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**Konfliktbearbeitung**

Evaluation report:

## **Dealing with the Past and Conflict Transformation in former Yugoslavia**

**A Project conducted by  
the Centre for Nonviolent Action (CNA), Belgrade and Sarajevo**

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## **Preface**

This report is the result of an evaluation of the “Dealing with the Past and Conflict Transformation in former Yugoslavia” project conducted by the Centre for Nonviolent Action (CNA) and financially assisted by the German Federal Foreign Office. The evaluation was done by the Berghof Research Center for Constructive Conflict Management, Berlin, in cooperation with Natascha Zupan, the Advisor for Peace Building in Bosnia & Herzegovina, Macedonia, Serbia & Montenegro of the Swiss Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Dr. Oliver Wils from the Berghof Research Center for Constructive Conflict Management focussed on CNA’s activities within the “dealing with the past” project, whereas Natascha Zupan concentrated on the networking and multiplication effects of CNA’s training for trainer (TfT) programme. However, since both strands of activities are related to each other – for example, the “dealing with the past” project depends very much on the network of organizations and the peacebuilding capacities developed by the TfT – both assessment reports take this linkages into consideration.

The assessment studies were conducted in Serbia, with some additional interviews held in Bosnia and Herzegovina as well as in Macedonia. The interviews were held during October and November 2003.

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# **1 Background of the project**

## **1.1 The importance of peacebuilding and dealing with the past in former Yugoslavia**

The disintegration of Yugoslavia that begun in 1991 had, in the following decade of warfare, killed at least 150,000 people.<sup>1</sup> Expulsion of civilians - more than four millions had to flee their homes -, gross human rights violations and war crimes destroyed the multicultural social fabric of the respective countries and resulted in deeply divided societies in which fear, distrust and prejudices between the major communities are still present today. The war experiences and mutual excluding "truth" are building part of the groups' identities, reinforcing the fragmentation of the post war societies. As communication and interaction between members of different communities both within the countries and between countries are the exception, stereotypes and prejudices are not challenged but rather deepened. Furthermore, the legacy of the wars is still part of everyday live for many people in the region: many have been victims of human rights violations, about one million persons are living as IDPs or refugees in the region, and approximately 25,000 are missing and their fate is unknown.

Although peace agreements were enforced by the international community, the political situation in most of the states of the region is still unstable and marked by a negative (or cold) peace. Nationalistic parties of the war time period are still powerful, the process of the political and judicial reform is slow, and there is a lack of political will to break with the former system, punish war criminals and initiate a process of dealing with the events of the past decade. Due to the high number of conflicting actors and issues, the challenges for peace building and conflict transformation are immense.<sup>2</sup> Genuine peace can only be build by overcoming fear and mistrust, re-establishing justice, and confronting the mutual excluding "truths" of the war time. But governments are rather blocking than fostering this process.

In the absence of a clear political will for peace and reconciliation, civil initiatives play an even more important role in supporting peace building in their societies by raising awareness for and promotion of peace and non-violence, democratic values as well as respect for and protection of human rights and dignity. The strengthening of those actors and the building of peace constituencies<sup>3</sup> through e.g. training and education is one of the necessary conditions and key activities for sustainable peace building, especially when taking into consideration that the civil society in countries of former Yugoslavia is still relatively weak.

In this context, youth and young adults are an important group. Martina Fischer, for example, has mentioned: "Systematic support for initiatives which work to improve opportunities for development and social participation and give young people training in peace skills is crucial in post-war regions. In order to harness young people's creativity

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<sup>1</sup> See Dan Smith 2003: *Atlas of War and Peace*, New York, London: Penguin, Earthscan, p. 52.

<sup>2</sup> For a more detailed account of these challenges see Martina Fischer (2001): *Conflict Transformation by Training in Nonviolent Action. Activities of the Centre for Nonviolent Action (Sarajevo) in the Balkan Region*, Berlin: Berghof Research Center for Constructive Conflict Management (Berghof Occasional Paper No. 18).

<sup>3</sup> Supporting "peace constituencies" in post-war societies means supporting those individuals, networks, and institutions which have an interest in and are engaged in non-violent conflict transformation and peace building. See Norbert Ropers (1997): *The Roles and Functions of Third Parties in the Constructive Management of Ethno Political Conflicts*, Berghof Occasional Paper No. 14, Berlin, p. 30; See also John Paul Lederach (1995): *Preparing for Peace: Conflict Transformation across Cultures*, Syracuse: University Press.

and minimise their destructive potential, special priority must be given to this group when devising measures to support civil society.”<sup>4</sup>

“Dealing with the Past”<sup>5</sup> is a crucial element of the broader process of peacebuilding and reconciliation. Given that there are still high levels of violence and tensions within and between states of the region, “dealing with the past” is also contributing to crisis prevention. There are different approaches to “dealing with the past” already initiated in countries of former Yugoslavia, but the main focus obviously is put on criminal prosecution, or “retributive justice”, e.g. the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia and the establishment of national courts for war crimes. Far less prominent are initiatives related to “restorative justice”<sup>6</sup>, involving a wider part of the society and especially victims of violence, e.g. Truth and Reconciliation Commissions. There are some civil society initiatives dealing with victims of war, such as Family Associations of Missing Persons and Detainees, IDPs and refugees, others are documenting human rights abuses, etc. However, the number of public discussions on the past is very limited and the inclusion of societal actors is rare. Also, it seems that most of the discussion do simply reproduce and reinforce the widespread notion of victim hood, with no one being prepared to claim individual responsibility for past events.

Against this background, former combatants are an important target group to address issues related to the past and to facilitate a broad public debate. In terms of number, former combatants are a huge group, but politically they tend to be marginalized to a high degree, especially in Serbia where the feeling of lost wars is widespread. Furthermore, many war veterans do suffer from personal losses and traumatization.<sup>7</sup> As a result of this

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<sup>4</sup> Fischer 2001, op.cit., 7.

<sup>5</sup> Andrew Rigby explains the meaning of “dealing with the past” as follows: “The ‘past’ is not something fixed with an independent existence, a once and for all set of events. The ‘past’ is the remembered past, and as such it is something that is constructed and reproduced in a multitude of ways. [...] But, particularly in the case of societies emerging out of division with a bitter legacy of human rights abuses, it is vital for the sake of peace that people manage somehow to come to terms with their loss and prepare to move on. This capacity to let go of a particular memory of the past, to forge another memory or interpretation that allows people to relinquish the quest for revenge is at the heart of what many understand by forgiveness. Unless people manage to forsake their determination to ‘get even’, there can be no new beginning, no transformation of relationship; everyone will remain imprisoned in a particular history (or mythology), recycling old crimes and hatreds - with the lived present dominated by a particular collective memory of the past. [...] So, by ‘dealing with past’ we are referring to a process comparable to that of forgiveness. Forgiveness can be at the interpersonal level - forgiving identifiable perpetrators. It can also be at the more anonymous collective level of ‘forgiving history’ - coming to terms with the pain of the past in such a way as to free oneself from the determining force of a particular collective memory, forming a new memory that creates the symbolic space for people to orient themselves towards a new future which allows for the possibility of reconciliation with past opponents;” Andrew Rigby 2002: Three contrasting approaches for ‘Dealing with the Past’: collective amnesia, retributive justice and prioritising truth, in: CCTS Newsletter 18 ([www.c-r.org/ccts/ccts18/3apprch.htm](http://www.c-r.org/ccts/ccts18/3apprch.htm)).

An approach combining forgiveness with justice and truth is given by Lederach. According to him, peace building and reconciliation involves the acknowledgment of what happened (truth), an effort to right the wrongs that occurred (justice) and forgiveness for the perpetrators (mercy). The end result is not only reconciliation, but peace. See Lederach (1995), op. cit, p. 20.

<sup>6</sup> “Restorative justice is justice that is not designed to punish the wrong-doer, but rather to restore the victim and the relationship to the way they were before the offence. Thus, restorative justice requires an apology from the offender, restitution for the offence, and forgiveness from the victim. Often this is accomplished through victim-offender reconciliation programs which may operate at either the interpersonal or inter-group level.” See: [www.colorado.edu/conflict/peace/glossary.htm](http://www.colorado.edu/conflict/peace/glossary.htm); for further information on the concept of transitional justice see: David Bloomfield et.al., Reconciliation after Violent Conflict. A Handbook, International IDEA Handbook Series, Stockholm 2003, p. 97; also: International Center for Transitional Justice: [www.ictj.org](http://www.ictj.org).

<sup>7</sup> According to Ursula Renner, who coordinates a psycho-social counselling project in Southern Serbia, it is estimated that around one third of war veterans are traumatized.

traumatization, combined with the lack of public recognition and empathy, former combatants are motivated to participate in activities enabling them to address on their war experiences to an broader audience. Within their local communities, former combatants are often highly respected persons and legitimised to a high degree to talk about issues related to war. They are strategic door-openers to the area of “dealing with the past” and to peacebuilding.

On the other hand, war veterans motivated to participate in a constructive dialogue about war experiences serve as important multipliers, especially if they are active in war veteran associations where most of their fellow former combatants are organized in. As such peacebuilding activities with war veterans do not only address the public at large but also the war veterans as a relevant actor. A part of this group might be willing to engage in a constructive dialogue about the past, others might support extremist and nationalistic forces or a linked to the criminal milieu. While it is therefore important to work with this target group, there are also certain risks involved. War veteran associations might block or hinder dialogue activities or instrumentalize them for an extremist agendas.

Nevertheless, those former soldiers that agree to engage in constructive dialogue have a potential to explore common ground and to build bridges between the different national and religious groups in former Yugoslavia. CNA’s approach is based on individual stories what helps to underline commonalities as well as individual responsibilities. As such the public forums do contradict the attitude of collective discrimination that is part of the dominant nationalistic construction of history.

