

Oliver Wils

# War Veterans and Peacebuilding

A Pilot Project of the

# in Former Yugoslavia

Centre for Nonviolent Action (CNA)

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Berghof Occasional Paper Nr. 24  
February 2004  
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<http://www.berghof-center.org/>

ISSN 1432-4016

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# 1 Background to the Dealing with the Past project

## 1.1 The potential contribution of war veterans to peacebuilding in former Yugoslavia

The disintegration of Yugoslavia that began in 1991 killed at least 150,000 people and forced more than four million (almost a quarter of the pre-war population) to flee their homes in the following decade of warfare.<sup>1</sup> Although regional peace agreements were enforced by the international community, the war experience left the respective societies deeply traumatised. The political situation in most of the states in the region is still unstable and marked by a negative (or cold) peace.

In this context, approaches to ‘dealing with the past’<sup>2</sup> are key for sustainable peacebuilding and reconciliation. Given that there are still high levels of violence

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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> 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)).

Lederach is in favour of combining forgiveness with justice and truth. 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 John Paul Lederach (1995): *Preparing for Peace: Conflict Transformation across Cultures*, Syracuse: University Press, p. 20.

and tensions within and between states in the region, initiatives for ‘dealing with the past’ also contribute to crisis prevention. There are, of course, several approaches to ‘dealing with the past’ which have already been initiated at different levels: The most prominent is certainly related to the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia in The Hague and the associated discussions, but there are also influential nationalist political discourses about the course and causalities of the war. There are also civil society initiatives dealing with victims of war, such as IDPs and refugees, while others document human rights abuses, etc. However, the number of public discussions on the past is still very limited and the inclusion of societal actors is rare. It also seems that most of the discussions simply reproduce and reinforce the widespread notion of victimhood, 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 their number, former combatants are a huge group, but politically they tend to be marginalised to a high degree, especially in Serbia where the feeling of lost wars is widespread. Furthermore, many war veterans suffer from personal losses and traumatisation.<sup>3</sup> As a result of this traumatisation, combined with the lack of public recognition and empathy, former combatants are motivated to participate in activities enabling them to address their war experiences to a 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 peacebuilding.

Furthermore, war veterans motivated to participate in a constructive dialogue about war experiences serve as important multipliers, especially if they are active in

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<sup>3</sup> Trauma is understood to have an individual and a collective dimension. David Becker, for example, gives the following framework for trauma: it implies a notion of tearing, rupture, of structural breakdown; it can only be defined and understood with reference to a specific context, which must be described in detail; it is a process that develops sequentially; it contains both an individual intrapsychic dimension and a collective, macro-social dimension that are interwoven; see David Becker: *Dealing with the Consequences of Organised Violence in Trauma Work*, in: **A. Austin/M. Fischer/N. Ropers** (ed): *Transforming Ethnopolitical Conflict: The Berghof Handbook*, (forthcoming), p. 423. According to this classification, it becomes clear that it is very difficult to assess the level of traumatisation in the societies of former Yugoslavia. However, Ursula Renner, who coordinates a psycho-social counselling project in Southern Serbia, estimates that at least one third of Serbian war veterans do show symptoms of traumatisation.

war veteran associations to which most of their fellow former combatants belong. Peacebuilding activities with war veterans address not only the public at large but also the war veterans themselves. 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 have links with the criminal milieu. So while it is important to work with this target group, there are also certain risks involved. War veteran associations might block or hinder dialogue activities or instrumentalise them for an extremist agenda.

Nevertheless, those former soldiers who agree to engage in constructive dialogue have the potential to explore common ground and build bridges between the different national and religious groups in former Yugoslavia. The Centre for Nonviolent Action has developed an approach where former soldiers from different sides of the war present and critically reflect on their experiences in front of public audiences. This approach is based on individual stories that help to underline commonalities as well as individual responsibilities. As such, the public forums 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 was set up in Sarajevo in 1997 as the regional branch of the “Bildungs- und Begegnungsstätte für gewaltfreie Aktion - KURVE Wustrow”. In terms of its activities and programme planning, however, CNA operates independently of the German branch. In August 2001, a second office opened in Belgrade. However, the staff of both offices jointly plan activities and work as one team.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> For more detailed information about the history, mission and activities of CNA 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).

CNA has a stated mission to contribute “to peacebuilding through education and networking in nonviolent conflict transformation in the region of former Yugoslavia.” Its main activities are:

- educational work in nonviolent conflict transformation with potential multipliers across the region;
- furthering cross-regional networks;
- supporting and advising partner organisations.

CNA’s major area of activity is training: In the period 1997-2003, sixteen Basic Training workshops (each lasting ten days) were held in various places in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Montenegro, with participants coming from all former Yugoslavia. CNA also conducted three Training for Trainer (TfT) courses (each lasting 6 months) and, after an extension of the programme in 2002, another one-year TfT course.

