



Godišnji izveštaj Annual Report

Centar za nenasilnu akciju
Centre for Nonviolent Action
Sarajevo | Beograd

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Godišnji izvještaj 2019.

Annual Report 2019

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Centar za nenasilnu akciju je regionalna mirovna organizacija iz Sarajeva i Beograda. Radimo na izgradnji mira u regionu bivše Jugoslavije.

Centre for Nonviolent Action is a regional peace organisation from Sarajevo and Belgrade. We work on peacebuilding in the region of former Yugoslavia.



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Uvod

Drage prijateljice, dragi prijatelji,

Pred vama je 22. godišnji izvještaj o aktivnostima Centra za nenasilnu akciju. U ovom izvještaju nastojati ćemo vam te aktivnosti predstaviti u nešto kraćem obliku, a ukoliko vas čitanje potakne da o nekoj od njih želite saznati više, pozivamo vas da posjetite našu web stranicu nenasilje.org, na kojoj možete pronaći detaljnije izvještaje i galerije fotografija, na BHSC i engleskom jeziku.

U okviru rada na suočavanju s prošlošću, rad na sjećanju prepoznajemo kao jedan od ključnih faktora izgradnje mira. Pa je tako u proteklih godinu dana znatan dio naših aktivnosti bio usmjerjen poticanju javnog dijaloga i promjene trenutno dominantnih obrazaca kulture sjećanja – od prisustva mješovite grupe ratnih veterana komemoracijama u Mrkonjić Gradu, Stupnom Dolu, Aleksincu, Ahmićima i Grabovici, do posjeta veteranima gradovima Nišu i Jajcu, čija je osnovna vrijednost iskazivanje poštovanja prema svim stradalima, bez obzira na njihovo porijeklo; izložbama „Rat sjećanja“ u Zavidovićima, Podgorici, Goraždu i Jajcu; obilježavanjem neobilježenih mjeseta stradanja u Vitez, Bosanskom Petrovcu, Drvaru, Kotor Varoši, Mostaru, Konjicu, Sarajevu i Istočnom Sarajevu...

U borbi protiv nepravde i prevazilaženju naslijeđa nepravdi, ostajemo predani našem uvjerenju u snagu i ispravnost primjene principa nenasilja. U proteklih godinu dana organizirali smo tri treninga iz izgradnje mira – u Mostaru (BiH), trening namijenjen studentima i studenticama iz BiH, Mir-Paqe-Мир trening u Kruševu (MK) za učesnike i učesnice sa Kosova, Makedonije i Srbije, te regionalni osnovni trening iz izgradnje mira, održan u Ulcinju (CG). Korpusu znanja potrebnih za rad na obrazovanju za izgradnju mira dodali smo i novi priručnik: „Nenasilje! Priručnik za treninge iz izgradnje mira“. U njemu smo prikupili iskustva stećena u 20 godina rada na treninzima, te novi priručnik, između ostalog, predstavlja i proširenu i dorađenu verziju našeg priručnika „Nenasilje?!\“, objavljenog prije 18 godina.

Ove godine smo raspisali i treći konkurs za kratku priču Biber, na svim jezicima regije i sa ponešto proširenjom temom, na koji nam je pristigao dosada najveći broj broj priča, njih 464. Vjerujemo da su ovolikom broju priča pridonijele i promocije zbirke priča sa prošlog konkursa, održane u Južnoj Mitrovici i Podgorici.

Strategiju izgradnje mira, na kojoj smo godinama radili, a potom učinili sve da sa njom dođemo do državnih organa Srbije, uključujući predsjednika i premijerku, na koncu smo odlučili javno predstaviti i pokloniti građanima Srbije, za inspiraciju i na daljnje upravljanje. Naša je nada da ćemo dočekati vrijeme

kada će nam se s druge strane naći sugovornici opredijeljeni da doista rade na izgradnji trajnog mira, u svim njegovim društvenim aspektima.

Sve što vrijedi, dugo se gradi, pa bismo tu maksimu vjerojatno mogli proširiti i na polje ne samo regionalne već i međunarodne suradnje. Sudjelovali smo u obilježavanju Međunarodnog dana bijelih traka u Prijedoru, na međunarodnoj konferenciji „Sadašnjost prošlosti, hitnost sadašnjosti“ u Buenos Airesu (svojevrsnom nastavku suradnje uspostavljene tijekom prvog kruga Mandela dijaloga o radu na sjećanju održanih 2013/2014. godine), te panel diskusiji o sjećanju i pomirenju u Ulmu.

I na kraju, ali ne manje važno, na našu veliku radost, ove godine CNA timu se pridružio i stari-novi član, Radomir Radević. Za one koji ga još nisu upoznali, idealna je prilika da pročitate njegov tekst o tome što je presudilo u odluci da svoju podgoričku adresu zamijeni beogradskom. A što nas sve zajedno motivira da ustrajemo u nastojanju ka izgradnji trajnog mira u regiji bivše Jugoslavije, zorno će vam pokazati izvještaji aktivista o trenutnom stanju stvari u Bosni i Hercegovini, Crnoj Gori, Hrvatskoj, na Kosovu, Makedoniji i Srbiji kojima završavamo ovogodišnji pregled.

Kao i uvijek dosad, vaša povratna informacija puno bi nam značila.

CNA tim
rujan/septembar 2019.

Od rata sjećanja prema drugačijoj kulturi sjećanja

Kada smo u Goraždu u junu 2019. organizirali izložbu Rat sjećanja i tribinu Od rata sjećanja ka sjećanju o ratu: Kako se rata sjeća postratna generacija goraždanski novinar Slavko Klisura kazao je kako mu je žao zbog činjenice da ljudi u Goraždu o ratu razgovaraju isključivo ako to organizira neko izvan Goražda, neko sa strane. To svakako ne znači da se u našim društвima ne govori o ratu i o sjećanju na rat. Pogledajte samo centralne informativne emisije (televizija je još uvijek najmoćniji medij na Balkanu bez obzira na uspon interneta) i teško da ћete i jednu pronaći a da barem petina vremena nije posvećena sjećanju na ratne pobjede, žrtve, probleme boračke populacije, traganje za nestalima, obilježavanje godišnjica stradanja... Taj govor je jednosmjeran i površan, on ne samo da ne uključuje dijalog sa ljudima koji su bili sa druge strane već isključuje i većinu ljudi iz vlastitog narativa jer njihovo iskustvo, njihove priče, ne mogu doći na red od govora raznih političkih predstavnika, vjerskih vođa, zasluznih ratnih komandanata...

Rat i mit

Niko se nije detaljnije akademski pozabavio trenutačnim ratom za sjećanje od Dejana Jovića u knjizi Rat i mit objavljenoj u prošloj godini. Jović je pokazao da je rat u hrvatskom društvu svojevrsni utemeljivački mit i raditi na razgradnji tog mita shvata se kao pokušaj razgradnje cijelokupnog društva. Iako su iskustva djelimično različita, ova Jovićeva teza mogla bi se proširiti i razrađivati u svim postjugoslovenskim zemljama koje su prošle kroz rat(ove). Nezgoda sa mitovima je, kako je primijetio Raoul Girardet, jeste da ih je moguće dekonstruisati samo ako ste izvan njih, ako ne vjerujete u njih, ali je istovremeno jedino moguće shvatiti njihovu pokretačku snagu ako ste unutra, ako vjerujete ili ste vjerovali u takve mitove.

Komparativni pogled na nekad zaraćena društva, dodali bismo ovome, pruža dodatnu perspektivu, koja nam omogućuje da mapiramo zajedničke osobine i osnovne razlike utemeljiteljskih mitova naših postratnih zajednica, kako bismo ih lakše dekonstruirali, nastojeći umjesto međusobno suprostavljenih narativa pronaći onaj dio u kojem barem mogu su-postojati, bez neposredne ratne ugroze. Vrlo važnim u ovom procesu vidimo rad sa ratnim veteranima, koji se često doživaljavaju kao najtvrđokorniji nositelji nacionalnog mita, te se u tom smislu ili zloupotrebljavaju od strane političkih elita, ili diskvalificiraju kao ljudi i građani, od strane onog dijela

društva koji sebe doživljava kao napredniji i moralno superironiji.

Sjećanje je jedan od najvažnijih elemenata u mobiliziranju društva. Iskustvo rata priziva se u svakodnevnoj politici po pravilu na antagonizirajući način (ne zaboravimo šta su oni nama radili ili moramo učiniti to i to da nam se ne ponovi). Čak i kad se na jednoj široj platformi ostvari saradnja između različitih etničkih grupa koja se međusobno percipiraju kao neprijateljske, sjećanje se koristi kao faktor razbijanja te saradnje. Primjer su protesti u Sarajevu i Banjoj Luci koje su inicirali roditelji dvojice mladića koji su, svaki u svom gradu, ubijeni pod nikad razjašnjениm okolnostima 2017. Proteste su organizirali očevi mladića, zahtjevajući od policija dvaju entiteta da rade svoj posao. Očevi Muriz Memić i Davor Dragičević podržali su jedan drugog i pozvali su na zajedničku borbu kako bi se otkrila istina o ubistvima njihovih sinova. Kao krajnji argument delegitimizacije i jednog i drugog u Banjoj Luci je korištena činjenica kako je Muriz u ratu bio pripadnik Armije BiH, dok je istovremeno u Sarajevu Davor delegitimisan kao bivši pripadnik Vojske Republike Srpske.

Međunarodni kontekst svakako ima izuzetnog utjecaja i na sve ono što se dešava na prostoru Balkana, posebno kada se radi o osjetljivim pitanjima kao što su suočavanje s prošlošću i izgradnja mira. Aktivista Edin Ramulić iz Prijedora dobro je uočio kako se rat na prostoru bivše Jugoslavije desio u vrijeme kada je unutar međunarodne zajednice postojao kakav-takov konsenzus o tome da se ratni zločini moraju kazniti, da je suočavanje s prošlošću važna tema u postratnim društвima itd. Za razliku od vremena nakon rata, pa sve negdje do prije otprilike pet godina, činilo se da ћemo polučiti neke rezultate suočavanja s prošlošću. Imali smo kakve-takve presude, ljudi nisu baš olako negirali dokazane činjenice, vodilo se računa i o tome što govore međunarodni elementi... Sada se čini da su svi odlučili zaboraviti postratni period i vratiti se u predratno stanje uzimajući narative kao zadane činjenice, i to bez ikakvog srama. Političke elite su odradile svoje, školski sustav je odradio svoje, veliki broj ljudi je odustao od svega i odselio, međunarodna se situacija sve više približava onoj balkanskoj, i u tim uvjetima se zapravo čini da možeš raditi i govoriti što hoćeš, o prošlosti pogotovo, i da to nema nikakve posljedice. Što si gori, to ti je popularnost veća, a

mržnja se ponovno širi kao virus, ko glasniji, taj jači... Ništa od ovoga se nije dogodilo preko noći, i čak i ako nije bilo do kraja smišljena strategija, čini se da je u potpunosti uspjela.

Prelaziti granice

Većina komemoracija i obilježavanja godišnjica stradanja su ekskluzivne u smislu da su dizajnirane samo za pripadnike jednog naroda kao i spomenici koji su u mnogim slučajevima takvi da ili prijete drugima ili čine da se oni osjećaju nelagodno. Oni čija se etnička grupa percipira kao neprijateljska, često nisu dobrodošli čak ni onda kada su spremni doći i pokloniti se žrtvama. Nedostatak povjerenja, čak i prema onima koji otvorenih ruku i srca dolaze pokloniti se žrtvama tako je očigledan.

Nastojeći prevazići postavljene granice oko nas nastojali smo našim aktivnostima u prošloj godini otvoriti prostor za razgovor o ratu i ratnom naslijeđu te odgovoriti na određene nove izazove koji se javljaju u našim društвima. Uz postojeću izložbu Rat sjećanja odlučili smo organizirati i tribine Od rata sjećanja ka sjećanju o ratu. Želja nam je da iniciramo dijalog o različitim aspektima sjećanja o ratu u lokalnim zajednicama u koje idemo. Iako postoje i mesta u kojima izložba Rat sjećanja i bilo kakav razgovor još uvijek nisu dobrodošli, ohrabruju nas priče iz mnogih lokalnih zajednica, od Goražda i Rudog do Zavidovića, koje, daleko od centra, rade važne stvari na izgradnji inkluzivnije kulture sjećanja.

Pokazalo se u mnogim slučajevima da je važno u neku lokalnu zajednicu doći jednom, sa nekom aktivnošću, a po pravilu nakon toga ostaju otvorena vrata i za nastavak saradnje. Ta prva aktivnost je najvažnija za uspostavljanje povjerenja kako bi ljudi vidjeli da možemo razgovarati o ratu bez da omalovažavamo bilo čije iskustvo, da možemo kritički govoriti o kulturi sjećanja i spomenicima uz odavanje počasti žrtvama... Posljednji primjer je već pomenuto Goražde, gdje smo prvo počeli saradnju sa ratnim veteranima i organizirali posjetu veterana Goraždu (2017.), potom je uslijedila saradnja tokom akcije obilježavanja neobilježenih mesta stradanja u Goraždu (2018.), da bismo ove godine tamo organizirali izložbu i tribinu...

Saradnja prije svega

Zašto je to važno, da u jednoj zajednici budemo u mogućnosti provesti više aktivnosti? Sve ove aktivnosti u većoj ili manjoj mjeri su povezane sa sjećanjem, načinom na koji se rat u toj zajednici pamti, sa njegovim neposrednim akterima, onima koji su u ratnim događanjima sudjelovali i koji su najčešće i njegovi najaktivniji akteri u postratnom razdoblju, te onima kojima je to sjećanje namijenjeno, kao

ono koje zapravo utvrđuje parametre unutar kojih se život određene zajednice odvija, temelje njezinog identiteta, i njihovo mjesto unutar šire nacionalne zajednice.

Iako proces suočavanja s prošlošću i izgradnje mira podrazumijeva i suočavanje ljudi sa vrlo teškim temama, princip saradnje, a ne isključive konfrontacije sa ljudima i lokalnim zajednicama pokazuje da je promjena moguća, od one na ličnom nivou do društvene, što je, valjda, i cilj. Primjer je akcija obilježavanja neobilježenih mesta stradanja koja lokalne zajednice suočava sa činjenicom da bi bilo važno obilježiti stradanja zajednice koja je sada u tom gradu manjinska i za čije stradanje je odgovorna, u većini slučajeva, zajednica koja je sada većinska i koja ima političku moć. Iako je obilježavanje stradanja manjinske zajednice još uvijek tabu sa rijetkim primjerima pomaka naprijed, aktivisti koji danas rade na ovim akcijama umjesto gerilskih akcija nastoje da ostvare komunikaciju sa lokalnom zajednicom, njenim političkim predstavnicima, veteranskim udruženjima i udruženjima žrtava. Kroz jednu široku saradnju promjena je moguća, a primjer su svakako Zavidovići. Mjesto stradanja manjinske srpske zajednice na lokalitetu 13. kilometar obilježeno je nakon višekratnih akcija, susreta i razgovora. Taj čin podržale su općinske vlasti, općinski načelnik i udruženja veterana.

Važna je i činjenica da danas rad sa mladim ljudima na prostoru Balkana podrazumijeva rad sa onima koji su rođeni nakon ratova i koji nemaju direktna sjećanja već prenesena i naučena. Trening za studente i studentice iz BiH ili višejezični trening za ljudе sa Kosova, Makedonije i Srbije pokazao je kako je cijelokupan postratni sistem dizajniran tako da se u potpunosti izbjegavaju susreti - fizički susreti jednih sa drugima, ali i susreti sa pričama drugih o ratu i ratnom iskustvu. Bez tih susreta jasno da je da u svakom grmu cvjetaju duboke predrasude, stereotipi, i strahovi koji se potom potencijalno mogu kanalizati ka mržnji ili nasilju.

Pjesnički pretjerujući, Abdulah Sidran je govorio o tome kako nije čudo što smo svi mi pomalo paranoični s obzirom na to kakva nam je historija. Iako nam se period od dvije decenije može učiniti dug, za skalu nasilja koja su naša društva iskusila samo u posljednjem stoljeću, razumljivo je da izgradnja povjerenja i rad na pomirenju idu sporo i otežano. U suštini, po reakciji značajnog dijela društva koje takve akcije pozdravlja, vidljivo je da su nam još uvijek potrebni primjeri koji grade bazično povjerenje među zajednicama, koji razbijaju antagonizirajuće stereotipe o nama i njima, pokazuju da je moguće zajedničko poštovanje svih žrtava.



Rad sa ratnim veteranim

Procesi suočavanja sa prošlošću i uopšte način na koji se prema prošlosti odnosi kao da se oduvijek kretno između dva ekstrema, podjednako pogubna pola. Prvi jeste zaborav, asimilacija prošlosti od strane sadašnjosti zarad bolje budućnosti. On bi se mogao sažeti u maksimi Džordža Santajane prema kojoj oni koji zaboravljaju prošlost su prinuđeni da je ponavljaju. Naravno da prošlost ne smijemo gurati pod tepih, ponoviće nam se, običe nam se o glavu, baš kao što, barem na Balkanu, više puta i jeste. S druge strane ta obaveza sjećanja sobom nosi niz pitanja: Kakva je ta naša prošlost? Čega i na koji način treba da se sjećamo? Šta sve to treba i šta sve to moramo da pamtimi? Odgovore koje kao pojedinci/ke i društva dajemo na ova pitanja nerijetko vode ka onome što bi se moglo označiti kao drugi pol, a to je sakralizacija. Samo ono za šta mi procjenimo da treba, ono što mi odaberemo iz prošlosti je neporecivo, neupitno, sveto i kao takvo ga treba pamtit. Ovaj drugi pol bi se mogao sažeti u upozorenju Pola Rikera prema kojem uvijek postoji opasnost da propadnemo u zamku obaveze pamćenja. Ta zamka u koju često upadamo podrazumijeva, ali i podstiče sjećanje koje se ograničava na potvrdu negativne slike o drugima ili pak na potvrdu sopstvene pozitivne slike. Naravno, takve slike prošlosti gotovo po pravilu postaju projekcije slika o nama i drugima i u sadašnjosti i u budućnosti.

Sakralizacija prošlosti sa jedne i asimilacija od strane sadašnjosti (zaborav) sa druge strane jednako provokiraju nasilje i nepravdu. Pamćenje i politike sjećanja bi stoga trebalo da budu i sprečavanje favorizovanja nekih činjenica u odnosu ne neke druge. Ponajprije sprečavanje onih koje svojim protagonistima obezbjeđuju ušuškanost u ulogu heroja, žrtve ili moralizatora, suprotstavljujući se nekom drugom izboru i rizikujući da im se pripisu neke manje zahvalne uloge.

Kao jedan od alternativnih puteva, onaj koji vijuga između sakralizacije i banalizacije, već više od deset godina polako, nenametljivo ali i strpljivo i uporno, u organizaciji Centra za nenasilnu akciju Sarajevo/Beograd, utiregrupiranatnihveteranaizregiona. Mješovita grupa ratnih veteranata sastavljena od bivših pripadnika Armije Republike Bosne i Hercegovine (ARBiH), Hrvatskog vijeća obrane (HVO-a), Vojske Republike Srpske (VRS-a), Hrvatske vojske (HV-a), Vojske Jugoslavije (VJ) i Jugoslovenske narodne armije (JNA). Ljudi koji se kreću ovim putem, koračaju uprkos svojim ličnim interesima, jer nerijetko nailaze na osude, nerazumijevanja i pokušaje eskomuniciranja od strane sredina iz kojih dolaze. Koračaju bez moralisanja onima sa druge strane, pri tom ne zaboravljajući prošlost,

Komemoracija u Stupnom Dolu,
BiH, 23. 10. 2018.

Veteranska posjeta Nišu i Aleksincu,
Srbija, 4.-5. 4. 2019.

Komemoracija u Ahmićima,
BiH, 16. 4. 2019.

Komemoracija u Grabovici,
BiH, 9. 9. 2019.

Veteranska posjeta Jajcu,
BiH, 23-25. 9. 2019.

ne umanjujući pretpljenu patnju i bol, ne minimizirajući žrtve drugih. Sa ličnim bolom, strahom, gubitkom koji svako od njih iz rata nosi pokazuju da postoji i drugi način, treći, teži, ali čini nam se i ispravniji put. Onaj valjda svima najvažniji, ljudski, da su žrtve žrtve da im se treba pokloniti i odati počast, sa namjerom, upozorenjem i željom da se više nikome ne ponovi - nikada.

U toku godine koja je za nama taj put je krenuo prisustvom manje grupe članova CNA na komemoraciji u Mrkonjić Gradu kojom je obilježena 23. godišnjica stradanja 357 civila i vojnika. Bila je to prilika i za susret sa organizatorima i početak razgovora o mogućoj daljoj saradnji. Nadamo se da ćemo imati priliku da u narednom periodu prisustvujemo ovoj komemoraciji sa većom grupom ratnih veteranata i mirovnih aktivista, poput prilike koja nam se ukazala u Stupnom Dolu.

Na poziv Organizacijskog odbora, ratni veterani iz regionala, pripadnici AR BiH, HVO-a, VRS-a, HV-a, VJ i JNA, nas ukupno 33-obje, učestvovali smo i u obilježavanju 25. godišnjice stradanja mještana Stupnog Dola i Vareša. Veterani iz Zagreba, Daruvara, Bihaća, Žepča, Novog Grada/Bosanskog Novog, Šamca, Zavidovića, Sarajeva, Dervente, Kruševca, Mostara, Beograda, Jajca, Brčkog, Goražda i Živinica došli su da zajedno odaju počast žrtvama ovog strašnog zločina. U Stupnom Dolu 23. oktobra 1993. ubijeno je 38 od 250 žitelja sela, među kojima 32 civila i 6 vojnika ARBiH. Zločin je počinio HVO, za što je osuđeno više osoba. Našoj grupi su se posebno obratili predstavnici organizatora, zahvalivši se na dolasku i poimenično navodeći svaku vojnu formaciju kojoj smo pripadali. Jako je važno da nas ljudi vide kao pripadnike vojski koje su počinile zločine. Iako lično nismo počinili ratne zločine, sama činjenica da smo na rukavima imali ista obilježja

kao i oni koji su ih počinili motiv je više da se izdignemo iznad toga, da se suočimo sa zločinima i da jasno kažemo da doživljavamo kao vlastitu sramotu i mrlju na nečemu za što se mislilo da će ostati samo kao ponos. Značajno je i da nas je lokalna zajednica doživjela kao podršku na njihovom putu uspostavljanja normalnih odnosa koji su ratom pokidani. Na sastanku koji je uslijedio nakon komemoracije, a kojemu su se pridružili i načelnik opštine te glavni imam Medžlisa islamske zajednice imali smo prostora da razgovaramo i o stradanju Bošnjaka i Hrvata ovog kraja i načinima da se ovo mjesto oživi i zaustavi trend odlaska mladih. Načelnik Vareša Zdravko Marošević i sam je ratni veteran, bivši pripadnik HVO-a, vojske koja je u Stupnom Dolu počinila zločin. Marošević je i ranije prisustvovao komemoracijama u Stupnom Dolu i daje punu podršku žrtvama što je svakako pozitivan primjer koji je prisutan i u nekim drugim lokalnim zajednicama kao što su Rudo, Zavidovići, Doboj...

Ratni veterani, nerijetko uključujući i one koji su se u ratnim sukobima direktno borili na suprotstavljenim stranama, predstavljaju društvenu grupaciju koja posjeduje visok stepen kredibiliteta i potencijala za rad na polju izgradnje mira, kako u svojim zajednicama tako i u regionu. Neposredno i često veoma surovo lično ratno iskustvo često postaje snažan motiv za rad na izgradnji mira. Slijedeći taj

motiv, pripadnici mješovite grupe ratnih veterana Armije RBiH, HVO-a, VRS-a, HV-a, VJ i JNA su, zajedno sa članovima Centra za nenasilnu akciju, 4.4. posetili Grad Niš i mesta sjećanja u ovom gradu te su učestvovali na komemoraciji stradalima u NATO bombardovanju u Aleksincu, 5. 4. 2019. godine. Poklonili smo se žrtvama i položili cvijeće na spomen-obilježja stradalim građanima i građankama Niša (Niš je bombardovan 29 dana, poginulo je 26 civila, a teže ranjeno 60 njih) civilima i vojnicima, iz perioda 1991-1999. Isto smo učinili i sljedeći dan u Aleksincu. U toku NATO bombardovanja SRJ, grad Aleksinac je bombardovan u dva navrata. Najteže bombarodovanje Aleksinca desilo se 5. aprila 1999. Poginulo je 11 građana, a 50 zadobilo tjelesne povrede. Aleksinac je ponovo bombardovan u noći 27. na 28. maj 1999. Od posledica ovog bombardovanja, poginulo je troje ljudi. Poklonom žrtvama i polaganjem vijenaca na spomen-obilježju stradalim građanima i građankama Aleksinca, ponovno je poslata poruka mira, i kao uzor i model, odnosno jedan od načina na koje se može i treba raditi kada je u pitanju pomirenje u regionu.

U Ahmićima smo učestvovanjem na zvaničnoj komemoraciji, simbolički zatvorili krug, povezujući u jednu do tada za bilo kakvo spajanje, nezamislivu cjelinu, Ahmiće i Trusinu, o čemu više možete pročitati u nastavku izvještaja.



Posljednja u nizu komemoracija kojoj smo prisustvovali u posljednjih godinu dana je komemoracija u Grabovici kraj Mostara, 9. 9. 2019. Grabovica, malo mjesto između Jablanice i Mostara u kojem su 1993. pripadnici Armije RBiH ubili 33 civila, najjužnija je tačka na mapi BiH gdje smo prisustvovali nekoj zvaničnoj komemoraciji. Također, Grabovica je i plastičan primjer pravljenja malih koraka naprijed u geografskom smislu. Naime, 2017. smo prisustvovali komemoraciji hrvatskim žrtvama u Trusini, a zahvaljujući pozitivnim reakcijama, sada smo bili u prilici da odemo 50-ak kilometara južnije. Geografija igra itekakvu ulogu kada se radi na izgradnji mira, određene regije su zatvoreniye za ovakve susrete, što je posljedica historijskog naslijeda, razine nasilja, trenutne političke situacije... Hercegovina, kako zapadna tako i istočna, tvrd je kamen i tu je svaki korak naprijed ima ogromnu težinu. Osim toga, pripremni sastanci i susreti sa predstavnicima boračkih organizacija Bileće i Gacka, nam polako otvaraju horizonte novih puteva ka istočnoj Hercegovini u kojoj od nevesinjske tribine "Četiri pogleda" 2004. godine nismo organizovali događaje.

Da se ovaj put ne ograničava samo na međusobne posjete i učestovanja na komemoracijama, već svakim ulaskom u novu sredinu sam sebi otvara mnoge druge, važne puteve i pritoke, svjedoči Goražde. Saradnja sa udruženjima ratnih veteranova iz Goražda koja je ranije rezultirala posjetom mješovite grupe ratnih veteranova tom gradu, nastavila se uz njihovu pomoć realizovanjem tribine

na temu "Od rata sjećanja ka sjećanju o ratu" i otvaranjem izložbe fotografija "Rat sjećanja".

Da ovo nije puki incident govori i realizovana izložba "Rat sjećanja" u Zavidovićima, koju smo ostvarili na inicijativu i uz podršku lokalnog udruženja ratnih veteranova. Takva vrsta inicijative i suradnje omogućila nam je i da, krajem septembra 2019. godine u Jajcu, pored posjete grupe ratnih veteranova organizujemo i tribinu i izložbu fotografija. Više o ovim događanjima također možete pročitati u nastavku izvještaja.

Izuzetan interes medija za ovakve akcije ratnih veteranova, čemu smo svjedočili i u Nišu i u Aleksincu i u Ahmićima uvijek nas posebno ohrabri, jer pored toga što pokazuje potrebu društva za drugačijim načinom sjećanja, pokazuje i to da koraci na putevima koje prelazimo sve dalje dopiru i da se sve jače čuju i odjekuju.

Koračajući od Mrkonjić Grada, preko Stupnog Dola, Aleksinca i Niša, Goražda sve do Ahmića, Mostara, Jajca ... grupa ratnih veteranova prelazi, reklo bi se mali, zanemarljiv broj kilometara. Međutim, putevi kojima se kreću jesu teški, puni patnje, stradanja, bola. Poruka koju nose, pružene ruke sa željom za pomirenjem, takođe nije laka za nositi. Težina tog bremena ne zavisi od pređenih kilometara niti neugodnog terena, zavisi od osjećaja oslobođenja koje se gotovo uvijek javi i kod njih koji to breme na putu nose, ali i kod onih koji ih na tom putu susreću i dočekuju. Zajedničko breme odgovornosti, od kojeg se savija kičma ali i uspravlja čelo.

Kad se Ahmići i Trusina sretnu

Ahmići, 15. i 16. aprila/travnja 2019.

Sa Ahmićima sam se prvi put upoznao preko *Ahmića*, Kenana i drugih, koji su sa mnom, nakon što su protjerani iz svog mesta, krenuli u osnovnu školu u mjestu 15-ak kilometara udaljenom od Ahmića. Tri godine poznanstva ne stane u riječi *izbjeglice i povratnici*, ali su to međe kojima u sjećanju ograđeno imam uspomenu na *Ahmiće*. Ahmići su bili prvo mjesto izvan mog dječačkog svijeta za koje sam znao bez da sam ga ikad vidio u prolazu, boravio u njemu ukratko ili živio тамо. Ahmići su bili prvo mjesto koje sam *personalizirao*, kao što sam se kasnije na jednak način, preko dragih ljudi, vezao za Vlasenicu, Malu Brijesnicu u Doboju ili Seattle, prije nego sam ta mjesta uopće i vidiо. Eto, tako ljudi lude vežu za mjesta. A opet ima primjera kako mjesto za mjesto, selo za selo, grad za grad, vežu događaji bez da se ljudi ikada sretnu. Bosanskohercegovački *kalendar boli* tako je zauvijek povezao Ahmiće i Trusinu, Bosnu sa Hercegovinom, zločin sa zločinom, sjećanje sa sjećanjem.

Neatabane staze sjećanja

Ahmiče i Trusinu prije 16. aprila 1993. niste mogli baš nikako povezati: Jedno selo je u Bosni, drugo u Hercegovini, jedno u ravnicama, drugo u brdima podno Igmana, čini se ispravnim pretpostaviti da ljudi iz Trusine nikada nisu čuli za Ahmiće i ljudi iz Ahmića za one iz Trusine. Tog 16. aprila 1993. pripadnici Armije BiH počinit će zločin nad (hrvatskim) mještanima Trusine, dok će pripadnici HVO-a počiniti zločin nad (bošnjačkim) mještanima Ahmića povezavši ova dva mesta bolom koji ne prolazi.

Prisustvom mješovite grupe ratnih veterana iz regionalne komemoracije u Ahmićima 15. i 16. aprila 2019. okončano je jedno cijelogodišnje *putovanje po neutabanim stazama sjećanja*. Trusina – 16. april 2018. Ahmići – 16. april 2019. Grupa od 30-ak ratnih veterana iz regionala, bivših pripadnika Armije RBiH, HVO-a, HV-a, VRS i VJ, u Ahmiće su došli 15. aprila kako bi posjetili spomenik ubijenim mještanima Ahmića, sreli se sa predstavnicima udruženja žrtava, porazgovarali sa njima i posjetili spomen-sobu sa fotografijama koje svjedoče o bolnom aprilu 1993. u ovom mjestu. S obzirom da komemoraciji prisustvuje oko 2.000 osoba, znali smo da je odlazak dan ranije bolja prilika za takve vrste susreta i razgovora, a u Ahmićima su nas ispred Organizacionog odbora za obilježavanje 16. aprila dočekali Mahir ef. Husić i Nedžad Abdić. Oni su nas ukratko upoznali sa onim šta se desilo u Ahmićima, 16. aprila 1993., ali i sa

procesom povratka mještana u Ahmiće koji je započeo 1998. obnovom prvih kuća i mjesne džamije, izgradnjom spomenika u znak sjećanja na 116 Ahmićana stradalih 1993. godine. Na dan komemoracije 16. aprila pridružili smo se početnom dijelu marša "Put istine i sjećanja" koji je krenuo iz Starog Viteza gdje su ukopane žrtve iz Ahmića ka samim Ahmićima. Na spomeniku "Cisterna" veterani su položili cvijeće, te su se nakon toga pridružili zvaničnom dijelu komemoracije kod Donje džamije u Ahmićima.

Pogledati duboko u sebe

"Na žalost, ovo nije jedino mjesto, ali je jedno od najcrnijih što se tiče žrtava, i načina, i gledano tko su bile žrtve – mislim prvenstveno na žene, starce, djecu. Opravданja nema, ne postoji, ne može se pronaći nikakvo – ni vojno, ni taktičko", kazao je veteran HV-a Saša Premec. Dodaje kako svi, na svim stranama "moramo pogledati duboko u sebe, te poučavati i prenositi naša iskustva i razmišljanja na buduće generacije – na našu djecu, unuke... i nadati se da će oni biti pametniji od nas".

Edin Ramulić, veteran Armije BiH, smatra da svaka od strana čak i komemoracije pokušava da zatvori u vlastiti prostor. "Obično tu стоји samo jedna vjerska zajednica iza toga, obično se to zatvara, kao što je to ovdje (u Starom Vitezu i Ahmićima), u dvorište džamije, spomenika, unutar mezarja. Nekako se to zatvara za *one druge*. Prošle godine smo na isti dan bili u Trusini. Desila se ta tragedija da su u istom danu jedni drugima uradili zločine. Drago mi je da smo ove godine došli ovdje u Ahmiće – zbog tog jednakog odnosa prema svim žrtvama", primećuje Ramulić.

Dolazak mješovite grupe ratnih veterana upravo je putokaz da se možemo, trebamo i moramo sjećati i drugih žrtava, žrtava koje nisu iz našeg naroda, suočavati i poštovati ih na isti način. "Mi smo tu da kažemo da postoji i nekakav drugi put, da treba suočavati i poštovati ne samo svoje žrtve nego i tuđe. Tad možemo postaviti nekakve temelje za mir i suživot na ovim prostorima, što je jest naš cilj – da se našoj djeci ne ponovi ono što se desilo nama", kazao je veteran HV-a Krešimir Ivančić.

"Treba odati počast svim žrtvama, susresti se onima koji su izgubili svoje najmilije i pokušati potražiti rješenje među ljudima", dodaje veteran HVO-a Ivo Andelović.

Komemoracija u Ahmićima danas je, uz onu žrtvama srebreničkog genocida, najznačajnija komemoracija unutar bošnjačkog narativa. To nije bilo uvjek tako,

Ahmići su dugo komemorirani vrlo *konzervativno* u smislu da je komemoracija bila *zatvorena za većinu stranaca*, uključujući i CNA i ratne vetrane koji su u Ahmiće željeli doći još prije nekoliko godina. Put od vrlo lokalne komemoracije mijenja se u proteklih nekoliko godina, i to vjerovatno iz dva ključna razloga. Prvi je potreba lokalne bošnjačke zajednice da bude *vidljivija* u samom gradu Vitezu u kojem čini gotovo polovinu stanovništva i gdje je na određeni način marginalizirana o čemu svjedoči i činjenica da održavanje komemorativne sjednice načelnik nije dozvolio u zgradici Općine Vitez pa je ona morala biti izmještena u vjerski obejkat. Drugi razlog mogao bi se ogledati u političkoj situaciji u Federaciji BiH gdje je očigledan politički sukob bošnjačkih i hrvatskih političkih predstavnika vezano za način izbora članova Predsjedništva BiH, izmjene ustava i redefinisanje odnosa u ovom entitetu. U političkom sukobu prošlost je, nažalost, uvijek značajan resurs.

Kome/čemu služe komemoracije?

Odlazak na komemoraciju uvijek nas vraća bazičnim pitanjima: zašto sam ja ovdje, zašto komemoriramo žrtve, zašto se sjećamo bolne prošlosti? Može zvučati grubo, ali je važno postaviti i pitanje kome/čemu služe komemoracije? Yuval Noah Harari, izraelski historičar, odgovarajući na slična pitanja, kaže kako je primarna uloga *istorije* da nas oslobodi *prošlosti*. To oslobođanje se ogleda u tome da sa određene vremenske distance

i sa privilegijom *naknadne pameti* koju akteri događaja nisu imali sagledamo događaje u *prošlosti* i pokušamo spoznati da oni nisu bili neumitni, da su se desili kao posljedica određenih odluka tadašnjih ljudi, njihovih izbora i okolnosti. Iz takve spoznaje o *prošlosti* trebalo bi da se rađa *odgovornost* za sadašnjost i budućnost, svijest da svakim našim izborom, odlukom, činjenjem ili nečinjenjem ostavljamo iza sebe *posljedice*. Jednog dana će, siguran sam, Trusina i Ahmići *krenuti* jedni ka drugima, sići će planina u dolinu i popet će se dolina u planinu, sve to bez da će se mjeriti ko je prvi počeo, jesu li jedni prvi počeli da se *penju* ili drugi da *silaze*, dva svijeta će se sresti, zagrliti, isplakati. Nada u takav jedan susret tjera da se ode i u Ahmiće i u Trusinu, da se ukaže na neke nove staze, da se pokaže kako takav put nije lak, ali je takvo putovanje oslobođajuće. Oslobođajuće od bola, od mržnje, od straha. Mnogo je dokaza da za takvim, drugačijim sjećanjem, postoji potreba, a jedan je i izuzetan interes medija (za pdf izdanje umetnuti link: <https://nenasilje.org/2019/mediji-o-prisustvu-veterana-komemoraciji-u-ahmicima-put-do-pravog-mira/>) za prisustvo veterana u Ahmićima. Ahmići i Trusina se nisu *moralili* desiti. Ali sjećanje na Trusinu i Ahmiće *mora* za cilj imati osvještavanje vlastite odgovornosti da se takvo nasilje nikada ne ponovi.

Nedžad Novalić



Pr(a)vi put

Jajce, 23-25. septembar/rujan 2019.

Jajcem su kroz njegovu zanimljivu istoriju prolazile mnoge vojske, od rimskih, srednjevjekovnih bosanskih, preko otomanskih, ugarskih, austrougarskih, njemačkih, partizanskih, jugoslovenskih, sve do srpskih, hrvatskih, bošnjačkih ... Prolazile su napadajući ili braneći, osvajajući ili oslobođajući, ratujući. Jedni nasuprot drugima, jedni protiv drugih. Jajcem su i 24. 9. 2019. godine prolazili bivši pripadnici različitih vojski. Međutim, ovoga puta je bilo drugačije, sa bitnim razlikama. Ovi bivši ratnici koračali su zajedno, jedni sa drugima, a ne jedni protiv drugih, **prvi put** u Jajcu protiv zajedničkog neprijatelja, protiv rata.

U organizaciji Centra za nenasilnu akciju Sarajevo/Beograd (CNA), mješovita grupa ratnih veterana, njih 40-ak, bivših pripadnika Armije RBiH, HVO-a, HV-a, VRS, JNA i VJ posjetili su 24. 9. 2019. mjeseca stradanja i spomenike u Jajcu, položili vijence i odali počast stradalim. CNA od 2008. godine organizuje posjete grupe ratnih veterana iz Hrvatske, Srbije i BiH mjestima stradanja civila i vojnika tokom posljednjeg rata. Do sada je bilo 20-ak posjeta koje se organizuju u partnerstvu sa veteranskim udruženjima iz svakog od mesta koje se posjećuje. Posjeta Jajcu je organizovana u saradnji sa Općinskom organizacijom RVI ARBiH Jajce, HIVDR-om Jajce i Udrugom dragovoljaca i veterana Domovinskog rata Jajce.

Po **prvi put** su domaćini jedne veteranske posjete, bili Bošnjaci i Hrvati skupa, udruženja bivših boraca i udruge bivših branitelja zajedno. Veterani su, zajedno sa grupom mirovnih aktivista, obišli centralne spomenike posvećene poginulim pripadnicima Armije RBiH i HVO-a, neobilježeno mjesto stradanja srpskih civila u mjestu Bravnice, spomenik posvećen stradanju bošnjačkih civila u opštini Jezero (u Republici Srpskoj), te spomenike poginulim vojnicima HV-a na Plivskom jezeru i HVO-a na Čaninom Polju.