## **1.2 The Centre for Nonviolent Action (CNA) – Centar za Nenasilnu Akciju**

CNA has been set up in Sarajevo in 1997 as the regional branch of the „Bildungs- und Begegnungsstätte für gewaltfreie Aktion - KURVE Wustrow“. In terms of activity and program planning, CNA, however, acts independently. Since August 2001, a second office was established in Belgrade.<sup>8</sup>

Since its foundation, CNA is committed to peace building and non violent conflict transformation in the region of former Yugoslavia. Its primary goals are to promote a culture of non-violence, peace and tolerance, and the strengthening of civil society, human rights and democratic structures in the region. The strategic approach of CNA could be defined as building peace constituencies by *multiplication* of non violent conflict transformation capacities and cross border *networking*.

CNA has a staff of eight, with four activists located in the Belgrade and Sarajevo offices each. The funding is provided by private donations, Diakonisches Werk as well as Auswärtiges Amt, the Swiss Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Berghof Foundation and others. Since 2003, CNA Belgrade is also supported through the Civil Peace Service (ZFD) programme of the BMZ.

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<sup>8</sup> More detailed information about the history, mission and activities of CNA can be found at Martina Fischer 2001, op. cit.

### 1.3 The Training Program of CNA

CNA developed regional training programs in non-violent conflict transformation for young adults, aged between 20 and 35 years, serving as potential multipliers in their society (NGO activists, party members, teachers, journalists). Besides shorter introductory training sessions and a 'Basic Training Program', lasting 10 to 12 days, CNA is offering an advanced and long term 'Training for Trainers' course, building on the achievements of the 'Basic Training'. It consist of several phases and is accompanied by ongoing support and advice for participants.<sup>9</sup>

CNA is using interactive, participatory training methods, wherein group work, role-plays, planning and simulation exercises play a major role. Those methods are intended to stipulate a mutual learning process within the group, allowing participants as well as trainers to learn from each others experiences.

After extensive discussions, self evaluations and feedbacks of participants, CNA changed the concept of the TtT course in 2001, basically extending it's duration from 6 to 12 months and including new themes (proposal writing, fundraising, public relations) as well as a praxis phase (Phase VII). The main idea was to give participants structured support and the opportunity to conceptualise, organise and implement their own trainings together with trainers of CNA.

The TtT's main objectives are to:

- educate and empower individuals and groups/institutions for action in non violent conflict transformation,
- improve the awareness and protection of human rights and furthering inter-ethnic relationships,
- enhance partnership building and cross border cooperation in the region.

The new TtT program started in June 2002 and lasted until June 2003. 15 young adults<sup>10</sup> participated in the training, which encompassed 8 phases:

<b>Phase 1</b>	10 days training: Deepening of skills from the Basic training including new themes. Choice of themes for the next training and building of participants small-groups.
<b>Phase 2</b>	First Follow-up (1): Meeting of small-groups with CNA-Team in order to finalise workshop preparations.
<b>Phase 3</b>	10 days training: 5 days participants leading their workshops and 5 days special themes concerning trainer role and group-leading (conducted by CNA team).
<b>Phase 4</b>	5 days training: Developing idea for activities and small-groups in charge of implementing them; Discussion with and advisory by the CNA team in project goals and strategy setting, choice of the target group and potential follow-up activities etc. Input on grant proposal writing. Work plan development by the small groups.
<b>Phase 5</b>	Second Follow-up (2): Meeting of small-groups with CNA-Team in order to discuss and adjust prepared project proposals.

<sup>9</sup> In the period 1997-2003, 16 Basic Trainings in various places in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Montenegro were held. Furthermore, CNA conducted 4 Training for Trainer (TtT) courses.

<sup>10</sup> The TtT started with 21 participants, 6 participants left the course because of personal or professional reasons. For the list of participants see Appendix.

<b>Phase 6</b>	5 days training: Presentation of prepared projects, by small groups and feedback by others. Media presentation workshop, “bringing peace messages to the public”. Work plan development for project implementation, including supervision plan.
<b>Phase 7</b>	5 months long phase for implementation of projects with professional counselling by the CNA team (preparation, implementation, evaluation, production of final narrative and financial reports).
<b>Phase 8</b>	4 days evaluation seminar: evaluation of the whole programme; discussion of future work perspectives and cooperation; Assessment of the need for future CNA support.

Participants for the TtT are selected after the 'Basic Training' according to specific criteria, among others high interest and motivation for long-term commitment in peace building work and political engagement, leadership and multiplication potential, and a regionally, ethnically and gender balanced group.

Expected results are:

- Developed skills for non violent conflict transformation (communication, teamwork, leadership, conflict analysis).
- Developed analytical and organisational skills, needed to secure practical multiplication.
- Empowerment through gathered practical work experience.
- High level of awareness about structural violence (prejudice, gender inequality, discrimination, political manipulation, human-rights abuse)
- High level of commitment and motivation to work against structural violence in the society.
- Changed perceptions, especially with regard to existing ethno-political conflicts.
- Available network of potential partners, based on sharing of same values, goals and trust.

## 1.4 The ‘dealing with the past’ project

For quite some years, CNA was considering to work with former combatants of the different war regions of former Yugoslavia. This was partly due to the fact that repeatedly participants of trainings announced that they had been involved in the fighting. Also, one member of the CNA staff itself had a combatant history. Parallel to establishing a second office in Belgrade, the idea arose to give space to different perceptions and individual stories connected to the Yugoslav wars.

As a pilot phase, a series of public forums were conducted in Serbia in 2002. After a first assessment the concept was subsequently modified. Major changes to the program included firstly, to increase the motivation and contribution of local partner organisations and to get support of war veteran associations at the national level; secondly, to select the participating former combatants more carefully; and thirdly, to create some trust and mutual relationship between the participating former combatants through a series of workshops. In 2003, two further public forums were held in Bosnia and Herzegovina (one in the Federation of BiH and one in the Republic of Srpska), two workshops with the former combatants were held in Montenegro and Bosnia and Herzegovina, and a further round of 5 public forums were conducted in Serbia (3) and Montenegro (2).

### Objective and activities of the project

The ‘dealing with the past’ project is embedded in CNA’s overall goal of building capacities for conflict transformation and the prevention of further violent ethno-political



and social conflicts in the region of former Yugoslavia. The ‘dealing with the past’ project contributes to that overall goal through the following three objectives:<sup>11</sup>

- Building a pool of former combatants from BiH, Croatia and Yugoslavia, who would be constructively engaged in the process of dealing with the past and peacebuilding
- Initiating a regional process of self-critical public debate on the issue of past wars
- Raising public awareness on the need to confront the past as a means for future violence prevention

The main activities of the project are:

- Selecting and sensitising former combatants through workshops for participation in the project
- Networking with war veterans’ associations
- Organizing public forums where 4 soldiers with different regional background present their views and individual stories from the war
- Organising press conferences and other forms of media coverage
- Documentation
- Networking with partner organisations

The project is financially assisted by the German Federal Foreign Office (Auswärtiges Amt) and the Swiss Ministry of Foreign Affairs. While the AA is mainly financing the preparatory training workshops for the former combatants, the public forums themselves are financed by the Swiss (which is seen as a neutral and non-NATO member state) Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

### **The pilot phase (summer 2002)**

During June 2002, a series of public forums named *Four Views – From the Past: How I found Myself in War, Towards the Future: How to reach Sustainable Peace* were held in Serbia. The speakers at these public forums were former combatants having participated in wars of the region of former Yugoslavia: Adnan Hasanbegovic from Sarajevo, Gordan Bodog from Zagreb, Nebojša Jovanovic and Saša Dujovic, both from Belgrade. The facilitator was Katarina Katanic, a TV journalist and also participant of one of CNA’s Basic Trainings. The forums were organized in Indjija (June, 3), Niš (June, 12), Novi Pazar (June, 17) and Kragujevac (June, 24).

The number of visitors of the public forums differed only slightly and numbered between 50 and 70. The reactions were quite mixed, often very encouraging. CNA team members collected further statements on the public forums the day after the events have taking place by random interviews.<sup>12</sup> The media presence was relatively high. TV stations, radio and newspaper journalists took part either in the press conferences or at the forums. The forums were broadcasted and covered in the media. However, most of the journalists were reporting for the local media only.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> According to an unpublished CNA project document on Dealing with the Past. In the project proposal for the German Federal Foreign Office (AA) three similar objectives are mentioned: “Opening constructive public discussion on the issue of dealing with the past; Initiating re-questioning of personal and collective responsibility for wars as precondition for reconciliation; Including former combatants and their organisation in the peace building process”.

<sup>12</sup> More details on the reactions of the audiences are given in chapter 3 of this report. Information on the first panels is also available at CNA’s homepage: [www.nenasilje.org](http://www.nenasilje.org).

<sup>13</sup> Details on media coverage can also be found at CNA’s website.

CNA used this first series of public forums to reflect on the advantages and disadvantages of the approach and identified a number of important lessons for the further continuation of the project:

- In order to improve the media coverage, more energy has to be invested in networking and communication with journalists.
- High importance of cooperation with associations of former soldiers and disabled veterans (increases credibility of the public forums)
- Strong involvement of local organizations and institutions in the organization of the panels is necessary
- Stronger time regime of the forums and during discussions stronger focus on future topics (“How to reach sustainable peace”)

Another lesson was that CNA felt that the process of mutual empowerment between the speakers of the public forums had been overlooked so far. That, in combination with the wish of having a pool of former combatants lead to the idea of conducting preparatory training workshops with the former combatants.

