

PARLIAMENTARY ASSEMBLY OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA



The Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina monograph is a creative undertaking worth of admiration. Previous emotional classification hides reviewer's genuine belief that in the country with the highest level political complexity the monograph of the supreme legislative power is a success which deserves broadest approval. In this context, editorial team that stands behind this constructively educational, cultural and political act can be proud of the project whose authenticity is unquestionable; moreover, the authenticity is strengthened by the very capability to create scientific, political and professional conditions which have enabled the release of this exceptional publication about the parliament of one exceptional country.

Ph.D. Nerzuk Ćurak

General impression is that the authors, both individually and together, have manifested professional and ethical responsibility and the skill to emphasize essentialities, in such limited space, thus avoiding broader chronological digressions. It is indisputable that in their work they abided by the traditional writer's principle *Sine ira et studio* thus confirming their academic knowledge and human virtues. The value of the manuscript is in the fact that the authors of this future monograph have moderately marked paths and sidetracks of parliamentary life on the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina, through longer historical periods until recent days, by mentioning the turning moments on that path and the unavoidable personalities who marked the work and the evolution of this highest legislative institute.

Ph.D. Živko Sekulić

This publication will fill up the big emptiness in our scientific, political-science and constitutional-legal literature. Everybody who would read it in order to acquire new knowledge and to extend his/her own cognition will have great benefit from its content and messages. But, this publication will be exceptionally useful to those who will seek to attain a new and further research of Bosnia and Herzegovina's parliamentarism, because it will serve a useful purpose as unavoidable database from which they must start in order not to make a research of that what has been already researched and not to waste unnecessarily means, time and research energy. As reviewer, I never doubted that I have a very useful text in front of me, which will primarily help us to learn more about political system of the country we are living in, that it will also help everybody abroad who wants to learn more about us and our parliamentary experiences and specificities.

Ph.D. Božo Žepić



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*Sarajevo, the capital
of Bosnia and Herzegovina*



*Mostar, the administrative, cultural
and economic center of Herzegovina,
whose symbol, the 16th century
Old Bridge, is on UNESCO's World
Heritage List*



*Gospodska street in downtown
Banja Luka, the administrative center
of the entity of the Republika Srpska*

ABOUT BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

The first written mention of Bosnia occurs in the year 950 in the work of the Byzantine emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus titled *De administrando imperio* (*On the Governance of the Empire*), where he describes the country of Bosnia as covering the territory around the source of the river Bosnia and its upper and middle basins. In the late 10th century, a priest named Dukljanin wrote in his *Chronicle* that Bosnia covered an area “from the Drina River to the Upper Vrbas and the Adriatic watershed.” The name of the region of Herzegovina originates from the time of Stjepan Vukčić Kosača, a medieval ruler of that area who bestowed on himself the title of Duke (orig. *herceg*) of Hum and its littoral and who proclaimed the region’s autonomy in 1448. His realm stretched from the Lim to the Cetina Rivers



Geographical map
of Bosnia and Herzegovina



Kravice waterfalls on the river Trebižat

and from the Rama River to the bay of Kotor, and was subsequently given the name of Herzegovina.

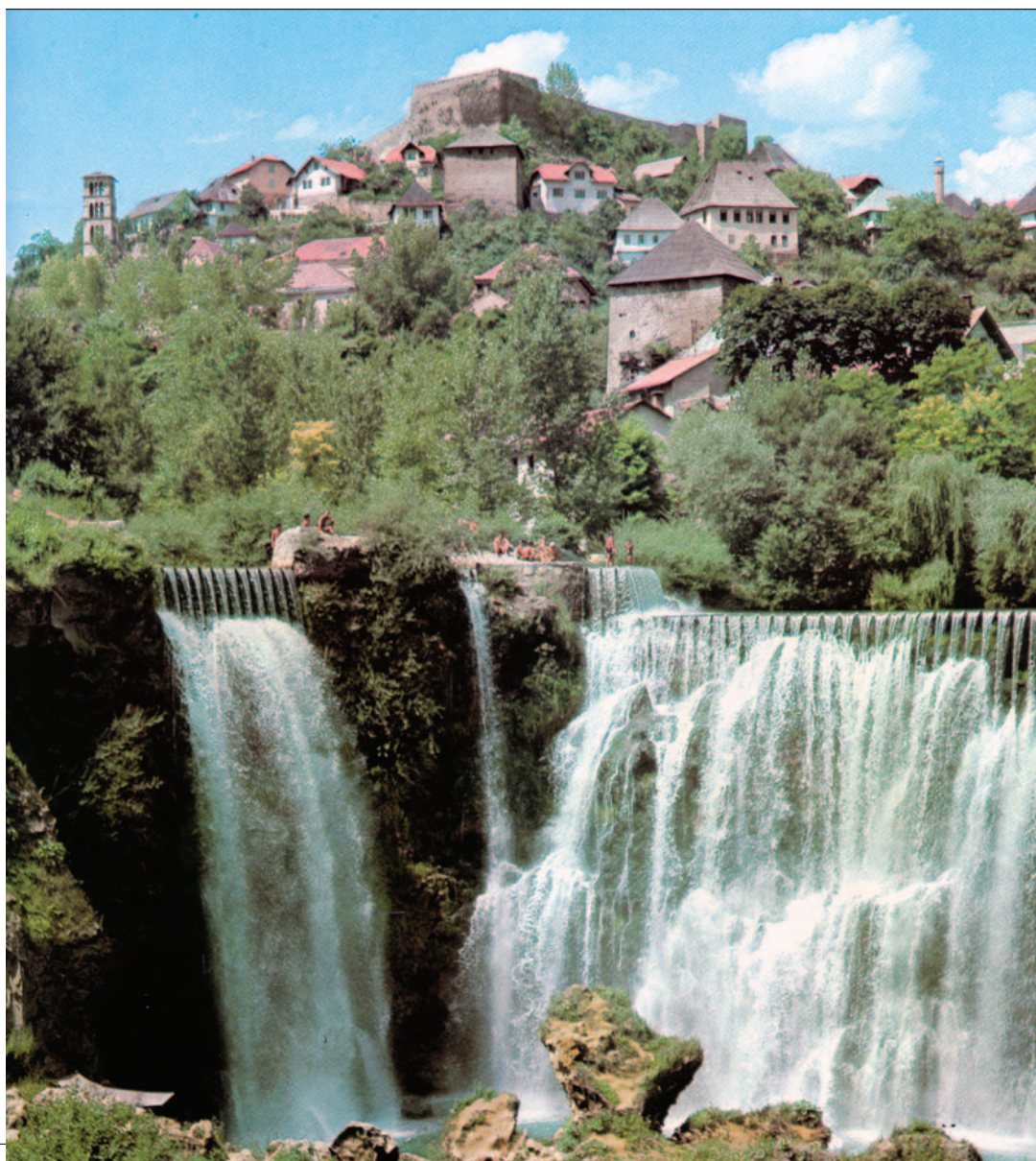
Bosnia and Herzegovina is a Southeast European country situated in the Balkans, with a total area of 51.129 km². Because in its far south Bosnia and



Vjetrenica cave in Herzegovina



*A mountain village
in Bosnia and Herzegovina*



Herzegovina has a 20 km sea coast in the municipality of Neum it is considered a Mediterranean country. The borders of Bosnia and Herzegovina are basically natural and for the most part are marked by the Drina, Sava and Una Rivers and the Dinara mountain massif in the southwest. In the north, the mountainous areas fade into the gentle hills of the Sava River basin, which itself fades into the Pannonian lowlands. The parts of Dinara mountain lying in Bosnia stretch eastward. Herzegovina consists of mountainous and littoral areas, and reaches the Adriatic Sea through a narrow belt between Neum and the Klek Peninsula. Throughout its history, life has been most concentrated in the basins of the largest Bosnian rivers (the Una, Vrbas, Bosna and Drina) southwest from the north, or southeast from the north in the case of the Neretva River in Herzegovina, which is characterized by the large Karst valleys in the southwest, south and southeast of the country (the Livanjsko Polje Valley, the Duvanjsko Polje Valley, and the Popovo Polje Valley). The highest peak in Bosnia and Herzegovina is Maglić Mountain (2,386 m), while its lowest land is at sea level. The climate in Bosnia and Herzegovina is primarily temperate continental, with hot summers and cold winters, while

△

Radimlja – a necropolis with stećak tombstones from the Middle Ages

◁

Jajce, a town with beautiful ambience and historical significance. A 20 meter high waterfall is situated in the center of the town, where the river Pliva drops into the Vrbas

some regions have a mountain or Mediterranean climate.

According to its last census (1991), Bosnia and Herzegovina had 4,377,033 inhabitants. Of that total, 44% were Bosniaks, 31% Serbs, 17% Croats, with 6% declaring themselves Yugoslavs, and 2% Other. The same statistics indicate that members of 17 ethnic minorities live in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Religious affiliation largely overlaps with ethnicity, and the major religious groups are Muslims, Eastern Orthodox Christians and Catholics, along with a small Jewish population.

Bosnia and Herzegovina is a decentralized country with a specific and complex system of government. It consists of two entities: the Republika Srpska and the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as the Brčko District of Bosnia and Herzegovina which is an autonomous administrative unit under Bosnia and Herzegovina sovereignty.

There are three official languages in Bosnia and Herzegovina – Bosnian, Croatian and Serbian, and two alphabets – Latin and Cyrillic.

The capital of Bosnia and Herzegovina is Sarajevo, with about 500,000 inhabitants. The second largest city is Banja Luka, with about 200,000 inhabitants, while the largest and most important city in Herzegovina is Mostar, with about 125,000 inhabitants. The towns of Tuzla, Zenica, Bijeljina and Bihać are also significant centers.



*Neum, a Bosnia and Herzegovina town
on the Adriatic Coast*



Štrbački Buk waterfalls on the river Una





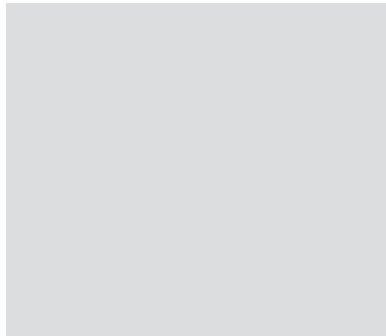






PARLIAMENTARISM
IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA
UNTIL THE ESTABLISHMENT OF
THE PARLIAMENTARY ASSEMBLY
OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA





Throughout its history, Bosnia and Herzegovina has developed a number of representative bodies of national importance, differing according to the country's historical context, such as when Bosnia was a medieval kingdom, when it was a district or republic within a larger country, or when it enjoyed the status of full independence and sovereignty. Thus, the establishment of the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1996 had a continuous series of predecessors, including Illyrian Assembly, the Council of Medieval Bosnia, the Ajan Council and Vilajet Assembly during the period of Ottoman rule, the Diet of Bosnia and Herzegovina under Austro-Hungarian rule, political representation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes/Kingdom of Yugoslavia, the National Anti-Fascist Council of the People's Liberation of Bosnia and Herzegovina during World War II, the Assembly of the People's/Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Assembly of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

ANCIENT PERIOD

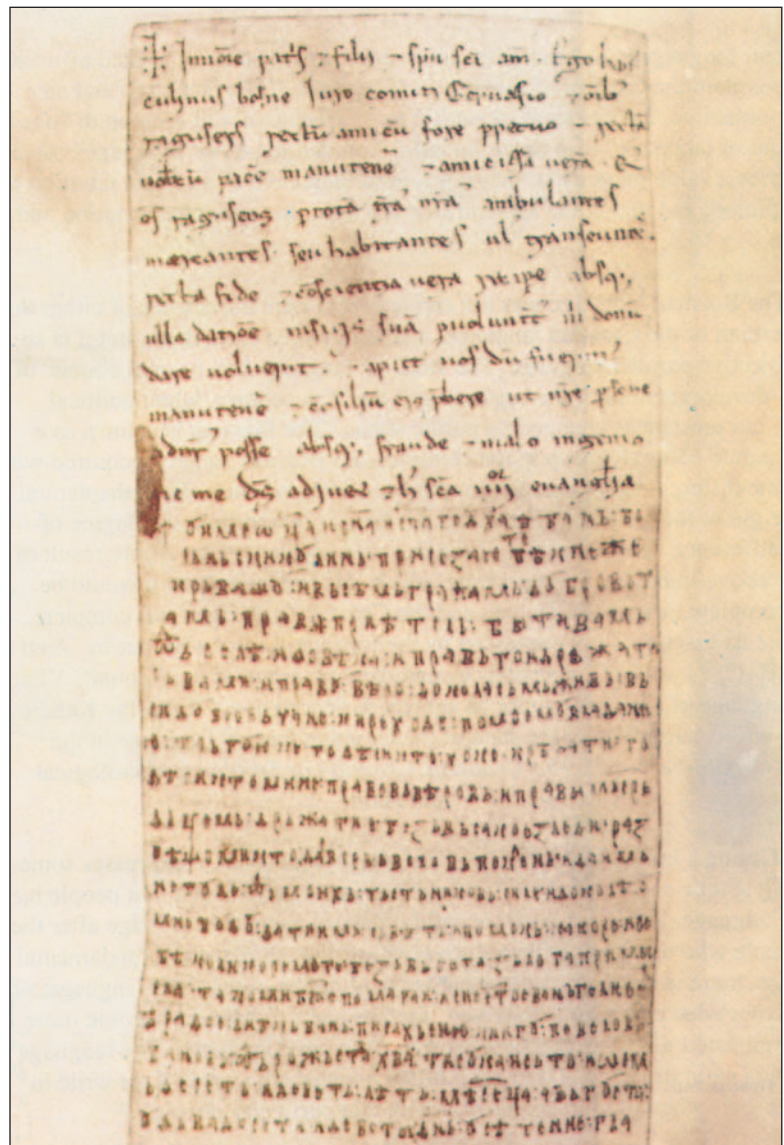


A third century monument of the Illyrian tribe Daesitiates

Certain evidence indicates that the institution of assembly existed among the Illyrian tribes within this territory, and which reached decisions on the most important issues for the entire community. One specific example refers to the tribe of the Daesitiates and was revealed through an analysis of evidence compiled by the Roman historian Dion during the trial against Bato of Breuc at the time of Bato's uprising in the first decade A.D. Dion's evidence stated that Bato of the Daesitiates surrendered to Bato of Breuc and to the assembled military to try him and render a verdict, providing a significant indicator allowing us to indirectly determine the foundations of the internal system of the Daesitiates' social and political organization. The assembled military constituted a specific institution of the assembly, which in this particular case acted as the supreme sovereign and judicial body before which even high-ranking political officials were tried.

MEDIEVAL BOSNIA

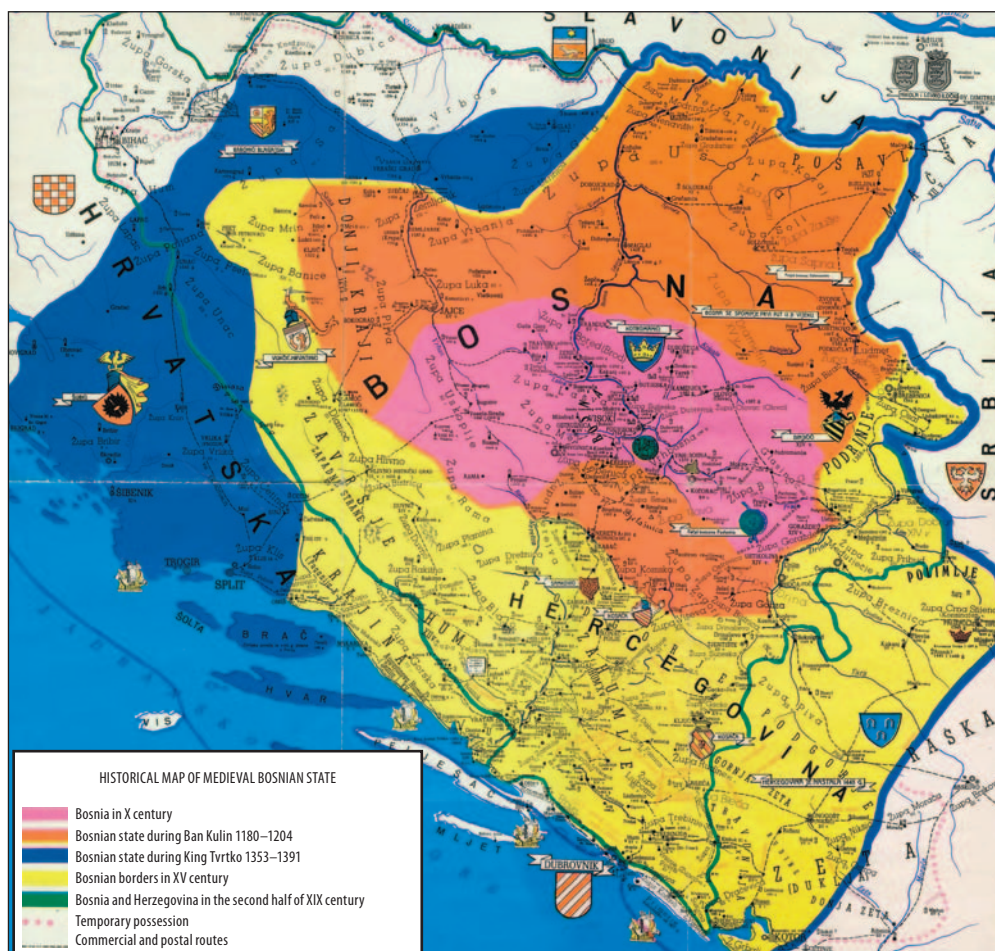
In the Middle Ages, Bosnia was first mentioned as a small country situated primarily in the Upper basin of the river Bosna. Initially, it existed as an area within stronger neighboring countries, becoming a semi-autonomous or sovereign country with its own governors (12th – 14th century) and finally, as of 1377, an independent kingdom with a considerably expanded territory. Apart from its rulers, the national council, better known as *Stanak*, was a very important institution in the Bosnian medieval state. In source materials it is also referred to as *zbor* (gathering), *sua Bosna* (all Bosnia), *sav rusag bosanski* (not quite translatable), sometimes only as *Bosna*, as well as *consilium*, *universale colloquium*, *collatio*, *adunacio*, etc. The term *stanak* is mentioned for the first time in the charter of the governor Tvrtko I Kotromanić in 1354. The *Stanak* was convened on an as-needed basis, usually by the ruler who chaired the sessions. At times when major crises faced the country, such as in the succession of rulers, the *Stanak* was convened by the landed high nobility. The *Stanak* was most often held at the location of the ruler's palace: in Mile, Milodraž, Bobovac, Sutjeska or Jajce. Those entitled to attend the *Stanak* were noble estate – owners and peers of the realm, *dobri Bošnjani* (good Bosnians), *dobri ljudi* (good people) and *gospoda rusaška* (gentlemen of Rusag) – in Latin and Italian, all these terms had the same meaning – *barons of Bosnia*.



The charter of the Bosnian ruler Kulin ban signed on August 29th 1189, the first written document indicating the existence of a Bosnian state and legislation



The remains of the royal town of Bobovac from the Middle Ages, dating back to the first half of the 14th Century with the renovated chapel. In Bobovac, five vaults with the remains of Bosnian kings were found



Bosnian money from the Middle Ages

Historical map of the Bosnian state

The Bosnian council at that time was an assembly of nobility which, as a state institution and together with the ruler, decided on important state affairs. Its functions and competence encompassed the most important state matters, such as accession to the Bosnian throne, the coronation of Bosnian rulers, foreign policy, the sale and ceding of Bosnian state territory to neighboring countries, entering into and signing agreements with neighboring countries, and rendering decisions on war and peace, among others. Rulers would then issue charters based on the decisions of the council. The influence of the *Stanak* on the state affairs depended on the relative power held by the ruler and the nobility, respectively, which varied in medieval Bosnia.

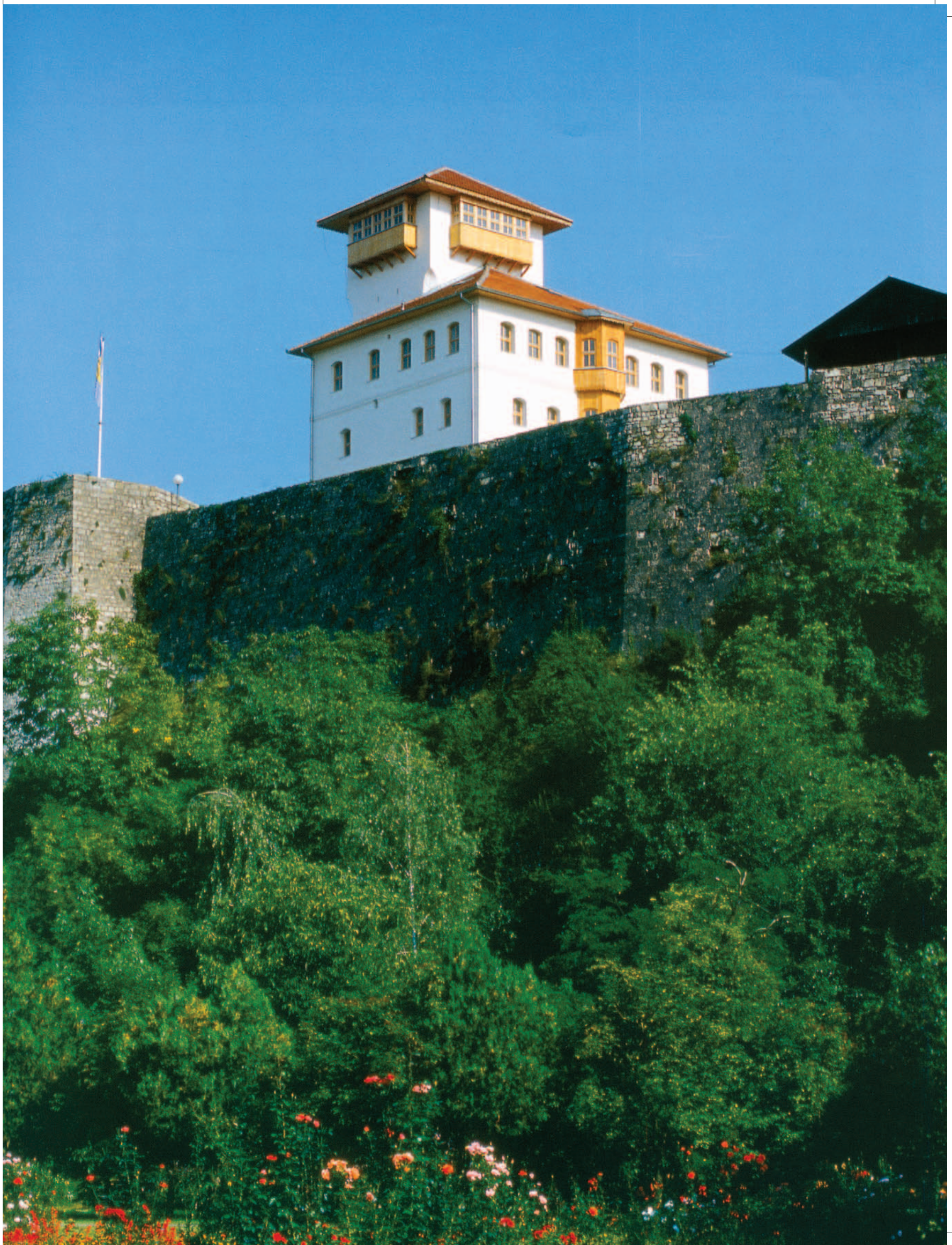


THE PERIOD OF OTTOMAN RULE

During the period of Ottoman rule, Bosnia and Herzegovina had a specific type of collective national authority which lacked a legislative or, in fact, any other prerogative of a modern assembly. However, it did have its place in the hierarchy of authority at that time. While the country was ruled by the Ottoman Empire, Bosnian and other governors had their *divans*, which were intended as a sort of a counselling body. The *divan* of a Bosnian *valija* (governor of a province) was named the Bosnian divan, after the name of the province. It included the senior officers of the administrative, judicial and financial authorities and, in time, other dignitaries and senior military officers as well. When the country faced special circumstances or decisions had to be made on very important matters, apart from its standing members, the Bosnian *valija* would also convene respected and influential persons from the entire *ejalet* at the council session. These respected persons, who were named *ajani*, discussed the issues at hand with the *divan* members. These meetings were called the Council of Ajani in Bosnia, and were so supported and respected throughout the *ejalet* that the Bosnian *valija* had to accept their decisions. The best known Council of Ajani was held in 1737, when the council forced the representatives of Ottoman authorities in Bosnia to alarm the country to the approaching Austrian army and offer resistance. This resulted in the defeat of the Austrians at the battle of Banja Luka. Also, distinguished local figures would sometimes decide to take the fate of the country into their own hands even without the permission or knowledge of Ottoman authorities, and at the councils made fateful decisions. For instance, unsatisfied with the sultan's decisions regarding Bosnia in early 1831, the Bosnian notables held a council session in Tuzla and decided to take a joint action and fight for the right to participate in making decisions on Bosnia, and elected Husein Gradašćević, the most respected Bosnian Captain, to lead their movement. After the Bosniaks defeated the emperor's army in Kosovo the same year, a council was convened in Sarajevo and respected figures, ulema, officers and village leaders from all parts of Bosnia unanimously elected Husein, the Captain, to become *valija* of Bosnia with the rank of vizier. By this act, the autonomy of Bosnia was officially proclaimed - yet not for long, as the central Ottoman authorities managed relatively quickly to defeat the Bosnian army and restore their authority.

▷

The tower of Husein-kapetan Gradašćević in Gradačac. He was appointed governor of the province of Bosnia by the local dignitaries, the Ulema, civil servants and other prominent men from Gradačac





"Bosna" was the official gazette of the Bosnian vilayet that was published between 1866 and 1879 in Sarajevo. Important laws and decrees issued during this period of the Ottoman rule in Bosnia and Herzegovina were published in the gazette.

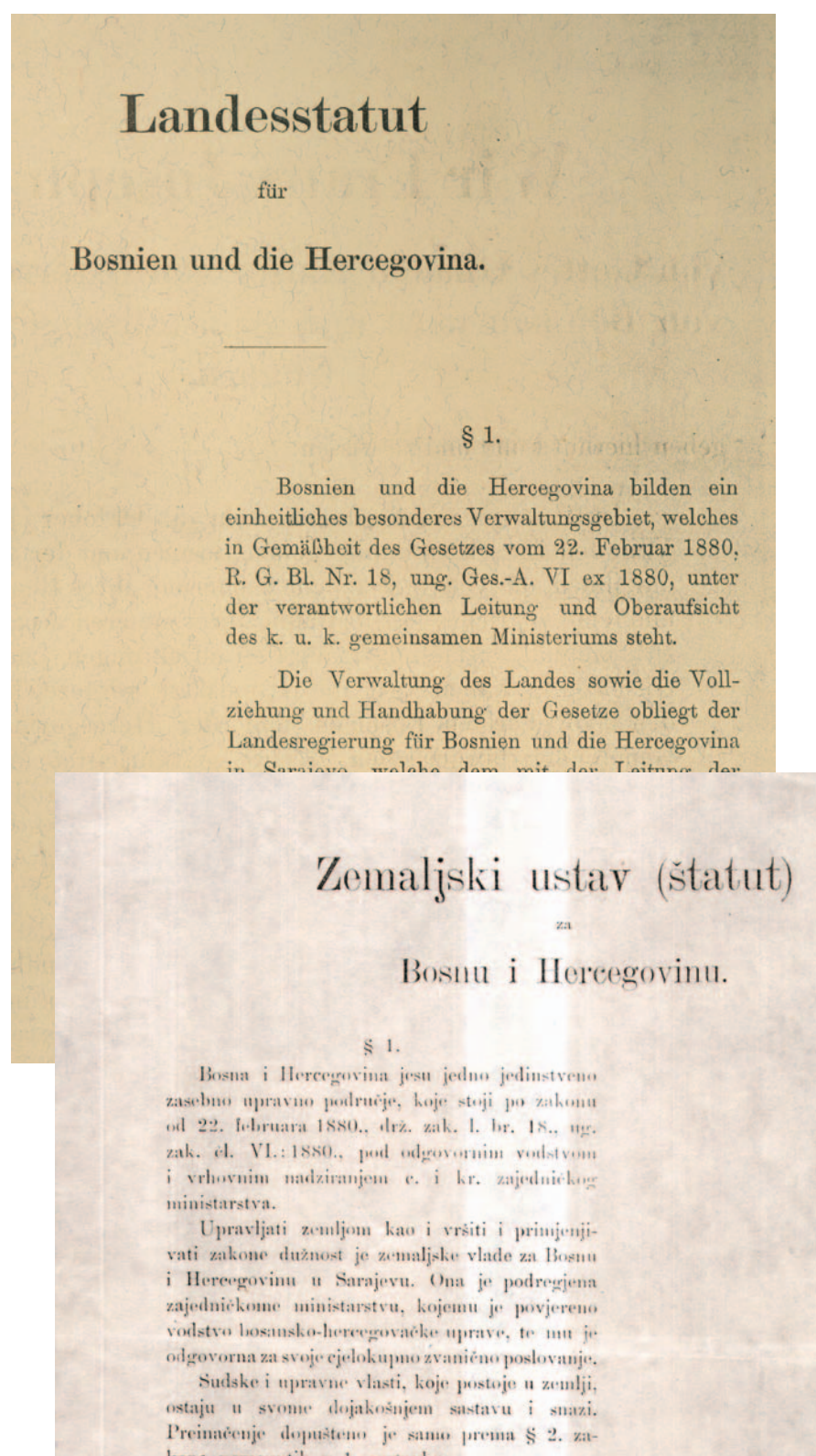
In accord with the reorganization of the Bosnian *ejalet* and its transformation into a *vilayet* (province) in 1865, as well as the Decree on the organization of *vilayet* administration, the Bosnian *vilayet* was to establish the General *Vilayet* Council (Medžlisi umumii vilâjet) or the *Vilayet* Assembly. Pursuant to the above Decree, every *sandžak* delegated four representatives each, two Muslims and two non-Muslims. The assembly was to be held once a year and to last no more than 40 days. The representatives held a one-year mandate and could be elected repeatedly. The *Vilayet* Assembly discussed either the issues delegated by the elected representatives, provided that the *valija* (province governor) believed that the Assembly should discuss these issues, or the issues the *valija* himself submitted for consideration. The Assembly discussed public works, building and maintenance of communications, public and military facilities, public order and traffic, promotion of the economy, health care, education and culture, tax liabilities, tax assessment and collection, in addition to issues concerning landed property. The decisions and inferences rendered by the Assembly would only become effective upon confirmation by the Porta. In terms of reform, although the established *Vilayet* Assembly was considerably restricted with regard to the manner in which representatives were elected, the religious composition of the Assembly (which

avored Muslims), the selection of issues to be discussed, the dependence of the province on executive authorities, and the imperative that the central government confirm its conclusions, the Assembly still constituted considerable progress in the participation of locals, and non-Muslims in particular, in reaching decisions on the important issues facing Bosnia and Herzegovina, and prefigured the establishment of the more mature, competent and empowered national and political representative body that would be set up during the period of Austro-Hungarian rule.

