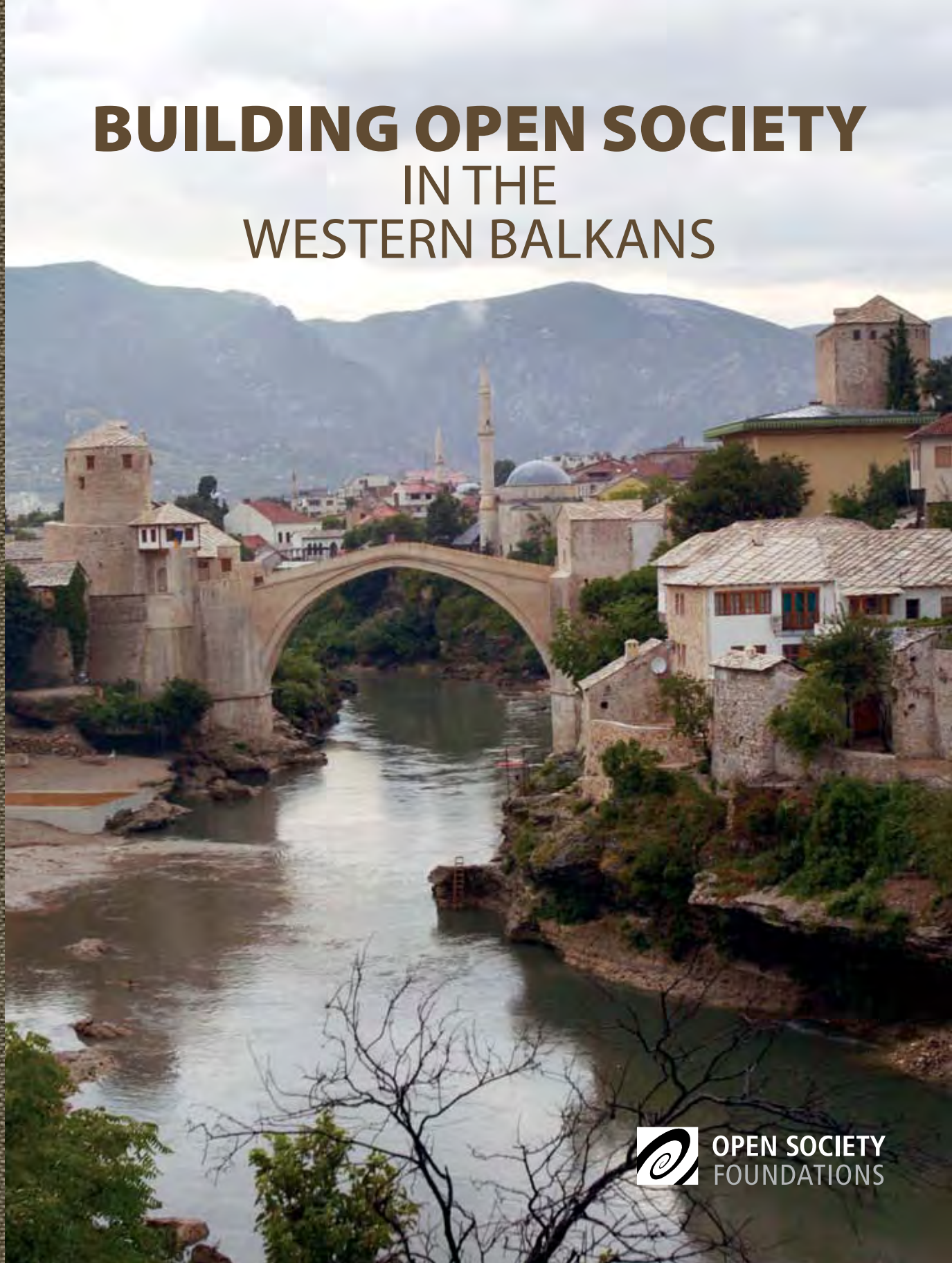
BUILDING OPEN SOCIETY
IN THE WESTERN BALKANS

1991–2011



OPEN SOCIETY FOUNDATIONS

BUILDING OPEN SOCIETY
IN THE WESTERN BALKANS

1991–2011

The story of the Open Society Foundations' activities during a time of transformation in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Kosovo, Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia, and Slovenia

Published by the
Open Society Foundations
400 West 59th Street
New York, New York 10019 USA
www.soros.org

Produced by the
Office of Communications
Laura Silber, *Director of Public Affairs*
Ari Korpivaara, *Director of Publications*
web@sorosny.org

The Historical Highlights and Foundation Activities sections of this report were prepared by the Open Society foundations in the countries of the former Yugoslavia, the Open Society Foundations programs, and Beka Vučo, regional director for the Western Balkans. The Open Society Foundations commissioned the articles in this report. The *Sarajevo Notebooks* excerpts are reprinted with the permission of that journal.

Articles Editor
Chuck Sudetic

Report Editors
Ari Korpivaara, William Kramer, Laura Silber, Beka Vučo

Photography Editor
Pamela Chen

Designer
Jeanne Criscola | Criscola Design

Printer
GHP Media, Inc.

Cover photographs
FRONT COVER: Mostar's Old Bridge, originally built in 1566, was destroyed in 1993 and rebuilt in 2004 when this photograph was taken.
© ANDREW TESTA/PANOS PICTURES

BACK COVER: Mostar's Old Bridge, with a temporary footbridge, in 1994. The postcard in the foreground depicted the bridge before it was destroyed during fighting.
© JOSEF KOUDELKA/MAGNUM PHOTOS

CONTENTS

Nothing Is Lost

IT IS NOT POSSIBLE TO RETURN to childhood and youth, I cannot resurrect my father or my brother, nor can I go back to a country that does not exist, and not even entirely to that in which I still live. And yet, it all exists, because it is a part of my present identity, composed of strata of the past and the present, of diverse countries and languages, friends and experiences. Like filo sheets in an apple strudel, like layers of crème in a torte. I feel this as the multiplicity of my identity, in which nothing is lost, nothing fades, one thing does not exclude another, they fit on top of each other, or alongside each other. Pain too is part of this, and the no-man's-land. Slipping away from the mother tongue sometimes does hurt, but entry into something else—into a new language, another milieu—is a gain. The hole gets filled up, the pain is assuaged, there is wholeness after all. I am here and there, included, present, counted in at least twice.

I thought about that last year when I was standing on the dais and speaking my text in my mother tongue.

And today, standing at the corner of the Ku'damm and Uhlanstrasse, while the snow is falling, I am thinking about slippers and cakes.

Slavenka Drakulić
"Language, Shoes and Cakes," Volume No.13, 2006

Slavenka Drakulić, who is from Croatia, has written numerous newspaper and magazine articles, as well as nonfiction books and novels.

BUILDING OPEN SOCIETY IN THE WESTERN BALKANS

GEORGE SOROS

WHEN I FIRST WENT TO Yugoslavia I did not plan to start a foundation, much less seven foundations.

In the late 1980s, at seminars we sponsored in Dubrovnik, academics, artists, and lawyers from Yugoslavia approached me about establishing a foundation there, but I wasn't convinced that there was a need. After all, I thought Prime Minister Ante Marković was doing a good job initiating economic reforms that would put the country on the right path. The academics and artists, however, argued that, economy aside, little else in Yugoslavia was moving in the direction of open society. The old authoritarian practices still ruled the country.

These intellectuals changed my mind. Many people helped sort out the myriad details of launching the foundation. On June 17, 1991, in Belgrade, I signed an agreement with Marković establishing the Soros Yugoslavia Foundation. A week later war erupted in Slovenia and Yugoslavia started to disintegrate. Marković's last attempts to keep the country together had failed. I soon established foundations in country after country emerging from the violent breakup of Yugoslavia.

In 1993, I announced a $50 million fund for humanitarian assistance to the civilian population of besieged Sarajevo and the region. The original idea was to get aid workers into the war zones so that the United Nations would protect them. I remember well the heroic efforts of my foundations' directors and staff.

Twenty years later I am disappointed that, despite some progress, the countries still have a long way to go. The war took a heavy toll; its effects linger, but no longer paralyze. My foundations continue their work. I am extremely grateful to the many who have devoted their lives—and sometimes risked their lives—to building open society in the Western Balkans.

George Soros is founder and chairman of the Open Society Foundations.


FUCO

Children hauled water from one of the few remaining wells in besieged Sarajevo in 1993. As part of the siege, Serb forces blocked the city's clean water supply. Civilians, including children and the elderly, were exposed to sniper and mortar fire as they attempted to fill their containers and return home. George Soros and the Open Society foundation in Bosnia and Herzegovina funded the construction of a water purification system that helped bring clean river water to city residents.

1991–1995

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

Background

As communism collapses throughout Eastern Europe in 1989, Ante Marković, Yugoslav prime minister, forms a government in a last, failed attempt to reform Yugoslavia and hold it together. New leadership in Montenegro acquiesces to Slobodan Milošević, Serbia's president. The Serbian constitution is amended to curtail the autonomy of Kosovo and Vojvodina. Franjo Tudjman rises to power in Croatia. On June 28, one million Serbs flock to Kosovo Polje to commemorate the 600th anniversary of a legendary battle, which Milošević uses to rally the crowd in support of struggles to come.

In January 1990, at the final Congress of the Yugoslav Communist Party, the Slovenes walk out and the Croats support them. Albanian demonstrations in Kosovo are crushed, a state of emergency is imposed. In the spring, the Yugoslav republics hold the first free multiparty elections. Slovenia ousts the communists. Croatia sweeps Tudjman's party to victory. Alija Izetbegović founds the Muslim Nationalist Party (SDA) in Bosnia and Herzegovina followed by the establishment of the Serbian Democratic Party (SDS) headed by Radovan Karadžić. In the fall, in Bosnia and Herzegovina the three nationalist parties—the Muslim SDA, the Serb SDS, and the Croat HDZ—win 85 percent of the vote. Milošević's Socialist Party (formerly communist) wins in Serbia.

1991

January Kiro Gligorov elected Macedonia's first president.

March Anti-Milošević demonstrations in Belgrade are broken up by force. Milošević meets Tudjman to discuss carving up Yugoslavia.

May A first military conflict leaves 15 dead in Borovo Selo, Croatia; rotating Yugoslav presidency breaks down.

June James Baker, U.S. secretary of state, visits Belgrade to try to save Yugoslavia, but is ignored. Croatia and Slovenia declare independence. Yugoslav Army moves to stop Slovenia's independence.

July European Community–brokered Brioni accords end fighting in Slovenia; war spreads through Croatia.

August Bombardment of Croatian city of Vukovar. Major Serb offensive in Western Slavonia.

September Voters in Macedonia in a referendum endorse independence.

October Bombardment of Croatian city of Dubrovnik.

November Vukovar falls after siege; more than 200 non-Serbs are removed from a hospital and killed. In a referendum, Bosnian Serbs vote to remain part of Yugoslavia.

1992

January Most European Community countries recognize independence of Croatia and Slovenia.

March Bosnian President Izetbegović declares Bosnia and Herzegovina independent when the majority of Bosnia's inhabitants vote to break away in a referendum boycotted by most Serbs.

April War in Bosnia and Herzegovina breaks out, the siege of Sarajevo starts, and ethnic cleansing begins. Janez Drnovšek elected prime minister of Slovenia. The United States recognizes the independence of Slovenia, Croatia, and Bosnia and Herzegovina.

May Multiparty elections are held in Kosovo. Ratko Mladić named commander of Bosnian Serb Army. United Nations imposes sanctions on what is left of Yugoslavia—Serbia and Montenegro.

June Serbian police obstruct the establishment of the Kosovo Assembly. Milošević creates Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Montenegrins vote to join. UNPROFOR takes over control of Sarajevo airport, airlift of food begins. Serb concentration camps spread throughout Bosnia and Herzegovina.

July Food and water cut off in Sarajevo. Croat community of Herceg-Bosnia proclaimed.

August Franjo Tudjman elected president of Croatia.

December Milan Kučan elected president of Slovenia and Milošević and Socialists win Serbian presidential and parliamentary elections.

1993

January The proposed Vance-Owen peace plan divides Bosnia and Herzegovina into 10 cantons.

April Bosnian Croats launch offensive against their one-time Muslim allies. UN admits Macedonia under the temporary name "former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM)."

May UN Security Council resolution 808 establishes the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia, but a chief prosecutor, South African Judge Richard Goldstone, is not named until July 1994. UN gives "safe area" status to Goražde, Žepa, Tuzla, Bihać, Sarajevo, and Srebrenica.

June Tudjman and Milošević unveil a plan for a three-party division of Bosnia and Herzegovina, but Izetbegović rejects it.

July The Muslim-Croat war rages; Croat concentration camps operate mainly in the Herzegovina area.

November Croat mortars destroy Mostar's Old Bridge. Serbia suffers hyperinflation; Milošević reelected president.

1994

February Serbian mortar attack kills 68 civilians at the Markale marketplace in Sarajevo. Although the city remains under siege, the trams start to run again. Greece closes its borders to Macedonia and introduces a trade embargo.

March Washington Agreement signed between Croatia, representing the Bosnian Croats, and the Bosnian Muslim leadership, ending the military conflict between the two sides; Muslim-Croat Federation is formed. The "Contact Group" consisting of diplomats from Britain, France, Germany, Russia, and the United States is established to try to settle the division of Bosnia and Herzegovina; their plan is accepted by the Muslim-Croat Federation but rejected by the Bosnian Serbs.

July Pressure mounts again on Sarajevo after on-and-off agreements on a cease-fire.

December Jimmy Carter visits Sarajevo and Pale, announcing a four-month cease-fire but fighting continues in the Bihac area.

1995

May Bosnian Serbs take UN soldiers hostage.

July Srebrenica falls, Bosnian Serbs massacre over 7,000 Muslim men.

August Croatian forces overrun Serb-held Krajina. Over 150,000 Serbs flee eastward toward Serbia. Second mortar attack on the Markale marketplace in Sarajevo kills 37 civilians. President Clinton appoints Richard Holbrooke to start the negotiations to end the war. Three senior U.S. diplomats on Holbrooke's team are killed in an accident on Igman mountain above Sarajevo.

September Siege of Sarajevo ends. At the Geneva meeting, the foreign ministers of Serbia, Croatia, and Bosnia recognize Karadžić's Republika Srpska as an entity within Bosnia and Herzegovina.

October Macedonian President Gligorov survives an assassination attempt. Greece lifts its embargo on the country.

November The United States brokers the Dayton Peace Agreement, signed in Paris on December 14 by presidents Slobodan Milošević, Franjo Tudjman, and Alija Izetbegović, ending the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina. UN suspends sanctions against Yugoslavia, and lifts them a year later.

FOUNDATION ACTIVITIES

PROMOTING PEACE, AIDING SARAJEVO, HELPING REFUGEES, SUPPORTING INDEPENDENT MEDIA, REVIVING EDUCATION, SEEDING DEMOCRACY . . .

On June 17, 1991, George Soros and Ante Marković, the prime minister of Yugoslavia, signed an agreement founding the Soros Yugoslavia Foundation to undertake projects in all of the country's republics. In 1992, Soros and the Open Society Foundations established separate foundations in first Croatia and Slovenia, then Macedonia, and Bosnia and Herzegovina in early 1993, leaving the Soros Yugoslavia Foundation to operate in Serbia (including its provinces Vojvodina and Kosovo) and Montenegro.

With ethnic cleansing, war crimes, and the formation of concentration camps throughout the region triggering a humanitarian crisis, Soros and Aryeh Neier, the executive director of Human Rights Watch who was appointed president of the Open Society Foundations in 1993, advocated for the creation of a United Nations war crimes tribunal for Yugoslavia. The Open Society Foundations provided significant financial, advocacy, and technical support for its establishment and development, including efforts to collect evidence on war crimes and their perpetrators. The UN's International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia became the first international war crimes tribunal since the Nuremberg and Tokyo tribunals.

In 1993, the Soros Yugoslavia Foundation opened branch offices in Novi Sad (Vojvodina), Pristina (Kosovo), and Podgorica (Montenegro). Starting in 1994, the Open Society Foundations began, among other things, to support organizations such as the Humanitarian Law Center in Belgrade and the Croatian Helsinki Committee in their efforts to document and seek justice for war crimes and human rights abuses. The Open Society Foundations launched the Supplementary Grants for Students from the Former Yugoslavia program, which from 1993 to 2000 gave grants to students displaced by the Balkan wars. The Open Society Foundations' East East Program established a subprogram for Southeast Europe, which operated until 2002, supporting 80

initiatives to promote cross-border cooperation among organizations in the countries of the region, including Greece and Turkey.

