

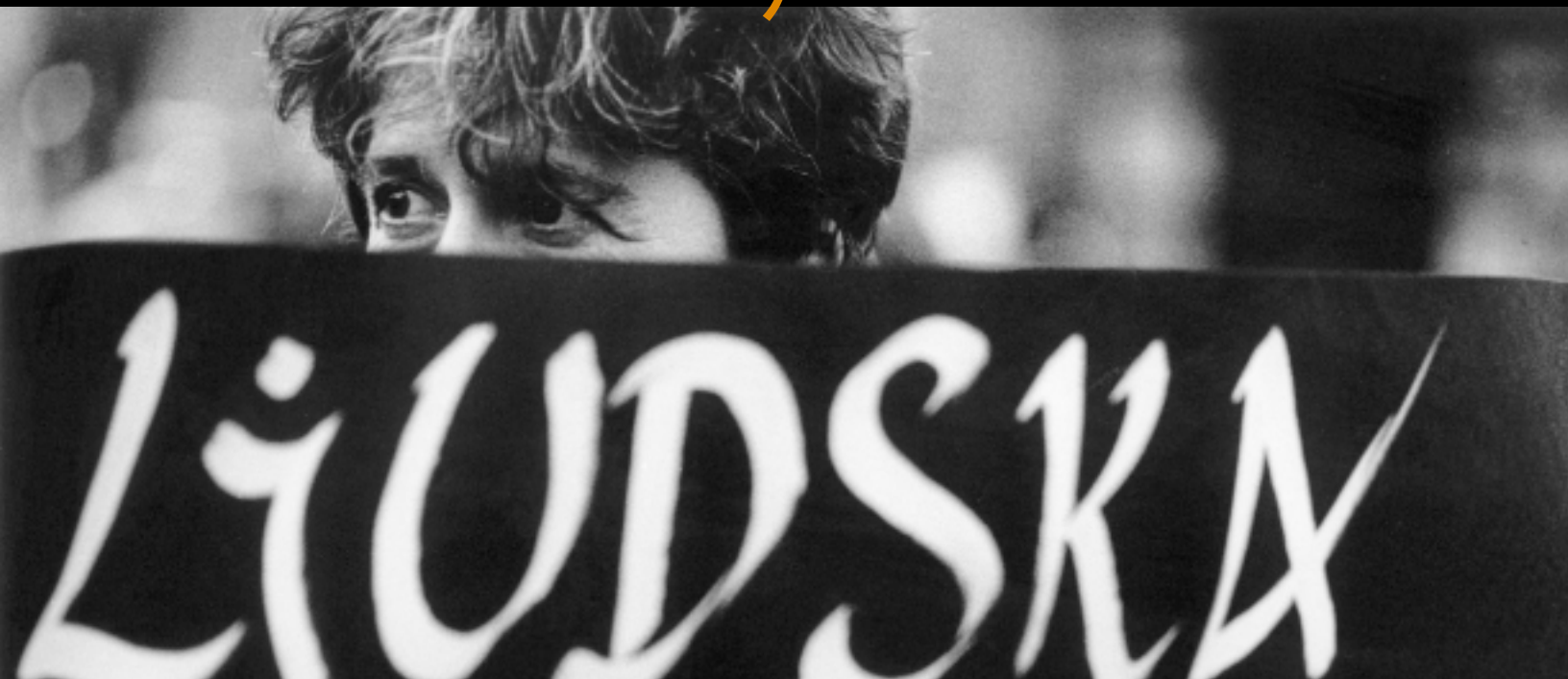
OPEN SOCIETY

SOROS FOUNDATIONS NETWORK NEWS
FALL | 2000

NEWS



South Eastern Europe: Is Stability Now Possible?



OPEN SOCIETY NEWS

FALL 2000

SOROS FOUNDATIONS NETWORK

CHAIRMAN

George Soros

PRESIDENT

Aryeh Neier

EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT

Stewart J. Paperin

VICE PRESIDENT FOR NATIONAL FOUNDATIONS

Deborah Harding

DIRECTOR OF U.S. PROGRAMS

Gara LaMarche

DIRECTOR OF NETWORK PROGRAMS

Liz Lorant

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR OF OSI—BUDAPEST

Katalin E. Koncz

PRESS DIRECTOR

Nebojsa Radic

Open Society News

EDITOR

William Kramer

ASSISTANT EDITOR

Sarah Margon

EDITORIAL CONSULTANT

Ari Korpivaara

DESIGNER

Jeanne Criscola

PHOTOGRAPHY

Vesna Pavlovic: pages 1, 3, 4, 6-7, 8, 12, 14, 16-17

Perica Mandi, European Roma Rights Center (ERRC): pages 4-5

Open Society Archives: pages 5 and 13 (TOP)

Transparency International: pages 9, 10

FOSI—Macedonia: page 11

ERRC: pages 18-19

COVER PHOTOS

Vesna Pavlovic

"Resistance" student movement rally, Belgrade, 2000 (TOP)

Women in Black public vigil, Belgrade, 1997 (BOTTOM)

The numerous nonprofit foundations established by the philanthropist George Soros are linked together in an informal network called the Soros foundations network. At the heart of this network are the national and local foundations that operate in more than 30 countries around the world, primarily in Central and Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. These foundations share the common mission of supporting the development and maintenance of open society. To this end, they operate and support an array of initiatives in educational, social, and legal reform. *Open Society News*, published by the Open Society Institute in New York, reports on the programs and grantees of the foundations in the network. For additional information, see the Soros foundations network website at www.soros.org or contact the Open Society Institute, 400 West 59th Street, New York, NY 10019, USA; TEL (212) 548-0600; FAX (212) 548-4679; or E-MAIL wkramer@sorosny.org

ISSN # 1706-9606

© 2000 Open Society Institute

www.soros.org

EDITOR'S NOTE

As this special issue of *Open Society News* went to press in early October, political change finally came to Yugoslavia in the form of a popular uprising against Slobodan Milosevic at the polls and in the streets. Milosevic's ouster as president will rearrange the political and social landscape of South Eastern Europe, strengthening the efforts of the many people, communities, and governments working for democracy, peace, and prosperity throughout the region.

Is stability now possible in South Eastern Europe? This special issue provides an affirmative answer to the fundamental question by reporting on the activities of some of the organizations and individuals working over the years to make the possibility a reality. It describes the ongoing, long-term process of building open society in South Eastern Europe through a range of efforts—from opposing war to promoting reconciliation to reforming education and fighting corruption. It also tells of the international community's growing involvement in this process through the Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe.

The majority of the stories and images on these pages come from people and organizations committed to understanding and addressing key issues in South Eastern Europe. The intent is to give voice to those working in the region and to provide readers with information and resources they can use. In future issues, . . . will focus on other regions of the world where the Soros foundations network is actively engaged in building open societies.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

- 3 Fostering Peace and Democracy in a Volatile Region
- 6 Women Standing Up for Peace in Serbia
- 9 Fighting Corruption from the Bottom Up
- 11 Lessons in Tolerance after Conflict
- 12 With Truth Comes Reconciliation
- 15 Reforming Education in Kosovo
- 16 Regional Cooperation Begins with People Working Together
- 18 The Risk of Rushing Roma Repatriation
- 19 Soros Foundations Network Projects in South Eastern Europe

Fostering Peace and Democracy in a Volatile Region

Conflicts in South Eastern Europe, particularly the countries of the former Yugoslavia, have hindered the growth of open societies since the end of communism. The war in Kosovo last year mobilized the international community to initiate the Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe, a process that seeks to establish democracy, cooperation among countries, and peace and security throughout the region. The Soros foundations network, whose activities in South Eastern Europe have promoted these goals for the past decade, supports and participates in the Stability Pact process. In the following introduction to this special issue, Mabel Wise Smit, director of the Open Society Institute–Brussels, provides an overview of the Stability Pact and the involvement of the Soros foundations and programs in its objectives, structures, and activities. ■



MABEL WISSE SMIT

STABILITY PACT: EXPECTATIONS AND REALITIES

At a regional funding conference on March 29–30, 2000, international donors pledged 2.4 billion euro for projects under the auspices of the Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe (SEE). It was the most significant development since the Pact was officially launched in Sarajevo in July 1999 at a summit that assembled more than 30 heads of state and government.