CNA’s main target group are young adults, aged between 20 and 35 years, working in NGOs, political parties, youth organisations and centres or as journalists and teachers. In 2001, CNA decided to include former soldiers in its activities.

CNA has a staff of eight activists, with Belgrade and Sarajevo offices having four staff each. The funding is provided by private donations, the *Diakonisches Werk*, the German Federal Foreign Office, the Swiss Federal Department of Foreign Affairs (DFA), the Berghof Foundation and others. Since 2003, CNA Belgrade has also been supported through the Civil Peace Service (ZFD) programme of the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ).

### **1.3 The Dealing with the Past project**

CNA considered working with ex-combatants from the different war regions of former Yugoslavia for some years. This was partly due to the fact that participants in training workshops repeatedly announced that they had been involved in the fighting. Also, one member of the CNA staff himself had a combatant history as a conscript in the Bosnian Army. In parallel to setting up a second office in Belgrade, the idea of giving space to different perceptions and individual stories connected to the Yugoslav wars arose.

As a pilot phase, a series of public forums were conducted in Serbia in 2002. After a initial evaluation, the concept was subsequently modified. Major changes to the programme included, firstly, increasing the motivation and contribution of local partner organisations and getting support from war veteran associations at national level; secondly, selecting the participating former combatants more carefully; and thirdly, creating an element of trust and a 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 *Republika Srpska*), two workshops with former combatants were held in Montenegro and Bosnia and Herzegovina, and a further round of public forums is currently being 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 this overall goal through the following three objectives:<sup>5</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 of future violence prevention.

The main activities of the project are:

- Selecting and sensitising former combatants through workshops for participation in the project;

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<sup>5</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 questioning of personal and collective responsibility for wars as a precondition for reconciliation; including former combatants and their organisation in the peacebuilding process".

- Networking with war veterans' associations;
- Organising public forums where four soldiers with different regional backgrounds 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 supported by the German Federal Foreign Office (*Auswärtiges Amt*; AA) and the Swiss Federal Department of Foreign Affairs (DFA). While the Federal Foreign Office mainly funds the preparatory training workshops for the former combatants, the public forums themselves are financed by the Federal Department of Foreign Affairs in Switzerland (which is seen as a neutral and non-NATO state).

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

During June 2002, a series of public forums entitled *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 who had participated in wars in the region of former Yugoslavia: Adnan Hasanbegovic from Sarajevo, G. B. from Zagreb, and N. J. and S. D., both from Belgrade. The facilitator was Katarina Katanic, a TV journalist and also a participant in one of CNA's Basic Training workshops. She later participated in the Training for Trainers programme. The forums were organised in Indija (3 June), Niš (12 June), Novi Pazar (17 June) and Kragujevac (24 June).

Discussions were structured in advance, according to the goals CNA and the former soldiers had defined as priorities and planned to cover during the debates. The debates were entitled: "From the past: *How I found myself in war*, towards the future: *How to reach sustainable peace?*" The course of the debates followed this structure. After the introduction, the speakers answered the question how they have found themselves in war and what they felt. In the second part, they expressed their views on dealing with the past, and obstacles and chances for creating sustainable peace in the regions they come from. In the third part, they had discussions with the

audience. Visitors could ask questions, express their own opinions and talk about their own experiences. Finally, the speakers answered the question on the next steps towards sustainable peace. Visitors were offered a guest box for written messages to the organisers and speakers in the debates.

The number of visitors to the public forums varied only slightly and numbered between 50 and 70. The reactions were quite mixed, and were often very encouraging. The day after the events took place, CNA team members collected further statements on the public forums through random interviews.<sup>6</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 broadcast and covered in the media. However, most of the journalists were reporting for the local media only.<sup>7</sup>

Especially during the first pilot phase in Serbia, CNA had also to deal with obstruction and resistance to the project. For example, during one debate a journalist seriously questioned the credibility of the panel moderator and mentioned her past employment in a newspaper close to the Milosevic regime. In this situation, it was very important that CNA could rely on the trust that had already developed between them and the moderator, partly as a result of her participation in one of CNA's Basic Training workshops. There was also a serious attempt by the right-wing faction of the local war veterans association to obstruct the panel debate. However, CNA decided to hold the debate as planned and invited the troublemakers to participate, which they did in part. In the end, the discussion proved to be successful, with very few provocations.

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 the credibility of the public forums);

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<sup>6</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>7</sup> Details on media coverage can also be found at CNA's website.

- Stronger involvement by local organisations and institutions in the organisation of the panels is necessary;
- Better time management of the forums and increased focus on topics related to the future during discussions (“How to reach sustainable peace”).

