



MEDUNARODNA KONFERENCIJA

VRJEME ZA DJELOVANJE

STVARNOST
ANTIKORUPCIJSKIH
POLITIKA

29 Novembar 2019.
Sarajevo, Bosna i Hercegovina

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ŠTA JE TRANSPARENCY INTERNATIONAL U BOSNI I HERCEGOVINI?

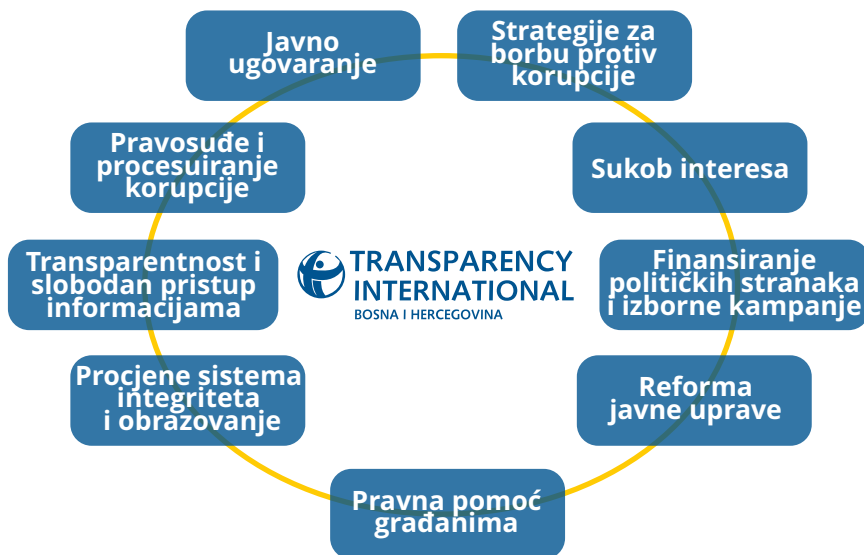
Transparency International u Bosni i Hercegovini (TI BiH) je nevladina i neprofitna organizacija koja je osnovana 2001. godine i akreditovana 2002. godine kao nacionalni ogranak globalnog pokreta Transparency International sa sljedećom vizijom:

Društvo koje počiva na pravičnosti, transparentnosti i odgovornosti, sposobno da spriječi i kazni korupciju.

Mi smo organizacija koja se bori za sistematske promjene u društvu i artikulira zahtjeve građana za odgovornim, transparentnim i efikasnim upravljanjem. To postizemo u partnerstvu s javnim, privatnim i civilnim sektorom. TI BiH prati antikorupcijske reforme i istovremeno zagovara i radi za sistematske promjene koje bi osigurale odgovornu, transparentnu i učinkovitu vladu.

3

TI BiH je uključen u niz antikorupcijskih inicijativa i radi u sljedećim oblastima:



TEMATIKA KONFERENCIJE

Kako bi se spriječile i okončale štetne posljedice korupcije, antikorupcione strategije su glavni prioritet tokom izrade politika, naročito u zemljama u razvoju. One su također glavni prioritet u regiji Balkana. Tranzicija zemalja Zapadnog Balkana ka demokratiji je bila praćena antikorupcionim naporima na svim nivoima vlasti. Uprkos decenijama dugim naporima, postignut je nezavidan napredak jer je korupcija ostala široko rasprostranjena na svim nivoima vlasti, pokazujući znakove „zarobljene države“.

„Zarobljena država“ jeste jedna od najpristutnijih formi korupcije, gdje se privredna društva, institucije ili pojedinci sa moći koriste koruptivnim praksama, kao što su kupovina zakona, amandmana, dekreta ili presuda, kao i nezakoniti novčani doprinosi političkim partijama i kandidatima, kako bi uticali i oblikovali državnu politiku, zakonsko okruženje i ekonomiju skladno njihovim ličnim interesima.¹

4



ŠTA JE
ZAROBLJENA
DRŽAVA?

„Zarobljena država se može definisati kao neproporcionalan i neregulisan uticaj interesnih grupa na procese odlučivanja, gdje posebne interesne grupe uspijevaju da utiču na zakone, politike i ostale akte kroz gore navedene nezakonite prakse, uključujući i lobiranje i kretanje osoblja između uloga zakonodavca i regulatora (eng. „revolving door appointments“).

¹ Transparency International, „Zarobljena država: Pregled“ (2014). Dostupno na: https://www.transparency.org/files/content/corruptionqas/State_capture_an_overview_2014.pdf. „Zarobljena država može široko biti shvaćeno kao disproporcionalan i neregulisan utjecaj interesnih grupa na procese donošenja odluka, gdje specijalne interesne grupe uspijevaju da zabrane državne zakone, politike i odredbe kroz gore navedenu zabranjenu/nedopuštenu praksu, kao i kroz nelegitimno lobiranje i dogovore na vratima/privatne dogovore.“(isti izvor)

KONFERENCIJA U KONTEKSTU BOSNE I HERCEGOVINE

Bosna i Hercegovina je posebno specifičan slučaj zbog jedinstvenog procesa izgradnje postkonfliktne države i kompleksnog ustavnog uređenja. Država je organizovana u dva entiteta: Federacija Bosne i Hercegovine i Republika Srpska, te Distrikt Brčko. Federaciju Bosne i Hercegovine čini 10 kantona, dok općine i gradovi predstavljaju lokalnu vlast u oba entiteta i u Distriktu Brčko.

Stoga, moglo bi se tvrditi da je tako kompleksno ustavno uređenje i uređenje vlasti negativno utjecalo na izradu i implementaciju antikorupcionih reformi u BiH. Prema Evropskoj Komisiji, borba protiv korupcije u BiH je otežana nedostatkom harmonizacije zakonodavstva širom države i slabom institucionalnom saradnjom i koordinacijom.² Spomenuto kompleksno ustavno i institucionalno uređenje vlasti nije samo izazov već i izgovor korišten od strane političkih elita kako bi izbjegli implementaciju reformi i nastavili opstrukciju vladavine prava. Borba protiv korupcije je još više otežana zbog nedostatka volje za rješavanjem institucionalnih i zakonodavnih izazova, te izazova u politici. Uprkos dugotrajnim i kompleksnim procesima, naponi da se suzbije korupcija u BiH pokazali su se neodrživim, stagnirajućim i zanemarljivim zbog činjenice da skoro nijedna inicijativa međunarodne zajednice nije bila održana od strane domaćih institucija koje su kontinuirano tražile eksternu pomoć. Stoga, razvijanje, promocija i implementacija inovativnih pristupa u borbi protiv korupcije je esencijalna za napredak. Način koji bi mogao obezbijediti ovaj inovativni pristup jeste okupljanje predstavnika akademske zajednice i praktičara koji mogu ponuditi uvid u inovativne i revolucionarne prakse i rješenja.

