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Godišnji izvještaj Annual Report



Centar za nenasilnu akciju Centre for Nonviolent Action
Sarajevo | Beograd

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Centre for Nonviolent Action
Sarajevo | Beograd

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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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(Vili Brant)	35		

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Uvod

Drage prijateljice, dragi prijatelji,

Predstavljamo vam 21. godišnji izvještaj Centra za nenasilnu akciju. U šali smo znali reći da je naša misija da se samoukinemo, a zapravo nam je želja da potreba za našim radom na prostorima zapadnog Balkana nestane. To može biti naša želja, ali do šale nam nije. Regionalne političke okolnosti, čije pogoršavanje bilježimo iz godine u godinu na ovim stranicama, u ovom trenutku već prijete da izmaknu kontroli. Kao da nam nije dosta domaćih gospodara rata koji se igraju šibicama na sjeniku, sada se već toliko otvoreno razgovara o opcijama „zamjene teritorija ili ljudi“ u sporu Srbija-Kosovo, da ni stanovnici Bosne i Hercegovine više mirno ne spavaju, znajući kako su zarazni i primamljivi ovakvi koncepti za krojače tuđih sudbina. U situaciji kada raste broj onih koji smatraju da je najbolji vid prevencije prisjećati se kako su nas susjedi prevarili i '91. i '92. i '99-te, pa je sigurnije nikako im i ne vjerovati, u situaciji kada je puno lakše naći neprijatelje nego saveznike, mir treba odabrati svjesno i sustavno ga graditi svim sredstvima koja su nam na raspolaganju. U tom procesu sigurno ćete naći saveznike, i preko granice/a, kao što smo se u svom radu nebrojeno puta uvjerali, a niti protekla godina u tom smislu nije bila izuzetak.

Zloupotreba prošlosti na postjugoslavenskom prostoru postala je toliko uobičajena, da prijeti postati novom istinom. To nije novi trend, i već neko vrijeme mu se nastojimo suprotstaviti pa smo tako i ove godine organizirali dva događaja u nastojanju da u borbi protiv ove zloupotrebe koordiniramo snage. U listopadu/oktobru 2017. organizirali smo drugi Dijaloški krug sa historičarima, sa namjerom da povežemo historičare i aktiviste, za konstruktivnu kritiku ove zloupotrebe i aktivističko propitivanje njezine moguće uloge u izgradnji mira. Osim regionalnih historičara, novinara i aktivista, pridružili su nam se i historičari iz Austrije, a krug smo znatno proširili nekoliko mjeseci kasnije. Naime, u svibnju/maju 2018. organizirali smo međunarodnu konferenciju „Pomirenje historija!?“ koja je okupila aktiviste za mir i ljudska prava, istraživače mirovnog rada, novinare i historičare iz različitih zemalja koje imaju ratno i postratno iskustvo, od Indije i Šri Lanke, preko balkanskih zemalja, Ukrajine, Abhazije, Gruzije pa sve do zemalja zapadne Europe. Konferencija je tematizirala različita iskustva u postratnom procesu, ulogi historijskih mitova i narativa u procesu pomirenja, razumijevanju važnosti nenasilja.

Da crno-bijele postavke historije, koje poznaju samo pravednog i krivog, a u pravedničkom gnjevu vide pravdu, mogu dovesti do negiranja stradanja čitave jedne grupe ljudi, nastojali smo upozoriti i izložbom „Na tragu Podunavskih Nemaca“. Bio je to način da predstavimo istraživanje koje su nekoliko godina radile naše kolegice Helena Rill i Marijana Stojčić, o sjećanju i narativima o gotovo pola miliona građana koji su do početka 2. Svjetskog rata živjeli na prostoru Kraljevine Jugoslavije, a sada gotovo da ih i nema. Neprerađeno i neosvještено iskustvo ima tendenciju ponavljanja, kako smo imali prilike vidjeti i u posljednjim ratovima 90-ih, a ova iskustva nam pokazuju da do promjene narativa može doći tek kada se i na „neprijateljskoj“ strani prepozna patnja.

A da je takvu lekciju teško naučiti, govori nam ovogodišnje iskustvo otkazivanja izložbe „Rat sjećanja“

koja je trebala gostovati u Sisku u studenom/novembru. Namjera ove izložbe je podizanje svijesti o trenutno prisutnim modelima kolektivnog sjećanja i postojećim modelima memorijalizacije, te poziv na nalaženje novih rješenja koja će se, prije svega, usmjeriti na žrtve nepravde i nasilja, bez obzira na njihovo porijeklo. Već dogovoreno gostovanje otkazano je, kako su nam rekli, jer za ovu izložbu trenutno „nije pogodno vrijeme“. Takvog mišljenja, srećom, nisu bili u Skoplju, Novom Pazaru i Kragujevcu, u kojima smo dobili priliku ovu izložbu pokazati ljudima.

Da je proaktivno i poželjno promišljati ne samo o tome što nas je snašlo, nego kako ćemo izgraditi budućnost, društvo u kojemu bismo voljeli živjeti, iz ciklusa u ciklus nas uči Biber, konkurs za kratku priču koji je i u svom drugom ciklusu bio na temu pomirenja. Dok pripremamo treći ciklus, na ponešto drugačiju temu, u ožujku/martu 2018. objavili smo zbirku kratkih priča sa posljednjeg konkursa, Biber02. Zbirka sadrži 25 priča po izboru žirija, od 385 koliko ih je ukupno pristiglo na konkurs. Zbirku smo ove godine predstavili u Tetovu i Zagrebu, a uskoro nam slijedi i promocija u Mitrovici.

Nastavljamo i sa našim naporima za usvajanje Strategije za izgradnju mira u Srbiji, i nadamo se da će ova inicijativa potaknuti, ako ne već vlade država u regiji, onda makar dati doprinos konstruktivnom dijalogu o tome kako održivi mir može i treba izgledati i koji institucionalni mehanizmi mogu tome doprinjeti.

Održali smo dva treninga, Mir-Paqe-Mир, za učesnike/ce iz Makedonije, Kosova i Srbije, kao i Trening iz izgradnje mira za ratne veterane. To je skupina za koju se posve sigurno može reći da ne žele čekati hiljadu godina da bi počeli razumijevati što nam se to dogodilo, kako uostalom pokazuju i njihove mirovne aktivnosti o kojima ćete također imati prilike čitati na ovim stranicama. Ništa manje vrijedna i izgradnji mira posvećena nije bila ni naša mala “gerilska” skupina mirovnjaka, obilježivši neobilježena mjesta stradanja u Goraždu, Stolcu, Mostaru, Varešu, Kaknju, Jajcu, Prijedoru i Kneževu.

U međuvremenu, napomenimo i to da je New York Times prije nekoliko dana objavio uvodnik bivšeg dužnosnika Obamine administracije, u kojemu ovaj poziva da se prijedlog zamjene teritorija između Kosova i Srbije mora podržati. Ovo, kako ga naziva, „mirno etničko čišćenje“ je, smatra, jedino rješenje za mir u regiji i predstavlja ono što i ljudi sami žele. Je li to baš tako, i kakav je osjećaj živjeti na Kosovu, u Srbiji, Makedoniji, Crnoj Gori, Hrvatskoj i Bosni i Hercegovini, možete pročitati u izvještajima aktivista sa terena, na kraju ovog godišnjeg izvještaja.

U ovom vam izvještaju predstavljamo presjek svih aktivnosti u periodu rujan/septembar 2017. - rujan/septembar 2018., uz napomenu da detaljnije izvještaje, galerije fotografija i video priloge možete naći na našoj web stranici nenasilje.org.

Pozivamo vas da pročitate što smo vam pripremili, i kao uvijek dosad, nadamo se vašoj povratnoj informaciji, kritici i podršci.



rad sa ratnim veteranima

U prethodnoj godini nastavili smo sa zajedničkim posjetama mješovite grupe ratnih veterana mjestima stradanja kao i sa odlascima jedne mješovite grupe ratnih veterana na zvanične komemoracije koje organiziraju udruženja žrtava ili različiti nivoi vlasti. Trening iz izgradnje mira za ratne veterane, 13. po redu, dao nam je novu inspiraciju i nove ideje za nastavak rada sa ratnim veteranima na polju izgradnje mira. No, krenimo redom.

Što se tiče međusobnih posjeta ratnih veterana i zajedničkih posjeta mjestima stradanja, krajem 2017. mješovita grupa ratnih veterana iz regiona posjetila je Goražde. Domaćini su nam i ovaj put bila lokalna boračka udruženja. Goražde je prepoznato kao jedna od zaštićenih enklava sa velikim brojem poginulih, kako civila tako i vojnika. Osim posjete obilježenim mjestima stradanja, veterani su posjetili i neobilježeno mjesto stradanja u mjestu Crkvina, odakle je 1992. nestalo 10 srpskih civila za kojima se i danas traga. Značajno je da se posjeti pridružio i tadašnji predsjednik boračke organizacije veterana VRS-a iz Foče, kao i načelnik Opštine Rudo. Dolasci susjeda na ovakve posjete kao i bivših boraca koji su se do jučer gledali preko nišana posebno su značajni za izgradnju povjerenja i mira kako na lokalnom, tako i na državnom i regionalnom nivou. Smjena predsjednika boračke organizacije iz Foče, nakon što je prisustvovao zajedničkoj posjeti veterana Goraždu, pokazuje da su otpori i dalje značajni.

Početak 2018. iskoristili smo za obilaske boračkih udruženja i ratnih veterana u Bosni i Hercegovini, Hrvatskoj i Srbiji s ciljem pronalaska novih partnera koji bi se pridružili postojećoj grupi ratnih veterana voljnih da rade na izgradnji mira. U BiH smo uspostavili inicijalne kontakte sa veteranima iz Maglaja, Jajca i Živinica, u Hrvatskoj smo posjetili Zagreb, Pakrac i Vukovar, dok smo u Srbiji u sklopu višednevnih sastanaka prisustvovali komemoraciji stradalim civilima tokom bombardovanja Aleksinca 1999. Također, sa našim prijateljima iz organizacije Graditelji mira, koja okuplja ratne veterane na području Kruševca, sastali smo se sa veteranima iz Kruševca, Aleksinca i Čičevca uz sastanke sa lokalnim vlastima u Kruševcu i Aleksincu.

Prisustvo mješovite grupe ratnih veterana na komemoraciji u Trusini 16. aprila 2018. bilo je posebno

značajno iz nekoliko razloga. Prije svega, na primjeru Dragice Tomić, predsjednice lokalnog udruženja žrtava na čiji poziv smo prisustvovali komemoraciji, pokazalo se još jednom koliko su lične inicijative značajne i snažne bez obzira na različite otpore ovakvim akcijama ratnih veterana. Za ratne veterane ova komemoracija je značajna i zbog toga što smo konačno ušli u Hercegovinu što nam do sada nije polazilo za rukom. Nakon komemoracije u Trusini izvjesno je da smo odškrinuli vrata Hercegovine jer su uslijedili pozivi i za druge aktivnosti na ovom području. Detaljniji izvještaj o ovoj komemoraciji i refleksije ratnih veterana koji su joj prisustvovali možete pročitati u nastavku ovog godišnjeg izvještaja.

Izuzetan interes medija za ovakve akcije ratnih veterana, čemu smo svjedočili u Trusini, Goraždu, ali u Aleksincu, uvijek nas istovremeno i raduju i žaloste: raduju jer pokazuju da postoji potreba društva za drugačijim sjećanjem, a žaloste jer interes medija pokazuje da su ovakve akcije još uvijek, incident a ne pravilo.

Ratni veterani dali su i značajan doprinos tokom konferencije Pomirenje historija?! koja je održana u maju 2018. Bivši pripadnici neprijateljskih vojski bili su naši domaćini u Zavidovićima gdje smo posjetili različita mjesta stradanja te razgovarali o motivaciji, iskustvima, otporima i drugim temama vezanim za uključivanje ratnih veterana u proces izgradnje mira.

Konačno, trening iz izgradnje mira za ratne veterane održali smo nakon četverogodišnje pauze. Bila je to prilika ne samo za siguran prostor za razgovore bivših pripadnika sukobljenih vojski već i za planiranje budućih akcija ratnih veterana vezanih za izgradnju povjerenja i mira na ovim prostorima.¹

¹ Detaljnije izvještaje o radu sa ratnim veteranima možete pronaći na našem sajtu: <https://nenasilje.org/category/aktivnosti/rad-sa-ratnicima/>



Nama je žao svih žrtava

16. april/travanj 2018

Jedan od vjesnika proljeća u postratnoj Bosni i Hercegovini su i komemoracije stradalim. *Ponekada u aprilu*, da se poslužimo nazivom filma o genocidu u Ruandi, počinje ciklus sjećanja, uvijek precizan, neumoljiv, po uhodanom rasporedu... To *kruženje sjećanja* (zlo) upotrebljava se shodno trenutnim potrebama i političkom momentu, ali 16. april u tom *kalendaru boli* ostaje, prije svega, trajni podsjetnik na sav besmisao rat(ov)a. Faktički u isto vrijeme, prije 25 godina, počinjeni su zločini nad mještanima Ahmića i Trusine.

Ahmiće i Trusinu prije 16. aprila 1993. niste mogli baš nikako povezati: Jedno selo je u Bosni, drugo u Hercegovini, jedno u ravnici, 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 počinili su zločin nad (hrvatskim) mještanima Trusine, dok će pripadnici HVO-a počinili zločin nad (bošnjačkim) mještanima Ahmića povezujući ova dva mjesta bolom koji ne prolazi.

Na 25. godišnjicu stradanja mještana Trusine komemoraciji u znak sjećanja na stradale prisustvovali su i

veterani iz regiona, bivši pripadnici Armije BiH, HVO-a, HV-a, VRS-a, JNA i VJ. Došli smo na poziv predsjednice lokalnog udruženja žrtava da odamo počast stradalim i zajedničkim prisustvom komemoraciji ukažemo da empatija za žrtve nije ograničena etničkom pripadnošću.

Došli smo da, kao ratni veterani i mirovni aktivisti, odamo počast svim žrtvama i pošaljemo poruku kako nam se rat, kao jedno strašno nasilje, nikada ne bi trebao ponoviti, kazao je Edin Ramulić, mirovni aktivista i bivši pripadnik Armije BiH iz Prijedora.

Da su poteškoće, prepreke i rizici u suočavanju sa bolnom prošlošću često tek izgovori za vlastito nečinjenje a ne nešto nepremostivo, pokazala je predsjednica udruženja žrtava iz Turisne Dragica Tomić. Svjesna mogućih pritisaka i negodovanja, bez da ih je krila od nas, ipak nas je pozvala na komemoraciju i bila naš domaćin sve vrijeme u Trusini učinivši da se osjećamo dobrodošlim.

U hladu crkve Svetog Ante Padovanskog Dragica nam je, zahvaljujući se na posjeti i podršci, kazala:

To je nešto što nam treba, kao primjer koji će slijediti drugi na putu mira, oprosta, suosjećanja sa svim žrtvama.

Ovakav odnos prema svim žrtvama je značajan korak ka budućnosti u kojoj, vjerujem, niko ne želi da se ponovi ono što nam se dešavalo 1990-ih.

U sveprisutnoj *redukciji komemoracija* u javnom prostoru u regionu insistira se samo na sjećanju vlastitih žrtava, uz ponavljanje minimiziranje, negiranje i tihog opravdavanja stradanja *drugih*. Dolazak grupe ratnih veterana nekada zaraćenih vojski umije da bude značajna intervencija u samu srž takvih narativa. Tako je u Trusini, govoreći Svetu misu, nadbiskup Pero Sudar održao inspirativan govor protiv nasilja još kazavši:

Nama je žao svih žrtava, danas se sa ovog mjesta sjećamo i žrtava u Ahmićima, one su nam bliske kao i ove žrtve ovdje.

Značajno je i da su se i u Ahmićima spomenule žrtve u Trusini. Pitanja zašto bošnjačkih političara nema u Trusini i hrvatskih u Ahmićima, koje se otvorilo na završnom sastanku grupe veterana koji su prisustvovali komemoraciji u Trusini, pokazuju da se neke stvari ipak mijenjaju, da nešto što je do jučer bilo sasvim *normalno* (da svako ide na komemoraciju samo svojim) društvo prepoznaje kao nešto što nas žulja i što i nije baš posve *normalno*.

Mediji su bili posebno zainteresirani za naše prisustvo komemoraciji u Trusini. Kao i ranije, to je dvojaki znak: U

društvu postoji potreba za drugačijim sjećanjem, onim koje nije isključivo, koje ne potiče mržnju u nama i oko nas; s druge strane, sama činjenica da je ovakva akcija ratnih veterana rijedak primjer takvog sjećanja na prošlost pokazuje koliko smo daleko na izgradnji mira.

Osim žrtvama, koje su često zaboravljene ili brutalno zloupotrebijene, prisustvo ratnih veterana značajno je i cijelokupnoj lokalnoj zajednici, uključujući i one koji ne dijele istu etničku pripadnost kao i žrtve. Svjedočili su tome i veterani koji su posjetili muzej u Jablanici i koji su o svojim motivima dolaska u Jablanicu razgovarali sa kustosom koji je ostao zatečen činjenicom da su na komemoraciju zajednički došli bivši pripadnici Armije BiH, HVO, HV-a, VRS, JNA i VJ.

Za CNA i ratne veterane komemoracija u Trusini je značajna i zato što je to najjužnija tačka na kojoj smo uspjeli da uspostavimo saradnju u Hercegovini, makar će neki kazati kako Konjic nije ni Hercegovina ni Bosna već ono *i između Bosne i Hercegovine*. Pa ipak, vjerujemo da ni tvrdi hercegovački kamen nije baš toliko tvrd.

Nedžad Novalić



Pa, zar su i oni došli?

Sve je prošlo bolje nego što se moglo očekivati. Zajedničko prisustvo veterana svih zaraćenih strana, odavanje pijeteta stradalima prilikom streljanja u Trusini. Posebno je značajno što je od organizatora dodatno istaknuto prisustvo veterana u okviru prisutnih zvanica.

Umorni od penjanja do groblja u Trusini, gde se održala Sveta misa. Puni dojmova koji su ostali nakon svega što se doživelo, puni emocija, bez obzira kakva i kolika iskustva stoje iza veterana. Malo je ostalo prostora nakon svega doživljenog da se analizira gde lično stoji svako i šta je ostavio pojedinačno u celoj priči.

Nakon završenog programom predviđenog dela, većina veterana su pošli put svojih domova dok je manji deo, zbog dužine puta od nekih desetak sati neophodnih za povratak, ostalo u Jablanici da bi to učinilo sledećeg dana ujutru. Kako je preostao dobar deo popodnevna, odluka je bilo da se vreme svrsishodno i iskoristi. Krenulo se u obilazaka spomenika bliže i dalje istorije koji se nalaze u blizini.

Najbliži spomenik bio je u Jablanici gde su učesnici i bili smešteni. Muzej "Bitka za ranjenike na Neretvi" Jablanica.

Početak obilaska valjda sasvim uobičajen. Slikanje da se zabeleži i pokaže. Ulazak u Muzej, na ulasku dočekuje kustos koji ljubazno odgovara na postavljena pitanja. Naravno, jedno od prvih pitanja je o mostu, koji je koji most... Kustos

strpljivo pojašnjava da je most koji su partizani srušili bio stari most na Neretvi kojim je išao voz, a koji je sagrađen u vreme Austro-Ugarske monarhije. Nemci su 1943. godine ponovo podigli most u cilju uspostave komunikacije vozom. Taj most koji su Nemci podigli 1943. godine je srušen za potrebe snimanja filma Bitka na Neretvi. Taj most i danas leži srušen na prilazu Neretvi.

Potom nas je kustos ostavio da sami, u obilasku Muzeja, komuniciramo sa svojim mislima, nakon stečenih novih utisaka, o nečemu o čemu se slušalo u školi, gledalo na filmu.

Prilikom završetka obilaska došlo je do ponovnog razgovora sa kustosom muzeja koji je pokazao interesovanje, u početku, odakle smo se obreli tu. Najverovatnije zarad izvesne evidencije odakle se pokazuje interesovanje za Muzej.

Reč po reč, došlo se do toga zašto smo u Jablanici. Objašnjavamo: zajedničko prisustvo veterana svih zaraćenih strana, odavanje pijeteta žrtvama streljanim u Trusini.

Kustos je više puta ponovio pitanje: "Veterani svih sukobljenih strana!?" Kada je dobio pozitivan odgovor, na neki način je pokazao posebno interesovanje za jednu od strana učesnika sukoba pitanjem: "Zar su i oni



prisustvovali?" (Na žalost, do tog trenutka nije nam se učinilo toliko bitno, pa nismo obratili posebnu pažnju.)

Nakon dobijanja pozitivnog odgovora, došlo je do reakcije kustosa, koja me je dovela do kasnijeg ličnog razmišljanja koliko zapravo znače posete i prisustvo veterana svih sukobljenih strana ovakvim događajima, odavanje pjeteta svim stradalim u sukobima na prostorima bivše SFRJ.

Kustos je krenuo da nam vrati novac dat za ulaznice sa pojašnjenjem da je znao ko smo ne bi ni naplatio ulaznice, dodavši i još niz pažljivo odabranih reči, a sve da da na neki način iskaže pažnju prema nama kao učesnicima događaja.

Naravno, mi smo rekli da skroman iznos dat za ulaznice smatra našim skromnim doprinosom za održavanje Muzeja. Rastali smo se svako sa svojim mislima nastalim na osnovu utisaka nakon ove posete. Produžili smo dalje, u našoj nameri da obiđemo još mesta koja smo zamislili.

Tek kada smo stigli u motel i ostalima ispričali događaj, počeli smo da "vraćamo film unazad".

Počeli smo sa razmišljanjem koliko zapravo vredi i šta znače ove i ovakve posete veterana svih sukobljenih strana, posebno mestima stradanjana svim stranama, stradanja najčešće nedužnih, bespomoćnih...

Ono što sam sam sabrao neću nametati. Neka svako se susretne sa svojim mislima.

Ljudevit Kolar Kole



Trening iz izgradnje mira za ratne veterane: Kako ohladiti hladni rat

5-8. juli/srpanj 2018.

Povijest se ponekada čini tako jednostavnom, što dublje gazimo prošlost nam se čini sve banalnijom ("banalno" ne znači i dobroćudno, kako je pokazala Hannah Arendt), a mnogi događaji u nama izazivaju salve smijeha uz sveprisutno nerazumijevanje. Ništa nam ne izaziva toliko čuđenja, uz prikriveni smijeh, kao ono što historičari nazivaju casus belli – događaj ili akt koji je bio povodom ili je iskorišten kao povod za objavu rata.

Kako danas, tisućljeće poslije, razumjeti da je sasvim uobičajen i legitiman casus belli bila, recimo, svađa nekih plemića na zabavi za gospodu, različiti hirovi sasvim ludih kraljeva, gatke vračeva koji su obećavali sigurne pobjede... No, ima jedna nezgoda s poviješću. Što nam je bliže, što je više opća povijest ujedno i naša lična povijest, skloni smo da imamo neuporedivo mnogo više razumijevanja za naše bliže prethodnike ili pak savremenike, njihove odluke su nam toliko razumljive i opravdane da ih rado vidimo kao vlastite. Jasno, najdjelotvorniji lijek su Heraklitove magične riječi Panta rhei – sve teče. Za hiljadu godina nekim novim klincima bit će nerazumljivo i pomalo smiješno zašto smo mi kretali u naše ratove.

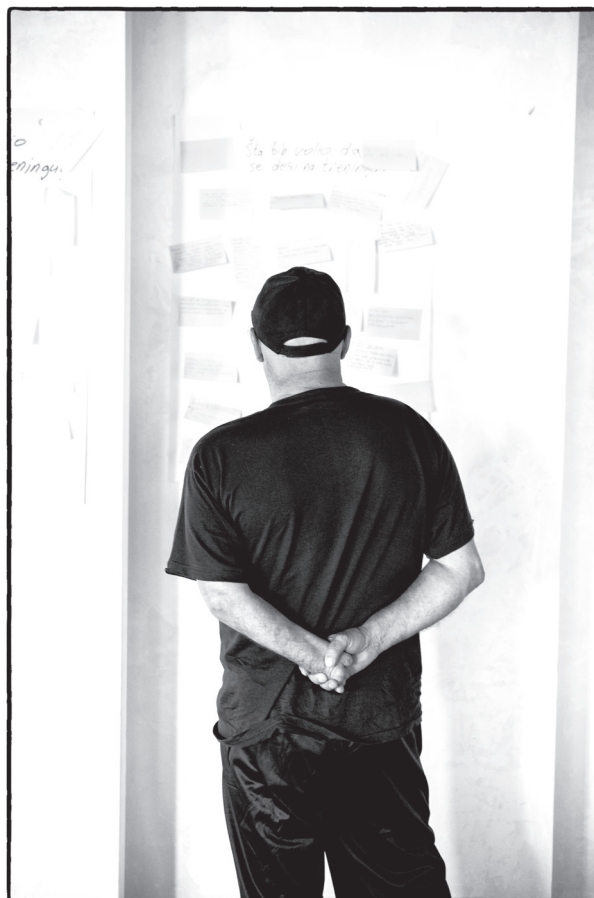
Šta nam se to desilo?

Neki od onih koji ne žele čekati hiljadu godina da bi počeli razumijevati šta nam se to desilo jesu i ratni veterani, pripadnici nekada zaraćenih strana u BiH, Hrvatskoj i Srbiji. Trening iz izgradnje mira za ratne veterane sa područja bivše Jugoslavije jedan je od načina da se mrak nerazumijevanja savlada, da, ako ništa drugo, za početak osvijetlimo vlastite pozicije unutar te mračne sobe zvane devedesete kako bismo se prestali sudarati i pokušali zajednički pronaći izlaz.

Ovogodišnji CNA trening za ratne veterane, 13. po redu, održan je na Jahorini od 5. do 8. jula, a okupio je 17 bivših pripadnika Armije RBiH (ARBiH), Hrvatskog vijeća obrane (HVO), Vojske Republike Srpske (VRS), Narodne odbrane Autonomne pokrajine Zapadna Bosna (NO APZB), Hrvatske vojske (HV), Jugoslovenske narodne armije (JNA) i Vojske Jugoslavije (VJ). Trenerski tim su činili članovi CNA Amer Delić, Nenad Vukosavljević, Nedžad Horozović i Nedžad Novalić, a podršku nam je pružio i Adnan Hasanbegović. Treninzi iz izgradnje mira bili su i još uvijek ostaju osnova rada CNA iz koje crpimo najvažnije resurse za dugogodišnji rad na izgradnji mira, od međusobne inspiracije i osnaživanja, preko

saradnika do novih ideja. Ovaj trening za ratne veterane posebno je značajan u tom smislu iz nekoliko razloga.

Prije svega, trening iz izgradnje mira je izuzetna prilika za prve susrete bivših neprijatelja, to je siguran prostor za otvaranje dijaloga s ciljem pokušaja razumijevanje vlastite i pozicije drugih. Trening je prilika za sve one važne potrebe koje nam postratna društva ne žele pružiti: priliku da razgovaramo s njima ne bježeći od teških tema, da objasnimo sebe, pokušamo razumijeti druge, u njima vidimo ljude s kojima želimo i možemo raditi na izgradnji bolje budućnosti.



Koraci naprijed

Također, trening za ratne veterane nismo radili pune četiri godine. U tom periodu napravili smo značajne pomake i uspjehe u zajedničkom radu sa ratnim veteranima na polju izgradnje mira. U posjete ratnih veterana mjestima stradanja počeli smo značajnije uključivati i predstavnike lokalne zajednice i vjerske lidere, te smo dobili značajniju podršku medija. Prisustvo zvaničnim komemoracijama mješovite grupe veterana pokazalo se kao izuzetna intervencija u prostor kulture sjećanja koja se vidi kao značajan korak ka pomirenju, a pozivi ratnih veterana da se obilježe mjesta stradanja konačno su čuli u jednoj lokalnoj zajednici pa je tako u Zavidovićima 2017. obilježeno mjesto stradanja tzv. "13. kilometar".

Od 2014. sreli smo se sa velikim brojem ratnih veterana koji su se pridružili već postojećoj grupi veterana spremnih da rade na izgradnji boljeg društva za sebe i svoju djecu. Neki od njih bili su nam domaćini prilikom posjeta ili komemoracija, iz saradnje sa njima rađaju se nove ideje na tom putu, a permanentna želja je širenje grupe ratnih veterana koji rade na izgradnji mira, ulazak u one sredine u kojima još nismo bili, ili pak produbljivanje saradnje tamo gdje su napravljeni početni koraci. Trening je prilika i za ovakva produbljivanja i planiranje budućih koraka.

Sreća kasnijeg rađanja

Ako je vjerovati boračkim registrima koje vode institucije u BiH, Hrvatskoj i Srbiji, u ratovima tokom 1990-ih u svojstvu vojnika učestvovalo je više od milion osoba. Posljedično, teško je zamisliti bilo koju porodicu na ovim prostorima koja nije veteranska, čiji neki član nije bio učesnik rat(ov)a. Za mene i moju generaciju, za djecu ratnih veterana, za one koji su imali tu sreću da budu, kako Helmuth Kol reče, rođeni dovoljno kasno i da ne učestvuju u ratovima 1990-ih, trening je prilika da se smanji ogromni međugeneracijski jaz, da se progovori o onome o čemu se glasno čuti. A o ratu se glasno čuti, čuti se o tome kako je ostati bez lijeve šake pa primiti čestitke jer su ti spasili desnu (Ali ja sam oduvijek bio lijevak), čuti se o strahovima, gubicima koji rat donosi, o tome kako te rat promijeni zauvijek...

Tamo gdje se mir shvata kao nastavak rata samo bez oružja, rat ćemo pronaći gdje god zagrebemo. Ratujemo fudbalskim utakmicama, učenicima u školskim klupama, spomenicima, vjerskim propovijedima, televizijskim dnevnicima. U tom hladnom ratu koji se da vrlo lako podgrijati, iskustvo ratnih veterana koji su najbolje godine života ili dijelove tijela ostavili po inim rovovima, tranšeima i čukama, može biti vrlo otrežnjujuće i transformirajuće.

Nedžad Novalić





mirovno obrazovanje

Mir – Paqe – Мир, Uvod u izgradnju mira

20-29.4.2018. Dojran, Makedonija

Šta je Mir-Paqe-Mup?

Mir-Paqe-Mup, “Uvod u izgradnju mira” je trojezični program mirovnog obrazovanja za ljude iz Srbije, Kosova i Makedonije. Održan je u Dojranu u Makedoniji u periodu od 20-29. aprila 2018. U timu su bili Nedžad Horozović iz CNA Sarajevo/Beograd, Nexhat Ismaili iz ANP Gjilan-Prishtina, Boro Kitanoski i Albulena Karaga iz Mirovne akcije Prilep-Tetovo.

Od 95. aplikacija koje smo primili, sastavili smo grupu od 17 ljudi različitih godina i profila (socijalni radnik, psiholog, aktivisti/kinje nevladinih organizacija, članovi/ice političkih partija, političari/ke, studenti/ce, prosvetni radnici/ke i novinari/ke) iz Niša, Beograda, Kragujevca, Srpske Crnje, Prištine, Mitrovice, Lešaka, Shtime, Lipjana, Prilepa, Kumanova, Krive Palanke, Delčeva i Đevđelije.

Mjesta susreta i prostor za razmjenu, za ljude iz Srbije, Makedonije i sa Kosova postaju sve rijeđa, zbog jezičkih barijera, ali i ne samo zbog toga. To je i bio jedan od razloga zašto se prije četiri godine, kroz program Trening za trenere/ice, rodila ideja za ovakav program mirovne edukacije. Ovaj trening je bio četvrti po redu. Kako proces praćenja radionica sa konsekvativnim prevodom (srpski-albanski ili makedonski-albanski i obrnuto) zahtjeva

posebnu pažnju i koncentraciju, taj proces su nam olakšale prevoditeljice Naile Keçmezi i Luljeta Ademi. Bez njihove posvećenosti naš rad ne bi bio moguć i kao što je jedan učesnik primjetio, “učinile su da se ne nađemo izgubljeni u prevodu”.

Šta je bilo posebno ove godine?

Svaki trening je poseban. I to nije cliché. Svaki je “skrojen” za potrebe specifične grupe i za specifični/e kontekst/e i vrijeme u kojem se dešavaju. Ono što je bilo posebno tokom ovog treninga i novo za većinu iz tima i iz grupe je da smo imali priliku da skupa radimo sa osobom koja je slijepa. Bilo je to posebno i obogaćujuće iskustvo učenja za sve. Ta osoba je bili u potpunosti angažovana i učestvovala je u skoro svim vježbama i igricama, kao učesnica ali i kao posmatračica. Neki od njenih uvida, načini na koje je do njih došla kao i njena mogućnost da ih jasno artikulise tokom radionica, činili su dodatnu vrijednost cijelom programu.

Fokus sadržaja treninga je bio na suočavanju sa prošlošću i pomirenju. Međusobno smo razmjenili i to šta me boli, šta mi smeta i šta mi nedostaje u pričama o ratu i prošlosti u okruženjima u kojima živimo? Lista



je bila izuzetno velika...i bila je ispunjena potrebom za priznavanje bola i patnje i težnjom za pravdom za sve, ogorčenošću zbog načina na koji su žrtve iskorištavali u nacionalističkim diskursima, potrebom za više konstruktivnog, dostojanstvenog i poštenog odnosa prema prošlosti, uključivanja više perspektiva u gledanju na prošlost u javnom prostoru, više podrške ljudima koji smognu snage da se suprotstave nepravdi vezanoj za prošlost kao i potrebom za pomirenjem i za mirom.

Učesnici/ce su mogli reflektovati i to koliko je mir puno više od odsustva rata i šta je sve to što nas okružuje a govori nam da ne živimo u miru? Istaknuto je i da naša društva u pojedinim aspektima i po problemima koji u njima postoje

su esencijalno slična i da su neki napori da se oni prevaziđu zajednički napori.

Postavili smo sebi i pitanje šta može svako od nas da napravi na putu promjene naših društava na bolje i koliko moći za to imamo. Bilo je mnogo odgovora i mnogo koraka. Neki su bili manji neki su bili veći...a neki, još nisu otkriveni.





neobilježena mjesta stradanja

Obilježavanje neobilježenih mjesta stradanja

U proteklih godinu dana, tim koji sprovodi aktivnost Obilježavanja neobilježenih mjesta stradanja, a koji čine Tamara Zrnović, Dalmir Mišković, Čedomir Glavaš i Amer Delić, bio je na terenu u dva navrata, i to u periodu od 1. do 3. decembra/prosinca 2017. i 26. do 29. marta/ožujka 2018. U akcijama nas je pratio naš saradnik, novinar freelancer Ajdin Kamber. Sa posljednjom akcijom ušli smo u četvrtu godinu za redom kako posjećujemo i obilježavamo mjesta stradanja, ona koja za sada nisu našla svoja mjesta u aktuelnim politikama memorijalizacije. I u posljednje dvije akcije učinili smo ta mjesta vidljivim u javnom prostoru, ukazujući na žrtve nepravde i nasilja, bez obzira na njihovu etničku pripadnost. Nastojeći našu aktivnost predstaviti lokalnim zajednicama u kojima je sprovodimo i ovaj put smo dobili podršku od ratnih veterana i mirovnih aktivista s tih područja, sa kojima imamo višegodišnje iskustvo zajedničke saradnje na polju izgradnje mira. To nam je omogućilo lakše pronalaženje lokacija koje smo planirali obilježiti, te održavanje sastanaka sa predstavnicima lokalnih vlasti kojima smo imali priliku predstaviti našu aktivnost.

U ove dvije akcije obilježili smo mjesta stradanja u općinama Goražde, Foča, Stolac, Mostar, Vareš, Kakanj, Jajce, Prijedor i Kneževo.

Neobilježena mjesta stradanja danas se koriste kao škole, sportske sale, stadioni, vojni objekti, tvornice, poljoprivredna gazdinstva, domovi kulture...

U odnosu na dosadašnju praksu, novost je da smo u ovoj godini ostvarili saradnju i sa udruženjima žrtava rata. Bivši logoraši posjećivali su sa nama lokacije nekadašnjih zatočeničkih objekata, emotivno svjedočeći o vlastitom stradanju ali i govoreći sa suosjećanjem o patnjama onih drugih, koji su u ratnom periodu bili zatočeniци njihove strane. Imali su potrebu da poruče da se žrtve trebaju posmatrati jednako, bezuslovno o kome se radi i bez političkih kalkulacija.

U saradnji sa Udruženjem žena žrtava rata iz Banja Luke, obilježili smo lokaciju stradanja u selu Bravnice kod Jajca i zajednički apelovali nadležnim institucijama da konačno ovaj slučaj dobije sudski epilog. Žene koje su bile sa nama su akterke tog događaja i osim traumatičnih uspomena jedna od njih još uvijek nosi metak u sebi za koji kaže da je manje boli od toga što se to stradanje želi zataškati i potisnuti u zaborav. Otprilike takav osjećaj nepravde dijele svi stradalnici, kao i njihove porodice i prijatelji.

Stekli smo i nova saznanja o aktuelnoj politici memorijalizacije i ograničenjima na koja nailaze inicijative za podizanje spomen obilježja.

Posjetili smo i Korićanske stijene gdje opština Kneževo, nekadašnji Skender Vakuf, ne dozvoljava izgradnju spomen obilježja za više od 150 streljanih Prijedorčana. Alternativno spomen obilježje za ove žrtve izgrađeno je u susjednom Travniku, dok se na samo lokaciji zločina tokom komemoracije postavlja mobilna ploča, koja se po završetku programa uklanja.

Prilikom naše posjete apelovali smo putem medija na vlasti Kneževa da omoguće podizanje memorijala.

Aktivnost Obilježavanja neobilježenih mjesta stradanja planiramo nastaviti i u narednom periodu. Nastojaćemo produbiti saradnju sa lokalnim zajednicama i udruženjima i pokušati da otvorimo prostor za konstruktivnu promjenu postojećih obrazaca kulture sjećanja.

Detaljnije izvještaji o posljednjim akcijama mogu se pronaći i na našem sajtu:

<https://nenasilje.org/2017/nevrijeme-na-vrijeme/>
<https://nenasilje.org/2018/mramor-kamen-zeljezo/>

Video priloge možete pogledati na:

<https://youtu.be/6xLpzw8Mvs>
https://youtu.be/LWPWw3_rj7s



pajtini | помирување | pomirenje

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promovimi i
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të shkurtër të
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промоција
збирка кра
раскази
на тема
помирување

publikacije, izložbe

Izložbe i promocije su mesta na kojima se surećemo sa ljudima, razmenjujemo misli i ideje, govorimo o stvorenim delima i o onima koje tek zamišljamo i planiramo. Mi u CNA ove događaje zovemo „ubiranje plodova“, jer nas uvek napune energijom i snagom novih ljudi i novih misli. Tako smo prvi put promovisali „Biber“ zbirku i konkurs u Hrvatskoj, u Zagrebu, a za Makedoniju smo odabrali da promocija bude u Tetovu. Odličan prijem imala je naša izložba fotografija i promocija istraživanja o sudbini Podunavskih Nemaca. U Kragujevcu smo imali najveći broj posetilaca izložbe „Rat sjećanja“ i susrete sa mladima, sa kojima smo o izložbi razgovarali. Uskoro završavamo štampu novog priručnika „Nenasilje 2“.

Mali prostor za svetlost – zašto se o Podunavskim Nemcima i dalje glasno ćuti

12-20 decembar/prosinac 2018.

Od 12. do 20. decembra u beogradskoj Ustanovi kulture Parobrod bila je otvorena izložba fotografija „Na tragu Podunavskih Nemaca u Vojvodini“. Autori fotografija su Nenad Vukosavljević i Nedžad Horozović. Bio je to način da Centar za nenasilnu akciju multimedijalno predstavi istraživanje istog naslova, koje su nekoliko godina radile Helena Rill i Marijana Stojčić, a koje je objavljeno na bhsc, engleskom i nemačkom jeziku.

Sudbina Podunavskih Nemaca je i dalje tabu tema u Srbiji, ali i na prostoru cele bivše Jugoslavije. Sećanja i narativi na blizu pola miliona građana koji su do početka Drugog svetskog rata živeli na prostoru Kraljevine Jugoslavije, a kojih sada gotovo da više i nema, su jednostavni: „Nemačka je izgubila rat, svi Nemci su bili za taj rat, posle njega su proterani, dobili su šta su zaslužili.“ Takav zaključak ne ostavlja ni malo prostora za preispitivanje, pokušaj radoznalog dolaženja do novih podataka, ne ostavlja prostora za razumevanje, a u slučaju Srbije, čak ni ono malo prostora koje može da probudi prosta ljudska empatija: ako nisu svi Srbi krivi za ratove vođene u njihovo ime '90-ih, i ako nisu svi krivi za zločine

počinjene u tim ratovima, kako su onda baš svi Podunavski Nemci krivi za rat koji je vodila nemačka država?