Another lesson that CNA learned was how important it is to find the right speakers for the public forums. Some of the first speakers held public positions (one was the vice-president of one of the two major Serbian war veteran associations; another was a historian) and, according to CNA, there was a feeling that they tried to instrumentalise the forums for their own purposes. It was therefore concluded that it was necessary to prepare the speakers better and not overlook the process of mutual empowerment between the speakers at the public forums themselves. This, combined with the desire to draw on a pool of former combatants, led to the idea of conducting preparatory training workshops with the former combatants. CNA also started to make use of personal recommendations and the huge network it had established through its training programmes to find former soldiers who were willing to participate and open to peacebuilding approaches.

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

In 2003, two further public forums were organised in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The first one was held in Zenica (Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina) on 15 March. It was organised in cooperation with the partner organisation Sezam from Zenica. The second forum was organised in Banja Luka (*Republika Srpska*) on 30 March with assistance from the Centre for Informative Decontamination of Youth. The speakers at the forums were Adnan Hasanbegovic and N. K. from Sarajevo, both former members of the Bosnia and Herzegovina Army, N. G. from Banja Luka and former member of the *Republika Srpska* Army, R. Z. from Mostar and former member of the Croatian Defence Council (participated in Zenica), and D. S. from Sarajevo and former member of the *Republika Srpska* Army.

The reaction of the audience and the media varied widely. In Zenica, about one hundred visitors came to the forum. Most of them were young people and NGO activists. The media showed high interest: Federal TV even initiated a TV panel discussion that was broadcast directly after the main evening news. In Banja Luka,

only 40-50 people attended the forum; however, many representatives of the media were present.

Reflecting upon the two forums in Bosnia and Herzegovina, CNA felt highly motivated to continue with the project, due to the open discussions and encouraging statements from the audience and the media. However, given that CNA is a relatively small organisation with limited human resources, the problem of organising the forums remained unresolved and led to a high degree of exhaustion among staff members.

### ***Training workshops***

In April and June 2003, two seminars were conducted with former combatants. The basic goals related to these training seminars were defined by CNA as follows:<sup>8</sup>

- Exchanging experiences and opinions between peace activists and former soldiers, and working on tearing down the stereotype that only peace activists are for peace, and that warriors are for war;
- Including former soldiers in peace processes and bringing peace activities closer to this section of the population;
- Sensitising for violence and its consequences (from personal towards social level);
- Forming a group of ex-soldiers as a basis for the teams of participants for future panels.

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

Major components of this seminar included communication, perception, violence, personal experiences related to the war, peacebuilding, simulation of panels, and fears and expectations regarding participation in the process of dealing with the past. During the workshop, the motivation of the combatants and their

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<sup>8</sup> See CNA, Sarajevo office, 3-month report, March 2003 – May 2003, p. 9. The report can be found CNA's website.

desire to exchange their experience and 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-day workshop was held in Bjelašnica (*Republika Srpska*) from 6-9 June. This seminar focussed on refreshing the experiences of the first seminar, clarifying expectations and motives, sensitisation and empathy for the fears, needs and perspectives of other participants/members of other ethnic groups, simulation of interviews, joint analysis and feedback, and planning of future activities, especially with regard to participation in public forums.

The pool of former combatants who were 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)
- Herzegovinan-Croat Army (1)
- Croat Army (5)

The former combatants are organised in the following organisations:

- Soldiers Association of Medveda
- 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 Bosna

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

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

At the time of 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 24 October and another one in Novi Sad (North Serbia) at 28 October. A third 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, to continue organising public forums in Bosnia and Herzegovina and to assist its Croatian partner organisation, the *Centre for Peace Studies*, in initiating forums in Croatia.

## **2 Goals and methods of the evaluation study**

### ***Aims of this evaluation***

The CNA team gives high priority to reflection and self-evaluation in order to improve and adapt its work on a continuous basis. From the very 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 carried out by Martina Fischer, focussing on the training concept, training methods, impact of the training on participants (multiplication), networking effects and external perceptions of CNA.<sup>9</sup> As the Training for Trainers programme (TfT) was extended and a new programme series on Dealing with the Past was included in the organisation's activities in 2002, CNA, together with the Berghof Center, decided to carry out an evaluation in order to document the activities of the Dealing with the Past project so far and assess the impacts achieved during the first phase. It was also agreed that the evaluation study should focus on the progress made in reaching the three major objectives of the project. Finally, the evaluation would assist CNA in its efforts to develop the approach further and identify areas where Dealing with the Past could be integrated more fully into, or linked more effectively with, CNA's ongoing programme of training in nonviolent action.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> See **Martina Fischer** 2001, op. cit.

<sup>10</sup> In parallel to this evaluation study, a second evaluation was done by Natascha Zupan focussing on the Training for Trainers programme. See the (unpublished) joint evaluation report: Dealing with the Past and Conflict Transformation in former Yugoslavia. A report conducted by the Berghof Research Center for CNA, January 2004.

