



godišnji
izvještaj

2012

annual
report

CENTAR ZA
NENASILNU
AKCIJU

Sarajevo | Beograd

Godišnji izveštaj Annual report 2012

Br. 15, decembar/prosinac 2012.
No. 15, December 2012



Centar za nenasilnu akciju
Centre for Nonviolent Action

CENTAR ZA NENASILNU AKCIJU

Ured u Beogradu / Office in Belgrade
Čika Ljubina 6, 11000 Beograd, Srbija
cna.beograd@nenasilje.org

Ured u Sarajevu / Office in Sarajevo
Kranjčevićeva 33, 71000 Sarajevo, Bosna i Hercegovina
cna.sarajevo@nenasilje.org

Godišnji izveštaj 2012
Annual report 2012
br.15, novembar 2012.
No.15, November 2012.

Uredila / Editor:
Katarina Milićević

Prelom i dizajn / Layout & design:
Katarina Milićević

Photos:
Nedžad Horozović
Nenad Vukosavljević
Katarina Milićević
Boro Kitanoski

Translation:
Ana Mladenović
Nina Vukosavljević
Milica Minić

CNA tim
Adnan Hasanbegović
Amer Delić
Davorka Turk
Ivana Franović
Katarina Milićević
Nedžad Horozović
Nenad Vukosavljević

Tehnička podrška:
Sanja Burazerović
Tanja Marković

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

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

Sadržaj

UVOD 6

NOVOSTI I NAJAVE 7

CNA PROGRAMI MIROVNOG OBRAZOVANJA

Osnovni trening iz izgradnje mira (Ulcinj 2012.) 8

Osnovni trening iz izgradnje mira (Mavrovo 2012.) 10

Korak dalje u izgradnji mira. Vrednosti i prakse 12

Kako se naša društva sjećaju prošlosti – primjeri bivše Jugoslavije, Austrije i Njemačke 13

RAD SA RATNIM VETERANIMA

Otvaranje spomenika palim borcima Armije BiH 15

Trening za ratne veterane 16

SARADNJA

(P)održani iz Nemačke 18

Posjeta spomen mjestima i moja sjećanja 20

Konferencija : 20 godina posle – ratovi u Jugoslaviji 22

Odgovornost i izazovi u evropskoj kulturi mira 22

Konferencija : Život nakon rata 23

Civilna mirovna služba – radionica o izradi strategije 24

Radionica o suočavanju s prošlošću u gruzijsko-abhaskom kontekstu 24

POLITIČKI I DRUŠTVENI KONTEKSTI U KOJIMA RADIMO

Hrvatska 25

Srbija 27

Bosna i Hercegovina 28

Makedonija 30

Kosovo 32

NOVI LJUDI U TIMU

Davorka Turk 34

Amer Delić 35

PLUS

Posetili smo, i iskreno preporučujemo: „Ecofutura“ 36

INTRODUCTION 38

NEWS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS 39

CNA PEACE EDUCATION PROGRAMMES

Basic training in peacebuilding (Ulcinj 2012.) 40

Basic training in peacebuilding (Mavrovo 2012.) 42

Peace Indepth. Values and practices 44

Ways our societies remember the past – the examples of the former Yugoslavia, Austria and Germany 45

WORK WITH WAR VETERANS

Opening of the monument to the fallen soldiers of the Army of BiH 47

Encounter of ex-combatants 49

COOPERATION

(Em)powered by Germany 50

Visit to Memorial Sites and My Recollections 52

Conference: 20 Years after – The Wars in Yugoslavia 54

Responsibility and Challenges of an European Culture of Peace 54

Life after the war – Salzburg conference 55

Civil Peace Service, strategy workshop 55

The workshop on dealing with the past in the Georgian/Abkhaz context 56

CONTEXTS IN WHICH WE WORK

Croatia 57

Serbia 59

Bosnia and Herzegovina 60

Macedonia 63

Kosovo 65

WORDS OF THE NEW TEAM MEMBERS

Davorka Turk 67

Amer Delić 68

PLUS

We've visited "Ecofutura" and we wholeheartedly recommend it 69

Prijateljima i prijateljicama CNA,

Pred vama je 15. godišnji izveštaj o našem radu, kojim je obuhvaćen period od septembra 2011. do septembra 2012. godine. Reklo bi se, jubilarni izveštaj i jubilarna godina, jer upravo toliko dugo postoji Centar za nenasilnu akciju. Mi svoj 15. jubilej nažalost nismo obeležili svečanošću, na kojoj bi nas tapšali po ramenu, i nazdravljali za mnogaja ljeta, obeležili smo ga radno, aktivnostima, pod pritiskom vremena, događaja i ljudi, prijatnih i neprijatnih situacija u kojima smo se nalazili (i snalazili), a opet smo pronašli i puteve da nam sve to ne padne mnogo teško, i da iz svega izvučemo pouku i dobru stranu. Ukoliko nam se ukaže prilika voleli bi da proslavimo 16. rođendan i iskoristimo neke ponude ljudi sa kojima smo sarađivali, da nas za tu priliku opskrbe zalihom hrane i pića iz svoje lične proizvodnje. O tom potom.

Tokom ove godine završili smo Napredni trening, koji se sastojao iz tri modula, i koji nas je prilično iscrpeo, ali i dao veliku energiju za dalji rad, održali smo dva Osnovna treninga, Seminar razmene o suočavanju sa prošlošću na kojem su učestvovali ljudi iz našeg regiona, Nemačke i Austrije, radili smo sa ratnim veteranima, išli smo na studijsko putovanje u Berlin, koje nam je bilo potrebno zbog daljih aktivnosti, a pokazalo se neprocenjivo korisnim za sve nas, zbog uvida koje smo stekli... U izveštajima ranijih godina smo pisali „radili smo mnogo i žestoko“. Ni ova godina nije izuzetak, bilo nam je jako naporno, vrlo stresno na momente, ali imali smo i veliko zadovoljstvo zbog urađenog, i jako pozitivne fidbekove od naših učesnika/ca, i prijatelja/ica organizacije. O svemu što smo radili čitaćete na stranama ovog izveštaja. I ponešto o našim planovima, kojih ima puno, našim budućim aktivnostima, našim željama.

Ova godina za nas je bila teška jer smo promenili sastav tima. Iz različitih razloga u CNA više nisu Tamara Šmidling i Sanja Deanković, a kratko je sa nama bila Sandra Khusrawi, angažovana kao strana volonterka. Izdvajamo odlazak Tamare Šmidling nakon 11 godina provedenih u CNA, kao gubitak koji nam je i lično i organizacijski, teško pao. Nakon svega, želimo da im se iskreno zahvalimo na doprinosima koje su svojim radom dale organizaciji.

Naš tim je uvećan dolaskom Davorke Turk iz Zagreba i Amera Delića iz Zavidovića u sarajevski CNA ured, a dodatnu podršku predstavljaju i Sanja Burazerović/Sarajevo i Tanja Marković/Beograd. Kako su Dada i Amer naši davnašniji prijatelji, koji su učestvovali na brojim aktivnostima u našoj organizaciji, i dali veliki doprinos izgradnji mira u regionu, radujemo se svakodnevom radu i razmeni sa njima. Njihove utiske o dolasku u CNA možete, takođe, da pročitate u ovom izveštaju.

I ove godine smo imali nedostatak kapaciteta, a mnogo posla. No, i u sledeću godinu ulazimo puni elana i novih ideja, i unapred znamo da ćemo mnogo da radimo, a nadamo se da ni rezultati, kao ni fidbek od svih vas neće izostati.

Radovali bismo se ako se javite sa povratnom informacijom, kritikom, mišljenjem...

Srdačno,
CNA tim

Nasleđe nacionalsocijalizma – kultura sećanja u Berlinu

Krajem marta 2012. nas šestoro iz CNA tima je imalo priliku da ode na studijski put u Berlin i čitavih nedelju dana posveti spomenicima u Berlinu, odnosno kulturi sećanja. Ovu priliku smo dugo čekali, a kada smo je dočekali iskoristili smo je do poslednjih atoma snage. Vratili smo se puni utisaka koji nikako da se slegnu i mislim da još uvek nismo svesni toga šta smo sve naučili.

Izveštaj o poseti:

<http://nenasilje.org/2012/nasledje-nacionalsocijalizma-kultura-secanja-u-berlinu/>

Eksterna evaluacija

Evaluacioni izveštaj je dostupan samo na engleskom jeziku:

http://nenasilje.org/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/Evaluation_Report_2012_CNA_by_C_Schweitzer.pdf

Izveštaj sadrži evaluaciju rada na polju neformalnog obrazovanja iz izgradnje mira, od strane CNA, i pokriva programe Osnovni trening i Napredni Trening. Autorica evaluacije je mirovna istraživačica Christine Schweitzer iz Hamburga.

USKORO: Priručnik o suočavanju sa prošlošću

U pripremi je naš priručnik o suočavanju sa prošlošću, baziran na petnaestogodišnjem iskustvu rada CNA na prostoru bivše SFRJ. Priručnik će sadržati i sve metode rada Centra za nenasilnu akciju na suočavanju sa prošlošću, iskustva i pouke koje smo stekli, kao i mali pojmovnik reči i sintagma koje se u ovom kontekstu najčešće koriste. Očekujemo da će priručnik biti odštampan do kraja 2012. godine.

Nova aktivnost na temu memorijalizacije

Počinjemo rad na novoj aktivnosti na temu **memorijalizacije**: kako i čega se sjećamo iz prošlog rata, na primerima spomenika u BiH. Posle nekoliko godina rada na pripremi, krajem 2012. godine krenuli smo u realizaciju knjige fotografija o mestima sećanja i načinima memorijalizacije. Očekujemo da će ova knjiga, posle dugog istraživanja i fotografisanja obeleženih i neobeleženih mesta sećanja, iz štampe izaći 2014. godine.

cna programi mirovnog obrazovanja

Osnovni treninzi iz izgradnje mira

Osnovni trening iz izgradnje mira (Ulcinj 2012.)

Ulcinj, 20-30.04.2012.