Razgrtanje tame

Pokušaj da se razgrne tama koju prati otvaranje ove teme praćen je javnom osudom svih kojima odgovaraju crno-bele postavke istorije, koje poznaju samo pravednog i krivog, a u pravedničkom gnevnu vide pravdu.

U takvoj atmosferi dočekali smo otvaranje izložbe i predstavljanje istraživanja, jer su na društvenim mrežama glasovi i osude, pa čak i ismevanje, pretnje i moraliziranje, bili dominantni. Pitali smo se zašto baš niko od stotina onih kojima je smetalo otvaranje ove teme nije pročitao istraživanje, koje je javno dostupno i besplatno? Odakle uverenost u jačinu svoga saznanja ako se ono, bar ponekad, ne preispita novim činjenicama, makar se one i odbacili? Odakle volja da se brane zločini, počinjeni od strane revolucionarne vlasti u SFRJ, kod onih koji su potpuno desno orjentisani, i tu vlast nazivaju komunjarskom i antisrpskom, a veličaju saradnike Rajha u isto vreme? No, ovo su pitanja na koja odgovore mogu da daju samo akteri,



pre svega sami sebi. Do promene narativa može da dođe tek kada se i na „neprijateljskoj“ strani prepozna ljudska patnja.

Prepoznavanje žrtve

„Nikada neću zaboraviti to vreme logora – ne samo zbog toga što smo bili gladni, što nam je život svakog dana bio ugrožen (sećam se upravnika logora, koji je imao običaj da nas postroji i strelja svakog desetog), već i zbog toga što su nas tretirali kao robove, kao manje vredna bića... U logoru, pa i dugo posle toga, sanjala sam o tome da imam parče hleba, da sam slobodna i idem tamo gde želim, bez pratnje i bez straha.“ – ovo su reči Anne Koch, logorašice iz logora za Podunavske Nemce u Gakovu, čija je ćerka Ana Bu, rođena u tom logoru, bila na otvaranju izložbe, i govorila o tome koliko je njoj lično važno što se, konačno, i za njenog života, o ovoj temi govori.

Helena Rill, jedna od autorki istraživanja, je svoju ličnu motivaciju da se bavi ovom temom pronašla u porodičnoj istoriji i vezi sa Drugim svetskim ratom i njegovim posledicama. S jedne strane, majka je bila u logoru na prostoru Nemačke za vreme rata i o tome se pričalo. Ono o čemu se nije baš pričalo jeste očev nacionalni identitet i šta se događalo nekoliko godina nakon rata, kad se njegova celokupna primarna porodica iselila iz Jugoslavije. „Važno je priznati žrtvu. Ali, ko će meni da prizna žrtvu internacije u logor kad sam bila mala, samo zbog toga što sam Nemica?“ zapitala se doktorica Helenine majke, što je nju navelo da baš tu, nepopularnu žrtvu, istražuje, rekla je na otvaranju.

Nedžad Horozović je, takođe, govorio o ličnom iskustvu izbeglice, tokom rata u Bosni, i kako se lako zaborave ljudi koji su do juče bili komšije.

Gost otvaranja bio je Guido Stein, iz Zajednice Apatinaca u Nemačkoj, koji je doputovao samo zbog tog povoda. Njegova majka je Nemica iz Apatina, i jako mu je važno, rekao je, da što više sazna o tim događajima, o kojima se, kako je naglasio istoričar Zoran Janjetović, saradnik na istraživanju, i dalje glasno čuti.

Zvanično je izložbu otvorio Johannes Irschik, direktor Austrijskog kulturnog foruma ambasade u Beogradu.

Iako je to, iz organizatorske uloge, neskromno oceniti, ipak smo malo bili iznenađeni brojem prisutnih gostiju, koji su na razne načine saznawali za izložbu, ali se činilo da su svi imali jako lične motive da na nju dođu. Bilo da su imali intelektualnu pobuđenost i želju za novim saznanjima, bilo da su potomci Podunavskih Nemaca, koji žele da upotpune često isprekidane i nejasne porodične narative, u kojima se o poreklu ovih predaka nije uvek glasno i precizno govorilo. Zanimljivo: u vreme kada smo spremali izložbu, i za vreme njenog trajanja, činilo se da nas je na svakom ćošku, u svakom razgovoru, sretao neko ko zna ili ima nekog ko je Podunavski Nemač/Nemica. U nadi da smo istraživanjem i izložbom otvorili bar mali prostor za svetlost koja će razbiti tamu ćutanja, verujemo i da je ova izložba samo prva u nizu onih koje će tek uslediti.

Katarina Milićević

Biber 02 - Druga zbirka priča na temu pomirenja

U martu/ožujku 2018. godine objavili smo zbirku Biber 02, zbirku kratkih priča na temu pomirenja. Ona je rezultat drugog konkursa za kratku priču koji je bio otvoren u prvoj polovini 2017. godine. Na konkurs su mogli da se prijave renomirani i neafirmisani pisci i spisateljice koji pišu na jednom od sledećih jezika: albanskom, makedonskom, bosanskom, hrvatskom, srpskom ili crnogorskom. Ovaj put u žiriju su bili Tatjana Gromača, Kim Mehmeti i Faruk Šehić.

Na konkurs je stiglo 385 priča, što je za oko 20% više nego na prethodnom konkursu.

Žiri je odlučio da sledeće tri priče budu nagrađene:

3. nagrada: priča *Семејството на чичко Аки* (Obitelj strica Akija) autorke Anuške Minovske iz Skoplja,

2. nagrada: *Čiko Zav* autorke Dženete Rovčanin iz Sarajeva,

1. nagrada: *Jedu ljudi i bez nogu* autorke Milice Vučković iz Beograda.

Pored nagrađenih priča, još 22 priče su izabrane da budu objavljene u zbirci, i to priče sledećih autorki i autora: Adama Pakaia, Afrima Demirija, Ane Knežević,

Andree Popov Miletić, Anele Ilijaš, Blagice Gjorgjievske, Danila Lučića, Dragića Cvjetinovića, Edisa Galushija, Jasne Radulović, Jovane Matevske, Lejle Kalamujić, Marjete Gjoke, Mehmeta Elezija, Milana Vorkapića, Nemanje Raičevića, Sanje Mihajlović-Kostadinovske, Sanje Radulović, Srđana Gagića, Tanje Javorine, Vere Kalin i Verime Zimberi Beluli. Objavljene priče stigle su iz: iz Beograda, Bitolja, Doboja, Kičeva, Novog Sada, Preloga, Prilepa, Prizrena, Sarajeva, Skoplja, Tirane, Uroševca, Vrnjačke Banje, Zagreba i Zemuna.

Zanimljivo je da čak iza 16 odabranih priča stoje autorke, dok su 9 napisali autori, a da su sve tri nagrade dobile žene i to mlade žene. Ova činjenica ne oslikava stanje u izdavaštvu u regiji, gde su u mnogo većoj meri zastupljeni muškarci. Doduše, među prijavljenima za konkurs 60% su bile žene.

Zbirka Biber 02 dostupna je u PDF formatu na stranici konkursa biber.nenasilje.org.

Ideja i organizacija

Kao što smo naglasili u predgovoru, iako to verovatno nije uobičajeno, tema drugog Biber konkursa ista je kao i tema prvog - pomirenje. Razloga je mnogo, a među njima su: 1) ta tema nam je jako važna kao pojedinkama, mirovnim aktivistkinjama i žiteljima Balkana; 2) želele

smo da potaknemo još autorki i autora da promišljaju o pomirenju i time nas inspirišu; 3) želele smo da podržimo angažovane autorke i autore koji se hvataju u koštac sa temom toliko zahtevnom, koliko je i sam proces pomirenja zahtevan; 4) smatramo da u našim sredinama nema dovoljno konstruktivnog promišljanja o pomirenju i 5) vrlo jednostavno, pomirenja nam nedostaje. Razlog protiv izbora te teme je jedan: prekompleksna je i preteška za formu kratke priče, o čemu nam govori velika većina pristiglih priča koje nisu direktno odgovorile na temu.

Ideja o Biberu nastala je krajem 2014. godine, kao nastavak programa mirovnog obrazovanja u organizaciji Centra za nenasilnu akciju Sarajevo|Beograd (CNA, nenasilje.org) u spoju mirovnog aktivizma i književnosti. Za konkurs Biber specifično je to što predselekciju priča rade mirovne aktivistkinje i aktivisti, koji kao strastvene čitateljke i čitatelji procenjuju koliko ta priča doprinosi pomirenju, boljem razumevanju, približavanju ljudi, smanjenju mržnje i neprijateljstva, a da pri tom ne poriče užase koji su nas podelili. Tek kada priča prođe kroz ruke onih koji imaju dosta iskustva u radu na izgradnji mira i pomirenju, ona dospeva kod žirija koji procenjuje njenu literarnu vrednost. Predselekciju su radili: Abdullah Ferizi, Albulena Karaga, Aleksandra Bogdanovska, Ana Bitoljanu, Davorka Turk, Ivana Franović i Katarina Milićević. U organizacionom timu



konkursa pored Davorke, Ivane i Katarine iz CNA bili su Ana Bitoljanu i Safet Ballazhi iz Skoplja.

Konkurs i objavljivanje zbirke omogućeni su finansijskom podrškom od Austrijske razvojne agencije (ADA), nemačkog Saveznog ministarstva za privrednu saradnju i razvoj (BMZ) i Diakonie Austrija u saradnji sa Međunarodnim društvom pomirenja (IFOR Austrija).

Promocije

Do sada smo organizovali dve promocije zbirke Biber 02: na Filozofskom fakultetu u Tetovu (27.03.2018.) i u Knjižnici i čitaonici Bogdana Ogrizovića u Zagrebu (07.06.2018.).

Na promociji u Tetovu učestvovali su prevodilac Qerim Ondozi, autorka trećenagrađene priče Anuška Minovska, pesnik i urednik Danilo Lučić i Ivana Franović u ime Biber tima. Razgovor je vodio mirovni aktivista iz Tetova, naš dugogodišnji prijatelj i saradnik, Blerim Jashari. Razgovor u amfiteatru je na naše iznenađenje bio prilično emotivan i osnažujući, a dobar deo publike su bili studentkinje i studenti sa Kosova koji studiraju u Tetovu. Prijatno nas je iznenadio i veoma topao i lep doček od strane zaposlenih na Fakultetu sa dekanom na čelu.

Knjižnica Bogdana Ogrizovića u Zagrebu je bila puna,

a govorili su: Tatjana Gromača kao članica žirija, Milica Vučković, dobitnica prve nagrade na konkursu, Lejla Kalamujić, spisateljica iz Sarajeva, prevodilac Qerim Ondozi, književni kritičar Srđan Sandić i Davorka Turk u ime tima Biber. Razgovor je vodila Aneta Lalić iz SNV-a. Bilo je divno videti neke poznate ljude i puno više nepoznatih ljudi koje je privukla tema ili šarolik izbor govornika.

Za sada je u planu promocija u Mitrovici, koja bi trebalo da bude 14.11.2018., a moguće je da će Biber imati i svoju prvu crnogorsku promociju u Podgorici na proleće 2019. godine.

O nastavku ove ideje

Sasvim je izvesno da ćemo organizovati i treći konkurs Biber. Ukoliko uspemo da obezbedimo sredstva, konkurs će biti raspisan pre kraja januara/siječnja 2019. godine. Tema će verovatno biti nešto šira, jer nam je iskustvo pokazalo da je dosta teško odgovoriti na nju. Za veliku većinu pristiglih priča na oba konkursa pre bi se moglo reći da spadaju u antiratne, mirovne priče, priče na temu ličnog suočavanja sa prošlošću, priče o procesu razgradnje predrasuda ili o suživotu, nego što direktno odgovaraju na temu pomirenja. Sve informacije o konkursu ćemo blagovremeno postaviti na Biberove internet i Facebook stranice.





Izložbe i promocije publikacija „Rat sjećanja“

Izložbama organiziranim u Skoplju, Novom Pazaru i Kragujevcu, nastavili smo promociju istraživanja i publikacije „Rat sjećanja“.

Izložba u Skoplju organizirana je u suradnji sa Mirovnom akcijom iz Prilepa. Bila je otvorena od 11-20. novembra 2017., u centru „Mala stanica“. Uslijedila je izložba u novopazarskoj Galeriji MMC, otvorena 2. februara 2018., te izložba u Kragujevcu, otvorena 12. marta 2018. u Domu omladine.

Istraživanje o spomenicima i kulturi sjećanja u Bosni i Hercegovini, odnosno publikacija „Rat sjećanja“ i prateća izložba fotografija, sadrži spomenike, obilježena i neobilježena mjesta stradanja u Bosni i Hercegovini nastala nakon rata 1992-1995. Cilj nam je bio istražiti kulturu sjećanja i politiku memorijalizacije nastalu nakon posljednjeg rata, promatrajući ih prvenstveno iz perspektive izgradnje trajnog mira i pomirenja. U istraživanje su bili uključeni spomenici i neobilježena mjesta stradanja na svim nekad zaraćenim stranama u Bosni i Hercegovini. Naša je namjera podizanje svijesti o trenutno postojećim modelima memorijalizacije, te poziv na dijalog i traženje novih rješenja koja će se prvenstveno usmjeriti na žrtve nasilja i nepravde, bez obzira na njihovo porijeklo. Poruka izložbe je univerzalna, i jednako primjenjiva na sve prostore na kojima djelujemo – otvoriti prostor za konstruktivnu promjenu prema inkluzivnijoj, ne-nacionalističkoj, ka miru okrenutoj kulturi sjećanja.

Utoliko nam više znači da interes za izložbu ne jenjava ni van granica Bosne i Hercegovine, kako se pokazalo i u ovih proteklih godinu dana. Posebno nas iznenadila velika zainteresiranost medija i posjećenost izložbe u Kragujevcu, gdje je poziv na izložbu svim školama u gradu uputio načelnik Školske uprave za Šumadiju, prepoznavši u njoj jasnu mirovnu poruku. Razgovarajući sa učenicima o ovim temama koje im nisu bliske jer se o strahotama rata u školskom programu rijetko govori, Katarina Milićević iz CNA i Gordana Jocić, članica „Centra za mirovne inicijative“ koja nam je i pomogla realizirati ovu izložbu, podijelile su svoje lične priče o tome kako rat izgleda. O tome kako ga nitko ne očekuje, ali do njega ne dolazi iznenada, te upravo zato treba prepoznati i reagirati na sve oblike nasilja u društvu. Na otvaranju su bili prisutni i naši suradnici, ratni veterani iz Kruševca, aktivni u mirovnom radu, koji su tom prilikom s okupljenima podijelili svoje iskustvo, opredijeljenost i motivaciju za djelovanje na polju izgradnje mira.

Od prve izložbe u Sarajevu, 2016. godine, dosad ih je održano 10. Navedenim izložbama su prethodile izložbe u Mostaru, Banja Luci, Bihaću, Beogradu, Tuzli i Brčkom. Uskoro nam slijedi izložba u Zavidovićima (4-18.11.2018.), a za sljedeću su godinu planirane izložbe u Podgorici, Mrkonjić Gradu, Goraždu i Jajcu.



Najava: Novi priručnik za treninge

Do kraja 2018. godine biće objavljen naš novi priručnik za treninge iz izgradnje mira. Potrudili smo se da sakupimo iskustvo sa treninga u poslednjih 20 godina i objavimo na jednom mestu. Biće dostupan na našem sajtu na našim jezicima i na engleskom.



razmjena, saradnja, umrežavanje...

Željeni historičari za neželjenu povijest

Sarajevo, 14-15. oktobar/listopad 2017.

Ispred zgrade Vlade Federacije BiH mjesecima protestuju ratni veterani tražeći svoja prava. Nesvakidašnja je to situacija, tu zajedno, ujedinjenje u mucu, u šatorima možete vidjeti bivše pripadnike Armije BiH i Hrvatskog vijeća obrane, ljude koji su u jednom trenutku bili na suprotnim stranama ratišta, dok ih s prozora promatraju hrvatski i bošnjački dužnosnici također ujedinjeni u mucu vlasti. Na jednom od transparenta veterani koji traže tek osnovna socijalna prava pitaju, doslovice: Akademici, profesori, historičari – zašto ćutite?

Kada sam ljetos prvi put vidio transparent zastao sam, zamolio dozvolu da fotografiram i sjeo pored transparenta. Kao sin ratnog veterana i neko ko, makar kao periferan, ima i identitet historičara, razmišljao sam šta, dovraga, ratni veterani hoće od historičara? Kako bi im historičari mogli pomoći? Zašto bi to trebali uraditi? Bio je ovo poziv historičarima koji je do danas, koliko znam, ostao bez odgovora.

Dijaloški krug sa historičarima koji je u organizaciji Centra za nenasilnu akciju Sarajevo/Beograd održan u Sarajevu 14-15. oktobra, grubo kazano, tražio je upravo odgovor na pitanje koje su postavili ratni veterani na pomenutom transparentu. Ratovi u kojima su učestvovali veterani koji danas prozivaju historičare, kako kaže Enver Kazaz, počeli su prvo u kulturi, a Latinka Perović će dodati da su u kulturi ratovi prvo počeli u historiografiji – višedecenijskom visokooktanskom gorivu sukoba na prostorima Balkana. Protestima veterana i pitanjem historičarima zašto ćute zatvara se, čini se, puni krug: stvari se vraćaju tamo odakle su i počele.

Ovo je drugi Dijaloški krug sa historičarima u organizaciji CNA. Prvi dijaloški krug ili seminar razmjene održali smo u martu 2014. godine u Sarajevu uz učešće 20-ak historičara, novinara, aktivista... Nakon prvog seminara uočili smo da postoji značajno nerazumijevanje na različitim nivoima, od nerazumijevanja oko pitanja (ili neslaganja) šta je uloga historije i historičara u društvu, do nerazumijevanja ili barem različitih razumijevanja kakvu bi ulogu historija i historičari mogli/trebali imati u procesu suočavanja s prošlošću i izgradnji mira. Taj prvi seminar bio nam je i važan za razumijevanje pozicije učesnika koji imaju

različitu profesiju i iskustvo, ali i za razmjenu očekivanja i potreba između njih. Umjesto predavanja, ovaj put smo se odlučili za drugačiji pristup, prvenstveno radioničarski, interaktivan, dijaloški pristup. Iako je područje bivše Jugoslavije podijeljeno u nekoliko država, društveni procesi koja postratna društva prolaze su po mnogo čemu slični uz tek poneke specifičnosti.

O čemu to historičari ćute dok govore i o čemu govore dok ćute?

Eric Hobsbawm, nedavno preminuli britanski historičar, zapisao je da, kao što su cvjetovi maka sirovina za proizvodnju heroína, tako je i historija sirovina za nacionalizam. No, nije historija sirovina od koje se može dobiti isključivo kvalitetan, u prošlost utkan i od prošlosti satkan nacionalizam. Lepeza proizvoda od sirovine koju nazivamo historija/historija/povijest mnogo je šira i raznovrsnija. Ovim seminarom razmjene ili dijaloškim krugom željeli smo otvoriti prostor za konstruktivnu kritiku zloupotrebe historije i propitivanje potencijalne uloge historije za konstruktivno suočavanje sa prošlošću i izgradnju mira.

Pored historičara, novinara i aktivista iz BiH, Hrvatske, Srbije i Makedonije ovaj put su nam se pridružili i historičari iz Austrije koji su nam pomogli da procese kojima svjedočimo u regionu kontekstualiziramo u širi prostorni i vremenski okvir te nam donijeli jednu novu i bitnu percepciju o upotrebi historije u procesu konstruktivnog suočavanja s prošlošću s obzirom da ovaj proces u Austriji traje znatno duže, ima određene sličnosti sa iskustvom postjugoslovenskim zemalja, ali i neke posebnosti.

Krenuli smo i završili sa osnovnim pitanjem: šta je uloga historije? Iako svjesni konteksta i postfaktičnog (posttruth) vremena u kojem autoritet historiografije jenjava, primjeri oko nas demantiraju one koji se jadaju kako je nauka izgubila svu moć. Vlast, a valjda je to moć, samo prije nekoliko mjeseci je upravo historičare konsultirala o tome treba li jedna osnovna škola u Sarajevu ponijeti ime po simpatizeru fašističkih vlasti, ili treba li sa Vijećnice u Sarajevu ukloniti spornu ploču... Odgovor da je historija učiteljica života koja stoljećima ima loše učenike, što objašnjava ponavljanje povijesnih grešaka, zatvara

mogućnosti vraćanja odgovornosti u krilo ne samo historičara, novinara i aktivista već i svih onih koji znaju da se hljeb naš svagdašnji ne mijesi bez zrna soli prošlosti.

Ne tragajući za ispravnim odgovorima željeli smo da historičari, novinari i aktivisti razmijene mišljenja, iskustva i poglede na različita pitanja: Koje su nam mogućnosti djelovanja u situaciji kada dominira ideološki motiviran revizionizam, šta želimo postići, koja sredstva imamo na raspolaganju, ko su nam mogući saveznici u ovom procesu? Koje su mogućnosti i ograničenja u traganju za modelom odnosa prema prošlosti koji bi bio kompleksniji i multiperspektivniji? Je li moguća historija sadašnjosti? Koje su mogućnosti problematizacije postojećih politika sjećanja i dominantnih narativa u javnom diskursu unutar kojeg je historijski revizionizam zaživio i stekao mogućnost da uđe u društvene mase? Koje su specifičnosti i sličnosti ovih procesa u regionu bivše Jugoslavije ali i u zemljama



koje imaju iskustvo konstruktivnog suočavanja s prošlošću?

Problematizirali smo i pitanje neutralnosti, objektivnosti i metodoloških ograničenja koja nameće ne samo historiografija već i druge struke. Koliko je neutralnost tek bježanje u polje konformizma i, kako kaže Howard Zinn, može li se biti neutralan na vozu koji se kreće, samo su neki putevi kojima smo ponovo pokušali doći na isti cilj: uloga historije u našem društvu. Nerazumjevanje i zamjerke između historičara, novinara i aktivista te putevi moguće saradnje omogućili su nam svima da osvijestimo vlastitu odgovornost i sagledamo moć i mogućnosti koje nam stoje na raspolaganju.

Od floskula koje čujemo u našim društvima u kontekstu suočavanja s prošlošću omiljena mi je ostavimo prošlost historičarima. Ali avaj, prošlost je od historičara davno otrgnuta, ako su ikada i imali takav monopol on je danas nepovratno izgubljen, raspršio se usljed tektonskih promjena u samo nekoliko posljednjih desetljeća. Dok šetate ulicom, razgovarate s porodicom i prijateljima, gledate televiziju, suočeni ste s prošlošću. Zato bih se najradije proderao: Otmimo historičarima prošlost.

Neželjena povijest traži svoje historičare, ona ne može čekati da prođe trideset, četrdeset ili pedeset godina kako bi vremenska distanca bila bedem koji će nas zaštititi od izlaganja svemu onome što sa sobom nosi izlazak iz zone konformizma, mitovi i narativi koji su nas jednom (zar samo jednom?) odveli u rat ne samo da žive tu oko nas već su u mnogim slučajevima postali nova ishodišna tačka oko koje se kreira novi sistem vrijednosti u našim društvima, a koji bi da nas drži u vječito vrućem hladnom ratu.

Na kraju je početak: Kakvu korist moje društvo ima od onoga što ja radim i kakvu bi korist volio da ima? Nebitno jesam li historičar, novinar, aktivista...¹

Nedžad Novalić

1 Preporuke za doprinos historičara izgradnji mira, sumirane tijekom Dijaloškog kruga, možete pronaći na sljedećem linku: <https://nenasilje.org/2017/preporuke-za-doprinos-istoricara-izgradnji-mira/>

Refleksiju jednog od učesnika o Dijaloškom krugu, možete naći na sljedećem linku: <https://nenasilje.org/2017/naucila-sam-da-cutim-slusam-dijaloski-krug-centra-za-nenasilnu-akciju-sarajevo-oktobar-2017/>

Međunarodna konferencija „Pomirenje historija!?”

Sarajevo, 15-17. maj/svibanj 2018.



Konferencija “Pomirenje historija!?” okupila je aktiviste za mir i ljudska prava, istraživače mirovnog rada, novinare i historičare iz različitih zemalja koje imaju ratno i postratno iskustvo, od Indije i Šri Lanke, preko balkanskih zemalja, Ukrajine i Gruzije do Zapadne Evrope.

Konferencija je, u organizaciji Centra za nenasilnu akciju Sarajevo/Beograd, održana od 15. do 17. maja u Sarajevu, uz studijsko putovanje u Zavidoviće koji su prepoznati kao značajan i pozitivan primjer u procesu suočavanja s prošlošću i izgradnji mira.

Konferencija je tematizirala iskustva različitih zemalja u postratnom procesu traganja za pravdom, izazovima i tabuima u tom procesu, uloji historijskih mitova i narativa u procesu pomirenja, razumjevanju važnosti nenasilja i limitima nenasilja... Uvodničari i moderatori, pored ostalih, bili su Edin Ramulić, Diana Francis, Martina Fisher, Budimir Ivanišević, Marina Elbakidze, Albulena Karaga, Ponnampalam Narasingham...

Poslije 30 godina rata, stanovnici Šri Lanke već devet godina pokušavaju izgraditi održivi mir. Mirovni aktivista iz Šri Lanke Ponnampalam Narasingham kaže kako su ovakvi skupovi prilika da se upozna sa kontekstima u drugi

zemljama i poteškoćama s kojima se one suočavaju.

“Mehanizmi, tehnike i alati koje su drugi možda koristili ili još koriste možda mogu pomoći i Šri Lanki na putu koji je tek pred njom”, kaže Ponnampalam Narasingham.

“Odabir aktivista za mir i ljudska prava, istraživača mirovnog rada, novinara i historičara nije nasumičan, već ukazuje na prepoznatu potrebu da se fragmentisan rad u ovim poljima uveže ili makar njegovi akteri dovedu u dijalog, jer svako na svoj način može dati značajan doprinos izgradnji ili razgradnji mira. To je zadatak društvenog pomirenja, zadatak za šire i različite društvene skupine je sigurno jedan od temelja za pretpostavku uspješnog procesa pomirenja”, kazao je Nenad Vukosavljević iz Centra za nenasilnu akciju Sarajevo/Beograd, dodavši da društveno pomirenje vidi kao odustajanje od mržnje i predrasuda između ljudi koji se međusobno ne poznaju lično već te osjećaje generišu na osnovu pripadnosti kolektivu.

“Ma kako izgledalo da je pomirenje ustupak drugima, kojima se time oprašta nešto što je zapravo neoprostivo, mir, pravda, sigurnost su potrebe svih ljudi i svi jednako od toga profitiraju. Oslobođanjem od straha i mržnje



pomažemo prije svega sebi, svojim najbližim, svom neposrednom i širem okruženju”, dodao je on.

Natasha Zupan, mirovna aktivistica iz Njemačke koja je godinama radila na području Balkana, kazala je kako je progres na putu izgradnje mira na području Balkana pred velikim izazovima i da je ogromna odgovornost na političarima koji su često glavni krivci za zaustavljanje tog procesa.

“Nade, naravno, ima. Preduslovi za značajnu promjenu postoje, na početku procesa značajnu ulogu je imala međunarodna zajednica. Iako nisam za takvu ulogu međunarodne zajednice, smatram da su određeni mehanizmi dobrodošli”, kazala je Zupan.

Istraživačica Martina Fisher smatra kako je u postratnim društvima važno da se razgovara o značaju sjećanja i različitih, često suprotstavljenih historija.

“Neko će možda prigovoriti kako ova tema i nije važna jer ima toliko bitnijih stvari koje nas pritišću. Ali da bi smo krenuli ka budućnosti važno je pogledati i razumjeti šta nam se desilo. Možda je na Balkanu ili u drugim dijelovima svijeta prerano za pomirenje historija, ali je za jedno društvo izuzetno važno da shvati da iskustva i pogledi na ono što

se desilo mogu biti različiti pri čemu je istovremeno bitno osvijetliti činjenice koje su neupitne kao što je osuda ratnih zločina ili priznanje patnje žrtava”, naglasila je Fisher.

Ova je konferencija značajna za našu regiju i kako bismo se uvjerali da u problemima s kojima se suočavamo nismo usamljeni, ali nismo usamljeni ni u traženju načina da ih prevladamo, smatra Davorka Turk iz Centra za nenasilnu akciju.

“Značajna je i zbog toga što nam pogled sa strane može pomoći da lakše utvrdimo naše stranputice i uspjehe i usmjerimo našu energiju u budućnosti na način koji bi bio najsvrshodniji.

Solidarnost koju osjećamo od ljudi iz drugih dijelova svijeta nam je također vrlo značajna, pomaže nam da istrajemo”, dodala je ona.¹

1 Video prilog s konferencije možete pogledati na linku: <https://nenasilje.org/2018/video-pomirenje-historija-konferencija-sarajevo-15-17-05-2018/>

Dokumentaciju konferencije možete pronaći na sljedećem linku, na engleskom jeziku: <https://nenasilje.org/2018/dokumentacija-sa-medunarodne-konferencije-pomirenje-historija/>



Strategija izgradnje mira

“Mir nije sve, ali sve je ništa bez mira”

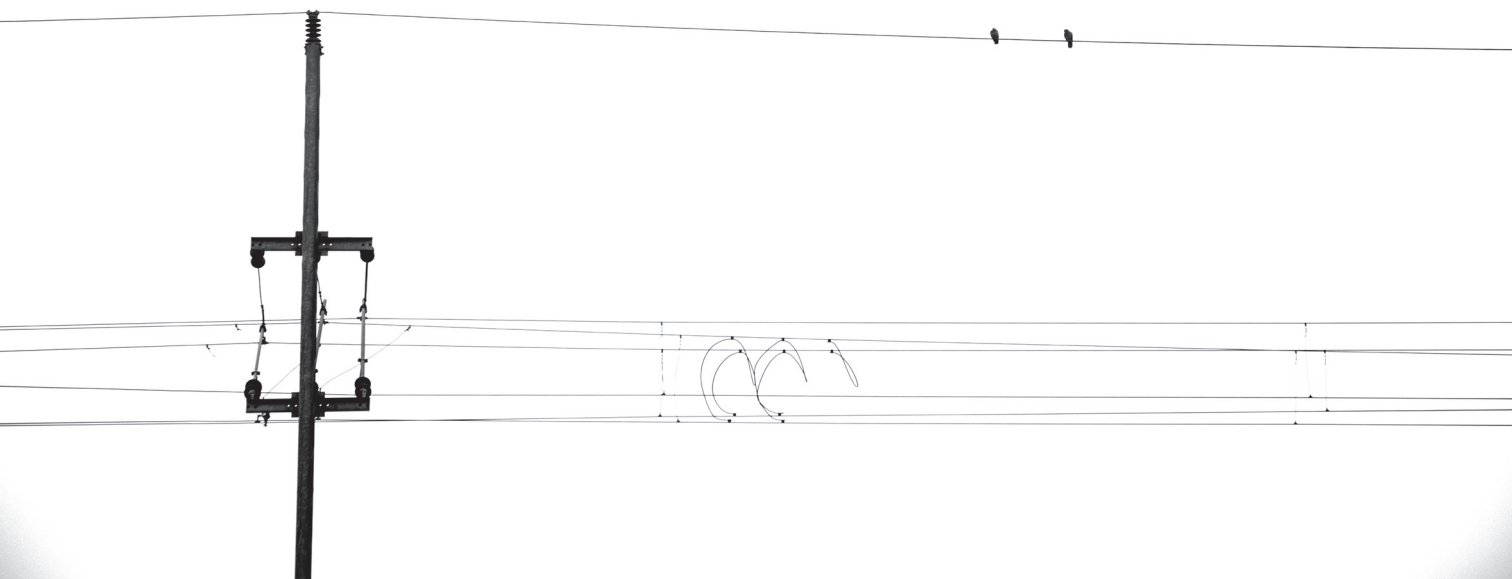
(Vili Brant)

Izrada predloga državne Strategije izgradnje mira je posao na kojem se u CNA radi još od 2010. Cilj nam je bio da država Srbija usvoji dokument kojim bi se obavezala na izgradnju mira, i fokusirali smo se na tri oblasti: pomirenje, suočavanje sa prošlošću i mirovno obrazovanje. Posle izrade dokumenta obratili smo se državnim institucijama, kojima smo ga predstavili i pitali za mišljenje, te krajem 2016. održali Dijaloški krug o Strategiji izgradnje mira, na kojem su, osim naših partnera iz regije, učestvovali i predstavnici/e ministarstava, Kancelarije za saradnju sa organizacijama civilnog društva i zaštitnika građana.

Sledili smo glavne preporuke koje smo tom prilikom dobili o daljem radu na usvajanju Strategije, i pisali predsedniku Srbije Aleksandru Vučiću i premijerki Ani Brnabić. Iz kabineta predsednika nismo dobili nikakav odgovor, iz kabineta premijerke nam je odgovoreno da je dokument prosleđen Ministarstvu pravde na dalje postupanje. Treba napomenuti da smo se na razne načine već ranije obraćali Ministarstvu pravde i da nikada nismo dobili nikakav odgovor? Pa ni posle prosleđivanja pisma poslatog premijerki, takođe.

Sledeća opcija nam je bila da Strategiju izgradnje mira ponudimo opoziciji u Srbiji, koja u ovom trenutku nema realne snage za bilo kakvo jače delovanje i uticaj na zvaničnu politiku. Računajući sa tim da će se, nekada, i to promeniti, razgovarali smo o budućnosti Strategije sa Zoranom Lutovcem, predsednikom Demokratske stranke, i sa predstavnicima pokreta Ne davimo Beograd, i sa svim sagovornicima se složili oko temeljnih vrednosti na koje se Strategija izgradnje mira oslanja, te potrebe da društvo u Srbiji ima na taj način vođenu državnu politiku koja se tiče mira.

Na kraju smo odlučili da dokument Strategije objavimo, da on postane javno dobro i da bude dostupan svima, na dalje komentarisane, dopunjavanje, kritiku, do trenutka kada bude mogao da postane državna politika. Taj događaj će se održati krajem 2018. godine, i na njemu će, osim predstavnika CNA koji su uključeni u rad na Strategiji izgradnje mira, učestvovati naši saradnici iz regiona, ratni veterani iz Srbije, nezavisni novinari i predstavnici političkih partija koje su podržale ideju o Strategiji.



aktivnosti kojima
smo se pridružili/le

Nelson Mandela 100

Odlučili smo da se pridružimo akciji kojom je u celom svetu 18. jula 2018. obeleženo 100 godina od rođenja Nelsona Mandele. Njegov život, borba za slobodu i poruke koje nam je ostavio su trajna inspiracija za mirovni rad i borbu protiv svih vrsta diskriminacije. Zato smo zamolili petoro naših saradnika/ca, novinara/ki, da osmisle sadržaj kojim bi u medijima za koje rade obeležili 100 godina od rođenja Mandele.

Naši saradnici/e su bili iz Beograda, Kragujevca i Sarajeva, a njihove emisije su emitovane u periodu od 14-21.07.2018:

Zoran Mišić, novinar verskog radija "Zlatousti", iz Kragujevca, uradio je dve emisije o značaju Mandele i njegove borbe, ali sa širim pogledom na slobodu uopšte, sa potpitanjem: koliko smo mi danas, na ovim prostorima, zaista slobodni?¹

Dejan Kožul, autor radio emisije KUPEK uradio je intervju sa Shirley Gunn, aktivistkinjom i borkinjom iz Južnoafričke Republike, "ženom koja je svoj život posvetila borbi protiv, ne samo aparthejda, već svake vrste nepravde, žene sa "čeličnim kostima", žene koja je proganjana, zatvarana i žene koja ni jednog trenutka nije uzimala pred nepravdom."²

Miroslav Miletić svoju radio podkast emisiju „Iz glave“ koncipirao je na maksimi: "Sloboda ili ništa", i na toj osnovi analizira život i delo Nelsona Mandele, ali i nas, koji živimo na ovim prostorima.³

Ines Baždalić uradila je za "BH radio" iz Sarajeva emisiju o životu Nelsona Mandele i njegovom delu koje je inspiracija za celi svet, u kojoj su govorili istoričari, sociolozi, teolozi...⁴

Zahvaljujući saradnji sa časopisom "Lice ulice", u izdanju za jul-avgust 2018. godine objavljen je tekst Katarine Milićević, članice CNA tima u kojem piše o pomirenju, u Južnoafričkoj Republici i na prostoru bivše Jugoslavije, posle ratova.⁵



1 emisija 1 emitovana 14.07.2018. <http://radiozlatousti.rs/?p=9640>
emisija 2 emitovana 21.07.2018. <http://radiozlatousti.rs/?p=9738>

2 najava emisije i uvodni tekst <https://thekupek.blogspot.com/2018/07/zena-sa-celicnim-kostima.html>
emisija emitovana 16.07.2018. <https://www.mixcloud.com/dejankozul/kupek-208-shirley-gunn-%C5%BEena-sa-%C5%BEeljeznim-kostima/>
Intervju sa Shirley Gunn objavljen na portalu Lupiga
<https://lupiga.com/intervju/bijela-zena-u-crnoj-revoluciji-mucenja-i-pritisci-su-me-samo-ucinili-jos-jacom>

3 emisija emitovana 18.07.2018. <http://izglave.com/iz-glave-nelson-mandela-sloboda-ili-nista/>

4 emisija emitovana 18.07.2018. http://nenasilje.net/privremeno/obelezavanje_datuma/NELSON%20MANDELA%20EMISIJA%202018.mp3

5 tekst Katarine Milićević za "Lice ulice" <https://nenasilje.org/2018/boje-i-nijanse-pomirenja/>



razmišljanja

Hronika rata/ Kronikë lufte

Qerim Ondozi

17.07.1998./17 korrik 1998

Bio je običan ljetni dan. Sigurno je bilo vruće, s obzirom na to da je ljeto, ali daleko od sadašnjosti, sjećanje nosi nostalgичnu, maštovitu odoru. Postoje samo neuništive činjenice, crno-bijele činjenice: ili je kišno ili sunčano, ili noć ili dan.

Kako je uobičajeno ljeti, otac se sprema da izađe na kafu, ali kako prilazi kapiji dvorišta, nana mu govori: 'Ne odlazi u rat.'

Nakon nekoliko trenutaka čuju se prvi tresci.

Počinje rat.

Rat je isuviše nerazumljiv. Nije razuman, već nerazumljiv. Vjerovatno i besmislen. Ne razumiješ život kad je smrt tako opaka da postaje smiješna, jer je nepostojanje sasvim nepojmljivo (kao mogućnost).

Ja sam u udolini. Ne da se sakrijem, tragikomičan je trenutak kada shvatiš da je smrt tako blizu...

Nema predaha. Otac stoji sam u sobi. Možda traži neko rješenje.

Nji ditë e zakonshme vere. Me siguri mjaft e nxehtë, qysh din me qenë vera, por sa ma shumë që largohesh nga e tashmja, kujtesa veshë rroba nostalgjie, rroba imagjinate. Mbeten vetëm faktet e pathyeshme, faktet bardhë e zi: ose shi ose diell, ose natë ose ditë.

Dhe në nji ditë të zakonshme vere, babi bahet gati me

dalë për kafe, por derisa i afrohet derës së oborrit, gjyshja i thotë: 'mos dil se filloi lufta'.

Dhe pas disa sekondash dëgjohen krismat e para.

Filloi lufta.

Lufta është shumë e pakuptueshme. Jo e pakuptimtë, por e pakuptueshme. Ndoshta edhe e pakuptimtë. Njeri nuk e kupton jetën kur vdekjen e ka aq t'garantume, prandaj edhe nis e ban veprime qesharake, sepse nuk asht n'gjendje me e kuptu mosekzistencën (e mundshme)...

Unë futem n'dollap. Jo për me u fsheh, por thjesht asht nji moment tragjikomik kur e kupton se vdekjen e ki aq afër....

N'mbramje ndalen krismat. Babi rri vetë në dhomë. Kërkon zgjidhje, mbase.

18.07.1998./ 18 korrik 1998

Jutro, ujutro te budi pucanj snajpera. Zapitaš li se ikad o snajperskim pucnjima? Obično je čovjeku potrebno da smisli nešto dobro što će ga natjerati da ustane iz kreveta, ostavljajući pljuvačku da se razvlači. Mi se budimo snajperskim mecima koji dolaze sa, recimo, Sahat kule u Rahovecu, iz Srpske mahale.

