

Godišnji izvještaj
Annual Report

Centar za nenasilnu akciju
Centre for Nonviolent Action
Sarajevo | Beograd

2026

29

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Godišnji izvještaj 2026.
Annual Report 2026

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

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



Sadržaj

- Uvod 7

mirovno obrazovanje i nenasilne akcije 9

- Trening koji teče 10
- Interventna umetnost: Grafiti i murali protiv govora mržnje 12
- Digitalna kampanja „Pričaj mir“ 14
- Zajedničko sjećanje na djecu: Zar ste i vi došli? 15
- Trening „Studenti povezuju“ 16

rad sa ratnim veteranima 19

- Kamo dalje? 20
- Posjeta grupe ratnih veterana i mirovnih aktivista Bihaću, Cazinu i Bosanskom Petrovcu 22

obilježavanje neobilježenih mjesta stradanja 25

- Privremene table protiv trajnog zaborava 26
- Morali smo znati 29

publikacije promocije 31

- Objavili smo knjigu „Dogovorena pravda“ 32
- Završen sedmi konkurs za kratku priču Biber 33
- Predstavljanje Bibera 06 34
- Predstavljanje knjige i izložba „Dolazimo u miru“ 35

razmjena, saradnja, umrežavanje 37

- Trening iz suočavanja sa prošlošću, Wustrow, Njemačka 38
- Konferencija „E baš sada: Odbrana demokratije“ u Wustrowu, Njemačka 38
- Landecker Lab, Novi Sad, Srbija 38
- Studijski put „Putem mirotvoraca“, Osijek, Hrvatska 39
- 10. samit mirovnjaka, Tunis 39
- Ukrajinski veterani: Putevi do izlječenja i integracije, Brisel 39
- Konferencija partnerskih organizacija, Berlin 39
- I još razmjene, saradnje i umrežavanja… 40

intervju 41

- Davorka Turk: Sarajevo me naučilo šta je život 42

politički i društveni konteksti u kojima djelujemo 49

- Crna Gora: I dalje prvi u redu za Evropsku uniju 50
- Kosovo: Iz izbora u izbore 52
- Bosna i Hercegovina: Neki novi klinci 54
- Hrvatska: Plenković će biti, sve drugo će proći 56
- Sjeverna Makedonija: Iznevjerena obećanja rađaju apatiju 58

novi članovi cna tima 61

- Jednako za sve 62
- Povorke, tišine i zemljotresi 63
- Konačno ispunjenje 65

dodatak 69

- 12 filmova za bolje razumevanje ratova devedesetih 70
- Sledeće godine slavimo 30 godina 74

Contents

- Introduction 77

peace education and nonviolent actions 79

- Ongoing Training 80
- Intervention art: Graffiti and murals against hate speech 82
- Digital Campaign “Speak Peace” 84
- Remembering Children Together: You Came Too? 85
- “Students Connect” Training 87

work with war veterans 89

- Working with War Veterans: Where next? 90
- Group of War Veterans and Peace Activists Visit Bihać, Cazin and Bosanski Petrovac 92

marking unmarked sites of suffering 95

- Temporary Signs against Permanent Forgetting 96
- We Had to Have Known 99

publications promotions 101

- We published the book Negotiated Justice 102
- Seventh Biber Short Story Contest Completed 103
- Presentations of Biber 06 104
- Presentations of the book and exhibition We Come in Peace 105

exchange, cooperation, networking 107

- Training in Dealing with the Past, Wustrow, Germany 108
- Conference: “Now More Than Ever: Defending Democracy” in Wustrow, Germany 108
- “The Way of Peacemakers” Study Trip, Osijek, Croatia 108
- 10th Peacebuilders Summit, Tunisia 109
- Ukrainian Veterans: Pathways to Healing and Reintegration, Brussels, Belgium 109
- Landecker Lab, Novi Sad, Serbia 109
- Conference of partner organisations, Berlin, Germany 109
- Further exchanges, cooperation and networking... 110

interview 111

- Davorka Turk: Sarajevo taught me what life was all about 112

political and social contexts in which we live 119

- Montenegro: Still First in Line for the European Union 120
- Kosovo: From Elections to Elections 122
- Bosnia and Herzegovina: New Kids on the Block 124
- Croatia: Plenković Shall Remain, All Else Shall Pass 126
- North Macedonia: Broken Promises Breed Apathy 129

new members of the cna team 131

- Equally for All 132
- Processions, Silences and Earthquakes 133
- Final Fulfilment 136

appendix 139

- 12 films to better understand the wars of the nineties 140
- Next Year is Our 30th Anniversary 144

Naše stranice na internetu/Our websites (available in English):


nenasilje.org


onms.nenasilje.org


kulturasjecanja.org


biber.nenasilje.org


handbook.nenasilje.org

Uvod

Dragi ljudi,

Pred vama je 29. godišnji izvještaj Centra za nenasilnu akciju. U godini koja je iza nas okončali smo Trening za trenere i trenerice koji, po pravilu, donosi mnogo novih smjerova i aktivnosti i, iznad svega, mnogo novih ljudi. CNA timu su se priključile tri nove osobe: Dimitrije Glukčević, Tita Mikulaš i Marija Ilić. To je za naš tim veliko „zanavljanje“ i uključivanje jedne nove generacije koja dolazi sa svojim pričama, motivima i dilemama koje možete čitati u ovom godišnjem izvještaju. Nakon duže od decenije rada u CNA i života u Sarajevu Davorka Turk vratila se u svoj rodni Zagreb. Iako nije više članica tima naša Dada ostaje važan stub na koji se i dalje oslanjamo, a u intervjuu sa njom Dada se prisjeća dolaska u CNA i Sarajevo i godina rada na izgradnji mira, susreta sa ljudima, izazova... U posljednjoj fazi Treninga za trenere i trenerice učesnici su zajednički osmišljavali aktivnosti koje žele provesti na terenu uz podršku CNA. Neke od ovih aktivnosti već smo počeli realizirati u 2026. godini, dok su neke u različitim fazama realizacije.

U godini koja je iza nas nastavili smo i sa aktivnostima koje provodimo već nekoliko godina nastojeći ih dići na jedan viši nivo. Kod obilježavanja neobilježenih mjesta stradanja započeli smo regionalnu saradnju pa je posljednja akcija uključivala istovremeno obilježavanje lokacija u Hrvatskoj, Bosni i Hercegovini i Srbiji, a u planu nam je da u narednom periodu uključimo i Kosovo. Bila je ovo prilika ne samo za geografsko „širenje“ akcije već i za novu saradnju i partnerstva. U tekstu o radu sa ratnim veteranima, uz izvještaje o prisustvu komemoracijama i posjetama, nastojimo promišljati i kamo i kako dalje, posebno u svijetlu činjenice da je od rata prošlo 30 godina.

Koliko god mi nastojali mijenjati društvo oko nas, ukupni politički i društveni konteksti itekako oblikuju naš rad i tako je oduvijek bilo. U tekstu o kontekstima možete čuti glasove ljudi koji odreda nastoje da svoja društva mijenjaju nabolje, a sve smo ih pitali, između ostalog, šta ih posebno plaši ili zabrinjava kao i šta im budi nadu tamo gdje oni žive i rade.

Krajem 2025. godine objavljena je i publikacija čije je englesko izdanje svjetlo dana ugledalo u aprilu naredne godine. Knjige „Dogovorena pravda“ i ranije objavljenu „Dolazimo u miru“ promovirali smo u Brčkom, Sarajevu, Mrkonjić Gradu, Bihaću, Prijedoru i Zagrebu. Sa Biberom 06 smo bili u Somboru, Brezi, Tuzima, Cetinju i Novom Pazaru, a u ovoj godini okončali smo konkrus i za Biber 07. Kao i uvijek, nastojali smo obići mnoga mjesta i sa različitim aktivnostima doći u što više gradova. Negdje smo išli jer smo mi smatrali posebno važnim da se pojavimo baš tada i baš tu, ali nas posebno raduje da smo na mnoga mjesta išli jer su nas zvali saradnici, dragi ljudi i prijatelji.

Sljedeće godine obilježavamo 30 godina postojanja i rada. Na samom kraju ovog godišnjeg izvještaja je mali tekst o tome šta planiramo i jedno važno obavještenje o sljedećem godišnjem izvještaju.

O svemu pobrojanom i još ponečemu možete čitati u ovom izvještaju, a detaljnije i na našim internet stranicama. Zahvalni smo vam za svaki komentar, uvid ili povratnu informaciju koju dobijemo.

Za kraj nećemo reći do sljedećeg čitanja već: Vidimo se!



mirovno obrazovanje i nenasilne akcije

Trening za trenere i trenerice realizirali smo u četiri faze:

- Prva faza - Ulcinj, Crna Gora od 4. do. 14. aprila/travnja 2025.
- Druga faza - Sarajevo, BiH i Beograd, Srbija u maju/svibnjui junu/lipnju 2025.
- Treća faza - Tetovo, S. Makedonija od 10. do 20. jula/srpnja 2025.
- Četvrta Faza - Kreševo, BiH od 3. do. 13. oktobra/listopada 2025.

Trening koji teče

Marija Ilić

Prošle godine, nakon pauze od cele jedne decenije, ponovo je realizovan Trening za trenere i trenerice iz izgradnje mira. Imao je četiri faze i ukupno 33 radna dana. Nakon prve faze održane u Ulcinju i predstavljene u prošlogodišnjem izveštaju, tokom 2025. godine realizovane su druga, treća i četvrta faza. Prva faza u Ulcinju, gde se nas dvadeset dvoje srelo i upoznalo, završena je odabirom tema kojima smo želeli da se bavimo na svojim radionicama, ali ovog puta iz uloge trenera/ica, na sledećem zajedničkom susretu. Teme za koje smo se zainteresovali bile su: nenasilna komunikacija, rodno zasnovano nasilje, trauma, nenasilna akcija i aktivizam, memorijalizacija, predrasude i diskriminacija, sukobi…

Druga faza odvijala se u Beogradu i Sarajevu, kao intenzivan proces priprema u manjim tematskim timovima. Prema oblastima koje su nas najviše zanimale, okupili smo se i uz podršku trenerskog tima razvijali smo radionice koje smo kasnije samostalno vodili u okviru treće faze. To je bila priprema za trenersku ulogu koja nas je čekala na Popovoj Šapki.

Treća faza, održana u julu na Popovoj Šapki iznad Tetova, ponovo je okupila celu grupu na jednom mestu nakon prvog susreta u Ulcinju. Ova faza bila je podeljena u dva dela. Prvi deo su činile radionice učesnika i učesnica - ono što smo pripremali u drugoj fazi. Tada je većina učesnika po prvi put preuzela ulogu trenera i trenerica, vodeći radionice koje smo prethodno pripremali u okviru manjih timova. Pored samog vođenja radionica, važan deo procesa bile su zajedničke refleksije, analiza rada i razmena povratnih informacija, kroz koje su učesnici sagledavali svoje pristupe, učili iz iskustava drugih i razvijali sigurnost u radu sa grupama. U ovoj fazi podršku trenerskom timu i celoj grupi dala je Ana Bitoljanu. Podrška je dolazila od svugde ka svima, i nit ju je bilo viška, niti ju je falilio. Ovi dani bili su puni stresa, treme, osećaja odgovornosti, očekivanja, straha, pokušavanja, grešaka, smeha, uspeha…

Drugi deo treće faze bio je posvećen dubljem promišljanju o ulozi trenera i trenerica, kao i izazovima koje donosi rad na izgradnji mira. Kroz refleksije i zajedničke vežbe razgovarali smo o etici mirovnog rada, odgovornosti prema grupama sa kojima se radi i načinima na koje se može graditi siguran prostore za učenje i dijalog.

Četvrta i završna faza Treninga za trenerice i trenere iz izgradnje mira održana je u Kreševu u Bosni i Hercegovini i predstavljala je poslednje zajedničko okupljanje cele grupe u okviru ovog programa. Nakon iskustva vođenja radionice, ova faza bila je prostor za osvrt na celokupan proces, razmenu iskustava i promišljanje o tome kako stečena znanja i veštine primeniti u budućem radu.

Počela je studijskim putem u okviru kog su se grupi pridružili aktivisti i aktivistkinje iz Srbije, Kosova, Bosne i Hercegovine i drugih delova regiona.

Tokom studijskog puta posetili smo Trusinu, Jablanicu, Konjic, Sarajevo, Istočno Sarajevo, Tarčin, Ahmiće i Vitez, gde smo kroz razgovore, posete



mestima sećanja i zajedničke refleksije promišljali o različitim iskustvima rata, posledicama nasilja prisutnim u životima ljudi i trideset godina nakon rata i značaju suočavanja sa prošlošću u procesima izgradnje mira. Ovaj dio treninga je završen razgovorom sa tri ratna veterana, pripadnika VRS, HV i Armije RBiH, koji danas deluju kao aktivisti na izgradnji mira. Njihova lična iskustva i rad nakon rata otvorili su prostor za razgovor o mogućnosti promene, različitim perspektivama i izazovima izgradnje poverenja među zajednicama. To je stvorilo prostor za razumevanje različitih perspektiva, ali i za promišljanje o ulozi mirovnog rada u stvaranju prostora za dijalog, odgovornost i poverenje među zajednicama.

Drugi deo četvrte faze bio je posvećen zajedničkom radu na idejama i inicijativama koje smo, kao učesnici i učesnice mogli da sprovedemo nakon završetka treninga. Kroz deljenje ideja, njihovo razmatranje, razmenu iskustava, odabir ideja i planiranje narednih koraka grupa je promišljala načine na koje znanja i veštine stečene tokom programa mogu biti primenjeni u lokalnim zajednicama. U radu sa grupom, pored stalnog trenerskog tima, učestvovala je i Davorka Turk, doprinoseći dodatnoj razmeni iskustava i podrški učesnicima i učesnicama.

Završetkom četvrte faze okončan je Trening za trenerice i trenere iz izgradnje mira, ali je time započela nova etapa delovanja. Tokom narednog perioda učesnice i učesnici su, uz podršku CNA, nastavili da razvijaju i realizuju ideje nastale tokom treninga - trening za studente inspirisan nenasilnom studentskom borbom u Srbiji, inicijative usmerene na kulturu sećanja, intervencije protiv govora mržnje, digitalnu kampanju „Pričaj mir“, koja donosi priče o ljudskosti u ratu, i druge aktivnosti koje doprinose izgradnji mira u lokalnim zajednicama. Na taj način trening nije predstavljao kraj procesa učenja, već početak zajedničkog delovanja u različitim sredinama. Aktivnosti koje smo u Kreševu zamislili nastavili smo razvijeti kroz 2026. godinu i one su značajno obilježile sam rad CNA u ovoj godini. O nekim koje smo već započeli i realizirali u nastavku donosimo izvještaje, dok o onima koje su još u fazi nastanka donosimo naša promišljanja šta planiramo, kako i zašto.



Interventna umetnost: Grafiti i murali protiv govora mržnje

Tamara Zrnović

Realizovane akcije:

- Kumanovo, Sjeverna Makedonija, 24-25. april/travanj 2026.
- Banja Luka, Bosna i Hercegovina, 9-10. maj/svibanj 2026.

Tokom Treninga za trenerice i trenere iz izgradnje mira koji je organizovan od strane Centra za nenasilnu akciju Sarajevo Beograd u 2025. godini, učesnice i učesnici su imali priliku da na tom treningu kreiraju i pronađu načine kako adresirati nasilnu prošlost na način da se ona razgrađuje i čini sadašnjost i budućnost bolju za generacije koje dolaze. Ideje i aktivnosti o kojima su učesnici promišljali su se odnosili na sve prisutne neprimjerene prakse memorijalizacije i sećanja na ratnu prošlost, lične priče onih koji nisu poznavali granice razdvajanja u vremenu zla, borba protiv govora mržnje i kreiranje novog prostora za mirovnu edukaciju studenata. Sve ove ideje i aktivnosti su proizašle iz prekograničnog grupnog rada.

Kada govorimo o borbi protiv govora mržnje, koji je prisutan u javnom prostoru, na ulicama, fasadama zgrada, javnim površinama, država u kojima živimo, a koji veliča ratne zločince i postavlja granice razdvajanja između „nas“ i „njih“, stvara (izaziva) potrebu da se reaguje. Jedna mala grupa ljudi sa Treninga za



trenerice i trenere, se okupila oko ideje da kroz interventnu umjetnost, uličnim akcijama pokuša napraviti neku promjenu u javnom prostoru. Ideja je bila da se svi oni grafiti koji u sebi sadrže govor mržnje prekriju, prefarbaju i da dobiju jedno novo značenje kroz murale koji će se kasnije naći na tim površinama.

Tim koji se okupio oko ove ideje i realizacije su: Frosina Dodevska, Teodora Sokolovska i Fatmire Ajdari iz Sjeverne Makedonije, Vanja Stokić i Ajdin Kamber iz Bosne i Hercegovine i Dimitrije Glukčević iz Srbije, a sve uz podršku Centra za nenasilnu akciju Sarajevo-Beograd. Do sada su izvedene dve akcije izrade murala: u Kumanovu i u Banjaluci.

Prilikom razrade ove ideje, fokus je bio na dva pravca. Prvi je da pojam govora mržnje i njegove posljedice u javnom prostoru približe mlađim generacijama, srednjoškolcima i studentima, kroz edukacije i radionice. Drugi fokus jeste ohrabrivanje da se na ovakav govor mržnje reaguje u javnom prostoru, sa ciljem da javne površine, umjesto poruka netrpeljivosti i nasilja, ispune slike koje promovišu solidarnost, različitost i zajedništvo.

Prva ulična akcija pod nazivom „**Уметност против омраза/Aksion arti në Kumanovë**“ održana je od 24. do 25. aprila 2025. godine u Kumanovu, u Severnoj Makedoniji. U akciji su učestvovali učenici dviju srednjih škola Goce Delčev i Sami Frasheri koji su zajedno sa predstavnicima Udruge likovnih umjetnika FORMA oslikavali mural posvećen pomirenju, suživotu i izgradnji mira. Učenici i učenice srednjih škola Goce Delčev i Sami Frasheri su imali prilike da se upoznaju i druže na jednodnevnoj radionici na kojoj su obrađivali teme kao što su: timski rad i komunikacija, govor mržnje, nenasilje i nenasilne akcije.

„Umjetnost protiv mržnje“ naziv je ulične akcije koja je održana od 9. do 10. maja u Banja Luci, Bosna i Hercegovina. Učestvovali su mladi sa područja Banja Luke koji su zajedno sa umjetnicom Natašom Konjević Konjo oslikavali mural posvećen pomirenju, suživotu i izgradnji mira.

Nakon ulične akcije u Kumanovu koja je bila krajem aprila, u Banja Luci se radilo sa studentima i umjetnicima, koji odbijaju da normalizuju govor mržnje kojim su okruženi. Željeli su da naprave društvenu promjenu, da djeluju u svojoj lokalnoj zajednici, da je u konačnici

načine prihvatljivom i ljepšom. Mladi su imali i priliku da se upoznaju i druže na jednodnevnoj radionici na kojoj su obrađivali teme kao što su: govor mržnje, nenasilje i nenasilne akcije.

Takođe, učenici su imali prilike i da se upoznaju sa konceptom angažovane ulične umjetnosti koji je vodila umjetnica Nataša Konjević, a koja je ohrabrila studente da mogu biti snažan instrument društvene promjene.

Oslikani mural u Kumanovu i Banja Luci predstavlja snažnu, zajedničku poruku da u našim društvima i sredinama nije mjesto govoru mržnje i da zajedničkim snagama možemo biti dio društvene promjene.

U narednom periodu, slična akcija nas očekuje u Nišu (Srbija), ali možda i u nekim drugim gradovima i lokalnim sredinama.

Digitalna kampanja „Pričaj mir“

Tita Mikulaš

Sulju Đogu je rat zatekao u Goraždu gdje je živio sa svojom porodicom. U ratnom kaosu pomoć mu se ukazala kroz dugogodišnjeg prijatelja „s druge strane“ koji ga je upozorio da će na Goražde biti izveden napad za samo nekoliko dana. Sulji je taj čin solidarnosti dao vremena da skloni porodicu što im je spasilo živote.

Tijekom prošlogodišnjeg Treninga za trenere izgradnje mira mnogo se razgovaralo o pričama međusobne pomoći tijekom rata, netko je o tome čitao, netko čuo od starijih članova obitelji ili pak tome svjedočio. Kako smo na kraju kao polaznici dobili priliku da, uz podršku CNA, svoje ideje o aktivnostima izgradnje mira pretočimo u stvarnost javila se ideja o kampanji za društvene mreže „Pričaj mir“. Osnovni cilj je prikazati priče solidarnosti i međusobne pomoći tijekom ratova devedesetih bez obzira na granice koje su tada dijelile ljude. Jedna od takvih priča je i ona Sulje Đoge sa početka.

Ova aktivnost je produkt zajedničkog rada Slobodana Blagovčanina (ORC Tuzla), Marka Milosavljevića (YIHR Srbija), Tite Mikulaš (CNA) te, u početnim razvojnim fazama, Ane Tomić (Dialogus). Dok je kao velika podrška u realizaciji i koordinaciji bila Tamara Zrnović, iz Centra za nenasilnu akciju Sarajevo-Beograd.

Društvene mreže su odavno vodeći medij kojim se dijeli raznovrstan sadržaj. Za mlade danas su često skoro pa jedini izvor informacija. Nažalost one su u regiji, ali i u svijetu, mjesto gdje kolaju dezinformacije i govor mržnje koji doprinose društvenim podjelama. Vođeni time, osjetili smo potrebu da taj prostor ispunimo pričama solidarnosti i međusobne pomoći u svrhu izgradnje mira.

U kolektivnoj memoriji postoje imena koja su do sada postala simbol za takvu vrstu pomoći, kao što je Srđan Aleksić. Nakon rata postojao je interes da se takva iskustva zabilježe kako ne bi pala u zaborav pa je tako nastala i knjiga Svetlane Broz „Dobri ljudi u vremenu zla“. Tim povodom želim izraziti neopisivu zahvalnost onima koji su bilježili takve priče i otvorili mogućnost da na njihovim temeljima, ali u novom formatu, ispričamo slične priče novoj generaciji. Odlučili smo se potražiti priče u Bosni i Hercegovini, Srbiji i Hrvatskoj kako bi pružili prostor da se čuju priče iz društvenih konteksta iz kojih dolaze članovi tima. Želimo prikazati kako su tijekom tragičnih stradanja ratnih devedesetih postojali ljudi koji su bili spremni, nerijetko riskirajući vlastiti život, pomoći drugima bez obzira na njihov etnički ili vjerski identitet.

Svjedočenja su odavno važan alat pomoću kojeg se kreira šira slika ratnih zbivanja te kojim se pruža prilika da se iz tuđih iskustava i sjećanja uči. Prve asocijacije koje se vežu za priče iz rata jesu svjedočenja pred raznim lokalnim i međunarodnim sudovima koja su pomogla da se rasvijetli istina o mnogim zločinima i kršenjima ljudskih prava tijekom ratova devedesetih. Upravo taj potencijal prenošenja iskustava, s čovjeka na čovjeka, tj. s generacije na generaciju, asocirao nas je na more svjedočanstava o međusobnoj pomoći usred ratnih sukoba koja zaslužuju da se čuju. Važno

nam je pokazati generacijama koje nemaju vlastito sjećanje na rat da je empatiju nemoguće istrijebiti tokom ratnih zbivanja, a one koji to sjećanje nose, kako se rat može poraziti jedino ljudskošću.

Do sada smo imali priliku razgovarati s jedanaest ljudi koji su s nama bili spremni podijeliti kako su nekome pomogli ili kako im je netko pomogao tijekom rata. Posjetili smo Glinu, Prijedor, Tuzlu, Mostar, Sarajevo, Jajce, Goražde, Vareš i Beograd, gdje smo proveli i snimili intervjue. Susreti s našim prijateljima bili su neponovljivo emotivno iskustvo koje je, u kontekstu mirovnog rada, upravo jedan od motivatora za daljnji rad u ovom polju.

Za vrijeme istraživanja i provođenja intervjua primijetili smo da je našim sugovornicima kojima je netko pomogao neizmjerno drago što imaju priliku ispričati priču koju sa sobom nose godinama. To nije samo iskazivanje neke vrste zahvale već svjedočanstvo koje može biti važan putokaz mlađim generacijama. Hrabrost koju su sugovornici iskazali dijeljenju svojih teških priča u ovakvoj aktivnosti pokazuje želju da se naše društvo približi pomoću isticanja i poticanja solidarnosti.

Zajedničko sjećanje na djecu: Zar ste i vi došli?

Nedžad Novalić

Prema podacima o ljudskim gubicima sabranim i objavljenim u „Bosanskoj knjizi mrtvih“ u ratu u Bosni i Hercegovini ubijeno je 3.793 osobe koje su imale manje od 18 godina. Ako se držimo uže definicije iz *Konvencije o pravima djeteta* koja kaže da su djeca osobe do navršenih 15 godina, u Bosni i Hercegovini je ubijeno je 1.892 djece. Onih koji su imali manje od pet godina, koji nikada nisu krenuli u školu, imali školske drugare, bilo je 407.

Iza suhoparne statistike su imena i prezimena, porodice, sudbine koje i danas bole. Rodbinu Indire Žutić i Enisa Likića, trogodišnjaka ubijenih u Stupnom Dolu kod Vareša 1993. godine, sreo sam 2005. godine kada sam u ovom mjestu proveo mjesec ramazana. Ubistvom sedmogodišnjeg Nermina Divovića u Aleji snajpera u Sarajevu intenzivno se bavio Haški tribunal. Ubijen je 1994. snajperskim metkom koji je pogodio stomak njegove trudne majke, ubio plod i Nermina koji je išao pored majke koja je preživjela. Haški tribunal se fokusirao na dostupnu medicinsku dokumentaciju nastojeći jasno utvrditi položaj sa kojeg je pucano. Godinama poslije, kao novinar, sreo sam Nerminovu majku Dženanu koja je živjela u trošnoj kući i preživljavala proseći po sarajevskim ulicama. Zahvaljujući angažmanu medija i dobrih ljudi, skoro 30 godina nakon ubistva Nermina, dobila je kuću i stalni izvor prihoda. Opet, nijedan susret me nije potresao kao susret sa bližnjima četverogodišnje djevojčice Mladenke Zadro koja je ubijena 1993. godine u Grabovici kod Mostara. Potrefilo se da sam baš te 2019. godine i sam imao četverogodišnju djevojčicu koja je bila i ostala radost moga srca i očiju. Dušu sam isplakao tog toplog septembarskog dana u Grabovici pitajući se kako je moguće ubiti dijete?

Smiraj je donio jedan drugi susret, onaj sa roditeljima ubijene djece u Vitezu na lokalitetu „Osmica“. U kući porodice Garić, kojima je ubijeno dvoje djece i treće teško ranjeno, dočekale su me raširene ruke majke, oca i brata ubijenih Sanje i Milana. Kazali su da im mnogo znači naš dolazak i da smo uvijek dobrodošli. Jedan od prisutnih komšija, nakon što smo se Adnan i ja predstavili, ustao je i zagrlio nas. „Zar ste i vi došli“ pitao je sa nekom teško opisivom mješavinom šoka i radosti. Bilo mi je jasno da se ovo „vi“ odnosi na naš (etnički) identitet. Ljudi su imali i imaju snažnu potrebu da njihovu žrtvu prepoznaju i ljudi izvan njihove (etničke) zajednice, posebno kada dolaze sa „druge strane“. Još otvorenije kazano: kada dolaze sa „neprijateljske strane“. Takvi susreti, prelasci na „drugu stranu“ bili su i ostaju nasušna potreba. Nažalost, takvih susreta je malo.

Sjećanje na ubijenu djecu na ovim prostorima uglavnom prati ustaljeni obrazac prema kojem mjesta za sjećanje ima isključivo za „naše žrtve“. Ali plamičak

nade da je zajedničko sjećanje, posebno na djecu, ipak moguće itekako postoji. U Konjicu je Anis Kosovac podigao malu spomen-ploču u znak sjećanja na ubijene dječake, braću Petra i Pavla Golubovića. U centru Konjica, na spomeniku posvećnom ubijenoj djeci, uklesana sva imena, uključujući i Petra i Pavla. U Zagrebu je podignut spomenik Aleksandri Zec i njenoj obitelji, a zvaničnoj komemoraciji po pravilu prisustvuje i gradonačelnik Zagreba. U Maglaju, koji je bio poprište žestokih borbi Armije RBiH, HVO-a i VRS-a, Udruženje civilnih žrtava rata podiglo je u centru grada lijep memorijal svoj ubijenoj djeci.

Nekoliko programa organizacija civilnog društva podstiče mlade da zajednički obiđu spomenike ubijenoj djeci. Takvim obilascima svih spomenika mladi, osim što saznaju o stradanjima u različitim krajevima, postaju most između različitih zajednica. Centar za nenasilnu akciju organizirao je posjete različitih grupa spomenicima u Konjicu, spomeniku „Osmica“ ubijenoj djeci u Vitezu, posjetili smo i spomenike ubijenoj djeci u Goraždu i Maglaju, a već nekoliko godina prisustvujemo i zvaničnim komemoracijama u znak sjećanja na ubijenu djecu u Sarajevu i Istočnom Sarajevu.

Odlazeći na zvanične komemoracije posvećene ubijenoj djeci u Sarajevu i Istočnom Sarajevu ponovo smo svjedočili važnosti „prelazaka na drugu stranu“. Porodicama ubijene djece posebno je bilo značajno prisustvo onih koji dolaze „sa druge strane“ o čemu je zapis na našem sajtu ostavila i kolegica Marija Ilić nakon prisustva komemoraciji ubijenoj djeci opkoljenog Sarajeva. Takvi susreti i nama su uvijek emotivni i znače nam mnogo kao potvrda da naš rad znači mnogo običnim ljudima.

Činjenicu da u Sarajevu i Istočnom Sarajevu danas postoje dva odvojena spomenika i dvije odvojene komemoracije ubijenoj djeci ne možemo čarobnim štapom promijeniti, ali ne želimo ni ignorisati. Kao mogući prostor za intervenciju vidjeli smo odlaske na obje komemoracije, onu koja se u Istočnom Sarajevu organizuje svake godine u martu na spomeniku u dvorištu Osnovne škole „Sveti Sava“ kao i odlazak na komemoraciju ubijenoj djeci opkoljenog Sarajeva koja se održava svake godine ispred spomenika u centru grada. Na jedva desetak kilometara jedan od drugog tako stoje dva spomenika i organizuju se dvije komemoracije. Kao dvije paralelne linije – ta dva svijeta ne bi trebalo da se sretnu nikada i nigdje. Odlazeći na obje komemoracije mi iz Centra za nenasilnu akciju željeli smo biti ta sićušna tačka u kojoj se ta dva svijeta sreću.

Nismo bili sami jer su nas podržali prijatelji i poznanici, posebno Mirjana, a poslije i drugi. Kako su se tačke počele širiti tako smo počeli maštati da uradimo nešto više. Za početak, namjera nam je da sa grupom mirovnih aktivista iz regiona, ponajviše se oslanjajući na podršku učesnika Treninga za trenere, u istom danu obiđemo oba spomenika, susretnemo se sa roditeljima ubijene djece i razgovaramo. Ne želimo stvoriti treću, paralelnu, liniju koja neće imati dodira sa dvije već postojeće. Želimo biti most koji će povezati dvije obale sjećanja na ubijenu djecu jednog grada. Nadamo se da će nam se vremenom priključiti i mnogi drugi koji danas žive u Sarajevu i Istočnom Sarajevu i koji osjećaju bol za svakim izgubljenim životom, posebno dječjim. Maštamo da će od paralelnih linija sjećanja ostati samo sjećanje.

Trening „Studenti povezuju“

Dimitrije Glukčević

Zubato Sunce, kroksice, mrkli mrak, traktori, isprekidana linija, čuvena desna traka... To su bili dirigenti koji su se smenjivali dok je hor koraka žuborio putem. Leva, desna, leva, desna... Misao istetovirana na nervnoj kori. Polako smo se približavali Vojvodini, a ulice su postajale beskrajnije. Petsto ludih niških studenta. To smo bili sebi, i uporno smo ponavljali. Niko nije umoran... Leva, desna, leva, desna... Odmicanjem od polaznog grada, vremenske prilike su se uskladile sa ritmom našeg raspoloženja. Najviše kiša. Mi za umor ne znamo! To je bio nastavak poznatog uzvika. I tako ukrug. Tako smo se osećali

pešačeći na veliki protest 15. marta u Beogradu. Teško je bilo pronaći druge reči. Sakrile su se iza oteklina i žuljeva. Sa snimaka mimoilazećih pogleda, mogli ste naslutiti da smo nakon par dana izgubili jedni druge. Ili je to bila varka. Nije bilo potrebno da tražimo reči. Da pronalazimo zajednička interesovanja.

Definitivno smo imali različita viđenja predstojećeg događaja. Ipak, niko nije bio Mila, Kemal, Sara, Luka, Marija, Boban... Bili smo samo petsto ludih niških studenta. Zajednička bol, to je ono što nas je spajalo. A nismo baš ni bili isključivo niški studenti. Rado se sećam ovog perioda. Mislim da me je otreznila misao da kroz jaku volju šala prerasta u mogućnost. A dosta smo se šalili nekoliko meseci ranije, kako ne mogu da nas spreče da dođemo na protest. Da bi na kraju došli, makar i peške. A nismo bili ludi. Čudno, ta fraza nam jeste davala svrhu, ujedinjavala nas. Dugo sam razmišljao o njoj. Ipak, morao sam popuniti sate gaženja asfalta, a ona mi je u trenutku bila najbliža. Možda ipak ne, zamišljao sam kako asfalt gazi mene, sa toga je trebalo skrenuti misli... Ko pešači nešto manje od dvesta kilometara kako bi se tukao i pravio nerede? Mora da je to značenje ludosti u spomenutom uskliku. Nismo bili ludi. Mnogi jesu pričali da jedva čekaju da stignemo, kako će biti haosa. Kako ćemo mi praviti haos. Neki hrabriji od nas poneli su baklje, palice, boksere i slične skalamerije. Najčešće, savladala ih je težina sopstvenih nogu već trećeg dana. Takozvani Ćacilend, tadašnja novotarija, okupirala je ceo Pionirski park. Okolo, pojavile su se ograde. Policija je danonoćno motrila na ovu granicu razuma. Nisam siguran sa koje su oni bili strane. Približavanjem smo na društvenim mrežama videli razne tehnike pecanja ćacija sendvičem. Netrpeljivost, to je ključalo u nama... U meni...

Možda i jesam malo bio lud. Ipak, u danima koji su predstojili, sve je to iscurelo kroz kožu. Put koji smo odabrali vratio me je u ispravan kolosek, bez i da sam osetio. Shvatio sam da je poduhvat suštinski miroljubiv.

Setio sam se treninga Mir Paqe Мир kome sam prisustvovao godinu dana pre. Tada nisam arčio patike. Vodila me je znatiželja. Ali ipak, zajednička bol je bila prisutna. Nismo delili sterilne gaze i alkohol za ispiranje. Pružali smo jedni drugima papirnate maramice, a ponekad i utehu. Isplivalo je nešto što većina nas nije osećala ranije. Mi nismo bili to. Nije nas bolelo. Nije me bolelo. Barem do tada... Ranije sam mislio da ono što se desilo pre rođenja ne utiče na mene. Ipak, podilazili su me žmarci kada sam čuo. Šta je bilo na Kosovu? Već sam čuo šta je bilo na Kosovu. Ali ne ovako. Teško mi je da objasnim šta se u tih deset dana desilo. Nisam stigao da posložim ono što sam naučio. Nisam mogao da se prisetim. Svaki put kada bih objašnjavao nekome, falilo je... živosti, realističnosti, kao da sam prepričavao crno-beli film.

A onda, posle stotinak hiljada koraka, opet sam osetio. Povezanost, to je ono što je falilo.

I dalje nisam siguran da li se radilo o ljudima koji su nas dočekivali punog srca. Možda smo međusobno širili energiju. Ta prećutna bol je u nama stvorila nešto. A nismo puštali ni glasa, jer ne možeš reći ljudima koji te čekaju kako te boli... I tako smo se transformisali. Dobili snagu za borbu. I ti dani su ostali da ključaju u nama. Dali su dodir sa realnošću našim lutanjima. I čak i kada bi bili spremni da odustanemo, vraćali su nas na put. Leva, desna, leva, desna...

Šetnje su ostale u sećanjima, a fakulteti ponovo rade normalno. Prostor za razmenu ideja, ali i bliskost i kolektivno proživljavanje je sužen. Više nismo zajedno kao nekada. Naši saborci iz Pazara su opet ostali na margini. Jurimo ispite, diplome, karijere... Bol koju smo osetili ostala je u zapećku. Baš kao i ona koju nikada nismo osvestili... Ona koja potiče iz generacija pre nas i neprimetno se prenosi. Ukorenjena u sukobima devedesetih ona je čvrsta podloga koje nismo svesni.

Sve nade polažu se u predstojeće izbore, koji neminovno moraju doći. Prepoznajem trenutak da preduzmem nešto. I nisam jedini. Mi, grupa mirovnih aktivistkinja i aktivista iz regiona, uz podršku Centra za nenasilnu akciju (CNA), spremni smo na ovaj korak. Zalažemo se da se stvari nikako ne guraju pod tepih. Sada, kada naslage još uvek nisu zatrpale osećaj zajedništva. Dok prirodan tok života nije isisao studentski duh iz nas, mladih buntovnika. Vreme je da organizujemo trening posebno za studente. Za one koji trenutno oblikuju društvo. Ne samo u Srbiji, nego i Hrvatskoj, BiH, Kosovu, Makedoniji, Albaniji...

Zašto organizujemo trening?

Svakodnevno se u medijima mogu uhvatiti poruke mržnje, praćene zvukom zveckanja oružjem. U blizini besne dva višegodišnja rata, čije se posledice svakodnevno mogu osetiti kroz ljude prebegle na ove prostore. Današnja slika Balkana je postala pogubna po ljude koji tu žive. Ljudi koji se doslovno bore za goli život. Neretko se mogu čuti zagovaranja nasilnog uspostavljanja novog poretka, jer je to „jedini način“ da se dođe do promene. Posebno, u Srbiji je pad nadstrešnice u Novom Sadu bio povod za stvaranje novog pokreta predvođen studentima. Mladost iz regiona vidi ga kao seme burnog, zaraznog talasa promene koja neminovno dolazi. Želimo se fokusirati na zajedničke probleme: borbu za demokratske institucije, transparentnost i suočavanje s prošlošću. Aktualni studentski pokreti u Srbiji postali su simbolom građanskog otpora koji odjekuje regijom i probudili su solidarnost u regiji. Mladi ljudi postaju nositelji promena. Ne šute. Deluju. Povezuju se. Puno je takvih primjera u kojima su studenti nosioci promena u društvu: blokada Filozofskog fakulteta u Zagrebu, organizovanje studenata iz Sarajeva nakon tramvajske nesreće, protesti studenata u Skoplju nakon požara u Kočanima… Ovaj trening želi okupiti mlade iz regije u borbi protiv predrasuda te izgradnji međusobnog povjerenja.

rad sa ratnim veteranima



Aktivnosti koje smo sproveli u posljednjih godinu dana

- Promocije knjige i izložbe „Dolazimo u miru“:

Brčko, 9-16. septembar/rujan. 2025.
Sarajevo, 20-27. novembar/studeni 2025.
Mrkonjić Grad, 21-24. april/travanj 2026.
Bihać, 20-24. maj/svibanj 2026

- Komemoracija u Sovićima i Doljanima kod Jablanice, 17. april/travanj 2026.
- Posjeta Bihaću, Cazinu i Bosanskom Petrovcu, 20-24. maj/svibanj 2026

Kamo dalje?

Amer Delić

Nakon dvije decenije rada sa ratnim veteranima, dugoročnog i strpljivog građenja prostora za zajedničko djelovanje u izgradnji mira, postavljaju se pitanja koja ne dolaze iz odluke o odustajanju ili iz osjećaja da je posao završen. Naprotiv. Pojavljuju se upravo onda kada dobijemo potvrdu da ono što radimo još uvijek ima smisla. Možda je jedno od najtežih pitanja kako ostati vjeran i istrajati u onome zbog čega smo i počeli raditi, a istovremeno se prilagođavati vremenu, ljudima i okolnostima koje se mijenjaju? Živimo u društvima u kojima nema oružanog sukoba, ali u kojima mir ostaje opterećen naslijeđem rata. Nepovjerenje i podjele, sagledavanje sebe i svoje grupe prevashodno iz perspektive žrtve i izostanak empatije za druge, i dalje su najprisutniji faktori u kreiranim politikama ali i u društvenom diskursu naših zajednica. Također, eskalacija brutalnog nasilja u svijetu doprinosi daljnjoj polarizaciji društava dajući im novu dimenziju podjele poput navijačkih skupina onih koji su za ili protiv Ukrajine i Rusije, Palestine i Izraela, Irana i SAD-a…

U takvim okolnostima i nastojeći da napravimo pomake na nivoima do kojih možemo da dopremo, i u proteklih godinu dana nastavili smo naše zajedničke akcije, uključujući prisustvo zvaničnim komemoracijama, promocije knjige „Dolazimo u miru“, zajedničku posjetu Unsko-sanskom kantonu i realizujući intervjue sa ratnim veteranima za potrebe našeg programa u razvoju „Pričaj mir“.

I zato još uvijek dolazimo...

Razlozi iz kojih se može zaključiti da i dalje ima smisla raditi i dolaziti u lokalne zajednice možda su najvidljiviji prilikom prisustvovanja zvaničnim komemoracijama.

Doživjeli smo rijetko iskustvo na zvaničnoj komemoraciji ubijenim i zatočenim civilima u Sovićima, koju smo posjetili sa grupom ratnih veterana iz regije. Tokom komemorativnog programa voditelj i govornici su više puta pomenuli prisutne ratne veterane, nabrajajući pune nazive vojski kojima su pripadali. U većini slučajeva bi nas domaćini predstavili kao delegaciju CNA. Povremeno, ovisno od toga gdje smo prisustvovali i ko su nam „domaćini“, uslijedilo bi „bivši pripadnici VRS, HVO, HV, ARBiH, JNA, VJ...“ Izgovoriti puni naziv nekadašnjih neprijateljskih vojski u bilo kojem pozitivnom smislu, i dalje je nepopularno. Ovaj put, nakon spominjanja, uslijedio je i aplauz prisutnih, među kojima su bile porodice žrtava ali i predstavnici



vjerske zajednice, načelnik i drugi službenici te mnogobrojni građani. Nakon završetka komemoracije, predsjednik Udruženja logoraša Stolac prišao nam je i pozvao nas da dođemo i i u njihov grad. Takvi trenuci se ne mogu planirati. Ne nastaju iz jedne aktivnosti niti iz jednog događaja. Možda upravo takvi trenuci najviše govore o smislu ovog rada. Povjerenje koje se gradi dovoljno dugo da neko kaže - dođite. Stolac se već decenijama, zbog svoje složene političke, etničke, ratne i poslijeratne historije, često označava kao „grad slučaj“ i percipira kao jedno od mjesta u Bosni i Hercegovini u kojem su pitanja odnosa između zajednica i dalje posebno osjetljiva. Poziv da dođemo u Stolac razumijemo kao iskazanu potrebu za drugačijim pristupom od onog koji je uobičajen u lokalnom javnom prostoru, opterećenim stalnim političkim sporovima i povremenim sukobima.

Također, tokom protekle godine organizovali smo promocije knjige „Dolazimo u miru: Rad s ratnim veteranima na izgradnji mira“ i prateće izložbe fotografija. Brčko, Sarajevo, Mrkonjić Grad i Bihać nisu bili samo mjesta na kojima smo predstavili jednu publikaciju i izložbu. Bile su to prilike za susrete i razgovore. Otvarale su se bolne teme o ratu, sjećanju i odgovornosti i govorilo o tome kako i na koji način danas razgovarati o teškim iskustvima ali i o izazovima postratnog vremena bez ponavljanja istih grešaka iz prošlosti.

Kroz organizaciju ovih događaja zaključili smo da potreba za ovakvom vrstom dijaloga nije prestala, nego iznova pronalazi svoj prostor među ljudima koji su spremni da slušaju jedni druge. Nije lako, teška je tematika, narativi su jaki i suprotstavljeni, ali ipak se otvarao prostor da se čuje i onaj drugi i da se pokuša razumjeti.

