

FROM MULTIPLICITY TO SYNERGY?

ORGANISATIONAL PERSPECTIVES OF DEALING WITH THE PAST PROCESS IN SERBIA AND MONTENEGRO

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I Introduction

This report is a part of the regional survey conducted in Serbia & Montenegro, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Croatia on dealing with the past (hereinafter DWP) issues by Quaker Peace and Social Witness (hereinafter QPSW).

Report for Serbia & Montenegro was written by QPSW representative Natasa Milenkovic, the author of this report. The goal of this report is to describe:

- survey process (rationale, survey scope, methodology, and sample description),
- main actors in DWP,
- beneficiaries of the mapped activities, projects, and organisations,
- approaches applied to DWP
- cooperation at local, national and regional levels on DWP issues
- products
- obstacles
- donors
- future plans.

All of the named issues rendered recommendations for the future work on DWP in Serbia & Montenegro.

The preparation phase for this survey started in summer 2002, and continued when QPSW engaged a regional team (September 2002). The interviews and focus groups were conducted in Serbia & Montenegro from February until June 2003. Reports were composed from July 2003 until January 2004.

The context of Serbia & Montenegro has changed so many times over this period that it was impossible to have the same or a similar situation at the times the survey was prepared, implemented, and processed. One should bare this in mind when reading these reports.

II Process Description

a. Rationale

The rationale for carrying out this survey was to test whether:

- (i) there is a need to deal with the past in Serbia & Montenegro, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Croatia
- (ii) there are actors willing to engage in this process
- (iii) QPSW has a role to play in supporting these actors

The purpose of this survey is to allow QPSW to develop a new programme focused on DWP in Serbia & Montenegro, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Croatia. The purpose is

not to produce an all-encompassing study into DWP processes and attitudes in these countries – both timescale and budget limitations preclude this approach. This approach may only give us a partial picture of the societies' attitudes to DWP, but it will create a platform for the future in-depth and detailed work in this area.

b. Survey Scope

The aim of the survey was to obtain information about the current DWP processes in the region and assess potential for future work.

QPSW decided that the survey scope should be to work with organisations and individuals currently involved in DWP work, as well as, with those who have the potential to be involved in this type of work in the future. This will include NGOs, especially victims associations, cultural activists, informal community leaders, and the Truth and Reconciliation Committee representatives, where relevant.

c. Methodology

This survey consisted of:

- Semi-structured Interviews: QPSW carried out a survey of 100 NGOs, media, and cultural representatives, university professors, and war victim associations in Serbia & Montenegro, who currently work with or have the potential to work on DWP issues. Interviews were conducted with individuals and groups. The QPSW representative used the questionnaire listed under Annex 1. The interviewees received the questionnaire by e-mail/fax ahead of the interview, along with the letter of intention explaining the purpose of this survey. This gave the interviewees the opportunity to consider their responses carefully. Interviews lasted between one and three hours. The interviews were carried out by one QPSW regional representative in Serbia and three representatives in Montenegro. The representatives were careful not to lead the interviewees in the questioning.
- Focus Groups: Five focus groups were organized in Serbia and three more in Montenegro. These groups were attended by four participants on average. For each group, 10 participants were invited from different victim associations (associations of refugees and internally displaced persons - IDPs; associations of families of the missing persons; associations of war veterans and the association of detention camp victims). Each group was organized and facilitated by two experienced facilitators with a 5 - 12 year experience in the NGO sector. Focus groups covered around seven questions from the questionnaire. All members of the group were asked to answer each question. The focus groups lasted 3 - 4 hours and were held in Belgrade and Podgorica.

The interviews and focus groups were recorded and then transcribed. The QPSW representative in Serbia & Montenegro conducted analysis of the collected information relating to answers to questions number 6, 7 & 10 in survey questionnaire.

d. Sample

The process of selecting the interviewees when mapping a cluster was complicated, because the entire scope of DWP actors was not completely known in advance. That is why the snowball sample method was selected. This method creates a sample by asking every interviewee to name one or more actors, who could contribute to the study, thereby every interview renders more information about the scope and DWP actors. The final list of the interviewees was developed by utilizing personal contacts among the ones who were interviewed.

The key issue was to identify a number of individuals, who were believed to be as representative as possible for very diverse elements of the cluster. Finding the most diverse accesses to the cluster is the key to ensuring the snowball picks up all of the elements on its path. The sample represents main actors in this report, as well.

e. Sample Description

In Serbia, 102 people were interviewed during **83 interviews**, **77** of which were individual and **six group** interviews. People interviewed were from **86 different organisations**:

- **53** from **NGO sector**,
- **13** from **media**,
- **12** from **art and culture spheres (documentary film and contemporary theatre directors, publishing sector, etc.)**,
- **8 university professors** cooperating with **different NGOs and alternative education centres**.

The analysis conducted after the survey shows that among 102 people, 65 are women and 37 are men. By comparing general statistics about the third sector in Serbia and statistics of interviewees, numerous similarities can be noticed (for more info: www.crnps.org.yu; under “publications”, the third sector in Serbia, composed by NGO Policy group in 2001). There are more women than men, 70% of people are between 20 and 55 years old and are members of the majority nation with high education background (BA, MA & PhD). In geographical terms, 50% of the interviewed are from Belgrade, 30% from Vojvodina, and 20% from other parts in Serbia. The geographical dispersion among the interviewees is different from the third sector general division, because in Serbia, 30% of the NGOs are stationed in Belgrade, while 70% are in other parts of Serbia. This difference is the result of the fact that main DWP actors are from the intellectual elite.

Although political party members were not interviewed, it is very important to mention **three political parties** that were constantly involved in antiwar activities. Their representatives were the voice of the civil society, public, and political orientation. These three parties are:

- **Civic Alliance of Serbia,**
- **Social Democratic Union,**
- **League of Social Democrats of Vojvodina.**

There were **five focus groups** in Serbia with the following participants, who are direct victims of war:

- **associations of refugees** (nine of them in two focus groups),
- **associations of families of the missing persons** (four of them in one focus group),
- **associations of war veterans** (four of them in one focus group),
- **association of detention camp victims** (one person).

Focus groups and interviews produce different images of DWP. Focus groups actors are very important for DWP, but are less visible (if at all!) for the general population. Media picture of all direct victims of war is very problematic. Both, the general population and civil society actors hear, watch, and read about refugees, families of the missing persons, war veterans, and detention camp victims when some incident or a protest rally takes place, generally when it is 'sensational' news. This is one of the reasons why those social groups are "poorly" integrated in the general population and civil society. On the other hand, those people are the ones who have authentic motivation and direct interest to work on DWP. The most common answer cited by focus groups was: "We were never asked about DWP, that is why we came here".

In **Montenegro, 21** interviews were conducted with people from **18 organisations:**

- **11** from **NGO sector,**
- **2** from **political parties,**
- **2** from **media,**
- **one representative** from the following institutions: **university, private law firm, and association for the return of private property.**

Out of the 21 interviewees, 13 are men and eight women. Almost all of them have high education (BA & MA), 13 of whom belong to the majority nation/s and 14 are from Podgorica. This also shows the trends of the third sector in Montenegro and the specific DWP situation, where most of actors are from the capital city.

The antiwar block in **Montenegro in the 90-ties** was on one hand from the **political parties, Liberal Alliance of Montenegro and Social Democratic Party,** and on the other, from the media: Podgorica-based **weekly Monitor.**

The following organisations were engaged in **three focus groups in Montenegro:**

- **refugee associations** (nine people),
- **war veterans associations** (two people),
- **families of the missing persons** (two people).

For more details see the **lists of the group and individual interviews, classified by organisation and geographical location in Annexes 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6.**

III Main Actors of DWP in Serbia & Montenegro

Main actors comply with the sample of this survey. All the interviewees are from the civil society of Serbia & Montenegro.

The initial list of main actors for the interview was created utilizing the already existing social network, the experience of the QPSW representative in Serbia & Montenegro in the civil society (since 1994), and the analysis of the directory of the Centre for Development of Non-Profit Sector (2002). The initial list mainly covered NGO actors, several media representatives, and the University professors who have cooperated with NGOs on DWP issues. The initial list contained around 30 names and with the application of the snow ball method, the list grew to include more than 120 persons for the interview and over 30 persons for focus groups in Serbia & Montenegro. The main criteria when selecting persons for the interview was the **continuity of their activities in the DWP field**. Following the recommendations by the initial list interviewees, this group was selected as the most active representatives of the DWP work. NGOs, alternative media, cultural centres, and theatres are the core of “the civil society” in Serbia & Montenegro. It started off as an alternative to Milosevic’s regime and his pro-war politics. Given this, it is obvious why civil actors have been the most important representatives of DWP over the past 15 years. Until October 2000, **state authorities opposed DWP**, while the **new government is afraid and ambivalent** toward DWP. That is why **political officials, decision makers, and state institution representatives were not encompassed by this survey**. Considering the aims and the scope of this survey, the **general public** was not included either.

It is important to note for **Serbia** that most organisations engaged in DWP either **place DWP in a wider scope of work - 38** organisations (i.e. democracy, minority rights, different educational and cultural annual programmes...) or compose **indirect education programmes/projects - 24** organisations, where **young people are the beneficiaries**. The issues covered include: **tolerance, diversity, stereotypes & prejudices, human rights, conflict resolution, and non-violent communication**. It is widely believed that young people are the future of Serbia & Montenegro, therefore many programmes are dedicated to this beneficiary group. There is a very **small number of NGOs** with projects and programmes for **direct work** on DWP issues. This group of organisations can be divided into:

- a. those with two or more DWP projects - **27** organisations
- b. those with one DWP project – **seven** organisations

In Montenegro, the situation is similar and different at the same time. Organisations and individuals with **direct projects on DWP** are divided into two groups: those **joining**

the existing regional projects/networks and branch offices established by organisations headquartered in Belgrade. Authentic actions in Montenegro are related to DWP actors work **on certain crimes** committed in their territory (Bukovica and Strpci) and the role the Montenegrin army personnel on the Dubrovnik front.

A **serious** and **in-depth** analysis of DWP issues requires a common **database** containing names and definitions of projects and programmes, including their precise goals, duration, activities, and impact on all levels of work. Such a **database** could be a source for a future analysis of the following questions:

- what are lessons learned
- what are indicators of a successful work on DWP issues

Given that such a database does not exist yet, this report could not have produced an in-depth analysis, but can rather map the trends in DWP work in Serbia & Montenegro.

IV Beneficiaries

There can **hardly** be made any **division** between the beneficiaries and the main actors of DWP, for a very simple reason: no social group in the Serbia & Montenegro society “has dealt with the past”. **These two groups often overlap**. In this context, word “**beneficiaries**” is used as a NGO term in the project language for **the group of people to whom certain activities are dedicated**. This is what **interviewees** say about **beneficiaries in their projects**:

In **Serbia**, if types of activities directly linked to beneficiaries are examined, it could be seen that in most cases, the main beneficiary group is the **general population**. The second beneficiary group is **youth**, meaning the age between 8 and 35 (see more in Annex 7 dealing with programmes for youth). Youth, as a beneficiary group, is less encompassed by activities undertaken at the regional level than at the national and local levels. Furthermore, **minorities** and **direct war victims** (refugees, war veterans, women raped in wars, detention camp prisoners) are often cited as beneficiary groups. As for sub-regions, specific groups are as **believers** (in Novi Sad) and **village people** (Southern Serbia and Sandzak region). The expected beneficiaries are civil society representatives: **NGO activists and volunteers, students, political parties’ members, media representatives, and trade unions representatives. Professionals** from different areas use available documentation, follow the media information, and study researches. The **state** officials are directly linked to DWP issues related to command responsibility, legislation (adoption of necessary laws pertaining to DWP), and cooperation with The Hague-based International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (hereinafter the ICTY).

As for **Montenegro**, beneficiary groups are almost the same as in Serbia. The interviewees did **not only mention the believers and trade unions**.

The list of beneficiary groups is long and appears to have included all social groups. The following question is directly related to beneficiaries: **“Who visits DWP related public events?”** The most frequent answers were: **direct victims of war, minorities, majority nation citizens already interested in DWP, and people from/in inter-ethnic marriages.** The conclusion is simple: **the number of general population participating in DWP issues is still very scarce.**

V Approaches Applied in DWP

Approaches to DWP are very diverse. The below table should be used to obtain an overall picture of what has been done on DWP and what kind of activities need to be taken in Serbia & Montenegro.