Od 20-30.04.2012. u Ulcinju smo organizovali trideset šesti po redu desetodnevni Osnovni trening iz izgradnje mira.

Za grupu učesnika/ca bi se moglo reći da su bili vrlo motivisani, da su predano i naporno radili tokom radionica i da su bili zainteresovani za sve ponuđene teme, a posebno suočavanje s prošlošću. Skoro svim učesnicima ovo je bila prva prilika da sa ljudima iz različitih sredina razgovara o ovim temama.

Bio je to sadržajan, emotivno jak, ali i zahtevan trening zahvaljujući poteškoj grupi. Nije u njoj bilo posebno "problematičnih" pojedinaca/ki, ali je njihova kombinacija i međusobna interakcija bila plodno tle za brojne sukobe. Osećaj poverenja se u grupi dugo i sporo gradio mahom zbog nedostatka sluha za drugačije mišljenje, posebno ono "u sopstvenim redovima" (etničkim).

Ove poteškoće nisu neuobičajene, ali nam je bilo potrebno neobično mnogo vremena za izgradnju kakvog-takvog

poverenja u grupi. Jedan od razloga svakako jeste kombinacija određenih osoba u grupi učesnika, ali razlog leži i u tome što je do prave konstruktivne emotivne razmene došlo tek u drugoj polovini treninga. To se moglo preduprediti malo drugačijim postavkama radionica u prva dva radna dana tako što bi se odvojilo vremena za neku od vežbi koje dovode do emotivne razmene na konstruktivan način. Ovako je do prve emotivne razmene došlo tek u okviru sukoba između pojedinih članova/ica grupe, pa su bili potrebni posebni naponi da se radi na međusobnom poverenju.

Na ovom treningu smo najviše i najdublje obrađivali temu suočavanje s prošlošću. Time smo skratili prostor za rad na temi izgradnja mira, ali je to bila dobra odluka jer je potreba da se na suočavanju s prošlošću radi bila najveća. Pažljivo smo vraćali sve glavne tačke oko kojih se nismo slagali, ali na način da pokušavamo da shvatimo zašto i kako nam se stavovi razlikuju. Sve vežbe koje mogu da dovedu do "debatnog" načina komunikacije i povišenog adrenalina su, naravno, vremenski ograničene. Međutim, sve sporne tačke iz tih



vežbi smo tematizovali u narednim radionicama, ali u takvoj postavci da se o njima može pričati na konstruktivniji način. Interesantno je da se u evaluaciji treninga više učesnika/ca žalilo da smo ih prekidali i da im nismo dali da se do kraja ispričaju, iako su mogli da nastave priču već u nekoj od sledećih radionica (ali na drugačiji način) ili u neformalno vreme.

U toku treninga pokrenuta je inicijativa da se napiše apel za mir u Makedoniji, koja je potaknuta razvojem događaja poslednjih meseci. Apel je u procesu izrade (što je trajan proces, jer je i samo pisanja teksta apela u ovako šarolikoj grupi izazov), no izgleda da će doći do finalnog uobličavanja teksta i njegovog slanja na relevantne adrese.

Na kraju ostaje utisak da je ovaj trening vredeo svog uloženog truda (a trud za organizovanje jednog ovakvog desetodnevnog treninga, njegovo održavanje, pa i učešće na njemu je zaista povelik). Ciljevi treninga u vezi sa senzibilizacijom i osvešćivanjem su u velikoj meri ostvareni. U nešto manjoj meri su ostvareni ciljevi u vezi sa osnaživanjem za delovanje. Očekivani minimum je da više od polovine učesnika/ca na neki način primenjuje naučeno u svom radu/okruženju, što verujemo da će biti efekat treninga. Svesni smo da je preterano očekivanje da se jedan deo učesnika aktivira i van uobičajenog polja rada, posebno imajući u vidu da dobar deo grupe zapravo nema iskustvo društvenog aktivizma. Za njih bi nam bilo potrebno još radnih dana, gde bismo mogli da obradimo neke osnovne društvenog delovanja i praktičnih veština koje su od pomoći.

I usmena i pismena evaluacija treninga su pokazale visoko zadovoljstvo učesnika/ca, pojedinci su čak nazivali trening velikom životnom školom. Sad nam preostaje jedino da se to zadovoljstvo pretoči u delovanje.

Grupu učesnika/ca činilo je 20 ljudi iz Hrvatske (3), Bosne i Hercegovine (4), Makedonije (4), Crne Gore (2), Srbije (4) i Kosova (2). Jedna učesnica je bila iz Nemačke koja u okviru Civilne mirovne službe trenutno živi i radi u sarajevskom uredu CNA i koja odlično govori bosanski. U ovoj vrlo heterogenoj grupi je bilo 11 žena i 9 muškaraca, starosne dobi od 22 do 67 godina, odnosno u proseku 35 godina. Oko polovine grupe je aktivna u nevladinim organizacijama (mada još nekoliko njih povremeno sarađuje sa nekom NVO). Potom, bilo je troje ljudi aktivnih u političkim strankama, dvojica u medijima, dvoje u državnoj službi (od toga jedan zaposlen u policiji), dvoje u prosveti (nastavnica građanskog vaspitanja i nastavnik veronauke), i jedna osoba iz udruženja logoraša.

U trenerskom timu su bili Adnan Hasanbegović, Katarina Milićević i Ivana Franović iz CNA i naša saradnica Marijana Stojić.

I još nekoliko reči, a u vezi zanimljivosti iz prijava za trening i procesa odabira. Stiglo nam je rekordnih 227 prijava i bilo je jako teško napraviti odabir, a ne ogrešiti se o brojne kvalitetne prijave. Najviše prijava je stiglo iz BiH – 68 (što je čest slučaj), potom iz Makedonije – 58, pa iz Srbije – 56, Hrvatske – 26, iz



Crne Gore čak 10 (s obzirom da ih prethodnih godina skoro uopšte nije bilo) i sa Kosova 9. Pored navedenih 227 prijava bilo je i onih koje nisu razmatrane: nekoliko nepopunjenih prijava (da ne kažem praznih), dve prijave iz Gane (s obzirom da je radni jezik treninga bosanski/hrvatski/srpski i fokus je na zemljama bivše Jugoslavije), prijave osoba koje su već učestvovala na našem Osnovnom treningu (što se neretko dešava), itd.

Još malo statistike: kao i obično, više prijava su poslale žene - 140, dok su muškarci 87. Prijavili su se ljudi između 19 i 67 godina starosti, a prosečna starost bila je 29 godina.

U prijavnom upitniku postoji i pitanje kako su saznali za trening. Iz toga možemo videti da najveći broj ljudi za trening saznaje preko interneta (različitih portala, mailing lista), direktno od nas (našeg sajta, facebook profila, mailing liste) ili drugih nevladinih organizacija. Veliki procenat ljudi (oko 20%) informaciju i/ili preporuku dobija od bivših učesnika/ca treninga. Zanimljivo nam je da nezamislivo broj ljudi informaciju dobija na fakultetu, od profesora ili ljudi zaposlenih u prosveti, pa i podatak da je preporuka došla od profesora iz Argentine ili Nirnberga, ili to što se prijavilo više studenata sa Institut za bezbednost, odbranu i mir iz Skoplja, jer su preporuku dobili na fakultetu.

Pored ovog broja prijava odabir postaje sve teži posao, pa je savet onima koji žele da se prijave da posebnu pažnju posvete popunjavanju upitnika i pokušaju što bolje da pojašne zašto žele da učestvuju na treningu, šta je to na čemu već rade i kako misle da bi im trening bio od pomoći u daljem radu, zašto ih baš ove teme zanimaju, šta je to o čemu žele da pričaju sa ljudima iz različitih zemalja bivše Jugoslavije, itd.

Važno nam je da napomenemo da smo, kao i uvek, izuzetno zadovoljni saradnjom i uslugom Hotela "Dvori Bašića" i "Palata Venecija" u kojima smo održali ovaj trening. Multietnička sredina kakva je Ulcinj jer uvek dobar izbor za održavanje treninga. I zato volimo da se tamo vraćamo.

I.F.

Osnovni trening iz izgradnje mira (Mavrovo 2012.)

Mavrovo, 6.-16.7.2012.

Osnovni trening iz izgradnje mira organizirali smo u Makedoniji, među ostalim i zbog toga da bi nam se mogli pridružiti učesnici s Kosova. Te su nam se nade donekle izjalovile, ali smo zato nastojali u našoj drugoj namjeri - približiti makedonski kontekst sukoba i procesa izgradnje mira učesnicima koji dolaze iz drugih dijelova regije – Bosne i Hercegovine, Crne Gore, Srbije i Hrvatske. To se pokazalo dobrim rješenjem jer nam je omogućilo da procese izgradnje mira i suočavanja s prošlošću postavimo u širi okvir, odredimo im zajedničke točke i problematična mjesta.

Nekoliko stvari nam je u tom procesu bilo značajno i indikativno.

Mnogi/e od naših učesnika/ca već su prošli različite edukacijske programe iz područja ljudskih prava, što nije neobično budući da je to jedna od točaka na koju se u procesu pristupanja Europskoj uniji stavlja naglasak, a za taj su se europski put odlučile sve države regije, stoga takvih programa ne nedostaje. Kako, dakle, svijest o diskriminacijskom potencijalu društvenih predrasuda već postoji, teže je raspravljati o tome kako ih svi posjedujemo, samo su neke od njih manje ili više društveno prihvaćene, i često ovise o trenutku u kojemu živimo - u našoj su skupini onih kojima se „lijepe“ neke nepoželjne karakteristike najgore prošli „pušači“, iako mnogi od nas nose i taj identitet.

Nadalje, duh vremena osjeća se i kad je u pitanju rod, pa se moglo zamijetiti nastojanje da se uspostavi određena ravnoteža u diskriminaciji žena i muškaraca, te se i za nekada neprijeporno žensko pravo, poput prava na pobačaj, tražilo više muškog utjecaja. Zato je iznimno važno da se u raspravi otvorilo pitanje utjecaja ratnih zbivanja na položaj i percepciju žene u našim današnjim društvima. Propitivanje retradicionalizacijskih praksi i slike majke-poroditeljice nacije smatram najvažnijim naglascima ove rasprave.