## ***Methods***

The evaluation took place in October 2003 during a series of panel debates in Serbia. It comprised a two-day preparatory phase with information collection (project documents, self-evaluations, etc.) and a 11-day field trip where qualitative, semi-structured interviews were held with CNA team members, seven former soldiers/speakers in the panel debates, and external resource persons. The evaluator also took part in one panel debate and reviewed project documentation. The preliminary findings were discussed with CNA.

## ***Content and issues in the evaluation***

### **1. 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 the participating ex-soldiers.

### **2. Partial analysis of actors and context**

Veteran associations are very important actors, not only as multipliers and partners in the Dealing with the Past project. However, they might also be a source of opposition/obstruction. Therefore, former soldiers who participated as speakers in the public forums were asked about the reactions they got from members of the veteran associations. They were also asked how they view the opportunities and difficulties associated with the possible involvement of these associations in the project.

### **3. Participatory assessment of the capacities of the implementing organisation (CNA) and opportunities 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 in the project were explored.

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

- 1) “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”;
- 2) “Initiating a regional process of self-critical public debate on the issue of past wars”;
- 3) “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 in achieving the objectives, CNA has defined the following indicators:

*With regard to objective 1:*

- Level and quality of achieved links with war veteran associations.
- Inclusion of former combatants, and representatives of war veteran organisations in training programmes in nonviolent conflict transformation.

*With regard to objective 2:*

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

*With regard to objective 3:*

- Activity of local partner organisations in pursuing the issue of Dealing with the Past further 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 is a mid-term and the third a long-term objective.

### **3 Findings**

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

The following subchapters are structured according to the objectives.

#### **3.1 Building a pool of former combatants from BiH, Croatia and Yugoslavia**

Since the start of the project in June 2002, fifteen former soldiers have participated in the project, albeit with different levels of intensity. A number of lessons were learned from the first pilot. For example, it was recognised 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>11</sup>

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

The group of thirteen former combatants who participated in the second phase with the two training seminars was selected more carefully. Potential candidates were identified through CNA's training network or other professional and personal

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<sup>11</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 there was a danger that their project could be "highjacked".

contacts. In the interviews, all respondents mentioned that they either already had contacts with CNA (two of the interviewees had even participated in CNA's Basic Training before) or were suggested by friends who already had close contacts with CNA. In most 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 fairly well-balanced. This complicated the process of selection. However, the actual composition of the group (three Croats, three Serbs, three Bosniaks, three Bosniaks living in Croatia, one Croat from Bosnia and Herzegovina, one Serb from *Republika Srpska*) is quite balanced.

Some interviewees, as well as visitors to the public forums, mentioned that they would like to see Albanians participating in the programme as well. 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 too 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 to the need for 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 put it "to talk and to listen to people from the other side". The participation in the public forums was important for all interview partners too, because all have a particular interest in addressing the public and want the public to listen to their stories.

After having participated in the training workshops and 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 this explicitly during the interviews.

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

As regards 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 in what would happen to him: “I wanted to see if it is possible for me to sit in front of people who I fought during the war. Is it really possible that we could 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 called “provocative” or “polarising” questions and opinions. It was further explained that this took place when participants were not seen as individuals but as members of a collective group.

When asked about 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 proof that there are more people who 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 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 programme and the atmosphere. Everyone gave high praise to the training team. The only things that were highlighted as a response to the question whether they felt anything was lacking in the training were,

firstly, more participants (one mentioned Albanians) and that the time between the seminars and the panel debates was too long (five months).

### **Major topics of the training**

*Five-days training in Ulcinj / Montenegro:* communication, perception, violence, personal experiences related to the war, peacebuilding, simulation of panels, fears and expectations

*Two-and-a-half-day workshop in Bjelašnica/Republika Srpska:* Sensitisation to the needs and perspectives of other participants/members of other ethnic groups (“The other view”), simulation of interviews and joint analysis and feedback, and planning of future activities

Most interviewees agree that the seminars created strong bonds between the participants and initiated a group building process. One of them described this 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 still undecided, and 25% are probably outsiders. All agreed that they communicate with each other by phone, mail or e-mail. Only one person said that he only had contact with some participants and – due to various technical problems – did not communicate with the others.

The former combatants were satisfied with the training seminars as preparation for their participation in the public forums. Katarina Katanić, the facilitator of the first series of panel debates in 2002 (before the training) and 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 panel debate and cited 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 generalisations...I felt that they supported each other in that process...and that also became visible to the public.”

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

Participation in the panel debates 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, which 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 consequences of war and the subsequent loss of things they all previously shared – and happiness, because he had the chance to speak out in public. He also said that he felt he can contribute to preventing further war with this kind of public discussions, and do something good, and that the discussions can motivate people from different sides to engage in a common process.

All speakers at the panel debates encountered very mixed reactions from their environments (the reactions from the audience at 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 greatly affected psychologically by his involvement in the war (and the fact that he was badly wounded). However, there was also strong criticism, especially – as one interviewee mentioned – in small, very close 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 from members of local Islamic/Islamist groups. However, both speakers emphasised that they are eager to discuss the issues at stake with their critics and are not considering dropping out of the project.