There are several major areas where DWP is being amplified, which are classified according to dominant activity types and their possible influence on wider public. These areas are: **Art and Culture, Documentation and Researches, Education, Direct Assistance, Advocacy and Policy Influencing, Public Events and Debates, and Media.**

The lack of consensus and common meaning of different terms are not specific for the DWP concept only, but are **rather wide spread problems in the civil sector terminology in Serbia & Montenegro.** **Approaches and understanding of different DWP actors** are, therefore very open. For example, round tables are referred to as public debates, forums, and round tables, depending on a DWP actor. Differences not only lie in the names, but in the methodological implementation of the same approach. Anyhow, two most common types of activities are: **round tables and publishing activities.** They are dominant because of their direct link with main actors, i.e. intellectual elite. These activities are listed in **Annexes 8 and 9.**

This **list is not consistent** due to a large number of different approaches applied on the same issue therefore no precise link can be established between a certain approach and a certain issue. There are two reasons for this: **the interviewer** did not insist on **precise answers** to questions which would have helped analyse this matter, nor did the **interviewees** give **precise** descriptions on **how** they work in DWP projects.

In Montenegro, the level of activities is much less intense in comparison to Serbia. There are two reasons: it is a much smaller country and it had a different context and role over the past 15 years.

I Art and Culture	
1. Theatre Performances	
Serbia	Theatre performances, as a DWP tool , are applied by contemporary theatres (Dah Theatre – Theatre Research Centre and CEDEUM - Centre for Drama in Education and Art)

	<p>in Serbia, and performed in alternative cultural centres: REX – B92 Cultural Centre, Centre for Cultural Decontamination, and Cultural Centre Stari Grad (Belgrade municipality).</p> <p>Example: Theatre performance on the Srebrenica crime “Maps of Forbidden Memory” - Dah Theatre.</p> <p>This theatre performance was a joint effort of two theatres from Belgrade and the U.S. Everybody worked on their own unhealed wounds. The U.S. theatre worked on the slavery related issues, while the Serbian theatre dealt with the Srebrenica crime. Both of them wanted to explore the issue of responsibility and clearly voice that crimes can never be out-dated, i.e., that it does not matter whether a crime was committed two centuries or two years ago. The horror of a crime does not become smaller in the course of time. They tried to work on the transformation, because they believe that unless those horrors are transformed into something else, they will leave a trace on countries, nations, and individuals.</p>
Montenegro	No such way of work detected.
2. Street Performances	
Serbia	<p>Example: Street performances on the Srebrenica crime and Operation Storm conducted by the Women’s Peace Group Pancevo</p> <p>Independent theatre groups performed and the people who attended the play were different from those NGOs can assemble. Performances, as a DWP tool, are very good for opening painful issues from the DWP scope and for work with young people at the same time. This way, painful issues can be presented without pathetically or manipulative approach. Performances as such are inducing both, rational and emotional processes among the audience.</p>
Montenegro	No such way of work detected.
3. Music Festivals	
Serbia	<p>Example: music festival EXIT in Novi Sad</p> <p>Music festival EXIT has brought together the public and bands from the post Yugoslavia countries over the past three years in Novi Sad. This is an indirect way to work on DWP by bringing together both music bands and public from the conflict zones and bind them with something in common: MUSIC.</p>
Montenegro	No such way of work detected.
4. Exhibitions	
Serbia	<p>Exhibition covered issues directly related to the past 15 years:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ron Haviv: Blood and Honey;

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The State Commission for Truth and Reconciliation: Media about war. <p>Or they cover much longer period of our past:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • REX – B92 cultural centre: on Jews; • REX – B92 cultural centre: on Roma issues.
Montenegro	No such way of work detected.
II Documentation and Research	
1. Documentation Centres	
Serbia	Documentation Centre of Wars 1991 – 1999, Humanitarian Law Centre, and Helsinki Committee for Human Rights in Serbia have the most reliable documentation on DWP. Documentation available in these organisations contains testimonies of victims, photos, films, and libraries with DWP related documents.
Montenegro	The Podgorica-based weekly Monitor has an archive of its printed copies. The weekly has covered most of DWP related issues in the region, which represent reliable media documentation.
2. Documentary Films	
Serbia	<p>There are three media houses that have produced DWP related documentary films: B92, Arhitekt, and SPES Film.</p> <p>Example: documentary film “Black Raven” – SPES Film This film, directed by Zelimir Gvardiol, is a story about the Vukovic family from Kraljevo during the NATO air strikes in 1999. The son was drafted and deployed to Kosovo, where he was killed. After some time, the then Serbian president Slobodan Milosevic wished to present a post humus medal of courage to the son. The father refused to accept the medal, which received good media coverage in Serbia. As a symbolic gesture, it was very powerful. On the other hand, the grandfather was member of Milosevic’s ruling party and received the medal of courage for his killed grandson. The grandfather and the father of the killed young man have not spoken a word since. The film was produced in 2001.</p>
Montenegro	No such way of work detected.
3. Documenting Oral Histories	
Serbia	Oral history is in the pioneering phase in Serbia. The first book contains testimonies of German and Roma women. It was made through the international project entitled: “Women’s Memory... discovery of women’s identity during socialism”. In Serbia, it was done by Nadezda Radovic and the Women’s Studies & Researches in Novi Sad. Books on German women (from Vojvodina) are made in two editions: the first about the female survivors of communist detention camps after WW II

	and the other about those who wanted to marry ‘winners’ and thereby ‘integrate’ in the society. The book “The Roma Women” is actually the first oral history book in the entire Central and Eastern Europe about Roma women, made within the same project of the Women’s Studies & Researches in Novi Sad. Another initiative on oral histories has been started by the Documentation Centre of Wars ’91 - ’99, by collecting personal stories of direct victims of wars 1991 - 1999.
Montenegro	No such way of work detected.
4. Researches	
Serbia	Researches related to certain DWP issues are from the following fields: sociology, psychology, media, anthropology, and public opinion. Many local and international scientists have partly covered these issues in different researches. “ The Serbian Side of the War ” is the only research completely dedicated to DWP. For more info see Cooperation section.
Montenegro	No such way of work detected.
5. Publishing	
Serbia	Publishing is the second most common type of activities. It includes books and all other sorts of published materials. In this activity, intellectuals who are not related to DWP through any organisations give their own contribution to DWP. For further details see Products section.
Montenegro	Individual authors are engaged in publishing activities. Some books are directly dealing with crimes (Strpci, Bukovica, Dubrovnik), while some have indirect links with DWP .
III Education	
1. Courses	
Serbia	A history course entitled “ Myth, Stereotypes, Tradition & History, ” conducted by Dubravka Stojanovic, PhD in history, at alternative education centres such as: Women’s Studies Centre, Peace Studies, Belgrade Open School, Alternative Academic Educational Network, is one of examples.
Montenegro	No such way of work detected.
2. Seminars	
Serbia	This way of work has been applied to different beneficiaries: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • history teachers (Association for Social History) • primary and high school teachers (TRAIL Association – Nis; Group MOST, Group 484, CEDEUM – Belgrade; Centre for Multiculturalism – Novi Sad; Open University – Subotica) • war veterans (Association for mental health protection of war veterans and war victims 1991 – 1999 from Novi Sad) • faiths believers (Humanitarian organization “Tabita” –

	<p>Novi Sad)</p> <p>Usual mixed beneficiary group is: NGO representatives, political parties' members, media representatives, and student union members.</p> <p>Example of seminars, as a DWP approach: The project "The Question of Guilt and the Answer of Responsibility" of the Nis-based Committee for Civic Initiative was an attempt to face the causes and consequences of the wars waged in the territory of the former Yugoslavia – through a series of lectures, workshops, and open discussions, conversations with the participants and citizens, and public presentation of video material. This project consisted of five cycles, twelve lectures and workshops in each cycle held in southern and eastern Serbia towns: Leskovac, Prokuplje, Zajecar, Vranje, and Jagodina. Public discussions were also held in these towns, with an additional two seminars in Nis. Six documentaries were made in cooperation with the Nis Television (NTV). The participants were young journalists, political party members, members of NGOs and student organisations. The project took place in 2002.</p>
Montenegro	No such way of work detected.
3. Workshops	
Serbia	Workshops, as a DWP approach, are applied by peace and women's NGOs . They are also applied in cases where young people are the beneficiary group .
Montenegro	This methodological tool is mainly applied by peace and women's organisations .
IV Direct Assistance	
1. Direct Protection of Human Rights	
Serbia	<p>Example of work on specific war crimes:</p> <p>Humanitarian Law Centre is the only human rights organisation in Serbia & Montenegro dealing with every crime committed in the territory of this country. Work on certain crime includes collecting all available documentation, support to families in court proceedings, and lobbying both, state institutions and international political actors to proceed with these cases. For more details see Annex 10.</p>
Montenegro	Direct protection of human rights is mostly related to crimes committed against minorities in the territory of Montenegro . As such, it has been covered by NGOs (Humanitarian Law Centre), different minority associations (Almanah), private law firms (Velija Muric and Dragan Prelevic), and MPs lobbying (Social Democratic Party and Liberal Alliance of Montenegro). For more details see Annex 11.

2. Psychosocial Support	
Serbia	<p>Psychosocial support is offered to direct war victims, detention camp prisoners, women raped in wars, refugees, IDPs, and war veterans. This kind of work was much more intense during the war and immediately after the war ended, for all beneficiary groups, excluding war veterans. War veterans have been seeking this kind of support since 1999. The majority of these people needed this kind of support during the crisis times, while today, they try to cope with life without counsellors. The most traumatized people are still either under psychiatric treatment or are not ready to undergo any therapy.</p> <p>Trends in refugee issues related work have undergone phases of humanitarian aid, IGP/economic/psychosocial support, and development approach, to reach the current level of advocacy and policy making. Legal assistance has been a constant trend.</p>
Montenegro	<p>Psychosocial work with direct war victims was more done in the past than today. Beneficiaries were refugees, IDPs, and war veterans. This work was performed dominantly by psychologists (either through local NGOs or engaged by international organisations) or some other counselling professionals.</p>
V Advocacy and Policy Influencing	
1. Campaigns	
Serbia	<p>Example: Campaign “Face It” implemented by the Belgrade-based NGO Centre for Media Development</p> <p>This campaign was supported and conducted by activists of numerous NGOs in Serbia, as well as, youth sections of Social Democratic Party, Civic Alliance of Serbia, and League of Social Democrats of Vojvodina. Around 100 people were in some way engaged in “Face It” campaign, which lasted three months. It was implemented through billboards, posters, TV clips on B92 TV, radio jingles on radio B92, and round tables in eight towns. Media (mainly electronic media) reported about round tables held in these eight towns, but also gave coverage of other towns where round tables were not held. At least 15 local media covered this campaign. “Face It” was organized in 2002.</p>
Montenegro	<p>Example: Campaign “Forgive Dubrovnik” was organized by Humanitarian Law Centre (HLC) in cooperation with Youth Parliament of Montenegro, Boka Centre for Tolerance and Civic House – NGO club of the city of Cetinje.</p> <p>It was organized during October and November 2002. The aim</p>

	of this campaign was to say “ excuse us ” to Montenegro’s neighbouring states: Croatia and BiH . The main drive of this campaign was to collect the necessary number of signatures in five towns in order to make the local authorities name one street in each town after Dubrovnik . HLC representative said that this campaign would continue , as no street in any of the five towns has been named after Dubrovnik.
2. Monitoring Human Rights	
Serbia	Monitoring is directly linked with work on minority rights and the EU conditions for the admission of Serbia & Montenegro to the organisation. Many human rights organisations are engaged in this field.
Montenegro	Monitoring of minority rights is carried out by Humanitarian Law Centre and different minority associations. Another way of minority rights work is to present and inform about the EU standards for minorities , applied by ASK NGO in cooperation with different minority associations in the country.
3. Composing Bills on DWP issues	
Serbia	<p>There are five DWP related laws:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Law on War Crimes • Law on Lustration • Law on Security Service Files • Law on Denationalization • Law on Rehabilitation <p>After composing a bill, NGOs seek partners among political parties and then conduct the lobbying. Certain political parties have composed bills and forwarded them to the Serbian Parliament., which has so far adopted the Law on War Crimes and Law on Lustration.</p> <p>Example: Law on security service files: Bills on security service files and conferences about it: Two bills were composed by Centre for Antiwar Action - CAA (2001) and Centre for Advanced Legal Studies (2002). The bills offered answers to many questions related to opening files of citizens held by several secret services in the period from 1945 until 2001. CAA organized a conference devoted to this issue in 2002, when it presented the two bills. Lawyers’ Committee for Human Rights (YUCOM) also organized a conference with Konrad Adenauer Stiftung in 2001, presenting the issue related examples from Germany and Poland. This law is directly linked and necessary for work of the Lustration Commission established in 2003. However, the Law on security service files has not been adopted by the Serbian Parliament yet.</p>
Montenegro	Two bills have been composed by NGOs :