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CILJ KONFERENCIJE – PREISPITIVANJE ANTIKORUPCIJSKIH POLITIKA

Nedostatak napretka u suzbijanju korupcije zahtijeva preispitivanje antikorupcionih strategija i pristup u uspostavljanju ovih politika. Svrha Konferencije jeste da pruži perspektive akademika i praktičara o ovom problemu i da osigura platformu za razmjenu ideja, znanja i praksi koje bi razriješile ključnu dilemu: *da li je antikorupcija zakazala?* Konferencija će biti prilika da se analizira da li uzrok zastoja leži u pristupu problemu ili u kapacitetima i resursima posvećenim borbi protiv korupcije? Druga goruća pitanja uključuju: koji je razlog zastoja u smanjenju nivoa korupcije, mehanizmi za jačanje institucionalnih kapaciteta za borbu protiv korupcije, kako se nositi s apatijom u borbi protiv korupcije i mogućnost političke transformacije.

² Mišljenje Komisije o aplikaciji Bosne i Hercegovine za članstvo u Evropskoj Uniji (2019).

O KONFERENCIJI

Konferencija je organizovana u dva panela. Akademici će u prvom panelu pružiti uvid u razumijevanje problema korupcije i pristupima problemu, dok će perspektiva praktičara o istoj temi biti prezentovana na drugom panelu koji će se dodatno fokusirati na institucionalne kapacitete.

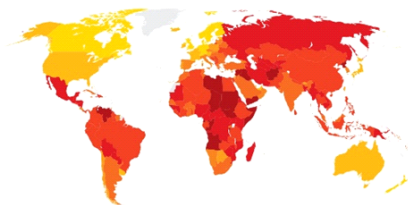
PANEL 1

Preispitivanje anti-korupcione reforme: Dijagnoza i lijek

**CORRUPTION
PERCEPTIONS
INDEX 2018**



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#cpi2018

www.transparency.org

Ogromna količina sredstava, tokom dugog vremenskog perioda, je investirana u borbu protiv korupcije u zemljama koje prolaze kroz demokratsku tranziciju, a koje se često mogu primijetiti u slučajevima „zarobljene države“. Svi nivoi vlasti su uključeni u prevazilaženje ovog izazova zajedno sa međunarodnim organizacijama, medijima i nevladinim organizacijama. Međutim, Indeks Percepcije Korupcije (CPI) predstavljen od

strane Transparency International-a, pokazuje potpuni izostanak napretka i da države stagniraju uprkos investiranim sredstvima. Stoga, postavlja se pitanje da li se radi o potpuno pogrešno shvaćenom problemu ili su odabrani pristupi rješavanju problema korupcije neprikladni. Ovaj panel nastoji analizirati da li „zarobljena država“ u tranziciji može biti prevaziđena, npr.: Da li su korupcija i organizovani kriminal neodvojivi iz tranzicije u demokratiju. U svjetlu ove dileme: „dijagnoza- lijek“, diskusijom će se analizirati da li je borba protiv korupcije političko pitanje s fokusom na vezu između moći ili tehničko pitanje koje se fokusira na resurse i kapacitete. Postoji mogućnost da će ovaj panel redefinisati antikorupcione politike i pristupe i ponuditi preporuke i rješenja.

PANEL 2

Učinkovite institucije u državi korupcije i apatije



Ovaj panel će razmotriti mogućnost uspostavljanja funkcionalnih institucija u sistemu koji je inherentno korumpiran. Učeci iz pozitivnih praksi i primjera, praktičari iz ove oblasti će diskutovati o načinima kako da osiguraju učinkovito funkcionisanje institucija i mehanizama za jačanje institucionalnih kapaciteta u kontekstu povećanja apatije građana u borbi protiv korupcije. Od velike je važnosti da se ponovo izgradi povjerenje u institucije i da se građani uključe u proces borbe protiv korupcije.

"Time to Act: Reality of Anti-corruption Policies"
(„Vrijeme za djelovanje: Stvarnost antikorupcijskih politika“)
Sarajevo, Bosna i Hercegovina, 29. Novembar, 2019.

DNEVNI RED

09:30 Dolazak učesnika

09:30 – 10:00 Izjave za medije

10:00 – 10:30 Uvodno obraćanje

- **Nj. E. Johanna Strömquist**, Ambasadorica Švedske u Bosni i Hercegovini
- **Srđan Blagovčanin**, Predsjedavajući Upravnog odbora, Transparency International u BiH

PANEL 1

10:30 - 12:30 Promišljanje o anti-korupcionim reformama: Dijagnoza i Lijek

- **Paul M. Heywood**, Profesor, Škola politike i međunarodnih odnosa, Univerzitet Nottingham
- **Anna Persson**, Profesorica i predavačica, Odsjek za političke nauke, Univerzitet Gothenburg
- 8 - **Senada Šelo Šabić**, Viši istraživač, Odsjek za Međunarodnu ekonomiju i političke odnose na Institutu za razvoj i međunarodne odnose (IRMO), Zagreb
- **Jasmin Mujanović**, politilog i analitičar, Profesor političkih nauka i političke studije, Elon Univerzitet

12:30 - 13:00 Kafe pauza

PANEL 2

13:00 - 15:00 Učinkovite institucije u državi korupcije i apatije

- **Jose Ugaz**, Jurist
- **Drago Kos**, Predsjednik OECD Radne grupe o davanju mita u međunarodnim poslovnim transakcijama
- **Zoran Stojiljković**, Profesor, Fakultet političkih nauka, Univerzitet u Beogradu
- **Agnes Czibik**, Projekt menadžer i analitičar, Government Transparency Institute
- **Dobrila Govedarica**, Direktorica Fond otvoreno društvo, Bosna i Hercegovina
- **Uglješa Vuković**, Transparency International u BiH

15:00 - 15:30 Završna obraćanja

15:30 Ručak



KOSU
GOVORNICI?

José Carlos Ugaz Sánchez-Moreno

je peruanski pravni ekspert i profesor krivičnog prava na Katoličkom sveučilištu u Peruu. Postao je predsjednik PROETICA, nacionalnog ogranka Transparency International u Peruu 2002. godine, a zatim individualni član Transparency International 2008. godine. Profesor Ugaz je izabran za člana Odbora Transparency International 2011. godine, te je potom



izabran za predsjedavajućeg Odbora od 2014. do 2017. godine. Ugaz je bio ad-hoc državni odvjetnik u nekoliko slučajeva korupcije u Peruu, uključujući i Aferu Fujimori-Montesinos (2000-2002) tokom koje je otvorio više od 200 predmeta protiv 1500 članova Fujimori mreže. Bio je član UN Mirovne misije i UN posmatračke misije tokom izbora u El Salvadoru, te je od 2004. do 2006. godine radio u Uredu za institucionalni integritet Svjetske banke koji ujedno čini antikorupcijski odjel Svjetske banke.