Ponovo, kad zaroniš u ove slike iz sjećanja, ono u šta sumnjaš su crno-bijele činjenice: petak, subota, nedjelja, 17., 18., 19., 20., tresci, granate, strahovi ...



Nema struje. Nana predlaže ručak u kafani, ali može biti dima koji će nas odati.

Kao vojnik, naš akrobata, telefon nam kaže da naši pustoše. Uzeli su Rahovec / Orahovac, gradski Hotel Park je tik s druge strane. "Usaaa, kako je taj dio grada vidio taj hotel?" Moja mašta proizvodi fantastične krajolike ...

U Hotelu Park bile su stanice policije i vojne policije.

Alarmi i mëngjesit t'korrikut me diell janë krismat e snajperit. Jeni zgju ndonjiherë me krismat e snajperit? Zakonisht njeri ka nevojë me i ra n'mend diçka e mirë që e shtyn me e lanë shtratin, me e lanë andrrën për zgjandërr. Ne zgjohemi me krismat e snajperit që, thonë, është i pozicionuar në Sahat Kullën në Rahovec, në mahallën serbe.

Prapë, kur gërmon n'këto copëza kujtese, ajo për të cilën s'ke dyshim janë faktet bardhë e zi: e premte, e shtunë, e diel, 17, 18, 19, 20, krisma, ndonji granatë, frikë...

Nuk ka rrymë. Nana propozon me e ba drekën n'oborr, por mundet me u pa tymi, dhe me na ardhë n'shpi.

N'mbramje një ushtar, akraba i yni, n'telefon na tregon se të tanët po bajnë kërdi. E kanë marrë Rahovecin, Hotel Parku i qytetit është ba rrafsh përtoke. "Uaaaa, qysh ka me u dokë ajo pjesë e qytetit pa atë hotel?" Imagjinata jeme prodhon peisazhe fantastike...

N'Hotel Park ishin të stacionume forcat policore dhe ushtarake.

19.07.1998./ 19 korrik 1998

Jutarnja budilica: "taaaak, taaaaaak, taaaaaa-aaaaa-aaak", odjekuje snajper. Dobro jutro. Crno-bijelo sjećanje: sunce, jutro, dan, popodne, 17., 18., 19., 20. ... Rekli su nam da naši vojnici napadaju samo po naređenju. Raspoređeni su nekih 50 metara nama iza leđa, mi smo između njih i Srpske mahale. U sendviču, u kolaču, između dvije vatre. Niko ne dolazi našem vojniku u našoj kući, da nam kaže da moramo ići, nemojmo se izmicati, jer njima je plan na terenu za Sahat kulu... Čekamo, čekamo i čekamo. Ne čuje se eksplozija oslobođenja. Komšija nam govori da idemo s porodicom na kamionu. Moja nana uzdahnu, kao da je nešto osjetila. Zagrlim je i legnemo na pod, ona duboko uzdišući. Naravno da ga je bilo strah. Za četvero djece, ne za sebe.

Alarmi i mëngjesit: "taaaak, taaaaaak, taaaaaa-aaaaa-aaak", snajper me jehonë. Mirëmëngjesi.

Kujtesa bardhë e zi: diell, mëngjes, ditë, mbramje, 17, 18, 19, 20... Na thanë se ushtarët tanë vetëm gjuajnë n'ajër se ashtu i kanë urdhrat. Janë të pozicionum nja 50 metra larg shpisë tonë, ne jemi ndërmjet tyre dhe mahallës serbe. Në sendviç, në tortë, në mes dy zjarreve.

N'mbramje vjen një ushtar i yni n'shtëpinë tonë, t'na thotë se duhet t'rrimë në shtëpi, të mos dalim kurrqysh sepse planifikojnë me e ba rrafsh për toke Sahat Kullën...

Presim, presim e presim. Nuk dëgjohet kurrfarë shpërthimi çlirimtar.

Fajni ynë na thotë të largohemi me një familje me kamion. Nana ime merrte frymë thellë, sikur ndjente diçka. M'kish përqaftë dhe ishim shtri, unë edhe ajo, derisa ajo merrte frymë thellë. Sigurisht ka pasë frikë. Për mu, për të katër fëmijtë, jo për veten.

19.-20.07.1998./ 19-20 korrik 1998

Odlazimo odvade, možda iza ponoći, idemo do pozicija naših vojnika. Nigdje nikog. Taktički su se povukli. Ulazimo u kamion s nekoliko ljudi i krećemo sporednim putevima da izlazimo iz ratne zone. Moramo skrenuti s autoputa. Sto metara dalje, hotel s policijom i vojnicima. Na kraju gustog toka, čuju se jauci: taaaaaak. Snajperski nož, puška, ima obrvu, nokat, kao neobičan prekid normalnog toka vilice, kao pretpostavka vremena. Poput intermezza i prašine.

Dalim nga shpija, pas mesnate mbase, shkojmë të pozicioni i ushtarëve tanë. Asnji njeri. Kishin ba tërheqje taktike.

Futemi në një kamion me një njiçet persona dhe nisemi, rrugëve dytësore, të dalim nga zona e luftës. Duhemi me e pre rrugën magjistrale. Një njiçind metra larg, hoteli me policë e ushtarë. N'atë kalim t'furishëm dysekondësh dëgjohet krisma: taaaaaak.

Krisma e snajperit, e pushkës, e ka një tingull zhbirus, thumbus, si një prishje e pazakontë e një rrjedhe normale gjanash, si një prejme e kohës. Si një intermezzo e poshtër.

20.07.1998./20 korrik 1998

Kamion ide dalje putevima dok ne stignemo na mjesto koje je najbezbednije. Zaustavljamo se, kamion se otvara otpozadi i metak pogađa nanu. Našao sam doktora. Negdje u obližnjem selu. Sestro, tata, idite s njom. Stižemo u Malishevë, u jedno od sela njenog oca. Radujemo se vijestima. Sigurno će me spasiti. Hajde, tata, dođi da se zagrlimo. Nema riječi. Gdje su riječi?! Kad god čujem da je neko ubijen u Rahovecu, kažem sebi: aaah, moram reći nani. Treba mi nekoliko trenutaka da shvatim da je više nema. Sad mi ne treba ni dvije sekunde. Ni sekunda mi ne treba. Znam da mi ne treba. Čak se ni ne šalim. Šalim se s mojim momkom, Rronom, koji je tako nalik na nju.

Kamioni vazhdon rrugën n'udhë t'pashtume, derisa mbërijmë në një pikë ku është ma sigurtë. Ndalemi, e hapin kamionin nga mbrapa, dhe plumbi e kishte qëllu nanën. E marrin, me e gjetë një mjek. Diku në një fshat afër. Motra,

babi, shkojnë me të.

*Mbërrijmë n'Malishevë, në një fshat t'nji miku të babit.
Presim lajme. Ka me shpëtu me siguri.*

*Vjen babi, takohemi n'oborr dhe përqaftemi. Nuk ka
fjalë. Ku ka fjalë?!*

*Sa herë dëgjoj për ndonjë të vramë n'Rahovec i them
vetes: aaaah, kam me i kallxu nanës. M'duhen nja dy
sekonda me e kuptu që ajo nuk është më për me i kallxu.*

*Tash, sot, nuk m'duhen dy sekonda. Asnji sekond nuk
m'duhet. E di se nuk është. Edhe nuk po i kallxoj kurrë.
Gjanat po i kallxoj djalit tim, Rronit, që po i përngjan shumë
asaj.*

KERNEIREISE – centrifuga osećanja

Helena Rill

Kerneireise – tako piše na jednom lifletu koji već dugo stoji na mom desktopu, prvo Kerneireise 2017, pa Kerneireise 2018. Tu pišu datumi, mesta koja će se obići; iz Nemačke se putuje za Kernei, izgovara se Kernai, inače ovde poznatije kao nekadašnja Krnjaja ili sada Kljajićevo, jedno malo mesto pored Sombora.

Jedna grupa ljudi je trebalo da dođe još prošle godine u Kljajićevo, ali se nije prijavilo dovoljno njih. To su ljudi koji su povezani sa udruženjem HOG Kernei, udruženja ljudi koji su nekada živeli u Kljajićevu i njihovih potomaka, koji su poreklom Podunavski Nemci, ili kako kažu za sebe, Podunavske Švabe, odnosno, stanovnici ovog mesta.

Kernei ili sadašnje Kljajićevo je nekada bilo većinsko nemačko mesto (96%). Pred kraj rata neki zato što su činili loše, a neki prosto što su bili uplašeni od onog što bi moglo da se desi, a ispostavilo se – bili su u pravu, izbegli su pred ulaskom Crvene armije i Narodnooslobodilačke vojske Jugoslavije. Nakon toga, neki su deportovani u SSSR, jedan deo sela se pretvorio u 'mali' civilni logor, jedan deo je završio u Gakovu i Kruševlju. Skoro svim Podunavskim Nemcima, ili bar velikoj većini, oduzeta je imovina i ovde, u Kljajićevu. Nekoliko godina nakon završetka rata, Nemaca je bilo sve manje i manje dok svi nisu otišli ako tako uopšte može da se kaže. Sada, po popisu od 2011. godine od 5045 stanovnika samo se devetoro njih izjašnjava da je Nemač/ica.

...

Evo kako sam doživela ovu posetu Podunavskih Nemaca i šta se, ukratko, tamo dešavalo, šta mi je prolazilo kroz glavu.

Grupa Podunavskih Nemaca poreklom iz Kljajićeva je krenula u sredu, 23. maja, autobusom iz Stuttgarta ka Somboru i stigla u četvrtak. Želela sam da ih upoznam, da

čujem njihove lične priče, šta se dogodilo njima i njihovim porodicama, zašto dolaze ovde, kako su otišli odavde, šta ih je ponukalo da krenu sada u posetu, kakve su utiske stekli, koji su im utisci, koji su im osećaji... Da zajedno sa njima odem u Gakovo i Kruševlje, jedne od najvećih logora u Vojvodini za Podunavske Nemce posle Drugog svetskog rata, i da sa njima odam poštu stradalima. To su bila moja očekivanja, ali ono što nisam očekivala jesu mnogi dragi, topli ljudi i sila emocija koju je teško bilo pratiti sve vreme – od ushićenja, radoznalosti i uzbuđenja, do tuge, saosećanja i neverice, od osećaja zajedničkog deljenja i smeha, do boli, što tuđe, što moje.

Još nešto nisam očekivala kad sam još prošle godine čula sa Helmutom Schmidtom, organizatorom putovanja i čijom sam ljubaznošću bila uključena u program i s kim sam dogovarala susret – pa, nisam očekivala svoju rođaku. I to ne neku daleku, ne znam koje koleno, nego eto, moj otac i njena majka su bili rođeni brat i sestra. Nikada do sada se nismo srele. Nisam ni znala da postoji. Uglavnom, to je doprinelo da čitav kovitlac raznih misli i osećanja se pretvori u pravu centrifugu na 1000 obrtaja.

...

Tura koja je bila planirana u okviru ovog puta uključivala je odlazak na masovne grobnice Gakovo i Kruševlje. Ovo je bio i moj prvi odlazak u Kruševlje, ne mislim u ono što je ostalo od tog sela, a preostale su bukvalno tri kuće, ostalo se pretvorilo u njive. Mislim na masovnu grobnicu i spomenik koji je tamo postavljen. Iz daljine dok prilazimo vidimo jedan šumarak, a kako se približavamo, idemo peške, ugledavam spomenik, veliki krst. Okolo nadgrobni spomenici. Umrli ili stradali 1945. Ujedno saznajem da je i deo moje dalje porodice bio u tom logoru. Grupna molitva, učestvujem u njoj, važno je – ne mogu da definišem tačno

zbog čega, ali jeste. Kolektivno izgovaramo, neobično mi je na nemačkom, i ćutimo. Jedna gospođa nas pita da zajedno odamo poštu stradalima, ona, Anton Beck i ja, kako sam razumela, kao predstavnici onih koji žive tu ili onih koji su ostali ili... kao neki ritual, molitva, pomirenje. Dirnuta sam, tužna, uzburkana, znatiželjna, budna, s jedne strane, a sa druge razmišljam čega li sam ja predstavnica. Pričam sa ljudima. U ovoj grupi ima ljudi ne samo iz Nemačke, nego i Francuske i SAD-a, na ovaj put su pošle i čitave porodice. Jedna mlada žena je došla sa svekrom iz Čikaga. Čula je mnoge priče od njega, ali mogu li da joj objasnim šta se tačno dešavalo u Kruševlju i Gakovu.

Gakovo sam posetila par puta, ali i tada i sada dok prolazimo kroz to mesto pomislim, je li moguće da je u ovih skoro pa par kuća i nekoliko ulica bilo internirano više od 17.000 ljudi, po nekima i 22.000. Ne znam zašto sam izabrala ovu neutralnu reč – internirano. U Gakovu mi je važnije da pričam sa svojom rođakom. Kako pričati sa nekim ko vam je bliski rod, a razdvojeni ste onim što je zadesilo Podunavske Nemce ali i porodičnim narativom. Ko si ti, šta si ti, kakva si, da li postoji nešto između nas ili 'samo' rodbinska veza. Sviđa mi se, gledam da li ima nešto što prepoznajem od svog oca. Pričamo, pokušavamo da preskočimo jezičke barijere, trudimo se. Čudno je. Prvi put shvatam i srcem i glavom – ja sam deo priče o Podunavskim Nemcima.

Kernei/Kljajićevo. Konačno smo tu, mada kasnimo, dugo smo se zadržali. Dočekuju nas u centru ispred crkve

koja je menjala svoj 'identitet', ali srećom, ostala je tu. Tu je i Dom kulture, jako lep doček, tu su i zvaničnici Mesne zajednice Kljajićevo, ali i Sombora, razmišljam kako je važno što je i zajednica uključena u dolazak ove grupe ljudi. Topla dobrodošlica, pogača, so i rakija, dečaci i devojčica u nošnjama, a kasnije jedan dečak čita tekst na nemačkom. Baš su se potrudili, koliko je to važno, mislim se. Svi plješću. Ljudi su uzbuđeni. Emotivan im je skoro ceo dan. I meni, zaista. Kasnije odlaze za Apatin, ja preskačem taj deo, vraćam se za Sombor, ne mogu da postignem, što možda nije loše jer sam skroz izmoždjena, centrifuga radi, ne znam na koliko obrtaja, ne mogu da procesuiram više ništa.

Sutradan odlazimo iz Sombora ponovo za Kljajićevo. Predviđena je misa na nemačkom u onoj crkvi u centru. Gledam je i razmišljam, nadam se da nikom neće pasti fasada na glavu. U takvom je stanju. Moja rođaka i ja nismo zainteresovane za misu, a i imamo važnijih stvari – da nađemo kuću u kojoj su živeli naši roditelji.

Okrećem mapu, tražim kuću, nešto sam se zbunila, šta mi je, mislim se. – Da li si nekada videla tu kuću? Pita moja rođaka. – Nisam, nikada, odgovaram ja. Ona odmahuje glavom. Po mapi nalazimo kuću, ali shvatamo da bi broj kuće mogao da bude negde napred. Ona ima fotografiju i prepoznajemo, to je to. Ulazim na veliku kapiju u ajnfort i vičem – Dobar dan, ima li nekog? Izlazi žena, ja joj sve objasnim, zbunjena je, ali zna o čemu se radi. Kaže, čula je na vestima, trebalo je da pretpostavi da će neko doći. I odmah potom – Znate, mi nismo kolonisti. Mi smo se



ovde tek kasnije došli. Mislim se ili kažem, – Pa i da jeste, to je u redu. Kako vreme prolazi i kako pričamo, razgovor sve lakše teče. Ona je predusretljiva i draga. Ja prevodim. Kaže, ova klupa, stolice i sto u dvorištu, i pokazuje na njih, još su iz onog vremena, od njih, misleći na naše roditelje. Suze samo što mi ne krenu. Mislim se opet, – Šta mi je, pa to nema nikakve veze sa mnom? Pita nas, posebno moju rođaku, – Čuvamo tako neke stvari, ima neki ram, sigurno je vaš, hoćete li ga? Zahvaljujem joj se što tako pazi i čuva te stare stvari, shvatam koliko mi je to odjednom važno. A ona odgovara, rasplače se, pa ja znam kako je to kad sve izgubiš i moraš da odeš sa svog. Mi smo sa Plitvica, kaže, i vi i mi smo prošli nešto isto. Ponovo se nešto mislim, da li postoji centrifuga sa preko 1000 obrtaja?

...

Šta mi je bilo dragoceno? Da bar malo budem s tim ljudima, poreklom Kljajićevčanima, Podunavskim Nemcima, i njihovim potomcima. Na momenat da budem u njihovoj koži. Da budem tamo, za njih, kao 'predstavica' nekog odavde. Razmeniti misli i osećanja sa tim ljudima. Upoznati svoju rođaku i pričati s njom. Dragocena mi je spoznaja kako je važno sećati se i pričati o tome, iako ništa novo, i kako su važni susreti starih stanovnika sa novima. Razgovarati sa predstavnicima vlasti u Kljajićevu

koji su ovo organizovali. Kako je važno pitati i te ljude, takozvane koloniste i njihove potomke, kako je njima, šta se njima dešavalo kad su došli ovde. Kako je ponekad teško kada treba da kažu, jeste, mi smo dobili tu kuću. Zahvalna sam celoj grupi što je došla i ljudima s kojima sam pričala, Helmutu Schmidtu s kojim je bilo lepo komunicirati i dogovarati, mojoj rođaci što smo stupile u kontakt i zajedno posetile kuću, Antonu Becku na podršci, Kljajićevčanima Radetu i Milanu Čujiću i Davoru Šmarcu na organizaciji, te domaćinima koji žive u toj kući. Još sam pod utiscima, a ima toga još puno da se slegne.

Čeka nas još jedna poseta Vojvodini – možda ih ima i više, ali za ovu svakako znamo. U oktobru ove godine dolazi udruženje Podunavskih Nemaca – nekadašnjih Apatinaca. To će ujedno biti prilika da zajedno otvorimo izložbu „Na tragu Podunavskih Nemaca u Vojvodini“ u Apatinu i razgovaramo jedni sa drugima. Inače, apatinski Podunavski Nemci su među prvim, ako ne i prvi, upućeni u logor Gakovo. Mnogi od njih su tamo i stradali.

Nova članica CNA tima

Tamara Zrnović

Mart, 2018. godina, zima u Sarajevu još traje. Hladno je. Trebam ustati i upaliti grijanje. Ko se normalan seli u Sarajevo tokom zime? Koferi i paketi po uglovima stana, a napolju smog i sivilo, smrt iz koje se ovaj grad mora probuditi, da pije kafu i zanatsko pivo u ukrašenim skloništima i podrumima. Toga bar ovdje nikada nije nestalo. Trebam ustati i ponovo učiti plivati.

Istražujući sebe, da bih napisala tekst koji govori o putu ponovnog povratka u grad u kojem sam se rodila, tražila sam prve naznake prihvatanja da sad u mom životu sve zavisi od mene. Koliko sam neovisna, a koliko spremna za promjene, su bile polazne tačke staze koja će biti vodilja k ovom današnjem trenutku. Bilo mi je potrebno pronaći stazu o kojoj mogu detaljno pisati, koja je puna tragova i dubokih promjena u meni. Jedna takva staza, kojom i danas koračam, počela je u Bijeljini. Gradu koji leži u ravnici ili, kako ja volim reći, na ravnoj liniji koja dijeli stanovništvo na mještane i izbjeglice.

Ipak, to nije jedina staza s početkom u mom životu. Njih je bilo mnogo ranije i, naravno, uvijek su s prvim sjećanjima na djetinjstvo. Na ono autobusko stajalište gdje su se posljednji civili 1996. godine ukrcavali u autobus i odlazili iz Sarajeva. Na lončić koji sam dobila na ulazu u kolektivni centar, a koji je trebao da služi da iz njega pijemo čaj, vodu i da se polijevamo kada se kupamo. Možda je početak i to da sam u 16. godini po prvi put dobila svoju sobu, svoj prostor, s krevetom i radnim stolom. To su za mene bile staze s ožiljcima.

U Bijeljini je bilo izazovno živjeti. Osim identiteta studentice uvijek sam osjećala i identitet izbjeglice, koji mi je, nekako ravnomjerno, zatvarao i otvarao mnoga vrata. Mnogo puta sam pisala i govorila o tom identitetu, ali nikad nisam uspjela dokučiti na koji način, baš tako vidljivo, mi, izbjeglice nosimo tu etiketu koja nas razlikuje od drugih. Ovu borbu s identitetima neminovno sam vodila početkom

svojih dvadesetih godina, pokušavajući pronaći mogućnost da gradim sebe i preispitujem svoju ulogu u društvu.

Početak 2013. godine kreće moj volonterski staž u Helsinškom odboru za ljudska prava u RS, nevladinoj organizaciji koja donosi aktivizam kao posebnu vrijednost, punu solidarnosti i izgradnje povjerenja među pojedincima i grupama, i u njemu se potpuno pronalazim. Tamo ostajem punih pet godina, učim vrijednosti radne etike i odgovornosti, ali i pronalazim ljubav prema ovom poslu. Tokom te 2013. po prvi put pišem motivacionu prijavu za učešće na treningu izgradnje mira s temama suočavanja s prošlošću, izgradnje mira, pomirenja, nacionalnih identiteta, međuetničke saradnje, nenasilnog rješavanja sukoba... Kako je neko uspio sve ove teme uobličiti u 10 dana treninga? Teme o kojima su knjige napisane, svaka ponaosob obrađena iz različitih uglova, teme o kojima se šuti, a koje prijete da sruše izgrađene nacionalne i jasno podijeljene narative nakon krvavog rata na Balkanu. Trening za izgradnju mira organizovao je Centar za nenasilnu akciju Sarajevo-Beograd i održao se u Ulcinju. Moja motivaciona prijava je govorila o raspadu Jugoslavije, o istinama rata, o istinama svakog od nas u tom ratu, ugrožavanju i nepravdi.

Vratila sam se s mnogim pitanjima, pitanjima koja su me vraćala na početke mene same, pitanjima o promjenama u meni i oko mene. Počela sam razmišljati da li ja uopšte poznajem sebe, propitivati svoju ulogu u društvu, svoj feministički odraz u ogledalu. Gdje su to moje predrasude ako ih već tražim u drugima i odakle pravo tamo nekome da na leđa mojih vršnjaka istrese breme rata? Ta pitanja su pokrenula promjene i procese u meni, izazvala strah da li ću uspjeti pronaći snagu da se nosim s njima, da ih transformišem u razmišljanje i saosjećanje s drugim žrtvama nepravde, na svim stranama.

Mart 1996. godine. Mama, brat i ja, s još dva kofera i plišanom igračkom, stojimo na autobuskoj stanici. Hladno je. Mama priča s nekim, traži nas na spisku, dva sjedišta. Brat nije još napunio godinu dana, plače, ima crvene vodene tačkice po tijelu, svrbi ga. Po prozivanju ulazimo u autobus, majčinu ruku držim čvrsto kao da idemo u zauvijek.

Nedugo nakon 2013. godine za mene i ekipu CNA počinje druženje kroz ideje i akcije, u dijeljenju dobroga i pravljenju strpljivih nenasilnih koraka izgradnje mira u bosanskohercegovačkom društvu. Družili smo se tokom dokumentovanja životnih priča ljudi koji su nakon rata zamijenili kuće, a posebno važna nenasilna akcija u kojoj sam učestvovala, a koja traje i dalje, je obilježavanje neobilježenih mjesta stradanja širom BiH.

Poziv da se pridružim timu CNA i dođem da radim



u Sarajevo je za mene bio iznenađan. Sjećam se da sam razmišljala da napravim spisak, za i protiv, ali sam shvatila da iz toga ništa neću dokučiti. Trebala su mi pitanja, kao ona koja sam osjetila nakon treninga izgradnje mira... da me pokrenu, da se sudare u meni. Zašto su nam mir i ratna trauma isprepleteni na marginama društva? Zašto su mladi ubačeni u sliku prošlosti po nahođenju etnički podijeljenih nacionalista? Zašto su žrtve koje ukazuju na neobilježena mjesta stradanja, dok većina podiže neprimjerene spomenike i memorijale? Sva ta pitanja sadrže dileme i strah, ali ujedno su bila i motiv da prihvatim poziv iz CNA.

Ja sam Tamara, rođena sam u Sarajevu 1989. godine, kraj rijeke Bosne. Odrasla uz Drinu i pola života provela kao izbjeglica, studentica, a sad povratnica. Danas koračam Ferhadijom, a dan mi škripi pod nogama kao da pokušava da ulegne u stazu koju mu pripremam. U prolazu kraj Begove džamije na česmi se napijem vode i pomislim: vratila sam se.



politički i društveni konteksti
u kojima djelujemo

Bosna i Hercegovina: Kome ba da se mi prilagođavamo

Ništa nije tako izvjesno, zapisao je negdje još poodavno novinar Ozren Kebo, u svijetu stalnih nestalnosti kao činjenica da su svaki novi izbori u BiH opasniji od prethodnih. Pa ipak, čini mi se da je jesen 2018. i izbori koji su evo pred nama, na toliko načina opasno neizvjesni i nepredvidljivi da bi ovaj osvrt već sutra mogao biti potpuno neaktuelan, da bi mi se moglo desiti ono čega se svaki novinar plaši kad redakciji predaje svoje pisanije: da ga događaji preteknu, njegovo smatranje ogole kao naivno, prevaziđeno...

Merak nema cijenu

O mogućem ishodu oktobarskih izbora i mogućoj postizbornoj krizi u formiranju vlasti, uslijed neusvajanja izmjena Izbornog zakona BiH i Ustava BiH koje je naložio Ustavni sud BiH i Evropski sud za ljudska prava, ne vrijedi pisati iz jednostavnog razloga. Naime, ako se glavnim bukadžijama koji ovih dana upozoravaju na mogući pakao nakon izbora posreći kakva ministarska fotelja, vatra pakla kojim prijetite mogla bi utihnuti već s prvim sniježnim pahuljama. A opet, što bi vatrogasci u uniformama međunarodne zajednice rekli: vatra je u BiH uvijek uvijek samo lokalizirana, nikada ugašena, pa nikad nisi siguran koja iskra će ponovo rasplamsati oganj.

Predizborna kampanja koja traje cijelu 2018. samo je pojačala i do kraja ogolila duboke društvene sukobe koji u slučaju BiH često slijede etnički iscrtane granice pri čemu se posljednjih nekoliko godina fokus sukoba premjestio na odnose unutar FBiH. Do kraja pojednostavljujući, osnova sukoba je između tzv. etničkih stranaka koje zagovaraju etnički princip izbora i podjele vlasti i tzv. građanskih stranaka koje se pozivaju na princip jedan čovjek jedan glas. No, niti jedni niti drugi nisu dosljedni do kraja i u oba slučaja radi se o čistoj borbi za dominaciju, pri čemu se demokratija nastoji koristiti kao oružje protiv onih drugih. Tako će npr. HDZ BiH koji zahtjeva etnički model podjele vlasti na nivou FBiH biti protiv tog istog modela na nivou grada Mostara i tu će insistirati na principu jedan čovjek jedan glas. S druge strane, tzv. građanske stranke u Mostaru insistiraju na uspostavi mehanizma koji bi onemogućio preglasavanje Bošnjaka jer su na nivou grada u manjini, ali istovremeno, pozivajući se na dobre prakse sa Zapada insistira na modelu jedan čovjek jedan glas na nivou FBiH gdje su opet Hrvati u apsolutnoj manjini.

Frustrirani nemoći u igri na mišići ti narcizmi malih razlika svaku kritiku vlastitih pozicija vide kao frontalni napad pa tu i kobajagi ljevičari u pomoć prizivaju onu

reisovu rečenicu kome ba da se mi prilagođavamo ili pravdamo, oni koji su se godinama kleli u ZAVNOBiH sada ga vide kao jugokomunističku podvalu koja je uvela princip konstitutivnosti naroda a ne građana, ili pak kukaju na ugroženost dok skreću tokove rijeka kako bi izgradili svoje vile... Sve po principu: ne možemo mnogo, ali bar njih možemo zajeba(va)ti i to ćemo s merakom i učiniti bez obzira na cijenu.

Odlazak, protest ili lojalnost

Alber O. Hirschman kaže da društvo u krizi građanima pruža tri mogućnosti: Odlazak, protest ili lojalnost. Što je odlazak lakši za izvesti to je protest manje vjerovatan, ali je i sam odlazak, istovremeno, na neki način, protest. A odlasci iz BiH više nikome nisu samo broj ili statistički podatak, danas su to imena i prezimena naših najbližih, prijatelja, komšija. Iako ne postoji bilo kakvo istraživanje koje bi u fokus stavilo razloge odlaska, iz ličnih priča jasno je da je trenutni val emigracije nije prevashodno ekonomski već je odgovor na dvodecenijsku zaglavljenost društva bez vidljivih izgleda za napredak.

U okolnostima masovnog odlaska i postojanja tolikog broja državnih sinekura koje broj lojalnih drže stabilno visokim, rezultat je ne samo sve manje vidljivi otpor već i sve manji prostor za bilo kakav otpor. Imaginarno klatno kojim se označava prosotor za kritiku ima sve kraći put, dok društvene mreže, botovi i portali bez impresuma olakšavaju pokretanje hajke i linča na one koji iskaču. Negativna selekcija i dovođenje na društvene pozicije moći podobnih nadilaze stranačke okvire i definitivno urušavaju ključne institucije, a ovogodišnja imenovanja stranačkih junoša u upravni odbor Univerziteta u Sarajevu najbolji su primjer toga.

Upotreba prošlosti, posebno one ratne, koristi se kao bitan faktor u tom ograničavanju prostora slobode kao i u svakodnevnom političkim obračunima. Nakon višegodišnjeg moratorija koji je nametnula međunarodna zajednica, vlasti su od ove godine u obrazovni sistem uvele izučavanje rat(ov)a iz 1990-ih s ciljem, kako je rekao jedan ministar obrazovanja, da nametnu svoju verziju istine. U ratu za interpretaciju rata (D. Jović) obrazovanje nije jedini način na koji se novi naraštaji nastoje uvući u interpretativne rovove. Svjesni da ratnim veteranima i veteranskim udruženjima neumitno teče biološki sat, nastoji se napraviti čvrsta poveznica između bivših ratnih veterana i budućih ratnih veterana pa je tako formirano

Udruženje potomaka veterana RS-a, u FBiH su formirane tzv. Boračke zadruge koje vode potomci ratnih veterana, djeca obučena u vojne uniforme obavezni su dio ceremonijala na komemoracijama... Povijest se brutalno revidira i reinterpretira kako bi poslužila kao kvalitetan začim za čorbu koja se krčka na tihoj postratnoj vatri. To je trend a nikako nova pojava, ali činjenica da najviše političke strukture učestvuju u tome (npr. produkcija serije Aliya, ili pak prikazivanje serijala Dugo svitanje na Televiziji Sarajevo) kao i da je otpor tome sve tiši ili ga uopće nema, čine taj trend važnim za spomenuti na ovom mjestu.

Korak nazad, nazad dva

Iako će deklarativno podržati različite mirovne inicijative (Parlament BiH je usvojio Platformu za mir kao neobavezni i protokolarni dokument) institucionalno i suštinski koračali smo unazad na polju pomirenja. Predsjednik RS-a Milorad Dodik predložio je a Narodna Skupština skoro jednoglasno

prihvatila povlačenje Izvještaja o Srebrenici koji su vlasti ovog entiteta prihvatile još 2004. Kada se gleda danas na taj Izvještaj, njegovo prihvatanje i izjavu tadašnjeg predsjednika RS-a Dragana Čavića, čini se kao da se radi o vijestima iz daleke budućnosti, iz godine 4002. što je samo lakmus papir koji pokazuje regresiju na putu suočavanja s prošlošću. Također, u RS-u je usvojen zakon o civilnim žrtvama rata koji onemogućava ili maksimalno otežava ostvarivanje prava onima koji su bili na neprijateljskoj strani. Nedavno nastojanje bošnjačkih predstavnika da delegitimiziraju Sud BiH i Tužilaštvo BiH nakon hapšenja ili podizanja optužnica protiv nekoliko bivših pripadnika Armije BiH (Atif Dudaković, Sakib Mahmuljin, Dragan Vikić) još su jednom p(r)okazali matricu prema kojoj nijedan sud nije dobar i pravedan kad i ako sudi i našima.

Uloga međunarodne zajednice, koja je na sve načine kontrolirala procese godinama na cijelom Balkanu, a čija je sve omiljenija fraza Prihvatit ćemo bilo kakav dogovor



domaćih lidera, najbolje je ogoljena ove godine prilikom povećanja akciza na naftne derivate. U strahu da bi se država mogla suočiti s manjkom novca za otplatu kredita, evropske i svjetske diplomate danima su proganjale 42 bh. parlamentaraca kako bi prihvatili povećanje akciza i namaknuli novac. Od poziva na bajramske kolače, preko kasnonoćnih sastanaka i posjeta u rodnim selima po bosanskim vrljetima, ambasadori su bili jasni, jedinstveni i neumoljivi: krediti se vraćati moraju. Nije da to nismo vidjeli na primjeru Grčke i drugih zemalja, samo je posebno bilo bolno naučiti na vlastitoj koži. Istovremeno, Balkan, a posebno BiH, postali su polje za pokazne diplomatske vježbe u sve multipolarnijem i suprotstavljenijem svijetu. Osim jačanja utjecaja Turske, Rusije pa donekle i Kine, sada je i Velika Britanija, koja upravo napušta EU, uočila

Balkan i BiH kao zgodno tlo da se ponovo pojavi kao samostalni igrač na međunarodnoj sceni. Plešući po tankoj liniji između smjelosti i bezobrazluka, u danima BrExita London je organizirao konferenciju o budućnosti Balkana, pazi sad, u EU, dok su u BiH poslali 40 vojnika da nam se nađe. Idiotski stav međunarodne zajednice kojim podstiču lidere Srbije i Kosova da razgovaraju o razmjeni teritorija (teritorija ili stanovništva?) i razgraničenju sa pažnjom se posmatra i u BiH, gdje smo se intenzivno razgraničavali od 1992. do 1995. i u čemu, držimo, imamo neka iskustva i dobre prakse za koje smo mislili da su iza nas.

Nedžad Novalić

Crna Gora: “Subjektivni doživljaj”

Izveštaja iz Crne Gore nije bilo već nekoliko godina pa nećete zamjeriti što će ovog puta umjesto iscrpnijeg taksativnog navođenja događaja, pardon, ponavljanja jedne te iste učmale kolotečine, prostor ovih skromnih par stranica zauzeti nekoliko “subjektivnih doživljaja”.

Uprkos protivljenju većine građana/ki, Skupština Crne Gore je, dakle bez prethodno raspisanog i održanog referendum, izglasala pristupanje NATO savezu. Službeno punopravno članstvo u NATO ostvareno je na ceremoniji koja se održala u Stejt Departmentu u junu 2017. godine, na kojoj je premijer Duško Marković rekao “da se o Crnoj Gori više neće odlučivati iza njenih leđa”. Premijer Duško Marković? Pa to vam je onaj simpatični čovjek, koga je na samitu NATO, svega nekoliko meseci kasnije, Donald Trump čušnuo u stranu.

Čuškanje u stranu je tako postalo znak prepoznavanja Crne Gore. Zadnjih nekoliko godina nas čuščaju u NATO, čuščaju nas sa Putinom, čuščaju nas u EU, te nas čuščaju protiv majke Rusije kojoj hrabro uvodimo sankcije i tako redom. Najmlađi nacionalizam na Balkanu, crnogorski, kako bi se hranio i jačao mora biti uperen protiv nekog neprijatelja, naravno najdjelotvornije je da to bude protiv

dojučerašnje braće i njihove velikosrpske hegemonije. Stoga sami sebe pod okriljem borbe za slobodu ili pak ujedinjenja sa braćom čuškamo sa Srbijom ili protiv Srbije. Od ulaska u NATO, pardon čuškanja, osim dobre reklame imamo čuške i modrice, dok očekivano kretanje naprijed ili ne daj Bože bilo kakve promjene na bolje, po pravilu izostaju.

Ukoliko ste se zabrinuli što evo već tri pasusa nema pomena od Mila Đukanovića ne bojte se, pa on je na prošlim predsjedničkim izborima, ubjedljivom većinom - a kako drugačije, ponovo izabran za predsjednika. Dakle još od 1991. godine, ili kao predsjednik ili kao premijer - koja je uostalom razlika - suvereno vlada Crnom Gorom. Poređenja sa Josipom Brozom Titom se sama nameću, ipak je Milo već skoro 30 godina naš voljeni premijer/predsjednik, a ne nazire se penzija. Jedina razlika je u tome što je Tito bio predsjednik dok god je bio živ, a Milo je živ dok god je predsjednik/premijer. Vlast se odavno ne nalazi u institucijama, ukoliko su one ikad i postojale, već u rukama jednog čovjeka. Ni SAD ni EU nisu htjele Đukanovića ponovo na vlasti jer se očekivalo da nakon završenog posla oko ulaska u NATO, ode u političku penziju, to bi mu bilo

po treći put, treća sreća – zamalo. Međutim, jako uticajni ekonomski krugovi koji imaju velike interese potrudili su se da i ovog puta osiguraju njegovu moć. “Premijer je Duško Marković, ali subjektivni doživljaj kaže Milo Đukanović”.

Konflikti između onih koji održavaju sistem i “reformista” gotovo uvijek ima i geopolitičku dimeziju, “jer svi problemi velikih sila su i naši problemi, ali su naši problemi samo naši”. Milo u posljednje vrijeme sve više kritikuje EU, i šuška se da se ponovo okreće Rusiji. Crna Gora je nedavno izdala zahtjev za hapšenje Džozefa Asada, građanina SAD, koji je navodno učestvovao u navodnom pokušaju državnog udara 2016. godine. Prije nego smo se usrećili ulaskom u NATO, režim u Podgorici je tvrdio da su ruske snage navodno željele da realizuju ovaj udar i pri tome likvidiraju Đukanovića. Sudski proces i dalje traje, a optužnica obuhvata i političare iz opozicije. Na procesu do sada ništa nije dokazano.

U Crnoj Gori, maloj jadranskoj državi sa svega 620 000 stanovnika, pravosuđe i državna uprava temeljno su izbušeni svrdlima korupcije, nepotizma kao i političkim i ekonomskim interesima. U takvom društvu građani su ti koji uvijek izvisu. Maltretmana nisu pošteđeni ni neki od lidera opozicije: Nebojši Medojeviću prijeti zatvorska kazna jer ne želi da oda izvor određenih informacija koje je kao poslanik iznio u parlamentu dok je Milan Knežević kao poslanik već osuđen iz istih razloga. Slična sudbina prijete i istraživačkom novinaru Jovu Martinoviću, koji već godinama istražuje ratne zločine, šverc oružja i krađe dijamanta. Crna Gora je zemlja svih njenih građana i građanki, slobodnih i jednakopravnih, ali subjektivni doživljaj kaže da sve to stoji ali uz člansku kartu DPS-a.

Crna Gora je u po mnogo čemu lider u regionu. U odnosu na broj stanovnika prva je zemlja u Evropi po broju ubistava koja su počinjena oružjem, a njeni građani imaju najviše oružja, i zauzimaju ponosno prvo mjesto i po tom kriterijumu.

Rat dva najjača kriminalna crnogorska klana „kavačkog” i „škaljarskog” u prethodne skoro tri godine odnio je 24 života. Policija provjerava da li su još neke likvidacije u Crnoj Gori, ali i u zemljama regiona, posljedice sukoba dvaju kriminalnih grupa iz Kotora. Osim u Crnoj Gori, ti klanovi su vršili likvidacije suparnika i u Srbiji i Bosni i Hercegovini. Pored ova dva navode se imena još nekoliko klanova povezanih oko Darka Šarića, Nikšićki klan, Mojkovački ili klan ćušnutog premijera itd. I po broju klanova u odnosu na veličinu teritorije zauzimamo lidersku poziciju, po broju nerazjašnjenih ubistava, treba li uopšte navoditi poziciju? Ulaskom u NATO Crna Gora postaje sigurno mjesto za život i bezbjedna zona za inostrane investicije, ali subjektivni

osjećaj kaže da se sve više približavamo Zapadu, ali onom holivudskom, Divljem.