PERIOD OF AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN RULE

After the Berlin congress held by the Major Powers on July 13, 1878, Bosnia and Herzegovina fell under temporary Austro-Hungarian occupation, while the Sultan's sovereignty was formally retained. From 1908 to 1918, contrary to the terms of the Berlin Congress, Austro-Hungary formally annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina. More than 15 months passed from the time of the declared annexation – which was justified by the need to establish the Constitution and democracy in the political sphere through the introduction of the Council – before the Constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina was enacted. After lengthy preparations and constitutional polling, on February 20, 1910 the National Constitution (Statute) of Bosnia and Herzegovina was declared. The statute guaranteed all citizens equality before the law. Although the constitution was rather restricted and did not provide the local population and institutions with much power, as supreme administration remained in the hands of the Joint Ministry of Finance in Vienna, it had indisputable importance in marking the beginning of the constitutional system in our country. It introduced three new institutions to the political sphere of the country, of which the Council (orig. *Sabor*)

National Constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina



was certainly the most important. Regardless of its restricted legislative rights, the Council was an institution necessary for addressing and resolving contemporary important issues. It was empowered to cooperate in dealing with issues which, under the law on the administration of Bosnia and Herzegovina, did not explicitly fall within the competence of the Austrian and Hungarian Parliaments. Through the enactment of the constitution and the commencement of the functioning of the Council, the development of the constitutional and legal system in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the period of Austro-Hungarian rule was completed.

The restrictions imposed on the Council were multiple. The Council could not independently propose and enact laws, and it could not even discuss certain matters. The National Government did not report on its work to the Council, nor did the structure of the Government depend on the Council. On the other hand, the Government depended on this representation in terms of its available funds, because the annual budget depended on the Council. Although the Council could not independently decide on the most important issues to the country and its people, the declarations of some representatives on the Council could reflect the aspirations of the social groups they represented, which the Austro-Hungarian authorities took into consideration.

Although in 1907 the *curia* principle in Austria was abandoned as inefficient and universal suffrage was introduced instead, the Bosnian Council was based on the confessional and the *curia* principle due to its specific circumstances. It had 20 delegated members and 72 elected representatives. Any of the three confessions gave five delegated members to the Council each, while Jews were given one delegate vote. Delegated members of the Council were as follows: Reis-ul-ulema, the principal of Muslims' land holdings, the Muslims' regional leader from Mostar and Sarajevo, and a regional leader who was elected first, four Metropolitans, the Vice-President of the Grand Administrative and Educational Council of the Serb Orthodox Church, the Roman-Catholic Archbishop, two provincials of the Franciscan Order, a Sephardic rabbi of the higher order of Sarajevo, the President of the Supreme Court, the President of the Sarajevo Chamber of Attorneys, the Mayor of the City of Sarajevo and the President of the Sarajevo Chamber of Commerce.

Pursuant to the election laws, the population was divided into three *curiae*. The first *curia* included all those who, by virtue of their landed property, general tax liabilities or education belonged to a special social group of the population. It included Muslim landowners, begs and agas (*lower landed gentry*), rich merchants and industrialists, graduates and military officers. It held 18 seats in the Council. The second *curia* included the urban populations of places having the status of town or governed by the law of March 21, 1907, and which did not belong to the first *curia*. This curia had 22 seats in the Council. The third *curia* encompassed the entire rural population belonging neither to the first nor second *curia*. This

▷
Opening of the Bosnia and Herzegovina Assembly





General Varešanin reading the Emperor's decree at the opening of the Assembly

curia held 43 seats. According to national confessional groups, the Orthodox held 31, Muslims 24, and Catholics 16 seats, while Jews held one seat (in the second *curia*). The Council Presidency was not elected by representatives. Instead, it was appointed by the emperor. The government functioned absolutely independent of the Council, which was entitled only to file petitions to the National Government.

After the elections, including those regularly held in May and subsequent ones in September 1910, four political parties entered the Council. All Orthodox mandates were given to the Serbian National Organization (31), all Muslim mandates were given to the Muslim National Organization (24), while the Catholic mandates were split between the Croatian National Community (12) and the Croatian Catholic Association (4). With regard to the social structure of the Council, intellectuals (45) and landowners (24) were predominant. Several well-known cultural and public figures of that time were also elected to the Council. For example, the writer Svetozar Ćorović, Ali-beg Firdus, one of the most prominent leaders of the Bosniak-Muslim Movement for Autonomy, the Archbishop dr. Josip Štadler, Petar Kočić, a Serb cultural, national and political figure, Safvet-beg Bašagić, a cultural figure, dr. Nikola Mandić, dr. Jozo Sunarić, dr. Murad Sarić, dr. Nikola Stojanović, dr. Jefto Dedijer, dr. Mustaj-beg Mutevelić, dr. Milan Srškić, and Šerif ef. Arnautović, among others.

Although they were not members of the Council and did not participate in voting on occasions when certain legal grounds were established, representatives of the National Government were an important factor in the work of the Council and their standpoints frequently directed Council discussions, including the passing of certain proposals and laws. The National Government was assigned this important role by the Constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which prevented the Council from controlling its work.

After the May elections, the country was visited by the emperor Franz Josef. On that occasion, he issued a Patent on May 31 and convened the Council session for June 15, 1910, which was held on that day. The first president of the Council was Ali-beg Firdus, while Vojislav Šola and dr. Nikola Mandić were Vice-Presidents. Since Ali-beg Firdus was on his death-bed, Vojislav Šola acted as the Council President throughout the first session. Later Safvet-beg Bašagić would be appointed President of the Council. The opening of the Council session was followed by the unsuccessful assassination of General Marjan Varešanin on the Emperor's Bridge (orig. *Careva ćuprija*), on his way back from the opening ceremony. The would-be assassin, a Serbian youth named Bogdan Žerajić, committed suicide to prevent an investigation.

At the beginning of the Council's work, all representatives mainly acted jointly and in unison towards the National Government regardless of the political parties

Konak was the official residence of the national governor of Bosnia Herzegovina during Austro-Hungarian rule. It has kept its residential purpose to this day.



to which they belonged. They wished for the Council to be used within its existing authorities for bettering the political and economic situation in the country. A joint

request of representatives followed, demanding the Council's Constitutional powers to be expanded by the resolution of June 23, 1910. The representatives also worked in concert on some specific issues, such as the abolition of the prohibition on holding literacy courses, requests for the railway inscriptions not be written in Hungarian, the abolition of the German language in internal communication, a new law on forest fines to be enacted thus considerably improving the situation of peasants, among other issues. The conflicts in the Council broke out during the discussions on the draft law on the postal savings bank in late 1910 and early 1911, and raising the land question in the Council definitively put an end to cooperation, resulting in the splitting of representatives into factions each looking for allies among the political groups in the Council. This also put an end to efforts by the National Government to create a "work majority" comprising representatives from all three religious-ethnic groups.

During the four sessions, the Council discussed a number of issues related to laws submitted to the Council at the initiative of either the authorities or the representatives themselves. Because every year the government proposed a budget which exceeded the one from the previous year, the right of the Council to vote on this issue effectively constituted its most extensive power as defined by the Constitution. As a result, representatives made efforts to connect voting in favor of laws that were important to them with their budget votes. Still, the most important issues addressed by the Council were those related to the land question and landed property in general, which were the major issues raised at the first and fourth sessions, as well as the language issue, a key part of the national issue, both of which reflected the ethnic relations in the representative body.

Патент

Ми браћо Јосиф Први -
по милости Божијој цесар
аустријански, краљ тески
и. т. двапостолски краљ угар..
ски,

објављујемо и дајемо на знање :

Босанско-херцеговатки сабор
нека се сазове на дан 2/15. јуна
1910 у земаљски главни град
Сарајево.

Дано у Сарајеву, 18/31. маја 1910.

Франц Јосиф

Emperor Francis Joseph's decree
on the convening of the Bosnia and
Herzegovina National Assembly

The Bosnian-Herzegovinian National Council became a theatre of frequent discussions on the land question. The three major groups split based on religious-ethnic identity, while the fourth participant was the National Government and its representatives at the Council sessions. It should be noted, however, that the major battle was fought between the Bosniak¹ and the Serbian representatives, as the landowners were generally Muslims and the tenant peasants/serfs were predominantly Orthodox. At the first session, the groups presented their arguments in favor of the most desirable method for resolving the land question, raising the issues of terminology and other essential questions in this context – what the land question referred to, whether a tiller of the *čifluk* (a type of feudal holding under Ottoman rule) land is a serf or a tenant peasant, the origin of the Orthodox and the Muslims in Bosnia and Herzegovina and which group existed earlier in Bosnia and which one, as a consequence, was more entitled to the land, whether the relation between the landowner and the tiller is of a private-legal or public-legal character, the motives of the Austro-Hungarian administration in initiating external colonization – to strengthen agriculture or to weaken the Serb ethnic compactness in certain regions of Bosnia and Herzegovina – as well as other issues related to the land question.

At the second session they elected the Council Boards, discussed the language issue, roads, irregularities in leasing the Tuzla saltworks, and the budget, which was rejected at the second session. They also criticized the police force applied during the pupils' demonstrations against the governor Cuvaj and the introduction of a Commissariat in Croatia in front of the Sarajevo Cathedral. Since the Government was in conflict with the entire Council, it decided to close the second session.

During the period from 1912 to 1914, the state official policy predominantly tackled the railway building issue in Bosnia and Herzegovina and strived to secure support for its investment programs from all the groups in the Council. Apart from this, the language issue was the focus of all Croatian-Serbian discussions and conflicts. There was also some restructuring among the political parties.

At the inter-party conference on June 10, 1912, the newly appointed joint Minister of Finance, Leon Bilinski, presented his investment program demanding and expecting absolute support. As the majority in Government decided to adopt the program with certain amendments, Bilinski stated that he would implement the investment program without the Council's support. Still, after being somewhat

¹ While writing this text we faced a dilemma as to which expression to use for the Bosniak-Muslim population and their political representatives: *Bosniaks* or *Muslims*? Considering that all the sources at the time refer to them as *Muslims* and all their institutions have the prefix *Muslim* and that, on the other hand, the current denomination for that ethnic group is *Bosniaks*, we decided to use a combination of the two, given that *Muslim* is used when referring to institutions and phrases from the original sources, while *Bosniak* is used when referring to groups or individuals as part of the ethnic group. (author's observation)



The current Bosnia and Herzegovina Presidency building was constructed in 1886 and it originally housed the Supreme Court, various government departments, the National Treasury and other administrative bodies during Austro-Hungarian rule

uncertain, the Muslim-Croatian group and the group associated with the *Serbian Word* (*Srpska riječ*) agreed on accepting the entirety of the Minister's investment program and voted in favor of the budget, thus satisfying the requirements for convening the third session of the Council on October 22, 1912. Expectedly, despite obstructions by the opposition, the budget and the unchanged Law on Railways passed.

It was then that the language crisis broke out, as it was one of the most important issues concerning the national question. At the time of the Council, the language issue in internal political relations pertained to defining the name of the language and the use of the alphabet, though not the essence of the language. Despite the different approaches to the language issue by the ethnic-political groups in the Council, the agreement was finally reached in 1912 after the Croats conceded and allowed for the language to officially be named Serbo-Croatian. The problem remained of how to resolve the language issue with the Government, which has ever since been given primarily social and economic dimensions.

With the intention of resolving the language issue in their own interests, local political figures made efforts to connect this issue with resolving other issues under dispute upon which the authorities attempted to agree within the Council. In particular this referred to governmental strategic investment programs and the budget,



A session of the Assembly

the passing of which the representatives tried to connect with resolving a range of their own demands. With regard to voting in favor of the Law on the Building of New Railways (November 1912), all Council groups requested that the Serbo-Croatian language be legalized as the external and internal official language used in the railway sector. Although the Law on the Building of Railways passed owing to the votes of the “work group,” the Council influenced voting in favor of the Government’s 1913 budget proposal making Serbo-Croatian the only official language. Having realized that the Council would not vote in favor of the 1913 budget without having the language issue resolved in the spirit of the representatives’ demands, the Austro-Hungarian authorities adjourned the Council session (December 18, 1912) indefinitely. The session did not continue; instead, it was formally closed at the time of the Skadar crisis on May 4, 1913. On May 3, 1913, during the international crisis caused by the Austro-Hungarian ultimatum requesting Montenegro to withdraw its forces occupying Skadar, in fear of the reactions of Serbs in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the authorities imposed special measures on the country and suspended the eight most important Articles of the Constitution. When the Montenegrin army withdrew from Skadar on the May 15, the special measures were rescinded as well.



At the time of the Skadar crisis, the group associated with the *Serbian Word* found itself in a difficult situation between the authorities and the Serb public, and 12 representatives within this group renounced their mandates in consequence. At the subsequently held elections, the vacant positions were mainly occupied by the candidates of the pro-government, newly established Serbian National Party of the lawyer Danilo Dimović (acquiring nine seats), by which the requirements were met for the fourth and last session of the Council, which was to be held on December 29, 1913.

In the summer of 1913, once the problems in forming the “work majority” were overcome, a compromise was reached on the Law on the Official and Teaching Language. The new governmental coalition (Muslim and Croatian Council caucuses and the Serbian group of Danilo Dimović) and the National Government agreed that the use of Serbo-Croatian language should be enabled in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the internal railway services, provided that military interests allowed it. Having received consent from the Hungarian and Austrian governments that the law on language would be enacted, the pro-government Council majority voted in favor of it once the Council was reopened on December 30, 1913. Once this law was

sanctioned, Serbo-Croatian was introduced into all administrative bodies of Bosnia and Herzegovina, with the exception of the national railways, where German retained its primacy for military-strategic reasons.

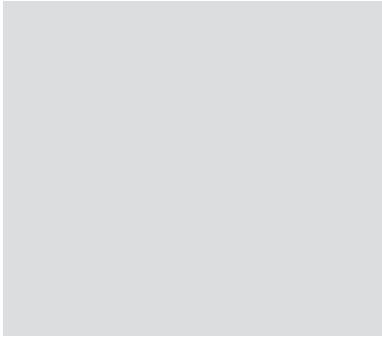
During this relatively peaceful session, the land question was raised again, as was the issue of the representation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the common delegations, including the issue of the name and use of the official language. In the

first half of 1914, several important draft laws on investments were adopted. This was also a period of turbulence in the governmental Council majority among all three ethnic groups.

The Council's activities were discontinued due to the assassination of Franz Ferdinand, heir to the throne, by Gavrilo Princip on June 28, 1914 in Sarajevo. Soon after the assassination, the fourth session of the Council was formally closed on July 9, 1914. On July 28, Austro-Hungary declared war on Serbia, commencing World War I, and on February 15, 1915, the Emperor abolished the Council. The events following the assassination prevented the sanctioning of some laws adopted by the Council and the implementation of those enacted for which even the necessary funds had been obtained.

Analysis of the attitudes towards the issues raised in the Council and the relationships between the groups of representatives clearly indicates the manner in which the local political forces accepted parliamentarism. The existence of the Council and its activities enabled the ongoing development of national political organizations into modern political parties, demonstrated through the work of this parliamentary body. Through its work, it is possible to monitor numerous issues and relationships, the land question and internal political movements in particular, including the inter-ethnic relations in Bosnia during the Constitutional period. The work of the political parties based on mutual agreement and the options in the Council had a positive impact on social movements, while disagreements between the political parties and their dissident groups negatively affected the country's stability and relations among the population of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Senior Lecturer, Edin Radušić, Ph. D.



POLITICAL REPRESENTATION OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA IN THE KINGDOM OF SERBS, CROATS AND SLOVENES/KINGDOM OF YUGOSLAVIA (1918–1941)

As of 1914, there were no institutional activities by the Bosnian Council, the legitimate representative body in making decisions on the future status of Bosnia and Herzegovina. There were various opinions, ranging from those on the establishment of autonomy of Bosnia and Herzegovina within Hungary, to its union with Croatia, to the acceptance of the solutions contained in the May and Corfu Declarations. The Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (SCS), which also included Bosnia and Herzegovina, was established on December 1, 1918 following World War I and the defeat of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy.

During the process of unification, at the initiative of the Yugoslav caucus, a Resolution on the Unification of Yugoslav Peoples who had been parts of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy was issued in Zagreb on March 2 and 3, 1918. The meeting was also attended by representatives of Bosnia and Herzegovina. It was proposed on that occasion that the National Council of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs (SCS) be established with its seat in Zagreb, where the political parties and national organizations of South-Slav peoples from the Austro-Hungarian monarchy were represented. The National Council of SCS, as the supreme body of the new state, was established on October 5 and 6, 1918 and was tasked with preparing the unification of all South-Slav peoples and with setting up the state on a democratic basis. It counted 80 members, of whom 18 were from Bosnia and Herzegovina, plus additional five members from the abolished Bosnian Council. The Central Board consisted of 36 members, of whom six, along with two deputies, were from Bosnia and Herzegovina, though there were no Muslim representatives.

The National Council of SCS for Bosnia and Herzegovina, along with its Main Board, consisted of 25 members and a 5 member Presidency, and was formed on October 20, 1918 and comprised representatives of all three peoples. By November 1, 1918, the police and armed forces had been established, including District, Regional and Rural Boards, and the Austro-Hungarian monarchy handed power over to this Council on the same day with the resignation of the governor Sarkotić. The first national government of Bosnia and Herzegovina was established on November 3, 1918 and comprised 10 members, of whom the President and five Ministers (or commissioners) were Serbs, three members were Croats and one member was Muslim. Atanasije Šola was the President of the Government.

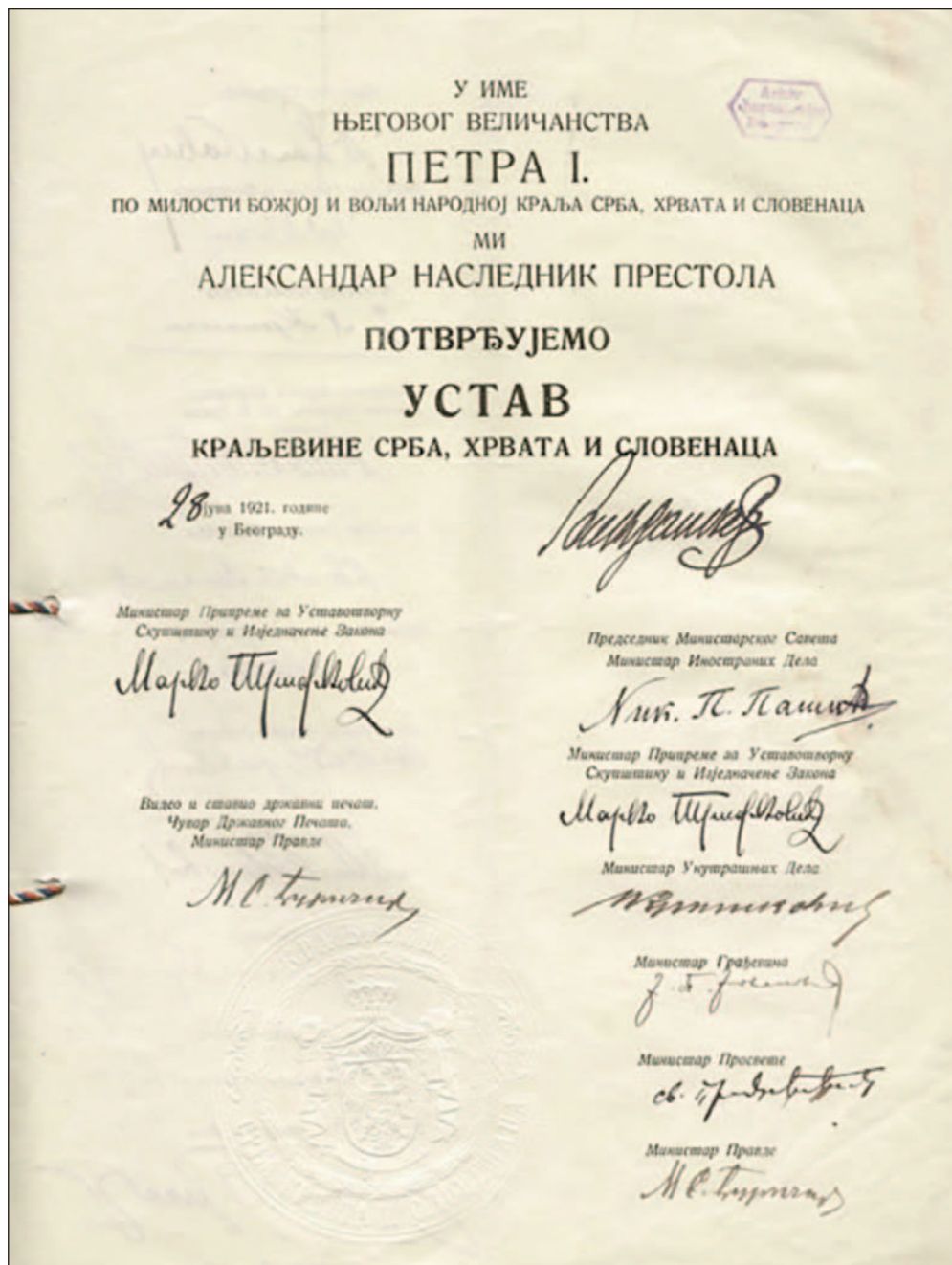
The Government of the National Council of SCS for Bosnia and Herzegovina functioned from November 1, 1918 to January 31, 1919, when it was replaced by the National Government for Bosnia and Herzegovina on February 1, 1919, which became the supreme administrative body over all administrative-territorial bodies in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Organizational changes in the structure of the National Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina were very frequent and adjusted to the state government. It was comprised of eight committees chaired by the President Atanasije Šola. On July 11, 1921, the National Government was replaced by the Regional Administration of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Bosnia and Herzegovina became part of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes by an inauguration address of the National Council of SCS delivered to the regent Alexander which he, on behalf of his majesty King Peter I, received on December 1, 1918 in Belgrade. Although the delegation of 28 members, seven of whom were from Bosnia and Herzegovina, received clear instructions on the conditions and modalities of unification on a democratic basis, by the act of December 1 the State of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs was unified with Serbia into one state under the name the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (SCS). On December 3, 1918, the Presidency of the National Council of SCS declared that the act of uniting ceased the functioning of the National Council, being the sovereign representative body of the State of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs. The first common government of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes was established on December 20, 1918, including Tugomir Alaupović, Ph.D., Mehmed Spaho, Ph.D., and Uroš Krulj, Ph.D., from Bosnia and Herzegovina. By this act of unification, the previously agreed upon procedures for the union of two states was abandoned, although they were agreed upon during the trilateral negotiations held in Geneva from November 6-9, 1918, on which occasion the Serbian Government was represented by Nikola Pašić, the National Council of the State of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs by Anton Korošec, and the Yugoslav Committee by Ante Trumbić, the abandonment of which was the reason for the ongoing crisis during the existence of the Kingdom of SCS/Yugoslavia. Thus, instead of a state organized on a federal principle, a centralized monarchy

with a strong unitary government and single national political representation was established. Under such circumstances, Bosnia and Herzegovina and its historical heritage became a part of Yugoslavia.

By the act of uniting and the establishment of the central government in Belgrade, the preparations for the elections for the first Constituent Assembly of the Kingdom of SCS commenced, which was not convened immediately after the proclamation of the union as there was no election law in place. By the decree of February 24, 1919, the central government decided for the Interim Assembly to have 296 members, provided that all parties and political groups were represented proportional to their number in every individual province. The National Council of Bosnia and Herzegovina elected 42 members from the parties represented on the Council. By the end of September 1920, the National Council ceased functioning and all powers in Bosnia and Herzegovina passed to the central government in Belgrade. The Interim Assembly scheduled the elections for November 28, 1920. The 63 representative seats assigned to Bosnia and Herzegovina were won by the following: the Yugoslav Muslim Party (24), Association of Peasants (12), National Radical Party (11), Croatian Labour Party (7), Communist Party of Yugoslavia (4), Croatian Popular Party (3) and Democratic Party (2). After the election statistics were publicized, protests came from all sides and discontent was manifested immediately after the first convocation of the Constituent Assembly of the Kingdom of SCS on December 12, 1920. Of the 419 elected representatives, 342 representatives delivered their credentials to the Verification Board, while the representatives of the Croatian Popular Party and the Croatian Party of Rights did not even attend the first session, nor were there 10 representatives from the part of the country under Italian occupation. Therefore, political tensions were already pronounced. Pursuant to Article 140 of the St. Vitus' Day Constitution which was adopted on June 28, 1921, the Constituent Assembly became legislative on June 29, 1921.

The decree on the division of the Kingdom of SCS into 33 regions was issued in 1922 by the government, while the political deal of Mehmed Spaho, Ph.D., leader of the Yugoslav Muslim Organization, with the radical-democratic government concerning the St. Vitus' Day Constitution enabled Bosnia and Herzegovina to keep its territorial integrity within its current borders. Thus, according to the new Constitution, six districts from the period of Austro-Hungarian rule were renamed as six regions: Bihać, Mostar, Sarajevo, Travnik, Tuzla and Vrbas. The new Election Law was enacted on June 21, 1922, and with certain amendments it remained in force until the establishment of the January 6 Dictatorship. The St. Vitus' Day Constitution did not guarantee women the right to vote. A passive right to vote belonged to candidates older than 30 years of age. Active military officers and soldiers did not have the right to vote, and communists were deprived of the passive right to vote. A thorough analysis of the Election Law indicates that it was intended



for strengthening central authorities, which is particularly evident in the election method applied in the one-seat election regions.

At the Assembly elections on March 18, 1923, February 8, 1925 and special elections for national representatives of the Kingdom of SCS held on September 11, 1927, the most seats in Bosnia and Herzegovina were won by the following: the Yugoslav Muslim Organization, the National Radical Party, and the Croatian



Banski dvor, the cultural center of Banja Luka, was built between 1929 and 1932, as a residence of the ban of the Vrbas banovina in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes

Republican Peasant Party. The religious-national affiliation of voters reflected the election results brought into the Assembly of the Kingdom of SCS as well as the tensions and misunderstandings that culminated in the assassination of the representative of the Croatian Peasant Party, which caused King Alexander to set up a dictatorship on January 6, 1929, abolish the Constitution, dissolve the Assembly and ban the work of all political parties. In October 1929, the King enacted the Law on Renaming the Kingdom of SCS the Kingdom of Yugoslavia and its division into administrative regions. Internal reorganization resulted in the establishment of nine *banovinas* and the Administration of the City of Belgrade as the tenth administrative unit. Like the other Yugoslav countries, through this division Bosnia and Herzegovina also lost its historically unique territorial integrity and was split into four *banovinas*: Vrbas, Zeta, Primorje (trans. Littoral) and Drina. In Bosnia and Herzegovina, the administrative centres of two *banovinas* were Sarajevo of the



Drina *banovina* and Banja Luka of the Vrbas *banovina*, while its two remaining *banovinas* were centered outside Bosnia and Herzegovina - Primorje in Split and Zeta in Cetinje. This considerably affected the ethnic structure of the population, as in the *banovinas* of Vrbas and Drina, the majority population were Serbs, in Zeta Serbs and Montenegrins, and in Primorje Croats. The divisions made Muslims a minority in all of the four *banovinas*. King Alexander centralized the administration and intended to use the new division to resolve the national issue by imposing an integral Yugoslavism wherein, instead of three peoples in Yugoslavia, there existed only one Yugoslav people of three tribes (Serbian, Croatian and Slovenian). Having abolished all of the democratic characteristics of the Yugoslav state-political system, the King proclaimed the Law on the Power of the King and Supreme State Administration, thus assuming both legislative and executive power.

In the summer of 1931 it was announced that the parliamentary system would be restored. King Alexander enacted a new Constitution of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia (the Octroyed Constitution) on September 3, 1931, thus restoring parliamentarism, though not a parliamentary system in a democratic sense. The

Administrative division of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia which disrupted the historical territorial integrity of Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as of some other Yugoslav states

new Constitution introduced a bicameral Assembly – the National Assembly and the Senate, by which the King attempted to change the form but not the essence of absolute rule. The Octroyed Constitution established the out-of-parliamentary government system – the government did not stem from the parliamentary majority and did not report to the Assembly but rather to the King, who appointed and relieved of duty the President of the Council of Ministers and the Ministers themselves. By the King's Decree of September 23, 1931, the elections were scheduled for November 8, 1931, while the newly elected Assembly was to meet the same year on December 7 in Belgrade. Candidature covering the whole country was planned for the elections under the "national candidate list," and no candidature was allowed in smaller election precincts. In accordance with the amendment to the new Election Law, secret voting was abolished and an open vote was introduced. The 1931 Election Law and its by-laws served to strengthen centralism and integral Yugoslavism in a national sense, and to strengthen the King's powers as well. In the context of these elections, it is not possible to talk of Bosnia and Herzegovina because of the administrative system which had divided it into *banovinas*. This Assembly functioned directly under the influence of the Court, in accordance with the January 6 dictatorship and the Octroyed Constitution, achieving its plan of tearing apart historical and national territories. The King's power did not give way after the amendments to the Election Law of March 24, 1933 which increased the number of representatives increased to 370, but had little effect on the king's tendency to retain centralism.

The king's attempts to hide his absolutist rule failed, as there followed ample protest letters (orig. *punktacija*) expressing dissatisfaction. The demands of the November 7, 1932 Resolution by the Peasant-Democratic Coalition, which comprised the Croatian Peasant Party and the Independent Democratic Association, better known as the "Zagreb" and "Maček" protest letters, which called for the abolition of Serbian predominance in the Kingdom, triggered the reactions of the Democratic Party which, in January 1933, published "A Letter to Friends" known as "Davidović's protest letters," requesting the state be reorganized so that it consisted of four federal units of which Bosnia and Herzegovina would be one. Mehmed Spaho, Ph.D., leader of the Yugoslav Muslim Organization, also took this view and, through the "Sarajevo protest letters," he criticized the centralist system and demanded that the equality of historical-political units, including Bosnia and Herzegovina as a non-discriminated member, be respected.

The assassination of King Alexander in Marseille, France, in 1934 and the appointment of a three-member regency headed by Prince Pavle Karađorđević instigated elections on May 5, 1935, which included two election groups: a National list including Bogoljub Jeftićem, and the list of the United Opposition headed by Vlatko Maček. The opposition program parties joined the United Opposition: the

Peasant-Democratic Coalition, the Yugoslav Muslim Organization, Davidović's wing of the Democratic Party and a part of the Farming Party. The appearance of Vlatko Maček undoubtedly indicated the tendency to open the "Croatian Issue" in the Kingdom. The elections were won by the list of Bogoljub Jeftić with 60.6% of the vote and 303 seats, while the list of the United Opposition won 37.4% of the vote and 167 representative seats. However much the victory of the government list was celebrated, it meant the continuation of terror against persons of different views, communists and federalists in particular.

Again, there were requests for the autonomy of Bosnia and Herzegovina after these elections. Apart from the foregoing political parties, the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, which acted underground, indirectly expressed its position. Stimulated by these ideas, Bosnia and Herzegovina youth who studied in Belgrade, Ljubljana and Zagreb published three letters: in December 1937, March 1938 and December 1 1939, in which they pointed out the special characteristics of Bosnia and Herzegovina as a political, economic, cultural and historical whole. However, these requests had no effect.

The regency headed by Prince Pavle dissolved the Assembly and announced new elections to be held on December 11, 1938. These were the last elections for the National Assembly in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. The Election Law already gave preference to the Government List, which fully won through various forms of election rigging. In early February 1939, the regent, Prince Pavle, entrusted the Government to Dragiša Cvetković and empowered him to reach an agreement with Vlatko Maček, leader of the Croatian Peasant Party.

The period of time following the December elections was full of uncertainty and tension in Yugoslavia, mirroring the international political sphere. The parliamentary crisis could not be overcome, the Assembly discontinued its work and all legislative and executive power passed on to the regency, that is, Prince Pavle and the Government.