Another important feature of the public forums (and the training workshops) was that through the methodological use of individual storytelling, some common ground and shared experience were created among the former combatants. One speaker explained that this was mainly due to the usage of “I” messages rather than the generalisations and abstraction, which are usual in public (nationalist) discourse and the media.

Finally, all interviewees agreed that participation in the project (panel debates 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 that they had never thought of as being possible before. For example, two former combatants who were involved in fighting in the same region, but on different sides, have visited each other privately. One explained that since the project started, he feels happier. Similarly, a former combatant described that he feels great relief because he has realised that he is a normal person who 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.

In sum, the participation in the Dealing with the Past project, and especially the active role of addressing a public audience during the panel debates, has a strong individual impact on the war veterans. It seems that on the one hand, it contributes to their empowerment: they realise that a normalisation of contacts to former “enemies” is possible and desirable. Furthermore, some veterans even feel encouraged to discuss their experiences and its importance with opponents in their respective communities. On the other hand, participation in the project also helped them to deal with individual traumatic experiences. It might even give some new meaning to the suffering and victimhood of the past.

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

All interviewees mentioned their interest in further involvement in the project and in continuing 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 depends to a high degree on the continuation of the project by CNA. However, some participants are already involved in NGO activities; one has already developed some practical ideas to address nationalism in his community. One veteran is participating in the current CNA Training for Trainers course.

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

All war veterans interviewed greatly praised CNA –the individual team members, their training capabilities and the approach chosen for the Dealing with the Past project. For some interviewees, CNA seems to be important as a role model that motivates them to engage in peacebuilding activities. Two mentioned explicitly that non-violence was a powerful (new) 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 almost as heroes who will do everything for them. This entails not only the danger of over-expectations placed on CNA, but it might also lead to a very uncritical approach towards the organisation. Therefore, it seems necessary for the veterans to learn to launch their own initiatives and take on their own responsibilities in the medium term.

### ***Cooperation with veterans from war associations***

Everyone interviewed agreed that associations of war veterans are crucial actors. They also play an important role in relating to the “Dealing with the Past” project, because to some extent, it is useful to draw on their potential assistance to the public debates and to ensure that they do not try to obstruct the event. CNA therefore undertook several exploratory visits to local branches of veteran associations in order to investigate whether they would support the panel debates and to get more information on the respective city or town.<sup>12</sup> This background information facilitated the decision where to organise the forums (another important criteria was, of course, whether there are local partner organisations who would assist in the organisation of the events).

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<sup>12</sup> More details can be found in CNA’s three-monthly reports, for example in the December 2002 – February 2003 reports of the Sarajevo and Belgrade offices.

The participating war veterans are organised in different associations:

- Soldiers Association of Medveda;
- 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.

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.

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

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

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

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

The interest of the media in covering the public forums has been generally high. In all panel debates, press conferences were organised in advance, and often, on the

day after the forums a TV or radio appearance has taken place. TV, radio and newspaper journalists were present at all the panels. In most cases, the reports were printed and broadcast.

On the other hand, the media journalists were mostly from the local media. Only a few articles have been published in national news magazines (e.g. *Vreme*). And only twice were the speakers invited onto TV shows that were aired statewide. Interestingly, the feature on state TV took place in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Federal TV; TV of *Republika Srpska*). The panel debates in Serbia during October 2003 were more encouraging than the series held in 2002. State television has reported on Vlasotince, and Radio Free Europe covered the event in its online news magazine. 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 broadcast five times in the days following the event.

The content of the media coverage proved clearly that this topic is a new one which has not been tackled before. As already said, nearly all the media reported on the events, but they confined themselves in nearly every case to reporting merely what actually happened at the panel debates. Very few sentences or words were reported that would give a positive or negative assessment of the events.<sup>13</sup>

### ***Content of discussions***

During the last public forum, at least half of the time was given to questions and general debate. The discussion was lively and mostly fair. In Novi Sad, the audience even intervened in cases of provocation. According to CNA, the topics of questions and discussion revolved 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 Crimes Tribunal in The Hague.

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<sup>13</sup> This narrative reporting seems to be a usual pattern, at least when sensitive topics are touched upon. See, for example, **Larisa Rankovic** (2002): *The Hague Tribunal in the Press*, *Media Online* 2002.

As CNA reported, there are sometimes very clear peace messages being voiced, for example, when someone in the audience questions the nationalist discourse and states that people have been misused by politicians.

### **Audience**

The number of visitors to the public forum is adequate and varies between 40 and 100. It is unclear whether more visitors would negatively affect the level and quality of the discussions that usually follow the presentation of the four speakers' individual stories.

