EXIT 2000
NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS FOR DEMOCRATIC AND FAIR ELECTIONS
pre-elections campaigns of NGOs in Serbia
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Published by
Center for Democracy Foundation
Center for the Development of Non-profit Sector
Civil Initiatives

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Pubication of this report was sponsored by

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Proof Reading
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DTP
PROPAGANDA, Belgrade

Printed by
VERZAL, Belgrade

Copies
500
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It has become clear in the recent months that pre-election campaigns organized prior to presidential and parliamentary elections in FR of Yugoslavia in September 2000, have introduced a new, and in many ways unprecedented, approach to political life in Yugoslavia, both in terms of their appearance and their final results. The Third Sector in Yugoslavia has for the first time shown its full strength and unity, by getting together in an informal network, and by a coordinated presentation of the pre-elections campaign entitled EXIT 2000 - Non-governmental organizations for democratic and fair elections. (IZLAZ 2000 – Nevladine organizacije za demokratske i fer izbore).

This publication is intended as a review of activities (and their results) carried out by the NGO sector in Yugoslavia, which have reached their peak in strength and in achievements, during the elections held in September 2000. This report contains a brief review of the campaigns, projects and organizations which carried them out, comments and analyses of the overall internal organization and cooperation, as well as a selection of materials which best illustrate visual identities of individual campaigns. We also attempted to include in this review information on campaigns which, for different objective reasons, worked outside the IZLAZ 2000 framework. The campaign by "Otpor [Resistance]" entitled "He's gone!" and the G 17+ campaign did not participate in the IZLAZ 2000 due to their clear political message to the electoral body and citizens. The campaign by CeSID, which motivated the citizens to actively participate in civil monitoring of the elections, was also excluded due to its neutrality.

More than 150 NGOs took part in the GOTV (Get Out The Vote) campaigns by carrying out over 50 different projects. For that reason, it was impossible to enclose herein individual reports by all participating NGOs. The editors of this publication have attempted to classify campaigns according to types of projects they were engaged in, regions they covered, their target groups, and other relevant criteria. Individual campaign reports included in this document have been provided by the organizations which carried them out. These original reports are somewhat shortened and otherwise edited so they would make logical contribution to the organization of this document. The editors have, however, made serious efforts to preserve the basic ideas and the key elements of each report at all times.

This publication is written in an attempt to give an overview of the IZLAZ 2000 campaign, as well as in order to provide a partial analysis of the Third Sector activities during the September 2000 elections. Our general idea was to make an estimation of the overall impact that this campaign has had on the electoral results. By analyzing activities, projects, and their results, we can provide a solid basis for planning the future goals of the Third Sector. We are aware of the fact that this report is not comprehensive and/or exclusive, since we have been restricted by its size requirements. This presentation is an overview of the activities of NGOs that have contributed to the massive voters turnout and the final results at the Federal and local elections.

Editors
NGOs’ contribution to the pre-elections and pro-elections activities organized by all democratic forces in Serbia has been given the highest grade according to both national and international public opinion. Citizens of Serbia and Yugoslavia took active participation in the pre-elections activities and cast their votes in very large numbers. They voted for changes, and it was their active attitude towards our social reality and its problems, which opened up a new way to democratic changes and reforms.

The NGO pre-elections campaigns were carried out in an extremely tense atmosphere. The old regime did not hesitate to apply the most varied forms of repression, ranging from arrests, disturbance of activities and confiscation of propaganda materials, to threats presented in different ways.

In spite of all that, the turnout of the citizens of Serbia at the elections was very high. A positive attitude and votes cast for changes fill us with pride. The efforts of our activists, volunteers and others belonging to the Third Sector have yielded the right results. A common strategy applied by all democratic forces in Serbia, coordinated activities by the NGOs, independent media, opposition political parties and independent unions, can all be defined in the following way: A FIGHT FOR CHANGES.

Today, when we look back and analyze the effects and the final results of all the campaigns of the Third Sector with great pleasure, it is difficult to say which campaigns gave more significant contributions: the large campaigns carried out at the national level (such as CeSID, It’s time, G17+), or the small ones with insufficient media coverage, which offered strategic animation of a large number of socially marginalized groups. The process in which all actions related to the elections, organization of the Third Sector, and the campaigns themselves had to be designed and coordinated was a long and complex one. We can freely say that it took us almost a year to prepare for the IZLAZ 2000.

The force exercised by the non-governmental sector on this occasion, the successful motivation of the electoral body, and especially of those social groups which had had the smallest turnouts in the previous elections, gives us new strength for the new struggle under new democratic conditions.
The NGO pre-elections campaigns were an integral part of the general fight led by all democratic forces in favor of political changes in Serbia: opposition political parties, independent unions, universities, youth organizations, numerous professional associations, as well as the independent media.

Therefore, the context in which the NGO campaigns were designed and carried out was to a large extent identical to that in which other democratic subjects had to act. On the other hand, the success of the NGO campaigns has to be attributed to the nature and structure of the Third Sector as well.

Political context

The political context in which the NGOs had to act prior to the federal elections was characterized by an increased repression towards the carriers of democratic changes in the last two years, which was initiated by eliminating the university freedom and the independent media, on both national and local levels. NATO intervention contributed to the regime's oppressive behavior, by opening the way to nationalistic and xenophobic propaganda which the controlled state media combined with systematic bashing of the democratic opposition and all other democratic subjects. The ultimate goal of this type of propaganda was to disqualify the democratic forces by labeling them as 'traitors' and thus eliminate them from the political and public life, as well as to spread among the citizens the fear of retaliation by the regime and its satellites.

The repression by the regime was intensified at the beginning of the year 2000, when it became obvious that the democratic forces have made irreversible progress in terms of creating a strategy of joint action. The regime then launched a final attack on the remnants of free and independent media, numerous local media were banned or taken over by the regime representatives. An organized and systematic chase of the members of the "Resistance" movement was initiated all over the country, their offices were broken into, their materials confiscated, and large numbers of their activists were beaten and/or arrested by the police. During Spring of 2000, a systematic repression of the NGOs was carried out in different ways: their activities were misinterpreted in the media, and the financial control over their activities was intensified under pretense of regular and legal check-ups of the activities and financing of civil associations by the financial police. The NGOs' equipment (computers, etc.) and marketing materials were being taken away, NGO activists and employees were taken in for questioning by the police, all in an attempt to create a psychology of fear and impede the activities of the NGOs. This polarization which was obvious in the public life and in the media, as well as the psychological war, which the regime launched against all its political and social opponents, contributed to the final shaping up of the opposition and the NGO scene. We were labeled as terrorists, NATO mercenaries, traitors, etc.

On the other hand, the political situation which resulted from the NATO intervention has had a serious impact on the increase of social consciousness among the democratic subjects who all realized that it was necessary for the democratic factors to join in and create a common platform which was the only way to a victory over a decade long destruction produced by the SPS (Socialist Party of Serbia). As early as in September 1999 a process of uniting the parties of the democratic opposition was initiated in a form of a Round Table of the Opposition which resulted in the creation of the Democratic...
Opposition of Serbia (DOS) and brought about the victory of DOS at the federal elections. Prof. dr Dragoljub Mićunović (presently the Speaker of the House in the Federal Parliament) was in charge of the coordination and cooperation among the members of DOS and NGOs ever since the Round Table was initiated.

A unified opposition has led to a shift in public opinion in favor of the democratic opposition and in favor of the possibility of achieving political changes through elections.

During months which preceded the announcement of the date of the elections and the pre-elections campaign, it was obvious that the elections were understood as a referendum in favor or against the regime, i.e., in favor or against changes. The old regime kept sending public messages based on pauper demagogy. They promised to distribute infinitely small portions of the old hard currency savings, offered bonds, talked about a new wave of anti-crime activities geared against corruption in the social health care system. The old regime proclaimed that the elections presented a referendum on the future of Kosovo, and that reconstruction and development clearly showed that we did not need international aid. The opposition talked about changes, reconstruction of our ties with the international community, erasing the gap between Yugoslavia and the world, the rule of democracy, and the redefinition of legal, educational and media systems.

Social context

The years of the SPS rule, which have brought about a disastrous economic situation in the state and in the society, deconstruction of the legal state and the legal system, continuous and unstoppable degrading of living standards, deconstruction of all social values, ruin of the system of social and health care, corruption in all state institutions, and a continuous increase of personal, legal and financial insecurity, resulted in a serious civil discontent. As early as in September 1999, the public opinion analysts reported that 80% of our citizens were in favor of changes. It was also determined that the principal reasons for such an increased dissatisfaction were financial in nature: 35% of citizens are poor, while other 35% are living on the edge of poverty. There are 1,250,000 retirees in Serbia, while 50% of our citizens are unemployed or only formally employed.

On the other hand, until the Summer of 2000, i.e., until the moment when the date for the elections was set, public opinion analyses indicate that the citizens were mainly apathetic, and that many doubted that peaceful change through elections was possible. By the end of July 2000, i.e., at the moment when the date of the elections was publicly announced, the results of the CPA/CPS research indicated that 42.2% of citizens believed in the possibility of change through elections. The public opinion analyses and the results from the previous elections all indicated that there existed a possibility of a very small turnout at the elections. According to the G17+ analysis, the largest number of abstinents were to be found in the 55+ age group, consisted of mainly females, without university education, living in suburban or in rural areas. Furthermore, this analysis indicated that large numbers of young people, who just became of age, would also stay away from the voting boxes. According to the public opinion analysts, one out of six young voters was in favor of the political parties which were then in power, while among the remaining five young people, three were likely not to vote in the elections.

General civil dissatisfaction, on one hand, and public opinion analyses indicating that large numbers of voters would abstain from the elections, on the other hand, all implied that, in order for the democratic forces to win the elections, it was necessary to motivate as many voters as possible to take part at the elections, which would serve as a channel for the civil dissatisfaction to be redefined as votes against the regime and in favor for democratic changes.
Situation in the non-governmental sector

A number of registered non-governmental organization has been continuously increasing over the last few years, a fact which was followed by the development of the NGO capacities and an increased knowledge on methods and techniques of public NGO activities. During 1999, experiences from the NGO sector's activities during the pre-elections campaign OK98 in Slovakia, and Vote 99 in Croatia were gathered and analyzed.

During the same year, NGOs started intensifying their contacts with the citizens, especially at the local level. This new approach consisted of organizing forum discussions, talking with the members of local communities, and organizing small scale activities at the local level aimed at solving current and important problems within those communities.

Political and social contexts clearly pointed out at the need to include the NGOs into the pre-elections process. The NGOs primarily understood their role as civil educators with respect to issues related to the elections and the electoral process, as well as in motivating the citizens to come out and vote in the elections in order to reach the well defined goal: civil dissatisfaction transformed into votes for changes at the elections. The NGOs' activities were also geared towards promoting social changes and European orientation.

The citizens had to understand that it was they who would win against Milosevic, and that all citizens should get a chance to clearly say what kind of a future they wanted for themselves and for their children and to understand that every vote counted. The NGOs' goal was to restore citizens' trust in the importance of their votes and the faith that they could contribute to the successful fight for democratic changes.
The organization of the campaigns

IZLAZ 2000 was set up as a political, but not partisan, campaign.

Talks about non-governmental activities and GOTV campaigns were first introduced in Serbia about a year and a half ago when news started coming in about the success of the non-governmental pre-elections campaign OK 98 organized in Slovakia. The Croatian NGO sector used the Slovakian experiences and organized the non-governmental pre-elections campaign in 1999. Large numbers of Yugoslav activists got a chance to learn about the activities of the NGOs in Slovakia and Croatia, about their internal organization, their goals and the results which were achieved.

At the beginning of the year 2000, and having in mind the upcoming federal and local elections, our NGOs started looking into possible ways in which similar campaigns could be organized here: some organizations prepared preliminary programs of activities, initiated agreements and cooperation with similar organizations, started creating a cooperation network and carried out some preliminary activities.

The following campaign goals were defined during the strategic design portion of the campaign:

1) Enable the citizens to better understand the electoral process
2) Increase the numbers of citizens who participate in the elections
3) Increase the numbers of citizens who take active participation in the electoral process - check ups of electoral lists, civil monitoring of the elections, participation in the electoral boards activities.