There was an attempt to resolve the issue of the state-political system of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia by the Cvetković-Maček Agreement signed on August 26, 1939. This Serbian-Croatian agreement had parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina become parts of a newly established Autonomous Banovina of Croatia, which now included the following territories of Bosnia and Herzegovina: in the Sava River basin (orig. *Posavina*) – the municipalities and counties of Brčko, Gradačac, Bosanski Šamac, Bosanski Brod and Derventa, and in southwest Bosnia and Herzegovina: Stolac, Čapljina, Ljubuški, Mostar, Konjic, Prozor, Fojnica, Travnik, Bugojno, Tomislavgrad and Livno. According to the Agreement, the remaining part of Bosnia and Herzegovina was to be a part of the projected community of *Serbian Countries* (orig. "Srpske zemlje"). However, no one was satisfied with the Agreement as it could not result in the consolidation of a political situation overloaded

with social and ethnic problems. Amid this situation, the Yugoslav Muslim Organization requested that Bosnia and Herzegovina should be established within its historical borders with Sarajevo as its center. After Mehmed Spaho, Ph.D. died in 1939, the Party was taken over by Džafer Kulenović, Ph.D. who proposed the foundation of the fourth “Banovina of Bosnia.” The movement for autonomy was established on December 30, 1939 and its Executive Board sent out a circular to all Muslim organizations and associations in the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina to set up local boards with the aim of achieving the autonomy of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which process was interrupted by World War II.

From the introduction of the January 6 regime to March 1941, there were 14 governments in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, which also included Ministers from Bosnia and Herzegovina who advocated for different opinions, standpoints and solutions, depending on their ethnicity and the political orientation of their political parties. Identical behaviour was shown by the representatives who attended a few inefficient and conflicted Assembly sessions.

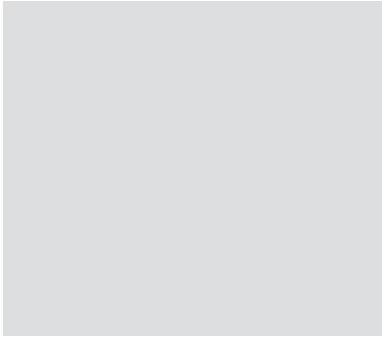
The last Government of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, the Government of Dragiša Cvetković and Vlatko Maček, fell on March 27, 1941. After the Kingdom of Yugoslavia signed a document to join the Tripartite Pact on March 25, 1941 and the demonstrations two days later, Hitler’s air force attacked Belgrade, the royal

President of the government of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia Dragiša Cvetković signing the accession of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia to the Tripartite Pact



army was quickly defeated, the king and the government went into exile, and the country was occupied by fascists and torn apart, all leading to the end of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia.

From the establishment of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia to the collapse of all of its segments, the political representation of Bosnia and Herzegovina was characterized by continued disruptions, political instability and differences on fundamental issues that remained unresolved from 1918 onwards. Apart from the basic conflict between the centralization and federalization of the country, Bosnia and Herzegovina had to take permanent care to preserve its territorial integrity. The leading parliamentary political parties from Bosnia and Herzegovina acted on a religious-ethnic basis. In addition, the Serbian and Croatian parties had their respective headquarters in Belgrade and Zagreb, and therefore could not truly represent the interests of the population of Bosnia and Herzegovina in its entirety. The attempts to set up parliamentarism, the prohibition of left-oriented political parties, the introduction of dictatorship and an accumulation of social and ethnic problems, along with the beginning of World War II and the revolutionary-liberation war, all provided the conditions for changes to the political system and political representation.



WORLD WAR II AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE NATIONAL ANTI-FASCIST COUNCIL OF THE PEOPLE'S LIBERATION OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

After the attack by Nazi Germany against the Kingdom of Yugoslavia and the April blitzkrieg, the Yugoslav country collapsed and signed an unconditional capitulation on April 17, 1941. The Independent State of Croatia, which also comprised Bosnia and Herzegovina, was proclaimed on April 10, 1941. By the legal provision of June 10, 1941, the territory of the Independent State of Croatia was split into 22 administrative units – large districts which were further split into counties and counties into municipalities. By including large parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina in vast districts, the centers of which were located in Croatia, an attempt was made to form a single state territory for the Independent State of Croatia.

Conflicts broke out, with growing indignation and resistance to the fascist occupation. For this reason the Communist Party of Yugoslavia's concept of the anti-fascist fight, based on the joint struggle of all peoples of Yugoslavia against the fascist occupier and numerous local collaboration structures, enjoyed ever increasing reputation and had mobilizing power.

Parallel to the anti-fascist fight, the Communist Party of Yugoslavia also carried out revolutionary changes in power. The basic factors in the destruction of the old social and political system and in building a new system of authority were people's-liberation boards and anti-fascist councils of the people's liberation. The process of setting up the partisan authorities in Bosnia and Herzegovina concurred with the strengthening of the people's-liberation movement from the time of the uprising (July 1941), and continued through the establishment of the Anti-Fascist Council of the People's Liberation of Yugoslavia (orig. abbrev. *AVNOJ*) and the

National Anti-Fascist Council of the People's Liberation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (orig. abbrev. ZAVNOBiH), culminating in the liberation of the country and legalization of an established structure of authority. As territories were taken by partisans, local authorities were set up, marking the beginning of the new state authorities.

Within the organization of the people's-liberation movement, Bosnia and Herzegovina was split into three regions: Bosnian *Krajina*, East Bosnia and Herzegovina. Decisions on the appointment of the first members of the national boards were rendered by the staffs and the party organizations of the partisan detachments, which citizens accepted at the meetings – members of the national boards were not elected.

Although the national boards had already been established, the Foča Regulations titled "Tasks and organization of the people's-liberation boards and explanations and directives for the activities of the people's-liberation boards in the liberated areas" of February 1942 stipulated the fundamental principles of the organization and functioning of the people's-liberation boards, their elections, revocation as well as other issues. The new partisan authorities were set up by the appointment of various acting officers, not by election but by acclamation. The Foča Regulations also secured the foundation of the new election system which, apart from indirect

One of the speakers at the first session of the National Anti-Fascist Council of the People's Liberation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (ZAVNOBiH)





Arrival of the participants to the first session of ZAVNOBiH

election, also introduced the delegate system of election of high authorities, and confirmed the women's right to vote. Universal suffrage was introduced and voting was open. The issues of election boards, members of election boards and voters' meetings were regulated. The people's-liberation boards functioned in the free territories during the partisan units' control over certain territories and, if they were occupied by the enemy, their activities ceased until the next opportunity.

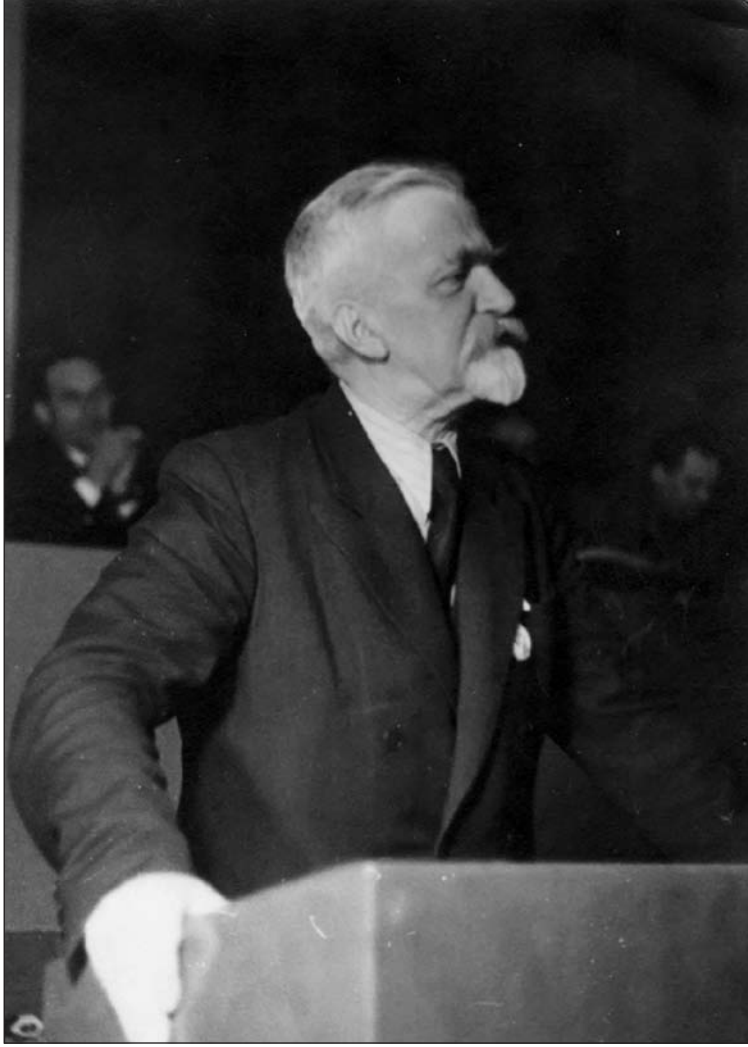
In order to establish the structure of the new authorities, national authorities needed to be in place. Numerous rural, municipal, county, district and regional people's-liberation boards would have excessively burdened the Supreme Staff of the people's-liberation movement, which was predominantly in charge of military operations. Therefore, it was necessary to establish a central body of the national authorities to take over from the Supreme Staff the civil administration of liberated territories. Thus, the first session of the Anti-Fascist Council of the People's Liberation of Yugoslavia (orig. abbrev. *AVNOJ*), the highest political representative body of the people's-liberation movement of Yugoslavia, was convened in Bihać on November 26, 1942. The *AVNOJ* elected its executive board which, together with the Supreme Staff, constituted the state structure of authorities at the level of Yugoslavia as a whole. In spite of the fact that the war continued to rage unabated,

the Executive Board rendered a decision to convene a session of the National Anti-Fascist Council.

Due to the principle of *so many ethnicities, so many federal units*, there arose different views about the establishment of Bosnia and Herzegovina as a federal unit. Some party leaders believed that Bosnia and Herzegovina could not be a separate federal unit considering its multi-ethnicity, and that it should be made an autonomous province of Serbia or Croatia, or linked to the federative authorities of the new Yugoslavia. This was opposed by the leadership of the Regional Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia for Bosnia and Herzegovina (orig. abbrev. *(PKKPJ za BiH)*). The prominent revolutionaries Avdo Humo, Rodoljub Čolaković, Hasan Brkić, as well as others, requested Josip Broz Tito and Edvard Kardelj that Bosnia and Herzegovina have equal status within the Yugoslav federation. They succeeded in their efforts by reasoning their request along historical lines. Their request also included permission for convening a national conference for Bosnia and Herzegovina. Through the Party channels, the Regional Committee of the CPY for Bosnia and Herzegovina, with the consent of the Central Committee of the CPY, asked the county and regional boards to forward their lists of candidates for the first national representative body. Those included AVNOJ attendees from the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina, partisan unit veterans, prominent military commanders, political commissars, all of the members of the regional national boards and five prominent political, public and cultural figures from every county, and people who were sympathizers with the partisan movement and uncompromised with regard to

The second session of ZAVNOBiH





*President of the ZAVNOBiH Presidium
dr. Vojislav Kecmanović*

the enemy. The social structure of the participants varied, while the ethnic composition was harmonized with the ethnic structure of the people's-liberation movement. The majority of ZAVNOBiH delegates were elected based on the Communist Party's directives and instructions through military and party organizations and the bodies of the national government. As the lower levels of authority were also elected upon the same principle, this form of political representation may be defined as wartime partisan-party parliamentarism. Further spreading from the nucleus of the people's boards resulted in the setting up of a hierarchical network of people's boards which, by virtue of representation at the level of Bosnia and Herzegovina, made the ZAVNOBiH its highest political representative body.

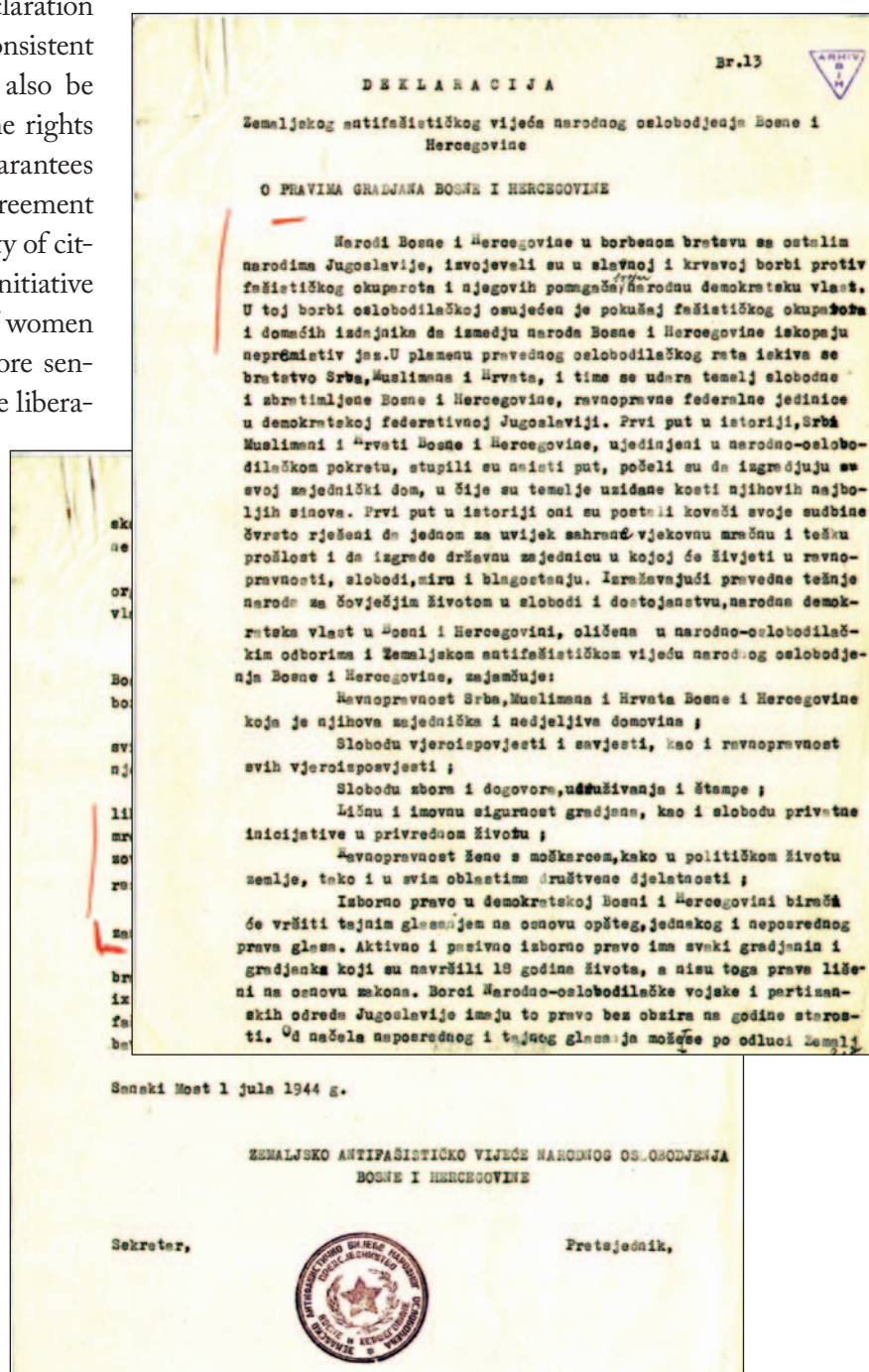
The First Session of ZAVNOBiH, as the highest political representative body of Bosnia and Herzegovina, was held in Mrkonjić Grad November 25-26, 1943, during which 173 councillors, 31 members of the Presidium and five members of the Presidency of the Presidium of ZAVNOBiH were elected. The following persons were elected to the Presidium Presidency: dr. Vojislav Kecmanović, President, Avdo Humo, first Vice-President, Aleksandar Preka, second Vice-President, Đuro Pucar Stari, third Vice-President, and Hasan Brkić, Secretary. According to the ZAVNOBiH Resolution,

Bosnia and Herzegovina was proclaimed a federal unit of equal peoples. 58 councillors and their 46 deputies were elected for the Second Session of AVNOJ where, on November 29, 1943, they represented Bosnia and Herzegovina in Jajce, and at which the structure of the new state with six federal units and five peoples, which did not include Muslims, was confirmed. Although during the war the names of the most numerous peoples in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbs, Croats and Muslims, were used in communication, manifestos and official documents on an equal footing, an adequate place for Muslims in terms of ethnicity was not recognized. According to the decisions of the Second Session of the AVNOJ, the foundation of the federative system of the Democratic Federative Yugoslavia was established. The National Anti-Fascist Councils were constituted into the highest legislative and executive representative bodies and were entitled to set up the people's governments as executive bodies.

The Second Session of the ZAVNOBiH was held in Sanski Most from June 30 to July 2, 1944, and was attended by 107 councillors of the 148 who filed their credentials. It was also attended by the members of the allied military missions from the Soviet Union, Great Britain and the United States of America, and ZAVNOH representatives, while the AVNOJ representatives were prevented from coming from the island of Vis due to combat activities. At its Second Session, the ZAVNOBiH was constituted into the highest legislative authority in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the People's Assembly, as the bearer of people's sovereignty. A Declaration on the rights of the citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina was issued at the session of July 1, 1944, which states, inter alia: *"From the fire of the just liberation war, the fraternity of Serbs, Muslims and Croats is being forged, thus laying the strong foundations of a free and brotherly Bosnia and Herzegovina, an equal federal unit of Democratic Federal Yugoslavia."* Apart from the principle of the equality of peoples, the provisions of the Declaration on human rights and freedoms, which are consistent with modern European standards, should also be noted. The ZAVNOBiH Declaration on the rights of people in Bosnia and Herzegovina guarantees freedom of worship, freedom of assembly, agreement and association, freedom of the press, security of citizens' personal property, freedom of private initiative in the economic sphere, and the equality of women and men, as well as the right to a trial before sentencing. Unfortunately, immediately after the liberation, a part of the proclaimed principles by which human and civil rights and freedoms were guaranteed was abandoned.

In response to the circumstances of the war, the ZAVNOBiH merged its legislative and executive powers, and all of its organs were named "the people's," implying that people directly participated in managing all state affairs through this representative body. The ZAVNOBiH Presidency exercised total power until the establishment of the government; therefore, the necessary number of departments was set up within it to deal with state administration affairs, marking the inception of the future Ministers. At the

ZAVNOBiH declaration on the rights of citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina



sessions of the Presidency from July 6, 1944 to February 7, 1945, the following departments were established: the people's economy, people's education, people's health and social welfare, people's reconstruction, the judicial system, nutrition, finance, and interior affairs. They introduced the people's liberation assemblies at the state level, while their boards were the executive authorities. The right to vote for men and women as of the age of 18 was regulated, and the categories of the population that were deprived of that right were also indicated. The Rules of Procedure for the ZAVNOBiH and all lower levels of authority were regulated by special decisions. The fact that the new government was fully established is manifest in the adopted decision on forming the National Commission for the Investigation of the Occupier's Crimes, and for gathering information on war damage, in coordination with the State Commission formed within the National Committee for the Liberation of Yugoslavia (NKOJ), which functioned as the Yugoslav government. The ZAVNOBiH Presidium consisted of the Presidency, which comprised the President, three Vice-Presidents, a Secretary and 22 members.

The Party believed that it needed a wide base for its activities and, immediately after the Second Session of the ZAVNOBiH on July 3, 1944, it convened in Zdena near Sanski Most the First National Conference of the People's Liberation Movement of Bosnia and Herzegovina, at which the People's Liberation Front was established, being the widest transmission of the revolutionary fight in the period of the transition of power. In the presence of 150 delegates from throughout Bosnia and Herzegovina, the legitimacy of the creation of a political organization comprising the majority of the population was secured. Through the People's Front Organizations, it was possible to spread ideas, implement various measures and decisions, control the population and apply certain sanctions against those who did not accept the new government.

The administrative apparatus of the ZAVNOBiH was built up through planned activities. The established departments were managed by the Presidency members, thus performing the duties of the government of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which could not be established officially at that time, but which was done soon after the liberation of the country.

During the war, the partisan movement in Bosnia and Herzegovina created a government parallel to the official one, and managed to prepare strong foundations for the legalization of revolutionary power prior to the country's liberation. Thus, from a party that was only active underground, the Communist Party of Yugoslavia became a leader in setting up a one-party political system with total control over society. In a Yugoslavia renewed on quite different grounds, Bosnia and Herzegovina found its place as one of six federal units, whose further development was directly subordinated to the federative organs in Belgrade.

PARLIAMENTARISM IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA DURING THE PERIOD 1945–1990

With the approaching liberation of the country, the Communist Party of Yugoslavia had the task, apart from its final military operations, of completing the process of the constitution of state authorities. In Bosnia and Herzegovina, that was done at the last session of ZAVNOBiH.

At the Third Session of ZAVNOBiH, which was held from April 26 to 28, 1945 in liberated Sarajevo and attended by 155 members of the 176, the following decision was made: *“A Decision on amendments and supplements to the Decision on constituting the National Anti-Fascist Council of the People’s Liberation of Bosnia and Herzegovina into the highest legislative and executive people’s representative body of federal Bosnia and Herzegovina, issued on 1 July 1944,”* by which the ZAVNOBiH was constituted into the People’s Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina and its Presidency into the Presidency of the People’s Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina. This meant the continuation of government building in peacetime; as a consequence the people’s liberation boards and assemblies, from local to regional levels, changed their names to the people’s boards and people’s assemblies of places, municipalities, counties, districts and regions, depending on the administrative-territorial division of Bosnia and Herzegovina. By the adoption of this Decision, the further work of the Third Session of the ZAVNOBiH was actually the beginning of the work of the first People’s Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina. All counsellors holding counsellor credentials for the Third Session of ZAVNOBiH became the first people’s representatives of the People’s Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and due to the impossibility of elections, an additional 44 representatives were co-opted into it. Therefore, the first People’s Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina had 220 people’s representatives.

The Presidency of the ZAVNOBiH was renamed the Presidency of the People’s Assembly and counted 25 members. Dr. Vojislav Kecmanović was appointed President and Avdo Humo, dr. Jakov Grgurić and Đuro Pucar Vice-Presidents.



During the Third session, ZAVNOBiH was transformed into the National Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina

Although the Presidency was occasionally named the Presidium, it was given that name officially no earlier than the first Constitution of the People's Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina; this name was used in practice from the Third Session of the AVNOJ onwards. Upon constituting the Interim Government of Democratic Federal Yugoslavia on March 7, 1945, the requirements were satisfied for the establishment of the government of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Law on the People's Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina, as the highest executive authority of the state government in Bosnia and Herzegovina, was enacted at the Third Session of the ZAVNOBiH. The People's Government reported to the People's Assembly, which unanimously mandated Rodoljub Čolaković with composing the first People's Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The People's Assembly changed the ZAVNOBiH's July 1, 1944 Decision on forming a legislative board by passing the Law on the amendment of its second article and stipulating that the Legislative Board would comprise the President and the 10 members whom the People's Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina would elect from its own members. Thus, by the Third Session of the ZAVNOBiH, which was also the first session of the People's Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the state and representative authorities of Bosnia and Herzegovina were established. Soon



afterwards, on May 2, 1945, the people's government of Bosnia and Herzegovina issued a Declaration with a program orientation which tackled issues important for peacetime development.

The next step in the development of Yugoslav Bosnia and Herzegovina state organization was the Third Session of the AVNOJ held on August 10, 1945, which transformed itself into the Interim People's Assembly of Yugoslavia. A two-chamber Assembly best suited the federal system of the new state, so the Interim People's Assembly decided that the Constitutional Assembly should have two Chambers: the Federal Assembly and the Assembly of Peoples.

In order to confirm all of the decisions rendered by that time, the Constitutional Assembly of Yugoslavia convened elections for November 11, 1945. The Election Law provided for active and passive voting rights to be universal and for equal suffrage for all citizens of Yugoslavia being of age, regardless of their sex, race, religion, education and place of residence. However, the comprehensive right to vote was restricted by the Law on Voting Lists, which excluded all those compromised with regard to the people's liberation fight and the organizational principles of the revolutionary type of government. There were two ballot-boxes during the elections. One box was intended for voting papers related to the People's Front

Third session of the ZAVNOBiH was held in newly liberated Sarajevo

of Yugoslavia's main list with Josip Broz Tito as its bearer, which won 90.48% of the votes, and the other ballot-box, which was without a list and won 9.52% of the votes. These were the results for the Federal Assembly, and the results were similar for the Assembly of Peoples as well. From that time, one-party communist rule was introduced and lasted until the first multi-party elections in 1990.

The People's Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which was derived from the ZAVNOBiH, worked on strengthening the new people's government, reconstruction of the country and on meeting the conditions for the election and convocation of the Constitutional Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The representatives for a single-chamber Constitutional Assembly were elected under the provisions of the Law on the Election of People's Representatives for the Constitutional Assembly of the People's Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The National Election Commission of Bosnia and Herzegovina was tasked with organizing the elections, which were held on October 13, 1946.

Based on the number of inhabitants of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the 1931 census, the National Election Commission decided that one representative should be elected per 15,000 persons, in accordance with the administrative-territorial division at the time into seven districts and the city of Sarajevo. The elections allowed voting for only one election list, that of the People's Front, although there was another ballot-box known as the "blind eye" box and which did not refer to any particular list. 82.21% of registered voters voted while 17.79% abstained. The federative and federal laws on voting lists designated certain categories of the population who were expunged from the voting lists.

The Constitutional Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina was convened on November 11, 1946. One of its first tasks was to uphold all of the acts issued by the ZAVNOBiH, the Presidency and the People's Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina and its Presidency. On December 31, 1946, the Constitutional Assembly adopted and ceremonially proclaimed the Constitution of the People's Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and then continued its work under the name of the People's Assembly of the People's Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. By that act, the development of all institutions required for the functioning of one out of the six federal units of the People's Federative Republic began. It held eight regular and four unscheduled sessions. Over the course of administrative socialism until 1950, the political system was established, the country's recovery began, the first five-year plan was adopted, Soviet hegemony was responded to, and the overall social life was strongly controlled. During these turbulent political developments, Đuro Pucar was the President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina from November 1946 to September 1948; after him, until December 1953, the office was held by Vlado Šegrt.

A new phase in the development of the Yugoslav and Bosnia and Herzegovina political system commenced with the adoption of the June 27, 1950 Basic Law on the Management of State Economic Enterprises and Higher Economic Associations by Working Collectives. This marked the beginning of workers' self-management as a new form of management in a social-economic and political system, which was shaped by the constitutional reform in 1953. Consistent with federative laws, the Constitutional Law on the Foundations of the Social and Political System of the People's Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Republic Authorities was enacted. This law changed the constitutional system of the People's Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina relative to its first Constitution.

The elections for the second representative convocation of the People's Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina People's Assembly were held on December 3, 1950, under the Law on the Election of People's Representatives to the People's Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina People's Assembly. Unlike the previous law, one people's representative was elected per 10,000 inhabitants in accordance with the March 15, 1948 census and the assessed increase as of 1950. A total of 270 representatives from the regions and the city of Sarajevo were supposed to be elected in compliance with the administrative – territorial divisions at that time. The largest number of representatives were elected in the regions of Tuzla (81), Banja Luka (79), Sarajevo (57), Mostar (41) and the city of Sarajevo (12). Apart from the official list, the Law also foresaw the further existence of the “blind eye” ballot-box, that is, another listless box. There was also a novelty concerning the

*Participants of the Third session
of ZAVNOBiH-a*



establishment of the election results, wherein absolute majority was introduced so that the elected candidate had to have more votes than all of the other candidates together. If this was not achieved in the first round, there was another voting round in which it was possible for a candidate to win with a relative majority of votes, that is, with the largest number of votes compared to other candidates. At these elections, the total percentage of registered voters was 97.08%, of whom approximately 98.5% voted for the candidates and 1.5% cast their ballot paper into the listless ballot-box. The People's Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina People's Assembly elected in the elections of December 3, 1950 held six regular sessions until September 14, 1953, when it was dissolved.

The Constitutional Law on the Foundations of the Social and Political System of the FNRJ and the Federal Authorities of January 13, 1953 was followed by the enactment of the Republic Constitutional laws. Thus, on January 29, 1953, the Constitutional Law on the Foundations of the Social and Political System of the People's Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Republic Authorities was enacted. This Law considerably expanded the structure of the parliamentary bodies. The Federative Constitutional Law introduced changes in the establishment of the Parliament (FNRJ People's Assembly) so that, instead of the Federative Council and the Council of Peoples, the Federative Council and the Council of Producers were introduced. In order not to entirely lose the Council of Peoples, two groups of representatives were elected to the Federative Council. The first group was made up

*Session of the People's Assembly of
the Socialist Republic of Bosnia and
Herzegovina*



of representatives who were directly elected by citizens, one per 60,000 inhabitants, while the other group comprised representatives delegated by the Assemblies of the six Republics and two provinces. These delegates could have played a role in the Council of Peoples had constitutional issues been raised, and made decisions in the Federative Council on an equal footing. Pursuant to the Republic Constitutional Law, the People's Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina People's Assembly consisted of two Chambers: the Republic Council with 114 representatives and the Council of Producers with 82 representatives. Such an Assembly structure existed until the new Constitution in 1963. The Assembly elections were held from November 24 to 26, 1953.

At these elections, the rubber ball ballots were replaced by paper ballots on which only an ordinal number next to the name of one candidate could be circled. The election results were determined by relative majority with regard to both chambers of the People's Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina People's Assembly which functioned from the elections of November 26, 1953 to the elections of January 6, 1958, when it was dissolved. The elections for people's representatives to the Republic Council and the Council of Producers of the People's Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina People's Assembly of the fourth convocation were held on March 23, 1958. A total of 126 representatives per 25,000 inhabitants and 91 representatives per 30,000 workers each were elected to the Republic Council and the Council of Producers, respectively.



The mandate of the People's Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina People's Assembly elected between March 23 and 27, 1958 was extended for one year, from April 10, 1962 to April, 10 1963, when it was dissolved. From December 1953 to June 1963, Đuro Pucar performed the duties of the President of the People's Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

In April 1963, a new Federal Constitution was enacted and was followed by the Republic Constitutions. The Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina was adopted on April 10, 1963, and was built upon with amendments in 1967, 1969 and 1972. According to the new Constitution, the People's Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina was renamed the Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, marking the beginning of socialist democracy, in contrast to the previous people's democracy. This Constitution of SFRY was named the "Charter of Self-Management," as henceforth the self-management model would spread into all spheres of social life. The Constitution defined the following social-political units in the Republic: municipality, county and republic. The new Constitution established the town councils as self-management organs in towns with several municipalities. Local communities, being the self-management communities of citizens managed by a council elected at the voters' meetings, were introduced as the basic territorial unit of the new political system. The county was the next social-political community and was specially defined by the new Constitution. The County Assembly comprised representatives who were elected at the municipal assemblies proportional to the number of their inhabitants.

There were considerable changes with regard to the composition of the Republic Assembly. The 1963 Constitution introduced the Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina Assembly with five Chambers: the Republic Council as the council of delegates of citizens in the municipalities, the Economic Council, the Educational-Cultural Council, the Social-Healthcare Council and the Organizational-Political Council, a council of delegates from workers in the work communities. The Republic Council counted 120 representatives, while the other four counted 70 representatives each. Every citizen holding the right to vote could be elected to the Republic Council, and every worker or member of work organization management, including the senior officers with Trade Unions in certain economic areas, could be elected to the other councils. Under the Constitution, the Executive Council of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina Assembly was a political executive organ of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and it comprised a President and two Vice-Presidents, while other members were elected by the Republic Council among the Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina Assembly representatives. The Constitution regulated the Republic's administration, municipal and district courts, the Supreme Court of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Public Prosecutor's Office and the Constitutional Court of Bosnia

and Herzegovina. The Constitutional Law was enacted for the purpose of practical implementation of the 1963 Constitution, which provided for the Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina People's Assembly to enact several election laws: the law for the election of the Republic's representatives, the law on the election of county and municipal representatives, the law on the organization and functioning of the Executive Council, the law on election units for the election of Republic representatives, and other regulations. According to the new Constitution, on a two-year basis, half of the members of every council of the Assembly, and half of the Republic representatives, were to be elected. Therefore, the next elections were held on April 4 and 8, 1965 and April 9 and 23, 1967. From 1963 to 1967, Rato Dugonjić was the President of the People's Assembly and, after the 1967 elections, this duty was performed by Džemal Bijedić until 1971. The electoral system in Bosnia and Herzegovina also changed in accordance with the adopted amendments to the 1963 Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The amendments changed the structure of the Republic Assembly by renaming the Organizational Council to the Social-Political Council, and all members of every council were to be elected to a four-year mandate, while no one could be elected a Republic representative for more than two mandates. The Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Bosnia and Herzegovina carried out and organized the overall political activities pertaining to the election of representatives.

