

Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights

BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

GENERAL ELECTIONS 3 October 2010

OSCE/ODIHR NEEDS ASSESSMENT MISSION REPORT

30 June – 2 July 2010



Warsaw 27 July 2010

TABLE OF CONTENTS

I.	INTRODUCTION	1
II.	EXECUTIVE SUMMARY	1
III.	FINDINGS	3
A	BACKGROUND	3
В.	ELECTION SYSTEM	4
C.	. Legal Framework	5
D.	ELECTION ADMINISTRATION	5
E.		6
F.	THE MEDIA	7
G		8
H		
IV.	CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION	9
ANN	ANNEX: LIST OF MEETINGS	

BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA GENERAL ELECTIONS 3 October 2010

OSCE/ODIHR Needs Assessment Mission Report

I. INTRODUCTION

On 12 May 2010, the Central Election Commission of Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) invited the OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (OSCE/ODIHR) to observe the 3 October general elections, in line with OSCE commitments. The OSCE/ODIHR undertook a Needs Assessment Mission (NAM) from 30 June to 2 July. The NAM included Beata Martin-Rozumilowicz, Deputy Head of the Election Department and Igor Dolgih, Election Adviser.

The purpose of the OSCE/ODIHR NAM was to assess the pre-electoral environment and preparations for the general elections and to advise on the modalities for a possible OSCE/ODIHR election observation activity. The OSCE/ODIHR NAM met with representatives of the state authorities, election administration, political parties, media, civil society, and international community. A full list of meetings is included as an annex to this report.

The OSCE/ODIHR would like to express its appreciation to the Central Election Commission for the timely invitation to observe and to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and all other interlocutors for taking the time to share their views with the NAM. The OSCE/ODIHR is grateful to the OSCE Mission to BiH for their assistance and support during the course of the NAM.

II. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

During these general elections, six distinct electoral races will be held under a complex institutional arrangement within a state divided into two separate entities (Federation of BiH and Republika Srpska). These include various levels of presidential, legislative, and local elections. Previous general elections were held in October 2006. In 2006, the OSCE/ODIHR concluded that "the manner in which these elections were conducted was generally in line with international standards for democratic elections, although further efforts are needed, particularly with regard to the vote count." The Central Election Commission (CEC) has announced that general elections are to be held on 3 October.

The large number of contests and overall complexity of the electoral system represent a challenging electoral exercise for voters, electoral administrators and contestants. However, the OSCE/ODIHR NAM's interlocutors noted that any potential changes to the electoral system should be preceded by a fundamental reform of the country's constitution. Although efforts have been made to engage in such reform in recent years, they have not yet come to fruition.

The ethnicity-based constitutional limitations on the right to stand for office remain unaddressed and continue to be in violation of the OSCE 1990 Copenhagen Document and the European Convention of Human Rights. In December 2009, the European Court of Human Rights ruled the right to stand for only 'constituent peoples' discriminatory. Although amendments to the electoral legislative framework were passed in April 2010, they were mainly technical in nature.

The CEC continues to enjoy a high degree of confidence in the country and has, thus far, met all legal deadlines. Technical preparations appear to be proceeding apace. These general elections will be only the second to be fully administered by the state authorities, without the participation of the international community.

A total of 71 political subjects have been certified to stand in the forthcoming elections, including 47 political parties, 11 coalitions and 13 independent candidates. It is expected that around 9,000 candidates will be registered for the general elections.

As of June 2010, there were 3,128,530 registered voters including regular voters, internally displaced persons (IDPs), and voters abroad. Regular voters will vote in their place of permanent residence, IDPs have the right to choose their voting location, and out-of-country voters can, for the first time in general elections, vote at the BiH diplomatic representations abroad.

The political landscape in BiH remains largely divided along ethnic lines, with other issues playing a less prominent role. Key contests are likely to occur mainly among political parties that will compete with one another in their own ethnic communities.

Although citizens have access to a wide range of print and electronic sources of information, media remains highly segmented with certain strong ties between political and media elites.

All interlocutors with whom the OSCE/ODIHR NAM met welcomed international observation of the elections by the OSCE/ODIHR and thought that it would lend confidence to the process. The 2010 general elections were characterized by them as important to BiH's future development. A few expressed their concerns about possible irregularities at polling stations on election day.