Bosnia and Herzegovina

In response to the siege of Sarajevo, George Soros and the Open Society foundation in Bosnia and Herzegovina spent tens of millions of dollars to fund a purification system to pump clean water to the city's residents; plastic pipes through which 60 percent of Sarajevo's homes received natural gas for heating and cooking; an electricity line through a tunnel under the city's airport that ensured uninterrupted power for hospitals, the central bakery, television and radio stations, the presidency building, and other facilities; vegetable seeds that enabled residents to grow food on terraces and in gardens; and clothing for elderly people, refugees, internally displaced persons, students, and teachers.

In 1994 and 1995, the Open Society foundation in Bosnia and Herzegovina played a key role in helping public discourse survive, shipping and distributing over 180 tons of paper to newspapers, magazines, and book publishers in besieged Sarajevo. The foundation supported publication of 52 primary and secondary school textbooks, awarded scholarships to nearly 500 university students, funded the Sarajevo film and jazz festivals, and provided training for journalists.

Croatia

The Open Society foundation in Croatia provided equipment and research support for Zagreb's University Hospital for Cancer, the Institute of Immunology, the Institute for Protection of Children and Mothers, medical schools in Zagreb and Rijeka, and several more hospitals. The foundation helped the refugees flowing in from Bosnia and Herzegovina. It funded several restoration projects, including the effort to repair shell damage to Dubrovnik's sixteenth-century customhouse, the Sponza Palace. The foundation established a school debate program; Step by Step preschool programs; a network of educational information and counseling centers; the Center for Education Research and Development; and an e-school with courses in biology, chemistry, physics, geography, and astronomy. It provided funding for the International University Center and a high school with instruction in classical languages. The foundation also provided computers, equipment, and copy machines to elementary schools, high schools, universities, and public and university libraries.

Macedonia

The country was hit hard by the severing of economic ties with the rest of Yugoslavia and an economic embargo imposed by Greece. The Open Society foundation in Macedonia provided a $1 million grant for medical supplies to Macedonia's hospitals and clinics; helped set up an internet connection for universities and civil society organizations; supplied educational, health, art, and cultural institutions with computers, photocopiers, and fax machines; and awarded scholarships to graduates from Macedonia's universities.

With Macedonia's economic woes unabated, tensions grew between Slavic Macedonians and members of the country's large Albanian minority. The foundation worked to help establish Macedonia as a democratic state for all citizens, regardless of their ethnic origins and religious background, through

efforts such as a network of private radio and television stations that broadcast in the Macedonian, Albanian, Turkish, Roma, Serbian, and Vlah languages.

Slovenia

The Open Society foundation in Slovenia provided more than $1 million for educational, psychological, social, and legal assistance to refugees in the country. More than 1,000 refugee children received financial support for their education, and 140 refugee university students from Bosnia and Herzegovina received stipends to study in Slovenia. The foundation provided support for the Step by Step preschool program; for more than 100 young people from Slovenia to participate in international exchanges with schools and colleges in Great Britain and the United States; for more than 500 student groups, youth newspapers, and youth organizations; and for debate groups in 26 elementary and secondary schools and at both of Slovenia's universities. About 50 students from Slovenia received stipends to UK and U.S. universities, and 66 students attended the Central European University, which, in keeping with its policy of helping students from transition countries, exempted them from paying tuition for postgraduate studies in the humanities and social sciences.

Yugoslavia

In Serbia, the local Open Society foundation supported a number of media outlets independent of the Milošević regime, including B92 of Belgrade, a symbol of resistance to nationalist policies; Radio Boom 93 of Požarevac (home town of the Milošević family); and Radio Bajina Bašta, whose signal, though weak, reached Srebrenica and other safe-haven, cut-off areas of eastern Bosnia. The foundation also provided assistance to a small group that traveled from Serbia to Sarajevo to show solidarity with the citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

When Serbs fled or were expelled from Croatia, Soros gave the foundation an extra $15 million for assistance to refugees. The foundation also helped establish associations of independent publications, electronic media, and journalists. The Association of Independent Journalists of Serbia demanded freedom of information and exposed suppression of the media and violations of the rights of journalists, including threats to their lives and freedom.

In the province of Kosovo, where the Milošević regime had forced all Albanians out of their jobs in local hospitals, schools, and other public institutions, the foundation funded a teacher-training program and provided lesson materials to help a parallel school system set up by Albanians in homes, garages, and other private premises. The branch office supported conferences that brought together Kosovo, Albanian, and Serbian intellectuals; underwrote publications about the Kosovo conflict; and assisted a daily newspaper and weekly magazine. In the province of Vojvodina, the foundation focused on work with the province's multiethnic communities.

In Montenegro, the foundation helped establish and develop nongovernmental organizations, independent media organizations, independent cultural institutions, alternative arts groups, and university and alternative education centers. It assisted refugees, supported the civil society sector, women's organizations, and judicial training, and established a library for vision-impaired people.

Shaming the Culprits Among Us

THE PARTS OF INTELLIGENTSIA imbued with nationalism are also to blame for what has happened. The names of the culprits are not unknown to us. The culprits live among us. Many of them contrive to prove that they had only been trying to help their own nation. Courts of honor should be established here, similar to those which in various European countries tried intellectuals who had collaborated with Fascist and Nazi occupation forces, the courts which would check and evaluate what these people did and how they acted. We do not need any legal trials or jailing—these have never done any good to anyone. It would suffice if those who had sown hatred would be forced to bow their heads when passing by those who have suffered the most, it would suffice to teach them to be ashamed.

Predrag Matvejević

"Food for Thought," Volume No. 3, 2003

Predrag Matvejević is a Croatian writer, publicist, and professor at the New Sorbonne of Paris and the Sapienza in Rome.

An ethnic Albanian man hugged his brother's grandson as the boy's family returned in 1999 from a refugee camp to their destroyed village in Kosovo.

HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE: KEEPING THE BALKANS ALIVE

ARYEH NEIER

The Open Society foundation in Bosnia and Herzegovina also distributed seeds to besieged Sarajevo residents so that they could grow vegetables on terraces, in backyards, and in parks.

THE OPEN SOCIETY FOUNDATIONS have never made humanitarian assistance a major part of our mission. Even so, we have sometimes decided that the best way to promote our mission of developing open societies is to provide such assistance. That was the case in the western Balkans in the early 1990s.

In 1992, George Soros committed $50 million for humanitarian assistance to victims of the war then underway in Bosnia and Herzegovina. He had two purposes: First, he wanted to help those who had suffered from the crimes that were being committed in the name of "ethnic cleansing." Second, he thought providing the funds would bring nongovernmental humanitarian assistance organizations into Bosnia and their personnel would thereby bear witness to the crimes taking place and inform the world. Under the guidance of a five-member committee of individuals connected to the Open Society Foundations, $36 million was given to the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) to redistribute to nongovernmental humanitarian organizations; $2 million went to the International Committee

of the Red Cross; $2 million went to Human Rights Watch to redistribute to human rights organizations reporting on the conflict; and $10 million was spent through our foundations in the region, mainly for the provision of medicine and medical equipment.

A substantial part of the funding donated through UNHCR went to projects in Bosnia and Herzegovina devised and managed by an extraordinary American, Fred Cuny, operating under the auspices of the International Rescue Committee, and implemented by our foundation there. Seeing that many of those killed by sniper fire in the besieged city of Sarajevo were hauling water from a couple of wells in the city, Cuny created a new water system for the city. He designed a 200-meter-long filtration system to purify river water and had it constructed in an old road tunnel under a hill next to the river. The hill over the tunnel protected the system against shelling by the Bosnian Serb forces commanded by Radovan Karadžić and General Ratko Mladić who were besieging the city. The filtration system was built in long narrow segments by a company in Texas, Cuny's home state, and flown into Sarajevo on UNHCR relief flights.

Another project was designed to keep the residents of Sarajevo warm during the bitter Bosnian winter and also allow them to cook their food. Sarajevo had access to natural gas that was piped into the city (from Russia, through Ukraine, Hungary, and Serbia), but before the war only about 10 percent of the residents were connected to gas in their homes. Cuny brought plastic pipes into Sarajevo on relief planes and he and the foundation enlisted 15,000 of the city's residents to dig trenches for the pipes. Eventually, the project connected about 60 percent of the residents to gas.

The Open Society foundation in Bosnia and Herzegovina also distributed seeds to Sarajevo residents so that they could grow vegetables on terraces, in backyards, and in parks. Another project increased the city's supply of electricity by about 30 percent.

Tragically, Fred Cuny was killed in 1995 while undertaking a mission on humanitarian assistance for the Open Society Foundations in Chechnya. A number of reports have been published on how he died and who killed him, but all of these have speculative components. We cannot say with certainty how he died but we can say that, using the humanitarian assistance funds provided by George Soros, he helped keep the city of Sarajevo and most of its residents alive during the 1992-1995 war in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The Open Society Foundations also committed substantial funds for humanitarian assistance in Serbia. During the war in Bosnia, Serbia was subjected to international sanctions. Unfortunately, one consequence was a severe shortage of pharmaceuticals and other medical supplies. The Foundations organized a program to determine what shortages were causing particular harm and

then purchased those supplies that were needed, mainly in the United States, for shipment to Serbia. This program required extensive negotiations with the U.S. Department of the Treasury in order to secure permission for the shipment of supplies that were not supposed to be subject to the sanctions. We also organized extensive humanitarian assistance in Serbia for Serbs from the Krajina region in Croatia who were driven out of the territory by Croatian forces in the summer of 1995. Also, the foundation in Serbia organized summer camps for children of refugees and the internally displaced.

During the war in Bosnia, the Open Society Foundations organized humanitarian assistance projects in Macedonia and Croatia, including medical supplies, equipment, and ambulances, support for trauma centers, and educational services for refugee children. We also supported humanitarian assistance programs for Bosnian refugees in Slovenia.

The Open Society Foundations initiated a new round of humanitarian assistance projects in the region when President Slobodan Milošević launched a war in Kosovo in 1998 and when NATO intervened in that war in 1999. In that period, Serb forces drove more than a million people out of Kosovo, mostly into Macedonia to the east and Albania to the west. In addition to helping the refugees, we provided assistance when they returned to Kosovo following the war.

At other times, the Open Society Foundations have provided humanitarian assistance in many countries following natural disasters or man-made disasters. To date, however, the largest amount of such assistance, and the place where the assistance made the greatest difference, has been in the countries of the former Yugoslavia during the wars of the 1990s.

Aryeh Neier is president of the Open Society Foundations.

A woman mourned among 600 coffins of recovered remains prepared for a burial ceremony to mark the 11th anniversary of the Srebrenica massacre in July 1995.

NEVER AGAIN: JUDGMENTS ON A DECADE OF BESTIALITY

MIRKO KLARIN

Even its proponents in the Security Council did not believe that the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia would ever put anyone—least of all Milošević or Karadžić—on trial.

DURING THE SECOND HALF of the 20th century, the Balkan societies underwent a number of transitions: from Stalinist "real communism" through Titoist "socialist self-management" to a kind of "socialism with a human face." These transitions brought them a greater degree of freedom and a better quality of life than that experienced by people living in the Soviet-dominated Eastern bloc.

In the late 1980s, however, as the Eastern bloc countries were embarking on their transition toward democracy, open society, and market economy, the Balkan societies made a fatal about-face. They experienced a transition characterized succinctly by an Austrian poet, Franz Grillparzer, in the revolutionary year 1848: *Von der Humanität, durch Nationalität, zur Bestialitat,* meaning "From Humanity, through Nationalism, to Bestiality."

The 1990s in the Balkans were an era of bestial violence. The international community, unable to muster enough political pressure to halt atrocities and unwilling to intervene militarily to stop them, opted in May 1993 for "judicial intervention." The

United Nations Security Council established the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY).

Even its proponents in the Security Council did not believe the ICTY would ever put anyone—least of all Milošević or Karadžić—on trial. One of its most vocal supporters, Madeleine Albright, the former United States ambassador to the United Nations, admitted as much during testimony in The Hague. "It was easy enough to take a vote to get the tribunal created," she said, "but nobody really believed that it would work. . . . Nobody thought that there would ever be a court that actually functioned."

In the first three years of its existence, the countries of the United Nations Security Council treated the ICTY as if they assumed that the tribunal's existence alone would intimidate the Balkan warlords and make them accept the political solutions diplomats had placed before them. But the warlords paid the institution no heed.

In the initial period, the tribunal enjoyed support primarily among the wars' surviving victims, raising their hopes that the injustice they had suffered would one day be addressed. A few independent media outlets and emerging civil society organizations stood up against the prevailing culture of impunity and also backed the tribunal. The fact that these protribunal media and NGOs were supported by the Open Society Foundations did not go unnoticed by Slobodan Milošević and Vojislav Šešelj, a Serbian nationalist politician also indicted for war crimes by the tribunal. They both, on more than one occasion, described the ICTY as "Soros's Court."

But the tribunal survived the initial neglect of the Security Council, the contempt of the Balkan warlords, and the obstructions by the new political elites that began running Balkan societies after the decade of bestial violence.

The ICTY never developed a cordial relationship with its "constituency," as the institution's former president, Gabrielle Kirk McDonald, used to call the various peoples of the former Yugoslavia. The ICTY never overcame its failure to mount a public outreach effort that had a chance of meeting the daunting challenges the institution faced. Its judges and administrators were wrong to assume that the institution's judgments would speak for themselves and that an international court need not bother to explain itself to its "constituency." This is one reason for the yawning disparity between what the tribunal has achieved and how the region's people perceive it. Another reason is the self-interest of the local political and intellectual elite and the way the local media have warped their presentation of the tribunal and its work.

If the various constituencies agree on anything, then it is their view that the tribunal is good when it tries "The Other's" war criminals, and bad when it tries "Ours." They also agree that the length and complexity of the trials were excessive, that

the proceedings lacked clarity, and that sentencing guidelines were inconsistent. They cannot comprehend why tyrants have been allowed to use the courtroom as a political soapbox to make spurious justifications for acts of bestial violence and to make a mockery of both justice and the victims.

To paraphrase Churchill's famous definition of democracy, one could say that the tribunal is the worst form of justice for mass atrocities . . . except for all the others that have been tried. The tribunal has introduced the principle of accountability, until now an unfamiliar concept for Balkan warlords and warriors.

The tribunal issued indictments against 161 persons for crimes within its jurisdiction: grave breaches of the Geneva Conventions, violations of the laws and customs of war, crimes against humanity, and genocide. The vast majority of the accused held high political positions or were ranking members of the military and police. They included heads of state and prime ministers, generals and colonels, ministers and chiefs of public security and the secret police, as well as paramilitary leaders. Several accused were acquitted because of insufficient evidence of their individual responsibility, but no trial chamber ever stated that the crimes alleged in the indictment did not happen. Some of the acquitted may have been guilty, but the most exemplary national courts face the same issue. It is highly unlikely, however, that anyone of those who were found guilty was in fact innocent, and this is something that no national judiciary can boast.

Further, the ICTY has stimulated judicial reforms and strengthened local courts. This is one of its greatest achievements. Thanks to this and to the activism of local civil society and transitional-justice organizations (many supported by the Open Society Foundations), the Balkan countries have drawn close to a point of no return, where going back to the culture of unaccountability and impunity will no longer be possible. This process has moved forward more due to external political and economic pressures than any internal need to face the past and accept responsibility for mass crimes.

The ICTY's lasting legacy in the region rests on two main pillars: local judiciaries and civil society. The ICTY has prosecuted the tip of the iceberg of the war crimes in the Balkans, but its real legacy will depend on how the courts of these countries will continue its work in the years and decades to come. Civil society and transitional justice initiatives such as RECOM, the regional commission for establishing the facts about victims of the wars waged on the territory of the former Yugoslavia, face an uphill struggle against denial in their effort to promote historical reflection and confront the past.

Nearly two decades after the wars in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina and more than a decade after the NATO intervention prevented Milošević

from carrying out a "final solution" of the Kosovo Albanian question, "tribunal fatigue" is all-pervasive in the Balkans. Local politicians complain that the tribunal, with its relentless digging into the region's bloody past, is in fact preventing their countries from reaching the radiant future of European integration. Their arguments are hailed by some in the West, who question whether the tribunal may have caused more harm than good and whether the war crimes trials may have kept the interethnic tensions going, or even incited them.