U vremenu u kojemu živimo i društvene napetosti i sukobi shvaćaju se upravo kao borba različitih identiteta za svoje vlastito priznanje i prostor, pa možda i nije neobična početna suzdržanost da se raspravlja upravo o nacionalnim identitetima. Neki od mlađih među nama nastojali su nam objasniti da se ne mogu pronaći „u toj priči“, da su smoreni (post)ratnim identitetom područja na kojemu žive i ne žele tu vrstu određenja.

Usporedimo li ga s nekim drugim identitetima koje nosimo, nacionalni identitet doista može biti bremenit. Upravo smo zbog toga inzistirali na procesu konstruktivnog suočavanja s prošlošću, i tu nam je od velike pomoći bila rasprava o narativima u kojima ti identiteti traže svoje utemeljenje.

Otuda i tako presudna važnost makedonskog konteksta. O njemu se u ostalim dijelovima regije ne zna previše, medijski, politički i regionalni primat zauzeli su sukobi 90-ih. Nastojali smo ga približiti našim učesnicima prikazivanjem dokumentarnog filma „Isprekidana crta“: „Nevjerojatno mi je. Ne mogu da ga ne poredim s bosanskim kontekstom. Neki su narativi toliko slični koje čujemo od ljudi s različitih strana, iste su formulacije riječi, rečenica, osuđivanja, prosuđivanja. Jako emotivno sam doživjela film, ali ne mogu da mi to prvo ne padne na pamet“.

Trudili smo se prepoznati mehanizme i procese koji mogu dovesti do sukoba te raspravljali o tome koliki je značaj onoga što se u našim društvima prešućuje, i kakav to utjecaj može imati na procese izgradnje mira. Kad su nacionalni identiteti u pitanju, na ovom smo treningu prošli dug i emotivan put. Zahvaljujući upravo nacionalnim identitetima imali smo prilike doživjeti i neke vrlo katarzične momente.

Naši su učesnici/e na samom početku pokazali veliku otvorenost, želju i spremnost na rad i preispitivanje. Bili smo u grupi širokog raspona godina i različitih nivoa aktivističkog iskustva koja se vrlo rano vrlo intenzivno povezala, bacila se naglavačke u cijeli proces i značajan dio vremena nije bila voljna to narušiti preispitivanjem ovog rano uspostavljenog povjerenja. S jedne strane to nam je omogućilo da u procese zalazimo duboko, raspravljamo žustro i nastojimo stvari postaviti tako da ih možemo razumjeti. Prostor je bio siguran i unutar njega izražena podrška. Međutim, to nas je unekoliko i lomilo što se iskazalo kao nespremnost na suprotstavljanje mišljenja sve do kasnije faze treninga. No važno je da je do toga došlo, i da je postojala predanost da iz dane situacije izvuče što je više moguće. Tako smo u samoj završnici dobili pomirenje u praksi! Ili, kako bi to rekao N.: „Očekivao sam neke stručnjake, doktore nauka, a ljudi ti kažu sve što si znao – zaboravi. Stvarno, kad ti neko da da naljepiš nekom identitet, to je nešto skroz drugo. Važno je da ja provedem nekoliko dana s nekim iz Srbije, Makedonije, Kosova... Imamo neke razlike, ali kad provedeš ovdje deset dana vidiš koliko su beznačajne.“

Dvije su osobe morale napustiti trening zbog nepredviđenih osobnih okolnosti, a kako je jedna od njih bila i naša jedina učesnica s Kosova, osjetili smo nedostatak ove perspektive.

Za 37. trening iz izgradnje mira stiglo je 114 prijava. Najviše iz Srbije (36) i Makedonije (31), potom iz BiH (25), Hrvatske (12) i Crne Gore (7) te tek dvije s Kosova. Ovo nam je bilo pomalo razočaravajuće, tim više što je za prethodni trening

u Ulcinju broj kosovskih prijava ipak bio veći. Broj prijava iz ostalih zemalja zapravo je očekivan s obzirom na mjesto održavanja treninga. Drago nam je da nam, kao i za Ulcinj, ponovno pristižu prijave iz Crne Gore, dok s Hercegovinom i dalje nemamo puno sreće (ovaj puta dvije prijave). Nadamo se da će se situacija u tom smislu ubuduće popraviti, to bi nam bilo iznimno značajno kako za bosansko-hercegovački, tako i za hrvatski kontekst suočavanja s prošlošću.

U znatno većoj mjeri za trening su se prijavile žene (73, u odnosu na 41 muškarca), zbog čega ih je na našem treningu i bio nešto veći broj, iako se uvijek trudimo uspostaviti rodnu ravnotežu.

Našu je grupu na koncu činilo 5 učesnika/ca iz Makedonije, 5 iz Srbije, 4 iz Bosne i Hercegovine, 3 iz Hrvatske, 2 iz Crne Gore i 1 s Kosova. Bili su to ljudi različitih profila – aktivisti/ce (podjednako oni koji su se aktivirali u okviru neke organizacije kao i oni djeluju samostalno ili ih ove teme zanimaju), novinari/ke, ljudi zaposleni u javnim institucijama, obrazovanju...

Trenerski tim činili su Katarina Milićević, Adnan Hasanbegović, i Davorka Turk iz CNA te naš prijatelj i kolega Boro Kitanoski iz Mirovne akcije iz Prilepa. S Mirovnom

akcijom imamo više poveznica i ona nam je vrijednosno među najbližim organizacijama, pa nas raduje svaki put kada te naše poveznice možemo materijalizirati kao konkretnu suradnju.

Naši su učesnici od nas imali visoka očekivanja i aktivno propitivali našu ulogu i način na koji radimo. Proces je zahvaljujući tome bio krajnje transparentan, intenzivan, ali vrlo ispunjujući, duboko smo promišljali svaki sljedeći korak. I što je možda najvažnije, osjećali smo se dijelom grupe. Pokrenuta energija u potpunosti se odrazila na tim. Potpisnici ovih redova bio je ovo prvi trening iz izgradnje mira u trenerskoj ulozi, a nama svima prvi put da radimo u toj postavci. Ali i taj je prostor bio siguran, motivirajući, nepresušno vrelo inspiracije i podrške.

Tko zna, možda su nas začarali u mavrovskom hotelu „Alpina“? Naime, ti su nam divni ljudi i vrsni domaćini odmah po dolasku objasnili da je „Alpina“ mjesto „u kojem se problemi sami rješavaju“. Kao aktivistica takav stav ne mogu baš u potpunosti prihvatiti, ali čini mi se da smo svakako imali podršku gorskih vila :).

D.T.



Korak dalje u izgradnji mira. Vrednosti i prakse.

Tokom 2011. godine, održana su tri modula naprednog programa “Korak dalje u izgradnji mira. Vrednosti i prakse.” Prva dva modula opisana su u našem Godišnjem izveštaju br 14, iz 2011. godine.

Modul 3 – Hodanje neutabanim stazama – Izazovi u radu na izgradnji mira

Fruška Gora, Srbija , 07–13.10.2011.

Poslednji, treći modul naprednog programa mirovnog obrazovanja „Korak dalje“ održan je u oktobru na Fruškoj Gori. Ideja je bila da treći modul posluži kao platforma za razmenu iskustava, izazova i poteškoća sa kojima smo se susretali u radu na izgradnji mira i njoj srodnim poljima. No kako to često biva, prvobitne ideje i koncepti se u procesu često izmene i krajnji rezultat se u određenoj meri razlikuje od prvobitno zamišljenog koncepta. Tako smo ovim modulom na kraju dobili kombinaciju razmene nakupljenih iskustava i preko potrebnog poticaja ljudima da se upuste u utabavanje svojih sopstvenih, početničkih staza na ovom polju. Segment vezan za moguće akcije je prevashodno imao za cilj da ljude potakne na promišljanje iz više uglova i sagledavanje mogućih šteta, ali i da ih ohrabri da prihvate razuman rizik kada se upuštaju u pokušaje delovanja ka društvenoj promeni. U trenerskom timu za ovaj modul bili su Ivana, Katarina, Nenad i Tamara.

Grupu je bilo prilično teško formirati zbog brojnih otkazivanja, od kojih su neka došla u poslednji čas, kada je mogućnost pozivanja nekoga sa liste čekanja bila poprilično smanjena. Treningu je prisustvovalo 17 učesnika/ca, a prvi

put se dogodilo da u grupi nema ljudi iz Makedonije. To je uz već standardno odsustvo ljudi iz Crne Gore, te povremeni manjak učesnika/ca sa Kosova, priču svelo na tzv. „dejtonski trogao“ BiH-Srbija-Hrvatska. No, kako se pokazalo, uprkos manjem broju ogleda i perspektiva iz različitih krajeva bivše Jugoslavije, pomenuti trougao je i više nego dovoljna inspiracija za rad i diskusije ovakvih grupa. Bio je veliki izazov pomiriti potrebe onih koji trenutno ne rade jer ih je umorilo i „uplašilo“ prethodno iskustvo i frustracije i onih koje plaši sopstveno neiskustvo i osećaj nemoći. Značajno je za podizanje motivacije bilo prisustvo dva ratna veterana koji su svojim neposrednim i srčanim pristupom svakako utabali jednu stazicu za čitavu grupu – ona koja vodi ka otvorenom pristupu zasnovanom na snažnoj motivaciji i integritetu.

Kako je čitav koncept i za nas nov, nastojali smo da malo eksperimentišemo i na ovaj modul pozvali čak troje gostiju/gošći. Svoja iskustva su predstavili/e: Vesna Teršelić i Eugen Jakovčić iz Documente, Zagreb; Adnan Hasanbegović iz CNA tima i Predrag Azdejković, LGBT aktivista iz Srbije. Gosti i gošća su pogledima iz različitih uglova (REKOM, rad sa veteranima rata, borba za LGBT prava) približili svoje dugogodišnje iskustvo na utabavanju staza kojima se pre njih skoro niko nije usudio



da hoda. Tri predstavljena pristupa su različita, po temi kojom se bave, ali i po svom metodu i obimu. Rad široke regionalne koalicije za REKOM, delovanje mirovne organizacije srednje veličine kao što je CNA, i individualistički i van-sistemi pristup Peđe Azdejkovića ponudili su učesnicima/ama širok spektar mogućnosti kako se sve može delovati i šta to sa sobom nosi. Evidentno je bilo da nijedan pristup nije lišen problema niti spoljašnjih i unutrašnjih poteškoća, ali je važna poruka bila – može se!