Počnimo razgovarati jedni sa drugima

Ratni veterani različitih vojski zajedno su položili vijence i na jedan i na drugi spomenik u centru Jajca, po **prvi put**. Dva spomenika razdvaja glavna ulica starog grada Jajca. I simbolički i fizički odvojeni, jedan podignut uz džamiju poginulim pripadnicima ARBiH, drugi preko puta, pod velikim križem, podignut poginulim pripadnicima HVO-a. Veterani su zajedno odali počast, i jednima i drugima, i tako ih, i fizički i simbolički razdvojene, tim činom spojili. To da i jedni i drugi jesu žrtve i da i jednima i drugima zajedno

treba odati počast kao stradalima, izbrisalo je, bar u tim trenucima, sve postojeće razlike, pomirilo sve animozitete.

„Mi danas ovdje živimo zajedno, drago mi je da sam imao priliku sresti veterane iz regiona i ispričati im o stradanju Jajca i našem povratku u ovaj grad. Mislim da smo poslali jednu pozitivnu poruku ... Ohrabruje me da su komentari mojih Jajčana pozitivni. Češćim i intenzivnijim kontaktima boračkih udruženja u Jajcu, ali i šire, mislim da bi se stanje znatno popravilo, da bi se neke tenzije razriješile, važno je da počnemo razgovarati jedni s drugima“, kazao je Nazif Kahrić, veteran MUP-a RBiH i Armije RBiH, jedan od domaćina iz Jajca.

Grupu ratnih veterana su u općini primili i riječima dobrodošlice pozdravili predsjednik Općinskog vijeća grada Jajca, Ivo Šimunović i savjetnik predsjednika općine Jajce, Sedin Hadžić. Predstavnici lokalnih vlasti su pozdravili ideju zajedničkih posjeta i odavanja počasti svim stradalima i iskazali spremnost na dalju saradnju i aktivnije uključivanje u procese izgradnje mira. Diskusija koja je u općini usledila uključivala je i upućivanje molbi da političari iskoriste svoj uticaj i ohrabre svoje kolege iz drugih mesta da odu jedni drugima na spomenike. Spremnost visokih predstavnika lokalne vlasti Jajca da se upuste u razgovor i daju odgovore na konkretna pitanja i probleme, ohrabruje nas i budi nadu u buduću intezivniju saradnju i podršku koju od njih, sada sa razlogom, mislimo da možemo očekivati.

Od daljine neprijatelja ka blizini ljudi

Po **prvi put** su ratni veterani položili cvijeće i odali počast stradalim srpskim civilima u selu Bravnice, u kojem je u septembru 1995. ubijen, prema navodima udruženja žrtava, 81 civil. Sa veteranim je zajedno vijenac položila i Nadežda Janković, jedna od preživjelih tog napada.

„Na čelu kolone civila koji su se povlačili iz Donjeg Vakufa bio je autobus koji je prvo pogoden granatom, a zatim je počela pucnjava po bespomoćnim civilima. U koloni su se nalazili isključivo civili, a prema našim saznanjima za napad su odgovorne jedinice Hrvatske vojske. Mi pozivamo na procesuiranje odgovornih, ne teretimo cijeli narod i uvijek naglašavamo da su nam u pomoć prvi priskočili pripadnici lokalnog HVO-a koji su nam ukazali prvu pomoć i prebacili ranjenike do bolnice“, istakla je Nadežda Janković.

Bravnice su još uvijek neobilježeno mjesto stradanja, a grupa aktivista uz podršku CNA je 2018. privremeno

obilježila ovo mjesto i pozvala lokalne vlasti da omoguće postavljanje trajnog obilježja, te da ovaj zločin za koji još uvijek niko nije odgovarao, dobije sudske epilog.

Na svega dvadesetak kilometara udaljenosti, prema Mrkonjić Gradu, nalazi se Jezero, mjesto u kom su pripadnici VRS ubili preko 50 bošnjačkih civila, mahom starijih ljudi koji nisu uspjeli da napuste selo. Prema navodima Mirsada Omerovića iz "Udruženja građana 3. jun", za 30 ljudi se još traga; nalogodavci ovog zločina nikada nisu privedeni pravdi, dok su četvorica bivših vojnika, pripadnika jedinica VRS, zbog ovog zločina u zatvoru. **Prvi put** su na spomen obilježje u Jezeru vijence položili ratni veterani različitih vojski, a prema riječima domaćina po **prvi put** se u Jezeru pojavila bilo kakva "mješovita delegacija" i odala počast žrtvama.

Razdaljina između Bravnica i Jezera, iako mjerena kilometrima mnogo veća od one između centralnih gradskih spomenika u Jajcu, u tim trenucima je baš kao i one između spomenika, nestala. Hvala Nadeždi i Mirsadu, što je njihova hrabrost i spremnost da govore na mjestima stradanja, pri tom ne osuđujući cijelokupne narode za zločin, već tražeći procesuiranje odgovornih pojedinaca i pronalaženje tijela nestalih, učinila da se ova na prvi pogled nepremostiva udaljenost između dva mjeseta neutrališe, a ljudi, u ovom slučaju Srbi i Bošnjaci, približe, činom zajedničkog poštovanja svih stradalih. Od kilometrima udaljenih pozicija neprijatelja, ka bliskosti komšija, ka blizini ljudi.

Ratne veteranke putevima pomirenja

Mješovita grupa veterana je po **prvi put** tokom posjetе Jajcu uključivala i korake ratnih veteranki. U grupi od četrdesetak ratnih veteranica, muškaraca, dvije veteranke su hrabro i dostojanstveno pokazale važnost i neophodnost uloge žena, posebno bivših učesnica ratova, u procesima izgradnje mira.

"Ovo je prilika da vidim ljudе sa drugih strana i čujem njihova iskustva. Da pričam sa njima. Teško je videti ogromne spiskove imena, koji god da je narod stradao. I naročito kada su u pitanju neobeležena mesta stradanja... I zato kažem da se putevima pomirenja ide veoma malim koracima, ali ne treba odustati. Na ovim prostorima nema odgovornosti. Mi ne trebamo da se smirimo dok sve počinioce i zločince ne dovedemo pred lice pravde. Bilo koje da su nacije, pripadnosti, bilo koja vrsta nasilja i zločina. Dok to ne dovedemo do kraja, neće biti mira."

Svoje motive učešća u veteranskim posjetama iznijela je Svetlana Janković, veteranka JNA, VJ, VSICG.

Zahvaljujemo Fikreti i Svetlani na hrabrosti i spremnosti da nam se priključe, te vjerujemo da će njihov primjer uticati na to da nam se u budućim akcijama pridružuje sve veći broj veteranki.

U posjeti su aktivno učestvovali i predstavnici medija. Nekoliko televizijskih ekipa i novinara/ki iz regiona je skupa sa grupom veteranica obišlo spomenike i mjesta stradanja u Jajcu, te učestvovalo na sastancima grupe. Nadamo se da će veća medijska prisutnost uticati ne samo na bolju vidljivost naših akcija u regionu već i na širenje značaja i potenciranja važnosti misije koju sprovodimo. Hvala predstavnicima medija na korektno i profesionalno održenom poslu. Broj i kvalitet reportaža i objava ohrabruje nas da nastavimo sa praksom intezivnijeg uključivanja medija.

Pravi put

Mnogo toga se u istom danu u Jajcu dogodilo **prvi put**. Da li sve to što se po prvi put dešavalo predstavlja i pravi put? Napraviti prvi korak, započeti nešto po prvi put, prvi put zajedno doći na neko mjesto stradanja i odati počast žrtvama, jeste hrabar i poštovanja vrijedan čin. Naravno, uvijek ostaje pitanje da li je taj put ujedno i pravi?

Ohrabruju nas i podrška i riječi zahvalnosti od naših domaćina kao i od predstavnika lokalnih vlasti. Motiviju nas da idemo dalje.

"Mi se trebamo suočiti sa prošlošću i gledati u budućnost, moramo barem našoj djeci stvoriti bolju budućnost. Ja sam ovo podržao u svoje ime, nadam se da većina ljudi koji su sudjelovali u ratu misli da trebamo ići ovim putem. Danas smo obišli spomenike gdje je mladost ginula i ja kad stanem pred bilo koji od tih spomenika mogu samo reći da mi je žao života i da se nadam da se takvo nešto nikad neće ponoviti", kazao je Darko Samardžić, predsjednik HVIDR-e Jajce i jedan od domaćina posjetе.

Poruke i riječi zahvalnosti od ljudi iz Jezera, od predstavnika medija, kao i velika zahvalnost i povjerenje koje nam je ukazano od strane Nadežde Janković, navode nas da se nadamo da će se ovaj put pretvoriti u put kojim sve više ljudi, sve češće korača.

Radomir Radević



Izložbe i tribine

Izložba „Rat sjećanja“ dio je istraživanja „Ratni spomenici u Bosni i Hercegovini (1991-1995)“ objavljenog 2016. godine. Cilj ovog istraživanja bio je analizirati i dokumentirati politiku memorijalizacije i kulturu sjećanja u Bosni i Hercegovini sa sve tri zaraćene strane, promatrajući je prvenstveno iz perspektive izgradnje trajnog mira i pomirenja. Zašto i na koji način se sjećamo rata? Kakve spomenike podižemo? Kakva je uopće kultura sjećanja na ratove 1990-ih u Bosni i Hercegovini? Naša je namjera bila da izložbom i istraživanjem potaknemo dijalog o postojećim obrascima memorijalizacije, te otvorimo prostor ka konstruktivnim mogućnostima za promjenu.

Fotografirali smo i prikupili osnovne podatke za ukupno 85 spomenika, mjesta sjećanja i mjesta stradanja. Ovi podaci dostupni su na kulturasjecanja.org. Izložba „Rat sjećanja“ predstavlja izbor od 51 fotografije obilježenih i neobilježenih mjesta stradanja, koje smo od 2016. godine i prve izložbe u sarajevskoj Vijećnici, predstavili u još 14 gradova – Beču, Mostaru, Banja Luci, Beogradu, Bihaću, Tuzli, Brčkom, Skoplju, Novom Pazaru, Kragujevcu, Zavidovićima, Podgorici, Goraždu i Jajcu.

Ove godine odlučili smo se na dodatni iskorak – u Goraždu smo, prvi put uoči otvaranja izložbe fotografija, organizirali i javni razgovor „Od rata sjećanja ka sjećanju o ratu“. Tribinu u Goraždu posvetili smo mlađim generacijama, u nastojanju da saznamo na koji se način rata sjeća generacija rođena nakon rata, tko su kreatori/akteri toga sjećanja i kakve posljedice po budućnost našeg društva ima ili može imati sadašnji model sjećanja koji se, između ostalog, prenosi i svim budućim naraštajima.

Na tribini su govorili Edo Kanlić, aktivist iz Goražda, Mirjana Trifković, aktivistica i koordinatorica Škole drugačijih sjećanja (za područje Foče, Goražda i Višegrada) u organizaciji Inicijative mladih za ljudskih prava BiH, te Nedžad Novalić iz CNA. U kreiranju sjećanja na rat, istaknuto je, izuzetnu ulogu imaju porodica, obrazovni sistem, memorijalizacija, mediji... Jasno je da nemamo svi istu moć, pa nam stoga ni odgovornost nije jednaka, ali činjenica ostaje da svaki pojedinac ima moć da mijenja stvari, počevši od sebe i svoje neposredne okoline.

Iako nam je kultura sjećanja u cjelini isključiva, u smislu da sebe isključujemo iz sjećanja drugih i druge iz svog sjećanja, da sjećanjem ne razgrađujemo slike neprijatelja već ih produbljujemo i produžavamo, ipak postoji i niz primjera na lokalnom nivou koji svjedoče da je moguć drugačiji put. Sadašnje sjećanje, prema komentarima iz publike u Goraždu, u mnogim je slučajevima tek puka predvojnička obuka.

Izložbe fotografija „Rat sjećanja“:

Zavidovići

BiH, 4-18. 12. 2018.

Podgorica

Crna Gora, 14-29. 3. 2019.

Goražde

BiH, 11-23. 6. 2019.

Jajce

BiH, 23. 9 – 4. 10. 2019.

Izložba i javni razgovor su prilika da otvoreno porazgovaramo o tome šta svakoga od nas pojedinačno ili kao zajednice boli i šta nam smeta u pričama o ratu. To je prilika i da vidimo da nas, u mnogim slučajevima, bole iste stvari: neprocesuiranje odgovornih za počinjene zločine, nemogućnost da tamo gdje smo manjina obilježimo mjesto stradanja, veličanje i slavljenje pobjeda koje mi i naša zajednica doživljavamo kao stradanje, slavljenje osoba koje smatramo odgovornima za naše stradanje... Takav razgovor koji bi uključivao i druge, otvorio bi put ka tome da mijenjamo stvari. Ne bježeći od stvarnosti prepune onih koji negiraju svaku bol i žrtve drugih, onih koji negiraju zločine i slave zločince, ovakvi susreti su prilika da se sjetimo da nisu svi isti, da postoje ljudi koji će uvažiti naše žrtve, odati im počast, pomoći nam da obilježimo neobilježena mjeseta stradanja bez obzira na svoju ili našu etničku ili bilo koju drugu pripadnost.

Izložbu „Rat sjećanja“ u Jajcu, 23.9.2019., imali smo priliku otvoriti javnim razgovorom „Borci u ratu i miru“. Razgovarali smo sa trojicom ratnih veterana, bivših pripadnika nekad zaraćenih vojski, koji su u Jajce su došli povodom posjete mješovite grupe ratnih veterana obilježenim i neobilježenim mjestima stradanja, kako bi položili cvijeće i odali počast svim stradalima.

Stanislav Krezić iz Mostara, veteran Hrvatskog vijeća obrane (HVO), Novica Kostić iz Vlasotinca, bivši pripadnik rezervnog sastava Jugoslavenske narodne armije (JNA) i Nazif Kahrić iz Jajca, veteran Armije Republike Bosne i Hercegovine (ARBiH) iz ličnog su ugla govorili o svojim motivima i razlozima priključivanja mirovnim akcijama. „Ne mogu reći da sam sretan, jer se radi o nesreći ljudskoj, ali mi je draga da mogu ostatak života da posvetim izgradnji povjerenja, da krenemo ka trajnom miru, da se

ne ponovi to mojoj djeci, da bezrazumno gubimo živote”, istaknuo je na samom početku tribine Novica Kostić. Slike rata koje su duboko urezane u pamćenje svakog čovjeka koji je učestvovao u ratu dovoljno su jak motiv da radimo na tome da se to zlo više nikome ne bi ponovilo. Pitanja: Čemu? Zašto? Gdje je u svemu tome moja lična krivica? Koja je moja lična odgovornost? Što je sa drugom stranom? Sve to proizvodi želju za razgovorom sa onima s druge strane, motivaciju i želju da se dalje radi na izgradnji mira.

Učesnici rata svakako nose odgovornost za učešće u ratu i svatko traži svoj način da sa tim živi. Ono što nije toliko očigledno jest da su oni koji su učestvovali u ratu, istovremeno i žrtve tog rata i zato je važno raditi zajedno na nečemu što doprinosi dobrobiti svih nas, istaknuo je Nenad Vukosavljević (CNA), govoreći o značaju i važnosti uključivanja ratnih veteranu u procese izgradnje mira. Posjete mješovite grupe ratnih veteranu mjestima stradanja su u tom smislu jako važan čin, da dodu ljudi s druge strane i prepoznaju naš bol, naše stradanje.

Te posjete, pojasnili su veterani, nipošto nisu lake, niti se mogu olako shvatiti. „Kad dođete na mjesto gdje su ‘tvoji’ počinili zločin, osjećaš odgovornost za svoje lično učešće u tom ratu, u tom nekom strukturnom nasilju, prozoveš samog sebe. Shvatiš da su ti ljudi, koji nas dočekaju, zbumjeni ovom našom mješovitom grupom, jer zajedno polažemo cvijeće, i sami ti ljudi shvate da je to ipak nešto plemenito, da su ti ratni veterani isto obični ljudi, nečiji sinovi, braća... Okorjeli nacionalisti i oni koji su činili zločine, neće tu ni doći. Najteže je onim veteranima u čijem mjestu se posjeta dešava jer najčešće oni budu prozvani, otkud su doveli tog nekog neprijatelja.“

Nije nimalo slučajno da smo posjetu mješovite grupe ratnih veteranu mjestima stradanja u Jajcu i okolini odlučili otvoriti ovom izložbom i javnom tribinom. Od 2008. do danas smo organizirali preko 20 posjeta mjestima stradanja u BiH, Hrvatskoj i Srbiji, i učestvovali na sad već popriličnom broju službenih komemoracija. Promatranje spomenike i poruke koje nose, a koje su nekad doslovno uklesane u kamen, upravo nas je i navelo da se upitamo kome su spomenici zapravo namijenjeni, i koja je njihova funkcija u zajednici u kojoj su podignuti.

Izložbu je otvorio Nenad Vukosavljević koji je, uz Nedžada Horozovića, jedan od autora fotografija: “Izložba podsjeća na nenadoknadiv gubitak koji su ljudi pretrpjeli. Ne postoji ništa što može vratiti izgubljene živote, štagod mi uradili. ‘Rat sjećanja’ je naša stvarnost, ono što živimo, dio narativa koji postoji u podijeljenom društvu jeste da je naš rat bio pravedan, da su oni loši, mi dobri, ponekad

poziva na osvetu, ponekad definira kolektivnu krivicu i svakako demonizira one s druge strane. Iz naše stvarnosti proizlazi potreba da se zajednički sjećamo rata, a to je težak proces, i ratni veterani daju primjer kako je moguće ići putem izgradnje mira, zajedničkim posjetama mjestima stradanja”.

Na kraju, ali ne manje važno, zahvaljujući značajnoj prisutnosti medija iz regije, nadamo se da će poruka izložbe doprijeti do većeg broja ljudi. Napomenimo i to da su izložbu organizirano posjetile grupe srednjoškolaca iz Jajca. Naša je privilegija da smo jednom dijelu njih mogli ponuditi razgovor o samim mjestima stradanja i sjećanja, o dojmovima koje su imali promatraljući fotografije, ljunjci koju je u njima proizvelo veličanje stradanja bez dužnog poštovanja prema žrtvama, i tuzi koja ih je obuzela kada su se suočili sa, za njih, iznenađujućim brojem stradalih čija su imena upisana na ove spomenike. Srednjoškolci su nas upitali i kako, na koji način izaći iz tog kruga glorifikacije rata i stradanja o kojem ih uče mediji, škola, političke elite, porodica i neposredna okolina, kako bi oni, jednom kad budu u mogućnosti da mijenjaju stvari, promijenili obrazac i ukazali dužno poštovanje svim žrtvama. Za razliku od nas, starijih i odraslih, koji većinom rat uzimamo kao zadaru, ponekad i polaznu činjenicu, srećom postoje neki mlađi ljudi, budući donosioci odluka, koji razmišljaju o tome kako prekinuti ovaj začarani krug nasilja. Da ponovimo Novicine riječi, nismo sretni, jer se radi o nesreći ljudskoj, ali smo ohrabreni time što su i ovi mlađi ljudi prepoznali nužnost stvaranja drugačije, inkluzivnije, i kako su sami istaknuli, objektivnije kulture sjećanja.



Obilježavanje
neobilježenih mjesta stradanja

Akcija ONMS, novembar/studeni 2018.

Obilježena mjestra stradanja:

Dom kulture, Vitez

“Crna kuća”, Kruščica, Vitez

Osnovna škola Dubravica, Vitez

Društveni dom u Počulicama, Vitez

Osnovna škola Prekaja, Drvar

Lokacija iza “Motela”, Bosanski Petrovac

Bivše šumsko gazdinstvo Kozila, Drinić

Poljoprivredno gazdinstvo Manjača, Banja Luka

Osnovna škola Grabovica, Kotor Varoš

Akcija ONMS, juli/srpanj 2019.

Obilježena mjestra stradanja:

Lovački dom Mostina, Čajniče

“Veliki park”, Sarajevo

Kazani, Sarajevo

Pansion “kod Sonje” i “Bunker”, Vogošća

Kazneno- popravni dom, Butmir (Kula), Ilići

Sportska dvorana “Musala”, Konjic

Nogometni stadion pod Bijelim brijegom, Mostar

Mašinski fakultet, Mostar

Četvrta osnovna škola, Mostar

Sprovodeći akciju obilježavanja neobilježenih mesta stradanja tim koji čine Amer Delić, Čedomir Glavaš, Dalmir Mišković, Ajdin Kamber i Tamara Zrnović, već pet godina ukazuje da u Bosni i Hercegovini postoji veliki broj mesta stradanja iz proteklog rata koja još uvijek nisu obilježena. Prilikom obilježavanja neobilježenih mesta stradanja na objekat lijepimo naljepnicu koja uvijek ima isti tekst: “Neobilježeno mjesto stradanja. Na ovom mjestu, u proteklom ratu, nad ljudima su vršena neljudska djela. Ne prepustajući te događaje zaboravu, solidarišemo sa svim žrtvama. Da se nikad i nikome ne ponovi” i koji je ispisan u oba pisma, na latinici i cirilici. Potom označeni objekat i fotografisemo. Fotografije i informacije o tako obilježenoj lokaciji plasiramo u javnost preko medija i društvenih mreža. Objavljuvanjem lokacija i činjenično utvrđenih podataka o mjestima koje smo obilježili na društvenim mrežama stvaramo prostor za komunikaciju sa građanima, što je posebno važan dio akcije. Takođe, to je još jedan od načina na koji dobijamo i nove informacije od samih ljudi na terenu - bilo da se radi o podrobnjim informacijama o lokacijama koje smo već obilježili i objavili, bilo da nam se ukazuje na nove lokacije. Našu facebook stranicu trenutno prati 2350 ljudi. Cilj nam je da detabuiziramo ta mesta i potaknemo ljude iz lokalnih zajednica da ih obilježe na

primjerom način i time odaju počast žrtvama i izraze žal za izgubljenim životima.

Mnogi objekti su tokom rata bili mesta stradanja i zatočenja. Obično su to škole, sportske hale, stadioni, vojni objekti, tvornice, domovi kulture, koji su danas vraćeni u prvobitne funkcije i većina koja zna čuti o njihovoj prošlosti. Od novembra/studenog 2018. pa do jula/srpnja 2019. godine obilježili smo 18 neobilježenih mesta stradanja u Vitezu, Bosanskom Petrovcu, Drvaru, Kotor Varoši, Mostaru, Konjicu, Sarajevu i Istočnom Sarajevu... Od 2015., kada smo započeli sa akcijom obilježavanja, obilježili smo 75 neobilježenih mesta stradanja u BiH.

Posljednju akciju realizovali smo u julu/srpnju 2019. kada smo obilježili mesta stradanja u Mostaru, Konjicu, Sarajevu i Istočnom Sarajevu. U Mostaru, u kojem smo ranije obilježili pet lokacija, ovaj put smo željeli obilježiti zgradu državne institucije, sadašnjeg Općinskog suda. U njoj je bilo mjesto zatočenja osoba hrvatske nacionalnosti. Lokalno udruženje logoraša već nekoliko godina pokušava na neki simboličan način obilježiti ovu zgradu, ali sadašnji predsjednik suda, kao ni njegovi prethodnici, to ne dozvoljava. Pred sobom smo imali izazov koji nije bilo lako premostiti, ali ipak smo stavili privremenu naljepnicu i obilježili ovu lokaciju. Tako smo poručili javnosti da mora postojati način da institucije koje obezbjeđuju pravdu u ovoj državi budu spremne osuditi nanesenu nepravdu ljudima, počinjenu u bilo čije ime.

Jama Kazani podno Trebevića je lokacija poznata kao mjesto stradanja osoba srpske nacionalnosti i u javnosti već 3 godine postoji informacija o inicijativi i planu da se tu podigne memorijal. Naš motiv za obilježavanje ove lokacije je slanje poruke da, osim podizanja spomenika na Kazanima, Sarajevo treba smoći snage da ponese dio odgovornosti za zločine koji su se tu desili. I da tako bude primjer kako jedna lokalna zajednica njeguje kulturu sjećanja na svoje komšije, one koji su danas tu manjina. Obilježili smo i Kazneno-popravni dom Butmir (Kula) na području opštine Ilići koji je tokom rata pretvoren u zatočenički objekat kroz koji je prošlo 10.000 bošnjačkih i hrvatskih civila svih godina starosti.

Uz dosadašnju praksu, kada smo tokom jedne godine obično realizovali dvije terenske akcije, ovu smo godinu iskoristili i za internu evaluaciju inicijative s ciljem sagledavanja šta je postignuto, a čemu težimo u budućnosti. Uz podršku kolega iz CNA, realizovali smo dvodnevnu radionicu gdje smo imali priliku razgovarati o postignutim rezultatima i ispunjenim očekivanjima,

problemima i strategijama za njihovo rješavanje, o pojedinačnim ulogama i odgovornostima u timu, kao i o ostvarenim saradnjama s ratnim veteranima i udruženjima žrtava rata. Nakon radionice imali smo utisak da je aktivnost dovoljno porasla da možemo govoriti o tome da smo prisutni u stvaranju i uticaju na kulturu sjećanja u BiH. Zaključili smo da su nam važne povratne informacije koje dobijamo od ljudi koji su bili direktni učesnici događaja na lokacijama koje smo posjetili, bilo da se radi o preživjelim zatočenicima, porodicama i prijateljima stradalih ili ratnim veteranima. Upravo njihovo prisustvo tokom obilježavanja neobilježenih mesta stradanja daje nam dodatnu motivaciju da nastavimo dalje s aktivnostima. Nakon radionice iskristalisale su se mnoge ideje u kojima vidimo da aktivnost može dalje da se razvija. Jedna od njih je da

pored akcija na terenu pokušamo uspostaviti bolju saradnju s medijima i veću prisutnost u javnom prostoru. Takođe, nastojaćemo da otvorimo prostor za pokretanja inicijativa za dijalog o primjerenom obilježavanju neobilježenih mesta i stvaranja novih obrazaca kulture sjećanja na nivou države BiH.

Aktivnost Obilježavanja neobilježenih mesta stradanja planiramo nastaviti i u narednom periodu kroz saradnju sa lokalnim zajednicama i udruženjima žrtava. Smatramo da je upravo saradnja sa lokalnom zajednicom važna za pokretanje dijaloga o primjerenom obilježavanju mesta stradanja jer je ona ta koja kreira načine na osnovu kojih se građani sjećaju rata i u kojoj mjeri dozvoljava da se ta mesta stradanja prepuste negiranju i zaboravu.





Mirovno obrazovanje

Mirovno obrazovanje je dugo godina bila osnovna aktivnost Centra za nenasilnu akciju, i po treninzima koje organizujemo smo bili prepoznatljivi u regionu. Nažalost, poslednjih godina uspevamo da organizujemo po jedan osnovni trening i Mir-Paqe-Мир trening godišnje, te trening za studente/ice iz Bosne i Hercegovine svake druge godine.

Nama su treninzi jako važni, jer iz njih crpimo motivaciju i inspiraciju za dalji rad, u njima dobijamo sliku na koji način nam se društva u regionu menjaju, te imamo prilike sresti se i sarađivati sa raznim ljudima, sa kojima potom razvijamo druge aktivnosti. Osim što su ogromna baza novih saznanja, treninzi su i baza budućih mirovnih aktivista, od kojih su mnogi postali ili naši stalni saradnici, ili članovi CNA tima. I oni koji nisu ostali direktno vezani za nas i naš rad posle treninga, ne gube kontakt sa mirovnim aktivizmom, javljaju se, predlažu, imaju ideje, osnivaju organizacije u svojim sredinama, pridružuju se pokretima, a često su nam domaćini ili lokalni partneri koji organizuju naše druge aktivnosti u mestima u kojima žive.

Kao štosmospomenuli, CNA Osnovni treninge organizira duže od 20 godina i to je naš najdugotrajniji program. Među učesnicima 42. osnovnog treninga bilo je studenata/ica, novinara, članova političkih partija, aktivista/ca za ljudska prava, vjerskih službenika, akademskih radnika, profesora, muzealki, bivših boraca, vojnih lica i umjetnika. Starijih i mlađih, grupa je predstavljala čitav raspon generacija, od 21 do 65 godina. I to ne samo da nije bila prepreka, nego je omogućilo razmjenu iskustva i znanja, praktičnih i emotivnih, o svijetu jednako kao i o životu. Rat je neke od nas obilježio još 90-ih, drugi su, rođeni netom nakon, ratom obilježeni kroz njegove rezultate i posljedice koje se novim generacijama nameću kao prirodne i poželjne, oba iskustva su presudno važna za razumijevanje načina na koji rat nastaje, ili zašto, u slučaju zemalja zapadnog Balkana, nikako ne prestaje. Koji su mehanizmi koji stope u pozadini, čega se moramo čuvati kad sudimo o drugim ljudima, i na šta moramo obratiti pažnju u svojoj neposrednoj okolini. Te koliko je važno cijelom procesu pristupati otvorenog srca.

Poticaji koji su trenerskom timu dolazili iz grupe tražili su od nas i inspirirali nas da radionice oblikujemo tako da se omogući prostor za promišljanje nekog konkretnog djelovanja na polju izgradnje mira, o budućim mogućim akcijama, razmjenu o saveznicima koje u tom procesu možemo naći i podršku koja nam je za to potrebna. U tom smislu je ovaj trening nadmašio očekivanja trenerskog tima, sadržavajući neke odlike i energiju naprednijih treninga.

42. Osnovni trening iz izgradnje mira Ulcinj, Crna Gora, 19-29.10.2018.

Broj prijava: 132
20 učesnika/ca iz: Bosne i Hercegovine (7), Srbije (4), Makedonije (3), i po dvoje učesnika iz Crne Gore, Hrvatske i sa Kosova
Zanimanja: studenti/ice, novinari, članovi političkih partija, aktivisti/ce za ljudska prava, vjerski službenik, akademski radnici, profesori, muzealka, bivši borci, vojna lica i umjetnici
Tim: Ivana Franović, Davorka Turk, Nedžad Novalić, Luan Imeri

3. Trening za studente/ice iz Bosne i Hercegovine Mostar, Bosna i Hercegovina, 22-28.2.2019.

Broj prijava: 96
Učesnici/e: 19 studenata/ica iz svih delova BiH
Tim: Davorka Turk, Dalmir Mišković, Tamara Zrnović, Nedžad Novalić i Nedžad Horozović

5. Mir-Paqe-Мир trening Kruševo, Makedonija, 10-19.5.2019.

Broj prijava: 84
18 učesnika/ca iz Srbije (7), Makedonije (6) i sa Kosova (5).
Učesnici su dolazili iz Preševa, Kragujevca, Beograda, Novog Sada, Kruševca, Vranja, Velesa, Vaksinca, Vinice, Skoplja, Bitole, Borinca, Runika i Lipjana.
Zanimanja: studenti/kinje, profesori/ce, učitelji/ce, aktivisti/kinje, umetnici/e, zaposleni/e u ministarstvima...
Tim: Albulena Karaga, Boro Kitanoski, Katarina Milićević, Nenad Vukosavljević, Nexhat Ismaili

Trening za studentice i studente iz BiH nam je relativno nova aktivnost. Potrebu za ovakvom vrstom mirovnog obrazovanja usmjerenoj ka studentskoj populaciji prvi smo put osjetili prije 4 godine kad smo i organizirali prvi trening izgradnje mira za studente iz BiH. Ideja je bila da se generacija budućih kreatora javnih stavova i donosioca odluka izgradi na mirovnačkim osnovama i da im se pruži prilika za šire sagledavanje bosanskohercegovačkog konteksta te senzibilizacija na druge i drugačije.

Posebice smo htjeli osvestiti buduću generaciju nosioca društvenih kretanja na procese koji mogu da vode ka spiralni nasilja te krajnjoj eskalaciji tj. ratu, te im dati priliku i prostor da nauče izaći iz tih ustaljenih obrazaca koji vode legitimisanju i ponavljanju nepravde i nasilja. Sam koncept trećeg treninga bio je malo drugačiji u odnosu na prethodna dva treninga izgradnje mira za studentice

i studente te je u vremenski kraćem formatu planirano da bude siguran prostor za otvaranje složenih tema koje unutar bosanskohercegovačkog konteksta konstatno stvaraju poteškoće.

Dalmir Mišković, član trenerskog tima koji je ujedno i student, o važnosti treninga kaže: „Jako mi je važno bilo vidjeti kako razmišlja generacija koja se rodila nakon rata te način na koji oni gledaju na cijelu tu dramatičnu prošlost o kojoj ih stariji uče. U BiH dovesti dvadeset mlađih ljudi različitih nacionalnih pozadina na jedno mjesto još uvijek predstavlja veliki iskorak, koji je još veći ako se radi na temama ovog treninga. Čini nam se da su (međuetnička) distanca i granice među mlađim ljudima snažnije nego što je bio slučaj na prva dva treninga sa studentima, i pored toga što postoji iskrena želja da se ove barijere premoste. Osim toga, sudionici su pokazali veliku spremnost na rad i promjenu i to mi ulijeva nadu da će se u budućnosti društveni procesi pozitivnije odvijati.“ Studentski trening u

ovom formatu pokazao se kao koristan program i želja CNA je da nastavimo sa organiziranjem ovakvog treninga barem svake dvije godine.

Regionalni pristup suočavanju s prošlošću ključan je u izgradnji mira na prostoru bivše Jugoslavije. Osim trougla BiH, Srbija, Hrvatska, jednako važan nam je i trougao Sjeverna Makedonija-Kosovo-Srbija. Za učesnike i učesnice iz Srbije, Kosova i Sjeverne Makedonije i u 2019. smo organizirali jedinstveni dvojezični trening iz izgradnje mira.

Politički kontekst, od stalnih političkih sukoba koji svako malo prerastu u nasilje na relaciji Beograd-Priština, do konačno vidljivog napretka u Makedoniji i razrješenje višegodišnjeg spora sa Grčkom oko imena, kao i činjenica da je jezička barijera među mlađim generacijama sva veća, čine trening Mir-Paqe-Mlup posebno dragocjenim. Također, tu nam je posebno važna saradnja i sa našim prijateljima iz Mirovne akcije iz Makedonije i ANP-a sa Kosova.



Na ovogodišnjem treningu, petom po redu, učestvovalo je 18 učesnika/ca, iz Srbije (7), Severne Makedonije (6) i Kosova (5). Bilo je učesnika/ca iz Preševa, Kragujevca, Beograda, Novog Sada, Kruševca, Vranja, Velesa, Vaksinca, Vinice, Skoplja, Bitole, Borinca, Runika i Lipjana. Učesnici/e koji su odabrani od 84 prijavljenih, imali su različite etničke identite, bili su zastupljeni i oni/e koji/e u sredinama iz kojih dolaze predstavljaju manjinu, i većinu, kao i oni/e koji pripadaju nevećinskim etničkim grupama (onima koji

nisu pripadnici/e nijedne od većinskih zajednica na tim prostorima). Upravo heterogeni sastav grupe, po raznim kriterijumima, ne samo etnički, stvara podesnu atmosferu za analizu postojećih društvenih sukoba iz različitih perspektiva i upoznavanje posledica koje ti sukobi ostavljaju na pojedinke i pojedince iz različitih zajednica i društvenih slojeva. Svako od učesnica i učesnika unosi svoje iskustvo i deli ga sa ostalima uključujući i ono što se ne pokazuje tako lako, a to su strahovi i bol zbog proživljene nepravde.





Publikacije

Poklonili smo Strategiju izgradnje mira građanima Srbije

Beograd, 10. decembar/prosinac 2018.

Strategija izgradnje mira je dokument na kojem je CNA tim radio godinama. Kao mirovna organizacija, često kritikujemo društva u kojima živimo, a Strategijom izgradnje mira smo pokušali da damo konstruktivni doprinos promenama i državi ponudimo konkretne predloge na čemu bi i kako valjalo raditi.

Na Strategiji smo počeli da radimo još pre desetak godina, najpre ispitujući razmišljanja da li ima potrebe i smisla raditi nešto ovakvo. Iskreno, ni mi, ni naši sagovornici/e sa kojima smo se konsultovali, nismo bili ubedeni da će tadašnja demokratska vlast da prihvati ovaj predlog kao državnu strategiju za izgradnju mira, ali smo bili saglasni da potreba postoji, i da na tome treba raditi.

Kako je proces izrade odmicao, a vlast se u Srbiji menjala, tako je postajalo sve manje izgledno da bi, u vreme zapaljivih govora, i pretnji ratom na dnevnom nivou, uopšte bilo moguće razgovarati o nečemu čemu je cilj mir. Trajni mir.

Ipak smo pokušali, obavili desetine razgovora sa predstavnicima ministarstava i državnih organa. Nigde nam niko nije rekao da je ovaj dokument nepotreban, naprotiv, svugde su pohvalili ideju, ali su nam na kraju, u neformalnom delu, ipak napominjali da će to ići teško. Naravno, iz brojnih institucija nismo dobili nikakav odgovor na molbu za razgovor o Strategiji izgradnje mira.

Kao poslednji korak u pokušaju da dopremo do državnih organa, odlučili smo i Strategiju poslali direktno predsedniku Srbije Aleksandru Vučiću i premijerki Ani Brnabić. Iz kabineta predsednika nismo dobili odgovor,

iz kabineta premijerke dobili smo odgovor da je naš predlog prosleđen Ministarstvu pravde (kojem smo se i sami nekoliko puta obraćali, i iz kojeg nikada nismo dobili nikakav odgovor).

Na kraju, odlučili smo da naš rad ne bude tek tako ostavljen po strani i zaboravljen, već smo predlog Strategije izgradnje mira poklonili građanima Srbije na javnom događaju, održanom na Dan ljudskih prava, 10. decembra 2018.

U razgovoru o ideji i potrebi za Strategijom izgradnje mira učestvovali su Novica Kostić iz Vlasotinca, ratni veteran i naš dugogodišnji saradnik, Edin Ramulić iz Prijedora, takođe veteran i aktivista Fondacije za izgradnju kulture sjećanja, Jelena Krstić iz Fonda za humanitarno pravo, Dobrica Veselinović iz organizacije "Ne davimo Beograd" i Nenad Vukosavljević iz Centra za nenasilnu akciju.

Iako nismo doprli do institucija, doprli smo do dela javnosti, pa je tako, u emisiji „Crvena linija“ N1 televizije, 22.3.2019. godine, u razgovoru o pomirenju, u kojem su učestvovali aktivisti/kinje iz regionala, Strategija izgradnje mira koju je izradio Centar za nenasilnu akciju navedena u zaključku, kao jedan od puteva ka izgradnji trajnog mira.

U ovom trenutku, tekst predloga Strategije izgradnje mira nalazi se dostupan za čitanje i preuzimanje na [našoj internet stranici](#), i svako može da mu pristupi. Što se razgovora sa institucijama tiče, naša odluka je da to više ne iniciramo, već da čekamo vreme u kojem će sa druge strane biti sagovornici opredeljeni da zaista rade na izgradnji trajnog mira, a ne na zaledenom ratnom konfliktu.

Novi Priručnik: Nenasilje!

Iz štampe je izšao naš novi priručnik za rad na obrazovanju za izgradnju mira u kome smo sakupili iskustva stećena za 20 godina rada na treninzima. On je proširena i dorađena verzija našeg prvog priručnika „*Nenasilje?!*”, objavljenog pre 18 godina, koji i dalje ima zavidan broj preuzimanja na internetu. Razlika nastala u 18 godina rada između prve verzije priručnika i ovog sada je to što smo odlučili izbrisati upitnik iz naslova, te on sada glasi „*Nenasilje! Priručnik za treninge iz izgradnje mira*“. Stećeno iskustvo rada u borbi protiv nepravde i prevazilaženju nasleđa nepravdi, je naše uverenje u snagu i ispravnost primene principa nenasilja, dodatno učvrstilo.

Priručnik se može besplatno preuzeti sa našeg sajta u PDF formatu, a štampano izdanje je dostupno u oba naša ureda.

