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Centar za nenasilnu akciju
Centre for Nonviolent Action
Sarajevo | Beograd

Godišnji izveštaj Annual Report

28

Godišnji izveštaj
Annual report 2025



Centar za nenasilnu akciju
Centre for Nonviolent Action
Sarajevo | Beograd

CENTAR ZA NENASILNU AKCIJU

nenasilje.org

cna@nenasilje.org

Ured u Beogradu / Office in Belgrade
Džordža Vašingtona 2, 11 108 Beograd, Srbija

Ured u Sarajevu / Office in Sarajevo
Grbavička 80, 71 000 Sarajevo, Bosna i Hercegovina

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Uredili | Editors
Radomir Radević · Katarina Milićević

Prelom i dizajn | Layout & Design
Ivana Franović

Naslovnica | Cover
Nenad Vukosavljević

Fotografije | Photos
Nenad Vukosavljević · Tamara Zrnović

CNA tim | CNA Team
Amer Delić · Ahmed Novalić · Davorka Turk · Helena Rill · Ivana Franović · Katarina Milićević · Nedžad Novalić · Nenad Vukosavljević · Radomir Radević · Tamara Zrnović

Sadržaj

- Uvod, 7

mirovno obrazovanje 9

- Trening za trenere i trenerice: Zažmiriti i skočiti, 10

rad sa ratnim veteranima 15

- Podmazivanje točkova - Sastanak planiranja i refleksije, 16
- Promocija knjige „Dolazimo u miru: Rad sa ratnim veteranima u izgradnji mira“ i prateća izložba fotografija, Goražde, 18
- Prisustvo komemoraciji na Heliodromu, Mostar, 19
- Prisustvo komemoraciji u Herceg Novom, 19
- Intervju, Nedžad Novalić, „Oni dolaze: Ratni veterani kao mirovni aktivisti zajednički ruše tabue“, 19

obilježavanje neobilježenih mjesta stradanja 23

- Deset godina rada i dvadeseta akcija, 24
- Svjetionici mira, 25

publikacije promocije 29

- Knjiga: „Dolazimo u miru: Rad sa ratnim veteranima na izgradnji mira“, 30
- Objavljena Biber 06 zbirka, 30
- Predstavljanje Bibera u Stocu, 31
- Najava otvaranja Biber 07 konkursa, 31
- Najava publikacije o priznanju ratnih zločina na prostoru bivše Jugoslavije, 31
- Tekst „Studentski ustanak u Srbiji: Moć nenasilja“, 32

razmena, saradnja, umrežavanje 33

- Žene protiv nasilja, govora mržnje i genocida: Iskustvo sa radionice u Kigaliju, 34
- Panel diskusija: Razumevanje prošlosti za formiranje budućnosti, 35

intervju 37

- Marija Ilić, Dimitrije Glukčević: Ova zemlja više nikad neće biti ista, 38

politički i društveni konteksti u kojima delujemo 43

- Nadstrešnice nad Balkanom, 44
- Srbija: Vreme: 11.52h Datum: 1.11.2024. Mesto: Novi Sad, 44
- Hrvatska: Pretjeranost provokacije, 47
- Severna Makedonija: Gde je tragedija predvidljiva, a odgovornost ničija, 49
- Kosovo: Severna Mitrovica - minijatura slika i prilika Kosova, 51
- Bosna i Hercegovina: Prijetnje i strah - nikad završene priče, 53
- Crna Gora: Kontinuitet neodgovornosti, 55

dodatak 59

- Intervju, Nenad Vukosavljević: „Tiha većina pristojnih ljudi sposobnih za saosećanje sa drugima je sve vreme tu“, 60

Contents

- Introduction, 66

peace education 67

- Training for Trainers: A Leap of Faith, 68

work with war veterans 73

- Greasing the Wheels - Planning and Reflection Meeting, 74
- Promotion of the book *We Come in Peace: War Veterans in Peacebuilding* and accompanying photo exhibition, Goražde, 76
- Attending the commemoration at Heliodrom, Mostar, 77
- Attending the commemoration in Herceg Novi, 77
- Interview, Nedžad Novalić, Books like *We Come in Peace* can work like an elixir, 77

marking unmarked sites of suffering 81

- Ten years of work and the twentieth action, 82
- Beacons of Peace, 83

publications promotions 87

- New Book: *We Come in Peace: War Veterans in Peacebuilding*, 88
- Biber 06 Collection published, 88
- Biber at Slovo Gorčina, 89
- The 7th Biber Short Story Contest, 89
- Publication announcement: Negotiated Justice - Plea Agreements for War Crimes in the Former Yugoslavia, 89
- Text "The Student Uprising in Serbia: The Power of Nonviolence", 90

exchange, cooperation, networking 91

- Women against violence, hate speech and genocide: Experience from the Kigali workshop, 92
- Panel discussion: Understanding the past in order to form the future, 93

interview 95

- Marija Ilić, Dimitrije Glukčević: This country will never be the same again, 96

political and social contexts in which we live 101

- Canopies over the Balkans, 102
- Serbia: Time: 11:52 Date: 1 November 2024 Place: Novi Sad, 102
- Croatia: Excessive provocation, 105
- North Macedonia: Where tragedy is foreseeable, but accountability is unassigned, 108
- Kosovo: North Mitrovica – A Picture of Kosovo in Miniature, 110
- Bosnia and Herzegovina: Threats and Fear - Never Ending Stories, 112
- Montenegro: Continuous lack of accountability, 115

appendix 119

- Interview, Nenad Vukosavljević: The quiet majority of decent people capable of empathy with others has been there all along, 120

Naše stranice na internetu:



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onms.nenasilje.org



kulturasjecanja.org



biber.nenasilje.org



handbook.nenasilje.org

Uvod

Drage prijateljice, dragi prijatelji,

Pred vama je 28. Godišnji izveštaj Centra za nenasilnu akciju. U godini za nama društveno-politički pejzaž obojili su i obogatili masovni studentski i građanski protesti u Srbiji. „Prelom“ u društvu koji su izazvali, otvorio nam je „kapiju za drugačiji svet“ i ulio hrabrost i spremnost da se borimo za njega. Za mnoge građane ovo „buđenje“ je omogućilo pokretanje usnulih praksi društvene solidarnosti, podrške, otpora i ljubavi, i ukazalo na snagu koju i kao pojedinci, a posebno kao zajednica u sebi ipak nosimo. Stoga u ovogodišnjem izveštaju možete pročitati intervju sa dvoje studenata, Marijom Ilić i Dimitrijem Glukčevićem, koji su i učesnici našeg Treninga za trenere i trenerice.

Objavili smo i poseban tekst „Studentski ustanak u Srbiji: Moć nenasilja“ u kojem možete pročitati o nastanku i razvoju studentske pobune, ali i snazi nenasilnog delovanja koje su studenti i građani svojom borbom demonstrirali.

U poslednjih godinu dana Centar za nenasilnu akciju je organizovao dve aktivnosti mirovnog obrazovanja. Osnovni trening iz izgradnje mira, 46. po redu, održan je u Ulcinju u periodu 18-28 oktobra/ listopada 2024. godine. I nakon čitave decenije, Trening za trenere i trenerice, u četiri faze, u periodu od aprila do oktobra. U ovom, najzahtevnijem programu koji radimo, učestvovalo je 22 aktivista i aktivistica iz celog regiona.

Početkom ove godine iz štampe je izašla naša knjiga „Dolazimo u miru: Rad sa ratnim veteranima na izgradnji mira“, koju smo promovisali, uz prateću izložbu fotografija autora Nenada Vukosavljevića, u Goraždu. Na promocijama su govorili naši saradnici na

izgradnji mira, ratni veterani, ali smo sreli i upoznali mnoge drage ljude.

Već deset godina radimo na obeležavanju neobebeženih mesta stradanja, i imali smo, jubilarnu, dvadesetu akciju, na kojoj smo markirali nekoliko zatočeničkih objekata i mesta stradanja na području Zvornika, Lukavca, Prnjavora i Teslića. Istovremeno, akciju obeležavanja neobebeženih mjesta stradanja u Hrvatskoj započeli su i aktivisti iz Inicijative mladih za ljudska prava. Oni su obeležili Paviljon 22 na Zagrebačkom velesajmu, i lokalitet „Ribnjak“ u Marinom selu na području grada Lipika.

Objavili smo i šestu Biber zbirku kratkih priča, posle konkursa na koji je stiglo 490 priča. Biber konkurs i zbirke priča promovisali smo na Festivalu kulture „Slovo Gorčina“ u Stocu, krajem jula.

Kontekste u kojima radimo su ove godine za naš izveštaj pisali neki dugogodišnji, ali i neki novi saradnici Centra za nenasilnu akciju.

Odazivali smo se pozivima na saradnju, bili smo u Kigaliju, u Africi, kao i više puta na pozive naših partnerskih organizacija u Nemačkoj.

Prenosimo i dva intervjua, u kojima smo govorili o radu CNA, za [Valterportal.ba](https://valterportal.ba) i [Prometej.ba](https://prometej.ba), povodom objavljivanja knjige „Dolazimo u miru: Rad sa ratnim veteranima na izgradnji mira“.

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
listopad/oktobar 2025.



mirovno
obrazovanje

Treninzi koje smo održali u poslednjih godinu dana:

- 46. Osnovni trening iz izgradnje mira, Ulcinj, Crna Gora, 18-28.10.2024.
- Trening za trenere i trenerice, I Faza, Ulcinj, Crna Gora, 4-14.4.2025.
- Trening za trenere i trenerice, II Faza, Sarajevo, Bosna i Hercegovina i Beograd, Srbija, maj/svibanj 2025.
- Trening za trenere i trenerice, III Faza, Tetovo, Sjeverna Makedonija, 10-20.7.2025.

Za 46. Osnovni trening iz izgradnje mira, koji smo organizovali u Ulcinju, Crna Gora, od 18.-28.10.2024. godine dobili smo 124 prijave. Ono što je karakteristično za treninge koje organizujemo poslednjih godina je da se učesnici/e prijave, i onda kada budu odabrani, odustaju od treninga iz raznih razloga, iako je uslov za prijavu da obeleže kvadratić da mogu i žele da odvoje deset dana za trening. Kako grupe formiramo trudeći se da budu izbalansirane na razne načine (rodno, po dobi, po zemljama iz kojih dolaze, po regijama, zanimanjima...) svako odustajanje nam pravi problem, i teško nam je pronaći osobu koju bismo sa liste čekanja pozvali da prisustvuje. Potpuno smo svesni da ljudima sve teže da izdvoje deset dana za mirovnu edukaciju, posebno jer sistem ne podržava one koji to žele: u Hrvatskoj recimo direktori škola imaju razumevanja da profesori budu na treningu, dok je u Srbiji sada to gotovo nemoguće, a u Makedoniji zavisi od slučaja do slučaja. Takođe, primećujemo disbalans i u broju prijavljenih žena u odnosu na broj prijavljenih muškaraca,

i to je razmera 2:1 u korist žena. Pitamo se da li to znači da kad svet ide u desno, samo su žene te koje žele mir?

Posle cele decenije, ove godine smo realizovali sedmi program Treninga za trenere i trenerice iz izgradnje mira. On ima četiri faze, i u danima je to ukupno 33 radnih dana. U pripremi i realizaciji govorimo o mesecima rada, te je ovo najzahtevniji program koji Centar za nenasilnu akciju realizuje. Gotovo svi kapaciteti ove godine bili su nam uključeni ili podređeni ovom programu.

Dobili smo (rekordan!) broj prijava - 90, i prijavljivali su se nama već poznati učesnici/e sa naših treninga, ili treninga koje organizuju naše partnerske organizacije u regionu, pa je bilo teško odabrati samo 18 učesnika/ca, već smo se odlučili da idemo preko svojih kapaciteta, i primili smo njih 22. Velika su nam očekivanja od ovog TzT-a, jer su nam iskustva takva da smo sa prethodnih dobili veliku bazu saradnika-ca i aktivista-kinja koji u svojim sredinama ili regionu rade na izgradnji mira.

Trening za trenere i trenerice: Zažmiriti i skočiti

Nedžad Novalić

Postoje odluke oko kojih se čovjek ne muči jer se prosto same nametnu, okolnosti ih učine nužnim, jedinim mogućim... Pостоje i one druge, gdje valja izvagati, mjeriti bezbroj puta, prije nego se konačno presječe. Jedna takva odluka za nas u Centru za

nenasilnu akciju vezana je uz trening za trenere i trenerice.

Posljednji Trening za trenere i trenerice održan je 2014. godine. Cijela mreža ljudi i aktivnosti koji su se izrodili tokom tog treninga u mnogome su oblikovali



CNA u posljednjoj deceniji. Potreba za novim trenin-
gom za trenere i trenerice proističe prvenstveno iz
činjenice da su treninzi bili i ostali temelj našeg rada.
Taj temelj se nekada opisuje pomalo nezgrapnim
terminom izgradnja kapaciteta, a pod to bi stalo upo-
znavanje novih ljudi, širenje mreže prijatelja, pomaga-
ča i saradnika, razmjena ideja, prilika za propitivanje i
kritiku, ali i jasnu poruku koje su to aktuelne potrebe
vezane za izgradnju mira.

Prepoznata potreba

U deceniji nakon posljednjeg TzT-a održano je 20-ak
različitih treninga (Osnovni trening iz izgradnje mira,
Mir-paše trening, Trening za studente i studentice iz
BiH) kroz koje smo upoznali mnogo ljudi koji su imali
želju i potencijal da svoje znanje i vještine prodube.
Kad će pitali bi o treningu za trenere, a mi smo nejasno
odgovarali *bit će*. Za nas je organizirati trening za
trenere koji ima četiri faze i ukupno podrazumijeva 30
radnih dana, a o danima potrebnim za pripremu da i
ne govorim, značilo odvojiti jednu cijelu godinu, pau-
zirati većinu drugih aktivnosti, unutrašnje kapacitete

primarno usmjeriti ka treningu za trenere... Između
jasno prepoznate potrebe i realizacije ispriječio se zid
svakodnevnice koji smo mjerkali tražeći najpogodniji
trenutak da ga doista i preskočimo. Na kraju smo rekli
da je 2025. godina, punu deceniju nakon posljednjeg
treninga za trenere i trenerice, trenutak u kojem treba
zažmiriti i skočiti.

Tako je, ukratko, sedmi trening za trenere i
trenerice u organizaciji Centra za nenasilnu akciju
počeo u aprilu 2025. godine. Želju da učestvuje na
treningu iskazalo je ukupno 90 osoba, uglavnom onih
koji su već završili neki od treninga CNA ili naših
partnerskih organizacija iz regiona. Toliko je bilo izazo-
vno odabrati 18 učesnika i učesnica da smo na kraju
odabrali 22 uz pretpostavku da će neko otkazati
učešće. Na kraju smo imali 22 učesnika i učesnica, uz
sad već uobičajeno veći broj prijava žena nego muška-
raca. Prosjek starosti grupe od 35 godina, pri čemu je
raspon godina od 23 do 58, pokazao se sjajnim za
međugeneracijsku razmjenu, jednu zanimljivu mješa-
vinu energija i životnih iskustava.



Prva faza treninga održana je u Ulcinju od 4. do 14. aprila 2025. godine. Prva faza svakako je prilika da se radi na produbljivanju tema kojih se većina učesnika već doticala na osnovnom treningu. S druge strane, prva faza je i vrijeme u kojem se grupa tek upoznaje i gradi međusobno povjerenje što je važna pretpostavka za sljedeće faze treninga. U situaciji kada većina učesnika poznaje tri ili četiri osobe i sa njima dijeli snažno zajedničko iskustvo sa osnovnog treninga, izgradnja grupe bez podjele u ove male podgrupice po osnovu ranijeg poznanstva važan je korak. Također, prva faza treninga nudi i jedinstven prostor da se polako o samom treningu i radu sa grupom počnu promišljati iz trenerske perspektive.

U prvom dijelu fokusirali smo se na upoznavanje, izgradnju povjerenja unutar grupe, analizu konteksta iz kojih dolazimo i teme vezane uz suočavanje sa prošlošću. Između ostalog, zajednički smo pokušali razumjeti koje svakodnevene, ljudske, sasvim razumljive, potrebe zadovoljava ono što vidimo kao destruktivno suočavanje sa prošlošću u našim društvima. Strah, nepovjerenje, nesigurnost, potreba da o sebi zadržimo

pozitivnu sliku, potreba da se podnesenoj žrtvi da smisao samo su neke od potreba koje smo uočili kao važne. Odatle smo pokušali definirati i šta kako bi proces konstruktivnog suočavanja sa prošlošću trebao izgledati uzimajući u obzir i ove potrebe. Pitanju nenasilja, rješavanju sukoba i pomirenju također smo se vratili pokušavajući iznaći načine kako se na kreativan način suprotstaviti nasilju. Na kraju, učesnici i učesnice su dogovarali teme koje u nastavku treninga namjeravaju obraditi iz uloge trenera kao i timove u kojima žele raditi.

Sve je isto, osim što nije

Kada se prisjetim vlastitih očekivanja od treninga za trenere koji sam prošao 2014. godine sjećam se dubokog razočarenja na samom početku. Nakon iznimno intenzivnog iskustva na osnovnom treningu, iskustva koje mi je u mnogome promijenilo i (pre)oblikovalo život, primarno očekivanje od treninga za trenere bilo je da se ponovi sve samo sa nekom drugom grupom. Ta potreba ili potraga za rajem iz kojeg smo prognani nakon završetka osnovnog trenin-



ga nije me napustila ni danas. Trening za trenere donosi jednu drugu dinamiku i drukčiju vrstu iskustva nudeći mogućnost da se čas prepustimo i budemo vođeni kroz trening, čas se izmaknemo i posmatramo sam proces vođenja ili i sami vodimo druge. Izazovi su brojni. Jedan od njih upravo je kako se nositi sa očekivanjima od treninga za trenere koji se, svjesno ili nesvjesno, uvijek bazira ili komparira sa onim što smo prošli na osnovnom treningu. Jedan od načina na koji smo već u prvoj fazi pokušali odgovoriti ovom izazovu jeste da fokus stavimo na odnos koji se dešava u trouglu sadržaj-grupa-pojedinac i da u svakom trenutku objasnimo ne samo kako nešto radimo već i zašto baš sada. Nezanemarljiv izazov je i nestrpljenje da se što prije uđe u trenerske cipele, koje ima tendenciju da izgradnju grupe, kao i proces senzibilizacije za teme i spektar različitosti, gura u drugi plan.

Radimo sa inspirativnom grupom koja je vrlo posvećena izgradnji mira, koja ima puno povjerenje u tim i pristup radu koji CNA praktikuje i u kojoj su ljudi željni znanja, propitivanja, komunikacije, a ponekad i nadmetanja. Treningu za trenerice izgradnje mira pristu-

pamo tako da je propitivanje mogućnosti i potreba, te načina izgradnje mira u sadašnjosti i budućnosti, primarno. Vođenje treninga, rad sa grupama, je jedan od načina ka tom cilju kojem posvjećujemo posebnu pažnju, jer pruža odličan temelj, ali on sam sebi nije svrha. Cilj nam je da osnažimo, proširimo i uvezemo regionalnu grupu ljudi koji će doprinostiti promjeni naših društava u narednim decenijama. Do sada postignuto nam daje za pravo da vjerujemo da znamo šta nam je činiti.

Trenerski tim (Ivana Franović, Nenad Vukosavljević, Nedžad Novalić i Tamara Zrnović) za prvu fazu pojačao je Luan Imeri iz skopskog Centra za ljudska prava i rješavanje konflikata. Luan je dobra duša svakog treninga, dugogodišnji prijatelj i pomagač, i bilo nam je važno imati ga kao podršku u ovoj prvoj fazi treninga. Safet Ballazhi pomogao nam je sa prijevodom sa albanskog i na albanski tokom prva dva dana treninga. Konsekutivnim prijevodom željeli smo se posebno zahvaliti učesnicima koji učestvuju na treningu i govore na jeziku koji im nije maternji što je poseban napor, ali i pokazati kako je moguće raditi trening uz prijevod.



Posebnu zahvalnost dugujemo i našim domaćinima u Ulcinju, svim divnim ljudima koji naš rad i boravak uvijek čine ugodnim.

Ono što nam slijedi jesu radni sastanci na kojem će timovi koji su već oformljeni raditi na pripremi radionice na temu koju su sami birali. U julu će timovi voditi

pripremljene radionice i imati priliku obući trenerske cipele. Osim samog izbora teme i pripreme radionice, bit će to prilika i za međusobno učenje putem davanja povratne informacije u sigurnom prostoru i od grupe u kojoj postoji dovoljno povjerenja i otvorenosti.

rad sa ratnim veteranima



Aktivnosti koje smo sproveli u poslednjih godinu dana:

- Sastanak planiranja i refleksije na Ozrenu, Petrovo, septembar/rujan 2024.
- Promocija knjige „Dolazimo u miru: Rad sa ratnim veteranima u izgradnji mira“ i prateća izložba fotografija, Goražde, mart/ožujak 2025.
- Prisustvo komemoraciji na Heliodromu, Mostar, 19. mart/ožujak 2025.
- Prisustvo komemoraciji u Herceg Novom, 25. maj/svibanj 2025.

Podmazivanje točkova - Sastanak planiranja i refleksije

Periodično, potrebno nam je da sa grupom ratnih veterana napravimo odmak od naših redovnih zajedničkih mirovnih akcija, posjetama stratištima i prisustvovanju komemoracijama, koje su stresne i ostavljaju dubok emotivni trag. Organizujemo susrete koje koristimo kako za rad i planiranje budućih aktivnosti, tako i za upoznavanje novih ljudi sa prostora koje posjećujemo, bilo da se radi o predstavnicima udruženja proisteklih iz rata, bilo da dolaze iz sfere aktivizma predstavnika civilnog društva ili političkog djelovanja. Na taj način se iz prve ruke upoznajemo i sa lokalnim istorijskim kontekstom i ratnim naslijeđem. Takođe, to je prilika i za očuvanje povezanosti naše grupe.

Ozren planinu kod Doboja nismo odabrali slučajno. Njeni vrhovi i padine se prostiru dijelom u Republici Srpskoj a dijelom u Federaciji BiH. To područje je za vrijeme rata bilo centar borbenih dejstava i borbene linije su kasnije postale međuentitetske. Geografska cjelina Ozrena je administrativno i teritorijalno podijeljena u okvirima gradova i opština: Doboj, Petrovo, Gračanica, Lukavac, Banovići, Zavidovići i Maglaj.

U proteklom periodu imali smo priliku upoznati članove Udruženja građana Fojničani iz Maglaja, čija je misija očuvanje i unapređenje životne sredine. Udruženje je osnovano nakon velikih poplava koje su pogodile Bosnu i Hercegovinu 2014. godine. Suočeni sa razornom snagom prirode, koju je čovjek svojim nesavjesnim djelovanjem pokušao da kontroliše, odlučili su da poduzmu konkretne korake. Kako je

naveo predsjednik udruženja Davor Šupuković, njihov dosadašnji rad potvrđuju desetine realizovanih projekata koji su doprinijeli poboljšanju stanja životne sredine, sa jasnim ciljem njenog očuvanja za buduće generacije. Takođe, promovisu i veliko turistički potencijal tog područja i aktivno rade na njegovoj promociji.

Ono što smo saznali prilikom tog prvog susreta, i što je nama bilo posebno interesantno, jeste da u svom udruženju imaju članove koji su učesnici rata, na različitim stranama i da takođe imaju ostvarenu saradnju i sa sličnim ekološkim organizacijama iz susjednih opština i takođe iz drugog entiteta u kojima su takođe članovi ratni veterani.

Od tada smo znali da moramo doći u priliku da se bolje upoznamo.

Iz prve ruke, u druženju s našim domaćinima Fojničanima, saznali smo kako ljudi okupljeni oko višeg cilja mogu pronaći zajednički jezik, prevazići podjele i uvažavanjem graditi mostove preko ratnih ožiljaka. Prošlost ne zaboravljaju, ali na njenim iskustvima nastoje ponovo izgraditi povjerenje sa svojim komšijama.

U njihovom sjedištu dočekali su nas i bivši učesnici rata. Zajedno smo obišli Maglaj i mjesta sjećanja, a put nas je dalje vodio na Ozren, na jedan od njegovih vrhova u Republici Srpskoj. Tamo, u seoskom domaćinstvu Staro naslijeđe, smješten je i paraglajding klub Paraghost iz Doboja, čiji su članovi uglavnom ratni veterani.

Razgovor s domaćinima vrlo brzo se poveo o prošlosti. Raspredalo se o položajima vojski, pravicima

djelovanja, teškim borbama. Ali pogled s Ozrena ubrzo je promijenio tok priče. Pred nama je bila pitoma planina prošarana šumama i proplancima, sa izvorima vode i potocima na gotovo svakom koraku. Tema je krenula ka onome što danas najviše povezuje ljude ovog kraja - potrebi da se to bogatstvo sačuva.

Udruženja i pojedinci sa svih strana Ozrena, bez obzira na entitetske ili političke granice, udružuju snage kako bi zaštitili planinu od eksploatacije ruda i šuma, te neizbježnog zagađenja koje bi došlo s tim. Njihova volja graniči sa fanatizmom, ali upravo ta upornost čini razliku. Organizovani su i umreženi i na svaki pokušaj istraživanja rudnih bogatstava ili sječe šuma pomno prate i na svaki reaguju.

Za njih dozvole koje izdaju političke strukture odogdo, mimo uticaja lokalnih predstavnika, jednostavno nemaju legitimitet. Oštro im se suprotstavljaju, vođeni idejom da budućim generacijama ostave čistu vodu i zdravo tlo. Svakoga ko im u tome pomaže smatraju saveznikom, a nikakvom politikanstvu ne dozvoljavaju da ugrozi njihovu misiju.

Na Ozrenu i u Fojnici smo, tako, izbliza vidjeli kako se prošlost i sadašnjost prepliću. Nekada ratna iskustva mogu prerasti u odlučnu borbu za prirodu i zajedničko dobro.

Već neko vrijeme takođe, vrebali smo i priliku da se sretnemo i upoznamo sa gradonačelnikom Lukavca, Edinom Delićem. Čovjekom koji je iskazao građansku hrabrost protiveći se inicijativama za uklanjanje spomenika poginulim borcima VRS koji su podigli povratnici Srbi u mjesnu zajednicu Sižje. Iako spomenik nije niti podignut za njegovog mandata, odlučno se usprotivio inicijativama ističući da se spomenik ne podiže zločinu ili zločincima, već poginulim borcima i ne implicira nikakvo umanjeње odgovornosti bilo koga ko je odgovoran, niti veliča bilo čija zlodjela.

Čitajući njegovu izjavu...Učestovao sam u proteklom ratu od prvog do zadnjeg dana i borio se protiv

onih kojim je podignut spomenik u Sižju. A danas se borim da se više nikada neke sadašnje ili buduće generacije ne bore oružjem i da ne podižemo svakih 50-tak godina nove spomenike stradalim, jednostavno smo znali da u njemu imamo mirovnog saborca.

Susret sa Edinom Delićem imao je i svoj protokolarni dio, prijemom u zgradi lokalne samouprave Lukavca, nakon čega je uslijedilo neformalno druženje i šetnja centrom grada. Bio je više puta prekid od strane građana koji su prilazili da ga pozdrave. Iznenađen da uopšte postoji grupa poput naše, više puta je istakao svoj veteranski identitet i želju da računamo na njega kao učesnika naših budućih mirovnih aktivnosti, napominjući da su nam vrata Lukavca otvorena dok god on ima mandat. Prilikom boravka u Lukavcu posjetili smo i Spomenik žrtvama srebreničkog genocida koji je nedavno podignut.

U Petrovu, načelnik Ozren Petković nas je dočekaao u zgradi opštine sa tradicionalnim ozrenskim običajem dobrodošlice. U zdravici sa njim, kao domaćinom, običaj je da se uz predstavljanje izmjeni i par lijepih riječi. Proveli smo ugodne trenutke u druženju. Bili smo iznenađeni saznajući da postoje zajednički projekti koje su već zajednički realizovala udruženja ratnih vojnih invalida VRS iz Petrova i ARBiH iz Gračanice.

Boravak u Petrovu iskoristili smo i da posjetimo Spomen obilježje poginulim borcima VRS sa ove opštine.

Time smo zaokružili naš boravak u ovom dijelu BiH. Naša grupa, osnažena novim iskustvima, nastavlja po planu akcija koji smo usvojili ovom prilikom.

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



Promocija knjige „Dolazimo u miru: Rad sa ratnim veteranima u izgradnji mira“ i prateća izložba fotografija, Goražde

U Centru za kulturu Goražde, u ponedjeljak 17. marta/ožujka 2025. godine, u sali Doma mladih predstavljena je knjiga „Dolazimo u miru: Rad sa ratnim veteranima na izgradnji mira“, nakon čega je otvorena i prateća izložba fotografija autora Nenada Vukosavljevića.

U razgovoru o knjizi učestvovali su Đoko Pupčević (Šamac), Mirko Zečević Tadić (Brčko), Nenad Vukosavljević (Beograd) i Suljo Đogo (Goražde), dok je moderator bio Slavko Klisura (Goražde).

Za Goraždane Sulju Đogu i Mesuda Kumru ovo nije bio prvi put da u ulozi domaćina dočekuju mirovne aktiviste i veterane u svom gradu. Tokom proteklih godina učestvovali su u više zajedničkih posjeta mjestima sjećanja, a zajedno sa drugim veteranima iz regije prisustvovali su i zvaničnim komemoracijama u Goraždu i okolini.

Mnogi prisutni Goraždani podijelili su emotivne lične priče i zahvalili što se upravo u ovom napetom društveno-političkom trenutku otvorio razgovor o miru i mirovnim inicijativama.

Događaju su se pridružili i naši dugogodišnji saradnici iz mjesta u blizini Goražda.

Izložba fotografija ostala je otvorena do 24. marta/ožujka 2025. godine. Zahvaljujući preporuci Ministarstva za obrazovanje, mlade, nauku, kulturu i sport, veliki broj srednjoškolaca posjetio je postavku i, uz stručno vođenje Ahmeda Novalića, upoznao se s kontekstom dugogodišnjeg rada CNA sa ratnim veteranima na izgradnji mira.

Ovo je bila prva u nizu promocija koje planiramo organizovati.

Prisustvo komemoraciji na Heliodromu, Mostar

Članovi tima Centra za nenasilnu akciju Sarajevo–Beograd, zajedno sa manjom grupom ratnih veterana iz regiona, prisustvovali su komemoraciji povodom 31. godišnjice zatvaranja logora „Heliodrom“ kod Mostara.

Heliodrom je mjesto zatočenja i ubistava koje ni danas nije obilježeno, a preživjelim logorašima i udruženjima koja ih predstavljaju kontinuirano se onemogućava pristup. Ista praksa nastavljena je i ovog puta.

Komemorativni program održan je pred zatvorenom kapijom, uz prisustvo obezbjeđenja privatne zaštitarske firme koju je angažovalo Sveučilište u Mostaru.

Nadležne službe su procijenile da je događaj visokog sigurnosnog rizika, te su se iz tog razloga tu nalazili i pripadnici EUFOR-a i policije.

Centar za nenasilnu akciju nastaviti će pružati podršku udruženjima žrtava i pojedincima u njihovoj borbi za slobodan pristup mjestima stradanja.

Prisustvo komemoraciji u Herceg Novom

U Herceg Novom je 26. maja 2025. godine, tačno u podne, održana komemoracija povodom 33. godišnjice ratnog zločina nad bošnjačkim civilima porijeklom iz Bosne i Hercegovine.

Skup je organizovan ispred zgrade Centra bezbjednosti Herceg Novi, mjesta koje nosi snažnu simboliku zbog povezanosti s događajima iz maja/svibnja 1992. godine. Tada je crnogorska policija nezakonito lišila slobode i zarobila najmanje 66 bošnjačkih civila, dok pojedini izvori navode da je taj broj bio znatno veći – više od stotinu. Riječ je o muškarcima uzrasta od 18 do 66 godina, koji su, bježeći od ratnih sukoba u Bosni i Hercegovini, potražili utočište u Crnoj Gori.

I ove godine ovom događaju su prisustvovali predstavnici Centra za nenasilnu akciju Beograd-Sarajevo, koji su, zajedno s drugim okupljenima, položili cvijeće i odali počast žrtvama ovog zločina.

CNA daje punu podršku inicijativama za podizanje spomen-obilježja na mjestu događaja, kao i za uspostavljanje zvaničnog Dana sjećanja na žrtve ovog ratnog zločina.

Oni dolaze: Ratni veterani kao mirovni aktivisti zajednički ruše tabue

Razgovor sa Nedžadom Novalićem

Razgovarao Gordan Duhaček

Objavljeno: 30. 1. 2025. na [Valter.portal](#)

Sobzirom na stanje apatije i stalnog podgrijavanja međunarodne mržnje u režiji političkih elita, koje danas vlada u Bosni i Hercegovini a i regiji, tridesetak godina nakon završetka rata čitanje knjige poput „Dolazimo u miru“ može djelovati kao eliksir koji okrepljuje dušu i liječi traume

Kako je moguće da ratni veterani ARBiH, HVO-a i VRS, ljudi koji su se nekoć gledali preko nišana, postanu ne samo mirovni aktivisti, već i dobri drugovi?

Odgovor na to pitanje može se naći u nedavno objavljenoj knjizi „Dolazimo u miru: rad s ratnim veteranima na izgradnji mira“ u izdanju Centra za nenasilnu akciju.



U ovoj izvrsnoj knjizi sakupljena su iskustva koja je nevladina organizacija Centar za nenasilnu akciju stekao tokom više od dvadeset godina suradnje sa bivšim borcima. Tekstove u Dolazimo u miru potpisuju Amer Delić, Ivana Franović, Nedžad Novalić i Nenad Vukosavljević, a knjigu su uredile Ivana Franović, Davorka Turk i Martina Fischer.

Najveću podršku imaju od organizacija RVI

U prvom dijelu knjige s naslovom Potencijal ratnih veterana za izgradnju mira mogu se naći tekstovi u kojima se opisuje kako je kroz godine tekao rad aktivista iz CNA s ratnim veteranima, pa kako su onda i sami veterani počeli postajati mirovni aktivisti. Tu je naročito dirljivo čitati svjedočanstvo Amera Delića, veterana Armije RBiH, pod naslovom Borac pa graditelj mira – šta čaršija kaže?, kao i tekstove koji opisuju posjete veterana i mirovnih aktivista mjestima stradanja i ratnih zločina počinjenih u ratu.

Pokazuje se i da je važno biti ustrajan, jer im se često znalo dogoditi da ih, kada se pojave prvi put,

domaći gledaju s podozrenjem, drugi put s pozitivnim iznenađenjem, a treći put ih dočekuju otvorenih ruku.

Drugi dio knjige naslovljen Ko su ti ljudi? i u njemu je najzanimljivije pročitati kratke profile i fotografije bivših boraca koji su postali aktivisti. Indikativno je da mnogi od njih ističu kako su im djeca otišla živjeti u inostranstvo i da su više optimizma za budućnost BiH imali u prvim godinama nakon rata, nego što ga imaju sad. U mirovnom aktivizmu sudjeluju jer ne žele da se rat ponovi.

Zanimljivo je i da su neke boračke organizacije skeptično reagirale na naporne mirovnih aktivista, a neke su zauzele i stav da se one u sve to ne žele uključivati, ali da su zato najveću podršku dobili u organizacijama ratnih-vojnih invalida. Oni koji su u ratu izgubili više često su spremni učiniti i više za mir.

S obzirom na stanje apatije i stalnog podgrijavanja međunarodne mržnje u režiji političkih elita, koje danas vlada u Bosni i Hercegovini a i regiji, tridesetak godina nakon završetka rata čitanje knjige poput Dolazimo u miru može djelovati kao eliksir koji okrepljuje dušu i liječi traume.

Centar za nenasilnu akciju je, iako na malom uzorku, svojim upornim aktivističkim radom pokazao ne samo da se može doći do pomirenja i razumijevanja među ljudima u BiH, Hrvatskoj i Srbiji, koji su u ratovima raspada Jugoslavije bili na sukobljenim stranama, već da je moguće doći i do solidarnosti pomoću koje svi zajedno možemo graditi bolju budućnost.

O iskustvima rada s ratnim veteranima na izgradnji mira razgovarali smo s historičarem i članom tima Centra za nenasilnu akciju Nedžadom Novalićem, jednim od autora knjige *Dolazimo u miru*. Za početak nas je zanimalo zašto su važni obilasci mjesta stradanja u ratu.

Uvažiti patnju „druge strane“

„Najprostije kazano: zato što ta mjesta postoje, na njima se organizuju komemoracije, na njima se podižu spomenici. Ova mjesta je važno obići jer je to često znak podrške zajednici koja je danas u nekom mjestu manjinska i kojoj je dobrodošla svaka vrsta podrške, i iz našeg iskustva mogu reći da je mnogim ljudima dolazak mješovite grupe veterana značio mnogo. Bio je to znak da ih se prihvata, da se priznaje njihovo stradanje“, kaže Novalić.

Upozorava i da postoje mjesta, spomenici i komemoracije koji su destruktivni iz perspektive izgradnje mira.

„Selektivno sjećanje samo na naše žrtve, negiranje „drugih“ žrtava, poruke mržnje sa spomenika ili sa zvaničnih komemoracija, sve je to što smo vidjeli i željeli smo na neki način to promijeniti. Jedan od načina da se interveniše jeste da se dođe na takva mjesta i na takve komemoracije. Posebno je snažna intervencija kada ratni veterani, bivši pripadnici Hrvatske vojske, ARBiH, HVO-a, VRS-a i JNA/Vojske Jugoslavije, zajednički dođu na takva mjesta. To šalje poruku da i ona ‘druga’ strana uvažava i priznaje „našu“ patnju, da i „među njima“ postoje ljudi koji su spremni da osude zločin i pozovu na procesuiranje odgovornih i time se na neki način značajno uspostavlja bazično povjerenje među ljudima“, objašnjava ovaj mirovni aktivist.

U knjizi se navodi da su dnevno-politička zbivanja u BiH često bila problem u naporima Centra za nenasilnu akciju i ratnih veterana koji su s njima surađivali. Zanimali su nas konkretni primjeri?

„Nije to problem samo u BiH, već svugdje u regionu, a nemalo utječu čak i globalna kretanja. Dolazak Domovinskog pokreta na vlast nesumnjivo otežava mirovni rad u Hrvatskoj, u Srbiji je vlast oličena u Aleksandru Vučiću niz ratnih zločinaca na neki način rehabilitirala, država im štampa knjige, gostuju na televizijama...“, ističe Novalić.

„U Bosni i Hercegovini smo imali situaciju da se različitim izjavama ili odlukama do te mjere podignu tenzije da se ljudi plaše za vlastitu sigurnost, bilo je momenata da ljudi privremeno napuste svoje domove u povratničkim mjestima jer se boje, i onda je teško u takvim okolnostima raditi“, kaže on.

Dodaje i da rat u Ukrajini i Izraelu/Palestini također utječe na ljude, jer ih sve to pogađa, podsjeća ih na stvari kroz koje su prošli i opet izaziva osjećaj straha, nesigurnosti i bespomoćnosti.

„Političke elite u regionu na prošlost gledaju kao na politički resurs, jedan od rijetkih kojim suvereno upravljaju i koji je bitan za održanje vlasti i općenito održanje osnovnih odnosa moći u društvu. Baveći se kulturom sjećanja u jednoj drugoj publikaciji ovo čemu mi svjedočimo smo definirali kao „rat sjećanja“ i to je stanje koje političke i druge elite nastoje održati i dalje“, smatra Novalić.