Stanje u kojem se nalaze mediji u Crnoj Gori pokazuje da ta “zemlja” spada među najopasnije evropske zemlje za novinare. U proteklih nekoliko godina je bilo više desetina napada na novinare i reportere nezavisnih medija. Najaktuelni slučaj se desio u Podgorici kada je napadnuta novinarka nezavisnog dnevnika „Vijesti” Olivera Lakić. Ona je ispred svoje zgrade upucana u nogu. Lakićeva je izveštavala o organizovanom kriminalu u Crnoj Gori i vezi kriminalnih grupa sa državnim vodstvom. Ovo je ujedno bio i treći napad na ovu novinarku i mnogi ga tumače kao posljednje upozorenje.

Ni jedan od dosadašnjih napada na novinare u Crnoj Gori nije razjašnjen. Očigledan razlog tome jeste nedostatak političke volje. Pored izrazito tropske, u Crnoj Gori vlada klima u kojoj predstavnici organizovanog kriminala mogu nekažnjeno napadati, pa čak i ubijati novinare (slučaj iz maja 2004. godine kada je na ulici ubijen urednik lista „Dan” Duško Jovanović. Njegovo ubistvo do danas nije u potpunosti razjašnjeno.)

U Crnoj Gori su mafija i država srasli i tu se više ne raspoznaje granica. A političari izjavama uperenim protiv kritički nastrojenih novinara i medija, kao što je posljednja Milova izjava da su ‘Vijesti’ fašistički medij, podstiču kriminalce da nekažnjeno ponavljaju napade. Crna Gora krupnim koracima grabi ka porodici velikih evropskih demokratija, nalazi se na samom pragu EU, a subjektivni doživljaj kaže da iz 90- tih nismo ni mrdnuli.

Na samom kraju ako vas bilo koji motiv natjera da sratite u Podgoricu, lično ludilo, proputovanje do mora još uvijek ne izgrađenim auto putevima, ili ljubav prema višednevnoj vožnji vozom, neizdrživa potreba da budete na +45 celzijusa itd. nemojete očekivati da zateknete neke od njenih simbola: stare hotele, fabrike, bioskope, parkove, knjižare – njih više nema. Umjesto hotela Ljubović, stoji Hotel City, umjesto Hotela Crna Gora ponosno stoji Hilton, umjesto fabrika: građevinskih mašina Radoje Dakić i namještaja Marko Radović stoje Delta City i City kvart, a nad hotelom Podgorica se nadvilo čudoviše od 14 spratova i time uništilo jedno od najljepših arhitektonskih djela regiona. Podgorica je sve više CITY, jer je sve manje grad. Apsorpcija akumuliranog prljavog kapitala kroz neplansku urbanizaciju – čitajte - permanentno betoniranje. Podgorica je grad zelenila i parkova, trgova i mostova, ali subjektivni doživljaj kaže da smo zaglavljani u tržnom centru, pardon, MALL-u i mnogo nam je dobro!

Raško Radević

Hrvatska: „Nositelji europskih vrijednosti“

Ima ona stara priča, o kuhanju žabe. Ako žabu baciš u kipuću vodu, ona će iskočiti. Ako je staviš u hladnu vodu i polako je zagrijavaš, žaba će se skuhati a da nije ni primijetila. Od te slike ne mogu pobjeći, kao metafore stanja u kojem se nalazimo. Kuhaju nas.

Ako o Hrvatskoj pišete gledajući je iz perspektive Bosne i Hercegovine, kao ja u ovoj prilici, u prvi plan dolazi odnedavno počasní doktor Zagrebačkog sveučilišta, Dragan Čović. Čovića koji je, kao direktor mostarskog Sokola 1993. zahtijevao od uprave koncentracionog logora Heliodrom u Mostaru (pod kontrolom HV-a i HVO-a) besplatnu logorašku radnu snagu, Sveučilište u Zagrebu odlučilo je nagraditi, uopćeni je zaključak, jer brojne Hrvate koji iseljavaju iz BiH, prioritetno upućuje u Hrvatsku (!). Ironija je da ova “zasluga” predstavlja direktnu ugrozu vitalnih interesa hrvatskog naroda u BiH za koje se Čović navodno bori. U izvještaju sveučilišnog povjerenstva navodi se i da je Dragan Čović započeo karijeru „u teškim trenucima ukidanja Hrvatske Republike Herceg Bosne“. Da ova tvorevina u međunarodnom smislu nikad nije ni postojala, te da je bosanskohercegovačkim a posebno bosanskim Hrvatima (i ne samo njima), donijela nepreglednu štetu, podsjetila je profesorica Đurđica Čilić, koja se jedina direktno obratila članovima Senata, taksativno nabrojivši zašto Čoviću doktorat ne bi smio biti dodijeljen. No, kao i u brojnim drugim slučajevima reagiranja savjesnih građana i članova zajednice, vladari Hrvatske Društvene Zbilje ne mare za vladavinu prava i zakona, moralne skrupule, ili zdravi razum, sve redom ih lišavajući njihovog stvarnog sadržaja. A sve u svrhu legalizacije i političke legitimacije zločinačke politike. Kad smo već kod BiH, prošle je jeseni skup ciničnog naslova „Hrvati u BiH – nositelji europskih vrijednosti“ predsjednica Kolinda Grabar-Kitarović začinila tvrdnjom da u BiH postoje tisuće radikalnih islamista, i najavila kako će to biti fokus njezinog rada u sljedećem razdoblju. Za to vrijeme u „europskom“ Kiseljaku hrvatska i bošnjačka djeca ne idu u iste učionice, a kako bi se njihovi susreti u potpunosti spriječili do škole putuju u različitim terminima. Za to vrijeme, članovi profašističke Autohtone hrvatske stranke prava palili su tjednik Novosti usred Zagreba, uz prijetnje i pozive na nasilje. Ovo dakako nije izazvalo nikakvu predsjedničinu reakciju. I to je, u jednom odlomku, sva bijeda hrvatske politike, koja se, tražeći vanjske neprijatelje, zaboravlja pogledati u ogledalo. Iz ogledala, naime, viri zla vještica. Ovo su njezina djeca:

- U vrijeme prvih uhićenja u slučaju Agrokor, počelo je ponovljeno suđenje Branimiru Glavašu za ratni zločin nad civilima srpske nacionalnosti tijekom 1991. i 1992. godine. U lipnju 2018. Vijeće Županijskog suda u Zagrebu je suprotno odluci Vrhovnog suda, kao nezakonit dokaz izdvojilo iz spisa iskaz krunskog svjedoka Krunoslava Fehira. Time je eliminiran inkriminirajući iskaz svjedoka u slučaju „Garaža“. Ranijom odlukom Županijskog suda u Zagrebu o razdvajanju postupka, eliminirani su iskazi suoptuženika koji terete Glavaša u kontekstu zločina počinjenih nad civilima u slučaju „Selotejp“. Ovakav tijek ponovljenog kaznenog postupka prema svemu sudeći ima za cilj donošenje oslobađajuće presude.

- Nakon što su protivnici ratifikacije Istanbulske konvencije danima i mjesecima okupirali javni prostor dezinformacijama i lažima, nakon molitvi organiziranih ispred bolnica kojima se imalo odvratiti žene od abortusa, pokrenuta je inicijativa „Molitve svete krunice na graničnim prijelazima RH“, s ciljem zaštite domovine i hrvatskog naroda. Od koga? Branka Ljubić iz inicijative odgovara: „Izbjeglice? Više-manje. Pitanje je jesu li svi oni koji žele doći u Hrvatsku baš izbjeglice. Znaite, postoji plan da se zatre kršćanstvo!... Nije da želimo prijetiti i gurati se ispred ostalih, ali i sami vidite da oni gdje god dođu grade džamije, a naši ljudi moraju imati krvava koljena da bi imali barem nekakva prava u svojoj domovini.“

- Sličnih skrupula nemamo kad se radi o teritorijalnim pretenzijama na susjednu državu: 9.11.2017. u Hrvatskom državnom arhivu održana je promocija knjige Jadranka Prlića pod nazivom „Prilozi za povijest Hrvatske Republike Herceg-Bosne“, u tri sveska. Knjiga je, uz prisustvo ministrice kulture Nine Obuljen Koržinek, predstavljena na obljetnicu rušenja Starog mosta u Mostaru.

- Samo dvadeset dana kasnije, 29.11., bilo je zakazano iznošenje drugostupanjske presude dotičnom Prliću i ostalima pred Tribunalom u Haagu. Dragan Čović, na proslavi obljetnice tzv. Hrvatske zajednice Herceg-Bosne u Mostaru istaknuo je da se radi o časnim ljudima koji su svojim djelovanjem zapravo pridonijeli opstanku BiH.

- Takvog mišljenja nije bilo Žalbeno vijeće Haškog tribunala koje je izreklo konačnu presudu za ratne zločine šestorici bivših dužnosnika tzv. Herceg-Bosne: Jadranku Prliću, Bruni Stojiću, Slobodanu Praljku, Milivoju Petkoviću, Valentinu Čoriću i Berislavu Pušiću, koji su osuđeni na ukupno 111 godina zatvora. Presudom je potvrđen

udruženi zločinački pothvat u kojemu je sudjelovalo političko i vojno rukovodstvo Republike Hrvatske na čelu sa Franjom Tuđmanom.

- Slobodan Praljak izveo je u sudnici predstavu i popio otrov koji se razlio širom hrvatskog političkog vrha. Uz potpuno zanemarivanje žrtava ove zločinačke tvorevine i hrvatske agresorske ratne politike u BiH, premijer i predsjednica su lomili vratove i jezike da dokažu kako to nije bila presuda Hrvatskoj niti Hrvatima u BiH, te kako, usprkos dokazima i presudi Hrvatska nije bila agresor u BiH, već dapače, osloboditelj. U skladu s time, logoraši u hrvatskim koncentracijskim logorima na teritoriju BiH nemaju osnova tužiti Hrvatsku, pojasnio je premijer. Došao je u Mostar da se pokloni osuđenom ratnom zločincu, koji je etnički očistio Stolac, držao Mostar pod opsadom i srušio Stari most. Ne njegovim žrtvama.

- Uz očekivano najveća izdavanja za obranu u proračunu za 2018., posebnu stavku ima Ministarstvo branitelja, koje je ove godine dodijelilo 50 000 kuna Društvu za istraživanje trostrukog logora Jasenovac (iz 2. Svj. rata), opskurnoj družbi revizionističkih povjesničara, za „daljnja istraživanja“ koja imaju pokazati da je Jasenovac bio radni logor u kojemu su zatvorenici imali zdravstvenu zaštitu, a nakon „isteka kazne“ puštani su kućama. Teza o „radnom logoru“ Jasenovac u toj je mjeri ušla u mainstream da Milan Ivkošić, kolumnist Večernjeg lista, „s divljenjem i naizgled bez stida“ piše o knjizi „Radni logor Jasenovac“ pa tako navodi da je „u logoru bilo i zabave. Bilo

je sportskih utakmica, pogotovo nogometnih, koncerata, kazališnih predstava među kojima su izvođena i djela što su ih stvarali sami zatočenici“. Iz ovoga slijedi da nije poznato čiji skeleti i kosti leže ukopane na jasenovačkim livadama i obalama Save. Nije li? Da je svaki pokušaj da se negira, trivializira ili minimizira enormnost ovog genocida s moralne točke bestidno, morao je Ivkošića podsjetiti Menachem Rosensaft, generalni savjetnik Svjetskog židovskog kongresa, koji u svom tekstu objavljenom na regionalnom portalu BalkanInsight podsjeća na činjenicu da su hrvatske vlasti u vrijeme vladavine ustaškog režima ubile između 320 000 do 340 000 Srba iz Hrvatske i BiH. Spomen-područje Jasenovac poimenično je identificiralo 83 145 Srba, Židova, Roma i antifašista koji su stradali u logorima koji su pripadali ovom kompleksu.

- Da bi se ovladalo jednim društvom, potrebno je prije svega pokoriti njegovu kulturu. Kako se to radi najbolje zna Zlatko Hasanbegović koji je prethodno u svom ministrovanju ukinuo sredstva nezavisnim medijima, rasturio Hrvatski audio-vizualni centar, političkom trgovinom uspio u nakani da ukine Trg Maršala Tita, a potom postao članom kazališnog vijeća Hrvatskog narodnog kazališta. Nekadašnju intendanticu HNK, svoju blisku prijateljicu Anu Lederer, koja mu je svojedobno bila i pomoćnica u Ministarstvu kulture, Hasanbegović je instalirao kao pročelnicu Ureda za kulturu Grada Zagreba. Odmah po imenovanju pročelnica je odlučila da se gradskim novcem više ne može financirati „politički



aktivizam“ Olivera Frljića. Bez gradskog novca, međutim, neće ostati Robert Kurbaša ili Jakov Sedlar čiji je politički aktivizam pročelnici ideološki ipak bliži od Frljićevog.

- Da je u cirkusu sve otišlo u vražju mater pokazalo se najbolje, kako drugačije, nego za vrijeme karnevala. Naime, na Dičjem (!) krnjevalu u Kaštelima, kao krivca za sve loše što nam se dogodilo u 2017., spaljena je slikovnica „Moja dugina obitelj“. Na pitanje zašto su palili slikovnicu o istospolnoj obitelji, u udruzi koja je karneval organizirala odgovorili su „nismo mi prvi počeli“. Pa i niste, da, orkestrirana klero-fašistička kampanja se u Hrvatskoj vodi već nekoliko godina. Kako to obično biva, kad u Hrvatskoj kihnu, u Hercegovini se razbole, pa su na maškarama u Čapljini ukopali Komšića i slavili Praljka, a na maškarama u Livnu zapalili lutku koja je predstavljala haškog suca Carmela Agiusa, koji je izrekao konačnu presudu u slučaju hercegovačke šestorke. „Spaljivanje maskote popraćeno je gromoglasnim aplauzom roditelja, učitelja i djece.“

- Vijeće za suočavanje s posljedicama vladavine nedemokratskih režima, koje se u Hrvatskoj posve pogrešno razumije kao Vijeće za suočavanje s prošlošću, nakon godinu dana vijećanja, došlo je do zaključka da je ustaški pozdrav Za dom spremni u osnovi neprihvatljiv, osim jedne iznimke, i to u okolnostima vezanim uz Domovinski rat. Prevedeno, to znači da ploča koju su u Jasenovac postavili nekadašnji pripadnici HOS-a¹, a koja je nakon žestoke reakcije javnosti premještena u Novsku, može sadržavati spomenuti pozdrav. Koliko kreativna i široka upotreba ova „službene tolerancije neustavne prakse“ može biti, pokazala je „proslava“ godišnjice Oluje u Glini, koju je Marko Perković Thompson počeo sa, a kako drugačije, nego „Za dom spremni!“ Policija ga nije prekršajno prijavila, niti će to učiniti. Uostalom, već je oslobođen krivnje za isto djelo prošle godine, u Slunju. Skarednija od samog Thomspsona je činjenica da je cijeli događaj upriličen u Glini, mjestu u kojem su ustaše 1941. počinile masakr nad lokalnim srpskim stanovništvom, u crkvi Presvete Bogorodice koja je potom spaljena i uništena. Na mjestu crkve je 1951. podignuta zajednička spomen kosturnica za sve žrtve. Ovaj Spomen-dom žrtava fašizma je nakon Oluje 1995. preimenovan u Hrvatski dom.

- Spomenimo i to da je zagrebački gradonačelnik nakanio u Zagrebu graditi spomenik Holokaustu iako je središnji europski memorijal sagrađen 2005. u Berlinu, dok spomenik žrtvama ustaške NDH, za čijeg je trajanja

ubijeno 80% pripadnika židovske nacionalne manjine u Gradu Zagrebu, nitko ni ne spominje. Bandić ne mari ni što je „Crna Katica“, lokomotiva vlaka koji je prevezio logoraše NDH u logore Danica i Jadovno, i dalje na zagrebačkom Glavnom kolodvoru postavljena kao „turistička atrakcija“, još od 1992. Inače, Spomen-područje Danica nalazi se u Koprivnici, još jednoj stanici Thompsonove ljetosne turneje.

Ovo su neke crtice koje su prijetile biti zaboravljene „glavnim događajima“ poput ofanzive klerikalne desnice protiv potpisivanja Istanbulske konvencije i nogometnog prvenstva koje je završilo višesatnim delirijem kockica na zagrebačkim ulicama, (opet) Thompsonom u autobusu s igračima i spontanom veseljem mase koje se nije znalo drugačije izraziti nego kao višesatno urlanje „u boj, u boj!“, „i krv svoju za Hrvatsku moju!“ kao da nam prethodi rat, a ne slavlje, dok se poraz u finalu kitio sumnjivim epitetima poput „najveće hrvatske pobjede nakon Oluje“.

Narod koji voli vojsku, predsjednica koja više od svega voli nositi strukiranu maskirnu uniformu, Thompson koji pjeva na kostima ustaških žrtava... Hrvatsku je doista teško voljeti, jer je ta ljubav bolna i razočaravajuća.

(Za)branitelji su ljetos odlučili da Bajaga, zašto da se lažemo kao što nas oni lažu – dakle, samo zato što je Srbin, ne može nastupati na karlovačkim Danima piva. Promaknulo mi je da su Dani piva, bit će, domoljubna manifestacija, jer je domoljublje razlog zbog kojeg su učinili sve da zabrane festival Ojkače, od UNESCO-a priznate kulturne baštine, budući se imao održati na dan otviranja spomenika „u povodu posjeta Franje Tuđmana Petrinji 25.8. 1991. godine“. Ojkanje na taj dan je srpska provokacija, kazali su. Zbog pritiska javnosti, zabrana se prometnula u odgađanje festivala za nekoliko mjeseci, ali se zato mržnja i netrpeljivost neodgodivo uvlače u sve pore hrvatskog društva, a strah je postao dominantna odrednica ponašanja. Kako drugačije objasniti što je, nakon dogovorenog gostovanja izložbe Rat sjećanja Centra za nenasilnu akciju u Sisku u studenom 2018., na našu adresu netom stigao mail kojim nas se obavještava da za izložbu ipak „nije pogodno vrijeme“ te nam zbog toga uskraćuju gostoprimstvo. Izložba Rat sjećanja dio je projekta „Ratni spomenici u Bosni i Hercegovini (od 1991.)“ čiji je cilj bio istražiti, dokumentirati i analizirati politiku memorijalizacije i kulturu sjećanja u Bosni i Hercegovini sa sve tri zaraćene strane, promatrajući je prvenstveno iz perspektive izgradnje trajnog mira i povjerenja. Bit će da u tome i jest problem.

Davorka Turk

1 HOS – Hrvatske obrambene snage – paramilitarna organizacija kasnije integrirana u Hrvatsku vojsku. HOS je formiran i ideološki postavljen po uzoru na Hrvatske oružane snage, vojsku Nezavisne Države Hrvatske.

Kosovo: Šta (ni)sмо naučili od suseda

Naš geografski prostor, Balkan, nije neka naročito velika teritorija, ali ima izrazite demografske, lingvističke i etničke karakteristike, koje ovaj deo Evrope, moguće, čine veoma interesantnim. A, moguće nažalost, i veoma egzotičnim.

U toj balkanskoj mučkalici (melting pot?!), svaka od etničkih grupa se trudi da se razlikuje od druge, da u prvi plan stavi one posebnosti koje je čine boljom, plemenitijom, starijom, sa više istorijskog – i posledično, političkog – prava, iako je taj argument sam po sebi truo.

Zarad isticanja tih *velikih razlika* vođeni su brojni ratovi, kako u klasičnom značenju te reči, tako i na naučnom, intelektualnom i političkom planu, s jednim ciljem da te *velike razlike* postanu *još veće razlike*. A ni kada bi jedna etnička grupa izvojevala pobedu na tom polju izmišljanja razlika, ni druga ne bi zaostajala da je iskopira i da je pretekne u isticanju razlika.

U ovoj tački definitivno treba da damo nekoliko primera, kako sav ovaj trud ne bi zvučao previše naučno.

Ako na albanskom na kraj pitanja *šta nismo naučili od suseda* stavimo upitnik, ono će postati usklična rečenica koja donekle ima značenje *nema šta nismo naučili od naših suseda*, ili u našem svakodnevnom govoru, *šta sve neće čovek čuti*. Vidite kako albanski čini čuda? Albanski jezik, ne ptica.¹

Šta (ni)sмо naučili od suseda?!

Naučili smo kako da slavimo poraze.

Srbi (i ovde mislim na zvanični odnosno politički narativ, a ne na ceo narod) izmišljaju Kosovsku bitku koja prelazi u mitomaniju. Govore nam o nekakvom Milošu Obiliću (ili Milošu Kopiliću, zašto da ne?!), koji prolazi brojne stražare osvajačkog sultana, ulazi u njegov šator i ubija ga. Verujem da svi znamo tu priču. Balkanski narodi pod zastavom balkanskog cara gube bitku, rat i sve drugo, ali to je jedna od najslavnijih *pobeda* srpskog naroda. Isto se ponavlja kroz čitavu istoriju, iako mitovi sve više slabe kako se približavamo modernim vremenima, što je i razumljivo.

Umesto da razmotrimo kako poraz nije nešto dobro, porazi se ne slave, istina je draža pa i ako ne ide u našu korist, mi učimo od naših suseda i radimo istu stvar. Počnemo od činjenice da je Miloš Kopilić bio Albanac, nastavimo kroz čitavu istoriju (sa nekih 400 godina mraka bez informacija tokom Osmanskog carstva) i dođemo do poslednjih bitaka na Kosovu. Do epopeja.

A pošto sam ja ljubitelj jezika, rado listam rečnik kao što deca listaju slikovnice.

Rečnik albanskoga jezika:

EPOPEJA ž.

1. *knjiž.* Vrsta epske književnosti, duga epska poema ili veliko pripovedno delo u kome se opisuju istorijski događaji i legendarna dela u vezi sa životom jednog naroda ili nacije. Homerove epopeje. Pisati epopeju.

2. *fig.* Herojski događaj ili skup događaja od istorijske važnosti u životu jednog naroda. Slavna epopeja. Epopeja Narodnooslobodilačke borbe. Epopeja Kroje.

Mi imamo toliko epopeja iz poslednjeg rata da bismo s punim ponosom mogli da kažemo da nas ni za sto narednih godina niko u regionu neće prestići na tom polju. Na našu nesreću, ove epopeje su praćene jezivim ubistvima civila, koja se u jednoj herojskoj, frontalnoj borbi ne bi uopšte smatrala nečim čime bi čovek trebalo da se ponosi. Iako nemam mnogo informacija o epopejama u Bosni, za Kosovo svejedno znam da imamo fiktivnu brojku od 20.000 silovanih u ratu. Taj broj nikada nije bio podržan nijednim empirijskim podatkom. Možda smo ga i uzeli iz Bosne, gde su se dešavala užasna sistematska silovanja. Tu smo u prednosti.

Kosovo : Region 1 – 0

Teška tema. Da pređemo polako na zabavni deo programa.

Svaki sport, čak i umetničke aktivnosti, moraju biti praćene nacionalnim ponosom, treba da budu praćene izlivom superiornosti nad drugim. Fudbalska utakmica na svetskom prvenstvu između Srbije i Švajcarske (da ponovim: između Srbije i Švajcarske) ne bi imala tu *draž* koju je imala da Đaka i Šaćiri nisu pokazivali znak orla nakon postignutih golova. Pobeda nije pobeda ako nije praćena nacionalnom mržnjom. Događaji pre i posle ove utakmice govore u prilog tom argumentu.

Fudbalska utakmica između Albanije i Srbije, u Beogradu, prekinuta je nakon što je letelica sa balistom (zanimljivo ime, sa nastavkom *ist*) i jednom zanimljivom kartom preletela preko stadiona. I meč je prekinut. Ko je pobedio?

Kosovo – Region 0 – 0

Vraćamo se na teške teme. Albanci su potomci Pelazga, Ilira. Bošnjaci su potomci Ilira. Hrvati su potomci Ilira. Srbi su nebeski narod.

¹ Alb. *shqipja* ima homonimno značenje 1. 'albanski jezik' i 2. 'orao'. (prim. prev.)

Ako je srpska kvazinaučna mašinerija uradila sve da istakne u prvi plan poreklo svog naroda sa neviđenim mit(oman)skim žarom, i ako sve do kasno mi nismo bili u stanju da im pružimo protivodgovor, polako ipak hvatamo korak i žanjemo uspehe i na tom polju. Meni se dopadaju teze koje dovode u logičnu vezu Pelazge-Ilire i Albance krećući od lingvističkog argumenta, ali problem je što postoji veoma malo opipljivih činjenica da bi se iz toga izvodili empirijski zasnovani zaključci. I ne svrstavam se u red onih koji smatraju da na udarce treba odgovarati još nižim udarcima.

Bilo bi dobro da u ovom sukobu ne zaboravimo i Makedoniju na čelu sa Aleksandrom Velikim i projektom Skolje 2014 (a koji je u stvari bio Albanac? Grk? Stari Grk?).

I ovde bi rezultat morao biti nerešen.

Kosovo – Region 0 – 0

Iako je antifašizam opštečovečanska vrednost, ovdašnji narodi postepeno rehabilituju okorele ratne zločince. Svedoci smo rehabilitacije ustaša u Hrvatskoj, četnika u Srbiji, i polako učimo od suseda kako da i mi uradimo istu stvar. Ali, nama nedostaje hrabrosti. Nedostaje nam hrabrosti da kažemo da nam je fašizam činio dobro, a da su nas partizani progonili. Nedostaje nam na zvaničnom nivou, ne po zatvorenim sobama.

Ipak, razvijena mašinerija i logistika na ovom polju daju prednost regionu. Stoga:

Kosovo – Region 0 – 1

Mi Albanci poznati smo po gostoprimstvu, plemenitosti, krvnoj osveti i oproštaju, itd. Štaviše, to smo i kodifikovali u slavnom Kanonu Leke Dukadinija. Ali, na našu nesreću, istim odlikama se ponose i narodi u regionu. Te odlike (izuzev krvne osvete) jesu opšteljudske i možda bi trebalo

da ih ima svaki razuman čovek. Ali, mi smo ih kodifikovali. Tu ubedljivo dobijamo:

Kosovo – Region – 1 – 0

Postoji toliko mnogo društvenih aspekata i nivoa koji govore o našoj (neosporivoj) sličnosti. Uzmite jednog Hrvata, Srbina, Bošnjaka, Makedonca, Albanca i Crnogorca (a da stvar učinimo interesantnijom, uzmite i nekog Bugarina i Turčina) sa sličnim društvenim, ekonomskim i starosnim karakteristikama, i vidite hoćete li moći da prepoznate, recimo, Makedonca u toj grupi. Ako ne možete, onda nešto nije u redu sa vama. Ili sa njima.

Da smo uzimali dobre stvari jedni od drugih, da smo se snažno borili protiv mana (pre svega) među sobom, a zatim i kod drugih, da smo isticali i cenili dobre osobine kod drugih i da smo radili na poboljšanju sopstvenih slabosti, stvari bi bile mnogo bolje i ne bismo bili tako egzotični. Ne znam da li bi to uticalo na turizam.

Konačni rezultat:

Kosovo – Region 1 – 0

Na kraju, preporučujem da pogledate jedan dokumentarni film za koji verujem da pristaje svemu što sam rekao ovde. Film je veoma veseo i zove se “Čija je ovo pesma?”²

Ugodno gledanje!

Qerim Ondozi

2 https://www.imdb.com/title/tt0387926/?ref_=nv_sr_1.



Kosovo: Situacija je (ponovo) napeta

Poslednja godina na Kosovu prilično je turbulentna, te Kosovo ne izlazi iz fokusa pažnje kako regiona, tako i međunarodne zajednice. Rekla bih i da je toliko stresna, napeta, tenzična u svakom smislu, da mi i samo ovo podsećanje pada prilično mučno, imajući u vidu čega se sve valja poprisetiti. A tražite bar nešto pozitivno, vedro nešto što može biti tračak nade, izlaz iz bezizlaza, nešto što se može nazvati očekivanje s osmehom, ali nažalost ne nazirem, nema ga. Osim što je sve manje dragih i poznatih ljudi koji, kako ko može i uspe, pre ili kasnije odlaze u neko bolje sutra, pogled unazad je prilično dosadan i mračan. Ali... da se zavrtime...

Nakon što je septembra 2017. formirana Vlada Kosova, koju su podržali i predstavnici Srpske liste, u oktobru su održani lokalni izbori, pa smo dobili i lokalnu vlast. To u slučaju 10 opština sa većinskim srpskim stanovništvom, znači pobeđu Srpske liste koju podržava zvanični Beograd, odnosno Srpska napredna stranka, aktuelnog predsednika Srbije Aleksandra Vučića.

Izborna posmatračka misija Evropske unije, tokom kampanje za prevremene parlamentarne izbore održane 4 meseca pre lokalnih, utvrdila je u konačnom izveštaju da je u okviru zajednice kosovskih Srba "kampanju narušilo učestalo zastrašivanje, kao i slučajevi nasilja unutar zajednice nad kandidatima i biračima, kao i nedovoljno reagovanje policije i ostalih organa za sprovođenje zakona". Naveli su da je bilo pritisa na pojedinačne kandidate da se povuku, nasilne incidente u Leposaviću, pritisak na političke partije i kandidate koji osporavaju dominantnost Srpske liste.

Tokom kampanje četvoro se povuklo sa liste kandidata za odbornike iz Građanske inicijative SDP-a, kasnije ubijenog, **Olivera Ivanovića**. Jedan od njih je čak putem saopštenja pozvao građane da glas daju Srpskoj listi.

"To nisu izbori, to nije demokratija, to je nasilje nad demokratijom. Ova situacija može da eskalira, može da bude još gora, ali već je dovoljno loša da će nam trebati vreme da saniramo posledice ovako neodgovornog

ponašanja”, izjavio je Ivanović za Radio Slobodna Evropa dodajući da se se lično ne oseća ugroženim, ali da građani koji stoje uz njega jesu, i da će oni u poslednjem momentu razmišljati da li će da ostanu ili napuste Kosovo.

“Ako neko ko je na vlasti ljulja temelje opstanka ovde, onda nemam šta više da mu kažem”, govorio je Oliver Ivanović.

Nakon održanih izbora, Srpska lista je pobedila u svim opštinama sa srpskom većinom na Kosovu, uključujući i njihove kandidate za 10 gradonačelnika.

Početkom godine ubijen je Oliver Ivanović, sa šest hitaca u grudi, ispred svoje kancelarije. Ivanović je bio lider Građanske inicijative “Srbija, demokratija, pravda” i odbornik u lokalnom parlamentu Severne Mitrovice. U mitrovačku bolnicu primljen je bez znakova života, a reanimacija je bila neuspešna.

Građani Severne Mitrovice su tokom čitave noći odavali počast lideru Oliveru Ivanoviću u prostorijama stranke ispred kojih je ubijen. Odlukom Vlade Srbije, sahranjen je u aleji zaslužnih građana na Novom groblju u Beogradu, a na hiljade ljudi su ga dan nakon ubistva ispratile odajući mu poštu i zahvalnost za sve što je za ovaj grad učinio svih godina nakon rata.

Otvorena je istraga i od strane Prištine i Beograda. Na Kosovu je istragu zvanično preuzelo Specijalno tužilaštvo Kosova, ali se dalje od početka nigde nije maklo.

Ono što je ozbiljno uticalo na pogoršanje već loših odnosa Beograda i Prištine, i prouzrokovalo izlazak Srpske iz Vlade Kosova (ispostaviće se samo formalno, ali ne i suštinski), bilo je hapšenje direktora Kancelarije Vlade Srbije za Kosovo Marka Đurića u Severnoj Mitrovici, od strane specijalne jedinice Policije Kosova ROSU. Naime, prištinske vlasti nisu odobrile njegov boravak za dan za koji je to zatražio, a sam Đurić se nije obazirao na to, već se pojavio na okruglom stolu koji se organizovao u okviru “Unutrašnjeg dijaloga Srbije o Kosovu”.

Sirene za uzbunu, šok bombe, brutalnost specijalaca prema okupljenima, uključujući i novinare, obeležile su odvođenje Đurića u Prištinu, odakle je ubrzo pušten, odnosno sproveden do graničnog, ili administrativnog prelaza sa Srbijom. (taj prelaz možete zvati kako vam drago, ali izvesno je da će vam za ulaz trebati sva dokumenta, kao na bilo kom graničnom prelazu, robu će vam cariniti, a ako ste iz Bosne i Hercegovine, trebaće vam i viza, za koju ukoliko imate sreće možete aplicirati u Zagrebu. Ili Tirani, Skoplju, ili Istanbulu.)

Tokom reakcije policije povređene su 32 osobe, od toga petoro teže, izjavio je direktor Kliničko-bolničkog centra u Severnoj Mitrovici Milan Ivanović. Među njima i ministar

poljoprivrede u Vladi Kosova Nenad Rikalo i gradonačelnik Leposavića Zoran Todić. Povrede su nanete kundacima, cevima, i težinom obuće (cokulama).

Predsednik Kosova Hašim Tači pozvao je na mir. Rekao je da je policija Kosova delovala u skladu sa zakonima i ovlašćenjima prilikom hapšenja Marka Đurića koji je, kako je naveo, ilegalno ušao na Kosovo. Tači je dodao da je Đurić, nakon redovnih procedura tužilaštva i sudstva, u pratnji odveden do graničnog prelaza između Kosova i Srbije.

Predsednik Srpske liste Goran Rakić saopštio je da je rukovodstvo stranke održalo hitan sastanak na kojem je usvojena inicijativa za izlazak iz Vlade Kosova, navodeći da dijalog nema nikakvog smisla, u ovakvim okolnostima. Ubrzo je održana zajednička sednica deset skupština opština sa srpskom većinom na Kosovu, na kojoj su jednoglasno podržani zaključci da će – ukoliko “zvanična Priština ne bude spremna da u naredne tri nedelje počne da radi na formiranju Zajednice srpskih opština (ZSO), srpske opštine i institucije” – same početi formiranje zajednice, no od toga su kasnije odustali.

Avni Arifi, šef kabineta kosovskog premijera i glavni pregovarač u tehničkom dijalogu sa Srbijom, izjavio je da “postoji samo jedan način da se Zajednica opština sa srpskom većinom formira, a to je putem unutrašnjeg dijaloga sa kosovskim vlastima”. Srbi traže da ZSO ima izvršna ovlašćenja, dok se kosovska strana tome protivi.

U ovom trenutku izvesno je da od ZSO nema ničeg, ni pet i po godina od potpisivanja Briselskog sporazuma. Srbi na Kosovu su uznemireni, izgubljeni, skoro očajni. Iz godine u godinu povećava se broj onih koji odlaze, a svi drugi kao da čekaju priliku. Većina ne vidi svoju perspektivu na Kosovu. Svršeni srednjoškolci i pored Univerziteta u samoj Kosovskoj Mitrovici, odlučuju se za studiranje u drugim gradovima Srbije. Situacija umesto da se stabilizuje, stalno je na ivici eskalacije. Jednostavno, ljudi su umorni. I dalje ih muče prazni rafovi u apotekama, problem sa ličnim dokumentima, ograničena sloboda kretanja.

Kosovski predsednik Hašim Tači je u junu najavio da dijalog ulazi u konačnu fazu, da će Kosovo na kraju procesa biti član Ujedinjenih nacija, te da će doći do recipročnog priznanja Kosova i Srbije. “Ubeđen sam da je došlo vreme da se sada, nakon razgovora koji traju već 20 godina, potpiše istorijski sporazum između Kosova i Srbije čime će se okončati jedna tragična epoha koja je trajala više od jednog veka”, kazao je Tači.

Nakon postizanja sporazuma, kako je naveo, doći će i do ustavnih izmena i na Kosovu i u Srbiji, u Srbiji zbog preambule, a na Kosovu zbog recipročnog priznanja Srbije. Najavio je da će biti govora i o granici.

“Podela teritorije Kosova, razmena teritorija ili kakva god opcija koja ima za cilj promenu granica, nije opcija za Vladu Kosova“, rekao šef kabineta kosovskog premijera i šef delegacije u tehničkom dijalogu Beograda i Prištine, Avni Arifi.

Nemir i strah u stanovništvo na severu Kosova, zapravo je ponovo unet početkom avgusta, kada su mediji u Srbiji skandaloznim naslovima i izveštajima praktično najavljivali kataklizmu, novi rat, odnosno zauzimanje hidrosistema Gazivode¹ od strane Prištine, koji sada kontroliše srpska strana u opštini Zubin Potok, da su se svi bojali da sledi još jedan, verovatno poslednji, egzodus Srba.

“Niko neće moći da prisvoji hidrosistem Gazivode, on pripada Kosovu i svaki pokušaj prisvajanja biće agresija na Kosovo“, kažu kosovski vladini zvaničnici, dok zvaničnici iz Beograda poručuju da će Srbija da zaštiti i Gazivode i Trepču u trafostanicu Valač na severu. Sve nabrojano je od izuzetnog strateškog značaja za opstanak Srba na severu, i oko toga su se zvaničnici verbalno sukobljavali prethodnih dana, do te mere, da je KFOR čuvao pomenute objekte, pod zvaničnim obrazloženjem da izvodi “redovnu vežbu”, iako je situacija na terenu ipak bila drugačija. To su bili dani, kada su mediji širili nesnosnu kampanju i u žitelje severnih srpskih opština na Kosovu uneli ozbiljan nemir i strah.

Situacija na Kosovu po ko zna koji put je nestabilna, jer su sve aktuelnije price o mogućoj podeli Kosova, razgraničenju, rešavanju vekovnog konflikta itd. To je dovelo do nove podele među Srbima, ali i Albancima. Dodelo je i do toga da su se stavovi Srpske liste i Kancelarije za Kosovo Vlade Srbije s jedne, i SPC na Kosovu i Metohiji, odnosno eparhije raškoprizrenske, drastično razili, što je uslovlilo brojna saopštenja i napade na igumana manastira Visoki Dečani Savu Janjića, koji je optužen za širenje panike među stanovništvom na severu Kosova i Metohije, ali i zastupanje albanskih interesa. Janjić se protivi svakoj vrsti podele ili razgraničenja Kosova.

Njegove stavove protiv bilo kakve opcije koja uključuje podelu podržala je i cela Eparhija, potpisima svih monaha, monahinja i sveštenstva, u Apelu koji su uputili vlastima Srbije.

1. Akumulaciono jezero Gazivode nalazi se većim delom u opštini Zubin Potok na severu Kosova sa većinskim srpskim stanovništvom, a manjim u opštini Tutin u Srbiji. Iz njega, pijaćom vodom se snabdeva sever Kosova, ali i Priština sa okolinom.

Ovaj hidrosistem takođe isporučuje vodu za termoelektrane u Obiliću koja se koristi za hlađenje elektrana Kosovo A i Kosovo B, a pored toga, voda iz akumulacionog jezera Gazivode koristi se i navodnjavanje poljoprivrednih površina.

Predsednici Srbije i Kosova su se 24. avgusta sastali u Beču, a tek 26. to saopštili javnosti. Kažu da su uporni da reše vekovni problem, i od toga ne odustaju, mada se određene zemlje protive “menjanju granica”, a Tači saopštava da će do “korekcije” doći.

Moramo da živimo zajedno, mi smo dva najbrojnija naroda na Balkanu. Ako mi ne možemo da rešimo, ko će“, rekao je “pomirljivo” Aleksandar Vučić. “Sada je vreme za obavezujući pravni sporazum Kosova i Srbije, imamo odškrinut prozor koji treba da iskoristimo“, naveo je kosovski predsednik Hašim Tači.

Deluje kao da su do te mere odlučni, da ih u tome “ne mogu sprečiti“ ni recimo Britanija i Nemačka koje su protiv menjanja granica. No, ključno pitanje je šta na to kaže narod na Kosovu i u Srbiji?! Sve je izvesnije da će se o tome izjašnjavati na referendumu.

Sledeći susret Tačija i Vučića je 7. septembra u Briselu sa Federikom Mogerini. Dan kasnije Vučić dolazi u dvodnevnu posetu severu Kosova. Rok za predaju ovog teksta je, s radošću konstatujem, 3. septembar.

Maja Fićović

Makedonija: Ponovo na raskrsnici

Bila je ovo burna godina za Makedoniju, sa malo opipljivih rezultata, a sve više nezadovoljstva promjenama koje su nastupile i onima su bile očekivane ali nisu nastupile nakon pada režima VMRO-DPMNE – DUI kada smo dobili vladu koalicije SDSM – DUI. Nakon političkih previranja oko uspostavljanja nove vlade odmah su se pojavili izazovi vezani za to kako se nositi sa svim što se desilo.