Would the Balkans be a happier place had the ICTY never existed? Would it have been better to lock the skeletons into the closets? No. This was tried at the end of World War II, which for the Balkans also had elements of an interethnic and religious war with all the concomitant atrocities. In the name of a radiant future under the banner of "brotherhood and unity," the leaders of Yugoslavia left the skeletons of ethnic and religious conflict unburied at the bottom of vertical caves. The country appeared to be stable until the economic crisis of the 1980s and the appearance of political leaders—almost all of them communists converted to nationalists—who rekindled old fears and a thirst for vengeance in order to retain their grip on power. This could happen because there had been no just reckoning after World War II, no established and adjudicated facts about who did what to whom and who was ultimately responsible.

The tribunal was not created to write the history of the Balkans' decade of bestiality. But the facts presented at its trials—the millions of documents, the forensic evidence, the secretly intercepted and tape-recorded conversations, the spy-plane imagery, the witness testimony, especially by perpetrators and their compatriots—and the facts established "beyond reasonable doubt" in its judgments will be invaluable for future historians. Indeed, this volume of evidence will not only aid historians, but also make it almost impossible for populist politicians of the future to deny these crimes in an attempt to lead Balkan societies into yet another transition from humanism, through nationalism, to bestiality.

Mirko Klarin is editor in chief of SENSE News Agency, which specializes in coverage of the ICTY.

STILL WAITING: THE "ERASED" PEOPLE OF SLOVENIA

NEŽA KOGOVŠEK ŠALAMON

People who had lived in Slovenia for most of their lives found themselves having to apply for temporary residence permits. The "erasing" of these residents left them with no legal rights.

IN 1969, WHEN IRFAN BEŠIREVIĆ was one year old, his parents brought him from Bosnia to live in Slovenia. Irfan's family was one of many that migrated from one federal republic of the former Yugoslavia to another to find work. Irfan, his parents, and most other Yugoslav citizens who moved between the six republics did not bother to change their republican citizenship. This would have been of little practical importance, so long as Yugoslavia existed. Citizens of Yugoslavia had the right to live anywhere on the country's territory.

After the dissolution of Yugoslavia in 1991, all of the country's component republics adopted new citizenship laws and laws governing "aliens." In Slovenia, citizenship was automatically granted to those persons who were legal citizens of the Republic of Slovenia before it became independent. The government provided an opportunity for other residents of Slovenia—including citizens of other republics of former Yugoslavia who had their permanent residence registered in Slovenia, lived in Slovenia, and did not represent a threat to public order, security, and defense of the state—to apply for citizenship under lenient conditions.

About 200,000 people living in Slovenia were citizens of other republics of Yugoslavia and had their permanent residence registered in Slovenia; approximately 171,000 of these people obtained Slovenian citizenship by applying for it. Among these people were six of Irfan's brothers and sisters. Irfan, however, was one of the 25,670 who did not.

During the six-month period in which his application was supposed to have been submitted, Irfan was in the hospital recovering from a car crash. By the time he was released from the hospital, the deadline had expired. Other people also failed to apply for a variety of reasons, including the belief that they would retain their status as permanent residents. Other people had their applications rejected, but also believed they would be able to remain in Slovenia as permanent residents. Based on the new laws, the Ministry of Interior deemed these people to be "undocumented migrants," and, on February 26, 1992, "erased" them from the registry of permanent residents. The ministry did not bother to notify them about the loss of their legal status.

As a consequence, people who had lived in Slovenia for most of their lives found themselves having to apply for temporary residence permits. For this, they were required to produce a valid passport, a birth certificate, and a certificate confirming they had no criminal record. Each of these documents had to be issued by their countries of origin—a serious obstacle for people originating from the war-torn regions of the former Yugoslavia, including Bosnia, where war broke out in the spring of 1992. The "erasing" of these residents of Slovenia left them with no legal rights. They were barred from working legally. They could not draw upon their old age or disability pensions. They could not enroll in schools. Some lived in precarious housing situations or became homeless and lost their health insurance, which deprived them of access to health services. Many worked under the table. Others relied upon friends and family members, who let them use their health insurance cards or paid for doctors. The "erased" people could not leave Slovenia without the risk of being barred from returning because Slovenia imposed visa requirements for all citizens of the other successor states of the former Yugoslavia. Some were called to the military drafts in Bosnia and Serbia. Others were registered as refugees. Some were forcibly deported. Persons born in Slovenia between 1968 and 1991 to parents who were citizens of other republics became stateless.

Without fanfare, Slovenia's Constitutional Court ruled in 1999 that the "erasure" was unlawful. In 2003, the court reiterated its decision, and ruled that all "erased" people should have retained their permanent residence status. The 2003 ruling provoked a political storm during which center-right parties, members of academe, and, later, members of the general public vented their anger. In the hysteria, Slovenia's "erased" were portrayed as "disloyal aggressors" and as members of the much-maligned Yugoslav National Army, even though 21 percent of all the "erased" were children

and more than 42 percent were women. No court ever found any of the "erased" guilty of any crime related to disloyalty. The government, nevertheless, refused to comply with the Constitutional Court's orders.

At this point, the Peace Institute–Institute for Contemporary Social and Political Studies, a nonprofit research institution developing interdisciplinary research activities in the social and human sciences, obtained financial support from the Open Society Foundations to take up the cause of Slovenia's "erased." The Peace Institute supported research on the issue and published two books of findings. Advocacy projects kept the issue in the public eye and applied pressure on Slovenia's government to comply with the Constitutional Court ruling. The Peace Institute also participated in a case brought before the European Court of Human Rights on behalf of 11 "erased" people by submitting an amicus curiae brief and assisting the applicants' attorney.

In 2010, Slovenia's parliament passed a law that effected the status changes required in the 2003 Constitutional Court ruling. In an initial decision issued in July 2010, the European Court of Human Rights also ruled in the applicants' favor. By 2011, thousands of the "erased" were able to regain their permanent resident status. But others still waited to become legal again.

Neža Kogovšek Šalamon, a researcher at the Peace Institute in Ljubljana, is a legal expert working on human rights, asylum and migration policy, antidiscrimination, racism, and xenophobia in Slovenia and EU.

Thousands of people celebrated in the main square of Subotica, a town in northern Serbia, October 6, 2000, when Slobodan Milošević quit as president, finally conceding defeat to Vojislav Koštunica, the candidate of the democratic opposition, almost two weeks after the presidential elections. Mass street demonstrations, culminating in the storming of the federal parliament, forced Miloševič out of office. The Open Society foundation in Serbia provided support for tens of thousands of volunteers to monitor the elections.

1996–2000

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

1996

September The first postwar elections in Bosnia and Herzegovina bring victory for the same national parties that won in 1990.

October The citizens of Zagreb, in the biggest demonstration in recent Croatian history, protest against the government's efforts to close and take over Radio 101, a popular and vocal critic of the Tudjman regime.

November The Democratic Party of Socialists wins parliamentary elections in Montenegro, and Milo Djukanović remains prime minister. Election fraud in Yugoslav federal elections and the resulting Socialist-led coalition triggers four months of mass street demonstrations led by students and opposition parties. Milošević acknowledges the fraud, but continues to hold power, clamping down on civil liberties.

December Liberal Democrats capture parliamentary elections in Slovenia, Janez Drnovšek remains prime minister. Tudjman returns to Croatia after receiving medical treatment in the United States and, in a speech, openly attacks the work of the local Open Society foundation.

1997

June Franjo Tudjman elected for a second five-year term as president of Croatia.

September/*October* Pristina University students protest against the Serbian regime; police brutally put down the protest.

October Milo Djukanović, after distancing himself from Milošević's politics, narrowly wins the presidency of Montenegro.

1998

January Eastern Slavonia is peacefully reintegrated into Croatia. Slovenia becomes a nonpermanent member of the UN Security Council.

March Ibrahim Rugova wins presidential election in Kosovo.

May U.S. Envoy Richard Holbrooke begins arranging negotiations between Pristina and Belgrade. The fighting and destruction escalate, and the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA) grows from 100 armed troops

to over 20,000 recruited soldiers. NATO gives Milošević an ultimatum to stop the destruction of Kosovo.

June/*September* Fighting and destruction continue to escalate in Kosovo; OSCE mission deployed.

October Coalition "For Change" (VMRO-DPMNE and the Democratic Alternative) wins the third parliamentary elections in Macedonia.

1999

March In Bosnia and Herzegovina, international arbitration on the Brcko District confirms an independent administration and an international supervisor appointed by the high representative. On the 23rd, the Kosovo delegation signs the Rambouillet Conference agreement, but the Serbs reject it. The same day NATO starts bombing Serbian military and strategic targets in Serbia and Kosovo. Over 200,000 people, mainly Serbs and Roma, flee Kosovo to Macedonia, Albania, and Montenegro, creating a large-scale humanitarian disaster for these countries.

May Civil society groups in Croatia organize a campaign for free and fair elections, Glas 99.

June After 78 days of NATO bombing, Milošević agrees to withdraw forces from Kosovo. The UN Security Council adopts Resolution 1244, establishing Kosovo as an UN-administered territory, de jure remaining under the sovereignty of Serbia. International troops from the NATO-led Kosovo Force are deployed in five zones corresponding to their country of origin (France, Germany, Italy, the United Kingdom, and the United States) under a joint command. The KLA, having agreed to disarm, is demobilized and replaced by the Kosovo Protection Corps.

November Six Croatian opposition parties form a preelection coalition. The German mark introduced as an official currency in Montenegro, strengthening economic independence.

December Croatian President Franjo Tudjman dies. Boris Trajkovski is elected president of Macedonia.

2000

January In Croatia, the opposition coalition parties win the election and Ivica Racan (SDP) is elected prime minister. Joint Interim Administration Structures are set up in Kosovo, focusing mostly on reconstruction; Ibrahim Rugova's party LDK wins by a landslide in local elections.

February Stjepan Mesic is elected president of Croatia and sworn in for his first five-year term.

June Constitutional changes establish Croatia as a parliamentary country.

July The Constitutional Court of Bosnia and Herzegovina issues a landmark human rights decision guaranteeing Bosniaks, Croats, and Serbs equal rights as citizens throughout the country.

October Milošević accused of rigging the presidential elections to defeat the candidate of the democratic opposition coalition, led by Zoran Djindjić. Mass street demonstrations culminate in the storming of the federal parliament. Milošević quits and Vojislav Koštunica of the opposition Democratic Party of Serbia is sworn in as president.

November Macedonia signs the Stabilization and Association Agreement with the EU.

December Liberal Democrats win parliamentary elections in Slovenia, Janez Drnovšek remains prime minister.

FOUNDATION ACTIVITIES

PROTECTING RIGHTS, ESTABLISHING RULE OF LAW, SURVIVING GOVERNMENT ATTACKS, TEACHING CHILDREN CRITICAL THINKING, HELPING ROMA INTEGRATE . . .

Bosnia and Herzegovina

The Open Society foundation in Bosnia and Herzegovina helped initiate, develop, and press for adoption of the country's first state law on associations and foundations designed to protect basic rights, including freedom of speech and freedom of association and assembly, which NGOs require to function. The foundation established the Soros Center for Contemporary Art, which gave exposure to contemporary artists, and the Center for Educational Initiatives, which introduced modern education theories and trained teachers to develop critical-thinking and problem-solving skills.

The Soros Law Center established a postgraduate course in European studies, the first in Bosnia and Herzegovina to provide instruction on contemporary politics, economics, and society in the European Union. At the beginning of 2000, the foundation took on new priorities, including helping the country's Roma to organize and press for equal rights and equal opportunities.

Croatia

The Open Society foundation in Croatia supported the establishment of the Croatian Law Center and ZAMIR, Croatia's first independent internet service provider; a project examining privatization in Croatia; and independent cultural organizations. It also assisted nongovernmental organizations dedicated to defending human rights, protecting the rights of marginalized groups, including the physically and developmentally disabled, and promoting sound environmental policies. The foundation helped establish the Electronic News Library and the International Center for Education of Journalists.

In 1999, the foundation provided funding for a voter-turnout campaign (Glas 99) for the parliamentary and first post-Tudjman presidential elections; efforts to decentralize the country's public administration; a Roma preschool

education project; development of curricula and capacity building for a public health school's initiative for improving management of TB; and a number of programs promoting entrepreneurship.

Macedonia

In Macedonia, the Open Society foundation expanded the Step by Step preschool program to 60 schools and sponsored seminars to improve school curricula, teaching methods, and management. The foundation launched an ambitious project, including preschool programs, English language courses, and computer training, to stimulate the integration of Roma children from Skopje's poorest area, Šuto Orizari, into Macedonia's broader society.

In 1999, relations between Slavic Macedonians and Albanians deteriorated with the influx of refugees, whose numbers amounted to about 15 percent of Macedonia's population. The foundation established strategic partnerships to improve interethnic relations in Macedonia. Albanian and Roma media organizations received grants to publish and broadcast programs for refugees. Daily newspapers were distributed free of charge in refugee camps. Medical assistance and psychological counseling were made available to children and mothers in the camps. The foundation supported free legal assistance for refugees, and the donation of computer equipment to register refugees and manage the distribution of humanitarian aid.

The foundation readjusted its priorities in 2000 toward long-term support for the efforts of the government and civil society to meet the requirements for accession to the European Union. It began implementing a project to develop NGO support centers for institutional development in four ethnically diverse towns suffering difficult economic conditions. The foundation provided legal assistance to journalists and media organizations in response to fraud-ridden local elections during which people were shot inside polling stations and journalists were pressured and threatened.

Slovenia

The Slovenian Open Society foundation supported the publication of around 200 books in the social sciences and the humanities and purchased approximately 20,000 books for 60 public libraries. Support went to a number of student media organizations as well as cultural magazines. Approximately 100 journalists received grants to visit media organizations abroad, to carry out projects abroad, or to participate in conferences and seminars. The foundation also funded more than 500 civil society projects concerned with ecology, human rights, volunteer work, ethnic minorities, women's rights, lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender rights, student issues, psychiatry, child abuse, violence, and drugs. In 1999, it contributed to the development of palliative care in Slovenia with grants to the Slovenian Hospice Society and the Palliative Care Development Institute.

The foundation ceased operations in 2000 and transferred its media, civil society, and East East projects to the Peace Institute, an independent research NGO for social and political studies, which the Open Society Foundations continue to support.

Yugoslavia

Five months after a court ruling

annulled the Yugoslavia Open Society foundation's registration, international and domestic pressure prevailed and the foundation was reinstated. The foundation supported some 200 nongovernmental organizations throughout Serbia as well as the student movement in Belgrade, which played a leadership role in the 1996 citizens' protest against Milošević's refusal to recognize the defeat of his party in local elections. Support also went to the Center for Free Democratic Elections, which organized about 7,500 volunteers to gather evidence proving that the results of some local elections were fraudulent.

In 1999, the foundation worked to mitigate the social, economic, and political effects of the armed conflict in Kosovo, the NATO bombing campaign, and the hundreds of thousands of refugees who fled the conflict. It supported the establishment of Opennet, the second internet provider in Serbia, which operated as a part of B92, and dozens of internet clubs providing free training for thousands of people. The foundation's Third Millennium Project promoted the use of information technology for education, equipping schools with computer labs and training teachers. The foundation provided support for the Center for Free Democratic Elections, which marshaled about 50,000 volunteers to monitor the 2000 presidential elections.

In the province of Kosovo, the Open Society foundation in Serbia provided a $2 million grant to support the parallel education system in Kosovo, including basic computer courses, equipment for labs and schools, curricula reforms, teacher training, and the introduction of the Step by Step preschool program. The foundation established the Dodona Culture and Gallery Center and supported 30 exhibitions and other activities.

After the withdrawal of the Serbian police and administrators from most of Kosovo, Soros transformed the Pristina branch office into an independent foundation. During the Kosovo conflict and its aftermath, the foundations in Kosovo and Macedonia provided support for more than 500,000 Kosovo Albanians forced into Macedonia. These efforts included facilitating the enrollment of Kosovo elementary and high school students in Macedonian schools, the establishment of internet centers for refugees to communicate with family members and others, continuation of higher education for students and professors of the University of Pristina by organizing summer school programs in Macedonia, and establishment of preschool centers for refugee children in several cultural centers in Macedonia.