### **Public forums in Bosnia and Herzegovina**

In 2003 two further public forum were organized in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The first one was held in Zenica (Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina) on March, 15. It was organized in cooperation with the partner organization Sezam from Zenica. The second forum was organized in Banja Luka (Republic of Srpska) on March, 30, with assistance from the Centre for Informative Decontamination of Youth. The speakers at the forums were Adnan Hasanbegovic and Nermin Karacic from Sarajevo, both former members of the Bosnia and Herzegovina Army, Novak Grbic from Banja Luka and former member of the Republic of Srpska Army, Romeo Zelenika from Mostar and former member of the Croatian Defence Council (participated in Zenica), and Dušan Šehovac from Sarajevo and former member of the Republic of Srpska Army.

The reaction of the audience and the media was very different. In Zenica, about one hundred visitor came to the forum, although most of them were young people and NGO activists. The media showed high interest: Federal TV initiated even a TV panel discussion that was broadcasted directly after the main evening news. In Banja Luka only 40-50 people visited the forum; however, many representatives from the media were present.

Reflecting upon the two forums in Bosnia and Herzegovina, CNA felt - due to the open discussions and encouraging statements from the audience and the media – a strong motivation to continue with the project. However, given that CNA is a relatively small organization with limited human resources, the problem of organizing the forums remained unresolved and lead to a high degree of exhaustion among the staff members.

### **Training workshops**

In April and June 2003 two seminars were conducted with former combatants. The basic goals related to these trainings were stated by CNA as follows:<sup>14</sup>

- Exchanging experiences and opinions between peace activists and former soldiers, and work on tearing down the stereotype that only peace activists are for peace, and the warriors are for war
- Including former soldiers into peace processes and bringing peace activities closer to this part of the population

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<sup>14</sup> See CNA, Sarajevo office, 3-month report, March 2003 – May 2003, p. 9. The report can be found CNA's website.

- Sensitising for violence and its consequences (from personal towards social level)
- Forming a group of ex-soldiers which would be a basis for the teams of participants of the future panels

The group of former combatants included initially 10 persons and was later extended to 13. After a difficult process of selection – mostly due to fears and misconceptions from the former combatants and their respective environments – a first 5-day seminar was conducted in Ulcinj (Montenegro) from April, 30 to May, 6.

Major components of this seminar included communication, perception, violence, personal experiences related to the war, peace building, simulation of panels, fears and expectations regarding the participation in the process of dealing with the past. During the workshop, the motivation of the combatants and their desire to exchange their experience and to learn from each other proved to be extremely high. Discussions lasted much longer than originally foreseen in the training schedule.

A second, two-and-a-half-days workshop was held in Bjelašnica (Republic Srpska) from June, 6 to 9. Major components of this seminar were refreshment of the experiences of the first seminar, clarification of expectations and motivations, sensitisation and empathy for the fears, needs and perspectives of other participants/members of other ethnic groups, simulation of interviews and joint analysis and feedback, and planning of future activities, especially with regard to participation in public forums.

The pool of former combatants that was trained in the two seminars consists of former members of the following armies:

- Bosnia and Herzegovina Army (3)
- Yugoslav/Serbian Army (3)
- Army of Bosnian Serbs (1)
- Herzegovina-Croat Army (1)
- Croat Army (5)

The former combatants are organized in the following organizations:

- Soldiers Association of Medvedja
- Association of Defenders of Croatia
- Association of Bosniak Defenders of the Croatian Homeland War
- Association of Volunteers and Veterans of the Homeland War of the Croat Republic of Herzeg Bosnia

Others are active in NGOs such as the Democratic Initiative of Serbs from Sarajevo, Centre for Peace Studies and one is member of CNA.

### **Current series of public forums**

During writing this report, CNA is conducting a further round of public forums in Serbia and Montenegro. One forum was held in Vlasotince (Southern Serbia) at October, 24, and another one in Novi Sad (North Serbia) at October, 28. A third one is planned in Kraljevo in central Serbia in mid-November, followed by two forums in Montenegro at the end of that month.

In 2004, CNA intends to train a second group of former combatants and to continue organizing public forums in Bosnia and Herzegovina and to assist its Croatian partner organization 'Centre for Peace Studies' to initiate forums in Croatia.

## 2 Goals and methods of the evaluation study

The CNA team is giving special emphasis to reflection and self-evaluation in order to continuously improve and adapt its training methods as well as its Dealing with the Past approach. Almost since the beginning of CNA's work, the Berghof Center for Constructive Conflict Management has supported the organisation with supervision and advice. In June 2001, an evaluation was done by Martina Fischer<sup>15</sup>, focusing on the training concept, training methods, impact of the training on participants (multiplication), networking effects and external perceptions of CNA. As the 'Training for Trainers Program' (TfT) was extended and a new program line on dealing with the past was included into the activities of the organisation in 2002, CNA together with Berghof decided to conduct an evaluation in order to

- a) assess the multiplication and networking effect of the extended TfT;
- b) document the activities of the “dealing with the past” project undertaken so far and give an assessment of the impacts reached in the first phase;
- c) look deeper into the linkages between the training program and the dealing with the past program;
- d) give recommendations which should assist CNA in enhancing its approach to multiplication and networking on the one hand and in improving its “dealing with the past” project, as well as to deepen the linkages between the training and the dealing with the past program.

### Method and Criteria

The two evaluations took place in October and November 2003, six months after the finalisation of the TfT and during a new series of public forums with war veterans, and comprised of a 2-days preparatory phase each with information collection (project documents, self evaluations, etc.), and two field trips (lasting 11 and 8 days respectively). During the field trips qualitative, semi-structured interviews were held with CNA team members, (14) participants of TfT and colleagues of TfT participants, 7 participants of the public forums, and external resource persons. Also, a public forum could be observed, and project documentation was reviewed. The preliminary findings were discussed with CNA.

### Questions and indicators related to the TfT program

As training methods and the impact of TfT on participants (*multiplication on personal level*) were already assessed in 2001, it was decided to give special emphasis to the networking effects and the ability of participants to transfer and multiply the skills and knowledge acquainted in the wider context (*multiplication in context*). Thus, the following questions and related indicators were used:

*Multiplication:* To what extend does the training program meet it's goals and objectives with regard to multiplication on the personal / participants level? Indicators are the level of changed perceptions, the level of awareness, motivation to continue working in the field of non-violent conflict transformation and empowerment. How and to what extend participants are able to multiply and transfer the knowledge and skills acquainted during the training a) in their context in general, and b) in a more systematic way, e.g. as trainer, or other peace building activities?

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<sup>15</sup> Martina Fischer: op.cit.

*Networking:* To what extent does the training program meet its goals in supporting in-country as well as cross-border networking and cooperation? Indicators are the quality of contacts established (value based network, supportive and empowering role), as well as concrete activities and cooperation initiated through the network.

*Extended Tft:* What impact does the extended Tft and the newly integrated Phase VII have on multiplication and networking?

*Dealing with the Past:* In what way and to what extent is the dealing with the past program line linked to the Tft?

The time constraints under which the evaluation was done, did not allow an exhaustive analysis.<sup>16</sup> Thus, the findings offered in this report are to a certain degree highlighting tendencies.

### **Questions and indicators related to the Dealing with the Past project**

The evaluation study was focused on three major areas and issues:

*Impact assessment:* The major focus of the evaluation was an assessment of the impact of the activities of the “Dealing with the Past” project on ex-soldiers.

*Partial analysis of actors and context:* Veteran associations are very important actors not only as multipliers and partners to the “Dealing with the Past” project, but also as potential sources of opposition/obstruction. Therefore, interviewees were asked about the reactions they experienced from veteran associations, about their general views on veteran associations, and about the possibilities and difficulties concerning an integration of these associations into the project.

*Participatory assessment of capacities of implementing organisation (CNA) and possibilities to involve additional capacities:* Against the background of a further continuation and (possible) extension of the project, the issues of organisational capacity and options for involving (other) partner organisations into the project was dealt with.

The findings are structured according to the objectives of the project, which are defined by CNA as follows:

- Building a pool of former combatants from BiH, Croatia and Yugoslavia, who would be constructively engaged in the process of dealing with the past and peacebuilding
- Initiating a regional process of self-critical public debate on the issue of past wars
- Raising public awareness on the need to confront the past as a means of future violence prevention

In order to evaluate the success or failure of the project to reach the objectives, CNA has defined the following indicators:

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<sup>16</sup> The time did not allow to interview participants from previous Tft courses in order to compare the impact on participants. Comparisons made are drawn from the interviews with CNA team members.

***With regard to objective 1:***

1. Level and Quality of achieved links with War Veteran Associations
2. Inclusion of former combatants, and representatives of War Veteran Organisations in educational programmes in nonviolent conflict transformation

***With regard to objective 2:***

3. Media coverage of public forums related to the issue of Dealing with the Past

***With regard to objective 3:***

4. Activity of local partner organisations in further pursuing of the issue of Dealing with the Past in their communities

Although it is not explicitly stated, it is reasonable to assume that the first objective is a short-term objective, while the second one is a mid-term and the third one a long-term objective.

### **3 Major findings**

#### **3.1 The Training for Trainers program**

##### **3.1.1 Multiplication**

***Multiplication on Personal Level***

It can be stated, that the positive impact of TtT on all participants is very high. Almost all participants emphasised changed perceptions and a number of participants even stated, that the training changed their life. With regard to knowledge and skills, the *ability to analyse conflict situations, non-violent communication, team work and competences to organise and conduct trainings* were most frequently mentioned. Besides this, participants showed a *high level of awareness* – especially with regard to different pattern of violence in society and their individual responsibility for social change. They clearly felt empowered and stressed their motivation to continue working on peaceful conflict transformation in their societies. In this regard, the training met its objective of not only transferring knowledge and skills but also raising awareness, changing perceptions and empowering young adults to become active in their society, as well as responding to injustice and violence.

