needs for municipal infrastructure, our teams were able to get people to concentrate and stay focused on objectives that few gave any hope for, let alone success.

It must also be noted that during this second phase we also devoted considerable time to other democracy-building activities such as OSCE activities including a nationwide survey, training 38 community facilitators, and conducting 163 Permanent Election Law Information Campaign roundtables. Our Doboj office also was heavily involved with the proposed Local Self-government Law in the Republika Srpska during this phase.

VIII Related Democracy-Building Activities Requested of IFES

Education of Other Civic Activists

In 1998, Hika Seleskovic conducted the first of what ultimately became a series of training for OSCE constituents or staff. In June she addressed four women's conferences sponsored by the Democratization Section of OSCE that were held in Sarajevo, Zenica, Bihac, and Banja Luka. OSCE provided a car and driver for her to meet her schedule in speaking to these



sessions on the role of civic activism and encourage these audiences to become assertive members of the NGO community. In this series Hika was the sole speaker on the program.

In November Hika was again called upon. This time it was to address 130 women convened in Zenica by Delphi International that is providing micro-credit to small, women-operated enterprises. Her topic was advocacy in dealing with the government.

On a third occasion Hika addressed the Evaluation and Strategy Planning Workshop on the community facilitation training in Sarajevo, organized by the OSCE Democratization Department in February, 1998. Her 1 hour and 45 minute presentation on the IFES approach and experience in working with groups of citizens prompted a big interest among the participants, including activists from NGOs in the Republika Srpska.

OSCE Nationwide Survey

On March 3rd Morgan met with several OSCE staff in Sarajevo to discuss mutual interests in conducting a survey related to the elections. The previous week, after he learned that OSCE was planning a poll similar to one prepared by IFES he shared the IFES survey draft with OSCE, see Appendix 25. After some discussion it appeared redundant for IFES to conduct a poll at the same time as OSCE so we decided to collaborate with OSCE, although the trainers had been working on the questions since early January and the IFES questionnaire was broader in scope and would have been easier to administer.

It was agreed that IFES would refrain from conducting its own poll and instead make its 18 trainers available to be included among the 120 poll takers necessary for the OSCE survey. The poll was managed by PRISM Research of Sarajevo and our trainers were trained by this firm in preparation for the work which was conducted the week of March 23rd. Each trainer polled ten people per day for four days. The average time per individual was 35 minutes to respond to the 34 question survey form which included several subsections. See Appendix 26.



Nino surveying resident of Zenica

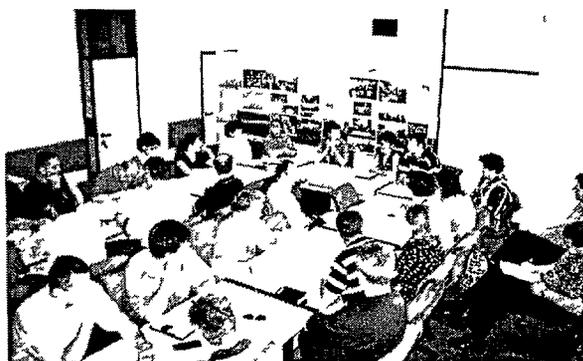
It was during this survey period that the NATO action against Yugoslavia was initiated. This abruptly curtailed the survey work in the RS, but not before more than two-thirds of the quota for that area was obtained. The trainers benefited from this polling experience, however, since OSCE did not like some of the results an embargo was imposed, thereby denying IFES staff and others the complete results.

OSCE Community Facilitator Training

Due to the well-earned reputation of our trainers we were asked by OSCE to train local BiH citizens OSCE designated as “community facilitators” who were expected to conduct roundtables on the future election law IFES trainers were already in the process of conducting these roundtables and because our staff had several years experience in getting people together to initiate discussions and lead public meetings on similar topics they were ideally suited to train these OSCE personnel

The training was conducted in two sessions with 16 trainees assembled in Zenica on May 28-29 and 22 gathered in Doboj on June 4-5, 1999 In order to intensify participation, each session was divided into two groups so that each trainee had ample opportunity to speak, raise questions, and make short presentations that were critiqued by their colleagues as well as IFES staff

Nino Badrov and Snjezana Lazic served as trainers for one group while Ivo Ceko and Sead Muslimovic took the second group, supplemented with discussion on the survey reporting form by Nermin Nisic For the training session in Doboj Natasa Borcanin substituted for Ivo Velko Miloev gave an excellent presentation on comparative election systems by outlining various systems and ballot designs used in other countries Prior to these sessions the trainers met in Zenica to develop the agenda and decide how they would proceed We also revised the agenda before the second session, see Appendix 27



IFES training session for OSCE Community Facilitators

In retrospect, more time than planned was devoted to this endeavor, however it proved to be worthwhile judging from the comments received from the 38 attendees A valuable portion of this training was the field visits with OSCE facilitators accompanying IFES teams to sites where GOGs were conducted and these individuals could see first-hand how we handled such events The sessions, workshops, and field visits spurred much relevant and productive discussions that not only helped these new facilitators define their future role, but also aided us in evaluating the work we had been doing for several months

OSCE PELIC Roundtables

In the early spring of 1999 OSCE announced that it would be conducting a Permanent Election Law Information Campaign that was known as PELIC IFES and other were solicited to participate As already indicated above, we assisted with the OSCE survey and trained OSCE facilitators to conduct PELIC roundtables Nevertheless, we also agreed to hold a series of PELIC roundtables in addition to our regular GAIN activity for a one-month period The National Working Group, responsible for drafting a new permanent law, announced that it would produce such a draft by mid-July therefore it was necessary to hold these meetings in a compressed time period

An agenda for these PELIC GOGs or roundtables was put together jointly by the three offices (See Appendix 20) Additionally, an election systems paper composed by Velko with translation assistance from Natasa, drawing upon information from the ACE project developed by IFES, was made available to the staff This was after Velko made a thorough presentation to the staff that was the only comparative document on elections in BiH that was in the local language