In light of the findings in this report, the OSCE/ODIHR NAM recommends that a standard Election Observation Mission (EOM) be deployed to observe the forthcoming general elections. The OSCE/ODIHR will request OSCE participating States to second 20 long-term observers to follow the election process countrywide and 300 short-term observers to observe election-day procedures, including voting, counting of votes and tabulation of results at all levels of the election administration on election day. Concurrent elections to the cantonal assemblies will be observed only to the extent that they could have an impact on the overall conduct of the general elections.

http://cmiskp.echr.coe.int/tkp197/view.asp?item=1&portal=hbkm&action=html&highlight=Sejdi%u0107%20%7C%20Finci&sessionid=57019067&skin=hudoc-en.

See the case of Sejdić and Finci v. Bosnia and Herzegovina, applications no. 27996/06 and 34836/06,

III. FINDINGS

A. BACKGROUND

On 5 May 2010, the Central Election Commission (CEC) announced that general elections will be held on 3 October within prescribed deadlines. These elections will be the second general elections following the 1992-95 war to be fully administered by the BiH authorities.²

Reforms mooted in 2009-10 to move the post-war democratization process forward stalled. Lack of agreement on many substantive issues and continued ethnicity-based politics in BiH prevented the state-level ruling coalition from making progress in key areas of democratic governance. While the international community attempted to arbitrate the process by holding talks in Butmir with the participation of major political forces on 9 October 2009, BiH politicians ultimately rejected the proposed package of constitutional reforms aimed at improving the functionality of the BiH state.

Major political parties continued to articulate past war grievances, with some political leaders engaging in nationalistic rhetoric. This included provocative calls for secession from BiH by some Republika Srpska politicians. This negative trend was intensified further by the issue of large sections of the media closely reflecting one of the three ethnic political orientations.

Nevertheless, recent years have witnessed the formation of some political forces that cut across ethnic lines: for example, the multi-ethnic political party Our Party (*Naša Stranka* - NS) was formed in 2008 and builds its electoral platform on non-ethnic, issue-based politics. Another new party, the Party for a Better Future (*Savez za bolju budućnost* - SBB), was formed by media entrepreneur Fahrudin Radončić in 2009, although it tends to build its strategy on promoting the interests of Bosniaks.

Thus, the political landscape in BiH remains largely divided along ethnic lines, with other issues playing a less prominent role. Key contests are likely to occur mainly among political parties that compete with one another in their own ethnic communities (i.e., Serb parties competing for the Serb vote, Bosniak parties attracting Bosniak voters, and Croat parties targeting the Croat population). Certain interlocutors expressed their view that nationality issues will continue to be prevalent in the 2010 campaign due to the major role that ethnicity is still playing in political life.

The OSCE/ODIHR has observed elections in BiH in 1996, 1997, 1998, 2002, 2004 and 2006. All previous reports can be found on the OSCE/ODIHR website.³ In 2006, the OSCE/ODIHR concluded that "the manner in which these elections were conducted was generally in line with international standards for democratic elections, although further efforts are needed, particularly with regard to the vote count."

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BiH authorities administered the 2006 general elections, as well as the 2008 municipal elections.

http://www.osce.org/odihr-elections/14354.html.

B. ELECTION SYSTEM

Bosnia and Herzegovina, as a state, is divided into two separate entities: the Federation of BiH (FBiH) and Republika Srpska (RS). In addition, there is a separate district (Brčko) in the north of the country that functions under a decentralized system of local government. Under the complex institutional and electoral system, six distinct electoral races are to take place in the 2010 general election: three members of the BiH Presidency, deputies to the BiH House of Representatives (HoR BiH), FBiH House of Representatives (HoR FBiH), RS President and Vice President, RS National Assembly (RS NA), and ten Cantonal Assemblies in FBiH.

The BiH Presidency is a three-member institution elected to a four-year term, with the presidency rotating every eight months among its members from each of the 'constituent peoples'. They are elected on separate lists, with each FBiH voter choosing either a Bosniak or Croat candidate and those in RS electing a Serb candidate. The candidate with the highest number of votes from each list is considered elected.

The HoR BiH is comprised of 42 deputies, elected to four-year terms: 28 are chosen by voters in the FBiH and 14 by voters in the RS. In the FBiH, 21 of the 28 deputies will be elected in five multi-member constituencies (MMC), while seven compensatory seats will be allocated from political party compensatory lists. In the RS, 9 of the 14 deputies will be elected in three MMC, with the remaining five elected from party compensatory lists.