Uskoro nakon uspostavljanja nove vlade koalicije socijaldemokrata SDSM-a, “socijaldemokrata” Demokratske unije za integraciju (DUI) i albanskih nacionalista Alijanse za Albance, morali su se raspisati lokalni izbori. Činilo se da će se na ovaj način učiniti sljedeći korak u prevazilaženju etničkih podjela kod glasanja i predizbornih koalicija, ali to se nije desilo.

“Natrag u stroj”

SDSM i DUI nisu oformili predizbornu koaliciju, a Alijansa za Albance je čak u jednom trenutku napustila vladajuću koaliciju. SDSM i DUI ostali su partneri u vlasti na nivou države, ali su na lokalnim izborima odlučili nastupati odvojeno. Međutim, na prikriven i dosta perfidan način koordinirali su svoje kampanje kako bi podržali jedni druge. Bio je ovo težak udarac za hiljade albanskih glasača

i članova SDSM-a koji su glasali za njih u parlamentarnim izborima i bili spremni dati im glas i na lokalnim izborima i pomoći u vođenju predizborne kampanje. Mnogi glasači, članovi i simpatizeri koji su se ozbiljno razočarali u DUI imali su osjećaj da ih je SDSM iznevjerio praveći ozbiljne kompromise sa DUI-om. Ispostavilo se da je ovo ogroman korak unatrag u oblasti glasanja izvan etničkih granica.

Nekoliko mjeseci nakon lokalnih izbora, osjećaju iznevjerenosti pridružili su se i Romi, koji su se borili protiv režima, uključujući i njegove romske partnere, da bi se na kraju romska stranka priklonila vladajućoj koaliciji SDSM-a i DUI-a.

Za DUI su lokalni izbori bili zlatna prilika da obnove politički kapital izgubljen tokom parlamentarnih izbora i oni su je objeručke prihvatili. Izgubili su nekoliko općina drugim albanskim strankama, a SDSM je osvojio vlast u općini koja je dosta stradala 2001. i koja se smatra izrazito albanski nacionalističkom. Ipak, DUI su kao stranka kroz lokalne izbore konsolidirali svoju moć i učvrstili svoju ulogu u vladi u odnosu na period partnerstva sa VMRO-DPMNE.

Na lokalnim izborima je SDSM potukao VMRO-DPMNE, osvojivši vlast u 56 općina i u Gradu Skoplju. VMRO-



DPMNE osvojio je samo 5 općina od kojih nijedna nije imala značajan broj birača. DUI je osvojio vlast u 10 općina, Alijansa za Albance u 3, BESA i Demokratska stranka Albanaca u po jednoj, kao i Demokratska stranka Turaka. U tri općine pobijedili su nezavisni kandidati.

Nova vremena za iste stare greške

Kako kaže jedan moj prijatelj svaki put kad razgovaramo o dnevnopolitičkim temama u Makedoniji, “mi imamo klasično lošu vladu”. Jasna je razlika između sadašnje vlade i VMRO-DPMNE režima, ali u mnogo čemu postoje sličnosti koje s vremenom bivaju sve vidljivije i ozbiljnije.

SDSM i DUI nastavljaju tradiciju VMRO-DPMNE i DUI u načinu rada (“DUIng business”) koji je u skladu sa zakonom ali uz ozbiljne sumnje na korupciju i prilagođavanje praksi tako da budu u potpunosti zakonite, ali ipak problematične u mnogim aspektima.

Stranačko zapošljavanje skriveno je iza pozitivne diskriminacije ili jednake zastupljenosti, pri čemu se krivica obično skreće sa stranačke diskriminacije i svaljuje na etničku diskriminaciju, iako su se stranke unaprijed dogovorile o tome koliko će svaka stranka imati kandidata na “otvorenom” konkursu. Stoga se često dešava da Makedonci koji ne dobiju posao krive albansku stranu, umjesto da uvide stvarni izvor identitetske diskriminacije - stranačku pripadnost. Isto važi i za Albance. I naravno, manjim etničkim skupinama preostaju samo “mrvice” i one dalje trpe diskriminaciju, posebno Romi.

Čak i sa novih nekoliko hiljada albanskih članova SDSM-a, stranačko zapošljavanje je i dalje etnički “čisto”, što znači da SDSM ne nastoji zaposliti svoje albanske članove jer su albanska mjesta već rezervirana za članove DUI-a.

U službi nepravde

S padom režima pojavile su se ozbiljne nade da će doći do ozbiljnih promjena u Ministarstvu unutrašnjih poslova i sigurnosnim snagama, u Javnom tužilaštvu i u pravosuđu, s obzirom na to da je VMRO u potpunosti dominirao ovim vladinim tijelima i institucijama sve do pada režima. VMRO je imao spisak sudija koje su smatrali “svojima” i kojima su namještali predmete kako bi sudili u njihovu korist. Javno tužilaštvo je također po njihovom nalogu pokretalo, odnosno nije pokretalo postupke. Policija je zloupotrebljavana u političke svrhe i to je išlo toliko daleko da su nasilne policijske službenike dovodili u različite dijelove Makedonije za vrijeme predizborne kampanje kako bi tukli članove i promotore SDSM-a. Ovo su samo neki od primjera.

U protekloj godini došlo je do nekih smjena nadležnih u policiji, ali većina ljudi koji su služili režimu ostala je na svojim položajima, iako su mnogi služili VMRO-u, pa čak i učestvovali u napadu na zgradu parlamenta 27. aprila kada su podržavaoci VMRO-a pretukli parlamentarce koji su uspostavili novu vladu. Novi dokazi ukazuju na postojanje ozbiljnih namjera da se izvrši atentat na Ziadina Selu, lidera Alijanse za Albance i Zorana Zaeva, aktuelnog predsjednika vlade i lidera SDSM-a.

Istina, Javno tužilaštvo pokrenulo je postupak protiv osoba uključenih u nasilje za vrijeme napada na zgradu parlamenta tako što je podiglo optužnice za terorizam protiv 28 osoba i za saučesništvo protiv dvije osobe.

U maju ove godine povučena je tužba protiv premijera Zaeva za primanje mita, odnosno, sud je donio odluku da nije kriv. Zaev insistira da je cjelokupni postupak bio politički motiviran kako bi ga spriječili da objavi prisluškivane razgovore.

Kad smo već kod visokih vladinih zvaničnika i krivičnih tužbi – bivši premijer Nikola Gruevski osuđen je na 6,5 godina zatvora za nezakonitu kupovinu Mercedesa od 600.000 eura, a trenutno se vodi žalbeni postupak. Specijalno javno tužilaštvo također ga tereti i za druga krivična djela.

Specijalno javno tužilaštvo nastavlja svoj rad na više aktivnih krivičnih predmeta protiv vladinih zvaničnika iz režima.

Fokusiranje na vanjštinu

Čini se da je najveći prioritet nove vlade iznaći rješenje za ime Makedonije, pristupiti NATO-u i otvoriti pregovore za pristupanje EU. A da bi to omogućio, premijer je prevashodno fokusiran na naše odnose sa susjedima i drugim zemljama. To ljude frustrira jer su očekivali rješenja za domaće probleme svakodnevnice, rješenja koja su po svemu sudeći zapostavljena. Pored toga, čini se da novi javni zvaničnici svojom bahatošću i pohlepom čine stvari još gorim, a za mnoge je jedino Zaev hrabar, iskren i dovoljno dobar za vladu, pa od njega očekuju da se fokusira na unutrašnja pitanja i sve to riješi. Takvo osjećanje vodi se idejom da Makedonija treba i zaslužuje jedinstvenog vođu koji će riješiti sve njene probleme – na taj način je ranije oko Gruevskog stvoren kult autoritarnog vođe.

Ipak, Makedonija je napredovala u unapređenju odnosa sa susjednim zemljama, posebno sa Bugarskom i Grčkom. U januaru je makedonski parlament ratificirao Sporazum o dobrosusjedskim odnosima, prijateljstvu i saradnji s Bugarskom. Ovo je, naravno, prouzrokovalo nacionalističko protivljenje sa retorikom koja obično prati

svako osjetljivo državno pitanje – punom uvreda i prozivki protiv Makedonaca iz SDSM-a, kao i Bugara, kao i naravno Albanaca.

Biti ili ne biti Sjeverna Makedonija

Nakon perioda velikog pritiska i podrške međunarodne zajednice, kao i mnoštva nacionalističkih ispada, ministri vanjskih poslova Grčke i Makedonije potpisali su sporazum o sporu oko imena u prisustvu premijera obje države, Specijalnog predstavnika UN-a Matthewa Nimetza, Federice Mogherini, itd.

Kako stoji u sporazumu, rješenje spora oko imena je da će novo ime biti Republika Sjeverna Makedonija i da će se koristiti erga omnes – prema svima. Zvanični jezik će biti makedonski, a državljanstvo makedonsko/državljeni Makedonije.

Na dan potpisivanja sporazuma, VMRO–DPMNE organizirao je protest u Bitoli i Skopju, a makedonski nacionalisti s izvjesnim vezama sa VMRO–DPMNE upriličili su nemire. Policija je morala pribjeći sili kako bi obuzdala učesnike nemira, a opozicija je odmah podsjetila na proteste protiv vlade VMRO-a, navodeći da je protiv učesnika protesta na dan potpisivanja sporazuma upotrijebljena daleko veća sila. Kada je riječ o nemirima i protestima protiv režima VMRO-a, čudno je kako makedonska policija za makedonske nacionaliste nalikuje na Schrodingerovu policiju – istovremeno su i “makedonski sinovi” i “šiptarska (albanska) policija”.

U svakom slučaju, kako bi sporazum bio finaliziran potrebno je održati referendum. VMRO–DPMNE su prvi počeli insistirati na tome da do promjene imena može doći tek nakon što to narod odobri na referendumu. Međutim, sada kada je VMRO–DPMNE u opoziciji, protive se referendumu, iako je Wikileaks nedavno objavio dokumente iz kojih se vidi da su upravo oni, na čelu sa Gruevskim, 2008. prihvatili promjenu imena u Sjeverna Makedonija, ali je Grčka tada odbila taj prijedlog.

Pokrenuta je i kampanja za bojkot, poprilično smiješna, ali i odvratno nacionalistički nastrojena. Neću ulaziti u detalje, ali u osnovi se radi o kombinaciji okorjelih makedonskih nacionalista, makedonskih “liberalnih” intelektualaca, stranke Makedonsko jedinstvo koja se hvali da su joj ruski zvaničnici obučili članove za preuzimanje vlade, i ljevičarske stranke Levica.

Vlada je odlučila da će referendum biti savjetodavan, a ne obavezujući. Time si je ostavila prostora za političko manevrisanje u slučaju neuspjeha na referendumu. Jedna ozbiljna mogućnost u slučaju neuspješnog referenduma

je dogovor sa VMRO u zamjenu za amnestiju i usvajanje sporazuma u parlamentu uz podršku značajnog broja delegata VMRO-a i raspisivanje novih parlamentarnih izbora. Sve albanske stranke i SDSM uz svoje makedonske partnere u potpunosti podržavaju referendum i jedino je pitanje da li će dovoljno ljudi izaći da glasa. Da će većina glasati za prijedlog je završena stvar.

Referendum je pokrenuo i mnoštvo drugih pitanja, od toga da su sva ministarstva koja su to mogla finansirala kampanju, a posebno Ministarstvo odbrane u ime NATO-a. Pojavio se i problem sa načinom na koji je postavljeno referendumsko pitanje. Ono glasi: Da li ste za članstvo u NATO-u i EU uz prihvatanje sporazuma između Republike Makedonije i Republike Grčke?

Pitanje je moglo navesti na pogrešan zaključak iako će svi koji budu glasali unaprijed znati o čemu se zapravo radi. Ali također ograničava i ljude koji su protiv NATO-a, primoravajući ih da se izjasne za prijedlog koji možda samo u jednom dijelu podržavaju.

U svakom slučaju, referendum će se održati 30. septembra. Kakav god da bude rezultat, podjela u našem društvu će biti ozbiljna, jer će se jedna strana osjećati iznevjereno, a druga kao da su izgubili nešto važno. Način na koji se budemo s ovim nosili predstavlja veliki izazov. Posebno ako imamo na umu da je etnička makedonska zajednica podijeljena, dok su druge etničke zajednice u većem broju opredijeljene za potvrđan ishod referenduma.

Emrah Rexhepi

Srbija: Stari ljudi bi rekli “Ko visoko leti, nisko pada”

Malo šta se u ovogodišnjoj svakodnevici u Srbiji može izdvojiti, a što bi bio indikator neke promjene ili bar njenog nastajanja u odnosu na nekoliko godina unazad. Politički ambijent se uklopio u sliku koja se neumoljivo širi svijetom, a koju stvaraju manji ili veći konzervativni populistički vladaoci. Rusija, SAD, lideri Brexita, Mađarska, Turska, Crna Gora, Sjeverna Koreja... svi imaju svog „spasioca“ koji će se žrtvovati za dobrobit svoje države/nacije i na čemu mu svi moraju biti zahvalni. Gledajući unazad, nije teško i u Srbiji još 2012. prepoznati začetak sličnog šablona dolaska na vlast i uzurpiranja moći, uspostavljanja vaninstitucionalne (unutarstranačke) mreže odlučivanja, zastrašivanja, stanja stalne izborne kampanje i vanrednih izbora... koji sprovedi struktura koja se pojavila u liku i djelu već tada svuda prisutnog, Prvog potpredsjednika vlade (da li neko uopšte zna ko je danas na toj funkciji?) i vođe Srpske napredne stranke (SNS), Aleksandra Vučića. Nedugo poslije je postao premijer, a danas predsjednik, ali je njegova sveprisutnost i potreba da o svemu i svačemu bude prvi pitan, stalna i nepromjenjiva bez obzira na ovlasti političke funkcije na kojoj je trenutno. Ko će biti premijer, a ko ministar, ko gradonačelnik Beograda, ko će upravljati aerodromom u Nišu, ko kontrolisati reglere za jačinu tona u RTS-u... sve su to pitanja koja po pravilu prvo čekaju odgovor od Predsjednika. U jačanju vladanja SNS-a svi oni koji se drznu da nešto što vlast radi kritikuju (ili da npr. ne navijaju na fudbalskoj utakmici za isti tim kao predsjednik), su (politički) neprijatelji i (skoro) sve što je usmjereno protiv njih je legitimno i dozvoljeno. U njihovom „razapinjanju“ u javnom prostoru na vrijeme, mjesto i način se ne obraća pažnja, naziva ih se idiotima, ubicama, kriminalcima, izdajnicima, onima koji pozivaju na kaos... i niko nije pošteđen i nikome se „ne gleda kroz prste“. I kao da se među poslušnicima vlasti koji su na „braniku“ zapatila igrice „ko će više“, pa tim napadima nastoje da pokažu veličinu svoje privrženosti/poslušnosti. Najgore što im se kao posljedica tih napada može desiti je da Predsjednik javno kaže da je eto, neko malo pretjerao, da nije trebao, da on to ne bi tako, ali... i na taj način on nastavio da igra ulogu nekoga ko je „umjeren“ i faktor stabilnosti. Naslovne strane kvazinovina, portal, društvene mreže, tv stanice... ali i skupštinska govornica, svečana otvaranja fabrika i kilometara puta, polaganja raznih „kamenja“ temeljaca... postaju mjesta od kojih prosječni stanovnik Srbije zazire, i gledajući ko je sve meta, strahuje da i njegovo ime u jednoj od tih prilika neko ne izgovori. Na kraju mu je,

najčešće, preostalo da se „pomiri“ sa tim da mu je u stvari puno bolje nego što to on/ona misli, jer nam sa svih strana, stalno govore da je napredak u ekonomskom razvoju istorijski i nikada do sada viđen, svakodnevno se otvaraju nove fabrike sa hiljadama radnih mjesta, kilometri autoputeva, započinju veliki projekti, isto tako veliki uskoro će biti završeni, plate i penzije samo što nisu povećane... i ostala nikad ispunjena obećanja. I sve ono što se nađe na putu takvog „napretka“ treba nekako „premostiti“ ili diskreditovati. Bilo da je riječ o građanima/kama kada su izašli na ulice u znak protesta što se aerodrom u Nišu oduzima od grada i predaje na upravljanje vladi Srbije, bilo da su to zakonske procedure, ovlasti ili institucije. Neki to stanje nazivaju stabilokratijom i na nju nisu gadljivi ni mnogi u EU birokratskoj mašini. Štaviše.

Biće referendum.

Kosovo kao tema, kamen spoticanja, dio preambule Ustava, balast prošlosti... ili jednom (najčešće pominjanom) riječju „problem“, bilo kojim uvidom u ono što se u javnom prostoru u Srbiji može čuti, bilo bi bez premca najviše pominjana stvar. Dobro, i ime predsjednika. U takvoj je atmosferi jedna mlada žena¹ koja živi u Beogradu, koja je diplomirala studije političkih nauka, magistrirala diplomatiju na studijima u inostranstvu, rekla da ona ne zna ništa o tome kako je na Kosovu. Njene riječi dobro ilustruju veliku (nelogičnu) nesrazmjernost između onoga koliko se o Kosovu „govori“ i onoga koliko ljudi u Srbiji znaju o tome kako je na Kosovu. Kako se tamo živi? Kako žive Albanci, a kako žive Srbi na Kosovu? Šta misle jedni o drugima i koliko se poznaju? Šta im piše u pasošima i za koje zemlje stanovnicima Kosova (i Srbima i Albancima) treba viza, a za koje ne? Šta treba od dokumenta kada se ide na Kosovo? Kakva se muzika sluša u Prištini? Koji pisci su sada popularni? Kakva je kafa, a kakav trileće?... i vrlo rijetko se otvore prozori i za takvo značenje riječi Kosovo. A kada se i pruži prilika za to, ti prozori često budu grubo zatvoreni. Fotografijama za izložbu u Beogradu u okviru festivala “Mirdita - Dobar dan” bio je zabranjen „ulazak“ u Srbiju, jer one prikazuju Prištinu onakvu kakva je danas, kadetkinjama rukometne ekipe sa Kosova bilo je zabranjeno da igraju sa svojim vršnjakinjama u Srbiji zbog bezbjedonosnih razloga, književnik Škeljzem Malići ne može da pređe granicu zvanu administrativni prelaz u Merdanu... A dok se i ti prozori

1 Učesnica na treningu za ljude iz Srbije, Makedonije i sa Kosova, Uvod u izgradnju mira MirPaqeMir

ne otvore i slika Kosova se ne „provjetri“ od brendiranih vozova, unaprijed pripremljenih hapšenja, recitala u Skupštini upućenih kosovskom kamenu, „...a podrazumeva se da švajcarsku reprezentaciju ubedljivo pobedite“²... malo šta će se promijeniti, uprkos pregovorima/dijalogu ili kako već zovu one susrete u Briselu „Prištine i Beograda“ uz posredovanje onih koji drže mrkvu na štapi. „Problem“ Kosova ne može da se riješi ni u Beogradu, ni u Prištini, ni u Briselu, već u nastojanju da se uspostavi dijalog koji će biti pošten, otvoren i iskren i koji neće biti nimalo lak, između društava u Srbiji i na Kosovu. I da se u tim nastojanjima ne trguje i ne pregovara o tome ko koliko treba da da, već da jedni drugima možemo da kažemo šta nam treba i šta očekujemo od drugog. Da teret bolne prošlosti, teške sadašnjosti i neizvjesne budućnosti podijelimo oslobođeni od mitova i zabluda, sa željom da se upoznamo i da tražimo puteve da život svima bude ljepši i bolji, oslobođen od mržnje jednih prema drugima. A zabluda je da sve to može da stane u jedno pitanje na referendumu³.

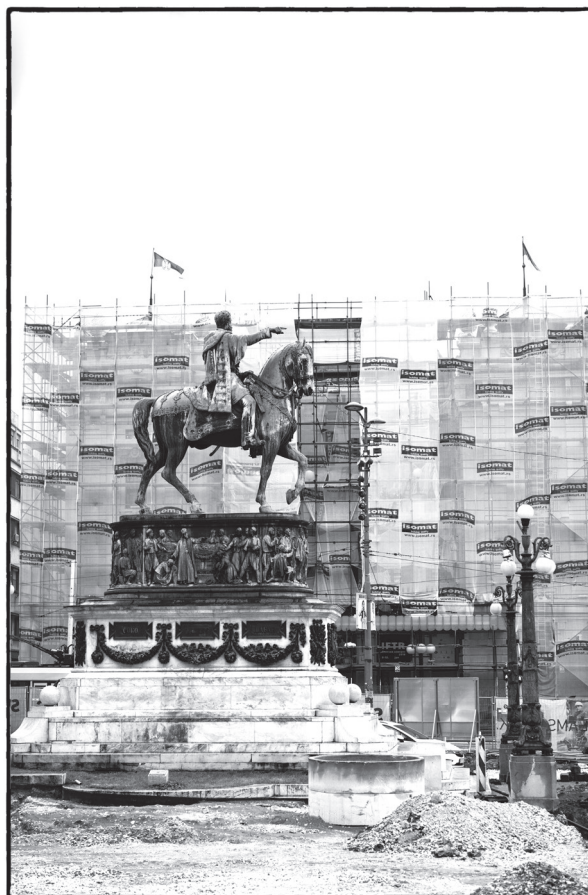
Izgubljeni u tranziciji

Demokratska stranka, nosioci vlasti prije ovih današnjih, a još prije toga glavna poluga u opoziciji režimu Slobodana Miloševića, na beogradskim izborima je ostvarila istorijski rezultat. Naime, prvi put od njenog osnivanja nisu prešli cenzus i neće biti dio gradske skupštine. Nešto bolje su prošli, ali bez nekog značajnijeg uticaja, novosnovane stranke pod vođstvom već potrošenih političara (Dragan Đilas, Vuk Jeremić, Boris Tadić) i nekih „svježih“ lica koja već sad ne izgledaju tako (Saša Janković). Dodajte tu Dveri (ekstremni desničari) i Dosta je bilo koji u koaliciji koja je bila uspostavljena na ideološkoj vratolomiji, takođe nisu prešli cenzus na izborima u Beogradu, i to je sve ono što je danas ostalo od opozicije, a što bi trebalo da se suprotstavi današnjoj vlasti. Uzimajući u obzir da je danas teško biti opozicija ovakvoj vladajućoj većini (a kad je ovdje to bilo lako), ipak za ovakvo stanje i rezultate na izborima ne može se a ne tražiti razlog i u opzicionom lutanju po bezidejnosti ili još gore koketiranju sa nacionalizmom. Ovih dana se govori o ujedinjenju opozicije i stvaranju zajedničke platforme koja ima za cilj „obaranje režima Vučića“. Jedna od glavnih tačaka kritike sadašnje vlasti je njen odnos spram Kosova i spremnost da se Kosovo „proda“ za

naklonost Zapada. Drugačijim riječima rečeno, kritikuju današnjeg Vučića da nije dovoljno onaj stari Vučić. Nije prvi put da čim se opozicija „ujedini“ pokušava da igra na kartu da su ljudi koji izlaze na izbore konzervativni, zadojeni nacionalizmom i mržnjom, spremni za rat, nazadni... a da su građanske opcije koje promovišu toleranciju i uspostavljaju vrijednosti poštovanja drugih i drugačijih osuđene na neuspjeh. Očekivanja od takve opozicije da može nešto dubinski promijeniti su blago rečeno nerealna, a sama pomisao na to koga bi takva opozicija mogla istaknuti kao svog predsjedničkog kandidata, ako bi sada bili izbori, izaziva gorčinu.

Šta ćemo sa komšijinom kravom?

Zar nije lijepa slika kada ljudi u Hrvatskoj shvate da na svjetskom fudbalskom prvenstvu, njihovi reprezentativci imaju veliki broj navijača u Srbiji, a Novak Đoković sa njima razmjenjuje fotografije i riječi podrške, kada se igraju utakmice vaterpolo reprezentacija Srbije i Hrvatske



2 Riječi kojima je Predsjednik Aleksandar Vučić završio prijem fudbalskih reprezentativaca Srbije pred njihov odlazak na svjetsko prvenstvo 1.6.2018, (vjerovatno) aludirajući na to što u švajcarskoj reprezentacija igra nekoliko fudbalera albanskog porijekla.

3 Sve češće se pominje i referendum kao način da građani odluče o rješenjima za Kosovo.

i kad se treneri srdačno i prijateljski pozdrave, pa odmah kod komentatora splasne nacionalistički naboj, kad veliki broj ljudi iskreno bude tužan na vijest da je umro Oliver Dragojević, kad ljudi budu ljuti i snažno, otvoreno i bez rezerve osude tvit podpredsjednice Skupštine Vjerice Radete, koji je ona napisala nakon vijesti o smrti Hatidže Mehmedović⁴... zar ta slika nije ljepša u odnosu na sliku neke vojne/policijske parade ili vježbe, polovnih migova, Šešelja na na stolici na ulazu u Hrtkovce ili u tv emisiji na „Happy TV“ zajedno sa drugim zločincima na dan pred obilježavanje genocida u Srebrenici, komentara na postignuti sporazum između Makedonije i Grčke po pitanju imena da se tu nema šta čestitati, vođanja Milorada Dodika po raznim priredbama... Meni jeste. Na žalost, oni koji su na vlasti i koji su imali itekako „zasluga“ za tragične devedesete, ovo drugo nam predstavljaju kao „normalno“, „prirodno“ ili bar prihvatljivo. Nema tu neke iskrene, a stalno proklamovane brige za nacionalne interese, već samo maskiranje nedostatka demokratskih kapaciteta da se odnosi sa susjedima naprave na način da oni nama, a ni mi njima nismo prijetnja i da budemo mirni (i mi a i oni ma ko to bili) u punom smislu te riječi.

4 Vjerica Radeta je na svom twitter nalogu napisala: „Čitam umrla Hatidža Mehmetović iz udruženja biznismenki Srebrenice. Ko li će je sahraniti. Muž ili sinovi?!“ Tvit je vrlo brzo sklonjen a nakon velikog broja prijava, nalog je ukinut od strane administratora ove platforme.

Kuda dalje?

Iako ponekad stanje izgleda nepromjenjivo i uprkos nastojanjima da se u začetku ogadi svaki vid iskazivanja bunta⁵, gomilaju se preskupe novogodišnje jelke i jarboli, neispunjena obećanja, sumnjivi tenderi, lažirani doktorati, tetke iz Kanade... i raste osjećaj nepravde i gnjev. I to raste srazmjerno pritiscima i sve većoj bahatosti i neumoljivo se kreće ka sve većem suprotstavljanju i promjeni. Kada, na koji način i ka čemu će ta promjena voditi još je nejasno i još uvijek je u magli propagande onih koji se te promjene boje. Ali realnost se ipak, ne može u nedogled i u tolikoj mjeri kreirati po nečijoj volji, i u jednom trenutku će se rasprsnuti i od nje će neumitno ostati samo jedna velika laž. Tada počinje teži dio posla.

Nedžad Horozović

5 Iako je to nastojanje prepoznati u hapšenju dvije skupštinske stolice iznesene 5. oktobra 2000, odnosu prema „Ne davimo Beograd“ ili Nišlijama koji su izašli na ulice zbog aerodroma u njihovom gradu, zastrašivanju, nazovi makedonskim scenarijem...



Annual Report 2018

(English version)

Translation
Ulvija Tanović

Intruduction

Dear friends,

We present to you the 21st annual report of the Centre for Nonviolent Action. We used to joke that our mission was to make ourselves redundant, looking forward to a time when the Balkans would no longer have need for our work. We still hope for this, but it's not a joking matter anymore. Regional political circumstances, whose deterioration we have recorded from year to year on these pages, are currently threatening to spin out of control. As if domestic warlords playing with matches in the hayloft were not enough, there is now open talk of options to "swap territories or populations" in the dispute between Serbia and Kosovo, so that the citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina can no longer sleep soundly, knowing as they do how contagious and tempting such concepts are for the masters of other people's fates. In a situation where there are more and more people who believe the best prevention is to remember how our neighbours deceived us in 1991 and 1992 and 1999, so it's safer not to trust them at all, in a situation when it is far easier to find enemies than allies, peace must be a conscious choice, systematically developed with all means at our disposal. You are sure to find allies in that process from across the border, as we have seen countless times in our work, this past year being no exception.

Misusing the past in the post-Yugoslav region has become so commonplace that it threatens to become the new truth. This is not a new trend and we have been making efforts to stand up to it for some time, which is why this year, again, we organised two events to coordinate forces in counteracting this widespread misuse of the past. In October 2017, we organised the second Dialogue Circle with historians aimed at linking historians and activists to produce constructive criticism of this misuse and examine the potential role for peacebuilding from an activist standpoint. In addition to regional historians, reporters and activists, we were also joined by historians from Austria, and then we managed to considerably expand the circle a few months later. Namely, in May 2018, we organised the international conference on "Reconciling Histories!?", which brought together peace and human rights activists, peace work researchers, reporters and historians from various countries with war and postwar experience, ranging from India and Sri Lanka, the Balkan countries, Ukraine, Abkhazia, Georgia, all the way to Western Europe. The conference dealt with various experiences in the postwar process, the role of historical myths and narratives for reconciliation, and understanding the importance of nonviolence.

That black-and-white views of history—recognising only the just and the guilty and seeing justice in righteous anger—can lead to negating the suffering of a whole group of people is something we bring to light with the exhibition "On the Trail of the Danube Swabians". This was a way to present a multiyear research study, prepared by our colleagues Helena Rill and Marijana Stojčić, on the memories and narratives of almost half a million people who until the start of the Second World War lived in the territory of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, but today almost no traces of them are left. Experience that remains unprocessed and unarticulated has a tendency to be repeated, as we were

able to see through the recent wars of the 1990s, and these experiences show us that a change in narrative becomes possible only when suffering is recognised on the “enemy” side.

That this is a difficult lesson to learn was demonstrated by this year’s cancellation of the “War of Memories” exhibition that was supposed to be put on display in Sisak in November. The exhibition aims to raise awareness about the current models of collective memory and memorialisation and call for new solutions whose primary focus will be the victims of injustice and violence, whatever their origin. The already agreed hosting of the exhibition was cancelled because, as they told us, it was “not the right time”. Fortunately, this opinion was not shared in Skopje, Novi Pazar or Kragujevac, where we had the opportunity to show the exhibition to the public.

That it is proactive and beneficial to reflect on not just what happened to us, but how we will build a future, a society we would want to live in, is something we learn in each cycle of the Biber Short Story Competition, which was again devoted to the topic of reconciliation. While preparing the third cycle, with a slightly different topic, in March 2018, we published the collection from the last competition, Biber02. The collection contains 25 short stories selected by the jury out of the 385 stories that entered the competition. This year, we presented the collection in Tetovo and Zagreb, and we will be hosting a promotion in Mitrovica soon.

We have continued our efforts for the adoption of the Peacebuilding Strategy in Serbia and we hope this initiative will encourage, if not the governments of the countries in the region, then at least constructive dialogue about how sustainable peace can and should look and which institutional mechanisms can contribute to it.

We held two trainings: Mir-Paqe-Mir, for participants from Macedonia, Kosovo and Serbia, and Peacebuilding Training for War-Veterans. This a group for which it is safe to say they don’t want to wait a thousand years to start understanding what happened to us, as they have shown through their peace activities, which are also detailed in these pages. No less hard-working and dedicated to peacebuilding, our little “guerrilla” group of peace activists marked unmarked sites of atrocities in Goražde, Stolac, Mostar, Vareš, Kakanj, Jajce, Prijedor and Kneževo.

Meanwhile, a few days ago, the New York Times published an opinion piece by a former staff member of the Obama administration who insists that the proposed land swap between Kosovo and Serbia must be supported. In his opinion, this “peaceful form of ethnic cleansing”, as he calls it, is the only solution for peace in the region and represents what the people themselves want. You can read about whether there is any truth to this and about what it feels like to live in Kosovo, in Serbia, Macedonia, Montenegro, Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina in the reports of activists included at the end of this annual report.

In this report, we present an overview of all our activities from September 2017 to September 2018, but please note that detailed reports, photo galleries and videos are available on our website <http://nenasilje.org>.

We invite you to read what we have prepared and, as always, we look forward to your feedback, criticism and support.

CNA Team



work with war veterans

In the past year, we continued with the joint visits by mixed groups of veterans to sites of atrocities and one mixed group of war veterans continued attending official commemorations organised by victims' associations and various levels of government. The 13th peacebuilding training for war veterans gave us new inspiration and new ideas about how to continue involving veterans in peacebuilding. But, let's go through one thing at a time.

When it comes to mutual visits by war-veterans and joint visits to sites of atrocities, at the end of 2017, a mixed group of war-veterans from the region visited Goražde. Our hosts were, once again, the local veterans' associations. Goražde had been one of the protected enclaves with a high death toll of both civilians and soldiers. Apart from visiting marked sites of atrocities, the veterans also visited the unmarked site in Crkvina, from where in 1992, ten Serb civilians went missing and have never been found. It is noteworthy that the visit was joined by the president of the VRS veterans' organisation from Foča and the Mayor of Rudo Municipality. The participation of neighbours in these visits, as well as veterans who were only yesterday in each other's cross-hairs, are particularly important for building trust and peace at the local, as well as the national and regional levels. However, the dismissal of the president of the Foča veterans' association after his participation in the joint veterans' visit to Goražde shows that there is still significant resistance.

At the start of 2018, we visited veterans' associations and war-veterans in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, and Serbia in an effort to find new partners to join our group of war-veterans prepared to work on peacebuilding. In BiH, we established initial contacts with veterans from Maglaj, Jajce and Živinice, in Croatia, we visited Zagreb, Pakrac and Vukovar, and in Serbia we held meetings on multiple days and attended a commemoration to civilians killed in the bombing of Aleksinac in 1999. Also, with our friends from the organisation Peacebuilders, which brings together veterans from the Kruševac area, we met with veterans from Kruševac, Aleksinac and Čičevac and with the local authorities in Kruševac and Aleksinac.

The attendance of a mixed group of war-veterans at the commemoration in Trusina on 16 April 2018 was particularly important for a number of reasons. First of all, the example of Dragica Tomić, president of the local victims' association who invited us to attend the commemoration, once again demonstrated the importance and power of personal initiative in the face of different forms of resistance to these types of actions by war-veterans. This commemoration was important for the war-veterans also because it meant we had finally entered Herzegovina, which we had not been able to do before. After the commemoration in Trusina, it was clear that we had cracked the door of Herzegovina, because we received invitations for other activities in the area. A detailed report on this commemoration and the thoughts of the veterans who attended it are included in this annual report.

The exceptional interest of the media for these actions of war-veterans, which we saw in Trusina, Goražde, as well as in Aleksinac, gives us cause for both joy and sorrow: we are happy to see that society is expressing a need for a different kind of remembrance, but we are saddened that the media interest only goes to show how actions such as these are still the exception and not the rule.

War-veterans also gave important contributions during the conference on Reconciling Histories?! held in May 2018. Veterans of opposing armies were our hosts in Zavidovići where we visited different sites of atrocities and talked about the motivation, experience, resistance and other issues related to the involvement of war veterans in peacebuilding.

Finally, we organised another peacebuilding training for war-veterans after a four-year hiatus. This was an opportunity not just to provide former members of opposing armies with a safe space for dialogue, but also for planning future actions of war veterans related to building trust and peace in the region.¹

1 Detailed reports on our work with war veterans are available on our website <http://nenasilje.org/>.



We Mourn All Victims

16. April 2018

One of the harbingers of spring in post-war Bosnia and Herzegovina are commemorations. Sometimes in April, to borrow the title of a film about the Rwandan genocide, the cycle of memory begins, with inexorable punctuality and a long-established schedule... This seasonal cycle of memory is (ab)used depending on current needs and political circumstances, but in that calendar of pain the 16th of April remains, above all, a lasting reminder of the senselessness of war(s). On this date, 25 years ago, crimes were committed against the population of Ahmići and that of Trusina.

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 committed an atrocity against the (Bosniak) villagers of Ahmići, thereby connecting these two places with an enduring pain.

On the 25th anniversary of the killings in Trusina, the

commemoration to honour the victims was attended by veterans from the region, veterans of the Army of BiH, HVO, HV, VRS, JNA and VJ. We had been invited by the president of the local victims' association to pay our respects to the victims and, by jointly attending the commemoration, to highlight that empathy for victims is not limited by ethnicity.

We came, as war veterans and peace activists, to honour all the victims and convey the message that the horrific violence of war should never be allowed to happen again, said Edin Ramulić, a peace activist and Army of BiH veteran from Prijedor.

That difficulties, obstacles and risks involved in dealing with a painful past are often just excuses for inaction and not something unbridgeable was demonstrated by the president of the victims' association from Trusina, Dragica Tomić. Aware of possible pressures and disapprovals, without trying to hide them from us, she invited us to the commemoration and was our host throughout our visit to Trusina, making us feel welcome.

In the shade of the Church of St. Anthony of Padua, thanking us for our visit, Dragica said:

This is something we need to set an example that others

will follow on the path to peace, forgiveness, compassion for all victims. This relationship towards all victims is an important step towards a future in which, I believe, no one wants to see the 1990s repeated.

In the pervasive reduction of commemorations in the public spheres of the region, remembering own victims is given primacy, with repeated minimisation, denial and tacit justification of the victimisation of others. The arrival of a group of war veterans from once warring armies can be a poignant intervention into the very centre of such narratives. Thus, in Trusina, as part of the Holy Mass service, Archbishop Pero Sudar spoke inspiringly against violence, adding:

We mourn all victims, today from this place we also remember the victims in Ahmići, they are as close to us as these victims here.

It is also significant that the victims from Trusina were spoken about in Ahmići. The question of why there were no Bosniak politicians in Trusina and no Croat politicians in Ahmići, which came up at the final meeting of the group of veterans that attended the commemoration in Trusina, shows that some things are changing, that something that used to be considered perfectly normal (for everyone to attend only commemorations of their own group) is now recognised by society as something that bothers us and is not entirely normal.

The media were particularly interested in our attendance at the commemoration in Trusina. As before, this is a twofold signal: There is a need in society for a different kind of remembering that is not exclusive, that does not incite hatred in us and around us; on the other hand, the fact that this action by war veterans is a rare example of such remembering of the past shows how far we still have to go in terms of peacebuilding.

Apart from victims, who are often neglected or gravely misused, the presence of war veterans is important for the entire local community, including those of different ethnicity from the victims. The veterans who visited the museum in Jablanica saw this for themselves when they talked with the curator about the reason for their visit to Jablanica and he was stunned to learn that veterans of the Army of BiH, HVO, HV, VRS, JNA and VJ all came to attend the commemoration together.

For CNA and the war veterans, the commemoration in Trusina was important also because it is the southernmost point in Herzegovina where we have managed to establish cooperation, even though some may say that Konjic is neither Herzegovina nor Bosnia but rather the and between Bosnia and Herzegovina. Still, we don't believe the tough stone of Herzegovina is all that tough.

Nedžad Novalić



What, they're here too?

It all went well, better than we could have expected. Veterans from once warring sides coming together to pay their respects to those executed in Trusina. It was particularly important that the organisers pointed out the presence of the veterans at the commemoration.

Exhausted from the hike to the cemetery in Trusina where a mass service was held. Full of impressions after everything that happened, full of emotions informed by the diverse experiences of the veterans. There was little opportunity to analyse where everyone personally stood and what their individual take was.

After the official programme, most of the veterans set off on their way back home, while a few who had longer to travel, some ten hours or so, stayed in Jablanica in order to set off the next morning. Since we had a good part of the afternoon to fill, we decided to make it worthwhile. The plan was to visit monuments from the more recent and the more distant past that were located in the vicinity.

The closest monument was in Jablanica itself, where the participants were staying. The Museum commemorating the Battle for the Wounded at Neretva in Jablanica.

At the start, the visit was quite ordinary. Photos were taken as reminders and as something to show others. At the entrance to the Museum we were met by a curator who politely answered all our questions. Of course, one of the first questions was about the bridge, which bridge is which... The curator patiently explained that the bridge that the Partisans blew up was an old railway bridge across the Neretva, built at the time of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. In 1943, the Germans repaired the bridge in order to establish a rail line. The bridge that the Germans had constructed in 1943 was blown up for the filming of the Battle of Neretva. That bridge still lies destroyed and submerged in the Neretva.

The curator then left us to our thoughts as we went around the Museum, working through new impressions about an event we had learnt about at school or seen on film.

We met up with the curator again at the end of our visit and he was interested to know what had brought us there. He was probably gathering feedback on interest for the Museum.



Through conversation it came out why we were in Jablanica. We explained: Veterans from once warring sides coming together to pay their respects to victims executed in Trusina.

