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Godišnji izveštaj 2015  
Annual Report 2015

Centar za nenasilnu akciju  
Centre for Nonviolent Action  
Sarajevo | Beograd

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

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



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## Uvod

U trenutku kad se ispisuje ovaj uvod Evropska Unija odredila je milijardu(!) dolara za jačanje svojih vanjskih granica protiv rijeka sirijskih, iračkih i drugih bliskoistočnih izbjeglica, Mađarska se zidovima i bodljikavom žicom uspostavila kao braniteljica Šengenskog prostora, a Hrvatska i Srbija ratuju. Doduše, još uvijek samo verbalno, iako taj verbalni rat itekako osjeća bilo tko tko pokuša preći ne samo hrvatsko-srpsku granicu, već i granice tih zemalja sa Bosnom i Hercegovinom. Čini se da je potpuno nemoguće predvidjeti što će biti za dva mjeseca, a nekmoli u sljedećih godinu dana. Naznake ove situacije, međutim, postoje već i u našem prošlogodišnjem izvještaju. I tada, kao i sada, jedino što možemo, kako se ne bismo osjećali nemoćni pred nasiljem, ratnim i strukturalnim, rasizmom, strahom i predrasudama, jest raditi najbolje što znamo i onako kako smatramo da treba. Umjesto defetizma, valja misliti i o tome da bi svijet, ili barem ovaj naš balkanski prostor, bez nastojanja i težnji za izgradnjom trajnog mira bio puno gore mjesto. U tom duhu vam predstavljamo osamnaesti godišnji izvještaj o našim aktivnostima za period septembar/rujan 2014. – septembar/rujan 2015.

Proteklu su godinu obilježile aktivnosti proizašle s našeg posljednjeg Treninga ta trenere/ice, pa smo ove godine, u tako proširenom krugu suradnika, po prvi put organizirali višejezični trening iz izgradnje mira za građane i građanke Makedonije, Srbije i Kosova, i jednako tako, poslije dužeg vremena radili sa studentima/cama, na Treningu iz izgradnje mira za studente i studentice iz Bosne i Hercegovine. Još nas ovakvih novosti očekuje tijekom ove godine, u oktobru/listopadu će uslijediti radionice sa srednjoškolicima iz podijeljenih gradova u Bosni i Hercegovini, kao i nastavak suradnje sa studentima u novembru/studenom. Ove godine smo puno radili i na produblivanju razmjene i suradnje sa našim inozemnim kolegama i partnerima. Jedan od ishoda je Međunarodni dijalog „Sjećanje, Pravda i Pomirenje?!“, održan u Sarajevu od 10-12.6., sa 50 učesnika iz Argentine, Bosne i Hercegovine, Hrvatske, Južne Afrike, Kanade, Kosova, Makedonije, Nizozemske, Njemačke, Srbije, Ujedinjenog Kraljevstva i Urugvaja. Još jedan ishod je prijevod našeg priručnika „Pomirenje?! Priručnik za rad na suočavanju s prošlošću kroz treninge i radionice“ na ruski jezik, koji će izaći krajem godine.

Kako „obična“ posjeta mješovite grupe ratnih veterana službenim komemoracijama i mjestima stradanja može značiti presudnu razliku kad je u pitanju narativ o ratu 1992-1995. u BiH posebno je bilo vidljivo na primjeru Velike Kladuše i Laništa, o čemu ćete imati prilike čitati na sljedećim stranicama. Kao što nam je iskustvo pokazalo do sada, mirovne akci-

je bivših boraca imaju posebno značajno mjesto u procesima uspostave dijaloga, izgradnje mira i povjerenja. Više o tome možete pročitati u publikaciji dostupnoj na našoj internetskoj stranici „Ratni veterani u procesu konstruktivnog suočavanja s prošlašću“. I ove smo godine sudjelovali na komemoraciji povodom obilježavanja godišnjice stradanja civila na mostu na Velikoj Moravi, u NATO bombardiranju Srbije 1999. Pravu priliku za posjetu mješovite grupe ratnih veterana mjestima stradanja u Hrvatskoj još čekamo. Takve akcije, naime, ne mogu biti organizirane bez podrške i sa hrvatske strane.

Istraživanje i dokumentiranje mjesta stradanja i sjećanja u Bosni i Hercegovini nakon rata 1992-1995. obuhvatilo je više od 80 spomenika i neobilježenih mjesta stradanja. Znatne poteškoće na koje smo nailazili u procesu prikupljanja podataka o spomenicima, ponešto su nam pomrsile račune i planove, no istraživanje je završeno, izrada publikacije je u svojoj posljednjoj fazi, i njezin izlazak očekujemo početkom 2016. Sav materijal, sa fotografijama i identifikacijskim karticama spomenika javnosti će biti dostupan i na posebnoj internetskoj stranici koja će služiti i kao baza za daljnje dopunjavanje.

Završeno je i istraživanje o sudbini Podunavskih Nijemaca i Njemica iz Vojvodine nakon Drugog svjetskog rata. Koristeći arhivsku građu, historijske studije i istraživanja, književna djela i medijske sadržaje, ali i razgovarajući s osobama koje imaju ovo životno iskustvo ili su se bavile ovom temom, nastojali smo dati neku vrstu pregleda njihovog prisustva, života i nestanka s ovih prostora. Ovu publikaciju ćemo također objaviti početkom sljedeće godine.

Iako nije ubrojana kao naša službena aktivnost, već više lična volja i motivacija većine nas iz CNA, ove godine smo bili u Prijedoru, u vrijeme obilježavanja komemoracija na Hrastovoj glavici, u Trnopolju i Omarskoj. Za nas je to značajno zbog podrške lokalnim organizacijama iz Prijedora, sa kojima imamo dugogodišnju suradnju, ali prije svega zbog nas samih, i uvida koje na takvim mjestima možemo da steknemo, susretom sa ljudima i suočavanjem sa događajima.

Za samu 2016. imamo puno planova, nekih novih ali i onih za koje smo dugo čekali priliku. No, prije svega, pozivamo vas da pogledate što je za nas obilježilo proteklu godinu dana. Nadamo se vašoj povratnoj informaciji, reakciji, kritici, ali i podršci, i radovalo bi nas da one ne izostanu.

CNA tim







mirovno obrazovanje

# Ideje, akcije, podrška – o četvrtoj fazi Treninga za trenere/ice

*Andrevlje, 7-13. novembar/studen 2014.*

Poslednja, četvrta faza Treninga za trenere i trenerice iz izgradnje mira (TzT), održana je od 7. do 13. novembra u Andrevlju, na Fruškoj Gori, Srbija.

Podsećamo, program TzT počeo je u maju 2014. godine, okuplja ljude iz zemalja bivše Jugoslavije, a više o njemu možete pročitati u prethodnim godišnjem izveštaju.

Već prvog dana rada pridružio nam se Abdullah Ferizi, mirovni aktivista sa Kosova, koji nam je bio gost i na prvoj fazi TzT-a. Kako smo u Andrevlju planirali zajedničke akcije i aktivnosti, šta ćemo i kako dalje raditi u regionu, smatrali smo važnim da nam Abdullah približi kontekst Kosova, i da svoju sliku, kako tamo izgleda rad na suočavanju sa prošlošću i pomirenju, šta je moguće raditi, šta nije, šta je izgradnja, a šta razgradnja mira. Dosta smo sa njim razgovarali, postavljali mu razna pitanja, iznosili i delili strahove i dileme. Zahvalni smo mu što nam se pridružio, i pružio sliku koja nije lažno optimistična, i koja od svih nas zahteva dalje duboko promišljanje, ali i delovanje.

Kako je veliki broj učesnika-ca na prethodnoj fazi TzT-a izrazio potrebu da više nauči o finansijskom delu projekata, drugog dana treninga nam je radionicu o fundraisingu i donatorskim politikama održala Ana Marjanović Rudan, konsultantkinja.

Između dve poslednje faze TzT-a pozvali smo učesike/ice da razmišljaju o akcijama i aktivnostima koje bi želeli da sprovedu. CNA je doneo internu odluku da, u zavisnosti od ideja koje nam budu predložene i načina njihove razrade, neke od njih podrži u daljoj realizaciji. Bili smo ne malo iznenađeni kada smo shvatili da ideja ima više nego učesnika-ca, čak 21! I da su uglavnom jako kvalitetne, promišljene, te da za cilj imaju dalji rad na izgradnji mira u regionu. Tako da smo najveći deo poslednje faze uložili u međusobnu razmenu, predstavljanje ideja, davanje feedbacka, kao i za promišljanje o formiranju timova koji bi ideje sprovodili i detaljnije planiranje njihove realizacije.

Morali smo da od tolikog broja ideja odaberemo nekoliko, što je bilo izuzetno teško. Zato i smatramo da je važno reći da nijedna ideja nije odbačena, i zaboravljena, već da ćemo se nekima baviti ubrzo, nekima,

možda, kasnije, dok smo za neke ideje, koje se odnose na pojedine države u regionu, preporučili učesnicima TzT-a da razmišljaju o saradnji sa našim partnerskim organizacijama (kao što je Mirovna akcija iz Prilepa, na primer).

Osam ideja je prošlo sve faze razrade i planiranja u okviru treninga za trenere/ice, i to su (naslovi su radni):

1. Regionalni literarni konkurs na temu suočavanja sa prošlošću
2. Regionalni mirovni savet - zajednički regionalni glas grupe u javnosti po pitanjima bitnim za izgradnju mira
3. Publikacija usmenih istorija o ljudima koji su u toku rata pomagali svojim komšijama
4. Trening za studente-kinje u BiH
5. Nekoliko jednodnevnih radionica za srednjoškolce-ke iz podeljenih gradova u BiH
6. Trening o izgradnji mira i suočavanju s prošlošću za učesnike-ce sa područja Srbije, Kosova i Makedonije
7. Akcije obeležavanje neobebeženih mesta stradanja
8. Dokumentarni film o ljudima koji su napustili svoje kuće, 20 godina posle Dejtonskog sporazuma

Kako smo dobili odlične ideje, a svi učesnici/e pokazali visoku motivisanost da u aktivnostima učestvuju, trenerski tim je doneo odluku da u kasnijim fazama razrade odluči koje će sve inicijative i na koji način da podrži, do sprovedbe.



Ovaj susret smo iskoristili za niz video snimaka, od kojih će jedan deo poslužiti za video radove otvorene široj javnosti, a drugi za lepe interne uspomene na vreme provedeno zajedno.

Otišli smo iz Andrevlja bez suza i pozdrava, svesni da

nas zajedno čeka još puno rada, da smo sa treniranjem završili, ali vrlo ohrabreni jer smo podrška jedni drugima, i jer nas je, posle ovog TzT-a, bar 19 mirovnih aktivista/kinja više.

K.M.



## mir-paqe-мир 2015

*Dojran 15-24. maj/svibanj 2015.*

Tokom poslednje faze Treninga za trenere i trenerice, koji je CNA organizovao 2014. godine, rodila se ideja o višezjeničnom treningu za izgradnju mira za građane i građanke Makedonije, Srbije i Kosova. Nije izgledalo lako, ali imali smo jaku želju da probamo. Trenerski tim sastavljen je od tri učesnice TzT-a – Albulene Karage (Megjashi - Skopje), Nataše Okilj (CNA) i Jasne Dimitrijević – i dvojice iskusnih trenera, Nexhata Ismajlija (ANP – Action for Nonviolence and Peacebuilding – Gnjilane) i Nenada Vukosavljevića (CNA), koji su u ovom procesu bili neprocenjiva pomoć i podrška. Prvi sastanak održali smo

u februaru 2015. u Skoplju i dogovorili okvirni koncept, kao i mesto i vreme devetodnevnog treninga Uvod u izgradnju mira – Star Dojran od 15. do 24. maja 2015.

Za trening je stiglo 75 prijava, iz Srbije (23), Makedonije (23) i Kosova (29). Napravili smo izbor od 18 učesnika/ca i angažovali vrsne prevodioce Naile Kecmendi i Ismeta Ballazhija.

A onda je, dva dana pred odlazak trenerskog tima na Dojran na pripreme, izvedena “antiteroristička akcija” u Kumanovu, u kojoj je po medijskim navodima poginulo 20 ljudi i zapitali smo se – šta sad? Imali smo dileme da li

da odložimo trening, pošto nismo mogli da znamo da li će se nasilje proširiti, ili da ipak krenemo i u Makedoniji sačekamo razvoj događaja i potvrdu učesnika/ca o dolasku. I oni su, kao i trenerski tim, bili u nedoumici da li da odustanu, ali do početka treninga se situacija smirila, pa smo mogli da nastavimo po planu, ali još dodatno motivisani za rad na izgradnji mira. Ne – uprkos eskalaciji nasilja, već – upravo zbog toga!

Trening smo počeli sa dvoje učesnika manje nego što smo planirali, pošto nismo mogli da, u poslednji čas, pronađemo zamenu za sve učesnike/ce koji su otkazali. Tada smo doneli odluku da, kao podršku i resursnu osobu, pozovemo koleginicu Aleksandru Bogdanovsku iz Skoplja, koja nam se pridružila petog radnog dana treninga i značajno doprinela radu na razumevanju makedonskog konteksta.

Treninzi sa konsektivnim prevodom nisu jednostavni za planiranje, niti za izvođenje. U pripremama nismo mogli precizno proceniti kojom dinamikom je najbolje ići i tu su nam od velike pomoći bile preporuke Nexhata iz ANP sa bogatim iskustvom vođenja višejezičnih treninga. Odlučili smo da nam u vežbama fokus bude na senzibilizaciji za nasilje, razumevanju sukoba i stvaranju baze za aktivizam u izgradnji mira, ali da otvorimo i teme kao što su suočavanje s prošlošću i gender. Krenuli smo oprezno i polako. Međutim, na naše veliko zadovoljstvo, grupa je

bila radoznala i otvorena i za nešto dublja promišljanja, pa smo, potaknuti njihovom dinamikom i interesovanjem, malo promenili prvobitni plan rada i intenzivnije radili na razradi konflikta. Osetili smo jaku želju učesnika za upoznavanjem konteksta, prevazilaženjem prepreka, razmenom, saradnjom, i to nam je bio jasan pokazatelj da možemo ići i dalje od uvoda u izgradnju mira. Tako smo na kraju došli do koncepta treninga koji, po složenosti i razradi tema, zapravo i nije toliko daleko od Osnovnog treninga iz izgradnje mira, ali nam je rad sa prevodom ipak diktirao sporiji tempo.

Sada se pitamo – šta dalje? Puno smo naučili jedni od drugih i želimo da stvorimo još prilika za nova učenja. Više puta smo od učesnika čuli da im je baš bio potreban jedan ovakav trening i gotovo je izvesno da će se u narednom periodu raditi da planiranju treninga koji su posebno usmereni na kontekste Srbije, Makedonije i Kosova. Ostaje otvoreno pitanje da li bi se na nekom sledećem treningu mogli/e uključiti i učesnici/ce iz Albanije, kao i da li bi možda trebalo ovakav trening probati i na engleskom, kao radnom jeziku.

Za ovih devet dana nakupilo se brdo ideja za razradu, poboljšanje i realizaciju sličnih treninga. Verujemo da je Mir – paqe – мир 2015. tek prvi u nizu.

Jasna Dimitrijević



## Osvrti učesnika/ca treninga

### ***Učesci sa Treninga za izgradnju mira (Dojran 2015)***

Kažu, da promenimo svet moramo da počnemo od sebe. Trening za izgradnju mira nudi tačno to- ličnu promenu od koje postajete bolja ličnost. U Dojran sam došla po malo skeptična, a otišla sam motivisana i inspirisana. Tokom trajanja treninga moji lični horizonti počinju da se šire. U meni je počelo nešto da se menja, kao da sam imala neku zavesu pred mojim očima koja je polako počela da se otvara, a ja nisam ni bila svesna njenog postojanja.

Radionice su bile koncipirane tako da mi učesnici sami izvlačimo zaključke. Teme koje su obrađene su se bavile aktuelnim uslovima u našim državama. Uspeli smo da načnemo i prodiskutujemo sporne odnose između Makedonaca i Albanaca, Albanaca i Srba. Jezička barijera nam nije bila problem, zato što komunikacija je šira od jezika, a mi smo imali volje za dijalog. Na kraju dana bitno je razumevanje, a kada mislimo i delujemo u istom pravcu uspeh je neminovan.

Ovo je škola za pomirenje, trening na kom smo saznali kako da se nosimo sa konfliktima. Međutim, ovaj trening ne nudi neku volšebnu formulu ili neko konkretno rešenje. Ono što nudi je mogućnost za samoizgradnju, širenje vidika, odstranjivanje stereotipa i diskriminacije, suočavanje sa prošlošću i traženje načina kako da rešimo i konačno zatvorimo sporne međuetničke pitanja. Živimo u mutietničkim društvima, gde su različite nacionalnosti neretko razlog za nasilje. Interesantno je kako u takvim situacijama, kada tenzije rastu, retko kada razmišljamo

### ***Mbresa nga Trajnimi për Ndërtimin e Paqes (Dojran 2015)***

Thonë, për të ndryshuar botën, duhet të fillojmë nga vetja. Trajnimi për ndërtimin e paqes ofron pikërisht këtë- ndryshim personal pas së cilit bëheni një person më i mirë. Në Dojran arrita skeptike, ndërsa ika e motivuar dhe e frymëzuar. Si rridhte trajnimi, horizontet e mia filluan të zgjeroheshin. Diçka brenda meje filloi të ndryshojë. Sikur kisha një perde përpara syve e cila dal ngadalë filloi të hapet, e unë as që isha në dijeni për egzistencën e saj.

Punëtoritë ishin të koncipuara në mënyrë që ne pjesëmarrësit të nxirrnim përfundimet tona vetë. Temat shtjellonin gjendjet aktuale në shtetet tona. Arritëm të iniciojmë dhe të diskutojmë për raportet kontestuese mes maqedonasve dhe shqiptarëve, shqiptarëve dhe serbëve. Barrierën gjuhësore nuk e kishim problem, sepse komunikimi është më i gjërë se gjuha, e tek ne kishte vullnet për dialog. Në fund të ditës është e rëndësishme të kuptohemi, e kur mendojmë se veprojmë në drejtim të njejtë, suksesi është i pashmangshëm.

Kjo është shkollë për pajtimin, trajnim në të cilin shtjellojmë se si të merremi me konfliktet. Megjithatë, ky trajnim nuk ofron ndonjë formulë magjike ose zgjidhje konkrete. Ajo që ofron, është mundësi për vetë zhvillim, zgjerim të horizonteve, largim të stereotipeve dhe diskriminimit, ballafaqim me të kaluarën edhe kërkim të mënyrave se si të zgjidhen dhe përfundimisht të mbyllim çështjet ndër-etnike kontestuese. Jetojmë në një shoqëri multietnike, ndërsa kombësitë e ndryshme jo rrallë janë arsye për dhunë. Është interesante se si në situata të tilla, kur tensionet rriten, rrallë mendojmë se çfarë mund të bëjmë ne. Më lehtë është që topin ta gjuajmë në anën tjetër. Gjithmonë

### ***Импресији од Тренингот за градење на мир (Дојран 2015)***

Велат, за да го промениме светот, мора да почнеме од себе си. Тренингот за градење на мирот го нуди токму тоа- лична промена по која станувате подобра личност. Во Дојран пристигнав по малку скептична, а заминав мотивирана и инспирирана. Како течеше тренингот, моите лични хоризонти почнаа да се шират. Во мене нешто почна да се менува. Како да имав некоја завеса пред моите очи која полека почна да се отвара, а јас не бев ни свесна за нејзиното постоење.

Работилниците беа конципирани така да ние учесниците сами ги извлекувавме заклучоците. Темите обработуваа актуелни состојби во нашите држави. Успевме да ги начнеме и да продискутираме за спорните односи меѓу Македонците и Албанците, Албанците и Србите. Јазичната бариера не ни беше проблем, зашто комуникацијата е поширока од јазикот, а кај нас имаше волја за дијалог. На крајот на денот битно е разбирањето, а кога мислиме и дејствуваме во иста насока, успехот е неминовен.

Ова е школа за помирувањето, тренинг од кој создаваме како да се справуваме со конфликтите. Меѓутоа, овој тренинг не нуди некоја волšebна формула или конкретно решение. Она што нуди е можност за себе изградување, ширење на видците, отстранување на стереотипите и дискриминациите, соочување со минатото и барање начини како да ги разрешиме и конечно да ги затвориме спорните меѓуетнички прашања. Живееме во мултиетничко општество, а различните националности неретко се причина за насилства. Интересно е како во такви ситуации, кога тензиите растат, ретко кога размислуваме што можеме ние да направиме. Најлесно е топката да се префрли на

šta možemo mi da napravimo. Najlakše je lopta da se prebaci na drugu stranu. Uvek krivicu tražimo kod drugog, a nikada ne gledamo na sebe. Tražimo mir, a nismo spremni ništa da preuzmemo da postignemo isti. U većini smo takvi. Ili nećemo da preuzmemo prvi korak ili to pitanje ostavljamo za kreatore visoke politike. No ipak, ima jedna mala grupa ljudi koji nisu diplomate, a uče za miroљubivo rešavanje konflikta. Deo od njih su članovi trenerskog tima. Oni su glas razuma. Ovaj trening preporučujem svim ostalim koji smatraju da je pomirenje pitanje za političare ili da ustupke treba da napravi samo druga strana.

Ovaj trening će da vas nauči da i vi možete da napravite nešto na putu ka pomirenju. To nije lak put. Postoji previše stereotipa duboko ukorenjenih u našem društvu za koje je potrebno mnogo vremena da se iskorene. No sa malko truda i jakom voljom ništa nije nemoguće. Zato budite mudri, počnite da menjate sebe zato da promenite svet.

Elena Dimovska

fajin e kërkojmë tek tjetri, e asnjëherë nuk e shikojmë veten. Duam paqe, e nuk jemi të gatshëm të ndërmarrim asgjë për të arritur të njejtën. Shumica jemi të atillë . Ose nuk duam të bëjmë hapin e parë ose këto çështje ua lejmë kreatorëve të politikave të larta. Por megjithatë, egziston një grup i vogël njerëzish të cilët nuk janë diplomatë, e mësojnë për zgjidhjen paqësore të konflikteve. Pjesë e tij janë edhe anëtarët e ekipit trajnues. Ata janë zëri i arsyes. Këtë trajnim ua rekomandoj të gjithë atyre të cilët konsiderojnë se pajtimi është vetëm çështje e politikanëve ose se lëshime duhet të bëjë vetëm pala tjetër.

Ky trajnim do t'ju mësojë që edhe ju mund të bëni diçka në rrugën drejt pajtimit. Nuk është rrugë e lehtë. Egzistojnë shumë stereotipe të rrënjosura thellë në shoqërinë tonë për të cilat duhet shumë kohë për tu çrrënjosur. Por me pak mund dhe vullnet të fortë nuk është e pamundur. Prandaj bëhuni të urtë, filloni të ndryshoni veten që të ndryshoni botën.

Elena Dimovska

другата страна. Секогаш вината ја бараме во другиот, а никогаш не се погледнуваме себе си. Сакаме мир, а не сме спремни ништо да преземеме за да го постигнеме истиот. Мнозинството сме такви. Или не сакаме да го преземеме првиот чекор или тоа прашање го оставаме за креаторите на високите политики. Но сепак, има една мала група на луѓе кои не се дипломати, а учат за мирољубиво решавање на конфликтите. Дел од нив се и членовите на тренерскиот тим. Тие се гласот на разумот. Овој тренинг го препорачувам на сите останати кои сметаат дека помирувањето е прашање за политичарите или дека отстапки треба да прави само другата страна.

Овој тренинг ќе ве научи дека и вие може да направите нешто на патот кон помирувањето. Тоа не е лесен пат. Постојат премногу стереотипи длабоко вкоренети во нашето општество за кои е потребно многу време да се искоренат. Но со малку труд и силна волја ништо не е невозможно. Затоа бидете мудри, почнете да се менувате себе си за да го промените и светот.

Елена Димовска



***Utisci sa Uvodnog treninga za izgradnju mira, Dojran 2015.***

Tokom marta 2015. posredstvom mejling liste Centra za nenasilnu akciju obavestena sam o odrzavanju Uvodnog treninga za izgradnju mira na Dojranu. Prijavu za trening poslala sam ne u pet, nego u sedam do dvanaest pre isteka roka za prijavljivanje, ne ocekujuci da ce biti prihvacena ali i ne gubeuci ništa apliciranjem. Nekoliko dana kasnije obavestena sam da je prijava prihvacena i tada po prvi put postavljam sebi pitanje gde idem i kakva ocekivanja imam od desetodnevnog treninga čija sa vrlo zahtevnom agendom.

Dobijam slobodne dane na poslu, polako pakujem stvari i onda poslednje subote pred put počinje da se govori o malom ratu koji se dešava u Kumanovu. Tek tada počinjem da pratim vesti i dešavanja iz sata u sat, obavestavam se sa različitim izvorima jer poslednjih godina prestajem da pratim masovne medije i pažljivo selektujem informacije koje do mene dopiru iz javne sfere, zarad mentalnog zdravlja. Odmah mi je upala u oči nepodudarnost informacija u zavisnosti od izvora koji ih plasira. Javno mnjenje ne preporučuje putovanja u pravcu Makedonije, policija podiže mere bezbednosti, vojska takodje a ja duboko u sebi naslućujem izazov i osećam da je zveckanje oružijem pravi trenutak da se pokrenu neki drugi argumenti u koje verujem i pokrene priča o izgradnji mira.

Prvi utisci sa Dojrana bili su prilično konfuzni. Prilazim stolu za kojim sede potpuno nepoznata lica koja govore meni nerazumljivim jezikom, svi su besкрајно ljubazni i nasmejani ali nesigurnost i opreznost u ophođenju lebdi izmedju nas, uprkos čvrstom stisku ruke za dobrodošlicu

***Mbresa nga Trajnimi për Ndërtimin e Paqes, Dojran 2015.***

Gjatë marsit të 2015ës përmes mejling listës së Qendrës për Aksion të Padhunshëm u njoftova se do të mbahet Trajnim Hyrës në Ndërtimin e Paqes, në Dojran. Aplikacionin për trajnim e dërgova jo në pesë, po shtatë minuta në dymbëdhjetë përpara se të kalonte afati për aplikim, jo sepse prisja se do të pranohesha, por ngaqë nuk kisha asgjë për të humbur. Disa ditë më vonë më lajmruan që aplikacioni im është pranuar dhe atëherë, për të parën herë, i parashtrova pyetje vetes se ku shkoj dhe se çfarë pritshmërihë kam nga një trajnim dhjetëditor me agjendë shumë të ngjeshur.

Marr ditë të lira në punë, filloj të paktohem ngadalë, e pastaj të shtunën e fundit përpara udhëtimit folet për një luftë të vogël e cila zhvillohet në Kumanovë. Tek atëherë filloj të ndjek lajmet nga ora në orë, njoftohem nga burime të ndryshme ngaqë vitet e fundit kam ndalur së ndjekuri mas mediat dhe selektoj me shumë kujdes informata nga sfera publike që arrijnë tek unë, për shkak të shëndetit mendor. Menjëherë më bien në sy mospërputhshmëritë e informatave varësisht prej asaj se cili burim i plasom. Opinioni publik nuk e rekomandon udhëtimin në drejtim të Maqedonisë, policia ndërmerr masa sigurie, ushtria gjithashtu, ndërsa unë thellë në vete nuhas sfidë dhe ndjejë që kërcitja e armëve është momenti i duhur që të ngrihen argumente të tjera në të cilat unë besoj dhe të nisë rrëfimi për ndërtimin e paqes.

Përshtypjet e para nga Dojrani ishin kryesisht konfuz. I afrohem tavolinës në të cilën rrinë ulur fytyra totalisht të panjohura të cilat mua më flasin në një gjuhë që nuk e kuptoj fare, të gjithë janë tej mase gjentilë dhe të qeshur, por në të njëjtën kohë pasiguria dhe kujdesi se si të qasemi rrinë pezull sipër nesh, pavarësisht shtrëngimit të fortë të duarve për mirëseardhje nga ana e ekipit trajnues dhe buzëqeshjes së gjërë të Albulena

***Впечатоци од Воведниот тренинг за градење на мирот, Дојран 2015.***

Во текот на март 2015. преку мејлинг листата на Центарот за ненасилна акција известена сум за оддржувањето на Воведен тренинг за градење на мирот во Дојран. Пријавата за тренингот ја пратив, не пет, туку седум до дванаесет пред истекувањето на рокот за пријавување, не очекувајќи дека ќе биде прифатена туку дека не губев ништо со аплицирањето. Неколку дена подоцна известена сум дека пријавата е прифатена и тогаш за прв пат си поставив себеси прашање каде одам и какви очекувања имам од десетодневен тренинг со многу обемна агенда.

Добивам слободни денови на работа, полека си ги пакувам работите и потоа последната сабота пред патувањето почнувам од саат на саат, да се известувам од различни извори бидејќи последните години престанав да следам масовни медиуми и многу внимателно ги селектирам информациите кои допираат до мене од јавната сфера, поради менталното здравје. Веднаш ми паѓа во очи неусогласеноста на информациите зависно од изворот кој ги пласира. Јавното мислење не препорачува да се патува во правец кон Македонија, полицијата носи безбедносни мерки, војската исто така, а јас длабоко во себе насетувам предизвик и имам чувство дека звецкањето на оружјето е вистински момент да се покрене друг аргумент во кој верувам и кој ја покренува приказната за градење на мирот.

Првите впечатоци од Дојран ми беа прилично конфужни. Се доближувам на масата позади која седат потполно непознати лица, кои ми говорат на мене неразбирлив јазик, сите се бескрајно љубезни и насмеани но несигурноста и претпазливоста во однесувањето



od strane trenerskog tima i širokom osmehu Abdulene Karage. Nikada ranije nisam učestvovala na višjejezičnim treninzima, činjenicu da ne govorimo istim jezikom nisam uzimala naročito ozbiljno tokom prijavljivanja smatrajući da ćemo biti pasivni primaoci sadržaja koji su predviđeni za obradu a eventualne zajedničke radionice odvijace se na jeziku koji svi znamo, a to bi bio engleski.

Sve moje iluzije pale su u vodu još na prvoj radionici prvog dana – svako/a je na svom maternjem jeziku govorio/la o putevima koji su prethodnili dolasku na Dojran, o očekivanjima, nedoumicama, predrasudama, životnim okolnostima, svesni/e tereta prošlosti i neizvesne budućnosti koja nas očekuje. Toliko lica, toliko priča, toliko imena teških za pamćenje. Kulminacija je bila rad u grupi sa članovima koji ne govore moj maternji jezik. Činjenica da oni ne mogu razumeti ni reč onoga što hoću da im saopštim, kao i da ja ne razumem ono o čemu oni govore, u prvom trenutku bila je potpuno parališuća. Osećaj koji se teško rečima može opisati, koji treba doživeti. Naravno, uz dobru volju jezička prepreka je vrlo brzo otklonjena – koristili smo se engleskim, rečima koje su razumljive i zajedničke iz naših jezika, asistencijom prevodioca ali ključni faktor uspeha u obavljanju zadatka koji se od nas očekivao bila je dobra volja za zajedničkim rešenjem uprkos preprekama koje su u u prvi mah bile nepremostive ali nas nisu obeshrabrile.

Nakon tog iskustva, pohađanje treninga dobilo je sasvim novu dimenziju. Tada

Karagës. Asnjëherë më parë nuk kam marrë pjesë në trajnime më shumë gjuhëshe, faktin që nuk e flasim të njejtën gjuhë nuk e morra shumë seriozisht kur aplikova duke menduar se do të jemi thjeshtë pranues pasivë të përmbajtjes e cila është paraparë për tu shtjelluar, ndërsa punëtoritë që eventualisht mund të mbahen, do të zhvillohen në gjuhë të cilën e kuptojmë të gjithë, e kjo do të ishte anglishtja.

Të gjitha iluzionet e mia ranë në ujë që nga punëtorja e parë në ditën e parë- secili/a në gjuhën e tij/saj foli për rrugën që i ka paraprirë ardhjes në Dojran, për pritshmëritë, dilemat, paragjykimet, rrethanat jetësore, të vetëdijshëm/e për barrën e së kaluarës dhe për paqartësinë e së ardhmes që na pret. Aq shumë fytyra, aq shumë rrëfime, aq shumë emra të vështirë për tu mbajtur mend. Kulminacioni ishte puna në grupe me anëtarë të cilët nuk e kuptojnë gjuhën time amtare. Fakti që ata nuk mund të kuptojnë as edhe një fjalë nga ajo që dua t'ju përcjellë, ashtu si unë që s'marr vesh atë që flasin ata, në çastin e parë ishte komplet paralizuase. Ndjesi e cila vëshirë përshkruhet me fjalë, e cila duhet të përjetohet. Kuptohet, me vullnet të mirë barriera gjuhësore u rrëzua shpejt-përdorëm anglishten, fjalë të cilat kuptohen në të gjitha gjuhët tona, kishim ndihmën e përkthyesve por faktori kyç i suksesit në kryerjen e detyrave të cilat priteshin prej nesh ishte vullneti i mirë për të gjetur zgjidhje të përbashkëta përkaj pengesave të cilat në shikim të parë ishin të patejkalueshme dhe të cilat nuk na dekurajuan.

Pas kësajë përvoje, pjesëmarrja në trajnim morri një dimenzion tërësisht tjetër. Atëherë e kuptova se përse jam këtu, përse është e rëndësishme që të bisedojmë edhe

лебди помеѓу нас, и покрај силното притискање на раце од страна на тренерскиот тим и широката насмевка на Албулена Карага. Никогаш порано не сум учествувала на повеќејазичен тренинг, фактот дека не го говориме истиот јазик не зо сватив многу сериозно во текот на пријавувањето бидејќи сметав дека ќе бидеме пасивни примачи на содржината предвидена за разработка а евентуалните заеднички работилници ќе се одвиваат на јазик кој го знаеме сите, а тоа би било англискиот.

Сите мои илузии паднаа во вода уште од првата работилница, првиот ден- секој/a на својот мајчин јазик говореше за патиштата кои и/му претходеа на доаѓањето во Дојран, за очекувањата, двоумењата, предрасудите, животните околности, свесни за товарот на минатото и неизвесноста на иднината која не чека. Толку лица, толку приказни, толку тешки имиња за памтење. Кулминацијата беше работата во група со членови кои не го говорат мојот мајчин јазик. Фактот дека тие не можат да разберат ниту еден збор од тоа што сакам да им го соопштам, како и тоа што јас не разбираам тоа што тие го зборат, на прв поглед беше потполно парализирачки. Чувство кое е тешко да се опише со зборови, кое треба да се доживее. Секако, со добра волја јазичката бариера беше брзо отстранета- користевме англиски, зборови кои се разбирливи и заеднички од нашите јазици, помош од преведувачите но клучен фактор за завршување на дадените задачи кои не очекуваа беше добрата волја за заедничко решение покрај препреките кои на прв миг беа непремостливи но кои не не обесхрабрија.

После тоа искуство присуството на тренигот доби сосема нова димензија. Тогаш сватив зошто сум тука, зошто е потребно да разговараме и кога наизглед не се разбираме затоа што тие разлики се само привидни,

sam shvatila zašto sam tu, zašto je potrebno da pričamo i kada se naizgled ne razumemo jer te su razlike samo prividne, ako bolje oslušnemo svi govorimo isto i želimo dobro, razlikuju nas samo nijanse u kojima se izražavamo. O balasti koju vuče nasilna prošlost ne smemo ćutati i gurati je pod tepih, napraviće se brežuljak koji nećemo moći ignorisati o koji ćemo se stalno sapliliti. Trenerski tim je vrlo suptilno, nenametljivo vodio radionice, ne pretendujući za davanjem uopštavajućih teorija i aksioma i vodeći računa o potrebama svakog polaznika da bude saslušan.

Značaj ovog treninga je višestruk. Na globalnom novou, uzimajući u obzir specifičnost podneblja i epohe, održavanje ovakvih treninga je neohodno. Na ličnom nivou utiče na promenu percepcije, razbijanju predrasuda (koje svi imamo u manjoj ili većoj meri), preispitivanje sopstvene pozicije u društvu, priprema nas i na promenu stava tokom dijaloga, jer njegov cilj nije pobjeda retoričara nego razumevanje. Sa treninga odlazimo obogaćeni novim prijateljstvima, nagoveštajima dalje saradnje, planovima za širenjem mirovnih aktivnosti svako u svom domenu, da onoliko koliko nam mogućnosti dozvoljavaju ovaj surov svet učinimo mestom gde će se različitosti slaviti a ne služiti kao povod za međusobno istrebljenje.

Tatjana Malinović

kur në dukje nuk kuptohemi ngaqë këto dallime janë sa për dukje, nëse më mirë ia vemë veshin, ne të gjithë flasim njejtë dhe dëshirojmë mirë, ajo që na bën të ndryshëm janë vetëm ca nijansa me të cilat shprehemi.

Për barrën që bart me vete e kaluara nuk guxojmë të heshtim e as ta fshehim nën tepik, sepse do të bëhet kodër të cilën nuk do të mund ta injorojmë dot, e në të cilën vazhdimisht do të pengohemi. Ekipi trajnues në mënyrë shumë të hollë, pa u imponuar udhëhiqte punëtoritë, pa pretenduar se jep teori dhe aksioma që përgjithsojnë dhe gjithmonë duke patur kujdes për nevojat e çdo pjesëmarrësi që të jetë i dëgjuar.

Rëndësia e këtij trajnimi është shumështrësore. Në nivel global, duke patur parasysh specifikat e këtijë nënqielli dhe kësaj epoqe, mbajtja e kësaj lloj trajnimi është e domosodshme. Në nivel personal ndikon në ndryshimin e perceptimeve, thyerjen e paragjykimeve (të cilat të gjithë i kemi në masë më të madhe ose më të vogël), rishqyrtimin e pozicioneve personale në shoqëri, na përgatit për ndryshimin e bindjeve dhe qëndrimeve gjatë dialogut, sepse qëllimi i të njejtit nuk është fitore në retorikë por mirkuptim. Nga trajnimi dalim me miqësi të reja, paralajmrimë për bashkëpunim të mëtutjeshëm, plane për zgjerimin e aktiviteteve paqësore secili në domenin e tij/saj, që për aq sa na lejojnë mundësitë tona, këtë vend mizor ta shëndrojmë në vend ku dallimet në vend që të përdoren për shfarosjen e njëri-tjetrit, do të festohen.

Tatjana Mallinović

ako подобро slušneme sите говориме исто и сакаме добро, не разликуваат само нијансите со кои се изразуваме. За товарот кој го носи насилното минато не смееме да кутиме и да го туркаме под тепик, ќе се направи брдо кое нема да може да го игнорирате и на кое постојано ќе се сопнуваме. Тренерскиот тим многу субтилно, ненаметливо ги водеше работилниците, не претендирајќи дека даваат воопштувани теории и аксиоми и водејќи сметка секој присутен да биде сослушан.

Значењето на овој тренинг е повеќекратен. На глобално ниво, земајќи во предвид специфичностите на поднебјето и епохата, одржувањето на ваков тренинг е неопходно. На лично ниво влијае на промена на перцепциите, разбивање на предрасудите (кои сите ги имаме во помала или поголема мера), преиспитување на сопствените позиции во општеството, не припрема нас на промена во текот на дијалогот, затоа што неговата цел не е победа на реторичарите туку разбирање. Од тренингот си одиме со нови пријателства, наговестувања за понатамошна соработка, планови за ширење на мировни активности секој во својот домен, толку колку што можностите ни дозволуваат за да го направиме овој суков свет, место каде што разликностите ќе се слават а нема да служат како повод за меѓусебно истребување.

Tatjana Malinović

# Trening izgradnje mira za studente/ice iz BiH

*Jahorina 31.7.-5. avgust/kolovoz 2015.*

U periodu od 31.7.-5.8.2015. se po prvi put u organizaciji CNA i neformalne grupe „PlatForMir“ održao „Trening izgradnje mira za studente/ice iz BiH“. Ovaj novi koncept treninga, i ciljnom grupom i fokusom je proizašao iz CNA aktivnosti Trening za trenere/ice iz izgradnje mira, gdje se i pojavila ideja da se uradi nešto konstruktivno sa fokusom na studente i studentice zbog njihovog budućeg potencijala kao budućih akademskih građana i građanki te glavnih nositelja/ki svih budućih procesa u BiH.

Pošto se trening održavao po prvi put, trenerski tim je imao vrlo složen zadatak koncipiranja i struktuiranja treninga, tako da bude prilagođen potrebama i kapacitetima grupe, a koje smo mogli samo pretpostaviti iz njihovih aplikacija. Zbog velikog broja otkazivanja postojala je određena bojazan za dinamiku prvotno zamišljenog koncepta, no na kraju se ispostavilo da je grupa odlično „kliknula“ i da od starta postoji snažna bliskost i kohezija unutar grupe, koja je nastupila vrlo brzo zajedno sa nevjerovatnom spremnošću na rad i dijeljenje svojih osobnih priča.

Različiti konteksti sudionika, a ipak zajednička studentska solidarnost i kohezija pokazali su se vrlo konstruktivnima za rad na teškim temama poput suočavanja sa prošlošću. Usprkos bojazni da će zbog vrlo jake kohezije manjkati spremnosti na konfrontaciju, pojavio se ogroman sigurni prostor za izricanje svog iskrenog mišljenja bez straha od osude, što je i jedan od glavnih zadataka ovakve aktivnosti, treniranje za realne situacije koje ih mogu snaći u svijetu izvan sigurnog prostora treninga, aktivno promišljanje svojih uloga u vanjskom svijetu, razvijanje kritičkog i samokritičkog

mišljenja te pozitivni pomak u BH društvu koji dolazi iz senzibilizacije za druge i njihove potrebe.

Sama kratkoća treninga (4 dana) nametnula je vrlo naporan i brz tempo rada, za koji će se na kraju ispostaviti da je ipak malo prežestok pa je i dinamika rada u nekim trenucima opadala, ali se ponekad nastavljala i u slobodno vrijeme.

U početku se pojavljivala potreba za klasičnim predavačkim načinom rada i serviranim rješenjima na koji je studentska populacija inače navikla, no kad su shvatili, sudionici su imali vrlo pozitivan utisak na interaktivni način rada koji smo koristili, često ističući da njihova dosadašnja iskustva nisu bila ni usporediva po dinamici i rezultatu sa ovime.

To nas je navelo na pitanje tko to mladima i kako servira rješenja, i tko ima pravo umjesto njih odlučivati? Na dinamiku je snažno uticao i sam trenerski tim svojim šarolikim sastavom, iskusnim trenerima/cama od kojih je jedan i ratni veteran što će se pokazati kao vrlo jaka pozicija koja ima snažan utjecaj na studente, te trenerima proizašlima sa TZT-a koji su ostvarili jaku povezanost sa samim sudionicima.

Iako prvotno nije bilo zamišljeno, zbog same dinamike treninga otvorila se i mogućnost nastavka istog i daljnjeg rada sa studentskom populacijom kao ciljnom skupinom sa velikom potrebom za konstruktivnim djelovanjem. Lokacija održavanja treninga je isto tako imala znažan utjecaj na dinamiku, Hotel Lavina je ispunila sva očekivanja i sve pohvale osoblju i ambijentu uz nadu za buduću suradnju.

Dalmir Mišković



razmjena, suradnja i umrežavanje

# Berlinski susreti

*Berlin, 19-23. april/travanj 2015.*

Neobično nas je sve u CNA veselio poziv od nemačke organizacije "Gegen Vergessen / Für Demokratie e.V." ("Protiv zaborava - Za demokratiju") da ih posetimo, međusobno se upoznamo, razmenimo i razmislimo o mogućoj budućoj saradnji, te smo put planirali za drugu polovinu aprila.

Prvi kontakti sa predstavnicima ove organizacije napravljeni su tokom prošle godine, u okviru programa "Mendela dijalozi", a po njihovom završetku, ostali smo u vezi, sa obostranom željom da se bolje upoznamo i razmislimo koje su nam tačke zajedničke, i kako bismo mogli da jedni druge u budućnosti podržimo, ili saradjujemo.

Ujedno su to bili i široko postavljeni ciljevi dvodnevog susreta u Berlinu, u kojem je učestvovalo pet predstavnika/ca CNA i šest predstavnika/ca GVFD, iako smo u startu imali dogovor da se ne orjentišemo na ciljeve, već na proces dubljeg međusobnog upoznavanja.

Na sastanku smo, najpre, razmenili informacije o istorijama dve organizacije, njihovoj misiji i planovima razvoja, sa mnoštvom pitanja koja su dolazila sa druge strane. Vrlo zanimljivo nam je bilo da razmenimo šta smatramo za svoje najveće uspehe, a šta za neuspehe, koje snove imamo, šta su nam izazovi. Spremnost na samokritiku, koja je jedan od preduslova definisanja pouka i učenja iz iskustva je stvorila atmosferu uzajamnog poverenja i poštovanja.

U tako opuštenoj, prijateljskoj atmosferi radionicu je obeležilo puno otvorenih pitanja i želja za obostranim

dubokim razumevanjem. Nas u CNA posebno je interesovao rad GVFD sa ekstremizmom desničara, i metodama koje primenjuju u tom radu, naročito u programu online konsultovanja protiv ekstremizma.

Sa druge strane, GVFD je pokazao znatiželju za metode našeg rada na treninzima izgradnje mira, pa smo im predstavili i jednu od radionica koje često radimo na treninzima, kao i za naš rad sa ratnim veteranima, i svim aspektima koji ga prate.

Osetili smo veliku vrednosnu povezanost i želju za saradnjom. Međutim, pošto ni jedni ni drugi nismo zainteresovani za površnu saradnju koja ima za cilj samo da ispuni donatorske zahteve, ili predoči neku drugu lažnu sliku, konkretan zajednički projekat će sačekati još neko vreme i još promišljanja na koji način možemo da unapredimo rad svake organizacije.

Ovu posetu Berlinu iskoristili smo i da se sretnemo sa nizom prijatelja i saradnika CNA, sa kojima smo, osim o daljoj saradnji, razgovarali i o brojnim temama koje su u žiži mirovnog rada u svetu: o ratu u Jemenu, aktivnostima Pegide u Nemačkoj, protestima protiv ekstremizma i ksenofobije, migrantima iz ratom zahvaćenih zemalja i načinima na koji se tim ljudima može pomoći... Razmena misli i strahova koje delimo, na neki način je delovala osnaživački, jer nemamo često prilike u društvima u kojima delujemo da razgovaramo o tome kuda ide svet, pa i mi sa njim, i kako se sve može gledati na te procese.

K.M.

# Razmena i saradnja sa Conciliation Resources

*London, 10-12. decembar/prosinac 2014.*

Iz naše želje da na neki način obeležimo objavljivanje engleske verzije našeg priručnika "Pomirenje?!" i u Londonu i potrebe naših kolegica i kolega iz britanske mirovne organizacije Conciliation Resources (CR) da nastave interne diskusije na temu pomirenja u malo širem krugu ljudi, proistekla je radionica koja je 10.12.2014. održana u prostorijama CR. Jedan deo radionice su

vodili Ivana Franović i Nenad Vukosavljević, a drugi naša dugogodišnja prijateljica Diana Francis. Učestvovali su mirovni aktivisti, praktičari i teoretičari iz Engleske i njihove saradnice iz Gruzije i Abhazije. Istovremeno, ovaj susret se nadovezuje na prethodnu saradnju i susrete grupe iz Gruzije i Abhazije u Beogradu na kojem je kao gošća bila prisutna i Ivana Franović.

Radionica je bila koncipirana kao podsticaj za razmenu po pitanju primenjenih koncepata izradnje mira, poimanja suočavanja sa prošlošću i rada na sećanju.

U izvanredno podsticajnom okruženju ljudi sa širokim iskustvom rada na sukobima širom planete, bilo je zadovoljstvo razgovarati i preispitavati postojeće koncepte za prevazilaženje posledica nasilnog sukoba. Od Severne Irske, preko Fiji-a, Kolumbije i Španije, do Balkana i Južnog Kavkaza. Doživljena razmena mišljenja nam je bila nadahnjujuća i osnažujuća, a povratne informacije nam govore da su i ostali prisutni provedeno vreme doživeli na takav način.

Drugi dan našeg boravka smo proveli u razgovoru

sa Rachel Clogg iz CR-a, Dianom Francis i njihovim saradnicama iz Abhazije i Gruzije, razmatrajući mogućnosti saradnje i primene odnosno prenosa iskustava CNA na južnokavkaski kontekst. Dogovorili smo studijsku posetu Bosni i Hercegovini grupe mirovno motiviranih Gruzijaca i Abhaza, koja će uz prateće radionice pod vođstvom CNA, biti organizovana u martu 2016. godine. Osim toga, dogovorena je i saradnja na prevodu priručnika "Pomirenje!?" na ruski, gruzijski i ukrajinski jezik, jer je priručnik privukao pažnju kao potencijalno koristan materijal i za kontekst bivšeg Sovjetskog saveza, za šta tek treba da obezbedimo sredstva.

I.F.



# Međunarodni dijalog „Sećanje, pravda i pomirenje?!“

Sarajevo, 10-12. jun/lipanj 2015.

Međunarodni dijalog „Sećanje, pravda, pomirenje?!“, održan je od 10. do 12. juna u Sarajevu. Dijalog su, osim Centra za nenasilnu akciju kao domaćina, organizovale još tri organizacije iz Nemačke - Nemačka savezna fondacija za proučavanje komunističkih diktatura (Bundesstiftung zur Aufarbeitung der SED-Diktatur), Nemačka agencija za međunarodnu saradnju – Globalna leaderska akademija (GIZ – Global Leadership Academy) i Archiv Bürgerbewegung Leipzig.

Bila je to prilika da se sretnemo sa pedeset gostiju iz celog sveta, i regiona, koji se bave ovom temom, uključujući mirovne istraživače/ce, novinare/ke, aktiviste/kinje, univerzitetske profesore, ratne veterane/ke... i da zajedno diskutujemo o primerima dobre prakse u svetu, ali i dilemama, problemima i teškoćama sa kojima se svako sreće u svom radu.

Jedan dan bio je posvećen obilasku Memorijalnog centra u Potočarima kod Srebrenice, što je ostavilo veoma dubok utisak na sve.

U završnici, gosti dijaloga bili su ratni veterani, sa kojima Centar za nenasilnu akciju saraduje godinama

unazad. Njihov pogled na ratnu prošlost i aktivan rad na pomirenju u sadašnjosti bili su veoma značajni, jer je ta vrsta pristupa mirovnom radu, saradnja bivših neprijatelja na izgradnji mira, veoma dragocena u promenama koje su nužne u svim društvima posle sukoba.

Verujemo da je ovaj dijalog svima bio od koristi, te da ćemo moći da ga nastavimo, na drugim mestima u svetu, jer razmena ideja, misli i načina rada motiviše i hrabri sve nas koji se bavimo suočavanjem sa prošlošću i izgradnjom mira.

Audio snimci uvodnog dela Međunarodnog dijaloga „Sećanje, Pravda, Pomirenje“ su na engleskom jeziku:

- *Anja Mihr* - <http://nenasilje.org/audio/AnjaMihrSarajevoJune2015.mp3>
- *Nenad Vukosavljević* - <http://nenasilje.org/audio/NenadVukosavljevicSarajevoJune2015.mp3>
- *Verne Harris* - <http://nenasilje.org/audio/VerneHarrisSarajevoJune2015.mp3>





### **Mi možemo biti promjena**

Ratno razaranje  
Izrešetan krajolik,  
Svježe rane  
Nezatvorene.

Laži i tišine  
Leže ispod,  
Svježe rane  
Nezatvorene.

Hrabrost da otvore  
Trulu istinu,  
Imaće oni koji su svjedočili  
Otvoreno.

Svježe ljetno cvijeće  
Pouzdana kao noć što postaje dan  
Sunčani snijeg, tamna svjetlost,  
Otvorenost za promjene...

Mi možemo biti promjena  
Nezatvoreni, otvoreni,  
Posvećujem svoj život  
Tome!

*Shirley Gunn*



## **Srebrenica**

Jun 2015.

Zadržavala sam desnu ruku  
Htela je ka čelu.  
Pa na stomak.  
Na desno,  
Pa na levo rame.  
Između mene  
I mog Boga  
Bilo je to groblje.  
Oče naš koji si  
Na nebesima.  
Nisam mu se molila  
Da spase duše ubica  
Kao što sam mu se molila  
1999. za duše pilota  
U avionima koji su  
Bacali bombe na moje dete.  
Molila sam mu se  
Da spasi dušu moju i dušu  
Mog druga Adnana.  
Da spasi našu decu  
Da ne ubijaju jedni druge.  
Bože moj  
Neka bude volja tvoja  
Na zemlji  
Gde grobovi leže u svojoj tišini  
A neko u ime tvoje  
Sa tvojom voljom  
U ovom trenutku  
Povlači oroz  
U decu.

