

Centar za nenasilnu akciju
Centre for Nonviolent Action
Sarajevo | Beograd

GODINA
27
YEARS



Godišnji izveštaj Annual Report

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

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



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Uvod

Drage prijateljice, dragi prijatelji,

Godinu koja je za nama (septembar/rujan 2023. – septembar/rujan 2024.) na globalnom nivou obilježili su ratovi u Ukrajini i Izraelu/Palestini. Kako ta i ostala dešavanja u svijetu i regionu utiču na naš rad i motivaciju, te koja je poenta baviti se izgradnjom mira u takvim okolnostima, možete pročitati iz ličnog ugla Nenada Vukosavljevića u tekstu „Odbrana i poslednji dani“, koji otvara naš ovogodišnji izvještaj.

Rad sa ratnim veteranima, obilježavanje neobilježenih mjesta stradanja, međunarodna saradnja, mirovno obrazovanje kao i publikovanje i promocije i ove godine predstavljale su najveći dio naših aktivnosti.

Organizovali smo sastanak refleksije i planiranja za ratne veterane u Daruvaru krajem prošle; a ove godine bili na komemoracijama, Čardak kod Dervente; Ahmići i Trusina; Herceg Novi u Crnoj Gori i Dan bijelih traka u Prijedoru.

Tim koji radi na Obilježavanju neobilježenih mjesta stradanja (ONMS) realizovao je dvije akcije. Prvu tokom novembra prošle godine na području Ilidže, širem području Kalinovika i Rudog. Drugu, veliku akciju, tokom marta ove godine koja je obuhvatala obilazak i obilježavanje 4 logora u Hercegovini: Kasarnu Čelebići kod Konjica, Heliodrom kod Mostara, Osnovnu školu Zijemlje u Istočnom Mostaru i Muzej Bitka za ranjenike na Neretvi u Jablanici.

Realizovali smo dvije aktivnosti mirovnog obrazovanja. Osnovni trening iz izgradnje mira, 45. po redu, održan je u periodu 6 – 16. oktobra/listopada 2023. godine u Kruševu, a sedmi Mir Page Мир Trening iz izgradnje mira održan od 12. do 21. travanj/april 2024. godine u Berovu, oba u Sjevernoj Makedoniji.

Povodom obilježavanja 30 godina stradanja civila tokom operacije Medački džep, pridružili smo se Studijskom putu „Mladi se sjećaju zaboravljenih“ od 14. 9. 2023. u organizaciji Inicijative mladih za ljudska prava Hrvatske i Srpskog narodno vijeća. Studijski put

na Kosovu održan 6 – 10. 11. 2023. godine, u našoj organizaciji je pored mirovnih aktivista/kinja iz CNA uključio i nekoliko naših saradnika/ca te smo zajedno posjetili Prištinu, Gračanicu, Kosovsku Mitrovicu i Prizren.

Na poziv naših saradnika iz Omladinskog centra CK 13 iz Novog Sada, aktivisti Centra za nenasilnu akciju vodili su jedan od Seminara alternativnih politika ove organizacije, nazvan „Uvod u promišljanje mira“, koji je održan 8 – 9. 6. 2024. A na poziv iste organizacije učestvovali smo i u regionalnoj političkoj školi o devedesetim „Spasit će nas ljubav!“ održanoj u Sremskim Karlovcima 19 – 20. 9. 2024.

Organizovali smo dvije promocije Biber zbirki priča i to u Užicu i Ulcinju, i zatvorili Biber 06 konkurs, na koji je stiglo oko 490 priča. Rezultate konkursa očekujemo prije kraja novembra/studenog 2024. godine, a samu zbirku u prvom tromjesečju naredne godine.

Krajem godine (2024) iz štampe će izaći naša nova knjiga „Dolazimo u miru. Rad sa ratnim veteranima na izgradnji mira“. Više o knjizi, njenom značaju i namjeni, motivima za njeno publikovanje, možete pročitati u tekstu jedne od autorki i urednice Ivane Franović.

Razgovarali smo sa našom prijateljicom i dugogodišnjom saradnicom, aktivistkinjom Mirjanom Trifković Marjanović, koja je svojevremeno bila polaznica naših programa mirovnog obrazovanja, osnovnog i treninga za trenere. O njenim iskustvima sa treninga, šta su joj značili, te uopšte o mirovnom aktivizmu u Bosni i Hercegovini pročitajte u sa njom objavljenom intervjuu.

U saradnji sa našim prijateljima Luanom Imerijem (Sjeverna Makedonija), Aminom Kajom (Kosovo), te Dalmirom Miškovićem (Hrvatska) članovi/ce CNA tima su pisali/e o kontekstima u kojima djelujemo, ovog puta u zajedničkom tekstu. Objavljujemo i priču sa Kosova pod nazivom „I na kraju živalj“, Nemanje

Nestorovića, aktiviste iz Kosovske Mitrovice, jer nam je važno da se sa Kosova čuju glasovi koji pozivaju na mir, razumijevanje i saradnju.

U dodatku možete pročitati tekst Nedžada Novalića „Kako opisati Srebrenicu: 15 knjiga za čitanje o srebreničkom genocidu“.

O svemu pobrojanom možete čitati u ovom izveštaju, a detaljnije i na našim internet stranicama.

Zahvalni smo vam za svaki komentar, uvid ili povratnu informaciju koju dobijemo.

CNA tim
rujan/septembar 2024.

Odbrana i poslednji dani

Nenad Vukosavljević

Teško je prihvatiti da je vreme u kojem živimo sve gore i gore, a da je neko kojeg se sećamo od pre 10-20 godina zapravo bilo zlatno u poređenju sa sadašnjim, jer toliko toga je bilo nepravedno, loše i bolno i tada, pa kako je moguće da su nam društva sve gora i gora.

Ako uzmem Srbiju za primer, ovo pogoršanje se lako da objasniti promenom vlasti i postupnim gašenjem demokratije u zemlji koje se od tada sprovodi. Ali to nije sve, jer se to dešava u regionalnom i globalnom okruženju koje se dramatično promenilo na gore, masovno naoružavanje je u toku, ponovo se uvodi obavezni vojni rok, manje se ulaže u obrazovanje, međunarodni razvoj, građani imaju manje novca i višak gneva u potrazi za krivcima.

Ratove u Ukrajini i eskalacija u Palestini/Izraelu prati pomama naoružavanja, mržnje, dezinformacije, manipulacija kakvu sam lično doživio samo tokom rata u bivšoj Jugoslaviji.

Nije mi teško da objasnim mehanizme, sve počinje sa strahom. Strah je uvek na početku i kada potpuno prevlada čoveka, čovek prestaje da bude osetljiv za bol i nepravdu koja se čini onome od kojeg oseća pretnju. Dehumanizuju se čitavi narodi, stanovnici velikih regiona i zemalja, trpaju se u koš neprijatelja, ludaka, zlotvora. Pritom, „pravedništvo“ preuzima apsolutni primat, više nema razlika u mišljenju, svako odstupanje se doživljava kao pretnja i napad, ljudi drugog mišljenja se tretiraju kao neprijatelji, dobijaju pretnje, bivaju difamirani, odriče im se pravo da postoje. Najstrašnije nasilje dolazi od onih ubeđenih u svoju pravедnost, sve je poznato.

Na društvenim mrežama pojedine grupe koje sebe zovu mirovnim dele video snimke stradanja neprijatelja, navija se pred snimcima razaranja, ljudski život je ništa ako je neprijateljski, linija između ubeđenih demokrata i autokrata bleđi. Autokrate kažu „pa rekli smo vam da su takvi“. Pozivi na mir i protiv rata se doživljavaju kao uvreda, podsmeva im se, slave se novi heroji, koji odbijaju komunikaciju do konačne pobede jer oni čine jedino „ispravno“. Pritom, gledamo slavne vođe, a ne prikazuju nam roditelje na hiljade mladih ljudi čiji su životi ugašeni, njihovi životi su bezvredni, ostaju mrtvi ili osakaćeni zarad teritorija koje neko misli da treba da otme ili odbrani. Koja teritorija vredi toga? Naša, odgovaraju, dok se ne premore dovoljno, dok ih ne umre dovoljno, kada postaje bitan samo mir, samo da stane, kakogod. Sve već viđeno, sve poznato iz prethodnih ratova, ali nije bilo dovoljno, mora još ljudi da umre.

Na Zapadnom Balkanu smo u stanju pauze, sećanje na užase još nije dovoljno izbledelo i još smo preumorni da bi ponovili sve, ali na tome se radi, mladima se servira militarizam, ukazuje na susede neprijatelje, sprema ih se mentalno da učine isto što su učinili neki drugi pre 30 godina, tvrdeći da je nasilje i rat jedini put da se zaštitimo. Da, uvek se samo branimo, čak i kada napadamo, jer je neophodno, jer se to tako radi. Naravno.

Sa nevericom primam k znanju da je početkom leta organizovana mirovna konferencija, na koju nisu pozvane obe zaraćene strane. Zašto su je nazvali „mirovna“? Samo zato da je ne bi nazvali ratna konferencija, dogovaranje saveznika, „mirovna“ bolje

zvuči, tako se to radi. Bizarno, kao i izbegavanje da u Rusiji rat nazovu svojim imenom, pa ga zovu „specijalna vojna operacija“.

Koja je poenta baviti se izgradnjom mira u takvom okruženju? Redovno sebi postavljam to pitanje i mogu samo reći da je poenta u tome da se ubijanje ljudi ne može opravdati, nepravda se ne može opravdati, ni kada tvrdite da je činite u najboljoj nameri. Radim na izgradnji mira jer u to verujem i uprkos tome što me plaši da vidim kako ljudi koji su mi poznati kao uzdržani, nesebični i miroljubivi odjednom govore o neophodnosti rata. Preispitujem sebe kada to čujem, ali moja vera u nenasilje i izgradnju mira nije uzdrmana. Kada to govore ljudi od kojih to nikad ranije nisam čuo, prepoznajem njihov strah i postavljam im pitanja. Nema odgovora na pitanje kako zamišljaš kraj rata, kako zamišljaš poraz te jedne nepravedne strane, šta će se tačno dogoditi, kuda to vodi? Pitam da li bi poslao svog sina u rat, ćutnja. Da li bi ti išao u rat? Ćutnja.

Možda moja pitanja nisu fer, ali meni nije dovoljno da podržavaš „opravdano“ nasilje, a ne znaš šta je željeni ishod, šta je željeni cilj. Samo želim da pitam, ako je to cilj, da li je ovo jedini ili najbolji put?

Polazim od toga da je ljudski život nenadoknativ gubitak i znam da će oni koji vode rat, svojim politikama sećanja pokušati upravo to da sakriju, nudeći viši cilj domovine kao svrhu našeg postojanja. Žao mi je ako je domovina sve za šta neko živi, a posebno mi je žao ako tu domovinu čini samo vrednost teritorija, a ne i životi ljudi koji tu žive. „Oni brane živote svojih bližnjih umirući za njih“, čujem ali verujem da mora da postoji način da žive.

Ne očekujem od ljudi obuzetih mržnjom i paničnim strahom da pojme ubijanje sebe do kojeg dolazi kada uzmete ljudski život. Neki će to shvatiti tek godinama kasnije, neki će to saznanje utopiti u drogama, neki će prosto presuditi sebi, neki lagati sebe do kraja, a neki pokušati da žive odgovorno sa tim i čine sve što mogu da spreče da se to ne ponovi, nigde i nikome. „Nigde i nikome“ je verodostojno samo ako je bezuslovno. Sa bivšim ratnicima radim već decenijama, znam delić onoga što su preživeli i vidim koliko im je teško da rade to što rade na prevazilaženju posledica rata i suočavanja sa prošlošću. Ponekad bi neko od njih pozeleo da ga nema, jer mu se čini da bi tako lakše bilo, nego život sa tim teretom.

Tokom skoro trideset godina rada na izgradnji mira, puno puta sam pomislio: neko je sve ovo što mi sad učimo morao da zna, kako ja nisam došao do tog saznanja ranije, zašto tek sada i zašto ovako sporo i bolno? Ljutio sam se na sebe što sve traje predugo, što ne postoji prečica koja bi mi omogućila da nastavim mladalačke planove, da se bavim fotografijom i ne osećam teret sve nepravde i mržnje posejane pre i tokom rata, uzgajane nakon rata kroz škole, medije i političke programe.

Rat u Ukrajini (i od nedavno u Rusiji) puno ljudi u bivšoj Jugoslaviji doživelo je kao već viđeno, kao reprizu njihove sudbine, vratilo ih je u vremenu i oživelo strahove. Dobar deo njih je postavio zastave na svoje online naloge, ponegde zabo po neku zastavu, kopirajući praksu širom zapadnog sveta. Pravedno je biti sa onim ko je napadnut. Znaju ljudi ovde logiku rata i kako to izgleda u stvarnosti, ali ih to ne ometa da misle da je u ovom konkretnom novom slučaju sve onako kako nikad nije. Prosto je, staviš određene naočare i gledaš samo kroz njih, ako neko kaže nešto što se ne uklapa u tu sliku, napadneš ga da podržava zločinca.

Kad čitam iskaze političara u Nemačkoj npr, uz čiju podršku je za naš mirovni rad obezbeđen novac tokom prethodnih decenija, kako bespogovorno podržavaju rat, razmatraju što više i što ubitačnije oružje, zapitam se, naravno, pa zašto su uopšte podržavali mirovni rad? Nagađam da ih razumem, razlika je u tome da ih ranije nije bilo strah za sebe i svoje okruženje, a sada jeste. Meni se čini da to kako deluju daje sve više razloga za to da strepe još više i čini mi se kao jedan vrtlog iz kojeg se teško izlazi.

Sa druge strane, neverovatna disproporcija između reakcija na zločine protiv civila u Palestini/Izraelu i u Ukrajini, jasno ukazuje na različite kriterije i deligitimise one koji tako deluju i sebe smatraju za moralne instance. Selektivno ophođenje spram odluka Međunarodnog krivičnog suda podriva moralni autoritet predstavnika zemalja koje su se u proteklim decenijama zalagale za međunarodne pravne mehanizme koji bi doprineli sprečavanju i kažnjavanju zločina. Ne može se zgražati nad činjenicom da jedan državnik protiv kojeg je izdat nalog za hapšenje Međunarodnog Krivičnog Suda, slobodno posećuje drugu zemlju, a ćutati kada to čini državnik iz druge zemlje, jednako optužen, ali koji je vaš „saveznik“. Za mene su i

Palestinici i Ukrajinci, Rusi i Izraelci, svi jednako vredni. Kad svesno zatvoriš oči pred dehumanizacijom čitavih naroda, ne možeš se predstavljati pravednikom, jer prosto nemaš nikakvu verodostojnost. Decenije građenja poverenja i moralnog autoriteta izbledele su brzo i bolno.

Nismo mi ovde nimalo bolji, lošiji, pametniji ili gluplji, samo smo u poratnom periodu imali puno novih problema koje smo pokušavali da rešimo na raznovrsne načine. Na političkoj razini uglavnom smo ih neuspešno rešavali, ali imali smo i poneku alterna-

tivnu inicijativu koja je ipak dala rezultat izgradnje poštovanja, saradnje preko etničkih granica, pridobijanja poverenja i osećaja sigurnost i mira.

Siguran sam da će se za koju godinu neko u Ukrajini, pokušavajući da gradi mir, zapitati isto pitanje koje sam i ja sebi postavljao: „Zašto ovo nisam znao ranije?“. Zbog njih ostavljamo trag, ako taj trag makar na momenat uspe da potisne beznađe i probudi nadu života bez nasilja i nepravde, onda svakako вреди.

Moguće je sve. Samo od nas ljudi zavisi.



rad sa ratnim
veteranima

Aktivnosti koje smo sproveli u posljednjih godinu dana:

- Sastanak planiranja i refleksije u Daruvaru, decembar 2023.
- Prisustvo komemoracijama u Ahmićima i Trusini, 16. april 2024.
- Prisustvo komemoraciji u Čardaku kod Dervenete, 13. maj 2024.
- Prisustvo komemoraciji u Herceg Novom, 25. maj 2024.
- Prisustvo komemoraciji „Dan bijelih traka“ u Prijedoru, 31. maj 2024.

Kako su se sreli Ahmići i Trusina

Nedžad Novalić

Kada smo 16. aprila 2019. godine, *u ono vrijeme i one dane* prije korone, sa mješovitom grupom ratnih veterana i mirovnih aktivista prisustvovali komemoraciji (bošnjačkim) žrtvama u Ahmićima osjećao sam potpuni mir u duši. Kako smo samo godinu ranije, 16. aprila 2018. godine, sa tom istom grupom bili u Trusini na komemoraciji (hrvatskim) žrtvama, odlaskom u Ahmiće na neki način smo *zatvorili krug*: Otišli smo i u Trusinu i u Ahmiće, odali smo počast žrtvama, bili lijepo primljeni u oba mjesta, a na osnovu medijskih izvještaja osjetili smo da najveći broj ljudi u našoj okolini, uprkos političkoj klimi, nema nikakvu zadržku da takav pristup podrži. Pa ipak, boljelo je što, uprkos tihom odobravanju takvog pristupa, ova dva mjesta nikako da se *sretnu* iako su neodvojivo povezana bosanskohercegovačkim *kalen-darom boli*.

Mali most

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 će zločin nad (hrvatskim) mještanima Trusine, dok će pripadnici HVO-a počiniti zločin nad (bošnjačkim) mještanima Ahmića, povezavši ova dva mjesta bolom koji ne prolazi, povezavši Bosnu sa Hercegovinom, zločin sa zločinom, sjećanje sa sjećanjem.

U ono vrijeme i one dane korone pokušali smo biti most između ova dva mjesta. Danas ih se razdvaja uz različita, nimalo suvisla, objašnjenja i retorske doskočice koje su svuda oko nas, a koje se na kraju sažmu u frazi: *Nisu sve žrtve iste*. Dalje se ta fraza razlaže i pojednostavljuje na jedan opasan i bezobrazan način da se dođe do toga da se negira patnja i bol jedne strane. Iz našeg iskustva, upravo je priznanje patnje jedna od osnovnih potreba porodica žrtava, bitna i često nedostajuća puzla u izgradnji jedne drukčije slike i atmosfere. Svojim radom najčešće i nastojimo biti ta puzla koja nedostaje, koja treba da poveže dijelove, makar, kad se jednom *sve uklopi*, nikom i ne bilo jasno gdje je bilo prazno mjesto, gdje je trebao mali var, mali most.

Kako smo i u Ahmićima i u Trusini sreli divne ljude i bili lijepo primljeni, ideja nam je bila da organiziramo zajedničku posjetu Ahmićima i Trusini gdje bi se, osim grupe mirovnih aktivista i ratnih veterana koji su 2018. i 2019. bili na komemoracijama u oba mjesta, uključili i predstavnici udruženja žrtava iz oba mjesta i sami mještani. Vjerovali smo da bi jedan takav susret imao izuzetan značaj nakon kojeg bi sve bilo drukčije: Ako to mogu oni, mještani Ahmića i Trusine, članovi udruženja žrtava iz oba mjesta, politika, koja nam tako grubo kroji sudbine, morala bi, ako ne slijediti, barem uvažiti takav *susret*. Bio bi to važan korak ka tome da se u sjećanje uključe sve žrtve, da se prestane sa negiranjem patnje *drugih* i prestane sa različitim



manipulacijama, bio bi to iskorak ka međusobnom uvažavanju i izgradnji povjerenja.

Nažalost, do takvog susreta nije došlo. Pokušavali smo nekoliko puta, mijenjali pristup, *jedili se*, ali nije išlo. Sada je sasvim nebitno zašto nije, ali bilježimo da, i pored uloženog truda, ideja nije realizirana. Možda nije bilo vrijeme, možda je nedostajalo nešto *malo* nama neznanu, neki prstohvat soli koji sve čini drukčijim.

Neuspjeh?!

Je li to bio neuspjeh? I da i ne, zavisno kako se gleda. Ne bježeći i od neuspjeha, bilježimo i da smo 2022. godine, sa istom zamišlju, realizirali posjetu Trusini i Stupnom Dolu kod Vareša, mjestu u kojem su u oktobru 1993. pripadnici HVO-a počinili zločin ubivši 33 (bošnjačkih) civila. Bilo je to, koliko je nama poznato, a ne bi nam bilo krivo i ako griješimo, prvi put da su udruženja žrtava iz dva različita mjesta, iz dva različita naroda, zajednički *obišli* jedni druge, odali počast žrtvama, razgovarali kako se danas živi i kako bi moglo bolje... Tada i tamo, u oba mjesta, sreli smo ljude koji su postali dio naše široke mreže podrške. Kasnije su učestvovali i u nekim drugim aktivnostima daleko od svojih mjesta, posebno tamo gdje nam je

trebala podrška predstavnika udruženja žrtava. Iz te ideje *susreta Ahmića i Trusine* razvila se ideja susreta bivših zatočenika, uz podršku mirovnih aktivista, i obilaska nekadašnjih zatočeničkih objekata koji su danas uglavnom neobilježena mjesta stradanja. U dvije godine dva puta smo organizirali takav susret i sreli još više divnih ljudi spremnih da, bez ikakve zadržke, iskažu solidarnost sa svakim čovjekom. Malo li je.

Sve vrijeme nismo zaboravljali ni Ahmiće i Trusinu. U 2024. smo na 16. april odlučili istovremeno otići u oba mjesta, na obje komemoracije. Kako se komemoracije dešavaju ne samo na isti dan već i u isto vrijeme, a između dva mjesta je više od dva sata vožnje autom, podijelili smo se u dvije grupe na taj način *doskočivši* preprekama zvanim prostor i vrijeme. Ako smo 2019. *zatvorili krug* uz osjećaj mira u duši, istovremeni odlazak na obje komemoracije značio je jednu sasvim novu dimenziju koju je teško opisati: Osjećaj da ste istovremeno na dva mjesta, da, dok polažete ružu u Ahmićima, vi to istovremeno činite i u Trusini, i

Više o radu s ratnim veteranima možete vidjeti na našoj internet stranici nenasilje.org

obrnuto. Koliko je nama poznato, a ne bi nam bilo krivo ni ako griješimo, bili smo prvi koji su istovremeno bili i u Ahmićima i Trusini. Ponovo smo osjetili da većina ljudi takav pristup podržava i ponovo jednako boli što smo ostali usamljeni i nada da će se to promijeniti.

Period koji je iza nas u kontekstu rada sa ratnim veteranima omeđavaju sastanci refleksije i planiranja, prvi održan krajem 2023. i drugi održan u jesen 2024. To su prilike na kojima imamo priliku osvrnuti se unazad i zajednički pokušati planirati sljedeće korake i iskorake.

Iskorak

Jedan od iskoraka bilo je i prisustvo komemoraciji u Herceg Novom: Bilo je ovo prvi put da smo prisustvovali zvaničnoj komemoraciji u Crnoj Gori. Nevladine organizacije iz Crne Gore i porodice žrtava već godinama na 25. 5. ispred policijske stanice organizuju skup kojim podsjećaju da su zvanične policijske vlasti Crne Gore u maju 1992. uhapsile veći broj Bošnjaka koji su bili porijeklom iz Bosne i Hercegovine, a u Crnu Goru su pobjegli od rata nadajući se sigurnom utočištu. Iako se pretpostavlja da su uhapšeni deportirani u BiH i predati srpskim vlastima, Crna Gora nikad nije provela zvaničnu istragu kojom bi se utvrdila sudbina otetih, a posmrtni ostaci većine nikada nisu pronađeni. I dok najveći dio odgovornosti za zločine vojnih struktura crnogorske vlasti nastoje prebaciti isključivo na Srbiju i režim Slobodana Miloševića po sistemu da je i sama Crna Gora bila žrtva *velikosrpske politike*, sa otmicama Bošnjaka iz maja 1992. ne znaju šta da rade. Za otmice su odgovorne policijske i političke strukture Crne Gore koje su i u godinama nakon rata nastavile da budu vlast nekoliko puta mijenjajući dres. Zato ne samo da izostaje procesuiranje odgovornih već je sporna i izgradnja bilo kakvog memorijala. U dogovoru

sa porodicama otetih našim dolaskom nastojali smo to stradanje učiniti vidljivijim i van Crne Gore, posebno u Bosni i Hercegovini. Čudni *zavjet šutnje* o zločinima i žrtvama često ne poznaje državne i etničke granice: Političke elite, iako nominalno suprotstavljanje, ustvari nerijetko štite jedni druge.

Samo nekoliko dana nakon Herceg Novog sa mješovitom grupom ratnih veterana i mirovnih aktivista prisustvovali smo i Danu bijelih traka u Prijedoru. Prisustvom ovoj jedinstvenoj komemoraciji kojoj su u fokusu 102 ubijene djece na području Prijedora, željeli smo iskazati podršku roditeljima ubijene djece koji godinama traže od lokalnih vlasti izgradnju spomenika ali i naše drugare aktiviste koji jednako ustrajno podržavaju roditelje i organiziraju Dan bijelih traka. Bila je to komemoracija, kao i uvijek do sada, koja se žrtava sjeća dostojanstveno, šalje poruku želje za saradnjom i uvažavanjem, odaje počast svim *nepopularnim* žrtvama i daje podršku zajednicama koje se bore za pravo na sjećanje ma gdje bili i ma koju vlast imali sa suprotne strane.

Članovi CNA tima bili su i na komemoraciji u Istočnom Sarajevu gdje se svakog marta odaje počast ubijenoj djeci sarajevsko-romanijske regije, Sovićima kod Jablanice u aprilu te u Čardaku kod Dervente gdje se u maju obilježava stradanje srpskog stanovništva sa ovog područja.

Kao i uvijek, iako je nominalno naslovljen kao rad sa ratnim veteranima, bio je to rad koji je uključivao i (mlade) mirovne aktiviste, udruženja žrtava, predstavnike lokalnih vlasti, vjerskih zajednica... Ne samo po broju događaja koje smo organizirali već i po mnogim sastancima, kontaktima, razgovorima i susretima, bila je ovo jedna izuzetno plodonosna godina. Ali bez tih *malih koraka*, često nevidljivih i odveć *sitnih* da bi ušli u ovakve izvještaje, nemoguće je zamisliti rad na izgradnji mira.

obilježavanje
neobilježenih
mjest
stradanja

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NA OVOM MJESTU SU, U PROTEKLOM RATU, NAD LJUDIMA VRŠENA NELJUDSKA DJELA
NE PREPUŠTAJUĆI TE DOGAĐAJE ZABORAVU, SOLIDARIŠEMO SE SA SVIM ŽRTVAMA
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Aktivnosti koje smo sproveli u posljednjih godinu dana:

- 19 onms akcija, Kalinovik, Rudo, Ilidža, oktobar/listopad 2023.
Obilježena mjesta stradanja:
 - Prijevoj Rogoj, Kalinovik
 - „Barutni magacin“, Kalinovik
 - „Meka brda“, Kalinovik
 - Željeznička stanica Štrpci, Rudo
 - Podrumsko skladište, Ilidža
 - „Garaže“ u Hrasnici, Ilidža
- Zajednička posjeta bivšim zatočeničkim objektima u Hercegovini, mart/ožujak 2024.
Obilježena mjesta stradanja:
 - Kasarna Čelebići kod Konjica,
 - Heliodrom, Mostar,
 - Osnovna škola Zijemlje, Istočni Mostar
 - Muzej Bitka za ranjenike na Neretvi u Jablanici.

Dvije akcije različitog formata

Amer Delić

U proteklih godinu dana, tim inicijative Obilježavanja neobilježenih mjesta stradanja sproveo je dvije akcije na terenu. Uz standardne akcije, u kojima su našem timu podrška na terenu bili članovi udruženja porodica žrtava, bivši logoraši i ratni veterani sa područja koje posjećujemo, nastavili smo da sprovodimo i akcije većeg formata, sa grupom od pedesetak osoba, sačinjenom od ratnih veterana, bivših logoraša, mirovnih aktivista i novinara iz regije, te ekipe TV ARTE iz Njemačke.

Ko danas ima pravo na spomenike?

U oktobru/listopadu 2023. posjetili smo lokacije mjesta stradanja u Štrpcima kod Rudog, šireg rejona Kalinovnika i Hrasnici kod Sarajeva. Brojne su kontroverze prisutne u politikama sjećanja i skoro tri decenije od završetka rata, tako da se i kroz ovu akciju moglo

zaključiti i kakav je odnos prema žrtvama koje ne pripadaju vlastitoj nacionalnoj skupini.

Stanicu u Štrpcima smo pokušali obilježiti i ranije, međutim bili smo spriječeni od strane uposlenika Željeznica Srbije pod čijom je ingerencijom taj objekat, uz obrazloženje da je zabranjeno postavljanje bilo kakvih oznaka na zgradu stanice, kao i fotografisanje i snimanje.. Naravno, uz prijetnju da će, ukoliko ne odstupimo, pozvati policiju da nas u tome spriječi. Ovaj put smo zatekli praznu stanicu i simbolično je obilježili te je Željeznička stanica Štrpci postala dio digitalne memorijalizacije u našoj bazi na web sajtu onms.nenasilje.org i bit će pristupačna svim zainteresovanim koji žele da se upoznaju sa kontekstom zbivanja i tačnom lokacijom. Inicijativa za postavljanje spomen obilježja na samom mjestu već dugo je upućena od strane porodica žrtava i čeka na vrijeme



kada se odbijanje nadležnih više neće imati potrebe pravdati brojnim birokratskim procedurama. Spomenici žrtvama su podignuti u Bijelom Polju i Prijepolju u Crnoj Gori, odakle su oteți i ubijeni putnici većinom bili. U ovim mjestima se 26. februara organizuju komemorativni događaji na Dan sjećanja. CNA je 2020. godine organizovao zajedničku posjetu ratnih veterana i mirovnih aktivista iz regije Prijepolju gdje smo se pridružili komemoraciji. Spomen ploča Tomi Buzovu, bivšem oficiru JNA koji se jedini usprotivio otmičarima i zbog toga je i sam ubijen, nalazi se na ulazu u zgradu na Novom Beogradu u kojoj je živio. (Ploča, koja je otkrivena 2016, nestala je krajem 2022, a novu ploču 2023. godine su postavile komšije). Inspirisan humanim djelom Tome Buzova, hrvatski režiser Nebojša Slijepčević snimio je kratkometražni igrani film „Čovjek koji nije mogao šutjeti“ i za njega dobio Zlatnu palmu za najbolji kratki film na 77. filmskom festivalu u Cannesu.

Kalinovik svojim memorijalima odašilje sliku da je to rodno mjesto Ratka Mladića, generala VRS, ratnog zločinca osuđenog na kaznu doživotnog zatvora na

Međunarodnom sudu u Haagu. Mural sa njegovim likom, na ulazu u grad, podsjeća na to, dok i sam spomenik poginulim pripadnicima VRS ima konture njegovog prepoznatljivog lika. Mjesta stradanja Bošnjaka u rejonu Kalinovika pružaju drugačiju sliku. Zapušteno i ruinirano zdanje Barutnog magacina koji je bio vojni objekat nekadašnje JNA, tokom rata je korišteno kao mjesto zatočenja u kojem su zarobljenici mučeni i odakle su odvedeni u smrt na obližnja stratišta. U taj objekat su dovođeni zatočnici iz Osnovne škole „Miladin Radojević“, danas „Ljutica Bogdan“ i okolnih opština. Nakon rata, objekat je proglašen za vojno besperspektivnu imovinu i predat na raspolaganje opštini. Svi pokušaji udruženja porodica žrtava „Istina-Kalinovik 92“ da se u objektu postavi trajno spomen-obilježje naišli su na odbijanje nadležnih struktura. U zgradi još uvijek o boravku zatočenika svjedoče njihova urezana imena i datumi na zidovima, a teško je prognozirati do kada će taj trag ostati, je zub vremena sve više nagrizao tu strukturu.

Na prevoju Rogoj, na području između Kalinovika i Trnova, u neposrednoj blizini magistralne ceste se



nalazi mjesto ubistva zarobljenika i označeno je građevinskim betonskim elementima, koje su tu postavile porodice ubijenih kako bi obilježile lokaciju na kojoj komemoriraju sjećanje na svoje stradale.

Preko puta ceste, postavljen je spomenik poginulim pripadnicima VRS.

Meka brda takođe imaju svoju specifičnost u tome što su lokaciju obilježile porodice ubijenih, na način da su stabla na lokalitetu ubistava i mjesta na kojem su pronađena tijela, ispisana crvenim sprej lakom.

U Kalinoviku se svake godine u drugoj polovini juna/lipnja obilježavaju dani sjećanja na stradale Bošnjake ovog kraja i tom prilikom se obilaze navedene lokacije i apeluje na nadležne da promijene svoje stavove i omoguće postavke trajnih memorijala.

U Hrasnici, na području općine Ilidža kod Sarajeva, obilježili smo nekadašnje zatočeničke objekte podrumskog skladišta i garaža, u kojima su za vrijeme rata zatočeni bili srpski vojnici i civili, pod kontrolom Armije RBiH.

Nema dostupnih podataka o komemoriranju niti o zahtjevima da se na spomenutim objektima podigne spomen obilježje.

Za ratne zločine počinjene nad otetim putnicima na stanici u Štrpcima, te za zločine počinjene na području Kalinovika, izrečene su brojne višegodišnje zatvorske kazne, i na Međunarodnom sudu pravde u Hagu i na sudovima Bosne i Hercegovine, Srbije i Crne Gore. Za zločine počinjene nad zatočenicima u Hrasnici pred Sudom BiH niko nije pravomoćno osuđen, a trojica optuženih su oslobođeni, dok je u Srbiji Apelacioni sud u Beogradu donio pravosnažnu presudu kojom je Husein Mujanović osuđen na četiri i po godine zatvora zbog zlostavljanja zatvorenika srpske nacionalnosti u vojnom zatvoru Armije Bosne i Hercegovine u Hrasnici tokom 1992. godine.

Timu za obilježavanje ovaj put na terenu su se pridružili naši dugogodišnji saradnici, ratni veterani: Krsto Rakić, Mesud Kumro, Suljo Đogo i Edin Ramulić, te Amer Kadić iz udruženja „Istina-Kalinovik 92“.

Ovu akciju smo zabilježili i kamerom, a video je dostupan na našem YouTube kanalu.

Preporučujemo i **tekst** Dalmira Miškovića objavljen na našoj web stranici u kojem je član našeg tima podijelio svoje utiske nakon sprovedene akcije.

Borimo se protiv zatvorenih vrata

Nastavljajući akcije sa velikim brojem učesnika/ca, fokus smo stavili na nekadašnje zatočeničke objekte kojima je bivšim logorašima ograničen, ili čak zabranjen pristup u vrijeme kada njihova udruženja obilježavaju dane sjećanja na žrtve. Izabrali smo četiri lokacije na potezu: Konjic (kasarnu u Čelebićima), Mostar (Heliodrom), Istočni Mostar (Osnovnu školu u Zijemlju) i Jablanicu (Muzej „Bitka za ranjenike na Neretvi“). Objekti su neosporno imali funkciju zatočeničkih što je dokazano i u sudskim presudama, međutim uslijed nedostatka zakonskih regulativa, zadržavanju političkog uticaja na određenom teritoriju i uopšteno nedostatku dobre volje društvenih i političkih faktora, za sada je te objekte nemoguće obilježiti trajnim spomen obilježjem i komemorirati događaje na način koji priliči i ne vrijeđa dostojanstvo žrtava.

Akciju smo sproveli u martu/ožujku 2024. a već u januaru smo ušli u komunikaciju sa nadležnim pod čijom upravom su danas ovi objekti, kako bismo dobili dozvole pristupa našoj grupi.

Za kasarnu u Čelebićima, koju smo imali priliku posjetiti i ranije 2015. sa mješovitom grupom ratnih veterana, bez ikakvih problema smo dobili dozvolu od Ministarstva odbrane BiH, te sa predstavnicima Oružanih snaga BiH organizovali obilazak objekata unutar kasarne.

Komunikacija sa Sveučilištem u Mostaru koje danas upravlja Kampusom smještenim na većem dijelu nekadašnje kasarne JNA u Rodoču kod Mostara, poznatijom kao Heliodrom, tekla je jednosmjerno. Na naš e-mail upućen Rektoratu Sveučilišta, u kojem smo tražili pristup objektima za vrijeme planirane posjete i eventualni prethodni sastanak na kojem bi ih detaljnije upoznali sa svrhom naše akcije, nikada nismo dobili odgovor, a takođe ni na preporučeno pismo koje smo naknadno poslali. Telefonski nam je rečeno da na traženi datum, koji je padao na nedjelju, Kampus ne radi tako da nam ne mogu odobriti pristup. Za naše ponuđene opcije da pomjerimo dan posjete na dan ranije ili kasnije, odgovor je bio da nema potrebe za tim i na tome se završilo.

Pristup području nekadašnjeg logora, proteklih godina je bio onemogućen Udruženju logoraša Mostar, koji 19. marta/ožujka obilježavaju dan raspuštanja logora.

I naša grupa je naišla na zatvorenu kapiju Kampusa. Radnici obezbjeđenja iz zaštitarske agencije uredno su propuštali brojna druga vozila, ali za nas prolaza nije bilo. Od nadležnih su dobili takvu instrukciju, pojasnili su nam.

Od obrazovne institucija poput Sveučilišta u Mostaru, čiji je moto otvorenost za različitosti, dijalog i razmjenu imali smo očekivanje da bismo zajedno mogli pokušati pokrenuti proces koji bi donio promjenu u kreiranju zajedničke bolje budućnosti. Za sada se konstruktivan dijalog o naslijeđu koje nosi logor Heliodrom, za koji su izrečene brojne osuđujuće višegodišnje presude, ne nazire i sveden je na dnevno-političke i predizborne razmirice čiji intenzitet je pojačan planiranom izgradnjom Muzeja HVO-a u neposrednoj blizini Kampusu, na prostoru kasarne „Stanislav Baja Kraljević“ u objektu koji je bio upravna zgrada logora za vrijeme njegovog postojanja.