On Wednesday, May 26, we launched PELIC Roundtables in all three of our areas Zenica, Livno, and Doboј By the end of the week we held more than twenty of the 150 we pledged to conduct for OSCE but ultimately completed 163 – by far the most such meetings of any group participating in this assignment During the first week Ed Morgan attended a session with Hika and Miro who met with eight villagers in Plahovići of the Local Community Gornja Gracanica, about 8km outside of Zenica The following is a recap of their 1 ½ hour discussion and is included here as typical of these sessions

After Hika and Miro described the present system in BiH and outlined other systems common in western Europe and the US the first comment from one attendee was the lack of possibility to hear from representatives of the various parties including parties in the RS After others joined in to agree with this comment, another raised an objection to the idea that people from Croatia who are now in Herzegbosanski Canton, but who were not included in the 1991 census, will not be able to vote in BiH if they have a BiH passport A third comment, agreed to by everyone was that the mayor should be elected by the people, not the municipal council The next topic in this highly spirited discussion was that voters should have the right to vote for individual candidates through open party lists, rather than closed lists, for all levels of government At the local level, they also want council districts so they will have their own council members rather than as the case is now that more than 90% of the council members come from “downtown” The people in this Bosniak village also stressed that they want to vote for all three members of the BiH presidency

A general complaint was that voters did not have information in sufficient time before the election to assess the candidates on the various lists They want such information in a booklet or tabloid that would include photos and brief biographical backgrounds, including financial information, on all candidates running for any office There is dissatisfaction as to accountability of elected officials and the attendees asked that a mechanism be included in the law that would permit the recall of elected officials, in the event such officials are not responsive to their duties A question was also raised about whether or not OSCE or another international organization could monitor the performance of elected officials to hold these officials accountable? It was suggested that background checks should be made on all candidates by OSCE or another organization to assure that – “thieves or criminals” not get elected

In this session, which only included men, the view was expressed that at least 40% of elected bodies should consist of women In light of the multiplicity of parties and independent candidates in the last elections, it was suggested that parties and candidates should be required to obtain more signatures than

previously, to qualify for the ballot, in order to reduce the number of parties and thereby reduce the resultant confusion to voters. It was noted that in previous elections, polling station supervisors got called away for coffee, etc and that stronger supervision is necessary. Another related complaint was that polling station officials were people already working in the local government. Why not employ and train unemployed veterans and invalids for this work? With regard to financing of parties and independent candidates, it was agreed that these should be self-financed.

This first session was excellent and, as can be seen, rather exhaustive. Judging from the reports of the other roundtables it was representative although the number of attendees varied from session to session and the desire to vote for all three members of the BiH presidency was most common among Bosniaks but not supported in the RS or among Croat voters. It is important to note also that such a change would require an amendment to the BiH constitution contained in Annex Four of the Dayton Agreement.

The sessions held by the three office staffs were generally similar in content as well as conclusions, however there were some differences worth noting. It must also be remembered that the PELIC roundtables were held during the time of the NATO bombing of FRY which greatly enhanced the sensitivity of the RS citizenry to any government related discussions such as an election law.

The common expectations of voters and political leaders in the Republika Srpska were that after the expiration of the OSCE mandate in BiH the Srpska authorities would regulate their own election matters at least with regard to the RS National assembly, Presidency and municipal councils. The concept of a national (BiH) election law was largely considered a threat for RS interests particularly with respect to some public proposals to change the Dayton regulations for the elections to the BiH 3-member Presidency.

While the Zenica and Livno offices contributed to the PELIC with the traditional IFES village or LC based GOG, in Doboj it was decided to combine this with "downtown" round tables involving local election commissions, municipal officials, and party representatives. These round tables were used to "legitimize" IFES fieldwork and ease obvious concerns that the whole campaign was designed to change the political balance in BiH and in RS particularly.

The Doboj staff discussed, in detail, various formats of PELIC activities. With regard to municipal round tables for instance, it was agreed that IFES should encourage the local election commissions (LECs) to take the role of formal organizers of these events, while the IFES trainers supported the LECs in preparing the agenda, selecting the participants, and facilitating the discussions. Somewhere in between the downtown municipal round tables and the GOGs in the villages were the discussions with NGOs or other urban groups. Participants with a higher level of education contributed to more sophisticated debates as compared to a typical LC GOG.

The role of the IFES trainers as discussion facilitators ranged from short statements and remarks to "saving" the round table or being the only "experts" able to make comments on specific technical aspects of alternative election systems. The opinions expressed at all these forums

were recorded by the trainers on reporting forms delivered to the IFES main office in Zenica and to the OSCE headquarters in Sarajevo with the National Working Group as the final addressee

As expected, strong frustration was expressed with regard to the level of accountability and responsibility of elected officials. In light of the Westendorp removal of Poplasen as President of the RS many citizens called for a procedure to recall elected officials who fail to meet voters' expectations. Such a provision should also specify the criteria for such removal and it was suggested that this criteria should also be used by the OHR in its policy with regard to removing officials.

Another typical RS attitude was noticed at almost all PELIC discussions - a widespread mistrust with absentee and mailed-in votes cast for the RS by internally displaced persons or by refugees from abroad. Serb voters are suspicious that the so-called "votes from the bags" are subject to manipulation. They insist that only current residents of a constituency (RS or an RS municipality) should be eligible to vote. They believe that DPs and refugees should come and vote in person for the constituency of their pre-war residence.

At the round tables where LEC members, lawyers or other higher educated persons were present the following point was usually among the main conclusions. In accordance with the BiH Constitution (Annex 4 of the Dayton agreement), the scope of a national election law was expected to be limited to the elections for the joint BiH authorities (the 3 member BiH Presidency and the BiH House of Representatives), the other levels of elections remaining subject to entity laws.