*Katarina Milićević*





rad sa ratnim veteranima

Od 2002. godine Centar za nenasilnu akciju (CNA) radi sa ratnim veteranima iz različitih vojski koje su se borile tokom ratova devedesetih godina u bivšoj Jugoslaviji. U tekstu koji smo objavili u protekloj godini možete pročitati o našim iskustvima u radu na suočavanju s prošlošću i izgradnji mira sa bivšim borcima: kako smo došli do ideje da radimo sa ovom vrlo specifičnom i često

tvrdom, nacionalističkom društvenom grupom, kako se taj proces razvijao i koje su aktivnosti sprovedene kao plod ove saradnje. Možete ga naći na našoj Internet stranici nenasilje.org pod naslovom „Ratni veterani u procesu konstruktivnog suočavanja s prošlošću“.

U ovom izveštaju možete čitati o aktivnostima sa bivšim borcima u poslednjih godinu dana.

## Dolazimo u miru, podsjećamo na stradanja, upozoravamo da se ne bi ponovilo: Bivši borci zajedno u akciji

Zajedničko obilježavanje stradanja na svim stranama u ratu je dio procesa pomirenja, ukidanja mržnje i osvajanja novog prostora slobode u našim društvima. Ovaj proces ima posebnu težinu i značenje kada su njegovi nosioci bivši borci, učesnici rata. Proces pomirenja ne podrazumijeva opraštanje nedjela drugim ljudima, jer je oprost lični čin i ne možemo ga činiti u ime drugih, ali znači suprotstavljanje sistemu svaljivanja krivice na čitave grupe ili narode. Pomirenje u društvu podrazumijeva otklon od mržnje, nepovjerenja, diskriminacije i predrasuda.

Rad sa učesnicima rata na uspostavljanju dijaloga bivših neprijatelja i izgradnji mira jedan je od temelja rada Centra za nenasilnu akciju, koji se višestruko prepliće s drugim poljima izgradnje mira i suočavanja s prošlošću. Iz rada sa ratnim veteranima crpimo motivaciju, spoznaje i inspiraciju koje nam pomažu da tražimo načine da se sa izazovima razgradnje mira, nosimo na način koji doseže do što više ljudi, a da pritom nikoga ne ugrožava.

Od samog početka rada sa bivšim borcima važno nam je bilo da izgradimo komunikaciju i povjerenje, ne koristeći se pritom strategijom da govorimo ono što mislimo da ljudi žele da čuju.

Sve žrtve rata zaslužuju poštovanje što podrazumijeva kako civilne, tako i vojne žrtve. Odavanje počta svim stradalima ne podrazumijeva odobravanje ciljeva za koje su se oni možda zalagali, već predstavlja prije svega iskazivanje ljudskog poštovanja i žaljenja za gubitkom ljudskih života. Samim borcima je ideja zajedničkog obilježavanja stradanja sa jedne strane bliska, a sa druge strane je povezana sa nelagodnom, jer nosi rizik

nerazumijevanja i osude u vlastitoj sredini. Osuda i nerazumijevanje dolaze upravo onda, kada okolina pogrešno pretpostavi da je poštivanje žrtava drugih, istovremeno omalovažavanje vlastitih i odobravanje ratnih napora one druge strane.

Odlaskom na sve strane stradanja, šaljemo poruku da nikoga ne omalovažavamo i da cilj nije da se neko osudi, a drugome oda priznanje, već da je naše zajedničko tlo, to da smo okupljeni oko žala za gubitkom svakog ljudskog života i ujedinjeni u opredjeljenju da ne dozvolimo da se rat, nepravde i stradanja ponove.

Posebno organizovane zajedničke posjete stratištima bivših neprijatelja, a ratnih veterana, jesu veliki korak naprijed ka pomirenju. Izazov koji je pred nama sada i pravac u kojem idemo jesu zajedničke posjete zvaničnim komemoracijama, koje se u saradnji vlasti i boračkih organizacija organizuju redovno i služe obilježavanju važnih događaja iz rata, najčešće datuma velikog stradanja. Ideja prisustva bivših neprijatelja takvim događajima, zajedno sa domaćim borcima, ima isti karakter i istu poruku kao i kada samostalno odemo na spomenik ili mjesto stradanja. Ta poruka je iskazivanje poštovanja spram žrtava i slanje poruke živima da više nismo neprijatelji, da u njima vidimo ljude, komšije, one koji su doživjeli bol, patnju i tugu koje rat nosi sa sobom. Kada dolazimo na mjesta stradanja, dolazimo u miru, podsjećamo na stradanja, sa željom da upozorimo kako se ne bi ponovilo. Na komemoracije dolazimo samo uz poziv i podršku lokalnih udruženja boraca iz tog mjesta ili regije. Otvoreni smo za dijalog i kritiku, spremni da preispitujemo svoje postupke i stavove.

Prisustvo na mjestima stradanja nije lagodno nama koji dolazimo, ono nas ispunjava tegobom i ponekad strepnjom. Strepimo od nerazumijevanja i toga da naš čin neko protumači kao sknavljenje, provokaciju ili napad. To nije naš cilj.

Živimo u društvima u kojima je “normalno” da suosjećanje u boli ne prelazi liniju između “nas” i “njih”. Zato zajedničko iskazivanje suosjećanja potiče na preispitivanje i ohrabruje na izlazak iz “uobičajenog” načina sjećanja i žaljenja. Svjesni smo da naše prisustvo može izazvati i nelagodu kod drugih ljudi koji su prisutni i ne razumiju zašto neprijatelji dolaze da odaju poštu na

mjesto stradanja, a za koje su “sami krivi”. Istina je da se ne može olako tvrditi da su ti pojedinci krivi, niti da su počinioци nedjela, čak i kada je to nedjelo počinjeno u ime njihovog naroda. Kao što su mnoga nedjela počinjena u ime našeg naroda, a mi za to nismo krivi, štaviše, gnušamo se tih nedjela.

Našu nelagodu nadvladava uvjerenje u ispravnost ljudskog postupka da se oda pošta svim žrtvama rata i to učini osnovom svih naših dijaloga, saradnji i zajedničkom lekcijom iz nedavne strašne prošlosti. Imamo vjeru da je jedinstvo u ljudskosti najvažnije za stvaranje života u miru, poštovanju, sigurnosti i dostojanstvu.



# Ratni veterani u posjeti Velikoj Kladuši

*Velika Kladuša, 26. oktobar/listopad 2014.*

U saradnji sa "Udruženjem demobilisanih boraca odbrambeno-oslobodilačkog rata 1992-1995, opštinska organizacija Velika Kladuša" i "Udruženjem ratnih vojnih invalida Narodne odbrane" iz Velike Kladuše, Centar za nenasilnu akciju je 26. oktobra 2014. organizovao posjetu Velikoj Kladuši.

U posjeti su učestvovala 23 ratna veterana, koji su bili pripadnici: Vojske Republike Srpske, Hrvatske vojske, Hrvatskog vijeća obrane, JNA, Vojske Jugoslavije i Armije RBiH.

Uz ratne veterane iz regiona, po prvi put od prestanka rata, predstavnici nekadašnjih suprostavljenih vojski u ovom gradu su zajednički posjetili spomen groblje pripadnika Narodne odbrane „Mezarje Dubrave“ i "Šehidsko turbe" borcima Armije RBiH, gdje su položili cvijeće i odali počast svim žrtvama.

Velika Kladuša je grad koji još uvijek pritišće ratno naslijeđe sukoba unutar jedne etničke zajednice, bošnjačko-muslimanske. Ovaj čin, na koji se čekalo devetnaest godina, ima svoj simbolički značaj za prevazilaženje mržnje i nepovjerenja, koji su još uvijek prisutni i izraženi u ovoj podijeljenoj zajednici.

Tokom posjete, održan je i zajednički sastanak naše grupe i predstavnika boračkih udruženja Armije RBiH i Narodne odbrane iz Velike Kladuše, te Udruženja poginulih i nestalih pripadnika Narodne odbrane. Na sastanku je podržana ideja zajedničkih posjeta i susreta bivših učesnika ratova koji kroz dijalog i odavanje počasti stradalima žele da doprinesu izgradnji stabilnog mira. Domaćini su istakli da ovaj događaj za njih ima istorijski značaj i predstavlja iskorak ka pomirenju i suživotu Kladušana. Takođe su izrazili zahvalnost našoj mješovitog

grupi, bivših ratnika i mirovnih aktivista, za podršku i ohrabrenje koje ih je potaknulo da prvi put zajednički posjete mjesta sjećanja.

Sastanku je prisustvovao i Edin Bekrić, načelnik opštine Velika Kladuša, koji je poručio da su posjete mezarju Dubrave, kao i Šehidskom turbetu, velika stvar koja vodi izgradnji mira kao jedine garancije prosperiteta svih građana u Velikoj Kladuši.

Događaj je izazvao veliku medijsku pozornost. Izdajamo neke od linkova:

<http://www.krajina.ba/158443/video-ucinjen-historijski-iskorak-ka-pomirenju-i-suzivotu-kladusana/>

<http://www.cazin.net/vijesti/clanak/video-historijski-dan-u-velikoj-kladusi-poduzet-prvi-korak-ka-pomirenju-biv>

<http://www.usinfo.ba/vijest/video-historijski-dan-u-velikoj-kladusi-poduzet-prvi-korak-prema-pomirenju-nekad-zaracenih-strana/7573>

<http://www.bhrt.ba/vijesti/bih/velika-kladusa-ratni-veterani-prvi-put-zajedno/>

<http://bosnian.sahartv.ir/news/u-velikoj-kladu%C5%A1i-susret-veterana-iz-regije-20756>

<http://kladusa.net/video-historijski-dan-u-velikoj-kladusi-poduzet-prvi-korak-ka-pomirenju-bivših-pripadnika-arbih-apzb/>

<http://www.federalna.ba/bhs/vijest/110997/nekad-na-suprotnim-stranama-danas-zele-graditi-mir>

<http://www.bhrt.ba/bht1-emisije/dnevnik-2/dnevnik-2-259/>

A.D.

## Za neizmjernu manjinu

Potrebno je biti mazohista, na neki način, da bi svjesno pristao na to da osjećaš bol i patnju. Ali ova vrsta «mazohizma» je nešto drugo. Ovo je patnja koja oplemenjuje, koja ti omogućava da ponovo pronađeš ljudskost u sebi.

Tako bih ukratko mogao sažeti moja iskustva saradnje sa Centrom za nenasilnu akciju, koji, sa svoje dvije adrese,

beogradskom i sarajevskom, ima misiju izgradnje mira i pomirenja na ovim prostorima prvenstveno putem rada sa veteranima jugoslavenskih ratova od 1991. – 1999.

Zadnji susret se desio u Velikoj Kladuši. Ako gledamo na nedavni bh. rat onda je ovo najspeficičniji grad u BiH, jer se tu desio tragični unutarbošnjački sukob, čije se posljedice osjećaju u ovom gradu i regiji i dan-danas. Kao

bolna rana koja će teško zarasti stoji podatak da je u ovom ratu na obje strane poginulo skoro 3.000 ljudi. A pošto sam i sam bio učesnik tzv. Prve autonomije, prvog rata između 5. korpusa<sup>1</sup> i jedinica Narodne odbrane, onda znam da su poginuli borci bili oni najmlađi i najelitniji. Dovoljno je pogledati datume rođenja na nišanima u Dubravi i uvjeriti se da su teret ovog rata podnijele generacije ljudi rođenih oko 1970.

Tako su nestale cijele generacije mladih i sposobnih ljudi. I nikad nećemo moći saznati šta bi oni sve mogli postati da nije bilo rata. Imao sam i ja poznanika i prijatelja koji su na ovim ratištima izgubili živote. Poznajem njihove najbliže rođake, i znam da ta patnja nikad neće proći. Inače smo pripadnike Narodne odbrane zvali autonomašima, i znam da smo ih mrzili više nego pripadnike Vojske RS-a, koje smo zvali četnicima. Takav je bratoubilački rat. Svoj se najviše mrzi, jer te najviše može razočarati onaj ko ti je bio najbliži.

Inicijalni susret se desio u kuli Staroga grada koji visinom dominira cijelim kladuškim prostorom. Bilo je više od 25 veterana svih vojski koji su došli da prisustvuju pionirskom činu početka procesa pomirenja na ovom krajiškom prostoru. Najbitniji momenti su oni kada se odaje počast mrtvim vojnicima obje strane. Prvo se išlo na groblje pripadnika NO-e. Na samoj granici sa Hrvatskom nalazi se vjerovatno najčudnije groblje na kojem sam ikad bio. Mezarluci su smješteni u krug fabrike, čiji hangari su uništeni i zarasli u šikaru. O groblju se brine udruženje poginulih i nestalih pripadnika Narodne odbrane.

Ovo čudno groblje kao da je izašlo iz filma *Stalker* (1979) Andreja Tarkovskog. Groblje je ilegalno, ali ga niko ne dira. Kao što je šehidsko turbe pripadnicima 5. korpusa moralo biti smješteno u dvorište džamije, jer tadašnja proabdicevska vlast nije dala građevinsku dozvolu za njegovu izgradnju. Političke razmirice se tako vode i preko kostiju mrtvih.

Tu je položeno cvijeće za poginule i proučena fatiha i minuta šutnje. Kratke govore su držali Osman Zulić ispred ratnih vojnih invalida Narodne odbrane i komandant 506. brigade Nijaz Miljković. Njihovi govori su bili dostojanstveni i emotivni. Oba govornika su otvoreno

pozvali na pomirenje i oprost jednih drugima. Lica ostalih ratnih veterana su sve govorila. Kad neko govori istinu iz srca samo jedna reakcija je moguća, a to su sućut i tuga u očima ovih prekaljenih ratnika, koji su danas najbolji moguću mirotvorci u regiji.

Među ovim veteranima su prisutni ljudi koji su otkrivali masovne grobnice, koji se danas druže sa ljudima protiv kojih su ratovali prsa u prsa, ljudi puni gelera i noćnih mora. Ali ljudi skloni nesvakidašnjem humoru i volji za životom. Nakon komemoracija obično se pričaju komične ratne priče, koje treba da ublaže žalost koja zahvata sve prisutne.

Poslije smo otišli u kulu i razgovarali o utiscima posjete memorijalima u Kladuši. Svaki veteran se predstavi i ukratko ispriča svoju životnu priču, ili kaže šta ga se dojmilo tokom ovog posjeta. To su trenuci najveće katarze. Toga nema u udžbenicima, i to se ne može naučiti. U jednom trenu sam, gledajući lica veterana, primijetio kako su konobari privučeni ispovješću nekog veterana ostavili svoj posao za šankom i istupili van šanka. Stajali su uklipljeni, hipnotisani tolikom količinom emocija, i njihova lica su bila empatična i zgrčena.

To je ta patnja sa početka priče. Jer treba moći slušati ispovijesti prepune mrtvih, ranjenih, slušati traumatične logoraške priče o premlaćivanju. Nekad nevoljko pristajem ići na ovakve susrete pomirenja, jer se želim zaštititi od teških emocija, i jer čovjek godinama postaje zatvoren i bezosjećajan za tuđu patnju. Ali uvijek se kući vraćam pun energije i pomalo ozaren. Zato što mi druženje sa ovakvim ljudima vraća vjeru u ljudsko društvo generalno. Zato što zaboravim na sve gluposti koje me opterećuju u sarajevskom životu. Tada vidim kako je to mali, egoističan i beznačajan život pun gorčine i jada. Kada se vratim kući osjećam se kao da sam resetovan i napunjen boljom energijom od one koja ispunjava ovaj jadni grad.

Zato je patnja dobra. Ona oplemenjuje samo one ljude koji žele biti oplemenjeni. To je ona «neizmjerna manjina» kojoj treba pripadati. Navijam za onu budućnost u kojoj će imena ovakvih postratnih heroja odjekivati kroz vječnost. Onih koji znaju šta je besmisao rata, i baš zato su u stanju saosjećati s patnjom bivših neprijatelja, i pomagati jedni drugima da zajedno prebrode ratne traume.

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1 ARBiH

# Dan sjećanja u Sijekovcu

*Sijekovac, 26. mart/ožujak 2015.*

Vozeći se od Dervente prema Brodu i razgledajući krajolik i kuće sa obe strane ceste, pade mi napamet jedna reportaža koju sam pročitao u nekom političkom nedjeljniku, par godina poslije rata u BiH. Bila je naslovljena sa 'Cabriolet Cities', a odnosila na gradove Glamoč i Bosansko Grahovo. Naslov mi je dobio smisao tek kada sam čitajući saznao da u ta dva pomenuta gradića, po okončanju rata, ni jedan jedini krov nije ostao čitav, sve su kuće spaljene. I ova cesta na potezu Derventa-Brod je aleja takvih kuća.

U Sijekovac kod Broda, dolazili smo i ranije. Prvi put prilikom posjete ratnih veterana iz regiona Prnjavoru 2008. godine, a potom i 2010., prilikom posjeta Derventi i Brodu. U Sijekovcu su 26. marta 1992. godine pripadnici regularnih snaga Hrvatske vojske, tada pod imenom Zbor narodne garde, potpomognuti lokalnim paravojnim formacijama, ubili devet civila srpske nacionalnosti, a u narednih mjesec dana još trideset i sedam<sup>1</sup>. Tokom naših posjeta od domaćina iz boračkih udruženja i žitelja ovog mjesta saznali smo koje su bile razmjere zločina. Poznat je primjer porodice Zečević u kojoj su otac i njegova tri sina ubijeni u istom danu.

Ideja da posjetimo Sijekovac na samu godišnjicu stradanja, proizašla je zahvaljujući kontaktu sa brodskim ratnim veteranom, koji je bio učesnik CNA Treninga za učesnike ratova. Upoznat sa našim zajedničkim posjetama komemoracijama, pozvao nas je da dođemo u Brod i organizovao sastanke sa predstavnicima RVI i Boračke organizacije. Na sastancima smo im predstavili naš rad sa ratnim veteranima iz regiona i aktivnosti koje sprovodimo, te da nam je želja da prisustvujemo komemoraciji u Sijekovcu. Naglasili smo da nam je važno da organizator bude upoznat ko smo i za šta se zalažemo, da smo motivisani željom za pomirenjem i da želimo prevazići nekadašnja neprijateljstva. Među nama ima ljudi koji svojim dolaskom žele poručiti da ih je sramota što su zločini počinjeni u njihovo ime. Želimo da nas prisutni vide kao ljude poput njih, kojima je rat donio tugu, bol i stradanje, da upozorimo da se ne ponovi. Zajedničko prisustvo bošnjačkih, hrvatskih i srpskih ratnih

veterana na mjestima stradanja vidimo kao put koji vodi ka međuetničkom pomirenju.

Predstavnici boračkih organizacija su nam izrazili dobrodošlicu na komemoraciju u Sijekovcu te objasnili proceduru koju treba zadovoljiti u ovom slučaju, kada je pokrovitelj događaja Vlada RS, odnosno Odbor Vlade Republike Srpske za njegovanje tradicija oslobodilačkih ratova. Kako mu i sam naziv govori, ovo tijelo zaduženo je za organizaciju svih komemoracija koje se smatraju značajnim za službenu istoriju Republike Srpske. Obratili smo se Odboru, sa preporukom koju smo dobili od lokalnih boračkih organizacija i nakon par dana dobili potvrdu da smo dobrodošli i da ćemo biti uvršteni u zvanični protokol polaganja vijenaca.

Na dan komemoracije, 26.03.2015. godine, u Brodu smo se sastali sa ratnim veteranima Hrvatske vojske iz Nuštra, Hrvatskog vijeća obrane iz Brčkog i Žepča, Armije RBiH iz Zavidovića, Sarajeva i Gornjeg Vakufa/Uskoplja i Vojske RS iz Šamca. Ukupno sa domaćinima i nama iz CNA, bilo nas je trinaest.

Dok smo prilazili platou u Sijekovcu na kojem je smještena crkva i Spomen ploča, vidjeli smo da dosta ljudi još pristize, u koloni. Duž puta i oko crkve je bilo raspoređeno policijsko obezbjeđenje. Ispred crkve je bio postavljen pano velikih dimenzija sa uvećanim fotografijama i novinskim člancima koji prikazuju stradanje Srba u proteklom ratu. Šokantni prizori poginulih, lokacija logora i uništenih naselja. Na jarbolima su bile izvješene srpske zastave, a sa razglasa je dopirao zvuk molitve. U crkvi je služena liturgija. Unutar crkve sa dvorištem i prostorom oko njega bilo je već prisutno nekoliko stotina ljudi. Po organizovanom dolasku učenika iz brodskih škola, taj broj je nadmašio hiljadu. Pod pratnjom policije, u jednom se trenutku pojavilo i nekoliko crnih limuzina sa zatamnenim staklima. Iz njih izađoše politički predstavnici sa svojim telohraniteljima, koji su im prokročili put do crkve.

Zvanični program započeo je nakon završene liturgije, pred crkvenim ulazom. Održan je parastos i zapaljene su svijeće poginulim srpskim civilima. Zatim je voditelj programa pozvao delegacije da pristupe polaganju vijenaca. Hor je molitvenim pjesmama pratio polaganje. Tiho, jedva čujno, pjevale su djevojke iz hora i elegičnim tonovima budile emocije. Protokol je nalagao

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<sup>1</sup> Izvor podataka: [http://www.rcirz.org/images/dokumentipdf/mjesta\\_stradanja\\_srpskog\\_naroda\\_u\\_BIH\\_91-95.pdf](http://www.rcirz.org/images/dokumentipdf/mjesta_stradanja_srpskog_naroda_u_BIH_91-95.pdf)



da polaganju prvo pristupe predstavnici institucija RS, te republička udruženja, koje je voditelj pozivao poimenično. Primjetio sam da je među njima bila i delegacija SUBNOR<sup>2</sup>-a RS. Potom su na polaganje vijenaca pozvani svi ostali, pa tako i naša delegacija. Položili smo vijenac i odali počtu stradalima. Prije nas je to učinio Ravnogorski četnički pokret<sup>3</sup>, čiji su predstavnici došli u uniformama srpske vojske iz Prvog svjetskog rata. Tako su se na istom mjestu našli sljedbenici suprotstavljenih ideologija iz prošlosti, partizani i četnici, sa našom ekipom ratnih veterana. Tekovine Drugog svjetskog rata bile su itekako prisutne i u našim bivšim borbenim jedinicama tokom devedesetih prošlog vijeka. Baštinile su se kroz prisustvo simbola i likovanje onomu čega se većina ljudi sa jezom

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2 Savez udruženja boraca narodno-oslobodilačke borbe (bivši partizanski borci - pripadnici antifašističkih jedinica iz 2. svjetskog rata)

3 Četnici - jedinice 'Jugoslovenske vojske u otadžbini', poznati po saradnji sa okupatorima Jugoslavije u 2. svjetskom ratu i počinjenim brojnim zločinima

i gnušanjem sjeća. Gledajući ovo zaključih da tako nešto može samo kod nas da se desi. Bože sačuvaj da su te ideologije pomirene, ali kad ih stavite u nacionalistički kontekst i okruženje onda vidite da su jedne drugima potrebne i da je opstanak jednih bez drugih upitan. Po polaganju vijenaca skupu su se obratili predstavnici Vlade RS i lokalnih vlasti iz Broda. Govorili su o zločinu počinjenom u Sijekovcu 1992. godine, ali i zločinima koje su u ovom istom mjestu počinile ustaše<sup>4</sup> 1941. godine. I tada su ljudi ubijani, a ova ista crkva je i tada spaljena. Pomenuto je da nikada ne treba ni zaboraviti ni oprostiti 'vječitim dušmanima' za ono što su počinili. Ali u govorima se pozivalo i na toleranciju i potrebu da živimo u međusobnom miru. Najbolji put za to i jeste da prestanemo jedni drugima biti dušmani, da nam događaji iz prošlosti poput ovih u Sijekovcu budu opomena i da gradimo prijateljske odnose u budućnosti.

Kritikovan je i rad, kako domaće tako i tužilaštva

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4 Ustaše - jedinice 'Nezavisne države Hrvatske', kvinslinške tvorevine iz 2. svjetskog rata, poznati po surovosti i počinjenim brojnim zločinima



Međunarodnog suda u Hagu zbog nedovoljnog procesuiranja zločina počinjenih nad Srbima, koje je ocijenjeno kao neadekvatno, sporo i politički dozirano. Za počinjeni ratni zločin u Sijekovcu, Sud BiH osudio je do sada samo jednu osobu na zatvorsku kaznu od 10 godina<sup>5</sup>. Za zločin ovakvih razmjera sigurno je odgovorno više počinitelaca. Dok se ne izvedu pred lice pravde, biće i nezadovoljstva i ljutnje.

Po završenom programu, sreli smo se sa ljudima iz Saveza logoraša iz RS sa kojima smo imali priliku ranije saradivati. Iako smo se sreli u tužnom ambijentu komemoracije, izrazili su zadovoljstvo i zahvalnost što smo tu.

Održali smo i sastanak naše grupe na kojem smo podijelili utiske. Većinom smo bili razočarani politikanstvom koje je zastupljeno na ovakvim događajima, gdje god da se održavaju. Jasno smo istakli da osuđujemo svaki zločin i da i mi sa svojim aktivnostima pozivamo odgovorne da rade na procesuiranju počinitelja. Složni smo da sa svojim mirovnim aktivnostima nastavimo te da nam nisu prepreka nastojanja da se ovakvi događaji drže začahureni unutar nacionalno-etničkih zajednica. Želimo da nas se vidi kao ljude i voljni smo i da saradujemo i razgovaramo sa svima kako bi doprinijeli ozdravljenju

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<sup>5</sup> Vidjeti više: <http://www.sudbih.gov.ba/index.php?id=3243&jezik=b>

našeg društva, za opšte dobro. Brodski ratni veterani bili su takođe prisutni na našem sastanku. Iskazali su zahvalnost što smo došli odati poštu žrtvama i izrazili nam podršku ostavivši otvoren prostor za saradnju sa njihovim udruženjima.

U povratku, sumirajući utiske, razmišljao sam o tome kako je neprocjenjivo iskustvo sretati se sa narodom na ovakvim mjestima. Nekom je možda neshvatljiva ta srdačnost i neposrednost kod naših ljudi. Kada stane pored nekog nepoznatog, kao da osjeća 'obavezu' da se upusti u razgovor. Obično to krene sa komentarima da je situacija grozna, da je političarima lako i da su se dovoljno nakrali da su i potomstvo obezbjedili. Tek poslije pitaju ko si i odakle. U mom slučaju, a kasnije su mi svoje slične primjere prepričavali i ostali iz naše grupe, nakon što bih rekao odakle sam, nastupala bi kratka pauza, pa pitanje otkud ovdje. Nakon što bih rekao odakle sam, obično bi sagovornik tamo već bio i poznavao nekoga, ili ima neku tetku što se tamo udala. A za ono otkud ovdje, nakon pojašnjenja, nikad nisam doživio da bi se neko protivio ovoj našoj inicijativi, uvijek bi je podržali i rekli 'samo naprijed, to nam i treba da se izmirimo i nastavimo da konačno normalno živimo'. Pomislih, pa što neko od tih naših narodnih predstavnika to jasno i glasno na ovakvim skupovima ne kaže u mikrofon, već nas plaše jedne drugima. Do kada?

A.D.

## Obilježavanje obljetnice stradanja u Laništima i Ulicama

*Laništa/Ulice, 8.maj/svibanj 2015.*

Poziv da prisustvujemo komemorativnim skupovima u naseljima Laništa i Ulice kod Brčkog 8.maja/svibnja, dobili smo od Udruge obitelji hrvatskih branitelja poginulih i nestalih u Domovinskom ratu Ravne-Brčko.

Na ovaj datum 1992. godine, pripadnici Vojske RS ubili su 32-je ljudi, civila i vojnika iz brčanskih sela: Ulice, Laništa, Marković polje, Donji Vukšić, Gornji Vukšić, Krepšić i Donji Rahić.

Našoj grupi koju su činili ratni veterani VRS iz Šamca i Dervente, HV iz Nuštra, ARBiH iz Zavidovića i Viteza, i aktivisti CNA iz Beograda i Sarajeva, na dan komemoracije pridružili su se pripadnici HVIDR<sup>1</sup>-e Ravne-Brčko i Organizacije RVI ARBiH Brčko. Ukupno nas je bilo petnaest.

Po našem dolasku u Laništa, ispred spomen obilježja je počeo zvaničan program obilježavanja. Skupu se obratio predsjednik 'Udruge obitelji' Stjepan Marčetić. U svom govoru pomenuo je da su događaju prisutni i bivši borci iz svih vojski koji su učestvovali u ratu. Iskazao je zahvalnost za to što smo došli odati počast žrtvama i naglasio da prisustvo vojnika, koji su bili na suprotnim stranama u ratu, odašilje poruku o mogućem suživotu i mirnoj koegzistenciji svih naroda koji žive na ovim prostorima.

Nakon toga je održano opijelo i položeni su vijenci i upaljene svijeće. Svećenik fra Ante Tomas je takođe poručio da mir i građenje dobrosusjedskih odnosa predstavljaju univerzalnu vrijednost za sve ljude, bili vjernici ili ne, ili bilo kojem narodu da pripadaju. Posebno se obratio našoj zajedničkoj grupi veterana pri čemu

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<sup>1</sup> Hrvatski vojni invalidi Domovinskog rata

je rekao da su u ratu bili uz svoj narod i da ne treba da osjećaju krivicu zbog toga što su bili vojnici, a o tome kakvi su bili i koja djela su činili, nose vlastitu odgovornost. Zahvalio se što danas, u cilju građenja bolje budućnosti za sve narode, dolaze odati počast žrtvama.

Nakon Laništa uputili smo se u Ulice. U dvorištu kapele održana je misa za stradale, a molitva koju su predvodili franjevački sveštenici povezala je želju za mirom među ljudima sa solidarnošću koja nas čini boljim osobama, i oprostom, koji to sve čini lakšim.

Potom je održano opijelo pred spomen obilježjem i položeni su vijenci. Skupu se obratila članica 'Udruge obitelji' Mira Breškić koja je podsjetila na dešavanja u tom kraju prije 23 godine i apelovala da se odgovorni za počinjeni zločin konačno procesuiraju. Istakla je da su čuvanje sjećanja na stradale obaveza i odgovornost ove zajednice, sadašnjih i budućih generacija, a građenje mira je takođe obaveza. A da bi je ispunili potrebno je da se poštujemo i uvažavamo.

Ostali smo još neko vrijeme u Ulicama. Ljudi su nam prilazili, upoznavali se sa nama i interesovali za naš rad. Ne može biti većeg ohrabrenja i podsticaja za dalje mirovne akcije od toga da ljudi iz lokalnih zajednica, koje imaju duboke ratne rane, razumiju to što radite i bodre vas da nastavite.

U Brčkom smo održali sastanak naše grupe na kojem smo podijelili utiske. S obzirom da imamo iskustvo prisustva na komemoracijama, koje se često koriste kao poligon za političke govore u kojima je zlo i danas kao i u ratu, klišeizirano, i na kojima se poziva na jedinstvo naroda jer 'neprijatelji su i dalje neprijatelji i spremni su

opet sve da ponove', ovaj put smo bili iznenađeni načinom na koji je sve proteklo. Način na koji su se svećenici obraćali skupu je možda doprinio tome da se sve odvija u umirujućem tonu sa drugačijom energijom koja inače prati ove događaje. Takođe, način na koji smo prihvaćeni od lokalne zajednice je bio spontan i prirodan, osjećali smo se dobrodošlim.

Složili smo se da smo ojačali kao grupa koja održava zavidan nivo međusobnog povjerenja i da nas kao takve okruženje prihvata. Jedno od razmišljanja je bilo da kao takvi utičemo i na događaje koje posjećujemo i da organizatori komemoracija uz prisustvo 'drugih' izbacuju sadržaje koji nose jaku nacionalističku retoriku iz svog programa. Jedan od učesnika je rekao da će za desetak godina sve naše komemoracije izgledati ovako, a mi ostali smo istaknuli želju da se tome i nadamo.

Zahvalili smo se našim saradnicima iz 'Udruge obitelji' i HVIDR-e iz Ravne-Brčko što su preuzeli odgovornost da nas pozovu na ovaj događaj i što su nam prilikom organizacije dolaska i boravka bili od velike pomoći. Naš odnos je potvrda izgrađenog međusobnog povjerenja i uvažavanja koje već godinama njegujemo i unapređujemo.

Komemoracije stradalima u ratu oživljavaju uspomene zaogrnutе sjećanjem na svu nevolju koju rat može da donese. Sresti porodice i prijatelje stradalih na tim mjestima stegne srce i prenosi žal i bol koji prestaju biti samo njihovi. Teško to doživljavamo, ali to je dio naše svakodnevnice.

Najbolji način da se odužimo stradalima u ratu je da izgradimo mir.

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## Put mira nekada prelazi i preko mostova boli

*Kruševac/Varvarin 29-30. maj/svibanj 2015.*

Zajedno sa ratnim veteranima Hrvatske vojske, Armije RBiH, Vojske RS i Vojske Srbije posjetili smo Grad Kruševac i Opštinu Varvarin u Srbiji. Domaćini posjete bili su aktivisti Humanitarne organizacije 'Graditelji mira' iz Kruševca koji su i sami ratni veterani. Ukupno sa nama iz CNA, na istom mjestu našlo se dvadeset i dva nekadašnja učesnika ratova, sadašnjih aktivista za mir i pomirenje u regionu.

Posjeta Kruševcu 29. maja predstavljala je nastavak saradnje CNA sa 'Graditeljima mira' koja je otpočela 2013. godine, učešćem njihovih članova na Treningu za učesnike ratova. U periodu koji je uslijedio pridružili su

se zajedničkim posjetama ratnih veterana stratištima i komemoracijama. Na njihov prijedlog posjetili smo Grad Kruševac, kako bismo narednog dana, 30. maja, prisustvovali komemoraciji koju susjedna Opština Varvarin organizuje povodom obilježavanja godišnjice stradanja civila na mostu na Velikoj Moravi.

Na taj datum 1999. godine prilikom NATO bombardovanja, poginulo je deset osoba iz ovog mjesta, a više desetina ih je ranjeno.

Tokom posjete Kruševcu, u Gradskoj upravi upriličen nam je prijem, a u ime lokalne samouprave, dobrodošlicu

nam je poželio pomoćnik gradonačelnika Nikola Petrović, ističući da je Kruševac 'Grad mira' i da je to opredjeljenost kako njegovih žitelja, tako i onih koji ih predstavljaju. Prijem je medijski propratila ekipa TV Kruševac<sup>1</sup>. Obilazak kulturno-istorijskih znamenitosti grada, započeo je već u samoj zgradi Gradske uprave. 'Mozaik sala' sadrži 47 mozaika, od kojih svaki ima svoju priču o burnoj prošlosti protkanom ratovima i bunama. Interesantno je da su uz srpske junake prikazani i 'neprijatelji' i to na način koji ne dovodi u pitanje njihovu ljudskost i dostojanstvo. Primjer 'razgradnje slike neprijatelja'. Potom smo obišli muzej i spomenike.

U Varvarin smo stigli prije komemoracije, na poziv Zorana Milenkovića, predsjednika Opštine, koji nas je sa predstavnicima lokalnih vlasti dočekaao i izrazio dobrodošlicu. Obraćajući nam se napomenuo je da mu ovaj dolazak ljudi sa svih strana regiona, i kao predstavniku vlasti, i kao čovjeku čija je petnaestogodišnja kćerka najmlađa žrtva bombardovanja mosta, predstavlja čin ljudske solidarnosti i ulijeva nadu da dolazi bolje vrijeme u kojem će razum nadvladati silu i u kojem će se graditi prijateljski odnosi među ljudima i narodima. Dok je govorio o događajima od prije šesnaest godina, palio je cigaretu za cigaretom. "Ti ljudi, uključujući i moju kćerku, bili su krivi samo zato što su bili na pogrešnom mostu, u pogrešno vreme", rekao je.

Ubrzo su nam se pridružili i oficiri Vojske Srbije, koji su bili u posjetu Opštini. Bili su iznenađeni našim prisustvom i idejom koja nas okuplja, i uopšte time da neko radi na pomirenju u regionu. Izrazili su nam podršku i zahvalili se na dolasku.

Kod Spomen obilježja pored mosta na Velikoj Moravi, uz prisustvo nekoliko stotina građana i učenika varvarinskih škola, vjerskih službenika, političkih i vojnih predstavnika, pomenom poginulim, otpočela je

1 <http://www.rtk.rs/?p=65533>

## Ratnički susret

*Konjic i Jahorina 22-25. juli/srpanj 2015.*

Razmišljajući o potrebi da okupimo grupu ratnih veterana iz regiona, sa kojima saradujemo na polju izgradnje mira i suočavanja sa prošlošću, kako bismo razmijenili iskustva učinjenog u proteklom periodu i na toj osnovi osmislili buduće korake, ideja nam je bila da

ceremonija obilježavanja godišnjice stradanja.

Prisutnima su se obratili Ministar odbrane Republike Srbije, predsjednik Opštine i predsjednik Skupštine opštine Varvarin. U svojim govorima poručili su da neće prepustiti zaboravu teške dane, ali i da je potrebno misliti na sadašnjost i budućnost, te graditi nove mostove koji će spajati, a ne razdvajati ljude. Ceremonijom obilježavanja ovog događaja istaknuto je da se šalje poruka da se nikada i nikome ovako nešto više ne ponovi.

Predsjednik Opštine osvrnuo se na Tužbu za ratni zločin protiv Njemačke, kao članice NATO saveza koja je učestvovala u napadima na tadašnju Jugoslaviju, koju su pred njemačkim pravosuđem podnijele porodice stradalih i mještani Varvarina i koja je odbijena. Poručio je da se neće odustati i da su određene nevladine organizacije iz Njemačke ponudile svoju pomoć u traženju pravnih mehanizama, kako bi se krivci za napad pronašli i osudili, i time porodice i prijatelji stradalih dobili, bar djelimičnu, satisfakciju.

Simbolično, u znak sjećanja, učenica generacije Gimnazije u Varvarinu tradicionalno je bacila vijenac u Veliku Moravu, nakon čega su delegacije, među kojima je bila i naša, pozvane da polože vijence i odaju počast žrtvama.

Po završenoj komemoraciji, podijelili smo utiske unutar grupe. Prisustvovanje ovom događaju ostavilo je dubok emotivan trag u nama. Kao što jedan od učesnika reče, ratni veteran HVO-a, "u svoj ovoj težini današnje komemoracije, olakšanje sam našao u tome da ja ili moja strana barem nismo direktno odgovorni, u Bosni je uvijek taj pritisak prisutan kada se ide kod drugih".

Ohrabreni time da ljudi, sa kojima imamo priliku razgovarati prilikom ovakvih posjeta, shvataju našu misiju i prihvataju je kao potrebu u našim društvima, odlučni smo da nastavimo dalje.

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radni dio oplemenimo sa više druženja i rekreativnih sadržaja. Željeli smo ambijent koji bi nam omogućio izlaz iz radioničkog dijela koji tematizuje tešku ratnu prošlost, u sferu opuštajućeg i osnažujućeg za nove pothvate. Tražili smo mjesto koje nudi i ugodan boravak, ali ujedno da ima



i važnu ulogu istorijskog konteksta na našim prostorima. Izabrali smo Konjic.

U tom gradu smo se okupili 22.jula, u hotelu Garden City , da bi smo sutradan počeli sa radom. Namjera nam je bila da oformimo veću grupu, ali uslijed brojnih otkazivanja, ukupno nas je bilo dvadeset - mirovnih aktivista i ratnih veterana iz Srbije, Hrvatske i BiH. Koncept 'susreta ratnih veterana' podijelili smo u prijedpodnevni radionički dio i poslijepodnevni, koji je sadržavao obilazak okolnih mjesta značajnih u kontekstu suočavanja sa prošlošću i neformalno druženje u obližnjim izletištima.

U prijedpodnevnom dijelu, prvog radnog dana, podsjetili smo se na zajedničke akcije i aktivnosti koje su organizovali ratni veterani u saradnji sa CNA u posljednjih godinu dana. Bilo je riječi o tome kako je prisustvo mješovite grupe veterana doživljavano kada bismo prisustvovali službenim događajima, komemoracijama, kada bismo dolazili na mjesta stradanja i sjećanja, ko i na koji način nam je bio podrška, ali i sa kakvim smo se problemima i poteškoćama susretali. Takođe, govorili smo i o tome koliko je medijska popraćenost naših aktivnosti i televizijska gostovanja veterana utjecala na to da se naš mirovni rad prepozna, koliko je utjecala na nas same, i naše zajednice. Zaključili smo da smo iz svakog događaja izlazili oplemenjeniji, da smo mnogo toga novog naučili i da će nam ta iskustva

biti od velike pomoći u budućnosti, jer smo inspirisani da nastavimo dalje sa našim akcijama.

U nastavku, ratni veterani su predstavili svoj rad na polju izgradnje mira i aktivnosti u kojima su učestvovali u okvirima drugih mirovnih inicijativa, tako da su navedeni primjeri dijaloga između ratnih veterana i mladih koji se sprovode u školama u Republici Srpskoj, te dijaloga na multietničkoj osnovi u kojima učestvuju administrativni i prosvjetni radnici opština iz Federacije BiH i Republike Srpske.

Razgovor o aktuelnim političkim dešavanjima i njihovim utjecajima na nas i našu okolinu otvorili smo sa kratkim pregledom događaja u posljednjih nekoliko mjeseci. Posebno sa osvrtom na sukobljavanja vezano za obilježavanje dvadesetogodišnjice genocida u Srebrenici i stradanja u 'Oluji', kao i drugim događajima koji su doveli do atmosfere stalne napetosti, praćenu međusobnim optuživanjem i prijetnjama. U takvom okruženju straha, povrijeđenosti i nesigurnosti oko primjerenog sjećanja na rat, okupljena grupa je potvrdila odlučnost da na svom putu izgradnje mira uvažavamo i poštujemo sve žrtve rata, osuđujemo sve zločine i smatramo da se svi počinioi ratnih zločina trebaju procesuirati i osuditi.

U popodnevним satima, tokom boravka u Konjicu, posjetili smo kasarnu u Čelebićima u čijem krugu je tokom

1992. godine postojao logor za zarobljene civile i vojnike srpske nacionalnosti, pod upravom Armije BiH i opštinskih vlasti. Čitajući dijelove presuda osuđenih za počinjena krivična djela ratnog zločina, upoznali smo se sa strašnim scenarijem ispisanim u ovom logoru, u kojem je i sam boravak bio dovoljan, a kamoli još prolaziti mučenja, svjedočiti ubijanjima, ili izgubiti život na najstrašnji način. Tamo smo boravili po kišnom, relativno svježem ljetnom danu, a u 'hangaru' se teško dolazilo do daha. Zamisliti kako to izgleda pod usijanim suncem, dok se unutra tiska nekoliko stotina ljudi dočarava prizore iz pakla. Strašno, možda i nezamislivo. Mjesto logora još uvijek nije obilježeno, iako postoje inicijative za to. Nadamo se da će nadležnim jednoga dana ponestati izgovora zašto to ne učine.

Po završetku obilaska logora, uputili smo se ka Jahorini<sup>1</sup>, da bismo 24. jula nastavili sa radom.

U međuvremenu nam se pridružio Edin Ramulić, iz Udruženja Prijedorčaki „Izvor“, ujedno i ratni veteran. Edin nas je upoznao sa konceptom memorijalizacije u Prijedoru i aktivnostima koje on sprovodi u okviru svoje organizacije, nakon čega smo razgovarali o mogućnostima organizovanja mirovnih akcija u ovom gradu, u kojima bi i naša grupa učestvovala. Ta pitanja su za sad ostala otvorena, a od prijedloga izdvojene su mogućnost

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1 Tokom jutarnje radionice donijeli smo zajedničku odluku da napustimo Hotel Garden City u Konjicu. Učinili smo to zbog krajnje neprofesionalnog odnosa osoblja i vlasnika hotela, u odnosu na ono što je dogovoreno, ali i prema nama kao gostima.

zajedničke posjete ratnih veterana i organizacija javne tribine na kojoj bi gostovali bivši učesnici ratova.

U nastavku radionice razgovarali smo o idejama i planovima za buduće zajedničke akcije, pri čemu smo akcenat stavili na potrebu da postojeće aktivnosti posjeta mjestima stradanja i prisustvovanja zvaničnim komemoracijama proširimo na područja u kojima do sada nismo bili prisutni, pri čemu su ratni veterani izrazili visoku motivaciju i spremnost da se samostalno angažuju na uspostavljanju kontakata koji bi to omogućili. Istovremeno, fokus smo stavili i na jačanje i unaprijeđenje postojeće saradnje sa boračkim organizacijama u mjestima u kojima smo do sada djelovali.

Takođe, razmatrali smo ideje projekata u kojima bi ratni veterani i aktivisti CNA zajedno bili angažovani, a koji bi našu saradnju približili javnosti, što je shodno potrebi i želji iskazanoj u grupi. Jedna od tih ideja je izrada svojevrsnog virtuelnog zajedničkog spomenika sa pričama i fotografijama ratnih veterana koji bi sadržavao originalna svjedočenja aktera rata koji su postali graditelji mira.

Ovaj susret polučio je mnogo razmjene mišljenja i produktivnog dijaloga. Ratni veterani su inspirisali jedni druge i pokazali visoku motivaciju za rad na izgradnji mira što je doprinjelo tome da radna atmosfera bude osnažujuća i ohrabri nas za naredne korake.

Popodne smo proveli u šetnji planinskim stazama Jahorine, koju ljudi odvajkada zovu 'planinska ljepotica' i ostatak dana proveli u prijatnom neformalnom druženju.

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## Pružene veteranske ruke

*objavljeno u: Bilten za samoobrazovanje i društvena pitanja, „Danas“ 27.5.2015.*

*Prva saznanja potekla su iz škole; da živimo u Državi koju čini šest republika i dve pokrajine, i da u njoj žive narodi i narodnosti. Onda na radnim akcijama, bili smo drugovi i brigadiri; i gradili smo zemlju. Služeći armiju postali smo saborci, i spremali se da branimo zemlju, ako je neko napadne... I onda, preko noći, postali smo neprijatelji i pucali jedni na druge, i rušili postojeće.*

Prošlo je, posle svega, ne puno vremena, da bi se neki ljudi dosetili da probaju da se ponovo susretnu: drugovi i brigadiri sa radnih akcija, saborci iz armije i... veterani koji

su u jednom trenutku postali neprijatelji, i pucali jedni na druge.

Kažu da se sa nekih pet stotina reči može komunicirati, ali neka je u pitanju i par hiljada, postoji jedna reč, samo jedna reč bez koje komunikacije nema, koju je najteže prevaliti preko jezika, izreći je: IZVINI! Prvi put se ukazala prilika da se nakon desetak godina, u Grožnjanu, pod okriljem CNA (Centar za nenasilnu akciju) susretnemo: brigadiri, saborci i naposljetku neprijatelji. Bio je susret za pamćenje. Verovatno će svi učesnici radionice pamtili kada je veteran sa jedne od suprotstavljenih strana pomenuo



gde se borio, na šta će veteran sa druge strane: „Čekaj, čekaj...“, i krenuo je sa preciziranjem mesta borbenih dejstava, da bi na kraju došli do zaključka da su bili na istom mestu, ali sa različitih strana... Nastavak priče se produžio u pauzi seminara, uz čašicu istarskog crnog vina.

Jedna od sledećih prilika za susretanje desila se u Bugarskoj, na crnomorskoj obali. Nosilac susreta je bio Centar za ratnu traumu. Naravno da nije moglo proći bez događanja. U večernjim časovima, časovima odmora, hrvatski i srpski veterani su se zatekli skupa u kafiću. Nakon par čašica počelo je sa naručivanjem pesama kod muzike, uz napomenu da je pesma za hrvatske i srpske veterane. Kafić je nakon najava na momente zanemoe. Nakon izvesnog vremena u kafić su stigli domaći momci poznate ikonografije. Nakon razgovora se razjasnilo da su to veterani koji su došli zbog seminara, a ne da bi se mešali u lokalne poslove.

Jedan od sledećih susreta bio je seminar u organizaciji CNA u Brčkom i na Jahorini. Sa njega će između ostalog ostati za pamćenje kako je šanker bio zabezekenut da je to jedini seminar u njegovoj praksi u kom je učestvovala kompletno muška grupa. Ali, ono što će najverovatnije ostati kao najjači utisak sa svih seminara biće dolazak na

Jahorinu. Dolazilo se sopstvenim vozilima. Na usponu neposredno pred turističkim mestom Jahorina, jednom od veterana je “prokuvao” auto. Kako je ko pristizao, kada bi video auto pored puta momentalno se zaustavljao i prvo pitanje je bilo šta treba da se da se pomogne... Kada se sve završilo, na prvoj kafi nakon puta, u hotelu, prvo pitanje koje se nametnulo nakon malopredšnjeg događaja na usponu, bilo je kako bi taj susret izgledao pre desetak godina!?

Nakon učešća na svim ovim seminarima, rodila se zajednička ideja da se organizuju grupne posete mestima stradanja, sva tri entiteta. Krenulo se sa određenom strepnjom. Ali, uz dobre pripreme od strane nosioca događaja i pokrovitelja CNA, ostajali su i bolji utisci nego što se dalo pretpostaviti. Jedna od takvih poseta se desila u Velikoj Kladuši, gde su se sukobili pripadnici istog entiteta. Cveće se položilo, zajedno, na spomen-znamenje obema od sukobljenih strana. Najdirljivije je bilo na zajedničkom ručku, gde su nakon desetak godina međusobno progovorile nekadašnje dobre komšije sa sukobljenih strana, koji do tog događaja nisu govorili. Potekla je i poneka muška suza, ona tvrda, najtvrđa.

Naravno, o susretima veterana sva tri entiteta,

pomenutim, a još više nepomenutim, mogao bi se napisati roman. Hiljade reči se mogu napisati o tome da veterani primerom pokazuju da se može dalje, nakon svega sto su prošli i doživeli, uz poštovanje različitosti. Ali, da li bi roman mogao ono najvrednije? Da možemo dalje, treba prevaliti preko jezika onu jednu, tako tešku reč IZVINI, ili pruženom rukom, bez reči to pokazati. Svi susreti o kojima govorim proticali su bez velike pompe, manje-više nezapaženo od strane medija, sem možda lokalnih, iako iza svih ovih događaja stoje iskrenost i velika želja, a imajući u vidu iskustvo koje su prošli veterani, da se sve

ono što im se dogodilo ne dogodi nikada više. Jedan u nizu takvih susreta veterana sva tri entita biće održan 29. i 30. maja u Kruševcu. Glavni događaj će se odvijati 30. maja na Velikoj Moravi kod Varvarina, kada će se položiti cveće i odati pošta žrtvama, povodom tragedije kada je poginulo desetero ljudi prilikom bombardovanja mosta od strane aviona NATO snaga. Svako je dobro došao! Autor je veteran i učesnik susreta veterana iz različitih entiteta.

Ljudevit Kolar



publikacije



### \* Biber – konkurs za kratku priču na temu pomirenja

Početak marta ove godine po prvi put smo organizovali regionalni konkurs za kratku priču – Biber.

Tema konkursa je pomirenje u kontekstu zaostavštine ratova i nasilja u zemljama bivše Jugoslavije, posebno od 1991. godine. Konkurs se odnosio na autorke i autore koji pišu na albanskom, makedonskom, bosanskom, crnogorskom, hrvatskom ili srpskom jeziku. Konkurs je zatvoren do 6. 09. 2015. Stiglo je preko 300 priča.

Autori/ke tri najbolje priče biće nagrađeni/e novčanim nagradama.

Stručni žiri koji čine Doruntina Basha, Faruk Šehić i Bojan Krivokapić do kraja januara 2016. godine objaviće pored toga, dvadesetak priča će biti odabrano da uđe u višejezičnu zbirku priča koju očekujemo na proleće 2016. U planu je i niz promocija zbirke priča, tokom proleća i leta 2016.

Ideja o Biberu rodila se tokom Treninga za trenere i trenerice koji smo radili tokom 2014. godine. Tim koji ovu ideju sprovodi u delo sastoji se od učesnica tog programa i dela CNA tima.

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#### *O temi*

Pomirenje nije popularan termin, jer se najčešće poistovjećuje sa konceptom oprosta ili sa idejom da treba sve zaboraviti i okrenuti se budućnosti. Duboko verujemo da je nemoguće zaboraviti užase gubitka, patnje i nepravde koje su ljudi pretrpeli.