Sa Javnom ustanovom Muzej „Bitka za ranjenike na Neretvi“ u Jablanici imali smo otvorenu komunikaciju. Na našu molbu za posjetu dobili smo elegantan odgovor da muzej u periodu 1. novembar/studeni do 31. mart/ožujak ne radi u dane vikenda, tako da nam ne mogu izaći u susret, ali takođe i napomenu da Muzej isključivo baštini antifašističko naslijeđe ograničeno na period Drugog svjetskog rata i da o zatočeničkom objektu za period 1992-1995 ne posjeduju nikakvu službenu evidenciju. Iz svega se da zaključiti da i institucija Muzeja nastavlja praksu negiranja zločina. U javnom prostoru se za ovaj slučaj sa bošnjačke strane često može čuti da to nije bio nikakav zatočenički objekat ili logor, već sabirni centar koji je imao ulogu zaštite lokalnog hrvatskog stanovništva, usprkos tome što je Sud BiH u dva vođena procesa presudio kazne za zločine nad civilima i ratnim zarobljenicima zatvorenim u Muzeju „Bitka za ranjenike na Neretvi“.

Hrvatska udruga logoraša Domovinskog rata 1. marta/ožujka obilježava dan raspuštanja logora i do sada im nije dozvoljen ulaz u prostorije muzeja. Komemoraciju obavljaju na platou ispred ulaznih vrata u muzej.

Teško je razumljiv stav uprave muzeja jer odnos prema prošlosti u različitim kontekstima nije usmjeren na nipodaštavanje jednog sa drugim. Ostaje briga da će sa ovakvim odnosom samo sebi nanijeti štetu kao instituciji koja treba imati faktografski pristup istorijskim činjenicama.

Za pristup školi u Zijemlju nismo imali kome da se obratimo za pristup, jer nije u funkciji, ali smo obavijestili nadležnu policijsku stanicu MUP-a RS iz Nevesinja čiji su pripadnici obezbjedili boravak našoj grupi u dvorištu škole na dan naše posjete. Iz škole su 1992. godine zatočenici izvođeni na egzekucije, a tijela su nakon rata pronalazena u nekoliko obližnjih jama. Još uvijek traju suđenja za zločine počinjene nad Bošnjacima Nevesinja, a nakon više bezuspješnih pokušaja porodica žrtava da se mjesta stradanja obilježe, uz dozvole nadležnih, odlučeno je da se podigne jedinstveno spomen obilježje u selu Kljuni kod Nevesinja, gdje se 23. juna/lipnja svake godine obilježava godišnjica stradanja Bošnjaka i Hrvata Nevesinja.

Sprovodeći ovu akciju nastojali smo staviti u fokus nepravedan odnos prema žrtvama koji politike sjećanja kreiraju skoro tri decenije nakon rata i potrebu da se o tome traže rješenja na širem društveno-

političkom nivou. Uključili smo u akciju ljude koji su bili neposredni svjedoci jednog vremena, Slobodana Mrkajića, Emira Hajdarovića, Marinka Ljolju i Suada Omeriku, koji su nam iz prve ruke ispričali i svoja iskustva stradalnika, ali i predložili svoju borbu za njegovanje kulture sjećanja u uslovima obespravljenja i negiranja. Niko od njih nije favorizovao vlastite žrtve i svi su izrazili volju i spremnost da obidu mjesta patnje i drugih. U ovakvim prilikama, koje su nažalost rijetke, imamo primjere solidarnosti i podrške, katarze i iskoraka ka promjeni ustaljenih samoviktimoloških obrazaca. Ostaće nam nepoznanica, za sada, zašto nema volje za promjenom, za otvaranjem dijaloga i iskrenim i poštenim suočavanjem sa ratnim naslijeđem obrazovnih i javnih ustanova, akademske zajednice i političkih struktura.

Akcija je pobudila interes medija, a neka od svjedočanstava učesnika akcije smo zabilježili i u [videu](#) dostupnom na našem YouTube kanalu.

Više o akcijama obilježavanja mjesta stradanja možete pronaći na našoj internet stranici onms.nenasilje.org

Nakon posjete zatočeničkim objektima u Hercegovini: Katarza, smiraj i pitanje šta dalje

Vanja Šunjić

Već drugu godinu za redom prisustvujem zajedničkoj posjeti grupe logoraša, ratnih veterana i mirovnih aktivista neobilježenim zatočeničkim objektima i stratištima iz proteklog rata u Bosni i Hercegovini. To je nastavak male, gerilske aktivnosti Obilježavanja neobilježenih mjesta stradanja koju je Centar za nenasilnu akciju Sarajevo/Beograd započeo prije deset godina.

Veterani i logoraši, bivši neprijatelji, okupili su se i ove godine početkom marta u zajedničkoj misiji, da se patnja koju su oni prošli nikome ne ponovi. Trenutak njihovog susreta izgleda katarzično i ulijevaju nadu, ali

i odgovornost da se njihove riječi i iskustvo nikada ne zaborave i da se moraju prenositi dalje. Jer, ako oni, koji su nosili pušku na ramenima četiri godine, ili prošli najveće torture logora, danas mogu ustrajavati na polju izgradnje mira, onda je najmanje što mi preostaje krenuti njihovim stopama.

Kasarna Čelebići je prvo mjesto gdje se 9. marta zaputila grupa od 50-ak veterana, logoraša i aktivista, uz pratnju novinara iz i inostranih medijskih kuća. Slobodan Mrkajić, držeći pod ruku Tamaru Zrnoviću, članicu CNA tima, sporo, ali sigurno, prvi put korača prema hangaru u kojem je bio zatočen. Grupu

dočekuju zatvorena vrata, a Mrkajiću naviru uspome-
ne na torture koje je tu doživio, kreirajući u prisutnima
jasne slike patnji kroz koje je prolazio. Dok se sitna
proljetna kiša sliva po prisutnima i studen uvlači u
kosti, on govori kako su baš na tom mjestu morali zuriti
u sunce dok se ne onesvijeste. Pri izlasku iz Kasarne
Čelebići, on moli da se oda počast i polože ruže i ispred
drugih hangara, gdje su mu bili zatočeni članovi
porodice.

Slobodanu je ovo četvrti logor u kojem je bio, prije
nego što je razmijenjen na Grbavici. Početkom prošle
godine se pridružio sličnoj akciji nazvanoj „Četiri
silosa“. Tada je ispred silosa u Tarčinu, mjestu gdje je
takođe bio zatočen, položio ružu, odajući poštu onima
koji nisu preživjeli. I tada je govorio o iskustvu zatočē-
nja u logoru. Iako su u ratu bili zarobljavani sa
namjerom da budu poniženi jer su drukčijeg imena i
prezimeni, bivši logoraši, sa svih strana, danas
najbolje razumiju jedni druge jer su im iskustva gotovo
istovjetna.

Drugo jutro, 10. marta grupa kreće prema Rodoču,
gdje se nekada nalazila Kasarna JNA, a danas je
kampus Sveučilišta u Mostaru. U dugoj vožnji evociraju
se uspomene iz mladosti, priča se o politici i životima
bivših logoraša i ratnih veterana, danas mirovnih akti-
vista. Posmatram ih i sve vrijeme pokušavam da
zamislim kakvi bi njihovi životi bili, i da li bi se ikada
sreli, da nije bilo rata. Ne mogu da se oduprem dojamu
da je nad njima učinjena nepravda kakvu niko ne
zaslužuje, no i uprkos tome, oni se trude da barem
malo poprave zbilju u kojoj živimo gradeći mostove,
pružajući ruku bivšem neprijatelju i uvažavajući
njegovu patnju. Nad glavom mi visi i pitanje kakav bi
moj i život moje porodice bili da su moj otac, ili deda
imali priliku da postanu egzekutori, ili nesreću da budu
žrtve. Da li bi nakon svega imali hrabrosti kao ovi ljudi
da se suprotstave dominantnim stavovima okoline i
politikama koje grade kulturu sjećanja zasnovanu
samo na kultu vlastite žrtve.

Zatvorena kapija ispred kampusa Sveučilišta u
Mostaru je znak da grupa ne može dalje i da Emir
Hajdarević, bivši zarobljenik logora Heliodrom, neće
moći položiti ružu na mjestu gdje je bio zatočen i gdje
su stradali neki od njegovih poznanika.

Dok kola privatne zaštitarske agencije motre na
grupu kao da je u kakvom vandalskom činu, Hajdarević

se prisjeća kako je nekoliko stotina metara od ove
kapije kao mladić bio mučen i izgladnjivan, kako su
njega i druge logoraše slali na prve linije u Mostaru i
kako su zatočēnici samo nestajali. Grupa nepomično
stoji slušajući Hajdarevića, dok se između prisutnih
probija Mirko Zečević Tadić, nekadašnji pripadnik
HVO-a, pruža mu ruku i u svoje ime se izvinjava za
nedjela koja su počinili pripadnici njegove vojske. Suze
mi naviru na oči i želim da kada pomislim na Bosnu i
Hercegovinu, ovo bude slika koja će u mojoj memoriji
predstavljati domovinu. Ranjenu, pocijepanu, otima-
nu, kupovanu i prodavanu, ali odlučnu u nakani da se
pređu sve vidljive i nevidljive granice.

Grupa se vraća u autobus i napušta kompleks
Heliodroma, zapažajući kroz prozorska okna jednu
zgradu koja se renovira. Hajdarević govori da će tu biti
Muzej HVO-a. Dok logoraši stalno dolaze pred zatvore-
na vrata i kapiju, neki drugi, samo zato što imaju vlast,
pokušavaju mijenjati historiju, ističući kao dominantnu
politiku sjećanja samo onu koja favorizuje vlastito
stradanje. No, kroz rad sa veteranima, logorašima i
porodicama žrtava, shvatila sam da nikakva monu-
mentalna zdanja neće doprinijeti pomirenju našem
društvu, a posebno ona koja su proizvod revizionizma
i pozivaju na mržnju. Pomirenje se može graditi samo
kroz iskrenu empatiju, pruženu ruku i otvoreno srce, i
mnoge žrtve su spremne na to. Nažalost, vlast takve
nije spremna podržati jer ne produbljuju strah,
predrasude, ne šire mržnju...

U Zijemlju, mjestu koje pripada općini Istočni
Mostar, život kao da je odavno stao. Samo pokoji trag
balege na uskom putu ukazuje da tu život ipak postoji.
Dok hladan vjetar sa Veleža i Prenja nosi sve pred
sobom, grupa se kreće ka Osnovnoj školi „Dnopolje“ i
nekoliko zaključanih pomoćnih objekata. Kroz prozor
jednog se nazire dugački sto prekriven mušemom,
iznad koje je velika zastava Republike Srpske. Ako bih
ignorirala zastavu, ambijent bi podsjećao na seoske
škole iz sorealističkih filmova. Međutim, ne mogu da je
ignoriram, jer ona u meni uvijek budi nelagodu i
osjećam se primoranom da pripadam negdje, ili pri-
hvatim stvari sa kojima se suštinski ne slažem, u ime
nekih viših ciljeva. Zastava na tom zidu je svojevrsna
personifikacija lokalne, ali i generalno vlasti u Bosni i
Hercegovini; nacionalno obilježje uprkos praznom
stolu, „obranjena“ teritorija, uprkos praznom selu,

budućnost koja se gradi na mitovima i poricanju, uprkos presudama, činjenicama i mogućnosti da se gradi bolje društvo.

Ispred škole Dnopolje, Senad Omerika prisutnima govori o zločinima koji su se ovdje dogodili, objašnjavajući da se egzekucija desila toliko brzo, da žrtve nisu bile ni opljačkane. Nakon što su ubijene, žrtve su bacane u jame po okolnim mjestima. Bio je svjedok mnogih ekshumacija i izvlačenja tijela iz jama, a prilikom jedne takve, speleolozi su u jami pronašli živog vuka kojem su spasili život, priča Omerika, povlačeći paralelu između ljudi i neljudi.

Napuštajući Zijemlje, profesor Omerika govori o tome kako je svojim učenicima držao časove književnosti, kako ih je učio da ne mrze jer su svi jednaki i vodio ih na prve poslijeratne ekskurzije. Dijeli sreću jer su izrasli u dobre i poštene ljude.

Ovogodišnja akcija završava posjeti i obilježavaju Muzeja „Bitka za ranjenike na Neretvi“ u Jablanici, gdje grupa zatiče nekoliko turista koji fotografišu zaključano prekrasno socijalističko zdanje koje slavi pobjedu u Drugom svjetskom ratu. Oni vjerovatno ni ne slute šta se tu dešavalo prije samo 30-ak godina, jer naša novija historija se samo interpretira kroz autoviktimizaciju „svojih“ i dehumanizaciju „drugih“, bez ideje da zločine čine pojedinci, a ne narodi, te da su nepravde učinjene ne određenom kolektivitetu nego svakoj individui ponaosob. I ispred Muzeja nas dočekuju zaključana vrata, uprkos silnim molbama i višemjesečnoj komunikaciji uprava muzeja nije dozvolila ulazak.

Prisutnima se obraća nastavnik Marinko Ljojo koji je tu bio zatočen. Ljojo ukazuje na činjenicu da su osim stalnih eksponata muzejske postavke, te 1993. tu bili i oni, živi eksponati, iako zvanične interpretacije prošlosti to danas nijekaju. I dok uhranjeni mješanac veselo maše repom i na trenutak skrene fokus grupe, svima izmamivši osmijeh na lice, brzo se vraća gorak okus u

ustima uz pitanje kako su mjesta poput muzeja, društvenih domova, općina, kasarni, škola... postala mučilišta i gubilišta.

Ma koliko iscrpne bile, akcije Obilježavanje neobilježenih mjesta stradanja kao i zajedničke komemoracije završavaju dozom katarze i smiraja, jer je odata počast stradalim žrtvama. Tu je uvijek i doza ljutnje, jer dosta počinioca nije procesuirano, a preživjeli i porodice žrtava i nakon 30 godina ne mogu do kraja pristupiti mjestima zatočenja i položiti cvijeće na memorijale koji bi nedvojbeno govorili šta se tu desilo.

Nakon akcije Obilježavanja neobilježenih mjesta stradanja u Hercegovini, ali i svake druge aktivnosti koju je organizovao CNA sa veteranima, logorašima i aktivistima, imam potrebu da ljude vučem za rukav i ukazujem koliko je malo potrebno da nam bude bolje. Za mene kao mladu osobu koja planira ostatu u Bosni i Hercegovini i tu izgraditi dom, biti u isti dan u Ahmićima i Trusini znači biti na pravoj strani historije i svakoj žrtvi odati priznanje i poštu bez obzira na nacionalni predznak. Otići u Herceg Novi i biti na komemoraciji sa porodicama ubijenih čija tijela nikada nisu našli niti je iko odgovarao za zločine znači razumjeti i uvažiti i tuđu patnju i boriti se za dobrosusjedske odnose. Otići u Prijedor na Dan bijelih traka meni predstavlja minimum poštovanja prema roditeljima koji i nakon 30 godina zbog opstrukcije lokalnih vlasti ne mogu da izgrade spomenik i na njega polože ružu za svoje nevino ubijeno dijete.

Užasno me ljuti i frustrira stav moje generacije da nema potrebe da razgovaramo o pomirenju, jer se mi nismo ni sa kim ni svađali. Takav stav možda sutra ponovo nekome daje povod da u naše ime počini strašne zločine. Rođena sam u ratu i tada nisam imala priliku da im se suprotstavim, ali sada ću učiniti sve da se više ne ponovi.



mirovno
obrazovanje

Treninzi koje smo održali u poslednjih godinu dana:

- 45. Osnovni trening iz izgradnje mira, Kruševo, Severna Makedonija, 6 – 16. 10. 2023.
- 7. Mir Paqe Мир trening iz izgradnje mira, Berovo, Severna Makedonija, 12 – 21. 4. 2024.

Od septembra 2023. do istog meseca ove godine održali smo dva treninga. Na naše osnovne treninge pozvane su da se prijave osobe sa prostora bivše Jugoslavije, starije od 21 godinu, s tim da je radni jezik bosansko-hrvatsko-crnogorsko-srpski. Mir Paqe Мир treninzi se odvijaju uz prevod, i na tu vrstu mirovnog obrazovanja mogu da se prijave ljudi koji žive na prostoru Srbije, Kosova i Severne Makedonije i govore albanski, makedonski ili srpski jezik.

Za oba treninga smo primili manji broj prijava u odnosu na ranije godine, i to čini se postaje pojava koja će se ponavljati i u budućnosti: razlozi mogu biti brojni, ali mi kao glavni doživljavamo opšti pad broja studenata/kinja humanističkih nauka u celoj regiji (pa i svetu). Takođe, teškoća sa kojom se srećemo poslednjih godina, a da nije postojala ranije je i ta što veliki broj zaposlenih u prosveti više ne može da dobije odobrenje za prisustvo treningu, zbog situacije u prosveti, gde je teško pronaći zamene. Uopšteno govoreći, sve je manje poslodavaca koji su spremni da zaposlenima odobre odsustvo, ne videći u njemu priliku i za svoju (nematerijalnu) dobit. Pa ipak, za oba treninga pristiglo je dovoljno prijava da i dalje odabair učesnika temeljimo na motivaciji, njihovom dosadašnjem angažmanu ili potencijalnom angažmanu u budućnosti na polju izgradnje mira.

Motivacija prijavljenih je na vrlo visokom nivou, te su nam treninzi jako intenzivni, sa puno međusobne razmene između učesnika/ca, te motivacije za dalje bavljenje mirovnim radom.

Ujedno je ovo prilika i da najavimo da ćemo toko 2025. godine organizovati sedmi po redu Trening za trenere i trenerice, na kom će učestvovati odabrani učesnici nekog od naših programa mirovnog obrazovanja. Poslednji put smo Trening za trenere i trenerice organizovali tokom 2014. godine, i on nam je bio izvor kako novih članova-ica našeg tima, tako i brojnih aktivnosti, koje su se razradile i počele održavati na osnovu razmene nastale na Treningu za trenere i trenerice (Biber konkurs za kratku priču na temu pomirenja, Obilježavanje neobilježenih mjesta stradanja, Mir Paqe Mip trening, Trening iz izgradnje mira za studente-ice iz Bosne i Hercegovine).

Doživljaji učesnika/ca treninga su nam jako važni, i fidek koji dobijamo na samim programima mirovnog obrazovanja, ali i kasnije. Temeljimo svoj rad i planiranje budućnih aktivnosti na tim povratnim informacijama, te smo zamolili neke od učesnika/ca naših programa da nam opišu svoja iskustva, i ona su dostupna na našem sajtu, na linku: <https://nenasilje.org/iskustva-sa-cna-treninga>.

Kruševska republika suza i smijeha

Nedžad Novalić

Biti dio osnovnog treninga za izgradnju mira uvijek je privilegija i neka vrsta nagrade, bez obzira da li kroz trening prošli kao učesnici ili imali ulogu trenera. Nakon što se emocije slegnu i umor odagna, uvijek

ostaje osjećaj zadovoljstva, bezbroj priča za (pre)pričati, neka nova imena koja su dobila svoja lica i nada da će biti još ovakvih prilika. Posebno zainteresirani učesnici otvoreni za rad na sebi i rad u društvu i

beskrajno lijepi ambijent Kruševa u Sjevernoj Makedoniji osjećaj samo pojačavaju i čovjeka već nakon kratkog vremena bacaju u nostalgiju. No, krenimo redom.

Osnovni trening iz izgradnje mira, 45. po redu, održan je u Kruševu, na jugu Sjeverne Makedonije, od 6. do 16. oktobra 2023. godine. Od našeg posljednjeg Osnovnog treninga u Sjevernoj Makedoniji zemlja je promijenila ime, mnoge nazive ulica, puteva i aerodroma, riješila problem sa jednim susjedom da bi se u međuvremenu otvorio problem sa drugim, sa vlasti je otišla jedna stranka da bi došla druga... Promijenilo se mnogo šta od te 2017. ali ono što se ne mijenja jeste jedna neviđena ljubaznost kod običnih ljudi, sreća kada sretnu „zemljake“ i spremnost da pomognu. A to uvijek veseli srca i pomaže treningu.

Grupa željna razmjene

Na raspisani poziv prijavilo nam se ukupno 81 osoba, daleko više žena (52) nego muškaraca. Najviše prijava stiglo je iz BiH (33), Crne Gore (16), Srbije (14), Hrvatske (11), Sjeverne Makedonije (5) i sa Kosova samo 2 prijave. Na kraju imali smo ukupno 18 učesnika jer su dvije osobe u posljednji čas morale otkazati učešće, a kratki vremenski rok i daleki put do Kruševa onemogućili su one koji su bili na listi čekanja da se brzo organiziraju. Od ukupnog broja imali smo 11 učesnica i 7 učesnika, a gledano po državama najviše učesnika/učesnica bilo je iz Hrvatske (5) i Srbije (5), iz BiH (4), Sjeverne Makedonije (2) te iz Crne Gore i Kosova po jedna osoba. Prosjek godina bio je 28, u rasponu od 21 do 56.

Pad u broju prijava posljedica je kompleksnih demografskih i socio-ekonomskih kretanja u kojima rapidno opada broj stanovnika (posebno mladih), a i oni koji ostaju sve više i više se usmjeravaju ka tehničkim naukama, pa mnogi univerziteti skoro da ostaju bez studenata na društveno-humanističkim fakultetima. Računajući sa manjim brojem prijava fokusirali smo se da poziv za trening osvježimo i da kroz kampanju u kojoj smo koristili iskustva osoba koje su ranije prošle trening dopremo do ljudi kojima je trening zaista potreba i koji će rad na samom treningu, a prvenstvenu razmjenu iskustava i znanja, učiniti boljim. To se pokazalo kao smislen potez što se vidjelo ne samo u kvalitetnijim prijavama već i tokom rada na

samom treningu. Različita dob učesnika, mjesto življenja i ipak kakav-takav balans žena i muškaraca omogućili su nam u startu grupu sa kojom je će biti izazovno i inspirativno raditi.

Sam osnovni trening iz izgradnje mira, iako uvijek temeljen na međusobnoj razmjeni iskustva i znanja i fokusiran jednako na ličnu koliko i na društvenu transformaciju, prolazio je od 1997. kroz mnoge adaptacije. Bili su to pokušaji da se odgovori na promjene u našem društvu i na različite potrebe učesnika, nešto sa čim smo se susreli i ovaj put. Bio je ovo trening na kojem je dobar dio učesnika bio rođen nakon posljednjeg rata na našim prostorima, onog u Makedoniji 2001. godine. Nove generacije posljedice rata žive kao nešto dato i „normalizirano“, a dobrim dijelom se tek kod novih generacije vidi koliko ustvari živimo u konzervativnim društvima, primarno u smislu da smo okrenuti isključivo sebi, da se bavimo sobom. Manjak znanja o drugima predstavlja objektivnu teškoću i čini razmjenu (o kontekstima iz kojih dolazimo ali i generacijsku) još važnijom i potrebnijom.

Ispostavilo se da je grupa željna takve razmjene pa smo od samog početka, od prve radionice, zaorali duboko. Bila je ovo rijetka prilika u kojoj nam je uvijek nedostajalo vremena, trening na kojem su se sve pauze za kafu i obroke koristile da se nastavi započeti razgovor, iskren, najčešće iz lične perspektive uz vidljivu spremnost ne samo da se kaže već i da se čuje drugi čovjek. Zajednički kreiran siguran prostor u grupi omogućio je da možemo podijeliti i neka najintimnija iskustva i svjedočanstva, a takva dijeljenja uvijek imaju nevjerovatan potencijal za kasniji rad kada se sa ličnog prelazi na društveni nivo i teške teme kakve su predrasude, identitet(i), diskriminacija ili suočavanje sa prošlošću. Od samog početka pokazana spremnost da iznesemo svoje iskustvo i mišljenje, da ne bježimo u sigurnu zonu „političke korektnosti“, pratila je stalna briga jednih za druge što je pomjeralo granice dokle možemo ići.

Trening je iskustvo

Od prvog dijela treninga i rada na temama kao što su komunikacija, timski rad, nasilje, identitet(i), diskriminacija, do centralnog dijela u kojem smo se bavili suočavanjem sa prošlošću sa ovom grupom mogli smo raditi i radili smo kompleksne vježbe i otvarali i

najkompleksnije teme: šta bi bio pošten odnos prema prošlosti, šta treba da se promijeni u našim sredinama a što bi bio korak ka tom poštenom odnosu prema prošlosti, posljedice rata koje i danas vidimo, čega nam je lično žao u kontekstu ratova i naslijeđa tih ratova... Kako neko od učesnika reče, trening je iskustvo koje se samo može proći i ovdje je teško prepričati čak i teme, a kamoli donijeti djelić atmosfere... Zalaganje i nešteđenje u prvom dijelu treninga utjecali su na blagi pad energije na samom kraju tako da je jedini žal koji ostaje pitanje jesmo li mogli više tokom posljednja dva dana treninga kada smo se bavili konkretnim primjerima šta izgradnja mira jeste u kontekstu naših društava i prolaska 30 godina od rat(ov)a.

Ako su „naši“ ratovi daleko od novih generacija i ako se jaz vremena samo povećava, ono što nam je svakako blisko jesu ratovi koji bjesne oko nas. Nevjerovatna globalizacija i digitalizacija učinili su da u stvarnom vremenu pratimo dešavanja u Ukrajini, Izraelu i Palestini, Nagorno-Karabakhu... Dio učesnika je imao poznanike i prijatelje u nekim od ovih zemalja, sa zebnjom smo pratili novu eskalaciju nasilja i negdje tiho osvijestili da i ovi ratovi jesu „naši“. To referisanje na aktuelne događaje koje je u više navrata dolazilo od učesnika otvaralo nam je neke nove perspektive, ali i pitanja. Ključna perspektiva jeste svijest da smo dio jedne globalne zajednice, da, bez obzira koji naš

profesionalni put bio, imamo obavezu reagirati na nepravdu i graditi društvo bez nasilja, predrasuda, diskriminacije...

Zahvalni smo i osoblju hotela Montana u Kruševu, hladnije sobe nadomještali su ljubaznošću i susretljivošću. Trenerski tim osim nas iz Centra za nenasilnu akciju Sarajevo-Beograd (Ivana Franović, Radimir Radević i Nedžad Novalić) pojačali smo našim sad već „stalnim povremenim“ saradnikom Luanom Imerijem iz Centra za ljudska prava i rješavanje konflikata iz Skoplja. Njegovo iskustvo, osjećaj za ljude i nepogrešiv osjećaj za pravdu i prijedlozi da u radu isprobamo i nešto iz njegove kuhinje (ovaj put bila je to, između ostalog, inspirativna vježba „Zajdi, zajdi.“ u dijelu o diskriminaciji) uvijek nas neizmjereno obogate i usreće. Zahvalni smo i svim učesnicima i učesnicama, odvojiti deset dana u ovom svijetu trke i rokova danas je, što bi Hercegovci rekli, golemo.

Kažu u šali da je Kruševska Republika, odnosno Ilandenski ustanak iz 1903. koji je postao bitna odrednica savremenog makedonskog identiteta, trajao 10 dana jer je tačno toliko osmanskoj vojsci trebalo da pronađe Kruševo. Naš trening, naša republika suza i smijeha, trajao je također deset dana, iako je bilo ideja da ostanemo i duže. Na kraju nisu nas nikakve vlasti pronašle i rastjerale, otišli smo, kako neko reče, nekako drukčiji. Bolji, siguran sam.





intervju

Mirjana Trifković Marjanović: „Dobro došli na iskustvo koje život znači“

Mirjana Trifković Marjanović po struci je diplomirana pravnica, a za sebe kaže da je po životnom opredjeljenju mirovna aktivistkinja, koja permanentno nastoji davati svoj profesionalni i aktivistički doprinos u mirovnim procesima koji se dešavaju u Bosni i Hercegovini nakon rata. Mirjana je bila polaznica Osnovnog treninga izgradnje mira 2013. godine, a nakon toga je bila učesnica i Treninga za trenere 2014. Učestvovala je u velikom broju aktivnosti koje organizuje Centar za nenasilnu akciju Sarajevo-Beograd. Za nas je Mirjana dugogodišnja prijateljica i neko na koga smo se uvijek mogli osloniti. Podržavali smo jedni druge, radili zajedno, družili se i učili skupai jedni od drugih. Akcije obilježavanja neobilježenih mjesta stradanja, uspostavljanje kontakata i povjerenja sa udruženjima žrtava rata, odlasci na komemoracije, učešće u „Školi drugačijeg sjećanja“ koju je Mirjana vodila godinama na području Višegrada, Goražda i Foče samo su nešto što bi ovdje valjalo spomenuti. Mirjana kroz rad i aktivizam već punih 15 godina gradi mostove i otvara ne zatvorena, već zaključana vrata. Zato smo, dok se pripremamo za novi Trening za trenere/trenerice, razgovarali sa njom o njenim iskustvima sa prethodnog treninga i šta je on za nju značio.

Možeš li da se sjetiš kako si saznala za Centar za nenasilnu akciju i kako si počela da saraduješ sa nama? Čega se najviše sjećaš sa tih prvih susreta?

Sa ove tačke gledišta, jako mi je teško shvatiti da je prošla decenija od početka naše saradnje i mog dubljeg ulaska u procese ličnog rasta i razvoja, ali i dubljeg bavljenja mirovnim aktivizmom. Kada sam se prijavila na Osnovni trening, radila sam u „Helsinškom odboru za ljudska prava“ u Bijeljini. Moje primarno polje djelovanja tada nije bilo mirovni rad, ali sam se bavila tranzicionom pravdom i mirovnim edukacijama. Svoj lični rast i razvoj upravo vezujem, prvo za Osnovni trening, a poslije i za Trening za trenere.

Moj prvi utisak saradnje sa Centrom za nenasilnu akciju je ostao u svjetlu mog propitivanja: zar ovi ljudi stvarno postoje i zar neko dubinski otvara teme

izgradnje mira i razna društvena pitanja, ali kroz rad na sebi? Tada sam shvatila da društvenih promjena nema bez lične promjene.

Druga stvar koja mi je bila fascinantna jesu međusobni odnosi ljudi unutar u CNA tima. Timski rad i podrška koji su postojali unutar tima koji je vodio moj Osnovni trening bili su mi fascinantni. Kada sam se vratila s treninga, u kancelariji sam odmah svima predložila da se i oni prijave, jer smatram da je ovo iskustvo bitno za sve nas koji radimo na temama izgradnje mira.

Kako je izgledao tvoj Osnovni trening i šta je ono što si ponijela sa njega?

Kada sam vidjela poziv za Osnovni trening, osjetila sam da se ja na njega moram prijaviti. Dok sam pisala prijavu, nisam imala osjećaj da ću proći, no nadala sam se da će me primiti. Moj Osnovni trening se održavao u Mavrovu, u Makedoniji, za koje do tada nisam ni znala gdje je.

Na Osnovnom treningu sam bila najmlađa učesnica i dok se odvijao trening, nisam bila toliko svjesna stvari i procesa koji se dešavaju. Unutar grupe jesam, ali ono što se dešavalo samo sa mnom osvijestila sam tek kada sam ušla u autobus i krenula nazad, put Bijeljine.

Jesi li nakon Osnovnog treninga počela više da se baviš temama izgradnje mira i suočavanja s prošlošću, da li si na treningu dobila neke vještine za to?

Na Treningu za izgradnju mira prvi put sam otvoreno čula više strana i više učesnika u sukobu, imala sam priliku da čujem kako se osjećaju ljudi po pitanju nečega što su učinili pripadnici mog naroda, ali i da ja imam prostor da kažem kako se osjećam. Osnovni trening mi je pomogao po pitanju vlastitog rasta i razvoja, ali me i pozicionirao u mirovnom aktivizmu. Shvatila sam koliko je bitno da se bavimo mirovnim temama, povezivanjem ljudi i svime onim što se dešavalo u Bosni i Hercegovini tokom devedesetih.

Nakon što sam završila svoj Osnovni trening, a onda ga je i moja kolegica završila u narednoj godini, nas dvije smo u Helsinškom odboru u Bijeljini organizovale mirovni trening sa studentima sa univerziteta u Bosni i Hercegovini. To nam je bilo nešto novo i drugačije, drugačiji pristup, drugačiji rad, ali i međusobno povezivanje studenata. Povezale smo se i nas dvije koje smo vodile to. S ove tačke gledišta, rekla bih da smo bile jako hrabre, jer tu su bili mladi ljudi koji su otvorili mnoga pitanja.

Mene je moj Osnovni trening poprilično obilježio jer sam se poslije njega pozicionirala u mirovnom aktivizmu i počela sam da najviše radim sa mladima. Radila sam mnogo mirovnih edukacija, Školu drugačijeg sjećanja u Istočnoj Bosni, i edukacije studenata i mladih. Sa druge strane, radila sam i sa žrtvama ratnog i seksualnog nasilja, uglavnom ženama. To su neke teme gdje sam profesionalno najviše otišla. Kroz mirovne edukacije koje sam poslije vodila, stalno sam govorila koliko je neophodan Osnovni trening i molila sam ljude da se prijave da bi i oni prošli kroz nešto slično.

Da li ti je Osnovni trening usadio i određenu dozu odgovornosti kada istupaš kao mirovna aktivistkinja i kako generalno gledaš na ovo pitanje u kontekstu mirovnog aktivizma kod nas?

Trening nas je naučio i pitanjima odgovornosti. Nažalost, ljudi koji se bave mirovnim temama vrlo često ne shvataju odgovornost koju to nosi sa sobom i vrlo često ne promišljaju dublje, tako da možda nekada neke stvari mogu nanijeti više štete, nego koristi. Na temama izgradnje mira mora da se radi dublje, ali mora i da se napravi prostor da se ljudi međusobno čuju. Neophodno je da postoji kultura dijaloga, ali i prostor neslaganja, kako bi se to moglo prenijeti na društveni nivo.

Sa ove tačke gledišta, i dalje smatram da većina organizacija koje se bave mirovnim radom ne rade to tako da su svjesne odgovornosti koju njihov rad nosi sa sobom. Nije izgradnja mira okupiti 20 ljudi različitih nacija, odvesti ih negdje da se druže i pričaju kako je zid bijele boje. Kada radiš trening sa mladim ljudima, imaš odgovornost prema tim ljudima i tome šta tvoj trening otvara kod njih. Odgovoran si za njihovo

emotivno stanje, kakvi će doći i otići sa treninga, i to šta će oni dalje da rade u svojim sredinama.

Sve osobe koje se bave mirovnim aktivizmom moraju sebe preispitivati i dovoditi u pitanje stvari koje ne funkcionišu i poboljšavati ih. Ako nam je krajnji cilj da gradimo bolje i pravednije društvo u kojem ćemo se svi čuti, ne možemo raditi, a ne prihvatati odgovornost za svoj rad i ne snositi posljedice učinjenog.

Često učesnici i učesnice koji/e prođu trening govore o tome da im je on pomogao i da otvore neke lične procese i pitanja. Je li i kod tebe to bio slučaj?

Put mog ličnog rasta i razvoja, ja mislim da moram vezati za to što sam rođena u Visokom, mama mi je iz Foče, otac iz Ilijaša, a ja sam odrastala u Foči. Foča je jako zatvorena sredina, uglavnom nacionalno jednostrano obojena. Imala sam sve predispozicije da odrastem u jednu poprilično nacionalno deklarisanu osobu, kojoj bi nacionalni identitet bio među prvim identitetima, no imala sam i sreće jer je moje primarno društvo bilo vrlo raznoliko i međusobno podržavajuće.

Trening mi je pomogao da osvijestim neke lične i porodične stvari koje sam svjesno ili nesvjesno vukla, i da radim na tome kako sama sa sobom, tako i unutar moje primarne porodice.

Zašto si se prijavila na Trening za trenere i koliko ti je on bio važan lično, ali i profesionalno?

To mi je bio logičan nastavak. Kada sam dobila poziv da se prijavim na Trening za trenere i trenerice, znajući da nije javni poziv, bilo mi je drago i važno da je neko prepoznao doprinos koji mogu dati svemu tome, ali mi je bio bitan i zbog profesionalnog napretka. Ja sam nastavila da, kroz Trening za trenere i trenerice radim na sebi, na ličnom nivou, no to je i trening koji te uči kako ti da radiš mirovne edukacije, iskustvene vježbe, diskusije...

Sam taj trening traje poprilično dug vremenski period. Kad se odvijala prva faza TzT-a u BiH su bile poplave i sjećam se da sam jedva izašla iz Bijeljine i došla do Dojrana u Makedoniji, no postojao je entuzijazam da dođem i nastavim da radim. To je bilo sigurno mjesto gdje sam mogla da otvoreno, jasno i glasno

kažem neke stvari, a da nisam ni jednog momenta osjetila strah zbog svojih izgovorenih riječi, iako sam imala samo 22-23 godine. Dobila sam prostor da kažem da se slažem, ne slažem i šta mislim o bilo kojoj temi koja se otvorila. Trening za trenere polaznike i polaznice gradi na profesionalnom nivou i imaju od koga da nauče jako mnogo stvari.

Budući da trening po fazama traje preko pola godine, čega se najviše sjećaš iz tog kreativnog i intenzivnog perioda?

Meni je bilo značajno to što smo imali mogućnost da osmislimo neke naše inicijative i što smo imali podršku za to. Značajan mi je bio i feedback koji si konstantno dobijao od trenera, ali i od ostalih učesnika, jer ti to omogućava da poboljšaš sam sebe, prije nego što bi došao u realnu sredinu, da nešto realizuješ.

Mi smo bili pioniri osmišljavanja inicijativa u različitim dijelovima bivše Jugoslavije, iz čega su proizašle jako dobre akcije. Ja sam ih radila u Istočnoj Bosni. Bilo mi je bitno da radim sa mladima u tom dijelu, koji je i tada, kao i sada, poprilično zatvoren.

Kako opisuješ prijateljstva stečena na Treningu za trenere koja i danas traju?