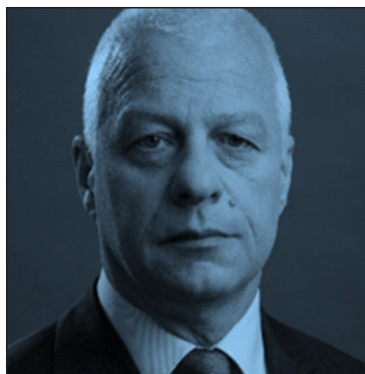
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Relevantni radovi:

- Steve Berkman, Nancy Z. Boswell, Franz H. Brüner, Mark Gough, John T. McCormick, Peter Egens Pedersen, Jose Ugaz, Stephen Zimmermann, "The fight against corruption: international organizations at a cross roads" Journal of Financial Crime (2008).
- Alicia Athié et al. "Transparency and Public Probity: Case Studies in Latin America" (University of Chile, 2008).
- Ascenio Mellado, José María and José Carlos Ugaz Sánchez-Moreno, "Illegal proof and anti-corruption fight". Grijley: Lima, 2008.
- José Carlos Ugaz Sánchez-Moreno, "Grand Corruption and Human Rights" Pontifical Catholic University of Peru, (2019).
- Caiga quien Caiga (2014), a chronicle of the fight against the Fujimori/Montesinos network in Peru

Drago Kos

trenutno obnaša funkciju Predsjednika OECD radne grupe o podmičivanju u međunarodnim poslovnim transakcijama, kao i jednog od predsjedavajućih MENA-OECD Mreže poslovnog integriteta, te je jedan od predsjedavajućih MENA OECD Mreže poslovnog integriteta, kao i Odbora za nadzor korupcije u odbrambenom sektoru (NAKO) u Ukrajini, i savjetnik Antikorupcijskoj agenciji na Kosovu. Od 2011. do 2015. godine, bio je Međunarodni komesar i predsjednik Zajedničkog nezavisnog komiteta za monitoring i evaluaciju (MEC) u Afganistanu. U periodu od 2003. do 2011. godine, bio je Predsjedavajući Grupe zemalja za borbu protiv korupcije (GRECO) Vijeća Europe. Između 2004. i 2010. godine, bio je prvi Predsjednik Komisije za borbu protiv korupcije u Sloveniji. Prije toga, bio je zamjenik direktora Direktorata za kriminalističke istrage i Šef odjela za organizovani kriminal policije Slovenije.



Ágnes Czibik

je direktorica i viša analitičarka u Institutu za transparentnost vlade (Government Transparency Institute), nezavisnom istraživačkom institutu sa sjedištem u Budimpešti, koji je posvećen istraživanju i zagovaranju dobrog upravljanja kroz upotrebu kvantitativne analize velikih skupova podataka o javnim nabavkama iz cijele Europe kako bi se osigurali alati za ocjenu učinka vlade i promicanje transparentnosti u



oblasti javnih nabavki. Ona radi na analizi podataka o javnim nabavkama i razvoju indikatora rizika od 2014. godine. Agnes je bila uključena u istraživački projekat Horizon2020 DIGIWHIST, koji se bavio prikupljanjem i analizom podataka o javnim nabavkama iz 35 zemalja Europe, sa ciljem da se oni učine dostupnim javnosti zajedno sa novim razvijenim indikatorima rizika na integrisan i lako razumljiv način, koji bi doprineo odgovornosti, donošenju odluka na osnovu podataka, te nadzoru trošenja javnog novca u Europi.

12**Relevantni radovi**

- Bence Tóth, Mihály Fazekas, Ágnes Czibik, István János Tóth, „Toolkit for detecting collusive bidding in public procurement: With examples from Hungary“ (April 2015)
- Ágnes Czibik, Bence Tóth, Mihály Fazekas, „How to Construct a Public Procurement Database from Administrative Records? With examples from the Hungarian public procurement system of 2009-2012“ (December 2015)
- Monika Bauhr, Agnes Czibik, Mihaly Fazekas, Jenny de Fine Licht, „Lights on the Shadows of Public Procurement. Transparency in government contracting as an antidote to corruption?“ (2017)
- Ágnes Czibik, Miklós Hajdu, Boróka Pápay, Zoltán Szántó, István János Tóth, „Type of actors, objects of exchange, type of original transactions in the coverage of corruption – Project Report“ (2016)

Senada Šelo Šabić

je viša istraživačica u Odjelu za međunarodne ekonomske i političke odnose pri Institutu za razvoj i međunarodne odnose (IRMO) u Zagrebu. Njena istraživanja se fokusiraju na vanjsku politiku Republike Hrvatske, Zapadnog Balkana i Turske, EU proširenje, razvojnu saradnju i migracije. Senada je doktorski studij iz političkih nauka završila na Europskom univerzitetskom institutu u Firenci (European University Institute).

Senada Šelo Šabić je također urednik Hrvatskog zbornika međunarodnih odnosa i profesor je na Univerzitetu u Zagrebu. Prethodno je radila u vladi, diplomatiji, međunarodnim organizacijama i u privrednom sektoru.

**Relevantni radovi**

- Arolda Elbasani and Senada Šelo-Šabić, „Rule of law, corruption and democratic accountability in the course of EU enlargement“, *Journal of European Public Policy*, (2018)
- Senada Šelo-Šabić, „State Building Under Foreign Supervision: Bosnia-Herzegovina 1996-2003“, (2003).
- Senada Šelo-Šabić, „Bosnia at the Crossroads“, (2001).

Paul M. Heywood

je profesor na Školi politike i međunarodnih odnosa na Univerzitetu Notingem, i trenutno radi u Vašingtonu sa organizacijom Global Integrity gdje je vođa Antikorupcijskog programa o dokazima korupcije (GI-ACE) koji je dizajniran da identificira nove inicijative koje mogu pomoći zemljama u razvoju da se izbore sa korupcijom i negativnim uticajem koji ona ima na živote miliona



ljudi. Profesor Heywood je autor, koautor i urednik 18 knjiga i preko 80 akademskih članaka i poglavlja, te je bio uključen u antikorupcijske istraživačke projekte u Hong Kongu, Velikoj Britaniji, Kini i Europskoj uniji. Njegovo istraživanje se prvenstveno fokusira na političku korupciju i upravljanje integritetom, kao i institucionalni dizajn i državne kapacitete.