The audience consists of different segments of society and includes young peace activists, members of NGOs, war veterans, ordinary citizens and members of local authorities. Often, the composition of the audience depends on who or which partner organisation is organising the panel debates. At a panel in Vlasotince, South Serbia, for example, which was organised by a respected war veteran, the author of this report noticed that many members of the local associations joined in 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 came, including war veterans and Serbian refugees (from Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina).

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

The reactions from the audience are mixed, but in most cases very encouraging. The 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 completed feedback forms that participants posted in a feedback box after the discussions:<sup>14</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

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<sup>14</sup> The translation was done by CNA.

peacemaking and 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 that.”
- “My impression is that the panel participants are more prepared to deal with the problem of the war than the audience, who have taken part in everything to a certain extent.”
- “Thank you for organising this. My suggestions: bring journalists from all three sides to the speakers’ table at some point too; the audience should also include those who do not think the way we do, who were present this evening. The problem is 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!”

These reactions, and the first one in particular are quite typical for panel debates 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 Raising public awareness on the need to confront the past as a means of future violence prevention**

This long-term objective – which could also be considered the overall goal of the project – is largely outside the frame of what can be reasonably expected from the CNA project alone. As an indicator for success, CNA suggests looking at the activities of local partner organisations interested in pursuing the issue of Dealing with the Past further in their communities. The author of this study also raises the question whether CNA is able to continue and, indeed, extend the Dealing with the Past approach and what options for sustainability are available.

### ***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 hold a further round of panel debates in Bosnia and Herzegovina and to explore the possibility of producing a TV/video documentary. Furthermore, CNA considered assisting partner organisations in Croatia in the event that they manage to begin with the approach. No other activities are planned at present. However, in December 2003, CNA organised a meeting with partner organisations in order to discuss how to continue with the project. As one of the outcomes of this meeting, CNA started to look for ways of linking Dealing with the Past with the other training activities more effectively and incorporating it into medium- and long-term planning.

### ***Sustainability***

As a small organisation with two offices and a regional approach to peacebuilding, CNA's resources are rather limited. Furthermore, CNA's basic activities relate to training and educational work. There is therefore little reason to expect that CNA will be able to extend the Dealing with the Past project to any significant extent. CNA has already experienced a great deal of exhaustion and frustration in the past, due to work overload resulting from initiating and implementing panel debates. So in order to extend this promising approach, CNA realised that other organisations must be included and the linkages between the training activities and the work with war veterans exploited most effectively. However, CNA's partner organisations already play an important role in organising the events. In the last round of panel debates, CNA was assisted by participants in CNA's training programme and their respective organisations. It seems that this works well. In Novi Sad, the local partner organisation was very active in promoting and organising the panel debates. After the lessons learned from the first pilot phase, partner organisations are also encouraged to suggest and plan their own activities. The partner organisations for the panel debates in Montenegro planned for November 2003, for example, intend to organise preparatory workshops for the journalists in order to prepare and sensitise them to the topic.

### **3.4 Other findings**

#### ***CNA as a learning organisation***

Finally, it should be mentioned that CNA attaches a great deal of importance to two principles which are essential in promoting the 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 have a great deal of trust and respect for CNA is that the motivation for and implementation of the project are based on a high degree of openness and transparency. Related to that is CNA's interest in learning from experience, thereby taking the war veterans and their opinions very seriously. As part of its self-evaluation, CNA does not only discuss the projects internally, but follows the principle of asking for feedback and suggestions after all major activities and adopting its projects and programmes accordingly. Project results and documentation are in most cases accessible to the public.<sup>15</sup>

## **4 Recommendations**

**It is strongly recommended that CNA continue 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 its commitment and professionalism, is very capable of implementing the planned activities. Given that a regional approach is necessary for the project, there are very few organisations in the Balkan region, which would be able to implement a similar

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<sup>15</sup> Many documents, for example, can be downloaded in different languages from CNA's website.

project. Furthermore, CNA has also been able to build trust with the war veterans on a personal level, which, due to the sensitive nature of the approach, is another precondition for success.

**It is recommended that CNA train and sensitise a new group of former soldiers in order to broaden the pool of war veterans who are motivated and able to participate in the panel debates (or other activities).**

In order to create the preconditions to involve more war veterans in public discussions (or other activities), it is suggested that the pool be broadened by selecting new participants. The sensitisation training workshops have proved very successful and effective and should therefore be continued. However, since the evaluation has shown that the participation in the panel debates was the main motive for joining the project, the problem which arises is that with more former soldiers trained, CNA has also to take responsibility for subsequent activities. The time between the training events and the panel debates should not be too long.

**In the medium term, CNA should encourage and assist the self-organisation of war veterans engaged in peacebuilding activities.**

One option to extend the Dealing with the Past project is to encourage and assist the self-organisation of the veterans. CNA would gradually leave the responsibility for planning and organising the panel debates with an organisation established by the war veterans. Instead, CNA would assist them in capacity-building (particularly through training and organisational development) and fund-raising.

