



Max M. Kampelman Papers

Copyright Notice:

This material may be protected by copyright law (U.S. Code, Title 17). Researchers are liable for any infringement. For more information, visit www.mnhs.org/copyright.

Zajedno ("Together") is the name of the opposition coalition in Serbia which fielded a common slate of candidates in the November 1996 municipal elections and won in 14 of the 15 largest cities in Serbia. The coalition emerged from initial discussions early in 1996 between Vuk Draskovic of the Serbian Renewal Movement and Vesna Pesic of the Civic Alliance party. They were joined by the Democratic Party, headed by Zoran Djindjic, to form Zajedno. The coalition represents the emergence of a pro-European, centrist political movement in Serbia. After the annulment of the municipal elections by the Milosevic government, Zajedno organized daily protest demonstrations in Belgrade and other cities. With the help of student demonstrators, independent media such as Radio B92, and many supporters in the West, the coalition succeeded in reversing the annulments. Its representatives have taken office in Serbia's municipalities.

Vesna Pesic, a longtime advocate for peace and democracy in the Balkans, is president of the Civic Alliance of Serbia. As a senior research fellow at the Institute for Philosophy and Social Theory at the University of Belgrade since 1991, Dr. Pesic has directed projects on ethnic nationalism, conflict resolution, and human rights. She was a founding member of the Belgrade Helsinki Committee and the Association for a Yugoslav Democratic Initiative, which in 1989 called for a democratic transformation of the former Yugoslavia. Dr. Pesic founded the Center for Antiwar Action, the first peace organization in Serbia. During the war she was regularly accused of spreading defeatism and was denounced as a traitor and a foreign hireling by the government-controlled media. Her efforts to develop democratic institutions in Yugoslavia were recognized by the National Endowment for Democracy, which awarded her its biennial award for democracy, presented by President Clinton in 1993. Dr. Pesic was a Senior Fellow at the United States Institute of Peace in 1994-95. At the Institute she researched Serbian nationalism and the origins of the Bosnian war, and her report on this subject was published by the Institute in 1996.

Zoran Djindjic, the mayor of Belgrade, was a founding member of the Democratic Party in Serbia and is president of the party's executive council. During his undergraduate years at the University of Belgrade, he distinguished himself as a student opposition leader and was arrested for these activities in 1974. After serving a prison sentence, he undertook postgraduate studies in West Germany, and between 1977 and 1990 he held teaching positions in philosophy and the social sciences at the universities of Bonn, Frankfurt and Constance, where he earned his PhD. Upon his return to Yugoslavia, he became professor of philosophy at Novi Sad University and a research associate with the Institute of the Social Sciences of the University of Belgrade. He has authored three widely read books on Yugoslav politics and political philosophy. Mr. Djindjic was elected to the Serbian parliamentary assembly in the first multi-party elections since World War II, and in the 1993 elections his Democratic Party won 29 seats.

Vuk Draskovic is president of the Serbian Renewal Movement, one of Serbia's largest opposition parties. Mr. Draskovic began his career as staff journalist with the state-run news agency *Tamjug* between 1969 and 1978. Later, he became a spokesperson for the president of the Alliance of Yugoslav Trade Unions, and in 1988, he became editor-in-chief of the trade union magazine *Rad*. His activities on behalf of human rights date from this period. Mr. Draskovic is a free-lance writer and novelist who has written several best-selling novels on nationalist themes. From 1991 he became an opponent of the Bosnian war and a supporter of the peace movement. In June 1993, he and his wife Danica were jailed for anti-war and opposition activities. They were freed after five weeks with the help of an outcry from Serbian civic leaders and international observers. Under Mr. Draskovic's leadership, the Serbian Renewal Movement won 37 seats in the 1993 elections.

Pesic Biography

Vesna Pesic was a Senior Fellow at the United States Institute of Peace in 1994-95. At the Institute she researched Serbian nationalism and the origins of the Bosnian war. Her report on this subject was published by the Institute in 1996. Pesic is a senior researcher with the Institute of Philosophy and Social Theory at the University of Belgrade, where she received her PhD in 1976. For her work in developing democratic institutions in Yugoslavia, Dr. Pesic was awarded the Democracy Award of the National Endowment for Democracy, presented by President Clinton in 1993.

For twenty years Pesic has been involved in the struggle for human rights and political and civic freedoms in Yugoslavia. Before the dissolution of the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, at the end of February 1989, Pesic took part in founding the Association for Yugoslav Democratic Initiative in Zagreb. It was the first opposition movement in the former Yugoslavia. When the then president of the federal government, Ante Markovic, established the Alliance of Reform-Oriented Forces of Yugoslavia, at the end of the fall of 1990, Vesna Pesic was elected president of the Reform Party of Serbia.

After the dissolution of the former Yugoslavia, the party was renamed the Civic Alliance of Serbia, while Pesic remained at its head. The "reformers" were among rare political activists who warned that the ruling nationalistic forces in the republics of the former Yugoslavia were preparing for the war. However, they were too marginalized and too unpopular at the time to be able to influence the course of events. When the war broke out, Pesic was one of the founders of the Center for Anti-War Action, and took part in a number of demonstrations advocating peace. Owing to this, she was quite often accused of spreading defeatism, and was denounced as a traitor and a foreign hireling by the government-controlled media. In the 1993 elections, under the slogan "Let's Live as the

Rest of the World," the party won two seats in the Serbian Parliament. In September 1996, Pesic agreed to a formal arrangement with Draskovic and Djindjic on the joining of her party to the Zajedno coalition. The Civic Alliance has engaged some of the best legal experts in the country: on behalf of the Zajedno coalition, experts who provided the recent OSCE delegation with obtain expert interpretation of the annulment of the November 17 election results in Serbia.