Following the successful donors' conference, supporters of the Pact claimed that it had finally started to live up to its promises—the much heralded modern-day Marshall Plan for the Balkans. If true, then there is indeed a real prospect of the vicious cycle of violence being broken at last, and the beginning of an era of stability and even prosperity that would draw the entire region back into the European mainstream.

But those with a more cynical perspective still charge that the Pact lacks the requisite leadership and vision. To them, even with the new funding,

it remains nothing more than a loose association of governments and international organizations, an unlimited series of conferences and meetings, and a pile of projects allowing most funding associated with the Pact to disappear into Western pockets.

The Stability Pact was created in the aftermath of the Kosovo crisis. It was inspired by the recognition that, having intervened in Kosovo, the member states of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) had a responsibility to ensure lasting peace in SEE through a preventive approach that sought long-term solutions to the region's problems. The European Union (EU) devised the Stability Pact project in the spring of 1999. According to the text from the inaugural meeting in Cologne on June 10, 1999, the Pact is aimed “at strengthening countries in South Eastern Europe in their efforts to foster peace, democracy, respect for human rights and economic prosperity, in order to achieve stability in the whole region.”

On July 30, 1999, the Stability Pact effort was formally endorsed at the Sarajevo summit by the gathered heads of state and government, as well as the principals of relevant international organizations and regional initiatives.

PARTICIPATING COUNTRIES AND ORGANIZATIONS

Participants, facilitators, and observers in the Pact include the following SEE countries, EU members, and other concerned states:



Albania, Austria, Belgium, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Canada, the Czech Republic, Croatia, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Japan, Luxembourg, Macedonia, Moldova, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Romania, the Russian

Federation, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, Ukraine, the United Kingdom, and the United States of America.

Participating international organizations include: the Council of Europe (COE), the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD), the European Investment Bank (EIB), North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), the United Nations (UN) and the World Bank.

The Stability Pact also cooperates and coordinates with regional initiatives such as the Central European Initiative (CEI) and the South East Europe Cooperation Initiative (SECI). It has recently incorporated the Royaumont Process.

WORKING TABLES AND PROJECTS

Most activities of the Pact take place in its three Working Tables: Democratization and Human Rights; Economic Reconstruction, Development and Cooperation; and Security Issues. The Working Tables consist of the Pact's participants and build upon existing expertise, institutions, and initiatives.

Working Table One is composed of task forces in seven categories: human rights and national minorities; good governance; refugee return; gender; media; education and youth; and parliamentary exchanges. Working Table Two aims to promote greater prosperity throughout the region and to assist in the progressive integration of the SEE countries into both the European and the global economy. Working Table Three aims to promote confidence and security in SEE by enhancing transparency and pre-

dictability in the internal security sectors and in the military field as well as strengthening cooperation and promoting better relations among countries in the region.

Although the stabilization of the region will be a long-term affair, the Working Tables set out to identify a number of concrete projects that were ready for rapid implementation and would show visible results within 12 months. The selected priority projects were assembled in the Stability Pact Quick Start Package, which would require 1.8 billion euro in financing.

The March 2000 Regional Funding Conference, organized by the European Commission and the World Bank, concluded with international donors pledging 2.4 billion euro for projects under the auspices of the Stability Pact.

ACHIEVEMENTS AND CHALLENGES

The principal successes ascribed to the Stability Pact are its regional approach, the mutual commitment of recipients and donors, and the 'new' resources it has produced. But as the Pact process continues to evolve, there is a growing consensus that its chances for long-term success are being challenged by the issues of donor coordination, leadership, and local involvement.

DONOR COORDINATION

One of the elements that contributed to the success of the Marshall Plan for Western Europe after the Second World War was the 'one donor' concept. This feature was absent during the reconstruction of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Multiple donors competed to deliver their aid, thereby allowing the recipients to accept support from the donor that attached the fewest conditions. Ideally, all resources in the Stability Pact process would be united in a trust fund or some other mechanism, thereby creating the 'one donor' structure that made the Marshall Plan so successful. But most donors want — and are often even legally required — to retain full control over their funds. By June 2000, various efforts to set up a donors' syndicate for the Stability Pact had been watered down to little more than the planned establishment of an electronic distribution list to facilitate the exchange of information.



“The outcome in the Balkans is critical not only for the region but for Europe as a whole. The Balkans must become a part of Europe. That would lend a new meaning to Europe and have significant effects on the development of the whole world. The Balkans is the first trial. If we succeed there, the idea of open society will become less utopian. If we fail, there is no point in talking about global open society. The Stability Pact is a good starting point.

— GEORGE SOROS, SLOVENIAN DAILY *DELO*, MARCH 2000

LEADERSHIP

The issue of donor coordination is related to a matter that goes to the heart of the Pact's existence: the question of leadership. It is widely believed that the entire Stability Pact initiative would not have been needed if the European Commission had been able to head the international response to the Kosovo crisis.

In the wake of the Kosovo conflict, the European Union developed the Stabilization and Association Process. The EU bills this effort as the

centerpiece of its policy in the Balkans and its main contribution to the Stability Pact. The process offers the countries of the region the prospect of formal relations with the EU and, ultimately, of membership. Macedonia has just embarked on negotiations for a Stabilization and Association Agreement—the first country to do so—and Croatia is expected to follow shortly.

In addition, the European Commission is preparing an assistance regulation that will replace the existing Phare and Obnova programs and deliver assistance to the Western Balkans faster and more efficiently in the period 2000–2006. The Commission has indicated that it might allocate approximately 5.5 billion euro to such a program, although it remains unclear whether EU member states are willing to devote this level of funding.

The roles of Representative Javier Solana and European Commissioner Chris Patten in EU policies toward the Western Balkans have recently been strengthened. While this might bring much needed leadership to the Stability Pact process, it further puts into question the role of the

Pact's special coordinator and his office. With its limited staff and lack of authority and capacity to coordinate the work of donors and other agencies, the Stability Pact's office has primarily had a facilitating role as a clearinghouse for projects and as the secretariat for the entire exercise. It does not have the authority or the capacity to coordinate the work of donors and other agencies.



INVOLVEMENT FROM THE REGION

Local civil society groups feel that the Stability Pact process has not sufficiently involved experts and nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) from the region itself. Civil society in the region is deeply concerned that the Stability Pact will divert present and new funding, human resources, and political support from existing local initiatives to Western-based organizations and governmental initiatives.

Local initiative and ownership are crucial to ensure the long-term effectiveness of reform efforts. If the donor community wants to support lasting change in SEE, it must ensure that its resources support the efforts of the real stakeholders in the reform process. Similarly, the Stability Pact will have to be brought from conference halls filled with diplomats in Western Europe to those whose lives it aims to change.

SOROS FOUNDATIONS: SUPPORT AND LEADERSHIP

To contribute to the successful implementation of the Stability Pact, the Soros foundations network is actively engaged in a variety of efforts—through its national foundations, network programs, and representative offices. Some of these activities are taking place within the official structures of the Pact; others are undertaken in its spirit.

The network's engagement is mainly related to Working Tables One and Three. In 2000, the network will disburse approximately \$50 million to support projects related to these Tables. These resources will be used to

support initiatives owned and driven by indigenous organizations. Whenever possible, the network cofinances these projects with other donors.

The network participates actively in various structures that were set up by the Stability Pact, such as the Education Task Force, the Task Force on Good Governance, the Media Task Force, and the donors' group established by the special coordinator of the Stability Pact. Whenever possible, network representatives advocate and facilitate the participation of nongovernmental expertise from the region in the Pact's structures.