Dragan and Ljubinko's PELIC Roundtable in Modrica

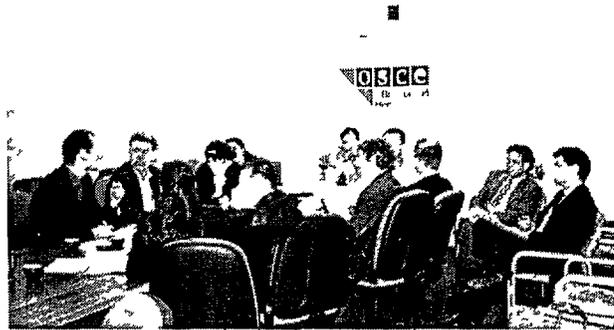
IFES Briefing Before The National Working Group On BiH Permanent Election Law

As a result of the 163 PELIC roundtables the IFES staff conducted between May 26 and June 22, 1999 we were requested to make a presentation of our findings before the National Working Group (NWG) charged with drafting the permanent election law. Livno, Doboje and Zenica each prepared a summary of their respective discussions and findings. These were assimilated into a four-page document highlighted here and included in Appendix 29.

- electoral reform that would bring accountability to the public
- open lists so voters may choose individual candidates, not complete slates
- municipalities subdivided into districts to assure representation of all citizens and to enhance accountability to the people who elected them
- a provision to recall elected officials if they are not responsible
- election of mayors directly, rather than having them elected by the municipal councils

- women to be included on candidate lists with a guaranteed minimum percentage
- more stringent qualifying standards to be developed to reduce the number of political parties
- knowing about candidates' backgrounds a month or more before the election
- full disclosure of income by candidates before the election and when their terms expire

The IFES briefing team consisted of Amra from Livno, Branko, from Doboj, and Nino and Nermin from Zenica. They met Wednesday evening to review their presentation. On Thursday, June 24th, our panel briefed the Group at 7:00 P.M. in Sarajevo. The session lasted more than one hour and judging from the questions asked the Group was impressed and very satisfied. Considerable thought and time was spent preparing for this session and the team's grasp of the issues and import and implications of certain suggestions was very apparent. Immediately prior to this meeting with the NWG our team briefed the OSCE officials responsible for the PELIC program.



The Chairman of the Group, Francois Froment-Meurice, who is a member (judge) of the Council of State in France, had visited one of our PELIC sessions conducted by Hika and Miro earlier. He accompanied them to the remote Breza village of Slivno, 40 minutes off the main road at an elevation of more than 3,000 feet. There, under an oak tree at the side of a house twenty villagers gathered at 8:15 P.M. for a discussion that lasted until well after dark. The session was typical and the Chairman also engaged the attendees in questions with Nermin translating.

As a result of this visit to a roundtable and the excellent briefing of the Group by our team, the Chairman asked to meet with all eighteen IFES trainers for further discussion that was off-the-record. Two days after the Group briefing he came to Zenica and met with our staff for three hours, without a break. This was a mutual sharing of ideas and the staff was given some insight as to his impressions and thoughts about an election law for Bosnia and Herzegovina. The National Working Group was scheduled to meet during the following two weeks to conclude its draft proposal.

ix IFES Staff Initiatives

Of course all our GAINs as well as the preparation of the municipal reports, both of which are discussed above, were initiatives of the staff. This section deals with other ideas and actions that were generated by the staff. Already mentioned above is the pre-election work performed by Badrov and Nisic in Posavina which was beyond our AOR but welcomed by USAID and OSCE.

Guest Speakers

In the course of this project the staff in our three offices periodically invited key officials to visit our offices to discuss relevant, timely issues. These sessions enabled our staff to be better informed and, at the same time, exposed our goals and methods of operation to these local officials who enhanced their level of comfort with our presence. The following are only three such examples:

- On October 20, 1998, Omer Filipovic, the President of the Zenica Municipal Council came to our office and spent an hour and a half answering questions and providing insight into the Zenica government. He is a member of SDP and was the only non-nationalist party member who was supported for council president. In 1986-87 he served as Mayor of Zenica.
- In mid-November, 1998, Stanko Dusanic, the Municipal Secretary of Teslic, sat down with the staff in Dobojski for an open discussion. This session was both important and useful since Teslic is a very hard-line municipality and had been very cool from the first introductory meeting Morgan and Heilman had with the Municipal Assembly President, Milovan Stankovic, in late June.
- On December 16, 1988, The Livno staff met with the Cantonal Minister of Justice, Stipo Babic, who made a presentation on the legal system. Babic, who had formerly been a judge, was very candid and critical as to the influence of the cantonal governors in making judicial appointments. It was a refreshing, surprisingly forthright discussion for the staff right there in the confines of their office in the Hotel Dinara.

During our training follow-up session in Teslic, the week of December 14th, Linda Edgeworth, DHOM for Elections at OSCE addressed our trainers, emphasizing they were already doing what OSCE envisioned for the country.

Republika Srpska Local Self-Government Roundtable

In late 1998 we learned that the government of Republika Srpska was drafting two new laws on local self-government and on the territorial organization of the RS. The Dobojski trainers followed the drafting process and attended two experts'-level discussions. Since two-thirds of our activists groups were actually local communities (mjesna zajednica), which is the lowest, sub-municipal administrative and self-government structure in BiH it was fitting to become involved in this process. It was also expected that IFES trainers' involvement in the process of discussing a law and lobbying for certain amendments would enrich their professional experience.

The procedure for adoption of these laws included a public debate before submitting the drafts to the RS National Assembly for approval. Encouraging citizens' participation in this debate was in line with our main project goals. At the same time there were indications, that were unfortunately confirmed later, that the "debate" might be limited to a few formal town-hall meetings organized and chaired by the government's drafting committee. Most importantly,

while the declared goals of the process were to bring self-government in the RS to the level of modern European standards, essentially the drafts revealed the opposite trend - to limit the existing forms of local self-government and strengthen the power of the central authorities

All IFES Doboj staff attended an experts seminar in Bijeljina in October 1998, and in December Branko reported from a similar conference held in Prijedor. The trainers were tasked to study the existing law on local self-government in the RS, the available working versions of the new law, and to make suggestions. After discussing these matters in the office a strategy for participation in the public debate was developed. It was agreed that while the draft law covered a wide range of issues our focus would be on the aspect most closely related to the IFES project - the ways and means for average citizens to participate in the governance process.