The foundation in 2000 helped establish information centers in Kosovo's national and university library as well as libraries in other areas of the country, providing furniture, information technology equipment, books, and access to global web-based libraries. The foundation also established the Kosovo Education Center to advance education at all levels through policy reforms and implemented Step by Step programs and literacy and critical-thinking projects.

The Open Society foundation in Montenegro continued to support programs in arts and culture, media, civil society, and education; to promote diversity, conflict resolution, human rights protection, and efforts to fight discrimination; and to assist minority groups in building networks and advocating for the protection of their rights. The foun-

dation helped journalists, activists, students, scholars, and independent intellectuals reestablish contacts with their counterparts in other areas of the former Yugoslavia. The foundation supported projects to ease the plight of Roma refugees from Kosovo, helping to develop Montenegro's first Roma nongovernmental organizations. It provided support for the development of nongovernmental organizations working to prevent violence against women. The foundation became an independent entity in November 1999. The Open Society foundation in Serbia continued to work in Vojvodina through its branch office in Novi Sad.

The Preservation of Bare Life

THERE ARE PEOPLE WHO, fleeing the famine or the wild bloodthirsty tribes, have left their sudans, algerias, mexicos and bosnias, arrived to the big cities of the West. In order to reach their destination—whose main attraction for them was neither a democratic political system, nor all the wonders of construction; neither freedom of speech, nor the rule of law; much less a glorious culture and civilization which Japanese tourists try to catch with their cameras; but the promise of a full stomach, and the preservation of bare life—some of them had to cross great rivers and crawl through the desert at night, hiding from the border patrols. Others have flown across the oceans, reported to centers for social housing and then got lost in the confusion of a language they will never learn well enough to name that which hurts them or to explain why; so whenever they're drunk, they cry. They work in slaughterhouses, where animals are killed whose meat would be used to make food for people who work a lot of hours but don't know much, people who are righteous, ready to help and wish what's best for both the animals and the immigrants who slaughter those animals, the butchers on the minimum wage in whose homeland the war is raging, on which CNN reported during the dinner hour. Some of these people work on construction sites, on high floors of new buildings into which, despite the fact that the free and developed world offers the same

chance of success to everybody, they themselves are never going to move. Sometimes, however, they fall off these buildings, and their bones scatter over the asphalt like dice tossed in a very bad, extremely unfortunate throw in a game of Yahtzee.

Andrej Nikolaidis
"They Die in the Snow," Volume No. 23/24, 2003

Andrej Nikolaidis, a Montenegrin writer, has published three novels.

Writer Susan Sontag rehearsed *Waiting for Godot* by candlelight in besieged Sarajevo, 1993.

REMNANTS:
DOCUMENTARY DRAMA

TEA ALAGIĆ

"I'm not going to wait here 30 years. I'm from a mixed family. I am already being pointed out. I've become something I'm not."

THE PLAY OPENS in my home city, Mostar, which in summer is a limestone cauldron in a valley too narrow for a city, its arching bridge, and its tales and poetry. I take day trips to the seaside. When my brother and I were little, the four of us slept in one room. My father is Mustafa Alagić, a butcher. My Croat mother has a Russian given name, Olga, one favored by communists. I am 19 years old in 1992, in love for the first time.

Soldiers from a work of dystopian fiction
ME: Do you have a cigarette? Are you allowed to talk?
SOLDIERS: Move. Go.
ME: What about the Muslims?
SOLDERS: We kill them all.

Girlfriend and I, April 1992, a gas tanker explodes beside a barracks
ME: My God, what was that?
GIRLFRIEND: I think it came from the next street.
ME: We should go home.
GIRLFRIEND: Let's go see.
ME: You are insane.
GIRLFRIEND: I'm going to see.

I walk alone to a pastry shop and buy something sweet.

Next day
ME: My clothes, my books?
MOTHER: Only for 10 days. Here's the address. You'll stay in Croatia. Just 10 days.
No one cries. The car tops a hill. I look back.

Croatia, with a girlfriend
GIRLFRIEND: Bitch.
ME: I'm not going to wait here 30 years. I'm from a mixed family. I am already being pointed out. I've become something I'm not.

Border control
AGENT: You cannot leave the country. Your passports are not valid.
ME: What?
AGENT: They're worthless.

Munich, July 1992, railway station. I am an illegal alien, crashing on cardboard.
AGENT: Next!
ME: I need a place.
AGENT: If you have someone in Germany, we can give you money for the train.
ME: I have a brother, in Nuremberg.
AGENT: Sixty marks. Next!

Dishwashing, sleeping like a sausage on a floor
ME: How did this come to pass? I was at home. I was safe.

Border control
AGENT: You can't go back to Bosnia.
ME: I was born there.
AGENT: Where are you coming from?
ME: Munich.
AGENT: Go back there.

Days alone in a room, Munich
VOICE (outside the door): Roll her a joint. Slip it under the door.
ME: Pass me a lighter. I'm going to Prague.
VOICE: What are you talking about?

On scholarship, Prague, mother visiting, I listen
MOTHER: The Croatian army set up a detention camp to hold Muslims and Serbs. They took my brother to the frontline to use as a human shield and dig trenches.

Words of mother and father
MOTHER: Hide in the bathroom? We can block the door with the wardrobe.
FATHER: You can't move the wardrobe. And I can't breathe in there.
MOTHER: Under the bed?
FATHER: I won't fit.
MOTHER: I have a key to our neighbor's place. The door has a Croat name.
FATHER: Good idea.

Croat soldiers in the night
SOLDIERS: Get up! Mustafa Alagić, come with us!
FATHER: Who are you? No! Stop! Where are you taking me?

Mostar, amphitheatre, father with prisoners
FATHER: Wait. I am a friend of Ante.
GUARD: How do you know him?
FATHER: We are business partners. I have keys for him.
GUARD: Let me see what I can do.

Mother, hitchhiking after the war
DRIVER: I was commander at the amphitheatre. I remember one man clearly. His name was Mustafa Alagić. Do you know what became of him?
MOTHER: I knew him. [later] Thanks for the ride, and for saving my husband.

Mother and me, recalling
ME: How did you find me in Prague that time you came unannounced?
MOTHER: I went to that coffee shop. They said you were shooting a movie outside the city. I headed back to the bus station. I was going down into the subway and met you coming up.
ME: That was science fiction.

Tea Alagić, an Open Society scholarship recipient, is a New York City director with many Off-Broadway credits. She has also worked as an actor, writer, and director with theater companies around the world.

MY DECISION TO **RETURN HOME**

IVAN BARBALIĆ

I was fortunate. Failure did punctuate the years after my return home, but there was success as well, and I never regretted returning.

WE WERE EXCHANGE STUDENTS at high schools and colleges scattered across the United States. But in so many ways that we would have denied, we were only children, kids adrift, kids far from our parents even before the phone lines to Bosnia and Herzegovina were cut. Nineteen ninety-two was a year of television reports on ethnic cleansing and sniper and mortar attacks. Back at home, our peers were in the trenches. We asked ourselves why we were not there, too. To ease the mental dissonance, we told ourselves we were just children. But so were they: the kids in the refugee shelters, the kids carrying automatic rifles, the kids lying in graves.

We were fortunate to have escaped. But we, too, were goaded into adulthood, carrying little life experience in our bags and few expectations about where we might unpack. We wanted to believe that life goes on, that the pattern of our existence might somehow become more regular. This was a defense mechanism against the pain of distance and loneliness. We tapped survival instincts we did not know. Somewhere deep, hidden and suppressed, was a tattered sense of the dignity essential when you are developing as a person.

We began networking with one another. I remember hearing the name "Soros." Word of scholarships spread. There were applications, acceptance letters, classrooms, and labs. The Open Society Foundations organized a gathering of scholarship recipients in a Philadelphia hotel: seminars, friends, affirmation of our existence, an injection of confidence that we would succeed and were not alone. It was a genuine embrace, something as warm as a memory of the community to which we had once belonged, and perhaps still did. It conjured up memories of our homes, our schools, our families . . . the important things so lacking and far away.

Without scholarships, it would have been more difficult to earn our college degrees. We would have stolen more time from our books, washed more cafeteria dishes, pumped more gas, lugged more suitcases, and waited more tables. We were willing, of course, to work. We would have survived. But it would have been survival without a sense that there was someone of stature who respected us, who stood behind us and strengthened our sense of self-respect.

We are settled now, some of us in the United States, some in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Our network still exists. After graduating from college I did my first internship in the Open Society Foundations' accounting department in New York. I returned to Bosnia toward the end of the 1990s, feeling that my country was entering a new phase in its transition. I felt that society was regenerating itself. I wanted to be a part of this process. I knew that improvement would not happen quickly or without effort. I knew there would be disappointments that might force me to second-guess my decision to move home.

I was fortunate. Failure did punctuate the years after my return home, but there was success as well, and I never regretted returning. The Open Society Foundations assisted me during my graduate studies at the University of Sarajevo's Center for Interdisciplinary Post-Diploma Studies. When my colleagues and I launched a nongovernmental organization that gathered alumni of the center into a think tank to work on European integration, democracy, human rights, governance, and other issues, the Open Society Foundations provided crucial support. I saw a new generation of people with similar experiences and beliefs emerge in Bosnia and Herzegovina and in other countries of the region. I saw talent and knowledge that made me an optimist. I saw the Open Society Foundations help build bridges that have contributed to normalization of relations between divided communities. I saw the organization extend a hand to minorities and endangered populations. I saw the Open Society Foundations there when new ideas and initiatives were being created and acting as a hub for people who believe in open, constructive social interaction and cooperation as a response to fear and hatred. It is a response that demands dignity.

Ivan Barbalić, an Open Society scholarship recipient, is the permanent representative of Bosnia and Herzegovina to the United Nations.

SARAJEVO NOTEBOOKS STORY: A NEED TO TALK TO EACH OTHER

VOJKA SMILJANIĆ-DJIKIĆ

Sarajevo Notebooks, which started as a magazine, has become a movement that brings together writers of all generations and from all the countries of the former Yugoslavia.

IN HIS POEM "A Dialogue," Jorge Luis Borges writes, "Two men are sitting on the banks of the River Euphrates, and talking; not trying to convince each other about anything: just sitting and talking; and that is a fact of capital importance in our history."

This was exactly how we felt after the Yugoslav wars. We felt we needed our own Euphrates to sit beside and talk to each other. We had been friends before the war started, we used to do similar things, we had studied at the same universities, our books had been published by the same publishers, we had been translating the same authors. Then all of a sudden we found borders in front of us, which we had to cross holding passports in our hands. We knew that we must overcome these borders, and in order to cross them we had to build new bridges. But we also felt that it was particularly important to open these bridges to young people, and to encourage the young to cross them boldly. We therefore gathered in Sarajevo, to discuss and see what we could do together. We came from all the countries of former Yugoslavia, firmly convinced that relationships must be restored.

And so we agreed to start a magazine and to name it *Sarajevo Notebooks*. It only seemed logical that the message of dialogue and cooperation should come from Sarajevo, the city which was so damaged during the war. Moreover, Sarajevo was the only city to which everyone was willing to come.

The first volume of *Sarajevo Notebooks* was launched on September 29, 2002. And from then on, the volumes have been coming out one after another, as if breaking some invisible barrier. It was easy to create these volumes, as the response was phenomenal: there has not been a single instance of refusal by an author we have contacted for a submission.

Volumes have been devoted to a number of topics: women's writing, writers on the border, writers and nationalist ideologies, war writing, a non-European Europe, national literary canon, contemporary writing and our languages, nomadism, youth, transition and culture, and melancholy and nostalgia, to name just a few.

We have published 30 volumes so far, and they have been promoted in all the major cities of the region, and beyond: Amsterdam, Brussels, Göteborg, Leipzig, and Tirana. *Sarajevo Notebooks* have become an indispensable source of information for Slavic studies throughout the world.

Ten years on, it could be said that *Sarajevo Notebooks,* which started as a magazine, has become a movement that brings together writers of all generations and from all the countries of the former Yugoslavia, with a special emphasis on the writers from the diaspora: Bora Ćosić, Semezdin Mehmedinović, Predrag Matvejević, Mirko Kovač, Dubravka Ugrešić, Slavenka Drakulić, Aleksandar Hemon, and many others. In this way, connections have been reinstated within the region but also with the writers who left Yugoslavia during the 1990s and then, through *Sarajevo Notebooks,* have returned to their own language.

Vojka Smiljanić-Djikić is the executive editor of Sarajevo Notebooks*, a magazine of short stories, poems, and novel excerpts by prominent authors in and from the Western Balkans.*

A tattered poster of Serbia's ex-president Slobodan Milošević hung on a wall in the Serbian capital Belgrade in 2001. Throughout the 1990s, as Milošević headed a regime based on corruption, ethnic hatred, and war, the Open Society Foundations supported efforts in Serbia to preserve elements of civil society, democratic opposition, and human decency. By 2000, Milošević's destructive reign came to an end after he lost the presidential elections and was ousted from power. In March 2001, Serbian authorities arrested Milošević and transferred him to The Hague where he would die in 2006 of natural causes while on trial for war crimes and crimes against humanity.

2001–2005

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

2001

January Zoran Djindjić, head of the Democratic Party, leads the opposition coalition to victory in December 2000 elections and becomes prime minister of Serbia, and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is readmitted to international organizations and institutions.

March Under Djindjić, the authorities arrest Slobodan Milošević and subsequently transfer him to The Hague on June 28, a symbolic date in Serbian history, to stand trial before the UN war crimes tribunal.

July The ICTY indicts Ante Gotovina, a Croatian general, for ethnic cleansing and war crimes. Milošević appears in court at the ICTY and refuses to recognize its jurisdiction.

August The Ohrid Framework Agreement is signed. Prime Minister Ljubčo Georgievski accuses the international community of secretly plotting to destabilize Macedonia. The parliament of Bosnia and Herzegovina adopts a new election law.

October Croatia signs the Stabilization and Association Agreement with the European Union, marking the first formal step in Croatia's accession to the EU.

2002

March The Belgrade Agreement redefines Montenegro's relationship with Serbia within a joint state. The government of Kosovo is created; Ibrahim Rugova is elected president and Bajram Rexhepi is appointed prime minister.

April Ivo Sanader defeats an extremist candidate to become president of the Democratic Union (HDZ) in Croatia. Bosnia and Herzegovina accedes to the Council of Europe as a member state.

October First elections in compliance with Bosnia and Herzegovina's new election law are fully executed by local authorities.

December Janez Drnovšek wins Slovenian presidency for a five-year term.

2003

February Parliament of Yugoslavia ratifies charter for new state union with the name Serbia and

Montenegro. Montenegro granted the right to hold a referendum on independence within three years.

March Reformist Prime Minister Djindjić is assassinated in Belgrade by a web of organized crime figures closely linked with the old regime, which retains links with the unreformed security services. Referendum in Slovenia favors EU and NATO membership. EU, following a new "two track approach," starts negotiations separately with Serbia and Montenegro.

April Serbia becomes a member of the Council of Europe. Filip Vujanović becomes the president of Montenegro.

November In parliamentary elections in Croatia, Sanader's HDZ wins the most seats and forges a coalition government, with Sanader as prime minister.

2004

February President Trajkovski of Macedonia dies in a plane crash.

March Vojislav Koštunica becomes prime minister of Serbia.

June Democratic Party leader Boris Tadić elected president of Serbia.

April Branko Crvenkovski elected president of Macedonia. Legislation to solve the status of Slovenia's "erased" citizens fails to pass a referendum.

April/*May* Slovenia becomes a member state of NATO and the EU.

June Croatia gains EU candidate status.

August The new UN special rapporteur on Kosovo favors the start of negotiations on the country's status.

October Parliamentary elections are held in Kosovo. President Rugova creates a coalition with Ramush Haradinaj's party, appointing him prime minister.

November The United States recognizes the Republic of Macedonia under its constitutional name. Parliamentary elections in Slovenia are won by the right-wing Democratic Party, Janez Janša becomes prime minister.

2005

January Stjepan Mesić elected president of Croatia in a second round victory over the HDZ candidate Jadranka Kosor.

March Haradinaj resigns as prime minister of Kosovo after the ICTY indicts him for war crimes.

October Negotiations between the EU and Croatia are officially opened. In Bosnia and Herzegovina, the European Commission opens negotiations on the Stabilization and Association Agreement.

November UN Secretary General Kofi Annan appoints Martti Ahtisaari as chief negotiator on Kosovo's status.