The network also prepared a package of approximately 100 projects from the region known as the "Stability Pact Project Proposals for Donor Partnership," which is intended as a resource for funders looking for innovative ways to pursue the main objectives outlined by the Stability Pact. The total cost of these projects is approximately \$65 million. The Soros foundations network is willing to commit up to one-third of this amount on condition that donor partners support the other two-thirds of these costs.

To increase the involvement of NGOs from SEE in the Pact, the network launched—jointly with the British Foreign and Commonwealth Office and the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs—an initiative concerning Stability Pact–SEE civil society dialogue. Local British and German embassies and the national Soros foundation organize meetings in each of the Stability Pact countries, bringing together high-level representatives of the Pact and a representative group of relevant NGOs based in the country concerned.

The network has also played an important role in the creation of the South East European Policy Institutes Network (SEEPIN) that includes more than 50 SEE-based think tanks. In July 1999, SEEPIN—together with the Brussels-based Center for European Policy Studies (CEPS)—issued the Ljubljana Declaration containing policy recommendations for the future of SEE. Since then, SEEPIN members have been involved in specific policy studies about economic and security issues.

The Stability Pact aims to stimulate stability and prosperity in the SEE by drawing the entire region back into the European mainstream. Its vision—that is, to bring SEE countries closer to each other by bringing them closer to Europe—is similar to the Soros foundations network's mission of promoting open societies. In the second year of the Stability Pact, the network will continue to contribute to these ambitious objectives in cooperation with its local and international partners.



FOR MORE INFORMATION

To read the complete article, go to www.soros.org/osn/stability-pact.html. For more information about the Stability Pact, go to www.stabilitypact.org. For more information about Soros foundations network involvement in SEE and the Stability Pact, see page 19 of this newsletter and/or go to www.osi.hu/sppp/index.html



“ I lived through the destruction of my country, former Yugoslavia, and in order to survive that I have chosen to be a Woman in Black, to save the values that were my life. ”

— NEDA BOZINOVIC, 82



Women **Standing Up** for Peace in Serbia

Long before the international community intervened in Kosovo and created the Stability Pact, the Serbian NGO Women in Black was mobilizing the power of women as advocates for peace and democracy in South Eastern Europe. The following article, edited from a published essay written by Jasmina Tesanovic, a WIB activist, provides an overview of WIB's history and its current struggle to promote peace and civil society. ■

The first demonstration, or “standing,” by Women in Black was on October 9, 1991. It was a terrible year that marked the beginning of what was going to be one of the longest wars in Europe: the war in the territory of the former Yugoslavia. Serbia had entered into war with Croatia, and Slovenia had already seceded. Bosnia was boiling.

I was very embarrassed at that time to stand in the street. I felt strange, something was missing; I didn't know what it was at the time but now I know. There was actually no tradition of women standing in the streets against something. I knew about the Israeli women, about the Italians, but it was quite different to know about them than to stand personally. After weeks and weeks of standing, this missing element was found or created by our own standing: we created our own tradition, sense, and language.

—LEPA MLADJENOVIC, ON ATTENDING THE FIRST STANDING, 1991

Women in Black as a movement, as a pacifist and feminist group, was actually an answer to the disintegration of the former Yugoslavia that was supported by the nationalist parties in every republic. Yet, the origins of Women in Black of Belgrade are rooted in Israel and Italy. In 1988, Israeli women were joined by Palestinian and American women in standing

Public vigil, Belgrade, 1994

against the Israeli government's aggression toward Palestinians. Three years later, Italian women throughout the country formed Women in Black groups to protest Italy's participation in the Gulf War. The fundamental principle unifying the various Women in Black movements is opposition to war against other people and nations.

In Yugoslavia, the resistance of women became visible in response to the nationalist victories in Serbia's multipartite elections in 1990. Women's groups launched a permanent, public nonviolent protest against war, against the Serbian regime's nationalistic and militaristic policies, and against all forms of discrimination.

I saw them standing—my God, how I admired them! I thought they were very brave. My thoughts and feelings exactly matched the words on their protest signs, but I didn't dare stand with them until much later.

—WOMAN ONLOOKER'S REACTION TO WOMEN IN BLACK'S FIRST STANDING

Women and children were severely affected by the civil, ethnic, and religious conflicts that swept the region. This victimization and suffering created a common bond among women that transcended the national borders or ethnic distinctions that men were trying to uphold. The shared pain and sorrow of women found expression in a common language of sympathy for one another and resistance to male expressions of nationalism and war. Significant networking based around peace and humanitarian issues developed between women from the three sides in the conflict. Women in Black organized workshops throughout the region helping women of all ethnicities come together and deal with the pain of war.

In addition to its antiwar activities, Women in Black has worked with 94, a feminist publisher, to produce books that chronicle the lives of unconventional women in the last two centuries. Women in Black has also been a strong advocate for gay rights, and in 1996 helped organize the first public lesbian wedding in Serbia.

Ever since 1936, I was an antifascist women's rights activist fighting for peace, tolerance, coexistence, equality. I lived through the destruction of my country, former Yugoslavia, and in order to survive that I have chosen to be a Woman in Black, to save the values that were my life.

—NEDA BOZINOVIC, 82, WOMEN IN BLACK ACTIVIST
SINCE OCTOBER 9, 1991

In 1997, Serbian society coalesced into the famous civilian protest against the falsified results of the elections, the so-called "revolution of noise," in which up to 500,000 people marched every day through the streets of Belgrade.

Women in Black joined the protest with their rainbow flags of peace. At one point, a rightwing group participating in the demonstration attacked Women in Black because of their support for homosexuals. For members of Women in Black, the incident speaks to the common phenomenon in all mass initiatives: the allies eventually judge each other.

The last anniversary standing of Women in Black took place on October 9, 1998. Once again the country seemed on the verge of civil war and under renewed threat of NATO bombing because of the Serbian government's aggression in Kosovo.

Women dressed in black stood in the ritual circle with slogans written on long flags while new sympathizers and participants talked among themselves. As in past years, the standing turned into a somber but unifying event.

I had a strong feeling that opposition existed in my town, in my country and that Women in Black had given us form, public space, and language. The first NATO bombs and martial law suffocated this growing sense of opposition and expression. The war continues as I write this journal entry. The atrocities in Kosovo, the bombing and desperation all over Serbia. Belgrade is sinking in bewilderment and ques-

tions about the past, doubts about any future. I wonder what a Women in Black standing would look like today if the NATO bombs hadn't united all the power and a majority of civilians on one side whilst silencing the other, reducing it to invisible, useless dust.

—AUTHOR'S JOURNAL, 1999

Since the end of NATO bombing and the launch of the Stability Pact, Women in Black has struggled to promote peace and civil society in Serbia. It has conducted feminist, antimilitarist workshops in Serbia and Montenegro, published an annual report about its activities, and held its annual conference in Ulcinj, Montenegro in October 1999. Women in Black's standings in Belgrade's main square every Wednesday ended with a government crackdown in July. During the summer, the government interrogated leaders of Women in Black and other civil society groups, raided offices and audited records, and accused NGOs like Women in Black of being "NATO funded" pressure groups. Despite the intimidation, Women in Black and other Serbian NGOs stayed active and organized during the Milosevic regime's unsuccessful attempts to repress the opposition and maintain power during the elections in early fall.



City square vigil, Novi Sad, 1994

Author, activist, and educator *Jasmina Tesanovic* teaches creative writing at Women's Studies, a Soros foundation sponsored NGO in Belgrade, Yugoslavia.

FOR MORE INFORMATION

Women in Black, stasazen@eunet.yu

Fighting Corruption from the Bottom Up

“The key to successful anticorruption efforts is local ownership. After all, it is local people who are most hurt by deteriorating roads, lack of access to telephone lines or substandard medical treatment.”