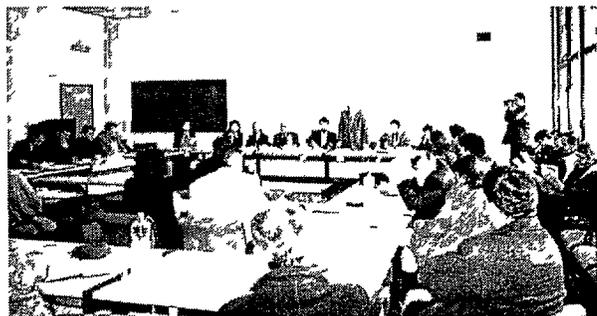
Several issues were identified on which citizens' opinion needed to be surveyed. The two most important topics were preserving the local communities (LCs - mjesna zajednica) and additional provisions for citizens' direct participation through such vehicles as citizen assemblies (Zbor gradjana). Through joint discussion in the office it was agreed to undertake the following:

- Encourage municipal level round tables and discussions on LC level,
- Organize a regional round table with municipal officials from IFES Doboj AoR
- Conduct an entity-wide survey in conjunction with the Association of RS Towns and Opstinas

On February 17, 1999, in Doboj, a roundtable on the draft RS Laws on local self-government and territorial organization was held in our office building. This event, co-sponsored by IFES and OSCE, turned into an important contribution in the public debate on this issue. OSCE covered the expenses while IFES staff made all the arrangements. Twenty-nine municipal officials attended, representing 10 opstinas, all from IFES AoR except Srbac. They included two Presidents of Municipal Councils, 13 Deputy Presidents, or Secretaries of Municipal Councils, 14 Heads of municipal departments and other experts. The Association of RS Opstinas (municipalities) and Towns was represented by its Secretary-General and the Association's Deputy President.

IFES trainer Branko Buzakovic, a lawyer, chaired the round table. The other IFES Doboj international and local staff members and the Director of the IFES project in BiH, Ed Morgan, also attended. Eight journalists came on behalf of RS-wide or local news agencies, TV and radio stations and newspapers. This amounted to a total of 49 people present at the round table.

Seventeen contributions were made during the three-hour discussion. Representatives of all ten attending municipalities took the floor. Although participants belonged to a wide range of political forces they managed to reach consensus on the most important issues discussed. The official conclusions of the



IFES Doboj roundtable on proposed Republika Srpska local government law

round table can be found in Appendix 30. The most important were the following:

- Participants agreed that local communities (mjesna zajednica) are needed for many practical reasons. The opinions were divided on whether the law should provide for mandatory or optional existence of LCs.
- Zbor gradjana and referendum as the only two forms of direct citizens' participation in the government process were deemed insufficient and badly regulated in the draft.
- The proposed regulations relating to the introduction of districts, the competencies of mayors and financing the municipalities were criticized as indicating a trend towards centralization of the power, as opposed to the declared intent of strengthening local self-government.

The opinions expressed at the round table were extensively covered in the programs of at least three local radio stations, the main RS TV/radio broadcasting company, two daily newspapers with entity-wide circulation and a local weekly.

IFES Survey in Republika Srpska on Proposed Local Government Law

Again in February, with the support of the Association of RS Opstinas and Towns, the IFES staff in Doboj conducted a survey among municipal officials from the whole RS entity on the proposed new draft law on local self-government. The questionnaire focused on one aspect of the law - the direct participation of citizens in the governance process.

The survey kits were mailed to all RS opstinas on 16 February 1999. They included cover letters to the Presidents of the Municipal Assemblies explaining the goals of the survey along with five copies of the questionnaire, five return envelopes with postage and preprinted address of the IFES office in Doboj, and copies of the draft law.

The Presidents were asked to fill in the questionnaires and to hand the additional copies to their deputies, the Secretaries of the Municipal Assemblies, the Presidents and members of the Executive Board and other officials deemed relevant. Participants had a choice to mark their name and position or remain anonymous. They were asked to send back the questionnaires to IFES Doboj by 26 February.

A total of 177 filled in questionnaires were received from 35 opstinas from the entire RS. This included survey sheets completed by 22 Presidents of Municipal Councils, 17 Secretaries, 21 Presidents, Vice-Presidents and members of Executive Boards. This was a representative sample and the results from the survey, summarized below, are found in Appendix 31.

- An overwhelming majority (80 %) of the surveyed municipal officials were in favor of preserving the local communities, Mjesna Zajednica, as a form of local self-government,

- Approximately 60 % of the officials believed local community representatives should be directly elected at the so-called citizens' assemblies (zbor gradjana),
- Two thirds were of the opinion the law should stipulate more forms of direct citizens' participation in local self-government, such as petitions, surveys, proposals, initiatives,
- One of these forms of direct participation could be the right of a certain number of citizens to petition the Municipal Assembly and request the latter to debate specific issues. Such a provision included in a previous version of the draft law was supported by approximately 70% of the participants in the survey

By the middle of March we had finished tabulating the survey results and had prepared a kit of documents to be made available to the RS National Assembly and RS government, to the government's drafting committee, to the Association of RS Opstinas and Towns and to the media. The kit included the conclusions from the IFES/OSCE sponsored regional round table, from the municipal debates with IFES participation and the detailed survey results.

The High Representative's removal of the RS President, Poplasen, and the sensitive arbitration award on Brcko, announced in the same week, created a serious political crisis that interrupted the public debate on the self-government law, and more importantly, the direction of Mr. Dodik's caretaker government, which had proposed the law. The issue was back on the public agenda only in June with the situation in the RS calming down and the FRY crisis drawing to a close. It was only at that time when we met representatives of the RS government and the Association and presented to them the kits with our findings. The IFES contribution was appreciated and a commitment was made that the drafting committee would consider the findings.

Croat Refugees in Zagreb

After some discussion with the OHR representative in Derventa about Croat refugees temporarily located in Zagreb, Snjeza and Natasa from the Doboje office went to Zagreb to meet with them. The refugees were primarily from S. Brod, Derventa, Samac, Modrica, and Teslic. They found our municipality reports useful because they contained telephone numbers of administrative offices they wanted to contact. Many recognized Snjeza from her teaching days and were surprised to see her, a Serb, in Zagreb. Her presence gave many of the refugees an assurance that they could return, perhaps, before too long.