In the sixties, legislative activity was intensive and included the Constitutional law on the abolition of counties on April 27, 1966, amendments to the Constitution from April 20, 1967 and February 6, 1969, which harmonized the Constitutional system with

A rally from the socialist period



the amendments to the Constitution of SFRY. The Republic Constitution was further subjected to corrections by the enactment of 24 amendments to the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina in compliance with the amendments to the 1971 Constitution of SFRY. Until February 15, 1972, activities regarding the adoption of the Constitutional amendments were carried out. Permanent amendments and supplements to the solutions of the Constitution could not create a democratic society because of the one-party system and the increasingly dominant role of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. Frequent economic reforms which failed to bring their desired results and the idea of the liberalization of the society in the early seventies caused a deep political crisis in Yugoslav society.

In the process of seeking independence and competences for the Republic authorities relative to Federative ones, a new Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina was adopted at the session of the all Assembly Councils on February 25, 1974. Under the conditions of socialist self-management, this Constitution had already been prepared by the amendments of 1967, 1969 and 1972. The biggest novelty of the 1974 Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina was the introduction of collective presidential authority. Being a new institution in the social-political system at that time, the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina functioned as a collective president of the Republic and comprised nine members.

Rato Dugonjić was elected first President of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. At the session of all Councils on April 29, 1974, the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina appointed the members and the President of the Presidency, who reported to the parliamentary body. According to the new Constitution (the fourth after the liberation), the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina consisted of three Councils: the Council of Associated Labour (160 delegates), the Social-Political Council (80) and the Council of Municipalities (80). The Assembly system was based on a delegate principle; that is, a decision was made to set up the delegate assemblies starting from the municipalities, through the city of Sarajevo to the Republic level. The municipal assembly comprised three councils: the Local Community Council, the Council of Associated Labor and the Social-Political Council. The City Assembly and the Republic Assembly had the same councils. It was only at the municipal level that the delegates were elected directly, while the City and Republic Assemblies were formed from elected candidates.

By the 1974 Constitution, the Muslims were also constitutionally recognized as an equal nationality in Bosnia and Herzegovina, although before this act, which entailed formal and constitutional recognition of their status, the political subjectivity and constituency of Bosnia and Herzegovina Muslims were respected in practice. After World War II, this issue was treated in different ways. After liberation,

during the 1948 census, there was the possibility for Muslims to declare themselves Serbs, Croats, Albanians, among others, but the majority remained “undecided.” During the 1953 census, along with declaring themselves as Serbs or Croats they could also declare themselves as “Yugoslav-undecided,” while during the 1961 census the nationality-related markings also included a column “Muslim (ethnic-



ity).” However, it was only in the 1971 census that Muslims were able to declare themselves as “Muslims in a national sense.” Since 1993 the name Bosniak for this nationality has been used. Over this important period, from 1971 to May 1974, Hamdija Pozderac was the President of the National Assembly and his mandate was renewed to last until April 1978. After him the President was Niko Mihaljević until 1981. The mandate of the President of the Assembly continued to be performed by Vaso Gačić until May 1983, by Ivica Blažević until April 1984, while from 1984 to April 1987 this duty was performed by Salko Oruč.

On July 12, 1976, amendments I-IV to the 1974 Constitution were adopted and introduced the concept of changeable delegates and intensified the participation of the Assemblies of Self-Management Communities and Self-Management Communities of Interest in the work of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina Assembly. As ways in which to respond to the problems in the Yugoslav society were sought, so the number of the amendments to the Constitution increased. On July 21, 1981, the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina adopted eight new amendments to the Constitution of the Socialist

Joint session of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina's parliamentary councils

Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The amendments were followed by a parallel process by which, under the Federative Constitution, the mandate in the representative organs was reduced to one year, and the mandate in the executive organs to two years without the possibility of re-election. The Assembly did not elect the President of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina; instead, the members of the Presidency elected him from among themselves. In March 1984, six new amendments were adopted to improve the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina through elaboration of the principles of associated labor, decision-making, and degree of responsibility, among others. However, these amendments could not improve the one-party system, which attempted to survive by experimenting with self-management and associated labor, collective responsibility, etc.

The second half of the eighties brought substantial changes to the democratic life of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The centers of political power at that time were within the League of Communists of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which also influenced the social-political organizations of that time, including the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Trade Union Federation of

*Session of the Socialist Republic of
Bosnia and Herzegovina's Parliament
in the Grand Hall*



Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Union of the Socialist Youth of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which were democratized under public pressure. The Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina was at the center of all the events and turmoil, where heated debates took place and answers to future state and social development issues were sought. Numerous strikes and the discontent of workers, citizens and students, the development of actual and forced scandals such as the “Agrokomerc” scandal (regarding the issuance of unsecured promissory notes to this company), the “Neum” scandal (the building of weekend-houses for high officials under privileged conditions) as well as others, deeply wrenched the society of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the party in power, leading to calls for more human and civil rights through new forms of democratic, representative authorities, including fundamental changes to the social system. It is also noteworthy that all of the foregoing took place during the parallel processes in the Republics of the former SFRY and the fall of the socialist regime in Eastern Europe. At that time, from April 1987 to January 1989, the President of the Assembly was Savo Čečur, followed by Zlatan Karavdić until December 1990.

*Amendments to the Constitution
of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia
and Herzegovina being passed.
April 12, 1989*



Thirty-eight new amendments to the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which were issued on April 1, 1989, brought to an end the one-party system by introducing election lists, thus opening the doors to free elections and the overall democratization of the society.

The following year, in July 1990, 31 amendments to the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina comprehensively reformed the Constitution, which would considerably affect the events to come. They defined Bosnia and Herzegovina as a “democratic and sovereign state of equal citizens, the nations of Bosnia and Herzegovina – Muslims, Serbs, Croats and members of other nations and ethnic groups living in it.” It was established that the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina was integral and inseparable, and that “the borders of the Republic may only be changed in accordance with the will of the citizens of the entire Republic, previously expressed by referendum, if at least two thirds of the total number of voters vote in favor of it.” A significant change was contained in the amendment stating that “all forms of property are equal and enjoy protection,” and that “economic and other activities may be freely performed by all forms of property resources,” by which the earlier preferential treatment of the public economic system was abandoned. In contrast to the earlier unity of power, the principle of splitting the power between legislative, executive and judicial branches was introduced, so that the Executive Council was renamed the Government of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The adoption of the constitutional amendments and the enactment of the new election legislation enabled the first multi-party elections in Bosnia and Herzegovina, during which the citizens could freely elect their representatives among several political parties and options. The decision at the time by the Constitutional Court of Bosnia and Herzegovina on the constitutionality of the establishment of national political parties, which made room for the establishment of ethnicity-based political parties, was of enormous significance. It is also noteworthy that these constitutional changes resulted in a significant level of independence for Bosnia and Herzegovina and strengthened its statehood within the federative federal Yugoslavia.



PARLIAMENTARISM IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA IN CONDITIONS OF POLITICAL PLURALISM (1990–1995)

Political pluralism in Bosnia and Herzegovina was closely connected with developments at an international level – the fall of communism and the internal crisis in Yugoslavia which escalated in political, economic, ethnic and social terms and in many others areas of life and work.

In the period between 1980, which was marked by the death of Josip Broz Tito, and 1989, when the League of Communists of Yugoslavia fell apart at last at the Fourteenth Congress, various political options, associations and movements appeared throughout all of the Yugoslav Republics. In Bosnia and Herzegovina, intensified pluralistic interests were publicly expressed after the Tenth Congress of the League of Communists of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Serious preparations by the new political parties were underway even at a time when the League of Communists of Bosnia and Herzegovina debated as to whether it should allowed for ethnicity-based parties to be established at all. However, the reality went beyond the system in power. On May 26, 1990, the Party of Democratic Action (orig. *SDA*) held its Constituent Assembly; the Serbian Democratic Party (orig. *SDS*) held its on July 12, 1990, and the Croatian Democratic Union (orig. *HDZ*) on August 18, 1990. Apart from these parties, left-oriented political parties also appeared: the League of Communists – Socialist Democratic Party, the Democratic Socialist Alliance of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Alliance of Reform Forces.

The constitutional requirements for the introduction of the multi-party political system in Bosnia and Herzegovina and for holding multi-party elections were satisfied once amendments LIX-LXXX to the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina were enacted in July 1990. Freedom of political organization and activity were guaranteed, while organizations and activities intended

to violently overthrow the constitutional system were banned. It was also stipulated that, based on universal and equal suffrage and by voting directly or secretly, citizens would elect representatives to the assemblies of the social-political communities to a 4-year mandate.

In accordance with the abovementioned amendments, the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina was reorganized into two Councils: the Council of Citizens, to which 130 representatives were directly elected, and the Council of Municipalities, to which every municipality and urban community elected one representative each. The Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina was authorized to elect and relieve of duty a member of the Presidency of SFRY from Bosnia and Herzegovina by secret voting at the proposal of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, whereby citizens were to previously and directly declare themselves thereof. However, that procedure was previously applied in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1989, when Bogić Bogićević was elected to fill the vacant position of member of the Presidency of SFRY from the Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. It was regulated by an amendment that, by the citizens' direct, universal and secret voting, the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina comprising seven members should be elected to four years, with the possibility of having one more successive mandate. With Constitutional Law on the Implementation of Amendments to the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina was stipulated that numerous laws should be enacted by September 15, 1990 concerning the following: the election of councilmen and representatives to the assembly of social-political communities, the election and revocation of members of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the election precincts for the election of representatives to the councils of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, voters' lists, political organizations, public information and the Law on Radio-Television Sarajevo. All of these constitutional solutions and the accompanying regulations promoted ethnicity as the basis for political legitimacy.

The elections of November 18, 1990 were held based on the Decision of the President of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina to elect both the members of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. When registering voters, passive registration at the municipality level was applied, based on the data citizens provided when reporting their permanent places of residence. The total number of citizens entered into the voters' lists was 3,033,921, of whom 100,432 were temporarily employed abroad. For the elections to be legitimate, it was required that more than 50% of voters registered with the universal voters list vote.

There were four candidate lists (printed as parts of a giant ballot sheet) for the members of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which included Muslim, Serb and Croat candidates, as well as others who did not

declare themselves ethnically or who belonged to other ethnicities. Those who won a relative majority from every ethnic group were elected members of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Alija Izetbegović became the President of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The election of 240 representatives to the two Chambers of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina must have reflected the representation of the constituent peoples in Bosnia and Herzegovina according to the 1981 census, given a $\pm 15\%$ deviation. Of the 43 registered parties, 15 participated in the elections independently or in coalitions. The Party for Democratic Action (SDA), the Serbian Democratic Party (SDS) and the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ) won the elections by a vast majority, with 84% of representative seats in the Republic Parliament, 75.5% of representative seats in the municipal assemblies and 60.83% of the representative seats in the Assembly of the City of Sarajevo. Momčilo Krajišnik and Jure Pelivan were elected President of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and President of the Government, respectively.

Based on these election results a coalition of the three ethnicity-based political parties was created within the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina. However, even by the first session, their deep differences in resolving the open issues were extremely clear. Their political interests were diametrically opposed, primarily with regard to the most important issues regarding the state government's sovereignty.

Session of both councils of the Parliament of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, June 1991



After the 1990 elections, open differences continued to exist in the political representative bodies of Bosnia and Herzegovina. This was the period of dissolution of Yugoslavia and intensive negotiations between the six Presidents of the Republic Presidencies who could not find a way out of the deep Yugoslav crisis. The dissolution of Yugoslavia was also followed by the process of the establishment of parallel structures of authorities. Less than a year had passed after the first multi-party elections in Bosnia and Herzegovina when the combat raging in Croatia moved to Bosnia and Herzegovina. The first location in Bosnia and Herzegovina that already by September 1991 had experienced the horrors of war was the village of Ravno. At the same time, the Assembly of the Serb people of Bosnia and Herzegovina was formed in Pale near Sarajevo on October 24, 1991. On January 9, 1992, this Assembly adopted a Declaration on the Proclamation of the Srpska Republika of Bosnia and Herzegovina (its name was changed to the Republika Srpska on August 12). On November 18 1991, the Croatian Community Herzeg-Bosna was proclaimed in Grude.

In late 1991, apart from the internal political sphere, a decision on the fate of Yugoslavia at the international level was to be made. After the Conference on Yugoslavia on November 5, 1991 in the Hague, the Arbitration Committee publicly assessed that it was concerned with the dissolution, not secession of certain state members of SFRY, which meant that it had no longer had a legal identity. The European Community issued a Declaration on Yugoslavia on December 16, 1991, inviting all of the Yugoslav Republics to apply for the status of independent countries by December 23, 1991. Soon afterwards, on December 20, 1991, the

Break during a session of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina Parliament's Council of Citizens in December 1991





Voting in the Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina Parliament's Council of Municipalities in December 1991

Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina rendered a decision to apply for the recognition of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina as an independent country, but this decision was not supported by the Serb members of Presidency. However, based on the report of the Arbitration Committee of the Conference on Yugoslavia, international recognition of Bosnia and Herzegovina was conditional upon holding a general referendum under international supervision. Accordingly, at the joint session of both councils on January 25, 1992, the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina rendered a decision to hold a referendum on the sovereignty and independence of Bosnia and Herzegovina. This decision again was not supported by a large number of the Serb representatives, who left the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina on that very occasion.

The Referendum on independence was held between February 29 and March 1, 1992. Of a total number of 3,253,847 voters, 64.31% of citizens having the right to vote participated in and voted at the Republic referendum for the establishment of the status of Bosnia and Herzegovina, of which number 99.44% voted "for" the sovereignty of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The referendum results also secured the international recognition of Bosnia and Herzegovina as an independent country.

On April 6, 1992 the state members of the European Community recognized Bosnia and Herzegovina as an independent and sovereign country, while the United States of America did the same the following day. On May 22, 1992, Bosnia and Herzegovina was admitted into and became a member state of the United Nations.

At the same time, unfortunately, the armed conflict in some parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina had turned into an actual war, which resulted in an enormous number of victims, great suffering, and widespread material destruction.

At the beginning of the war, because the Assembly could not meet on a regular basis, the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina also held a legislative function pursuant to the authorities foreseen by the Constitution, and issued the Law Decrees which the Assembly subsequently granted. At the session of April 8, 1992, the Presidency rendered a decision to change the name of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina to the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. During the war, before the General Framework Agreement was signed, the Assembly of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina had held 19 sessions. Eight Parliamentary parties and two independent representatives participated in the work of the Assembly of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Over this period of time, Miro Lazović was the President of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina Assembly. The last session of the Assembly was held on August 27, 1996, prior to the elections for the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Simultaneously, in the regions controlled by Republika Srpska authorities during the war, legislative authority was performed by the National Assembly of the Republika Srpska. Also, after the Croatian Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia was proclaimed on August 28, 1993, its Presidency and the representatives of the Croatian people in the Council of Municipalities within the Assembly of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina rendered a decision on the establishment of the House of Representatives of the Croatian Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia. This representative body ceased its activities as soon as the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina was established and the Parliament of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina was constituted. However, the National Assembly of the Republika Srpska continued to exist even after the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina as the entity's representative and legislative body.

During the 1992-1995 war in Bosnia and Herzegovina, there were several international conferences and diplomatic efforts towards stopping the war. However, the first relevant international agreement was the First Framework Agreement on the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, signed on March 18, 1994 in Washington, under the auspices of the United States of America, better known as the Washington Agreement. This agreement "reshapes the internal structure of the territory with the Bosniak and Croatian majority population in the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina into the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina." The Agreement foresaw the federal system of the part controlled by the Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Croatian Council of Defence (orig. *HVO*) with ten cantons. Based on this agreement, the Constitution of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina was issued at the session of the Constitutional Assembly of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina on March 30, 1994. This Constitution also includes a provision stating that decisions on the constitutional status of the territory with a Serb majority will be rendered during the peace-related negotiations at the International Conference of the former Yugoslavia. The Constitution of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina was preceded by the enactment of the Constitutional Law

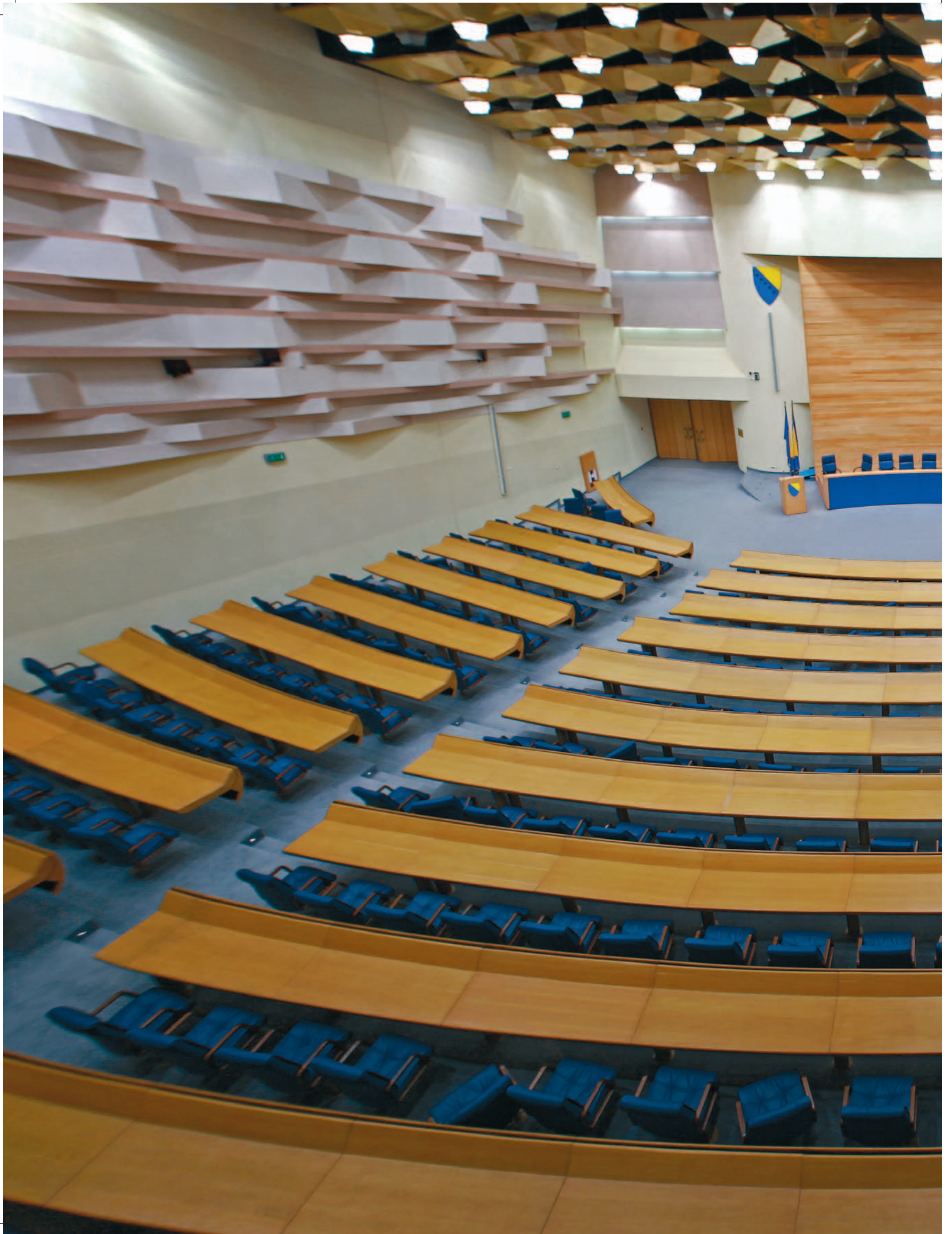


on Supplements to the Constitution of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina which provided for the constitutional basis for the internal reshaping of a part of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

*Signing of the Peace accords in Paris
December 14, 1995*

However, upon the completion of the Dayton (USA) peace negotiations on November 21, 1995 and the signing of the Peace Agreement in Paris on December 14, 1995 the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina stopped. The Agreement was signed finally and irrevocably by the Presidents of the three states: the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (comprising the two currently independent states of Serbia and Montenegro) and the Republic of Croatia. That meant that no possibility was left for the recognition and ratification of the legislative authorities of the signatory countries. The General Framework Agreement for Peace includes 11 Annexes (Military Aspects of the Peace Settlement, Inter-Entity Boundary Line and Related Issues, Elections, the Constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Arbitration, Human Rights, Refugees and Displaced Persons, Commission to Preserve National Monuments, Establishment of Bosnia and Herzegovina Public Corporations, the Civilian Implementation of Peace Settlement and the International Police Task Force). The Dayton Peace Agreement confirmed that Bosnia and Herzegovina is an independent and sovereign country which continues to exist legally within its current, internationally recognized borders, and with a modified internal structure comprising two entities: the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Republika Srpska. With its new Constitution and system, Bosnia and Herzegovina entered into a period of overwhelming challenges in terms of social recovery, reconstruction and institution building.

Vera Katz, Ph.D.

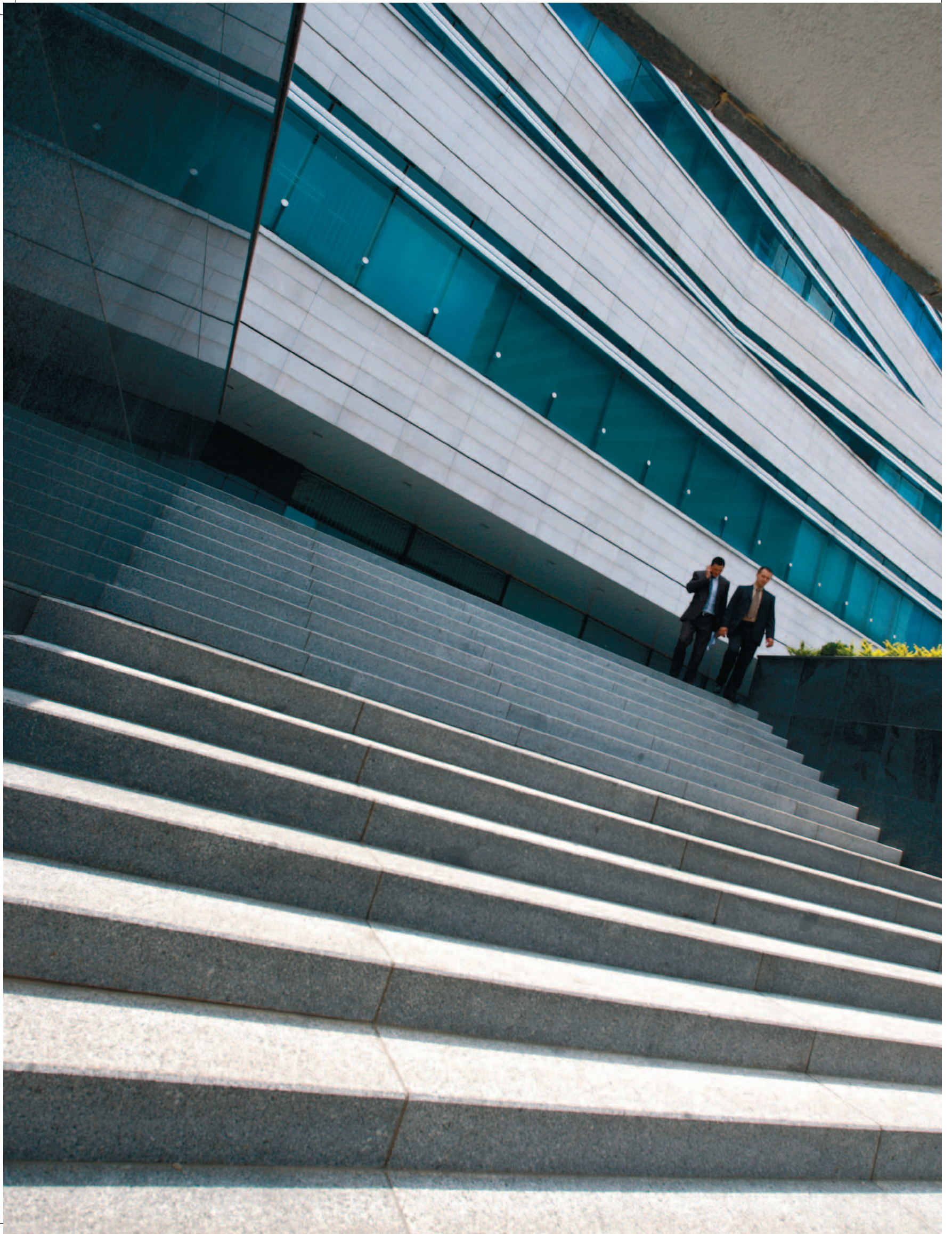


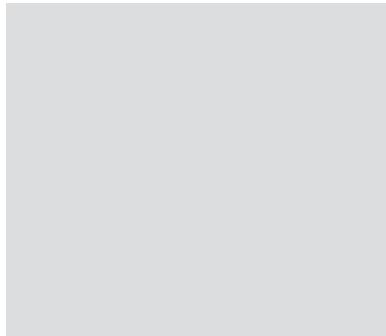




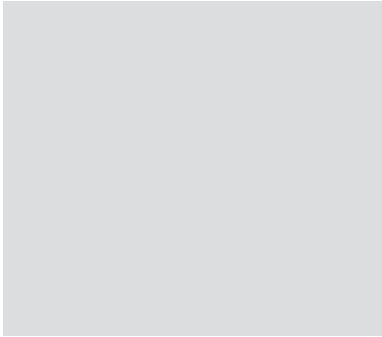
PARLIAMENTARY ASSEMBLY OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA







The Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina was established by the General Peace Agreement to Bosnia and Herzegovina (better known as the Dayton Peace Agreement), initialled in Dayton, USA, and officially signed in Paris on December 14, 1995. Annex IV to the Agreement is the Constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which stipulates that the Parliamentary Assembly, as the highest authority in the country, shall have a bicameral structure.



COMPETENCES, STRUCTURE AND FUNCTIONING OF THE PARLIAMENTARY ASSEMBLY OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

The Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina consists of two houses: the House of Peoples and the House of Representatives.

The House of Peoples counts 15 members, five of whom are Croat and five Bosniak delegates appointed by delegates in the House of Peoples of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Republika Srpska National Assembly elects the delegates from the Republika Srpska. Nine members of the House make a quorum, provided that at least three Bosniak, three Croat and three Serb delegates are present.

The House of Representatives counts 42 members who are directly elected from the entities from which they come, so that two thirds are elected from the territory of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and one third from the territory of the Republika Srpska. The majority of all of the members elected to the House of Representatives makes a quorum.

It was planned that the Houses convene no later than thirty days after elections, so that the Houses adopt their Rules of Procedure by a majority vote of those present provided, however, the majority includes at least one third of votes of the delegates or representatives from the territory of every entity. There is also a procedure set forth in case that a majority of Bosniak, Croat or Serb delegates in the House of Peoples oppose the rendering of a decision with aim to protect vital people's interest. In such a case, a Joint Committee consisting of three delegates – one from every caucus of the peoples – shall immediately be convened to resolve the matter. If the Committee fails in its efforts within five days, the case shall be referred to the Constitutional Court of Bosnia and Herzegovina which shall consider under a shortened procedure as to whether there were irregularities in the procedure.



Voting in the House of Peoples

The House of Peoples may be dissolved by the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina or the House itself. Pursuant to the Constitution, representatives from the House of Representatives, or delegates from the House of Peoples shall not be prosecuted or be subject to civil procedures due to any action they performed within the scope of their duties in the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina is responsible for the enactment of laws required for the implementation of the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina's decisions or for exercising the constitutionally foreseen roles of the Assembly; deciding on resources and the amounts of funds required for the functioning of the institutions of Bosnia and Herzegovina and for serving the international responsibilities of Bosnia and Herzegovina; granting the budgets for Bosnia and Herzegovina institutions; agreeing upon the ratification of contracts, and for other issues required for exercising its duties or which are assigned to it by a mutual agreement of the Entities.

The most important activity of the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina is legislative. It enacts laws on the areas falling within the competence of the state authorities, such as: foreign affairs policy, foreign trade policy, customs policy, monetary policy, funding the institutions and servicing Bosnia and

Herzegovina's international responsibilities, regulation of immigration, refugee and asylum issues, implementation of international and inter-entity criminal regulations, including relations with Interpol, establishment and functioning of mutual and international communications, regulation of inter-entity transportation and air traffic control. The Constitution provides for a possibility that the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina may assume additional responsibilities as granted by the Entities in all matters agreed upon by the entities.

Apart from its legislative duties, oversight is very important and manifests itself in the obligation of the executive authorities to submit a report to the Parliamentary Assembly on the execution of the budget. In addition, the Office for Auditing Financial Activities of Bosnia and Herzegovina institutions submits reports to the Parliamentary Assembly on the control of budgetary expenditures. The Council of Ministers of Bosnia and Herzegovina reports to the Parliamentary Assembly about proposing and executing policy and the implementation of laws and other regulations the implementation of which falls within its constitutional and legal competence, and about guiding and coordinating the work of the Ministers. At the request of any of the Houses, the Council of Ministers is obliged to provide information on all relevant activities from within its competence. Representatives, that is, delegates in the Houses may offer a motion of no confidence in the Council of Ministers of Bosnia and Herzegovina or for the need for its reformation.

Along with oversight, the Parliamentary Assembly also performs information gathering. Members of both Houses may pose questions to the Council of Ministers of Bosnia and Herzegovina or any of its members, that is, to all Bosnia and Herzegovina institutions. The questions pertain to specific facts, situations or official information from within the competence of Bosnia and Herzegovina institutions. Questions may also be posed to the Office of the High Representative for Bosnia and Herzegovina and the representatives of other international organizations in Bosnia and Herzegovina. At least once every six months a common session of both Houses is convened for a session in which "delegates, representatives ask – the Council of Ministers of Bosnia and Herzegovina responds." It is foreseen that these dialogue sessions will be broadcast directly on TV and radio in order to secure the transparency of their performance and to inform the public on all relevant issues pertaining to the work of the authorities at a national level. Members of both Houses may also file interpellations concerning certain areas from within the competence of all Bosnia and Herzegovina institutions and the Ministries of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the implementation of the defined policy and laws. In order for its role of disclosure and transparency towards the public to be achieved, shorthand transcripts from the sessions of both Houses are published, and except in extraordinary situations regulated by the Rules of Procedure, the sessions are public.

The basic legislative procedure at the sessions of both Houses takes place in two phases. General discussion begins by first reading the law in the House, when the opinion of the constitutional-legal committee is given on the principle on which a draft law is based and on its harmonization with the Constitution and the legal system in Bosnia and Herzegovina, including the requirements for its election.

Deadlines for filing the amendments run from the time of the passage of the draft law in the first reading. In the second reading at the House session, the amendments and the adoption of the draft law are discussed. The draft law is deemed to be enacted if the identical text of the law is adopted by both Houses.