Policy makers are coming to a consensus that corruption, at all its various levels, is one of the greatest threats to stability and the development of civil society in South Eastern Europe. Transparency International representatives and foundation staff from Bulgaria, Croatia, Germany, and Romania worked together to provide this update on anticorruption efforts in the region. ■

ADRIAN BABOI
NIKOLAY ILTCHEV
VENTSISLAV KARADJOV
OGNYAN MINCHEV
SARA MORANTE

In the aftermath of the Kosovo conflict and the implementation of the Stability Pact, South Eastern Europe has seen numerous anticorruption strategies and initiatives, most of which have been developed outside the region with little indigenous input. Yet the key to successful anticorruption efforts

is local ownership, both at the national and regional level. After all, it is local people who are most hurt by deteriorating roads, lack of access to telephone lines or substandard medical treatment, all of which are familiar symptoms of endemic corruption.

As Transparency International (TI) Chairman Peter Eigen explains, “In order to be meaningful and hold promise of real change, the debate about corruption must be held internally, within the community in which it is taking place. If it is driven by the outside, this debate will have less impact and is less likely to lead to lasting change.”

There is little doubt that changes need to be made to fight corruption in the region and that public institutions must regain people’s trust. In

Romania, the mayor of Bucharest's 4th district, Pavel Lutu, was arrested in March for violating conflict of interest regulations. Lutu had interfered with a public tender process by awarding contracts to his own companies and those of several close acquaintances. Bulgaria has had several scandals involving bribery and embezzlement by high level officials that are awaiting formal investigation. In February 2000, a public opinion survey conducted by TI–Bulgaria and the Bulgarian National Public Opinion Center revealed significant public lack of confidence in the government. A large majority of those polled felt the government and national institutions should fight corruption. Yet 90 percent of respondents said the police and judiciary were highly corrupt. Eighty-nine percent felt the privatization process was corrupt and 81 percent said the tax system was riddled with corruption.

Over the last six years, TI, with support from the Open Society Institute, has responded to this kind of corruption by using its coalition of over 70 national chapters around the world to develop alternative, home-grown strategies and tools to promote transparency and accountability.

In South Eastern Europe, national chapters in Romania, Croatia, and Bulgaria have been in-

involved in a variety of efforts to prevent corruption from becoming an issue that could undermine stability in the region.

At the end of last year, TI–Romania decided to focus on corruption at the local government level before tackling the issue on a national scale. With the support of the Open Society Foundation–Romania, TI–Romania is in the process of identifying and analyzing the entry points of corruption in the public administration of three counties. The concrete outcome will not be to uncover corruption cases which may have occurred in the past, but to help local authorities identify measures to reduce and prevent corruption in their administrations. The results of the project will be made public through press conferences and roundtables.

In Croatia, TI–Croatia works as a coalition that includes several civil society organisations such as the Croatian Law Center. Together, these groups have initiated a project on public procurement legislation with the support of the Open Society Institute–Croatia and the Constitutional and Legal Policy Institute (COLPI.)

National chapters are also involved in regional projects. With the financial support of OSI's East East Program, TI–Bulgaria organized the first-ever regional training seminar for civil society

organizations from South Eastern Europe on April 8-9 in Sofia.

The seminar was devoted to combating corruption in the reconstruction process in the region. Representatives from 50 civil society organizations from Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Greece, Macedonia, Moldova, Romania, Slovenia, Turkey, and Yugoslavia participated in workshops on effective advocacy campaigns; civic control initiatives; investigative journalism; and principles for monitoring public procurement.

In response to ineffective and corrupt local institutions sustained by weak states that could jeopardize regional reconstruction efforts, OSI and the Local Governance Initiative (LGI) are also helping TI–Bulgaria develop a new program for monitoring the reconstruction process in South Eastern Europe. The program aims to build substantial support for establishing powerful constituencies to combat misuse and misappropriation of international funds and aid. The program would provide representatives of key civil society organizations from Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Yugoslavia, and Macedonia with specific knowledge on relevant international standards to curb corruption and a set of adaptable monitoring techniques.

Taken as a whole, the current activities of TI's national chapters hold much promise in counteracting corruption on the local and national level, addressing corrupt practices that are typical throughout the region, and helping develop models of anticorruption policies that can be applied elsewhere in South Eastern Europe.

Adrian Baboi is the executive director of Transparency International–Romania; Nikolay Ilchev is director of the Democracy Program at the Open Society Foundation–Bulgaria; Ventsislav Karadjov is program coordinator for Transparency International–Bulgaria; Ognyan Minchev is the chairman of Transparency International–Bulgaria; Sara Morante is the program officer for South East Europe at Transparency International–Berlin.

FOR MORE INFORMATION

For more information about Transparency International, visit www.transparency.org. For more information about Soros national foundation anticorruption efforts, contact info@osf.bg, ggenchev@osf.bg (Bulgaria), info@buc.osf.ro (Romania), office@soros.hr (Croatia).





Macedonia: Lessons in Tolerance after Conflict

Journalism class, Prilep, Macedonia, 1999

“Kids are not afraid to talk about multiethnic society and multiculturalism, and these issues come up all the time. There are still some biases, but I would say those are largely inherited from the family. Discussing these issues with adults is much more difficult.”

WILLIAM KRAMER

Given the choice, which after-school program would you expect South Eastern European teenagers to flock to: English language clubs, Internet classes or journalism courses?

If you chose any of these, you'd be wrong. Instead, Macedonian, Albanian, and Romani youth are participating in “democracy workshops” more than any other class offered by the Foundation Open Society Institute–Macedonia.

“We were very surprised. We expected more kids to be interested in the other programs and clubs,” said Spomenka Lazarevska, FOSI–Macedonia’s education and youth coordinator. “But a majority of kids in all eight youth centers chose the Street Law program’s democracy workshops.”

In addition to running programs like Street Law, in which university law students organize debates, mock trials, and presentations for teenagers, Lazarevska has been busy implementing the South East Europe Youth Initiative. The Open Society Institute launched the \$6 million initiative in January as part of its effort to support the Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe. The Initiative aims to support youth programs that have not received OSI funding in the past. In Macedonia, projects created by the Initiative, together with established Soros foundations network programs like Street Law, work to reduce tensions among the country’s Albanian, Romani, and Macedonian populations with activities that promote democracy, ethnic tolerance, and respect for human rights.

Although there has been official enthusiasm and modest support for FOSI–Macedonia’s youth programs, the government is undergoing a period of reorganization and the Ministry of Youth has been temporarily closed.

“We just started working with the Ministry,” Lazarevska said. “It would be a pity if it were closed down for good.”

This uncertainty is common in South Eastern Europe and underlines

the importance of the Initiative, which will enable Soros foundations in the region to fund programs for young people between the ages of 14 and 21 who live in remote, rural areas.

In July, FOSI–Macedonia’s National Youth Board, comprised of five young youth leaders and activists, awarded Youth Initiative grants to eight local projects. Among them were “Babylon Three,” which aims to support youth centers in eight different towns; a training program for youth who want to become NGO managers; and the student-based monthly magazine *Rrezja*, published in Macedonian, French, Albanian, and English, which aims to bring youth together on collaborative projects. A grant was also given to the International Roma Center in Macedonia for a project called “Summer Camp–Peace and Friendship,” which will help at-risk Romani teenagers from refugee families and integrate them into society.

“Kids are not afraid to talk about multiethnic society and multiculturalism, and these issues come up all the time,” Lazarevska said. “There are still some biases, but I would say those are largely inherited from the family. Discussing these issues with adults is much more difficult.”

As Macedonian, Albanian, and Romani youth work together, sharpen their critical thinking skills, and express their opinions through FOSI–Macedonia’s programs, they also develop a sense of the values needed for an open, democratic society.