Resource Centers

Each of our three offices acts as a resource center for individuals, NGOs, and other groups seeking information on civics or the elections. In addition we have provided the Zenica Public Library with material we have amassed in connection with our work as well as information collected from other organizations. Since this facility is centrally located and was the recipient of ten computers from USAID it is a valuable focal point for information. In order to further its

ability to serve the people and supplement its collection with new items in demand, particularly by the younger generation, IFES provided 1,600 KM to purchase the books listed in Appendix 24

Meanwhile, in Livno, Igor explored the establishment of a reading room in B. Grahovo. This area is virtually in a twilight zone with neither print or broadcast media information available. Both OSCE and OHR endorsed this reading room idea and the municipal leadership offered a room in the city hall for the public to use for this purpose, except when the council is in session. Three daily papers at 1.5 DM per day for 22 days per month and three weekly magazines at 3.5 DM for four weeks per month totals 142 DM or \$ 90.00 per month. Croat and Bosniac newspapers were delivered daily from Livno and Serb papers delivered by UNHCR bus from Banja Luka. By January, however, the logistics necessary for the delivery of the papers broke down and this project was regrettably terminated.

Anti-Corruption

Corruption is an issue of concern to many citizens in BiH as we learned in our GOGs and from our GAIN groups. As a result we formed an inter-office staff task group in April to consider this item. We also had a discussion in Zenica with Judge Globlek, the Deputy Ombudsman in Zenica, and Judge Adamovic of the Zenica-Doboj Cantonal Court. Similar meetings were held in Livno and Doboj.

This is a topic of deep concern and deemed very important by our trainers, however, it must be addressed in such a way that it is meaningful without being hazardous to our well-being for it is pervasive throughout society in BiH. The task group drafted a letter to the High Representative for the project director's signature. OHR has the lead responsibility for this issue and, in a discussion with Ambassador Kauzlarich, Morgan learned who the specific individual was in the OHR for this issue.

After Morgan had not received a reply to his letter of May 11, 1999, in Appendix 33, he spoke to Franz Brunner at OHR and subsequently received the response, also in Appendix 33, which will require follow-up since it essentially does not say anything. This will be done under the follow-on Delivery Order.

IFES Exhibit

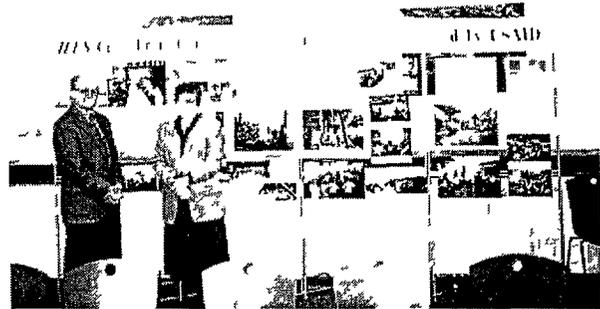
It was determined that this Civic Education Project needed an exhibit that would illustrate our work through explanations and a tableau of photographs taken at various sites depicting the settings in which we operate.

On January 14, 1999, we erected the exhibit, for the first time, in the BiH USAID Mission conference room in Sarajevo. It is thirteen feet wide and six feet high, containing twenty large photographs taken during some of the more than 4,500 sessions held by our trainers up to the fall of 1998. Copies of municipal reports along with a map of our AOR, election brochure, poster and pens are also included. It was appropriately timed for it served as a backdrop for the

democratization contractors meeting the following week, as well as for a visit by the Assistant Administrator of USAID

The display has been used in eight different locations around BiH, including OSCE, the U S Embassy, the 2nd Congress of Elected Officials in Vogosca, training and briefing sessions in Doboij and Zenica During its two-week exhibition at the OSCE Political Party Resource Center

in Travnik Ambassador Barry, Head of OSCE Mission in BiH, had escorted a delegation of ten OSCE ambassadors through the center and stopped to point out and explain the exhibit He was personally familiar with our project as he had visited a session in a village with one of our teams in 1998



US Consul Ann Sides welcoming Ed Morgan and IFES exhibit to American Embassy in Sarajevo

New Ideas

During the last six weeks of this project our trainers received many questions in the field regarding privatization of state-owned enterprises This is an issue supported by USAID through a public information campaign We met with the privatization program staff and would like to pursue this issue as it is important to the residents of BiH and we would be the best resource to convey correct information about this attempt to build a market economy

We have noticed that the youth of BiH are not very involved in community activities Since high school graduates and college students will be the decision makers ten to fifteen years from now we believe their interest in civil society building should be cultivated now A proposal for a student intern activity, pairing students with IFES trainers to visit LCs and villages during the summer would be an excellent introduction for them to see how most of the people feel in this country, what issues are of concern to them, and what means are available for addressing these concerns in the newly created government structure under the Dayton Peace Agreement



Understanding among the three major ethnic groups in BiH is still a major problem. There is a lack of comfort by citizens in these groups crossing the Inter-Entity Boundary Line between the Federation and the Republika Srpska. IFES trainers have worked intensively with more than 200 community based citizens on both sides of the IEBL in helping them solve their community problems. It was felt that a cross-entity conference of the leaders of some of these groups would be constructive in a mutual exchange of ideas, and might prove useful in breaking the influence of the nationalist parties who attempt to dominate all political thought and expression.

x Special Visitors, Observers, and Meetings

U S Ambassador to Bosnia and Herzegovina

On August 14, 1998, Ed Morgan met with Ambassador Richard D. Kauzlarich at the U.S. Embassy in Sarajevo. The purpose was to brief him on the IFES project and invite him to attend a GOG in the field. Political Officer John Klekas and Susan Kosinski from USAID also were present. In response to his questions, one point that was made and which became a recurring issue throughout our project, was that the voters were tired of all the election coverage on television and that they wanted to vote for individual candidates rather than being forced to choose a party list that often included candidates for whom they did not want to vote.