*"I gained a lot more than I expected. The whole training was magic. I learned to listen, I'm able to perceive things I did not perceive before and I became a lot more active in the centre."*

*"I gained a better understanding of the conflicts in the region, a wider perspective. I learned how to deal with them and how I could contribute to changes and peace building. I was looking on short term processes, but now I'm able to consolidate my work and think in long term."*

*"The training helped to clarify my needs, to be active in the field of peace building. I'm not only encouraged but also skilled to do different things."*

*"A very touching moment for me was to listen to the men's side and to meet people who were sensitised for gender issues. The training was a prove for me that non-discrimination is possible."*

*"I learned to communicate in another way and to be part of a team. Before the training, I always worked alone or as team leader and I had many clashes, because I used to be the one who knows what should be done."*

*"I got more than I expected. Now, I stand on my feet. I know, I can do it and I can choose how to work."*

*"I'm stronger than before. Now, I can fight for something I believe in."*

*"I ask myself now, how I could work as a journalist before Tft. Now, I have a clear view on the situation, before, I could not imagine how many violence, prejudices, and problems existed in the countries. And I want to work on those problems."*

Drawing from the interviews of the participants and previous evaluations<sup>17</sup>, the positive impact on participants is caused by a very skilled and experienced training team, a well designed training curricula, the training methods, and flexibility during training sessions. In this context it should be stressed, that the CNA-team was able to create a *safe space* for open discussions and exchange of experiences. Taking into consideration the still difficult (political) situation and often very painful experience of war and violence in the region, this is even more important to mention.

*"The training was a whole circle: conflict resolution, organising training, public relation, proposal writing. Everything I was learning in one phase I could apply in my work afterwards."*

*"I was impressed by the approach and method of CNA. It was a revolt. Something very honest. Somebody can learn from experience and not through lecture and repetition."*

*"The method was very important: to listen to other people and hear different experiences, ask myself questions, think about things I never thought about before."*

*"It gave me a safe space for discussion. I never had the experience of being listened before."*

### ***Multiplication in Context (general)***

As already mentioned, all participants showed a high motivation to promote non-violence and to continue working on non violent conflict transformation in various fields. All stated that they are *able to apply* the skills and knowledge acquainted during the training in their personal (family, friends) and professional context, such as non-violent communication, team work, facilitation, and conflict analysis. Participants talked about their experiences made during the training in their personal and professional context, some presented the Tft program in their organisation, or conducted training sessions in the organisation on non-violent communication, team work and gender sensitivity. Thus, the Tft obviously succeeded in creating a group of young activist, committed to promote a culture of peace and non-violence in their context.

Generally speaking participants stated, that the transfer of knowledge is the easiest to do, whereas, according to their experience, skills can most likely be transferred through training, and values are the most difficult to multiply. According to CNA team members, participants not only experience positive changes, but also face problems because they are sensitised for prejudices, injustice and violence in their societies. Actually, almost all of them mentioned some problems while talking about their experiences or while taking unusual positions. In the same time, the supportive role of other Tft participants was mentioned.

*"After the war in Macedonia, it was a great challenge to go to Serbia and Belgrade, and have friends over there. But if you have somebody you believe in, it's easy to go. I wouldn't have stopped going there."*

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<sup>17</sup> See Fischer, Martina, op. cit.

*"At the beginning it was hard to explain what is conflict resolution, and it was hard to explain people the meaning of structural violence. The lack of understanding structural violence leads to the lack of understanding your own responsibility."*

*"Every day I'm trying hard to use my knowledge and skills and to promote values. I find it most difficult when people are tough, when they don't want to listen, and when I feel they are not ready to change opinions."*

### ***Multiplication (systematic)***

Obviously, the *possibility of transferring and multiplying* knowledge, skills and values depends from the context participants are living and working in, and the organisational / professional background.

One participants of Tft is a full time TV journalist. Another one, who used to work as a journalist (print media and TV), only recently got the offer to develop and produce her own weekly TV Magazine<sup>18</sup>. Both have, because of their profession, a high public multiplication potential.

*"In this profession, multiplication is very big. I'm on TV to say: 'That's the problem, or conflict.' I'm not afraid to ask questions, I think are important to ask. I want to be the voice of people and have sensitivity to understand the problems. The way I work is different now, and people see that and give good feedback."*

Most of the participants have an NGO background. Generally speaking, those ones have good opportunities and possibilities to multiply, as they are supported by formal, organisational structures. Still, there are differences: Participants with *a leading position* in the organisation are well placed to transfer and multiply peace building approaches in a systematic way. Four participants mentioned, that they started to either shift the focus of their work to peace building activities or to include training in non violent conflict resolution into their program.

*"I'm in the position in my organisation to create something (...) and I have the mission to transfer that kind of training to teachers. Before Tft, I thought I'll never work with teachers, journalists, etc."*

*"Our organisation is now more focused on peace building, and my personal wish would be to develop this focus further."*

Participants who are working within an NGO but do not have a leading position *face more problems* with regard to a more systematic multiplication, due to the widespread hierarchical and non-participatory structures and decision making processes within NGOs in the region.<sup>19</sup> The same is true for participants who do not have an organisational background. Two participants mentioned, that it's hard to find a platform within their working context.

*"I'm an individual. And if' you are alone, that's a problem. I need at least several people more, in order to make people listen and be interested."*

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<sup>18</sup> This offer came after organising, together with CNA, one forum with ex-combatants in her home town.

<sup>19</sup> Some participants of previous Tft courses left their organisations, one participant of the recent course also quit after the training.



*"As an individual there is not much you can do, not as much as you are able to in a team. And the educational system is a very closed system, very easy to control. In that surrounding it's hardly possible to do something."*

Especially teachers, who can directly apply the skills and methods learned in their classes, face problems in trying to make structural changes in the educational system.

*"I really could see myself in multiplication. Since I work in a school, I feel responsible to pass on what I learned both to children and co-workers. I was talking with co-workers and offered some solutions, but it's hitting walls."*

CNA is aware of this fact and is thinking about possibilities for support, e.g. specific trainings for teachers and including interested colleagues of former participants into training programs.

Even though some participants had problems in their working contexts, 9 out of 15 participants already had the opportunity to work as trainers after the Tft program and are planning to continue this work with different target groups (women, youth, teachers, journalists). Additionally, some participants from Serbia founded their own organisation in order to create a platform and start to work on peace building activities and trainings. They gathered several activists, sharing the same values and committed to work on different issues (gender, Roma rights, training in non violent conflict transformation). It's planned to include Tft participants from Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia and Croatia into training activities.

As participants of Tft are obviously not only motivated and skilled to continue working as trainer or to develop other peace building activities, one of the major challenges for systematic multiplication will be to secure funding for those ideas and activities.

### **3.1.2 Networking**

The Tft created strong personal and professional relationships between participants. All participants stressed the importance of this relationship and mentioned the *empowering and supportive role* of this *informal network*, wherein no hierarchical structures are set up and CNA does not take a leading role. Participants mainly exchange contacts and information, share experiences, give feedback on professional as well as personal questions, and organise trainings together.

*"I can't find the words to express the strength of the bond between the Tft participants."*

*"I think the aim of Tft was that: not only to transfer skills but to establish contacts between participants. The communication after the training is more important, people from our own training (Phase VII) are now volunteers in our organisation and cooperate in different projects. People are more mobilised now and have no fear."*

*"I rely on my colleagues from Tft. Here I get support on professional and personal problems."*

*"We shared hard moments together. I know, that I can rely on them for activism. I know, how they are working as trainer, and I know, that I can work with them."*

*"To create a group of people is very important: a group can influence, someone alone can't. The magic of a group can do it. People can become part of it and then it grows."*

The majority of participants was clearly stressing the *importance of a value based network, trust, equality and partnership* within the informal network. They were very satisfied with the support given by CNA so far (e.g. contacts of other trainers, fundraising strategies), and only two expressed specific needs CNA should address.

*"CNA has done a lot to support the networking. I always felt that I could turn to CNA for support. Now, it depends on the individuals themselves to develop it further."*

*"CNA is an umbrella organisation to which I can turn to whenever needed."*

*"All this changed my life in a positive way and gave me the strength to go on to promote this values. And I have the feeling of getting big support from participants and CNA."*

*"I had bad experiences with networks. But knowing this network, I trust in it."*

*"It's easy to work with 'beginners'. But we don't have experiences how to work with one group continuously. Here, we need support."*

*"If CNA would have an official 'operational centre' with a data base about peace projects and contacts, which would enable people to know about each others, it would be nice. They have it in an informal way, and I can get information on a friendly base. But that's not the same."*

Special emphasis was given to the *regional dimension* of Tft and the network. But it also became clear, that in-country networking and cooperation, especially across the 'ethnic divide' was and is very important for participants.

*"To meet people from all over ex-Yugoslavia was of big value. The network is very good, because it connects us and we can do more. We have the opportunity to work together across the region and to exchange experiences of our work."*

*"Its extremely important to listen to experiences from different regions and to network with people from the region."*

*"To have one person from another country in the region in a training is very good. To have a 'Serbian' in the team, who is different than people expected helps a lot to show, that people are different, and that nationality does not matter."*

*"Montenegro is very small. It's easier to really network and do something."*

*"It was very important to have somebody from Macedonia with me. And it's very important to have more cooperation in the country, because I really want to change something here."*

For the time being, the relationship between participants and the informal network created through the Tft is very strong and alive. Because the network is built on trust, partnership and shared values, it clearly distinguishes itself from many other regional networks, which often have hierarchical structures, internal competitions and are set up by external initiatives.