Furthermore, voters in FBiH will elect 98 deputies to the HoR FBiH: 73 in 12 MMC and 25 from compensatory, open political party lists. Also, ten cantonal assembly elections will be held in FBiH, with each canton comprising a discrete unit which elects its deputies from party lists on a proportional basis.

In the RS, voters will elect 83 deputies to their National Assembly: 62 in 6 MMC and the remaining 21 from compensatory open political party lists. Finally, RS voters will elect their entity-level president and two vice-presidents using a simple plurality system; the candidate with the most votes becomes president, while top finishing candidates from the other two constituent peoples become the vice-presidents.

A large number of contests and overall complexity of the electoral system represent a challenging electoral exercise for voters, electoral administrators and contestants. However, the OSCE/ODIHR NAM's interlocutors noted that any potential changes to the

Four persons minimum from each of the constituent peoples (Bosniak, Serb and Croat) must be represented in the FBiH HoR. If a constituent people gets less than four mandates in the multimember constituencies, priority is given to that group when allocating the compensatory seats until the minimum of four is reached.

Self-governing administrative unit Brčko is formally under the sovereignty of BiH but still remains under the supervision of the Brčko Final Award Office (BFAO) of the Office of the High Representative (OHR).

The BiH Constitution recognizes three 'constituent peoples' – Bosniak, Serb and Croat.

For all proportional elections (MMCs or compensatory), the Sainte-Laguë method with a three per cent threshold is applied for the allocation of mandates.

Voters in the Brčko district could opt to vote as either FBiH or RS voters.

Similarly to the FBiH HoR, each of the 'constituent people' has a four deputy minimum and if that minimum is not achieved, compensatory seats will be allocated as priority to achieve this minimum.

electoral system should be preceded by a fundamental reform of the country's constitution.

C. LEGAL FRAMEWORK

The legal electoral framework in BiH is rather complex, reflecting the unique constitutional arrangements in the country. The BiH Constitution incorporates a number of international human rights instruments and establishes the precedence of the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms and its protocols over national law. However, as previously noted in OSCE/ODIHR reports, both the BiH Constitution and the election law continue to enshrine ethnicity-based restrictions to suffrage rights and citizens' ability to stand for office.

The Election Law of BiH is comprehensive and generally provides a sound basis for the conduct of democratic elections. Since its adoption in 2001, it has undergone substantial changes, with the most recent amendments enacted in April 2010.¹³ The Election Law is supplemented by a number of other pertinent laws: the Law on Citizenship of Bosnia and Herzegovina; the Law on Permanent and Temporary Residence of Citizens of BiH; the Law on Conflict of Interest; the Law on the State Court of BiH; the Law on the Financing of Political Parties, the Law on Administrative Disputes, the BiH Criminal Code, and other legislation.

Numerous aspects of the electoral process are regulated by the CEC, including the certification of political subjects, appointment of Polling Station Committees (PSCs), the manner of voting and ballot counting, media coverage of political subjects in the election campaign, the handling of complaints by election commissions, and the accreditation and rights of observers. These procedures appear to have all been adopted in a timely manner.

D. ELECTION ADMINISTRATION

The 2010 general elections are administered by a three-tiered election administration: the CEC with 7 members, 142 Municipal Election Commissions (MECs), ¹⁴ and some 5,100 PSCs.

The CEC is responsible for the overall conduct of the elections and, as such, is vested with extensive competencies. It is a permanent body, representative of the three 'constituent

The BiH Constitution is an annex to the 1995 General Framework Agreement for Peace (Dayton Peace Agreement).

See the "Participation of Women and Minorities" section of the report for further details.

The latest amendment changes the period for submitting complaints and appeals from 48 to 24 hours ("official Gazette of BiH" no. 32/10).

The OSCE/ODIHR EOM Final Report on general elections in Bosnia and Herzegovina, 5 October 2002, (http://www.osce.org/documents/odihr/2003/01/1188_en.pdf), and the OSCE/ODIHR EOM Final Report on general elections in Bosnia and Herzegovina, 1 October 2006 (http://www.osce.org/documents/odihr/2007/02/23206 en.pdf).