December Macedonia obtains EU candidate country status. Former Croatian army lieutenant general and war crimes tribunal indictee Ante Gotovina is apprehended in the Canary Islands and transferred directly to The Hague to stand trial.

FOUNDATION ACTIVITIES

FIGHTING CORRUPTION, IMPROVING ROMA COMMUNITIES, WORKING FOR EUROPEAN INTEGRATION, PILOTING GOOD GOVERNANCE, REFORMING THE JUDICIARY, MONITORING POLITICS . . .

Bosnia and Herzegovina

The Open Society foundation in Bosnia and Herzegovina supported work on the *Lessons (Not) Learned in Bosnia-Herzegovina* report, an attempt to evaluate the performance of international organizations working in Bosnia and Herzegovina after the war; the report called for a reorientation and rethinking of policies. The foundation also funded a project to restructure educational services, launched a legal clinic program to train students and offer legal aid to the indigent, and helped establish the Youth Information Agency to increase the participation of young people in society. In 2002, the foundation supported an international conference with 300 participants to discuss the establishment of Bosnia and Herzegovina's state war crimes court. The foundation also printed the first issue of *Sarajevo Notebooks*, a literary magazine that explores political issues facing Bosnia and Herzegovina's deeply divided society.

A foundation-supported analysis of deficiencies in Bosnia and Herzegovina's constitution concluded that it must be harmonized with the European Convention on Human Rights. The foundation embarked on a campaign to improve juvenile justice, which resulted in a strategy and action plan unanimously adopted by the Council of Ministers in 2005. The foundation launched a three-year program to encourage policymaking based upon information and evidence, awarding eight fellowships for research and advocacy. It also piloted its good governance programs in five municipalities in an effort to transform local governance structures into modern, transparent systems that provide efficient public services. A foundation-supported assessment of democracy in the country encouraged citizens to vote in upcoming general elections using "issue-based" instead of "ethnic-based" criteria.

Croatia

The Open Society foundation in

Croatia pressed for policy reforms by supporting a think tank that published a report on the low levels of entrepreneurial activity in Croatia and designed a training program for small- and medium-sized enterprises with high growth potential. The foundation also addressed reforms in local government elections, social services, and the regulation of government employees.

The foundation launched the Open Society Forum, which conducted research and evaluated progress in areas such as education, rule of law, ethnic minorities, and economic development—and how they affected Croatia's democratization and European integration efforts. The Open Society Index, developed by the foundation, measured the level of openness of Croatian society through criteria in education, media, entrepreneurship and economic freedom, transparency of political processes, rule of law, and marginalized groups and minorities.

In May 2006, the foundation closed after 14 years of work, while the Open Society Foundations continued to provide funding to local NGOs working on issues such as human rights, mental health, and general and higher education.

Kosovo

The Open Society foundation in Kosovo provided assistance for the establishment of the Kosovo Law Center, which helped people reacquire personal legal documents confiscated from them when they were expelled by Serbian police in 1999. Support for Roma projects facilitated the return of Roma from Macedonian camps and the enrollment of their children in local schools. The foundation also supported an educational reform project, media organizations, and women's shelters. The foundation helped to establish the departments of psychology and political science at the University of Pristina, develop a project to increase the quality and transparency of administrative services in 20 Kosovo municipalities, train governmental and nongovernmental organizations active in arts and culture, and create a wide network of debate clubs within schools and youth communities.

The foundation launched its operational project, Forum 2015, which at first was a joint effort with two think tanks, addressing the crucial problems affecting consolidation of democracy and integration into the European Union. The foundation set up eight community centers to provide multiethnic and multicultural communities with educational, cultural, and sports activities, access to information technology, and help establishing small businesses. The foundation organized experts to support the transition of the justice sector from UN administration to administration by Kosovo's local authorities.

In 2004, Forum 2015, now an integral part of the foundation, undertook projects evaluating Kosovo five years after the introduction of the UN administration and analyzing Kosovo's experience with privatization and problems with the electoral system, ethnic intolerance, decentralization of ethnic minorities, and higher education for the Serb minority.

The foundation and the United Nations Development Program joined efforts for major capacity building in the country and established an institute to train 70,000 local civil servants. The foundation helped protect minority-group nongovernmental organizations, initiate think tanks for the Bosniak, Roma, Serb, and Turkish communities, and establish a school to educate students about the European Union.

Macedonia

In response to violence between Albanian insurgents and Macedonia's military and security service, the Open Society foundation in Macedonia mobilized more than 100 nongovernmental organizations in a countrywide peace campaign, "Enough is Enough," and advocated for free and fair democratic elections and efforts to fight corruption and organized crime. These activities made the foundation the target of attacks from government institutions and government-controlled media organizations, which derided the foundation as a "Fifth Column," "Sorosoids," and "agents of an international conspiracy." The foundation joined efforts to establish support centers for nongovernmental organizations, a creative teaching and learning project, and education and public administration reforms. In 2002, a foundation-backed, voter-turnout drive for parliamentary elections recruited over 120 nongovernmental organizations and helped produce a turnout of 73 percent. The foundation continued its comprehensive work in education reform, including enhancement of educational opportunities for Macedonia's Roma.

The foundation helped gather 110 representatives from almost every student and youth organization in Macedonia to evaluate the country's institutions of higher education, and undertook a needs assessment to prepare for a capacity-building program for student organizations. Macedonia's government agreed to cooperate with the foundation on the National Program for Development of Education. The foundation also carried out research on corruption in higher education, revealing its presence in admissions, examinations, student services, administration, and many other aspects of higher education.

The foundation supported efforts to reform Macedonia's judiciary, to advocate for a law on free access to public information, and to promote anticorruption efforts. The foundation coordinated donor community activities to promote and monitor Macedonia's commitments to the Decade of Roma Inclusion, and helped with projects to improve the school achievement of Roma children and young adults. In addition to pressing for progress on Macedonia's accession to the European Union, the foundation undertook projects to improve Macedonia's economic stability and business climate, and initiated public and institutional debates on decentralization, freedom of information, the status of Roma, and the status of nongovernmental organizations.

Montenegro

The Open Society foundation in Montenegro encouraged the public to become involved in government reform by participating in campaigns and advocating for legislation on issues such as corruption, organized crime, and trafficking in human beings. It pursued numerous activities to strengthen freedom of expression, develop media self-regulation, elaborate journalistic codes of behavior, and change libel from a criminal law to a civil law matter. With other Open Society Foundations entities, the foundation initiated education reform, including policymaking, development of legislation, curriculum development, teacher training, and textbook publishing. The foundation helped establish the Judicial Training Center, legal clinics, and a strategy for reform of Montenegro's judiciary. Following the official policy to decentralize

government, the foundation supported the drafting of legislation relevant to local self-governance.

The introduction of a new primary education system in 20 pilot schools across Montenegro culminated years of foundation work on education reform. The foundation undertook the training of teachers of civic education, a new compulsory subject in primary schools, and supported an evaluation of the first year of implementation of educational reforms. In the area of legal reform, the foundation organized debates on draft laws dealing with witness protection, court fees, judicial education, and rules of procedure. The foundation supported the monitoring of a law on the financing of political parties. Support also went to expert commissions responsible for revising Montenegro's criminal code and code of criminal procedure. The foundation helped create education policies that do not discriminate on the basis of gender.

Serbia

After operating in dangerous and difficult conditions for almost a decade, the Open Society foundation in Serbia, in 2001, worked with the new democratic government and international donors to advance the country's transition to democracy. The foundation supported the preparation of new laws on the judiciary, local government, freedom of information, and the police. It joined the Council for the Reform of the Judiciary to bring the judicial system up to international standards and helped Serbia's law enforcement and judicial institutions to cope with organized crime and war crimes. The foundation supported education reform, including curricula changes, a national education strategy for Roma children, and public education debates involving over 30,000 teachers, parents, and community members.

During the state of emergency after Prime Minister Zoran Djindjić's assassination, the authorities restricted key human and civil rights, including freedom of expression and information; limited the independence of the judiciary; and restricted defendants' rights in criminal procedures, thereby violating the principle of a fair trial. The foundation initiated efforts to reestablish these rights. It worked to strengthen the professional capabilities of the judiciary, particularly judges and prosecutors dealing with organized crime in recently established special courts. The foundation also supported training for members of nongovernmental organizations to monitor court trials.

The foundation in 2004 began campaigning against the new, antireform policies of the Koštunica government. It helped organize an international conference that contributed to work on a new legislative framework for education reforms. The foundation worked with the Serbian government to draft elements of the National Strategy for Joining the European Union; Serbia's progress toward joining the European Union remained thwarted by its refusal to cooperate fully with the UN war crimes tribunal. The foundation promoted numerous activities to further cooperation between Serbia and the tribunal, and worked to increase the capacities of the domestic judiciary to deal with cases involving serious violations of humanitarian law.

In 2005, the foundation advocated for building a pro–European Union

social consensus in Serbia, and monitored the effectiveness, efficiency, and democratic nature of the government's work on EU accession. The foundation contributed to the development and implementation of an educational program for civil servants negotiating Serbia's Stabilization and Association Agreement with the European Union.

Family Across Borders

BECAUSE OF MY BELGRADE CHILDHOOD, my biography is typically Yugoslav. Many of my relatives on my mother's side dispersed across the width and breadth of Yugoslavia, the result being that I have kin among nearly all the peoples of this region. Two of my cousins, Janez and Stanko Škrabar, still live in Belgrade; they were the ones I looked up to in my youth. My cousin Amiz Hamzić, an excellent fellow, lives in Zagreb; he is Bosnian on his father's side, Slovenian on his mother's, has Croatian citizenship, and is an international atomic physicist by profession. The war in the former Yugoslavia forcibly drew borders between kin. My cousins became citizens of countries that were at war with each other. Happily, in the case of my family, these external borders did not affect our relations though they did complicate possibilities for communication and visits.

Boris A. Novak
"Words that Flow against the Current of Time," Volume No. 3, 2003

Boris A. Novak, a Slovenian poet, playwright, translator, and essayist, teaches at the Faculty of Arts, Ljubljana University.

Actors performed *Macbeth* in Belgrade's Republic Square, January 1997, to protest the Milošević regime and fraudulent election results.

TURNING THE **POWER OF ART** AGAINST FEAR AND HATRED

MILENA DRAGIĆEVIĆ-ŠEŠIĆ

Independent cultural centers became places where artists and free-thinkers worked in close proximity and strived to collaborate with their counterparts in other republics and to nurture vibrant political debate.

A MOB MENTALITY makes life perilous for free thinkers and nay-sayers when fear and hatred infect an entire society, when corruption reaches epidemic proportions and the police and military degenerate into a criminal mafia, when governmental, financial, commercial, social, educational, and cultural institutions collapse, and when the mass media lie for political leaders bent on mobilizing people against "the other." In extreme cases, like Hitler's Germany, nay-saying writers and artists have been driven into exile or killed. In the Soviet bloc, poets and painters were considered social parasites and some were confined to the Gulag or to mental institutions. During the nationalist insanity that gripped the republics of the former Yugoslavia in the 1980s and 1990s, the various republican governments slashed the budgets of cultural institutions. Those artists, writers, painters, and theatre and film directors who dared to challenge the us-or-them mindset of the day were shunned. Others who were less bold censored themselves. Still others produced works that were escapist or blatantly aimed at whipping

up nationalist passions. Too many of the best and the brightest emigrated.

The atmosphere of hatred that existed in the 1990s in the former Yugoslavia—much of it fomented by institutions that exercised a near monopoly over cultural life—motivated the Open Society Foundations to begin funding alternative cultural activities in Serbia, Slovenia, Croatia, and the old Yugoslavia's other successor republics. The idea was not to underwrite art for art's sake. The aim was to use targeted funding to encourage artists, writers, performers, and others, working alone and collectively and sometimes across ethnic lines, to turn the power of art against hatred and intolerance and the fear that drives them.

Open Society–backed activism in the arts and other cultural institutions in Serbia began with a radio station: Belgrade's B92. Its music and information programs challenged the state media's nationalistic worldview and resonated with thousands of people, especially young people, and gained growing numbers of listeners after the first opposition demonstrations of March 1991, when Slobodan Milošević called on the Yugoslav army to send tanks onto Belgrade's streets and, in a meeting with local political leaders, set Serbia on a war footing.

B92 blazed a path for other artists ready to challenge xenophobia, patriarchal values, hate speech, and ethnic stereotypes. Belgrade's Dah Theater's performances of *This Babylonian Confusion* lashed out against war, nationalism, and destruction with songs by Bertold Brecht providing the backdrop. During the 1990s, the Dah Theater expanded its activities to include workshops, lectures, seminars, guest performances, and festivals aimed at a constant exchange of knowledge, experiences, and ideas among artists from a variety of traditions. The institution has become a significant element of the capital city's cultural and artistic landscape.

The Open Society Foundations contributed to development of independent cultural centers in cities and towns across the successor states of the former Yugoslavia. These cultural centers became places where artists and freethinkers worked in close proximity and, despite war fronts, severed telephone lines, and travel restrictions, strived to contact and collaborate with their counterparts in other republics and to nurture vibrant political debate on current issues. Practically all of these centers came under government pressure. In September 1993, in Ljubljana, Slovenia, the Metelkova Autonomous Cultural Center squatted in seven buildings of an abandoned barracks of the defunct Yugoslav National Army and transformed them into an art gallery, studios for artists and designers, offices for cultural organizations, and venues for musical performances. In September 1994, Radio B92's cultural center, Rex, opened in an abandoned building of Belgrade's Jewish community center and eventually undertook programs that included comics, rock music, opera,

and sales of fanzines produced independently by fans of a particular music group or other cultural phenomenon.

In September 1994, the first Dibidon caravan with 30 new generation artists journeyed from Belgrade to Slovenia, some of them for the first time in their lives. During Kontradibidon, Slovenian artists traveled from Slovenia to Serbia and exhibited and staged their work at various venues. Rex held an exhibit of cartoons from *Stripburger*, a comic magazine that publishes foreign as well as local artists who work in a mix of styles. The Center for Cultural Decontamination displayed works by Jurij Krpan; the Technical Students Club held concerts; the Belgrade International Theater Festival organized performances; and the Belgrade Cultural center held a photo exhibition and debates. Other collaborative events took place, including Living in Sarajevo in May 1995 and Pertej, an exhibition of Kosovo artists, in July 1997.

"Worried September! Wilhelm Reich in Belgrade – Lust for Life" was a project devoted to the common individual—of Belgrade and the world—who, in despair, withdraws from life and cedes responsibility for his or her being and future. "Lust for Life" had multiple dimensions, including publication of a translation of *Listen, Little Man!*, a book by Wilhelm Reich, a highly controversial psychoanalyst who studied under Freud and later died in prison in the United States after the government banned and burned his works; a series of street action–theater performances derived from the book; a program of documentary films; and feature films, including Charlie Chaplin's *Great Dictator* and *WR*, Dušan Makavejev's film about Reich and his gizmos. Reich wrote that the alienated individual who withdraws into a shell was responsible for the 20th century's evils, including totalitarianism, fascism, and nationalistic hysteria.