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Relevantni radovi

- Paul M. Heywood, „Routledge handbook of political corruption“, (Routledge 2015).
- Paul M. Heywood and Jonathan Rose, “Close but no Cigar”: the measurement of corruption*“ (Cambridge University Press, 2014).
- Paul M Heywood, „Combating Corruption in the 21st Century: New Approaches“, Daedalus (2018).
- Paul M. Heywood, „Rethinking Corruption: Hocus-Pocus, Locus and Focus“, The Slavonic and East European Review, Vol. 95, No. 1, Innovations in Corruption Studies (January 2017), pp. 21-48.
- Staffan Andersson and Paul M Heywood, „Anti-corruption as a risk to democracy: on the unintended consequences of international anti-corruption campaigns“ in „Governments, NGOs and Anti-Corruption The New Integrity Warriors“ eds. Luís de Sousa, Barry Hindess, Peter Larmour.

Zoran Stojiljković

je profesor na Fakultetu političkih nauka na Univerzitetu u Beogradu i bio je član Odbora Agencije za borbu protiv korupcije Republike Srbije. Profesor Stojiljković je objavio preko 150 akademskih članaka i monografija, kao i 8 knjiga o demokratiji, političkim partijama, tranziciji i korupciji. On je također koautor knjiga, poglavlja, članaka i antologija o teoriji savremene države, političkih partija i partijskih sistema, izbora i političkih grupa u Europskom parlamentu, korupcije i antikorupcijskim strategijama, kao i o sindikatima i civilnom društvu. Pored akademskog rada, profesor Stojiljković je aktivan i u organizacijama civilnog društva, prvenstveno u Sindikatu nezavisnosti.



Relevantni radovi

- Zoran Stojiljković, „State and Corruption“, Faculty of Political Sciences of University in Belgrade (2013).
- Zoran Stojiljković, „Political Corruption and Weak State“, Philosophy and Society (2013).
- Zoran Stojiljković, „Electoral Promises and Post-Electoral Reality: Public Policies in the Electoral Offer in Serbia“, Political perspectives: journal for political research, (2012).
- Zoran Stojiljković, „Serbia between electoral authoritarianism and consolidated democracy“, Serbian Political Thought, (2012.)

Anna Persson

je profesorica i predavačica na Odsjeku za političke nauke na Univerzitetu Geteborg. Ona je također članica upravljačkog odbora Instituta za kvalitetu vlasti (QoG), kao i Centra za globalizaciju i razvoj u Geteborgu (GCGD). Primarne oblasti istraživanja Anne Persson su komparativna politika i politička ekonomija razvoja i demokratizacije. U okviru ovih oblasti, ona je pisala o korupciji i antikorupcijskim reformama, ulozi političke volje u reformskim naporima, oporezivanju kao izvoru odgovorne vlasti, te o važnosti državnih kapaciteta u jačanju demokratije i razvoja. Persson je također obavljala ulogu savjetnika i konsultanta u OECD/DAC, UNCDF, SIDA (Švedska agencija za razvoj i saradnju), ICLD (Švedski međunarodni centar za lokalnu demokratiju), EBA (Grupa eksperata za studije pomoći), te u Švedskom nacionalnom uredu za reviziju, između ostalih.



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Relevantni radovi

- Anna Persson, Bo Rothstein, and Jan Teorell. 2019. "Getting the Basic Nature of Systemic Corruption Right." *Governance*, Online First.
- Anna Persson, Bo Rothstein, and Jan Teorell. 2013. "Why Anti-Corruption Reforms Fail – Systemic Corruption as a Collective Action Problem." *Governance*, 26(3): 449-471.
- Persson, Anna, and Sjöstedt, Martin. 2012. "Responsive and Responsible Leaders: A Matter of Political Will?" *Perspectives on Politics*, 10(3): 617-632.
- Anna Persson, and Martin Sjöstedt, "State Legitimacy and the Corruptibility of Leaders." 2012. In Bo Rothstein and Sören Holmberg (Eds.), *Good Government: The Relevance of Political Science*. Cheltenham, U.K.: Edward Elgar Publishing Ltd.
- Anna Persson, Bo Rothstein, and Jan Teorell. 2012. "Rethinking the Nature of the Grabbing Hand: The Collective Action Problem of Systemic Corruption." In Bo Rothstein and Sören Holmberg (Eds.), *Good Government: The Relevance of Political Science*. Cheltenham, U.K.: Edward Elgar Publishing Ltd.

Jasmin Mujanović

je politolog sa završenim doktorskim studijem na York Univerzitetu sa specijalizacijom u oblasti politike post-autoritarnih režima i postkonfliktne demokratizacije. Njegova prva knjiga "Hunger and Fury: The Crisis of Democracy in the Balkans" (Hurst Publishers & Oxford University Press, 2018) istražuje ustrajnost autoritarnih i neliberalnih oblika upravljanja na Zapadnom Balkanu od kraja jugoslavenskih ratova.



Njegove publikacije također uključuju recenzirane članke u akademskim časopisima, poglavlja u brojnim zbornicima, izvještaje o politikama za Freedom House, Europsko vijeće za međunarodne odnose, i Fondaciju Friedrich Ebert, kao i popularne analize za New York Times, Washington Post, Foreign Affairs, Al Jazeera, openDemocracy, i druge. Pored prepoznatljivog prisustva na društvenim mrežama, on se pojavljivao i na međunarodnim TV i radijskim programima na Al Jazeera, CBC Radio, Huffington Post Live, Voice of America, te brojnim balkanskim medijskim izdanjima. Izvorno iz Sarajeva, trenutno je profesor političkih nauka na Elon Univerzitetu, te consultant za Fondaciju Friedrich Ebert – Ured za Jugoistočnu Europu.

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Relevantni radovi:

- Mujanović, Jasmin (2018). *Hunger and Fury: The Crisis of Democracy in the Balkans*. London, New York: Hurst Publishers (U.K./EU) & Oxford University Press (U.S./CAN).
- Mujanović, Jasmin (2019). "A Strategic Review of BiH's Bilateral Relations with the Major Powers" in Hasić, Jasmin and Karabegović, Dženeta (ed.). *Bosnia and Herzegovina's Foreign Policy Since Independence*, New York: Palgrave-MacMillan.
- Mujanović, Jasmin (2016). "Fractured Authoritarianism in Bosnia-Herzegovina." *Religion and Society in East and West*, Vol. 44, Issue 9-10.