The curator was incredulous: “Veterans from all the warring sides!?” When we confirmed that they were indeed from all the warring sides, he showed particular interest in one side of the conflict, asking: “What, they’re here too?” (Up to that point it had not seemed that important to us, so we hadn’t paid it much attention.)

After we told him they were here too, the curator’s reaction got us thinking about the importance of these visits and the presence of veterans from all warring sides at such events to pay their respects to those killed in the conflicts in the former SFRY.

The curator wanted to return the money we had paid for tickets to the museum, explaining that had he known who we were, he would never have charged us, and he said a few more measured sentences commending our participation at the event.

Of course, we said that he should consider what we paid for the tickets our humble contribution for the upkeep of the Museum. We parted full of impressions brought on

by this Museum visit. We went on to visit a few more sites we had planned to see.

It was only once we returned to the motel and told others about what had happened that we truly reflected back on it.

We started thinking about the value of visits bringing together veterans from all the once warring sides, especially to sites of suffering on all the sides, to commemorate the deaths of the innocent, the helpless...

I will not impose my own conclusions from this experience. Let everyone meet with their own thoughts.

Ljudevit Kolar Kole



Peacebuilding Training for War-Veterans: How to Cool Down the “Cold War”

5-8 July 2018

History sometimes seems so simple, the deeper we delve into the past, the more banal it seems (“banal” here does not necessarily mean benign, as Hannah Arendt has shown), and many events elicit from us salvos of laughter amidst a ubiquitous lack of understanding. Nothing causes us so much wonder, with concealed laughter, as what historians call *casus belli* – an event or act that provoked or was used to justify going into war.

How can we today, a millennium after the fact, understand that common and legitimate *casus belli* were, for example, the altercation among some nobles at an aristocratic party, the various whims of utterly insane kings, the divinations of mages that promised certain victory... But, there is one problem with history. The closer it is to us, the more general history is also our personal history, the more we tend to have incomparably more understanding for our closer predecessors or contemporaries, their decisions are that much more understandable and justified that we tend to see them as our own. Of course, the most effective remedy are Heraclitus’ magic words *Panta rhei* – everything flows. In a thousand years, new generations of kids will find our reasons to go into war hard to understand and may even find them a bit laughable.

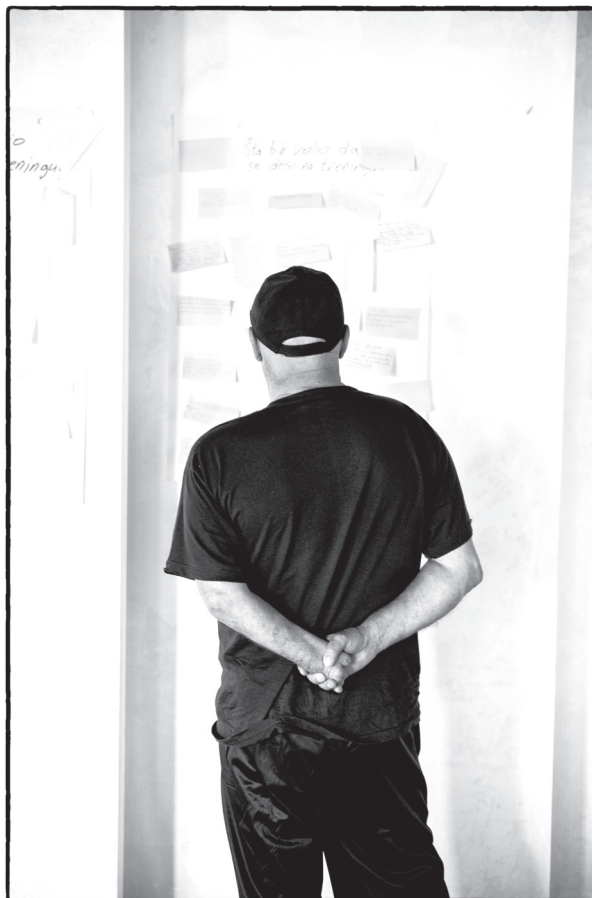
What happened to us?

Among those who don’t want to wait a thousand years to start understanding what happened to us are war veterans, members of once warring sides in BiH, Croatia and Serbia. Peacebuilding training for war veterans from the former Yugoslavia is one way to overcome the darkness of incomprehension and, if nothing else, for a start, shed light on our own positions within that dark chamber known as the 1990s so that we may stop bumping into each other and try to find a way out together.

This year’s CNA training for war veterans, our 13th, held at Mount Jahorina from 5 to 8 July, brought together 17 former members of the Army of RBiH (ARBiH), the Croat Defence Council (HVO), the Army of Republika Srpska (VRS), the National Defence of the Autonomous Province of Western Bosnia (NO APZB), the Croatian Army (HV), the Yugoslav National Army (JNA) and the Army of Yugoslavia (VJ). The training team was made up of members of CNA, Amer Delić, Nenad Vukosavljević, Nedžad Horozović and

Nedžad Novalić, supported by Adnan Hasanbegović. Peacebuilding trainings have been and continue to be the core of CNA’s work, a long-standing source of vital resources for our work on peacebuilding, providing everything from mutual inspiration and empowerment to associates and new ideas. This training for war veterans was particularly important in that regard for a number of reasons.

In the first place, peacebuilding training provides an exceptional opportunity for first contacts between former enemies, it is a safe space to open dialogue in order to try to understand one’s own and the position of others. Training is an opportunity to meet all those important needs that



post-war societies fail to provide: an opportunity to talk with them without avoiding difficult topics, to explain ourselves, to try to understand others, to see in them people with whom we want to and can work to build a better future.

Steps Forward

Also, this was our first training for war veterans in four years. In the meantime, we had made significant progress and were successful in our cooperation with war veterans for the purpose of peacebuilding. We started including more representatives of local communities and religious leaders in our visits by war veterans to sites of atrocities, and we have garnered stronger media support. The presence at official commemorations of a mixed group of veterans has proven to be an extraordinary intervention in the culture of memory. It is now often seen as a significant step towards reconciliation, and the calls of war veterans to mark sites of atrocities have finally been heeded in one local community, so that in 2017 the so-called “13th kilometre” in Zavidovići was marked as a site of atrocity.

Since 2014, we have met with a large number of war veterans who joined our group of veterans prepared to work towards building a better society for themselves and their children. Some of them were our hosts at visits or commemorations, cooperation with them has borne out new ideas, and our continuous desire is to expand the group of war veterans working on peacebuilding, find a way in for communities that we have not yet visited and deepen cooperation where we have made the initial steps.

Training is an opportunity for this deepening and planning next steps.

The Luck of Being Born Later

If registers of veterans maintained by institutions in BiH, Croatia and Serbia are to be trusted, more than a million people participated as soldiers in the wars of the 1990s. It is, therefore, hard to imagine any family in this region that isn't a veteran family, that did not have a member participate in the war(s). For me and my generation, for the children of war veterans, for those who had the luck, as Helmut Kohl would put it, to be born later and not have to participate in the wars of the 1990s, the training is an opportunity to narrow the vast intergenerational gap, to talk about what is loudly silenced. The war is loudly silenced, we do not talk about what it is like to lose your left hand and be counted as lucky that they saved your right (But I've always been left-handed), we don't talk about the fears and losses brought by war, about how war changes you forever...

Where peace is understood as a continuation of war sans weapons, we will find war wherever we look. We wage war at football matches, with pupils in schoolrooms, with monuments, religious sermons, the TV news. In this cold war that can easily be heated up, the experience of war veterans—who left the best years of their lives or parts of their bodies in the trenches, the dugouts and lookouts—can be sobering and transformative.

Nedžad Novalić





peace education

Mir – Paqe – Мир, Introduction to Peacebuilding

20-29.4.2018. Dojran, Macedonia

What is Mir-Paqe-Mup?

Mir-Paqe-Mup “Introduction to Peacebuilding” is a three-lingual peacebuilding training for participants from Serbia, Kosovo and Macedonia. It took place in Dojran, Macedonia in the period from April 20th to 29th. The training team consisted of Nedžad Horozović from CNA Sarajevo-Beograd, Nexhat Ismaili from ANP Gjiilan-Prishtina, Boro Kitanoski and Albulena Karaga from Peace Action Prilep-Tetovo.

Out of the 95 applications that we received, the group of participants consisted of 17 persons of different ages and profiles (social worker, psychologist, civic activists, members of political parties, politicians, students, teachers and journalists) from Niš, Belgrade, Kragujevac, Srpska Crnja, Prishtina, Mitrovica, Lešak, Shtime, Lipjan, Prilep, Kumanovo, Kriva Palanka, Delchevo and Gevgelija.

Meeting points and spaces for exchange for people from Serbia, Macedonia and Kosovo are becoming rare, not only, but also due to the language barriers. That was one of the reasons, why four years ago, at CNA Training for Trainers session, the idea of organizing such a training was born. This was the fourth one in a row. The process of conducting sessions with consecutive translation (in either Serbian-Albanian or Macedonian-Albanian and vice versa)

requires concentration and patience. Overall, though, this process went smooth, and it could not have been possible without the dedicated work of our translators Naile Keçmezi and Luljeta Ademi which, as one participant put it “made sure that we are not lost in translation”.

What was special this year?

Every training is special. And no, it's not merely a cliché. It is indeed tailor-made for the needs of the specific group and the specific context(s) of the time. What was very particular during this training, is that for many in the training team and in the group, it was the first time to work with a blind person. It was an extraordinarily enriching and learning experience for all. The person was fully engaged and participated in almost all games and exercises either as a participant or as an observer. Some of her insights, the way she reached them and her ability to articulate them clearly in evaluations was an added value for the entire program.

Content wise, training was focused on dealing with the past and reconciliation. In a plenary settings people shared - what hurts me, what bothers me, and what do I miss in the stories about the war and the past in contexts in which we live? The list(s) were long...and were filled with



the need for acknowledgment of pain, the need for justice for all victims, the pain and bother for the way in which victims are misused in nationalistic discourses, need for a more constructive and dignified process of dealing with the past, the need for more stories, more perspectives on the past in the public discourse, more support for people who have the courage to stand against diving discourses, need for readiness for reconciliation and peace.

The participants could reflect upon peace as much more than merely the absence of war and what indicates that we do not live in peace? - some participants came to

the realization that our societies in certain aspects/in the problems that we face, in essence are very similar. Some struggles are joint struggles and each one of us can reflect about - what can I do in order to change and transform parts of our societies for the better, in settings where I have the power to do so? There are plenty, some bigger and some smaller....and some, yet to be discovered.





marking unmarked sites of suffering

Marking unmarked sites of suffering in Bosnia-Herzegovina

In the past year, the team conducting the activity of marking unmarked sites of atrocities, made up of Tamara Zrnović, Dalmir Mišković, Čedomir Glavaš and Amer Delić, went out on two field visits, first from 1 to 3 December 2017 and then from 26 to 29 March 2018. During our actions, we were accompanied by our associate, the freelance reporter Ajdin Kamber. Our most recent action marks the fourth year of our visiting and marking sites of atrocities, those that have not yet found their place in current memorialisation policies. Our two most recent actions made the sites more visible in the public arena, foregrounding victims of injustice and violence, irrespective of their ethnic belonging. In an effort to present our activities to the local communities, we were once again supported by local war-veterans and peace activists who have been engaging in peacebuilding work with us for years. This helped us find the sites we planned to mark and hold meetings with representatives of local authorities so that we could present our activities to them.

In these two actions, we marked sites of atrocities in Goražde, Foča, Stolac, Mostar, Vareš, Kakanj, Jajce, Prijedor and Kneževo.

Today, these unmarked sites of atrocities are used as schools, sports halls, stadiums, military facilities, factories, farms, culture centres, etc.

Compared with our previous practice, the novelty this year is that we also established cooperation with associations of war victims. Camp survivors joined us on visits to facilities where they were held, providing emotional testimonies about their own suffering, but also speaking with compassion about the suffering of others who had been imprisoned during the war by their side. They wanted to send the message that victims should be treated equally, irrespective of who they are and without political manipulation.

In cooperation with the Women Victims of War Association from Banja Luka, we marked the site of

atrocities in the village of Bravnice near Jajce, and sent a joint appeal to the responsible institutions, urging them to ensure that this case finally reaches its judicial epilogue. The women who were with us still carry traumatic memories, and one of them still has a bullet lodged in her body. She says it hurts less than the attempts to silence her suffering and suppress it into oblivion. A similar sense of injustice is shared by all victims, as well as their families and friends.

We also gained new insights into current memorialisation policies and the restrictions encountered by initiatives working to install memorials.

We also visited Korićanske stijene where the Kneževo Municipality, previously Skender Vakuf, refuses to approve the construction of a memorial for more than the 150 people from Prijedor who were executed there. An alternative memorial for these victims has been built in neighbouring Travnik, while at the site of the crime, a mobile memorial plaque is installed during the annual commemoration and subsequently removed.

During our visit, we appealed to the authorities in Kneževo, through the media, to allow for a permanent memorial to be constructed.

We plan to continue the activity of marking unmarked sites of atrocities. We will seek to reinforce our cooperation with local communities and associations, and try to open possibilities for constructive changes to existing models of the culture of memory.

Detailed reports on our most recent actions are available on our website:

<https://nenasilje.org/2017/nevrijeme-na-vrijeme/>

<https://nenasilje.org/2018/mramor-kamen-zeljezo/>

Videos can be viewed at:

<https://youtu.be/6xLpzbw8Mvs>

https://youtu.be/LWPWw3_rj7s



paftimi | помирување | pomirenje

biber

Tetovë | Тетово

27. 03. 2018. 12:00

Universiteti i Tetovës

Fakulteti Filozofik

Amfiteatri 445

promovimi i
përmbledhjes
së tregimeve
të shkurtër të tetovës
e paftimit

промоција
збирка кра
раскази
на тема
помирување

actions, publications, film...

Exhibitions and promotions are places where we meet people, exchange opinions and ideas, discuss our work and our plans. We at CNA call these events “reaping the benefits”, because they always re-energise us with the power of new people and new ideas. So, for the first time we promoted the Biber collection and competition in Zagreb, Croatia, and in Macedonia we decided to hold the promotion in Tetovo. There was also an excellent response to our photography exhibition and promotion of the research study on the fate of the Danube Swabians. In Kragujevac, we had a record number of visitors to the “War of Memories” exhibition and we also met with young people to discuss the exhibition. We are also completing the printing of our new handbook “Nonviolence 2”.

The Small Space for Light to Come Through – Why is the Silence Surrounding the Danube Swabians Still so Loud?

12-20 December 2017

The photography exhibition “On the Trail of the Danube Swabians” was on display at the Belgrade Cultural Centre Parobrod from 12 to 20 December. The authors of the exhibited photographs are Nenad Vukosavljević and Nedžad Horozović. This was a way for the Centre for Nonviolent Action to organise a multimedia presentation of the research conducted by Helena Rill and Marijana Stojčić over a number of years and published in BCSM, English and German under the same title.

The fate of the Danube Swabians is still a taboo topic in Serbia and throughout the former Yugoslavia. Memories and narratives about close to half a million citizens, who had lived in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia before the Second World War and have now all but disappeared, are simple: “Germany lost the war, all Germans supported that war, they were subsequently expelled, they got what they deserved.” This line of reasoning leaves little room for re-examination, curiosity about new information or understanding, and in the case of Serbia, not even that small space that can be evoked by simple human empathy: if not all Serbs are to blame for the wars waged in their name in the 1990s, and if they are not all to blame for the

crimes committed in those wars, how come all Danube Swabians are to blame for the war waged by Germany?

Dispel the darkness

An attempt to dispel the darkness that descends once this topic is broached is accompanied by public denouncement by all those who prefer black-and-white perspectives of history, who recognise only the righteous and the guilty, and who see justice in righteous rage.

This was the atmosphere that surrounded the opening of the exhibition and presentation of the research, because on social networks voices of condemnation and even ridicule, threats and moralising were dominant. We wondered why none of the hundreds of those bothered by the opening of this topic had bothered to read the research study which is publicly available free of charge? What gives rise to such conviction in the strength of your own knowledge if you never re-examine it in light of new facts, even if you would ultimately discard them? Where did this desire come from to defend crimes committed by revolutionary authorities in SFRY, especially when expressed by those that are very much right wing and went to calling such authorities anti-Serb commies while



glorifying the collaborators of the Reich at the same time? These are questions that only the direct stakeholders can answer, primarily for their own benefit. A change in the narrative is possible only once human suffering is recognised on the “enemy’s” side.

Recognition of the victim

“I’ll never forget my time in the camp – not just because we were hungry, or because our lives were endangered every day (I remember the camp administrator who had the habit of lining us up and executing every tenth person), but because we were treated like slaves, like second-rate beings... In the camp, and for a long time afterwards, I would dream about having a piece of bread, being free to go where I like, without an escort and without fear.” These are the words of Anne Koch, a survivor from the detention camp for Danube Swabians in Gakovo whose daughter, Ana Bu, born in the camp, attended the exhibition opening and spoke about how important it was for her personally to see this topic finally discussed within her lifetime.

Helena Rill, one of the authors of the research study, found motivation to deal with this topic in her family history and ties to the Second World War and its aftermath. On the one hand, her mother had been in a camp in Germany during the war and this was talked about. What was not talked about was her father’s national identity and what had happened a few years after the war, when his entire immediate family moved out of Yugoslavia. “It is important to recognise the victim. But how is going to recognise my victimisation of being sent to a camp when I was little, just because I was German?” wondered the doctor of Helena’s mother, which led Helena to research this particular unpopular victimisation, as she said at the exhibition opening.

Nedžad Horozović also spoke about his personal experience as a refugee, during the war in Bosnia, and how easily people forget those that had been their neighbours only yesterday.

Guido Stein from the Apatin Community in Germany was a guest at the opening and he had travelled to Belgrade for that express purpose. His mother is a German from Apatin and it was very important to him, as he said, to find out more about what had happened, about events that are still enveloped by a loud silence, as pointed out by historian Zoran Janjetović who contributed to the research.

The exhibition was officially inaugurated by Johannes Irschik, director of the Austrian Cultural Forum from the embassy in Belgrade.

Although it may seem immodest coming from us as the organisers, we were surprised by the number of visitors who had found out about the exhibition in various ways, but it seemed they all had very personal motivation to come. They were either motivated by intellectual curiosity and wanting to find out more, or they were descendants of Danube Swabians who wanted to fill in the often fragmented and convoluted family narratives that where only ever uttered quietly and imprecisely. A point of interest: when we were preparing the exhibition and while it was on display, it seemed that at every corner, in every conversation, we would run into people who knew or were related to a Danube Swabian. In the hope that the research and the exhibition have opened up at least a small space for light to come through and dispel the darkness of silence, we believe this exhibition will be just the first in a series to follow.

Katarina Milićević

Biber 02 - Second Short Story Collection about Reconciliation

In March 2018, we published Biber 02, a collection of short stories about reconciliation. It resulted from the second short story competition from the first half of 2017. The competition was open to established and new authors writing in one of the following languages: Albanian, Macedonian, Bosnian, Croatian, Serbian, or Montenegrin. This time, the jury was made up of Tatjana Gromača, Kim Mehmeti and Faruk Šehić.

We received 385 stories, which is about 20% more than for the previous competition.

The Jury awarded the following three short stories:

3rd prize: *Семејството на чичко Аки* (Uncle Aki's Family) by Anuška Minovska from Skopje,

2nd prize: *Čiko Zav* (Mr Zav) by Dženeta Rovčanin from Sarajevo,

1st prize: *Jedu ljudi i bez nogu* (People without Legs Eat Too) by Milica Vučković from Belgrade.

In addition to the winners, another 22 short stories were selected for publication in the collection. Their

authors are: Adam Pakai, Afrim Demiri, Ana Knežević, Andree Popov Miletić, Anela Ilijaš, Blagica Gjorgjievska, Danilo Lučić, Dragić Cvjetinović, Edis Galushi, Jasna Radulović, Jovana Matevska, Lejla Kalamujić, Marjeta Gjoka, Mehmet Elezi, Milan Vorkapić, Nemanja Raičević, Sanja Mihajlović-Kostadinovska, Sanja Radulović, Srđan Gagić, Tanja Javorina, Vera Kalin and Verima Zimberi Beluli. The published stories come from: Belgrade, Bitolj, Doboj, Kičevo, Novi Sad, Prelog, Prilep, Prizren, Sarajevo, Skopje, Tirana, Uroševac, Vrnjačka Banja, Zagreb, and Zemun.

It is interesting that 16 were written by female and 9 by male authors and that all three of the prize-winning stories were written by young women. This fact is not reflective of the state of publishing in the region, where male authors are considerably more dominant. Nonetheless, 60% of the stories received for the competition were written by women.

The Biber 02 collection is available in PDF on the competition website biber.nenasilje.org.



Idea and Organisation

As we pointed out in the Foreword, even though it is probably not common, the topic of the second Biber competition was the same as that of the first – reconciliation. There are many reasons for this, including: 1) this topic is important to us as individuals, peace activists and inhabitants of the Balkans; 2) we wanted to encourage more authors to think about reconciliation and provide us with inspiration; 3) we wanted to support socially engaged authors dealing with a topic that is as demanding as the process of reconciliation itself; 4) we believe our communities lack constructive thinking about reconciliation; and 5) very simply, we need more reconciliation. There is just one argument against this choice of topic: it is too complex and too difficult for the short story format, which is probably why we received so many stories that did not tackle the topic directly.

The idea of Biber originated in late 2014 as a continuation of the peace education programme organised by the Centre for Nonviolent Action Sarajevo|Belgrade (CNA, nenasilje.org), bringing together peace activism and literature. The Biber competition is specific because the pre-selection of stories is done by peace activists, passionate readers who assess the extent to which the story contributes to reconciliation, better understanding, bringing people closer together, diminishing hatred and hostility, but without denying the horrors that divided us in the first place. Only once the story goes through the hands of those with ample experience in peacebuilding and reconciliation work, it is passed on to the jury for evaluation of its literary value. The pre-selection was entrusted to: Abdullah Ferizi, Albulena Karaga, Aleksandra Bogdanovska, Ana Bitoljanu, Davorka Turk, Ivana Franović and Katarina Miličević. In addition to Davorka, Ivana and Katarina from CNA, the organisation team for the competition also included Ana Bitoljan and Safet Ballazhi from Skopje.

The competition and the publication of the collection were made possible thanks to financial support from the Austrian Development Agency (ADA), the German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ) and Diakonie Austria in cooperation with the International Fellowship of Reconciliation (IFOR Austria).

Promotions

We have organised two promotions of the Biber 02 collection: at the Faculty of Philosophy in Tetovo (27 March 2018) and at the Bogdan Ogrizović Library and Reading Room in Zagreb (7 June 2018).

At the promotion in Tetovo, we were joined by translator Qerim Ondozi, author of the 3rd prize story Anuška Minovska, poet and editor Danilo Lučić, and Ivana Franović was there on behalf of the Biber team. The moderator was a peace activist from Tetovo and our long-standing friend and partner, Blerim Jashari. To our surprise, the discussion at the amphitheatre was quite emotional and empowering, and a considerable portion of the audience was made up of students from Kosovo studying in Tetovo. We were also pleasantly surprised by the warm welcome we received from the Dean of the Faculty and its teachers.

The Bogdan Ogrizović Library in Zagreb was full and the discussion participants were: Tatjana Gromača as a member of the jury, Milica Vučković, winner of the 1st prize in the competition, Lejla Kalamujić, a writer from Sarajevo, translator Qerim Ondozi, literary critic Srđan Sandić, and Davorka Turk on behalf of the Biber team. The discussion was moderated by Aneta Lalić from SNV. It was lovely to see some familiar faces and many more new ones, people who were attracted by the topic and the diverse guests.

We are currently planning a promotion in Mitrovica for 14 November 2018, and possibly Biber's first Montenegrin promotion in Podgorica in the spring of 2019.

Next Steps

It is quite certain that we will organise the third Biber competition. If we manage to secure funds, the competition will be announced before the end of January 2019. The topic will probably be more broadly formulated, because experience has shown us that it is difficult to pinpoint. The majority of the stories we received for the first two competitions could be described as anti-war or peace stories about dealing with the past on a personal level, stories about dismantling prejudice or building coexistence, rather than directly focusing on the topic of reconciliation. Information about the competition will be published in due time on the Biber website and Facebook page.



“War of Memories” Exhibitions and Promotion of Publications

We continued promoting the research and publication on “War of Memories” with exhibitions organised in Skopje, Novi Pazar and Kragujevac.

The exhibition in Skopje was organised in cooperation with Peace Action from Prilep. It was on display from 11 to 20 November 2017, at the Mala stanica Centre. Next was the exhibition at the Novi Pazar MMC Gallery, opened on 2 February 2018, and the exhibition in Kragujevac, opened on 12 March 2018 at the Youth Centre.

Research on the monuments and culture of memory in Bosnia and Herzegovina, including the “War of Memories” publication and accompanying exhibition of photographs, contains monuments, marked and unmarked sites of atrocities in Bosnia and Herzegovina, created after the 1992-1995 war. The aim was to research the culture of memory and the memorialisation policy created after the last war, viewing them primarily in terms of their potential to bring lasting peace and reconciliation. The research included monuments and unmarked sites of atrocities on all once warring sides in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Our intention was to raise awareness about current models of memorialisation and call for dialogue to find new solutions that will primarily focus on victims of violence and

injustice, irrespective of their background. The message of the exhibition is universal and equally applicable to all areas where we are active – to open space for constructive change towards an inclusive, non-nationalist, peace-focused culture of memory. This is why we are particularly satisfied that interest for the exhibition continues even outside the borders of Bosnia and Herzegovina, as we have seen in this past year. We were quite surprised by the level of interest on the part of the media and the number of visitors to the exhibition in Kragujevac, where the head of the Šumadija School Administration invited all schools to come see the exhibition, having recognised a clear message of peace in it. Speaking with pupils about these topics that are far removed from them, because the atrocities of war are rarely mentioned in school, Katarina Miličević from CNA and Gordana Jocić from the Centre for Peace Initiatives, who helped us organise the exhibition, shared their personal stories about what war is like. They spoke about how nobody ever expects war, how it comes suddenly, and how this is precisely why we must recognise and react to all forms of violence in society. The opening was also attended by our associates, war veterans from Kruševac who are active in peace work and who shared

their experience with the visitors, their commitment and motivation for peacebuilding.

Since the first exhibition in Sarajevo in 2016, ten more have been held to date. The exhibitions presented here were preceded by exhibitions in Mostar, Banja Luka, Bihać,

Belgrade, Tuzla and Brčko. We will soon have exhibition in Zavidovići (4-18 November 2018), and for next year, we have planned exhibitions in Podgorica, Mrkonjić Grad, Goražde and Jajce.



Announcement: New Training Handbook

By the end of 2018, our new peacebuilding training handbook will be published. We've been working hard to collect training experience in the last 20 years and publish it in one place. It will be available on our site, in BCS and English language.



exchange, cooperation
and networking...

Historians Wanted for an Unwanted Past

14-15 October 2017

For months, in front of the Parliament of the Federation of BiH, war veterans have been protesting and demanding their rights. It is an unusual situation: under the tents, former members of the Army of BiH and the Croatian Defence Council—people who were once on opposite sides of the frontlines—are camping together, united in their suffering, while Croat and Bosniak officials observe them from the windows, also united in the suffering of governance. One of the protest signs by the veterans, who are demanding only their basic social rights, literally asks: Academics, professors, historians—why are you silent?

When I first saw that sign this summer, I paused, asked for permission to photograph it, and sat down next to it. As the son of a war veteran and someone who has the identity of a historian (although somewhat peripheral) I wondered: What the hell do war veterans want from historians? How could historians help them? Why should they? This was an invitation to historians that remains, as far as I know, unanswered.

The round table of historians organised by the Centre for Nonviolent Action Sarajevo/Belgrade, and held in Sarajevo on 14-15 October, was, generally speaking, looking for answers to the question posed by the veterans on the aforementioned sign. As Enver Kazaz pointed out, the wars that the veterans calling on historians participated in began precisely in culture, and as Latinka Perović added, the culture was began with history—for decades the high-octane fuel that has been poured on conflicts in the Balkans. It seems that the protests of the veterans and the question posed to historians about their silence close the circle: things return to where they began.

This is the second round table of historians organised by CNA. We held the first round table or exchange seminar in March 2014 in Sarajevo, and some twenty historians, journalists, activists, etc. participated. After the first seminar, we noticed that there was a significant lack of understanding on various levels, from a lack of understanding for the issue of (or disagreement over) the role of history and historians in society, to not understanding or at least different understandings of the roles that history and historians could/should have in the process of confronting the past and building peace. This first seminar was also important for us to understand the

position of participants with different professions and experiences, and to exchange expectations and needs between them. Instead of presentations, this time we decided to go a different route: primarily employing a workshop-based, interactive, conversational approach. Although the former Yugoslavia has been divided into several states, the social processes that post-war societies go through are in many ways similar, with only some unique characteristics.

What are historians silent about when they speak and what do they speak of with their silence? Eric Hobsbawm, the British historian who recently passed away, has noted that just as the poppy flower is the raw material for producing heroin, so history is the raw material of nationalism. But history is not a raw material that yields just a good-quality nationalism, woven into the past and from the past. The portfolio of products provided by history is much broader and more diverse. With this exchange seminar or round table, we wanted to open up a space for constructive criticism of the misuse of history and for questioning the potential role of history in constructive dealing with the past and peacebuilding.

In addition to historians, journalists and activists from BiH, Croatia, Serbia and Macedonia, we were joined this time by Austrian historians who helped us contextualise the processes we are witnessing in the region within a broader spatial and temporal framework. They also provided us with a new and important perspective on the use of history in the process of constructive dealing with the past, given that this process has been taking place in Austria for a significantly longer period of time and is in some ways similar to the experience of post-Yugoslav countries, while remaining different in other ways.

We began and finished with the key question: What is the role of history? Although we are aware of the current context and the post-truth era in which the authority of history is being eroded, examples that surround us contradict those who complain that scholarship has lost all of its power. Only a few months ago, the government (which supposedly means power) consulted historians about whether a primary school in Sarajevo should be named after a Nazi sympathiser and whether a controversial plaque should be removed from the City Hall in Sarajevo... The idea that history is life's teacher but has for centuries suffered bad students as an explanation for

the repetition of historical mistakes does away with the possibility of assigning responsibility not only to historians, journalists and activists, but also those who know that our daily bread cannot be made without a grain of the past.

Without searching for the right answers, we wanted historians, journalists, and activists to exchange ideas, experiences and opinions about various issues: What kind of activities are possible in a situation dominated by ideologically motivated revisionism? What do we aim to achieve? Which tools do we have at our disposal? Who are our potential allies in this process? What are the possibilities and limitations in searching for a model of a relationship towards the past that would be more complex and would allow for multiple perspectives? Is a history of the present possible? Is it possible to problematize the existing politics of memory and the dominant narratives within a discourse where historical revisionism has taken



hold and has the potential to spread among the masses? What are the specificities and similarities of these processes in the region of the former Yugoslavia, but also in countries that have constructively confronted the past?

We also problematized the question of neutrality, objectivity and the methodological restrictions that are imposed not only by historiography but also by other professions. To what extent is neutrality simply running away towards conformity, or as Howard Zinn puts it, can one be neutral on a moving train? These are just some of the paths by which we tried to again reach the same destination: the role of history in our society. The lack of understanding and grudges being held between historians, journalists and activists and the paths of possible cooperation have enabled us to shed light on our own responsibility and to see the power and possibilities that are available to us.

Of all the commonplaces that we hear in society in terms of dealing with the past, my favourite is that we should leave the past to the historians. But, alas, the past has long ago been snatched away from the historians and if they ever had such a monopoly it has been lost forever, lost in the turbulence of the past few decades. As you walk down the street, speak with family members and friends, watch TV, you are confronting the past. That's why I have the need to yell out: Wrest history from the historians!

An unwanted history is searching for its historians. It cannot wait thirty, forty or fifty years until the distance of time becomes a wall that will protect us from exposure to all the elements of leaving a zone of conformity. The myths and narratives that once (was it only once?) led us into war are not only alive and well but often serve as a starting point for creating new systems of values in our societies which would keep us in a perpetually hot cold war.

The end is the beginning: What use does my society have from what I do and what use would I want it to have? It doesn't matter whether I am a historian, a journalist, or an activist...¹

Nedžad Novalić

¹ You may find the summary of recommendations for the contribution of historians to peacebuilding on the following link: <https://nenasilje.org/en/2017/historians-wanted-unwanted-past/>

International Conference “Reconciling Histories!?”

Sarajevo, 15-17 May 2018



The “Reconciling Histories!?” Conference brought together peace and human rights activists, peace work researchers, reporters and historians from various countries with war and postwar experience, ranging from India and Sri Lanka, the Balkans, Ukraine and Georgia, all the way to Western Europe.

The Conference was organised by the Centre for Nonviolent Action Sarajevo/Belgrade from 15 to 17 May in Sarajevo, with a study visit to Zavidovići, a place recognised as an important and positive example in dealing with the past and peacebuilding processes.

The Conference focused on the experience of different countries in the postwar process of seeking justice, its challenges and taboos, the role of historical myths and narratives in the reconciliation process, understanding the importance of nonviolence and its limits. The keynote speakers and moderators included, among others, Edin Ramulić, Diana Francis, Martina Fisher, Budimir Ivanišević, Marina Elbakidze, Albulena Karaga, Ponnampalam Narasingham.

Thirty years since the war, the population of Sri Lanka has been working on building sustainable peace for the

past nine years. Ponnampalam Narasingham, a peace activist from Sri Lanka, says that gatherings such as this one are an opportunity to get to know contexts in other countries and the difficulties they face.

“The mechanisms, techniques and tools used by others may be of help to Sri Lanka on the path that it must take,” says Ponnampalam Narasingham.

“The choice of peace and human rights activists, peace work researchers, reporters and historians is not haphazard. It indicates an identified need for linking the fragmented work in this area, or at least bringing its actors into dialogue, because everyone can give significant contribution in their own way to building, or to dismantling peace. This is the task of social reconciliation, the task for wider and diverse social groups is certainly one of the foundations of a successful reconciliation process,” said Nenad Vukosavljević from the Centre for Nonviolent Action Sarajevo/Belgrade, adding that he sees social reconciliation as giving up hatred and prejudice among people who do not know each other personally but generate these feelings based on their belonging to a collective.

“As much as it may seem that reconciliation is a



concession to others, who are thus forgiven for something that is unforgivable, peace, justice and security are something all people need and something everyone gains from equally. By being liberated from fear and hatred, we help ourselves, our loved ones, our immediate and our wider environment,” he added.

Natasha Zupan, a peace activist from Germany who spent years working in the Balkans, said that progress on the path of peacebuilding in the Balkans faces great challenges and that a tremendous responsibility is on the politicians who are often most to blame for halting that process.

“There is, of course, hope. The preconditions for meaningful change do exist. The international community had an important role at the start of this process. Although I am generally against such a role of the international community, I believe certain mechanisms are welcome,” Zupan said.

Researcher Martina Fisher believes that in postwar societies, it is important to discuss the importance of memory and different, often opposing histories.

“Some might say how this topic is not important because there are so many more pressing issues. But in order to move on towards the future, it is important to look back and understand what happened to us. Perhaps it is too early for reconciling histories in the Balkans and other parts of the world, but it is very important for a society

to understand that experiences and perspectives of what happened can be different, while at the same time bringing to light facts that are indisputable, such as condemning war crimes and recognising the suffering of victims,” Fisher pointed out.

This Conference was also important for our region in letting us see that we are not alone in the problems we face or in our efforts to find ways to overcome them, we heard from Davorka Turk from the Centre for Nonviolent Action.

“It is also important because a view from the outside can help us see where we falter and where we are successful, so that we can focus our energy in the future to where it is most needed. The solidarity we feel from people from other parts of the world is also very important in helping us carry on,” she added.¹

¹ Video clip from the conference is available on the following link: <https://nenasilje.org/2018/video-pomirenje-historija-konferencija-sarajevo-15-17-05-2018/>

Documentation of the conference is available on the following link: <https://nenasilje.org/en/2018/proceedings-from-the-international-conference-on-reconciling-histories/>



Peacebuilding Strategy

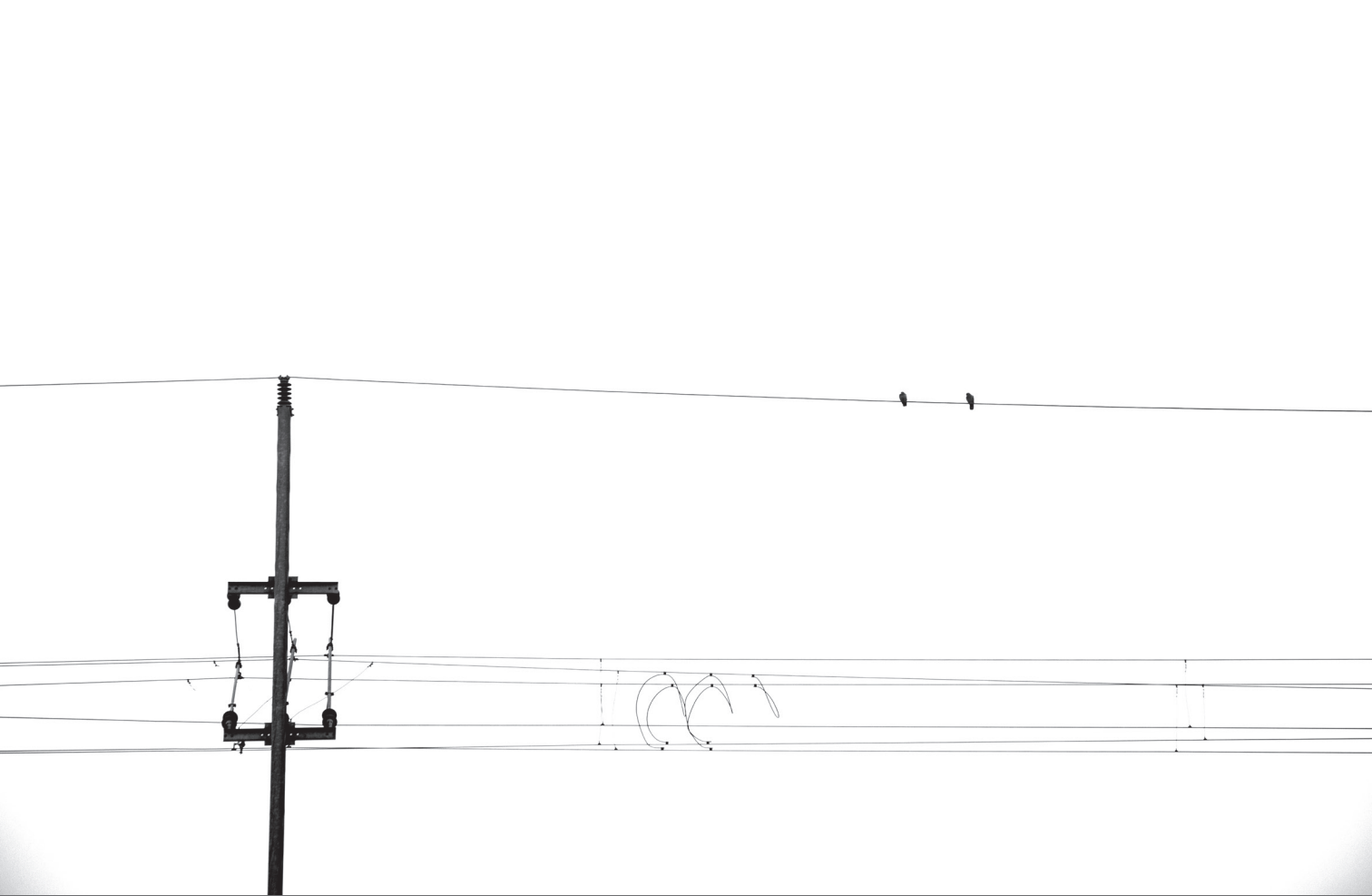
"Peace is not everything, but without peace, everything is nothing"
(Willy Brandt)

Developing the draft National Peacebuilding Strategy is something CNA has been working on since 2010. Our aim was to have Serbia adopt a document committing itself to peacebuilding, and we focused on three areas: reconciliation, dealing with the past, and peace education. Once the document was drafted, we presented it to national institutions and asked for their opinion, and then late in 2016, we held a Dialogue Circle dedicated to the Peacebuilding Strategy, which, in addition to our partners from the region, brought together representatives of ministries, the Office for Cooperation with Civil Society Organisations and the Human Rights Ombudsman.