If the text adopted by both Houses is not identical, a joint committee shall be established to harmonize the text of the law. If one of the Houses does not adopt the report of the joint committee, the draft law shall be deemed to be rejected. If both Houses do not adopt a negative report of the joint committee, the draft law shall be forwarded to the joint committee for the development of a new report, in accordance with the guidelines of the Houses.

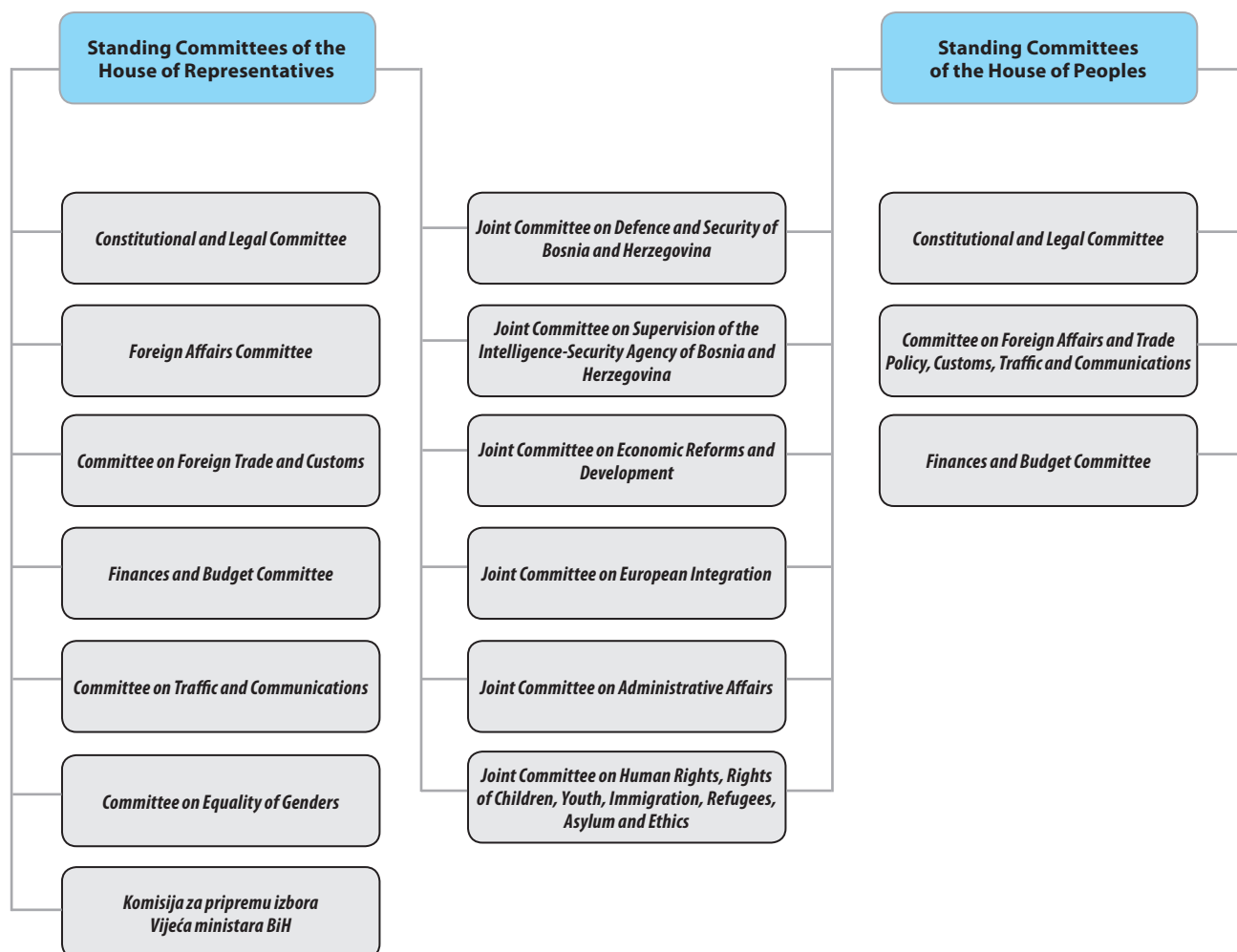
Bureaus comprising the Chairmen and their deputies who cannot be elected from the same constituent people manage the activities of the Houses and chair the sessions. They rotate to the Office of chairman every eight months over four years.

The Committees play a very important role and contribute to more rational and efficient work on the part of the Houses. The House of Peoples has three standing committees, the House of Representatives has seven standing committees, and both Houses have six common standing committees. Upon the proposal of the representatives, delegates or caucuses, every House may establish temporary committees for the House or, upon the proposal of the other House, temporary common committees for the realization or preparation of a certain document or issue, including investigative committees. The committees have been formed according to the



area of responsibilities of the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina, so that their organization follows a relevant organizational structure for the Ministries in the Council of Ministers of Bosnia and Herzegovina. This enables direct Parliamentary control of the work of the Ministries and the implementation of the laws in the area under the competence of a certain Ministry. Draft laws and other acts which are subject to the consideration of the Houses are previously considered by the relevant committees, which accordingly provide the Houses with the reports and their opinion on harmonization with the Constitution and the legal system of Bosnia and Herzegovina; that is, on the principles of the proposed law and the amendments to the laws that are put into the procedure for consideration and adoption. The competent committee considers the amendments to the draft law, and once adopted, the amendments become an integral part of the draft law subject to consideration by the House. The committees may decide to discuss the proposed laws, conduct hearings and request reports from any elected or appointed official, officer or institution.

The Constitutional and Legal Committee of the House of Peoples monitors the implementation of the Constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina; considers the issues important for the constitutional system of Bosnia and Herzegovina and initiates motions for the amendments to the Constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina, gives its opinion on the moved amendments and opens public debate over the moved amendments to the Constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina and about the



draft laws; considers the draft laws the House should adopt in terms of their harmonization with the Constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the legal system and also with regard to their legal elaboration, and provides the House with its opinion, proposals and legal-technical corrections of evident textual errors; considers the issues of legislative methodology and other issues significant to adjustment of legal-technical elaboration of the documents the House should adopt; considers proposals for deprivation of immunity and proposes to the House to render the relevant decisions. The Committee considers issues pertaining to: the legal system; electoral system; the Council of Ministers of Bosnia and Herzegovina; public holidays; the coat of arms, flag and national anthem of Bosnia and Herzegovina; the seal of Bosnia and Herzegovina; state administration; implementation of international and national criminal legislation; and other issues from within the competence of the House which do not fall within the competence of other committees.

The Committee on Foreign Affairs and Trade Policy, Customs, Traffic and Communications of the House of Peoples monitors the direction of foreign policy and considers the following issues: the cooperation of Bosnia and Herzegovina with the United Nations, the Council of Europe, Inter-Parliamentary Union, Central-European Initiative, and international community; international organizations and inter-parliamentary cooperation; gives consent to the ratification and renouncement of international treaties, agreements and conventions; considers the activities of standing and temporary delegations of the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina in inter-parliamentary institutions, and considers the





*Session of the House of Peoples
in the Blue Hall*

issues pertaining to the following: foreign trade policy, international trade agreements; customs policy; tariffs, regulations and laws on the fields from within its competence; the international responsibilities of Bosnia and Herzegovina; relations with international trade institutions; the stay and movement of aliens; setting up and functioning of common and international communications; regulation of inter-entity communications; air traffic control; control of frequencies and other issues from the area of international and foreign affairs, foreign trade, customs, traffic and communications.

The Committee on Finance and Budget of the House of Peoples considers issues pertaining to the following: the Central Bank, banking, and other banking policy; foreign debt; the funding of Bosnia and Herzegovina institutions through taxation, accumulation of debt or other instruments; the functioning of funding Bosnia and Herzegovina institutions at the state level; finance and budget regulations; elaboration, execution and monitoring of the execution of the Bosnia and Herzegovina budget; debt accrued, public loans and other financial liabilities of Bosnia and Herzegovina; report of the Office for Auditing Bosnia and Herzegovina Institutions and other issues concerning financial and budgetary areas. In cooperation with the relevant body of the House of Representatives, the Committee prepares and delivers the budget of the House and the common budget of the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The Committee on Legal and Constitutional Affairs of the House of Representatives monitors the implementation of the Constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina; considers the issues important for the constitutional system of Bosnia

and Herzegovina and initiates motions for the amendments to the Constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina, gives its opinion on moved amendments and opens public debate about the moved amendments to the Constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina and about the draft laws; considers the draft laws the House should adopt in terms of their harmonization with the Constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the legal system and also with regard to their legal elaboration, and provides the House with its opinion, proposals and legal-technical corrections of evident textual errors; considers the issues of legislative methodology and other issues significant to the adjustment of legal-technical elaboration of the documents the House should adopt; considers the proposals for the deprivation of immunity and proposes the House render relevant decisions. The Committee considers issues pertaining to: the legal system; electoral system; the Council of Ministers of Bosnia and Herzegovina; public holidays; coat of arms, flag and the national anthem of Bosnia and Herzegovina; the seal of Bosnia and Herzegovina; state administration; implementation of international and national criminal legislation; and other issues from within the competence of the House which do not fall within the competence of other committees.

The Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives monitors the direction of foreign policy and considers the following issues: the cooperation of Bosnia and Herzegovina with the United Nations and the international

The Collegium presiding over a session of the House of Peoples



community; inter-parliamentary cooperation and cooperation with the Council of Europe, Inter-Parliamentary Union, Central-European Initiative and the Organization for European Security and Cooperation, and other international organizations; the functioning of Bosnia and Herzegovina institutions responsible for foreign affairs and international relations; gives and renounces consent to the ratification of international treaties and considers activities of standing and temporary delegations of the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the inter-parliamentary institutions, and other issues from the area of international and foreign affairs.

The Committee on Foreign Trade and Customs of the House of Representatives considers issues pertaining to the following: foreign trade policy; international trade agreements; customs policy; tariffs, regulations and laws from within its scope of responsibility; international responsibilities of Bosnia and Herzegovina; relations with international trade institutions and other foreign trade and customs issues.

The Committee on the Finance and Budget of the House of Representatives considers issues pertaining to the following: the Central Bank of Bosnia and Herzegovina; foreign debt; funding of the institutions of Bosnia and Herzegovina; fiscal and credit policy; banking and other banking policy; functioning of the financial institutions at the national level; finance and budget regulations; consideration, execution and supervision of the budget execution; consideration of decisions on indebtedness, debt reprogramming and other financial liabilities of Bosnia



and Herzegovina; reports of the Office for Auditing Bosnia and Herzegovina Institutions, and other issues on economic, financial and budgetary issues.

The Committee on Traffic and Communications of the House of Representatives considers the issues pertaining to the following: travel documents; stay and movement of aliens; relations with Interpol; establishment and functioning of common and international communications; regulation of inter-entity communications; air traffic control; control of frequencies, and other traffic and communications issues.

The Committee on Gender Equality of the House of Representatives considers issues pertaining to the following: achievement of equality of genders in Bosnia and Herzegovina – particularly with regard to promoting the status of women in Bosnia and Herzegovina; encouragement of the implementation and coordination activities related to the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action; considers the draft laws, other regulations and draft documents and the reports of Bosnia and Herzegovina institutions with regard to the equality of genders and prevention of discrimination against women; considers the preparations for the participation of Bosnia and Herzegovina delegations in international conferences on the implementation of the Beijing Declaration, and other issues concerning the achievement of gender equality.

The House of Representatives includes a **Committee for the Preparation of Elections for the Bosnia and Herzegovina Council of Ministers** which examines and analyzes all of the available information for the evaluation and the establishment of the suitability of candidates for performing the offices of the Chairman and members of the Council of Ministers of Bosnia and Herzegovina to which they have been appointed, and through its opinion provides the House with its recommendations for upholding the candidates appointed to the respective positions of the Chairman and the members of the Council of Ministers of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The Joint Committee on the Defence and Security of Bosnia and Herzegovina considers and monitors the implementation of the security and defence policy of Bosnia and Herzegovina; monitors the performance and considers the reports of the Standing Committee for military issues, the Ministry of Defence of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Ministry of Security of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and of other executive bodies dealing with security and defence issues, and informs the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina accordingly, considers the laws and amendments to the laws from within the competence of the Committee; considers and provides its opinions and recommendations, amendments and supplements to the budget proposal for defence and considers reports on the defence budget execution, including the reports on the revision of the institutions in the fields of defence and the security policy of Bosnia and Herzegovina; considers the issues of cooperation between Bosnia and Herzegovina and the United Nations, the Organization for security and co-operation in Europe, with NATO, the Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe and other organizations and countries in the field of security and defence; considers the activities of standing and temporary Bosnia and

Herzegovina delegations to international and inter-parliamentary institutions in the field of security and defence; considers and provides the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina with its opinion on the ratification and implementation of international treaties concerning security and defence; cooperates with the competent parliamentary committees of the entities of Bosnia and Herzegovina, other states and international organizations and other defence bodies, and considers other security issues of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The Committee for Oversight of the Intelligence-Security Agency of Bosnia and Herzegovina oversees the legality of the Agency's performance; discusses and provides its opinion on the appointment of the Director General and Deputy to the Director General of the Agency; considers the reports of the Chairman on issues within their competence, including measures taken to resolve any problem in the Agency disclosed in the course of inspection, control, review or investigation; considers the performance and expense reports of the Agency and analyzes its budget expenditures; gives its opinion on the detailed budget proposals of the Agency; considers the Chief Inspector's reports; demands the Agency's employees secure pieces of technical advice when necessary for supervision; conducts investigations on the work of the Agency, and considers other issues from the field of operation of the Agency, pursuant to the laws stipulating relevant competences.

Sessions of the House of Representatives are held in the White Hall





The Joint Committee on Economic Reforms and Development deliberates on issues pertaining to the following: economic reforms under the competence of the institutions of Bosnia and Herzegovina; reform proposals or initiatives for the amendments to the laws filed with the Committee by the representatives of civil society, for example, the associations of businessmen, Union of Employers, Trade Unions, Agencies for Regional Development, association of citizens or other non-governmental interest groups; monetary policy; foreign indebtedness policy; relations with international financial institutions; Bosnia and Herzegovina reconstruction and development policy and programs; defining economic policy measures; the fiscal and credit policy of Bosnia and Herzegovina; banking policy; statistics, measures and standards, and other issues from within the scope of the economic reforms, reconstruction and development of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The Joint Committee on European Integration considers the general issues of European integration; monitors the exercise of the rights and the meeting of the responsibilities of Bosnia and Herzegovina under international treaties related to the Council of Europe; coordinates the work of domestic working bodies concerning European integration, and provides its opinion, recommendations and warnings to these working bodies; analyzes the consequences of the interaction strategy for Bosnia and Herzegovina and prepares comprehensive reports thereof; supervises the development of the study of feasibility and monitors the implementation

*A discussion
in the House of Representatives*

of Bosnia and Herzegovina's pre-accession and accession strategies in the Stabilization and Association Process; monitors the process of harmonization of Bosnia and Herzegovina legislation with the *acquis communautaire*, once the Committee satisfies the requirements thereof; cooperates with Bosnia and Herzegovina institutions, particularly with the Directorate for the European Integration of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the institutions of the EU and other countries with regard to integration; organizes presentations of public opinion on integration issues; supervises the spending of EU-granted funds; performs other activities concerning European issues which do not fall within the competence of other working bodies; organizes public meetings on European integration so as to hear the opinions of civil society representatives within certain spheres of integration, including other issues related to European matters.

The Joint Committee on Administrative Affairs adopts the acts regulating the amount of salaries and allowances for all those employed by the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina; adopts the acts regulating the amounts of the allowances; in cooperation with the competent bodies of both Houses, monitors and considers the reports on the realization of the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina's budget and informs the Houses accordingly, and

*Address to the delegates
in the White Hall*



issues all of the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina's acts regulating expenditures, specifically the spending of funds defined in the budget of the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina; performs activities concerning real estate owned by the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina; gives consent to the Book of Rules on the Internal Organization of the Secretariat, in accordance with a decision on the organization of the Secretariat issued by the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina; gives a proposal and an opinion on changes in the Secretariat organization; defines the conditions for driving cars for official purposes; based on the annual reports of the caucuses on spending funds and the presented annual needs of the caucuses, decides on the reallocation of funds, the reorganization of premises and administrative, technical and other services for the caucuses, and informs the House accordingly; sets criteria for hiring experts and witnesses and also considers other administrative issues within the competence of the Houses.

The Joint Committee for Human Rights, Rights of Children, Youth, Immigration, Refugees, Asylum and Ethics considers the exercise of human rights and fundamental freedoms as guaranteed by the Constitution and Bosnia and Herzegovina legislation in the state authorities, public institutions and organizations which exercise public powers, in cases presented by the ombudsmen, citizens and entities, and informs the Houses accordingly. The Committee does not deliberate on Court cases pending or other disputes, unless an unacceptable delay in the procedure or evident misuse of power and arbitrariness is pointed out by the ombudsmen. The Committee considers issues pertaining to the following: citizenship, immigration, refugees and asylum; the implementation of Annexes 6 and 7 of the General Framework Agreement for Peace; progress and problems in exercising human rights and freedoms, and measures for their more efficient protection; proposals offered by citizens; petitions concerning human rights and fundamental freedoms, and the adoption of those adequate; cooperation with the committees for human rights at the state level and the legislative authorities of the entities; the exercise of the rights of children and young persons, and the encouragement of activities on the adoption and implementation of the most important international documents on the rights of children and young persons in the institutions of Bosnia and Herzegovina; consideration of draft documents and reports of the institutions of Bosnia and Herzegovina concerning the rights of children and young persons; analyses of reports on the implementation of the Law on Conflict of Interests in the institutions of Bosnia and Herzegovina authorities and warning elected officials of this Law's provisions, for the purpose of its consistent implementation; preparation and definition of the draft Code of Conduct for the delegates and representatives in the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as other issues of human rights, and the exercise of the rights of children, young persons, immigration, refugees, asylum and ethics.



Apart from the standing and temporary committees, special parliamentary bodies have also been established in the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina: the Council of National Minorities in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Office of the Parliamentary Military Commissioner of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the independent bodies of the Bosnia and Herzegovina political structure – the Independent Board and the Citizens Complaint Board.

The Council of National Minorities was established as a special counselling body of the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The mandate of 12 members of the Council of Ethnic Minorities matches the mandate of the elected members of the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina and, in the phase of the election of the Council members, the associations of ethnic minorities or other non-governmental organizations are consulted. The Council gives its opinion, pieces of advice and proposals to the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina on issues pertaining to the rights, status and interests of the ethnic minorities in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The Law on the Protection of Members of National Minorities stipulates the obligation of the authorities of Bosnia and Herzegovina to respect, protect, preserve and develop the ethnic, cultural, language and religious identity of every member of an ethnic minority in Bosnia and Herzegovina who is a citizen of Bosnia and

Herzegovina. Pursuant to this Law, a national minority is a part of the population of citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina who do not belong to any of the three constituent peoples, and consists of persons of the same or similar ethnic origin, same or similar tradition, customs, beliefs, language, culture and spirituality and close or related history, as well as other characteristics. According to this Law, the following 17 national minorities in Bosnia and Herzegovina currently satisfy the referenced criteria: Albanians, Montenegrins, Czechs, Italians, Jews, Hungarians, Macedonians, Germans, Poles, the Roma, Romanians, Russians, Slovaks, Slovenians, Turks and Ukrainians.

The Office of the Parliamentary Military Commissioner of Bosnia and Herzegovina was established by the 2009 Law on the Parliamentary Military Commissioner of Bosnia and Herzegovina. By the establishment of this institution, Bosnia and Herzegovina became one of the few countries in the world and the only country in the region which recognized the requirement for further democratization of the defence sector during the post-war transition of the society.

Upon the proposal of the Joint Committee on Defence and Security of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina appoints the Parliamentary Military Commissioner to a five-year mandate. The mandate of the first Parliamentary Military Commissioner began by his taking oath before the House of Representatives of the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina in September 2009 for a period of three years. The basic competences of the Parliamentary Military Commissioner of Bosnia and Herzegovina includes research into specific issues upon the instructions of the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Joint Committee on the Defence and Security of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and undertaking activities based on his own assessment upon receiving information from the members of the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina, or complaints by military officers or soldiers who can contact him directly, and in any other way if he observes circumstances surrounding the violation of human rights and freedoms of military officers and soldiers. The protection of the human rights and freedoms of civilian employees in the Armed Forces does not fall within his competence. In the course of his work, the Parliamentary Military Commissioner is entitled to ask the Minister of Defence and other personnel to enable him access to the needed records, to hear the complainant, to mediate and give a chance to the relevant institution to resolve the problem on its own, to demand reporting from the Minister of Defence, and to adequately participate in disciplinary actions and criminal proceedings. In acting so, absolute secrecy of data is guaranteed.

In performing his duties, the Parliamentary Military Commissioner established the necessary cooperation and coordination with the Ministry of Defence of Bosnia and Herzegovina and its General Inspectorate, the Armed Forces of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Institution of Human Rights Ombudsmen of Bosnia and Herzegovina. It is anticipated that he forwards the received complaints to the

Inspector General with the Ministry of Defence of Bosnia and Herzegovina, who conducts the investigation and informs the Military Commissioner of the results of the investigation and of possible measures taken thereof. However, the Commissioner reserves the right to conduct additional investigations on his own. The independence of the Military Commissioner is reflected in a separate item assigned to him in the budget of the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which also enables him the possibility of paying sudden and unannounced visits to the units and Commands of the Armed Forces and the Ministry of Defence of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

From 2003 to 2006, on its path towards Euro-Atlantic integration, Bosnia and Herzegovina successfully implemented defence system reform. This reform enabled a total transfer of competences to the institutions of Bosnia and Herzegovina and, from recently opposed military forces, the unified Armed Forces of Bosnia and Herzegovina have been established. This manifested willingness for meeting the political obligations towards NATO membership, which is one of the strategic objectives of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the need for the promotion and strengthening of the rule of law, the protection of human rights and the freedoms of military officers and soldiers in the Armed Forces and the Ministry of Defence of Bosnia and Herzegovina who do not have the right to form a Trade Union or any other organized form of protection of their rights.

The Independent Board is an independent body of the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina which acts on professional grounds, without representing, protecting or undermining the interests of any political party, registered organization or any people in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Independent Board consists of nine members who are elected among the representatives of judicial institutions, retired police officers, retired and active civil servants, and prominent experts from other areas of public life, law, criminal sciences and police affairs. The Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina appoints and relieves of duty the President, Deputy President and members of the Independent Board. Members of the Independent Board are elected to a four-year mandate.

The Independent Board is responsible for the following: conducting the procedure for the selection of candidates and proposing the replacement of the Heads and Deputy Heads of the police bodies in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the announcement of vacancies and analysis of candidates' applications, selection and forwarding to the Minister of Security of Bosnia and Herzegovina the names of no more than five candidates for the Head and the Deputy Head of the police bodies of Bosnia and Herzegovina, respectively, including the analysis of complaints against the work of the Heads of the police bodies of Bosnia and Herzegovina or their Deputies. The Independent Board informs the Ministry of Security of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Council of Ministers of complaints, initiates disciplinary action against the Head and Deputy Head of the police bodies of Bosnia and Herzegovina, proposes replacement of the Head and Deputy Head of the police bodies of Bosnia and

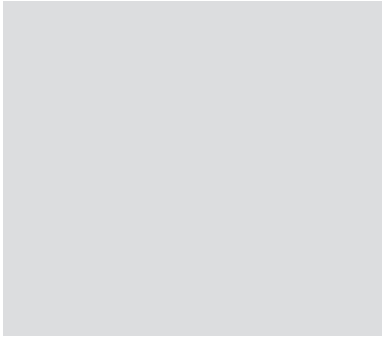


A session of the Citizens' Complaint Board

Herzegovina – for whose election it is responsible – if they have committed a criminal offence, namely committed a serious violation of their duty, other than criminal offences against traffic security.

The Citizens Complaint Board is an independent body of the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina which only acts on professional grounds, without representing, protecting or undermining the interests of any political party, registered organization or any people of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Board includes seven members elected to a four-year mandate, and consists of citizens who are not employed with the police bodies and who have good reputations in society. The Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina appoints and relieves of duty the President, Deputy President and members of the Board. The Board reports on its work to the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The Citizens Complaint Board is responsible for the following: it receives, records, assesses and forwards the complaints against the conduct of the police officers of Bosnia and Herzegovina to the competent police bodies; monitors case developments; initiates an adequate action against the complainant in case of false or malicious complaints; maintains records and a database on the complaints of citizens against the police officers of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the results of the investigations and other elements based on which a disciplinary action or criminal proceedings have been initiated, and also provides all relevant pieces of information.



FIRST CONVOCATION OF THE PARLIAMENTARY ASSEMBLY OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA (1996–1998)

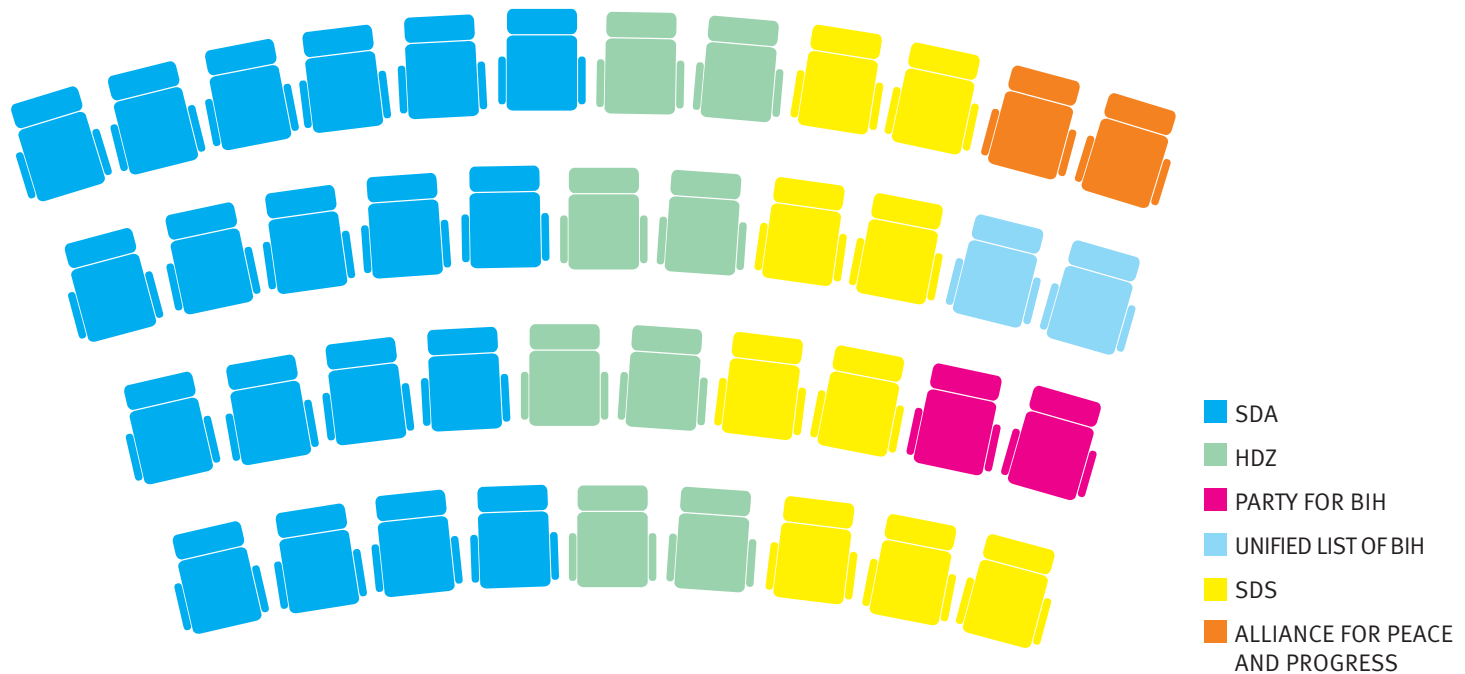
Pursuant to Annex 3 of the Dayton Peace Agreement, the first post-war elections in our country were held on September 13 and 14, 1996. They brought nothing new in comparison with the elections held in 1990. Again, most votes were won by the Party for Democratic Action of Bosnia and Herzegovina (SDA), the Serbian Democratic Party (SDS) and the Croatian Democratic Union of Bosnia and Herzegovina (HDZ).

From the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, 28 representatives were elected to the House of Representatives of the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina, sixteen of which came from the Party for Democratic Action of Bosnia and Herzegovina (SDA), eight from the Croatian Democratic Union of Bosnia and Herzegovina (HDZ), two from the Party for Bosnia and Herzegovina, and two from the Unified List of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The first convocation of the House of Representatives of the Republika Srpska had fourteen representatives, nine of whom came from the Serbian Democratic Party (SDS), three from the Party for Democratic Action (SDA), and two from the Alliance for Peace and Progress.

The mandate of the representatives lasted for two years, until autumn 1998, when the second post-war parliamentary elections were held. It was decided by draw that the first Chairman of the House of Representatives would be Ivo Lozančić. His mandate lasted for eight months, after which period he was substituted by rotation, as stipulated by the Constitution, and the role of a Chairman was assumed by the first deputy Slobodan Bijelić. Afterwards, during the last eight months of the first convocation of the House of Representatives, the duties of the Chairman were performed by Halid Genjac.

Concurrently, the House of Peoples was also established. The first Chairman of the House of Peoples was Momir Tošić, who was also elected by draw. Eight

House of Representatives – convocation 1996–1998



months later, he was substituted by the deputy at the time, Avdo Čampara, who was substituted by the second deputy Petar Majić after the same period of time.

During its first convocation, the House of Representatives held eleven sessions. Over that period of time, the House of Peoples held twelve sessions. The sessions were held on the premises of the National Museum in Sarajevo and the Electro-technical faculty in Lukavica. The sessions were often attended by the members of the Presidency, the Co-chairmen and Ministers from the Council of Ministers, and representatives of the international community, including the Office of the High Representative for Bosnia and Herzegovina. On the occasion of constituting the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina, a solemn declaration was signed, reading: *“I hereby commit myself to conscientiously perform the duties assigned to me, to support and defend the Constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina, to entirely implement the Peace Agreement, to promote human rights and fundamental freedoms and to protect the interests and equality of all peoples and citizens.”*

The initial sessions of the Houses were marked with the issuance of standard procedural decisions: verification of the representatives’ mandates, the signing of a solemn declaration, adoption of the temporary Rules of Procedure for the Houses, and verification of Co-Chairmen Haris Silajdžić and Boro Bosić, and the Ministers and Deputy Ministers in the Council of Ministers, which at that time had no more than three ministers. Furthermore, the members of the Committees were



*Voting during the first lineup
of the House of Peoples*

elected (Committee on Constitutional and Legal Affairs, Committee on International and Foreign Affairs, Committee on Foreign Trade and Customs, Committee on Finances and Budget, Committee on Human Rights, Committee on Traffic and Communications, Committee on Administrative Matters, and the Verification Committee), as well as the delegations to the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, OSCE and the Inter-Parliamentary Union.

At the beginning of the mandate, the laws for a quick beginning were adopted, of which the following are particularly important: the Law on the Central Bank of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Law on Foreign Debt, the Law on Foreign Trade Policy, the Customs Policy Law and the Law on the Customs Tariff, the Law on the Council of Ministers and Ministries, the Law on Travel Documents, the Law on the Customs Tariff of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Law on the Official Gazette of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Law on the Flag of Bosnia and Herzegovina did not win support; therefore, an interim Law on the Flag of Bosnia and Herzegovina came into force and was enacted by the High Representative¹. The Draft Law on Citizenship of Bosnia and Herzegovina did not win majority sup-

¹ The duties of the High Representative in Bosnia and Herzegovina are set forth in Article II of Annex X of the Dayton Peace Accords; his primary task is to monitor and aid the implementation of the peace accords. In order to strengthen his role and position in the process of implementation of the Peace Accords, in 1997, the Peace Implementation Council authorized the High Representative to impose laws in case the legislative bodies in Bosnia Herzegovina are unable to pass them, as well as to relieve Bosnia and Herzegovina officials of their duties in case they violate their obligations as set forth in the law.



