

January 28, 1996

TO: D. Phil. Geir Lundestad, Secretary
The Norwegian Nobel Committee
FAX: 011-47-22-43-01-68

FROM: William N. Dunn

SUBJECT: 1996 Nobel Peace Prize Nomination

It is my distinct pleasure and honor to nominate H.E. Kiro Gligorov, President of the Republic of Macedonia, for the 1996 Nobel Peace Prize.

I have known President Gligorov for more than twenty years. My first professional contacts with him date to the early 1970s, when I was a Visiting Scholar at the Institute for International Politics and Economics (IPE) in Belgrade. At that time, Gligorov was a member of the IPE Council and, later, President of the Institute for Social Sciences. His leadership role in these organizations, along with his published contributions to professional literature, helped establish his regional and international reputation as an early innovator in the movement toward market economies and democratic institutions in Yugoslavia and Eastern Europe.

The history of Gligorov's achievements reveals a rare gift to identify and diagnose critical problems and take appropriate actions to resolve them. Born May 3, 1917 in Stip, the Republic of Macedonia, his entry into public life began with his participation in the anti-fascist and national liberation movement during World War II. As a result of his expertise in law, finance, and economics, Gligorov was appointed to a series of high-level ministerial and executive positions in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY) in the years 1945-1969. In this period, as Federal Secretary of Finance and one of the country's leading economists, he was selected to head of the federal government team responsible for designing and implementing Yugoslavia's first attempt at market-based economic reforms, which, at that time, were unprecedented in the socialist world. In the late 1970s, after holding elected offices as member of the Presidency of the SFRY and as President of the SFRY Parliament, he and other key Macedonian leaders temporarily withdrew from active public life under the pressures which then faced advocates of decentralized economic and political reforms. Mr. Gligorov later re-entered active public life, after spending more than a decade conducting theoretical and applied research in his areas of professional expertise.

In the late 1980s, Mr. Gligorov's re-entry into public life began with his inclusion in the Markovic Government's expert team for the implementation of a new market economy in Yugoslavia. In this period, when deepening political crises threatened the stability and existence of the former Yugoslavia, Gligorov developed new initiatives including multi-party elections and market-based economic reforms in

Macedonia. His reputation as the leader of the Yugoslav economic and political reforms of the 1960s and 1970s, along with the esteem in which he was held by major Macedonian political parties and ethnic groups, made him the leading candidate for President of the Republic of Macedonia. In January, 1991 he was elected by an overwhelming majority in Macedonia's first free, multi-party elections. In October, 1994, in a free and fair election monitored by international observers, he was re-elected for a second term with more than seventy percent of the popular vote. In late 1995, he survived an assassination attempt apparently motivated by an extreme nationalism of the kind he has successfully opposed as a pre-eminent Balkan reformer and statesman.

President Gligorov's extraordinary achievements as reformer and statesman make him uniquely qualified for the 1996 Nobel Peace Prize. Under his leadership, Macedonia has developed the only civic constitution in the Balkans, a remarkable accomplishment in the complex ethnic, religious, and political setting of Macedonia and the Balkans. The Constitution of November 17, 1991 not only guarantees parliamentary democracy, the protection of national minorities, and a market economy. The 1991 Constitution also confers rights and obligations which are based on universal citizenship rather than ethnic or religious identity. Significantly, the Badinter Commission concluded that the Macedonian Constitution (amended January 6, 1992) is the only constitution developed by states of the former Yugoslavia which satisfies standards for democratic, independent statehood.

Mr. Gligorov's second major achievement is his negotiation of the peaceful withdrawal of the Yugoslav National Army (JNA) from Macedonian territory in the Spring of 1992. Under his leadership, Macedonia became the only new state of the former Yugoslavia which attained independence through peaceful means. Thanks to Gligorov, Macedonia has not been drawn into the ethnic-religious conflicts that have decimated Bosnia and which still threaten, despite the Dayton and Paris accords, to explode into a Southern Balkan and European-wide war.

Mr. Gligorov's third major achievement involves his statesmanship in Southeastern Europe. As President of a small and newly independent European state in which domestic and international politics are highly interdependent, he has proven to be a master of conflict resolution and preventive diplomacy within and outside Macedonia. Gligorov, widely respected throughout Europe, has succeeded against great odds. He has become the principal guarantor of stability among Macedonia's ethnic, linguistic, and religious groups and the main architect of regional security agreements negotiated with the United Nations and the United States. These agreements, which have involved the deployment of peace-keeping forces under UNPROFOR's Nordic Command (including one United States battalion), represent the sole example of effective preventive diplomacy and peacekeeping

in the recent history of the United Nations.

President Gligorov's achievements as reformer and statesman were honored in the United States in September, 1994. The Central and East European Law Initiative (CEELI) of the American Bar Association presented him with an award recognizing his efforts to promote the rule of law and market economy reforms while respecting human rights in Macedonia. These efforts, it must be emphasized, occurred under conditions involving complex ethnic rivalries, opposition from domestic extremists, overt and covert acts of subversion from neighboring states, an unsuccessful assassination attempt, successive illegal economic blockades by ultra-nationalist Greek governments, and the loss of more than fifty percent of Macedonia's market with trading partners to the north (the rump Yugoslavia) because of Gligorov's insistence that his country comply with the United Nations embargo. Gligorov has been successful despite these and other constraints. Indeed, it would not be exaggerating to suggest that President Gligorov has been the central figure in neutralizing the damage done to the Balkans by larger and more powerful states which have created conflicts in the region, and then dispatched official and unofficial peace-keeping missions to rectify catastrophic errors. In my judgment and many others, Gligorov's statesmanship is one of the key factors preventing the spread of war into the Southern Balkans.

To be sure, there are a number of worthy candidates for the Nobel Peace Prize, including some of my countrymen. President Gligorov, however, is no ordinary peacemaker. He has achieved his status as a master of conflict resolution and preventive diplomacy under great adversity, and with far fewer economic, political, and institutional resources at his disposal than well-meaning peacemakers from large, powerful, and economically developed countries. The recognition of his achievements by the Nobel Peace Prize Committee would emphasize that the political will, wisdom, and courage to realize values of peace, human rights, and democracy are within the grasp of small, newly independent states seeking self-determination and an equal place in the community of nations.

Yours sincerely,

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