I posjeta Krajini ove godine, Cazinu, Bosanskom Petrovcu i Bihaću, prilikom koje smo obišli mnogobrojna mjesta sjećanja, omogućila nam je da predstavimo naš rad spram institucija lokalnih vlasti ali i da upoznamo nove ratne veterane koji su iskazali želju da se pridruže našim mirovnim akcijama u budućnosti.

Pogled unaprijed: izazovi, potrebe i perspektive

Prepoznajemo i potrebu za snažnijim povezivanjem rada veterana sa mlađim generacijama. Mnogi mladi ljudi nemaju lično iskustvo rata, ali žive sa njegovim posljedicama. Susreti između veterana i mladih, kroz radionice na treninzima i studijskim putovanjima, pokazali su se kao važni oblici djelovanja, jer omogućavaju razgovor o ratu izvan dominantnih političkih

interpretacija i otvaraju prostor za kritičko promišljanje prošlosti i odgovornosti za budućnost. U planu nam je da tako i nastavimo.

Jedna od novih aktivnosti kojoj su podršku dali i pojedini ratni veterani sa kojima sarađujemo je program „Pričaj mir“, video intervjui s fokusom na pričama o solidarnosti i međusobnoj pomoći tokom ratova devedesetih.

Istovremeno, dok nastojimo nastaviti i razvijati postojeće aktivnosti, ne možemo zanemariti promjene koje vrijeme donosi. Ljudi s kojima smo započeli ovaj rad prije dvije decenije danas su stariji. Mnogi od njih nose trajne posljedice ratnih iskustava i suočavaju se sa zdravstvenim problemima. Naše mogućnosti za organizaciju terenskog rada koji podrazumijeva duža pješačenja i višednevna odsustva od kuće postaju ograničenija. To predstavlja novi izazov kojem ćemo morati prilagođavati način rada, tražeći nove formate susreta i uključivanja veterana.

Odustati ne želimo, a potreba da se djeluje je velika. Možda su ratovi današnjice dovoljno udaljeni od nas da trenutno ne strahujemo za vlastitu egzistenciju, ali uz političku nestabilnost u našoj regiji teško se možemo potpuno osloboditi osjećaja da je mir koji imamo krhak.

Dok naša regionalna politička vodstva garancije mira i sigurnosti vide u nabavkama raketnih sistema i avionskih flota i sklanjajući se pod kišobrane velikih svjetskih sila i vojnih saveza, mi ćemo nastojati ojačati postojeće i stvoriti nove kapacitete za mirovni rad.

Posjeta grupe ratnih veterana i mirovnih aktivista Bihaću, Cazinu i Bosanskom Petrovcu

Radomir Radević

Veteranski susret i posjeta Bihaću, Cazinu i Bosanskom Petrovcu održan je od 20. do 24. maja 2026. godine.

U srijedu, 20. maja u Gradskoj galeriji Bihać promovisana je knjiga „Dolazimo u miru: Rad sa ratnim veteranima na izgradnji mira“. U razgovoru o knjizi, koji je moderirala Dalila Vojniković Dupanović, učestvovali su Franjo Grgić i Jasmin Osmankić – Strikan iz Bihaća, Veroljub Smiljković iz Kruševca i Nenad Vukosavljević iz Beograda. Promociju je pratila i izložba fotografija autora Nenada Vukosavljevića, koja je za posjetioce bila otvorena do 24. maja.

Narednih dana, naše krajiško putovanje obogaćeno je susretima sa predstavnicima lokalnih vlasti i udruženja u Bihaću, Cazinu i Bosanskom Petrovcu. Ovi razgovori potvrdili su zajedničku težnju da se kroz dijalog ustraje na daljoj izgradnji mira. Pored zvaničnih susreta, obišli smo lokalna spomen-obilježja i istorijske komplekse, odajući počast žrtvama posljednjeg rata i upoznavajući se sa društveno-istorijskim kontekstom ovog kraja. Cijelo putovanje pratile su nestvarne prirodne ljepote, od smaragdnih i divljih brzaka rijeke Une oko Bihaća i Kulen Vakufa, do pitomih i zelenih brežuljaka Cazinske krajine.

Cazin

Boravak u Cazinu započeo je radnim sastankom u zgradi Gradske uprave, gdje su grupu primili Jusuf Bajrektarević, savjetnik gradonačelnika Cazina, i Smail Toromanović, predstavnik cazinskih ratnih veterana. Domaći nisu krili impresioniranost posjetom, karakterišući je kao fascinantan događaj između ostalog i za sam grad Cazin. Iskazali su spremnost da se priključe akcijama, napominjući da se zalažu za BiH kao državu svih naroda, te da su naše aktivnosti primjer kako se može zajednički i razgovarati i sarađivati.

Nakon sastanka uslijedio je obilazak lokalnih spomen-obilježja. Grupa je posjetila Osnovnu školu „Ćoralići“, ispred koje se nalazi specifično spomen-obilježje sa sovjetskim transportnim helikopterom, koji je tokom rata prevezao preko 10.000 putnika i 200.000 kilograma tereta, postavljen u znak sjećanja na herojstvo i doprinos Vazduhoplovne grupe Bihać.



Pored ovog mjesta, veterani su obišli i položili cvijeće i na spomen-obilježje u naselju Pjanići, prostor blisko vezan za odbranu i borce 5. korpusa Armije RBiH, kao i lokalitet nekadašnjeg aerodroma Cazin.

Bosanski Petrovac

Aktivnosti su nastavljene u Bosanskom Petrovcu, gdje je održan zvanični sastanak sa opštinskim načelnikom Mahmutom Jukićem i predsjednikom Udruženja RVI Armije RBiH Erminom Hidićem. Tokom razgovora, domaćini su iskazali punu spremnost za podršku budućim projektima koji, kako su naveli, baštine suživot i dalju izgradnju mira.

Nakon radnog sastanka, delegacija je odala počast žrtvama rata polaganjem cvijeća na centralna spomen-obilježja u gradu: spomenik poginulim pripadnicima Armije RBiH na Trgu šehida, kao i na spomenik civilnim žrtvama rata lociran kod Doma zdravlja. U nastavku programa realizovana je i kraća kulturno-istorijska posjeta Spomen-kući Skendera Kulenovića.

Zvanični dio posjete Bosanskom Petrovcu završen je obilaskom dva memorijalna lokaliteta van gradskog jezgra, oba na Petrovačkoj cesti, koja je još tokom II svjetskog rata ostala upisana kao simbol kolektivne tuge i stradanja. Prvo smo posjetili spomen-obilježje bošnjačkim civilima iz Sanskog Mosta i Ključa. Na tom mjestu su tokom 1992. godine presretani i surovo napadani konvoji ljudi koji su, bježeći od rata, tražili sigurne teritorije. Grupa se zaustavila i pred spomen-krstom na Petrovačkoj cesti u mjestu Janjila. Podignut u znak sjećanja na 7. avgust 1995. godine, ovaj krst svjedoči o tragediji tokom operacije „Oluja“, kada je u raketiranju izbjegličke kolone od strane hrvatske avijacije ubijeno deset civila, među kojima i četvoro djece.

Kulen Vakuf i Martin Brod

Drugi dio dana bio je posvećen dubljem upoznavanju sa burnom prošlošću Ljutočke doline, kroz posjetu Kulen Vakufu i Martin Brodu. Učesnici su najprije obišli Šehidsko spomen-obilježje i turbe u Kulen Vakufu koje predstavlja centralno mjesto sjećanja na stradanja bošnjačkog stanovništva ovog kraja tokom rata (1992–

1995). Kroz emotivno i autentično svjedočenje Jasmina Osmankića Strikana, člana veteranske grupe i direktnog učesnika ovih događaja, prisutnima su približene golgote kroz koje su prošli mještani Ljutočke doline. Njegovo lično iskustvo i sjećanja na progon, gubitke bližnjih i dane odbrane dali su ovom obilasku duboku ljudsku dimenziju, opominjući na važnost očuvanja sjećanja na civilne žrtve i branioce ovog dijela bihaćke opštine. Također, u dirljivom govoru grupi se obratio i Alen Osmankić, sin poginulog borca, Strikanovog brata, koji još uvijek traga za posmrtnim ostacima svoga oca ali i ostalih nestalih sa ovog područja.

Završnica dana bila je rezervisana za posjetu Martin Brodu, živopisnom naselju smještenom na ušću Unca u Unu. Grupa je posjetila i pravoslavni manastir Rmanj, duhovni i kulturni spomenik iz 15. vijeka, koji je kroz istoriju više puta rušen i obnavljan. Predstavljao je idealno mjesto za refleksiju o multikonfesionalnom nasljeđu i suživotu naroda koji vijekovima dijele ovaj prostor.

Bihać

Program posjete Bihaću uspješno je povezao tri različite istorijske epohe i lokalne kulture sjećanja, pružajući učesnicima dubok uvid u prelamanje prošlosti na ovom prostoru.

Obilazak je započeo posjetom Spomen-parku „Garavice“, jednom od najvećih stratišta iz Drugog svjetskog rata. Na ovom mjestu su ustaše 1941. godine izvršile masovni pokolj nad više hiljada civila, pretežno Srba, Jevreja i komunista. Istoričar dr. Dino Dupanović detaljno je predočio istorijski kontekst i osvrnuo se na arhitektonske specifičnosti spomenika autora Bogdana Bogdanovića. Poseban akcenat stavljen je na savremene kontroverze oko apstraktnog izgleda skulptura, natpisa na ulaznoj ploči, te polemika oko tačnog broja žrtava.

Nakon Garavica, učesnici su na katoličkom groblju „Križ“ u Žegaru polaganjem vijenaca odali počast poginulim pripadnicima HVO-a u odbrani grada tokom proteklog rata.

Program je nastavljen obilaskom podzemnog aerodroma „Željava“, kolosalnog vojnog kompleksa bivše JNA na granici Bosne i Hercegovine i Hrvatske. Domaćin i član veteranske grupe Franjo Grgić približio je prisutnima tehničke aspekte ovog nekada najskupljeg podzemnog objekta SFRJ, građenog da izdrži nuklearni udar, a koji je JNA trajno uništila miniranjem 1992. godine.

Istorijska ruta kroz različite slojeve sjećanja Bihaćke Krajine, završena je obilaskom Spomen-obilježja braniocima-oslobodiocima grada Bihaća u samom centru. Savremeni memorijalni kompleks, otvoren 2020. godine, predstavlja centralno mjesto sjećanja na 1.201 dan teške opsade (1992–1995) grada Bihaća.

Posebno ističemo činjenicu da smo primljeni od strane savjetnika gradonačelnika u Cazinu i načelnika u Bosanskom Petrovcu, kao i da smo dobili podršku od strane gradonačelnika Bihaća, što predstavlja značajnu ulogu u institucionalnoj legitimaciji pomirenja, razbijanju međuetničkih tabua i izgradnji trajnog mira. U društvima koja su i dalje opterećena poslijeratnim podjelama, ratni veterani posjeduju snažan društveni autoritet. Kada načelnici opština primaju i pruže i ruku i podršku mješovitoj grupi ratnih veterana, oni transformišu veteransku populaciju iz percipirane prepreke miru u ključne aktere stabilnosti i dalje izgradnje mira. Ovi prijemi često otvaraju vrata za zajedničke obilaske mjesta stradanja i polaganje cvijeća, čime se suprotstavlja selektivnoj empatiji i selektivnoj memoralizaciji.

Grupu je činilo 25 mirovnih aktivista i ratnih veterana iz Srbije, Hrvatske i Bosne i Hercegovine. Tokom radionica, učesnici su zajednički planirali aktivnosti za period do kraja 2026. i za celu 2027. godinu. Poseban podstrek i motivaciju pružili su pozivi samih ratnih veterana da se posjete njihove lokalne sredine. Oni su izrazili veliku spremnost da učestvuju u predstojećim programima i obilježavanjima godišnjica, kao i da budu domaćini i podrška u realizaciji budućih planova.

Izražavamo veliku zahvalnost Franji Grgiću i Jasminu Osmankiću Strikanu na izuzetnom gostoprimstvu i logističkoj podršci. Njihovo nesebično zalaganje i posvećenost obilježili su čitav boravak grupe u Unsko-sanskom kantonu.

obilježavanje neobilježenih mjesta stradanja



Aktivnosti koje smo sproveli u poslednjih godinu dana:

- 21. akcija, decembar/prosinac 2025.

Obilježena mjesta stradanja:
- Osnovna škola Dvor, Dvor na Uni, Republika Hrvatska
- Dvorac Kerestinec, nadomak Zagreba, Republika Hrvatska
- Napuštene barake preduzeća Planum, selo Šljivovica nadomak Užica, Republika Srbija
- Objekt Lovačkog doma u mjestu Begejci (današnji Torak), nadomak Zrenjanina, Republika Srbija
- Objekti poljoprivrednog gazdinstva Stajićevo, nadomak Zrenjanina, Republika Srbija
- Trg ZAVNOBiH-a u sarajevskom naselju Alipašino Polje, Bosna i Hercegovina

- 22. akcija, maj/svibanj 2026.

Obilježeno mjesto stradanja
- Zanatski centar u Brčkom, Bosna i Hercegovina

Privremene table protiv trajnog zaborava

Radomir Radević

Kada danas prođete pored neke napuštene fabrike, stare škole ili doma kulture u mjestima širom Hrvatske, Srbije i Bosne i Hercegovine, teško možete naslutiti šta se u nekima od njih dešavalo devedesetih godina. Ti objekti, danas najčešće zapušteni i zaboravljeni, srušeni do temelja ili pak potpuno vraćeni svojoj prvobitnoj, svakodnevnoj, namjeni, ni na koji način ne odaju sliku nekadašnjeg zatočeničkog objekta, logora ili mjesta stradanja ljudi. Zidovi koji su nekada svjedočili ljudskoj patnji danas ćute, zarasli u grmlje i šiblje ili obavijeni velom svakodnevice, vrevom života i kolektivne amnezije.

Zvanične politike u cijelom regionu uglavnom funkcionišu po istom, duboko podijeljenom šablonu: pomno i glasno pamte samo žrtve sopstvenog naroda. Sa druge strane, mjesta stradanja „onih drugih“ se sistemski zaobilaze, relativizuju, prećutkuju i čak brišu iz javnog prostora. Tako objekti i sjećanje na ljude koji su u njima stradali, ostaju zarobljeni u ćutanju, negiranju, a nerijetko i otvorenim institucionalnim zabranama. Prošlost se na taj način konzervira kao stalni izvor tihih tenzija.

Upravo u taom duboko podijeljenom i nijemom međuprostoru, više od jedne decenije, interveniše inicijativa „Obilježavanje neobilježenih mjesta stradanja“ (ONMS). Postavljanjem privremenih tabli na lokacijama bivših mjesta stradanja, aktivisti ukazuju na obavezu poštovanja ljudskog dostojanstva i priznavanja patnje, onima kojima je lokalna zajednica odlučila da to uskrati. Misija ONMS nije uperena protiv bilo koga; to je iskren i ličan pokušaj da se izgradi zajednička, inkluzivna kultura sjećanja nasuprot zvaničnim nacionalističkim narativima koji nas i dalje drže razdvojenima.



Kad zgrade promjene namjenu, a društvo izabere amneziju

Rad na terenu predstavlja stalno suočavanje sa otporom sistema i društvenim barijerama. Borba protiv institucionalnog zaborava vodi se u realnom vremenu, a opstrukcije sa kojima se susrećemo su raznolike i sistematske. Prva i najčešća prepreka jeste ekspresno uklanjanje postavljenih obilježja. Table koje postavimo na zgradama bivših domova kulture, škola ili policijskih stanica, lokalne komunalne službe ili nepoznata lica najčešće uklone u roku od nekoliko sati, ponekad i odmah po našem odlasku. Cilj je jasan: prostor se mora brzo „očistiti“ kako se lokalno stanovništvo ne bi suočilo sa neprijatnim činjenicama iz sopstvene prošlosti.

Pored neformalnog uklanjanja tabli, suočavali smo se i sa policijskim legitimisanjem i pritiscima, detaljnim ispitivanjima, bezbjednosnim procjenama na licu mjesta i neformalnim zabranama fotografisanja javnih objekata, iako za takve zabrane često ne postoji nikakvo zakonsko uporište. Na zahtjeve upućene lokalnim opštinama da se odobri postavljanje trajnih spomen-ploča, odgovori su najčešće negativni ili se dopisi potpuno ignorišu. Obrazloženja su uvijek tipska i cinična: tvrdi se da bi takva obilježja „remetila međunacionalne odnose“ ili „provocirala lokalno stanovništvo“, čime se odgovornost za podjele prebacuje na one koji pozivaju na mir.

Sve to biva dodatno podgrijano kroz medijsko ili apsolutno ignorisanje ili diskreditaciju od strane lokalnih medija pod kontrolom vladajućih struktura, koji ONMS akcije redovno portretišu kao „provokacije spoljnih elemenata“ sa namjerom da se cijelom jednom narodu nametne kolektivna krivica.

Nijedna žrtva ne smije ostati nevidljiva

Uprkos svemu tome mreža sjećanja i broj obilježenih mjesta stradanja se iz godine u godinu širi i povećava. Inicijativa ONMS uz podršku Centra za nenasilnu akciju od 2015. godine sprovodi akciju obilježavanja u Bosni i Hercegovini, gdje je do sada obilježeno više od 150 lokacija. Tokom vremena, akciji su se priključivale razne organizacije, mnogi pojedinci/ke, predstavnici porodica žrtava, preživjeli, predstavnici udruženja

logoraša i sami logoraši, ratni veterani, mirovni aktivisti/kinje.

Krajem 2025. godinje po prvi put akcija izvedena uz učešće aktivistica i aktivista tri organizacije (YIHR Srbija, YIHR Hrvatska i CNA) i na teritoriji tri države (Srbija, Hrvatska i Bosna i Hercegovina). Obilježeni su bivši zatočenički objekti i mjesta ubistava na području Šljivovice, Stajićeva i Begejaca u Srbiji, Dvorca Kerestinec i Dvora na Uni u Hrvatskoj te Alipašinog Polja u Sarajevu.

Posebnu društvenu i političku težinu pridajemo planiranom proširenju inicijative na Kosovo tokom ove godine. Svjesni smo da ratni sukobi na Kosovu (1998–1999), sa svojim dugotrajnim ranama, i dalje predstavljaju jednu od centralnih tačaka političkih manipulacija i dubokih društvenih tenzija na cijelom Balkanu. Naš dolazak sa ONMS inicijativom na Kosovo će obuhvatiti obilježavanje mjesta stradanja Albanaca, Srba i svih drugih zajednica, te se nadamo da će predstavljati sistemski, prekogranični i multietnički pokušaj suočavanja sa prošlošću i na tom terenu. Mali, ali odlučan korak kojim poručujemo da nijedna žrtva ne smije ostati nevidljiva.

Priznavanje žrtava ne poznaje granice

Duboko vjerujemo da regionalno povezivanje i širenje ONMS akcija po čitavom regionu ključno doprinosi stabilnosti i izgradnji trajnog mira na Balkanu kroz sledeće procese:

- Priznanje „nevidljivih“ žrtava: Poricanje zločina, naročito počinjenih od strane pripadnika vlastitog naroda, događa se u kontinuitetu, prenosi se na nove generacije. Obilježavanjem mjesta stradanja svih etničkih grupa šaljemo poruku solidarnosti i direktno preispitujemo nacionalističke narative o isključivoj žrtvi sopstvenog naroda i tuđoj krivici. Nasuprot zvaničnim politikama koje pamte selektivno i prećutkuju mjesta stradanja manjina, ONMS akcijama se vraća ljudsko ime i dostojanstvo onima koji su izostavljeni iz zvaničnih istorijskih udžbenika i selektivnih politika pamćenja.
- Protiv tabua i podjela u zajednici: Djelujemo tamo gdje je veoma potrebno – na javnim prostorima u srcu lokalnih zajednica, ali i na društvenim mrežama gdje se naš glas dalje čuje. Javno ukazujemo na postojeću nepravdu i tabue koji pothranjuju mržnju, dok naše privremene table predstavljaju jasan apel vlastima da zaustave negiranje i odobre podizanje trajnijih obilježja.
- Izgradnja empatije umjesto selektivne pravde: Nerijetko zvanične komemoracije u regionu imaju efekat jačanja nacionalizma i mržnje prema susjedima, a zbog toga šta se na njima izgovara i na šta se poziva. ONMS inicijativa nas uči da osjetimo bol „druge strane“ i da osudimo zločin, bez obzira na to ko je počinitelj, a ko žrtva.
- Pravni i institucionalni pritisak: ONMS akcije služe i kao stalno podsjećanje i zalaganje i kod institucija za poštovanje ljudskih prava i jednako pravo svih građana da se sećaju svojih bližnjih.
- Kreiranje alternativnog istorijskog arhiva: Sve akcije detaljno dokumentujemo fotografijama, video zapisima, a obilježena mjesta stradanja mapiramo preciznim geografskim koordinatama, čime se stvara digitalna baza podataka dostupna istraživačima i javnosti.

Na kraju, najvažniji, sveobuhvatni aspekt ove borbe jeste prevencija budućih sukoba. Pošten odnos prema prošlosti, transparentna edukacija mladih i šire javnosti o tome šta se dešavalo u njihovoj neposrednoj blizini, u njihovom komšiluku, jedini je način da se spriječe nove manipulacije istorijom i dalje dojenje mržnjom. Kada naučimo da prepoznamo i osjetimo bol druge strane, kada osudimo zločin bez obzira na ime počinitelja i nacionalnost žrtve, tek tada postavljamo neprobojne temelje za mir. Ova zajednička borba protiv zaborava i negiranja, koja spaja aktiviste, veterane, žrtve i porodice žrtava širom Bosne i Hercegovine, Hrvatske, Srbije i nadamo se ubrzo i Kosova, važan je zalog za mirniju i humaniju budućnost svih nas.

Morali smo znati

Ružica Marjanović

Ne sećam se da li je bila kasna jesen ili rano proleće, tek na gradskom trgu u Užicu uveče nije bilo nikoga u baštama kafića. Našla sam se sa prijateljem, novinarom i publicistom. Volim kafenisanje sa njim. Nema ogovaranja. Uglavnom o književnosti i knjigama. Doneo je NIN, otvoren negde oko sredine, presavijen vertikalno na pola. Na levoj stranici je fotografija. Muškarci stoje u redu, goli, pored njih gomilice odela. Svi su mršavi, izgledali su kao da niko nije mlađi od 20 godina niti stariji od trideset pet. Na desnoj strani fotografije je u krupnom planu poluprofil policajca. Šljivovica, kaže drugar. Kakva Šljiovica, šta je ovo? Ne mogu da dođem sebi. Prvo, ova fotografija ne sme da se objavi, zbog ljudi koji su na njoj, zbog užasa. Ali Šljivovica… to je samo nekoliko kilometara udaljeno od moje vikendice. Fotograf je fenomenalni Miloš Cvetković, komšija, sugrađanin, čovek koga poštujem zbog svega što radi. „Da sam znao da će te to toliko potresti ne bih ti pokazao. Smiri se, svi su živi“, kaže prijatelj. Ali baš zato ova fotografija ne sme da se objavi, ne sada. Imalo je smisla objaviti je onda kada se dešavalo. A dešavalo se leta 1995. pa do januara 1996. U to vreme spremala sam završni ispit i pisala diplomski u vikendici. I ništa nisam znala. Do Šljivovice sam ponekad išla peške, šetajući psa. Ništa nisam slutila. Sećam se kada sam i kako čula za Srebrenicu, ali o Šljivovici ništa. Krajem novembra 1995. već sam bila profesorka u Užičkoj gimnaziji, pričala deci o književnosti i etici, a na samo nekoliko kilometara od nas ljudi su bili u logoru. Bilo je hladno te večeri, a meni zaista nije bilo dobro. Godinama sam negodovala i smatrala bednim izjave ljudi posle Drugog svetskog rata koji su ponavljali da ništa nisu znali. Morali su znati, mogli su znati, tvrdila sam. I evo me na trgu u Užicu, smrznuta i zapanjena. Nisam znala, stvarno nisam znala.

Dve ili tri godine kasnije, u okviru nekog seminara u Sarajevu, upoznala sam Amira Omerspahića, jednog od logoraša. Zarobljen je kada mu je bilo jedva 17 godina, pekarski pomoćnik iz Han Pijeska. Pričao je o svom iskustvu, a ja sam imala utisak da se pretvaram u kašu i slivam niz stolicu. Tokom sprovođenja u logor prebili su mu već povređeni prst, pa se to kasnije iskomplikovalo. Zbog gangrene je odveden tokom jedne noći u užičku bolnicu. Na tom putu prošao je ulicom udaljenom 50 metara od moje kuće. Možda sam učila te noći. Srpsku književnost 20. veka, za završni ispit. Pitam zna li za fotografiju. Zna. Tada su ih zaprašivali. Svakog jutra su ih postrojavali, pevali su srpsku himnu, a onda su ih prozivali. Imali su srpska imena. Amir je bio Dragan. Slagali su kamenje i pravili krst sa četiri ocila. Kažem da sam iz Užica i pitam da li bi došao da mojim đacim priča o ovome što je doživeo. Kaže da bi. Pitam mogu li da ga zagrlim. „Može“, kaže, i grli on mene. Mogu li nešto da učinim za njega? „Možda možeš“, kaže. U bolnici mu je amputiran deo palca, pa bi mu značio da dobije potvrdu da je 1995. izvšena operacija. Na osnovu toga mogao bi da dobije status ratnog invalida, a onda i veću naknadu. Bez posla je i živi kao podstanar.

Te noći, pošto sam upoznala Amira Omerspahića, pišem svojoj najboljoj drugarici. Ona je lekar u užičkoj bolnici i beskrajno poštena osoba. Sarajevska studentkinja. Pitam koliko dugo se čuva medicinska arhiva, objašnjavam šta mi treba i pričam o susretu sa Amirom i logoru za koji sam nedavno čula. Odgovara mi da je provrelila i da medicinsku dokumentaciju čuvaju trajno. Već je zamolila da nađu podatke o operaciji iz 1995. A za logor zna i čudi se kako sam to nedavno saznala. „Znaš da sam išla tamo kao tek zaposlena lekarka u hitnoj pomoći. Pričala sam ti“. I onda opisuje užas koji je tamo videla. Pričala mi je o tome, tvrdi. Verujem joj. I potpuno sam zapanjena nad sobom. Ne sećam se ničega što mi je pričala. Zaista ničega. Kako mozak radi! To je bila toliko strašna informacija da sam je potpuno izbrisala. I nema je ni u recycle binu mog mozga. A mislila sam da oni ljudi iz Drugog svetskog rata lažu. Kako nisu znali za logore? Ako je Ivan Goran Kovačić znao za Jasenovac i ispevao „Leševi putuju“, onda su i svi Zagrepčani morali znati. I svi oni Nemci koji su trdili da nisu znali za sisteme logora. Nemoguće. Evo me, prazna pred sobom i drugima.

Sutradan se javlja prijateljica i kaže da je dobila odgovor iz arhivskog odeljenja užičke bolnice. U poplavi koja se desila pre nekoliko godina uništen je baš taj deo arhivskog materijala! Sic!

Nikada više nisam potražila onu fotografiju Miloša Cvetkovića. Možda je i drugačija od ovog što sam zapamtila. Taj logor je postojao do kraja januara 1996. A Dejton? „Mi o tome nismo ništa znali“, kaže Amir.

Kasnije sam možda i stotinama puta prolazila kolima kroz Šljivovicu. Nikada se nisam usudila da potražim mesto gde se logor nalazio, dok me nisu pozvali poznanici iz Centra za nenasilnu akciju. Da li bih… naravno da bih. Bez obzira na osećaj u grlu i stomaku. Bilo bi dobro da i Miloš Cvetković ide sa nama. Volela bih da pristane, ali on sve rađe učestvuje u bilo kakvim javnim aktivnostima. Ovo je drugačije, nekako je dostojanstveno i bez isprazne pompe. Način na koji se obeležava mesto stradanja decentni je izraz poštovanja žrtvi. Miloš pristaje i mi kolima dolazimo do mesta gde su nekada bile barake. Prijatelji iz Beograda i Sarajeva već su tamo. Cvekla, tako u Užicu zovemo Miloša Cvetkovića, kaže da jedva prepoznaje mesto. Izgledalo je potpuno drugačije. Barake su napuštene, skroz posivele ili srušene. Pored nekadašnjeg logora nikli su neki prozivodni pogoni. I nova crkva nije daleko. Pitam se da li sveštanik i vernici znaju šta se nalazilo nedeleko od njihovog mesta molitve. Ne izgovaram to. Lepimo natipis - mesto stradanja. Sada svako ko želi može da sazna. Vozim Cveklu krug oko ostataka baraka. Prošlo je tridesetak godina i priroda je učinila svoje, a i ljudi. Izgleda kao da se niko više ne seća. A morali bismo da se sećamo, kao što smo morali da znamo. No, nismo. I za to nema opravdanja, čak i ako postoji objašnjenje. Zato svako mesto sećanja mora biti obeleženo, pa prolaznik neka vidi šta će sa sobom kada dobije sve informacije.

Sanjam dan kada će moji đaci doći u Šljivovicu, dok još postoje ostaci baraka. Ali ne kao deo organizovanog pomena, uz recitovanje ispraznih fraza i loših pesama. To nije dobar model. Na taj način smo se sećali poginulih partizana, uz sve školske igrokaze, pa smo se prvom prilikom opet pobili i u krvi podavili. Samo bi trebalo slušati Amira Omerspahića, koji uprkos svemu s ljubavlju govori o dobroti lekara koji mu je spasao život i vrlo pomirljivo o medicinskom tehničaru koji je u bolničkoj sobi rekao da će te noći zaklati baliju. Zato nam je Šljivovica važna, obeležena baš na ovaj način na koji to CNA radi, tiho, gotovo nežno, uz puno pijeteta, čuvajući sećanja za neke druge i nadam se bolje ljude koji dolaze posle nas.

U Šljivovici smo bili početkom novembra i uprkos svemu, pa i kiši, nije mi bilo hladno. Bar ne kao one večeri na trgu u Užicu.

Ružica Marjanović, profesorica srpskog jezika i književnosti u Užičkoj gimnaziji, pridružila nam se u novembru 2025. godine kada smo, uz druga mjesta, obilježili i neobilježeno mjesto stradanja u selu Šljivovica nadomak Užica. U periodu od avgusta/kolovoza 1995. do 10. aprila/travnja 1996. kroz ovaj zatočenički objekt u ovom selu prošlo je ukupno 350 osoba bošnjačke nacionalnosti, u različitim vremenskim razdobljima, te su zatočenici bili podvrgnuti nehumanim uvjetima, zlostavljanjima i ispitivanjima. Uslijed nehumanih uslova i posljedica torture u ovom logoru, dva zatočenika su preminula.


publikacije
promocije



Objavili smo knjigu „Dogovorena pravda“

Objavili smo knjigu *Dogovorena pravda: Sporazumi o priznanju ratnih zločina na prostoru bivše Jugoslavije*, koja se bavi ulogom sporazuma o priznanju krivice u procesima suočavanja s prošlošću na prostoru našeg regiona. Dostupna je na našem i na engleskom jeziku.

Inicijativa za njen nastanak došla je, između ostalog, od našeg saborca Edina Ramulića, koji je ujedno i priredio arhiv sporazuma. Urednici knjige su Nedžad Novalić i Davorka Turk, autorske tekstove potpisuju Davorka Turk, Nenad Vukosavljević i Nedžad Novalić, dok je recenzentkinja publikacije Jovana Kolarić, sociološkinja i istraživačica Fonda za humanitarno pravo.

Knjigu čine dva dela: analitičko-teorijska celina i arhivska baza sporazuma o priznanju krivice. Prvi deo donosi istorijski, pravni, etički i društveni pregled razvoja i primene instituta sporazuma o priznanju krivice u predmetima ratnih zločina, dok drugi sistematizuje sporazume zaključene pred Međunarodnim krivičnim sudom za bivšu Jugoslaviju i domaćim sudovima u državama nastalim raspadom Jugoslavije.

Kroz knjigu smo pokušali da, na osnovu onoga što smo prepoznali na terenu, sagledamo koliko ovi sporazumi utiču na sam doživljaj pravde. Fokusirali smo se na odnos između efikasnosti samog sudskog postupka i onoga što porodice žrtava očekuju, kao i na pitanje da li su priznanja krivice rezultat prihvatanja odgovornosti ili su češće deo pravnih cenkanja.

Takođe nam je bilo važno da se osvrnemo na to kako politički kontekst i javni diskurs utiču na prihvatanje sudski utvrđenih činjenica. Dosadašnja praksa



pokazuje da domet ovog mehanizma ne zavisi samo od zakona, već i od spremnosti naših društava da čuju glas žrtava. Nadamo se da će ova knjiga i prikupljeni arhiv poslužiti kao koristan radni materijal i resurs svima koji se bave temama tranzicione pravde i izgradnje mira.

Promocije u Prijedoru, Zagrebu i Beogradu

Prvo javno predstavljanje knjige održano je u januaru godine na konferenciji „Priznanjem do pomirenja“ u Prijedoru. Publikaciju su predstavili njeni urednici Nedžad Novalić i Davorka Turk, čime je otvoren javni razgovor o temama koje knjiga obrađuje i njenom značaju za procese suočavanja s prošlošću u regionu. Na promociji u Prijedoru govorili su i Edin Ramulić i Jovana Kolarić.

Na poziv Žena u crnom knjigu smo u martu predstavili i u Beogradu. U razgovoru sa aktivistkinjama i članicama Žena u crnom knjigu su predstavili Radomir Radević i Marija Ilić.

Knjigu smo predstavili i u Zagrebu u maju u okviru festivala povijesti „Kliofest“ koji se održava u Nacionalnoj i sveučilišnoj knjižnici u Zagrebu. Na predstavljanju su, uz moderaciju Tite Mikulaš, govorili Nedžad Novalić, Edin Ramulić i Jovana Kolarić. Kliofest se od 2014. godine održava u Nacionalnoj i sveučilišnoj knjižnici u Zagrebu, okupljajući izdavače, istoričare i autore s polja istorije i srodnih društvenih nauka.

Posebno važnim smatramo to što smo, predstavljanjem „Dogovorene pravde“ zajedno sa izložbom „Dolazimo u miru“, bili prisutni u jednoj od najznačajnijih kulturnih i akademskih institucija u Zagrebu. Ovo je važan iskorak za naš rad u Hrvatskoj.

Završen sedmi konkurs za kratku priču Biber

Sedmi konkurs za kratku priču Biber zatvoren je 27. maja 2026. godine u ponoć. Tokom konkursa smo više puta pretrpeli hakerske napade Biber sajta, preko koga se učesnici prijavljuju i šalju svoje priče. Pred kraj konkursa ovi napadi su doveli do privremenog pada sistema. Zato smo konkurs produžili za tri dodatna dana, kako bi svi koji su želeli da se prijave mogli to da učine. Zahvaljujemo se onima koji su bdeli nad Biber sajtom i omogućili da konkurs dovedemo do kraja.

Na konkurs je pristiglo više od 400 priča autorki i autora koji pišu na albanskom, makedonskom, bosanskom, crnogorskom, hrvatskom i srpskom jeziku.

Sedmi po redu Biber konkurs bio je posvećen studentkinjama i studentima u Srbiji i njihovoj borbi za pravdu, slobodu, ravnopravnost i društvene vrednosti poput solidarnosti, nenasilja, zajedništva i empatije. Pored ove teme, autorke i autori su mogli da šalju priče koje se bave pomirenjem, suočavanjem s prošlošću, razgradnjom predrasuda, antiratnim porukama i izgradnjom društva zasnovanog na razumevanju i poštovanju.

Pristigle radove ocenjivao je žiri u sastavu: Danijela Repman, Lejla Kalamujić i Željko Belinić. Žiri bira najmanje dvadeset priča koje će biti objavljene u višejezičnoj zbirci Biber 07 čije objavljivanje očekujemo tokom 2027.



Predstavljanje Bibera 06

Dok iščekujemo rezultate sedmog konkursa za kratku priču Biber, tokom prethodnog perioda predstavljena je šesta zbirka priča *Biber 06* kroz nekoliko promocija u regionu.

Sombor

U oktobru 2025. godine, u Centru za razvoj zajednice LINK u Somboru, predstavljeni su konkurs Biber i zbirka *Biber 06*. O ideji konkursa, njegovom nastanku i ulozi književnosti u izgradnji mira govorili su član Biber tima Radomir Radević, autorke objavljenih priča Tena Lončarević, Danijela Repman i Irena Skopljak Barić, kao i članica žirija Biber 06 Jasna Dimitrijević. Razgovor je moderirao pisac Branko Ćurčić, a otvorene su teme pomirenja, suočavanja s prošlošću i važnosti priča koje pomeraju granice i smanjuju predrasude.

Breza

Po prvi put smo u martu bili u Brezi sa Biberom, a ugostila nas je Opća biblioteka „Muhamed Kantardžić“ u Brezi. Tamo je predstavljena zbirka *Biber 06* kroz razgovor sa autorkama Slobodankom Bobom Đuderijom i Marijom Starčević, članom žirija Alminom Kaplanom i članom Biber tima Radomirom Radevićem. U fokusu razgovora bili su iskustva autora, angažovana književnost i uloga ličnih priča u razumevanju ratnog nasleđa.

Tuzi i Cetinje

Početak aprila nas je po prvi put odveo u Tuzi i Cetinje. U Sali Skupštine Opštine Tuzi smo predstavili konkurs Biber i zbirku Biber 06 kroz razgovor sa članicom žirija Jasnom Dimitrijević, prevodiocem Qerimom Ondozijem, autorom Mihailom Markovićem i članicom Biber tima Ivanom Franović. Govorilo se o važnosti prevođenja, razmeni priča među zajednicama i ulozi književnosti u stvaranju drugačijih narativa o prošlosti i budućnosti regiona.

Sutradan, u prostorijama Centra za kulturu Prijestonice Cetinje, isti učesnici nastavili su razgovor o Biberu, ovog puta kroz teme iskustava autorki i autora, značaja regionalne književne razmene i načina na koje priče mogu doprineti boljem razumevanju među ljudima.

Novi Pazar

Ovogodišnji Mikser festival u Novom Pazaru, održan pod sloganom „Novi svijet“, otvorio je prostor za dijalog i promišljanje zajedničke budućnosti. U okviru

programa „Mikser Talks“, održana je sesija *Priče koje prelaze granice*, na kojoj je predstavljen konkurs Biber - prvi put u Novom Pazaru.

Uz moderaciju Nadije Rebronje, govorili su pisac i član žirija Almin Kaplan, autorke Danijela Repman i Aida Šečić Nezirević, prevodilac Qerim Ondozi, kao i Ivana Franović ispred Biber tima. Glavna tema razgovora bila je uloga književnosti, prevođenja i regionalne razmene u povezivanju ljudi, razumevanju drugačijih iskustava i izgradnji mira.

Predstavljanje knjige i izložba „Dolazimo u miru“

Između septembra 2025. i maja 2026. godine, predstavili smo knjigu *Dolazimo u miru: Rad sa ratnim veteranima na izgradnji mira*, praćenu istoimenom izložbom fotografija Nenada Vukosavljevića, u četiri grada - Brčkom, Sarajevu, Mrkonjić Gradu i Bihaću. Događaji su održani u kulturnim i obrazovnim ustanovama ovih gradova: u Biblioteci-Knjižnici Brčko Distrikta BiH, Historijskom muzeju BiH u Sarajevu, Kulturno-sportskom centru „Petar Kočić“ u Mrkonjić Gradu i Gradskoj galeriji u Bihaću. Na razgovorima su učestvovali bivši borci iz različitih vojski regiona, koji su za ovu priliku doputovali iz Šamca, Kruševca, Novog Grada, Zavidovića, Sarajeva, Bihaća i Brčkog.

Svaka promocija imala je svoj fokus. U Brčkom se razgovaralo o samim počecima i načinu na koji su veterani uopšte pronašli prostor za dijalog i saradnju nakon ratnih sukoba, dok je u Sarajevu naglasak bio na važnosti komemoriranja svih žrtva. Promocija u Mrkonjić Gradu bila je posvećena iskustvu prvih susreta sa „drugom stranom“ i prenošenju tih spoznaja mlađima kako se traume ne bi prenosile dalje, dok je u Bihaću susret obeležen svedočenjima o ratnom nasleđu samog grada, ličnim gubicima i preuzimanju odgovornosti za građenje drugačije budućnosti.

Pored ovoga, izložba „Dolazimo u miru“, autora Nenada Vukosavljevića, predstavljena je i u holu Nacionalne i sveučilišne knjižnice u Zagrebu u maju 2026. tokom trajanja Kliofesta. Posebno smo zahvalni prof. dr. Damiru Agičiću koji već godinama organizira Kliofest na prilici da zagrebačka publika vidi izložbu.



razmjena, saradnja, umrežavanje

Trening iz suočavanja sa prošlošću, Wustrow, Njemačka

U zadnjoj sedmici oktobra 2025. ponovno smo održali trening iz suočavanja s prošlošću, u okviru obuke „*Peacebuilding Practitioners*“ koju sprovodi naša sestrinska organizacija KURVE Wustrow – Bildungs- und Begegnungsstätte für gewaltfreie Aktion. Trening je održan u Njemačkoj za međunarodnu grupu učesnika, njih ukupno 17 iz 10 zemalja. Trenerski tim činili su Nenad Vukosavljević, Tita Mikulaš, Nedžad Novalić. Tokom treninga nastojali smo bolje upoznati kontekste iz kojih učesnici dolaze pri čemu je poseban izazov bila činjenica da učesnici dolaze iz 10 vrlo različitih konteksta, od kulturoloških do pitanja da li je rat u nekoj zemlji okončan (Balkan, Nepal, Tanzanija) ili je u punom jeku kao što je to slučaj sa Ukrajinom, Palestinom i Izraelom ili Sudanom. Pokušali smo raditi na razumijevanju i propitivanju osnovnih pojmova, mehanizama i ciljeva suočavanja s prošlošću, uz poteškoću da troje učesnika nije govorio engleski jezik i jednog učesnika koji je odbijao saradnju. Uz sve poteškoće, trening je važna prilika i za nas za susrete sa mnogo divnih i hrabrih ljudi koji rade u različitim dijelovima svijeta. U tom smislu trening smo doživljavali i doživljavamo kao istinsku razmjenu od ljudi koji zajednički tragaju za odgovorima kako graditi bolju budućnost. N. Novalić

Konferencija „E baš sada: Odbrana demokratije“ u Wustrowu, Njemačka

Tokom dvodnevnog godišnjeg okupljanja pod nazivom „E baš sada: Odbrana demokratije - Strategije i uvezivanje za raznoliko i solidarno društvo“ (*„Jetzt erst recht: Demokratie verteidigen - Strategien und Vernetzung für eine vielfältige, solidarische Gesellschaft*“) koja je sadržavala niz radionica, predavanja i razgovora, ispred CNA sam učestvovao u dva dela programa. Prvi je bio panel sa tri govornika-ce različitih profila: „Šta činimo i zašto? Strategije suzbijanja desnog ekstremizma“, dok je drugi dio bio 90-minutni razgovor o CNA radu pod nazivom „Razgovarati sa neprijateljem“.

Oba razgovora su privukla veliku pažnju prisutnih 50-ak ljudi, a poseban interes je bio da se sazna više o studentskim protestima, te značenju, izazovima i izgledima za uspeh nenasilnog pokreta u Srbiji.