Sessions of the first lineup were held, among other places, in the premises of the National Museum

port and was not adopted as a consequence (On January 1, 1998, the Interim Law on Citizenship of Bosnia and Herzegovina came into force and was enacted by the High Representative).

Many initiatives were launched and interesting issues raised, such as the establishment of a uniform league for sports competitions (it is interesting that the football Premier League of Bosnia and Herzegovina came into existence in the 2002/2003 season), including normalization of railway traffic in Bosnia and Herzegovina. At that time, the committee for investigation of inter-entity corruption



*Session of the first lineup
of the House of Peoples*

and crimes was also established. A conclusion was rendered for the materials to be obligatorily distributed to the representatives in the language and alphabet of the constituent people to which they belong. A request was submitted for the Assembly documents to be delivered to the Republika Srpska representatives and delegates in cyrillic and in the ekavian dialect.

The next sessions adopted the following laws: the Law on the Execution of the Budget of Bosnia and Herzegovina Institutions and Bosnia and Herzegovina's International Responsibilities in 1997, the Law on Foreign Investments in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the framework Law on the Privatization of Enterprises and Banks in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and consent was granted for the loan agreements for four World Bank projects (a loan for a forestry project, a structural adjustment loan, the urgent reconstruction of electro-energy systems and a speedy load pilot-project), and to the Loan Contract between our country and the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (development credit for reconstruction of the natural gas system, for reconstruction support and for the establishment of an electro-energy system and, afterwards, for the project of urgent telecommunication reconstruction). Consent was also given to the ratification of the Agreement with

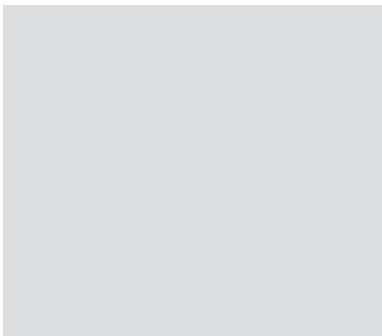


the London Club creditors, an agreement on the loan of the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD), and agreements with Slovenia, Turkey, Belgium, Iran and Sweden.

The beginning of the first convocation of the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina was difficult. This is understandable considering the recently ended war and the high extent of mistrust between the members of the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina. This was particularly manifested at the time of the first convocation, which was followed by a true drama as to “on whose side” – in Sarajevo or in Lukavica – the sessions would take place. As a result, it would have been primetime news had the representatives even gathered and held a session.

In time, the tensions eased, which resulted in the enactment of laws and the adoption of international agreements and appointments. Most importantly, it appears that the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina took hold, thus dissipating the doubts of many people who experienced it only formally, contributing to the understanding that it would indeed be a state institution.

Building of the National Museum in Sarajevo – the first sessions of the first lineup of the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina were held in the buildings of the National Museum and the School of Electrical Engineering in Lukavica



SECOND CONVOCATION OF THE PARLIAMENTARY ASSEMBLY OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA (1998–2000)

I n autumn 1998 the second post-war parliamentary elections were held in our country, which also brought some novelties compared to previous elections. This was apparent above all in the fact that after the elections had been held, the number of parties and coalitions in the Parliamentary Assembly increased. Thus the political picture began to slightly change and the domination of the Party for Democratic Action (SDA), the Serbian Democratic Party (SDS) and the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ) deteriorated to a certain extent.

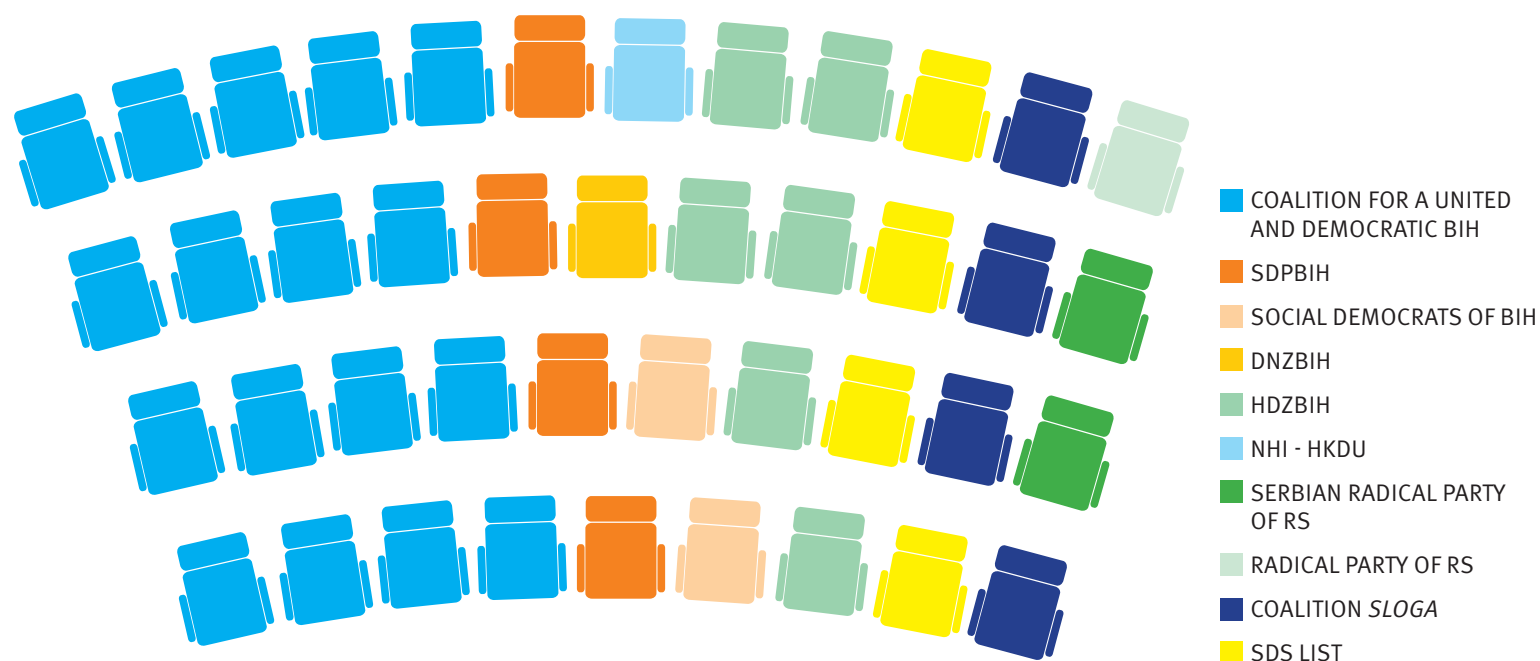
Still, the majority of seats, namely 14 in the House of Representatives of the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina from the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina were won by the Coalition for a United and Democratic Bosnia and Herzegovina (based around the Party for Democratic Action). The Social Democratic Party of Bosnia and Herzegovina (SDPBiH) was represented by four representatives, the Social Democrats of Bosnia and Herzegovina by two and the National Democratic Union of Bosnia and Herzegovina (DNZBiH) by one. The Croatian Democratic Union of Bosnia and Herzegovina (HDZBiH) won six seats and the Coalition New Croat Initiative (NHI) – Croatian Christian Democrat Union (HKDU) one seat.

From the Republika Srpska, three seats belonged to the Coalition for a United and Democratic Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Republika Srpska's Serbian Radical Party won two and the Republika Srpska's Radical Party one seat. The majority of seats, four in total, were each won by the Coalition *Sloga* and the Serbian Democratic Party (SDS) list.

In the first eight months the House of Representatives was chaired by Halid Genjac from the Coalition for a United and Democratic Bosnia and Herzegovina. That duty was then assumed by Mirko Banjac from the SDS, and finally by Pero Skopljak from HDZ BiH.

The first chairman of the second convocation of the House of Peoples was Vladimir Šoljić. When his term ended after eight months, he was replaced by the first co-chairman at the time, Izet Žigić, while for the last eight months the duties of the chairman were performed by Drago Ljubičić.

House of Representatives – convocation 1998–2000



By the second mandate the practice of holding sessions alternately at the National Museum in Sarajevo and the Electro-technical faculty in Lukavica was abandoned. The session held in the building of the Parliament in Marijin Dvor in Sarajevo on November 26, 1998 was the first since 1992.

During this mandate, the House of Representatives and the House of Peoples held 26 and 24 sessions, respectively.

*Voting of the second lineup
of the House of Representatives*





Starting with the second parliamentary lineup, the sessions of the parliamentary houses were held in the partly renovated building of the Bosnia and Herzegovina Parliament

The initial sessions of the second convocation were held under the standard procedure: mandate verification, election of a chairman and his/her deputies, and the appointment of committee members. The Law on the Amendment to the Law on the Travel Documents of Bosnia and Herzegovina was adopted unanimously. Furthermore, much attention was paid to preparation for the Madrid Conference. The next session confirmed the appointment of Haris Silajdžić and Svetozar Mihajlović as minister and deputy minister, respectively, to the Council of Ministers of Bosnia and Herzegovina, on which occasion several parliamentary delegations were also appointed.

The following laws were adopted at the sessions of the Houses: the Law on the National Anthem of Bosnia and Herzegovina (of three proposals, the first proposal for the hymn titled “Intermezzo” won the required majority vote. 26 representatives, 15 from the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and 11 from the Republika Srpska, voted for this proposal, while five representatives against it), the Law on Communications, the Framework Law on the Privatization of Enterprises and Banks in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Law on Aviation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Law on Citizenship of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Law on the Revision of Institutions of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Law on Immigration and Asylum of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Law on Refugees from Bosnia and Herzegovina and Displaced Persons in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Law on the Funding of Political Parties in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Law on Staffing a Vacant Post of a Member of the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Law on the Treasury of Bosnia and Herzegovina Institutions, the Law on Free Access to Information in Bosnia



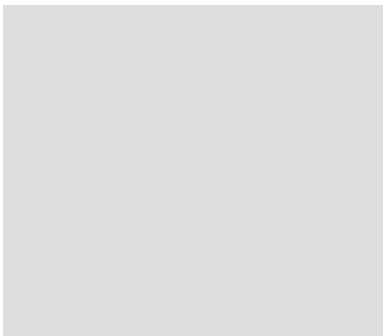
Completely renovated building of the Bosnia and Herzegovina Parliament

and Herzegovina, the Law on the Procedure of Concluding and the Execution of International Treaties, as well as consent granted for the ratification of several international agreements and contracts.

The procedure for the enactment of laws and other acts in cases where the proponent of which was not the Council of Ministers or the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina was defined as well. It was also decided to have an Interim Secretariat of the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina established, and a Decision on the organization of the Secretariat of the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina was rendered afterwards. The adoption of the Standing Orders for the House of Representatives and the House of Peoples was very important for their work.

In early June 2000, Spasoje Tuševljak was appointed Chairman of the Council of Ministers of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and four months later, at the last session of the second convocation of the House of Representatives, he was replaced by Martin Raguž.

The second convocation achieved many more results than the first, as expected. A large number of laws were accepted, consent was granted for the ratification of a number of agreements, successful cooperation was established with other institutions among Bosnia and Herzegovina authorities and Standing Orders for both Houses were adopted. Although many draft laws were dismissed, considering the specifics of the state organization, such a situation was expectable and quite understandable. Regardless, both formally and essentially, the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina continued its development over these two years, and proved to be the body of a developed parliamentary democracy.



THIRD CONVOCATION OF THE PARLIAMENTARY ASSEMBLY OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA (2000–2002)

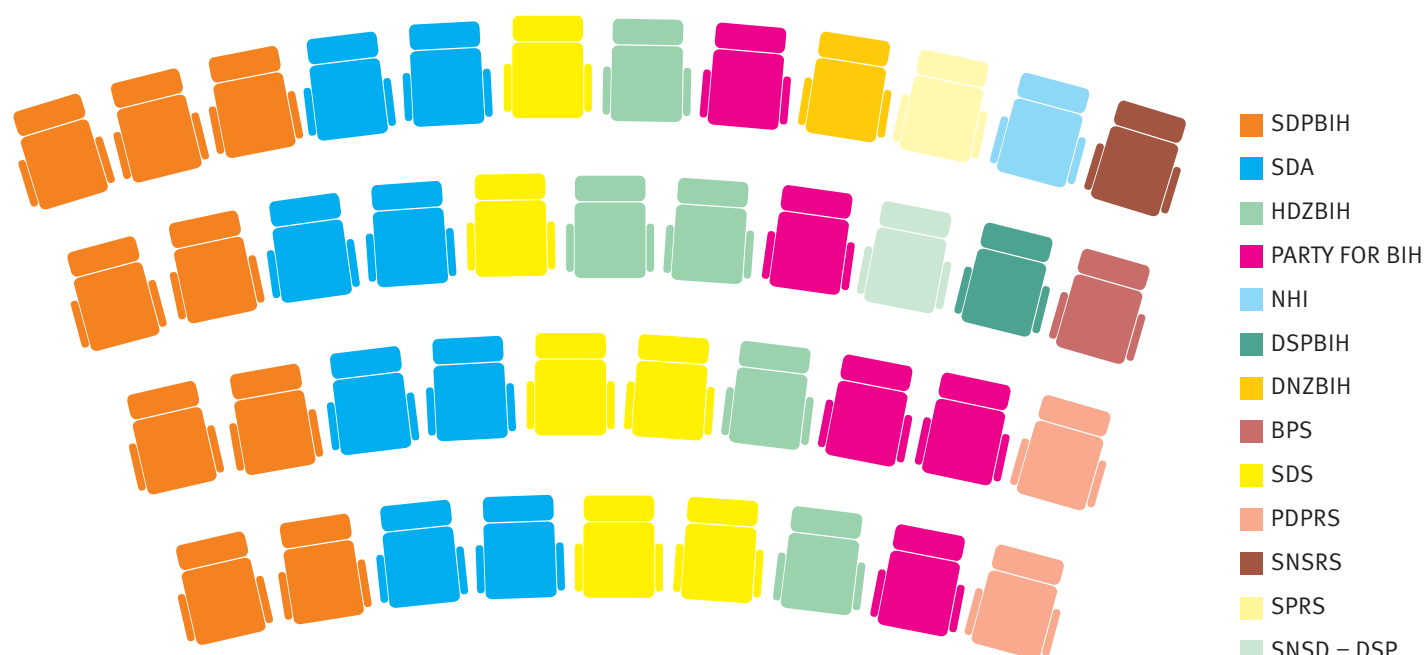
After the elections held in autumn 2000, the Social Democratic Party of Bosnia and Herzegovina (SDPBiH) had the most reason for satisfaction.

The Social Democratic Party of Bosnia and Herzegovina (SDPBiH) won nine representative seats, eight from the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and one from the Republika Srpska. One seat less was won by the Party for Democratic Action (SDA) in the House of Representatives, while the Serbian Democratic Party (SDS) won six seats. Five representative mandates each were won by the Party for Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Croatian Democratic Community, and two seats were won by the Party of Democratic Progress of Republika Srpska (PDPRS). The following parties won one seat each: the New Croat Initiative (NHI), the Serbian National Party (SNS), Social Democrat Party (DSP), Socialist Party of Republika Srpska (SPRS), National Democratic Union (DNZ), Coalition of the Alliance of Independent Social Democrats (SNSD) – and the Social Democrat Party (DSP), and the Bosnian Party of Rights (BSP).

At the constituent assembly of the House of Representatives, Sead Avdić, Željko Mirjanić and Mariofil Ljubić were appointed the Chairman and co-chairmen, respectively. Božidar Matić, candidate of the Alliance for Changes, was appointed the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

It is interesting that the first session of the House of Peoples was held on March 20, 2001. Once the peoples' caucuses were established, the following chairman and co-chairmen were appointed: Ilija Šimić, Sejfudin Tokić and Nikola Špirić. At the March sessions of both Houses, the members of the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina were appointed as follows: Beriz Belkić on behalf of Bosniaks and Jozo Križanović on behalf of Croats.

House of Representatives – convocation 2000–2002



During this mandate, the House of Representatives and the House of Peoples held 32 and 25 sessions, respectively.

The sessions of both Houses held in April and May 2001 will be remembered for the adoption of a large number of draft laws at their first reading (among others, the Law on the Flag of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Law on the Coat of Arms of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Law on the National Anthem of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Law on the Foreign Trade Chamber). Furthermore, consent was granted for the ratification of a large number of agreements and treaties (with Croatia, Switzerland and Greece).

By the summer recess, members of the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina enacted several laws: the Law on the Flag of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Law on the Coat of Arms of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Law on the State Border Service of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Law on Free Zones in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the Law on Amendments and Supplements to the Law on Travel Documents of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Law on Amendments and Supplements to the Law on the Council of Ministers of Bosnia and Herzegovina was also adopted. At the 4th session of the House of Representatives held on February 22, 2001, Božidar Matić was appointed the Chairman of the Council of Ministers, and less than five months later, upon his resignation, Zlatko Lagumdžija was appointed

to that office during the 12th session of the House of Representatives on July 18, 2001. The adoption of the Resolution on Trust and Reconciliation in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Resolution on Economic and Social Policy in Bosnia and Herzegovina were also important.

In the months that followed, the Houses met frequently and their agenda was usually busy. A large number of laws were adopted, and the following are particularly noteworthy: the Bosnia and Herzegovina Election Law, the Law on Archive Materials and the Archive of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Law on the Identity Cards of Citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Law on Central Records and Exchange of Data of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Law on the Place of Residence and Dwelling of Citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the Law on the Purpose and the Use of Property of Bosnia and Herzegovina obtained under the Agreement on Succession Issues of the former Yugoslavia. Consent was granted for the ratification of several agreements and treaties (especially those signed with the USA and the Loan Contract concluded with the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development for the railway reconstruction project).

Some laws were the subject of public hearings at several sessions of the Assembly during the last months of 2002, and were eventually adopted upon adjustments: the Law on the Foreign Trade Chamber of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Law on Amendments and Supplements to the Law on the Foreign Debt of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Law on Industrial Property in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Law on International and Inter-Entity Road Traffic, and the Law on the Societies and Foundations of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

In addition, the Decision on Amendments to the Standing Orders of the House of Representatives was unanimously adopted, as were the Resolution on Missing Persons in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Resolution on the Commitment of Bosnia and Herzegovina to admission to full membership of the Council of Europe. During the first two months of 2002, most attention was paid to those draft laws which had not been supported at the end of the past year. The work of the Committees and adjustments resulted in the adoption of the following: the Law on Demining in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Law on the Establishment of the Accreditation Institute of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Law on Amendments and Supplements to the Customs Policy Law of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Law on Free Zones in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Law on Civil Service in the Institutions of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Apart from this, representatives and delegates granted their consent for ratification of a large number of agreements, contracts and conventions (with Italy, Austria, Slovenia, Croatia, the United Nations, Switzerland, Hungary and Kuwait).

During 2002 the Parliament was very active, which was reflected in the number of sessions and variety of issues that were the subjects of public hearings. Several sessions of the House of the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and



Herzegovina were held and resulted in the adoption of the following: the Law on Copyright and Related Rights in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Law on the Use of the Red Cross Sign of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Law on the Public Attorney's Office, the Law on the Protection of Consumers of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Law on the State Administration of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Law on the Agency for Information and Protection of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Law on the Protection of the Rights of National Minorities, the Law on Civil Service in the Institutions of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Law on Ombudsmen of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Law on Concessions of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Law on the Public Radio-Television Service of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Law on the Court of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Law on Amendments and Supplements to the Law on Industrial Property in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Law on Decorations, the Law on the Use and Protection of the Name of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Law on Amendments and Supplements to the Law on Aviation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Law on the City of Sarajevo – the Capital of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Law on Veterinary Medicine of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the Law

*Third lineup
of the House of Representatives*



Delegates of the third lineup of the House of Peoples swearing in

on Farming Cooperatives. Consent was granted to several agreements and treaties (two development loan agreements signed with the International Association for Development were most important and pertained to the economic sector, that is, to business environment adjustment). Several resolutions were also adopted, including: the Resolution on the Youth in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Resolution on Securing the Human Rights to Citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

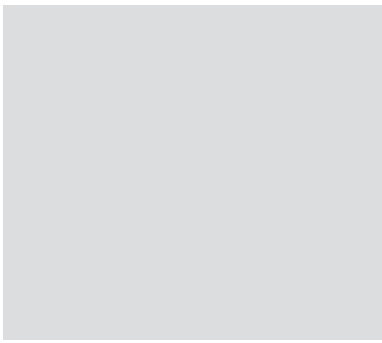
At the 22nd session of the House of Representatives held on March 15, 2002, Dragan Mikerević was appointed the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Still, undoubtedly the most important step forward was achieved at the session of the House of Representatives, which had only one item on its agenda: public hearings on the execution of the Decision of the Constitutional Court of Bosnia and Herzegovina on the constituency of Bosniak, Croat and Serb peoples and their equality throughout Bosnia and Herzegovina, which decision, as final and binding, had to be consistently executed by the Entity Assemblies.

However, some draft laws were not supported by the representatives or delegates and were forwarded for further adjustments. This refers to the following: the Draft Law on Statistics, the Draft Law on Holidays of Bosnia and Herzegovina,

the Draft Law on the High Judicial and Prosecutorial Council of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the Draft Law on Aviation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Draft Law on Gender Equality did not win support by the entity majority and was forwarded for further adjustment as a consequence. The same happened to the Draft Law on the Movement and Stay of Aliens and Asylum.

With a number of adopted laws, this convocation confirmed that the development of the Parliamentary Assembly had taken an upturn. Owing to the successful activities of the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina that were manifested in the adoption of conclusions on the mandatory constituency of peoples throughout our country, and the adoption of several important resolutions and a number of quality and needed laws, the citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina had good reason to be optimistic. The fact that the sessions of both Houses were not characterized by offensive language and inter-ethnic tensions, but were dominated by a spirit of cooperation and the wish to achieve as much as possible certainly contributed to this.

The relatively good social-economic situation throughout the country also contributed to this optimism. Therefore, the period could be described as dynamic, both in terms of the post-war development of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the development of the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina into an efficient state institution. Having previously overcome numerous obstacles and challenges, the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina could now proceed with its development followed by ever increasing expectations from the entire public of Bosnia and Herzegovina



FOURTH CONVOCATION OF THE PARLIAMENTARY ASSEMBLY OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA (2002–2006)

After the elections were held in autumn 2002, ten seats in the House of Representatives were won by the SDA party. The Party for Bosnia and Herzegovina won six seats. A slightly worse election result was achieved by the SDS party, which won five seats. The same number was won by the Coalition HDZ – Christian Democrats. Four seats in the House of Representatives were won by the SDPBiH. Three candidates were elected from the SNSD list, while the PDPRS won two seats. One seat each was won by the following parties: the NHI, DNZBiH, Economic Bloc HDU – For Progress, BOSS, SPUBiH, SPRS, and SRSRS.

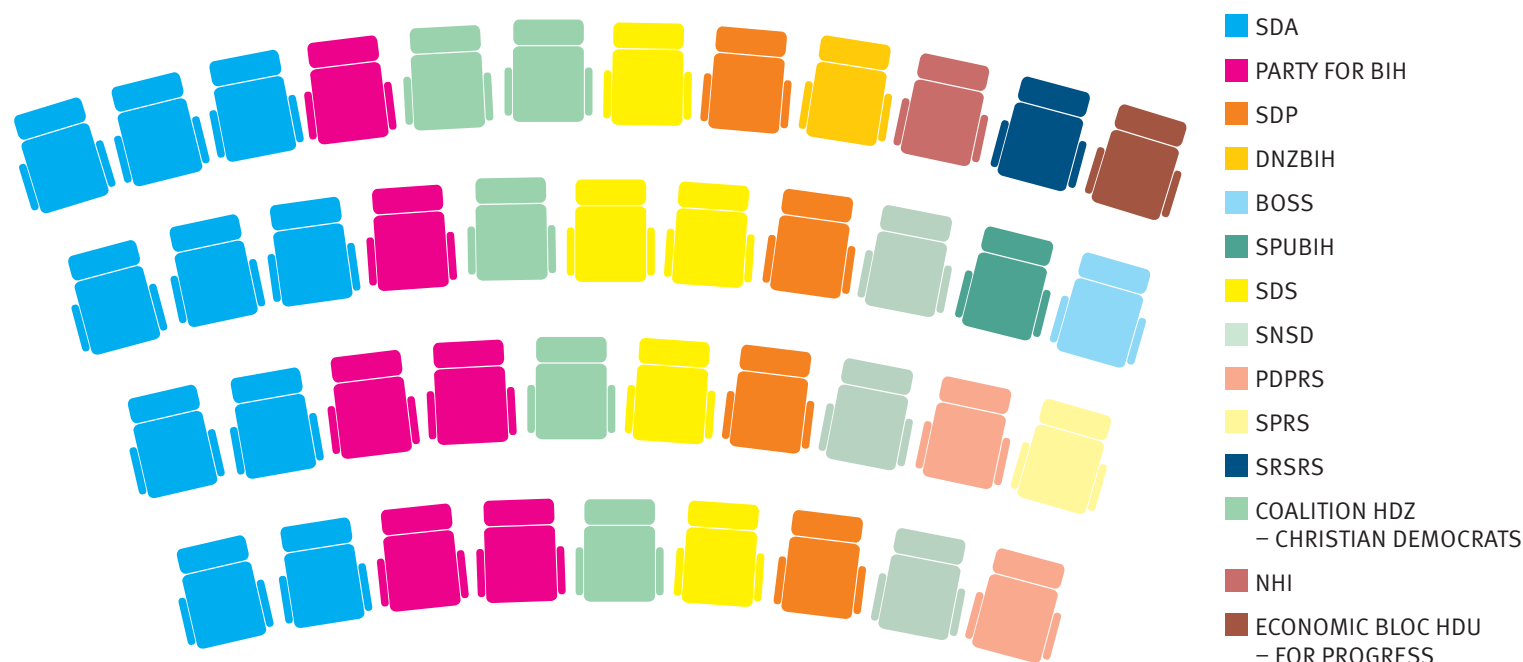
One of the characteristics of this convocation of the House of Representatives was the large number of independent representatives who left the caucuses of the parties or coalitions to which they had belonged and became independent representatives.

Šefik Džaferović, Borislav Paravac and Bariša Čolak were appointed the Chairman and Co-chairmen of the House of Representatives, respectively. Shortly afterwards, Borislav Paravac, who was appointed a member of the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina, was replaced by Nikola Špirić, and Bariša Čolak, who was appointed the Minister in the Council of Ministers, was replaced by Martin Raguž.

Velimir Jukić, Mustafa Pamuk and Goran Milojević were elected the Chairman and Co-chairmen of the House of Peoples, respectively.

Unlike previous convocations where the mandate of the representatives and the delegates lasted for two years, their mandate was now extended to four years. Therefore, it is not surprising that the House of Representatives held no less than 85 sessions, while the House of Peoples held 63 sessions. At the 5th session of the House of Representatives held on December 23, 2002, the appointment of Adnan Terzić as the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of Bosnia and Herzegovina was confirmed.

House of Representatives – convocation 2002–2006



During 2003, the representatives and delegates adopted a large number of laws, of which the following are particularly noteworthy: the Law on the Import and Export of Weapons and Military Equipment, the Law on Ministries and Other Administrative Authorities of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Law on the Labor and Employment Agency of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Law on Gender Equality in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Law on Executive Proceedings before the Court of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Law on the Decoration of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Framework Law on Primary and Secondary Education in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Interim Law on the Merger of the Customs Administrations into the Indirect Taxation Authority, the Law on the Council of Ministers of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Law on Communications, the Law on the Indirect Taxation System in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Law on Court Charges in the Proceedings before the Court of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the Law on Aviation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The laws imposed by the High Representative were also adopted: the Law on Amendments to the Law on Citizenship of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Criminal Procedure Code of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Criminal Code of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Law on Court Police, the Law on the Movement and Stay of Aliens and Asylum, the Law on the Protection of Witnesses under Threat and Vulnerable Witnesses.

Over this period of time, the representatives and delegates accepted many amendments and supplements to the previous laws, notably: to the Law on Refugees from Bosnia and Herzegovina and Displaced Persons in Bosnia and Herzegovina;

the Law on International and Inter-Entity Road Traffic; the Law on the Central Bank of Bosnia and Herzegovina; the Law on Transmission, Regulation and Operation of the Electric Power System; the Law on Direct Foreign Investment Policy in Bosnia and Herzegovina; the Law on Free Zones in Bosnia and Herzegovina; the Law on Associations and Foundations of Bosnia and Herzegovina; the Law on the Import and Export of Weapons and Military Equipment; the Law on Civil Service in the Institutions of Bosnia and Herzegovina; the Election Law of Bosnia and Herzegovina; the Law on the Council of Ministers of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Consent was granted for the ratification of a large number of various agreements, contracts, conventions, protocols and memorandums (most problems were caused by the ratification of the Agreement between Bosnia and Herzegovina and the United States on the surrender of persons to the International Criminal Tribunal; however, after a lengthy discussion, consent was given to the ratification of this agreement as well).

Apart from the foregoing, the following is also noteworthy: the adoption of the Measures and Action Plan to Improve the Security Situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina (with regard to this, the document titled "Security Policy of Bosnia and Herzegovina," which was submitted by the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina, was also supported), lengthy discussions on Corridor Vc, discussions on the so-called coup which resulted in the establishment of the committee for the investigation of the case, and the appointment of the ombudsmen for human rights in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

At the sessions of both Houses held in 2004, many laws were adopted, of which the following are particularly noteworthy: the Law on Freedom of Worship and Legal Status of Churches and Religious Communities in Bosnia and Herzegovina; the Law on the Intelligence-Security Agency of Bosnia and Herzegovina; the Law on Police Officers of Bosnia and Herzegovina; the Framework Law on Higher Education in Bosnia and Herzegovina; the Law on the Establishment of the Electric Power Transmission Company; the Law on the Importance of Public Documents; the Law on the High Judicial and Prosecutorial Council of Bosnia and Herzegovina; the Law on Accountancy and Auditing of Bosnia and Herzegovina; the Law on the Foreign Trade Policy of Bosnia and Herzegovina; the Law on the Public Radio-Television Service of Bosnia and Herzegovina; the Customs Policy Law of Bosnia and Herzegovina; the Law on the State Border Service of Bosnia and Herzegovina; the Law on the Funding of the Institutions of Bosnia and Herzegovina; the Value Added Tax Law of Bosnia and Herzegovina; the Law on the Sales Tax on Products and Services; and the Excise Law. Furthermore, amendments and supplements to a range of previously passed laws were adopted.

During the same period of time both Houses granted their consent to a range of agreements, contracts, conventions, protocols and memorandums (most often



economic contracts with the European countries, and several loan agreements with the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development). With regard to other developments, there were frequent discussions of methods for the protection of domestic production (plans within the project “Let’s Buy Domestic Products”), continued discussions on Corridor Vc and reforms needed in Bosnia and Herzegovina, including the need to ethnically balance personnel in the institutions of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

However, defence reform was allocated the most time during this period of Parliament through the enactment of the Law on Defence, the appointment of the first Minister of Defence (thus expanding the Council of Ministers to nine Ministries) and the confirmation of the appointment of candidates for the rank of General in the Armed Forces of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which was successfully completed by mid-2004. Special reference should be given to the adoption of the Statement on Obligations Satisfied by Bosnia and Herzegovina under the Study of Feasibility for the purpose of the beginning of negotiations over the Agreement of Stabilization and Association with the European Union.