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bill on the return of private property (Podgorica Association for return and protection of private property) • Bill on lustration (Centre for De-Nazification). <p>After composing a bill, NGOs seek partners among political parties and then lobby for it in the Montenegrin Parliament.</p>
VI Public Events and Debates	
1. Round Tables	
Serbia	<p>This is among the most common activities on DWP, dealing with: the ICTY work, guilt, responsibility, appropriate reconciliation model in Serbia & Montenegro, minority rights, certain war crimes and testimonies of families of the missing persons, new bills, and issues related to war veterans and refugees.</p> <p>Regional level: Round tables are again the usual type of activity, but at this level, they are organized in a two-way direction: civil society actors from BiH and Croatia are guest speakers in different towns in Serbia and civil society actors from Serbia are guest speakers in BiH, Croatia, and Kosovo/a.</p>
Montenegro	This type of activity on DWP issues is implemented by NGOs and political parties , as well.
2. Conferences	
Serbia	<p>Conferences were related to discovering reconciliation models that would be most appropriate for Serbia & Montenegro, considering examples from other countries (South Africa, Northern Ireland, Chile, Germany/France...); theoretical understanding, the exchange of DWP related experiences with foreign guests, certain war crimes committed in the territory of Montenegro (Strpci and Bukovica); laws related to DWP (Law on security service files), and command responsibility. The following organisations applied conferences as a DWP tool: B92, Humanitarian Law Centre, Victimology Society of Serbia, Women in Black, and Centre for Multiculturalism.</p> <p>Example: International conference entitled “In Search for Truth and Responsibility” – B92</p> <p>This conference was organized by B92, in Ulcinj, Montenegro in 2001. There were 50 participants from Serbia & Montenegro, the region, and other foreign countries. It was important not only because it brought together a large number of experts from the country and all over the world, but also because it marked the beginning of the very long and painful process of facing the truth, considering the responsibility in Serbia & Montenegro and the South-Eastern Europe (hereinafter SEE).</p>

Montenegro	<p>Example: Conference on the crimes in Strpci and Bukovica</p> <p>It was organized by Humanitarian Law Centre in cooperation with “Almanah” and weekly Monitor in February 2003. It was not only the first conference in Montenegro that dealt with specific crimes committed in the territory of Montenegro, but it also brought together for the first time families of the missing persons, MPs, and government representatives, as well as NGO activists and journalists.</p>
3. Street Actions/Peace and Antiwar Protests	
Serbia	The most famous examples are silent street antiwar protests of Women in Black , organized every Wednesday at Belgrade’s central square during the wars.
Montenegro	Street peace & antiwar protests were more held over the past 15 years than today. Probably the most famous one was organized in Cetinje in the early 90-ties by Liberal Alliance of Montenegro Unity entitled “ Forgive Us Dubrovnik! ” Other protest rallies were organized by “ Public against fascism ” in Podgorica , while in Kotor , peace street actions were initiated by “ Anima ” NGO . Today , peace protests in Podgorica are organized by Women’s Peace Network in Montenegro .
4. Praying for Peace	
Serbia	Spiritual work was organized as weekly prayers for peace by Ecumenical Humanitarian Organisation (EHO) in Novi Sad from 1993 to 1996. EHO was founded by three protestant churches and the Serbian Orthodox Church. These prayers were at the same time ecumenical and inter-confessional (both members of Islamic and Jewish community joined this activity). Now, this activity is organized on a monthly basis. For the believers, this was the only place where they could meet people who shared the same views and opinion on the events that were going on. The prayers were organized each week in other church, where the priest of that church was the host, and priests of all other churches participating, imam and rabbi were attending, as well as, all believers. Spiritual work is one of the DWP work levels, thus the praying can be one of the activities.
Montenegro	No such way of work detected.
VII Media	
Serbia	Media work is everything on DWP covered by radio, TV, independent TV production groups, newspapers, magazines, weeklies, and media documentation consulting firms. The media highly devoted to DWP issues are: Radio 021 (Novi Sad), B92 Radio and TV; Belgrade-based daily “Danas”; weeklies: “Vreme” (Belgrade), Nezavisna Svetlost (Kragujevac), Vranjske Novine (Vranje); the Belgrade-based magazine Republika; Independent TV production groups also

	cover this issue (VIN, TV Net, Urbans). Independent Ebert consulting is doing press clipping on DWP in Serbia and presentation of trials before the ICTY in the local press, covering 2002 and 2003. The Serbian National TV RTS is still very shy about DWP and runs only a biweekly broadcast on the ICTY.
Montenegro	The following media were cited as important for DWP in Montenegro : weeklies: Monitor and Polje , magazine Almanah and Antena M Radio.

VI Cooperation at Local, National, and Regional Levels

Cooperation at local, national, and regional levels means that **trust has been built and work relations developed** among DWP actors. This is the **already existing social capital** that should serve as a **starting point** for every DWP related work. The application of the existing **knowledge** (referring to approaches implemented and the results produced by each approach and the possibility of establishing cooperation – where and with whom) can lead to a **synergy** of DWP related activities undertaken in Serbia & Montenegro. Learning about the work of other DWP actors will create continuity.

As for the number of participants in a project implementation, **single** and **joint projects** exist at all three levels - local, national, and regional, while **networks** exist at national and regional levels and **coalition** at the national level only.

Single projects are those implemented by a single organisation or an individual and are composed and conceptualized by the same organisation/team/individual. In this case, one organisation does the fundraising and implements a project either through its core team or with the support from volunteers, associates, and other organisations. The organisation has full ownership over the project and the results.

Joint projects are cited as much wider phenomena by interviewees, who see them as any common work (action/activity/project/programme) conducted by two or more organisations. In this case, a donor is often presented as the second organisation. In this report, **joint projects** are referred to as a mutual intellectual exchange in terms of the project conceptualization, joint effort in fundraising, joint implementation, and joint ownership over the results and products.

Network is a group of organisations and/or individuals connected with the aim of cooperating and supporting each other.

Coalition is a group of organisations and/or individuals cooperating within a structured and designed framework, aimed at achieving a common goal.

This is an attempt to present cooperation at local, national, and regional levels classified by single and joint projects, networks and coalitions:

1. Local Level

This type of cooperation means the work conducted in a town or city where the organisation is based. The work often encompasses the entire sub-region, e.g. Vojvodina, Sandzak, Toplica, Southern Serbia, northern Montenegro, and Boka Kotorska.

The classification by the number of participants in a project implementation at the local level shows that **single projects** by a single organisation or an individual are the most common form of work. Many different approaches are used under this form.

Two examples of work at the local level through **single projects** implemented by single organisations:

***Grassroots work in divided communities** is much less present today than during the wars. Among a very few organisations engaged in this kind of work is Neighbours for Peace, which covers Bujanovac (Southern Serbia) and four surrounding villages. This group works with all ethnic groups in the region following the needs of the local population: organizes computer courses for teachers, sewing courses for women, youth centres for young people in four surrounding villages, and chess school for children.*

***In certain alternative centres, DWP is a part of the regular annual programme** (cultural centres: REX – B92 cultural Centre, Centre for Cultural Decontamination; education centres: Peace Studies, Women’s Studies Centre, Belgrade Open School, Alternative Academic Educational Network).*

Joint projects at the local level are not a very spread type of work in Serbia & Montenegro.

An example of joint work at the local level:

***Spiritual work** was organized as **weekly peace prayers** by Ecumenical humanitarian organisation (EHO) in Novi Sad from 1993 to 1996. EHO was founded by three protestant churches and the Serbian Orthodox Church. The praying was at the same time ecumenical and inter-confessional (both members of Islam and Jewish communities joined this activity). Now, it is organized on a monthly basis. For people who are believers this was the only place where they could meet other people who shared the same opinion and feeling for the war(s) that were waged at that time. Every week, prayers were organized in a different church, wherein the head priest would be the host, while priests of all other churches participating, imam and rabbi attended the praying together with believers. Spiritual work is a level of DWP work, therefore the praying can be a type of activity.*

Networks and coalitions do not exist at the local level.

2. National Level

This type of cooperation means work either in Serbia or in Montenegro.

As for the locations initiating cooperation, the metropolisation trend is obvious. Any kind of cooperation in Serbia & Montenegro always derives from Belgrade, Novi Sad, and Podgorica.

There are more **single projects** at the national than the local level.

Examples:

Organisations headquartered in these three cities seek local NGOs for the implementation of a certain activity (almost all round tables outside these three cities are organized in this manner).

The same project with different implementers (exhibition “Blood and Honey” by Ron Haviv).

One NGO brings together all actors dealing with the same crime (the conference on Strpci and Bukovica, organized in Podgorica by Humanitarian Law Centre).

Different TV production companies or theatres offer to their professional networks certain TV broadcasts, films, and performances related to DWP issues.

If there is no organized group of people for a certain project, the leading NGO forms a group of individuals (Association for mental health protection of war veterans and war victims 1991 – 1999 from Novi Sad formed several self-help groups of ethnically mixed war veterans in Southern Serbia).

Human rights groups have been monitoring the minority issues for years through their branch offices. Their work is therefore long in terms of time and deep in terms of their overall knowledge about minorities.

*Montenegro: Almost all activities under the category of round tables, workshops, campaigns, and street actions are developing in the following manner: **organisations from the capital city seek local NGOs or individuals for the implementation of a certain activity/project** (Podgorica-based ASK NGO together with minority associations works on the EU standards for minority rights).*

Examples of **joint projects** at the national level:

“Truth and Responsibility” initiated by Republika magazine, Cacak-based Civic Parliament of Serbia and Documentation Centre of Wars 1991-1999. Donor: The

Ministry of Culture and Informing. Used approach: movie **“Serbia, Year Zero”** directed by Goran Markovic and the following **discussion on truth and responsibility**, organized in 20 towns in Serbia and Mostar (BiH). See Annex 12 for more details: **where** it took place and **who** were **local implementers**.

“The Serbian Side of the War” is one of the most important **researches**, conducted in the mid 90-ties, while the wars were still being waged. This is a multidisciplinary research dealing with the causes and reasons of the events in Serbia in the late 80-ties. It has been translated into many foreign languages. **“The participation of a large group of researchers provided a quality intellectual exchange”**, research editor Nebojsa Popov has said.

“Enough of Crimes!” campaign was launched after the assassination of Serbian Prime Minister Zoran Djindjic in March 2003. The majority of the persons arrested in police Operation **“Saber”** were also war criminals. This campaign reminded people (both the state officials and general public) that war crimes were equally, if not more, important than drug-related crimes, which most of the arrested criminals were charged with. The campaign was a common effort of 100 NGOs in 40 towns of Serbia, initiated and planned out by at least 15 NGOs. They printed 550,000 copies of leaflets, saying: **“We demand justice”** and **“Vukovar, Sarajevo, Srebrenica, Kosovo, Nemanjina 11”**, and distributed them throughout Serbia. The fliers could be seen in almost all Serbia’s towns. This was a good example of linking the present with the past context of the country.

“The Culture of Cohabitation” represents a joint work at the governmental and NGO levels. It was a joint project of the Ministry of Minorities and Human Rights and Centre for Interactive Pedagogy in Belgrade. The Ministry initiated a project entitled **“The Culture of Cohabitation”**, where political parties’ youth organisations, NGOs, and the media in the Sandzak region were learning together about non-violent communication, conflict resolution skills, stereotypes, and prejudice. Similar projects for the same beneficiary group have been implemented in southern Serbia, where educational seminars were organized by the Ministry of Minorities and Human Rights and the OSCE and implemented by Belgrade Centre for Interactive Pedagogy.

Networks and coalition at the national level:

Networks are established by the **Women in Black** and the **Women’s Peace Network of Montenegro**. **Coalition** is initiated by **Freedom House**.