Meni lično, vrlo važan deo programa je bio pozdrav dugogodišnjeg direktora Jochena Neumanna koji je napustio tu poziciju u 2025. godini. Oproštaj od direktnog radnog saradnika je jedno, ali prijateljstvo i poverenje izgrađeno međusobnom podrškom tokom 25 godina našeg poznanstva i saradnje je nešto sasvim drugo. Jochen više nije u KURVE Wustrow ali je i dalje sa nama u istoj borbi. N. Vukosavljević

Landecker Lab, Novi Sad, Srbija

U maju 2026. Nenad Vukosavljević i ja učestvovali smo na Landecker Digital Memory Lab Design Sprint-u u organizaciji Landecker Digital Memory Lab-a, Univerziteta u Sussex-u i Terraforming-a iz Novog Sada. Tema je bila „Povezivanje i činjenje vidljivim mesta nekomemoracije“ (Connecting and Making Visible Sites of Non-Commemoration). Događaj je okupio stručnjake ne samo iz oblasti Holokausta, sećanja i izgradnje mira, već i različitih tehničkih i umetničkih disciplina. Ideja je bila da se napravi poveznica između različitih oblasti, ali i ljudi koji se njima bave. Nakon par dana poseta mestima zatočenja i stradanja, različite timske aktivnosti su nas uvele u prostor zajedničke kreativnosti. Imali smo priliku da razvijamo inovativne načine za komemoraciju mesta sećanja, i sve to pod pojačanim pritiskom vremena. Osveženje motivacije dala nam je i poseta dodeli nagrade „The Hilda Dajč International Digital Holocaust Memory Award“. Ipak, dani planiranja, na kraju, urodili su prototipima. Prezentovali smo urađeno pred predstavnicima Claims Conference-a, sa naznakama dalje saradnje. Postoji inicijativa da se razvoj ideja nastavi. Nadamo se da će prerasti u projekte koji pokazuju da su granice među disciplinama neprimetne, da se lako prelaze, i da ih je najbolje obrisati. D. Glukčević

Studijski put „Putem mirotvoraca“, Osijek, Hrvatska

U martu 2026. pridružila sam se studijskom putovanju „Putem mirotvoraca“ u Osijeku, koje su organizovali CK13 i Srpsko narodno vijeće. Program je bio posvećen nasleđu Josipa Reihl-Kira kroz projekciju filma Mirotvorac, radionice, razgovore sa mirovnim aktivistima i posetu mestu njegovog ubistva. Posebno su bili emotivni i važni razgovori sa ljudima koji se godinama bave izgradnjom mira u Hrvatskoj, kao i susret sa Jadrankom Reihl-Kir, koja je učesnicima približila i Josipa kao čoveka i svoju dugogodišnju borbu za istinu i pravdu. Deo učesnika iz Srbije i Hrvatske, nakon upoznavanja i zajedničkog rada u Osijeku, ponovo se okupio 1. jula kako bi zajedno obeležili godišnjicu ubistva Josipa Reihl-Kira. M. Ilić

10. samit mirovnjaka, Tunis

U maju 2026. kao član tima Centra za nenasilnu akciju učestvovao sam na 10. samitu mirovnjaka (Global Peacebuilders Summit) koji se održao u Tunisu. Samit okuplja članove Mreže mirovnjaka (Global Peacebuilders Network) iz više od 30 zemalja. Neki od članova i članica su globalno prepoznata i poznata imena, a za sve je zajedničko da već godinama posvećeno rade na izgradnji mira u svojim zajednicama. Posebnost ove mreže i samita jeste fokus na međusobnom upoznavanju i razmjeni kao i prilici za (samo)refleksiju. CNA već četvrtu godinu zaredom je dio ove mreže i ovakvih susreta. N. Novalić

Ukrajinski veterani: Putevi do izlječenja i integracije, Brisel

Na poziv Wilfried Martens Centra za evropske studije u julu 2026. učestvovao sam na panelu pod nazivom „Ukrajinski veterani: Putevi do izlječenja i integracije“. Osim ukrajinskog veterana Yan-Yevhen Fidria na panelu su govorili evropski parlamentarci Riho Terras (Estonija) i Antonio López-Istúriz White (Španija). Rat u Ukrajini ulazi već u petu godinu i pitanje okončanja rata jedno je od centralnih pitanja evropske politike danas. Ovaj panel važan je ne nužno po onome što je rečeno na njemu već zbog ideje da je već sada neophodno razmišljati o mnogim izazovima kada se rat jednom okonča. N. Novalić

Konferencija partnerskih organizacija, Berlin

Krajem augusta i početkom septembra 2026. održan je susret partnerskih organizacija u sklopu programa Civilne mirovne službe (Civil Peace Service - CPS) naše partnerske i prijateljske organizacije Kurve Wustrow iz Njemačke. Ispred CNA na ovom susretu učestvovali su Amer Delić, Nenad Vukosavljević i Dimitrije Glukčević. Iza službenog, odveć administrativnog, naziva krije se ustvari susret sa mnogo dragih i bliskih prijatelja i poznanika koji na izgradnji mira rade, osim na Balkanu, i u Nepalu, Šri Lanci, Mijanmaru, Ukrajini, Izraelu i Palestini, Sudanu… Sam program Civilne mirovne službe, dizajniran i podržan od Saveznog ministarstva za ekonomsku saradnju i razvoj Njemačke (BMZ) daje ključnu podršku nizu organizacija u ovim zemljama, a povremeni susreti uvijek su prilika za razmjenu znanja i iskustava, posebno u današnjem svijetu koji se sve više naoružava i u kojem se rat i nasilje i dalje vide kao legitimne metode u ostvarivanju političkih ciljeva. Prethodni sličan susret održan je 2018. godine u Hamburgu. A. Delić

I još razmjene, saradnje i umrežavanja…

U septembru 2025. u Sarajevu i Beogradu smo ugostili studente Keio Univerziteta (Minato Japan) koji su region posjetili u sklopu studijske posjete pod nazivom „Istraživanje prenošenja sjećanja na ratove poslijeratnim generacijama“. U oktobru 2025. u Sarajevu smo se susreli i održali jednodnevnu radionicu za studente Doha Institute for Graduate Studies iz Dohe (Katar) koji su bili u studijskoj posjeti Bosni i Hercegovini. Tokom proljeća 2026. učestvovali smo u višemjesečnoj školi „Sećanje kroz dijalog i inkluziju u digitalnom dobu“ koju je organizirao Institut za filozofiju i društvenu teoriju iz Beograda i čija završna aktivnost je održana u junu u Novom Pazaru. U aprilu 2026. u Sarajevu smo ugostili studente sa Utrech Univerziteta iz Nizozemske koji su boravili u studijskoj posjeti Bosni i Hercegovini. Sa njima smo zajednički posjetili spomenike ubijenoj djeci u Sarajevu i Istočnom Sarajevu te smo razgovarali o zajedničkom sjećanju u postratnim društvima. I sa grupom mladih iz regiona u sklopu posjete koju je organizirala Inicijativa mladih za ljudska prava (YIHR) smo obišli oba spomenika ubijenoj djeci u Sarajevu. U junu smo se pridružili edukativnom programu „Ratna prošlost i činjenice“ koji je organizirala Inicijativa mladih za ljudska prava, te na Festivalu protiv zaborava koji je održan u Zagrebu u organizaciji Documente. U julu smo se družili i razgovarali sa učesnicima Kampa u Kozarcu koji je po 17. put za mlade iz regiona organizirao KVART iz Prijedora. Također, u julu smo održali dvosatnu radionicu za zaposlene u RYCO (Regionalna organizacija za saradnju mladih) čiji zaposlenici iz Albanije, Kosova, Makedonije, Srbije, Crne Gore i BiH su bili u studijskoj posjeti Sarajevu. Početkom godine sudjelovali smo na komemoraciji u Tarčinu, potom smo zajedno sa Inicijativom mladih za ljudska prava bili na komemoraciji povodom zatvaranja logora heliodrom kod Mostara, a u augustu smo se, na poziv prijatelja iz Udruženja logoraša Stolac, pridružili komemoraciji povodom zatvaranja logora „Koštana bolnica“ u Stocu.



intervju

Davorka Turk: Sarajevo me naučilo šta je život

Razgovarao: Nedžad Novalić

Nakon 13 godina rada u Centru za nenasilnu akciju i života u Sarajevu Davorka Turk vratila se u Zagreb. Naša Dada je bila dobra duša CNA, kao kakav talisman koji nas je čuvao i bdio nad svakim ponaosob. Zagledani u svakodnevni život, fokusirani na rad, administraciju, ovozemaljske brige i radosti, Dada je uvijek bila sigurni podsjetnik da je iznad nas nebo i po njemu rasute zvijezde. Valjda kao podsjetnik koliko smo, ipak, mali i malo moćni. Iako više nije članica tima ostajemo povezani trajnim prijateljstvom kojem je temelj sjećanje na ono što smo zajedno prošli. Sa Dadom se prisjećamo njenog dolaska u Sarajevo i CNA, godina rada, izazova i postignuća, ali i mnogo divnih ljudi sa kojima smo se sretali...

Volio bih za početak ako možeš da se prisjetiš kada i kako si se srela Centar za nenasilnu akciju CNA?

Kako ne. Ja sam tad radila skoro 20 godina na HTV-u (Hrvatska radiotelevizija), u produkciji HTV-a. I na poslu sam nešto scrollala po internetu i našla sam na stranici nekakve anarhističke grupe iz Karlovca poziv za CNA trening. I onda sam to otvorila i zapravo sam vidjela da je unutra među temama sve što mene intimno zanima, posebno zbog povijesti moje obitelji. I prijavila sam se tamo. Onda kad sam došla tamo, ja sam već imala 35 godina, prva stvar koju sam rekla jeste: 'Ljudi, ne vjerujem nevladinim organizacijama, ali evo došla sam'. I stvarno mi je taj trening baš promijenio život.

Na koji način?

Tad u tom času treninig mi je puno pomogao intimno, da neke stvari stavim na svoje mjesto kao posljedice vlastite ratne traume. A onda nekako mi je pomoglo i u mom idealizmu jer je taj idealizam dobio nekakav oblik. Bilo mi je jasno da može nešto da se uradi. Ja sam se baš bila primila.

Vrlo brzo poslije si dobila i poziv da se priključiš CNA timu?

Da. Kad su me zvali da dođem ja zapravo nisam imala dileme. Mada je svima to oko mene zvučalo suludo, što bih ja sad išla u Sarajevo gdje nemam nikog i ne znam nikog. Ali meni je to baš bilo nekako... I nisam nikad zapravo požalila, mislim da je to najpametnija stvar koju sam uradila.

Je li taj dolazak u CNA na neki način bilo i bjekstvo iz medija? U medijima si do tad bila već dvije decenije.

Zapravo nije, mada je možda tako izgledalo. Zapravo mi je to iskustvo rada u medijima jako dobro došlo kasnije za sva naša istraživanja, za ideje, formiranje ideja što uopće trebamo radit, što možemo radit... Naprosto imaš tu neku vještinu da možeš prepoznat šta su stvari koje su relevantne. Vratiš se medijima, ali na neki potpuno drugačiji način, neki konstruktivniji i možda bliži potrebama većine društva. Mediji danas zapravo rade za korporativne i druge interese, potpuno se izgubila njihova javna funkcija. A ovo kako smo mi koristili medije u našem radu je ono kako ja mislim da mediji treba da se koriste na javnu funkciju svima. Tako da, zapravo, puno su mi draži postali mediji, kao sredstvo, nekako kao alat, kad sam počela da radim u CNA.

Kad govorimo o tom periodu, to je prije nekih 15 godina, koju godinu više ili manje, kako se sjećaš tog perioda? Imam osjećaj da je to bila doba nekog zanosa, Hrvatska ulazi u Europsku uniju, u Srbiji je demokratska vlast...

Svakako je izgledalo kao da nekakva zamisliva budućnost postoji, samo ako, na primjer, poštujemo ljudska prava, ako se držimo nekakvih međunarodnih standarda. To je bilo vrijeme kad su postojali međunarodni standardi, kad je postojalo međunarodno pravo, kad, ne znam, apsolutno svi su bili posvećeni smanjenju emisije stakleničkih plinova. Sad se čini da to uopće nikom ni ne pada na pamet. Tako da je tada to izgledalo kao nekakav linearni razvoj. Živeći u tom svijetu vjerovala sam da je moguće da se i u kapitalizmu iznađe nekakva dobrobit za najveći broj ljudi. To je sve

propalo u 15 godina. Bilo je potpuno drugačije vrijeme. I bilo je takvo vrijeme koje nam je naprosto omogućivalo mnogo toga jer je postojala infrastruktura, bilo je donacija i svega. Ti, samo ako si imao neku dobru ideju, mogao si da nađeš sredstva za nju i imaš osjećaj da si podržan u tome. To je period u kojem se taj naš rad se razgranao na baš puno, puno strana i fakat se činilo, ja doduše i danas mislim da ništa od toga nije bilo uzaludno i da se sve primilo negdje, kao samo još ovako trebamo nastaviti neko vrijeme i onda zapravo uopšte više neće biti potrebe zaista da radimo i možemo se ugasiti. Sad ti znaš, nekim racionalnim dijelom mozga, da to vjerovatno neće tako izgledati, ali niko nije mogao baš zamisliti da će se cijela struktura međunarodnog poretka urušiti.

Iz perspektive današnjeg trenutka, nekih globalnih dešavanja koje živimo i koji na nas utječu, kako ti se danas čini cijela ova ideja rada na izgradnji mira, ali u nekim okvirima nevladine organizacije, nevladinog sektora, sektora civilnog društva. Koliko je on istrošen kao koncept? Koliko je još uvijek relevantan?

To zahtijeva zapravo vrlo ozbiljnu kritiku, zato što, posebno u natrag nekoliko godina, se ispostavilo da su neke od tih, posebno međunarodnih nevladinih organizacija, zapravo bile ispostave određenih interesa. Što je vjerojatno uvijek bilo tako, samo su se neko vrijeme ti interesi poklapali sa našima, recimo. Kritika nevladinih organizacija u tom strukturnom smislu postoji, postoji već jako dugo vremena. Osnovni problem, sa kojim se ja apsolutno slažem, jeste da se naprosto te vrste socijalnih usluga otklanjaju od države koja je bila za njih zadužena i koja je imala za njih sredstva i ljude koji su se bavili time. Cijeli sistem koji je bio oko toga organiziran se prebacuje na pojedinačne nevladine organizacije koje se smješta u sistem međusobne kompeticije za sredstva. Ti istovremeno povlačiš aktivistički potencijal iz društva, smještaš ga u određenu strukturu, upotrebljavaš i pacificiraš ga zapravo na taj način jer ga prilagođavaš vlastitim potrebama. Zadovolji ovaj papir, zadovolji ovaj propis, što je dovelo do ogromne administracije i sumanutog trošenja resursa. Naprosto, teško mi je zamislivo da će se naći dovoljno, da tako kažem, benevolentnih društvenih aktera sa velikom količinom novca koji su spremni taj novac upotrijebiti za opće dobro. Što je nekad čak i bilo. Sad je to zaista vrlo upitno i mislim da smo se u ovom trenutku sveli na to da ovisiš, recimo, o nekakvim fondacijama užasno bogatih ljudi koji će dati nešto. Sistem je tako bio složen i tako je napravljen, samo jedno vrijeme su interesi, opći interesi, korespondirali sa interesima, ne znam, država, vlada, koje daju taj novac. Sad smo se razišli u tome. I najgore u svemu tome je što oni mogu samo povući taj novac i nisu obavezni nikome polagati nikakve račune, a te usluge u državi više ne postoje. Znači, oni su naprosto ukinuli socijalnu državu na vrlo jedan perfidan način.

Hajde da se vratimo na moment gdje ti dolaziš u Sarajevo, spomenula da ti je to bio veliki korak i značajna promjena. Kako se sjećaš toga? Kako se sjećaš dolaska u Sarajevo? Kako se sjećaš Sarajeva iz tog perioda?

Ja sam došla i svi su mi rekli, ljudi koje sam vremenom upoznala, da sam ja došla nakon što je Sarajevo imalo poslijeratni procvat i da smo sad u nekakvom silaznom momentu. Međutim, sad mi se čini da je i to Sarajevo bilo ono nevjerojatno, kako da kažem, bogato i prepuno potencijala.

To je očigledno i generacijski osjećaj jer je za mene i moju generaciju to bio najuzlazniji period.

Moguće (smijeh). Meni je osjetna promjena bila između 2012. i 2015. Zato što, recimo, dosta ljudi koje sam upoznala kad sam došla tek u Sarajevo su do 2015. odselili već iz Sarajeva, tako da je to bila meni jedna stvar koju sam ovdje naučila prihvatiti, a nisam morala u Zagrebu, da ljudi koji su ti inače tu, sutra više nisu jer naprosto moraju se boriti za život. Među njima je bilo baš puno kreativnih ljudi, umjetnika i muzičara. Mislim da je to baš veliki gubitak za grad.

Kako si se privikla na grad?

Meni je možda najveći problem sa Sarajevom i zapravo sa Bosnom i Hercegovinom kojeg sam ikada imala administracija. Kao što je tebi jako dobro poznato, znači uvijek je bio neki problem s papirima, neko rastezanje s papirima i ja sam zapravo znala ljudima govoriti, kad bi mi govorili kako države nema, ja bih govorila kako kome. Jer ja državu osjetim, znaš, apsolutno svakim dijelom svoga bića. Ali to je bukvalno bio jedini problem koje sam ja ovdje imala. Velika mi je razlika u odnosu na Zagreb bila u tome što ja, kad sam

došla u Sarajevo, bukvalno nikog nisam znala, osim što sam upoznala ljude s kojima radim. Međutim, kad bih išla na pijacu ili bilo šta od svakodnevnih stvari, kad god bih nekog pitala za neku pomoć, oni bi odmah skontali da ja nisam iz Sarajeva i upregli bi sve da mi pomognu na sve moguće načine. Nikada nisam nijednu neugodnost doživjela, iako nominalno sam mogla, teoretski, šta ja znam, da neko doživi mene kao nekog stranca koji se tu nameće nešto, još iz Hrvatske. Meni bi bilo legitimno da me neko nalijepi, ali nikad se to nije desilo. Promijenilo me jako Sarajevo. Mislim da svako od nas i uzme nešto od tog mjesta i formira te to mjesto na neki način, promijeni te na bolje, malo mi je sad teže živjeti u Zagrebu (smijeh). U Sarajevu sam se naučila životu, mislim da je to jako važno reći. Ljudi koji, recimo, žive u Zagrebu, teško mi je sad govoriti za neka druga mjesta, zapravo uopće pojma nemaju što život jeste. I meni se to ovdje dogodilo, da ti razumiješ da svaki dan, da bi ti obavljao najobičnije svakodnevne stvari koje ti trebaju za život, ti moraš ovdje uložiti veliku količinu energije. Šta ti onda ostane poslije za tvoje hobije, interese, ne znam.

Koga zatičeš u redu CNA kad dolaziš 2012. godine?

Bili su u uredu Ado (Adnan Hasanbegović), Nećko (Nedžad Horozović), Sanja Burazerović i došao je Amer (Delić). To je moja prva ekipa. Ured je bio u Kranjčevićevoj. Bilo nam je skroz zanimljivo. Ja kad sam našla taj stan na Grbavici, sad nisam mogla spavati jednu, dvije sedmice. Velike su te promjene. Došla sam u ljeto, u sred ramazana, na Grbavicu. Stan mi je bio između dvije džamije. Žalila sam se njima u uredu da ne mogu spavati. Onda mi Ado veli: 'Ma to te je šejtan nap'o. Duraj pa će on preći na nekog drugog i pustit će te na miru'. Sanja mi nabavila neke homeopatske bobe da špricam po uglovima, da se riješim duhova svih prethodnih stanara jer to je Grbavica, ko zna šta je bilo. To su ti bili moji prvi dani. Ali zapravo moji prvi dani su bili trening.

Da, tada se i srećemo, to je osnovni trening na kojem sam ja učesnik. Ti počinješ raditi tako što radiš trening i to vrlo brzo nakon tvog osnovnog treninga. Kakva ti je bila to promjena sad kad uđeš u te trenerske cipele?

Jako veliku tremu sam imala i osjećala sam veliku odgovornost. Jer mi je taj trening bio *wow*, jasno mi je koji potencijal ima i da može i da te sredi u svakom smislu, i u lošem i u dobrom. I baš sam imala veliku tremu, ali jako lijepo je bilo jer sam radila sa Nećkom, Adnanom, Borom (Kitanoskim) i Katarinom (Milićević). I to su sve odlični ljudi za raditi trening. Nećko je svaku vježbu imao u malom prstu, Ado je imao taj pristup nježni, pomalo filozofski, da malo stanemo pa da se upitamo i to. Boro je bio vrlo praktičan u nekim stvarima, a Katarina je meni dosta slična po temperamentu, tako da nam je to bilo odlično iskustvo. Bilo je napornih treninga, ali nijedan ne pamtim kao da mi je sad nešto bio užasan ili nemam pojma. Što je bio izazovniji, to je bio značajniji. Tako se je ispostavilo. Ono što nisam tada znala jeste da ti sa svakim tim treningom ulaziš unutra i sastaješ se sa sobom uvijek iznova i stalno drukčije. I uvijek imaš nešto za misliti. Uvijek imaš nešto za popraviti, nikad to ne prestaje. Kad imaš taj luksuz da možeš se posvetiti sebi i sretanju s drugim ljudima deset dana, da imaš taj luksuz za samorefleksiju, mislim da je to baš jako velika stvar.

Kad govoriš sad konkretno o treningu, ali i neke druge aktivnosti koje smo radili, koje si radila, učestvovala u njima, koordinisala ih, šta ti je od tih aktivnosti najviše punilo baterije, omogućavalo ti negdje da se ti povežeš ponovo sama sa sobom? S druge strane šta te najviše umaralo, praznilo, baterije i iscrpljivalo?

Znaš šta, vjerovatno zato što meni uvijek treba neki intelektualni izazov, jako mi je značajno bilo sve što smo radili sa historičarima. Značajno mi je bilo i to što smo tu aktivnost razvijali potpuno od nule i što smo duboko razmišljali o tome što da se radi, kako tome da pristupimo i šta bi bio konačni proizvod. Ja se nadam da se u nekoj varijanti to primilo tim ljudima jer, recimo, ja sam imala baš puno koristi od toga i voljela bih kad bi to bio nekakav obrazovni model za, recimo, studente povijesti ili političkih nauka ili tako nešto. Treninzi su me i praznili i punili. Naprosto kad te uhvati ono neki opći zamor, jer u ovom poslu ima i gomila administracija i svega, onda je zapravo najbolje što ti se može desiti da odeš na trening, da te malo razbaca. I zapravo punile su me sve stvari koje su, bez obzira koliko bile izazovne i koliko me istovremeno iscrpljivale, imale neposredni društveni učinak. To su veteranske aktivnosti, komemoracije, ovi obilasci mjesta stradanja koje smo radili u ovim širim i većim



grupama. Moram biti poštena, jako mi je bilo značajno kad su nam dolazili ti ljudi izvana, stranci, posebno kad su dolazili iz Azije, Afrike ili tako nešto. To mi je bilo jako važno jer se i razmjenjuješ, nešto ti učiš, ali smo i mi mogli pokazati baš konkretne stvari, tako da mi je to bilo isto važno... Zapravo ne mogu, teško mi je reći što točno iscrpljuje.

Šta si vidjela kao podršku sebi da se nosiš sa stvarima koje te iscrpljuju?

Moraš imati neku podržavajuću strukturu da bi mogao raditi taj posao. To se odnosi i na obiteljsku strukturu zato što su to stvari teške i ti se sretneš sa gomilama smrti, zločina, nemam pojma čega sve ne. Ja jesam možda malo taj mračnjak tip i možda mogu podnijeti više toga nego drugi, ali ti je jako važno da onda vidiš da život raste na nekom drugom mjestu. Da se ne bi naprosto sveo na tu strukturu prošlosti jako je važno imati neku zamislivu budućnost. Ali ono što me najviše iscrpljivalo je taj nevidljivi rad, zato što to je to vrsta posla u kojem zapravo ti, između ostalog, i brineš za druge ljude, a to se odnosi ne samo na razne učesnike već i na kolege svoje i ostalo. I sad, kako sam ja žena i nemam svoju obitelj, ja bih na tom polju više rada odrađivala, ne zato što sam to planirala ili htjela, nego zato što je naprosto bila takva potreba, a to se nigdje ne vidi, ne računa. I nakon nekog vremena se ti naprosto osjećaš vrlo ispražnjeno. Zapravo ti si samo prazniš, ti se samo daješ, daješ, daješ. Tu si da daješ, nisi tu da primaš, o tome se radi, takva ti je pozicija kad radiš takav posao unutar tima, na ovakvim stvarima gdje je puno traume, puno stradalih. I onda se potroši to nakon nekog vremena, ali sam na razne načine punila svoju energiju. Dosta dugo sam i ostala bez obzira na sve. Nisam mogla da zamislim da ću ostati zauvijek u Sarajevu, ali nisam mogla ni da zamislim da ću živjeti opet u Zagrebu pa se evo desilo tako. Naprosto je valjda konjuktura svih tih stvari bila.

Pričala si o ljudima, mislim, i unutar tima, i suštinski naš rad je rad sa ljudima. U ovih 13 godina si radila i srela puno ljudi, puno divnih ljudi van tima, što iz regiona, što iz svijeta. Znam da je teško, ali kad bi morala je da izvojiš 3-4 osobe za koje bi rekla ljudima... Upoznajte ih, sretnite ih, iščitajte nešto o njima. Ko bi to bio?

O, pa to je baš teško. Baš teško pitanje, zato što postoje neki ljudi koje bi svakako trebalo sresti, a postoje neki ljudi koje bih ja voljela sresti. I te dvije kategorije se nužno ne poklapaju. Ali, recimo, kad sam

razmišljala o tome šta bih ja mogla raditi u Zagrebu, jedna od tih stvari je bila zapravo da sam htjela da napravim vlastiti pansion koji bi se zvao 'Bosna' i koji bi primao samo goste iz regije. Znači nikakvi stranci. I da bi onda kao tamo bile nekakve tematske večeri gdje bih ja zvala ljude iz regije da pričaju malo o tome kako se živi tamo, šta tamo rade i to. I recimo svakako bih zvala Boru Kitanoskog da malo priča o Makedoniji. Edina Ramulića da priča o Bosni. Za Srbiju mi je teško reći. Tu bih preporučila naše kolege. Što se tiče ovih vanjskih ljudi, Edda (Kirleis) mi je baš nekako ostavila neki snažan dojam... Znaš kad sretneš nekoga i misliš, Bože, evo ja bih voljela biti ovakva žena jednom kad odrastem. Imala je nevjerovatan senzibilitet, način razmišljanja i otvorenost. Isto jedna od tih ljudi je i Martina Fischer svakako, ali to su sad već autoriteti, znaš, neki meni autoriteti za koje smatram da imaju šta reći i koga poučiti. Zapravo je teško, jer ima toliko tih ljudi koje sam srela. Isto bih rekla i za Dalmira (Miškovića) našeg. Da jedna kafa s njim ti može, bukvalno, promijeniti život. Ne zato što ja njega volim i zato što mi je drag, nego zato što je takav čovjek koji te može inspirirati na različite stvari. Tako da, ne znam, baš je jako lijepo društvo ljudi sam upoznala svih ovih godina. Kad bi bar svi ljudi bili takvi. Mislim da zapravo kod nas ključ ostaje da ti budeš promjenom koju želiš da vidiš oko sebe. Jer bukvalno svako od nas može proizvesti ogromnu promjenu u svom mikrookolišu samo ako se odluči na jedan, ne znam kako da to nazovem drugačije, nego autentičan život.

Kada se radi sa ljudima, uvijek ostaje pitanje mjerljivosti, kako izmjeriti ima li učinka neki rad. Ali sad kad se maknemo od pokušaja da imamo neke kriterije, koji su neki momenti u tom radu u kojima si ti učestvovala, da su ti sad ostali u sjećanju da kažeš: 'E to je vidljiv moment u kojem se dešava pomirenje'?

Meni se čini da je bilo jako puno tih vidljivih momenta, ali vidljivi su nama. Ne bi nužno neko izvana rekao: 'E, ovo je posljedica vašeg rada'. Teško mi je izdvojiti neki konkretan, nikad nisam imala osjećaj da naš rad ne proizvodi rezultate. Mislim da se to osjeti u samom trenutku. Makar taj rezultat bio to da se neko ko je sudjelovao u bilo kojem pojedinačnom, recimo, događaju upitao jedno pitanje, da je osjetio iskreno suosjećanje, za mene je to već ogroman rezultat jer to je, zapravo, najteže proizvest. Svijet u kojem živimo je krajnje ciničan i zapravo su suosjećanje i solidarnost vrlo rijetke pojave, a to je nekako uvijek posljedica našeg rada šta god radili. Znaš, i ovo kad ja ljudima oko sebe govorim, kad se žale na svoj život, okolnosti u kojima žive, isto im govorim, isto tu stvar: 'Ti budi promjena koju želiš vidjeti u svom okolišu'. Oni me gledaju k'o da ja govorim nekakvu banalnu glupost, ali to je zapravo vrlo jak transformativni potencijal. Kad bismo svi barem bili iskreni, na primjer, zamisli kakvu bi to promjenu proizvelo u tvojim, naprimjer, porodičnim odnosima. Dakle, tamo gdje je najteže, na poslu, u porodici... Lako je meni govoriti nekoj grupi ljudi s kojima ja nemam ništa, ali hajde sjedni sa svojim najbližima da vidiš kako je.

Ali onda dođeš do toga da li bilo koja zajednica, bilo koji odnos, može izdržati potpunu iskrenost.

Ne, pa slušaj, pitanje je šta je potpuna iskrenost. Možeš iskrenost koristiti kao oružje. Meni se čini da iskrenost bez suosjećanja i bez empatije nije vrijedna. Ja nikad neću slagat, na primjer. Ne znam lagat, vidi se na meni kad lažem, znači ne ide mi to, ali ti možda neću reći nešto, na primjer, u određenom trenutku. Ali ako svjesno ti nešto prešutim, onda ipak tražim trenutak kad ti to mogu reći na neki način koji bi tebi bio prihvatljiv. Šta ja imam od toga da ja tebe sad ubijem u pojam? Mislim, ja mogu imati neku bolesnu ličnu satisfakciju, ali šta ti imaš od toga? I to je recimo stvar koju se jako dobro uči u našem poslu, kako razgovarati s ljudima, što je važno kad razgovaraš s ljudima, čime se moraš rukovoditi, da nije najvažnije da ti pobijediš i da budeš najpametniji i da nekom nešto dociraš, nego da zajedno dođete do nečega. Niko od nas ne može sam. A to je tako vrijedno, kako da kažem, jako vrijedno iskustvo, vrlina, šta god, razumiješ, jer se radi uvijek o tome da i u životu kao i u našem radu ti moraš komunicirati s neistomišljenicima.

Ono što je isto za nas u CNA važno pitanje, evo mi se bavimo zadnju godinu intenzivno oko toga, jeste šta je izgradnja mira danas? Sad već dolaze generacije mladih koje su rođene deceniju ili dvije nakon rata, u CNA sad imamo zaposlene koji su postratna generacija.

To što to vrijeme od rata prolazi ne znači da se taj rat nije desio. Mislim da je apsolutno nužno da se



nastavi s ovim aktivnostima koje su prekogranične i gdje se potiče suočavanje sa posljedicama rata. Samo što su sad te posljedice rata puno šire, imaju neku širu društvenu bazu nego što su imale neposredno nakon rata. Recimo da je taj rad možda bio nešto lakši kada je taj rat bio bliži jer, naprosto, imao si vrlo konkretnu stvar, poricanje, mržnju... Sad je to sve primilo nekakve, nazovi civilizirane, oblike, što znači da je zapravo ušlo u nekakav status quo. Zašto bi ostalo tako na kraju krajeva? Jer dok oni nas tako drže, pa to služi određenoj svrsi. A to je da se upravlja lakše ovim narodima. Danas ti moraš proširiti taj cijeli aktivizam, mora se uzeti malo širi društveni okvir. Znači, odnosi se i na radna prava. I na suprotstavljanje raznom nasilju kapitala.

Jedna od stvari koju ja vidim što protok vremena čini jeste da je sve teže motivisati ljude da se radi na ovim stvarima. Kao što kažeš, nisu toliko vidljive, nisu toliko jasne, očigledne. Kako danas motivisati ljude da mijenjaju taj status quo?

Možda kroz analizu i kritiku pojava koje jesu prisutne i smetaju nam, a niko se njima ne bavi iako su tu. Zašto u Hrvatskoj ne postoji nikakav antiustaški aktivizam, a postoji propalestinski? Mislim gdje imaš više utjecaja i šta je tvoj neposredni zadatak? Šta mi kao Hrvatska možemo učiniti da bi spriječili nastavak genocida? Malo ili gotovo ništa. Ne kažem da sam protiv tog aktivizma, ali nekada je aktivizam isključivo performativan. Istovremeno imaš vrlo konkretan problem kojim se aktivistički, organizirano, niti bilo kako drugačije, niko ne bavi. A to su te proustaške tendencije koje prijete, iako su manjinski sentiment, prijete da zauzmu većinsku poziciju i ljudi se osjećaju nemoćno kad su sa tim suočeni. A ljudi koji imaju alate i znaju kako bi se moglo s time i što da se s time radi, ne rade na tome. Mislim, a šta je sad nama neposrednija i bitnija tu posljedica? A isto je posljedica rata. Isto vrijedi, ne znam, za pročetnički sentiment u Srbiji jer je to glavni problem gdje se spotiče ovaj studentski pokret. Što je zamisliva budućnost, što slijedi iza Aleksandra Vučića? To je pitanje svih pitanja i svi u regiji su skeptični zato što tu ima nekih, ono što se u regiji doživljava kao pročetnički sentiment, tu i tamo izađe neki nacionalistički diskurs. I to je posljedica rata. I to je ono čime se trebamo baviti. Sad treba naći način kako se time

baviti. Ili, evo, bošnjački nacionalizam u BiH. Ajmo pričati onda o tim ljiljanima. Ajmo konačno pričati o tim ljiljanima i o toj zastavi. I to je posljedica rata i žulja jako puno ljudi i prepiru se. Pa hajdemo pričati o tome zašto je ispravna i zašto nije ispravna. A taj prostor se sve više sužava. Što se to više uzima za činjenicu, to je taj prostor suženiji. Zato mi danas o gomili stvari uopće ne možemo pričati kao što smo mogli pričati prije deset godina. Naprosto ne smiješ ti uopšte da izgovoriš neke stvari. Eto, do toga smo došli. To apsolutno zahtjeva rad na tome.

U radu u kojem si učestvovala, šta bi voljela da je bilo drukčije ako ima nešto, da smo drukčije uradili, da smo imali drukčiji pristup, da nismo uradili ili da smo stavili veći fokus na nešto?

Pa ja zapravo ne vidim da smo mi imali nekakvih kardinalnih pogrešaka. Mi jesmo imali nekih izazovnih situacija. I na treninzima i na drugim aktivnostima imali smo nekakvih proklizavanja, ali mislim da taj sistem feedbacka koji dosta ljudi, vjerojatno i unutar tima, doživljava kao opresivan, zapravo je za rad, za ovakvu vrstu rada, presudan. Zahvaljujući tom feedbacku ti si u stanju da se suočiš sa onim gdje si pogriješio i šta treba da se uradi drugačije, da to ne shvatiš lično i da vidiš da taj rad ima smisla. Najbolja moguća stvar koja ti se može desiti na poslu je da ne shvataš lično, ono da sam ja bolji, najbolji, najgori, ništa ne valjam... Ne, nego kad se osjećaš da sudjeluješ u nečem što ima smisla ti si onda spreman na sve i možeš izdržat puno više stvari nego inače... Pa mislim, zato smo svi mi godinama u ovom poslu, zato što imaš osjećaj da ima smisla. Tolika putovanja, odvojenost od obitelji, samo čemer i jad nekakav, pa ko bi se time bavio? Pa nismo ni mi nenormalni i mi smo nečija djeca (smijeh).



politički i društveni konteksti u kojima djelujemo

Crna Gora: I dalje prvi u redu za Evropsku uniju

Crna Gora se zvanično nalazi na poziciji „prve u redu“ za proširenje, a evropski zvaničnici optimistično pominju 2028. godinu kao godinu punopravnog članstva Crne Gore u EU. Unutar države, pojašnjava Radomir Radević, član CNA tima iz Podgorice, doživljaj ovog procesa podsjeća na čekanje u redu ispred šaltera – svi znaju da je unutra toplo i da nas tamo čeka nešto lijepo, ali niko nije sasvim siguran hoće li službenik na šalteru da ode na pauzu baš kad mi stignemo na red.

„U Crnoj Gori se članstvo doživljava kao neka vrsta nacionalnog sporta u kojem stalno uspješno i brzo ‘zatvaramo poglavlja’. Vlast crpi legitimitet iz tvrdnje da smo najprviji i najbolji đaci u razredu. Građani, s druge strane, na EU gledaju sa mješavinom iskrene nade u bolji standard i blage ironije. Najveći strah nije više domaća ljenjost i neznanje u reformama, već spoljni faktori – poput potencijalnih veta komšija (Hrvatska) ili unutrašnjih previranja u velikim silama i protivljenju svakom proširenju kao u slučaju Francuske“, kaže Radomir.

Nakon istorijskog pada DPS-a i serije turbulentnih izbora koji su ličili na politički rijaliti sa previsokim ulozima, Crna Gora trenutno ostavlja utisak mirnije faze. Činilo se da jedno vrijeme svi u regionu iz sata u sat prate dešavanja u Crnoj Gori, dok je danas primijetan pad interesovanja. Ili bar njegovo svođenje na razumnu mjeru. Odgovarajući na pitanje da li je država stabilnija ili su se samo svi umorili Radević kaže kako se radi o hibridu oba faktora.

„Politička scena se donekle institucionalizovala, a stranke su pokazale sposobnost da donose čak i ustavne izmjene kroz široki konsenzus. Ipak, ta ‘stabilnost’ je više rezultat zamora materijala i zasićenja publike. Javnost u regionu je prestala pasionirano da prati svaku sjednicu parlamenta jer je shvatila da se, uprkos promjenama, suštinske ekonomske i društvene dinamike u Crnoj Gori mijenjaju brzinom rasta masline. Crna Gora nije ušla u vječni mir, već kako se čini u fazu političke zrelosti gdje se krize više ne rješavaju na ulici, nego kroz dugotrajna i često dosadna koaliciona natezanja“, pojašanjava Radomir.

Kao konkretan primjer navodi rekonstruisanu Vladu Milojka Spajića koja je postala jedna od najbrojnijih vlada na svijetu sa 33 člana. Da bi se postigao mir u kući, ministarstva su se, očigledno, dijelila kao parčad slavljeničke torte, pa Crna Gora danas ima resore za koje prosječan građanin mora da koristi rječnik stranih riječi da bi razumio čime se bave.

U periodu pada DPS-a i dolaska nove vlasti bilo je dosta apokaliptičnih najava, dosta ljudi koji su prisutni u javnom prostoru najavljivalo je mnogo toga što se nije desilo, od povlačenja priznanja Kosova do povlačenja Crne Gore iz NATO-a i faktičko svođenja na neki privjesak Srbije. Ništa od toga se nije desilo, ali je pitanje šta se može naučiti iz te histerije koja je jedno vrijeme toliko bila prisutna u javnom prostoru, posebno u BiH, Hrvatskoj, pa i u Srbiji kod nekih ljudi? Danas, kada je Crna Gora i dalje u NATO-u, a procesi prema EU se ubrzavaju, ključna lekcija iz ove medijske histerije je opasnost od površnog narativa i politizacije straha, kaže Radomir.

„Regionalni centri, naročito u BiH, Hrvatskoj i Srbiji, često projektuju sopstvene traume i neriješene geopolitičke račune na crnogorski teren. Histerija je pokazala da javni prostor pati od manjka analitičke dubine, a viška emotivnog naboja. Naučili smo da crnogorsko društvo ima mnogo jače unutrašnje mehanizme amortizacije nego što mu regionalni posmatrači pripisuju. Državni kurs se ne mijenja preko noći jednim tvitom ili lokalnom deklaracijom, a stabilnost institucija je preživela test koji su mnogi proglasili nepremostivim“, zaključuje Radomir.

Šta je posebno uplašilo ili, blaže kazano, zabrinulo što se desilo u Crnoj Gori u protekloj godini u kontekstu društvenih promjena bitnih za izgradnju mira?

U kontekstu izgradnje mira i društvene kohezije, protekli period je donio nekoliko gorkih pilula. Ono što posebno brine jeste opstanak i povremeno rasplamsavanje identitetskih rovova, koji se sada sele na lokalni nivo. Zabrinjavajuće je to što političke elite i dalje previše lako posežu za nacionalnim i istorijskim temama kada god treba skrenuti pažnju sa ekonomskih problema ili korupcije. Primjeri zaoštravanja odnosa sa komšijama zbog istorijskih deklaracija, kao i pokušaji lokalnih vlasti da vode sopstvenu spoljnu politiku, pokazuju da je društveno tkivo i dalje podložno manipulacijama. Izgradnja mira nije ugrožena ratom, već konstantnim održavanjem društva u stanju niske, tinjajuće napetosti koja troši energiju potrebnu za progres. Najplastičniji i prilično bizaran primjer društvene polarizacije desio se u Pljevljima, gde je lokalna vlast odlučila da promjeni Dan opštine kako bi on umjesto antifašističkog datuma slavio crkveni praznik Svete Petke. Ovakvi potezi pokazuju da političke elite, kada nemaju rješenje za ekonomiju, uvijek mogu da izvuku „istorijskog keca iz rukava“. Sličan primjer identitetskog revizionizma desio se i u Podgorici pri preimenovanju gradske biblioteke. Smrt Ratka Mladića u avgustu 2026. pokazala duboke pukotine i podjele - dok su neki visoki funkcioneri vlasti uputili saučešće Mladićevoj porodici i javno ga nazivali „herojem“, paralelno stižu i oštre osude: predsjednik države Jakov Milatović i crnogorsko Ministarstvo spoljnih poslova oštro su osudili pokušaje relativizacije genocida, podsjećajući da su presude međunarodnih sudova neupitne i da Crna Gora mora štititi dostojanstvo žrtava.

Šta je ono što se desilo a što te čini ponosnim ili što ti budi nadu?

Uprkos svemu, Crna Gora uvijek uspijeva da iznenadi sopstvenom žilavošću. Razlog za ponos i najveću nadu leži u građanima i sposobnosti društva da postigne kompromis kada je to najpotrebnije. Nedavno usvajanje ustavnih amandmana uz podršku i vlasti i opozicije pokazalo je da postoji crvena linija zrelosti ispod koje se ne ide kada je u pitanju evropska budućnost zemlje. Takođe, buđenje svijesti o ekonomskim temama, životnom standardu i praktičnim benefitima (poput pridruživanja SEPA sistemu ili najavljenog ukidanja rominga sa EU) potiskuje stare, prevaziđene rasprave. Razlog za ponos i nadu je usvajanje izmjena Zakona o zdravstvenom osiguranju, čime je Crna Gora uvela plaćeno menstrualno odsustvo za žene sa bolnim menstruacijama. Inicijativa je u Skupštini dobila jednoglasnu podršku, gdje su čak i poslanici muškarci glasali „za“, prepoznavši ovo kao korak ka humanijem i modernijem društvu. Pod pokroviteljstvom nevladinog sektora, krajem 2025. godine predstavljen je nacrt prve sveobuhvatne „Politike sjećanja sa planom institucionalizacije sjećanja i memorijalizacije“, koji je načelno podržalo Ministarstvo kulture i medija, uz najavu postavljanja memorijalne ploče za 22 civila albanske nacionalnosti (izbjeglice sa Kosova), stradalih u Kaluđerskom lazu, tokom NATO bombardovanja 1999. godine, od strane pripadnika tadašnje Vojske Savezne Republike Jugoslavije. Takođe, Specijalno državno tužilaštvo (SDT) bilježi napredak kroz formiranje specijalnih istražnih timova za ratne zločine iz devedesetih godina i bolju saradnju sa Međunarodnim mehanizmom u Hagu. Sve ovo je dokaz da nova generacija građana i političara počinje da cijeni stabilnost, ženska prava i institucije više od jeftinih političkih poena, što budi nadu da Crna Gora može biti funkcionalno i empatično društvo, a ne samo vječita „junačka“ istorijska čitanka.

Kosovo: Iz izbora u izbore

U posljednje dvije godine građani Kosova na izbore su izlazili čak četiri puta. Tri puta su organizovani parlamentarni i jednom lokalni izbori. Do kraja 2026 mogli bi biti održani još jedni jer političke elite ne uspijevaju postići konsenzus za izbor novog predsjednika Kosova za šta je potrebno osigurati dvotrećinsku većinu u Skupštini Kosova. Tako se, barem iz perspektive nekoga izvana, čini da se život na Kosovu svodi na bezbroj izbora koji uvijek imaju isti rezultat. Shenaj Zejneli, dugogodišnja aktivistica sa Kosova smatra kako je Kosovo u posljednje dvije godine ušlo u jednu prilično mračnu političku eru.