Moje prijateljstvo je krunisano kumstvom. Osim moje kume koja je prošla i kroz Osnovni i kroz Trening za trenere, pojedine ljude koji rade u CNA smatram istinski prijateljima. Postoji mnogo ljudi iz regiona sa oba treninga sa kojima sam baš ostala u prijateljskim odnosima. To su ljudi sa kojima možeš da budeš ono što jesi jer koincidiraš sa njima na vrijednosnom nivou i povezao si se na nekim dubljim razinama. Ta prijateljstva su mi jako bitna i značajna.

Naredne godine se nakon deceniju ponovo održava Trening za trenere. Šta bi poručila svima koji žele da se prijave?

Ohrabrujem ih da iskoriste tu priliku. S obzirom na cjelokupnu situaciju u svijetu i u Bosni i Hercegovini, mislim da nam je neophodno da imamo što više ljudi koji će se baviti ne samo mirovnim aktivizmom, nego generalno stvarima koje se tiču svih nas, zaštitom vode, šuma i vazduha... Danas su to primarne stvari o kojima nismo razmišljali prije deset godina.

Kada bi trebala da napišeš poruku dobrodošlice učesnicama i učesnicima TZT-a, šta bi u njoj pisalo?

Dobro došli na iskustvo koje život znači.

Budući da dugi niz godina djeluješ u mirovnom aktivizmu, kako ti danas izgleda izgradnja mira u Bosni i Hercegovini?

S ove vremenske distance imam osjećaj da su mirovni procesi u BiH nazadovali u posljednjih deset godina. Kada sam ja počela da radim i malo dublje ulazim u ove teme, na mirovnim edukacijama mladih i školi drugačijeg sjećanja, mislim da su ljudi bili više zainteresovani i bilo je više podrške. Sa ove tačke gledišta, mirovna edukacija je poprilično tanka, a potrebija nam je više no ikada. Mlade generacije koje dolaze odrastaju u jednonacionalnim zajednicama, pod revizionizmom istorije.

Mladi nemaju mogućnosti čak ni da upoznaju ljude koji su drugih nacija, ili oni koji imaju, oni ne pričaju o tome, nego rade na nekim drugim temama, što je isto sasvim u redu, ali ove važne stvari se samo guraju još više pod tepih. Mnogo je transgeneracijskog prenosa traume što rezultuje ogromnim porastom nasilja, a to je posljedica nedostatka systemske podrške ljudima koji su prošli kroz rat, odnosno koji su oboljeli od PTSP, ženama koje su preživjele različite vrste nasilja i dugo, i onda se to kroz porodicu dalje prenosi. Mladi odrastaju u društvu koje je puno nasilja.

Izgradnja mira nije bila systemska n prije deset i više godina, a danas mi se čini da je čak i namjerno toliko rascjepkana. Uprkos tome, postoje ljudi i organizacije koje se i dalje bave time, poput CNA, Kvarta, udruženja veterana i drugih. To su ljudi koji u svom radu kreću od ličnog iskustva i entuzijazma, dajući i drugima podršku i otvarajući prostor za međusobnu saradnju.

Na koji način mladim generacijama predstaviti važnost kontinuirane izgradnje mira i kako im predstaviti sve ono što se dešavalo u prošlost, čiji akteri nisu bili, ali na neki način i danas trpe posljedice svega toga?

Najslikovitiji primjer toga mi je situacija od dvije godine kada sam radila projekat „Simboli izgubljene prošlosti“ sa studenticama iz Sarajeva i Istočnog Sarajeva. Jedna djevojka od 20-ak godina mi je na

uvodnom krugu rekla da se prijavila jer je njen otac otišao da ratuje u Siriju, a da je bio dijete za vrijeme rata u BiH. Ona je došla da bi se počela baviti time, jer je vidjela šta se dešava unutar njene porodice. Kada radim sa mladima, trening posložim tako da vidim šta je njima u stvari neophodno u tom momentu. Važno mi je da napravim siguran prostor gdje se oni mogu međusobno čuti, osjećati sigurno i biti ono što jesu. Tako im nastojim približiti teme koje se tiču izgradnje mira.

Kako o izgradnji mira govoriti u kontekstu činjenice da je od rata(ova) prošlo 30 i više godina?

Mi nismo nakon rata 90-ih uopšte radili sistemski na temi izgradnje mira. Ni kroz sva četiri stuba tranzicione pravde to nikada nije zaživjelo. Najviše što se radilo jesu svjedočenja na suđenjima za ratne zločine, ali fokus nije bio na mirovnim procesima. Sve je više ljudi, veterana, svjedoka zločina koji ne žele da pričaju o prošlosti jer ne vide nikakvu svrhu u tome, osim da se


ponovo traumatiziraju. Međutim, smatram da su ta lična govorenja najučinkovitija u radu sa mladim ljudima, jer kroz nečije iskustvo, ili nakon posjete nekom mjestu stradanja mladi mogu da shvate zašto je važno to o čemu mi govorimo i razviju empatiju.

Teško je baviti se izgradnjom mira u BiH jer je, izostankom sistemskog pristupa, mirovni rad u BiH postao individualni rad i zbog toga mladi ostaju svako u svom nacionalnom toru sa onim što nekome odgovara da uče i rade na tome.

Tema izgradnje mira se ne treba nametati, treba da bude sastavni dio našeg života kao što i jeste. Ne mora biti rat, da bismo gradili mir. Treba da gradimo društvo u kojem ćemo živjeti bolje, osjećati se sigurnije, poštovati prava manjina, poštovati LGBTIQ+ prava i graditi atmosferu u kojoj će se svi osjećati sigurno u svojoj zemlji. Sve se to vezuje za proces izgradnje mira.

Razgovarale: Tamara Zrnović i Vanja Šunjić





publikacije,
promocije

Biber 06

Šesti regionalni konkurs za kratku priču *Biber*, koji smo otvorili u decembru 2023. godine, zatvoren je u maju 2024. godine. Na konkurs je stiglo oko 490 priča, čime se nastavlja trend blagog rasta interesovanja.¹ Dok se ovaj izveštaj priprema za štampu, tročlani žiri u sastavu Tanja Stupar Trifunović, Almin Kaplan i Jasna Dimitrijević izabraće između 20 i 25 priča koje će biti objavljene u novoj zbirci, kao i tri priče koje će dobiti jednu od tri nagrade. Zbirka priča Biber 06 biće objavljena početkom 2025. godine. O rezultatima konkursa, kao i novoj zbirci izvešćemo u sledećem godišnjem izveštaju, a u međuvremenu oni će biti dostupni na našim internet stranicama.

¹ Na prvi konkurs je stiglo oko 300 priča, na drugi 385, na treći 464, na vanredni četvrti, *pandemijski*, 750, a na peti 473.

Za one koji se prvi put sreću s našim radom, da napomenemo da je Biber konkurs za kratku, angažovanu priču na albanskom, makedonskom, bosanskom, hrvatskom, srpskom i crnogorskom jeziku. Tema konkursa je pomirenje u kontekstu zaostavštine ratova i nasilja u zemljama bivše Jugoslavije, a dolaze u obzir i priče koje mogu da doprinesu boljem razumevanju među ljudima, smanjenju mržnje i razgradnji predrasuda, antiratne priče, priče koje se bave suočavanjem s prošlošću, razgradnjom slika o neprijateljima, saosećanjem sa drugima, hrabre priče koje se usuđuju da hodaju u „neprijateljskim“ cipelama, priče koje pomeraju granice i otvaraju nam puteve da gradimo izvrsniju, bezbedniju i slobodniju budućnost za sve. Konkurs organizuje *Biber* tim Centra za nenasilnu akciju od 2015. godine.



Predstavljanje Bibera u Užicu i Ulcinju

Užice, Srbija, 14. 3. 2024. i Ulcinj, Crna Gora, 4. 4. 2024.

Konkurs *Biber* i njegove zbirke priča ove godine smo predstavili u Užicu i Ulcinju. Do sada smo održali 23 promocije u 19 gradova: Sarajevo, Beograd, Skoplje, Novi Sad, Priština, Tetovo, Zagreb, Mitrovica, Podgorica, Šibenik, Prijedor, Bugojno, Bujanovac, Prizren, Petrinja, Bitolj, Travnik, Užice i Ulcinj (u nekim gradovima bili smo po dva puta).

U Užicu događaj smo organizovali u saradnji sa Užičkom književnom republikom i Narodnom bibliotekom Užice. Govorili su autorke **Tena Lončarević** iz

Županje i **Amina Kaja** iz Prištine, autor **Bojan Krivokapić** iz Novog Sada i **Ivana Franović** ispred Biber tima. Razgovor je vodila **Ružica Marjanović**.

Ulcinjski događaj organizovali smo u saradnji sa Libraria Ulqini. Na njemu su učestvovali autorka **Aida Šečić Nezirević** iz Travnika, autor **Srđan Miljević** iz Beograda, autor **Nikola Nikolić** iz Podgorice, prevodilac **Qerim Ondozi** iz Prištine, kao i **Katarina Miličević** ispred Biber tima. Razgovor je vodila **Arlinda Osmanović**.

Najava publikacije „Dolazimo u miru. Rad sa ratnim veteranima na izgradnji mira“

Ivana Franović

Krajem tekuće godine (2024) iz štampe će izaći naša nova knjiga „Dolazimo u miru. Rad sa ratnim veteranima na izgradnji mira“ koju smo dugo planirali, a posljednje tri i po godine sprovodili u delo. Kao što većina čitalaca naših Godišnjih izveštaja i onih koji na druge načine prate naš rad zna, Centar za nenasilnu akciju već 22 godine dosta uspešno saraduje sa učesnicima rata u radu na izgradnji mira. Potrudili smo se da u knjizi predstavimo iskustva koja smo sakupili, šta smo sve naučili, neutabane puteve koje smo isprobavali, a potom i utabavali, u čemu smo sve uspeli, ali i u čemu nismo, kao i pogrešne pretpostavke koje smo imali.

Tekstove u knjizi potpisuju članovi CNA tima: **Nenad Vukosavljević**, **Amer Delić**, **Nedžad Novalić** i **ja (Ivana Franović)**. Knjigu su pored mene uređivale **Davorka Turk** i naša dugogodišnja saradnica i prijateljica **Martina Fischer**. Knjiga je podeljena u dve celine: jedna se fokusira na potencijal ratnih veterana za izgradnju mira i iskustva koja smo sakupili, druga govori o ljudima koji čine taj rad mogućim.

Hronološki su opisane sve aktivnosti koje smo sa ratnim veteranima sprovodili i šta smo želeli da postignemo: od početnih javnih tribina na kojima su govorili bivši borci sa različitih strana o svojoj motivaciji da učestvuju u ratu, preko dijaloških treninga koje smo uveli kad smo shvatili da su preko potrebni za dalju saradnju, do prvih, mogu sada reći, stidljivih poseta ratnih veterana jednih drugima, gde bi lokalno boračko udruženje bilo domaćin i vodič kroz njihov kraj, a onda i trenutka kada su ove posete uhvatile potpun zamah, pa su nas domaćini vodili i na mesta stradanja gde su pojedinci iz njihovih vojski počinili zločin. Time su napravili ogroman skok za izgradnju mira, jer su se suprotstavili uvreženoj paradigmi da se negiraju stradanja drugih i ne prepoznaje odgovornost za zločine na njihovoj strani. U ove aktivnosti polako i pažljivo uvodili smo i medije, kao i druge predstavnike civilnog društva. Kad smo se i mi i ratni veterani dovoljno ohrabрили i izgradili visoko poverenje jednih u druge, počeli smo da prisustvujemo javnim komemoracijama stradalima: manjim, kojima bi prisustvovalo lokalno stanovništvo ili samo porodice žrtava;

srednjim, na kojima bi učestvovala lokalne vlasti i predstavnici verskih zajednica; ali i većim na kojim bi bili predstavnici vlasti i državnih/entitetskih institucija i koje su posebno važne za održavanje jednostranih ratnih narativa i učvršćivanje etničkih identiteta, gde se neretko može čuti govor mržnje i podsećanje na to ko nam je neprijatelj. Prisustvo ratnih veterana sa različitih strana na takvom mestu često izaziva veliku pažnju i suptilno utiče na promenu atmosfere, a nekada i na promenu samih govora koji se održavaju i rečnika koji se upotrebljava. Čini se da to tiho ili nemo prisustvo komemoraciji uz polaganje cveća ili molitvu najviše znači porodicama stradalih. Već višedecenijski vapaj ovih ljudi jeste da se prepozna stradanje njihovih najbližih, koje se najčešće na drugoj strani negira ili umanjuje i banalizuje, tako da im je dolazak ratnih veterana sa te druge strane i njihovo poklanjanje žrtvama, velika podrška. Knjiga govori kako smo, korak po korak, do toga došli.


Bilo nam je važno da u knjizi predstavimo i autentične glasove bivših boraca, pa je nekoliko tekstova zasnovano na intervjuima koje smo tokom 2021. godine sprovedli sa 29 učesnika rata (nažalost, nismo mogli sve da ih uključimo, jer onda proces stvaranja ove publikacije ne bi imao kraja). Pored predstavljanja ovih hrabrih ljudi, možete pročitati o tome zašto su se i kako našli u ratu, kako im je bilo, šta im je najteže padalo, kako su doživeli mirovni sporazum, čemu su se nadali, a onda i o tome kako su se i zašto priključili radu na izgradnji mira, koliko im je bilo teško da se odluče na susret s bivšim neprijateljem, šta misle da se postiže ovakvim mirovnim radom, kako je njihova okolina reagovala na njihov mirovni angažman i gde su nalazili podršku.

Želeli smo ovom knjigom da odamo poštovanje svim bivšim borcima sa kojima smo sarađivali i da im se odužimo za ogromnu volju, želju i hrabrost da se sretnu s bivšim neprijateljem i da se zajedno s njim posvete radu na pomirenju i izgradnji mira.

O ovoj knjizi smo krenuli da razmišljamo kada smo počeli učestalo da dobijamo pitanja o mirovnom radu s ratnim veteranima, koja su stizala uglavnom iz inostranstva. Posebno nas je motivisao interes aktivista iz drugih delova sveta koji pokušavaju da se nose sa sličnim problemima. Pokušali smo ovom knjigom da damo odgovor na sva ta pitanja. Kao što Nenad Vukosavljević na početku knjige kaže:

„Nismo imali od koga da učimo, pa smo učili jedni od drugih, mi, mirovni aktivisti, ratni veterani, bivši i sadašnji zemljaci. Učili smo iz svojih uspeha i neuspeha. Učili smo se strpljenju, prihvatanju nesavršenosti i razumevanju. Neću preterati ako kažem da smo učili kako da budemo bolji ljudi, prvo spram onih čiji stavovi su nam bili tuđi i odbojni, pa onda i spram sebe i društava u kojima živimo.“

Tokom više od dve decenije rada mnogo smo toga naučili. Ovo je naš pokušaj da prenesemo znanje dalje, jer to smatramo odgovornim i solidarnim ponašanjem. Ako se znanje ne prenosi, to je kao da nismo skoro ništa ni uradili. Nadamo se da ćemo ovom knjigom podržati i inspirisati ljude koji žele da se bore protiv rata i postratnih nepravdi, koji tek počinju da se nose s balastima prošlosti ili su se, kao i mi mnogo puta, zaglavili i nemaju ideju kako dalje. Posebno se nadamo da ćemo uspeti da inspirišemo i neke druge ljude da postanu graditeljke i graditelji mira, jer su ovom svetu preko potrebni. Ako više od sedamdeset godina nakon početka mirovnih studija svedočimo nezamislivom nasilju u Ukrajini i Palestini i poražavajućoj reakciji sveta na ove ratove, malo smo toga naučili kao čovečanstvo. Preko je potrebno da se posvetimo starijim dobrim i zaboravljenim društvenim vrednostima kao što su solidarnost, društvena pravda, empatija, poštenje, iskrenost, prijateljstvo, ne činiti zlo, podrška, saradnja, nenasilje, izgradnja mira. A od ključnog značaja je da imamo volju da učimo i uđemo u dijalog sa neprijateljem.

A large crowd of children, mostly boys, are gathered in a room. The walls are covered with many small, colorful photographs. The children are looking towards the camera with various expressions. In the foreground, the back of a person's head wearing a brown hooded jacket is visible on the left, and a man in a dark jacket and glasses is partially visible on the right. The overall atmosphere is busy and engaged.

razmjena,
saradnja,
umrežavanje

Studijski put „Mladi se sjećaju zaboravljenih“: Zelena trava zaborava

Katarina Milićević

Povodom obeležavanja 30 godina stradanja civila tokom operacije Medački džep, Inicijativa mladih za ljudska prava Hrvatske i Srpsko narodno vijeće organizovali su od 14.-16.9.2023. studijski put pod nazivom „Mladi se sjećaju zaboravljenih“. Studijskom putu smo se pridružili i mi iz Centra za nenasilnu akciju Sarajevo-Beograd. Vojna akcija Hrvatske vojske nazvana “Džep ’93” je započela 9. septembra, a okončana 17. septembra 1993. godine. Tokom te akcije počinjeni su ratni zločini nad civilnim stanovništvom i ratnim zarobljenicima, a uništeni su svi objekti za život na tom području.

Na trodnevnom studijskom putu o tome šta se dogodilo pre tačno 30 godina u Medačkom džepu, govorio je Tihomir Ponoš, novinar i istoričar, izvršni urednik „Novosti“, a potom su se učesnici/e sreli sa Milanom Uzelcem, dožupanom Ličko-senjske županije.

Obišli smo Gospić, Divoselo, Počitelj i Medak, i retke stanovnike u selima. Video-linkom razgovarali smo sa Draganom Pjevačem, čija majka Boja Pjevač je jedna od 88 stradalih stanovnika Medačkog džepa.

Komemoracija žrtvama održana je u porti crkve Svetog Jovana Krstitelja u Medaku.

Sve minirano, sve spaljeno

Na području Gospića, najvećeg naseljenog mesta tog kraja, pre rata živelo je etnički mešano stanovništvo, od kojeg su 64% bili Hrvati, a 30% Srbi. Danas na tom mestu živi 94% Hrvata, a 3,5% Srba. Ukupno ih je više od tri puta manje, manje od 10.000 (bilo je stanovnika oko 30.000), pa je lako izračunati koliko je to Srba na celoj teritoriji preostalo: oko 350. „Ne“, kažu nam stanovnici tog kraja, „Srba koji ovdje žive nema ni 250“.

Najzelenije i najbujnije je tamo gde su nekada bile kuće, pokazuje Milan Uzelac, dožupan Ličko-senjske županije, na oku jedva vidljive ostatke kuća iz kojih raste drveće, dok obilazimo Divoselo.

Mesto se može naći na karti, ali ako tu dođete putem koji sa svih strana preuzimaju trave ili oznake za minska polja, teško ćete zaključiti da se nalazite u selu. Sve je zeleno, osim puta koji kroz tu divljinu prolazi.

U Divoselu, koje je (prema popisu iz 1991. godine) imalo 344 stanovnika, sada živi samo bračni par Stanić, koji su obnovili kuću, i tu su tokom leta. U tom selu, sve zgrade, ne samo kuće, već i pomoćni objekti, štale, garaže, sve su dignute u vazduh, ili spaljene, tokom akcije „Medački džep“, i osim biljne divljine i životinja kojima je ona dom, drugog života tu više nema.

Vojna akcija bez ranjenih i zarobljenih

Slično je i u samom Medaku, gde je u crkvi održan pomen i komemoracija stradalima, iako tu živi sada 37 ljudi, od kojih je i četvoro dece. Mirko Zagorac je dugo bio izbeglica, ali se vratio, tražio obnovu kuće i sada u njoj živi. U Počitelju je bilo 367 žitelja, sada dvoje. Ličkom Čitluku 129, sada dvoje.

Mirko priča kako je, posle „Oluje“ 14 dana putovao do Beograda. U samom Medaku crkva je ostala neoštećena.

50 granata je palo oko crkve Svetog Jovana Krstitelja, a ona je ostala cela, niko ne zna kako, priča Mirko.

U akciji Hrvatske vojske nije bilo ranjenih, ni zarobljenih – stradalo je 88 ljudi, od kojih su njih 26 bili stariji od 60 godina, a 17 od njih bile su žene. Na listi nestalih je još njih 11, od kojih su njih sedmoro stariji preko 70 godina, a četiri su žene.

Boja Pjevač

Moju majku, Boju Pjevač, našao je brat Nikola posle 18 dana, na području Počitelja. Na jednoj ruci nije imala tri prsta... govori nam Dragan Pjevač, koji je osam godina bio predsednik Koordinacije srpskih udruženja porodica nestalih, ubijenih i poginulih.

Presude za zločine u Medačkom džepu postoje², iako nisu pravedne, one su pravosnažne – ali, članovi porodice ubijene Boje Pjevač, govori nam njen sin Dragan, odbijeni su u tužbi za naknadu štete. Dva puta je Ustavni sud Hrvatske odbio njihove žalbe, a Evropski sud za ljudska prava smatra da nisu iskoristili sve pravne mehanizme u Hrvatskoj. Problem sudovi vide u tome što počinitelj ubistva nije identifikovan, ni osuđen, iako je sam predmet i dalje u istrazi. Deca ubijene Boje ne samo da nisu dobila naknadu štete, već moraju da plate i ogromne sudske troškove istoj državi čiji su vojni zapovednici, koliko-toliko, ipak osuđeni za zločine u Medačkom džepu.

² Za ratne zločine su osuđeni Mirko Norac (komandant IX gardijske brigade Hrvatske vojske) na sedam godina, tokom kojih se oženio, izgradio kuću i završio fakultet, i još trojica pripadnika HV-a. Rahim Ademi (komandant vojnog područja Gospić) je oslobođen, a Janko Bobetko (načelnik generalštaba Vojske Hrvatske), optuženik Haškog suda je umro pre suđenja.

Pjevač Boja

*Uspom je ravan
nizbrdo vitla kamenjem.
Dolina je nekad bila od dva oka
kraj kojih se bacalo kamena s ramena,
a struk je centrirao koreografiju vašara.
Uspom je ravan
u šumi koja je nježno
polegla ljudske tragove,
u dimnjake naselila noćne životinje i
male ptice.
Uspom je ravan
nitko se na njega ne žali,
ne zaostaje u snijegu,
ne prednjači na kosidbi i
ne širi u strahu zjenice pod lišćem.*

Aneta Vladimirov

Granice života – o Studijskom putu na Kosovo

Katarina Milićević

Studijski put na Kosovo za članove-ice tima Centra za nasilnu akciju Sarajevo–Beograd, i za nekoliko naših saradnika, organizovan je od 6 – 10. 11. 2023. godine.

Želja nam je bila da odemo na Kosovo, da se sretne sa ljudima koji tamo žive i rade na izgradnji mira, suočavanju sa prošlošću ili podstiču te procese u društvu. Jedan deo tih ljudi čine oni sa kojima smo na razne načine već saradivali, dok smo deo susreta imali sa ljudima koje ranije nismo poznavali. Glavni motiv za nas jeste nezadovoljena potreba za prekograničnom saradnjom i odsustvo vidljivosti primera koji bi bili suprotni od politički proklamovane „vekovne mržnje i suprotstavljenosti Albanaca i Srba“. Primeri saradnje su retki, često ograničeni na polja koja se smatraju politički nekontraverzna (mladi, kultura i sl), a intervencije u polje suprotstavljenih jednostranih interpretacija nasilne prošlosti su retke i ograničenog uticaja. Sa druge strane odsustvo političkog dogovora na

najvišem nivou kreira stanje primirja, često narušavano nasilnim incidentima i zapaljivim nastupima vodećih političara. U takvoj situaciji potrebna je velika doza smelosti da se javno nastupi mimo homogenizovanog fronta „nacionalne odbrane“, takve pojedince i inicijative smo posebno bili željni da upoznamo.

Deo našeg tima, članovi-ice CNA tima iz sarajevske kancelarije, na Kosovu nikada nisu bili, pa smo za cilj postavili upoznavanje sa kontekstom, organizacijama i pojedincima koje vidimo kao aktore izgradnje mira, te uvid u to kako izgleda memorijalizacija posle rata.

Važno nam je bilo da se upoznamo sa promišljanjima izgradnje mira i aktivnostima koje se sprovode, ali i da razgovaramo o CNA pristupima, posebno o programima mirovnog obrazovanja i radu sa ratnim veteranima. Zanimalo nas je i da na Kosovu sagledamo kako se rat vidi danas – od umetničkih postavki do memorijalizacije, koja su dominantna sećanja na rat,



šta ona govore, o čemu ćute, te kako i da li uopšte komuniciraju sa onima koji dolaze „sa druge strane“.

Priština

U Prištini smo prvo posetili Fond za humanitarno pravo Kosova, gde smo se sreli sa Bekimom Blakajem, direktorom FHP Kosovo, i videli dve izložbe, Novi dan Barbare Prenke, koja predstavlja umetničku viziju suočavanja sa prošlošću kroz porodične fotografije koje su žene izatkale na tapiserijama i stalnu postavku „Bilo jednom, ne ponovilo se“, posvećenu deci strada- loj u ratu 1998-2000. Kroz predmete koje su deca posedovala izložba ukazuje na nenakonadivost i večnu bol zbog njihove smrti, dok sa druge strane šalje jasnu poruku da se to više nikome ne ponovi. „Više nego izložba, ovo je spomenik namenjen deci ubijenoj i nestaloj tokom rata. Zašto se prave spomenici i time čuvaju ruševine, posledice teških povreda ljudskih prava?“ piše na ulazu na ovu jedinstvenu izložbu, koju svima preporučujemo da je posete.

O nestalima i teškoćama sa kojima se sreće Resursni centar za nestale osobe, razgovarali smo sa

Natašom Božilović, koja nam je predstavila rad tog centra, koji je mreža organizacija u kojoj su i albanska i srpska udruženja nestalih, i koliko je to težak i mukotrpan posao, u stalnoj zavisnosti od dnevne politike. Sa njom smo razgovarali i o mogućnostima saradnje na polju mirovnog obrazovanja, čime se od nedavno bave, radeći sa mladima.

Na putu ka Kosovskoj Mitrovici zastali smo da posetimo Gazimestan i Muratovo turbe, iako nisu tema našeg rada, mitologija boja na Kosovu je duboko utisnuta u sve što se i danas dešava.

Mitrovica

Na severnoj strani Mitrovice sreli smo se sa Jelenom Cvetanović i Stefanom Kalabom iz NVO Casa, sa kojima smo razgovarali o projektima na kojima rade, posebno o „Barabar“ centru u Prištini, u čijoj realizaciji tesno sarađuju sa NVO Integra, i programima koji se tamo dešavaju, od tribina, seminara do izložbi. „Barabar“ je multietnički centar u centru Prištine, koji ima za cilj promovisanje međuetničkog dijaloga, tolerancije i jednakosti, kulturne saradnje i predstavlja mesto za

održavanje događaja koji dele ove vrednosti. U južnom delu Mitrovice, u NVO CBM primio nas je Nemanja Nestorović, koji nam je govorio i o problemu života na severu, a rada na jugu tog grada, koji most deli, gotovo nevidljivo, ali još uvek jako. Život ljude ohrabruje da prelaze taj most, ali ga stalno neko dešavanje zatvara nevidljivim granicama.

Posetu Mitrovici završili smo u KosSevu, redakciji koja odoleva svim pritiscima, paljenju automobila, pretnjama, i koja pravovremeno i istinito izveštava sa Kosova. Iz perspektive KosSeva, koju nam je dala Nevenka Medić, direktorka, borba za slobodne medije je izuzetno teška, no oni se ne predaju. Obeshrabrujuće je bilo čuti njeno viđenje nekih prekograničnih inicijativa koje se svode na ispunjenje forme, a suštinski ne doprinose prevazilaženju podela. To nanosi štetu svima koji rade u tom polju jer ih delegitimise i otvara mogućnost da se strpaju u isti koš. Poštena eksterna evaluacija programa bi mogla doprineti rešenju ovog problema i unapređenju postojećih inicijativa, ali se ta alatka izgleda malo koristi.

Prizren

Poslednjeg dana boravka na Kosovu posetili smo Prizren, grad koji slovi za jedan od najlepših u bivšoj Jugoslaviji. Danas je Prizren takođe jako lep grad, iako ispunjen militarističkim spomenicima. Na vrhu grada, na tvrđavi, istaknut je natpis UÇK (OVK – Oslobođilačka vojska Kosova). Posetili smo i Bogosloviju Srpske pravoslavne crkve, koja je spaljena u martu 2004. a obnovljena 2011. Sada u njoj ima oko 50 učenika i profesora, a u celom Prizrenu je još desetak Srba. Iako se nismo ranije najavili, primili su nas i kratko smo razgovarali sa Ocem Isidorom, koga smo pitali kako učenici Bogoslovije žive u Prizrenu, imaju li kontakta sa vršnjacima iz grada, kako provode slobodno vreme i odgovori koje smo dobili ne ohrabruju nimalo. Nevidljive, ali vrlo jake granice, dele te mlade ljude jedne od drugih, i mit o Prizrenu, kao centru različitosti bivše Jugoslavije, što ga je i činilo najlepšim, se raspao.

U mestu Landovica, nedaleko od Prizrena, postojao je memorijalni kompleks posvećen Bori i Ramizu, partizanima koji su na tom mestu zajedno streljani.

Danas se na tom istom mestu nalazi memorijalni centar posvećen pripadnicima OVK, i to ne samo onima koji su stradali u ratu, već i pripadnicima te vojske koji su kasnije umirali.

Na povratku u Prištinu, zastali smo u Gračanici, obišli crkvu, te se sreli sa Marijanom Tomom, istoričarkom i stručnjakinjom za sučavanje sa prošlošću, koja sada živi i radi na Kosovu. Njena perspektiva života na Kosovu nam je bila izrazito važna, te uvidi u to šta je potrebno raditi su nam korisni, posebno sa manjinskim zajednicama – Romima, Turcima, Bošnjacima, Aškalicima... i svim ostalim manjinama, koje često ostanu nevidljive i zanemarene u svim procesima.

Ljudi na Kosovu žive između statusa i priznanja, podjednako i sa albanske i sa srpske političke strane obeshrabreni da prelaze granice. Život pod stalnim pritiscima, sukobima i neizvesnošću koja traje decenijama, demotiviše za akcije koje bi vodile ka istinskim promenama. Svi uloženi naponi brojnih organizacija svakodnevno bivaju vraćeni nekoliko koraka unazad. Dodatno obeshrabruje što su svi već umorni od života u strahu i strepnji, i što se nadaju boljem životu od 1. januara 2024. (kada počinje vizna liberalizacija ka zemljama EU), ali na nekom drugom mestu u Evropi.

Put nam je bio koristan i da se sretnemo sa mnogim učesnicima-ama naših Osnovnih, Mir-Paqe-Mir treninga, Biber višejezičnog konkursa za kratku priču na temu pomirenja, da zajedno razmotrimo dalje mogućnosti povezivanja i uključivanja, kako možemo da budemo podrška jedni drugima i na čemu sve ubuduće možemo da sarađujemo. Vredno bi nam bilo da aktivisti-kinje sa Kosova i Bosne i Hercegovine mogu da se međusobno posećuju i razmenjuju, što je sada teško, zbog viznog režima koji ograničava kretanje, a o čemu je pisao član CNA tima Nedžad Novalić u posebnom tekstu: „TAKO BLIZU, A TAKO DALEKO: O pokidanim vezama između BiH i Kosova“.

Za izuzetan trud u organizaciji ovog Studijskog puta zahvaljujemo se Luanu Imeriju iz Skoplja i Qerimu Ondoziću iz Prištine. Jako su nas veselili susreti sa dragim ljudima: Nexhat, Gazmend, Fatime, Emine, Šehida, Besnik, Lulzim, Amina, Mimoza, Sibel, Shenaj – hvala vam na divnim razgovorima i podršci koju nam dajete.

Trening iz suočavanja s prošlošću, Wustrow

Ove smo godine ponovno održali trening iz suočavanja s prošlošću, u okviru obuke „Peacebuilding Practitioners“ koju sprovodi naša sestrinska organizacija **KURVE Wustrow – Bildungs- und Begegnungsstätte für gewaltfreie Aktion**.

Trening se održao u periodu od 26. 2. – 1. 3. 2024. godine u Wustrowu, Njemačka, za mješovitu grupu lokalnih i međunarodnih mirovnih radnika iz: Njemačke, Etiopije, Južne Afrike, Izraela/Palestine, Mijanmara, Nepala i Kameruna.

Naš tim činili su treneri porijeklom iz četiri zemlje bivše Jugoslavije: Ana Bitoljanu, Nedžad Novalić, Nenad Vukosavljević i Davorka Turk.

Tijekom treninga radili smo na razumijevanju i propitivanju osnovnih pojmova, mehanizama i ciljeva suočavanja s prošlošću, s posebnim osvrtom na specifične kontekste iz kojih učesnici dolaze. Zadovoljni smo time kako je grupa prihvatila naše radne metode i pristup spornim pitanjima. Bilo je posebno zadovoljstvo provesti sedam dana u ovako mješovitoj grupi i radnim uvjetima kakvi su nam na raspolaganju u seminarskoj kući Kurve-Wustrow.

Trening ćemo ponovno održati sljedeće godine.

Radionice „Uvod u promišljanje mira“ u Novom Sadu

Na poziv saradnika iz **Omladinskog centra CK 13** iz Novog Sada, aktivisti Centra za nenasilnu akciju vodili su jedan od Seminara alternativnih politika ove organizacije, nazvan „Uvod u promišljanje mira“, koji je održan 8. i 9. juna.

Seminar je bio namenjen mladima (18-30 godina) iz Novog Sada i bliže okoline.

Na radionicama smo otvorili pitanja relevantna za prepoznavanje nasilja, ophođenje sa sukobima, kao i prostor za pronalaženje kreativnih načina transformacije sukoba. Važno nam je bilo da učesnicima/ama ukažemo na različite forme nasilja i diskriminacije, a otvorili smo i neka pitanja vezana za polje suočavanja

s prošlošću, promišljali sa kakvim se predrasudama srećemo, te kako postupamo prema različitostima u društvu.

Dva dana interaktivnog rada nisu dovoljna za sadržajno zahtevne teme, ali nam je bilo bitno da učesnicima/ama pokažemo pristup i način rada Centra za nenasilnu akciju, te da sve zainteresovane pozovemo da se prijave za naš Osnovni trening iz izgradnje mira, koji će biti održan od 18 – 28. 10. 2024. godine u Ulcinju, Crna Gora.

Radionice u Omladinskom centru CK 13 vodili su mirovni aktivisti Centra za nenasilnu akciju Sarajevo - Beograd, Radimir Radević i Katarina Milićević.


Regionalna aktivistička škola o 90-im „Spasit će nas ljubav!“

Na poziv prijatelja iz **Omladinskog centra CK 13** iz Novog Sada, aktivisti Centra za nenasilnu akciju učesnicima regionalne političke škole o devedesetim „Spasit će nas ljubav!“ predstavili su svoj mirovni aktivizam, rad sa ratnim veteranima, kao i aktivnost „Obilježavanje neobilježenih mjesta stradanja“.

Škola je bila namenjena mladima (18-30 godina) iz Srbije, Bosne i Hercegovine, Hrvatske i Crne Gore.

Tokom predstavljanja rada Centra za nenasilnu akciju Sarajevo-Beograd, učesnici su mogli da čuju o početnim koracima u radu sa ratnim veteranima, bivšim vojnicima koji su učestvovali u ratovima 90-tih na prostorima bivše Jugoslavije. Takođe, razgovarali smo i o nenasilnim akcijama kao i o aktivnosti „Obilježavanja neobilježenih mjesta stradanja“ i zašto mjesta boli i patnje ne smiju biti prepuštena zaboravu. Razgovarali smo i o pomirenju, o politikama memorijalizacije kao i koliko svako od nas može doprinjeti procesu izgradnje mira.

Radionice u okviru škole vodili su mirovni aktivisti Centra za nenasilnu akciju Sarajevo/Beograd, Amer Delić i Tamara Zrnović.



politički i
društveni
konteksti u
kojima
delujemo

Konteksti u kojima djelujemo: Odlučno u ambis!

Nedžad Novalić

Važan segment Dejtonskog mirovnog sporazuma, istina malo poznat u javnosti, bio je sporazum o kontroli naoružanja koji je zaraćenim stranama nametao različita ograničenja u naoružanju i broju vojnika. Sporazum su potpisali čelni ljudi Bosne i Hercegovine, Hrvatske i tadašnje Jugoslavije (Srbija i Crna Gora) pa je to bio regionalni pokušaj uvođenja mehanizama koji bi u budućnosti spriječili trku u naoružanju koja bi vodila nekom novom ratu. Bilo je to vrijeme kada se globalno vjerovalo da više oružja znači manje sigurnosti i veće mogućnosti za rat. Ali vremena otad su se promijenila. Od tog dijela Dejtonskog mirovnog sporazuma odustalo se tiho, danas, i to ne samo kod nas, vjeruje se da jedino više oružja garantuje više sigurnosti, a ne nekakva ograničenja i mirovni sporazumi.

Zato kada predsjednik Srbije Aleksandar Vučić, saopćavajući kako se ponovo uvodi obavezno služenje vojnog roka, kaže „želim da vjerujem da svi razumijete koliko nam je potrebna jaka vojska, koliko ćemo još morati da kupujemo naoružanja, da pravimo, da stvaramo“, zvuči zastrašujuće, ali nije neočekivano. Hrvatska je već ranije također ponovo uvela obavezno služenje vojnog roka, i jedna i druga zemlja utrkuju se ko će više novca izdvojiti za borbene avione i razno drugo naoružanje... Druge zemlje regiona nastoje da prate trend iako su suočene sa raznim ograničenjima kao što su skromnije budžetske mogućnosti u slučaju Crne Gore i Makedonije ili pak prisustvo međunarodnih snaga u slučaju Kosova i BiH. Sumorna su to vremena za bilo kakav mirovni rad, u petoj brzini i zatvorenih očiju jurimo ka ambisu.