**In the medium term, CNA should explore options to cooperate with other (international) organisations working with former soldiers.**

Another (alternative or complementary) option to extend the Dealing with the Past project is to increase significantly the financial and human resources available to CNA. This option requires a partnership between CNA and an international organisation working with former soldiers in the Balkan region, such as the International Office for Migration (IOM) that conducts democracy training events within its demobilisation and reintegration programmes. 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.

**In the short term, CNA should focus on increasing public awareness of the project and the topics discussed.**

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 broadcast by national TV stations. The other option is to find ways to sensitise journalists from major TV stations to the project and raise their interest in documenting it. This might require networking with journalists who have already participated in one of CNA's training events or probably hiring a professional media advisor in 2004.

**The involvement of partner organisations in the Dealing with the Past project should be increased and the project should feature more prominently in CNA's other training programmes.**

Partner organisations play a crucial role in the actual implementation of the panel debates. CNA is already considering involving 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 training events.

**CNA should continue to work with the associations of war veterans and make use of the personal contacts of the former soldiers participating in the project.**

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 for linking with war veteran associations is not fully exploited and should be explored. One suggestion is to make increasing use of the participants' personal contacts and to pay particular attention to this issue when new potential participants of the project are selected in 2004.

**It is suggested that one or two members of CNA's training team participate in a basic training event on counselling and trauma work.**

Given that a high percentage of war veterans are deeply traumatised and that the Dealing with the Past project addresses very private and sensitive topics, CNA should consider strengthening its capacities in this area. The training team should be empowered to recognise whether certain reactions and blocking strategies adopted by participants are related to traumatic experiences and they should also know where the participants could get professional help. The coordinator of a psycho-social counselling project in South Serbia, Ursula Renner, suggested that CNA members should participate in a basic training event offered by her organisation for medical staff and multipliers (e.g. social workers).

## **Appendix I:**

### ***CNA's Contact Details***

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

#### **OFFICE IN SARAJEVO**

**CNA - Centar za nenasilnu akciju**  
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#### **OFFICE IN BELGRADE**

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e-mail: [cna.beograd@nenasilje.org](mailto:cna.beograd@nenasilje.org)

#### **Internet**

<http://www.nenasilje.org>

## Appendix II:

### *Evaluation Schedule (20-31 October 2003)*

Date	Activity	Venue
20	Arrival	Berlin-Belgrade
21	Interviews with CNA BG staff	Belgrade
22	Interviews with CNA staff; Interview N. Milenkovic from QPSW Interview with U. Renner (ORL) Interview with former combatant (K. B.)	Belgrade
23	Review of documentation (interviews, media reports) of former public forums Interviews with CNA staff Sarajevo office	Belgrade
24	Transfer to Vlasotince Observation/Public Forum	Vlasotince/South Serbia
25	Interview with former combatant (N. K.) Interview with N. Zupan (Swiss Embassy/co-evaluator for Tft programme) and coordination of evaluation design and methodology Transfer to Belgrade	Vlasotince
26	Interviews with former combatants (G. B., N. K.)	Belgrade
27	Analysis of Documentation CNA office Belgrade Transfer to Sarajevo	Belgrade Sarajevo
28	Interviews with CNA staff Sarajevo Interviews with former combatants (A. H., D. S., R. Z.)	Sarajevo
29	Flight to Belgrade Interview with K. Katanic	Belgrade
30	Reflection	Belgrade
31	Presentation and Discussion of Preliminary Results, Departure	Belgrade-Berlin

## **Appendix III:**

### ***List of Interview Partners***

*(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 IV:**

### ***Questionnaire / Interview Outline***

#### **A. Background**

##### 1. Personal data

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

2. How did you learn about CNA and the Dealing with the Past project? 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 feel was lacking?

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 Dealing with the Past programme/peacebuilding?

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

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

**FOR SPEAKERS AT PUBLIC FORUMS ONLY**

- A. When did you decide to participate in the public forums?*
- B. Do you feel the training prepared you properly?*
- C. In your view: What is the aim of the public forums?*
- D. Do you feel that the public forums 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 programme? 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 specific ideas or plans?
- 14. What would you need to contribute?
- 15. How do you perceive peacebuilding organisations, especially CNA?
- 16. Do you know about other activities or 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 a potential ally for their future engagement in the field of peacebuilding/Dealing with the Past?