U njemu možete naći predloge za radionice i vežbe na čitav niz tema koje su usko vezane uz izgradnju mira: nenasilnu komunikaciju, saradnju i timski rad, percepciju, liderstvo, nasilje, predrasude i diskriminaciju, identitet i različitosti, razumevanje, analizu i kreativnu razradu sukoba, rodnu ravnopravnost, suočavanje s prošlošću, izgradnju mira, pomirenje, ophođenje sa strahom, moć, izgradnju poverenja, nenasilje i mirovni aktivizam i nenasilnu akciju.

U početnim poglavljima detaljno smo opisali šta je to CNA trening, šta su mu ciljevi i koji su mu dometi, ko su učesnici, ko ih bira, ko su treneri i šta je uloga trenera, kako se trening priprema i o čemu treba voditi računa još u pripremi treninga, a o čemu u toku njegove sprovedbe, kako su struktuirane radionice, kako izgleda koncept treninga, od kakvog vrednosnog okvira polazimo, kako razumevamo pojmove: sukob, nasilje, nenasilje, pomirenje, izgradnja mira, suočavanje s prošlošću. I na kraju, sabrali smo i čitav spektar poteškoća s kojima smo se sretali u ovom radu i opisali one uspešnije odgovore na njih.

Nameru nam je da nove metode koje budemo izmišljali i primenjivali u budućnosti, objavljujemo u online verziji priručnika koji će biti koncipiran kao pomoćni alat za pripremu i vođenje treninga. Na adresi <https://handbook.nenasilje.org> se zasada nalaze samo neki pomoćni materijali koji se mogu preuzeti.

C Centar za nenasilnu akciju

Nenasilje!

Priručnik za treninge iz izgradnje mira

Ivana Franović · Nenad Vukosavljević

Verujemo da će ovaj priručnik najviše koristiti ljudima koji rade u obrazovanju, formalnom ili neformalnom, pre svega sa odraslima ili mladima, i da će posebno koristiti onima koji rade na društvenoj promeni u svom okruženju – jer upravo je iz te perspektive i pisan, iz perspektive nas, aktera, koji smo i deo problema i deo rešenja. Nadamo se da će ovaj priručnik biti podrška svima vama koji ste dovoljno hrabri da menjajući sebe, menjate i svet i stvarate izvesniju i slobodniju budućnost za sve.

Zahvaljujemo Austrijskoj razvojnoj agenciji (ADA), nemačkom Saveznom ministarstvu za privrednu saradnju i razvoj (BMZ), KURVE Wustrow, Diakonie Austrija i Međunarodnom društvu pomirenja (IFOR Austrija) što su podržali objavljivanje ovog priručnika.

Priručnik “Pomirenje?!” na makedonskom

Sa zadovoljstvom vas obaveštavamo da je iz štampe stigao prevod na makedonski jezik našeg Priručnika za rad na suočavanju sa prošlošću kroz treninge i radionice – „Pomirenje?!”

Prevod priručnika je nastao kao rezultat želja i potreba ljudi iz Makedonije koji već koriste priručnik na BHS jezicima i to kao ultimativni izvor (i prvi izbor) kada je mirovni rad u pitanju. Želje i potrebe su da priručnik bude dostupan i na makedonskom i na albanskom jeziku.

Iskreno vjerujemo da će upravo njima najviše i koristiti, ali i ljudima koji rade u obrazovanju, formalnom ili neformalnom, prije svega sa odraslima ili mladima, te da će biti od koristi svima onima koji rade na društvenim promjenama u Makedoniji.

U njemu možete naći predloge za radionice i vježbe na čitav niz tema koje su usko vezane za: razumijevanje konteksta u kojima živimo, suočavanje s prošlošću, izgradnju mira, nasilja, predrasuda i diskriminacije, identiteta i različitosti, razumijevanja, nenasilja i mirovnog aktivizama, nenasilne akcije itd.

Izdavač publikacije pod nazivom ПОМИРУВАЊЕ?! za Severnu Makedoniju je *Mirovna akcija, Prilep – Tetovo*.

Prevodilac je Lenče Radosavljević, a lektorka Julijana Taleska.

Publikacija se može besplatno preuzeti sa našeg sajta u *PDF formatu*.

Nadamo se da će ovaj priručnik biti podrška i pomoć i svima vama koji ste dovoljno hrabri da mijenjajući sebe, mijenjate i svijet i stvarate izvjesniju i slobodniju budućnost za sve.



Najava:

Nakon prijevoda priručnika „Pomirenje?!” ponovno na inicijativu naših prijatelja i suradnika iz Makedonije, tijekom prve polovice 2020. godine očekujemo prijevod i publikaciju našeg novog „Priručnika za treninge iz izgradnje mira – Nenašilje!“ na makedonski i albanski jezik. Urednik albanskog izdanja priručnika je Luan Imeri, a urednica makedonskog izdanja Ana Bitoljanu.

Treći Biber konkurs

Početkom godine raspisali smo treći Biber konkurs za kratku priču. Ovoga puta nešto smo izmenili opis zadate teme – na prva dva konkursa tema je bila pomirenje, ali smo odlučili da je proširimo: pored priča koje tematizuju pomirenje u kontekstu zaostavštine ratova i nasilja u zemljama bivše Jugoslavije, konkurs je bio otvoren i za priče koje mogu da doprinesu boljem razumevanju među ljudima, smanjenju mržnje i razgradnjom predrasuda, antiratne priče, priče koje se bave suočavanjem s prošlošću, razgradnjom slike o neprijateljima, saosećanjem sa drugima, hrabre priče koje se usuđuju da hodaju u "neprijateljskim" cipelama, priče koje pomeraju granice i otvaraju nam puteve da gradimo izvesniju, bezbedniju i slobodniju budućnost za sve.

Na konkurs, koji je bio otvoren do sredine juna, stiglo je ukupno 464 priče, od kojih je najveći broj bio na BHSC jezicima, 56 priča su napisane na albanskom, a 66 na makedonskom jeziku.

Odluku o nagrađenim i pričama koje će biti objavljene uzbirci doneće žiri, u kojem su Lejla Kalamujić, Rumena Bužarovska i Shkelzen Maliqi, do kraja oktobra.

U predselekciji priča koje su stigle na konkurs učestvovali su aktivisti i aktivistkinje iz regiona: Albulena Karaga, Abdullah Ferizi, Boro Kitanoski, Ana Bitoljanu, Ivana Franović, Davorka Turk i Katarina Milićević.

Planirali smo da nova, Biber 03 zbirka priča sa ovog konkursa bude objavljena u prvom kvartalu 2020. godine.

Potom planiramo da u nekoliko gradova regiona održimo promocije, kao što smo početkom godine, u *Podgorici*, imali promociju trećeg konkursa i druge zbirke priča. Ta promocija je održana u prostoru Kulturno-informativnog centra "Budo Tomović". Na promociji su govorili: Lejla Kalamujić, književnica iz Sarajeva i članica žirija; Nora Verde (Antonela Marušić), književnica iz Zagreba; Slađana Ljubičić, aktivistkinja i književnica iz Novog Sada i Katarina Milićević, članica CNA i Biber tima,



dok je moderator bio Radomir Radević, iz CNA. Osim promocije zbirke priča i razgovora o pomirenju, bilo nam je važno da promocijom pozovemo i pisce sa crnogorskog govornog područja da učestvuju na konkursu, jer koliko smo primetili prethodnih godina, imali smo malo priča iz Crne Gore. I čini nam se, po odzivu za treći konkurs, da smo u toj nameri uspeli.

Takođe, krajem prošle godine, promovisali smo Biber zbirku i konkurs i u *Južnoj Mitrovici*, što je za nas bilo jako važno, jer je podeljena Mitrovica (na Severnu i Južnu) grad u kojem treba najglasnije govoriti o pomirenju, saradnji i protiv rata i nasilja. Na promociji u Južnoj Mitrovici govorile su: Jasna Radulović iz Zagreba, Verime Zimberi Beluli iz

Kičeva, Andrea Popov Miletić iz Novog Sada, Katarina Milićević iz Biber tima, moderatorka je bila Aurela Kadriu iz Prištine, a lokalni organizator Gentrit Behramaj iz Južne Mitrovice.

Pokazalo se, na koncu, kada je završen treći Biber konkurs, da smo promocijama i razgovorima, između ostalog, uspeli da pridobijemo više autora/ki koji/e pišu na albanskom da učestvuju na konkursu, pa smo ovog puta dobili 56 priča na albanskom jeziku, dok ih je na drugom konkursu bilo 16.





Razmjena, suradnja, umrežavanje

Istorija u džepu

Apatin, 4. oktobar/listopad 2018.

Ulm, 4. juli/srpanj 2019.

U ovom pregledu ukratko će izložiti šta se događalo nakon što smo objavili istraživanje „Na tragu Podunavskih Nemaca u Vojvodini“ i održali izložbu fotografija u Beogradu, u decembru 2017. O tome ste mogli da čitate u našem prošlogodišnjem izvještaju. Na kraju teksta osvrnuću se na istraživanje, šta je ono generalno donelo, i meni lično značilo.

Izložba Na tragu Podunavskih Nemaca u Vojvodini

Apatin, Dom kulture, otvaranje 4. oktobar 2019.

U oktobru 2018. smo u saradnji sa Apatincima iz Nemačke i Udruženjem Adam Berenc organizovali izložbu u Apatinu, mestu na Dunavu gde je nekad, pre Drugog svetskog rata, živelo puno Podunavskih Nemaca. Posetioce su činili većinom ljudi koji imaju ličnu vezu sa Podunavskim Nemcima. Jedan čovek koji je prisustvovao izložbi je zajedno sa svojom porodicom došao u Vojvodinu nakon rata putem kolonizacije, u mesto gde je nekada bilo većinsko nemačko stanovništvo. Priča o Nemcima mu je postala veoma važna. Neki drugi čovek prepoznao je na jednoj od fotografija nadgrobni spomenik svog strica koji nije mogao naći na apatinskom groblju. Koliko li je tek ljudskih priča koje nismo čuli? Bilo je ljudi iz cele Bačke – iako neka od tih mesta i nisu tako blizu Apatina, ali u svim postoje tragovi Podunavskih Nemaca pa su zbog različitih razloga ljudi bili zainteresovani da te tragove vide, istraže i upoznaju. Nije tako često da se skupe ljudi sa različitim strana zbog jedne izložbe.

Značajno je da je **izložba** organizovana u Domu kulture, koji se nalazi u samom centru Apatina, a s obzirom i da je to državna ustanova, time se poslala poruka da tema Podunavskih Nemaca jeste važna. Više informacija o izložbi nalazi se na našoj web stranici.

Panel diskusija „Mirni suživot u bivšoj Jugoslaviji kroz sećanje i pomirenje?“

DZM, Ulm, 4. jul 2019.

Lepa saradnja i prijateljstvo sa Apatiner Gemeinschaft, mogli bismo reći, nastavila se dalje, ovog puta uzvodno, uz Dunav, u Ulmu /Nemačka/, odakle su nekad krenuli Podunavski Nemci u naseljavanje i Vojvodine. Na njihovu inicijativu, Centralni muzej Podunavskih Nemaca (Donauschwäbisches Zentralmuseum – DZM) iz Ulma i Dunavski ured (Donaubüro) pozvali su nas na panel diskusiju kako bismo razgovarali o sećanju, pomirenju i istraživanju o Podunavskim Nemcima. Naziv panel diskusije bio je „Mirni suživot u bivšoj Jugoslaviji kroz sećanje i pomirenje?“. U ime Centra za nenasilnu akciju u ovom razgovoru učestvovali su Nedžad Novalić i Helena Rill a u ime DZOK-a (Stiftung Erinnerung/Dokumentationszentrum Oberer Kuhberg (DZOK) dr Nicola Wenge. Ovaj centar i fondacija se bave kulturom sećanja, kao i kritičkim osrvtom na istoriju nacionalsocijalizma u tom regionu.

Pričali smo o našem mirovnom radu, ali smo čuli i perspektivu iz Nemačke. Zanimljivo kako je tokom našeg boravka u Ulmu sve bilo povezano – Muzej Podunavskih Nemaca kroz koji nas je proveo njegov voditelj, prošlost sa kojom se Nemačka i dalje hvata u koštač sa najvećim osrvtom na nacionalsocijalizam i ratovi na prostoru bivše Jugoslavije. Poveznica svemu je važnost i neophodnost da se radi na tim slikama sećanja i dalje nerazrađene prošlosti. Obilazak nekadašnjeg koncentracionog logora Oberer Kuhberg je bio samo deo cele te povezane priče. I o ovom događaju možete naći na našem sajtu.

Iz ličnog ugla

Moja motivacija da istražujem sudbinu Podunavskih Nemaca jeste bila potreba da ono o čemu se čutalo u mom gradu, našta sam slučajno naletela, a ispostavilo se – i u mojoj porodici, učini vidljivim, da nešto što je velikih dimenzija, a sakriveno - bude prepoznato i bude javno.

Istraživanje i pisanje se sastojalo od raznih izazova, koliko sadržinskih, toliko i procesnih. Na momente se javljao osećaj kao da treba da se „plati neki dug“, kako bi stvari nekako stale na svoje mesto. I zaista, nakon završenog istraživanja, točak se zavrteo. Reakcije ljudi koji su dolazili do nas su bile afirmativne, a posebno je značila povratna informacija ljudi koji su imali teško iskustvo biti Nemaci u Vojvodini posle Drugog svetskog rata. S druge strane, povratna informacija nam je došla i od znanstvenika koji su se time bavili, kao što je na primer dr Zoran Janjetović koji je afirmativno o našem radu pisao u okviru istoriografije o Nemcima. Međutim, posebno veliki odjek se desio u okviru otvaranja izložbe u Beogradu 2017. Rečeno nam je da nikada do tada nije bilo toliko reakcija na društvenim mrežama te ustanova kao kada smo pokrenuli priču o Podunavskim Nemcima.

Točak se zavrteo na neočekivan način i na ličnom planu. Moja rođaka, sestra od tetke, našla me je preko ovog istraživanja. Zove se Adelheid. Upoznala sam i brata od strica, on se zove Josef. Svo troje smo se sreli sada, nakon posete DZM-u i Ulmu. Pričali smo o tome kakav je bio deda kojeg nikad nisam upoznala, o tome što se pričalo u našim porodicama, odnosno što nije. Koje su to traume koje nosimo, koje smo sami stekli i koje idu generacijski. Koje su to priče koje su nas okruživale, a što je to naše lično i kako smo to nosili. Ili nismo. Što je najzanimljivije, ovo istraživanje mi je donelo i priču „sa druge strane“. Moja majka je na početku Drugog svetskog rata bila logorisana u nacistički logor gde je ostala do kraja rata. Pričala mi je da je bila u više logora i sećala se samo, zbog čiste podudarnosti, kako je naziv jednog od logora imao veze sa njenim kasnijim prebivalištem Neusatz, Novim Sadom. Inače, nju je bilo sramota da priča o logoru. Nisam imala nikakvu konkretnu informaciju, osim njenih sećanja, koja su ponekad meni, kao njenoj kćerci, bila previše. Pomirila sam se s tim da možda nikada neću saznati koji su to bili logori u kojima je bila, jer нико nije znao. A onda, ovo istraživanje – baš o Podunavskim Nemcima je donelo nešto konkretno; preko njega sam došla do DZM-a pomenutog napred u tekstu, a onda i do direktora Christiana Glassa. On me je uputio na

ljude iz DZOK-a, i došla sam do broja: u Budnesarchiv-u R 9361 (...). Tu je moja majka, a možda i ti logori. Nikad mi ne bi palo na pamet da će doći do informacije o majci preko očevih korena.

Ovo istraživanje je donelo u svakom smislu nove ljude, tople susrete, saradnje, moje rođake, informacije, nekim ljudima vidljivost i priznanje njihove patnje, puno raznih emocija, čitavu jednu istoriju moje porodice i onog što se dešavalо Podunavskim Nemcima. Kao da sam sve stavila u džep. Pitam se, čega sve još ima u tim arhivama što strpljivo čeka da ispliva. Volela bih da kao što je meni otvorilo neka nova vrata da ovo istraživanje, a možda i neko sledeće otvori i više od toga...

Helena Rill



Aktivnosti
kojima smo se pridružili

Rad nemačke civilne mirovne službe

Berlin, 7. maja/svibnja 2019.

7.5.2019. je u Berlinu u zgradi Saveznog ministarstva za međunarodnu saradnju i razvoj održan razgovor na temu civilne mirovne službe, programa koji je formiran u ministarstvu za razvoj pre nepunih 20 godina. Domaćin sastanka g. Norbert Barthle, državni sekretar u ministarstvu, održao je uvodnu reč, g. Mauz, glasnogovornik konzorcijuma Civilna mirovna služba, predstavio je obrije ovog programa, koji je od svog uspostavljanja značajno narastao i širio se na brojne zemlje u svetu. Kao aktivista sa terena, ispred CNA, Nenad Vukosavljević, predstavio je razvojni put Centra za nenasilnu akciju, aktivnosti koje organizujemo, njihovu isprepletanost i međuzavisnost, te dostignuća proteklih godina. CNA je kao organizacija tek nekoliko godina starija od programa civilne mirovne službe i uživa podršku programa kroz partnerstvo sa KURVE

Wustrow, od 2002. godine. Naš rast, uživanje slobode i fleksibilnosti u planiranju koje imamo, dobrim delom dugujemo nesebičnoj podršci koju smo dobijali dugi niz godina.

Prisutne učesnice i učesnici razgovora, nekih 20 ljudi, su bile/i članice Bundestaga ili njihovi izaslanici uz predstavnike nekoliko organizacija civilnog društva i više službenih lica iz ministarstva. Posle 20 minutnog predstavljanja je usledio veliki broj pitanja i upućeno nam je puno reči hale i podrške, koje na ovaj način prosleđujemo i svim našim saradnicima i partnerima koji su doprineli radu CNA. Doživljaj ovakve podrške predstavlja veliko ohrabrenje i inspiraciju za nas.

Nenad Vukosavljević

Pridružili smo se Danu bijelih traka u Prijedoru

Prijedor, 30-31. maj/svibanj 2019.

Na poziv prijatelja iz Centra za mlade "Kwart" iz Prijedora, Inicijative "Jer me se tiče" i Fondacije za izgradnju kulture sjećanja iz Prijedora, 31. maja pridružili smo se obilježavanju Međunarodnog dana bijelih traka u znak sjećanja na stradale civile i djecu u Prijedoru u periodu 1992-1995.

Dan ranije, 30. maja, članovi CNA tima Davorka Turk i Nedžad Novalić učestvovali su na tribini o memorijalizaciji na kojoj se, između ostalog, razgovaralo i o tome zašto je memorijalizacija važna, kakva nam memorijalizacija treba, ko ima pravo na javni prostor... U razgovoru su učestvovali Edin Ramulić iz Fondacije za izgradnju kulture sjećanja iz Prijedora, bivši logoraš prijedorskog logora "Trnopolje" i višegodišnji aktivista, Zdravka Karlica, predsjednica Organizacije porodica zarobljenih i poginulih boraca i nestalih civila i Goran Zorić iz Inicijative "Jer me se tiče" koja sedmu godinu zaredom organizira Međunarodni dan bijelih traka.

Razgovor se, osim o tome kakva je memorijalizacija u postratnoj Bosni i Hercegovini i regionu, fokusirao i

na konkretno iskustvo prijedorske lokalne zajednice. Obilježavanje Dana bijelih traka je, kao i proteklih godina, bilo posvećeno podršci roditeljima ubijene djece u Prijedoru tokom posljednjeg rata za dobijanje spomenika u užem gradskom području pa je tribina, posebno s obzirom da su u razgovoru učestvovali predstavnici udruženja žrtava i sa srpske i sa bošnjačke strane, bila odlična prilika da se porazgovara o konkretnim pitanjima memorijalizacije u Prijedoru.

S obzirom na obim ratnih zločina i stradanja, Prijedor danas levitira negdje između teške prošlosti obilježene zločinima, nasiljem, ali i diskriminacijom koja se protegnula i nakon završetka rata, i budućnosti nagovještenoj pozitivnim primjerima na polju izgradnje povjerenja među zajednicama, uspostavi dijaloga i izgradnji mira. Jasno, taj put nije linearan i nećete biti u krivu ako vam se učini da na momente Prijedor korača i unazad.

I nakon sedme godine obilježavanja Dana bijelih traka, lokalne vlasti ne dozvoljavaju da se u centru Prijedora obilježi stradanje 102 djece koja su ubijena tokom etničkog

čišćenja Prijedora 1992. Također, zloglasni logori Omarska, Keraterm i Trnopolje i danas su neobilježena mjesta stradanja. Logor Keraterm bivši logoraši su obilježili bez dozvole lokalne vlasti, ali je spomen-ploča opstala sve do danas, dok je, s druge strane, u Trnopolju postavljen spomenik stradalim vojnicima Vojske Republike Srpske dok se istovremeno ne dozvoljava obilježavanje lokacije kao mjesta stradanja logoraša, Bošnjaka i Hrvata.

Prijedor, u kontekstu memorijalizacije, nažalost, nije odmakao daleko od ostatka BiH pa i regionala. Javni prostor, posebno u centru grada, ekskluzivno je pravo danas većinskog naroda koji ima političku moć u Prijedoru, spomenici povratnika skrajnuti su u dvorišta vjerskih objekata ili pak stratišta manjinskog naroda nikako nisu obilježena. Iščitavajući spomenike, možete iščitati mnogo toga o današnjem Prijedoru – koji narod ima političku moć da nametne sjećanje na svoju istinu, koje sjećanje je poželjno, ko su nam neprijatelji, kako ih nazivamo... Primjera gdje je situacije drukčija je vrlo malo i Prijedor, kako rekosmo, u tome nije iznimka.

S druge strane, u Prijedoru postoje primjeri koji pokazuju da je drukčiji put moguć. Osim činjenice da Dan bijelih traka u Prijedoru organizira inicijativa „Jer me se tiče“ čiji dio su, između ostalih, i mladi Srbi/Srpkinje iz Prijedora, važno je i da lokalni mediji izvještavaju o komemoracijama stradalim pripadnicima naroda koji je danas manjinski. Kozarski vjesnik i Radio-televizija Prijedor, koji su bili dio propagandne i ubilačke mašinerije iz 1992. godine, ove godine su besplatno objavili osmrtnice u znak sjećanja na ubijenu prijedorsku djecu. Može se činiti kao mali korak, ali je prije samo nekoliko godina i on bio teško zamisliv. Još važnije – ono što je je nekad bilo nezamislivo danas je zamislivo zahvaljujući naporima mnogih, čisto kao primjer da se stvari ne dešavaju same od sebe već da iiza koraka koji se nekom mogu činiti mali stoji ogroman trud i hrabrost.

Dan bijelih traka, kao svojevrsna komemoracija svim ubijenim nesrbima u Prijedoru, može biti primjer kako organizirati komemoraciju koja bi pozivala na uključivanje a ne na isključivanje zajednice koja nosi odgovornost (govorimo o političkoj i moralnoj odgovornosti, a ne o krivičnoj odgovornosti) za počinjene zločine. Mirna i dostojanstvena šetnja centrom grada, bez zapaljivih govora, uz istaknute bijele trake na lijevoj ruci, položene ruže u znak sjećanja na 102 ubijene djece, poziv su i svim drugim Prijedorčanima da se uključe, da podrže izgradnju spomenika, učestvuju u sjećanju i time doprinesu izgradnju budućnosti u kojoj niti jedno dijete, niti bilo ko drugi, neće nikada na ruku staviti traku, vidljivu ili nevidljivu, kako bi ga se lakše prepoznalo kao neprijatelja i eliminisalo.

Na kraju, sama tribina o memorijalizaciji pokazala je da postoji dijalog i osnovno razumijevanje između udruženja porodica sa različitim strana. Sama spremnost čelnih ljudi udruženja žrtava na dijalog s drugim žrtvama je izuzetan korak lične hrabrosti. Razlike u pogledima na ono šta se desilo nisu nestale, ali se desilo nešto mnogo važnije: spremnost da se prizna da su i oni žrtve, da se oda počast žrtvama i da se osude zločini. Takva komunikacija na lokalnom nivou između udruženja žrtava, koje su jedan od kreatora politike sjećanja, može biti primjer i drugim zajednicama.

Drago nam je da CNA može podržati ovakve korake i naše prijatelje u Prijedoru. Iskreno, osjećamo da smo dobili mnogo više nego smo dali, ohrabreni smo uvijek kada vidimo da je promjena moguća i da se dešava, inspirisani smo hrabrošću ljudi koji rade na ovako teškim temama i koji prelaze granice u svojim malim zajednicama.

Nedžad Novalić

Međunarodna konferencija

“Sadašnjost prošlosti, hitnost sadašnjosti”

Buenos Aires, 24 – 26. 06. 2019.

Od 24. do 26. juna u Buenos Airesu je održana međunarodna konferencija pod naslovom: “Sadašnjost prošlosti, hitnost sadašnjosti: Autoritarna i totalitarna prošlost i izazovi savremenih demokratija”. Konferenciju su organizovale dve organizacije: Centro Internacional para la Promoción de los Derechos Humanos ([CIPDH-UNESCO](#)) iz Buenos Airesa i [Bundesstiftung zur Aufarbeitung der SED-Diktatur](#) iz Berlina. Učesnici su bili istraživač/ce, aktivisti/kinje i drugi profesionalci/ke koji rade na temi sećanja, a iz impresivnog niza zemalja: Argentina, Peru, Čile, Meksiko, Kolumbija, Urugvaj, Nemačka, Španija, Velika Britanija, Srbija, Kenija i Južna Afrika. Među učesnicima su bili i Nenad Vukosavljević i Ivana Franović iz CNA.

Jedan deo učesnika konferencije bili su učesnici prvog kruga Mandela dijaloga o radu na sećanju koji su održani tokom 2013. i 2014. godine, o kojima smo pisali u Godišnjem izveštaju za 2014. godinu. Bundesstiftung zur Aufarbeitung der SED-Diktatur se trudi da s vremena na vreme ponovo okupi bar deo te grupe.

Konferencija je zvanično počela izvrsnim predavanjem pod naslovom “Sećanje, još jedan način za izgradnju istorije” profesora Manuela-Reyesa Mate Ruperéza. Bilo nam je zanimljivo da primetimo da se profesor ni jednom rečju nije pozvao na nenasilje, a celo njegovo predavanje je zasnovano na vrednostima nenasilja.

Konferencija se sastojala od tri sesije i jednog javnog panela. Sesije su bile na sledeće teme:

- Veze među pravde i istine
- Veza između politike memorijalizacije i neponavljanja
- Prošlost i njena “značajna čutnja”.

Svaka sesija je imala po dva ili tri uvodničara, a uvodničar za drugu sesiju je bio i Nenad Vukosavljević iz CNA.

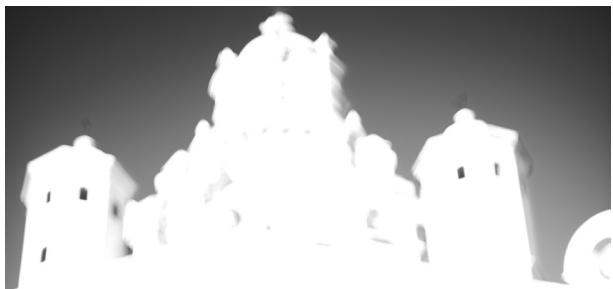
Velika vrednost ove konferencije je raznolikost učesnika i učesnica i spretar njihovih iskustava koji su bar delimično predstavljeni. Nažalost, sa drugim organizatorom, Centrom za promociju ljudskih prava, nismo uspeli da ostvarimo sadržajan kontakt.

Nenad i Ivana su nakon konferencije iskoristili priliku da naprave mali studijski put u Argentini, posetivši mesta sećanja u Kordobi i Buenos Airesu. Kako smo kroz posete mestima sećanja imali prilike da vidimo način sećanja koji

se uveliko razlikuje od uobičajenog na našim prostorima, pripremićemo poseban izveštaj na tu temu, za čiju izradu nam je potrebno vreme, a koji će biti objavljen na našoj internet stranici.

Želimo da zahvalimo Bundesstiftung zur Aufarbeitung der SED-Diktatur, a posebno Anni Kaminsky, za ovu jedinstvenu priliku.

Ivana Franović





Novi član CNA tima

Privilegija povratka

„Filozofija je težnja za zavičajem u kome se nikada nismo rodili.“

Nisam rođeni Beograđanin, mada nekome ko dolazi iz Crne Gore to uglavnom ne smeta da se u Beogradu osjeća kao kod kuće. Naravno da nisam rođen ni u Centru za nenasilnu akciju (CNA). Ni jedno ni drugo nisu zavičaj u kojem sam se rodio. S druge strane usuđujem se da kažem da, dobar dio onoga što za sebe mislim da danas jesam, jeste rođeno ili pak zametnuto u i kroz saradnju sa CNA. Vrijednosti, svjetonazori, stavovi, nadanja, ali i strepnje, dileme, perspektive, dolaze i vraćaju se kroz prizmu rada na izgradnji mira, izlaze iz i ponovo ulaze u, prožimaju i sažimaju kroz CNA. Baš kao i moj dosadašnji životni put.

A taj, za CNA vezan, životni put počeo je učestvovanjem na Osnovnom treningu iz nenasilne razrade konflikata na Jahorini 2002. godine. Nastavio se preko Treninga za trenere iste i naredne godine, nekoliko zajedničkih akcija koje su se desile u međuvremenu, sve do prvog dolaska, radnog angažmana 2007. godine. Međutim, već nakon pola godine odlazim iz Centra, iz kako mi se i danas čini, dovoljno jakog razloga, zbog ljubavi, koja, kako sam tada mislio, u Beogradu nije mogla imati budućnost. Period

proveden radeći u CNA bio je isuviše kratak da, na primjer, dozvolim utiscima da se slegnu i uspijem da napišem tekst o tom prvom dolasku, a opet dovoljno dugačak i intezivan da me otrijezeni i time prilično ohrabri i usmjeri.

Povratak je time od samog odlaska visio u vazduhu, meni uvijek bio pod gušom ili nad glavom, a i mnogim ljudima iz CNA tima, barem dobar dio proteklog vremena, bio jedna od opcija. Želim da vjerujem da je tako. Rijetka privilegija i više nego nezaslužena šansa, na kojoj ću ljudima iz CNA biti uvijek zahvalan.

Potreba za promjenom

Osjećaj nelagode, melanholije, nedostatka, neispunjenoosti me nije napuštao ni nakon tog prvog, ne baš slavnog odlaska iz CNA. Odlazak koji to zapravo nikada nije ni bio, jer raskid od CNA je prosti nemoguć. Kako raskinuti nešto što se nakalemilo i postalo sastavni dio organizma, sraslo.

Ono što znam i što sam sve vrijeme znao da imam, jeste ogromna podrška, tim ljudi koji su uvijek tu i osjećaj apsolutnog povjerenja u njih, što je u minulih više od deset godina mog života bilo pa gotovo i nemoguće pronaći. Hvala na tome. Na ponovo ukazanom povjerenju i prilici



da ponovo mogu da budem i nastavim da bivam, ono što mislim da jesam.

Dugujem i zahvalan sam i vlastitoj potrebi da nešto mijenjam, sebe, sredinu, svijet... Da radim na tome da društvo u kojem živimo bude društvo pravde i slobode, poštovanja i solidarnosti. Da bude zasnovano na svim onim vrijednostima kojima je mir, najmanji zajednički sadržalač. Zato moj dolazak/povratak u CNA, nakon deset godina lutanja, stranstvovanja, izbivanja ili mirovanja (kakav čudnovat način za upotrebu riječi mir), doživljavam kao povratak kući, povratak zavičaju, mjestu kojem pripadam, povratak sebi.

"Filozofira svaki čovjek koji ne smatra sebe u potpunosti situiranim i koji razmišljači pokušava da položi račun o toj nesigurnosti"

Motiv i podsticaj za dolazak/povratak u CNA nalazim u rješenosti da položim račun za sve propuštene prilike, neodgovornosti, nereagovanja, konformizme i ušuškanosti. Položim račun vlastitoj oguglalosti koja me napadala i nerijetko obuzimala. Oguglalost na nasilje, na diskriminaciju, na svakodnevne i krupne i sitne prevare, ponižavanja, nedopuštanja da drugi ostane u svojoj drugosti. Oguglalost na srozavanje dostojanstva čovjeka. Da položim račun i pred činjenicom da sam sam nesiguran, pred nesigurnošću koju osjećam kada je moja pozicija u procesima izgradnje mira u pitanju.

Međutim, nesituiranost nije mana, nesigurnost nije isključivo loša stvar, ona je baš kao i sukob, šansa, prilika za promjenu, za napredak, za izlazak iz začaranih krugova mržnje, nacionalizma, spirala nasilja i ostalih vječitih vraćanja unazad. Položiti račun pred tom nesigurnošću je stoga i prilika za promjenu i sebe i svijeta. Nada. Jedan od razloga povratka dolazi i iz vlastitog ubjeđenja prema kojem je „nemoguće“ raditi bilo šta, a da nema, barem u naznakama, onaj cilj kojim i CNA sve ove godine teži, izgradnja trajnog mira na ovim prostorima. Mir kao osnov i preduslov, mir kao cilj i poslednja instanca, kojom se i mjeri i koja je mjera svemu ostalom, pravo i potreba, obaveza.

Nije samo potreba i prilika da se radi na polju izgradnje mira, nego i da se konačno punim plućima, slobodno i osnaženo i živi ono što se radi, neprestano napredujući, odrastajući i transformišući i sebe i nadam se druge oko sebe, privilegija je i naravno obaveza. Život u skladu sa onim što se misli i radi, što se paralelno i voli, jeste opterećujući, zahtjevan ali sloboden. Bistriji pogled i ispravljenja kičma. Ukoliko slobodu ne prati polaganje računa, ona je samo puka samovolja, sebičan i nezreo, neodgovoran način življena. Volim da vjerujem kako sam sa tom „slobodom“ bez odgovornosti, dolaskom u CNA, definitivno završio.

„U zemlji mržnje najviše mrze onoga ko ne ume da mrzi“

Naravno da ni ja ni CNA nismo isti. Godine, okolnosti, situacije, sve je drugačije. Porasli smo, razvili se, proširili polja djelovanja, umnožili aktivnosti, doseg i uticaj. Međutim, ni problemi ni prepreke nisu mirovale, i one kao da s godinama rastu i umnožavaju se. Neizvjesnost i strepnja od ponovnog dolaska, uklapanja, vlastite korisnosti, svrhe, time je bitno povećana, a strahovi multiplicirani.

Moj prvi dolazak je predstavljao svojevrsno iščašenje, izokretanje, ispadanje iz ležišta. Iz ležišta su ispalila i iščašila se uvjerenja i svjetonazori, stavovi, predradsude, sudovi. Promjenilo me, pomjerilo i ujedno osnažilo u onome što je do tada bila samo slutnja, samo nada i strepnja.

Za moj drugi dolazak bih volio da se taj osjećaj, da se ta energija koja može da mijenja svijet, dijeli, grana i cvjeta. Da taj osjećaj promjene na bolje, osjećaj moći da se uprkos ogromnim preprekama i poteškoćama stvari ipak pomjeraju, ne prestane da me ispunjava. Da me osnaži da istrajem i da tu energiju širim. Moj povratak u CNA je tako i potreba da se sagleda šta sa tom iščašenošću, sa tim izokrenutim svijetom mogu i treba da radim.

Inficiranost nenasiljem

Razlika u odnosu na moj život u Crnoj Gori je i u tome da se unutar CNA može raditi na oslobođanju od mržnje bez kompromisa, bez patetike, bez konfornosti bilo kakve vrste, slobodno i bezrazložno, baš kao što se jedino može i voljeti – bezuslovno.

U društvu(ima) u kojima danas živimo za ludilo smatraju izgradnju mira, uzaludnom misijom, a onoga ko mir zagovara i ko se za mir bori, ludakom, bolesnikom. Ovako inficiran nenasiljem, nenasilnom borbom, inficiran mirom, mogu samo reći da je bolovati to ludilo, ili od tog ludila, divna privilegija. Još kao što vjerujem(o) da je ta bolest itekako prelazna, infektivna, ne preostaje ništa drugo do da u svijetu, za koji se nadam da je već umoran od mržnje, treba da nastavim(o) da inficiramo.

Radomir Radević



Politički i društveni konteksti u kojima djelujemo

Not Great, Not Terrible – kontekst Bosna i Hercegovina

Rijetke su i izuzetne knjige koje, opisujući procese iz bliže ili dalje prošlosti i postavljajući tako očigledna, a opet nikad tematizirana pitanja, na tako plastičan način opisuju sadašnjost i predviđaju moguću budućnost jednog društva. Uspjelo je to Maxu Bergholzu u sjajnoj knjizi "Nasilje kao generativna sila" koja istražuje nasilje u gradiću Kulen-Vakufu u Drugom svjetskom ratu.

Bergholz postavlja nekoliko pitanja koja nisu ograničena vremenom i prostorom, a prvo pitanje svakako je zašto se nasilje dogodilo? Ne kako se dogodilo, iako je rekonstrukcija događaja ključna za svaki pokušaj odgovora na ovako postavljeno pitanje. Kako je uočio historičar Juval Noa Harari, to pitanje zašto se nešto dogodilo baš onako kako se dogodilo je ključno pitanje koje стоји pred historijom kao naukom. Jer, pokušaj odgovora nesumnjivo će nas odvesti, kako kaže Harari, ka tome da su na jednoj historijskoj raskrsnici naši preci krenuli jednim putem. Godinama poslije, nama je teško objasniti zašto su krenuli baš tim putem, mi jasno vidimo niz drugih opcija, koje možda našim precima nisu bile vidljive, kojim su mogli poći, ali eto nisu. To oslobođanje prošlosti determinizma vodilo bi savremenog čovjeka osvjećivanju njegove vlastite odgovornosti za izbor puta i puteva kojim će krenuti društvo.

Iskustvo nasilja

Bergholz ovu Hararijevu tezu razrađuje istražujući dešavanje na jednom malom području u kratkom vremenskom periodu. Odgovarajući na pitanje zašto se nasilje desilo u Kulen-Vakufu Bergholz pokazuje svu kompleksnost procesa u jednoj zajednici koja se našla u vrtlogu nasilja, ili, bolje kazano, koja je uvučena u nasilje. Tu vidimo odnos centralne vlasti ka nižim nivoima vlasti, lokalne aktere koji promoviraju nasilje, ali i one koji nasilje suszbijaju, vidimo u kojim momentima nasilje prevlada a u kojim ne, pratimo kako jednom pokrenuta spirala nasilja od žrtava pravi počinioce (preventivnog ili osvetoljubivog) nasilja... Ta kompleksnost poslije se kroz upravljanje sjećanjem (i zaboravljanjem) maksimalno pojednostavljuje po principu mi (žrtve, nevini, pobednici) i oni (zločinci, krivi, poraženi). Također, Bergholz ukazuje i na pitanje koliko i kako iskustvo nasilja oblikuje identitet jedne zajednice.

Citajući Bergholza imate osjećaj da je pred vama odlična analiza onoga što se dešavalo u Bosni i Hercegovini u vremenskom periodu omeđenom izborima (jesen

2018.) i pregovorima o uspostavi vlasti (jesen 2019.). Bosanskohercegovačko društvo dominantno je obilježeno iskustvom nasilja iz 1990-ih i sjećanjem na to nasilje. Zagrebite malo ispod bilo koje teme, od izbora, politike, odlaska stanovništva, sporta, kulture i naići ćete na narative, strahove i sjećanja koja su posljedica iskustva nasilja koje, opet, generira novo nasilje.

To nasilje, iako više po pravilu nije fizičko, prisutno je u društvu na svim nivoima, pa na konkretnim primjerima možemo govoriti o nasilju na političkom planu, strukturonom nasilju, kulturnom nasilju, ekološkom nasilju... Promjena u odnosu na neki raniji period jeste da se nasilje uopće ne pokušava maskirati u neku prihvatljiviju formu već se objašnjava jednostavnim obrascem: Bolje da mi njih (preglasamo, diskriminiramo...) nego oni nas. Kako bi rekao jedan ovdašnji twitter ratnik: Htjeli ste demokratiju, e pa demokratija je da vas preglasamo jer to možemo.