„Uvođenje vojnog roka, bar u ovom dvomjesečnom formatu treba promatrati kroz cjelokupni proces zapadnoeuropske militarizacije pokrenute nakon invazije Rusije na Ukrajinu te kroz prizmu polupopulističkih predizbornih obećanja HDZ-a. Naime, dvomjesečna obuka predstavlja puki minimum koji je potreban kako bi se nekoga naučilo pucati dok zapravo u kontekstu modernog ratovanja ista predstavlja samo pogon za proizvodnju dronovskog mesa. U situaciji toliko

tehnološki uznapređovalog ratovanja, za dva mjeseca zapravo ne možeš naučiti ništa već samo se ufilmati da si prošao neku obuku. Navedena kratkoća i neozbiljnost programa kao i ideološka unisonost oko rata u Ukrajini su zapravo prouzročili da uvođenje vojnog roka prođe skoro pa ispod radara uz neka sitna protivljenja koja dolaze iz par tradicionalnih zagrebačkih mirovnjačkih organizacija. Nažalost, obvezni vojni rok u kontekstu EU i Ukrajine neće ništa promijeniti ali će zato biti još jedna eskalatorna karika u regionalnoj mikroutrci u naoružanju i pripremljenosti za rat koja se odvija između Hrvatske i Srbije. Samo se sad čeka kako će i kad Srbija složiti svoju traku za proizvodnju dronovskog mesa“, kaže Dalmir Mišković, aktivista, pravnik i dugogodišnji saradnik Centra za nenasilnu akciju iz Zagreba. Srbija je ispunila ova očekivanja i, u klasičnom nadmetanju čiji je (vojni rok) duži, pobijedi-la za 15 dana.

Kada se osvrnemo na godinu iza nas, osim uvođenja obaveznog služenja vojnih rokova i utrke u kupovini naoružanja, nesumnjivo je vidljivo i sužavanje prostora slobode. Od zabrane festivala i izložbi, čak i sasvim benignih kakvi su folklorni festivali nacionalnih manjina, do sve većih ograničenja u kretanju, govora mržnje od najviših zvaničnika i sisanja straha, perspektiva regiona je sumorna. Činjenica da je to globalni trend, ne da nas ne tješi, već nas dodatno zabrinjava.

Hrvatska: Ni EU nije što je nekad bila

U regionu je godina iza nas bila godina izbora. Održani su u svim zemljama sa rezultatima bez vidljivog iskoraka. U Hrvatskoj su već održani parlamentarni i izbori za Evropski parlament, a do kraja 2024. bit će održani i predsjednički izbori.

„U preludiju samih izbora dogodio se svojevrsni pokušaj ustavne krize kad je SDP, protivno ustavnoj normi o formalnoj neutralnosti institucije predsjednika, pokušao kandidirati aktuelnog predsjednika Hrvatske Zorana Milanovića za mjesto u saboru a posredno i kao premijerskog kandidata. Navedeni pokušaj

proizveo je promptnu reakciju Ustavnog suda koji je čak zaprijetio i poništavanjem izbora ukoliko ustavno načelo neutralnosti predsjednika bude povrijeđeno. Iako na kraju predsjednik nije bio kandidat za Sabor, navedena situacija je bila gorivo u dobrom dijelu predizborne kampanje i obilježila je same izbore koji su zbog predizborne dramatike i uzavrele situacije zabilježili rekordnu izlaznost pa čak i usprkos činjenici da su se odvijali u sred tjedna“, pojašnjava Dalmir Mišković.

Sukob na relaciji premijer Andrej Plenković i predsjednik Zoran Milanović nastavio je trovati javni prostor i generirati govor mržnje, prijatni i straha. Stradali su redom susjedni narodi, žene, izbjeglice... Dalmir Mišković smatra kako se radi o sukobu dva pojedinca slične socijalne i društvene pozadine, kaljene u diplomatskim hodnicima Bruxellesa i zlatnomladeškim krugovima Zagreba.

„Iako je za jednu demokratsku državu dobro kad predsjednik države i predsjednik vlade nisu na istoj političkoj liniji i to predstavlja svojevrsan demokratski korektiv, u našem slučaju se zapravo radi o jednom sukobu dva ega koji konstanto tinja i proizvodi eskalacije oko minornih i formalnih pojava dok se oko većine temeljnih pitanja, 'naši dečki' ipak slažu i stvari idu dalje“, dodaje Mišković.

Na kraju, čini se da je jedina vidljiva promjena jačanje i ulazak u vladu krajnje desnice u vidu Domovinskog pokreta. Iako je Domovinski pokret svoje mandate u Saboru osvojio temeljem kampanje antisrpske histerije i povlađivanja najnižim strastima desnog spektra birača u Hrvatskoj, na kraju se ispostavilo da politički žrvanj HDZ-a ipak prejak te da melje sve mokre ultradesničarske snove na kojima je Domovinski pokret uzeo mandate.

„Politički smjer je zapravo ostao isti. Osim što SDSS, stranka koja okuplja srpsku manjinu, više nije dio vlade, jedina bitna stvar koja se dogodila u prethodno spomenutom kontekstu jeste da se u međuvremenu Domovinski pokret uspio raspasti i posvađati unutar sebe do krvi. Kako pjesma kaže, sve je isto samo njega nema“, stava je Mišković.

Pa ipak, ulazak Domovinskog pokreta u vlast nanio je nemalu štetu i danas čini nezamislivim iskorake na polju izgradnje mira i suočavanja sa prošlošću kojima smo svjedočili prije samo nekoliko godina. Premijer

Hrvatske Andrej Plenković odlazio je na komemoraciju ubijenim srpskim civilima tokom i nakon vojne operacije „Oluja“, isto je činio i njegov zamjenik i ministar branitelja, srpska manjina bila je zastupljena u vladi...

„Navedeni iskoraci u izgradnji mira i povjerenja među Hrvatima i Srbima u Hrvatskoj su svakako bili pozitivan primjer i iskorak u tom trenutku. U ovom političkom trenutku je jako teško tako nešto očekivati i zbog prisustva Domovinskog pokreta u vlasti i odsustva SDSS-a, ali i zbog ciljanog procesa marginalizacije te vrste ideoloških pitanja i poturanja pod tepih. Meni se čini da su HDZ i Andrej Plenković stavili kvakicu u svoj ideološki 'to do list' te da se ne planiraju pretjerano ni proaktivno baviti takvim stvarima. Fokus im je negdje drugdje. Također, i politički hladni rat između Hrvatske i Srbije odmaže uviđanju potrebe da se takvi procesi izgradnje mira i povjerenja pokreću i da se na njima ozbiljno radi kao na nekom zalogu za budućnost. Parola je 'ne diraj me, ne diram te'. Iduće godine će se obilježavati 30 godina od akcije 'Oluja' pa ćemo vidjeti kako stvari stoje, obzirom da okrugle godišnjice nose vojne parade, uzavrele strasti, jaču retoriku i veću dramaturgiju javnog prostora“, dodaje Dalmir Mišković.

Najvidljivije pomjeranje klatna udesno u Hrvatskoj jesu dešavanja u Javnoj ustanovi „Spomen-područje Jasenovac“. Nakon višemjesečnih pritisaka i svojevrsne hajke, ostavku na mjesto direktora podnio je historičar Ivo Pejaković koji je svojim radom ovaj memorijalni centar ponovo učinio relevantnim i važnim mjestom sjećanja na žrtve ustaškog režima - Srbe, Jevreje, Rome i sve druge antifašiste. Čini se da upravo činjenica da su najbrojnije žrtve ustaškog režima bili Srbi, posebno smeta aktualnim hrvatskim vlastima koje Jasenovac nastoje odrediti prvenstveno kao mjesto holokausta nad Jevrejima. Time genocid koji je počinjen protiv Srba i Roma ostaje prešućena činjenica, s tendencijom da se zaboravi. Iz identičnih razloga i sa istim namjerama, vlasti Hrvatske opstruirale su i izložbu "Neki su bili susjedi" u organizaciji Muzeja holokausta iz Washingtona.

Sva ta „desna skretanja“, nebrojene korupcijske afere, činjenica da je smijenio 30 ministara otkako je premijer, pri čemu su redom svi uhvaćeni „sa prstima u pekmezu“, nimalo nisu naštetili rejtingu i moći premijera Andreja Plenkovića. U tom smislu Hrvatska

je razočarenje za ostatak regiona jer pokazuje da je moguće biti u EU a ostati jednako korumpiran i neodgovoran.

Sjeverna Makedonija: Mnogo godina unazad

I u Sjevernoj Makedoniji građani su na parlamentarne izbore izašli ne da bi izabrali bolju vlast, već da bi kaznili postojeću. Prije sedam godina dolazak na vlast SDSM-a budio je nadu koju je ubrzo zamijenilo razočarenje. Toliko puta već viđeno.

„Većini ljudi očekivanja su bila iznevjerena, a razočarenje je bilo ogromno, tako da je izgubljena svaka nada u bolje sutra. Pokazalo se to na prošlim izborima, onim lokalnim, kada je VMRO-DPMNE već pregazio SDSM. Ne zato što je VMRO bolja opcija ili ima bolji program ili bilo koji drugi razlog, nego zato što SDSM nije napravio gotovo ništa od onoga za šta je izglasan i zato što je postao ono protiv čega se borio. Štaviše, SDSM je za partnera u vladinoj koaliciji imao DUI, koji je bio na vlasti gotovo 20 godina i za koji se naširoko smatralo da je duboko upleten u kriminal. Visoka korupcija, neprimjerena kadrovska rješenja, najniže povjerenje u pravosuđe i opća percepcija da zakoni ne vrijede jednako za sve, naslijeđe su koje nam je ostavila prošla vlast na čelu sa SDSM-om“, kaže Luan Imeri, aktivista iz Centra za ljudska prava i rješavanje sukoba iz Skopja.

Ako se po jutru dan poznaje, ni od nove vlasti građani Sjeverne Makedonije ne mogu očekivati ništa dobro.

„Najviše me brine etnička radikalizacija koja ovih dana kulminira. Govor mržnje uzima sve više maha. Na primer, trenutno se poziva na bojkot tržnica u vlasništvu Albanaca, postoji inicijativa za izbacivanje albanskog jezika iz službene upotrebe... Istovremeno se guraju zakoni po kojima se 'pravim vlasnicima države', velikim firmama u vlasništvu nekoliko porodica koje su nakon osamostaljenja privatizirale sve moguće, smanjuje porez. Niko više ne govori o promjenama Krivičnog zakona koje su se dogodile pred kraj mandata prethodne vlasti i kojima je krađa vlasti legalizirana tako da za nju niko neće odgovarati. Evo još jedan konkretan primjer u obrazovanju: Sadašnja ministrica radi sve ono protiv čega je bila dok je bila u opoziciji. Vraćamo se mnogo godina unazad. Ponekad nas prošlost definira umjesto da nas informira. Mi smo

robovi svoje prošlosti i često pomislim da se, nažalost, kod većine građana osjećaj sigurnosti, sreće i nade može postići samo u etnički homogenoj sredini. To je porazno!“, dodaje Luan Imeri.

Velika novina u političkom životu Sjeverne Makedonije jeste odlazak u opoziciju DUI-ja, stranke koja je bila konstanta u vlasti decenijama i koja se predstavljala kao temeljna albanska stranka u Makedoniji. Nova albanska stranka, odnosno koalicija VLEN, smatra Imeri, ustvari je nova samo po imenu.

„To je kao pročitana knjiga, ali sada s novim naslovom. Njihovi čelnici su ili nekad bili u DUI-ju ili su zajedno s DUI-jem bili na vlasti i radili isto što i DUI do prije nekoliko mjeseci pred izbore. Kod njih nema ništa novo i od njih se ništa novo ne očekuje. Još im je veći hendikep što na vlast dolaze nakon DUI-ja koji je imao "premijera Albanca" i što sve ne, a u novoj vladi koju vodi VMRO-DPMNE VLEN ima zanemarljivu ulogu, što zbog brojnosti, što zbog položaja koje su dobili u vladi. Sada VMRO-DPMNE radi albanskom partneru na vlasti isto što je DUI radio SDSM-u - ponižava ih! Činjenica da je SDSM ponižen vratila je na vlast jaki VMRO-DPMNE. Mislim da će VMRO-DPMNE nesvjesno vratiti DUI na vlast i to jaču nego ikada“, pojašnjava Luan Imeri.

Bugarska je, u kontekstu evropskih integracija Sjeverne Makedonije, nova Grčka, konstatirali smo još prošle godine. Vlasti Makedonije, predvođene SDSM-om pristale su na bolni kompromis sa Grčkom uz obećanje da će krenutibržim putem ka članstvu u EU. Umjesto obećanog bržeg puta Evropska unija je podržala zahtjeve Bugarske i faktički ponovo blokirala pristupanje Makedonije. Građani su se osjetili prevarenim, a cijenu je platila i SDSM. Bugarska ostaje dosljedna svojim uvjetima za ukidanje veta u pregovorima s Evropskom unijom, što je neshvatljivo ljudima u Makedoniji.

„Nepprimjerena reakcija EU uspjela je ne samo osnažiti argumente euroskeptika, nego i izazvati antizapadno raspoloženje kod najzapadnije orijentiranih građana, prije svega Makedonaca. Ulazak Makedonije u EU sada je uvjetovan ustavnim amandmanima, odnosno hoće li Bugari biti upisani u Ustav. U novijoj povijesti više smo puta imali ustavne promjene, a glavni argument političara bio je napredak prema EU. Teško je zaključiti koji su ustavni amandmani bili bolniji, oni iz 2001. pod prijetnjom rata, oni iz 2019.

kada je promijenjeno ime države ili novepromjene koje će biti po bugarskim željama, odnosno sada već prema zahtjevima iz EU. Lično sam smatrao da su te ustavne promjene trebale biti samo tehnička operacija. Ali sad kad smo dopustili da se politiziraju, mislim da je sve manje vremena za konstruktivnu raspravu o njima i pronalaženje rješenja koje će biti u interesu građana. Razočaranje bugarskom blokadom je veliko, ali me još više brine što je ova vladajuća elita sebi već priskrbila alibi za vlastite neuspjehe. Volio bih da rasprava i prijedlozi stručnjaka idu u smjeru koristi, odnosno onoga što bi se izgubilo uvrštavanjem makedonskih Bugara u Ustav i kakve bi to posljedice moglo izazvati. Nažalost, danas su najglasniji protivnici EU upravo oni koji su osigurali egzistenciju i čija djeca već žive u nekoj zemlji EU i SAD. Najglasniji su profesori koji prošle akademske godine nisu upisali niti jednog studenta, oni koji nemaju kome predavati na fakultetu jer im studenti uzmu, zamislite, bugarski pasoš i bježe u EU“, kaže Luan Imeri.

Na pitanje šta muči obične ljude, koje teme su dominantne u razgovorima običnih ljudi, osim dnevne politike, Luan Imeri kaže kako je neimaština na prvom mjestu.

„Neimaština muči obične ljude. Nepravda. Smeta im što postaju 'nevidljivi' za državu zbog svoje pripadnosti određenoj etničkoj grupi, spolu, seksualnoj orijentaciji, vjeri ili društvenom statusu. To što se ustrajno ide prema veličanju kolektiva u kojem pojedinac postaje beznačajan“.

Kosovo: Bez viza, ali sa starim problemima

U atmosferi beskonačnih pregovora i bez ikakvih dogovora između Prištine i Beograda važna novina u 2024. godini jeste da državljani Kosova mogu da putuju u zemlje Schengena bez viza. To je posljednja zemlja Zapadnog Balkana koja je imala vizna ograničenja za putovanje u Evropsku uniju i tek ostaje da se vidi kakve će efekte ovo imati. U slučaju svih naših drugih zemalja, osim slobode kretanja, to je donijelo i masovno iseljavanje stanovništva.

Prema podacima popisa iz 2024. godine, broj stanovnika na Kosovu znatno je manji nego 2011. godine. Danas na Kosovu živi oko 1,6 miliona stanovnika, što je pad od oko 200.000 u odnosu na 2011. godinu.

„Mnogi stanovnici iz četiri opštine sa srpskom većinom na severu Kosova nisu učestvovali u popisu. U svim opštinama na Kosovu također je zabeležen visok procenat nenaseljenih stanova i kuća. Pored migracija van Kosova, primećene su i migracije unutar zemlje - odlazak stanovnika iz pograničnih područja Kosova u gradove u centru. Prosečna starost na Kosovu je sada 34,3 godine. Očekuje se da će detaljniji i konačni podaci iz popisa stanovništva na Kosovu biti objavljeni u decembru ove godine. Tada će biti objavljeni i podaci o dijaspori, koje, prema podacima Agencije za statistiku Kosova, ima oko 600.000 registrovanih“, kaže Amina Kaja, studentica i aktivistica iz Prištine.

Ona ukidanje viza osjeća kao još jedan korak ka boljoj budućnosti i priznavanju Kosova kao države ravnopravne sa drugim evropskim državama.

„Čini se da nas svet prihvata i da konačno napuštamo rat. Sada se osećamo kao deo Evrope. Za mlade je to također ključno u pogledu putovanja na studije ili razne projekte, uvek smo bili primorani da skačemo kroz obruče za vize i to nas je uvek izdvajalo od drugih učesnika koji su mogli da putuju bez problema na konferencije ili radionice. Često smo morali da propustimo velike prilike samo zato što nismo mogli da dobijemo vize, što je štetno i na individualnom i na nacionalnom nivou. A da ne pričam o tome koliko je sav taj proces za dobijanje vize stresan, skup i dugotrajan. I zadnje: Mladi zaista uživaju da vide druge zemlje, videla sam mnoge prijatelje da putuju u Pariz, Amsterdam, Beč i tako dalje. Sada možemo lakše da se povežemo sa ljudima drugih kultura i upoznamo ih sa našom zemljom i narodom, a i da i mi nešto vidimo i naučimo usput“, dodaje Kaja.

Uprkos najmlađoj populaciji u Evropi, i na Kosovu nedostaje optimizma, posebno kada se obične ljude pita smatraju li izvjesnim u skorijoj budućnosti dogovor između Beograda i Prištine.

„Nažalost, mislim da ljudi nisu baš optimistični. Čak i moje mišljenje stalno varira od pozitivnog ka negativnom i obrnuto. Iskreno, mislim da se dijalog ne pome-ra napred. Generalno, među običnim ljudima ne priča se previše o tome, ali mislim da su i ostali unutar iste linije razmišljanja kao i ja. Smatraju da Srbiju ne zanima ništa što liči na dijalog i da se to, iskreno, nikada neće dogoditi. Ništa se ne dešava, ni na terenu ni u kancelarijama za dijalog, tako da ljudi pokušavaju

da zaborave da imamo te probleme. Istovremeno, ljudi su napeti, čekajući rat ili sukob. Nekoliko prijatelja sa kojima sam razgovarala čak su bili protiv bilo kakvog pomirenja, što me iznenadilo jer su mojih godina i od njih biste očekivali nešto mirnije. Pretpostavljam da ima puno njih koji isto tako misle. Sve u svemu, postoji ogromna mržnja prema Srbiji i Srbima, puno negativnosti oko ove teme i mislim da smo svi umorni od istih starih obećanja i reči kao 'dijalog' ili 'izgradnja mira', pa samo pokušavamo da prebolimo šta god se dešava u trenutku i nastavimo sa našim životima što je normalnije moguće. Lično, upoznala sam neverovatne ljude iz Srbije koji mi daju nadu da se nešto može uraditi u budućnosti. Imam veru u te moje prijatelje, i nadam se da ćemo zajedno izgraditi nešto lepše", na kraju kaže Amina, uz prijeko potrebnu dozu optimizma.

Srbija: Izgubljeni (izbori)

Iako je, na društvenom nivou, izgledalo da posle 3. maja prošle godine i masakra u beogradskoj osnovnoj školi, te sutradan ponovljenog zločina u selima nadomak Mladenovca, nema dubljeg zla, ipak nije se dogodilo ništa što bi izgledalo kao korak naprijed u smanjivanju opšteg nasilja u društvu u Srbiji. Naprotiv, i pored demonstracija koje su trajale mjesecima, i stotinama hiljada ljudi na ulicama Beograda i drugih gradova Srbije, jedino što se dogodilo, a što niko nije tražio, jeste da su raspisani parlamentarni i lokalni izbori u nekim gradovima Srbije. Izbori su, kad se gleda iz perspektive poznatog ishoda, izgubljeni, smatra Katarina Milićević, članica tima Centra za nenasilnu akciju iz Beograda.

„Opozicija je na njima učestvovala, opšti utisak je bio da će vlast biti promenjena u Beogradu i par većih gradova, uključio se i pokret 'Proglas', sačinjen od javnih ličnosti koje su za demokratiju, no ipostavilo se, u samom izbornom danu, da su fantomski glasači iz Republike Srpske i manjih mesta u Srbiji, masovno upisivani u birački spisak. Otkriveno je i mesto njihovog okupljanja i štab iz koga je upravljano akcijom, pa su, zahvaljavajući tome, ali i izmišljenim listama nebitnih partija koje je vlast ugurala na glasačke listiće sa ciljem da zbuni glasače, i ti izbori izgubljeni. Istina, nemalom broju ljudi bilo je jasno da su izbori unapred izgubljeni jer se održavaju u nedemokratskoj atmosferi, sa

medijima koje je okupirala vladajuća stranka, sa neuređenim biračkim spiskovima, ali valjda poslednje što nas napušta je nada, makar ona bila i jalova. Nakon toga su usledili protesti, štrajk glađu nekoliko opozicionih predvodnika, prebijanje i hapšenje demonstranata, te su se, uz velike političke tenzije, nekako formirale Skupština i Vlada, a raspisani su i novi lokalni izbori u Beogradu. Formalno, razlog je što je broj odbornika za Skupštinu grada bio gotovo identičan između vlasti i opozicije, a fantomska grupa građana, koja je mogla da prelaskom na jednu od strana učini formiranje mogućim, od toga je odustala. Naravno, sve te poteze režira režim Aleksandra Vučića, jer su to potezi koji odgovaraju njegovim političkim ciljevima. I ti su lokalni izbori, održani u junu, također izgubljeni. Sve prevare i nepravilnosti nisu učinile izbore izgubljenim već dve činjenice: što su uprkos dokazima sudovi priznali regularnost izbora i što su uprkos posmatračima iz EU koji su registrovali manipulacije, izborni rezultati prihvaćeni od strane EU. Ta činjenica da nas je i EU izdala je možda i najteže pala ljudima koji se bore za demokratsko uređenje zemlje“, kaže Katarina Milićević.

Manjak bilo kakvog napretka u pregovorima sa Prištinom predsjednik Srbije Aleksandar Vučić uglavnom nadomješta izljevima verbalnog nasilja i prijetnji. Paradoks je da, čak i kad prijeti vlastima Kosova, cijenu plaćaju Srbi koji žive na Kosovu pokušavajući opstati između Vučićevog čekića i Kurtijeveg nakovnja. Srbija je odbila da izruči Milana Radoičića koji je pod punom ratnom opremom organizirao i predvodio prošlogodišnji napad u manastiru Banjska na Kosovu u kojem je ubijeno troje ljudi. Između Radoičića i Srba na Kosovu, vlast je izabrala da spasi Radoičića koji danas živi kao slobodan građanin.

„Trenutno se dešava ulazak kosovskih vlasti u domove zdravlja koje je kontrolisala država Srbija, dok za to vreme Vučić peče palačinke negdje u zapadnom delu Srbije pokušavajući uveriti ljude da u iskopavanju litijuma nema ama baš ništa štetno i loše. Na rečima on i dalje "ne da Kosovo". U međuvremenu, od terorizma u Banjskoj, Srbi na Kosovu su pristali na kosovske registarske tablice i lične karte i krenuli da ih uzimaju. Prištinske vlasti ukinule su gotovo sve tzv. paralelne institucije što je za kosovske Srbe ipak ogroman udarac. U toj neizvesnosti i strahu, deo ljudi prosto

bira, ako se to uopće može nazvati izborom, da se odsele“, dodaje Katarina Milićević. Od polovine augusta svi građani Kosova imaju mogućnost bezvignog ulaska u zemlje EU, bez obzira imaju li kosovski ili srpski pasoš. Nakon što su vize građanima koji imaju pasoš Kosova ukinute od 1.1.2024. od polovine augusta bez viza mogu da putuju i građani Kosova čije pasoše je izdalo Koordinaciono telo Republike Srbije.

Ipak, putovanje nije jednostavno ukoliko si aktivista za ljudska prava poput Sofije Todorović, direktorke Incijative mladih za ljudska prava. Sofija je u jednom trenutku u septembru 2024. godine upoznala javnost da se nalazi na posebnim mjerama i posebnim tajnim spiskovima što je imalo za posledicu da su je u posljednjih nekoliko mjeseci deset puta bez razloga zadržavali po nekoliko sati na graničnim prijelazima.

„Da spiskovi postoje saznalo se kada su hrvatsku pevačicu Severinu zadržali nekoliko sati pri pokušaju ulasku u Srbiju. Pitali su je li u Srebrenici bio genocid, šta ona misli o iskopavanju litijuma i slična uobičajena pitanja za pevače. Takođe, u junu je bosanskohercegovački glumac Feđa Štukan sprečen da uđe u Srbiju. Iako vlast nikad nije pojasnila zašto mu je zabranjen ulazak u Srbiju, sasvim sigurno da je motiv njegova podrška protestima protiv nasilja u Srbiji“, pojašnjava Milićević.

Ove godine vlast je zabranila i održavanje umjetničkog festivala “Mirëdita, dobar dan” na kojem se već deset godina razmjenjuju umjetnici sa Kosova i iz Srbije. Zvanično, festival je zabranjen usljed nemogućnosti države da garantuje sigurnost zbog protesta ultradesničarskih grupa. To je već poznat izgovor.

„Te grupe su ministri i visoki zvaničnici vlasti svojim izjavama i govorom mržnje bukvalno pozivali da blokiraju mesto održavanja festivala, kako bi imali opravdanje da ga zabrane“, kaže Katarina.

Ogroman broj građana Srbije izlazio je u augustu na ekološke proteste, sa zahtjevom da se zaustavi projekat kopanja litijuma u Zapadnoj Srbiji, što bi uticalo na eko sistem i budućnost cijele zemlje.

„I pre održavanja samih protesta organizatori su pozivani u Bezbednosno-informativnu agenciju na razgovor, a posle protesta, zloupotrebom institucija, izrečena je ekspresna presuda trojici mladića i uhapšen advokat, predsednik Valjevskog pokreta otpora. Međutim, drugostepeni sud je poništio presude pod

pritiskom javnosti. Strah, diktatura, hapšenja, terorizam i eko-terorizam, i militarizam, to je u šest reči sažeta godina u Srbiji“, kaže na kraju Katarina Milićević.

Dolazak njemačkog kancelara Šolca u Srbiju tokom ljeta i potpisivanje sporazuma o snabdijevanju litijumom je najveći broj ljudi doživjeo kao još jedan u nizu dokaza da ljude u EU uopšte nije briga za sudbinu onih koji žive u Srbiji. To je gorak poraz za ljude demokratske i evropske orijentacije.

Crna Gora: Otkočen i otkaćen evropski put

Crnu Goru ni u 2024. nije mimoišla politička drama. Iako nije bilo parlamentarnih izbora, sukob premijera i predsjednika države, nekadašnjih saveznika, rekonstrukcija vlade, lokalni izbori u Podgorici i drugim mjestima utjecali su da teme visoke politike opet budu dominantne u javnom prostoru. Ove jeseni oči su posebnu uprte na izbore u Podgorici koji prevazilaze lokalni nivo i svojevrsni su test kako stranke stoje.

„Rad Vlade pratila su 'dubinska', politički orijentisana zapošljavanja, politička previranja/prepucavanja i optuživanja na relaciji predsjednik-premijer, te obećanja o uspostavljanju socijalne i ekonomske stabilnosti u državi. Sve same poluge i prakse bivše vlasti kojih se ni nova Vlada nije umjela ili nije htjela odreći“, kaže Radomir Radević iz Podgorice, član Centra za nenasilnu akciju.

Na sam dan formiranja vlade u 2023. godini, lideri su najavili i da će Vlada biti rekonstruisana. To obećanje je ispunjeno u špici turističke sezone. Simbolično, devet mjeseci kasnije, izrodila se proširena Vlada u kojoj su sada i formalno predstavnici prosrpskih stranaka, ali i Bošnjačke stranke, koja je godinama važila za partnera Demokratske partije socijalista i Mila Đukanovića.

„Oprobanim receptom cjepkanja resora, napravljeno je mjesta i za 11 novih članova crnogorske izvršne vlasti, kojih je sada 32 ukupno, čime je nastala jedna od najbrojnijih vlada u regionu. Npr. isto toliko ima i Vlada Srbije, države sa deset puta više stanovnika. Do rekonstrukcije Vlade je moralo doći jer bi u protivnom izgubila podršku u parlamentu i to onih političkih subjekata koji su sada njen sastavni dio. Široka lepeza građanskih i nacionalnih partija, s jedne strane uliva optimizam o ravnopravnom zastupanju i uključivanju

svih, a s druge rađa bojazan o tome na koji način i koliko dugo će uspjeti, tako šarena, da opstane“, dodaje Radević.

Vrelo ljeto u Crnoj Gori obilježile su i dvije rezolucije. Crna Gora je glasala za Rezoluciju o Srebrenici na Generalnoj skupštini UN-a, prethodno podniježu nekoliko amandmana koji su usvojeni. Predloženi amandmani su ujedno i potez premijera Milojka Spajića kojim je pokušao da balansira između nezadovoljstva proisteklog usvajanjem rezolucije od strane dijela srpskog naroda u Crnoj Gori, pritom vodeći računa da ne izgubi povjerenje dijela glasačkog tijela, sa jedne strane, te udovoljavanju interesima prozapadne politike za koju se zalaže, s druge. U ovu drugu stranu bi se lako mogla ubrojati i podrška Rezoluciji o Jasenovcu koja je usvojena odmah poslije. U slučaju druge rezolucije vlast je pokušala balansirati pominjanjem, uz Jasenovac, i logora Dachau i Mauthausen. Na drugu rezoluciju burno je reagirala Hrvatska, proglašavajući nekoliko crnogorskih funkcionera nepoželjnim i otvorenom prijetnjom da će blokirati evropski put Crne Gore.

Politički razvod kakav se već jednom dogodio u Crnoj Gori, na relaciji premijer-predsjednik (Momir Bulatović i Milo Đukanović) kulminirao je kada je predsjednik države Jakov Milatović napustio Pokret Evropa sad, partiju kojoj je pripadao, a premijeru Milojku Spajiću u brakorazvodnoj parnici ta partija pripala. Kao što od 1997. Momir i Milo nisu mogli dalje zajedno, tako od 2024. zajedno dalje ne može ni dvojac – Jakov i Milojko.

„Milatović je ranije bio poznat kao neko ko je „probeogradski“ orijentisan i on je zahtijevao da Mandić i DF ostanu u vladi, uprkos zahtjevima tada prozapadnog Spajića. Međutim, kako su se političke prilike promijenile, tako se u potpunosti promijenio i kurs ovog dvojca. Milatović pokušava nakon početnih faulova koje je napravio sa američkom administracijom, da pokaže da Spajić nije adresa na koju međunarodna zajednica treba igrati. S druge strane Spajić se od političara koji građanima nudi perspektivu boljeg života, ubrzano članstvo u EU integracijama, pretvorio u nekoga ko odgovara na splet zahtjeva DF i predsjednika Srbije Aleksandra Vučića. Ukoliko ostavimo one kuloarske priče o postojanju sukoba i na ličnom nivou, posledice su prilično velike. Najperspektivnija,

građanski orjentisana partija, sa jasnim socijalnim i ekonomskim reformama u svom programu, sada je podijeljena te se na predstojećim lokalnim izborima u Podgorici Milojko i Jakov nalaze na dvije različite izborne liste. Država u kojoj predsjednik i premijer ne sarađuju već su sve oštrije suparnici najslikovitiji je prikaz njene političke i svake druge krize i nestabilnosti“, kaže Radević.

Dobre vijesti za Crnu Goru nedavno su stigle sa Međuvladine konferencije Evropske unije (EU) i Crne Gore, održane 26. juna u Briselu. Na njoj je usvojen izvještaj o procjeni ispunjenosti privremenih mjerila u poglavljima vladavine prava (IBAR), čime su odmrznuti pregovori o EU članstvu. Crna Gora je već 12 godina u pregovaračkom procesu za ulazak u evropski blok, a usvajanjem IBAR-a je izašla iz višegodišnjeg zastoja u pregovorima. Uz IBAR, crnogorskoj Vladi u Briselu predstavljena su i završna mjerila za zatvaranje poglavlja koja bi vodila kraju pregovaračkog procesa. Ove informacije, nakon dugogodišnje stagnacije, ulivaju nadu u ubrzan proces ulaska u EU ne samo kod vladajuće partije već i kod građana/ki Crne Gore. Nakon potvrde IBAR-a, evropske diplomate očekuju da Crna Gora, u drugoj polovini godine, napreduje u zatvaranju novih poglavlja, što će zavisiti od toga koliko će vlasti raditi na ispunjavanju tih uslova.

Bosna i Hercegovina: Stabilna politička kriza

Kao kakav novogodišnji poklon krajem 2023. godine Bosna i Hercegovina je dobila status kandidata za članstvo u Evropskoj uniji čime se pridružila klubu zemalja Zapadnog Balkana koje imaju status kandidata. Istina, niti lideri zemalja Balkana pokazuju preveliko pregalštvo na evropskom putu, niti sama EU zna šta bi sa zemljama kandidatima. To se u slučaju Bosne i Hercegovine vidjelo i po tome što je status kandidata uvjetan jer je podrazumijevao da će biti „aktiviran“ kada BiH ispuni nekoliko preostalih uvjeta. Godinu poslije, BiH nije ispunila preostale uvjete pa je uopće teško reći da li danas BiH ima ili nema status kandidata.

To većini građana znači malo ili nimalo. Trend iseljavanja je takav da je danas opasno uopće i pokušati pretpostaviti koliko ljudi živi u zemlji jer je moguća greška kolosalna. Popis, izrazito političko pitanje, trebao je biti održan 2021. godine, ali se i ne spominje



kao tema. Vlada Hrvatske je, suočena sa negativnim publicitetom nakon objave rezultata popisa iz 2021. prema kojim se stanovništvo smanjilo za 413.000, odnosno za skoro 10 posto, odlučila u 2024. ukinuti popis stanovništva. BiH je čini se, „grešku“ sa popisom zadnji put napravila 2013. i ne misli je ponavljati. Demografska kretanja moguće je tek projicirati na osnovu drugih podataka: broj studenata u Bosni i Hercegovini u proteklih 12 godina smanjen je za 44.000, odnosno 36 posto. Stanovništvo je sve starije, broj penzionera skoro je dostigao broj radnika, a penzije su ustvari svedene na socijalna davanja iz poreskih prihoda.

Politička kriza u BiH je stabilno prisutna. „Stabilna politička kriza“ možda bi mogao biti doprinos postratne BiH svjetskoj nematerijalnoj baštini. Akteri su godinama isti, modeli ponašanja, retorske figure. Ove godine kriza je posebno eskalirala nakon početka suđenja predsjedniku Republike Srpske Miloradu Dodiku koji je optužen za podrivanje ustavnih nadležnosti visokog predstavnika međunarodne zajednice u BiH Christiana Schmidta te u vrijeme usvajanja Rezolu-

cije o genocidu u Srebrenici. Jedina promjena u odnosu na prethodnu godinu jeste da su se sankcije Sjedinjenih Država, koje su mnogi vidjeli kao potpuno beznačajne, pokazale kao ipak funkcionalne. U globaliziranom svijetu, ili barem u ovom dijelu gdje region obitava, ipak još uvijek postoji samo jedan centar i on se zove Washington DC. Dospijeće na crnu listu kod Ujka Sama, shvatilo je to 20-ak političara i kompanija u BiH, znači da vam niko ne želi otvoriti račun u banci i izdati karticu što znači da vi prosto i ne postojite.

Iako je postojao i ranije, čini se da je femicid kao specifičan oblik nasilja eskalirao u posljednje vrijeme, posebno nakon prošlogodišnjeg brutalnog ubistva žene u Gradačcu. I u 2024. javnost je šokiralo više krajnje brutalnih femicida. Nažalost, izuzev šoka, izostaju bilo kakve reakcije koje bi adresirale ovaj problem na adekvatan način. Slično je i u regionu, izuzev izmjena krivičnih zakona, malo toga se uradilo, što pokazuje i činjenica da se broj ubijenih žena povećava. Posebno izostaje propitivanje dubinskih mehanizama koji reprodukuju nasilje prema ženama, od patrijarhata, do

glorifikovanja rata i nečeg što se zbirno naziva tradicijom.

Jer, kad u neposrednoj blizini škole, u centru grada, kao spomenik postavite tenk, ofarban i očuvan, sa cijevi uperenom u ulicu, što se u jesen 2024. desilo u Sarajevu, šta očekujete? Militarizam, retraumatizacija, sijanje straha i stalna neizvjesnost za žrtve, po nekom pravilu, prvo imaju najbliže. Projektovani neprijatelj je predaleko, a sva agresija je tu i ona ne može čekati „kada bude vakat (vrijeme) došao“, ne može čekati polazak za Prizren, neke nove „lipanjske zore“...

Tenk pored škole ustvari ima i pozitivne strane: to je plastičan prikaz nastavnih planova i programa, posebno za „nacionalnu grupu predmeta“, odnosno za

historiju, književnost, jezik... Obrazovne vlasti u BiH, podijeljene po etničkim linijama, od 2019. uvode sve jednostranije i brutalnije prikaze prošlosti u kojima, kako Luan Imeri reče za Sjevernu Makedoniju, historija treba da nas odredi a ne informiše. Za moje dijete moja istina, krilatica je ovdje. Možda su naši heroji ratni zločinci, ali papir, odnosno udžbenik, trpi sve i svašta.

Positivan iskorak u 2024. napravile su pravosudne institucije koje su procesuirale nekoliko slučajeva govora mržnje u kojima se pozivalo na osvetu, slavilo neki od ratnih zločina i slično. To je mala ali važna promjena, makar se i ona bavila tek posljedicom a ne uzrokom.