“I think some of them will do very well in politics and leadership. Perhaps much better than our existing politicians,” Lazarevska said. “But we’re not really talking about politics in our programs. Young people want to talk about education, drugs, and universal problems that they’re interested in. They see ethnic tolerance not as politics, but as a human issue—as an issue of human rights. And they love to talk about democracy.”

FOR MORE INFORMATION

osi@soros.org.mk

With Truth Comes Reconciliation

“ Nationalist leaders are trying hard to identify their own possible trials with the prosecution of their entire nation. Initiatives that promote a wide range of activities aimed at determining truth and responsibility are therefore of paramount importance in the societies where such crimes have been committed. ”



Alex Boraine discussing truth commissions at Media Center Belgrade, 1998

A movement for truth and reconciliation is already underway in South Eastern Europe. Serbian journalist and activist Veran Matic describes recent efforts in the former Yugoslavia and the importance of the truth and reconciliation process to the struggle to build civil society. ■

VERAN MATIC

Who needs truth? Those who don't know it or those who refuse to acknowledge it? Throughout the former Yugoslavia, and especially in those parts where the war and ethnic conflicts escalated to horrendous proportions, truth was sacrificed a long time ago. That is why reconciliation is impossible until the complete truth is known. In order for reconciliation to take place, it is necessary to know what really happened and who should forgive whom. Ultimately, truth about the events of the last ten years in the former Yugoslavia will be a necessary foundation for any kind of normal and honest life in the region.

The International Tribunal for War Crimes in the Former Yugoslavia is trying to find out some of the truth and to determine punishment for those who committed crimes. Nationalist leaders are trying hard to discredit the Tribunal's work and to identify their own possible trials with the prosecution of their entire nation. This is clearly an attempt by nationalist leaders to introduce the notion of collective guilt and use it against their own people. Initiatives that promote a wide range of activities aimed at determining truth and responsibility are therefore of paramount importance in the societies where war crimes have been committed.

The initiative to bring the experiences of truth and reconciliation commissions to the former Yugoslavia was first launched in mid-1998, when Alex Boraine, executive director of the Institute for Democracy in South Africa, visited Belgrade as a guest of the Fund for an Open Society–Yugoslavia. The general public did not know of Boraine's visit as he met with intellectuals and independent media journalists, describing ways that the reconciliation initiative could be spread throughout Yugoslav society. The tragic conflict in Kosovo temporarily put a stop to these plans. Yet as soon as the Kosovo war was over, the plans to work on truth and reconciliation in the former Yugoslavia came back into focus.



Refugees in Kosovo, 1999

To most observers it has become clear that the problems of reconciliation in the former Yugoslavia are much deeper and more complex than in other countries. Here the recent ethnic conflicts have merged with old ones, and those in turn have become mixed up with the political purges and persecutions, cover-ups, and distortions of truth that occurred during the communist regime. The new nationalist oligarchies manipulated and exaggerated their own victimization and the guilt of others. No one went further with these manipulations than Slobodan Milosevic.

Some elements of Serbian civil society, however, countered Milosevic's attempts to manipulate public opinion and undermine reconciliation. Although the regime seized Radio B92's frequency and much of its equipment, the independent station continued to operate its publishing program, printing titles that deal exclusively with the theme of truth, responsibility, and reconciliation. This is how the first Serbian edition of Karl Jaspers's *The Issue of German Guilt* came to be published, followed by *The Healing of a Nation?* and *Dealing with the Past*, which document the work of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission for South Africa. *The End of a Serbian Fairy Tale*, a book about Milosevic's rise to power and his rule, was also part of this effort. The magazine *Rec* (The Word) dedicated a whole issue to these publications.

Efforts at establishing truth and achieving reconciliation, however, cannot be successfully developed and completed in one country only. The tragic wars in the former Yugoslavia have left too many scars for them to be treated separately.

At the beginning of the year, an international gathering about truth and reconciliation was held in Sarajevo. The event brought together the representatives of NGOs, independent media, and lawyers from throughout the former Yugoslavia, as well as world-renowned experts in the field. This meeting led to the first steps in the establishment of a truth and reconciliation commission for Bosnia and Herzegovina.

On March 18 and 19, in the Montenegrin town of Ulcinj, the Association of Independent Electronic Media (ANEM), with the help of the Heinrich Bell Foundation, organized an international conference on “Truth, Responsibility and Reconciliation.” The participants were experts from all parts of the former Yugoslavia, as well as Israel, Finland, Germany, the United States, and Holland. Albanians from Kosovo also took part. It was the first public meeting of this kind between Serbs and Albanians. The majority of domestic participants knew each other well. Good friends for many years, they did not allow the wars, massive propaganda, and suffering to turn them against each other.

ANEM also launched the radio program “Catharsis,” which explored issues discussed at the conference and was broadcast through a network of independent local radio stations. People from Bosnia, Croatia, Kosovo, and Serbia testified, telling of horrendous crimes committed over the past ten years. The memories were still fresh and the recollections very powerful. Along with these memories came positive ones of friendship, solidarity, and help from people of different nationalities.

These stories of suffering and courage told by ordinary people are slowly changing the understanding of what really happened. And they will be a rich source of material for a documentation center that ANEM is founding. The center, based in Belgrade and tentatively named the Center for Documentation: Truth, Responsibility, Reconciliation, will produce documentaries about the truth and reconciliation process in Serbia and other countries affected by the region’s wars. The Center already has a Serbian website and designers are working on an English language version.

Meanwhile, groups within Serbia continue to confront the regime and help Serbians learn the truth about the recent wars and their aftermath. The Humanitarian Law Center in Belgrade has for many years worked persistently and courageously on gathering evidence of crimes, even during the NATO intervention, and periodically publishes informative and reliable reports. The Alternative Academic Educational Network (AAEN), also in Belgrade, has begun offering seminars on the issues of guilt and responsibility. Young people have shown exceptional interest in these phenomena.

On the eve of the Orthodox Easter, April 28 and 29, AAEN and ANEM organized a conference entitled “Reconciliation—How Others Do It.” The regime, not supportive of this effort, denied entry visas to Alex Boraine, Albie Sachs, and a number of experts from Indonesia, Guatemala, and Chile. Among those who managed to reach Belgrade were Jose Zalaquett of Chile and Patricia Valdez of Argentina. They gave lectures and held talks with students, intellectuals, artists, and representatives of democratic opposition parties and NGOs.

The truth, said Jose Zalaquett, always preceded reconciliation. Zalaquett’s experiences with dictatorships and their regimes of terror resonated with the Belgrade audience, as did his conclusion that it would be hard to



ANEM has organized conferences and radio programs on truth and reconciliation.

imagine any real work on truth and reconciliation as long as Milosevic was in power.

With political change now sweeping Serbian society, many NGO representatives believe that work must continue and increase to ensure that there is an understanding throughout Serbian society of the need to face the truth.

As Radio B92 and ANEM have shown, the media will play a critical role. Without the media taking the initiative and risks to discover and disseminate facts and information, it will be impossible to even start the process of truth and reconciliation. Education, as demonstrated by the work of AAEN, will also be pivotal in helping people understand and accept responsibility for what they did or didn’t do.

The importance of these initiatives is tremendous. Attempting to bring former adversaries together to work for truth and eventual reconciliation can help us address what is at the very core of the notion of civil society. Civil society can not be built only on the rule of law. It must also rest upon attitudes and practices such as tolerance, decency, and honesty that may be more indefinite, but no less fundamental.

Veran Matic is chairman of ANEM and can be contacted at veran.matic@opennet.org, or veranderanb92@xs4all.nl. The Fund for an Open Society–Yugoslavia has provided support for ANEM as well as other organizations mentioned in this article such as the Humanitarian Law Center and the Alternative Academic Educational Network (AAEN).