Izbori su do kraja ogolili kako funkcioniše nasilje na političkom planu. Poziv da se glasa za Željka Komšića (DF) kao hrvatskog člana Predsjedništva nije pakovan ni u kakvu priču o građanskoj BiH već je jednostavno predstavljen kao opcija preventivnog nasilja kako bi se spriječio izbor Dragana Čovića (HDZ BiH) na to mjesto. Taj poziv, upućen dominantno Bošnjacima, pokazao je kako strah od konkretnih negativnih poteza Draga Čovića i sjećanje na proživljeno nasilje postaju faktori mobilizacije jedne zajednice. Istovremeno, Milorad Dodik (SNSD) mobilizirao je svoje birače na priči o tome kako su njegovi politički protivnici iz SDS-a i PDP-a tek izdajnici koji moraju biti poraženi. Dodik je u predizbornoj kampanji otvoreno na javnim skupovima prijetio zaposlenima da će, ako ne glasaju za njegovu stranku, ostati bez posla.

Kontrola sjećanja

Bosna i Hercegovina je primjer u kojem je faktički cijeli državni aparat na svim nivoima stavljen u funkciju strukturonog nasilja većine nad manjinom. Ostvarivanje osnovnih prava moguće je samo u slučaju da živite u onom dijelu države gdje je vaš narod većina, a nova zakonska rješenja jednako podržavaju ovaj model. Primjer je Zakon o civilnim žrtvama rata u RS-u koji otežava ili onemogućava Bošnjacima i Hrvatima ostvarivanje statusa civilnih žrtava rata. Istovremeno, u FBiH nova zakonska rješenja i dalje onemogućavaju ostvarivanje socijalnih prava veteranima i njihovim porodicama koji su se borili na strani tzv. Autonomne pokrajine Zapadna Bosna.

Kontrola sjećanja svakako je još jedno polje u kojem je vidljivo nasilje većine nad manjinom. U ratu sjećanja sjećanje druge strane se doživljava kao neprijateljsko, kao nešto što treba eliminirati iz medija, školskih udžbenika, javnog diskursa... U Republici Srpskoj formirane su dvije nove komisije koje bi trebale istražiti stradanje Srba u Sarajevu i događaje u Srebrenici 1995. Ne ulazeći u konačne nalaze same komisije i njen rad, jasno je da iza ideje vlasti Republike Srpske o formiranju ovih komisija ne stoji opredijeljenost za dijalog o bolnoj prošlosti i naslijedu ratova devedesetih u Bosni i Hercegovini i regionu kao ni težnja da ona prestane biti instrument za produbljivanje sukoba i prijetnja u budućnosti. Izjave najviših dužnosnika Republike Srpske o razlozima formiranja komisije i njihovim ciljevima to, nažalost, potvrđuju. Potreba da se priznaju i naše žrtve (u ovom slučaju srpske u Sarajevu i Srebrenici) i da se pozove na procesuiranje odgovornih za ratne zločine nad našim narodom (u ovom slučaju nad Srbima u Sarajevu i Srebrenici) ne bi trebalo zloupotrebljavati za formiranje kontranarativa koji treba da ojača utvrđene pozicije u ratu sjećanja naroda u BiH koji trenutno egzistira. Istovremeno, najava predsjednika Naše stranke Peđe Kojovića da je spremam ići i razgovarati sa ljudima u Zapadnoj Hercegovini i Republici Srpskoj kako bi se pokušao iznaci minimalni zajednički imenitelj o stvarima koje su se dešavale 1990-ih u bošnjačkoj politici je doživljen kao absolutna izdaja te se na inicijatora sručila kuka i motika.

Procesuiranje ratnih zločina dugo je bila svjetla tačka u procesu suočavanja s prošlošću. I danas je BiH više izuzetak nego pravilo u svjetskim okvirima kada se radi o broju procesuiranih predmeta ratnih zločina pred domaćim sudovima. Nažalost, aljkavost Tužilaštva BiH, politizacija pravosuđa i pokušaji da se zadovolji puka statistika, doveli su do toga da je, prema izvještaju OSCE-a, procenat osuđujućih presuda u predmetima ratnih zločina u posljednjih pet godina pao sa skoro 90 posto na nivo ispod 40 posto. U praksi, to znači da su optužnice loše pisane, da su predmeti loše istraživani što za posljedicu ima dodatnu frustraciju žrtava koje su još uvijek voljne da svjedoče. To svakako otvara i prostor za politike zloupotrebe presuda po principu slavljenja oslobođenih bez tematiziranja dijelova presude koji su utvrdili da su zločini počinjeni, ali za te zločine nisu odgovorni oni koji su optuženi.

U protekloj godini bosanskohercegovačko društvo jednako je zaglavljeno kao i prethodnih godina. Bez da smo riješili jedno sporno pitanje iz prethodnih godina (promjena izbornog zakona, spor oko puta ka NATO-u) na dnevni red smo dodali i neke nove probleme, dijelom vlastitim (ne)činjenjem, dijelom uslijed globalnih dešavanja kao što je

izbjeglička ruta koja je kroz Bosnu i Hercegovinu provela oko 30.000 izbjeglica u jednoj godini.

Na događanja u društvu u pravilu se reagira brzo, žestoko, uglavnom emotivno, pa se sve jednako brzo i zaboravlja jer se svjetla reflektora pomjeraju stalno. Najbolji primjer je slučaj iz Gornjeg Vakufa kada je jedan Bošnjak prijavio da mu je nepoznata osoba na kuću i automobil ispisala uvredljive grafite. U gradu koji je i danas podijeljen na hrvatski i bošnjački dio to je izazvalo uznemirenost, a ulje na vatru dolijevano je sa svih strana. Čerat čemo se još doslovno je poručivano tih dana da bi policija tri dana poslije ustanovila kako je Bošnjak koji je prijavio slučaj grafite ustvari ispisao sam. Poneko izvinjenje onih koji su poletjeli da prvi bace kamen, i koji su slučaj iskoristili za zagovaranje ili opravdavanje svoje teze o preventivnom nasilju kao jedinom rješenju, nekoliko obrisanih sramnih tvitova i statusa punih mržnje i poziva na mobilizaciju i to je sva reakcija. Posljedice u vidu isporučene doze mržnje, straha i netrpeljivosti ostaju.

Ko se još sjeća silne priče o uvođenju rezervnih i dodatnih policijskih snaga u RS-u i odgovora iz FBiH da će njihov (MUP) uvijek biti veći? Ubistvo dvojice policajaca u Sarajevu u sukobu sa automafijom ni do danas nije riješeno, kao što nisu riješeni ni slučajevi ubistva mladića Dženana Memića u Sarajevu i Davida Dragičevića u Banjoj Luci. Višemjesečni protesti su utihнуli u slučaju Sarajeva ili su pak brutalno ugušeni u slučaju Banja Luke gdje je policija daima maltretirala građane koji su se mirno okupljali na glavnom trgu.

Istovremeno, svi pobrojani događaji nisu jednoznačni i jednosmjerni u smislu da nude isključivo perspektivu konflikta. U slučaju Gornjeg Vakufa, recimo, komšije Hrvati su odmah nakon objave vijesti došli u posjetu porodici na čijoj su kući ispisani graffiti, ogradili se od toga i podsjetili da uprkos žestokim ratnim sukobima u Gornjem Vakufu nakon rata nije bilo incidenata. Očevi ubijenih mladića, Muriz i Davor, dali su punu podršku jedan drugom a ljudi iz Sarajeva išli su na mirna okupljanja u Banja Luku kao i ljudi iz Banja Luke u Sarajevo. Kada su ubijena dvojica policajaca u Sarajevu, njihove kolege iz Istočnog Sarajeva dale su punu podršku porodicama i učestvovali u istrazi poručivši kako je faktički ista grupa odgovorno i za napada na policajce u I. Sarajevu.

Bilo je događaja koji su pokazali da još uvijek imamo i kreativnosti i volje i znanja da činimo dobre stvari. Sarajevo i Istočno Sarajevo bili su domaćini EYOF-a pokazavši da možemo sarađivati i u pozitivnim pričama. U Sarajevu je početkom septembra održana prva bh. povorka ponosa pod sloganom Ima izač'. Vjerovatno niti jedan događaj

godinama nije toliko polarizirao društvo, pri čemu je na organiziranim kontraskupovima i u javnim raspravama na vidjelo izašlo niz mehanizama koji otkrivaju kako društvo funkcioniра - manjine nemaju prava, već im većina daje onoliko prava koliko većina to želi. Naprimjer, korišten je argument kako je velika većina građana protiv povorke što bi automatski trebalo značiti da oni koji su u manjini treba da prihvate da ne mogu imati prava sa kojima se ne slaže većina, potom se diskutiralo kako nisu ugrožena prava LGBT manjine već prava većine, što je također vrlo čest argument koji se čuje kad god se potegne pitanje prava manjine. Čuo se i poziv da bi manjina trebala voditi računa o osjećajima većine (ponovo vrlo čest argument), a kontraskupovi su organizirani sa ciljem zaštite tradicionalne porodice pri čemu je ta porodica definirana tako da isključuje ne samo LGBT osobe već i heteroseksualne parove koji nemaju djece, udovice, samohrane roditelje, roditelje djece sa poteškoćama u razvoju... Povorka je organizirana prvenstveno zahvaljujući hrabrosti, volji i upornosti male grupe aktivista, a značajna je bila i podrška kantonalnih vlasti predvođenih Našom strankom i SDP-om. Prva

povorka važna je jer je na vidjelo iznijela sve predrasude, diskriminaciju i nerazumijevanje, a u narednom periodu ostaje da se radi na tome.

Iz Brisela je saopćeno da je u 2018. iz BiH u zemlje EU iselilo 50.000 građana. Masovno iseljevanje nije problem isključivo za privredu koja već osjeća posljedice odlaska mladih i kvalifikovanih. To je strašan gubitak za bh. društvo koji se osjeća u svim sferama života, uključujući i rad na izgradnji mira. Teško je nadoknaditi ionako mali broj onih koji su bili voljni da, posebno u manjim zajednicama, rade na teškim temama kao što je suočavanje vlastite zajednice sa bolnom prošlošću. S druge strane, bh. institucije nemaju niti zvanične podatke o tome koliko, odakle i gdje im se ljudi sele, a da ne govorimo o tome da se neko detaljnije pozabavio uzrocima i posljedicama.

Sve u svemu, Not Great, Not Terrible, što bi u popularnoj seriji rekao glavni inžinjer nuklerane elektrane u Chernobylu nakon nuklerane katastrofe.

Nedžad Novalić



A šta imaš ti protiv Mila? – kontekst Crna Gora

Svjedoci/kinje smo još jedne godine tokom koje se crnogorsko društvo strahovitom brzinom (mnogo brže od ostalih društava regionala) nastavilo približavati EU; nastavilo približavati onome što još uvijek predstavlja ili se pokušava predstaviti kao simbolički okvir poštovanja principa ljudskih prava i vladavine zakona. U toj nestvarnoj brzini, usponu ili letu sve je manje poglavlja koja treba otvoriti, pregovora koje treba završiti, zakona koje treba donijeti i sprovesti, problema koje treba riješiti, uslova koje treba ispuniti. Međutim, izgleda da nam je usled te brzine od prosperiteta i blagostanja ostao samo osjećaj mučnine, a od vrtoglavog uspona - vrtoglavica. Mozak i stomak nikako da se naviknu na tu prebrzu vožnju evropskim, još uvijek u izgradnji, autoputevima.

A što imaš ti protiv Mila? Upitao bi me veliki broj građana/ki Crne Gore nakon ovih uvodnih rečenica. Nemam ništa protiv Mila, nemam ništa ni protiv DPS-a, nemam ništa protiv Crne Gore, ako baš hoćete da slijedim tu naopaku logiku, pardon zvaničnu državnu politiku. Ali dozvolite mi da kažem protiv čega jesam i protiv čega štošta imam.

Kradljivci mladosti. Podjele i nacionalizam

U Crnoj Gori se suviše dugo održava balans, s jedne strane nesmjenjivosti vlasti, koja se toj u svemoći osilila i sve više bahati, i opozicije koja svoju političku jalovost ili nemoć ispoljava kroz frustraciju vječitog gubitnika. Građani/ke protestuju u savezu sa opozicijom i traže smjenu aktuelne vlasti, ne uviđajući da se prava borba mora voditi negdje drugo - unutar institucija sistema, u cilju njihovog jačanja i osamostavljanja. Protiv sam takvog, nepromjenljivog stanja stvari, koje traje od 1997. godine, dovoljno dugo da zasluži epitet "kradljivca mladosti" čitavom nizu generacija.

Političke elite, među kojima ima i deklariranih antifašista ali i onih drugih, sa ponosom ističu i protežiraju SFRJ ikonografiju, predstavljajući današnju Crnu Goru kao nastavak jugoslovenskog antifašizma i međuetničkog sklada. Podizanje spomenika Josipu Brozu Titu u centru Podgorice naplastičniji je primjer tog novog-starog trenda. I tu i ne bi bilo ništa loše da se ne zanemaruje ili namjerno previđa činjenica ogromnog jaza između npr. Crnogoraca i Srba. Protivnik sam tom sve većem produbljivanju etničkih distanci u modernoj Crnoj Gori. Nikad nezavisniji u svojim nikad dubljim podjelama.

S druge strane, dobar dio opozicije, ohrabren probuđenim i nikad budnjim nacionalizmom nastoji da minimalizuje ili potpuno ukine sve one vrijednosti koje nam

je sekularna i antifašistička bivša velika domovina donijela, prije svega ideje građanske države i rodne ravnopravnosti. Kao po nekom drugorazrednom scenaru paralelno se sve više i sve češće povampiraju etnomitovi i politike krv i tla iz devedesetih, očigledno nikad nisu ni bile na pravi način pokopane.

Naravno ovo gotovo po pravilu biva začinjeno različitim interpretacijama, krivotvorenjima i razumijevanjima prošlosti, koja po opet nesuđenom pravilu postaju putokazi za budućnost, tj. kako to zapravo država treba da izgleda. Za suočavanje sa ne baš lijepom trenutnom slikom crnogorskog društva nema ni volje ni hrabrosti, a očigledno ni potrebe. Pogledi su zato itekako snažno i daleko usmjereni ka idealizovanoj prošlosti, u kojoj se traži legitimitet za današnje političko djelovanje. Pa se tako npr. u crnogorskom parlamentu donosi odluka kojom se ponишavaju odluke Velike narodne skupštine iz 1918. godine na kojoj je donijeta odluka o prisajedinjenju Srbiji. Protivim se trendu kojim ćemo mijenjajući prošlost promijeniti budućnost. "Pogrešno razumijevanje vlastite prošlosti u srži je nacionalnog bića"

Vojска partije. Kritika

Ne pristajem na manjak kapaciteta u institucijama, protivnik sam nekompetentnih kadrova. Na visokim pozicijama godinama čuće (uvijek spremni ili da sjednu tj. legnu ali i da skoče kad ih gospodar pozove) partijski vojnici. Oni ipak bolje od nas umiju da misle i naravno bolje i više da rade. Ne volim to što svi oni koji su time profesionalno uniženi, a svi oni građanski uvrijeđeni, čute i trpe. Godina za nama obilovala je nizom afera koje su se ticale plagiranih naučnih radova i kupljenih diploma univerzitetskih profesora, ministara itd. Naravno, neprocesuiranih.

Ne mogu da pristanem na toliko duboko i sve dublje socijalno raslojavanje. Ono gotovo uвijek ide ruku pod ruku sa nevjerovatnim nedostatkom konstruktivnog političkog i javnog dijaloga na ključne teme. A one, ključne teme, su uvijek tu, neiscrpne i samostvorene kada treba da zanemarimo realne probleme. Priznajem i meni je ljepše da govorim o jeziku prije nego o maloj plati, o crkvi prije nego o sve većem broju odlazaka mladih ljudi iz CG, o prelijepoj nezavisnoj ekološkoj državi prije nego o dvostruko većoj cijeni potrošačke korpe od prosječne zarade itd.

Ako demokratija u sebi sadrži između ostalog i prihvatanje različitosti i dozvoljavanje kritike, onda nikako ne mogu da volim to što Crna Gora ne zасlužuje da se nazove demokratskom. Iako istorijski jeste bila puna

različitosti, odnos prema toj činjenici se nikada na pravi način nije poštovao. To bogatstvo gotovo uvjek, pogotovo danas, jeste polje za manipulativno djelovanje i izazivanje sukoba i nerijetko krvavih podjela. Kritika, bez koje još od Kanta i nema progrusa, u CG je ostala rezervisana samo za uske jalove akademske krugove ili pak bezazlene kafanske stolove, dok se svaka konstruktivna kritika doživljava kao napad na samu državu.

Mediji

Ne pristajem na to da se državom naziva prostor unutar kojeg je od 2004. godine kada je ubijen glavni urednik "Dana" Duško Jovanović, registrirano više od 80 napada na novinare i imovinu medija. Od toga čak 32 u posljednje dvije godine. Mete tih napada u ogromnoj većini slučajeva bili su novinari antivladinih ili proopozicionih medija. Posljednji takav napad je ranjavanje novinarke "Vijesti" Olivere Lakić, koji kao i većina ostalih slučajeva ostaje nerazriješen ili čak nikad ni ne dobija sudski epilog. Kada ovome dodamo jako lošu materijalnu situaciju u većini medija, kao i neminovnu duboku podijeljenost na provladine i proopozicione medije, uz neizbjegnu visoku politizovanost, onda je medijska slika zaista "ružičasta".

Kontinuirano političko miješanje u RTCG (Javni servis) kao i Agenciju za elektronske medije (AEM) najdirektnije se pokazalo kroz smjenu članova Savjeta RTCG-a i njegovog menadžmenta. Protiv sam toga što urednička nezavisnost i profesionalni standardi u RTCG-u nikako da se uspostave, a što Savjet RTCG ostaje nezaštićen od uticaja i političkog pritiska, uključujući i sam izbor njegovih članova. Dovoljno je pogledati, oni koji imaju crni smisao za humor možda će i imati snage, program javnog servisa. Univerzalnost pristupa i univerzalnost sadržaja jesu uočljivi, ali u ponekom, rijetkom SF filmu.

Mafija i nezavisno sudstvo. Dug i dužnici

Imam štošta protiv toga što se na desetine mladih života završava prije nego je i počelo, u "obračunu klanova" (od 2015. godine 40 ljudi je ubijeno) i što država svoju (ne) moć nikako da pokaže u ozbiljnoj i konstantnoj borbi protiv organizovanog kriminala. Mnogi bi rekli kako će da se bore protiv sebe.

Ne volim činjenicu da je sudstvo toliko degradirano i toliko nisko palo da se politički uticaj na njega više ni ne pokušava prikriti. Podsjećam na hapšenje i zatvaranje poslanika Demokratskog fronta (DF) Nebojše Medojevića, kao i na to da je njegov kolega Milan Knežević odslužio tri mjeseca zatvora zbog napada na policajca, kao i na po mnogo čemu montirani i dugo pripremani sudski proces "Državni udar", kojem je izgleda jedini cilj bio obračunavanje sa političkim neistomišljenicima.

Ne volim što smo rekorderi kada je javni dug u pitanju. I to ove godine zbog zajma za dionicu auto puta, sa čijom se izgradnjom, naravno, kasni. A to što taj isti autoput ugrožava jednu od najljepših i najčistijih rijeka Evrope, Taru, to me uopšte ne zabrinjava, jer kao što reče nadležni ministar izgradnjom autoputa rjeci nije izmješteno korito već samo tok.

Afera "koverta" (snimak na kojem se jasno vidi da visoki državni (DPS) funkcijer uzima kovertu sa 97000 evra od biznismena u toku izborne kampanje) se zataškala, sakrila i bojam se već zaboravila. Očekivano preslikavanje austrijskog scenarija: procesuiranje, ostavke, smjene vlasti itd... ostaje samo očekivanje. Agencija za sprečavanje korupcije je odbila da javnom učini odluku protiv vladajuće partije (DPS), kojom je ustanovljeno kršenje zakona i određena kazna. Ne znam ko protiv ovakvog selektivnog primjenjivanja zakona ne bi bio protiv.

Patriotizam

Protiv sam toga što je zvanična, ali bojam se i jedina moguća politika "patriotizma" upravo ta naopaka politika "ljubavi prema državi". Prema njoj ja jedino mogu pomoći svojoj državi, svom društvu, ukoliko ga volim bez obzira na sve. Zato je i svaka kritika, svaka mogućnost promjene, napretka, sagledavana i doživljavana kao mržnja prema državi, tj. mržnja prema DPS-u ili Milu. Jer danas je "lakše zamisliti krah države Crne Gore nego krah vladavine DPS-a."

Na kraju, možda sam ponavljao protiv toga to što ču posle ovih riječi za pola Crne Gore biti izdajnik, a za drugu polovinu istinski patriota, što ču u sada već istorijskoj igri podjela i razdora na patriote i izdajnike biti uvučen u jedan od ta dva tabora. Ne volim to što nikakvo treće mišljenje koje je zapravo jedino Drugo, tj. drugačije od oba, ne uspjeva zaživjeti u takvom post ili pred demokratskom ambijentu, kakva je danas, prelijepa, Crna Gora.

Radomir Radević

„Đuro će ti oprostiti što te tukao“ – kontekst Hrvatska

Godišnji pregled događaja koji utječu ili su relevantni za izgradnju mira i suočavanje s prošlošću u Hrvatskoj počinjemo s kraja, s kraja ljeta doduše, budući ovo nažalost nije kraj, nego uvertira u žestinu kampanje za predsjedničke izbore koji u Hrvatskoj imaju uslijediti krajem ove i početkom sljedeće godine. Žrtveni jarac je Milorad Pupovac, dugogodišnji predstavnik hrvatskih Srba, a povod njegov intervju portalu Radio Sarajevo u kojem je, kako tvrde Hrvatska biskupska konferencija, premijer, ministri i braniteljske udruge, „izjednačio Hrvatsku sa NDH“. Iako je Pupovac, komentirajući val nasilja usmjeren na one koji jesu ili se percipiraju kao Srbi, zapravo rekao da su te radnje „tjesno povezane sa istorijskim revisionizmom koji se u Hrvatskoj ogleda u tome da se pokušava rehabilitirati ustaški pokret i ustanoviti ga u novom evropskom kontekstu, u novoj evropskoj Hrvatskoj“. Oni koje je označio kao nositelje ovog procesa upregli su sve snage da mu pokažu da je kranje vrijeme da napusti svoju domovinu jer, kao Srbin, nema pravo tako govoriti o Hrvatskoj. Pritom Pupovac ističe očito: od 2013. kada je val nasilja zapravo započeo lupanjem dvojezičnih ploča na državnim institucijama u Vukovaru do 2018., prema podacima Srpskog narodnog vijeća, bilo je 1376 verbalnih i fizičkih napada na građane srpske nacionalnosti u Hrvatskoj, samo u 2018. je tih napada bilo 381. Posljednji ovogodišnji zabilježeni slučaj dogodio se u Uzdolju, u sjevernoj Dalmaciji, gdje su maskirani napadači pretukli grupu ljudi, među kojima je bilo žena i djece, u kafiću u kojem su gledali utakmicu beogradskog kluba Crvena Zvezda. Zvezda je ove godine nekoliko puta bila označena meta, pa su, primjerice, batine snašle i konobara na sezonskom radu u Dubrovniku, koji je imao istetoviran Zvezdin grb, kao i vaterpoliste Crvene Zvezde koji su na rivi u Splitu pili kavu. Ovo je kreativnim tumačima hrvatske zbilje dalo za pravo da ovakve incidente proglose navijačkim nasiljem. No da ne bismo imali nedoumica o čemu se zapravo radi pobrinuli su se napadači na sezonske radnike u Supetu na Braču, koji su uz riječi „ko je ovdje Srbin, ubij Srbina“ napali četvero sezonskih radnika, među kojima su bila dvojica mladića srpske nacionalnosti iz Vukovara. U lipnju ove godine, od posljedica napada u kojem ga je mjesec dana ranije brutalno premlatio osumnjičeni za ratne zločine, preminuo je Radoje Petković, potpredsjednik Vijeća srpske nacionalne manjine grada Kastva. Premijer i predsjednica krajnje relativiziraju ove događaje, nazivajući ih tek

incidentima i zlonamjernim podmetanjima kojima se treba odlučno suprotstaviti. Kako, demonstrirala je predsjednica za vrijeme televizijskog intervjuja energično lupajući šakom po stolu. Već sljedeći dan naslovnice je krasila slika navijača splitskog kluba Hajduk, koji je, maskiran i sa zapaljenim bakljama u rukama, sve u majici s natpisom „Ubi Srbina“ bio heroj vlastite tribine. Policija je zabilježila da na utakmici „nije bilo većih incidenata“.

Kako je biti Srbin u Hrvatskoj

Da nas je vlast odgojila po svojoj mjeri najbolje je pokazala kampanja za izbore za europski parlament, čiji su glavni akter i laksus za stanje u društvu ponovno bili Srbi. Svojom kampanjom „Znate li kako je biti Srbin u Hrvatskoj“, kandidati Pupovac, Jović i stranka koju predstavljaju – SDSS, optuženi su da su tendenciozno pokrenuli ili inspirirali neviđenu količinu nasilja u javnom prostoru – predizborni plakati su sadržavali mješovito latinične i cirilične poruke, i redovito su, širom Hrvatske, bili potrgani i/ili prešarani porukama mržnje. Ova kampanja kod velike je većine ni po čemu ekstremnih Hrvata izazvala podvojene osjećaje, te nije bila rijekost da na društvenim mrežama nađete osuđujuće komentare ovakve kampanje, smatrući je provokatorskom, da to nije opće stanje društva, nego na plakate reagira tek omanja šačica ekstremista. Međutim, ono što je prošlo nezapaženo je nedostatak bilo kakve osude ovakvih poruka od vladajućih, ali i drugih opozicijskih stranaka. Kad na predizbornom plakatu SDSS-a za EU izbore s likom Milorada Pupovca u centru Zagreba, u neposrednoj blizini MUP-a, netko napiše: „Zakolji srpsku djecu. Ubi Srbina“, a slično se ponovi i u Splitu, Rijeci, Šibeniku, Sisku i drugim mjestima, to je sadržaj koji se, prema riječima ugledne odvjetnice Vesne Alaburić, pravno može okvalificirati nikako drugačije nego kao zločin poticanja na počinjenje genocida. Takođe ga kvalificira UN-ova konvencija o spriječavanju i kažnjavanju genocida, čijom je potpisnicom i Hrvatska. Za počinjenje tog kaznenog djela nije nužno da genocid bude počinjen, pokušan, ili vjerojatan, potrebno je tek da određena poruka bude izražena s genocidnom namjerom, javno i da se njen sadržaj može razborito protumačiti kao izravno poticanje na uništenje određene nacionalne, etničke, rasne ili religijske skupine, u cijelini ili djelomično. Pravno je potpuno irelevantno hoće li poruka doista nekog potaknuti na djelovanje ili ne.

Kampanju više nitko i ne spominje, ali je već sada

evidentno da je tretiranje ovakvih činova kao incidentnih, sporadičnih ili nevažnih, krajnje opasno po društvo u cjelini.

Sila a ne nasilje

„Ponekad je malo sile, ne nasilja, potrebno, kada na vas ide skupina od više od 50 ljudi. No nema tu nikakvog nasilja, nema tu nikakvih tjelesnih ozljeda, šok bombi, suzavaca, žice“, izjaviti će hrvatska predsjednica komentirajući izjave ministra sigurnosti BiH Dragana Mektića o tome da postoje dokazi o nasilju hrvatske policije nad migrantima (kako se uvriježilo nazivati izbjeglice koje prolaze balkanskom rutm). Da hrvatska policija poseže za nelegitimnom upotrebom sile braneći ovim ljudima pristup na europski prostor bilježe ne samo bh. vlasti, već i različite nevladine i humanitarne organizacije, koje već dugi niz mjeseci u svojim izvještajima prilažu dokaze i svjedočanstva o njihovoj brutalnosti i protuzakonitom postupanju. Svjedočanstva su to o batinanjima, oduzimanju dokumenta, novca, hrane i vode, odricanju prava na traženje azila, ilegalnom prebacivanju ljudi zatečenih na teritoriju RH natrag u BiH... EU se pritom ponaša kao da se nije sve to skupa ne tiče, te iz toga zaključujemo da je upotreba nelegitimne sile prema ljudima druge boje kože na periferiji europskog kontinenta zapravo poželjna.

Da takva politika, koje je Hrvatska vjerna sljednica, nije ograničena samo na nesretnike iz Sirije, Afganistana, Pakistana ili Irana, najbolje je pokazao prosvjed u Čakovcu, pod afirmativnim nazivom „Želim normalan život“ kojim se zapravo željelo pokriti njegov temeljno rasistički sadržaj. Prosvjed je bio usmjeren na međimursku romsku populaciju koji po riječima organizatora „mlate, kradu“, koji su „zlostavljači pod utjecajem opijata“, „nisu sposobni brinuti se ni za sebe, a kamoli za toliki broj djece“. Stoga „ih treba naučiti kako živjeti, kako odgajati djecu, kako raspolagati novcem i kako razvijati higijenske navike“. Rasistička retorika začinjena krivotvorenjem policijske statistike imala je za cilj skrenuti pažnju sa sustavne diskriminacije Roma, o čemu govori i činjenica da samim Romima nije bilo dopušteno organizirati kontraprosvjed, iako je takva zabrana protuzakonita i protuustavna.

Zato je među društvenim komentatorima ove godine najcitatiranija bila pjesma „Prvo su došli...“ sa izmjenama koje odgovaraju trenutku: Prvo su došli po Srbe, ali ja se nisam pobunio jer nisam bio Srbin. Zatim su došli po Rome, a ja se nisam pobunio jer nisam bio Rom... Još uvijek ne možemo biti sigurni kako nazvati sljedeću društvenu grupu koja je na redu za linč, budući ona zasad broji povjesničare

koji se protive od sustava i vlasti podržanom krivotvorenju povijesti, posebno one od 1941-1991., osobe koje kritički progovaraju o Domovinskom ratu i Tuđmanovom naslijedu, novinare koji izvještavaju o zločinima iz mržnje, ukratko sve one čiji se govor i djelovanje ne uklapa u izmišljenu verziju povijesti, ili izmišljenu verziju države u kojoj za ove gore pobrojane nema mjesta.

Kamo nas to vodi?

Da povijest krivotvorimo i o njoj raspravljamo kako se ne bismo previše pitali o politici, kriminalu u javnim poslovima, korupciji i drugim pitanjima društvenog morala, jasno je svima. Ali osim pojedinačnih istupa hrabrih pojedinaca, i ponekog političara, organiziranog otpora ovakvim tendencijama nema, niti u opoziciji, niti na ulici. Požara je mnoštvo i svatko se bori kako najbolje zna, i na onom polju na kojem doista može nešto i učiniti - lijevi blok u zagrebačkoj gradskoj opoziciji protiv nelegalnih manipulacija gradonačelnika gradskim zemljištem, vlasništvom, javnim prostorima i projektima, nevladine organizacije protiv policije i sustava u upravljanju izbjegličkom krizom, inicijative i organizacije građana protiv lokalnih vlasti za zaštitu svoje neposredne životne okoline... lako su podjele unutar samog hrvatskog društva sve očitije, i to ne samo po ideološkim odrednicama, solidarnost još nije izumrla, ali je, nakon dugogodišnje i neizgledne borbe, jako umorna.

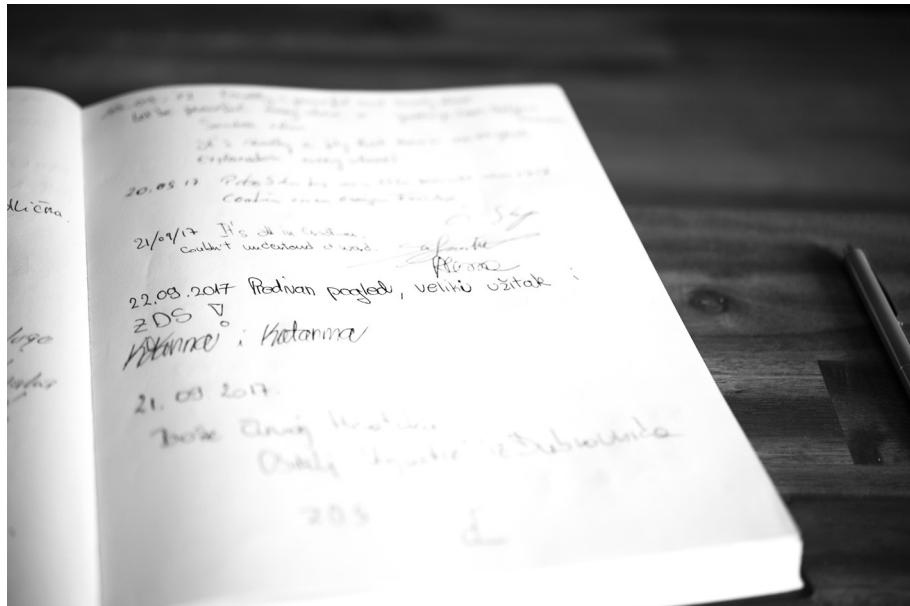
Što o reakcionarnim tendencijama društvenog razvoja misle obični građani teško je reći, osim ako ih ne promatramo u brojkama. Prema podacima Saveznog zavoda za statistiku SR Njemačke, od ulaska Hrvatske u EU 2015. do 2017. u Njemačku se doselilo oko 200.000 hrvatskih državljanina, od kojih je gotovo 100.000 zaposlenih. Koliko je građana iz Hrvatske iselilo u posljedne dvije godine pak najbolje govore prazna slavonska i baranjska sela i gradovi. Da među tim građanima prevladavaju etnički Hrvati govoriti i to da su lička, banijska i kordunska sela, u kojima su većinom živjeli hrvatski Srbi, prazna od 1995. te nije jasno zapravo protiv koga se to hrvatska desnica tako ogorčeno bori. Broj iseljenih znatno je veći od onoga kojeg bilježi službena statistika, a osnovni su trendovi iseljavanja sljedeći: „većinom se iseljavaju mlade osobe između 20 i 40 godina, koje su pretežito bile zaposlene te se u pravilu iseljavaju s cijelim obiteljima. Za razliku od prijašnjih iseljavanja glavninu iseljenih sada čine mlađi ljudi s visokom naobrazbom. Za većinu ispitanika odgovornost za sadašnju situaciju i masovno iseljavanje mlađih iz zemlje snose nesposobni političari, neučinkovito

pravosuđe i ratni profiteri. Nemoral političkih elita, pravna nesigurnost, nepotizam i korupcija pri vrhu su motiva koji su pridonijeli iseljavanju. Istraživanje je potvrdilo da su politička neizvjesnost i nestabilnost mnogima bile poticaj za odlazak. Na temelju rezultata istraživanja vidjeli smo da mladi Hrvati ne odlaze radi novca, odnosno da bi se obogatili. Bogatstvo nikome od njih nije ključna vrijednost. Oni su u Njemačkoj spremni na puno više odricanja, trpljenja i patnje nego u domovini, naprsto zato što

vjeruju da će im se taj trud u Njemačkoj isplatiti, dok su u domovinu izgubili povjerenje¹

Davorka Turk

¹ Navedeni podaci rezultat su istraživanja „Suvremeno iseljavanje Hrvata u Njemačku: karakteristike i motivi“; Migracije i etničke teme, Vol. 33, No. 3, 2017. Istraživanje je dostupno na: <https://hrcak.srce.hr/198700>



Predstavljanje naših priča – kontekst Kosovo

“Dede!”,

kaže klinac koji u ruci drži tablet: “ova škola do koje si kažeš pješačio 12,5 kilometara dnevno; google mape kažu da je samo 1,7 kilometara daleko...” Ovaj vic ovih dana kruži među mladima Kosova, izražavajući njihovu superiornost u odnosu na starije, jer imaju tačne informacije, ovdje i sada.

Neyse...,

allpoetry.com kaže da ima ovaj jedan pjesnik koji je poхађao srpsku pravoslavnu osnovnu školu, učio staroslavenski, ruski, grčki, latinski i francuski i upisao Pravoslavnu bogosloviju Sv. Jovana Bogoslova... U pitanju je Millosh Gjergj Nikolla - Migjeni o kome ćete na wikipediji pročitati da je jedan od najplodnijih i najvažnijih pisaca albanske književnosti 20. vijeka, a na nekom kosovskom portalu biste mogli pročitati da nijedan drugi pjesnik albanske nacije nije se tako isticao po realističnim opisima društvenog stanja u Albaniji.

Ali, zname,

ako ste Albanac, dobijete epitet “Esat Pashë”, što bi značilo da ste najgori među izdajnicima. E, pa, nije više tako; to je bio narativ koji su oblikovali njegovi politički protivnici u to doba. Inače, Esat Pasha Toptani (1863–1920) bio je osmanski vojni oficir i albanski zastupnik u osmanskom parlamentu, sarađivao je s Balkanskim ligom nakon Balkanskih ratova i utemeljio Republiku Centralnu Albaniju sa sjedištem u Draču. Odnedavno, niz naučnika iz Albanije rasvjetljuje ovu zanimljivu ličnost iz albanske prošlosti.

Predstavljanje naših priča?

Da! Apsolutno sam uvjeren da uvijek postoji pravi trenutak kada je potrebno odmaknuti se, rekapitulirati prošle narative i razumjeti ih na način koji je koristan za nas danas, ovdje i sada. Sredstva se stalno mijenjaju, ali trenutak je uvijek pravi. Ne radi se o suprotstavljanju narativa iz prošlosti, već o dodavanju nečega boljega. Za današnje društvo Kosova, a i za cijelu regiju (sada nas nazivaju WB6; cool!), ovo je postalo od ključnog značaja kako bismo krenuli naprijed. A jedino dopustivo kretanje u univerzumu je naprijed. Takvo kretanje naprijed omogućilo bi nam da istražimo i saznamo više o ovim “Esat Pashama” iz naših prošlosti, na nastavimo osjećati poeziju u žalost zavijenog Migjenija na albanskom tako što ćemo poznavati njegovo srpsko porijeklo. A usudio bih se reći i da bi nam

takvo kretanje naprijed omogućilo da razumijemo zašto je onih 1,7 kilometara za klinca današnjice njegovom Dedi iz gore navedenog vica predstavljalo desetine kilometara. Ali ni u kom slučaju nam neće dati za pravo da osuđujemo tog starca, niti ta prošla vremena. Mora postojati nešto što još uvijek ne znamo. A to je uzbudljivo!

umjesto biografije:

Od maja 2018. autor ovog članka pozvan je da bude član Pripremnog tima za uspostavljanje Komisije za istinu i pomirenje Kosova, na inicijativu Kancelarije predsjednika Kosova. Takva inicijativa, kao i svaka druga, lako može biti oteta, obzirom na sadašnji establišment, kako na Kosovu tako i širom WB6. Možda trebamo naučiti kako da dodamo nešto bolje ne samo našim prošlostima, već i našim ovdje-i-sada u kojima djelujemo ili koja na nas djeluju. Već živimo i uslovljeni smo nizom dobrih i ne tako dobrih poduhvata iz prošlosti i njihovim posljedicama. Komisija za istinu i pomirenje Kosova predstavlja još jednu priliku, koja se još uvijek oblikuje, za doprinos smislenoj transformaciji i Kosova i šire regije.

i post.scriptum

Pošto je ovaj članak zamišljen kao analiza situacije na Kosovu u periodu od septembra 2018. do septembra 2019. godine, dozvolite mi samo da kažem da je “diplomatski tango” nastavljen u i oko pitanja granice, dijaloga, 100% carinskih tarifa Kosova za srbijanske proizvode itd. Što se tiče prošlosti, dosta energije je uloženo u iznalaženje načina da se kazni, okrivi, ošteti i pridobije “onaj drugi”. Glasno. Tihi su samo glasovi onih manje vidljivih; 14. marta 2019. UN-ov Specijalni izvjestilac o toksičnim materijama izjavio je da “odšteta treba biti plaćena kosovskim Romima koji su zadobili trovanje olovom dok su godinama živjeli u UN-ovim kampovima u blizini rudnika nakon rata na Kosovu.” Ako ova odšteta uistinu bude plaćena, to će mnogo značiti za preživjelu populaciju kosovskih Roma, a i za pravdu na Kosovu. Ako je ova izjava odraz UN-ovog odgovornog stava prema vlastitoj prošlosti, onda su pred nama bolja vremena.