Women in Black (WiB) network members were interviewed in a group interview. **WiB** set up a network of different women’s NGOs and individuals throughout Serbia. The network covers at least 15 different towns. Consequently, the field work throughout Serbia has been their main programme since 1998. The usual type of **WiB** activities are workshops on different issues pertaining to peace, antimilitarism, responsibility, etc. Workshops, as an approach, were applied from 1998 – 2002, to bring together activists in five towns: Novi Sad, Kragujevac, Kraljevo, Novi Pazar, and Niksic. Since 2002,

workshops and seminars have been organized for activists in different sub-regions of Serbia and they are related to the needs of a particular sub-region. Street actions have been organized in at least 12 towns in Serbia & Montenegro. Work on conscience objection (CO) has been conducted through the network, collecting 30,000 signatures for the bill on CO. Besides the usual peace and antimilitaristic activities, some other have been undertaken pertaining to DWP, such as the project entitled “Bridges of Peace and Democracy”, during which guests speakers from Croatia, BiH and Montenegro were invited to talk at public round tables in different towns (Bela Crkva, Pirot, Kraljevo, Leskovac, Nis, Prokuplje) in Serbia. BBC film on Srebrenica “The Scream from the Grave” was played in three towns in Serbia before organizing a public discussion. Sometimes, DWP activities have been combined with other NGOs; projects, where, for example, common round tables were organized after film “Novo, novo vrijeme” by a Croatian author in Cacak and Pancevo together with Republika and the Civic Parliament of Serbia. They were among the initiators of the “Enough of Crimes” campaign.

Women’s Peace Network of Montenegro was set up in 2001, inspired by the activities Women in Black conducted in Montenegro from 1998-2000. Their major activities are **street actions, workshops, and public round tables.**

Another attempt is “**Coalition for Reconciliation**”, organized by **Freedom House**, which brought together around 12 local partners to form the coalition’s board in February 2003: Lawyers’ Committee for Human Rights (YUCOM), Humanitarian Law Centre, “Argument” Agency – agency for applied sociological and political research, Novi Pazar-based Urban-in NGO, Toplica Initiative, B92 TV, Centre for regional dialogue, Helsinki Committee for Human Rights in Sandzak, Subotica-based Open University, Centre for Regionalization, Uzice-based Libergraf NGO, and Nis-based TRAIL Association. They divided the work in lobbying and education. Several board members had meetings with Natasa Micic, the Serbian acting president at the time, lobbying for additional DWP work by institutions. Several single projects composed by single organisations have been submitted. At present, it is the status quo situation in the coalition.

3. Regional Level

Regional cooperation in this survey and report implies the work in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, and Serbia & Montenegro, while Romania, Hungary, Kosovo/a, and Macedonia are cited as the neighbouring countries/regions.

See in Annex 13, on projects initiated at the regional level and Annex 14, for approaches applied.

In Serbia, **initiatives of local actors** are either launched from **Belgrade** or **Vojvodina towns** (Novi Sad, Pancevo, Subotica, Backa Palanka, Sombor). In other parts of **Serbia**, only **ONE regional project** has been initiated by **NGO TRAIL** from **Nis**. **Vojvodina initiatives** usually bring together **NGO actors from Vojvodina, Slavonija**

(Croatia), Hungary, Romania, or develop within the triangle of one town from Vojvodina, and Tuzla (BiH), and Osijek (Croatia) each.

It is important to note that **organisations outside the capital cities of Serbia and Montenegro** (exception is the sub-region of Vojvodina with Novi Sad as the capital) rarely **compose and implement projects independently from the capital cities.**

Examples of **single projects** at the regional level:

Centre for Non-violent action (CNA): “Four views: From the past: How I found myself in war? Towards the future: How to reach sustainable peace?”

In Serbia, CNA has held four round tables entitled: "Four views: From the past: How I found myself in war? Towards the future: How to reach sustainable peace?". The guests were four direct war participants in the region of the former Yugoslavia. The ex-combatants were from Sarajevo, Zagreb, and Belgrade. These round tables were organized in Indjija, Nis, Novi Pazar, and Kragujevac in June 2002, under auspice of local NGOs and with the support from the local authorities, media, and police departments.

This kind of work has continued in BiH. Two round tables were held in Zenica and Banja Luka in March 2003. The speakers were ex-combatants of the wars in the former Yugoslavia.

These round tables continued in Serbia & Montenegro in 2003.

One **regional research on the psychological aspects** of reconciliation has been conducted by **Documentary Centre of Wars '91 – '99** in cooperation with professionals from BiH and Croatia.

Examples of **joint projects** at the regional level:

Humanitarian Law Centre and Helsinki Committee for Human Rights in Serbia brought together **regional high profile civil society actors** on Zabljak (Montenegro) in 2000. They tried to agree on a **regional model of DWP cooperation. The attempt failed** as they presented **different ideas of a regional cooperation model.**

Another **initiative is Igman**, launched in Banja Luka in 2000, **focusing on economy, politics, and culture.** The initiative applied the **triangle model** (one town from each country: Serbia & Montenegro, Croatia, and BiH).

Triangle projects on refugee issues:

Very good examples cited by Group 484 and VIN TV production are “triangle projects”, where 14 NGOs from Serbia, BiH, and Croatia work either directly on their problems (information and legal support; the return of property issue) or indirectly by addressing

these issues on TV, when the media invite representatives from all three countries (TV VIN production with counter partners from Croatia and BiH). As the motivation of refugees is authentic and strong and their problems are real, it is easy to define common “triangle” interests. No wonder such projects have been highly successful. In this case, it does not matter whether a project was initiated by one of regional networks (FRESTA initiated South East European Refugee Assistance Network SEE-RAN) or implemented as a project of the UNHCR (media work).

International Conference “The Legacy of Hanna Arendt: Beyond Totalitarianism and Terror” organized by Women's Studies Centre and Belgrade Circle in Belgrade in July 2002. Hanna Arendt is one of the most important theoretical authors for DWP. This conference helped restore a balance in the often disturbed public stand on own responsibility for the traumatic past and was necessary for breaking up with the violent repetition of the past. The conference on Hanna Arendt was a public lesson on how national identity is actually a relic from the past model of social behaviour. The conference was attended by around 100 professionals from Serbia and abroad.

Examples of **networks** at the regional level:

FRESTA – Refugee Assistance Network in Southern-Eastern Europe - SEE RAN

The mission of SEE-RAN is to support the process of repatriation, re/-integration, and reconciliation of refugees and IDPs through joint actions at the regional level and through mutual strengthening of network members, thereby contributing to the development of the civil society. Presently, SEE-RAN comprises of 27 NGOs and 45 radio stations. The mission will be conducted through joint projects, the exchange of experiences, and the implementation of best practices and capacity building programmes. SEE-RAN members consider collaboration among NGOs across ethnic and national boundaries on refugee issues of vital importance, and are a valuable contribution to the process of restoring peace and stability in the region. SEE-RAN works with an open approach, connects and cooperates with other partners in order to increase the impact as to facilitate coordination of projects. The work areas cover: legal counselling and protection, psycho-social support, income generating programme, information work, youth work, and humanitarian aid.

FRESTA – Balkan Human Rights Network - B-HRN

The aim of the network is to promote human rights standards in the Balkans in legislation, as well as, in administrative practice. The further aim of the network is to contribute to the peace-making and reconciliation process in the Balkans after a long period of violent conflicts. The long term aim is to develop stable and democratic societies in the Balkans. Presently, B-HRN comprises 38 organisations from Albania, BiH, Croatia, Kosovo, Macedonia, and Serbia & Montenegro. Basic concepts are: democratic societies will not initiate violent conflicts against each other; human rights work shall be build-up from the ground; flexibility; and regional thinking. The B-HRN is

not an exclusive club of members. The intention is to include as many as possible organisations in the network.

Nansen Network

Nansen Network comprises eight dialogue centres in the regions of the former Yugoslavia: Serbia (Belgrade), Montenegro (Podgorica), Macedonia (Skopje), Bosnia and Herzegovina (Banja Luka, Mostar and Sarajevo), Croatia (Osijek), and Kosovo (Pristina). Apart from the regional centres, the Nansen Network includes the Nansen Academy in Lillehammer and PRIO (the International Peace Research Institute, Oslo) from Norway. The idea of establishing Nansen Dialogue Centres (NDC) in the Balkans appeared as the need after years of running a successful project entitled “Democracy, Human Rights, and Peaceful Conflict Resolution” organized by the following Norwegian organisations: the [Nansenskolen Academy](#) in Lillehammer, the [International Peace Research Institute](#) in Oslo, the [Norwegian Red Cross](#), and the [Norwegian Church Aid](#). The first Nansen group that succeeded in applying these values locally was a group of former Lillehammer participants from Prishtina. They set up the first NDC in 1997. All centres focused on peace education through seminars, workshops, and similar activities in the field, in which facilitators and participants dealt with conflict management issues including issues relating to human rights, democracy, cultural identity, freedom of speech, gender equality, etc. In order to create a safe place for an open dialogue, wherein prejudice could be challenged and confidence restoration initiated, seminars are mostly held in neutral ground for participants. The aim of these activities: to break down enemy images and increase the understanding for the position of others.

Regional cooperation is perceived as very important and necessary by all interviewees in Serbia & Montenegro. The main problem cited in interviews is that a form of work is established before real problems and mutual interests are defined. Examples are numerous: regional networks or a politically defined geographical region (the Stability Pact for SEE), where financial support is granted only if the work complies with the form (one of the networks) or a geographical region (the SEE countries).

Regional cooperation was more important and highly emotional for NGO actors and journalists in Serbia and Montenegro during the wars (1991 – 1996 and 1998 - 1999).

A regional agenda is obviously more initiated by international actors than the local ones (at present), which is neither good nor bad per se. The problem is that none of the initiatives started by international actors have been overtaken by local actors (transferring of ownership is really problematic), thereby sustainability issue is the most problematic.

This attempt of clustering regarding **the number of participants in the implementation** shows that the largest number of projects and programmes at all levels are single projects/activities. The number of joint projects as joint mutual effort of two or more organisations is still modest against the total number of projects. Networks are the most common form at the regional level, while they are smaller in number at the

national level and do not exist at the local level at all. Nationally initiated networks both, in Serbia and Montenegro, are built by women's peace organisations, while regional networks are initiated by international organisations or donors.

As regards **human resources** used for different project implementation initiated by local organisations, there are two common options for Serbia & Montenegro and an additional two in Serbia.

Common options:

- **Pool of trainers** is applied by NGOs for new **educational programmes** (Serbia: Group MOST, Centre for Non-violent Action, Group 484; Montenegro: Nansen Dialogue Centre).
- **Network of different women's NGOs and individuals** is applied by **Women in Black** in Serbia and **Women's Peace Network of Montenegro**.

In Serbia:

- **professional networks** can be one of the tools (**ANEM** – association of independent electronic media, **ANET** – alternative network of theatres, **AOM** – alternative academic educational network),
- **human rights groups have branch offices** in different towns (Helsinki Committee for Human Rights, Humanitarian Law Centre, Belgrade Centre for Human Rights, Lawyers' Committee for Human Rights - YUCOM),

As for **length and frequency of projects**, the dominant type cited in interviews are short term projects (length) with one to three activities (frequency) conducted.

VII Products

Main products cited in interviews are the **published materials and media products**. Most of them **are available in documentation centres, certain NGOs, and media archives**.

In Serbia, the main products are **books**. There is a whole spectrum of published books on: human rights (HR) reports and translations of EU HR standards, literature work, diaries of certain periods in the past 15 years, biographies and autobiographies, analysis by local and foreign authors on the same topic and translations, professional magazines, manuals, testimonies, social history text books, translations of theoretical books, related research work, reports from conferences, etc. Beside books, there are **published materials**: dailies, weeklies, magazines, promotional projects/programmes materials, project/programme annual reports, etc.

For more information see Annex 8.

Media products are: radio and TV broadcasts, films, video recorded theatre performances, etc.

Documentation centres are: Documentation Centre of Wars 1991 – 1999, Humanitarian Law Centre, and Helsinki Committee for human rights in Serbia. Beside these organisations, many other NGOs have partial documentation and it is obvious that **archiving is not strength of NGOs** compared to the **media** that have **almost all their work documented and archived**.