OSCE Head of Mission

Ambassador Robert L. Barry visited the IFES office in Zenica on August 18, 1999 for a briefing given by Morgan and Hamza Smajic. This was followed by his attendance at a GOG handled by Hika and Miro in the Visoko local community of Rodovlje and which is described earlier.

The Ambassador was sufficiently impressed with the quality of our trainers work, particularly with regard to the IFES contributions to OSCE mission activities, that he sent each individual trainer a letter expressing his appreciation. See Appendix 34 for a copy.

OSCE Deputy Head of Mission for Democratization

Elizabeth Rasmussen, DHOM for Democratization, was briefed about the IFES field activities and requested that our exhibit, described above, be made available for the benefit of her staff. In January the exhibit was erected in the Democratization Section's conference room for a briefing to her staff, done by Hika and Nermin, and remained on display for two weeks.

OSCE Deputy Head of Mission for Elections

Linda Edgeworth, DHOM for Elections, visited the IFES Zenica office, June 8, along with Alex Finnen, DG for Elections. Seeing the map, marked with the successive visits made by our teams to several hundred remote as well as urban locations, convinced them of the penetration we achieved in getting out our messages.

ODIHR – Organization for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights

Miles Staunton, ODIHR Election Observer in Zenica, visited the IFES office the last week of August 1998, and was briefed about our program which he had learned of from other internationals in Zenica. The following week, Velko and Natasa did a similar briefing in Doboј for Andrew Carpenter, ODIHR's Long Term Observer.

Brookings Institution

On September 8, 1998, Susan Woodward, author of Balkan Tragedy, visited two GOGs held by Hika and Miro outside of Visoko. She is fluent in Serbo-Croatian and participated in these discussions. Her impression of our trainers' effectiveness was very positive.

USAID

Sonja Valtasaari, COTR for USAID in Sarajevo, visited the three offices included in our mission on two separate occasions, each time accompanying teams to field sites to observe their work. The first visits were in September 1998 before the election. On the second series of visits, in February and March 1999, she was accompanied by Patrick Wingate, head of Office of Transition Initiatives. On June 2, 1999, Ben Feit, Sonja's successor, visited the Zenica office before proceeding to a PELIC roundtable conducted by Hika and Miro in the Kakanj village of Gora to see first-hand the approach used by our teams.

U S General Accounting Office

On November 15, 1998 a delegation from GAO visited the Doboј office. A similar visit had been made, under the previous project, to the Zenica office. This year's visitors included Judith McCloskey and Patrick Hickey from the GAO National Security International Affairs Division, Kim L. Smith, Lt. Col., USAF Political-Military Affairs Officer, and Michael J. Adler, Political Officer, U.S. Embassy in Sarajevo.

In addition to learning about the variety of tasks of our mission, GOGs and GAINs, they asked many questions about the election results, the political atmosphere, and the operations of the municipal assemblies. The advantages of this type of project were highlighted such as uniqueness of information distribution, direct contact with the people that other education projects lack, and the important role of the IFES local trainers in conducting civic education.

USAID Mission Director - Sarajevo

On April 14, 1999 the entire IFES training staff met with Craig Buck, USAID Mission



Director, in the Sarajevo headquarters conference room. He and Susan Kosinski, Head of the Democracy Office, addressed the trainers and listened to their comments. After an hour of questions and answers, it was apparent that the Director was impressed and appreciative of the IFES staff work which further enhanced the trainers enthusiasm for their work, knowing how much it was valued.

Office of the High Representative - OHR

On April 28, 1999 we were visited by two OHR officials from the Brcko office, Jesse Bunch and Bruce Allen. They had heard about our project and wanted to explore how we could be helpful in their effort to explain the recently announced arbitration award by Roberts Owen on the new government structure for Brcko. Because the comment period on the award was still open it was too early, at that time, to become involved and it was understood that under a new contract IFES could possibly be of help after the Brcko decision had crystallized and its impact was clearer.

United Nations Development Program - UNDP

The UNDP has a separate function in Brcko from OHR and also sought our assistance. Christopher Tanner and Janthomas Hiemstra visited the Zenica office on May 13, 1999 to discuss their role in developing a strategy for UNDP in Brcko.

USAID Privatization Public Education and Information Project

On June 8th Carl Larkins and his Privatization Information Campaign staff came to Zenica for a two hour briefing on their project. Representatives of the three IFES offices participated in this intensive discussion. Following this session the three staffs met separately to decide how they might proceed in conveying information to the people they meet within their various GOG localities. The citizens were very interested in this topic which prompted our initial briefing session. On June 26th we had a four-hour follow-up meeting between all 18 IFES trainers and the Privatization staff. It was agreed that we would undertake a concentrated effort devoted to explaining this concept to the citizenry in our AOR.

x1 MEDIA

OSCE TV Spots

In the course of this project our trainers were involved with the broadcast and print media at various times. The first occasion was when we were asked in May, 1998, by the public information unit at OSCE in Sarajevo to critique TV spots to be aired for the voter registration period. Our comments were helpful in avoiding these spots from appearing to depict one ethnic

group more predominately than another which was only apparent to native BiH citizens who recognized the clothes of those filmed

Radio

On July 21, 1998, Dragan and Ljubinko held a pre-election GOG with 13 journalists in Doboj resulting in a wire service story and a VOA report, the transcript of which is included in Appendix 11. A few days before the election in September, Snjeza and Nebojsa appeared on the stations "Zone of Separation" (ZOS), Srpski Brod, and Petrovo while Tanja and Branko were on Radio Srbac and "Jungle" and Dragan and Ljubinko were on Radio Doboj and "ZOS." The private stations "Jungle" and "ZOS," based respectively in Teslic and Doboj South, cover a large region around Doboj. The other stations are municipal-owned.

These appearances had an interview format, four being pre-recorded and three done live. The shows included the basic IFES voter education project, our approach through direct contact with the people and being non-partisan. How to mark the ballot, tendered ballot process, polling station location information, the most frequently asked questions, and the importance of voting were also covered.

The Livno office released a statement on 22 September 1998 that described the work of the Canton Ten trainers and their accomplishments through the pre-1998 election period. This was carried on several radio news broadcasts and is included in Appendix 35.