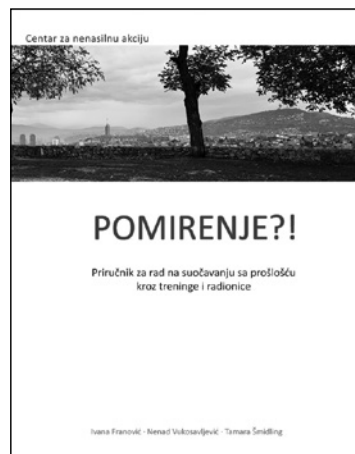
Međutim, ako pomirenje razumemo kao odustajanje od mržnje, kao traženje načina da se dođe do pravde, ali tako da se nad drugim u tom traganju ne čini nepravda, kao šansu da izgradimo izvesniju, bezbedniju i slobodniju budućnost za sve, onda smatramo da je to nešto što nam je preko potrebno. Stoga pozivamo autorke i autore da na nov i kreativan način razmišljaju o pomirenju i da nas inspirišu pričama koje prevazilaze postojeće predrasude i ušančena neprijateljstva, pričama koje pomeraju granice. I da time možda daju potreban poticaj našim društvima.

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### \* Priručnik „Pomirenje?“ na ruskom jeziku

Do kraja godine bi trebalo da bude objavljena i ruska verzija našeg priručnika za treninge „Pomirenje?“. Ideja o ovom prevodu je došla od naših saradnika iz Conciliation Resources i njihovih partnera sa Kavkaza.

Verzije na BHSC i na engleskom jeziku su i dalje dostupne na našoj internet stranici.





## \* Kultura sećanja i pomirenje: Spomenici u BiH

Početak 2016. godine objavićemo publikaciju o spomenicima koji se odnose na rat u Bosni i Hercegovini 1992-95. Radi se o istraživanju koje ima za cilj da dokumentuje mesta stradanja i mesta sećanja i da ponudi analizu kulture sećanja iz ugla rada na izgradnji mira, polazeći od pitanja kakav uticaj sadašnja kultura sećanja ima na izgradnju mira i proces pomirenja.

Istraživanje je obuhvatilo više od 80 spomenika i neobeleženih mesta stradanja širom Bosne i Hercegovine. Za svaki spomenik je izrađena identifikacijska kartica koja obuhvata podatke koje smo o tom spomeniku prikupili: zvaničan naziv spomenika, mesto gde se nalazi, godina izgradnje, navod teksta ispisanog na spomeniku, za koga je spomenik podignut, ko je podigao spomenik, ko je autor rešenja itd.

Publikacija će sadržati fotografije 20-30 spomenika obuhvaćenih istraživanjem.

Ova publikacija je trebalo da bude objavljena prošle godine, što se nije dogodilo zbog niza poteškoća na koje smo nailazili u procesu prikupljanja podataka o spomenicima.

Koristimo ovu priliku da zahvalimo Diakonie Austria na finansijskoj i moralnoj podršci da ovu ideju sporvedemo u delo, na razumevanju zbog produžavanja roka i na poverenju koje su u nas imali.

Sav materijal će biti dostupan i na posebnoj Internet stranici, a u planu je i niz izložbi o kojima ćete biti naknadno obavješteni.

## \* Senke i tragovi

### Podunavski Nemci i Nemice u Srbiji i Jugoslaviji

Do kraja godine biće objavljena publikacija posvećena stradanju Podunavskih Nemaca i Nemica iz Vojvodine nakon Drugog svetskog rata. Ni danas, nakon sedamdeset godina, o njihovom stradanju (osim u uskim akademskim krugovima i/ili kao deo poneke inicijative) ne samo da se i dalje ne zna dovoljno, već se to najčešće uopšte i ne tematizira. Koristeći šaroliku građu (istorijske studije i naučna istraživanja, memoarsku prozu i književna dela, arhivska građu, medijske sadržaje – novinske članke i analize, reportaže, dokumentarne filmove...) i razgovore sa osobama koje su stradanje preživele, svedočile mu ili im je to deo porodične istorije, kao i sa onima koji su se na različite načine bavili ovom temom, želimo da damo neku vrstu pregleda njihovog prisustva, života i nestanka sa ovih prostora. Ali i da otvorimo pitanje u javnosti zašto za

patnju ljudi koji su ubijeni, umrli po logorima ili prognani samo zato što su bili (Podunavski) Nemci i Nemice, nakon 1945. godine nije bilo mesta unutar granica domaće (jugoslovenske, a zatim srpske) kulture javnog sećanja i zašto je važno baviti se danas ovom temom. Podsticaj za ovo istraživanje nije bilo samo pitanje kako “velike istorijske priče” utiču na pojedinačne ljudske sudbine, već i kolika ja zapravo sposobnost zajednica da se nose sa nepravdama u prošlosti i/ili sadašnjosti koje su počinjene ili se čine u ime tih zajednica. Ta sposobnost se ogleda i u kolektivnom sećanju, u onome što će se pamtiti, načinu na koji će biti zapamćeno, kao i onog što će biti zaboravljeno. U svom ishodištu tu leži odgovor na pitanje na kojim vrednostima je društvo u kome živimo izgrađeno i na kojim vrednostima želimo da ga gradimo.



aktivnosti kojima  
smo se pridružili/le

# Regionalna konferencija “Bavljenje međuetničkim sukobima u bivšoj Jugoslaviji i mesto restorativne pravde: iskustva i izazov”

*Viktimološko društvo Srbije  
Beograd, 30. oktobar 2014.*

U organizaciji Viktimološkog društva Srbije u Beogradu je 30. oktobra 2014. godine održana konferencija »Bavljenje međuetničkim sukobima u bivšoj Jugoslaviji i mesto restorativne pravde: iskustva i izazov«. Cilj konferencije je bio razmena iskustava učesnika i učesnica vezanih za dosadašnje aktivnosti i istraživanja koja se bave međuetničkim sukobima u zemljama u regionu, kao i sagledavanje mesta koje u bavljenju međuetničkim sukobima ima restorativna pravda. Učesnici/ce su dominantno dolazili/e iz organizacija civilnog društva iz Srbije, Bosne i Hercegovine i sa Kosova, koje se u svom radu bave međuetničkim sukobima, istinom i pomirenjem,

i nenasilnim rešavanjem sukoba (uključujući organizacije ratnih veterana i udruženja žrtava).

Na konferenciji su predstavljeni i rezultati istraživanja Viktimološkog društva Srbije »Konflikti, sigurnost i pravda u interkulturalnom kontekstu Srbije«, sprovedenog tokom 2013. godine u tri multietničke sredine u pograničnim delovima Srbije: Bač i Bačka Palanka, Medveđa i Prijepolje. Fokus diskusija bio je uglavnom na ograničenjima i mogućnostima za dijalog i izgradnju poverenja i odnosa između zajednica u regionu, kao i na razmeni informacija o radu i aktivnostima različitih organizacija civilnog društva.

M.S.

## Bez mača kod Zida plača

*Izrael/Palestina  
14-18 decembar/prosinac 2014.*

Čuo sam za izreku iz monoteističkih tradicija: “Ko vlada Jerusalemom, vladaće i svijetom“. Ne znam da li je autentična ili je nastala kao podrška raznoraznim kolonijalnim konceptima, ali svakako oslikava tezu o važnosti tog područja kao jednoj od bolnih tački svijeta u kojem nema trajnog mira, niti se on nazire. Često je, kažu, bilo puna bivših i sadašnjih vojnika, nekad sa mačevima, nekad sa puškama. Neki je zovu Palestina, neki Izrael, a neki Sveta zemlja.

Kada nam je stigao poziv za mirovnu konferenciju u Izraelu i prijedloga kolega/ica da ja idem, u prvi mah sam bio prilično rezervisan oko toga. Kako zbog mnogo predrasuda o režimu u Izraelu, tako i zbog političke napetosti koja je u to vrijeme ponovo buknila u nizu manjih incidenata koji su se dešavali i u Jerusalemu i drugim dijelovima okupirane Palestine.

S druge strane, za mene, kao mirovnog aktivistu, bio je izazov vidjeti uživo mjesto belaja oko kojeg se „lome razna koplja“ i koje je i dalje kamen spoticanja i mjesto bez mira, gdje s lakoćom padaju mirovni sporazumi već više od šezdeset godina.

Za mene, kao muslimana, odlazak u Svetu zemlju bio je

važan i kao duhovno iskustvo, kao mogućnost da obiđem mjesta koja za monoteističku svjetopovijest predstavljaju i simbolišu svojevrsan dodir Neba i Zemlje.

Poziv na konferenciju pod nazivom „A hole in a brick wall“<sup>1</sup> od strane divnih žena iz *Coalition of Women for Peace* iz Tel Aviva uključivao je i prijedlog da priprelim prezentaciju rada CNA sa veteranima na Balkanu. Ovo mi je dodatno dalo inspiracije za put, ne bih li tamo imao priliku iznijeti naše dileme i uspjehe, pa da „ukrstimo“ muke i pouke mirovnog aktivizma.

Uz svesrdnu podršku prijateljica iz CWP, pripreme za put prošle su dosta glatko. Čak je i dobijanje vize za Izrael bilo jednostavnije od očekivanog. I zaista, jedini ozbiljniji problem koji sam imao sa izraelskim vlastima je šestosatno maltretiranje na aerodromu prilikom ulaska u zemlju. Od toga, četiti sata čekanja sa još par „sumnjivih“ i nekih dva sata ispitivanja u kancelariji. Mladi bezbjednjak je imao niz, meni glupavih, pitanja o mom privatnom životu u Sarajevu, islamu, ratnom iskustvu iz BiH, radu na pomirenju, političkoj situaciji u Izraelu, nenasilju...

<sup>1</sup> “Rupa u neprobojnom zidu

Prvih sat vremena mi je bilo i zanimljivo, jer sam se na preporuku prijatelja i domaćina bio pripremio za to. Nakon toga, postalo je prilično neprijatno (naročito za ljude sa iskustvom ratnog nasilja i mogućim postratnim sindromom). Na kraju mi je ipak dozvolio ulazak uz znak „peace-a“ sa dva uzdignuta prsta, na koji mu i nisam baš srdačno odgovorio. Ekipa iz *Coalition of Women for peace* nas je čekala do 3h poslije ponoći na aerodromu. Sa mnom je skoro sve vrijeme bila i žena iz Bostona, također učesnica konferencije, porijeklom iz Avganistana.

Sama konferencija se održavala u Jaffi, predgrađu Tel Aviva sa palestinskom većinom, dok smo mi bili smješteni u istočnom Jerusalemu, udaljenim nekih sat vremena vožnje. To mi je, između ostalog, dalo priliku voziti se sa palestinskim taxistima i čuti njihove zanimljive priče, proći autoputem na kojem je dozvoljeno voziti se jedino sa izraelskim dokumentima i registracijama, te izbliza vidjeti famozne checkpointe sa dugim cijevima i pokojim transporterom. Autoput prolazi kroz palestinsku teritoriju, više je koridor i potpuno odsjeca područja sa obje strane na kojima žive Palestinci. Oni na drugu stranu autoputa mogu preći samo preko checkpointa. Mada to, za ono što se može vidjeti na drugim okupiranim područjima Palestine, izgleda kao omanja birokratska prepreka.

Konferencija je organizovana u vrlo inspirativnom i prijatnom prostoru, na Lagaat Centru u Jaffi, gdje se održavaju angažirane predstave, prezentacije filmova, različite promocije, radionice i slično. Teme i gosti na susretu su mi bili jako zanimljivi. Imao sam priliku čuti izlaganja i upoznati ljude različitih profila: novinare/ke, feminističke, lgbt i anti-okupacijske aktiviste/kinje. Mogli su se čuti primjeri iz svijeta o nenasilnom otporu i aktivizmu (Španija, SAD), primjeri iz Izraela i Palestine o aktivističkom djelovanju kroz kulturu, o feminizmu kao temeljno nenasilnom principu i tako dalje.

Po riječima organizatorica, dio aktivista iz Palestine s pravom bojkotuje ovakva dešavanja na prostoru samog Izraela zbog ponižavajućih i diskriminirajućih kontrola. Nekima od njih vlasti ne bi ni dozvolile ulazak na teritoriju pod kontrolom Izraela. Inače, kod prisutnih se osjećala atmosfera opreza i bojažljivosti. Kako su mi i rekli, bilo je prijetnji od strane radikala i skup je etiketiran kao pro-teroristički. Mada, dok sam ja bio tamo, nije bilo nekih vidljivih problema, niti otvorenih protivnika ni kritičara samog skupa iako mu je prisustvovalo preko 100 ljudi. Čak bi se reklo da je to uglavnom bio skup ljudi sa sličnim pogledima koji se zajedno pitaju kako naći alternativu postojećem stanju.

Važan uvid sam dobio kroz panel o medijima u Izraelu

na kojem su govorili lokalni novinari iz različitih nezavisnih medija. Koliko sam razumio, kakva takva sloboda medija postoji, ali sa prisutnom autocenzurom i povremenim pristrasnim izvještavanjem koje nije produkt pritiska, već stavova autora. Neki nezavisni mediji relativno su objektivno izvještavali o posljednjem ratu u Gazi, ali se mogla prepoznati selektivnost koja, opet po nekim izlagačima, ima veze i sa rasizmom i ustaljenim političkim stavovima. Pomenut je problem korporativnog uticaja na objektivnost medija koji zbog komercijalnog faktora sve češće izbjegavaju tabu teme i ozbiljnu kritiku društva. Ipak, generalno govoreći, vjerovatno zbog svojih predrasuda o Izraelu, bio sam iznenađen stepenom slobode medija imajući u vidu cjelokupan ambijent izraelskog režima kao prilično rasističkog i agresivnog. Doduše, često je to slučaj sa pogledima i pojednostavljivanjima na osnovu vlastitih predodžbi. Izgleda da i dalje živimo u vremenu transparentne surovosti koja, ili često nema potrebu da se sakrije, ili čak uspijeva da ubijedi mainstream društva da tako i treba da bude. Tako valjda i dolazi do ratova, kada manja grupa nekog društva uspije nametnuti narativ o neophodnosti upotrebe oružane sile i pridobiti masovnu podršku za nasilje.

Nakon mog izlaganja o mirovnom radu sa veteranima koje CNA radi u našoj regiji na jednom od panela, na moju žalost, nije bilo pitanja iz publike jer ih organizator nije predvidio. Tako da i nisam stekao uvid koliko se ljudima to svidjelo ili nije. Ali na osnovu razgovara nakon panela, pojedinci su mi rekli da je važno to što radimo i da i kod njih postoje slične organizacije koje okupljaju bivše ratnike sa obje strane. Čini mi se važnim pomenuti da se u Izraelu i Palestini proces pomirenja, i s njim vezano suočavanje s prošlošću, dešava na nekim nivoima, ali je opterećen činjenicom da rat niskog intenziteta stalno traje i da do sukoba i nasilja stalno dolazi. Uz česte eskalacije, kao u Gazi u ljeto 2014., ili tzv. legitimnu okupaciju Palestine od strane izraelske vojske, koja se, kako sam saznao, tako uglavnom i prihvata unutar Izraela.

Sve u svemu, konferencija je ukazala na postojanje niza manjih ili većih aktivnosti koje „sade vrtove“ mira uprkos najezdama „korova“ mržnje, nasilja i rata. A nama globalno ostaje da razmjenjujemo „sjemena“, „vještine vrtlarstva“ i da budemo primjeri jedni drugima i da svjedočimo da je izgradnja mira najsigurniji put ka Pravdi.

Bitno je pomenuti da su me utisci sa konferencije, ali i moj cjelokupni boravak u Izraelu, podsjetili na to koliko je važno imati u vidu kompleksnost svakog konteksta u kojemu se vode ratovi. Kako sam i sâm svjestan svojih predrasuda o Izraelu kao „bad guy-u“ Bliskog istoka,

važno je razumijevati i to društvo, okruženo državama koje spram njega uglavnom gaje otvoreno neprijateljstvo. I to ne samo zbog okupacije Palestine već i antijevrejstva kojeg moramo biti svjesni da postoji. Biti kritičan spram izraelskog režima je važno, ali je važno i ne dati za pravo pojedincima i grupama da pozivaju na nasilje i uništenje. Sloboda i mir trebaju nam svima. Puno je dobrih ljudi koje sam sreo u Izraelu koji godinama predano rade na izgradnji mira, a kojima bi neki ljudi u susjedstvu vjerovatno presudili, samo zbog porijekla ili državljanstva.

Druga dva dana mog boravka namijenio sam susretima sa izraelskim veteranskim organizacijama i obilasku Svete zemlje.

Zahvaljujući podršci ekipe iz *Coalition of Women for Peace*, sastanke sa aktivistima izraelskih organizacija koje okupljaju ratne veterane uspio sam prethodno dogovoriti. Tako mi je pružena prilika da se susretne sa *Combatants for peace*<sup>2</sup> i *Breaking the silence*<sup>3</sup>.

Na konferenciji sam upoznao dragog i blagog čovjeka, bivšeg pripadnika izraelske vojske i aktiviste *Combatants for peace*, sa kojim sam proveo najviše vremena. Razgovarali smo o situacijama u našim zemljama, sličnostima i razlikama, našim ratnim isustvima, o ulozi ratnih veterana u procesu pomirenja. Objasnio mi je da sarađuju samo sa ljudima iz Fataha i da sa Hamasom to nije moguće.

Od njega sam dobio i mnogo uvida, za mene pomalo iznenađujućih, o samom Tel Avivu kao prilično sekularnoj sredini bez upadljivih vjerskih simbola, što sam se i sâm mogao uvjeriti, za razliku od drugih mjesta u Izraelu. Zapravo se sâm grad ne razlikuje mnogo od ostalih evropskih gradova. Imate dojam da ste u Berlinu na Mediteranu.

Imali smo i formalniji sastanak sa dvije veteranke (što za izraelski kontekst nije neobično, jer su i žene vojne obveznice). Bilo mi je značajno čuti detalje o organizaciji koja uspješno uspostavlja saradnju među bivšim borcima IDF<sup>4</sup> i Fataha. Razgovarali smo o pristupima i idejama na kojima radimo, gdje su me detaljnije upoznale sa njihovim aktivnostima vezanim za zajedničke komemoracije poginulim Palestincima i Izraelcima. Tim komemoracijama prisustvuju veterani sa obje strane. Na moje pitanje koliko takve akcije dopiru do javnosti i koliko ih ljudi podržavaju, odgovorile su mi da skup prođe zapaženo na nivou grada

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2 Ratnici za mir

3 Lomeći tišinu

4 Israel Defence Forces - Izraelske obrambene snage

i ponekih medija, ali da ga većina uglavnom promatra sa neodobravanjem ili ignoriše. Ali ovaj hvale vrijedan način rada je svakako najbolji način da se, kao i kod nas, promijeni odnos prema, kako prošlosti, tako i neprijatelju.

Pominjali smo i iskazali želju da bi bilo dobro i zanimljivo da se na neki način ponovo sretnemo i pokušamo uspostaviti saradnju ratnih veterana iz Palestine i Izraela sa našim veteranima u regiji. Pozvali su nas da prisustvujemo njihovoj komemoraciji ove ili sljedeće godine, kao i da ostanemo u intenzivnijem kontaktu i sagledamo mogućnosti ponovnih susreta. U međuvremenu smo dobili poziv i da povodom njihovog okupljanja pod nazivom *Israeli Palestinian Memorial Day Ceremony*<sup>5</sup> organizujemo Skype razgovore s ovdašnjim veteranima<sup>6</sup>.

Za *Breaking the silence* sam čuo i mnogo ranije, zbog njihovog značajnog rada na sakupljanju svjedočanstava izraelskih vojnika o brutalnosti okupacije. Prije par godina sam gledao njihove video materijale koji su me se jako dojmili i dali mi nadu (zajedno sa genijalnim animiranim filmom „Valcer with Bashir“<sup>7</sup>) da u Izraelu ima mnogo ljudi sa puno znanja i iskustva koji rade sjajne stvari i od kojih se može puno naučiti o mirovnjaštvu. Zato što oni tamo rade jako važan posao, veliko mi je zadovoljstvo bilo sresti ih i popričati. S obzirom na naše iskustvo u CNA, imali smo puno toga za reći i razmijeniti.

Sjedio sam i sa njihovim direktorom odjela za javnost, koji je bez puno uvijanja govorio o vlastitim etičkim motivima i iskustvima učešća u okupaciji, a koji su ga i ponukali da se pridruži BtS. Pričao mi je o tome kako pridobijaju ljude da svjedoče, koliko ljudi je uključeno u aktivnosti, kako lobiraju na političkom nivou protiv okupacije. Postoje indicije da u Izraelu raste broj dezertera i prigovarača savjesti i to u ne malom broju. Odatle valjda i veliki pritisci od strane vlasti i radikalnih grupa na njih, jer su oni vjerovatno jedan od bitnih faktora koji potiče te pojave. Ali zato su im kancelarije bez ikakvih obilježja, u nekom skromnom stanu u predgrađu, i bez najave i kontakta ne može ih se naći lako. Zanimljiva je i aktivnost koju rade sa različitim grupama i pojedincima - obilazak okupiranih područja Zapadne obale uz primjereno pojašnjavanje tamošnjih prilika i bitnih mjesta. I to bez relativizacije surovosti same okupacije, sa pojašnjavanjem

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5 Izraelsko-palestinski Dan sjećanja

6 Ova organizacija radi i druge značajne aktivnosti i više o tome možete vidjeti i na njihovoj internet stranici: <http://cfpeace.org/>

7 “Valcer s Bashirom”

puno važnih detalja.

Bio sam sretan kada mi je ponudio da me povede u Hebron u obilazak, što sam sa zahvalom prihvatio. Zajedno smo proveli cijelo popodne, promatrajući razne fenomene okupiranih područja Zapadne obale. Od neizbježnih checkpointa (na kojima smo, kao Izraelci, prolazili na mahanje), ogromnog zida koji se i dalje gradi, cesta za Izraelce, ali ne i Palestince, samog Hebrena kao simbola okupacije. U Hebronu nisu rijetki nasilni sukobi, palestinske kuće i prozori imaju rešetke, kao i koridori kojima im je dozvoljeno kretanje po gradu. Ulazak u džamiju u Hebronu izgleda kao solidan security u kasarnama. Groznih detalja u Hebronu ima na desetine i o svemu tome mi je vrlo strpljivo pričao moj domaćin koji je, kao vojnik, i sam bio na tim mjestima prije par godina. Inače, koncept naseljeničkih ("settlers") područja je svojevrsni vid perfidne okupacije gdje se u novoizgrađene objekte nasele izraelski doseljenici sa porodicama, uz obaveznu zaštitu IDF-a. Na taj način je o Hebron postepeno skoro potpuno etnički očišćen.

Za nekog koje doživio rat, ovo je bilo poprilično teško iskustvo. Ne zato što me podsjetilo na vlastita iskustva, već na morbidnu kreativnost u sprovođenju nasilja.

Naravno da nećete naći zvaničan dokument vojske o tim metodama. To se sprovodi neformalno, ali vrlo efikasno.

Nakon svega, nije me zasmatalo kada nas je zaustavio jedan od mnogih izraelskih vojnika, pa me predstaviše kao čovjeka iz Srbije. Odmah mi je bilo jasno zašto, a i sasvim mi je bilo svejedno. Ne bi bilo dobro valjda da posumnja da sam musliman, pa je to bilo praktičnije. Ima trenutaka i faza u životu kada vam ti identiteti nisu bitni. Podsjetilo me sve to na izreku duhovnjaka Rumija: „Nit sam kršćanin, niti Jevrej, niti musliman... Vidio sam dva svijeta kao jedan.“

Vidio sam bivšeg izraelskog vojnika, jednog od osnivača Breaking the silence, kako sjedi ispred džamije u Hebronu i pije kafu sa Palestincima. Skoro sam zaplakao i zagrlio ga.

Posljednje popodne i večer proveo sam u Jerusalemu. Dugo sam se molio u džamiji Al Aqsa. Ona se nalazi tačno iznad Zida plača. I plakanje me je smirilo. Prišlo mi je dijete i sjelo kod mene. A ni djevoja Marija nije bila daleko od tog mjesta.

Prisjetio sam se kuranskog ajeta: „Biće sigurni samo oni koji svoje vjerovanje sa nasiljem ne mijesaju“. (6:82)

Adnan Hasanbegović

## Trening produbljenja za mirovno obrazovanje

*Bitola, 14-19. januar/siječanj 2015.*

Na poziv naših prijatelja iz Prve detske ambasade Megjashi iz Skoplja, pridružili smo se trenerskom timu za Trening produbljenja u sklopu programa Mirovnog obrazovanja namjenjenog prosvjetnim radnicima iz Makedonije. Kako imamo dugodišnje iskustvo saradnje i zajedničkih treninga sa ljudima iz "Međaša", bilo nam je drago odazvati se ovoj inicijativi, s ciljem podržavanja regionalnih mirovnih aktivnosti i razmjene trenera, kao i sudjelovanja u razvoju njihovih treninga iz izgradnje mira.

Trenerski tim su činili Albulena Karaga i Ana Bitoljanu iz "Međaša", Blerim Jashari iz "Loje", Tetovo i Adnan Hasanbegović iz CNA.

"Međaši" već nekoliko godina organizuju treninge za prosvjetne radnike iz raznih krajeva Makedonije na koje se pozivaju učesnici/ce makedonske i albanske nacionalnosti.

Naime, u Makedoniji je obrazovni sistem organizovan na etno-nacionalnom principu, tako da se programi mirovnog obrazovanja i treninga iz izgradnje mira nameću

kao imperativ ukoliko se žele smanjiti štetne posljedice ovakvog sistema na mlade ljude te posredno ublažiti posljedice generalnog nesnalaženja makedonskog društva u nošenju sa čestim sukobima i tenzijama tih vrsta.

Grupa, sastavljena od predanih prosvjetara zabrinutih za stanje u društvu, prilično je dobro reagovala na ponuđene teme i vježbe, sa vidljivom motivacijom.

Na treningu je prisustvovalo 16 srednjoškolskih profesora/ki iz Velesa, Skoplja, Gostivara i Debra, uključenih u program Mirovnog obrazovanja kojeg Međaši u saradnji sa školskim institucijama organizuju već par godina. Svi učesnici/ce su prošli osnovni trening iz mirovnog obrazovanja, a neki od njih i dvodnevni trening za facilitaciju radionica.

U konceptu treninga smo se fokusirali na tri segmenta: osnaživanje u ophođenju sa sukobima, izgradnja mira i suočavanje s prošlošću. Po običaju, teme i vježbe vezane za timski rad i razumijevanje sukoba dobro su primljene i nadovezale su se na iskustva sa osnovnih treninga. Uz



manje poteškoće, bilo je prostora za propitivanje vlastitih mehanizama kao i međusobne konfrontacije. Kod uvoda i vođenja radionica na temu suočavanja s prošlošću i pomirenja bilo je potrebno više učešća i opservacija trenerskog tima u samim diskusijama, kao i dodatnih pojašnjenja i smjernica. Zanimljivo je da pojmove poput „suočavanje s prošlošću“ i „tranzicijska pravda“ dobar dio grupe nije nikad ranije čuo, što je pokazatelj da se o tome u Makedoniji vrlo malo govori. Za nekoga ko dolazi iz BiH, to je bilo vrlo neobično s obzirom na dojam da se kod nas malo o čemu drugome i govori, osim o ratu i prošlosti. Na žalost, to ne znači da se to radi i na konstruktivan način.

U Makedoniji je izražena politička korektnost, u tom smislu se o ratu i nacionalnim sukobima gotovo i ne govori. Na primjer, kod vježbi o nacionalnim narativima i tabuima, mogle su se čuti izjave poput: “Nama to ne treba, to truje djecu“. Međutim, djeca će predrasudama obojene priče o drugima narodima i ratovima svakako čuti, da li u porodici ili na ulici, ako ne čak i u školi. Zato je bilo važno skrenuti pažnju na to da se upravo konstruktivnim pristupom prošlosti može konfrontirati njenoj (zlo)upotrebi za mobilizaciju i nacionalne podjele.

U tom kontekstu, dobrom mi se čini odluka da u sklopu radionice zajedno pogledamo „Pticu ti ne čuješ“, dokumentarni film u produkciji CNA, koji kroz simulirani dijalog prikazuje razmišljanja, emocije i dileme pripadnika bošnjačkog i hrvatskog naroda nakon rata u BiH. Fokusiranje na bosanski kontekst rasteretilo je grupu i potaklo na razumijevanje samog smisla procesa pomirenja i suočavanja s prošlošću i u Makedoniji.

Važan detalj ovog treninga je i prisustvo (jednog)

pripadnika muslimansko-makedonske etničke grupe, koja je prilično izložena diskriminaciji od strane jedne i pokušaju asimilacije od strane druge većinske zajednice. Važno je bilo što je u ovoj grupi bilo prostora da se govori o tome kako se se toj manjinskoj zajednici osporava pravo na identitet, jezik i vjeru te dodatno ukaže na prisutne nacionalističke tendencije u makedonskom društvu koje često vode ka prihvatanju “kohabitacije” albanskog i makedonskog nacionalizma.

Pred kraj treninga radile su se radionice planiranja aktivnosti iz izgradnje mira koje bi se realizovale kroz saradnju učesnika/ca treninga i tima “Međaša”. Pokazalo se da ovakva saradnja sa učesnicima prethodnih treninga dobro funkcioniše. Sami učesnici/ce su motivisani za takve aktivnosti, uz dileme i zadržke koje uvijek postoje.

Čini mi se da je učesnike/ce ovaj trening osnažio za rad na zahtjevnijim poljima, poput osvještavanja međunacionalnih sukoba iz prošlosti te prisutnog nacionalizma, između ostalog i u obrazovnom sistemu.

Važno bi bilo nastaviti sa praksom regionalne razmijene trenera jer, osim što su poređenja konteksta država regiona često korisna za bolje sagledavanje problema u konkretnom društvu, ovakav koncept razvija prekograničnu saradnju i omogućava bolji uvid u mirovno djelovanje u regionu, što je jako bitno za proces izgradnje mira na Balkanu.

Raduje činjenica da u Makedoniji imamo saveznike/ce koji su duboko i iskreno predani mirovnom djelovanju i sa kojima je bilo zadovoljstvo i inspiracija biti u timu.

A.H.

## Trening sa gostima iz Ukrajine

*Sarajevo, 20 – 21. januar/siječanj 2015.*

Grupa od desetero aktivista/ica, novinara/ki, predstavnika/ca humanitarnih organizacija i državnih institucija iz Ukrajine, imali su priliku da se upoznaju sa iskustvima civilnog društva, medija i drugih aktera na polju izgradnje mira i transformacije konflikta u BiH. Uključili smo se u pripreme i vođenje dvodnevnog treninga organizovanog pod okriljem Fondacije Mirovna Akademija, na temu razumijevanja sukoba za grupu iz Ukrajine, u sklopu njihove sedmodnevne posjete BiH. Tim su činili Randy Puljek-Shank iz MA i Adnan Hasanbegović

iz CNA.

Cilj treninga i cjelokupne posjete bio je osvještavanje i razumijevanje mehanizama i uzroka konflikta, smanjenje nasilja i mijenjanje slike o drugome kao neprijatelju i poticaj ka miru.

U Ukrajini je baš u tom periodu došlo do brutalne eskalacije nasilja, vodio se rat u njenom istočnom dijelu, kome se ni u ovome trenutku ne nazire kraj. To se, naravno, primjetilo i na učesnicima/ama jer su svi bili jako zabrinuti i uzbuđeni. Mene je činjenica da su došli u Sarajevo i

privukla da pristanem raditi ovaj trening i pokušati da ih ohrabrim i podržim u nastojanju da izgradnju mira vide kao nadu i mogućnost za njihovu zemlju.

Ključna dilema nam je i bila zapravo kako raditi radionice na teme nenasilnog rješavanja sukoba i izgradnje mira sa učesnicima iz zemlje u kojoj je ratno nasilje u punom zamahu. No, i pored brige za stanje kod kuće, bili su zainteresovani za sam trening, gdje su već u uvodnom dijelu govorili o želji da čuju i razumiju naša iskustva iz BiH i nauče nešto o mirovnom djelovanju.

Na neki način me je ganula ta želja i vidljiva posvećenost, čak su i u okviru iskustvenih vježbi na temu sukoba bez vidljive zadržke prihvatili zadate uloge i iskreno razmjenjivali uvide i mišljanja. Bile su korisne i analize i prezentacije modela o vrstama sukoba i njihovoj transformaciji, jer je bilo dosta pitanja i dilema, a često vrlo neposredno vezenih za trenutni sukob u Ukrajini.

To je došlo do izražaja i kada smo radili prezentaciju političkog konteksta u BiH, gdje smo vrlo brzo odlučili da otvorimo i prostor za priču o stanju u Ukrajini, jer su se učesnici razumljivo na to referisali. Mogle su se čuti izjave poput: „Nekakav Daytonski sporazum za nas nije dobar, jer se eto, i vi dvadeset godina patite“ ili „da sa teroristima nema pregovora“. Bilo je na momente konfrontacija u grupi oko stanja u Ukrajini, sa sličnom dinamikom kao mnogobrojne naše lokalne rasprave o agresoru i žrtvi, ko je prvi počeo i ko su pravednici, itd. U takvim trenucima sam osjećao posebnu težinu, jer i dobri, obični ljudi počnu da, vjerovatno nesvjesno, zagovaraju ratne opcije.

Ali ta diskusija je bila korisna jer je otvorila prostor za ukazivanje na suštinska pitanja poput onoga: ako ste za vojnu pobjedu, šta je za vas izgradnja mira?

Kako smo u nastavku treninga radili na temi izgradnje mira imali smo vremena za smirenije razgovore, između

ostalog i o tome šta sami učesnici, iz svojih društvenih pozicija novinara/ki, političara/ki i humanitaraca/ki mogu da naprave, a što bi smirilo tenzije i pomoglo mirovni proces u Ukrajini. Važno je bilo čuti da vjeruju u mir i da vide put, iako su pravda i istina skrivene iza buke tenkova i raketnih bacača. Ostaju zebnja i nada, a njima i životna drama.

Imao sam priliku, pored ostalih, upoznati novinarku koja živi u Kijevu koja je govorila o vlastitim dilemama kod izvještavanja o ratu, u smislu: kako biti objektivna kada vas informacije uznemiruju, a interpretacije događaja određuju na čijoj ste strani? Upoznao sam i humanitarku, koja živi i radi u Luganjsku, i koja se, radeći sa izbjeglicama, već nagledala ljudske drame za više života. Oficira ukrajinske vojske koji je ranjen u ranijim borbama na ratištu, a trenutno vodi organizaciju ratnih invalida kojih je sve više...

Trenutna empatija koju sam osjetio zbog raspoznavanja iskustva koje sam i sam prošao, pomogla mi je da ih razumijem, ali u isto vrijeme to me podsjetilo na duboku neizvjesnost i strah koje u takvim situacijama čovjek može da osjeća. Iako je većina govorila samo ukrajinski i ruski jezik, mogli smo se razumijeti, ponekad i bez prevoda.

„Bolje 100 godina pregovarati nego 1 dan ratovati“, citat je koji je izgovorio jedan od učesnika u sklopu intervjua koji je dao za lokalne medije. Kaže da je to ono što je naučio na treningu.

Rekli su, na kraju, da im je trening bio koristan i važan i da ih je osnažio. To je i moj dojam, usprkos svemu što je tokom treninga ostalo neizgovoreno, a ponešto se i odšutilo.

A.H.

# Razmena praktičara i istraživača koji rade na sećanju

*Brisel, 18-19. maj/svibanj 2015.*

Belgijska organizacija *RCN Justice & Démocratie* održala je 18. i 19. maja 2015. u Briselu seminar razmene među različitim akterima koji rade na sećanju i suočavanju s prošlošću. Naslov seminara bio je "How do we deal with the competition, confrontation and confusion of memories?" (Kako se nosimo sa takmičenjem, suprotstavljenosti i višeznačnošću među sećanjima?). Pozvani smo da predstavimo svoj rad sa bivšim borbicima. Još nekoliko organizacija je predstavljalo svoj rad: *Documenta* iz Zagreba, *Healing through remembering* iz Severne Irske, *Sustainable Democracy Centre* iz Libana, *MemorialLAB* iz Baskije/Španije i *Music Action International* iz UK. Bilo je oko 30-35 učesnika iz nekoliko evropskih zemalja, većinom iz Belgije.

Pričalo se o načinima ophođenja sa suprotstavljenim sećanjima, o tome kako rad na sećanju može doprineti dijalogu i izgradnji mira, o tome ko, zašto i kada treba da započne rad na sećanju, odnosno kada je prerano, a kad prekasno početi, šta raditi sa zvaničnim interpretacijama prošlosti, zašto, odnosno za koga radimo radeći na suočavanju s prošlošću, do koga ne uspevamo da dopremo, šta je sa onima čiji glas se ne čuje, kako se ophoditi s traumom i još mnogo pitanja. Seminar je bio dosta kratak, a tema previše. Ipak, ovakvi susreti su jako vredni, jer su prilike za razmene s ljudima koji rade na istom polju, ali u različitim kontekstima, zapravo retke.

I. F.

# Predavanje i razgovori u Austrijskom istraživačkom centru za mir i rešavanje sukoba

*Stadtschlaining, 8. jul/srpanj 2015.*

Po pozivu Austrijskog istraživačkog centra za mir i rešavanje sukoba (The Austrian Study Centre for Peace and Conflict Resolution) iz Stadtschlaininga, 8.7.2015. sam u okviru Internacionalne Letnje Akademije pod naslovom "Građansko društvo i konflikti", održao predavanje na temu odnosa lokalnih aktera u izgradnji mira i spoljnih aktera koji interveniše sa ciljem izgradnje mira (bez upotrebe sile).

U sjajnom ambijentu srednjevekovnog dvorca u kojem se Akademija održava, pred 200 učesnika sam govorio o iskustvima stečenim u dvadesetogodišnjem periodu od završetka rata do danas. Zbog velikog broja pitanja, predviđeno vreme je malo produženo, a u večernjem

terminu sam oko dva sata, u društvu direktorice Istraživačkog centra, Blanka-e Bellak, odgovarao na njena i pitanja publike vezana za moj put kao graditelja mira. Od 200 učesnika akademije koja je održana na nemačkom jeziku, veliki broj su bili mladi ljudi zainteresovani da učestvuju u humanitarnim misijama ili izgradnji mira širom sveta, a drugu veću grupu su činili iskusni praktičari i istraživači austrijske i nemačke mirovne scene.

Za CNA ovaj poziv predstavlja ukazanu čast i priznanje našem radu, a reakcije na priču o našem radu na pomirenju predstavljaju sjajan i obavezujući podstrek za dalje.

N.V.



politički i društveni konteksti  
u kojima djelujemo

# Jugoslavija, 20 godina starija, jednako mrtva

Pre malo više od 20 godina sam odlučio da se posvetim izgradnji mira u mojoj bivšoj domovini Jugoslaviji. Pre dvadeset godina je sama reč "Jugoslavija" bila vrlo omražena u većini delova nekadašnje države. Danas je našla svoje mesto u istoriji i za većinu ljudi ne predstavlja više pretnju.

Da mi je neko tada, kada sam počinjao sa ovim radom, ponudio sadašnje stanje kao mir koji bi usledio za 20 godina rada, mislim da bih ponudu odbio. To ne znači da mi je žao što sam odabrao put kojim sam išao, jer tada sam mislio da je cilj ispred nas manje-više jasan, sloboda, mir, poverenje, poštovanje. Stanje u kojem živimo danas me umnogome podseća na povređenost osećajem opšte nepravde koja je pogodila ogroman broj ljudi, tada pred sam kraj rata u Bosni i Hercegovini i Hrvatskoj, a u predvečerje opšteg rata na Kosovu (jer on je zapravo počeo mnogo ranije, a tek eskalirao 1998. i konačno 1999. godine). Postoji puno više slobode i manje straha od direktnog nasilja, ali mi se čini da je sa osvajanjem sloboda i umanjenjem straha, vakum iza njih punilo licemerje i prefinjeni, neočigledni rasizam i mržnja.

Kada smo 2000. godine napravili probni trening na engleskom koji je osim zemalja ex-Jugoslavije uključio i ljude iz Albanije, Grčke, Bugarske, Rumunije i Mađarske, ostali smo pomalo zatečeni dubinom predrasuda i istorijskim interpretacijama kakve smo mogli čuti od naših suseda (van ex-YU). Priznajem, izašli smo i pomalo ohrabreni, da uprkos ratu nismo mi baš najgori. Činilo mi se da nam je iskustvo zajedničkog života iz prošlosti, a čak i uprkos ratu koji je usledio, ipak usadilo dovoljno razumevanja drugih da na tome gradimo budućnost, gradimo mir. Sa rekom ljudi iz Sirije i Avganistana kakva je proteklih meseci potekla Balkanom, često bih se setio tog iskustva iz 2000. Pitao sam se zašto ljudi iz Turske ne idu preko Bugarske, kraćim putem? Svedočenja izbeglica koji su prošli tim putem govore o nečovečnom postupanju predstavnika vlasti ove EU članice (od 2007). Tada na treningu 2000. je na pitanje o egzodusu više stotina hiljada bugarskih Turaka, učesnik istoričar rekao da su oni sami odabrali da odu. Tada u vreme gvozdene zavese, to niko nije zvao etničkim čišćenjem. Omalavažavajući odnos u Rumuniji spram mađarske manjine i sličan pogled sa druge strane, dopunjavali su sliku koja mi je ostala sa tog susreta.

Odnos spram izbeglica u velikoj meri određuje odnos vlade, toliko mi je jasno. Hoće li vlada podgrevati strahove

i ksenofobiju ili će apelovati na ljudskost?

Kako je moguće da jedna Srbija postupi toliko ljudskije i civilizovanije od etabliranih EU članica? Neko je u vladi, posle par meseci nečinjenja, shvatio da ih ne košta puno, a da mogu pridobiti dosta ugleda ovakvim postupkom i odabrali su pravi put. Ne zanosim se time da bi odnos ostao isti za slučaj da su izbeglice namerile da ostanu trajno u Srbiji. I ne zanosim se time, da će sada iznenada odnos spram, na primer Albanaca, postati jednako ispunjen čovekoljubljem. Ipak, drago mi je da je tako. I drago mi je da su na beogradsku autobusku stanicu pomoć izbeglicama dopremali i ljudi iz Hrvatske, iz Bosne i Hercegovine, ljudi iz unutrašnjosti Srbije (Sandžak na primer), da smo se našli makar na tren okupljeni oko zadatka ljudske solidarnosti. Zbog toga možemo biti ponosni.

Odlutah li mislima od dostignuća mirovnih zalaganja tokom 20 godina?

Nema rezultata koji ćemo podstići i znati da smo uspeli, da je kraj našim naporima da se društva pomire. Naša društva treba da se promene, da menjamo tamo gde imamo moć, umesto prebacivanja krivice preko susednog plota. Treba da nađemo načina da budemo bolji, ne samo materijalno bogatiji, već da živimo bez straha, bez mržnje.

I dalje ne prihvatam ponudu da ovo zovem mirom.

Za dve nedelje putujem na Kosovo i pomalo brinem da se krećem Kosovom sa beogradskim tablicama, to je naša stvarnost. Dotle smo stigli nakon 16 godina "mira".

Prekosutra putujem u Bosnu i nemam istu brigu, ali brinem za prijatelje i kolege koji nameravaju da narednih dana samolepljivim natpisima obeleže neobeležena mesta stradanja tamo. Dotle smo stigli nakon 20 godina.

Treba li verovati da će sve biti u redu kada se sasvim približimo pristupanju EU? Mi, ljudi iz BiH, Srbije, Kosova, Makedonije, Albanije? Sigurno da ne. Trebamo li zbog toga biti očajni? Sigurno da ne.

Ima nas dobrih, vrednih, pametnih i odlučnih na svim stranama, da ovo mesto učinimo boljim za život. Sigurno da da.

**Osvrt na proteklih godinu dana u ispreplitanom regionalnom kontekstu:**

## **Kosovski val**

Krajem 2014 i početkom 2015 glavna vest je bila reka izbeglica sa Kosova koje su preko Srbije i Mađarske u hiljadama stizale u Nemačku podnoseći zahtev za azil,

koji nemaju nikakve šanse da dobiju jer nisu progonjeni represivnim režimom. Ipak, progonjeni bezizlaznošću situacije u kojoj žive i odsustvom perspektive poboljšanja, ljudi su pokušali da to promene očajničkim potezom. Čitave porodice sa malom decom bi nakon rasprodaje svoje imovine, kretale na neizvestan put u zapadnu Evropu. Po proceni kosovskih vlasti od leta 2014 do leta 2015 oko 120 000 ljudi je emigriralo. Kosovo očito ne napreduje onako kako su mnogi očekivali, korupcija, siromaštvo, loša državna uprava, autoritaran stil vladavine i neupitni nacionalizam čine eksplozivnu mešavinu. Uz gajeni mit o čistom, opravdanom i oslobodilačkom ratu protiv srpskih ugnjetavača, te žustru diplomatsku borbu protiv prijema Kosova u međunarodne institucije koju vodi vlada Srbije, logično je očekivati da je odnos prema srpskoj manjini loš. Otpor vlasti Kosova ka implementiranju obaveze za osnivanje suda koji bi se bavio kažnjavanjem zločina koje je počinila OVK je bio jak, ali je slomljen pod maksimalnim pritiskom zapadnih saveznika, tj SAD i EU. Otpori implementiranju obaveze formiranja Saveza srpskih opština na Kosovu kao delu dogovora sa Beogradom oko brojnih spornih pitanja, su takođe bili jaki i vlada se našla pod jakim udarom opozicije. Politička situacija je nestabilna jer je vlada morala preuzeti nepopularne korake i pitanje je šta će se ubuduće dešavati po ta dva pitanja, koja bi mogla značajno da otvore perspektivu trajnog dogovora sa Srbijom, tj. neke vrste mirovnog sporazuma, kojeg dosad nema jer Srbija Kosovo i dalje zvanično smatra delom svoje teritorije, iako 16 godina na njemu nema nikakve ingerencije.

### **Sirijski test**

Nepunih pola godine nakon talasa kosovskih izbeglica su male grupe izbeglica iz Sirije vidljive oko autobuske stanice u Beogradu, počele narastati i pretvorile obližnje parkove u privremene izbegličke kampove. Umesto grupa mladića koje su se prethodnih meseci mogle videti, stizale su čitave porodice sa malom decom, stari i bolesni ljudi. Mesecima vlasti u Srbiji nisu reagovala i tek su grupe građana, samoorganizovano, započele akciju pomoći izbeglicama u prolazu. U međuvremenu su mađarske vlasti preprečile put koloni izbeglica izgradnjom zida na granici sa Srbijom i svojom brutalnošću spram izbeglica navukle bes i gađenje pristojnog dela sveta.

Mađarskom blokadom granice sa Srbijom desilo se ono što se moralo desiti, kolona ljudi je krenula ka Hrvatskoj, kao jedinog alternativnoj ruti ka zapadnoj Evropi. Nakon nekoliko dana prihvata ljudi, hrvatske vlasti su zaključile da je izbeglica previše i da ih Srbija mora slati

ka Mađarskoj (na zatvorenu granicu!?) ili ka Rumuniji (ka istočnoj Evropi). Kako se to nije desilo (a nije potrebno mnogo pameti da se zaključi da se to neće dogoditi), hrvatska vlada je kao znak odmazde spram Srbije zatvorila granicu za teretni saobraćaj iz Srbije, da bi nakon nekoliko dana Srbija uradila istu stvar za hrvatsku robu i teretni saobraćaj iz Hrvatske. Kulminacija dotadašnje eskalacije je postignuta zabranom prelaska u Hrvatsku svim građanima Srbije i vozilima iz Srbije. Nekoliko sati kasnije je zabrana svedena samo na vozila. Svo to vreme, talas izbeglica koji je navodno bio uzrok, je nastavljen kao i pre toga.

### **Udri po susedu**

Teško shvatljiva eskalacija netrpeljivosti između Srbije i Hrvatske je izazvana neodgovornim i neprimerenim ponašanjem uglavnom hrvatskog premijera, ali i pojedinaca iz srpske vlade, u čijim repertoarima su se našli rasistički vicevi, omalavažavajuće opaske, tj. rečnik i sveukupno ponašanje svojstveni (političkim) siledžijama. Očigledno odsustvo političke kulture, eksploatacija najnižih strasti i mržnje, koje neki objašnjavaju predstojećim izborima u Hrvatskoj (a mržnja spram Srba, očito doprinosi rastu rejtinga), naslovne strane novina u Srbiji koje govore o započinjanju rata, koje hrvatskog premijera nazivaju idiotom<sup>1</sup>, dovele su do buđenja straha među običnim ljudima.

Ako se iz perspektive zapadne Evrope čini logičnim da postoje ozbiljni nedostaci u demokratskoj kulturi u Srbiji, zemlji kandidatu za članstvo u EU, koja kao i Turska u poslednjih mnogo godina, čeka da otvori pregovore za članstvo, postavlja se pitanje šta je sa Hrvatskom.

### **“Evropski” poticaj bujanju fašizma**

Hrvatska je članica EU već preko 2 godine. Od tog trenutka je postalo mnogo vidljivije prisustvo mržnje i brojni ispadi usmereni pre svega spram Srba, što onih koji su kao manjina građani Hrvatske ili onih koji žive u susednim zemljama. A ta vidljivost je ostvarena pasivnošću i kukavičlukom vlasti da se suprotstavi ispadima kojima nije mesto u demokratskoj zemlji. Štaviše, može se reći da je koketiranje sa ekstremnom desnicom koja baštini ideologiju ustaša iz Drugog svetskog rata, postalo uobičajena praksa, te se otišlo i korak dalje, na podsticanje takvog divljanja.

Tako je moguće da se na zvaničnu proslavu Dana

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<sup>1</sup> Ne ulazeći u tačnost navoda, mora se naglasiti da je takav uvredljiv ton zapravo govor mržnje i neprihvatljiv za medije. Ipak u klimi mržnje, vlastima u Srbiji nije palo na pamet da takvo ponašanje sankcionišu.

pobede 5.8. priređuje koncert Tompsona (poznatog po proustaškim ispadima), da masa više "Ubij, Srbina", a da vest postaje novinarka koja se tome usprotivila javno. Lomljenje i skidanje natpisa na srpskom jeziku u onim delovima Hrvatske u kojima ih ima dovoljno za korišćenje ovog ustavnog prava, je postalo uobičajena praksa, a u protekloj godini se otišlo korak dalje time što je većina u regionalnoj skupštini proglasila ustavom zaštićeno pravo nevažećim na toj teritoriji. Hrvatsko bujanje mržnje je direktna posledica poslednjeg rata koji se veliča kao sveti i u kojem nema mesta za pomen i saosećanje sa hrvatskim građanima srpske nacionalnosti koji su proterani u ogromnom broju, čime je u velikom delu Hrvatske potpuno i trajno promenjena etnička slika. Prilikom prijema Hrvatske u EU, sve ovo nije bila tema, preko toga se šutke prešlo i ovo što sada vidimo je stvarno tužno stanje jednog društva izluđenog ratom, strahom, mržnjom, koje zagovara silu kao rešenje problema, društvo otupelo na patnju drugih.

Ono što treba biti posledica, osim očiglednog gubljenja ugleda i uticaja Hrvatske unutar EU, jeste učenje lekcije za budućnost. U Srbiji takođe postoje fašističke ideologije, vredanje žrtava drugih, omalovažavanje i mržnja spram manjinskih zajednica i susednih naroda. Nije dovoljna deklarativna ograda, potrebno je poštovanje zakona o zaštiti usvojenih društvenih vrednosti. Ako je u momentu krize moguće zatvaranje očiju na govor mržnje u medijima (spram Hrvatske i Hrvata), ako je moguće uporno tolerisanje govora mržnje spram u srpskoj javnosti još omraženijih Albanaca, onda to govori o (ne)demokratskoj kulturi Srbije.

### **"Posle mene potop"**

Mukom građeni mostovi saradnje i poverenja, koje još od vremena rata do danas grade retke mirovne grupe a na koje su se sa državne strane po prvi put nadovezali prethodni predsednici Hrvatske i Srbije, Josipović i Tadić, njihovim naslednicima nisu ni jasni, ni potrebni. Slepa samozaljubljenost, pogrešne predstave o sopstvenoj veličini a nebitnosti svojih suseda, pretnje silom, maniri su politike devedesetih koja je dovela do rata, masovnih ubistava, etničkih čišćenja i preseljenja ogromnog broja ljudi. Maniri koje je u ovoj situaciji pokazao hrvatski premijer Milanović, koje u brojnim prilikama pokazuju pojedini ministri vlade Srbije i predsednik države, a povremeno i premijer, nesumnjivo odgovaraju onima koji su početkom devedesetih započeli i vodili rat. A istini za volju, mora se napomenuti da su brojni sadašnji srpski zvaničnici svoje karijere izgradili upravo u to vreme.

No, oni nisu iznenađenje, neki od njih su puno naučili i ponešto promenili, neki nisu. Ono što šokira je da nova generacija političara u Hrvatskoj i Srbiji pokazuje iste sklonosti iracionalnom, samoživom i bahatom ponašanju, koje je sramota za svako društvo na kugli zemaljskoj.