Two phases could be clearly identified in the preparation and carrying out the IZLAZ 2000 campaign:

1. Campaign preparation
   • a birth of an idea
   • informal meetings of NGOs and NGO network representatives; setting up the Campaign Preparation Board
   • Conference "Get Prepared for the Future", Belgrade
   • Segedin Conference
   • setting up the Coordination Board

2. Campaign inauguration and the course of the campaign
Overview of activities

1. Preparation

■ September 1999
Conference "A View into the Future" organized by Građanske inicijative. Workshops about Slovak experiences.

■ Oktober 1999
October 26-27, Conference "How to achieve changes", organized by the Foundation for Peace and Crisis Management and the United Professional Unions "Independence".
Representatives of the opposition parties, independent media and independent unions, got together with the NGOs representatives for the first time. An agreement was reached that a unified, coordinated action of the widest social opposition was needed in order for changes to be achieved.

■ Belgrade, February 2000
February 21, Meeting of non-governmental organizations (organized by Civil Initiatives): Initial talks about the campaign strategy; NGOs from Croatia presented the VOTE99 campaign in Belgrade and in other cities across Serbia (event organized by 484 Group and Civil Initiatives).

■ February 18, 2000
Some 30 NGOs got together with the representatives of the opposition political parties (event organized by the Forum of Yugoslav NGOs); A joint declaration was adopted (see appendix)

■ March 15, 2000
Meeting of NGOs, organized by Civil Initiatives; Continued talks on cooperation

■ March 16, 2000
A meeting of 35 NGOs organized by the Forum of Yugoslav NGOs, at which results from the meetings with the opposition parties were analyzed. Campaign Preparation Board for the campaign was set up, consisting of: ANEM, CeSID, Center for Research of Alternatives (CPA), Forum of Yugoslav NGOs (Center for the Development of Non-profit Sector and Center for Democracy Foundation), Civil Initiatives, G17+, Resistance, Partnership for Changes, Timoc Club, Intake, and Women's Network. Campaign Preparation Board had to prepare the strategic design of the campaign. The following conclusions were drawn at that meeting:

- The campaign had to include the older population, especially the retired citizens;
- The NGOs had to engage in control of electoral lists, and in motivation of potential elections monitors;
• Belgrade NGOs must intensify their cooperation with the NGOs in the interior of Serbia
• NGOs had to make sure their internal communication was improved.

■ April 13, 2000
Campaign Preparation Board meeting. It was decided that information should be gathered on non-governmental projects already in progress, as well as those planned for the future, which were related to the pre-elections campaign.

■ April 15, 2000
South-East Network was created as a coordination body for the regions of South East Serbia; its activities were all geared towards motivating the citizens to actively participate in the upcoming elections.

■ May-June 2000
A bulletin was prepared, entitled "Non-governmental organizations and the 'Get out and vote' campaign", which targeted the NGOs and contained basic information on principles and activities of a GOTV campaign. At a conference of NGOs from South Serbia, held on May 7, 2000, two campaigns were promoted: "Get out and vote" and CeSID's campaign entitled "1+1=2"

■ Belgrade, June 9-11, 2000
A conference entitled "Get prepared for the future" was organized by Civil Initiatives. The goal of the conference, which was attended by approximately 300 participants from all parts of Yugoslavia, as well as by guests from abroad, was to enable an exchange of ideas, and planning of activities related to the pre-elections campaign. One of the topics discussed at the conference was the preservation of democracy in the post-elections period as a priority in NGOs actions.

■ Belgrade, June 19, 2000
Second conference organized by Partnership for Democratic Changes, entitled "Strategy of changes". A unified strategy of changes was discussed, and a basic course of action was agreed upon. Approximately 100 activists from political parties and from the civil sector attended the conference.

■ Segedin, June 20-21, 2000
Conference entitled "Strategy for Democratic Serbia" organized by Forum of Yugoslav NGOs in cooperation with Freedom House. The main topic at the conference was the strategy of NGOs for the upcoming campaign. Approximately 80 Yugoslav NGOs attended the conference, along with NGOs from Croatia and Slovakia, and a large number of donor organizations. The message from the conference was for the Campaign Preparation Board to continue with its activities related to campaign preparation.

**"Lessons learned", a report by Slovakian NGOs on their activities and experiences during the OK98 campaign, was translated.

■ End of June - Beginning of July, 2000
Several meetings of the Campaign Preparation Board were held:
1) European Movement in Serbia, Women's Political Action, AŽIN and Group for the Promotion of Women's Political Rights were included into the Campaign Preparation Board.
2) Letters and forms were mailed out to NGOs across the country, in order to prepare an overview of all projects planned for the NGO campaign.
A questionnaire on capacities and a will to participate in the pre-elections campaign was sent out to 300 NGOs. Nearly a 100 of them confirmed to have the capacities, or that they were willing to participate in elections related projects.

The joint campaign was led by the Coordinating Board which established its Information and Support Center, as well as its Secretariat.

Since the elections dates were announced (end of July), regular weekly meetings were organized, while by the end of the campaign, the Coordinating Board was meeting twice a week.

Regular contacts with the newly formed Donors Forum in Belgrade, as well as other donors outside of the country were organized.

• A joint name IZLAZ 2000 (EXIT 2000) was chosen for all campaigns. It was used as a logo in all individual GOTV campaigns already designed by different networks and NGOs. A promotional campaign for IZLAZ 2000 which gave information regarding different campaigns and promoted the unity among NGOs was carried out as well.

• A formal coordination of IZLAZ 2000 was established and procedures for its activities during the campaign was agreed upon.

• Information and Support Center was founded. It was located at the Center for Democracy Foundation and Civil Initiatives. This Center gathered and distributed information on different campaigns, established a calendar of events for coordination, and gave support to local NGOs in all phases of their projects.

• Regular daily information was distributed by CRNPS (Center for the Development of Non-Profit Sector) and special edition of the EXIT News was edited. Web presentation as well as press release for the IZLAZ 2000 were supported and carried out by Free Serbia and ANEM.

• ANEM regularly informed the public on the campaign activities through its network

• A Desk of Ideas was established to share different ideas among NGOs and help design local NGOs' campaigns.

• Close cooperation with local networks was established, and they were advised to form local coordination bodies for the campaign.

• A joint fund for activities as well as for quick interventions was established.

Timočki Klub from Knjaževac initiated serious preparations in March: they published a manual with instructions for the members of electoral boards, organized training sessions for elections monitoring at the municipal level (in cooperation with CeSID), prepared a guide for the activists participating in the "You have the right - cast your vote" project. It was the members of the Timočki Klub who initiated the creation of the South-East Network.

At the beginning of May, Nis 99 and Unon 99 NGOs coordinated the organization of a conference dedicated to pre-elections and post-elections campaigns.

International cooperation of non-governmental organizations

Numerous social and political initiatives, which have shaped the East European political scene in the last couple of years, have brought about democratic changes and victories of pro-democratic forces at the elections in Slovakia and Croatia. International cooperation and exchange of positive pro- and post-elections activities was an imperative of Yugoslav NGOs as well.

During the long period of preparation of the GOTV campaign, we organized a number of very purposeful meetings and visits by our colleagues
from the NGO sector in Croatia and in Slovakia. The "Bratislava Process" is an initiative by EastWest Institute in Bratislava and it was set up at the international conference held in Bratislava in July 1999. The title of the conference was "The future of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in light of the post-war development". The conference was organized by the EastWest Institute and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Slovakia. A "Task Force on the Future of FRY" was an integral part of the Bratislava Process. This Task Force was an action team which enabled dialogues and joint actions of members of different pro-democratic forces from Yugoslavia and organizations from the international community. Representatives of opposition parties, NGOs, unions, student organizations and independent media, gathered around the "Community for Changes", formed the Task Force.

Task Force, as an international initiative, undoubtedly contributed to the victory of democratic forces in Serbia.

2. Campaign inauguration and the course of the campaign

• Promotion of campaigns

A group of campaigns, gathered under the EXIT 2000 umbrella, was presented at the press conference by the Campaign Coordination Board. Nataša Vučković (Center for Democracy Foundation), Miljenko Dereta (Civil Initiatives) and Žarko Paunović (Center for the Development of Non-Profit Sector) presented IZLAZ 2000. The representatives of the Coordination Board and the Info Center also talked about the campaign goals, its activists, its organization, etc.

A number of campaigns, at both local and national level, was presented during regular press conferences organized by the IZLAZ 2000 Info Center.

The course of the campaign was to a certain extent conditioned by some objective factors. The process of receiving financial aid was obstructed and the organizations were receiving it with extreme delays. National media, along with a large number of local media, were completely inaccessible to this campaign.

The majority of campaigns were initiated at the beginning of August, only to be intensified at the beginning of September 2000. By mid-September, most of the campaigns were at their peak, which is clearly illustrated in the calendar of events.
STATEMENT

of the political parties of the democratic opposition and non-governmental organizations participating at the joint round table

Political parties of the democratic opposition and non-governmental organizations have agreed on the improvement of their cooperation and their activities based on the principles of democracy, respect for human and civil rights, protection of the Constitutional order, tolerance and dialogue as the means of political and social problems resolution.

• Participants of the joint Round Table concluded that they have common objectives - parliamentary democracy, democratic society and regard for human and civil rights and liberties guaranteed by the Constitution.

• Non-governmental organizations approve the activities of the Round Table of the Democratic Opposition which lead towards the definition of the common strategy and joint approach by the opposition parties, as well as their supportive efforts for the free and fair elections as the prerequisite for peaceful and constitutional resolution of the national crisis.

• Political parties of the democratic opposition support the activities of non-governmental organizations that are directed towards mobilizing the citizens to take active part in the democratic process and their massive participation at the elections.

• Participants of the joint Round Table make demands on the ruling political parties and the authorities to immediately terminate the undermining of the constitutional order through terrorizing the civilians, suppressing the independent media, using hate-speech and offensive rumors which discredit their political opponents.

• This Statement will be officially presented to the Round Table of the Democratic Opposition and additional non-governmental organizations - members of the Forum of Yugoslav Non-Governmental Organizations.

• Concrete proposals on modalities of cooperation between the democratic political parties and non-governmental organizations will be discussed at the next meeting scheduled for the beginning of March.

In Belgrade, February 18, 2000

1The meeting was organized by the Forum of Yugoslav Non-Governmental Organizations (coordinated by the Center for the Development of the Non-Profit Sector and Center for Democracy Foundation). It was attended by representatives of 12 political parties participating in the activities of the Opposition Round Table and by 30 NGO representatives.
Youth campaign

Campaigns for young population with a special emphasis on the "first time voters" aimed to promote the importance of the elections and to motivate them to exercise their right to vote to the maximum. The target group were young voters between 18 and 29 years of age. Among others, this type of campaign was carried out by:

- 37 NGOs with the support of Radio B292 and ANEM (Association of Independent Electronic Media) from all over Serbia under the common title "Vreme je" (It's time)
- European Movement in Serbia
- Student Union of Serbia.

These campaigns included concerts and performances, distribution of leaflets, posters, stickers, pencils, balloons and other promotional materials as well as radio and TV jingles.

Campaign for women

The campaign was carried out in 50 cities in Serbia with the aim to motivate as many women citizens as possible to participate at the elections and exercise their electoral right. The campaign included different types of activities: volunteer training sessions for women, public debates with the voters, distribution of printed materials, media promotions (videos and radio jingles). These campaigns were conducted by:

- Group for the Promotion of Women Political Rights in cooperation with local women networks, carried out the pre-elections campaign for women.
- Women Movement - Women Network started its campaign in July 2000. There are 50 women groups and initiatives from Yugoslavia included in the Women Movement. Campaigns consisted of promotional instruments (billboards, posters, leaflets, stickers, badges and others).

Campaign for the village

The objective of these campaigns was to motivate the rural population to take part in the elections in large numbers. Among others, these campaigns were carried out by:

- Center for Antiwar Action: this campaign was a part of the campaign conducted by 37

Campaign contents analysis

These are only examples of a few larger campaigns. Approximately 20% of local NGOs did not have their own campaign projects, but they joined other NGOs and helped them recruit volunteers and distribute pre-elections material to the citizens. There was a very good cooperation among NGOs. Local, regional and national level campaigns were united and coordinated.

NGOs covered more than 100 cities in Serbia and their activities were welcomed by the majority of citizens. Furthermore, they were greatly supported by the democratically oriented public opinion.

Types of campaigns
NGOs under the title "Vreme je". NGO materials were distributed in direct contacts with the peasants. Also, there were 5 videos with a direct message to the rural population. Videos were broadcast over the ANEM network.