Newspaper Coverage In 1998

In October Slobodan BiH included a story outlining the IFES activities and following a December visit Ed Morgan had with Mayor Mlaco in Bugojno, Vecernje Novine ran a story. Both are included in Appendix 36.

IFES-Doboj Roundtable on proposed RS Local Self-Government Law

This round table, held on 17 February, 1999, was covered by eight journalists. The news agencies SRNA and Tanjug, the RS radio and TV network (SRT), TV Prnjavor, the local radio stations (Doboj and Jungle), and the newspapers with RS-wide circulation, Glas Srpske and Nezavisne Novine, covered this three-hour event. The stories that appeared in the papers are included in Appendix 37, along with the Tanjug News Agency story.

Newspaper and TV Coverage in May and June, 1999

Glas Srpski ran three stories of our activities between 21 May and 30 June and Svitznje had a somewhat jaundiced piece on 9 June. All are in Appendix 30.

On June 8th Dragan and Ljubinko made their last television appearance under this project contract. The municipal secretary of Samac invited them to participate on the local station, Duga, with representatives of two political parties in the Samac Assembly, the SPRS and SDS, along with another NGO representative. The show went well, particularly when our trainers acted as a neutralizing presence when the two party members became confrontational with each other.

V RESULTS

A ACHIEVEMENT OF BENCHMARKS AND DELIVERABLES

(EOPS in bold)

- 1 Approved workplan/schedule for implementation [COTR and USAID/Washington (ENI and G Bureaus)]
WorkPlan approved by COTR
- 2 Monthly reports containing review of progress, evaluation of program impact and constraints to the achievement of program goals
15th and final Monthly Report submitted June, 1999
- 3 Verbal briefings as requested by COTR and USAID/Washington
Numerous briefings given as requested by both COTR and USAID/W
- 4 Quarterly progress reports and a final report as required by the IQC contract under which this delivery order is made
IQC Quarterly Reports submitted in July and October 1998 and February and July of 1999
- 5 One Resource Center continued in Zenica and one each established in the Hercegovosanski Canton and Northern Republika Srpska in sites to be determined in consultation with COTR
Zenica Center re-established, with COTR approval centers established in Livno and Doboј (RS)
- 6 Approximately 18 Bosnians trained as civic educators. Mobile civic education teams will travel regionally organizing at least 20 discussion groups each on a monthly basis.
9 teams of 2 trainers were active throughout the Project area conducting a total of 2180 discussion groups
- 7 At least one situation in which citizen advocacy produces a tangible result
Tangible results were achieved in 69 instances
- 8 Two series of TOT sessions will be completed

The second session was conducted in Sept , 1998

9 Materials related to electoral law, Municipal Statutes, civic and voter education programs, training programs, and democratic governance will be housed in the Resource Centers and will be made available for civic education training sessions as well as other to interested individuals and groups

Accomplished See report text for details

10 9 teams of Trainers will conduct a minimum of 2160 civic education training seminars over the life of the Project in 40 municipalities

9 teams of 2 trainers were active throughout the Project area conducting a total of 2180 discussion groups

11 Trainers will attend municipal council sessions and will produce a minimum of one report per opchina in 1998

Completed See Appendices for copies

12 Production of at least one handout related to democracy building and civic education

Exceeded See text for list of materials produced

13 At least one discussion group in each opchina will make a presentation in a formal council session of each opstina that addresses the concerns or needs of their community

Need obviated by level of cooperation received from opstina executives and individual councillors who raised issues on behalf of civic action initiatives groups

14 Community groups and radio stations will be informally linked resulting in regular civic-oriented radio broadcasts, including appearances by appropriate local government officials (cantonal and/or opchina level), discussing issues of community importance, action and initiatives

Contact made with radio stations 7 appearances on RS radio talk shows were made by trainers

15 Approximately 30 autonomous civic action groups will be established in the Project area

191 groups were active as of PACD

16 IFES will, as requested by local civic action groups, act as a conduit to the OSCE on issues pertaining to the upcoming elections and will document the nature and success/failure rate of each intervention

Completed Please refer to report for IQC Q4 1998 for details

B IMPACT

In a civic education project such as this, numbers alone cannot gauge impact upon the citizenry but may be used to indicate the breadth of its reach

During the first phase (GOGs), the eighteen IFES trainers were responsible for conducting 2,180 voter education sessions with 32,217 voters in attendance. In the course of holding these sessions in 1,009 communities they distributed 41,650 pieces of election-related literature throughout the 44 municipalities in which they held their meetings.

After the election we produced and distributed 20,000 municipal reports in 2,000 localities that brought further knowledge of the political system to the public and the identities of those responsible for carrying out the public's wishes. These reports served to increase the citizens' awareness of how democracy works, the structure of the new system in BiH, and allowed IFES trainers to re-emphasize the role of the individual in a democratic society and stress basic democratic rights.

In the second phase (GAINs), our trainers identified 203 localities in which they believed civic initiatives could be undertaken. During this time they established rapport and revisited these sites until, by July 7, 1999, 191 GAIN groups had successfully developed projects. Of this number 69 achieved their goals in bringing successful results to their communities. Another 31 were completed or partially funded at the local level and depended upon higher or other organizational relief beyond the municipal level before claiming total success. The remaining 91 were still in process. Only 12 of the 203 were terminated due to citizen apathy.

The GAIN phase brought a realization of empowerment to the people we were helping by tutoring them in how to become involved in the democratic process on their own behalf. The GAINs projects were avenues of participation in which they made the judgement calls and they carried out the work necessary to achieve the results. Because the GAINs projects were relevant to the people's needs we were able to imbue the citizens with democratic concepts by "doing" rather than through abstract discussions.

The GAINs summaries in Appendix 15 are replete with examples illustrating impact, the following reported comments and GAIN abstracts are mere samples to provide an abridged overview.

In Petrovo the Executive Board included in its 1999 Development and Reconstruction Plan the water supply for the LC of Karanovac. The President of the EB stated at the December session that this project was included following a request from the LC and a councilor's question initiated by the GAIN group. This is a direct result of Snjeza's and Neso's work in this LC where people previously felt neglected by the municipal authorities.