„Imamo jednu dominantnu političku partiju i lidera sa ogromnim egom i ambicijom da kontroliše gotovo sve nivoe društva. Većinu često tretira kao masu koja treba da vjeruje, a ne da propituje. Istovremeno, kvalitet svakodnevnog života slabi, dok se društvo sve više dijeli na 'nas' i 'njih' – posebno između ljudi koji žive na Kosovu i dijaspore, koja u velikom broju podržava Kurtija i glasa za njega – i ovo stvara ogroman problem kod lokalne zajednice Kosova. Zato mi se čini da problem više nije samo u tome što izbori daju isti rezultat. Problem je što počinjemo vjerovati da je to jedini mogući rezultat, Kurti na vlasti, svi ostali sa strane i veliki znak pitanja za budućnost građana, kuda nas vodi ova vlast", pojašnjava Shenaj.

Jedno vrijeme dominantna tema bio je „dijalog" između Beograda i Prištine. Potom je dugo bila aktivna ideja o formiranju Zajednice srpskih opština. U posljednje dvije godine vijesti o pomacima, bilo naprijed ili nazad, ima malo ili nikako. Kurtijeva vlada uglavnom polako uspostavlja punu vlast u svim dijelovima Kosova uz otvoren pritisak na srpsku zajednicu. Istovremeno, Beograd kao da je digao ruke od bilo kakvog stvarnog interesa za Kosovo, iako istovremeno odbija bilo kakav sporazum i blokira prijem Kosova u UN i drugdje. Optimizma za neko dugoročno rješenje je vrlo malo ili ga nema nikako, kaže Shenaj.

„Iskreno, na ovom političkom nivou ne vidim mnogo razloga za optimizam. Dijalog je praktično zamijenjen monologom – Priština pokušava da konsoliduje kontrolu nad celim Kosovom, dok Beograd svoj uticaj uglavnom održava kroz Srpsku listu. Između njih trenutno nema mnogo stvarnog odnosa osim međusobnog nepriznavanja i blokiranja. Kod Kurtija me posebno zabrinjava sve veća koncentracija moći i nedostatak prostora za kompromis. Kada politički ego postane važniji od dijaloga, lako se sklizne u autoritarnu politiku. A mi, ljudi? Umorni smo. Nakon godina 'dijaloga', sporazuma i novih početaka, sve više vlada apatija i magla. Zato trenutno ne očekujem veliko političko rešenje. Ako će se nešto promijeniti, vjerovatnije je da će početi odozdo – među nama, ljudima, u komšiluku i malim svakodnevnim kontaktima. Paradoksalno, ali je trenutno više stvarnog dijaloga vidim u subotu ujutru na pijaci na Sjeveru između običnih ljudi nego između cjelokupnog niza dijaloga vođenih zadnjih skoro tri decenije između 'Beograda i Prištine'", kaže Shenaj.

Na pitanje šta vidi kao problem koji bi se mogao lako riješiti, neki mali korak, a koji bi predstavljao iskorak za sve ljude na Kosovu, Shenaj kaže da je to vraćanje povjerenja građana u institucije i osjećaja da njihov glas zaista nešto mijenja.

„Posljednjih godina se stvorio osjećaj apatije i nemoći – ne samo među građanima, već i među političkim akterima i u civilnim društvu, upravo zbog političke situacije i bezbroj izbornih procesa. Ljudi imaju osjećaj da mogu glasati, protestovati ili pokušavati da utiču na procese, ali da se na kraju uvijek vraćamo na istu tačku. Jedan mali, ali vrlo konkretan korak mogao bi biti stvaranje više prostora za građanske inicijative kroz koje bi ljudi, bez obzira na etničku pripadnost, mogli zajedno predlagati i rješavati male probleme koji direktno utiču na njihov svakodnevni život – od javnih prostora, čistoće i rasvjete, do sportskih terena, omladinskih prostora i drugih lokalnih potreba. Nešto slično se već počelo razvijati u Prištini, kroz male inicijative građana i saradnju sa relevantnim odjeljenjima opštine Priština, gdje građani mogu pokrenuti konkretne stvari koje utiču na njihov komšiluk i svakodnevni život. Mislim da bi bilo važno da se takav pristup proširi i na druge opštine i zajednice na Kosovu. Ovakve inicijative možda izgledaju male u odnosu na velike političke probleme, ali upravo one mogu vratiti osjećaj da građani imaju određenu moć da utiču na svoje okruženje. Još važnije, mogu okupiti ljude

različitih zajednica oko nečega što im je zajedničko – svakodnevnih problema kojih se svi žele riješiti".

Često se, kada se govori o Kosovu, uglavnom sve svodi na odnose dvije zajednice, srpske i albanske. Nekako se uvijek zaboravlja da na Kosovu postoje i druge zajednice. Shenaj kaže da su za ove zajednice obrazovni sistem jedan od najvećih problema.

„Kao i u slučaju srpske i albanske zajednice, ostale zajednice često se nalaze između dva odvojena sistema – kosovskog i srpskog. Međutim, za njih je situacija još složenija, jer se od njih očekuje da biraju između obrazovanja na albanskom ili srpskom jeziku. Ako, na primjer, pohađaju nastavu u okviru srpskog obrazovnog sistema, kasnije se mogu suočiti sa dodatnim

Šta je posebno uplašilo ili, blaže kazano, zabrinulo što se desilo na Kosovu u protekloj godini u kontekstu društvenih promjena bitnih za izgradnju mira?

Ono što me je možda najviše zabrinulo u protekloj godini jeste slabljenje civilnog društva i pristupa koji je godinama bio zasnovan na radu sa zajednicama odozdo prema gore. Prije svega, nedostatak finansiranja je značajno oslabio male grassroots organizacije i inicijative koje su direktno radile sa ljudima i njihovim stvarnim problemima. Kada takve organizacije nestaju ili smanjuju svoje aktivnosti, gubi se i prostor u kojem ljudi iz različitih zajednica mogu da se susreću, sarađuju i grade povjerenje. Ali nešto što me zaista plaši jeste da sve češće vidim lidere civilnog društva kako prelaze u radikalnije političke partije, često vođeni ličnim interesnima, političkim pozicioniranjem ili željom za ličnom koristi. To je za mene posebno zabrinjavajuće jer se time briše granica između civilnog društva i političkog interesa. Posljedica je ogroman jaz između organizacija i grassroots zajednica sa kojima su te organizacije godinama radile. Ljudi već gube povjerenje i sve više civilno društvo doživljavaju kao sredstvo za ostvarivanje ličnih interesa, izgradnju društvenog statusa ili političke karijere pojedinaca, umjesto kao prostor u kojem se zastupaju potrebe i interesi zajednice.

Šta je ono što se desilo a što te čini ponosnim ili što ti budi nadu?

Nešto sto me stvarno čini ponosnom, a istovremeno i veoma zahvalnom i poniznom, jeste to što imam priliku da radim sa najmlađim generacijama i da im pomognem da uče jezik jedni drugih. U posljednje vrijeme mi se dešava nešto što mi mnogo znači: Srbi i ostale zajednice iz južnih opština počeli su mi se sami obraćati sa željom da nauče albanski jezik. Istovremeno, pojedinačni roditelji iz albanskih zajednica javljaju se sa željom da njihovoj djeci pomognem da nauče ponešto srpskog. To nisu veliki projekti niti neki politički ciljevi sa targetima i unaprijed postavljenim rezultatima koji treba da se postignu prema 'prijedlogu projekta'. To su jednostavne, lične odluke običnih ljudi da upoznaju jezik i kulturu svojih vjekovnih komšija – i da to prenesu na svoju djecu. U tome vidim stvarnu mogućnost da se budućnost može poboljšati i to mi budi nadu da, uprkos svemu, ipak možemo živjeti i odgajati djecu na ovom mjestu zajedno. Jer, pored svih politika, institucija i velikih procesa koji se odvijaju iznad nas, postoje i neke tihe dinamike koje se dešavaju unutar srca ljudi. Ljudi počinju da se otvaraju jedni prema drugima, da postavljaju pitanja, žele da razumiju jezik svog komšije i da tu radoznalost prenesu na svoju djecu. Možda se te promjene ne vide na naslovnim stranama i ne mogu se lako izmjeriti kroz projektne indikatore, ali ja vjerujem da upravo one najviše znače. Jer mir se, na kraju, ne gradi samo za pregovaračkim stolom nit 'komercijalnim inicijativama na terenu radi postova na socijalnim mrežama'– već se gradi i u nijetu (namjeri) i srcu jednog roditelja koji želi da njegovo dijete uči i razumije dijete koji živi pored njega, dijete svog komšije.

problemima prilikom nastavka školovanja na Kosovu i moraju tražiti alternativna rješenja. S druge strane, ako pohađaju školu na albanskom jeziku, često nemaju dovoljno prostora da njeguju vlastiti jezik, kulturu i identitet. Na taj način obrazovanje, koje bi trebalo da bude prostor mogućosti i povezivanja, postaje još jedan faktor podjela. Ovo je posebno problematično što se skoro tri decenije nakon rata, a imajući u vidu i vjekove zajedničkog života na ovom prostoru, pripadnici ovih zajednica i dalje često osjećaju kao da ne pripadaju u potpunosti nijednom od postojećih sistema. Kao posljedica toga, ljudi se povlače u svoje male, zatvorene krugove – svoje porodice, zajednice i lokalne mreže – i sve manje učestvuju u širem društvenom životu Kosova“, zaključuje Shenaj.

Bosna i Hercegovina: Neki novi klinci

Bosnu i Hercegovinu ove jeseni očekuju parlamentarni izbori. Bit će to prvi izbori nakon Dejtonskog mirovnog sporazuma uoči kojih se nije pojavila nijedna značajna nova politička stranka ili pokret u bilo kojem dijelu Bosne i Hercegovine što govori o mnogočemu, od zamora građana i manjka svake vrste energije, do toga da broj građana rapidno opada što, uz starenje populacije, čini sve teže zamislivim značajnije društvene pokrete.

Političke krize s početka 2025. godine, iako je bila na ivici da eskalira u nasilje, jedva da se i sjećamo. Ali način na koji je okončana ustvari je zgodan podsjetnik da u slučaju Bosne i Hercegovine nikako ne možemo govoriti o začaranom trouglu (Bošnjaci, Srbi, Hrvati) već o četverouglu u kojem je jedan od aktera i sama međunarodna zajednica čije ćete prste naći u svakoj čorbi. Taj mutni pojam „međunarodne zajednice“ u slučaju Bosne i Hercegovine ustvari se otjelovljuje u Ambasadi Sjedinjenih Američkih Država u Bosni i Hercegovini, odnosno šire gledano u američkoj administraciji. Milorad Dodik koji je, ne treba to zaboraviti, na političku scenu došao uz snažnu podršku upravo američke administracije koja mu je tepala kao „dašku svježeg vjetra na Balkanu“, krajem 2025. godine napravio je *deal* sa novom američkom administracijom. U zamjenu za povlačenje sa svih funkcija kao i povlačenje niza usvojenih zakona i odluka koji su trasirali put ka secesiji i skoro nas gurnuli u rat, Dodiku i njegovom bliskom krugu su ukinute sve sankcije. Na kraju, to je potvrda i da je Dodik, u krajnje decentraliziranoj dejtonskoj BiH koja onemogućava značajnu koncentraciju moći, uspio izgraditi jedan krajnje autokratski sistem u kojem je on početak i kraj svega.

Time je Bosna i Hercegovina ušla u jednu mirniju fazu iako se niz potresa u međunarodnoj areni direktno prelama preko nas. Dio političkog spektra nastoji predstaviti Milorada Dodika i Republiku Srpsku kao puke ruske i Putinove agente. Istovremeno, Dodik i, na primjer Željana Zovko, koja je kao Hrvatica iz Bosne i Hercegovine zastupnica u Evropskom parlamentu u ime Hrvatske, pak nastoje Bošnjake predstaviti kao potencijalnu sigurnosnu prijetnju koja ugrožava kršćane. Na sličnom fonu je i saradnja Dodika i vlasti Republike Srpske sa izraelskom vladom premijera Benjamina Netanyhua. Jasno da se u oba slučaja, zarad dobijanja međunarodne podrške i jačanja vlastitih pozicija, retorika nastoji predstaviti narativima koji su dominantni i lako razumljivi na međunarodnom nivou. To je gruba zloupotreba, po pravilu zasnovana na neistinama, ali koja ima direktne posljedice na međuetničke odnose. Takva „oslikavanja“ izazivaju kod običnih ljudi povrijeđenost, a posljedično nepovjerenje i strah. U vrijeme kada novca nema za mnoge stvarne potrebe građana, sva ova „lobiranja“ na međunarodnoj sceni plaćaju se isključivo novcem bosanskohercegovačkih građana.

Primjer kako se na Bosni i Hercegovini prelamaju globalna kretanja i tihi sukob na relaciji SAD-EU jeste i izgradnja plinovoda Južna interkonekcija. Usvajanje zakona direktno je koordinirao otpravnik poslova Ambasade Sjedinjenih Država u BiH koji nije krio ni mrkvu ni štap. Tako je na kraju u zakon unesena odredba da će investitor i koncesionar biti američka „tašnamašna“ firma koja je tek osnovana i koja je bliska sa krugom ljudi oko američkog predsjednika. Evropska unija je potom zaprijetila uvođenjem sankcija Bosni i

Šta te je posebno uplašilo ili, blaže kazano, zabrinulo što se desilo u BiH u protekloj godini u kontekstu društvenih promjena bitnih za izgradnju mira?

Smrt i sahrana Ratka Mladića duboko su me povrijedile i uplašile. Neke stvari koje su se desile sam očekivao vodeći se idejom da se na ovim prostorima uvijek posebno blagonaklono gledalo na vojskovođe. U BiH sahranu je prenosio javni servis (RTRS), sahrani je prisustvovao cjelokupni politički vrh Republike Srpske, uključujući i vlast i opoziciju. Mladić je predstavljen isključivo kao heroj, a posebno je bilo bolno razumjeti da nemali broj ljudi koji su imali priliku govoriti u javnom prostoru Mladića kao heroja upravo i vidi zbog počinjenog genocida i hiljada ubijenih. Kao vjerniku bilo mi je bolno gledati učešće crkvenog vrha. To stvara osjećaj straha koji opet porađa nepovjerenje. Reakcije koje su stvari generalizirale (svi su oni isti) ili pojednostavljivale (ništa se nije promijenilo nikada) nisu bile konstruktivne. Gubi se iz vida da je sahrani, uz svu podršku Vučičevog režima, prisustvovalo manje od 20.000 osoba, kao i da je dio ljudi digao glas protiv takvog slavljenja zločina. Ili pak da je u jednom momentu jedna vlast, također u Srbiji, izručila i Mladića i Karadžića, a Slobodana Miloševića sahranila „primjereno". U konačnici, sahrana je iskorištena isključivo za sijanje straha i nepovjerenja i u procesima suočavanja sa prošlošću i izgradnje mira bila je ogroman korak nazad.

Šta je ono što se desilo a što te čini ponosnom ili što ti budi nadu?

Nakon teške tramvajske nesreće u februaru 2026. u kojoj je poginuo jedan student, a jedna učenica srednje škole teško povrijeđena, srednjoškolci su u Sarajevu organizirali višednevne proteste. Bila je to nevjerovatna erupcija mladalačke energije, i to generacije koju smo slabo poznavali. Vlada Kantona Sarajevo podnijela je ubrzo ostavku, protesti su polako utihnuli i vremenom nestali. Iako samo bljesak, protesti su bili značajni kao potvrda da jedni druge i dalje možemo inspirisati jer je bio očigledan utjecaj studentskog pokreta iz Srbije na mlade u regionu. Protesti su bili i potvrda stupanja na scenu jedne nove generacije i svih promjena koje sa njom dolaze, kao št su, naprimjer, novi mediji u vidu društvenih mreža koji postaju primarni komunikacijski kanali. „Naši roditelji su trpjeli jer je bio rat, ali mi više nećemo trpjeti niti čekati da nas ubijaju u tramvajima", kazao je jedan učenik na protestima. Za mene, to je bila generacijska poruka, moja generacija, odrasla u ratu, zauvijek je obilježena tim ratom. Taj rat je bio je i ostao kao neka kočnica kad god smo maštali o boljem, kao neki podsjetnik da budemo zahvalni „jer ne puca". Nove generacije žele više i bolje i ne pristaju na izgovore.

Hercegovini jer je proces usvajanja zakona bio netransparentan i suprotan raznim evropskim energetskim direktivama. EU je tako pritisak prebacila na BiH, bez ulaženja u direktniji sukob sa Sjedinjenim Državama oko ovog pitanja.

Sam put Bosne i Hercegovine u Evropsku uniju, kao jedan od rijetkih političkih ciljeva oko kojeg postoji barem načelan konsenzus i kod političara i kod građana, potpuno je blokiran i uopće se ne nazire deblokada. Zvanično smo u fazi koja se zove „uslovno otvaranje pregovora". Iz Evropske unije će ponoviti da je odgovornost na političkim liderima koji odbijaju reforme kako bi zadržali moć i kontrolu nad javnim resursima. Sve je to tačno, iako treba biti pošten i reći da cijela istina uključuje i odgovornost same Evropske unije koja kontinuirano proces birokratizira, mijenja prioritete, način pregovaranja... Sve ovo reflektira pad podrške ideji priključenja kod samih građana koji osjećaju da ih EU ne želi ili da ih, povremeno, ponižava. Uvođenje Entry-Exit Sistema (EES) na granicama većina građana je doživjela kao otvoreno ponižavanje. Slično je i sa problemom vozača kamiona iz regiona za

koje važe pravila boravka u EU kao i za sve turiste iako je jasno da oni u EU ne borave kao turisti. EU uporno poručuje da nije do njih dok se ispod stola savjetuje kompanijama da svoje sjedište prebace na područje EU kao i vozačima, kojih i u EU nedostaje, da se zaposle kod poslodavaca koji su u EU. Tako se gradi dominantni osjećaj da je EU nepravedna i da ima namjeru uzeti ljudske resurse bez integracije samih zemalja.

Hrvatska: Plenković će biti, sve drugo će proći

Početkom septembra 2026. u Zagrebu je održan velik protest vezano za neadekvatno odlaganje, po život opasnog, otpada u Lici. Uz mogućnost da nas ovaj prosvjed iznenadi i da se pretvori u neki društveni pokret širih razmjera, zapravo je pravo pitanje kako to da hrvatski premijer Andrej Plenković uspijeva „plivati na površini“ duže od decenije? Zapravo je pitanje kako mu uspijeva uprkos tolikom broju afera, bezbroj ministara je smijenjeno, hapšeno, ali to se za Plenkovića ne lijepi.

Margareta Blažević iz Zagreba pojašanjava da je protest povezao građane različitih političkih opredjeljenja oko zajedničkog problema. Ipak, dodaje, zasad nema naznaka da će ta mobilizacija prerasti u širi društveni pokret.

„Indikativno je i da među zahtjevima organizatora nije bilo ostavke premijera ili drugih politički odgovornih dužnosnika, iako bi u mnogim europskim demokracijama takav potez nakon ozbiljnih propusta ili skandala bio očekivan. Odgovornost se na prosvjedu jasno adresirala prema Plenkoviću, ali bez zahtjeva da odstupi. To se može tumačiti i kao pokazatelj njegove političke nedodirljivosti: nakon niza afera, smijenjenih ministara i prosvjeda, moguće je da ni građani više ne smatraju njegovu ostavku realno ostvarivim političkim zahtjevom. Mislim da postoje dva ključna razloga zbog kojih se afere toliko teško 'lijepe' za Plenkovića. Prvi je činjenica da HDZ, unatoč svemu, i dalje ima veliku i stabilnu biračku bazu. Postoji značajan dio građana koji će biti vrlo kritičan prema pojedinim potezima Vlade, korupcijskim aferama ili, primjerice, gospodarenju otpadom, ali ta kritičnost ne znači nužno i spremnost da na izborima glasaju za nekoga drugoga. Drugi je problem nedostatak uvjerljive alternative. Čak ni među biračima lijevog centra trenutačno ne postoji dovoljno povjerenja da SDP ili Možemo! mogu ponuditi osobu i politički tim koji bi imali kapaciteta preuzeti upravljanje državom. Možemo! je pokazao da može osvojiti i zadržati vlast u Zagrebu, ali zasad nije dokazao da taj uspjeh može prenijeti na nacionalnu razinu, dok SDP već dugo ne uspijeva proizvesti dovoljno snažnu alternativu Plenkoviću jer su preokupirani internim konfliktima. Dok je opozicijski prostor tako fragmentiran, HDZ-u je, kako se zasad čini, dovoljno zadržati vlastitu discipliniranu biračku bazu. Konačno, HDZ vrlo uspješno koristi i identitetsku, odnosno emocionalnu dimenziju politike. Plenković istodobno može predstavljati europski mainstream i institucionalnu stabilnost, a njegova stranka mobilizirati birače kroz nacionalne i 'domoljubne' teme kada joj to odgovara. Zato problem nije u tome što građani ne vide afere ili nisu nezadovoljni. Problem je što se to nezadovoljstvo još uvijek ne pretvara u dovoljno snažnu političku alternativu koja bi mogla ugroziti HDZ i Plenkovića“, pojašnjava Margareta Blažević.

Godinu iza nas u Hrvatskoj su obilježili i sve češći slučajevi u kojima policija kažnjava građane, a opet uglavnom one koji su dio neke manjine, najčešće srpske, zbog postova na društvenim mrežama, pri čemu se bilježe sve češće bizarne situacije da se ljude kažnjava zbog folklornih nastupa, folklornih pjesama koje su stare barem dva stoljeća. Margareta Blažević ističe kako je sasvim opravdano sankcionirati sadržaje kojima se veličaju ratni zločini i pravomoćno osuđeni ratni zločinci ili (para)vojne formacije koje su te zločine činile.

„Problem, međutim, nastaje kada se isti propisi počnu primjenjivati vrlo široko i, barem prema onome čemu svjedočimo, neujednačeno. Posebno problematičan primjer je slučaj Svetlane Spajić, kažnjene zbog objave snimke tradicionalne pjesme 'Oj, Krajino, moja mila mati'. Pojam 'Krajina' u tom je slučaju interpretiran kao referenca na Republiku Srpsku Krajinu iz 1990-ih, iako se radi o tradicionalnoj pjesmi i povijesnom

Šta je posebno uplašilo ili, blaže kazano, zabrinulo što se desilo u Hrvatskoj u protekloj godini u kontekstu društvenih promjena bitnih za izgradnju mira?

Najviše zabrinjava promjena društvene atmosfere koja je postala posebno vidljiva od prošlog ljeta. Mislim da je masovni Thompsonov koncert u Zagrebu, s oko pola milijuna posjetitelja, na određeni način otvorio Pandorinu kutiju. Problem pritom nije samo jedan koncert, nego poruka koja je poslana njegovom političkom i institucionalnom legitimacijom: da se nacionalistički i ksenofobni sentimenti, uključujući one koji otvoreno koketiraju sa simbolima i vrijednostima ustaške NDH, mogu tolerirati, normalizirati, a u određenim situacijama i politički podržavati. Ta je institucionalna podrška posebno jasno došla do izražaja početkom ove godine, kada je Vlada preuzela organizaciju dočeka hrvatskih rukometaša nakon što Grad Zagreb nije odobrio nastup Marka Perkovića Thompsona. Taj je potez otvorio i ozbiljno pitanje zadiranja države u Ustavom zajamčenu lokalnu samoupravu. Posljedica takvog institucionalnog odnosa nije samo simbolička. Skupine i sentimenti koji su ranije češće ostajali na marginama dobili su dodatni prostor i osjećaj društvene legitimnosti, kako za vlastitu mobilizaciju tako i za agresivnije reakcije prema svima koji takve pojave kritiziraju. Tijekom protekle godine svjedočili smo organiziranim pokušajima prekidanja i otkazivanja manifestacija srpske kulture, ustaškim pozdravima i podizanju desnice pred institucijama srpske zajednice u središtu Zagreba te napadima i oštećivanju imovine pripadnika srpske manjine i turista. Također, govor mržnje i nasilje ne odnosi se samo na Srbe, nego sve više i na strane radnike, Rome, aktiviste civilnog društva, žene i LGBTIQ osobe.

Šta je ono što se desilo a što te čini ponosnim ili što ti budi nadu?

Nadu mi prije svega budi činjenica da na negativne društvene procese ipak postoji sve vidljiviji građanski odgovor. To smo vidjeli na prosvjedu zbog otpada u Gospiću, koji je uspio mobilizirati desetke tisuća ljudi iz različitih dijelova Hrvatske i različitih političkih opredjeljenja oko pitanja javnog interesa. Važan primjer bili su i prosvjedni marševi „Ujedinjeni protiv fašizma“ održani u Zagrebu, Rijeci, Zadru i Puli, kao jasan odgovor na porast nacionalizma, nasilja i relativizacije ustaštva u javnom prostoru. Posebno me ohrabruje interes mladih za teme koje se često smatraju teškima ili politički nepopularnima – tranzicijsku pravdu, ratne zločine, kulturu sjećanja i odgovorno suočavanje s prošlošću. To vidimo i vrlo konkretno kroz interes za programe SENSE Centra za tranzicijsku pravdu čiji projekt vodim: za Akademiju tranzicijske pravde u Puli i fellowship istraživački program zaprimili smo više od 60 prijava mladih od 18 do 30 godina. U trenutku kada se često govori o političkoj apatiji novih generacija, činjenica da se mladi dobrovoljno prijavljuju na programe koji od njih traže kritičko promišljanje vlastite prošlosti pokazuje da postoji prostor za promjenu trenutnih obrazaca. Zato, paralelno s vrlo zabrinjavajućim procesima o kojima govorimo, vidimo i određenu „protumobilizaciju“ građana koji izlaze na ulice, organizacija koje se povezuju i mladih koji žele učiti i aktivno sudjelovati. To možda još nije dominantan društveni trend, ali pokazuje da prostor za izgradnju otvorenijeg, solidarnijeg i odgovornijeg društva i dalje postoji.

pojmu koji je stoljećima stariji od RSK. Posebno je problematičan kontrast s nedavnim pokopom Ratka Mladića. Posmrtni ostaci ratnog zločinca pravomoćno osuđenog za genocid, zločine protiv čovječnosti i ratne zločine vraćeni su u Srbiju državnim avionom i pokopani uz državne i vojne počasti. Hrvatski državni vrh je na takav oblik institucionalnog i masovnog veličanja ratnog zločinca, koji je djelovao i na teritoriju RH te su njegove žrtve bile i hrvatske nacionalnosti u RH i u BiH, trebala reagirati znatno jasnije i odlučnije. Hrvatska reakcija se (zasad) zadržala na verbalnoj osudi. Pritom organizacije civilnog društva koje zagovaraju dosljedan odnos prema ratnim zločinima počinjenima s hrvatske strane nerijetko postaju predmetom političkih i javnih napada. Jedan takav primjer vidjeli smo nakon ovogodišnjeg obilježavanja Operacije Oluja u Kninu, gdje su uzvikivane poruke poput 'Mi Hrvati ne pijemo vina, samo krvi četnika iz Knina', kao i ustaške pjesme i pozdravi. Centar za mir, nenasilje i ljudska prava Osijek, Documenta i Antifašistička liga RH zbog toga su podnijeli prijavu MUP-u, DORH-u i Pučkoj pravobraniteljici, tražeći identifikaciju odgovornih i postupanje nadležnih institucija. Odgovor javnosti na ove prijave bile su prijetnje nasiljem organizacijama, pojedincima koje ih predstavljaju, pa čak i javno objavljivanje njihovih privatnih podataka s pozivima na nasilje. Prema tome, problem vidim u neujednačenosti kriterija i selektivnosti institucionalnog odgovora. Ako država želi vjerodostojno suzbijati govor mržnje, ekstremizam i veličanje ratnih zločinaca, isti standard mora vrijediti kako za srpski tako i za hrvatski nacionalizam te za zločine i zločince bez obzira na njihovu nacionalnu pripadnost. U suprotnom se opravdano otvara pitanje sankcionira li se doista sadržaj i njegov štetni socijalni utjecaj ili na institucionalnu reakciju utječe i to tko govori, o kojim se zločinima govori i prema kojoj su skupini određene poruke usmjerene“, dodaje Margareta.

Nekad je dojam, kad se posmatra izvana, kao da je Hrvatska, koja je sad punopravna članica EU i NATO-a, u ljetu 1990. i da je u danima kada su 'pobunjeni Srbi' postavili balvane. Na momente se čini da je cijela Hrvatska i danas okupirana, vođa srpske manjine Milorad Pupovac u toj distopiji je premijer koji kontroliše sve. U stvarnosti, Srba u Hrvatskoj je manje od 3 posto, uglavnom se radi o starijoj populaciji, pri čemu taj broj pada... Margareta Blažević kaže da taj strah prvenstveno proizvode i održavaju političke opcije kojima on služi kao vrlo učinkovit alat političke i društvene mobilizacije.

„To nije specifično za Hrvatsku. Politička psihologija već dugo pokazuje da osjećaj vanjske prijetnje i nesigurnosti utječe na političko ponašanje: strah povećava averziju prema riziku, može potaknuti povlačenje i pasivnost, ali se može koristiti i za usmjeravanje birača prema političkim akterima koji se predstavljaju kao zaštitnici od određene prijetnje. U hrvatskom kontekstu Srbi su za takvu vrstu mobilizacije posebno pogodan 'neprijatelj' jer se može aktivirati još uvijek vrlo snažno kolektivno sjećanje na rat(ove) devedesetih. Tako se relativno mala manjina može simbolički predstavljati kao prijetnja koja to objektivno nije. Politička korist je višestruka: homogenizira se vlastito biračko tijelo, politička rasprava premješta se s konkretnih problema na identitetska pitanja, a akteri koji se predstavljaju kao zaštitnici nacionalnih interesa dodatno učvršćuju svoju političku poziciju. To su velikom većinom desno ideološki orijentirane političke opcije, ali u prošlosti se ni neke lijevo-liberalne opcije nisu libile takvih političkih manipulacija.

Dovoljno je samo poslušati, posebice memorijalne, govore predsjednika Zorana Milanovića posljednjih par godina“, kaže Margareta.

Sjeverna Makedonija: Iznevjerena obećanja rađaju apatiju

Makedonija je jedno vrijeme bila primjer i inspiracija ostalim zemljama regije, posebno u vrijeme protesta i smjene kriminalne vlasti predvođene premijerom Nikolom Gruevskim iz VMRO-DPMNE. Nova vlast predvođena SDSM bila je odlučna da riješi višegodišnje sporove sa susjedima kako bi otkočila evropske integracije, pa je tako, kao vrhunac, promijenjeno i ime zemlje iz Makedonija u Sjeverna Makedonija.

Poslije je ta energija splasnula, vlast nije riješila ključne unutrašnje probleme, a Evropska unija je sva svoja obećanja spram Makedonije potpuno izigrala. Na prvim narednim izborima SDSM je doživjela potop te je uzde ponovo preuzela VMRO-DPMNE koja se opet nije pokazala značajnijom promjenom i odlučnijom da nešto promijeni. Svjedočio je tome, uostalom, i požar u proljeće 2025. u diskoteci u Kočanima u kojem je poginulo 59 osoba. Poslije se pokazalo da Sjeverna Makedonija za novi društveni preokret, u ovom trenutku, snage nema.

Aktivistica iz Kumanova Frosina Dodevska kaže da je primjer Makedonije ustvari primjer jednog razočarenja gdje se velika obećanja o pravdi, funkcionalnom sistemu i obračunu s korupcijom nisu ispunila.

„Umjesto reformi, građani su se suočili s novim političkim šemama, partijskom kontrolom institucija i nekažnjivošću. Lično smatram da najveća šteta koju je napravila elita koja je došla na vlast nije samo politička. Oni su srušili nadu da protesti i građanski aktivizam zaista mogu donijeti promjenu i bolji život. Sve afere iz tog perioda smjestile su Makedoniju na najgore historijsko mjesto u borbi protiv korupcije, nakon čega je uslijedila ponovna promjena vlasti. Trenutno je u Makedoniji teško zamisliti masovni građanski pokret s većom snagom i energijom. Iako lokalni incidenti, poput modularne bolnice i tragičnog požara u diskoteci u Kočanima, izazivaju trenutni gnjev i izlazak na ulice, ti protesti brzo nestaju. Mislim da kod naroda prevladava osjećaj nemoći i građanske pasivnosti“, kaže Frosina.

Priča o evropskim integracija i skorom članstvu u Evropskoj uniji u Sjevernoj Makedoniji izgubila je već odavno, pojašanjava Frosina, svoju moć. Danas članstvo zvanično blokira Bugarska, a ne Grčka iako se dosta otvoreno govori o tome da u pozadini blokade u stvari stoje velike evropske države, Francuska prvenstveno, koje nisu sigurne da li bilo kakvo proširenje uopće i žele.

„EU više nije motivacija za ljude da izađu na ulicu, naprotiv, postala je sinonim za frustraciju, iznevjerena očekivanja i veliku građansku apatiju. Narod je umoran od identitetskih i bilateralnih ucjena susjeda. Makedonija se mijenjala – mijenjali smo zastavu, unutrašnje uređenje, mijenjali smo ime, historiju, pa i Ustav, a još uvijek dobijamo obećanja – da smo na

Šta je posebno uplašilo ili, blaže kazano, zabrinulo što se desilo u Makedoniji u protekloj godini u kontekstu društvenih promjena bitnih za izgradnju mira?

Ono što me najviše zabrinjava jeste pasivnost društva i sve veće iseljavanje iz Makedonije. Imam osjećaj da empatija i solidarnost postepeno nestaju, jer je beznađe postalo preteško za nositi. Ljudi sve rjeđe reagiraju – jednostavno odlaze. Naš najveći poraz vidim u tome što postajemo stranci i nijemi posmatrači u vlastitoj zemlji. Masovno se iseljavaju cijele porodice, a posljedice se već jasno vide i u statistikama. Samo ove godine zatvoreno je 26 područnih škola jer u njima nije upisano nijedno dijete. Brine me da, ako se nastavi ova pasivnost i ravnodušnost prema nepravdi, izgubit ćemo i sposobnost da se slušamo, da vjerujemo jedni drugima i da zajedno gradimo društvo zasnovano na ljudskosti.

Šta je ono što se desilo a što te čini ponosnim ili što ti budi nadu?

Mislim da je ljudima koji su ostali konačno dosta geopolitike, historijskih kompromisa i etničkih kvota. Ono što me sada raduje jesu male, svakodnevne promjene u načinu na koji građani gledaju jedni na druge, sve manje dopuštajući politici i predrasudama da ih dijele. Etničke teme više nemaju istu težinu, jer su se ljudi koji su ostali u zemlji prepoznali i ujedinili se u istoj boli i praznini. Također me raduju nove generacije – mladi koji sve hrabrije izražavaju svoj stav. Oni više ne šute, putem društvenih mreža direktno objavljuju nepravde, lociraju probleme i ne boje se. Mislim da ova nova generacija odbija da bude izmanipulisana. Njihova hrabrost da govore javno ruši dugogodišnju kulturu straha i šutnje.

putu ka EU. Trenutno, umjesto da ljudi čekaju da EU dođe u Makedoniju, oni odlaze odavde s kartom u jednom pravcu. Glavni narativ ispunjen je teškim cinizmom i crnim humorom na račun vlastite države“, dodaje Frosina.

Nedžad Novalić

Napomena uredništva: Uslijed različitog razumijevanja situacije u Srbiji, koja se u trenutku završetka ovog godišnjeg izvještaja nalazi nekoliko sedmica uoči važnih izbora, i kratkog vremena za dodatnu razmjenu i usaglašavanje unutar tima, odlučili smo da osvrt na društveno-politički kontekst u ovoj zemlji ne objavljujemo u ovom Godišnjem izvještaju.





novi članovi cna tima



Jednako za sve

Tita Mikulaš

Dolazak u Centar za nenasilnu akciju Sarajevo-Beograd meni znači puno više od običnog zaposlenja. Za mene je to podrazumijevalo selidbu u do tada nepoznato Sarajevo, iz vrlo poznatog Zagreba. Ipak, neki događaji su me vezali i za Sarajevo, to je grad u kojem sam saznala da postajem studentica povijesti na Filozofskom fakultetu u Zagrebu. Naknadno, čini mi se kako su ta dva događaja poprilično vezana.

Nemam vlastito sjećanje na rat, rođena sam nekoliko godina nakon kraja ratova devedesetih, pripadam generaciji novog stoljeća koja često zaboravlja kako su posljedice rata konstantna pojava u društvu. Kroz izražene podjele zajednica, govor mržnje, slavljenje ratnih uspjeha, političko iskorištavanje tuđih gubitaka za mobilizaciju glasova i još mnogo što. Ipak i moja, kao i mnoge obitelji, ima svoja ratna iskustva i traume, ne mogu reći da se o tom periodu šutilo, ali svakako je svedeno na anegdote prigodne za sve uzraste.

Motiv koji mi je indirektno prenesen jest strah.

Bježati u povijest

Moja baka je ručnike uvijek držala u ormariću regala na kojem je stajao televizor. Ručnici su uvijek bili i peglani jer pranje na devedeset stupnjeva nije dovoljno da bi se osigurala njihova čistoća. Između zapeglanih, čistih ručnika baka je stavila i svoj strah. On je bio zabilježen u dnevniku koji je vodila devedesetih u periodima kada je moj tata bio u ratu. Ili mi je bar tako ona pojasnila budući da za taj dnevnik znam jer sam ga, igrajući se, iskopala iz tog ormara kao djevojčica. Ne znam koliko mi je točno bilo godina, ali znam da sam mogla čitati, što nikako ne znači da sam mogla shvatiti njegov sadržaj. Baka je dnevnik, prema razgovorima koje smo imale, bacila. Sada nam je objema zbog toga žao i od tada smo mnogo razgovarale i zato znam puno o njenom strahu od rata koji je zapravo puno više od toga.

Budući da sam upisala povijest nakon srednje škole, bježala sam od teme ratova devedesetih, uvijek sam to vidjela kao kontroverzno razdoblje kojim se vrlo teško baviti ako želiš izraziti poštovanje svim

stradalima. Bez obzira na to zanimalo me kako društva mogu doći u poziciju podjela koje rezultiraju marginalizacijom, tj. istrebljenjem nekih skupina zbog religijske, rasne ili etničke pripadnosti. Budući da je temelj međunarodnog prava, u kontekstu zaštite ljudskih prava, počela sam više čitati o Holokaustu i mehanizmima koji su mu prethodili. Sviđao mi se sentiment „nikad više nikome" kao dio kulture sjećanja u kojoj učimo iz masovnih tragedija kako se one ne bi ponovno dogodile, ali nažalost to nisam dobila u tim okvirima. Naposljetku sam shvatila kako ne mogu bježati iz povijesnog konteksta u kojem sam rođena.

Jednako za sve

Ključna godina za moju aktivaciju bila je 2024. kada sam stažiranjem u Inicijativi mladih za ljudska prava u Hrvatskoj dublje ušla u teme ratova na ovim prostorima. To me dovelo do prijelomnog iskustva – Osnovnog treninga iz izgradnje mira CNA gdje sam naučila slušati i razumjeti druge. Osjetila sam kako moja mišljenja i iskustva postoje usporedno s još mnogo tuđih, ali jednako vrijednih. To nezaboravno iskustvo se prelilo na 2025. godinu kada sam učestvovala na Treningu za trenerice izgradnje mira na kojem sam uz raznovrsne ljude i ekipu CNA spoznala što to može značiti u praksi.

Tijekom tog treninga posjetili smo mnoga mjesta stradanja, uključujući mjesta sjećanja na ratne zločine počinjene 16. travnja 1993. u Trusini, gdje su žrtve Hrvati, i Ahmići, gdje su žrtve Bošnjaci. Faktografija oko tih događaja mi je i ranije bila poznata, ali sam sada opet osjetila strah, koji ponovno nije moj, već onih koji su na tim mjestima izgubili svoje živote. To posebno mogu reći za Ahmiće u kojima me pogodila atmosfera prisjećanja stradanja. Poznat mi je negativan pristup pojedinih medija, politike i generalni narativ koji se gradi prema tom zločinu u Hrvatskoj, ali imam osjećaj kako su emocije koje su me u tom trenutku preplavile došle iz ljudskosti, a ne neke kolektivne krivnje. Samim time bliske su onim emocijama koje imam prema strahu svoje bake, obitelji, zato što je rat, i strah koji proizvodi, jednak za sve.

Promišljanjem tijekom tog procesa nametnulo mi se pitanje mog legitimiteta, nekoga tko ne dolazi iz pozicije vlastitog iskustva rata, i često sam se pitala odakle mi pravo da djelujem.

Koliko je legitimitet uopće potreban da bi shvatila da svi ljudi jednako osjećaju pa da je samim time svaki gubitak jednako bolan, a onda i da su sve žrtve jednako vrijedne. Zato mi je i drago da nemam vlastito sjećanje na rat jer iz želje da ga nikad ne steknem, kao ni ostali mladi koji su rođeni nakon devedesetih, želim graditi društvo u kojem neće ponovno doći do oružanih sukoba na ovim prostorima. Tako je i moj put do CNA popločan željom da se mirovnim radom bavim prenoseći vrijednosti iza kojih u potpunosti stojim, s empatijom za sve stradale dok zatvaram svoj krug u Sarajevu.

Povorke, tišine i zemljotresi

Marija Ilić

Ako na put gledamo kao rutu, moj put u CNA bi mogao da se svede na tri tačke: Paraćin – Niš – Beograd. Ali to ne objašnjava kako sam zapravo stigla u CNA tim.

Moj prvi akvarijum

Rođena sam u poslednjoj Jugoslaviji, kada se rat već završio. Ili bar tako istorijske činjenice kažu. Prestalo je pucanje, ali rat nije nestao, pa su se zločinci preselili na televiziju. Odrasla sam u Srbiji u kojoj su oni imali više prostora na televiziji nego crtaći, iako su mene tada zanimali samo crtaći. Na neki način, zločinci taj prostor nikada nisu ni napustili.

Moj prvi akvarijum, mesto gde sam rođena i odrasla, bio je Paraćin. Pamtim balkon svoje kuće i povorku ljudi. Toliki broj ljudi kasnije sam viđala samo na protestima, nikada više u Paraćinu. Bila je to sahrana mog komšije, jednog od dvojice vojnika stradalih na Topčideru 2004. godine.Tada nisam mogla da razumem, ni to kako i zbog čega su te smrti ostale nerazjašnjene, ni samu smrt. Danas znam da njihova pogibija nikada nije



bila do kraja razjašnjena, ali da se godinama govori da su ubijeni nakon što su videli ono što nisu smeli, čoveka kog je država skrivala, a zbog koga su drugi već bili mrtvi. U toj priči, lojalnost nije značila zaštitu, već ćutanje, i po cenu tuđih života.

Slika mi je, ipak, ostala. Celog tog dana moja mama je plakala. To je bio moj prvi susret sa smrću koji pamtim. Tada sam naučila kako izgleda tišina. Kako se stoji. Kako se čeka da povorka prođe. Paraćin je bio i moj grad i mesto iz kog sam želela da odem.

Patriotizam?

Studije u Nišu, donele su novu petlju u mom životu. Iz Niša sam i prvi put otišla na studijsko putovanje Centra za nenasilnu akciju „Sadašnjost naše prošlosti“ 2022. godine. Studijsko putovanje koje nas je provelo kroz Kozaru, Jasenovac, Prijedor, Sanski Most… To mi je bio prvi susret sa tišinom koja nije samo odavanje počasti, nego i nešto što ostaje posle nje. Nešto teško za imenovati, ali prisutno u telu dok prolaziš kroz ta mesta.

Dok je moja mama brinula o zemljotresima koji su tih dana tresli region i poručila mi je da ih se pazim (još uvek nisam sigurna kako mogu da se pazim zemljotresa), ja sam osećala potrese u sebi na koje nisam bila upozorena. Iz Niša sam otišla dalje na jug, na Osnovni trening iz izgradnje mira u Kruševu, u jesen 2023. godine. A odande sa „težim prtljagom“. Tu se put nije završio. U martu 2024. godine, našla sam se na bivšim mestima zatočenja u Hercegovini. Tamo sam videla šta se dešava kada se povorke zaustave – ne da bi odali počast, nego da bi okrenuli glavu, gde nije svaka tišina mir.

Na treninzima i događajima CNA nekada mi nije prijatno. Postoji stalna nelagoda, strepnja, osećaj da dolazim do mesta u sebi koja mi nisu najdraža. I ovo pisanje mi ne prija. Tera me da ne sklanjam pogled. Da ne okrenem glavu od povorke.

I dok ne okrećem glavu, pričam sebi kako ja tad nisam ni rođena, kako ja sebe ni ne smatram nekom Srpkinjom (samo Paraćinkom), a opet, osećam odgovornost i tugu – tugu zbog onog što se dogodilo i odgovornost za ono što se sad događa s tim.