The national anthem is being played before the beginning of a session of the House of Representatives’ fourth lineup



The lobby of the ground floor of the Bosnia and Herzegovina Parliament building

By the end of this mandate, the following laws successfully passed the parliamentary procedure and were adopted: the Law on PTT Offices of Bosnia and Herzegovina; the Law on Competition; and the Law on the Railways of Bosnia and Herzegovina. It is noteworthy that the amendments and supplements to the earlier legal acts were adopted as follows: the Law on the Central Bank of Bosnia and Herzegovina; the Law on Labor in the Institutions of Bosnia and Herzegovina; the Law on State Investigations and Protection Agency; the Law on the Protection of National Minorities; the Law on the Value Added Tax; the Law on the Protection of Confidential Information; the Law on Traffic Safety on Bosnia and Herzegovina Roads; the Law on Enforced Collection of Indirect Taxes in Bosnia and Herzegovina; the Law on the Indirect Taxation Authority; the Law on Serving in the Armed Forces of Bosnia and Herzegovina; the Law on the Public RTV Service of Bosnia and Herzegovina; the Law on Consumer Protection of Bosnia and Herzegovina; the Law on the Settlement of Debts Arising from Old Foreign Currency Savings; the Law on Classification of Professions in Bosnia and Herzegovina; the Law on the Protection of Personal Details, and the Law on Free Access to Information in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Members of both Houses also discussed the topical issue of the involvement of the Armed Forces of Bosnia and Herzegovina in peace missions. Consent was granted for the ratification of a large number of agreements, contracts, conventions and memorandums with foreign countries, banks and loan institutes. Ivo Miro Jović was elected as the Croat member of the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

During that period of time, the issuance and design of passports and registration plates were the subjects of interesting discussions at the sessions. There were many discussions as a consequence of the analysis of the foreign trade deficit of our country, wherein special emphasis was given to the analysis of the results of the Council of Ministers' Decision on the temporary suspension of a zero customs rate under the Free Trade Agreements with Serbia and Montenegro, and Croatia, the Framework Law on Higher Education in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and donations Bosnia and Herzegovina received from 1996 to 2005. In addition, after tumultuous debates, the Resolution on Antifascism was also adopted.

Among other parliamentary successes, the following are noteworthy: the Decision on the acceptance of the Agreement on the reform of Bosnia and Herzegovina Police Structures, , adoption of the Decision on the organization of the Secretariat of the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina, adoption of the Decision on the Establishment of the Council of Bosnia and Herzegovina National Minorities, and the adoption of the Policy Paper on Concession Granting in Bosnia and Herzegovina. In addition, the dismissal of the information on the legal effects of the introduction of the value added tax in the period January-March 2006 should be mentioned. Much attention was also paid to the activities of the Bosnia and Herzegovina Intelligence-Security Agency, the participation of Bosnia and Herzegovina Armed Forces in peace operations, Corridor Vc, and the Public RTV system.

*Session of the fourth lineup
of the House of Peoples*





Since 2004, sessions of the fourth lineup have been held in the renovated White Hall

Parliamentary activities in 2006 were marked by an attempt to reform the Constitution in late April (the April Package of Changes). That was preceded by an agreement among six political parties (the SDA, SDPBiH, SDS, HDZ, SNSD and PDP), which was signed on March 18. Based on that agreement, the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina defined the draft amendments to the Constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina and put them into the parliamentary procedure. There are many of those who believe that this was the most significant political event in Bosnia and Herzegovina after the Dayton Agreement. This constitutional reform was aimed at establishing more efficient and rational state institutions on the path of our country towards EU and NATO membership. This matter was the subject of a public hearing of the House of Representatives held on April 25 and 26. On the first day, the session lasted until 2 am, and continued the following day until the afternoon. Eventually, after many presentations, rebuttals and expressions of views by the caucuses and representatives, they were put to the vote and 26 representatives voted in favor of the amendments, while 16 representatives voted against them. The amendments were not adopted because they required a two-thirds majority vote.

The fourth convocation of the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina achieved much with regard to the exercise of the constitutional functions in solving accumulated problems. No doubt the adoption of the Law on Defence of Bosnia and Herzegovina within the armed forces reform was most important, as was the beginning of police force reforms in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which process was completed at a later point in time, during the mandate of the next Parliamentary Assembly. Furthermore, an attempt to reform the Constitution, which failed at the sessions held in late April 2006, is also worth mentioning.



FIFTH CONVOCATION OF THE PARLIAMENTARY ASSEMBLY OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA (2006–2010)

After the elections held in early October 2006, the House of Representatives looked as follows (see next page).

Nine seats in the House of Representatives were won by the SDA, while the Party for BiH also achieved an excellent election result with eight seats. The best election results in the Republika Srpska were achieved by the Alliance of Independent Social Democrats (SNSD) which won seven seats.

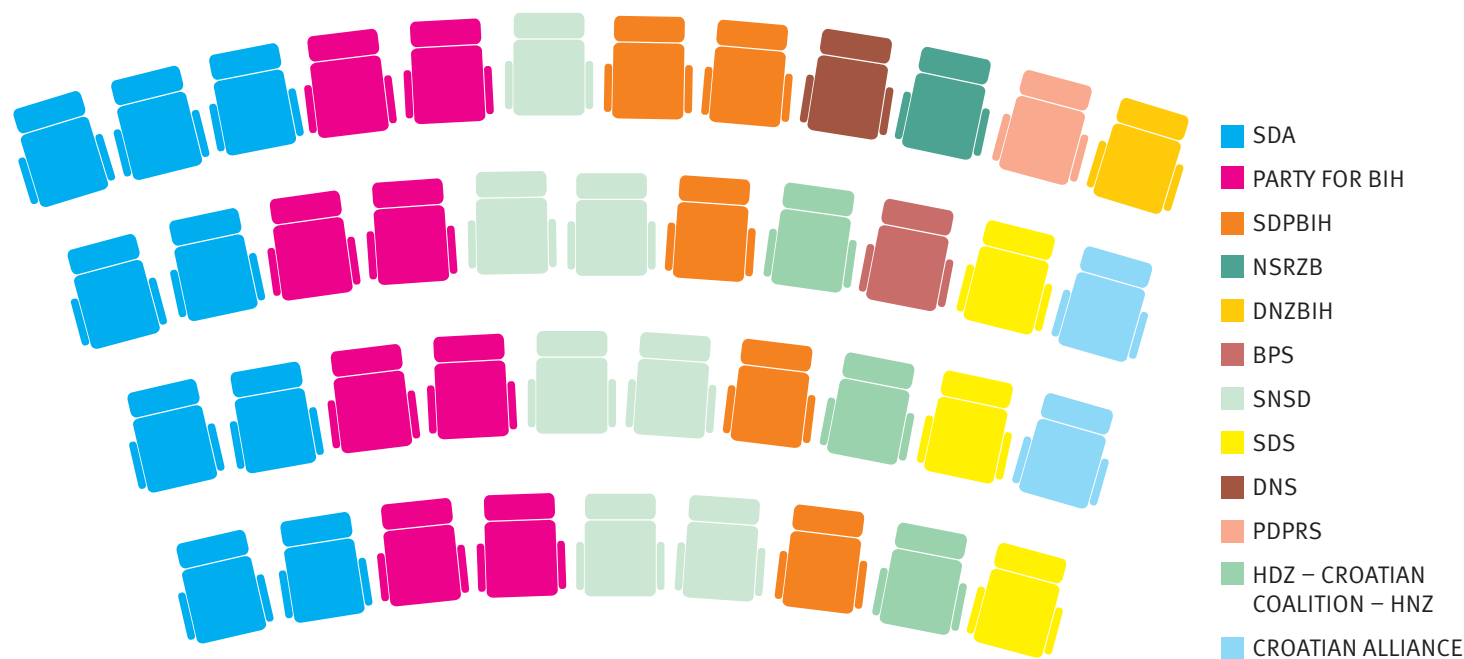
The Social Democratic Party of Bosnia and Herzegovina (SDPBiH) won five seats in the House of Representatives, while three seats were won by the Croa-

tian Democratic Union of Bosnia and Herzegovina (HDZBiH) – Croatian Coalition – and the Croatian National Union (HNZ). The same number of seats was won by the Serbian Democratic Party (SDS). From the Croatian Alliance (HDZ 1990 – HZ – HSS – HKDU – HDU), list, two candidates were elected, while one seat each was won by the Party for Democratic Progress of the Republika Srpska (PDPRS), the National Democratic Union of Bosnia and Herzegovina (DNZBiH), People's Party Work



*The Collegium of the fifth lineup
of the House of Representatives*

House of Representatives – convocation 2006–2010



for Progress (orig. Narodna stranka Radom za boljitak), Democratic People’s Alliance (DNS) and the Bosnian Patriotic Party (BPS).

Delegates of the fifth lineup of the House of Peoples while the national anthem is played





*Session of the fifth lineup
of the House of Representatives*

The following persons were elected members of the Bureau of the House of Representatives, that is, the Chairman and two Co-chairmen: Milorad Živković, Niko Lozančić and Beriz Belkić.

As stipulated by the Constitution, delegations to the House of Peoples also took place within the foreseen timeline. The following persons were elected members of the Bureau of the House of Peoples: Sulejman Tihić, Mladen Ivanić (who was replaced by Dušanka Majkić in 2009, as the Party of Democratic Progress turned into the opposition) and Ilija Filipović.

With these mandates 83 sessions of the House of Representatives and 49 sessions of the House of Peoples were held. Along with their ordinary parliamentary activities, the members of both Houses have also been active in the work of numerous committees which are aimed at speedy and more efficient work towards the faster adoption of the laws and other acts required for satisfying European standards and bringing our country closer to Euro-Atlantic integration.

The signing of the Agreement on Stabilization and Association with the European Union can be deemed a great success, as it is a step forward toward full European Union membership. The Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina played a very important role in this process, and in October 2008 gave its consent to

the ratification of the Agreement on Stabilization and Association with the European Union.

With regard to this convocation of the state Parliament, the adoption of the Law on Police Structures in Bosnia and Herzegovina, as the adoption put an end to the police reform in our country, and Amendment 1 to the Constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina should be emphasized. Along with this, the representatives and the delegates have still paid much attention to the issue of the protection of domestic production.

* * *



Rotation of the presiding members of the House of Peoples' Collegium

In the decade and a half of its existence, the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina has come a long way, from an institution for which it was initially a success merely to gather its elected representatives and delegates, to becoming a more or less effective working body, and at present prepared to pass laws which will both secure a better life for all citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina, regardless of their ethnicity or religion, and move the country closer to the European Union.

In this period the Office of the High Representative had an important role in the work of the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The High Representative imposed a number of laws, which were subsequently reviewed and affirmed by the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia of Herzegovina.

The Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina has justified its existence by exercising a large number of the roles it has been entrusted with under Annex IV to the Peace Agreement. In the future, the Parliamentary Assembly will face the demands and tasks of strengthening state power, developing and stabilizing our society and rapidly implementing reforms along the path towards Euro-Atlantic integration.

M. A. Arandel Smiljanić







ON THE PATH TOWARDS EURO-ATLANTIC INTEGRATION

The European integration process requires the comprehensive adjustment of politics, institutional frameworks and the legal system, and has as its aim the attainment of European standards in all fields. The prospect of European Union membership constitutes an extremely powerful incentive for the continuation of already initiated reforms in Bosnia and Herzegovina and an impetus for a process that will enable the creation of economic, legal, organizational and social structures capable of acting under EU regulations. The leading role of the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the European integration process manifests itself in its legislative activity on the transposition of European Union legal acquisition, as well as in its ability to inform through the establishment of an ever closer relationship with citizens, the promotion of European values and winning over public opinion to its side.

The first important step for getting Bosnia and Herzegovina closer to European integration is its admission to the Council of Europe. Based on the membership application filed out in 1995, a years-long special guest status and upon satisfying required conditions, Bosnia and Herzegovina was admitted to the oldest European institution on April 24 2002.

Seeking manners in which to strengthen regional cooperation and the involvement of the countries of Southeast Europe, including Bosnia and Herzegovina, in European integration, at a special conference of ministers of foreign affairs, representatives of international organizations, institutions and regional initiatives held in Cologne on June 10 1999, the European Union established the Stability Pact for Southeast Europe, which was politically confirmed at the Sarajevo Summit on June 30 the same year, when the countries in the region were promised a path towards Euro-Atlantic integration. The Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina accepted the Stability Pact for Southeast Europe as a project of peace, stability and organized involvement in Euro-Atlantic integration, for the benefit of all countries, peoples and citizens in the region. The Resolution on European Integration and the Stability Pact for Southeast Europe, which the Parliamentary Assembly



adopted in July 1999, entirely emphasizes the importance of continued organized and argument-based dialogue on the European future of Bosnia and Herzegovina. At a meeting in Sofia held on February 27, 2008, the Stability Pact transferred the authorities to the Regional Cooperation Council – RCC, thus terminating the process of affirmation of the regional property principle.

The special relationships between Bosnia and Herzegovina and the European Union were established by the 1998 European Union Declaration to Bosnia and Herzegovina. By the first meeting of the Delegation of the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the representatives of the European Parliament in Strasbourg common interests were expressed for the admittance of Bosnia and Herzegovina to European integration, and political dialogue between Bosnia and Herzegovina and the European Union intensified as a part of the project of stability and association with the European Union. Specifically, in May 1999, upon the proposal of the European Committee, the European Union adopted a long-term policy for Bosnia and Herzegovina and other countries in the region (the Republic of Albania, Republic of Croatia, Republic of Macedonia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia), titled the Stabilization and Association Process for Southeast Europe. This changed the existing policy towards this part of Europe and foresaw the signing of the Stabilization and Association Agreement by which the

Ceremony held on the occasion of Bosnia and Herzegovina's accession to the Council of Europe, April 24, 2002.



The summit held in Sarajevo on July 30, 1999, attended by the highest world and regional officials, was a political confirmation of the Stability Pact

parties would acquire the status of associate members of the European Union. At a conference held in Santa Maria de Feiri on June 19 and 20, 2000, the Council of Europe granted to all the countries involved in the Stability and Association Process, including Bosnia and Herzegovina, the status of a potential candidate for EU membership. The conference of leaders held in Zagreb on November 24 the same year sealed the Stabilization and Association Process as it emphasized the willingness of the countries in the region to implement the required reforms in the context of European integration. The Western Balkans Thessaloniki Summit held in June 2003 confirmed and strengthened the European Union's support for the European perspective of the countries in the region.

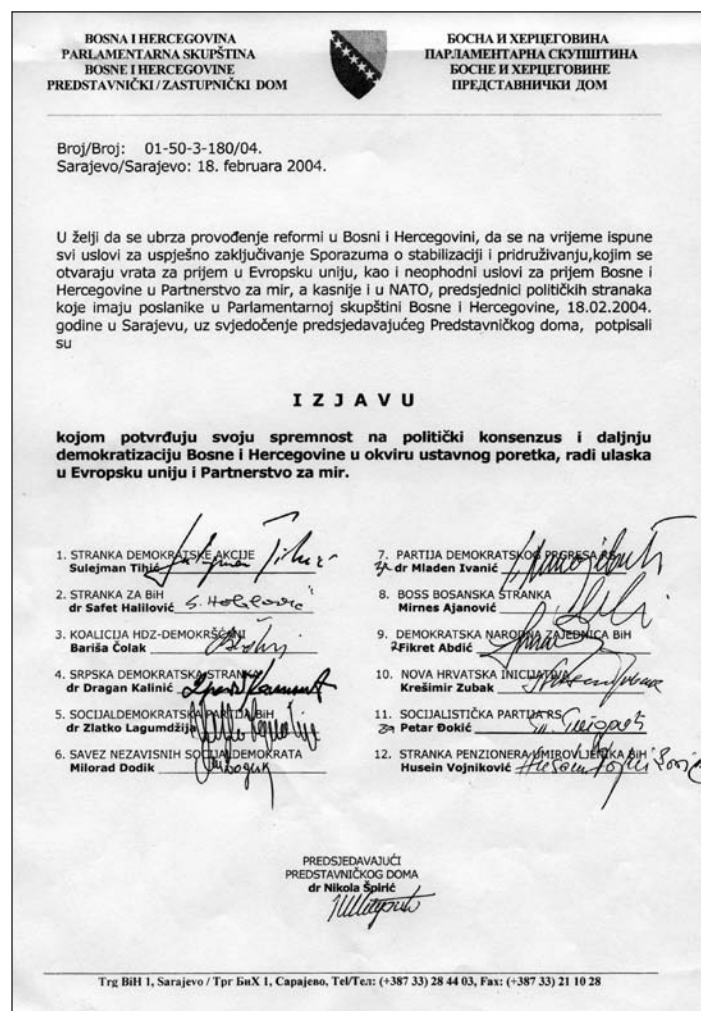
At the same time, by adopting the April 2003 conclusions according to which there existed a full political consensus on the admission of Bosnia and Herzegovina to the European Union, the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina identified the process as a top priority. The basic international directions and activities tend towards strengthening and institutionalizing relations with the European

Union in accordance with the Stabilization and Association Process. Ten months later (February 18, 2004) the leaders of 12 political parties in the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina signed a joint statement confirming their readiness for political consensus and the further democratization of Bosnia and Herzegovina within the constitutional system for the purpose of joining the European Union and the Partnership for Peace.

Regionally, guided by the Stabilization and Association Process, the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina has participated in the COSAP (Conference of European Integration Parliamentary Committees of States participating in the Stabilization of Association Process) sessions. The aim of these meetings is to exchange on a regular basis experiences and views on issues concerning the stabilization and association process of the countries in the region. The Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina, specifically its delegations and working committees, have been very active in the establishment of bilateral and multilateral cooperation, especially with neighbouring countries and other countries in the region and in Europe.

Negotiations over the Stabilization and Association Agreement between Bosnia and Herzegovina and the European Union officially commenced in November 2005. Pointing out the need for the acceleration of European integration to be understood and accepted by the political milieu and the public as the country's most integral developmental project affecting all areas of Bosnia and Herzegovina society, the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina adopted in 2008 the Resolution on the Acceleration of the Process of Admission of Bosnia and Herzegovina to the European Union.

By virtue of signing the Stabilization and Association Agreement between Bosnia and Herzegovina and the European Union in July 2008, Bosnia and Herzegovina entered its first contractual relationship with the European Union. Both Houses of the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina granted their



With a joint statement signed on February 18, 2004, the leaders of all political parties who have representatives in the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina reasserted their shared support for Bosnia and Herzegovina's accession to the European Union and the Partnership for Peace

consent to the ratification of the agreement in October the same year. This opened a new chapter in the country's relations with the European Union. The implementation of the signed agreement is not only an important step forward in Bosnia and Herzegovina's efforts towards European integration, but a huge responsibility as well.

The implementation of the signed agreement and the country's full membership in the European Union require comprehensive reform, in which process the role of the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina is prominent. Being the state legislative authority, the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina fully contributes to the accelerated harmonization of Bosnia and Herzegovina legislation with the legal acquisition of the European Union (*acquis communautaire*), and to the strengthening of those institutions that will enforce the adopted regulations. In addition, Bosnia and Herzegovina is willing to fully contribute to meeting political criteria, thus confirming its commitment to the recognition of the fundamental values upon which the European Union is based. All issues concerning the accession of Bosnia and Herzegovina to the European Union have been continually discussed by the standing and joint committees of both Houses of the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

A fresh impetus to the European perspective of Bosnia and Herzegovina and other countries in the region was given at the meeting of the European Union and

The Stabilization and Association Agreement between Bosnia and Herzegovina and the European Union was initialed on December 4, 2007 in the Grand Hall of the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina and was signed on June 16, 2008 in Luxembourg



Western Balkans leaders which was held on June 2, 2010, in the building of the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina in Sarajevo. By being a host to such a summit, Bosnia and Herzegovina received one more confirmation and encouragement for its efforts to, by implementing the required reforms, apply for membership in the foreseeable future, and eventually become a member state of the European Union.

One more international political priority is NATO membership, which is supported by the majority of the Bosnia and Herzegovina public. Countries willing to join this military-political association must carry out political, democratic and military reforms, and have good relationships with their neighbouring countries, which to a large extent complies with the reform measures dictated by progress towards European integration. The Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina enacted a range of essential laws on defence, which is exactly the field in which perhaps the largest reform progress has been achieved.

Apart from its regular participation in the activities of the NATO Parliamentary Assembly through standing parliamentary delegations, the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina also ratified the extremely important Status of Forces Agreement (SOFA) with NATO. In addition, the Information Safety Agreement was also signed with NATO and has been implemented, thus enabling the exchange of confidential information and the work of the Bosnia and Herzegovina Mission at the NATO Headquarters in Brussels.

In December 2006, Bosnia and Herzegovina was admitted to the NATO program *Partnership for Peace*. At the summit in Bucharest in April 2008, our country was invited to initiate an Intensified Dialogue (ID) with NATO. After applying for membership in October 2009 at the meeting of the ministers of foreign affairs of the Alliance in Tallinn in April 2010, the NATO Membership Action Plan for Bosnia and Herzegovina (MAP) was granted. The MAP is the final stage on the path towards full NATO membership, and it is expected to strengthen the internal cohesion of Bosnia and Herzegovina and its stability, and its position in the region as well. Such a positive sequence of events certainly results from the numerous activities performed by the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina towards NATO membership.

Specifically, the commitment to NATO membership is reflected in a broad consensus among the public and political actors. According to the latest research on public opinion in Bosnia and Herzegovina, 74% of the population support joining NATO.



Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina





INTERNATIONAL ACTIVITIES

The activities of the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the area of international policy entirely comply with the international political guidelines and priorities of Bosnia and Herzegovina as defined by the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina at both multilateral and bilateral levels. This activity has brought special attention to Bosnia and Herzegovina's joining the Euro-Atlantic integration processes; the participation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in multilateral activities, especially within the systems of the United Nations (UN), the Council of Europe (CoE), Organization for Safety and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC), and the promotion of Bosnia and Herzegovina as a partner in international economic relations and activities that will enable its admission to the World Trade Organisation (WTO) and other international organizations and associations.

The Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina maintains the continuity of bilateral contacts, primarily with neighboring countries, regional countries and European Union member countries, as well as with the parliaments of countries that could stimulate the development and betterment of overall political and economic inter-state cooperation.

In the context of strengthening and promoting relationships, the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina adopts the framework international activity plans with specifically set criteria for their implementation and pursuant to the applicable sublegal regulations, primarily the Book of Rules on International Activities of the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina is also connected with world parliaments through its bodies, including its committees, delegates and bureaus. It thus contributes to the development of parliamentary diplomacy and the image of Bosnia and Herzegovina in general. This is particularly important in the context of the development of connections with the parliamentarians from European Union and NATO member countries, in both of which Bosnia and Herzegovina seeks membership. Therefore, every international meeting is also an

opportunity for obtaining support for the aspirations of Bosnia and Herzegovina towards Euro-Atlantic integration, which is currently its top priority.

Within the framework of multilateral activities, the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina participates in meeting the international political objectives of Bosnia and Herzegovina through its standing delegations:

- PABiH Delegations in the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe,
- PABiH Delegations in the Parliamentary Assembly of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE),
- PABiH Delegations in the Parliamentary Assembly of the Central-European Initiative (CEI),
- PABiH Delegations in the Parliamentary Assembly of the North-Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO),
- PABiH Delegations in the Inter-parliamentary Union (IPU),
- PABiH Delegations in the Parliamentary Assembly of the Mediterranean (PAM).

Apart from the above stated international organizations and parliamentary associations, the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina has developed communication and cooperation with bodies in which it does not have standing delegations, such as the Assembly of the Western European Union in which the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina has the status of observer, the Euro-Mediterranean Union (EMPA) and the Southeast Europe Cooperation Process (SEECF), the most important forum in the region.

Members of the Delegation of the Bosnia and Herzegovina Parliament at a session of the Council of Europe Parliament in Strasbourg





Delegation of the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina at a session of the NATO Parliament in the Spanish town of Valencia

In exercising the international policy priorities of the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the following bodies play an important role: the Committee on Foreign Affairs, the Committee on Foreign Trade and Customs of the House of Representatives, and the Committee on International and Trade Policy, Customs, Traffic and Communications of the House of Peoples.

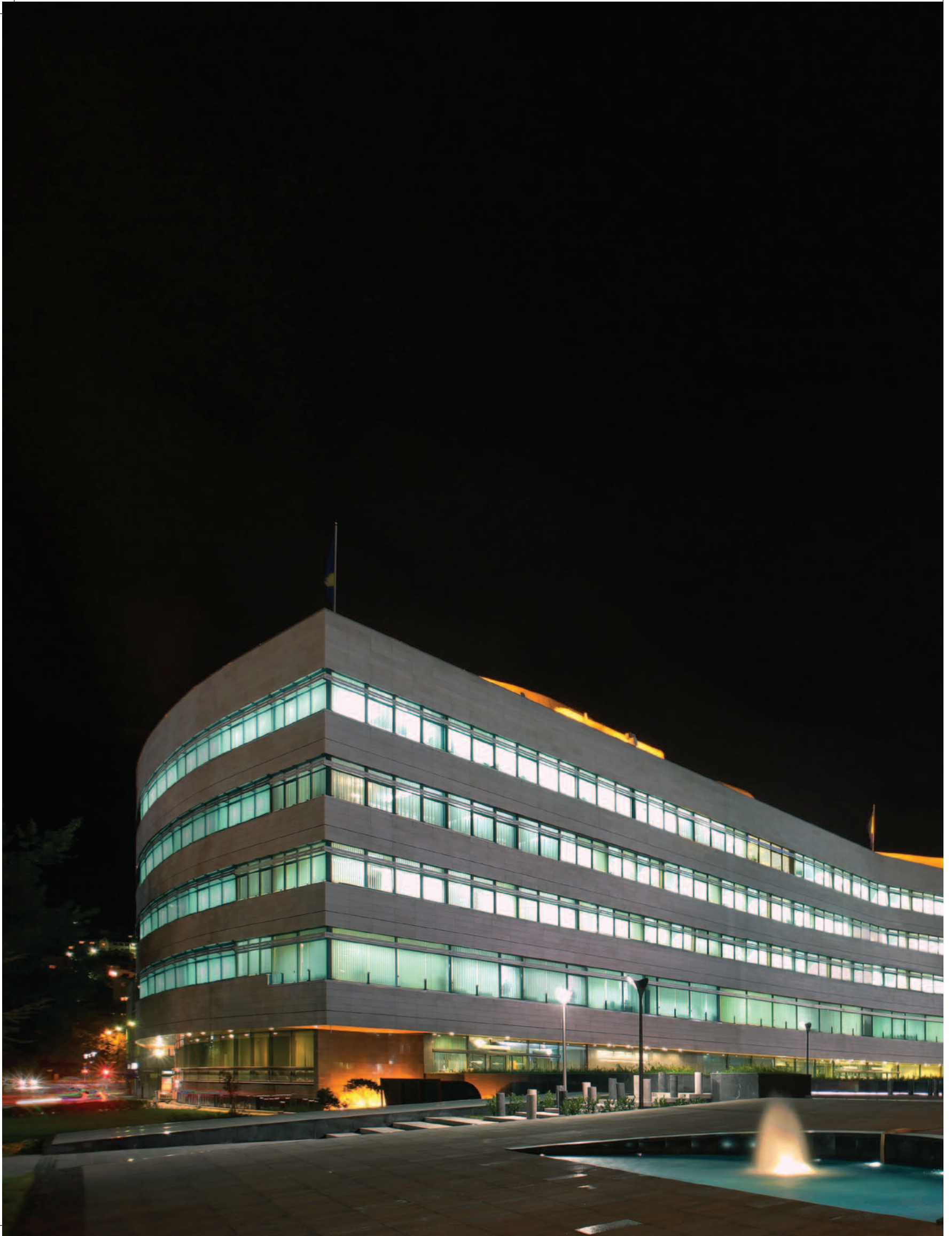
With the aim of developing and promoting parliamentary cooperation, the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina established friendship groups in early 2009. The idea is for them to initiate more direct relations between parliaments and to strengthen a formal, better organized and more purposeful framework for cooperation with certain countries or groups of countries.

Given that in terms of number of parliamentarians, the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina falls within the category of a small parliament, when establishing friendship groups, a regional approach principle was applied.



Thus, groups for neighboring countries, for Western European countries, Central and Eastern European countries, Asian, African and Near East countries as well as North and South American countries, have been established. Owing to the exchange of friendship group delegations between the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina and other countries within the framework of bilateral cooperation for which certain parameters for further encouragement of economic cooperation have been set, ongoing progress is being recorded.

Delegation of Bosnia and Herzegovina at a 2004 European conference of the presidents of parliaments organized by the Council of Europe







THE PARLIAMENTARY ASSEMBLY OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA AND CITIZENS

Transparency in the work of the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina is more than an obligation stipulated by the Constitution and the Standing Orders of the Houses. The sessions of all parliamentary bodies are public and open to the media, with the exception of meetings discussing the sensitive issues of defence and national security, and certain rights of individuals as protected by law.

The permanent improvement of the level of transparency in the work of the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the huge efforts being made to achieve that strategic goal are not only efforts to satisfy the standards of the developed societies of the European Union and others. The Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina strongly wishes to meet the fundamental democratic norms implying that citizens become maximally closer to the process of the highest instance of decision-making on their present and future. Once this goal is achieved, the citizens will be able to absolutely assess what and in which manner they can ask of any elected official and the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina, their highest-instance legislative authority.

An ongoing process of strengthening transparency also implies the use of already existing – as well as the creation of new – communication channels so that the public, in the most acceptable manner, can be offered objective information on what, how and why the members of the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina do what they do. In accordance with these changes, the communication strategy of the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina has also changed. Information was intended to persistently promote the parliament and point to its importance in society, and messages sent to the public from the Parliament Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina have developed over time into specific, precise and quick presentations of the working processes of the state legislative authority. The first parliamentary website has been set up and satisfies the wishes of citizens to learn how their state parliament functions and what it does. Since 2007, all sessions of the committees and other bodies have been open to the public.



The activities of the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina are covered by several dozen reporters on a daily basis. The Secretariat services make efforts to offer strong and quality support to journalists and to provide them with optimal conditions for work. To that end, the Parliamentary Assembly opened a room for journalists, and a special conference room for approximately 50 journalists and cameramen has been designed and equipped for press conferences.

An important step forward to making the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina closer to the general population was the launching of the “Open Parliament” project in 2005, being the first program designed for group-visits to a legislative institution in Bosnia and Herzegovina. A simple but rich program has been prepared for visitors that helps them quickly learn more about basic parliamentary functions, the parliamentary building itself and allows them, naturally, to talk to representatives, who are their main hosts.

The Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina is most often visited by secondary school and university students; however, not infrequently, primary school pupils attending lower classes occupy the representatives’ seats for a short time. The number of visitors is ever increasing and it has been recorded that, apart

A member of the House of Representatives’ Collegium talking to children visiting the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina



Children visiting the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina

from Bosnia and Herzegovina, visitors from more than 30 countries from all over the world visited the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

A wish to make the highest instance legislative institution additionally open to the citizens resulted in equipping the Centre for Visitors in autumn 2009. This is the first space of its kind in any of the institutions at all levels of authority in Bosnia and Herzegovina which is solely intended for organized groups of visitors. Those visiting the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina can attend the center for multimedia presentations on the importance, basic roles and current work of the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina. It is an ideal place for dialogue between visitors and members of Parliament, which is often interesting. Finally, this is an area in which many publications and bulletins produced by the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina may be obtained and where relevant exhibitions may be organized.