In Montenegro, books are also major products. If those books are classified by type, the following categories could be established: human rights reports, diaries of certain periods in the past 15 years, analyses, testimonies, alternative history books, etc. Individual authors who have written about DWP issues (and were interviewed): Veseljko Koprivica, Rifat Rastoder, and Srdjan Darmanovic. **Published materials** are: weeklies, magazines, leaflets, projects, annual reports, etc. The Montenegrin weekly **Monitor** represents the best documentation centre that can be found on DWP issues as it has an archive and was one of the key DWP actors.

VIII Obstacles

Obstacles were addressed from **very broad social levels**, from **organisational** and to **very personal levels**. This is an attempt to encompass **all important obstacles cited by interviewees**.

Very often interviewees cited **transition** as something causing **existential problems and poverty**, as well as, **brain drain** in Serbia. As for **culture**, the following obstacles were cited: division among constructivists/pragmatists and critics; people cannot respect and honour someone from their own community; and inertia of population as a wide spread phenomena.

Interviewees in Serbia underlined the **lack of human resources, and financial and technical support** as major organisational obstacles.

Depending on profession and role of interviewees in DWP, the following obstacles were cited at different levels:

- **Psychotherapists working for different NGOs** underline **trust building** with **highly traumatized victims of wars** as a **very long process** requiring an **overdosed emotional empathy**.
- **Journalists** describe the **same beneficiary group** as **apprehensive and distrustful**. The usual comment was: **“You came here to earn your salary!”**
- **War veterans** are **avoided** by state institutions, the **government**, and **most of DWP actors with NGO background**. They are **afraid of public speaking** because of the **ICTY investigations**.

- **Various other NGO actors cite:** the lack of time, refusal, and negative stand by general population when NGO actors talk about crimes committed by the Serbs; DWP issues are painful and people avoid them; a dilemma whether it is too early for DWP; impossibility for a public dialogue once extreme aggressive groups show up at certain events where (even physical attacks have happened); events starting without any political agenda, but during which politicians interfere giving it a completely different dimension.
- **Media face the following problems:** threats by ex-warriors if they investigate a certain crime; DWP issues are non-commercial and they cannot work on them without financial assistance from donors.
- When **incidents** happen at some **public DWP events**, both the **police** and **court** react **slowly** and exercise a **minimum punishment**. The bottom line is that they show more empathy for the perpetrators than NGOs organizing the event. **Only recently, charges have been pressed for provoking national and religious hatred.**
- For people engaged in **education projects**, the major **problem** is always the **smaller number of people at the end than at the beginning** of a seminar.

In Montenegro, the interviewees underlined:

- **financial and technical support,**
- **an autistic and closed stand of state institutions** regarding DWP issues,
- **a big problem** is the **recruitment of people for DWP**, for the following reasons: difficulties of the job that people do not want to be engaged in, slow process of DWP, people have lost patience, persistence, and energy,
- **general population** has a **difficulty** of seeing **their interests** in engaging in **DWP,**
- **the pressure by the political elite and ex warriors** is focused on **journalists and lawyers**, who represent families of the missing persons.

A very important issue emphasized by at least **30% of the interviewed people** in Serbia & Montenegro is that they **are no longer interested to work on DWP**. All of them used to be very active in DWP. Reasons are various. Off the record, many said that they were **tired and burnt out for years** and some of them are **very ill** (cancer is the most common illness).

IX Donors

One of the **main obstacles** cited by the **interviewees both, in Serbia and Montenegro** is the **lack of financial resources**. On the other hand, the **list of current sources of money** is **impressive**. Apparently, the problem is not the number of donors and amount of money available to DWP, but rather the distribution of money practice. From the donors' perspective, geographical regions of **Southern Serbia** and **Sandzak** have already been covered, thus they **focus** on the **current issues**. Refugees and the displaced persons are therefore **considered as an "outgoing" issue**. **Reconciliation and DWP** issues have become **the trend of donors over the past three years in Serbia**. It would be **good** if similar dynamic of **donors' trend does not repeat itself on DWP issues** (when something becomes a donors' trend, it exists for a while, and then ends with vague results and without long-term effects). **Most** of the **listed agencies and organisations** support DWP and reconciliation in **some larger framework** of support to the civil society, democratization, and institution building. The **most active and consistent donors** are from **Germany**, both in terms of **human and financial support**.

The classification of international and state agencies acting as donors of DWP issues in Serbia & Montenegro is a somewhat adapted classification by Bagic (2002).

1. Multilateral Agencies

- UNHCR
- UNHCHR
- UNDP
- UNICEF

2. Regional Agencies

- The European Commission for Human Rights (Brussels)
- The OSCE

3. Bilateral Agencies

- The Swiss Ministry of Foreign Affairs
- The German Ministry of Foreign Affairs
- FRESTA, Danish agency of The Ministry of Foreign Affairs
- The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Netherlands
- The Austrian Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs
- The Royal Embassy of Netherlands
- USAID

4. International Foundations and Trusts

- Friedrich Ebert Stiftung
- Heinrich Boell Stiftung
- Konrad Adenauer Stiftung
- Friedrich Naumann Stiftung

- Charles Stewart Mott Foundation
- European Foundation for Culture
- Rockefeller Brothers Fund
- Open Society Foundations - Yugoslavia
- Fund for Central and Eastern European Book Projects
- KulturKontakt Austria

5. Larger International NGOs

- Freedom House
- The International Commission for the Missing Persons
- The International Committee of the Red Cross
- The International Centre for Transitional Justice
- United Methodists Committee of Relief - UMCOR
- The Swedish Helsinki Committee for Human Rights
- Pax Christi Netherlands
- The United States Institute for Peace
- The Centre for Strategic and International Research, Washington DC
- CAFOD
- The International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights (IHF)
- Transeuropeennes, Paris

6. Smaller, Solidarity-Based International Organisations

- Quaker Peace and Social Witness
- The World Council of Churches

7. State Budgets

- The Ministry of Culture and Media, Serbia
- The Ministry of Human and Minority Rights, Serbia & Montenegro
- The Ministry of Justice, Serbia
- The Ministry of the Interior, Serbia

In addition to the listed donors, (according to their primary role, although many of them have been the implementers of their own programmes at the same time) there are also organisations and individuals that have been implementing their own programmes or projects while at the same time acting as donors for (mostly local) other DWP actors. E.g. Centre for Reconciliation in Thessalonica facilitated a joint work with historians from the SEE on a book “CLIO on the Balkans”, while bishop Tomas Bremer from Muenster arranges conferences of historians from Croatia, BiH, and Serbia on religious issues. Similar gatherings of historians from the SEE have been organized by the University of Graz, while the Max Planck Institute for International Criminal Law sponsored a Berlin conference of victimologists. Within the region, Gender Task Force (GTF) with the Stability Pact conducted Women’s Reconciliation project, using the funds allocated for that purpose by various foreign governments. It perceived itself as a recipient, while many local organisations participating in the project perceived GTF as a donor.

X Future Plans

The ideas for **future work on DWP** actually reveal the **amount of energy for future work** with the interviewed actors. The following directions were cited for the future work in **Serbia & Montenegro: continuation** of the same/similar types of activities, **expanding** the already existing work usually in **geographical terms, wrapping up** the already done work (writing a book or video recording), **and finalizing** work on DWP issues.

In keeping with these directions for future work, **the actors** (NGOs, media, alternative theatres, documentary film directors, and cultural centres) who will continue to work on DWP will be in **the very small number at the grass-root level. Most of them** will remain on the **mid-term level of society** with only **a few attempts to reach the decision making level.** A long term consequence of this can be **limited results** achieved by predominantly civil society **without wide acceptance of DWP among the general population** and without actual **enforcement of laws by the government.**

XI Recommendations

1. To make a conscious choice of the long term oriented work on DWP issues. Almost every project and programme on DWP lacks a clear strategy and operational goals. The first step is to make a strategy and an implementation plan for at least one year. The current situation is not clear as to what results can be expected or achieved and what the indicators are of a successful work on DWP.
2. To support the already active main actors in DWP and increase the number of motivated actors willing to work on DWP and support them in gaining /expanding/deepening knowledge and articulation of the DWP issues.
3. To create space and enable direct victims of wars, refugees, IDPs, families of the missing, war veterans, and detention camps victims to publicly present their experiences.
4. Recommendations for main actors: to conduct an analysis of beneficiaries (those whom projects and programmes are dedicated to); to develop future plans; future DWP work should be committed and dedicated to general population (providing information about the wars and consciousness raising on DWP issues) and to state officials (advocacy work through negotiations instead of the current critical approach).
5. If general population is the beneficiary group, then electronic media (TV) should be applied as a tool of DWP work, considering that electronic media cover the largest number of general population.
6. Among the approaches applied, the art related ones should be explored the most and their impact should tailor future DWP work. Electronic media (TV) cover the majority of the population, while the smallest resistance has been staged to art-related approaches. Documentation about all DWP work should be more developed. All art related approaches are perfect to mediate even the most painful issues from the past, but are not utilized enough in the hitherto DWP work. They should be applied as much as possible in the future. It is necessary to integrate art related approaches with all others applied to DWP.
7. To make bibliography on:
 - existing researches on DWP encompassing Serbia & Montenegro
 - books on DWP issues published in Serbia & Montenegro.
8. The usual practice is to count victims and work only on negative examples of the past conflicts. The work on the research and documentation of all activities leading to materialization of peace work, and antiwar and reconciliation activities in Serbia & Montenegro over the past 15 years would be much more productive. Such documentation would establish a continuity in peace/antiwar/DWP work

since 1989 until today, teach about own civil society's history and issues worked on, and would open the door to an alternative view/history of the 90-ties in Serbia & Montenegro (vs. mainstream history textbooks). This documentation can be archived in books/CD/web and made available to libraries, NGOs, and the universities.

9. To create a database of DWP projects and programmes carried out in Serbia & Montenegro in order to put together lessons learned and best practices.
10. To reach a synergy between activities/actions/projects/programmes conducted by different DWP actors.
11. Cooperation at the national level should be supported if two or more organisations implement a joint project, while financial support should be matching funds sought from different local ministries (whose work is related to DWP issues) and international donors.
12. Cooperation at the regional level should be emphasized, applying "triangle projects" as a good example, where real problems exist and where it is easy to articulate a common interest. Refugees and IDPs are the most important beneficiary group with whom regional cooperation should be developed.
13. Recommendations on how to decrease obstacles vary among the actors. People are de-motivated and consequently give up the work. It is obvious that support from the outside is crucial.
14. There are enough donors, but the distribution of financial support is inadequate. Donors should coordinate among themselves, while local main actors should develop better fundraising skills and seek contacts with the already existing donors for DWP issues in Serbia & Montenegro.
15. Recommendations for donors: seek groups working on DWP issues, which have not been assisted by your foundation, otherwise donations will be used within the same circle and for similar projects. It is necessary to reconsider and support project proposals composed by grassroots initiatives.

ANNEXES

Introduction

The list of interview questions in **Annex 1** has been defined by QPSW regional team on the meeting in October 2002. Core questions are the same in Serbia & Montenegro, BiH and Croatia, while in all three states there have varieties in some questions. Lists of organisations covered through interviews in Serbia & Montenegro are in **Annexes 2 and 3**. Lists of individuals from these organisations are in **Annexes 4, 5 and 6**. More than one organisational identity of numerous interviewees occurs due to their professional engagements and civic activism. In presenting themselves before interviews they were naming all these identities (Annexes 4 and 6). Most frequent approaches used by main actors in DWP in Serbia are in **Annexes 7, 8 and 9**. Command authority is one of the most frequently named issues in DWP scope and the crimes in **Annexes 10 and 11** are the ones that have been committed by authorities of Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (hereinafter FRY) against citizens of FRY or neighbouring countries (Croatia, BiH and Kosovo/a). Moreover, these are the crimes on which DWP actors from Serbia and Montenegro have worked the most. Joint projects involving mutual exchange among two or more organisations are still a very rare way of working on DWP. Therefore, the joint project "Truth and responsibility", which is presented in **Annex 12**, is a good example, where three organisations designed and worked on DWP, and 20 organisations throughout Serbia implemented it in their local community. Necessary funds were provided by the Ministry of culture and information of Serbia. Regional cooperation is presented through a listing of initiatives that were mentioned in the interviews. Some initiatives are more described in the report, while some are just named in **Annex 13**. Different approaches used in regional initiatives that were mentioned in interviews are listed in **Annex 14**.