CNA staff members emphasised the qualitative differences between former Tft programs and the new course with regard to the level of empowerment and motivation, the strong group relations and cooperation. There are examples of concrete action and activities, mainly focusing on training, even though the challenge of securing future financial means will remain. Taking into consideration, that personal relations between participants of previous Tft programs are still existing, whereas professional cooperation is rather the exception, this is even more important. Another challenge will be to develop possibilities for cooperation beyond training activities and continue to include persons into the

network, who are not able to work as trainers or would like to focus on other peace building activities.

### 3.1.3 The extended Tft

The assessment showed, that one of the *key elements* of the multiplying effect on the personal level, especially with regard to *empowerment, motivation to continue working and capability to not only work as a trainer* but also organise and implement activities is the newly integrated *Phase VII*. This phase allowed participants to draw a range of experiences, starting with conceptualising and organising a training, team work, the training itself, to evaluation and reporting.

*"Most useful was our own training. It was interesting to be involved in the whole process of organising, to feel the pressure of being a trainer, to see how the group is moving. The experience that I can do that again is very important."*

*"Phase VII was very important. It gave me the opportunity to work with people I know and I feel safe with."*

*"I learned that a good team can move mountains, and I learned, that you can't simply find a good team, but you can make it, and you can make a team growing."*

*"Phase VII was a first testing for us. It was very good, especially because of the team work. We could empower and encourage each other."*

*"Most useful was to get home after the training with some help how to handle our real world."*

According to team members of CNA, the additional time and the structured support given by the extended program strongly contributed to the empowerment of participants and the trust within the group, because they had much more time to work together, discuss in an open and transparent way and apply things they learned after the training phases. As one CNA team member put it:

*"Participants of the former Tft course were concentrated on acquiring skills for becoming a trainer. After finishing the course, they had another big mountain in front of them, as they did not have experiences in organising some activities. Their expectations for getting support from CNA were much higher. Now, participants have the experience that they can do something with or without CNA."*

Besides this, the small trainings of Phase VII organised by participants allowed to multiply basic non-violent conflict transformation capacities, thereby improving the multiplication effect of the Tft. Specific target groups, such as teachers and journalists, were addressed by those trainings. In this regard, the small trainings are giving the opportunity to address the need of working with one specific target group, to explore the different needs and interests of this groups and to potentially initiate in-group networking.

The extended program and particularly Phase VII had an important impact on the networking effect of the training, too. It not only gave participants the opportunity to work together and thereby deepen relationships and trust, but it also offered them the possibility to link up with participants of previous Tft, as some of them joined training teams of Phase VII. Additionally, participants of the trainings of Phase VII got involved into activities of one NGO afterwards, and some joined the new Tft program (2003 – 2004).

To sum up, the extended Tft program clearly met it's goals to improve the multiplying and networking effect of the training.

### 3.2 Linkages between Tft & Dealing with the Past

Several linkages between the Tft and the dealing with the past program could be assessed. Those are mainly related to the method CNA is taking in the training, the experiences made in the training, and the regional networking.

The training methods of CNA and the content of the training is stipulating an intensive process among participants of dealing with the wars and the violence of the past decade in countries of former Yugoslavia. This process supported the feeling of responsibility for preventing violent conflicts and peace building. Most of them mentioned, that dealing with the past for them is *dealing with the past on a personal level* and dealing with personal responsibility. The process of dealing with the past on a personal level is seen by participants *as precondition* for dealing with the past on the level of society. While all participants stressed the importance of dealing with the past, 9 participants expressed strong interest on working in this field and developing activities.

*"Dealing with the past for me is re-questioning and re-examining his/her own role and own responsibility. People should talk and not hide and then explode. Dealing with the past is helping me to be more responsible."*

*"I want to look in my past: what did I do, and what did I not do? I want to know how people felt during the war, and I want to understand how this happened to us. I want to work on this in order to prevent a tragedy in the future."*

*"Dealing with the past is dealing with my ignorance of the past. At the very beginning I have to face myself."*

*"The topic is very important. People in Montenegro don't feel that they were part of a war. But we have to speak about and clarify what really happened. What was the role of Montenegro in the war? It's very important to prevent future conflicts."*

*"Dealing with the past is a very difficult question for myself. I deal with this every day. I think it's important to first deal with myself. I can't work in the community on dealing with the past, if I'm not able to do it myself. But then it's not enough to work on yourself, you have to work in the community, too."*

*"Immediately when someone states 'past' I think of war. Everyday is in a way now dealing with the past. The past defines the present and the future. This is what I feel in my surrounding. Those traces of the past should be worked on. And activities like the training or the forums of ex-combatants can change traces of the past in the future."*

*"Dealing with the past for me is war, refugees, hospital and chaos. I saw chaos in the society. I lived in parallel worlds: at the hospital, it was war. I was part of the war and this is why I think it's very important."*

*"Before I thought only the forums are dealing with the past. But then I learned that there are different ways to do that. It was very motivating for me to think what we can do about that in Macedonia. It's a very sensitive area, and a very important one for me."*

Obviously, the Tft was a precondition to sensitise and motivate participants to explore possibilities to work on dealing with the past. Taking into consideration the situation in countries of former Yugoslavia, where confronting past events, addressing war crimes, human rights violations, and injustice is a taboo on the political level as well as in wide parts of the societies, this is a crucial step. *Genuine initiatives* on the civil society level are needed in order to support the process of dealing with the past, but are *still the exception*. As the Tft program has stipulated motivation and interest in this process, it can be seen as a base and starting point for further initiatives in this field.

Actually, five participants got involved into the organisation of the forums with ex-combatants in their home towns and developed specific activities which accompanied those events. Two participants organised trainings for journalists before and after the forum in order to sensitise journalist as well as evaluate the work they did. Two participants organised an 'info table' in their town before the event and asked people who passed by to give a feedback on the question of the importance of dealing with the past. One participant moderated the forums.

*"At the forums, a lot of people can come and listen, see three different nations, who were on war and hear personal experiences. The participants of the forums are there as persons and individuals. That's important: I want people to understand that they have individuals in front of them, with names and surnames. It's an opportunity for people not to blame all the nation."*

*"I think, after the trainings (with journalists) we have to find a new model to follow up the event. People are still there."*

The successful cooperation between CNA and participants in the dealing with the past program not only represents a strong link between the dealing with the past and the Tft program line, by taking *concrete action*, it also *strongly contributed to strengthening the informal network*.

Three other elements of the training also seem to be very important for the dealing with the past program line: CNA's experience gained through the training in creating a *safe space* for an open discussion, which is indispensable for the concept of the forums, their experience in giving space for "*story telling*", which made the CNA team aware of the needs for story telling and provided them with deep insights and knowledge about important topics to be raised, and the *regional approach* of the organisation, which gives the much needed credibility in the context.

### **3.3 Findings related to Dealing with the Past**

The findings of this evaluation study reconfirm the importance of involving former combatants into a public debate in order to find constructive solutions how to deal with the past and the future. The author of this report considers the actual implementation of the 'dealing with the past' project as very effective and successful so far. The interviews conducted as well as information gathered from project documentation do underline that the project activities have contributed significantly to reaching the objectives of the "dealing with the past" project as defined by CNA. In order to support and explain this assessment, more detailed information is given in the following subchapters.

#### **3.3.1 Building of a pool of former combatants who would be constructively engaged in the process of dealing with the past and peacebuilding**

Since the start of the project in June 2002, 15 former soldiers participated in the project, although with different intensity. As lessons from the first pilot, it was learned that the motivation and proper selection of participants play a key role in establishing a positive relationship and trust between former combatants and peace activists.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> CNA members pointed out that in the first series of public forums in Serbia problems arose between them and two of the participants. It was mentioned that CNA members were even afraid that the debates were used as a means for political and nationalist agitation and felt the danger that their project could be "high jacked".

### ***Selection and motivation of participants***

The group of 13 former combatants that participated in the second phase with the two training seminars was more carefully selected. In the interviews all respondents mentioned that they either had already contacts with CNA (two of the interviewees did even participate in CNA's Basic Trainings before) or were suggested by friends that had already close contacts with CNA. In most of the cases, a meeting was arranged with CNA members before a final decision on their participation was taken.

CNA members mentioned that it was important to them (and to the participants) to have a group of former combatants whose regional background is somehow balanced. This complicated the process of selection. However, the actual composition of the group (3 Croats, 3 Serbs, 3 Bosniaks, 2 Bosniaks living in Croatia, 1 Croat from Bosnia and Herzegovina, 1 Serb from Republic Srpska) is quite balanced.

Some interviewees, and also visitors to the public forums, mentioned that they would like to see also Albanians participating in the program. However, given the still high tensions between Albanians and Serbs in South Serbia and Kosovo, and the recent increase of tensions in Macedonia, it might be difficult to include this group at the moment.

All interviewees mentioned that their motivation to participate in the project was very high. While some pointed at the necessity of the project from a more general point of view ("necessity of dialogue for peacebuilding", "education in nonviolence"), all shared a personal interest in the debate with other veterans, or as one interviewee has put it "to talk and to listen to people from the other side". The participation in the public forums was for all interview partners important too, because all have a particular interest to address the public, and want the public to listen to their stories.

After having participated in the trainings and at the public forum, it seemed that the motivation of the former combatants to continue in the project or participate in similar activities has considerably increased; some mentioned that explicitly during the interviews.