FOR MORE INFORMATION

aaen@aaen.edu.yu

Reforming Education in Kosovo

With strong start-up support from the Austrian and Swiss governments as well as from the Kosovo Foundation for Open Society (KFOS) and other partners, the Kosovo Education Center (KEC) is a growing success as an education NGO and one of the few projects in Kosovo that has been endorsed by the Stability Pact. KEC director Dukagjin Pupovci spoke with OSI policy fellow Xhavit Rexhaj about some of the Center's recent activities and the challenges ahead. ■

Q How is the KEC trying to reform the education system?

A The Kosovo Education Center is helping to reform education by providing a context in which people can come together and discuss major issues in education. We have been holding “Educational Forums” every other week at the Center. The participants are usually teachers, leading educators, politicians, and parents. The minister of education attended a recent forum on “What Kind of Reform Do We Need for Kosovo Education?” By the end of the discussion, there was consensus on the need for reform, but, of course, we were unable to work out a comprehensive solution in two hours time. After a brief break this summer, the forums will resume in September.

After 1990, political and economic problems created a very bad situation in the schools and led to a decline in methodology. Now we are trying to reinforce the good habits that teachers developed from classical methodology while applying more modern, student-centered practices to the classroom. We also want to use modern technology such as computers, overhead projectors, and other kinds of equipment used around the world, but there are not enough resources for our schools.

During the summer, we ran two methodology programs and held trainings almost every other day. Our program for primary school teachers, supported by KFOS and IRC, is in 21 schools and will involve over 1,300 teachers over the next six months. The Center trains almost all of the country's special education teachers, who work with physically and mentally disabled students, because there are so few special education schools in Kosovo. Starting in September, the Center will initiate Reading and Writing for Critical Thinking, an OSI network program, which uses methodologies and Albanian-language materials to teach students to critically analyze texts and ideas.

In May, we started collecting data on students, teachers, curricula, and the overall structure of Kosovo's education system. No one else in Kosovo is collecting this information, and organizations such as the UN are relying on us as the source for analysis in English on education issues in Kosovo.

Q How have teachers and educated people been affected by the changes and upheaval of the last several years? Has Kosovo suffered from “brain drain”?

A Yes, there has been a great deal of brain drain as large numbers of young people have gone to other countries over the last ten years. Many of them have been well educated at Western universities, and they simply cannot or

do not want to come back. There has been no incentive for them to come back, because first there was the risk of war, then the war, the destruction of the war, and finally the bad conditions after the war. We've been holding lectures in basements and in run-down buildings. It's not a tragedy if somebody goes from Pristina to a university in another country. That's quite normal. But we need to create better working conditions so that people stay here. One response is OSI's South Eastern Faculty Development program, which provides incentives and support for educators to come back from Western countries and share their knowledge with colleagues and students in Kosovo. In July, the program's board approved several applications for people to return and teach at our university.

Q As a member of the Advisory Board of the Southeast European Faculty Development Program, what other roles do you see for OSI in regional education issues?


A In addition to faculty development, OSI has helped Ph.D. students in Kosovo get their degrees through “modular” doctorate programs. These programs, which are run by OSI's Higher Education Support Program (HESP), allow candidates to do part of their doctorate work at their home university in South Eastern Europe and another part at a university in the region or institutions in Europe or the United States. This program fosters regional cooperation and builds academic networks that can serve as an important initiator for change in education.

Q With all these changes taking place, what kind of education do you hope people in Kosovo will receive five to ten years from now?

A I hope that young people here will receive the kind of education that they need to integrate into European society. We do not need to rush. We must try to improve education step by step and to work in close cooperation with other universities using the experience and knowledge of other countries. We do not have journalism programs in our universities. We do not have classes in business administration. We do not have European studies or political science. These are all fields of study that we need. They can challenge our students and are critical to our economic and political future.

FOR MORE INFORMATION
dpupovci@kec-ks.org

Regional Cooperation **Begins** with People Working Together



“ These initiatives have created an enduring process. Instead of having a one-time conference, where people converge briefly and then scatter, East East Program exchanges have helped civil society activists and policy makers transcend borders and work together on long-term projects. ”

A major obstacle to achieving stability in South Eastern Europe is the isolation of the region's countries and people from each other. The East East Program Subprogram for Southeast Europe supports cross-border initiatives that promote information sharing, regional cooperation, and integration. The following article offers an overview prepared from materials provided by subprogram steering committee member Rastko Mocnik and Mary Frances Lindstrom, director of the East East Program. ■

It may not seem like glamorous, high-level diplomacy, but spending \$100 on bus tickets so Croatian youth leaders can meet their peers in Kosovo captures the essence of the East East Program Subprogram for Southeast Europe.

The East East Program promotes individual actions that can be channeled into a long-term process that empowers people and organizations.

The Subprogram for Southeast Europe has helped nurture this process through exchanges of people and the creation of networks to resolve social, economic, and political problems in the region.

The response over the last 18 months to the subprogram's initiatives by groups at all levels has been strong. In Kosovo, a local NGO, Fushata (Campaign) 2000, is getting people to think about the role they can play

in the creation of an open and democratic society. The Campaign is bringing together young people with experience in social activism in Croatia, Slovenia, Poland, the Czech Republic, and Albania to discuss recent campaigns in their countries. At the end of August, Fushata 2000 conducted a political questionnaire in Serbian and Albanian, asking 500 young people what their concerns are and what they expect from their political leaders. The questionnaire results will be presented to politicians and political parties to encourage them to address young people's concerns and



include initiatives for young people in their political platforms.

At another level, through the subprogram, policy makers and educators from Kosovo met with their Romanian counterparts who have been involved in reform of the country's education ministries. In December 1999, they met and compared their experiences with reform and what has worked and what has failed. In January 2000, the same group of Kosovar educators met with their Slovenian colleagues, who, unlike the Romanians, had started edu-

education reforms at the local level. Finally, in February, Macedonian, Albanian, and Kosovar educators assembled in Ohrid, Macedonia, to summarize various approaches to educational reform and to analyze managing educational change. Albanian and Kosovar trainers, with their colleagues from Lithuania, Hungary, and Macedonia, have been able to inform the education processes in Kosovo by comparing best practices in other countries that have had more experience in educational reform.

Both of these initiatives have created an enduring process. Instead of holding a one-time conference, where people converge briefly and then scatter, East East Program exchanges have helped civil society activists and policy makers transcend borders and work together on long-term projects.

The initial success of these initiatives, however, does not mean that the subprogram has not faced significant challenges. The primary obstacle to greater cooperation in the region continues to be lack of information. Policy makers and activists often have no means of finding out about the good experiences, best practices, and mistakes of others. This is especially true for small groups and organizations in remote places.

It has also become clear that while the willingness for regional cooperation is strong, the operational capacity and the skill to carry out good intentions is weak on all levels of government and civil society. Small groups, larger organizations, and governments in the region are strapped for resources and often too overwhelmed by local and national problems to create links beyond their borders.

Overcoming the information gap and the wavering capacity of communities and institutions to pursue cooperation is a long-term challenge that the East East Program is specifically designed to meet. The subprogram's requirement that the initiatives be organized by at least two different organizations from two different countries has helped reveal a latent network of trans-regional relations. Historic, geographic patterns of information sharing and cooperation between countries like Croatia and Slovenia are gradually being joined by linkages between countries like Albania and Slovenia, which have the potential to learn much from each other but have had fewer opportunities to cooperate.

Eventually, the Stability Pact process, multinational efforts, regional governments, and civil society will become the primary actors for building and strengthening these fragile networks. Yet, for the time being, the past experience and structure of the Soros foundations network and initiatives such as the subprogram will remain indispensable for cooperation in South Eastern Europe.