Dobriła Govedarica

je izvršna direktorica Fonda otvoreno društvo u Bosni i Hercegovini. Diplomirala je na Ekonomskom fakultetu Univerziteta u Sarajevu, te magistrirala međunarodni razvoj. Radila je u privrednom sektoru, sa Centralnom bankom Bosne i Hercegovine, Svjetskom bankom, UNOPS, prije nego se pridružila Fondu Otvoreno društvo u junu 2000. godine. Trenutno je angažovana u izradi javnih politika koje se bave pravdom u obrazovanju, antikorupcijom i manjinskim pravima.



Uglješa Vuković

je istraživač u Transparency International u BiH u okviru projekta Zagovaranje i pružanje pravne pomoći (ALAC) čiji je osnovni cilj da se pruže besplatna pravna pomoć i pomoć zviždačima, žrtvama i/ili svjedocima korupcije. Aktivno je uključen u dizajniranje i razvoj širokog spektra zagovaračkih kampanji u oblasti slobodnog pristupa informa-cijama, reforme javne uprave, krivičnog prava, medija i građanskih sloboda. Oblasti od njegovog interesovanja uključuju slobodan pristup informacijama, antikorupcijski zakonodavni okvir, zaštitu zviždača, slobodu okupljanja.



Relevantni radovi

- Co-author of publication "Regional Cooperation in the Western Balkans: Options for the Interplay of Neighborly Relations and EU Accession up to 2025" – TRAIN Strategic Foresight Project (2018) <https://dgap.org/en/think-tank/publications/dgapanalysecompact/regional-cooperation-western-balkans>
- Co-author of publication "Best Practices in Detecting and Sanctioning Corruption" (Transparency International Bosnia and Herzegovina, Transparency International Czech Republic, 2014) <http://ti-bih.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/12/BEST-PRACTICES-IN-DETECTING-AND-SANCTIONING-CORRUPTION-2014.pdf>
- Co-researcher within the project "Public Administration Reform Monitoring – PARM" run by Transparency International in BiH (responsible for producing monitoring reports related to the fields of transparency, integrity and accountability <https://ti-bih.org/projekti/monitoring-reforme-javne-uprave-parm/?lang=en>)
- Author of publication "Right to freedom of assembly in Bosnia and Herzegovina – between international standards and national practices" (Sarajevo Open Centre, 2018) <http://soc.ba/pravo-na-slobodu-okupljanja-u-bosni-i-hercegovini-izmedu-medunarodnih-standarda-i-nacionalnih-praksi/>

TI BIH

Srđan Blagovčanin je predsjedavajući Upravnog odbora TI BiH. On je specijalista u oblasti vladavine prava, dobrog upravljanje i antikorupcijskih reformi, politika i zakona. Ima više od 11 godina iskustva kao menadžer, analitičar i pravni ekspert. Autor je brojnih studija i analiza u navedenim oblastima, koje su objavljene na Univerzitetu John Hopkins, Školi naprednih međunarodnih studija, Centru za transatlantske odnose (CTR), Fondacije Friedrich Ebert, Transparency International i drugi. On je radio za Transparency International, Svjetsku banku, USAID, Global Integrity, i mnoge druge organizacije i institucije. Srđan je magistrirao pravo na Karl-Franzes Univerzitetu u Grazu, te specijalizirao pravo i ljudska prava na Koledžu za pravo na Američkom univerzitetu u Vašingtonu.

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MODERATOR

Aleksandar Brezar je voditelj, novinar i dopisnik iz Brisela za bosanski javni RTV servis BHRT. Radio je kao novinar na Radio 202, kao i na nekoliko dokumentarnih filmova za PBS, Memorijalni muzej Holokausta u SAD i Al Jazeera. Prethodno je pisao i još uvijek piše za *Balkanist*, *Massachusetts Review*, *Mediacentar* i *Analiziraj*. On je ko-organizator Sarajevo Callinga, dvonedjeljnog podcasta na društveno-političke teme u zemljama Zapadnog Balkana. Također je dobitnik nagrada Inauguralna nagrada za balkanske provjere činjenica (2017), nagrada Europa Nostra i Grand Prix za očuvanje kulturne baštine (2016), nagrada za književni prijevod Julesa Chametzkyja (2016), nominacija za nagradu Pushcart (2015).



TI BIH

Srdan Blagovcanin is the Chairman of the Board of TI BIH. He is a specialist in the field of rule of law, good governance and anti-corruption reforms, policies and legislation. He has more than 11 years of experience as manager, analyst and legal expert. He has authored a number of studies and analyses on the said topics, published by John Hopkins



University, School of Advanced International Studies, Center for Transatlantic relations (CTR), Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, Transparency International and others. He has worked with Transparency International, the World Bank, USAID, Global Integrity, and many other organizations and institutions. He holds an LL.M degree from Karl-Franzes University, Graz and specialization in Law and Human Rights from Washington College of Law, American University, Washington DC.

MODERATOR

Aleksandar Brezar is presenter, reporter and Brussels Correspondent for the Bosnian public broadcaster BHR.T. He worked as a journalist at Radio 202, and on several documentaries for PBS, Holocaust Memorial Museum United States of America and Al Jazeera English. He has written and still writes for *Balkanist*,



He is the co-host of *Massachusetts Review*, *Mediacentar* and *Analiziraj*. He is the co-host of Sarajevo Calling, a bi-weekly podcast on the socio-political topics in the Western Balkans countries. He is the winner of the Inaugural Balkan Fact checking Award (2017), Europa Nostra Award and Grand Prix for Preservation of Cultural Heritage (2016), Jules Chametzky Literary Translation Award (2016), Pushcart Prize Nomination (2015).



Ugješa Vuković

is a Researcher at Transparency International in BiH within the project (ALAC) whose main objective is providing free legal aid and assistance to whistleblowers, victims and/or witnesses of corruption. Actively involved in designing and developing a wide range of advocacy campaigns related to access to information issues, public administration reforms, criminal law subjects and media and civic freedoms. His areas of interest include freedom of information, anti-corruption legislative framework, whistleblowers protection, freedom of assembly etc.