Abdullah B. Ferizi



Ni ovde ni tamo – Kontekst Sjeverna Makedonija

“Život za sve” na sjeveru

Nakon savjetodavnog/neuspjelog referenduma 30. septembra 2018. i dugog procesa pregovora, amnestije i podmićivanja, Republika Makedonija postala je Republika Sjeverna Makedonija i otpočela svoj put ka pristupanju NATO savezu.

Koaliciona vlada Sjeverne Makedonije, pod vodstvom Socijaldemokratskog saveza Makedonije (SDSM), koji je izbornu kampanju vodio pod sloganom “život za sve”, sa Demokratskom unijom za integraciju (DUI) i polovicom nove albanske stranke BESA, ove protekle godine učinila je velike iskorake u vanjskim odnosima, ali i ozbiljne propuste u rješavanju najvažnijih domaćih problema koji još traju.

Uz veliki teret nade koja se polaže u post-režimsku vladu, veliko razočarenje je možda bilo za očekivati, ali nije pretjerano reći da je nova vlada načinila previše propusta, previše puta je lagala, previše puta se lažno izvinjavala, a nije uspjela ostvariti neophodne reforme, da bi od nekih čak i u potpunosti odustala, čime je razočarala većinu ljudi koji su željeli promjene ili su se aktivirali da ih postignu. To je dovelo do frustracija kod tolikog broja ljudi da je izreka “svi su isti” postala politički uvriježena čak i među politički osvještenijim građanima i građankama, umanjujući ozbiljnost kriminala i nepravde VMRO-DPMNE režima i noseći sa sobom rizik da se VMRO-DPMNE vrati na vlast. Isti onaj VMRO-DPMNE, nereformisan i pun nacionalista i kriminalaca. Istovremeno,

druga polovina, ili trećina pomenutog režima, DUI, još uvijek je na vlasti, pretvara se da zemlju gura na njenom evroatlantskom putu, pa ipak koristi svaku priliku da nastavi svoje korumpirane prakse i održi etničke podjele u zemlji.

Pored toga, NATO propagandom se normalizira militarizacija našeg društva koja prodire čak i u škole kako bi dospjela do najmladih. U isto vrijeme, javni zvaničnici, uključujući i premijera i predsjednika vlade, doprinose normalizaciji govora mržnje, iako se nakon njegove upotrebe ograđuju površnim i neiskrenim izvinjenjima.

Jedan važan pozitivan događaj bila je Povorka ponosa u Skopju, prva Povorka ponosa u zemlji. Održana je 29. juna bez ozbiljnih incidenata i uz značajnu, iako površnu, podršku vlade.

Roditelj nacije

21. aprila 2019. imali smo predsjedničke izbore, prve izbore nakon propalog/savjetodavnog referenduma o promjeni imena zemlje. Predstavljeni su stvarni izazov za SDSM koji je preuzeo rizik promjene imena iako je njihovo ponašanje na vlasti u najmanju ruku problematično.

Izbori su nam na izvjestan način pokazali izgledniji i tačniji rezultat referenduma, odnosno rezultat kakav bi bio da se opozicija nije opredijelila za bojkot, imajući u vidu to da su cijela predizborna kampanja i politički diskurs bili fokusirani i zaglavljeni oko pitanja imena i razočarenja novom vladom po mnogim pitanjima. Posebno je u drugom i posljednjem krugu zemlja bila podijeljena gotovo isto kao i za vrijeme referenduma.

Tri kandidata učestvovala su u utrci za položaj "roditelja" nacije. Stevo Pendarovski iz SDSM-a (koji je pobijedio) vodio je kampanju koja je teško prenosila svoje poruke jer se morala osvrnati na sve nedostatke vlade. Druga kandidatkinja bila je Gordana Siljanovska, profesorica koju je nominovao VMRO-DPMNE iako ranije nije bila njihova članica, a koja je vodila nacionalističku kampanju, tragikomičnu i punu laži i iracionalnog populizma tipičnog za VMRO-DPMNE, ali ne i za nju lično. Treći kandidat bio je Blerim Reka, Albanac i profesor koji je vodio osvježavajuće nenacionalističku kampanju, ali je imao problema s dosljednošću u obraćanju medijima, Makedoncima i široj javnosti u odnosu na obraćanja svojim albanskim pristalicama na predizbornim skupovima.

Najsmješnije je bilo insistiranje kod sve troje kandidata da nisu stranački kandidati. Siljanovska je nakon izbora za kandidatkinju VMRO-DPMNE na njihovom stranačkom kongresu skupljala potpise od građana (članova VMRO) kako bi dokazala da je nestračka kandidatkinja.

Pendarovski je odgovorio istom mjerom i insistirao da predstavlja nadstranačkog konsenzualnog kandidata iako ga je izabrao SDSM i ostatak stranaka u vlasti. Blerim Reka je pak insistirao da je on nezavisni kandidat iako je uživao podršku dvije albanske nacionalističke stranke iz opozicije koje su aktivno pomagale njegovu kampanju i navodile svoje glasачe da glasaju za njega.

Predizborna kampanja bila je problematična i zbog mizoginije i vrlo, vrlo površnog feminizma s patrijarhalnim tendencijama. Feminizam Siljanovske, posebno u njenoj predizbornoj retorici, nije bio ništa drugo do neiskreno podilaženje, ali istovremeno su pristalice Pendarovskog i Reke često iznosili mnoštvo seksističkih i mizoginih komentara i napada na račun njenog spola, roda i godina (64), koje Pendarovski nikad nije poštено osudio. Mislim da će zbog Smiljanovske grozne kampanje i gubitka predsjedničke utrke političke stranke u budućnosti biti još manje spremne nominovati žene kandidatkinje, što će im sad samo biti lakše opravdati, a poslužit će im i kao izgovor za nerješavanje stranačkih patrijarhalnih struktura koje stavljuju žene u značajno nepovoljniji položaj.

Nekad između prvog i drugog kruga izbora odigrao se nacionalistički incident na tvrđavi u Ohridu. Neko iz jedne albanske folklorne grupe (ne iz zemlje) postavio je ogromnu albansku zastavu na zidine tvrđave okrenute gradu, što je dovelo do dosta velikih nacionalističkih i antinacionalističkih reakcija. Dotični je uhapšen, oglobljen i protjeran iz zemlje, ali s obzirom na to da su se u Ohridu za vrijeme predsjedničkih izbora održavali i lokalni izbori (zbog smrti gradonačelnika), ovo je išlo na ruku samo kandidatu VMRO-DPMNE, koji je, međutim, na kraju ipak izgubio. Usput budi rečeno, jedno od osnovnih pitanja na lokalnim izborima (a pojavljivalo se i u kontekstu predsjedničke kampanje) ticalo se izgradnje navodno nezakonitog minareta džamije u Ohridu. Održani su čak i protesti koji su se silno trudili uvjeriti sve da se radi o (ne)zakonitosti procedure, a ne o vjerskoj i etničkoj pripadnosti, u čemu su bili komično neuspješni.

Mješavina ucjenjivanja i podmićivanja

U proteklom nekoliko mjeseci Makedoniju potresa afera ucjenjivanja/korupcije u Specijalnom javnom tužilaštvu (koje je uspostavljeno radi postupanja u predmetima krivičnih djela proisteklih iz snimaka nezakonitog prisluškivanja bivšeg premijera Nikole Gruevskog i njegovog rođaka, bivšeg direktora Uprave za bezbjednost i kontraobavještavanje, Saše Mijalkova). Nakon početka rada na preko 150 predmeta s potencijalnom podizanja krivičnih optužnica, i to značajnog broja optužnica, ugled

SJT-a upropastila je njegova glavna tužiteljica Katica Janeva.

Skandal je izbio kada je jedan italijansko-slovenački desničarski novinar na web stranici italijanskih novina *La Verita* objavio niz video i audio snimaka u kojima, navodno, dvoje ucjenjivača obećava biznismenu Orcetu Kamčevu – jednom od najbogatijih ljudi u zemlji, usko povezanim s prethodnim vlastima i osumnjičenim u nekoliko krivičnih predmeta koje je otvorio SJT – da će biti oslobođen ili da će mu kazna biti znatno smanjena za krivična djela zločinačkog udruživanja, pronevjere, pranja novca i druga srodnja djela. Ucenjivači su obećanje zasnivali na svojim bliskim vezama s glavnom tužiteljicom SJT-a Katicom Janevom.

Janeva je nakon jedva zakonitog bolovanja i nestanka iz javnosti na neko vrijeme, naravno, porekla svoje učešće, navodeći da je jedan od ucjenjivača zloupotrijebio njen ime. Ali (navodno) se u jednom od audio snimaka čuje njen glas kako potvrđuje da će biti onako kako je dogovoren s ucjenjivačem; odnosno govori "sve će biti okej".

Ovu istragu vodi redovno Javno tužilaštvo, nakon što se Kamčev obratio premijeru Zoranu Zaevu koji je prijavio slučaj Javnom tužilaštvu. To, naravno, nije sprječilo opoziciju da od Zaeva traži ostavku i nove izbore te da ga optuži da je on taj koji je naručio ucjenjivanje. Specifični razlozi zbog kojih se Kamčev odlučio obratiti premijeru, a ne Javnom tužilaštvu (kako je zakonski obavezan) nisu jasni, ali čini se da je htio i njega inkriminirati. Naročito s obzirom na to da su video snimci iz njegove kuće dospjeli u ruke desničarskog anti-EU novinara Larisa Gaisera koji je u predsjedništvu Paneuropske unije zajedno s bivšim savjetnikom Gruevskog, Andrejem Lepavcovim.

Bez ulaženja u previše detalja, dosad je u okviru istrage značajan broj tužilaca iz SJT-a, kao i ljudi iz SDSM-a blisko povezanih s jednim od ucjenjivača dao izjave Javnom tužilaštvu, a dvoje ucjenjivača i Katica Janeva su uhapšeni. Dosad nisu podignute optužnice protiv bilo koga drugog iz SJT-a i SDSM-a.

U svakom slučaju, ovaj skandal je paralizovao Specijalno javno tužilaštvo i u neku ruku nalikuje organizovanom naporu da se ono rasformiše i da se obore sve istrage na visokom nivou i podignite optužbe. Zbog toga je jedina institucija s kredibilitetom i obavezom traženja i donošenja pravde za zločine zvaničnika VMRO-DPMNE režima i njihovih bogatih prijatelja ne samo uprpaštenog ugleda, već joj prijeti i to da njene istrage preuzme redovno Javno tužilaštvo koje nije u potpunosti reformisano nakon što je više od 11 godina služilo tom režimu. A javnost je još više obeshrabrena i podijeljena.

Pitanje je da li je Katica Janeva podlegla pohlepi ili je bila toliko naivna da padne u zamku namještajke i da li je Orce Kamčev ucjenjivan ili je pokušao podmititi ljudi kako bi izbjegao krivičnu odgovornost (i jedno i drugo je moguće i nije uzajamno isključivo), ipak, dok je Katica uhapšena, a SJT se polako rasformiše, Orce Kamčev je na slobodi i živi svoj bogataški život.

Voli partnera svog

U prošlogodišnjem *izvještaju* pisao sam o tome kako SDSM i DUI nastavljaju tradiciju VMRO-DPMNE i DUI u smislu "DULng business" u skladu sa zakonom, ali uz ozbiljne sumnje o korupciji. Sad s pouzdanjem mogu reći da je tradicija uistinu nastavljena i da su u nju uvučeni i drugi koalicioni partneri. DUI je otiašao i korak dalje, pri čemu stranački zvaničnici bezočno krše zakon, ali bez posljedica.

Ova zemlja već decenijama kuburi s korupcijom – nije to ništa novo. Ali s novom vladom je postojala nova nada da će konačno bar oni koji su bili korumpirani prethodnih 11 godina sada biti izvedeni pred lice pravde i da ćemo ostvariti napredak na tom planu. Ne mora se posebno isticati da se to nije desilo. Sve je počelo relativno skoro nakon što su došli na vlast, a postalo je posebno jasno kada je Fond za inovacije dodijelio velike grantove kompanijama među kojima su bile i kompanije zamjenika premijera, milionera Koče Angjuševa. Nakon što je izbio skandal, on je umjesto ostavke povukao svoje kompanije i odrekao se grantova. Javno tužilaštvo otvorilo je krivičnu istragu, ali do danas, koliko sam ja upoznat, nema informacija o nalazima te istrage.

Stranački zvaničnici DUI su u protekloj godini proizveli više skandala. Jedan takav skandal korupcije i krađe pokrenulo je Ministarstvo za socijalne poslove koje je otkrilo da iz penzionog fonda nedostaje nekoliko miliona eura; da je novac predviđen za drugi penzioni fond nestao. Direktore nadležne institucije već godinama imenuje DUI, a ovo je malo protreslo koalicione odnose, a zatim ponovo nekako nestalo iz javnosti – nema vijesti, nema informacija, nema krivičnih optužnica.

U drugim kriminalnim aferama zvaničnici DUI-a nezakonito grade objekte, fizički napadaju ljudе, ugovaraju javne radove s vlastitim firmama, zloupotrebljavaju svoje položaje, kupuju luksuzno vozilo za potrebe općine (načelnika) nakon što je vlada otplatila većinu ogromnog općinskog duga... "Vlasnik" pomenutog vozila, načelnik Struge Ramiz Merko iz DUI-a, pravdao se govoreći kako bi bilo sramotno da se načelnik vozi autom koje nije dovoljno

dobro. Mnogo je još primjera, ali nisu svi vezani samo za DUI.

Uzgred, važno je napomenuti da ovi slučajevi ukazuju na još jednu tužnu realnost makedonske politike i međuetničkih odnosa: šira javnost, a posebno makedonski nacionalisti, oportunizam i nezakonite radnje zvaničnika DUI-a vide kao albanski pristup politici i kao albanski nacionalizam, ali ne vide da je ovo ponašanje prvenstveno štetno za Albance izvan DUI-evih političkih struktura. To su oni Albanci koji su ostavljeni bez zaštite države na milost i nemilost DUI-a. Na primjer, dva muškarca koje je napao Nafi Useini, gradski vijećnik Ohrida i član DUI-a, obojica su Albanci.

Nedavno je na internetu procurio audio snimak na kojem se čuje kako načelnik većinski romske opštine Suto Orizare iz stranke SDSM, Kurto Dudush, također Rom, nekoga vrijeda i tuče. U toku je istraga, ali izgleda da će i ovaj slučaj nestati kao i oni vezani za DUI. Ovo hoće reći da su i romski građani i građanke prepušteni sami sebi i svojim lokalnim siledžijama, dok makedonski nacionalisti pravdaju zlostavljanje kao nešto kulturološko, a ne problem državne strukture i nebrige.

Zvaničnici SDSM-a sve ovo tolerišu dijelom zato što su usmjereni na vlastite interese i korupciju, dijelom kako ne bi pogoršali koalicione odnose i partnerstva, a dijelom zato što veće makedonske stranke smatraju kako nemakedonska etnička pitanja trebaju biti prepuštena tim drugim etničkim grupama. Bez obzira na posljedice po te zajednice.

U svakom slučaju, Republika Sjeverna Makedonija sa svojom beskrajnom naivnom nadom nastavlja na svom putu ka EU; svakodnevni problemi običnih građana i građanki jednostavno će zasad morati pričekati.

Emrah Rexhepi



Ko je sledeći? – kontekst Srbija

Prvo pitanje kad ujutru otvorim oči, već nekoliko meseci je: "Kako ču na posao?" Moj iznajmljeni stan se nalazi u Beogradu, u samom centru grada, kancelarija Centra za nenasilnu akciju, takođe je u centru. Šta je problem? Problem je što Beograd, kao grad sa više od dva miliona stanovnika ima veliki centar, i što se sa jednog do drugog oboda ne stiže brzo. Poslednjih nekoliko meseci – ni brzo, ni jednostavno. Svako kretanje kroz uži centar grada je zatvoreno, promenjeno, izmešteno. Beograd izgleda kao velika građevinska parcela, na kojoj je ambiciozni vlasnik sumnjivog novca '90-ih počeo da gradi zamak, a onda ga je stigla ruka pravde ili konkurenциja u podzemlju, te su radovi zauvek ostavljeni, a naslednicima zaveštane megalomanske želje i ogromni dugovi. Na kapiji ispred zamka stoje dva gipsana lava. Takva je i estetika Beograda. Megalomanska, kičerajska, jeftina po izgledu, preskupa po utrošenom novcu. I onda, kad nekako, uglavnom pešice, stignem na Trg Republike, zbog čije sanacije je već godinu dana zatvoren najposećeniji deo Beograda – na primer, kao kada bi godinu dana bio zatvoren Crveni trg u Moskvi, ili Trafalgar skver u Londonu, na tom izrovanom betonu i radovima u stajanju – ne zatičem nikoga. Ponekad, u nekom čošku 2-3 radnika puše, ili rade nešto sitno. Uglavnom, ne dešava se ništa. To ništa se naplaćuje iz gradskog budžeta grada, u vrednosti od blizu 8 miliona evra (922 miliona dinara). Gradski prevoz ne funkcioniše. Juče sam ušla u autobus, imao je klimu, i mesta za sedenje. Pomislila sam, pa eto, desi se da nešto i radi u državi u kojoj se sve raspada, možda ima neke nade, ne treba biti cinik. Posle dve stанице, autobus je stao. Pokvario se, i svi putnici morali su da nastave put pešice. Toliko o nadi.

Zašto ovaj tekst počinjem za širu javnost naizgled potpuno nevažnom pričom o svojim jutarnjim brigama? Godinama unazad, pišem ili čitam ovakve tekstove, i iz godine u godinu, situacija u Srbiji je sve lošija, i pogoršava se u svakom segmentu društva. Teško je u relativno kratkom tekstu objasniti šta je sve gore u odnosu na prošlu godinu, spisak je jako dug, a ljudski mozak ima tu dobru osobinu da briše iz sećanja loše stvari. I onda, kad krenem da se prisećam šta se sve dogodilo, sudaram se sa lavinom fašizma, neslobode, pritisaka, ucena, ubistava, korupcije, laganja, targetiranja ljudi i poziva na linč, nasilja nad ljudima koji drugačije misle ili govore, diskriminacija po svim osnovama, siromaštva, nezaposlenosti, odliva mozgova, odliva radno sposobnih i rada željnih ljudi svih stepena obrazovanja... Razmišljam, ako krenem od ličnog,

od onog što nam je zajedničko, i objasnim koliko je to u Srbiji drugačije nego na drugim mestima, možda to može da bude ilustracija? Možda se tako lakše shvati sa kojim se problemima srećemo i sa čim živimo svakodnevno.

Tenk

A živimo u atmosferi straha, napetosti, pod optužbama da smo izdajnici, nazivaju nas drugosrbijancima (prvi su oni, nacionalisti, a mi smo „drugi“, „ostali“, oni koji nisu „mi“, izrodi, škart neki), i svako iole logično pitanje postavljeno bilo kome ko je u vlasti, ili vladajućoj partiji (mada između ova dva ne postoji razlika, ovde vladajuća partija jeste vlast, institucije ne postoje, kontrola ne postoji, sve je podređeno jednoj partiji i jednom čoveku) smatra se destabilizacijom države i neprijateljskom aktivnošću.

Ispred najvećeg (za sada, predsednik je obećao izgradnju novog, grandioznog, „nacionalnog“) stadiona u zemlji, poznatog kao „Marakana“, na kojem igrat će FK „Crvena Zvezda“, krajem avgusta, pred utakmicu sa ekipom iz Švajcarske „Jang Bojs“, postavljen je tenk. Tenk iz Vukovara. Da li je baš taj tenk bio baš u Vukovaru, niko sa sigurnošću ne može da tvrdi, ali taj tenk jeste simbol ratova '90. i razaranja Vukovara, koje se u srpskom govoru tih godina i u govoru nacionalista danas naziva i „oslobađanje Vukovara“. Simbol ratova ispred fudbalskog stadiona ne nosi nikakvu drugu poruku, već pretnju. Koliko sutradan, ispred stadiona „Dinama“ iz Zagreba postavljen je traktor – simbol akcije „Oluja“, etničkog čišćenja Srba iz Hrvatske, koji su izbegli na traktorima u Srbiju. Ministar policije je izjavio da to „nije tenk, već maketa tenka“, i da „ne razume one kojima je maketa tenka ispred stadiona simbol deve desetih“.

Nastavio je: „Očigledno je da je ovo trebalo da posluži kao politička igra za neku vrstu napada pre svega na predsednika Aleksandra Vučića, jer sada je on kriv i za ovo, jer je kriv za sve što se desi. To je očigledno politikanstvo jednog dela opozicije koji nažalost nema šta drugo da pokaže“.

Sve što se desi u državi je jasnog Vučića, a sve što je pogrešno je podmetanje Vučiću. Sve se vrti oko njegovog lika i dela, a on u svakom segmentu prekoračuje svoja ustavna ovlašćenja, biva i tužilac, i policija, i predsednik vlade, i ministar, i nezavisna tela, za sve se pita i sve on rešava. U političkom vokabularu to se zove diktatura, no u Srbiji ne postoji snaga koja bi je nazvala pravim imenom i oduprla joj se.

To što ministar policije naziva „politikanstvom jednog dela opozicije“ zapravo je podela opozicije na „dobru“

i „lošu“ po vladajuću Srpsku naprednu stranku. Dobra opozicija, ideološki bliska, su Vojislav Šešelj, osuđeni ratni zločinac, a sada predsednik parlamentarne stranke i narodni poslanik i njegova Srpska radikalna stranka, ishodište Aleksandra Vučića i većeg dela SNS koji su 2008. izašli iz nje i osnovali SNS. Njihovi bivši stranački partneri su ta „dobra“ opozicija. Onaj drugi deo, „loša“ opozicija, to su svi ostali na političkoj sceni: od krajnjeg desničara Boška Obradovića (Dveri), preko Vuka Jeremića (Narodna stranka), centra u kojem su Demokratska stranka i Pokret slobodnih građana, do levo orijentisanih građanskih pokreta Ne davimo Beograd i Lokalni front. Ta opozicija je slomljena i slaba, iz dva razloga: prvi je što je potpuno satanizovana od vladajuće garniture na čelu sa Aleksandrom Vučićem koji ne propušta priliku, ma kako ona bila banalna i nemala nikakve veze sa temom, da popljuje te partije i njihove lidere, dok im je u isto vreme potpuno onemogućeno pojavljivanje na televizijama sa nacionalnom frekvencijom i najčitanijim novinama. Drugi razlog je što tu opoziciju najvećim delom (osim Lokalnog fronta i Ne davimo Beograd) čine ljudi iz prethodne vlasti, koji su zaslužni što je ona izgubila na izborima i uvela nas u ko zna koliko dugo razdoblje vladavine presvučenih radikala.

Kako Srbiju već 2020. čekaju redovni parlamentarni izbori (naglašiće da su redovni, jer su prethodni izbori za parlament bivali 2012., 2014. i 2016. godine) nije izvesno

da će se pod ovim izbornim uslovima i u ovako neuređenoj državi desiti bilo kakva promena vlasti. I ako se desi, moguće je da će se praviti „prirodna koalicija“ SNS i SRS, umesto dosadašnje saradnje sa SPS-om, partijom koja je verni koalicioni saveznik.

Nada

Iako izbori kao šansa za promenu mogu izdaleka da izgledaju kao onaj moj autobus sa početka teksta – u ovakvoj postavci moći, koja je potpuno u rukama nekolicine ljudi, promene nisu čak ni nada. Eventualno mogu biti maštarija.

Nada se pojavila krajem 2018. godine, kada su počeli, najpre u Beogradu, pa potom i širom Srbije, građanski protesti, kao reakcija na brutalno prebijanje opozicionog političara Borka Stefanovića od strane vlastima bliskih huligana. „Stop krvavim košuljama“ bio je početni naziv protesta, koje je imao inkluzivni potencijal da prikupi sve ljudе koji su protiv nasilja, bez obzira kojoj političkoj frakciji pripadali. Iako na početku neorganizovano, bez jasne vizije i cilja, ovi protesti su svake subote u 18h okupljali sve veći broj ljudi. Jedan od najimpozantnijih skupova bio je 16.1.2019. na dan ubistva Olivera Ivanovića, političara sa Kosova, za koje postoji sumnja da iza zločina stoje pojedinci bliski vlasti u Srbiji, koja i pruža zaštitu nekolicini osumnjičenih: Zvonku Veselinoviću i Miljanu Radoičiću. Predvođeni Lokalnim frontom, udruženjem građana iz



Kraljeva, koji su 12. januara pešice krenuli put Beograda i tako prevalili put od 170 kilometara, građani su glasnom čutnjom pitali: "Ko je ubio Ivanovića?"

Odmah sutradan, i Vučić je organizovao svoj skup – iskoristivši posetu predsednika Rusije Vladimira Putina, upotrebovši sve državne privilegije, počasti i institucije, taj doček bio je zapravo početak kampanje „Budućnost Srbije“ u kojoj je megalomanskim skupovima, skupim spotovima i svim državnim povlasticama vladajuće stranke predstavila kako vidi Srbiju – nekada. Nikada zapravo nije postalo jasno zašto se ta kampanja odvijala u zimu i proleće, osim ako je bila odgovor na opozicione skupove. Sa jedne strane je vlast autobusima prevozila svoje stvarne i prisiljene simpatizere (prisiljene i ucenjene radnim mestom, u Srbiji je na snazi zakon o zabrani zapošljavanja u državnim institucijama, te niko od 2014. do danas ne može da zasnuje radni odnos na neodređeno vreme, a zaposlenima na određeno je lako manipulisati, pretiti im i ucenjivati ih) iz grada u grad, pod skupom scenografijom i populističkim govorima, dok su se, sa druge strane, u brojnim gradovima, svakog petka ili subote okupljali građani koji nisu pristalice ove vlasti. Dobrovoljno, po snegu, zimi, bez ozvučenja i najčešće – u spontanoj organizaciji.

U proleće je, posle pokušaja opozicije da uđe u Radio televiziju Srbije, kao znak protesta što javni servis ne izveštava o opoziciji, i posle skupa 13. aprila, na koji su pozvani i građani iz drugih gradova, i taj vid pobune polako počeo da se smanjuje. Još uvek svake subote uveče građani se okupljaju u Beogradu i Kragujevcu.

Meta

Problem neslobode medija je možda i najveći problem: zbog toga građani kojima nisu dostupne online informacije ili jedina nevučićevska kablovska televizija – N1, ne mogu da saznaju da li je ministar policije kupio lažne diplome i osnovnih i doktorskih studija, da li je funkcioner SNS i direktor Koridora Srbije upravljao autom koji je neprilagođenom brzinom na naplatnoj rampi udario u auto koji je bio u redu ispred i usmratio jednu ženu, kako je moguće da je sin medijskog tajkuna i vlasnika najgledanije televizije u Srbiji Željka Mitrovića osuđen na godinu dana

kućnog pritvora pošto je na pešačkom prelazu vozilom usmrtil devojku, pa pobegao sa lica mesta, ko, kako i čijim parama organizuje ljude da brane (daju podršku i pravnu pomoć) predsednika opštine Brus koji je svojoj sekretarici poslao 15.000 (nije greška u nulama, sve su na broju – 15.000) sms poruka kojima ju je seksualno uz nemiravao, ko je i zašto postavio tenk ispred stadiona, ali važnije: ko će da ga skloni, ko i kako gradi mini-hidroelektrane i uništava reke Srbije, zašto je posećeno gotovo svo drveće u centru Beograda, i kada će ovaj grad normalno da funkcioniše... Za svako od ovih pitanja, ako ih glasno postavite, bićete optuženi da ste neprijatelj države. Drugosrbijanac. Autošovinista. Mete na čelu nosimo svi koji o tome, makar i samo na svojim nalozima na društvenim mrežama pišemo. I svi doživljavamo pretnje od bot tima SNS, koji čine zaposleni u javnim preduzećima, i koji u radno vreme progone protivnike ove vlasti i pišu o njenim veličanstvenim uspesima. (Bot je po definiciji robot koji imitira ljudsko biće, Vučić je okrenuo i tu igricu – on je od ljudi napravio robote. A roboti, pa ni ovi plaćeni, ljudskog oblika, nemaju minimum osećanja ili empatije, pa crtaju mete, targetiraju, prete...)

Podsetiću vas, o tome da je meta, pričao je Oliver Ivanović u tekstu o [kontekstu Kosova za 2017. godinu](#). U vreme kada je naš izveštaj bio odštampan, Ivanović je već bio ubijen. Kako o njegovom ubistvu i naručiocima ne znamo ništa, možemo samo da se pitamo: ko je sledeći?

Katarina Milićević



Annual Report 2019

(English version)

Translation
Ulvija Tanović

Introduction

Dear friends,

You have before you the 22nd annual report on the activities of the Centre for Nonviolent Action. In this report, we aimed to present our activities in the briefest form possible and if reading about them makes you want to know more, we invite you to visit our website nenasilje.org where you can find more detailed reports and photo galleries in BCMS and English.

As part of dealing with the past, we recognise memory work as a key factor of peacebuilding. This is why in the past year we have focused many of our activities on encouraging public dialogue and changing the currently dominant forms of the culture of memory – a mixed group of war veterans attended commemorations in Mrkonjić Grad, Stupni Do, Aleksinac, Ahmići and Grabovica, the veterans visited Niš and Jajce, their basic value being the expression of respect towards all victims, whatever their origin; the “War of Memories” exhibition was displayed in Zavidovići, Podgorica, Goražde and Jajce; unmarked sites of suffering were marked in Vitez, Bosanski Petrovac, Drvar, Kotor Varoš, Mostar, Konjic, Sarajevo and Istočno Sarajevo...

In our struggle against injustice and to overcome the legacy of past injustices, we remain committed to our belief in the strength and integrity of the principle of nonviolence. This past year we organised three peacebuilding trainings – in Mostar (BiH) a training for students from BiH, the Mir-Paqe-Мир training in Kruševo (NMK) for participants from Kosovo, Macedonia and Serbia, and regional basic training in peacebuilding held in Ulcinj (MNE). To the corpus of knowledge needed for peacebuilding education we have added a new handbook: “Nonviolence! Peacebuilding Training Handbook”. In it we gathered experience gained over 20 years of working on trainings and the new handbook is also an expanded and revised edition of our handbook “Nonviolence?!” published 18 years ago.

This year, we published the third Biber Short Story Contest in all the languages of the region and with a somewhat expanded topic, and we received a record number of stories, 464 in all. We believe this surge in stories entered for the contest was helped by promotions of the short story collection from the previous contest held in Južna Mitrovica and Podgorica.

The Peacebuilding Strategy that we have been working on for years and then did everything in our power to make sure it reached Serbia’s state authorities, including the president and the prime minister, we ultimately decided to publicly present and gift to the citizens of Serbia, for inspiration and

further development. It is our hope that we will see a time when we will have collocutors on the other side committed to genuinely work on building a lasting peace in all its social aspects.

Everything of value takes time to build, and this would seem to apply not just to regional but also to international cooperation. We participated in marking International White Armband Day in Prijedor, at the international conference “The Present of the Past, the Urgency of the Present” in Buenos Aires (a continuation of the cooperation established during the first round of the Mandela Dialogues on memory work held in 2013/2014), and the panel discussion on memory and reconciliation in Ulm.

And last but not least, this year we were happy to welcome to the CNA team an old-new member, Radomir Radović. For those who have not met him yet, we recommend you read his text on what was crucial to his decision to move from Podgorica to Belgrade. And if you would like to know more about what motivates all of us to persevere in our efforts to build a lasting peace in the region of the former Yugoslavia, there is no better place to look than the reports of our activists about the current situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Kosovo, Macedonia, Montenegro and Serbia at the end of this year’s overview.

As always, your feedback will be much appreciated.

CNA Team
September 2019

From a War of Memories towards a Different Culture of Memory

When in June 2019, we displayed the exhibition War of Memories in Goražde and organised the public discussion From a war of memories to remembering the war: How the post-war generation remembers the war, the Goražde reporter Slavko Klisura said he was sorry that people in Goražde discuss war only if someone from outside of Goražde organises the discussion. This certainly does not mean that our societies are not talking about the war and about remembering the war. Looking at the major news programmes (television is still the most powerful medium in the Balkans, despite the rise of the Internet), you will be hard-pressed to find one that does not devote at least a fifth of its airtime to remembering war victories, victims, the problems facing veterans, searching for missing persons, commemorating anniversaries of atrocities, etc. However, this kind of speech is one-way and superficial, not only does it fail to include dialogue with people who were on the other side, it also excludes most of the people from its own narrative because their experiences, their stories cannot find a timeslot among the myriad speeches by various political representatives, religious leaders, deserving war commanders, etc.

War and Myth

Nobody has academically dealt with the current war for memory in more detail than Dejan Jović in his book War and Myth published last year. Jović shows that war functions as a founding myth in Croatian society and that working to deconstruct that myth is seen as an attempt to dismantle the whole of society. Although experiences are somewhat varied, Jović's claim could be expanded and developed in all post-Yugoslav countries that have gone through war(s). According to Raoul Girardet, the trouble with myths is that they can be deconstructed only if you stand outside them, if you do not believe in them, but at the same time, you can only understand their swaying power if you stand within, if you believe or have believed in them.

A comparative view of once warring societies, we would add, provides another perspective, enabling us

to map common characteristics and basic differences between the founding myths of our post-war communities in order to better deconstruct them, so that instead of having mutually opposed narratives we can find where they can at least co-exist without a direct threat of war. Crucial in this process, we believe, is working with war veterans, who are often seen as the most hardened upholders of the national myth and are then either manipulated by political elites or disqualified as people and citizens by social groups who deem themselves to be more advanced and morally superior.

Memory is a principle element for mobilising society. As a rule, wartime experiences are invoked in everyday politics in order to antagonise (let us not forget what they did to us or we must do such and such to make sure it does not happen again). Even when a broader platform manages to achieve cooperation between different ethnic groups that are mutually perceived as hostile, memory is used as a factor to break up that cooperation. One example are the protests in Sarajevo and Banja Luka initiated by parents of two young men who were, each in their own town, killed in 2017 under circumstances that have never been brought to light. The protests were organised by the fathers of the young men, demanding that the police in the two entities do their jobs. The fathers, Muriz Memić and Davor Dragičević supported each other and called for joining forces in order to uncover the truth about the murders of their sons. As the ultimate argument used to delegitimise both, the fact that Muriz was a member of the Army of BiH was used in Banja Luka, while at the same time in Sarajevo, Davor was delegitimised as a veteran of the Army of Republika Srpska.

The international context certainly has a lot of influence on everything happening in the Balkans, especially when it comes to the sensitive issues of dealing with the past and peacebuilding. Activist Edin Ramulić from Prijedor rightly observed how the war in the former Yugoslavia took place when there was basic consensus in the international community that war crimes must be punished, that

dealing with the past was important in post-war societies, etc. In contrast to the immediate aftermath of the war, up until some five years ago, it seemed like we would be making some headway in dealing with the past. We had some judgements, people did not negate proven facts so lightly, what international stakeholders were saying was being taken into account... It now seems like everyone has decided to forget the post-war period and return to the pre-war state of affairs where narratives are treated as facts, and shamelessly at that. The political elites have done their bit, the school system has pitched in, many people have given up and moved away, the international situation seems to be approaching that of the Balkans, and under such conditions it appears that you can do and say whatever you like, especially about the past, without any consequences. In fact, the worse you behave, the greater your popularity, and hatred is once again spreading like a virus, the louder you are, the more power you have... None of this happened overnight, and even if it was not a fully thought-out strategy, it seems to have been entirely successful.

Crossing Borders

Most commemorations and anniversaries of atrocities are exclusive in the sense that they are designed only for members of one people, with memorials often made so as to seem threatening to others or make them uncomfortable. Those whose ethnic group is perceived as the enemy are often not welcome even when they are prepared to come and pay their respects to the victims. Distrust, even towards those who come with open arms and hearts to honour victims, is almost palpable.

In an effort to overcome the imposed borders around us, our activities in the past year aimed to open spaces for discussing the war and its legacies and confront some new challenges arising in our societies. Along with our War of Memories exhibition, we decided to organise public discussions From a War of Memories to Remembering the War. We want to initiate dialogue about the different aspects of remembering the war in the local communities that we visit. Although there are still places where the War of Memories exhibition and any accompanying discussion is still not welcome, we are encouraged by stories from local communities on the periphery, from Goražde and Rudo to Zavidovići, doing important things to build a more inclusive culture of memory.

It has been shown in many cases how important it is to come to a local community once with an activity and then, as a rule, the door will stay open for continuing

cooperation. The first activity is the most important for establishing trust and showing people that we can talk about war without diminishing anyone's experience, that we can speak critically about the culture of memory and memorials, but still honour the victims... The most recent such example comes from Goražde where we initiated cooperation with war veterans and organised a visit by veterans to Goražde (2017), which was followed by cooperation to mark unmarked sites of suffering in Goražde (2018) and then, this year, we organised the exhibition and public discussion there...

Cooperation above Everything

Why is it important that we are able to conduct multiple activities in one community? All of these activities are to a greater or lesser extent connected to memory, the way the war is remembered in the community, to its direct participants, to those who took part in the war and are most often the most active stakeholders in its aftermath, as well as those at whom the memory is directed by determining the parameters within which life in the community proceeds, the foundations of its identity, and its place within the broader national community.

Although the process of dealing with the past and peacebuilding also entails confronting difficult topics, the principle of cooperation, including confrontations with people and local communities, shows that change is possible from the personal to the social level, which should be the ultimate aim. For example, actions to mark unmarked sites of suffering confront local communities with the fact that it would be important to mark the suffering of those who are now in the minority and whose suffering was imposed, in most cases, by representatives of the community that is now in the majority and has political power. Although acknowledging the suffering of minorities is still taboo, with examples of positive change few and far between, the activists working on this today have replaced guerrilla actions with efforts to establish communication with the local community, its political representatives, veterans' associations and victims' associations. Broad cooperation enables change and Zavidovići is a case in point. The site of killing of members of the minority Serb community known as the 13th kilometre was marked after multiple actions, meetings and talks. The marking was supported by the municipal authorities, the mayor and the veterans' association.

It is also important to note that today, working with young people in the Balkans means working with those born after the wars, with no direct experience, only

transferred and learnt memories. Training for students from BiH and the multilingual training for participants from Kosovo, Macedonia and Serbia has shown that the whole post-war system has been designed to completely avoid encounters - physical encounters with each other, as well as encounters with stories of the others about war and wartime experiences. Without such encounters, deep prejudices, stereotypes and fears are nurtured that could potentially be channelled into hatred or violence.

Taking some poetic licence, Abdulah Sidran would say that it is no wonder we are all a bit paranoid given our history. Though a period of two decades may seem

long, given the scale of the violence experienced by our societies just in the last century, it is understandable that trust building and reconciliation will take time and will not be easy. In essence, judging by the positive reactions from much of society, it is clear that we still need examples that build basic trust between communities, that break down antagonistic stereotypes about us and them, that show how jointly honouring all victims is possible.



Work with war veterans

Processes of dealing with the past and approaches to the past in general have always moved between two extreme, equally fatal poles. The first is oblivion, the assimilation of the past by the present for a better future. It could be summarised in George Santayana's maxim whereby those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it. Of course, we must not sweep the past under the rug, because it will repeat itself, come back at us, as it has done in the Balkans at least, multiple times. On the other hand, that duty to remember brings up its own questions: What is our past? What are we supposed to remember and how? What is it that should and must be remembered? The answers we give to these questions as individuals and as societies often lead to what could be marked as the other pole, and that is sacralisation. Only what we deem worthy, what we select from the past is indisputable, unquestionable, sacred and to be remembered as such. The other pole could be summed up in Paul Ricoeur's warning of the ever-present danger of falling into the trap of dutiful remembering. This trap that we often fall into entails and encourages memory limited to confirming the negative image of others or our own positive image. Of course, such representations of the past are almost always projections of our perceptions of ourselves and others in the present and the future.