Brojni gosti doprineli su bogatstvu predstavljenih pristupa, no to je zbog ograničenog vremena išlo na uštrb unutar-grupne interakcije i punog razvijanja optimalne grupne dinamike. Kao da smo se u drugoj polovini treninga suočili sa rastrzanošću između potrebe za dubljim diskusijama o problemima i pristupima izgradnji mira i potrebe za razmatranjem pitanja kako ćemo konkretno delovati u budućnosti. Sa ovim izazovom tim se nosio tako što je grupi dao mogućnost izbora, zahtevajući uz to konkretna pitanja iz grupe o kojima je postojala potreba da se razgovara. U procesu rada došlo se i do početnih skica nekih mogućih ideja za buduće akcije: mapiranje antifašizma u nekim gradovima Srbije, Hrvatske, BiH; mirovne akcije ratnih veterana; akcije protiv govora mržnje u lokalnim sredinama; saradnja tzv. evropskih regiona (Primorsko-Goranske županije u Hrvatskoj i Banata u Srbiji) itd. Utisak je bio da ideja ne manjka, dok je pitanje na koji način bi ih trebalo realizovati još uvek poprilično u magli. No kako osnovna svrha ovog treninga nije bilo planiranje to ostaje kao zadatak za budućnost. CNA tim će nastojati da kod svake smislene ideje podrži njene nosioce u meri u kojoj je to moguće, ali je izvesno da mi niti možemo niti hoćemo da budemo nosioci ovih ideja.

Generalni utisak nakon treninga bio je utisak uživanja u razmeni i velike potrebe za njom. Podsetilo nas je to na neprijatnu činjenicu da je većina naših učesnika/ca u svakodnevnom životu suočena sa nerazumevanjem okoline za ovu vrstu rada, a pokatkad je i reč o svojevrsnoj (samo) izolaciji onih koji deluju i žive u suprotnosti sa dominantnim

komformističkim stavovima. Članovi/ce CNA tima su se uverili kako pojam „neutabana staza“ ima stotinu značenja, i kako neutabane staze nas koji smo skoro 15 godina u ovoj priči, nisu iste kao neutabane staze nekoga ko tek počinje. Razlikuju se i dileme koje muče one koji rade u timovima i izgrađenim sistemima, od onih koji sami (ili uz minimalnu neformalnu podršku) pokušavaju nešto da urade. Jedna od suštinskih stvari zajednička svima jeste potreba za podrškom. Biće da je način na koji možemo efikasno i istinski podržati jedne druge, bez obzira na razlike u našim ličnim i profesionalnim putevima, još uvek jedna od najneutabanijih staza izgradnje mira generalno.

Na kraju, važno je reći da je ovim modulom završen program „Korak dalje u izgradnji mira. Vrednosti i prakse“. Iako će pravi dometi programa biti vidljivi tek za neko vreme već sada možemo skicirati glavne izvore i zadovoljstva i propusta i nedostataka. Svakako će i nastupajuća spoljna evaluacija puno pomoći u proceni da li nastaviti sa ovakvim tipom naprednog programa mirovnog obrazovanja. Izvesno je da je organizacija ovakvog trodelnog treninga izuzetno logistički zahtevna, te da postoji nekad veće, nekad manje odstupanje od prvobitnih ideja i koncepata usled nemogućnosti da se sastavi grupa sa više aktivističkog i mirovnjačkog iskustva. Sa druge strane, zaista je bilo zadovoljstvo uočavati veliki rast i značajan napredak koji su neki ljudi napravili od osnovnih treninga na kojima su bili. Zrelost u razmišljanju i delovanju se mogla osetiti na više nivoa, između ostalog i u napuštanju očekivanja da će svaki CNA trening biti adrenalinsko i „šokantno“ iskustvo, nalik onom sa osnovnog treninga. Što bi ljudi rekli, sad se malo odraslo, sazrelo, pa je red da sagledamo situaciju i sebe u njoj i sa jednog realnijeg, manje emotivno obojenog stanovišta. Najviše raduje i ohrabruje evidentna potreba za saradnjom preko granica država, entiteta, lokalnih regija. I osećaj da su se neka trajna partnerstva i prijateljstva definisala i učvrstila kroz ovaj nimalo lak višemesečni rad.

T.Š.

Seminar razmjene

Kako se naša društva sjećaju prošlosti – primjeri bivše Jugoslavije, Austrije i Njemačke

Sarajevo, 9-14.03.2012.

Zajedno sa našim partnerima, austrijskim ogrankom International Fellowship of Reconciliation (IFOR) i Diakonie Austria, okupili smo grupu od 18 učesnika/ca iz Austrije, Njemačke i bivše Jugoslavije (Srbija, Hrvatska i Bosna i Hercegovina) u Sarajevu od 09. do 14. marta 2012.

Naš partner i prijatelj, Boro Kitanoski iz „Mirovne Akcije“ iz Prilepa, Makedonija, pridružio se voditeljskom timu, i zajedno

smo razvijali koncept ovog seminara.

Ovaj seminar je bio konkretan korak CNA na polju međunarodne razmjene, koja predstavlja područje našeg interesovanja i za čije intenziviranje postoji želja u budućnosti. Namjera nam je bila da ovim seminarom stvorimo i otvorimo konstruktivni prostor gdje bi se specifičnosti i sličnosti Austrije, Njemačke i bivše Jugoslavije mogle uporediti; gdje bi se iskustva, dileme i razmišljanja na temu suočavanja sa

prošlosti u određenim zemljama mogle razmjeniti i gdje bi se mogli izraziti ideje i potrebe za buduću saradnju i zajedničke inicijative.

Većina učesnika/ca su profesionalno uključeni/e u suočavanje sa prošlosti, pomirenje, izgradnju mira i/ili nenasilje, npr. kroz rad u NVO sektoru, kroz istraživačke radove ili rad u medijima. Njihovo znanje, iskustvo, dileme i izazovi su bili baza za metodološki tok i sadržaj seminara.

Moduli seminara su se sastojali od prezentacija o procesima suočavanja sa prošlosti u pojedinim zemljama, kritičkim procjenama primjera memorijala, plenumskim diskusijama o različitim modelima izgradnje mira i pomirenja, radu u grupama gdje su se razmjenjivala iskustva dobrih primjera u radu na suočavanju sa prošlosti, gostujućeg predavača na temu kulture sjećanja i politike u Evropi i posjeta memorijalima u Sarajevu i muzeju Bitke na Neretvi u Jablanici.

Tokom seminara, ali i za vrijeme pauza i u večernjim satima bila je primjetna intenzivna interakcija među učesnicima/a. Dodatno je važno spomenuti kako su mnoge osobe govorile o svom ličnom iskustvu u ratu ili su dijelile intimne lične sumnje sa ostalima. Ovo se može posmatrati kao indikatori da je seminar doživljen kao sigurno mjesto za razmjenu.

Ovo su samo neka od pitanja sa kojima su učesnici/e "ušli/e" u ovaj seminar:

Šta je to sto vi/mi očekujemo od suočavanja sa prošlosti? Pitanje kolektivne krivice?

Da li je promjena lakša gubtnicima nego pobjednicima u ratu?

Zašto je problem suočavanja sa prošlosti tako velik u Ex-Yu? (Čini se da je veći problem nego u ostalim post-konfliktnim regionima.)

Ko su žrtve u bivšoj Jugoslaviji?

Šta je poveznica između viktimizacije i preuzimanja odgovornosti?

Šta vam nedostaje u ovom procesu (SsP) u Austriji?

Da li pali pripadnici „Wermachta“ imaju spomenike i groblja sa simbolima?

Čime ste zadovoljni, a čime nezadovoljni u toku procesa suočavanja sa prošlosti u Njemačkoj?

Mnogo od ovih pitanja su tokom seminara otvorena i tematizovana i razvilo se razumijevanje za poslijeratne situacije, poteškoće procesa pomirenja i generalno dimenzije suočavanja sa prošlosti. Uz ovo je i ostao osjećaj da postoji potreba kod mnogih za ovom vrstom razmjene i učenja. To se posebno odnosi na promišljanja o odnosu pomirenja i suočavanja sa prošlosti, analiza postojećih modela memorijalizacije i dubljeg upoznavanja konteksta.

Slična potreba je bila izražena i u povratnoj informaciji i prijedlozima vezani za seminar od strane učesnika/ca. Tako da to može biti bitan smjer budućih aktivnosti CNA na polju međunarodne razmjene na temu suočavanja sa prošlosti i sličnih tema.

Ovim su se pokazale korisnim i u buduću imati ovakve prilike za razmjenu, osobito jer je ovakav sklop grupe (učesnici/ce iz Njemačke, Austrije i bivše Jugoslavije) specifičan i rijedak.

Na pitanju "Kojim koracima u svom procesu učenja ste zadovoljni?" dobili smo sledeće odgovore: "Učenjem kompleksnosti procesa memorijalizacije. Koja pitanja se moraju adresirati i sa kim ili čim se trebamo pomiriti?"

"Produbljenjem razumijevanja suočavanja sa prošlosti u bivšoj Jugoslaviji, kao i u Njemačkoj i Austriji. Povezanošću ličnog i mirovnog rada u pristupima suočavanja sa prošlosti."

Povratna informacija i prijedlozi vezani za metodološki pristup od strane učesnika/ca seminaru mogu biti temelj budućih aktivnosti CNA na polju međunarodne razmjene na temu suočavanja sa prošlosti i sličih tema.