Relevant work

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- Co-author of publication "Regional Cooperation in the Western Balkans: Options for the Interplay of Neighboring Relations and EU Accession up to 2025" – TRAIIN Strategic Foresight Project (2018) <https://dgap.org/en/think-tank/publications/dgapanalyse-compact/regional-cooperation-western-balkans>
- Co-author of publication "Best Practices in Detecting and Sanctioning Corruption" (Transparency International Bosnia and Herzegovina, Transparency International Czech Republic, 2014) <http://ti-bih.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/12/BEST-PRACTICES-IN-DETECTING-AND-SANCTIONING-CORRUPTION-2014.pdf>
- Co-researcher within the project "Public Administration Reform Monitoring – PARM" run by Transparency International in BiH (responsible for producing monitoring reports related to the fields of transparency, integrity and accountability <https://ti-bih.org/projekt/monitoring-reforme-javne-uprave-parm/?lang=en>)
- Author of publication "Right to freedom of assembly in Bosnia and Herzegovina – between international standards and national practices" (Sarajevo Open Centre, 2018) <http://soc.ba/pravo-na-slobodu-okupljanja-u-bosni-i-hercegovini-izmedu-medunarodnih-standarda-i-nacionalnih-praksi/>



minority rights.

is the Executive Director of the Open Society Fund Bosnia and Herzegovina. She graduated Faculty of Economy, Sarajevo University and hold master degree in international development. Worked in the business sector, with the National Bank of BiH, World Bank and UNOPS before she joined Open Society Foundations in June 2000. Currently engaged in public policies regarding justice in education, anti-corruption and



Dobrija Govedarića



- Mujanović, Jasmin (2018). *Hunger and Fury: The Crisis of Democracy in the Balkans*. London, New York: Hurst Publishers (U.K./EU) & Oxford University Press (U.S./CAN).
- Mujanović, Jasmin (2019). "A Strategic Review of BiH's Bilateral Relations with the Major Powers" in Hasić, Jasmin and Karabegović, Dženeta (ed.). *Bosnia and Herzegovina's Foreign Policy Since Independence*, New York: Palgrave-MacMillan.
- Mujanović, Jasmin (2016). "Fractured Authoritarianism in Bosnia-Herzegovina," *Religion and Society in East and West*, Vol. 44, Issue 9-10.

Relevant work:

Mujanović is a political scientist (PhD, York University) specializing in the politics of post-authoritarian and post-conflict democratization. His first book *Hunger and Fury: The Crisis of Democracy in the Balkans* (Hurst Publishers & Oxford University Press, 2018) examines the persistence of authoritarian and illiberal forms of governance in the Western Balkans since the end of the Yugoslav Wars. His publications also include peer-reviewed articles in top-flight academic journals, chapters in numerous edited volumes, policy reports for Freedom House, the European Council on Foreign Relations, and the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, as well as popular analyses in the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, *Foreign Affairs*, *Al Jazeera*, *openDemocracy*, and a host of other media. He has a prominent social media presence and has made appearances for international television and radio programs on Al Jazeera, CBC Radio, Huffington Post Live, Voice of America, as well as numerous Balkan media outlets. Originally from Sarajevo, he is currently a limited-term Assistant Professor of Political Science at Elon University and a policy consultant for the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung – Dialogue Southeast Europe office.

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Jasmin Mujanović



Anna Persson

is associate professor and senior lecturer at the Department of Political Science, University of Gothenburg.

She is a member of the steering committee of the Quality of Government (QoG) Institute, as well as of the Gothenburg Centre of Globalization and Development (GGGD). Persson's primary fields of interest concern the comparative politics and political economy of

development and democratization. Within this field, she has written extensively on corruption and anti-corruption reform, the role of political will in reform efforts, taxation as a source of accountable government, and the importance of state capacity in fostering democracy and development. Persson has served as an advisor and consultant to, among others, OECD/DAC, UNCDF, Sida (The Swedish Agency for Development Cooperation), ICLD (Swedish International Centre for Local Democracy), EBA (The Expert Group for Aid Studies), and the Swedish National Audit Office.

Relevant work

- Anna Persson, Bo Rothstein, and Jan Teorell. 2019. "Getting the Basic Nature of Systemic Corruption Right." Governance, Online First.
- Anna Persson, Bo Rothstein, and Jan Teorell. 2013. "Why Anti-Corruption Reforms Fail - Systemic Corruption as a Collective Action Problem." Governance, 26(3): 449-471.
- Persson, Anna, and Sjöstedt, Martin. 2012. "Responsive and Responsible Leaders: A Matter of Political Will?" Perspectives on Politics, 10(3): 617-632.
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- Zoran Stojiljković, "State and Corruption", Faculty of Political Sciences of University in Belgrade (2013).
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- Zoran Stojiljković, "Serbia between electoral authoritarianism and consolidated democracy", Serbian Political Thought, (2012).

Relevant work

anthologies in the field of political sociology of modern society, contemporary state theory, parties and party systems, elections and political groups in the European Parliament, corruption and anti-corruption strategies, as well as trade unions and civil society. In addition to academic work, professor Stojiljković is active in civil society organizations, primarily in the Independence Union.

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is a professor at Faculty of Political Sciences of the University of Belgrade and was a member of the Board of the Agency for Fight against Corruption in Serbia.

Professor Stojiljković published more than 150 academic articles and monographies, as well as 8 books on democracy, political parties, transition, and corruption. He is also co-author of books, chapters, articles and

Zoran Stojiljković



- Paul M. Heywood, "Rethinking Corruption: Hocus-Focus, Locus and Approaches", *Daedalus* (2018).
- Paul M. Heywood, "Combating Corruption in the 21st Century: New measurement of corruption*" (Cambridge University Press, 2014).
- Paul M. Heywood and Jonathan Rose, "Close but no Cigar": the *measurement of corruption** (Cambridge University Press, 2014).
- Paul M. Heywood and East European Review, Vol. 95, No. 1, "Focus", *The Slavonic and East European Review*, pp. 21-48.
- Staffan Andersson and Paul M Heywood, "Anti-corruption as a risk to democracy: on the unintended consequences of international anti-corruption campaigns" in "Governments, NGOs and Anti-Corruption The New Integrity Warriors" eds. Luis de Sousa, Barry Hindess, Peter Larmour.

Relevant work

Professor Heywood is author, co-author or editor of eighteen books and more than eighty journal articles and book chapters, and was involved in anticorruption research projects in Hong Kong, UK, China, and the EU. His research focuses primarily on political corruption and integrity management, as well as institutional design and state capacity.



Paul M. Heywood

is a professor at the School of Politics and International Relations at the University of Nottingham, and is currently seconded to work with Global Integrity in Washington DC, where he is leader of the Anti-Corruption Evidence programme (GI-ACE) which is designed to identify new initiatives that can help developing countries tackle the scourge of corruption and the negative impact it has on millions of people's lives.



Senada Šelo Šabić

s a senior research associate in the Department for International Economic and Political Relations at the Institute for Development and International Relations (IRMO) in Zagreb. Her research interests include Croatian foreign policy, Western Balkans and Turkey, EU enlargement, development cooperation and migration. Senada holds a PhD in political science from the European University Institute in Florence (2003). Senada Šelo Šabić is editor-in-chief of the Croatian International Relations Review and is a teacher at the University of Zagreb. She worked previously for the government, in diplomacy, for an international organization, and in business.