Sacralising the past, on the one hand, and assimilating it into the present (forgetting), on the other, equally provoke violence and injustice. Memory and memory policy should, therefore, include prevention of favouring some facts over others. Above all, preventing those that enable their protagonists to be coddled in the role of hero, victim or moraliser, opposing a different choice and risking their being assigned less thankful roles.

Over more than ten years, with organisation provided by the Centre for Nonviolent Action Sarajevo/Belgrade, a group of war veterans from the region have been slowly and discretely, but patiently and persistently paving an alternative, a winding path between making something sacred and making it banal. A mixed group of war veterans made up of former members of the Army of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina (ARBiH), the Croat Defence Council (HVO), the Army of Republika Srpska (VRS), the Croatian ARMY (HV), the Army of Yugoslavia (VJ) and the Yugoslav National Army (JNA). People moving on this path persevere despite personal difficulties, because they are often met with derision, lack of understanding and attempts at their excommunication from their local communities. They proceed without moralising to those on the other side, without forgetting the past, diminishing

Commemoration in Stupni Do,
BiH, 23 October 2018

Visit by War Veterans to Niš and Aleksinac,
Serbia, 4-5 April 2019

Commemoration in Ahmići,
BiH, 16 April 2019

Commemoration in Grabovica,
BiH, 9 September 2019

Visit by War Veterans to Jajce,
23-25 September 2019

the suffering and pain, without minimising the victims on the other side. With personal pain, fear, loss that each of us carries from the war, they show how there is another way, a third way, more difficult but to us also more upright. It includes what should be the most important – human – aspect, that victims are victims and that all should be honoured and respected, with the ultimate aim and wish to make sure such things never happen to anyone – never again.

Over this past year, working on that path started with a smaller group of CNA members attending the commemoration in Mrkonjić Grad marking 23 years since the killing of 357 civilians and soldiers. It was also an opportunity to meet with the organisers and discuss possible future cooperation. We hope that we will have an opportunity to attend this commemoration in the future with a larger group of war veterans and peace activists, the kind of opportunity we had in Stupni Do.

At the invitation of the organising committee, war veterans from the region, members of ARBiH, HVO, VRS, HV, VJ and JNA, 33 of us in all, participated in marking 25 years since the killing of civilians in Stupni Do and Vareš. Veterans from Zagreb, Daruvar, Bihać, Žepče, Novi Grad/Bosanski Novi, Šamac, Zavidovići, Sarajevo, Derventa, Kruševac, Mostar, Belgrade, Jajce, Brčko, Goražde and Živinice came together to pay their respects to the victims of this atrocity. On 23 October 1993 in Stupni Do, 38 of the 250 villagers were killed, including 32 civilians and 6 soldiers of ARBiH. This crime was committed by HVO and several people have been convicted. Our group was addressed by representatives of the organisers, thanking us for coming and listing each of the military formations we were once part of. It is very important for people to see us

as members of armies that committed crimes. Even though we did not personally commit any crimes, the very fact that we wore the same insignia as those who did is further motivation to rise above, to face the crimes and clearly say we see them as our own shame, as a stain on something we thought would be a source of pride. It is important that the local community saw us as providing support to their efforts to re-establish normal relations disrupted by war. At the meeting following the commemoration, which was joined by the mayor and the head imam of the Islamic Community majlis, we had an opportunity to also talk about the suffering of Bosniaks and Croats from this area and the ways of reviving this place and stopping the trend of young people emigrating. The mayor of Vareš, Zdravko Marošević is himself a war veteran, a former member of HVO, the army that committed the crime in Stupni Do. Marošević has attended commemorations in Stupni Do before and gives his support to victims, which is a welcome positive example and one we have seen in other local communities such as Rudo, Zavidovići, Doboj...

As a social group, war veterans, often those who fought on opposite sides in the war, have a high degree of credibility and capacity for peacebuilding, both in their own communities and in the region as a whole.

Their direct and often brutal personal experience of war can become a strong motivating factor for becoming actively involved in peacebuilding. With that motivation, members of the mixed group of war veterans of ARBiH, HVO, VRS, HV, VJ and JNA, together with representatives of the Centre for Nonviolent action, visited Niš on 4 April and places of memory in this city, as well as attending the commemoration to people killed in the NATO bombing of Aleksinac on 5 April 2019. We paid our respects to the victims and laid flowers at the memorial to killed citizens of Niš (Niš was bombed for 29 days, 26 civilians were killed and 60 seriously wounded), civilians and soldiers, from the 1991-1999 period. We did the same the next day in Aleksinac. During the NATO bombing of SRY, the town of Aleksinac was bombed twice. The worst of the bombing took place on 5 April 1999, when 11 citizens were killed and 50 were wounded. Aleksinac was bombed again in the night between 27 and 28 May 1999. Three people were killed in this bombing. By paying our respects to the victims and laying wreaths at the memorial to killed citizens of Aleksinac, we sent another message of peace in the hopes that it would become a model for how we can and should work on reconciliation in the region.

By attending the official commemoration in Ahmići, we



symbolically came full circle, bringing together two places for which being part of one whole had been unthinkable: Ahmići and Trusina. You can read more details about this in the rest of the report.

The final commemoration we attended this past year was in Grabovica near Mostar on 9 September 2019. Grabovica, a small town between Jablanica and Mostar where in 1993 members of the Army of RBiH killed 33 civilians, is the southernmost point in BiH where we have attended an official commemoration. Grabovica is also an illustrative example of making small steps forward in geographic terms. Namely, in 2017, we attended the commemoration to Croat victims in Trusina, and thanks to positive reactions, we now had an opportunity to go some 50 kilometres further south. Geography is important for peacebuilding, because certain regions are more closed for these kinds of encounters, both due to historical legacies, the level of violence, the current political situation, etc. Herzegovina, both its western and eastern regions, is tough as stone and every step forward carries special significance. In addition to this, preparatory meetings and contacts with representatives of veterans' organisations in Bileća and Gacko are slowly opening up the horizons of new journeys into eastern Herzegovina where we have not organised events since the public discussion "Four Views" in 2004 in Nevesinje.

That our journeys are not limited just to mutual visits and attendance at commemorations, but that by entering a new community, we open up many other important paths and off-shoots, is perhaps best illustrated by Goražde. Cooperation with veterans' associations from Goražde that had previously resulted in the visit of our mixed group of war veterans to this city continued with their assistance in organising a public discussion on the topic of "From a War of Memories to Remembering War" and opening the photography exhibition "War of Memories".

That this is not coincidental is confirmed by the "War of Memories" exhibition in Zavidovići, which we opened at the initiative and with the support of the local war veterans' association. This kind of initiative and cooperation enabled us at the end of September 2019 to organise both a public discussion and open the photography exhibition in Jajce, in addition to a visit by the group of war veterans. You can read more on these events in the rest of the report.

Exceptional media interest for these actions by war veterans, which we saw both in Niš and Aleksinac and in Ahmići, is always particularly encouraging, because in addition to showing that society needs a different model

of memory, it also shows that the steps we are making are reaching further and being heard and echoing.

Going from Mrkonjić Grad, through Stupni Do, Aleksinac and Niš, to Goražde and all the way to Ahmići, Mostar, Jajce... the number of kilometres travelled by the group of war veterans may seem small. However, the paths they have taken are difficult, full of suffering, loss and pain. The message they bear, with arms open to reconciliation, is no easy burden. Its weight does not depend on the kilometres travelled or the terrain, it depends on the feeling of liberation that almost always arises both for those that have carried the burden all that way and for those who meet them and welcome them on that journey. A joint burden of responsibility may strain our bodies, but it makes us walk upright.



When Ahmići and Trusina Meet

Ahmići, 15-16 April 2019

I first heard about Ahmići from the Ahmićes themselves, Kenan and others who came to my primary school some 15 kilometres or so away from Ahmići, after they were expelled from their village. Three years of getting to know them cannot be filed under refugees or returnees, but these are the words that frame my memory of the Ahmićes. Ahmići were the first place outside the world of my boyhood that I knew about without ever having been there, not even in passing. Ahmići were the first place I adopted, like I would later, through other dear people, come to adopt Vlasenica, Mala Brijesnica in Doboj and Seattle, before ever having set foot in them. It is people who connect you to other places. But then, there are also examples where places, villages, towns become connected through events without the people ever having met. The Bosnian-Herzegovinian calendar of pain has thus forever linked Ahmići and Trusina, Bosnia with Herzegovina, crime with crime, memory with memory.

The untrodden paths of memory

Ahmići and Trusina had nothing to connect them before 16 April 1993: One is a village in Bosnia, the other in Herzegovina, one is situated in a valley, the other in the hills at the foot of Mount Igman, and it would be safe to assume that the people of Trusina had never heard of Ahmići, just as the people of Ahmići had never heard of Trusina. On that fateful day of 16 April 1993, members of the Army of BiH committed an atrocity against the (Croat) villagers of Trusina, while members of HVO (Croatian Defense Council) committed an atrocity against the (Bosniak) villagers of Ahmići, thereby connecting these two places with an enduring pain. The presence of our mixed group of war veterans from the region at the commemoration in Ahmići on 15 and 16 April 2019 completed a year-long journey along the untrodden paths of memory. Trusina – 16 April 2018 Ahmići – 16 April 2019. A group of some 30 war veterans from the region, former members of the Army of RBiH, HVO, HV (Croatian Army), VRS (Army of Republika Srpska) and VJ (Yugoslav Army) came to Ahmići on 15 April to visit the monument to the killed villagers of Ahmići, they met with representatives of the victims' association, talked with them and visited the memorial room with photographs testifying to that painful day in April 1993. Since the commemoration is attended by some 2000 people, we knew that arriving a day in advance would give us a better chance of having these meetings. We were welcomed to Ahmići by representatives

of the Organising Committee for the Commemoration on 16 April, Mahir ef. Husić and Nedžad Abdić. They briefly explained what happened in Ahmići on 16 April 1993, but also told us about the return to Ahmići that started in 1998 with the reconstruction of the first houses and the local mosque, the monument that was erected in memory of the 116 villagers of Ahmići killed in 1993. On 16 April, the day of the commemoration, we joined the "Truth and Memory" march that started from Stari Vitez where the victims from Ahmići are buried. Veterans laid flowers at the "Cisterna" monument and joined the official part of the commemoration by the Donja Mosque in Ahmići.

Take a long hard look inside yourself

"Unfortunately, this is not a lone example, but it is one of the darkest in terms of the victims, and the manner of execution, and when you look at who the victims were – the elderly, women and children. There can be no justification – not military or tactical," said Saša Premec, a veteran of HV. He added that on all sides, we must "take a long hard look inside ourselves and convey our experiences and thoughts to future generations – our children and grandchildren... and hope that they will have more wisdom than us." Edin Ramulić, a veteran of the Army of BiH, believes that each side tries to close off even commemorations into its own space. "There is usually just one religious community involved, it is usually closed off, like here (in Stari Vitez and Ahmići) in the yard of a mosque, a memorial, a cemetery. It becomes closed to the others. Last year, we were in Trusina on this same day. Because of this tragedy where the two sides committed crimes on the same day. I'm glad we came to Ahmići this year – because of equal treatment of all victims," Ramulić pointed out. The visit by a mixed group of war veterans is an indication that we can and should remember other victims, those who are not of our own people, that we should show them the same compassion and respect. "We are here to say that there is another way, that we should show compassion and respect not just for victims from among our own people, but for those of others too. That way, we can lay some foundations for peace and coexistence in this region, which is our ultimate goal – to make sure our children never have to go through what we went through," said Krešimir Ivančić, a veteran of HV. "We should honour all victims, meet with people who have lost their loved ones and try to find solutions among the people," added Ivo Andjelović, a veteran of HVO. Today, the commemoration in Ahmići,

along with the one honouring the victims of the Srebrenica genocide, is the most important commemoration within the Bosniak narrative. This was not always so. For a long time, the commemoration in Ahmići was very conservative, meaning that it was closed to most outsiders, including CNA and the war veterans who had wanted to come to Ahmići already a few years ago. Its development from a very local commemoration changed over the past few years, probably for two key reasons. One has to do with the needs of the local Bosniak community to be more visible in the town of Vitez where the Bosniaks account for almost half the population, but where the community is in a way marginalised, as shown by the fact that the Mayor would not allow the commemorative assembly to be held at the Vitez Municipality building and it had to be moved to a place of worship. The other reason could have something to do with the general political situation in the Federation of BiH and the evident conflict between Bosniak and Croat politicians regarding the manner of electing members to the BiH Presidency, changes to the Constitution and a redefining of relations in this entity. In political conflicts, the past is unfortunately still a significant resource.

Who/what are commemorations for?

Attending commemorations always takes us back to some basic questions: why are we here, why do we commemorate victims, why do we remember a painful past? It may sound harsh, but it is important to ask the question: who/what are commemorations for? The Israeli historian Yuval Noah Harari, responding to similar

questions, said that the primary role of history was to free us from the past. This liberation happens when from a distance in time and with the privilege of retrospection that those directly involved in the events did not have, we look at past events and try to understand that they were not inevitable, but happened as a result of decisions made by people, through their choices and the circumstances at the time. Such an understanding of the past should lead to responsibility for the present and future, an awareness that each choice we make, each decision, action and inaction has consequences. One day, I am certain of it, Trusina and Ahmići will meet, the mountain will come down into the valley and the valley will climb up into the mountains, and all that without looking to who started first, whether those climbing the mountain or those coming down into the valley, the two worlds will meet, embrace and cry on each other's shoulders. The prospect of such a meeting is what brings us to both Ahmići and Trusina, to show that there is another way, a path that is not easy but that leads to liberation. A liberation from pain, from hatred, from fear. Many things point to the need for a different kind of remembering, one being the extraordinary media interest in the presence of veterans in Ahmići. Ahmići and Trusina were not inevitable. But remembering Trusina and Ahmići is indispensable if we are to take on the responsibility of making sure such violence never happens again.

Nedžad Novalić



First the Right Way

Jajce, 23-25 September 2019

Through its rich history, many armies have passed through Jajce, the Roman armies, the medieval Bosnian armies, Ottoman, Hungarian, Austro-Hungarian, German, Partisan, Yugoslav, all the way up to Serb, Croat, Bosniak... They came to attack or defend, conquer or liberate, they came to fight wars. One opposing the other, one against the other. On 24 September 2019, veterans of different armies came to Jajce. But this time it was different, there were important differences. These veterans walked together, not against each other, for the first time in Jajce they were facing a common enemy, war itself.

Organised by the Centre for Nonviolent Action Sarajevo/Belgrade (CNA), on 24 September 2019, a mixed group of war veterans, some 40 former members of the Army of RBiH, HVO, HV, VRS, JNA and VJ visited sites of suffering and memorials in Jajce, laid wreaths and paid their respects to the victims. Since 2008, CNA has been organising visits by groups of war veterans from Croatia, Serbia and BiH to sites where civilians and soldiers were killed in the past war. To date, some 20 or so visits were organised in partnership with veterans' associations from each place visited. The visit to Jajce was organised in cooperation with the municipal branch of RVI ARBiH Jajce, HVIDR Jajce and the Jajce Association of Volunteers and Veterans of the Homeland War.

For the first time, the hosts of our visit were Bosniaks and Croats together, the two veterans' associations acting as hosts together. Together with a group of peace activists, the veterans visited the central memorials commemorating killed members of the Army of RBiH and HVO, an unmarked site of the killing of Serb civilians in Bravice, a memorial for killed Bosniak civilians in Jezero (in Republika Srpska) and a monument to killed soldiers of HV at Plivsko Lake and of HVO at Čanino Polje.

We Are Starting a Conversation

War veterans from different armies together laid wreaths at both monuments in the centre of Jajce, for the first time. The two monuments are separated by the main street in the old town of Jajce. Both symbolically and physically separated, the one to fallen fighters of ARBiH next to a mosque, the other to fallen HVO fighters, across the street, under a large cross. Together, the veterans paid their respects to both, thus bringing these two physically and symbolically separate monuments together. The fact that they are both victims and that both should

be honoured as such together erased, at least in those moments, all the differences, reconciling all animosities.

"Today, we live here together and I am glad that I had the opportunity to meet veterans from the region and tell them about the suffering of Jajce and about our return to this city. I think we sent a positive message... I am encouraged by positive comments from my fellow citizens of Jajce. I think things would significantly improve with more frequent and meaningful contacts between veterans' associations in Jajce and the region, this would do a lot to dispel tensions, and it is important that we start talking to each other," said Nazif Kahrić, a veteran of MUP RBiH and the Army of RBiH, one of our hosts in Jajce.

The group of war veterans was greeted warmly at the municipality building by the President of the Municipal Council of Jajce Ivo Šimunović and the mayor's advisor Sedin Hadžić. Local government representatives welcomed the idea of joint visits and honouring all victims and expressed their readiness for further cooperation and more active involvement in peacebuilding. The discussion that followed at the meeting also called for politicians to use their influence to encourage their colleagues from other towns to visit each other's monuments. The readiness of local government officials in Jajce to discuss these issues and propose concrete solutions encourages us and gives us hope that we can now expect more intensive cooperation and support from them in the future.

From Distance between Enemies to Closeness between People

For the first time war veterans laid wreaths and paid their respects to killed Serb civilians in the village of Bravnice, where in September 1995, according to the victims' association, 81 civilians were killed. Nadežda Janković, one of the survivors, joined the veterans.

"At the front of the civilian convoy retreating from Donji Vakuf was a bus that was first hit by a shell and then they started shooting at helpless civilians. There were only civilians in the convoy and according to our information, units of the Croatian Army were the ones that launched the attack. We are calling for the prosecution of those responsible, we do not blame an entire people and we always point out that the first to come to our aid were members of the local HVO who administered first aid and transported the wounded to the hospital," Nadežda Janković pointed out.

Bravnice are still an unmarked site of suffering that a group of activists supported by CNA temporarily marked in 2018 and called on the local authorities to install a permanent sign. They also called for this crime, for which no one has yet been held responsible, to be prosecuted in court.

Only some twenty kilometres away, in the direction of Mrkonjić Grad, lies Jezero, a place where members of VRS killed over 50 Bosniak civilians, mostly elderly people who did not manage to leave their village. According to Mirsad Omerović from the Citizens' Association 3rd June, the remains of 30 people have not yet been found; the commanders of this crime have never been brought to justice, while four former soldiers from VRS units are serving jail sentences for committing this crime. For the first time, war veterans from different armies laid wreaths at the memorial in Jajce, and according to the works of our host, it was the first time that any kind of "mixed delegation" had come to Jezero to pay its respects.

The distance between Bravnice and Jezero, though in kilometres much greater than the one between the central monuments in Jajce, seemed in those moments to have also disappeared. We would like to thank Nadežda and Mirsad for their courage and willingness to speak at these sites of suffering, without condemning whole peoples for the crimes, but calling for the prosecution of individuals and for finding the remains of victims. They helped collapse the seemingly unbridgeable distance between these places and bring people, in this case Serbs and Bosniaks, closer together through an act of joint respect for all victims. From remote positions of enemies towards the closeness of neighbours.

Women War Veterans on the Way to Reconciliation

For the first time during our visit to Jajce, the mixed group of war veterans included women war veterans. In the group of some forty war veterans, men, two women war veterans had the courage and dignity to show the importance and necessity of women, especially those who had participated in war, taking a role in peacebuilding.

"This is an opportunity to see people from other sides and hear their experience. To talk with them. It is hard to look over the long lists of names, whatever the ethnicity of the victims. Especially when it comes to unmarked sites of suffering... And that is why I say we take small steps on the way to reconciliation, but we must not give up. There is a lack of responsibility in this area. We should not rest until all perpetrators and criminals are brought to face justice. Whatever their nation, belonging, whatever the type of violence and crime. Until we do this, there will be

no peace," Svetlana Janković, a veteran of JNA, VJ, VSICG, expressed her motivation for participating in veterans' visits.

We would like to thank Fikreta and Svetlana for their courage and willingness to join us and we believe their example will lead more women veterans to join our actions in the future.

Media representatives also actively participated in the visit. A number of TV crews and reporters from the region accompanied the group of veterans on its visits to monuments and sites of suffering in Jajce and attended the group's meetings. We hope that greater media coverage will not only increase the visibility of our actions in region, but also help spread and point out the importance of our mission. We would like to thank the media for their fair and professional contribution. The number and quality of reports and articles encourages us in continuing our practice of more intensive inclusion of the media.

Right Way

There were many firsts in Jajce that day. Is everything that happened for the first time also the right way? To make the first step, to start something the first time, to visit a site of suffering together for the first time and honour the victims is a courageous act worthy of respect. Of course, there is also the issue of whether that way is also the right way?

We are encouraged by the support and words of gratitude from our hosts and local government representatives. They are motivation to persevere.

"We have to deal with the past and look to the future, we have to create a better future at least for our children. I am personally invested in this and I hope most people who have participated in the war will think this is the way we should go. Today we visited memorials to young people who were killed and when I stand before any of those monuments, I can only say that I mourn that loss of life and hope that something like that will never happen again," said Darko Samardžić, president of HVIDR Jajce and one of our hosts.

The messages and words of gratitude from people from Jezero, from media representatives, as well as the gratitude and trust we received from Nadežda Janković give us hope that more and more people will be encouraged to join us in our efforts.

Radomir Radević



Exhibitions and discussions

The “War of Memories” came out of the research study “War Monuments in Bosnia and Herzegovina (1991-1995)” published in 2016. The aim was to research and document memorialisation policy and culture of memory in Bosnia and Herzegovina from all three warring sides, viewing it primarily in terms of potential to bring lasting peace and reconciliation. Why and how do we remember war? What kinds of monuments do we build? What is the culture of memory about the wars from the 1990s in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the region? Our intention for the exhibition and the research study was to start a dialogue on existing forms of memorialisation and open up space for constructive change.

We photographed and gathered basic data on a total of 85 monuments, places of memory and sites of suffering. This information is available at kulturasjecanja.org. The “War of Memories” exhibition is a selection of 51 photographs of marked and unmarked sites of suffering. Since 2016 and the first showing at the Sarajevo Vijećnica, the exhibition has been displayed in 14 other cities – Vienna, Mostar, Banja Luka, Belgrade, Bihać, Tuzla, Brčko, Skopje, Novi Pazar, Kragujevac, Zavidovići, Podgorica, Goražde and Jajce.

This year, we decided to take it a step further – in Goražde, for the first time, we organised a public discussion “From a War of Memories to Remembering the War” to accompany the exhibition. We dedicated the discussion in Goražde to younger generations, hoping to find out how the generation born after it remembers the war, who are the creators of such memory and how the current model of memory may impact the future of our society as it is transferred to all future generations.

The participants in the discussion were Edo Kanlić, an activist from Goražde, Mirjana Trifković, activist and coordinator of School of Different Memories (for the area of Foča, Goražde and Višegrad) for the Youth Initiative for Human Rights of BiH, and Nedžad Novalić from CNA. It was pointed out that key roles in creating memories of the war are played by the family, the education system, memorialisation, the media, etc. Although it is clear that we do not all have the same power to act, and thus cannot equally share the responsibility, it is a fact that each individual has the ability to change things, starting from themselves and their immediate environment.

Although our culture of memory is generally exclusive, in the sense that we exclude ourselves from the memory of others and we exclude others from our memory, we do not dismantle images of the enemy, but rather deepen and

„War of Memories“ Exhibitions:
Zavidovići,
Bosnia and Herzegovina, 4-18. 12. 2018.

Podgorica,
Montenegro, 14-29. 3. 2019.

Goražde,
Bosnia and Herzegovina , 11-23. 6. 2019.

Jajce,
Bosnia and Herzegovina, 23.9 – 4. 10. 2019.

extend them, there are, however, some local examples indicating that a different approach is possible. According to comments from the audience in Goražde, current memory is often no more than pre-military training.

The exhibition and public discussion provided an opportunity to speak openly about the pain we feel as individuals and as communities and about what bothers us in stories of the war. It was an opportunity to see that we are often pained by the same things: failure to prosecute those responsible for crimes, the impossibility of marking sites of suffering where we are in the minority, the glorification and celebration of victories that we and our community see as atrocities, the celebration of figures we consider responsible for our suffering... A discussion along these lines that would also involve the others would pave the way towards change. Without downplaying the reality of there being many who negate all suffering and victims among the others, who deny crimes and celebrate criminals, encounters such as this one are an opportunity to remember that not everyone is the same, that there are people who will recognise our victims, honour them, help us mark unmarked sites of atrocities whatever their or our or anyone else's ethnic background may be.

We opened the “War of Memories” exhibition in Jajce on 23 September 2019 with a public discussion on “Fighters in War and Peace”. We spoke with three war veterans, former members of once warring armies, who had come to Jajce as part of the mixed group of war veterans visiting marked and unmarked sites of suffering to lay flowers and honour all victims.

Stanislav Krežić from Mostar, a veteran of the Croat Defence Council (HVO), Novica Kostić from Vlasotince, once a member of the Yugoslav National Army (JNA) reserve forces and Nazif Kahrić from Jajce, a veteran of the

Army of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina (ARBiH) spoke about their personal motivation and reasons for joining peace actions. "I cannot say that I am happy, because this is about human misfortune, but I am glad that I can dedicate the rest of my life to building trust, working towards lasting peace, making sure history is not repeated on my children, that no more lives are senselessly lost," Novica Kostić said at the start of the discussion. Images of war are deeply inscribed in the memories of anyone who participated in the war and provide strong motivation for working to make sure such evil is never repeated again. Questions of: What for? Why? What am I personally guilty of in all this? What is my personal responsibility? What about the other side? All of them create the desire to talk to people on the other side and provide the motivation to continue working on peacebuilding.

Participants in war all carry a sense of responsibility for their participation and are all looking for ways to live with it. What is not so obvious is that those that participated in the war are also its victims and that is why it is important to work together on making things better for all of us, Nenad Vukosavljević (CNA) pointed out when discussing the importance of including war veterans in peacebuilding. Visits by the mixed group of war veterans to sites of suffering are, in that sense, an important gesture, having people from the other side come and acknowledge our pain, our suffering.

These visits, the veterans explained, are by no means easy, nor should they be taken lightly. "When you come to a place where 'your side' committed a crime, you feel responsible for your personal participation in the war, in the structural violence, you call on yourself. You understand that the people who see us, confused by our mixed group, because we are laying flowers together, they come to understand that this is something noble, that war veterans are also ordinary people, somebody's sons, brothers... Hardened nationalists and those who committed the crimes will not come. It is most difficult for the veterans where the visit is taking place because they are usually called on to explain why they invited the enemy."

It was not a coincidence that we opened the exhibition and public discussion on the occasion of the visit by our mixed group of war veterans to sites of suffering in Jajce and the surrounding area. Since 2008, we have organised over 20 visits to sites of suffering in BiH, Croatia and Serbia, and have participated in a considerable number of official commemorations. Looking at the monuments and the messages they bear, that are literally carved in stone, this is precisely what led us to ask who these monuments were

addressing and what is their function in the community where they are located.

Nenad Vukosavljević opened the exhibition as one of its authors, together with Nedžad Horozović. He said: "The exhibition reminds us of irreparable losses suffered by people. There is nothing that can bring back lost lives, whatever we do. 'War of Memories' is our reality, we live it, part of the narrative in a divided society is that our war was just, that they are bad and we are good, sometimes there are calls for revenge, sometimes guilt is collectively defined and everyone demonises those on the other side. Our reality requires that we remember the war together, and that is a difficult process. War veterans and their joint visits to sites of suffering give an example of how we can go about peacebuilding."

Last but not least, thanks to significant regional media coverage, we hope that the message of the exhibition will reach more people. It is also important to note that secondary school pupils from Jajce had organised visits to the exhibition. We feel privileged for the opportunity to meet with some of them and talk about sites of suffering and memory, the impressions they had from looking at the photographs, the anger they felt at the glorification of suffering without due respect for victims, and the sorrow that overcame them when they saw what was for them a surprisingly large number of victims whose names are written on the monuments. The secondary school students also asked us about how to escape the cycle of glorifying the war and suffering that they learn from the media, in school, from political elites, from their families and communities, so that once they are able to change things they can change the model and equally honour all victims. As opposed to us from the older generation, who mostly take war as a given, sometimes even as a starting point, there are fortunately young people, future decision makers, who are thinking about how to break this vicious cycle of violence. To repeat Novica's words, we are not happy, because this is about human misfortune, but we are encouraged that these young people have recognised the need to create a different, more inclusive and, as they themselves put it, a more objective culture of memory.



Marking
unmarked sites of suffering

Marking unmarked Sites of Suffering Action, November 2018

Marked sites:

Culture Centre, Vitez
“Black House”, Kruščica, Vitez
Dubravica Primary School, Vitez
Social Centre in Počulice, Vitez
Prekaja Primary School, Drvar
Location behind the “Motel”, Bosanski Petrovac
Former forest estate Kozila, Drinić
Agricultural estate Manjača, Banja Luka
Grabovica Primary School, Kotor Varoš

Marking Unmarked Sites of Suffering Action, July 2019

Marked sites:

Mostina Hunting Lodge, Čajniče
“Veliki park”, Sarajevo
Kazani, Sarajevo
Pension “Kod Sonje” and “Bunker”, Vogošća
Correctional facility, Butmir (Kula), Ilidža
“Musala” Sports Hall, Konjic
Bijeli brijeg football stadium, Mostar
Faculty of Mechanical Engineering, Mostar
Fourth Primary School, Mostar

For the past five years, through actions to mark unmarked sites of suffering, the team made up of Amer Delić, Čedomir Glavaš, Dalmir Mišković, Ajdin Kamber and Tamara Zrnović have been calling attention to the fact that Bosnia and Herzegovina has numerous sites of suffering from the past war that remain unmarked. When marking an unmarked site of suffering, we attach a sign to the building that always bears the same text: “Unmarked site of suffering. At this site, during the past war, people were subjected to inhuman acts. By not letting these events be forgotten, we stand in solidarity with all victims. May it never happen again to anyone” which is written in both alphabets - Latin and Cyrillic. We then photograph the marked site. The photos and information on the marked site is then made public through the media and social networks. By publishing the locations and established facts about the sites we marked, we create a space for communication with citizens on social networks, which is a particularly important part of our activities. It is also one of the ways that people can reach out to us and provide information – either more details on the sites we have marked and published or information about other unmarked sites. Our Facebook page currently has 2350 followers. Our aim

is to remove the taboos surrounding these sites and to encourage people from local communities to mark these sites appropriately, honour the victims and mourn the loss of life.

During the war, many buildings were sites of atrocities and imprisonment. These were usually schools, sports halls, stadiums, military buildings, factories, culture centres, many of which have been restored to their original purpose, with most of the people aware of their past keeping silent. From November 2018 to July 2019, we marked 18 unmarked sites of suffering in Vitez, Bosanski Petrovac, Drvar, Kotor Varoš, Mostar, Konjic, Sarajevo and Istočno Sarajevo... Since 2015, when we started these actions, we have marked 75 unmarked sites of suffering in BiH.

Our most recent action was in July 2019 when we marked sites of suffering in Mostar, Konjic, Sarajevo and Istočno Sarajevo. In Mostar, where we had previously marked five locations, we now wanted to mark a public institution building, namely, the Municipal Court. This building had been a site where Croats were imprisoned during the war. For a number of years, the local prison camp survivors' association has been trying to mark this building in some symbolic way, but the current court president and his predecessors would not allow it. This presented a difficult challenge for us, but we still managed to attach a temporary sign and mark this location. In this way, we sent a message to the public that institutions responsible for providing justice in this country must find a way to condemn injustices suffered by people, no matter in whose name they were committed.

The Kazani pit at the foot of Mount Trebević is known as the site of killing of Serbs and information has been available publicly for the past three years about an initiative and plans to erect a memorial there. Our motivation in marking this site was to send the message that, in addition to placing a monument at Kazani, Sarajevo should find the strength to bear part of the responsibility for the crimes that took place there. And to thus become an example of how a local community can nurture a culture of memory about its neighbours, who today constitute a minority. We also marked the Butmir (Kula) Correctional Facility in the Ilidža Municipality. During the war, it was converted into a detention facility where a total of some 10 000 Bosniak and Croat civilians of all ages had been held at different times.

In addition to our standard practice of two field actions per year, this year we also decided to conduct an internal evaluation of our initiative in order to assess what had

been achieved and what we are aiming for in the future. With support from colleagues from CNA, we organised a two-day workshop where we had an opportunity to discuss the results achieved and the expectations that were met, as well as problems and strategies to solve them, individual roles and responsibilities within the team, and our contacts and cooperation with war veterans and war victims' associations. After the workshop, we concluded that our activities had developed to a degree where we can start talking about being present in creating and influencing the culture of memory in BiH. We found that the feedback we receive from people who are directly connected to the events at the locations we visited is important to us, be they prison camp survivors, families and friends of those who were killed or war veterans. It is precisely their presence at the marking of unmarked sites of suffering that gives us further encouragement to continue our activities. After the workshop, many ideas crystallised about how to take the activity forward. One was that in addition to field actions we should try to

establish better cooperation with the media and greater presence in the public sphere. We will also try to open up space for initiatives aimed at dialogue on appropriate ways to mark unmarked sites and on creating new forms of culture of memory at the level of BiH.

We plan to continue marking unmarked sites of suffering through cooperation with local communities and victims' associations. We are convinced that it is precisely this cooperation with local communities that is key for initiating dialogue on how to appropriately mark sites of suffering, because it is the local communities that create ways for citizens to remember the war and decide on whether such sites will be relinquished to denial and oblivion.





Peace education

For many years, peace education was a central activity of the Centre for Nonviolent Action and we were known in the region for the trainings we organised. Unfortunately, in the past few years we were able to organise only one basic training and one Mir-Paqe-Мир training a year, and a training for students from Bosnia and Herzegovina every two years.

Trainings are very important for us because we draw on them for motivation and inspiration for further activities, they provide us with insights into how the societies in our region are changing and with opportunities to meet and cooperate with different people with whom we subsequently develop other activities. In addition to being a broad base for new knowledge, trainings are also a springboard for future peace activists, many of whom have become our regular cooperators or even members of the CNA team. Even those who do not stay directly connected to us and our work after the training still stay in touch with peace activism, they reach out, propose activities and ideas, establish organisations in their communities, join movements, and are often our hosts or local partners helping us organise other activities in their communities.

As mentioned before, CNA has been organising basic trainings for over 20 years and this is our longest running programme. Among the participants at the 42nd basic training were students, reporters, members of political parties, human rights activists, religious officials, academics, professors, museum workers, veterans, soldiers and artists. Old and young, in terms of age our group ranged from 21 to 65. Far from being an obstacle, this enabled an exchange of experience and knowledge, practical and emotional, about the world and about life. The war left its mark on some of us already in the 1990s; others, born in the immediate aftermath, were marked by the war's consequences, which are imposed on new generations as natural and desirable; both experiences were crucial to understanding how war comes about, and why in the case of the Western Balkans it never seems to end. What are the mechanisms working in the background, what must we watch out for when we judge others, and what must we be aware of in our immediate surroundings. And finally, how important it is to approach the whole process with an open heart.

The encouragement the training team received from the group inspired us to shape the workshops so as to allow space for thinking about concrete action in peacebuilding, about possible future actions, exchanges with allies we can find in the process and the support we would need to have. In that sense, this training surpassed

42nd Basic Training Ulcinj, Montenegro, 19-29 October 2018

Number of applications: 132
20 participants from: Bosnia and Herzegovina (7), Serbia (4), Macedonia (3) and two each from Montenegro, Croatia and Kosovo.

Occupations: students, reporters, members of political parties, human rights activists, religious officials, academics, professors, museologists, veterans, military personnel and artists

Team: Ivana Franović, Davorka Turk, Nedžad Novalić, Luan Imeri

3rd Training for Students from Bosnia and Herzegovina Mostar, 22 - 28 February 2019

Number of applications: 96
Participants: 19 students from across BiH
Team: Davorka Turk, Dalmir Mišković, Tamara Zrnović, Nedžad Novalić and Nedžad Horozović

5th Mir-Paqe-Мир Kruševo, Macedonia, 10 - 19 May 2019

18 participants from Serbia (7), Macedonia (6) and Kosovo (5). The participants were from Preševo, Kragujevac, Belgrade, Novi Sad, Kruševac, Vranje, Veles, Vaksinac, Vinica, Skopje, Bitola, Borinac, Runik and Lipjanic.

Occupations: students, professors, teachers, activists, artists, ministry staff, etc.

Team: Albulena Karaga, Boro Kitanoski, Katarina Miličević, Nenad Vukosavljević, Nexhat Ismaili

the expectations of the training team, because it exhibited characteristics and the kind of energy common to more advanced trainings.

The training for students from BiH is a relatively new activity for us. We identified the need for this type of peace education geared at students for the first time four years ago when we organised the first peacebuilding training for students from BiH. The idea was to provide a peacebuilding foundation for the development of the future generation of public opinion and policy makers and give them an opportunity to view the Bosnian-Herzegovinian context more broadly and develop sensitivity for others and those who are different.

We especially wanted to sensitise those who would drive social development in the future to processes that lead to a spiral of violence and its extreme escalation into

war and give them an opportunity and a safe space to learn how to break the mould that leads to legitimating and repeating injustice and violence. The concept for the third training was somewhat different compared to the previous two peacebuilding trainings for students. Operating within a shorter time frame, the idea was to create a safe space for opening up the complex issues that keep putting up stumbling blocks in the Bosnian-Herzegovinian context.

Dalmir Mišković, member of the training team and also a student, had this to say about the importance of the training: "It was very important for me to see how the generation born after the war thinks, how they view the dramatic past they learn about from their elders. Bringing twenty young people of diverse national backgrounds together in BiH is still quite a feat, and even more so when it is done around the topics of this training. It seems to us that the (inter-ethnic) distance and boundaries among young people are stronger than in the case of the first two trainings with students, despite a sincere desire to bridge these barriers. But the participants also demonstrated a high degree of readiness to work towards change and that gives me hope that social processes in the future will become more positive." Trainings for students in this format have proven to be a useful programme and CNA

wishes to continue organising them at least once every two years.

A regional approach to dealing with the past is key for peacebuilding in the former Yugoslavia. Apart from the BiH – Serbia – Croatia triangle, the North Macedonia – Kosovo – Serbia triangle is equally important. Once again in 2019, we organised a unique bilingual training in peacebuilding for participants from Serbia, Kosovo and North Macedonia.

The political context, including the constant political upheavals between Belgrade and Pristina that escalate into violence every once in a while, but also the finally visible progress in Macedonia and the resolution of the dispute with Greece over the name of the country, as well as the fact that the language barrier between younger generations grows deeper, make the Mir-Paqe-Мир training particularly valuable. Also very important to us in this respect is the cooperation with our friends from Peace Action in Macedonia and ANP in Kosovo.

This year's training, the fifth so far, was attended by 18 participants from Serbia (7), North Macedonia (6) and Kosovo (5). The participants came from Preševo, Kragujevac, Belgrade, Novi Sad, Kruševac, Vranje, Veles,



Vaksinac, Vinica, Skopje, Bitola, Borinac, Runik and Lipjani. They were selected from among 84 applicants of different ethnic backgrounds, including those who were members of the minority where they come from and those who were members of the majority, as well as members of non-majority ethnic groups (those who do not belong to any of the majority communities in the region). The heterogeneous make-up of the group, by various criteria, not just ethnic belonging, created an atmosphere suited to

analysing existing social conflicts from various perspectives and becoming familiar with how these conflicts impact individuals from various communities and social groups. Each of the participants brought their experiences to the training to share with others, including aspects that are not easily revealed, such as fears and grievances.





Publications

We Gifted the Peacebuilding Strategy to the Citizens of Serbia

Belgrade, 10 December 2018

The Peacebuilding Strategy is a document that the CNA team worked on for years. As a peace organisation, we often criticise the societies we live in, but with the Peacebuilding Strategy, we tried to provide a constructive contribution to effecting change and to offer the state concrete proposals about what should be done and how.

We started working on the Strategy already ten years ago or so, first investigating opinions on whether something like this was needed and whether it could be meaningful. In all honesty, neither we ourselves, nor the people we consulted were convinced that the democratic government at the time would accept our proposal as the national peacebuilding strategy, but we all agreed that there was a need and that we should work on it.

As the drafting of the Strategy progressed and the governments in Serbia changed, it became less and less likely that, at a time of fiery speeches and daily sabre-rattling, it would be at all possible to discuss something aimed at peace. Lasting peace.