I na kraju živalj

Nemanja Nestorović

Zovem se Nemanja. Samo jedan u nizu Nemanja nazvan po slavnom županu i rodonačelniku slavne dinastije. Rođen sam u AP Kosovo i Metohija, u gradu na tri reke pod sloganom bratstvo i jedinstvo. Titov pionir u Socijalističkoj Federativnoj Republici Jugoslaviji, u gradu nazvanom po velikom vođi. Drugo od troje dece Srbina i Crnogorke.

Odrastao uz zvuke crkvenih zvona, ujakovih gusala i molitva imama sa minareta džamija. Osamdesetih godina 20. veka mnogo sinova je nosilo stara, srpska imena. Isto tako, mnogo mladih Albanaca je nosilo imena koja prevedena na srpski znače isto - Clirim=Slobodan, Diellza= Sunčica.

Devedesetih odrastao sam u Saveznoj Republici Jugoslaviji uz rađanje novih/starih republika, ratne vesti na Dnevniku, uz hiperinflaciju, roditeljske plate od 10 maraka. Demonstracije Albanaca i Srba, kolone, otmice, napadi, prisilna iseljavanja, OVK, PJP, policijski čas, tatine česte vojne vežbe i odsustva, Šiptari, škinje, napadi terorista, akcije policije - bile su učestalije reči od onih iz naučno-obrazovnog programa.

Punoletstvo i bomardovanje sam dočekao u Državnoj zajednici Srbije i Crne Gore. Srbini i Crnogorka, Mubera, Hamdo, Rada i Miroljub su sada primorani da biraju stranu. U gotovo svakom domu se govori o

istom - dolazi loše vreme. I slutnje su se ostvarile: rat na Kosovu je zvanično počeo 24. marta 1999. iako je rat trajao i tinjao mnogo pre toga. Teču Desimira su teroristi OVK ubili u zasedi na putu za posao u Srbici.

Nakon završetka bombardovanja, kao sedamnaestogodišnjak, najbolju drugaricu, koju poznajem od svoje šeste godine, a koja je muslimanka, opratio sam uz suze i nevraćenu knjigu iz gimnazijske biblioteke, kao poklon za nezaboravak. Morala je da ode jer se zvala Enisa. Jer joj je otac Ismet, a Ismetova deca su išla u srpsku školu. Podjednako nepodobni i za Albance i za Srbe jer „nisu odabrali stranu“. Otišla je pre nekoliko godina u Ameriku. Tamo je, valjda, prihvatljivo da ona bude to što jeste, bez da neko upire prstom u nju jer je muslimanka, a da zbog mešovitog braka nema skarletno slovo na leđima. Valjda je to taj mit o američkom snu. Enisa je i dalje moj najbolji prijatelj, punih 36 godina, od kad smo kao pioniri kod učitelja Predraga učili o Jugoslaviji kao preteči Evropske Unije, a učiteljica albanskog Vjolca nas naučila pesmu „Koha ecen koha shkon“, koju, iznenađujuće, znamo oboje i posle duže od tri decenije.

Rane 2000. studiram u SRJ, diplomiram u Republici Srbiji (i dalje u Autonomna Pokrajina Kosovo i Metohija). Pogrom(i). Zastrahivanje. Nezavisnost.

Unilateralan. Egzodusi. Gotovo svakodnevnici incidenti, sukobi na mostu u podjeljenom gradu. Restrikcije struje i vode. Majka pored fotelje na kojoj sedi ima manju, crnu torbu sa našim ličnim dokumentima, tapijom kuće, nekoliko porodičnih fotografija, malo porodičnog nakita, ikonu Svetog Đorđa, „ako bude moralo da se beži“. Tu torbu i dan danas čuvamo, spremnu.

Tata je kao samouki talentovani slikar slikao slike stare Mitrovice na kojoj je legendarni mitrovački most, koji je postao simbol otpora za jedne, i barikada za osvajanje teritorije i konačnog pokoravanja za druge. Simbol prkosa, ali i simbol sloma.

Na istoj slici je i mala džamija sa belo okrečenim minaretom koja je zapaljena tokom bombradovanja. Tada, kao sedamnaestogodišnjak, gledao sam sa grčom u grudima i stegnutim pesnicama kako nestaje jedan od simbola grada svih Mitrovčana. Negodovali smo u kući zbog toga, komšije takođe. Negodovali glasno, nekada u sebi. Isto tako smo se osećali mesecima kasnije gledajući snimke rušenja nadgrobničkih spomenika pravoslavnog groblja, nestajanja manastira, crkava i istorije u plamenu.

Profesionalnu karijeru započinjem u novoj, poludržavi, Kosovo. Za jedne, neotuđivi deo Srbije, za druge najmlađa evropska država. U neku ruku nepoželjan i za jedne i za druge - za ove prve jer „kočimo napredak ostatka Srbije i EU integracijama“, za druge „jer smo pretnja ustavnom poretku“. Za ove prve smo opet živalj koji živi tamo dole - zvuči gotovo pežorativno i unižavajuće, jer liči na zaostavštinu kosovskog vilajeta. Do sada nisam čuo da iko izgovara, niti pročitao da postoji živalj iz Trstenika, recimo ili živalj sa Dorćola. Za ove druge smo sada Kosovari. Vrlo često i za ove prve. Mi, prksoni i tvrdoglavi živalj sa Kosova, nismo nikada ni upitani šta mi želimo. Znao je umesto nas neki aga ili beg, pa kralj, pa mašin-bravar, pa dama sa cvetom u kosi, pa nedorečeni političari, neonacionalisti i neo-demokrate. Jedan koji je želeo da bude glas naroda je mučki ubijen januara meseca. Šest metaka je poslalo poruku ostalima koji misle drugačije.

Čak i sada, kao već zreo 40-ogodišnjak, imam vrlo živa sećanja na najranije dane svog detinjstva. Upečatljiviji momenat je moje sećanje na školskog pedagoga kod koga su me roditelji odveli na razgovor pre polaska u prvi razred škole. Albanac koji je dobro

govorio srpski, sa prepoznatljivim, a meni zanimljivim izgovorom slova č, ž, đ. Visok čovek, širokog osmeha, pravilno raspoređenih zuba, crne grgurave kose sa naglašenim zaliscima. Vuneni sako, crne pantalone i bela košulja činile su ga izgleda poput muškog modela iz časopisa „Burda“. U kancelariji je slika oca naroda i narodnosti, na radnom stolu teška kristalna pepeljara, ispod koje se nalazili formulari rukom ispisani, penkalo sa bočicom mastila. Na drugom zidu je kalendar sa slikom prirode, geografska karta Jugoslavije. Ispred škole zastava sa petokrakom. Kasne osamdesete su.

Gimnazijske dane sam, uprkos tenzijama, otmicama, bombaškim napadima doživeo kao lepši period života. Bez mobilnih telefona, sa dva tv kanala, fejk starkama-šangajkama, koje su mama i tata uspeli da kupe, izlascima koji su bili šetnja na korzou, kako smo zvali glavnu ulicu. I srećan. I bezbrižan. Nesvestan.

Deceniju kasnije, tokom aprila 1999. godine, rat i bombardovanje su uveliko trajali. Noći su bile jezive i zlokobno mirne - struje nije bilo, ili je sve bilo ugašeno. Tišinu bi prelomili zvuci sirena za vazdušnu opasnost, pucnji, nekada u blizini, nekada u daljini, ali i vrisak i krici ljudi i životinja. Dosta komšija i prijatelja koje smo poznavali su često krišom u gluvo doba noći napuštali svoje domove i odlazile na neka „sigurnija“ mesta u Srbiji. Verovatno zbog osećaja osude, straha za živote svojih najmilijih odlazili su tiho, bez pozdrava. Ljudi koji su ostajali su vrlo često ovo lično doživljavali kao neki vid izdaje. Zvuci plamena gorućeg crepa, pokušta, zajedno sa uspomemama parali bi mučnu tišinu noći. Preko dana bi dočekali kosture kuća iz kojih je još uvek kuljao dim. Odžaci bi štrčali netaknuti, kao nemi svedoci i očevici događaja.

Kamioni, oklopna vozila, tenkovi su svakodnevno prolazili kroz grad. Vojska, policija, civili i ljudi koji napuštaju svoje domove. Drugi, pak, traže privremeni boravak i predah na putu ka novom životu. Mama bi ponekad izlazila na ulicu sa uštipcima, čajem, sokom od zove i kafom nudeći ljudima koji su poput karavana prolazili pored naše kuće da se okrepe na svom putu ka boljem. Škole, kao i druge javne institucije, su bile zatvorene ali su neke služile, kasnije ću to saznati, kao privremeni prihvatni centri u kojim se vršilo ispitivanje i dalja deportacija Albanaca. Za Albaniju, govorilo se...

Kasnog aprila 1999. proleće je donelo neko olakšanje. Lepše vreme i već ustaljeni ritam ratnog života

delovali su kao nešto sa čime smo se saživali. Ljudi su upali u rutinu ratnog ludila: preko dana se život odvijao „normalno“, dok smo tokom noći gotovo šaputali, uz prvi sumrak i na prvi zvuk sirena silazili u podrum kuće.

Kuća u kojoj sam živio sa roditeljima, bratom i sestrom se nalazila u blizini srednje škole. Tu sam preko dana viđao vojnike i pripadnike policije koji su, naoružani, čuvali ulaze i izlaze. Preko puta se nalazila kancelarija Mesne zajednice, na čijem zidu su svakodnevno lepljene nove umrlice nastradalih i preminulih sugrađana. Sahrane su se odvijale na brzinu, uz uglavnom samo najuže članove porodice.

Prolazeći pored zadnjeg ulaza škole nabasao sam na kamion koji se upravo zaustavljao, a dvojica vojnika sa uperenim puškama su otvarali zadnji deo kamiona. U kamionu se nalazilo nekih dvadesetak muškaraca

srednjih godina, vezanih ruku. Jedan od uniformisanih ljudi je vikao i pokazivao pravac u kojem su trebali da krenu. Silazili su ćutke, gledajući ispred sebe. Među poslednjima sam ugledao svog pedagoga iz detinjstva! Krvave, rascepane donje usne, prašnjavih pantalona, cipela bez pertli, zarasle kose i neobrijanog lica. Rukama vezanim iza leđa silazio je ćutke. Pogledi su nam se sreli na kratko, i ne sluteći da ga prepoznajem, tiho je nešto promrljao sebi u bradu i nastavio da prati kolonu do ulaza u školu. Hteo sam da priđem i odvežem mu ruke, dovedem ga kući i ponudim mu gostoprimstvo. Ta slika i misao o njemu i njegovoj sudbini me gonila i goni i danas, sa gomilom neodgovorenih pitanja, scenarija o tome gde je otišao. Priželjkivao sam i priželjkujem da negde kao penzioner priča kako je čuo moje misli i pročitao ih u pogledu.

Autor je zamenik direktora NVO Community Building Mitrovica.



dodatak

Kako opisati Srebrenicu: 15 knjiga za čitanje o srebreničkom genocidu

Nedžad Novalić

Svaki izbor knjiga o nekoj temi nesumnjivo je subjektivan. Za razliku od naučnih radova gdje je autor u obavezi sačiniti cjelokupan pregled literature i kritički se osvrnuti na napisano, kod izbora i preporuka drugima moguće je izostaviti naslove bez bilo kakvog objašnjenja. Zato, po pravilu, svaki takav izbor odražava pročitano, interese i ukus onog ko ga sačinjava, svako drugi bi ponešto dodao ili uklonio, svaki novi popis bio bi drukčiji od drugih. Ali takvi izbori naslova su važni i često su vodilja drugima, i sami kada se zainteresiramo za određenu temu tražimo takve popise koji će nas usmjeriti.

Uz takvu ogradu, sa takvom namjerom i namjenom, ovo je 15 naslova, 15 knjiga, o temi genocida nad Bošnjacima šireg područja Srebrenice čija se godišnjica obilježava svakog 11. jula.

Za početak: Zbjeg

Zbjeg Hasana Nuhanovića vjerovatno je najsnažnije svjedočanstvo napisano do sada o genocidu u Srebrenici. Nuhanović, danas kustos u Memorijalnom centru u Potočarima, rođen je u Zvorniku; njegovu porodicu rat 1992. zatiče u Vlasenici odakle kreću put *zbjegova* kako bi spasili živote. Hasanu su u genocidu ubijeni otac, majka i brat koji su s njim preživjeli sve silne *zbjegove* da bi u julu 1995. bili istjerani iz baze UN-a u Potočarima, gdje je Hasan radio kao prevodilac, i tako poslati u smrt. *Zbjeg* pokriva period od 1992. do 1994., a druga knjiga Hasana Nuhanovića *Pod zastavom UN-a: Međunarodna zajednica i zločin u Srebrenici* pokriva period od proglašenja Srebrenice zaštićenom zonom do konačnog pada i genocida. Obje knjige su po objavljivanju rasprodate i bile su dugo slabo dostupne te ih nije bilo moguće pronaći u knjižarama, ali je Izdavačka kuća „Vrijeme“ nedavno ponovo objavila *Zbjeg*. Intervju naslovljen kao „Mehanika fluida“ koji je Boro Kontić uradio sa Hasanom Nuhanovićem prije skoro deceniju i danas je jednako aktuelan i vrijedan.

Razglednica iz groba autora Emira Suljagića, aktuelnog direktora Memorijalnog centra u Potočarima, još je jedan od zapisa preživjelih objavljen sad već daleke 2005. godine. Kao i u *Zbjegu* Hasana Nuhanovića, i Emir Suljagić u *Razglednici iz groba* srebreničku tragediju vremenski *proširuje* i prati od 1992. godine. To je posebno važan doprinos, jer se često, kada se govori o genocidu u Srebrenici, skoro isključivo fokusira na nekoliko dana u julu 1995. godine. Ali taj julski *ponor* ima višemjesečnu prethistoriju borbe za goli opstanak, život po zbjegovima, potragu za hranom i smrt koja se u tom dijelu Bosne odomacila i mnogo prije jula 1995.

Roman *Šta su meni ptice* autora Fajke Kadrića objavljen je 2022. godine i već je doživio tri izdanja. Kadrić je po životnoj priči Ekrema Redžića iz Vlasenice ispričao priču hiljada Podrinjaca koji su se od 1992. godine *slijevali* ka Srebrenici. Ekrem Redžić će tako prvo spas iz Vlasenice potražiti u Cerskoj, odakle će više puta, kao kurir, odlaziti do Tuzle i slobodne teritorije prolazeći zamršenim i opasnim šumskim putevima između vojnih položaja. Kada Cerska padne u martu 1993., Ekrem će, kao i mnogi drugi, spas potražiti u Srebrenici, a Fajko Kadrić po njegovoj priči pokušava prenijeti šta je značilo 1993. doći kao izbjeglica i to, ni manje ni više, nego u Srebrenicu. Ako su knjige Hasana Nuhanovića i Emira Suljagića važne jer genocid prate u širem vremenskom okviru, roman Fajke Kadrića jednako je važan jer genocid prati na jednom širem geografskom području. Iako je genocid, ponajviše zahvaljujući sudskim presudama, u javni diskurs ušao kao *srebrenički* ili *genocid u Srebrenici*, važno je razumjeti i njegovu *geografsku širinu*. Kako je još u junu 2012. upozorio Hasan Nuhanović u tekstu pod naslovom *Opštinski genocid*, objavljenom u *Oslobođenju*, od 8.372 ubijenih u genocidu njih dvije trećine su prije rata živjeli na području Bratunca, Vlasenice, Zvornika, Han Pijeska, Rogatice i Višegrada. Također, masovne egzekucije zarobljenih civila nakon pada Srebrenice

vršene su, osim u Srebrenici, u Bratuncu, Zvorniku, Vlasenici, pa čak i u Trnovu, koje se nalazi 200 kilometara od Srebrenice.

Svjedočanstva preživjelih

Zadržavajući se još na knjigama koje su pisali preživjeli ostavljajući za sobom važna svjedočanstva o smrti i preživljavanju, treba spomenuti i knjigu Nedžada Avdića i Amele Avdić Unkić *Ja, haški svjedok*. Nedžad, do danas zadržavši dječački osmijeh i blagost, u julu 1995. pridružio se koloni muškaraca koja se pokušala probiti do Tuzle. Na samom početku mu je usljed granatiranja ubijen otac, a on je zarobljen u okolini Bratunca. Izveden je na strijeljanje u noći između 14. i 15. jula 1995. u mjestu Petkovci kod Zvornika, ali je strijeljanje preživio, o čemu je svjedočio i pred Haškim tribunalom, a što detaljno opisuje u knjizi. Svoje sjećanje zapisuje i njegova sestra Amela, a u knjigu su utkane i priče i sjećanja njihove Majke, priča o izbjeglištvu, borbi za nastavak života i povratku. Nedžad se, nakon završenog fakulteta u Tuzli, vratio u Srebrenicu, gdje i danas živi sa porodicom.

Emir Bektić, jedan od onih koji su *prešli* na slobodnu teritoriju, svoja je sjećanja zapisao u knjizi *Kad osvaneš sam*. Emir je pad Srebrenice dočekao kao 16-godišnji dječak, a u proboj je krenuo sa ocem čije posmrtno ostatke ni do danas nije pronašao. Dva puta je bio zarobljen, ali je uspio preživjeti i sresti se s majkom i sestrom na slobodnoj teritoriji. Četiri godine poslije rata, u 41. godini, umire mu i majka, a on i sestra, na izmaku 20. stoljeća, jedva punoljetni, *osvanuli su sami*.

Vrlo je moguće da ćete Azira Osmanovića sresti prilikom posjete Memorijalnom centru u Potočarima, gdje radi kao kustos. Danas historičar i kustos, Azir je svoje svjedočanstvo, sjećanje 13-godišnjaka koji je *prešao*, zabilježio u knjizi *Od Srebrenice do svjetla na kraju tunela*. U svojim zapisima i javnim istupima Azir često govori o posljedicama genocida koje traju godinama i prenose se i na nove generacije, o bratu koji je počinio samoubistvo nakon svega preživljenog, ocu koji se nosi sa svim tim, povratku i životu u Srebrenici... Od svjedočanstava preživjelih treba izdvojiti i knjigu Kadira Habibovića *Život protiv smrti – Srebrenica*.

Nažalost, izuzev knjiga *Razglednica iz groba* i *Pod zastavom UN-a*, ova svjedočanstva nisu prevedena na

engleski jezik, i to ostaje jedan od bitnijih zadataka u budućnosti. Zato je važno spomenuti knjigu *Voices from Srebrenica: Survivor Narratives of the Bosnian Genocide* koju su zajedno priredili Ann Petrila i Hasan Hasanović, koji je također jedan od onih koju su kao maloljetni preživjeli genocid.

Hronologija jednog genocida

Vjerovatno najsveobuhvatniji hronološki prikaz genocida ponudio je Matthias Fink u knjizi *Srebrenica, hronologija jednog genocida ili šta se desilo sa Mirnesom Osmanovićem*. Na više od 1.000 stranica ovaj njemački historičar i novinar daje široki kontekst u koji je uključen raspad Jugoslavije i početak ratova, ali i detaljan opis genocida iz dana u dan. Posebnost ove knjige je u tome što je dostupna na još jednom velikom svjetskom jeziku (njemačkom), ali i kao audio knjiga, formatu koji je danas sve popularniji. Iako nije uvijek *lahko prohodna*, jer to nije knjiga koju je lahko iščitati od korica do korica bez prekida, ovakvi iscrpni prikazi važni su kada se temi genocida, nekom aspektu ili fazi, vraćamo iznova i iznova.

Pitanje koje se uvijek nameće kada se govori o genocidu u Srebrenici jeste: kako opisati genocid? Hariz Halilović, socijalni antropolog sa RMIT univerziteta u Melbourneu, upravo je tako naslovio svoju knjigu kolumni, osvrta i zapisa. *Kako opisati Srebrenicu* značajna je ne samo zbog svog naslova već i jedinstvene pozicije autora koji je kao Srebreničanin preživio strahote Prijedora, gdje ga je rat zatekao 1992. Halilović se intenzivno vraća Srebrenici, ne samo kao temi, već i kao prostoru gdje dolazi sa različitim grupama, uključujući i studente, i pokušava barem djelimično odgovoriti na pitanje *kako opisati Srebrenicu?*

Srebrenicom nakon rata bave se i autorice Lara J. Nettelfield i Sarah E. Wagner u sjajnoj antropološkoj studiji *Srebrenica nakon genocida*. Autorice su provele više mjeseci, vraćajući se nekoliko puta, u Srebrenici i okolini, družeći se sa preživjelim i pokušavajući uhvatiti kako danas živi narod. Kako su u genocidu masovno ubijeni muškarci, povratak u Srebrenicu i borbu za pravo na sjećanje po pravilu su vodile žene. Knjiga *Srebrenica nakon genocida*, nastala i na osnovu, između ostalog, razgovora sa tim ženama, otvara ovu veliku temu u sklopu kazivanja genocida. Imena nekih od žena i njihova borba postali su poznati i van granica

regiona, ali knjiga donosi kazivanje i mnogih drugih žena, žena za čija imena nismo čuli a koje su se među prvima vratile u Srebrenicu i bile u prvim redovima uvijek i svuda.

Tema uloge međunarodne zajednice i katastrofalnog neuspjeha Ujedinjenih nacija (UN) možda je i najzastupljenija u literaturi, različitim specijalnim izvještajima i člancima. Već pominjana knjiga Hasana Nuhanovića *Pod zastavom UN-a* daje jedan neprocjenjivo važan uvid nekoga ko je sve korake, odluke i nečinjenje silne birokratije međunarodne zajednice gledao svojim očima u samoj Srebrenici. Jedna sasvim birokratska odluka da se sigurnost garantuje samo osoblju UN-a u Hasanovom slučaju značila je da će on preživjeti, a njegov otac, majka i brat biti izbačeni iz baze UN-a i ubijeni. Ako je knjiga Hasana Nuhanovića i svih drugih preživjelih svojevrсни *pogled odozdo*, Diego Arria u knjizi *Usporeni genocid u Bosni* ustvari nudi *pogled odozgo*, iz perspektive visoke politike, diplomatije i licemjerja. Arria je godinama bio predstavnik Venecuele u UN-u, a u ključnim godinama Venecuela je bila članica Vijeća sigurnosti UN-a, što mu je dalo pristup najvišim krugovima odlučivanja u ovoj *svjetskoj vladi*.

Vladimir Filipović se u knjizi, prerađenoj doktorskoj disertaciji, *Ispod plavih šljemova: Motivi država za sudjelovanjem u misiji UNPROFOR 1992-1995*. bavio širokom temom mirovnih misija UN-a i motivima zemalja da svoje vojnike pošalju u ratom zahvaćenu Jugoslaviju. Iz Filipovićevih istraživanja vidljivo je da je samo proglašenje zaštićenih zona, među kojima su bile i Srebrenica i Žepa, ustvari predstavljalo *ad hoc* rješenje koje ni sama birokratija UN-a nije sa sigurnošću mogla definisati. Kako događaji često imaju vlastitu dinamiku, vidjelo se i na ovom primjeru: iako se vrh

UN-a nije slagao sa idejom o „zaštićenim zonama“, donesenu odluku je valjalo sprovesti u djelo. U praksi je to značilo da su najveće zemlje odbile poslati trupe u Srebrenicu koja je bila udaljena od većih logističkih centara te je bila u potpunom okruženju, prenaseljena... Na kraju su zadatak prihvatili Kanađani motivirani daljnjim građenjem imidža kao svjetske sile na polju mirovnih misija, da bi ih potom smijenili Nizozemci čija nam je uloga dobro poznata. Na primjeru Nizozemaca vidjelo se još nešto: vlada ove zemlje zagovarala je dosta snažniji pristup međunarodne zajednice (uključujući i bombardovanje) sve dok *njihovi dečki* nisu bili na terenu. U ključnim momentima upravo se nizozemska vlada suprotstavila zračnim udarima iz straha za živote svojih vojnika. Vidjelo se tada, ali ne samo tu i tada, da su svi životi jednako važni, samo su neki važniji od drugih, da parafraziram Orwella.

Na kraju, dokumentaristički roman *Beara* Ivce Đikića predstavlja snažno svjedočanstvo o tome šta znači genocid iz perspektive počinitelja. Ljubiša Beara u trenutku genocida bio je načelnik sigurnosti Glavnog štaba VRS-a. Nekadašnji kapetan bojnog broda JNA bio je operativac vojnog i političkog vrha za izvršenje genocida. Taj posao uključivao je, kako je Đikić pokazao, kompleksne logističke pripreme, pronalaženje objekata za privremeni smještaj zarobljenika i njihovu masovnu likvidaciju (a najčešće su za zatočenje korištene škole, domovi kulture i druge velike hale). Iz Đikićevog romana vidljivo je da je vojni i politički vrh bio svjestan u kakav se zločin upušta, što je posebno vidljivo iz zahtjeva Miroslava Deronjića, načelnika Kriznog štaba Bratunca, da se masovne likvidacije ne vrše na području *njegove opštine*, već drugdje. Roman je preveden na talijanski, švedski, norveški i češki.

Svjedočanstva preživjelih:

Hasan Nuhanović: *Zbjeg*

Hasan Nuhanović: *Pod zastavom UN-a**

Emir Suljagić: *Razglednica iz groba**

Fajko Kadrić: *Šta su meni ptice*

Nedžad Avdić i Amela Avdić Unkić: *Ja, haški svjedok*

Emir Bektić: *Kad osvaneš sam*

Azir Osmanović: *Od Srebrenice do svjetla na kraju tunela*

Hasan Hasanović i Ann Petrila: *Voices from Srebrenica* *

Kadir Habović: *Život protiv smrti – Srebrenica*

Antropološko-historijske studije:

Hariz Halilović: *Kako opisati Srebrenicu*

Matthias Fink: *Srebrenica, hronologija jednog genocida ili šta se desilo sa Mirnesom Osmanovićem* **

Lara J. Nettelfield i Sarah E. Wagner: *Srebrenica nakon genocida* *

Uloga međunarodne zajednice:

Diego Arria: *Usporeni genocid u Bosni* *

Vladimir Filipović: *Ispod plavih šljemova: Motivi država za sudjelovanjem u misiji UNPROFOR 1992-1995.*

Dokumentaristički romani:

Ivica Đikić: *Beara* **

Nedžad Novalić

* Dostupno na engleskom jeziku

** Dostupno na drugim stranim jezicima

Annual Report 2024

(English version)

Translation
Ulvija Tanović

Our websites (available in English):



nenasilje.org/en



onms.nenasilje.org



kulturasjecanja.org/en



biber.nenasilje.org



handbook.nenasilje.org

Introduction

Dear friends,

The past year (September 2023 – September 2024) has been marked on the global level by the wars in Ukraine and in Israel/Palestine. You can read about how these and other global and regional developments affected our work and motivation, as well as the purpose of engaging in peacebuilding in such circumstances from the personal vantage point of Nenad Vukosavljević in his text “Defence and the last days” at the beginning of our annual report this year.

Working with war veterans, marking unmarked sites of suffering, international cooperation, peace education, as well as publishing and promotion were our main activities once again this year.

We organised a reflection and planning meeting for war veterans in Daruvar at the end of last year, and this year we attended commemorations in Čardak near Derвента; Ahmići and Trusina; Herceg Novi in Montenegro, and White Armband Day in Prijedor.

The team working on marking unmarked sites of suffering (ONMS) implemented two actions. The first in November last year in the area of Ilidža, the wider Kalinovik area and Rudno. The second and larger action in March this year included visiting and marking 4 camps in Herzegovina: the Čelebići Barracks near Konjic, Heliodrom near Mostar, the Zijeplje Primary School in Istočni Mostar and the Museum of the Battle for the Wounded at Neretva in Jablanica.

We implemented two peace education activities. The Basic Training in Peacebuilding, our 45th, was held from 6 to 16 October 2023 in Kruševo, and the seventh Mir Page Мир Training in peacebuilding was held from 12 to 21 April 2024 in Berovo, both in North Macedonia.

We joined the study trip “Youth Remember the Forgotten” from 14 to 16 September 2023, organised by the Youth Initiative for Human Rights of Croatia and the Serb National Council to mark 30 years since

Operation Medak Pocket when many civilians were killed. The study trip to Kosovo was organised from 6 to 10 November 2023 and in addition to CNA peace activists included several of our associates. Together, we visited Pristina, Gračanica, Kosovska Mitrovica and Prizren.

Invited by our associates from the CK 13 Youth Centre in Novi Sad, on 8 and 9 June 2024, activists of the Centre for Nonviolent Action held one of the Alternative Policy Seminars of this organisation, titled “Introduction to Reflecting on Peace”. We were invited by the same organisation to participate in the regional political school on the 1990s “Love Will Save Us!” held in Sremski Karlovci on 19 and 20 September 2024.

We organised two promotions of Biber Short Story Collections in Užice and Ulcinj and closed the Biber 06 Contest that received 490 stories. We expect the results of the Contest by the end of November 2024 and the Collection will be published in the first quarter of next year.

Our new book *We Come in Peace: Peacebuilding with War Veterans* will be coming out at the end of this year (2024). You can read more about the book, its importance, purpose, and the idea behind its publication in the text by Ivana Franović, one of the book’s authors and its editor.

We spoke with our friend and longstanding associate, activist Mirjana Trifković Marjanović who was once a participant in our peace education programmes, the basic training and the training of trainers. Read the interview we conducted with her to find out more about her experience from the trainings, what they meant for her, as well as about peace activism in Bosnia and Herzegovina in general.

In cooperation with our friends Luan Imeri (North Macedonia), Amina Kaja (Kosovo), and Dalmir Mišković (Croatia), members of the CNA team wrote about

the contexts in which we work, this time in a joint text. We also bring you a story from Kosovo “And Finally the Populace” by Nemanja Nestorović, an activist from Kosovska Mitrovica, because it is important for us to feature voices from Kosovo that call for peace, understanding and cooperation.

Additionally, you can read Nedžad Novalić’s text “How to describe Srebrenica: 15 books to read about the Srebrenica genocide”.

The Defence and the Last Days

Nenad Vukosavljević

It’s hard to accept that the times we’re living in keep getting worse, and that the times we remember from 10 or 20 years ago were golden compared to our present, because so much was unjust, bad and painful back then, so how can our societies keep getting worse.

If we take Serbia as an example, the worsening can easily be explained by changes in government and the gradual suffocation of democracy that has been ongoing in the country. But that is not all, because it is also happening in the regional and global neighbourhood that has taken a dramatic turn for the worse, with an arms race once again underway, mandatory military service being reintroduced, lower investment in education and international development, citizens left with less money and an excess of rage looking for someone to blame.

The war in Ukraine and the escalation in Palestine/Israel are accompanied by the kind of proliferation of weapons, hatred, disinformation and manipulation that I remember seeing first-hand during the war in former Yugoslavia.

It is not difficult to explain these mechanisms, it all starts with fear. Fear is always at the beginning and once it completely takes hold, people stop being sensitive to the pain and injustice done to those they see as threats. Whole nations are dehumanised, the inhabitants of vast regions and countries are labelled as enemies, lunatics, villains. At the same time, “righteousness” takes absolute primacy, there are no more

You can read more about all of the above in this report, and more details are also available on our websites.

We welcome your comments, insights and any feedback you can send us.

CNA Team
September 2024

differences in opinion, any deviation is seen as threatening and hostile, people who disagree are treated as enemies, subjected to threats, defamation, their right to exist is denied. The worst violence comes from those convinced of their righteousness, it’s all so familiar.

On social networks, groups that call themselves peacemakers share videos of enemy casualties, there’s cheering at footage of destruction, human life means nothing if it belongs to the enemy, the line between staunch democrats and autocrats is blurred. The autocrats say, “We told you that’s what they are like.” Calls for peace and against war are seen as insults, mocked, new heroes are celebrated, those who refuse communication until final victory because they are the only ones “in the right”. At the same time, we see famous leaders, but we don’t see the parents of thousands of young people whose lives have been lost, their lives are worthless, they are left dead or crippled for a stretch of territory someone thought should be stolen or defended. What territory is worth that? Ours, they say, until they get tired, until enough of them die, and then peace becomes the only thing that matters, making it stop in whatever way. We’ve seen it all before, it’s familiar from previous wars, but it seems this hasn’t been enough, more people need to die.

In the Western Balkans, we’re on hold, memory of the atrocities has not faded yet and we’re still too tired to do it all over again, but things are in the works,

young people are served militarism, neighbours are labelled as enemies, they are being mentally prepared to do what was done 30 years ago when it was claimed that violence and war were the only ways to protect ourselves. Yes, we're always only defending ourselves, even when we attack, because it is necessary, because that's how it's done. Of course.

I am dismayed to discover that earlier in the summer, a peace conference was organised but both warring parties were not invited. Why call it a "peace conference" then? Just so you don't call it a war conference, a consultation among allies, "peace" sounds better, that's how it's done. Bizarre, just as the avoidance in Russia to call the war by its name, calling it instead a "special military operation".

What is the point of engaging in peacebuilding in such an environment? I keep asking myself this and I can only say that the point is that the killing of people cannot be justified, injustice cannot be justified, even when it is claimed to be backed up by the best of intentions. I work on peacebuilding because I believe in it, despite how scary it is to see people I know as level-headed, generous and peace-loving suddenly talking about the necessity of war. I re-examine myself when I hear such things, but my faith in nonviolence and peacebuilding remains unshaken. When this is said by people I've never heard speak such things before, I recognise their fear and I ask them questions. There is no answer to the question of how they imagine the end of the war, the defeat of the unjust side as they call it, what will happen exactly, where will it lead? I ask them whether they would send their sons to war, silence. Would you go to war? Silence.

Maybe my questions aren't fair, but it's not enough to support "justified" violence if you can't say what the desired outcome is, the aim that it is meant to achieve. I just want to ask, if that is the aim, is this the only or the best way to get there?

My starting point is the irrevocable loss of human lives and I know that those leading the war will try to conceal this with their memory policies, offering the higher cause of the homeland as the purpose of our existence. I am sorry if all someone lives for is their homeland, and I am especially sorry if that homeland is made up only of the value of its territory, and not the lives of people who live there. "They are defending

the lives of their loved ones by dying for them," I hear, but I believe there must be a way for them to live.

I don't expect people overcome by hatred and panicked fear to understand that taking a human life means killing yourself. Some will only come to understand this years later, some will drown that knowledge in drugs, some will simply put themselves out of their misery, some will continue to lie to themselves to the end, and some will try to live responsibly with this knowledge and do everything they can to prevent this from ever happening again, anywhere and to anyone. "Nowhere and to no one" is valid only if it is unconditional. I've spent decades working with veterans, I know a fraction of what they've been through and I can see how difficult it is to work on overcoming the effects of war and on dealing with the past. Sometimes, some of them wish they could disappear, because it seems it would be easier that way, compared to living with that burden.

Over almost thirty years of working on peacebuilding, I have often thought: someone had to have known all of these things that we are learning now, how did I never stumble across this knowledge before, why only now and why does it have to be so slow and painful? I was frustrated with myself because it was all taking too long, there was no shortcut to enable me to continue my youthful plans, to do photography and not feel the burden of all the injustice and hate sown before and during the war, and nurtured after the war through schools, the media, and political programmes.

The war in Ukraine (and as of recently in Russia) was seen by many people in former Yugoslavia as something already familiar, a rerun of their fate, it took them back in time and revived their fears. Many of them put flags on their social media profiles, some even stuck flags on their lawns, copying the practice from the Western world. It is just to stand with those who are attacked. Here, people know the logic of war and what it looks like in reality, but this does not prevent them from thinking that in this specific new case, everything is like it never was before. It's simple, you just put on a pair of spectacles and look only through them, if someone says something that doesn't fit with that image, you attack him for supporting criminals.

When I read statements by politicians in Germany, for example, whose support has provided funding for our peace work over the past decades, when I hear them unequivocally supporting war, considering more and better weapons, I wonder, of course, why did they ever support peace work? I can maybe understand that the difference is that before they did not fear for themselves and their neighbourhood, and now they do. It seems to me that their course of action provides more reasons to fear and it seems like a vortex that is difficult to escape.

On the other hand, the incredible disproportion between reactions to crimes against civilians in Palestine/Israel and in Ukraine clearly indicates that there are different criteria and delegitimises those who act this way but claim the moral high ground. Being selective when it comes to decisions of the International Criminal Court undermines the moral authority of representatives of countries who in the past decades advocated international legal mechanisms that would contribute to preventing and punishing crimes. You cannot be outraged by the fact that a statesman indicted by the International Criminal Court freely visits another country, and then be silent when

another statesman from another country, who was also indicted, does so, simply because he is your “ally”. For me, Palestinians and Ukrainians and Russians and Israelis are equally worthy. When you shut your eyes to the dehumanisation of entire nations, you cannot pretend to be righteous, because you have no credibility. Decades of building trust and moral authority faded quickly and painfully.

We are no better, worse, smarter or stupider here, it’s just that in the postwar period, we had a lot of new problems that we tried to solve in different ways. At the political level, we were mostly unsuccessful, but we did have a few alternative initiatives that contributed to building respect, cooperation across ethnic boundaries, winning trust and a sense of security and peace.

I am sure that in a few years someone in Ukraine, trying to build peace, will be asking themselves the same question I asked myself before: “Why didn’t I know this before?” It is for them that we leave this trail, and if it manages, if only just for a moment, to stop the hopelessness and give hope for a future free of violence and injustice, then it is certainly worth it. Everything is possible. It only depends on us people.



Activities we held out in the last 12 months:

- Planning and Reflection Meeting in Daruvar, December 2023
- Attending Commemorations in Ahmići and Trusina, 16 April 2024
- Attending Commemorations in Čardak near Derventa, 13 May 2024
- Attending the commemoration in Herceg Novi, 25 May 2024
- Attending the white Armband Day commemoration in Prijedor, 31 May 2024

How Ahmići and Trusina Met

Nedžad Novalić

When on 16 April 2019, *in those days* before corona, we attended the commemoration to (Bosniak) victims in Ahmići with a mixed group of war veterans and peace activists, I felt completely at peace. Only the year before, on 16 April 2018, we'd been with the same group in Trusina, at the commemoration for (Croat) victims, so coming to Ahmići was a way to *come full circle*: We'd gone to both Trusina and Ahmići, paying our respects to victims, we were well-received in both places, and based on media reports, we felt that most people around us, despite the political climate, had no reservations about supporting our approach. Still, it hurt that, despite the tacit approval for our approach, these two places couldn't seem to *meet*, even though they were inextricably linked by the Bosnian-Herzegovinian *calendar of pain*.