Relevant work

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- Arolda Elbasani and Senada Šelo Šabić, "Rule of law, corruption and democratic accountability in the course of EU enlargement", *Journal of European Public Policy*, (2018)
- Senada Šelo Šabić, "State Building Under Foreign Supervision: Bosnia-Herzegovina 1996-2003", (2003).
- Senada Šelo Šabić, "Bosnia at the Crossroads", (2001).

Agnes Czibik

is the managing director and senior analyst of Government Transparency Institute, an independent research institute based in Budapest researching and advocating good governance by using robust quantitative analysis on large-scale public procurement datasets from all across Europe to provide tools for evaluating government performance, and promoting transparency in the field of public procurement.



She has been working on public procurement data analysis and risk indicator development since 2014. Ms Czibik was involved in the Horizon2020-funded research project DIGIWHIST, which collected and analysed public procurement data from 35 European countries in order to publish them - together with newly developed risk indicators - in an integrated, easy-to-understand format to contribute to accountability, data-based decision-making and monitoring of public spending in Europe.

Relevant work

- Bence Tóth, Mihály Fazekas, Agnes Czibik, István János Tóth, "Toolkit for detecting collusive bidding in public procurement: With examples from Hungary" (April 2015)
- Agnes Czibik, Bence Tóth, Mihály Fazekas, "How to Construct a Public Procurement Database from Administrative Records? With examples from the Hungarian public procurement system of 2009-2012" (December 2015)
- Monika Baur, Agnes Czibik, Mihály Fazekas, Jenny de Fine Licht, "Lights on the Shadows of Public Procurement. Transparency in government contracting as an antidote to corruption?" (2017)
- Agnes Czibik, Miklós Hajdu, Boróka Pápay, Zoltán Szántó, István János Tóth, "Type of actors, objects of exchange, type of original transactions in the coverage of corruption - Project Report" (2016)



Drago Kos

is currently the Chair of the OECD Working Group on Bribery in International Business Transactions, Co-Chair of MENA – OECD Business Integrity Network, member of the Defence Corruption Monitoring Committee (NAKO) in Ukraine and advisor to the Kosovo Anti-Corruption Agency.



Between 2011 and 2015 he used to be International Commissioner and Chair of the Joint Independent Anti-Corruption Monitoring and Evaluation Committee (MEC) in Afghanistan. Between 2003 and 2011 he was the Chairman of the Council of Europe's Group of States against Corruption (GRECO). Between 2004 and 2010 he was the first Chairman of the Commission for the Prevention of Corruption in Slovenia. Prior to that he was a Deputy Director of the Slovenian Criminal Investigation Directorate and the Head of the Organised Crime Section of the Slovenian Police.

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José Carlos Ugaz Sánchez-Moreno is a Peruvian jurist and professor of criminal law at the Pontifical Catholic University of Peru. He became President of PROETTICA, Transparency International's national chapter in Peru in 2002, then an Individual Member of Transparency International in 2008. Professor Ugaz was elected to the TI Board in 2011 and elected chair from 2014 to 2017. Professor Ugaz served as Ad-Hoc State Attorney of Peru in several corruption cases, including Fujimori-Montesinos affair (2000-2002) during which his office opened more than 200 cases against 1,500 members of the Fujimori network. He was a member of the UN Peace Keeping Mission and the UN Election Observers Mission for El Salvador, and from 2004-2006 served at the World Bank's Institutional Integrity Office, the World Bank's anti-corruption unit.

Relevant work

- Steve Berkman, Nancy Z. Boswell, Franz H. Brünner, Mark Gough, John T. McCormick, Peter Egens Pedersen, Jose Ugaz, Stephen Zimmermann, "The fight against corruption: international organizations at a cross-roads" Journal of Financial Crime (2008).
- Alicia Athié et al. "Transparency and Public Probity: Case Studies in Latin America" (University of Chile, 2008).
- Ascenio Mellado, José María and José Carlos Ugaz Sánchez-Moreno, "Illegal proof and anti-corruption fight". Grijley: Lima, 2008.
- José Carlos Ugaz Sánchez-Moreno, "Grand Corruption and Human Rights" Pontifical Catholic University of Peru, (2019).
- Caiga quien Caiga (2014), a chronicle of the fight against the Fujimori/Montesinos network in Peru

WHO ARE THE SPEAKERS?

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"Time to Act: Reality of Anti-corruption Policies"
 Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina
 29 November, 2019

AGENDA

- 09:30** Arrival of Participants
- 09:30 – 10:00** Statements to the media
- 10:00 – 10:30** Introductory Remarks
- *H.E. Johanna Strömquist*, Ambassador of Sweden to Bosnia and Herzegovina
 - *Srdan Blagovčanin*, Chair of Board of Directors, Transparency International in BiH
- PANEL 1**
- 10:30 - 12:30** *Rethinking Anti-corruption Reform: Diagnosis v. Remedy*
- *Paul M. Heywood*, Professor, School of Politics and International Relations at the University of Nottingham
 - *Anna Persson*, Associate Professor and Senior lecturer, Department of Political Science, University of Gothenburg
 - *Senada Šelo Šabić*, Senior Research Associate, Department for International Economic and Political Relations at the Institute for Development and International Relations (IRMO) in Zagreb
 - *Jasmin Mujanović*, Political scientist and analyst, Assistant Professor of Political Science and Policy Studies at Elton University

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- 12:30 - 13:00** *Coffee Break*
- PANEL 2**
- 13:00 - 15:00** *Effective Institutions in a State of Corruption and Apathy*
- *Jose Ugaz*, Jurist
 - *Drago Kos*, Chair of the OECD Working Group on Bribery in International Business Transactions
 - *Zoran Stojiljković*, Professor, Faculty of Political Sciences of the University of Belgrade
 - *Agnes Czibik*, Project manager and analyst at Government Transparency Institute
 - *Dobrija Govedarica*, Director of Open Society Foundations, Bosnia and Herzegovina
 - *Uglješa Vuković*, Transparency International in Bosnia and Herzegovina

- 15:00 - 15:30** *Concluding Remarks*
- 15:30** *Lunch*



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This panel will consider the possibility of setting up functional institutions in a system which is inherently corrupt. Learning from positive practices and examples, practitioners from the field will discuss the ways to ensure effective functioning of institutions and the mechanisms for strengthening institutional capacities in the context of increased apathy of citizens towards combating corruption. It is presumably also important to rebuild trust in the institutions and involve citizens in the process of combating corruption.