### **Rat je gotov, idite kući!**

Ozbiljna mirovna akcija protiv militarističkog obeležavanja "Dana pobede" u Hrvatskoj, sprovedena je tako što su na plakatima kojima se pozivalo na vojnu paradu, postavljani natpisi "Rat je gotov, idite kući". Centar za mirovne studije (CMS) je sproveo ovu akciju i učinio vidljivim da postoji otpor duhu militarizma i trijumfalizma kakav se u Hrvatskoj sa velikom pažnjom i pod pretnjom sile gradi od rata do danas. Vest o akciji su preneli brojni mediji u Srbiji, što je značajno doprinelo razgradnji slike da su "Svi Hrvati isti". Julija Kranjec iz Centra za mirovne studije je ovako pojasnila akciju:

*"Centar za mirovne studije je već u nekoliko navrata sa svojim izjavama za javnost podsjetio Vladu i Predsjednicu da je apsolutno neprihvatljivo i nepotrebno da se u društvu koje je nedavno prošlo ratne strahote na ulicu izvlači vojska. Hrvatskom društvu nije potrebna militarizacija, već suočavanje s prošlašću i gradnja mira. Neprihvatljivo je na ovaj način obilježavati Oluju, u kojoj je stotine ljudi izgubilo živote, bilo protjerano, nestalo..."<sup>2</sup>*

Bravo za CMS!

### **Čiji je ovo teror?**

Protekla godina je bila burna i u Makedoniji, gde je na proleće opozicija pokrenula obelodanjanje prisluškivanih razgovora vladinih zvaničnika koji otkrivaju korupciju i zloupotrebu položaja zapanjujućih razmera. Ipak vlada je odolevala mesecima i odugovlačila sa ostavkom, optužujući opoziciju za nezakonito prikupljanje podataka, ne negirajući sam sadržaj razgovora. Politički klijentelizam, prisutan u Makedoniji je po inerciji težio da sačuva status quo ali su svakodnevne demonstracije građana izvršile ogroman pritisak i režim je popustio, dogovoreni su novi izbori i prelazna vlada. Važan detalj procesa borbe pritisaka je veliki oružani incident početkom maja u Kumanovu, gradu na granici sa Kosovom i sa Srbijom, u kojem je poginulo 22 ljudi, a 37 ranjeno, a za napad i sukob sa policijom vlada je optužila terorističke grupe sa Kosova. Ovaj pokušaj skretanja pažnje javnosti na strah od međuetničkog sukoba, građani su prozreli i

<sup>2</sup> <http://www.index.hr/vijesti/clanak/rat-je-gotov-puhovski-preskupo-placamo-milanovicevo-bjezanje-od-zvzduka-u-kninu/833958.aspx>

ubrzo je prevladalo uverenje da su incident, po svemu sudeći, režirali iz vlade. U čvor svezani sukob sa Grčkom oko imena države je opstao, a makedonska vlada je u svom mandatu dala sve od sebe da ga produbi, proizvodnjom "makedonske istorije" uz pomoć helenskog kulturnog nasleđa.

### **Srebrenički teg**

U Beogradu je u julu zabranjen skup "Sedam hiljada" organizovan od strane grupe građana-ki koji su želeli da na simboličan način obeleže komemoraciju srebreničkog genocida, time što bi ispred parlamenta veliki broj ljudi (do 7000) legao zajedno na zemlju.

Samo dan kasnije, srpski premijer, sa bremenom transformisanog bivšeg pripadnika fašističke ideologije je prisustvovao obeležavanju 20-godišnjice genocida u Srebrenici. Ovaj dobar potez, uparen sa odličnim prijemom na koji je naišao od strane porodica žrtava i gradonačelnika Srebrenice, je pao u medijsku senku zbog napada na njega koji se umalo završio linčom. Umesto o gestu pomirenja u Srbiji su mnogi, a posebno agresivni i provokativni ministar vlade Srbije Vulin, preuveličavajući govorili o atentatu i zaveri. Ipak ponajviše smirenom reakcijom samog premijera Vučića, u narednom periodu je uložan trud za demonstraciju političke volje za saradnjom i posvećenost procesu pomirenja. Nažalost unutar BiH, sukob predsednika Republike Srpske Dodika, koji autokratski vlada i uporno provocira razdor i seje nepoverenje i strah, nastavlja sa takvim delovanjem. Bosanski čvor ostaje nerazrešen i umesto traženja konstruktivnih puteva prevazilaženje za čim se oseća velika

potreba, uporno se pada u stare matrice generalizacija, mržnje i straha.

### **Neometanje**

Krajem avgusta 2015 u Beču je potpisan sporazum između Albanije, BiH, Crne Gore, Kosova, Makedonije i Srbije kojim se obavezuju na međusobno neometanje na putu pridruživanja EU. To jeste važan sporazum i može preduprediti opstrukciju kakvu Grčka vrši kada je u pitanju Makedonija, odnosno kakvu će gotovo izvesno vršiti Hrvatska kada je u pitanju Srbija. Poziv dvema susednim EU zemljama (misli se na Hrvatsku i Grčku) da pristupe sporazumu je ostao bez reakcija za sada.

### **Romeo i Julija na albanskom/srpskom**

U režiji Mikija Manojlovića u Beogradu i u Prištini je igrana dvojezična predstava Romeo i Julija u kojoj igraju srpski i albanski glumci i glumice. Uz policijsko prisustvo, predstava je odigrana u Narodnom pozorištu, što je poslalo važan signal od stereotipa zatupljenoj javnosti u obe sredine, da je saradnja ne samo moguća već preko potrebna, štaviše, da je saradnja prirodno stanje normalnosti, a ne obrnuto. Ma koliko jedna pozorišna predstava imala ograničen domet i uticaj, posebno Srbija i Kosovo vape za gestovima dobre volje, naklonosti, saradnje, dijaloga. Posle silne mržnje koja je izašla na videlo tokom i nakon prekinute fudbalske utakmice u Beogradu između Albanije i Srbije, važan je svaki mali korak koji vodi obuzdavanju te mržnje.

Ne nad Vukosavljević

## **BiH: Od Daytona tri puta**

Jedna od perspektiva iz kojih se može posmatrati društveni kontekst u BiH je perspektiva međunarodne zajednice. Za međunarodnu zajednicu „projekat“ zvani Bosna i Hercegovina je relativno uspešna priča, u kojoj je dejtonskim sporazumom zaustavljen brutalan rat, sličan onima koji se dešavaju trenutno na Bliskom Istoku.

Bitno je imati u vidu kontinuitet prisustva međunarodnih institucija u formi OHR<sup>1</sup>a i PIC<sup>2</sup>a, stranih

sudija na Sudu BiH, EUFOR<sup>3</sup>-a, ..., koje simbolišu svojevrsnu „hodalicu za bebu“ zvanu država BiH. I zanimljivo, niko ne umije da procijeni da li bi „beba“

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mentaciju mira. PIC se sastoji od 55 zemalja i organizacija koje na različite načine pružaju potporu mirovnom procesu – osiguravajući finansijska sredstva, dajući trupe u sastav EUFOR-a, ili izravno provodeći operacije u Bosni i Hercegovini. PIC visokom predstavniku daje političke smjernice.

3 EUFOR – Vojna operacija NATOa u BiH, pokrenuta je 2. 12. 2004. i otada doprinosi održavanju sigurnog i stabilnog okruženja u BiH.

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1 OHR – Office of High Representative/ Ured visokog predstavnika

2 PIC – Peace Implementation Council/Vijeće za imple-



znala hodati bez „hodalice“. U tom smislu, može se reći da političko uređenje u BiH, kao svojevrstan dugodišnji protektorat, još ne daje znake samostalnog djelovanja. Vrlo često ured OHR-a, EU institucije ili ambasade uticajnih zemalja intervenišu, pokreću inicijative i donose sudove o temeljnim pitanjima i problemima ovog društva. A to što se nema povjerenja u ovdašnje političke lidere, da mogu samostalno da upravljaju složenim državnim aparatom, vrlo je razumljivo s obzirom na razne vrste problema koje stvaraju, odnosno ne rješavaju. Da ne zaboravimo tu povremenu nepredvidivost političkog djelovanja, od predivnih slatkorječivih humanih poziva na suživot i harmoniju ujutro, do očiglednog šovinizma nekad popodne u toku dana.

Taj proces preuzimanja punog suvereniteta se, u međunarodnim političkim krugovima, naziva prelazak iz dejtonske u briselsku fazu BH države.

Za većinu lokalnih ljudi nastavlja se agonija ekonomske i druge nesigurnosti, ali za razliku od prošlogodišnje pobune na ulicama gradova, opet smo u situaciji da štrajkuju ili se bune samo direktno ugroženi radnici državnih firmi koje su u fazi propadanja.

Generalno govoreći, nema očekivanog ekonomskog razvoja niti suštinskih društvenih promjena, a za reformu Ustava, za koju mnogi kažu da je ključni problem države, nema potrebne političke volje ni kapaciteta.

Međunacionalna previranja i sukobi oko političkih rješenja, koji proizilaze iz različitog odnosa prema prošlosti i budućnosti ove zemlje, još uvijek su gotovo svakodnevno prisutni u javnosti. Pojavljuju se, istina, povremeni pokušaji konstruktivnog dogovora, poticani od međunarodnih faktora, od prudskog sporazuma do posljednje njemačko-britanske inicijative, koji završavaju bez vidljivih rezultata. Naši političari vole reći da treba „zalediti“ teška pitanja o kojima se ne slažemo a pokrenuti procese razvoja ekonomije i evrointegracija. Međutim, već na prvom iskušenju, kada probaju da formiraju vlast, „zaledi“ se čitav sistem.

Niz događaja u prethodnoj godini, koji su povezani sa različitim odnosima i sentimentima prema ratnoj prošlosti, podsjećaju koliko su još uvijek oštre granice podjela.

U oktobru 2014. imali smo parlamentarne izbore. Dug proces formiranja vlasti je nešto što se smatra očekivanim. Ponavlja se situacija da vlade formirane na državnom i entiteskom nivou nisu sastavljene od istih partija što ima za posljedicu otežano donošenje i provođenje odluka. Dešava se, na primjer, da stranke koje imaju vlast na entitetskom ili kantonalnom nivou, bojkotuju da provode programe i odluke sa višeg nivoa vlasti, na kojem one čine opoziciju.

Prije par mjeseci federalnu vladu je napustio jedan koalicioni partner, pa se sada traže novi. Opet smo bez stabilne vlade i gomila neophodnih procesa će pričekati, a kao da se više niko oko toga pretjerano ne brine. Izgleda da je jedino važno da se zadovolji nacionalni „ključ“, da se osigura nastavak kreditiranja od strane MMF-a i u skladu s tim usvoje mnogobrojni budžeti.

Vlada Republike Srpske je najavila organizovanje referenduma koji bi mogao imati određenog političkog uticaja na moguće reforme pravosuđa. Sadrži sugestivno pitanje za građane RS: „Da li podržavate neustavno i neovlašćeno nametanje zakona od visokog predstavnika međunarodne zajednice u BiH, posebno nametnute zakone o Sudu i Tužilaštvu BiH i primenu njihovih odluka na prostoru Republike Srpske?“

Taj prijedlog je već ušao u sistemsku proceduru, pa je nakon veta Bošnjaka u Vijeću naroda RS, Ustavni sud odobrio njegovu realizaciju, ali se cijela priča pod pritiskom OHR-a vratila u okviru tzv. sistemskog dijaloga o BH pravosudnom sistemu, koji se dešava ovih dana u organizaciji OSCE-a. Vlada Republike Srpske je najavila je raspisivanje i drugog referenduma: referendum o izdvajanju, najavljen je za 2017. godinu, ukoliko se ne promijene odnosi unutar BiH, kao i odnos međunarodne zajednice prema RS-u čiji se integritet neprestano ugrožava. Ovaj referendum su mediji relativno izignorirali, smatrajući ga politikanstvom i spinovanjem, a opozicija u RS ga je maltene ismijala.

Za to vrijeme, u stvarnom životu, u aprilu se desio napad na policijsku stanicu u Zvorniku u kojem je ubijen policajac Dragan Đurić i ranjena dvojica njegovih kolega. Stradao je i napadač Nerdin Ibrić, mladić koji je rođen 1991. godine, a čiji je otac ubijen u Zvorniku 1992. godine. Tužno, tragično i simbolično je da je i otac ubijenog policajca takođe poginuo u ratu.

Što se tiče motiva za napad, sumnjalo se da je Ibrić bio indoktriniran od strane pripadnika islamističke grupe od kojih su neki uhapšeni, pod sumnjom da su ga podsticali na napad. Neki su smatrali da je dio motiva za napad želja za osvetom za smrt oca.

Važno je pomenuti primjer vrlo razumnog djelovanja načelnika opštine, Zorana Stevanovića, koji je nakon napada smirivao nastale tenzije i ohrabrivao Bošnjake da se vrate na posao, pošto su oni, u strahu od osvete, bili zabrinuti za svoju sigurnost.

Napad je okvalifikovan kao teroristički čin, odnosno kao napad na institucije države. Policija Republike Srpske je nakon toga uhapsila, pa pustila na slobodu desetine Bošnjaka pod sumnjom da su u vezi sa terorističkim organizacijama.

Sljedeći hladni tuš uslijedio je u julu ove godine kada je obilježeno 20 godina od genocida u Srebrenici. Događaju je prisustvovao veliki broj zvaničnika iz regije i svijeta. Nažalost, događaj će ostati upamćen po napadu na premijera Srbije, Aleksandra Vučića, koji je došao da oda počtu žrtvama. Umalo se dogodio pravi linč kada je gomila ljudi krenula da baca kamenje, a obezbjeđenje, na jedvite jade, uspjelo je da skloni premijera u automobil i bukvalno pobjegne iz Potočara. Propusti u organizaciji i obezbjeđenju događaja su bili očigledni i u toku su postupci protiv odgovornih ljudi kao i kolovođa samog napada. Jedan od mogućih motiva za napad je uloga Vučića u ratu, odnosno njegovo političko djelovanje u ratnom i poslijeratnom periodu, zasnovano na radikalnom srpskom nacionalizmu, od čega se nije jasno distancirao tokom premijerskog mandata. Međutim, ovaj napad je osujetio korist koju su posjeta Vučića i iskazana dobrodošlica majki Srebrenice mogli donijeti pomirenju. Naime, simbolički je važan momenat kada čovjek koji je podržavao ideologiju koja je posredno i dovela do genocida, dolazi da se pokloni tim žrtvama. U njegove lične motive niti se može, niti treba da se ulazi. Utješno je, nakon svega, da su politički predstavnici Bošnjaka, zatim pojedina udruženja Srebreničana, kao i organizatori događaja, uputili izvinjenje premijeru Srbije zbog napada.

Ovakvoj atmosferi sigurno je doprinijelo neusvajanje rezolucije o genocidu u Srebrenici u Vijeću sigurnosti UN-a, zbog veta uloženog od strane Rusije, čemu je prethodilo intenzivno lobiranje od strane Srbije i Republike Srpske.

U ovom periodu dešava se i hapšenje Nasera Orića u Švajcarskoj, prema Interpolovoj potjernici, na osnovu optužnice Srbije za ratni zločin počinjen nad Srbima u okolini Srebrenice. Orić, inače ratni komandant Armije BiH u Srebrenici, izručen je sudskim organima Bosne i Hercegovine, a samo ovo hapšenje je takođe doprinijelo tenzijama koje su pratile obilježavanje godišnjice. Bilo je čak i najava otkazivanja komemoracije, u slučaju da Orić bude izručen Srbiji. Taj slučaj izaziva dosta kontraverzi jer postoje sumnje da su Orićeve jedinice počinile ratne zločine nad srpskim stanovništvom, dok istovremeno, za mnoge Bošnjake on predstavlja heroja rata, kojeg je Haški tribunal oslobodio krivice. Protiv Orića je podignuta optužnica pred Sudom BiH, pa će vjerovatno biti još mnogo rasprava oko ovog slučaja. Cijeli niz događaja oko srebreničke komemoracije, kao i napad u Zvorniku, jasno nam govori koliko je još za ovdašnje prilike važna i relevantna dimenzija suočavanja s prošlošću i rada

na pomirenju. Vrlo lako se dio javnosti, u ovakvim okolnostima, vraća na pozicije i sukobe iz ratnog perioda i to nam govori da imamo još mnogo toga napraviti da bismo imali mirniju budućnost na ovim prostorima. Važno je da dosta ljudi to prepoznaje i da je bilo dosta smirujućih reakcija, kako među običnim ljudima, načelnicima opština, pa čak i političkim liderima koji su se potrudili zajedno, s pomirljivim porukama, obratiti javnosti. Bilo bi dobro kada bi iz ovog i sličnih slučajeva izvlačili pouke i pokretali dijaloge, umjesto bezrezervnog navijanja za „naše“ heroje i traženja pravde samo za „naše“ žrtve.

Lijep i važan događaj bio je dolazak Pape Franje u Sarajevo, u junu 2015. Bilo je zadovoljstvo vidjeti i čuti ovog čovjeka koji već neko vrijeme na globalnom planu šalje drugačije poruke od onih na koje smo navikli od vjerskih poglavara. Od kritike materijalizma i neoliberalnog kapitalizma, preko zalaganja za siromašne, slabije i ugrožene, pa do otvorenog poziva protiv mržnje zbog različitosti i svih vrsta ratova i nasilja. Za ljude u BiH Papa je imao slične poruke, uz podsjećanje da su teška vremena iza nas i da je izgradnja mira naš put. Važno je bilo čuti da i Papa vrlo jasno govori o putu izgradnje mira, na kojem se i mi, u našem radu, trudimo biti.

Izdvojio bih jedan citat iz njegovog govora koji ilustruje bit poruke: „U ovoj zemlji, mir i sloga među Hrvatima, Srbima i Bošnjacima, te poticaji kojima se u posljednje vrijeme njeguje taj sklad, kao i srdačni i bratski odnosi između muslimana, Židova i kršćana imaju važnost koja seže daleko izvan granica Bosne i Hercegovine... Svi bismo trebali prepoznati naše temeljne ljudske vrijednosti, kako bismo se uspješno suprotstavili divljaštvu onih koji bi od svake različitosti htjeli stvoriti priliku za nasiljem. U ime se ovih vrijednosti može i mora surađivati, graditi i razgovarati, opraštati i s njima rasti“.

Nažalost, u proteklom periodu smo imali niz napada na povratnike i vjerske objekte u Livnu, Sarajevu, Tomislavgradu. U bosanskim crnim hronikama možete često naći slučajeve vezane za međuetničko nasilje. Kada je nedavno ubijen povratnik u Prijedoru, za kojeg se kasnije ispostavilo da je stradao u kriminalnom obračunu, mnogi su rekli: „Dobro je pa nije na nacionalnoj osnovi“. I stvarno su u pravu, kad je Bosna u pitanju.

U mirnoj Bosni ima napretka i vidljivog i nevidljivog. Ljudi se mijenjaju, neki nabolje neki nagore, tranzicija je u toku i puno se gradi, ali uvijek sa malo baruta u malteru.

Adnan Hasanbegović

# Hrvatska: Zna ih poštar

Dvije decenije nakon okončanja rata hrvatsko društvo i dalje je radikalizirano i duboko podijeljeno. Političke su okolnosti dominantni činioci svakodnevice. Život se od septembra 2014. do septembra 2015. mjerio predizbornim turnusima. Stječe se dojam da je gotovo svaki postupak vlasti i oporbe uvijek činjen s predumišljajem pozitivnog ishoda u izbornoj noći. I tzv. lijevi i desni na krajnje sličan način procijenjivali su da će im inzistiranje na nacionalističkoj retorici, podilaženje ili u najmanju ruku nesukobljavanje sa crkvenom i veteranskom elitom donijeti glasove. Sudeći prema ponašanju većine političkih struktura prosječni glasač u Hrvatskoj je prije svega zainteresiran za konačni ishod prošlosti, osobito one od Drugog svj. rata do danas, a kudikamo manje za očuvanje makar minimalnog egzistencijalnog dostojanstva.

Nakon što je javnost razgibana nasilnom antićirilicom kampanjom doista je u 2015. postala područjem bespoštedne političke borbe u kojemu su i posve marginalizirani pojedinci dobijali najbolja mjesta, bilo na državnoj televiziji bilo na predsjednicinoj inauguraciji. Emitiranje priloga u kojima deklarirani fašisti poput Dražena Keleminca, predsjednika Autohtone hrvatske stranke prava, dobijaju mogućnost da prijete i potiču na nasilje i netoleranciju spram predstavnika srpske manjine doista su postali uobičajeni način izvještavanja sa svih događanja sa antifašističkim predznakom. Demokratija u nas je prije svega pravo da se javno iznose fašistički stavovi. Po takvim stavovima pamtićemo i emisiju „Piramida“ voditeljice Željke Ogreste koja se emitirala na nacionalnoj televiziji. Zapravo u analizi govora mržnje u 2015. godini gotovo da su nestale čak i one zdravorazumske nijanse između srednjestrujaških medija i opskurnih i nekontroliranih portala. O profesionalizmu u medijima ne treba ni govoriti u godini u kojoj se prijetilo otkazima vrsnim perima poput Borisa Pavelića (Novi list) i Davora Krile (Slobodna Dalmacija) i u kojoj se ta prijetnja ostvarila kada je u pitanju Boris Dežulović. S druge strane, tradicionalna fašistička kontaminiranost hrvatskog sporta je postala prepoznatljiva i izvan granica Hrvatske. Svastika na Poljuđu u lipnju bila je iznenađenje tek rijetkima.

Ključni dionici hrvatskog pravosuđa gotovo da su se nadmetali u oslobađajućim presudama i puštanjima na slobodu. Kao u kakvom naopakom kabareu u revijalnom tonu redale su se olakšavajuće okolnosti, uspjeli štrajkovi glađu, proceduralne greške. Branimir Glavaš je tako pušten na slobodu nakon što je izvanraspravno vijeće Županijskog

suda uvažilo argumente odbrane. Dobar dio hrvatske javnosti se solidarizirao sa osuđenim ratnim zločincem dok su njegove žrtve sasvim zaboravljene. Zaboravljeni su i mučeni i ubijeni na teritoriji Pakračke Poljane i Zagreba 1991. budući da je optužnica Tomislavu Merčepu znatno ublažena. No, sasvim sigurno da u 2015. godini titulu neočekivanog obrta odnosi oslobađajuća presuda Josipu Miljku, predsjedniku Hrvatske čiste stranke prava, od optužbi prijetnji smrću ravnateljici Javne ustanove spomen-područja Jasenovac. Primorana da privatno podigne tužbu uslijed nereagirana kutinskog tužilaštva, ravnateljica se morala suočiti ne samo sa oslobađajućom presudom već i sa sučevim satom povijesti o tome kako je upitan ne samo poimenični popis žrtava već i sam karakter logora u Jasenovcu.

Dvadesetogodišnji proces revizije povijesti kulminirao je u 2015. godini osnivanjem Društva za istraživanje trostrukog logora Jasenovac. Vođeno Stjepanom Razumom, direktorom Nadbiskupskog arhiva u Zagrebu, Društvo krajnje neskriveno i bez minimuma etičkih i principa znanstvene metodologije, objavljuje i promovira niz neistina i to diljem Hrvatske u sjemeništima i duhovnim centrima Katoličke crkve. Većina aktivnosti ovog Društva se oslanja na socijalne kapacitete župa iako je i suradnja sa lokalnim i županijskim vlastima vrlo često uobičajena. Primjerice članovi Društva govorili su na javnoj tribini u Glini upravo na mjestu nekadašnje pravoslavne crkve, mjestu zatočenja i posljednjeg traga o životima oko hiljadu ljudi 1941. Sasvim je jasno kakva može biti atmosfera u gradu u kojemu se zbog komemoriranja žrtvama ustaškog režima kažnjava srpsko vijeće i to drastičnim umanjivanjem sredstava, u kojemu danas živi tek jedna osoba židovske vjeroispovijesti i u kojemu se na javnim mjestima govori afirmativno o Nezavisnoj državi Hrvatskoj.

Obzirom da povratak retorike devedesetih traje već nekoliko godina, u 2015. se osjetio zamor i zasićenost. Potreba da se intervenira ili makar reagira na govor mržnje, kršenje ljudskih prava i diskriminaciju postala je gotovo svakodnevna. Anonimne prijetnje i opskurne peticije slijede svima onima koji iznose drugačija mišljenja i gledišta o hrvatskoj prošlosti. Zanimljivo je da je taj val diskvalificiranja Drugačijeg mišljenja pokrenut početkom oktobra 2014., smjenom Dejana Jovića, savjetnika tadašnjeg predsjednika Ive Josipovića. U maniru većine lijevo deklairiranih političara predsjednik Josipović nije izdržao pod pritiskom hrvatske javnosti koja je osudila

moćnost znanstvene odnosno u svakom slučaju drugačije interpretacije referendumu za samostalnost. Usamljeni broj udruga te gotovo nitko sa sveučilišta nije se usudio osuditi linč i anonimne prijetnje. Javnost ne samo da je ostala nijema već je navijačkim kolumnama dala svoj doprinos pritisku. Vjerojatno najjasniju sliku o mentalitetu većine i kapacitetima netolerancije daje status redatelja Olivera Frljića u hrvatskoj javnosti. Njegov puni angažman vraćanja kazališta narodu, HNK Ivana pl. Zajca u Rijeci, doista je na konstatnom udaru riječkih ekstremno desnih i veteranskih grupa. Prizor u kojemu policija osigurava pozorišnu predstavu „Trilogija o hrvatskom fašizmu“ ili javnu tribinu „Drugi rat“ doista ukazuje na odsustvo procesa suočavanja s prošlošću i diskurs isključivosti.

Svojevrsnu dezorijentiranost građanskog društva donekle je ublažilo osnivanje širokih platformi i njihovo djelovanje. Antifašistička liga Republike Hrvatske i inicijativa *Svi mi-za Hrvatsku svih nas* imaju za cilj ravnomjerniju raspodjelu tereta suočavanja sa fašistoidnim fenomenima, kršenjima ljudskih prava i svim drugim oblicima strukturalnog nasilja koje se provodi nad hrvatskim građanima i građankama. Aktivnosti platformi su u 2015. varirale od obilježavanja Dana ljudskih prava u mjestima poput Gline u kojemu se otvoreno i bez zadržke veliča ustaški pokret i negira istinski karakter NDH do obilježavanja godišnjice Kristalne noći u Zagrebu i Vukovaru. Dodatnog optimizma ulila je spontana reakcija velikog broja građana na humanitarnu izbjegličku krizu. Solidarnost nalik onoj kada se prikupljala pomoć za poplavljena područja pokazuje da unatoč svim negativnim trendovima i dalje postoji potencijal za građansku participaciju i eventualno građansku hrabrost.

I mada je veliki broj događanja obilježio kraj 2014. i veći dio 2015. godine sasvim je sigurno da će ovaj period biti upamćen po eskalaciji nezadovoljstva ratnih veterana i stopostotnih invalida. Pobuna je kulminirala negdje u vrijeme početka predsjedničke kampanje i hapšenja Milana Bandića gradonačelnika Grada Zagreba. Predvođeni Josipom Klemmom i Đurom Gloškoškim okupirali su plato ispred Ministarstva branitelja i postavili, sada već antologijski šator iz kojeg su redovito slali poruke tzv. „nenarodnoj“ vlasti, prijetili nasiljem i samoubojstvima. Teško je potisnuti sjećanje na izjave župnika koji je u istom tom šatoru na božićnoj misi govorio o tome kako rat još uvijek nije gotov. Ratni veterani su između ostalog zahtjevali smjenu ministra Matića i njegovog tima. Unatoč golemom pritisku Vlada RH je stala iza svog ministra. No, činjenica je isto tako da je

nekažnjavanje bespravno postavljenog šatora, kršenja niza odredbi Zakona o javnom okupljanju te čl. 325 Kaznenog zakona o poticanju na nasilje i mržnju i upotreba govora mržnje pokazao radikalne limite vladajućih u odnosu spram desno odnosno ekstremno desno orijentiranih političara i njihovih vanparlamentarnih pa i nominalno apolitičnih ekspozitura. Naposletku, tzv. Šatorasi uredno su primali svoju poštu upravo na adresu šatora i to neodoljivo podsjeća na onaj kudikamo benigniji štos u kojemu pošiljaoc adresira sa ZNA IH POŠTAR. U ovom slučaju to nimalo nije smiješno.

Prosvjed branitelja sa produženim djelovanjem svakako je dodatno otežao i predsjedničku kampanju u kojoj je današnja predsjednica pokazala ipak neočekivane političke afinitete obzirom da je između ostalog koalirala sa ranije pomenutim Josipom Miljkom. Kampanja je u potpunosti rehabilitirala isključivu retoriku splitske rive iz 2001. kada je okupljeno mnoštvo disalo kao jedan za ratnim zločincem Mirkom Norcem. Sanaderova doba političkih korektnosti je u kampanji svedeno na minimalno utuživ govor koji je već u izbornoj noći euforično manifestirao glumac Božidar Alić proslavljajući pobjedu HDZ-ove kandidatkinje kao konačnu pobjedu nad „srbofilskom i četničkom strujom“. Bogobojazno kretanje po skali hrvatstva, zajedništva i antiintelektualnog banaliziranja građanskog statusa odgovaralo je senzibilitetu većine kandidata i dalo je naslutiti da će se na inauguraciji sa pozivnicom zateći osuđivani za zloporabu narkotika, deklarirani fašisti kao i osobe kojima se sudi zbog ratnih zločina.

Kao što to obično biva ovakva politička logika ima niz vrlo konkretnih financijskih posljedica. Nevjerojatni su iznosi potrošeni za pripremu i realiziranje vojnog mimohoda na godišnjicu Oluje, kao i za naknadno popravljane ceste u prestonici, posebice kada se usporede sa strogim kriterijima za obnavljanje poplavljenih kuća u Gunji koji oštećeni moraju ispuniti. Fiskaliziranje nacionalističkog zanosa ide teško i u slučaju naplate poreza na dodanu vrijednost zarade sa koncerta Marka Perkovića Tomspona na godišnjicu Oluje u Kninu. Višak emocija i proizvodnja iracionalnosti posebice je očita u odnosu Ureda Predsjednice i Vlade RH. Kompromitiranje kandidature potpredsjednice Vlade RH, Vesne Pusić, za generalnu tajnicu UN-a jedan je od najjasnijih primjera do koje se mjere stranački interesi stavljaju ispred nadstranačkih, državnih interesa. No, unatoč tom neuralgičnom odnosu stječe se dojam da su poprilično harmonični u procesu militariziranja hrvatskog društva i to na posve različitim razinama, od iznajmljivanja

njemačkih haubica za potrebe mimohoda do uvođenja programa Ministarstva obrane koji je Agencija za odgoj i obrazovanje preporučila svim školama.

Početak školske godine obilježen je vjerskim obredima u javnim, državnim školama u kojima će i ovu 2015/2016. pojedina djeca provoditi u školskim hodnicima dok će njihovi prijatelji boraviti na satu vjeronauka. Ministarstvo znanosti, obrazovanja i sporta u tome ne vidi prisilu niti diskriminaciju kao što se ne nalazi problematičnim naslov „Moj tata spava s anđelima“ autora Stjepana Tomaša na popisu obavezne lektire za šesti razred osnovnih škola. Djelo upitne literarne vrijednosti u kojemu se ustaški pozdrav pojavljuje na velikom broju mjesta sasvim sigurno ne formira mlade ljude u smjeru poštivanja različitosti i razumijevanja građanskih prava i obaveza karakteristično za razvijena demokratska društva kakvo hrvatsko sasvim sigurno nije.

Dogmatski pristup ratu vođenom 1991.-1995. u Hrvatskoj i Bosni i Hercegovini, socijal-demokratski konformizam i ideološka ispražnjenost nasuprot partijskoj discipliniranosti i obavještajnim mrežama s desna, ne daju previše motiva i razloga za optimizam. Kolone nesretnih izbjeglica iz ratom zahvaćene Sirije i drugih bliskoistočnih zemalja građane su potakli na solidarnost. Na žalost, militaristički impuls zaštite državnih granica otvorio je još jedno polje političke konfrotacije. Namjesto nepotrebnog hysteriziranja humanitarne katastrofe, koju proživljava nebrojeno izbjeglica, valjalo bi razmisliti o uzrocima sve većeg procenta migranata hrvatske nacionalnosti koji su u potrazi za društvima veće socijalne osjetljivosti i ekonomske imaginacije.

Valjalo bi, ali nema tko.

Aneta Lalić

## Kosovo: *Rumelija*, priča u tranziciji

*Rumelija je naziv koji je koristilo Osmansko carstvo za Balkan. Upotreba ovog termina je principijelno suprotstavljanje jednostranim narativima....*

Živimo u isprepletenom svijetu koji se stalno mijenja. Pa ipak, Balkan ostaje u svom spornom 'statusu quo' iako je u 'tranziciji'.

Petnaest godina nakon rata i sedam od proglašavanja nezavisnosti, Kosovo se još uvijek bori da dokaže svoje postojanje. Ne samo državi Srbiji i međunarodnim strukturama, već i svojim vlastitim državljanima.

'Međunarodna zajednica' ne uspijeva stvoriti zemlju, a kamoli društvo, koje je sposobno stati na svoje noge. Kao i u Bosni.

Tako Kosovari, zajedno s drugima na Balkanu, nastavljaju živjeti u spoljašnjem 'statusu-quo', 'statusu' koji u unutrašnjosti gaji neke dosta dinamične, ali ne tako pozitivne struje. Ove struje valja omogućiti, pa njihova manifestacija nije nasilna (kao Kumanovo u maju 2015.).

Strah od 'drugog' (uz rane, također od 'drugog') još uvijek obilježava dane, a ekonomska situacija je gora nego devedesetih. Bar za običan svijet. Što se tiče političara i njihovih pristalica, i lokalnih i međunarodnih, oni strah od 'drugog' vide kao korisno sredstvo da nešto javno popljuju. A sami ostaju imuni na krizu. Naravno. Imamo osvjedočene kriminalce koji se ističu kao priče o uspjehu 'novih demokratija'....

Može li biti da je 'tranzicijski status-quo' zapravo poželjan? Osoba iz Srbije koju sam nedavno upoznao mi je rekla da možda uopšte nismo u 'tranziciji'; možda je 'tranzicija' stalno stanje našeg uma... Ako se želi tranzicija, onda valja imati viziju.

A za Kosovo nema vizije. Ni za Balkan. 'Evro-atlantske integracije' postale su fraza koja se mora izgovoriti u određenom kontekstu, reda radi. Kao što se na engleskom umjesto 'sretno' glumcu koji izlazi na binu kaže 'slomio nogu'. To nije vizija.

U takvoj situaciji gdje se ne zna kamo dalje, donosioci odluka na Kosovu (svih identiteta) ne ispunjavaju zahtjeve svojih funkcija. U sklopu 'tranzicije'. U februaru ove godine, 40% pokušaja nelegalnog ulaska u Evropsku uniju bilo je iz Kosova...

Donosioci odluka stalno izmišljaju 'neprijatelje' na koje će svaliti krivnju i 'uspjehe' koje će slaviti. 'Dijalog između Prištine i Beograda' proizvodi prijateljske grimase u Briselu, ali ružne uvrede u Njujorku, a na terenu sve goru situaciju...

Sve dok se ne pridržavamo - u najmanju ruku - neke etike, jer je jasno da nema pridržavanja zakona - jedina tranzicija koju ćemo vidjeti će biti kako ovaj 'status-quo' postaje još više neizdrživ. Pritom sam ovdje optimističan.

Također, sve dok se ne osvrnemo na vlastitu/e prošlost(i) i 'nastavimo na nju nešto bolje', nećemo imati

dobro mjesto prema kojem da tranzitiramo. Ovdje sam samo realan.

...

Nedavno sam otkrio pjesmu pod naslovom *O alithis pothos ton Skipetaron* (Stvarna želja Albanaca) koju je napisao Naim Frashëri - učesnik Albanskog narodnog preporoda, i koja je objavljena na grčkom u Bukureštu 1886.:

*... Mi, Slaveni, Grci - svi naši susjedi,  
Želimo živjeti u skladu i poštovanju.....  
...Dišimo i uživajmo slobodu,  
Zajedno.*

U svojim đaćkim danima nisam naišao na ovu pjesmu u narativima koji su nas oblikovali. Bili oni zvanični ili paralelni, 'naši' ili 'njihovi'. A trebala je tu biti. Jer ova stvarnost je postojala i bila dio nas jednako kao i patnje koje smo pretrpjeli...

Evo još jedne pjesme, ovaj put albansko-italijanskog pjesnika Ernesta Koliqija (1903-1975)

*Skupljajmo legende kroz vijekove,  
zajedno.*

*Ulazimo u historije*

*i razotkrijmo hronike, zajedno...*

...

Uistinu, šta su naše historije? Kako zvuče unutar granica naših samodoživljenih identiteta, ali i izvan njih – u onom prostoru izvan ispravnog i pogrešnog? Usudujemo li se dekonstruirati naše vlastite (iskonstruisane) historije?

Ko god da smo, ili mislimo da jesmo - ako bar ne pokušamo odgovoriti na takva pitanja i dalje nećemo moći da nađemo vlastiti prostor u ovom nevjerovatno isprepletenom svijetu koji se stalno mijenja.

Abdullah B. Ferizi

## Makedonija: Së bashku. Заедно.<sup>1</sup>

Pre nekog vremena ja i poznanik iz Novog Sada nađemo se usred grupe policijskih specijalaca koji se trčeći raspoređuju u kordon ka čaršiji u Skoplju. Sa čaršije se čuju glasni uzvici, malo kasnije vidimo i pretežno mlade ljude sa albanskim zastavama. Sklonili smo se iz gužve, nije se moglo proći, te se vraćamo preko Kamenog mosta. Boro, kaže mi on, Makedonija se raspada! Šta pričaš čoveče, ovako Makedonija opstaje, odbrusim mu. Ne pamtim jesmo li/koliko raspravili dalje, davno je bilo, ali sam se više puta vraćao na ovo, kao nekakav test moje percepcije, on je pametan i dobronameran čovek.

Još uvek mislim da je problem u doživljaju simbola i političkih pitanja „drugih“ u javnom prostoru (u konkretnom slučaju, albanskih). Predugo se iza građanske fasade odvijala većinska (makedonska) nacionalna agenda, te se svako pojavljivanje drugih simbola i politika u javnom prostoru predstavljalo kao pretnja. Parlamentarna demokratija je bila shvaćena (i prihvaćena uz radost većinskog naroda) na način da se manjinska pitanja uvek mogu nadglasati u Parlamentu i maknuti sa javne scene. To naravno talasa na obe strane. Na jednu strah, a na drugoj bes. Uopšte nisam fan bilo čijih nacionalnih

<sup>1</sup> Popularni hashtagovi koji su bili upotrebljavani za vreme i nakon sukoba u Kumanovu u maju 2015.

simbola, ali u ovoj fazi u kojoj je Makedonija, njihovo unošenje u javni prostor na specifičan način doživljam kao dekonstrukciju jedne decenijske nepravde politike i samim time „opstajanje“ Makedonije. Zato što je sva ova etnička mržnja samo rezultat jednog dubljeg propadanja, gdje ustvari leži uzrok mogućeg etničkog krvavog raspleta. Pokušaću nešto kasnije u ovom tekstu da to ilustrujem.

U tom je smislu Makedonija prošle godine stvarno svašta nešto morala da preživi i da opstane. Imali smo užasno burnu godinu i nemoguće je u jednom ovakvom tekstu obuhvatiti sve događaje ako neko nije pratio malo izbliza dešavanja u Makedoniji. Imajući u vidu višejezičnost ovog izveštaja, preporučio bih <http://www.balkaninsight.com/en/page/macedonia-politics-and-society-home> za bazično pokrivanje događaja. Ja ću ovde tek nešto da pokušam da pokrijem.

Jesen 2014. je počela optimistično. Univerzitetski studenti su se pobunili protiv reformi Ministarstva obrazovanja. Na njihove prigovore je ministarstvo odgovorilo standardno – sa salvama diskreditacije i omalovažavanja po državno kontroliranim medijima. To je, napokon, iznerviralo studente, te su izašli na ulice. Formiran je Studentski plenum, kao horizontalna organizacija studenata. Paralelno su sledile i okupacije fakulteta. Pobunili su se i srednjoškolci (nakon sitnih

ustupaka Vlade, njihova borba još uvek traje). U protestima su im se pridružile i hiljade građana/ki. Formiran je i Proforski plenum. Nakon toga je usledila mobilizacija oko zakona za dodatna oporezivanja honoraraca (državi manjka novca za spomenike), pa mobilizacija za slobodu uhapšenog novinara Tomislava Kežarovskog i generalno katastrofalne situacije u medijima (sa 33-eg mesta na listi Reportera bez granica iz 2006. o slobodi medija, danas je Makedonija 117-ta, na primer), za propadanje zdravstvenog sistema... Od jeseni 2014. do proleća 2015. smo bili na ulicama mnogo puta. Vlada je bila gluha na sve, ali bez obzira, ovog se puta na ulicama javljala jedna malo drugačija Makedonija. Ono što je bilo novo je mnogo vidljivije etničko mešanje. To za Makedoniju koju ja poznajem nije mala stvar. Na nekim su događajima dolazili organizovano i ljudi koji nastupaju iz izričito autentičnih etničkih pozicija. To mi je ulivalo (i još uvek) veru da se može tako dekonstruirati javni politički prostor. Naravno da nije uvek tako bilo, da se može mnogo šta drugačije uraditi, da je falila jasno izražena podrška „drugih“ na nekim mestima, bilo je i više etničkih sukoba po ulicama i javnom prevozu... Ali imam snažan utisak da se u nekom smislu napravio snažan proboj. Nije više čudno i sve je manje neprihvatljivo. Nisam naivan i veoma sam svestan da to prihvaćanje nije završen posao, već više korak, u koji se treba još mnogo toga ulagati i to najčešće na mesta koja nisu javno vidljiva. Pre nekoliko meseci, jedna mi je sadašnja draga prijateljica pričala kako joj je mnogo krivo što je pre 15 (!) godina u punom kafiću pred svima demonstrativno bacila na pod neku brošuru koju je dobila od mene. Ja se tog događaja ne sećam, ali pamtim druge svakakve reakcije na naše materijale, među ostalog i zbog toga što su dvojezični. I mogu veoma jasno da zamislim kako su ovo, sada javno vidljivo, zajedništvo godinama gradili razni ljudi na marginama društva, po alternativnim kafićima, koncertima, druženja na fakultetima... Sada možemo na to da dodamo i zajedničke borbe na protestima i još po neki novi prostor. Još uvek je margina, ali to je sada margina koja izlazi iz svojih okvira.

Ali sledeći proces je iz temelja uzdrmao Makedoniju i doveo na rub kompletnog urušavanja, i kroz to se verovatno najbolje opisuje ono propadanje koje sam pomenuo na početku teksta. U februaru 2015. je opozicija (Socijaldemokrati) izašla na pres konferenciju na kojoj su najavili da poseduju dokaze da je državni vrh prisluškivao preko 20.000 građana/ki u periodu od više godina. Tvrdili su da su to organizovali lično premijer države Nikola Gruevski i njegov bratučed, šef tajne policije Sašo Mijalkov. Premijer je ekspresno reagirao tvrdeći da su te

materijale napravile strane službe, da je to plan za rušenje Vlade, a time i države. Brzo su podnesene i krivične prijave protiv šefa opozicije i nekoliko drugih ljudi. Opozicija je krenula u selektirano objavljivanje snimaka na zasebnim pres konferencijama, tzv. Bombama, u kojima smo svašta čuli: sudije se dogovaraju i biraju preko telefona, ministar dogovara da neko iz tajne policije neprimetno otvori kesu sa glasačkim materijalom, kako je MVR<sup>1</sup> pretvoren u MVR-VMRO<sup>2</sup>, kako se raspolaže sa ličnim kartama glasača, šef albanske opozicijske partije kaže šefu tajne službe da je on „njegov do smrti“, vesti na televizijama se diktiraju direktno iz vlade, pa onda razne provizije na biznise... Zastrašujući obim kriminala. Vesti smo pratili zakačeni na youtube-u, jer su sve televizije bojkotirale ove pres konferencije. To je trajalo više meseci, nakon čega su se konačno pojavili Brisel i Washington, te započeli proces dijaloga vlasti i opozicije. Taj proces još uvek traje. Ono što imamo sada je Posebno javno tužiteljstvo koje bi trebalo da se u sledećim godinama bavi navodima za kriminal iz razgovora, a i dodatne dogovore među kojima su: premijer i neka ključna ministarstva, koja su bila uključena u izborne manipulacije, trebalo bi oko Nove godine da daju ostavku, nakon čega bi ta ministarstva dobila opozicija, pročišćavanje izbiračkog spiska, itd... Novi izbori su zakazani za april 2016. Albanske partije su u celom ovom dugom i mučnom procesu bile maltene dekor. Nikada u istoriji ove zemlje ja ne pamtim da su bili bolje pozicionirani i snažniji, a u isto vreme tako beznačajni po ključnim pitanjima za demokratiju zemlje. Makedonski nacionalisti bi rekli da je Gruevski konačno naučio kako treba sa Albancima: dao im deo kolača i sad su mirni. Šalu na stranu, tamo bih očekivao veliku krizu predstavljanja. Ljudi su dugo godina bili ljuti, posebno na Brisel, da je žrtvovao makedonsku demokratiju u ime etničke stabilnosti. Dok god Makedonci i Albanci ne ratuju, sve je OK. I time je direktno doprineo urušavanju društva, jer su ga glavne nacionalističke perjanice oba najbrojnija naroda podelile kao privatnu svojinu, i pljačkale bez problema, svatko svoje. Sada su se stranci konačno umešali, i ne znam da li su oni svesni što je u biti problem ili su se uplašili tek kada se pojavila stara poznata situacija.

Naime, u aprilu 2015. je jedna, do tada nepoznata, albanska grupa napala slabo obezbeđenu karaulu Gošince, blizu tromeđe Makedonija - Kosovo – Srbija. Sve je proteklo bez ljudskih gubitaka, neki od vojnika su

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1 Ministarstvo unutarnjih poslova

2 VMRO-DPMNE – vladajuća partija desnog centra

pretučeni, a oteta je i veća količina oružja. Deo javnosti je sa velikom dozom neverice primio ovu vest, a i javno su se čuli glasovi da je ovo pokušaj skretanja pažnje javnosti od procesa objavljivanja prisluškivanih razgovora. U to je vreme predsednik opozicije u jednom intervjuu za malu lokalnu televiziju izjavio kako ima informaciju da je izvesna gerilska grupa sa Kosova već par meseci po selima u Lipkovskom regionu i da bezuspešno pokušavaju da nađu sklonište. Naime, lokalno stanovništvo, razočarano razvojem događaja od 2001. do sada, odbija da im da podršku. Veći mediji su ovo potpuno ignorisali. Već duži period makedonska javnost sa nevericom gleda na talase etnički motiviranog nasilja koji nas potresaju godinama i sve se češće čuju glasovi da je mnogo toga iscenirano i dogovoreno zbog drugih ciljeva. U takvoj su se atmosferi desili krvavi sukobi u Kumanovu 9-tog maja 2015. Tog se dana, u par ulica u Divom naselju / Lagja e trimavë<sup>3</sup> vodio pravi rat. Policija je rekla da su započeli akciju protiv veće grupe terorista koja je ukopana u više kuća. Krvavi sukob koji je trajao skoro 24 sata je ostavio tragičan bilans od 22 poginulih (od njih 8 policajaca) i 37 ranjenih policajaca, a neki od njih teško ranjeni! Ovakav broj žrtava nas je sve šokirao, čak i u ratu od 2001. veoma retko je bilo dana sa ovoliko poginulih i ranjenih. A ovo je trebalo da bude pripremljena intervencija policije. Događaji su se redali: makedonsko ministarstvo unutrašnjih poslova je poslalo dopis ambasadi Kosova sa spiskom od 23 kosovska državljana zarobljena u akciji. Na tom su se spisku nalazila i dvojica poznatih komandanata za koje se kasnije ispostavilo da su među poginulima. Greške se u ovakvim haotičnim situacijama prave, ne? Zatim je jedan od zarobljenih uspeo da pobjegne vezanih ruku, bez cipela, grupi od 20 specijalaca koji su ga vodili na teren da im pokaže bunker oružja. I zatim nam preko kosovskih medija stignu informacije da su se ta dvojica komandanata sretala sa jednim agentom makedonske tajne policije u više navrata i da su sa njim dogovarali napade u Makedoniji, za što im je obećavan novac. Tvrdilo se da oni njemu nisu baš verovali i da su sve susrete

<sup>3</sup> Čak i različiti nazivi za isto naselje govore sami po sebi. Albanski naziv u prevodu znači Naselje Hrabrih.

snimali. I posle jednog sastanka u ambasadi SAD u Skoplju dobili smo ostavke šefa tajne policije Saše Mijalkova, ministarke unutrašnjih poslova Gordane Jankulovske, a predsednik albanske DUI, Ali Ahmeti je istu večer na televiziji u dužem intervjuu naširoko objašnjavao da je na dan akcije bio na telefonskoj vezi sa nekim iz te grupe koji ga je u više navrata zvao da ga moli da mu pomogne u dogovaranju predaje ili da ih izvuče iz obruča. Neću ništa da tumačim, osim da nam očajno treba neovisna istraga i da onoliko žrtava i stresa za lokalne ljude, a i cela država, vapi za nekakvom pravdom u ovom slučaju. Ja sam bio u Divo naselju / Lagja e trimave mesec dana posle sukoba. Galerija fotografija koje smo snimili se može naći na [http://mirovnaakcija.org/ Диво насеље / Lagja e trimave, месец дена потоа \(фото галерија\)](http://mirovnaakcija.org/Диво_насеље/Лажја_е_тримаве_месец_дена_потоа_(фото_галерија)). Nisam u životu video onoliko stepen razaranja za akciju od 24 sata, i bez upotrebe teškog naoružanja.

Ono što je bilo apsolutno neverovatno jeste reakcija ljudi, posebno iz Kumanova. Ljudi su, iako veoma uplašeni, pokazali trezvenost kakvoj do sad nisam svedočio, nije bilo nijednog drugog incidenta tih dana. Zvali su jedne druge, bilo im važno da se zajedno pojave, zajedno reaguju, etnički nepodeljeni. Video čoveka iz Kumanova, na sam dan akcije, postao je najgledaniji video na makedonskom jeziku na youtube-u. Govor, uz engleski prevod, može se naći na <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sOX9kJRj54I>.<sup>4</sup> Bio je to strašan sukob, ali ovog puta nisu uspeli da ga prebace na etničku liniju. I još uvek čekamo istragu.

Uopšte nisam naivan i ne mislim da smo dovoljno snažni da možemo da se uvek odupremo provokacijama koji nas vode u etničke sukobe, a ni da smo dovoljno snažni da se uhvatimo u koštac sa svim problemima koje multietničnost sa ovakvom istorijom nosi sa sobom. Ali sam siguran da smo jači nego ikada. I da je to još uvek jako krhko, ali je ipak pomak u pravcu gdje mi je lepo ići. Baš imam osećaj da imamo šansu.

Boro Kitanoski, Mirovna akcija / Aksioni Paqësor

<sup>4</sup> Video na youtube.com nosi naslov "United Citizens after shootings in Kumanovo - Macedonia"



## Srbija: *Liberté, égalité, fraternité, 2015.*

U vreme kada se svet kakvog poznamo, i čije smo procese naučili da razumemo, vrtoglavo menja, iz časa u čas, dešavanja u jednoj državi su u sasvim drugom planu. Sa globalizacijom, koja je izvesno u najvišoj tački svoje putanje ili ide ka njoj, odvojiti granice i govoriti o procesima unutar njih je sve teže, jer je sve međusobno isprepleteno.

Kako god nazvali situaciju u kojoj stotine hiljada ljudi beže od rata u zemljama Bliskog Istoka prema Evropi, to je događaj koji traje, i koji je obeležio godinu. Ne znam koji je izraz dobar za to. Najčešće se koristi "izbeglička kriza", ali kriza je, po definiciji, nepredviđen negativni događaj, koji ozbiljno ugrožava postojeće stanje. Izbeglice godinama unazad pokušavaju da pronađu puteve kojima bi se domogli "obećane zemlje" - Evropske Unije, koja je postavljena kao zajednica zemalja unutar kojih vlada poštovanje ljudskih prava i demokratija. I na prvom velikom izazovu sa kojim se ujedinjena Evropa srela - pogaženi su principi na kojima je uspostavljena. Brutalan odnos prema ljudima koji pokušavaju da spasu samo svoj goli život, podizanje žičanih ograda, gomilanje vojske i policije, zatvaranje graničnih prelaza, nerazumevanje drugog i drugačijeg stavilo je Evropu, kakvu smo mislili da poznamo, na ispit bazičnih vrednosti. Tako da bi se termin "izbeglička kriza" već mogao tumačiti i kao "kriza Evropske Unije". Sloboda, jednakost, bratstvo (*fr. Liberté, égalité, fraternité*), moto Francuske revolucije - danas se razume u mnogim zemljama EU kao - da, ali za belog, hrišćanskog čoveka, rođenog na njenoj teritoriji.