Including the Election Commissions of Banja Luka city and Mostar city, and the Election Commission of the Brčko district.

peoples' and the 'others', ¹⁵ and appointed by the parliament for a five-year term. The CEC president is elected by its members, with a 21 month mandate.

The MECs are responsible for the oversight of voting and counting in the PSCs and for the tabulation of results in the 142 municipalities. MECs are permanent bodies, consisting of a chairperson and three, five or seven members¹⁶ appointed by municipal councils and approved by the CEC for five-year terms.

The PSCs administer the voting and counting process in polling stations. Each PSC has a chairperson and three or five members.¹⁷ Political subjects certified to run in a given constituency have a right to nominate one member in each PSC. By law, the PSCs are to be appointed by the MECs no later than 30 days prior to election day.

The CEC enjoys a high level of confidence in BiH. Technical preparations for the general elections appear to be proceeding apace and all legal deadlines have been met. Although some of the OSCE/ODIHR NAM interlocutors expressed less confidence in the lower level election commissions, ¹⁸ they believed that they would generally administer the elections in accordance with the legal framework.

E. VOTER AND CANDIDATE REGISTRATION

BiH introduced passive voter registration in 2006, whereby voter lists are drawn from the Citizens Identification Protection System (CIPS) civil state register database, managed by the Ministry of Civil Affairs. Each citizen over 18 years is required to register and to obtain a personal CIPS identification card; this card serves numerous purposes. On the basis of CIPS registration, a voter is automatically entered into the voter register and included in the PSC where he/she permanently resides (i.e., CIPS ID address). As of 7 June 2010, there were 3,128,530 registered voters in BiH.

There are three categories of voters in BiH: regular voters, internally displaced persons (IDPs), and voters abroad. Regular voters vote in their place of permanent residence. IDPs have the right to choose their voting location¹⁹ by completing a form available at Voter Registration Centres in every municipality. If an IDP does not select a voting option, the default will be the voting option the IDP chose in the last elections.²⁰

The CEC composition includes two Bosniaks, two Croats, two Serbs, and one 'other' (i.e., any other national not belonging to Bosniaks, Serbs or Croats).

Depending on the number of voters in a polling station.

During the OSCE/ODIHR NAM, some interlocutors expressed concerns about possible irregularities at polling stations on election day. Among other things, they referred to the 2006 general elections when members of polling stations in the city of Zvornik were accused by some candidates of marking ballots during the count process to allow other candidates within the same party list to gain a seat. After reviewing the complaints, the CEC ordered recounts in several polling stations in Zvornik.

19 IDPs can opt to vote at their current place of residence or their 1991 place of residence (in person or absentee).

If an IDP has never been registered to vote, he or she will be included in the voters list of his or her 1991 place of residence and will be able to vote in that constituency in person.

MECs have three members in municipalities with up to 20,000 voters, five members in municipalities having more than 20,000 voters, and seven members in municipalities with more than 50,000 registered voters.

OSCE/ODIHR Needs Assessment Mission Report

A 2008 amendment to article 1.5 of the election law established an entitlement for citizens of BiH abroad to vote at the BiH diplomatic or consular offices. Thereby, for the first time in general elections out-of-country voters will be able to exercise their vote in diplomatic representations of the country. Voters abroad need to actively register for the election: they need to complete an appropriate form and return it to the CEC by post, by fax, or e-mail. The forms are available in all embassies, consular offices, the CEC's website, and in diaspora clubs and associations abroad. As of June 2010, the CEC received 5,274 applications for voting abroad.

In order to participate in the elections, political parties, independent candidates, coalitions and lists of independent candidates shall certify their eligibility with the CEC. Certification includes a registration (for political parties) and submission of application form supported by signatures of registered voters²² not later than 140 days before election day. In case the CEC identifies incorrect or incomplete information, an applicant is given two days to correct it. The process of certifying political subjects for the forthcoming elections ended on 23 June. According to the CEC, a total of 71 political subjects have been certified to stand, including 47 political parties, 11 coalitions and 13 independent candidates. Candidate lists were to be submitted from 23 June to 5 July and their certification will end by 30 July. The CEC estimates that some 9,000 candidates will compete in these elections.