Javnosti se ne prezentiraju pozitivni primjeri

Jedna od najupečatljivijih stvari u knjizi je koliko puta se može naići na momente u kojima ratni veterani zaključuju da su u vezi nečega pogriješili, da su promijenili mišljenje, da im je krivo zbog nečega što su uradili u ratu ili odmah nakon rata. U bh. javnosti se to rijetko može čuti, greške i krivice se pretežito vide samo kod drugih, a ne kod sebe.

„Kod običnih ljudi još je i moguće čuti, pitanje je samo koliko se njihov glas čuje. To je neki pošten odnos prema prošlosti koji pretegne kod običnih i poštenih ljudi. Pa čak i kod nekih lokalnih političara je moguće čuti takve poruke. Problem je što se penjanjem na nekoj društvenoj ljestvici to smanjuje“, kaže Novalić.

Navodi i konkretne pozitivne primjere:

„Recimo, imate načelnika Vareša koji je veteran HVO-a koji redovno prisustvuje komemoraciji u Stupnom Dolu, nekadašnji načelnik Rudog koji je bio veteran VRS-a redovno je podržavao i dolazio na ko-

memoracije bošnjačkim žrtvama, slično je sa načelnikom Lukavca koji je veteran ARBiH. I to je moguće i dešava se, samo je pitanje kako to izdići na jedan viši nivo, kako učiniti da članovi Predsjedništva BiH zajednički odu i odaju počast žrtvama.“

Što se tiče iskustava koja su ratni veterani koji su u suradnji s CNA postali mirovni aktivisti imali u svojim domicilnim sredinama, bilo je svega – i lijepog i ružnog.

„Neki su bili izloženi strašnim verbalnim napadima, nekima se država svetila tako što im je uskraćivala protezu za nogu koju su izgubili u ratu... Pitali smo i same veterane kako se nose sa tim, i tu je ključna podrška porodica i nekog bliskog kruga prijatelja. Mi smo nastojali da u svakom mjestu imamo po nekoliko veterana sa kojima sarađujemo, time šireći taj krug podrške, a i kredibilitet koji smo godinama gradili i koji čuvamo doprinijeli su da nas mnoga udruženja žrtava, vjerski lideri i loklani političari uvažavaju kao grupu koja ima pošten odnos prema svim žrtvama i iskrene namjere pa je samim tim, na neki način, smanjen pritisak i ojačana podrška“, prisjeća se Novalić.

Pitali smo Nedžada Novalića i koliko je rad u Centru za nenasilnu akciju i rad s ratnim veteranima emocionalno iscrpljujući, a koliko emocionalno ispunjavajući.

„Emocionalno je zahtjevan, jer prosto morate unijeti sebe u taj rad. To je najmračniji dio naše prošlosti u kojem je urađeno toliko toga neljudskog da vas kao čovjeka sve to pogađa. Istovremeno, nudi ispunjenje u smislu da radite nešto smisljeno i korisno, da imate mogućnost nešto promijeniti i vidjeti tu promjenu, makar ona bila nekome nevelika“.

Začarani krug negiranja odgovornosti

Ističe i događaj koji ga je posebno dirnuo:

„Kada sam bio u Vitezu, koji je moj širi zavičaj, na komemoraciji ubijenoj hrvatskoj djeci, i kada vidite koliko znači nekom roditelju koji je prije toliko vremena izgubio dijete što ste mu došli, položili ružu i stisnuli ruku, to vam daje jedan poseban osjećaj i motiv za dalje.“

„Teret koji veterani mirovnjaci preuzimaju na sebe dolaskom na mjesta stradanja je ogroman. Nije lako da vi kao veteran, naprimjer, Hrvatske vojske odete u Varivode i Gošić, ili da veteran ARBiH ode u Trusinu, veteran VRS u Srebrenicu... I to nije toliko pitanje hrabrosti, koliko je pitanje prihvatanja odgovornosti i skidanja tereta sa cijelih kolektiva i budućih naraštaja“, smatra Novalić.

S obzirom na to da se u bh. medijima skoro svaki dan pojavljuju vijesti o nekoj komemoraciji u vezi rata koji je završio prije 30 godina, treba postaviti pitanje i što ako komemoracije rat održavaju previše bliskim, aktualnim, pa čak živim? Pritom nije stvar u tome da sve treba zaboraviti i da ništa ne treba komemorirati, već o pronalaženju prave mjere i otvranja puta tome da slobodnije diše i da ne prolazimo kroz stalne cikluse retraumatizacije.

„Nesumnjivo da kod mnogih ljudi postoji sličan osjećaj da je svega previše, i sam ga ponekad dijelim“, kaže Novalić.

„Političke elite koje imaju društvenu moć nastoje učiniti da prošlost nikada ne prođe, teret se prenosi sa jedne na drugu generaciju uz nadu da ćemo se zauvijek vrtjeti u tom začaranom krugu negiranja vlastite odgovornosti i pomanjkanja suosjećanja za drugog. Svjesni svega i baš zbog toga i odlazimo na komemoracije i bavimo se prošlošću, nastojeći pokazati da je moguće taj teret skinuti sa leđa na jedan dostojanstven način, da je moguće i drukčije sjećanje, sjećanje koje će biti zalog za izgradnju boljeg i pravednijeg društva“, ističe Novlić te dodaje:

„Potpuno razumijem ljude koji kažu da se osjećaju skućeno, da im je ponekad svega previše i da odbijaju statirati u projiciranim društvenim ulogama. Jedan od efekata rada sa ratnim veteranima mirovnjacima upravo je to odbijanje šta jeste projicirana uloga ratnih veterana, šta se smije, koje granice ne bi trebalo prelaziti... Mirovni rad u osnovi i jeste osvajanje nekog prostora slobode, uključujući i slobodu da izaberemo koliko sjećanja nam nije previše“, zaključuje koautor ove sjajne knjige i mirovni aktivista.

obilježavanje
neobilježenih
mesta
stradanja



Aktivnosti koje smo sproveli u posljednjih godinu dana:

- **20. onms akcija, novembar/studen 2024.**

Obilježena mjesta stradanja:

- Osnovna škola Desanka Maksimović Petkovci, Zvornik, BiH
- Brana crvenog mulja u Petkovcima, Zvornik, BiH
- Klaonica u Modracu, Lukavac, BiH
- Kožara u Vijaci, Prnjavor, BiH
- Fabrika obuće "Sloga", Prnjavor, BiH
- Zgrada nekadašnje Teritorijalne obrane, Teslić, BiH
- Skladište u Pribiniću, Teslić, BiH
- Zaseok Bebe na planini Borja, Teslić, BiH

- Ribnjak u Marinom selu, Lipik, Hrvatska
- Paviljon broj 22 na Zagrebačkom Velesajmu, Hrvatska

Deset godina rada i dvadeseta akcija

Amer Delić

Deseta godina našeg djelovanja obilježena je i dvadesetom akcijom koju smo sproveli na više lokacija na području Bosne i Hercegovine.

Posjetili smo područja gradova Zvornika, Lukavca, Prnjavora i Teslića.

Novina je da smo u protekloj godini produbili i saradnju sa Inicijativom mladih za ljudska prava Hrvatske (YIHR), koja je paralelno sa nama u BiH sprovela akciju *Obilježavanja neobilježenih mjesta stradanja* na području Zagreba i Lipika u Hrvatskoj.

Kao i ranije do sada, nastavili smo sa praksom uključivanja u naše akcije ljudi sa prostora koje posjećujemo. Ponovo smo imali priliku sarađivati sa onima koji su na različite načine obilježeni ratnim dešavanjima. Poznavajući naš rad i naš neselektivni pristup žrtvama, ti izuzetni ljudi nisu imali nikakvu zadržku da podrže naše akcije i priključe nam se na terenu.

A njihov glas treba da se čuje.

Čuti bivšeg logoraša koji kaže da je za njega svaki zarobljenik brat, na bilo kojoj strani da se zadesio i da je svaki put, srećući te ljude, vidio sebe. Važno je čuti

ove poruke koje dolaze od onih koji su preživjeli teror na vlastitoj koži. Nema tu mjesta pozivu na mržnju ili osvetu, samo je iskazana temeljna ljudska solidarnost - da se nikome više nikada ne ponovi tako nešto..

Ili čuti čovjeka koji je preživio streljanje i teško ranjen prošao golgotu narednih dana prizivajući smrt da ga riješi muka, koji kaže da to ne bi poželio nikome, pa ni onima koji su pucali u njega, jer nijedno živo biće ne zaslužuje takvu patnju...Riječi su to koje bi trebalo da čuju svi negatori zločina, mrzitelji i politikantski manipulatori, svi oni koji i dalje potpaljuju mržnju i održavaju strah i decenijama poslije rata.

Reakcije nisu izostale

Nakon naših akcija, reakcije smo dobijali uglavnom putem društvenih mreža, najčešće Facebooka, gdje na našoj stranici **Neobilježena mjesta stradanja** imamo preko 3500 pratitelja.

Komentari su u velikoj većini bili afirmativni, podržavajući za naše akcije i solidarni sa žrtvama, ali bilo je i onih koji proizilaze iz ustoličenih narativa koji

ostaju na fonu samoviktimizacije, bježanja od bilo kakve odgovornosti i negiranja zločina, govora mržnje...

Nekada smo imali osjećaj da smo bili gromobran koji kupi munje sveopštih frustracija našeg društva, što se tiče rata.

Poruke podrške, preporuke, zahtjevi, ponude za saradnju...stizale su redovno u inbox naše stranice nakon svake objave, ali i poruke onih koji se ne slažu sa našim radom i pristupom.

Ovog puta, reakciju smo dobili i putem medija. Gradonačelnik Prnjavora, u izjavi portalu SRNA, nazvao je našu akciju provokacijom, navodeći da se na području tog grada u ratu nisu dešavali zločini. Odgovorili smo otvorenim pismom u kojem smo naveli da nam nije bio cilj provocirati ni kada smo obilježavali mjesta na kojima su žrtve bile srpske nacionalnosti: bivša Dobrovoljačka ulica u Sarajevu, Bravnice kod Jajca, Brčanska malta u Tuzli, "13. Kilometar" u Kamenici kod Zavidovića, bivša kasarna u Čelebićima kod Konjica ...

Podsjetili smo da postoje ratni zločini počinjeni na području Prnjavora i da su te činjenice utvrđene pravosnažnim i konačnim sudskim presudama te da su

naše aktivnosti usmjerene ka konstruktivnoj memori-jalizaciji i izgradnji trajnog i stabilnog mira na prostoru bivše Jugoslavije utemeljenom na poštenom odnosu prema prošlosti.

Gdje smo sada i šta dalje

Započeli smo ovu aktivnost prije deset godina kao grupa entuzijasta u pokušaju da kroz kulturu sjećanja utičemo na društvene promjene ukazujući na povrijeđene i obespravljene žrtve koje ne ostvaruju pravo na spomenike, kao mjesto memorijalizacije, ali i priznanja njihovih žrtava.

Posjetili smo i obilježili više od 160 lokacija. Forma digitalne memorijalizacije donijela nam je slobodu da obilježimo svako neopravdano zapostavljeno mjesto ljudske patnje, a bez da nam je potrebna bilo čija dozvola da to učinimo, čak smo dopirali i do mjesta gdje nam je pristup bio zabranjen. Imamo bazu lokacija dokumentovanu na našem [website-u](#), sa precizno označenim lokacijama u mapi koja će biti od pomoći svim zainteresovanim: porodicama žrtava, istraživačima, istoričarima, aktivistima, novinarima i ostalim.

Svjetionici mira

Dalmir Mišković

U dvadesetoj akciji obilježavanja neobilježenih mjesta stradanja posjetili smo i obilježili mjesta stradanja: Osnovnu Školu Desanka Maksimović u Petkovcima kod Zvornika, Branu crvenog mulja u Petkovcima kod Zvornika, Klaonicu u Modracu kod Lukavca, Tvornicu cipela Sloga u Prnjavoru, objekte kožare u Vijaci kod Prnjavora, Zgradu nekadašnje Teritorijalne obrane u Tesliću, Skladište u Pribiniću kod Teslića te zaseok Bebe na planini Borje kod Teslića.

U suradnji sa aktivistima iz Inicijative mladih za ljudska prava iz Hrvatske ovoga puta smo proširili akciju izvan granica BiH. Njihovi članovi su obilježili dva neobilježena mjesta stradanja: Ribnjak u Marinom selu u Požeško-slavonskoj županiji te ranije i Paviljon broj 22 na Zagrebačkom Velesajmu u Zagrebu.

Deset godina obilježavanja neobilježenih mjesta stradanja

Inicijativa obilježavanja neobilježenih mjesta stradanja je svoj rad počela 2015. godine s ciljem podizanja svijesti o mjestima stradanja, lokacijama ratnih zločina, zatočenja, ubojstava i drugih primjera kršenja ljudskih prava, a koja su u svojim lokalnim zajednicama prešućena i predmet poricanja. Najčešće je tako jer su žrtve zločina bili pripadnici manjinske zajednice, a tematiziranje neobilježenih mjesta stradanja manjinskih zajednica je u sukobu s jednom od tri bosanskohercegovačke paraistine o ratu devedesetih. Upravo zbog toga, uvidjeli smo važnost tematiziranja i podizanja svijesti o neobilježenim mjestima stradanja. Do sad smo



obilježili preko 150 neobilježenih mjesta stradanja te posjetili skoro svaki grad i općinu u Bosni i Hercegovini.

Jedno od najvažnijih postignuća u skoro deset godina rada je suradnja s ljudima iz svih dijelova BiH. Našim akcijama pridruživali su se ratni veterani svih zaraćenih vojski, predstavnici udruga logoraša i zatočenika, predstavnici udruga civilnih žrtava i njihovih obitelji, strani i domaći novinari te što je najvažnije mladi ljudi koji su zainteresirani za pošten odnos prema prošlosti i konstruktivnu memorijalizaciju. Ta suradnja nam je jako važna zato što ona pokazuje da su mogući iskoraci u bolnim temama suočavanja s prošlosti i memorijalizacije te da postoji volja i potreba, među običnim ljudima, žrtvama, onima koji su osjetili šta znači rat, da se nešto radi na ratnom naslijeđu koje nam je zajedničko.

Glas i opomena

U dvadesetoj akciji obilježavanja, koja je počela na području Zvornika, pridružio nam se Nedžad Avdić svjedok genocida. Tada sedamnaestogodišnji Nedžad, u srpnju/julu 1995. preživio je strijeljanje na platou

ispod Brane crvenog mulja u Petkovcima kod Zvornika kada su nakon zarobljavanja poslije pada Srebrenice, u onome što će kasnije biti brojnim sudskim presudama okarakterizirano kao genocid, jedinice Vojske Republike Srpske, strijeljale najmanje 814 ljudi. To strijeljanje preživjeli su samo Nedžad i još jedna osoba, te su zajedno četiri dana i četiri noći lutali, dok se nisu domogli teritorija pod kontrolom Armije BiH. Nedžadova nevjerovatna priča i iskustvo koje je preživio paralizira i ostavlja bez riječi, ali način na koji on govori o svom iskustvu, smirenost i želja za životom koju pokazuje govori nam kako se ipak može i mora ići dalje, te kako se svim silama moramo truditi da se nikad nikome više ne ponove genocid, ni drugi oblici ratnih stradanja.

Nedžad nam je, prilikom obilježavanja platoa ispred brane u Petkovcima te Osnovne škole Desanka Maksimović u Petkovcima u kojoj je bio zatočen prije odvođenja na egzekuciju, prenio kako je njegova misija da zbog masovnog negiranja genocida i zbog žrtava koje ne mogu same govoriti, bude glas koji će opominjati buduće generacije da se ovakvo zlo više nikad ne dogodi.

Nakon lokacija na području Zvornika dvadesetu akciju obilježavanja neobilježenih mjesta stradanja smo nastavili obilježavajući objekt Klaonice u Puračiću kod Lukavca. Objekt Klaonice je tijekom 1992. godine služio kao mjesto zatočenja osoba srpske nacionalnosti s područja Lukavca. Zatočenici su bili podvrgnuti nehumanom i ponižavajućem postupanju te ispitivanjima i zlostavljanjima.

Prelazak nevidljivih granica

Prilikom obilježavanja mjesta stradanja na području grada Prnjavora, pridružili su nam se naši dugogodišnji suradnici, članovi Udruženja ratnih zarobljenika Dervente, te smo tom prilikom obilježili objekte Kožare u Vijaci kod Prnjavora, te tvornicu cipela Sloga u Prnjavoru. Obje te lokacije su tijekom 1992. služile kao mjesta zatočenja za osobe bošnjačke i hrvatske nacionalnosti sa područja Prnjavora i Dervente, a objektima su upravljale jedinice Vojske Republike Srpske i Policije Republike Srpske. Zatočenici su bili podvrgnuti nehumanim uvjetima, ponižavajućim postupanjima, ispitivanjima i zlostavljanjima.

Iako su na području Prnjavora u zadnjem ratu ponajviše stradali Bošnjaci i Hrvati, pridruživanjem našoj akciji obilježavanja, predstavnici Udruženja ratnih zarobljenika iz Dervente koje okuplja ponajviše zatočenike srpske nacionalnosti, a koji su bili žrtve vojnih formacija sastavljenih ponajviše od Hrvata i Bošnjaka, zajedno sa nama su posjetili mjesta stradanja u Prnjavoru i pokazali da postoji mogućnost premošćavanja nevidljivih granica suosjećanja i sjećanja među sukobljenim stranama u BiH. Takvi iskoraci su ključni u izgradnji mira u BiH jer omogućavaju zajedničko i univerzalno sjećanje na proživljenju patnju kao i izgradnju povjerenja, nasuprot partikularnom sjećanju unutar nacionalnih zajednica koje samo produbljuje razlike i udaljava zajednice jedne o drugih.

Mjesta stradanja na području Teslića

Dvadesetu akciju obilježavanja neobilježenih mjesta stradanja smo završili obilježavanjem objekata na području Teslića.

Zgrada nekadašnje teritorijalne obrane u Tesliću služila je kao mjesto zatočenja za osobe bošnjačke i

hrvatske nacionalnosti s područja Teslića koja je bila pod kontrolom snaga Vojske Republike Srpske te rezervnog sastava policije točnije jedinice "Miće". Zatočenici su bili podvrgnuti ispitivanjima, zlostavljanjima i premlaćivanjima, a tijekom kolovoza/ augusta 1992. 40 zatočenika iz ovog zatočeničkog objekta je ubijeno.

Objekti skladišta u Pribiniću kod Teslića služili su kao mjesto zatočenja za više od 200 osoba bošnjačke i hrvatske nacionalnosti sa područja Teslića. Zatočenici su bili zlostavljani i premlaćivani, a više zatočenika je uslijed zlostavljanja i preminulo.

Zaseok Bebe na putu od Teslića prema planini Borje, je neobilježeno mjesto stradanja u kojem je izvršeno masovno strijeljanje 28 osoba bošnjačke i hrvatske nacionalnosti koji su prethodno bili zatočeni u objektima na području Teslića. Zatočenici su dovedeni do prethodno pripremljene masovne grobnice u zaseoku Bebe, i tu ubijeni.

Obilježavanje lokacija u Republici Hrvatskoj

Dvadesetoj akciji obilježavanja koja se odvijala na području BiH pridružili su se i aktivisti Inicijative mladih za ljudska prava iz Republike Hrvatske koji su obilježili neobilježeno mjesto stradanja Ribnjak u Marinom selu u Požeško Slavonskoj županiji. Lokacija Ribnjak tijekom 1991. godine bila mjesto zatočenja za osobe srpske nacionalnosti od kojih je najmanje 18 od posljedica zlostavljanja, mučenja i premlaćivanja u navedenom objektu preminulo. Upravu nad objektom imale su jedinice vojne policije 76. samostalnog bataljuna Zbora narodne garde Republike Hrvatske.

I ranije smo surađivali sa aktivistima i aktivisticama Inicijative kada su 2018. obilježili neobilježeno mjesto stradanja Paviljon broj 22 na Zagrebačkom velesajmu koji je služio kao mjesto zatočenja i ubijanja osoba srpske nacionalnosti s područja Zagreba tijekom 1991. godine.

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

Svjetionici mira

Ovih 20 akcija obilježavanja neobilježenih mjesta stradanja nije bilo moguće bez pojedinaca koji su bili spremni pričati o svome bolu, o strahovima, o proživljenim noćima kad su bili zatočeni u objektima, koji im i danas, za odavanje pošte, ostaju nedostupni.

Mnogo toga ne bi bilo moguće bez Nadežde koja je skupila hrabrost i pridružila nam se 2018. u akciji obilježavanja i po prvi put nakon 13. septembra/rujna 1995. godine posjetila Bravnice kod Jajca, gdje je ranjena nakon što je napadnut izbjeglički autobus u kojem je bila..

Ne bi bilo moguće ni bez preminulog Stane, našeg velikog prijatelja, suradnika i podrške, koji je kao bivši logoraš i vojnik HVO-a obišao sa nama 5,6 lokacija u Mostaru, obilježio mjesta u kojima je bio zatočen, kao i mjesta gdje je vojna formacija kojoj je on pripadao držala ljude zatočenim te tako ukazao na potrebu primjerene memorijalizacije zbog budućih generacija.

Puno bi nam teže bilo da na terenu sa nama nije bilo Edina, s kojim obilazimo područja oko Prijedora, Srednju Bosnu i dalje, a koji sa svojim životom i primjerom biva svjetionikom kako jedna osoba može biti i ratni veteran, i logoraš, i mirovni aktivist, i raditi toliko puno pozitivnih promjena i iskoraka ka miru oko sebe.

Pomogli su nam i Drago, Ekrem, Spasoje, Strikan, Đoko, Slaviša, Perica, pokojni Anđelko, Nedžad, prof. Omerika, i mnogi drugi koje smo sretali, sa njima obilježili 150 lokacija, nekad nepristupačnih, kao što su jame, ruševine, mnoge škole, domovi kulture, bivše tvornice i hale, razna skladišta i pravili ono najvrijednije što svako od nas pojedinačno može napraviti, to je

ljudski korak ka boljem i pravednijem društvu. Ljudski korak u odavanju počasti, u primjerenoj memorijalizaciji koja nam je svima potrebna, a posebno budućim generacijama. Od ovih pojedinaca dolazi poticaj za promjenu i osobna veza koja je ključna kako se bi se bolne točke naše zajedničke prošlosti napokon krenule liječiti i prevazilaziti.

Zajedno sa ovim vrijednim pojedincima, proteklih deset godina, i članovi tima koji obilježava mjesta stradanja Amer, Tamara, Dalmir, Čedo, Ajdin, rasli su, suočavali se sa bolnim mjestima koje su u, zajednicama odakle oni dolaze, predmet šutnje i negiranja te su pokušali zajedno promijeniti, na pošten način, sjećanje i memorijalizaciju na našu bolnu i složenu prošlost, na žrtve, na one kojih više nema, a čije su priče ključne kako bi krenuli zajedno liječiti naše društvo i miriti se na pošten način. Sa Amerom smo bili u Zavidovićima, na 13. kilometru, sa Tamarom u Zvorniku, ali i u Sarajevu, sa Čedom u njegovom Bratuncu i Hadžićima, Ajdin i Dalmir su zajedno u dva navrata odlazili u Livno i obilježavali neobilježena mjesta stradanja.

Upravo je to onaj element koji je potreban kako bi se radili ovi iznimno potrebni iskoraci u izgradnji mira, te kako bi, sjećajući se na svo zlo koje nam se dogodilo, osigurali da nam se nikad više ne ponovi. Ovi mali koraci od običnih ljudi, od naših suradnika, pojedinaca ali i članova tima, ključni su za poticanje tih promjena odozdo, od temelja, a temelj su ljudi, oni su naši svjetionici mira.



publikacije
promocije

Knjiga: „Dolazimo u miru: Rad sa ratnim veteranima na izgradnji mira“



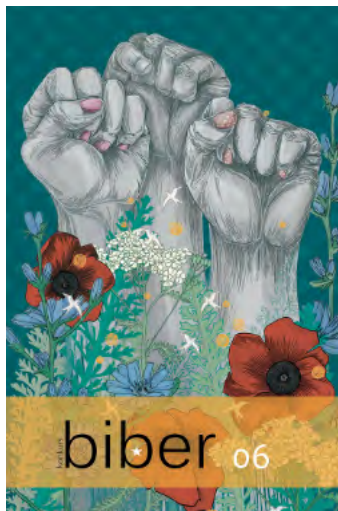
Objavili smo knjigu „**Dolazimo u miru: Rad sa ratnim veteranima na izgradnji mira**“. Trudili smo se da u njoj sakupimo iskustva koje je Centar za nenasilnu akciju stekao tokom više od dvadeset godina saradnje sa bivšim boricima.

Knjiga se sastoji iz 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. Tekstove u njoj potpisuju Amer Delić, Ivana Franović, Nedžad Novalić i Nenad Vukosavljević. Knjigu su uredile Ivana Franović, Davorka Turk i naša dugogodišnja prijateljica i saradnica Martina Fischer.

Nadamo se da će ova knjiga koristiti aktivistkinjama i aktivistima koji rade na izgradnji mira ili ljudskim pravima u „regiji“, ali i drugim krajevima sveta, da će im biti inspiracija i podrška. Verujemo da knjiga može biti interesantna i istraživačicama i istraživačima, a posebno je preporučujemo onima koji bivše borce smatraju preprekom u izgradnji mira.

Knjiga je dostupna u PDF formatu na našoj **internet stranici**. Za štampano izdanje obratite se jednom od dva CNA ureda.

Objavljena Biber 06 zbirka



Šesti konkurs *Biber* bio je otvoren od 8. 12. 2023. do 26. 5. 2024. godine. Na konkurs je stiglo 490 priča. Žiri koji su činili Almin Kaplan, Jasna Dimitrijević i Tanja Stupar Trifunović, izabrao je 24 priče koje su uvrštene u višejezičnu **zbirku** i doneo je odluku o nagradama. Jednu priču u zbirku je uvrstio organizacioni tim Biber konkursa.

Nagrađene priče:

Prva nagrada: *Dječak koji je volio zvona*, autorice Vladimire Becić iz Dugog sela;

Druga nagrada: *Tijela od vode*, autorice Monike Herceg iz Zagreba;

Treća nagrada: *Erzähle mir etwas über dich*, autorice Danijele Repman iz Sombora.

Prevode na albanski radili su Qerim Ondozi i Ilir Ajdini, prevode na makedonski Đoko Zdraveski, Ivan Šopov i Ilir Ajdini, a prevode na BHSC radili su Đorđe Božović, Lidija Barić i Irena Šentevska.

Za ilustraciju na koricama zaslužna je Jana Danilović.

Više o Biber konkursu, zbirkama, autorkama/ima i njihovim pričama na:

biber.nenasilje.org

Predstavljanje Bibera u Stocu

U okviru 54. po redu Festivala kulture Slovo Gorčina u Stocu, u nedelju 27.7. 2025. godine, predstavljena je višjejezična zbirka *Biber 06* regionalnog konkursa za kratku priču Biber. Organizatori predstavljanja bili su Festival kulture Slovo Gorčina i Centar za nenasilnu akciju.

Festival kulture Slovo Gorčina jedan je od najvažnijih kulturnih događaja u Bosni i Hercegovini, čije prvo izdanje datira iz 1971. godine. Nastao po zamisli Mehmedalije Maka Dizdara, Festival se od samih početaka održava u Stocu, na nekropoli stećaka Radimlja i drugim značajnim lokalitetima, sa željom da rodnom

gradu pjesnika donosi ono najbolje iz savremene umjetnosti i kulture.

Na predstavljanju zbirke priča Biber 06 govorili su: Almin Kaplan iz Stoca, član žirija Biber 06 konkursa, Monika Herceg autorka iz Zagreba, Bojana Savić, autorka iz Beograda i Emina Đelilović Kevrić, autorka iz Viteza. O samoj ideji Biber Konkursa, do sada objavljenih šest zbirki i daljim planovima, govorila je Ivana Franović ispred Biber tima. Moderatorica razgovora bila je Zejneba Hajdarević ispred Festivala kulture Slovo Gorčina.

Najava otvaranja Biber 07 konkursa

U decembru 2025. godine raspisaćemo i 7. konkurs Biber. Uslovi za učešće i tema će biti isti kao i na nekoliko prethodnih: pozvaćemo autore/ke da napišu kratke, angažovane priče na albanskom, makedonskom, bosanskom, hrvatskom, srpskom ili 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 izvesniju, bezbedniju i slobodniju budućnost za sve. Konkurs organizuje Biber tim Centra za nenasilnu akciju Sarajevo-Beograd.

Najava publikacije o priznanju ratnih zločina na prostoru bivše Jugoslavije

Krajem 2025. godine iz štampe će izaći i naša nova knjiga „Dogovorena pravda. Sporazumi o priznanju ratnih zločina na prostoru bivše Jugoslavije“. Inicijativa da treba objaviti publikaciju o priznanjima ratnih zločina, uz druge impulse, do nas je došla od našeg prijatelja i saborca Edina Ramulića, kome i ovom prilikom zahvaljujemo. Urednici knjige su Davorka Turk i Nedžad Novalić, dok tekstove u knjizi potpisuju još i Edin Ramulić i Nenad Vukosavljević. Recezentkinja knjige je Jovane Kolarić, sociološkinja i istraživačica Fonda za humanitarno pravo

Knjiga se sastoji od dvije veće cjeline. Prvi dio, *Teorija i praksa*, obuhvata istorijat, od nastanka, preko razvoja i primjene Instituta priznanja krivice za ratne zločine i to ne samo njegov istorijsko-činjenički dio, već obuhvata društveni kontekst, te razmatra o etičkim i pravnim pitanjima i posledicama njegove primjene. Drugi dio čini Arhiv sporazuma o priznanju ratnih zločina na prostoru bivše Jugoslavije, zaključenih pred međunarodnim i domaćim sudovima; odnosno baza podataka sa ukupno 105 priznanja počinjenih ratnih zločina pred nekim od nadležnih sudova.

Vjerujemo da je ova baza posebno vrijedna jer omogućuje dalja istraživanja kao i korištenje prikupljenih priznanja za borbu protiv negiranja ratnih zločina, kao i da može biti korisna u borbi protiv negiranja nečije patnje, utvrđenih činjenica, ili pak za one koji bi željeli dublje analizirati svaki od predmeta u kojima je došlo do sporazuma o priznanju krivice.

Dok s nestrpljenjem očekujemo knjigu, prenosimo izvode iz recenzije Jovane Kolarić.

...

Publikacija Dogovorena pravda – Sporazumi o priznanju ratnih zločina na prostoru bivše Jugoslavije, u izdanju Centra za nenasilnu akciju, predstavlja značajan doprinos raspravi o ulozi krivične pravde u procesu utvrđivanja činjenica o prošlosti i izgradnje mira u postjugoslavenskom kontekstu. Publikacija pruža uvid u način na koji se pravne norme prepliću sa društvenim shvatanjima pravde, otvarajući prostor za dublje razumevanje frustracija i očekivanja žrtava. Autori polaze od premise zasnovane na višegodišnjem terenskom radu da uprkos izrečenim presudama, osuđenim počiniocima i dostupnim dokazima, porodice žrtava i dalje osećaju da pravda nije zadovoljena. Već na početku publikacije suočavamo se sa ključnim paradoksom:

čak i kada postoje presude, pogođene zajednice neretko zločine doživljavaju kao nekažnjene. Iz tog uvida proizlazi i osnovno istraživačko pitanje ove studije – u kojoj meri sporazumi o priznanju krivice doprinose osećaju zadovoljene pravde kod žrtava ratnih zločina, ili ga pak umanjuju.

...

Publikacija Dogovorena pravda pokazuje da je nivo satisfakcije koji pruža krivična pravda daleko ispod očekivanja žrtava i da je takvo stanje društveno, politički i medijski posredovano. Suđenja za ratne zločine odvijaju se u tišini, u diskursu marginalizacije i etnonacionalističke viktimizacije. Stoga je posebno značajno što se studija Centra za nenasilnu akciju ne zadržava se na nivou deskriptivne analize već postavlja pitanja o ulozi pravde, priznanja, pokajanja i društvenog prihvatanja u postratnim društvima. Kroz pravne okvire, etičke refleksije i empirijske uvide, ova publikacija nudi kompleksnu, ali neophodnu sliku o ograničenim dometima krivične pravde u postkonfliktnim društvima bivše Jugoslavije.

Tekst „Studentski ustanak u Srbiji: Moć nenasilja“



Objavili smo tekst „**Studentski ustanak u Srbiji: Moć nenasilja**“ u kojem možete pročitati kako i zašto je počela i kako se razvijala studentska pobuna, o dubokoj posvećenosti nenasilnom delovanju koje su studenti i građani svojom borbom demonstrirali uprkos brutalnim reakcijama režima, o solidarnosti u regionu i nadi koju su nam ovi mladi ljudi povratili. Dostupan je na našoj stranici nenasilje.org.

razmena,
saradnja,
umrežavanje

Žene protiv nasilja, govora mržnje i genocida: Iskustvo sa radionice u Kigaliju

Ivana Franović

Kancelarija Specijalne savetnice za prevenciju genocida Ujedinjenih nacija (OSAPG) organizovala je u Kigaliju, Ruanda, 4. i 5. novembra 2024. godine radionicu za žene aktivne u zajednicama čiji fokus je bio implementacija Napuljskog akcionog plana i podrška ženama iz Sudana u suprotstavljanju nasilju i huškanju koje bi moglo da rezultira genocidom. Imala sam čast da učestvujem na ovom u svakom smislu posebnom događaju.

Ideju o Napuljskom akcionom planu pokrenula je Alice Wiarimu Nderitu, Specijalna savetnica UN za prevenciju genocida okupivši pre dve godine u Napulju žene iz različitih zemalja, pretežno afričkih, žene raznorodnih profesija koje su na mnogovrsne načine aktivne na poboljšanju situacije u svojim zajednicama i društvima, sa ciljem da se razmenom iskustava i udruženim snagama taj plan skicira. Ciljevi akcionog plana su izgradnja održive podrške ženama na suprotstavljanju govoru mržnje i prevenciji genocida i srodnih zločina, kao i zalaganje i podrška ženama da budu prisutnije i imaju značajnije uloge u globalnim, ali i lokalnim mirovnim i bezbednosnim procesima, usled činjenice da su žene u njima jako malo zastupljene, ako su uopšte. Jedna aktivistkinja iz Afrike, učesnica ovih konsultacija, slikovito je opisala to stanje: „Oni se igraju rata, potom pregovaraju o primirju, a nas niko ništa ne pita, naša uloga se svede na to da nas siluju.“

Finalnu verziju Napuljskog akcionog plana pod punim nazivom „**Plan of Action for Women in Communities to Counter Hate Speech and Prevent Incitement to Violence that Could Lead to Genocide and Related Atrocity Crimes**“ pokrenuo je Generalni sekretar UN u junu 2023. godine. To je sigurno hvale vredna inicijativa, a od mnogo čega zavisi koliko će imati uspeha. No, da bude jasno, odgovornost leži na raznim nivoima društava da se zamišljeno sprovede u delo.

Iskoristiću ovu priliku da skrenem pažnju na značajnu publikaciju UN: „**Framework of Analyses for Atrocity Crimes: A tool for Prevention**“ o kojoj je

takođe bilo reči na radionici u Kigaliju. Objavljena je pre desetak godina, ali je još uvek aktuelna s obzirom na to kuda ide ovaj svet. Sadrži analizu faktora rizika, koja može koristiti civilnom društvu, ali i državnim službenicima.

Veći deo radionice u Kigaliju bio je posvećen eskalaciji nasilja u Sudanu, o kojoj je svedočilo osam žena iz Sudana. Sve su iz različitih etničkih grupa i svaka od njih ovog trenutka živi u izbeglištvu u drugim državama, neke čak u kampovima u kojima je sabran nepregledan broj ljudi (ako sam dobro razumela, samo u Egiptu po izbegličkim kampovima nalazi se dva miliona Sudanaca). Bilo je izrazito emotivno slušati ih i bilo je dirljivo kako su se neprestano držale zajedno i pokušavale da dođu do konstruktivne ideje, uprkos užasnom nasilju koje se trenutno odvija. OSAPG posvećuje posebnu pažnju razvoju situacije u Sudanu i planira fokusiranu podršku ženama i njihovoj saradnji preko linija podele.

Meni je ovo bilo jako značajno iskustvo. Najznačajnije mi je bilo da čujem žene iz Sudana. Zatim, bila mi je jako inspirativna razmena iskustava, poteškoća i strategija sa impresivnim ženama iz različitih zemalja. Bilo je izazovno slušati na jednoj od sesija ljude iz „Sela pomirenja“ u Ruandi. A nezanemarljiva je i prilika da se vidi Kigali. Nisam uspela mnogo da vidim, posebno ne da svedočim tome kako ljudi tamo sada žive, ali sam još pod utiskom Muzeja genocida u kom se radionica odvijala. Bilo mi je značajno i da bliže sagledam rad OSAPG i Specijalne savetnice, koji je inspirativan, senzibilan i konstruktivan.

Dva zaključka sa radionice, koje je više žena ponovilo, još uvek mi odzvanjaju: 1) genocid sprovede države (ne neke razularene horde ili odmetnici, kako se često predstavlja) i 2) u govor mržnje spada i samo poricanje da je zločin počinjen.

I da završim sa stavom koji je Alice Wiarimu Nderitu više puta u različitim prilikama ponovila: „Podržavati žene znači podržavati prevenciju. Podržavati žene znači spašavati živote.“

Panel diskusija: Razumevanje prošlosti za formiranje budućnosti

Početkom ove godine pozvali su nas iz **Kulturnog centra podunavskih Švaba Bavorske** iz Haara i Kulturnog centra Haus der Donauschwaben da učestvujemo u panel diskusiji. Ona je organizovana u okviru serijala događaja na sećanje na „80 godina bekstva, proterivanja, novih početaka“. Na taj način obeležavaju proterivanje podunavskih Nemaca sa prostora jugoistočne Evrope. Panel su otvorile Gabriele Schilcher i Kristina Pepgjonović koja se posebno angažovala da dođemo, a iz CNA su učestvovali Nenad Vukosavljević i Helena Rill. Karl-Heinz Wendel, predsednik Udruženja, uz aktivno učešće nam je pomogao i u prevodu.

U okviru ove panel diskusije smo govorili o našem radu, o knjizi, istraživanju i izložbi „**Na tragu podunavskih Nemaca u Vojvodini**“. Pogledali smo u prošlost (ako može da se kaže – u više različitih prošlosti, bližih

i daljih) i povezali je sa sadašnjošću, gledali u mehanizme koji su univerzalni. Imali smo podršku iz publike, pomno su slušali i učestvovali kasnije u diskusiji, postavljali pitanja i komentarisali. Sama panel diskusija se nije završila ovim formalnim delom, čini se, nego smo nastavili o ovim temama i u neformalnim razgovorima. Ljudi koji su došli na ovu panel diskusiju su zaista raznih iskustava, od onih za vreme i posle Drugog svetskog rata, pa do ratova devedesetih u bivšoj Jugoslaviji. Dirnula nas je njihova priča, iskustva koja su imali, a i mi smo sa njima podelili svoja.

Imali smo doživljaj da nam svima u toj prostoriji, i organizatorima, i ljudima iz publike, i nama koji smo govorili, nepravda i nasilje pritiskaju isto dugme; osetili smo povezanost, podršku i solidarnost. Kad bismo mogli ovu energiju da prenesemo dalje, vani, u svet, gde bi nam bio kraj.



intervju

Ova zemlja više nikad neće biti ista

O studentskim protestima koji u Srbiji traju od novembra 2024. godine (o čemu je pisala u posebnom tekstu moja koleginica Ivana Franović) razgovarali smo sa **Marijom Ilić i Dimitrijem Glukčevićem**, studentima iz Niša koji su aktivni u studentskim protestima, ali su i učesnici Treninga za trenere i trenerice Centra za nenasilnu akciju. Prethodno su i Marija i Dimitrije učestvovali na nekim od naših treninga izgradnje mira, Marija na Osnovnom treningu, a Dimitrije na Mir-Paqe-Mup treningu.

