

like the constitution to be changed so that all parties and all nationalities are equally enfranchised throughout Bosnia.

- The International Crisis Group (ICG) has a different proposal for electoral reform. They note that at all levels of government a Serbian candidate can be elected without receiving the vote of a single Croat or Bosniac, a Croat can be elected without receiving the vote of a single Bosniac or Serb, and a Bosniac can be elected without receiving the vote of a single Serb or Croat. Indeed, in a situation of mutual suspicion and ethnic antagonism, voters tends to support an ethnic party that is quite militant in protecting the interests of its own community. This perpetuates polarization.

The ICG recognizes that almost all Bosnian voters support candidates and parties of their own nationality. Their reform therefore allocate a number of seats to each ethnic group in accordance with, say, the pre-war ethnic distribution of the area. Then all parties of each group would nominate candidates for those seats, generating three different lists — one for each ethnicity. However, *each voter* would vote for *all three* lists. This would force candidates and parties to develop platforms that are acceptable to the entire Bosnian electorate, not just to their own nationality, thus fostering a politics of moderation and compromise.

For the International Community

- We should increase the “protectorate” elements, not expect a liberal democracy because it will be necessary first to overcome extreme nationalism. Bosnia has to be dependent before it can become independent.
- International military force will remain necessary but it may be possible to reduce it after the elections in September.
- Postpone the decision on Brcko.
- Put as much money as possible into the media before the elections, to provide correct information. The biggest obstacle to integration is the feeling of insecurity created by the abuse of the media. It is not enough to provide alternative information; censorship of the official television is required to prevent hate speech and other abusive comments. However, if extra information is introduced for the sake of balance, it will not be accepted as credible unless the system is worked out with the local population. For example, domestic TV was introduced, but it only turned out to be a costly failure.
- The International Police Task Force is the weak link in the chain established by the international community. Strengthen it, especially at the senior levels. Train the local police. It will take at least one year to make the police less politicized. Also, train the judiciary.
- Support the decentralization of programs of health, social care, and education to the canton and sub-cantonal level. Promote *integrated programs* for refugees, housing, health, jobs, and the like. There are many groups of powerful players in Bosnia now — for example, in primary health care — that lack any members who are Bosnian. The local people must be the major stakeholders.