For the first time it was possible to learn about the work of the Parliament of Bosnia and Herzegovina through its website in early 2004. Since that time, this form of efficient communication with citizens has been constantly promoted and upgraded. In only four years, the presentation was entirely redesigned on two

occasions, and is still constantly being upgraded with new applications. Speaking IT, the web presentation of the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina, is aimed at being “*user friendly*” not only in terms of its content, but in terms of simplicity of access so that those visiting can easily learn about everything they would like to know regarding the work of the Parliament. The web-presentation of the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina is probably the most complex web-site of all those installed by the institutions of authorities in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Within a realistic timeframe, it will enable the citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina to watch *online* in real time the sessions of the Houses the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina and numerous public hearings, which is an increasingly applied democratic method for the preparation of laws on various spheres of life.

In late 2000, the Law on Free Access to Information in Bosnia and Herzegovina came into force, stipulating that every piece of information held by a public authority shall constitute public property accessible to every individual, irrespective of the motive for which the information is needed.

The Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina consistently applies the provisions of this Law, which is deemed to be a strong instrument of democratic control of the work not only of Parliament, but of every individual elected representative and delegate.

Considering that one of the Secretariat’s priorities is to inform citizens and the public of the activities of the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina and on the legislative procedure in general with the aim of the ever better

Visitor center





The TV show Open Parliament was produced in cooperation with the State public broadcasting company

presentation of this institution and its activities, several publications with different content and purposes have been published with this goal in mind. The publication of the topical convocations of the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina, such as a “who’s who,” informative brochures on parliamentary committees, various manuals and brochures for young people and children have been published in support of the continuous efforts to make the work of the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina and its legislative activities more familiar to the public and to explain them. It is noteworthy that, along with the referenced publications, the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina Bulletin is published bi-monthly with the aim of comprising, presenting and summarizing all of the activities of the Houses, working bodies, delegations and Secretariats, providing statistics and indicators on the two-month effects of the work of the Houses and committees. The parliamentary *newsletter* providing a weekly review of the activities of the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina is also a regular publication in an electronic format.



LIBRARY OF THE PARLIAMENTARY ASSEMBLY OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

The library of the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina was founded in the mid-20th century. It was composed of a huge collection of print-materials comprising books on social science and especially focusing on the socialist political system. It also possessed a rich encyclopaedic collection, including about one hundred periodical journals comprising all daily and weekly newspapers and technical magazines that were published in the former Yugoslavia. The library collection of print-materials also comprised rare editions, all of which testifies to the appreciation of written material. Shorthand transcripts taken at the sessions of





the Federal and the Republic Assemblies and all official gazettes publishing Federal and Republic regulations were especially valuable.

The library suffered devastating damage during the 1992–1995 war, and its collection of print material was almost totally destroyed. A part of the print material was subsequently destroyed from moisture, flood and fire and its recovery is impossible since the datasheet catalogues were not preserved.

The Library of the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina began to function in 2002, after the establishment and equipping of the reading room from donations by the Canadian Government. The Research Center was opened the following year, equipped with about 500 books, computers and a user area. Initially, the print materials were provided through the individual donations of friendly countries, and the National and University Library of Bosnia and Herzegovina particularly contributed to the development of the Parliamentary Library. The members of the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina gave their contributions to the library collection of print materials, donating to the Library a considerable number of books, and a special collection of rare materials which the

representatives and delegates receive as gifts and which are kept in the Library has been formed.

The library material has been continuously refreshed by obtaining reference editions, while the donations and inter-library exchange is still the basis for its establishment. Apart from this, two additional collections have been created: a collection of minutes taken at the sessions of the House of Representatives and the House of Peoples, and a collection of publications of the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Library has become a member of the IFLA (International Federation of Library Associations and Institutions) – Parliamentary Library Section, and of the EIFL (Electronic Information for Libraries).

By exchanging experiences with colleagues across the region and the world and through database subscriptions, the Library has managed to restore a certain number of books. All of the library materials are available through the COBISS network, and automatic lending of books has been activated, thus making the Library of the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina one of four libraries in Bosnia and Herzegovina all of whose segments operate automatically. The first print publication, *Strengthening the Parliamentary Role in Protecting Human Rights in BiH* from 2002, has been licensed within the EBSCO database, by which for the first time the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina presented itself to the general world public as a publisher.

The storeroom of the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina's library



The Library of the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina enables and facilitates access for all of its users, parliamentarians primarily, the employees of the Secretariat of the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina and other institutions of Bosnia and Herzegovina, persons dealing with scientific research and all other interested citizens. The Library disposes of information on the activities of the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and on the constitutional, legal and political systems of other countries. It possesses 3,000 library units, ten databases, all official gazettes published in Bosnia and Herzegovina, technical and scientific publications and weekly and daily newspapers.

The Library area is modern and equipped according to special library standards. All of its users have access to thematic searching options, an *online* catalogue, available searchable databases and, recently, selective dissemination of information. Thus, the Library has become a crucial resource for research and information gathering.



Mobile shelves in the storeroom of the library of the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina







THE SECRETARIAT OF THE PARLIAMENTARY ASSEMBLY OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

During the first convocation of the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina (1996-1998), technical and professional preparations, organization and the monitoring of the activities of the Houses and working committees were performed by the employees of the Assembly of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the National Assembly of Republika Srpska, who acted in different locations. The work was carried out in difficult conditions, lacking management and coordination for complex and technical Assembly activities.

Having been partly restored in late 1998, the Assembly building in Marindvor began to host the sessions of the Houses of the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the working committees. In the partially reconstructed building, the Common Services occupied no more than two offices.

In time, the work conditions improved and the modest office space was replaced by much better conditions, so that the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina was capable of working and exercising its duties in a more adequate setting.

In March 1999, the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina rendered a Decision on the establishment of an Interim Secretariat of the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Secretariat consisted of six members and was in charge of assisting the Bureaus of the Houses in securing the proper functioning of the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina, including the preparation of material for sessions of the Houses and committees.

In early 2000, the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina adopted a Decision on the Organization of the Secretariat of the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina, based on which three members of the Secretariat Bureau were elected to manage its activities. Vedran Hadžović was elected Common Service Secretary, and Branka Todorović and Jadranko Tomić were elected the Secretaries of the House of Representatives and the House of Peoples, respectively. They

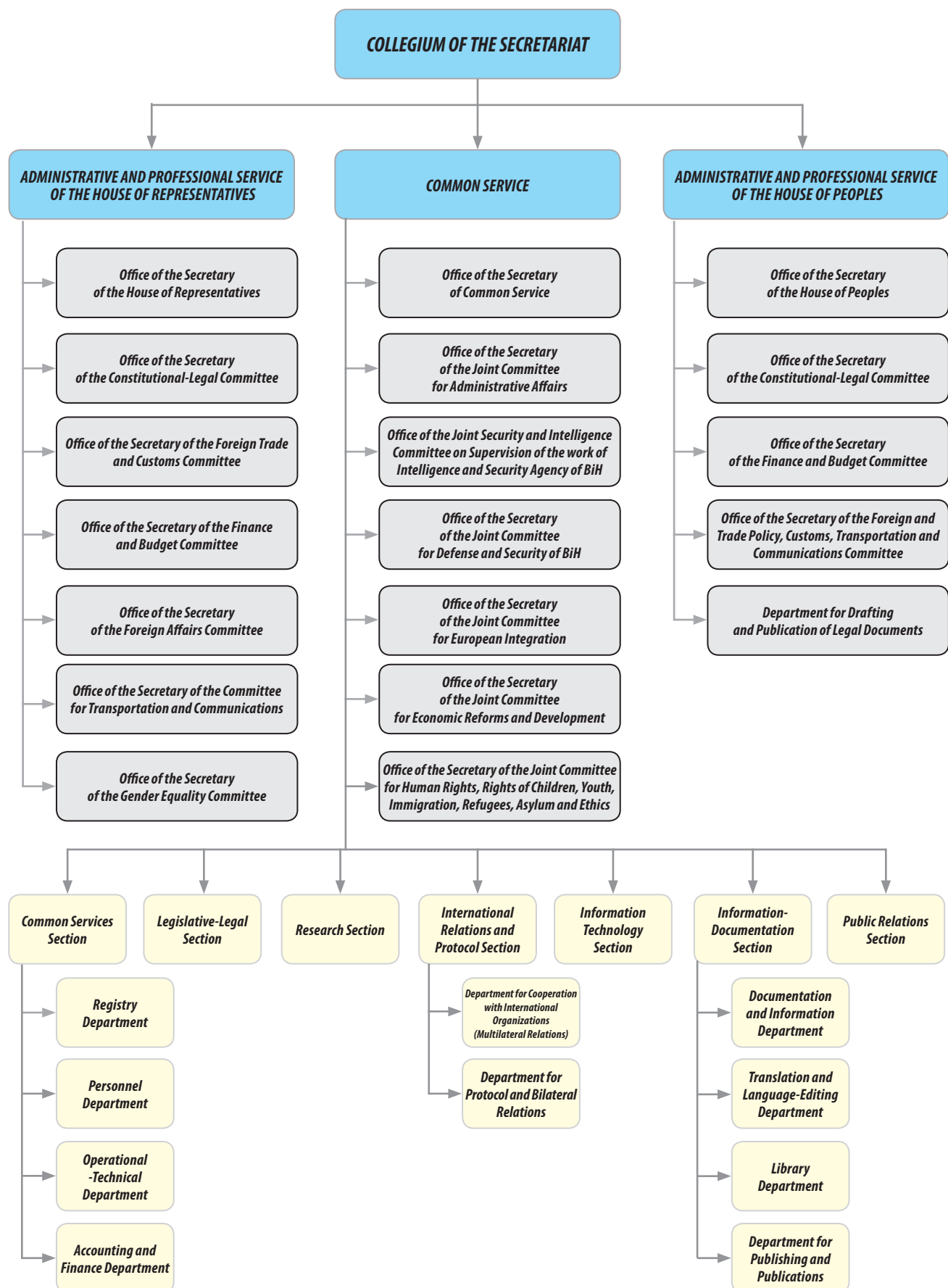


were the members of the Interim Secretariat at that time. Within the Secretariat, activities were organized through the establishment of the following organizational units: the Technical Service of the House of Representatives, the Technical Service of the House of Peoples and the Common Service of the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina. In 2005, the Parliamentary Assembly adopted a new Decision on the organization of the Secretariat by which the currently existing organization was established and the following appointments were made: Aljoša Čampara, Common Service Secretary, Branka Todorović, Secretary of the House of Representatives and Marin Vukoja, Secretary of the House of Peoples.

The Secretariat Bureau functions as a technical body and discusses the principle issues from within its competence, coordinates the work of services and internal organizational units, and takes care of the transparent spending of funds intended for funding the work of the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Secretariat Bureau enacts the regulations for which it is empowered by law, and decides on the rights, obligations and responsibilities of those employed with the Secretariat.

The Secretariat performs a number of activities for the needs of the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina in order to secure the legal, professional, efficient, rational and timely exercise of its powers, and it reports to the House of

Meeting of the Collegium of the Secretariat of the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina





Representatives and the House of Peoples. Basically, these are technical, administrative, organizational, financial, informational, consultative and other duties that meet the needs of the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and particularly the duties of preparation, convening and monitoring the sessions held by the Houses and committees; consideration of the draft acts and their harmonization with the Constitution and the legal system of Bosnia and Herzegovina; offering expert opinion on materials and acts discussed by the Houses and their committees, including preparation, development, translation, proof-reading of drafts and proposed acts, reports and records, and other materials in languages which are in official use in Bosnia and Herzegovina and, on an as needed basis, in foreign languages; and the preparation of the adopted acts for publication in the “Official Gazette of Bosnia and Herzegovina.” The Secretariat performs the technical and protocol duties for the needs of the parliamentary delegations and the reception of international delegations; public relations duties and informing the public of the work of the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the publication of complete records taken at the public hearings of both Houses; cooperation with the institutions of Bosnia and Herzegovina, its entities and other authorities, including other duties under the constitution, laws, standing orders, conclusions, guidelines, work programs and other acts of the Houses.

Furthermore, the Secretariat provides all of the technical assistance to representatives and delegates in their work. It seeks to achieve maximum professionalism, expertise and responsibility in performing its duties in compliance with and by implementing the principles of legality, transparency, publicity, efficiency and economy in its work.

The Secretariat of the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Secretariats of the institutions of Bosnia and Herzegovina, including the Secretariats of the entity Parliaments, exchange on a regular basis essential information on topical and important issues from within their scope of work, and seminars are occasionally organized for the experts and civil servants from the administrations of these institutions.

Civil servants were employed based on publicly announced vacancies and a probationary period. Pursuant to the Book of Rules on the Internal Organization of the Secretariat of the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina, a special impartial Vacancy Committee was established in 2001. This was the first publicly announced vacancy applied in any Bosnia and Herzegovina institution and it preceded the enactment of the 2002 Law on Civil Service under which the Civil Service Agency was established to secure and conduct the employment procedure for civil servants. The employment procedure was taken at a gradual pace. In the first phase during 2000, due to limited funds and space, the Secretariat employed 20 employees. In the phases that followed, the posts were staffed gradually, per priorities. The number of employees increased, especially in the area of strengthening legislative, control, international and informational activities.

By the adoption of the Standing Orders of the Houses in 2000, which were based on the operating principles of European national parliaments, the work of the Secretariat of the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina was considerably promoted, whereby the Secretariat received training and technical assistance from many international institutions. During the last ten years, the upward trend in the promotion and development of the Secretariat of the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina has continued, and although on average fewer in number compared to institutions in closer or broader surroundings, it now possesses a respectable amount of responsibility, both in a professional and technical sense, and successfully supports and follows the ever richer and more complex work of the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as its Houses, committees, delegations and activities.









THE BUILDING OF THE PARLIAMENTARY ASSEMBLY OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

After the liberation of Sarajevo in 1945, the National Anti-Fascist Council of Bosnia and Herzegovina (ZAVNOBiH), the predecessor of the National Assembly, was situated in the building of the National Bank on Tito Street. Due to the increased requirements of the National Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina, a building was constructed in 1952 in the Sarajevo neighborhood of Bistrik. However, soon afterwards its capacities proved to be inadequate to satisfy the needs of this institution on a long-term basis. Consequently, in 1954, a decision was made to begin with the preparations for the construction of a new assembly building in the locality of Marindvor, which was previously planned to be the future administrative-political centre of the town.

In the same year, a vacancy was announced for the submission of the future building architectural design for the National Assembly of the People's Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the project proposed by the architect Juraja Neidhardt won. Based on this project, an investment plan was developed and granted in 1956.

Although the specific preparations for the construction of the Assembly building in Marindvor in Sarajevo commenced back in 1954, it was not built until 28 years later. There were two reasons for this delay in its construction. On the one hand, the delayed construction was undoubtedly affected by economic reasons, given that it was a very ambitious construction undertaking. On the other hand, as ideas emerged in the meantime, it was decided that another building should be built to accommodate all of the Republic's administrative organs. Thus, in 1964, the development of investment-technical documentation began for the construction of a building to accommodate the Republic's administrative organs next to the future building of the Assembly. According to the plans at that time, in terms of installations and technical matters the skyscraper for such a purpose was supposed to be connected to the Assembly building. It was also planned that the Common



Service be established to provide administrative-technical services to the Assembly, Executive Council and the other administrative organs of the Republic.

However, despite all of the foregoing and primarily for financial reasons, the construction of the Assembly building of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina was postponed until 1978. Meanwhile, the project supervisor of the SRBiH Assembly building fell ill and the construction of the building in Marindvor continued under the management of professor Hamdija Salihović.

A MONUMENTAL WORK BY JURAJ NEIDHARDT

The building of the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the skyscraper of the institutions of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Square of Bosnia and Herzegovina, with their characteristic artistic expression and creative potential, manifest a coherent spatial ensemble as a unique architectural composition.

The building of the Parliament "with a waist" (Marilyn Monroe), as the architect Juraj Neidhardt used to emphasize, presents one of the most important achievements of the architect's creativity, and which enabled the architect, through a sensibility towards spatial organization, to articulate and shape this artistic and dynamic architectural work.

A passionate seeking for and fresh revealing of a modern conceptual approach to the design of the parliament building with the "lines of magnetic force" of the environment and respectable town planning, as well as architectural and interior analyses, resulted in a synthesis of higher spatial-ornamental and artistic qualities for both the interior and exterior.

In this regard, the unique entity of the ensemble achieved by the contrast of the horizontal Parliamentary building and the vertical skyscraper of the Institutions of Bosnia and Herzegovina (along with the square, which should not be overlooked) constitutes a modern morphological syntagm.

Being a close associate of Le Corbusier, and at the same time an architect who together with Dušan Grabrijan inspired visual-art and form-based values in the architectural heritage of Bosnia, Neidhardt followed the creative thought of his highly regarded French teacher that "Architecture is always a work of an individual, an individual who sees and understands, who decides and creates; it is the sublime moment of crystallization arising in the depth of one's inner personality, just like in a foundry."

The Parliament building interprets a creative productive and sculptural act in a dynamic architectural composition, being a synthesis of functional requirements and the spatial organization of its epistrukture in modelling its semantic character.

Neidhardt's inimitable modern architectural art shows fancifulness in its conceptual imagination by playing with lines, planes, volumes and shapes in a harmonious and proportional manner.

Neidhardt, as a creator of the spatial art of his most famous work, articulated the extra-temporal architectural quality in a harmonious and modern manner through his personal visual and spatial language.

The façade of the building of the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina was redesigned by the author of this text, and it was his intention to apply the principle of horizontal tendency intensification in an architectural composition.

The azure glasses added in front of the existing windows and white horizontal paired sun-breakers, and the partitions installed in the stone parapets, were supposed to emphasize the horizontal quality in visual communication.

By building-in black granite (instead of the white stone plates) in the basement and on the ground floor, this part of the building was supposed to be connected with the same materialization of the square on one hand, and to apply the color contrast of the stone coating on the other, thus securing a visual impression of "hovering" architecture.

Sarajevo, March 10, 2010.



Hamdija Salihović, Ph.D., grad. engine. archit.



A scale model of the initial construction plan for the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina building

When finished in 1982, the present building of the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina became the seat of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Given that it was an Assembly with a complex organizational structure, within which a large number of Councils and Committees operated, this building had to respond to very complex functional requirements and visual criteria. At the time it was finished, the building of the Assembly of SRBiH was the only building for that purpose in this part of Europe designed in a modern style.

It is noteworthy that the final design of the Assembly building slightly differed from the initial project which won the first prize in an anonymous competition in 1954. Today the building is higher by one floor, and the façade was subsequently changed. It is likely that the largest deviation from the project is the absence of the segment shape over the main hall which, in its shell shape, would have symbolized congregation. Nevertheless, the buildings of the Assembly and the Republic administrative authorities have still retained the most important elements of the initial idea and vision.

Specifically, the Assembly building was designed under the counterpoint principle, which, according to Neidhardt, was “the best quality-element of the architectural design.” The building design includes “a waist,” that is, “organically understood architecture” which, according to the architect himself, was contrary indeed to the shape-concept of the Executive Council skyscraper which, by its two-part form comprising two powerful obelisks, was supposed to, in a visual sense, symbolize Bosnia and Herzegovina with its two regions.





The central interior area of the building of the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina is polyvalent, with multiple meanings through its spatial-artistic and ornamental characteristics. This space was considered to be one of the most beautiful of its kind in Bosnia and Herzegovina and in the region and, according to contemporaries, was one of the most demanding tasks and preoccupations of its architect, who was firmly disinclined towards monovalent architectural forms.

Even today, the building of the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina is one of the most monumental and most representative buildings in the country. This building, which by its closeness and functional connections with the Building of Friendship between Greece and Bosnia and Herzegovina, wherein a large number of Bosnia and Herzegovina institutions have been placed, constitutes a uniform architectural structure and administrative entity situated in the center of Sarajevo.

A four-storey building, 107 meters long and having approximately 25,000 square meters of usable area, it today satisfies the requirements of the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina and all of its bodies and services, including certain organizational parts of the Council of Ministers of Bosnia and Herzegovina and other institutions of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Apart from the Grand Hall



The White Hall of the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina building

with 52 seats and an additional 112 gallery seats for visitors and journalists and 17 seats for interpreters, the building also includes the White Hall with 180 seats for the sessions of the House of Representatives, and the Blue Hall with 126 seats for the sessions of the House of Peoples of the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

During the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina (1992–1995), the building suffered considerable damage. A long-lasting and comprehensive reconstruction lasted for 11 years and was completed at the beginning of 2009, when its façade was restored. By the renovation of the square in front of the building in May 2010, the reconstruction of this administrative complex was completed in its entirety.

During the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina (1992–1995), the building of the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina was practically on the front-line, due to which circumstance its façade and interior were severely damaged. This was obviously one of the reasons for not holding the first post-war convocation of the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the Assembly building. The initial work on the renovation of the damaged building commenced in



autumn 1996 with reconstruction of the dome. The initial renovation work on the building of the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina was funded by the European Commission and was restricted to protection from precipitation and moisture and to making at least a part of the damaged building function in any way possible, due to the ever increasing needs of the institutions of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

It was only with the second convocation of the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina that the Assembly building began to be used again. On November 26, 1998 it hosted the first session of one of the Houses of the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina, more specifically, the constituent session of the second convocation of the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina. It is interesting that the technical parliamentary services of this institution at that time employed no more than about 10 people. They were placed into two offices which served not only their needs, but the needs of the chairmen of the Houses of the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina as well.



1995

2009





1996

2010



The remaining part of the building, that is, its functional part, was used by other institutions of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

In March 2004, the reconstruction of the White Hall was completed. Thus, after 12 years, the conditions were created for the sessions of the Houses to be held again on the premises intended and designed for these purposes. Up until March 22, 2004, when the first joint session of both Houses of the Parliamentary Assembly was held in the renovated hall, the sessions of its Houses had been held in a lounge on the first floor which served to hold protocols and ceremonies before the war.

The reconstruction of the White Hall was also symbolic, since the sessions held in it were a step forward towards the establishment and strengthening of this legislative institution of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The renovation costs were borne by the European Union pursuant to the “Reconstruction 2000 – Europe to Sarajevo” Funding Agreement.

One and a half years later, on September 30, 2005, with the assistance of the Government of the friendly country of the Kingdom of Norway, the Grand Hall in the building of the Parliamentary Assembly was finally reconstructed. The Hall in which the Assembly of the SRBiH held sessions before the war was terribly damaged. The decision of the Kingdom of Norway to support the institutional reconstruction of Bosnia and Herzegovina was considerably influenced by the efforts and willingness of the President of the Parliament of the Kingdom of Norway at that time, Jorgen Kosmo, and the considerable assistance of the Norwegian Ambassador to our country at that time, Henrik Ofstad. Owing to them a range of earlier donations by the Norway Government were received by which the archive premises and





offices were arranged, and an internet connection installed in the building of the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

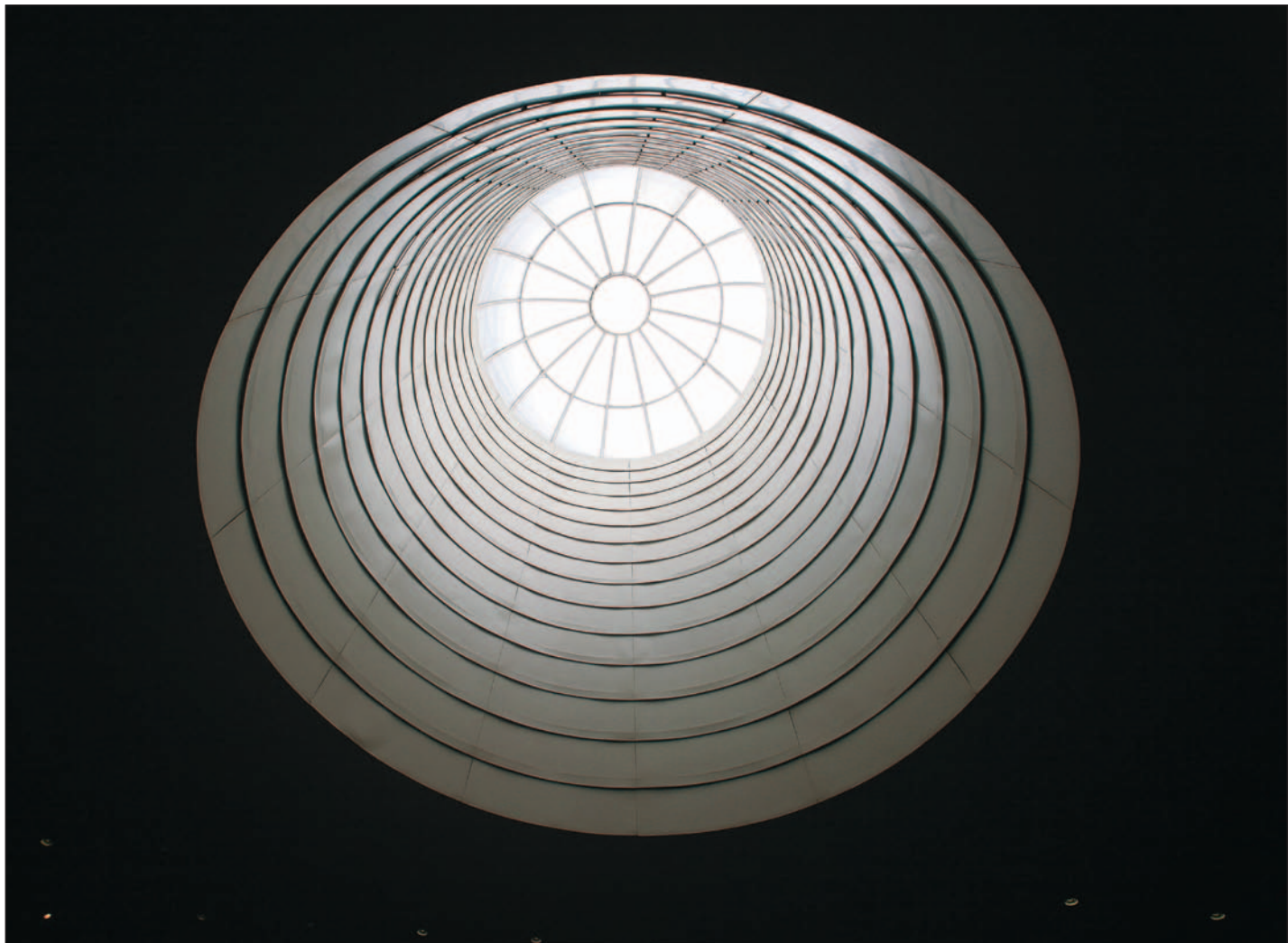
The last reconstructed hall of the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Blue Hall, went back into use in September 2008. Its reconstruction was entirely funded from the budget of the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

However, due to objective circumstances and a shortage of required funds, it was long before the exterior of the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina was reconstructed. This would come only on May 29, 2008, when Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Kingdom of Norway entered into an Agreement on funding the reconstruction and renovation of the building façade. By this act the Kingdom of Norway once again strongly supported post-war reconstruction and the strengthening of the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

This long-term and comprehensive renovation lasted 11 years and ended in early 2009 with the renovation of the façade. During the reconstruction, certain changes were made to the façade so as to modernize and improve the look of the building.

Considering that both buildings of the administrative complex in the centre of Sarajevo, including the building of the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina, were reconstructed in the meantime, it was only when the work on the reconstruction of the Square of Bosnia and Herzegovina was finished in May 2010 that this architectural achievement finally regain its compactness and visual impressiveness. The reconstruction of the square was funded from the budget of the Institutions of Bosnia and Herzegovina and included only those works which were required for the square to regain its pre-war look, the way it was designed by the architect Dušan Džamonja. Thus, with its own funds, Bosnia and Herzegovina reconstructed the square which carries its name, and the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina acquired a setting worthy of the role this institution should play in the society of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Group of authors









REGISTER OF POLITICAL PARTYS

The names of political parties represented in the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina in five mandates during the period 1996–2010, as registered in the Official Gazette:

1. **BPS - Sefer Halilović** (Mandate 2006–2010), Bosnian Herzegovinian Patriotic Party (BPS) – (Mandate 2000–2002)
2. **BOSS – Bosnian Party** (Mandate 2002–2006)
3. **DNZ BiH - Democratic Peoples Union of Bosnia and Herzegovina**– (Mandate 2006–2010), Democratic Peoples Union of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Mandate 2002–2006) – Democratic Peoples Union of BiH - DNZ BiH (Mandate 2000–2002) Democratic Peoples Union of BiH (Mandate 1998–2000)
4. **Democratic Party of Pensioners of Bosnia and Herzegovina** - (Mandate 2000–2002.)
5. **DNS – Democratic Peoples Alliance** (Mandate 2006–2010)
6. **HDZ BiH – Croatian Democratic Union of Bosnia and Herzegovina** (Mandate 2000–2002), HDZ BiH (Mandate 1998–2000), Croatian Democratic Union (Mandate 1996–1998)
7. **National Alliance for Free Peace** (Alliance for Peace and Progress) – (Mandate 1996–1998)
8. **Peoples Party Work for Progress** (Mandate 2006–2010)
9. **New Croatian Initiative – NHI** (Mandate 2000–2002 and 2002–2006)
10. **PDP RS – Party of Democratic Progress of Republika Srpska** (Mandate 2006–2010 and 2002–2006), PDP RS – Mladen Ivanić (Mandate 2000–2002)
11. **Radical Party of Republika Srpska** (Mandate 1998–2000)
12. **Alliance of Independent Social Democrats – SNSD - Milorad Dodik** (Mandate 2002–2006 and Mandate 2006–2010)
13. **SDA – Party of Democratic Action** (Mandate 2006–2010 and 2002–2006), Party of Democratic Action (Mandate 2000–2002), SDA (Mandate 1996–1998)

14. **SDP – Social Democratic Party of BiH – Social Democrats** (Mandate 2006–2010), SDP- Social Democratic Party of Bosnia and Herzegovina – Social Democrats (Mandate 2002–2006 and 2000–2002), SDP- Social Democratic Party of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Mandate 1998–2000)
15. **Social democrats of BiH** (Mandate 1998–2000.)
16. **Socialist Party of Republika Srpska** (Mandate 2000–2002 and 2002–2006)
17. **SDS – Serb Democratic Party** (Mandate 2006–2010, 2002–2006, 2000–2002) SDS LIST (Mandate 1998–2000), Serb Democratic Party /of Serb countries / (Mandate 1996–1998)
18. **Serb Peoples Alliance RS – Biljana Plavšić** (Mandate 2000–2002)
19. **Serb Radical Party of Republika Srpska** (Mandate 1998–2000 and 2002–2006)
20. **Party of Pensioners of Bosnia and Herzegovina** (Mandate 2002–2006)
21. **Party for Bosnia and Herzegovina** (Mandate 2006–2010, 2002–2006 and 1996–1998), Party for BiH (Mandate 2000–2002)

COALITIONS

1. Economic Block HDU - for progress (Mandate 2002–2006)
2. HDZ-Croatian Coalition -HNZ (Mandate 2006–2010)
3. Croatian Alliance (HDZ 1990 HZ –HSS–HKDU–HDU–DEMO–CHRISTIAN) – (Mandate 2006–2010)
4. Coalition HDZ - Demochristian (Mandate 2002–2006)
5. Coalition SNSD - DSP (Mandate 2000–2002)
6. Coalition for integral and democratic Bosnia and Herzegovina (SDA BiH, S BiH, Liberal Party of BiH, GDS) - (Mandate 1998–2000)
7. New Croatian Initiative – HKDU (Mandate 1998–2000)
8. SLOGA (Mandate 1998–2000)
9. Joint List of BiH (SDP BiH, UBSD, HSS, MBO, Republican) – (Mandate 1996–1998)

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