A Small Bridge

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 Bosnia with Herzegovina, a crime with a crime, a memory with a memory.

Back in those days of corona, we tried to be the bridge between these two places. Today, they are separated by various and none too sensible explanations and rhetorical devices that surround us and that can be summed up as: *Not all victims are the same*. That statement is then further extended and simplified in a dangerous and brazen way to arrive at denying the suffering and pain of one side. In our experience, recognising suffering is one of the basic needs of families of victims, an important and often missing element in constructing a different picture and atmosphere. With our work, we mostly try to be the missing piece and connect others, even when, once everything *falls into place*, no one is quite sure where a piece of missing, where you needed a small bond, a small bridge.

Since we met wonderful people in both Ahmići and Trusina and were well received, our idea was to organise a joint visit to Ahmići and Trusina including, in addition to the group of peace activists and war veterans who attended the commemorations in both places in 2018 and 2019, representatives of victims' associations from both places and local residents. We believed this kind of encounter would be of great significance and would make a big difference: If they could do this, the residents of Ahmići and Trusina,



members of victims' associations from both places, the politicians that divide us so ruthlessly would have to, if not follow, then at least respect such an *encounter*. It would be an important step towards including all victims in memorialisation, stopping the denial of *others'* suffering and various manipulations, it would be a step towards mutual respect and trust building.

Unfortunately, the encounter was not to be. We tried several times and several ways, *got frustrated*, but it just wasn't working. The whys and wherefores are beside the point, but we note that despite our best efforts, the idea did not become reality. Perhaps it was not the right time, perhaps there was some *little thing* missing that we were unaware of, a pinch of salt to make a crucial difference.

Failure?

Was it a failure? Yes and no, depending on how you look at it. While it may well have been a failure, we should note that in 2022 we took the same idea and organised a visit to Trusina and Stupni Do near Vareš, a place where in October 1993 members of HVO killed 33 (Bosniak) civilians. It was, as far as we know, and we wouldn't mind being wrong, the first time that victims'

associations from two different places, belonging to two different ethnic groups, jointly *visited* each other, paid their respects to the victims, talked about life today and how it could be better... There and then, in both places, we met people who became part of our wide support network. They later took part in other activities, far from their hometowns, especially where we needed support from representatives of victims' associations. The idea of the *encounter of Ahmići and Trusina* gave rise to the idea of bringing together prison camp survivors with the support of peace activists and visiting former detention sites that have mostly remained unmarked sites of suffering. Over a period of two years, we organised such encounters twice and met even more wonderful people prepared to express solidarity with every human being, without any reservation. No small feat.

That whole time, we never forgot about Ahmići and Trusina. On 16 April 2024, we decided to go to both places, to both commemorations, at the same time. Since the commemorations take place not just on the same day, but at the same time, and with more than a two-hour drive between the two places, we split up into two groups and thus *conquered* space and time. If in 2019, we had come *full circle*, feeling at

peace, simultaneously attending both commemorations meant a completely new dimension that is hard to describe: The feeling that you are in two places at once, that while you're laying down a rose in Ahmići, you are also doing so in Trusina, and vice versa. As far as we know, and we wouldn't mind being wrong, we were the first to go to both Ahmići and Trusina at the same time. Once again, we felt that the majority of people supported our approach and were equally disappointed that we were alone and hoping this would change.

The past period in working with war veterans is bookended by reflection and planning meetings, the first held at the end of 2023 and the second in the autumn of 2024. These give us an opportunity to look back and come together to plan next steps and the way forward.

A Step Forward

One of the steps forward was attending the commemoration in Herceg Novi: It was the first time that we attended an official commemoration in Montenegro. For years now, Montenegrin nongovernmental organisations and families of victims have been gathering on 25 May in front of the police station to mark the fact that in May 1992, the official police authorities of Montenegro arrested a large group of Bosniaks originally from Bosnia and Herzegovina who had fled the war and were hoping to find a safe haven in Montenegro. It is assumed that the arrested people were deported to BiH and handed over to the Serb authorities, but Montenegro has never conducted an official investigation into the fate of the abductees and the remains of most of them were never found. And while they seek to shift the bulk of responsibility for the crimes of military structures of the Montenegrin government onto Serbia and Slobodan Milošević's regime, claiming that Montenegro was itself a victim of *Greater Serbia policies*, the abductions of Bosniaks from May 1992 do not easily fit into that narrative. It is the police and political structures of Montenegro that are responsible for the abductions, the same ones that continued to be in power in the years after the war, changing political colours a few times. This means that not only is there no prosecution of those responsible, but the installing of any kind of memorial

is also contentious. In cooperation with the families of the abductees, our attendance aimed to make their suffering visible also outside Montenegro, especially in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The strange *vow of silence* about the crimes and victims often crosses state and ethnic lines: The political elites, though nominally opposed, often end up protecting each other.

Just a few days after Herceg Novi, we attended White Armband Day in Prijedor with a mixed group of war veterans and peace activists. Attending this unique commemoration focused on 102 killed children from the Prijedor area, we wanted to express our support for the parents of killed children who have spent years petitioning the local authorities for a memorial and for our fellow activists who have persisted in supporting the parents and organising White Armband Day. This is a commemoration that has always remembered victims with dignity, sent a message of cooperation and respect, honoured all *unpopular* victims and expressed support for communities fighting for the right to remembrance wherever they are and whoever their opposing authorities.

Members of the CNA team also attended the commemoration in Istočno Sarajevo, where children killed in the Sarajevo-Romanija region are honoured in March, we were in Sovići near Jablanica in April, and in Čardak near Derventa in May for the commemoration dedicated to the suffering of the Serb population in this area.

As always, even though it is billed as working with war veterans, the work also included (young) peace activists, victims' associations, representatives of local governments, religious communities... This has been a very busy year, not just in terms of the number of events we organised, but also because of the many meetings, contacts, talks and encounters we had. Without these *small steps*, often invisible and seemingly too *trivial* to be part of any report, it is impossible to imagine working on peacebuilding.

You can find more on work with war veterans on our nenasilje.org/en website

marking
unmarked sites
of suffering

NE
MJESTO STRADANJA
NA OVOM MJESTU SU, U PROTEKLOM RATU, NAD LJUDIMA VRŠENA NELJUDSKA DJELA
NE PREPUŠTAJUĆI TE DOGAĐAJE ZABORAVU, SOLIDARIŠEMO SE SA SVIM ŽRTVAMA
DA SE NIKADA I NIKOME NE PONOVI

НЕОБИЗМЖЕНО
МЈЕСТО СТРАДАЊА
НА ОВОМ МЈЕСТУ СУ, У ПРОТЕКЛОМ РАТУ, НАД ЉУДИМА ВРШЕНА НЕЉУДСКА ДЈЕЛА
НЕ ПРЕПУШТАЈУЋИ ТЕ ДОГАЂАЈЕ ЗАБОРАВУ, СОЛИДАРИШЕМО СЕ СА СВИМ ЖРТВАМА
ДА СЕ НИКАДА И НИКОМЕ НЕ ПОНОВИ



Actions we held out in the last 12 months:

- 19 ONMS action, Kalinovik, Rudo Ilidža, October 2023
Marked places of suffering:
 - Prijevoj Rogoj, Kalinovik
 - Barutni magacin, Kalinovik
 - Meka brda, Kalinovik
 - Štrpci Railway Station, Rudo
 - Basement storage, Ilidža
 - Garaže, Ilidža
- Joint visit to former detention facilities in Herzegovina, 4 camps along the Neretva river, March 2024
 - Čelebići barracks near Konjic,
 - Heliodrom Mostar,
 - Zijemlje Primary School Istočni Mostar
 - Museum of the Battle for the Wounded in Jablanica.

Two actions of different formats

Amer Delić

Over the past year, the team of the initiative to Mark Unmarked Sites of Suffering carried out two actions in the field. Along with standard actions where our team was supported in the field by members of associations of victims' families, prison camp survivors and war veterans from the area that we are visiting, we continued to implement actions of larger scope with a group of some fifty participants, including war veterans, prison camp survivors, peace activists and reporters from the region, as well as TV ARTE crews from Germany.

Who has the right to memorials today?

In October 2023, we visited sites of suffering in Štrpci near Rudo, the wider Kalinovik area and in Hrasnica near Sarajevo. Memorialisation policies are rife with controversy even three decades after the end of the war, and this was another action where we could see

how victims that do not belong to one's own national group are treated differently.

We had tried to mark the station in Štrpci before, but were prevented from doing so by employees of Serbian Railways, the company in charge of the facility, with the explanation that putting signs on the station building is prohibited, as is taking photographs and making video recordings. And that they would, of course, call the police if we did not comply. This time, we found the station empty and symbolically marked it, so the Štrpci Railway Station became part of digital memorialisation in our database on the website onms.nenasilje.org and will be available to anyone interested in knowing more about what happened there and the site itself. Families of the victims have long since put in a request to set up a memorial at the site and are waiting for a time when the authorities will run out of bureaucratic excuses to refuse them. Memorials for the victims have been installed in Bijelo Polje and



Prijepolje in Montenegro, where most of the abducted and killed passengers were from. Commemorative events are organised in these towns on 26 February, the Day of Remembrance. In 2020, CNA organised a joint visit by war veterans and peace activists from the region to Prijepolje, where we joined the commemoration. A memorial plaque commemorating Tomo Buzov, the former JNA officer who stood up to the hostage takers and was killed for it, has been placed by the entrance to the building in Novi Beograd where he used to live. (The plaque that was placed in 2016 disappeared at the end of 2022 and was replaced in 2023 by his neighbours.) Inspired by the humane act of Tomo Buzov, Croatian film director Nebojša Slijepčević made the short feature film *The Man Who Could Not Remain Silent* which won the Palme d'Or at the 77th Cannes Film Festival.

The memorials of Kalinovik paint it as the birthplace of Ratko Mladić, VRS general and war criminal sentenced to life imprisonment by the ICTY. A mural featuring his image at the entrance to the town is a reminder of this, and the memorial to fallen soldiers of

VRS also has the contours of his recognisable face. Sites where Bosniaks were killed in the Kalinovik area paint a different picture. The dilapidated and abandoned building of the Gunpowder Warehouse (Barutni magacin), a military facility of the former JNA that was used during the war as a detention site where prisoners were tortured and from where they were taken to be killed in nearby execution grounds. Prisoners were brought there from the Milan Radojević Primary School, today the Ljutica Bogdan Primary School, and the surrounding municipalities. After the war, the facility was proclaimed *obsolete property* by the military and turned over to the municipality. All endeavours by the association of victims' families "Istina-Kalinovik 92" to have a permanent memorial installed at the facility have been refused by the local authorities. The names of the prisoners and dates carved in the walls still testify to their presence there, but it is hard to tell how long they will remain as the years wear down what remains of the building.

At the Rogoj Pass between Kalinovik and Trnovo, concrete blocks were placed by the side of the road by



families of victims to mark the site where their loved ones were killed.

Across the road, a monument to fallen soldiers of VRS has been erected.

The rolling hills also bear traces of red paint used by families of victims on the trees to mark sites of killing and where bodies were found.

In the second half of June every year, days of remembrance for the killed Bosniaks of the area are marked in Kalinovik, with people coming to visit these sites and appeal to the authorities to allow the installing of permanent memorials.

In Hrasnica, in the Ilidža Municipality near Sarajevo, we marked former detention facilities in the basement storage and garages that were under the control of the Army of RBiH and where during the war captured Serb soldiers and civilians were detained.

There is no information available about commemorations or petitions to install memorials at these sites.

Multiple long-term prison sentences have been handed down by the ICTY and courts in Bosnia and

Herzegovina, Serbia, and Montenegro for war crimes committed against the passengers abducted at the station in Štrpci and for crimes committed in the Kalinovik area. The Court of BiH did not issue a final judgement for crimes committed against prisoners in Hrasnica and three of the accused were acquitted, while in Serbia, the Appellate Court in Belgrade convicted Husein Mujanović and sentenced him to four and a half years in prison for abuse of Serb prisoners at the military prison of the Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina in Hrasnica during 1992.

The team doing the *marking* was joined in the field by our longstanding associates and war veterans: Krsto Rakić, Mesud Kumro, Suljo Đogo and Edin Ramulić, as well as Amer Kadić from the association “Istina-Kalinovik 92”.

We recorded a [video](#) of this action and it is available on our YouTube channel.

We can also recommend the [article](#) by Dalmir Mišković on our website where as a member of our team he shared his impressions after the action.

We are fighting against closed doors

Continuing actions with larger number of participants, we focused on former detention facilities where access by prison camp survivors is limited or prohibited at times when survivors' associations mark days of remembrance of victims. We selected four sites: Konjic (Čelebići Barracks), Mostar (Heliodrom), Istočni Mostar (Zijemlje Primary School) and Jablanica (Museum of the Battle for the Wounded). These were unquestionably used as detention facilities, as proven in court judgements, but in the absence of legal regulations and with political influence running strong in certain territories and the general lack of good will on the part of social and political stakeholders, it is currently not possible to mark these sites with a permanent memorial or to commemorate the events in a way that would be appropriate and uphold the dignity of the victims.

We conducted this action in March 2024, but already in January, we had started communication with authorities responsible for these facilities in order to obtain permits for our group to access them.

We had visited the Čelebići Barracks before, in 2015, with a mixed group of war veterans and were able to obtain a permit from the BiH Ministry of Defence without problems, and we worked with representatives of the BiH Armed Forces to organise a tour of the facility within the barracks.

Communication with the University of Mostar whose Campus is located across much of the former JNA barracks in Rodoč near Mostar, better known as Heliodrom, was one-sided. Our e-mail to the University Rectorate asking for access to the facilities during our planned visit and possibly a meeting beforehand where we could explain in more detail the purpose of our action, remained unanswered as did a letter we later sent by registered mail. We were told by phone that on the date in question, which was a Sunday, the Campus was closed, so we could not be granted access. When we proposed moving the date of the visit a day earlier or later, we were told there was no need and that was the end of that.

Access to the former prison camp had been denied in the previous years to the Mostar Association of Prison Camp Survivors who mark 19 March as the day when the camp was disbanded. Our group also found

the Campus gates closed. Security guards let through numerous other vehicles, but not us. They explained they had been instructed to keep us out by the administration.

From an educational institution such as the University of Mostar, whose motto is openness to differences, dialogue and exchange, we had expected to be able to work together on a process that would bring change in creating a better future for all. For the time being, there seems to be no trace of constructive dialogue about the legacy of the Heliodrom camp, which features in numerous judgements and long-term prison sentences. Instead, any discussion boils down to petty political and election campaigning scraps that have been intensified with the planned construction of the HVO Museum in the immediate vicinity of the Campus, on the premises of the "Stanislav Baja Kraljević" Barracks and in the building that used to house the administration of the prison camp.

We had open communication with the Public Institution Museum of the Battle for the Wounded in Jablanica. Our request for a visit received an *elegant* reply that from 1 November to 31 March, the museum was closed on weekends, so they could not accommodate us, but also that the museum is exclusively dedicated to the antifascist legacy limited to the period of the Second World War and that they have no official records of the detention facility from the 1992-1995 period. All of this seems to imply that the Museum also continues the practice of denying crimes. In the public arena, this case is often characterised by the Bosniak side as not being any kind of detention facility or camp, but a collection centre intended to provide protection for the local Croat population, despite the fact that in two trials the Court of BiH handed down convictions for crimes against civilians and prisoners of war held at the Museum of the Battle for the Wounded on Neretva.

The Croat Association of Homeland War Prison Camp Survivors marks 1 March as the day the camp was disbanded, but they have never been allowed access to the museum building. Instead, they hold their commemoration on the plateau in front of the museum entrance.

It is hard to understand the position of the Museum's administration because a relationship with the

past in different contexts is not aimed at denigrating one with the other. A lingering concern is that this attitude will only be harmful to an institution that is meant to take a factual approach to historical facts.

We had no one to ask for permission to access the school in Zijemlje because it is no longer in operation, but we informed the local police station of MUP RS in Nevesinje whose officers secured our group's visit to the school yard. In 1992, prisoners were taken from the school building and executed, their bodies were found after the war in several nearby pits. Trials are still ongoing for crimes committed against Bosniaks in Nevesinje. After repeated attempts by families of victims to obtain permits from authorities to mark sites of suffering, it was decided that a joint memorial be installed in the village of Kljuni near Nevesinje where on 23 June each year they commemorate Bosniak and Croat victims from Nevesinje.

In conducting this action, we tried to focus on the unjust attitude towards victims by memory policies almost three decades after the war and the need to seek solutions on a broader socio-political level. We included in the action people who were direct witnesses of that time, Slobodan Mrkajić, Emir Hajdarović,

Marinko Ljolje and Suad Omerika, who told us about their first-hand experiences as victims, but also about their struggle to nurture a culture of memory in circumstances of disenfranchisement and denial. None of them showed favouritism towards victims from their own group and they all expressed readiness to visit sites of suffering related to others. It is on occasions like these, which are unfortunately rare, that we see examples of solidarity and support, catharsis and movement towards changing stale self-victimising models. It still remains a mystery to us for now why educational and public institutions, the academic community and political structures show no will to open up dialogue and honestly and fairly deal with the legacies of war.

The action garnered media interest and some of the testimonies by participants were recorded in the video available on our YouTube channel.

Reports and videos on actions to mark unmarked sites of suffering are available on our onms.nenasilje.org/en website

After visiting detention facilities in Herzegovina: Catharsis, calm and the question of what next

Vanja Šunjić

For two years now, I've accompanied a mixed group of prison camp survivors, war veterans and peace activists as they visit detention facilities and execution sites from the past war in Bosnia and Herzegovina. This is the continuation of a small guerilla-style activity to mark unmarked sites of suffering that the Centre for Nonviolent Action Sarajevo/Belgrade started ten years ago.

Veterans and prison camp survivors, former enemies, gathered again this year at the start of March, around a joint mission to ensure that what they went through is never repeated. The moment of their meeting seemed cathartic and full of hope, but also

conveyed a sense of responsibility to ensure that their words and experiences are never forgotten and are passed on. Because if they, who carried arms for four years or went through the horrors of the camps, can persevere today in peacebuilding, then the least that I can do is follow in their footsteps.

The Čelebići Barracks was the first site visited on 9 March by a group of some 50 veterans, prison camp survivors and activists, accompanied by reporters, including some from foreign media. Slobodan Mrkajić, holding on to Tamara Zrnović from the CNA team, walks slowly but steadily. It is the first time that he will visit the hangar where he was imprisoned. The group

is met by closed doors and Mrkajić recounts the torture he endured there, giving the group a clear sense of the suffering he went through. In the drizzling rain, as the cold penetrates to your bones, he talks about how right at that spot they were forced to stare at the sun until they fainted. Leaving the Čelebići Barracks, he asks us to pay our respects and lay roses in front of the other hangars where members of his family had been imprisoned.

For Slobodan, this was the fourth camp where he was held before being included in a prisoner exchange in Grbavica. Early last year, he had joined a similar action called “Four Silos”. On that occasion, he placed a rose in front of the silo in Tarčin, where he had also been imprisoned, and paid his respects to those who didn’t survive. Back then, he also spoke about his experience of being a camp prisoner. They had been imprisoned during the war and degraded because they had the wrong name, but today prison camp survivors from all sides understand each other because their experiences are almost identical.

On the second morning, March 10th, the group makes its way to Rodoč and the former JNA barracks that is today part of the Mostar University Campus. The long drive is an opportunity to evoke memories from the time of youth, discuss politics and the lives of prison camp survivors and war veterans turned peace activists. As I observe them, I keep trying to imagine what their lives would have been like and if they would ever have met if it weren’t for the war. My strongest impression is that they have suffered more than their fair share of injustice, but that despite this, they are making an effort to improve our reality today by building bridges, meeting with former enemies and showing respect for their suffering. Another question that hangs over my head is what my life and the life of my family would have been like if my father or grandfather had been in a position to become executioners, or had the misfortune of being victims. Would they too have the courage, after all that, to be like these people in standing up to dominant views in their environments and the policies constructing a culture of memory based solely on the cult of own victimhood.

The closed gates of the Mostar University Campus mean that the group cannot go in and that Emir Hajdarević, a survivor of the Heliodrom camp, will not be

able to lay a rose at the site where he was imprisoned and where people he knew were killed.

As the group is being observed from a private security firm’s car, as if we’re about to engage in an act of vandalism, Hajdarević remembers how as a young man he was tortured and starved a few hundred meters from that gate, how he and other prisoners were sent to the front lines in Mostar and how prisoners kept disappearing from the camp.

The group stands still, listening to Hajdarević, when Mirko Zečević Tadić, a former member of HVO, comes up to extend his hand in apology for the wrongdoings committed by members of his army. Tears fill my eyes and I want this to be the image in my memory that will represent my homeland when I think of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Wounded, torn apart, abducted, bought and sold, but determined to overcome all visible and invisible boundaries.

The group gets back on the bus and leaves the Heliodrom compound, seeing through the windows as we go by a building that is being renovated. Hajdarević says this will be the HVO Museum. While prison camp survivors are met with closed doors and locked gates, others, on account of being in power, endeavour to distort history, making the policy of memory predominantly sympathetic only to the suffering of their own group. However, working with war veterans, prison camp survivors and families of victims, I have come to realise that no monumental edifices will contribute to reconciliation in our society, and especially not those that are the product of revisionism and that call for hatred. Reconciliation can only be built through sincere empathy, an extended hand and an open heart, something many victims are prepared to do. Unfortunately, those in power are not prepared to support them, because they are not deepening fear, prejudice or spreading hatred...

Life seems to have all but vanished from Zijemlje, a small village in the Municipality of Istočni Mostar. A few cowpats on the narrow road are all that indicates there might still be some life there. Strong gusts of cold wind blow from Mount Velež and Mount Prenj as the group makes its way to the Dnopolje Primary School and a few of its locked auxiliary buildings. Through the window of one of the buildings I can just make out a long, draped table. A large flag of Republika Srpska hangs above it. If I were to ignore the flag, the scene

would be reminiscent of village schools from socialist realist films. But I can't ignore it, because it always makes me uncomfortable, as if forcing me to pick sides, or to accept things I am fundamentally against in the name of some higher purpose. The flag on that wall is in many ways symbolic of the state of local authorities as well as all governments in general in Bosnia and Herzegovina. A national symbol despite an empty table, a "defended" territory despite the empty village, a future built on myths and denial despite judgements, facts and the possibility to build a better society.

In front of the Dnopolje School, Senad Omerika tells the group about the crimes that were committed here, explaining that the executions were so rushed that the victims weren't even made to empty their pockets. After they were killed, their bodies were thrown into pits in the surrounding area. He had witnessed many of the exhumations when the bodies were pulled up from the pits. Omerika tells us how one time, the speleologists found a wolf, still alive, in one of the pits and rescued it, drawing a parallel between people and beasts.

Leaving Zijemlje, professor Omerika tells us about how he taught his literature classes, teaching his students not to hate because they were all equal and taking them on their first postwar school trips. He shared his happiness that they had all grown up to be good and decent people.

This year's action ends with us visiting and marking the Museum of the Battle for the Wounded at Neretva in Jablanica, where the group finds a few tourists milling about and photographing the imposing socialist edifice celebrating the victory from World War II. They probably have no idea what happened there just some 30 years ago, because our more recent history is only read through self-victimisation and dehumanising "others", without any understanding that crimes are committed by individuals, not peoples, and that injustice is done not to some collective, but to each individual person. The Museum's doors are also locked to us. Despite our numerous requests and months of correspondence, the Museum administration did not allow us to enter the building.

Marinko Ljojo, a teacher who had been held prisoner there, spoke to the group. He pointed out that in addition to the permanent collection displayed at the Museum, in 1993, they were also there as living exhi-

bits, though official interpretations of the past deny this today. There's a well-fed street dog wagging his tail and catching the group's attention from time to time, making people smile, but a bitter taste soon returns as we wonder how places such as museums, cultural centres, municipality buildings, barracks, schools.... became sites of torture and executions.

No matter how exhausting, actions to mark unmarked sites of suffering and jointly attended commemorations end with a sense of catharsis and calm, because we paid our respects to the victims. There is always also a sense of frustration, because so many perpetrators have not been prosecuted and because even after 30 years, survivors and families of victims often cannot have full access to sites of detention to lay flowers at memorials that would clearly indicate what had happened there.

After the action to mark unmarked sites of suffering in Herzegovina, as after every activity organised by CNA with veterans, prison camp survivors and activists, I feel the need to engage people around me and tell them how little it would take to make things better for all of us. For me as a young person who plans to remain in Bosnia and Herzegovina and build a home here, visiting both Ahmići and Trusina on the same day means being on the right side of history and honouring each victim irrespective of their national prefix. Going to Herceg Novi and attending the commemoration with the families of those who were killed and whose bodies were never found, nor was anyone held responsible for the crime, means understanding and recognising the suffering of others and doing your part for good neighbourly relations. For me, going to Prijedor on White Armband Day means showing the minimum of respect to parents who have endured 30 years of obstructions from local authorities and cannot build a memorial before which to lay a rose for their innocent killed children.

I am angered and frustrated by the attitude of my generation that there is no need for us to talk about reconciliation, because we were never in conflict with anyone. That kind of attitude may one day again give someone the pretext to commit atrocities in our name. I was born during the war and couldn't do anything about it at the time, but I will now do everything in my power to make sure it never happens again.



peace
education

Training events we held out in the last 12 months:

- 45th Basic Training in Peacebuilding, Kruševo, North Macedonia, 6 – 16. 10. 2023
- 7th Mir Paqe Мир Peacebuilding Training, Berovo, North Macedonia, 12 – 21. 04. 2024

Since September 2023 until the same month this year, we have held two trainings. We invite people from the former Yugoslavia who are over 21 to apply to our basic trainings, but note that the working language is Bosnian-Croatian-Montenegrin-Serbian. Mir Paqe Мир trainings make use of interpretation and are open to people from Serbia, Kosovo and North Macedonia who speak Albanian, Macedonian or Serbian.

We received fewer applications for both trainings compared to previous years, and this seems to be a continuing trend. The reasons may be various, but we think the main one is the general decrease in the number of humanities students across the region (and the world at large). Another difficulty we have been facing in the past few years that wasn't present before is that people who work in education often cannot get leave to attend the training because it is becoming increasingly difficult to find substitute teachers in the education sector. Generally speaking, fewer employers are prepared to approve this kind of leave for their employees, because they do not see it as an opportunity for also their own (non-material) gain. Still, we received a sufficient number of applications for both trainings so that our selection of participants could be based on motivation, previous engagement

in peacebuilding activities and potential engagement in the future.

The applicants exhibited a high level of motivation and our trainings were very intensive, with a lot of exchange among the participants and eagerness to engage further in peace work.

This is also an opportunity to announce that in 2025, we will organise our seventh Training for Trainers for selected participants from our peace education programmes. Our last Training for Trainers was organised in 2014 and it was the source of both new members of our team and numerous activities that were developed and started implementation based on exchanges from the Training for Trainers (the Biber Short Story Contest on the topic of reconciliation, Marking Unmarked Sites of Suffering, the Mir Paqe Мир training, the Peacebuilding Training for students from Bosnia and Herzegovina).

The experience of training participants is very important to us, as is the feedback we receive both during our peace education programmes and later. Our work and planning of future activities are based on their feedback, so we asked some of the participants in our programmes to describe their experiences, which are now [available on our website](#).

Kruševo Republic of Tears and Laughter

Nedžad Novalić

Being part of the Basic Training in Peacebuilding is always a privilege and a rewarding experience, regardless of whether you are a participant or take on the role of trainer. Once your emotions settle and you

get some rest, there is always a feeling of contentment, countless stories to (re)tell, some new faces you put names to and hope that there will be more such opportunities. Motivated participants open to

working on themselves and with each other, the breathtaking beauty of the Kruševo environment in North Macedonia only add to the sentiment and evoke feelings of nostalgia. But, let's start from the beginning.

The Basic Training in Peacebuilding, its 45th edition, was held in Kruševo, in the south of North Macedonia from 6 to 16 October 2023. Since our last Basic Training here, North Macedonia had changed its name, as well as many names of streets, roads and airports, resolving an open issue with one neighbouring country only to have one open with another, just as the ruling party in government was replaced by another... Much has changed since 2017, but what remains steadfast is the outstanding kindness of ordinary people, happy to meet “fellow countrymen” and ready to help. And that is always heart-warming and conducive to training.

A group eager for exchange

We received a total of 81 applications for the training, far more from women (52) than men. Most of the applicants were from BiH (33), followed by Montenegro (16), Serbia (14), Croatia (11), North Macedonia (5), and only 2 from Kosovo. We ultimately had a total of 18 participants, because two people had to cancel at the last minute, leaving those on the waiting list with too little time to organise to come all the way to Kruševo. Of the total number of participants, 11 were women and 7 men, and in terms of their countries of origin, most came from Croatia (5) and Serbia (5), followed by BiH (4), North Macedonia (2), and one participant each from Montenegro and Kosovo. The average age was 28 and ranged from 21 to 56.

The decreased number of applications is due to complex demographic and socio-economic developments leading to a steep population decline (especially of young people), while those who stay are increasingly opting for STEM fields, leaving many universities with almost no students in the social sciences and humanities. Having prepared for a smaller number of applications, we focused on refreshing the training invitation and running a campaign using testimonials from previous participants to reach those with the greatest need for the training and who would benefit most from the training itself and the exchange of knowledge and experience. This proved to be a

successful strategy, as we saw from the improved quality of applications and work during the training itself. The different ages of the participants, the different places they came from and the approximate balance of men and women enabled us to put together a group that was challenging and inspiring to work with.

The Basic Training in Peacebuilding itself, though always founded on mutual exchange of experience and knowledge and equally focused on personal as much as social transformation, has undergone many adaptations since its beginnings in 1997. These were all geared at responding to changes in our societies and the changing needs of the participants, and this is something we encountered this time around as well. A sizeable portion of the participants at this most recent training were born after the last war in the region, the one in Macedonia in 2001. New generations live the consequences of war as something given and “normalised”, and to a large extent it is only with newer generations that we see how conservative our societies have become, primarily in the sense of being focused on our individual selves, dealing only with our own individual matters. The lack of knowledge about others presents an objective difficulty and makes exchange (about the contexts we come from, but also between generations) all the more important and needed.

It turned out that the group was eager for such an exchange, so from the very beginning, from the first workshop, we dug deep. This was a rare occasion where we were constantly short of time, a training when all the coffee and meal breaks were used to continue discussions, openly, usually from a personal perspective, but with visible readiness not only to speak honestly, but also to hear what others had to say. The safe space created collectively by the group enabled us to share some very personal experiences and testimonies, and such exchanges always have incredible potential for further work when we go from the personal to the social level to deal with difficult topics such as prejudice, identity/identities, discrimination or dealing with the past. The readiness shown from the very beginning to present our experiences and express our opinions, not retreating into the safe zone of “political correctness”, was accompanied by

constant care for each other, pushing the borders of what we could share.

Training is experience

From the first part of the training and dealing with topics such as communication, teamwork, violence, identity/identities, discrimination, through the central part where we tackled dealing with the past, we were able to do complex exercises with this group and open the most complex topics: what would be an honest attitude towards the past, what should change in our environments to move us towards that honest attitude towards the past, what are the legacies of war we still see today, what do we personally mourn or regret in the context of the wars and their legacies... As one of the participants said, training is an experience you have to go through and it is difficult to retell even the topics, not to mention the atmosphere... The intensity and dedication in the first part of the training caused a slight drop in energy at the very end, so the only regret that remains is the question of whether we could have done more in the two final days of the training when we dealt with concrete examples of what peacebuilding means in the context of our societies some 30 years after the war(s).

If “our” wars seem remote to new generations, with the time gap only increasing, the wars raging today are by no means remote. Rapid globalisation and digitalisation mean that we can follow events in real time in Ukraine, Israel and Palestine, Nagorno-Karabakh... Some of the participants had friends and acquaintances in some of these countries and followed this new escalation of violence with dread, as they quietly became aware that all these other wars

are also “ours”. The fact that participants kept referring to current events opened some new perspectives, but also some new questions. The key perspective is an awareness that we are part of a global community, that whatever our professional path, we have an obligation to respond to injustice and build a society free from violence, prejudice, discrimination...

We are grateful to the staff of Hotel Montana in Kruševo, they more than made up for the slightly chilly rooms with their hospitality and helpfulness. In addition to us from the Centre for Nonviolent Action Sarajevo-Belgrade (Ivana Franović, Radomir Radević and Nedžad Novalić), the training team was reinforced by our “constant temporary” associate Luan Imeri from the Centre for Human Rights and Conflict Resolution in Skopje. His experience, interpersonal skills and infallible sense for justice, as well as his suggestions to try something he came up with in our work (this time, it was, among other things, an inspiring exercise of “Zajdi, zajdi...” dealing with discrimination) always make us feel enriched and lucky to have him. We are also grateful to all the participants who devoted ten days of their time, which in this world of business and deadlines is no small feat.

There is a running joke that the Kruševo Republic set up by the Ilinden Uprising in 1903, which has become a key determinant of contemporary Macedonian identity, lasted for 10 days because that was how long it took the Ottoman army to find Kruševo. Our training, our republic of tears and laughter, also lasted ten days, though we had enough ideas to stay longer. At the end, we were not discovered or scattered by any powers that be. Instead, we left, as someone said, somehow changed. For the better, I’m sure.



interview

Mirjana Trifković Marjanović: “Welcome to a life-changing experience”

Mirjana Trifković Marjanović has a law degree, but says that she sees herself as a peace activist, constantly trying to professionally and actively contribute to post-war peace processes in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Mirjana attended the Basic Training in Peacebuilding in 2013 and later the Training for Trainers in 2014. She has taken part in numerous activities organised by the Centre for Nonviolent Action Sarajevo-Belgrade. For us, Mirjana is a longstanding friend and someone we can always count on. We have supported each other, worked together, socialised and learned from each other. Actions to mark unmarked sites of suffering, establishing contacts and building trust with associations of war victims, attending commemorations, taking part in the “School for Different Memory” that Mirjana ran for years in Višegrad, Goražde and Foča are just some of the things we should mention here. For 15 years, Mirjana’s work and activism has built bridges and opened not just closed but locked doors. This is why, as we prepare for a new round of Training for Trainers, we spoke to her about her experience from the previous round of training and what it meant to her.

Can you remember how you found out about the Centre for Nonviolent Action and how you started cooperating with us? What do you remember most from those first encounters?

It’s hard to imagine it’s been a decade since the start of our cooperation and my deeper engagement with processes of personal growth and development, as well as deeper peace activism. When I applied for the Basic Training, I was working at the Helsinki Committee for Human Rights in Bijeljina. My primary area of activity was not peace work, but I was working on issues of transitional justice and peace education. My personal growth and development are tied first to the Basic Training and later to the Training for Trainers.

My first impressions of working with the Centre for Nonviolent Action are coloured by my questioning: do these people really exist and is someone really delving

deeper into peacebuilding and various social issues, but through personal development? I came to understand that there can be no social change without personal change.

The other thing that was fascinating were the relationships between the people on the CNA team. The teamwork and support among the team of trainers for the Basic Training were incredible. When I returned from that training, I immediately told everyone in my office to apply because I thought the experience was important for all of us working on matters of peace.

What was the Basic Training like for you and what did you come away with?

When I saw the call for applications for the Basic Training, I felt I had to apply. While I was writing my application, I didn’t think I would be selected, but I was hopeful. My Basic Training took place in Mavrovo, Macedonia, a place I’d never heard of before.

I was the youngest participant at the Basic Training and during the training itself, I wasn’t fully aware of everything that was going on. I was fully present within the group, but what was happening inside me is something I became aware of only once I got on the bus that would take me back home to Bijeljina.

After the Basic Training, did you start engaging more with topics of peacebuilding and dealing with the past, did you learn any useful skills at the training?

The Training in Peacebuilding was the first time I heard openly from different sides and different participants in the conflict, I had an opportunity to hear how people feel about things that members of my people had done, but I also got the opportunity to speak about how I felt. The Basic Training helped me in my personal growth and development, but it also situated me within peace activism. I came to understand how important it is to engage with topics of peace, connecting

people and everything that happened in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the 1990s.

After I completed the Basic Training, and then my work colleague completed it the year after that, the two of us working at the Helsinki Committee in Bijeljina organised a peace training for students from universities in Bosnia and Herzegovina. This was new and different, a different approach, a different way of working and establishing links among students. The two of us running it also strengthened our bond. Looking back, I would say we were very brave, because these young people opened up many questions.

The Basic Training left quite an impression on me, because afterwards I found myself in peace activism and I started working with young people. I did a lot of peace education, the School for Different Memory in Eastern Bosnia, and trainings for students and young people. I also worked with victims of wartime sexual violence, mostly women. These are the areas where my professional work took me. Through the peace education trainings I later ran, I kept talking about how necessary the Basic Training was and I kept telling people to apply.

Did the Basic Training also leave you with a sense of responsibility when you speak out as a peace activist and how do you generally view this issue in the context of peace activism here?

The training also taught us about matters of responsibility. Unfortunately, people who deal with peace topics often do not understand the responsibility that comes with this and often fail to consider things more deeply, so that sometimes maybe some things do more harm than good. Peacebuilding requires going deep, but it also requires making space so that people can hear each other. We need a culture of dialogue, but also a space for disagreement, so that we can then transfer that to the level of society.

From this perspective, I still think that most organisations dealing with peace work are not fully aware of the responsibility that comes with that work. Peacebuilding is not bringing together 20 people of different nationalities and taking them somewhere to hang out and talk about how the sky is blue. When you work with young people, you have a responsibility towards them and to what your training will open up for them.