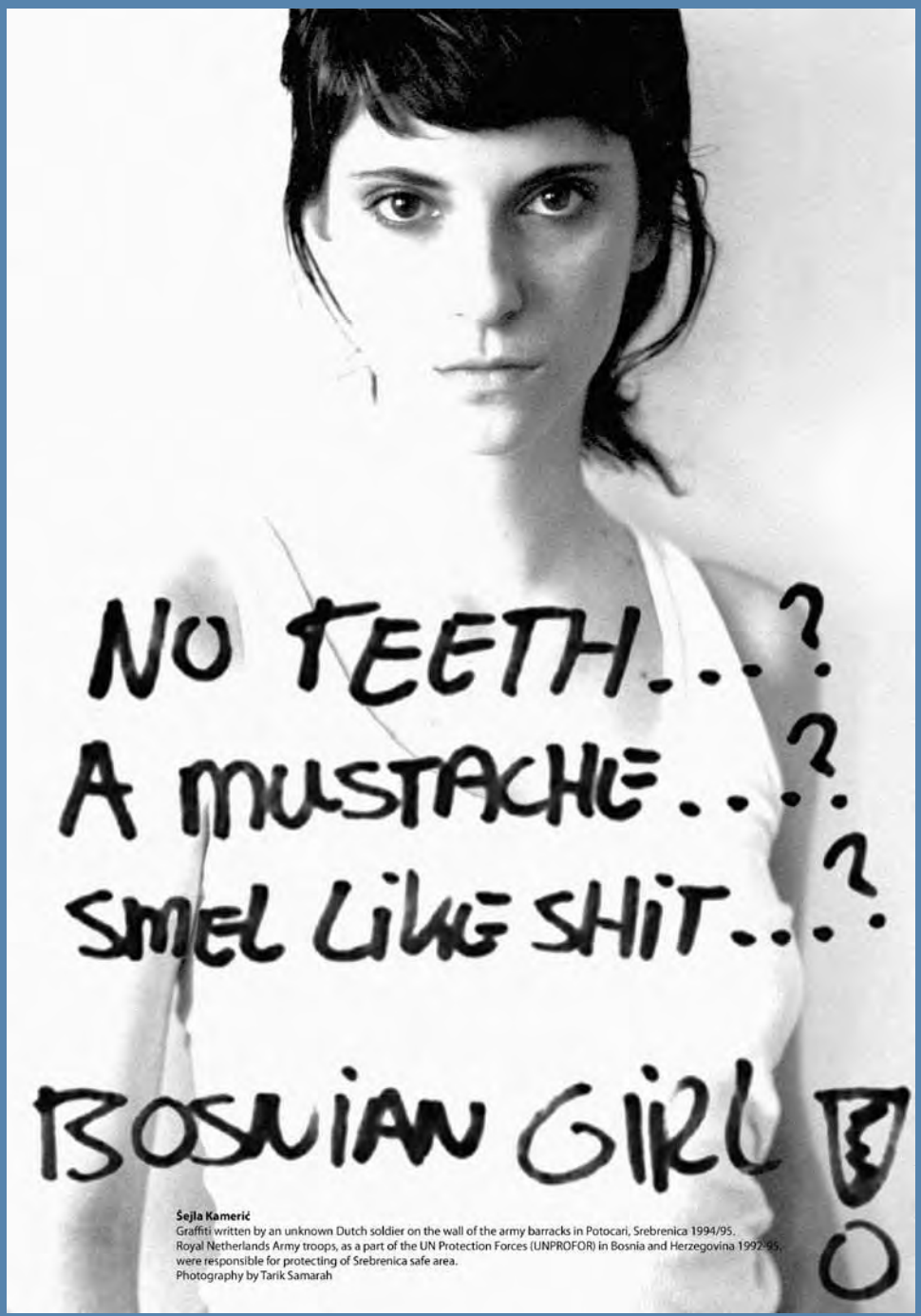
Drawing on the work of Augusto Boal, who argued that conventional theater militates in favor of social dominance by a privileged few, Ana Miljanić, a marquee director at Belgrade's Center for Cultural Decontamination, undertook a series of site-specific theater "actions" that demonstrated the power of social interventions using different artistic forms. In Zagreb, Croatia, ZCCE3000 undertook conferences, art festivals, exhibitions, workshops, lectures, presentations, publications, and media productions. A crucial component of the project was to reform the institutional settings of independent culture, increasing its influence and strengthening its resources. One of its collaborators, What, How and For Whom, organized a complex exhibition on the 152nd anniversary of the *Communist Manifesto*'s publication, returning Marx to the public sphere in Belgrade for the first time since 1989.

Alternative art entered the free space of the World Wide Web long before public cultural institutions and art schools. Ljudmila (the Ljubljana Digital Media Laboratory), CyberRex

in Belgrade, the Soros Center for Contemporary Art in Skopje, Lamparna in Labin, and MaMa, the Multimedia Institute in Zagreb, introduced artists and audiences to the new media culture, the internet and digital arts, as well as "socially inflected approaches to new technologies," such as open sources and free software. A project of the first generation of new media trainees was the Yugomuseum of Mrdjan Bajić, which displayed interesting artifacts and examined key moments in the creation and dissolution of socialist Yugoslavia. Begun in 1997, the project was presented at the Venice Biennale in 2007. In Skopje, within the Soros Center for Contemporary Art, Melentije Pandilovski organized the Skopje Electronic Arts Fair and numerous Web database projects, including internet-based auctions of contemporary Macedonian artists. In Croatia, Teo Celakoski and LABinary organized the international CyberKitchen CyberFem School, which included digital media workshops for 45 women artists and created a space for exploring theoretical issues about media, feminism, alternative economy, and civil politics.

The final phase of the Open Society Foundations' arts and culture program involved increasing the capacity of independent arts centers and institutions to achieve financial sustainability through more effective management, marketing, fundraising, and other areas. Advocacy, lobbying, and a proactive approach to policymaking became a daily agenda item for cultural organizations, which were also expanding their mission to include, among other things, social inclusion. Efforts by independent arts and culture centers and organizations, with the support of the Open Society Foundations, succeeded in developing activists capable of bringing issues crucial to the arts onto the public agenda and raising public awareness and lobbying to achieve constructive results.

Milena Dragićević-Šešić is a professor of cultural policy and management and the former president of the Belgrade University of Arts.



Šejla Kamerić
Graffiti written by an unknown Dutch soldier on the wall of the army barracks in Potocari, Srebrenica 1994/95.
Royal Netherlands Army troops, as a part of the UN Protection Forces (UNPROFOR) in Bosnia and Herzegovina 1992-95, were responsible for protecting of Srebrenica safe area.
Photography by Tarik Samarah

Art work, exhibited in Sarajevo in July 2003, incorporated graffiti written by a UN Protection Force soldier in Srebrenica during 1994–1995.

REVIVING CREATIVITY AFTER THE WAR

DUNJA BLAŽEVIĆ

> One of the goals was to enable new art production by younger artists who, after four years in shelters, sought to reoccupy Sarajevo and reestablish contact with the outside world.

THE ART OF DEFIANCE that arose and poured forth from Bosnia and Herzegovina—and especially from Sarajevo—during the war has been replaced by apathy and exhaustion. Culture and the arts lack sufficient material, institutional, and professional support. The return to "normal" life after the war meant a return of art and culture to their traditional institutional venues: the galleries, the museums, and the academy, which reestablished a hierarchical system of values and evaluation. But the war had gutted the prewar physical infrastructure of the institutions of art and culture. Financial support for institutions and the arts is scarce. No new system of funding the arts has arisen. Statewide cultural policy is nonexistent. Institutions of the old system are not capable of adapting to the new realities. Cultural and artistic initiatives not geared for mass consumption are disappearing. Institutions direct their energies to festival-like events, because it is easier to attract sponsors and sizeable crowds.

The Open Society foundation in Bosnia and Herzegovina founded the Soros Center for Contemporary Art in 1996. The center's goals were

to keep contemporary art alive, to gather dispersed creative energy, to enable new art production, especially by the younger generation of artists, who, after four years in shelters, sought to reoccupy Sarajevo and to reestablish contact with the outside world. The center developed itself as a production, information, documentation, education, and distribution point, a generator of new events and developments in art, an active promoter of a new cultural model.

With no gallery space of its own, the center acted as a mobile art institution, placing its actions and interventions on sidewalks, squares, parks, and other open spaces, thereby making art a component of everyday life.

The center developed links between the artistic community in Bosnia and Herzegovina and artistic communities abroad, promoting work by artists from Bosnia as well as artists who had fled abroad, and developing cooperation with artists and cultural centers around the region. Despite the government's refusal to provide financial and logistical support, the center, as a nongovernmental organization, developed direct collaboration and exchanges with artists and organizations in Banja Luka, the political and cultural center of the Serb entity in Bosnia, Republika Srpska.

The center went on to establish a multimedia production department, pro.ba, which enabled artists to create professional-quality videos, as well as new media works, and gave the center the capability to document its own activities. Over the past decade, pro.ba has developed video and noncommercial films, collaborated with public television channels as an independent producer, and engaged in public multimedia campaigns.

Since 2000, the center has focused on mid-term and long-term regional projects supported by international foundations. For example, De/construction of the Monument (2004–2007), a multidisciplinary project, organized a series of panel discussions, lectures, seminars, artistic presentations, exhibitions, and interventions in public spaces. The project held a contest for the "new monument"; one was installed in Mostar, three in Sarajevo. The participating artists adopted the monument form of art in an antimonument way, creating monuments that would demystify its common meaning and draw attention to negative elements of the past, rather than glorifying it.

Dunja Blažević, an art historian, art critic, and contemporary art and new media curator and producer, is the director of the Sarajevo Center for Contemporary Art in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Red Cross humanitarian aid station in the center of Sarajevo, January 1993.

THE AID DILEMMA: LESSONS (NOT) LEARNED IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

ŽARKO PAPIĆ

The most important recommendations stressed the need for foreign donors to forge partnerships with local stakeholders, allow for local ownership of the process, and insist upon sustainability as the ultimate goal.

THE WAR IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA ended in late 1995 with the conclusion of the Dayton Peace Agreement, a complex array of diplomatic compromises whose farthest-reaching section, Annex IV, effectively became the country's postwar constitution. The Dayton Peace Agreement succeeded in its immediate goal. It halted years of senseless violence, including war crimes against civilians. But Annex IV has not been kind to the war's survivors.

The provisions of Annex IV have left Bosnia and Herzegovina's people hostage to nationalist political leaders, many of them corrupt and willing to strengthen their hold on power by whipping up popular fear and hysteria just as Radovan Karadžić and other nationalist leaders did before the war. Annex IV also burdened the country with a government that is structurally ill equipped to produce decisions necessary to deal effectively with pressing challenges. Bosnia and Herzegovina was subdivided territorially between two entities, the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Republika Srpska, as well as one special exception, the tiny, ethnically mixed Brčko District.

The powers of the country's central government were intentionally limited. Layers of regional and local governments became absurdly redundant and conflicting. At last count, Bosnia and Herzegovina had 13 constitutions, 14 governments and parliaments, more than 200 ministries, a maddening battery of laws and regulations, and budgets weighed down by exorbitant administrative costs.

Annex IV provides for a kind of "equality" that is a perversion of the Western notion of equality of all citizens. The equality provided for under Annex IV is ethnically based, the equality of three constituent "peoples," Slavic nations that emerged out of an ethnic differentiation process that took place during the late 19th century. These "constitutional peoples" are the Bosniaks, essentially people who are Muslims at least by legacy (meaning a Bosniak can actually be an atheist who happens to have had a practicing Muslim father or grandfather); the Croats, people who are Roman Catholic at least by legacy; and the Serbs, people who are Eastern Orthodox at least by legacy. Under the constitution, no Serb living in the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina—and this means every Serb living in Sarajevo or cities such as Mostar and Tuzla—can run for Bosnia and Herzegovina's presidency. Nor can any Bosniak or Croat living anywhere in the Republika Srpska, nor any Jew or Hungarian or Roma living anywhere in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The Dayton Peace Agreement also established an international administrative body whose chief executive, the high representative for Bosnia and Herzegovina, soon came to resemble the governor of an international protectorate. The high representative can issue decrees that carry the force of law and unilaterally oust elected political leaders, even members of Bosnia and Herzegovina's presidency. On the positive side, the high representative has acted as a credible arbiter and as a kind of *deus ex machina* capable of overcoming the stonewalling of nationalist leaders. But the high representative is also a part of Bosnia and Herzegovina's problem. Instead of acting responsibly, taking calculated political risks, and forging compromises to resolve pressing problems on their own, Bosnia and Herzegovina's political leaders have too often waited for the high representative to resolve problems for them.

Implementing the Dayton Peace Agreement and building peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina have cost the outside world dearly. During the first five years after the war, Bosnia and Herzegovina received an estimated $46–53 billion in financial support. This translates into a breathtaking $1.3 million to $1.5 million per person in a country where GDP per capita was less than $3,800 in 1998. This amounted to the largest amount of per capita financial support any country had ever received. Needless to say, the immensity of this largesse did not transform Bosnia and Herzegovina into a new Switzerland. After five years, it was clear that the postwar financial support had failed even to produce its intended effects. Bosnia and Herzegovina's economic recovery was

weak and halting. The same political and social divisions that had hamstrung the body politic before the war still existed.

Why, given half a decade and massive financial support, did Bosnia and Herzegovina have an NGO elite rather than an open, civil society? Why did nationalist parties continue to win elections? Clearly, Bosnia and Herzegovina's leaders and its political culture are in large part responsible for this outcome. But a significant share of the responsibility lies in the way international support was designed and distributed.

During 2000–2001, the Open Society foundation in Bosnia and Herzegovina commissioned a comprehensive, critical analysis of the international support policies implemented in the country after the war. By that time, the failings of local political leaders were well documented and well publicized. For this reason, the analysis focused upon the policies of the international community and foreign and international nongovernmental organizations; it thus became the first analysis undertaken by experts from Bosnia and Herzegovina working from the point of view of the intended beneficiaries rather than that of the donor organizations from abroad. The goal of this analysis was to produce a fact-based assessment of the situation and recommend ways to improve the international support policies applied in Bosnia and Herzegovina and to inform policies that local leaders and international organizations might apply in other countries, including those of South Eastern Europe.

The analysis found that political leaders in Bosnia and Herzegovina and decision-makers in the international community who directed financial support to the country largely ignored the fact that Bosnia and Herzegovina was simultaneously undergoing three transitions: a transition from war to peace, a transition from dependency upon international financial support to self-sustainability, and a transition from a communist near-monopoly on political and economic decision-making to a pluralistic, democratic political system and a free market economy.

Too much financial support for Bosnia and Herzegovina's economic reconstruction was guided by dogmatic market fundamentalism. No free market can develop efficiently without the introduction and development of institutions and appropriate regulations. International support driven solely by the donors cannot nurture local ownership and sustainability. Foreign investors, who could have taken advantage of Bosnia and Herzegovina's relatively low-cost, well-educated workforce and become a force demanding rational local government policies, concluded that the political risks outweighed potential returns and sought opportunity elsewhere.

After the war, international financial support was channeled through a legion of nongovernmental

organizations that had scant experience in Bosnia and Herzegovina or with its people. These organizations failed to take advantage of less-costly local capacity, so their administrative and implementation costs were enormous and needlessly diminished the support that reached the local population. (The lowest-ranking foreign staff in Bosnia and Herzegovina enjoyed salaries that were several times higher than the official salaries of government ministers.) Procurements were made in donor countries, so aid did not boost local economic demand to jumpstart local producers. Donor-driven projects in some instances competed against other donor-driven projects, so some needs were ignored while others received a surfeit of attention. The aid effort was also counterproductive because it strengthened the dependency syndrome in Bosnia and Herzegovina and thereby diminished the accountability of local political leaders, as well as the people, for the situation in which their country found itself.

The most important recommendations stressed the need for foreign donors to forge partnerships with local stakeholders, allow for local ownership of the process, and to insist upon sustainability as the ultimate goal.

The analysis called for amending Bosnia and Herzegovina's constitution in a way that would strengthen the powers of Bosnia and Herzegovina as a state and ensure the equality of its citizens regardless of their nationality. It also called for the hiring of local people to fill most positions in the program staff of international organizations and for the establishment of partnerships between donors and local stakeholders in the design and implementation of projects.

Published under the title *Developing New International Support Policies – Lessons (Not) Learned in Bosnia-Herzegovina,* the analysis was widely distributed to international organizations, including departments of the United Nations and bilateral donors, as well as government bodies and other stakeholders in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Some international organizations initially reacted to the analysis with surprise, disapproval, and indignation. The analysis's recommendations, however, won unanimous support at an international conference in Sarajevo in February 2002.

Subsequently, the support strategies of all donors to Bosnia and Herzegovina placed significant emphasis on the establishment of local ownership and the forging of partnerships with local organizations and designated sustainability as a fundamental goal. UNICEF, for example, developed mechanisms of local management decision-making bodies for its projects.

A series of amendments to the constitutions of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the Republika Srpska led to an improvement in the equality of constitutional peoples. Court institutions were

formed at the Bosnia and Herzegovina level, including the Supreme Court and the Court of War Crimes and Organized Crime. These moves met significant resistance from local political leaders. The establishment of a coordination board produced significant improvement in the cooperation between bilateral donors, international organizations, and local governments, including the harmonization of donor support with local priorities.

Žarko Papić is the director of the Independent Bureau for Humanitarian Issues in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Serbian President Boris Tadić in November 2010 paid his respects at a farm near Vukovar where more than 200 Croats were killed by Serb forces in 1991 after being dragged out of a local hospital. Tadić apologized for the crimes committed by Serb forces. Early in 2010, President Josipović of Croatia visited Central Bosnia and apologized for the crimes committed in the name of Croatia in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Open Society Foundations supported efforts at coming to terms with the past across the region.