Nikad nisam mislila da sam neka patriotkinja, i to mi je godinama služilo kao izlaz. Patriotizam sam vezivala za parole, zastave, za ljubav koja ne trpi pitanja. Zemlju nisam birala – donela me je roda. Ali, ispostavilo se, slučajnost te ne oslobađa odgovornosti, ni onog što osećaš kao nasleđe koje želiš da prekineš. Ipak, stvari koje su se tu dešavale nisu mi davale mira, čak i kad sam pokušavala da ih ostavim po strani. Nisam imala privilegiju da budem slepa i pomalo sam zahvalna na tome.

Zemljotres

A onda se desio 1. novembar 2024. i pad nadstrešnice u Novom Sadu. Kada su napadnuti studenti koji su u tišini odavali počast stradalima, krenule su blokade fakulteta, plenumi, protesti… Zemlja iz koje sam počela je da liči na nešto što bih mogla da volim. Studentska borba mi je vratila veru u ljude, ali i definisala ljubav prema zemlji. Shvatila sam da prava ljubav prema domovini nije onaj nacionalistički, prošireni narcizam koji voli samo svoje.

Trening za trenere i trenerice (TzT) dešavao se paralelno s tom borbom. Teško je bilo učiti o nasilju i njegovoj dekonstrukciji, dok su mi misli bile na ulici, sa ljudima koji su se u isto vreme borili da nam zgrade ne padaju na glavu, da ih ne tuku, ne gaze i ne ućutkuju. Razmišljala sam o odustajanju. Osećala sam se razapeto, kao da sam napustila borbu na ulici da bih sedela na treningu. A onda sam shvatila da nisam. Došla sam na trening u jeku svega upravo zato što mi te dve stvari nisu bile odvojene. Nešto u onome što se dešavalo na ulici ličilo mi je na ono što sam već znala – da institucijama veruješ, a da su one neretko okrenute protiv tebe. U ratu su tako radile vojska i policija. Posle rata sudovi. Na ulici su to radile ponovo.

CNA me nije učila nečemu dalekom. Učila me je da prepoznam ono što sam oduvek naslućivala.

Treća faza TzT bila je u Makedoniji, sredinom jula. Na pola treninga morala sam da odem na svadbu prijatelja iz detinjstva. Dok sam se vraćala sama autom Google mapa me je odvela na granični prelaz Miratovac koji više nije u funkciji. Stala sam ispred barikada i videla da put nigde ne vodi. Kasnije sam saznala da je u blizini te granice 2002. godine ubijen Agim Aguši, Albanac iz sela, dok se sa rođakom traktorom vraćao kući. Selo sam u početku pamtila kao Mirotvorac. Nije.

Poslednja faza bila je u blizini Sarajeva. Tokom posete Sarajevu i „ratne ture“ gledala sam grad istovremeno kroz dva vremena, ulice danas i borbene linije nekad, mesta gde su padale granate, mostovi koji nose imena jer su ljudi na njima poginuli pre nego što su uspeli da pobegnu. Hodala sam kroz Sarajevo i gledala zgrade sa ožiljcima od gelera. Ko zna kad je na zgradama toliko ožiljaka koliko je u ljudima. Osećala sam se nepoželjna. Znala sam da je to odbrambeni mehanizam – jer su to uradili pripadnici zajednice iz koje dolazim. Ne u moje ime, ali možda sam im bila motiv. Došli su „da brane svoja pokolenja“ (nisam li to ja?). I ta nelagoda je odraz mog ega koji me čuva, koji ne može da prihvati da umesto da budem inspiracija za nešto lepo, bila sam motiv za rat. Ne ja lično, ali u krajnjoj liniji – da. U nekim trenucima želela sam da mi neko priđe kad čuje moju ekavicu i kaže mi nešto zlo. Tada bih se, čini mi se, osećala manje loše.

I onda sam zastala nad tim – ne verujem u identitet zemlje iz koje dolazim, niti bilo koje druge, a osećam nelagodu zbog tog identiteta. Zar to nije dokaz da postoji? I ko je onda uzeo oružje za nešto što za mene ne postoji, a ja sam, samo zato što mi nije prijatno, upala u istu tu zamku. I tako sam stigla u Beograd. Sa prtljagom teškim za pakovanje i raspakivanje. Moj put u CNA počinje od uplašene devojčice sa balkona koja neke stvari nije mogla da zaboravi, a ni da ostavi samo kao uspomene.

A što se tiče one mamine brige s početka priče, i dalje nemam pojma kako se tačno „pazi od zemljotresa“. Ali znam da ako se tlo pod nama opet zatrese, biće to zato što smo konačno počeli dovoljno jako da skačemo.

Ako već mora da se trese, neka se trese od nas!

Konačno ispunjenje

Dimitrije Glukčević

Luckasta pitanja

Da li ste ikada razmišljali gde su mali ljudi unutar kamere koji beleže kako se oblaci grle? Ili zašto vetar uhvati krilo šišmiša kada hoće da poleti? Znam da zvučim šašavo, ali dete u meni i dalje traga za odgovorima. Istina, jesam u međuvremenu naučio par čudnih reči. Njih stručnjaci koriste kada žele da ispadnu pametni. Ipak, pitanja su mahom ostala ista, i dalje ih



ima bar toliko da ne stižem sve da ih postavim. Naravno, to me nikada nije sprečavalo da probam. Propitivanje je davno postalo moja omiljena aktivnost. Doista sam postao majstor ove umetnosti. Definitivno jeste umetnost upitati nešto što će potaći čudnovat odgovor. I baš zbog toga sam već u osnovnoj školi zaronio u lepote prirodnih nauka. Tu su se krile neistražene dubine čak i iza najjednostavnijih pitanja. Recimo „Zašto jabuka pada sa drveta?“. Ovde je lako odgovoriti pitanjem „A šta bi drugo radila?“. Ali to nije zadovoljavajuće. Da bi zasitili svoju radoznalost, potrebno je mnogo više. Ovo se razlikovalo od istorije i geografije gde su pitanja obično komplikovana. A odgovori kratki i jasni. Na primer „Kada se desila francuska buržoaska revolucija?“ Nekako me ovo nije zanimalo, deluje prilično suvoparno i nebitno. Vremenom sam otkrio da je moguće da neki odgovori budu istovremeno zanimljivi i komplikovani, ali i potpuno jasni i precizni. Malo je reći da sam se zaljubio u matematiku koja mi je redovno pružala ovakve odgovore. Potpuno zaokupiran, često mi je prolazilo kroz glavu: „Kako bi zgodno bilo živeti od postavljanja pitanja i traženja odgovora?“. Kada sam upisao srednju školu, kao i svim najboljim odlukama u životu, prvo sam se protivio tome da se prijavim za program Istraživačke Stanice Petnica. Na kraju sam pod pritiskom drugih, sa godinu dana zakašnjenja, ipak poslao prijavu. Nakon par meseci, eto mene na seminaru. Tu sam iz prve ruke osetio kako izgleda baviti se naukom. Odgonetnuo sam da je naučnik baš takvo zanimanje iz snova. Verujem, iz priče bi neko pomislio da sam se lako opredelio za ono što me najviše interesuje. Moram da kažem da je to daleko od istine. Mene su oduvek zanimala pitanja, a ne da ih strpam u određenu kutiju. Kako neko može dati potpun odgovor na pitanje „Zašto vreme teče unapred?“ bez da konsultuje sijaset različitih disciplina. Tako sam i pri upisivanju fakulteta bio u velikoj dilemi. Opcije koje sam razmatrao ne mogu ni da pobrojim. Sada sam na masteru iz teorijske matematike. Neretko me radoznalost ponese i u fiziku, računarstvo, filozofiju…

Hodanje po zemlji

Najčešće odgovorno lice, dakle ono koje daje odgovore na moja prekomerna pitanja, bio je moj otac. Međutim, njegov pogled se dosta razlikovao od onoga što je mene vuklo. Rekao bih da je on prilično praktičan čovek. „Kako funkcioniše kišobran?“ bitno je samo ukoliko je moguće rastaviti ga, odnosno prilagoditi, popraviti. A sve ume da rastavi i popravi. Od automobila do fena za kosu, hidrofora, šporeta, telefona, usisivača… Kao mali, najčešće sam gledao. Kasnije sam i ja pokupio dosta trikova. Spoznao način funkcionisanja kojekakvih skalamerija. Ovo je sasvim drugačija

vrsta odgovora, ona „drži vodu“. Vremenom sam počeo da je cenim. Naučio sam i da odgovori mogu da imaju realne posledice. Nisu tu samo kako bi zapušili neko pitanje. „Možeš li da pridržiš merdevine dok se ja popnem?“ zahteva odgovornost, a ne obično „da“. Utemeljenost u realnosti, to je ono na čemu ću mu večno biti zahvalan. U meni je to preraslo u inženjersku žicu koja redovno ispliva kada treba da rešim neki problem. Ona je posebno ojačala kroz moje programerske dogodovštine. U osnovnoj školi sam mislio da programeri samo prekucavaju unapred poznat tekst sa manjim izmenama. To mi je tada delovalo užasno dosadno. Kao i svim najboljim odlukama u životu, prvo sam se protivio tome da probam. Međutim, u srednjoj školi sam imao fenomenalnog profesora. Preko njega sam dokučio da je to kombinacija matematike i stvaranja, dve stvari koje su mi vrlo bliske. I dalje uživam da pravim alate koji rešavaju najrazličitije probleme. Uzbuđen sam zbog trenutne situacije sa veštačkom inteligencijom, to je nova igračka koju treba raskupusati.

Korak napred, korak nazad

Kako sam ja završio u Centru za nenasilnu akciju (CNA)? Da, to je pitanje koje sebi postavim svako veče kada legnem u krevet. Ipak, to nije jedno od onih zbog kojih ne mogu da spavam. Dugo su me mučila baš takva pitanja. Ovakav razvoj događanja mi dođe kao neka vrsta olakšanja. Ali da bih sve to objasnio, priča mora da krene ispočetka… Sunce je usparilo kožu ispod mokrih majica. Neorezani red vinove loze prestao je da se kreće. Neophodno je ukrotiti dosadu praćenu škljocanjem vinogradarskih makaza. Stoga, ovu porodičnu aktivnost, najčešće je podnošljivom činila moja majka pričama iz mladosti. Tako smo često slušali o Titu i pionirima. „Išli ste na ekskurziju po celoj Jugoslaviji?“ bacio bih kao jedno od očiglednih pitanja. „Naravno, zašto ne bi?“. Taj odgovor sam smatrao jednostavnim, ali sam osetio neku nelagodu u pozadini. Kao da se nešto sakrilo u prazninama između reči. Neki bauci koji samo čekaju da iskoče i prožderu malu decu kao što sam ja. Nisam se ja bojao ovih spodoba, ali mi nije bilo jasno ni kako da ih isteram. Vremenom, pomirio sam se sa očiglednim odgovorima. Odlučio sam da nema ničega dubljeg u svemu ovome. Prešao sam na razmišljanje o pitanjima koja su bila priznata kao komplikovana. Ova sam ostavio u misaonoj fioci. Čak i kada bi se na slavi potegla priča o ratu. Čak i kada bih naivno upitao oca „A jesi li ti ubio nekoga tamo na Kosovu?“. Odgovor „Ne znam“ mi je postao potpun, bez ikakve zadrške i praznine. Nekako i logičan. I prošlo je puno vremena dok nisam shvatio da za neke odgovore ne postoje adekvatna pitanja. Da prosto, kako god formulisao pitanje, odgovor je isprazan. Na primer, pojavila se jednog dana moja drugarica, sada koleginica, Marija. Upravo tada se vratila sa mirovnog treninga u organizaciji CNA. Osetio sam da se promenila. Iz pravca gde joj je pogled lutao, toga kako se njena reč lepila za tišinu. Nisam znao da postavim pitanje, ali odgovor je već bio prisutan. Na kraju tog susreta, probala je da me ubedi da se i ja prijavim na sličan trening. Rok je bio blizu. Kao i svim najboljim odlukama u životu, prvo sam se protivio tome. Uzalud…

Konačno ispunjenje

Majka me ispratila na taj trening sa: „Sine, jel ti ideš tamo da te tuku?“. Nisam znao gde idem, a ni šta da odgovorim. Ušao sam u automobil sa Ninom iz Čačka kojeg nikada do tada nisam video. Usput smo pokupili Šejzija na pumpi između Preševa i Bujanovca. To je bio moj prvi susret sa Albancem. On je sada moj omiljeni cimer. Nadam se da ćemo imati priliku da ponovo delimo sobu, i vodimo razgovore duboko u noć. Imam osećaj da bez tih deset dana u Berovu ne bih mogao da izdržim ono što je usledilo. Blokade fakulteta. Vrlo intenzivan suživot. Tuga. Bespomoćnost. Paranoja. Bes. Od nas se zahtevalo dubinsko razumevanje komunikacije. Akcije koje smo neprestano planirali postale su oličenje nenasilne borbe. Koncepta koji je meni poznat jedino iz imena CNA. Otvorene su prijave za Trening Za Trenere (TZT). Između sastanaka, u noćnim satima sedeći na školskoj klupi svog fakulteta, napisao sam prijavu. Primljen sam. Godina je prošla u stalnom lutanju, a TZT mi se uklopio u neprestano skakanje od protesta do protesta. Na koje načine me je promenilo tih više od godinu dana? Nemam odgovor. A onda je nenajavljena pristigla ponuda za posao. Kao i svim najboljim odlukama u životu, prvo sam se protivio tome da prihvatim. Direktno sa protesta, došao sam na razgovor naoštren da kažem ne. Spremio sam pitanja koja su odbijala da se usklade sa radnim obavezama.

Na moje zaprepašćenje, sva su dobila odgovore. Kome treba radnik sa više pitanja nego odgovora? To je bilo ono ključno. Kroz nekoliko turbulentnih mailova sa moje strane, usudio sam se da probam. I eto, kao što sam i maštao kada sam bio mali. Sada se profesionalno bavim propitivanjem… Da, možda ipak nisam naučnik… Ali tako je i bolje. Naučnici u Srbiji uglavnom ovih dana ne propituju. Kada bi propitivali, bili bi sa nama na ulicama. Borili bi se za odgovore i pravdu. Tražili bi odgovorne. Sve ovo sam ja do srži. Upio sam borbu kao sunđer. A dokle ovako? Do kraja.


dodatak

12 filmova za bolje razumevanje ratova devedesetih

Marija Ilić

Filmovi imaju veliku moć kada je reč o tome kako razumemo i pamtimo prošlost, a često slike i narativi iz filmskih priča presudno utiču na naše razumevanje prošlosti. Taj uticaj uglavnom je snažniji nego uticaj knjiga ili udžbenika istorije, a verovatno najbolji primer su filmovi o ratu u Vijetnamu koji su imali izniman uticaj na oblikovanje, kako američkog tako i globalnog, viđenja ovog rata.

Iz vlastitog iskustva znamo da filmovi mogu imati i veliku ulogu u nacionalističkoj homogenizaciji i biti svojevrsna priprema za rat. Jedan od poznatijih primera je film „Boj na Kosovu“, snimljen i prikazan 28. 6. 1989. godine, na 600. godišnjicu same bitke i na isti dan kada je Slobodan Milošević na Kosovu održao skup koji se često smatra simboličnom tačkom u raspadu Jugoslavije i ratovima koji su usledili.

Nakon ratova devedesetih, filmovi su imali važnu ulogu i u procesu suočavanja sa prošlošću. Neki su otvarali tabuizirane teme, posebno one vezane za ratne zločine, drugi su pričali o ljudima čija je solidarnost prelazila etničke granice ili o onima koji su pokušavali da spreče nasilje, dok su pojedini filmovi u prvi plan stavljali dugoročne posledice rata i način na koji on nastavlja da utiče na društva i živote ljudi.

Verovatno svako na Balkanu ima svoj izbor filmova koji su na neki način važni za razumevanje ratova, njihovih posledica i procesa izgradnje mira. Mi smo ovog puta pitali bivše učesnike i učesnice Treninga za trenerice i trenere izgradnje mira, koji je završen prošle godine, koje bi filmove preporučili kao važne za razumevanje ratova devedesetih na prostoru bivše Jugoslavije.

Njihove preporuke pokazuju koliko različite mogu biti priče o ratovima devedesetih - od onih koje govore o posledicama nasilja i podela, do priča o ljudima koji su u teškim okolnostima pravili važne lične izbore.

Marko (2021)

Za Valentinu Petru Eterović Buble ovaj film je poseban jer snažno podseća na svu bol i štetu koju rat ostavlja iza sebe, ali i na načine na koje ljudi godinama nakon sukoba nastavljaju da žive sa tim iskustvima. Film govori o posledicama rata koje često ostaju nevidljive drugima – o usamljenosti, gorčini i teretu koji ljudi nose nakon svega što su preživeli.

Posebno joj je značajno to što film pokazuje kako rat može promeniti način na koji ljudi gledaju jedni na druge, stvarajući sliku neprijatelja čak i od nekadašnjih komšija, prijatelja i bliskih ljudi. Ipak, ono što ovaj film čini važnim za Valentinu jeste njegova poruka da se put jednih prema drugima može pronaći tek kada smo spremni da prihvatimo i podelimo sopstvenu bol. Film je za nju posebno upečatljiv i zbog toga što kroz priču o dvojici Marka pokazuje različita, ali istovremeno veoma slična iskustva ljudi koji su ostali obeleženi ratom.

Mirotvorac (2025)

Za Anu Tomić je ovaj film važan jer podstiče na preispitivanje onoga što smo učili i na razmišljanje o tome kako mirovni aktivizam i nenasilno delovanje mogu doneti konkretne promene kada im se daje prednost u odnosu na oružane sukobe.

Posebno ističe da film podseća na to šta znači biti osoba od integriteta čak i onda kada su sukobi veoma intenzivni ili kada se nalaze na svom vrhuncu. Ljudski život je, kako navodi Ana, uvek vredniji od bilo kog državnog teritorija ili političkog interesa. Film vidi kao važan i zbog toga što prikazuje apsurdnost i besmislenost ratova, otvarajući prostor za razmišljanje o tome šta društva biraju kada se odlučuju za nasilje.

Srbenka (2018)

Za Titu Mikulaš film „Srbenka“ jedan je od najboljih dokumentarnih prikaza suočavanja s prošlošću. Film prati proces pripreme predstave Olivera Frljića koja se bavi ubistvom Aleksandre Zec i njene porodice 1991. godine u Zagrebu, ali istovremeno govori i o ratnom nasleđu i iskustvu posleratnih generacija u Hrvatskoj.

Posebno joj je značajno to što kroz lična promišljanja i promene glumaca prikazuje njihove emocije i suočavanje sa traumama povezanim s ratom. Kontekst u kojem predstava nastaje postaje važan deo priče o

posleratnom hrvatskom društvu koje se nije u potpunosti suočilo sa zločinima „svoje“ strane, čak ni u slučaju ubistva deteta.

Za Titu je važnost filma upravo u različitim uglovima iz kojih prikazuje koliko ratna prošlost i dalje utiče na svakodnevni život i koliko je još uvek njegov deo.

Remake (2003)

Za Sunitu Dautbegović Bošnjaković je ovaj film ostavio snažan utisak jer na emotivan i realističan način prikazuje rat, stradanja i posledice koje nasilje ostavlja na pojedince, porodice i čitava društva. Film kroz priču o ratu u Bosni i Hercegovini devedesetih, ali i paralelno kroz priču iz Drugog svetskog rata, pokazuje kako se iskustva različitih generacija mogu povezati kroz zajedničke teme gubitka, patnje i borbe za opstanak.

Posebno ističe način na koji film prikazuje kako rat menja ljude, njihove odnose i odluke, ali i kako često iz ljudi izvlači najteže strane. Jedna od važnih poruka filma za Sunitu jeste da rat nema pobednike, već iza sebe ostavlja traume, gubitke i posledice koje traju dugo nakon završetka sukoba.

Za nju je posebno značajno to što film pokazuje kako se istorija na ovim prostorima često ponavlja i koliko je važno čuvati sećanje na prošlost, ne samo da bismo razumeli ono što se dogodilo, već i da bismo učili iz toga kako se slične tragedije ne bi ponovile.

Sunita film doživljava i lično, jer je tokom opsade Sarajeva jedan period živela na Grbavici. Zbog toga su joj pojedine scene posebno bliske, jer podsećaju na iskustva ljudi koji su prolazili kroz ratnu svakodnevicu. Upravo zbog toga smatra da je „Remake“ važan film za razumevanje početka rata u Sarajevu i apsurda života u gradu koji je bio podeljen ratom, gde je jedna reka u jednom trenutku postala granica između potpuno različitih životnih stvarnosti.

Ničija zemlja (2001)

Fatmire Ajdari i Skender Sadiku preporučuju film *Ničija zemlja* (2001), reditelja Danisa Tanovića. Za Fatmire je ovo jedno od najsnažnijih filmskih ostvarenja o besmislu rata, ljudskoj prirodi i kompleksnosti sukoba na Balkanu. Film kroz priču o dvojici vojnika sa suprotstavljenih strana, srpske i bošnjačke, i trećem vojniku koji se nalazi na nagaznoj mini koja može eksplodirati svakog trenutka, prikazuje apsurd ratne stvarnosti. Posebno ističe način na koji film pokazuje koliko podele na „naše“ i „njihove“ mogu postati jače od činjenice da se iza uniformi nalaze ljudi sa sličnim strahovima i potrebama. Kroz crni humor i satiru, film govori o teškim temama, ali upravo tako pokazuje koliko su ratovi često apsurdni i besmisleni.

Fatmire naglašava i kritiku međunarodne zajednice i medija koja je prisutna u filmu. UNPROFOR je prikazan kao sistem koji se često više bavi procedurama nego stvarnim spašavanjem ljudi, dok su mediji prikazani kroz prizmu potrebe za senzacionalizmom i pretvaranja ljudske patnje u priču za javnost.

Važno joj je i to što film izbegava jednostavnu podelu na heroje i negativce. *Ničija zemlja* ne oslobađa odgovornosti nijednu stranu, već pokazuje koliko su ljudske odluke složene u ekstremnim okolnostima.

Za Skendera je ovaj film važan jer na jednostavan, ali snažan način prikazuje apsurdnost rata i neke od obrazaca razmišljanja koji su pratili sukobe na prostoru bivše Jugoslavije. Posebno izdvaja pitanje „ko je prvi počeo“ kao jednu od ključnih tema filma, pitanje koje često postaje deo začaranog kruga međusobnih optuživanja.

Smatra da film može pomoći ljudima da bolje razumeju „balkanski mentalitet“ i zablude koje su doprinosile održavanju podela. Njegova preporuka je upravo zbog toga što film uspeva da prenese ozbiljne poruke kroz jednostavnu priču i humor.

Dezerter (1992)

Marko Milosavljević smatra da je ovaj film reditelja Živojina Pavlovića vredno pogledati jer pokazuje kako se može doživeti dezerterstvo u ratu, ali i odbijanje da se prihvate uloge koje su ljudima nametnute u trenutku kada se raspadaju država i postojeći sistemi vrednosti.

Film prati dvojicu oficira čija se vojska i država raspadaju i kroz njihove perspektive govori o pojedincima koji pokušavaju da pronađu svoj odnos prema ratu i odgovornosti. Posebno je značajan jer je sniman u ratnim okolnostima, na lokacijama u Vukovaru, i jedan je od prvih filmova koji se bavio raspadom Jugoslavije.

Neđo od Ljubuškog (2012)

Vanja Stokić preporučuje film iz 2012. godine o Neđi Galiću, Hrvatu iz Ljubuškog, koji je zajedno sa svojom suprugom Šteficom tokom rata pomagao Bošnjacima da izađu iz logora i napuste grad. Korišćenjem falsifikovanih pozivnih pisama pomagali su ljudima da se spasu, iako su zbog toga kasnije i sami bili izloženi pritiscima i nasilju.

Vanja ovaj film bira zato što osvetljava pojedince koji su se suprotstavili nasilju i onda kada su time rizikovali sopstvenu sigurnost. Za nju je važno podsećanje da je moguće ostati dosledan svojim principima čak i kada je čovek usamljen u tome i kada se oko njega širi strah i mržnja.

Posebno ističe da je tokom rata bilo mnogo ljudi koji nisu podržavali nasilje, ali nisu imali hrabrosti ili mogućnosti da deluju. Priče poput Neđine zato pokazuju koliko odluke pojedinaca mogu biti važne u trenucima kada se društva suočavaju sa nasiljem.

Pred doždot (*Before the Rain*, 1994)

Za Teodoru Sokolovsku ovo je jedan od najvažnijih filmova o devedesetim godinama jer kroz tri povezane priče: „Reči“, „Lica“ i „Slike“, govori o posledicama rata, etničkim podelama i ljudima koji pokušavaju da pronađu svoje mesto u svetu koji se menja.

Prvi deo filma prati mladu Albanku koja beži od ljudi koji je progone i pronalazi utočište u manastiru. Drugi deo prati makedonskog fotografa Aleksandra Kirkova koji se nakon iskustva rada tokom rata u Bosni vraća na Balkan, suočavajući se sa posledicama svog iskustva i pitanjem granice između svedočenja o nasilju i učestvovanja u njemu.

Treći deo filma vraća Aleksandra u Makedoniju nakon raspada Jugoslavije, u trenutku kada se među ljudima koji su ranije živeli zajedno pojavljuju sve veće tenzije i podele.

Teodora ističe da je upravo slojevitost filma ono što ga čini važnim, on ne govori samo o političkim događajima, već o tome kako veliki istorijski lomovi utiču na odnose među ljudima i njihove lične izbore. Film je osvojio Zlatnog lava na Venecijanskom filmskom festivalu i bio nominovan za Oskara za najbolji strani film.

Druga strana svega (2017)

Iva Baraba preporučuje dva filma. Za Ivu je film *Druga strana svega* važan jer kroz priču jedne porodice prikazuje različite političke periode i promene koje su oblikovale živote ljudi na prostoru bivše Jugoslavije. Film prati istoriju jedne porodice, ali istovremeno govori o širim društvenim i političkim previranjima i načinu na koji velike ideologije utiču na svakodnevni život ljudi.

Posebno ističe pitanje koje film otvara: *„Utapamo li se kao pojedinci u ideologije vladajućih struktura?“* Kroz ličnu priču, film podstiče razmišljanje o tome koliko su naši stavovi, odluke i odnosi oblikovani društvom i političkim okolnostima u kojima živimo.

Čovjek koji nije mogao šutjeti (2024)

Kao drugu preporuku, Iva izdvaja kratki film *Čovjek koji nije mogao šutjeti*, koji govori o ulozi pojedinca u situacijama nasilja. Za nju je ovaj film važan jer jasno prikazuje kakvu ulogu zauzimamo kada se suočimo sa nepravdom i nasiljem, kao i koliko odluka da reagujemo ili ćutimo može imati posledice.

Film otvara pitanje odgovornosti posmatrača i kako (ne)reakcija pojedinaca može doprineti tome da nasilje bude zaustavljeno ili da se nastavi. Kroz kratku, trinaestominutnu priču, pokazuje koliko je važno prepoznati trenutke kada je potrebno zauzeti stav, čak i kada to nosi lični rizik.

Milena (2024)

Za Slobodana Blagovčanina ovaj film je važan jer kroz ličnu priču govori o dugotrajnim posledicama ratova devedesetih i iskustvu ljudi koji su bili primorani da napuste svoje domove. Radnja se odvija u dva vremenska perioda: tokom vojne operacije „Oluja“ i u sadašnjosti, pokazujući kako ratne traume i teške odluke nastavljaju da oblikuju živote ljudi i mnogo godina nakon završetka sukoba.

Posebno ističe da film snažno prikazuje da odlazak iz ratom pogođenog područja ne znači i kraj patnje, već da se posledice rata nastavljaju kroz sećanja, gubitke i pokušaje da se nastavi život. Iako je reč o kratkometražnom filmu, smatra da uspeva da prenese snažne poruke o ljudskoj izdržljivosti, gubitku i potrebi da se razumeju iskustva onih koji su bili primorani da izbegnu od rata.

Neprijatelj (2011)

Za Dimitrija Glukčevića je *Neprijatelj* film koji ga najviše podseća na sukobe devedesetih. Neke scene i dijalozi iz filma ostali su mu dugo u sećanju, a kada ga je ponovo pogledao, shvatio je i koliko može biti traumatičan. Film je za njega istovremeno upečatljiv i mučan, zbog čega nije bio siguran ni da li da ga preporuči.

Radnja počinje sedam dana nakon uspostavljanja primirja, kada vojnici uklanjaju mine koje su do pre nekoliko dana postavljali, dok inostrane vojne snage situaciju posmatraju sa bezbedne udaljenosti. Upravo taj početak otvorio mu je pitanje kako izgleda film o ratu kada je primirje već sklopljeno i šta se zapravo dešava nakon formalnog prestanka sukoba.

Dimitrija su posebno pogodila pitanja koja film postavlja, među kojima i ono zašto bi neko napustio fakultet i došao u rat, a jedan citat iz filma posebno mu se urezao u pamćenje: „Lakše je u zemlju pobost zastavu, nego plug i raonik.“

Sledeće godine slavimo 30 godina

Sledeće godine obeležavamo 30 godina, i ovo je naš poslednji štampani godišnji izveštaj.

Biće još godišnjih izveštaja, ne brinite. Samo što ćete sledeće godine, uz redovni godišnji izveštaj, dobiti izveštaj o naših 30 godina. A od 2028. godine izveštaj će biti digitalan.

I nakon 29 godina i dalje preispitujemo i menjamo ono na šta možemo da utičemo. Digitalni izveštaj je lakše pratiti, pretraživati i čuvati nego gomilati na polici. A i bolji je za ovu našu planetu.

Pre nego što krenemo dalje - hvala.

Hvala svima koji su bili deo ovih 29 godina: timu, saradnicama i saradnicima, donatorima, veteranima, učesnicima/učesnicama treninga i svima koji su nam verovali i još uvek nam veruju da je moguće.

Dobro, knjige, izveštaji, publikacije - to su stvari za one među nama koji smo štreberi.

Trideset godina je dugo. Dovoljno dugo da se nakupi mnogo priča, ljudi, gradova, pokušaja, grešaka i razloga da budemo ponosni. A opet, kada pogledamo šta radimo danas, ponekad imamo osećaj da smo još uvek tu negde od pre 20 ili 25 godina. Nada je slična, ponekad varira, pravac je isti, samo se tempo ponekad promeni.

A posle svega toga čeka nas proslava.

Za 30 godina biće malo veća i malo duža nego obično. Počeće u Sarajevu i doći će i do Beograda. Slično kao i CNA priča.

I biće prilike da se sretnemo sa ljudima sa kojima smo tokom ovih godina delili trud, nadu, treninge, razgovore, putovanja, dileme i sve ono između.

A možda će biti najzanimljivije pogledati gde smo stigli od onoga što je nekada delovalo kao „možda nekada“.

Da nas je neko 1997. pitao hoće li za 25 godina bivši borci i pripadnici neprijateljskih vojski zajedno polagati cveće na mesta stradanja, hoće li gostovati na TV-u i hoće li im ljudi u programu zahvaljivati - rekli bismo da „možda nekada“.

E pa, to „nekada“ je stiglo.

Vidimo se u Sarajevu. Pa u Beogradu. A između - verovatno još ponegde.

Za više informacija, što bi rekli klinci mnogo mnogo mlađi od CNA, klik, like, share i subscribe na naše kanale (Instagram, Facebook, Bluesky, X, YouTube).

Annual Report 2026

(English version)

Translation
Ulvija Tanović

Our websites (available in English):


nenasilje.org/en


onms.nenasilje.org


kulturasjecanja.org/en


biber.nenasilje.org


handbook.nenasilje.org

Introduction

Dear people,

You have before you the 29th annual report of the Centre for Nonviolent Action. In the past year, we have completed the Training of Trainers that, as a rule, brings with it many new directions and activities, but most of all, many new people. The CNA team has three new members: Dimitrije Glukčević, Tita Mikulaš and Marija Ilić. This big "rejuvenation" of our team brings in a new generation with new stories, motivations and dilemmas that you can read about in this report. After more than a decade of working at CNA and living in Sarajevo, Davorka Turk has returned to her hometown of Zagreb. Though no longer part of the team, our Dada remains an important pillar we still lean on, and in an interview we conducted with her, Dada looks back on how she arrived to CNA and Sarajevo and the years of working on peacebuilding, meeting people, challenges... In the final phase of the Training of Trainers, the participants came together to develop activities they want to implement in the field with CNA support. Some of the activities have already started implementation in 2026, while others are at various stages of preparation.

In this past year, we have also continued activities that we have been implementing for several years now, looking to raise them to a higher level. When it comes to marking unmarked sites of suffering, we have initiated regional cooperation, so that our latest action included simultaneous marking of locations in Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Serbia, and we plan to include Kosovo in the upcoming period. This was an opportunity not just to geographically "broaden" the action, but also to establish new cooperation and partnerships. In the text on working with war veterans, in addition to reports on attending commemorations and visits, we also try to think about what next and how, especially in light of the fact that it has been 30 years since the war.

As much as we strive to change our societies, the overall political and social contexts have significant influence on shaping our work, which has always been true. In the text on our contexts, you can hear from people who are all trying to change their societies for the better, and one of the questions we asked all of them was what frightened or concerned them and what gave them hope in the places where they live and work.

At the end of 2025, we put out a publication whose English edition followed in April this year. We promoted the book *Negotiated Justice* and the previously published *We Come in Peace* in Brčko, Sarajevo, Mrkonjić Grad, Bihać, Prijedor, and Zagreb. We took Biber 06 to Sombor, Breza, Tuzi, Cetinje, and Novi Pazar, and this year we also completed the Biber 07 Contest. As always, our aim was to visit many places and bring diverse activities to as many different towns. Some places we went to because we thought it was important to show up right then and there, but we are particularly happy that we visited many places because we were invited by associates, kind people and friends.

Next year, we will mark 30 years of our work. At the end of this annual report is a short text on what we plan to do and an important announcement about next year's annual report.

You can read about all this and more in this report, and for more details, you can visit our website. We welcome your comments, insights and any feedback you can send us.

At the end, we won't say read us again next time, but: See you soon!



peace education and nonviolent actions

Training of Trainers implemented in four phases:

- First Phase - Ulcinj (Montenegro) from 4 to 14 April 2025
- Second Phase - Sarajevo (BiH) and Belgrade (Serbia) in May and June 2025
- Third Phase - Tetovo (N. Macedonia) from 10 to 20 July 2025
- Fourth Phase - Kreševo (BiH) from 3 to 13 October 2025

Ongoing Training

Marija Ilić

Last year, after a decade-long hiatus, we once again implemented the Training of Trainers in Peacebuilding. It had four phases and a total of 33 working days. After the first phase, held in Ulcinj and presented in last year's report, the second, third and fourth phase were implemented during 2025. The first phase where twenty-two of us met and got to know each other ended with a selection of topics we wanted to tackle in our workshops at our next gathering, but this time as trainers. The topics we were interested in included: non-violent communication, gender-based violence, trauma, non-violent action and activism, memorialisation, prejudice and discrimination, conflicts…

The second phase took place in Belgrade and Sarajevo through an intensive process of preparing in smaller teams organised around the topics. We gathered based on the areas we were most interested in and with the support of the training team we developed workshops that we later led independently during the third phase. This was preparation for the role of trainers awaiting us in Popova Šapka.

The third phase was held in July in Popova Šapka near Tetovo and once again, after our initial meeting in Ulcinj, it brought together the whole group. This phase was divided into two parts. The first part was made up of the participants' workshops – which were prepared during the second phase. For most participants, this was the first time they took on the role of trainers and led workshops prepared beforehand within small teams. In addition to leading the workshops, an important part of the process was reflecting together, analysing the work done and receiving feedback to help the participants take stock of their approaches, learn from the experience of others and develop confidence in working with groups. Ana Bitoljanu provided support to the training team and the entire group during this phase. There was support all around, in fact, from everyone and to everyone, and there was neither too much nor too little of it. These days were full of stress, stage fright, a feeling of responsibility, expectation, apprehension, attempts, mistakes, laughter, success...

The second part of the third phase was devoted to thinking more deeply about the role of trainers and the challenges of peacebuilding. Through reflections and joint exercises, we discussed the ethics of peace work, the responsibility we have towards the groups we work with and the ways to build safe spaces for learning and dialogue.

The fourth and final phase of the Training of Trainers in Peacebuilding was held in Kreševo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and was the last time the whole group got together as part of this programme. Having led workshops, this phase was an opportunity to reflect on the whole process, exchange experiences and consider how to integrate the obtained knowledge and skills in future activities.

It started with a study trip during which the group was joined by activists from Serbia, Kosovo, Bosnia and Herzegovina and other parts of the region.

During the study trip, we visited Trusina, Jablanica, Konjic, Sarajevo, Istično Sarajevo, Tarčin, Ahmići and Vitez, where through conversations and visits to sites of suffering we reflected together on the various experiences of war, the consequences of violence that persist in people's lives thirty years after the war and



the importance of dealing with the past as part of peacebuilding. This part of the training concluded with a conversation with three war veterans, former members of VRS, HV and the Army of RBiH who are activists in peacebuilding today. Their personal experiences and the work they did after the war opened a conversation about the possibilities for change, different perspectives and challenges of building trust between communities. This created space for understanding different perspectives and for thinking about the role of peace work in creating space for dialogue, responsibility and trust among communities.

The second part of the fourth phase was devoted to working together on ideas and initiatives that we as participants could implement after the training. By sharing ideas, examining them, exchanging experiences, selecting ideas to develop and planning next steps, the group came up with ways to apply the knowledge and skills gained during the training in their local communities. In addition to the training team, Davorka Turk contributed to working with the group through additional exchange of experiences and support for the participants.

The completion of the fourth phase brought the Training of Trainers in Peacebuilding to a close, but it also started a new stage of action. Over the subsequent period, with the support of CNA, the participants continued developing and implementing their ideas - a training for students inspired by the nonviolent student struggle in Serbia, initiatives focusing on the culture of memory, interventions against hate speech, a digital campaign called “Speak Peace” that foregrounds stories of humanity in war, as well as other activities that contribute to peacebuilding in local communities. This meant that the training was not the end of a learning process, but the beginning of acting together in different communities. The activities envisioned in Kreševo continued to be developed through 2026 and have had considerable impact on the work of CNA itself this year. Below we report on some activities that we have already started and implemented, while those that are still being developed are described in terms of our thoughts and plans, the how and the why.



Intervention art: Graffiti and murals against hate speech

Tamara Zrnović

Implemented actions:

- Kumanovo, North Macedonia, 24-25 April 2026
- Banja Luka, Bosnia and Herzegovina, 9-10 May 2026

During the Training of Trainers in Peacebuilding, organised by the Centre for Nonviolent Action Sarajevo Belgrade in 2025, the participants had an opportunity to create and find ways to address the violent past in a way that deconstructs it and makes the present and the future better for coming generations. The ideas and activities developed by the participants addressed the various inappropriate memorialisation practices of the wartime past, personal stories from people who did not acknowledge dividing lines in evil times, the fight against hate speech and for creating new spaces for peace education of university students. All these ideas and activities came out of cross-border group work.

When we talk about combating hate speech, which is present in the public arena, in the streets, on building facades and in public spaces of the countries we live in and that glorifies war criminals and sets up boundaries of separation between “us” and “them”, it elicits a need to respond. A small group from the Training of Trainers gathered around the idea of using intervention art in the form of street actions to make



a change in public space. The idea was to intervene so as to cover up graffiti that contains hate speech, paint over it or give it new meanings through murals that would replace it.

The team that gathered around this idea included: Frosina Dodevska, Teodora Sokolovska and Fatmire Ajdari from North Macedonia, Vanja Stokić and Ajdin Kamber from Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Dimitrije Glukčević from Serbia, and they received support from the Centre for Nonviolent Action Sarajevo-Belgrade. Two actions of painting murals have been implemented so far, in Kumanovo and in Banja Luka.

When developing this idea, the focus was on two things. One was to educate younger generations, secondary school and university students, about hate speech and its consequences in public space through workshops. The other was to encourage responses to this kind of hate speech in public so that public spaces become filled with images promoting solidarity, diversity and togetherness instead of messages of intolerance and violence.

The first street action was titled "**Уметност против омраза/Aksion arti në Kumanovë**" and held on 24 and 25 April 2025 in Kumanovo, North Macedonia. Pupils from two secondary schools, Goce Delčev and Sami Frasheri, took part in the campaign, working together with members of the FORMA Association of Artists on a mural dedicated to reconciliation, coexistence and peacebuilding. Pupils from the Goce Delčev and the Sami Frasheri secondary schools had an opportunity to meet each other at a one-day workshop where they tackled topics such as teamwork and communication, hate speech, nonviolence and nonviolent action.

"Art against Hate" was the title of the street action held on 9 and 10 May in Banja Luka, Bosnia and Herzegovina. Young people from Banja Luka took part in the street action, working with artist Nataša Konjević Kojo on a mural about reconciliation, coexistence and peacebuilding.

Following the street action in Kumanovo in late April, in Banja Luka, the participants were students and artists who refuse to normalise the hate speech that surrounds them. They wanted to effect social change, to act in their local community and ultimately make it more accepting and beautiful. These young

people also had an opportunity to meet each other at a one-day workshop where they engaged with topics such as: hate speech, nonviolence and nonviolent actions.

They were also introduced to the concept of engaged street art by artist Nataša Konjević who encouraged the students, saying they could be a strong instrument for social change.

The painted murals in Kumanovo and Banja Luka are a joint and powerful message that there is no place for hate speech in our societies and environments and that together we can be part of social change.

In the upcoming period, a similar action has been planned in Niš, Serbia, and possibly also in some other cities and local communities.

Digital Campaign "Speak Peace"

Tita Mikulaš

When the war started, Suljo Đogo was living in Goražde with his family. In the chaos of war, help came through his long-time friend "from the other side" who warned him that Goražde would be attacked in just a few days. This act of solidarity gave Suljo enough time to move his family to safety and saved their lives.

During last year's Training of Trainers in Peacebuilding, there was a lot of talk about stories of people helping each other during the war, some had read about them, some had heard about them from older family members or had been there themselves to witness the stories' unfolding. At the end, we as participants were given the opportunity to put our ideas about peacebuilding into practice, with CNA's support, and this is how we came up with a campaign for social networks called "Speak Peace". The main aim is to portray stories of solidarity and mutual help during the wars of the 1990s, cutting across the lines that used to separate people at the time. Suljo Đogo's story from the beginning is among them.

This activity is the product of joint work by Slobodan Blagovčanin (ORC Tuzla), Marko Milosavljević (YIHR Serbia), Tita Mikulaš (CNA), and in the initial development phases, Ana Tomić (Dialogus). Tamara Zrnović from the Centre for Nonviolent Action Sarajevo-Belgrade provided much support in implementation and coordination.

Social networks have long been the leading medium for sharing diverse content. For young people today, they are almost the only source of information. Unfortunately, in the region and the world at large, they are also places rife with disinformation and hate speech contributing to social discord. With this in mind, our peacebuilding effort was geared at filling this space with stories of solidarity and people helping each other.

There are names in collective memory that have become symbols of this type of help, such as the name of Srđan Aleksić. After the war, there was interest in recording similar experiences so that they would not be forgotten, and they were collected by Svetlana Broz in a book called Good People in Evil Times. I would like to express my indescribable gratitude to those who recorded these stories and provided the basis for us to tell similar stories in a new format to a new generation. We decided to look for stories in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia, and Croatia to provide space for stories to be heard from the social contexts of the team members. We want to show that during the tragic war years of the 1990s, there were people who were prepared, even at a risk to their lives, to help others irrespective of ethnic or religious identity.

Testimonies have long been an important tool for creating a broader picture of wartime events and providing an opportunity to learn from the experiences and memories of others. The immediate association when it comes to war stories are the testimonies given before local and international tribunals that have helped shed light on the truth about numerous crimes and human rights violations during the wars of the 1990s. It is that very potential of conveying experience from person to person, i.e.

from generation to generation, that led us to uncover a sea of testimonies about people helping each other in the midst of war that deserve to be heard. It is important to show generations without their own wartime memories that empathy is impossible to eradicate in times of war, and to those who have memories that war can only be defeated by humanity.

So far we have spoken to eleven people who were prepared to share with us how they helped someone during the war or how someone else helped them. We visited Glina, Prijedor, Tuzla, Mostar, Sarajevo, Jajce, Goražde, Vareš and Belgrade, where we conducted and recorded interviews. These meetings were a unique emotional experience that, in the context of peace work, provides motivation to continue working in this field.