U celoj toj situaciji, ponašanje vlasti u Srbiji se koristi kao pozitivan primer - jer ovdašnja vlast nije naredila policiji i vojsci da te ljude maltretira, a posle dugog vremena pokušaja da problem ignoriše, napravila je nekoliko izbegličkih centara i omogućila vodu, hranu i medicinsku pomoć za one kojima je potrebna. Ipak, najviše što je uradila vlast u Srbiji je što nije širila ksenofobne poruke, kao vlade nekih zemalja u regionu i Evropi.

Sumirajući procese, ovo je bila vrlo kompleksna godina: godina u kojoj je premijer Srbije, nekadašnji ultradesničar, posetio Srebrenicu, i to dan kasnije pošto je skup u znak sećanja na žrtve Srebrenice u Beogradu zabranjen. Za procese pomirenja u regionu, poseta Aleksandra Vučića, premijera Srbije, Srebrenici, i momenat kada mu majka Srebrenice kači na rever cvet bio bi simbol oprosta, da mu nije usledio napad grupe posetilaca na samog Vučića. Nakon toga, lako se zaboravilo i zašto je on tu došao, i

kolika je veličina čina te žene, sve je palo u senku novog napada, nove mržnje, novih podela. Kao da se samo čeka povod, i da je svaki dovoljno dobar da se iskopaju reči mržnje, i sipa novi jed na stare rane. Atmosferu koja je potom zavladała nije smanjila ni brza poseta predsedništva BiH Beogradu, šetnja i šah sa premijerom Srbije na Kalemegdanu. Delovalo je to sve kao predstava, previše banalna, previše jednoznačna, previše režirana.

Čini se, sa ove distance - da se sa Vučić, sa funkcije na kojoj jeste, a sa istorijom u političkom životu koja je duga, i ne uvek "pomirateljska" kao danas, da se on sam više fokusirao na cilj - "lider pomirenja u regionu", nego na sam proces - koji potiče od ličnog. Nedostajao je svim tim izjavama lični osvrt, na sebe u prošlosti, na promenu koja se u njemu dogodila - da bi bio shvaćen na pravi način, kod onog običnog čoveka kome ni dan danas nije jasno zašto je u rat išao, ali ako zatreba, išao bi ponovo.

Kako je 1995. godina bila godina najstrašnijih događaja u ratovima na prostorima bivše Jugoslavije, ali i godina u kojoj su oni završeni u "dejtonskom trouglu" - obeležavanje dvadesetih godišnjica - Srebrenice i "Oluje" bio je novi povod za stare obračune. Slobodno se može reći da odnosi sa Hrvatskom u ovom veku nisu bili na nižoj tački nego ove godine. (U vreme dok ovo pišem, granice su zatvorene, a premijeri obe zemlje upućuju jedan drugom žaoke, koje bole dublje od povoda za zatvaranje, i kopaju po starim ranama.) To prilično obeshrabruje sve nas koji smo na procesima pomirenja radili godinama unazad. No, pomirenje je postavljeno kod raznih vlasti kao cilj, do koga se pokušalo doći prečicama, najčešće izbegavajući da se krene putem suočavanja sa vlastitom prošlošću, i te prečice su pokazalo se sada - bile slepe ulice.

Slično, posle nereda na fudbalskoj utakmici Srbija-Albanija, kada je jedan od navijača na teren pustio dron sa zastavom Velike Albanije, došlo je do novih teških reči, pretnji i govora mržnje, kako u medijima, tako i od zvaničnika vlasti obe zemlje. I kao i u slučaju sa predsedništvom BiH, susreli su se premijeri, pokazali kako oni mogu da se druže i razgovaraju (ponovo naglasak na druženju), ali sve su to događaji koji u narodima, među onim ljudima koje nazivamo "običnim" ostavljaju dubok trag. Posebno što su odnosi sa Albanijom u direktnoj vezi sa odnosima sa Kosovom - sa kojim se i dalje, pod budnim okom Evropske Unije, prave dogovori i odvijaju pregovori, nakon kojih se političari rukuju. U onom stvarnom svetu pomak je što se lakše putuje (Albanci sa Kosova kroz

Srbiju), što su predstavnici Srba ušli u kosovsku vladu, ali i to sa puno tenzija, i sa gotovo svakodnevnim protestima opozicije. U samoj Srbiji, o Kosovu se sve manje govori, kao da je to problem koji je rešen i na koji se više ne treba vraćati.

Ove godine je u Beogradu održana Parada ponosa, sa kojom se pokušavalo od 2001. godine, bez ikakvog nasilja na ulicama. Ali sa, parafrazirajući Radovana Trećeg "sto hiljada policajaca grada..." koji su tu paradu obezbeđivali. I dalje je vidljiva svakodnevna diskriminacija pripadnika LGBT populacije, ali postoji sve veća osuda javnosti na nasilje prema njima.

Zabrinjava porast nasilja nad ženama, jer je, statistički, svake nedelje od početka godine, ubijena jedna žena. Samo u dva dana maja ove godine, ubijeno je sedam žena u porodičnom nasilju, a za prvih šest meseci broj ubijenih žena (23) bio je jednak celoj 2014. godini. Uglavnom, žrtve su ranije već prijavljivale policiji nasilnike, njihova okolina je znala da se to dešava, ali te žene su životom platile sporost i neefikasnost države, kao i naviku zajednice da "se ne meša u tuđe stvari".

Ukidanjem najuticajnijih političkih emisija, i prelaskom medija koji su zasnovani na informativnom programu u sferu komercijalnog, sve je manje prostora za javnu kritiku postojećeg stanja. Iako se sve što se dešavalo ove godine na medijskoj sceni može shvatiti kao posledica stanja koje

dugo traje, ipak zabrinjava činjenica da, osim nekoliko nezavisnih portala i mreža, gotovo da ne postoji medijski prostor za kritičko i drugačije mišljenje. U isto vreme taj prostor je ustupljen reality show programima, i koji na potpuno nekontrolisan i od državnih regulatornih tela nesankcionisan način promovisu vrednosno diskutabilne, a često i vrlo nasilne, sadržaje.

Živeći pod pritiskom loše ekonomske situacije, kao trajnog stanja, u atmosferi različitog nasilja, straha, strepnje, svaki događaj koji izlazi iz okvira uobičajenog, stvara niz posledica u danima koji se nižu. Dok se sa jedne strane procesi usmeravaju ka priključenju Evropskoj Uniji, sa druge strane se i dalje beži od poštovanja vladavine prava. Izmučeni životom u svakodnevnoj strepnji, sami građani se osećaju nemoćno, i reaguju tek na najjače poruke: dirljiva je i divna solidarnost velikog dela društva sa izbeglicama, ali ne smeju se zanemariti ni glasovi očajnih koji bi da se tim grupama pridruže, pa pešice kroz prepreke ka "obećanoj zemlji". "A ko će meni da pomogne?" nije pitanje sebičnog, zbrinutog čoveka koji ne vidi patnju drugoga, već očaj izmučenog, koji teško može da vidi nadu u bolje sutra, na prostoru u kojem živi. I koji bi taj prostor najradije napustio, umoran od čekanja, obećanja i iznevernih očekivanja.

Katarina Milićević

## O Prijedoru

*4. i 5. avgust/kolovoz 2015.*

O Prijedoru, i događajima u tom gradu i njegovoj okolini moja saznanja su postepena. Malo po malo, godinu za godinom, otkrivam po deo strahote koja se u tom mestu dešavala tokom 1992. godine. I svaki put, nad svakom novom spoznajom, u meni se prepliću i tuga i bes, zar jedno ljudsko biće, samo po sebi slojevito, može takve stvari da uradi drugom ljudskom biću.

Književnost, sociologija i istorija, ma zapravo sve humanističke nauke od svog postanja do danas bave se baš tim pitanjem, razgrtanjem slojeva ljudskosti, no ipak – sve napisano o događajima nekada me za nijansu manje boli nego događaji čija sam savremenica, i koji su se zbivali u mom vremenu, tu negde, blizu mene.

Odatle i odluka, moja lična, da se pridružim kolegama koje su planirale da posete Prijedor u vreme komemoracija

žrtvama na Hrastovoj Glavici, u Trnopolju i Omarskoj. Nikad nije pravo vreme za obilazak takvih mesta, jer se uvek suočavam sa teškim i jakim emocijama, a košmarne slike mi danima budu u glavi. Pokušavam da razumem, a da ne relativizujem, pokušavam da objasnim sebi, a da to ne bude pravdanje, pokušavam da što više saznam, a informacije se svode na iščitavanje sudskih presuda, pisanih teškim pravnim jezikom.

Pokušavam da zamislim kako je bilo živeti u tom mestu te, 1992. godine, kada se svako plašio svakog, kada su komšije odvodile komšije i niko ih više nikada nije video. Kako je bilo narediti da se na muslimanske kuće okače bele zastave, i kako je bilo poslušati to naređenje, staviti belu plahtu na kuću, a traku na svoj rukav, i takav obeležen nadati se da će i to proći.

Ulazim u Prijedor, 5. avgusta popodne, srećna što nemam internet, jer mi je jasno da se oko obeležavanja godišnjice Oluje vodi teška i žalosna polemika, u kojoj je svako malo u pravu, ali niko nije sasvim, a to malo istine je razloženo na deliće, pa svako grabi i drži se svog dela, jer celovita slika ne odgovara nikome. I sa tim mislima ulazim u Prijedor u kome je toplo, a uskim starim gradskim ulicama ljudi voze mahom automobile sa stranim tablicama. Avgust je, vreme da se vrate oni koji su nekako uspeli da pobegnu, i bar se egzistencijalno spasu.

Za veće planiramo da prisustvujemo događajima na mestu nekadašnjeg logora Trnopolje, i već je kasno kada krećemo put njega, vozilom sa beogradskim tablama, nas četiri žene. Gubimo se, mape su nepouzdanе, putevi neobeleženi, a to već nije slučajno, mislim se u sebi, mračno je i pusto. Stajemo na jednoj pumpi, pitamo gde je spomenik. Pita nas žena kod koga idemo u taj kraj. Odgovaramo da idemo da se nađemo sa nekim prijateljima. "Kod spomenika?" "Da." Njeno objašnjenje nas je odvelo na pravi put.

Kod spomenika.

A spomenik je podignut palim borcima Republike Srpske, eto tako, baš na tom mestu, ili mjestu, kao da i on, onako beo i sa krilima hoće da sav taj poginuli narod podseća da rat još traje, da žrtvama nije dovoljno što su dali svoje živote, već da ih i u smrti treba upotrebiti ili upotrijebiti za još jednu poruku drugima. Tu negde iza njega, videmos svetla i auta, pa dođosmo do nekadašnjeg školskog igrališta, koje je nekoliko meseci bilo logor.

U Prijedoru znam Edina Ramulića, aktivistu koji radi taj najteži posao posle rata: traži dostojanstvo za žrtve, i dostojanstvo za preživle, a znala sam i jednu Almu, ali ona tu ne živi više. A opet, kad stigosmo do tog tepisima pokrivenog prostora, sa šatorom sa strane, ispozdravljah se sa mnogima. Odakle se znamo? Sa sličnih akcija u regionu, ili sa društvenih mreža, gde smo jedni druge prepoznali, po nekim bazičnim vrednostima ili vrijednostima, pa se međusobno branimo od napada onih "drugih". Onih koji bi opet da ratuju, jer im je malo bilo, i kojih se opet čini da ima više.

Zazvecaše tanjiri, zovu nas na večeru. Sramota da odbijem, sramota da sednem. Nigde na grobljima ne jedem, iako su me učili da je to za pokoj duše, da se nahrane umrli, ja opet ne mogu, sve razmišljam koliko je tu bilo gladnih, koji su i od gladi umirali, a ja sam tog dana već dva podobra obroka imala... a opet, red je, gosti smo, sedemos nekako, dok ne poče tribina o "Ulozi medija u sprečavanju genocida".

Ta tema je toliko i široka i uska – ne zna čovek ili

čovek šta bi sve tu rekao, a opet toliko je već rečeno, da svaka dodatna reč zvuči kao fraza. I pričaše neki novinari, i dve novinarkе, o medijima, o fotografiji Eda Vilijamsa, koja je pomogla da svet sazna za prijedorske logore, pa su ih ubrzo zatvorili, o izveštavanju, o tome kako nema slobode, nema objektivnosti, ni danas, a kamoli u ratnim izveštajima. I ne uspesmo da dođemo do tačke: sprečavanje budućih genocida. A svi negde u glavama imamo da se oni dešavaju, baš sad, ne ovde ili ovdje, ali negde u svetu ili svijetu, neko muči i ubija neke druge ljude...

Ujutru stadosmo u kolonu u Kozarcu, da krenemo put Omarske, gde vlasnici "Mitala", rudnika željezne rude, ili gvožđa, jednom godišnje dozvole da se u prostor rudnika uđe, i obeleži ili obilježi godišnjica zatvaranja logora koji se tu nalazio. Moguće je, sa specijalnim dozvolama, kažu, ući u taj prostor i tokom godine, ali znate kako je i koliko dostupno mesto za koje ti treba posebna dozvola da u njega uđeš.

Kolona krete, i zastade negde, u nekom šumarku.

Izađoše ljudi, čujemo, pričaju kako prošle godine nisu ni mogli da uđu, valjda su bili sporni pripadnici oružanih snaga BiH... Zastade jedan čovek ili čovek, uslika nas pored kola sa beogradskim tablama, pa te table posebno, klimnu glavom... Nedugo prođe, začu se policijska sirena. Ide praznom trakom, mimoilazi automobile, no kraj nas zastade: "Možete ući u auto, uskoro će krenuti kolona." Što baš kod nas? Ajde da ne pogađamo, mada je prilično jasno zašto.

Iskopanim i izlokanim stazama, nasutim šljakom (nisam baš vična tim izrazima, ono malo žuto kamenje, što ostavlja tešku prašinu kad hodaš po njemu, kako se to zove?), stigosmo do tog nekog "parkinga", a odatle krenusmo peške dalje.

Srete nas jedan poznanik, povređen, na štakama. U knjizi "Ni krivi, ni dužni – knjiga nestalih opštine Prijedor" koju sam slučajno videla prethodnog dana, izbrojah 49 ljudi koji se prezivaju isto kao on. A u knjizi 3254 slika ljudi, sve po tri u redu, pa tri na strani, abecednim redom...

Na prostoru između "Bijele kuće" i fabričkih hala, postavljena bina, neka vojska sa oružjem, sa zvučnika se čuju svedočenja preživelih... o tome kako su ih mučili, kako su mučili one koji su tu i umrli. U toj "Bijeloj kući" koja izgleda kao neki napušteni beli kućerak, neko bi rekao da ti zidovi čute jer je o onome što se između njih događalo nemoguće govoriti, a ne biti skamenjen, kao kamen od koga je kućerak sagrađen.

Sa zvučnika se začu konferansije, prvo reč dade nekom verskom ili vjerskom poglavaru. Taj krete, pa ga žar

ponese, pominjaše "srpski rod", pričaše o Habilu i Kabilu (Kain i Avelj), u okvire svetih knjiga postavi ovdašnji zločin, i nekako izvuče poruku, ili sam je ja tako razumela, da dok je poslednjeg čoveka ove ili one vere ili vjere, tu mira biti neće.

Ne beše mi dobro – sve se mislim, na strani sa koje ja dolazim dovoljan je jedan sličan, i eto nama rata ponovo. Do poslednjeg čoveka ili čovjeka.

Ređaše se govornici, jedna ćerka stradalog reče kratko: "Nikad halaliti, nikad oprostiti." A ja se mislim – nikad je duga reč, traje duže od ljudskoga veka ili vijeka, i od mnogo ljudskih vijekova, pa zar baš nikad?

I bi mi i tužno, i mučno, i tegobno... a Sunce radi svoj sezonski posao, cedi se sa mene znoj u potocima, a sve me sram misli o vrućini: "Živi ljudi su ovde bili, bez vode i

hrane, mesecima, tebi smeta vrućina..."

Dodoše do mikrofona neki političar i predstavnici udruženja logoraša, njihova priča već nije bila "nikad", oni rekoše nešto, jedan čak: "Dolazite, i povedite svoje komšije Srbe, Hrvate..."

Na kraju, svako uze po jedan beli balon, vezan belom uzicom, na čijem je kraju zakačen papirić sa imenom stradalog u Omarskoj. Njih je bilo oko sedam stotina. A tri hiljade ih je kroz logor prošlo.

Poleteše bijeli baloni.

Lakši od duše, vinuše se put Sunca.

Na Zemlji tegoba.

Da nekad prođe, i da se nikad ne ponovi.

Katarina Milićević

## Talas izbjeglica

### Provela sam noć na Keleti železničkoj stanici i shvatila zašto je važno biti čovek

Negde početkom jula morala sam poslovno da putujem u Budimpeštu. Voz i autobus nisu dolazili u obzir, avion mi nije odgovarao zbog termina i jedina preostala opcija je privatni mini kombi, što u teoriji izgleda kao super opcija, pakuje te sa tvoje adrese, voze na adresu u Budimpešti i povratak i sve to 50 evra. Ali u teoriji.

U praksi to je izgledalo ovako.

Ja: "Dobar dan, rezervisala bih jedno mesto na relaciji Bg-Budimpešta povratno, ali mi je izuzetno bitno da u Budimpeštu ne stignem pre 8 ujutru, da li imate neki takav polazak?" (S obzirom da mi je sastanak počinjao u 9.30, računam šta bih dođavola radila sama u Budimpešti ako stignem u 3 ujutru tamo)

Operater: "Naravno gospođice, mi imamo svakodnevne polaske u raznim terminima i imamo baš to što vam odgovara, bili biste u Budimpešti u 7.30 ako to nije problem".

Jedno zilion i jedan put sam pitala da li je sigurno da u Budimpeštu neću stići oko 2-3 ujutru i nakon ubeđivanja da ne postoji ni teorijska šansa da se to dogodi, ja rezervišem.

Dan polaska, oko 16h (a moj polazak je bio planiran u 2h ujutru)

Operater: "Gospođice, mi se zaista izvinjavamo, ali moram da Vas obavestim da je vas polazak pomeren za 21.30h uveče, što znači da ćete vi ipak biti u Budimpešti oko 3 ujutru, javite nam do 18.30 h da li ćete putovati".

Većina vas me zna kao prilično ok i taktičnu osobu, e taj operater je upoznao i moju drugu stranu a la poznati političar na vanrednom zasedanju Vlade kada ga snima kamera.

Zovem druge agencije i sve je to manje više isto sa dolaskom oko 2-3 ujutru u Budimpeštu. Zovem jedno 30 hotela sa booking.com liste nijedan neće da radi check in u 3 ujutru i check out u 8 ujutru.

I shvatam sledeće: "Biću sama noću u Budimpešti i moram da smislim mesto gde ima ljudi, koje je noću otvoreno i gde ima policije za svaki slučaj".

Nakon grozničavog iščitavanja raznih sajtova zaključujem da ja jedino mogu da idem na Keleti železničku stanicu. I kroz glavu mi prođe "narkomani, beskućnici, prostitutke, narko dileri, perverzncijaci ... hej ali

tu sigurno mora da ima i policije". Znae da putujem često i takođe mi nije strano da putujem sama, ali pomisao da ću biti sama na železničkoj stanici noću u Mađarskoj mi je bila poprilično zastrašujuća.

U toku puta upoznajem saputnicu sa kojom sam čavrljala tih par sati puta. Mađarica iz Budimpešte, zove se Vera po prabaki Srpkinji. Vera, kada sam joj iznela svoj gjenjalni plan o noći na Keleti stanici, uplašeno kaže da to ne dolazi u obzir i poziva me da budem kod nje u stanu dok ne pođem na sastanak.

Nije li to nešto tako čovečno i plemenito? Devojka koja me nikada pre nije videla mi je, meni potpunom neznancu, ponudila da budem kod nje da ne bih bila sama noću u stranom gradu. Iako me je zaista duboko dirnula ova ljudskost, moje lepo vaspitanje mi nije dozvoljavalo da u nečiju kuću uđem u 3 ujutru. Vera i ja smo razmenile brojeve i Vera mi je slala poruke na svakih 40tak minuta do jutra da se uveri da li sam ok.

Draga Vera, hvala ti što si mi potvrdila da ljudska dobrota nije u nestajanju, što postoje ljudi koji i dalje veruju da je čovek čoveku brat, a ne vuk.

I tako 2.30 ujutru (naravno Marfijev zakon - granični prelazi su bili pusti, nigde žive duše i naravno da sam imala vozača manijaka koji je jurio kao muva bez glave po autoputu), ja u poslovnom izdanju sa lap top torbom ispred Keleti stanice, oko mene grupa arapskih momaka koji spavaju ispred na klupama držeći pod glavom sve svoje bogatstvo, malo dalje 3 prostitutke, a sa druge strane dva muškarca, beskućnika rekla bih, koji u neverici gledaju s koje planete sam ja pala.

Ulazim unutra, kad tamo brojne arapske i afričke porodice sede i spavaju po klupama i podu, držeći čvrsto između sebe svoju imovinu koja je stala u par zavežljaja. Malo dalje mađarski beskućnici, neki narko dileri koji vrbuju par engleskih pijanih turista koji i ne znaju gde se nalaze i non stop vrište kako je Beč fenomenalan grad i da su "ovde" najbolji ljudi (i dalje se nadam da su ipak potrefili posle voz za Beč, ako su uopšte i želeli da idu tamo) i par prostitutki koji gledaju da nađu klijente.

Smestim se na jednu klupu, pustim Breykerse i molim Boga da što pre svane. Prilazi mi čovek i pokušava da mi nešto objasni na mađarskom i nakon mog dobro veče na engleskom vadi svoju legitimaciju - mađarski policajac u civilu koji mi posle na savršenom engleskom kaže da želi da vidi moju voznu kartu i pasoš. Jer logično ja sedim u 3 noći na železničkoj stanici, normalno je da putujem negde. I još "logičnije" ja tu kartu nemam, jer ja i ne putujem nigde. Već mi je scenario u glavi, sad će da me privede, neću stići na sastanak, platiću sto odsto neku kaznu jer

"poznato je da Mađari ne vole Srbe i uvek pišu nama neke kazne, jer nas mrže".

Ništa od toga se nije desilo. Ispričala sam mu šta ja to zapravo radim na železničkoj stanici. Da li je on bio dobre volje ili se sažalio sve u svemu ili je samo dobar čovek, on se samo nasmejao i pitao da li možda želim čaj ili kafu (ponoviću, mađarski policajac, ja strani državljanin) i rekao da će me obići on ili njegov kolega za pola sata da vide da li sam ok i poželeo mi uspeh na poslovnom sastanku. Usput se sagnuo i pokrio jednu baku koja je spavala na klupi i ostavio čokoladicu. Na svakih pola sata je prolazio tuda i mahnuo mi.

Dragi mađarski policajcu, hvala ti što si dokazao da policiju ne čine samo korumpirani policajci i nezainteresovani pojedinci. Ne, niste svi isti.

Vozovi su dolazili i prolazili. Pitala sam se kako to izgleda spavati na podu železničke stanice uz pisak sirena na svakih pola sata. Odgovor mi je došao neočekivano u obliku male, skakutave, preslatke devojčice. Bilo je oko 3 ujutru, ona je bila budna, a njeni roditelji i ostatak porodice je spavao u uglu. Dotrčala je do mene i nešto veselo krenula da priča na arapskom, a kako je moje znanje arapskog svedeno na 20-30 izraza koji su mi ostali u sećanju, nismo baš nešto mnogo mogle da komuniciramo, ali nas dve to nije sprečilo. Ona je sela pored mene i nastavila da priča, uhvatila me za ruku i gledala moje nalakirane nokte i veselo čavrljala. Bila sam smešna sebi kako na nekoj mešavini arapsko-turskog pokušavam da je pitam odakle je, pa onda na engleskom i tek onda se setim da ne komplikujem i na čistom srpskom kažem Irak ili Sirija. Malena se trgla, tužno me pogledala i rekla Sirija. Verovatno je i ona mene pitala odakle sam i sama donela zaključak da mora da sam iz Turske, ukoliko sam je dobro razumela. Na pomen Beograda veselo se nasmešila i klimnula glavicom, a tek kad sam izvadila Plazmu ihh te sreće :) Sad, kako objasniti detetu koje ne govori nijedan jezik koji ja znam da ide i pita mamu da li sme da uzme keks. I onda shvatite koliko je zapravo lako sporazumeti se čak i kada ne govorite isti jezik. Najjednostavnije prstom, ono što se smatra nekulturnim i primitivnim za "razvijeni i civilizovani svet", pokažeš keks pa mamu i klimneš glavom. Otrča ona, probudi mamu, koja je prvo uplašeno reagovala misleći šta se dogodilo. I tačno se video izraz olašanja da je u pitanju samo keks, da je niko nije napao, povredio... Majka se nasmešila klimnula glavom i pogledala u mom pravcu i opet se nasmešila, stavila ruku na grudi, blago povila glavu u znak zahvalnosti. I povuče dete za rukav kada je malena krenula ponovo prema meni i tačno mogu da zamislim šta je rekla "Nemoj da budeš dosadna teti, to

nije lepo”, ali mala se otrže i dođe kod mene.

I tako nas dve drugarice, jedna od 32 godine i jedna od 5 godina, jedna se zove Ivana, druga Nur, sedele su u 4 ujutru na Keleti stanici i jele Plazma keks. Svaka je pričala na svom jeziku. Nur je uzela da crta, crtalo je dete svoj život, crtalo je kuće razrušene, tenk jer ona samo za to zna i ja sam počela da plačem. I onda je dete od 5 godina tešilo ženu od 32 godine, onako čisto dečije i ljudski, uzela je moju ruku u svoju i mazila je.

I baš zbog toga, ne mogu da dozvolim da neko arapsku decu i male azilante posmatra kroz prizmu budućih terorista, jer to su deca. Obično dete koje voli Plazmu i kao svaka petogodišnja devojčica voli nalakirane nokte i voli da igra crvene rukavice.

I Keleti stanica se polako budila, a Nur je već bila pospana i otišla je kod svoje mame, pri odlasku mi je nešto šapnula, nažalost razumela sam samo hvala.

U toku je bio Sveti mesec Ramazan, a meni je prišla jedna baka i krenula da priča. Često mi se u Turskoj ili arapskim zemljama dešava da me tako identifikuju kao “svoju”, pa je i baka mislila da sam njihove gore list. Kako nismo mogle da se sporazumemo u pomoć nam je pritekao mladić sa susedne klupe. Mladi Sirijac sa odličnim znanjem engleskom. Baka je inače baka male Nur i gledala je kako ja pričam sa njom i kako se igramo i pitala me da im se pridružim za sehur odnosno ramazanski doručak koji se jede pre svitanja.

I dođe ti da plačeš, kada shvatiš da te na doručak zove osoba koja je dočekala da svoju starost provodi po železničkim stanicama zbog gramzivosti i pohlepe svetskih

političara. Koja je dočekala da neka evropska balavurdija skreće pogled na drugu stranu kada ih vidi jer “im ruže grad”. I kada shvatiš da ta osoba još uvek čuva dobrotu u svom srcu, porazi te činjenica kada shvatiš koliko malo takvih ljudi imaš u svom okruženju i koliko su većito nezadovoljni i nezahvalni za sve to imaju. I dođe ti da u 5 ujutru pozoveš sve ljude iz svog telefonskog imenika i da im kažeš, kada ustanete budite zahvalni jer ste spavali u svom krevetu.

I hvala Nur i njenoj baki jer su mi podarile mogućnost da ovu priču napišem i da ponovo osetim istinsku zahvalnost za sve ono što mi je život pružio i čega me je pošteđeo. Nadam se da njih na kraju ovog puta očekuje ono što i znači ime Nur - svetlost.

I jutro je svanulo, ja sam napustila Keleti stanicu, oni su ostali tamo. Nadam se srećni barem koliko i ja, jer sam za par sati učvrstila veru u ljude. I prestala da se bojim noćnih boravaka na železničkim stanicama, jer ponekad nije loše suočiti se sa svojim strahom i predrasudama.

A vi dragi prijatelji (koji ste pre svega imali strpljenja da ovo pročitate do kraja) ne skrećite pogled kada ih vidite na ulici, a ne skrećite pogled ni od svojih siromašnijih i nemoćnih komšija. Ako im je već život oduzeo puno toga, nema razloga da im neko oduzme i gazi ljudsko dostojanstvo. Ako možete, trudite se da ljudima budete braća i sestre, ako ne možete, nema potrebe da budete ni vukovi.

Ivana Karalejić

\*priču smo objavili uz dopuštenje autorice

## Brod(ovi) ukletih

Gustav Šreder je bio Nemač, kapetan broda Sent Luis, koji je 13. maja 1939. godine isplovio iz Hamburga, prevozeći 937 Jevreja na Kubu. Bar je to bio početni plan kapetana koji će zbog te plovidbe postati slavan. Ukrcati se na taj brod nije bilo lako, i o tome postoje posebna svedočanstva, reći ću samo da su karte bile jako skupe, a pod stalnom pretnjom hapšenjem i odvođenjem u logore, i doći do broda, čak i ako se imalo novca, zahtevalo je čitavu mrežu pomoćnika i organizacije. Jedan od ljudi koji su pomogli bio je i Maks Šmeling, slavni nemački bokser, koji je u svojoj hotelskoj sobi čuvao braću Henrija

i Vernera Luisa, dok se nisu ukrkali na brod, sa željom da se domognu Njujorka, i pobegnu od Hitlerovog režima, logora, i skoro sasvim izvesne smrti.

„Subota, 13. maj, Hamburg. Kapetan Gustav Šreder stoji na mostu i posmatra svoje putnike na molu broj sedamdeset šest u hamburškoj luci. Puni nade, oni su tu da se ukrcaju na brod koji treba da ih odnese u slobodu. Šreder poznaje uobičajeni haos u tim momentima. Muzika brodske kapele, gomile naslaganih kofera, ljudi sa pasošima i brodskim papirima u rukama, uzbuđena deca, sirene, zagrljaji, poljupci, suze – sve je kao i uvek kada

*jedan luksuzni parobrod, kao što je Sent Luis kreće na put. Jedino što za putnike ovog „putovanja radi zadovoljstva sa devet stotina turista“, kako se vodi u brodskoj knjizi, nije predviđen povratak. Devet stotina nemačkih muškaraca, žena i dece napuštaju Nemačku zauvek zato što su Jevreji i što ih njihova otadžbina zbog toga sistematski progoni.“*

(Citat iz knjige „Leto trideset devete“ Verner Birman)

U subotu, 27. maja, brod stiže na Kubu, ali je tu zabranjeno prihvatanje jevrejskih izbeglica iz Nemačke. Iako postoji pritisak i javnosti i štampe na predsednika Brua, on ne pristaje da pruži utočište putnicima broda koji „imaju ilegalna dokumenta dobijena podmičivanjem.“ Jedan očajnik reže sebi vene, a njih 28 ima „legalna“ dokumenta. Ostali putnici, na brodu koji kapetan ne želi da vrati u Nemačku, očekuju da će utočište pronaći u Americi, koju doživljavaju kao „zemlju slobode“.

4. juna brod Sent Luis se nalazi na Karibima, pred obalom Floride. Nijedna obalska straža ih ne pušta u zemlju. Ruzvelt je u kampanji, u Americi vlada nezaposlenost, niko ne želi očajnike koji bi „zauzeli radna mesta“. Kanada ih takođe odbija. I Dominikanska Republika. Kapetan Šreder šalje telegrame brojnim vladama u svetu, ali svi njegovi vapaji ostaju bez odgovora, ili je odgovor negativan. Već očajne putnike niko ne prihvata, a Gebels likuje nad njihovom sudbinom, jer želi da pošalje poruku celom svetu kako Jevreje ne želi niko. Štampa brod naziva „brodom ukletih“, a kapetan Šreder dobija naređenje da brod vrati u Nemačku, što odlučno odbija, i u jednom telegramu poručuje da će „ostaviti brod u plamenu na britanskoj obali“. Posle duge agonije, stižu odgovori od vlada Holandije da će primiti putnike (181), Belgije (214), Francuske (224) i Velike Britanije (287). Oni slave svog spasioca, kapetana Gustava Šredera. (Nikom od putnika koji su se iskricali na kopneni deo Evrope neće to biti poslednji beg. Gotovo svi su kasnije odvedeni u logore, preko 300 njih je u njima stradalo. Bolje sudbine bili su samo putnici koje je primila Velika Britanija, ali i neki od njih su stradali od bombardovanja.)

Kapetana Šredera početak Drugog svetskog rata zatekao je na povratku u Nemačku, gde je odmah po dolasku penzionisan. Bilo je to njegovo poslednje putovanje, ali su mu do kraja života (1959.) zahvalni putnici broda Sent Luis slali pomoć u hrani i sredstvima za život.

Današnji putnici broda Sent Luis, ti neželjeni ljudi, koji spašavaju žive glave od rata, beže od stradanja, priželjkiju bolji i mirniji život su oko nas. Oni putuju pod okriljem noći čamcima koji primaju pet puta više ljudi nego što mogu da povezu, prelaze granice zemalja tajno, gazeći mesecima

u već pocepanoj obući, žene i deca danima bez hrane i vode čekaju sledećeg trgovca dušama koji će ih prevesti na sigurnije mesto. Zovu ih azilantima, niko ih ne želi, u zemljama kroz koje prolaze svi od njih okreću glave, a i oni sami se trude da budu što nevidljiviji. U državama u koje žele da stignu ih ne žele, svugde je nezaposlenost velika, niko parče svog grkog hleba ne želi da deli sa nekom tamo izbeglicom.

Nema kapetana Šredera više u Evropi, da se odupre moćnima i da moli one koji mogu da pomognu.

Ljudima koji beže od rata niko ne otvara vrata. Evropa se divi sebi jer je pre 70 godina pobedila fašizam. Evropa čuti da u nekom kraju sveta i dalje besni rat, i kao i u leto 1939. ljude koji od rata beže niko ne želi da primi. Mađarska diže zid na granici sa Srbijom, kako bi zaustavila priliv izbeglica. 26 godina posle rušenja jednog, Evropa diže drugi zid. Odgovornost će biti na Mađarskoj, ali istine radi – baš niko se nije oglasio i osudio dizanje tog zida.

Ne postoji bolji trenutak kad svet, koji se poziva na svoju civilizovanost i humanost, to zaista može i da dokaže, od trenutka da spasi ljude koji beže od rata. I sada, kao i 1939. čitave brodove može da spasi samo Čovek.

Imamo li takvog među nama, u Evropi, leta 2015?

Leta 1939. izbeglice od rata bili su Tomas Man, Albert Ajnštajn, Bertold Breht, i mnogi drugi, manje ili više poznati, koji su se na sve načine suprotstavljali Hitlerovom režimu. Pogledajte oko sebe – možda je neko od ovih ljudi, pred kojima se dižu zidovi, budući nobelovac, književnik, naučnik... A možda je i samo radnik, koji traži spasenje svog golog života, ne mareći pri tom šta će u tom željenom boljem svetu da radi.

Fašizam je svaka ideologija koja ne vidi čoveka, kao jedinku, već kao grupu od koje želi da se zaštiti, ili da je pobedi. Šta si u maju slavila, Evropo? Koga si to pobedila, kad ponovo dižeš zidove? Da li si zaista pobedila fašizam, kao što u svojoj gordosti misliš da jesi? Nevoljni da vidimo patnje drugih, okrećemo glave, kao što su gotovo sve vlade sveta 1939. godine, u ovo isto vreme, okretale glave od sudbine nevoljnika sa broda Sent Luis.

Brodovi ukletih i dalje plove, obale su sve dalje.

*„Nespokojni sedimo što bliže granicama  
Čekajući dan povratka, i svaku i najmanju promenu  
Preko granice pratimo, svakog prebeglicu  
Žurno zapitkujuć, ništa ne zaboravljamo i ništa  
Ne preskačemo*

*I ništa ne opraštamo šta se događa, ništa ne opraštamo.*

*Ah... dovde čujemo krike iz njihovih logora...“*

Bertold Breht

Katarina Miličević

## Novo lice u timu

### Pazi šta želiš možda ti se i ostvari

Dođoh ja u CNA da radim.

Kažu mi nove kolege, do sada su ljudi obično napisali neki tekst, osvrt kako su se našli u CNA timu i šta ih je tu dovelo, pa napiši i ti nešto da stavimo na sajt, da drugi ljudi imaju priliku da vide.

Ih, udarila me silna trema, od običnih malih, sitnosopstveničkih stvari, ali ljudskih baš onako. Em mi je jako važno što sam tu, pa treba da bude neki dobar tekst, pa treba da mi pročitaju kolege, pa drugi ljudi koji dobro misle o CNA, pa još i oni koji ne misle tako dobro. Šta napisati? Sve same velike i pametne reči. Stoji tako danima preda mnom papir. Napišem nešto pa obrišem, nije dostojno prilike i zadatka. Malo je patetično, briši, malo je bezlično, opet dodaj. Na kraju ne znam šta je, ali je iskreno. Rekla bih dovoljno.

Nemam ja šta veliko za napisati, ne gledam ja na taj svoj život kao na neku spektakularnu priču. Više je zbir situacija i okolnosti, sa odgovorima na njih u datim momentima, da se posle ne ljutim jako puno na sebe, a na kraju uvek se malo i ljutim. Rodila sam se u Sarajevu, pa sam izbegavala sa roditeljima nekoliko puta, prvi put u Gračanicu, pa u Prnjavor, pa na kraju, u Staru Pazovu. Onda počinje miran život, mislim ne puca se baš u neposrednoj blizini, što se dugo predstavljalo kao ne tako mala stvar u mom životu, i meni i drugima. U Pazovi sam išla u osnovnu školu, pa u gimnaziju, da bih kasnije otišla na studije u Novi Sad, napravila sve u roku i sa visokim ocenama, što je veoma visoko u sistemu kategorije jedne odgovorne osobe, ali istovremeno nije prilika gde ti možeš naći odgovore na životna pitanja.

Tokom života je mene pratio i splet nekih dobrih poklapanja, tako sam nakon stažiranja, pred kraj studija počela da radim u Pokrajinskoj vladi, što je predstavljao ideal mnogih mladih u Srbiji, sigurna plata i radno mesto. Pored toga, ja sam kao bonus dobila sjajne neposredne kolege, vredne i ambiciozne, a čovečne. Rekla bih, ljude u punom smislu te reči. I priliku da radim na stvarima u koje duboko verujem, a to je unapređenje položaja žena. Bile su to godine u kojima sam porasla i naučila mnogo. Porasla onako ljudski, ne u visinu, tu me je priroda još davno sputala. Videh tamo da može da se radi i to jako dobro i državnoj upravi, da se prave rezultati, ali shvatih



i po koju cenu - to su pojedinci koji sagorevaju, te da su stvari u osnovi neujednačene i uglavnom nefer. Oba uvida su mi jako značajna.

Uprkos svemu ovome, neke stvari koje su me zanimale nisam mogla da dobacim niti da nađem neke odgovore ni na fakultetu, ni na tom poslu, niti sama. U toj potrazi sam se prijavila na osnovni trening koji je organizovao CNA, ali nisam primljena, već stavljena na listu čekanja, tek sam pozvana dan pred početak treninga, da li mogu da učestvujem i ja napravih vratolomiju, da se vratim sa Palića, sa jedne škole, da se iselim iz studentskog doma,



jer tada mi je isticao rok za iseljenje i da krenem na put da bih stigla na prvu sesiju sutra u devet. Vozila sam celu noć i stigla. Doduše, uspavala sam se na prvu sesiju malko, ali stigla i učestvovala. Učestvovala. Dušom i mozgom. Nakon tih deset dana sam rekla da nikada više ne dobijem ni zdravo od CNA dovoljno je - mene je promenilo. I ta promena je za mene bila velika, ali od toga mi je mnogo veće što mi je bila važna, životno važna. Uprkos dobrom spletu okolnosti, davala sam se bez rezerve.

Ali, ponekad nije važno šta ti misliš šta ti je dovoljno i gde su ti granice. Nikad na sebe nisam gledala blakonaklono. Pa je moja sreća bila nemerljiva kada sam dobila poziv da učestvujem na treningu za trenere/ice. Ta mi je prilika bila drugačija od mog osnovnog treninga. Zapravo, tada su mi se otvorila pitanje, šta ja pravim u životu u odnosu na vrednosti koje imam u sebi, šta bih mogla da pravim i zašto to ne radim. Na neki način svatih koliko su važne stvari koje sam do tada radila, ali da mi nisu dovoljne, da ima drugih bitnih stvari i otkrih koliko me stvari u mojoj tadašnjoj poziciji sputavaju, ali koje su mi otvorile oči na nekoj drugoj strani. Silno sam pozelela nešto drugo. Tada sam na evaluacioni listić napisala: 'zovite me da radim sa vama', sa jedne strane kao pohvalu i zahvalnost za sve što sam dobila i kao način da pokažem koliko mi je važno, a sa druge strane kao stidljivu želju koju naglas nisam smela ni da izgovorim. Ni sebi ni drugima. Pazi šta želiš, možda ti se ostvari. Ili samo poželi dovoljno jako a posle radi vredno, u to se uzdam sada.

Kada sam dobila poziv da radim u CNA, ja sam odluku donela za nekoliko minuta i u toku realizacije koja je trajala nekoliko meseci, ni jednom se nisam pokajala. Nisam se pokajala ne zato što je bilo jednostavno, ne mogu da

kažem to nikako, već zato što imam želju da sa drugim ljudima shvatim šta je problem i pokušam da nađem rešenje. I nisam došla ovde zato što sam altruistkinja, već zato što ima tabu tema, ima ih u društvu, u školi, u mojoj kući. Znam ja i to da će ih uvek biti. Ali ove tabu teme, o ratu, o prošlosti, ko su dobri, a ko loši i gde nas to vodi, one mene bole i žuljaju, ne neke prethodne, ne neke sledeće. Bole, žuljaju i brinu, ovde i sada.

Danas, kada živim i radim u Sarajevu, svaki dan mi je otvoreno pitanje. Bilo mi je važno da dođem ovde, gde sam rođena a odakle sam morala da odem. Kao prilika da probam da razumem i da se promenim, ali i da menjam. Ja u svojim prvim danima u Sarajevu, tako idem kroz Sarajevo, ali od svega ugledah samo svoje predrasude. Prilika da sebe ogoliš i upoznaš u drugoj perspektivi mi se čini neprocenljivom. Prvo sam se iznenadila, koliko su predrasude duboko ukopane u meni, a drugo kako ti neke stvari postanu daleke, čak i dok misliš da su ti blizu. Moj prvi šok je bio kada sam videla koliko je rat ovde među ljudima prisutan, da se o njemu govori svaki dan, na najrazličitijim mestima, da su različiti ljudi zainteresovani za tu temu, a prošlo je dvadeset godina. A sa druge strane, zaprepastilo me je i koliko duboko sam internalizovala predstavu o drugom, kako ti drugi može biti stran i koliko dalek, pitam se gde sam to naučila, negovala i koliko dugo nosim u sebi.

Ovaj dolazak u CNA, u Sarajevo, vidim kao svoju misiju potrage za prilikama i načinima da razgovaramo i otvaramo nove perspektive, da vidimo sebe u njima. Znam nije sve do mene, ali daću sve od sebe.

Nataša Okilj

# Annual Report 2015

(English version)

## Introduction

At the time of writing of this Introduction, the European Union has designated a billion (!) dollars for strengthening its external borders against the rivers of Syrian, Iraqi and other refugees from the Middle East; Hungary has put up walls and barbed wire to be the guardian of the Schengen area, and Croatia and Serbia are practically at war. The war is one of words, but even this verbal war is keenly felt by anyone trying to cross not just the Croatian-Serbian border, but also the borders of these countries with Bosnia and Herzegovina. It seems completely impossible to predict what will happen in two months, not to mention in the next year. However, indications of this situation can be found already in our report for last year. Then, as now, the only thing we can do so as not to feel helpless before the violence, both that of war and structural violence, racism, fear and prejudice is to do the best we can and as we deem correct. Instead of giving in to defeatism, we should bear in mind that the world, or at least our Balkan region, would be a much worse place without efforts to build a lasting peace. In that spirit, we present the 18th annual report on our activities for the period of September 2014 – September 2015.

This past year was marked by activities stemming from our last Training for Trainers, so this year, with an expanded circle of associates, we were able to organise for the first time a multilingual peacebuilding training for citizens of Macedonia, Serbia and Kosovo, and were once again after a long while able to work with students through the Peacebuilding Training for students from Bosnia and Herzegovina. New activities shall be forthcoming so that in October we will have workshops with secondary school pupils from divided cities in Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as continuing our cooperation with students in November. In the past year, we also did much to strengthen exchange and cooperation with our colleagues and partners from abroad. One of the outcomes was the International Dialogue “Memory, Justice and Reconciliation?!” held in Sarajevo from 10 to 12 June, with 50 participants from Argentina, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, South Africa, Canada, Kosovo, Macedonia, the Netherlands, Germany, Serbia, the United Kingdom and Uruguay. Another outcome was the translation of our manual “Reconciliation?! Training Handbook for Dealing with the Past” into Russian, to be published by the end of this year.

How an “ordinary” visit of a mixed group of war veterans to an official commemoration and to sites of suffering can make a crucial difference when it comes to the narrative of the 1992-1995 war in BiH is poignantly illustrated by the example of Velika Kladuša and Laniš-

ta, which will be presented in the pages of this report. As experience has shown us, peace actions by veterans are of particular importance in the processes of establishing dialogue, building peace and trust. You can read more about this in a publication available through our website “War Veterans in the Process of Constructive Dealing with the Past”. This year, we again participated in the commemoration to honour the civilian casualties killed on the bridge over Velika Morava during the NATO bombing of Serbia in 1999. We are still waiting for the right opportunity to have our mixed group of war veterans visit sites of suffering in Croatia. Namely, such actions cannot be organised without support from the Croatian side.

Research and documenting sites of suffering and memory in Bosnia and Herzegovina after the 1992-1995 war covered more than 80 memorials and unmarked sites of suffering. Considerable difficulties we faced in the process of gathering data on monuments have somewhat derailed our efforts and plans, but the research has been completed, the publication is in its final stages, and we expect it to come out at the beginning of 2016. All the material with photographs and fact sheets about the memorials will also be made available to the public through a dedicated website that will serve as a base for further research.

The research on the fate of ethnic Germans from the Podunavlje area in Vojvodina following World War II has also been completed. Using archival materials, historical studies and research, literary works and media reports, but also through conversations with persons who have experienced these events or have investigated these topics, we tried to give an overview of their presence, their lives and their disappearance from this region. This publication will also be published at the beginning of next year.

Although it is not counted among our official activities, and is based more on the personal will and motivation of most of us from CNA, we were in Prijedor this year to attend the commemoration at Hrastova Glavica, in Trnopolje and Omarska. This is important for us because of support to local organisations from Prijedor that we have been working with for years, but also for ourselves, and the insights we can gain at such places, by meeting people and dealing with past events.

As for 2016, we have a lot of plans, some are new, but some have been in the making for a long time. But first, we invite you to look through what has marked this past year for us. We look forward to your feedback, reactions, criticism, but also your support, all of which we find useful.

CNA Team





peace education

# Ideas, actions, support - Phase 4 of the Training for Trainers

*Andrevlje, 7-13 November 2014*

The final, fourth phase of the Training for Trainers in Peacebuilding (TfT) was held from 7 to 13 November in Andrevlje, Fruška Gora in Serbia.

The TfT programme began in May 2014 and it brings together people from the former Yugoslavia. For more on the programme, please see previous Annual Report.

Already on the first day, we were joined by Abdullah Ferizi, a peace activist from Kosovo who was also our guest during the first phase of TfT. Since in Andrevlje we were planning joint actions and activities, next steps in the region, we thought it important for Abdullah to introduce us to the context of Kosovo and give his impression of what dealing with the past and reconciliation means in that context, what is possible and what is impossible, what is peacebuilding, and what can dismantle peace. We made the most of his presence, asking various questions, presenting and sharing our fears and dilemmas. We are grateful to him for joining us and giving us an insight that is not falsely optimistic and that requires all of us to think, but also to act.

Since many participants had expressed the need to learn more about the financial aspect of projects during the previous phase of TfT, the second day of the training included a workshop on fund-raising and donor policies by Ana Marjanović Rudan, consultant.

In the interim between the final two phases of TfT, we invited the participants to start thinking about actions and activities they would like to implement. CNA for its part decided to potentially support the implementation of some ideas depending on their content and level of development. We were surprised to find that there were more ideas than participants: 21 ideas! And they were mostly of very good quality, well thought-out, and aimed at furthering peacebuilding in the region. We therefore devoted most of the final phase to exchange of ideas, feedback and arranging for teams that would implement the ideas, as well as planning them out in more detail.

We had to select only a few ideas from the many that were proposed, which was a very difficult task. This is why we believe it is important to point out that no single idea was rejected or forgotten, but only that some will be taken on in the short-term, some perhaps a bit later, and for some ideas that pertain to individual countries

in the region, we recommended to our TfT participants to explore possibilities for cooperation with our partner organisations (such as Peace Action from Prilep, for instance).

Eight ideas went through all the stages of development and planning within the Training for Trainers, and they are (working titles given):

1. Regional literary competition on the topic of dealing with the past
2. Regional peace council - a joint regional voice of the group in public on issues relevant to peacebuilding
3. Publishing verbal accounts of people who had helped their neighbours during the war
4. Training for students in BiH
5. One-day workshops for secondary school pupils from certain cities in BiH
6. Peacebuilding and dealing with the past training for participants from Serbia, Kosovo and Macedonia
7. Actions to mark unmarked sites of suffering
8. Documentary on people who left their homes, 20 years after the Dayton Agreement

Since we received excellent initial ideas, and since all the participants showed a high level of motivation to participate in these activities, the team of trainers will decide which initiatives to support and how at a later stage of their development.

We also used this gathering to make a number of videos, some of which will be used to produce videos for public information, and others will be shared within the group as a memento of our time spent together.



We left Andrevlje without tears or goodbyes, knowing that there is still a lot to do, that we have completed the training, but encouraged by the fact that we can all

support each other and that after this Tft there are 19 more peace activists in the world.

K.M.



## mir-paqe-мир-peace 2015

*Dojran 15-24 May 2015*

During the last phase of the Training for Trainers organised by CNA in 2014, there was an idea to organise peacebuilding training in multiple languages for citizens of Macedonia, Serbia, and Kosovo. It was no easy task, but we very much wanted to try. The training team was made up of three participants in the Tft - Albulena Karaga (Megjashi - Skopje), Nataša Okilj (CNA) and Jasna Dimitrijević - and two experienced trainers, Nexhat Ismajlij (ANP – Action for Nonviolence and Peacebuilding – Gnjilane) and Nenad Vukosavljević (CNA) whose help and support were invaluable to the process. We held our first meeting in February 2015 in Skopje and agreed on a

framework concept, as well as the place and time for the nine-day training on Introduction to Peacebuilding – Star Dojran from 15 to 24 May 2015.

We received 75 applications, from Serbia (23), Macedonia (23), and Kosovo (29). We selected 18 participants and hired expert translation professionals Naila Kecmendi and Ismet Ballazhi.

And then, two days before the training team was to travel to Dojran for preparations, the ‘anti-terrorist action’ in Kumanovo was conducted with the media reporting of 20 people killed. So we asked ourselves – what now? We were unsure whether to postpone the training, because





there was no way of knowing whether the violence would spread, or to set off for Macedonia and wait to see what would happen and whether the participants would confirm their arrival. The participants themselves were not sure whether they should come or not, but by the start of the training, the situation had stabilised and we could go ahead as planned and with even more motivation to work on peacebuilding. Not despite the escalation of violence, but because of it!

We started the training with two participants fewer than planned, because we could not find replacements for those that cancelled at the last minute. We then decided to invite our colleague Aleksandra Bogdanovska from Skopje to be our support and resource person, and she joined us on the fifth day of the training, significantly contributing to our worn on understanding the Macedonian context.

Trainings with consecutive interpretation are not easy to plan or implement. During our preparations, we could not precisely define the dynamics of the training, but Nexhat from ANP, who has a lot of experience running

multi-language trainings, provided some valuable guidance. We decided that the exercises should focus on sensitisation to violence, understanding conflict and creating a basis for peacebuilding activism, but that we also need to broach dealing with the past and gender issues. We started cautiously and slowly. However, to our great pleasure, the group was curious and open for in-depth exploration, so on account of their dynamics and interest, we adapted our plan and focused more on conflict resolution. We felt the participants strongly wanted to learn about the contexts, overcoming obstacles, exchanges, cooperation, and this was a clear indication to us that we could move beyond an introduction to peacebuilding. We finally arrived at a training concept whose complexity and topics were not much different from Basic Training in Peacebuilding, but working with interpretation did dictate a slower tempo.