**F. Other ideas or suggestions**

## Berghof Reports: An Overview\*

Berghof Report	Title	Author	published
1	Friedliche Einmischung. Strukturen, Prozesse und Strategien zur konstruktiven Bearbeitung ethno-politischer Konflikte.	NORBERT ROPERS	October 1995
1	<i>Peaceful Intervention. Structures, Processes, and Strategies for the Constructive Regulation of Ethnopolitical Conflicts</i>	NORBERT ROPERS	October 1995
2	Interkulturelle Mediation – eine schwierige Vermittlung. Eine empirisch-analytische Annäherung zur Bedeutung von kulturellen Unterschieden.	FRANK LIEBE (WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF NADJA GILBERT)	May 1996
2	<i>Intercultural Mediation: A Difficult Brokerage. An Empirical-Analytical Attempt to Assess the Impact of Cultural Differences.</i>	FRANK LIEBE (WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF NADJA GILBERT)	May 1996
3	Konstruktive Haltungen und Verhaltensweisen in institutionellen Konflikten. Erfahrungen, Begriffe, Fähigkeiten.	EVA MARINGER / REINER STEINWEG	June 1997
4	Krisenprävention und zivile Konfliktbearbeitung durch die EU. Konzepte, Kapazitäten und Kohärenzprobleme.	TOBIAS DEBIEL / MARTINA FISCHER	August 2000
4	<i>Crisis Prevention and Conflict Management by the European Union. Concepts, Capacities and Problems of Coherence.</i>	TOBIAS DEBIEL / MARTINA FISCHER	September 2000
5	Friedensförderung in Bosnien-Herzegowina. Ansätze der Jugend-, Bildungs- und Kulturarbeit.	MARTINA FISCHER / JULIE TUMLER	September 2000
6	Die soziale Eingliederung von Kindersoldaten. Konzepte und Erfahrungen aus Mosambik.	PETER STEUDTNER	March 2001
7	Macht und Differenz. Ein erweitertes Modell der Konfliktpotentiale in interkulturellen Auseinandersetzungen.	ANJA WEIß	March 2001

\* Publications by the Berghof Research Center can be downloaded from its homepage [www.berghof-center.org](http://www.berghof-center.org)

Berghof Report	Title	Author	published
8	<i>Local Peace Constituencies in Cyprus. Citizens' Rapproachment by the bi-communal Conflict Resolution Trainer Group.</i>	OLIVER WOLLEH	March 2001
9	Kollektive Traumata. Annahmen, Argumente, Konzepte. Eine Bestandsaufnahme nach dem 11. September.	ANGELA KÜHNER	February 2003

### Occasional Papers: An Overview\*

Occasional Paper	Title	Author	published
1	Ergebnisbericht: Interkulturelle Konfliktbearbeitung. Einführungsseminar in neue Konzepte der innergesellschaftlichen und internationalen Mediation und präventiven Diplomatie. 30. November – 2. Dezember 1994	NORBERT ROPERS	July 1996 out of print
2	<i>Golitsino Workshop for Peace Builders. 25. – 29. September 1995</i>	ANJA WEIß / ALEKSEJ NAZARENKO	August 1996
3	<i>Warsaw Workshop for Peace Builders. 28. Januar – 2. Februar 1996</i>	ANJA WEIß / ALEKSEJ NAZARENKO	September 1996
4	<i>The Hungarian Concept of Autonomy for Romania. The 1993 DAHR Draft-law on National Minorities and Autonomous Communities and Reactions from Other Political Parties in Romania.</i>	KINGA PÁLL	September 1996
5	<i>The International Relations of the DAHR 1989 – 96. The Democratic Alliance of Hungarians in Romania. An Introduction.</i>	ANNA-MÁRIA BÍRÓ	August 1996
6	<i>The Protection of National Minorities and Regional Stability.</i>	KINGA GÁL	September 1996

\* Publications by the Berghof Research Center can be downloaded from its homepage [www.berghof-center.org](http://www.berghof-center.org)

Occasional Paper	Title	Author	published
7	<i>Strategies and Needs of NGOs Dealing with Ethnopolitical Conflicts in the New Eastern Democracies.</i>	ANJA WEIß/ ALEKSEJ NAZARENKO	March 1997
8	Eigeninitiativen einheimischer FriedensstifterInnen. Wirkungsmöglichkeiten in den neuen östlichen Demokratien.	SONJA BORSKI/ HOLGER HESS	September 1998
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Occasional Paper	Title	Author	published
	journalistischen Recherche vor Ort.		
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23	<i>Contract or War ? An Essay on Institutional Logic in Violent Conflict.</i>	BENEDIKT KORF	April 2003
24	<i>War Veterans and Peacebuilding in Former Yugoslavia. A Pilot Project of the Centre for Nonviolent Action (CNA)</i>	OLIVER WILS	February 2004

### **Berghof Reihe: Konflikttransformation (in German only)**

Band	Titel	Autoren	veröffentlicht
1	Konfliktbearbeitung in der Zivilgesellschaft. Die Workshop-Methode im rumänisch-ungarischen Konflikt.	P. HAUMERSEN/ H. RADEMACHER/ N. ROPERS	2002
2	Die Teilung überwinden. Eine Fallstudie zur Friedensbildung in Zypern.	OLIVER WOLLEH	2002
3	Hilfe die nicht vom Himmel fällt. Gewaltprävention in der Entwicklungsarbeit von NGOs.	E. FORBERG/ U. TERLINDEN	2002