Teme izgradnje mira, pomirenja i suočavanja sa prošlosti su još jako aktuelne i važne u svim istraživanim regionima, posebno u bivšoj Jugoslaviji zbog nedavnog rata, ali i u Austriji i Njemačkoj također. Ovaj seminar je pokazao kako ove teme ne mogu biti određene nekim rokom, nego su ustvari u tijeku procesa koji traje i koji iziskuje kontinuiranu ličnu posvjećenost i kritički osvrt i propitivanje ljudi.

Neki od citata učesnika/ca iz evaluacija:

"Svjesniji sam toga kako nismo sami u procesu suočavanja sa prošlosti. Imam više ljudi koje mogu pitati o određenim temama."

"Ovo iskustvo (seminara) će obogatiti moj lični život. Posebno senzibilnost ka određenim temama."

"To je bila sigurna soba i svima je bilo dozvoljeno da pričaju o čemu god su željeli."

"Nivo slušanja i ličnog interesa svakog pojedinačnog/e učesnika/ce je bio visok i za svako poštovanje."

S.K.



rad sa ratnim veteranima

Otvaranje spomenika palim borcima Armije BiH

Brčko, 18.05.2012.

Primili smo poziv, mi iz CNA, da prisustvujemo otvaranju spomenika palim borcima Armije BiH u Brčkom. Samo sedam dana ranije, svečano je otvoren i spomenik palim borcima 108. pješačke HVO brigade Brčko (Hrvatskog Vijeća Obrane).

Već odavno, u ovom gradu koji je samostalni distrikt u okviru BiH, postoji spomenik palim borcima VRSa (Vojske Republike Srpske). Sva tri spomenika se nalaze u samom centru grada vrlo blizu jedan drugom.

Bilo nas je četvorica: Adnan, Nedžad, Amer i ja. Odlučili smo da iskoristimo naš boravak u Brčkom da odgovorimo na upućeni poziv i našem prijatelju Avdiji iz boračke organizacije koji je bio u organizacionom odboru za svečanost otvaranja, smo rekli da ćemo biti prisutni i položiti cveće. Pokušali smo da organizujemo dolazak dvojice naših partnera iz boračkih udruženja VRS, ali se to nažalost ovaj put nije ostvarilo. Sama mogućnost prisustva predstavnika srpskih boraca, što nije običaj, je zahtevala konsultacije organizatora, ali je najavljena mogućnost ipak prihvaćena. Ipak se radi o velikom javnom događaju, biće tu predstavnika vlasti, puno naroda, medija... "Situacija može biti nelagodna", upozorio nas je Avdija.

Nelagoda... pomislih "naravno, time se i bavimo", prevazilazimo nelagodu da bi bili ono što jesmo i postali ono što želimo da budemo.

Upućeni poziv sam shvatio kao čast i kao poverenje spram nas. To popodne smo kupili cveće, dogovorili se da Adnan i ja u ime CNA položimo venac i razišli se na par sati, čekajući večernju svečanost ispred hotela Posavina u pešačkoj zoni.

Adnan je bio malo zabrinut oko dolaska ljudi iz udruženja VRSa, svi pomalo zbunjeni nakon Avdijine instrukcije da "kada nas spiker prozove, samo da radimo isto što su i oni prije nas". Pitam ga zašto se brine kad nije on iz Beograda došao, nego ja. Smejemo se. Nije ni meni svejedno, kakva će biti reakcija, hoće li neko negodovati, ponavljam u sebi da „znam zašto sam voljan da ukažem poštovanje svakoj poginuloj osobi u ratu, i vojnicima naravno“. Smrt svakog od njih je tragedija, kao i okolnosti u kojima su neki u ratu zaboravljali da smo svi ljudi.

Na trgu oko spomenika smo pristigli pola sata ranije i zatekli Mirka i Ivu iz HVO udruženja koji su već bili spremni da u ime svoje udruge polože venac. Drago mi je da su i oni došli. Utom se iz gomile izdvojio čovek na štakama, mlad mršav,

nasmejan: Admir, takođe iz boračke, a istovremeno i član SDA i zastupnik u lokalnoj skupštini. Admira je pokosio rafal u ratu, jedva je preživeo, znamo se sa susreta boraca tri strane koje organizujemo. On se teško kreće na štakama, ali se kreće, "ne da se" što bi se reklo. Zagrlio me je, a ja sam se malo uplašio da mi ne ispadne venac iz ruku ili da njega slučajno ne oborim. Drago mi je da smo se sreli tada i na tom mestu. Zna Admir, odakle sam i kako se zovem i zna šta to znači. Pitam ga kako je, on odgovara „dobro dok ima lijekova“, priča da ga doktor pita kako izdržava kad i njega koji nije ranjen, od rata naovamo sve boli, a on mu kaže „doktore, i dlake me bole, sve me boli, lijekove mi pripišite“. „Obećaj mi da ćemo poslije kafu popiti zajedno i ostali iz CNA. Možemo tu u „Posavinu“ sjesti.“ Obećavam.

Videh Avdiju kako daje izjavu za TV. Sačekali smo da završi, i čim se okrenuo prišao je Adnanu koji je bio blizu, a zatim sam ja krenuo ka njemu. Srdačno mi je stisnuo pruženu ruku i rekao "Vi mi niste najviši gosti koji su dans najavljeni, ali jeste najdraži". Takva toplina dobrodošlice obavezuje.

Dugo smo stajali dok su se na bini ređali govornici i izvodio umetnički program, padalo je veče, sveže je bilo, fotograf nas je sve iritirao svojim blicanjem i preveselim raspoloženjem. "On kao da je na svadbi" promumla Amer. Kiseli smešak. Mislim se "kako stoje svi ovi izranjavani ljudi kao Admir, ovo se oteglo?"

A onda se završi, spiker krenu da čita imena prvo porodica poginulih pa onda boračkih udruga koje polažu vence. Odmah se stvorila velika gužva i zatvorio se prilaz spomeniku. Adnan i ja se uskomešasmo, zabrinuti da se nećemo moći probiti kroz masu ako nas prozovu. Obiđosmo spomenik i stadosmo uz red vojnika koji je tu postrojen u počast. Čitanje imena svake delegacije su okupljeni pozdravljali aplauzom. Na najavu delegacije HVOa se aplauz dodatno pojačao, posebna čast, posebna zahvalnost. A onda se začu "Centar..." spikerka se malo zbuni pa izgovori do kraja "Centar za nenasilnu akciju Sarajevo-Beograd", koračamo, aplauz, ne čujem nikakvo negodovanje. Blješte reflektori, kamere ispred nas idu, kao da je vreme stalo, dišem duboko. Spuštamo venac, stojimo mirno, poklanjamo se, silazimo.

Na trećem koraku nas sačekuju Avdija i njegov kolega



iz udruženja boraca, ponovo pružaju ruku, zahvaljuju se, objašnjavaju da sledi svečana večera na koju smo pozvani. Silazimo sa spomenika, a u dnu staze stoji Admir "idemo na

kafu!". Nedžad i Amer se grle sa mnom. Uzbuđen sam. "Idemo na kafu".

N.V.

Trening za ratne veterane

Brčko, 8-10.jul 2012.

Ovog puta se neformalna veteranska grupa u izgradnji mira, kako u praksi oslovljavamo nekadašnje borce učesnike ratova na prostorima bivše Jugoslavije, sastala u Brčkom, gdje se kroz trodnevnu radionicu u organizaciji CNA, u čijem trenerskom timu su bili Nenad Vukosavljević, Nedžad Horozović, Adnan Hasanbegović i Amer Delić, pokušalo doći do dogovora i trasiranju puta u budućim zajedničkim mirovnim akcijama "veterana".

Sama veteranska grupa brojala je 15 učesnika od predviđenih 18.

Nažalost trojica pozvanih su usljed privatnih obaveza morala da otkazu učešće.

Uvodni dio radionice, uz predstavljanje novog člana, pokazao je koliko su učesnici sami sebi stvorili sigurno okruženje u grupi, senzibilizirali se međusobno i stekli povjerenje neophodno da bi se nastavio dalji rad. Prisutan je bio izuzetno jak emotivan naboj koji karakteriše susrete prijatelja nakon dugog vremena.

Trenerski tim se osvrnuo na protekli period u trajanju od nekoliko mjeseci, koji je iskoristio na izradu plana i strategije za nastavak rada sa veteranskom populacijom, gdje je poseban akcenat stavljen na to da su očekivanja od učesnika i organizacija koje predstavljaju takva da je neophodno da samostalno naprave iskorak u jačanju međusobne saradnje, bez agitiranja i pomoći CNA u finansijskom i organizacionom smislu.

Analizirane su “neuspješke” akcije obilježavanja mjesta zločina u Šamcu i Zavidovićima, koje su međutim polučile rezultate i iskustveno odredile rad na budućim.

Prezentiran je podsjetnik na ranije predložene zajedničke akcije sa smjernicama da se izvrši selekcija najužih konkretno izvodivih događaja.

Učesnici su formirali 3 samostalne mješovite grupe koje će do dogovorenog roka organizovati posjete memorijalnom centru u Potočarima, Kravicama i Vukovaru (I grupa), gostovanje u emisijama na TV “Al-Jazeera” studio u Sarajevu (II grupa) i TV Brčko (III grupa).

CNA je predočio ideju izrade “lične karte” spomenika, obilježenih, ali i neobilježenih mjesta stradavanja na području BiH, pri čemu je izraženo očekivanje podrške od strane učesnika iz BiH prilikom određivanja lokacija koje su važne za sprovođenje ove ideje.

Simbolično nazvanim “Crveno slovo”, od svih učesnika prikupljeni su značajni datumi iz skorije prošlosti koji se obilježavaju u sredinama iz kojih dolaze.

Izdvojeni su i analizirani pojedinačni primjeri koji bi bili podržani od lokalnih zajednica i političkih struktura, kao i potencijalni problemi sa kojima bi se organizatori, ali i gosti, eventualno susreli.