### ***Effectiveness of training***

Regarding the training seminars, most interviewees said that initially they had very low expectations. One of the interviewees described his feelings as follows:

*"I was sure that I will feel bad and that bad things would happen, not only regarding words, but also in terms of behaviour." Another interviewee said he personally was interested what would happen to him: "I wanted to see if it is possible for me to sit in front of people which I fought during the war. Is it really possible that we talk to each other?"*

All respondents claimed unanimously that the training was a very encouraging and positive experience for them and that their expectations were more than fulfilled. Some were very enthusiastic, mentioning, for example, that "the other participants were open and ready to hear the stories of others" or "I became aware of the complexity of the situation and got new perspectives from other sides also on an emotional level". Two interviewees, however, mentioned that there were also some difficult or "bad" things happening during the seminars, referring to what they name "provocative" or "polarizing" questions and opinions. It was further explained that this took place if participants were not seen as individuals but as members of a collective group.

After having been asked on the most important aspect of the training, the following answers, among others, were given:

*“For me it was the mutual understanding and positive thinking during these days.”*

*“Basically, talking with persons from the other side. And also, to get stories from other regions of war.”*

*“That we managed to create space in which the individual could openly express his own attitudes.”*

*“Getting the prove that there are more people that support the idea of dealing with the past.”*

*“The unofficial part of the training was very important to me. Former soldiers were eating together, even played football in a team. The normal political situation does not allow normal people to come together. But the people should determine how to live their lives.”*

All participants were satisfied with the venue – the first five-day seminar was held in Montenegro, on “neutral ground” –, the program and the atmosphere. Everyone gave high praise to the training team. The only things that were highlighted as a response to the question if they had missed something in the training were: more participants (one mentioned Albanians) and that the time between the seminars and the public forums was too long (five months).

Most interviewees agree that the seminars created strong bonds between the participants and initiated a group building process. One responded described that more cautiously:

*“One group of participants became a team, other participants are not yet members of that team, but might become part of the team in the future.”*

Another respondent estimated that 50% of the participants became members of a group, 25% are yet undecided, and 25% are probably out. All agreed that they do communicate with each other by phone, mail or email. Only one person said that he had contact to some participants only and – due to some technical problems – did not communicate with the others.

The former combatants were satisfied with the preparation by the training seminars for their participation in the public forums. Katarina Katanic, the facilitator of the first series of public forums in 2002 (before the training) and of the recent forums in 2003 (after the training) has seen a remarkable difference between these events. In order to describe the changes, she referred to the last public forum and named the following changes:

*“The messages from all speakers are very clear and more peace oriented...they are much more open...stories are based on personal experience and not connected to generalizations...I felt that they supported each other in that process...and this became also visible to the public.”*

### ***Impact of public forums (on the former combatants)***

Participation in the public forums is a major motivation for the former combatants to take part in the project. It seems that it is of personal importance to them to tell their story and address the public. Participation as a speaker gave rise to strong emotional, sometimes cathartic feelings. These emotions, that of course differ from speaker to speaker, are described by one interviewee in more detail: He said that he felt sadness, because he was reminded of the war consequences and the subsequent loss of features they all previously shared, and happiness, because he has the chance to speak things out in public. He furthermore said that he felt he can contribute to preventing further war with that kind of public discussions, and to do something good, that the discussions can motivate people from different sides to engage in a common process.

All speakers at public forums encountered very mixed reactions from their environments (the reactions from the audience of the public forums are covered in chapter 3.2). All said, however, that they receive support from their families and close friends. One interviewee mentioned that his participation was of special importance for his daughter who was psychologically strongly affected by his involvement in the war (and the fact that he was heavily wounded). However, there was also strong criticism, especially – as one interviewee mentioned – in small, very closed local communities. One speaker, for example, from Mostar in Bosnia-Herzegovina encountered heavy criticism from members of the local Croat community. Another speaker who is a faithful Muslim came under severe criticism by members of local Islamic/Islamist groups. However, both speakers emphasized that they are eager to discuss the issues at stake with their critics and do not consider to drop out of the project.

Another important feature of the public forums (and the trainings) was that by using individual stories and kind of common ground and shared experience was created among the former combatants. One speaker explained that this was mainly due to the usage of “I” messages instead of generalizations and abstraction as it is usual in public (nationalist) discourse and the media.

Finally, all interviewees agreed that participation in the project (public forums and training) brought changes to their personal lives. Asked about indicators to describe these changes some interviewees told personal stories that happened to them during the project and what they had never thought of being possible before. For example, two former combatants that were involved in fighting in the same region, but on different sides, have privately visited each other. One explained that since the project started he feels happier. Similarly, a former combatant described that he feels great relief because he has realized that he is a normal person that is able to have normal contacts with other people. Another former combatant said that the days after these events he is able to sleep well, whereas he normally has a lot of bad dreams. Other interviewees gave more general indicators, describing, for example, that they gained more openness toward the outside world or that they were encouraged to speak out things more openly.

### ***Future plans and involvement in peacebuilding***

All interviewees mentioned their interest in a further involvement in the project and to continue with peacebuilding activities. It seems, however, that these are mostly diffuse declarations of intent only and that the involvement of the war veterans in further peacebuilding activities depend to a high degree on a continuation of the project by CNA. However, some participants are already involved in NGO activities; one has already developed some concrete ideas to address nationalism in his community. One veteran participates in the current CNA Training for Trainers course.

### ***Personal relationship with CNA***

All war veterans interviewed gave high praise to CNA – to the individual team members, their training capabilities as well as the approach chosen for the ‘dealing with the past’ project. For some interviewees CNA seem to be important as a role model that motivates them to engage in peacebuilding activities. Two mentioned explicitly that non-violence was a strong message for them.

There is certainly a lot of trust and confidence placed in CNA. It seems that for some war veterans CNA members are considered as a kind of heroes and who will do everything for them. In this case, the veterans will have to learn in the mid run to take their own initiatives and responsibilities.



### ***Cooperation with veterans of war associations***

Everyone interviewed agreed that associations of war veterans are crucial actors. They do also play an important role concerning the “dealing with the past” project, because to a certain degree it is useful to make use of their potential assistance to the public debates and to make sure that they do not try to obstruct the event.

The participating war veterans are organized in different associations and these connections can fruitfully be exploited as was the case in Vlasotince where about half of the audience, e.g. 40-45 people, were from the two local veteran associations. The participants are organized in the following associations:

- Soldiers Association of Medvedja;
- Association of Defenders of Croatia;
- Association of Bosniak Defenders of the Croatian Homeland War;
- Association of Volunteers and Veterans of the Homeland War of the Croat Republic of Herzeg Bosnia.

As CNA has experienced, the cooperation with veterans of war associations depends very much on the individual persons of the association. In Serbia, CNA has full support from the board of one of the two major associations. Since the associations do compete for resources and power, it is difficult to cooperate with both. In Serbia, it seems to be particular difficult to cooperate with the associations at the local level. In other states of the region the opposite might be true. For example, in Croatia there seems to be a relative openness to similar approaches. Yet at the national level the Croatian associations are often linked to extremist and nationalist political groupings.

### **3.3.2 Initiating a regional process of self-critical public debate on the issue of past wars**

What were the impacts and results of the public forums so far? It is not realistic to expect that the project after one year and five months would have initiated a regional debate about past wars. Nevertheless it can be noted that media coverage as well as reactions from the audience of the public forums are very encouraging.

#### ***Media coverage***

The interest of the media to cover the public forums have been generally high. In all public forums press conferences were organized in advances, and often, the day after the forums a TV or radio appearance is taking place. In all panels, TV, radio and newspaper journalists were present. In most cases, the reports were printed and broadcasted.

On the other side, the media journalists were mostly from local media. Only a few articles appeared in national news magazines (e.g. Vreme). And only twice the speakers were invited to TV shows that were aired state-wide. Interestingly, the appearance in state TV took place in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Federal TV; TV of Republic Srpska). The public forums in Serbia during October were more encouraging in this regard. In Vlasotince, state television has reported, and Radio Free Europe covered the event in its online news magazine too. After Vlasotince and Novi Sad, it was reported that many people called the (regional) TV stations asking for a repeat of the reports on the panels. As a result, in Vlasotince a one-hour TV documentation was broadcasted five times in the days following the event.

The content of the media coverage proved clearly that this topic is a new one that was not tackled before. As already said, nearly all media reported, but they restricted themselves in nearly all cases in just reporting what actually happened at the public forums. Only very few sentences or words can be found that would give a positive or negative assessment of the events.

### **Audience**

The number of visitors to the public forum is adequate and oscillates between 40 and 100. It is doubtful whether more visitors would not negatively affect the level and quality of the discussions that usually follow the presentation of the individual stories of the four speakers.

The audience consists of different segments of society and include young peace activists, members of NGOs, war veterans, and members of local authorities. Often, the composition of the audience depends on who or which partner organization is organising the public forums. A panel in Vlasotince, South Serbia, for example, that was organised by a respected war veteran, many members of the local associations joined the discussion. In Novi Sad, Central Serbia, a local NGO ("Association for Nonviolent Action) organised the event and was very active in promoting and advertising the public forum. As a result, more than 100 people, among them war veterans and Serbian refugees (from Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina) came.

### **Content of discussions**

During the last public forum, at least half of the time was given to and spent for questions and general debate. The discussion was lively and mostly fair. In Novi Sad, the audience even intervened in cases of provocation. The topics of questions and discussion revolve around personal issues – ranging from questions on what the speakers would do if war broke out again and whether they really could feel empathy for the other side – to issues related to regional politics such as the international involvement, and especially the role of the international community in BiH and the war crime tribunal in The Hague. According to CNA, there are sometimes very clear peace messages voiced, for example, when someone in the audience is questioning the nationalist discourse and states that people have been misused by politicians.