During our research and while conducting interviews, we noticed that our interlocutors who were helped by someone were very glad of the opportunity to tell their stories. This was not just so they could express gratitude, but in order to provide testimony that can give direction to younger generations. The courage expressed by our interlocutors in sharing their difficult stories within this activity points to a desire for our society to grow closer together by highlighting and encouraging solidarity.

Remembering Children Together: You Came Too?

Nedžad Novalić

According to data about human losses, collected and published in the Bosnian Book of the Dead, during the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina 3,793 persons under 18 were killed. If we stick to the narrower definition from the *Convention on the Rights of the Child*, which defines children as persons under 15 years of age, 1,892 children were killed in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Of those, 407 were children under five who had never started school or had schoolmates.

Behind these dry statistics are names, families, fates that still hurt today. In 2005, I spent the month of Ramadan in the village of Stupni Do near Vareš where I met the relatives of Indira Žutić and Enis Likić, three-year-olds killed in 1993. The ICTY dealt in detail with the murder of Nermin Divović in Sniper Alley in Sarajevo. He was killed in 1994 by a sniper bullet that pierced the belly of his pregnant mother, killing the foetus and Nermin who was walking next to his mother, who survived. The ICTY examined the available medical documentation in order to clearly determine the position of the sniper. Years later, as a journalist, I met Nermin's mother Dženana who lived in a run-down house and survived by begging on the streets of Sarajevo. Thanks to efforts by the media and good people, almost 30 years after Nermin was killed, she received a house and a steady income. Still, no encounter shook me as much as that with the relatives of four-year-old Mladenka Zadro who was killed in 1993 in Grabovica near Mostar. It just so happened that when I met them in 2019, my own little girl was four, and was then, as she has remained, the joy of my heart. I cried my eyes out that warm September day in Grabovica, wondering how it was possible to kill a child.

I found peace at another encounter, when I met the parents of children killed in Vitez at the Osmica site. In the home of the Garić family, whose two children were killed and a third seriously wounded, I was welcomed by the open arms of the mother, father and brother of the killed Sanja and Milan. They said it meant a lot to them that we came and that we were always welcome. One of the neighbours who was there, after Adnan and I introduced ourselves, stood up and hugged us. "You came too?" he asked with a mixture of shock and gladness. It was clear that the "you" referred to our (ethnic) identity. People have had and still have a strong need for their victimisation to be recognised also by people outside their (ethnic) community, especially when they come from the "other side". Or even more openly put, when the come from the "enemy side". Such encounters,

crossing over to the "other side", remain a keenly felt need. Unfortunately, they are few and far between.

Remembering killed children in this region mostly falls within the tired pattern where there is only room for remembering "our victims". But there is a glimmer of hope that remembering together, especially children, is possible. In Konjic, Anis Kosovac put up a small memorial plaque in memory of two killed boys, Petar and Pavle Golubović. In the centre of Konjic, the memorial dedicated to killed children includes all their names, including Petar and Pavle. In Zagreb, a memorial has been installed in memory of Aleksandra Zec and her family, and as a rule, the official commemoration is attended by the mayor of Zagreb. In Maglaj, which saw heavy fighting between the Army of RBiH, HVO and VRS, the Association of Civilian War Victims installed a beautiful memorial to all killed children in the centre of the city.

Several programmes run by civil society organisations encourage young people to visit memorials commemorating killed children together. By doing this, in addition to learning about what happened in different areas, young people also become a bridge between different communities. The Centre for Nonviolent Action has organised visits by different groups to memorials in Konjic, the Osmica memorial commemorating killed children in Vitez, as well as visiting the memorials to killed children in Goražde and Maglaj, and for several years we have been attending the official commemorations dedicated to killed children in Sarajevo and Istočno Sarajevo.

In attending the official commemorations for killed children in Sarajevo and Istočno Sarajevo, we again saw the importance of "crossing over to the other side". For families of the killed children, it was particularly important that those "from the other side" came to the commemoration, and our colleague Marija Ilić wrote about this on our website after attending the commemoration dedicated to children killed in the siege of Sarajevo. These commemorations are always emotional for us and they mean a lot as confirmation that our work matters to ordinary people.

The fact that there are two separate commemorations and two separate memorials for killed children in Sarajevo and Istočno Sarajevo cannot be changed by waving a magic wand, but we also don't want to ignore it. We found possible space for intervention by attending both commemorations, the one held in Istočno Sarajevo every year in March at the memorial in the schoolyard of the Sveti Sava Primary School and the commemoration in memory of children killed in besieged Sarajevo that is held every year in front of the memorial in the city centre. Two memorials stand some ten kilometres apart and two commemorations are organised. Like two parallel lines, these two worlds are not meant to ever meet anywhere. By going to both commemorations, we from the Centre for Nonviolent Action wanted to be that tiny point in which the two worlds meet.

We were not alone, because we were supported by friends and acquaintances, especially Mirjana, and later others. As the points started expanding, we started imagining doing more. For a start, we plan to take a group of peace activists from the region, mostly relying on support from participants in the Training of Trainers, and visit both memorials in the same day, meet with the parents of the killed children and talk. We don't want to create a third parallel line that will have no point of contact with the two existing ones. We want to be the bridge connecting the two strands of memory of killed children in one city. We hope that in time we will be joined by many others living in Sarajevo and Istočno Sarajevo today and feeling pain for each life cut short, especially the life of a child. We hope that all that will remain of parallel lines of memory is a memory.

“Students Connect” Training

Dimitrije Glukčević

Deceptive sunshine, crocs, pitch darkness, tractors, dashed line, the famous right lane... These were the conductors taking turns as the choir of steps garbled down the road. Left, right, left, right... Thoughts tattooed on the cerebral cortex. As we slowly approached Vojvodina, the streets became endless. Five hundred crazy students from Niš. That’s what we were to ourselves, and we kept repeating it. No one was tired... Left, right, left, right... As we moved away from where we started, the weather fell into sync with our moods. Mostly rainy. Never tired! That was the continuation of a well-known chant. And round and round it went. That’s how we felt walking to the big protest on 15 March in Belgrade. It was hard to find other words. They had hidden behind swellings and calluses. From videos of gazes passing by, you could tell we’d lost each other after a few days. Or was it just an illusion. There was no need to waste words. To find common interests.

We definitely had different visions of the event to come. Still, no one was Mila, Kemal, Sara, Luka, Marija, Boban... We were just five hundred crazy students from Niš. Shared pain, that’s what brought us together. And we were not even exclusively students from Niš. I think back to this period fondly. I think I was sobered by the thought that strong will can make a joke become a possibility. And we had joked a lot in the preceding months, how they could not stop us from coming to the protest. That we would come in the end, even if we had to walk. And we were not crazy. Strange, that phrase did give us purpose, it united us. I thought about it for a long time. I had to fill up the hours of traversing asphalt, after all, and at the moment it seemed most apt. Or perhaps not, I imagined the asphalt walking over me, and it was something I needed to put out of my head... Who goes walking for almost two hundred kilometres just to get into a fight and create disorder? That must be the meaning of craziness in the aforementioned chant. We were not crazy. Many did talk about how they couldn’t wait for us to get there, how there would be chaos. How we would create chaos. Some of the braver ones among us had brought torches, batons, brass knuckles and similar implements. Most of them were defeated by the weight of their own feet by day three. The so-called *Ćacilend*, a novelty at the time, had occupied the whole of Pionirski Park. Barriers were put up around it. The police kept watch day and night over this border of common sense. I’m not sure what side they were on. As we approached, on the social networks we saw various techniques of fishing for *ćaci* with sandwiches. Intolerance was bubbling up inside us... Inside me...

Perhaps I was a bit crazy. Still, in the days ahead, everything evaporated through the skin. The path we had chosen brought me back into the right lane, and I hardly even felt it. I realised the endeavour was essentially peace-loving.

I remembered the Mir Paqe Мир training I had attended a year earlier. Back then I wasn’t wearing out my trainers. I was led by curiosity. And yet, a shared pain was present. We were not sharing sterile gauze and medical alcohol. We were handing tissues to each other and words of comfort. Something that most of us had not felt before rose to the surface. We were not that. We did not feel the pain. I did not feel pain. At least not until then... Before, I used to think what nothing that happened before I was born could have any effect on me. And yet, I got goosebumps hearing the stories. What happened in Kosovo? I’d already heard about what happened in Kosovo. But not like this. It’s hard to explain how it was for those ten days. There wasn’t time for everything I had learned to settle. I could not articulate it. Every time I tried to explain it to someone, it lacked... vividness, realism, as if I was retelling a black and white film.

And then, a few hundred thousand steps later, I felt it again. The connection, that’s what had been missing.

I’m still not sure if it was because of the people who welcomed us with open hearts. Maybe we spread the energy among ourselves. The tacit pain inside us

created something. But we did not speak of it, because you can't tell the people waiting for you how much it hurts... and that is how we were transformed. We gained strength to fight. And those days continued boiling in us. They gave our wanderings a touchstone with reality. And even when we were prepared to give up, they put us back on the path. Left, right, left, right..

Our walks have been consigned to memory, and the faculties operate normally again. The space for exchanging ideas and for closeness and collective experience has been narrowed. We're no longer together the way we used to be. Our fellow fighters from Pazar have once again been left on the margins. We're chasing exams, diplomas, careers... The pain we felt has been sidelined. Just like the pain we had never brought to our awareness... The pain from the previous generation that keeps getting passed on imperceptibly. Rooted in the conflicts of the nineties, it is the firm ground we are unaware of.

All hopes are placed in the upcoming elections, which must come. I recognise this as the moment to do something. And I'm not the only one. We are a group of peace activists from the region, with the support of the Centre for Nonviolent Action (CNA), and we are prepared to take this step. We advocate for not sweeping things under the rug, not under any circumstances. Now, while the sediments have not yet buried the feeling of togetherness. While the natural flow of life has not yet sapped the student spirit from us young rebels. It is time to organise a training especially for students. For those currently shaping society. Not just in Serbia, but in Croatia, BiH, Kosovo, Macedonia, Albania...

Why organise the training?

Every day, the media brings messages of hatred, accompanied by sounds of sabre rattling. Nearby, two long wars keep raging, their consequences felt daily through the people fleeing to our region. Today's image of the Balkans has become fatal for the people who live here. The people who are literally fighting to survive. We often hear calls for violently establishing a new order, because it is "the only way" to achieve change. In particular, in Serbia the collapse of the canopy in Novi Sad was the trigger for creating a new movement led by students. Young people from the region see it as the seed of a turbulent, infectious wave of change that inevitably follows. We want to focus on common problems: the fight for democratic institutions, transparency and dealing with the past. The current student movements in Serbia have become symbols of civic resistance echoing across the region and awaking solidarity. Young people are becoming bearers of change. They don't keep silent. They act. They connect. There are many such examples where students are the bearers of change in society: the blockade of the Faculty of Philosophy in Zagreb, students from Sarajevo organising after the tram accident, the student protests in Skopje after the Kočani fire... This training seeks to bring together young people from the region fighting against prejudice and for building mutual trust.


work with
war veterans

Activities we held out in the last 12 months:

- Promotion of the book and exhibition We Come in Peace:

Brčko, 9-16 September 2025.
Sarajevo, 20-27 November 2025
Mrkonjić Grad, 21-24 April 2026
Bihać, 20-24 May 2026

- Commemoration in Sovići and Doljani near Jablanica, 17 April 2026
- Visit to Bihać, Cazin and Bosanski Petrovac, 20-24 May 2026

Working with War Veterans: Where next?

Amer Delić

After two decades of working with war veterans, with the long view and patience to construct spaces for joint action on peacebuilding, questions arise, but are not indicative of a decision to give up or a feeling that the job is done. On the contrary. They arise precisely when we receive confirmation that what we are doing still makes sense. Perhaps one of the most difficult questions is how to stay true and persevere in what we started, while at the same time adapting to the times, the people and circumstances that are changing? We live in societies free of armed conflict, but where peace remains burdened by the legacy of war. Lack of trust and divisions, viewing yourself and your group primarily from the perspective of victimisation and the absence of empathy for others are still the most dominant factors in the created policies and social discourses of our communities. Furthermore, the escalation of brutal violence around the world contributes to further polarisation in our societies, providing new grounds for divisions akin to those between sports fans into those who are for or against Ukraine and Russia, Palestine and Israel, Iran and the US...

In such circumstances, and wishing to make progress at levels that we can reach, over the past year we have continued our joint actions, including attendance at official commemorations, promotions for the book *We Come in Peace*, a joint visit to the Una Sana Canton, and interviews with war veterans for our developing programme Speak Peace.

And that is why we still come...

What leads us to conclude that it still makes sense to continue working and coming to local communities is perhaps most visible when we attend official commemorations.

We had a rare experience at the official commemoration for killed and captured civilians in Sovići, which we attended with a group of war veterans from the region. During the commemorative programme, the moderator and speakers repeatedly referred to the war veterans in attendance, enumerating the full names of the armies they used to belong to. Usually, we would be introduced as a delegation of CNA. Occasionally, depending on where we went and who our "hosts" where, this would be followed by "former members of VRS, HVO, HV, ARBiH, JNA, VJ..." To speak the full name of formerly hostile armies in any positive sense is still unpopular. This time, the introduction was followed by applause from those gathered, including the families of victims and representatives of the religious community, the mayor and other officials, as well as numerous citizens. After the commemoration, we were approached by the president of the Stolac Prison Camp Survivors Association who invited us to come visit their town as well. Such moments cannot



be planned. They do not emerge from one activity or a single event. Perhaps such moments speak most about how meaningful this work is. Trust built over enough time for someone to say – come. For decades, due to its complex political, ethnic, war and post-war history, Stolac is often characterised as a "special case" and perceived as one of the places in Bosnia and Herzegovina where the relationship between its communities remains highly sensitive. We see the invitation to come to Stolac as an expression of the need for a different approach, in contrast to what is usual in local public space, which is burdened by constant political disputes and occasional conflicts.

During the past year, we also organised promotions of the book *We Come in Peace: War Veterans in Peacebuilding* and the accompanying exhibition of photographs. Brčko, Sarajevo, Mrkonjić Grad and Bihać were not just places where we presented a publication and an exhibition. They were also opportunities for encounters and talks. Painful topics related to the war, memory and responsibility were opened up and we discussed how to talk about these difficult experiences today, but also about the challenges of post-war times, without repeating the same mistakes of the past.

Organising these events led us to conclude that the need for this type of dialogue has not ceased, but keeps finding its place among people who are prepared to listen to each other. It wasn't easy, the topics were difficult, the narratives powerful and opposed, but space was opened up to hear what the other had to say and to try to understand.

The study trip to Krajina this year, to Cazin, Bosanski Petrovac and Bihać, where we visited numerous sites of memory, enabled us to present our work to institutions of local government and to meet other war veterans who expressed a desire to join our peace actions in the future.

Looking Ahead: Challenges, Needs and Perspectives

We also recognise the need for stronger connections between our work with war veterans and younger generations. Many young people have no personal experience of war, but they live with its consequences. Encounters between veterans and young people, through workshops at trainings and on study trips, have turned out to be important forms of action, because they enable discussions about the war outside dominant political interpretations and they open up spaces for critical thinking about the past and responsibility for the future. We plan to continue in this direction.

One of the activities supported by individual war veterans we work with is the programme Speak Peace, video interviews focusing on stories of solidarity and mutual assistance during the wars of the nineties.

At the same time, as we strive to continue and further develop existing activities, we cannot neglect the changes that come with time. The people we started these activities with two decades ago are older today. Many of them suffer permanent consequences of their difficult wartime experience and face health issues. The possibilities to organise fieldwork that includes long walks and several days spent away from home are narrowing. This is a new challenge that we will have to adapt to by finding new formats for bringing together and engaging with veterans.

We do not want to give up, and the need for action is great. Perhaps the wars of today are removed enough from us that we do not fear for our lives, but with political instability in our region, we can never fully free ourselves from the sense that the peace we have is frail.

While our regional political leaders see guarantees for peace and security in procuring rocket systems and aircraft fleets and sheltering under the umbrellas of global superpowers and military alliances, we will continue to work on strengthening the existing and creating new capacities for peace work.

Group of War Veterans and Peace Activists Visit Bihać, Cazin and Bosanski Petrovac

Radomir Radević

The veterans' gathering and visit to Bihać, Cazin and Bosanski Petrovac were held from 20 to 24 May 2026.

On Wednesday, 20 May, the Bihać City Gallery hosted the promotion of the book We Come in Peace: War Veterans in Peacebuilding. Dalila Vojniković Dupanović moderated a discussion about the book with Franjo Grgić and Jasmin Osmankić – Strikan from Bihać, Veroljub Smiljković from Kruševac, and Nenad Vukosavljević from Belgrade. The promotion was accompanied by Nenad Vukosavljević's photo exhibition that was on display until 24 May.

Over the following days, our visit to Krajina included meetings with representatives of local authorities and associations in Bihać, Cazin and Bosanski Petrovac. These encounters confirmed our joint commitment to work on peacebuilding through dialogue. Apart from official meetings, we also visited local memorials and historical sites, paying our respects to the victims from the last war and getting to know more about the socio-historical context of this region. Throughout the trip, we were treated to views of incredibly natural beauty, from the wild emerald rapids of the Una River around Bihać and Kulen Vakuf to the tame green hills of Cazinska krajina.

Cazin

The visit to Cazin began with a working meeting at the City Administration building where the group was received by Jusuf Bajrektarević, the advisor to the Mayor of Cazin, and Smail Toromanović, a representative of veterans from Cazin. The hosts did not hide how impressed they were with the visit, calling it a fascinating event for the city of Cazin itself. They expressed their readiness to join future actions, pointing out that they were supportive of BiH as a state of all its peoples, and that our activities were an example of how people can meet and talk and work together.

After the meeting, we visited some of the local memorials. The group went to see the Ćoralići Primary School where there is a distinctive memorial consisting of a Soviet transport helicopter that was used during the war to carry over 10,000 passengers and 200,000 kilos of cargo and was later installed there in memory of the heroism and contribution of the Bihać Aviation group.

In addition, the veterans visited and laid flowers at the memorial in the Pjanići neighbourhood, an area closely linked to defence efforts of the 5th Corps of the Army of RBiH, as well as the location of the former Cazin airfield.



Bosanski Petrovac

Activities continued in Bosanski Petrovac with an official meeting with Mayor Mahmut Jukić and the president of the Disabled War Veterans Association of the Army of RBiH Ermin Hidić. During the meeting, the hosts expressed their readiness to fully support future projects that, as they said, foster coexistence and further peacebuilding.

Following this official meeting, the delegation paid their respects to the victims of war by laying flowers at the central memorials in the city: the monument to fallen fighters of the Army of RBiH at Trg šehida, and the monument to civilian war victims located near the Health Centre. Continuing the programme, the group also visited a cultural and historical landmark, the Skender Kulenović Memorial House.

The official part of the visit to Bosanski Petrovac concluded with a tour of two memorial sites outside the city centre, both on Petrovačka Road, which already during World War II became a symbol of collective sorrow and suffering. We first visited the memorial dedicated to Bosniak civilians from Sanski Most and Ključ. At this site, convoys of people fleeing war for safe territories were intercepted and brutally attacked during 1992. The group also stopped at the memorial cross on Petrovačka Road in Janjila. Erected to commemorate the 7th of August 1995, this cross testifies to a tragedy that happened during Operation Storm, when ten civilians, including four children, were killed by missiles fired at the refugee column by Croatian air forces.

Kulen Vakuf and Martin Brod

The afternoon was devoted to becoming better acquainted with the tumultuous past of the Ljutočka Valley through visits to Kulen Vakuf and Martin Brod. The participants first visited the Shahid Memorial and Cemetery in Kulen Vakuf which is the central memorial site commemorating the suffering of the Bosniak population of the area during the war (1992–1995). Through the emotional and authentic testimony of Jasmin Osmankić Strikan, a member of the veterans group and a direct participant in these events, the group learned about the ordeals suffered by the

people of Ljutočka Valley. His personal experience and memory of expulsion, loss of loved ones and days of defence gave this visit a deep human dimension, highlighting the importance of preserving the memory of civilian victims and defenders of this part of the Bihać Municipality. The group also heard touching testimony from Alen Osmankić, the son of a fallen fighter and Strikan's brother, who is still searching for the remains of his father and of other missing persons from this area.

The day ended with a visit to Martin Brod, a picturesque town situated at the confluence of the Unac and Una rivers. The group visited the Rmanj Orthodox monastery, a cultural monument from the 15th century which had been destroyed and rebuilt several times through history. It was an ideal place to reflect on the multi-religious heritage and coexistence of peoples that have been sharing this area for centuries.

Bihać

The programme of the visit to Bihać successfully combined three different historical epochs and local cultures of memory, offering the participants deep insight into the refractions of the past in this area.

The tour started with a visit to the Garavice Memorial Park, one of the biggest execution grounds from the Second World War. At this site, in 1941, the Ustashas massacred several thousand civilians, mostly Serbs, Jews and communists. The historian Dino Dupanović gave a detailed overview of the historical context and explained the architectural specificities of the monument by sculptor Bogdan Bogdanović. He particularly focused on the contemporary controversies regarding the abstract style of the sculptures, the writing on the entrance plaque and polemics about the precise number of victims.

After Garavice, the participants went to the Catholic cemetery of Križ in Žegar and laid wreathes in honour of fallen HVO members who died defending the city during the last war.

The programme continued with a tour of the Željava underground air base, a colossal army complex of the former JNA at the border between Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia. The host and member of the veterans group Franjo Grgić introduced the participants to the technical aspects of this once most expensive underground facility in SFRY, constructed to withstand a nuclear attack, but which the JNA permanently destroyed with detonations in 1992.

The historical route through various layers of memory in the Bihać Krajina concluded with a visit to the memorial dedicated to the Defenders and Liberators of Bihać in the very centre of the city. Opened in 2020, this contemporary memorial complex is a central site of memory commemorating 1201 days of the heavy siege (1992–1995) of the city of Bihać.

Particularly noteworthy is that we were received by the Advisor to the Mayor of Cazin and the Mayor of Bosanski Petrovac, and that we were given support by the Mayor of Bihać, which is an important step in gaining institutional legitimacy for reconciliation, deconstructing inter-ethnic taboos and building a lasting peace. In societies still labouring under post-war divisions, war veterans possess strong social authority. When mayors receive, welcome and support a mixed group of war veterans, they transform the veteran population from a perceived obstacle to peace into key actors of stability and further peacebuilding. These meetings often open doors to joint visits to sites of suffering and honouring of victims, thereby resisting selective empathy and selective memorialisation.

The group was made up of 25 peace activists and war veterans from Serbia, Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina. During the workshops, the participants jointly planned activities for the period to the end of 2026 and through the whole of 2027. Special encouragement and motivation were provided by invitations from the veterans themselves to visit their local communities. They expressed wholehearted readiness to participate in future programmes and commemorations and to act as hosts and provide support in in the implementation of future plans.

We would like to express our gratitude to Franjo Grgić and Jasmin Osmankić Strikan for their exceptional hospitality and logistical support. Their selfless efforts and dedication held strong throughout the group's visit to the Una Sana Canton.

marking unmarked sites of suffering



Activities we held out in the last 12 months:

- 21st action, December 2025

Marked sites of suffering:
- Dvor Primary School, Dvor na Uni, Croatia
- Kerestinec Castle, near Zagreb, Croatia
- Abandoned barracks of the Planum facility, Village of Šljivovica near Užice, Serbia
- Hunting Lodge in Begejci (today Torak), near Zrenjanin, Serbia
- Stajićevo Farm, near Zrenjanin, Serbia
- ZAVNOBiH Square in the Sarajevo neighbourhood of Alipašino Polje, Bosnia and Herzegovina

- 22nd action, May 2026

Marked site of suffering:
- Zanatski centar in Brčko, Bosnia and Herzegovina

Temporary Signs against Permanent Forgetting

Radomir Radević

Today, when you pass by an abandoned factory, old school or cultural centre in places across Croatia, Serbia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, you can hardly imagine what went on in some of them during the nineties. Nowadays mostly neglected and forgotten, razed to the ground or fully reconstructed to once again serve their original purpose, there is no indication that these buildings were once detention facilities, camps or sites of suffering. The walls that once witnessed human suffering are silent today, overgrown with bushes and brushwood or shrouded in the quotidian, the bustle of everyday life and collective amnesia.

Official policies across the region mostly function along the same, deeply divided lines: fastidiously and loudly remembering only the victims that belonged to their own people. On the other side, sites of suffering of "those others" are systematically avoided, relativised, silenced or even erased from public space. Thus, the buildings and the memory of people who were killed in them remain trapped in silence, denial, and not infrequently open institutional bans. In this way, the past is conserved as a constant source of simmering tension.

It is precisely in this deeply divided and muted space in between that the initiative to Mark Unmarked Sites of Suffering (ONMS) has been intervening for more than a decade. By putting up temporary signs at locations of former sites of suffering, activists highlight the duty to respect the human dignity and recognise the suffering of those for whom these things have been denied by the local community. The mission of ONMS is not directed against anyone; it is an honest and personal attempt to build a joint, inclusive culture of memory in contrast with the official nationalist narratives that still keep us separated.

When buildings change purpose and society chooses amnesia

Our fieldwork entails constantly facing the resistance of the system and social barriers. Fighting institutionalised forgetting takes place in real time, and the



obstructions we face are varied and systematic. The first and most frequent obstacle is the prompt removal of the signs we put up to mark sites. The signs we attach to buildings of former cultural centres, schools or police stations are usually removed by local utility services or persons unknown within a few hours or even immediately after we leave. Their aim is clear: the space has to be quickly "cleaned" so the local population does not have to face uncomfortable facts from their own past.

In addition to this informal removal of our signs, we have also dealt with the police requiring that we identify ourselves and exerting pressure, conducting detailed questioning, security assessments on the spot and informal prohibitions of photographing public buildings, even though such prohibitions often have no basis in the law. Our requests addressed to local municipalities for approval to install permanent memorial plaques are most often denied or completely ignored. The explanations are always typical and cynical: they claim such signs would "disrupt inter-ethnic relations" or "provoke the local population", which is a way to shift responsibility for the divisions onto those who are calling for peace.

The animosity is further stoked by a media or absolute black-out, or discrediting by local government-controlled media that regularly portray ONMS actions as "provocations by foreign agents" who want to impose collective guilt on one whole people.

No victim should remain invisible

Despite this, the network of memory and the number of marked sites of suffering has been expanding and increasing each year. Since 2015, the ONMS Initiative, with the support of the Centre for Nonviolent action, has been marking unmarked sites of suffering in Bosnia and Herzegovina, where more than 150 sites have been marked to date. Over time, various organisations have joined the action, as well as many individuals, representatives of families of victims, survivors, representatives of prison camp survivors' associations and prison camp survivors themselves, war veterans, peace activists, etc.

At the end of 2025, we had our first action carried out with the participation of activists from three organisations (YIHR Serbia, YIHR Croatia and CNA) and on the territory of three countries (Serbia, Croatia, and Bosnia and Herzegovina). In this action, former detention facilities and sites of killings were marked in the area of Šljivovica, Stajićevo and Begejci in Serbia, Dvorac Kerestinac and Dvor na Uni in Croatia, and Alipašino Polje in Sarajevo.

We ascribe particular social and political weight to the planned expansion of the initiative to Kosovo during this year. We are aware that the armed conflicts in Kosovo (1998–1999), with their persistent wounds, continue to represent one of the central points for political manipulation and deep social tension across the Balkans. Our arrival with the ONMS initiative to Kosovo will include marking sites of suffering of Albanians, Serbs and all other communities, and we hope it will come to represent a systemic cross-border and multi-ethnic endeavour to deal with the past in this area as well. It is a small but decisive step to say that no victim should remain invisible.

Recognising victims knows no borders

We profoundly believe that regional networking and expansion of ONMS actions across the region is a key factor of stability and of building a lasting peace in the Balkans through the following processes:

- Recognising "invisible" victims: The denial of crimes, especially those committed by members of one's own nation, is continuous and is being transferred onto new generations. By marking sites of suffering of all ethnic groups, we send a message of solidarity and directly challenge nationalist narratives about the exclusive victimisation of one's own people and the exclusive guilt of others. In contrast to official policies with selective memory and silencing of sites of suffering of minorities, ONMS actions restore the humanity and dignity to those who have been left out of official history textbooks and selective memory policies.
- Against taboos and divisions in the community: We act where it is very needed – in public spaces at the heart of local communities, but also on social networks where our voice travels further. We publicly point to existing injustices and taboos that feed hatred, while our temporary signs are a clear appeal to government authorities to cease the denial and approve the installation of permanent markers.
- Building empathy instead of selective justice: Official commemorations in the region often strengthen nationalism and hatred towards neighbours with what is said at them and what they call for. The ONMS initiative teaches us to feel the pain of the "other side" and to condemn the crime no matter who was the perpetrator and who was the victim.
- Legal and institutional pressure: ONMS actions also serve as a constant reminder and advocate among institutions for respect for human rights and the equal right of all citizens to remember their loved ones.
- Creating an alternative historical archive: We document all actions in detail with photographs, videos, and the marked sites of suffering are mapped with precise geographic coordinates, creating a digital database available to researchers and the public.

Ultimately, the most important and comprehensive aspect of this initiative is the prevention of future conflicts. A just attitude towards the past, transparent education of young people and the wider public about what took place in their immediate vicinity – in their neighbourhood – is the only way to prevent new manipulation with history and further indoctrination with hatred. When we learn to recognise and feel the pain of the other side, when we condemn the crime irrespective of the name of the perpetrator and the ethnicity of the victim, only then can we establish impenetrable foundations for peace. This joint struggle against forgetting and denial, which brings together activists, veterans, victims and families of victims across Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Serbia, and we hope soon also Kosovo, is an important investment in a more peaceful and humane future for all of us.

We Had to Have Known

Ružica Marjanović

I don't remember if it was late autumn or early spring, but there were no people sitting at the outdoor cafes dotted around the Užice town square that evening. I met with a friend who is a journalist and non-fiction writer. I like meeting him for coffee. We never gossip. The talk mostly revolves around literature and books. He had brought along NIN magazine, opened somewhere in the middle and folded vertically in half. On the left-hand side was a photograph. Men lined up, naked, little heaps of clothes next to them. All were skinny and none looked younger than twenty or older than thirty-five. On the right side of the photo was a close-up of a policeman in semi-profile. Šljivovica, my friend said. What do you mean Šljiovica, what is this? I was taken aback. First, this photograph should not have been published, because of the people in it, because of the horror. But Šljivovica… that place was just a few kilometres from my weekend house. The photographer was the phenomenal Miloš Cvetković, a neighbour and fellow citizen of Užice, a man I respect for all his work. "If I'd known it would upset you that much, I wouldn't have shown it to you. Relax, they all lived," my friend said. But that is precisely why this photograph should not have been published, not now. It would have made sense to publish it when this was happening. And that was in the summer of 1995 through January 1996. At that time, I was preparing for my final exams and writing my diploma thesis at our weekend house. And I had no idea. I would sometimes go as far as Šljivovica, walking the dog. I had no inkling. I remember when and how I heard about Srebrenica, but I never heard anything about Šljivovica. By the end of November 1995, I was already teaching at the Užice Gymnasium, telling my students about literature and ethics, and just a few kilometres away from us, people were being held in a camp. It was cold that evening and I felt unwell. For years, I had held a disapproving view of how people after the Second World War kept repeating that they had never knew about any of it. They had to have known, they could have known, I claimed. And there I was in the Užice town square, freezing and dumbfounded. I hadn't known, I really had not known.

Two or three years later, at a seminar in Sarajevo, I met Amir Omerspahić, one of the prisoners. An apprentice baker, he had been captured when he was barely 17. He talked about his experience and I had the feeling I was turning to sludge and oozing down my chair. As he was being taken to the camp, they broke his already injured finger and there were complications later. When gangrene had set in, he was taken one night to the hospital in Užice. On the way there, he passed through a street that was 50 meters from my house. Maybe I was studying that night. 20th Century Serbian Literature, for my final exam. I asked him if he knew about the photograph. He did. It was taken when they were being deloused. Every morning, they would be lined up to sing the Serbian anthem and then there was roll call. They were given Serb names. Amir was Dragan. They had to arrange rocks into the shape of the cross with four firesteels. I told him I was from Užice and asked him if he would come to talk to my students about what he had been through. He said yes. I asked if I could hug him. "Sure," he said, and hugged me back. Could I do anything for him? "Maybe you could," he said. Part of his thumb had been amputated at the hospital, and it would be good if he could have a document confirming the surgery had been done in 1995. He could use this to obtain wartime disability status and this would mean an increase in benefits. He was unemployed and renting a place to live.

That night, having met Amir Omerspahić, I wrote to my best friend. She was a doctor at the Užice hospital and a thoroughly decent person. She had studied medicine in Sarajevo. I asked her how long medical records were kept, explained what I needed and told her about my encounter with Amir and the camp I had recently learned about. In her reply she said she had checked and that medical records were kept in perpetuity. She had already asked for information on the surgery from 1995. And she knew about the camp and was surprised that I had only recently found out about it. "You know I went there as a newly employed doctor of the emergency department. I told you about it." And then she went on to describe the horrors she had

seen there. She said she had told me about it. I believed her. And I was completely confounded at myself. I didn't remember anything of what she had told me. Nothing at all. The workings of the brain! The information was so horrific that I had deleted it completely. It was even gone from my brain's recycle bin. And I thought those people from the Second World War were lying. How could they not have known about the camps? If Ivan Goran Kovačić knew about Jasenovac and composed a poem about it, "Leševi putuju", then all the people in Zagreb must have known. And all those Germans who claimed not to have known about the camps. Impossible. And there I was, empty-handed before myself and the world.

My friend got back to me the next day to say she had received a reply from the Užice hospital records department. There had been a flood a few years back and those very records had been destroyed! Sic!

I never went looking for that photograph by Miloš Cvetković again. Maybe it's different from how I remember it. The camp existed until the end of January 1996. And Dayton? "We knew nothing about any of that," Amir had said.

Later on, I had driven through Šljivovica maybe even hundreds of times. I never dared look for the place where the camp used to be, until people I knew from the Centre for Nonviolent Action sent me a message. Would I be willing... of course I would. Despite the tightness in my throat and my stomach. It would be good if Miloš Cvetković were to come along with us. I hoped he would, but lately he has been staying away from any public activities. This was different, dignified somehow and without empty pomp. The way the site of suffering was to be marked would be a dignified expression of respect for victims. Miloš agreed and we drove to the place where the barracks once stood. Friends from Belgrade and Sarajevo were already there. Cvekla, as we call Miloš Cvetković in Užice, said he could barely recognise the place. It had looked completely different. The barracks were abandoned, gone completely grey or collapsed. Next to what used to be the camp were some factory facilities. And a new church was not far. I wondered if the priest and the congregation knew what had been located not far from their site of prayer. I kept this thought to myself. We attached the sign - site of suffering. Now everyone who wants to can know. I drove Cvekla around the remaining barracks. Some thirty years had passed and nature had done its part, and people too. It looked like no one remembered anymore. But we should remember, as we should have known. Yet, we didn't. And there is no justification, even if there is an explanation. That is why every site of memory must be marked, so that anyone passing by can make an informed decision about what to think.

I dream that one day my students will come to Šljivovica, while there are still traces of the barracks. But not as part of some organised memorial, with recitations of empty phrases and bad poetry. That is not a good model. That is how we used to remember the fallen partisans, with all the school recitals, only to go to war again at the first opportunity and drown ourselves in blood. We should just listen to Amir Omerspahić who, despite everything, speaks affectionately about the goodness of the doctor who saved his life and is conciliatory about the medic who was in his hospital room and said they would be slaughtering a *balija* that night. That is why Šljivovica matters, marked precisely how CNA does it, quietly, almost gently, with utmost piety, preserving the memory for some other and I hope better people who will come after us.

We were in Šljivovica in early November and despite everything, even the rain, I wasn't cold. At least not like that evening in the Užice town square.

Ružica Marjanović, who teaches Serbian Language and Literature at the Užice Gymnasium, joined us in November 2025 when, among other places, we were marking the unmarked site of suffering in the village of Šljivovica close to Užice. From August 1995 to 10 April 1996, there was a detention facility in this village and a total of 350 Bosniaks were detained there at various times, with the prisoners being subjected to inhumane conditions, abuse and interrogations. Two prisoners died due to the inhumane conditions and as a result of torture at this camp.


publications
promotions



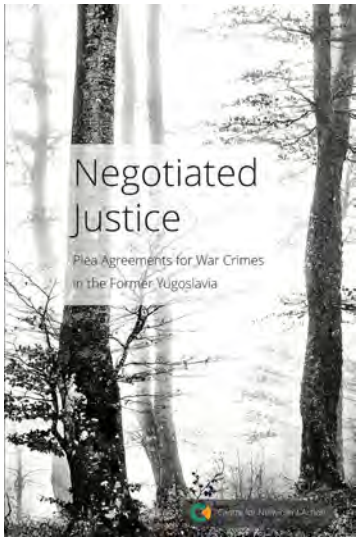
We published the book *Negotiated Justice*

We published the book *Negotiated Justice: Plea Agreements for War Crimes in the Former Yugoslavia*, which deals with the role plea agreements played in processes of dealing with the past in our region.

The initiative for the publication came, among other places, from our fellow fighter Edin Ramulić, who also put together the archive of plea agreements. Nedžad Novalić and Davorka Turk served as editors, the chapters were contributed by Davorka Turk, Nenad Vukosavljević and Nedžad Novalić, and the reviewer was Jovana Kolarić, sociologist and researcher with the Humanitarian Law Centre.

The book is made up of two parts: an analytical and theoretical part and an archive database of plea agreements. Part One includes a historical, legal, ethical and social overview of the development and application of plea agreements in war crimes cases, while Part Two systematises the plea agreements concluded before the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia and domestic courts in countries created after the dissolution of Yugoslavia.

Based on what we had identified in the field, through the book we tried to examine how these plea agreements affect the experience of justice. We focused on the relationship between the efficiency of the court proceedings and the expectations of families of victims, as well as the issue of whether guilty pleas were the result of accepting responsibility or more often part of legal bargaining.



It was also important for us to look at the influence of the political context and public discourse on the acceptance of facts established in court. The practice to date shows that the reach of this mechanism does not depend only on the legal framework, but also on the readiness of our societies to hear the voice of the victims. We hope that this book and its database archive will serve as useful working material and a resource for all those dealing with issues of transitional justice and peacebuilding.

Promotions in Prijedor, Zagreb and Belgrade

The first public presentation of the book was held in January this year at the conference "Admission Leading to Reconciliation" held in Prijedor. The publication was presented by its editors Nedžad Novalić and Davorka Turk, opening up a public discussion about the topics dealt with in the book and its importance for processes of dealing with the past in the region. Edin Ramulić and Jovana Kolarić also spoke at the promotion in Prijedor.

We were invited by Women in Black to present the book in Belgrade in March. In a conversation with activists and members of Women in Black, the book was presented by Radomir Radević and Marija Ilić.

Another presentation followed in May in Zagreb, as part of the Kliofest History Festival that was held at the National and University Library in Zagreb.

Nedžad Novalić, Edin Ramulić and Jovana Kolarić spoke at the presentation, with Tita Mikulaš acting as moderator. Kliofest has been held since 2014 at the National and University Library in Zagreb, and it brings together publishers, historians and authors working in history and related social sciences.

We think it is particularly significant that with the presentation of *Negotiated Justice* and the exhibition *We Come in Peace*, we were present at one of the most important cultural and academic institutions in Zagreb. This is an important step for our work in Croatia.

Seventh Biber Short Story Contest Completed

The seventh Biber Short Story Contest was closed on 27 May 2026 at midnight. We received more than 400 stories by authors writing in Albanian, Macedonian, Bosnian, Montenegrin, Croatian, and Serbian.

The seventh Biber Contest was dedicated to the students in Serbia and their struggle for justice, freedom, equality and social values such as solidarity, nonviolence, togetherness and empathy. In addition to this topic, authors could also enter stories about reconciliation, dealing with the past, deconstruction of prejudice, anti-war messages and building a society based on understanding and respect.

The stories were evaluated by a jury made up of: Danijela Repman, Lejla Kalamujić and Željko Belinić. Their task was to selected at least twenty stories to be published in the Biber 07 multilingual collection which is to come out in 2027.



Presentations of Biber 06

While we wait for the results of the seventh Biber Short Story Contest, the sixth collection of stories, Biber 06, was presented at a series of promotions in the region.

Sombor

In October 2025, the Biber Contest and the Biber 06 Collection were presented at the LINK Community Development Centre in Sombor. The idea of the contest, how it came about and the role of literature in peacebuilding were presented by member of the Biber Team Radomir Radević, authors of published stories Tena Lončarević, Danijela Repman and Irena Skopljak Barić, as well as Biber 06 jury member Jasna Dimitrijević. The discussion was moderated by writer Branko Ćurčić, and the topics included reconciliation, dealing with the past and the importance of stories that push boundaries and reduce prejudice.

Breza

In March, we visited Breza with Biber for the first time and were hosted by the Muhamed Kantardžić Public Library in Breza. The Biber 06 Collection was presented there through a conversation with authors Slobodanka Boba Đuderija and Marija Starčević, jury member Almin Kaplan and Radomir Radević from the Biber Team. The conversation focused on the experiences of the authors, engaged literature and the role of personal stories in understanding wartime legacies.

Tuzi and Cetinje

In April, Biber took us to Tuzi and Cetinje. We presented the Biber Contest and the Biber 06 Collection at the Tuzi Municipal Hall through a conversation with jury member Jasna Dimitrijević, translator Qerim Ondozi, author Mihailo Marković and Biber Team member Ivana Franović. We talked about the importance of translation, the exchange of stories between communities and the role of literature in creating different narratives about the past and the future of the region.

The next day, at the Cultural Centre of the Old Royal Capital Cetinje, the same participants continued their conversation about Biber, this time discussing the experiences of authors, the importance of regional literary exchange and the way stories can contribute to better understanding among people.

Novi Pazar

This year's Mikser Festival in Novi Pazar, held under the slogan "New World", opened up space for dialogue and thinking about a collective future. The "Mikser Talks" programme included a session called *Stories that cross borders*, which was dedicated to presenting the Biber Contest.

With Nadija Rebronja serving as moderator, the session featured a discussion with writer and member of the jury Almin Kaplan, authors Danijela Repman and Aida Šečić Nezirević, translator Qerim Ondozi, and Ivana Franović from the Biber Team. The conversation mainly revolved around the role of literature, translation and regional exchange in connecting people, understanding different experiences and peacebuilding.

Presentations of the book and exhibition *We Come in Peace*

Between September 2025 and May 2026, we presented the *book We Come in Peace: War Veterans in Peacebuilding*, accompanied by the exhibition of photographs by Nenad Vukosavljević, in four cities - Brčko, Sarajevo, Mrkonjić Grad and Bihać. Events were held at cultural and educational institutions as follows: at the Brčko District of BiH Library, the History Museum of BiH in Sarajevo, the Petar Kočić Cultural and Sports Centre in Mrkonjić Grad and the City Gallery in Bihać. Veterans from different armies in the region participated in the talks, having travelled from Šamac, Kruševac, Novi Grad, Zavidovići, Sarajevo, Bihać and Brčko.

Each promotion had a focus. In Brčko, we talked about the very beginnings and the way veterans found the space for dialogue and cooperation following wartime conflicts, while in Sarajevo we focused on the importance of commemorating all victims. The promotion in Mrkonjić Grad was dedicated to the experience of first encounters with "the other side" and sharing insights with younger generations so that the traumas of war would not be passed on, while in Bihać the event included testimonies about the wartime legacy of the city, personal losses and taking responsibility for building a different future.