We now ask ourselves – what next? We have learned much from each other, and we want to create more opportunities for new learning. The participants told us on more than one occasion that this sort of training was

something they very much needed and that they will work on planning trainings specifically focused on the contexts of Serbia, Macedonia, and Kosovo. The remaining open question is whether participants from Albania could be involved at a later training, and whether we should try organising this type of training in English as the working language.

In these nine days, we have gathered a heap of ideas for similar trainings to be further developed, improved and implemented. We believe that Mir– page – мир 2015 is just the first of a series of trainings.

Jasna Dimitrijević



## Impressions by the training participants

**By Elena Dimovska**

They say, in order to change the world you have to start from yourself. Peacebuilding training offers just that – personal change to make you a better person. I arrived in Dorjan somewhat sceptical, but I left motivated and inspired. During the training, my personal horizons began expanding. Something started changing within me, as if a screen had slowly started to lift from my eyes, a screen I wasn't even aware was there.

The workshops were organised so that we as participants were free to draw our own conclusions. The topics dealt with current situations in our countries. We managed to broach and discuss contentious relations between Macedonians and Albanians, Albanians and Serbs. The language barrier was not a problem because communication is bigger than language, and we were committed to dialogue. At the end of the day, it is

understanding that matters, and when we think and act in the same direction, success is guaranteed.

This is a school for reconciliation, a training where we learned how to deal with conflicts. However, this training does not offer some miracle formula or one-size-fits-all solution. What it does offer is the possibility of self-development, of broadening your horizons, removing stereotypes and discrimination, facing the past and searching for ways to resolve and finally find closure for inter-ethnic issues. We live in multi-ethnic societies where different nationalities are often cause for violence. It is interesting how in such situations, when tensions are running high, we rarely think about what we can do. It is easier to let the other side deal with it. We always try to find fault with others, and we never look at our selves. We want peace, but we are not prepared to do anything to achieve it. We are mostly like that. Or we don't want to make the first step, or we leave that issue to high-level

policy makers. Still, there is a small group of people outside the diplomatic corps studying peaceful conflict resolution. Some of them are members of the training team. They are the voice of reason. I recommend this training to all those who think reconciliation is an issue for politicians or that concessions must always come from the other side.

This training will teach you that you can also do something in the interest of reconciliation. It will not be easy. There are too many stereotypes deeply rooted in our society that will take a lot of time to uproot. But with a bit of effort and a strong will, nothing is impossible. So be wise, start changing yourselves in order to change the world.



### **By Tatjana Malinović**

In March 2015, through the mailing list of the Centre for Nonviolent Action, I was informed about the planned Introductory Peacebuilding Training in Dorjan. I sent in my application not five, but seven minutes before the deadline for applications, not expecting it to be successful, but having nothing to lose by sending it in. A few days later, I was informed that my application had been accepted and I that was the first time I wondered about where I would be going and what I expected from a ten-day training with a very demanding agenda.

I took leave from my job, I started packing, and then on the Saturday before I was supposed to travel, there was suddenly talk of a small war taking place in Kumanovo. Only then did I start watching the news and keeping up with developments every hour, getting my information from various sources, because in the past few years I had stopped keeping up with mass media and carefully select the information that reaches me in the interest of my mental

health. What immediately struck me was the incongruity of the information depending on the source. Public opinion does not recommend travelling to Macedonia, the police are upping security measures, the army too, but I sensed a challenge and felt that when spears are being rattled, that was the right moment to launch different arguments that I believe in, that was the time to talk about peacebuilding.

My first impressions of Dorjan were quite confusing. I approached a table with completely unknown faces that speak a language I do not understand, everyone is very pleasant and smiling, but insecurity and caution hover between us, despite the firm and welcoming handshakes of the training team and the wide smile of Abdulena Karaga. I had never before attended a multi-language training. I had not made much of the fact that we did not speak the same language, assuming that we would be the passive recipients of content and that any joint workshops would be conducted in a language we all share, which would be English.

I realised my misguidedness already at the first workshop on the first day – everyone spoke in their mother tongue

about what brought them to Dorjan, their expectations, dilemmas, prejudices, personal circumstances, aware of the burden of the past and the uncertainty of the future. So many faces, so many stories, so many names difficult to remember. The culmination was working in a group with people who did not speak my mother tongue. The fact that they could not understand a word of what I wanted to say to them, and that I could not understand what they were saying – was initially completely paralysing. I find it difficult to describe this feeling, you just had to be there. Of course, with good will, the language barrier was soon overcome – we used English, words our languages had in common, we were assisted by an interpreter, but the key factor of our success in completing the task before us was good will to find a common solution despite obstacles that initially seemed insurmountable, but that did not discourage us.

This first experience shed a completely new light on the rest of the training. I had realised why I was there, why it was necessary for us to talk even when we did not seem to understand each other, because these differences are superficial, if we listen carefully, we are all saying the same thing and we all desire a common good, the only thing that

separates us are the nuances of our speech. We must not keep silent about the ballast of a violent past, we must not sweep it under the rug because it will turn into a mound we cannot ignore, an obstacle we keep tripping over. The training team conducted the workshops very subtly, unobtrusively, without trying to issue generalising theories and axioms, and taking into account the need of each participant to be heard.

The importance of this training is manifold. On the global level, given the specificity of this region and our time, these kinds of trainings are indispensable. On a personal level, it effects a change of perception, breaks down prejudices (that we all have to a greater or lesser degree), it makes you re-examine your own position in society, and prepares you to change your views through dialogue, because its aim is not the victory of a good speaker, but instead understanding. We leave the training richer for new friendships, possibilities of future cooperation, plans to expand peace activities each in their own domain, to do what we can to make this cruel world a place where differences will be celebrated and not used as pretexts for mutual eradication.

# Peacebuilding Training for Students from BiH

*Jahorina 31 July - 5 August 2015*

Organised by CNA and the informal group „PlatForMir”, the first Peacebuilding Training for Students from BiH was held from 31 July to 5 August 2015. This new concept of training, both in terms of its target group and its focus, originated from the CNA Training for Trainers in Peacebuilding and the idea to do something constructive with a focus on students because of their future potential as the academic citizens of tomorrow and the main stakeholders of all future processes in BiH.

Since this was the first time the training was being organised, the training team had a very complex task to design and structure the training so as to meet the needs and capacities of the group, which we could only guess at based on their applications. Due to the large number of cancellations, there were concerns about the dynamics of the concept as initially envisioned, but it ultimately turned out that the group “clicked” very well and that there was strong closeness and cohesion within the group from the very start. They all came together with incredible motivation to work and share their personal stories.

The different backgrounds of the participants combined with common student solidarity and cohesion turned out to be very constructive when working on difficult topics such as dealing with the past. Despite our concerns that due to the strong cohesion, there would be less readiness for confrontation, a huge safe space was opened up for the expression of honest opinions without judgement, which was one of the main objectives of this activity: training for real situations they might confront in the world outside the safe training space, active examination of their roles in the external world, developing critical and self-critical thinking, and

a positive step forward for BiH society that issues from being sensitive to others and their needs.

The briefness of the training (4 days) imposed a very busy and quick tempo, which turned out to be a bit too much, so the dynamics would drop at certain points, but sometimes the workshops would spill over into free time.

At the beginning, there was a need for the classical lecture-style approach and ready-made solutions that the student population has become accustomed to, but when they realised it could be done differently, the participants had a very good response to the interactive method we employed, often pointing out that their previous experience does not come even close to the dynamics and results we were able to achieve.

This got us thinking about who is it that serves up solutions to young people, and who has the right to decide in their name? The diverse training team, made up of experienced trainers, including a war veteran, which turned out to be a strong position with powerful influence on students, and trainers from the TfT who formed strong bonds with the participants, had a powerful impact on the dynamics of the training.

Although not initially planned, due to the developments during the training, the possibility came up to continue such activities with the student population as a target group that is in dire need of constructive action. The location of the training also had a in important impact on the dynamics. Hotel Lavina fulfilled all our expectations, we commend the staff and spaces, hoping to cooperate again in the future.

Dalmir Mišković



exchange, cooperation  
and networking

# Berlin Meetings

*Berlin, 19-23 April 2015*

All of us at CNA were excited to receive an invitation from the German organisation *Gegen Vergessen / Für Demokratie e.V.* (Against Forgetting - For Democracy) to visit them, get to know each other, exchange experiences and think about possibilities for future cooperation, so we planned the trip for the second half of April.

The first contacts with representatives of this organisation were made last year during the *Mandela Dialogues* programme, and we kept in touch wanting to get to know each other better and see what we have in common and how we could support each other and cooperate in the future.

These were the broad aims of the two-day meeting in Berlin that brought together five representatives of CNA and six representatives of GVFD, but we agreed from the start that we would focus not on aims, but on the process of getting to know each other better.

At the meeting, we first exchanged information about the histories of our two organisations, their missions and development plans, with lots of questions from both sides. It was very interesting to talk about what we considered our greatest successes and failures, what our dreams were and what challenges we were facing. The readiness to be self-critical, as a precondition for defining lessons learned and learning from experience, created an atmosphere of mutual trust and respect.

In this relaxed, friendly atmosphere, the workshop came up with many open-ended questions and a desire for deeper understanding on both sides. We from the

CNA were particularly interested in the work of GVFD with right-wing extremists and the methods they employ, especially in the online counselling programme against extremism.

On their part, GVFD were curious about our methods of work at peacebuilding trainings, so we presented one of our more frequent training workshops and the various aspects of our work with war-veterans.

We felt a connection in terms of values and a desire for further cooperation. However, given that neither organisation is interested in superficial cooperation aimed only at fulfilling donor requirements or providing a false image, a concrete joint project will have to wait a while because we need to think further about how best to improve the work of each organisation through a joint endeavour.

We used this visit to Berlin to meet with a host of other friends and associates of CNA to discuss future cooperation as well as numerous issues at the core of peace activism throughout the world: the war in Yemen, the activities of Pegida in Germany, protests against extremism and xenophobia, migrants from war zones and ways to help these people... The exchange of thoughts and apprehensions we share was strangely empowering because we don't often have an opportunity to talk about where the world is going in the societies where we work, and to consider these processes from various angles.

K.M.

# Exchange and Cooperation with Conciliation Resources

*London, 10-12 December 2014*

Out of or desire to promote the publication of the English version of our handbook "Reconciliation?!" in London and the need of our colleagues from the British peace organisation Conciliation Resources (CR) to continue internal discussions on reconciliation in a wider circle of people, came the workshop held at the

CR on 10 December 2014. One part of the workshop was moderated by Ivana Franović and Nenad Vukosavljević, and the other by our long-time friend Diana Francis. The participants included peace activists, practitioners and scholars from England and their associates from Georgia and Abkhazia. At the same time, this meeting was a

continuation of previous cooperation and the meeting of groups from Georgia and Abkhazia in Belgrade that Ivana Franović attended as a guest.

The workshop was designed to encourage exchange about applied concepts of peacebuilding, understandings of dealing with the past and working on memory.

In an exceptionally stimulating environment of people with wide-ranging experience working in conflict zones throughout the world, it was a pleasure to discuss and examine existing concepts for overcoming the consequences of violent conflict. From Northern Ireland, Fiji, Columbia and Spain to the Balkans and South Caucasus. For us, the exchange of opinions was inspiring and strengthening and the feedback tells us that the other participants felt the same.

We spent the second day talking with Rachel Clogg from CR, Diana Francis and their associates from Abkhazia and Georgia, discussing the possibilities of cooperation and application, that is, transfer of CNA experience to the South Caucasus context. We agreed on a study visit to Bosnia and Herzegovina by a group of peace motivated Georgians and Abkhazians that will be organised under the leadership of CNA in March 2016 with accompanying workshops. Cooperation was also agreed to translate the “Reconciliation!?” handbook into Russian, Georgian and Ukrainian, because the handbook was deemed potentially useful in the former Soviet Union context. We still have to secure funds for this endeavour.

I.F.





# International Dialogue „Memory, Justice and Reconciliation?!“

*Sarajevo, 10-12 June 2015*

The International Dialogue “Memory, Justice, Reconciliation?!“ was held from 10 to 12 June in Sarajevo. With the Centre for Nonviolent Action as the host, the Dialogue was organised by another three organisations from Germany, the German Federal Foundation for the Study of Communist Dictatorship (Bundesstiftung zur Aufarbeitung der SED-Diktatur), the German Agency for International Cooperation (GIZ) - Global Leadership Academy, and Archiv Bürgerbewegung Leipzig.

It was an opportunity to meet fifty guests from all over the world, and the region, who deal with these issues, including peace researchers, journalists, activists, university professors, war veterans, etc. and to discuss global good practice examples, as well as dilemmas, problems and difficulties we have all faced in our work.

One day was dedicated to visiting the Potočari Memorial Centre in Srebrenica, which left a deep impression on everyone.

On the final day, we hosted war veterans that the Centre for Nonviolent Action has been cooperating with for years. Their view of the past war and active involvement in changing the present were very important

because this approach to peace work through cooperation of former enemies on peacebuilding is very valuable for the changes needed in all post-conflict societies.

We believe this dialogue was useful to everyone and that we will be able to continue it in other places in the world, because the exchange of ideas, thoughts and approaches motivates and encourages all of us involved in dealing with the past and peacebuilding.

Audio recordings of the introduction to the International Dialogue “Memory, Justice, Reconciliation” are available in English:

(Note: each recording is approximately 10 minutes long)

- *Anja Mihr* - <http://nenasilje.org/audio/AnjaMihrSarajevoJune2015.mp3>
- *Nenad Vukosavljević* - <http://nenasilje.org/audio/NenadVukosavljevicSarajevoJune2015.mp3>
- *Verne Harris* - <http://nenasilje.org/audio/VerneHarrisSarajevoJune2015.mp3>





**We can make a difference**

The damage of war  
Pockmarked landscape,  
Fresh wounds  
Unclosed.

Lies and silences  
Lying beneath,  
Fresh wounds  
Unclosed.

The courage to open  
The rotten truth,  
Will be with those who have borne witness  
Opened.

Fresh summer flowers  
Dependable as night becomes day  
Sunshine snow, dark light,  
Open to change...

We can make a difference  
Unclosed, open,  
I dedicate my life  
To that!

*Shirley Gunn*

## **Srebrenica**

June 2015

I kept my right hand in check  
It wanted to touch my forehead.  
Then my stomach.  
Then my right,  
Then my left shoulder.  
Between me  
And my God  
There was the graveyard.  
Our Father, Who art  
in Heaven.  
I did not pray  
For the souls of the murderers  
As I had prayed  
In 1999, for the souls of the pilots  
Of the aeroplanes  
Bombing my child.  
I prayed  
For my own and the soul  
Of my friend Adnan.  
To save our children  
From killing each other.  
My God  
Thy will be done  
On earth  
Where graves lie in their silence  
And someone in Your name  
Doing Your will  
In this moment  
Pulls the trigger  
Aiming at children.

*Katarina Milićević*





work with war veterans

Since 2002, the Centre for Nonviolent Action (CNA) has been working with war veterans from different armies that had been engaged in combat during the wars of the 1990s in the former Yugoslavia. The text that we published last year describes our experiences in working on dealing with the past and peacebuilding with veterans: how we arrived at the idea to work with the very specific and

often insular, nationalist social group, how this process developed and what activities were implemented as a result of this cooperation. You can find it on our website [nenasilje.org](http://nenasilje.org) under the title “War Veterans in the Process of Constructive Dealing with the Past”.

In this report, you can read more about activities with veterans in the past year.

## We come in peace, in memory of those killed, as a warning against history repeating itself: War Veterans Together in Action

Joint commemorations of those killed on all sides in the war is part of the process of reconciliation, abolishing hatred and conquering a new space of freedom in our societies. This process is all the more relevant and symbolic when it is carried out by former soldiers and war veterans. The reconciliation process does not entail forgiving the wrongdoers, because forgiveness is a personal act and we cannot forgive on someone else's behalf, but it does mean standing up to the systemic blaming of whole groups or nationalities. Reconciliation in society at large means stepping away from hatred, distrust, discrimination and prejudice.

Working with war veterans to establish dialogue between former enemies and build peace is a cornerstone in the activities of the Centre for Nonviolent Action, tightly intertwined with other areas of peacebuilding and dealing with the past. From our work with war veterans, we draw motivation, knowledge and inspiration that help us seek ways to meet the challenges of peacebuilding in order to reach as many people as possible without marginalising anyone.

From the very beginning of our work with former soldiers, it was important for us to foster communication and trust, but without saying what we think people want to hear.

All victims of war deserve respect, both civilian and military victims. Paying respects to all those killed does not mean approving of their aims, if any, but is instead an expression of decency and mourning for the loss of human lives. For the veterans themselves, the idea of jointly commemorating those killed is, on the one hand,

close to their hearts, but also invokes anxiety over the risk of being misunderstood and denounced as traitors in their own communities. Denouncing and lack of understanding happen precisely when the community wrongly assumes that respecting the victims on the other side means denigrating own victims and approving the war efforts of the other side.

By going to all commemorations, we send the message that we respect everyone and that the aim is not to denounce some while recognising others, but that our common ground, that which brings us together, is mourning for the loss of each human life, united in our determination never to let the war, its injustices and killings happen again.

Organising joint visits by war veterans to sites of killing of former enemies is a significant step towards reconciliation. The challenge facing us now and the direction we are taking are joint visits to official commemorations organised regularly by the authorities and veterans organisation to mark important events from the past war, most often dates of massacres. The idea of former enemies attending such events together with the host veterans has the same character and sends the same message as when we visit a memorial or site of killing independently. The message is one of paying respects to the victims and showing the living that we are no longer enemies, that we see them as people, neighbours, that we understand their pain, suffering and the sorrows brought on by war. When we visit sites of killing, we come in peace, in memory of those killed, and as a warning against history repeating itself. We attend commemorations only at the invitation and with

the support of local veterans associations from the town or region. We are open to dialogue and criticism, we are prepared to re-examine our actions and views.

Visiting sites of killings is not easy, it fills us with anxiety and sometimes apprehension. We fear being misunderstood and our act interpreted as desecration, provocation or animosity. That is not our aim.

We live in societies where it is “normal” that empathy does not cross the line between “us” and “them”. That is why a joint expression of empathy encourages a re-examination of the “usual” modes of memory and remembrance. We are aware that our presence may cause others to feel uncomfortable, not understanding why enemies would come to pay their respects at the

site of killing that they are “to blame” for. The truth is that these individuals cannot be simply blamed, nor are they the perpetrators of the wrongdoings, even when the wrongdoings were committed in the name of their ethnic group. Just as many wrongdoings were committed in the name of our ethnic group, and we are not to blame, what is more, we are disgusted by these wrongdoings.

The anxiety we feel is overcome with the conviction that we are doing the decent thing by paying our respects to all the victims of the war and that this is the basis of all our dialogues, cooperation, joint lessons in our recent and difficult history. We have faith that uniting around our common humanity is critical for creating life in peace, mutual respect, security and dignity.



# War-Veterans Visit Velika Kladuša

*Velika Kladuša, 26 October, 2014*

In cooperation with the Association of War-veterans of the Defensive-Liberation War 1992-1995, Municipal Organisation in Velika Kladuša and the Association of Disabled War-veterans of the National Defence from Velika Kladuša, the Centre for Nonviolent Action organised a visit to Velika Kladuša on 26 October 2014.

The visit brought together 23 war-veterans from: Army of Republika Srpska, the Croatian Army, the Croat Defence Council, the JNA, the Army of Yugoslavia and the Army of RBiH.

Together with war-veterans from the region, for the first time since the end of the war, representatives of former enemy armies jointly visited the local memorial cemetery of the National Defence at Dubrave and the Shahid cemetery of the RBiH Army fighters where they laid flowers and honoured all the victims.

Velika Kladuša is a town still labouring under the legacy of the war conflict within a single ethnic community, that of the Bosniaks-Muslims. This act that we had to wait nineteen years for has a symbolic significance for overcoming hatred and distrust that are still present and pronounced in this divided community.

A joint meeting was held bringing together our group and representatives of veterans' associations of the RBiH Army and the National Defence from Velika Kladuša, and the Association of fallen and missing members of the National Defence. The meeting supported the idea of joint visits and meetings of former participants in the wars that contribute to stable peacebuilding through dialogue and through honouring the fallen on all sides. Our hosts pointed out that this event is of historical importance for them and that it constitutes a step towards reconciliation

and co-existence of the people of Kladuša. They were also grateful to our mixed group of veterans and peace activists for its support and encouragement that helped them organise this first joint visit to places of memory.

The meeting was also attended by Edin Bekrić, Mayor of Velika Kladuša, who said that visits to the Dubrave cemetery and the Shahid cemetery were an important step for peacebuilding as the only guarantee of prosperity for all citizens of Velika Kladuša.

The event received a lot of media attention. These are some of the links to media coverage:

<http://www.krajina.ba/158443/video-ucinjen-historijski-iskorak-ka-pomirenju-i-suzivotu-kladusana/>

<http://www.cazin.net/vijesti/clanak/video-historijski-dan-u-velikoj-kladusi-poduzet-prvi-korak-ka-pomirenju-biv>

<http://www.uskinfo.ba/vijest/video-historijski-dan-u-velikoj-kladusi-poduzet-prvi-korak-prema-pomirenju-nekad-zaracenih-strana/7573>

<http://www.bhrt.ba/vijesti/bih/velika-kladusa-ratni-veterani-prvi-put-zajedno/>

<http://bosnian.sahartv.ir/news/u-velikoj-kladu%C5%A1i-susret-veterana-iz-regije-20756>

<http://kladusa.net/video-historijski-dan-u-velikoj-kladusi-poduzet-prvi-korak-ka-pomirenju-bivsih-pripadnika-arbih-apzb/>

<http://www.federalna.ba/bhs/vijest/110997/nekadana-suprotnim-stranama-danas-zele-graditi-mir>

<http://www.bhrt.ba/bht1-emisije/dnevnik-2/dnevnik-2-259/>

A.D.

## For the Immeasurable Minority

You have to be somewhat of a masochist to consciously accept feeling pain and suffering. But this type of "masochism" is different. Its suffering is ennobling, it allows you to rediscover your humanity.

That's how I would sum up my experience of working with the Center for Nonviolent Action that, from its two addresses, one in Belgrade and one in Sarajevo, has taken

on the mission of peacebuilding and reconciliation in this region, primarily by working with the veterans of the Yugoslav wars from 1991 to 1999.

Our latest meeting was in Velika Kladuša. In terms of the recent war in BiH, this is the most specific city in BiH because it was the site of the tragic intra-Bosniak conflict whose repercussions can be felt in the city and the region

to this day. A painful wound difficult to heal is the fact that almost 3000 people died in this conflict on both sides. And since I was myself a participant in the so-called First Autonomy, the first war between the 5th Corps<sup>1</sup> and units of the National Defence, I know first-hand that the fallen fighters were the youngest and most vibrant among us. It is enough to survey the dates of birth on the gravestones at Dubrava to see that the brunt of this war fell to the generation born around 1970.

A whole generation of young and able people was wiped out. And we will never know what they could have become if it had not been for the war. I too had friends and acquaintances who lost their lives on these battlegrounds. I know their families, and I know the suffering will never end. The members of the National Defence we called Autonomists and we hated them more than we hated members of the VRS that we called Chetniks. That's what fratricidal war comes down to. You hate your own the most, because you are liable to be disappointed by those closest to you.

The initial meeting took place at the Old Town Tower whose height dominates over the Kladuša area. There were over 25 veterans from all the armies, they had come to attend a pioneering act to start the reconciliation process in this part of Krajina. The most important moments are those when we honour the dead soldiers on both sides. We first visited the graveyard of the National Defence soldiers. On the very border with Croatia lies probably the strangest graveyard I've ever seen. Headstones placed on the premises of a factory whose hangars have long been destroyed and overcome with undergrowth. The graveyard is tended by the association of fallen and missing members of the National Defence.

This strange graveyard seems like something straight out of the film *Stalker* (1979) by Andrei Tarkovsky. The graveyard is illegal, but no one touches it. The shahid turbeh to the members of the 5th Corps had to be placed in the yard of a mosque because the pro-Abdić government at the time refused to issue a building permit. Political disputes are thus conducted over the bones of the dead.

Flowers were laid for the dead and there was a minute of silence and the al-Fatiha. Brief speeches were given by Osman Zulić on behalf of the disabled war-veterans of the National Defence and the commander of the 506th brigade Nijaz Miljković. Their speeches were dignified and emotional. Both speakers openly called for reconciliation and mutual forgiveness. The faces of the other war-

veterans spoke volumes. When someone speaks the truth from the heart, only one response is possible, the response of compassion and sorrow in the eyes of these seasoned warriors, today the best possible peacebuilders in the region.

Among these veterans were people who had discovered mass graves, who today socialise with those they fought hand-to-hand, people riddled with shrapnel and nightmares. But also people with an uncommon sense of humour and a desire for life. Commemorations are usually followed by comical war stories that are supposed to mitigate the sorrow that overcomes all those in attendance.

We went to the Tower later on and discussed our impressions from visits to the memorials in Kladuša. Every veteran introduces himself and briefly tells his life story, or says what impressed him most during the visit. These are the moments of catharsis. You cannot find this stuff in textbooks, and you cannot learn it. At one point, looking at the faces of the veterans, I noticed how the waiters, hearing the story of a veteran, had left their work and stepped out from behind the bar. They stood stone-till, hypnotised by the sheer force of emotion, their faces emphatic and tense.

That is the suffering from the beginning of the story. Someone has to hear the stories full of the dead, the wounded, someone has to hear the traumatic stories of beatings from the prison camps. Sometimes I am reluctant to go on these meetings of reconciliation, because I want to protect myself from difficult emotions, and because with the years you become closed off and insensitive to another's suffering. But I always return home filled with energy and slightly beaming. Because spending time with these people restores my faith in humanity. Because I forget about all the trifles I'm burdened with in my Sarajevo life. I see it for what it is: a small, egotistical and irrelevant life full of bitterness and misery. When I return, I feel like I have been reset and filled with a better energy than the one permeating this miserable town.

That's why suffering is good. It ennobles only those who wish to be ennobled. It is the "immeasurable minority" you should belong to. I hope for a future in which the names of these post-war heroes will echo through eternity. Those who know the senselessness of war, and are for that very reason able to show compassion for the suffering of former enemies, and help each other overcome the traumas of war.

Faruk Šehić

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1 ARBiH



# Commemoration in Sijekovac

*Sijekovac, 26 March 2015*

Driving from Derventa towards Brod and looking at the landscape and the houses on both sides of the road, I was reminded of a news report I had read in a political weekly a few years after the war in BiH. It was called 'Cabriolet Cities' and was about the towns of Glamoč and Bosansko Grahovo. The title made sense only after having started reading, I found that in these two towns, after the war, not a single roof was left in place, all the houses had been burnt down. This road from Derventa to Brod is lined by such houses, too.

We had visited Sijekovac near Brod before. The first time during the visit of war-veterans from the region to Prnjavor in 2008, and then in 2010 during visits to Derventa and Brod. Members of regular forces of the Croatian Army, then called the National Guard, with the aid of a local paramilitaries, killed nine Serb civilians in Sijekovac on 26 March 1992, and another thirty seven in the following month<sup>1</sup>. During our visits, we found out from our hosts from veterans associations and the local population the scale of these crimes. The fate of the Zečević family in which the father and his three sons were killed on the same day is well known.

The idea to visit Sijekovac during the commemoration issued from our contact with a war-veteran from Brod who had participated in the CNA Training for War-Veterans. Having been introduced to our joint visits to commemorations, he invited us to come to Brod and organised meetings with representatives of the Disabled Veterans and Veterans Organisation. At these meetings, we presented our work with war-veterans from the region and our activities, and expressed our wish to attend the commemoration in Sijekovac. We pointed out it was important for us that the organiser know who we are and what we stand for, that we are motivated by reconciliation and that we seek to overcome past hostilities. Among us are people who want their visit to convey that they are ashamed of the crimes committed in their name. We want to be seen by those present as people much like them, for whom war brought sorrow, pain and suffering; we want to send a warning of never again. We see the joint presence of Bosniak, Croat and Serb war-veterans

at commemoration sites as a way towards inter-ethnic reconciliation.

Representatives of veterans organisations welcomed us to the commemoration in Sijekovac and explained the procedure that had to be fulfilled in this case when the event is organised under the patronage of the RS Government, that is, the Republika Srpska Government Committee for Fostering the Traditions of Liberation Wars. This body is responsible for organising commemorations considered important for the official history of Republika Srpska. We contacted the Committee with the recommendation we received from the local veterans organisations and a few days later we received confirmation that we were welcome and that we would be included in the official protocol for the laying of the wreaths.

On the day of the commemoration, 26 March 2015, we met in Brod with war-veterans of the Croatian Army from Nuštar, the Croat Defence Council from Brčko and Žepče, the Army of RBiH from Zavidovići, Sarajevo and Gornji Vakuf/Uskoplje and the Army of RS from Šamac. Together with our hosts and the CNA team, there were thirteen of us in all.

As we were approaching the plateau in Sijekovac with the Church and Memorial, we saw many more people coming in a column. Police security was distributed along the road and around the church. A large billboard had been set up in front of the church with enlarged photographs and newspaper articles depicting Serb victims from the past war. There were shocking images of those killed, locations of detention camps and destroyed settlements. Serb flags were on the masts and the sound of prayer issued from the speakers. A liturgy was under way at the church. A few hundred people had already gathered in the church and the surrounding courtyard. After the organised arrival of pupils from Brod schools, the number of people exceeded one thousand. Later, a number of black vehicles with darkened windows appeared with police escort. Political representatives emerged from the vehicles with their bodyguards who cleared the way for them to the church.

The official programme started after the liturgy, in front of the church entrance. A memorial service was held and candles were lit for the killed Serb civilians. Then the

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<sup>1</sup> Source of data: [http://www.rcirz.org/images/dokumentipdf/mjesta\\_stradanja\\_srpskog\\_naroda\\_u\\_BiH\\_91-95.pdf](http://www.rcirz.org/images/dokumentipdf/mjesta_stradanja_srpskog_naroda_u_BiH_91-95.pdf)



host invited the delegations to lay the wreaths. The choir sung prayer songs. The quiet, barely audible song of the girls from the choir stirred up emotions with its elegiac tones. According to the protocol, the representatives of RS institutions were the first to lay wreaths, followed by associations from the RS level, and they were individually announced by the host. I noticed there was a delegation of SUBNOR<sup>2</sup> RS among them. Then others were invited to lay the wreaths, which included our delegation. We laid the wreath and took a moment to honour the victims. We came after the Ravna Gora Chetnik Movement<sup>3</sup>, whose representatives had arrived in uniforms of the Serbian Army from the First World War. Thus, followers of opposing ideologies from the past, Partisans and Chetniks, found themselves in the same place, together with our

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<sup>2</sup> Federation of Veterans of the National Liberation Struggle (former Partisan fighters - members of antifascist units from World War 2

<sup>3</sup> Chetniks - members of the 'Yugoslav Homeland Army' known for collaborating with the occupation of Yugoslavia in World War 2 and numerous war crimes

group of war-veterans. Legacies from the Second World War were very pronounced in the combat units of the 1990s. They were fostered through symbols and through glorifying what most people remembered with horror and disgust. Watching it all unfold, it occurred to me that something like this is only possible here. God forbid that these ideologies should be reconciled, but when you put them in a nationalist context and environment, then you see that they need each other, that the survival of one is uncertain without the other. After the laying of the wreaths, representatives of the RS Government and the local authorities from Brod addressed the gathering. They spoke about the crime committed in Sijekovac in 1992, but also the crimes committed here by the Ustasha<sup>4</sup> in 1941. People had been killed back then as well, and this church had been burnt down. It was said that 'eternal foes' should never be forgotten or forgiven for what they have done. However, the speeches also called for tolerance

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<sup>4</sup> Ustasha - units of the 'Independent State of Croatia', a quisling state from World War 2, known for their brutality and numerous war crimes

and living in peace with each other. The best way to do this would be to stop being foes to each other, to have events from the past, such as these from Sijekovac, serve as a warning, and to build friendly relations in the future.

The work of both the local and the ICTY prosecutors was criticised for insufficient prosecution of crimes committed against Serbs, which was characterised as inadequate, slow and politically dosed. The Court of BiH has sentenced only one person to 10 years in prison for the war crime committed in Sijekovac<sup>5</sup>. A crime of this scale most certainly entails multiple perpetrators. Until they are all made to face justice, there will be dissatisfaction and anger.

After the programme, we met with people from the Federation of Prison Camp Survivors of RS that we had cooperated with before. Although we met in the sorrowful context of a commemoration, they were glad to see us and thanked us for coming.

We also held a group meeting to share impressions. We were mostly disappointed by the petty politics present at these events wherever they are held. We clearly pointed out that we condemn every crime and that with our activities, we call on those responsible to prosecute the perpetrators. We agreed to continue our peace activities and not to be discouraged by efforts to keep events like this one enveloped within national-ethnic communities. We want to be seen as people and

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<sup>5</sup> For more, see: <http://www.sudbih.gov.ba/index.php?id=3243&jezik=b>

we are ready to cooperate and talk to everyone in order to contribute to the healing of our society and to the common good. The war-veterans of Brod also attended our meeting. They thanked us for coming to honour the victims and expressed their support through openness for cooperation with their associations.

On our return, as I was summing up the impressions, I thought about how invaluable it is to meet with people at these sites. Some might find it hard to understand the warmth and directness of our people. When they stand next to a stranger, they almost feel a 'duty' to make conversation. It usually starts with comments about how terrible the situation is, that politicians have it easy and that they have stolen enough to last their offspring. It is only later that they ask who you are and where you come from. In my case, and I later heard similar examples from others in our group, after telling them where I come from, there would be a brief pause, and then they would ask me why I had come. After I said where I was from, my interlocutor would usually think of someone they knew from my town or would tell of an aunt who got married there. As for why I had come, after explaining, I never heard anyone oppose our initiative, they would always express support and say 'keep up the good work, that's what we need to reconcile and finally continue to live a normal life'. And I thought, why is this not something an official could say loud and clear at these gatherings, why do they keep instilling fear among us. How long will this last?

A.D.

## Commemorating the human losses in Laništa and Ulice

*Laništa/Ulice, 8 May 2015*

We were invited to attend commemorations in the settlements of Laništa and Ulice near Brčko on 8 May by the Association of Families of Croat Defenders killed and missing in the Homeland War of Ravne-Brčko.

On this date in 1992, members of the Army of RS killed 32 people, civilians and soldiers, from the Brčko area villages of Ulice, Laništa, Marković Polje, Donji Vukšić, Gornji Vukšić, Krepšić and Donji Rahić.

Our group made up of veterans of VRS from Šamac and Derventa, HV from Nuštar, ARBiH from Zavidovići and Vitez, and CNA activists from Belgrade and Sarajevo were joined on the day of the commemoration by members of

HVIDR<sup>1</sup> of Ravne-Brčko and the RVI ARBiH Organisation from Brčko. There were fifteen of us in all.

Upon our arrival in Laništa, the official commemoration started in front of the memorial. The gathering was addressed by the president of the Families Association, Stjepan Marčetić. In his speech, he mentioned that the commemoration was being attended by veterans from all the armies that participated in the war. He thanked us for coming to honour the victims and emphasised that the presence of soldiers who had been on opposite sides in the war sends a message of hope for peaceful coexistence

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<sup>1</sup> Croat disabled veterans from the Homeland War

between all peoples living in this region.

After the service for the dead, wreaths were laid and candles were lit. The priest, fra Ante Tomas also stressed that peace and fostering good neighbourly relations were a universal value for all people, be they believers or not, and irrespective of their nationality. He addressed our joint group of veterans saying that they had stood by their people during the war and should not feel guilty for having been soldiers, adding that everyone carries individual responsibility for their conduct and their actions. He thanked them for coming to honour the victims in the interest of a better future for all the peoples of the region.

After Laništa, we went to Ulice. A mass for the dead was held in the yard of the chapel, and the prayer by Franciscan monks connected the desire for peace among people with solidarity that makes us better persons and forgiveness that makes all this easier.

A service for the victims was then held in front of the memorial and wreaths were laid. The gathering was addressed by Mira Breškić, a member of the Families Association, who described the events in that area from 23 years ago and called for those responsible for the crime to finally be brought to face justice. She pointed out that keeping the memory of those killed was a duty and responsibility of their community, of current and future generations, adding that building peace was also their responsibility. And in order to fulfil it, we must respect each other.

We remained in Ulice a while longer. People came up to meet us and ask about our work. There can be no greater encouragement and incentive for further peace actions than that of people from local communities with deep wounds from the war understanding what you are doing and encouraging you to continue.

In Brčko, we held a group meeting to share impressions. Given our past experience with commemorations where

they are often used as places for political speeches in which evil is still made into a cliché and where the nation is called upon to unite because 'enemies are still enemies and prepared to do it all over again', this time, we were surprised by how everything went. The way the priests addressed the gathering may have contributed to everything transpiring in a tranquil tone with a different energy from what usually accompanies events such as this one. Also, the way the local community responded to us was spontaneous and natural, we felt welcome.

We agreed that we had grown stronger as a group maintaining a high level of mutual trust and that people accept us as such. One of the ideas was that as such we also affect the events we visit and that organisers of commemorations eliminate content with strong nationalist rhetoric from the programme when faced with the presence of 'others'. One of the participants said that in ten years or so, all our commemorations would look like this, and the rest of us said we certainly hoped so.

We thanked our partners from the Families Association and HVIDR of Ravne-Brčko for taking on the responsibility of inviting us to this event and for being of great help during the organisation of our arrival and stay. Our relationship is a confirmation of mutual trust and respect that we have been fostering and improving for years.

Commemorations to those killed in the war bring back memories of all the suffering war imposes. Meeting the families and friends of the victims at the memorial sites touches your heart and transfers the pain and grief that are then no longer only theirs to bear. It is difficult, but it is part of our present day lives.

The best way to pay our respects to those killed in the war is to build peace.

A.D.

## May the path of peace cross the bridges of pain

*Kruševac/Varvarin, 29-30 May 2015*

Together with war veterans of the Croatian Army, the Army of RBiH, the Army of RS and the Army of Serbia, we visited the Town of Kruševac and the Varvarin Municipality in Serbia. The hosts were activists from the Humanitarian Organisation 'Peacebuilders' from Kruševac who are themselves war veterans. Together with us from CNA, twenty-two former war veterans and current peace and

reconciliation activists in the region found themselves in the same place.

The visit to Kruševac on 29 May was a continuation of CNA's cooperation with 'Peacebuilders' that started in 2013 with the participation of their members at the War Veterans Training. Afterwards, they participated in joint visits of war veterans to sites of killing and

commemorations. At their suggestion, we visited the Town of Kruševac so that the following day, on 30 May, we could attend the commemoration organised by the neighbouring Municipality of Varvarin to honour the civilians killed on the bridge across the Velika Morava River.

On that day in 1999, during the NATO bombing, ten people from this municipality were killed and dozens more were wounded.

During our visit to Kruševac, we were received by the Town Administration where we were welcomed by the Assistant to the Mayor, Nikola Petrović, on behalf of the local self-governance unit. He pointed out that Kruševac was a 'Town of Peace' and that this was both the feeling among its residents and the people representing them. The reception was covered by TV Kruševac<sup>1</sup>. The tour of cultural and historical landmarks began already at the Town Hall. The 'Mosaic Hall' contains 47 mosaics, each depicting a story from the town's tumultuous past filled with wars and uprisings. It is interesting that apart from Serb heroes, the 'enemies' are also depicted in a way that does not question their humanity and dignity. This was an example of 'deconstructing the image of the enemy'. We then visited the museum and monuments.

We arrived in Varvarin before the commemoration, at the invitation of the Municipal Mayor, Zoran Milenković, who welcomed us together with representatives of the local government. In addressing us, he pointed out that to him both as a government representative and personally as a man whose fifteen-year-old daughter was the youngest victim of the bombing of the bridge, this visit by people from all sides of the region was an act of human solidarity bringing hope that better times are ahead when reason would overpower force and friendly relations would be built between people and nations. As he spoke about the events from sixteen years ago, he was chain-smoking. "These people, including my daughter, were guilty only of being on the wrong bridge at the wrong time," he said.

We were soon joined by officers of the Army of Serbia who were visiting the Municipality. They were surprised by our presence and the idea that brought us together, and generally the fact that someone was working on

reconciliation in the region. They expressed their support and thanked us for coming.

At the memorial by the bridge across the Velika Morava River, in the presence of a few hundred citizens and pupils from Vavarin schools, clerics, political and military representatives, the ceremony started with a service for the dead.

The gathering was addressed by the Minister for Defence of the Republic of Serbia, the Mayor and Municipal Council Chairman of Vavarin. In their speeches, they said they would not let those difficult days be forgotten, but that we must think of the present and the future, and build new bridges to bring people together and not divide them. The ceremony to mark this event also carried the message that something like this should never happen to anyone else again.

The Municipal Mayor also mentioned the war crimes charges against Germany, as a NATO member participating in the attacks against Yugoslavia of that time, filed by families of the victims and citizens of Vavarin before the German judiciary, which were rejected. He said that they would not give up and that some non-governmental organisations from Germany had offered their assistance in seeking out legal mechanisms to find those responsible for the attack and bring them to justice so that the families and friends of the victims could receive at least partial satisfaction.

As a symbol of memory, a pupil from the Vavarin Gymnasium threw a wreath into the Velika Morava River, after which the delegations, including our own, were invited to lay their wreaths and pay their respects to the victims.

After the commemoration, we shared our impressions within the group. Attending this event left a deep emotional mark on us. As one of the participants, an HVO war veteran, said, "as difficult as the commemoration today was, I found solace in the fact that at least me or my side were not directly responsible, that kind of pressure is always present in Bosnia when we visit others."

Encouraged by the fact that the people we meet during these visits understand our mission and recognise it as necessary in our societies, we are determined to persevere.

A.D.

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1 For more see: <http://www.rtk.rs/?p=65533>



## Veterans Meeting

*Konjic and Jahorina 22-25 July 2015*

Thinking that we needed to bring together the group of war-veterans from the region with whom we cooperate in peacebuilding and dealing with the past, in order to exchange experience about our past activities and plan next steps, we decided to augment the working part of the meeting with more socialising and recreational activities. We also wanted an environment that would allow us an escape from the workshop part of the meeting dealing with the difficult wartime past into a sphere of relaxation and empowerment for new endeavours. We wanted a place that offered a pleasant stay, but also had an important role in the historical context of the region. We settled on Konjic.

We gathered in this town on 22 July, at the *Garden City* hotel so that we could start working the next day. Our intention had been to form a larger group, but due to many cancellations, there was a total of us twenty - peace activists and war veterans from Serbia, Croatia and BiH. We divided the schedule of the war veterans meeting

into the morning working part and the afternoon that included visiting local sites important in the context of dealing with the past and informal socialising at nearby recreational sites.

During the morning of the first day, we reviewed our joint actions and activities organised by war veterans in cooperation with CNA in the past year. We discussed how the presence of a mixed group of veterans was seen when we would attend official events, commemorations, when we would come to sites of suffering and memory, who supported us and how, but also what problems and difficulties we faced. We also talked about how media coverage of our activities and TV appearances by the veterans contributed to our peace work being recognised, how they affected us and our communities. We concluded that each event enriched us, that we learned many new things and that all these experiences will be useful in the future, because we have been inspired to continue with our actions.

Moving on, the war veterans presented their work in peacebuilding and activities within other peace initiatives, citing examples of dialogue between war veterans and young people in schools in Republika Srpska, multi-ethnic dialogue involving administrative and education staff in municipalities from the Federation of BiH and Republika Srpska.

Discussing current political events and their impact on out and our environment, we started with a brief overview of the events in the past few months. We focused in particular on conflicts around the marking of twenty years since the genocide in Srebrenica and the commemoration of victims of Operation Storm, as well as other events that have led to an atmosphere of constant tensions, mutual accusations and threats. Within such a context of fear, hurt and insecurity about the appropriate way to remember the war, the gathered group confirmed its determination in peacebuilding to recognise and respect all victims of war, condemn all crimes and insist that all perpetrators of war crimes should be prosecuted and convicted.

In the afternoons of our stay in Konjic, we visited the barracks in Čelebići which in 1992 was the site of a detention camp administrated by the Army of BiH and the municipal authorities for captured Serb civilians and soldiers. Reading parts of the judgements for war crimes, we learned about the horrific scenarios that played out in this camp, where the conditions themselves constituted a crime, not to mention the torture, killings and the most atrocious slaughter. We went there on a rainy, relatively cool summer day, but still it was difficult to breathe in the 'hangar'. To imagine what it must have been like under a scorching sun, while a few hundred people are crowded inside brings to mind images of hell. Horrific, perhaps even unimaginable. The site of the detention cam is still unmarked, though there are initiatives to mark it. We hope the powers that be will one day run out of excuses for not doing so.

After seeing the detention camp, we set off to Jahorina<sup>1</sup>, where on 24 July, we continued our work.

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1 During the morning workshop we had made a joint decision to leave the Garden City Hotel in Konjic. We did so due to the very unprofessional conduct of the staff and owner of the hotel with respect to our arrangement, but also towards us as guests

In the meantime, we were joined by Edin Ramulić from the Izvor Association of Prijedor Women, himself also a war veteran. Edin introduced us to the concept of memorialisation in Prijedor and the activities his organisation has been involved in, after which we discussed the possibilities for organising peace actions in this town where our group could participate. These questions remain open, but the proposals included the possibility of a joint visit by war veterans and organising a public discussion with war veterans.

The rest of the workshop was devoted to discussing ideas and plans for future joint actions, where we focused on the need to expand our existing activities of visiting sites of suffering and attending official commemorations to areas where we have not been present to date. The war veterans expressed a high degree of motivation and readiness to engage independently in establishing contacts that would make this expansion possible. At the same time, we also focused on strengthening and improving existing cooperation with veterans organisations in places where we had not been active to date.

We also considered ideas for projects that would bring together war veterans and CNA activists to present our cooperation to the public, which was a need and wish expressed by the group. One such idea was the development of a virtual joint memorial with stories and photographs of war veterans that would contain original testimony from war veterans that subsequently became peacebuilders.

This meeting resulted in a lot of exchanges of opinions and productive dialogue. The war veterans inspired each other and demonstrated a high degree of motivation for working on peacebuilding, which contributed to an empowering atmosphere and encouraged us to take next steps.

We spent the afternoon walking on the mountain paths of Jahorina, known from time immemorial as a 'beauty among mountains' and spent the rest of the day in pleasant informal socialising.

A.D.



## War-veterans' offered hands

*published in: Bulletin for Self-education and Social Issues, "Danas" 27 May 2015*

*The first insights came from school; that we live in a State made up of six republics and two provinces, that it is inhabited by nations and nationalities. Then through the volunteering actions, we were comrades in work brigades; and we built the country. Serving the army, we became fellow soldiers, preparing to defend our country should it come under attack... And then, overnight, we became enemies shooting at each other, destroying what we had built.*

A lot of time had passed since all that before some people got the idea of meeting again: comrades from work brigades, fellow soldiers from the army and ... veterans who had at one point been enemies, shooting at each other.

They say communication is possible with just five hundred words, but even if it takes a couple of thousand, there are just two words without which communication

is impossible, two words that are the hardest to say: FORGIVE ME. For the first time, after some ten years or so, we had an opportunity to meet, in Grožnjan, under the patronage of CNA (Centre for Nonviolent Action): us volunteer comrades, fellow soldiers, and ultimately enemies. It was a meeting to remember. All the participants in the workshop will probably remember when one veteran mentioned where he had been fighting only to have a veteran from the opposing side say, "Wait, wait..." and start describing the site of battle in detail, ultimately leading to the discovery that they had been at the same place, only on opposing sides... The story unravelled further during the break in the seminar, over a glass of Istrian red wine.

Our next opportunity to meet took place in Bulgaria, on the Black Sea coast. The Centre for War Trauma organised this meeting. Of course, it could not pass without further developments. One evening after the



session was over for the day, Croatian and Serbian veterans found themselves together at a local bar. After a few drinks, they started requesting songs to be dedicated either to Croatian or Serbian veterans. The bar fell silent after the dedications were announced. After a while, men of familiar iconography came to the bar. The air was cleared after it was explained that these were veterans, there to attend a seminar, and not to interfere in local affairs.

Our next meetings took place at a seminar organised by CNA in Brčko and on Mount Jahorina. It will remain in memory thanks to the bartender who was dumbstruck that this was the only seminar in his work experience that was attended exclusively by men. But the most powerful impression from all the seminars would probably be the arrival to Mount Jahorina. Everyone arrived in their own cars. On the incline just before the tourist centre on Mount Jahorina, the car of one of the veterans stalled and would not start again. As others arrived, seeing the car by the road, they would stop and offer to help... Afterwards, over our first coffee at the hotel, the first question regarding the recent events on the incline was: What would that encounter have been like some ten years ago?!

After attending all these seminars, a collective idea was born to organise joint visits to memorial sites on all three sides. We started off with certain reservations. But, thanks to the good preparation by the organisers at CNA, the results were better than expected. One such visit took

place in Velika Kladuša, where members of the same group had fought each other. We laid flowers at the memorials of both sides together. The most touching moment took place over lunch where once good neighbours who later fought on opposing sides spoke to each other for the first time since the conflict. There were a few hard tears in the eyes of these hard men, the hardest tears of all.

The above mentioned encounters of veterans, but even more so those that are not mentioned, are the stuff of novels. Thousands of words could be written about how the veterans set an example that there is a way forward, after everything they had been through, a way to respect differences. But could this novel do what was most important? To move forward, you need to utter that most difficult of phrases FORGIVE ME, or extend your hand to say it without words. All the encounters I mentioned went by without much pomp, more or less unnoticed by the media, except locally, even though all these events were backed up by honesty and a great desire to make sure that what the veterans had suffered would never be inflicted on anyone else ever again. Another meeting of veterans from all three sides will be held on 29 and 30 May in Kruševac. The main event is to take place on 30 May on Velika Morava by Varvarin where flowers will be laid to pay respects to victims tragically killed during the NATO bombing of the bridge. Everyone is welcome to attend. The author is a veteran and participant in meetings of veterans from different sides.

Ljudevit Kolar



publications

## Announcements

### \* Biber – short story competition on the topic of reconciliation

At the beginning of March this year, we organised for the first time a regional short story competition – Biber.

The topic for the competition was reconciliation in the context of the legacy of wars and violence in the countries of former Yugoslavia, especially since 1991. The competition was open to writers writing in Albanian, Macedonian, Bosnian, Montenegrin, Croatian and Serbian. The competition was closed by 6 September 2015. We received over 300 stories.

The authors of the three best short stories will also receive a monetary prize.

The Jury made up of Doruntina Basha, Faruk Šehić and Bojan Krivokapić will announce the winners by the end of January 2016. In addition, the twenty best short stories will be published in a multilingual collection that we expect to put out by spring 2016. We also have plans to promote the short story collection during spring and summer 2016.

The idea for Biber originated during the Training for Trainers we conducted in 2014. The team putting this idea into practice consists of participants in that programme and part of the CNA team.

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#### *About the Topic*

*Reconciliation is not a popular word, because it is usually associated with the concept of forgiveness or with the idea that all should be forgotten and we should turn to the future. We are deeply convinced that it is impossible to forget the horrors of loss, suffering and injustice that people went through.*

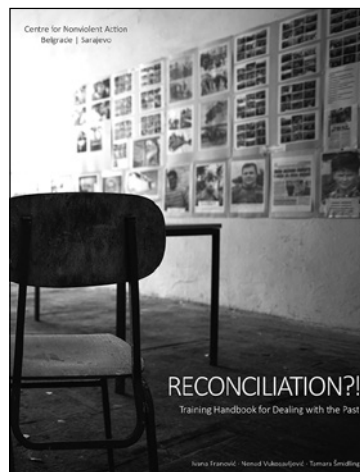
*However, if we take forgiveness to mean giving up hatred, looking for ways to achieve justice, but without causing injustice to others, a chance to build a more confident, safer and freer future for all, then we believe this is something we all desperately need. We, therefore, invite writers to think about reconciliation in new and creative ways and to inspire us with stories that overcome the existing prejudices and entrenched animosities, with stories that push the limits. And to perhaps provide the necessary incentive for our societies.*

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### \* Handbook “Reconciliation?” in Russian

By the end of the year, we should be publishing the Russian version of our training handbook “Reconciliation?” The idea for this translation came from our colleagues from Conciliation Resources and their partners from the Caucasus region.