Effective Institutions in a State of Corruption and Apathy

PANEL 2



The Conference is organized in two panels. Academics in the first panel will provide an insight into understanding of the problem of corruption and approaches towards it, whereas the practitioners' perspective on the same topics/issues will be presented in the second panel which will additionally focus on institutional capacities.

PANEL 1

Rethinking Anti-corruption Reform: Diagnosis v. Remedy

Great amount of resources, for a long period of time, has been invested in fight against corruption in countries undergoing democratic transition, which are often found in the situation of state capture. All levels of government are being included in overcoming this challenge together with the international organizations, media, and NGOs. But, TI's CPI shows a complete lack of improvement and that countries have been stagnating regardless of the resources invested. Therefore, question arises whether there has been a complete misconception of the problem, or if the selected approaches to solving the problem of corruption were inappropriate? This panel seeks to analyze if the state capture in transition can be overcome, i.e. if corruption and organized crime are inseparable from transition to democracy? In light of this dilemma: "diagnosis v. remedy", the discussion will analyze if the fight against corruption is a political question focusing on relationships of power, or a technical question focusing on resources and capacities. This panel might therefore redefine anti-corruption policies and approaches and offer recommendations and solutions.



ABOUT THE CONFERENCE



CONFERENCE IN THE CONTEXT OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

Even compared to the region, Bosnia and Herzegovina is particularly specific case due to its unique post-conflict state building process and complex constitutional structure. The country is organized into two entities (Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Republic of Srpska) and Brčko District. Federation of BiH is composed of 10 cantons, while municipalities and cities represent local government in both entities and Brčko District.

It might also be claimed thus that such complex constitutional and governmental set-up has negatively affected creation and implementation of the anti-corruption reforms in BiH. According to the European Commission, fight against corruption in BiH is hampered by a lack of harmonization of legislation across the country, and by weak institutional cooperation and coordination². The aforementioned complex constitutional and governmental set-up is not only a challenge but also an excuse used by political elites to avoid the implementation of reforms and continue the obstruction of rule of law. Fight against corruption is further stalled by lack of willingness to resolve institutional, legislative and policy challenges. Despite lengthy and complex processes, efforts to curb corruption in BiH proved to be unsustainable, stagnating and insignificant due to the fact that each initiative made by the International Community has not been sustained by domestic institutions which continuously sought for external assistance. Therefore, developing, promoting and implementing innovative approaches in combating corruption is essential for moving forward. A tool through which these innovative approaches can be offered is a gathering of academics and practitioners that can offer an insight to game-changing, innovative and ground-breaking practices and solutions.

PURPOSE OF THE CONFERENCE - RETHINKING ANTI-CORRUPTION POLICIES

Lack of progress in curbing corruption demands rethinking of anti-corruption strategies and the approach in setting up these policies. The purpose of the Conference is to provide academics' and practitioners' perspectives on the issue and provide a platform for exchange of ideas, knowledge and practices that would address the key dilemma: **has anti-corruption failed?** The Conference will be an opportunity to analyse the cause of standards in the approach to the issue, or in the capacities and resources devoted to fight against corruption? Other urging questions include: what is the reason behind the standards in decreasing the levels of corruption, mechanisms for strengthening institutional capacities for combating corruption, how to manage apathy towards fight against corruption and possibility of political transformation.

²Commission Opinion on Bosnia and Herzegovina's application for membership of the European Union (2019).

BACKGROUND OF THE CONFERENCE



To prevent and end adverse consequences of corruption, anti-corruption strategies are top priority in policy-making particularly in the developing countries. They have also been a top priority in the Balkans region. Western Balkans' transition to democracy has been followed by anti-corruption efforts at all levels of government. Despite decades-long efforts, little success has been achieved because corruption remains widespread at all levels of government, showing signs of political capture.

To that point, state capture is one of the most pervasive forms of corruption, where companies, institutions or powerful individuals use corrupt practices such as buying of laws, amendments, decrees or sentences, as well as making illegal contributions to political parties and candidates, to influence and shape country's policy, legal environment and economy to their own interests.

"State capture can broadly be understood as a disproportionate and unregulated influence of interest groups on decision-making processes, where special interest groups manage to bend state laws, policies and regulations through above mentioned illicit practices, as well as through legitimate lobbying and revolving door appointments"



WHAT IS TRANSPARENCY INTERNATIONAL IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA?

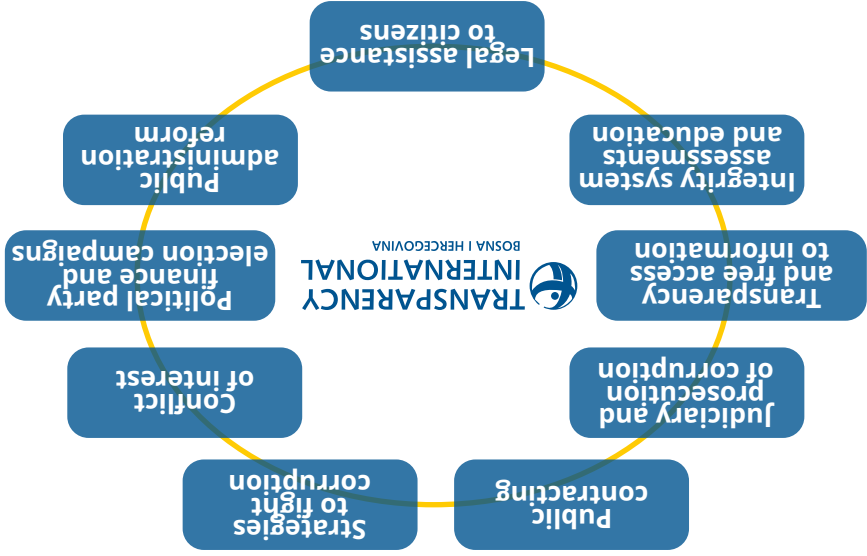


Transparency International in Bosnia and Herzegovina (TI BiH) is a non-governmental and non-profit organisation which was launched in 2001 and fully accredited in 2002 as a chapter of global Transparency International movement with the following vision:

A society based on equity, transparency and accountability, able to prevent and punish corruption.

We are an organisation that fights for systematic changes in society and articulates citizens' demands for accountable, transparent and efficient governance. We achieve this in partnership with public, private and civil sector. Transparency International in BiH has been monitoring anti-corruption reforms while simultaneously advocating and working for systemic changes that would ensure an accountable, transparent and efficient government

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November 29, 2019.
Sarajevo, Bosnia i Hercegovina

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE TIME TO ACT

REALITY OF
ANTICORRUPTION
POLICIES