F. THE MEDIA

BiH has over 200 licensed broadcast media outlets, including 45 television stations and 185 radio stations. The Public Broadcasting System (PBS) comprises three public sector services: the Radio and Television of Bosnia-Herzegovina (BHRT), the Radio and Television of FBiH (RTV FBiH), and the Radio and Television of RS (RTRS). The BHRT consists of the national public television channel BHT1 (*Televizija Bosne i Hercegovine*) and the national radio service, BH Radio 1. The RTV FBiH broadcasts on two television channels (Federal TV1 and Federal TV2) and two radio channels (Radio FBiH and Radio 202), whereas RTRS has one television and one radio channel.

There is also a diverse range of print media in the country. The domestic press consists of some 160 print outlets published in Bosnian, Serbian and Croatian languages including major daily newspapers, *Dnevni Avaz*, *Oslobođenje*, *Glas Srpske* and *Nezavisne Novine*.

The election law includes provisions governing the conduct of broadcast media during an election campaign, ²³ providing for both free and paid broadcast time for campaigning on equal terms to all contestants during the 30 days prior to election day. Public media are required by law to provide political subjects with free time for direct address. The details of this access regarding time allocation, duration, and geographic scope are regulated by CEC by-laws, and the order of appearance of the political subjects is determined by

Deadline for receiving the forms was 20 July 2010.

Political parties must submit 3,000 signatures for the BiH Presidency and HoR BiH elections, and 2,000 signatures for the HoR FBiH and RS NA elections. For independent candidates the required number of signatures is 1,500 and 1,000 respectively. Political party is exempt from the signature requirement if a member of this political party holds a mandate in the same body that the political party applies to certify to stand for office (Chapter 4 of the Election Law).

Chapter 16 of the election law.

lottery. In addition, political subjects can advertise in both public and private media during the campaign, with a limit of 30 minutes per week (public broadcasters) and 60 minutes per week (private broadcasters).

Further, according to the law, broadcast media are required to observe principles of balance, fairness and impartiality. When reporting on the activities of state officials, the broadcast media should not mention their candidacy or party affiliation, or give them a privileged position over their opponents.

Compliance with these provisions is overseen by the Communications Regulatory Agency (CRA). The CRA has the authority to adjudicate broadcast media-related complaints in regard to elections and to levy sanctions or order remedial actions when necessary. Sanctions may range from a warning to financial penalties or, in extreme cases, to the closure of a media outlet.²⁴ Complaints regarding campaign coverage in the print media are dealt with by the BiH Press Council. However, this body does not possess any legal powers of enforcement.

Although voters have access to a wide range of print and electronic sources of information, media often does not provide different political viewpoints. It largely follows ethnic divisions in the political sphere, resulting in a highly segmented media space. Also, strong ties between political and media elites may, at times, affect editorial independence.

G. PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN AND MINORITIES

The election law requires that approximately one-third of each party list be from the alternate gender, equally spaced.²⁵ Although this has had a positive effect on the number of female candidates, women remain under-represented in elected bodies²⁶ and rarely hold high-ranking positions in parties. Some of the OSCE/ODIHR NAM interlocutors asserted that open-list voting acts against women; in many cases, open lists result in women ending up in lower positions than would have otherwise been the case with closed lists.

The election law does not provide for equal gender representation in the election administration: out of seven CEC members, only one is a woman (the president). The gender representation in election administration at sub-national level is more balanced: 38.45 per cent of MEC members are female.²⁷

BiH's electoral system places significant emphasis on ensuring balance among the three constituent peoples. Self-identification is taken as the basis for determining ethnicity. Citizens who do not identify themselves with one of the three are defined as 'other' and are effectively barred from standing for the BiH and RS presidencies. The election law does not provide any guarantees for the representation of 'others' in any directly elected state or entity level body.

In 2006 general elections 17.21 per cent of elected candidates were women, whereas in 2008 local elections the proportion of female elected candidates decreased to 14.39 per cent.

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According to the CRA, such a closure of a media outlet has never happened.

Art. 4.19 of the election law.

According to the CEC data.

In addition, the suffrage of voters is limited by their place of residence. For instance, RS voters only have the option of electing a Serb candidate, while voters in the FBiH may only vote for a Bosniak or Croat. The same restriction exists in terms of standing for office, so that a Bosniak or Croat registered in the RS cannot run for the BiH presidency. The same is true for a Serb registered in the FBiH.