You are responsible for their emotional state, for how they feel at the training and what they leave with, and what they'll then do in their communities.

Everyone engaged in peace activism should keep re-examining themselves and questioning everything that isn't working in order to improve. If our ultimate aim is to build a better and more just society in which we will all be heard, we can't do this without taking responsibility for our work and for the consequences of what we do.

The participants from the training often talk about how it also helped them open some personal processes and issues. Was this the case for you as well?

I think my personal growth and development is also connected to the fact that I was born in Visoko, my mother is from Foča and my father from Ilijaš, but I grew up in Foča. Foča is a very closed community, ethnically mostly one-sided. I had all the prerequisites to grow up with strong ethnic identification, where my ethnic identity would take primacy, but I was lucky enough to grow up among diverse and supportive people.

The training helped me bring awareness to some personal and family matters that I carried consciously or unconsciously, and to work on them myself and with my family.

Why did you apply to the Training for Trainers, and how important was it for you personally and professionally?

It was the logical next step. When I was invited to apply to the Training for Trainers, knowing that it wasn't a public call for applications, I was happy because it was important to me that someone had recognised my potential to contribute and it was important also for my professional advancement. I continued working on my own personal development through the Training for Trainers, but it was also where I learned to run peace education workshops, experiential exercises, discussions...

This training was quite long, I remember. When the first phase of the ToT was being held, there were floods in BiH and it was difficult for me to make my way

from Bijeljina to Dorjan in Macedonia, but I had this enthusiasm to show up and continue working with young people. It was a safe space where I could openly say some things loud and clear, where I never felt fear because of the words I spoke, even though I was only 22 or 23. I was given space to say I agree or I disagree and here's what I think about the topic we're discussing. The Training for Trainers builds you up professionally, and the participants can learn so much from the trainers.

Given that the phases of the training take place over a period of six months, what is it that you remember the most from this creative and intensive period?

It was important for me that we got to develop our own initiatives and we received support for this. It was also important that you kept getting feedback from the trainers, as well as the other participants, because this helped you make improvements before you were in a real situation where you would be implementing something.

We pioneered initiatives in different parts of former Yugoslavia that gave rise to some very good actions. I did them in Eastern Bosnia. It was important for me to work with young people in this area that had been quite closed off up to then.

How would you describe the friendships that started at the Training for Trainers and have lasted to this day?

My friend ended up being my maid of honour. Apart from her, and we did both the Basic Training and the Training for Trainers together, there are also people who work in CNA that I consider true friends. There are a lot of people from the region from both trainings that I stayed very good friends with. With these people, you can be yourself because you coincide on the level of values and you have connected at deeper levels. These friendships are very important to me.

Next year the Training for Trainers will be organised again, a decade since the last one. What would you say to people who want to apply?

I would encourage them to take the opportunity. Given the overall situation in the world and in Bosnia

and Herzegovina, I think we need to have as many people involved not just in peace activism, but generally in things that concern all of us, protecting freshwater sources, forests, the air... Today, these are priorities we didn't think about ten years ago.

If you were to write a welcoming message for participants in the ToT, what would it say?

Welcome to a life-changing experience.

You have been involved in peace activism for years now. What is your impression of peacebuilding in Bosnia and Herzegovina today?

With the distance of time, I get the feeling that peace processes in BiH have stalled in the past ten years. When I started getting involved and delving deeper into these topics, at peace education trainings for young people and the School of Different Memory, I think people were more interested and there was more support. Currently, peace education is thinning out, but we need it more than ever. The young generations of tomorrow are growing up in monoethnic communities, under historical revisionism.

Young people don't even have the opportunity to meet people of different ethnicities, or when they do, they don't talk about these things, but work on other topics, which is all good and fine, but it means these important issues are just swept under the rug. There's a lot of transgenerational trauma which results in a surge of violence, and that is the consequence of the lack of systemic support for people who have gone through war, who suffer from PTSD, women who have suffered various forms of violence, and this is then passed on through families. Young people are growing up in a society that is full of violence.

Peacebuilding was not systemic ten years ago or earlier, but today it seems to be deliberately fragmented. Despite this, there are people and organisations that are still engaged, such as CNA, Kwart, veterans' associations and others. These are people whose work starts from personal experience and enthusiasm and provides support for others, opening up space for collaboration.

How do we convey to young generations the importance of continuous peacebuilding and how do we present everything that happened in the past, events where they were not participants but whose consequences still affect them in some ways today?

The most illustrative example of this is a situation from two years ago when I was working on a project called “Symbols of a Lost Past” with students from Sarajevo and Istočno Sarajevo. A young woman in her twenties told me in the introductory round that she had applied because her father had gone off to war in Syria, and he had been a child during the war in BiH. She had come in order to start dealing with these issues, because she had seen what was happening in her family. When I work with young people, I organise the training so that I can see what they need at that moment. It’s important for me to make a safe space where they can hear each other, feel secure and be what they are. This is how I try to convey issues related to peacebuilding.

How do we approach peacebuilding given the fact that it has been 30 or more years since the war(s)?

After the 1990s war, we didn’t do anything systemic on peacebuilding. It wasn’t achieved through the four pillars of transitional justice either. The most progress was made with testifying in war crimes trials, but the

focus was not on peace processes. There are more and more people, veterans, witnesses of crimes who do not want to talk about the past, because they see no point to it, just a way to be retraumatised. However, I believe that personal testimony is the most effective way of working with young people because through somebody else’s experience, or after visiting a site of suffering, young people come to understand why what we are talking about is important and they develop empathy.

It is hard to work on peacebuilding in BiH because without a systemic approach, peace work in BiH has come down to individuals and this is why young people remain each in their ethnic pen being taught and doing what someone else thinks they should learn and do.

Peacebuilding shouldn’t be imposed, but it should be part of our life the way it is. There doesn’t have to be a war in order for us to build peace. We should build a society where we will live better, feel safer, respect the rights of minorities, the LGBTIQ+ community and build an atmosphere in which everyone will feel secure in their country. All of this is linked to the process of peacebuilding.

Led Interview: Tamara Zrnović i Vanja Šunjić





publications,
promotions

Biber 06

The sixth regional *Biber* Short Story Contest that we opened in December 2023 was closed in May 2024. We received around 490 stories, which continues the trend of steadily increasing interest.³ While this report is being prepared for printing, the three-member jury comprising Tanja Stupar Trifunović, Almin Kaplan and Jasna Dimitrijević will select 20 to 25 stories to be published in the new collection, as well as the three prize-winning stories. The Biber 06 Short Story Collection will be published at the start of 2025. We will report on the results of the contest and the new collection in our next annual report, but in the meantime, information will be available on our website.

³ Around 300 stories were entered in the first contest, 385 in the second, 464 in the third, the extraordinary fourth *pandemic* contest received 750 stories, and the fifth 473.

For those encountering our work for the first time, we should mention that Biber is a contest for socially engaged short stories in Albanian, Macedonian, Bosnian, Croatian, Serbian and Montenegrin. The theme of the contest is reconciliation in the context of the aftermath of the wars and violence in the countries of former Yugoslavia, but also eligible are stories that can contribute to better understanding among people, reducing hatred and dismantling prejudice, anti-war stories, stories about dealing with the past, deconstructing images of the enemy, about empathy, brave stories that dare walk in the “enemy’s” shoes, stories that push boundaries and open up the way to build a more stable, safer and freer future for all. The *Biber* Team of the Centre for Nonviolent Action Sarajevo-Belgrade has been organising the contest since 2015.



Presentation of Biber in Užice and Ulcinj

Užice, Serbia, 14 March 2024 and Ulcinj, Montenegro, 4 April 2024.

This year, we presented the Biber Contest and its short story collections in Užice and Ulcinj. To date, we have held 23 promotions in 19 cities: Sarajevo, Belgrade, Skopje, Novi Sad, Pristina, Tetovo, Zagreb, Mitrovica, Podgorica, Šibenik, Prijedor, Bugojno, Bujanovac, Prizren, Petrinja, Bitolj, Travnik, Užice and Ulcinj (we visited some cities twice).

In *Užice*, the event was organised in cooperation with the Užice Literary Republic and the Užice Public Library. Authors Tena Lončarević from Županja, Amina Kaja from Pristina and Bojan Krivokapić from Novi Sad

spoke at the promotion together with Ivana Franović from the Biber Team. The discussion was moderated by Ružica Marjanović.

The event in *Ulcinj* was organised in cooperation with Libraria Ulqini. Taking part were authors Aida Šečić Nezirević from Travnik, Srđan Miljević from Belgrade and Nikola Nikolić from Podgorica, as well as translator Qerim Ondozi from Pristina and Katarina Miličević from the Biber Team. The discussion was moderated by Arlinda Osmanović.

Publication Announcement: *We Come in Peace: Peacebuilding with War Veterans*

Ivana Franović

Our new book *We Come in Peace: Peacebuilding with War Veterans* will be coming out at the end of this year (2024). It has been in the works for a long time and we have worked on making it a reality for the past three and a half years. As most readers of our Annual Reports and others following our work know, the Centre for Nonviolent Action has had 22 years of successful cooperation with war veterans working on peacebuilding. In the book, we did our best to present the experiences we have gathered, the lessons learned, the untrodden paths we tried and tested, the things that succeeded and those that didn't, as well as the wrong assumptions we had.

The texts in the book were written by members of the CNA team: Nenad Vukosavljević, Amer Delić, Nedžad Novalić and myself (Ivana Franović). In addition to me, the book was edited by Davorka Turk and our longstanding associate and friend Martina Fischer. The book is divided into two parts: one focuses on the potential of war veterans for peacebuilding and the

experiences we gathered and the second part focuses on the people making that work possible.

A chronological overview is given of all the activities we conducted with war veterans and what we tried to achieve: from the initial public dialogues bringing together war veterans from different sides to talk about their reasons for going to war, through dialogue trainings we introduced when we came to understand they were needed for further cooperation, to the first and I can now say timid visits exchanged between war veterans, where a local veterans' association would be the host and guide, and then the moment when these visits took full swing, so that the hosts would also take us to sites of suffering where individuals from their armies had committed crimes. This was a huge leap for peacebuilding, because it stood up to the established paradigm of denying the suffering of others and not recognising responsibility for crimes against their side. Slowly and carefully, we brought the media and other civil society stakeholders into these activities. When both we and the war veterans felt encouraged

and had established high levels of trust, we started attending public commemorations: smaller ones attended by locals or just families of the victims; more public events with the participation of local authorities and representatives of religious communities; as well as larger commemorations with representatives of government and state/entity institutions that are particularly important for maintaining one-sided war narratives and reinforcing ethnic identities, where hate speech is not infrequent and people are reminded of who the enemy is. At such events, the presence of war veterans from different sides often attracts a lot of attention and has a subtle effect on changing the atmosphere, sometimes even changing the speeches themselves and the language used. It seems this quiet presence at the commemoration, with the laying of flowers or a prayer, means the most to the families of the victims. For decades now these people have been calling for the recognition of their loved ones' suffering, which is most often denied or diminished by the other side, so that the presence of war veterans from that other side and their honouring of the victims represents unprecedented support. The book is about how we got there, step by step.

It was important for us to also have the authentic voices of war veterans in the book, so several texts are based on interviews we conducted in 2021 with 29 war veterans (we could not include all of them, unfortunately, because then the publication would never be completed). In addition to introducing these brave people, you can also read about how and why they went to war, what it was like for them, what was most difficult, how they reacted to the peace agreement, what they hoped for, and also about how and why they joined peacebuilding efforts, how difficult it was to meet with former enemies, what they think is achieved with this kind of peace work, how their communities reacted to their engagement in peacebuilding and where they found support.

With this book, we wanted to honour all the war veterans we worked with and recognise their willing-

ness and courage to meet with former enemies and work together on reconciliation and peacebuilding.

We started thinking about making this book when we began to get frequent questions about our work with war veterans, mostly from abroad. We were particularly motivated by the interest of activists from other parts of the world who were dealing with similar issues. With this book, we tried to answer all those questions. As Nenad Vukosavljević says at the beginning of the book:

"We had no one to learn from, so we learned from each other, us, peace activists, war veterans, former and current fellow citizens. We learned from our successes and failures. We learned patience, we learned accepting imperfection and understanding. It would not be going too far to say that we learned how to be better people, first towards those whose attitudes seemed foreign or objectionable, and then towards ourselves and the societies we live in."

We have learned much over two decades of work. This is our attempt to pass that knowledge on, responsibly and in solidarity. If knowledge is not passed on, then it is almost as if nothing was done. We hope this book will support and inspire people fighting against war and postwar injustices, those just starting to deal with the ballast of the past or those who, like us many times, have gotten stuck and don't know how to move on. We especially hope that we will be able to inspire more people to become peacebuilders, because this world needs them more than ever. If more than seventy years after the initiation of peace studies, we are witnessing unthinkable violence in Ukraine and Palestine and the disappointing global response to these wars, then humanity still has much to learn. We now need to devote ourselves to those good old and almost forgotten social values of solidarity, social justice, empathy, honesty, decency, friendship, doing no harm, support, cooperation, nonviolence, peacebuilding. And it is crucial that we stay willing to learn and enter into dialogue with the enemy.

A large crowd of young people, mostly teenagers, is gathered in a room. The walls are covered with many small, colorful photographs or posters. The people are looking in various directions, some towards the camera and others away. The lighting is somewhat dim, and the overall atmosphere appears to be one of a busy, social event. A semi-transparent white box is overlaid on the right side of the image, containing the text "exchange, cooperation, networking".

exchange,
cooperation,
networking

Study trip titled “The Young Remember the Forgotten”: The Green Grass Covers the Past

Katarina Milićević

To mark 30 years since the killing of civilians during Operation Medak Pocket, the Youth Initiative for Human Rights and the Serb National Council in Croatia organised a study trip titled “The Young Remember the Forgotten”. We from the Centre for Nonviolent Action Sarajevo-Belgrade joined the study trip. The Croatian Army’s military operation called “Pocket ‘93” began on 9 September and lasted until 17 September 1993. War crimes against the civilian population and prisoners of war were committed during the operation, and all buildings in the area were destroyed.

During the three-day study trip, Tihomir Ponoš, a reporter and historian, as well as the executive editor of *Novosti*, spoke about what happened in the Medak Pocket 30 years ago, and later the participants met with Milan Uzelac, deputy prefect of the Lika-Senj County.

We visited Gospić, Divoselo, Počitelj and Medak, and the few people still living in the villages. We had a video-call with Dragan Pjevač whose mother Boja Pjevač was one of 88 people killed in the Medak Pocket.

The commemoration for the victims was held at the portal of the Church of St. John the Baptist in Medak.

Everything mined, everything razed

The town of Gospić, the largest populated place in the area, had an ethnically mixed population before the war, consisting of 64% Croats and 30% Serbs. Today, its population is 94% Croat and 3.5% Serb. The total population has been reduced by a factor of three to less than 10,000 (there used to be 30,000 inhabitants), so it is easy to calculate the number of Serbs left in the entire territory: around 350. “No,” the locals tell us, “there’s not even 250 Serbs living here.”

It is most lushly green with vegetation where houses once stood,” says Milan Uzelac, the vice prefect of the Lika-Senj County, as he points out the barely

visible remnants of houses sprouting trees while we walk around Divoselo.

The place can be found on the map, but if you reach it by the road being overtaken by grass on all sides, edged with signs warning of minefields, you’ll have a hard time believing you are in a village. Everything is green, apart from the road passing through this lush patch of wilderness.

Divoselo, which according to the 1991 census had a population of 344, is now inhabited only by the Stanić couple, who reconstructed their house, and only during the summer. All the structures in the village, not just the houses, but auxiliary buildings, barns, garages, everything was blown up or razed to the ground during Operation Medak Pocket, so that apart from the vegetation and animals, there is no other life in the village.

A military operation without any wounded or captured

The situation is similar in Medak itself, where a memorial service and commemoration for the victims was held at the church, although there are now 37 people living there, including four children.

Mirko Zagorac was a refugee for a long time, but he returned, asked for his house to be reconstructed and now he lives there. The population of Počitelj used to be 367, and now it’s two. Čitluk in Lika also went down from 129 to two inhabitants.

Mirko tells us about how after Operation Storm, he travelled for 14 days to reach Belgrade. In Medak itself, the church remained undamaged.

Fifty shells fell around the Church of St. John the Baptist, but the church itself remained whole, no one knows how,” Mirko tells us.

There were no wounded or captured in this operation of the Croatian Army – 88 people were killed, of which 26 were older than 60 and 17 were women.

Another 11 are still counted as missing, of which seven were over 70 and four were women.

Boja Pjevač

My brother Nikola found our mother Boja Pjevač 18 days later in Počitelj. She had three fingers missing from one hand..." we are told by Dragan Pjevač, who was himself the president of the Coordination of Serb Associations of Families of Missing, Killed and Dead.

Convictions for crimes in the Medak Pocket do exist,⁴ and though they may not be just, they are final. However, members of Boja Pjevač's family, her son Dragan tells us, have had their claim for reparations rejected. His appeals have been rejected twice by the Croatian Constitutional Court, while the European Court of Human Rights is of the opinion that not all legal remedies have been exhausted in Croatia. The courts take issue with the fact that the perpetrator has not been identified, or convicted, though the case itself is still under investigation. Boja was killed and her children never received reparations, instead they have to pay high legal fees to the same state whose military commanders have at least to some extent been convicted for crimes in the Medak Pocket.

⁴ Mirko Norac (commander of the 9th Guard Brigade of the Croatian Army) was convicted for these crimes and sentenced to seven years in prison, during which time he got married, built a house and completed university studies. Another three members of the Croatian Army were also convicted. Rahim Ademi (commander of the Gospić military area) was acquitted, while Janko Bobetko (chief of the Main Staff of the Croatian Army), indicted before the ICTY, died before trial.

Pjevač Boja

*The climb is level
stones flying downhill.
The valley was once of two eyes
that watched games of stone throw,
the waist centring the choreography of the fair.
The climb is level
through the woods that gently
laid down human traces,
populated chimneys with nocturnal animals and
small birds.
The climb is level
no one complains,
or tarries in the snow,
no one leads in the mowing,
no one's pupils spread in fear beneath the
leaves.*

Aneta Vladimirov

Life's Boundaries – On the Study Trip to Kosovo

Katarina Milićević

The study trip to Kosovo for team members of the Centre for Nonviolent Action Sarajevo - Belgrade and some of our associates was organised from 6 to 10 November 2023.

We wanted to go to Kosovo and meet the people living there and working on peacebuilding and dealing

with the past, or on supporting those processes in society. Some of them were people we had already worked with in various ways, but part of our visit included meeting new people. Our main motivation was the need for cross-border cooperation and the absence of visibility for examples that go against the

politically proclaimed “centuries-old hatred and opposition between Albanians and Serbs”. Examples of cooperation are rare, often limited to areas considered politically non-controversial (young people, culture, etc.), while interventions in the field of opposed one-sided interpretations of the violent past are rarer still and of limited impact. On the other hand, the absence of political agreement at the highest level creates a state of ceasefire, often marred by violent incidents and incendiary statements by leading political figures. This situation requires a high degree of daring to come out publicly against the homogenised “national defence” front, and these were the individuals and initiatives we were particularly eager to meet.

Part of our team, CNA team members from the Sarajevo office, had never been to Kosovo, so our objective was also to get to know the context, organisations and individuals that we see as peacebuilding actors, and to explore memorialisation after the war.

It was important to get to know their thinking on peacebuilding and the activities that are implemented, but also to talk about CNA’s approaches, especially our peace education programmes and our work with war veterans. We also wanted to see how the war is viewed today in Kosovo – from art exhibitions to memorialisation, which are the dominant memories of war, what do they say, what are they silent about, and do they have anything at all to say to those coming “from the other side”.

Pristina

In Pristina, we first visited the Kosovo Humanitarian Law Center where we met with its director Bekim Blakaj and saw two exhibitions: “New Day” by Barbara Prenka, presenting the artist’s vision of dealing with the past through family photos woven by women on tapestries, and the permanent exhibition “Once Upon a Time and Never Again” dedicated to children killed in the 1998-2000 war. The exhibition uses children’s personal items to point to the irreplaceable loss and eternal pain of their deaths, while also sending a clear message that this should never happen again to anyone. “More than an exhibition, this is a monument dedicated to children who were killed or went missing during the war. Why are monuments built to preserve ruins, the consequences of grave human rights viola-

tions?” says the sign at the entrance to this unique exhibition that we recommend everyone should visit.

We spoke about the missing and the difficulties faced by the Missing Persons Resource Centre with Nataša Božilović who told us about the work of the Centre, which is actually a network of organisations, including both Albanian and Serb associations for missing persons, and about how difficult and demanding the work is, because it is constantly dependent on daily politics. We also spoke to her about possibilities for cooperation in peace education, something they have recently started doing with young people.

On the way to Kosovska Mitrovica, we stopped to visit Gazimestan and Muratovo turbe. Although they are not a topic of our work, the mythology surrounding the Battle of Kosovo is deeply imprinted in everything going on today.

Mitrovica

On the north side of Mitrovica, we met with Jelena Cvetanović and Stefan Kalaba from the NGO Casa and talked about the projects they are working on, especially the “Barabar” centre in Pristina, where they work closely with the NGO Integra, and the programmes that are held there, including debates, seminars and exhibitions. “Barabar” is a multiethnic centre in downtown Pristina that aims to promote inter-ethnic dialogue, tolerance, equality and a culture of cooperation, and it is a place for events that share these values. In the southern part of Mitrovica, we were received by Nemanja Nestorović at the NGO CBM, and he spoke to us also about the problems of living in the north and working in the south of the city, divided by a bridge, almost invisibly, but still very much so. Life encourages people to cross the bridge, but events keep shutting it down with invisible boundaries.

We concluded our visit to Mitrovica at KosSev, whose reporters have been holding out against all manner of pressures, including the burning of cars and threats, to report from Kosovo in a timely and truthful manner. From the perspective of KosSev, as presented to us by its director Nevenka Medić, the struggle for media freedom is very hard, but they are not giving up. It was disheartening to hear her view on some cross-border initiatives that boil down to mere formalities, without essentially contributing to overcoming

divisions. This is detrimental for all those working in the field because it delegitimises them and potentially places them all in the same boat. A fair external evaluation of the programmes could contribute to resolving this problem and improving existing initiatives, but this tool is not widely used.

Prizren

On the last day of our stay in Kosovo we visited Prizren, a town known as one of the most beautiful places in the former Yugoslavia. Today, Prizren is still a very pretty town, though filled with militarised monuments. The fortress overlooking the town bears a sign saying UÇK (KLA – Kosovo Liberation Army). We visited the Serbian Orthodox Seminary that was burnt down in March 2004 and reconstructed in 2011. It is now home to some 50 students and teachers, while the whole of the rest of Prizren is home to another dozen or so Serbs. Although we had not announced our visit in advance, we were received and briefly spoke with Father Isidor. We asked him about how the students of the Seminary live in Prizren, whether they have contacts with their peers in the town, how they spend their free time. His answers were not encouraging. There are invisible but hard borders between young people, and the myth of Prizren as a centre of diversity in the former Yugoslavia, which made it so beautiful, has fallen apart.

In Landovica near Prizren, there used to be a memorial complex dedicated to Boro and Ramiz, partisans who were executed there together. Today, this is the site of a memorial centre dedicated to Kosovo Liberation Army members, and not just those killed in the war, but also those who died previously.

On our return to Pristina, we stopped in Gračanica where we visited the church and met with Marijana Toma, a historian and expert for dealing with the past, who now lives and works in Kosovo. It was important

for us to get her perspective on living in Kosovo, and her insights into what needs to be done were very useful, especially when it comes to minority communities – Roma, Turkish, Bosniak, Ashkali, and those of other minorities that are often neglected.

People in Kosovo live between status and recognition, equally on the Albanian and the Serb political side, they are discouraged from crossing demarcation lines. Life under constant pressure, clashes and uncertainty has gone on for decades and is demoralising for actions that would lead to genuine changes. Backtracking after all the efforts invested by numerous organisations is a daily occurrence. Further discouragement comes from the fact that everyone is tired of living in fear and uncertainty. They hope for a better life starting on 1 January 2024, when the visa regime with EU countries will be lifted, but the life they hope for is in some other place in Europe.

The study trip was useful as a way to meet many of the participants from our Basic, Mir-Page-Мир trainings, the Biber multilingual short story contest centering on the theme of reconciliation, and to discuss how we could connect and engage more, how we could support each other and what we could work on in the future. It would be valuable if activists from Kosovo and Bosnia and Herzegovina could visit each other and exchange experiences. Currently, this is made very difficult by the visa regime that restricts movement, as described by Nedžad Novalić, a member of the CNA team, in his text “SO CLOSE, YET SO FAR AWAY: On the severed ties between BiH and Kosovo”.

We would like to thank Luan Imeri from Skopje and Qerim Ondozi from Pristina for their exceptional effort in organising this study trip. We were very happy to meet dear friends: Nexhat, Gazmend, Fatime, Emine, Šehida, Besnik, Lulzim, Amina, Mimoza, Sibel, Shenaj – thank you all for the wonderful discussions and the support you have been providing to us.

Training in dealing with the past, Wustrow

This year, we held another round of training in dealing with the past as part of the Peacebuilding Practitioners training conducted by our sister organisation **KURVE Wustrow Bildungs- und Begegnungsstätte für gewaltfreie Aktion**.

The training was held from 26 February to 1 March 2024 in Wustrow, Germany for a mixed group of local and international peace workers from Germany, Ethiopia, South Africa, Israel/Palestine, Myanmar, Nepal and Cameroon.

Our team was made up of trainers from four countries of the former Yugoslavia: Ana Bitoljanu, Nedžad Novalić, Nenad Vukosavljević and Davorka Turk.

During the training, we worked on understanding and examining basic concepts, mechanisms and aims of dealing with the past, with a special focus on the specific contexts from the participants' countries. We are satisfied with how the group responded to our working methods and approach to contentious issues. It was a pleasure to spend the week with this mixed group and have the working conditions that are available at the Kurve-Wustrow seminar house.

We will hold the training again next year.

Workshops: “Introduction to Reflecting on Peace” in Novi Sad

Invited by associates from the **CK 13 Youth Centre** in Novi Sad, on 8 and 9 June, activists of the Centre for Nonviolent Action held one of the Alternative Policy Seminars of this organisation, titled “Introduction to Reflecting on Peace”.

The Seminar was intended for young people (age 18-30) from Novi Sad and the surrounding area.

We broached questions relevant to recognising violence, addressing conflict and opened space for finding creative ways of conflict transformation. It was important for us to bring awareness to different forms

of violence and discrimination and we also discussed some issues related to dealing with the past, reflected on the prejudices we face and how we treat differences in society.

Two days of interactive work are not enough for such demanding topics, but it was important for us to introduce the participants to the approach and methods of the Centre for Nonviolent Action and invite them to apply for our Basic Training in Peacebuilding to be held in Ulcinj, Montenegro from 18 to 28 October 2024.

The workshops in the CK 13 Youth Centre were led by peace activists of the Centre for Nonviolent Action Sarajevo - Belgrade, Radomir Radević and Katarina Milićević.


Regional activist school on the 1990s “LOVE WILL SAVE US”

At the invitation of the **CK 13 Youth Centre** in Novi Sad, activists of the Centre for Nonviolent Action presented their peace activism, work with war veterans, as well as the activity **Marking Unmarked Sites of Suffering** to participants in the regional political school on the 1990s “LOVE WILL SAVE US!”

The school was intended for young people (age 18-30) from Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia and Montenegro.

The presentation of the work of the Centre for Nonviolent Action Sarajevo - Belgrade informed participants about initial steps in working with war veterans who had fought as soldiers in the wars of the 1990s across the former Yugoslavia. We also discussed actions of nonviolence and the activity “Marking Unmarked Sites of Suffering” and how sites of pain and suffering must not be left to oblivion. We discussed reconciliation, memorialisation policies, and how each of us can contribute to peacebuilding.

The school included workshops led by peace activists of the Centre for Nonviolent Action Sarajevo - Belgrade, Amer Delić and Tamara Zrnović.



political and
social
contexts in
which we live

The contexts in which we work: Resolutely into the abyss!

Nedžad Novalić

An important segment of the Dayton Peace Accords, though not well known to the public, was the agreement on arms control measures that imposed various restrictions on the amount of weapons and number of soldiers. The agreement was signed by leaders of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia and what was then Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro), and as such, it was a regional attempt to introduce a mechanism that would prevent any future arms race that could lead to a new war. This was a time when it was generally and globally believed that more arms meant less security and a greater chance of war. But the times have since changed. This part of the Dayton Peace Accords has quietly been abandoned and today there is a growing belief, not just in our region, that more security is guaranteed by more arms, and not any restrictions or peace agreements.

That is why when Serbia's president Aleksandar Vučić says in a statement announcing the reintroduction of mandatory military service, "I want to believe that all of you understand how much we need a strong army, how we'll need to purchase, make, create more arms," it sounds frightening, but not unexpected. Croatia had previously also reintroduced mandatory military service, and both countries are competing to see who will allocate more funds for fighter planes and various other weapons... Other countries in the region are trying to keep up with the trend, though they are faced with various limitations, such as a more modest budget in the case of Montenegro and Macedonia, or the presence of international forces in the case of Kosovo and BiH. These are bleak times for any kind of peace work, we're in fifth gear and hurtling, eyes closed, towards the abyss.

"The introduction of military service, even if just in this two-month format, should be viewed in the context of the larger process of Western European militarisation initiated after Russia's invasion of Ukraine, and through the prism of HDZ's semi-populist election promises. Namely, two months is the bare minimum amount of training needed to teach someone to shoot

a gun, but in the context of modern warfare, it does nothing more than produce drone fodder. Given the technological advances in warfare, two months is not enough time to learn anything really, it's just an opportunity to make a video about how you went through training. The brevity and lack of seriousness of the programme, as well as the ideological unanimity regarding the war in Ukraine have ensured that the introduction of military service has gone by mostly under the radar, with just a smattering of objections coming from the few traditional Zagreb-based peace organisations. Unfortunately, mandatory military service in the context of the EU and Ukraine will not change anything, but it will be another step of escalation in the regional small-scale arms race and enhancing preparedness for war between Croatia and Serbia. Now we just have to wait and see how Serbia will put together its own assembly line for the production of drone fodder," says Dalmir Mišković, an activist and lawyer from Zagreb and a longstanding associate of the Centre for Nonviolent Action. Serbia has met these expectations and in the classical contest over whose (military service) is longer, it has won by 15 days.

When we look back at the past year, apart from the introduction of mandatory military service and a race to purchase arms, there is also an unmistakably visible narrowing of space for freedom. From bans of festivals and exhibitions, even entirely benign folklore festivals of national minorities, to greater restrictions of movement, more hate speech by top officials and the sowing of fear, the perspective of the region looks bleak. It is little comfort that this seems to be a global trend, instead it is more cause for concern.

Croatia: Not even the EU is what it once was

This past year has been a year of elections in the region. They were held in all countries, but their results show no visible steps forward. Croatia has already held national and European parliamentary elections, and presidential elections will be held before the end of 2024.

“In the run-up to the elections, there was an attempt to cause a constitutional crisis when the SDP, in violation of the constitutional norm to maintain the neutrality of the institution of the president, tried to nominate the current president of Croatia, Zoran Milanović, for a seat in parliament and by extension as a possible choice for prime minister. The Constitutional Court responded promptly and even threatened to annul the elections if the constitutional principle of the neutrality of the president was violated. Even though the president did not ultimately end up running for parliament, the situation added fuel to much of the election campaign and affected the elections in the sense that the pre-election drama and heated atmosphere led to record turnout despite the fact that election day was in the middle of the week,” Dalmir Mišković explains.

The conflict between Prime Minister Andrej Plenković and President Zoran Milanović continued to poison public space and generate hate speech, threats and fear. All this broke over the backs of neighbouring nations, women, refugees... Dalmir Mišković believes this is a conflict between two individuals of similar social background and standing, forged in the diplomatic corridors of Brussels and the golden youth circles of Zagreb.

“Although it is good for a democratic state to have its president and prime minister come from different political blocks, as a way to ensure democratic checks and balances, in this case it comes down to a simmering conflict between two egos that produces escalations over minor matters and formalities, while ‘our boys’ mostly agree on fundamental issues and things move on,” adds Mišković.

Ultimately, it seems the only visible change is the surge of the extreme right that has entered government in the form of the Domovinski pokret (Homeland Movement). Although the Homeland Movement won its seats in parliament based on a campaign of anti-Serb hysteria and playing to the basest instincts of right-wing voters in Croatia, at the end it turned out that the political mill of HDZ was too strong and it ground down the ultra-right-wing wet dreams that the Homeland Movement won seats for.

“The political direction remained the same, actually. Except that SDSS, the party of the Serb minority, is

no longer part of the government. The only significant thing to happen was that the Homeland Movement managed to tear itself apart because its inner feuding got so bad it drew blood. It’s like that song: Everything’s the same except he’s gone,” says Mišković.

Still, the entry of the Homeland Movement into government caused significant damage and makes steps in terms of peacebuilding and dealing with the past that we saw just a few years ago seem impossible today. In his capacity as prime minister, Andrej Plenković attended the commemoration for Serb civilians killed during and in the wake of Operation Storm, as did his deputy and veterans minister, the Serb minority was represented in government...

“These steps forward in peacebuilding and trust between Croats and Serbs in Croatia were certainly a positive example and demonstrated progress. At this political moment, it is difficult to expect more such steps both because of the Homeland Movement being in government and SDSS no longer being in government, but also because of a targeted process of marginalising these types of ideological issues and sweeping them under the rug. It seems to me that HDZ and Andrej Plenković have checked off their ideological to do list and don’t plan to do much on these issues proactively. Their focus is elsewhere. Also, the political cold war between Croatia and Serbia makes it more difficult to see the need for initiating processes of peace and trust building and for working on them seriously as a guarantee for the future. Their motto is ‘leave me alone, I’ll leave you alone’. Next year will be 30 years since Operation Storm, so we’ll see how things stand given that round anniversaries entail military parades, heated passions, stronger rhetoric and increased public drama,” adds Dalmir Mišković.

The pendulum swinging to the right is perhaps most visible in the developments at the Public Institution “Jasenovac Memorial Site”. Months of pressure and a witch hunt of sorts resulted in the resignation of its director, historian Ivo Pejaković, who had made this memorial centre relevant again and an important site of memory of the victims of the Ustasha regime - Serbs, Jews, Roma and all other antifascists. It seems that the very fact that Serbs were the most numerous victims of the Ustasha regime is a thorn in the side of current Croatian authorities who are trying to define

Jasenovac as primarily a site of the Jewish holocaust. In this way, the genocide against Serbs and Roma becomes a fact that is unspoken, with a tendency to be forgotten. For identical reasons and with the very same intentions, the Croatian authorities obstructed the exhibition “Some were neighbours” organised by the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum.

All these “turns to the right”, countless corruption scandals, the fact that he had to replace 30 ministers since becoming prime minister, all of them having been caught with their hand “in the till”, have not made a dent in the public standing and power of prime minister Andrej Plenković. In that sense, Croatia is a disappointment for the rest of the region because it demonstrates the possibility of being in the EU but remaining as corrupt and irresponsible as ever.

North Macedonia: Many years back

In North Macedonia, citizens turned out for the parliamentary elections not to choose a better government, but to punish those already in government. Seven years ago, when SDSM came to power, it raised hopes that soon soured into disappointment. This has become a familiar tune.

“Most people saw their expectations betrayed and the disappointment was huge, so all hope for a better tomorrow was lost. This became clear at the last elections, at the local level, when VMRO-DPMNE stamped out SDSM. Not because VMRO was a better option or had a better programme or for any other reason, but because SDSM had done next to nothing of what they were elected to do and because they had become what they once fought against. Moreover, SDSM had as their partner in the government coalition DUI, which had been in power for almost 20 years and was widely believed to be deeply embroiled in crime. Grand corruption, irregular appointments, the lowest levels of trust in the judiciary and the general perception that the law does not apply equally to all, this is the legacy of the previous government led by SDSM,” says Luan Imeri, an activist from the Centre for Human Rights and Conflict Resolution in Skopje.

If their early days are anything to go by, the citizens of North Macedonia should not expect much good from the new government either.

“I’m most worried by the ethnic radicalisation that is reaching a culmination these days. Hate speech is increasing. Here, for example, there are currently calls to boycott markets owned by Albanians, there’s an initiative to no longer have Albanian as an official language... At the same time, laws are being pushed that will lower taxes for the ‘real owners of the state’, large companies owned by a few wealthy families that privatised everything under the sun shortly after independence. No one is talking about changes to the Criminal Code, enacted near the end of the previous government’s mandate, which legalised usurpation of power so that no one will be held responsible for it. Here’s another concrete example in education: The current minister is doing everything she was against when she was part of the opposition. We’re backtracking. Sometimes the past defines us instead of informing us. We are slaves of our past and I often think that, unfortunately, most citizens can only feel secure, happy and hopeful in an ethnically homogeneous environment. That is devastating!” adds Luan Imeri.

A big novelty in the political life of North Macedonia is the DUI being part of the opposition. This party had been a constant in government for decades and presented itself as the main Albanian party in Macedonia. According to Imeri, the new Albanian party, the VLEN coalition actually, is new only in name.

“It’s like a book you’ve read, but now with a new title. Their leaders were previously either part of DUI or part of governments with DUI and were doing the same things as DUI up until just a few months before the elections. They have nothing new to offer and nothing new is expected of them. Another thing not in their favour is that they are coming to power after DUI, which had “an Albanian as prime minister” and what not, while the VLEN has an insignificant role in the new government led by VMRO-DPMNE, both because of their numbers and the positions they were given in government. Now, VMRO-DPMNE is doing to their Albanian partner in government what DUI did to SDSM – degrading them! The defeat of SDSM led to having a strong VMRO-DPMNE back in power. I think VMRO-DPMNE will unknowingly return DUI to power and make it stronger than ever,” Luan Imeri explains.