### **Reactions (feedback box)**

The reactions the from audience are mixed, but in most cases very encouraging. Following are some examples of feedback given at the public forums held in the Serbian cities of Vlasotince and Novi Sad in October 2003. The examples are taken from filled-out feedback forms that participants posted in a feedback box after the discussions:<sup>21</sup>

*"The panels are more than necessary and are very commendable. But is it possible to have them in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina? Why is peacemaking and bearing with things, tolerance expected of Serbs and expected to start in Serbia?"*

*"I think the panel was very successful and of high quality. I have to admit that this is the first time I have participated in such a panel discussion and that I came with a certain sense of incredulity, believing the panel will have a national or a political accent, this was not the case, however, and I am glad about it."*

*"My impression is that the panel participants are more prepared to deal with the problem of the war than the audience, who has, taken part in everything to a certain extent."*

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<sup>21</sup> The translation was done by CNA.

*“Thank you for organizing this. My suggestions: bring journalists from all three sides to the ‘speakers’ table at some point too; audience should also include those who do not think the way we do, we who were present this evening. The problem are not those who do come to the panels, but the ones who were not present. Of course, it is still too early for such a thing, but do try!”*

This reactions, and the first one in particular are quite typical for public forums in Serbia, underlining the importance of a regional approach to peacebuilding. The suggestion to include more ‘hardliners’ and people with a more nationalist leaning, are also regularly posted.

### **3.3.3 Raising public awareness on the need to confront the past as a means for future violence prevention**

This long-term objective should be considered the overall goal of the project where the other two objective shall contribute to. It is, however, also outside the frame of what can be reasonably expected from the CNA project alone. Only if CNA links up with other organizations and initiatives in the field of dealing with past, it can be expected that public awareness on the importance of dealing with the past for peacebuilding and conflict transformation arises. As an indicator for success CNA suggests to look at the activities of local partner organisations in further pursuing of the issue of Dealing with the Past in their communities. It is suggested to extent this indicator and to include the question whether CNA is able to continue and probably to extent the ‘dealing with the past’ approach and what options for a sustainability are given.

#### ***Long term planning***

At the time of conducting this evaluation study, CNA did not have a medium or long term plan for the project. For 2004, it was planned to held a further round of public forums in Bosnia and Herzegovina and to explore the possibility of producing a TV/video documentary. Furthermore, CNA considered assisting partner organisations in Croatia in case they manage to start off with the approach. Other activities are not planned so far. However, in December 2003 CNA is going to organize a meeting with partner organizations in order to discuss how to continue with the project. As a result of this meeting it can be expected that CNA will some more precise ideas whether and how dealing with the past would be incorporated into the medium- and long-term planning.

#### ***Sustainability***

As a small organization with two offices and a regional approach to peacebuilding, CNA’s resources are rather limited. Furthermore, CNA’s basic activities are related to training and educational work. Therefore, it can not be expected that CNA is able to extent considerably the ‘dealing with the past’ project. In the past CNA has already experienced a lot of exhaustion and frustration due to work overload resulting from initiating and implementing public forums. In order to extent this promising approach, other organisations have to be included and the linkages between CNA’s training activities and the work with war veterans have to be exploited most effectively.

Partner organization of CNA do already play an important role in organizing the events. In the last round of public forums, CNA was assisted by participants of CNA’s training programme and their respective organizations. It seems that this works well. In Novi Sad the local partner organization was very active in promoting and organizing the public forums. After the lessons learned of the first pilot phase, partner organizations are also encouraged to suggest and plan their own activities. The partner organizations for the planned (at the time of writing) public forums in Montenegro, for example, intend to

organize small workshops for the journalists in advance in order to prepare and sensitise them for the topic.

Due to its intensive training program, CNA has already a huge regional network of individuals and organizations. The question how these actors can be integrated into the ‘dealing with the past’ project will be discussed during the network meeting in December.

### 3.4 Other findings

#### ***CNA as a learning organization***

Finally, it should be mentioned that CNA places high emphasis on two principles that are very important for the encouraging implementation of the ‘dealing with the past’ project, namely *transparency* and the emphasis on *learning from experience*. It became obvious during the interviews with war veterans that one of the reasons why they place high trust and respect in CNA is related to the fact that the motivation for and implementation of the project is based on a high degree of openness and transparency. Related to that is CNA’s interest to learn from experience, thereby taking the war veterans and their opinions very serious. As part of its self-evaluation CNA does not only discuss the projects internally, but follows the principle to ask for feedback and suggestions after all major activities and to adapt its projects and program accordingly. Project results and documentation are in most cases accessible to the public.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> Many documents, for example, can be downloaded in different languages from CNA’s website.

## **4 Recommendations**

### **4.1 The Training for Trainer program**

#### **General Recommendation**

The CNA team has been discussing from time to time to focus on one specific target group or to also work on a more local level, in order to better address specific needs. Taking into consideration the capacities of the organization and the existing training concept, which proved to have a very high positive impact, CNA should continue to work on the regional level as well as with participants of different professional background.

#### **Multiplication**

In order to improve a more systematic multiplication in the context, the importance of the working context and the position of an applicant should probably be re-assessed. But even though this issue could be addressed to a certain degree, the dilemma of having to choose in between high motivation and position will remain. Especially if one takes into consideration, that "seminar tourism" among members of NGOs is wide spread in the region.

Until now, systematic multiplication was focused on participants becoming a trainer. Even though this focus should remain, CNA might discuss offering concrete examples of and raising awareness about other instruments / actions for peace building among participants, as opportunities to continue working as a trainer are limited.

#### **Networking**

The informal network created through the trainings clearly has an empowering and supporting effect, where CNA has a low profile. Nevertheless, CNA should discuss deeper about the advantages and disadvantages of a more formalised network, because this network could develop a higher profile, possibly mobilise more people to take actions for specific aims and have a higher impact on the wider public.

The cooperation with participants in the dealing with the past program also showed, that concrete action is fostering networking and cooperation. Therefore, exploring possibilities for further action in one specific field (dealing with the past) will most probably strengthen the network. Additionally, it would allow to include persons into the network who are not becoming a trainer.

CNA should also discuss possibilities for strengthening cooperation with strategic partners in the region.

### **4.2 Linkages between TtT & Dealing with the Past**

CNA has a rather unique position in the region because of it's regional approach (credibility) and the experiences made in creating a safe space for "story telling". Therefore, it should further capitalize this experiences and continue with it's strategy of dealing with the past by "story telling". CNA might think of different groups being involved into "story telling" (women, refugees, family members of missing persons), or might pass on their knowledge to organisations working with this groups. There is a huge need to train those groups in non-violent conflict transformation, and participants of TtT are well placed to provide trainings.

The TtT proved to be a good starting point for genuine motivation and initiatives to work in the field of dealing with the past. A further discussion about how to structurally support those activities at the beginning (e.g. by developing further fundraising strategies) would strengthen local initiatives and the network.

In order to deepen the link between both program lines, a further discussion about putting more emphasise on different conceptual approaches to dealing with the past into the trainings might be useful. Even though dealing with the past is already included in the training as a topic, and CNA is planning to include one session on dealing with the past into the 'Basic Training', a more elaborated understanding of different approaches, instruments and possible actions would help participants of TtT to get a clearer picture about the whole process and develop ideas for action.

### **4.3 Dealing with the Past**

#### **General Recommendations**

It is strongly recommended that CNA continues with the 'dealing with the past' project. War veterans and their association are an important group to work with, especially in the context of dealing with the past as a central part of peacebuilding in the region of former Yugoslavia. The evaluation study has shown that the project design is adequate, that the objectives are reasonable and that CNA in terms of commitment and professionalism is very capable to implement the planned activities. Against the background that a regional approach is necessary for the project there are only few organizations in the Balkan region who would be able and capable to implement a similar project. Furthermore, CNA was also able to build trust with the war veterans on personal level, which is due to the sensitive nature of the approach another precondition for success.

In order to create the preconditions to involve more war veterans in public discussions (or other activities) it is suggested to broaden the pool by selecting new participants. The sensitisation trainings have proven to be very successful and effective and thus should be continued. However, since the evaluation has shown that the participation in the public forums was the main motivation to join the project, the problem arises that with more former soldiers trained, CNA has also to take responsibility for subsequent activities. Also, the time between the trainings and the public forums should not be too long.

#### **Options for a medium-term perspective**

One option to extend the 'dealing with the past' project is to encourage and assist the self-organization of the veterans. CNA would gradually leave the responsibility to plan and organize the public forums with an organization established by the war veterans. Instead, CNA would assist them in capacity-building (particularly through training and organizational development) and fund-raising.

Another option to extend the 'dealing with the past' project is to increase significantly the financial and human resources available to CNA. This option seems to require a partnership between CNA and a major international organization working with former soldiers in the Balkan region. However, the question remains whether such a partnership would not negatively affect CNA's legitimacy in the eyes of the target groups as it might be viewed as another form of foreign involvement.

### **Raising public awareness**

In order to save resources CNA should focus on using the mass media to reach, firstly, a broader audience, and, secondly, to increase the quality of reporting. One option that CNA is already considering is to produce a TV/video documentary that might be broadcasted by national TV stations. The other option is to find ways to sensitise journalists from major TV stations for the project and raise their interest in documenting it. This might require networking with journalists who already participated in one of CNA's trainings or probably to hire a professional media advisor in 2004.

### **Networking**

Partner organizations play a crucial role in the actual implementation of the public forums. CNA is already considering to involve them more in the project and its implementation. This process could be facilitated by giving this particular dealing with the past approach more prominence in the training activities (especially the Tft). Furthermore, war veterans should be encouraged to join other trainings.

The associations of war veterans are very important but difficult partners in the project. In Serbia, CNA was successful in getting wide-ranging support from one of the major associations. However, the potential of linking with war veteran associations is not fully exploited and should be explored. One suggestion is to make increasingly use of the personal contacts of the participants and to pay particular attention to this issue when new potential participants of the project are selected in 2004.