Another challenge has been to deepen, not just widen, regional cooperation. During the last two years, the East East Program has promoted efforts to open up the Trans-European Transit Corridor #8 development initiative in South Eastern Europe. The initiative facilitates cooperation on infrastructure issues among the governments of Macedonia, Bulgaria, and Albania. Over the last year, the process has become more inclusive as Bulgarian and Macedonian environmental NGOs have brought local authorities, municipal decision-makers, local media, and environmentalists together to analyze the economic, social, cultural, and environmental impact that the initiative will have on the daily lives of people in the region.

As the Subprogram for Southeast Europe continues its work facilitating integration and civil society initiatives, it will work to strengthen the involvement of Turkey and Greece in future activities in the region. The subprogram will also pursue closer cooperation among the Soros foundations in the region and emphasize long-term projects focusing on issues that are important to large states and small communities alike, such as corruption, immigration, transportation, and education. Learning from the challenges and successes of the last year-and-a-half, the subprogram remains committed to playing a significant role in the long-term processes of integration in South Eastern Europe.

FOR MORE INFORMATION
www.soros.org/easteast



The Risk of Rushing Roma Repatriation

“ Organizations advocating on behalf of Roma must make the complexities and dangers of hasty Roma repatriation clear. There is also an immediate need to secure a bare minimum of protection for Roma both outside and within Kosovo’s borders. ”

LEFT Romani housing destroyed by ethnic Albanians, Pristina, Kosovo, 1999

RIGHT Roma refugee camp in Podgorica, Kosovo, 2000

In many ways Romani refugees have faced the greatest difficulties as a displaced ethnic group during and after the Kosovo conflict. Claude Cahn of the European Roma Rights Center (ERRC), an international public interest law organization supported by the Open Society Institute, describes the present situation of the displaced Kosovo Romani population and warns against a rush to return them to their homes. ■

CLAUDE CAHN

States particularly impacted by the Kosovo refugee crisis—such as Germany, Italy, and Macedonia, as well as other Stability Pact members—are seeking a solution to the crisis through a policy approach linking “human rights” with “returns.” Supporters of this policy believe that once they have determined that minimum standards for human rights protection exist in Kosovo, then all Kosovars should be compelled to return. This hasty effort, which can create the appearance of “stability” but not long-term security, may include returning Roma to a volatile and dangerous situation in Kosovo. Roma are in particular danger because, unlike Serbs and Albanians with their ethnic nation-states to back them up, Romani populations have few advocates and are constant targets of hostility.

Following the end of the NATO bombing of Yugoslavia in June 1999, much of Kosovo’s Albanian population supported or participated in a campaign of ethnic cleansing aimed at driving the approximately 120,000–140,000

Roma from Kosovo. Those who took part in ethnic cleansing drove Roma from their homes, confiscated property, and burned entire Romani neighborhoods to the ground, according to reports compiled by the European Roma Rights Center (ERRC). Many Roma were kidnapped, tortured, raped, and killed. The poorly staffed KFOR troops charged with policing Kosovo in the early months after the bombing acted inadequately to protect Roma, and Kosovo courts have since repeatedly failed to convict perpetrators of violent crimes against Roma.

Today, many Roma who remain in Kosovo live in ghettos, unable to go to their homes and under permanent threat of violence. Physical attacks against Roma in Kosovo, including disturbingly frequent grenade attacks, continue to be reported by the media as well as the UNHCR and the OSCE.

In August, approximately 100,000 Roma from Kosovo were outside the borders of the province. Up to 50,000 displaced Roma from Kosovo are now in Serbia; another 8,000 are in Montenegro and thousands more are in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina. Many of these people live in extremely precarious circumstances and reports of tuberculosis and infant mortality



are numerous. Tens of thousands of Roma from Kosovo have fled to Western Europe.

Refugee and asylum issues have once again become the West's political hot potato since the war in Kosovo displaced thousands of Roma, Serbians, and Albanians. Western governments have appeared anxious not to avoid a repeat of Bosnia, when European states were torn between domestic public pressure to return refugees and calls by the international community and refugee advocates to integrate them.

Coming close on the heels of the new approach of refugee "containment" deployed during the bombing, the Stability Pact's Quick Start projects for refugee repatriation link "human rights" and "returns." Within the framework of the Pact, participating governments seem to hope that as soon as everyone can be sorted back into their proper box—their pre-violence origin—the sooner normalcy (or at least "stability") can ensue. This is a high-speed version of the approach applied in Bosnia—that regions should be swiftly ethnically "uncleansed" and displaced persons assisted in going home. Where they resist return, carrot-and-stick pressure should be applied to make them go there, so the theory goes.

Unfortunately, five years after Dayton, Bosnia remains ethnically partitioned. The Bosnia time frame, much longer than the projected Kosovo

schedule, has not yet proved sufficient for successful reintegration. To make matters worse, states contributing to the peacekeeping efforts in Kosovo have not provided the international authorities presently governing Kosovo with enough police officers to ensure security, and local ethnic hatred continues to run at extreme highs. Senior officials in the UN administration in Kosovo have made public pronouncements to the effect that Kosovo is not safe for Roma.

Nevertheless, expulsions of Kosovo Roma from Western Europe have occurred. On March 29, 2000, the international press reported that Germany had begun deporting Romani refugees back to Kosovo. The Macedonian government has repeatedly set deadlines for Romani refugees to leave the country. This summer it gave Romani refugees a June 28 deadline, and then extended the deadline to September only days before it expired. Many other countries have set schedules for expulsions to begin in the near future.

Organizations advocating on behalf of Roma must make the complexities and dangers of hasty Roma repatriation clear. There is also an immediate need to provide a bare minimum of protection for Roma both outside and within Kosovo's borders. The ERRC is presently working to secure the following from national governments and the international community: (i) refugee status, under the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, for Roma from Kosovo who are presently out of their country of origin; (ii) conditions making possible a dignified existence for Kosovo Roma who have fled to Serbia and Montenegro—so-called "internally displaced persons"; (iii) fair trials for Roma accused by Kosovo authorities of having committed war crimes prior to mid-June 1999; (iv) real protection from racially motivated physical attacks for all Roma currently in Kosovo.

If plans for refugee return proceed on such a hurry-up schedule without minimum security guarantees, then there is a significant danger that Roma will be returned to face serious harm in Kosovo, long before real peace comes to the province.

Claude Cahn is research and publications director at the European Roma Rights Center.

FOR MORE INFORMATION
www.errc.org

Soros Foundations Network Projects in South Eastern Europe

As part of its commitment to bringing peace and stability to South Eastern Europe, the Soros foundation network supports a wide range of projects. The following is a partial listing of some of the projects—either ongoing or scheduled for fall 2000—that cover all or a number of Stability Pact countries. For a comprehensive listing of current and proposed projects and donor participation information, go to www.osi.hu/sppp/index.html. Some of the projects listed below are supported through OSI network programs, while others are supported by national foundations in the region. Each project description has brief information about the project's objectives, the network program or foundation that supports it, and contact information for more details about the project.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND LOCAL GOVERNANCE

Economic Development Along Corridor #8 Facilitates exchanges of local officials, business people, NGO leaders, and community members to discuss and contribute to this major economic initiative by the Romanian, Bulgarian, and Macedonian governments. CONTACT Local Governance Initiative (LGI), Adrian Evtuhovici, evtuhovici@osi.hu, TEL (361) 327 3104, FAX (361) 327 3105

EDUCATION/YOUTH

Central European University's (CEU) Special Extension Programs Supports faculty and curriculum development through mobility grants, fellowships, and curriculum development workshops at CEU Summer University. CONTACT Higher Education Support Program (HESP), hesp@osi.hu, TEL (361) 327 3850, FAX (361) 327 3864

Civic Education Project (CEP) Collaborates with SEE university social science departments to bring scholars with expertise in democratic reform to the region. CONTACT hesp@osi.hu, TEL (361) 327 3850, FAX (361) 327 3864

Educational Reform in Kosovo Facilitates exchanges of academics and decision-makers to compare educational reform strategies and programs. CONTACT Luan Shllaku, luans@kfos.org