**Village step 98** (Seoski prag 98) from Šabac: this particular campaign was carried out in Šabac and 6 other municipalities. Citizens were invited to the elections in posted ads, through propaganda material distribution, and public discussions in the largest villages.

**Alternative Citizens’ Parliament** from Paraćin carried out its own campaign in 26 villages in the Paraćin municipality in order to motivate the youth in villages to use their right to vote.

**General campaign**

A few campaigns targeted the general population. Among others, those were:

- **Group G 17 Plus** carried out a campaign, mostly aimed at a broader population and the younger generation, which consisted of public discussions, concerts (in cooperation with Vreme je), distribution of leaflets and the "White Book" which is a study of the past ten years under the old regime.

- **Candidates Forums by Civil iniciatives.**

- **NGOs from Srem** carried out a campaign entitled "Get Out and Vote - Srem Exit 2000". The campaign targeted youth, women, refugees, rural population and minorities. It included distribution of promotional material, concerts, public discussions and sport events.

**Campaign for the Rhoma population**

The campaign’s objective was to engage as many Rhoma citizens in the electoral process. This campaign was carried out by:

- **Rhoma Information Center** from Kragujevac, which had its own campaign in cooperation with other NGOs from Serbia. Materials in Rhomani and in Serbian were distributed to Rhoma quarters and settlements by this and other NGOs from 12 cities in Serbia.

- **YUROM Center** from Niš carried out the campaign for the Rhoma population in the southeastern part of Serbia. Within the campaign three videos were shot, along with several radio jingles, and various promotional materials (matches, caps, bags, lighters, pens) in Rhomani language with the messages "Exit 2000" and "Get Out and Vote" were distributed.

**Campaign for workers and the retired**

Partnership for Democratic Changes (United Professional Trade Union "Independence" and Foundation for Peace and Crisis Management) developed their campaign which targeted the workers, retired people, and ethnic minorities.

**Campaign for elections monitoring**

These campaigns were carried out by Center for Free Elections and Democracy (CeSID),
Yugoslav Lawyers Committee for Human Rights, and Belgrade Center for Human Rights. Thousands of volunteers were trained for civil monitoring of the elections. Several handbooks and manuals were printed with the aim to help both civil and official elections monitors.

A wide spectrum of events, varied promotional materials, languages and alphabets which were used during the IZLAZ 2000 campaign, all point at the variety of communicative channels and means used during the times of extreme media blockade. NGO activists who this time again made sure that all the segments of the population of Serbia were in their focus, expressed their imagination, enthusiasm and energy through different types of activities: production and distribution of propaganda materials (leaflets, postcards, buttons, ball point pens, T-shirts, caps, etc.), seminars, workshops, celebrities’ caravan, rock concerts, door-to-door actions, bicycle tours, TV and radio shows, billboards and posters, announcements, candidates’ forums, humanitarian aid distribution, press conferences, exhibits, theater shows, etc.
The activities of the IZLAZ 2000 INFO Center
(Center for Democracy Foundation, Center for the Development of Non-profit Sector, Civil Initiatives)

The Information Center was established for the following reasons:

■ It was necessary to centralize the information gathering process in the areas of:

• Nationwide activities of the NGO network which took part in the campaign
• smaller NGOs' activities and their field work experiences
• problems which emerged in the process of carrying out the above cited activities (obstacles, repression)
• a need for additional financing of some of the smaller NGO campaigns in the interior of the country

■ The following activities were initiated and carried out by the Info Center:

• preparation of daily, weekly and monthly plans of events (calendars) inorder to avoid activities overlaps, and/or too many activities of the same type scheduled for the same period and at the same location
• preparation of written material for press conferences
• preparation of the campaign bulletin and periodical updates of the campaign web site
• timely and purposeful contacts with centers for legal aid (when needs arouse) (YUCOM, FHP, and other similar organizations involved in providing legal assistance within the NGO sector)
• documentation gathering and classification (archives of individual NGOs' campaigns)
• coordination with the DOS headquarters (coordination of timetables of events in larger cities and regions)

The officials of the Info Center were:

1. Team coordinator for field work information gathering and processing
2. Media relations Team Coordinator
3. Team coordinator for documentation gathering and storing
4. Promotion Team Coordinator
5. Info Center Secretary
Teams which took part in the Info Center activities at different times during the campaign

1. Team for field work information gathering and processing
   ■ During the preparation phase of the campaign this team carried out the following activities:
   • Gather information on plans and projects for the local NGO campaigns
   • Provide aid to local NGOs in the final phase of campaign preparation when applications for financial aid had to be filled out (help with writing grant proposals, translation services, providing information on the available donors’ programs and conditions for participation, coordination with other similar local/regional NGOs, etc.)
   • Mediate between the Donors’ Forum and the NGOs
   • Mediate between the Promotion Team and the individual NGOs (making sure that all campaigns shared the common logo, along with the unified campaign slogans, posters, leaflets, etc.)
   • Create data bases on NGOs and their projects according to cities and regions
   • Put together a monthly calendar of event for the campaign(s)
   ■ During the course of the campaign (August 20 - September 23, 2000) this team carried out the following activities:
   • Gather information from local NGOs on their plans of events (timetables, structure of activities, media coverage, etc.)
   • Put together daily, weekly, and monthly timetables of events (which were then forwarded to the Coordination Board, Promotion Team, Media relations Team, and team for documentation gathering and storing).
   • Mediate among various participants in the campaign, making sure that timetables of events in given cities/regions are well coordinated
   • Mediate between NGOs and legal aid teams (when needed)
   ■ During the final phase of the campaign (Sept. 24-25, 2000), this team carried out the following activities:
   • Gather field information of the day of the elections and on the day when electoral results were made public
   • Exchange information with organizations involved in elections monitoring
   • Put together reports on overall activities of the NGOs

2. Media relations Team
   ■ During the preparation phase of the campaign this team carried out the following activities:
   • Put together the editorial board for the campaign bulletin and propose the bulletin structure
   • Coordinate activities and methods of operation with ANEM
   • Take care of press conferences and other media happenings
   ■ During the course of the campaign this team carried out the following activities:
   • Put together daily news reports
   • Prepare press conferences (suggesting choices for invited speakers and topics to be discussed)
   • Motivate the media to cover the campaign and schedule and coordinate interviews, oral and written comments, etc.
   • Prepare materials for the campaign bulletin and the campaign web site
   • Update the campaign web site on a daily basis
   • Inform the international public on the activities of the NGOs

3. Promotion Team
   ■ During the preparation phase of the campaign this team carried out the following activities:
   • Prepare a unified visual identity of the IZLAZ 2000 Campaign
   ■ During the course of the campaign this team carried out the following activities:
   • Make available the campaign logo, slogans, and other marketing elements to all participating NGOs (especially to those in the interior of the country)
   • Cooperate with the Media relations Team on a daily basis
   • Formulate the most adequate responses to possible media bashing.
Team for contacts with NGOs

Team for contacts with NGOs had a triple role: at the beginning, before the Info Center was organized, the team assisted NGOs in putting together grant proposals and applying for funds. They also provided some technical services, such as translation service, formatting, forwarding proposals to potential donors, etc. Once the official Info Center was set up, the team focused on maintaining communication between NGOs and the donors, as well as among individual NGOs. Furthermore, the team helped distribute promotional material prepared by the national campaigns (It’s time; The village casts its vote too; IZLAZ 2000). And finally, the team for contacts with NGOs made a tour of 26 cities before and during the campaign and established contacts with numerous NGOs which were involved in the IZLAZ 2000 campaign. They helped them coordinate their activities at the local level with the overall goals of the IZLAZ 2000.

In the second part of the campaign (prior to Sept. 22), the team for contacts with NGOs concentrated on gathering, processing and distribution of information related to the pre-elections campaign. The team monitored and recorded activities of both smaller local NGO campaigns, and of larger campaigns carried out nationwide (Vreme je; The village casts its vote too; IZLAZ 2000).

Through the above described activities, the team for contacts with NGOs played a significant role fulfilling the requirements defined by the Info Center, especially in terms of gathering and distribution of relevant information related to pre-elections campaigns, coordination of activities at the local level with those carried out nationwide, preparing timetables of events by regions, and assisting in other activities (media promotions, material processing, storing and distribution, etc.). Despite its completely decentralized actions, and a wide scope of activities (recording frequent time and location changes for the activities carried out at the local level), the team succeeded in reaching its objectives, primarily due to intensive and continuous contacts with all NGOs who took part in IZLAZ 2000.

Team for the IZLAZ 2000 promotion, Gradanske inicijative

Team for the IZLAZ 2000 promotion was located at the Civil Initiatives Center. This was a team of experts who offered their help to all NGOs which needed assistance in the graphic design area, and in preparing promotional materials for their campaign (labels, logos, advice on poster design, preparation of slogans and other written materials for the campaigns, etc.). The Team used its expertise in preparation of promotional materials for the ‘Seoski prag 98’ campaign (Šabac), which targeted the young generation, the NGO campaign in Pančevo (aimed at motivating the citizens of Pančevo to take part in the elections; the campaign was entitled “Moving along - Bicycle Tour”; the other part of this campaign was aimed at motivating the rural female population to vote in the elections), as well as the campaign by Urban-in (Novi Pazar, motivating the members of a multiethnic community to vote in the elections), and many others. Promo Center published 94 adds for the IZLAZ 2000 campaign in 17 local newspapers, including those in the languages of minorities.

The team designed and distributed 820,000 stickers, 50,000 posters, 8,500 T-shirts, 7,000 bags, 240,000 leaflets and 365,000 bulletins. Ten different types of stickers were designed. T-shirts and bags were of different colors. All the materials were prepared in both Cyrillic and Latin alphabets, and translated in minority languages. The slogans which were printed on the promotional materials were: THERE ARE MORE OF US, and THE SUN RISES SO THAT THERE WOULDN'T BE ETERNAL DARKNESS. The leaflets targeted younger audience, those who had just got the right to vote in the September 2000 elections, and they contained the following message: YOU ARE TURNING 18, YOU GET YOUR RIGHT TO VOTE, GET OUT AND CHOOSE TO CHANGE THINGS!
Bulletin

We published four editions of the IZLAZ 2000 bulletin in four weekend editions of the daily "DANAS" (circulation: 40,000). These editions of the bulletin contained information on local NGO campaigns on the territory of Serbia. Prominent university professors, journalists and experts made their contribution to the campaign bulletin.

A calendar of events for the duration of the campaign in all parts of the country was published in the bulletin as well. Additional 100,000 copies of the bulletin were distributed all over Serbia. Another 300,000 stickers were distributed during the campaign, with the following slogan printed on them: I RESPECT THE PRE-ELECTIONS SILENCE; I CAN'T WAIT FOR THE SUNDAY MORNING TO COME!

The promotional center also contributed to the formation of the NGO network in a large number of cities across Serbia (Sombor, Zrenjanin, Leskovac, Novi Sad, Niš, Pančevo, Kragujevac, Kraljevo, Užice, Požega, Novi Pazar, etc.). Furthermore, the center succeeded in engaging new activists for the Civil Initiative activities in Kučevo, Bosilegrad, Novi Sad, Smederevo, Aleksinac, Vranje, Babušnica and Zrenjanin.

We participated in the Generacija XXI campaign and distributed propaganda material for the IZLAZ 2000 campaign in the suburban areas of Belgrade.

Exhibit

An exhibit of materials used during the IZLAZ 2000 campaign was presented at the Center for Cultural Decontamination on September 21-22, 2000. A large number of participating organizations contributed to this exhibit by presenting their campaign materials, such as posters, stickers, T-shirts, bags, leaflets, newsletters, balloons, etc. ANEM and Free Serbia provided media coverage for this event.

Newspaper ad

During the pre-elections silence, Građanske inicijative published a newspaper ad in the dailies "DANAS" and "BLIC". Due to the fact that it came out during the pre-elections silence, the ad could not carry the IZLAZ 2000 or Građanske inicijative organizational logos, so we signed the names of the employees of Građanske inicijative. The public’s response to this witty advertising move was very positive.
Media relations

All activities carried out by the Media Team at the Info Center aimed at providing media promotion of the NGO campaigns for free and democratic elections. Prior to the pre-election campaign, the promotion of the NGO sector had been rather a modest one, due to some objective reasons: a small number of independent and open media, lack of know-how in the area of media relations, etc. Media promotion during the pre-elections campaign was, therefore, twofold: its primary goal was to present the NGO activities related to the campaign, but it also offered information about the overall activities of the Third Sector.