Constitutional ethnicity-based limitations on the right to stand remain discriminatory and in violation of article 7.5 of the OSCE 1990 Copenhagen Document and Protocol no. 12 of the European Convention of Human Rights (ECHR). Furthermore, in December 2009, the European Court of Human Rights issued a legally binding judgment in the case of *Sejdic and Finci vs. Bosnia and Herzegovina*. The ruling requires BiH's authorities to implement constitutional reform, including an adoption of amendments removing constitutional discrimination against the 'others' as well as the members of the constituent peoples who do not reside in the entity where their ethnic group is largely represented, before the calling of the 2010 general elections. However, initiatives launched by the authorities have not led to any concrete results and the 2010 general elections will take place in context of the current constitutional arrangements.

H. INTERNATIONAL AND DOMESTIC OBSERVERS

The election law provides for both domestic and international observers, who are to be accredited by the CEC. Domestic non-party groups may observe if they are registered under the Law on Associations and Foundations. They must provide a signed statement that the association is not engaged in any activities on behalf of a political party. The CEC intends to issue a separate regulation shortly specifying the criteria and application procedure for accrediting observers. Most political party representatives met by the OSCE/ODIHR NAM expressed their intention to deploy observers to polling stations.

IV. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

All interlocutors with whom the OSCE/ODIHR NAM met expressed their support for OSCE/ODIHR observation of the upcoming general elections in BiH and thought that it would lend confidence to the process. Given that these elections are only the second general elections to be fully administered by the state authorities, the outstanding issues with regard to the legal framework, the polarized political landscape, and the recent allegations of possible violations during election day procedures, the OSCE/ODIHR NAM recommends that a standard Election Observation Mission (EOM) be established to observe the forthcoming elections. The OSCE/ODIHR will request OSCE participating States to second 20 long-term observers to follow the election process countrywide and 300 short-term observers to observe election day procedures, including voting, counting of votes and tabulation of results at all levels of the election administration on election day. Concurrent elections to the cantonal assemblies will be observed only to the extent that they could have an impact on the overall conduct of the general elections.

ANNEX: LIST OF MEETINGS

STATE AND ELECTION AUTHORITIES

Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Zoran Perković, Assisstant Minister for International Relations

Ministry of Human Rights and Refugees

Mario Nenadić, Assistant Minister Saliha Duderija, Assistant Minister

Central Election Commission of BiH

Irena Hadžiabdić, President Božica Ban, Secretary General Ermin Kos, Head of Department for Elections and IT support Tihomir Vujević, member

POLITICAL PARTIES

Alliance of Independent Social Democrats (SNSD)

Slavko Jovičić, Member of Parliament in Parliamentary Assembly of BiH House of Representatives

Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ BiH)

Bariša Čolak, member of the Presidency of HDZ BiH, Minister of Justice of BiH

Naša Stranka

Slobodan Nešković, member of the Board Srđan Dizdarević, Secretary for International Relations

Party for Better Future (SBB)

Fahrudin Radončić, President

Party for Democratic Action (SDA)

Šefik Džaferović, member of SDA, Member of Parliament in Parliamentary Assembly of BiH House of Representatives, President of the Constitutional and Legal Comittee of the House of Representatives

MEDIA

Regulatory Communication Agency

Emir Povlakić, Deputy Director for Broadcasting Helena Mandić, Legal Advisor

Oslobođenje, daily

Vildana Selimbegović, Editor in Chief

Dnevni Avaz, daily

Adi Hadžiarapović, journalist

CIVIL SOCIETY

Association of Election Officials of BiH

Zvjezdana Dragović, Executive Director

Think Thank Poluplari, Centre for Socioeconomic Studies

Alida Vračić, Director

INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY

OSCE Mission to BiH

Ambassador Gary D. Robbins, Head of Mission Andrea Cellino, Head of Policy and Planning Merce Castells, Election Advisor Oleksiy Lychkovakh, Project Manager

Office of the High Representative

Archie Tuta, Deputy Director Political Department Massimo Moratti, Political Advisor

Council of Europe in BiH

Caroline Ravaud, Special Representative of the Secretary General

Embassy of the United States of America

Jonathan Moore, Deputy Chief of Mission Elise Klainwaks, Political Counsellor Michael Martin, Deputy Political Counsellor

Embassy of the Russian Federation

Igor Kalabukhov, Minister Counsellor