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Annex 13: Regional Cooperation: Internationally and Locally Initiated Regional Work

Annex 14: Approaches Used in Regional Initiatives

Annex 1: List of Interview Questions

Questionnaire

Please take some time to read the questions below and to consider your responses in preparation for your meeting with QPSW representatives. The meeting will have duration of approximately one hour and will be structured according to these questions.

1. What does dealing with the past mean in your context?

- Is it more specific in Serbia/Montenegro then in other contexts?

2. What is public relation toward it?

- Is it realistic?
- Is this issue priority?
- Whose priority it is?
- Is the public willing to hear different experiences from the past?

3. What are the key issues involved in dealing with the past?

- How is dealing with the past articulated in public discourses?

4. What are the main obstacles to dealing with the past?

- Who is blocking the process (social groups/interests)?
- In whose interest is blocking the process of dealing with the past?

5. Which sectors of society could act as agents for change in this area of work?

6. Who are the specific groups and NGOs working on this topic at present?

- Who is doing what?
- Are you working in this area at the present? Why yes/Why no?
- What you are expecting to accomplish?
- What obstacles are you facing?
- How are you working on this topic?
- Who are beneficiaries?
- Do you have moral and financial support for the work on this topic?
- Do you cooperate with other organisations while working on this topic?
- Are there cross-border projects on dealing with the past?
- What linkages/networks exist between these at the national and regional levels?
- Have you produced any material on this subject? Do you have access to any material produced by anyone else?

7. Do you have plans for future work in this area?

- What are they?

8. What support do you need for future work in this area? Please consider resources, materials, information from other countries, training, etc.

9. What activities are missing in this field?

- What is missing?
- Labour division? Who can do what in the future?
- Do you have knowledge about experiences of people in other countries of the region?

10. Is there a need for a regional approach (agenda) to dealing with the past? If so, what are your suggestions how that can be reached?

Annex 2: List of Organisations According to Geographical Dispersion in Serbia

BELGRADE

1. Group 484
2. Centre for Antiwar Action – CAA
3. Women in Black – WiB
4. Group “MOST” – Association for Cooperation and Mediation in Conflicts
5. Documentation centre of wars 1991-1999
6. Centre for non-violent action – CAN
7. Victimology Society of Serbia
8. Human Rights and Documentation Office – PRADOK
9. Alternative Academic Educational Network – AAOM
10. Centre for Advanced Legal Studies - CUPS
11. Women’s Studies Centre
12. Centre for Interactive Pedagogy - CIP
13. Belgrade Open School - BOS
14. Humanitarian Law Centre - HLC
15. Helsinki Committee for Human Rights in Serbia
16. Lawyers’ Committee for Human Rights -YUCOM
17. Autonomous Women’s Centre Against Sexual Violence
18. Association for Integrative Therapy, Trauma Therapy and Psychological Interventions - ATIP
19. Responsibility for Future
20. Fractal
21. Belgrade Circle
22. REX, B92 Cultural Centre
23. Centre for Culture Stari Grad
24. Centre for Cultural Decontamination - CZKD
25. Dah Theatre – Theatre Research Centre
26. Centre for Drama in Education and Art - CEDEUM
27. Publishing House Samizdat
28. TV B92
29. Radio B92
30. Arhitekt
31. VIN – Video Weekly

32. SPES Film
33. Belgrade based daily Danas
34. Weekly Vreme
35. Republika
36. Radio Television Serbia - RTS
37. Association for Social History
38. Institute for Criminological & Sociological Researches
39. Institute for Philosophy and Social Theory

PANCEVO

40. Peace Movement Pancevo
41. Women's Peace Group Pancevo

NOVI SAD

42. Association for Mental Health Protection of War Veterans and War Victims 1991-1999
43. Ecumenical Humanitarian Organisation - EHO
44. Humanitarian Organisation "Tabita"
45. Vojvodjanka – Regional Women's Initiative
46. Women's Studies & Researches
47. Centre for Multiculturalism
48. German Association "Danube"
49. Magazine "Croatian Word"
50. Forum of Slovaks
51. Centre for Regionalism
52. Humanitarian Society "Panonia"
53. Student Union of Serbia - SUS
54. Production Group Urbans
55. Radio Novi Sad
56. Radio 021

ZRENJANIN

57. Centre for Development of Civil Society

BACKA PALANKA

58. Society for Tolerance

SUBOTICA

59. Association for the Economic Empowerment of Women - Femina Creativa

60. Open University in Subotica

61. German People's Alliance

62. Association of Citizens "Open Prospects"

SOMBOR

63. Sombor Peace Group

CACAK

64. Civic Parliament of Serbia

KRAGUJEVAC

65. NGO "Millennium"

NOVI PAZAR

66. URBAN-IN

67. Helsinki Committee for Human Rights in Sandzak

PRIBOJ

68. The Council for Protection of Human Rights and Humanitarian Activity

UZICE

69. Libergraf - Regional Centre for Strengthening Civic Initiatives and Democracy

PROKUPLJE

70. Toplica Initiative

NIS

71. Committee for Civic Initiative

72. TRAIL Association

LESKOVAC

73. Women's Centre

BUJANOVAC

74. Neighbours for Peace

75. Committee for Human Rights

Annex 3: List of Organisations According to Geographical Dispersion in Montenegro

PODGORICA

1. Centre for De-Nazification
2. Centre for Democracy and Human Rights - CEDEM
3. Montenegrin Women's Lobby
4. Humanitarian Law Centre - HLC
5. Podgorica Association for Return and Protection of Private Property
6. ASK
7. Nansen Dialogue Centre - NDC
8. Weekly Monitor
9. Law Faculty Podgorica
10. Social Democratic Party of Montenegro - SDP

NIKSIC

11. League of Women Voters in Montenegro

CETINJE

12. Civic House – NGO Club of the City of Cetinje

PLJEVLJA

13. Open Centre Bona Fide

BIJELO POLJE

14. Weekly magazine "Polje"

KOTOR

15. Association for Culture of Peace and Non-Violence "Anima"

ULCINJ

16. Centre for Interethnic Relations and Minority Rights - PAX
17. Liberal Alliance of Montenegro

Annex 4: List of Interviewed Individuals in Serbia

BELGRADE

1. Vesna Golic, Group 484
2. Zagorka Aksentijevic, Group 484
3. Ruzica Rosandic, Centre for Antiwar Action – CAA
4. Stasa Zajovic, Women in Black - WiB
5. Snjezana Mrse, Group “MOST” – Association for Cooperation and Mediation in Conflicts
6. Danijela Petrovic, Group “MOST”, Group 484, Philosophy Faculty, Department of Psychology, Pedagogical Psychology
7. Dragan Popadic, Group “MOST”/Peace Studies, Philosophy Faculty, Department of Psychology, Social Psychology
8. Tanja Kraus, Documentation Centre of Wars 1991-1999
9. Nenad Vukosavljevic, Centre for Non-Violent Action - CNA
10. Ivana Franovic, Centre for Non-Violent Action - CNA
11. Milan Colic, Centre for Non-Violent Action - CNA
12. Vesna Nikolic-Ristanovic, Victimology Society of Serbia, Institute for Criminological & Sociological Researches
13. Biljana Stanojevic, Human Rights and Documentation Office - PRADOK
14. Dubravka Stojanovic, Peace Studies, Women’s Studies Centre, Alternative Academic Educational Network, Association for Social History, Philosophy Faculty, Department of Contemporary History
15. Vladimir Vodinelic, Centre for Advanced Legal Studies - CUPS
16. Snjezana Milivojevic, Women’s Studies Centre, Faculty of Political Science
17. Zorica Trikić, Centre for Interactive Pedagogy - CIP
18. Cedomir Cupic, Belgrade Open School - BOS, Faculty of Political Science
19. Natasa Kandic, Humanitarian Law Centre - HLC
20. Sonja Biserko, Helsinki Committee for Human Rights in Serbia
21. Biljana Kovacevic Vuco, Lawyers’ Committee for Human Rights - YUCOM
22. Lepa Mladjenovic, Autonomous Women’s Centre Against Sexual Violence
23. Zorica Josic, Association for Integrative Therapy, Trauma Therapy and Psychological Interventions - ATIP
24. Branka Jovanovic, Responsibility for Future
25. Filip Pavlovic, Fractal
26. Obrad Savic, Belgrade Circle
27. Katarina Zivanovic, REX, B92 Cultural Centre
28. Ljubica Beljanski Ristic, Centre for Culture Stari Grad, Centre for Drama in Education and Art - CEDEUM
29. Borka Pavicevic, Centre for Cultural Decontamination - CZKD

30. Dijana Milosevic, Dah Theatre - Theatre Research Centre
31. Dejan Ilic, Publishing House Samizdat
32. Veran Matic, B92
33. Jasmina Seferovic, TV B92
34. Jasna Jankovic Sarcevic, Radio B92
35. Svetlana Lukic, Radio B92
36. Ivan Markov, documentary film director B92
37. Janko Baljak, documentary film director B92
38. Lazar Lalic, Arhitekta
39. Gordana Susa, VIN – video weekly
40. Zelimir Gvardiol, documentary film director, SPES Film
41. Nadezda Radovic, Belgrade based daily Danas
42. Stojan Cerovic, weekly Vreme
43. Nebojsa Popov, Republika
44. Vera Rankovic, Radio Television Serbia - RTS
45. Zagorka Golubovic, Institute for Philosophy and Social Theory, Alternative Academic Educational Network, Trade Union “Independence”
46. Marina Blagojevic, Institute for Criminological & Sociological Researches

PANCEVO

47. Aleksandar Weisner, Peace Movement Pancevo, School of Alternative Pedagogy
48. Ildiko Erdei, Women’s Peace Group Pancevo
49. Senka Mandrino, Women’s Peace Group Pancevo
50. Snezana Kolar, Women’s Peace Group Pancevo

NOVI SAD

51. Vladan Beara, Association for Mental Health Protection of War Veterans and War Victims 1991-1999
52. Ana Bu, Ecumenical Humanitarian Organisation – EHO
53. Branka Srnc, Humanitarian Organisation “Tabita”
54. Marija Gajicki, Vojvodjanka - Regional Women’s Initiative
55. Svenka Savic, Women’s Studies & Researches, Philosophy Faculty Novi Sad
56. Losanc Alpar, Centre for Multiculturalism
57. Andreas Burgermayer, German Association “Danube”
58. Tomislav Zigmanov, Magazine “Croatian Word”, Open Society Foundations

- 59. Zoroslav Spevak, Forum of Slovaks, Philosophy Faculty Novi Sad, Department of Pedagogy
- 60. Aleksandar Popov, Centre for Regionalism
- 61. Danica Stefanovic, Humanitarian Society "Panonia"
- 62. Dorijan Petric, Student Union of Serbia - SUS
- 63. Marina Fratucan, Production Group Urbans
- 64. Miroslav Kavezdi, Radio Novi Sad
- 65. Jovanka Zlatkovic, Radio 021
- 66. Mihail Ramac, Reporter of Belgrade based daily Danas in Novi Sad
- 67. Laslo Vegel, Writer

ZRENJANIN

- 68. Vladimir Ilic, Centre for Development of Civil Society, Philosophy Faculty in Belgrade, Department of Sociology

BACKA PALANKA

- 69. Zdravko Marjanovic, Society for Tolerance

SUBOTICA

- 70. Erika Papp, Association for the Economic Empowerment of Women - Femina Creativa
- 71. Ruza Rudic Vranic, Association for the Economic Empowerment of Women - Femina Creativa
- 72. Dusan Torbica, Open University in Subotica
- 73. Rudolf Weiss, German People's Alliance
- 74. Gabor Kudilik, Association of Citizens "Open Prospects"

SOMBOR

- 75. Manda Prising, Sombor Peace Group

CACAK

- 76. Verica Barac, Civic Parliament of Serbia

KRAGUJEVAC

- 77. Vladimir Paunovic, NGO "Millennium"

NOVI PAZAR

- 78. Aida Corovic, URBAN-IN

79. Sead Biberovic, URBAN-IN

80. Sefko Alomerovic, Helsinki Committee for Human Rights in Sandzak

PRIBOJ

81. Dzemail Halilagic, The Council for Protection of Human Rights and Humanitarian Activity

UZICE

82. Vladan Sindjic, Libergraf - Regional Centre for Strengthening Civic Initiatives and Democracy

PROKUPLJE

83. Andrej Nosov, Toplica Initiative, daily Danas

NIS

84. Mirjana Vojvodic, Committee for Civic Initiative - CCI

85. Mirijana Kristovic, TRAIL Association, Philosophy Faculty in Nis, Department of Sociology

LESKOVAC

86. Divna Stankovic, Women's Centre

BUJANOVAC

87. Violeta Grujicic, Neighbours for Peace

88. Lulzime Salihi, Neighbours for Peace

89. Shaip Kamberi, Committee for Human Rights

Annex 5: WOMEN IN BLACK Network Members Present at the Group Interview on April 12, 2003