Sa njima smo razgovarali dan posle velikog protesta koji je u Beogradu održan 28.6.2025. godine, i posle kog je policija tukla ljude na ulicama, te pokušala upad na Pravni fakultet.

Možete li nam najpre reći nešto o sebi?

Marija: Ja sam rođena 2001. godine u Paraćinu, sada sam na master studijama komunikologije u Nišu, na Filozofskom fakultetu. Što se aktivizma tiče, aktivna sam od druge godine gimnazije, kada sam sa drugom iz srednje škole napravila organizaciju „Eho“. Snimali smo svoje profesore koji su nam odgovarali na pitanje šta natera intelektualce da se vrate u malo mesto posle studiranja u većim gradovima? Zašto nisu ostali tamo gde su studirali, u Beogradu, Nišu, Kragujevcu, Novom Sadu, nego su se vratili u Paraćin? To mi je prvi aktivistički poduhvat na lokalnom nivou. Posle toga sam bila u studentskom parlamentu, pa sam bila u Kreni – Promeni, i tamo sam upoznala Dimitrija. A onda sam počela da se bavim omladinskom politikom i to je to prešlo u posao, prvo u Komsu, a sad radim u Nacionalnoj koaliciji za decentralizaciju. Za sve to vreme idem na proteste. Nadam se da će mi prva četvrtina života proći u protestima, a ostale tri četvrtine u slobodi. To mi je želja za budućnost.

Dimitrije: Ja sam Dimitrije Glukčević, isto iz Niša, tu studiram Pirodno-matematički fakultet, druga sam godina master studija matematike.

Mene je Marija zapravo upoznala sa Centrom za nenasilnu akciju. Ona mi je rekla da se prijavim na Mir-Paqe-Mup trening, maltene pred istek roka. Ja sam u

tom trenutku radio nešto drugo, ali sam se na kraju prijavio, i mnogo mi je drago zbog toga.

Da li vam je i koliko iskustvo rada u grupi, na osetljivim i teškim temama, sa treninga na kojima ste učestvovali pomoglo na bilo koji način u organizaciji studentskih protesta?

Marija: Baš smo Dimitrije i ja juče pričali o tome koliko nam je to iskustvo značilo, i koliko bismo sada drugima preporučili da odu na trening, koliko mislimo da bi im značilo i koliko bi se osnažili. Nama je u startu bio poznat plenumski proces, koji se praktikuje na blokadam fakulteta, kao i kako i na koji način mi argumentujemo i koliko nam je to značajno.

Kada govorimo o ideologiji protesta, studenti nisu homogena grupa, među vama ima velikih razlika, kao i u društvu, ali ste skoncentrisani na jedan cilj: ispunjenje zahteva?

Marija: Studenti nisu ništa drugo nego deo opšte populacije Srbije, kojoj je potreban rad, mi i dalje ne znamo hoćemo li nositi tu neku šešeljevsko-vojvodsku zastavu, ne znam kako se zove ona crna zastava, i čini se da studentskim protestima prevladavaju nacionalno-desni simboli, ali to ne znači da je to zapravo ideologija studenta. Ako već pokušavamo da narod na neki način politički opismenimo ili da razbijemo tu stigmu antipolitike, čini mi se da ne bi trebalo da se ponašamo u jednom trenutku prema njima kao prema deci, pa im udovoljavamo, a onda u drugom trenutku kao ih polijemo hladnom vodom.

Dimitrije: Ne bi se složio sa tim, pošto mislim da zastave koje se pojavljuju ne oslikavaju toliko dobro sliku, odnosno strukturu mase, jer mislim da te zastave uglavnom nose više ekstremistički orijentisani ljudi, a da većina zapravo nije takva. Mislim da smo totalno na sve moguće strane raštrkani i to je jedan od glavnih problema koje imamo zapravo. Sukobi uglavnom nastaju, ne možda zbog nerazumevanja, nego zbog nekih suštinskih ideja od kojih polazimo.

Problema u kom smislu? U vašim dogovorima za akcije, aktivnosti, dalji rad?

Dimitrije: Možda načinu kako želimo da postignemo određene ciljeve, nebitno da li su u pitanju akcije, aktivnosti, dugoročni planovi, ili bilo šta slično. Ne umemo da komuniciramo kako treba, ali sve to možemo da prevaziđemo na neki način. Spomenute idejne razlike, to je ono što zapravo nikada nismo uspjeli da rešimo, niti mislim da postoji način za to, jer smo mnogo heterogeni. Imamo zajednički cilj, ali način na koji želimo da dođemo do tog zajedničkog cilja je potpuno različit.

Sedam meseci traje i za sedam meseci taj studentski bunt nije, uz sve pokušaje vlasti, uz sve negativno što se dešavalo, uz sve pretnje, udaranja, hapšenja, blaćenja, stavljanja na crne liste, nazivanja svakakvim imenima, pretnjama porodicama, šta god se dešavalo u tih sedam meseci, studentski protest i dalje je ostao jedinstven, jak i ka javnosti nije bilo ni jednog slučaja da se videla neka vrsta razjedinjenosti. Mi građani, sa strane, vidimo heterogenost, ali u dobrom smislu: ima nas različitih, ali svi imamo jedan cilj i jednu ideju. Kako to objašnjavate?

Marija: Imali smo jednu krizu. Prvo, vrednost koja nas je stvarno okupila jeste solidarnost, ali ne samo ona altruistička solidarnost, nego i preventivna u smislu: sad je pala nadstrešnica na ove ljude, to je moglo i meni da se desi. Neki ljudi su protestovali, dali su svoje mišljenje, rekli nešto glasno, krenuli su da ih tuku. Čini mi se da smo tu jedni za druge baš zato što smo različiti.

Imali smo zapravo krizu solidarnosti kada se je desilo ono u Novom Sadu baš pred 15. mart, kada su studenti uhapšeni. To je bila naša slaba tačka, slab moment. Mi smo odrasli u antipolitici.

Sada kad hapse nije nam više bitno da li su to pripadnici političke stranke, NGO ili bilo ko drugi. I u tom odnosu prema političkim strankama i nevladinom sektoru vidi se ono što 13 godina svi mi pod ovom vlašću slušamo različite narative ljudima koji su „strani plaćenici, domaći izdajnici“...

Naša drugarica je najmlađa odbornica Skupštine grada Niša, i time što je odbornica ima još veću odgovornost. Za pitanja mog života, kad odlučuju ti ljudi, ne

bih htela da to bude prljava igra, nego bih htela da budu ljudi kakva je ta moja drugarica. A onda smo na plenumima više puta izglasavali nepoverenje ljudima koji su se pre studentskih blokada angažovali u politici, što mi je problematično. Nemaju studenti ekskluzivno pravo na borbu za pravdu i to smo napokon shvatili nakon 15. marta.

Dimitrije: Ono što je kao držalo blokade ovih sedam meseci i jesu zahtevi oko kojih smo se okupili. E sad, zašto kažem „kao“. Zato što i nakon sedam meseci mi te zahteve nismo sinhronizovali na nivou svih univerziteta u zemlji. Maltene svaki univerzitet ima neku svoju verziju zahteva što samo pokazuje koliko zapravo mi ne umemo da se dogovorimo. Iako to sa strane možda izgleda dobro, i verujem da je možda neko čak i primetio da ti zahtevi nisu baš isti, nama se to ne uzima za zlo, na svu sreću. Što se tiče vrednosti koje stalno spominjemo, mnogo lepo zvuče kada se kažu, mnogo lepo zvuče kad se napišu, ali ono što sam ja doživeo je da uglavnom kada postoji neki test tih vrednosti, dakle, kada treba da pokažemo solidarnost, da se to zapravo ne dešava.

Mnogo je lako biti solidaran kad smo videli da svaki put kada nekoga hapse izađemo na ulicu i ništa se ne desi, ali kada zapravo postoji određena poteškoća ili prepreka zašto nismo solidarni? To što nas zahtevi vode, to je bilo odlično u nekom smislu jer smo svi znali da se toga držimo. U trenutku kada zahtevi više nisu primarne stvari oko kojih se okupljamo, mislim da je tada sve krenulo da ide u pogrešnom pravcu.

Nešto što sam naučio iz ranijeg bavljenja aktivizmom je da zapravo ako ima više od dva zahteva niko više ni ne zna šta su zahtevi. Recimo, raspisivanje izbora stvarno jeste mnogo prostiji zahtev, s tim što je totalno suprotno onome što smo pre toga pričali i tražili.

Kako je počelo vaše lično angažovanje u protestima? Koji je to trenutak kad ste se vi uključili?

Marija: Ja sam 1. novembra iz Niša kretala za Beograd, imala sam neku radionicu na FKM.

Dimitrije: Ja mislim da sam bio u kaficu preko puta fakulteta u Nišu, tada sam saznao. Neko je video vesti i tada nismo ni shvatili koliko je ozbiljno. Pri kraju tog dana sam shvatio...

Marija: Inače zanimljiva stvar, trebalo je na FKM da radim u saradnji sa drugaricom iz Subotice koja je trebala baš da vozom dođe. Imam i nešto lično kad je pitanje, prilikom pada nadstrešnice jedna moja sugrađanka je poginula, Anja Radonjić.

U Nišu je 4. decembra bila zakazana blokada Rektorata, i ja sam od tog trenutka tamo, jer je moj, Filozofski fakultet, prvi ušao u blokadu.

Dimitrije: Prvo mi pada na pamet jedna scena iz Rektorata kada je rektor hteo da kaže: „Šta ja sad treba, da pričam sa svima vama?“ i mi smo svi onda povikali: „Da!“ i otišli u amfiteatar. Meni blokada počinje pre tog četvrtog. Vreme mi je mnogo relativan pojam i imam osjećaj da su prošle godine. Mesecima sam pričao sa svojim prijateljima sa novinarstva kako generalno treba da se pokrenu studenti, pošto su i ranije bili neki protesti sa nama bitnim temama i uvek se skupi desetak studenta koji tu kao nešto protestuju i na kraju opet ništa. Pričali smo kako da aktiviramo svoje kolege, šta bi mogli da uradimo, i sećam se da sam u tom periodu od 1. novembra do 4. decembra baš aktivno radio na akcijama vezanim za besplatne udžbenike. Bio mi je baš aktivan period i sećam se da se mi pripremamo za jednu ozbiljnu gerilsku akciju, i mene zove drugrica da mi kaže kako već neko vreme razmišlja i ne može da veruje da se u Nišu ništa nije pokrenulo. Da je FDU blokiran, da ima još fakulteta koji su blokirani u Beogradu, a da mi u Nišu ćutimo, i kako je to moguće, gde su studenti iz Niša, šta se dešava... Treba nešto da uradimo... I onda smo krenuli u planiranje protesta i bilo je nas troje-četvoro koji smo znali da ćemo da se pojavimo u Rektoratu i pozvali smo malten sve ljude za koje smo mislili da mogu da se pojave, da će sigurno da dođu. Jutro kada je trebalo da se blokira rektorat, ja se sećam, sedam na biciklu, trčim da kupim neko platno da nažvrljam crvenu šaku, kupujem farbu, zove me drugarica da joj kupim lek za srce, ja se vraćam u apoteku, trčim kod njih u stan... Pokušavam da skiciram na tom platnu kod njih, na podu studentske sobe, koja bukvalno ima dva sa dva. Planirali smo da farbamo tu, da se osuši, ali nismo imali vremena. Ulećem u taksu, stižem ispred rektorata, bukvalno smo spustili to platno dole na keju samo ga na brzinu zamazali, ulećem u rektorat... u taksiju smo pričali kako niko neće da se pojavi, kako će da nas

pohapse sve, i onda o tome kao „ko će njima da donosi cigare kada odu u zatvor“.

A onda - pun rektorat, pun amfiteatar i ispred nje-ga. Kad smo stigli tamo ja sam bio oduševljen, da li je moguće? Shvatili smo da postoji mogućnost da se blokiraju i neki fakulteti i izglasali smo blokadu Filozofskog. Zanimljivo je što nismo ni znali šta znači blokada rektorata, jer mi smo mislili sada kao tu uđemo, ali šta ako nas je petoro, šta mi tu radimo, koliko dugo ostajemo?

Koliko puta za ovih skoro sedam meseci su se desili momenti za koje ste mislili da nisu mogući? Jesi li ikada pomislio da ćeš da ideš pešice od Niša do Beograda?

Dimitrije: Ja sam se nadao takvim stvarima, moram da priznam. Prvih dana blokada sam onako iz šale rekao, e mogli bi da pešačimo za Beograd, zato što znam da su to radili '90-ih, ali stvarno nisam mislio da će to da se obistini, pogotovo ne da će zapravo toliki broj ljudi da ide na ta pešačenja.

Previše je bilo neverovatnih trenutaka, a sad naravno pitanje je gde je ta prelomna tačka kad nešto neverovatno postane verovatno i moguće pošto i svaki protest i svako pešačenje i sve ostalo u nekom trenutku mora da krene da se planira i onda već znamo da će da se desi. Nisam optimista po prirodi, ali što se događanja tiče baš sam bio optimističan svaki put kada nešto radimo, bio sam siguran da će da uspe. Nekako, osećao sam entuzijazam u vazduhu.

Iz aktivističkog ugla, to su aktivnosti koje traže i fizičku i psihičku snagu, iscrpljuju na svakom nivou, ali dovode do toga da se uključuju i ljudi iz svih tih gradova i sela, veličanstveni dođeci u Beogradu i Kragujevcu, i emotivno je jako. Kako ste se nosili sa svim tim emocijama, koje su potpuno različite? Strah je uvek prisutan, u takvoj državi živimo, kako prevladavate svoj strah?

Marija: Postojale su amplitude, i baš smo bili umorni. Baš smo pred 15. februar, pred protest u Kragujevcu pričali o tome kako smo se osećali kao izduvani baloni, do tada smo sedeli na plenumima i odlučivali šta ćemo kako ćemo, i onda sam i ja pešačila od Jagodine do Kragujevca, i to mi je bilo značajno. Da te ljudi dočekuju

kao oslobodiocce, nije to istina, samo vide u tebi da ti je stalo do onoga čemu su oni dali svoje živote. Posebno stare bake i deke, oni su dali život ovoj zemlji, i vide evo nekome i dalje znači ova zemlja, neko ovde šeta, neko je ovde prošao ponovo, ovi mladi ljudi hoće nešto, imaju volju za nešto. Mnogi su do sad mislili da smo mi neki apatični, apolitični, koji gledaju samo telefone i to im je jedino bitno i da svi maštajmo da odemo u Ameriku, da se preselimo tamo, ili u Kanadu, Nemačku... To se mnogo promenilo. Kad je strah u pitanju: ja bežim. Kada treba da se priča, verujem da bih mogla da kažem šta god, ali kad su u pitanju fizičke opasnosti, tu sam već kukavica.

Mislim da niko ne bi imao pravo da ti kaže da si kukavica, imaš ogromnu hrabrost.

Dimitrije: Mislim da generalno imam visoku granicu za strah, u smislu gde drugi ljudi ne bi smeli nogom da kroče, idem glavom. I raniji aktivistički poduhvati koje sam radio su dosta bili povezani s time. A onda mi je ovo u blokadama došlo kao prostor da ja taj deo sebe ostvarim i to mi mnogo znači. Kada odem na protest i budem samo deo gomile koji je tu i šeta se, ne osećam se dobro. Nije mi to taj doživljaj kao kada aktivno učestvujem, u smislu da ima tu i delimično straha, i drugih emocija, sreća, radost, oseća se energija, masa... Često sam za megafonom i ta interakcija sa masom mi jako puno znači. Na strah uglavnom ne mislim.

Ako pričamo o stvarima koje su simbolički označavale promenu, ono što sam ja videla to je bio 13. februar, 14. je bio protest u Kragujevcu, 13. februara uveče kad su došli studenti iz Novog Pazara u Kragujevac, kad su skandirali „Kragujevac opet glavni grad“ zajedno sa studentima iz Kragujevca, sa svojom DUNP zastavom, tog trenutka sam ja zapravo doživela jednu od najvećih promena koju sam videla u ovoj zemlji, a to je da odjednom smo svi - mi i da odjednom se i taj kraj Srbije priključuje toj velikoj reci promena. Kako ste vi to doživeli? Sve te razlike koje su postojale, na primer 31. oktobra prošle godine, mnogo njih je u međuvremenu prevaziđeno.

Dimitrije: Kada sam sreo ljude iz različitih gradova Srbije, mi stvarno imamo osećaj kao da se poznajemo godinama, i da smo svi ekipa. Imamo osećaj da ljudi koji su u blokadama, pogotovo ti ljudi koji su najviše aktivni, koji pešače, dolaze na sastanke, s kojima najviše imam interakciju... Nema među nama: mi smo Pazarci, mi smo Nišlije, mi smo Beograđani, prosto svi smo jedna velika zajednica i mislim da je to ono što mene najviše motiviše, jer osećam da možemo da izgradimo takvo društvo, da smo svi u njemu jednaki, da se solidarnost o kojoj toliko volimo da pričamo poštuje, neguje, živi.

Marija: Kad smo mi u Nišu pravili protest, pošto je Filozofski fakultet smeštao DUNP-ovce, onda smo tražili gde će biti mesto za iftar, jer je u tom trenutku bio Ramazan. A onda kad smo mi pešačili do tamo, pošto je tad bio post, onda su oni nama spremili posne mantije. Ljudi sa kojima sam pričala vide ovo kao priliku da ostanu u svojoj zemlji, ovo je naša zemlja: Dunpovaca, Nišlija, Paraćinaca, Kragujevčana, Novosađana.

Dimitrije: Meni je ljudska komponenta kod svih ljudi koji se aktiviraju najupečatljivija. Mislim da niko ne misli toliko o tim nekim stvarima, odlasku preko i slično, samo smo svi naši. To je više osećaj i nešto što kruži vazduhom nego nešto o čemu se diskutuje. Baš je specifično zato što to nisam osećao na taj način ranije, pogotovo ne sa tolikom skupinom ljudi.

Jako je emotivno promišljanje da hoćemo da napravimo društvo u kojem je dobro da živimo, to mi je vrhunac politike i to je i vrhunac i uključivanja ljudi, i ljudi to isto osećaju. Od koga ste doživljavali najveću podršku, a ko vam nije pružao podršku ili ko je najviše pokušavao da smeta?

Marija: Ja nisam odrasla u porodici koja se ikada angažovala, niti aktivistički, niti politički, ja sam ta koja je u svoju porodicu unela politiku. I porodica me podržava, najviše mama, ali ne i cela šira familija. Imam podršku i od prijatelja, kolega, ljudi na blokadama. Mi smo imali sreće sa dekanicom našom, ali s druge strane i ona je imala sreće zato što je pred istek poslednjeg mogućeg mandata.

Dimitrije: Iskreno, moji roditelji nije baš da ne podržavaju, ali su uvek pričali: "šta ćeš ti tamo, šta će to tebi u životu. Pošto se ja generalno dugo bavim

aktivizmom, uvek su tog stava. Prosto, student sam matematike, potpuno sam u drugim vodama, bavim se drugim stvarima, fizikom, programiranjem, sve su to prirodno-tehničke nauke. Šta ću ja sad na protestima, moram li ja baš da budem u prvim redovima, šta će to meni da blokiram, ima li drugih studenata... Ali, kada su krenule blokade, ja sam imao režim da dva dana budem na blokadama, malo spavam na fakultetu, onda odem kući da se istuširam, uzmem stvari i opet se vratim na fakultet. Ničija podrška mi nije trebala, osim tih ljudi koji su na blokadama i mislim da nam je to najviše značilo. Mi smo prosto živeli svi u jednoj zajedničkoj kući.

A građani u kom smislu vam građani daju podršku, a u kom smislu ta podrška nije onakva kakva vama treba?

Marija: Ja sam se probudila jednog jutra i razmislila u kakvoj bih državi htela da živim. To je priča o zborovima kada smo krenuli da pričamo o tome činilo nam se da smo svi mi mnogo napredovali od kada su počeli plenumi i blokade.

Koliko mi se puta desilo da imam određeni stav o nečemu, dođem na plenum, čujem neke argumente i onda samo vidim sebe kako dižem ruku za stav za koji sam mislila da nema šanse da glasam za to. To su one nemoguće stvari. Meni je zapravo ta podrška bila najznačajnija, da su se ljudi više uključili u zborove,

odnosno da saznate da je ova država njihova, pa makar mesna zajednica, a onda i dalje.

Dimitrije: I IT-jevci su nam dali baš veliku podršku, to mora da se spomene.

U vreme kada završavamo Godišnji izveštaj, ne nazire se kraj protestima, u međuvremenu su studenti izašli sa zahtevom za vanrednim izborima, koje vlast ne želi da raspiše. Tokom leta smo imali krvave obračune na ulicama raznih gradova u Srbiji, represija je sve jača, vlast upotrebljava svu silu koju poseduje (nezakonitu uglavnom) pa ću vas pitati šta biste rekli za kraj intervjua?

Marija: Meni se čini da smo se stvarno promenili, svi, kompletno. Možda se nismo promenili trenutno, ali stvarno razmislimo o tome da li će za 20-30 godina ovi studenti možda biti u prilici da odlučuju u politici. Možda ćemo tad doživeti zlatno doba. Ne zlatno u smislu para, nego zlatno doba demokratije. Nadam se da će me sve ovo naterati da ostanem ovde. Ja vidim mnogo veliku nadu u svemu ovom što se desilo.

Dimitrije: Trenutno baš onako živim svoje dvadesete u punom sjaju, i mislim da na tim fakultetima gde kolektivno postojimo sa drugim ljudima sličnih uverenja, mi bukvalno ostvarujemo državu kakvu bismo hteli.

Razgovarala: Katarina Milićević

A large crowd of people is gathered in a city square at night. In the background, there are buildings, including one with a large 'LIDL' sign and another with a 'Jednostavno. Bolje.' sign. Festive lights are strung across the square. The crowd is dense, and many people are holding up their phones to take pictures or videos. The scene is illuminated by streetlights and the lights from the buildings and decorations.

politički i
društveni
konteksti u
kojima
delujemo

Nadstrešnice nad Balkanom

Ako bismo u pet reči probali da definišemo šta se u regionu dešavalo u proteklih godinu dana, te reči bi bile: nasilje, korupcija, nestabilnost, strah i tragedije. Ako bismo upotrebili samo jednu reč, ona bi bila: nasilje. Na svim nivoima, strukturno nasilje inicira i sva druga.

To smo osetili i sami, naše akcije i aktivnosti nikada nije bilo jednostavno organizovati, ali u poslednje vreme sve češće nailazimo na staklene zidove, koji nisu formalne zabrane, ali nam se govori da neke institucije nemaju raspoloživih termina, da nas zamajavaju birokratskim procedurama, da su nam zatvorena vrata tamo gde su bila otvorena. I dalje je za građane Kosova potrebna viza za ulazak u Bosnu i Hercegovinu (vlada

Kosova je jednostrano ukinula vize za građane BiH), i dalje vlasti u Srbiji svoje neistomišljenike nazivaju ustašama, a u Hrvatskoj četnicima, sve je teže boriti se za ljudska prava i biti protiv rata, ali to nije problem samo našeg regiona, to je postao svetski problem. Fašizam nam više ne kuca na vrata, on je tu, samo je pitanje da li ga kao takvog prepoznamo.

O kontekstima u kojima se odvija mirovni rad u regionu pisali su članovi CNA tima i naši saradnici: Luan Imeri (Severna Makedonija), Skender Sadiku (Kosovo), Tita Mikulaš (Hrvatska), Amer Delić (Bosna i Hercegovina), Radomir Radević (Crna Gora) i Katarina Milićević (Srbija).

Srbija: Vreme: 11.52h Datum: 1.11.2024. Mesto: Novi Sad

Istorija Srbije u budućnosti biće podeljena na period do i od 1. novembra 2024. godine, tačno u 11 časova i 52 minuta. Tog trenutka, u centru Novog Sada, urušavanje nadstrešnice na tek renoviranoj Železničkoj stanici oduzelo je petnaest života, a još dvoje teško povredilo. Kasnije je još jedna osoba podlegla povredama, dok se jedna i dalje bori za život.

Ko su bili stradali? Dvoje dece, studenti, sportisti, naučnici, poljoprivrednici, penzioneri. Ali, pre svega – ljudi: voljena deca, roditelji, supružnici, rođaci, prijatelji, kolege, komšije. Njihova jedina „greška“ bila je što su tog dana želeli da putuju vozom ili da se nađu s dragim osobama na stanici. Neki su u smrt otišli zagrljeni, neki su čekali prinovu, neki su na put povelili unuke. Sve je tog dana izgledalo obično – dan, sat, vozni red – osim korupcije koja je, oglodavši temelje sistema, srušila renovirano zdanje.

Naviknuti na nasilje

Ono što je usledilo, međutim, bilo je sve osim običnog – jer građani Srbije već dugo na nepravdu i nasilje reaguju kao na deo svakodnevice. Međutim, sada su studenti i građani izašli na ulice da traže pravdu, odgovornost države, sistem bez korupcije i kazne za

odgovorne. Početni zahtevi bili su elementarni: odgovornost za tragediju, objavljivanje dokumentacije o rekonstrukciji stanice, prestanak nasilja nad demonstrantima i kažnjavanje svih koji su ga činili, te povećanje standarda univerziteta. Na te, reklo bi se, skromne i razumne zahteve, vlast je odgovorila u svom uobičajenom maniru: negiranjem, manipulacijama, pritiscima na policiju i pravosuđe, kao i farsom s praznim registratorima prikazanom na svim nacionalnim televizijama.

Od tada, građani Srbije žive na ulicama i blokadama. Fakulteti i srednje škole mesecima su bili blokirani studentima i učenicima koji su tražili ispunjenje zahteva, blokirane su raskrsnice, mostovi i ulazi u institucije. Na taj način društvo je sprečilo da se tragedija pretvori u još jednu rutinsku farsu vlasti. Protesti su se širili dan za danom, grad za gradom, obuhvatajući svaku opštinu.

Prekretnica je nastupila 22. decembra 2024. godine, kada se na Slaviji okupilo više od sto hiljada ljudi. U jezivoj tišini, 16 minuta su stajali okupljeni, a potom se razišli. Taj trenutak označio je prelazak straha na drugu stranu – više se nisu plašili građani, već vlast. Bilo je impresivno naći se na tom skupu: sazvan je preko

društvenih mreža, ljudi su pozivali jedini druge, većina nas je otišla bez velikih očekivanja, a onda, u trenutku smo postali svesni da smo deo nečeg velikog, da ima mnogo ljudi, mnogo više nego što smo smeli i da se nadamo. Od tada, mladi, studenti i srednjoškolci, pešice, biciklima, trčanjem i marševima prelazili su Srbiju, ali i Evropu, obilazili sela u koja decenijama niko od zvaničnika nije kročio. Ljudi su im otvarali vrata, nudili hranu, poslednju jabuku iz kuće. Protesti su probudili energiju u društvu koje je, činilo se, odavno zaboravilo na nju: energiju solidarnosti, empatije, bunta, duhovitosti, energiju života. Posebno je značajno što vlast nije uspela da izazove međunacionalne podele u Novom Pazaru, gde su studenti pokazali retku hrabrost i solidarnost, i pridružili se kolegama sa ostalih Univerziteta. Ogromni protesti održani su u Novom Sadu (1.2.2025.), Kragujevcu (14.2.2025.), Nišu (1.3.2025.), Beogradu (15.3.2025.), Novom Pazaru (27.2. i 12.4.2025.), te ponovo u Beogradu 28.6.2025. Ukupan broj svih protesta u Srbiji u prvih šest meseci, nezvanično, bio je veći od 34.000, i tu treba imati u vidu da su građani često, samo u jednom danu, bili na više mesta i na više načina iskazivali protest: od stajanja u tišini na brojnim raskrsnicama od 11.52h do 12.08h, preko hitnih okupljanja na mestima gde vlast vrši represiju, ili kao znak podrške hapšenim i povređenim, do planiranih i najavljenih protesta koji su nosili poruku, poput poziva na generalni štrajk.

Silom na narod

Režim je reagovao silom: prebijanjima, hapšenjima, upotrebom nedozvoljenih suzavaca i „zvučnih topova“, pretnjama silovanjem studentkinjama u pritvoru, uskraćivanjem plata i otkazima prosvetnim radnicima, deportacijom onih koji su iskazivali podršku protestima. Represija nikada nije bila brutalnija, a narod nikada složniji ni odlučniji. Prema podacima inicijative „Pustite ih sve“, do 13.9.2025. uhapšeno je 927 građana, neki su i više puta hapšeni, neki su na različite načine maltretirani, primeri studenta **Luke Stojanovića**, koji je lisicama bio vezan za bolnički krevet, i studenta **Bogdana Jovičića** koji je vezanih nogu bio u pratnji policije na sahrani oca, su potresali javnost, koja se borila za njihovo oslobađanje.

Istovremeno, međunarodna zajednica uglavnom ćuti i čeka da vidi šta će se dogoditi. Evropska unija

ostaje na nivou „izražavanja zabrinutosti“, sa časnim potezima i izuzecima pojedinih zvaničnika i poslanika, dok Sjedinjene Države ulaze u ekonomske aranžmane sa režimom, a Rusija, po starom obrascu, igra dvostruku igru, jasno podržava vlast, ali pokušava i da se infiltrira među studente i protestante i nametne svoju retoriku i svoje poruke i parole. Zabavno je da je vlast u Srbiji tražila od ruske obaveštajne mreže da ispita da li je 15. marta korišćeno nedozvoljeno oružje „zvučni top“, i da su oni, kakva slučajnost, utvrdili da nije. Više svetskih i domaćih eksperata je utvrdilo da nesumnjivo jeste, a i sama vlast je, posle pritiska javnosti, prvo negirala da poseduje takvo oružje, pa priznala da ga ima, a potom tvrdila da ono nije korišćeno, da je potpuno neotpakovano, da bi se prilikom prikazivanja tog „neotpakovanog“ uređaja novinarima, on uključio, pri čemu je bilo jasno da je već korišćen. Takođe, u septembru 2025. godine Spoljno-obaveštajna služba Rusije (SVR) objavila je na svom sajtu da „sadašnji nemiri u Srbiji, uz aktivno učešće mladih, u velikoj meri predstavljaju proizvod subverzivne delatnosti Evropske unije i država članica tog saveza, te da je cilj evropskog liberalnog mejnstrima da na vlast u ovoj najvećoj balkanskoj zemlji dovede poslušno rukovodstvo lojalno Briselu“. Poslušnije rukovodstvo teško da može da se nađe: Aleksandar Vučić prema EU ima retoriku da, ako ga ne podrže, sve će preuzeti Rusija, a u isto vreme prema Rusiji ima ponizan položaj sa porukom: „Ako nas vi ne zaštitite, EU je opasnost koja nam pretili.“ Ponizan pred jakima, osion prema slabijima, to je spoljna i unutrašnja politika Aleksandra Vučića, prozrena i prezrena u velikom delu domaće javnosti¹.

Ono što se dešava u Srbiji neminovno se preliva i na region. Tragedija u Novom Sadu i talas protesta koji je usledio nisu ostali bez odjeka u Bosni i Hercegovini, Crnoj Gori, pa čak i u Severnoj Makedoniji i Hrvatskoj.

¹ Sam Vučić je u aprilu 2024. dao definiciju ko su prijatelji, a ko partneri Srbije, i ona je zanimljiva, obzirom da je posle saopštenja SVR Rusiju nazvao „partnerima“, dok je do tada redovno i nedvosmisleno bila „prijatelj“. Definicija glasi: „Ne možete da kažete da su vam prijatelji oni (države) koji vam komadaju teritoriju i pri tome to nazivaju civilizacijskom vrednošću, a pri tome nazivaju to prijateljskim odnosom prema Srbiji. Hvala ti. Mnogo te poštujem. Mnogo si jak. Bićeš nam partner u milion stvari, ali nemoj baš da se družimo“ - rekao je predsednik Srbije za RTS.

U Republici Srpskoj vlasti su otvoreno stale uz režim u Beogradu, što je dodatno produbilo političke podele i zaoštrilo retoriku i odatle stiže podrška diktatoru Vučiću – dok on, zauzvrat, podržava Dodika. Čudno je, ali ne i neshvatljivo, da ljudi koji su najviše patili zbog ratova i politike devedesetih, sada opet staju na stranu onih koji su tu politiku i tada vodili. U Crnoj Gori, deo građanskog društva izražava solidarnost sa studentima u Srbiji, dok političke elite čute ili kalkulišu. U Severnoj Makedoniji, protesti su inspirisali akademsku zajednicu da otvorenije govori o korupciji i nasilju, posebno posle tragedije u Kočanima, gde je u požaru u diskoteci stradalo 62 osobe, a u Hrvatskoj mnogobrojni građani i javne ličnosti daju podršku protestima, na razne načine. Tako je tragedija na novosadskoj železničkoj stanici, paradoksalno, pokrenula pitanja i inicijative izvan granica Srbije, pokazujući da je region i dalje povezan zajedničkom traumom i iskustvom autoritarnih politika, ali i zajedničkom nadom da je otpor moguć.

Ćaci i Ćacilend

U međuvremenu, vlast je, u grotesknom pokušaju odbrane, podigla šatorsko naselje u Pionirskom parku – Ćacilend, za sada nepoznate svrhe – da li služi za prikupljanje oružja i batinaša, ili za „obične lojaliste režima“ ili za oba? (Zašto Ćacilend i šta to znači: jedna od prvih srednjih škola koja je ušla u blokadu nastave je Jovina Gimnazija u Novom Sadu. Učenici su krenuli sa protestom, dok je njihov direktor, blizak vlastima, bio protiv toga, i u znak protesta je klečao ispred škole. Posle nekoliko dana, na ogradi škole neko je napisao: „Ćaci u školu“ (umesto početnog slova Đ, napisano je Ć – pa su Đaci postali Ćaci). Od tog trenutka sve pristalice vlasti nazivaju se Ćacijima, a nakaradno šatorsko naselje koju je vlast instalirala 6.3.2025. kod Pionirskog parka, a potom proširila i na ulicu ispred Narodne skupštine - Ćacilend. U pokušaju da marketinški preokrenu priču u svoju korist, Vučić i njegove pristalice su nosili majice na kojima je pisalo: „I ja sam Ćaci“.)

Možda i najveću represiju, proganjanje i ekonomsko nasilje trpi malo slobodnih i nezavisnih medija, jer je hobotnica vlasti svojim pipcima uništila svaku slobodu i odgovornost, a od svih nacionalnih televizija i tiražnih novina napravila svoja propagandna glasila. Radio je tu najgore prošao – ne postoji nijedna, čak ni muzička stanica, koja nije pod kontrolom vlasti. Kom-

plikovanim finansijskim procedurama trenutno pokušavaju da učutkaju i dve kablovske televizije (N1 i Nova S), te dnevni list „Danas“ i nedeljnik „Radar“, i iskreno se svi bojimo da će u tome ubrzo i uspeti. Bez tih medija, koji izveštavaju 24 sata sa protesta, i poslednje svetlo bi bilo ugašeno. U nekoliko navrata su građani protestovali ispred Radio-televizije Srbije, u periodu od 14. do 29. aprila bili su i blokirani ulazi u dva studija ove televizije, zbog nezadovoljstva izveštavanjem Javnog servisa o višemesečnim antivladinim demonstracijama. Studenti su zahtevali da se raspiše novi konkurs za Savet Regulatornog tela za elektronske medije (REM). Odbor Skupštine Srbije za kulturu i informisanje je 28. aprila usvojio odluku da se raspiše novi konkurs za Savet REM-a čime je ispunjen studentski zahtev i oni su se povukli sa blokada RTS-a. No, od tada do danas, ništa se nije promenilo: Savet REM-a nije konstituisan, izveštavanje RTS-a nije postalo profesionalnije i tačnije. Mediji nemaju regulatorno telo, pa situacija nikad nije bila gora: bez ikakve etike, svakodnevno, širi se govor mržnje, linčovanje pojedina i grupa, haranga na sve koji nisu deo vlasti, šire se lažne vesti, zastrašuje javnost, sati programa posvećeni su monolozima Aleksandra Vučića, bez ikakve kazne. Gašenje USAID, koja je značajno pomagala u prošlosti nezavisno novinarstvo, te Glasa Amerike i Al Jazeera na Balkanu, i inače lošu medijsku sliku dodatno je zacrnilo.

Osim redakcija koje su targetirane kao „neprijatelji“ i „ustaše“, vlast preko svojih medija, ali i na druge načine targetira i pojedince/ke: tako je još u decembru 2024. ceo Beograd ispisan porukama koje targetiraju Zorana Kesića, voditelja emisije „24 minuta“. Te opskurne poruke i dalje stoje na fasadama zgrada. Centar za nenasilnu akciju je reagovao kod Saveta za štampu, zbog posrednog targetiranja: tabloidi su pisali članak protiv jednog od ratnih veterana koji je uz studente, obeleživši ga kao „saradnika hrvatske obaveštajne službe“, napisavši da je on „istaknuti aktivista prozapadne NVO Centar za nenasilnu akciju“. Savet za štampu je **reagovao po našoj žalbi**, ali tabloidi pod kontrolom vlasti ne poštuju odluke ovog saveta.

Ako u tragediji ima išta utešno, to je što je probudila otpor. I što je pokazala da čak i u društvu naviknutom na nepravdu i represiju, postoji trenutak kada se strah povlači, a građani ustaju. Taj trenutak je 1.

novembar 2024. godine u 11.52h – i sve što je usledilo posle njega. Epilog se još ne naslućuje: sa jedne strane, studentske i građanske, postoji zahtev za raspisivanjem vanrednih izbora, dok vlast, koja je izbore raspisivala vanredno kad god je to htela, sada to nikako ne želi da učini. U gradovima su protesti i dalje: ili kao reakcija na neku akciju vlasti, ili kao poziv građanima na akciju. Svakodnevno život staje na raskrsnica-

ma u 11.52h kada građani ćute do 12.08h, za 16 žrtava pada nadstrešnice i za svoju budućnost. Sazrela je misao da smo svi ispod nadstrešnice, samo je pitanje sreće kada će se ona sručiti na nas, jer je korupcija oglodala sve.

Katarina Milićević

Hrvatska: Pretjeranost provokacije

Iako se od devedesetih odmičemo svakim danom, prolazak vremena nažalost nije omogućio da se taj period sagleda kroz prizmu pomirenja, tj. sa sjećanjem na to kako su doista bile tužne i nesretne, kako ih je kunući opisao Balašević. Tako je protekla godina dana u Hrvatskoj obilježena velikim događajima, koji su u najmanju ruku, nacionalno nabijeni, otvorili prostor i za revitalizaciju ustaških simbola pravdajući to njihovim korištenjem tijekom rata u Hrvatskoj.