Still, we tried. We met with dozens of representatives of ministries and state authorities. At no point were we told that there was no need for this document, on the contrary, the idea was welcomed everywhere, though we were always cautioned, off the record, that it would not be easy. Of course, many institutions did not respond to our request for a meeting to discuss the Peacebuilding Strategy.

As a last step in our efforts to reach state authorities, we decided to send the Strategy directly to the Serbian President Aleksandar Vučić and Prime Minister Ana Brnabić. We received no reply from the Office of the President, while the Prime Minister's Office informed us

that our proposal had been forwarded to the Ministry of Justice (that we had ourselves attempted to contact repeatedly, without success).

Finally, we decided that our work should not just be left by the wayside and forgotten. Instead we gifted the proposed Peacebuilding Strategy to the citizens of Serbia at a public event held on Human Rights Day, 10 December 2018.

Discussions about the idea and need for a Peacebuilding Strategy included Novica Kostić from Vlasotinac, war-veteran, and our long-standing partner Edin Ramulić from Prijedor, also a veteran and an activist of the Culture of Memory Foundation, Jelena Krstić from the Humanitarian Law Centre, Dobrica Veselinović from the Ne davimo Beograd organisation and Nenad Vukosavljević from the Centre for Nonviolent Action.

Although we did not manage to reach the institutions, we did manage to reach part of the public, so when N1 television aired the "Red Line" show on 22 March 2019, bringing together activists from the region, the Peacebuilding Strategy developed by the Centre for Nonviolent Action was cited as one of the ways to achieving lasting peace.

At this point, the text of the proposed Peacebuilding Strategy is available for reading and downloading on our [website](#) and can be accessed by everyone. As for communication with the institutions, our decision is to stop trying to initiate it and wait for a time when we will have collocutors on the other side who are genuinely committed to building lasting peace instead of maintaining a war frozen in place.

New handbook: Nonviolence!

Our new handbook, bringing together experience gained over 20 years of trainings, has just come out in print. It is an expanded and revised version of our first handbook *Nonviolence?!* (available in BCS, Albanian, Macedonian and Hungarian), published 18 years ago, which still garners an impressive number of clicks online. The difference between the current version and the first version of the handbook is made by 18 years of work and it symbolically contains an act of eradicating the question mark from the title. The handbook is titled: *Nonviolence! Peacebuilding Training Handbook* Experience that we gathered in our struggle against injustice and legacies of past injustices, has strengthened the power of our conviction that nonviolence is always the right principle to apply. The [PDF](#) is available for download free of charge on our website and the printed edition is available at both our offices.

In it, you can find suggestions for workshops and exercises about a whole range of topics closely related to peacebuilding, including: nonviolent communication, cooperation and teamwork; perception, leadership; violence, prejudice and discrimination; identity and diversity; understanding of, analysis and creative conflict resolution; gender equality; dealing with the past; peacebuilding; reconciliation; dealing with fear; power; trust building; nonviolence and peace activism; and nonviolent action. The introductory chapters describe in detail what CNA trainings entail; their aims and scope; the participants and how to select them; the trainers and their roles; how the training is prepared; what to keep in mind already during preparations and what to watch out for during implementation; the workshop structure; the training concept and the value framework that underpins it; how we understand terms such as conflict, violence, nonviolence, reconciliation, peacebuilding, dealing with the past. And finally, we collected a range of difficulties we faced in our work and described our more successful responses to them. We intend to keep collecting new methods as we create and apply them in future, and to publish them in the online version of the handbook. We plan to create the website as the interactive tool for training preparation and implementation. For now, there are only some downloadable materials at the address <https://handbook.nenasilje.org>. We believe this handbook will be most useful to people working in education, whether formal or informal, primarily with adults and youth, and

particularly to those working to bring about social change in their communities, precisely because it was written from our perspective as actors who are both part of the problem and part of the solution. We hope this handbook will be of assistance to those of you brave enough to change the world by changing yourselves and create a future of more certainty and freedom for all. We would like to thank the Austrian Development Agency (ADA), the German Federal Ministry of Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ), KURVE Wustrow, Diakonie Austria and the International Fellowship of Reconciliation (IFOR Austria) for supporting the publication of this handbook.



“Reconciliation?!” Handbook in Macedonian

We are pleased to announce that the translation into Macedonian of our Handbook for Dealing with the Past through Trainings and Workshops – Reconciliation?! has come out in print.

The translation of the Handbook came in response to the wishes and needs of people from Macedonia who have been using the BCS language handbook as the ultimate source (and first choice) for peace work. They wanted and needed the handbook to be available in Macedonian and Albanian.

We sincerely believe that it will be of most use to them, as well as people working in education, both formal and non-formal, with adults and youth, and to all those who are working for social change in Macedonia.

The handbook features suggestions for workshops and exercises on a host of topics closely related to: understanding our contexts, dealing with the past, peacebuilding, violence, prejudice and discrimination, identity and diversity, understanding, nonviolence and peace activism, nonviolent action, etc.

The publisher of this edition titled ПОМИРУВАЊЕ?! for North Macedonia is *Peace Action, Prilep – Tetovo*.

It was translated by Lenče Radosavljević and proof-read by Julijana Taleska.

The publication in [PDF](#) format is available for free download from our site.

We hope this handbook will be of assistance and support to those of you brave enough to change the world by changing yourselves and create a future of more certainty and freedom for all.



Announcement:

After the translation of our handbook “Reconciliation?!” once again at the initiative of our friends and cooperators from Macedonia, in the first half of 2020, we expect to publish our new “Handbook for Training in Peacebuilding – Nonviolence!” in translation into Macedonian and Albanian. The editor of the Albanian edition of the handbook is Luan Imeri, and the editor for the Macedonian edition is Ana Bitoljanu.

Third Biber Contest

At the start of this year, we published our third Biber Short Story Contest. This time, we somewhat changed the topic – the first two contest focused on reconciliation, but we decided to expand it so that in addition to stories revolving around reconciliation in the context of the legacy of the wars and violence in the countries of the former Yugoslavia, this contest was also open to stories that can contribute to a better understanding among people, reducing hatred and dismantling prejudice, anti-war stories, stories about dealing with the past, deconstructing images of the enemy, fostering empathy with others, courageous stories that dare to walk in the “enemy’s” shoes, stories that push boundaries and open up new ways to build a more secure, safer and freer future for all.

A total of 464 stories were entered into the contest that had been open since mid-June, most of them were in BCMS, with 56 stories in Albanian and 66 in Macedonian.

The decision on the prize and the stories that will be published in our collection will be made by a jury consisting

of Lejla Kalamujić, Rumena Bužarovska and Shkelzen Maliqi by the end of October.

Pre-selecting the stories entered in the contest was done by activists from the region: Albulena Karaga, Abdullah Ferizi, Boro Kitanoski, Ana Bitoljanu, Ivana Franović, Davorka Turk and Katarina Miličević.

We plan to publish the new Biber 03 Short Story Collection from this contest in the first quarter of 2020.

We then plan to host promotions in cities across the region as we did at the start of this year in *Podgorica* where we promoted the third contest and the second short story collection. The promotion was held at the Budo Tomović Culture and Information Centre. The following people spoke at the promotion: Lejla Kalamujić, writer from Sarajevo and member of the jury; Nora Verde (Antonela Marušić), writer from Zagreb; Slađana Ljubičić, activist and writer from Novi Sad; and Katarina Miličević, member of CNA and the Biber team, while Radomir Radević, also from CNA, acted as moderator. In addition to promoting



the short story collection and discussing reconciliation, it was important for us to use this promotion to invite writers from the Montenegrin language area to participate in the contest, because we had received few stories from Montenegro in the past years. Looking at the entries for the third contest, it seems that we have been successful.

Also, at the end of last year, we promoted the Biber collection and contest in *Južna Mitrovica*, which was very important for us because the divided Mitrovica (into North and South) is a town where we need to speak loudest about reconciliation, cooperation and against war and violence. The following people spoke at the promotion in Južna Mitrovica: Jasna Radulović from Zagreb, Verime Zimberi Beluli from Kičevo, Andrea Popov Miletić from Novi Sad, Katarina Miličević from the Biber team, with Aurela Kadriu from Pristina acting as moderator and Gentrit Behramaj from Južna Mitrovica as the local organiser.

It turned out at the end, now that the third Biber Contest has been closed, that our promotions and talks have also managed to inspire more authors who write in Albanian to participate in the contest, so this time we received 56 stories in Albanian, while there were 16 entered in the previous contest.





Exchange, cooperation, networking

Pocketful of History

Apatin, 4 October 2018

Ulm, 4 July 2019

This article will briefly recount what happened after we published the research study “On the Trail of the Danube Swabians in Vojvodina” and displayed the photography exhibition in Belgrade in December 2017. These were presented in our previous annual report. Finally, at the end of this article, I would like to look back at the research, what it achieved in general and what it meant to me personally.

Exhibition

“On the Trail of the Danube Swabians in Vojvodina”
Apatin, Culture Centre, opening on 4 October 2019

In October 2018, in cooperation with the Apatin community from Germany and the Adam Berenc Association, we organised an exhibition in Apatin, a town on the Danube that was home to many Danube Swabians prior to the Second World War. The visitors were mostly people with a personal connection to the Danube Swabians. One of the visitors at the exhibition was a man who had come to Vojvodina after the war as part of the colonisation efforts and settled in a town that used to be majority Swabian. The story of the Swabians had become very important to him. Looking at one of the photographs, another visitor recognised the gravestone of his uncle that he had been unable to find in the Apatin cemetery. How many more human stories remain untold? People from all over Bačka came – although some of these places are not located close to Apatin, there are traces of the Danube Swabians in all of them and people were interested, for various reasons, to see these traces and learn more about them. It is not often that an exhibition brings together people from different sides.

The fact that the *exhibition* was organised at the centrally located Apatin Culture Centre, a public institution, sent the message that the issue of the Danube Swabians was important.

Panel discussion

“Peaceful coexistence in the former Yugoslavia through memory and reconciliation?”

DZM, Ulm, 4 July 2019

Good cooperation and friendship with Apatiner Gemeinschaft continued, this time moving upstream along the Danube to Ulm, Germany, from where the Danube Swabians had once set off to settle in Vojvodina. At their initiative, the Central Museum of Danube Swabians (Donauschwäbisches Zentralmuseum – DZM) from Ulm and the Danube Office (Donaubüro) invited us to participate in a panel discussion on memory, reconciliation and research about the Danube Swabians. The title of the panel discussion was “Peaceful coexistence in the former Yugoslavia through memory and reconciliation?”. Nedžad Novalić and Helena Rill participated on behalf of the Centre for Nonviolent Action and Dr Nicola Wenge on behalf of DZOK (Stiftung Erinnerung/ Dokumentationszentrum Oberer Kuhberg (DZOK). This centre and foundation are dedicated to the culture of memory and a critical approach to the history of national socialism in the region.

We discussed our own peace work and heard the perspective from Germany. It is interesting that during our stay in Ulm, everything was connected – the coordinator of the Danube Swabians Museum took us on a tour of the museum, the past that Germany is still dealing with focused mainly on national socialism, and the wars in the former Yugoslavia. What brings it all together is the importance and necessity to work on representations of memory and the unresolved past. Visiting the former concentration camp Oberer Kuhberg was part of this interconnected story. More information about this event can be found on our website.

From a personal perspective

My motivation to research the fate of the Danube Swabians came from a need to bring to light something that had been shrouded in silence in my town, something I stumbled upon that turned out – even in my own family – needed to be made visible, something vast but hidden needed to be acknowledged and made public.

The research and writing of the study entailed many challenges, both in terms of content and process. At times it felt like a debt needed to be repaid in order to put things right. And in fact, once the research was complete, the wheels started turning. We received positive responses from people, and particularly important was the feedback from people who had suffered as ethnic Germans in Vojvodina following the Second World War. We also received feedback from scholars who had studied these issues, such as Dr Zoran Janjetović who commended our research in his historiography of ethnic Germans. However, the biggest impact was achieved by the opening of the exhibition in Belgrade in 2017. We were told by the host institution that they had never received so many reactions on their social media platforms as when we launched the story of the Danube Swabians.

The wheel also spun in an unexpected direction for me personally. My cousin, my aunt's daughter, found me thanks to this research study. Her name is Adelheid. I also met my uncle's son, his name is Josef. The three of us met up after my visit to DMZ and Ulm. They told me about the grandfather I never knew and we discussed what was talked about in our families and what wasn't. We talked about the traumas we carry, the ones we acquired on our own and the ones that are generational. About the stories that surrounded us and about our own personal burdens and how we carried them. Or didn't. What is most interesting, this research also brought me to the story "from the other side". At the start of the Second World War, my mother was taken to a Nazi concentration camp where she remained until the end of the war. She told me how she had been in a number of camps and she only remembered, because it was a strange coincidence, that the name of one of the camps was somehow connected where she later settled, to Neusatz or Novi Sad. Generally, though, she was ashamed to talk about the camps. She had no concrete information apart from her memories, which were sometimes too much for me, her daughter. I had reconciled myself to the possibility that I may never find out which camps she was in, because nobody knew. And then this research study on the Danube Swabians brought me something concrete; through it I came to

DZM, mentioned above, and then to its director Christian Glass. He referred me to people in DZOK and then I got to the Budnesarchiv number R 9361 (...). There was my mother, and perhaps those camps. I would never have thought that I would get to information about my mother through my father's roots.

This research brought me new people, warm encounters, cooperation, my relatives, information, it gave some people visibility and recognition of their suffering, a lot of different emotions, a whole family history for me and the history of what happened to the Danube Swabians. It's like I put it all in my pocket. I wonder what else there is in those archives, patiently waiting to surface. Just as this research study opened some doors for me, I hope further research will open even more...

Helena Rill



Activities we joined

The Work of the German Civil Peace Service

Berlin, 7 May 2019

On 7 May 2019, a meeting was held at the Federal Ministry of International Cooperation and Development about the Civil Peace Service, a programme established at the Ministry less than 20 years ago. The host of the meeting, Mr Norbert Barthle, a parliamentary state secretary at the Ministry, gave introductory remarks and Mr Mauz, the spokesperson of the Civil Peace Service consortium, outlined the programme that has expanded significantly since its inception and has been adopted in many countries around the world. As an activist from the field, Nenad Vukosavljević from CNA presented the development of the Centre for Nonviolent Action, the activities we organise, their interlinkages and interdependencies, as well as our achievements over the years. As an organisation, CNA is a few years older than the Civil Peace Service programme and has benefited from the programme's support through

partnership with KURVE Wustrow since 2002. Our growth, the freedom and flexibility we have in our planning are owed in great part to the generous support we have been receiving over the years.

The meeting participants, some 20 people in all, included members of the Bundestag and their representatives, as well as representatives of various civil society organisations and a number of officials from the Ministry. After a 20-minute introduction, there were many questions and we received commendations and words of support that we would like to pass on to all our cooperators and partners who have contributed to the work of CNA. Experiencing this kind of support gives us great encouragement and inspiration.

Nenad Vukosavljević

We joined White Armband Day in Prijedor

Prijedor, 30-31. maj/svibanj 2019.

At the invitation of our friends from the Kvart Youth Centre in Prijedor, the "Jer me se tiče" [Because It Concerns Me] Initiative and the Culture of Memory Foundation from Prijedor, on 31 May, we joined in marking International White Armband Day to commemorate the civilians and children killed in Prijedor from 1992 to 1995.

The day before, on 30 May, members of the CNA team Davorka Turk and Nedžad Novalić participated in a panel discussion on memorialisation about why memorialisation is important, what kind of memorialisation we need, who has the right to public space, etc. The discussion also included Edin Ramulić from the Culture of Memory Foundation in Prijedor, a survivor of the Prijedor prison camp Trnopolje and long-time activist, Zdravka Karlica, president of the Organisation of Families of Captured and Killed Fighters and Missing Civilians, and Goran Zorić from the "Jer me se tiče" Initiative which has been organising International White Armband Day for seven years running.

In addition to examining memorialisation in post-war Bosnia and Herzegovina and the region, the discussion also focused on the concrete experience of the local community in Prijedor. As in previous years, White Armband Day was dedicated to supporting parents of children killed in Prijedor during the war in their efforts to acquire approval for a monument in the town centre, so the panel discussion, especially because it brought together representatives of victims' associations from both the Serb and Bosniak side, was a good opportunity to discuss concrete memorialisation issues in Prijedor.

Given the extent of war crimes and casualties, today Prijedor finds itself somewhere between a difficult past marked by crimes, violence, as well as discrimination that has extended beyond the end of the war, and a future indicated by positive examples of trust building between communities, establishing dialogue and peacebuilding. The path is by no means linear and you will not be wrong

in thinking that sometimes Prijedor seems to be going backwards.

Even after seven years of marking White Armband Day, the local authorities will not allow a commemoration for 102 children killed in the ethnic cleansing of Prijedor in 1992 to be held in the centre of town. The infamous prison camps of Omarska, Keraterm and Trnopolje still remain unmarked sites of atrocities. Survivors marked the Keraterm camp without obtaining approval from the local authorities, but the memorial plaque has remained to this day, while, on the other hand, a monument to fallen soldiers of the Republika Srpska Army has been erected at the Trnopolje camp, which at the same time forbids the marking of this site as a former prison camp for Bosniaks and Croats.

When it comes to memorialisation, Prijedor has unfortunately not moved ahead of BiH or the region as a whole. Public space, especially in the town centre, is the exclusive right of the majority people with political power in Prijedor today, monuments of returnees are relegated to yards of religious buildings and many sites of atrocities against members of the minority people remain unmarked. Examining the monuments provides ample information about today's Prijedor – which people holds political power and is able to impose memory of its own truth, which memory is desirable, who the enemies are and how they are called, etc. The situation is seldom much different in other places, so Prijedor is not an exception.

On the other hand, Prijedor offers indications that a different path is possible. Apart from the fact that White Armband Day in Prijedor is organised by the "Jer me se tiče" Initiative that includes young Serbs from Prijedor, it is also noteworthy that local media report on commemorations to victims belonging to what is today a minority population. The Kozarski vijesnik daily and Radio-Television Prijedor, once cogs in the murderous propaganda machine of 1992, published obituaries in memory of the killed children of Prijedor this year, free of charge. This may seem like a small step, but just a few years ago, it was practically unimaginable. More importantly,

what was once unimaginable today seems possible thanks to the efforts of many, purely as proof that things do not happen of their own accord and that steps that may seem small are backed by tremendous effort and courage.

White Armband Day, as a commemoration for all non-Serbs killed in Prijedor, can serve as an example for how to organise a commemoration that calls for inclusion and not exclusion of the community that bears the responsibility (meaning the political and moral responsibility, not criminal responsibility) for the committed crimes. A peaceful and dignified procession through the centre of town, without fiery speeches, with white armbands worn on the left arm, roses laid down in memory of 102 killed children, these gestures call on other citizens of Prijedor to join, to support the construction of the monument, to participate in remembering and thus contribute to a better future where no child, no person, will ever have to wear a white armband, visible or invisible, in order to be more easily identified as an enemy and eliminated.

Finally, the discussion on memorialisation also showed that there is dialogue and a basic understanding between associations of families from different sides. The readiness of leaders of victims' associations to enter into dialogue with other victims is an extraordinary gesture of personal courage. Differences in perspective about the past have not disappeared, but something much more important has taken place: the readiness to recognise that the others are victims too and to honour victims and condemn crimes. Such communication at the local level between victims' associations as contributors to memorialisation policy can serve as an example for other communities to follow.

We are happy that CNA can support such steps and our friends in Prijedor. Frankly, we feel that we have received much more than we gave, we always feel encouraged when we see that change is possible and taking place, we take inspiration from the courage of people who work on such difficult matters and traverse boundaries in their small communities.

Nedžad Novalić

International Conference

“The Presence of the Past, Urgencies of the Present”

Buenos Aires, 24 – 26 June 2019

From 24 to 26 June, an international conference was held in Buenos Aires titled: “The Presence of the Past, Urgencies of the Present: The Authoritarian and Totalitarian Past and the Challenges of Contemporary Democracies”. The conference was organised by two organisations: *Centro Internacional para la Promoción de los Derechos Humanos (CIPDH-UNESCO)* from Buenos Aires and *Bundesstiftung zur Aufarbeitung der SED-Diktatur* from Berlin. It brought together researchers, activists and other professionals working on the topic of memory from an impressive array of countries: Argentina, Peru, Chile, Mexico, Colombia, Uruguay, Germany, Spain, Great Britain, Serbia, Kenya, and South Africa. Among the participants were Nenad Vukosavljević and Ivana Franović from CNA.

Some of the conference participants had attended the first round of the Mandela Dialogues on memory work held in 2013 and 2014, which we discussed in our 2014 Annual Report. Bundesstiftung zur Aufarbeitung der SED-Diktatur aims to bring together again at least a part of that group from time to time.

The conference officially kicked off with an excellent lecture titled “Memory, Another Way to Build History” by Professor Manuel-Reyes Mate Ruperéz. It was interesting to note that the professor never once made an appeal for nonviolence, yet his entire lecture was based on the values of nonviolence.

The conference comprised three sessions and one public panel. The sessions dealt with the following topics:

- the relationship between justice and truth,
- the relationship between memorialisation policy and deterrent effects, and
- the past and its “meaningful silence”.

Each session had two or three keynote speakers, and one of the keynote speakers for the second session was Nenad Vukosavljević from CNA.

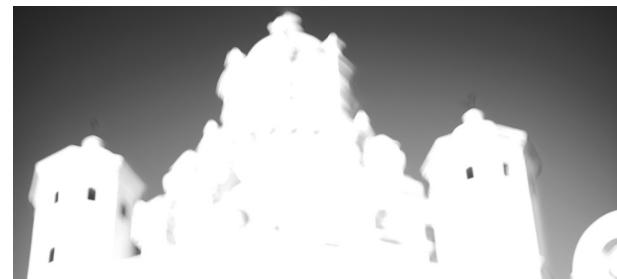
The great value of this conference was the diversity of its participants and the range of their experiences, which were at least partly presented. Unfortunately, we were unable to establish meaningful contact with one of the organisers, namely, the Centre for the Promotion of Human Rights.

After the conference, Nenad and Ivana used the opportunity to make a small study visit in Argentina, going

to places of memory in Cordoba and Buenos Aires. Visits to these sites of memory provided us with insights into a different form of memorialisation, quite distinct from what is common in our region. We will prepare a special report on this topic in due course and publish it on our website.

We would like to thank the Bundesstiftung zur Aufarbeitung der SED-Diktatur, and especially Anna Kaminsky for this unique opportunity.

Ivana Franović





New member of the CNA team

The privilege of returning

"Philosophy is the longing for a homeland in which we were never born."

I was not born and bred in Belgrade, though as someone coming from Montenegro, this has almost never prevented me from feeling at home here. And of course, I was not born and bred at the Centre for Nonviolent Action (CNA). Neither are the homeland in which I was born. However, I will go so far as to say that much of what I think of myself as being today was born or at least its seeds were sown in CNA and the work it does. Values, world-views, attitudes, hopes, but also fears, dilemmas, perspectives, they all come and return through the prism of peacebuilding, coming out of and going back into, spreading out from and focusing in on CNA. Just like my life's journey so far.

And the journey connected to CNA started with the basic training in nonviolent conflict resolution at Mount Jahorina in 2002. It continued through the training for trainers that same year and the next, a number of joint actions that took place in the meantime, up until I had my first working engagement in 2007. But already six months later, I left the Centre for what still seems to me today a strong enough reason, for love, which I then believed could not have a future in Belgrade. The time I had spent working at CNA was too short to allow me to parse through

my impressions and write about that first arrival, but long and intensive enough to be sobering and to encourage me and help me focus.

My return had, therefore, been left hanging in the air practically since I left; for me, it had always been around my neck or over my head, and for many from the CNA team it must have remained an option for much of that time. At least I'd like to think so. It is a rare privilege and an unearned chance for which I will remain forever grateful to the people of CNA.

The Need for Change

A feeling of awkwardness, melancholy, longing, discontent never left me after my first not-so-glorious departure from CNA. A departure that was never truly that, because severing ties with CNA is simply impossible. How can you sever something that has merged with you and become part of you?

What I know and what I knew the whole time was that I had tremendous support, a team of people who were always there for me and a feeling of absolute trust in them, something that was hard to come by for me in the past decade or more of my life. Thank you for that. For believing in me and giving me the opportunity to be once again and continue being what I think I am.



I am also indebted to and grateful for my own need to change something, myself, my world, the world... To work on making the society we live in one of justice and freedom, respect and solidarity. Based on all those values underpinned by peace. That is why my arrival/return to CNA, after ten years spent wandering, abroad, absent or dormant, feels like coming home, back to my homeland, the place where I belong, a return to myself.

"Philosophy is the preoccupation of a man who does not consider himself fully situated and who therefore tries to account for that insecurity."

I find my motivation and incentive for arriving/returning to CNA in my determination to account for all the missed opportunities, irresponsibilities, failures to respond, conformities and comforts. To account for my own indifference that would assail and often overcome me. My indifference to violence, to discrimination, to daily scams, large and small, humiliations, refusals to let others remain in their otherness. An indifference to the degradation of human dignity. To account also for my lack of confidence, my insecurity at having my position challenged in peacebuilding processes.

But insecurity is not a fault, it is not necessarily a bad thing. Just like conflict, it presents a chance, an opportunity for change, for progress, for escaping the vicious circles of hatred, nationalism, the spirals of violence and their incessant retrograde pulls. Accounting for that insecurity is thus an opportunity to change both yourself and the world. For hope. One of my reasons for returning is also my deep-held belief that it is "impossible" to do anything that is not, however tenuously, related to the long-standing aim of CNA to build lasting peace in this region. Peace as the foundation and precondition, peace as the aim and final instance by which we measure everything else, a right and a need, a duty.

It is not just the need and opportunity to work on peacebuilding, but also to finally, fully and freely, and with a sense of empowerment, live for what you do, constantly advancing, developing and transforming both yourself and hopefully others around you, that is the true privilege and, of course, a great responsibility. Living in accordance with how you think and what you do, with what you also love, is difficult, demanding, but also liberating. Your eyes are clear, your backbone straightened. If freedom is not accompanied by accountability, then it is merely domineering, a selfish and immature, and ultimately irresponsible way of life. I would like to think that by coming to CNA, I have put a definite end to that "freedom" without accountability.

"In a land of hatred, those unable to hate are the most hated."

Of course, neither me nor CNA are the same. Years, circumstances, situations, everything has changed. We have grown, developed, expanded our fields of action, multiplied our activities, reach and influence. But the problems and obstacles have not stagnated, either, it seems they too have grown and multiplied over the years. Uncertainty and apprehension over coming back, fitting in, being useful, having a purpose are thus also enlarged, and fears abound.

My first arrival was a dislocation, an inversion, being thrown out of joint. My beliefs and worldviews, my attitudes, prejudices and judgements were all put out of joint and dislocated. I was changed, both changed and empowered in what had up to that point been only a hunch, a thread of hope and trepidation.

For my second arrival, I would like that feeling, that world-changing energy to multiply, branch out and blossom. For that feeling of change for the better – a feeling of confidence that despite enormous obstacles and difficulties, things are moving forward – to never leave me. Instead, for it to give me the strength to persevere and spread that energy. My return to CNA also comes from this need to see what I can and should do with this disjointedness, with the world turned upside-down.

Infected with Nonviolence

The difference compared to my life in Montenegro is also that in CNA, you can work on liberating yourself from hatred without compromise, without sentimentality, without conformity of any kind, freely and without ulterior motives, just like the only way you can love – unconditionally.

In the society(/ies) we live in today, peacebuilding is considered lunacy, a futile mission, and those advocating and fighting for peace are labelled unhinged, certifiable. Infected with nonviolence as I am, with nonviolent struggle, infected with peace, I can only say that it is a supreme privilege to harbour this so-called insanity. All the more so because of the belief that the disease is communicable, infectious, there is nothing else to do in this world, which I hope is already tired of hatred, than to continue infecting it.

Radomir Radević



Political and social contexts in which we live

Not Great, Not Terrible – Bosnia and Herzegovina Context

They are rare and extraordinary, those books that describe processes from the recent or more remote past and that by asking obvious though never considered questions describe in such plastic detail the present and foreshadow the possible future of a society. Max Bergholz manages to do this in his brilliant book Violence as a Generative Force that examines the violence in the small town of Kulen-Vakuf during the Second World War.

Bergholz asks a number of questions unfettered by time and place, the first of which is, of course, why did the violence happen? Not how, though reconstructing the course of events is key for any attempt to answer the question. As the historian Yuval Noah Harari observes, the question of why something happened just as it did is the central question of history as an academic discipline. Because, any attempt to answer it will unmistakably lead us, according to Harari, to the realisation that at some fork in the road of history, our forebears went one way and not the other. Years later, it is hard for us to explain why they took that path, while we clearly see a host of other options, which were perhaps invisible to our ancestors, that they could have taken, but didn't. This liberation from historical determinism would lead contemporary humans to an awareness of their own responsibility for the choices society will make.

Experience of Violence

Bergholz develops Harari's thesis by researching the events in a small area over a brief period. In answering the question of why violence happened in Kulen-Vakuf, Bergholz reveals the complexity of processes in a community that found itself in a vortex of violence, or rather, that was sucked into the violence. Here we see the relationship of central authorities to lower levels of government, local actors who promote violence, but also those who suppress it, we see the points when violence prevails and when it does not, we follow along as the spiral of violence, once set in motion, turns victims into perpetrators of (preventive or vengeful) violence... Later, all of this complexity is reduced through managed remembering (and forgetting) to an oversimplified us (victims, innocents, victors) and them (criminals, culprits, the defeated). Bergholz also deals with the issue of the extent and manner in which an experience of violence shapes the identity of a community.

Reading Bergholz, you feel like you have before you an excellent analysis of what happened in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the period between the elections (autumn 2018) and negotiations on constituting the government

(autumn 2019). Bosnian-Herzegovinian society is predominantly marked by the experience of violence from the 1990s and memories of that violence. Scratch the surface of any topic, be it elections, politics, mass emigration, sports or culture, and you will find narratives, fears and memories that derive from the experience of violence, which again generates new violence.

This violence, though as a rule no longer physical, is present in society at all levels, and we can identify concrete examples of political violence, structural violence, cultural violence, environmental violence, etc. In contrast to the previous period, no attempt is made to disguise this new violence into some acceptable form, instead it is explained by the simple maxim: Better that we (outvote, discriminate, etc.) them, then they us. In the words of a local twitter warrior: You wanted democracy, well, democracy is when we outvote you because we can.

The elections fully laid bare the functioning of political violence. The call to vote in order to elect Željko Komšić (DF) as the Croat member of the Presidency was not packaged into any sort of story about a civic BiH, but simply presented as a mode of preventive violence to stop the election of Dragan Čović (HDZ BiH) to that position. The call, directed predominantly to Bosniaks, demonstrated how fear of concrete negative actions on the part of Dragan Čović and memories of experienced violence become a mobilising factor for a community. At the same time, Milorad Dodik (SNSD) mobilised his voters around a story about how his political opponents from SDS and PDP were mere traitors who have to be defeated. In his election campaigning, Dodik openly, at public rallies, threatened employees that they would be out of a job if they did not vote for his party.

Control of Memory

Bosnia and Herzegovina is an example of a country where the entire state apparatus at all levels is placed in the service of structural violence by the majority against the minority. Enjoying basic rights is possible only if you live in the appropriate part of the country where your people makes up the majority, and now legislation continues to support this model. For example, the Law on Civilian War Victims in RS that hinders or prevents Bosniaks and Croats from being given the status of civilian war victims. At the same time, new legislation in FBiH continue to prevent access to social rights by veterans and their families if they fought on the side of the so-called Autonomous Province of Western Bosnia.

Control of memory is certainly another area where majority violence against the minority is visible. In a war of memories, the memories of the other side are perceived as hostile, as something to be eliminated from the media, school textbooks, public discourse, etc. In Republika Srpska, two new commissions have been set up to investigate the victimisation of Serbs in Sarajevo and the events in Srebrenica from 1995. Without going into the final findings of the commissions and their work, it is clear that when Republika Srpska established these commissions, it was not out of a commitment to dialogue about a painful past and the legacy of the 1990s wars in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the region, or out of a desire to stop using this legacy to deepen conflicts and pose threats to the future. Statements given by the highest officials of Republika Srpska about the reasons for establishing the commissions and their aims in doing so, unfortunately, confirm this. The need to achieve recognition also for our victims (in this case Serb victims in Sarajevo and Srebrenica) and to call for the prosecution of war crimes committed against our people (in this case against Serbs in Sarajevo and Srebrenica) should not be abused in order to establish a counter narrative whose aim is to reinforce entrenched positions in the war of memories among the peoples in BiH, which is currently being waged. At the same time, the announcement by the president of Naša stranka Peđa Kojović that he is prepared to go and engage with people in Western Herzegovina and Republika Srpska in an effort to find a minimal common denominator about events from the 1990s was perceived by Bosniak politicians as absolute treason and the initiator was treated to a barrage of abuse.

Prosecuting war crimes was long a bright spot in the process of dealing with the past. Even today, BiH is more of an exception than the rule in global terms, when it comes to the number of prosecuted war crimes cases at domestic courts. Unfortunately, due to the sloppiness of the BiH Prosecutor's Office, the politicisation of justice and attempts to merely keep up statistics, according to an OSCE report, the percentage of convictions in war crimes cases has dropped in the past five years from almost 90 to below 40 percent. In practice, this means that indictments are badly written and cases are poorly investigated, which only adds to the frustration of victims who are still prepared to testify. This ultimately makes room for political abuse of judgements where acquittals are celebrated without reference to parts of the judgement which acknowledge that crimes were committed, even though the accused were not found guilty of them.

In the past year, Bosnian-Herzegovinian society is as

stuck as in the preceding years. Without having solved any of the contentious issues from previous years (changes to election legislation, disputes over NATO membership) new problems have now been to the agenda, partly through our own (in)action and partly due to global events, such as the refugee route that moved around 30,000 refugees through Bosnia and Herzegovina in one year.

As a rule, reactions to events in society are quick, fierce, mostly emotional, and everything is just as soon forgotten because the spotlights keep shifting. The best example is a case from Gornji Vakuf where a Bosniak reported that an unknown person or persons had scrawled offensive graffiti across his house and car. In a town that is today divided into the Croat and the Bosniak part, this caused a fair bit of concern, and oil was poured onto the fire from all sides. We'll see who laughs last was said verbatim, but three days later the police found how the Bosniak who reported the graffiti had in fact scrawled them himself. A few apologies from those who were quick to cast the first stone and use the case to argue for or justify their claims about preventive violence as the only solution, a few deleted shameful tweets, hateful status updates and calls to mobilisation and that was that. The consequences in the form of a delivered dose of hatred, fear and hostility remain.

Who still remembers all the big talk about the introduction of reserve and auxiliary police forces in RS and the response from FBiH that theirs (police forces) will always be bigger? The murder of two police officers in Sarajevo who clashed with the car mafia has not been brought to light, and the murders of young Dženan Memić in Sarajevo and David Dragičević in Banja Luka remain unsolved. Protests that had lasted for months have quietened down in Sarajevo and were brutally suppressed in Banja Luka where for days the police hounded the citizens who assembled peacefully in the main square.

At the same time, all these events are not unequivocal or unidirectional in the sense that they offer only the prospect of more conflict. In the case of Gornji Vakuf, for instance, as soon as they heard the news, Croat neighbours came to the house with the graffiti, condemned the wrongdoing and pointed out that despite harsh wartime conflicts in Gornji Vakuf, there had been no incidents after the war. The fathers of the murdered young men, Muriz and Davor, lent their full support to each other and people from Sarajevo went to attend peaceful protests in Banja Luka, while people from Banja Luka came to Sarajevo. When the two police officers in Sarajevo were killed, their colleagues from Istočno Sarajevo gave full support to their

families and participated in the investigation, saying that the same group had been responsible for attacks on police officers in Istočno Sarajevo.

There were events that demonstrated that we still have the creativity and will and knowledge to do good things. Sarajevo and Istočno Sarajevo hosted the European Youth Olympics Festival (EYOF), showing how we can cooperate in positive stories. This September, the first BiH Pride Parade was organised in Sarajevo under the slogan *Ima izač* [Coming out]. It has probably been years since a single event managed to polarise society to such an extent where the counter-demonstrations and public discussions brought to light a host of mechanisms revealing the inner-workings of our society: minorities have no rights, the majority gives them the rights that the majority wants them to have.

For example, the argument was used that the overwhelming majority of citizens opposed the parade, which should automatically mean that those in the minority should accept that they cannot have rights that the majority disagrees with, then there was talk of how the rights of the majority were being endangered and not those of the LGBT minority, which is another argument frequently heard when anyone mentions minority rights. There were also those saying that the minority should respect the feelings of the majority (another frequent argument) and the counter-rallies were organised to protect the traditional family defined so as to exclude not just LGBT people, but also heterosexual couples without

children, widows, single parents, parents with special-needs children, etc.

The Pride Parade was organised primarily thanks to the courage, will and perseverance of a small group of activists and it was significant that they received support from the cantonal authorities under the leadership of Naša stranka and SDP. The first Pride Parade is important because it brought to light all the prejudice, discrimination and lack of understanding that we must continue to work on.

Brussels reported that in 2018, some 50,000 people from BiH emigrated to EU countries. Mass emigration is not a problem only for the economy, which is already feeling the effects of the departure of young professionals. It is a tremendous loss for BiH society, felt in all areas of life, including peacebuilding. It is difficult to make up for the already small number of people, especially in smaller local communities, who were willing to work on difficult topics such as confronting their own community with its painful past. On the other hand, BiH institutions do not have official data on how many people have emigrated, from where and to where, not to mention that nobody has seriously looked into the causes and consequences of this phenomenon.

All in all, Not Great, Not Terrible, as the chief engineer at the Chernobyl nuclear plant said in the popular series following the nuclear catastrophe.

Nedžad Novalić



And what have you got against Milo? – Montenegro Context

It has been another year that Montenegrin society has advanced at breakneck speed (much faster than the other societies in the region) towards the EU; it has continued to approximate what still represents or is at least being portrayed as a symbolic framework for upholding human rights and rule of law. At this incredible speed, soaring and flying, there are fewer and fewer chapters to open, negotiations to finish, laws to adopt and implement, problems to solve, conditions to meet. However, it seems that amidst all that speedy prosperity and welfare, we are left with a feeling of nausea, the dizzying climb has made our heads spin. Our brains and stomachs find it hard to adjust to the speedy driving down European highways, still under construction.

And what have you got against Milo? Many a citizen of Montenegro would ask after these introductory sentences. I've got nothing against Milo, nothing against DPS, either, and I've got nothing against Montenegro, if you really want me to follow that faulty logic, that is, official state policy. But allow me to explain what I am against.

Thieves of youth. Divisions and nationalism.

For too long, Montenegro has been hanging in the balance between, on the one hand, the impossibility of changing the government, which has become brazen in its omnipotence and increasingly arrogant, and, on the other, the opposition, which expresses its political futility and ineptness through the frustrations of a perennial loser. Citizens protest in alliance with the opposition calling for a change in government, failing to understand that the real struggle must be brought elsewhere - within the institutions of the system, with the aim of strengthening them and making them independent. I am against such an unchangeable state of affairs that has been going on since 1997, long enough to earn the label of "thief of youth" for a number of generations.

The political elites, among them outspoken antifascists, as well as their opponents, proudly point out and promote SFRY iconography, presenting today's Montenegro as a continuation of Yugoslav anti-fascism and inter-ethnic harmony. Installing a monument to Josip Broz Tito in the centre of Podgorica is the most illustrative example of this new-old trend. And there would be nothing wrong if it weren't for the constant neglect or deliberate oblivion to the growing gulf between, for instance, Montenegrins and Serbs. I am against increasing ethnic rifts in present-day Montenegro. Never more independent in our never

deeper divisions.

On the other hand, much of the opposition, encouraged by an awakened and never more alert nationalism, seeks to minimise or completely abolish all the values we inherited from the secular and antifascist former large homeland, primarily the idea of a civic state and gender equality. As if following some second-rate script, ethnic motifs and blood and soil policies of the nineties keep cropping up like vampires, evidently never having been properly buried.