1. Suzana Antic Ristic, Vranje
2. Nada Dabic, Novi Sad
3. Jasmina Savic, Novi Sad
4. Lidija Pajovic, Nis
5. Nada Despotovic, Cacak
6. Mileva Malesic, Prijepolje
7. Danica Miletic, Sjenica
8. Nevena Kostic, Leskovac
9. Dragica Milenkovic, Zajecar
10. Dragana Nisavic, Kraljevo
11. Zibija Sarenkavic, Novi Pazar
12. Borka Begovic, Belgrade
13. Sefika Filipovic, Belgrade
14. Ljiljana Radovanovic, Belgrade

Annex 6: List of Interviewed Individuals in Montenegro

PODGORICA

1. Mihailo Vujosevic, Centre for De-Nazification
2. Kerim Medjedovic, freelance trainer
3. Srdjan Darmanovic, Centre for Democracy and Human Rights – CEDEM, Law Faculty Podgorica
4. Dragan Prelevic, Private Law Firm, Centre for Democracy and Human Rights - CEDEM
5. Aida Petrovic, Montenegrin Women’s Lobby
6. Aleksandar Sasa Zekovic, Humanitarian Law Centre - HLC
7. Veselin Uskokovic, Podgorica Association for Return and Protection of Private Property
8. Neda Sindik, ASK
9. Boris Raonic, Nansen Dialogue Centre - NDC
10. Veljko Koprivica, Podgorica based weekly Monitor
11. Esad Kocan, Podgorica based weekly Monitor, Institute for Media of Montenegro
12. Milka Tadic Milojevic, Podgorica based weekly Monitor
13. Jelena Jaukovic, Law Faculty Podgorica
14. Rifat Rastoder, Social Democratic Party of Montenegro - SDP

NIKSIC

15. Ljubomirka Mira Asovic, League of Women Voters in Montenegro

CETINJE

16. Velizar Roganovic, Civic House - NGO Club of the City of Cetinje

PLJEVLJA

17. Sabina Talovic, Open Centre Bona Fide

BIJELO POLJE

18. Sead Sadikovic, weekly magazine “Polje”

KOTOR

19. Maruska Draskovic, Association for Culture of Peace and Non-Violence “Anima”
20. Ljupka Kovacevic, Association for Culture of Peace and Non-Violence “Anima”

ULCINJ

21. Xhemal Perovic, Centre for Interethnic Relations and Minority Rights - PAX, Liberal Alliance of Montenegro

Annex 7: Different Projects on Tolerance, Diversity, Human Rights with Youth as Beneficiaries in Serbia



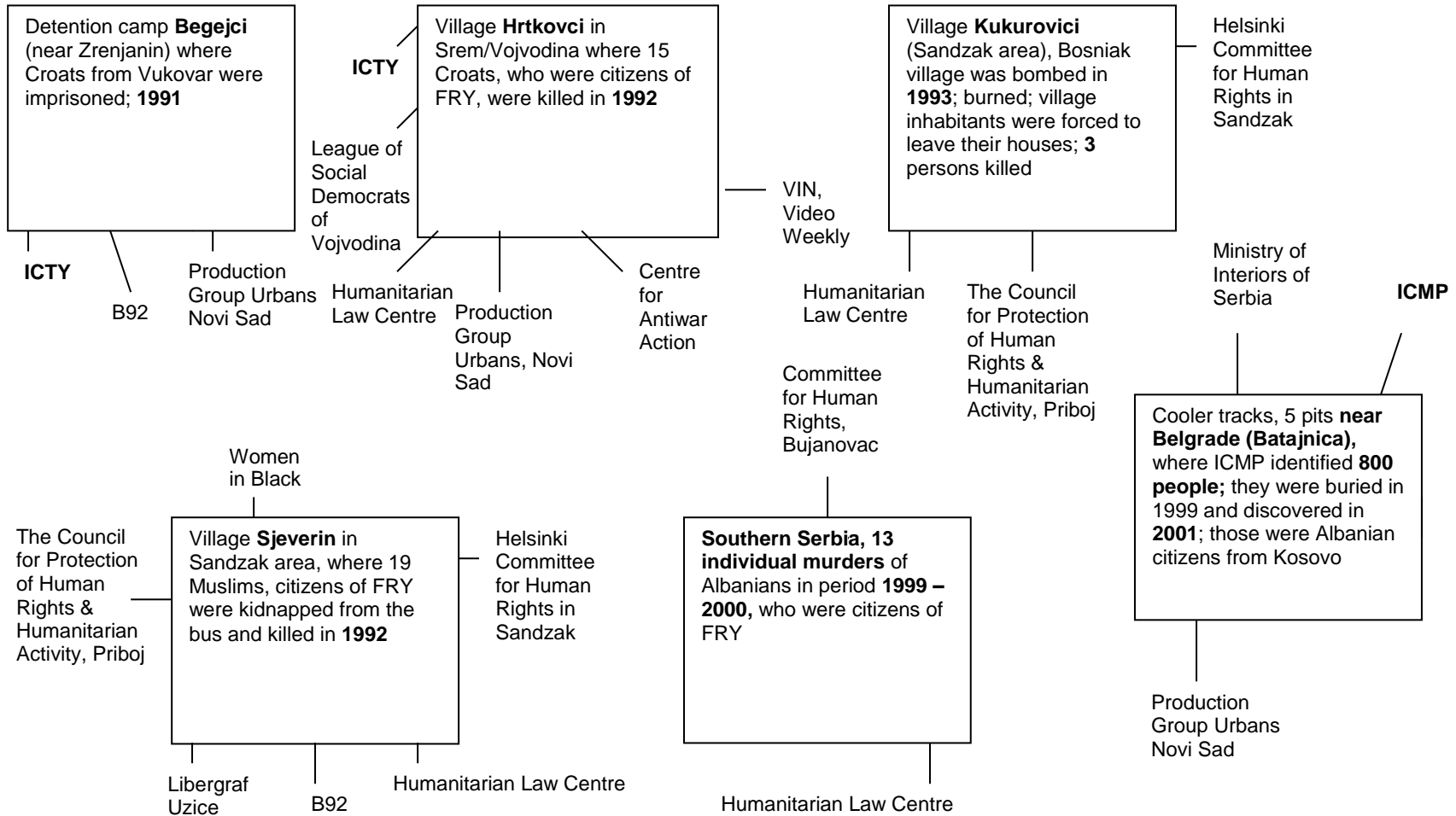
Annex 8: Round Table on Different Issues as Approach to DWP (Beneficiaries: General Population in Serbia)

Victimology Society in Serbia, Belgrade	Open University in Subotica	Documentation Centre of Wars '91 – '99, Belgrade	Society for Tolerance, Backa Palanka
Centre for Antiwar Action, Belgrade	Centre for Cultural Decontamination, Belgrade	Centre for Development of Civil Society, Zrenjanin	Humanitarian Law Centre, Belgrade
Women in Black and the Network in Serbia	Helsinki Committee for Human Rights in Serbia, Belgrade	Centre for Advanced Legal Studies, Belgrade	Vojvodjanka – Regional Women's Initiative
Helsinki Committee for Human Rights in Sandzak	Toplica Initiative, Prokuplje	Lawyers' Committee for Human Rights - YUCOM, Belgrade	Centre for Non-Violent Action, Belgrade
German People's Alliance, Subotica	Sombor Peace Group, Sombor	Radio 021 and Friedrich Ebert, Novi Sad	League of Social Democrats of Vojvodina, Novi Sad
Association of citizens "Open Prospects", Subotica	Belgrade Circle, Belgrade	Social Democratic Party in Serbia	NGO Millennium, Kragujevac
REX – B92 cultural Centre, Belgrade	Women's Peace Group Pancevo	Centre for Regionalism, Novi Sad	Humanitarian Society "Panonia", Novi Sad
			Centre for Multiculturalism, Novi Sad

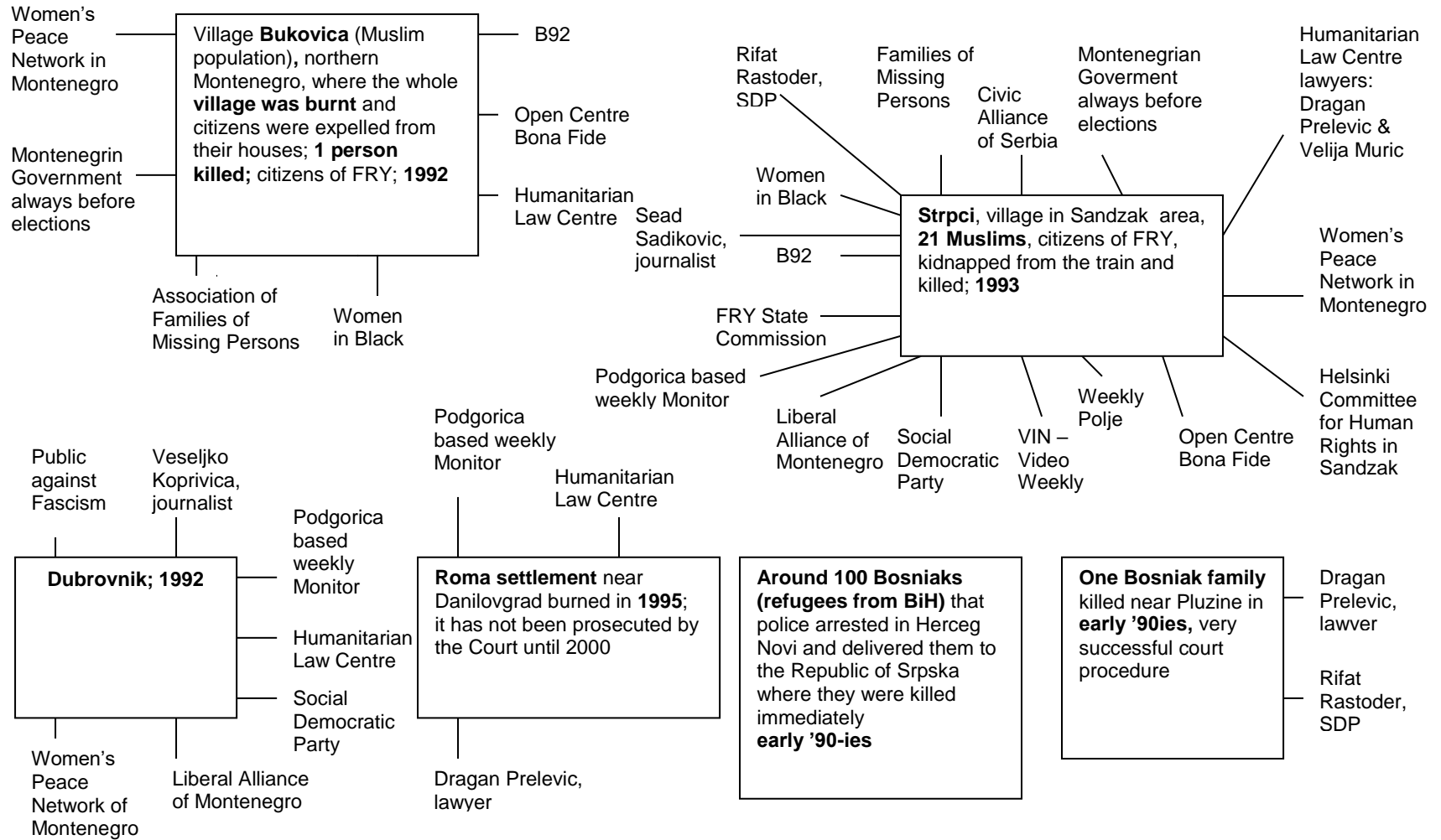
Annex 9: Publishing Activities in Serbia