Hrvatska vlada donijela je odluku o osnivanju Povjereništva za utvrđivanje sudbine žrtava zločina počinjenih nakon Drugog svjetskog rata na čije je čelo postavljen Ivan Penava, kineziolog koji bi se trebao baviti povijesnim kontekstom². Kako opisuje premijer Andrej Plenković povjerenstvo će „prikupljati i analizirati informacije vezane uz stradanje žrtava zločina počinjenih nakon Drugog svjetskog rata“ te će „dati doprinos procesima koji su započeti, ali nisu dovršeni onako kako bi mi kao Vlada htjeli“. Ovo Povjereništvo moglo bi se baviti slučajevima progona autoritarnog režima koji je političke neistomišljenike smatrao nepodobnima, ali izgleda da se radi o još jednoj ideološki obojanoj instituciji koja će se fokusirati na izjednačavanje komunističkih i ustaških zločina. Naposljetku, tom temom se do sada bavilo Ministarstvo branitelja, uz svoj glavni fokus, pronalazak nestalih tijekom

devedesetih. Kako će to pomoći suočavanju s komunističkom prošlošću, nije poznato, ali je uspoređivanje žrtava različitih sistema, etničkih pripadnosti ili bilo kojih okolnosti stradanja destruktivno, a i neumjesno. Komisija za istraživanje zločina nakon Drugog svjetskog rata utječna je nagrada od jednog političara drugome, jer je Domovinski pokret kao koalicijski partner HDZ-a pokazao golem interes za borbu protiv tzv. srpskog utjecaja u Hrvatskoj i onih koje nazivaju jugo-nostalgičnima. Komisija bi mogla predstavljati priliku da se Hrvatska izvuče iz vrtloga simbola prošlih sistema kojima se manipulira u javnom prostoru, ali društvom koje zna svoju povijest ne može se manipulirati.

Društvene podjele

Simbolima prošlog sistema bio je nabijen i koncert Marka Perkovića Thompsona na zagrebačkom, ali i sinjskom hipodromu. Ovaj zagrebački zasjenio je nevjerojatan broj posjetitelja koji je izazvao raspravu o kapacitetima, ali i pregršt religijske simbolike pomiješane sa, naprimjer, simbolikom broja 03941158 na majici pjevača kojom odaje počast Zvonku Bušiću, hrvatskom nacionalistu koji je 1976. oteo putnički avion u SAD-u³.

Nakon koncerta u Sinju, Marinko Vukman, inače sinjski gvardijan, ustanovio je „Neka pate, i neka u toj patnji umru oni kojima smeta vaše zajedništvo, vaš

² Ivan Penava je profesor kineziologije i hrvatski političar. Bivši je gradonačelnik Vukovara. Trenutačno obnaša dužnost predsjednika Domovinskog pokreta, potpredsjednika Hrvatskog sabora i predsjednika Povjerenstva za utvrđivanje sudbina žrtava zločina počinjenih neposredno nakon Drugoga svjetskog rata.

³ Zbog bombe koju je postavio u podzemnoj željeznici New Yorka poginuo je policijski službenik tijekom njene deaktivacije. U Americi je osuđen na doživotni zatvor, a pomilovan je u srpnju 2008. godine, nakon čega se vratio u Hrvatsku gdje je 2013. izvršio samoubojstvo.

dolazak u crkvu, vaša pjesma i ljubav, prema Bogu, Crkvi i hrvatskom narodu, vaša radost i zajedništvo koje je posebno zablistalo na koncertima našeg Thompsona u Zagrebu i Sinju“. Propustio je priliku da pokuša popuniti prostor društvene podjele porukama mira i ljubavi za sve članove tog društva, a ne samo za one s kojima dijeli mišljenje.

Javno se izjasnio i ministar obrane Ivan Anušić koji je potvrdio kako je na Thompsonovom koncertu i on na „Za dom“ odgovarao „spremni“⁴. U Saboru su zastupnici Miro Bulj (MOST) i Damir Biloglav (DOMiNO) slobodno izgovarali „Za dom spremni“, ali oni, kako je to ustvrdio premijer imaju imunitet pa se njihovo „pravo govora“ ne može ograničavati, iako je taj pozdrav zabranjen, tj. kažnjiv. Samim time, teško je provoditi taj zakon u narodu ukoliko ga ministri ili saborski zastupnici slobodno i javno krše, a sam premijer je prije nekoliko godina objasnio dvostruku konotaciju tog pozdrava, u kontekstu Nezavisne Države Hrvatske i u kontekstu HOS-ovih postrojbi.

Akcije

Dok gore spomenutog Bušića u nekim se navodima naziva političkim aktivistom, u Hrvatskoj se aktiviste tretira nešto drugačije. Primjer toga jest i incident na mimohodu koji je održan povodom 35. godišnjice VRO Oluja, kada je je aktivistička skupina „Vrrrane“ izvela akciju u kojoj su preliveći crvenom bojom, koja simbolizira krv, legli pred vojna vozila u mimohodu. Uhićenje uslijed prekida akcije nije sporno, ali zato uvrede i fizički napadi građana od kojih policija nije uspjela zaštititi uhićene, zasigurno jesu. Iako su tretirani kao da su napravili zločin protiv države, zapravo je u osnovi riječ o nenasilnoj akciji koja kao takva mora biti mogućnost za izražavanje građanskog stava vojnom mimohodu i njegovoj svrsi. Na to se veže i težnja da se do kraja godine donesu zakoni o ponovnom uvođenju obveznog vojnog roka, koji bi prema tom planu krenuo u siječnju 2026. godine, a trajao bi dva mjeseca za vojnu ili četiri mjeseca za civilnu službu, za one koje koji iskoriste priziv savjesti.

Kulturni djelatnici u Benkovcu također su bili na udaru, u ovom slučaju, od strane lokalnih branitelja i

navijača koji su prosvjedovali protiv održavanja festivala „Nosi se“ optužbama da festival „napada dignitet Domovinskog rata“. Festival je u svom programu apostrofirao nenasilje, pluralizam i solidarnost, a neke od najavljenih stavki na programu bile su projekcija filma „Mirotvorac“ o Josipu Reihl-Kiru⁵, nekoliko predstava uključujući i jednu redatelja Olivera Frlića te razgovore s novinarima, filozofima i piscima.

Iako je ministrica kulture Nina Obuljen Koržinek izjavila da „svatko ima pravo, svaki umjetnik, svaki novinar, svaki građanin na iznošenje svojih stavova, mišljenja i to je vrijednost našeg Ustava“, festival nije nastavljen, jer organizatori nisu htjeli daljnju eskalaciju sukoba, iako je uživao potporu države, grada i županije. Predsjednik vlade istaknuo je kako su organizatori festivala i sami ustvrdili da su „pretjerali s provokacijom“, te da „razumije reakciju branitelja“, ali bez osvrta na umjetničku slobodu koja se u ovom slučaju gubi.

A reakcija vlade od lipnja 2025. godine kada je u Srbiji uhićen Krunoslav Fehir, ključni svjedok protiv Branimira Glavaša u slučaju mučenja i ubijanja osječkih civila, pod optužbom za članstvo u jedinici koja je nastala u svrhu počinjenja najtežih zločina. Protiv Fehira se vodio slučaj u Hrvatskoj, koji je naposljetku obustavljen. Prema Europskoj konvenciji o ljudskim pravima, čija je potpisnica i Srbija, nije dopušteno da se jednom čovjeku dva puta sudi za istu stvar, što znači da je Hrvatska dužna dići tužbu protiv Srbije na Europskom sudu za ljudska prava ukoliko se postupak ne obustavi. Iako je Hrvatska u prijašnjim slučajevima financijski podržavala obranu optuženih za ratne zločine, u Haagu, ali i na hrvatskim sudovima, to u ovom slučaju ne čini jer, kako kaže ministar vanjskih poslova Grlić-Radman: „Ne postoji pravo na podmirivanje troškova pravnog zastupanja u sudskim postupcima“. Iz toga možemo zaključiti da je u prijašnjim slučajevima postojala inicijativa vlasti za ostvarenje takvih prava koje sada nema. Samo je iz Ministarstva branitelja obećano pokrivanje Fehirovih troškova liječenja zbog trenutno narušenog zdravstvenog stanja.

⁴ Pjesma Marka Perkovića Thompsona, Bojna Čavoglave, počinje uzvikom „Za dom spremni“

⁵ Načelnik osječke policije koji je 1991. ubijen na ulazu u Tenju zajedno sa svojim suputnicima s kojima se uputio na pregovore sa Srbima. Tih godina zalagao se za za mirovne pregovore i miroljubiva rješenja zbog čega je i stradao, a njegov ubojica bio je pripadnik hrvatskih snaga Antun Gudelj.

Ostaje samo zapitati se jesu li svi branitelji jednako vrijedni ili su bitni samo oni koji ne narušavaju narativ vladajućih struktura i bune se protiv onoga što se u

tom trenutku smatra opozicijom, bila ona politička, kulturna ili aktivistička.

Tita Mikulaš

Severna Makedonija: Gde je tragedija predvidljiva, a odgovornost ničija

Dobrodošli u (Severnu) Makedoniju, zemlju gde institucije ne služe građanima, već onima koji su ih postavili. Ovde država nije servis, već scena za neprekidnu predstavu elitizma i klijentelizma. Ako nešto krene naopako, ne brinite — niko nije kriv. Ili, tačnije, svi su krivi, što znači: niko.

Društveni pejzaž ovde je duboko obeležen hroničnom i sistemskom bolešću: ekstraktivne⁶ institucije koje guše svaki pokušaj napretka, demotiviraju građane i hrane korupciju. Klijentelizam i partizacija⁷ nisu izuzetak već pravilo. Svaka kriza, svaka tragedija potvrđuje samo jedno: institucije nisu čuvari javnog interesa, već produžena ruka političkih i biznis elita.

U protekloj godini doživeli smo još jednu tragediju, još jednu iz serije „nesreća“ koje — uz malu pomoć hronično nefunkcionalnih institucija — čudesno postaju sistemske tragedije. Dana 16. marta 2025. godine, Kočani su ušli u svetske crne hronike. U noćnom klubu „Puls“, prepunom sa preko 500 ljudi, atmosfera je bila „začinjena“ pirotehnikom, a nekoliko varnica bilo je dovoljno da zapali plafon. Rezultat: 62 poginula i preko 190 povređenih. Makedonija je dobila svoj „Colectiv“ (sećate se Bukurešta 2015?).

⁶ *Ekstraktivne institucije* su pojam koji se koristi u političkoj ekonomiji, posebno u teoriji Darona Acemoglua i Jamesa Robinsona (Zašto narodi propadaju), da opiše institucije koje služe uskom krugu ljudi (eliti), a ne celom društvu. One „ekstrahuju“ (izvlače) resurse, bogatstvo i moć iz šire zajednice i koncentrišu ih u rukama male grupe. Umesto da podstiču razvoj, inovacije i ravnopravnost, one održavaju status quo i omogućavaju privilegovanim slojevima da kontrolišu političku i ekonomsku moć.

⁷ Partizacija je termin koji se koristi da označi *partijsko kadrovsko upravljanje institucijama* — tj. kada se državne, javne i društvene funkcije dele i popunjavaju prema pripadnosti političkim partijama, a ne prema stručnosti i javnom interesu.

Marš za anđele

Dok su vlasti brojale dane žalosti i kalkulisale koga mogu da optuže — osim sebe samih — roditelji su brojali kovčege. „Marširali smo za anđele“, protestovali smo, ali se ništa nije promenilo. Nekolicina je uhapšena, među njima i vlasnik „Pulsa“. Paradoks? Objekat uopšte nije imao dozvolu da bude klub, a ipak je godinama funkcionisao — sa muzikom, gostima, inspektoratima koji su udobno gledali na drugu stranu. Registrovan je za „laku industriju“, ali se magično pretvorio u diskoteku za masovne zabave. Očigledno, makedonska birokratija ima sposobnost za alhemiju!

Od požara u Kočanima, do senki „Besa Transa“, „Durmo Tursa“ i modularne bolnice u Tetovu⁸ — pokazalo se da ovo nisu incidenti, ovo je ponovljiv šablon. Institucionalna neefikasnost nije greška, već

⁸ Tri velike tragedije u Severnoj Makedoniji koje su postale simbol korupcije, institucionalne neodgovornosti i sistemskog propadanja države. 1) Besa Trans (2021) - 23. novembra 2021. autobus „Besa Transa“ koji se vraćao iz Istanbula izgoreo je na autoputu u Bugarskoj. Poginulo je 45 ljudi, među njima mnogo dece. Istrage su otkrile da je firma godinama vozila bez važeće licence, dok su državni organi gledali kroz prste. Autobus je čak bio neregistrovan, a inspekcije i carina nisu reagovala. 2) Durmo Turs (2019) - februara 2019. autobus kompanije „Durmo Turs“ sleteo je s puta kod sela Laskarci. Poginulo je 16 ljudi, a više od 30 je povređeno. Autobus nije bio tehnički ispravan, a kasnije se pokazalo da je i licencu dobio sumnjivim putem. 3) Modularna bolnica u Tetovu (2021) - Tokom pandemije kovida, u Tetovu je 2021. izbio požar u tzv. modularnoj bolnici (privremeno zdanje). Poginulo je 14 pacijenata. Istraga je pokazala da su materijali za izgradnju bili zapaljivi, da nije bilo osnovne protivpožarne zaštite i da je tender za nabavku bio podložen korupciji. Ministar zdravlja i zamenik ministra podneli su ostavke, ali su mnogi smatrali da se opet izbegla prava odgovornost.

dizajn. Funkcionalan, za one koji profitiraju od nefunkcionalnosti.

Simulacija inkluzije

Priča se o inkluziji, ali ona i dalje ostaje deklarativna. Realnost pokazuje da brinemo samo za one koji se lako uklapaju u naše kategorije „normalnosti“.

U zemlji gde Ustavni sud jednim potezom ukida „Balanser“⁹, poruka je jasna: simuliraj inkluziju, ali sačuvaj etničku asimetriju. Nejasno je da li je reč o pravnoj analizi ili političkoj kalkulaciji, ali jedno je sigurno – to nije dokaz demokratske zrelosti. Ista institucija je ranije odlučila da preispita član Zakona o upotrebi albanskog jezika, čime se u praksi ograničava ili osporava pravo na njegovo korišćenje. To je ozbiljan udar na ustavne principe jednakosti, multikulturalnosti i temeljna prava etničkih zajednica.

Ishod je očekivan: radikalizacija. Primera ne manjka. Nedavna sportska utakmica u Kumanovu „demonstrirala“ je pravu nacionalnu koheziju – skandiranja protiv Albanaca, s žarom i strašću. Premijer Hristijan Mickoski reagovao je strogo – osudio je situaciju i ... ostao da gleda utakmicu, dok je publika tražila „čistu Makedoniju“. Revanš nije kasnio: sledeća utakmica u Tetovu donela je uzvratna skandiranja, doduše u mnogo blažoj verziji.

Možda se u nekoj drugoj državi etnička mržnja pojavljuje kao greška sistema. Kod nas, ona izgleda kao proizvod istog. A institucije? Ništa novo. Filozofija je ista: „see no evil, hear no evil“. Zlo postoji samo ako ga priznaš. A ovde, bez obzira na etničku pripadnost, priznajemo samo ono što nam donosi političke poene.

Zamena stolica

Političke partije i dalje se igraju menjanja stolica. VMRO-DPMNE je došao na vlast, ali je poneo recept od SDSM-a i DUI-ja: dominiraj nad koalicionim partnerom (po mogućstvu ga ponizi), instaliraj svoje ljude, drži institucije u zarobljeništvu. Šablon je poznat, uspešan i, nažalost, nepromenjen.

U senci velikih tema, svakodnevnica nastavlja da bude bolna. Ako ste iz „pogrešne“ etničke grupe,

siromašne porodice, pripadate LGBTI zajednici ili ste osoba sa invaliditetom – čestitamo, vi ne postojite u očima sistema. Vaši problemi su „posebni“ – toliko posebni da niko ne želi da se njima bavi.

Deca, kojima posvećujemo patetične spotove i površne kampanje, ostavljena su da rastu u digitalnoj džungli. Njihovi idoli? Influenseri koji nude brze puteve do popularnosti, preko nasilja i agresije. Preko 70% dece doživljava porodično nasilje. Svako treće dete izloženo je digitalnoj agresiji. Naravno, kao društvo nudimo rešenja, kampanje. Iako dobronamerne, kampanje su često usmerene samo na „našu decu“, na one koji govore „naš jezik“ i koji se „lako uklapaju“. A ostali? Ostale brišemo, nisu nam potrebni!

Mediji? Hronika užasa. Senzacionalizam se ne samo toleriše, već i podstiče. Nasilje se prodaje. Kritičko novinarstvo je luksuz koji se ne isplati.

U međuvremenu, pregovori sa EU i dalje se koriste kao univerzalno alibi za sve naše neuspehe. Danas su krivi Bugari, juče su bili Grci, sutra – naći će se neko. Pitanje je: da li smo mi, zaista, spremni za Evropu? Ne formalno, već suštinski. Evropa ne traži samo promenu imena, unošenje Bugara u Ustav... Traži vrednosti. A vrednosti ne možeš promeniti ustavnim amandmanom. Vrednosti koje se, nažalost, kod nas sve ređe praktikuju i polako nestaju iz javnog dijaloga, ne zato što su zastarele, već zato što zahtevaju hrabrost, iskrenost i istinsku brigu za sve, a ne samo za „naše“. Istorija ne mora da bude naša sudbina.

Ali, nije sve tako crno. Postoje iskrice. Građani – oni koji još nisu otišli – ne ćute. Ima protesta, ima peticija, ima otpora. Rađa se nešto što liči na građansku svest. Polako, ali glasno. Sve više ljudi shvata da je ćutanje saučesništvo, a da je čak i mali čin otpora značajan.

Možda neće biti sutra, ali doći će dan kada ćemo morati da priznamo: sistem ne funkcioniše. To neće biti kraj. To će biti početak. Početak naporne, frustrirajuće, ali neophodne promene. Od simbolične ka stvarnoj demokratiji. Od fasadnih institucija ka pravoj inkluziji. Severna Makedonija je na raskrsnici – već ne znam koji put – ali ovog puta pritisak je drugačiji. Mladi više ne žele da budu dekor.

Luan Imeri

⁹ „Balanser“ je trebalo da bude alat za multietničku inkluziju, ali se pretvorio u alat za etničko-partijski klijentelizam.

Kosovo: Severna Mitrovica - minijatura slika i prilika Kosova

Historijski je poznata kao Mitrovica, pa Kosovska Mitrovica, kratko vreme i Titova Mitrovica, a na kraju Južna Mitrovica i Severna Mitrovica. Grad koji plaća cenu „političkog mira“ i „nadgledane nezavisnosti“. Severna Mitrovica nastaje po Briselskom sporazumu iz 2011. i 2013., osniva se kao 38. opština na Kosovu, podelom Kosovske Mitrovice. Grad je podeljen mostom na dva dela, na severnom delu sa većinskom srpskom zajednicom, a na jugu sa većinskom albanskom zajednicom. Podeljen je mostom, a umnožen problemima.

A sada malo više o mojoj polovini, Severnoj Mitrovici.

To je poslednja i jedina urbana sredina, u kojoj žive sve etničke zajednice mlade Republike Kosovo. Većinu čini srpska zajednica, dok najveći broj manjinske zajednice čine Albanci. Ali, Severna Mitrovica je grad i Crnogoraca, Bošnjaka, Turaka, Roma, Aškalija, Egipćana, Goranaca, i malog broja Albanaca katolika.

Grad Severna Mitrovica najbolje oslikava probleme Kosova. Severna Mitrovica je epicentar većine političkih prepirki na Kosovu. U svetskim medijima godinama ne silazi sa prvih stranica vesti. Severna Mitrovica je centar svih političkih događanja srpske zajednice na Kosovu. Politički centar, tu su kancelarije „najveće“ političke partije Srba na Kosovu, Srpske liste (SL). Severna Mitrovica je zdravstveni centar Srba na Kosovu, tu su bolnički i klinički centar. Kulturni je i univerzitetski centar, fakulteti i rektorat su koncentrisani na severu Kosova, a većina njih je u Severnoj Mitrovici.

Srpska lista i dva aršina

Ustav Republike Kosova nije napisao Balkanac, niti Albanci, a ni Srbi. Ustav Kosova je delo Finca Martija Ahtisarija. Po tom Ustavu deset mesta u kosovskom parlamentu rezervisana su za srpsku zajednicu.

Od 38 opština na Kosovu, 10 opština je vodila Srpska lista. U vlasti, do poslednjih izbora, od 10 rezervisanih mesta za srpsku zajednicu, svi su pripadali Srpskoj listi. Na poslednjim parlamentarnim izborima 2025. Srpska lista je imala devet poslanika, a jedno mesto je dobio Nenad Rašić, iz Partije za slobodu, pravdu i opstanak.

Kosovo broji 38 opština, od njih 10 sa većinskom srpskom zajednicom. Svih 10 opština je vodila Srpska lista do 2022. godine, kada su dali ostavke gradonačelnici i odbornici Srpske liste u četiri severne opštine: Severna Mitrovica, Zvečan, Zubin Potok i Leposavić.

Gledajući iz ugla običnog građanina, nije bio problem što su političari krenuli sa „ostavkama“, život običnih građana je otežan ostavkama koje su usledile od „nezavisnih institucija“: policije, suda, do opštinskih činovnika.

Srpska lista ima dva aršina. Strategija u centralnoj vlasti, u Parlamentu, je „NE“ ostavkama, a veliko DA svim „privilegijama“. Dok je strategija Srpske liste na lokalnom nivou, u četiri opštine na severu „OSTAVKE“ i totalne blokade, u šest opština je „normalno funkcionisanje“.

Na razvijenom „severu“ bojkot i blokada, dok je na jugu rad i „puna integracija“.

Stari i novi mostovi

Severna Mitrovica i Južna Mitrovica podeljene su rekom Ibar. Reke prirodno dele gradove, regije, države i kontinente. Ali mostovi, mostovi bi trebali da spajaju... Sever i jug deli jedan most, koga nazivaju „Glavni most“....

Malo istorije o „glavnom mostu“ i „našoj glavi/pameti“: drveni most u davnom srednjem veku gradile su Osmanlije, željezni most su gradili Nemci, dok su sadašnji most gradili svetski poznati arhitekti za mostove, Francuzi... A mi, građani Mitrovice, pričam o svojoj generaciji, stvorili smo „čuvare mosta“ koji su čuvali most na čudan način, ko bi prešao sa juga „dobro su ga tukli“, dok smo mi sa juga kamenicama i „tvrdim predmetima“ krenuli da prelazimo most... Sada most čuvaju italijanski karabinjeri, a mi građani još „pregovaramo“ da li treba da se otvari i za automobile ili da se koristi samo za pešake... Moj lični stav je da „most treba da se otvori zbog univerzalnog prava na slobodu kretanja. Albanska zajednica kao većinska zajednica na Kosovu treba čvrsto da se zalaže da se most otvori, uz pomoć onih koji „čuvaju nas i most“, karabinjera, i da se zalaže da se uveri i srpska zajednica na severu da je u njenom interesu da se most otvori.

Da se i simbolično otvaramo jedni drugima. Most je beton i gvožđe, a treba raditi i na spajanju ljudi“.

Šta se na terenu dešava? Pre godinu dana, Ministarstvo infrastrukture je merilo otpornost mosta, ove godine to radi EU. A moj lični stav i stav Građanske inicijative „Mitrovica“ je: u redu je što merite otpornost mosta, ali niko se nije setio da u ovih 26 godina meri otpornost građana Mitrovice.

Na kraju je Vlada krenula da pravi dva nova mosta. Na to sam reagovao: „Potrebna nam je izgradnja mostova, ali po prioritetima. Prvo graditi mostove saradnje, mostove kulture, mostove za bolju budućnost za sve, a što da ne, na kraju i „betonske i gvozdene“ mostove...”

Bruka svih nas

Dok se bavimo velikim temama, bruka je za predsednicu Vjosu Osmani, koja je rodom iz Mitrovice, a za još veću bruku ministarstava prosvete, lokalne samouprave, građana, roditelja, humanitarnih organizacija, da u Severnoj Mitrovici imamo školu kontejner, koju pohađa 16 učenika, Albanaca i Roma.

Boli me kao građanina i kao čoveka da će i u školskoj 2026. godini u mom gradu da postoji škola u kontejneru, i to na Partizanskom brdu. Na tom brdu je spomenik antifašizmu, spomenik rudarima, delo Bogdana Bogdanovića, koji sa visine kao da poručuje, iz usta glumca Dragana Tešića iz „Draft Teatra“: „Imajte razum. Gde ćete vi kada sve ovo prođe?“

Očekivanja da će rešenje doći odozgo i sa strane

Sada iz ličnog ugla, kao Mitrovčanina, kao nosioca liste Građanske inicijative „Mitrovica“: greška koju pravimo kao građani je što godinama čekamo rešenja „odozgo“, „zatupeli smo“, „malaksali“, izgubili smo „građansku moć“ i ubili smo „građanske inicijative“.

Dok čekamo da nam EU, Beograd i Priština reše nagomilane probleme, oni nam šalju rešenja koja nam ni u snu ne odgovaraju.

EU i međunarodna zajednica uveli su sankcije vladi i građanima Kosova.

Beograd službeno, a i neslužbeno drži konce na Kosovu, preko javnih i tajnih finansiranja, preko trajnih i „privremenih organa“. Finansirao je bojkote, Banjsku, Gazivode. Po Beogradu se na veliko „pumpa“, a „ćaci“

odlikaši su sa Kosova. Za to vreme građani Severne Mitrovice čekaju rešenje od Prištine. U njoj politička elita mesecima „radi“ na stvaranju „nove - stare“ vlade.

Ima nade za normalizaciju - mali koraci za građane, a veliki na pomirenju

Severna Mitrovica kao poslednja urbana oaza, treba da bude primer da se može i mora normalizovati život. 26 godina stresa, uzbuna, barikada, protesta, nasilja, krvi... Biti „četvrt stoleća“ (26 godina) „heroj“ ili „žrtva“ je previše, previše je i za Čak Norisa. Ovde smo siti svega i previše nam je velikih i malih „heroja“, velikih i malih „žrtava“, potrebni su nam obični građani. Više od svega potrebna nam je normalnost.

Sve prilike i mogućnosti treba da koristimo da bi bili što bliže „normali i normalizaciji“. A može se biti i u centru „normalnog“ uz kulturne aktivnosti.

Dok se naveliko najavljivalo sa svih strana da će da se ponovo „zarati“ u Bosni i na Kosovu, uz podršku NVO „AC/DC“, u Severnoj Mitrovici za publiku albanske i srpske zajednice prikazana je Komedija „Draft Teatra“ iz Tuzle „S kime i čime u EU“. A u ekipi iz Bosne bili su Srbi i Bošnjaci/Muslimani.

Dragan Tešić, koji se „zafrkavao“ sa ulaskom BiH u EU, poručio nam je epski: „Smejte se, smejte, vi ćete proći još gore...”

Vizni režim

Od januara 2024. građani Kosova mogu putovati po čitavoj Evropi. Nikad bliže Evropi, a zbog ekonomskih prilika, malih prihoda, nikada Evropa nije bila dalje od nas. Kosovska vlada je napravila veliki čin, jednostrano je ukinula vize za građane Bosne. Ali mi, Kosovari ne možemo da putujemo u Bosnu bez viza. A za ekipu „Draft Teatra“ iz Tuzle komentar nam je bio: „Vi sada možete slobodno doći, a mi sa Kosova šaljemo pozdrave. Jebeš Evropu koja Bosnu nema!“

Šta reći na kraju, a da ne grešim? Treba puno truda i rada za mir. A mir traži normalne ljude i normalne stvari.

Za normalne stvari je uvek vreme.

Skender Sadiku

Bosna i Hercegovina: Prijetnje i strah - nikad završene priče

Izdržali smo trideset godina života u miru. Doduše, u vrijeme kada nastaje ovaj tekst, ta brojka još uvijek nije zaokružena niti postoje garancije da će taj mir potrajati.

Bosna i Hercegovina (BiH) se u 2025. godini suočava s najdubljom političkom krizom od potpisivanja Dejtonskog mirovnog sporazuma 1995. godine. Ali ovo smo vam rekli i prošle godine. I godinu prije. I još nekoliko puta u godinama iza nas.

Predsjednik Republike Srpske (RS) Milorad Dodik pravomoćno je osuđen 1. avgusta 2025. godine na kaznu od godinu dana zatvora i šest godina zabrane obavljanja javnih funkcija. Presudu je donio Sud BiH zbog počinjenja krivičnog djela *neizvršavanje odluka Visokog predstavnika iz člana 203. a stav 1. Krivičnog zakona BiH*.

Period od prvostepene presude donešene 26. februara do pravomoćne, obilježile su mnoge krizne situacije koje su prijetile da eskaliraju u otvoreno nasilje. Narodna skupština RS Usvojila je zakone koji zabranjuju rad Suda i Tužilaštva BiH, te Državne agencija za istrage i zaštitu BiH (SIPA). Možda je najveća kriza izbila u trenutku kada je Ministarstvo unutrašnjih poslova (MUP) RS pokušalo preuzeti zgrade SIPA-e. Samo pribranošću rukovodilaca nadležnih institucija izbjegnute je direktan sukob dvije naoružane formacije. Dodik je nakon toga zajedno sa rukovodstvom RS-a pokrenuo niz antiustavnih djelovanja te je Sud BiH raspisao centralnu potjernicu za njim kao predsjednikom RS, Radovanom Viškovićem premijerom i predsjednikom Skupštine RS Nenadom Stevandićem i određen im je jednomjesečni pritvor. Od tog trenutka situacija sa Dodikom se odvijala u dvije paralelne epizode. U prvoj, nipodištavao je odluke Suda BiH, ismijavao nemoć državnih institucija BiH, prijetio sutkinji koja ga je osudila, visokom predstavniku... Ali istovremeno u drugoj, ispregovarao je da se pojavi na ročištu Suda uz uslov da mu se ukinu potjernica i pritvor, što se i dogodilo u julu mjesecu i to uz posredovanje rukovodećih ljudi Obavještajno-sigurnosne agencije BiH (OSA), dakle ponovo državnih institucija.

Na kraju, bez obzira što je i pravomoćnu presudu odbacio ocijenjujući je politički motivisanom, ipak ju je

priznao na način da je platio 36.000 KM i time *otkupio* zatvorsku kaznu od godinu dana.

Dodik ipak nastavlja svoje političko djelovanje kao predsjednik stranke Savez nezavisnih demokrata (SNSD) i sa koalicionim partnerima kroz instituciju Naro-dne skupštine RS. Sada je već izvjesno da će SNSD koristiti mehanizam blokade, odnosno uskraćivanja kvoruma u Domu naroda kako ne bi bili smijenjeni njihovi kadrovi iz Vijeća ministara. Što se tiče izvršne vlasti, ona je takođe u situaciji da ne može provoditi proevropske reforme koje su preduslov za otpočinjanje pregovora o pridruživanju BiH EU.

Gotovo je nemoguće pratiti svakodnevna politička zbivanja i održavati svježinu informacija. Mnoge stvari stoje u najavi da će se dogoditi u narednom periodu, poput najavljenih referenduma i mehanizama sprečavanja sprovođenja Odluke o raspisivanju i održavanju prijevremenih izbora za predsjednika RS iz reda srpskog naroda. U međuvremenu je izabrana nova Vlada RS, čiji legalitet osporavaju i pravni stručnjaci i predstavnici opozicije u tom entitetu, jer je mandat novom premijeru Savi Miniću 23. avgusta dodijelio Dodik, iako je pet dana ranije prestao biti predsjednik RS odlukom Suda BiH.

Opozicione stranke takođe uz poziv na poštivanje zakona pozivaju na sprovođenje zakazanih izbora ističući potrebu za institucionalnim rješenjem krize. Sve ovo će sigurno dovesti do produbljivanja političke krize a time i održavanja psihoze i straha od potencijalne eskalacije sukoba.

Ipak, u realnosti se život odvija jednako normalno kao i prije presude Dodiku. Ljudi žive svoju svakodnevnicu boreći se životnim izazovima, nije bilo incidenata. Protesti koje je Dodik organizovao okupljali su značajno manji broj ljudi od očekivanog, mahom starijih ljudi.

Moguće je da je naše društvo sazrelo i da ne nasjeđa na dnevno-političke manipulacije.

Ali ovo je Balkan i nikad se ne zna...

Politička kriza i posljedice

Daleko od toga da je Dodik jedini problem na političkoj sceni u BiH. Trakavica oko usvajanja Reformske agende

traje već više od godinu dana, a vlasti u BiH i dalje nisu sposobne ovaj dokument, koji je praktički napisan u Briselu, da usvoje. Opravdanja je u posljednjih godinu dana bilo nebrojeno, a pitanje Reformske agende je primjer loše ili nikakve saradnje stranačkih predstavnika, bilo iz vlasti bilo iz opozicije, koji su se tokom procesa međusobno optuživali. Ali istina je da je odgovornost na svima njima.

Kako god, BiH je sredinom jula izgubila 108 miliona eura iz Plana rasta za Zapadni Balkan EU, a 30. septembra će identična količina novca biti nepovratno izgubljena za našu zemlju ako se u Brisel ne pošalje Reformska agenda. Uzimajući u obzir da su sve druge zemlje u našem regionu (Srbija, Crna Gora, Sjeverna Makedonija, Albanija i Kosovo) već ispunile uslove i dobile prve tranše sredstava, jasno je da će BiH i nakon ovog roka ostati usamljena, a novac namijenjen za našu zemlju će biti preusmjeren drugim državama.

Političke elite su ovime odaslale poruku da nama taj novac ne treba. Njima svakako novac dolazi iz budžeta i kroz namještene tendere. Pozicije poput predsjednika uprava, nadzornih odbora javnih poduzeća, direktora agencija i zavoda omogućile su političkim strankama da već decenijama isisavaju novac građana.

EU je više puta vrlo jasno stavila do znanja da je ruka prema BiH ispružena, ali da nema volje i spremnosti unutar BiH da se ta ruka prihvati. Ostaje ipak pitanje da li zemlje EU u današnjoj konstelaciji odnosa u BiH, ali i u svijetu uopšte, i dalje mogu postavljati dosadašnje uslove ispunjavanja ključnih reformskih prioriteta. Prebacujući odgovornost na lokalne političare, a znajući da nemaju kapaciteta da ih ispune, ostavljaju prostor špekulacijama da nas ni ne žele u svom društvu i da im baš ovako stanje odgovara.

BiH institucije, trenutno su produžena ruka zemalja EU i SAD-a pa i NATO-a, koja služi suzbijanju ruskog uticaja na Balkanu. Sankcijama Dodiku i njemu bliskim saradnicima, ali i obustavljanjem investicija u RS-u, Zapad nastoji ukazati da neće blagonaklono gledati na implementaciju Putinovih zamisli na terenu koji ipak smatraju svojom zonom uticaja.

Na temelju svega navedenog, može se zaključiti da BiH i dalje opterećuju duboke etnonacionalne podjele, neizvjesnost u pravnom sistemu bez nezavisnog sudstva i napeti geopolitički odnosi.

Sve su to faktori koji direktno ugrožavaju i njenu stabilnost. U ovoj zemlji su stabilne samo stope korupcije, kriminala i nezaposlenosti.

Spojene posude

Skoro već godinu dana u Srbiji traju studentski protesti i blokade. Kap koja je prelila čašu bila je urušavanje nastrešnice u Novom Sadu prilikom koje je poginulo šesnaest osoba.

Od zvaničnika RS-a predsjednik Srbije Aleksandar Vučić otpočetka i konstantno dobija podršku. Politika kreirana na vrhu RS i Republike Srbije u posljednjih 10 godina stvorila je iluziju da bez Vučića i Dodika nema ni Srbije ni RS-a i djeluje po principu spojenih posuda. Gotovo da nema političkog govora zvaničnika u Srbiji a da se ne dotakne teza o očuvanju RS-a ili od zvaničnika RS-a da se iskaže podrška Vučiću, kao faktoru stabilnosti na Balkanu, izloženom napadu zapadnih sila koje unose nemir i podstiču proteste u Srbiji.

Opozicioni političari iz RS koji su otvoreno podržali proteste suočili su se sa odmazdom. Lider SDS-a Milan Miličević uhapšen je zbog navodne korupcije i hitno je smijenjen sa pozicije predsjednika stranke. Nebojši Vukanoviću, predsjedniku i osnivaču političke stranke *Za pravdu i red*, u javnosti poznatom i kao najrevnosnijim kritičarem politike Milorada Dodika i SNSD-a, uz svakodnevne prijetnje već su mu dva puta automobil zapalili *nepoznati počinioci*.

Što se tiče bošnjačkih političkih zvaničnika, Ministar odbrane Zukan Helez i Ministar vanjskih poslova BiH Elvedin Konaković otvoreno daju podršku studentima i optužuju Vučića da želi zajedno sa Dodikom destabilizovati BiH kako bi kroz tu krizu spasio sebe.

Ostali ili mudro šute da ne bi došli u situaciju da budu svrstani u podstrekače nemira i time dali argument vladajućim strukturama u Srbiji koji otpočetka optužuju strane faktore da žele da sruše ustavno-pravni poredak ove zemlje, ili jer nisu sigurni u ishod protesta u bojazni šta će biti ako Vučić ipak opstane.

Da se političari povremeno kurvaju, pokazao je nedavno primjer premijera Vlade FBiH Nermina Nikšića. Nakon obustave proizvodnje municije u kombinatu Igman iz Konjica, što je bila posljedica zabrane izvoza baruta iz Srbije, premijer Nikšić je izašao u javnost sa informacijom da se telefonski čuo sa predsjednikom Vučićem koji je iskazao razumijevanje i obećao da će

problem biti riješen u narednih 48 sati. Jeftin i populistički trik miljama daleko od institucionalnog djelovanja.

Situacija u BiH ništa nije bolja nego u Srbiji. Samo ovdje nema ko da ustane i blokira, izuzev povremenih protesta prijevoznika i prosvjetnih radnika te tradicionalne Povorke ponosa koja je u suštini protest. U nekoliko navrata protestovalo se zbog povećane stope femicida i zbog blagih izrečenih presuda ubicama na cestama. Na poplave u Jablanici koje su odnijele 19 života, nije se ustalo i nije bilo bunta. U Sanskom

Mostu na moguće puštanje optuženog za trostruko ubistvo, takođe nije bilo reakcije javnosti.

U BiH prečesto čekamo da problemi narastu do tačke pucanja pa se tek tada pokrećemo. Najčešće ostajemo nijemi pred vlastitim nepravdama. Nažalost, etnonacionalne podjele onemogućavaju izgradnju aktivističke kulture koja neće čekati da se sve uruši da bismo djelovali.

Amer Delić

Crna Gora: Kontinuitet neodgovornosti

Osvježenje ili ustajalost

Od „Nek padne da osvježi“ do „Ovo nije bilo ni u vrijeme DPS“ – tako se ukratko može opisati situacija u Crnoj Gori od kraja vladavine DPS-a. Pet godina kasnije na političko-društveno osvježenje se, naravno, gleda različito. S jedne strane, opozicione, tvrdi se kako se obećane i najavljivane promjene suštinski nisu desile, te da je društveno-politička kriza u zemlji obogaćena dubokim podjelama samo produbljena, preko novih talasa partijskog zapošljavanja, daljeg urušavanja institucija, do toga da u Crnoj Gori nacionalističke i vjerske agende kroje i donose ključne državne odluke. Sa strane vlasti, da je najvažnije da je došla sloboda i da se narod oslobodio, te da više u Crnoj Gori nema te snage koja može da uspostavi onakav kriminalni i totalitarni režim kakav je bio pod Milom Đukanovićem i njegovim DPS-om. Te da je današnja Crna Gora dokaz i političkog i istorijskog iskoraka iz mraka u kojem se nalazila u proteklom periodu. Dobronamjerni bi rekli, „Eee, oboje ste u pravu!“

Lokalni izbori u Podgorici, najvažniji lokalni izbori u Crnoj Gori (Podgorica broji trećinu ukupnog stanovništva Crne Gore) održani u septembru 2024. godine, suštinski nisu donijeli ništa novo. Nakon dva mjeseca od završetka izbora je formalizovana nova-stara koalicija koju čine vladajuće stranke i na državnom nivou - Pokret Evropa sad (PES) premijera Milojka Spajića, Demokrate i stranke proruskog Demokratskog fronta i Pokret za Podgoricu (PzPG) koji je podržavao predsjed-

nik Crne Gore Jakov Milatović. U opoziciji je ostala Demokratska partija socijalista iako je na izborima osvojila najviše odborničkih mandata i pojedinačno predstavlja najveću političku stranku u glavnom gradu.