- Objectives of the media promotion
  - to inform
  - to make the public understand
  - to open channels of positive communication

- The communication was carried out in the following ways:
  - press releases
  - press conferences
  - web presentations, and news on the Internet
  - Info Center bulletin
  - contacts with media representatives
  - events (materials exhibit)

Press conferences

Info Center of NGOs for free and democratic elections held four weekly press conferences at the Media Center for a period of one month (at a regularly scheduled hour: Wednesdays at 11am). Press conferences were held on August 23 and 30, September 6 and 13, 2000. National and local pre-elections campaigns were presented at these press conferences. The press conferences were being announced at the Media Center two days in advance. A day before the conference, invitations were mailed out (to electronic media and the press; both independent and state-owned media were informed). Hours and days of press conferences were also announced to all NGOs which participated in the IZLAZ 2000.

Media representatives, primarily from the independent media, showed great interest in statements of the participants at the press conferences. Daily "Danas" was especially attentive in providing detailed and regular information on these press conferences. Journalists' questions (both national and international journalists took part in these press conferences) mainly addressed the issues of relations of NGOs with political parties, campaign financing, forecasts for the elections outcomes, scopes of the campaigns, future line of work for the NGOs after the elections and electoral victory, etc. All participants to these press conferences stressed out the non-partisan character of their campaigns, and the role which NGOs should play in the new democratic society we all fought for.

August 23, 2000, Press conference participants:
- Vladan Jeremić, Jugoistočna mreža (Knjaževac)
- Tea Gorjanc, Beogradski centar za ljudska prava (Belgrade)
- Milorad Ćurić, Urbana radionica (Vršac)
- Nenad Živković, Izborni pul (Pančevo)

August 30, 2000, Press conference participants:
- Slobodan Nikolić, Seoski prag '98 (Šabac)
- Vesna Golić, Grupa 484 (Belgrade)
- Milan Ilić, Alternativni parlament građana (Paraćin)
- Milica Minić, Slađana Mandić, Ženski pokret – Ženska mreža (Belgrade)
- Miroslav Tamburić, Forum civilne akcije (Požega)

September 6, 2000, Press conference participants:
- Milica Panić and Biljana Maletin, Grupa za promociju ženskih političkih prava (Belgrade)
- Igor Bandović and Danica Pop-Mitić, UMNO -
Užička mreža NVO (Užice)
• Marija Božić, Akcija (Indija)
• Slavoljub Đorđević, Romski informativni centar (Kragujevac)

September 13, 2000, Press conference participants:
• Aida Ćorović, Urban-in (Novi Pazar)
• Nenad Đorđević, Fond za razvoj političke kulture (Kragujevac)
• Jelena Savić, Centar za antiratnu akciju (Belgrade)
• Svetlana Đurić, LEX - Liga eksperata (Belgrade)
• Jadranka Vuković, Forum građanskih prava (Niš)
• Bratislav Stamenković, Građanski parlament (Leskovac)

Press releases by the Info Center were distributed to journalists at these press conferences.

Aside from the above outlined regular press conferences held by the Info Center, individual NGOs organized their own press conferences (CeSID, Vreme je, Evropski pokret u Srbiji, etc.).

Internet site

Media team from the Info Center set up a special Internet presentation within the Center for the Development of Non-Profit Sector site at the following Internet address:
www.crnps.org.yu/infocentar/info.htm, in order to make all the relevant information regarding the NGOs' pre-elections campaigns available to the general public and to other non-governmental organizations. This was another one in the series of activities of the Info Center organized by NGOs for democratic and fair elections. The following pages could be found on the above address:
• Title page (basic information on the Info Center)
• Calendar of events (announcements for the events organized by the NGOs participating in IZLAZ 2000)

• News (the site was updated on a daily basis, and a total of 52 news and 23 visual documents were presented at this page for the duration of the campaign (approximately 1 month)
• Links (web addresses of those NGOs and media which contained information on the elections)
• Promotional material for the NGOs' campaigns (33 photos were posted which showed billboards, posters, leaflets, stickers, T-shirts, and other promotional material used for the IZLAZ 2000 campaign).

From August 1 - September 30, the site had 163,053 visitors.

INFO Bulletin

A campaign "Info Bulletin" was also published, which targeted both the NGOs and the general public. The most important NGO campaigns were presented in the bulletin, along with the calendar of events during the pre-elections campaign. The bulletin was prepared by the most prominent journalists from the most prestigious media in the country. A graphic designer was contracted to prepare the front page illustration for the bulletin. The edition which we prepared was distributed at a record time, as it turned out that the interest by the NGOs in this type of promotional material by far exceeded our expectations.

Press clipping

Press clipping has been analyzed and filed on the daily bases. We have been analyzing daily newspapers BLIC, GLAS JAVNOSTI, DANAS and POLITIKA. 298 printed advertisements for the campaign have been published during this period. Over 400 articles about NGO campaigns and the campaign participants have been published too.
Concurrently with the preparation of activities for the campaign "Get out and vote" were initiated, campaign financing strategy had to be worked out. Donor organizations, as well as NGOs themselves, realized very soon that additional funds (aside from regular annual or periodical donors' programs) were needed for several reasons.

First of all, the donors needed to allocate special funds within their budgets which would be directed towards pre-elections democratic programs. Second, basic criteria for funds distribution had to be defined, priorities had to be singled out, and funds for different target groups had to be provided, along with financial resources which would be used to enhance cooperation among NGOs. Furthermore, it was necessary to establish cooperation between the NGOs sector on one hand, and donors' organizations on the other hand, which would allow for continuous and productive communication between these two sides. And finally, the campaign financing process had to be efficient, unified to the greatest possible extent and simple for both the participating NGOs and the donor organizations. A large number of non-governmental organizations, especially groups such as CeSID, OTPOR, G 17 Plus, and others, which had participated in the campaign design from the very start, had already made preliminary projects during the first six months of 2000, and turned them in to the potential donor organizations. The donors were thus given a chance to find out about the basic course of the projected campaigns and, accordingly, design a general plan of their own activities. However, aside from a small number of projects which were relevant during the campaign preparation period, the financing could practically be initiated once the elections date was made public. Nobody knew at that point when this would happen, except that we all believed that the elections would be held some time in the Fall 2000.

The basic idea was to follow some of the Slovakian experiences from the OK98 campaign and organize a unified body which would function as a Donors' forum during the campaign. East/West Institute organized a meeting between a group of donors and the representatives of the civil sector from Serbia in April 2000 in Prague. The objective of this meeting was to define the financing strategy for the NGO campaign.
However, even at first sight, it became clear that the Donors’ Forum in Yugoslavia would not be able to gather all the potential donor organizations which would like to support the pre-elections campaign, due to the fact that only a small number of these organizations had their offices and representatives in Serbia. This fact had to be accounted for by the old regime’s repression, on one hand, and by the lack of legislature which would allow for their legal and transparent operation in Serbia.

In the Spring 2000, aside from humanitarian donor organizations which mostly did not have the mandate to support the campaigns, also operating in the territory of Serbia were: Fund for an Open Society, CIDA (Canadian International Development Agency), Know How Fund (DfID, Great Britain), Freedom House (unofficially, through a single representative), Friedrich Ebert Foundation had its office in Belgrade, Konrad Adenauer Foundation had one representative, along with the Embassies of individual countries (Netherlands, Switzerland, etc.), and the British, German, etc., interest sections (which were represented by other countries’ embassies since the break up of diplomatic ties with these countries in 1999). These organizations received significant funds for the support of the pre-elections campaign. Furthermore, other donors, such as USAID, UASID/OTI, National Democratic Institute, International Republican Institute, which had also been active in Croatia and Slovakia, planned to provide support for the NGO campaign in Serbia, and acted mostly out of their offices in Budapest. Therefore, on one hand there were serious problems in solving communication gaps among the potential donors and the non-governmental organizations on one hand, and among the donors themselves, on the other hand. Foreign representatives were not granted Yugoslav visas, so there was no possibility of setting up a working meeting in Serbia.

The conference held in Segедин on June 21-22, 2000, was meant to unite a large number of donors and NGOs, especially smaller NGOs from the interior of the country. This conference enabled the donors and the NGOs to exchange information on their plans and possible modes of cooperation. It was also important to inform the donors which could not travel to Serbia about the determination and the force of the non-governmental sector in our country.

A Donors’ meeting was held immediately after this conference (June 23 in Segedin), which was a good opportunity to identify all the donors interested in financing the NGO campaigns, and then to discuss the creation of the financing strategy. At that meeting an idea was initiated, according to which a Donors’ Forum would be organized, consisting of only those donor organizations which had their representatives and offices in Serbia, while the other donors would maintain continuous communication with the Donors’ Forum and participate only indirectly in the Forum’s activities.

Donors’ Forum started its activities at the beginning of July 2000, and its functioning was coordinated by the CIDA representative from the Canadian Embassy in Belgrade. The Forum was comprised of the following organizations: Fund for an Open Society, CIDA, Know How Fund (DfID, Great Britain), Dutch and Swiss Embassies in Belgrade, and the German interest section in Belgrade. At the beginning of July, a German Marshall Fund opened its office in Belgrade through the European Movement in Serbia.

The Donors’ Forum and the German Marshall Fund aimed at speeding up the process of submitting project proposals, as well as the decision making process, through cooperation with non-governmental organizations gathered around the NGO Coordination Board, and the NGO campaign Info Center. Special application forms were prepared and mailed out to all those NGOs which, according to the survey conducted by the NGO Forum, showed readiness to participate in the campaign. Information on approved projects and financing decisions related to individual projects were distributed to all interested parties. Donors who could not work in Serbia, found
alternative means of cooperation and information exchange.

The objective of these activities was to provide financing to as many NGO projects as possible, to prevent double financing of the same projects, and to assure a well balanced territorial distribution of the approved projects. Looking back at the successful operation of NGOs and their impact on electoral results in September 2000, we can conclude that the principal objectives of the donors' organizations were reached as well.

The NGO pre-elections campaigns engaged significant financial resources provided by the donors' organizations. However, it would be wrong to think that this was the only aid which the donors' organizations provided to the NGOs in Serbia, even though it was the most important one. Donor organizations made significant effort to establish cooperation between our NGOs and others we could learn a great deal from. Experiences, suggestions and advice we received from our Slovakian and Croatian colleagues were extremely useful. Furthermore, donor organizations representatives helped us acquire the necessary know-how by organizing training sessions for the activities to be carried out during the campaign, they provided us with relevant publications and helped in any other way they could. Our cooperation with the donor organizations during this period was much closer than it is normally the case. Our donors did not impose their solutions, while the NGO sector in Yugoslavia was eager to learn.

Conclusions

According to the analysis of the public opinion in Serbia, carried out by the Center for Research of Alternatives (CPA/CPS) in October 2000, "the citizens consider their decision to finally get rid of the old regime, which had had catastrophic effects for the state, a crucial factor which led to the turn of events and to electoral victory and democratic changes".

"Despite an (extreme) lack of knowledge regarding the activities of the civil sector expressed by the majority of citizens, a large number of citizens believe that the NGOs' contribution to the DOS' victory is significant (29%), or of medium significance (23%), which clearly illustrates the fact that the campaign to motivate the citizens to take part in the elections and to monitor the electoral process themselves had been successful.

In accordance with our expectations, the contribution of the NGO campaign to the electoral victory was mainly reflected in high turnouts of citizens with higher education, especially high school and university students, and professionals. However, it should be pointed out that workers and technicians also gave high grades to the NGO pre-elections campaign. Of course, the NGO campaign was judged positively by the DOS followers as well. It was concluded that the NGO campaign had positive effects in all social groups, except among senior citizens and those with little or no education."

The CPA research team experts compared the above outlined results with the results of a research carried out in September 1999, and concluded that "the organizations of the civil society have played an extremely significant role in exercising their authority over political issues."

We also agree with the statement by Vukasin Pavlović, according to which "NGOs here took over a role of social opposition".