Of course, this is almost always seasoned with various interpretations, falsifications and understandings of the past, which in turn almost always become signposts for the future, i.e. directions for organising the state. There is neither will nor courage, and apparently nobody feels the need to deal with the not-so-bright present image of Montenegrin society. Instead, perspectives are focused far into an idealised past in search of legitimacy for present political action. Thus, for example, the Montenegrin parliament adopts a decision annulling the decisions of the Grand National Assembly from 1918 on accession with Serbia. I am against the trend of changing the past to change the future. "Misunderstanding its own past is at the heart of every nation".

Army of the party. Criticism

I refuse to accept the lack of capacity at institutions, I am against incompetent civil servants. For years, high offices have been occupied by party soldiers (mostly lying in wait, but prepared to sit up and even jump when their master calls on them to do his bidding). They are, after all, better equipped than us to think and, of course, work better and more. I do not like seeing all those professionally humiliated by this, I don't like seeing their offended civilities as they grin and bear it. This past year has been rich in scandals of university professors, ministers, etc. plagiarising papers and purchasing diplomas. All unpunished, of course.

I cannot accept the deep and still deepening social stratification. It almost always goes hand in hand with an incredible lack of constructive political and public dialogue about crucial issues. And the crucial issues are always there, inexhaustible and ever-present when we need to neglect our real problems. I admit I myself prefer talking about language than about low wages, about the church than about increasing emigration of young people from MNE, about this beautiful independent environmental country than about the cost of living being twice the average salary, etc.

If democracy also means accepting difference and allowing for criticism, then I cannot ever like the fact that Montenegro does not deserve to be called a democracy. Though historically always full of diversity, that fact was never given its proper due. This wealth of diversity was almost always, and this is especially true today, a fertile field for manipulation and conflict, often also for blood-soaked divisions. Criticism, that progress cannot do without ever since Kant, remains reserved in MNE only for narrow ineffective academic circles or else benign discussions at the bar, while any and all constructive criticism is seen as an attack against the state itself.

Media

I do not accept that a place where since 2004, when the editor in chief of Dani Duško Jovanović was killed, more than 80 attacks against reporters and media property have been registered, that such a place deserves to be called a state. Of those, 32 were reported in just the last two years. The targets of these attacks were by and large reporters at anti-government or pro-opposition media. In the most recent attack, Olivera Lakić, a reporter for Vijesti, was wounded and, like most such attacks, it remains unsolved, some never even see their day in court. When we add to this the dire financial situation of most media, as well as the unavoidable deep division into pro-government and pro-opposition media, as well as the inevitably high politicisation, then the media image is truly “pink”.

Continuous political meddling at RTCG (the public broadcaster) and the Agency for Electronic Media (AEM) was most directly demonstrated through the dismissal of members from the RTCG Board and its management. I am against the failure to establish editorial independence and professional standards at RTCG and that the RTCG Board remains unprotected against political influence and pressure, including in the appointment of its members. It is enough to take a look, and those with a dark sense of humour might even bring themselves to do so, at the programming of the public broadcaster. A universal approach and universality of content can be seen, but only if they’re part of a rare SF film.

Mafia and independence of the judiciary. Debt and debtors

I have much against the fact that dozens of young lives were ended before they properly began, in the “clash of the clans” (40 people were killed since 2015) and that the state is not showing its (lack of) power by seriously committing to fighting against organised crime. Many would say, how are they to fight against themselves.

I do not like the fact that the judiciary has become so degraded and has fallen so low that no attempt is made

anymore to conceal political interference. As a reminder, I would like to refer to the arrest and detention of Nebojša Medojević, a Democratic Front (DF) member of parliament, as well as the fact that his colleague Milan Knežević served three months in prison for assaulting an officer, as well as other similar set-ups and the “Coup” trial that had been long in the works and whose only aim was apparently to do away with any opponents.

I do not like that we are breaking records when it comes to public debt. This year thanks to the loan for a highway segment whose construction is, of course, running behind schedule. The fact that the same highway is putting at risk one of the most beautiful and cleanest rivers in Europe, the Tara, that does not worry me at all, because as the responsible minister said, the construction of the highway did not move the riverbed, it just changed the river’s course.

The “envelope” scandal (a recording clearly showing a high state official (DPS) taking an envelope with 97000 euros from a businessman during the election campaign) has been suppressed, concealed and, I’m afraid, already forgotten. The expected parallel with the Austrian scenario: prosecution, resignations, dismissals, etc. remains just an expectation. The Anti-Corruption Agency refused to publish a decision against the ruling party (DPS) determining a breach of law and setting a penalty. I don’t know who wouldn’t be against such selective application of law.

Patriotism

I am against the fact that the official, and I’m afraid the only possible “patriotism” policy is precisely this misguided policy of “love for the state”. According to this policy, I can only help my country, my society, if I love it unconditionally. That is why any criticism, any possibility of change, progress, is viewed and perceived as hatred of the state, i.e. hatred of DPS or Milo. Because today it is “easier to imagine the end of Montenegro as a state than the end of DPS rule”.

Finally, perhaps I am most against the fact that these words will make me a traitor in the eyes of half of Montenegro, and a true patriot in the eyes of the other half, that in the by now historical game of rifts and divisions into patriots and traitors, I will be sucked into one of the two camps. I do not like that no third opinion, which is actually Other, i.e. different from both, can develop in such a post- or pre-democratic environment that is today’s beautiful Montenegro.

Radomir Radević

“Đuro will forgive you beating you up” – Croatia Context

We start this annual review of events that impact or are relevant for peacebuilding and dealing with the past in Croatia from the end, or from the end of summer in any case, given that this is unfortunately not the end, but only an overture indicating the fierceness campaigning for the presidential elections in Croatia that will take place late this year or in early 2020. The scapegoat is Milorad Pupovac, the long-representative of Croatian Serbs, and the ostensible motive is his interview to the Radio Sarajevo portal where, according to the Croatian Bishops' Conference, the prime minister, various other ministers and veterans' associations, he had “equated Croatia with NDH”. In actual fact, commenting on the wave of violence against those that identify or are perceived as Serbs, Pupovac said that such actions are “closely related to the historical revisionism manifest in Croatia in efforts to rehabilitate the Ustaša movement and establish it in the new European context, in the new European Croatia.” Those that he referred to as drivers of this process harnessed all their forces to show him how it was high time he left his homeland because, as a Serb, he had no right to speak that way about Croatia. Pupovac, however, was stating the obvious: according to the data of the Serb National Council, from 2013, when the wave of violence started with the smashing of dual language signs on state institutions in Vukovar, until 2018, there had been 1376 verbal and physical attacks on citizens of Serb nationality in Croatia, with 381 occurring only in 2018. The most recent case recorded this year took place in Uzdolje in northern Dalmatia where masked attackers assaulted a group of people, women and children among them, at a cafe where they were watching a football match of the Belgrade club Crvena Zvezda. Zvezda had been targeted a number of times this year, so, for example, a waiter doing seasonal work in Dubrovnik was beaten up for having a Zvezda tattoo and the Crvena Zvezda water polo team was assaulted while having coffee at the Split waterfront. This inspired creative interpretations of the Croatian reality to the effect that such incidents were proclaimed violence among sports fans. But the assailants of seasonal workers in Supetar on the island of Brač made sure we would have no doubts about what was truly at stake when they attacked four seasonal workers, among them two young men of Serb nationality from Vukovar, with cries of “who's a Serb here, kill the Serb”. In June this year, Radoje Petković, president of the Serb National Minority Council in the town of Kastav,

succumbed to injuries sustained a month earlier when he was brutally beaten by a war crimes suspect. The prime minister and the president go out of their way to relativise these events, calling them mere incidents and malicious provocations that should be resolutely opposed. How? The president demonstrated in a TV interview by energetically slamming the table with her fist. Already the next day, the front pages were adorned by photos showing a fan of the Hajduk football club from Split, wearing a mask, holding lit torches and donning a T-shirt that said “Kill the Serb”, being the hero on his side of the stadium. The police noted that “there were no major incidents” at the match.

What it's like to be a Serb in Croatia

That the government has brought us up in its own image was best demonstrated by the campaigning for the European parliament elections, whose main actors and a litmus test for the state of society were again the Serbs. Because of their campaign “Do you know what it's like to be a Serb in Croatia”, candidates Pupovac, Jović and the party they represent, SDSS, were accused of tendentiously launching or inspiring an unseen amount of violence in public space – throughout Croatia, their campaign posters featuring a mix of messages in Latin and Cyrillic script were regularly torn and/or vandalised with messages of hatred. This campaign elicited ambivalence from the great majority of Croats with no extremist leanings, and it was not rare to find comments on social media condemning the campaign as provocation, saying it was not reflective of the general state of society and that only a handful of extremists were defacing the posters. However, what remained unnoticed was the lack of any condemnation of such messages by both the parties in power and their opposition. When in the centre of Zagreb, across a campaign poster of SDSS for the EU elections featuring Milorad Pupovac, in the immediate vicinity of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, someone scrawls: “Slaughter Serb children. Kill the Serb” and similar acts are repeated in Split, Rijeka, Šibenik, Sisak and other places, this constitutes content that, in the words of the renowned lawyer Vesna Alaburić, can be legally qualified as nothing else than the crime of inciting genocide. It is thus qualified by the UN Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide to which Croatia is a signatory. The commission of this crime does not require that genocide be committed, attempted, or likely, only that a message is expressed with genocidal intention, publicly, and that its content may reasonable

be interpreted as direct incitement to destroy a national, ethnic, racial or religious group, in whole or in part. Legally speaking, it is entirely irrelevant whether the message will ultimately incite someone to action or not.

The campaign is no longer mentioned by anyone, but it is already evident that treating these acts as incidents, sporadic or unimportant is extremely dangerous for society as a whole.

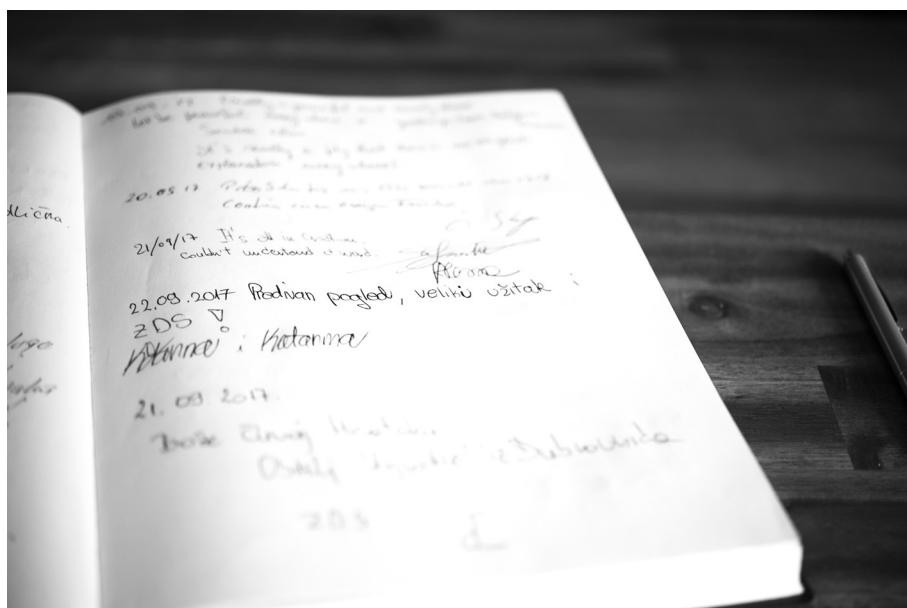
Force, but not Violence

"Sometimes, a bit of force, but not violence, is needed when there's a group of more than 50 people coming at you. There is no violence there, no bodily harm, shock bombs, tear gas, wire," the Croatian president said commenting on statements by the BiH minister of security Dragan Mektić that there was evidence of violence by the Croatian police against migrants (as refugees on the Balkan route are now routinely referred to). That the Croatian police has resorted to illegitimate use of force in preventing these people from accessing European territory has been noted not just by the BiH authorities, but also by various non-governmental and humanitarian organisations whose reports have for months included evidence and testimony of police brutality and unlawful treatment. There are testimonies of beatings, confiscation of documents, money, food and water, denial of the right to seek asylum, unlawful transfer of people found in the territory of Croatia back to BiH, etc. Meanwhile, the EU acts as if this is none of its concern, so we must conclude

that the use of illegitimate force against people of different skin colour on the periphery of the European continent is, in fact, desirable.

That such policies, which Croatia loyally upholds, are not just limited to the unfortunates from Syria, Afghanistan, Pakistan or Iran was best illustrated by protests in Čakovec under the affirmative title "I want a normal life", used to conceal their fundamentally racist content. The protests were directed at the Međimurje Roma population who, in the words of the organiser, "beat and steal", who are "abusers under the influence of opiates," "incapable of taking care of themselves, let alone so many children". And should "therefore be taught how to live, how to raise children, how to manage their money and how to develop hygienic habits". The racist rhetoric season with forged police statistics was meant to draw attention away from the systemic discrimination of Roma, attested by the fact that the Roma themselves were not allowed to organise a counter-protest, though such bans are unlawful and unconstitutional.

That is why among the social media commentators, the most quoted poem this year was "First they came..." changed to fit the moment: First they came for the Serbs, and I did not speak out, because I was not a Serb. Then they came for the Roma, and I did not speak out, because I was not a Roma... We still cannot be certain how to name the next social group in line for a lynching, given that it currently includes historians opposed to



falsifications of history supported by the system and the government, especially from the period of 1941-1991, persons who speak out critically about the Homeland War and Tuđman's legacy, reporters who report on hate crimes, in brief, all those whose speech and actions do not fit into the invented version of history, or the invented version of the state that has no place for them.

Who is it that's leading us?

That we are falsifying history and discussing it in order not to ask too many questions about politics, crime in the public sector, corruption and other issues concerned with social ethics – this is abundantly clear. But apart from individual protests by courageous individuals and a few politicians, there is no organised resistance to such tendencies, neither in the opposition nor on the streets. There are many small fires and everyone is fighting the best they can and where they think they can truly make some headway – the left wing in the Zagreb city opposition against the unlawful manipulations of the mayor with city owned land, property, public space and projects; non-governmental organisations against the police and system managing the refugee crises; citizens' initiatives and organisations against local authorities to protect their immediate natural environment, etc. Although the divisions within Croatian society are increasingly clear, and not just along ideological lines, solidarity has not yet become completely extinct, but after years of taking heavy blows, it is exhausted.

What ordinary citizens think about the reactionary tendencies in social development is hard to say beyond mere statistics. According to the German Federal Institute for Statistics, since Croatia's accession to the EU, from 2015 to 2017, some 200,000 Croatian citizens have emigrated to Germany, of which almost 100,000 were employed. The

number of Croatian citizens that have emigrated in the past two years is perhaps best reflected in the deserted villages and towns of Slavonia and Baranja. These citizens are predominantly ethnic Croats, and given that the villages of Lika, Banija and Kordun, where Croatian Serbs used to be the majority, have been empty since 1995, it is unclear who the Croatian right wing is so vehemently fighting. The emigration is far higher than the official statistics and the main trends are the following: "these are predominantly young people aged 20 to 40 who were usually employed and who usually emigrate with whole families. In contrast to previous emigrations, the majority of the current emigrants are young people with higher education degrees. Most respondents blame the current situation and mass emigration of young people from the country on incompetent politicians, the ineffective justice system and war profiteers. The immorality of political elites, legal uncertainty, nepotism and corruption are the prime motives that have contributed to emigration. Research has confirmed that political uncertainty and instability incited many to leave. Based on research results, we have seen that young Croatians are not leaving because of money, their aim is not to get rich. Wealth is not a key value to any of them. In Germany, they are prepared for more sacrifice and hardship than in their homeland, simply because they believe their efforts will pay off in Germany, while they have lost trust in their homeland"¹.

Davorka Turk

¹ The above are findings of the research study "Contemporary Emigration of Croats to Germany: Characteristics and Motives"; Migration and Ethnic Issues, Vol. 33, No. 3, 2017. The study is available at: <https://hrcak.srce.hr/198700>

Rendering our stories – Kosovo Context

“Dede!”,

says this kid holding a gadget; “this school you said you had to walk to, 12.5 kilometers daily; google maps says it’s only 1.7 kilometers away...” The joke is circulating these days amongst youth in Kosovo, expressing their superiority toward the elders, for having the accurate information, here and now.

Neyse....

allpoetry.com says that there is this poet who attended a Serbian Orthodox elementary school, studied Slavonic, Russian, Greek, Latin and French, and entered the Orthodox Seminary of St. John the Theologian... This is Millosh Gjergj Nikolla - Migjeni, for whom in wikipedia you will read that he is one of the most literate and most important literary writers of 20th-century Albanian literature, and a Kosovo portal would say that, no other poet of the Albanian nation has been so discreet in the realistic description of Albania’s social status.

But you know,

if you are an Albanian, and you are labeled “Esat Pashë”, that would mean you are the worst of the traitors. Well, not anymore; that was the narrative molded by the political opponents of his time. Otherwise, Esat Pasha Toptani (1863–1920) was an Ottoman army officer who served as the Albanian deputy in the Ottoman Parliament, cooperated with the Balkan League after the Balkan Wars and established the Republic of Central Albania, based in Durrës. Recently, a number of scholars from Albania are shedding light upon this interesting figure of the Albanian past.

Rendering our stories?

Yes! I am absolutely convinced that there is always the right moment to step back, recapitulate the past narratives and create an understanding of it that is useful for us today, in the here-and-now. The means will always change, but the time is always right. It is not about opposing the past narratives, it is about adding something better to them. For Kosovo society today, and for the whole region (they call us WB6 now; cool!) this has become of crucial importance for moving forward. And the only permissible movement in universe is indeed forward. Such a movement forward world make it possible for us to explore and learn more about those “Esat Pashas” from our pasts, to continue

feeling the grief-stricken Migjeni’s poetry in Albanian by knowing of his Serbian heritage. And I dare to say, such a movement forward will enable us to understand why these 1.7 kilometers of today’s kid were dozens of kilometers for this Dede in the joke above. But it will not, under any conditions, give us the right to condemn that old man, nor those times gone by. There has to be something we still don’t know. And that’s exciting!

rather than a bio:

since May 2018, the author of this article got invited to be a member of the Preparatory Team for establishing Truth and Reconciliation Commission in Kosovo, initiated by the Office of the President of Kosovo. Such an initiative, like any other can be easily hijacked, having the current establishment, in Kosovo and all over the WB6. Maybe we need to learn how to add something better, not only to our pasts, but also to the here-and-now we get engaged in, or are affected by. We already live, and are conditioned by, a number of good and not-so-good undertakings from the past, and their aftermath. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission in Kosovo is yet another opportunity, still being shaped, to contribute to a meaningful transformation, in Kosovo, and wider.

and a post.scriptum

this article was thought as an analysis of the situation in Kosovo within Sep 2018 - Sep 2019 period; allow me just say that the “diplomatic tangos” continued in-and-around border issues, dialogue, 100% tariffs of Kosovo on Serbian products, and more. As for the past, a lot of energy was invested on finding ways to punish, blame, damage and win over “the other”. Laudly. Silent are only the voices of those less visible; on 14 March 2019, the UN’s Special Rapporteur on Toxics said that “compensation should be paid to Kosovo Roma people who suffered lead poisoning while living for years in UN-run camps near a mining complex after the Kosovo war.” If this compensation is indeed paid, it would mean a lot to surviving Kosovo Roma population, and for the justice in Kosovo. If this statement is UN’s responsible overview of their own past, than better times are ahead of us.

Abdullah B. Ferizi



Neither Here Nor There – North Macedonia Context

“Life for All” in the North

After the consultative/failed referendum on the 30th of September 2018, and the long process of negotiations, amnesty and bribery, the Republic of Macedonia became the Republic of North Macedonia, and with it began its path towards joining NATO.

North Macedonia’s government coalition led by the Social Democratic Union of Macedonia (SDSM) who ran the election campaign under the slogan “life for all”, the Democratic Union for Integration (DUI) and half of the newer Albanian party BESA, this past year made big progress in foreign relations but has been seriously failing to properly tackle most serious domestic issues that persist.

With the great burden of hope that a post-regime government governs, great disappointment may be the norm but it is not an overstatement to say that the new government has made too many mistakes, has lied too many times, given too many fake apologies and has failed to push forward needed reforms or has given up on some altogether, and disappointed most of the people who

wanted or took action to bring about change. And this has frustrated so many people that the phrase “all are the same” has become a normal political phrase even among more politically aware citizens, lowering the seriousness of the crimes and injustice of the VMRO-DPMNE regime and bringing with it the risk of getting VMRO-DPMNE back to power. The same VMRO-DPMNE, unreformed and full of nationalists and criminals. All the while the other half, or a third of the named regime, DUI, are still in power, pretend to push the country towards its Euro Atlantic path yet use every chance to continue their corrupt practices and to keep the country ethnically divided.

In addition, NATO propaganda is normalizing the militarization of our society and is even penetrating schools to approach the youngest among us. At the same time, public officials, including the Prime Minister and the Spokesperson of the Government have contributed to normalizing hate speech although, after using it, have given superficial dishonest apologies.

One important positive event that happened was the Skopje Pride Parade, the first Pride Parade in the country.

It was held on the 29th of June, with no serious incidents and with considerable, though superficial support by the government.

A Parent for the Nation

On the 21st of April 2019, we had the Presidential Elections, the first elections after the failed/consultative referendum on the change of the name. They represented a real challenge for SDSM who took on the risk of going ahead with the name change yet have been governing problematically, to say the least.

The elections, in a way, showed us the more probable and accurate result of the referendum if the opposition had not decided to boycott it, having in mind that the whole election campaign and the political discourse were focused and stuck on the name issue and the disappointment with the new government in most aspects. Especially in the second and final round, it practically divided the country much like it was divided during the referendum.

There were three candidates in the race to become the “parent” of the nation. Stevo Pendarovski from SDSM (who won), ran a campaign that struggled to push the messages across because it had to deal with all the shortcomings of the government. Another candidate was Gordana Siljanovska, a professor who, although wasn’t previously a member of VMRO-DPMNE, became their candidate and ran a nationalist campaign that was tragicomical and full of lies and irrational populism typical for VMRO-DPMNE but not typical for her personally. The third candidate was Blerim Reka, an Albanian professor who ran a refreshingly non-nationalistic campaign but struggled to be consistent when addressing the media, the Macedonians and the general public, and when addressing his Albanian supporters in his rallies.

It was ridiculous that all three candidates were insisting that they are not party candidates. Siljanovska, after being chosen to be VMRO-DPMNE’s candidate in their party congress, gathered signatures from citizens (VMRO members) to make the point that she is a non-party candidate. Pendarovski responded by doing the same and insisted he is an above-party consensual candidate although he was chosen by SDSM and the rest of the parties in government. Blerim Reka insisted he is an independent candidate although he was supported by two opposition Albanian nationalist parties and they actively assisted his campaign and got their voters to vote for him.

The election campaign was also problematic because of misogyny and very, very superficial feminism with patriarchal tendencies. Siljanovska’s feminism, especially with her campaign rhetoric, represented nothing but

dishonest pandering, yet at the same time because of her sex and gender, as well as her age (she’s 64) Pendarovski’s and Reka’s supporters often made many sexist and misogynistic comments and attacks, which Pendarovski failed to condemn properly. And I think that because of Siljanovska’s terrible campaign and loss of the race, the political parties will be even more reserved in the future to go ahead with female candidates – they will justify it easier now and will use it as an excuse not to tackle their party patriarchal structures that greatly disadvantage women.

Sometime between the first and the second round of the elections, there was a nationalist incident in the fortress in Ohrid. Someone from an Albanian folklore group (not from the country) put up a huge Albanian flag on the fortress walls facing the city, and it caused quite a big nationalist and anti-nationalist backlash. He was arrested, fined and expelled from the country, but having in mind that during the Presidential elections Ohrid was having local elections too (the previous mayor died), this only favored VMRO-DPMNE’s candidate who later nevertheless lost. To add to this, although a bit off-topic, one of the main issues in the local elections (although it appeared on the presidential campaign too) was the building of an arguably illegal minaret of a mosque in Ohrid. There were even protests that tried hard to convince everyone that the issue is the (il)legality of the procedure and not the religion and ethnicity of those involved, but failed comically.

A Mixture of Extortion and Bribery

These past few months Macedonia has been quite shaken by an extortion/corruption scandal involving the Special Public Prosecution (which has been set up to handle all high-level crimes coming out of the illegal wiretapped recordings from the previous Prime Minister Nikola Gruevski and his cousin, the ex-Director of the Administration for Security and Counterintelligence, Sasho Mijalkov). After having begun working on over 150 cases with potential to become criminal charges, and quite a few criminal charges, the SPP got its reputation ruined by its chief, Katica Janeva.

The scandal broke out with the publication of a few videos and audio conversations by an Italian/Slovenian right-wing journalist on the website of the Italian newspaper La Verita. Allegedly, the two extortionists had promised the businessman Orce Kamchev – who is one of the richest people in the country, with very close ties to the previous government and a suspect in a few of the criminal cases opened by the SPP – that he would walk free or at least get a much lighter sentence than he should for the crimes of criminal association, fraud, money laundering

and other related crimes. The two had promised that they can deliver that because of their close ties to SPP's chief, Katica Janeva.

Janeva, after taking a borderline illegal medical leave and disappearing from the public for some time, of course denied being involved and said that one of the extortionists had been misusing her name. But she is (allegedly) heard in one of the audio conversations, confirming that what has been discussed with the extortionist will indeed be done; that "everything will be okay".

This investigation is being run by the regular Public Persecution, after Kamchev approached the Prime Minister Zoran Zaev who went ahead and reported it to the Public Persecution. Although, obviously, that didn't stop the opposition to ask for a resignation from Zaev and ask for new elections, as well as accuse him of being the one that has ordered the extortion. The specific reasons why Kamchev chose to approach the Prime Minister and not the Public Prosecution (as he is legally obliged to) are unclear, but it seems as though he wanted to incriminate him too. Especially having in mind that the video recordings in his house got in the hands of the right-wing anti-EU journalist Laris Gaiser who is in the presidency of the PanEuropean union along with Gruevski's former adviser Andrej Lepavcov.

Not to go into too many other details, as a result of the investigation so far, quite a few persecutors from the SPP, as well as a few people from SDSM with close ties with one of the extortionists, have given statements to the Public Persecution sharing what they know and the two extortionists and Katica Janeva are under arrest. No one else from SPP and no one from SDSM has been charged so far.

In any case, this scandal paralyzed the Special Public Persecution, and it sort of seems like an organized effort to dismantle it and bring down all the high-level investigations and charges brought forward. As a result, the only institution with the credibility and the obligation to seek and bring justice for the crimes of the VMRO-DPMNE regime's officials and their rich friends not only got its reputation ruined but is also under threat to have its investigations taken over by the regular Public Persecution which is not really reformed after having served the regime for over 11 years. And it leaves the public further disillusioned and divided.

Whether Katica Janeva has fallen prey to greed or she was naive enough to be set up, or whether Orce Kamchev was extorted or he tried to bribe people to avoid facing justice for his crimes (both equally and non-exclusively

possible), while Katica is under arrest and SPP is slowly being dismantled, Orce Kamchev is free and living the rich life.

Love Thy Partner

In *last year's report* I wrote that SDSM and DUI are continuing the tradition of VMRO-DPMNE and DUI in "DUIng business" in accordance to the law, but with serious suspicion of corruption. Now I can confidently say that indeed it continued, involving other coalition partners. DUI took it a step further and its party officials are blatantly breaking the laws and not facing the consequences.

The country has a serious problem with corruption for decades – it's not something new. But with the new government, there was new hope that finally, at least the corrupted ones, in the previous 11 years will face justice and that we'd move forward in tackling the issue. Needless to say, that did not end up being the case. It began relatively soon after they came to power, especially clearly when the Fund for Innovations gave big grants to companies to innovate, among which were the companies of the Vice Prime Minister, millionaire Kocho Angushev. After the scandal broke out, instead of resigning from the government, he got his companies to pull back and give up the grants. The public prosecution opened a criminal inquiry into it, but to this day to the best of my knowledge there are no information regarding the findings of that inquiry.

DUI party officials have had produced multiple scandals this past year. One of corruption and theft scandals was initiated by the Ministry of Social Affairs which found out that the pension fund is missing a couple million euros; that the money planned for the second pension fund has disappeared. The Directors of the institution responsible for it, have been appointed from DUI for years, and this shook the coalition relations a bit and again somehow disappeared from the public – no news, no information, no criminal charges.

Other criminal affairs include DUI officials building illegal objects, physically attacking people, contracting their own firms for public works, abusing their positions, buying a luxury car for municipality's (mayor's) needs after the central government payed back most of the huge municipality debt ... The "owner" of the named car, DUI mayor of Struga, Ramiz Merko, justified it by arguing that it is shameful for the mayor to be driven in a car that is not good enough. There are plenty of other examples, albeit not only for DUI.

On a side-note, it's important to mention that these cases show another grim reality of the Macedonian

politics and interethnic relations: the general public, and Macedonian nationalists especially, see the political opportunism and breaking of laws by the DUI officials as an Albanian approach to politics and as Albanian nationalism, yet fail to see that this behavior is primarily harmful to the Albanians outside DUI's political structures. That it is those Albanians that have been left with no state protection and borderline bullying and violence in DUI hands. To illustrate with an example, the two men physically attacked by the DUI member of Ohrid's city council Nafi Useini, are both Albanian.

The SDSM mayor of the majority Roma municipality Suto Orizare, Kurto Dudush, who is also Roma, recently had an audio recording leaked to the internet where he is heard insulting and beating up someone. There is an ongoing investigation but it seems that this case too will disappear like those related to DUI. This to note that the Roma citizens have also been left to deal alone with their local bullies while Macedonian nationalists justify the

bullying as a cultural thing rather than a state structural problem and neglect.

And all this is tolerated by the SDSM officials partly because they are also focused on their interests and corruption, partly because it could worsen coalition relations and partnerships, and partly because the non-Macedonian ethnic issues are seen, by the bigger Macedonian parties, as issues to be left to those ethnicities themselves. Regardless of what that means for those communities. In any case, the Republic of North Macedonia with its endless naïve hope, continues its path towards the EU; the everyday issues of the citizens will just have to wait for now.

Emrah Rexhepi



Who's Next? – Serbia Context

For months now, the first thing I ask myself when I open my eyes in the morning is: "How will I get to work?" I rent a flat in Belgrade, in the city centre, and the Centre for Nonviolent Action also has its offices in the city centre. What's the problem? The problem is that Belgrade, as a city with a population of more than two million, has a large city centre and it's not easy to get from one end to the other. In the past few months it's been neither quick nor easy. Every route through the inner-city centre is closed, changed, displaced. Belgrade looks like a large construction site where an ambitious investor with suspicious 1990s funds had started work on a castle, only for the hand of justice or underground competition to catch up to him, leaving the works forever unfinished and a legacy of bequeathed megalomaniacal wishes and enormous debt. Two plaster lions guard the gates of the castle. Such are the aesthetics of Belgrade. Megalomaniacal, kitsch, a cheap looking expensive investment. And then, when I manage to make my way, usually on foot, to Republic Square, whose renovation works have shut down the most visited part of Belgrade for a year now – this would be akin to shutting down the Moscow Red Square for a year or Trafalgar Square in London – on the dug-up concrete of the construction site, I find no one. Sometimes, in a corner somewhere I might spot two or three workers smoking or the like. Mostly, nothing is happening. That nothing is paid for by the city budget, to the tune of close to 8 million euros (922 million dinars). Public transport is in shambles. I got on a bus yesterday, it had air conditioning and enough seats. I thought, finally, something works in a country where everything is falling apart, perhaps there is still hope, one shouldn't be cynical. Two stops later and the bus stalled. It broke down, all the passengers had to continue on foot. So much for hope.

Why am I starting this text for the wider public with seemingly insignificant details of my morning worries? I have been writing or reading texts like this one for years, and each year, the situation in Serbia gets worse in every segment of society. It is difficult to explain in a relatively brief text everything that is worse compared to last year, the list is very long, and the human brain has the fortunate tendency to delete bad things from memory. But then when I start recalling everything that has happened, I come up against an avalanche of fascism, curtailed freedom, pressure, blackmail, murder, corruption, lies, people

being targeted and calls for lynching, violence against people who think or speak differently, discrimination on all grounds, poverty, unemployment, brain drain, mass emigration of qualified people hungry for work of all levels of education... It occurs to me, if I start from the personal, from what we all have in common, and explain how it's different in Serbia than elsewhere, perhaps this will serve to illustrate my point? Perhaps it will then be easier to understand the problems we face and the things we have to live with daily.

The Tank

We live in an atmosphere of fear, tension, accusations of treason, being called second-rate Serbians (them, the nationalists are first-rate, we are "second-rate", the "others", those who are not part of the "we", degenerates, rejects), and any common sense question posed to anyone in power or in the ruling party (though there is no difference between the two, here the ruling party has all the power, there are no institutions, no controls, everything is subjugated to a single party and a single man) is considered as an attempt to destabilise the state and engagement in hostile activities.

In late August, before a match with the Swiss BSC Young Boys, a tank was installed in front of the largest (for now, though the president has promised to build a new, grandiose, "national") stadium in the country, popularly known as "Marakana", home to FC Crvena Zvezda. A tank from Vukovar. Whether that very tank was in Vukovar, no one can say with certainty, but it is symbolic of the 1990s wars and the destruction of Vukovar, which was referred to by the Serb side in those years and by nationalists today as the "liberation of Vukovar". A war symbol in front of a football stadium is not there to send any other message than a threat. Already the next day, a tractor was installed in front of FC Dinamo's stadium in Zagreb – to symbolise Operation Storm, the ethnic cleansing of Serbs from Croatia, who escaped to Serbia on tractors. The police minister stated that it was "not a tank, but a model of a tank" and that he could "not understand why anyone would see a model of a tank in front of the stadium as a symbol of the nineties".

He went on: "This was obviously meant to serve as a political game for some sort of attack, primarily on President Aleksandar Vučić, because apparently he is now to blame for this because he is to blame for everything that

happens. This is obviously a case of politicking by part of the opposition that, unfortunately, has nothing better to show for itself.”

Vučić is to be credited for everything happening in the country, and everything that goes wrong is an attempt to set him up. Everything revolves around his life and work as he oversteps his constitutional authority in every segment, he is both prosecutor and police, and prime minister, and minister, and an independent body, he is responsible for everything and he solves everything. In political terms this is called a dictatorship, but in Serbia there is no force that would call it by its proper name and stand up to it.

What the police minister calls the “politicking by part of the opposition” is actually the division of the opposition into “good” and “bad” opposition to the Serbian Progressive Party (SNS). The good opposition, ideologically aligned, are Vojislav Šešelj, a convicted war criminal and now president of a parliamentary party and a member of parliament, and his Serb Radical Party, the origin of Aleksandar Vučić and the major share of SNS that left it in 2008 to form their own party. Members of their former party are the “good” opposition. The other part, the “bad” opposition, is everyone else on the political scene: from the extreme right-wing Boško Obradović (Dveri), then Vuk Jeremić (People’s Party) and the centrists in the Democratic Party

and the Movement of Free Citizens, all the way to the left-wing civic movements of Ne davimo Beograd and Local Front. That opposition is broken down and weak for two reasons: the first is that they are satanised by the ruling structures headed by Aleksandar Vučić who never misses an opportunity, no matter how banal and beside the point, to disparage those parties and their leaders, while they themselves are at the same time completely prevented from appearing on national television and in the major newspapers. The other reason is that the opposition (with the exception of the Local Front and Ne davimo Beograd) is mostly made up of people from the previous government who are responsible for losing the elections and ushering us into a period of rule of poorly disguised radicals that will last for who knows how long.

Given that regular parliamentary elections await Serbia already in 2020 (I will emphasise that they are regular, because previous parliamentary elections were held in 2012, 2014 and 2016), it is not clear how any change in government will be possible given the present electoral conditions and disarray in the administration. And even if such a thing were to happen, there is still the possibility of a “natural coalition” between SNS and SRS to replace the current cooperation with SPS, a party that has been a loyal coalition partner.



Hope

Although, viewed from a distance, elections may look like an opportunity for change like my bus from the beginning of this text, with the current distribution of power among just a few people, change is not even a hope. Perhaps a dream.

Hope had appeared in late 2018 when, first in Belgrade and then throughout Serbia, citizens came out in protest against the brutal beating of opposition politician Borko Stefanović by hooligans close to the government. “Stop the bloody shirts” was the initial call of the protestors, which had the inclusive potential to gather around it everyone who was opposed to violence, whatever their political affiliation. Though initially unorganised, without a clear vision or goal, these protests kept gathering more and more people each Saturday at 6 pm. One of the most imposing gatherings was on 16 January 2019, on the day Oliver Ivanović, a politician from Kosovo, was killed, with suspicions that individuals close to the government in Serbia were behind the murder and that the authorities were harbouring two suspects: Zvonko Veselinović and Milan Radoičić. Led by the Local Front, a citizens’ association from Kraljevo, who set out on foot on 12 January towards Belgrade and travelled 170 kilometres, the resounding silent question of the citizens was: “Who killed Ivanović?”

The very next day, Vučić organised his own gathering – making use of a state visit by Russian President Vladimir Putin and all the state privileges, honours and institutions, the welcome was actually the beginning of the “Future of Serbia” campaign whose megalomaniacal gatherings, expensive videos and state privileges are used by the ruling party to present its vision of Serbia – once upon a time. It was never clear why the campaign was run in the winter and spring, unless it was a response to opposition gatherings. The government hired buses to transport its actual and coerced sympathisers (coerced and blackmailed on account of their jobs: Serbia has a law prohibiting further employment in state institutions, which means that since 2014 until today, no one could acquire full-time employment, and part-time employees are easy to manipulate, threaten and blackmail) from town to town, with expensive backdrops and populist speeches, while on the other side, in many towns, people opposing this government gathered every Friday or Saturday. Voluntarily, in show, in the winter, without a sound system and most often – spontaneously.

In the spring, after the opposition attempted to enter the Serbian Radio and Television building, in protest that the public broadcaster was not reporting on their activities, and after the gathering on 13 April where citizens from other parts of the country were invited, this type of protest slowly started decreasing in intensity. People still gather every Saturday evening in Belgrade and Kragujevac.

The Target

The problem of lack of media freedoms is perhaps the most worrying: it prevents citizens who do not have access to online information or the only non-Vučić cable TV station – N1 from finding out whether the police minister bought a fake diploma both for his BA and his doctoral studies, whether an SNS official and director of Koridor Srbije highway company was speeding and hit a car waiting at the toll booth, which resulted in the death of the young woman in that car, only to vanish from the scene, who, how and with whose money organises people to defend (provide support and legal aid) to the mayor of Brus who sent his secretary 15,000 (no, there’s been no mistake or extra zero – 15,000) text messages amounting to sexual harassment, who installed the tank in front of the stadium and why, but more importantly: who will remove it, who is building mini hydropower plants and destroying Serbia’s rivers, why have almost all the trees in downtown Belgrade been cut down, and when will this city start functioning normally... If you ask any of these questions out loud, you will be labelled an enemy of the state. A second-rate Serbian. Self-hating. We all wear targets on our foreheads, all of us who write about these things even on our private social media profiles. And we all receive threats from the SNS bot team made up of public sector employees who spend their working hours hounding the opposition to this government or writing up its glorious successes. (By definition, a bot is a robot imitating human behaviour. Vučić has turned that game upside-down, too – he has made people into robots. And robots, even these paid human ones, lack the minimum of feelings and empathy, so they draw targets, aim, threaten...)

Let me remind you that Oliver Ivanović talked about being a target in *the 2017 text on the Kosovo Context*. By the time our report was printed, Ivanović had already been murdered. Since we know nothing about the circumstances of his murder or who ordered it, we can only ask: who’s next?

Katarina Milićević

CNA tim
CNA team



A photograph of a misty landscape. In the foreground, there is a small, young evergreen tree growing in a field of dry, brown grass. A few small purple flowers are visible in the grass. The background is a dense, dark forest shrouded in thick fog or mist, creating a somber and mysterious atmosphere.

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