Jedan od problema koji je prepoznat, a na koji je potrebno

ukazati, je politička neusklađenost istorijskih činjenica na područjima susjednih opština, uz uzimanje u obzir kao validnih samo slučajeva zločina koji su procesuirani. Dešava se da zbog sporosti sudskih organa u nekim sredinama, bez obzira na činjenice o počinjenim zločinima, sami članovi udruženja koji su uključeni u mirovni rad nisu u stanju da dobiju podršku, kako od svojih organizacija, tako i društveno-političkog establišmenta.

Učesnicima je predstavljen Studijski put u Berlin, koji će se realizovati u Oktobru mjesecu ove godine.

Osim 4 predstavnika CNA, za to putovanje potrebno je odrediti 10 predstavnika veterana.

Nažalost, moraće se izvršiti selekcija jer je većina učesnika jako zainteresovana za učešće.

Ono što je bila najveća karakteristika ovog treninga je izuzetna motivisanost za nastavak zajedničkog rada unutar grupe, ali i intenzivnijeg djelovanja u matičnim sredinama.

Takođe, navedena je potreba za uključivanjem i novih članova uz očuvanje “jezgra” grupe i proširenja regionalne saradnje na područja koja do sada nisu bila uključena, odnosno u kojima je iz nekog razloga

bilo sputavanja šireg aspekta djelovanja.

A.D.

saradnja

(P)održani iz Nemačke

Kada donatori razumeju mirovni rad

266 dana kasnim sa ovim tekstom, bar tako kaže moj kalendar-podsetnik.

Nisam od onih koji bi bez osećaja nelagode hvalili one od čije podrške uveliko zavise, već me nelagoda prati i sada. Pritisnut sa jedne strane tom nelagodom a sa druge strane željom da se javno zahvalim i još važnije da izvučem pouke o prednostima koje ima način podrške koju dobijamo.

Nameravam da pišem o tome šta i koliko nam znači jedan vid podrške koju smo dobijali i dobijamo za naš rad, a koji se razvijao na izuzetan način upravo zbog okolnosti neverovatne podrške i teško da bi ikako drugačije bio moguć. Već 10 godina CNA dobija finansijsku podršku za mirovni rad, od nemačke vlade, putem programa Ministarstva za ekonomsku saradnju i razvoj (BMZ). Treći ugao partnerstva čini naša sestrinska organizacija KURVE Wustrow.

Šta dobijamo

Sve ove godine, nijednom, ni od koga, ni na indirektan ni direktan način, nije vršen bilo kakav pritisak ili pokušaj uticaja na strategiju i sadržaj našeg rada. Zdrav razum svakako nalaže da odlučuju oni koji se time bave, ali kako znamo iz iskustava drugih?, to se nažalost u svetu donatora i NVOa koje novac primaju, ne podrazumeva. To znači da imamo puno poverenje i slobodu da sami u skladu sa stalnom promenom okolnosti, prilagođavamo naše programe i sprovodimo ih. Pod drugim uslovima se ovim poslom ne bi ni bavili.

Niko od nas ne traži da godinama unapred kažemo tačno koju aktivnost, sa kojim ljudima i na kojem mestu ćemo sprovedi. Kada npr. želite novac od EU onda je neophodno da to na taj način učinite. Ako za 3 godine to što ste nekada napisali postane izlišno usled promene društveno-političkih okolnosti, ili nešto drugo postane vrlo potrebno, vi nemate mogućnost promene već ste dužni da sve sprovedite po planu, imalo to ili nemalo smisla.

Uslovi BMZ podrške ostavljaju punu slobodu da unutar definisanih ciljeva rada samostalno odlučujemo šta ćemo raditi i to je neizmerno važno pogotovu za one aktivnosti koje u sebi vrlo često nose rizik od otkazivanja, promene, ispadanja, pretnji itd. Umesto kvantitativnog štikliranja sprovedenih

aktivnosti, kvalitet rada se proverava kvalitativnim stručnim evaluacijama.

Mi radimo puno sa bivšim borcima i upravo taj rad je opterećen čestim otkazivanjima, promenama mišljenja usled pritisa, koracima unazad nakon koraka napred, zapravo jedan dinamičan, nelinearan proces poprilično tipičan za izgradnju mira u kojoj se incidenti, politički događaji ili politizovani događaji, vrlo lako pretvaraju u prepreke sprovođenju aktivnosti izgradnje mira. Teško je objasniti zašto ima smisla 8 puta ići na pregovore sa tvrdokornim i nepoverljivim udruženjima boraca u Hercegovini da bi se nakon 6 meseci natezanja dogovorene akcije ipak izjalovile. Mi smo probali i zamalo nismo uspeali, sledeći put će biti lakše, jer je probijen led.

Da nam nije bilo BMZ podrške, izvesno je da mi ne bi mogli da se bavimo radom sa ratnim veteranima, onako kako se bavimo, a to je: fleksibilno, prilagodljivo, strpljivo, brzo reagujući, a dugoročno gledajući.

Primer: Dešavalo nam se da se nedeljama unapred planirani susret 20 ljudi otkaže dan pred sam događaj, zbog pretnji koje su organizatori dobili usmerenih na sigurnost gostiju. Mi smo na to reagovali tako što smo u pograničnom gradu organizovali susret grupe kako bi se čuli, ohrabрили i razmotrili dalje korake. Da nije fleksibilnosti, ovo bi bilo nezamislivo.

Podrška koju dobijamo se obnavljala u ciklusima od tri godine, znači postojala je izvesnost podrške na duži period, mogućnost da se planira dugoročnije, pokriveni su i tekući troškovi održavanja ureda i infrastrukture, a i deo aktivnosti koje sprovodimo. Time smo bili rasterećeni svakodnevnog pritiska i brige za opstanak, a umesto da trošimo svoju energiju na namicanje sredstava, mogli smo je usmeriti na sprovođenje programa.

Imamo odrešene ruke, punu slobodu, osećaj poverenja i poštovanje našeg rada, pružena nam je relativna finansijska stabilnost i sigurnost. A trudili smo se da na to odgovorimo predanim i napornim radom, da pravimo pionirske korake i da krčimo puteve kroz pustare zaostale mržnje i straha.

I sigurno da nije slučajno, da upravo taj segment rada, sa ratnim-veteranima, vezano za pomirenje i prekograničnu saradnju u oblasti kulture sećanja, privlači puno pažnje i nailazi na velike pohvale. Mi verujemo da radimo veliku i važnu stvar i

da smo često bar korak ispred onoga što naša društva očekuju, drže za moguće, te mogu da razumeju i prihvate. Razvoj takvog posla je bio moguć samo pod uslovima i sa podrškom koju ovaj tekst tematizuje.

I ako se donekle podrazumeva sjajna i postojana podrška kakvu uživamo od npr KURVE Wustrow ili Berghof Fondacije / Istraživanje konflikata, sa kojima već 15 godina održavamo partnerske odnose, retki su bili slučajevi da od strane donatora dobijamo više nego samo novac za programe koje smo razvijali i sprovodili. Kada ju je bilo, ona nam je mnogo značila, jer je postavljala vrednosnu, a ne samo interesnu povezanost.

U poslednje dve godine imali smo i dve prilično visoko rangirane posete iz BMZa. Tokom posete Srbiji, delegacije ministarstva (BMZ) 2010. godine, susreli smo se sa gđom Mikota u čiju nadležnost spada i program civilne mirovne službe. Njenu posetu doživeli smo kao ohrabrenje i učinilo nam se da je uspeła da prepozna energiju koju u naš posao unosimo i izrazila svoje lično zadovoljstvo onim što je od nas čula i videla.

U oktobru 2011 učestvovao sam u poseti regionu sa g. Volkmanom koji je neposredno zadužen za upravljanje programom podrške. Trebalo je da provedem čitavih 5 dana sa delegacijom od 5 ljudi koju je predvodio g Volkman u poseti Srbiji, BiH i Makedoniji. Nije mi se išlo na taj put, jer sam očekivao da budem u društvu jednog uštogljenog gospodina iz birokratskog sveta koji možda dobro radi svoj posao, ali kojeg se sigurno ne dotiče stvarno ono što mi ovde

proživljavamo, niti sam očekivao da on može i izbliza razumeti težinu bavljenja izgradnjom mira na Balkanu. I onda sam se suočio sa sopstvenim predrasudama.

Poreklom iz Namibije, bivše nemačke kolonije u Africi, par godina mlađi od mene, g. Volkman je sve, samo ne uštogljeni birokrata. Nakon početne rezerve i serije sastanaka, razgovora, doživljaja koji su se smenjivali u našem putu, postalo mi je jasno da postoji zajednička talasna dužina i da postoji mnogo više razumevanja za mirovni rad i njegove izazove, nego što sam ja mogao i naslutiti. I kako je vreme prolazilo i razgovori bivali otvoreniji i srdačniji, shvatio sam da je postojanje takve osobe na takvom mestu, jedno malo čudo, koje meni i mojim kolegama predstavlja ogromnu podršku. Zamislite, tamo u Berlinu sedi neko kome je vrlo vrlo bitno da mirovni rad podrži na najbolji mogući način, koji se sa njim saživljava i reflektirajući svoje životno iskustvo razume važnost procesa pomirenja.

G. Volkman očigledno jeste sa drugog kontinenta, ali nije sa druge planete i svest o pripadnosti istoj planeti i opredeljenost da je se učini boljom je poveznica.

I to tako može u Nemačkoj!?

Profesionalni državni službenik (nije politički postavljen) koji izgara od motivacije baveći se svojim poslom? Uključuje razum i srce!? Ohrabruje nas "dole na prvoj liniji" i izražava svoje poštovanje za naš rad!?

Ima nade.

Nenad Vukosavljević



Vukovar, Jasenovac, Stara Gradiška, Prijedor, Kozara...