We followed the main recommendations we received at that time about further steps to have the Strategy adopted and we wrote to the President of Serbia Aleksandar Vučić and Prime Minister Ana Brnabić. We did not receive a reply from the president's office, while the prime minister's office sent us a reply saying the document had been forwarded to the Ministry of Justice for further action. It practically goes without saying, but we had contacted the Ministry of Justice in various ways before and we never got a response. Not even after we forwarded the letter of the prime minister.

Our next option was to offer the Peacebuilding Strategy to the opposition in Serbia, which currently does not realistically have the capacity for stronger action or influence on official policy. Counting on this situation having to change at some point, we discussed the future of the Strategy with Zoran Lutovac, president of the Democratic Party, and with representatives of the Ne davimo Beograd movement, and we agreed with all our interlocutors about the core values of the Peacebuilding Strategy, as well as the need for Serbian society to have a coordinated national policy for peace.

At the end, we decided to publish the Strategy and thus make it a public good available to everyone for further comments, additions, criticism, until it can become a state policy. We will be hosting this event at the end of 2018, where, in addition to CNA representatives involved in drafting the Peacebuilding Strategy, our partners from the region will also take part, as well as war veterans from Serbia, independent reporters and representatives of political parties that have supported the idea of the Strategy.



activities we joined

Nelson Mandela 100

We decided to join the action marking 18 July 2018 around the world as the 100th anniversary of the birth of Nelson Mandela. His life, struggle for freedom and the messages he left us provide lasting inspiration for peace work and fighting against all forms of discrimination. That is why we asked five of our partners who are reporters to come up with media content marking the 100th anniversary of Mandela's birth.

Our partners came from Belgrade, Kragujevac and Sarajevo, and their contributions were broadcast from 14 to 21 July 2018:

Zoran Mišić, a reporter for religious radio "Zlatousti" from Kragujevac, made two programmes about the importance of Mandela and his legacy, but also about the broader perspective of freedom, asking: how free are we truly today, here in this region?

Dejan Kožul, author of the KUPEK radio show did an interview with Shirley Gunn, a South African activist and veteran, "a woman who dedicated her life to fighting not just apartheid, but every injustice, a woman with "steel bones", a woman who was persecuted, imprisoned and a woman who never retreated before injustice.

Miroslav Miletić based his regular podcast "From My Head" on the slogan "Freedom or nothing" and went on to analyse the life and work of Nelson Mandela, as well as us living in this region.

Ines Baždalić produced a show for BH radio in Sarajevo about the life of Nelson Mandela and his universally inspiring legacy, talking with historians, sociologists, theologians, etc.

Thanks to our cooperation with the magazine Lice ulice, its July-August 2018 issue featured an article by Katarina Milićević, a member of the CNA team, where she writes about reconciliation, both in South Africa, and in the former Yugoslavia, after the wars.¹



¹ Article by Katarina Milićević for Lice ulice
<https://nenasilje.org/en/2018/the-colours-and-nuances-of-reconciliation/>



thoughts

Chronicle of war

Qerim Ondozi

17 July 1998

A common summer day. Surely quite hot, as you know it's summer, but as far away from the present, the memory wears nostalgic clothes, imaginative clothes. There are only indestructible facts, black and white facts: either rain or sun, either night or day.

And on a normal summer day, the dad is ready to go out for coffee, but as he approaches the yard door, his grandmother says, 'Do not go out of war.'

And after a few seconds, the first crashes are heard.

War started.

War is too incomprehensible. Not sensible, but incomprehensible. Probably even meaningless. One does not understand life when death is so wicked, so it starts and ban funny actions, because it is not in the least understood the non-existence (possible) ...

I'm in the dole. Not for me to hide, but it is just a tragicomic moment when you realize that death is so close

No breaks are stopped. Dad stands alone in the room. Seeking solutions, maybe.

18 July 1998

Morning morning alarm is the sniper crash. Are you ever wondering with the sniper's crashes? Usually a man

needs to think of something good that pushes him and left his bed, leaving his spit to extending. We wake up with the sniper balls that, say, are positioned in the Tower Clock in Rahovec, in the Serbian Mahala.

Again, when you dig into these pieces of memory, what you are doubting are the black and white facts: Friday, Saturday, Sunday, 17, 18, 19, 20, crashes, grenades, fears ...

There is no electricity. Nana proposes to eat lunch in the bar, but it can be smoke, and come to us.

If a soldier, our acrobat, the phone tells us that ours are wreaking havoc. They have taken Rahovec / Orahovac, the City Park Hotel is just offshore. "Usaaa, how has that part of the city seen that hotel?" My imagination produces fantastic landscapes ...

At the Park Hotel were police and military police stations.

19 July 1998

Morning alarm: "taaak, taaaaaak, taaaaaa-aaaa-aaak", sniper echoes. Good morning. Black and white memory: sun, morning, day, afternoon, 17, 18, 19, 20 ... They told us that our soldiers only hunt that they have orders. They are positioned some 50 meters from our back, we are between them and the Serbian mahala. In sandwich, in cake, between two fires. No one comes to our soldier in



our house, telling us that we have to go home, let's not go out of the way because they plan on the ground for Sahat Kulla ... We wait, wait and wait. No liberation explosion is heard. Our neighbor tells us to leave with a truck family. My nana took a deep breath, as if she felt something. I was hugging and we lay down, and she, as she breathed deeply. Of course, he was afraid. For the four children, not for themselves.

19-20 July 1998

Let's go out of the way, after midnight maybe, we go to the position of our soldiers. No man. They had tactical traction. We enter a truck with a few people and start, secondary roads, out of the war zone. We need to get off the highway. A hundred yards away, a hotel with police and soldiers. At the end of the dense flow, the cries are heard: taaaaak. The sniper's knife, the rifle, has an eyebrow, a thumbnail, like an unusual breakdown of a normal jaw flow, like a premise of time. Like an intermezzo and a dirt.

20 July, 1998

The truck continues on the road to the road, until we reach a point where it is safest. Stop it, open the truck from behind, and the bullet hit the nanny. They got it, I found a doctor. Somewhere in a nearby village. Sister, daddy, go with her. We arrive in Malishevë, in one of her daddy's village. Look forward to the news. He's got to save me for sure. Come on, daddy, meet n'obor and embrace. There are no words. Where are the words ?! How many times do I hear about anybody killed in Rohovec I say to myself: aaaah, I have to talk to nanny. It takes me a couple of seconds to understand that she is no longer for the kallxu. Now, I do not need two seconds. Not a second is necessary. I know it is not. I'm not even kidding. I'm kidding my boyfriend, Rron, who is much like her.

KERNEIREISE – A Centrifuge of Emotions

Helena Rill

Kerneireise – that's what it says on a leaflet that's been lying around my desktop for a while, first Kerneireise 2017, then Kerneireise 2018. It gives the dates and places to be visited; a trip from Germany to Kernei, pronounced Kernai, better known in these parts as what was once Krnjaja and is now Kljajićevo, a village near Sombor.

A group was supposed to come to Kljajićevo already last year, but not enough people signed up. They are people connected to HOG Kernei, an association of people who used to live in Kljajićevo and their descendants. They are descended from the Danube Germans, or as they refer to themselves, the Danube Swabians who used to live in what was once Kernei and is today Kljajićevo.

This was once a majority German town (96%). At the end of the war, they had escaped before the progressing Red Army and People's Liberation Army of Yugoslavia, some because of their wrongdoings and others simply because they were afraid of what might happen, and as it turned out, their fears were confirmed. Afterwards, some were deported to the USSR, one part of the village was turned into a 'small' civilian camp, and some of them ended up in Gakovo and Kruševlje. The great majority, if not all the Danube Swabians were deprived of their property, including here in Kljajićevo. In the years after

the war, there were fewer and fewer Germans until they had all left, if that is even the right word to describe what happened. These days, according to the 2011 census, out of a population of 5045, only nine identify as Germans.

...

Here is how I experienced this visit by the Danube Swabians, here is what happened, in brief, and what I thought about as it was happening.

A group of Danube Swabians with origins in Kljajićevo set off on Wednesday, 23 May from Stuttgart on their way to Sombor and arrived on Thursday. I wanted to meet them, to hear their personal stories about what had happened to them and their families, why they were coming here now, how they left, what made them come visit now, what their impressions were, their emotions, etc. I wanted to go with them to Gakovo and Kruševlje, some of the largest camps in Vojvodina for the Danube Swabians after the Second World War, and together with them honour the victims. Those were my expectations, but what I did not expect were the many kind, warm people and the torrent of emotions that was sometimes difficult to keep up with – from anticipation, curiosity and excitement to sorrow, compassion and incredulity, with a common feeling of shared laughter and the pain, that of others and my own.



Another thing I was not expecting last year when I got in touch with Helmut Schmidt, the organiser of the trip who was kind enough to include me in the programme and whom I was arranging to meet, well, I did not expect my cousin. And not some distant relation I don't know how many times removed, but, as it turned out, my father and her mother were brother and sister. We had never met before. I did not even know she existed. All this turned my whirlwind of emotions into a real centrifuge at 1000 rpm.

...

The tour planned as part of the trip included visiting the mass graves in Gakovo and Kruševlje. This was also my first visit to Kruševlje, not to what was left of the village, which adds up to literally no more than three houses, the rest having been converted into fields. It was my first visit to the mass grave and the memorial there. From the distance, as we approach, we see a grove, and as we get closer, going on foot, a monument comes into view, a large cross. Surrounded by tombstones. Died or killed in 1945. I found out that some of my relatives were also at that camp. A communal prayer, I take part, it's important – I can't quite say why it's important, but it is. We talk together, it feels odd to me to be speaking German, and we are silent together. A woman asks us to pay our

respects to the victims together—her, Anton Beck and I, as representatives of those who live here or those who remained or... as some sort of ritual, a prayer, a gesture of reconciliation. I am touched, sad, emotional, curious, alert, on the one hand, but on the other, I'm trying to figure out what it is that I am supposed to represent. I talk with the people. They are not just from Germany, they also come from France and the US, whole families have come for the trip. One young woman came with her father-in-law from Chicago. She had heard many stories from him, but could I explain to her what exactly happened in Kruševlje and Gakovo.

I had visited Gakovo a few times, but both then and now, as we pass through the village I catch myself thinking, is it possible that in these few houses and streets more than 17,000 people were interned, up to 22,000 according to some sources. I don't know why I chose this neutral term – interned. In Gakovo, I am most anxious to speak with my cousin. But how do you speak with someone who is a close relation, but you are separated by everything that happened to the Danube Swabians, and by your own family narrative. Who are you, what are you, what are you like, is there anything that connects us apart from 'just' a family relation. I like her, I observe her to see if there is

anything of my father I can recognise in her. We talk, trying to overcome the language barrier, doing our best. It feels strange. For the first time, I understand in my heart and my head that I am also part of the story about the Danube Swabians.

Kernei/Kljajićevo. Finally, we arrive, though late, and we stay for a long time. They welcome us at the centre by the church that had changed its 'identity' a few times, but luckily remained standing. There is also the warm welcome at the Culture Centre, with representatives of the Kljajićevo Local Community, but also of Sombor, and I think about how important it is that the community is involved in welcoming this group of people. A warm welcome, bread, salt and brandy, boys and girls in folk costume, and later a boy reads a text in German. They really put in an effort, and I think about how important that is. Everyone claps. People are excited. The whole day has been emotional for them. For me, too. Later, they go on to Apatin, and I skip that part, I return to Sombor, I cannot do more, which is perhaps best because I am completely exhausted, the centrifuge is running at I don't know how many rpm, I cannot process any more thoughts.

The next day we go from Sombor to Kljajićevo again. A mass will be held in German at the church. I look at the church building, hoping the plaster does not fall off and hit someone on the head. That's the state it's in. My cousin and I are not interested in the mass, we have more important things to do – we have to find the house where our parents used to live.

I'm turning the map around, trying to find the house, I got confused somewhere, what is wrong with me, I think. "Have you ever seen the house?" my cousin asks. "No, never," I say. She shakes her head. We find the house on the map, but realise that the street number could be somewhere up ahead. She has a photo of it and we recognise it, this is it. We go through the gate into the ajnfort and I call, "Hello, anybody there?" A woman comes out and I explain, she's confused, but she knows what I'm talking about. She says she'd heard about it on the news, should have known someone would be coming. She quickly adds, "But, you know, we're not colonists. We came here only later. I think, or I say, "Even if you were, that's OK." As we carry on talking, the conversation flows easier. She is attentive and kind. I interpret for my cousin. She says, this bench, the chairs and table in the yard, and she points at them, they're from that time, they were theirs, she says, meaning our parents'. I am on the edge of tears. And again I think, What is wrong with me, this has nothing to do with me? She asks us, especially my cousin,

"We have been keeping some things, a picture frame, it must be yours, do you want it?" I thank her for taking care of the things, I understand how important it is to me suddenly. And she responds, breaking into tears, "I know what it's like to lose everything, when you have to leave your home. We are from Plitvice," she says, "We've been through the same sort of thing." And I think again, can a centrifuge go faster than 1000 rpm?

...

What was valuable to me? To spend at least some time with these people, descended from Kljajićevo, the Danube Swabians and their families. To step into their shoes for a moment. To be there, for them, and not as a 'representative' of someone from here. To exchange thoughts and feelings with those people. To meet my cousin and talk with her. I cherish the knowledge about how important it is to remember and to talk about these things, though it's nothing new, and how important it is for the old and new villagers to meet. To talk with the local government representatives in Kljajićevo who organised all this. How important it is to ask those people too, the so-called colonists and their descendants, about how they are doing, what happened to them when they arrived here. How difficult it is sometimes for them to say, yes, we were given this house. I am grateful to the whole group that came and all the people I talked to. To Helmut Schmidt who was lovely to talk to and arrange things, to my cousin who got in touch with me and together we went to visit our parents' house, to Anton Beck for his support, to Rade and Milan Čuić and Davor Šmarac from Kljajićevo for their organisation, and to the hosts who live in that house. I am still sorting through my impressions, there is still much to process.

Another visit to Vojvodina in the works – perhaps there are more, but I know about this one. In October this year, an association of Danube Swabians – once from Apatin – is coming to visit. This will also be an opportunity to open the exhibition "On the Trail of the Danube Swabians in Vojvodina" together in Apatin and to talk to each other. The Danube Swabians of Apatin were among the first, if not the first to be taken to the Gakovo camp. Many of them never made it out.

New Member of the CNA Team

Tamara Zrnović

March 2018, the winter in Sarajevo drags on. It's cold. I need to get up and turn on the heating. What possesses a normal person to move to Sarajevo in the middle of winter? Suitcases and boxes in the corners of the flat, and outside just smog and dreariness, the death that this city must wake up from, to drink coffee and craft beer in nicely decorated shelters and basements. At least there's never been any shortage of that here. I should get up and learn to swim again.

Looking into myself in order to write a text about returning again to the city where I was born, I tried to find the first hints of awareness that now everything in my life will depend on me. My independence and my readiness for change were the starting points on my journey to this moment. I had to find a path I could write about in detail, a path full of traces and deep changes in me. One such path, that I am still walking today, began in Bijeljina. A town that lies in a valley, or as I like to say, along a *straight line* that divides the population into locals and refugees.

Still, this is not the only path I've started on in my life. There were many before it and, of course, they always bring up my first childhood memories. The bus station were the last civilians got on buses in 1996 and left Sarajevo. The tin cup I got at the entrance to the collective centre which was meant to be used for tea, water and bathing. Perhaps, the beginning was that the first time I got my own room, my space, with a bed and a desk, was when I was 16. These were my paths traced with scars.

It was a challenge to live in Bijeljina. Apart from my identity as a student, I had always also felt the identity of a refugee, which somehow equally closed and opened many doors. I have written and spoken about this identity many times, but I have never managed to understand how we refugees seem to so visibly carry this label that makes us different from others. Inevitably, I struggled with my identities in my early twenties, trying to find a way to grow and re-examine my role in society.

My volunteer work started in early 2013, at the Helsinki Committee for Human Rights in RS, a non-governmental organisation that brought special value to *activism*, full of solidarity and trust building between individuals and groups, and I found myself in it completely. I stayed

there for a little under five years, learning the values of a work ethic and responsibility, but also finding I loved the job. Back in 2013, I had written my first motivation letter to apply for peacebuilding training that would focus on dealing with the past, peacebuilding, reconciliation, national identities, interethnic cooperation, nonviolent conflict transformation, etc. *How did anyone manage to fit all those topics into just 10 days of training? Volumes have been written about these topics, each has been approach from various perspectives, yet these are still topics enveloped in silence because they threaten to tear down national and strictly divided narratives in the aftermath of the bloody war in the Balkans.* The peacebuilding training was organised by the Centre for Nonviolent



Action Sarajevo-Belgrade and it was held in Ulcinj. In my motivation letter, I talked about the breakup of Yugoslavia, the truths of war, the truths of each of us in that war, about endangerment and injustice.

I returned with many questions that would take me back to my own beginnings, questions about changes inside me and around me. I started thinking about whether I knew myself at all, re-examining my role in society, my feminist reflection in the mirror. Where do my own prejudices lie, since I'm going to try to identify them in others, and what gave anyone the right to unload the weight of the war on my generation? These questions started some changes and processes within me, making me question whether I would have the strength to deal with them, to transform them into understanding and empathy with other victims of injustice, on all sides.

March 1996. My mum, my brother and me are standing at the bus station with two suitcases and a plush toy. It's cold. Mum is talking with someone, looking for our names on a list, two seats. My brother was not yet one, he was crying, the tiny red fluid-filled blisters all over his body were itchy. They call our names and we get on the bus, I squeeze my mother's hand so tight as if we were heading off into forever.

Shortly after 2013, the CNA team and I started working together through ideas and actions, sharing the good and making patient nonviolent steps to build peace in Bosnian-Herzegovinian society. We worked together, documenting the life stories of people who had *exchanged their homes after the war*, and a particularly important nonviolent action I took part in, and

which is still ongoing, is the *marking of unmarked sites of suffering* throughout BiH.

The invitation to join the CNA team and come work in Sarajevo was a surprise for me. I remember thinking I should make a list of pros and cons, but I soon realised it would give me nothing to go on. I needed questions, like the ones I had felt after the peacebuilding training... to make me move, to collide within me. Why are peace and war trauma intertwined on the margins of society? Why are young people thrust into an image of the past fashioned by ethnically divisive nationalists? Why are the *victims* the ones to call attention to unmarked sites of suffering, while the *majority* erect inappropriate monuments and memorials? All these questions contain dilemmas and fears, but they were also my motivation to accept CNA's proposal.

My name is Tamara, I was born in Sarajevo in 1989, by the river Bosna. I grew up by the river Drina and spent half my life being a refugee, a student, and now I am a returnee. Today, I walk along the Ferhadija Street, the day crunching like snow under my feet as if trying to compact itself into the path I am preparing for it. I stop by the Bey's Mosque fountain, drink some water and think: I have returned.



political and social contexts
in which we work

Bosnia and Herzegovina:

We're not adapting to nobody, no way

Nothing is as certain, wrote journalist Ozren Kebo a while ago now, in a world of constant instability, as the fact that each new round of elections in BiH is more dangerous than the last. And yet, it seems that the elections scheduled for this autumn 2018 are in so many ways dangerously uncertain and unpredictable that this remark could become outdated already tomorrow, that what every journalist fears when handing in his article might happen: the events may overtake him, laying bare his reporting as naive, obsolete...

Delight is priceless

It is pointless to write about the possible outcome of the October elections and the post-election crisis that could ensue due to the failure to adopt changes to the BiH Election Law and BiH Constitution, as ordered by the BiH Constitutional Court and the European Court for Human Rights, for one simple reason. Namely, if the main loudmouths of the moment, currently warning us of a hellish post-election fiasco, happen to be handed a ministerial position or two, the hellfire that they speak of could very well be extinguished already with the first signs of snow. But then again, as the firefighters dressed up in the uniforms of the international community would say: In BiH, the fire is never extinguished, only localised, so you're never sure which spark will reignite the flame.

The election campaign that has been mounting throughout 2018 has merely exacerbated and fully laid bare the social conflicts that in BiH often follow along ethnically drawn lines, with the last few years seeing the focus of the conflict shift to relations within FBiH. In the simplest terms, the core of the conflict is between the so-called ethnic parties that advocate an ethnic principle for the elections and distribution of power, on the one hand, and the so-called civic parties that promote the principle of one person one vote. However, neither side is fully consistent and, in both cases, it comes down to a struggle for dominance where democracy is weaponised against opponents. Thus, for example, HDZ BiH, who demand an ethnic model for distributing power at the FBiH level, are against the self-same model at the level of the City of Mostar, where they insist on the principle of one person one vote. On the other hand, the so-called civic parties in Mostar insist on there being a mechanism to prevent the outvoting of Bosniaks, because they are in the minority

in the city, but at the same time invoke Western best practices to insist on the model of one person one vote at the FBiH level where the Croats are the absolute minority.

Frustrated by their powerlessness in this muscle game, the narcissisms of small differences see any criticism of their positions as a frontal attack, so that even the so-called leftists resort to the phrase made famous by the Gand Mufti, We're not adapting to nobody, no way, those who, for years, swore by ZAVNOBiH, now see it as a Yugo-communist ruse that introduced the principle of constitutive peoples instead of citizens, or they moan about being vulnerable minorities as they alter the course of a river to build their villa... The principle being: we can't do much, but at least we can mess it up for them, and we'll do that with delight, whatever the price.

Exit, Voice, and Loyalty

Albert O. Hirschman says that a society in crisis offers its citizens three possibilities: Emigrating, protesting or remaining loyal. The easier it is to emigrate, the less likely protest becomes, and at the same time, emigrating is a form of protest. Emigration from BiH has ceased to be just a number or statistic; it has become populated with the names of our family, friends, neighbours. Although there is no research focusing on the reasons for leaving, from personal anecdotes, it is clear that the current wave of emigration is not primarily economic but comes as a response to two decades of deadlock in society without visible signs of the possibility of progress.

With mass emigration and the high number of civil service sinecures keeping the number of loyal voters at a stable high, the result is not just less visible resistance but increasingly less space for any kind of resistance. The imaginary pendulum circumscribing the space for criticism has an increasingly shorter swing, while social networks, bots and anonymous portals make it easier to hunt down and lynch those who stand out. A race to the bottom and installing loyal followers in positions of power goes beyond the scope of just political parties and is definitely collapsing key institutions from the inside, with this year's appointment of party young guns to the steering board of the Sarajevo University being a case in point.

Using the past, especially the war-related past, is becoming an important factor in narrowing the space of freedom and in daily political take-downs. After a

long-standing moratorium imposed by the international community, this year the authorities have introduced lessons about the 1990s war(s) into the education system with the aim, as one minister put it, to impose our own version of the truth. In the war for interpreting the war (D. Jović), education is not the only way to pull new generations into the trenches of interpretation. Aware that the clock is ticking for war-veterans and veterans' associations, efforts are now being made to forge a firm link between former war-veterans and future war-veterans, which led to the establishment of the Association of Descendants of War-Veterans in RS, while FBiH saw the formation of so-called Veterans' Cooperatives under the leadership of descendants of war-veterans. Children dressed in military uniforms have become an indispensable part of commemoration ceremonies... History is brutally revised and reinterpreted to spice up the simmering post-war broth. This is a trend, by no means a new phenomenon, but the fact that the highest political instances take part (e.g. the production of the TV series *Aliya*, or the airing of the *Dugo svitanje* [Long Dawning] documentary series on TV Sarajevo) and that there is little to no resistance, make it a trend worth pointing out.

One step forward, two steps back

Although various peace initiatives have received formal support (the BiH Parliament has adopted the Peace Platform as a non-binding protocol document), we have

taken institutional and material steps backwards when it comes to reconciliation. The RS President Milorad Dodik proposed, and the National Assembly almost unanimously approved retracting the Srebrenica Report that had been adopted by the government of the entity already in 2004. Looking at that Report from today's perspective, its adoption and the statement made by the then president of RS Dragan Čavić seem like news from a distant future, from the year 4002, and serve as a litmus test that shows the regression on the path of dealing with the past. RS has also adopted a law on civilian war-victims that prevents or makes it impossibly difficult for those who were on the enemy side to access their rights. The recent attempts by Bosniak representatives to delegitimise the BiH Court and Prosecutor's Office after the arrests and indictments against a number of veterans of the Army of BiH (Atif Dudaković, Sakib Mahmuljin, Dragan Vikić) once again highlight the matrix where no court is ever good or just if it prosecutes our own.

The role of the international community, which has been pulling the strings in the Balkans for years, and whose favourite saying is We are prepared to accept any agreement the domestic leaders reach, was best laid bare this year when it came to increasing excise duties on oil derivatives. Fearing that the state could face a lack of funds to repay loans, European and other diplomats spent days hounding the 42 BiH MPs to convince them to adopt an increase in excise duties and thus secure the necessary



funds. There were invitations for cakes for Eid, late-night meetings and visits to home villages across the Bosnian mountains, the ambassadors were clear, unequivocal and uncompromising: the loans had to be repaid. It's not that we hadn't seen it before in Greece and elsewhere, but it was particularly painful to feel it on our own skins. At the same time, the Balkans, and especially BiH, have become a playground for diplomatic demonstration drills in an increasingly multipolar and divided world. Apart from the stronger influence of Turkey, Russia and to a certain extent China, now the UK, which is just about to leave the EU, has recognised the Balkans and BiH as an opportune location to come out as an independent player on the international scene. Dancing on the thin line between boldness and insolence, in the days of Brexit, London

organised a conference on the future of the Balkans in the EU, wouldn't you know, and sent 40 soldiers to BiH just in case. The idiotic position of the international community encouraging the leaders of Serbia and Kosovo to negotiate an exchange of territories (territories or populations?) and their demarcation is being closely watched from BiH, where we did an intensive exercise in demarcation from 1992 to 1995 which has left us with some experience and good practice examples that we thought we had left far behind.

Nedžad Novalić

Montenegro: "Subjective experience"

There have been no reports from Montenegro for a few years now, so permit me to use these pages not to give you an exhaustive list of events, that is, repetitions of the same stagnant rut we're in, but to present a few humble "subjective experiences".

Despite the majority of citizens being opposed to it, the Parliament of Montenegro, without organising a referendum, voted in favour of joining the NATO Alliance. Full membership in NATO was made official at a ceremony held at the State Department in June 2017, where Prime Minister Duško Marković said that "no more will decisions about Montenegro be made behind its back." Prime Minister Duško Marković? Oh, he's that charming man who was pushed to the side by Donald Trump only a few months later, at the NATO summit.

Being pushed aside thus became Montenegro's mark of distinction. In the past few years, we have been pushed into NATO, pushed together with Putin, pushed towards the EU, as well as being pushed against Mother Russia on whom we are courageously imposing sanctions, and so forth. In order to feed and grow strong, the youngest nationalism in the Balkans—Montenegrin nationalism—must be directed against some enemy, and, of course, it is most effective to direct it against our brothers of yesteryear and their Greater Serbia hegemony. So, in the name of a struggle for liberty or for unification with our brothers, we push ourselves in with Serbia or against Serbia. Since joining, sorry, being pushed into NATO, apart from some good publicity, all we have are scrapes and bruises, while the expected progress or, God forbid, any change for the

better, is proverbially absent.

If you're already worried that there was no mention of Milo Đukanović in the first three paragraphs, fear not, at the last presidential elections he won with a convincing majority—what else—and was re-elected for president. This means that ever since 1991, he has been the sovereign ruler of Montenegro, either as president or as prime minister, same difference. Comparisons with Josip Broz Tito are becoming inevitable, for Milo has been our beloved prime minister/president for almost thirty years and shows no signs of planning to retire. The only difference is that Tito was president for as long as he was alive, while Milo is alive as long as he is president/prime minister. For a long time, power has not resided with the institutions, if indeed they ever existed in the first place, but in the hands of one man. Neither the US nor the EU wanted Đukanović in power again, because it was expected that once he took care of the NATO membership, he would go into political retirement, which would be his third time, third time lucky — almost. However, very influential business circles with vested interests have made sure he stayed in power once again. "Duško Marković is the prime minister, but **subjective experience** points to Milo Đukanović."

Conflict between those upholding the system and the "reformists" almost always has an added geopolitical dimension, "because all the problems of the great powers are also our problems, but our problems are ours alone." Lately, Milo has been increasingly critical of the EU, and there are rumours that he is turning towards Russia again. Montenegro recently called for the arrest of Joseph Assad,

a US citizen, whom it accuses of having participated in the alleged coup attempt in 2016. Before we lucked out with NATO membership, the regime in Podgorica claimed that Russian forces had been behind the planning of the coup, which was meant to include liquidating Đukaonović. The trial is still ongoing, and the indictment includes opposition politicians. Nothing has been proven yet.

In Montenegro, a small Adriatic country of only 620 000 inhabitants, the judiciary and state administration are thoroughly riddled with corruption, nepotism, as well as political and economic interests. In such a society, it is the citizens that are always pushed to the side. Not even some of the opposition leaders are spared ill treatment: Nebojša Medojević faces a prison sentence for refusing to disclose the source of information that he presented while a member of parliament, and Milan Knežević has already been convicted for the same reasons. A similar fate also threatens the investigative reporter Jovo Martinović, who has been investigating war crimes, arms smuggling and diamond thefts for years now. Montenegro is a country of all its citizens, free and equal, but **subjective experience** suggests this holds true only if you have a DPS party membership card.

Montenegro is in many respects a leader in the region. Proportional to its population, it is at the top of the list of European countries when it comes to the number of gun deaths, and its citizens are also the most armed and proudly hold the first place on that list as well.

The war between Montenegro's two most powerful criminal clans, the "kavački" and the "škaljarski", has taken 24 lives in the past three years. The police are investigating whether some other liquidations in Montenegro, and in other countries of the region, are also linked to the feud between the two crime groups from Kotor. Apart from in Montenegro, the clans also liquidated rivals in Serbia and Bosnia and Herzegovina. In addition to these two, a number of other clans are mentioned, mostly around Darko Šarić, the Nikšić clan, the Mojkovac clan, i.e. the clan of the pushed-aside prime minister, etc. We are also in a leading position when it comes to the number of clans in proportion to the size of the country's territory, and when it comes to unsolved murders, need I even tell you our ranking? NATO membership makes Montenegro a safe place to live and a secure zone for foreign investments, but **subjective experience** says that we are inching closer and closer to the West, albeit the Hollywood-produced Wild West.

The state of the media in Montenegro indicates that the "country" is among Europe's most dangerous countries for reporters. In the past few years, there were dozens of

attacks against reporters and independent media. The most recent case happened in Podgorica when Olivera Lakić of the independent daily Vijesti was attacked. She was shot in the leg in front of her building. Lakić had been reporting on organised crime in Montenegro and the links between crime groups and the state leadership. This was the third attack against this reporter and many interpret it as her last warning.

Not a single one of the attacks on reporters in Montenegro has been brought to light. The obvious reason for this is lack of political will. Apart from being almost tropical, Montenegro's is also a climate of impunity for organised crime and even murder of reporters (a case from May 2004 when the editor of Dan Duško Jovanović was shot dead in the street. His murder has not been fully solved to this day.)

In Montenegro, the mafia and the state have fused together to such an extent that they have become indistinguishable from each other. And politicians' statements against critical reporters and media, such as Milo's most recent claim that Vijesti are a fascist newspaper, encourage criminals to continue their attacks with impunity. Montenegro is taking strides towards the big family of European democracies, it is at the very threshold of the EU, but **subjective experience** would suggest that we haven't budged from where we were in the 1990s.

Finally, if anything should compel you to visit Podgorica, a bout of temporary insanity, a stopover on the way to the coast along still unfinished highways, a strong desire to spend days on a train ride or an irresistible urge to expose yourself to +45 degrees Centigrade, don't expect to find any of its symbols in place: old hotels, factories, cinemas, parks, bookshops—they are gone. Hotel City has replaced the old Ljubović Hotel, the Hilton proudly stands where Hotel Crna Gora used to be, in place of the factories: Radoje Dakić producing construction machinery and Marko Radović furniture factory, we now have Delta City and City kvart, and a 14-storey monstrosity looms above Hotel Podgorica, marring one of the most beautiful works of architecture in the region. Podgorica is increasingly a CITY, but decreasingly urbane. This is due to the absorption of accumulated dirty capital through unplanned urban development, meaning permanent cementing. Podgorica is a city of green parks, squares and bridges, but **subjective experience** says we are stuck at a shopping centre, sorry, MALL and are having the time of our life!

Raško Radević

Croatia: “Bearers of European Values”

There’s that old story about slowly cooking a frog. If you throw a frog into boiling water, it will jump out. But if you put it into cold water and slowly heat it up, the frog will cook before realising what is going on. I find that image inescapable as the metaphor for our situation. We’re being cooked.

If you write about Croatia from the perspective of Bosnia and Herzegovina, as I am doing on this occasion, the first thing that strikes you is the recent honorary doctorate awarded by the University of Zagreb to Dragan Čović. Čović, who as director of Soko Mostar in 1993 requested a free labour force from the management of the Heliodrom concentration camp in Mostar (controlled by HV and HVO) made up of its prisoners, was recognised by the University of Zagreb, it seems, for directing the numerous Croats emigrating from BiH primarily to Croatia (!). The irony being that this “merit” directly undermines the vital interests of the Croat people in BiH, for whom Čović is allegedly fighting. The report of the university committee also notes that Dragan Čović began his career “in the difficult moments of abolishment of the Croat Republic of Herceg Bosna”. That this entity never received international recognition and that, moreover, it caused irreparable damage to Bosnian and Herzegovinian, and especially Bosnian Croats (and not just them) was pointed out by professor Đurđica Čilić, the only one to directly address the members of the Senate, enumerating a list of reasons why Čović should not be awarded an honorary doctorate. However, much like in many other cases when conscientious citizens and members of the community react, the rulers of Croatia’s Social Reality persist in bypassing the rule of law, moral scruples, along with common sense, rendering the lot meaningless. And all this in order to legalise and politically legitimise criminal policies.

Speaking of BiH, last autumn, a conference cynically titled “Croats in BiH – Bearers of European Values” was spiced up by President Kolinda Grabar-Kitarović with her claim that BiH harbours thousands of radical Islamists and announcement that this would become the focus of her work in the upcoming period. Meanwhile in “European” Kiseljak, Croat and Bosniak children do not go to the same classrooms and in order to prevent any possibility of contact, they go to school at different times. Meanwhile, members of the pro-fascist Autochthonous Croat Party of Rights were setting fire to the offices of the *Novosti* weekly in the middle of Zagreb, accompanying their arson with

threats and calls for violence. This, of course, elicited no reaction from the President. And that, in a nutshell, is the calamity that is Croatian politics, which, ever eager to find external enemies, forgets to look in the mirror. Staring back at it from behind the mirror, it would see the wicked witch. These are her children:

The first arrests in the Agrokor case coincided with the retrial of Branimir Glavaš for war crimes against Serb civilians in 1991 and 1992. In June 2018, the judges at the County Court in Zagreb went against the decision of the Supreme court when they ruled to exclude key witness testimony from Krunoslav Fehir as inadmissible. This eliminated incriminating testimony in the Garaža case. An earlier decision of the County Court in Zagreb about separate trials eliminated the testimony of the co-defendants that had incriminated Glavaš for crimes against civilians in the Selotejp case. Judging by these developments in the retrial, it would seem that the ultimate aim is acquittal.

After those opposed to the ratification of the Istanbul Convention spent days that turned into months of inundating public space with disinformation and lies, after organising prayer sessions in front of hospitals to dissuade women from having abortions, they launched an initiative titled “Prayers of the Holy Rosary at Croatian Border Crossing Points” with the aim of protecting the homeland and the Croatian people. From whom? Branka Ljubić from the initiative responds, “Refugees? More or less. The question is whether all those who want to come to Croatia are truly refugees. You know, there are plans to wipe out Christianity!... It’s not that we want to threaten or push in front of everyone else, but you can see for yourselves that wherever they come, they build mosques, and our people have to bloody their knees to get any kind of rights in their own homeland.”

We don’t have such scruples when it comes to claims to territory in the neighbouring country: On 9 November 2017, the Croatian State Archives hosted the promotion of Jadranko Prlić’s book *Contributions for the History of the Croat Republic of Herceg-Bosna*, in three volumes. In the presence of the minister for culture Nina Obuljen Koržinek, the book was presented on the anniversary of the destruction of the Old Bridge in Mostar.

Only twenty days later, on 29 November, the same Prlić et al. were scheduled to hear the second-instance judgement in the case against them at the Hague Tribunal. At the celebration of the anniversary of the so-called Croat

Community of Herceg-Bosna in Mostar, Dragan Čović stated that these were honourable men whose actions actually contributed to the survival of BiH.

The ICTY Appeals Chamber did not share this opinion when in its final judgement it convicted of war crimes the six former officials of so-called Herceg-Bosna: Jadranko Prlić, Bruno Stojić, Slobodan Praljak, Milivoje Petković, Valentin Ćorić and Berislav Pušić, sentencing them to a total of 111 years in prison. The judgement confirmed that the joint criminal enterprise included the participation of the political and military leadership of the Republic of Croatia under Franjo Tuđman.

In the courtroom, Slobodan Praljak made a performance and drank poison, which then spilled over into the Croatian political leadership. While completely ignoring the victims of this criminal entity and the Croatian war policy of aggression in BiH, the Prime Minister and the President bent over backwards to prove how this was not a judgement against Croatia or Croats in BiH, and how despite the evidence and the judgement, Croatia was not an aggressor in BiH, but, on the contrary, a liberator. Therefore, those who survived the Croat concentration camps in the territory of BiH had no grounds to file charges against Croatia, explained the Prime Minister. He came to Mostar to honour a convicted war criminal who had ethnically cleansed Stolac, kept Mostar under siege and destroyed the Old Bridge. Not his victims.

With the expected highest budget allocations going

to defence in 2018, the Ministry of Croatian Veterans has a special budget line allocating 50 000 hrk to the Society for Research of the Threefold Jasenovac Camp (from WW2), an obscure association of revisionist historians, for “further research” to show how Jasenovac was a labour camp where prisoners were afforded healthcare and were let go after “serving their sentences”. The hypothesis of Jasenovac as a “labour camp” has become so mainstream that Milan Ivkošić, a Večernji list columnist writes “with admiration and seemingly without shame” in a review of The Jasenovac Labour Camp that “the camp even had entertainment. There were sports matches, especially football, concerts, theatre performances, including plays written by the prisoners themselves.” It would seem to follow from all this that it is a mystery whose bones lay buried in the fields of Jasenovac and along the banks of the Sava. Is it, though? That any attempt at negating, trivialising or minimising the enormity of this genocide is morally reprehensible is something Ivkošić had to be reminded of by Menachem Rosensaft, the general counsel of the World Jewish Congress, whose article, published on the regional portal BalkanInsight, reiterates the fact that during the Ustasha regime, Croatian authorities killed between 320 000 and 340 000 Serbs from Croatia and BiH. The Jasenovac memorial complex has identified 83 145 Serbs, Jews, Roma and antifascists by name among those who perished in the camps of the complex.

In order to overpower a society, you must first rein



in its culture. The best way to do this was discovered by one Zlatko Hasanbegović who, in his previous mandate as minister, cut funding for independent media, dismantled the Croatian Audio-Visual Centre, used political trade-offs to obliterate Marshall Tito Square, and then came to sit on the board of the Croatian National Theatre (HNK). He installed the former intendant of HNK, and his close friend, Ana Lederer, who also used to be his assistant at the Ministry of Culture, at the head of the Office for Culture of the City of Zagreb. Immediately upon her appointment, she decided that city funds could no longer be used to finance the “political activism” of Oliver Frlić. City funds will not be withdrawn, however, from Robert Kurbaša or Jakov Sedlar to whose political activism, as opposed to Frlić’s, the new head of the Culture Office is more attuned.

That the circus had gone haywire was best demonstrated – where else – during the carnival. Namely, the Children’s Carnival in Kašteli featured the burning of the picture book “My Rainbow Family” as the main culprit for everything bad that happened to us in 2017. When asked why they were burning a picture book about a same sex couple’s family, the association that organised the carnival responded with “It wasn’t us who started it”. True enough, the orchestrated clerofascist campaign has been going in in Croatia for years. And as usual, when Croatia sneezes, Herzegovina gets a fever, so that at the carnival in Čapljina, they buried the living Komšić and celebrated the late Praljak, and at the carnival in Livno, they burned an effigy of ICTY judge Carmel Agius who had read the final judgement in the case of the Herzegovina six. “The parents, teachers and children greeted the burning of the effigy with deafening applause.”