In addition to this, the exhibition *We Come in Peace* by Nenad Vukosavljević was also displayed at the National and University Library in Zabreb in May 2026 during Kilofest. We are particularly grateful to Prof. Damir Agičić, a long-time organiser of Kilofest, for the opportunity to have a Zagreb audience see the exhibition.


exchange,
cooperation,
networking

Training in Dealing with the Past, Wustrow, Germany

In the last week of October 2025, we held another round of training in dealing with the past as part of the Peacebuilding Practitioners Training conducted by our sister organisation KURVE Wustrow – Bildungs- und Begegnungsstätte für gewaltfreie Aktion. The training was held in Germany for an international group of participants, 17 people from 10 countries. The training team comprised Nenad Vukosavljević, Tita Mikulaš, and Nedžad Novalić. During the training, we tried to get to know the contexts of the participants better, which was challenging because the participants came from 10 very different contexts, ranging from cultural issues to whether active war had ended (the Balkans, Nepal, Tanzania) or was still raging, as is the case of Ukraine, Palestine and Israel, and Sudan. We wanted to work on understanding and examining the basic terms, mechanisms and aims of dealing with the past, with the difficulty of three participants not speaking English and one participant refusing to cooperate. Despite all the difficulties, the training was an important opportunity for us to meet many wonderful and brave people working in different parts of the world. In that sense, we saw the training as a true exchange between people looking for answers together in order to build a better future. *N. Novalić*

Conference: "Now More Than Ever: Defending Democracy" in Wustrow, Germany

During a two-day annual gathering titled "Now More Than Ever: Defending Democracy - Strategies and Networking for Diversity and Solidarity" *"Jetzt erst recht: Demokratie verteidigen - Strategien und Vernetzung für eine vielfältige, solidarische Gesellschaft"* which included a series of workshops, lectures and talks, I participated on behalf of the CNA team in two parts of the programme. The first was a panel with three speakers of different profiles titled "What we do and why? Strategies to suppress right-wing extremism", while the other was a 90-minute talk about CNA titled "Talking with the Enemy".

Both attracted the attention of the 50 or so participants and there was particular interest to learn more about the student protests and the significance, challenges and outlook for the nonviolent movement in Serbia.

For me personally, an important part of the programme was the farewell from long-time director Jochen Neumann who left the position in 2025. Saying goodbye to someone you have worked with directly is one thing, but the friendship and trust built through mutual support over 25 years of working together is something else. Jochen is no longer with KURVE Wustrow, but he continues to be with us in the same struggle. *N. Vukosavljević*

"The Way of Peacemakers" Study Trip, Osijek, Croatia

In March 2026, I joined the study trip "Putem mirotvoraca" ("The Way of the Peacemakers") in Osijek, organised by CK13 and the Serb National Council. The programme was dedicated to the legacy of Josip Reihl-Kir with a screening of the film *Peacemaker*, workshops, talks with peace activists and a visit to the site of his killing. Talking with people who have been engaged in peacebuilding in Croatia for years was particularly emotional and important, as was meeting Jadranka Reihl-Kir who introduced the participants to what Josip was like as a person and talked about her long struggle for truth and justice. After having met and worked together in Osijek, some of the participants from Serbia and Croatia gathered again on 1 July to jointly mark the anniversary of the killing of Josip Reihl-Kir. *M. Ilić*

Landecker Lab, Novi Sad, Serbia

In May 2026, Nenad Vukosavljević and I took part in the Landecker Digital Memory Lab Design Sprint, organised by the Landecker Digital Memory Lab, University of Sussex, and Terraforming from Novi Sad. The theme was "Connecting and Making Visible Sites of Non-Commemoration". The event brought together experts working on the Holocaust, memory and peacebuilding with their colleagues in various technical and artistic disciplines. The idea was to make a connection between different fields and the people working in them. After visiting sites of detention and suffering, various team activities brought us into a space of joint creativity. We had an opportunity to develop innovative ways to commemorate sites of memory, and all that under increased time pressure. Our motivation was refreshed when we attended the award ceremony for the Hilda Dajč International Digital Holocaust Memory Award. Days of planning finally resulted in prototypes. We presented our work to representatives of the Claims Conference with possibilities of further cooperation. There is an initiative to continue developing the ideas. We hope they will grow into projects that show how the borders between disciplines are negligible, easily crossed, and best deleted. *D. Glukčević*

10th Peacebuilders Summit, Tunisia

In May 2026, I attended the 10th Global Peacebuilders Summit held in Tunisia, as a member of the Centre for Nonviolent Action. The Summit brings together members of the Global Peacebuilders Network from more than 30 countries. Some of them are globally recognised and recognisable figures, but all have in common the years of dedication to peacebuilding in their communities. This network and summit specifically focus on getting to know each other and providing opportunities for exchange and (self)reflection. CNA has been part of the network and its events for four years running. *N. Novalić*

Ukrainian Veterans: Pathways to Healing and Reintegration, Brussels, Belgium

At the invitation of the Wilfried Martens Centre for European Studies, in July 2026, I took part in a panel titled "Ukrainian Veterans: Pathways to Healing and Reintegration". In addition to Ukrainian veteran Yan-Yevhen Fidria, the panel also included MEPs Riho Terras (Estonia) and Antonio López-Istúriz White (Spain). The war in Ukraine is already entering its fifth year and ending the war is one of the central issues of European politics today. This panel is not necessarily important because of what was said, but because of the very idea that the many challenges that will arise once the war is over should already be considered today. *N. Novalić*

Conference of partner organisations, Berlin, Germany

A meeting was held at the end of August and start of September 2026 for partner organisations in the Civil Peace Service (CPS) programme, organised by our partners and friends, the Kurve Wustrow organisation from Germany. Representing CNA at this conference were Amer Delić, Nenad Vukosavljević, and Dimitrije Glukčević. The official and quite administrative title actually refers to many dear and close friends and colleagues who have been working on peacebuilding in the Balkans, but also in Nepal, Sri Lanka, Myanmar, Ukraine, Israel and Palestine, Sudan, etc. The Civil Peace Service programme, designed and supported by the German Federal Ministry of Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ), provides crucial support

to a number of organisations in these countries, and bringing them together from time to time is an opportunity for exchange of knowledge and experience, all the more significant given the current context of increased armament where war and violence are seen as legitimate methods to achieve political aims. A similar meeting was previously held in 2018 in Hamburg. *A. Delić*

Further exchanges, cooperation and networking...

In September 2025, in Sarajevo and Belgrade, we hosted students from Keio University (Minato, Japan) who visited the region as part of a study trip to explore how memories of war are transferred to post-war generations. In October 2025, we met in Sarajevo to hold a full-day workshop for students of the Doha Institute for Graduate Studies (Qatar) who were on a study visit to Bosnia and Herzegovina. In the spring of 2026, we participated in the several months long school of "Dialogic and Inclusive Memory in the Digital Age" organised by the Institute of Philosophy and Social Theory from Belgrade, with the final event held in June in Novi Pazar. In April 2026, in Sarajevo, we hosted students from the University of Utrecht, Netherlands, who were on a study trip to Bosnia and Herzegovina. Together, we visited the memorials to killed children in Sarajevo and Istočno Sarajevo, and we talked about shared memory in postwar societies. We also visited both memorials to killed children in Sarajevo with a group of young people from the region as part of a visit organised by the Youth Initiative for Human Rights (YIHR). In June, we joined the educational programme "War Past and Facts" organised by the Youth Initiative for Human Rights, and the No Oblivion / Protiv zaborava Festival organised by Documenta in Zagreb. In July, we hung out and talked with the participants of the 17th edition of the Youth Camp in Kozarac, organised by KVART from Prijedor. Also in July, we held a two-hour workshop for the staff of RYCO (Regional Youth Cooperation Organisation) who had come to Sarajevo on a study visit from Albania, Kosovo, Macedonia, Serbia, Montenegro and BiH. At the beginning of the year, we attended the commemoration in Tarčin, and then, together with the Youth Initiative for Human Rights, the commemoration of the closing of the Heliodrom camp near Mostar, and in August we were invited by the Prison Camp Survivors Association from Stolac to attend the commemoration of the closing of the Koštana hospital camp in Stolac.


interview

Davorka Turk: Sarajevo taught me what life was all about

Interviewed by Nedžad Novalić

After working at the Centre for Nonviolent Action in Sarajevo for 13 years, Davorka Turk returned to Zagreb. Our Dada was the heart and soul of CNA, a talisman that kept us safe and watched over each and every one of us. As we were focused on everyday life, on our work, administrative tasks, earthly concerns and joys, Dada was always a safe reminder that there was a sky above us and that it was scattered with stars. It was a reminder, I guess, of how we were all small but had a little bit of power. She is no longer part of the team, but we remain connected by a lasting friendship anchored in memories of what we experienced together. Speaking with Dada, we look back at her arrival in Sarajevo and to CNA, years of work, challenges and achievements, as well as the many wonderful people we met...

To start, I wonder if you can remember when and how you first encountered the Centre for Nonviolent Action, CNA?

Sure. At that time, I had been working at HTV (Croatian Radio Television) for almost 20 years, in HTV production. And I was at work, scrolling on the internet, when I stumbled upon the webpage of an anarchist group from Karlovac that had posted an invitation to a CNA training. I opened it and saw that there were things there among the topics that I was personally interested in, especially because of my family history. And so, I applied. And then when I went there, I was already 35, the first thing I said was, 'Look, I don't trust non-governmental organisations, but here I am.' And that training, it really changed my life.

How so?

At that moment, the training helped me a lot personally, to put some things in their place as consequences of my own wartime trauma. And then it also helped me in my idealism, because it gave shape to that idealism. I came to understand that something could be done. I was really enthusiastic.

And very soon after that, you were invited to join the CNA team?

Yes. When they asked me to come, I actually had no dilemma. Even though it sounded ludicrous to everyone around me, why would I be going to Sarajevo where I had no one and knew no one. But for me it was just somehow... And I never regretted it, I think it's the smartest thing I've ever done.

Was coming to CNA a way for you to escape from the media? Because you'd been working in the media for two decades by then.

It wasn't actually, although it may have looked like it. My media experience turned out to be very useful, actually, when it came to all our research, coming up with ideas, shaping them into what we needed to do, what we could do... You just have this skill where you can recognise what is relevant. You go back to the media, but in a completely different way, a more constructive way that is perhaps closer to what most of society needs. Today, the media actually work for corporate and other interests, their public function has been completely lost. And the way we have used the media in our work is how I think the media should be used, as a public service for all. So, actually, I came to like the media a lot more, as a means, as a tool, when I started working at CNA.

When you think back to that period, that was some 15 years ago, more or less, how do you remember it? I have the feeling that it was a time of enthusiasm, Croatia was preparing to join the European Union, Serbia had a democratic government...

It certainly looked like the future was imaginable if only we would, for example, respect human rights, if we were to uphold some international standards. It was a time when there were international standards, there was international law, when, I don't know, absolutely everyone was committed to reducing greenhouse gas emissions. Now, it seems no one is thinking about these things. So back then, it looked like some

sort of linear progression. Living in that world, I believed it was possible to achieve benefits for the majority of people even in capitalism. It all fell through within 15 years. It was a completely different time. And it was the kind of time that simply enabled a lot, because there was an infrastructure, there were donations and everything. So, if you had a good idea, you could find funding for it and have the feeling that you were being supported. It was a time when our work branched off into many, many directions and it really did seem – and I still believe to this day that none of it was in vain and that it all had an impact somewhere – that we should just continue like this for a while and then there would really be no more need for us to keep doing this and we could just shut down. Now, you always know with some rational part of your brain that it probably won't look like that, but no one could really imagine that the entire international order would come crumbling down.

From today's perspective, given the global developments we see and that also affect us, how do you see this whole idea of working on peacebulidng, but within a non-governmental organisation, the non-governmental sector, civil society? Has the concept become obsolete? How relevant is it still?

This requires very serious critical assessment, because in the last few years, it has turned out that some of these, especially the international non-governmental organisations, were in fact outposts of certain interests. This has probably always been true, but for a while these interests overlapped with ours, let's say. Criticism of non-governmental organisations in this structural sense has been around for many many years. The main problem, and I agree completely, is that these kinds of social services are being removed from the government that used to be responsible for them and that used to have funds and staff dedicated to them. The entire system that used to be organised around these services is now being transferred onto individual non-governmental organisations that are being placed in competition with each other for funding. At one and the same time, this takes activist potential from society and places it within a preset structure, to be used and pacified because it is adapted to what the government needs. Meet these requirements, uphold these rules, which led to a bloated administration and a huge waste of resources. I simply cannot imagine that you can find a sufficient number of, so to speak, benevolent social actors with a lot of money who are prepared to put that money towards a public good. Which had been known to happen. Now, I think it's very dubious and I think at this point, we have been reduced to depending on foundations set up by horrendously rich people who will give you some small change. The system was set up in such a way, but for a while the interest, the general public interest corresponded with the interests of, I don't know, states, governments providing the funding. We are no longer on the same page. And to make matters worse, they can just withdraw that funding and they don't have to account for it to anyone, but the services this funding used to support no longer exist within the government sector. So, they have basically abolished the welfare state in a very perfidious way.

Let me go back to when you first arrived in Sarajevo, you mentioned it was a big step and a major change. How do you remember it? How do you remember arriving in Sarajevo? What was Sarajevo like at that time?

I arrived and everyone told me, the people I then met over time, that I had arrived after Sarajevo had had its postwar revival and that we were now on a downward curve. However, it seems to me now that even then Sarajevo was incredibly, how should I say, rich and full of potential.

This is evidently also a generational feeling, because for me and my generation, this was the most upward period.

Possibly (laughter). For me, there was a palpable change between 2012 and 2015. Because, for example, many of the people I had met when I had just arrived in Sarajevo, by 2015, they had moved away from Sarajevo, so for me it was something I learned to accept here, and I didn't have to in Zagreb, that people who are usually around, all of a sudden one day they are gone because they had to fight to survive. There were a lot of creative people among them, artists and musicians. I think this was a huge loss for the city.

How did you get used to the city?

My biggest problem with Sarajevo and the whole of Bosnia and Herzegovina, actually, was the administration. As you well know, there was always some problem with my papers, always more paperwork to do, and I remember I would tell people, when they said there was no administration in the country, I would say it depended on who you were. Because I felt the administration, you know, absolutely, with every fibre of my being. But that was literally the only problem I ever had here. The big change compared to Zagreb was that, when I arrived in Sarajevo, I didn't know anyone, apart from the people I was working with. But, when I went to the market or to do any of the usual daily activities, whenever I asked someone for help, they would figure out right away that I wasn't from Sarajevo and they would go out of their way to help me. I never had a single unpleasant encounter, although I could have, theoretically, I don't know, someone could have seen me as a foreigner coming in with my own ways to impose something, and from Croatia at that. I would have found it legitimate for someone to lash out at me, but it never happened. Sarajevo changed me a lot. I think each of us takes something from that place and the place shapes you in a way, changes you for the better. It's a bit more difficult for me to live in Zagreb now (laughter). In Sarajevo, I learned how to live, I think it's very important to say that. People who live in Zabreb, for example, it's hard for me to talk about other places now, but they have no idea what life is about. And it happened to me here, this coming to understand that every day, in order to do the most ordinary daily things you need for life, here you have to invest a huge amount of energy. And then what do you have left over later for your hobbies, your interests, I don't know.

Who did you meet at the CNA office when you arrived in 2012?

There was Ado (Adnan Hasanbegović), Nećko (Nedžad Horozović), Sanja Burazerović and then Amer (Delić) came. That was my first team. The office was in Kranjčevićeva Street. We had an interesting time. When I found a place to live, a flat in Grbavica, I couldn't sleep for the first week or two. It was a big change. I arrived in the summer, in the middle of Ramadan, to Grbavica. My flat was between two mosques. I complained at the office that I couldn't sleep. And then Ado said to me, 'That's shaitan messing with you. You just sit and wait until he moves onto someone else and leaves you in peace.' Sanja got me some homoeopathic remedies to spray in the corners, to get rid of the spirits of previous tenants, because this was Grbavica, who knows what had gone on there. Those were my first days. But actually, my first days were at the training.

Yes, that's when we met, it was the basic training where I was a participant. You started working by doing that training and it was quite soon after your own basic training. What was that change like, when you stepped into the shoes of the trainer?

I was so nervous and I felt that big responsibility. Because that training was, wow, I knew the potential it had and what it could do to a person, both bad and good. And I was really nervous, but it turned out really nice because I was working with Nećko, Adnan, Boro (Kitanoski) and Katarina (Milićević). And they were all great people to work with. Nećko had every exercise in his little finger, Ado had that gentle approach, a bit philosophical, to stop and think and all that. Boro was very practical in some things, and Katarina was similar to me in temperament, so the whole experience was excellent. There were exhausting trainings, but I don't remember any that were terrible or anything. The more challenging it was, the more important it was. That's how it turned out. What I didn't know back then was that with every training, you go in there and you encounter yourself anew, and it's always different. And you always have more to think about. There's always something to repair, it never stops. When you have the luxury of devoting time to yourself and meeting other people over those ten days, when you have the luxury for self-reflection, I think this is a really big thing.

When you talk about the training specifically, but also about other activities we did, you did, that you took part in or coordinated, which of those activities recharged your batteries the most, which enabled you to reconnect with yourself? And conversely, what tired



you the most, depleted your batteries and exhausted you?

You know what, probably because I always need an intellectual challenge, what we did with historians was always important for me. It was important for me that we developed this activity completely from scratch and that we thought deeply about what should be done, how to approach it and what could be the final product. I hope that in some variant it had an impact on these people, because I for one found it very useful, and I would like to see it become an educational model for students of history or political science or something like that. The trainings both recharged and emptied my batteries. It's simply that when you get into a kind of rut, because there is so much paperwork and stuff in this work, then it's actually best for you to go to a training, to shake yourself up a bit. And the things that recharged me, no matter how challenging they were or how exhausting at the same time, where those things that had a direct social impact. These were activities with veterans, commemorations, visits to sites of suffering that we did in these broader and larger groups. To be fair, it was also important for me when we were visited by people from abroad, foreigners, especially when they came from Asia, Africa and places like that. It was very important for me because it was a way to exchange, to learn something, and we also had very concrete things to show, so this was also important for me... I can't really put my finger on what it is exactly that is exhausting.

What did you see as support for yourself in handling things that drain you?

You have to have a supportive structure of some kind in order to do this job. By this I also mean a family structure, because these are difficult things and you encounter lots of death, crimes, all kinds of things. I might be more of a dark type and maybe I can handle more of it than other people, but it's really important to then see life growing somewhere. In order not to be reduced to the structure of the past, it's very important to have some imaginable future. What drained me the most was all that invisible work, because it's the kind of work where, among other things, you care for other people, and not just the various participants, but also your colleagues and others. And so, because I am a woman and I don't have a family of my own, I would do more in this area, not because I planned it that way or wanted it that way, but simply because

there was this need. But this work remains invisible, it's not counted anywhere. So, after a while, you just feel completely spent. You spend all you have, you just keep giving and giving and giving. You are there to give, not to receive, that's what it comes down to, that is your position when you do this kind of work within a team, working on things where there is a lot of trauma, a lot of casualties. And so, you feel depleted after a while, but I found various ways to recharge my energy. And I stayed for a long time, despite everything. I could not imagine staying in Sarajevo forever, but I also couldn't have imagined living in Zagreb again, yet that's just what happened. I guess it was just a conjuncture of all these things.

You talked about people, also inside the team, and in essence, our work is working with people. Over the past 13 years, you worked with and met a lot of people, lots of wonderful people outside the team, both from the region and the world. I know it's difficult, but if you had to single out 3 or 4 persons you'd want to tell people about... To say: meet them, encounter them, read about them. Who would they be?

Oh, that's really difficult. A really difficult question, because there are people you should definitely meet, and there are some people I would like to meet. And these two categories do not necessarily overlap. But, when I was thinking about what I could do in Zagreb, for instance, one of the things I was considering was setting up a bed and breakfast called Bosna that would only host gusts from the region. So, no foreigners. And I'd have thematic evenings where I would invite people from the region to talk about how they live, what they do, etc. And so, I would definitely invite Boro Kitanoski to talk about Macedonia. Edin Ramulić to talk about Bosnia. For Serbia, it's hard to say. I'd recommend our colleagues. As for people from outside the region, Edda (Kirleis) left a really strong impression on me... You know when you meet someone and you think: I want to be like this woman when I grow up. She had an incredible sensibility, way of thinking and openness. Another person would be Martina Fischer, but these are already authority figures, you know, for me, people I believe have something to say and something to teach. This is actually really difficult, because there are so many people I have met. I would also invite our Dalmir (Mišković). One coffee with him can literally change your life. Not because I like him and care about him, but because he is the kind of person who can inspire others. So, I don't know, I've met a very nice crowd of people over all these years. If only everyone was like that. I think the key is still to be the change you want to see. Because every single one of us can create tremendous change in our micro environment just by deciding to lead a – I don't know what else to call it – an authentic life.

When you work with people, there is always the question of measurability, how do you measure the effects of your work. But if we move away from trying to set up these kinds of criteria, what are some of the moments in your work that have stayed with you, where you could say: 'There, that was a visible moment of reconciliation taking place'?

I think there were very many such visible moments, but they're visible to us. Someone from the outside would not necessarily say 'There, that is the result of your work.' It's hard to give specific examples, but I never had the feeling that our work wasn't producing results. I think you feel it in the moment. Even if that result was just someone participating in any individual event, or asking a single question, feeling genuine compassion, for me that's a huge result already because that's what's most difficult to produce. The world we live in is highly cynical, compassion and solidarity are very rare, and they are somehow always the results of our work, whatever we're doing. You know, when I tell people around me, when they complain about their life, their circumstances, I always say the same thing: 'You be the change you want to see in your environment.' They look at me like I'm saying some banal platitude, but it's actually full of powerful transformative potential. If we were all at least honest, for example, imagine the kind of change that would produce in our family relations, for instance. So, where it's most difficult, at work, in your family... It's easy for me to say such things to a group of random people, but to sit down with those who are closest to you, that's when it gets real.



But then you get to the issue of whether any community, any relationship could handle complete honesty.

No, well, it depends on what complete honesty means. You can use honesty as a weapon. I feel like honesty without compassion and without empathy is not valuable. I will never lie, for example. I don't know how to lie, you can tell when I'm trying to lie, I'm just no good at it, but maybe I won't tell you something at some specific moment. But if I don't say anything deliberately, then I will still try to find a moment when I can say it in a way that will be more acceptable for you. What do I get if I just harp on about something? I mean, I might get some sick satisfaction, but what do you get out of it? And that is one of the things you learn very well in our line of work, how to talk to people, what matters when you talk to people, what you should take as your guide, that the most important thing is not for you to win or be the smartest or lecture someone, but to arrive at something together. None of us can do it alone. And it is so valuable, such a valuable experience, a virtue, you know what I mean, because both in life and in our work, it's always about communicating with people who don't share your opinions.

Another important issue for us at CNA, something we have been focusing on for the past year, is what is peacebuilding today? We are now seeing generations of young people born a decade or two after the war, we have people working at CNA who belong to the postwar generation.

The fact that time has passed since the war does not mean the war did not happen. I think it is absolutely necessary to continue with these activities that cross borders and where dealing with the consequences of war is encouraged. It's just that these consequences are now much broader, they have a broader social base than they did immediately after the war. So, the work may have been easier when the war was closer, simply because you had something very specific to deal with, denial, hatred... Now it has all taken on a more civilised form, so to speak, which means that it has become part of the status quo. But why should it stay that way? Because as long as they keep us in this state, it must serve some purpose. And that

purpose is to manipulate these peoples here. Today, you have to expand the scope of activism, you have to take on this broader social framework. This would include labour rights. And standing up to various forms of violence by capital.

One of the things I see is that the passage of time is making it more difficult to motivate people to work on these issues. As you said, they're not as visible, not as clear or apparent. How do we motivate people today to change this status quo?

Maybe through analysis and criticism of phenomena that are present and bother us, but nobody is dealing with them. Why is there no anti-Ustasha activism in Croatia, but there is pro-Palestine activism? I mean, where do you have more influence and what is your immediate duty? What can we as Croatia do to prevent the continuation of genocide? Little to nothing. I'm not saying I am against that activism, but sometimes the activism is purely performative. At the same time, you have a very concrete problem that nobody is dealing with through activism or organising or in any other way. And this is the problem of pro-Ustasha tendencies that are currently a minority sentiment, but they threaten to take up the majority position and people feel helpless when faced with them. And the people who have the tools and know how this could be handled and what to do, they're not working on it. I mean, what is the more immediate and more important consequence for us? This is also a consequence of the war. And the same goes for, I don't know, the pro-Chetnik sentiment in Serbia, because that is the main issue where this student movement stumbles. What is the imaginable future, what comes after Aleksandar Vučić? That is the question above all others and everyone in the region is sceptical, because there is some of what is seen in the region as pro-Chetnik sentiment and a nationalist discourse that crops up from time to time. That too is a consequence of the war. And that is what we should be dealing with. We just have to figure out the best way to deal with it. Or, here, Bosniak nationalism in BiH. Let's talk about those lilies, then. Let's finally talk about those lilies and that flag. That is also a consequence of the war and it bothers many people and they argue about it. So, let's talk about why it is right and why it is not right. But that space is narrowing. The more this is taken as fact, the more that space narrows. That is why there are tons of things today that we can't talk about the way we could ten years ago. You simply don't dare speak some things out loud. That's where we are. And that is absolutely what we need to work on.

In the work where you participated, what would you like to have been different, was there something you feel we should have done differently, had a different approach, or something we didn't do or something we should have focused on more?

I don't really think we made any cardinal errors. We did have some challenging situations. At trainings and in other activities, we had slip-ups, but I think the system of feedback that a lot of people, probably also within the team, see as oppressive, for this kind of work, that feedback system is crucial. The feedback allows you to face up to your mistakes and see what needs to be done differently, without taking it personally, and to see that the work is meaningful. The best possible thing that can happen to you at work is not taking things personally, like I am better, the best, the worst, I am no good... No, it's when you feel like you are part of something that is meaningful and then you are prepared to do more and you can handle a lot more... I mean, why are all of us in this line of work for years, because you feel that it has meaning. So much travel, being away from your family, constantly dealing with misery, who would want to do that? We're not abnormal, we're also somebody's children (laughter).


political and
social contexts
in which we live

Montenegro: Still First in Line for the European Union

Montenegro is officially "first in line" for enlargement and European officials have optimistically mentioned 2028 as the year when Montenegro becomes a full-fledged EU member state. As Radomir Radević, a member of the CNA team from Podgorica, explains, inside the country this process is experienced as waiting in line in front of a government office – everyone knows it's warm inside and there's something nice awaiting us there, but no one is quite sure whether the clerk will get up to go for his break just as we make it to the front of the line.

"In Montenegro, membership is seen as a national sport to quickly and efficiently keep 'closing chapters'. The government stakes its legitimacy on the claim that we are the most first and the bestest students in class. Citizens, however, view the EU with a mixture of sincere hope for a better standard and mild irony. The biggest fear is no longer home-grown laziness and incompetence when it comes to reforms, but external factors – such as the potential veto from our neighbour (Croatia) or internal turmoil within the great powers and the resulting opposition to any enlargement, as is the case with France," says Radomir.

After the historical demise of DPS and a series of turbulent elections that resembled high-stakes reality TV, Montenegro currently gives off the impression of having entered a more tranquil phase. For a time, it seemed everyone in the region was following the unfolding events in Montenegro hour by hour, while today there is a noticeable drop in interest. Or at least it has been reduced to a reasonable level. When asked whether this means the country is now more stable or that everyone has gotten tired, Radević said it was a bit of both.

"The political scene has become somewhat institutionalised, and the parties have shown that they are capable of enacting even constitutional changes through broad consensus. Still, the 'stability' is more a result of material fatigue and audience saturation. The regional public has stopped passionately keeping up with every session of parliament because it has realised that, despite the changes introduced, the fundamental economic and social dynamics in Montenegro are changing at the rate an olive tree grows. Montenegro has not found lasting peace, but has, by all accounts, entered a phase of political maturity where crises are no longer resolved on the streets and are instead weathered through long and often boring coalition negotiations," Radomir explains.

As a concrete example, he cites the reconstructed government of Milojko Spajić that has become one of the most numerous governments in the world with its 33 members. To make for a peaceful house, ministries were evidently handed out like pieces of birthday cake, which means that today Montenegro has offices for dealing with things that an ordinary citizen would need a dictionary to decipher.

During the fall of DPS and the arrival of the new government, there were many apocalyptic prognoses, many public figures predicted much that did not happen, from a withdrawal of the recognition of Kosovo to the withdrawal of Montenegro from NATO and its *de facto* reduction to an appendage of Serbia. None of that happened, but the question is what can we learn from all that hysteria that was for a time present across the public space, especially in BiH, Croatia, and even among some people in Serbia? According to Radomir, today, when Montenegro is still in NATO and EU accession is speeding up, the key lesson to be learned from the media frenzy is about the danger of superficial narratives and the politicisation of fear.

"Regional centres, especially in BiH, Croatia and Serbia, often project their own traumas and unsettled geopolitical accounts onto Montenegro. The hysteria demonstrated that public space suffers from diminished analytical depth and heightened emotions. We have learned that Montenegrin society has much stronger internal mechanisms for shock absorption than what the regional observers thought. The course of a country does not change overnight with a tweet or local statement, and the stability of the institutions has weathered a storm that many thought would sink it," Radomir concludes.

What developments in Montenegro in the past year gave you reason to fear or, more mildly, to feel concern in the context of social changes relevant to peacebuilding?

In the context of peacebuilding and social cohesion, there were some bitter pills over the past year. Of particular concern is the persistence and occasional proliferation of identity trenches, which have now moved to the local level. It is concerning that political elites are still apt to resort to national and historical topics when they need to draw attention away from economic problems or corruption. There are examples of increasing tensions with neighbours over historical declarations, as well as attempts by local authorities to pursue their own foreign policy, which go to show that the social fabric is still susceptible to manipulation. Peacebuilding is not endangered by war, but by constantly maintaining society at a level of low-grade, simmering tension that saps the energy needed for progress. The most tangible and quite bizarre example of social polarisation happened in Pljevlja when the local government decided to change the Day of the Municipality so that instead of marking an antifascist date it would be moved to the church holiday celebrating St. Petka. These kinds of actions show that when they lack a solution for the economy, political elites can always pull a "historical ace from their sleeve". A similar example of identity revisionism also took place in Podgorica with the renaming of the city library. The death of Ratko Mladić in August 2026 revealed deep fractures and divisions – while some high officials from the government sent condolences to Maldić's family and publicly called him a "hero", there were also strong condemnations: President Jakov Milatović and the Montenegrin Foreign Ministry strongly condemned attempts to relativise the genocide, recalling that judgements of international tribunals are incontrovertible and that Montenegro must protect the dignity of the victims.

What is something that happened that makes you proud or gives you hope?

Despite everything, Montenegro always manages to show surprising resilience. The reason to feel proud and hopeful lies in the citizens and the ability of society to reach compromise when it is most needed. The recent adoption of constitutional amendments with the support of both the government and the opposition demonstrated that there is a red line and a maturity not to cross it when the European future of the country is at stake. Also, growing awareness of economic issues, the standard of living and practical benefits (such as joining the SEPA system or the planned end of roaming charges with the EU) pushes back old, obsolete discussions. Another reason to feel proud and hopeful is the adoption of the Law on Health Insurance introducing paid menstrual leave for women suffering from menstrual pain. The initiative received unanimous support in parliament, with male MPs voting for the law because they recognised it as a step towards a more humane and modern society. At the end of 2025, the non-governmental sector presented a draft of the first comprehensive "Remembrance Policy with a plan for the institutionalisation of memory and memorialisation" that was supported in principle by the Ministry of Culture and Media, with an announcement that a memorial plaque would be installed to commemorate 22 Albanian civilians (refugees from Kosovo) killed in Kaluđerski Laz by members of the then Army of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, during the NATO bombing of 1999. Also, the Special State Prosecutor (SDT) has recorded progress by forming special investigative teams for war crimes from the 1990s and establishing better cooperation with the ICTY Residual Mechanism. All of this is proof that new generations of citizens and politicians are starting to value stability, women's rights and institutions over cheap political shots, which gives hope that Montenegro can be a functional and empathic society, and not just a perennial "heroic" history textbook.

Kosovo: From Elections to Elections

Over the past two years, citizens of Kosovo have come out to vote four times. Parliamentary elections were organised three times and local elections once. By the end of 2026, it is possible that another round of elections will be organised because of the failure of political elites to reach a consensus on appointing the new president of Kosovo, which requires a two-thirds majority in the Parliament of Kosovo. So, it would seem, at least from the outside, that life in Kosovo is an endless series of elections that always have the same result. Shenaj Zejneli, a long-time activist from Kosovo, believes that in the past two years Kosovo has entered a rather dark political era.

"We have one dominant political party and a leader with a huge ego and ambition to control almost all levels of society. He often treats the majority as a mass of people that are meant to have faith and not question anything. At the same time, the quality of everyday life has been declining and society is increasingly being divided into 'us' and 'them' – especially between people living in Kosovo and those in the diaspora, the majority of whom support Kurti and vote for him – and this creates enormous problems for the local community of Kosovo. That is why it seems to me that the problem is no longer that elections always give the same result. The problem is that we are starting to believe that this is the only possible result: Kurti in power, everyone else on the sidelines, and a big question mark over the future of the citizens, where this government is taking us," Shenaj explains.

For a while, the "dialogue" between Belgrade and Pristina was a dominant topic. Then, the idea of forming the Community of Serb Municipalities was active for a long time. In the past two years there has been little to no news of any development, either forward or backward. Kurti's government has mainly been slowly establishing full authority in all parts of Kosovo, with open pressure on the Serb community. At the same time, Belgrade seems to have given up on any real interest in Kosovo, while at the same time refusing any agreement and blocking Kosovo from becoming a member of the UN and other organisations. There is little to no optimism for a long-term solution, says Shenaj.

"To be honest, at this political level, I see little reason for optimism. Dialogue has practically been replaced by monologue – Pristina is attempting to consolidate control over the whole of Kosovo, while Belgrade mainly retains its influence through the Serb List. There is currently almost no relationship between them apart from mutual non-recognition and blocking. With Kurti, I am particularly concerned with increasing concentration of power and the lack of space for compromise. When political ego becomes more important than dialogue, it's easy to slip into authoritarian politics. And we, the people? We're tired. After years of 'dialogue', agreements and new beginnings, there is increasing apathy and fog. That is why I don't currently expect any big political resolution. If something is going to change, it is more likely to come from the grass roots – from among us, people, in our neighbourhoods and small everyday contacts. Paradoxically, I currently see more real dialogue on Saturday mornings at the market in the North, among ordinary people, then through the whole series of dialogues conducted over the past almost three decades between 'Belgrade and Pristina'," Shenaj says.

When asked about a problem that could be easily solved, a small step that would represent a step forward for all the people in Kosovo, Shenaj says that it would be returning citizens' trust in the institutions and a sense that their voices can make a difference.

"Over the past few years, a sense of apathy and powerlessness has developed – not just among citizens, but also among political actors and in civil society, precisely because of the political situation and endless elections. People have the sense that they can vote, protest or try to influence processes, but ultimately, we always go back to where we started. One small, but very concrete step could be creating more space for civic initiatives through which anyone and everyone, whatever their ethnicity, could work together on proposals and solutions to small problems that directly impact their everyday lives – from public spaces, street maintenance and lighting, sports fields, youth spaces and other local needs. Something similar has already started developing in Pristina, through

small civic initiatives and cooperation with relevant departments of the Pristina Municipality, where citizens can get concrete solutions for things that affect their neighbourhoods and everyday life. I think it would be important to expand this approach to other municipalities and communities in Kosovo. These kinds of initiatives may seem small compared to big political problems, but they are precisely what can give citizens a sense that they have some influence over their surroundings. More importantly, they can bring people from different communities together around something they have in common – everyday problems they all want to solve."

What developments in Kosovo in the past year gave you reason to fear or, more mildly, to feel concern in the context of social changes relevant to peacebuilding?

Perhaps my biggest source of concern in the past year was the weakening of civil society and the bottom-up approach that had for years been used in working with communities. The lack of funding significantly weakened small grassroots organisations and initiatives working directly with people on their real problems. When such organisations disappear or reduce their activities, this also means a loss of space where people from different communities could meet, work together and build trust. What really scares me, though, is that I increasingly see civil society leaders moving on to more radical political parties, often led by personal interest, political positioning or the desire to extract personal benefits. I find this particularly concerning because it wipes away the border between civil society and political interests. This creates a large gap between organisations and grassroots communities they had been working with for years. People are already losing trust and increasingly seeing civil society as a means to accomplish personal interests, build up their social status or individual political careers, instead of as a space to represent the needs and interests of the community.

What is something that happened that makes you proud or gives you hope?

What really gives me a sense of pride, but also gratitude and humility, is that I have the opportunity to work with the youngest generations and to help them learn each other's languages. Lately, I've had something happen that means a great deal to me: Serb and other communities from southern municipalities have started coming to me off their own accord to say they wanted to learn Albanian. At the same time, individual parents from Albanian communities contact me to say they would like me to help their children learn a bit of Serbian. These are not big projects or political goals with targets and pre-defined outcomes that need to be achieved in line with the 'project proposal'. These are simple, personal decisions by ordinary people to get to know the language and culture of their centuries-long neighbours – and to pass this on to their children. In this, I see a real possibility for improving the future and this gives me hope that, despite everything, we can still live and bring up our children here together. Because, even with all the policies, institutions and big processes happening over our heads, there are some quiet dynamics happening within people's hearts. People are starting to open up towards each other, to ask questions, they want to understand their neighbour's language and pass that curiosity on to their children. Maybe these changes cannot be seen on the front pages and they cannot be easily measured through project indicators, but I believe they are the most important. Because, ultimately, peace is not built only around the negotiating table or with 'commercial initiatives in the field for posts on social networks' – it is built through the intention in the hearts of parents who want their children to learn and understand the children living next door.

When it comes to Kosovo, the discussion always seems to revolve around relations between two communities, the Serbs and the Albanians. The fact that there are other communities in Kosovo is somehow always neglected. Shenaj says that for these communities, the education system is one of the biggest problems.

"As in the case of the Serb and Albanian communities, these other communities also often find themselves stuck between two separate systems – the Kosovan and the Serbian system. However, for them, the situation is even more complex, because they are expected to choose between education in Albanian or in Serbian. If, for example, they opt for classes within the Serbian education system, they can later face additional problems to continue their schooling in Kosovo and have to seek alternative solutions. On the other hand, if they take classes in Albanian, they are often not given enough space to nurture their own language, culture and identity. This means that education, which should be a space of possibility and connection, becomes another factor of division. This is particularly problematic because almost three decades after the war, and given the centuries of coexistence in this area, members of these communities still often feel like they don't fully belong to either of the existing systems. As a result, people withdraw into their small, closed circles – their families, communities and local networks – and there is less participation in the broader social life of Kosovo," Shenaj concludes.

Bosnia and Herzegovina: New Kids on the Block

Bosnia and Herzegovina is headed for parliamentary elections this autumn. These will be the first elections since the Dayton Peace Accords without any significant new political party or movement in any part of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which speaks to many things, including the citizens' general fatigue and lack of any kind of energy, the fact that the population has been steeply declining as well as ageing, making any significant social movements increasingly hard to imagine.

The political crisis from the start of 2025, though it verged on an escalation to violence, is now but a faded memory. But the way it ended is actually an apt reminder that when it comes to Bosnia and Herzegovina, we cannot speak only of a vicious triangle (Bosniaks, Serbs, Croats), but a square where one of the actors is the international community itself, with its fingers in every pie. The vague notion of an "international community" is made real in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the form of the US Embassy, or more broadly speaking, the US administration. Milorad Dodik – who, lest we forget, came to the political scene with strong US support, heralded as a "breath of fresh air in the Balkans" – made a deal with the new US administration at the end of 2025. In exchange for withdrawing from all official positions and repealing a host of laws and decisions that had been paving the way to secession and almost pushed us into war, Dodik and his close circle had their sanctions lifted. Ultimately, this is confirmation that Dodik, in a very decentralised Dayton BiH that prevents significant concentration of power, managed to build an autocratic system in which he is the be-all and end-all.

This ushered in a more peaceful phase for Bosnia and Herzegovina, even though turmoil in the international arena continues to directly break over our backs. Part of the political spectrum seeks to represent Milorad Dodik and Republika Srpska simply as Russia's and Putin's agents. At the same time, Dodik and, for instance, Željana Zovko, a Croat from Bosnia and Herzegovina representing Croatia in the European Parliament, are trying to present Bosniaks as a potential security threat endangering Christians. Along the same lines, Dodik and Republika Srpska authorities have established cooperation with the Israeli government of prime minister Benjamin Netanyahu. It is clear that in both cases, in order to win international support and strengthen their own positions, they use rhetoric to push narratives that are dominant and easily understandable on the international level. This entails grievous abuse, as a rule based on untruths, but it has direct consequences for inter-ethnic relations. Such "portrayals" cause offence to ordinary people, followed by distrust and fear. At a time when money for many real needs of citizens is scarce, all

What developments in BiH in the past year gave you reason to fear or, more mildly, to feel concern in the context of social changes relevant to peacebuilding?

The death and funeral of Ratko Mladić is something that caused profound hurt and fear. Some of the things that happened I felt were expected, given that this region has always had a particular soft spot for military leaders. In BiH, the funeral was broadcast by the Public Service (RTRS), it was attended by the entire political leadership of Republika Srpska, from both the ruling party and the opposition. Mladić was portrayed exclusively as a hero, and it was particularly painful to understand that a considerable number of people who made public statements saw Mladić as a hero precisely because of the genocide and the thousands who were killed. Being religious myself, it was painful to watch the participation of religious leaders. This creates a feeling of fear that breeds distrust. Reactions that generalised (they're all the same) or simplified (nothing ever changes) were not constructive. What gets neglected is that the funeral, despite all the support of Vučić's regime, was attended by less than 20,000 people, and that there were people who raised their voices against the glorification of crime. Or that there was a moment when another government, also in Serbia, extradited both Mladić and Karadžić, and buried Slobodan Milošević "appropriately". Ultimately, the funeral was used simply to sow fear and distrust and was a huge step backward in dealing with the past and peacebuilding.

What is something that happened that makes you proud or gives you hope?

In February 2026, after a derailed tram killed a university student and seriously injured a secondary school student, Sarajevo saw several days of protests organised by secondary school students. It was an incredible eruption of youthful energy by a generation we knew little about. The government of the Sarajevo Canton resigned, the protests slowly died down. Though only a flash, the protests were important as confirmation that we can still inspire each other, because the influence of the student movement from Serbia on youth in the region was unmistakable. The protests also confirmed that a new generation was coming onto the scene and all the changes that come with it, such as, for example, the new media in the form of social networks that are becoming primary communication channels. "Our parents put up with it because there was a war, but we're not going to put up with it anymore or wait to be killed in trams," said a student at the protests. For me, this was a generational message. My generation grew up in the war and is forever marked by the war. The war was always and remains a stumbling block whenever we tried to imagine a better future, like a reminder that we should be grateful that "there's no shooting". New generations want more and better and won't take any excuses.

that "lobbying" on the international scene is being paid for exclusively with the money collected from Bosnian-Herzegovinian tax payers.

An example of how global developments and the simmering conflict between the US and the EU break over Bosnia and Herzegovina can be seen in the Southern Interconnection gas pipeline project. The adoption of the law was directly coordinated by the charge d'affaires of the US Embassy in BiH who did not spare either carrot or stick. That is how, at the end, the law featured a provision saying that the investor and concessionaire would be an American shell company, freshly established and close to the circle of people around the US president. The European Union then threatened Bosnia and Herzegovina with sanctions, because the adoption process had not been transparent and was contrary to various European energy directives. The EU thus shifted the pressure onto BiH without getting into more direct conflict with the US over this issue.

Bosnia and Herzegovina's own path to EU membership, as one of the rare political goals around

which there is consensus, at least in principle, among both politicians and citizens, has been completely blocked with no option for unblocking in sight. We are officially in a phase called "conditional opening of negotiations". From the European Union, they keep repeating that the responsibility lies with the political leaders who, in turn, keep refusing to implement reforms in order to maintain power and control over public resources. True as that may be, it would be fairer to say that the whole truth includes responsibility on the part of the European Union itself, which keeps continuously bureaucratising the process, switching priorities, modes of negotiation, etc. All of this is reflected in decreased support for the idea of membership by citizens who feel that the EU does not want them or that it occasionally demeans them. Most citizens experienced the introduction of the Entry-Exit System (EES) on the border as blatantly disrespectful. Similarly, there is the problem of long-haul truck drivers from the region who are subject to the same EU rules as tourists, although it is clear they are not staying in the EU as tourists. The EU keeps saying that it's not up to them, while under the table it advises companies to move their headquarters to EU territory and tells the drivers, because there is also a shortage of drivers in the EU, that they should seek employment with EU companies. This feeds into a dominant feeling that the EU is unfair and intends to take the human resources without integrating the countries themselves.