2006–2011

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

2006

January Ibrahim Rugova, president of Kosovo, dies from lung cancer.

June Montenegro declares independence after a majority of voters approve a May referendum.

July/August New coalition government is formed in Macedonia with Nikola Gruevski (VMRO-DPMNE) as prime minister.

September Talks on the future status of Kosovo are opened under UN auspices.

October Milo Djukanović resigns as prime minister of Montenegro. He is replaced by Željko Šturanović. Serbia's new constitution refers to Kosovo as an inseparable part of Serbia. The second general elections in Bosnia and Herzegovina bring small changes in power, but no progress in the country's political life.

December Macedonia announces plans to name Skopje airport after Alexander the Great, a move perceived as a provocation by the Greeks, who still block the recognition of the country as the Republic of Macedonia.

2007

January Slovenia adopts the euro as its currency.

February Martti Ahtisaari announces his plan for supervised independence for Kosovo.

April-June Ivica Račan, president of the SDP in Croatia since the late 1980s, dies and is replaced by the relatively unknown Zoran Milanović.

May Negotiations between the EU and Serbia on the Stabilization and Association Agreement are completed.

June Russia blocks endorsement of the Ahtisaari plan for Kosovo at the UN Security Council.

November Kosovo's elections, which the majority of Serbs boycott, result in a coalition government with Fatmir Sejdiu as president and Hashim Thaçi as prime minister. In Croatia, Sanader leads HDZ to another narrow victory.

December Slovenia joins the Schengen Area countries for mutual cooperation.

2008

January Slovenia becomes the first of the new member states to hold the EU presidency.

February Kosovo declares its independence. Željko Šturanović resigns as prime minister of Montenegro. Milo Djukanović becomes prime minister again. Boris Tadić wins elections on a pro-European platform for Serbia.

April At the NATO Summit in Bucharest, Croatia is invited to join, but Greece vetoes membership for Macedonia. Filip Vujanović becomes president of Montenegro.

June Bosnia and Herzegovina signs the Stabilization and Association Agreement with the EU. Early parliamentary elections in Macedonia are accompanied by incidents but the government of VMRO-DPMNE and DUI wins an absolute majority in the parliament.

July Former Bosnian Serb political leader Radovan Karadžić is arrested in Belgrade and transferred to the UN war crimes tribunal for genocide and other war crimes.

October Montenegro recognizes Kosovo. The UN adopts Serbia's request to review the legitimacy of Kosovo's declaration of independence and refers the case to the International Court of Justice.

November Secessionists found the Serbian Progressive Party. Parliamentary elections are won by social democrats in Slovenia and Borut Pahor becomes the head of government. In Macedonia local and presidential elections confirm the power of VMRO-DPMNE and George Ivanov is elected president.

December EULEX is created to monitor and advise police, judiciary, and customs in Kosovo.

2009

February After extraordinary parliamentary elections, Djukanović stays in power in Montenegro.

July Ivo Sanader amid rumors of corruption suddenly resigns as prime minister of Croatia. His handpicked successor, Jadranka Kosor, becomes the new prime minister.

November Prime Minister Kosor of Croatia and Prime Minister Pahor of Slovenia sign an arbitration agreement to resolve a maritime border dispute that was blocking Croatia's progress toward EU membership.

December Serbia applies for membership in the European Union. Montenegro is accepted into NATO's Membership Action Plan for possible admission into NATO.

2010

January Ivo Josipović is elected president of Croatia.

February Macedonia's government increases ethnic tensions by launching the project Skopje 2014, with its plans for new antique buildings and monuments in Skopje.

March Serbia's parliament adopts a resolution apologizing for the massacre of Muslim Slavs at Srebrenica in 1995 and declares that Serbia should have done more to prevent the tragedy. In Slovenia, legislation regulating the status of the "erased" is adopted. Slovenia hosts the first Balkan summit to discuss the European perspective; all leaders attend except Serbia's president because Kosovo's prime minister was also invited.

April Croatian President Josipović visits Central Bosnia and apologizes to Bosnian Muslims for the crimes committed in the name of Croatia in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

June EU and Western Balkan leaders in Sarajevo reaffirm commitment to European future for the region.

July The International Court of Justice upholds Kosovo's right to independence.

October General elections in Bosnia and Herzegovina produce mixed results, disappointing some reformers.

November Serbian President Tadić visits Vukovar and apologizes for the crimes committed by Serb forces. He is accompanied by President Josipović of Croatia.

December Milo Djukanović, after 20 years in power, resigns as prime minister of Montenegro. Igor Luksić becomes prime minister. Montenegro receives EU candidate country status. Sanader, the former prime minister of Croatia, is arrested on corruption charges in Austria. Kosovo holds parliamentary elections.

2011

January Hashim Thaçi continues as prime minister of Kosovo despite allegations of involvement in organized crime activities.

March Serbia and Kosovo begin talks in Brussels on regional cooperation, freedom of movement, and rule of law, the first talks between the two countries since Kosovo declared independence.

May Former Bosnian Serb army chief Ratko Mladić is arrested in Serbia after 17 years on the run and is extradited to The Hague to stand trial for war crimes.

June Macedonia holds parliamentary elections and the VMRO-DPMNE party, led by the incumbent prime minister, Nikola Gruevski, wins.

July Sanader is transferred from Austria to a jail in Zagreb. The last remaining war crimes fugitive, Goran Hadžić, is captured in Serbia and transferred to The Hague.

FOUNDATION ACTIVITIES

ENDING VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN, INTEGRATING MINORITIES, CHAMPIONING TRANSPARENCY, OUTLAWING DISCRIMINATION, STRENGTHENING CIVIL SOCIETY, AIDING PEOPLE WITH DISABILITIES . . .

Bosnia and Herzegovina

Surveys conducted by the Open Society foundation in Bosnia and Herzegovina revealed that the country's schools continue to use separate Bosnian, Croatian, and Serbian curricula and that some rural schools are also physically separating children of different ethnic groups. Surveys also revealed, however, that the students themselves are ready for change, saying that their schools are not fostering critical thinking and ethnic pluralism. The foundation supported civil society efforts to encourage reforms to curricula that would promote tolerance and multiculturalism.

Citizens Committees for Democracy monitored the performance of the newly elected government, evaluating the extent to which preelection promises were kept. The Youth Get Out to Vote project helped young people to understand the role of voting in a democracy. The foundation monitored education reforms that would promote human rights and equal opportunity in school programs. A curriculum and textbook review and a public opinion survey found that schools in Bosnia and Herzegovina discriminated on the basis of ethnic, religious, and political affiliation as well as economic status.

In Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Open Society Foundations, which are committed to ending violence against women, supported an organization providing psychosocial and medical treatment and legal counseling to women victims of wartime sexual violence and domestic violence.

The foundation's Campaign for Justice in Education alerted the public to discrimination against children in the educational system on the basis of their ethnic, religious, and political affiliation, as well as their health and economic status. The campaign advocated for equal access to education, higher quality of educational services, safety in schools, learning about diversity, and harmonized financing of education.

Widespread discrimination against various groups is one of the most serious generators of human rights violations in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The foundation established an antidiscrimination team to bring strategic litigation cases before the country's courts. In July 2010, the first antidiscrimination ruling found that the government violated the right to education of a minor with special needs by not providing assistance in a regular class to enable the child's inclusion. The foundation helped establish the Public Interest Advocacy Center to mount public pressure on the government to provide information on its fiscal decision making and to encourage citizens to participate and hold public officials accountable.

Croatia

In 2007, a year after the closing of the foundation in Croatia, the Open Society Foundations formed a three-member advisory board to help with the work the Foundations continued to support in the country. It quickly became clear, however, that a local presence was needed. Despite its steady progress toward European integration, Croatia continued to suffer from political corruption and economic mismanagement. In 2010, civil society representatives and experts supported a strengthening of the Open Society Foundations engagement in Croatia. In September, an Open Society Foundations advisor for Croatia was hired to serve as the liaison for Foundations programs in the country.

Kosovo

Forum 2015's Status vs. Status Quo initiative mobilized civil society to support negotiations between Kosovo and Serbia. The foundation agreed with the government of Kosovo to draft the Kosovo Strategy for Integration of Roma, Ashkali, and Egyptian communities, which was completed after two years of public debate and adopted by the parliament in 2008. Soros pledged 500,000 euros to the integration effort, and the European Union gave 1 million euros. The foundation was mandated to oversee the strategy's implementation.

The Open Society foundation in Kosovo supported multiethnic centers in communities with large Serb, Slavic Muslim, Roma, and Turkish populations. Forum 2015 published a study of government plans to construct a power plant that would cause numerous ecological, social, and economic problems, undertook projects examining the country's European identity and policies toward migration, and launched a study on the international presence in Kosovo. The foundation established six community centers in areas where Roma comprise a majority population to advance education, culture, and health, and engage youth.

The foundation in 2009 initiated a two-year project, Communicating with Europe, which sought to broaden and strengthen communication channels between civil society organizations and the intellectual elite in Kosovo with their counterparts in countries that have not recognized Kosovo's independence (Bosnia and Herzegovina, Cyprus, Greece, Romania, Serbia, Slovakia, and Spain). Forum 2015 initiated a project to enhance communication between Serbia and Kosovo. The foundation provided support to the Ministry of European Integration to advance Kosovo's progress in developing closer cooperation with relevant

EU institutions in Brussels and Pristina and also supported media efforts to inform the public about the European Union's policies on energy, visas, agriculture, and other areas.

The foundation supported television documentaries on fighting corruption and on reforming the electoral system. George Soros's emergency fund helped 25 Kosovo organizations to withstand the impact of the global financial recession. The foundation funded efforts to prepare Kosovo's minority communities to support the crucial countrywide census in 2011.

Macedonia

The Open Society foundation in Macedonia worked to strengthen the country's internal integration to meet the prerequisites for European Union integration. These efforts included projects to study and analyze Macedonia's state institutions and improve governance; to integrate the Roma through reforming the education system, improving health care, strengthening Roma nongovernmental organizations, and expanding economic opportunities; and to decentralize public administration and develop local democracy. The foundation advocated for bringing national education policies into harmony with the goals of the European Union's overarching education policy framework.

The foundation mobilized public support, exerted pressure upon government and political leaders, and organized discussions with EU officials to accelerate Macedonia's accession to the European Union. It monitored spending by the central government and the process of decentralization in order to enhance public debate on government transparency and accountability.

The Open Society Foundations in 2008 provided support to the first organization in the country offering community-based housing services as an alternative to institutionalization for people with intellectual disabilities. The effort in Macedonia was part of an Open Society Foundations campaign throughout the region to improve the lives of people with intellectual disabilities.

In addition to supporting education and legal reforms, strengthening civil society organizations, and promoting the integration of Roma, the foundation joined the Center for Democracy and Reconciliation in Southeast Europe in its project to end ethnocentric teaching of history by avoiding stereotypes, identifying attitudes that encourage conflict, and promoting the idea of multiple interpretations of events. The foundation undertook a project aimed at introducing the rehabilitation and resocialization of former drug users, including visits of social workers and civil servants to Bosnia and Herzegovina, Poland, and the Czech Republic to study similar centers and a conference on best practices.

The foundation in 2010 continued to press for change to advance Macedonia's progress toward membership in the European Union. Some of the foundation's activities were seen as threatening by various political interests in Macedonia, and the country's ruling party attacked the foundation, several of its spin-off organizations, the initiators of Citizens for European Macedonia, and other nongovernmental organizations as national traitors and conspirators against the state.

In Macedonia, the Open Society

Foundations also operated the Roma Mentor Project, which brings successful Roma into public school classrooms and after-school learning programs to inspire and help Roma students achieve in school and life.

Montenegro

In the weeks before the referendum on independence, the Open Society foundation in Montenegro focused on explaining the vote's importance to the public. Of the persons casting ballots, 55.5 percent voted for independence, surpassing by half a percentage point the amount needed to clear a EU-established threshold for validation. Subsequently, parliament declared Montenegro to be an independent state; Serbia, Russia, the European Union's member states, the United States, the United Kingdom, and other countries recognized Montenegro's independence. The foundation supported efforts to prepare Montenegro for accession to the European Union and to improve Montenegrin attitudes toward European integration. The foundation collaborated with mass media organizations on training seminars, courses, workshops, and study trips; funded an analysis of human and minority rights and public debate on the issue of Montenegro's accession to NATO; and promoted compliance with pledges to improve the situation of the country's Roma.

The foundation supported programs to strengthen both public administration and local government institutions, including providing staff members with skills to implement reforms crucial to the European integration process. The foundation also undertook development of Montenegro's first shadow report on implementation of the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women.

Projects run by parent groups, teacher associations, and organizations of young people with disabilities received funding to further implementation of teaching methods and to assess student achievement upon completion of primary school. The foundation worked on improving civil monitoring of human and minority rights, the financing of political parties, the promotion of free access to information, and efforts to fight corruption.

With Montenegro officially a candidate for entry into the European Union, the foundation in 2010 supported efforts to update the *European Reporter* portal with relevant information about the European Union and Montenegro's progress toward integration. The foundation continued its efforts to promote the rule of law and build the capacity of organizations working with women, the Roma, and other groups who face discrimination.

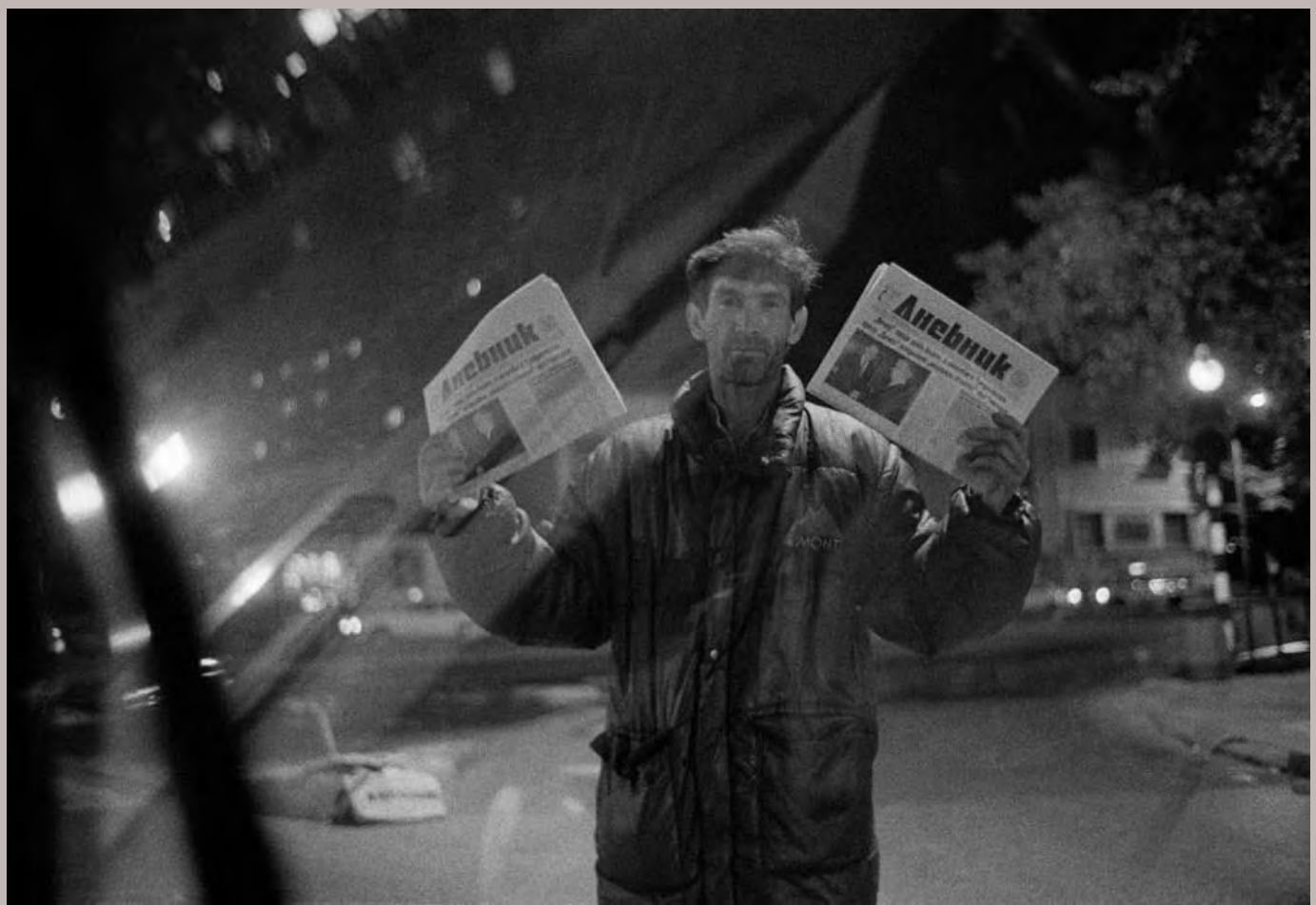
Serbia

The Open Society foundation in Serbia's report on the country's law on access to information called for the constitution to guarantee access to information as a human right and a constitutional commissioner to oversee its implementation. The report also called for the adoption of a new law on protection of personal data. Another foundation study, on the right to information in Serbia's minority languages, stimulated extensive public debate and provided a resource for policymakers and stakeholders. The foundation continued to advocate for the development of pro-European public policies, rule of

law, good governance and accountability, and respect for individual human rights and the rights of the Roma and other minority groups.