The BCSM versions are still available on our website.





## \* Culture of Remembrance and Reconciliation: Monuments in BiH

At the beginning of 2016, we will be publishing a publication on monuments and memorials of the 1992-95 war in Bosnia and Herzegovina. This study aims to document sites of suffering and sites of memory and offer an analysis of the culture of memory from the point of view of peacebuilding, starting from issues such as the impact of the current culture of memory on the process of peacebuilding and reconciliation.

The study covers more than 80 monuments, memorials and unmarked sites of suffering throughout Bosnia and Herzegovina. A fact sheet was drawn up for each monument and memorial containing the data gathered on that particular monument or memorial: official name, location, year of construction, text of inscription, for

whom it was built, who built it, who designed it, etc.

The publication will contain photographs of 20-30 monuments and memorials covered by the study.

This publication was meant to be published last year, but we encountered a series of difficulties in collecting data on the monuments and memorials.

We would like to use this opportunity to thank Diakonie Austria for their financial and moral support to putting this idea into practice, for their understanding and extending the deadline, and for believing in us.

All the material will be available through a dedicated website, and we also plan a series of exhibitions that you will be informed about in due course.

## \* Shadows and Traces: Ethnic Germans from the Danube Region in Serbia and Yugoslavia

A publication dedicated to the suffering of ethnic Germans from the Podunavlje region of Vojvodina following World War II will be published by the end of the year. Even today, seventy years later, their suffering (except in some narrow academic circles and/or as part of sporadic initiatives) is not only scarcely known about, but is most often not even mentioned. Using diverse source materials (historical studies and scientific research, memoirs and literary works, archival material, media content – newspaper articles and analyses, reports, documentary films, etc.) and interviews with survivors, witnesses or those for whom this suffering is part of their family history, as well as interviews with people who had dealt with this topic in various ways, we would like to give an overview of their presence, life and disappearance from this region. We also want to open this issue in the public

arena, why has the suffering of people that were killed, died in camps or were expelled just because they were ethnic Germans (from Podunavlje) after 1945 not been included within the domestic (Yugoslav, and then Serbian) culture of memory and why is it important to deal with this topic today. The inspiration for this research was not just the issue of how “grand historical narratives” affect individual human fates, but also to look into the capability of communities to deal with injustices in the past and/or present that were committed or are being committed in the name of the community. This capability is reflected in collective memory, in what will be remembered, how it will be remembered and also in what will be forgotten. At its core is the answer to the question of which values the society we live in is based on, and which values we would want it to be founded on.



activities we joined

# Regional Conference: Inter-ethnic Conflicts in the Former Yugoslavia and the Role of Restorative Justice: Experiences and Challenges

*Victimology Society of Serbia  
Belgrade, 30 October 2014*

On 30 October 2014, the Victimology Society of Serbia organised the conference Inter-ethnic Conflicts in the Former Yugoslavia and the Role of Restorative Justice: Experiences and Challenges. The aim of the conference was to have participants exchange experience about past activities and research on inter-ethnic conflicts in the countries of the region, and the role of restorative justice in relation to inter-ethnic conflicts. The participants were mostly from civil society organisations from Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Kosovo that deal with inter-ethnic conflict, truth and reconciliation, and non-violent conflict resolution (including veterans organisations and

victims associations).

The conference featured a presentation of results from a study conducted by the Victimology Society of Serbia “Conflicts, Security and Justice in the Inter-Cultural Context of Serbia” in 2013 in three multiethnic communities situated along Serbia’s border: Bač and Bačka Palanka, Medveđa and Prijepolje. The discussions focused on the obstacles and opportunities for dialogue and building trust between communities in the region, and on exchanging information about the activities of the various civil society organisations.

M.S.

## I’m gonna lay down my sword by the Wailing Wall

*Israel/Palestine  
14-18 December 2014*

I’ve heard of the saying from monotheistic traditions: “Whoever rules Jerusalem shall rule the world.” I don’t know if it’s authentic or has been spawned as support to various colonial concepts, but it is certainly illustrative of the significance of that area as a painful spot in the world where there is no lasting peace, and almost no hope of it. They say it was often full of former and present soldiers, sometimes with swords, sometimes with guns. Some call it Palestine, some Israel, some the Holy Land.

When we received the invitation to a peace conference in Israel and my colleagues suggested I should go, at first I had my reservations. As much because of prejudice about the regime in Israel as the political tensions that had erupted once again at the time in a series of lesser incidents happening in Jerusalem and other parts of occupied Palestine.

On the other hand, for me, as a peace activist, it was a challenge to see first-hand the scene of the calamity that has caused such contention and is still a stumbling block and place without peace, where peace agreements have been easily disintegrating for more than sixty years.

For me, as a Muslim, visiting the Holy Land was also

important as a spiritual experience and an opportunity to see the places that symbolise, for the monotheistic worldview, a kind of contact between the Heavens and the Earth.

The invitation to the conference titled “A hole in a brick wall” from the wonderful women of the *Coalition of Women for Peace* from Tel Aviv also included a suggestion that I prepare a presentation of CNA’s work with veterans in the Balkans. This gave me more incentive to attend, seeing that I would be able to present our dilemmas and successes so that we could compare our challenges and lessons from peace activism.

With the wholehearted support of friends from the CWP, preparations for the trip went rather smoothly. Even getting a visa for Israel was simpler than expected. In fact, the only significant problem I had with the Israeli authorities was the six-hour processing at the airport to enter the country. Of that, four hours of waiting with a few other “suspicious” types and another two hours of questioning in an office. The young security officer had a host of what I thought were stupid questions about my private life in Sarajevo, Islam, the war in BiH, working

on reconciliation, the political situation in Israel, non-violence... The first hour was even interesting, because I had been advised by friends and my hosts what to expect. After that, it became quite uncomfortable (especially for someone with experience of wartime violence and possible post-war syndrome). At the end, he let me enter the country showing me the peace sign with two raised fingers. My response was not entirely admirable. The team from *Coalition of Women for Peace* had to wait for us at the airport until 3 am. Almost the whole time, I was with another participant at the conference, a woman arriving from Boston, but originally from Afghanistan.

The conference was being held in Jaffa, a suburb of Tel Aviv with a Palestinian majority, while our accommodation was in eastern Jerusalem, about an hour's drive away. Among other things, this gave me an opportunity to meet Palestinian taxi drivers and hear their interesting stories, to take the highway that you can only access if you have Israeli documents and registration plates, and to see first-hand the infamous checkpoints with long barrels and a transporter here and there. The highway running through Palestinian territory is more like a corridor and completely cuts off the areas on the two sides populated by Palestinians. Those on the other side of the highway can cross it only through a checkpoint. But even that, compared to what can be seen in other occupied areas of Palestine, seems like a minor bureaucratic obstacle.

The conference was organised at a very inspiring and pleasant venue, the Lagaat Centre in Jaffa, known for socially engaged plays, film screenings, various promotions, workshops, etc. The themes and the guests at the conference were very engaging. I had an opportunity to hear from and meet people of different profiles: reporters, feminist, LGBT and anti-occupation activists. I heard about examples of nonviolent resistance and activism from different parts of the world (Spain, USA), examples from Israel and Palestine about activism through culture, about feminism as a fundamentally nonviolent principle, etc.

In the words of the organisers, some activists from Palestine justifiably boycott events such as these organised in Israeli areas due to the degrading and discriminatory controls. Some of them would not be allowed to enter territories under Israeli control. In general, there was an atmosphere of caution and timidity. As I was told, there had been threats from radicals and the conference had been labelled as pro-terrorist. However, while I was there, I did not see any problems or open opponents or critics of the conference, although it was attended by over

100 people. It could even be described as a gathering of people with similar views trying to find an alternative to the current state of affairs.

I gained a valuable insight through the panel on media in Israel where we heard from local reporters from various independent media outlets. As far as I gathered, there is a certain degree of media freedom, but there is also auto-censorship and sporadic biased reporting that is not the result of outside pressure, but the views of the reporter. Some independent media reported relatively objectively on the recent war in Gaza, but there was also an element of selectiveness, which according to some presenters relates to both racism and entrenched political views. Another issue that was brought up was the problem of corporate influence on the objectivity of media that have increasingly been avoiding taboo topics and serious social criticism due to the commercial factor. Still, generally speaking, and probably due to my prejudice about Israel, I was surprised by the degree of freedom of the media, given the overall demeanour of the Israeli regime as quite racist and aggressive. However, this is often the case with views and simplifications based on presumptions. It seems we still live in a time of transparent cruelty that, either often has no need to hide, or sometimes even manages to convince the mainstream of society that things are exactly as they should be. I guess that's how wars get started, when a small group in a society manages to impose a narrative about the necessity to use armed forces and gains mass support for violence.

Following my presentation on the peacebuilding work of CNA with veterans in our region at one of the panels, unfortunately, the organiser had not planned for questions from the audience. So I couldn't tell whether people liked what I said or not. But based on some conversations after the panel, individuals had said that what we were doing was important and that they also had similar organisations that bring together veterans from both sides. I think it's important to mention that in Israel and Palestine, the peace process and dealing with the past takes place at some levels, but it is weighed down by the fact of low-intensity war being constant and conflicts and violence seemingly never-ending. With frequent escalations, like in Gaza in the summer of 2014, or the so-called legitimate occupation of Palestine by the Israeli army, which, as I found out, is mostly taken as such within Israel.

All in all, the conference indicated a series of smaller or larger activities "planting gardens" of peace despite the "weeds" of hatred, violence and war. Globally, we are left



to exchange the “seeds” and “gardening skills”, to serve as examples to each other and to testify that peacebuilding is the surest way to Justice.

I should mention that my impressions from the conference, and my whole stay in Israel, reminded me how important it is to bear in mind the complexity of every context where wars are waged. As I am myself aware of my prejudice against Israel as the “bad guy” of the Middle East, it’s important to also understand this society surrounded by countries that are more or less openly hostile to it. And not just because of the occupation of Palestine, but also because of the anti-Judaism we must be aware of. It is important to be critical towards the Israeli regime, but it is also important not to let individuals or groups call for violence and destruction. We all need freedom and peace I have met a lot of good people in Israel that have been working dedicatedly for years on peacebuilding, but that would be judged by people in the neighbourhood simply on account of their origin or nationality.

I dedicated two days of my visit to meetings with Israeli veteran associations and sight-seeing in the Holy Land.

Thanks to the support of the team from *Coalition of Women for Peace*, I managed to set up meetings with Israeli veterans organisations beforehand. I thus had an opportunity to meet with the *Combatants for Peace* and *Breaking the Silence*.

At the conference, I met a pleasant and gentle man, a veteran of the Israeli army and an activist of *Combatants for Peace* that I spent the most time with. We talked about the situations in our countries, the similarities and difference, our wartime experiences, the role of veterans in the reconciliation process. He explained how they cooperate only with people from Fatah and that with Hamas cooperation is impossible.

He also introduced me to some, for me surprising, facts about Tel Aviv as a very secular environment without conspicuous religious symbols as opposed to other places in Israel, something I had a chance to see for myself. In fact, the city itself is not much different from many European cities. You get the feeling you’re in a Mediterranean Berlin.

We also had a more formal meeting with two female veterans (which is not unusual in the Israeli context, because women are also subject to compulsory military service). It was important for me to hear the details about the organisation that set up successful cooperation

between veterans of IDF<sup>1</sup> and Fatah. We talked about approaches and ideas we were working on, and they gave me more details about their activities on joint commemorations for killed Palestinians and Israelis. These commemorations are attended by veterans from both sides. When I asked to what extent such actions reach the public and how much support they get, they replied that the gatherings are reported at the level of the city and a few other media outlets, but that most are opposed to their activities or ignore them. However, just like in our region, this commendable approach is certainly the best way to change the attitude both towards the past and towards the enemy.

We also talked about how it would be good and interesting to meet again somehow and try to establish cooperation between war veterans from Palestine and Israel and our veterans in the region. They invited us to attend their commemoration this year or next year and to keep in touch to explore further possibilities for new meetings. In the meantime, we were invited to organise Skype conversations with local veterans on the occasion of their *Israeli Palestinian Memorial Day Ceremony*<sup>2</sup>.

I had heard of *Breaking the Silence* much earlier, because of their important work on collecting testimonies from Israeli soldiers about the brutality of the occupation. Many years ago, I watched their video materials that impressed me and gave me hope (along with the genius animated film *Waltz with Bashir*) that there were many people in Israel with a lot of knowledge and experience, doing great things, and that much can be learned from them about peace activism. Because of the important work they are doing, it was a great pleasure to meet them and talk to them. Given our experience in CNA, we had a lot to say to each other and a lot to exchange.

I also met with the director of their public outreach department who talked without much mystification about his own ethical motivation and experience of participating in the occupation, and about what inspired him to join *BtS*. He told me about how they get people to testify, how many people were involved in their activities, how they lobby against the occupation at the political level. There are indications of increasing number of deserters and conscientious objectors in Israel, and the figures are not negligible. This is probably why there is such pressure on them from the authorities and radical

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1 Israel Defence Forces

2 This organisation also works on other important activities. For more information, see their website: <http://cfpeace.org/>

groups, because they are probably one of the important factors driving this change. Their offices, however, are without symbols, in a humble flat in the suburbs, and without setting up a meeting, they are not easy to find. They do an interesting activity with different groups and individuals - visiting occupied areas of the West Bank with appropriate explanations of the situation there and the important sites. And this without relativizing the brutality of the occupation, and with many details explained.

I was happy to be invited to visit Hebron and gladly accepted. We spent the afternoon together, looking at the various phenomena of occupied territories in the West Bank. From the inevitable checkpoints (that as Israelis we passed with a wave), the huge wall that is still under construction, the road for Israelis, but not Palestinians, and Hebron itself as a symbol of the occupation. Hebron is no stranger to violent conflict, Palestinian houses have barred windows, and there are corridors for getting around the city. Walking into a mosque in Hebron has the kind of security meant for army barracks. There are dozens of horrible details in Hebron, and it was all patiently explained to me by my host who had been to these places as a soldier himself a few years ago. Generally speaking, the concept of settler areas is a particular type of insidious occupation where newly built housing is populated by Israeli settlers and their families, always under IDF protection. In that way, Hebron was gradually almost completely ethnically cleansed.

For someone who has been through a war, all of this was quite a lot to take in. Not because it reminded me of my own experiences, but because of the morbid creativity in implementing violence. Of course, you won't find an official army document on these methods. This is implemented informally, but very efficiently.

After everything, it didn't bother me that when we were stopped by one of the many Israeli soldiers, I was introduced as a man from Serbia. I understood right away, and I didn't care. There was no sense in having him suspect me of being a Muslim, so this was more practical. There comes a time when identities don't matter. This reminded me of a saying by Rumi: "Not Christian or Jew or Muslim... I have seen the two worlds as one."

I saw the Israeli veteran, one of the founders of *Breaking the Silence* sitting in front of a mosque in Hebron, having coffee with Palestinians. I almost cried and hugged him.

The last afternoon and evening I spent in Jerusalem. I prayed for a long time at the Al-Aqsa Mosque. It is situated right above the Wailing Wall. Even the wailing was calming. A child approached and sat next to me. And Mother Mary was not far from that place.

And I remembered an ayah from the Qur'an: "Those who believe, and have not confounded their belief with evildoing – to them belongs the true security; they are rightly guided." (6:82)

Adnan Hasanbegović

## In-depth Training for Peace Education

*Bitola, 14 - 19 January 2015*

At the invitation of our friends from the First Children's Embassy Megjashi in Skopje, we joined the training team for the In-depth Training of the Peace Education Programme intended for teachers in Macedonia. Since we have cooperated and had joint training with the people from "Međaši", we were glad to be part of this initiative to support regional peace activities and exchange of trainers, and to participate in developing their peacebuilding trainings.

The training team comprised Albulena Karaga and Ana Bitoljanu from "Međaši", Blerim Jashari from "Loja", Tetovo, and Adnan Hasanbegović from CNA.

For years, "Međaši" have been organising training for teachers from different parts of Macedonia, inviting

participants of Macedonian and Albanian nationality.

Namely, the education system in Macedonia is organised around an ethno-national principle, so peace education programmes and peacebuilding training are imperative for decreasing the harmful consequences of this system on young people, and indirectly diminishing the consequences of the general lack of capacity in Macedonian society to deal with frequent inter-ethnic conflicts and tensions.

The group, made up of dedicated educators concerned for the state of society, responded quite well to the proposed topics and exercises, they were visibly motivated.

The training was attended by 16 secondary school

teachers from Veles, Skopje, Gostivar and Debar, involved in the Peace Education Programme that Međaši have been implementing in the past few years in cooperation with educational institutions. All the participants had undergone basic training in peace education, and some of them had also attended the two-day workshop facilitation training.

The training outline focused on three segments: capacity building in dealing with conflicts, peacebuilding, and dealing with the past. As usual, the topics and exercises related to teamwork and understanding conflict were well received and related back to experiences from basic training. With some minor difficulties, there was room to explore one's own mechanisms and mutual confrontation. When it came to introducing and facilitating workshops on dealing with the past and reconciliation, more participation and observation was needed from the training team in the discussions themselves, and to provide clarification and guidance. It is interesting that a large part of the group had never heard of terms such as "dealing with the past" and "transitional justice", which indicates that these topics are not talked about in Macedonia. For someone coming from BiH, this was very unusual, given the impression that little else is discussed back home apart from the war and the past. Unfortunately, this does not mean it is done constructively.

Political correctness is prominent in Macedonia, in the sense that war and national conflicts are practically never discussed. For example, when doing exercises on national narratives and taboos, statements were made to the effect of: "We don't need that, it poisons children." However, children will hear prejudice-tainted stories about other nationalities and wars anyway, whether at home or in the street, if not even at school. That is why it was important to point out that a constructive approach to the past can be used to confront its (ab)use for mobilisation and national divisiveness.

In that context, I thought it was a good decision to screen "Not a Bird to Be Heard", a documentary produced by CNA, at the workshop. The film uses simulated

dialogue to show the thoughts, emotions and dilemmas of Bosniaks and Croats following the war in BiH. Focusing on the Bosnian context relaxed the group and encouraged them to understand the reasoning behind the process of reconciliation and dealing with the past in Macedonia as well.

An important detail of this training was the presence of a representative of the Muslim-Macedonian ethnic group which is quite exposed to discrimination from one side and attempts at assimilation from the other side of the majority community. It was important that this groups could make room to discuss how this minority community is being denied its right to identity, language and religion, and to additionally point out the nationalist tendencies present in Macedonian society that often lead to an acceptance of "cohabitation" of Albanian and Macedonian nationalisms.

The training was rounded off by workshops on planning peacebuilding activities to be implemented by training participants in cooperation with the team from "Međaši". It was shown that this type of cooperation with participants from previous trainings works well. The participants are motivated for such activities, with the dilemmas and reservations that always exist.

It seems that the participants were empowered by this training to work in demanding areas, such as raising awareness about inter-ethnic conflicts from the past and the present nationalism, also in the education system.

It would be important to continue the practice of regional exchange of trainers because, apart from comparisons of contexts between countries in the region being useful for better understanding the problems in each society, this concept also develops cross-border cooperation and enables better insight into peace actions in the region, which is very important for the peacebuilding process in the Balkans.

We were glad to find out that we have allies in Macedonia who are deeply and genuinely dedicated to peace action and it was a pleasure and an inspiration to be on the same team with them.

Adnan Hasanbegović

# Training with Guests from Ukraine

*Sarajevo, 20 - 21 January 2015*

A group of ten activists, reporters, representatives of humanitarian organisations and state institutions from Ukraine had an opportunity to get to know the experience of civil society, the media and other stakeholders in peacebuilding and conflict transformation in BiH. We were involved in the preparations and implementation of a two-day training on understanding conflict organised under the auspices of the Peace Academy Foundation. The training was provided for the group from Ukraine during their seven-day visit to BiH. The training team was made up of Randy Puljek-Shank from MA and Adnan Hasanbegović from CNA.

The aim of the training and the entire visit was to raise awareness and understanding of the mechanisms and causes of conflict, violence reduction and changing the perception of the other as an enemy as an incentive for peace.

A brutal escalation of violence had just gripped Ukraine in that period as war broke out in the east with no foreseeable end to the conflict. This, of course, affected the participants, who were all very worried and anxious. The fact that they had come to Sarajevo urged me to work on this training in an attempt to encourage and support them in their efforts to see peacebuilding as a hope and possibility for their country.

Our key dilemma was how to conduct workshops about non-violent conflict resolution and peacebuilding with participants from a country beset by full-fledged war. However, even though they were worried about the situation back home, they were also interested in the training, and already during the introductory part talked about wanting to hear and understand our experiences from BiH and learn more about actions for peace.

In a way, I was touched by that wish and their evident commitment. Even during experiential exercises on conflict, they accepted the designated roles without visible reservation and honestly exchanged insights and opinions. The analyses and presentations on models of different types of conflict and their transformation were also useful, because there were quite a few questions and dilemmas, often directly related to the ongoing conflict in Ukraine.

This came to the forefront when we were presenting the political context in BiH where we quickly decided to

make room for a discussion of the situation in Ukraine, since this was something the participants naturally referred to. There were statements such as: "Some sort of Dayton agreement would not be good for us, because you see, you have been struggling with it for twenty years," and "there is no negotiation with terrorists". There were occasional confrontations in the group about the situation in Ukraine, with similar dynamics to many of our local discussions on the aggressor and the victim, who started it, and who are the righteous, etc. Such times were particularly troubling for me, because I saw good ordinary people start, probably unconsciously, to advocate for war.

But the discussion was useful because it made room for indicating some essential questions such as: if you are in favour of military victory, what does peacebuilding mean to you?

When later in the training we worked on peacebuilding, we had the opportunity for calmer debate about, among other things, what the participants themselves, from their social positions of reporters, politicians and humanitarian workers, could do to bring down the tensions and help the peace process in Ukraine. It was important to hear that they believed in peace and saw a way out, even though justice and truth were hidden behind the noise of tanks and rocket launchers. Anxiety and hope remain, and a host of dramatic issues for their lives.

I had an opportunity to meet a reporter from Kiev who talked about her own dilemmas in reporting about war: how do you stay objective when the information is disturbing and the interpretation of events puts you on one side of the conflict? I also met a humanitarian worker who lives in Luhansk and who had seen enough drama working with refugees to last her more than one lifetime. An officer of the Ukrainian army who had been wounded in combat and is currently running an organisation of war veterans whose number are increasing...

The instantaneous empathy I felt, recognising my own experiences in their stories, helped me understand them, but also reminded me of the profound uncertainty and fear people are subject to in such situations. Although most spoke only Ukrainian and Russian, we could understand each other, sometimes even without translation.

"It's better to negotiate for 100 years than wage war

for 1 day,” said one of the participants in an interview for the local media. He said this was what he had learned in the training.

At the end, they said the training was useful and

important and empowering. This was also my impression, despite everything that remained unsaid during the training, and even the few things that were silenced.

A.H.

## Memory Practitioners and Researchers Exchange

*Brussels, 18 - 19 May 2015*

On 18 and 19 May 2015, in Brussels, the Belgian organisation RCN Justice & Démocratie held an exchange seminar with different stakeholders working on memory and dealing with the past. The title of the seminar was “How do we deal with the competition, confrontation and confusion of memories?”. We were invited to present our work with veterans. A number of other organisations also presented their activities: Documenta from Zagreb, Healing through remembering from Northern Ireland, Sustainable Democracy Centre from Lebanon, MemoriaLAB from the Basque Country/Spain and Music Action International from the UK. There were some 30-35 participants from a number of European countries, mostly from Belgium.

We discussed ways of addressing conflicting memories, about how memory activities can contribute to dialogue and peacebuilding, and about who, why and when should initiate memory activities, i.e. when is it too early, and when is it too late to start working on official interpretations of the past, why, or for whom do we work when we are dealing with the past, who do we not manage to reach, what about those whose voices are not heard, how to deal with trauma, and many other issues. The seminar was short given the number of topics. Still, meetings such as this one are very valuable, because opportunities for exchange with people who work in the same field, but in different contexts are quite rare.

I. F.

## Lecture and Discussion at the Austrian Study Centre for Peace and Conflict Resolution

*Stadtschlaining, 8 July 2015*

At the invitation of the Austrian Study Centre for Peace and Conflict Resolution from Stadtschlaining, on 8 July 2015, I attended the International Summer Academy on “Civil Society and Conflicts” where I gave a lecture about the relationship of local peacebuilding stakeholders and external stakeholders intervening with the objective of building peace (without the use of force).

At the wonderful venue of Medieval castle where the Academy was held, before some 200 participants, I spoke about the experience gained in the twenty-year period since the end of the war until today. Because of the large number of questions, the time planned for my lecture was slightly extended, and in the evening, I spent about two hours with the Director of the Study Centre, Blanka

Bellak, answering her questions and questions from the audience about my path as a peacebuilder. Of the 200 participants at the Academy, which has held in German, many were young people interested in participating in humanitarian missions and peacebuilding throughout the world, while the other larger group were experienced practitioners and researchers of the Austrian and German peace scene.

For CNA, this invitation was an honour and an acknowledgement of our work, and the reactions to the story of what we do for reconciliation are a welcome and binding incentive to persevere.

N.V.



political and social contexts  
in which we work

# Yugoslavia, 20 Years Older, Still Dead

A little more than 20 years ago, I decided to dedicate myself to peacebuilding in my former homeland of Yugoslavia. Twenty years ago, the very word “Yugoslavia” was almost universally despised in most parts of this former country. Today, it has found its place in history and is no longer perceived as a threat by most people.

If at that time, when I started working on peacebuilding, someone had offered me the current situation as the peace that would come after 20 years of work, I think I would have respectfully declined. This does not mean that I am sorry for choosing the path that I have taken, because at the time I thought the goal before us was more or less clear: freedom, peace, trust, respect. The situation we are currently living reminds me in many ways of the hurt felt because of the general injustice perpetrated against masses of people at the time of the ending of the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia, and on the eve of the outbreak of war in Kosovo (because that war had actually begun much earlier and only escalated in 1998 and finally broke out in 1999). There is a lot more freedom and less fear from direct violence, but it seems to me that by winning freedoms and reducing fears, the vacuum they left was filled with hypocrisy and a refined, concealed form of racism and hatred.

When in 2000, we did a pilot training in English that brought together, in addition to the countries of ex-Yugoslavia, people from Albania, Greece, Bulgaria, Romania and Hungary, we were somewhat taken aback by the depth of prejudice and historical interpretations we heard from our neighbours (non-ex-YU). I admit, we also saw a silver lining, namely, that despite the war, we did not come out as the worst. It seemed to me that the experience of coexistence from the past, even despite the subsequent war, equipped us with sufficient understanding of others to build a future, to build peace. The river of people from Syria and Afghanistan that started flowing through the Balkans in the past few months made me think of that experience from 2000 more than once. I kept wondering why these people did not go from Turkey through Bulgaria, which was a shorter journey? Testimony of refugees who did take that journey speak of their inhuman treatment by authorities of this EU member state (since 2007). At the training back in 2000, when asked about the exodus of hundreds of thousands of Bulgarian Turks, a participant, a historian, said they chose to leave. At the time, behind the iron curtain, no one called it ethnic cleansing. The vilification

of the Hungarian minority in Romania and a similar approach vice versa completed the picture that remained in my mind since that encounter.

The attitude towards refugees is determined to a large extent by the attitude of the government, that much I understand. Will the government kindle fears and xenophobia or will it appeal to the humanity of the public?

How is it possible that a country such as Serbia is so much more humane and civilised than established EU member states? After a few months of inaction, someone in the government realised it would not cost them much, and that they could significantly improve their reputation by acting this way, so they chose the right path. I have no illusions that this attitude would have been the same had the refugees intended to remain permanently in Serbia. And I have no illusions either that the attitude towards, for instance, Albanians, will become full of benevolence overnight. Still, I am glad it was so. And I am glad that people from Croatia, from Bosnia and Herzegovina, people from inner Serbia (Sandžak, for instance) also delivered aid to the refugees at the Belgrade bus station, that we found each other, at least for a moment, gathered around the task of human solidarity. This is something we can be proud of.

Did I stray too far in my thought from the achievements of peace advocacy in the past 20 years?

There is no result we can achieve to know that we have succeeded, that our efforts to reconcile societies have come to an end. Our societies need to change, we need to effect change where we can instead of throwing blame across the fence. We should find ways to be better, not just richer, but to live without fear or hatred.

I still refuse to accept the offer of calling this peace.

I will be travelling to Kosovo in two weeks, and I am slightly worried about moving through Kosovo with Belgrade licence plates, that is our reality. That is how far we've come after 16 years of “peace”.

The day after tomorrow, I will be going to Bosnia, and I don't have the same kind of concern, but I do worry about friends and colleagues planning on marking unmarked sites of suffering there with adhesive signs. That's how far we've come after 20 years.

Should we trust that everything would be all right as we get closer to joining the EU? We, people from BiH, Serbia, Kosovo, Macedonia, Albania? Certainly not. Should we instead despair? Certainly not.

There are good, positive, clever people on all sides determined to make this place a better place to live. That much is certain.

## **A look back at the past year in the intertwined regional context**

### **The Kosovo Wave**

At the end of 2014 and beginning of 2015, the top news item was the river of refugees from Kosovo going through Serbia and Hungary and arriving in Germany to seek asylum, which they had no chance of getting since they were not being persecuted by a repressive regime. Still, feeling persecuted by the hopelessness of the situation in which they were forced to live and the absence of any indication of improvement, people tried to change this by a desperate move. Whole families with small children would sell off all they owned and set out on the uncertain journey to Western Europe. According to Kosovo government estimates, from the summer of 2014 to the summer of 2015, 120 000 people had emigrated. Kosovo is evidently not progressing as many had expected: corruption, poverty, poor state administration, an authoritarian style of governance and unmasked nationalism make for an explosive combination. With the fostered myth about a pure, justified and liberation war against the Serb oppressor, and the brisk diplomatic action against Kosovo's membership in international institutions by the government of Serbia, it is logical to expect a less than favourable attitude towards the Serb minority. Kosovo authorities exhibited strong resistance to implementing the obligation to establish a court to punish the crimes committed by the OVK, but it was broken under maximum pressure exerted by Western allies, i.e. the US and the EU. Resistance to implementing the obligation to form the Community of Serb Municipalities in Kosovo, as part of the deal with Belgrade on numerous contentious issues, was also strong and the government found itself facing mounting pressure from the opposition. The political situation is unstable because the government had to undertake unpopular steps. The future remains uncertain regarding these two issues that could potentially open the perspective of a lasting agreement with Serbia, i.e. some form of peace agreement, which has thus far been absent because Serbia still officially considers Kosovo part of its territory, although it has had no jurisdiction over it in the past 16 years.

### **The Syrian Test**

Less than half a year after the wave of Kosovo

refugees, small groups of Syrian refugees that could be seen around the bus station in Belgrade swelled, turning the nearby parks into temporary refugee camps. Instead of groups of young men seen in the past months, whole families were now arriving with small children, old and sick people. For months the authorities in Serbia did not react, and it was only groups of citizens that self-organised to start providing assistance to refugees in transit. In the meantime, Hungarian authorities blocked the path of the refugees by building a wall on the Serbian border and treating them brutally, thereby inciting the anger and disgust of decent folks around the world.

With the Hungarian blockade of its border with Serbia, the inevitable happened and the column of people turned towards Croatia as the only alternative route to Western Europe. After a few days of receiving people, the Croatian authorities concluded that there were too many refugees and that Serbia must send them towards Hungary (to the closed border!?) or towards Romania (to Eastern Europe). Since this did not happen (and you needn't be a rocket scientist to see it would not happen), in retaliation against Serbia, the Croatian government closed the border for cargo traffic from Serbia, and a few days later, Serbia did the same for Croatian goods and cargo traffic from Croatia. This escalating situation culminated when citizens of Serbia and vehicles from Serbia were prevented from crossing into Croatia. A few hours later, the ban was reduced to just the vehicles. Throughout all this, the wave of refugees that was allegedly the root cause, continued just as before.

### **Hit Thy Neighbour**

The difficult to understand escalation of animosity between Serbia and Croatia was caused by irresponsible and inappropriate behaviour mainly by the Croatian premier, but also by individuals from the Serbian government whose repertoires included racist jokes, disparaging remarks, i.e. the language and overall conduct characteristic of (political) thugs. The evident lack of political culture, the exploitation of the basest feelings and hatred, that some have explained by the proximity of the upcoming elections in Croatia (with the hatred of Serbs apparently contributing to better ratings), the front pages of newspapers in Serbia talking about starting a war, calling the Croatian premier an idiot<sup>1</sup>, all of these led

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1 Without going into the accuracy of the statements, it should be noted that such an insulting tone constitutes hate speech and is unacceptable for the media. Still, in the overall climate of hatred, the authorities in Serbia had no intention of sanctioning such behaviour.



to rising fear among ordinary people.

If it seems logical from the perspective of Western Europe that there are serious shortcomings in the democratic culture of Serbia, a candidate country for EU membership, that much like Turkey in the past many years, is waiting to open membership negotiations, the question that remains is: well, what about Croatia, then.

#### **“European” incentives to boost fascism**

Croatia has been an EU member state for over 2 years already. Ever since, the presence of hatred and many barbs directed primarily against Serbs, both those that make up a minority in Croatia and those living in neighbouring countries, have become much more visible. The visibility was achieved through the passivity and cowardice of the authorities to stand up to statements which have no place in a democracy. What is more, it could be said that flirting with the extreme right, which honours the legacy of the Ustasha ideology from World War II, has become common practice, and that a step further has been made into supporting such running riot.

It is thus possible that the official celebration of Victory Day on 5 August includes a concert by Thompson (known for his pro-Ustasha sentiments), that the masses chant “Kill the Serb”, and that a reporter standing up to this becomes news. Breaking and removing signs in the Serbian language in those part of Croatia where there are enough Serbs to warrant the exercise of this constitutional right has become commonplace, and in the past year, a further step was made when the majority in the regional assembly proclaimed this constitutionally guaranteed right inapplicable in its territory. The proliferation of hatred in Croatia is a direct consequence of the past war, which is glorified as a holy war and which leaves no room for remembrance or empathy with Croatian citizens of Serb nationality, masses of whom were expelled, thus permanently changing the ethnic make-up of large parts of Croatia. None of this was a point of discussion when Croatia was joining the EU, it was simply glossed over, and what we see now is the true sad state of a society driven mad by war, fear, hatred, advocating force as a solution, a society numb to the suffering of others.

What should be the consequence, apart from the obvious loss of respect and influence of Croatia within the EU, is learning a lesson for the future. Serbia also harbours fascist ideologies, insulting victims from other groups, vilification and hatred of minority communities and neighbouring peoples. A declarative distances is not sufficient, what is needed is respecting laws protecting agreed social values. If at a moment of crisis, it is possible

to turn a blind eye to hate speech in the media (directed at Croatia and Croats), if it is possible to persist in tolerating hate speech against Albanians, even more detested by the Serbian public, then that speaks volumes about the (un)democratic culture of Serbia.

#### **“After me, the flood”**

The bridges of cooperation and trust, painstakingly constructed since the time of war until today by rare peace groups who were for the first time joined by state actors in the guise of the previous presidents of Croatia and Serbia, Josipović and Tadić, are something that their successors neither understand nor need. Blind self-love, misconceptions about one’s own grandeur and the insignificance of neighbours, threats of force, these are the political mannerisms of the 1990s which brought us war, mass killings, ethnic cleansing, and the forceful relocation of vast numbers of people. These are the self-same mannerisms exhibited in this situation by the Croatian premier Milanović, exhibited on many occasions by certain ministers of the Serbian government and its president, and at times even its premier, and it is beyond doubt that they play into the hands of those who started and maintained the war in the 1990s. And truth be told, it should be noted that numerous current Serbian officials built their careers precisely during those times. But they are not surprising, some of them have learned much and even changed a few things, some haven’t. What is shocking is that the new generation of politicians in Croatia and Serbia exhibits the same propensity for irrational, selfish and arrogant behaviour that would be shameful in most societies.

#### **The war is over, go home!**

A serious peace action against the militaristic marking of “Victory Day” in Croatia was conducted by putting signs on posters advertising the army parade saying “The war is over, go home”. The Centre for Peace Studies (CMS) implemented this action and made it visible that there is resistance towards the spirit of militarism and triumphalism fostered in Croatia with great care and under threat of force since the war until today. News of the action was carried by numerous media in Serbia, which significantly contributed to dispelling the image of “All Croats being the same”. Julija Kranjec from the Centre for Peace Studies explained the action as follows:

*“The Centre for Peace Studies has issued public statements on a number of occasions to remind the Government and the President that it is absolutely unacceptable and unnecessary to have the army*

*march in the streets of a society that recently went through the horrors of war. Croatian society does not need militarisation, it needs dealing with the past and peacebuilding. It is unacceptable to commemorate in this way Operation Storm, where hundreds of people lost their lives, were deported, disappeared...”<sup>2</sup>*

Bravo for CMS!

### **Whose terror is this?**

Last year was also eventful in Macedonia where in the spring, the opposition started disclosing intercepted conversations between government officials that uncover corruption and abuse of authority on a shocking scale. Still, the government stood firm for months and kept dallying with resignations, accusing the opposition of unauthorised data gathering, without denying the content of the intercepted conversations. The political clientelism present in Macedonia naturally sought to preserve the status quo, but the daily protests by citizens exerted tremendous pressure and the regime gave way, new elections were announced, as well as an interim government. An important detail of the process of competing pressures was the large-scale armed incident that occurred at the beginning of May in Kumanovo, a town on the border with Kosovo and Serbia, where 22 people were killed and 37 were wounded, and where the government accused terrorist groups from Kosovo for the attack and clashes with the police. Citizens quickly saw through this attempt to divert public attention to fear of inter-ethnic conflict and were soon convinced that the incident was most likely staged by the government. The Gordian knot of a dispute with Greece over the name of the country has remained, and the Macedonian government has devoted its mandate to deepening the dispute by producing “Macedonian history” complete with Hellenic cultural heritage.

### **The Weight of Srebrenica**

The assembly entitled “Seven Thousand” organised by a citizens’ group that wanted to symbolically commemorate the Srebrenica genocide by having a large number of people (up to 7000) lie down in front of the parliament, was banned in Belgrade in July.

Only a day later, the Serbian premier, with the baggage of a transformed former member of a fascist ideology, attended the commemoration of the 20th anniversary

of the Srebrenica genocide. This gesture of good will, excellently received by the families of victims and the mayor of Srebrenica, was overshadowed in the media by the attack against him that almost turned into a lynch. Instead of a gesture of reconciliation, in Serbia, many, and especially the aggressive and provocative minister in the Serbian Government, Vulin, exaggerated and talked about an assassination attempt and a conspiracy. Still, mostly due to the calm reaction of premier Vučić himself, efforts were made to demonstrate the political will for cooperation and commitment to the process of reconciliation. Unfortunately, within BiH, the conflict of the President of Republika Srpska, Dodik, who rules autocratically and persists in provoking discord and spreading distrust and fear, continues unabated. The Bosnian knot thus remains unresolved, and instead of seeking desperately needed constructive ways to overcome these problems, the old matrices of generalisation, hatred and fear remain intact.

### **Non-interference**

At the end of August 2015 in Vienna, an agreement was signed between Albania, BiH, Montenegro, Kosovo, Macedonia and Serbia, whereby they committed to refrain from interfering with each other’s EU accession paths. This is an important agreement and it can pre-empt the kind of obstruction put up by Greece with respect to Macedonia, or the kind that will almost certainly be put up by Croatia with respect to Serbia. The invitation to two neighbouring EU countries (meaning Croatia and Greece) to join the agreement has as yet received no response.

### **Romeo and Juliet in Albanian/Serbian**

Directed by Miki Manojlović, a two-language Romeo and Juliet with both Serbian and Albanian actors and actresses was staged in Belgrade and Prishtina. With police presence, the play was put on at the National Theatre, and it sent an important signal to the stereotype-laden public in both societies that cooperation is not only possible but direly needed, and furthermore, that cooperation is the natural state of normality, and not the other way around. As limited as the reach and impact of a theatre play may be, Serbia and Kosovo are in particularly desperate need of good will gestures, cooperation, dialogue. After the deluge of hatred that came to the surface during and after the suspended football match in Belgrade between Albania and Serbia, every little step leading to reigning in that hatred matters.

Nežad Vukosavljević

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<sup>2</sup> <http://www.index.hr/vijesti/clanak/rat-je-gotov-puhovski-preskuplo-placamo-milanovicevo-bjezanje-od-zvzduka-u-kninu/833958.aspx>

# Bosnia-Herzegovina: Three Paths from Dayton

One of the perspectives from which we can view the social context in BiH is the perspective of the international community. For the international community, the “project” called Bosnia and Herzegovina is a relative success story, where the Dayton Agreement stopped a brutal war, similar to what is currently going in in the Middle East.

We should bear in mind the continuity of the presence of international institutions in the form of the OHR<sup>1</sup>, PIC<sup>2</sup>, foreign judges at the Court of BiH, EUFOR<sup>3</sup>, etc., which symbolise a kind of “training wheels” for what is called the state of BiH. And it is interesting that no one is able to estimate whether that state could maintain a balance without the “training wheels”. In that sense, we could say that the political organisation of BiH, being a type of long-term protectorate, still shows no sign of independent action. Very often, the Office of the OHR, EU institutions and embassies of influential countries intervene, launch initiatives and make judgements about fundamental issues and problems of this society. And the lack of confidence in local political leaders, that they could independently govern such a complex state apparatus, is quite understandable given the various kinds of problems they create or fail to resolve. We should also bear in mind the intermittent unpredictability of political action, from lovely pandering humane calls for co-existence and harmony in the morning to blatant chauvinism sometime in the afternoon.

This process of taking on full sovereignty is referred to in international political circles as transitioning from the Dayton to the Brussels stage of the BiH state.

For most of the local population, the agony of economic and general instability continues, but in contrast to last year’s rebellion in the streets of cities, we are again seeing only the directly endangered workers of rundown state enterprises going on strike.

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1 OHR – Office of High Representative

2 PIC – Peace Implementation Council. PIC is made up of 55 countries and organisations that provide support to the peace process in various ways – by ensuring financial resources, by contributing troops to EUFOR, or by directly carrying out operations in Bosnia and Herzegovina. PIC gives policy guidelines to the High Representative.

3 EUFOR – NATO military operation in BiH, launched on 2 December 2004 and since then contributing to maintaining a secure and stable environment in BiH.

Generally speaking, the expected economic development is not forthcoming, and neither are essential social changes, while Constitutional reforms, a key problem of the state according to many, suffer from a lack of political will and capacity.

Inter-national contention and conflict over political solutions, stemming from diverse attitudes towards the past and future of this country, are almost a daily occurrence in the public sphere. There are, however, sporadic attempts of constructive agreement, encouraged by the international community, such as the Prud Agreement or the most recent German-British initiative, but these have not yielded results. Our politicians like to say that difficult questions we do not agree on should be “frozen”, and processes of economic development and EU integration should be initiated. However, already in the first attempt, when they endeavour to establish a government, the whole system is “frozen”.

A series of events in the past year, related to the divergent attitudes and sentiments about the wartime past, shows how the demarcation lines are still sharply drawn. We had parliamentary elections in 2014. The long process of establishing the government has come to be expected. We again have the situation that the governments formed at the state and at the entity level are not comprised of the same parties, which makes it more difficult to adopt and implement decisions. For example, parties in power at the entity or cantonal level sometimes choose to boycott programmes and decisions from higher levels of government where they are the opposition. A few months ago, a coalition partner withdrew from the Federal government, and they are now in search of a new partner. We are again left without a stable government and a host of necessary processes has been put on hold, but this does not seem to concern anyone too much. It seems that it is only important to satisfy the national “quotas”, to ensure the next tranche from the IMF and adopt the numerous budgets dependent on IMF loans.

The Government of Republika Srpska has announced its plans to organise a referendum that may have political impact on justice reform. It contains a suggestive question for citizens of RS: “Do you support the unconstitutional and unauthorised imposition of laws by the High Representative of the international community in BiH, especially the imposed laws on the Court and Prosecutor’s Office of BiH and the applicability of their decisions in the

territory of Republika Srpska?” The proposal has already been forwarded into system procedure, and after being vetoed by the Bosniaks in the Council of Peoples of RS, the Constitutional Court approved its implementation, but under pressure from OHR, the whole endeavour was pushed back into the framework of the so-called systemic dialogue on the BiH justice system, which is currently under way and organised by the OSCE. The Government of Republika Srpska has also announced its plans for a second referendum: a referendum on secession, scheduled for 2017, if there are no changes to the relations within BiH and the attitude of the international community towards RS whose integrity is constantly under threat. The media have relatively ignored this referendum, considering it politicking and spinning, while the opposition in RS practically ridiculed it.

Meanwhile, in real life, there was an attack on a police station in Zvornik in April, where police officer Dragan Đurić was killed and two other police officers were wounded. The attacker, Nerđin Ibrić, was also killed. He was born in 1991 and his father was killed in Zvornik in 1992. It is sad, tragic and symbolic that the father of the killed police officer was also killed in the war.

As for the motivation behind the attack, it was suspected that Ibrić had been indoctrinated by members of an Islamist group, some of whom were arrested on suspicion of inciting the attack. Some believed that part of the motivation for the attack was a desire to avenge the death of his father. It is important to mention the example of very reasonable action by the municipal mayor, Zoran Stevanović, who tried to disperse the tension after the attack and encouraged Bosniaks to return to their jobs because they had begun to fear for their safety on account of potential acts of vengeance. The attack was characterised as an act of terrorism, or rather as an attack against state institutions. Subsequently, the Republika Srpska police arrested and then released dozens of Bosniaks under suspicion that they were connected to terrorist organisations.

The next cold shower came in July this year during the commemoration of 20 years since the genocide in Srebrenica. The event was attended by a large number of officials from the region and the world. Unfortunately, it will be remembered for the attack against the Serbian premier, Aleksandar Vučić, who had come to pay his respects to the victims. The situation almost turned into a lynching when a crowd of peoples started hurling stones, and the security grappled to get the premier into a car and literally escape from Potočari. Failures in the

organisation and security for the commemoration were evident and proceedings against those responsible, as well as the ringleaders of the attack are under way. One of the possible motives for the attack is Vučić’s role in the war, that is, his political activities in the war and postwar period that were based on radical Serb nationalism from which he did not clearly distance himself during his term as premier. However, this attack undermined the benefit that Vučić’s attendance and the welcome he received from the Mothers of Srebrenica could have contributed to reconciliation. Namely, it is symbolically significant when a man who supported the ideology that indirectly led to the genocide comes to pay his respects to the victims. His personal motives cannot and should not be at issue. It is comforting that afterwards, political representatives of the Bosniaks, as well as individual associations of people from Srebrenica and the organisers of the commemoration sent an apology to the Serbian premier for the attack. The UN Security Council not adopting the resolution on the Srebrenica Genocide because of Russia’s veto, preceded by intensive lobbying by Serbia and Republika Srpska, certainly contributed to the tense atmosphere.

This was also around the time that Naser Orić was arrested in Switzerland on an Interpol warrant based on an indictment by Serbia for war crimes committed against Serbs in the vicinity of Srebrenica. Orić, the wartime commander of the Army of BiH in Srebrenica, was extradited to judicial authorities of Bosnia and Herzegovina, but the arrest also contributed to tensions surrounding the commemoration. There was even talk of cancelling the commemoration if Orić were to be extradited to Serbia. This case has caused a fair amount of controversy given that there are suspicions that Orić’s units committed war crimes against the Serb population, while at the same time, for many Bosniaks, he is a war hero acquitted by the ICTY. An indictment was raised against Orić before the Court of BiH, so there will probably be many more discussions about this case. The whole series of events surrounding the commemoration in Srebrenica, as well as the attack in Zvornik, clearly show that dealing with the past and working for reconciliation are still vital for the region. Under current circumstances, parts of the public easily slip back into their positions and conflicts from the war period and that tells us that we have our work cut out for us to build a more peaceful future in the region. It is important that a lot of people are aware of this and that there were many calming reactions, both among ordinary people, municipal mayors, and even among political leaders who made an effort to address the public

with messages of reconciliation. It would be good if we could draw lessons from this and similar cases so as to initiate dialogue instead of unconditionally supporting “our” heroes and seeking justice only for “our” victims.

The visit of Pope Francis to Sarajevo in June 2015 was a pleasant and important event. It was a pleasure to see and hear this man who has been sending different messages to the world than what we are used to hearing from religious leaders. From criticism of materialism and neo-liberal capitalism and advocating for the poor, the weak and vulnerable to openly calling for an end to hatred because of differences and all types of wars and violence. For the people of BiH, the Pope had similar messages, reminding us that the difficult times are past and that peacebuilding is our way ahead. It was important to hear the Pope speak clearly about the path to peace, which we aim to stay on in our work. I would like to emphasise a quote from the Pope’s speech that illustrates the essence of his message: “In this country, peace and harmony among Croats, Serbs and Bosniaks, and the incentives fostering that harmony as of late, as well as the heartfelt fraternal relations between Muslims,

Jews and Christians have a significance that far surpasses the borders of Bosnia and Herzegovina... We should all recognise our fundamental human values in order to withstand the barbarity of those who would use every difference as an opportunity for violence. In the name of these values, we can and must cooperate, build and nurture dialogue, forgive and grow with them.”

Unfortunately, in the past period, there were a number of attacks against returnees and religious buildings in Livno, Sarajevo, Tomislavgrad. In Bosnian crime and accident reports, cases related to inter-ethnic violence are still quite frequent. When a returnee in Prijedor was recently killed, and when it later came to light that he was killed in a criminal showdown, many said: “It’s good that it wasn’t ethnically motivated.” And they are right, at least when it comes to Bosnia.

In peaceful Bosnia, there is progress, both visible and invisible. People are changing, some for the better, some for the worse, transition is under way and there is a lot of construction work going on, but always with a pinch of gunpowder in the mortar.

Adnan Hasanbegović

## Croatia: The Postman Knows Them

Two decades after the end of the war Croatian society is still radicalised and deeply divided. Political circumstances are the dominant factors determining everyday life. From September 2014 to September 2015, life was measured by election rounds. One gets the impression that almost every action of the government and the opposition is always premeditated by a good outcome on election night. Both the so-called left and right similarly assessed that insisting on nationalist rhetoric, pandering or at the least refraining from standing up to the church and veterans would win them votes. Judging by the conduct of most political structures, the average voter in Croatia is primarily interested in the final outcome of the past, especially from the Second World War to date, and much less in maintaining at least a minimum of human dignity.

Once the public had been warmed up by the violent anti-Cyrillic campaign, in 2015 it truly became the arena of a merciless political battle in which even entirely marginal individuals got the best spots, either on national television or the presidential inauguration. Broadcasting reports where professed fascists such as Dražen Keleminac, president of the Autochthonous Croatian

Party of Rights, are given the opportunity to threaten and incite violence and intolerance towards members of the Serb minority have become commonplace ways of reporting from all events designated as antifascist. Here, democracy is primarily understood as the right to publicly express fascist views. We will also remember the show “Piramida” hosted by Željka Ogresta and broadcast on national television by such views. Actually, an analysis of hate speech in 2015 shows that even those common sense nuances between mainstream media and obscure and uncontrolled portals have all but disappeared. Professionalism in the media is hardly worth mentioning in a year when excellent writers such as Boris Pavelić (Novi list) and Davor Krile (Slobodna Dalmacija) were threatened with dismissals and where such threats were put into practice in the case of Boris Dežulović. On the other side, the traditional fascist contamination of Croatian sports has become recognisable even beyond Croatia’s borders. The swastika at Poljud stadium in July was surprising only to the rare few.

The key actors in the Croatian justice system were practically competing over who would issue more

acquittals and releases. As if in some nightmarish cabaret, we saw a procession of mitigating circumstances, successful hunger strikes, procedural errors. Branimir Glavaš was thus released after the panel of judges at the County Court accepted the argumentation of the defence. A good part of the Croatian public sided with the convicted war criminal, while his victims were entirely forgotten. Those tortured and killed in the territory of Pakračka Poljana and Zagreb in 1991 were also forgotten when the indictment of Tomislav Merčep was substantially reduced. But it is quite certain that the title of most unexpected turnabout in 2015 goes to the acquittal of Josip Miljak, president of the Croatian Pure Party of Rights, who had been charged for death threats made against the director of the Jasenovac Memorial. Compelled to file the charges herself due to the inaction of the Kutina Prosecutor's Office, the director had to face not just the acquittal, but a history lesson from the judge questioning not just the list of names of the victims, but the very nature of the camp in Jasenovac.