The future development of the Third Sector under new conditions will be transparent and intensified. We also expect it to be freer and even more creative. Conditions under which we all work have changed significantly. Some of our previous goals have been reached, but it must remain absolutely clear that an important and persistent struggle for the development of democratic institutions and implementation of democratic principles and values in Serbia and in Yugoslavia is still ahead of us.
## Participants of NGO Campaign

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<th><strong>REGION</strong></th>
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<td>Alternative Civil Parliament Paračin</td>
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<td>PIRGOS Civil Reading Room</td>
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<td>Civil Parliament of Serbia, Čačak</td>
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<td>Women’s Peace Group, Pančevo</td>
<td>“GOTV Campaign to Empower Women Voters”</td>
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<td>University Student Union</td>
<td>“Alternative student democratic culture center”</td>
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<td>Novi Sad/Student Union of Serbia + D78</td>
<td>“GOTV Campaign”</td>
<td>Belgrade, Niš, Novi Sad, Kragujevac region</td>
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<td>University Student Union</td>
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<td>Novi Sad/Student Union of Serbia + D78</td>
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<td>“Millennium” NGO</td>
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<td>Women’s Movement - Women’s Network</td>
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<td>Center for liberal and democratic studies, Smederevska Palanka</td>
<td>Motivate the citizens in the Smederevska Palanka municipality to take part in the elections in September 2000</td>
<td>Smederevska Palanka</td>
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<td>Movement for Civil Society</td>
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<td>Center for Regionalism</td>
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<tr>
<td>NGO</td>
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<td>Center for Support of Democratic Changes</td>
<td>Use your eyes, use your head</td>
<td>Belgrade, Kragujevac, Užice, Valjevo, Niš, Čačak, Novi Sad, Subotica, Novi Pazar, Bujanovac, Dimitrovgrad, Vršac Užice</td>
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<td>Vox Feminae</td>
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<td>Civil Dialogue, Šid</td>
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<td>NGO Campaign &quot;EXIT 2000&quot;</td>
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<td>European Movement in Serbia</td>
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<td>Belgrade, Vršac, Zrenjanin, Smедеревска Паланка, Kraljevo, Niš</td>
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<td>Women's Forum D101 AFITU</td>
<td>Get out and be active</td>
<td>Belgrade, Kraljevo, Kragujevac, Čačak, Užice, Gornji Milanovac, Niš, Bor, Valjevo, Kikinda</td>
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<td>NGO Forum, Kraljevo</td>
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<td>UNMO - Užice, NGO Network</td>
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<td>Humanitarian Society &quot;New Way&quot;</td>
<td>Rhoma women's democratic initiatives</td>
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<td>Center for Women's Studies and Group for Promotion of Women's Political Rights</td>
<td>Women's electoral rights</td>
<td>30 cities</td>
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<td>Kikinda Municipality</td>
<td>&quot;Kibicfenster&quot;</td>
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<td>Croatian Academic Society</td>
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<td>Rhoma Music</td>
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Mi smo ZA
Radikalne ekonomске reforme
Saranju sa Evropom
Vladavinu prava
Slobode medija

Sve nas je više na istoj strani

Vojislava Koštunicu za
predsednika Jugoslavije

Vojislav Koštunica - predsednik Jugoslavije
The 484 Group volunteer center

The 484 Group (Grupa 484) volunteers, who later worked as volunteers for the NGO IZLAZ 2000 campaign, covered the Belgrade metropolitan area in the first “GOTV” campaign in Yugoslavia. Hundreds of thousands of leaflets, booklets, T-shirts, stickers, ballpoint pens and matchboxes were distributed with the IZLAZ 2000 slogan printed on them (for the most part, within the VREME JE (It's time!) youth campaign which was organized by 37 different NGOs). It was necessary to motivate the young generation to come out and vote in the elections, since approximately 500,000 young people became of age and got the right to vote at the September elections. On the other hand, out of the 500,000 young voters who had become of age prior to the previous elections, only 5% used their right to vote in those elections. Four million and one vote were needed for the regime to be changed.

The campaign was initiated at the end on July (week 1) when volunteer cards were filled out and numbers of active voters in the electoral lists were determined. At the beginning of August (week 2), a Campaign Volunteer Center was set up, volunteer lists were prepared in the municipalities which offered the best conditions for their activities. During the third week of the campaign several meetings and training sessions were organized, with the aim to provide the prospective volunteers with the basic information on the campaign. Campaign organizers trained volunteers in terms of efficient material distribution and campaign promotion, as well as in motivating the young voters to participate in the up coming elections.

Aug. 24. First presentation of the VREME JE! campaign in Belgrade, at five busy outdoors locations in the city (municipalities: Zvezdara, Vracar, Stari grad, Čukarica and Novi Beograd). A press conference at the Stari grad location in Knez Mihailova Street was also organized at the same time. For two hours, which was the official duration of this event, our volunteers, wearing VREME JE! T-shirts, collected new volunteer application forms, and distributed several hundred T-shirts, buttons, stickers, leaflets and ballpoint pens with the campaign message printed on them. The message of the Vreme je! campaign included the date of the elections and the relevance of that date, the importance of deciding to vote and the possibilities which that decision opened up towards a new life, without dictatorship, after the elections. No problems were recorded during this activity even though all participants were first time volunteers.

After we had notified 6 city police stations regarding the next 10 locations where the campaign was to take place on Aug. 30, we received a call from the police commanders, and we were given a ban on activities anywhere in the city. Grupa 484 contact person was summoned to the police station for an informative talk. On that occasion, we were given an oral ban on all activities, and a warning was issued that Grupa 484, as a humanitarian organization, would suffer the consequences for getting involved into politics, even though the Vračar police station commander knew that such non-partisan activities were allowed by Grupa 484 Statute.

A regular press conference was carried out by the Terazije Fountain in the very heart of downtown, where the journalists were given the information on the ban of our activities on all locations. The volunteers showed up wearing Vreme je! T-shirts. On Aug. 31, the police interrupted the distribution of humanitarian aid at the Resnik collective center where displaced individuals from Kosovo are located. The police searched for propaganda material in the humanitarian packages. After this, Grupa 484 volunteers officially joined the VREME JE! campaign.

Furthermore, changes were introduced regarding the volunteers' meetings. Our leaders for the designated locations sent out their contact people to meet the volunteers in their own municipalities. As
the work conditions grew more and more risky (with the ban on material distribution), the volunteers were given backpacks so that they would draw less attention to themselves when carrying and distributing propaganda material.

On Aug. 16, G 17 Plus and the Vreme je! Campaign organized a concert in Belgrade, where famous musicians and public figures promoted the Vreme je! Campaign song. Cassettes with the VREME JE! song, G 17 Plus flags and leaflets, and VREME JE! materials were distributed at this time. The end of the campaign was marked by even riskier material distribution when the volunteers could not continue meeting at the VREME JE! office due to risks to their personal safety.

During the pre-elections rally of the presidential candidate Vojislav Kostunica on Sept. 20, the volunteers distributed the G 17 Plus propaganda material. On Sept. 21, a final concert of the VREME JE! was organized at the Kalemegdan Fortress in Belgrade, which was a grand finale of the one month Serbian tour. The concert, which featured the most prominent Serbian rock bands, lasted for 7 hours. Large quantities of propaganda material, inviting the young people of age to come out and vote in the elections were distributed at that time.

Sept. 22 and 23 were used for the final volunteer event of the campaign: hundreds of thousands of apartment doors in Belgrade were marked by door-hangers with the following message printed on them: Don't forget, the elections are on Sept. 24, get out on the line, VREME JE!. Two campaign volunteers were arrested during the afternoon. They spent about an hour and a half at the police station, and were released without any further problems. Two female volunteers were arrested later in the evening.

After the elections, the regime declined to accept electoral defeat, and the volunteers continued distributing the pre-elections material with messages which could apply to the new situation. Protests were organized every day.

Our volunteers joined the G 17 Plus campaign with the message to the Electoral Commission to respect the electoral will of the people expressed at the elections.

Protest walks were initiated afterwards, during which the volunteers distributed propaganda material.

The volunteers visited the Padinska Skela prison, requesting the release of all those who were arrested for expressing their civil disobedience.

After that, the volunteers went to the Tamnava Mine in Lazarevac, near Belgrade, which is the city's main coal provider. On October 5, the volunteers distributed NGOs' buttons with the message "I will not let go of my victory!" printed on them. From 12pm that day, propaganda materials prepared by G 17 Plus and other NGOs were distributed all over the city, as the huge rally was about to begin, which was attended by people from all parts of Serbia.

At the final volunteer party we handed out diplomas, awards and gifts to all our volunteers, special certificates to the municipalities' leaders, as well as awards to the most active municipalities and individuals.

Approximately 20 volunteers were active at the beginning of this campaign, only to be joined by another 100 or so young people in the month and a half which followed. A large majority of these volunteers wants to continue working at the Volunteer Center.
The independent youth campaign IT’S TIME! (VREME JE!) was a joint project organized by 37 NGOs in order to motivate the younger generation to take part in the elections. The campaign was inaugurated on August 17 at the first rock concert in Kraljevo, and it ended in Belgrade on September 21, 2000. Four basic components of the campaign can be identified:

- Rock & Roll Concerts for the Elections
- Celebrities’ Caravan
- The village casts its vote, too
- Activity aimed at high school and university students

Over 2,000,000 items from the promotional material series were distributed during the VREME JE! campaign (buttons, leaflets, stickers, ball point pens, T-shirts, etc.) Large numbers of volunteers and field workers took part in the material distribution. Media coverage of the campaign was very efficient as well.

The Celebrities’ Caravan of the VREME JE! campaign went to 38 smaller towns across Serbia traveling over 10,000 km. Nikola Đuričko, Vlada and Bajka, Branko Cvejić, Dejan Cukić, Milan Mumin, Voja Žanetić, Gorica Popović, Goran Šušlija, Dara Đokić, Filip Žmaher, Ana Stanić, Ordotex Celts, Danilo Bata Stojković, Bojana Maljević, Nebojša Glogovac, Milena Pavlović, Yugoslav Pantelić, Milica Mihajlović, Milan Delčić Delča, Srbijanka Turajlić, Danica Maksimović, Ljiljana Dragutinović were among those who participated in the Caravan.

The most popular rock and pop stars, in cooperation with ANEM, gathered around the Rock & Roll for the Elections part of the campaign. They organized 33 concerts across Serbia, which were seen by over 100,000 spectators. The message sent out to the youth of Serbia was to get out and vote in the elections. The following rock stars and rock bands played at the concerts: Kanda, Kodža i Nebojša, Jarboli, Goblin, Ivana i Negativ, Del Amo bend, Atheist Rap, Sport i reinkarnacija, Darkwood Dub, Eyesburn, Ordotex Celts, Block Out, etc.

Even though the objective of the campaign was to motivate the young people to take part in the elections, regardless of their political orientation, the old regime found itself threatened by it. The police put a ban on material distribution, they interrupted the rock concerts, put the participants in the Celebrities’ Caravan under arrest, and, finally, broke into the VREME JE! offices, confiscated all propaganda material and equipment and arrested 15 campaign activists.
During the period prior to the federal elections, CeSID was engaged in two different programs. The first program was aimed at gathering and educating the local observers for unbiased monitoring of the elections, while the objective of the second program was to educate the general public about the voters' rights protection.

The first program was initiated on August 5, 2000 and it was divided into two phases with two basic goals. The focus of the first phase of the campaign was the transparency of the electoral procedure, i.e., the accessibility to the public of information about the activities of the institutions involved in the electoral process. The intention was to make the public and the authorities aware that we would only accept a legal, publicly accessible electoral procedure, as obvious as the simple calculation: 1 + 2 = 2.

In the second phase of the campaign we sent out the message to our citizens to join the CeSID, to become unbiased observers and thus contribute to the transparency of the electoral procedure. The motto of the second phase was: "JOIN IN, IF YOU CARE!".

During the first couple of days of the second phase of the campaign CeSID was contacted by only a few timid individuals, but at the end of the first week the numbers of new applicants were raising to hundreds each day. Not even police repression, which CeSID was exposed to for over a month, managed to disturb the dynamics of citizens' joining our organization.

Training programs for the future observers were carried out simultaneously with the second stage of the campaign. The training programs were run by CeSID's 150 specially trained instructors' teams. Until September 22, when the last training session was held, CeSID had trained 7342 observers.

Despite the fact that CeSID was not officially accredited (again), the observers were on their positions since the early morning on September 24, thus enabling both the national and the international community to be fully informed first on the voting process, and then on the citizens' turnout and the electoral results.