Education Systemic Reform, Democracy, and Good Governance Attracts regional expertise for partnerships in educational reform between foundations and ministries of education. CONTACT Jana Huttova, jhuttova@osi.hu

Higher Education Support Network for SEE Supports academic disciplines critical to open society and builds networks of SEE scholars to strengthen role of education in democratic societies. CONTACT hesp@osi.hu, TEL (361) 327 3850, FAX (361) 327 3864

Higher Education Support Program (HESP) Summer Schools Promotes continuing education, new methodologies, and exchanges to improve curricula and research methods at universities throughout SEE. CONTACT hesp@osi.hu, TEL (361) 327 3850, FAX (361) 327 3864

Research Support Scheme (RSS) Supports high-level research in social sciences and humanities through grants to individuals and groups from two countries or more that share areas of inquiry. CONTACT hesp@osi.hu, TEL (361) 327 3850, FAX (361) 327 3864

Southeast Europe Education Cooperation Network Establishes interim Internet network for education systems in local languages. CONTACT Pavel Zgaga, ceps.ljubljana@uni-lj.si and Slavko Gaber, slavko.gaber@guest.arnes.si

The South East European Faculty Development Program Supports young scholars in social sciences and humanities through regional/ international partnerships, exchange, and cooperation. CONTACT hesp@osi.hu, TEL (361) 327 3850, FAX (361) 327 3864

Transeuropees Summer Program in Istanbul Brings together SEE university students for seminars challenging stereotypes and promoting tolerance and open society. CONTACT Sandra Aidara, transeuropeennes@wanadoo.fr

Youth Initiative for South Eastern Europe Supports community youth centers and promotes projects for youth 14-21 in SEE that foster tolerance, communication, and leadership. CONTACT Kristin Whitehead, kwhitehead@sorosny.org

GOVERNANCE, LEGAL REFORM, AND PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

Comparative Papers Volume on South East European Local Government II In-house LGI project producing three-volume comparative analysis of local governments in CEE and FSU. CONTACT LGI, Adrian Evtuhovici, evtuhovici@osi.hu, TEL (361) 327 3104, FAX (361) 327 3105

Constitutional and Legal Policy Institute (COLPI) Judicial Training Centers Centers improve training of judiciary in SEE by developing modern curricula and training techniques. CONTACT Helen Darbshire at COLPI, helend@osi.hu, TEL (361) 327 3102, FAX (361) 327 3103

Faculty Training for ex-Yugoslavia Trains young law professors in European and criminal law and teaches use of new, interactive methodologies. CONTACT COLPI, Helen Darbshire, helend@osi.hu, TEL (361) 327 3102, FAX (361) 327 3103

Fiscal Decentralization Initiative Grant program providing institutions with resources to analyze and solve problems of local government policy and management. CONTACT LGI, Adrian Evtuhovici, evtuhovici@osi.hu, TEL (361) 327 3104, FAX (361) 327 3105

Juvenile Justice Programs Prevent recidivism and promote treatment that gives young offenders alternatives to crime and jail. CONTACT COLPI, Helen Darbshire, helend@osi.hu, TEL (361) 327 3102, FAX (361) 327 3103

Local Government Information Network (LOGIN) Uses national and regional "node" system to promote communication and improve capacity and professionalism of NGOs and local governments. CONTACT LGI, Adrian Evtuhovici, evtuhovici@osi.hu, TEL (361) 327 3104, FAX (361) 327 3105

Managing Multiethnic Communities in the former Yugoslavia Analyzes role of local governance and best practices for local NGOs and governments in multiethnic communities in SEE. CONTACT LGI, Adrian Evtuhovici, evtuhovici@osi.hu, TEL (361) 327 3104, FAX (361) 327 3105

Media Law Reform Trains young lawyers and promotes reform of existing media laws and development of new legislation. CONTACT COLPI, Helen Darbshire, helend@osi.hu, TEL (361) 327 3102, FAX (361) 327 3103

Model Court-Tirana Pilot Project Establishes model court in Tirana, Albania to demonstrate well-structured court to SEE countries. CONTACT COLPI, Helen Darbshire, helend@osi.hu, TEL (361) 327 3102, FAX (361) 327 3103

Network of Institutes and Schools of Public Administration (NISPAcee) Coordinates exchanges and research projects among member institutions providing public administration and local governance training in the region. CONTACT LGI, Adrian Evtuhovici, evtuhovici@osi.hu, TEL (361) 327 3104, FAX (361) 327 3105

NGO Law Reform Book based on studies of NGO laws in various SEE countries to provide comparative assessment for need to reform NGO laws. CONTACT COLPI, Helen Darbshire, helend@osi.hu, TEL (361) 327 3102, FAX (361) 327 3103

Police Training Modules Develops interactive training modules using CD-ROMs, videos, and graphics to teach effective and democratic policing techniques. CONTACT COLPI, Helen Darbshire, helend@osi.hu, TEL (361) 327 3102, FAX (361) 327 3103

Police Training Reform in Macedonia Develops curriculum for democratic policing training programs in SEE. CONTACT COLPI, Helen Darbshire, helend@osi.hu, TEL (361) 327 3102, FAX (361) 327 3103

Public Procurement-Legislative Screening Promotes introduction of legislation to ensure good practices and transparency in the public procurement process. CONTACT COLPI, Helen Darbshire, helend@osi.hu, TEL (361) 327 3102, FAX (361) 327 3103

Regional Support Center for Training Organizations in CEE Supports development of methodologies and instructors to train local officials in governmental reform. CONTACT LGI, Adrian Evtuhovici, evtuhovici@osi.hu, TEL (361) 327 3104, FAX (361) 327 3105

MEDIA/ PUBLISHING

Books Across Borders Strengthens flow of mutually comprehensible books among several countries by providing libraries with subsidized books. CONTACT Yana Genova, ygenova@osi.hu, TEL (361) 327 3182, FAX (361) 327 3042

Books for Libraries Helps rebuild the stock of Kosovo libraries with books offered from book lists produced by SEE publishers. CONTACT Yana Genova, ygenova@osi.hu, TEL (361) 327 3182, FAX (361) 327 3042

Mobile Information and Communication Center (MICC) Provides access to information for rural communities through mobile library, post-office, and Internet resource. CONTACT Stephanie Hankey, shankey@osi.hu

South East European Network for the Professionalization of the Media (SEENMP) Sixteen independent media centers throughout the region train journalists and instructors in reporting techniques; monitor local media; train spokespeople; facilitate exchanges of trainers and materials; and promote debates on media issues and legislation. CONTACT Remzi Lani, rlan@institute.media.org, TEL/FAX 00 355 42 29800

Training for SEE Journalists Covering Education Reform Workshops over six months to complement the SEE Network for Professionalization of the Media project. CONTACT Jana Huttova, jhuttova@osi.hu

WOMEN/MINORITIES

Community Coordinated Response to Violence Against Women Trains police, medical workers, legal personnel, and peer advocates to understand violence issues and properly handle criminal proceedings. CONTACT Anastasia Posadskaya Vanderbeck, aposadskaya@sorosny.org, TEL 212-548-0162, FAX 212-548-4616

Human Rights Advanced Leadership Training for Women (HRALTW) Small, country-based teams of women use education and constituency building to seek policy change on issues such as domestic violence and labor discrimination. CONTACT Marla Swanson, MSwanson@sorosny.org, www.soros.org/women, TEL 212-548-0162, FAX 212-548-4616

Training for Romani Women: "Euromni Zurali" Prepares trainers to lead inter-generational networking and advocacy activities for Romani women activists. CONTACT Raikhan Sabirova, rsabirova@sorosny.org



Open Society Institute
400 West 59th Street
New York, NY 10019
www.soros.org

Non-Profit Org.
U.S. Postage
PAID
Permit No. 177
Lansdale, PA