Formalni diskontinuitet od politike DPS je učinjen, **kontinuitet loših političkih praksi** je nastavljen i taj kontinuitet bi mogao da nas košta nekoliko koraka (godina i desetina godina) unazad.

Popis stanovništva

Prema rezultatima Uprave za statistiku (Monstat), od 623.633 popisanih, najviše je Crnogoraca - 41,12 odsto (256.436 građana), Srba je 32,93 odsto (205.370), a Bošnjaka 9,45 odsto (58.956). Albanaca je 4,97 odsto (30.978), Rusa 2,06 odsto (12.824), Muslimana 1,63 odsto (10.162), Roma 0,9 odsto (5.629), Hrvata 0,83 odsto (5.150), dok 2,88 odsto građana Crne Gore nije željelo da se izjasni o nacionalnosti. Srpski jezik je maternji za 43 posto stanovništva, a crnogorski za nešto preko 34 procenta. Rezultati popisa stanovništva U Crnoj Gori su pokazali dvije ključne stvari. Prva je da politika i dalje nedvosmisleno dominantno diktira nacionalno i jezičko određenje u Crnoj Gori. Druga je da svi politički akteri jesu podjednako (ne)zadovoljni rezultatima popisa, ali su rezultati takvi da se ne bi mogli koristiti za najavljivano radikalno podgrijavanje tenzija, već bi, naprotiv, mogli dovesti do djelimične stabilizacije političkih prilika. Prostije rečeno ni jedna od strana ne može da kaže „Nas ima više“!

Nakon pada jednog političkog režima 2020. godine, bilo je potpuno očekivano da će doći do nekog porasta onih koji se etnički izjašnjavaju kao Srbi, a da će se otprilike u istoj mjeri smanjiti broj onih koji se izjašnjavaju kao Crnogorci. Popis je pokazao mala odstupanja u vezi pitanja nacionalnog identiteta i nešto malo veća u pogledu pitanja jezika u odnosu na prethodni popis, pa su stoga „jedni“ malo više, a „drugi“ malo manje (ne)zadovoljni. U svakom slučaju nedovoljno da bi statistiku koristili za dalje divljanje svojih desničarskih i nacionalističkih politika, bar ne u onoj mjeri u kojoj bi im drugačiji rezultati popisa to „legitimisali“.

Kontinuitet zasnivanja politike na pukom prebrojavanju „koga ima više“ i ko time ima pravo da vlada nad onim drugima, se nastavio. I jedni i drugi nastoje da rezultate popisa prikažu kao svoju pobjedu i samim tim potvrdu ispravnosti političkih interesa. Cijena tog kontinuiranog političkog inženjeringa zasnovanog isključivo na nečemu što bi trebalo da bude puka statistika, je moguće ponovno „prebrojavanje krvnih zrnaca“ a za to i takvo prebrojavanje smo već platili veoma skupu cijenu.

„Lider u regionu“

U podijeljenoj Crnoj Gori kako se čini jedina tema oko koje nema većih podijela su evropske integracije. Postoji i društveni i politički konsenzus da je to pravi put za državu. Cilj je 2028. godina. Taj vremenski cilj je izgleda nikad bliži i nikad lakše dosegljiv. Spoljnu potvrdu napretka i približavanja EU, Crna Gora neprestano dobija. Evropska komesarka za proširenje Marta Kos poručila je da bi Crna Gora, ukoliko nastavi sa reformama i tempom pregovora, već 2028. godine mogla postati 28. članica Evropske unije. Kos je istakla da je u proteklih osam mjeseci otvoreno više pregovaračkih klastera nego u prethodnih pet godina, te zatvoreno više poglavlja nego u protekloj deceniji.

Šta je sa podrškom unutar države? U proteklih pet godina smjenile su se tri vlade, i taj ritam političkih promjena postao je više simptom političke krize, a ne kako smo se nadali nekog konkretnijeg demokratskog napretka. Razlike u ideologijama, političkim stavovima i vizijama budućnosti, umjesto ublažavanja, kreću se pravcem daljeg zaoštavanja. I dok političari te razlike često podstiču, zarad jefitnih poena, ipak ubjedljiva

većina građana, prema svim istraživanjima – želi da bude dio evropske porodice. Građani tako pokazuju veću političku zrelost od onih koji ih vode, i to će, prije ili kasnije, donijeti novu, istinsku promjenu.

Prvi, vremenski i tehnički cilj je gotovo dosegnut, oni drugi, važniji, vrijednosni ciljevi: društvo bez nasilja, bez partokratije, bez privilegovanih, bez korupcije i podijela na naše i njihove, i dalje su daleko. Ukoliko se ti ciljevi postignu, onda bi u Crnoj Gori istinski i suštinski osvježilo. Za sada jedino u CG što je evropsko jesu cijene, a **kontinuitet evropskog dremeža**, biće skupo plaćen.

Nova godina, nasilje po starom

Nova, 2025. godina u Crnoj Gori započela na žalost još jednim brutalnim nasiljem. Na Cetinju je 1. januara 2025. stradalo trinaestoro ljudi. Paralelu sa slučajem iz avgusta 2022. kada je u istom gradu stradalo jedanaestoro ljudi, nemoguće je ne povući. Cetinjanin Aco Martinović januara 2025. godine ubio je 12 osoba, među njima i dva dječaka, dok je još četvoro ranio, pištoljem koji je nezakonito posjedovao. U avgustu 2022. godine Vuk Borilović je ubio 10 ljudi, među kojima su bila dva dječaka, a još šestoro ljudi ranio, lovačkom puškom za koju je imao dozvolu. Borilović je ubijen 45 minuta od početka ubistava, Martinović je izvršio samoubistvo šest sati nakon ubistva prvih žrtava. U prvom slučaju u Cetinju je bilo samo 12 policajaca, u drugom, nevjerovatno, samo 9. I Borilović i Martinović su ranije prijavljivani zbog nasilja i posjedovanja nelegalnog oružja.

Ovaj, januarski događaj je podstakao seriju protesta i blokada koje je organizovala neformalna studentska organizacija „Kamo sutra“, sa kojih su zatražene smjene vicepremijera za bezbjednost i ministra unutrašnjih poslova Alekse Bečića i Danila Šaranovića. Početkom aprila 2025. prekinuli su proteste navodeći da je njihova borba od početka bila politizovana i sistemski obesmišljavana. Nakon toga počeli su protesti građana Cetinja, svakodnevnim višesatnim blokadama saobraćajnice na ulazu u taj grad koja povezuje Podgoricu sa Budvom i Crnogorskim primorjem. Građani traže odgovornost nadležnih za propuste vezane za dva masakra u kojima je ubijeno 23 njihovih sugrađana, uključujući četvoro djece.

Tek posle drugog masakra Vlada je najavila hitne mjere – novi Zakon, pooštavanje kontrola, oduzimanje oružja itd. ali ih nije preuzela. Niko od nadležnih nije podnio ostavku ili bio smijenjen povodom nezapamćenih zločina koji su se desili u Cetinju u razmaku od dvije i po godine, a vlada kasni sa usvajanjem novog Zakona o oružju i municiji. Da li će i opomene ove tragedije, kao one u avgustu 2022. ostati uzaludne?

Masakr je podstakao zabrinutost zbog nivoa nasilja u crnogorskom društvu, koje je i dalje duboko militantno. Pored zločina na Cetinju, nasilje nad djecom u porodici takođe nije stvar prošlosti, već problem u porastu. Na to ukazuje usvojena Vladina strategija za prevenciju nasilja nad djecom (2025 – 2029.) kojom se upozorava da su roditeljske prakse koje praktikuju neku vrstu nasilja i dalje duboko ukorijenjene u crnogorskom društvu. Ne postoje precizni podaci u kolikom je porastu nasilje, ali poslednji podatak od prije sedam godina govori da je 69 odsto djece u Crnoj Gori bilo izloženo emocionalnom ili fizičkom nasilju, prema istraživanju UNICEF-a.

Kompletnu sliku i priliku atmosfere u društvu dodatno uokviruje rat između dva suprotstavljena mafijaška klana. Bezbjednosna situacija u zemlji postaje sve složenija, a niz ubistava u poslednjih par mjeseci to jasno pokazuje. Dosad su u obračunima ove dvije grupe (Škaljarski i Kavački klan) ubijeni brojni pripadnici obje grupacije ali i slučajni prolaznici, a procjene su da je likvidirano više od 70 osoba.

Kontinuitet nemanja jasne strategije u borbi protiv nasilja, već je plaćen previsokom cijenom.

Tomo Buzov

Na inicijativu nevladine organizacije Građanska alijansa i Udruženja „Štrpci protiv zaborava“ upućen je zahtjev Opštini Bijelo Polje da se ustanovi nagrada „Tomo Buzov“, koja bi se dodjeljivala za doprinos zaštiti i unapređenju ljudskih prava.

Čelni ljudi Bijelog Polja su prihvatili inicijativu i nagrada je ustanovljena. Dodjeljivati će se svake godine, 27. februara – na dan godišnjice otmice putnika iz voza u Štrpcima, pojedincima i organizacijama koje djeluju u oblasti zaštite ljudskih prava, kao čin sjećanja i poštovanja prema žrtvama ovog zločina.

Kao penzionisani oficir JNA, Tomo Buzov je 27. februara 1993. godine stradao u otmici u Štrpcima jer

je pokušao da zaštititi civile bošnjačke nacionalnosti koje su iz voza nasilno izvodili pripadnici Vojske Republike Srpske.

Od posebnog je značaja što je ovu nagradu ustanovila Opština iz koje potiče veliki broj žrtava otmice u Štrpcima, što pokazuje spremnost lokalnih vlasti da kroz konkretnu institucionalnu praksu njeguju vrijednosti koje predstavljaju temelj izgradnje pravednog društva. Ovim, na simboličan način nakon više od 32 godine od zločina, grad Bijelo Polje vraća dug koji ima prema sugrađanima koji su stradali u Štrpcima, a koji su stradali samo zato što su se drugačije zvali.

Rijedak ali važan primjer prihvatanja odgovornosti za kreiranje ambijenta u kojem će junaci društva biti oni koji su „stvarni heroji“ ratova devedesetih, koji se nisu libili dati i život da bi spriječili nepravdu i nasilje. Ovim je Tomo Buzov svojom ljudskošću i herojstvom uspio da napravi diskontinuitet politika koja veličaju ratne zločince, i u kojima prostora za istinsko i pošteno suočavanje sa prošlošću nije bilo.

Ljudskost kao diskontinuitet od zvanične crnogorske politike nepreuzimanja odgovornosti, u zadnjih više od 30 godina.

Radomir Radević



dodatak

Nenad Vukosavljević: „Tiha većina pristojnih ljudi sposobnih za saosećanje sa drugima je sve vreme tu“

Rijetki su ljudi koji mogu okupiti na jednom mjestu veterane nekad zaraćenih vojski i još ih ponukati da zajedno razgovaraju, pa čak i grade prijateljstvo. Jedan od takvih, Nenad Vukosavljević, u razgovoru za Prometej šalje mnoge važne poruke.

Centar za nenasilnu akciju (Sarajevo/Beograd) krajem prošle godine je objavio knjigu „Dolazimo u miru: Rad sa ratnim veteranima na izgradnji mira“, u kojoj autori sažimaju iskustvo rada sa ratnim veteranima iz bivše Jugoslavije kroz četvrt vijeka. Jedan od autora i osnivač ovog centra Nenad Vukosavljević u intervjuu za Prometej kaže da je ova knjiga svojevrsno „podvlačenje crte“, a svoja iskustva u radu s ratnim veteranima su željeli prenijeti i izvan našeg regiona. Knjigu su uredile Ivana Franović, Martina Fischer i Davorka Turk, a pored pomenutih Vukosavljevića, Fischer i Franović, tekstove potpisuju i historičar Nedžad Novalić te bivši borac Armije BiH Amer Delić. Trenutno je u pripremi i izložba fotografija koja će širom BiH i regiona biti postavljena kroz narednih nekoliko godina, posebno u mjestima iz kojih dolaze neki od boraca koji su predstavljeni u knjizi, a otvaranja izložbe će biti priređena uz javne tribine sa borcima.

Vi se bavite radom sa ratnim veteranima na prostoru bivše Jugoslavije sada već skoro 28 godina. U jednom poglavlju pišete i o „aureoli“ dezertera koja vas je pratila kroz ovaj dugotrajni proces. Kako je na Vas lično ovo ogromno iskustvo djelovalo i kako Vas je oblikovalo?

Ja sam prigovarač savesti, odbio sam da služim vojsku još u mirnodopsko vreme. Činjenica je da mnogi to poistovećuju sa dezerterstvom, što nije isto, i činjenica je da se dezerteri od strane većine boraca doživljavaju kao izdajnici i kukavice, što ih u njihovim očima čini znatno lošijim ljudima od direktnih neprijatelja koji se bore protiv njih. Meni lično je bilo izazov da se suočim

sa tom vrstom nepoverenja koje izaziva ideja „dezertera“ i da sa bivšim borcima, ratnicima gradim odnos međusobnog poverenja. Kao što nikad sebe nisam smatrao boljim ili gorim čovekom od onih koji su u ratu učestvovali kao borci, mislim da sam sa borcima sa kojima radimo izgradio odnos međusobnog poštovanja i poverenja. Rad sa njima i zajednički prolazak kroz mnogo teških situacija i akcija nas je sve promenio, obeležio naše živote. To sigurno osećam kod sebe, ali vidim i na njima. I više od toga, rekao bih da postoji ponos na taj pređeni put, na te promene koje smo doživeli.

Nedavno je objavljena knjiga „Dolazimo u miru“ Centra za nenasilnu akciju u kojoj ste jedan od autora. Šta ova knjiga donosi novo u odnosu na vaše prethodne publikacije i koji je njen cilj?

Ova knjiga je podvlačenje crte na skoro 25 godina rada, sumiranje rezultata. Želja nam je bila da naša sabrana iskustva učinimo vidljivim, da ostavimo trajan spomen na put koji smo prešli gradeći mir i želeli smo da naša iskustva učinimo dostupnim ljudima van našeg regiona, jer na međunarodnoj razini postoje tek sporadični pokušaji da se radi direktno sa borcima i bivšim neprijateljima. Verujemo da će deo problema, dilema, pogrešaka i uspeha kroz koje smo mi prošli biti korisni ljudima u drugim delovima sveta koji se pitaju kako da njihova izranjavana društva obnove i učine ih sigurnim i slobodnim od mržnje i pretnje ponavljanjem nasilja.

Sa druge strane, knjiga je tu i da proslavi energiju i hrabrost koju smo svi zajedno, a posebno borci, uložili u ovaj naš put izgradnje mira. Oni su heroji među nama.

U jednom od poglavlja koje ste Vi napisali, a koje donosi hronologiju akcija CNA, prisjećate se jedne komemoracije iz Brčkog, sa dirljivim scenama

međusobnog razumijevanja i uvažavanja različitih strana. Jedan od učesnika iz grupe tada je kazao da će „za desetak godina sve naše komemoracije izgledati ovako“. U retrospektivi – da li se to doista i desilo?

I jeste i nije. Tada 2012. godine u Brčkom smo pozvani kao Centar za nenasilnu akciju Sarajevo-Beograd da položimo venac na otvaranju spomenika poginulim pripadnicima Armije RBiH. To je bilo prvi put da zvanično prisustvujemo jednoj komemoraciji na kojoj se okupio veliki broj građana. I prvi put da se na javnoj komemoraciji jasno čulo da poštu odaju neki ljudi koji dolaze sa „neprijateljske“ strane. Kada je spikerka nakon Sarajevo zastala pa pročitala Beograd, nastala je tišina nekoliko sekundi, Adnan Hasanbegović i ja smo iskoračili noseći venac i onda se čuo veliki aplauz. Za mene je taj momenat ono malo pomirenje, onaj trenutak kada ljudi ispruženu ruku prihvataju i kažu „hvala ti na ovom gestu“. Puno takvih malih pomirenja sa drugima i sa sobom nam gradi mir.

Ne izgledaju sve komemoracije danas tako, može se zato reći da nismo uspjeli u potpunosti. Kažem nismo u potpunosti, jer tamo gde mi organizujemo da se grupa ratnih veterana uključi u komemoracije, ili ih sami organizujemo, izgleda upravo tako. Bivši neprijatelji zajedno odaju poštu stradalim ljudima, bez obzira gde, bez trgovine, ja tebi - ti meni, bez kalkulisanja. I reakcije prisutnih ljudi su mahom pozitivne, jer vide da tu nema nikakve sakrivene političke agende, nikakvog muljanja, da su tu ljudi došli čista srca. I to više nije senzacija, postaje normalno.

Vaše akcije zajedničkih komemoracija i posjeta mjesta stradanja nesumnjivo su važan aspekt u izgradnji povjerenja među različitim stranama, posebno jer u njima učestvuju bivši vojnici koji su bili „neprijatelji“ jedni drugima. Vjerujem da ste željeli potaknuti i političke elite na sličan pristup. Da li ste uspjeli utjecati na njih i koliko toga se „prelilo“ u ceremonije na kojima ne učestvuje CNA?

Na nivou BiH definitivno nismo uspjeli da takav mirotvoran pristup sećanju bude uspostavljen, ali iz iskustva znam da na lokalnu po opštinama i manjim gradovima, kada lokalni borci suorganizuju zajedničku komemoraciju sa bivšim neprijateljima, pa se pozovu lokalni funkcioneri, da oni onda osete prostor da pozdrave tu ideju i takav pristup i uvide da je to dobro

za njihovu zajednicu. Bitan element tu je da su u prisustvu lokalnih boraca oslobođeni straha da će ih neko optužiti za izdaju sopstvene strane. Oslobođe se ljudi onda kada sedimo sa njima, imaju i oni potrebu da pričaju o svom ratnom iskustvu da ga podele sa bivšim neprijateljima. To oslobađanje strahova je ključno, sa jedne strane vide neprijatelje koji su ljudi koji ih slušaju i poštuju, znači ne osećaju ih kao pretnju, a sa druge oni su tu došli da iskažu poštovanje spram njihovih žrtava. Ne može čovek ostati hladan na tako nešto.

Na visokom nivou politike gde pojedina stratišta i dalje služe kao izvorišta nacionalističkih mitova o večnom neprijateljstvu, o kolektivnoj nevinosti i kolektivnoj krivici, važe druga pravila, tu prisustvo neprijatelja remeti homogenost. Ali mi idemo gde god nam kažu da smo dobrodošli. Ponekad nam kažu da nismo dobrodošli i mi tamo ne idemo. Nije nam cilj da ikoga remetimo ili unosimo nemir, upravo suprotno.

A da li svojim delovanjem sadašnja nacionalistička elita unosi nemir ili gradi mir, prosudite sami.

Razgovori vaših članova sa veteranima otkrivaju da većina tih ljudi nije učestvovala u ratu iz ideoloških razloga, kako im se naknadno pripisuje u zvaničnoj, nacionalistički obilježenoj kulturi sjećanja. Ipak, ti ljudi su sa svojim stavovima manjina u svojim zajednicama. Koliko oni mogu utjecati na izgradnju kulture sjećanja koja će se graditi na pijetetu i poštovanju, a ne na mržnji i mitovima?

Ja mislim da nisu manjina već deo tihe većine, sa tom razlikom da su imali priliku da pređu preko granica koje nas razdvajaju, imali su priliku da osete bol sa druge strane, da osete težinu na mestima na kojima je njihova vojska činila zločine i to je suoblikovalo njihov pogled na prošlost i sadašnjost. Dobar deo njih na svoje učešće u ratu i dalje gleda sa ponosom, jer je to u to vreme bilo ono što se njima činilo kao jedino pravedno, da brane nešto svoje što je napadnuto. Nisu ni imali neku slobodu izbora pa da se kaju što nisu drugačije postupili. Vi u toj grupi imate ljude koji i dalje imaju stavove koji su iz nacionalističkog diskursa, ali se zaustavljaju tamo gde im postaje jasno da time diskriminšu ili vređaju druge. U krajnjoj liniji i to je proces koji dugo traje i ne dešava se preko noći. To očekivanje da će neko preko noći promeniti mišljenje i

reći kako je bio potpuno u krivu, je besmisleno. Ako su spremni da čuju druge, ako su spremni da otvoreno pričaju o sebi i svojim iskustvima, to je sasvim dovoljno za početak, za dijalog. Svako će za sebe izvući svoje pouke, mi se uopšte ne bavimo time da govorimo drugima šta da misle i šta je „jedino“ tačno i pravedno.

Ljudi koji najviše mogu uticati na izgradnju inkluzivne kulture sećanja jesu oni koji u javnosti imaju najveći legitimitet za to, a to su na prvom mestu bivši borci i udruženja žrtava. A mnogi borci su ujedno i žrtve po više osnova, od toga da su velikim delom invalidi rata, da su neki i sami bili mučeni kao ratni zarobljenici, do toga da su im u ratu stradali članovi porodice.

Mostovi se (i metaforički i doslovno) grade mukotrpno i dugo, a ruše u času. Koliko ste uspjeli sačuvati sagrađene mostove?

Ja mislim da jesmo, jer kada pogledam unazad, nismo nijednog trenutka bili vraćeni nazad na nulu, na početnu tačku; malo po malo, korak po korak, ostvarivali smo malo više, od toga da su prvi susreti bili potpuno zatvoreni za javnost do toga da danas idemo i na neke komemoracije koje se koriste za nacionalne mitove.

Kako gledate na poziciju da se vaše učešće u izgradnji kulture sećanja bazirano na razumijevanju i uvažavanju mora „takmičiti“ sa zvaničnom kulturom koja kroz obrazovanje i manifestacije ipak insistira na crno-bijeloj slici prošlosti?

Uobičajena postavka naših društava je crno-bela slika. Tako je bilo u SFRJ, tako je i danas i to nije slučajno, jer ljudi vole to da čuju, a politika voli da podilazi ljudima jer od toga imaju koristi, time kupuju poverenje. Sve je tako jednostavno, mi smo svi dobri, oni su svi loši. Teško je iz toga izaći, ali mislim da nije nemoguće, verujem da je potrebno da se ljudi oseće bezbedno, da je to preduslov, jer kada su u strahu onda su slušeni i ne mogu jasno da rezonuju, spremni su na razne neracionalne odluke. I čini mi se da je hladna kalkulacija nacionalističkih, a u stvari kriminogenih, elita da ne dopuste da se ljudi oseće bezbednim, da im stalno serviraju strah od drugih, da bi oni mogli da se predstavljaju kao zaštitnici...

Mi pokušavamo svojim radom da gradimo saradnju, komunikaciju, poverenje i to je put razgradnje straha i mržnje.

Intrigantno mi je iskustvo Amera Delića, bivšeg vojnika ARBiH iz Zavidovića, koji se prisjeća kako se usljed nikotinske krize 1993. godine sastao sa neprijateljskim vojnicima kako bi od njih dobio cigarete, a zatim je godinama nakon rata postao član vašeg tima. Koliko je značaj iskustva ovakvih izuzetnih pojedinaca u izgradnji mira?

Da nije bilo Adnana Hasanbegovića i Amera Delića, kao ljudi koji su bili bivši borci u ulozi članova našeg tima mogu slobodno reći da mi ne bismo ni probali da radimo sa ratnim veteranima, jer bi to bilo nemoguće. Uspostavljanje prvih kontakata, susreti po kancelarijama u kojima su visile slike tada optuženih, sada osuđenih za ratne zločine, zahtevali su neverovatnu dozu strpljenja, empatije, uverenja. To je bio hod po trnju, na koji su oni bili spremni samo zato što su iskusili rat, jer rat je gori bio.

I svakako da borci sa borcima, neprijatelji sa neprijateljima, osećaju jedni druge neuporedivo bližim, nego sa mnom na primer, sa „tamo nekim dezerterom“. Njih vezuje vrlo slično iskustvo koje su prošli, znaju da su se isto osećali, to ih lako zbližava, ma koliko to ludo zvučalo.

Želim Vas pitati i za jedan aspekt koji nije obrađen u knjizi, a sigurno je važan dio u pomoći veteranima da prevaziđu traume. U jednom tekstu se spominje bivši veteran koji je „lijegao i budio se sa rakijom“. Jasno je da PTSP ostavlja strašne posljedice na pojedince i da ih vodi u autodestrukciju pri pokušaju bijega od trauma. Koliko su vaše sesije terapeutske utjecale na ove ljude, imate li tu nekih spoznaja

Mnogi od boraca i dalje pate od PTSP, nisu ti naši susreti magično sredstvo za brisanje trauma. Ljudi se bore da nauče da sa njima žive i svako traži neki svoj put, pomoć stručnih ljudi ne treba potcenjivati.

Mi nismo terapeuti i nikada ne bih tvrdio da se bavimo takvim radom, no od boraca znam da im je vrlo značajno bilo da sretnu bivše neprijatelje. Pri tom susretu se ljudi oslobađaju tereta koji nose sa sobom, neki od njih su mi govorili kako su nakon tih susreta po

prvi put mogli da spavaju bez korištenja tableta za spavanje.

Mir treba svima, on je nasušna ljudska potreba, u nama i oko nas.

Gdje su prema Vašoj procjeni danas naša društva u odnosu na period kada ste počeli sa radom u ovom polju? Da li smo nakon značajnih pomaka u proteklih četvrt vijeka ponovo krenuli nizbrdicom?

Naša društva su i dalje vrlo zatravana nacionalističkim mitovima, ali postoji i veliki otpor tom autoritarnom jednoobraznom pogledu na prošlost koji nameće svoj stav kao jedini ispravan i jedino legitiman. Otpor se sastoji sa jedne strane u alternativnim oblicima sećanja koje praktikuju razni ljudi, organizacije, institucije koji pokušavaju da pogled na prošlost učine neselektivnim i inkluzivnim. Tu bih svrstao i ono što mi radimo, a trudimo se i da ostane zabeležen trag kako se ne bi zaboravilo ili prenebregnulo da je toga bilo.

A sa druge strane imate generaciju mladih ljudi koji rat znaju samo iz priča, njihov zdrav bunt im govori da sa monolitnim pričama koje ne trpe kritiku nešto nije u redu, oni intuitivno znaju da to ne može biti potpuna i prava istina i njihova potreba da saznaju o svetu ih tera da prelaze linije, da pružaju otpor, da preispituju. Zdravo društvo je ono u kojem će preispitivanje biti svakodnevica, u kojem neće biti nedodirljivih autori-

teta, da li političkih ili „moralnih“. I ja verujem da ova naša mladost to ima u sebi. Mogućnosti za učenje, komunikaciju i kretanje ideja i ljudi su drastično promenjene nabolje u odnosu na 1980-e kada su počele pripreme za ratove 90-ih.

Nizbrdice su verovatno sastavni deo napretka, put nije linearan. Kad gledam Srbiju poslednjih 10 godina, vidim strmoglavu nizbrdicu, a vidim sada hiljade i hiljade studenata, mladih ljudi i teško je naćuditi se kako su postali tako pristojni, uljudni, pametni i hrabri. A ustvari tiha većina pristojnih ljudi sposobnih za saosećanje sa drugima, je sve vreme tu, ponekad uspavana, ponekad izbezumljena od straha, ali uvek prisutna.

Ako ljudi ćute ne znaći da pristaju na sve, možda samo nisu imali priliku, uvereni da su sami i da je sve beznadežno. Uvek samo od nas zavisi.

Da me je neko pitao 1997. kada smo poćinjali u Sarajevu da li će za 25 godina biti moguće da bivši borci i neprijatelji zajedno polažu cveće na mesta stradanja, da gostuju na TV-u i da ljudi zovu u program i zahvaljuju im, rekao bih da nema šanse da se to desi. A ipak se dešava.

Ali, sanjali smo da do toga doćemo i radili smo da do toga doćemo. Jeste možda samo kap u moru, ali talasa.

Our websites (available in English):



nenasilje.org/en



onms.nenasilje.org



kulturasjecanja.org/en



biber.nenasilje.org



handbook.nenasilje.org

Annual Report 2025

(English version)

Translation
Ulvija Tanović

Introduction

Dear friends,

You have before you the 28th Annual Report of the Centre for Nonviolent Action.

In the past year, the socio-political landscape was coloured and enriched by mass student and citizen protests in Serbia. The “break” in society they caused opened up “the gates to a different world” and bolstered courage and readiness to fight for it. For many citizens, this “awakening” revitalised dormant practices of social solidarity, support, resistance and love, and pointed to the power we hold within ourselves both as individuals and especially as a community. In this year’s Report you can read an interview with two students, Marija Ilić and Dimitrije Glukčević, who are also participants in our Training of Trainers.

We have also published a special article “The Student Uprising in Serbia: The Power of Nonviolence” about the emergence and evolution of the student rebellion, as well as the power of nonviolent action demonstrated by students and citizens in their struggle.

In the past year, the Centre for Nonviolent Action organised two peace education activities. The 46th Basic Training in Peacebuilding was held in Ulcinj, Montenegro from 18 to 28 October 2024. And once again, after a whole decade, the Training of Trainers was organised in four phases from April to October. As our most demanding programme, this training brought together 22 activists from the whole region.

At the beginning of this year, we published the book *We Come in Peace: War Veterans in Peacebuilding*, and we promoted it in Goražde with an accompanying photography exhibition by Nenad Vukosavljević. Our associates in peacebuilding, war

veterans, spoke at the promotion, but we also met and got to know many wonderful people.

We have been working on marking unmarked sites of suffering for ten years now, and we had our twentieth action this year when we marked several detention facilities and sites of suffering in the areas of Zvornik, Lukavac, Prnjavor and Teslić. At the same time, the action to mark unmarked sites of suffering in Croatia was started by activists of the Youth Initiative for Human Rights. They marked Pavilion 22 at the Zagreb Fairgrounds and the Ribnjak site in Marino selo in the Lipik region.

We also published the sixth Biber Short Story Collection, following the contest where 490 stories were entered. We promoted the Biber contest and the short story collections at the Slovo Gorčina Culture Festival in Stolac at the end of July.

The contexts in which we work were described this year for our annual report by some longstanding, but also some new associates of the Centre for Nonviolent Action.

We answered calls for cooperation, we visited Kigali in Africa, as well as several invitations from our partner organisations in Germany.

We also include two interviews in which we spoke about the work of CNA for [Valter portal](#) and for [Prometej.ba](#) about the book *We Come in Peace: War Veterans in Peacebuilding*.

You can read about all this in our Annual Report and in more detail on our websites.

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

CNA Team
October 2025



peace
education

Training events we held out in the last 12 months:

- 46th Basic Training in Peacebuilding, Ulcinj, Montenegro, 18 to 28 October 2024
- The first phase of the Training for Trainers, Ulcinj, Montenegro, 4 to 14 April 2025
- The second phase of the Training for Trainers, Follow up meetings, Belgrade, Serbia and Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, May 2025
- The third phase of the Training for Trainers, Tetovo, Macedonia, 10 to 20 July 2025

For our 46th Basic Training in Peacebuilding that we organised in Ulcinj, Montenegro, from 18 to 28 October 2024, we received 124 applications. What is characteristic for trainings that we have been organising in the past few years is that prospective participants apply, but once selected, they cancel their participation for various reasons, even though when applying they had checked the box that they were willing and able to set aside ten days for the training. Since we strive to form balanced groups (balanced in terms of gender, age, country of origin, region, profession, etc.), every cancellation presents a problem and makes it difficult to find a person from the waiting list to fill the spot. We are fully aware that people are finding it harder to set aside ten days for peace education, especially because the system does not support those who would like to do so: in Croatia, for example, school directors accommodate teachers who want to take part in the training, while in Serbia this has become practically impossible, and in Macedonia it varies from case to case. We have also noticed unequal numbers of women who apply

compared to men, with the ratio of female to male applicants being 2:1. We wonder if this means that when the world heads towards the right, it is only women who want peace?

After a whole decade, this year we organised the seventh Training of Trainers in Peacebuilding. It has four phases and a total of 33 working days. In terms of preparation and implementation, this means months of work and it is the most demanding programme implemented by the Centre for Nonviolent Action. All of our capacities this year were involved in or subordinated to this programme.

We received a (record-breaking!) number of applications - 90, and those applying were participants we already knew from our other trainings, or trainings by our partner organisations in the region, so it was difficult to select just 18 participants and we decided to exceed our capacity, and accepted 22 of them. We have high expectations of this ToT because our experience has been that previous trainings produced a large base of associates and activists working on peacebuilding in their communities or regions.

Training for Trainers: A Leap of Faith

Nedžad Novalić

There are decisions that don't take a lot of deliberating because the solutions impose themselves, the circumstances make them necessary, they are the only option... Then there are others, where you have

to weigh things, take and retake their measure before finally making your choice. One such decision for us at the Centre for Nonviolent Action was related to the training for trainers.



The last Training for Trainers was held in 2014. A whole network of people and activities that came out of that training has to a large extent shaped CNA over the past decade. The need for a new training for trainers derives primarily from the fact that trainings have been and remain the basis of our work. That basis, sometimes slightly awkwardly described as capacity building, includes meeting new people, expanding the network of friends, supporters and associates, exchanging ideas, an opportunity to rethink and critique, but also having a clear sense of where the current needs are when it comes to peacebuilding.

Recognised need

In the decade since the last ToT, we held 20 or so different trainings (Basic Training in Peacebuilding, the Mir-paqe Training, Training for Students from BiH) through which we met many people who wanted to and had the potential to expand their knowledge and skills. When? they'd ask about the training for trainers, and we'd usually respond with a vague soon. For us, organising a training for trainers has four phases and

takes up 30 working days in total, not to mention the days needed for preparation, which means that a whole year needs to be set aside, most other activities put on hold, internal resources need to be committed to the training for trainers... Between the recognised need and our ability to respond to it was a wall of everyday tasks that we kept sizing up for the most opportune moment to leap over it. Finally, we said that 2025, a whole decade after our last training for trainers, was the moment to take that leap of faith.

That is, in brief, how the seventh training for trainers organised by the Centre for Nonviolent Action came about in April 2025. A total of 90 people who had completed one of the other CNA trainings or those offered by our partner organisations wanted to take part in the training for trainers. It was so challenging to select 18 participants that we ended up selecting 22 and assuming that someone would be bound to cancel. We ended up having 22 participants, with more women than men, as has become common. The average age was 35, with the range going from 23 to 58, and it turned out to be ideal for intergenerational



exchange and an interesting mix of energies and life experiences.

The first phase was held in Ulcinj from 4 to 14 April 2025. The first phase is always an opportunity to work on deepening the topics that most participants had encountered in basic training. On the other hand, the first phase is also the time when the group is just getting to know each other and to build mutual trust, which is an important precondition for subsequent phases of training. In a situation where most of the participants know three or four people that they share a powerful common experience with from basic training, building a group without divisions into these small subgroups based on previous contacts is an important step. Also, the first phase of training offers a unique opportunity to start thinking about the training itself and working with the group from the trainers' perspective.

In the first part, we focused on getting to know each other, building trust within the group, analysing the contexts we come from and topics related to dealing with the past. Among other things, together

we tried to understand which of our everyday, human, straightforward needs are met by what we see as destructive dealing with the past in our societies. Fear, distrust, insecurity, our need to maintain a positive self-image, the need to imbue sacrifice with meaning, these are just some of the needs we identified as being important. From there, we tried to define what a process of constructive dealing with the past would look like, given also all these identified needs. We also went back to the issues of violence, conflict resolution and reconciliation in order to find ways to creatively stand up to violence. Finally, the participants agreed on a topic they plan to work on as trainers and the teams they want to work with.

Everything is the same, except it's not

When I think back to my own expectations of the training for trainers I attended in 2014, I remember a sense of deep disappointment at the very beginning. After a very intense experience at basic training, an experience that in many ways changed and (re)shaped my life, my foremost expectation of the training for



trainers was to have all that repeated, just with a different group. This need or search for a paradise from which we had been exiled after the end of basic training is still with me today. The training for trainers brings a different dynamics and a different kind of experience, offering us the opportunity to alternate between letting go and being guided through the training, on the one hand, and pulling back and watching the process of guidance or becoming guides ourselves. There are many challenges. One of them is certainly how to deal with the expectations attached to the training for trainers that are always, consciously or not, based on or compared to what we experienced in basic training. One of the ways we have tried to respond to this challenge already in the first phase is to focus on the relations within the triangle of content-group-individual and to always explain not just how we do something, but also why now. Another challenge is impatience to step into the trainer's shoes, which tends to push building the group and becoming sensitive to the topics and the range of differences into the background.

We work with an inspiring group that is very dedicated to peacebuilding and has complete trust in the team and the approach practiced by CNA, a group of people hungry for knowledge, rethinking, communication, and sometimes competition. We approach the training for trainers for peacebuilding so that examining possibilities and needs, as well as ways to build peace in the present and future, are primary. Running trainings, working with groups, this is one way of working towards that goal to which we dedicate special attention, because it provides an excellent basis, but it is not an end in itself. Our aim is to empower, expand and network a regional group of people who will contribute to changing our societies in the coming decades. What we have achieved so far gives us reason to believe that we know what it takes.

The training team (Ivana Franović, Nenad Vukosavljević, Nedžad Novalić and Tamara Zrnović) was reinforced in the first phase by Luan Imeri from the Skopje Centre for Human Rights and Conflict Resolution. Luan is the good soul of every training, a longstanding friend and supporter, and it was important to have him



onboard in this first phase of the training. Safet Ballazhi helped us with translating from and into Albanian in the first two days of the training. By having consecutive interpretation, we wanted to thank the participants who take part in the training while speaking a non-native language, which requires additional effort, but also to show how it's possible to do training with interpretation. We owe special thanks to our hosts in Ulcinj, all the lovely people who provide for our comfort during our work and stay.

What follows are working meetings at which teams that have already been formed will work on preparing workshops on the topics they selected themselves. In July, the teams will lead their prepared workshops and have the opportunity to step into the trainers' shoes. Apart from selecting topics and preparing workshops, this will also be an opportunity for mutual learning through feedback in a safe space and from a group that has built sufficient trust and openness.

work with war veterans



Activities we held out in the last 12 months::

- Planning and Reflection Meeting in Ozren, Petrovo, September 2024
- We Come in Peace: War Veterans in Peacebuilding, Book Promotion and Photography Exhibition in Goražde, BiH, March 2025
- Attending Commemorations on Heliodrom, Mostar, BiH, 19 March 2025
- Attending the Commemoration in Herceg Novi, Montenegro, 25 May 2025

Greasing the Wheels - Planning and Reflection Meeting

Periodically, with our group of war veterans we need to take a step back from our regular joint peace actions, visiting sites of suffering and attending commemorations, which are stressful and leave a deep impact. We organise gatherings that we use both for working and planning future activities and for meeting new people from the areas we visit, be they representatives of associations related to the war or people involved in activism, civil society or political activity. This gives us first-hand insight into the local historical context and the legacy of the war. It is also an opportunity to maintain our group's cohesion.

We did not select Mount Ozren near Doboj haphazardly. Its peaks and slopes are partly in the Republika Srpska and partly in the Federation of BiH. During the war, the area was a combat zone and the front lines later became inter-entity demarcation lines. The geographic region of Ozren is administratively and territorially divided between the following cities and municipalities: Doboj, Petrovo, Gračanica, Lukavac, Banovići, Zavidovići and Maglaj.