A couple of days after the elections, CeSID's expert teams and the teams of the Center for Liberal Democratic Studies ran a check-up of the electoral material at the electoral commissions at five previously selected electoral units. The results of this check-up in the electoral units of Vranje and Prokuplje were later on used to corroborate the complaint which DOS filed with the Federal Constitutional Court.

We published and distributed 80,000 copies of a handbook "My guide through the elections" as part of the voters' education campaign. The handbooks were published in Serbian in both Cyrillic and Latin alphabets, as well as in Hungarian, Slovakian, Albanian and Roma languages. A short documentary, entitled "To cast a vote with my grandma for the first time" was shot as a part of the voters' education program, and it was broadcast several times by almost all independent TV stations in the interior of Serbia.

We also organized a voters' protection program, in cooperation with CUPS and YUCOM organizations, in order to assure legal aid in cases of violation of voters' rights during any phase of the electoral process. This program was carried out by legal teams of all three participating organizations (CeSID, CUPS and YUCOM) through a network of partner organizations and a network of CeSID's regional and local offices.
Group for Promotion of Women's Political Rights (Grupa za promociju ženskih političkih prava) carried out women's pre-election campaign (door to door) in 30 cities in Serbia. The objectives were to make women's activism visible, to empower local women's groups and networks through joint public activities, to raise the issue of women's human rights as a political issue, to open and spread the debate on women's participation in the public life as a necessary prerequisite for building a civil society.

The Group organized two training sessions entitled "How to organize and carry out door to door campaign" in Belgrade with the trainers from the National Democratic Institute (NDI). The participants were the members of the Group along with 26 other women, representatives of an NGO, and a trade union, and political party activists, who were to become local coordinators. Together with the local coordinators we organized training sessions for 407 activists for the door to door campaign.

The campaign did not target urban areas exclusively, since most of the activists in smaller cities reported on the need to include female population in villages. Also, we carried out the door to door campaign in the north of Vojvodina, for the Hungarian ethnic communities in 4 cities, and partly in 3 major mixed communities in Subotica, Becej and Novi Sad. In Belgrade and in Nis, we also made the promotion of women's campaign in Rroma settlements with the help of Rroma women's groups.

- 600 volunteers carried out door to door campaign, and a much greater number of women activists joined other public activities and distribution of materials.

- 44,950 women were interviewed in the door to door campaign, and at least double that number women in those households heard our message.

- 468,000 leaflets in Serbian, 16,000 in Hungarian and 8,000 in Rroma language were distributed; 23,000 posters in Serbian and 1,000 in Hungarian, as well as 145,000 stickers were distributed.

- Greater difficulties were encountered in the communities where local authorities and media were under SPS-YUL. The activists were even arrested (two women in Pirot and the local coordinator in Subotica), beaten (in Prijepolje), insulted in the local media and some promotion materials were taken away.
Along with the Grupa za promociju ženskih političkih prava, working with more than 30 local women’s networks there were also one political, one NGO and one trade union network:

- Ženska politička mreža with the campaign "Sve su zene za promene"/"All Women are for Changes";
- Ženski pokret – Ženska mreža with their campaign "Izadji, budi aktivna"/"Get Out and Be Active" (52 cities); and
- Ženski forum asocijacija slobodnih i nezavisnih sindikata with the campaign "Recept za demokratiju"/"Recipe for Democracy".

The results showed that very few women were nominated and, consequently, elected. Women were not elected to important functions in the decision-making hierarchy. The highest percentage is 11% of women elected in the Belgrade City Assembly (none of the three Vice Presidents of the City Government is a woman, and out of 15 members of the City Government only three are women, in culture, social care and legal estate departments). In the local authorities across Serbia, 2 - 10 % of women was elected while the highest percentage of women elects was registered in Nis (10%). About 5% of women is represented in the Federal parliament.

The needs of the activist networks in the cities are mostly oriented towards education in women’s human and political rights, development of different skills and the acquisition of material and technical equipment. New and open media are also targeted, with previous training in PR techniques and skill development. Some of the networks would like to get more actively involved to working in rural areas.

The most important conclusions about the campaign are:

- a large number of women who joined recently, who had not been active before, willing to continue work in their local communities but without sufficient experience and knowledge
- general ignorance of women’s human rights as well as their political and civil rights
- democratic forces (parties of the democratic opposition and civil society organizations) supported women’s contribution in achieving changes but if and how they would support women’s contribution in carrying out and shaping those changes is an issue not to be neglected, an issue which should be researched and addressed adequately instead
A project entitled "Partnership for Democratic Changes" (Partnerstvo za demokratske promene), organized by UGS Nezavisnost and Fondacija za mir i rešavanje kriza has been active for over a year now, and it has included more than sixty other alternative social organizations. Until August 2000, the "Partnership" had been trying to create and strengthen the awareness in Serbia that only a united strategy and united forces of the social opposition (NGOs, unions, political parties of the democratic opposition, expert and student associations, free minded citizens, etc.) can bring about the change in the regime. When the elections date was set up, the "Partnership" initiated an intensive pre-elections campaign, joined the coordinated action of other NGOs for fair and democratic elections IZLAZ 2000 and started traveling across Serbia.

The title of the pre-elections campaign was 'Use your eyes and use your head, vote in the elections', and our target groups were workers, retired citizens, and members of ethnic minorities. However, we did not exclude other social groups from the campaign, we simply chose certain towns and municipalities and introduced discussion topics we felt the above cited target groups could best relate to.

In the previous year, the 'Partnerstvo' created a network of approximately 100 associates in 16 cities in Serbia, which provided us with the logistics to be equally presented in all parts of Serbia. In cooperation with CeSID, we organized 33 seminars in which the participants had the opportunity to learn all the important facts about working in electoral commissions, and got training which enabled them to continue working with specific target groups for the duration of the pre-elections period. Furthermore, they were given information on non-governmental organizations and the civil society, and the role of the civil sector in politics. The activists who attended these seminars were fully prepared for future civil activities in their own communities. The seminars were organized in Valjevo, Užice, Kragujevac, Čačak, Zrenjanin, Novi Sad, Zaječar, Niš, Subotica, Sombor, Vranje, Leskovac, Novi Pazar, Kraljevo, Pirot, Šabac, Loznica, Ljubovija, Banatski Karlovac, Vladimirci, Alibunar, Ub, etc.

Public forums were also organized within the campaign, which were being held since the beginning of this year, but were intensified in the pre-elections period, from July to September 2000. Experts and university professors talked to the citizens about the importance of voting in the elections and why democratic changes were necessary. These expert teams had one basic objective: to help the citizens shake off the apathy and the inertia that had gotten hold of them. And we could note the change in attitudes during these discussions. Each proof of doubt expressed through comments such as "What can my vote change?" or "The regime won't go away even if the opposition gets more votes" were just triggers for serious debates.

These forums were organized in Trstenik, Novi Pazar, Kragujevac, Zrenjanin, Novi Sad, Kikinda, Niš, Subotica, Sviljig, Leskovac, Užice, Kraljevo, Vranje, Dimitrovgrad, Prijepolje, Sjenica, Čačak, Gornji Milanovac, Irig, Sombor, Kovan, Sjenica, Vršac, Sremiska Mitrovica, Aleksinac, Pečenjevac, Žica, Bojnik, Vladimirci, Ub and Lajkovac. Several groups of
According to the data presented by the Center for Public Opinion and Political Research of the Institute for Social Sciences, 85.7% of the voters from the 18-29 age group participated in the September elections: 80% of them voted for Koštunica, and 79% for DOS, i.e., the majority of the young people voted for changes.

It was precisely this age group which was the target audience for the pre-elections campaign 'Vote and rock the bought' organized by the Evropski pokret u Srbiji (European Movement in Serbia). The campaign was initiated in order to motivate large numbers of young voters, especially first time voters, to use their right and cast their votes and thus make an impact on their own future. The objective of the campaign was to inform the young people about the importance and the procedures of exercising their right to vote on one hand, and a long term political education in the area of democratic elections and the importance of the possibility to change governments, on the other hand. The campaign was carried out in Belgrade, Vršac, Zrenjanin, Smederevska Palanka, Požega and Kraljevo in cooperation with the local councils of the Evropski pokret u Srbiji, and partner organizations Generacija 21 (Generation 21) and Civil Action Forum (Forum civilne akcije).

Partnerstvo activists also took part in other events organized by other non-governmental organizations. Furthermore, they organized smaller events and happenings at the local community level. 300,000 posters were posted all over Serbia, hundreds of thousands of leaflets were distributed, half of which were written in the languages of ethnic minorities. We had around thirty radio and TV shows broadcast by the local radio and TV stations, and we had a regular 30-minute show called "The time of changes" which provided updates on NGOs’ activities and which was broadcast on 26 local radio stations in Serbia.

**European Movement in Serbia

VOTE AND ROCK THE BOAT**

According to the data presented by the Center for Public Opinion and Political Research of the Institute for Social Sciences, 85.7% of the voters from the 18-29 age group participated in the September elections: 80% of them voted for Koštunica, and 79% for DOS, i.e., the majority of the young people voted for changes.

The campaign had three mutually complementary segments: field work and distribution of promotion materials in six target cities, campaign promotion in the local media, through the ANEM network and on the web site www.x-izbori.org, which was set up exclusively for the purpose of this campaign. During field work, our activists established intensive cooperation with other NGOs within the IZLAZ 2000 and 'It's time!' campaigns. Thanks to this cooperation and the high quality of the propaganda materials, those materials were distributed in the following cities and towns as well: Novi Sad, Kikinda, Vrbas, Bečej, Indjija, Sremska Mitrovica, Smederevo, Čačak, Lučani, Velika Plana, Kragujevac, Kruševac, Užice, Novi Pazar, Pirot, Vranje, and in the villages within the six targeted municipalities.

The campaign was evaluated as attractive, modern, different, positive and tolerant by its participants, and the web site registered 15,000 visitors in less than a month, which made it one of the 30 most visited Internet sites in Yugoslavia.
Građanske inicijative (Civil Initiatives) organized FORUM KANDIDATA (Candidates Forums) within the IZLAZ 2000 campaign. In 27 cities in Serbia, the candidates for the federal parliaments met face to face with the citizens of Serbia. For the first time the citizens got the opportunity to meet those who would represent their interests in the institutions of the state.

Forum kandidata is a public event during which the candidates present their views to the public. All candidates are given the same time framework and a chance to answer citizens’ questions under equal terms. The Forums helped raise the levels of citizens’ knowledge about the candidates views and attitudes, which consequently made it easier for the citizens to decide who to give their votes to. On one hand, the Forums created the opportunity for the candidates to improve their credibility within the larger community and to ‘learn’ to communicate with the citizens, and on the other hand, they enabled the citizens to learn about the political attitudes and promises of their future representatives which, in turn, would allow them to monitor the course of their actions once they are in power, thus making sure that the politicians act in accordance with their responsibilities.

Građanske iniciative organized training sessions for the future Forum kandidata moderators in Belgrade on August 17-18, in coordination with Gradjanske iniciative Center, which has offices in Tuzla, Banja Luka and Mostar, and which had had previous direct experience with this type of activity. Forum kandidata were organized in Pirot, Jagodina, Dimitrovgrad, Krusevac, Leskovac, Novi Pazar, Vranje, Prijeponje, Niš, Prijepoje, Babušnica, Smederevska Palanka, Aleksinac, Kovic, Požega, Zrenjanin, Užice, Kikinda, Čačak, Novi Sad, Kraljevo, Pančevo, Kragujevac, Sombor, Paraćin, Vršac, Subotica, as well as in a large number of smaller towns in these municipalities.
South-eastern Serbia consists of the following regions: Negotinska and Timocka area, Niš, Pirot, Leskovac, Toplica and Vranje region. About 2 million people live in these areas. The members organizations of South-eastern Network (Jugoistočna mreža) are:

1. Građanska alternativa, Niš
2. Građanski pokret otpora, Niš
3. Ženski klub, Knjaževac
4. Želena akcija, Leskovac
5. KIC, Caribrod – Dimitrovgrad
6. Multietnički parlament, Pirot
7. Narodni parlament, Leskovac
8. Odbor za ljudska prava, Bor
9. Odbor za ljudska prava, Negotin
10. Odbor za ljudska prava, Zaječar
11. Pirgos, Pirot
12. Timočki klub, Knjaževac
13. Ćilim, Pirot
14. Forum za građanska prava, Niš
15. CeSID, regionalna kancelarija, Zaječar
16. Centar za nenasilno rešavanje koflikata, Leskovac
17. Studentski ekološki klub, Niš
18. SOS Vlasotince

Beside the main aim, more people going to elections, the realization of the project should have affirmed a new way of thinking about the mechanisms of voting. This would have indirectly supported pro-election campaign of democratically orientated parties. Animation for going to elections has been accomplished in different ways, using different methods and techniques.