Croatia: Plenković Shall Remain, All Else Shall Pass

At the start of September 2026, a large protest was held in Zagreb over the inadequate disposal of hazardous waste in Lika. With the possibility that these protests surprise us by turning into a larger scale social movement, the real question is how Croatian prime minister Andrej Plenković has managed to "stay afloat" for more than a decade? Or rather, how does he manage to pull this off despite so many scandals, countless ministers replaced or arrested, but none of it sticking to Plenković.

Margareta Blažević from Zagreb explains that the protests have brought together citizens of different political leanings around a common problem. Still, she adds, there are as yet no signs that this mobilisation will grow into a broader social movement.

"It is telling that the protest organisers did not call for resignations of the prime minister and other politically responsible officials, which would be expected in many European democracies following serious government failures or scandals. At the demonstrations, Plenković was clearly identified as responsible, but there was no demand for him to resign. This can also be interpreted as an indicator of his political untouchability: after a series of scandals, deposed ministers and protests, it is possible that citizens no longer consider his resignation to be a realistic political demand. I think there are two key reasons why scandals never seem to 'stick' to Plenković. The first is the fact that, despite everything, HDZ still has a large and stable voter base. A significant proportion of citizens will be highly critical of individual government actions, corruption scandals or, for example, waste management, but their critical stance does not necessarily imply a readiness to vote for someone else in the elections. The other problem is the lack of a credible alternative. Even among centre-left voters, there is currently not enough trust that SDP or Možemo! can produce an individual and a political team with the capacity to take over running the country. Možemo! has demonstrated that it can come to power in Zagreb and stay, but it has not demonstrated the capacity to transfer that success to the national level, while SDP has long struggled to produce a strong alternative to Plenković because it has been preoccupied with its own internal conflicts. As long as the opposition remains fragmented, HDZ, it would seem, need only maintain its own disciplined voting base. On top of that, HDZ is also very successful in using the identity or emotional dimension of politics. Plenković can at one and the same time represent the European mainstream and institutional stability, while his party mobilises voters through national and 'patriotic' topics when

What developments in Croatia in the past year gave you reason to fear or, more mildly, to feel concern in the context of social changes relevant to peacebuilding?

Most concerning is the change in the social atmosphere that has become especially visible since last summer. I think Thompson's massive concert in Zabreb, which drew a crowd of around half a million people, opened Pandora's box, so to speak. The problem is not that one concert, but the message that was sent through its political and institutional legitimisation: that nationalist and xenophobic sentiments, including those openly flirting with Ustasha NDH symbols and values, can be tolerated, normalised, and in some situations even politically supported. The institutional support became particularly clear at the start of this year, when the government took on the organisation of the welcome for the returning Croatian handball team, after the City of Zagreb did not give approval for the performance of Marko Perković Thompson. The move also opened up the serious issue of state interference into constitutionally guaranteed local self-government. The consequences of such institutional attitudes are not just symbolic. The groups and sentiments that would usually be relegated to the margins received additional space and a feeling of social legitimacy, both for their own mobilisation and for aggressive reactions towards all their critics. Over the past year, we have witnessed organised attempts to suspend and cancel events promoting Serb culture, including Ustasha salutes in front of Serb community institutions in the centre of Zagreb and attacks and damage to property of members of the Serb minority and tourists. Additionally, hate speech and violence are directed not only against Serbs, but increasingly also against foreign workers, Roma, civil society activists, women and LGBTIQ persons.

What is something that happened that makes you proud or gives you hope?

What gives me hope is that there is an increasingly visible response from citizens to negative social processes. We saw this at the protests over the waste disposal in Gospić, which managed to mobilise tens of thousands of people from different parts of Croatia and different political affiliations over an issue of public interest. An important example of this were also the protest marches "United Against Fascism" held in Zagreb, Rijeka, Zadar and Pula, as a clear response to increased nationalism, violence and relativisation of the Ustasha legacy in public space. I am particularly encouraged by the interest shown by young people for topics they consider difficult or politically unpopular – transitional justice, war crimes, culture of memory and responsible dealing with the past. We see this very concretely through their interest for the SENSE programme of the Centre for Transitional Justice where I am project leader: we received more than 60 applications from young people between 18 and 30 for the Transitional Justice Academy in Pula and the research fellowship programme. At a time when we often hear about the political apathy of new generations, the fact that young people voluntarily apply to programmes that require critical examination of your own past shows that there is potential for changing current patterns. Therefore, in parallel with the very concerning processes mentioned before, we also see a "counter-mobilisation" of citizens coming out into the streets, organisations establishing links and young people who want to learn and participate actively. This may not be a dominant social trend, but it does show that there is still space for building a more open and responsible society with more solidarity.

needed. Therefore, the problem is not that the citizens don't see the scandals or that they are not dissatisfied. The problem is that their dissatisfaction has not yet turned into a strong enough political alternative that could compete with HDZ and Plenković," Margareta Blažević explains.

This past year in Croatia was marked by an increase in cases where the police punish citizens – and again mostly those from a minority, and most often the Serb minority – for posts on social networks, with increasingly bizarre situations of people being punished for folklore performances, folklore songs that are at least two centuries old. Margareta Blažević points out that it is entirely justifiable to sanction content that glorifies war crimes and convicted war criminals or (para)military formations that committed those crimes.

"The problem is when the same rules are applied very broadly and, at least judging by what we have seen, not uniformly. One particularly problematic case is that of Svetlana Spajić who was punished for posting a video of the traditional song 'Oj, Krajino, moja mila mati'. In this case, the term 'Krajina' was interpreted as a reference to the Republic of Serbian Krajina (RSK) from the 1990s, even though the song is traditional and the historical term predates RSK by centuries. Especially problematic is the contrast with the recent funeral of Ratko Mladić. The body of the deceased war criminal, who had been convicted of genocide, crimes against humanity and war crimes, was returned to Serbia by a government aeroplane and buried with state and military honours. The Croatian state leadership should have responded to such institutional and massive glorification of a war criminal – who had been active in the territory of Croatia and whose victims include Croats in Croatia and BiH – with much more clarity and decisiveness. The Croatian response has (so far) not gone beyond verbal condemnation. Meanwhile, civil society organisations that advocate for a consistent attitude towards war crimes committed by the Croatian side are often exposed to political and public attacks. We saw one such example after this year's marking of Operation Storm in Knin where the shouting included messages such as 'We Croats drink no wine, only the blood of Chetniks from Knin', as well as Ustasha songs and salutes. The Osijek Centre for Peace, Nonviolence and Human Rights, Documenta and the Antifascist League of Croatia filed a complaint with the Ministry of Interior, the State Attorney's Office and the Croatian Ombudswoman, asking for those responsible to be identified and for action from relevant institutions. The public response to these complaints included threats of violence against these organisations and the individuals who represent them, and even their private information being published with calls for violence. Therefore, I see the problem in uneven criteria and a selective institutional response. If the government wants to credibly combat hate speech, extremism and the glorification of war criminals, the same standard must apply to both Serb and Croat nationalism, and to crimes and criminals whatever their nationality. Otherwise, we can be justified in asking whether what is really being punished is the content and its harmful social impact or if the institutional reaction depends on who is speaking, what crimes are being spoken about and which group is being targeted by the messages," Margareta adds.

There is sometimes the impression, from the outside, that Croatia, which is now a full-fledged EU and NATO member, is still stuck in the summer of 1990 and the days when 'Serb insurrectionists' had blocked the roads. At times it seems as if the whole of Croatia is still occupied, and the leader of the Serb minority Milorad Pupovac figures in this dystopia as controlling everything. In reality, Serbs make up less than 3 percent of the population in Croatia, they are mostly older, and their numbers are declining... Margareta Blažević says that this fear is primarily generated and maintained by political forces that use it as an effective tool for political and social mobilisation.

"This is not specific to Croatia. It is well known in political psychology that a sense of external threat and insecurity affects political behaviour: fear increases risk aversion, it can lead to withdrawal and passivity, but it can also be used to guide voters towards political actors who present themselves as protectors from a given threat. In the Croatian context, Serbs are a particularly convenient 'enemy' for that kind of mobilisation, because the still very powerful collective memory of the 1990s war(s) can be activated. This means that a relatively small minority can be symbolically portrayed as posing a threat that it objectively

does not pose. The political usefulness is manifold: it homogenises the body of voters, displaces political debate away from concrete problems onto identity issues, and the actors who present themselves as protectors of national interests are able to further strengthen their political standing. These are for the most part right-wing political options, but left-liberal options have also been known to dabble in such political manipulation in the past.

It is enough to hear the speeches, especially memorial speeches, of president Zoran Milanović from the past few years," Margareta says.

North Macedonia: Broken Promises Breed Apathy

For a time, Macedonia provided a good example and inspiration to the other countries of the region, especially during the protests that brought down the criminal government of prime minister Nikola Gruevski from VMRO-DPMNE. The new government led by SDSM was determined to resolve long-standing disputes with neighbours in order to unblock European integration, which is what ultimately led to the country changing its name from Macedonia to North Macedonia. What followed was a drop in energy, the government did not manage to resolve key internal problems, and the European Union completely broke its promise to Macedonia. At the very next elections, SDSM suffered a crushing defeat and the reins were once again taken up by VMRO-DPMNE, which did not bring in significant changes or more determination to change anything. This could be seen, for example, in the case of the fire that broke out at a club in Kočani in the spring of 2025 and claimed 59 lives. It showed that North Macedonia currently lacks the strength for a new social turnaround.

An activist from Kumanovo, Frosina Dodevska says that the case of Macedonia is actually a case of disappointment, where big promises about justice, a functional system and an end to corruption were not met.

What developments in Macedonia in the past year gave you reason to fear or, more mildly, to feel concern in the context of social changes relevant to peacebuilding?

What worries me the most is the passivity of society and increasing emigration from Macedonia. I get the sense that empathy and solidarity are slowly disappearing, because the hopelessness has become too hard to bear. People are no longer reacting – they are simply leaving. I see our biggest defeat in the fact that we are becoming foreigners and mute observers in our own country. Whole families are emigrating in massive numbers, and the consequences can already be clearly seen in the statistics. Just this year, 26 catchment area schools were shut down because not a single child was enrolled. I worry that if this passivity and indifference to injustice continue, we will lose the ability to listen to each other, to trust each other and to build a society together that will be based on humanity.

What is something that happened that makes you proud or gives you hope?

I think that the people who have stayed are finally fed up with geopolitics, historical compromises and ethnic quotas. What gives me joy right now are the small, everyday changes in the way citizens see each other and not letting politics and prejudice divide them. Ethnic topics no longer have the same weight, because people who have stayed in the country have recognised and united around the same pain and emptiness. I am also encouraged by the new generations – young people who are increasingly courageous in expressing their views. They are no longer silent, they use social networks to directly speak about injustices, identify problems, and they are no longer afraid. I think this new generation is refusing to be manipulated. Their courage to speak out publicly is bringing down the long-standing culture of fear and silence.

"Instead of reforms, citizens were faced with new political dealings, party control of institutions and impunity. I personally think that the biggest damage dealt by the elite that came to power is not just political. They have torn down the hope that protests and civic activism can actually bring change and a better life. All the scandals from that period put Macedonia in its historically worst position when it comes to fighting corruption, which led to another change in government. Currently, it is difficult to imagine a mass civic movement in Macedonia with significant strength or energy. Although local incidents, such as the one with the modular hospital and the tragic fire at the nightclub in Kočani, cause momentary anger and bring people out into the streets, the protests quickly die down. I think there is a prevailing sense of powerlessness and civic passivity among people," says Frosina.

Talk of European integration and imminent EU membership have long lost their power in North Macedonia, Frosina explains. Today, membership is officially blocked by Bulgaria, and no longer Greece, but it is openly discussed that the blockade is actually imposed by big European countries, primarily France, which are not sure they want any kind of enlargement at all.

"The EU is no longer motivation for people to come out into the streets, on the contrary, it has become synonymous with frustration, broken promises and pervasive apathy among citizens. The people are tired of identity-based and bilateral blackmail by neighbouring countries. Macedonia has changed – we changed our flag, internal organisation, we changed our name, our history, even our Constitution, and still, all we get are promises that we are on the EU path. Currently, instead of waiting for the EU to come to Macedonia, people are leaving with a one-way ticket. The dominant narrative is full of grave cynicism and black humour at the expense of our own country," Frosina adds.

Nedžad Novalić

Due to differences in understanding of the situation in Serbia, which at the time of writing of this Annual Report is a few weeks away from crucial elections, and the short time for additional exchange and discussion within the team, we have decided not to publish commentary on the socio-political context in this country for the present Annual Report.



new members of the cna team



Equally for All

Tita Mikulaš

Coming to the Centre for Nonviolent Action Sarajevo-Belgrade means a lot more to me than just a job. For me, this meant having to move from Zagreb, a place I knew very well, to Sarajevo, a place I had not gotten to know before. Still, some events connected me to Sarajevo, this was the city where I found out I was accepted as a student of history at the Faculty of Philosophy in Zagreb. In hindsight, I feel like these two things are connected.

I don't have my own memories of the war, I was born a few years after the wars of the 1990s ended, I belong to the generation of the new century that often forgets how ubiquitous the consequences of war are in our society. Through stark divisions between communities, hate speech, glorification of wartime victories, political manipulation of others' losses to win votes and in many other ways. Still, my family, like many others, has had its share of wartime experience and trauma. I can't say there was silence about that period, but it was reduced to anecdotes suitable for all ages. The motif that I inherited indirectly was fear.

Running into the Past

My grandmother has always kept towels in a cupboard that's part of the shelf with the TV. The towels were always ironed because washing them, even at ninety degrees, was not sufficient to ensure they were perfectly clean. Between the ironed, clean towels grandma also kept her fear. It was written down in a diary she had kept in the 1990s, during the periods when my dad was off to war. Or at least that's how she explained it to me, when I discovered her diary in that cupboard while playing as a little girl. I don't remember how old I was exactly, but I do know I could read, which is not to say that I could understand what was written in it. Later on, grandma told me she had thrown out the diary. We are now both sorry about this and have talked a lot more about it since, which is why I know so much about her fear of war, a fear that is about a lot more than that.

When I started studying history at university, I stayed away from the wars of the 1990s, always seeing it as a controversial period that is difficult to deal with

if you want to express respect to all those who were killed. Still, I wanted to know how societies can end up in a situation of divisions that lead to the marginalisation, or eradication of certain groups on the grounds of religious, racial or ethnic belonging. In the context of human rights, and given that it is the foundation of international law, I started reading more about the Holocaust and the mechanisms that preceded it. I liked the sentiment of "never again" as part of a culture of memory where we learn from mass tragedies in order to make sure they are never repeated, but I could not get it in that framework. I finally understood that I could not run away from the historical context in which I was born.

Equally for All

2024 was the key year for my activation, when during an internship at the Youth Initiative for Human Rights in Croatia, I engaged more deeply with the topic of wars in our region. This led me to a crucial experience – CNA's Basic Training in Peacebuilding, where I learned to listen to and understand others. I came to understand how my opinions and experiences coexist with many others that are equally valuable. This unforgettable experience extended into 2025 when I took part in the Training of Trainers in Peacebuilding where with diverse people and the CNA Team, I learned what this can mean in practice.

During that training, we visited many sites of suffering, including sites of memory where war crimes were committed on 16 April 1993 in Trusina, where the victims were Croat, and in Ahmići, where the victims were Bosniak. I had been familiar with the facts surrounding these events, but once again I felt fear, a fear that was not mine, it belonged to those who had lost their lives at these sites. This was particularly true in Ahmići where the atmosphere of remembering the loss of life had a very strong impact on me. I am aware of the negative approach by some media, politicians and the general narrative about that crime in Croatia, but I have a sense that the emotions that overwhelmed me at that moment came from humanity, and not from collective guilt. As such, they are similar to the emotions I feel towards the fear of my grandmother, my family, because war, and the fear it generates, is the same for everyone.

Reflection during that process had me grappling with the question of my legitimacy as someone who does not have first-hand experience of war, and I had often wondered what gave me the right to act.

Is legitimacy needed at all to understand that all people feel the same, which means that every loss is equally painful, and therefore that all victims are equally valuable. I am glad I do not remember the war myself because the desire to remain free of such memories, just like the other young people born after the 1990s, means that I want to build a society that will not repeat the armed conflicts of the region. So, my path to CNA is paved with the desire to engage in peace work and transfer the values that I stand behind fully, with empathy for all victims, as I come full circle in Sarajevo.

Processions, Silences and Earthquakes

Marija Ilić

If you think of a journey in terms of its route, then my path to CNA could probably be reduced to three points: Paraćin – Niš – Belgrade. But that doesn't explain how I actually found my way to becoming part of the CNA team.

My First Fishbowl

I was born in the final Yugoslavia, when the war was already over. Or at least that's how the official historical record would have it. The shooting had stopped, but the war hadn't gone away, instead the criminals had moved onto the television screens. I grew up in a



Serbia where they were given more airtime than cartoons, although I was only interested in cartoons at that time. In a way, the criminals never left that space.

My first fishbowl, the place where I was born and grew up, was Paraćin. I remember standing on the balcony of my home, watching a procession of people pass by. The only other times I would see so many people gathered together would be at protests, never again in Paraćin. It was the funeral of my neighbour, one of the two soldiers killed at Topčider in 2004.

Back then, I had no understanding of either how or why their deaths remained unresolved, or of death itself. Today, I know that their deaths were never fully brought to light, and for years there have been rumours that they were killed for seeing something they shouldn't have, a man the state was hiding, a man because of whom others had already been put to death. In that story, loyalty did not mean protection, it meant silence, even at the cost of others' lives.

The image has remained with me. My mother spent that whole day weeping. It was my first encounter with death that I can remember. That day I learned what silence looks like. How to stand still. How to wait for the procession to pass.

Paraćin was both my home and the place I wanted to leave.

Patriotism?

Studying in Niš brought a new twist to my life story. It was from Niš that I first set off on a study trip called "The Present of Our Past", organised by the Centre for Nonviolent Action in 2022. The trip took us across Kozara, Jasenovac, Prijedor, Sanski Most…

It was the first time I encountered a silence that was not only about paying respect, but left something behind. Something that is difficult to name, but you feel its presence in your body as you pass through these places.

While my mother worried about the earthquakes shaking the region in those days, and told me to watch out (I'm still not sure how you're meant to watch out for earthquakes), I was feeling the ground shifting inside me, something no one had warned me about.

From Niš, I went further south, to the Basic Training in Peacebuilding in Kruševo in the autumn of 2023. And I left with "heavier baggage".

My journey did not end there. In March 2024, I found myself at former detention sites in Herzegovina. There, I saw what happens when processions stop – not to pay their respects, but to turn their heads, where not every silence is peace.

I don't always feel comfortable at CNA trainings and events. There is a constant undercurrent of

unease, wariness, a feeling that I'm reaching parts of myself that I would rather avoid. Writing this is not pleasant. It forces me to not look away. To not turn my head from the procession.

And while I try not to turn my head, I keep telling myself that I wasn't even born back then, that I don't even consider myself much of a Serbian (just a girl from Paraćin), yet I still feel responsibility and sadness – sadness because of what happened and responsibility for what is happening with it now.

I never thought of myself as patriotic, and for years this was my escape route. I associated patriotism with slogans, flags, with a love that cannot tolerate questions. I did not choose the country I was born in – the stork just dropped me there. But it turns out coincidence does not free you from responsibility, or from what you feel is a legacy you want to break.

Still, the things that were happening around me gave me no peace, even when I tried to push them aside. I did not have the privilege of turning a blind eye and I feel somewhat grateful for that.

Earthquake

And then came 1 November 2024 and the collapse of the canopy in Novi Sad. When the students paying their respects in silence were attacked, this set off the faculty blockades, plenums, protests… The country I was from started to resemble something I could love.

The student movement revived my faith in people, but also defined what loving a country means. I realised that genuine love for your homeland is not the nationalist, extended narcissism that only loves its own.

The Training of Trainers (ToT) proceeded in parallel with the student protests. It was difficult, learning about violence and how to deconstruct it, while my thoughts were out on the streets with the people who were fighting to make sure buildings would not fall on our heads, and that people would not be beaten, trampled underfoot or silenced.

I thought about quitting. I felt torn, as if I had left the struggle in the streets to sit at a training.

Then I realised that was not what I had done. I had come to the training at the height of everything precisely because these two things were not separate. Something about what was happening in the streets felt familiar – the notion of trusting institutions, but then having them turn against you. In the war, that's how the army and police functioned. After the war, it was the courts. And now it was happening all over again in the streets.

CNA was not teaching me something abstract and distant. It was teaching me to recognise what I had always sensed was there.

The third phase of ToT was held in Macedonia in mid-July. Halfway through the training, I had to leave to attend my childhood friend's wedding. As I was returning alone by car, Google Maps led me to the Miratovac border crossing, which was now defunct. I stopped in front of the barricades and saw that the road led nowhere. I later learned that Agim Agushi, an Albanian man from the nearby village, was killed near that border in 2002 while returning home on a tractor with his cousin. Initially, I had thought of the village as Mirotvorac (Peacemaker). It wasn't.

The final phase of the training was organised near Sarajevo. During a "war tour" of Sarajevo, I saw the city through two simultaneous timelines, the streets as they are today and the battle lines they used to be, the impact sites where shells had detonated, bridges named after people who were killed on them before having time to take cover.

I walked through Sarajevo looking at buildings scarred by shrapnel. If the buildings have so many scars, who knows how many the people still live with.

I felt unwelcome. I knew it was a defence mechanism – because this was done by members of the community I hail from. Not in my name, but maybe I was part of their motivation. They had come "to defend their future generations" (didn't that mean me?). The uneasiness is a reflection of my ego trying to protect me, unable to accept that instead of being inspiration for something beautiful, I was motivation for war. Not me personally, but ultimately – yes.

At times, I wished someone would hear my ekavian dialect and come up to me to say something mean. I thought that way I might feel less awful.

And then I stopped to think about that – I don't believe my identity comes from the country I come from, or from any other, and yet I feel uneasy because of that identity. Isn't that proof that it exists? And who then took up arms for something that, for me, doesn't

exist, while I, just by feeling uneasy, fell into the same trap.

And so, I arrived in Belgrade. Carrying baggage that is difficult both to pack and unpack. My path to CNA began with a scared little girl on her balcony who could not forget some things or let them fade into memory.

And as for my mother's worry from the beginning of this story, I still have no idea how you're meant to "watch out for earthquakes". But I do know that if the ground beneath our feet starts to shake again, it will be because we finally started jumping hard enough.

If it has to shake, let it shake because of us!

Final Fulfilment

Dimitrije Glukčević

Silly Questions

Have you ever wondered about the tiny people inside the camera recording the embraces of clouds? Or why the wind grabs a bat's wing when it wants to fly? I know it sounds silly, but the child in me is still looking for answers. In truth, I have learned some strange words in the meantime. Experts use them to sound clever. Still, the questions have mostly remained the same, and there are still so many that I hardly have time to ask them all. Of course, this never stopped me from trying. Thinking up questions has long been my favourite activity. I have truly mastered this art. And it is an art to know how to ask something that will produce an unusual answer. This is precisely why already in primary school I dove headfirst into the wonderful world of natural sciences. There were unexplored depths there, even for the simplest of questions. For example, "Why does an apple fall from the tree?" Here, I simply answer, "What else would it do?" But that is not enough. To satisfy my curiosity, I need much more. This was different from history and geography, where the questions were usually complicated. But the answers were short and clear. For example, "When was the French Revolution?" Somehow, this never interested me, it seemed quite dry and irrelevant. In time, I found that some answers can be both interesting and complicated, but also completely clear and precise. Needless to say, I fell in love with mathematics, which always provided me with such answers. Completely taken up by this, I would often think, "How lovely it would be to make a living asking questions and searching for answers?" When I enrolled in secondary school, I initially resisted applying to the Petnica Research Station programme, much like I initially resisted all the best decisions in my life. I ultimately caved under pressure and a year later, I sent in my application. A few months after that, I was at the seminar. I was experiencing engagement with science first-hand. And I found that being a scientist was my dream job. Now, you may think this means it was easy for me to choose what interested me the most. I must say it was not like that at all. I'd always been interested in questions, not just in sorting them into their proper boxes. How can someone give a complete answer to the question "Why does time flow forward?" without consulting a range of different disciplines. So, when it came to choosing what to study at university, I was facing a dilemma. I was considering all the myriad options. I am currently enrolled in a master's programme in theoretical mathematics. My curiosity often takes me into physics, computer science, philosophy…

Walking the Earth

The most answerable person, the one most often providing answers to my many questions was my father. However, his view differed quite a bit from what interested me. He was rather practical. "How does an umbrella work?" matters if you can take it apart, fiddle with it, fix it. And he can fix anything. Including cars, hair dryers, reservoirs, cookers, phones, vacuum cleaners… I used to watch him fixing things when I was little. Later on, I picked up on lots of little tricks. I learned how many different devices



worked. This was a completely different type of answer, the kind that "holds water". With time, I learned to appreciate it. I also learned that answers can have real life consequences. Their purpose is not just to put a stop to a question. "Can you hold the ladder while I climb up?" requires responsibility, not just a simple "yes". Being grounded in reality, this is something I will always be grateful to him for. In me, this grew into a bent for engineering that regularly crops up when I have to solve a problem. It has only become reinforced through my programming escapades. In primary school, I used to think programmers simply type in predetermined text with maybe some minor changes. It seemed terribly boring to me then. As with all my best life decisions, I initially resisted trying it. However, in secondary school, I had a phenomenal teacher. Thanks to him, I came to understand that it was a combination of mathematics and creativity, two things I liked very much. I still enjoy making tools that solve all manner of problems. I am excited by the current development of artificial intelligence, it's a new toy that needs trying out.

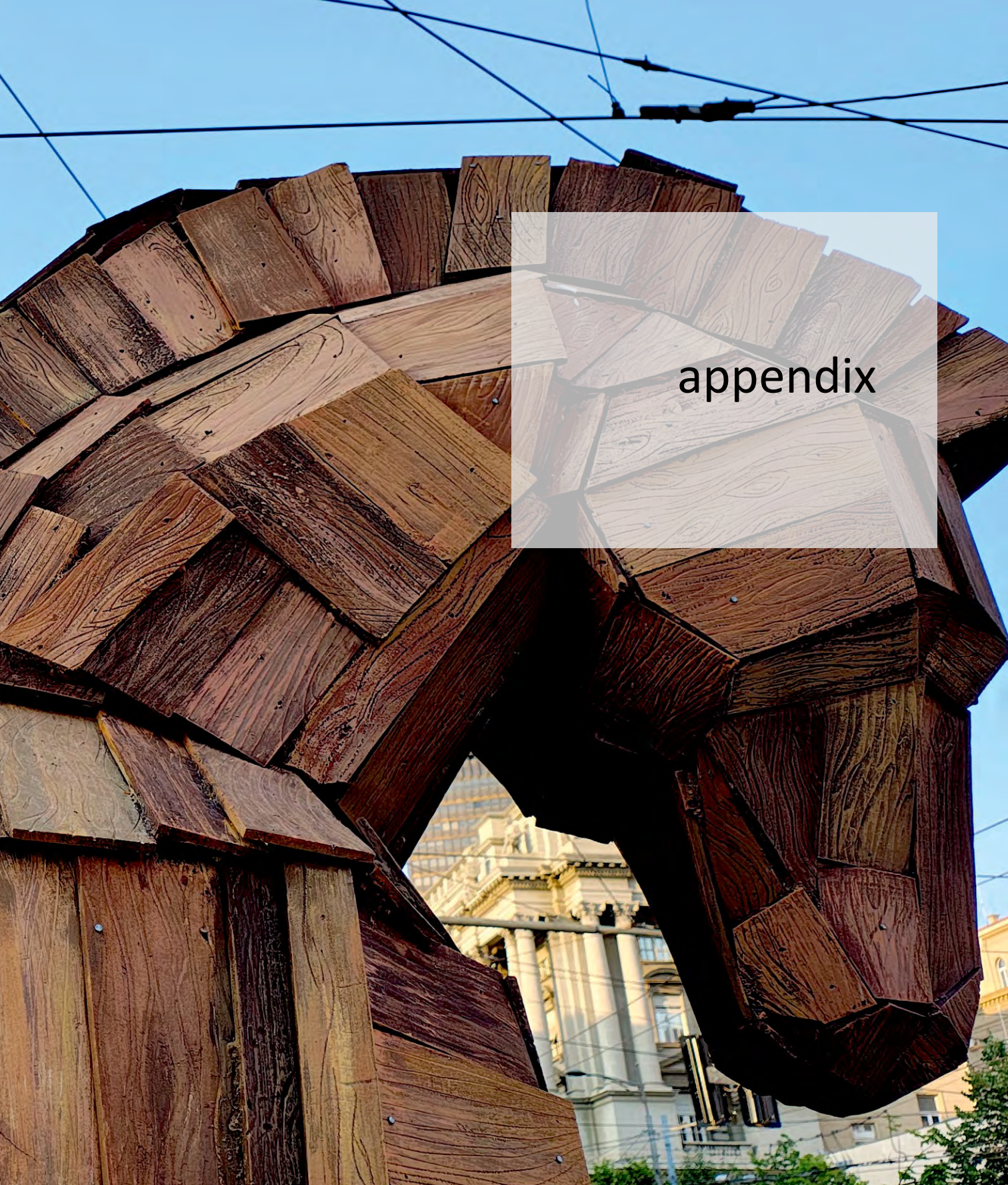
One Step Forward, One Step Back

How did I end up at the Centre for Nonviolent Action (CNA)? Yes, that is what I ask myself every night as I go to bed. Still, it's not a question that keeps me up at night. For a long time, I was beset by such questions. This series of events came as a relief. But to explain it all, I have to start from the beginning… Skin steamed in the sun under damp shirts. An uncut row of grape vines stopped moving. Boredom to the tune of pruning shears had to be tamed. This family activity was, therefore, most often made bearable by my mother telling us stories from her youth. Thus, we heard about Tito and the Pioneers. "You went on excursions across the whole of Yugoslavia?" I'd throw in an obvious question. "Of course, why wouldn't we?" I thought that answer was simple enough, but I felt a disquiet in the background. As if something was hiding in the gaps between the words. Some spectre lying in wait, ready to jump out and devour little children like me. I did not fear these monsters, but I also didn't know how to make them go away. With time, I reconciled myself to obvious answers. I decided there was nothing more profound to be heard. I focused on thinking through questions that were recognised as complicated. I filed the others away in a mental drawer. Even when the conversation at our family patron saint's feast turned to war. Even when I would naively ask my father, "And did you kill anyone over there in Kosovo?" His answer, "I don't know,"

became complete to me, with nothing held back, no gaps. And somehow even logical. A lot of time passed before I understood that some answers don't have the right question. That, simply, however you formulate the question, the answer would be meaningless. For example, one day my fried, and now colleague, Marija showed up. She had just returned from a peacebuilding training organised by CNA. I felt the change in her. In the way her gaze would trail off, the way her words would stick to silence. I didn't know how to ask the question, but the answer was already there. At the end of our meeting, she tried to persuade me to apply to a similar training. The deadline was close. As with all my best life decisions, I initially resisted. In vain…

Final Fulfilment

My mother saw me off to that training, saying, "Son, are you going there to get beaten up?" I didn't know where I was going, or what to tell her. I got into the car with Nino from Čačak, whom I'd never met before. On the way, we stopped at a petrol station between Preševo and Bujanovac to pick up Šejzi. This was the first time I had met an Albanian. He is now my favourite roommate. I hope we'll get to room together again and talk long into the night. I have a feeling that without those ten days in Berovo, I would not have been able to bear what happened later. Blockades of the faculties. A very intense coexistence. Sadness. Helplessness. Paranoia. Anger. The situation demanded a deep understanding of communication. The actions we kept planning became the epitome of nonviolent struggle. A concept I had only encountered in CNA's name. There was an open call for the Training of Trainers (ToT). Between meetings, sitting at a desk at my faculty in the night hours, I wrote out my application. I was accepted. A year went by in constant wandering, and the ToT was squeezed in between protests. How did I change over that year and a bit more? I don't have an answer. And then, out of the blue, I got this job offer. As with all my best life decisions, I initially resisted accepting it. I came to the interview straight from the protests, gearing up to turn it down. I had prepared questions that refused to align with work duties. To my shock, they were all answered. Who needs a worker with more questions than answers? That was key. After a few turbulent e-mails from my side, I dared to give it a try. And so, here I am, as I had dreamed when I was little. Today, my job is to ask questions… I may not be a scientist… But maybe it's better that way. Scientists in Serbia today mostly don't ask questions. If they did, they would be on the streets with us. They would be fighting for answers and for justice. They would be demanding responsibility. All of this is me to my core. I have absorbed the struggle like a sponge. And how far like this? All the way.



appendix

12 films to better understand the wars of the nineties

Marija Ilić

Films have tremendous power when it comes to shaping how we understand and remember the past. The images and narratives we see on screen can be critical for our understanding of the past. This influence is usually stronger than that of books or history textbooks, with films about the Vietnam War being a prime example of cinema shaping both the American and the global view of this war.

From our own experience, we know that films can also play an important role in nationalist homogenisation and preparing for war. One of the most well-known examples is the film Battle of Kosovo, which was shown on 28 June 1989, on the 600th anniversary of the battle itself and on the same day that Slobodan Milošević held a rally in Kosovo that is often seen as a symbolic moment setting off the disintegration of Yugoslavia and the wars that followed.

After the wars of the nineties, films also had an important role in the process of dealing with the past. Some opened taboo subjects, especially those related to war crimes, while others brought stories about people whose solidarity crossed ethnic lines or those who tried to prevent violence, and some films foregrounded the long-term consequences of war and the way it continues to affect societies and people's lives.

Everyone in the Balkans probably has their own selection of films that are in some way important for understanding the wars, their consequences and the process of peacebuilding. We decided to ask participants who took part in the Training of Trainers in Peacebuilding last year about which films they would recommend as important for understanding the wars of the nineties in the former Yugoslavia.

Their recommendations showcase the range of stories about the wars of the nineties – from those that tackle the consequences of violence and divisions to stories about people who made significant personal choices in difficult circumstances.

Marko (2021)

For Valentina Petra Eterović Buble, this film is special because it strongly reminds her of the harm and damage war leaves in its wake, but also of the ways people continue living with these experiences for years after the conflict. This film is about the consequences of war that often remain unseen by others – the loneliness, bitterness and burden carried by people after everything they had been through.

She thinks it is especially important that the film shows how war can change the way people look at each other, creating enemies out of people who were once neighbours, friends, or otherwise close. Still, what makes this film stand out for Valentina is its message that the only way people can approach each other is by being prepared to accept and share their own pain. The film left an impression on her because through a story about two Markos, it depicts different, but at the same time very similar experiences of people marked by war.

Peacemaker (2025)

For Ana Tomić, this film is important because it makes us rethink what we were taught and examine how peace activism and nonviolent action can bring concrete change when they are given priority over armed conflict.

She points out that the film reminds us what it means to have integrity even when conflicts are very intense or when they are at their apex. As Ana says, human life is always more valuable than any national territory or political interest. She sees this film as important also because it depicts the absurdity and senselessness of wars, opening space for thinking about what societies choose when they opt for violence.

Srbenka (2018)

For Tita Mikulaš, the film Srbenka is one of the best documentary depictions of dealing with the past. The film follows the preparations for staging Oliver Frljić's

play about the killing of Aleksandra Zec and her family in 1991 in Zagreb, but at the same time, it speaks to the legacy of war and the experience of postwar generations in Croatia.

For her, it is especially significant that through personal thought processes and changes in the actors, the film shows their emotions and the way they deal with traumas related to the war. The context in which the play is staged becomes an important part of the story about postwar Croatian society that never fully faced up to the crimes of its "own" side, even when it comes to the killing of a child.

The importance of the film for Tita is precisely in presenting the different viewpoints showing the extent to which the wartime past still affects daily life and is still an integral part of it.

Remake (2003)

This film left a strong impression on Sunita Dautbegović Bošnjaković because of its emotional and realistic depiction of the war, suffering and consequences of violence on individuals, families and entire societies. Through a story about the nineties war in Bosnia and Herzegovina, but also a parallel story from the Second World War, this film shows how the experiences of different generations can be connected through shared themes of loss, suffering and fighting to survive.

She particularly highlights the film's portrayal of how war changes people, their relationships and decisions, but also how it often brings out the most difficult sides of people. For Sunita, one of the important messages of the film is that there are no winners in war, it only leaves behind trauma, loss and consequences that persist long after the conflict has ended.

It is particularly important for her that the film shows how history in this region is often repeated and how important it is to preserve memory of the past, not only in order to understand what happened, but in order to learn from it and make sure similar tragedies are not repeated.

Having lived in Grbavica for a time during the siege of Sarajevo, Sunita also has a personal reaction to the film. Some scenes hit particularly close to home for her because they remind her of the everyday experiences of people during the war. This is precisely why she believes Remake is an important film for understanding the start of the war in Sarajevo and the absurdity of living in a city divided by war, where at one point the river became the dividing line between two completely different realities of life.

No Man's Land (2001)

Fatmire Ajdari and Skender Sadiku recommend the film *No Man's Land* (2001) directed by Danis Tanović. For Fatmire, this is one of the most powerful films about the senselessness of war, human nature and the complexity of the conflicts in the Balkans. The film depicts the absurdity of wartime reality through a story about two soldiers from opposing sides, a Serb and a Bosniak, and a third soldier who is lying on a landmine that can explode at any moment. She highlights that the film shows how divisions into "us" and "them" can become stronger than the fact that behind the uniforms are people with similar fears and needs. The film deals with difficult topics through black humour and satire, but this is precisely how it shows that wars are often absurd and senseless.

Fatmire also points out the film's criticism of the international community and the media. UNPROFOR is portrayed as a system often more wrapped up in its own procedures than actually rescuing people, while the media are shown as seeking out sensationalism and turning human suffering into stories for the public.

It is important for her that the film avoids a simple division into heroes and villains. *No Man's Land* doesn't let anyone off the hook. Instead, it shows the complexity of human decisions under extreme circumstances.

For Skender, this film is important because of its simple but powerful way of portraying the absurdity of war and some of the patterns of thinking that accompanied the conflicts in the former Yugoslavia. He highlights the question of "who started it" as a key theme in the film, and a question that often spirals into a vicious circle of mutual recriminations.

He believes the film can help people better understand the "Balkan mentality" and the misconceptions that contributed to maintaining divisions. He

recommends it precisely because the film manages to convey serious messages through a simple story and humour.

Deserter (1992)

Marko Milosavljević believes this film by director Živojin Pavlović is worth seeing for its portrayal of deserters in war, those refusing to accept roles imposed at a time when the country and the existing system of values are falling apart.

The film follows two officers whose army and country are falling apart and through their perspectives it tells the story of individuals trying to position themselves towards war and responsibility. It is particularly significant because it was shot in wartime circumstances, on location in Vukovar, and it is one of the first films to deal with the breakup of Yugoslavia.

Neđo od Ljubuškog (2012)

Vanja Stokić recommends the 2012 film about Neđo Galić, a Croat from Ljubuški who, together with his wife Štefica, helped Bosniaks during the war to get out of prison camps and leave town. Using forged letters of invitation, they helped people escape, even though they were later subject to pressures and violence themselves.

Vanja chose this film because it brings to light individuals who stood up to the violence even when it meant risking their own safety. For her, it is an important reminder that you can stay true to your principles even when you are the only one and when fear and hatred are being spread around you.

She highlights that during the war, there were many people who did not support the violence, but lacked the courage or the possibility to act. Stories such as this one about Neđo show the importance of individual decisions in times when societies face violence.

Pred doždot (*Before the Rain*, 1994)

For Teodora Sokolovska, this is one of the most important films about the nineties because through three connected stories – "Words", "Faces", and "Pictures", it deals with the consequences of war, ethnic divisions and people trying to find their place in a world that is changing.

The first part of the film follows a young Albanian woman running away from persecution and finding shelter in a monastery. The second part follows Macedonian photographer Aleksandar Kirkov returning to the Balkans after having worked as a photojournalist during the war in Bosnia. He faces the consequences of his experience and the boundary between witnessing violence and taking part in it.

The third part of the film sees Aleksandar return to Macedonia after the breakup of Yugoslavia, at a time when tensions and divisions are increasing among people who had previously lived together in peace.

Teodora points out that the film is layered and this makes it important. It doesn't only deal with political events, but is about how historical watersheds affect relationships between people and their personal choices. The film won the Golden Lion at the Venice Film Festival and was nominated for the Oscar in the category for Best Foreign Language Film.

The Other Side of Everything (2017)

Iva Baraba recommends two films. For Iva, *The Other Side of Everything* is important because through the story of one family, it shows the various political periods and changes that shaped the lives of people in the former Yugoslavia. The film follows the history of one family, but at the same time speaks to broader social and political upheavals and the way big ideologies affect people's everyday lives.

She particularly points out the question the film opens up: *"Are we absorbed as individuals into the ideologies of ruling structures?"* Through a personal story, the film makes us think about how our attitudes, decisions and relationships are shaped by society and the political circumstances in which we live.

The Man Who Could Not Remain Silent (2024)

Iva also recommends the short film *The Man Who Could Not Remain Silent* about the role of individuals in situations of violence. For her, this film is important because it clearly shows the roles we take on when faced with injustice and violence, and the consequences of our decision to react or remain silent.

The film opens up the question of responsibility of bystanders and how an individual's (non-)reaction can influence whether the violence will be stopped or

continued. Through a short, thirteen-minute story, it shows how important it is to recognise moments when you should take a stand, even at risk to yourself.

Milena (2024)

For Slobodan Blagovčanin, this film is important because through a personal story, it deals with the long-lasting consequences of the wars of the nineties and the experience of people who were forced to leave their homes. The story unfolds in two time periods: during Operation Storm in the past and in the present, showing how war trauma and difficult decisions continue to shape the lives of people many years after a conflict ends.

He particularly highlights the film's message that leaving a war affected area does not mean an end to suffering, but that the consequences of war persist through memories, losses and attempts to resume normal life. Even though this is a short film, he believes it manages to convey powerful messages about human resilience, loss and the need to understand the experiences of people forced to flee from war.

The Enemy (2011)

For Dimitrije Glukčević, *The Enemy* is the film that reminds him the most of the conflicts from the nineties. Some scenes and dialogues from the film have remained etched in his mind and when he rewatched it, he realised that it could also be traumatic. For him, the film is both memorable and difficult, which is why he wasn't sure whether to recommend it.

The story begins a week after ceasefire is established, when soldiers are removing landmines they had planted just a few days before, while international peacekeepers watch from a safe distance. It was precisely this beginning that opened up the question of what a film about the war would be like if it tried to depict the situation after a ceasefire, and what really happens after hostilities have formally stopped.

Dimitrije was particularly struck by the questions the film poses, including why someone would leave university to go to war, and one line from the film stuck in his mind: "It's easier to stick a flag into the earth than a plough."

Next Year is Our 30th Anniversary

Next year we mark 30 years of our work and this is our last printed annual report.

There will be more annual reports, don't worry. Except that next year, along with our regular annual report, you will also receive a report about our 30 years. And as of 2028, the annual report will be digital.

Even after 29 years, we're still re-examining and making changes where we can. Digital reports will be easier to follow, search through and store, rather than piling up on a shelf. And they're better for our planet.

Before we move on, thank you.

Thank you for being part of these 29 years: thank you to the team, associates, donors, veterans, training participants and all those who believed in us and still believe that what we are doing is possible.

Ok, so books, reports, publications - these are exciting for the bookworms among us.

Thirty years is a long time. Long enough to accumulate many stories, people, cities, attempts, mistakes and reasons to be proud. Yet, when we look at what we are doing today, we sometimes get the feeling that we are more or less where we were 20 or 25 years ago. The hope is similar, though it sometimes varies, the direction is the same, but the rate at which we are going sometimes changes.

And after everything we have done, we should celebrate.

To mark 30 years, the celebrations will be a bit bigger and a bit longer than usual. We will start in Sarajevo and reach Belgrade. Much like the story of CNA.

And there will be opportunities to meet with people with whom in these past years we have shared hope, trainings, conversations, travels, dilemmas, and everything in between.

And perhaps it will be most interesting to see where we have achieved what once seemed like "maybe someday".

If someone had asked us in 1997 whether in 25 years veterans of once enemy armies would come together to lay flowers at sites of suffering, whether they would appear on TV and have people on air thank them – we would have said, "maybe someday".

Well, that "someday" arrived.

See you in Sarajevo. And then in Belgrade. And probably also a few places in between.

For more, as kids much younger than CNA would say, click, like, share and subscribe to our channels (Instagram, Facebook, Bluesky, X, YouTube).