### **Other recommendations**

Given that a high percentage of war veterans are deeply traumatized and that the 'dealing with the past' project addresses very private and sensitive topics, CNA should consider strengthening its capacities in this area. It is suggested that one or two members of CNA's training team participate in a basic training on psycho-social counselling for medical stuff and multipliers (eg. social workers).

## Appendix I:

### Contact details CNA

#### CENTAR ZA NENASILNU AKCIJU CENTRE FOR NONVIOLENT ACTION

OFFICE IN SARAJEVO	OFFICE IN BELGRADE
<p>Address: CNA - Centar za nenasilnu akciju Radnicka 104 71000 Sarajevo BiH</p> <p>Tel: +387 33 212-919, 267-880 Fax: +387 33 212-919</p> <p>E-mail: <a href="mailto:cna.sarajevo@nenasilje.org">cna.sarajevo@nenasilje.org</a></p>	<p>Address: CNA - Centar za nenasilnu akciju Studentski trg 8 11000 Beograd SCG</p> <p>Tel: +381 11 637-603, 637-661, 637-715 Fax: +381 11 637-603</p> <p>E-mail: <a href="mailto:cna.beograd@nenasilje.org">cna.beograd@nenasilje.org</a></p>

Internet: [www.nenasilje.org](http://www.nenasilje.org)



## Appendix II:

### Schedule of Evaluation: Dealing with the Past

Date	Activity	Place
20.10.	Arrival	Berlin-Belgrade
21.10.	Interviews with CNA BG staff	Belgrade
22.10.	Interviews with CNA staff; Interview Natascha M. from QPSW Interview with Ursula R. (ORL) Interview with former combatant (K.B.)	Belgrade
23.10.	Review of documentation (interviews, media reports) of former public forums Interviews with CNA staff Sarajevo office	Belgrade
24.10.	Transfer to Vlasotince Observation/Public Forum	Vlasotince/South Serbia
25.10.	Interview with former combatant (N.K.) Interview with Natascha Z. (Swiss Embassy/co-evaluator for Tft program) and coordination of evaluation design and methodology Transfer to Belgrad	Vlasotince
26.10.	Interviews with former combatants (G. B., N.K.)	Belgrade
27.10.	Analysis of Documentation CNA office Belgrade Transfer to Sarajevo	Belgrade Sarajevo
28.10.	Interviews with CNA staff Sarajevo Interviews with former combatants (A. H., D. S., R. Z.)	Sarajevo
29.10.	Flight to Belgrad Interview with Katarina Katanic	Belgrade
30.10.	Reflection	Belgrade
31.10.	Presentation and Discussion of preliminary Results Departure	Belgrade-Berlin

## Appendix III:

### Schedule of Evaluation: Training for Trainers

Date	Person	Place
<b>28th October</b>		
	Nedžad Horozović, CNA Sarajevo	Vlasotince
	Tamara Šmidling, CNA Sarajevo	Vlasotince
<b>3rd November</b>		
	Predrag Azdejković (Serbia), TtT Emilija Andrejević, colleague	Belgrade
	Helena Rill, CNA Belgrade	Belgrade
<b>4th November</b>		
	Dragana Vujinović (Serbia & Montenegro), TtT Melena Panić, colleague Bobana Macanović, colleague	Belgrade
	Radomir Radević (Montenegro), TtT	Belgrade
	Lidija Zeković (Montenegro), TtT	Belgrade
<b>6th November</b>		
	Nenad Vukosavljevic, CNA Belgrade	Belgrade
<b>7th November</b>		
	Sanja Dimitrijević (Serbia), TtT	Novi Sad
	Danica Novaković (Serbia), TtT Eleonora Cabradi Sijačić, colleague Kosana Nikolić, colleague	Novi Sad
	Ivana Franovic, CNA Belgrade	Belgrade
<b>8th November</b>		
	Nevena Zuber (Croatia), TtT	Belgrade
	Pero Gabud (Croatia), TtT	Belgrade
	Katarina Katanić (Serbia)	Belgrade
	Alma Džafić (BiH), TtT	Belgrade
<b>9th November</b>		
	Tijana Gnjidić (Serbia), TtT	Belgrade
	Čedomir Mančić (Serbia), TtT	Belgrade
<b>12th November</b>		
	Gordana Pirkovska Zmijanac (Macedonia), TtT	Skopje
<b>13th November</b>		
	Blerim Jashari (Macedonia), TtT	Tetovo

## Appendix IV

### List of interview partners (Dealing with the Past)

(in chronological order; place and date of interviews in brackets)

Nenad Vukosavljevic, CNA team member, Belgrade office (Belgrade, 21.10.2003)  
Ivana Franovic, CNA team member, Belgrade office (Belgrade, 21.10.2003)  
Helena Rill, CNA team member, Belgrade office (Belgrade, 22.10.2003)  
Milan Colic, CNA team member, Belgrade office (Belgrade, 22.10.2003)  
Natasha Milenkovic, Representative of Quaker Peace and Social Witness in Serbia and Montenegro, (Belgrade, 22.10.2003)  
Ursula Renner, project coordinator of a psycho-social counselling project for war veterans and victims of war in Southern Serbia (Belgrade, 22.10.2003)  
K. B. former combatant, participant in the 'dealing with the past' project (Belgrade, 22.10.2003)  
Tamara Smidling, CNA team member, Sarajevo office (Belgrade, 23.10.2003)  
Nedžad Horozovic, CNA team member, Sarajevo office (Belgrade, 23.10.2003)  
N. K., former combatant, participant in the 'dealing with the past' project (Vlasotince/South Serbia, 25.10.2003)  
G. B., peace activist and as former combatant participant in the 'dealing with the past' project (Belgrade, 26.10.2003)  
N. K., former combatant, participant in the 'dealing with the past' project (Belgrade, 26.10.2003)  
Adnan Hasanbegovic, CNA team member, Sarajevo office and as former combatant participant in the 'dealing with the past' project (Sarajevo, 28.10.2003)  
Sanja Deankovic, CNA team member, Sarajevo office (Sarajevo, 28.10.2003)  
R. Z., former combatant, participant in the 'dealing with the past' project (Sarajevo, 28.10.2003)  
D. S., former combatant, participant in the 'dealing with the past' project (Sarajevo, 28.10.2003)  
Katarina Katanic, Journalist, moderated several public forums with ex-combatants (Belgrade, 29.10.2003)

## Appendix V:

### Questionnaire (Dealing with the Past)

#### Questionnaire (Participant of Training for former Combatants)

Name:

Place:

Date:

#### **A. Background**

1. Personal data

Regional origin, member of former armed forces, member of a veteran association, what function

2. How did you learn about CNA and the project “Dealing with the Past”? What attracted you?

3. What was your initial motivation to join the training/speaker group?

#### **B. Questions related to the training**

4. Were your expectations met?

5. What was most important for you

6. What did you miss?

7. Was the format of the training appropriate (number of participants, atmosphere; trainers, venue, schedule, etc.)?

#### **C. Impact of the training**

8. For you personally, what did the training change? (how to indicate changes?)

9. According to your personal understanding: What is the most important component of peacebuilding?

10. According to your personal understanding: What is the most important component of the program “Dealing with the Past”? / peacebuilding?

11. To whom did you talk after the training? What kind of reactions did you encounter?

12. Would you like to receive further trainings? Why?

*FOR SPEAKERS OF PUBLIC FORUMS ONLY*

*A. When did you decide to participate in the public forums?*

*B. Do you feel the training prepared you properly?*

*C. According to you: What is the aim of the public forums?*

*D. Do you feel, the public forums do make an impact on participants/the public at large?*

*E. What did it change for you, how did it impact on you (please, indicate changes)*

*F. Do you want to continue in the program? What kind of assistance would you need?*

*G. On the more general level of Dealing with the Past: What could be improved?*

#### **D. Future involvement in peacebuilding activities**

13. Would you like to contribute more to the topics of peacebuilding and Dealing with the Past? Do you have concrete ideas or plan?

14. What would you need to contribute?

15. How do you perceive peacebuilding organizations; especially, CNA?

16. Do you know about other activities, peacebuilding programmes conducted by CNA?

#### **E. Role and importance of veteran associations**

17. How do you perceive the importance of veteran associations in the context of Dealing with the Past?

18. What do you think is needed to do in order to strengthen/build relationships between Veterans Associations and Peace organisations?

19. Whom do you - within your environment - perceive as potential ally for their future engagement in the field of peacebuilding/Dealing with the Past?

#### **F. Other ideas or suggestions**

## Appendix VI:

### List of Participants (TfT)

	Name	Place	Organisation
1.	Radomir Radević	Podgorica, Montenegro	Youth NGO
2.	Lidija Zeković	Kotor, Montenegro	Youth NGO
3.	Blerim Jashari	Tetovo, Macedonia	Youth NGO
4.	Gordana Pirkovska Zmijanac	Skopje, Macedonia	Children NGO
5.	Danica Novaković	Novi Sad, Serbia / Vojvodina	Journalis + NGO
6.	Čedomir Mančić	Zemun, Serbia	Political party
7.	Dragana Vujinović	Belgrade, Serbia	Women NGO
8.	Sanja Dimitrijević	Novi Sad, Serbia / Vojvodina	Political party + Women NGO + CR
9.	Predrag Azdejković	Smederevo, Serbia	Political Party + Gay Activist
10.	Tijana Gnjidić	Sombor, Serbia / Vojvodina	NGO
11.	Katarina Katanić	Kragujevac, Serbia	Journalist
12.	Alma Džafić	Prijedor, Bosnia	Pedaagogue
13.	Nevenka Zuber	Karlovac, Croatia	Human Rights NGO
14.	Petar Gabud	Zaprešić, Croatia	Anit War NGO
15.	Šehida Miftari	Prizren, Kosovo	OSCE, HR Department