In the wake of Kosovo's recognition as an independent state by most EU countries and the ensuing backlash in Serbia, the foundation sought to combat resurgent nationalism and renewed calls for isolationism. The foundation led a coalition of civil society groups that worked to inform the public on the benefits of EU integration, helping keep nationalists from regaining control of the government. The foundation also worked to increase budget transparency and improve mechanisms to monitor the spending of aid money from abroad. Foundation-supported professional associations of judges and prosecutors questioned the general reelection of judges and prosecutors and played a large role in preventing an effort to bring the judiciary under the control of the government and political parties.

In 2009, a collaborative campaign by foundation-backed civil society organizations in Serbia, Macedonia, Montenegro, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Albania helped lead to a liberalization of the European Union's visa requirements for citizens of these countries, an important step in their EU accession process. Serbia applied for membership in the European Union in December. The foundation continued to work in a coalition of civil society groups to educate the public on the vast benefits of entering the European Union. The foundation also led efforts to fight corruption, increase budget transparency, and improve the country's mechanisms for spending foreign aid funds, as well as to improve access to quality education for the country's Roma.



A man sold newspapers in Skopje, Macedonia, 1998.

NEWS UPDATE: MEDIA SUPPORT STILL NEEDED

BRANKICA PETKOVIĆ

It was erroneous to assume that strong foreign support for the independent media in the early stages of transition would inevitably lead to reforms being easily concluded in later stages.

THE DEMOCRATIZATION of the media sector after the breakdown of socialism has been a great challenge for all postsocialist countries. It has meant adopting new rules and values, new institutions, and a new professional culture. But it has also meant living up to expectations that freedom of the media will finally protect society from the dominance of one center of power, enabling a variety of political, social, and cultural interests to compete for public attention.

In the case of the former Yugoslavia, the transformation of the traditional media system was dramatically influenced by the violent breakup of the federal state in the early 1990s and the process of (re)building of national identities and nation states on its territory, associated with the rise of nationalism, wars, and new dictatorships. In many instances, the governments that emerged after the first democratic elections exercised control over the newspapers, magazines, and broadcast outlets that survived from the former regime. Some, notably Slobodan Milošević in Serbia and Franjo Tudjman in Croatia, used the media outlets they controlled for fuelling ethnic hatred and war propaganda.

From the early 1990s, the Open Society Foundations played a key role in supporting the establishment and development of independent newspapers, radio and television stations, and other media outlets in Serbia (including Kosovo and Vojvodina), Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia, Montenegro, and Slovenia. Many foreign donors, public and private, provided help to these emerging independent media. Unlike other foreign donors, however, the Open Society Foundations made it a policy to empower local experts and activists—rather than experts from abroad—to undertake assessments, analyses, and recommendations for strategic work in directing the development of the new independent media.

During the 1990s, the independent media provided critical, analytical journalism and a public platform for voices calling for protection of human and minority rights and an end to the violence. These independent media also promoted liberal and progressive political ideas and civic initiatives. Among the most influential, and trusted, of these independent media outlets at that time were *Feral Tribune* and Radio 101 in Croatia; Radio B92, *Vreme*, and Radio 021 in Serbia; *BH Dani* and *Slobodna Bosna* in Bosnia and Herzegovina; Kanal 77, TV station A1 and Art TV in Macedonia, *Monitor* in Montenegro, *Mladina* and Radio Študent in Slovenia, and *Koha Ditore* and *Zeri* in Kosovo. The staff and contributors to these and other media outlets earned a reputation for providing accurate reporting and sound commentary in difficult, sometimes life-threatening, circumstances. The journalists were in many instances branded as enemies of the nation and labeled "foreign mercenaries," exposing them to pressure, threats, and violence. Some of these media didn't survive later developments; others survived by compromising their political independence in the hope of achieving commercial success, but they rarely managed to keep their reputations as independent, free media.

The Open Society Foundations provided funds for training and improving the professional qualifications of journalists, including visits to the Institute for War and Peace Reporting and other British media outlets in London as well as establishment of local media centers in Sarajevo, Belgrade, Podgorica, and elsewhere. These centers became important hubs and education outlets in their respective countries and worked on regional cooperation. To foster collaboration, for instance, in Ljubljana, the Open Society Foundations supported more than 60 events, including monthly "journalism evenings" where Slovenian, regional, and international media professionals and scholars engaged in vigorous debates that contributed to the opening of Slovenian society and its media community to the rest of the region.

From 2000, the Open Society Foundations began a significant shift in support for the media in the countries of the former Yugoslavia. The Foundations replaced direct financial support for media outlets with low-interest loans and investments through the Media Development

Loan Fund, a nonprofit investment fund which the Foundations helped found and support. One exception to this trend was continued direct support for Roma media outlets, because they have the potential to play a crucial role in helping the Roma to win recognition of equal rights and opportunities.

Since 2000, the Open Society Media Program, together with Danish institutions funded by the government of Denmark, have supported the establishment and operation of media training and research centers as well as a regional network of these centers, the South East European Network for Professionalization of the Media, which connects training and research centers in the countries of the former Yugoslavia as well as in Albania, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, and Moldova.

After the replacement of overtly nationalist governments with governments run by parties that were once a part of the so-called "democratic" opposition, some analysts predicted that independent media and professional journalism would be protected by the rule of law, the development of a free market, and efforts by these governments to abide by European democratic standards as they sought membership in the European Union. This prediction proved to be naïve.

During the past decade, the network and the individual media centers carried out assessments of the region's media. The 2004 mapping of media ownership patterns and their impact on media freedom and pluralism in South East Europe, which was supported by the Open Society Media Program as well as the government of Denmark and the Guardian Foundation, was the first such assessment of the newly established media markets in the region. It revealed many defects and contributed to disillusion about a free market paradigm in postsocialist media systems.

Recent alerts, sent by media freedom organizations almost on a daily basis—as well as publications such as the *Chronicle of the Threats and Attacks on Journalists 1990–2011*, a white paper published in Zagreb by the Association of Investigative Journalists in Croatia with the support of the Open Society Foundations, documenting large-scale violations of media freedom in the region—prove that it was erroneous to assume that strong foreign support for the independent media in the early stages of the transition would inevitably lead to reforms being easily concluded in later stages—without foreign support. Others have decided that something more needs to be done. In May 2011, for example, the European Commission, after organizing a conference on media freedom in countries of the former Yugoslavia as well as in Albania and Turkey, announced that it recognized the urgent need for its intervention in protection of media freedom and pluralism in the region.

Brankica Petković is the editor in chief of the Media Watch book series and bulletin, and the head of the Center for Media Policy at the Peace Institute in Ljubljana.

Children in 2009 studied in a Kosovo learning center run by the NGO Balkan Sunflowers.

EDUCATION EFFORTS—AND OUR IMPACT—IN THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA

TERRICE BASSLER

IT SEEMS NATURAL to use the first person plural to describe these efforts in which I felt part of a whole. As with most attempts to capture elements of life in the Balkans, however, this is too simple. There is the "we" of citizens acculturated and educated in Yugoslavia who almost overnight had to reckon with a new or uncertain collective identity. There is the "we" of outsiders like me who had grown up and been schooled in another world, imported our good intentions to the region, and worked there for many years.

I cannot tell you how many times I heard people refer in terms of "breathing" to their opportunities to receive scholarships and attend conferences. Such crucial respites enabled them to overcome despair.

The Open Society Foundations' strength is that our efforts embody this reality—the we and the us, rather than the I and me—and the tensions inherent in everyone working together for a common good. In education in the Balkans, answers even to a question like "what is good quality learning?" have resonated with politics, ideology, inequity, ethnic pride, nationalism, and dramatic moments when resuming any teaching and learning at all seemed an accomplishment.

In the early 1990s, new successor states to the old Yugoslavia came into existence. Heady with

freedom, Croatia, Macedonia, and Slovenia moved quickly to increase university autonomy and revive a proud, precommunist tradition in secondary education—the traditional gymnasium. Elsewhere the situation was bleaker. The education system for ethnic Albanians in Kosovo was declared illegal. UN sanctions became a vise on intellectual vitality in Serbia and Montenegro. Refugees fled helter-skelter within and from the region, hemorrhaging hundreds of thousands of students and many of their teachers from classrooms, thus devastating day-to-day life and learning for many families over the next few years. In Bosnia and Herzegovina alone, 60 percent of school buildings were damaged or destroyed.

The Open Society network of local foundations, as well as the offices in New York and later Budapest, responded to these different realities. There was homegrown work at the edges of barebones survival and sanity. For example, the Open Society City Sarajevo Project supported teachers and urban schools with whatever they told us they needed, from stationery to winter boots to wall and roof repair monies that would show the world that school reconstruction was possible mid-war too, not just afterwards. Local radio in Sarajevo was used to encourage teachers to bring forward ideas for their own "mini-projects," simple schemes designed to keep their students learning and the teachers' own psyches from cracking under the pressure of the siege.

The Belgrade Open School was started to keep higher learning alive in Serbia. The Kosova Educational Enrichment Program assisted the Albanian Kosovars' underground school system in the most basic, practical ways. I cannot forget my visit in 1995 to a makeshift school in a Pristina apartment where the principal lifted a shabby sofa cushion to show me, with proud defiance, the handwritten registration cards and records of student marks he kept hidden underneath. Across the region, the Tito-era Yugoslav culture of summer camps was reinterpreted as a strategic play space for activities that modeled open society values and could help make up for broken school-year learning, especially in Serbia and Montenegro where the foundation's summer programs were entitled simply "Let's Live Together."

On the best of days, we believed we had gained some ground in these battles for positive human resistance; in reality, the region's kids and young adults were bigger wartime losers with every day they were deprived of so-called "normal" learning and daily life.

I cannot tell you how many times I heard people in the region refer in terms of "breathing" to their opportunities to receive scholarships and attend conferences and training courses through the Open Society Foundations. This was especially true during the years of conflict and sanctions, when communications and travel were restricted. As one scholar put it, "Getting out of this craziness for a few weeks at the meetings in Western Europe was the oxygen I needed." Such crucial respites

enabled the region's visionary leaders to overcome despair and, later, to realize higher aspirations for education in their countries.

In the latter half of the 1990s, the Foundations' programs in debate, early childhood education, and reading and writing for critical thinking spread across the region. These living local models of progressive ways to teach and learn with community involvement gained appeal even within the most obdurate school systems. Many directors and senior staff members of these programs in the Balkans went on to establish independent NGOs, as well as mentor a second generation of the Open Society Foundations' teacher trainers and program leaders in other parts of the world.

The Kosovo crisis in 1999 was a game changer. After the NATO bombing and Serbia's withdrawal from the contested region, the lands of the former Yugoslavia were absorbed into a loose "neighborhood" (simply called South East Europe). The Open Society Foundations allied with the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, the government of Austria, and other partners to advocate for education to be included in the multilateral South East Europe Stability Pact. Under the pact's framework, development resources flowed into the region from the World Bank, the European Union, the European Agency for Reconstruction and Development, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, and United Nations development agencies as well as bilateral agencies.

The Open Society Foundations were well positioned to influence this new dynamic, for leveraging resources into their countries, and for building partnerships (as was UNICEF, the other longstanding supporter of education relief and modernization in the region). The Open Society foundations in the region and the education nongovernmental organizations they helped establish and then spun off became resources for education ministries and incoming donors and their implementers, helping to keep the planning of investments locally transparent, genuine, and inclusive.

New opportunities opened up everywhere. In Macedonia, the Open Society Foundations' Higher Education Support Program was instrumental in brokering the establishment in 2001 of the South East Europe University at Tetovo, Macedonia's first multilingual university providing instruction in Albanian, Macedonian, and English.

I recall the World Bank staffers who joked about the "Soros Ministry of Education in Serbia." In Belgrade, they had discovered that the newly appointed leaders and policymakers of the Djindjić government, with whom they were negotiating an education loan, had all spent formative years during the 1990s in Open Society–funded programs like the Alternative Academic Education Network, the Petnica Science Center, and the Education Support Program in Budapest.

The Open Society foundation in Montenegro worked to help the government to craft an open

society vision for its new education system that would attract attention and funding in this new environment. Across the border, in Pristina, the Kosova Education Center, founded in 2000 by the foundation, was fast becoming a darling of many donors and central to the research, policymaking, and piloting of reforms in school management and financing.

Slovenia, with its 10-year track record of systematically reforming the education system of a former Yugoslav republic, rose to new prominence during the Stability Pact era while it also approached entry into the European Union. Slovenia's experience and professionals—who shared a common language with their neighbors—became a unique resource for the rest of the region and for arriving donors. The Open Society Foundations tapped into this reality in 2000 by envisioning and cocreating the South East Europe Education Cooperation Network with a base in Ljubljana and "nodes" throughout the region.

After a decade of work, the Open Society Foundations had registered marked success in helping establish an array of local nongovernmental organizations active in teacher training, the production of educational materials, facilitating public dialogue about education, and monitoring reform implementation. In many ways, this array of civil society organizations specializing in education has proven to be more stable than the governments of some of the region's new democracies and continues to provide a safe haven for education ministers and technocrats. Ensuring minority rights in the registration of pupils and students in appropriate schools, in the language of instruction, in providing textbooks, in exams, in offering special needs education, and in monitoring the progress in key indicators of educational equality through evidence-based advocacy have all been central features in the activities of the Open Society Foundations and their partners.

Terrice Bassler oversaw education programs throughout South East Europe for the Open Society Foundations. She lived in Kosovo 1999–2000 and Slovenia 2001–2005.

Coming Back Without Returning

I DON'T HAVE A CITY I call my own. I can see now that I've never had a city I could call my own. I do not know if this is good or bad. There are cities that lie on my skin like tattoos, they are indelible. But these tattoos tend to pale, they are superficial scars on the body which shrinks. I do not know any intimate histories of any of the cities where I stayed for a longer period of time. I do not remember names of my neighbors, or their family trees. I do not remember other people's stories. Boris (Biletić) has written a book about his city of Pula. In this book there are many photographs of Boris with his friends, in some cultural missions, events, important for his life. (My photos with friends have been misplaced, I have mislaid them.) In this book, entitled *My Pula*, there are stories about the lives of locals in Pula, about teachers, about writers, about Italians, about demolished houses, about fortresses; Boris knows all those things. He remembers them. All that lies within him, so he can pull his Pula with him when he goes somewhere. But Boris never goes anywhere for good, he always comes back.

I am flat. Memories slip away from me, they just drain. Into nothing. I wander and I don't come back. There's no city I come back to forever, I only come back briefly, but that is not coming back. That is coming again.

Daša Drndić

"From a Villa on the Wannsee," Volume No. 21/22, 2008

Daša Drndić, a Croatian novelist, essayist, playwright, and translator, is also a professor of English language and literature at the University of Rijeka.

The Open Society Foundations, active in the Western Balkans for more than two decades, now work in more than 70 countries around the world with the goal of building vibrant and tolerant democracies whose governments are accountable to their citizens.

The Open Society Foundations seek to shape public policies that assure greater fairness in political, legal, and economic systems and safeguard fundamental rights. They implement a range of initiatives to advance justice, education, public health, and independent media, and build alliances across borders and continents on issues such as corruption and freedom of information. The Foundations place a high priority on protecting and improving the lives of people in marginalized communities.

OPEN SOCIETY
FOUNDATIONS