We said already last year that Bulgaria is the new Greece when it comes to North Macedonia’s EU

integration. The Macedonian government, led by SDSM, accepted a painful compromise with Greece in exchange for a fast track towards EU membership. Instead, the European Union has supported the demands of Bulgaria and is effectively once again blocking Macedonian accession. Citizens felt cheated and SDSM paid the price. Bulgaria has stuck by its conditions for lifting the veto against negotiations with the European Union, which is incomprehensible to people in Macedonia.

“The EU’s inapt response has managed not only to strengthen the arguments of Eurosceptics, but to create an anti-Western mood among the most pro-Western citizens, primarily Macedonians. Macedonia’s accession to the EU now revolves around constitutional changes, that is, it depends on whether Bulgarians will be written into the Constitution. We have seen several instances of constitutional changes in recent history and the politicians’ main argument had been progress towards EU membership. It is hard to say which constitutional amendments were more painful, those adopted in 2001 under threat or war, or those from 2019 when the name of the country was changed, or the current changes to satisfy Bulgarian wishes, which have actually now become EU requirements. I personally believed the constitutional changes should have been just a technicality. But when we let them get politicised, I think there was less time for constructive discussion and for finding solutions that would be in the best interest of citizens. Disappointment over Bulgaria’s blockade is vast, but I am even more concerned with the fact that the current ruling elite has already secured itself an alibi for its own failures. I wish experts would discuss the benefits, or what would be lost by including Macedonian Bulgarians in the Constitution and what kind of consequences that could have. Unfortunately, today the loudest EU accession opponents are precisely those who have secured their livelihoods and whose children are already living in an EU country or in the US. The loudest are the professors who last academic year saw no students enrol in their classes, those who have no one to teach at university because the students, would you believe it, get Bulgarian passports and run off to the EU,” says Luan Imeri.

When asked about the concerns of ordinary people, the topics dominant in conversations among ordinary people, in addition to daily political issues, Luan Imeri says poverty is a major issue.

“Poverty is what concerns ordinary people. Injustice. The fact that they are becoming ‘invisible’ for the state because of their ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, religion or social status. Because the collective is given increasing significance to the point where the individual becomes insignificant.”

Kosovo: No visas, but same old problems

In an atmosphere of endless negotiations and without any agreements between Pristina and Belgrade, a significant new development in 2024 is visa-free travel for citizens of Kosovo to the Schengen area. It was the last of the Western Balkan countries to have visa restrictions for travelling to the European Union and we still have to wait and see what effects this will have. In the case of other countries in the region, in addition to freedom of movement, visa-free travel also meant mass emigration.

According to census data from 2024, the population of Kosovo has significantly decreased compared to 2011. Today, Kosovo has a population of some 1.6 million, which is 200,000 people less than in 2011.

“Many residents of the four Serb-majority municipalities in the north of Kosovo did not take part in the census. A high percentage of unoccupied dwellings was recorded in all municipalities in Kosovo. In addition to migration out of Kosovo, there was also migration within the country, with the population moving from border areas to central cities. The average age of the population in Kosovo is currently 34.3 years. Detailed and final population census data are expected to be published in December this year. Data on the diaspora will also be published at that time. The Kosovo Statistics Agency estimates the registered diaspora number around 600,000,” says Amina Kaja, a student and activist from Pristina.

She feels the lifting of visa restrictions is another step towards a better future and the recognition of Kosovo as an equal among European states.

“It seems the world is accepting us and we are finally moving away from war. We now feel like part of Europe. For young people, this is also key in terms of

travelling to study abroad and for various projects. We had always been made to jump through hoops to get visas and it always set us apart from other participants who could travel without problems to conferences or workshops. We often had to miss out on big opportunities simply because we couldn't get visas, which is harmful both at the individual and the national level. Not to mention how stressful, expensive and long the process to get a visa could be. And finally: Young people are really eager to see other countries, I've had many friends travel to Paris, Amsterdam, Vienna, etc. It is now easier to connect with people from different cultures and introduce them to our country and our people, while also getting to see something and learn something along the way," Kaja adds.

Despite having the youngest population in Europe, Kosovo also lacks optimism, especially when you ask ordinary people whether they see an agreement happening between Belgrade and Pristina in the foreseeable future.

"Unfortunately, I don't think people are very optimistic. My own opinion constantly varies from positive to negative and back again. Honestly, I don't see the dialogue moving forward. In general, ordinary people don't talk about this too much, but I think most see things the same way as me. They think Serbia doesn't want anything like dialogue and that this will frankly never happen. Nothing is happening on the ground or in dialogue offices, so people are trying to forget we have those problems. At the same time, people are tense, expecting war or conflict. A few of the friends I spoke to were even against any kind of reconciliation, which surprised me because they are my age and you'd expect them to be more peace-oriented. I guess there must be many who feel that way. All in all, there's a lot of hatred towards Serbia and Serbs, a lot of negativity around this topic and I think we're all tired of the same old promises and words like "dialogue" or "peacebuilding", so we're trying to get over whatever is going on at the moment and get on with our lives as normally as possible. Personally, I've met incredible people from Serbia who give me hope that something can be done in the future. I have faith in the friends I made there and I hope that together we will build something better," says Amina at the end with a welcome dose of optimism.

Serbia: Lost (elections)

After 3 May and the massacre at the Belgrade primary school, and the crime in the villages around Mladenovac that followed the next day, it may have seemed to society at large that there was no deeper evil, still nothing happened that would indicate a step towards reducing the general level of violence in society in Serbia. On the contrary, despite protests that went on for months and hundreds of thousands of people in the streets of Belgrade and other cities across Serbia, the only thing that happened, and that no one had asked for, was that parliamentary elections were called, as well as local elections in some Serbian cities. When we consider them from the perspective of their known outcome, the elections were lost, according to Katarina Milićević, member of the team at the Centre for Nonviolent Action in Belgrade.

"The opposition participated in the elections, the general impression was that there would be a change of government in Belgrade and a few of the larger cities, the 'Proglas' movement took part, made up of public figures advocating democracy, but it turned out on election day that phantom voters from Republika Srpska and smaller towns in Serbia were put on the voting lists in droves. The place where they were gathering was discovered, as were the headquarters of the entire operation, but still, because of their action and fictitious parties being put on the ballot by the government to confuse voters, the elections were lost. Truth be told, quite a few people knew the elections were as good as lost because they were being held in an undemocratic atmosphere, with the media completely occupied by the ruling party, with voter lists out of order, but I guess hope dies last, even when it is futile. This was followed by protests, a hunger strike by a few opposition leaders, the protestors being beaten up and arrested, and then under great political strain, the Parliament and the Government were somehow constituted and new local elections were called in Belgrade. Formally, the reason was that the number of councillors in the City Assembly was almost identical between the country-wide ruling majority and the opposition, while the phantom group of citizens that could tip the balance either way decided not to do so. Of course, all these manoeuvres were orchestrated by

Aleksandar Vučić's regime because they suit his political aims. The new local elections were held in June and were also lost. It wasn't all the fraud and irregularities that ensured the elections would be lost, but two facts: the fact that despite evidence to the contrary, the courts recognised the elections as legitimate and the fact that despite observers from the EU registering manipulations, the election results were accepted by the EU. The fact that even the EU betrayed us was perhaps the biggest blow for people fighting to democratise the country," says Katarina Milićević.

Serbia's president Aleksandar Vučić makes up for lack of progress in negotiations with Pristina by spewing verbal violence and threats. Paradoxically, even when he targets the Kosovo authorities, the price is paid by Serbs living in Kosovo and trying to survive between Vučić's hammer and Kurti's anvil. Serbia has refused to extradite Milan Radoičić who was in full military gear when he led last year's attack in the Banjska Monastery in Kosovo when three people were killed. Between Radoičić and Serbs in Kosovo, the government has chosen to rescue Radoičić who lives today as a free citizen.

"The Kosovo authorities are currently entering health clinics that used to be controlled by Serbia, while Vučić is off somewhere in western Serbia making pancakes and trying to convince people that there is absolutely nothing harmful or bad about lithium mining. He still declares he "won't give Kosovo away". In the meantime, since the terrorist attack in Banjska, Serbs in Kosovo have accepted Kosovan number plates and identity cards and are having them issued. The Pristina authorities have abolished almost all so-called parallel institutions, which is quite a blow for Kosovan Serbs. In the midst of all this uncertainty and fear, some people have simply chosen, if that can be called a choice, to move away," adds Katarina Milićević. As of mid-August, all citizens of Kosovo can travel visa-free to the EU, regardless of whether they have a Kosovan or Serbian passport. After the visa requirement was lifted for citizens with Kosovan passports on 1 January 2024, in mid-August the requirement was also lifted for citizens of Kosovo whose passports were issued by the Coordination Body of the Republic of Serbia.

Still, travelling is no simple matter if you are a human rights activist like Sofija Todorović, the director

of the Youth Initiative for Human Rights. At one point in September 2024, Sofija made public the fact that she was subject to special measures and included on secret lists, which meant that over the past few months she had been held up at border crossing-points for hours for no reason.

"The fact that these lists exist was found out when Croatian singer Severina was kept at the border for hours when she tried to enter Serbia. She was asked about whether there was a genocide in Srebrenica, what she thought about lithium mining, and other such common questions to ask a singer. Also, in June, the Bosnian-Herzegovinian actor Feđa Štukan was denied entry into Serbia. Although the government never explained why, the reason is almost certainly his support for anti-violence protests in Serbia," explains Milićević.

This year, the government has also banned the art festival "Mirëdita, dobar dan" that features artist exchanges between Kosovo and Serbia. Officially, the festival was banned because the government was unable to guarantee the participants' safety due to ultra-right-wing protest groups.

"With their public statements and hate speech, ministers and top officials effectively called on these groups to block the festival venue so that they would have an excuse to ban the festival," says Katarina.

Huge numbers of citizens of Serbia turned out in August for environmental protests demanding that the lithium mining project in Western Serbia be abandoned because it would impact the ecosystem and the future of the whole country.

"Before the protests were even held, the organisers were invited to the Security Information Agency for a talk, and after the protests, the institutional framework was abused to deliver a summary judgement against the three young men and to arrest the lawyer and president of the Valjevo Resistance Movement. However, the second instance court overturned the judgements under public pressure. Fear, dictatorship, arrests, terrorism and eco-terrorism, as well as militarism, these are the six words that describe the past year in Serbia," concludes Katarina Milićević.

The visit of the German Chancellor Olaf Scholz to Serbia during the summer and the signing of the agreement on lithium supply was seen by the majority of

people as one more piece of evidence that people in the EU couldn't care less about the fate of people living in Serbia. It is a bitter pill for those in favour of democracy and European values.

Montenegro: The European path unblocked and unhinged

Once again in 2024, Montenegro was not spared political drama. Even though there were no parliamentary elections, the conflict between the prime minister and the president, former allies, the government restructuring, the local elections in Podgorica and elsewhere, all this contributed to political issues dominating public space. This autumn, all eyes are on the elections in Podgorica whose significance surpasses the local level because they are a test of how the parties stand across the country.

“The work of the government was marked by ‘deep’ politically motivated hiring, political upheaval/squabbles and accusations between the president and prime minister, as well as promises to establish social and economic stability in the country. All these are the levers and practices of the previous government that the new government could not or would not abandon,” says Radomir Radević, member of the Centre for Nonviolent Action from Podgorica.

On the day the government was formed in 2023, the leaders announced a government restructuring. The promise was fulfilled at the height of the tourist season. Symbolically, nine months later, an expanded government was born, now also formally including representatives of pro-Serbian parties, as well as the Bosniak party that for years served as a partner of the Democratic Party of Socialists and Milo Đukanović.

“With a surefire recipe of fragmenting portfolios, room was made for 11 new members of the Montenegrin executive branch, which brought their total number to 32, making the Montenegrin government one of the largest in the region. The government of Serbia, for example, has the same number of posts, but in a country with ten times the population. The government had to be restructured so as not to lose parliamentary support precisely from those political subjects in particular that are now part of the government. On the one hand, the wide range of civic and national parties gives cause for optimism regarding

equal representation and inclusion of all, but there is also cause for concern about how long this motley crew can sustain itself,” Radević adds.

The hot summer in Montenegro was also marked by two resolutions. Montenegro voted in favour of the Srebrenica Resolution at the UN General Assembly, having first submitted a number of amendments that were adopted. The proposed amendments were in aid of an attempt by prime minister Milojko Spajić to balance between the dissatisfaction over the adoption of the Resolution felt by part of the Serb people in Montenegro, making sure not to lose the support of part of the electorate, on the one hand, and acting in the interests of pro-Western policies that he advocates, on the other. The latter could also be said to include the support for the Jasenovac Resolution adopted shortly afterwards. In the latter case, the government tried to balance mentions of Jasenovac, Dachau and Mauthausen. The Jasenovac Resolution elicited a strong response from Croatia, which proclaimed a number of Montenegrin officials unwelcome and openly threatened to block Montenegro's EU path.

A repeat of the kind of political divorce that Montenegro has seen before, a split between the prime minister and the president (formerly Momir Bulatović and Milo Đukanović), culminated when president Jakov Milatović left the Europe Now Movement, his own party, and prime minister Milojko Spajić got that party in the divorce proceedings. Just like when in 1997 Momir and Milo couldn't go on together, so in 2024 the duo Jakov and Milojko could not stay together.

“Milatović had already been known as someone who is “pro-Belgrade” and he demanded that Mandić and DF stay in government, against the demands of the at that time pro-Western Spajić. However, as the political circumstances changed, this duo completely overhauled their positions. After initial foul plays with the US administration, Milatović is trying to show that Spajić is not the person the international community should count on. On the other hand, from a politician offering citizens the prospect of a better life and speedy EU integration, Spajić has turned into someone eager to meet the various demands of DF and Serbia's president Aleksandar Vučić. Even if we disregard the rumours about the conflict also being personal, the

consequences are still quite extensive. The most promising civic party, with a clear programme of social and economic reforms, is now divided and Milojko and Jakov are on two opposing sides for the upcoming local elections in Podgorica. A state where the president and prime minister are not cooperating, but are increasingly at odds is the best illustration of the political and myriad other crises and general instability,” says Radević.

The EU-Montenegro Intergovernmental Conference held in Brussels on 26 June brought some good news for Montenegro. The Interim Benchmark Assessment Report (IBAR) for chapters concerning rule of law was adopted, which meant that EU membership negotiations could be unfrozen. Montenegro has been in the negotiation process for EU accession for 12 years now, and the adoption of the IBAR saw it come out of several years of stalemate. In addition to IBAR the Montenegrin government was presented in Brussels with the final benchmarks for closing chapters and bringing the negotiation process to a close. This news, following years of stagnation, gives hope for speedy EU accession not just among the ruling party, but also among Montenegro’s citizens. After the adoption of the IBAR, European diplomats are expecting Montenegro to make progress in the second half of the year in closing further chapters, which will depend on how much the authorities invest in meeting those requirements.

Bosnia and Herzegovina: Stable political crisis

Bosnia and Herzegovina was given candidate status for European Union membership at the end of 2023, almost like a New Year’s gift, and it is now part of the club of Western Balkan countries that have candidate status. In truth, the leaders of Balkan countries don’t seem particularly eager to advance along the European path, and the EU itself doesn’t seem sure about what to do with its candidate countries. This was apparent in the case of Bosnia and Herzegovina because its candidate status was made conditional, to be “activated” once BiH meets the remaining few requirements. A year later, BiH has not met the remaining requirements, so it’s hard to say whether BiH has some sort of candidate status today or not.

This meant little to nothing for most citizens. The emigration trend is such that even attempting to make an estimate of how many people still live in the country is precarious because it can be colossally off the mark. The census, a highly politicised issue, should have been conducted in 2021, but is never even brought up. The government of Croatia, for example, having faced negative publicity following the publication of census results in 2021 that revealed how the population had declined by 413,000 or 10 percent, decided in 2024 to abolish the population census. It seems BiH made its “mistake” with the census in 2013 and has no intention of repeating it. Demographic trends can only be projected based on other data: the number of students in Bosnia and Herzegovina has declined over the past 12 years by 44,000 or 36 percent. The population is ageing, there are now almost as many pensioners as those in active employment, and pensions have been reduced to social benefits from tax revenues.

Political crisis is steadily present in BiH. In fact, the concept of a “stable political crisis” could be post-war BiH’s contribution to world intangible heritage. The protagonists have been the same for years, with the same behaviour patterns and rhetorical devices. This year, the crisis saw a major uptick with the start of the trial of Milorad Dodik, president of Republika Srpska, who stands accused of undermining the constitutional competences of the High Representative of the international community in BiH, Christian Schmidt, especially during the adoption of the Resolution on the Srebrenica genocide. One change compared to last year is that the United States sanctions, which many had thought to be inconsequential, turned out to be effective. In our globalised world, or at least that part of it where our region is located, there is still just one centre and it is in Washington DC. Being put on Uncle Sam’s black list, as some 20 or so politicians and companies in BiH found out, means that no one will open a bank account in your name or issue you a credit card, which essentially means you don’t exist.

Although known from before, it seems that femicide, as a specific form of violence, has recently escalated, especially following last year’s brutal murder of a woman in Gradačac. In 2024, the public was again shocked by several brutal femicides. Unfortunately,

apart from the initial shock, there are no meaningful reactions to adequately address this problem. The situation is similar across the region, little has been done beyond changes to the criminal codes, and murders of women are on the rise. In particular, there is no re-examination of deeply embedded mechanisms that reproduce violence against women, ranging from the patriarchy to glorification of war and various things that are collectively referred to as tradition.

Because when you have a tank, freshly painted and restored, installed as a monument right next to a school in the centre of town, with its barrel pointing at the street – as was done in Sarajevo in the autumn of 2024 – then what can you expect? Militarism, re-traumatisation, the sowing of fear and constant uncertainty for victims, as a rule, come down on those who are closest. The projected enemy is too far away, but all that aggression is there and it can't wait "for the right time", it can't wait for another Prizren, for some new "June dawns"...

And finally the populace

Nemanja Nestorović

My name is Nemanja. Just one of countless Nemanjas named after the famous Grand Prince and founder of the celebrated dynasty. I was born in AP Kosovo and Metohija, in a town with three rivers, under the slogan of brotherhood and unity. I was Tito's pioneer in the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia, in the city named after the Great Leader. The second of three children born to a Serb father and a Montenegrin mother.

I grew up surrounded by the sounds of church bells, my uncle's gusle and the imams' calls to prayer from the mosque minarets. In the 1980s many sons bore old Serb names. At the same time, many young Albanians bore names that translated into Serbian meant the same - Clirim=Slobodan, Diellza=Sunčica.

In the 1990s, I grew up in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, through the birth of new/old republics, news of the war on TV, hyper-inflation and my parents' salaries of 10 marks. Protests by Albanians and Serbs,

The tank next to a school actually has a positive side: it is the perfect illustration of school curricula, especially those for the "national group of subjects" which includes history, literature, language... Educational authorities in BiH are divided along ethnic lines and since 2019, they have been introducing increasingly one-sided and stark depictions of the past in which, as Luan Imeri said of North Macedonia, history is meant to define us, not inform us. The motto here is: only my truth for my child. Our heroes may be war criminals, but that's not a reason to keep them out of textbooks.

A positive step in 2024 was made by judicial institutions that prosecuted several hate speech cases that involved calls for revenge, glorification of war crimes and the like. This is a small but important change, even if it is only dealing with the consequences and not the cause.

columns, abductions, attacks, forced displacements, OVK, PJP, police curfew, dad's frequent military exercises and absences, *Šiptari*, *Škinje*, terrorist attacks, police actions – these words more frequent than any picked up from educational programmes.

I came of age when the bombing started in the State Union of Serbia and Montenegro. A Serb and a Montenegrin, Mubera, Hamdo, Rada and Mirosljub were now forced to choose sides. The same words spoken in almost every home – bad times coming. And the fears came true: the war in Kosovo officially started on 24 March 1999, though it had been war long before that. Uncle Desimir was killed by OVK terrorists in an ambush on his way to work in Srbica.

After the bombing ended, I was 17 and had to say goodbye to my best friend, a Muslim girl I'd known since we were six, there were tears and an unreturned book from the high school library, like a souvenir. She had to leave because her name was Enisa. Because her

father was Ismet and Ismet's children went to the Serb school. Equally unacceptable for both Albanians and Serbs because they "hadn't picked a side". She went to America a few years back. I guess over there she gets to be what she is, without anyone pointing a finger at her for being Muslim, without being marked by issuing from a mixed marriage. I guess that's the myth of the American dream. Enisa is still my best friend, all these 36 years, since we were pioneers together and our teacher Predrag taught us about Yugoslavia as the precursor to the European Union and our Albanian teacher Vjolca taught us the song "Koha ecen koha shkon" that we still both know more than three decades later.

In the early 2000s, I went to university in FRY, but graduated in the Republic of Serbia (still in the Autonomous Province of Kosovo and Metohija). Pogrom(s). Intimidation. Independence. Unilateral. Exodus. Almost daily incidents, clashes on the bridge in the divided town. Power cuts and water restrictions. Next to her armchair, my mother kept a small black bag with all our personal ID documents, the deeds to the house, a few family photos, some heirlooms, the icon of St. George "in case we have to run". We still have that bag today, ready to go.

As a self-taught talented painter, my father painted old Mitrovica with its legendary bridge that became a symbol of resistance for some and a barricade to be scaled in the conquest of territory and final subjugation for others. A symbol of defiance, but also a symbol of defeat. He also painted the small mosque with the whitewashed minaret that was burned in the bombing. Back then, as a 17-year-old, I watched with my chest tight and my fists clenched as one of the symbols of our town disappeared. We were upset at our house over this, our neighbours too. We were upset sometimes out loud, sometimes quietly. We felt the same months later watching footage of the desecration of the Serb Orthodox cemetery, the disappearing of monasteries, churches and history in flames.

I started my professional career in the new quasi-state of Kosovo. For some, an inalienable part of Serbia, for others, the youngest European state. Unwanted by both – by the former because we were "hindering the progress of the rest of Serbia and its EU

integration", by the latter because we were "a threat to the constitutional order". For the former we were again the populace living down there – which sounded almost pejorative and demeaning, reminiscent of the Kosovo vilayet. I've never heard anyone speak or write about the populace from Trstenik or the populace from Dorćol. For the latter, we are now just Kosovars. Often also for the former. We, the defiant and stubborn populace from Kosovo, no one ever asked us what we wanted. There was always an aga or a bey, then a king, a locksmith, a lady with a flower in her hair, always some sketchy politician, neo-nationalist and neo-democratic to speak for us. Someone who wanted to be the voice of the people was killed in cold blood this January. Six bullets sent a clear message to all others who think differently.

Even now, as a mature 40-year-old, I still have vivid memories of my earliest childhood. I also have a clear memory of the school pedagogue my parents took me to see before I started first grade. An Albanian who spoke Serbian well, with the characteristic accent I found interesting. A tall man with a broad smile, neat teeth, dark curly hair and pronounced sideburns. A tweed jacket, black trousers and white shirt made him look like a male model from the *Burda* magazine. In the office was a portrait of the father of the nation and nationalities, a heavy crystal ashtray on the desk, hand-written forms underneath, a pen with a bottle of ink. On the opposite wall, a calendar with pictures from nature, a map of Yugoslavia. In front of the school, the flag with the five-point star. It was the late 1980s.

Despite the tensions, abductions, bomb attacks, my high school days were the best period of my life. With no smartphones, just two TV channels, fake All Star sneakers from Shanghai that mother and father managed to buy, when going out meant going for a walk down the main street that we called the *corso*. Happy. Carefree. Unaware.

A decade later, in April 1999, the war and bombing were well underway. The nights were eerie and ominously quiet - there was no electricity, or else all lights were out. The silence would be broken by air raid sirens, shots fired, sometimes close, sometimes far away, but also screams and cries of people and animals. Many neighbours and friends snuck out by the

cover of night, leaving their homes and going to “safer” places in Serbia. Probably because they felt judged, or they feared for the lives of their loved ones, they left quietly, without saying goodbye. Those who stayed often felt this was a form of betrayal. Sounds of flames burning roof tiles, furniture, along with memories, interrupted the heavy silence of the night. Day would break to reveal the skeletal remains of houses, still billowing with smoke. Chimneys would stick out untouched, like mute witnesses.

Trucks, armoured vehicles, tanks passing through town every day. The army, the police, civilians and people leaving their homes. Others, however, came looking for temporary shelter and respite on their way to a new life. Mother would sometimes go out into the street with fritters, tea, elderberry juice and coffee, offering refreshments to people passing like caravans by our house on their way to a better tomorrow. Schools and other public institutions were closed, but some served, I'd find out later, as temporary reception centres where Albanians were interrogated before being deported further. To Albania, it was said...

In late April 1999, spring brought a reprieve. With nicer weather, the already established rhythm of wartime living seemed like something we had gotten used to. People fell into the routine of wartime madness: life went on “normally” during the day, but at night we were practically whispering, going down to the basement of the house with the first twilight and at the first sound of sirens. The house I shared with my pare-

nts, brother and sister was close to the high school. During the day, I'd see soldiers there and members of the police, armed, guarding the entrances and exits. Across the street was the local community office, its wall plastered daily with new obituaries. The funerals were quick affairs, with usually just the immediate family present.

Passing by the back entrance to the school, I happened upon a truck that had just stopped and two soldiers with pointed rifles were opening the back. In the truck were some twenty or so men, their hands tied. One of the men in uniform was shouting and pointing to where they were meant to go. They climbed down in silence, eyes front. Among the last of the men I saw the pedagogue from my childhood! His lower lip was split and bloody, his trousers dusty, no laces on his shoes, his hair overgrown, his face unshaven. With his hands tied behind his back, he climbed down in silence. Our eyes met for a brief moment and without realising I had recognised him, he muttered something quietly to himself and followed the column to the entrance to the school. I wanted to go up to him and untie his hand, take him home and offer my hospitality. That image and thoughts about him and his fate have haunted me ever since, along with countless unanswered questions, scenarios about where he went. I kept wishing he was a retiree somewhere, talking about how he had heard my thoughts and read them in my eyes.

Author is the Deputy Director of the NGO Community Building Mitrovica.



appendix

How to Describe Srebrenica: 15 Books to Read about the Srebrenica Genocide

Nedžad Novalić

Any selection of books on a topic is necessarily subjective. In contrast to academic papers whose authors are obliged to make and critically assess a comprehensive overview of the literature, when it comes to selecting and recommending reading material for others, it is possible to leave out works without explanation. Therefore, as a rule, any such selection reflects the reading history, interests and tastes of the person making the recommendation, while someone else would add or remove titles and every new list would be different. Nevertheless, such selections are important and can serve as a guide to others, because we seek lists to guide us when we take an interest in a topic.

With this caveat and stated intention and purpose, here are 15 titles, 15 books about the genocide against Bosniaks in the wider Srebrenica area whose anniversary is marked on 11 July.

To begin with: *Zbjeg*

Zbjeg [Refuge] by Hasan Nuhanović offers probably the most powerful testimony written to date about the Srebrenica genocide. Nuhanović, today a curator at the Potočari Memorial Centre, was born in Zvornik. When the war started in 1992, his family was in Vlasenica from where they became refugees, fleeing for their lives. In the genocide, Hasan lost his father, mother and brother, who had survived all the fleeing until July 1995 when they were thrown out of the UN base in Potočari, where Hasan was working as a translator, and thus effectively sent to their deaths. *Zbjeg* covers the period from 1992 to 1994, while Hasan Nuhanović's second book *Under the UN Flag: The International Community and the Srebrenica Genocide* covers the period from when Srebrenica was proclaimed a protected zone to its ultimate fall and the genocide. Both books were sold out soon after publication and for a long time they were hard to find in bookshops, but the publishing house *Vrijeme* recently reissued

Zbjeg. The interview titled "Fluid Mechanics" that Boro Kontić did with Hasan Nuhanović almost a decade ago is still very timely and worth reading.

Postcards from the Grave by Emir Suljagić, the current director of the Potočari Memorial Centre, is a survivor's memoir published in the already distant year of 2005. Like in Hasan Nuhanović's *Zbjeg*, in Emir Suljagić's *Postcards from the Grave* the Srebrenica tragedy is expanded in time and traced back from 1992. This is particularly important because stories about the Srebrenica genocide often focus solely on those few days of July 1995. But the July abyss has a months-long prehistory of struggling to survive, taking refuge, looking for food, and avoiding death that had been common in that part of Bosnia long before July 1995.

The novel *Šta su meni ptice* [What Are Birds to Me] by Fajko Kadrić was published in 2022 and has already gone through three reprints. Using the life story of Ekrem Redžić from Vlasenica, Kadrić tells the story of thousands from Podrinje who *flowed* into Srebrenica from 1992. Ekrem Redžić first sought refuge from Vlasenica in Cerska from where he made several trips as a courier to Tuzla and the free territories along complicated and treacherous forest paths, avoiding military positions. When Cerska fell in March 1993, like many others, Ekrem will seek refuge in Srebrenica and Fajko Kadrić uses his story to explore what it meant to be a refugee in 1993 in Srebrenica of all places. If the books by Hasan Nuhanović and Emir Suljagić are important because they follow the genocide through a broader timeframe, the novel by Fajko Kadrić is equally important because it follows the genocide through a broader geographic area. Mostly due to court judgements, the genocide has become known in public discourse as the *Srebrenica genocide*, but it is important to understand its *geographic breadth*. As Hasan Nuhanović wrote already in June 2012 in an article titled *Municipal Genocide* and published

in *Oslobođenje*, of the 8.372 men and boys killed in the genocide, two thirds had lived in Bratunac, Vlasenica, Zvornik, Han Pijesak, Rogatica and Višegrad before the war. Moreover, mass executions of captured civilians were carried out after the fall of Srebrenica also in Bratunac, Zvornik, Vlasenica, and even in Trnovo which is 200 kilometres from Srebrenica.

Survivors' Testimonies

Among the books written by survivors, leaving an important record of death and survival, we should also mention the book by Nedžad Avdić and Amela Avdić Unkić *Ja, haški svjedok* [Witness at the Hague]. In July 1995, Nedžad, who has retained his boyish smile and gentleness to this day, joined the column of men that tried to break out of the encirclement and reach Tuzla. At the very beginning, his father was killed by shelling and he himself was taken prisoner somewhere in the vicinity of Bratunac. He was taken out with a group of prisoners to be shot in the night between 14 and 15 July 1995 in a place called Petkovci near Zvornik, but he survived the firing squad and lived to testify about it at the Hague Tribunal, which he details in the book. His sister Amela contributes her memories and the book is also interlaced with the stories and memories of their mother, stories of being a refugee, fighting to continue living and to return. After completing university studies in Tuzla, Nedžad returned to Srebrenica where he lives today with his family.

Emir Bektić, one of those who *crossed over* onto the free territory, wrote his memories down in a book titled *Kad osvaneš sam* [When the Morning Finds You Alone]. Emir was a 16-year-old boy when Srebrenica fell and he set off to break out of the encirclement with his father, whose remains he still has not found. He was captured twice, but managed to survive and reunite with his mother and sister in the free territory. Four years after the war, their mother died at the age of 41, and so at the close of the 20th century, he and his sister, barely of age, *found themselves alone*.

You are likely to run into Azir Osmanović when you visit the Potočari Memorial Centre where he works as a curator. Today a historian and curator, Azir recorded his testimony of a 13-year-old who *made it through* in a book titled *Od Srebrenice do svjetla na kraju tunela* [From Srebrenica to the Light at the End of the

Tunnel]. In his writing and public statements Azir often talks about the lasting effects of the genocide and how they are transferred onto new generations, about his brother who committed suicide after everything he survived, about how his father coped with all of it, about returning to live in Srebrenica... Also notable among books by survivors is Kadir Habibović's *Život protiv smrti – Srebrenica* [Life against Death – Srebrenica].

Unfortunately, apart from *Postcards from the Grave* and *Under the UN Flag*, these testimonies have not been translated into English and this remains an important task for the future. It is therefore also important to mention the book *Voices from Srebrenica: Survivor Narratives of the Bosnian Genocide* co-edited by Ann Petrilá and Hasan Hasanović, who also survived the genocide as a minor.

The Chronology of a Genocide

Probably the most comprehensive chronological overview of the genocide is given by Matthias Fink in his book *Srebrenica: Chronologie eines Völkermords oder Was geschah mit Mirnes Osmanović* [Srebrenica: Chronology of a Genocide or What Happened with Mirnes Osmanović]. On more than 1000 pages, this German historian and reporter presents the broader context, including the break-up of Yugoslavia and the start of the wars, as well as a detailed day-by-day description of the genocide. This book is notable also because it is available in a major world language (German) and as an audio book, a format that is increasingly popular. Although not always *easy to navigate* and not a book that is easily read from cover to cover, its exhaustive account is important when we keep returning to the topic of genocide, or one of its aspects or stages.

A question that keeps recurring when it comes to genocide and Srebrenica is: How do you describe a genocide? Hariz Halilović, a social anthropologist from RMIT University in Melbourne, titled his book of editorial columns, reviews and articles *Writing after Srebrenica* and it is important not just because it tackles that question but also because of the unique position of its author who is originally from Srebrenica, but survived the horrors of Prijedor where he found himself at the start of the war in 1992. Halilović

keeps circling back to Srebrenica, not just as a topic, but also as a place where he brings various groups, including students, and tries to at least partially answer the question of *how to describe Srebrenica?*

Srebrenica after the war is also the topic of a brilliant anthropological study by Lara J. Nettelfield and Sarah E. Wagner titled *Srebrenica in the Aftermath of Genocide*. The two co-authors spent several months, returning multiple times, in Srebrenica and its surroundings, speaking with the survivors and trying to capture how they live today. As the genocide meant mass killings of men, returning to Srebrenica and fighting for the right to remembrance was mostly left to women. The book *Srebrenica in the Aftermath of Genocide* is based in part on speaking with these women and opens this broad topic within the account of the genocide. The names of some of the women and their struggle have become known beyond the boundaries of the region, but the book also includes accounts from numerous other women whose names are not well-known, but who were among the first to return to Srebrenica and remained on the frontline always and everywhere.

The topic of the international community's role and the catastrophic failure of the United Nations (UN) is perhaps most widely represented in literature, various special reports and articles. The already mentioned book by Hasan Nuhanović *Under the UN Flag* provides an invaluable insight by someone who saw all the steps, decisions and omissions of the international community's hefty bureaucracy first-hand in Srebrenica itself. A purely bureaucratic decision to guarantee the safety only of UN staff meant in Hasan's case that he would survive, but his father, mother and brother would be thrown out of the UN base and killed. If books by Hasan Nuhanović and the other survivors provide a *view from below*, then Diego Arria's book *Slow-Motion Genocide in Bosnia* offers a *view from above*, from the perspective of high-level politics, diplomacy and hypocrisy. Arria was the Venezuelan representative to the UN and in those crucial years Venezuela was on the UN Security Council, giving him access to the highest circles of decision-making in this *world government*.

Vladimir Filipović reworked his doctoral dissertation into a book titled *Under the Blue Helmets:*

Motives of States for Contribution to the UNPROFOR Mission 1992-1995 that deals with the broader topic of UN peacekeeping missions and the motivation of states to send their soldiers into war ravaged Yugoslavia. Filipović's research shows that the designation of safe areas, including Srebrenica and Žepa, was an *ad hoc* solution that the UN bureaucracy itself was unable to define with certainty. This example also shows how events take on their own dynamics: even though top UN leadership did not reach agreement on the "safe zones" idea, the decision nevertheless had to be implemented. In practice, this meant that the biggest countries refused to send troops to Srebrenica, which was remote from larger logistical centres and was entirely surrounded and overcrowded... Ultimately, the task was taken up by the Canadians, who were motivated to further their image as a world power in peacekeeping missions, only to be replaced by the Dutch whose role has become notorious. The example of the Dutch shows something else as well: the Dutch government had advocated for a stronger approach by the international community (including bombing) up until it was *their lads* in the field. At key moments, it was the Dutch government that opposed airstrikes out of fear for the lives of its soldiers. It was clear then, but not only there and then, that all lives are equally important, except that some are more important than others, to paraphrase Orwell.

Finally, the documentary novel *Beara* by Ivica Đikić offers powerful testimony about the genocide from the perspective of the perpetrator. At the time of the genocide, Ljubiša Beara was the Chief of Security of the VRS Main Staff. A former captain of a JNA warship, he was the military and political leadership's operative for the genocide. That job included, as Đikić shows, complex logistical preparations, finding temporary detention sites for the prisoners and their mass liquidation (detention sites were most often set up in schools, cultural centres and other large halls). Đikić's novel shows how top military and political leaders were aware of the kind of crime that was being prepared, evident especially in requests such as the one from Miroslav Deronjić, Chief of the Bratunac Crisis Staff, that mass executions not be carried out in *his municipality*, but elsewhere. The novel has been translated into Italian, Swedish, Norwegian and Czech.

Survivors' Testimonies:

Hasan Nuhanović: *Zbjeg*

Hasan Nuhanović: *Under the UN Flag* *

Emir Suljagić: *Postcards from the Grave* *

Fajko Kadrić: *Šta su meni ptice*

Nedžad Avdić and Amela Avdić Unkić: *Ja, haški svjedok*

Emir Bektić: *Kad osvaneš sam*

Azir Osmanović: *Od Srebrenice do svjetla na kraju tunela*

Hasan Hasanović and Ann Petrila: *Voices from Srebrenica* *

Kadir Habović: *Život protiv smrti – Srebrenica*

Anthropological and Historical Studies:

Hariz Halilović: *Kako opisati Srebrenicu*

Matthias Fink: *Srebrenica: Chronologie eines Völkermords oder Was geschah mit Mirnes Osmanović* **

Lara J. Nettelfield and Sarah E. Wagner: *Srebrenica in the Aftermath of Genocide* *

The Role of the International Community:

Diego Arria: *A Slow-Motion Genocide in Bosnia* *

Vladimir Filipović: *Ispod plavih šljemova: Motivi država za sudjelovanjem u misiji UNPROFOR 1992-1995.*

Documentary Novels:

Ivica Đikić: *Beara* **

* Available in English

** Available in other foreign languages