15 sessions "election of course" have been organized. Well known personalities took part at the sessions: university professors, novelists, independent journalists, politicians and NGO activists. Sessions were attended with a number of citizens - from 18 citizens (Boljevac) to 550 citizens (Niš). Each session was announced in 2 ways: through private television network Spektar-TV5 and promotion posters. In most places sessions were events which animated local public and contributed the whole atmosphere of going out to elections.

13 educative workshops "Save your vote" were carried out. Workshops were run by CeSID trainers and authorities on election processes. The number of participants in workshops was very equalized and on the average it about 35. Workshops turned out to be very interesting events which animated local public to pay special attention to possible election manipulations.

The slogan of our campaign was "It's useless to repent after voting". We have printed: 500,000 stickers with 4 different slogans, 20,000 pens with cambering slogan and 1,500 T-shirts with the same slogan. Stickers, pens and T-shirts were distributed at every possible occasion; in "Door to door cambering", at invitations to workshops, at sessions and workshops, at concerts and street stands etc. T-shirts were also given to our volunteers. We have organized 5 big concerts. The number of young people who were present was from 1,200 (Knjaževac) to 3,000 (Leskovac). During the campaign over 700 promotion spots were broadcasted and 10,000 posters were printed.

In the preparation of the project realization a seminar "Work with volunteers" was organized for 18 organizations. About 270 volunteers were involved in the campaign.

Our campaign was a part of the national campaign "Get Out 2000". A great number of citizens who went to elections, their will for changes, and their decision to fight for and win the right for the respect of their voting will through demonstrations, are the best proof of the successfulness of our campaign. We are all very proud to have taken part in that. Of course, we are all very grateful to all who helped us, for their belief that democratic changes are possible in Serbia, and for having confidence in the Jugoslavisgoistočna mreža.
The campaign by 'Vox Feminae' from Užice targeted primarily the rural female population of all ages. The main objective of this project was to motivate large numbers of women to participate in the elections. The campaign was carried out in 51 villages in three municipalities: Užice, Požega and Čajetina, September 9 - 21, 2000. A total of 20 female activists from the 'Vox Feminae' organization and other volunteers took part in the campaign. The 'door to door' campaign included interviews, conversations, distribution of the 'Vox Feminae' promotional materials along with materials prepared by other participants in the campaign (non-governmental organizations, DOS, etc.), in accordance with the overall circumstances and the attitudes of women we contacted. We had to adjust our approach from one woman to the next. The most emancipated were the women of Zlakusa, while Zdravcici proved to be the community with the least emancipated female population. On an average, we visited 4-5 villages each day, and we talked to a total of 6120 women, which translates to an average of 510 women a day. The campaign included 53% of all female voters in the municipality of Užice (according to the voters' lists, there are 9130 female voters living in 40 villages in this municipality). Approximately another 250 women were contacted outside of their homes.

In four villages, we organized events dedicated to fine embroidery contest and exhibition. A call was broadcast through the local media to women to come and bring along their best handwork to the contest. Three of the finest works were awarded by equal prizes: 1kg of cotton knitting thread. After the competition part, free check-ups by ophthalmologists and internal medicine specialists were offered and legal advice was given when required. These gatherings helped women relax, so it was easy to get them to talk freely on topics such as social status of women and the importance of voting at the elections.

Overall, through field work, special events and ‘door to door’ activities, we made contacts with 6500 women in the rural areas in the Užice municipality, which makes out 56% of women in the registered voters' lists.

Special propaganda materials were prepared by 'Vox Feminae' for the purpose of this campaign: a poster 'It's ladies' choice this time', three different leaflets and ladies' bags with the campaign slogan printed on them.

On September 14, 2000 Petar Luković visited Užice. The event was very successful. After the official interview, we organized a party which was attended by approximately 150-200 people.

Women participants in all our events recorded their opinions in the Book of Impressions.

We also distributed leaflets at the concert of a Sarajevo band 'Indexi', held in Užice on September 9, as well as at the rally for the presidential candidate Vojislav Kostunica in Sevojno and Užice on September 11. We handed out leaflets and bags on two other occasions, at the open market on September 16, and at the town square on September 20, 2000.
Alternative Citizens’ Parliament (Alternativni parlament građana) participated in the pre-election campaign prior to the September elections. Our primary objective was to motivate the citizens to get out and vote for change at the elections.

Prior to the September elections, 34% voters in the Paraćin municipality had abstained from the elections. Our hypothesis was that if 50% of the total number of citizens who had not voted before turned up at the September elections, the DOS electoral victory would be secured. The project GET OUT AND VOTE was based on this hypothesis, and that was the motto of our pre-election campaign, which was carried out by the Alternativni Parlament activists who went ‘door to door’ and animated the citizens to participate in the elections. The action was carried out in the city area and in the villages in the Paraćin municipality. Over 150 000 leaflets were distributed during the campaign. A large number of forum discussions were organized in the city and in the surrounding villages. The campaign lasted for 40 days.

Along with the above activities, the Alternative Parliament participated in the united NVO campaign entitled IZLAZ 2000, and organized FORUM KANDIDATA in cooperation with the Građanske inicijative in three villages in the Paraćin municipality. The elections results in this municipality indicate that all our projects were carried out with complete success.

Aside from some initial problems in organizing the campaign, we encountered grave difficulties during field work: verbal insults, threats, and even a few very dangerous situations in which rocks were being thrown at women, they were threatened by an ax, and, at one village, even shot at. Luckily, nobody was hurt.

On the other hand, the positive effects of the campaign outnumber the above cited problems. We feel that we opened the door to freedom, that we awoke a large number of women and liberated them from fears. Their comments in the Book of Impressions fill us both with pride and with responsibility.
URBAN-IN is a non-governmental organization from Novi Pazar. Within its pre-elections activities, this NGO carried out two campaigns, namely a youth campaign "Stay awake for the future" and a campaign, coordinated with the 'Damal' Culture Center from Novi Pazar, "Let's go Kato, let's go Zlato, ... let's go out to the elections and vote for changes", which targeted the female population.

Our volunteers traveled 750 km during the campaign. We organized events in Novi Pazar, Sjenica, Tutin, Nova Varos, Prijepolje and Priboj. We posted several thousand posters, and distributed thousands of leaflets, caps, stickers, bags, hundreds of T-shirts, carry-on bags, coffee packs, notepads, ball point pens, cigarette lighters and other propaganda materials. We should point out that we specifically targeted younger people and managed to motivate them to join in and work as volunteers during the campaign. They expressed great enthusiasm and desire to give their contribution to the struggle for democratic change.

The pre-elections campaign was initiated by the registered voters lists check-ups which ended on September 4, 2000.

Within the youth campaign, "Budi budan za budućnost" (Stay awake for the future), we would like to single out as a special event the gathering in Novi Pazar of Youth Parliaments of Open Clubs from Subotica, Sombor, Vršac, Novi Sad, Belgrade, Valjevo, Aleksinac, Niš, Kragujevac, Podgorica and Nikšić.

On Saturday, September 16, 2000, a seminar was organized, entitled "Interethnic relations, cooperation and perspectives", a lecture on the history of Novi Pazar was given, and a visit to cultural and historical monuments was organized. On the same day, two other events were held, "mantija after mantija - a baking pan; vote after vote - democracy" and "A kebab for a gourmet, a vote for democracy", where propaganda materials were distributed and local specialties, matijas and kebaps, were served.

The campaign volunteers used every chance they had to distribute the propaganda materials, inviting the young and the women to vote in the elections. Large numbers of bags, leaflets, coffee packs and postcards were distributed at the presentation of "A room of one's own" by Virginia Woolf, at the 'Dositej Obradović' Library in Novi Pazar.

We also established good cooperation with the 'ultra blues', the fans of the 'Novi Pazar' soccer team, to whom we handed out large quantities of the IZLAZ 2000 blue caps on two occasions.

In the second phase of the campaign, the URBAN-IN and the 'Damal' volunteers traveled across the Sandzak region. We visited Prijepolje first where we distributed large quantities of promotional materials with the help of the local NGO 'Demes'.

Visits to Tutin, Sjenica, Nova Varos and Priboj followed. We organized public forums in these towns as parts of the "Let's go Kato, let's go Zlato, ... let's go out to the elections and vote for changes" campaign, in which the following activists presented their ideas: Aida Corovic, URBAN-IN coordinator, Zibija Dj. Sarenkapic, 'Damal' coordinator, and Adela Dzanafendic, a member of the URBAN-IN Open Club. These three women mostly talked about the importance of NGOs activities in the development of local communities and the creation of a civil society, about the need for the women to get involved in public and political life, as well as about the urgency to vote in the September elections. Sets of propaganda...
materials were distributed to all who attended these forums.

At the same time, the URBAN-IN volunteers, in coordination with the local activists in these towns, distributed posters, leaflets, caps, stickers and other propaganda materials within the "Stay awake for the future" campaign which targeted the young population. The official parts of these activities were followed by informal parties where additional quantities of propaganda materials were distributed.

At forums, social events, and public discussions, we came to the conclusion that the majority of towns in the Sandzak area did not have any NGOs. We determined that the creation of new NGOs, especially interested in youth and women's issues, was a priority, while the next step would be the formation of the Sandzak NGO network.

The final event of the URBAN-IN campaign was a gathering of all our members who were the first time voters and a group outing to the voting locations.

We encountered different problems during the campaign. The propaganda material for both the "Stay awake for the future" and the "Let's go Kato, let's go Zlato, ... let's go out to the elections and vote for changes" campaigns which were sent to Priboj on a regular commercial bus run, was taken away by the Priboj police. The local coordinator from Priboj did not get the material back despite talks and negotiations with the police officials.

Another incident occurred when our activists were leaving Tutin, in which a local police inspector took away a video tape from one of our volunteers who was in charge of recording the event. Other volunteers present at the scene were also questioned and accused of possession of the OTPOR propaganda material. Upon the insistence of the local coordinator the video tape was returned to the URBAN-IN volunteers and the incident did not have any serious consequences.

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Humanitarian Society 'PANONIA', Novi Sad

When was the campaign initiated?
The preparations for the campaign were initiated in April of this year when Ženske inicijative (Women's Initiatives) of Novi Sad was founded which gathered all women activists in the NGO sector in the area of Novi Sad, along with women in politics, women from the media and from the unions. The objective of this initiative was to motivate and prepare the women of Novi Sad to take active participation in the public life. It was concluded at that early stage in the campaign that a joint action with women in politics should be carried out to ensure 30% women's participation in political and public life. Ženske inicijative Novog Sada (as an ad hoc organization) made effective public appearances at forums which had a very good turnout, and which bravely attempted to discuss some of the burning issues regarding the new attitude towards the regime, at times when such discussions carried some very significant risks. Issues related to women's participation in public life, responsibility, media, culture and the like were raised.

Further development of the campaign
Members of the younger generation who gathered around Otvoreni klub (Open Club) were educated about the possibility and the need for changes within the program entitled "Stop and think", where all issues related to public life were treated at different discussion groups, forums, lectures and presentations. Youth groups which were actively participating in the fight for changes, such as the Kreativna omladina Novog Sada (Creative Youth of Novi Sad), Studentska unija (Student Union) and OTPOR were presented to the members of the Open Club. These activities were carried out during the months of January, February, March and April of 2000.

Direct Campaign
The first aspect of the open campaign was presented at the beginning of October with the "Vote for
In carrying out the "Get out and vote" (Izadi i glasaj!) campaign, the Građanski Parlament (Peoples Parliament) Leskovac took advantage of all of its resources as well as of resources of those NGOs within the Jugoistočna mreža (South-East Network), which have good cooperation with our organization.

Our volunteers were engaged in a 'door to door' campaign, which included material distribution, mobile crews which were in charge of the activities in the villages, and teams for contacts and animation of activists in the villages. The propaganda material was prepared by the Građanski Parlament, while the Jugoistočna mreža prepared its own material. We had an agreement with the Građanskim inicijativama from Belgrade, and with the activists of the "Vreme je" Campaign to distribute their materials within the IZLAZ 2000 campaign.