Sa 12 godina sam „organizovano“, sa školom na ekskurziji (tada se to još nije zvalo staditrip) posjetio spomen područje Jasenovac i od tada nisam imao priliku da to ponovo uradim. Sjećanja na to putovanje su i dan danas jako duboka. U susretu sa tadašnjom muzejskom postavkom, filmom sa autentičnim snimcima buldožera koji brda iznurenih leševa gura u Savu, fotografijama ljudi u crnim uniformama koji stoje na stratištima ispred mrtvih, priče iz knjižice koju sam kupio a koja se zove: „Radi ti sinko svoj posao“ o čovjeku koji govori svom mučitelju tu rečenicu dok ga ovaj ubija, velike topole pored Save...bio sam uplašen. Tada nisam razumio ko je zbog čega i zarad kakvih „ciljeva“ radio takve stvari drugim ljudima. Sve što sam znao je da su oni koji su to radili ustaše i da su žrtve nedužni ljudi. Više od toga mi nije bilo jasno, a danas ni važno. Strah, zgražavanje i nemogućnost da razumijem, kod mene kao djeteta, šta je jedan čovjek u stanju drugom da napravi je zasjenila sve.

Imam 15-tak „mirovnog staža“ na prostoru bivše

Jugoslavije, a nikada nisam bio u Vukovaru. Prije 20 godina sam bio u uniformi JNA iznad vojne karte grada Vukovara. Dobio sam „naređenje“ da izračunam koordinate po kojima će neko tamo da gađa most u centru grada. Odbio sam da to radim. Ali neko drugi je to uradio, i gađao je ne samo most nego sve. Bio sam dosta stariji ali sam ponovo imao osjećaj straha, zgražavanja i nemogućnosti da to razumijem.

U Prijedoru sam jedini put bio 2004. Moj kolega iz Beograda i ja smo se sreli sa prijateljima iz Prijedora od kojih nas je jedan pozvao da dođemo na obilježavanje stradanja u logoru Omarska. Uz pozdrav i konstataciju da se na žalost viđamo samo na sahranama, dženazama i godišnjicama priključili smo se koloni automobila koji su išli za Omarsku. Bilo je neobično ali sam bio i ponosan u tom trenutku jer kola u kojima sam bio sa BG tablicama su itekako bila zapažena od svih. I od strane prijedorske policije koja je osiguravala kolonu i od njenih učesnika. Zapaženost je radala znatiželju, a znatiželja obično tjera i na razmišljanje.



Kad je stigao poziv od Documente - Centar za suočavanje s prošlošću (Zagreb), Francusko-njemačkog ureda za mlade (Berlin/Paris), Centra Andre Malraux (Sarajevo) i Inicijative mladih za ljudska prava BiH (Sarajevo), da idem sa grupom ljudi iz Njemačke, Belgije, Francuske, Italije, Srbije, Hrvatske i BiH na ova mjesta, nije mi bilo lako da pristanem jer bi to značilo da i svoju tešku prošlost moram da "susretnem". Sa druge strane, često za sebe kažem da radim i na suočavanju sa prošlošću. Osim toga posjećivao sam već stratišta sa grupom bivših vojnika iz posljednjeg rata. Tada smo ih zajedno obilazili, suosjećali jedni s drugima, osuđivali zlodjela, pričali o tome šta smo i kako doživjeli tokom tih posjeta... Uvijek sam izlazio nakon tih posjeta na poseban način zadovoljan što sam imao priliku da u njima učestvujem.

Dakle odlučih se - idem.

I to prvo u Jasenovac.

Današnja postavka muzeja i čitavo spomen područje je slično ranijem, uređeno je na sličan način, ali ipak je i drugačije. Nema više slika koje pokazuju brutalnost spram logoraša. Nema slika ustaša u crnoj uniformi¹, nema slika leševa... Samo crne staklene table sa ispisanim imenima ubijenih iznad glave koje vise i nekako prijete. Ima ih jako puno. I tabli i imena.

Malo manje mučno mi je bilo ovaj put. Još ne znam šta da o tome mislim... nekako osjećam da mi nedostaje i ta dimenzija u prikazu dešavanja u Jasenovcu za vrijeme Drugog svjetskog rata, uz osjećaj tuge i boli koji se svakako osjećaju.

Iako smo svi iz grupe bili politički korektni, sva pitanja koja su dolazila kustosu ispod kamenog cvijeta Bogdana Bogdanovića su „pažljivom“ slušaocu dala materijala da može da skonta iz kojeg „etničkog“ narativa dolaze. Zajedničko im je da su počinjala sa: "Je li tako da...?"

Od ove posjete Jasenovcu najdublje uspomene mi ostavlja mjesto Jasenovac koje je nedaleko od spomen područja. Mjesto zapušteno, siromašno i još uvijek ratom razrušeno. A ponegdje na kućama se mogu vidjeti ustaški simboli nacrtani crnim sprejom. Je li se šta naučilo iz sveg tog zla što se tu desilo?!

Nedaleko od Jasenovca je granični prijelaz između Hrvatske i Republike Srpske. Nekadašnji jedinstveni spomen kompleks Jasenovac je sada podijeljen u dvije države. I to ne samo granicom već i tumačenjima događaja, idelogijama koje prate ta tumačenja, nedostatkom komunikacije i načinom prikaza.

Stara Gradiška, nekada mjesto masovnih egzekucija i mjesto masovnih grobnica ubijenih logoraša iz Jasenovca, danas je spomen područje kojim se upravlja iz Banja Luke. Za razliku od "druge strane" ovdje je brutalnost u prikazu događaja itekako prisutna. Zastarašujući su crteži osnovaca po zidovima jedine službene prostorije kompleksa, a istaknuti

brojevi ubijenih izazivaju buru osjećanja. Naravno da se uveliko razlikuju od onih koje smo čuli maloprije na drugoj strani Save.

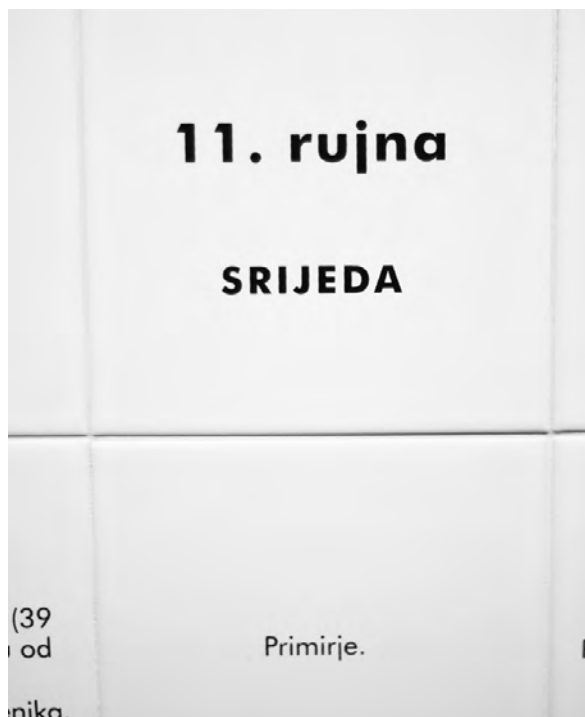
Službene komunikacije između spomen područja Jasenovac i spomen područja Stara Gradiška uopšte nema. Ali dva mlada čovjeka, historičara i kustosa, "jedan sa jedne drugi sa druge strane" dobro se poznaju, prijatelji su i oslovljavaju se sa "kolega", posjećuju se... i zajedno rade na skupljanju svjedočanstava preživjelih iz Jasenovca. Kažu da to rade onako, zbog sebe. "Svaka čast ljudi!" je jedino što sam imao potrebu da im kažem.

U Vukovaru smo obišli: Muzej u Vukovarskoj bolnici, Memorijalni centar i lokalitet masovne grobnice u Ovčari, kao i Spomen groblje. Puno puta pominjana mjesta iz nedavne prošlosti sam konačno vidio. Zbog njene nepregledne veličine patnju sam tek jednim dijelom osjetio, iako sam nekoliko puta zaplakao.

Sam grad Vukovar je veliki spomenik. Zapljusnula me je uništena ljepota grada, ali i sve ono što je on ispod te površine bio, uprkos činjenici da su tragovi razaranja vremenom sve manji.

Dunav!

Žena koja nas je vodila kroz muzej u Vukovarskoj bolnici, dok nam je na svoj način pokušavala približiti stanje za vrijeme bombardovanja Vukovara, često je rečenice počinjala sa: "Mi smo...". Jedna učesnica ove posjete, Njemica (što je dalo posebnu dimenziju cijeloj situaciji) upitala je da li je i ona bila



¹ Osim jedne na kojoj se Ante Pavelić nasmijan i ponizan rukuje sa Adolfom Hitlerom.

tu za vrijeme rata kada već govori „mi“. Rekla je da nije bila tu, da je bila van Vukovara, ali da svi Vukovarci dijele istu sudbinu.

A ja sam pitao ženu na Ovčari ispred „zvaničnog“ spomenika ², na mjestu masovne grobnice, da li ljudi srpske nacionalnosti iz Vukovara izražavaju na neki način i u nekim prilikama poštovanje prema ljudima koji su tu pobijeni i zakopani... rekla je skromno - ne.

Ispred muzeja u Vukovarskoj bolnici je jedno veliko drvo na koje, kao što je običaj i u mnogim drugim mjestima, rodbina malim plakatima (smrtopticama) obavještava o smrti bližnjih. Na tom drvetu sam vidio obavjesti o smrti Vukovaraca. Nekoliko njih. Jedan od njih je hrvatski branitelj, a na drugom je plakat ispisan ćirilicom. Jedan do drugog. Nakon posjete Vukovaru, stekao sam utisak da se ovi ljudi u Vukovaru "sreću" samo na takvom mjestu.

U Prijedoru smo bili u Keratermu, Omarskoj i Trnopolju. Obišli smo i spomenik poginulim borcima vojske Republike Srpske u centru Prijedora. Na žalost, malo šta se promijenilo u odnosu etničkih grupa u Prijedoru, a samim tim i njihovom odnosu prema događajima iz posljednjeg rata od mog posljednjeg boravka tamo. Viktimiziranost i kolektivna osuda na jednoj i negiranje i umanjivanje zločina sa druge strane. Začarani krug iz kojeg malo ko izlazi. Kao, na primjer, konobar u kafani sa kojim je jedno veće nekoliko nas sjedilo. Kada je čuo ko smo i šta radimo tu, samo je rekao da ne mora, niti iko može njemu da govori šta se dešavalo u Prijedoru 1992. godine jer je on svojim očima vidio odvođenje ljudi, a i znao je gdje ih vode. Nastavili smo pričati o fudbalu.