Dragan and Ljubinko worked with the Doboј LC of Jabucic Polje on a road project. One village elder said "Go ahead, talk. Three states attempted to repair this road so far but nevertheless I wish you luck." He was referring to the failed efforts of the Austro-Hungarian Empire (pre WWI), the Kingdom of Yugoslavia (pre WWII), and Tito's Yugoslavia. Through continuous support from our team, this turned into a successful GAIN!

In the Kakanj LC of Catici, Hika and Miro urged the GAIN group to be more persistent in seeking repairs to street lights damaged during the war. The GAIN spokesperson finally confronted the mayor who said the lights would be fixed 'soon'. The GAIN representative told

the mayor he had heard that before and planned to visit the next council meeting to register his complaint. The mayor a bit surprised at this assertiveness, immediately went to the telephone, called the department head responsible and many of the lights were repaired the following week. Later the spokesperson told the IFES team this was the first time he knew what the procedure was in a democratic society and that that knowledge helped him feel empowered in representing his community to get results.

In a January 1999, meeting with the Mayor of Vitez, Ivo Garic, Ed Morgan was pleasantly surprised to hear the mayor emphasize that there is a high degree of inter-ethnic cooperation which had been aided by our efforts.

On March 5th Nikola Poplasen was removed as RS President by the High Representative and the Brcko Decision was announced. This resulted in wide-spread demonstrations which forced the cancellation of a scheduled multi-municipality meeting on the Local Self-Government Law Assembly Presidents and Municipal Secretaries from three municipalities who were in Doboij for this meeting proceeded to stop by the IFES office and have coffee and visit with Dragan, Ljubinko and Natasa. This never would have happened without the intensive efforts of the Doboij staff to build credible relations. It is a testimonial to their measured success, to date, in achieving the civil society we all want to see develop in the RS. It also attests to how neutral we were perceived with a higher degree of independent credibility than the rest of the international community.

In Drvar and in Glamoc, Amra and Sasa were the prime movers in aiding retired persons to organize themselves into Retired Persons Associations. These groups can play important roles in disseminating important information to their members, thereby stopping the type of civil disturbances from occurring before they get a chance to start. Retirees, because of their time availability, can be instrumental in establishing discussion that could lead to community improvement. Both of these associations are duly recognized as legitimate organizations by their respective municipal authorities.

In Olovo municipality a new LC of Krizevici was created. The four villages of Meoraca, Krizevici, Moguse, and Boganovici were part of a large geographic LC and felt removed from the center of community activity. After the GAIN group was counseled by Nermin and Igor they were able to document their concern and make an appearance before the municipal council which took place on June 7th. The group indicated that without the help of this IFES team this would not have happened.

And finally, open acknowledgement from the President of the Executive Board in the Republika Srpska municipality of Derventa. In commenting about the GAIN group in the LC of Osinja that was seeking funds for a cultural center he said, "These people are pushing me so hard that I simply cannot ignore them. They are unlike other LCs." Although this official was not friendly in the beginning he has learned to accede to our group's request without feeling threatened, this was our goal. The LC received its requested 800 DM and the center re-opened on June 28th!

In addition to the GOGs and GAINs, our trainers also assisted in the development of a new permanent election law by interviewing more than 650 citizens as part of OSCE's national survey and, within four weeks, conducting 163 PELIC roundtables with 1,985 attendees. In both cases we handled approximately one-third of the total OSCE workload while simultaneously maintaining the GAIN activity outlined above.

C CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The value of this project up to this point is self-evident. Not only have we provided necessary information for voters to make informed choices at election time, but we also encouraged people to take the initiative in solving community problems by having them engage their local officials to take action and overcome a state of inertia that is widespread in this country.

Our incipient efforts at inter-entity cooperation between Teslic and Dobož in the RS and Tesanj and Dobož South in the Federation regarding roads was curtailed by the NATO action in the FRY. A similar approach on behalf of an environment project was also halted. However, inter-municipal cooperation occurred when Dobož officials learned through our Prnjavor Municipal Report about the sports/culture program there and contacted Prnjavor to initiate joint activities.

Our presence and usefulness in stabilizing the atmosphere in BiH has become well established as typified by Sead and Zoran who were approached by the Bosniak director of a water utility to arrange a meeting with the Croat director of a similar water utility in Novi Travnik. Our team brought together the technical and general directors of both companies who worked out a joint agreement for a 1.2 million KM project that was put forward to the municipal and cantonal governments.

The intensive, neutral, non-partisan nature of our work is well received and highly regarded, but it is only a start. Establishing a democratic civil society in BiH is our goal but success is measured by achievements not goals. Additional time must be devoted to this area of the world before we can be comfortable and know that tolerance and understanding are normal elements of everyday life here. This project has helped to bring about some stability in our AOR that is the necessary condition precedent for any meaningful economic investment and that is the ultimate tool for a secure future.

Although we are able to cite success stories that attest to incremental improvement in a more tolerant attitude among the ethnic components of this war-ravaged country, the following half dozen examples document another reality.

- Difficulties in the municipality of Bugojno and in the entire RS as highlighted by the High Representative's removal of top officials there,
- The inertia of political cooperation in Zepce or Gornji Vakuf resulting in the absence of functioning local governments,

- The killing of Croats, including Croat members of a joint police force, in the Bosniak dominated town of Travnik,
- The riots in Drvar, prompted by an alleged Serb returnee's rape of a Croat woman,
- The stoning of returning Bosniaks in Modrica by the Serbs there, and,
- The obtuseness of officials in Zenica regarding property rights of returning Serbs and Croats

And unfortunately these are only a few indicators of the intolerance still lying just beneath the surface in BiH. These acts of physical violence, coupled with ethnic and religious dogma forced upon children of minority groups such as Bosniaks in Zepce and Kresevo, added to the inability of the nationwide BiH television network to be seen, except by satellite, in some areas of the country, such as Livno, serve as symptoms of an illness requiring additional treatment before the sores will be healed.

We should continue