The twenty-year-long process of revising history culminated in 2015 with the establishment of the Society for Investigating the Tripartite Camp in Jasenovac. Under the leadership of Stjepan Razum, director of the Archdiocese Archives in Zagreb, the Society quite openly and without the bare minimum of ethical and scientific standards, publishes and promotes a series of untruths in seminaries and spiritual centres of the Catholic Church throughout Croatia. Most of the Society's activities rely on the social capacities of parishes, although cooperation with local and county authorities is also frequent. For example, members of the Society spoke at a public lecture in Glina, at the very site of what was once a Christian Orthodox church where in 1941 about a thousand people were detained and from where all traces of them have disappeared. We can only imagine the atmosphere in a town where the Serb council is punished by drastic funding cuts for commemorating the victims of the Ustasha regime, where there is only a single Jewish inhabitant today, and where the Independent State of Croatia is spoken of in affirmative terms in public.

Given that a return to the rhetoric of the 1990s has been on-going for a few years now, 2015 brought a fatigue and saturation point. The need to intervene or at least react to hate speech, human rights violations and discrimination has become almost a daily occurrence. All those expressing different opinions or views on the Croatian past become targets of anonymous threats and obscure petitions. It is interesting that this wave of

disparaging different opinions started in early October 2014 with the dismissal of Dejan Jović from the post of advisor to the then president Ivo Josipović. In the manner of most left-wing politicians, president Josipović could not withstand the pressure of the Croatian public, which condemned the possibility of a scholarly, or in any case different interpretation of the referendum on independence. Apart from a few lone associations, practically no one from the University dared condemn the abuse and anonymous threats. The public has remained not just mute, but has added to the pressure with various op-eds. Perhaps the clearest picture of the mentality of the majority and the capacity for intolerance is provided by the status of theatre director Oliver Frlić in the public eye in Croatia. His efforts to return the theatre to the people at HNK Ivana pl. Zajca in Rijeka is constantly under attack by the extreme right and veterans groups in Rijeka. The scene of police securing the theatre performance "Trilogija o hrvatskom fašizmu" [Trilogy on Croatian Fascism] or the public discussion "Drugi rat" [Second War] indicates the absence of a process to deal with the past and a discourse of exclusion.

The disorientation of civil society has somewhat been mitigated by the formation of broad platforms and their actions. The Antifascist League of the Republic of Croatia and the initiative *All of us for a Croatia for us all* aim to equally distribute the burden of dealing with fascist phenomena, human rights violations and all other forms of structural violence against Croatian citizens. In 2015, the activities of these platforms ranged from marking Human Rights Day in places such as Glina where the Ustasha movement is openly and unrestrainedly glorified while the true nature of NDH is negated to commemorating the anniversary of Kristallnacht in Zagreb and Vukovar. Additional optimism came from the spontaneous reaction of a large number of citizens to the humanitarian refugee crisis. Solidarity akin to that when aid was being collected for flood-affected areas shows that despite negative trends, there is still potential for civic participation and perhaps even for civic courage.

And although a large number of events marked the end of 2014 and most of 2015, it is quite certain that this period will be remembered for the escalation of grievances on the part of war veterans and the severely disabled. Their rebellion culminated sometime around the beginning of the presidential campaign and the arrest of Milan Bandić, formerly mayor of Zagreb. Led by Josip Klemm and Đuro Glogoški, they occupied the plateau in front of the Ministry for Veterans and set up the by now

famous tent from which they regularly sent messages to what they called the “non-popular” authorities, threatened violence and suicide. It is difficult not to recall the statements of a parish priest who spoke in that same tent during Christmas mass about how the war was not yet over. Among other things, the war veterans demanded the dismissal of Minister Matić and his team. However, despite tremendous pressure, the Croatian government stood by its minister. However, it is also a fact that failure to sanction the illegally erected tent, violations of a number of provisions of the Law on Public Assembly, and Art. 325 of the Criminal Code on incitement to violence and hatred and the use of hate speech have shown the radical limits of those in power with respect to right-wing or rather extreme right-wing politicians and their extra-parliamentary and even nominally apolitical branches. Finally, the so-called Tent-dwellers regularly received their mail at the address of the tent and this is irresistibly reminiscent of the far more benign joke where the sender addresses a letter to THE POSTMAN KNOWS THEM. In this case, it was not funny in the least.

The extended protests by veterans hampered the presidential campaign in which today’s president demonstrated unexpected political affinities, given that, among other things, she managed to form a coalition with Josip Miljak, mentioned above. The campaign completely rehabilitated the exclusionary rhetoric of the Split Riva from 2001 when the gathered masses breathed as one for war criminal Mirko Norac. In this campaign, Sanader’s era of political correctness was reduced to minimising potential for court charges, demonstrated already during the election night by Božidar Alić celebrating the victory of the HDZ candidate as the final victor over the “Serbophile and Chetnik currents”. The pious movement along the scale of Croathood, togetherness and anti-intellectual trivialising of civic status corresponded to the sensibility of most candidates, so it was to be expected that the invitees to the inauguration would include persons convicted for drug abuse, professed fascists, as well as persons being tried for war crimes.

As usual, this type of political logic has a number of very concrete financial outcomes. The amounts spent on the preparation and implementation of the military parade to mark the anniversary of Operation Storm are staggering, as are the subsequent costs of repairing the roads in the capital, especially when compared with the strict requirements for the reconstruction of homes in Gunja damaged during the floods. Fiscalising nationalist zeal is also difficult when it comes to collecting value added

tax from the revenues of the concert by Marko Perković Thompson organised on the anniversary of Operation Storm in Knin. An excess of emotion and production of irrationality is particularly striking in the relationship between the Office of the President and the Government of Croatia. Compromising the candidacy of the Vice-President of the Croatian Government, Vesna Pusić, for the post of UN Secretary General is one of the clearest examples of how far partisan interests are placed before those that go beyond the party, i.e. national interests. However, despite this neuralgic relationship, it seems they are quite harmonious when it comes to militarising Croatian society at various levels, from renting German howitzers for the parade to introducing a programme of the Ministry of Defence that the Education Agency has recommended to all schools.

The start of the school year is marked by religious ceremonies in public, state schools where during this 2015/2016 school year, some children will once again sit out in the school corridors while their classmates attend religious education classes. The Ministry of Science, Education and Sports sees no coercion or discrimination in this, much like it sees no problem with “Moj tata spava s anđelima” [My Daddy Sleeps with the Angels] by Stjepan Tomaš being included on the mandatory reading list for sixth grade in primary schools. This is a work of questionable literary value with frequent appearances of the Ustasha salute and certainly does not shape young people in the direction of respecting differences and understanding civil rights and duties as would be characteristic for democratic societies, of which Croatia most certainly is not a member.

A dogmatic approach to the 1991-1995 war in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, social-democratic conformism and ideological vacancy as opposed to the party discipline and intelligence networks on the right do not provide much motive or reason for optimism. Rows of unfortunate refugees from war-torn Syria and other countries of the Middle East have inspired citizens to solidarity. Unfortunately, the militaristic impulse to protect national borders opened another area of political confrontation. Instead of the unhelpful hysteria around the humanitarian disaster suffered by countless refugees, we should be thinking about the causes for the increasing numbers of Croatian migrants looking for societies of greater social sensitivity and economic imagination.

We should, but there’s no one around to do it.

Aneta Lalić

## Kosovo: *Rumelia, a story in transition*

*Rumelia is the naming used by the Ottoman Empire for the Balkans. The usage of this term is a principal objection to one-sided narratives...*

We live in an intertwined and constantly altering world. Yet, Balkans remains in its contagious 'status-quo', although being in 'transition'.

Fifteen years after the war and seven since the declaration of independence, Kosovo is still struggling to witness its existence. Not only to the state of Serbia, or to internationally established structures, but even to its own citizens.

'International community', is failing to create a country, let alone a society, that is capable of standing on its feet. As in Bosnia.

Thus Kosovars, together with others in the Balkans, continue living an outward 'status-quo', a 'status' that is inwardly nurturing some quite dynamic and not so positive streams. These streams need to be facilitated, so their manifestation is not violent (think Kumanovo, May 2015).

Fear from 'the other' (accompanied by wounds, same from 'the other') is still marking the days, and economic situation is worse than during the nineties. At least for the folk. As for the politicians and their affiliates, both local and international, they see the fear from 'the other' as a useful tool to crap something publicly. While they remain immune to the crisis. Of course they do. We have certified criminals cherished as success stories of 'new democracies'...

Could it be that a 'transitional status-quo' is in fact desirable? Someone from Serbia I met recently was saying that *maybe we are not in 'transition' at all; maybe 'transition' is our continuous state of mind...* If a transition is desired, than a vision is needed.

And, there is no vision about Kosovo. Nor Balkans. 'Euro-Atlantic integrations' became an expression one has to say in certain context. Like, 'break your leg' - in English, or something. It is not a vision.

In such a situation of not knowing where next, Kosovo decision-makers (of any identities) fail to meet the demands of their own positions. As part of 'transition'. In February this year, 40% of attempted illegal entries to

European Union came from Kosovo...

Decision-makers keep inventing 'enemies' to blame and 'successes' to cherish. 'Prishtina-Belgrade Dialogue' is producing friendly grimaces in Brussels but ugly insults in New York, and a deteriorating situation in the ground...

As long as we do not obey to - at least - some ethics, since clearly, obedience to law is failing - the only transition we will see will be this 'status-quo' becoming more unbearable. I am even being optimistic here.

Also, as long as we don't look back to our own past(s) and 'add something better to it', we will have no good place to *transit* to. Here, I'm just being realistic.

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I have recently discovered a poem titled *O alithis pathos ton Skipetarou* (The real desire of Albanians), by Albanian Renaissance figure - Naim Frashëri, published in Greek language, Bucharest 1886:

*... Us, Slavs, Greeks - all our neighbours,  
We want to live in harmony, with respect...  
...Let's breathe and enjoy the freedom,  
Together.*

During my schooldays, I have not come across this poem in the narratives that are shaping us. Be them official or parallel, 'ours' or 'theirs'. And it should be there. Because, this reality existed, and it is part of us, as much is the suffering we have lived through...

Here's another poem, this time by the Albanian-Italian poet, Ernest Koliqi (1903-1975)

*Let us collect legends through the centuries,  
together.  
Let us enter histories  
and unfold chronicles, together...*

...

Indeed, what are our histories? How do they sound inside the limitations of our self-perceived identities, but also outside - in that field beyond right and wrong? Do we dare deconstructing our own (made) histories?

Whoever we are, or we think we are - without trying to answer such questions we will continue to fail finding our own space, in this amazingly intertwined and constantly altering world.

Abdullah B. Ferizi



## Macedonia: Së bashku. Заедно.\*

A while ago, an acquaintance from Novi Sad and me found ourselves in the midst of a group of special police running to cordon off a section of downtown Skopje. Loud shouting could be heard from the direction of downtown, and a bit later we see mostly young people with Albanian flags. We get out of the crowd, there was no going forward, so we go back over the Stone Bridge. Boro, he says to me, Macedonia is falling apart! What are you on about, man, this is how Macedonia survives, I retort. I can't remember whether/to what extent we discussed it further, it was a while ago, but I kept going back to this as a kind of test of my perceptive abilities, he was an intelligent and well-intentioned man.

I still think the problem is in the perception of symbols and political issues of "others" in public space (in this concrete case, Albanian symbols and issues). For too long, a civic façade concealed a majority (Macedonian) national agenda, and every instance of other symbols and politics in public space was presented as a threat. Parliamentary democracy was understood (and gladly accepted by the majority national group) as a way to always have the possibility of outvoting minority issues in Parliament and getting them off the public scene. This, of course, causes ripples on both sides. Fear on one, anger on the other. I am no fan of anyone's national symbols, but at this stage in Macedonia, I see their introduction into public space as deconstructing a decade-long unjust politics and, therefore, a way for Macedonia to "survive". Because all this ethnic hatred is the result of a more profound deterioration that actually holds the cause of possible bloody ethnic denouement. I will try to illustrate this later on in the text.

In that sense, Macedonia really had to go through a lot in the past year in order to survive. We've had a very tumultuous year, and it would be impossible in a text like this to cover all the events in a way that would be understood by someone who has not kept up closely with the developments in Macedonia. Given the multilingual nature of this report, I would recommend <http://www.balkaninsight.com/en/page/macedonia-politics-and-society-home> for basic coverage of the events. In this text, I will pick out some of the relevant events.

Autumn of 2014 started out optimistically. University

students rebelled against the reforms of the Ministry of Education. The Ministry responded to their objections in the standard manner – with salvos of discrediting and disparaging throughout the state controlled media. This, finally, irritated the students, so they took to the streets. The Student Plenum was set up as a horizontal organisation of students. Faculties were occupied. Secondary school pupils also rebelled (after some minor concessions from the Government, their struggle is still on-going). Citizens joined the student protests in their thousands. The Professor Plenum was also set up. Following close behind was the mobilisation around the law for additional taxation of part-time workers (evidently, the state needs more funds for monuments), then rallying for the freedom of the arrested reporter Tomislav Kežarovski and the generally catastrophic situation in the media (ranked 33rd on the freedom of the media index by Reporters without Borders in 2006, Macedonia has fallen to being 117th, for instance), the demise of the healthcare system... We took to the streets many times from autumn 2014 to spring 2015. The government turned a deaf ear to all of it, but nevertheless, this time a slightly different Macedonia took to the streets. What was new was the much more visible ethnic mixing. For the Macedonia I know, this is no small feat. Some of the events saw the organised arrival of people acting from expressly authentic ethnic positions. This gave me (and still gives me) faith that it was possible to deconstruct the public political space. Of course, it was not always like this, many things could have been done differently, there was a lack of clearly stated support from "others" in some places, there were more ethnic clashes in the streets and on public transport... But I have a strong feeling that a powerful breakthrough has been made. It is no longer strange and it is increasingly less unacceptable. I am not naive and I am quite aware that this acceptance is not the end, but just a step in the right direction, that we need to invest a lot more effort and mostly into places that are not publicly visible. A few months ago, a dear friend told me how she felt very bad for having thrown away a brochure I had given her in a crowded cafe, so that everyone could see, some 15 (!) years ago. I don't remember this particular event, but I do remember all sorts of similar reactions to our materials, among other things because they come in two languages. And I can clearly see how this, now publicly visible, community was constructed over the years by

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\* Popular hashtags during and after the conflicts in Kumanovo in May 2015.

various people on the margins of society, at alternative cafes, concerts, hang-outs at faculties.... Now we can add to that the joint struggles at the protests and a few other new spaces. It's still the margins, but now it's the margins going beyond their boundaries.

But the following process shook Macedonia to its foundations and brought it to the brink of complete collapse, and it is perhaps the best illustration of the demise I mentioned at the beginning of this text. In February 2015, the opposition (Social Democrats) held a press conference where they announced they were in possession of evidence that the state leadership had intercepted the communications of over 20,000 citizens over a number of years. They claimed this was organised by premier Nikola Gruevski himself and his cousin, head of the secret police, Sašo Mijalkov. The premier reacted immediately, claiming that the material was concocted by foreign intelligence services, and that it was part of a plan to bring down the government and consequently the state. Criminal charges were quickly filed against the head of the opposition and a number of other people. The opposition started selectively publishing the intercepts through separate press conferences, so-called Bombs, where we had much to hear: judges being arranged and selected by telephone, the minister arranging for someone from the secret police to discretely open the bag with voting materials, how the MVR<sup>1</sup> was later transformed into MVR-VMRO<sup>2</sup>, how voters ID cards are used, the head of the Albanian opposition party telling the head of the secret service that he will be "loyal to him to his death", TV news being dictated directly by the government, then various taxes on businesses... A staggering range of crimes. We followed the news on YouTube, because all the television networks boycotted these press conferences. This went on for months, until finally Brussels and Washington got involved and started the process of dialogue between the government and the opposition. This process is still under way. What we have now is a Special Public Prosecutor's Office that should spend the next few years dealing with crime allegations from the intercepted communications and from additional agreements including those that involve: the premier and some key ministries that were involved in manipulating the elections, they are to resign by the new year, after which the opposition would get those ministries, reviewing the lists of registered voters, etc. New elections have been announced for April 2016.

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1 Ministry of Internal Affairs

2 VMRO-DPMNE - ruling centre right party

Throughout this whole long and trying process, the Albanian parties were practically decorative. Never in the history of this country, as far as I remember, were they better positioned and stronger and at the same time so side-lined on the crucial issues of democracy for this country. Macedonian nationalists would say that Gruevski has finally learned how to deal with Albanians: he gave them part of the cake and now they are pacified. Seriously, though, I would expect a great crisis of representation. For years, people have been angry, especially with Brussels for having sacrificed Macedonian democracy in the name of ethnic stability. As long as Macedonians and Albanians are not at war, everything is OK. This has directly contributed to the collapse of society, because the main nationalist figures from both of the majority nations divided it amongst themselves as if it were a private estate, and robbed without hindrance each his own. Now, the foreigners have finally got involved, and I'm not sure whether they understand what the essential problem is or whether they just got scared seeing the old well-known situation developing.

Namely, in April 2015, one hitherto unknown Albanian group attacked the poorly guarded border post of Gošnice near the three-way border between Macedonia, Kosovo and Serbia. There were no casualties, some of the soldiers were beaten, and a considerable amount of weapons was stolen. Part of the public was incredulous at this news, and there were also public outcries that this was an attempt to divert public attention from the process of publishing the intercepted communications. At that time, the president of the opposition said in an interview for a small local TV station that he had information that a certain guerrilla group from Kosovo has been in the villages in the Lipovski region for months, unsuccessfully trying to find shelter. Namely, the local population, disappointed by the developments since 2001 to date, refuses to give them support. Larger media completely ignored this. For a while now, the Macedonian public has been incredulously watching waves of ethnically motivated violence that have been shaking us for years, and increasingly we hear voices that a lot of it is staged and arranged for ulterior motives. This was the context that surrounded the bloody clashes in Kumanovo on 9 May 2015. On that day, in a few streets of Divo naselje / Lagja e trimavë<sup>3</sup>, a real war was being waged. The police said they had gone on a raid against a larger group of

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3 Even the different names for the same place speak for themselves. The name in Albanian means Settlement of the Courageous.

terrorists dug in in a number of houses. The bloody clash that lasted for almost 24 hours left a tragic balance of 22 dead (including 8 police officers) and 37 wounded police officers, some of them severely wounded! This number of casualties shocked us all, even in the 2001 war, there were rarely days with so many killed and wounded. And this was supposed to be a prepared police intervention. Events kept piling on: the Macedonian Ministry of Internal Affairs sent a letter to the Kosovo Embassy with a list of 23 Kosovo nationals apprehended in the raid. The list included the names of two well-known commanders who were later found to be among those killed. Mistakes happen in such chaotic situations, no? Then one of the prisoners managed to escape while handcuffed and without shoes, outwitting a group of 20 special police who had been walking him into the field so that he could show them the bunker with the weapons. Then through the Kosovo media information reaches us that the two commanders had met with an agent of the Macedonian secret police on a number of occasions and that they had been arranging attacks in Macedonia with him, for which they had been promised money. It was claimed that they did not trust him and therefore recorded all their meetings. And after one meeting at the US Embassy in Skopje, we had the resignations of the Chief of the Secret Police, Sašo Mijalkov, the Minister of Internal Affairs, Gordana Jankulovska, and the president of the Albanian DUI, Ali Ahmeti, gave a long interview on TV that evening, explaining that on the day of the raid, he was in telephone contact with a member of the group who kept calling him to ask for help in arranging a surrender or to get them out of the encirclement. I don't want to draw any conclusions, except that we desperately need an independent investigation and that this magnitude

of victims and stress for the local population, as well as the whole country, deserves some sort of justice. I visited Divo naselje / Lagja e trimave a month after the conflict. The photo gallery we made can be found at <http://mirovnaakcija.org/> Диво насеље / Lagja e trimave, месец дена потоа (фото галерија). I have never in my life seen such a high degree of destruction caused by a 24-hour intervention and without the use of heavy artillery.

What was absolutely incredible were the reactions of the people, especially from Kumanovo. The people, although very frightened, demonstrated a degree of unprecedented soberness, there was not a single incident in those days. They called each other, it was important for them to be seen together, to respond together, without ethnic divisions. A video of a man from Kumanovo, filmed on the day of the raid, became the most watched video in Macedonian on YouTube. The video with English translation is available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sOX9kJRj54I><sup>4</sup>. It was a terrible conflict, but this time they did not manage to make it ethnic. And we are still waiting for an investigation.

I am not naive at all and I don't think we are strong enough to keep resisting the provocations that are meant to lead us into ethnic conflict, or that we are strong enough to handle all the problems of a multi-ethnic society with this kind of history. But I am sure that we are stronger than ever. And that this is all still very frail, but it is a step in the direction I like taking. I have a feeling that we stand a chance.

Boro Kitanoski, Mirovna akcija / Aksioni Paqësor [Peace Action], Macedonia

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4 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sOX9kJRj54I>

## Serbia: *Liberté, égalité, fraternité, 2015.*

At a time when the world as we know it and whose processes we have learned to understand is changing rapidly, from moment to moment, events in a single country have been pushed to the background. With globalisation, which is approach or has already reached its apex, drawing boundaries and talking about processes within them is increasingly difficult, because everything is mutually intertwined.

Whatever we choose to call the situation where hundreds of thousands of people are fleeing war in the Middle East and heading towards Europe, this is an on-

going event, and it has marked the past year. I don't know what would be a good name for it. We most often hear it called the "refugee crisis", but a crisis is by definition an unforeseen negative event that seriously endangers the status quo. For years, refugees have been trying to find ways to reach the "promised land" - the European Union, which has been set up as a community of countries with respect for human rights and democracy. And at the first great test that united Europe has faced, the principles upon which it was founded were trampled. The brutal attitude towards people trying to save their lives, razor

wire fences, mounting army and police presence, closing border crossings, lack of understanding for others, all of this has put Europe, as we thought we knew it, to the test of its basic values. So much so that the term “refugee crisis” could already be interpreted as the “crisis of the European Union”. Freedom, equality, fraternity (*Fr. Liberté, égalité, fraternité*), the motto of the French Revolution, is understood today in many EU countries as: yes, but only for white Christians born in its territory.

In that whole situation, the behaviour of the authorities in Serbia is used as a positive example - because the domestic authorities did not order the police and the army to abuse these people, and after a long time spent trying to ignore the problem, did manage to set up a few refugee centres and provide water, food and medical assistance to those in need. Still, the authorities in Serbia did most by not spreading xenophobic messages like the governments of some countries in the region and in Europe.

To sum up the various processes, this was a very complex year: the year in which the premier of Serbia, once ultra-right-wing, visited Srebrenica, and only a day after a gathering to commemorate the victims of Srebrenica was banned in Belgrade. The reconciliation processes in the region, the visit of the Serbian premier Aleksandar Vučić to Srebrenica and the moment when one of the Mothers of Srebrenica attaches the Srebrenica flower to his lapel would have been a symbol of forgiveness were it not for the attack against Vučić by a crowd of visitors that followed. After that, why he had come and the magnitude of the gesture of that Mother of Srebrenica, all of that was overshadowed by a new attack, new hatred, new divisions. It was as if everyone was just waiting for a reason, and any reason was good enough to resurrect the hatred and pour new resentment onto old wounds. The atmosphere that ensued was not dissipated either by the quick-to-follow visit of the BiH presidency to Belgrade, or the walk and game of chess with the Serbian premier at Kalemegdan. It all looked like a play, too banal, too unequivocal, too staged.

From this distance, it seems that Vučić, acting from his official position, and with a long political history that was not always “reconciliatory” like today, it seems he has focused on the objective - becoming “leader of regional reconciliation” - than on the process itself, which has to come from the personal. All these statements lacked a personal reference to himself in the past, to the change he has undergone - in order to be properly understood by the ordinary man who to this day does not understand

why he had gone off to war, but if need be, he would be prepared to go off again.

Since 1995 was the year of the most horrific events in the wars on the territory of former Yugoslavia, but also the year when these wars ended in the “Dayton triangle”, commemorating the twentieth anniversaries of Srebrenica and Operation Storm was a new reason to bring up old grievances. We can safely say that relations with Croatia reached a record low this year. (At the time of writing of this article, the borders are closed and the premiers of both countries fling barbs at each other, which hurt deeper than the reasons for closing the borders and unearthing old wounds.) This is quite discouraging for all of us who have worked on reconciliation processes for years. However, various governments had set reconciliation as the objective, but tried to reach it by short-cuts, most often by avoiding dealing with their own past, so it turned out that their short-cuts were, in fact, dead-ends.

In a similar fashion, after the unrest at the football match between Serbia and Albania, when one of the fans sent a drone bearing the flag of Greater Albania onto the pitch, harsh words, threats and hate speech were heard once again, both in the media and from government officials in both countries. And just as in the case of the BiH presidency, the premiers met and demonstrated how they can socialise and talk (again foregrounding socialising), but all these events leave a deep imprint among the peoples, and among those people we call “ordinary”. Especially because relations with Albania are directly linked to relations with Kosovo - with which, under the watchful eye of the European Union, agreements and negotiations are still on-going, always followed by politicians shaking hands. In the real world, a step forward is facilitated travel (of Kosovar Albanians through Serbia), the fact if Serb representatives being included in the Kosovo government, albeit with a lot of tension and with almost daily protests from the opposition. In Serbia itself, Kosovo is discussed less and less, as if the problem were resolved and there was no need to go back to it.

This year, the Pride Parade, which has been in the works since 2001, was held in Belgrade without any violence in the streets. But with, to paraphrase Radovan Treci “a hundred thousand policemen in the city...” providing security to the parade. Daily discrimination against members of the LGBT community is still visible, but there is increasing condemnation in the public of violence against LGBT.

An increase in violence against women is worrying, because statistically one woman was killed per week

since the start of the year. Only in two days in May this year, seven women were killed by domestic violence, and in the first six months of 2015 the number of women killed (23) was equal to the figure for the whole of 2014. In most cases, the victims had already reported the offenders to the police, their neighbours knew what was happening, but these women paid with their lives for the sluggishness and inefficiency of the state, as well as the habit of the community “not to pry into other people’s business”.

With the cancelling of the most influential political programmes and the transition of information media to the commercial sphere, there is less and less space for public criticism of the status quo. Although everything that happened this year in the realm of media can be understood as the consequence of a long-term situation, it is still concerning that apart from a few independent portals and networks, there is practically no media space for critical and different opinions. At the same time, that media space is given to reality shows, which are not subject to control and are not sanctioned by state regulatory bodies as they promote problematic and

sometimes very violent content.

Living under the pressures of a poor economic situation as a permanent state of affairs, in a climate of various forms of violence, fear, apprehension, every event that ventures outside the framework of the commonplace echoes through the days that follow. While on the one hand, processes are being guided towards accession to the European Union, on the other hand, rule of law is still being avoided. Living in constant apprehension, the citizens themselves feel powerless and react only to the strongest of messages: the solidarity of large swathes of society with the refugees is touching and wonderful, but we must not neglect the voices of those desperate to join these groups and walk over obstacles to the “promised land”. “And who will help me?” is not the question of a selfish, well-off man blind to the suffering of others, but the desperation of a tortured soul, struggling in vain to see hope in a better future where he lives. A man who would most like to leave that area, tired of waiting and broken promises.

Katarina Milićević

## On Prijedor

*4-5 August 2015*

My knowledge about Prijedor and the events in that town and its surroundings was gradual. Little by little, year by year, I found out bits and pieces of the horror that took place in this town in 1992. And each time, with each new thing I learn, I am overcome with sorrow and anger, thinking, how can a human being, complex by nature, do such things to another human being.

Literature, sociology, history, all of the humanities since their emergence until today have been dealing with this question, examining the complexity of humanity, and still - everything that has been written about past events sometimes hurts me just the slightest bit less than the events that unfolded during my lifetime, somewhere close to me.

Hence my personal decision to join colleagues who planned to visit Prijedor during the commemoration of the victims at Hrastova Glavica, in Trnopolje and Omarska. It is never the right time to visit such places, because they always bring up difficult and powerful emotions, and nightmarish images remain in my head for days. I am

trying to understand, without relativising, I am trying to explain it to myself, without turning it into a justification, I am trying to find out as much as I can, but the information boils down to reading court judgements written in dry legal prose.

I try to imagine what it was like to live in this place in 1992, when everyone feared everyone else, when neighbours took away neighbours, never to be seen again. What was it like to order Muslim houses to hang white flags, and what was it like to obey that order, hang a white sheet out your window, put a white band around your arm, and marked like that hope that it would all soon pass.

I enter Prijedor on the afternoon of 5 August, happy that I don’t have internet access, because I know that commemoration of the anniversary of Operation Storm (B/C/S: Oluja) has given rise to a difficult and sorrowful debate in which everyone is a little bit right, but no one is completely right, and that little bit of truth is divided into splinters with everyone grabbing and holding on to their

morsel of truth, because no one wants to know the whole story. These are my thoughts as I enter Prijedor where it is warm and in the narrow streets of the old part of town people mostly drive cars with foreign licence plates. It is August, the time of return visits by those that managed somehow to escape, to at least save their lives.

That evening, our plan was to attend events at the site of what was once the Trnopolje camp, and it is already late when we set off, in a vehicle with Belgrade plates, us four women. We get lost, maps are unreliable, roads unmarked, but this is no coincidence, I think to myself, it is dark and deserted. We stop at a petrol station to ask for directions to the memorial. The woman asks us who we are visiting in the area. We say we are meeting some friends. "By the memorial?" "Yes." Her directions take us to the right road.

By the memorial.

And the memorial was erected to fallen fighters of Republika Srpska, just so, right there, as if its whiteness and wings were put there to remind the dead multitudes that the war still goes on, that it is not enough that the victims sacrificed their lives, that even in their deaths they need to be used for another message to the others. Somewhere behind the memorial, we see car headlights, so we go to what was once a school yard and for a few months the site of the camp.

In Prijedor I know Edin Ramulić, an activist doing to most difficult job after the war: seeking dignity for victims, and dignity for the survivors, and I used to know an Alma, but she doesn't live there any more. And yet, as we reached the area covered by carpets, with a tent by the side, I greeted many people. How do we know each other? From similar actions in the region, or from social networks where we had recognised each other by some basic values and now defend each other from attacks by those "others". Those that would wage war again, because they haven't had enough, those that still seem to be in the majority.

The clatter of plates, they are calling us for dinner. It would be a disgrace to refuse, a disgrace to accept. I never eat at graveyards, even though they tried to teach me how this is done for the peace of the soul, to feed the departed, still I cannot, I keep thinking how many had gone hungry here, how many died of starvation, and I had already had two square meals that day... still, it is proper, we are guests, so we sat down, until a round table started about "The Role of the Media in Preventing Genocide".

The topic was both so wide and so narrow - you don't know what to say, and then again, everything has already

been said and every additional word sounds empty. Some reporters, with two female reporters among them, talked about the media, about the photograph by Ed Williams that helped the world find out about the camps in Prijedor, so they quickly shut them down, about reporting, about how there is no freedom, no objectivity, even today, let alone in war reporting. And we never managed to reach the point: preventing future genocide. But we all knew somewhere deep inside that it keeps happening, even now, not here, but somewhere in the world, someone is torturing and killing some other people...

In the morning, we got in line in Kozarac to go towards Omarska where once a year, the owners of the Mittal iron ore mine allow entry into the premises of the mine to mark the anniversary of the closing of the camp that had been situated there. They say that with special permits you could enter the premises throughout the year, but you know how accessible a place is if you need a special permit to enter it.

The column moved on and then stopped somewhere in a grove of trees.

People got out, we hear them talking about how last year they could not get in, there was some problem with members of the BiH armed forces being there... A man stopped and took a photo of us by our car with the Belgrade plates, and then the plates themselves, he nodded... Not long after that, we heard a police siren. Driving down the empty lane, going by the cars, but they stopped at our car, "You can get in, the column will move on soon." Why us? Let's not try to guess, thought it's quite clear why.

Down rugged and rutted paths filled with grit (I'm not that good with the terminology, the small yellow stones that leave a heavy dust when you walk on them, what are they called?), we reached a so-called parking area from where we continued on foot.

We met an acquaintance, with an injury, on crutches. In the book "The Innocent - Book of Missing Persons from Prijedor" that I happened upon the previous day, I had counted 49 people with the same surname as his. And the book had 3254 pictures of people, three in a row, three rows on a page, in alphabetical order...

In the area between the "White House" and the factory halls, a stage has been set up, army guards, testimony of survivors heard from the speakers... about how they were tortured, about how those that died there were tortured. Inside that "White House" that looks like some abandoned run-down white shack, some might say that the walls are silent because what they have witnessed

cannot be described without turning into stone, the kind of stone the house is made of.

The voice of the host from the speakers giving the floor to a religious leader. He started and then got carried away, speaking of the "Serb race", about Habil and Qabil (Cain and Able), placing the crime here into the confines of holy books, and somehow concluding with the message, or at least that's how I understood it, that to the very last man of this or that faith, there would be no peace here.

I didn't feel well - I kept thinking, it would take just one man like him on the side that I'm coming from and we'd have a war again. To the last man.

Speeches followed, the daughter of a victim said simply: "Never forget, never forgive." And I kept thinking - never is a long word, longer than a human lifespan, than many human lifespans, so why does it have to be never?

And it was sad and painful and difficult... with the sun doing its seasonal work, draining rivulets of sweat from

my body, and me being ashamed to think about the head: "Living people were held here, without water or food, for months, and you're complaining about the heat..."

A politician and representatives of the prison camp detainees association got to the microphone, their story was not about "never", they said something, one even said: "Come, and bring your neighbours, Serbs, Croats..."

At the end, everyone took a white balloon, with a white string and a piece of paper with the name of a victim killed in Omarska at the end of it. There were about seven hundred of them. And three thousand has passed through the camp.

The white balloons flew up.

Lighter than souls, they soared towards the sun.

Leaving the earth with its weight.

For it to pass, for it to never happen again.

Katarina Milićević

## Wave of refugees

### I spent the night at the Keleti train station and realised why it's important to be human

Sometime at the beginning of July, I was to travel to Budapest on business. The train and bus were out of the question, the airline was no good because of the dates, and the only remaining option was a private minivan, which sounds good in theory, they pick you up at your address and take you to your specified address in Budapest, all for the price of 50 Euros for the return trip. But that's in theory.

This is what it looked like in practice.

Me: "Hello, I would like to book a seat from Belgrade to Budapest, return trip, but it's really important for me not to be in Budapest before 8 am, do you have any departures that could accommodate this?" (Given that my meeting was scheduled for 9.30, I wondered what on earth I would do alone in Budapest if I were to arrive at 3 am)

Operator: "Of course, Miss, we have daily departures at various times, and we do have one that is suited to you, you would be in Budapest at 7:30 if that's not a problem."

I must have asked a bazillion times if it was certain

that I would not be arriving in Budapest at 2 or 3 in the morning, and after being assured that there is virtually no possibility of that happening, I confirmed my booking.

Day of Departure, around 4 pm (and my departure was scheduled for 2 am) Operator: "Miss, we're really sorry, but we have to inform you that your departure has been moved to 9.30 pm, which means that you will end up in Budapest at 3 am after all, let us know by 6.30 pm whether you still plan to travel with us."

Most of you now me as a person of tact, but that operator got know my other side as well, much like that famous politician at the extraordinary government session when the cameras were left on.

I call other agencies, and I get more or less the same offer of arriving in Budapest around 2 - 3 am. I call about 30 hotels from booking.com, but none of them are prepared to check me in at 3 am and check me out at 8 am.

And it dawns on me: "I will be alone at night in Budapest and I have to figure out a place where there will

be people, which will be open at night and where there is police around just in case.”

After feverishly browsing through various sites, I find that my only option is to go to Keleti train station. All I could think was, “junkies, hobos, prostitutes, dealers, perverts... hey, but that means there’s bound to be police around.” You know that I travel often and have no problem with travelling alone, but the thought of spending a night alone at a train station in Hungary was quite frightening.

During the trip, I met a fellow traveller and spent the journey in chit-chat. A Hungarian from Budapest, she was named Vera after her Serb great-grandmother. When I told Vera of my ingenious plan to spend the night at Keleti station, she insisted it was out of the question and invited me to stay at her apartment until my meeting. Isn’t that something so human and noble? A young woman who never saw me before, offers me, a complete stranger, to stay with her so that I would not be alone at night in a strange city.

Although I was truly touched by her humanity, my proper upbringing made it impossible for me to come to someone’s house at 3 am. Vera and I exchanged phone numbers and Vera kept sending me text messages every 40 minutes or so until morning to make sure I was ok.

Dear Vera, thank you for confirming that human kindness is not disappearing, that there are people who still believe that all men are brothers and not that man is wolf to man.

And so at 2.30 am (of course, Murphy’s law meant that the border crossing was deserted, not a soul in sight, and of course the driver was a maniac hurtling down the motorway like mad), in my business edition with my laptop bag, I arrived in front of Keleti station. A group of young Arabs sleeping around me on the benches out front, holding underneath their heads all their worldly treasures, a bit to the side were three prostitutes, and across on the other side, two men, homeless I would say, looking incredulously at me as if I had just landed there from another planet.

I walk inside to find numerous Arab and African families sitting and sleeping on the benches and the floor, gripping between them all their possessions that fit into a couple of bundles. A bit further off are the Hungarian homeless, some drug dealers trying to sell to a bunch of drunken English tourists who don’t seem to know where they are and keep screaming how Vienna is a phenomenal city and that the people “here” are the best (I still hope they later managed to find their way to a Vienna-bound train, if that was where they were going), and a couple of

prostitutes looking to find clients.

I settle down on a bench, press play and listen to Brejkersi, and pray to God to hasten the dawn. A man approaches me and tries to explain something in Hungarian and after my good evening in English, takes out his badge - he is a Hungarian plain-clothes police officer - and proceeds to tell me in perfect English that he wants to see my train ticket and passport. Because, it would be logical, if I’m sitting at the train station at 3 am, I must be travelling somewhere. It’s even more “logical” that I don’t have a ticket, because I’m not travelling anywhere. I already see it all play out in my head, he’s going to take me in, I’ll miss my meeting, I’ll definitely have to pay a fine because “it is well known that the Hungarians don’t like Serbs and keep making us pay fines, because they hate us.”

None of that happened, though. I explained what I was actually doing at the train station. Whether he was in a good mood, or he felt sorry for me, or he was simply a kind man by nature, either way, he just smiled and asked whether I’d like some tea or coffee (let me repeat: he - a Hungarian police officer, me - a foreign national), and said he or his colleague would come see me in half an hour or so to make sure I was ok and wished me luck at my business meeting. As he was leaving, he stopped to cover an old lady sleeping on a bench and left a chocolate bar for when she wakes up. He passed by every half hour and waved to me.

Dear Hungarian police officer, thank you for proving that the police is not made up of corrupt cops and uninterested individuals. No, you’re not all the same.

Trains came and went. I wondered what it was like to sleep on the floor of a train station with train whistles going off every half hour. The answer appeared quite unexpectedly in the form of a skipping, beautiful little girl.

It was around 3 am, she was awake, while her parents and the rest of her family were asleep in the corner. She ran over to me and started happily telling me something in Arabic. Now, since my Arabic consists of 20-30 phrases I managed to remember, I didn’t have much to work with in terms of communication, but that didn’t stop the two of us. She sat down next to me and continued talking, she took my hand and examined my painted nails, chatting happily. I felt slightly ridiculous trying in a mix of Arab and Turkish to ask her where she was from, and then I tried in English, but finally I decided not to complicate matters and asked her in proper Serbian: Iraq or Syria. She flinched, looked at me sadly and said Syria. She probably asked me where I was from and then decided I must be from Turkey,



if I understood her correctly. At the mention of Belgrade, she smiled broadly and nodded her head, and when I pulled out some Plazma cookies, there was no end to her joy :) Now, how do I explain to a child that does not speak any language I know that she should go ask her mother whether she is allowed to have a cookie. And then you find how easy it is to communicate even when you don't speak the same language. You just use your finger, it might be considered uncultured and primitive in the "developed and civilised world", but you point to the cookie and then to mum and you nod your head. She ran off, woke her mother, who was first startled, thinking something had happened. And I could clearly see her relief that it was just about a cookie, that no one had attacked or hurt her daughter... The mother smiled, nodded her head and looked in my direction, smiling again, she put her hand on her chest and slightly bowed her head to thank me. When the girl started towards me again, she pulled her by the sleeve and I can clearly picture her saying, "Don't go bothering that nice lady, it's not polite," but the girl pulled away and came to me.

And so the two of us, one 32 years old and the other only 5, one called Ivana, the other called Nur, we sat at Keleti station at 4 am eating Plazma cookies. Each speaking in her own language. Nur started drawing, she drew her life, she drew destroyed houses and tanks, because that was all she knew, and I started crying. And then a 5-year-old child comforted a 32-year-old woman, as a child would, as a human would, she took my hand in hers and caressed it.

And that is why I cannot allow anyone to view Arab children and these small asylum seekers through the prism of future terrorists, because these are children. An ordinary child that like Plazma cookies and is fascinated by painted nails like any other five-year-old girl, and likes to play clapping games.

Keleti station was slowly waking up, but Nur was already sleepy, so she went to her mother. As she was leaving, she whispered something to me, but all I understood was thank you.

The holy month of Ramadan was under way, and an old granny approached me and started talking to me. It often happens that in Turkey and various Arab countries, I am identified as "one of their own", which is what the

granny thought. Since we couldn't understand each other, a young man from the next bench over jumped in to help. A young Syrian with excellent command of English. The granny was actually little Nur's grandmother and she had seen me talking with her granddaughter and now asked me to join them for suhur, the Ramadan breakfast eaten before sunrise.

And you feel like crying when you realise you are being invited to breakfast by a person who has been forced to spend her old age stranded in a train station because of the greed and money-grubbing of the world's politicians. Who has lived to see European teenagers turn their heads at the site of her, because her kind "uglifies the city". And when you realise this person still keeps kindness in her heart, you are defeated by the realisation that you have so few such people around you, how those around you are eternally dissatisfied and ungrateful for all they have. And you feel like calling up everyone in your phonebook at 5 am to tell them, when you wake up, be thankful for having slept in your own bed.

Thank you to Nur and her grandmother for giving me the opportunity to write this story and feel once again true gratitude for everything life has given me and for everything it has spared me. I hope that what awaits them at the end of this journey is what is contained in the meaning of the name Nur - light.

It was morning when I left Keleti station, leaving them behind. Hopefully as happy as I was that for a few hours I managed to reaffirm my faith in people. And I have stopped fearing nights in train stations, because sometimes it is good to face your fears and prejudices.

And all of you, dear friends (those who had the patience to read to the end of this text), do not turn your heads away when you see them on the street, do not turn your heads from your poor and helpless neighbours. If life has already deprived them of so much, there is no reason for anyone to take away and trample their human dignity. If you can, try to be brothers and sisters to each other, and if you cannot, there is really no need to turn into wolves.

Ivana Karalejić

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## Voyage(s) of the Damned

Gustav Schröder was the German captain of the MS St Louis, which on 13 May 1939 set sail from Hamburg carrying 937 Jews to Cuba. At least that was the initial plan of the captain who will be made famous by this voyage. Embarking was no small feat, there are separate testimonies about this, but I will simply say that the tickets were prohibitively expensive, and under constant threat of arrest and deportation to the camps, reaching the harbour, even if you had the money, required a whole network of assistance and organisation. One of the people that lent a hand was Max Schmeling, a famous German boxer who concealed brothers Henri and Werner Lewin in his hotel room until they could embark in the hope of reaching New York, escaping Hitler's regime, concentration camps, and almost certain death.

*"Saturday, 13 May, Hamburg. Captain Gustav Schröder stands on the bridge watching his passengers on pier seventy-six in the Hamburg harbour. Full of hope, they have come to embark the ship that is to take them to freedom. Schröder is familiar with the usual chaos that ensues. Music from the ship's chapel, heaps of piled up baggage, people with passports and embarkation papers in their hands, excited children, sirens, embraces, kisses, tears – it is all as usual when a luxury steamer such as the St Louis is setting sail. The only thing is that for the passengers of this "pleasure journey for nine hundred tourists", as it is entered in the ship's log, a return voyage has not been planned. Nine hundred German men, women and children are leaving Germany forever because they are Jews and are being systematically persecuted for it by their homeland."*

(from the book Summer of '39 by Werner Biermann)

On Saturday, 27 May, the ship reached Cuba, but the Jewish refugees from Germany were barred from disembarking. Despite the pressure of both the public and the press on President Brú, he refused to provide shelter to the ship's passengers with "illegal documents obtained through bribery". One man cut his wrists in desperation, but 28 passengers did possess "legal" documents. The remaining passengers that the Captain refused to return to Germany expected to find shelter in America, which they perceived as the "land of freedom".

On 4 June, the MS St Louis is in the Caribbean, off the shore of Florida. The coastguard refuses access to the shore. Roosevelt is on the campaign trail, the US is

fraught with unemployment, no one wants immigrants coming in "taking our jobs". Canada also refuses them. And so does the Dominican Republic. Captain Schröder sends telegrams to governments throughout the world, but his appeals for help fall on deaf ears. No one wants the already desperate passengers, and Goebbels is jubilant over their misfortune, because he wants to whole world to see how no one wants the Jews. The press refer to this as the "voyage of the damned" and Captain Schröder is ordered to return the ship to Germany, which he resolutely refuses, and in a telegram says he will "leave the ship ablaze on the British shore". After a protracted agony, several governments send word that they will accept the passengers: the Netherlands (181), Belgium (214), France (224), and Great Britain (287). The passengers celebrate their saviour, Captain Gustav Schröder. (For the passengers that disembark on mainland Europe, this will not be the last time they are forced to flee. Almost all of them were later taken to the camps and over 300 died there. Only those accepted by Great Britain fared better, but some of them also died in the bombings.)

The start of World War 2 found Captain Schröder returning to Germany where he was promptly sent into retirement. It was to be his final voyage, but until the end of his life (in 1959), the grateful passengers from the MS St Louis sent him packages of food and donations for sustenance.

Today's passengers on the St Louis, these unwanted people running for their lives, fleeing war and persecution in the hopes of finding a better life in peace, are all around us. Under cover of night, they travel in boats that take on passengers five times above their capacity, they cross national borders in secret, walking for months in already tattered shoes, women and children wait for days without food or water for the next smuggler who will take them somewhere safer. They call them asylum seekers and nobody wants them. In the countries through which they pass, people turn their heads away. And they themselves endeavour to be invisible. In the countries they want to reach, they are unwanted, unemployment is high everywhere, no one wants to share their hard-earned bread with some refugee from halfway across the globe.

There are no more Captain Schröders in Europe to resist the powers that be and appeal to those that can help.

No one opens the door to people fleeing war. Europe admires itself for having defeated fascism 70 years ago. Europe is silent while in some corner of the world war still rages, just as in 1939, people fleeing war were universally unwanted. Hungary is building a wall on its border with Serbia to stop the influx of refugees. 26 years after the fall of one wall, Europe is building another. The responsibility will be shouldered by Hungary, but to be fair – no one has spoken up against that wall.

There is no better way for a world calling itself civilised and humane to prove it than by saving people fleeing war. Today, just like in 1939, whole ships can be saved only by a mensch. Is there one such among us in Europe in 2015?

In 1939, among the refugees were Thomas Mann, Albert Einstein, Bertolt Brecht and many others who stood up to Hitler's regime in various ways. Look around you – perhaps among the people against whom walls are being raised is a future Nobel Laureate, an author, a scientist... And perhaps just a labourer looking to save his life, not caring about what job he ends up doing in that better world.

Fascism is every ideology that does not view people as individuals but as a group to be guarded against or to be defeated. What were you celebrating in May, Europe? Who did you defeat only to build walls again? Did you truly defeat fascism as in your hubris you claim? We turn our heads from the suffering of others, as almost all governments in the world in 1939 turned their heads so as not to see the fates of the passengers on the St Louis.

Voyages of the damned span the seas again, but the shores grow increasingly distant.

*"Anxious we sit close to the borders  
Waiting for the day of return, and watch each slight  
change*

*Across the border, Rush to question  
Every refugee, forgetting nothing and  
Omitting nothing,  
And forgiving nothing, we forgive nothing.  
Oh... the cries from their camps are heard even here..."*

Bertolt Brecht

Katarina Milićević

## Words of the new team member

### Be careful what you wish for, it might come true

So, I came to work for CNA.

My new colleagues tell me that people usually write a text, a story about how they came to be part of the CNA team, and that I should write something for the website, so that other people can see it, too.

I got a bad case of stage fright, from those common petty little vanities, so entirely human. It's very important for me to be here, so it should be a good text, and then my colleagues will read it, and then other people who think well of CNA, and then those who don't think so well. What do I write? All long and clever words. I stare at a blank piece of paper for days. I write something, then delete it, it is not worthy of the opportunity or the task. It's a little pathetic, delete, it's a little impersonal, add again. At the end, I don't know what it is, but it is honest. Fair enough, I'd say.

I don't have anything of tremendous significance to impart, I don't see my life as some spectacular story. It's more the sum of situations and circumstances, responses to them in the given moments, such that I would not berate myself too much later on, but I still end up berating myself just a bit. I was born in Sarajevo, and then I was a refugee with my parents several times, first to Gračanica, then Prnjavor, and finally to Stara Pazova. Then peaceful life begins, I mean, there is no shooting anywhere in close proximity, which was long presented as no small thing in my life, both to me and to others. I went first to primary and then to secondary school in Pazova, and then moved to Novi Sad for university, completed my studies all in order, with high marks, which is high up in the system for designating one a responsible person, but at the same time, leaves little opportunity to find answers to life's questions.

A series of fortunate circumstances also attached itself to my life, so that after completing my internship near the end of my studies, I started working in the Provincial Administration, which was the sought-after ideal of many young people in Serbia, a secure job and a regular paycheck. As a bonus, I got the most wonderful co-workers, hard-working and ambitious, but humane. I would say, people in the fullest sense of the word. And an opportunity to work on things I believed in, which



was advancing the position of women. These were years in which I grew and learned a lot. Grew internally as a person, of course, nature had long since limited my height. I saw that it was possible to do good work even in the state administration, to achieve results, but I also saw the price you had to pay - people were burning out, and things were essentially unequal and mostly unfair. Both these insights were very important to me.

Despite all this, there were still things I was interested in but could not reach or find answers to either at university, or at work, or on my own. Still searching, I applied for the basic training organised by CNA. I wasn't

accepted, but they put me on the waiting list and I was invited to come only a day before the start of the training. In order to participate, I made a couple of somersaults, returning from Palić, from one school, moving out of the student dorms, because I was due to move out, and setting off in order to make it for the first session at nine o'clock the next morning. I drove all night and I made it. I did nod off a bit during the first session, but I was there and I participated. Really participated. With my heart and soul, and mind. After those ten days, I thought if I never get so much as a hello from CNA again, it was worth it - I had changed. And the change for me was big, but it was bigger for me that it was important, vitally important. Despite my fortunate circumstances, I never held back.

But sometimes it makes no difference what you think is enough and where you think your limits are. I'd never viewed myself particularly favourably. So I was overjoyed when they invited me to participate in the training for trainers. This opportunity was different from my basic training. Actually, that was when I started asking myself, what was I doing in my life with respect to my values, what more could I do and why wasn't I doing it. In a way, I realised how the important work I had been doing until then was not enough, that there were other important things and I realised I was being held back at the time, but then my eyes were opened. I wished very much for something else. I wrote on the evaluation form: 'call me to come work with you,' on the one hand as a compliment and to express gratitude for everything I had gained and how important it was to me, but also as a timid wish I dared not speak out loud. Not even to myself. Be careful what you wish for, it might come true. Or simply wish very hard and then work even harder, that is what I believe in now.

When I received an invitation to work at CNA, my mind was made up in a matter of minutes and through a dawning realisation that took some months, I never

regretted my decision. I did not regret it, not because it was easy, that it certainly wasn't, but because I want to work with other people to understand what the problem is and then try to find a solution. And I did not come here because I'm an altruist, but because there are so many taboos, in society, in school, in my home. I know there will always be taboos. But these taboos, about war, about the past, about who the good guys and who the bad guys are and where it will all lead, they hurt and distress me, not some past or future taboos. They hurt and distress and worry me, here and now.

Today, when I live and work in Sarajevo, every day is an open question. It was important for me to come here, where I was born and from where I had to leave. As a chance to try to understand and to change myself, and to effect change around me. During my first days in Sarajevo, as I walked through town, all I could see were my own prejudices. An opportunity to lay yourself bare and get to know yourself from a different perspective seems invaluable to me. First, I was surprised how deeply the prejudice was rooted inside me, and second, some things become so distant, even when you think they are so close. My first shock came when I saw how present the war was among people here, how it was talked about every day, in vastly different places, how different people were interested in this topic, even though twenty years had passed. On the other hand, I was shocked by how deeply I had internalised my perception of the other, how the other can be foreign and distant, I wondered where I had learned this, nurtured it and for how long I had carried it within myself.

I see my coming to CNA, to Sarajevo as my mission to look for opportunities and ways to talk and open up new perspectives, to see ourselves in them. I know it's not all down to me, but I will do my best.

Nataša Okilj



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