We had previously met members of the Citizens' Association *Fojničani iz Maglaja* whose mission is environmental preservation and improvement. The Association was founded after the 2014 catastrophic floods in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Faced with the destructive power of nature, that man recklessly tried to control, they decided to take concrete steps. As the association's president Davor Šupuković said, their activities have led to dozens of projects that have

contributed to improving the state of the natural environment, with the clear goal of preserving it for future generations. They also actively promote the tourism potential of the area.

What we found out during that first meeting, and found particularly interesting, is that they have members in the association who are war veterans from different sides and that they cooperate with similar environmental organisations from neighbouring municipalities and from the other entity that also have veterans as members.

Since then, we knew we needed to get to know each other better.

We found out first hand, through socialising with our Fojnica hosts, how people united around a joint cause can find a common language, overcome divisions and build bridges of respect over wartime scars. They do not forget the past, but based on its lessons, they endeavour to build trust with their neighbours.

At their offices, we also met with veterans. Together, we visited Maglaj and sites of memory, and then made our way to Mount Ozren, to one of its peaks in Republika Srpska. There, the paragliding club *Paraghost* from Doboj, whose members are mostly war veterans, is situated on the rural estate *Staro naslijeđe*.

The conversation with the hosts very quickly turned to the past. There was talk about military positions, directions of action, and heavy fighting. But the view from Mount Ozren soon changed the course of

the story. Stretching before us was a tame mountain, dappled with forests and glades, with water springs and streams at almost every turn. The topic shifted towards what connects the people of this region most today - the need to preserve that natural bounty.

Associations and individuals from all sides of Mount Ozren, regardless of entity or political boundaries, are joining forces to protect the mountain from exploitation of ores and lumber, and the environmental degradation that would inevitably follow. Their determination borders on fanaticism, but it is precisely that kind of persistence that makes a difference. They are organised and networked, they closely monitor all mining exploration and logging attempts, and react to each one.

For them, permits issued by political structures *from above*, bypassing local representatives, simply have no legitimacy. They are fierce in their opposition, driven by the idea of leaving clean water and healthy soil to future generations. They see anyone who helps them in this as an ally and they refuse to let politicking jeopardise their mission.

On Mount Ozren and in Fojnica, we saw up close how the past and the present intertwine. Sometimes, wartime experiences from the past can evolve into a determined fight to protect nature and the commons.

For some time now, we had been looking out for an opportunity to meet with the mayor of Lukavac, Edin Delić. He had shown civic courage by opposing initiatives to remove the memorial for fallen VRS fighters erected by Serb returnees in the local community of Sižje. Even though the monument had not been erected during his time in office, he resolutely opposed initiatives to remove it, pointing out that it was not honouring any crime or criminal, it was commemorating fallen fighters and did not imply any reduction in responsibility for crimes or seek to glorify anyone's misdeeds.

Reading his statement...*I participated in the past war from the first to the last day and fought against*

those to whom the monument was erected in Sižje. And today I fight to ensure that present and future generations never again fight with weapons and that we don't build new monuments for the fallen every 50 years or so, we simply knew that in him we had a fellow fighter for peace.

The meeting with Edin Delić had its official protocol, with a reception in the Lukavac local government building, after which there was more informal time to socialise and a walk through the town centre. Several times people on the street approached to exchange greetings with him. He was surprised that there was a group like ours and emphasised his veteran identity and told us we could count on him as a participant in our future peace work, saying Lukavac would always welcome us as long as he was in office. During our visit in Lukavac, we also went to see the recently erected Memorial to the Victims of the Srebrenica Genocide.

In Petrovo, mayor Ozren Petković greeted us at the municipality building with a traditional Mount Ozren welcome. We toasted with him as our host and exchanged a few kind words along with introductions, as is customary. Our visit was very pleasant. We were surprised to learn that joint projects had already been implemented by associations of disabled war veterans of VRS from Petrovo and of ARBiH from Gračanica.

During our stay in Petrovo, we also visited the memorial to fallen VRS fighters from this municipality.

This brought our tour of this part of BiH to a close. Our group, strengthened by new experiences, will continue its activities according to the plan of action that we adopted on this occasion.

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



Promotion of the book *We Come in Peace: War Veterans in Peacebuilding* and accompanying photo exhibition, Goražde

On Monday, 17 March 2025, the Youth Centre in Goražde hosted the presentation of the book *We Come in Peace: War Veterans in Peacebuilding*, followed by the opening of the exhibition of photographs by Nenad Vukosavljević.

Slavko Klisura (Goražde) moderated a discussion about the book with Đoko Pupčević (Šamac), Mirko Zečević Tadić (Brčko), Nenad Vukosavljević (Belgrade) and Suljo Đogo (Goražde).

For the Goražde natives Suljo Đogo and Mesud Kumro, this was not the first time they played host in their town, welcoming peace activists and war veterans. Over the past few years, they have participated in several joint visits to sites of suffering and together with veterans from the region, they attended official commemorations in Goražde and the surrounding area.

Many people from Goražde who came to the promotion shared emotional personal stories and expressed gratitude that in this tense socio-political moment, there was a conversation about peace and peace initiatives.

Our long-time associates from places around Goražde also came to the event.

The photography exhibition remained on display until 24 March 2025. Thanks to a recommendation from the Ministry for Education, Youth, Science, Culture and Sports, many secondary school pupils visited the exhibition and through a guided tour led by Ahmed Novalić, they learned about the context of CNA's work with war veterans in peacebuilding.

This was the first in a series of promotions that we plan to organise.

Attending the commemoration at Heliodrom, Mostar

Members of the team from the Centre for Nonviolent Action Sarajevo-Belgrade, together with a smaller group of war veterans from the region, attended the commemoration to mark 31 years since the closing of the Heliodrom camp near Mostar.

Heliodrom was a site of detention and killing that is still unmarked and the surviving former camp inmates and associations that represent them are continuously denied access to the site. The same thing happened this time. The commemoration was held in

front of the closed gates, under the watchful eyes of private security guards hired by the University of Mostar.

The authorities estimated the event posed a high security risk, so there were also members of EUFOR and the police present.

The Centre for Nonviolent Action will continue to provide support to associations of victims and individuals in their struggle for access to sites of suffering.

Attending the commemoration in Herceg Novi

On 26 May 2025, at noon, a commemoration was held in Herceg Novi to mark 33 years since the war crime committed against Bosniak civilians from Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The gathering was organised in front of the Security Centre building in Herceg Novi, because of its symbolic connection to the events from May 1992. At that time, the Montenegrin police unlawfully arrested and detained at least 66 Bosniak civilians, while some sources cite a much higher figure – more than a hundred. These were men aged 18 to 66 who had fled

the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina and sought shelter in Montenegro.

Representatives of the Centre for Nonviolent Action Belgrade-Sarajevo once again attended this commemoration where, together with others, they laid flowers and paid their respects to the victims of this crime.

The Centre for Nonviolent Action gives its full support to existing initiatives for a memorial at the site and for establishing an official Day of Memory honouring the victims of this war crime.

Books like *We Come in Peace* can work like an elixir

Interview with Nedžad Novalić

Author Gordan Duhaček

Published: 30.01.2025. on [Valter.portal](#)

Given the general state of apathy and constant brewing of inter-ethnic hatred by political elites in today's Bosnia and Herzegovina and the region, some thirty years after the end of the war, reading a book like *We Come in Peace* can act as an elixir to revive the soul and heal trauma.

How is it possible that war veterans of ARBiH, HVO and VRS, people who used to look at each other

through cross-hairs, become not just peacebuilders, but good friends?

The answer to this question can be found in the book *We Come in Peace: War Veterans in Peacebuilding* recently published by the Centre for Nonviolent Action.

This excellent book brings together experiences gained by the nongovernmental organisation Centre



for *Nonviolent Action* through more than twenty years of working with veterans. Chapters in *We Come in Peace* were contributed by Amer Delić, Ivana Frano-
vić, Nedžad Novalić and Nenad Vukosavljević, and the book was edited by Ivana Frano-
vić, Davorka Turk and Martina Fischer.

The greatest support comes from disabled war veterans organizations

The first part of the book, titled *The Peacebuilding Potential of War Veterans* contains texts describing how the work of activists from CNA with war veterans developed over the years and how veterans themselves became peace activists. It is particularly touching to read testimony from Amer Delić, a veteran of the Army of RBiH, titled *Fighter Turned Peacebuilder – What Will People Say?* as well as chapters describing visits by war veterans and peace activists to sites of suffering and war crimes.

It turns out it's important to persevere, because they would often be looked at with distrust on their first visit, with positive surprise on the second, and welcomed with open arms on the third.

The second part of the book is titled *Who Are These People?* and contains short profiles and photos of veterans who have become peacebuilders. It is telling that many of them point out how their children have moved away and live abroad and that they felt more optimism for the future of BiH in the first years after the war than they do now. They take part in peacebuilding because they don't want to see the war repeated ever again.

It is interesting that some veterans' organisations were sceptical about the efforts of peace activists, and some decided they did not want to get involved, but they received the most support from organisations of disabled war veterans. Those who lost more in the war are often prepared to do more for peace.

Given the general state of apathy and constant brewing of inter-ethnic hatred by political elites in today's Bosnia and Herzegovina and the region, some thirty years after the end of the war, reading a book like *We Come in Peace* can act as an elixir to revive the soul and heal trauma.

Even though it's a small sample, the *Centre for Nonviolent Action* with its perseverance in activism showed not only that reconciliation and understa-

ending are possible between people in BiH, Croatia and Serbia, people who were on warring sides during the wars of Yugoslavia's dissolution, but that there can also be solidarity through which we can all build a better future.

We talked about what it was like working with war veterans on peacebuilding with Nedžad Novalić, a historian and member of the team at the *Centre for Nonviolent Action* and one of the authors of the book *We Come in Peace*. To start, we wanted to know why it was important to visit sites of suffering from the war.

Recognising the suffering of the "other side"

"To put it in the simplest terms: because these places exist, commemorations are organised, memorials are constructed. It is important to visit these sites because that is often a sign of support to a community that is today in the minority and needs every kind of support, and from our experience, I can say that for many people the arrival of a mixed group of veterans means a great deal. It is a sign that they were being accepted, that their suffering is being recognised," says Novalić.

He warns that there are sites, monuments and commemorations that are destructive from the perspective of peacebuilding.

"Selective memory of only our own victims, denying 'other' victims, messages of hatred from monuments or official commemorations, we saw all this and wanted to change it somehow. One of the ways to intervene is to come to such places and such commemorations. A particularly powerful intervention is when war veterans, former members of the Croatian Army, ARBiH, HVO, VRS and JNA/Army of Yugoslavia, come to such places together. That sends a message that the 'other' side recognises 'our' suffering and that 'among them' there are people who are prepared to condemn crimes and call for the prosecution of those responsible, and this is a significant way to establish basic trust among people," this peace activist explained.

The book also says that daily political developments in BiH often presented a problem for the efforts of the *Centre for Nonviolent Action* and war veterans who worked with them. We were interested to hear about specific examples?

"It's not just a problem in BiH, but everywhere in the region, and global developments also have an impact. The Homeland Movement coming to power in Croatia necessarily makes peace work more difficult, in Serbia the government led by Aleksandar Vučić has in a way rehabilitated a host of war criminals, sponsoring their books, television appearances, etc." Novalić pointed out.

"In Bosnia and Herzegovina, we've had situations where various statements or decisions raise tensions to such a degree that people begin fearing for their own safety. There were times when returnees temporarily left their homes out of fear, and it's difficult to work in such circumstances," he said.

He added that the war in Ukraine and Israel/Palestine also affects people because they are reminded of what they went through and fear mounts again, a feeling of insecurity and helplessness.

"Political elites in the region view the past as a political resource, one of the few that they totally control and that is important for them both in terms of staying in power and maintaining the overall power dynamics in society. When we wrote about the culture of memory in another publication, we defined what we are witnessing as a 'war of memories', this is the state of affairs that political and other elites strive to maintain," Novalić believes.

The public is not shown positive examples

One of the most striking things in the book is the number of times war veterans conclude they had been wrong about something, so they changed their minds, they talk about what they regret doing during the war or right after the war. This is seldom heard in BiH, errors and faults are mostly seen only in others, not in ourselves.

"You will hear it from ordinary people, but the question is if their voices will be heard. There is a just relationship towards the past that prevails with ordinary and honest people. You will even hear such messages from some local politicians. The problem is that the higher you go up the social ladder, the less of it there is," says Novalić.

He also cites some concrete positive examples:

"For instance, you have the mayor of Vareš who is an HVO veteran and regularly attends the commemorations."

ation in Stupni Do, the former mayor of Rudo was a VRS veteran who regularly supported and attended commemorations for Bosniak victims, you have a similar situation with the mayor of Lukavac who is an ARBiH veteran. These things are possible and they are happening, the question is how to raise them to a higher level, how to get the members of the BiH Presidency to go somewhere together to honour victims.”

The of war veterans who worked with CNA and became peace activists had various experiences back in their home communities, both good and bad.

“Some were targeted by dreadful verbal abuse, the government would take revenge on them by denying them a prosthetic for the leg they lost in the war... We asked the veterans about how they coped and for most, the support of their families and a close circle of friends was crucial. We tried to have several veterans to work with everywhere and to keep expanding this circle of support. The credibility we have built up and maintained over the years has led to many victims’ associations, religious leaders and local politicians respecting us as a group that treats all victims fairly and has honest intentions. This also helped reduce pressure and increase support,” Novalić remembers.

We also asked Nedžad Novalić about the emotional toll of working in the *Centre for Nonviolent Action* and with war veterans, as well as the emotional fulfilment.

“It’s emotionally demanding, because you simply have to invest yourself in the work. It is the darkest part of our history where there was so much inhumanity that you can’t help but be shaken by it. At the same time, it is fulfilling because you are doing something meaningful and useful, you have the chance to change something and see that change, even if some might consider it small.”

Vicious circle of denying responsibility

He also spoke about an event that affected him deeply:

“When I was in Vitez, which is part of my broader home region, at the commemoration for killed Croat children, and when you see how much it means to a parent who lost a child all that time ago that you

came, brought a rose, held their hand, it gives you motivation to keep going.”

“The burden veterans as peacebuilders take on when they visit sites of suffering is huge. It is not easy as a veteran of, for instance, the Croatian Army to go to Varivode and Gošić, or for a veteran of ARBiH to go to Trusina, or a veteran of VRS to Srebrenica... And it’s not so much a question of courage as of responsibility and removing the burden from entire collectives and future generations,” Novalić believes.

Given that BiH news media feature a commemoration related to the war that ended 30 years ago on an almost daily basis, the question that should be asked is what if commemorations keep the war close, current, even alive? This is not to say that it should all be forgotten and nothing should be commemorated, but that the right measure needs to be found to open up the way for more freedom and rid us of constantly going through cycles of retraumatisation.

“I’m sure many people feel that there’s too much of everything, I sometimes do myself,” says Novalić.

“The political elites that hold power are trying to make sure the past never passes, and that instead its burden is passed on from one generation to the next so that we stay trapped forever in a vicious circle of denying our own responsibility and lacking compassion for others. We are aware of this and for that precise reason we go to commemorations and deal with the past, in order to show that the burden can be shifted with dignity, that a different kind of memory is possible, a memory that will go towards building a better and more just society,” Novlić points out and adds:

“I completely understand people when they say they feel constricted, that it all gets to be too much and they refuse to play projected social roles. One of the effects of working with war veterans who have become peacebuilders is precisely this rejection of the projected role of war veterans, what they are allowed, what lines must not be crossed... Peace work is essentially about creating a space of freedom, including the freedom to choose how much memory is not too much,” concludes the co-author of this excellent book and long-time peace activist.

marking
unmarked sites
of suffering



Actions we held out in the last 12 months:

- **20 ONMS action, November 2024**

Marked places of suffering:

- Desanka Maksimović Primary School in Petkovci, Zvornik, BiH
- Red Silt Dam, Petkovci, Zvornik, BiH
- The Abattoir facility in Modrac, Lukavac, BiH
- Tannery in nearby Vijaka, Prnjavor, BiH
- Sloga footwear factory in Prnjavor, BiH
- Former Territorial Defense Building, Teslić, BiH
- Warehouse in Pribinić, Teslić, BiH
- Bebe hamlet on Mount Borja, Teslić, BiH
- Pavilion No. 22 at the Zagreb Fairground, Croatia
- Ribnjak site in Marino Selo near the town of Lipik, Croatia

Ten years of work and the twentieth action

Amer Delić

Ten years of our work was marked by the twentieth action we carried out in several locations in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

We visited the towns of Zvornik, Lukavac, Prnjavor and Teslić and their surrounding areas.

A novelty is that in the past year, we deepened cooperation with the Youth Initiative for Human Rights (YIHR) of Croatia whose members, in parallel with us in BiH, conducted the action to *Mark Unmarked Sites of Suffering* in the Zagreb and Lipik areas in Croatia.

As has been our practice, we continued to involve people from the areas we visit in our actions. We again had the opportunity to work with people who are variously affected by wartime events. Being familiar with our work and our non-selective approach to victims, these extraordinary people had no qualms about supporting our actions and joining us in the field.

And their voices need to be heard.

Hearing a prison camp survivor saying that for him every captive is like a brother, whatever side he may have been on, and that meeting these people, he

always saw himself in each of them. It is important to hear these messages coming from those who have been subjected to horrors themselves. There are no calls for hatred or revenge, instead they express a basic human solidarity – that something like that never happens to anyone again.

Or hearing a man who survived an execution by firing squad, was severely wounded and spent the subsequent days wishing for death to put him out of his misery, say that he would not wish this on anyone, not even the people who fired at him, because no living creature deserves such suffering... These are words that should be heard by all deniers of crimes, haters and political manipulators, all those who continue to stoke hatred and foster fear even decades after the war.

Reactions to our actions

After our actions, we received reactions mostly through social networks and most frequently on Facebook

where our page [Unmarked Sites of Suffering](#) has over 3500 followers.

Comments were by and large affirmative, supportive of our actions and expressed solidarity with the victims, but there were also those coming from entrenched narratives of self-victimisation, avoidance of any responsibility and denial of crimes, hate speech...

We sometimes felt like we were the lightning rod gathering the flashes of general frustrations in our society related to the war.

Messages of support, recommendations, requests, offers of cooperation, etc. keep arriving to our page's inbox after each post, but we also get messages from those who are opposed to our work and our approach.

This time, we also had a response in the media. In a statement given to SRNA, the mayor of Prnjavor called our action a provocation, saying no crimes had been committed in the town during the war. We responded with an open letter saying our intention was never to provoke, not when we marked sites where the victims were Serbs: former Dobrovoljačka Street in Sarajevo, Bravnice near Jajce, Brčanska malta in Tuzla, the 13th Kilometre in Kamenica near Zavidovići, the former barracks in Čelebići near Konjic, etc.

Beacons of Peace

Dalmir Mišković

As part of the twentieth action to mark unmarked sites of suffering, we visited and marked the following sites: the Desanka Maksimović Primary School in Petkovci near Zvornik, the Red Silt Dam in Petkovci near Zvornik, the Abattoir in Modrac near Lukavac, the Sloga Shoe Factory in Prnjavor, the Tannery in Vijaka near Prnjavor, the former Territorial Defence building in Teslić, the Warehouse in Pribinić near Teslić, and the hamlet of Bebe on Mount Borje near Teslić.

In cooperation with activists from the Youth Initiative for Human Rights from Croatia, we expanded the action outside the borders of BiH. Their members marked two unmarked sites of suffering: Ribnjak in

We pointed out that war crimes were committed in the Prnjavor area and that these facts were established by final court judgements. We also said that our activities were aimed at constructive memorialisation and building a lasting and stable peace in the territory of the former Yugoslavia, based on fairly dealing with the past.

Where are we now and what next

We started this activity ten years ago as a group of enthusiasts in an effort to bring social change through the culture of memory, highlighting neglected and disenfranchised victims who are denied monuments as sites of memorialisation and recognition of their victimisation.

We have visited and marked more than 160 sites. The format of digital memorialisation gave us the freedom to mark every unjustly neglected site of human suffering, without needing special permission, and we even reached places where we had been denied access. We have a database of sites documented on our [website](#), with precisely marked locations on a map that will be helpful to all those interested: families of victims, researchers, historians, activists, reporters and others.

Marino selo in the Požega Slavonia County, and previously Pavilion 22 at the Zagreb Fair.

Ten years of marking unmarked sites of suffering

The Initiative to Mark Unmarked Sites of Suffering started its activities in 2015 with the aim of raising awareness about sites of suffering, war crimes, imprisonment, killings and other human rights violations that had been enveloped in silence or were being denied in their local communities. This was most often the case because the victims of the crime had been members of a minority community and drawing attention to unmarked sites of suffering of minority



communities runs against one of three Bosnian-Herzegovinian para-truths about the 1990s war. This is precisely why we thought it important to point out and raise awareness about unmarked sites of suffering. To date, we have marked over 150 unmarked sites of suffering and have visited almost every city and municipality in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

One of our most significant achievements over almost ten years of this work is cooperation with people from all parts of BiH. Our actions were joined by war veterans from all the once warring armies, representatives of associations of prison camp survivors, civilian war victims and their families, foreign and local reporters, and, most importantly, young people interested in a just relationship with the past and constructive memorialisation. This cooperation is very important to us because it shows that steps forward can be made on difficult topics of dealing with the past and memorialisation, and that there is a willingness and a need among ordinary people, victims, those who felt the war on their own skin, to do something about the legacy of war that we have in common.

A voice and warning

For the twentieth action, which started in the Zvornik area, we were joined by Nedžad Avdić, a witness of genocide. In July 1995, when he was seventeen years old, Nedžad survived a mass execution on the plateau in front of the Red Silt Dam in Pektovci near Zvornik where he was among those captured after the fall of Srebrenica, which would later be characterised in numerous court judgements as genocide, and where units of the Army of Republika Srpska executed at least 814 people. Only Nedžad and one other man survived the execution and spent four days and nights wandering until they reached territory under Army of BiH control. Nedžad's incredible story leaves you shocked and speechless, but the way he talks about his experience, his sense of calm and desire to live tell us how life must go on, and how we must do everything in our power to ensure that genocide and other wartime atrocities never happen to anyone again.

When we were marking the plateau in front of the dam in Pektovci and the Desanka Maksimović Primary

School in Petkovci where he had been detained prior to the execution, Nedžad relayed how his mission was to counter the mass denial of genocide in the name of the victims who cannot speak and to be the voice to warn future generations so that this evil never happens again.

After visiting locations in Zvornik, the twentieth action to mark unmarked sites of suffering continued with the marking of the Abattoir facility in Puračić near Lukavac. The Abattoir was used in 1992 as a detention site for Serbs from the Lukavac area. The prisoners were subjected to inhuman and degrading treatment and interrogations and abuse.

Crossing invisible borders

When marking sites of suffering in the Prnjavor area, we were joined by our longstanding associates, members of the Derventa Prisoners of War Association, and together we marked the Tannery in Vijaka near Prnjavor and the Sloga Shoe Factory in Prnjavor. Both these facilities served as sites of detention in 1992 for Bosniaks and Croats from Prnjavor and Derventa and were run by units of the Army of Republika Srpska and the Republika Srpska Police. Prisoners were subjected to inhumane conditions, degrading treatment, interrogations and abuse.

Although the Bosniaks and Croats from the Prnjavor area suffered the most during the past war, representatives of the Derventa Prisoners of War Association, which brings together mostly Serbs who had been victimised by military formations made up mostly of Croats and Bosniaks, joined our action and together we visited sites of suffering in Prnjavor and in so doing demonstrated that there is a way to bridge invisible borders to compassion and memory between once warring sides in BiH. Such steps are crucial for peacebuilding in BiH because they make possible common and universal memory of experienced suffering and contribute to trust building, as opposed to exclusive memory within national communities that only deepens divisions and drives communities further from each other.

Sites of suffering in the Teslić area

We concluded the twentieth action to mark sites of suffering in the Teslić area.

The former Territorial Defence building in Teslić served as a detention site for Bosniaks and Croats from Teslić and was run by forces of the Army of Republika Srpska and the reserve police unit known as “Miće”. The prisoners were subjected to interrogations, abuse and beatings, and 40 prisoners from this facility were killed during August 1992.

The warehouse facility in Pribinić near Teslić was used as a detention site for more than 200 Bosniaks and Croats from Teslić. The prisoners were abused and beaten, and several prisoners died as a result.

The Bebe hamlet on the way from Teslić to Mount Borje is an unmarked site of suffering where 28 Bosniaks and Croats who had previously been detained in the Teslić area were executed. The prisoners were brought to a previously prepared mass grave in the hamlet of Bebe and killed there.

Marking sites in Croatia

The twentieth action being carried out in BiH was also joined by activists from the Youth Initiative for Human Rights from Croatia who marked an unmarked site of suffering at Ribnjak in Marino selo in the Požega-Slavonia County. In 1991, the Ribnjak site was a place of detention for Serbs, of whom at least 18 died as a result of abuse, torture and beatings. The facility was run by military police units of the 76th Independent Battalion of the Croatian National Guard.

We had previously cooperated with activists of the Initiative when in 2018 they marked Pavilion 22 at the Zagreb Fair as an unmarked site of suffering, a place where Serbs from the Zagreb area had been detained and killed during 1991.

Beacons of Peace

The past 20 actions to mark unmarked sites of suffering would not have been possible without individuals who were prepared to speak about their pain, their fears, the nights they survived imprisoned in places that remain inaccessible as sites of memory where people could pay their respects.

Much of this would not have been possible without Nadežda who mustered the courage to join us in 2018 for an action and visited Bravnice near Jajce for the first time since 13 September 1995 when she was wounded after the refugee bus she was on was attacked.

It would not have been possible without the late Stano, our great friend, associate and pillar of support, who as a prison camp survivor and veteran of HVO visited five or six locations in Mostar and marked the sites where he had been detained, as well as sites where the military formation he belonged to had detained people, pointing out the importance of appropriate memorialisation for the sake of future generations.

It would have been much more difficult if it weren't for Edin who came with us on visits around Prijedor and in Central Bosnia, and whose life and example are a beacon showing how a single person can be both a veteran and a prison camp survivor and a peace activist, and how they can make so many positive changes and steps towards peace in their community.

We were also helped by Drago, Ekrem, Spasoje, Strikan, Đoko, Slaviša, Perica, the late Anđelko, Nedžad, Prof. Omerika and many others we met while marking 150 sites, sometimes difficult to access, such as pits, ruins, schools, cultural centres, former factories and halls, various warehouses, and doing the most valuable thing each of us individually can do, which is a human step towards a better and more just society. A human step in paying respects, for the kind of memorialisation we all need, and especially the

future generations. These individuals are the sparks of change and the personal connection that is crucial to finally start healing and overcoming the painful points of our common past.

Over the past ten years, together with these supportive individuals, members of the team that marks unmarked sites of suffering, Amer, Tamara, Dalmir, Čedo, Ajdin, embarked on a journey of growth, facing painful places that are enveloped in silence or denial in their communities. Together, they tried to change in a just way the memory and memorialisation of our painful and complex past, of victims, those that are gone, but whose stories are key for us to start healing our society together and reconciling in a way that is just. With Amer, we visited Zavidovići and the 13th Kilometre, with Tamara we visited sites in Zvornik and Sarajevo, with Čedo we visited his hometown of Bratunac and also Hadžići, Ajdin and Dalmir twice visited Livno and marked unmarked sites of suffering.

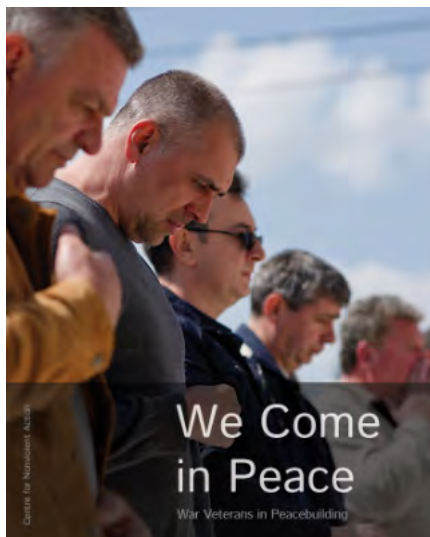
This is the element that is needed to take these very necessary steps in peacebuilding; by remembering the evil that happened, to make sure it never happens again. These small steps made by ordinary people, our associates, individuals and team members, these are key drivers of change from the grassroots, from the foundations that are formed by people who serve as beacons of peace.

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



publications
promotions

New Book: *We Come in Peace: War Veterans in Peacebuilding*



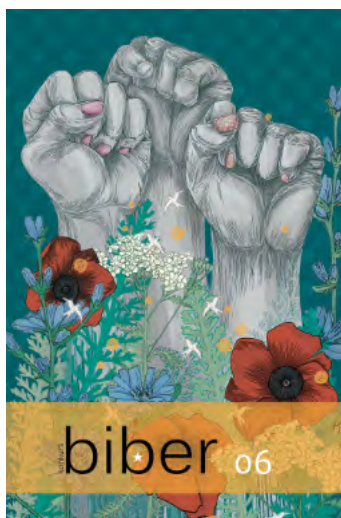
We are pleased to announce the publication of our new book *We Come in Peace: War Veterans in Peacebuilding*. We have done our best to collect the experiences that the Centre for Nonviolent Action has gained from working with ex-combatants for more than twenty years.

The book consists of two parts: the first part focuses on the potential of war veterans for peacebuilding and the experiences we have gathered; the second part focuses on the people who make this work possible. The texts in the book were written by Amer Delić, Ivana Franović, Nedžad Novalić and Nenad Vukosavljević. The book is edited by Ivana Franović, Davorka Turk and our long-time colleague and friend Martina Fischer.

We hope that it will serve as an inspiration and support for peace and human rights activists from the region, as well as from other parts of the world. We believe it will be of interest to researchers, and we especially recommend it to those who place ex-combatants in the category of spoilers.

The book is **available in PDF format** on our website. For a hard copy, please contact one of the two CNA offices.

Biber 06 Collection published



The 6th *Biber* Contest was open from 8 December 2023 to 26 May 2024. A total of 490 stories were submitted. The jury, comprising **Almin Kaplan**, **Jasna Dimitrijević** and **Tanja Stupar Trifunović**, selected 24 stories to be included in the multilingual collection and decided on the prizes. One story was selected for the collection by the *Biber* organisation team.

The translators of the stories are **Gjoko Zdraveski**, **Đorđe Božović**, **Ilir Ajdini**, **Irena Šentevska**, **Ivan Šopov**, **Lidija Barić** and **Qerim Ondozi**.

The cover illustration is by **Jana Danilović**.

Publication is available in: Albanian, Macedonian, Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian/Montenegrin. Publication is not available in English.

Biber at Slovo Gorčina

The multilingual collection **Biber 06** from the regional Biber Short Story Contest was presented at the 54th edition of the **Slovo Gorčina Culture Festival** in Stolac, on Sunday 27 July 2025. *The Slovo Gorčina Culture Festival* is one of the most important cultural events in Bosnia and Herzegovina, with its first edition dating back to 1971. Conceived by Mehmedalija Mak Dizdar, the Festival has been held in Stolac from the very beginning, at the Radimlja *stećak* necropolis and other significant locations. Its mission is to bring the best of contemporary art and culture to the poet's hometown.

The following people spoke at the presentation of the Biber 06 Short Story Collection: **Almin Kaplan** from Stolac, member of the Biber 06 Contest jury, **Monika Herceg**, a writer from Zagreb, **Bojana Savić**, a writer from Belgrade, and **Emina Đelilović Kevrić**, a writer from Vitez. **Ivana Franović** from the Biber Team spoke about the original idea of the Biber Contest, the six collections published so far, and future plans. The discussion was moderated by **Zejneba Hajdarević** from the Slovo Gorčina Culture Festival.

The 7th Biber Short Story Contest

In December 2025, we will announce the 7th Biber Contest. The entry criteria and topic will be the same as in the past several contests: we will invite authors to write short, engaged stories in Albanian, Macedonian, Bosnian, Croatian, Serbian or Montenegrin languages.

The theme of the contest is reconciliation in the context of the aftermath of the wars and violence in the countries of the former Yugoslavia, but also eligible are stories that can contribute to better

understanding among people, reducing hatred and dismantling prejudices, anti-war stories, stories about dealing with the past, deconstructing images of the enemy, about empathy, brave stories that dare to 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 contest is organized by the Biber team of the Centre for Nonviolent Action Sarajevo-Belgrade.

Publication announcement: *Negotiated Justice - Plea Agreements for War Crimes in the Former Yugoslavia*

We will be publishing our new book *Negotiated Justice: Plea Agreements for War Crimes in the Former Yugoslavia* at the end of 2025. The initiative for a publication on plea agreements for war crimes, in addition to other impulses, came from our friend and fellow fighter Edin Ramulić, and we take this opportunity to express our gratitude. Davorka Turk and Nedžad Novalić were the editors of the book and chapters were also contributed by Edin Ramulić and

Nenad Vukosavljević. The book's reviewer is Jovana Kolarić, a sociologist and researcher at the Humanitarian Law Center.

The book is made up of two major parts. Part One, *Theory and Practice*, covers the history of the emergence, development and use of plea agreements for war crimes, and not just the historical and factual aspects, but also the social context and considerations of ethical and legal issues and the impact of their use.

Part Two consists of an Archive of Plea Agreements for War Crimes in the Former Yugoslavia, concluded before international and domestic courts; a database with a total of 105 plea agreements for war crimes before the various competent courts.

We believe this database is particularly valuable because it enables further research and the use of collected guilty pleas to counteract denial of war crimes. It can also be useful in countering denial of people's suffering and of established facts, or for deeper analysis of individual cases where there was a plea agreement.

As we eagerly await the book's publication, we are sharing excerpts from Jovana Kolarić's review.

...

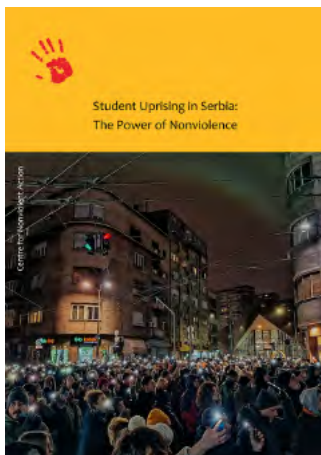
The publication Negotiated Justice – Plea Agreements for War Crimes in the Former Yugoslavia, published by the Centre for Nonviolent Action, represents an important contribution to discussions of criminal justice in the process of establishing facts about the past and building peace in the post-Yugoslav context. It provides insight into how legal norms intertwine with social conceptions of justice, opening up space for a deeper understanding of victims' frustrations and expectations. The authors begin from the premise grounded in years of fieldwork that despite

delivered judgements, convicted perpetrators and available evidence, families of victims still feel that justice has not been served. Already at the beginning of the publication, we encounter the key paradox: even when there are judgements, the affected communities often see the crimes as unpunished. From this insight follows the main research question of this study: To what extent do plea agreements contribute to a sense among war crimes victims that justice has been done, or do they maybe detract from it.

...

The publication Negotiated Justice shows that the level of satisfaction provided by criminal justice falls far short of victims' expectations and that this situation is mediated by society, politics and the media. War crimes trials are conducted in silence, within a discourse of marginalisation and ethno-nationalist victimisation. It is, therefore, especially important that the study by the Centre for Nonviolent Action goes beyond descriptive analysis to ask questions about the role of justice, plea agreements, remorse and social acceptance in postwar societies. Through legal frameworks, ethical considerations and empirical insights, this publication offers a complex but necessary picture of the limited achievements of criminal justice in the post-conflict societies of the former Yugoslavia.

Text “The Student Uprising in Serbia: The Power of Nonviolence”



We have published the text “**The Student Uprising in Serbia: The Power of Nonviolence**” in which you can read about how and why the student rebellion began and developed, the deep commitment to nonviolent action that students and citizens demonstrated with their struggle despite the regime's brutal crackdown, and about the solidarity in the region and the sense that these young people have restored hope to us. It is available on [our website](#).

exchange,
cooperation,
networking

Women against violence, hate speech and genocide: Experience from the Kigali workshop

Ivana Franović

The Office of the UN Special Advisor on the Prevention of Genocide (OSAPG) organised a workshop in Kigali, Rwanda on 4 and 5 November 2024 for women active in communities that focused on the implementation of the Napoli Plan of Action and supporting women from Sudan who are countering violence and incitement to violence that could lead to genocide. I had the honour of participating in this in every respect special event.

The idea of the Napoli Plan of Action was initiated by Alice Wiarimu Nderitu, UN Special Advisor on the Prevention of Genocide, who two years ago brought together in Naples women from different, mostly African countries, women from different walks of life who are actively working in various ways to improve the situation in their communities and societies. The aim was to exchange experience and come together to sketch out the plan. The goals of the action plan are to build sustainable support systems around the work of women in communities preventing genocide and related atrocity crimes, as well as advocating for and supporting women in having a more meaningful role in both global and local peace and security processes, given that few if any women are included in them. An African activist who took part in these consultations summed up the situation vividly: “They play war, then they negotiate a ceasefire, but no one asks us anything, our role is reduced to being raped.”

The final version of the Napoli Plan of Action under its full title “**Plan of Action for Women in Communities to Counter Hate Speech and Prevent Incitement to Violence that Could Lead to Genocide and Related Atrocity Crimes**” was endorsed by the UN General Secretary in June 2023, and it is available online. It is certainly a commendable initiative, but there are many factors that will determine its success. But, to be clear, responsibility lies with various levels of societies to thoughtfully put it into action.

I would like to use this opportunity to indicate another important UN publication: “**Framework of**

Analysis for Atrocity Crimes: A tool for prevention” which was also discussed at the workshop in Kigali. It was published some ten years ago, but it is still current, given the way things have developed globally. It contains an analysis of risk factors that can be useful to both civil society and government officials.

Most of the Kigali workshop was focused on the escalation of violence in Sudan and we heard testimony from eight women from Sudan. They were all from different ethnic groups and all of them are currently refugees in other countries, some even in camps where countless people have fled (if I understood correctly, there are two million Sudanese in refugee camps just in Egypt). It was a deeply emotional experience to hear their words and it was touching how they kept together as a group and tried to come up with constructive ideas, despite the horrific violence that is currently going on. OSAPG devotes special attention to following the developments in Sudan and is planning focused support for women and their cooperation across lines of division.

This was an important experience for me. It was most significant to hear from the women from Sudan. It was also very inspirational to exchange experience about difficulties and strategies with impressive women from different countries. It was challenging to listen to people from the “Village of Reconciliation” in Rwanda during one of the sessions. And the opportunity to see Kigali is not negligible. I did not manage to see much, not enough to get a sense of how people live there now, and I am still sorting through my impressions from the Genocide Memorial where the workshop was held. It was also important for me to get more insight into the work of OSAPG and the UN Special Advisor, which is inspirational, sensitive and constructive.

Two conclusions from the workshop that were repeated by several women still echo in my thoughts: 1) genocide is committed by states (not by deranged hordes or outcasts, as it is often claimed) and 2) hate

speech includes the denial that a crime was committed.

And let me end with a statement that Alice Wiarimu Nderitu repeated in various situations: “Support

for women means support for prevention. Supporting women means saving lives.”

Panel discussion: Understanding the past in order to form the future

Early this year we were invited by the **Cultural Centre of Danube Swabians** of Bavaria from Haar and the Cultural Centre Haus der Donauschwaben to participate in a panel discussion they were organising. It was organised as part of a series of events to commemorate “80 years of flight, expulsion, new beginnings”. This was a way to mark the expulsion of Danube Swabians from areas of Southeast Europe. The panel was opened by Gabriele Schilcher and Kristina Peggjoviq who was particularly engaged in having us there, and CNA was represented by Nenad and Helena. Karl-Heinz Wendel, president of the Association, was an active participant and also provided help as an interpreter.