Centre for Antiwar Action	Dubravka Stojanović	Documentation Centre of wars '91-'99	Centre for Multiculturalism
Victimology Society of Serbia	Centre for Advanced Legal Studies	Helsinki Committee for Human Rights in Sandzak	Mihal Ramac
Publishing House SAMIZDAT	Aleksandar Weisner	Republika	Laslo Vogel
Centre for Cultural Decontamination	Nadezda Radović	Catholic priest Marko, "How My People were Dying"	Zagorka Golubović
Centre for Development of Civil Society, Zrenjanin	Group MOST	Cedomir Cupić	Belgrade Circle
Humanitarian Law Centre	Women's Studies & Researches Novi Sad	Lawyers' Committee for Human Rights - YUCOM	Stojan Cerovic
Women in Black	Helsinki Committee for Human Rights in Serbia		

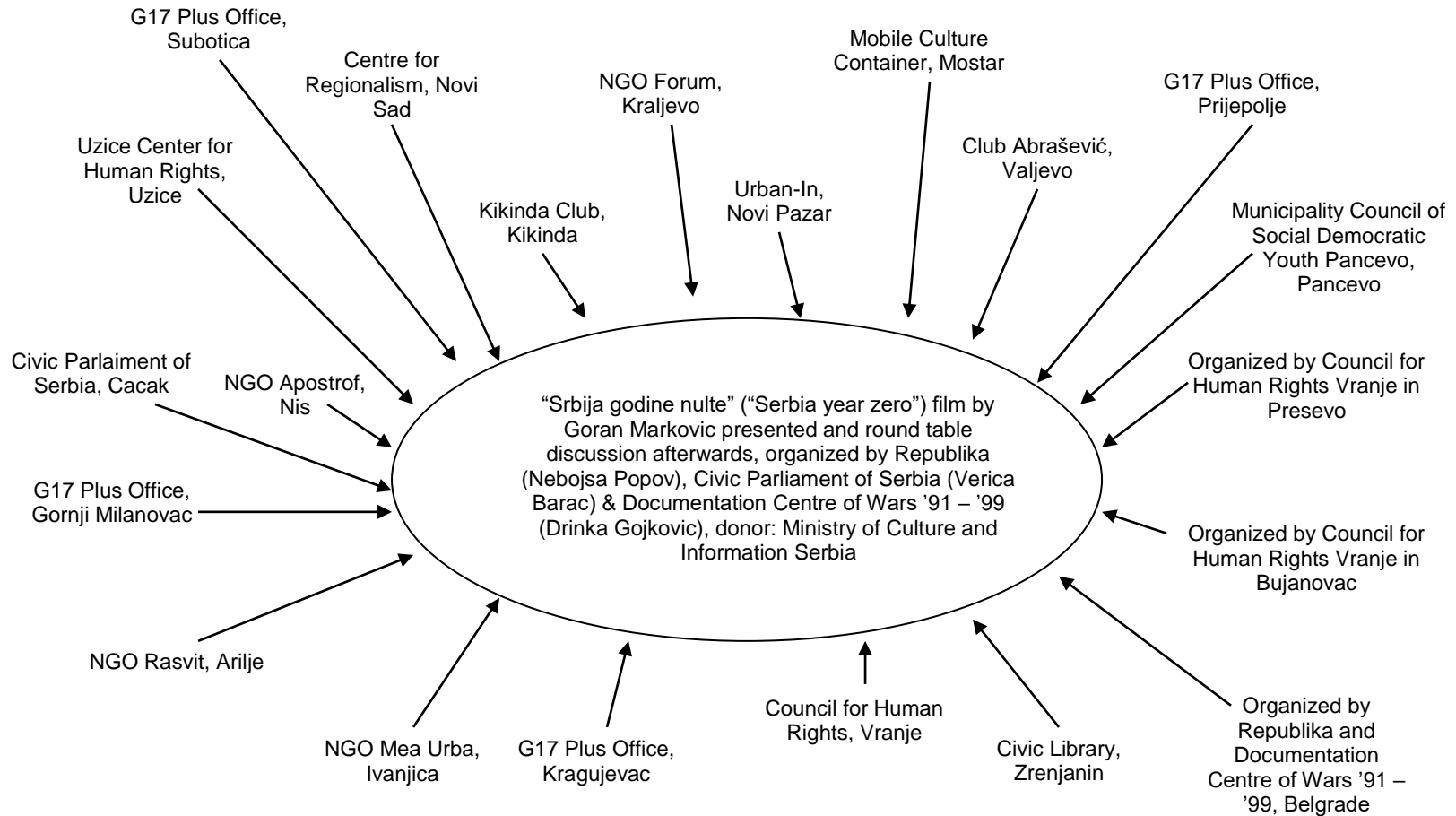
Annex 10: Command Authority on the Territory of Serbia



Annex 11: Command Authority on the Territory of Montenegro



Annex 12: Joint Project in Serbia: “Truth and Responsibility”, Organized by Republika, Civic Parliament of Serbia and Documentation Centre of Wars 1991-1999



Annex 13: Regional Cooperation: Internationally and Locally Initiated Regional Work

Locally Initiated Regional Activities:

- Publishing House SAMIZDAT (Serbia): Publishing authors from Croatia, BiH and Kosovo on DWP issue oriented books
- Block X: Regional alternative literature festival
- REX, B92 Cultural Centre: - Art (gathering of young artists from Croatia, BiH and Serbia)
 - Cross-borders (gathering of young DJs)
- Sombor Peace Group: Project “Empowered Citizen from Both Sides of Danube”, Vojvodina & Slavonija regions are involved
- Centre for Non-violent Action: Training for trainers for activists from post Yugoslav countries
- Humanitarian Law Centre and Helsinki Committee for Human Rights from Serbia: Organized regional DWP gathering of high profile civil society actors on Zabljak (Montenegro) in 2000
- Women in Black: International women’s peace conferences from 1991 until 2001
- Igman Initiative 2000: DWP in spheres of economy, politics and culture
- Students of Peace Studies Belgrade: Brought together students from Peace Studies Centres from Belgrade (Serbia), Skopje (FYROM), Zagreb (Croatia) and Sarajevo (BiH)
- Ecumenical Humanitarian Organisation from Novi Sad: Women’s ecumenical conferences each two years
- Network of Women’s Studies Centres in post Yugoslav countries (DWP is on their annual agendas)
- BITEF Theatre and Dah Theatre are cooperating with theatres from Mostar (BiH), Pula, and Zagreb (Croatia)
- Documentation Centre of Wars 1991-1999: Conducted research on psychological aspects of reconciliation in Serbia, BiH and Croatia
- German People’s Alliance: Organized World Congress of Danube Germans where representatives were from Maribor (Slovenia), Osijek and Zagreb (Croatia), and Vojvodina (Serbia); Exchange of radio shows and theatre performances between Osijek (Croatia) and Subotica (Serbia)
- Open University in Subotica (Serbia): Cooperation with NGOs from Osijek/Croatia and Tuzla/BiH (exchanges that included professors, students, journalists, entrepreneurs, and artists)
- Society for Tolerance: Cross- border project on cooperation between Vojvodina (Serbia), Croatia, and Hungary (minority issues)
- Network of Social-democratic Parties in the region: Youth magazine “Dialogue” (Novi Sad, Sarajevo, Skopje, and Zagreb)
- Humanitarian Organisation “Tabita”: Organized seminars on conflict resolution for faiths believers from Serbia, Croatia, and BiH (trainers were from Croatia)

Initiatives of the Stability Pact of South-East Europe (SEE):

- FRESTA, Danish Agency for the Stability Pact Cooperation: Formed four networks among which two are very important for our region: Refugee Assistance Network in Southern-Eastern Europe - SEE RAN and Balkan Human Rights Network - B-HRN
- Centre for Democracy and Reconciliation in SEE, Thessalonica/Greece: Brought together historians from SEE who created a book, “CLIO on the Balkans”
- University of Graz: Organized gathering of historians from 11 countries from SEE
- Civic Pact for SEE: Organized a wide campaign for revoking visa system in the Balkan region (example: Action on the bridge between Backa Palanka (Serbia) and Ilok (Croatia) organized by Vojvodjanka - Regional Women’s Initiative
- Gender Task Force: Conducted project: “See Women’s Role in Conflict Prevention, Resolution and Post-Conflict Dialogue” in Serbia, Kosovo, BiH and Montenegro

Regional Cooperation Initiated by Different International Organisations in the Region:

1. Different UN Agencies:

- UNICEF: Work with Serbian and Albanian teachers on conflict resolution

- UNHCR: in 2002 in BiH, Croatia, Serbia: VIN – video weekly made 55 TV emissions about refugees and emissions “New Bridges” about repatriation possibilities

2. Germany

- Friedrich Naumann Stiftung: Ongoing meetings of historians from Croatia and Serbia started 1998
- Konrad Adenauer Stiftung: Conference in Belgrade in 2002 on French-German model of reconciliation
- Friedrich Ebert Stiftung: Worked with a few local NGOs on DWP issues
- Bioscope Tomas Bremer from Minster is organizing gatherings of historians from Croatia, BiH and Serbia on issues of church and religion
- Max Planck Institute for International Criminal Law: Organized gathering of victimologists in Berlin in 2001

3. USA

- UMCOR: Work with Serbian and Albanian youth from Kosovska Mitrovica simultaneously
- Centre for Strategic and International Researches from Washington DC: Worked for five years on the project “Education for Non-violent Conflict Resolution for Religious Representatives from Serbia, Croatia and BiH”

4. Finland

- Network of Helsinki Federation

5. Norway

- Nansen Dialogue Network: Network of Nansen Dialogue Centres in post Yugoslav countries (one of the activities: travelling film festival - “Off festival” on DWP in the region)

6. EU

- European Foundation for Culture: Initiated the project “Art for Social Changes” in seven SEE countries (BiH, Croatia and Serbia are included)

7. France

- TRANSEUROPEAN Institute: Organized a women’s caravan that visited all mass graves and towns that were damaged harshly by war in former Yugoslavia

Annex 14: Approaches Used in Regional Work Initiated by Local Main Actors in Serbia

Media:

1. B92 (Serbia): - Joint film production with FACTUM and Feral Tribune from Croatia
 - Joint film production with Koha Vision from Kosovo
 - Presenting films on B92 TV that are produced by TV Production FACTUM from Croatia
2. Republika (Serbia) is cooperating with: - Radio and TV 99 from Sarajevo
 - Novi List from Croatia
3. Guest speakers from BiH and Croatia on Radio Novi Sad (Inter-religious Weekly) and radio B92 (Catharsis)

Public Events and Debates in Serbia: Round Tables when Guests are from BiH, Croatia or Kosovo:

- Centre for Non-Violent Action
- Radio 021, Novi Sad
- Documentation Centre of Wars 1991-1999
- Women in Black
- Centre for Humanitarian Issues and Tolerance, Novi Sad
- Centre for Multiculturalism, Novi Sad
- TRAIL Association, Nis

Public Events and Debates: Round Tables when Speakers from Serbia are Guests in BiH, Croatia or Kosovo:

- Fractal from Belgrade in Pristina
- TRAIL Association from Nis in Sarajevo
- Belgrade Circle in Sarajevo and Zagreb
- Centre for Cultural Decontamination
- B92
- Republika from Belgrade in BiH and Croatia and they spoke about "Serbian Side of the War" and other DWP issues
- Humanitarian Law Centre in Pristina
- Helsinki Committee for Human Rights Serbia was guest in Zagreb and Sarajevo

Education: Regional Seminars for Youth on DWP:

1. Ecumenical Humanitarian Organisation Novi Sad and organisations from Zenica (BiH), Baranja and Zagreb (Croatia) and Hungary: Brought together young people to work on DWP issues
2. Movement for Peace (Pancevo, Serbia) and Centre for Children Invention (Zagreb, Croatia): Organized joint seminars for youth
3. TRAIL Association from Nis (Serbia), Society for Tolerance (Backa Palanka, Serbia), Centre for Interethnic Tolerance and Refugees (Skopje, FYR of Macedonia), Foundation for Democracy Development (Djakovica/Kosovo): Organized seminar for youth
4. Students' Unions in Serbia organized seminars on different issues for students from post Yugoslav countries

Direct Assistance: Direct Protection of Human Rights

- Helsinki Committee for Human Rights Serbia: The project named “I Want to go home” where they collected 35,000 signatures of refugees from Croatia (action “Storm”) and that petition and request was given to the Croatian Government
- Centre for Advanced Legal Studies (Serbia) and Croatian Legal Centre: Creating a proposal for equalizing laws on pensions and private property for refugees who had the citizenship of either Serbia or Croatia