* [*Vesna Pesic* is the director of the Center for Anti-War Action in Belgrade, Serbia. For over twenty years she has been active in the movement for human rights and parliamentary democracy. She was a founding member of the Belgrade Helsinki Committee and the Association for a Yugoslav Democratic Initiative, which in 1989 called for a democratic transformation of the former Yugoslav federation. An opponent of nationalistic ideologies and an open critic of the militant policies of the ex-Yugoslavia's nationalist leaders, her work has included efforts to initiate and encourage a democratic dialogue among different political organizations and ethnic groups in Serbia, as well as projects aimed at promoting the culture of peace human rights. Ms. Pesic has received numerous grants from the Endowment and in 1993 she received its Democracy Award.



UNITED STATES INSTITUTE OF PEACE

1550 M Street, NW, Suite 700 Washington, D.C. 20005-1708 202 457-1700 Fax 202 429-6063

You are cordially invited to a discussion of

DEMOCRATIZATION IN SERBIA AND PROSPECTS FOR PEACE IN THE BALKANS

with

The Leaders of the Serbian Opposition (Zajedno) Coalition

**Zoran Djindjic
Vuk Draskovic
Vesna Pesic**

The meeting will be chaired by Ambassador Max Kampelman, U.S. representative on the OSCE mission to Serbia in December, and Carl Gershman, president of the National Endowment for Democracy.

**April 4, 1997
10:30 AM - 12:30 PM
Westin City Center Hotel
(formerly the Vista Hotel)
1400 M Street, NW
Washington, DC**

No registration or R.S.V.P is required, this event is free and open to the public. For additional information, phone (202) 429-3809

The United States Institute of Peace is an independent, nonpartisan federal institution established by Congress to promote research, education, and training on the peaceful resolution of international conflict.



UNITED STATES INSTITUTE OF PEACE
FACSIMILE TRANSMISSION COVER PAGE

TO: Max Kampelman

ORGANIZATION: _____

FAX NUMBER: 639-7008

SENDER'S NAME: J. Gaiter

SENDER'S TELEPHONE NUMBER: 429-3885 FAX NUMBER: (202) 833-1381

TOTAL NUMBER OF PAGES (INCLUDING COVER PAGE): 2 DATE: 4/1/97

MESSAGE:

**REMARKS BY
MAX M. KAMPELMAN
DEMOCRATIZATION IN SERBIA AND
PROSPECTS FOR PEACE IN THE BALKANS**

**UNITED STATES INSTITUTE OF PEACE
NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR DEMOCRACY**

**Washington DC
April 4, 1997**

The end of the Cold War has brought with it many opportunities to improve the human condition. The most recent annual report from Freedom House demonstrates that men and women all over the world are beginning to take advantage of those opportunities as the number of countries governed by democracies or near democracies continues to increase. The former Yugoslavia is an exception to that forward movement. The tragedies and brutalities that haunt the people living in that area remind us that the struggle for freedom and dignity continues to demand our attention and concern.

The people of Serbia, Croatia and Bosnia, whether they be Orthodox, Catholic, Muslim or Jewish, aspire to enjoy the material and spiritual benefits that can be theirs' as the world rushes into the 21st century. Their aspirations are challenged by those who resist that change in order to perpetuate their personal power and impose their bigoted vision of humankind on others. They have done so by corrupting and exaggerating ethnic and religious differences, differences which can potentially provide us with the strength that comes from diversity, but which they have distorted into destructive hatred and self-defeating violence.

Peoples who pray to live as Children of God should live have been victimized and manipulated into believing that their aspirations can only be achieved through depriving others of those same aspirations.

The three names of Milosevic, Karadzic and Mladic, who represent yesterday, are today identified in the world as symbols of that which is grossly un-Godlike and evil. The three names of Djindjic, Draskovic and Pesic, the symbols of tomorrow, are now demonstrating to us that the true spirit of Serbian culture, history, tradition, and religious conviction is associated with the pursuit of human dignity for all the Children of God.

It was my privilege to be in Belgrade in behalf of our government in December where I met these three leaders for a Serbian democracy and where I had an opportunity to meet many of the tens and hundreds of thousands of Serbian men, women and children who demonstrated in the streets against oppression. It was inspiring to see and hear the depth of democratic feeling that I found there — democracy and dignity not only for the Serbian people, but also for the Albanian people of Kosova, for the Muslims of Bosnia, for the Croats and for all who must live in peace with one another if any of them is to achieve their goals and hopes as human beings.

The United States Institute of Peace is proud, along with the National Endowment for Democracy, to sponsor this event designed to introduce the true democratic spirit of Serbia to the people of America. Before I ask Carl Gershman, the President of the National Endowment of Democracy, to come to the microphone and introduce our guests to you, I wish to note that the United States Institute of Peace is particularly proud to note that Vesna Pesic was a Senior Fellow at the United States Institute of Peace in 1994-1995 and that the reports of her study were published by the Institute in 1996. We are pleased to welcome her back.

I now ask Carl Gershman to come to the microphone.