The Council for Dealing with the Consequences of the Rule of Non-democratic Regimes, which is completely misunderstood in Croatia as a council for dealing with the past, spent a year in deliberation to conclude that the Ustasha salute of *Za dom spremni* is essentially unacceptable, with one exception: when used in situations related to the Homeland War. In translation, this means that the plaque installed in Jasenovac by HOS¹ veterans, and which was subsequently moved to Novska after a public outcry, can legitimately feature the salute. How creative and broad the use of this “officially tolerated unconstitutional practice” can be was shown at the “celebration” of the anniversary of Operation Storm in Glina, which was kicked off by Marko Perković Thompson

with none other than the “*Za dom spremni*” salute. The police filed no offence report, nor will they. Besides, he has already been acquitted of doing the exact same thing last year in Slunj. Even more desecrating than Thomson himself is the fact that the event was organised in Glina, a place where in 1941, the Ustasha massacred the local Serb population at the Church of the Blessed Virgin, which was subsequently razed to the ground. In 1951, a mausoleum memorial was constructed at the site of the church for all victims. Following Operation Storm in 1995, this memorial to victims of fascism was renamed the Croatian Memorial.

It should also be noted that the mayor of Zagreb plans to build a monument commemorating the holocaust in Zagreb, even though the central European memorial was built in 2005 in Berlin, while a monument commemorating victims of the NDH Ustasha regime which killed 80% of the Jewish national minority in Zagreb is conveniently bypassed. It does not bother Bandić in the least that “Crna Katica”, the locomotive of the train that took NDH prisoners to the Danica and Jadovno concentration camps, still sits at Zagreb’s main train station as a “tourist attraction”, after it was installed there in 1992. Additionally, the Danica Memorial Site is located in Koprivnica, another stop on Thompson’s tour this summer.

These are just some bits and pieces that could have been overlooked next to the “main events”, such as the offensive of the clerical right against the Istanbul Convention and the football championship that ended with a protracted delirium of red and white squares in the streets of Zagreb, with Thompson (again) on the bus with the team and the spontaneous revelries of the masses that found no other way to express themselves than by screaming and shouting for hours on end, “to battle, to battle” and “my blood for Croatia”, as if we were heading off into war, not a celebration, while the defeat of the team in the finals was uplifted with suspicious epithets such as “Croatia’s greatest victory since Operation Storm”.

A people enamoured of the military, a president enamoured of her tailored fatigues, and Thompson singing while trampling the bones of victims of the Ustasha regime... Croatia truly is difficult to love, for that love is painful and disappointing.

This summer, the veterans turned censors decided that Bajaga should be banned from performing at the Karlovačko Beer Fest because, and let’s not lie to ourselves as they lie to us, simply because he is a Serb. I seem to have missed the point when we decided the Beer Fest was a patriotic event, because it was patriotism, after all, that inspired them to make sure that the Ojkače Festival of UNESCO-recognised heritage would be banned because it was scheduled for

1 HOS – Croatian Defence Forces – paramilitary organisation later integrated into the Croatian Army. HOS was established and ideologically modelled after the Croatian Armed Forces, the army of the Independent State of Croatia during WW2.

the same day as the inauguration of the monument “to mark the occasion when Franjo Tuđman visited Petrinja on 25 August 1991”. They said that *ojkanje* on that day would be a Serb provocation. Under public pressure, the ban was converted to postponing the Festival for a few months, but the hatred and intolerance are seeping into the pores of Croatian society without delay, and fear has become the dominant marker of behaviour. How else can we explain that after all the arrangements were made for the *War of Memories* exhibition of the Centre for Nonviolent Action to be displayed in Sisak in November 2018, we just received an e-mail informing us that it is “not the right time” for

the exhibition, after all, which is why they have decided to withdraw their hospitality. The *War of Memories* exhibition is part of the project “War Monuments in Bosnia and Herzegovina (since 1991)” whose aim was to research, document and analyse the memorialisation policy and culture of memory in Bosnia and Herzegovina on all three sides, viewing it primarily from the perspective of building lasting peace and trust. It would seem that this precisely was the problem.

Davorka Turk

Kosovo: What have(n't) we learned from our neighbours

Our geographic region of the Balkans is not a particularly large territory, but it has pronounced demographic, linguistic and ethnic characteristics that perhaps make this part of Europe quite interesting. And perhaps also, unfortunately, quite exotic.

In that Balkan hotchpotch (melting pot?!), each ethnic group does its utmost to distinguish itself from the others, to foreground the specificities that make it better, nobler, older, with more historical – and therefore political – rights, although that argument is in itself rotten.

Wars have been fought over such great differences, both in the literal sense and on the scientific, intellectual and political scene, with a single aim – to make those great differences even greater differences. And even when one of the ethnic groups won a victory on the battlefield of inventing differences, another would be quick to play copycat and become even better at emphasising its own differences.

At this point, we should definitely provide some examples, so that all this doesn't end up sounding too academic.

If in Albanian we put a question mark at the end of the sentence What have we learned from our neighbours, it will become a rhetorical question of What haven't we learned from our neighbours, or, to put it more colloquially, the things I've heard. See how miraculous Albanian is? The language, not the bird.¹

What have(n't) we learned from our neighbours?!

We have learned how to celebrate defeats.

The Serbs (and here I mean the official or political

narrative, not the whole people) have been imagining the Battle of Kosovo to the point of mythomania. They tell us about some Miloš Obilić (or Miloš Kopilić, why not?!), who sneaks by the numerous guards of the conquering sultan, enters his tent and kills him. I think we're all familiar with the story. The Balkan peoples, under the banner of a Balkan king, lose the battle, the war and everything else, and yet this is one of the most glorious victories of the Serb people. The story is repeated throughout history, though the myths get progressively toned down as we approach modern times, which is understandable after all.

Instead of thinking about how defeat is not something welcome, not something to be celebrated, the truth is better even if does not show us in the best light, we have been learning from our neighbours and doing the same thing. We start from the fact that Miloš Kopilić was an Albanian and continue through the whole of history (with some 400 years of darkness without information during the Ottoman Empire) and arrive to the most recent battles in Kosovo. To the epics.

And because I am a language lover, I like browsing the dictionary the way children browse picture books.

Albanian dictionary:

EPIC f.

1. literary Type of epic literature, a long epic poem or narrative work describing historical events and legendary deeds related to the life of a people or nation. Homeric epics. To write an epic.
2.fig. A heroic event or group of events of historic importance in the life of a people. A glorious epic. The epic of the people's liberation struggle. The Epic of Krujë.

We have so many epics from this last war that we could proudly say that no one in the region will be able to

1. Alb. *shqipja* is a homonym for 1. 'Albanian language' and 2. 'eagle'. (translator's note)

surpass us in a hundred years. To our dismay, these epics are accompanied by horrific massacres of civilians that in a heroic face-to-face battle would never be considered something to be proud of. Although I don't have a lot of information about epics in Bosnia, I do know of a fictitious number that gets thrown about in Kosovo of 20,000 rapes during the war. The number has never been supported by any empirical data. Perhaps we took it from Bosnia, where monstrous systematic rapes were committed. We have the advantage there.

Kosovo: Region 1 – 0

A difficult topic. Let's move on to the entertainment section of the programme.

Every sport, even artistic activities, have to be imbued with national pride, have to be accompanied by an outpouring of superiority over others. A football match in the world cup between Serbia and Switzerland (let me repeat: between Serbia and Switzerland) would not have the same lure if Xhaka and Shaqiri had not made the eagle sign after scoring their goals. Victory is not victory if it does not come with national hatred. As events before and after the match clearly demonstrate.

The football match between Albania and Serbia in Belgrade was interrupted after a drone with a Ballist (an interesting name with the -ist suffix) and a curious card flew across the stadium. And the match was suspended. Who won?

Kosovo – Region 0 – 0

We're back to difficult topics. Albanians are descended from Pelasgians, Illyrians. The Bosniaks are descended from Illyrians. The Croats are descended from Illyrians. The Serbs are a heavenly people.

If the Serb quasi-scientific machinery had done everything in its power to foreground the origin of its people with unprecedented myth(oman)ic fervour, and if we were until quite recently unable to respond in kind, we are now slowly catching up and gaining ground. I like the hypotheses that logically connect the Pelasgians-Illyrians and Albanians based on linguistic arguments, but the problem is that there are very few tangible facts to support any empirical conclusions. And I am not among those who believe a blow should be met by hitting further below the belt.

We should not leave out Macedonia, to be sure, with Alexander the Great at its helm and the Skopje 2014 project (and he was actually Albanian? Greek? Ancient Greek?).

The result would have to be tied again.

Kosovo – Region 0 – 0

Although antifascism is a universal human value, nations in the region are gradually rehabilitating their hardened war criminals. We have witnessed the rehabilitation of the Ustashas in Croatia, the Chetniks in Serbia, and we are slowly learning from our neighbours how to do the same. But we lack courage. We lack the courage to say that fascism did good by us, and that the partisans persecuted us. We lack it at the official level, not behind closed doors.

Still, the developed machinery and logistics in this area put the region in the lead. Therefore:

Kosovo – Region 0 – 1

We Albanians are known for our hospitality, kindness, blood feuds and forgiveness, etc. What is more, we have codified them in the famous Kanun of Lekë Dukagjini. But, to our dismay, the other peoples of the region pride themselves for having the self-same distinguishing features. Apart from blood feuds, these are universally human and should perhaps be claimed by all reasonable people. But we codified them. So, we win, hands down:

Kosovo – Region – 1 – 0

There are so many social aspects and levels that speak to our (incontestable) similarity. Take a Croat, a Serb, a Bosniak, a Macedonian, an Albanian and a Montenegrin (and to make it more interesting, take a Bulgarian and a Turk, too) of similar age and social and economic status, and see whether you'll be able to pick out the Macedonian, for instance. If you can't, then there's something wrong with you. Or with them.

If we had taken on good characteristics from each other, if we had fought against faults (above all) our own, and then those of others, if we had emphasised and appreciated the virtues of others and worked to improve our own failings, things could have turned out better and we wouldn't be so exotic. I don't know if that would have an effect on tourism, though.

Final result:

Kosovo – Region 1 – 0

At the end, I recommend you watch a documentary that I believe fits in with everything I said here. The film is very cheery and is called Whose is this song? ²

Pleasant watching!

Qerim Ondozi

² https://www.imdb.com/title/tt0387926/?ref_=nv_sr_1.



Kosovo: There is Tension (Again)

This past year was quite turbulent, and Kosovo has been the focus of attention, both for the region and the international community. I would say it is so stressful, tense and taut that even remembering it for the purpose of writing this text causes me distress, given all the things I will have to remember. You try to find something positive, something bright, a glimmer of hope, a way out, something you can smile about with anticipation, but unfortunately, I don't see it, it's not there. Apart from fewer and fewer dear friends and acquaintances, because people are increasingly leaving any way they can, looking back paints quite a dull and bleak picture. Still... let's give it a go...

After the Kosovo Government was constituted in September 2017, with support from representatives of the Serb List, local elections were held in October, so we also had local governments set up. In the case of the ten municipalities with a Serb majority population, this meant the victory of the Serb List supported by official Belgrade, i.e. the Serbian Progressive Party of the current President of Serbia Aleksandar Vučić.

The final report of the European Union Election

Observation Mission found that during the campaign for the early parliamentary elections, held four months before the local elections, within the Kosovo Serb community, "the campaign environment was marred by a deep pattern of intimidation and instances of violence from within the Kosovo Serb community against candidates and voters, as well as insufficient response from law enforcement agencies." They also cited pressure on individual candidates to withdraw, violent incidents in Leposavić/Leposaviq, as well as pressure on political parties and candidates challenging the dominance of the Serb List.

During the campaign, four candidates withdrew from the list for councillors from among the SDP Civic Initiative of **Oliver Ivanović**, who was later killed. One of them even issued a statement calling on citizens to vote for the Serb List.

"These are not elections, this is not democracy, this is violence against democracy. This situation can escalate, it can get worse, but it's already bad enough

that we will need time to remedy the consequences of such irresponsible behaviour,” Ivanović said in an interview for Radio Free Europe, adding that he did not feel threatened himself, but that the citizens standing by him do feel in danger and that they will be thinking about whether to stay or leave Kosovo.

“If someone in power is shaking the foundations of what is needed to stay here, then I have nothing more to say,” said Oliver Ivanović.

After the elections, the Serb List won in all the municipalities with a Serb majority in Kosovo, including the posts of all ten mayors.

Oliver Ivanović was killed early this year in front of his office, with six shots to the chest. Ivanović was the leader of the Civic Initiative “Serbia, Democracy, Justice” and a member of the local parliament of Severna Mitrovica. He was admitted to the Mitrovica hospital without vital signs and could not be revived.

A vigil by the citizens of Severna Mitrovica was held that night at the party office where Oliver Ivanović was killed. By a decision of the Serbian Government, he was buried alongside other notable citizens in the New Cemetery in Belgrade, and as his hearse was leaving the day after the murder, thousands of people came to pay their respects and express their gratitude for everything he had done for the city in the years following the war.

Both Pristina and Belgrade opened investigations. In Kosovo, the investigation is officially in the hands of the Kosovo Special Prosecutor’s Office, but not much has been done.

A serious deterioration of already taut relations between Belgrade and Pristina, that also led to the Serb List leaving the Kosovo Government (only formally, as it will turn out), was caused by the arrest in Severna Mitrovica of the director of the Office for Kosovo of the Serbian Government, Marko Đurić, by a special unit of the Kosovo Police ROSU. Namely, the Pristina authorities had not approved his stay for the day he had requested, while Đurić disregarded this and showed up for the round table organised as part of Serbia’s Internal Dialogue about Kosovo.

Sirens, stun grenades, the brutality of the special police towards the crowd, including reporters, accompanied Đurić’s arrest and transport to Pristina, from where he was soon released from custody and taken to the border or administrative crossing point with Serbia. (You may call this crossing point whatever you please, but to enter, you will need all the documents required at any other border

crossing point, goods are subject to customs, and if you are from Bosnia and Herzegovina, you will also need a visa, which you can have issued, if you’re lucky, in Zagreb. Or Tirana, Skopje or Istanbul.)

In the police intervention, 32 people were injured, five of them seriously, according to a statement by the director of the Clinical Hospital Centre in Severna Mitrovica, Milan Ivanović. Among them was the Minister for Agriculture in the Kosovo Government, Nenad Rikalo, and the Mayor of Leposavić, Zoran Todić. Injuries were inflicted with gunstocks, barrels, and heavy-duty footwear.

The President of Kosovo Hashim Thaçi called for peace. He said the Kosovo police had acted lawfully and in line with its authorisations during the arrest of Marko Đurić who had entered Kosovo illegally. Thaçi added that following regular prosecutorial and court procedure, Đurić was escorted to the border crossing point between Kosovo and Serbia.

The President of the Serb List Goran Rakić issued a statement that the party leadership had held an emergency meeting where it was decided they would leave the Kosovo Government, saying that dialogue did not make sense under the circumstances. A joint session of the ten municipal assemblies in Kosovo with a Serb majority was soon convened and it unanimously supported the conclusion that, unless “official Pristina is prepared to start forming the Community of Serb Municipalities (ZSO) within the next three weeks, the Serb municipalities and institutions” would start the formation of the community themselves, but they later gave up on this.

Avni Arifi, chief of staff to the prime minister of Kosovo and chief negotiator in the technical dialogue with Serbia, stated that “there is only one way to form the Community of Municipalities with a Serb majority, and that is through internal dialogue with the Kosovo authorities.” The Serbs are demanding that the ZSO be given executive authority, and the Kosovo side is opposed.

At this point, it is clear that the ZSO is not yet feasible, even five and a half years after the signing of the Brussels Agreement. The Serbs in Kosovo are distressed, lost, almost desperate. Year by year, more and more of them are leaving, and it seems that everyone else is just waiting for their chance. Most see no future in Kosovo. Secondary school graduates, despite having a University in Kosovska Mitrovica, opt for studying in other cities in Serbia. Instead of stabilising, the situation is constantly on the verge of escalating. Simply put, people are tired. They still face empty shelves in pharmacies, problems with personal ID documents, limited freedom of movement.

In June, the President of Kosovo Hashim Thaçi announced that the dialogue was entering its final phase and that Kosovo would ultimately become a member of the United Nations with reciprocal recognition between Kosovo and Serbia. "I am convinced that the time has come, after negotiations that have lasted these past 20 years, to sign a historical agreement between Kosovo and Serbia, ending a tragic epoch that lasted for over a century," Thaçi said.

The agreement, he said, would be followed by constitutional changes in both Kosovo and Serbia; in Serbia because of the preamble, and in Kosovo because of the reciprocal recognition of Serbia. He said the border issue would also be discussed.

"A division of Kosovo's territory, an exchange of territories or any option that would alter the borders is not an option for the Government of Kosovo," said the chief of staff to the prime minister and chief negotiator in the technical dialogue between Belgrade and Pristina, Avni Arifi.

The population in the north of Kosovo was unsettled and frightened again in early August when Serbian media used scandalous headlines and reports to practically announce a cataclysm, a new war, that is, the takeover by Pristina of the Gazivode¹ hydro system, which is currently controlled by the Serb side in the Zubin Potok municipality, and everyone feared another, and probably the final exodus of Serbs from Kosovo.

"No one can usurp the Gazivode hydro system, it belongs to Kosovo and any attempt to usurp it constitutes aggression against Kosovo," said Kosovo's government officials, while officials from Belgrade contended that Serbia would protect both Gazivode and Trepča and the Valač transformer station in the north. All of the above are of high strategic importance for Serbs in the north, and the officials came to such verbal spats over it in the previous days that KFOR troops were sent in to guard the facilities under the guise of performing a "regular drill", contrary to what the situation in the field clearly indicated. During

1 The Gazivode reservoir is for the most part located in the north of Kosovo, in the Zubin Potok municipality with a majority Serb population, and a smaller part belongs to the Tutin municipality in Serbia. It supplies drinking water to the north of Kosovo, as well as to Pristina and its suburbs.

The hydro system also delivers water to the thermal power plants in Obilić, which is used to cool the power plants Kosovo A and Kosovo B, and additionally, the water from the Gazivode reservoir is also used to irrigate agricultural land.

those days, the media launched an unbearable campaign and spread unrest and fear among the population of Serb municipalities in Kosovo.

The situation in Kosovo is once again unstable, because there is increasingly talk of dividing Kosovo, drawing a demarcation line, resolving the centuries-old conflict, etc. This has led to new divisions among Serbs, but also Albanians. It has led to drastically divergent positions of the Serb List and the Serbian Government Office for Kosovo, on the one side, and the Serbian Orthodox Church in Kosovo and Metohija, i.e. the Eparchy of Raška-Prizren, on the other, which in turn led to numerous statements and attacks on Sava Janjić, the hegumen of the Visoki Dečani monestary, who was accused of spreading panic among the population in the north of Kosovo and Metohija, but also of supporting Albanian interests. Janjić is against any kind of division or demarcation lines in Kosovo.

His position against any option that would include a division gained the support of the entire Eparchy, with all the monks, nuns and clergy signing an Appeal that they addressed to the Serbian authorities.

The presidents of Serbia and Kosovo met in Vienna on 24 August but informed the public of their meeting only on 26 August. They say they are determined to resolve the centuries-old problem and will not give up, though certain countries oppose "changing borders", while Thaçi says a "correction" will be made.

We must live together, we are the two most numerous peoples in the Balkans. If we cannot solve this, who can," Aleksandar Vučić was "conciliatory". "Now is the time for a binding legal agreement between Kosovo and Serbia, we have cracked open a window and should use it," said the President of Kosovo Hashim Thaçi.

They seem so determined that they "won't be stopped" by either Britain or Germany, who are against changing the borders. However, the key issue is what do the people of Kosovo and Serbia have to say?! It is increasingly likely that there will be a referendum.

Thaçi and Vučić are to meet again on 7 September in Brussels with Federica Mogherini. The next day, Vučić plans a two-day visit to the north of Kosovo. The deadline for handing in this text, I'm happy to say, is 3 September.

Maja Fićović

Macedonia: At a Crossroad Again

It has been a very eventful year for Macedonia, with little tangible results and a growing dissatisfaction with the changes that followed and the ones that were expected but didn't happen, after the VMRO-DPMNE – DUI regime fell, and we ended up with the government coalition SDSM – DUI. And after all the political turmoil until the new government was established, the challenges on how to deal with the aftermath of all that was done immediately appeared.

Soon after the new government coalition between the social democrats of SDSM, the “social democrats” of the Democratic Union for Integration (DUI) and the Albanian nationalists of the Alliance for Albanians was established, the local elections had to be held. This felt as it was to bring about the next step towards the overcoming of ethnic lines in terms of voting and of pre-election coalitions, but that didn't happen.

“Getting back in line”

SDSM and DUI didn't form a pre-election coalition, and the Alliance for Albanians even left the government coalition at some point. SDSM and DUI stayed as national government partners, but for the local elections they

decided to not go together. However, in a hidden - in a quite dishonest way - coordinated their campaigns to support one another. This was a hard blow to the thousands of Albanian voters and members of SDSM which voted for them for the parliamentary elections and were willing to vote for the local ones and eager to run campaigns to win them. Many voters, members and sympathizers which were seriously disappointed in DUI felt that they were being betrayed by SDSM who were making serious compromises for DUI. This turned out to be a huge step back in terms of the voting beyond ethnic lines.

The feeling of betrayal, a few months after the local elections, was also shared by the Roma who had been fighting against the regime, including the Roma partners in it, only to have that Roma party join the government coalition of SDSM and DUI.

For DUI the local elections were the golden opportunity to retrieve the political capital lost during the parliamentary elections, and they took it. They did lose a few municipalities by the other Albanian parties, and they lost to SDSM at a municipality that suffered a lot during 2001 and is perceived as being a very Albanian nationalist place. But in any case, DUI came out of the local elections



with consolidated power and a role in the government greater than it had during their partnership with VMRO-DPMNE.

The local elections resulted with VMRO-DPMNE being crushed by SDSM, who won 56 municipalities plus the city of Skopje. VMRO-DPMNE won only 5 municipalities, none of which are considered big municipalities in terms of number of voters. DUI won 10 municipalities, the Alliance for the Albanians got 3, BESA and the Democratic Party of the Albanians both won 1 municipality each, and so did the Democratic Party of the Turks. Also, three municipalities were won by independent candidates.

New times for the same mistakes

As one of my friends says every time we discuss about daily politics in Macedonia, “we have a classical bad government”. There is a clear difference between the current government and the VMRO-DPMNE-led regime, but in many aspects, there are similarities that, as time is passing, are becoming more visible and more serious.

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 and adjustment of practices to be fully legal yet problematic in different aspects.

Party employment is also closely hidden behind positive discrimination or equal representation, most often shifting the blame from party discrimination to ethnic discrimination, although the parties previously agreed on how many people from the “open” call get to be from which parties. So often, Macedonians whom have been rejected for jobs see the blame on the Albanian side, instead of seeing the real source of identity discrimination – party affiliation. The same goes for the Albanians. And of course, the smaller ethnicities get the “crumbs” and continue to be discriminated, especially the Roma.

Even with the new couple thousand Albanian members of SDSM, party employments continue to be ethnically “pure”, meaning SDSM don’t seem to do much to employ their Albanian members, as Albanian spots are reserved for DUI members.

Doing a disservice to justice

With the fall of the regime, there was serious hope for serious changes in the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the security forces, in the Public Persecutor’s Office, and the judiciary, having in mind the complete domination of VMRO in all these government bodies and institutions until the fall of the regime. VMRO had a list of judges that

they considered “theirs” and set up cases for them to judge on in their favor. They also kept ordering the public persecutor to act or not to act on many cases. And the police were so misused and abused for political purposes, that they used to take violent policemen to different parts of Macedonia during election campaigns to beat up SDSM members promoting SDSM. Just a few examples.

In the past year, the police had changes in positions of power, but most people that served the regime continue to be there although many have been serving the VMRO and have even participated in the storming of the Parliament on the 27th of April when VMRO supporters beat up the members of parliament that formed the new government. New facts reveal they had serious intentions and plans to assassinate Ziadin Sela, the head of the Alliance for the Albanians and Zoran Zaev, the current Prime Ministers and head of SDSM.

The Public Persecution did, however, go after the people involved in the violence during the storming of the Parliament building, with 28 people charged with Terrorism and 2 for Helping in the committing of a crime.

In May of this year, the charge of bribery that the Prime Minister Zaev was facing was dropped, more precisely, the court’s verdict was that he was innocent. Zaev insisted that the whole charge was a political case designed to stop him from publishing the wiretapped recordings.

Speaking of high government officials and their criminal charges – the ex-Prime Minister Nikola Gruevski was sentenced to 6.5 years in prison for the illegal purchase of a 600.000 euro Mercedes and is currently in the Appeal court trying to change the verdict. He is being charged by the Special Public Persecution for other crimes too.

The Special Public Persecution is continuing with its work, having multiple active criminal charges for government officials from the regime.

Focusing on the outside

It seems that the biggest priority of the new government is to pave the way for Macedonia to find a solution for the name, join NATO and start the negotiations for entry into the EU. And to make that possible, the Prime Minister seems to be focused most of the time on our relations with the neighbors and with other countries. This is leaving people frustrated because of the expectations to have solutions to everyday problems that are of domestic concern, solutions which seem to be ignored. In addition, it seems that the new public officials with their arrogance and greediness are making things worse, and for many, the only person brave, honest and good enough in government

is Zaev, so he should focus on the domestic issues more and fix this. This feeling goes in line with the idea that Macedonia needs and deserves one leader who can fix anything and everything, - something that has previously created Gruevski as the type of a cultish authoritarian leader that he was.

Macedonia has made progress in terms of improving the relations with the neighboring countries though, in particular Bulgaria and Greece. In January, the Parliament of Macedonia ratified an Agreement for good neighbors, friendship and cooperation with Bulgaria. Obviously, this resulted with nationalist opposition to it, with rhetoric typical of any sensitive national issue – full of insults and name calling against the Macedonians of SDSM, and Bulgarians, and of course, Albanians.

To be or not to be North Macedonia

After a period of great pressure and support from the international community, and a lot of nationalist outbursts, the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of both Greece and Macedonia signed the agreement for the name dispute, accompanied by the Prime Ministers of both countries, the UN Special Representative Mathew Nimetz, Federica Mogherini etc.

As it has been put, the solution for the name dispute is the new name to be Republic of North Macedonia, and to be used *erga omnes* – towards all. The official language is to be Macedonian, and the nationality is to be Macedonian/ Citizens of Macedonia.

On the day of the signing of the agreement, VMRO – DPMNE held a protest in Bitola and in Skopje, there were riots by the Macedonian nationalists, in a way connected to VMRO – DPMNE. The police had to use force to deal with the rioters, and the opposition immediately brought up the protests against the VMRO government, stating that the force used on the protesters of the agreement has been much greater. When it comes to riot and protests against VMRO regime, it is funny how the Macedonian police for the Macedonian nationalists are like Schrodinger's police – at the same time for them they are “Macedonian Sons” and “Shiptar (Albanian) Police”.

In any case, for the agreement to be finalized, there has to be a referendum for it. It was VMRO – DPMNE that first began insisting that a name change would happen only after the people would confirm it in a referendum. Now that VMRO – DPMNE are in opposition though, they are against the agreement, although Wikileaks recently published documents that show that they, with Gruevski in charge, have in 2008 accepted the name to change to North Macedonia but Greece at the time had refused it.

There is a boycott campaign which is quite ridiculous and disgustingly nationalist. Won't go into too much details, but basically, it is a combination of hardcore Macedonian nationalists, Macedonian “liberal” intellectuals, the party Macedonian Unity that bragged about having had its members trained by Russian officials to take over the government, and the leftist party The Left.

The government decided that the referendum is going to be consultative, not obligatory. Leaving space for political maneuvers if it is to fail. One serious option if it fails is to make a deal with VMRO for amnesty, pass the agreement in the parliament with support from quite a few VMRO MP's and have new parliamentary elections. All Albanian parties and SDSM along with its Macedonian partners fully support the referendum and the only challenge to whether the referendum is successful is if enough people go out to vote. The majority of the votes being yes is pretty much a sure thing.

There were quite a few issues related to the referendum, starting from the fact that all ministries that can be funding the campaign, especially the Ministry of Defense funding it for NATO. Another issue is the way the question is framed. The question is: Are you for membership in NATO and EU with the accepting of the agreement between the Republic of Macedonia and the Republic of Greece?

The question is a bit misleading, although anyone that is to vote will know beforehand what the referendum is about. But it also limits people that are against NATO, forcing such people to vote yes to a question they perhaps agree with only in part.

In any case, the referendum is going to be held on the 30th of September. And whatever the result is going to be, there will be a serious division in our society, with one side feeling betrayed by the other and with a feeling that they have lost something important. The way we address this is going to be very challenging. Especially having in mind that while the ethnic Macedonian community is divided on the issue, the other ethnic communities seem to be in great numbers for the referendum to pass.

Emrah Rexhepi

Serbia: As the old saying goes, “The higher they climb the harder they fall”

Few things stand out in daily life in Serbia this year that could be interpreted as indicators of any change or at least its beginnings when compared to a few years ago. The political climate fits in with the picture spreading around the world unabated, created by lesser or greater conservative political rulers. Russia, the US, Brexit leaders, Hungary, Turkey, Montenegro, North Korea... they all have their “saviour” who will sacrifice himself for the good of the state/nation, for which everyone owes him a debt of gratitude. Looking back, it is possible to recognise in Serbia, already since 2012, the beginnings of a similar pattern for coming to office and usurping power, establishing an extra-institutional (intra-party) network of decision making, intimidation, a state of constant election campaigning and early elections, etc. conducted by a structure that has become embodied in the figure of the already at that time ubiquitous First Deputy Prime Minister (does anyone even know who holds that office today?) and leader of the Serbian Progressive Party (SNS) Aleksandar Vučić. Shortly thereafter, he became the prime minister, and he is currently the president, but his omnipresence and need to be the first to have his say about every subject, big and small, has remained constant and unwavering, regardless of which political office he happens to be holding at the time. Who will be prime minister, and who a minister, who will be mayor of Belgrade, who will manage the Niš airport and who will control the volume in the RTS studio—all these are issues that the President insists he must weigh in on first. In strengthening SNS rule, all those who dare to criticise anything the government does (or, for instance, fail to support the same football team as the president) are labelled (political) enemies and (almost) everything directed against them is deemed legitimate and permissible. When they are “crucified” in public space, no attention is spared for the time, place or manner, they are called idiots, murderers, criminals, traitors, rabble-rousers, etc. Nobody is spared, nobody is “given any slack”. It is as if the government’s adherents and “defenders” have started a game to outdo each other and are using these attacks to show the immensity of their loyalty/obedience to the powers that be. The worst thing that could happen to them as a result of launching these attacks is that the President might say that someone went a little bit overboard and shouldn’t have, that he wouldn’t have gone

that far, but... to preserve his role as a “moderate” and a factor of stability. The front pages of quasi-newspapers, web portals, social media, TV stations, etc., but also the parliament’s podium, factory openings and inaugurations for kilometres of motorway, the laying down of various “cornerstones”—all are becoming places the average citizen of Serbia shuns, and, seeing who the targets are, lives in fear that his/her name might get mentioned at one of these publicity occasions. Ultimately, all s/he can do is “reconcile” him/herself to the fact that things are actually a lot better than s/he thinks, because we keep being told that progress in economic development is of historic and unprecedented proportions, new factories are opening every day with thousands of new jobs, kilometres of motorway are being built, big projects are being started, and equally big ones will soon be completed, salaries and pensions are going to be increased any day now... and all the other unfulfilled promises. And everything that stands in the way of such “progress” must somehow be “overcome” or discredited. Whether it comes in the form of citizens taking to the streets to protest the Niš airport being taken away from the city and handed over for management by the central Serbian government, or in the form of legal procedures, competences and institutions. Some call this state of affairs “stabilitocracy”, but many in the EU bureaucratic apparatus are not averse to it either. On the contrary.

There will be a referendum.

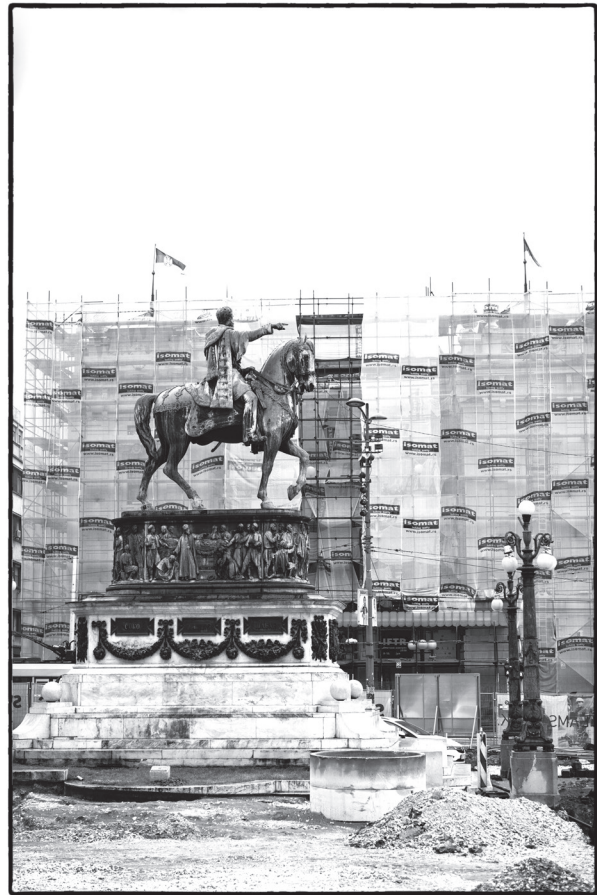
Kosovo as a topic, a stumbling block, part of the Preamble to the Constitution, a ballast from the past... or in a (most frequently used) word, a “problem”. Any survey would show that it gets by far the most mentions in Serbia’s public space. Not counting the President’s name, of course. It was in this context that a young woman¹ who lives in Belgrade, with a BA in political science and an MA in diplomacy from a foreign university, said she knew nothing about what it was like in Kosovo. Her words are a good illustration of a large (illogical) discrepancy between how much Kosovo is “talked about” and how much people in Serbia know about what it is like there. How do people live

1 Participant at the training for people from Serbia, Macedonia and Kosovo, Introduction to Peacebuilding MirPaqeMir

there? How do the Albanians live, and how do the Serbs live in Kosovo? What do they think about each other and how well do they know each other? What does it say in their passports and which countries require that citizens of Kosovo (both Serbs and Albanians) get a visa, and which do not? What kinds of documents do you need to have to go to Kosovo? What kind of music do they listen to in Pristina? Which authors are popular at the moment? What's the coffee like, and what about the Tres Leches? ... very rarely is a window opened onto Kosovo in this sense. And even when such an opportunity presents itself, the windows are often slammed shut. Photographs for an exhibition in Belgrade during the "Mirdita - Dobar dan" festival were not allowed "entry" into Serbia, because they showed Pristina as it is today; the female youth handball team from Kosovo was banned from playing a match with their peers in Serbia for security reasons; the author Shkëlzen Maliqi is not allowed to cross the border known as the Merdare administrative crossing point... And until these windows are opened and the image of Kosovo is "aired out" to rid it of branded trains, pre-arranged arrests, recitals in the Parliament addressed to the stone of Kosovo, "...and it goes without saying that you should score a big win against the Swiss national team"...² little will change, despite negotiations/dialogue or whatever they call those meetings in Brussels between "Pristina and Belgrade" mediated by the carrot and stick holders. The Kosovo "problem" cannot be solved either in Belgrade, or in Pristina, or in Brussels, but only through efforts to establish a fair, open and honest dialogue—which will not be easy—between the societies of Serbia and Kosovo. And that these efforts are not used for trade and negotiation about who should give how much, but as an opportunity where we can tell each other what we need and what we expect from the other side. So that we can share the burden of a painful past, a difficult present and an uncertain future, freed from myths and delusions, with a desire to get to know each other and find ways to make life better for everyone, free of mutual hatred. And it is delusional to think all that can fit into a single referendum question³.

2 The words with which President Aleksandar Vučić ended the send-off of Serbia's national football team to the world championship on 1 June 2018, (probably) alluding to the fact that the Swiss national team had a number of players of Albanian origin.

3 Increasingly, there is talk of the referendum as a way for citizens to decide on solutions for Kosovo.



Lost in Transition

The Democratic Party, who were in power before the current powers that be, and who, before that, were the main lever in the opposition to Slobodan Milošević's regime, had a historic result at the elections. Namely, for the first time since the party's founding, it did not pass the threshold and will not be part of the city assembly. Fairing slightly better, but without significant influence, were the newly founded parties under the leadership of already spent politicians (Dragan Đilas, Vuk Jeremić, Boris Tadić) and some "fresh" faces that no longer look so fresh (Saša Janković). Add to that Dveri (extreme right) and there were plenty of those in the coalition that was set up by sheer ideological acrobatics who also failed to cross the elections threshold in Belgrade, and they are all that is left of the opposition today, which is supposed to stand up to the current powers that be. In full acknowledgement of

how hard it is to be the opposition among such a ruling majority (and when was it ever easy), the opposition must also take its share of responsibility for the current situation and the election results, at least for their lack of ideas or, worse, flirting with nationalism. There is talk of creating a united opposition and a common platform aimed at “bringing down Vučić’s regime”. One of the main points of criticism of the current government is its attitude towards Kosovo and its readiness to “sell” Kosovo in order to buy the favour of the West. In other words, they criticise the Vučić of today for not being enough of the Vučić of old. It would not be the first time that as soon as the opposition “unites”, their spiel becomes that the people voting in the elections are conservative, inundated with nationalism and hatred, braying for war, backward... while the civic options that promote tolerance, respect for others and those who are different are condemned to failure. Expecting such an opposition to bring about profound changes is unrealistic, to put it mildly, and the very thought of who such an opposition could nominate as their candidate for president, should the elections be called tomorrow, leaves a bitter aftertaste.

What about the neighbour’s cow (schadenfreude)?

Isn’t it a pretty picture when people in Croatia realise during the football world cup that their national team has so many fans in Serbia, and when Novak Đoković exchanges photos with them and sends words of support, when the national teams of Serbia and Croatia play a water polo match and the coaches exchange warm and friendly greetings, immediately deflating the nationalist fervour of the commentators, when a vast number of people are genuinely sad to hear that Oliver Dragojević has died, when people are angry and fiercely, openly and unconditionally condemn the tweet of Vice-Speaker of the Parliament Vjerica Radeta, which she wrote upon hearing that Hatidža Mehmedović had passed away⁴... isn’t that image prettier than the image of a military/police parade or drill, of hand-me-down MiG planes, Šešelj on a chair at the entrance to Hrtkovci or in a TV show on “Happy TV” together with other criminals on the day before the commemoration of the Srebrenica genocide, than comments about the agreement reached between

Macedonia and Greece on the name issue to the tune that there is no cause for congratulations, than seeing Milorad Dodik paraded around various events... To me it is. Unfortunately, those who are in power, and who are rightfully given “credit” for the tragic 1990s, present the latter as “normal”, “natural” or at least acceptable. There is no genuine care for national interests, though they talk of little else, just a charade to mask the lack of democratic capacity for establishing relations with our neighbours so that they are not a threat to us, nor we to them, and so that we can be at ease and at peace (both us and them, whoever they are) in the full sense of that word.

Where Next

Although sometimes the situation seems unchangeable and despite efforts to make odious any form of rebellion,⁵ overly expensive new year’s decorations and masts pile up like unfulfilled promises, suspicious public procurement, fake doctorates, aunts from Canada... feeding the feeling of injustice and the resulting anger. They grow in proportion with the pressures and increasing arrogance, moving inexorably towards an ever-greater face-off and change. When, how and to where will this change lead is still unclear, it is still obscured by the fog of propaganda by those who fear such a change. Still, reality cannot be bent to someone’s will indefinitely and to such a degree, because at some point it will inevitably break, leaving behind nothing but a big lie. That’s when the hard part will begin.

Nedžad Horozović

⁴ Vjerica Radeta posted on her twitter profile: “I hear Hatidža Mehmedović from the association of businesswomen of Srebrenica has died. I wonder who will bury her. Her husband or her sons?!” The tweet was speedily removed after a deluge of reports, and the profile was suspended by the administrators of the platform.

⁵ These efforts are easily discerned in the arrests of two parliament seats taken out on 5 October 2000, the attitude towards “Ne davimo Beograd” or the citizens of Niš who took to the streets to keep their airport, in threats with a Macedonia-like scenario...

CNA tim



Adnan Hasanbegović



Davorka Turk



Nedžad Novalić



Helena Rill



Ivana Franović

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Tamara Zrnović



Amer Delić



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