Approximately 100 activists took part in the campaign, without counting the activists in the villages whose numbers could only be estimated. A 'door to door' distribution of materials was organized on a daily basis. We visited about 15000 households in the city and talked to citizens about how important it was to vote in the elections.

Stands for material distribution were being set up every other day, and on a daily basis during the Barbecue week, at which time the largest quantities of materials were distributed. Large quantities of propaganda materials were handed out in the villages by activists who had previously undergone special training programs.

Aside from concerts organized by the ANEM, the Jugoistočna mreža organized a concert in which the following bands took part: the Goblins, the Penthouse, the Rabies, and the Summer Chicken. Several thousands of young people turned up for these concerts and they all received the material prepared by the Jugoistočna mreža, Građanski parlament, CeSID and the "Vreme je" Campaign.

"Maybe it was the common desire and the strong will of the people to induce changes which made this campaign so astonishingly successful. We wanted changes and we dreamt of changes, but in our wildest dreams we could not expect this to happen. But it happened. And there is nothing else to say - we won'.
The largest numbers of registered voters who had not participated in all the previous elections in all the municipalities of the Šabac electoral unit were to be found among the young people (age 18-27). The youth from the countryside currently residing in the nearby towns (Šabac, Loznica, Bogatić, Vladimirci, Koceljeva and Mali Zvornik) for the most part did not go to the electoral locations (in their native villages) on the days of the elections. A total of 67% of all registered voters took part in the presidential elections in 1997.

Village Step 98 (Seoski prag 98) prepared special propaganda material with the goal of motivating the young people to vote in the elections on September 24, 2000: 2000 posters, 2000 cigarette lighters with the campaign slogan printed on them, 4000 posters, 5000 leaflets, 1000 stickers and 500 posters which announced public forums. The propaganda material was distributed to our associates in the target municipalities. Larger events were organized at the following locations: September 03, 2000, Šabac, rock and roll concert "Get to the line' at the Liberty Square, propaganda material distribution.

The events which were the highlights of the campaign were, among others, a party for the younger generation, a race 'Who will reach the ballot box first' organized in the heart of the downtown, an exposition of selected cartoons by Predrag Koraksic Korax, a forum entitled "Save Serbia and vote with Lex", a presentation of the movie "Insignificant heroes" organized by OTPOR, Leskovač, five candidates forums in cooperation with the Gradjanskim inicijativama, three forums entitled "Elections, of course", six "Save your vote" workshops, etc.

Eight public forums were organized during the campaign in the following villages: Tekeris, Donje Crniljevo, Dublje Lipolist, Grušić, Skupljen, Bukor, Varna. The work title of these forums was "Preparation of the soil for the fall seed sowing".

A total of 140 volunteers took part in the campaign: 80 volunteers from the Sabac municipality, along with 60 volunteers from other municipalities. It is important to point out that the young people who participated in the campaign were very enthusiastic, helping distribute both the materials they prepared themselves and those provided by other NGOs from Belgrade (T-shirts, buttons, etc.).

The objective of the project - to motivate the young people to get out and vote in the federal, presidential and parliamentary elections - was completely fulfilled. On September 24, 2000, 182 108 voters (out of 242 276 registered voters) cast their ballots in the Sabac municipality. That makes out 75.16% of all registered voters (according to the data provided by the Municipal electoral commission). In comparison with the first round of elections held in 1997 this represents a 9.51% increase in voters' turnout, and in comparison with the second round of the presidential elections held on October 5, 1997, a 18.36% increase in voters' turnout was registered. Approximately 80-90% of registered voters from rural areas participated in the September elections. The young people came in large numbers thus giving their full contribution to the democratization of the society, presenting themselves as a true and important political factor in the electoral process.
• Participation at the sessions of the EPUS local councils, and preparation of pre-elections projects, such as "Glasam da talasam", Forum kandidata, etc.

• Participation in the workshop organized by the Grupa za promociju ženskih političkih prava in Belgrade, in preparations for the 'door to door' campaign.

• Cooperation with the Rhoma Culture Club from Smederevska Palanka; Joint project to motivate the Rhoma families to come out and vote in the elections.

• Participation in the joint NGO activity, together with EGRIN, Kraljevo, and four other women's NGOs from Čačak, Kruševac and Kragujevac in the "I choose" campaign, and the organization of the "Forum Kandidata" with another NGO in 24 cities across Serbia. A workshop entitled "I choose" was also organized in Miloševac.

• Distribution of propaganda material prepared by the Ženski pokret – Ženska mreža for the "Equality" campaign.

• Posters and billboards featuring OTPOR activists posted and distributed.

• Sept. 15. Literary afternoon in Milosevac. Visit by the representatives of the "Plavi jahač" women's NGO from Belgrade/ Nataša Marković and Vesna Vojvodić/. All who attended got a copy of Virginia Woolf's "A room of one's own".

• Literary evening in Velika Plana at the "Moment" coffee shop (the town library and the Youth Center declined to let us use their facilities). Approximately 50 women attended, together with a few men. All received a copy of Virginia Woolf's "A room of one's own". Literary afternoon and evening were parts of the "Come out and cast your vote" campaign organized by the Women's Media Network.

• Sept. 15-16. Workshop at the Library of the Krnjevo Cultural Center.

• Sept. 16. Workshop at Markovac, after the presentation of the DOS candidates.

• Workshop at Staro Selo.

• Sept. 18-19. Setting up billboards and posters and preparing for the Forum kandidata.

• Sept. 19. Setting up billboards and posters at Lozovik; distribution of the promotional material at the Lozovik open market; workshop.

• Sept. 20. Experts League's FORUM on the importance of voting in the elections. A cartoon exhibit by P. K. Korax before the Forum. Guests: prof. dr. Čedomir Ćupić, prof. dr. Jelena Đorđević and Korax. Approximately 100 citizens attended, and they all received IZLAZ 2000 booklets, information booklets, and leaflets prepared by three different women’s networks. 20 copies of the G 17 Plus "White Book" were distributed as well.

• Sept. 21. Morning: Propaganda material distribution. Evening: a theater performance "A dialogue in hell between Machiavelli and Montesquieu" ("Mirror" Theater), organized by DOS. Promotional material distribution before and after the show at the stand set up in the Cultural Center Hall.

• Sept. 21. House calls to families at Novo Selo and Rakinac. Distribution of coffee bags, T-shirts, and SOS leaflets "A woman in action". Other promotional material was not distributed due to the pre-elections silence.
OTPOR

ГОТОВ ЈЕ!


ПОБЕДА

ГОТОВ ЈЕ!

Yugoslav Lawyers Committee for Human Rights (YUCOM) carried out a series of activities with the goal to assure democratic, fair and free elections.

legal offices in 15 cities and towns in Serbia, recorded numerous incidents of repression against citizens, non-governmental organizations and members of the People’s Movement OTPOR.

YUCOM also actively participated in offering legal aid to Belgrade non-governmental organizations and international media representatives, all of who were working under severe repression by the state financial inspection, the foreign currency inspectorate and the police. We provided expert help to the Centar za kulturnu dekontaminaciju (Center for Cultural Decontamination), CeSID, "Vreme je" campaign, People’s Movement OTPOR, Grupa 484, and others, as well as to international news agencies. We also registered approximately ten other incidents of repression against non-governmental organizations in the territory of Serbia (bans on concerts, unauthorized bust by the financial inspection and the police, etc.).

Several arrests were also registered during this period, along with threats and physical assaults on individual members of non-governmental organizations and the People’s Movement OTPOR (over 80 arrests, beatings and physical assaults on activists), as well as on citizens who expressed opinions contrary to the officially proclaimed ones (70 incidents of beatings, arrests, disciplinary proceedings, threat at the working place, etc.). Legal aid was also provided when necessary.

YUCOM organized three seminars for NGOs dedicated to legal procedures related to their financial management which were attended by approximately 30 NGOs. We organized an educational Seminar on the Control of the Electoral Procedure, in cooperation with CeSID and CUPS. Over 40 attorneys-at-law and legal aids from YUCOM’s offices across Serbia and attorneys-at-law from G17+ and URBAN-IN from Novi Pazar took part in this seminar held on September 7-8, 2000.

YUCOM provided over 100 legal advice to all interested citizens with respect to the implementation of their right to vote.

On the day of the elections, YUCOM assured active monitoring of the electoral procedures in over 16 cities and towns in Serbia, during which several instances of procedure violations by the representatives of the old regime were registered. These incidents were presented to the public, and official complaints were filed to the relevant legislative bodies on the day of the elections.

After attempts to hamper with the citizens’ electoral will, which led to the events outside of the Federal Parliament on October 5, 2000, a ten-year rule of Slobodan Milosevic ended. Citizens asked for YUCOM's legal aid with regard to
numerous incidents of repression which had taken place for the duration of the old regime. Legal advice (and in some cases, legal aid) was given on 192 occasions.

Through the above described activities YUCOM gave its full contribution to democratic changes in Serbia and the FR of Yugoslavia, before, during and immediately after the elections.

Forca, Požega

Forum civilne akcije FORCA (Civil Action Forum FORCA) from Pozega was the only NGO in town which took active participation in the IZLAZ 2000 pre-elections campaign. Aside from the promotion of the already existing projects (candidates forums, 'I cast my vote to make waves', 'It's time!', 'I observe because I care' - CeSiD), and the distribution of materials of the IZLAZ 2000 campaign, FORCA carried out two original projects, namely, POZEGA CASTS ITS VOTE and the PRE-ELECTIONS OLYMPICS.

The campaign in Pozega was inaugurated with a large concert 'Get on the line!' which was part of the 'It's time' campaign. More than 4000 citizens attended the concert, which makes out approximately 25% of the total town population. FORCA, in cooperation with the Civil Parliament of Serbia, organized a concert to free Miroslav Filipovic ('Free Filipovic!) and a 'Large Popular Celebration' (in cooperation with the 'Libergraf' NGO from Uzice), a concert of trumpet players ('Folk to vote') where the propaganda materials were distributed.

The project entitled POZEGA CASTS ITS VOTE! had seven sub-projects, some of which were carried out with partner NGOs from Uzice and Arilje. The first sub-project was a best essay contest with the theme 'Why should I vote?'. The target group for this contest were high school students from Pozega, Užice and Arilje, who have become of age this year and thus obtained the right to cast their votes for the first time in the September elections. An expert jury selected the best three essays which were published in special booklets which were then distributed to the citizens. The authors of the best essays received prize as well. The other two activities included publication of FORCA posters and leaflets, and the preparation and distribution of 'Letters to students' which targeted this age group in a provocative and humorous way, inviting the students to get out and cast their votes.

The fourth sub-project within the POZEGA CASTS ITS VOTE! campaign was the production and broadcasting of 10 pre-elections TV spots. The next segment in the campaign was a large scale prize game. TV spots and radio jingles which promoted this action were produced in a manner similar to TV PINK prize games. The 'Pre-elections day count' was also a very frequent activity. The count-down was done through TV spots (with the Sun, the symbol of the IZLAZ 2000 campaign, which was getting a little bit higher in the horizon every day), and at a large billboard in the town main square where the number of days remaining till the IZLAZ 2000 was being changed every day. The last and the final activity within the POZEGA CASTS ITS VOTE! campaign was a free movie presentation of 'Citizen Kane' at the local movie theater, organized during the pre-
elections silence, on September 23, in order to emphasize once again the importance of citizens' participation in social and political life and in the elections.

The second project authored by FORCA was entitled the PRE-ELECTIONS OLYMPICS and it was carried out as part of the 'It's time!' campaign with the slogan 'Participate to win!'. Its target group were the young people and its basic idea was to transfer the competition spirit from sports to the pre-elections campaign. Four sports events were organized within this project: indoor soccer tournament ('Play for your team, vote for yourself'), basketball tournament ('Man to man, man to the elections'), bridge tournament ('Choose your trump card!') and jamb (a dice game) tournament ('Don't gamble, vote!). The Olympics also included contests for the best looking and the best performing athlete. This project had the greatest turnout of citizens.

The overall results of the campaign in Pozega are: all records in terms of citizens' turnout at the elections for this region were broken. At the municipality level, 83% of citizens cast their vote, but the numbers were even higher in some electoral units: for example, in Radovina 95% of voters took part in the elections.