During the panel discussion, we talked about our work, the book, research study and exhibition “**On the Trail of the Danube Swabians in Vojvodina**”. We looked to the past (or to a multitude of different pasts, those more recent and those further away) and connected it

to the present, we examined mechanisms that seem universal. We had support from the audience who listened intently and later joined the discussion, asking questions and giving comments. The panel discussion did not end with this formal part, it seems, because we continued discussing these topics informally. The people who came to the panel discussion brought a diversity of experiences, ranging from the time of the Second World War to the wars of the 1990s in former Yugoslavia. We were touched by their stories, the experiences they had, and we also shared our experiences.

We had the feeling that for all of us in that room – the organisers and the people from the audience and those of us speaking on the panel – injustice and violence struck us in the same way; we felt connected, supported and that we felt solidarity. If we could just take this energy further, out there into the world, who knows what we could achieve.



interview

This country will never be the same again

We spoke to **Marija Ilić** and **Dimitrije Glukčević**, students from Niš who are actively involved in the student protests, but who are also taking part in the Training of Trainers organised by the Centre for Nonviolent Action, about the student protests that have been ongoing in Serbia since November 2024 (my colleague Ivana Franović wrote about the protests in a separate article: [link](#)). Previously, both Marija and Dimitrije participated in some of our peacebuilding trainings, Marija in the Basic Training, and Dimitrije in the Mir-Paqe-Mip training.

We spoke with them the day after the large protest that was held in Belgrade on 28 June 2025, after which the police beat people in the streets, and attempted to raid the Faculty of Law.

Could you start by telling us a little about yourself?

Marija: I was born in 2001 in Paraćin, I am now studying for an MA degree in Communication Studies in Niš, at the Faculty of Philosophy. As for activism, I have been active since my second year of secondary school when together with a friend from school I set up the organisation “Eho”. We made videos of our professors answering the question: What makes intellectuals return to a small town after studying in bigger cities? Why didn’t they stay where they studied, in Belgrade, Niš, Kragujevac, Novi Sad, instead of returning to Paraćin? That was my first venture into activism at the local level. After that, I was in the student parliament, and then in Kreni – Promeni, that’s where I met Dimitrije. And then I started getting involved in youth policy and that turned into a job, first at Koms and now I work at the National Coalition for Decentralisation. That whole time, I’ve been going to protests. I hope that the first quarter of my life I’ll spend protesting and the rest in freedom. That’s my wish for the future.

Dimitrije: I am Dimitrije Glukčević, also from Niš, I study here at the Faculty of Natural Science and Mathematics, I’m in the second year of the MA programme in mathematics.

It was Marija, actually, who introduced me to the Centre for Nonviolent Action. She told me to apply to

the Mir-Paqe-Mip Training. I was doing something else at the time, but I ended up applying at the last minute and I’m really glad I did.

Did the experience of working in a group on sensitive and difficult topics from the trainings you attended help you in any way when it comes to organising student protests?

Marija: We were just talking about this yesterday, Dimitrije and me, about how much that experience meant to us and how we would recommend the training to others, because we think it would mean a lot for them and it would empower them.

We were familiar with the plenum process, which is practiced at faculty blockades, and we knew how to present arguments and how important that is.

When it comes to the ideology of the protests, the students are not a homogenous group, there are many differences among you, just like in society, but you are focused on one goal: having your demands met?

Marija: Students are, just like everyone else, part of the general population of Serbia, which needs work, we still don’t know if we’ll be carrying that *šešeljevsko-vojvodaska* flag, I don’t know what the black flag is called, and it seems like student protests are full of nationalist right-wing symbols, but that does not mean it is the actual ideology of the students. If we’re trying to make people somehow politically literate or to break down the stigma of anti-politics, then it seems to me we shouldn’t be treating them like children one moment, doing things to appease them, and then splashing them with cold water the next.

Dimitrije: I wouldn’t agree, because I think the flags that appear do not reflect the real picture, or the actual structure of the masses, because I think those flags are carried by those who are more extreme, while most people aren’t actually like that. I think we are all over the place, and that is actually one of the main problems we have. Conflicts mostly arise, not

out of a lack of understanding, but because of some essential ideas that we take as our starting points.

Problems in what sense? In deciding on actions, activities, next steps?

Dimitrije: Maybe in the way we want to achieve certain goals, these can be actions, activities, long-term plans, or anything like that. We have trouble communicating properly, but that can all be overcome in some way. These ideological differences I mentioned, that is what we've never been able to resolve, and I don't think there's a way to do that, because we're very heterogeneous. We have a common goal, but the ways in which we want to achieve that common goal are completely different.

The student protests have been going on for seven months and in all that time, despite all the government's efforts, with all the negative things that have been happening, the threats, beatings, arrests, smear campaigns, black-listing, name-calling, threats to families, with everything that was happening in these seven months, the student protests have remained united, strong and there hasn't been any instance of disunity visible to the public. Watching from the sidelines, we see the heterogeneity, but in a good sense: we're all different, but we have one goal and one idea. How do you explain that?

Marija: We had one crisis. First, the value that really brought us together was solidarity, and not just altruist solidarity, but also preventive solidarity in the sense that when the canopy collapsed on those people, that could have been any of us. Some people protested, they gave their opinion, they said something loudly, then they started getting beaten. I think we are there for each other precisely because we are different.

We actually had a crisis of solidarity when that thing happened in Novi Sad right before 15 March, when the students were arrested. That was our weak point, a weak moment. We grew up in anti-politics.

Now, when they arrest someone, we don't care anymore if they are members of a political party, an NGO or anyone else. And in this attitude towards political parties and the non-governmental sector, you can see how for 13 years all of us under this governm-

ent have been listening to different narratives about people being "foreign agents, domestic traitors"...

Our friend is the youngest councillor in the Niš City Assembly, and being a councillor gives her even greater responsibility. When people are deciding on issues about my life, I don't want that to be a dirty game, I want them to be the kind of people like my friend. But then in the plenums we repeatedly had a no confidence vote for people who had been involved in politics before the student blockades, which I find problematic. Students don't have an exclusive right to fight for justice, and we finally realised that after 15 March.

Dimitrije: What has kind of kept up the blockades these seven months are the demands that brought us together. Now, why, do I say "kind of", well, because even after seven months we still haven't synchronised those demands between all the universities in the country. Almost every university has its own version of the demands, which just goes to show how we're actually unable to agree. Even though it may look good from the sidelines,, and I'm sure someone has even noticed that our demands are not all the same, thankfully that isn't being held against us. As for the values that we keep mentioning, they sound good and they look good on paper, but what I have experienced is that when those values are put to the test, as in when we're meant to show solidarity, then nothing happens.

It's easy to have solidarity when we've seen that every time someone gets arrested, we go out into the streets and nothing happens, but when there's a difficulty or an obstacle, why don't we show solidarity then? The fact that we had the demands to lead us, that was great in a sense because we all knew to stick to that. But when the demands are no longer the primary thing that brings us together, I think that's when things went sideways.

Something I had learned from earlier involvement in activism was that, actually, if there are more than two demands, no one even knows what the demands are anymore. For example, calling an election is really a much simpler demand, but it is completely the opposite of what we were talking about and demanding before.

How did your personal involvement in the protests begin? What was the moment when you got involved?

Marija: On 1 November, I was going from Niš to Belgrade, I had a workshop at FKM.

Dimitrije: I think I was at a café across the street from the faculty in Niš when I found out. Someone had seen the news. We didn't understand how serious it was back then. By the end of that day, I understood...

Marija: It was interesting, I was supposed to be doing the workshop at FKM with a friend from Subotica who was supposed to arrive by train. It was also personal, because when the canopy collapsed, one of the victims was from my town, Anja Radonjić.

In Niš, a blockade of the Rectorate had been announced for 4 December, and I was there from that moment on, because my faculty, the Faculty of Philosophy, was the first to join the blockade.

Dimitrije: The first thing that comes to mind is a scene from the Rectorate when the rector wanted to say, "So, what am I supposed to do now, talk to all of you?" and we all shouted "Yes!" and went to the amphitheatre. For me, the blockade began before the fourth. Time is very relative for me and I have the feeling that it's been years. For months, I had been talking with friends from the journalism programme about how students should generally become more engaged, because there had been other protests before about things that are important to us and it was always about a dozen students coming out to protest and then nothing. We were talking about how to get other students involved, what we could do, and I remember that in that period, from 1 November to 4 December, I was very involved in actions related to free textbooks. It was a very active period for me and I remember we were preparing for a serious guerrilla action and I get a call from a friend who tells me she had been thinking about this for a while and she can't believe nothing was being done in Niš. That FDU was blockaded, that there were other faculties in Belgrade that were blockaded, but we in Niš were silent, and how is that possible, where are the students of Niš, what is going on... We should do something... And then we started planning the protests and there were three or four of us who knew we would be showing up

at the Rectorate and we invited practically everyone we thought would show up, would definitely be there. That morning when the Rectorate was meant to be blockaded, I remember, I got on my bicycle to rush off and get some canvas to paint on a red handprint, I buy the paints, and then a friend calls asking me to get her heart medication, so I go back to the pharmacy and then rush to their apartment..... So, I'm trying the paint the handprint on the canvas at their place, on the floor of a student room that is literally two by two meters. We were planning to paint it there, let it dry, but we didn't have time. I jump in a taxi, I get to the Rectorate, we just draped that canvas down at the quay, just quickly daubed it with paint, and I rush into the Rectorate... in the taxi we were talking about how no one would show up, how we'd all get arrested, and about "who would bring them cigarettes when they get hauled off to prison".

And then - the Rectorate was full, the amphitheatre was full and there were people in front. When we got there, I was overjoyed. Was this really happening? We realised it was possible to also blockade some faculties and we voted on blockading the Faculty of Philosophy. It's interesting that we didn't really know what blockading the Rectorate meant, because we were thinking, ok, so we go in, but what if there's just five of us, what do we do there, how long do we stay?

How many times in these almost seven months have there been moments that you thought weren't possible? Did you ever think you'd be going from Niš to Belgrade on foot?

Dimitrije: I was hoping for things like this, I must admit. In the early days of the blockades I jokingly said that we could walk to Belgrade, because I know they did that in the 1990s, but I really didn't think it would come true, especially not that so many people would actually go on these walks.

There were so many incredible moments, but then, of course, there is the question of the turning point when something incredible becomes probable and possible, because every protest and every walk and everything else, at some point you have to start planning it and so you know it will happen. I'm not an optimist by nature, but when it came to all the things

we were organising, I was really optimistic, I was convinced we would succeed every time, You could just feel the enthusiasm in the air.

From an activist perspective, these are activities that require both physical and mental strength, they're exhausting on every level, but they get people involved and the people from all those towns and villages, the magnificent welcomes in Belgrade and Kragujevac, it was all emotionally very powerful. How did you cope with all those emotions, which are all completely different? Fear is always present, because that's the country we live in, how do you overcome your fear?

Marija: There were ups and downs, and we were really tired. Just before 15 February, ahead of the protest in Kragujevac, we were talking about how we felt deflated, we had been at plenums up to then, making decisions about what to do next, and then I walked from Jagodina to Kragujevac, and that was important for me. To see people welcome you like liberators, that's not entirely true, they just see in you that you care about what they invested their lives in. Especially the older people, they invested their whole lives in this country and now they see that someone still cares about it, someone is walking here, someone wanted to pass through here, these young people want something, they have the will for something. Many had thought we were apathetic, apolitical, just looking at our phones and not caring about anything else, all of us just dreaming of going to America, moving there, or Canada, Germany... That has changed a lot. When it comes to fear: I run away. When it's about talking, I think I could say anything, but when it comes to physical dangers, then I'm a coward.

I don't think anyone would have the right to call you a coward, you have tremendous courage.

Dimitrije: I think I generally have a high threshold for fear, in the sense that where other people wouldn't dare set foot, I go in headfirst. And my previous activism that I did was tied in with that a lot. And then these blockades gave me space where I could develop that part of myself and that means a lot to me. When I go to a protest and I'm just part of the crowd that's

there and walking around, I don't feel good. It's not quite the same experience as when I'm actively involved, in the sense that there's also fear there and other emotions, happiness, joy, you can feel the energy, the crowd... I'm often using the megaphone and that interaction with the crowd means a lot to me. I usually don't think about fear.

When we talk about things that symbolised change, what I saw was on 13 February, because the protest in Kragujevac was on the 14th, but on 13 February when students from Novi Pazar arrived in Kragujevac that evening, when there were shouts of "Kragujevac is the capital again" together with students from Kragujevac, with their DUNP flag, at that moment I felt one of the biggest changes I'd seen in this country, and that was that suddenly we all became – us, and that suddenly that part of Serbia was also joining the big river of change. How did you experience this? All the differences that were there, for example on 31 October last year, many have been overcome since.

Dimitrije: When I met people from different parts of Serbia, it really felt like we'd known each other for years, and that we're all a team. We have the feeling that the people involved in the blockades, especially the people that are the most active, that walk, come to meetings, where there's the most interaction... Among us there's no: we're from Pazar, we're from Niš, we're from Belgrade, we are all just one big community and I think that's what motivates me the most, because I feel we can build that kind of society, where we can all be equal, where the solidarity we like talking about so much is really respected, fostered, lived.

Marija: When we were doing the protest in Niš, because the Faculty of Philosophy was providing accommodation for the DUNP students, we were looking for a place for iftar, because it was the month of Ramadan. And then when we walked over there, because that was during lent, they prepared lent-friendly *mantije* for us. The people I talked with see this as an opportunity to stay in their country, because this country belongs to us: people from DUNP, Niš, Paraćin, Kragujevac, Novi Sad.

Dimitrije: For me, the human component in all the people who become active is the most striking. I don't think anyone is thinking about things like, going abroad or something, we are all just together. It's more of a feeling, something in the air, not something that's discussed. And it's really special, because I hadn't felt it before, especially not with so many people.

It's very emotional to be thinking about making a society that's good to live in, for me that's the height of policy and the height of getting people involved, and people also feel it. Who did you feel most supported by, and who didn't support you or who did their best to get in your way?

Marija: I grew up in a family that was never involved in activism or politics, I'm the one who got my family into politics. And my family supports me, most of all my mum, but not all of my extended family. I also have the support of friends, colleagues, people at the blockades. We were lucky with our dean, but she was also lucky because she's at the end of her last possible mandate.

Dimitrije: Honestly, it's not that my parents don't support me, but they've always said: "Why are you doing this, what do you need this for." Because I've been doing activism in general, they've always had this attitude of simply, I'm a maths student, from a completely different field, I'm into physics, programming, all these natural and technical sciences, so what am I doing going to protests, and do I really have to be in the front row, why do I need to be blockading, there's other students... But, when the blockades started, I had a routine where I would be at the blockades for two days, I'd sleep a little at the faculty, then I'd go home to take a shower, get my things, and then I'd be back at the faculty. I didn't need anyone's support, except for the people at the blockades, and I think that's what meant the most to us. We were all living in one home that we shared.

And what about other citizens, in what sense do other citizens provide you with support and in what sense is that support not what you need?

Marija: I woke up one morning and started thinking about what kind of country I wanted to live in. This is

the story of the assemblies, when we started talking about it, it seemed like we had all progressed so much since the plenums and the blockades began.

I can't count how many times I would have an opinion about something, I would come to the plenum, hear some arguments and then see myself raising my hand for something I thought I would never vote for. That's the impossible stuff. For me, that kind of support was the most important, that people got more involved in the assemblies, so you'd find out that this country is theirs, if only the local community, and then onwards.

Dimitrije: The IT people gave us a lot of support, that has to be mentioned.

At the time when we're completing our Annual Report, there's no end to the protests in sight. In the meantime, the students have issued a demand for snap elections that the government is refusing to call. During the summer, there were bloody clashes in the streets of various cities in Serbia, the repression is stronger, the government is using all the force it has (mostly unlawfully), so I want to ask you what you'd like to say at the end of this interview?

Marija: I really think we have changed, all of us. Maybe the change isn't momentary, but we should really think about if in 20 to 30 years these students will be the ones making decisions in politics. Maybe that will be our golden age. Not golden in terms of money, but a golden age of democracy. I hope all of this will make me want to stay here. I really see a lot of hope in everything that has happened.

Dimitrije: Currently, I'm really living my twenties in their full glory and I think that at these faculties where we all exist collectively with other people of similar attitudes, we are literally making the country we want to live in a reality.

Interviewed by Katarina Milićević

A large crowd of people is gathered in a city square at night. In the background, there are buildings, including one with a large 'LIDL' sign and another with a 'Jednostavno. Bolje.' sign. Festive lights are strung across the square. The crowd is dense, and many people are holding up their phones to take pictures or videos. The scene is illuminated by streetlights and the lights from the buildings and decorations.

political and
social contexts
in which we
live

Canopies over the Balkans

If we had to put what has been happening in the region in the past year into five words, they would be: violence, corruption, instability, fear and tragedies. If we had to use only one word, it would be: violence. At all levels, structural violence drives all its other forms.

We felt this ourselves, our actions and activities were never easy to organise, but lately we have been hitting glass walls. These are not overt bans, we are just told by institutions that they have no free time slots, or they give us the bureaucratic runaround, and doors that used to be open are now closed. Citizens of Kosovo still need a visa to travel to Bosnia and Herzegovina (the Kosovo government unilaterally lifted the visa requirement for BiH citizens), the authorities in

Serbia still call anyone disagreeing with them an Ustaša, while the authorities in Croatia label dissenters as Chetniks, it is increasingly difficult to fight for human rights and be against war, but this is not just a problem in our region, it has become global. Fascism is no longer knocking at the door, it has arrived, the question is simply if we recognise it as such.

Members of the CNA team and our associates have written about the contexts where our peace work takes place: Luan Imeri (North Macedonia), Skender Sadiku (Kosovo), Tita Mikulaš (Croatia), Amer Delić (Bosnia and Herzegovina), Radomir Radević (Montenegro) and Katarina Milićević (Serbia).

Serbia: Time: 11:52 Date: 1 November 2024 Place: Novi Sad

In the future, the history of Serbia will be divided into the period before and after 1 November 2024 at exactly 11:52. At that moment, in the centre of Novi Sad, the the canopy at the freshly renovated railway station collapsed and took fifteen lives, while two more people were seriously injured. One of them later died in hospital, while the other is still in critical condition.

Who were the casualties? Two children, students, athletes, scientists, farmers, pensioners. But above all – people: beloved children, parents, spouses, relatives, friends, colleagues, neighbours. Their only “mistake” was wanting to travel by train that day or to meet a loved one at the station. Some went to their deaths embracing, some were starting a family, some had taken their grandchildren with them. Nothing seemed out of the ordinary – the day, the hour, the train schedule – except for the corruption that had eaten away at the foundations of the system and brought down the renovated structure.

Accustomed to violence

What followed, however, was nothing short of extraordinary – because citizens of Serbia had for a long time

taken injustice and violence as part and parcel of their everyday lives. This time, however, students and citizens took to the streets, demanding justice, accountability, a system without corruption and punishment for those responsible. The initial demands were elementary: accountability for the tragedy, publication of the documents related to the reconstruction of the station, stopping the violence against protesters and punishing those who committed it, and improving the standard of universities. To these by all accounts modest and reasonable demands, the government responded in its usual manner: with denial, manipulation, pressure on the police and justice system, as well as with a farce of empty document folders broadcast on all national TV networks.

Since then, the citizens of Serbia have been living in the streets and in blockades. For months, students and pupils blocked faculties and secondary schools, calling for their demands to be met, intersections were blocked, as were bridges and entrances to institutions. In this way, the public prevented this tragedy from turning into another routine farce by the government. The protests spread from day to day, from town to town, coming to every municipality.

A turning point was on 22 December 2024 when more than one hundred thousand people gathered at Slavija. They stood together in eerie silence for 16 minutes, and then dispersed. That moment marked the passage of fear to the other side – it was no longer the citizens who were afraid, but the government. Being at that gathering was breathtaking: it was convened via social networks, people forwarded the invitation to each other, most of us came without any particular expectations, and then, suddenly, we became aware that we were part of something big, that there were a lot of people, many more than we had dared to hope. Since then, young people, students and secondary school pupils, took to walking, cycling, running and marching across Serbia, but also Europe, going to villages that none of the officials had visited for decades. People opened their doors to the youth, offered food, the last of the apples left from the harvest. The protests awakened an energy in society that had seemingly long forgotten about it: an energy of solidarity, empathy, rebellion, humour, an energy of life. It is particularly significant that the government did not manage to cause inter-ethnic rifts in Novi Pazar, where the students exhibited a rare form of bravery and solidarity in joining their colleagues from other universities. Huge protest rallies were held in Novi Sad (1 February 2025), Kragujevac (14 February 2025), Niš (1 March 2025), Belgrade (15 March 2025), Novi Pazar (27 February and 12 April 2025), and then again in Belgrade on 28 June 2025. The total number of protests in Serbia in the first six months was, unofficially, more than 34,000. It should be noted that citizens would often go to several locations in one day to protest: from standing in silence at intersections from 11:52 to 12:08, attending emergency gatherings at locations where the authorities were implementing repressive measures, or in a show of support for those detained and injured, as well as planned and announced protests that carried a message, such as calls for a general strike.

Use of force against the people

The regime responded with force: beatings, arrests, use of prohibited teargas and “sound cannons”, threats of rape made to female students in detention, withholding of pay and firings of teachers, deportations

of foreign nationals who had expressed support for the protests. Repression has never been more brutal, and the people never more united and determined. According to information from the initiative “*Pustite ih sve*” [Let them all go], as of 13 September 2025, there had been 927 arrests of citizens, with some being arrested multiple times, some mistreated in various ways, such as *Luka Stojanović*, a student who was handcuffed to his hospital bed, or *Bogdan Jovičić*, a student who attended his father’s funeral in chains and under police escort. These instances reverberated through the public that was fighting for their release.

At the same time, the international community has mostly been sitting quietly and waiting to see what would happen. The European Union did not go beyond “expressing concern”, with a few honourable gestures and notable exceptions by some officials and representatives, while the United States entered into business deals with the regime and Russia followed its old pattern of playing a double game, clearly supporting the government while also trying to infiltrate the students and protesters and impose its rhetoric and its messages and slogans. It’s funny that the government in Serbia asked the Russian intelligence network to investigate whether the prohibited “sound cannon” had been used on 15 March and that they just so happened to report back that it hadn’t. Several international and domestic experts found conclusively that it had been used, and following public pressure, the government itself first denied even having such a weapon and later claimed it had not been used, that it was still unpacked, only for the “unpacked” device to turn on while it was being shown to reporters, making it clear that it had already been used. Also, in September 2025, the Russian Foreign Intelligence Service (SVR) posted on its website that “the current unrest in Serbia, with the active participation of young people, is largely the result of subversive activities by the European Union and its member states. The goal of the European liberal mainstream is to bring to power in this largest Balkan country a leadership that is obedient and loyal to Brussels.” A more obedient leadership could scarcely be found: Aleksandar Vučić maintains a rhetoric towards the EU that if they don’t support him, Russia will take over everything, while at the same time bowing to Russia with the message, “If you

don't protect us, the EU is a danger that threatens us." Obsequious before those who are stronger, oppressing those who are weaker, that is the foreign and domestic policy of Aleksandar Vučić, seen through and scorned by much of the domestic public¹⁰.

What is happening in Serbia is inevitably spilling over into the region. The tragedy in Novi Sad and the wave of protests that followed reverberated in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, and even in North Macedonia and Croatia. In the Republika Srpska, the authorities openly sided with the regime in Belgrade, which deepened political divisions and sharpened the rhetoric; this is where support for dictator Vučić comes from, while he, in turn, supports Dodik. It's strange, but not surprising, that people who suffered the most due to the wars and policies of the 1990s once again side with those who were orchestrating those policies back then. In Montenegro, part of civil society expresses solidarity with students in Serbia, while political elites remain quiet or calculating. In North Macedonia, the protests inspired the academic community to speak more openly about corruption and violence, especially after the tragedy in Kočani where 62 people died when a fire broke out in a nightclub, while in Croatia many citizens and public figures have in various ways come out in support of the protests. Thus, paradoxically, the tragedy at the railway station in Novi Sad set in motion issues and initiatives beyond Serbia's borders, demonstrating that the region is still connected by shared trauma and the experience of authoritarian policies, but also by a shared hope that resistance is possible.

Ćaci and Ćacilend

In the meantime, in a grotesque attempt to shield itself, the government set up a tent camp in Pionirski

park that became known as *Ćacilend*. Its purpose remains unclear – whether to assemble weapons and thugs or to host “ordinary regime loyalists” or both? (Why “Ćacilend” and what it means: one of the first secondary schools to start a blockade of classes was Jovina Gimnazija in Novi Sad. The pupils started their protest, but the school's director, with ties to the government, was opposed, so he decided to kneel in front of the school in protest against the protests. A few days later someone had written on the school fence: “Ćaci u školu” (which was supposed to mean “Pupils to school”, but Ćaci (pupils) was misspelled as Ćaci). Since then, all government supporters have been called “Ćaci” and the travesty of the tent camp installed by the government on 6 March 2025 at Pionirski park, and later expanded to the street in front of the National Assembly, became known as *Ćacilend*. In a marketing effort to turn the phrase to their advantage, Vučić and his supporters wore T-shirts with signs saying “I ja sam Ćaci” (I too am Ćaci).)

Perhaps the greatest repression, persecution and economic violence is suffered by the few free and independent media, because the government's tentacles have quashed all freedom and accountability and turned all national frequency television networks and high circulation newspapers into their own propaganda outlets. Radio is the hardest hit – there is not a single station, not even one devoted to music, that has managed to escape government control. The government is currently using complicated financial procedures in an attempt to silence two cable TV stations (N1 and Nova S), as well as the *Danas* daily and the *Radar* weekly, and frankly, we are all afraid that they will soon succeed. Without these media and their 24-hour coverage of the protests, the last light would be snuffed out. Citizens protested in front of Radio Television Serbia (RTS) on several occasions, and blocked the entrances into two studios from 14 to 29 April, because they were dissatisfied with the public broadcaster's coverage of anti-government protests that had been going on for months. The students demanded a new call for applications for candidates to fill the Council of the Regulatory Authority for Electronic Media (REM). On 28 April, the Parliamentary Committee for Culture and Information adopted a decision to publish a new call for applications for the REM Council, ther-

¹⁰ In April 2024, Vučić himself defined Serbia's friends and partners, which was interesting given that after the SVR statement he called Russia a “partner” while it had previously regularly and unambiguously been a “friend”. The definition was: “You can't say your friends are those (countries) that partition your territory and call it a civilisational value, while claiming a friendly relationship with Serbia. Thank you. I respect you. You're very strong. You'll be our partner in a million things, but let's not be friends,” Serbia's president said on RTS.

by meeting the demand and the students stopped blockading the RTS. However, to date, nothing has changed: the REM Council has not been constituted, RTS coverage has not become more professional or accurate. The media are without a regulatory body, which means that the situation is worse than ever: no ethics, daily hate speech, targeting of individuals and groups, harangues against anyone not part of the government, disinformation campaigns, intimidation of the public, hours of programming devoted to Aleksandar Vučić's monologues, and all of it unpunished. The closing down of USAID, which had significantly supported independent reporting in the past, as well as the Voice of America and of Al Jazeera Balkans, further darkened the already bleak media landscape.

In addition to targeting editorial desks as “enemies” and “Ustashes”, the government has been using its loyal media and other means to target individuals. Already back in December 2024, Belgrade was plastered with messages targeting Zoran Kesić, host of the show *24 minuta*. These obscure messages can still be seen on facades around the city. The Centre for Nonviolent Action reached out to the Press Council when it was indirectly targeted: the tabloids carried an article against one of the war veterans supporting the students, labelling him a “collaborator of the Croatian intelligence service” and saying he was “a prominent

activist of the pro-Western NGO Centre for Nonviolent Action”. The Press Council **responded to our complaint**, but the tabloids under government control do not abide by the decisions of the Council.

If there is any silver lining, it is perhaps that this tragedy has awakened a resistance. And has shown us that even in a society accustomed to injustice and repression, there is a moment when fear recedes and citizens rise up. That moment was 1 November 2024 at 11:52 – and everything that followed. There is still no epilogue in sight: on the one side, students and citizens are demanding snap elections, while on the other, the government, which had previously called snap elections whenever it felt like it, is now unwilling to do so. Protests continue in the cities: either in response to an action by the government or as a call for action by the citizens. Every day, intersections are brought to a halt from 11:52 to 12:08 when citizens hold 16 minutes of silence for the 16 victims of the canopy collapse and for their own future. There is a general sense that we are all living under a canopy and it is only a matter of time before it comes crashing down on us, because corruption has eaten through everything.

Katarina Miličević

Croatia: Excessive provocation

We move further away from the 1990s each day, but unfortunately the passage of time has not brought along a perspective of that period through the lens of reconciliation, i.e. looking back at this period as sad and unhappy, as Balašević famously denounced it in his song. This past year in Croatia was marked by big events that were, to say the least, nationally charged and opened up space for the revival of Ustasha symbols justified by their use during the war in Croatia.

The Croatian government adopted a decision to establish the Commission for determining the fate of victims of crimes committed immediately after World War II, to be led by Ivan Penava, a kinesiologist who is

now supposed to deal with historical context¹¹. In the words of Prime Minister Andrej Plenković, the Commission will “gather and analyse information about victims of crimes committed immediately after World War II” and will “contribute to processes that were started, but were never finished as we in the government would like to see.” The Commission could deal with cases of persecution by the authoritarian regime

¹¹ Ivan Penava is a professor of kinesiology and a Croatian politician. He was the mayor of Vukovar. He is currently the president of the Homeland Movement, the Deputy Speaker of the Croatian Parliament and the president of the Commission for determining the fate of victims of crimes committed immediately after World War II.

that considered political opponents unwelcome, but it seems it is another ideologically tainted institution that will focus on equating communist and Ustasha crimes. Finally, the Ministry of Veterans had previously worked on this issue in addition to its main focus of finding missing persons from the 1990s. How this will help in dealing with the communist past is unclear, but the comparison of victims of different systems, ethnicities or any other circumstances of victimisation is both counterproductive and unseemly. The Commission for investigating crimes after World War II is a consolation prize given by one politician to another, because as the coalition partner of HDZ, the Homeland Movement has shown great interest in fighting against the so-called Serb influence in Croatia and those they call Yugo-nostalgic. The Commission could be an opportunity for Croatia to pull itself out of the vortex of manipulation with symbols of past systems, but a society that knows its past is harder to manipulate.

Social rifts

Symbols of the past system also invigorated the concert of Marko Perković Thompson at both the Zagreb and the Sinj hippodrome. The one in Zagreb had incredible turnout, leading to discussions of exceeding capacity, as well as a handful of religious symbolism mixed with, for example, the symbolism of the number 03941158 on the singer's T-shirt honouring Zvonko Bušić, a Croatian nationalist who in 1976 hijacked a passenger aeroplane in the US¹².

After the concert in Sinj, Marinko Vukman, the guardian at the Sanctuary of Our Lady of Sinj, said, "Let them suffer, and let them die in that suffering, those who object to your togetherness, your coming to church, your singing and love towards God, the Church and the Croatian people, your joy and togetherness that shined so brightly at the concerts of our Thompson in Zagreb and Sinj." He missed an opportunity to mend the rifts in society with messages of

peace and love for all members of that society, not just those he agrees with.

The Minister of Defence Ivan Anušić also gave a statement confirming that at Thompson's concert he too responded to "For homeland" with "ready"¹³. In parliament, MPs Miro Bulj (MOST) and Damir Biloglav (DOMiNO) freely pronounced "For homeland ready", but as the Prime Minister noted, they have immunity, so their "right to speak" cannot be limited, even though the salute is prohibited, i.e. punishable. It is difficult to implement such bans among the public if ministers and MPs freely and publicly violate them. The Prime Minister himself explained a few years ago how the salute has dual connotations, in the context of the Independent State of Croatia and in the context of HOS troops.

Actions

While the above mentioned Bušić is sometimes termed a political activist, in Croatia activists are treated a bit differently. For example, there was an incident at the parade held to mark 35 years since Operation Storm when the activist group Vrrrane performed an action of covering themselves in red paint to symbolise blood and lying in front of military vehicles in the parade. Their arrests are not contentious, but the failure of the police to protect the activists from insults and assaults by the public certainly is. They were treated as having committed a crime against the state, but in essence it was a nonviolent action that should be protected as an opportunity for citizens to express their views about a military parade and its purpose. Related to this are efforts to adopt laws by the end of the year that would reinstate mandatory military service, which according to this plan would recommence in January 2026 and last two months for military or four months for civilian service, for all those who do not invoke conscientious objection.

Cultural workers in Benkovac also found themselves targeted, in this case by local veterans and sports fans protesting against the holding of the festival "Nosi se", accusing it of "attacking the dignity of the Homeland and War". The festival's programme focused on nonvi-

¹² A police officer was killed during the deactivation of a bomb he had planted in the New York subway. He was sentenced in the US to life in prison. After being pardoned in 2008, he returned to Croatia and committed suicide in 2013.

¹³ Marko Perković Thompson's song *Bojna Čavoglave* starts with the salute "Za dom spremni" (For homeland ready)

olence, pluralism and solidarity, and included a screening of the film *Mirotvorac* about Josip Reihl-Kir¹⁴, several theatre performances, including one directed by Oliver Frlić, and talks with reporters, philosophers and writers.

The Minister of Culture Nina Obuljen Koržinek said that “everyone, every artist, every reporter, every citizen has the right to express their opinions, thoughts, as this is a constitutional value,” the festival was not resumed, despite having support from the state, city and province level, because the organisers did not want to see a further escalation of conflict. The Prime Minister pointed out that the festival organisers had themselves said their “provocations were excessive” and that he “understands the reactions of veterans”, but failed to mention anything about artistic freedoms that were being sacrificed.

There was also the government’s reaction in June 2025 to the arrest in Serbia of Krunoslav Fehir, a key witness against Branimir Glavaš, accused in the case of torture and killing of Osijek civilians of being a member of the unit formed for the purpose of committing

¹⁴ Chief of the Osijek police killed in 1991 in Tenja, together with his companions as they were making their way to negotiations with the Serbs. At the time, he had been advocating peace negotiations and peaceful solutions, which is why he was killed by Antun Gudelj, a member of the Croatian armed forces.

grave crimes. There was a case against Fehir in Croatia that was ultimately abandoned. According to the European Convention on Human Rights, to which Serbia is party, a person cannot be tried twice for the same crime, which means that if the procedure against him is not suspended, Croatia must submit an application against Serbia to the European Court of Human Rights. Historically, Croatia has financially supported the defence of individuals accused of war crimes, both in the Hague and before Croatian courts, but will not do so in this case because, as Foreign Minister Grlić-Radman says, “There is no right to compensation of costs of legal representation in court proceedings.” We can conclude from this that in previous cases there was an initiative on the part of the government to provide such rights which is now absent. The Ministry of Veterans has promised to cover Fehir’s medical costs arising from his currently deteriorated health status.

We are left to wonder if all veterans are equally valued or only those who do not disrupt the narrative of ruling structures but do oppose whatever is considered the opposition at the moment, be it political, cultural or activist.

Tita Mikulaš

North Macedonia: Where tragedy is foreseeable, but accountability is unassigned

Welcome to (North) Macedonia, a country where institutions do not serve citizens, but those who established them. Here, the government is not a service, but a stage for endless performances of elitism and clientelism. If something goes awry, not to worry – it's nobody's fault. Or, more accurately, it's everybody's fault, which means: nobody's.

The social landscape is deeply marked by a chronic and systemic disease: extractive institutions¹⁵ suffocating any attempt at progress, discouraging citizens and feeding corruption. Clientelism and party patronage¹⁶ are not the exception, they are the rule. Every crisis, every tragedy confirms one thing: the institutions are not there to protect the public interest, they are extensions of political and business elites.

In the past year, we saw another tragedy, another in a series of “accidents” that – with a little help from chronically dysfunctional institutions – turn into systemic tragedies. On 16 March 2025, the tragedy in Kočani made world news. At the Puls nightclub, packed with over 500 people, the atmosphere was “spiced up” with pyrotechnics, and a few sparks were enough to set the ceiling alight. Outcome: 62 dead and over 190 injured. Macedonia now has its own “Colectiv” (remember Bucharest 2015?).

¹⁵ **Extractive institutions** are a term used in political economics, especially in the theory of Daron Acemoglu and James Robinson (*Why Nations Fail*), to describe institutions that serve a narrow circle of people (an elite), and not the whole of society.

They extract resources, wealth and power from the broader community and concentrate them in the hands of a small group. Instead of encouraging development, innovation and equality, they sustain the status quo and enable privileged segments of society to control political and economic power.

¹⁶ Party patronage denotes **party control over staff appointments in institutions**, i.e. when appointments in government and in the public sector are distributed based on political party affiliation and not professional competence or the public interest.

A march for angels

While the authorities were counting days of mourning and calculating who they could blame – other than themselves – the parents were counting coffins. We “marched for the angels,” we protested, but nothing changed. A handful of people were arrested, including the owner of Puls. The paradox? The venue didn't have a licence to operate as a club at all, yet it operated for years – with music, guests, and inspectors conveniently looking the other way. It was registered for “manufacturing”, but was magically transformed into a discotheque for mass entertainment. Evidently, the Macedonian bureaucracy is a wiz at alchemy!

Between the fire in Kočani and the shadows of “Besa Trans”, “Durmo Turs” and the modular hospital in Tetovo¹⁷ – it became clear that these were not incidents, this was a repeating pattern. Institutional inefficiency was not caused by error, it was there by design. The system functions for all those who profit from its dysfunction.

¹⁷ Three large tragedies in North Macedonia that have come to symbolise corruption, lack of institutional accountability and systemic deterioration.

Besa Trans (2021) – On 23 November 2021, a Besa Trans bus on its way back from Istanbul caught fire on the highway in Bulgaria. 45 people died, including many children. Investigations revealed that the firm had been operating without a valid licence for years, while state authorities turned a blind eye. The bus was even unregistered, and the inspections and customs control did nothing.

Durmo Turs (2019) - In February 2019, a Durmo Turs bus veered off the road near the village of Laskarci. 16 people were killed, and more than 30 were injured. The bus was not roadworthy, and it later emerged that its licence had also been obtained in a dubious manner.

Tetovo Modular Hospital (2021) - During the Covid pandemic, a fire broke out in Tetovo in 2021 in the so-called modular hospital (a temporary structure). 14 patients died in the fire. The investigation showed that the construction materials were flammable, that there was no basic fire protection, and that the procurement tender was susceptible to corruption.

The minister of health and the deputy minister resigned, but many felt that real accountability had once again been avoided.

Simulating inclusion

There is talk of inclusion, but that's still all there is. Reality shows that we care only for those who fit easily into our categories of "normality".

In a country where the Constitutional Court abolishes the "Balanser"¹⁸ in one swift move, the message is clear: keep simulating inclusion, but maintain ethnic asymmetry. It is unclear whether this is a matter of legal analysis or political calculation, but one thing is certain – it is not a sign of democratic maturity. The same institution had previously decided to review the Law on the Use of the Albanian Language, which effectively limited or challenged the right to its use in practice. This struck a serious blow against the constitutional principles of equality, multiculturalism and the fundamental rights of ethnic communities.

Unsurprisingly, the outcome was radicalisation. There are plenty of examples. The recent sports match in Kumanovo "demonstrated" true national cohesion – chants against Albanians, with zeal and passion. Prime Minister Hristijan Mickoski reacted strongly – he condemned the situation and ... stayed to watch the match, while the crowd chanted for "pure Macedonia". A rematch followed shortly: the next match in Tetovo saw retaliatory chanting, albeit in a much milder version.

Perhaps in other countries ethnic hatred crops up like a bug in the system. In our case, it seems like a feature. And the institutions? Nothing new. The same old philosophy: "see no evil, hear no evil". Evil exists only if you acknowledge it. And here, regardless of ethnicity, we only acknowledge what brings us political points.

Musical chairs

Political parties are still playing musical chairs. VMRO-DPMNE came to power, but it took the recipe from SDSM and DUI: lord it over your coalition partners (humiliate them if possible), install your own people, hold the institutions captive. The template is well-known, successful and, unfortunately, unchanged.

¹⁸ "Balanser" was supposed to be a tool for multi-ethnic inclusion, but it has turned into a tool for ethnic-party clientelism.

In the shadow of big issues, everyday life continues to be painful. If you're from the "wrong" ethnic group, a poor family, if you belong to the LGBTI community, or are a person with a disability – congratulations, you don't exist in the eyes of the system. Your problems are "special" – so special that nobody wants to deal with them.

We dedicate cloying adverts and superficial campaigns to children, but leave them to grow up in a digital jungle. Their idols? Influencers who tell them how to get popularity fast, via violence and aggression. Over 70% of children experience domestic violence. One in three children are exposed to digital aggression. Of course, as a society, we offer solutions, campaigns. Although well-intentioned, campaigns are often aimed only at "our children", at those who speak "our language" and who "fit in easily". And the others? We delete the others, we don't need them!

The media? Chronicles of horror. Sensationalism is not just tolerated, it is encouraged. Violence sells. Critical journalism is a luxury that doesn't pay off.

Meanwhile, negotiations with the EU continue to be used as a universal alibi for all our failures. Today it's the Bulgarians' fault, yesterday it was the Greeks, tomorrow – someone else will get the blame. The question is: Are we really ready for Europe? Not formally, but fundamentally. Europe does not require just a name change, introducing Bulgarians into the Constitution... It requires values. And values cannot be changed with a constitutional amendment. Values that are, unfortunately, seldom practiced by us and are slowly disappearing from public dialogue, not because they are outdated, but because they require courage, honesty and genuine concern for all, not just "our people". History need not be our destiny.

But not everything is dark. There are sparks of light. Citizens – those who haven't left yet – aren't silent. There are protests, there are petitions, there is resistance. Something resembling civic consciousness is emerging. Slowly, but loudly. More and more people are realising that silence is complicity, and that even small acts of resistance make a difference.

It might not be tomorrow, but the day will come when we will have to admit: the system isn't working. That won't be the end. It will be the beginning. The beginning of a difficult, frustrating, but necessary

transformation. From simulated to actual democracy. From Potemkin institutions to genuine inclusion. North Macedonia is at a crossroads – for the umpteenth time – but this time the pressure is

different. Young people no longer want to be just decorative.

Luan Imeri

Kosovo: North Mitrovica – A Picture of Kosovo in Miniature

The breakup of SFRY began long ago in 1980, in the south, in Kosovo, more precisely in the town of Mitrovica. It started with the protests by miners from Trepča. That's where it started, and by some poetic "justice", hoping and watching from the perspective of an "incorrigible Mitrovica native", that's where it should end. The question of when remains open, but it's close, so close, a step away from the end!!!

Mitrovica – a story all its own

Historically known as Mitrovica, then Kosovska Mitrovica, briefly as Titova Mitrovica, and ultimately as South Mitrovica and North Mitrovica. The town paying the price of "political peace" and "supervised independence". North Mitrovica was created by the Brussels Agreement of 2011 and 2013, founded as the 38th municipality of Kosovo through the division of Kosovska Mitrovica. The city is split in two by a bridge, with a predominantly Serbian north and a predominantly Albanian south. Divided by a bridge and beset by problems.

And now a little more about my half, North Mitrovica.

It is the last and only urban area inhabited by all the ethnic communities of the young Republic of Kosovo. The Serbian community makes up the majority, while the Albanians make up the largest minority community. But North Mitrovica is also home to Montenegrins, Bosniaks, Turks, Roma, Ashkali, Egyptians, Gorani and a small number of Albanian Catholics.

The city of North Mitrovica best illustrates the problems of Kosovo. North Mitrovica is the epicentre of most political disputes in Kosovo. It has been prominent in international news for years. North Mitrovica is the centre of all political developments for the Serb community in Kosovo. It is where the "biggest"

political party of the Kosovo Serbs, the Serb List (SL), has its offices. North Mitrovica is a healthcare centre for Kosovo Serbs, with its hospital and clinical centre. It is the cultural and university centre, the faculties and rectorate are concentrated in the north of Kosovo, most in North Mitrovica.

The Serb List and double standards

The Constitution of the Republic of Kosovo was not written by anyone from the Balkans, not the Albanians and not the Serbs. The Constitution of Kosovo was written by the Finn Martti Ahtisaari. According to the Constitution, ten seats in Kosovo's parliament are reserved for the Serb community.

The Serb List was in power in 10 of the 38 municipalities in Kosovo. Up to the last elections, all of the 10 seats reserved for the Serb community belonged to the Serb List. At the last parliamentary elections in 2025, the Serb List had nine delegates, and one seat went to Nenad Rašić from the Party for Freedom, Justice and Survival.

Of the 38 municipalities in Kosovo, 10 have a Serb majority. All 10 of those municipalities were run by the Serb List up until 2022 when mayors and council members from the Serb List resigned in four northern municipalities: North Mitrovica, Zvečan, Zubin Potok and Leposavić.

Looking at it from the perspective of an ordinary citizen, it wasn't a problem that the politicians started "resigning"; the lives of ordinary citizens have been made more difficult by the resignations that followed from "independent institutions": the police, the courts, right down to the municipal clerks.

The Serb List has double standards. The strategy in central government, in Parliament, is "NO" to resignations, and a big YES to all "privileges". While the Serb

List strategy at the local level, in the four municipalities in the north, is “RESIGNATIONS” and total blockades, in six other municipalities it is “normal functioning”.

In the developed “north”, it is boycott and blockade, while in the south, it is functioning and “full integration”.

Old and new bridges

North Mitrovica and South Mitrovica are divided by the Ibar river. Rivers naturally divide cities, regions, countries and continents. But bridges, bridges should connect... North and south are divided by a bridge, known as the “Main Bridge”...

A little history about the “main bridge” and “our head/thinking”: the Ottomans built the wooden bridge way back in the Middle Ages, the Germans built the iron bridge, while the current bridge was built by world-renowned bridge architects, the French... And we, the citizens of Mitrovica, I’m talking about my generation, we created the “Bridge Keepers” who guarded the bridge in a strange way: whoever crossed from the south “they beat him up good”, while we from the south started crossing the bridge with stones and “hard objects”... Now the bridge is guarded by Italian carabinieri, and we citizens are still “negotiating” whether it should be opened to cars or used only for pedestrians... My personal opinion is that “the bridge should be opened for the sake of the universal right to freedom of movement.” The Albanian community, being the majority community in Kosovo, should strongly advocate for the bridge to be opened, with the help of those who “protect us and the bridge”, the carabinieri, and should strive to convince the Serb community in the north that it is in their interest for the bridge to be opened. To symbolically open ourselves to each other. The bridge is concrete and iron, but we need to work on bringing people together.

What is happening in the field? A year ago, the Ministry of Infrastructure measured the resilience of the bridge, and this year the EU is doing it. My personal opinion and that of the Mitrovica Citizens’ Initiative is: It’s fine that you’re measuring the resilience of the bridge, but in these 26 years no one has thought to measure the resilience of the citizens of Mitrovica.

In the end, the government started building two new bridges. My reaction was: “We need bridge building, but there are priorities. First, we need to build bridges of cooperation, bridges of culture, bridges for a better future for all, and then, why not, ultimately “concrete and iron” bridges too...”

All our shame

While we’re dealing with big issues, it’s a disgrace for President Vjosa Osmani, who is originally from Mitrovica, and an even bigger disgrace for the ministries of education, local government, for citizens, parents, humanitarian organisations, that in North Mitrovica we have a container school, attended by 16 pupils, Albanians and Roma.

It pains me, as a citizen and as a human being, that in the 2026 school year there will still be a container school in my town, and on Partisan Hill at that. On that hill is a monument to anti-fascism, a monument to miners, the work of Bogdan Bogdanović, who seems to be saying from on high, in the words of actor Dragan Tešić from Draft Theatre: “Have some sense. Where will you go when all this is over?”

Expecting the solution to come from above and from outside

Now, from a personal perspective, as a native of Mitrovica, as the lead candidate of the Mitrovica Citizens’ Initiative: The mistake we make as citizens is that for years, we have been waiting for solutions from “above”, we are “blunted”, we’ve lost “civic power” and killed “civic initiatives”.

We are waiting for the EU, Belgrade and Pristina to solve our mounting problems, and they are sending us solutions that are not at all what we need.

The EU and the international community have imposed sanctions on the government and citizens of Kosovo.

Belgrade is officially, but also unofficially pulling strings in Kosovo, through public and secret financing, by way of permanent and “temporary authorities”. It has financed boycotts, Banjska, Gazivode. All around Belgrade people “keep pumping”, but the straight-A “ćaci” students are from Kosovo. Meanwhile, the citizens of North Mitrovica await a solution from Pristina

where the political elite has been “working” for months on setting up the “new - old” government.

There is hope for normalisation - small steps for citizens, and big leaps for reconciliation

North Mitrovica, as the last urban oasis, should set an example that life can and must be normalised. After 26 years of stress, alarms, barricades, protests, violence, blood... Being a ‘hero’ or a ‘victim’ for a ‘quarter of a century’ (26 years) is too much, it’s too much even for Chuck Norris. We’re fed up with everything here, and we’ve had more than enough of big and small “heroes”, of big and small “victims”; we need ordinary citizens. More than anything, we need normality.

We should use all opportunities and possibilities to be as close as possible to “normality and normalisation”. And you can be in the centre of “normality” with cultural activities.

While it was being widely announced from all sides that there would be renewed “war” in Bosnia and Kosovo, with the support of the NGO “AC/DC”, the Draft Theatre from Tuzla performed their comedy “With Whom and With What into the EU” for an audience made up of the Albanian and Serb community of

North Mitrovica. And the crew from Bosnia included Serbs and Bosniaks/Muslims.

Dragan Tešić, who was “poking fun” at Bosnia and Herzegovina ever joining the EU, delivered an epic message to us: “Just you laugh, you’ll be even worse off...”

Visa regime

As of January 2024, citizens of Kosovo can travel throughout Europe. We’ve never been closer to Europe, but due to economic circumstances and low income levels, Europe has never felt further away. The Kosovo government made a grand gesture, unilaterally abolishing visas for citizens of Bosnia. But we Kosovars still can’t travel to Bosnia without visas. And for the Draft Theatre team from Tuzla, our comment was: “You can now come freely, and we from Kosovo send greetings. We don’t need a Europe without Bosnia!”

What to say at the end, without making a mistake? Peace takes a lot of work. Peace requires normal people and normal things.

It is always time for normal things.

Skender Sadiku

Bosnia and Herzegovina: Threats and Fear - Never Ending Stories

We’ve survived thirty years of living in peace. In truth, at the time of writing, we haven’t yet rounded off that anniversary and there are no guarantees that the peace will last.

In 2025, Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) is facing its deepest political crisis since the signing of the Dayton Peace Accords in 1995. But we told you as much last year. And the year before that. And a few more times in years past.

The President of the Republika Srpska (RS) Milorad Dodik was convicted on 1 August 2025 and sentenced to one year in prison and banned from public office for six years. The verdict was delivered by the Court of BiH for the criminal offence of *failing to implement the decisions of the High Representative as stipulated in Article 203, paragraph 1 of the Criminal Code of BiH*.

The period from the initial judgement delivered on 26 February until it became final was marked by numerous crises that threatened to escalate into open violence. The RS National Assembly adopted laws prohibiting the operation of the Court and Prosecutor’s Office of BiH, as well as the State Investigation and Protection Agency of BiH (SIPA). Perhaps the greatest crisis broke out when the RS Ministry of Internal Affairs (MUP) tried to take over the SIPA buildings. It was only thanks to the composure of those at the helm of competent authorities that a conflict between two armed formations was avoided. Following this, Dodik, along with the RS leadership, initiated a series of anti-constitutional actions, and in response, the Court of BiH issued a central arrest warrant for him as the President of the RS, Radovan Višković as the Prime

Minister, and Nenad Stevandić as the Speaker of the RS Assembly, with an order that they be held in custody for one month. From that moment on, the situation with Dodik unfolded in two parallel episodes. In the first one, he disparaged the decisions of the Court of BiH, mocked the impotence of the state institutions of BiH, threatened the judge who convicted him, the High Representative... But at the same time, in the other episode, he negotiated his appearance at a court hearing on the condition that the warrant and detention order be suspended, which actually happened in July, and it happened thanks to the mediation of leading figures from the Intelligence-Security Agency of Bosnia and Herzegovina (OSA), meaning, again, state institutions.

In the end, even though he had dismissed the final judgement, claiming it was politically motivated, he still ended up recognising it by paying BAM 36,000 to *convert* his one-year prison sentence into a fine.

Dodik is continuing his political activities as president of the Alliance of Independent Social Democrats (SNSD) and with coalition partners through the institution of the RS National Assembly. It is now almost certain that SNSD will use the mechanism of blocking, that is, withholding a quorum in the House of Peoples so as to prevent the replacement of their appointees in the Council of Ministers. As for the executive government, it also finds itself in a situation where it is unable to implement pro-European reforms that are the precondition for opening negotiations on BiH's membership in the EU.

It is almost impossible to follow the daily political developments and keep up-to-date with all the information. Many things have been announced for the upcoming period, such as the referendums and mechanisms to prevent the implementation of the Decision on calling and holding snap elections for the president of the RS. In the meantime, a new RS government has been elected, but its legitimacy is called into question both by legal experts and the opposition, because the new prime minister Savo Minić received his mandate on 23 August from Dodik, even though five days earlier the Court of BiH had removed Dodik from office as president of the RS.

Opposition parties, while calling for the law to be respected, are also calling for the scheduled elections

to be held, highlighting the need for an institutional solution to the crisis. All of this will certainly lead to a deepening of the political crisis, which will in turn feed anxiety and fear of a potential escalation of conflict.

Nevertheless, in reality, life goes on just as normally as it did before the verdict against Dodik. People are living their everyday lives, battling life's challenges, there have been no incidents. The protests Dodik organised managed to gather a significantly smaller number of people than expected, and they were mostly older people.

It's not impossible that our society has matured and become immune to petty political manipulation.

But this is still the Balkans, so you never know...

Political crisis and consequences

Far from Dodik being the only problem on the political scene in BiH. The rigmarole around the adoption of the Reform Agenda has been ongoing for more than a year, but it seems the authorities in BiH are still unable to adopt this document, which was practically written in Brussels. There have been countless excuses in the past year, but the Reform Agenda is a prime example of poor or non-existent cooperation between representatives of political parties, both those in power and those from the opposition, who have been blaming each other throughout this process. The truth is that they all share the responsibility.

Be that as it may, BiH lost out on 108 million euros from the EU's Western Balkans Growth Plan in mid-July, and on 30 September an identical amount of money will be irretrievably lost for our country if the Reform Agenda is not sent to Brussels. Given that all the other countries in our region (Serbia, Montenegro, North Macedonia, Albania and Kosovo) have already met the conditions and received the first tranches of funds, it is clear that BiH will be left out again after this deadline, and the money intended for our country will be redirected to other countries.

With this, the political elites have sent a message that we don't need that money. They will get their money from the budget and through rigged tenders, anyway. Positions such as those of board presidents, supervisory boards of public companies, directors of agencies and institutes have enabled political parties to siphon off tax payers' money for decades.

The EU has made it very clear on multiple occasions that its hand is extended towards BiH, but there is a lack of will and readiness within BiH to accept that hand. However, there is also the question of whether EU countries, in the current constellation of relations in BiH, but also in the world in general, can still set the same conditions of fulfilling key reform priorities. Shifting responsibility onto local politicians, all the while knowing they don't have the capacity to meet the requirements, leaves room for speculation that they don't really want us to join and that this situation suits them just fine.

BiH institutions are currently an extension of EU and US, and even NATO countries, serving to suppress Russian influence in the Balkans. By sanctioning Dodik and his close associates, as well as suspending investments in the RS, the West is hoping to show that it will not look kindly on the implementation of Putin's ideas in a territory it still considers to be its sphere of influence.

Based on all of the above, it follows that BiH is still burdened by deep ethno-national divisions, legal uncertainty due to the lack of an independent judiciary, and tense geopolitical relations.

These are all factors that also threaten stability. In this country, only the rates of corruption, crime and unemployment are stable.

Communicating vessels

For almost a year now, student protests and blockades have been ongoing in Serbia. The straw that broke the camel's back was the collapse of the canopy in Novi Sad, which resulted in the deaths of sixteen people.

From the very start, Serbia's president Aleksandar Vučić has been receiving constant support from RS officials. Over the past ten years, the politics of the leadership of both the RS and Serbia have created an illusion that without Vučić and Dodik there can be no Serbia or RS, which have been operating as a system of communicating vessels. There's hardly a political speech by officials in Serbia that doesn't include talking points about preserving the RS, or by officials of the RS that doesn't express support for Vučić as a factor of stability in the Balkans exposed to attacks by Western powers that are stirring unrest and encouraging protests in Serbia.

Opposition politicians from the RS who openly supported the protests have faced retribution. SDS leader Milan Miličević was arrested on suspicion of corruption and immediately removed from his position as party president. Nebojša Vukanović, president and founder of the political party *For Justice and Order*, widely known as the most ardent critic of the policies of Milorad Dodik and the SNSD, has received daily threats and his car was set on fire twice by *unknown perpetrators*.

As for Bosniak political officials, Defence Minister Zukan Helez and BiH Foreign Minister Elvedin Konaković openly support the students and accuse Vučić of wanting to destabilise BiH together with Dodik, as a way to save himself through this crisis.

The rest are keeping wisely quiet, either because they don't want to be classified as instigators of unrest, thereby giving ammunition to the ruling structures in Serbia who have been accusing foreign factors of wanting to overthrow the constitutional order of the country from the outset, or because they are unsure of the outcome of the protests, fearing what will happen if Vučić does survive.

That politicians occasionally prostitute themselves was recently demonstrated by FBiH Prime Minister Nermin Nikšić. After ammunition production at the Igman plant in Konjic was halted due to a ban on gunpowder exports from Serbia, Prime Minister Nikšić publicly announced that he had spoken on the phone with President Vučić, who was very understanding and promised the problem would be resolved within 48 hours. A cheap and populist trick miles away from institutional action.

The situation in BiH is no better than in Serbia. It's just that there's no one here to rise up and start a blockade, apart from intermittent protests by truck drivers or teachers, and the traditional Pride Parade that is essentially a protest. On a few occasions, there were protests over increased femicide rates and lenient sentencing of killers on the roads. The floods in Jablanica that claimed 19 lives did not give rise to rebellion. Similarly, a public reaction was absent in Sanski Most when it looked likely that a man accused of triple murder would be released.

Too often in BiH, we wait for problems to reaching breaking point before getting on our feet. Most often

we remain mute before our own injustices. Unfortunately, ethno-national divisions prevent the

development of an activist culture that does not wait for everything to collapse before we act.

Amer Delić

Montenegro: Continuous lack of accountability

Refreshed or stale

From “Let it fall, we need a change” to “It wasn’t this bad even in the time of DPS” – in a nutshell, that’s the situation in Montenegro since the end of DPS rule. Five years later, the political and social refreshment is viewed differently. On the one hand, the opposition claims that the promised changes have not fundamentally happened, and that the socio-political crisis in the country, enriched by deep divisions, has only deepened, through new waves of employment along party lines, further undermining of institutions, to the point that in Montenegro, nationalist and religious agendas are shaping and making key government decisions. On the other side, the government claims that the most important thing is that people have been liberated and that there is no longer a force in Montenegro that could establish the kind of criminal and totalitarian regime practiced by Milo Đukanović and his DPS. And that today’s Montenegro is proof of a political and historical leap out of the darkness in which it had been in the past. Someone well-intentioned might say, “Well, you’re both right!”

The local elections in Podgorica, the most important local elections in Montenegro (a third of the total population of Montenegro lives in Podgorica), were held in September 2024, but did not bring anything new. Two months after the elections, a new-old coalition was formalised between the ruling parties and at the state level the Europe Now Movement (PES) of Prime Minister Milojko Spajić, the Democrats and the pro-Russian Democratic Front and Movement for Podgorica (PzPG) supported by Montenegro’s President Jakov Milatović. The Democratic Party of Socialists remained in the opposition, although it won the greatest number of seats in the elections and is the single largest party in the capital.

The formal break with DPS politics was made, the **continuity of bad political practices** continued nonetheless and could take us a few steps (years and decades) backwards.

Population census

According to the findings of the Statistical Office (Monstat), within the total population of 623,633, the majority are Montenegrins - 41.12 percent (256,436 citizens), followed by Serbs at 32.93 percent (205,370) and Bosniaks at 9.45 percent (58,956). There are also 4.97 percent (30,978) Albanians, 2.06 percent (12,824) Russians, 1.63 percent (10,162) Muslims, 0.9 percent Roma (5,629), 0.83 percent Croats (5,150), while 2.88 percent of citizens in Montenegro did not state any national affiliation. Serbian is the mother tongue of 43 percent of the population and Montenegrin for a little over 34 percent. The population census in Montenegro has shown two key things. One is that politics still unequivocally and overwhelmingly dictates national and linguistic identity in Montenegro. The other is that all political actors are equally (dis)satisfied with the census results, but the results are such that they cannot be used to fuel the portended radical reheating of tensions, instead, on the contrary, they could lead to a partial stabilisation of the political situation. Put simply, neither side can say, “There’s more of us!”

After the fall of one political regime in 2020, it was entirely expected that there would be some increase in those who ethnically identify as Serbs, and that the number of those who identify as Montenegrins would decrease by approximately the same amount. Compared to the previous census, this one showed slight deviations when it comes to national identity and somewhat larger ones when it comes to language, so “some” are a little more and “others” a little less

(dis)satisfied. But not enough, in either case, to use the statistics for further stoking of right-wing and nationalist policies, at least not to the extent that different census results would have “legitimised”.

Continuity in basing policy on simple mathematics of “who is there more of” and who therefore has the right to rule over others. Both sides are trying to claim the census results as a victory that vindicates their political interests as being the right ones. The price of this continuous political engineering based solely on something that should be mere statistics is a possible repeat of “counting blood cells”, and we have already paid a very high price for that kind of counting.

“Regional Leader”

In divided Montenegro, it seems that European integration is the only topic around which there are no major divisions. There is both a social and political consensus that this is the right path for the country. We’re aiming for 2028. The target seems closer and easier to reach than ever before. Montenegro is constantly receiving external confirmation of its progress and approximation to the EU. European Commissioner for Enlargement Marta Kos has said that if Montenegro continues with reforms and keeps up the pace of negotiations, it could become the 28th member of the European Union as early as 2028. Kos highlighted that in the past eight months, more negotiating clusters have been opened than in the previous five years, and more chapters have been closed than in the past decade.

What about in-country support? Over the past five years, there have been three changes of government, and this rate of political change has become a symptom of political crisis, rather than the more concrete democratic progress we had hoped for. Differences in ideologies, political views and visions of the future, instead of being softened, seem to be getting sharper. And while politicians often encourage these differences to score cheap points, all the surveys have shown that the overwhelming majority of citizens want to be part of the European family. The citizens are thus demonstrating greater political maturity than their leaders and this is what will, sooner or later, lead to genuine change.

The first, time-related and technical goal has almost been reached, but other, more important, value-based goals – a society without violence, without partisocracy, without the unduly privileged, without corruption and division into ‘us’ and ‘them’ – are still far away. If these goals are achieved, then Montenegro would truly and fundamentally be refreshed. For now, the only thing European about Montenegro are the prices, and there will also be a high price to pay for **continuing to sleep on the job of European integration**.

New year, same old violence

Sadly, the 2025 new year in Montenegro began with yet another brutal act of violence. Thirteen people were killed in Cetinje on 1 January 2025. It’s impossible not to draw parallels with the case from August 2022, when eleven people were killed in Cetinje. In January 2025, Aco Martinović from Cetinje killed 12 people, including two boys, and wounded four others, with a pistol he owned illegally. In August 2022, Vuk Borilović killed 10 people, including two boys, and wounded another six, with a hunting rifle for which he had a permit. Borilović was killed 45 minutes after he started shooting, Martinović committed suicide six hours after the murder of the first victims. In the first case, there were only 12 police officers in Cetinje, in the second, incredibly, only 9. Both Borilović and Martinović had previously been reported for violence and illegal gun ownership.

The incident this January triggered a series of protests and blockades organised by the informal student organisation “Kamo sutra” [Where Tomorrow], demanding the dismissal of Deputy Prime Minister for Security Aleksa Bečić and Minister of Internal Affairs Danilo Šaranović. In early April 2025, they ended the protests, saying that their struggle had been politicised and systematically trivialised from the start. Subsequently, the citizens of Cetinje started protesting by gathering every day to block the road at the entrance to Cetinje connecting Podgorica with Budva and the Montenegrin coast. Citizens are demanding accountability from the authorities for failures related to the two massacres in which 23 of their fellow citizens were killed, including four children.

It was only after the second massacre that the Government announced urgent measures – a new law, stricter controls, confiscation of weapons etc. – but it has not implemented them. No one in a position of authority has resigned or been dismissed over the unprecedented crimes that occurred in Cetinje within the span of two and a half years, and the government is dragging its feet when it comes to implementing the new Law on Weapons and Ammunition. Will the warnings from this tragedy, like those from August 2022, also fall on deaf ears?

The massacre has fuelled concerns about the level of violence in Montenegrin society, which remains deeply militant. Apart from the crimes in Cetinje, domestic violence against children is not a thing of the past, but a growing problem. This is highlighted in the Strategy for the Prevention of Violence against Children (2025 – 2029) adopted by the government, which warns that parental practices that involve some form of violence are still deeply rooted in Montenegrin society. Precise data on rising rates of violence are lacking, but the most recent figures, from a UNICEF study conducted seven years ago, indicate that 69 percent of children in Montenegro had been exposed to emotional or physical violence.

The full picture of the atmosphere in society is further framed by a war between two opposing mafia clans. The security situation in the country is becoming increasingly complex, as evidenced by the series of murders in the last few months. So far, numerous members of both groups (the Škaljarski and Kavački clans) as well as innocent bystanders have been killed in the clashes between these two groups, and it is estimated that more than 70 people have been liquidated.

Continuing to have no clear strategy against violence has already exacted too high a price.

Tomo Buzov

At the initiative of the non-governmental organisation Građanska alijansa [Civic Alliance] and the association “Štrpci Against Forgetting”, a request has been sent to the Municipality of Bijelo Polje to establish the Tomo Buzov Award, which would be given for contributions to the protection and promotion of human rights.

The leading figures of Bijelo Polje accepted the initiative and the award was established. It will be awarded every year, on 27 February – the anniversary of the abduction of passengers from the train in Štrpci – to individuals and organisations working on human rights protection, as an act of remembrance honouring the victims of this crime.

As a retired JNA officer, Tomo Buzov was killed on 27 February 1993 in the Štrpci abduction because he tried to protect Bosniak civilians who were being forcibly removed from the train by members of the Army of Republika Srpska.

It is of particular significance that this award was established by the Municipality from which a large number of victims of the Štrpci abduction originate, which demonstrates the willingness of local authorities to nurture, through concrete institutional practice, the values that represent the foundation for building a just society. In a symbolic gesture, more than 32 years after the crime, the town of Bijelo Polje is repaying a debt it owes to its citizens who perished in Štrpci, and who were killed simply because they had the wrong names.

This is a rare but important example of accepting responsibility for creating an environment in which the heroes of society will be those who are the “real heroes” of the wars of the 1990s, those who did not hesitate to sacrifice their lives to prevent injustice and violence. With this, Tomo Buzov’s humanity and heroism managed to create a break in policies that glorify war criminals, and in which there was no space for genuinely and honestly dealing with the past.

Humanity as a break from the official Montenegrin policy of not taking responsibility in more than 30 years.

Radomir Radević



appendix

Nenad Vukosavljević: The quiet majority of decent people capable of empathy with others has been there all along

Few people can bring together veterans of once warring armies and encourage them to talk and even build friendships. Prometej spoke with one such person, Nenad Vukosavljević, who has many important messages.

At the end of last year, the Centre for Nonviolent Action (Sarajevo/Belgrade) published a book called *We Come in Peace: War Veterans in Peacebuilding* where the authors present their experience of working with war veterans from the former Yugoslavia over the past quarter century. In an interview with Prometej, one of the book's authors and a founder of the Centre, Nenad Vukosavljević, says the book is a way to do some "stocktaking" and they wanted to convey their experience of working with war veterans to people even beyond our region. The book was edited by Ivana Franović, Martina Fischer and Davorka Turk, and in addition to Vukosavljević, Fischer and Franović, chapters were also contributed by historian Nedžad Novalić and Army of BiH veteran Amer Delić. They are currently also preparing a photo exhibition that will be presented across BiH and the region over the next years, especially in places where some of the veterans featured in the book come from, and the exhibition openings will include panel discussions with the veterans.

You have been working with war veterans in the former Yugoslavia for almost 28 years now. In one chapter, you write about the "aura" of a deserter that had followed you throughout this long process. How did this momentous experience affect you personally and how did it shape you?

As a conscientious objector, I refused to serve in the army back when it was still peacetime. The fact is that many equate this with desertion, which is not the same thing, and that most soldiers see deserters as

traitors and cowards, making them much worse people in their eyes than the direct enemies they are fighting. For me personally it was a challenge to face that kind of distrust brought on by the idea of a "deserter" and to build a relationship of mutual trust with veterans, former fighters. Because I've never thought of myself as better or worse than those who fought in the war, I think I managed to build a relationship of mutual respect and trust with the veterans we worked with. Working with them and going through many difficult situations and actions together changed all of us, it left a mark. I can certainly feel it for myself, but I also see it in them. More than that, I would say there is pride about the journey we took, the changes we experienced.

The Centre for Nonviolent Action recently published the book *We Come in Peace* where you are one of the contributing authors. What is new about this book compared to your previous publications and what is its aim?

This book is a kind of stocktaking after almost 25 years of work, a summing up of our results. We wanted to make our collected experiences visible, to leave a lasting testament to the road we travelled building peace and we wanted to make our experiences accessible to people outside our region, because at the international level, there are only sporadic attempts to work directly with veterans and former enemies. We believe that some of the problems, dilemmas, mistakes and successes we encountered will be useful to people in other parts of the world who are at a loss for how to heal their wounded societies and make them safe and free of hatred and the threat of violence being repeated.

On the other hand, the book is also there to celebrate the energy and courage that all of us, and

especially the veterans, invested in this journey of peacebuilding. They are the heroes among us.

In one of the chapters you wrote, which gives a chronology of CNA actions, you look back at a commemoration in Brčko with touching scenes of mutual understanding and respect between different sides. One of the group's participants said at the time that "in ten years or so, all our commemorations will look like this." In retrospect – did this come about?

It did and it didn't. Back then, in 2012 in Brčko, we were invited as the Centre for Nonviolent Action Sarajevo-Belgrade to lay a wreath at the unveiling of a monument to fallen fighters of the Army of RBiH. It was the first time we were officially present at a commemoration attended by a large number of citizens. And it was the first time that it was clearly said at a public commemoration that people from the "enemy" side have come to pay their respects. When the announcer read Sarajevo and then paused before reading Belgrade, there were a few seconds of silence, Adnan Hasanbegović and I stepped forward carrying the wreath and then we heard loud applause. For me, that moment is that little bit of reconciliation, when people accept a hand reached out to them and say, "Thank you for this gesture." Many such small reconciliations with others and with ourselves are what builds peace.

Not all commemorations look like that today, so you can say we did not succeed completely. I say not completely, because where we organise for a group of war veterans to join a commemoration, or where we organise them ourselves, that is exactly what they look like. Former enemies coming together to pay their respects to the fallen, no matter where, without trading and tit for tat, without calculation. And the response of those present is by-and-large positive, because they see there is no hidden political agenda, no scheming, that the people came with pure hearts. And it is no longer big news, it's becoming normal.

Your actions of joint commemorations and visits to sites of suffering are undoubtedly an important aspect in building trust between different sides, especially because veterans that used to be "enemies" participate in them. I suppose you would have also

liked to encourage the political elites to adopt a similar approach. Did you manage to influence them and how much of this has "flowed over" into ceremonies attended by CNA?

We did not manage to have such an approach to memory built on peace established at the level of BiH, but I know from experience that locally, in municipalities and small towns, when local veterans jointly organise a commemoration with former enemies and invite local officials, they then feel encouraged to support this idea and see this approach as something good for their community. An important element there is that in the presence of local veterans, they are free from fear that someone might accuse them of betraying their own side. People feel free when we sit with them, and they also have the need to speak about their wartime experience and share it with former enemies. This freedom from fear is key, because when they see former enemies as people who listen to them and respect them, they stop seeing them as a threat, and they see that these people have crossed over to pay their respects to the victims on the other side. This sort of gesture cannot leave anyone feeling indifferent.

At higher political levels, where some sites of massacres still serve to support nationalist myths about eternal hostility, collective innocence and collective guilt, different rules are at play and the presence of former enemies disturbs the homogeneity. But we go wherever we are told that we are welcome. Sometimes, they tell us we wouldn't be welcome, so we don't go there. It's not our aim to upset anyone or cause a disruption, it's the very opposite.

But whether the actions of the current nationalist elite cause disruption or build peace, you can judge for yourselves.

Your interviews with veterans show that most of these people did not participate in the war out of ideological reasons, which are ascribed to them after the fact in the official, nationalistically marked culture of memory. Still, with their attitudes, they are a minority in their communities. How much can they influence the construction of a culture of memory built on piety and respect, and not on hatred and myths?

I don't think they are a minority, but part of a quiet majority, except that they've had the opportunity to cross the borders that separate us, to feel the pain on the other side, the weight of places where their army committed crimes and this has helped shape their view of the past and the present. Most of them are still proud of their participation in the war, because at the time it seemed like the only just thing to do, to defend something of their own that was under attack. They did not have much choice, so they don't regret not acting differently. In the group, you still have people who hold views from the nationalist discourse, but they stop where it becomes clear that they are discriminating or offending others. Ultimately, it is a process that takes time, it doesn't happen overnight. The expectation that someone will change their opinion overnight and say they were completely wrong is ridiculous. If they are prepared to hear others, if they are prepared to openly talk about themselves and their experiences, that is more than enough for a start, for dialogue. Everyone will draw their own lessons, we're not telling anyone what to think or what the "only" right and fair opinion is.

The people who can have the most influence on building an inclusive culture of memory are those who have the most legitimacy with the public, and they are first and foremost veterans and victims' associations. Many veterans are also victims, many have disabilities because of the war, some were tortured as prisoners of war, and some have lost family members in the war.

Bridges (both metaphorical and actual) take a long time and a lot of effort to build, but they can be destroyed in a flash. How well did you manage to preserve the bridges that were built?

I think we did quite well, because when I look back, we never went back to zero, to the starting line; little by little, step by step, we kept achieving more, from the first encounters that were completely closed to the public to where we are today when we attend even some commemorations that are used to prop up national myths.

How do you view the position that your participation in constructing a culture of memory based on understanding and respect must "compete" with the

official culture in education and commemorative events that insists on painting a black-and-white image of the past?

The default setting of our societies is a black-and-white image. That's how it was in SFRY and that's how it is today, and this is no accident, because people like it that way, and politicians like to pander to people because they gain from it, they buy trust. It's all so simple, we are all good and they are all bad. It's hard to get past that, but I don't think it's impossible, I believe people need to feel safe, that's the precondition, because when they are afraid, they are under pressure and can't think straight, they make irrational decisions. And it seems to me that the cold calculus of nationalist, but actually criminal elites is not to let people feel safe, to keep serving them fear of others, just so they could step in and pretend to be the protectors...

In our work, we try to build cooperation, communication, trust, that is the way to dismantle fear and hatred.

I was intrigued by the experience of Amer Delić, a veteran of ARBiH from Zavidovići, who recounts how due to a nicotine crisis in 1993, he met with enemy soldiers to procure cigarettes, and then years after the war he became part of your team. How important is the experience of such extraordinary individuals in peacebuilding?

If it weren't for Adnan Hasanbegović and Amer Delić, as people who were veterans and became members of our team, I can safely say that we wouldn't have even tried working with war veterans, because it would have been impossible. Establishing those first contacts, going for meetings in offices decorated with pictures of at the time indicted and now convicted war criminals, this took an incredible amount of patience, empathy, faith. It was a thorny path that they were prepared to take only because they had experienced war, and war was worse.

And of course, speaking veteran to veteran, even enemy to enemy, they feel much closer to each other than they would with someone like me, "some deserter". They are connected by very similar experiences they've been through, they know they felt the same,

and that brings them closer, as crazy as that may sound.

I also want to ask you about something that isn't dealt with in the book, but must be an important part of your help to veterans in overcoming trauma. In one chapter, there is mention of a veteran who would "go to bed and wake up with a bottle of brandy". It is clear that PTSD has terrible effects on individuals and leads them to self-destructive behaviour in trying to escape trauma. Have your activities had therapeutic effects on these people, do you have any insight into that?

Many of the veterans still suffer from PTSD, our meetings do not magically erase trauma. People are struggling to learn to live with their traumas and everyone is seeking their own way, assistance from professionals should not be underestimated.

We are not therapists and I would never claim to be doing that kind of work, but I know from the veterans how significant it was for them to meet former enemies. In these encounters, people feel a weight has been lifted, some of them told me that afterwards they were able to sleep without taking sleeping pills for the first time.

Everyone needs peace, it is a basic human need, within us and around us.

How would you assess the position of our societies today compared to when you started this work? After making significant progress in the past quarter century, have we started going downhill again?

Our societies are still poisoned with nationalist myths, but there is also a lot of resistance to this authoritarian uniform view of the past that seeks to impose itself as the only right and legitimate way of looking at things. The resistance is reflected, on the one hand, in alternative forms of memory practiced by various people, organisations, institutions trying to provide non-selective and inclusive views of the past. I would put what we are doing in that category, and we are also

trying to make sure we leave a trace so it's not forgotten that such things were done.

On the other hand, you also have a generation of young people who only know of the war from stories they were told, their healthy rebellious response is that there is something wrong with monolith narratives that brook no criticism, they know intuitively that this can't be the whole truth and their need to learn about the world leads them to cross lines, resist and question. A healthy society is one where questioning is common, where there are no sacrosanct authorities, either political or "moral". And I believe our youth has this in them. Opportunities for learning, communication and movement of ideas and people have drastically improved compared to the 1980s when preparations for the wars of the 1990s had started.

Both highs and lows are probably part of progress, it isn't linear. When I look at Serbia in the past 10 years, I see a steep decline, but then I look at the thousands upon thousands of students, at these young people now, and I can't seem to wrap my head around how they managed to become such decent, kind, smart and brave people. But actually, the quiet majority of decent people capable of empathy with others has been there all along, sometimes asleep, sometimes distraught by fear, but always there.

Just because people are quiet doesn't mean they accept everything, maybe they just didn't have a chance, maybe they were convinced that they were alone and everything was hopeless. It is always up to us.

If someone had asked me back in 1997, when we were starting our work in Sarajevo, if in 25 years veterans and former enemies would be coming together to lay flowers at sites of suffering, appearing together on TV and having people call in to thank them, I would have said no way will that ever happen. But it does happen.

It was our dream to get there and we worked to get there. It may be just a drop in the ocean, but it ripples.