² Jedan je podignut od strane vlasti u Hrvatskoj a drugi, nedaleko od njega, su nešto kasnije podigle udruge branitelja jer su bili nezadovoljni mjestom i izgledom već postavljenog.

U Trnopolju nas je odmah sačekao na prvi pogled drag čovjek čije ime mi nije ništa govorilo. Slušali smo njegovo svjedočenje kao jednog od preživjelih iz logora u Prijedoru. Između ostalog je rekao i da je bio nekoliko puta pretučen po tabanima. Negdje sredinom razgovora neko od naših domaćina iz Prijedora nam je predstavio ovog čovjeka kao Fikreta Alića, čovjeka sa slike iz Omarske koja je bila na naslovnoj strani magazina Time, na kojoj se vidi njegovo gladu izmučeno tijelo. Vidjeti tu sliku je strašno, ali sresti se sa čovjekom sa te slike i time je "oživjeti" je nešto više od toga. Tek tada sam se potpuno suočio sa onim što se desilo na mjestu gdje smo stajali. Nakon 15-tak minuta uz bolan grč na licu Fikret se uhvatio za koljeno i počeo da gubi ravnotežu. Uz pomoć drugih je uspio da sjedne i nakon toga da ode do kola. Samo je prozborio da su to bolovi koji su posljedica mučenja. Slika koju je teško zaboraviti i koja je zaokružila njegovo svjedočenje.

Tokom našeg boravka bilo je predviđeno da se susretnemo i sa gradonačelnikom Prijedora. Ipak, do tog susreta nije došlo.

Na kraju ovog putovanja posjetili smo i spomenik na Mrakovici ubijenim Kozarčanima/kama u Drugom svjetskom ratu i muzej u sklopu spomenika. Postavka u muzeju iz doba SFRJ je promjenjena i uz neke od starih eksponata izloženi su i eksponati iz novije istorije koji predstavljaju stradanje srpskog naroda. Nakon te posjete mnogi iz grupe su bili iznenađeni i razočarani što je postavka promjenjena.

Ja sam u tome osjetio tračak optimizma. Ako je spomenik, koji je u trenutku kada je građen predstavljan kao nešto što će biti vječno i nedodirljivo, za relativno kratak istorijski period ipak transformisan, vjerujem da će i spomenici koji su nikli i koji niču nakon posljednjeg rata i koji uglavnom pozivaju na mržnju, jednog dana početi da se mijenjaju.

Nedžad Horozović

Konferencija : 20 godina posle – ratovi u Jugoslaviji

Odgovornost i izazovi u evropskoj kulturi mira

Alpe-Adriatic-Univerzitet u Klagenfurtu, 30. novembar – 1. decembar 2011.

Konferencija je okupila različite naučnike, istraživače i nekoliko umetnika i mirovnih aktivista, koji su razmenili viđenja o korenima sukoba koji su doveli do rata u Jugoslaviji.

U publici je bilo dosta iseljenika sa teritorije bivše Jugoslavije, čija se emocionalna veza sa temom pokazivala u nekoliko momenata, demonstrirajući kako je živa nasilna prošlost još uvek u glavama ljudi koji su preživeli rat. Ovi emocionalni izlivi su ostali u meni, za razliku od dugih predavanja koja su pročitale neki govornici.

Nekoliko gostujućih predavača iz regiona bivše Jugoslavije bilo je prilično uskraćeno, jer je, osim jedne sekvence, cela konferencija bila na nemačkom jeziku.

Zanimljive su bile studije i izveštaji medijskih analitičara, koji su analizirali medijsku sliku i kako su mediji doprineli ratnoj eskalaciji.

Nenad Vukosavljević je na konferenciji govorio o iskustvima CNA u mirovnom radu na zapadnom Balkanu, bazirajući se na

primeru rada sa ratnim veteranima, i podvukao glavne sadašnje i buduće potrebe na izgradnji mira.

Napravljeni su i zanimljivi novi kontakti, kao što je upoznavanje sa bosanskim piscem Dževadom Karahasanom, koji je autora ovih redova impresionirao svojom smirenošću i mudrošću.

N.V.

Konferencija : Život nakon rata

Salzburg, 27-28.01.2012.

U prijatnom ambijentu konferencijskog centra St. Virgil u Salzburgu, 27-28.1.2012 održana je razmena iskustava nošenja sa postratnim izazovima, kako socijalnih radnika i drugih koji rade u Austriji i susreću se sa uticajem posledica rata na generacije migranata sa prostora bivše Jugoslavije koji žive u Austriji, tako i samih migranata, te onih koji se sa naučnog ili aktivističkog stanovišta bave pitanjima rata i izgradnje mira.

U ime CNA, prisustvovao sam skupu i bio jedan od uvodničara na prvom panelu, na kojem su osim mene govorili i Dr. Martina Fischer (Berghof Istraživački Centar -Berlin) i Dr. Vedran Džihić (profesor – Beč / Vašington). Moja tema je glasila “pravda-istina-pomirenje”, a glavna poruka da iako potpune istine ne može biti, oko pravde se svakako nikad ne bi svi složili, to ipak ne znači da rad na pomirenju u smislu borbe protiv mržnje između zajednica (ne kao pojedinačnog koraka, koji svako ima pravo da napravi ili ne) treba da čeka ili da uopšte ne treba da se čini.

Lično mi je jako zanimljivo izlaganje Vedrana Džihića koji je uneo i dozu lične emocije, govoreći o sopstvenoj motivaciji da doprinese boljitku u domovini (BiH) iz koje je kao tinejdžer izbegao na početku rata. Potom, izlaganje iskustava iz terapijskog rada sa traumatiziranim migrantima (Michael Schreckeis) koje svedoči o stepenu traume kojoj su brojni pojedinci bili izloženi i koji i nakon godina života u Austriji ne mogu da ih prebrode. Izazovi kojima su socijalni radnici i prosvetni radnici izloženi u radu sa decom poreklom sa Balkana a koja odrastaju u Austriji i duboko su zaražena mržnjom i predrasudama, su bili tema brojnih izlaganja i pitanja na koje se traže odgovori, a pred njima se oseća nemoć.

Drugi dan konferencije sam vodio radionicu kojoj je prisustvovalo i u njoj učestvovalo oko 30 ljudi, mešano migrantkinja i Austrijanki, kao i nekoliko Austrijanaca. Kako je lepo primetio jedan od organizatora iz Mirovnog Biroa Salzburg, nijedan muškarac sa Balkana nije bio prisutan...

Radionica je trajala oko 2 sata i vodila se moderirana diskusija koja je isprovocirala dijalog između prisutnih, posebno migrantkinja iz različitih etničkih zajednica. Uz puno emocija, ali i puno dobre volje i namere, čini mi se da je to bio korak na preko potrebnom dijalogu odraslih migranata, koji je verovatno ključ rešenja i problema koje su njihova deca upila i sa kojima žive. Zanimljivo i lepo je bilo videti da je Mirovni Biro Salzburg očigledno uspešan u animiranju mladih da se angažuju kao mirovni aktivisti-kinje, bilo je puno mladih koje ova tema pokreće i bili su prepuni energije i volje za radom.

U drugom delu prepodneva smo odgledali film Nedžada Horozovića “Posjete veterana”, koji je delimično izazvao suze među ljudima sa naših prostora a pogođenost kod ostalih. Kako je nakon filma bio predviđen razgovor o njemu i temama koje iz njega proizilaze, bilo mi je zanimljivo da je prva osoba koja se javila rekla kako je film vrlo emotivan i težak, te da bi bilo možda dobro da se postave neka druga pitanja, a da se na utiske o filmu onda vratimo kada se emocije slegnu... Očekivao sam da se neko javi i protivureći, ali se to nije dogodilo.

Učesnice-i su bili jako zadovoljni radionicom i vrlo impresionirani poslom koji CNA obavlja.

Sišao sam u salu za ručavanje i upitao grupu kelnera koji sto je predviđen za konferenciju “nikad više rat” (umesto pravog naziva “život posle rata”) kako bih seo na pravo mesto, a konobar mi je kao iz topa odgovorio: “tome se svi nadamo”. Zbunio sam se na trenutak, a onda mu uzvratilo osmehom, te pomislio “šta bi mi na ovakvo pitanje odgovorio kelner u Beogradu ili Sarajevu?”.

N.V.

Civilna mirovna služba – radionica o izradi strategije

U Beogradu je od 8-11.3.2012 održana radionica na temu izrade petogodišnje strategije za program "Civilna mirovna služba" putem kojeg Nemačko ministarstvo za međunarodni razvoj podržava aktivnosti izgradnje mira na zapadnom Balkanu i širom sveta.

Osim predstavnika dve nemačke organizacije (KURVE Wustrow i Forum ZFD) koje su glavni akteri ovog programa u našem regionu, u radu su učestvovali i predstavnici partnerskih organizacija iz regiona (MK, KOS, SRB, BiH).

CNA je partnerska organizacija u programu.

Cilj radionice je bio da se sakupe relevantne informacije za pripremu nove petogodišnje strategije izgradnje mira u regionu, u okviru pomenutog programa.

Radionicu su vodili Natascha Zupan i Steffen Emrich.

N.V.

Radionica o suočavanju s prošlošću u gruzijsko-abhaskom kontekstu

U Beogradu je od 11. do 14. juna održana radionica o suočavanju s prošlošću u gruzijsko-abhaskom kontekstu. Učesnici radionice su bili predstavnici građanskog društva iz tog regiona koji trenutno istražuju mogućnosti rada na suočavanju s prošlošću i trude se da uče iz iskustava drugih delova sveta. S obzirom na veliki broj paralela koje se mogu povući kad su u pitanju sukobi na Kavkazu i Balkanu, razumljiva je inicijativa i trud da se nauči nešto iz balkanskog iskustva, iako će neki od nas pomisliti da ovde nema šta da se nauči, ili da je bolje da se od nas ne uči, imajući u vidu kako smo daleko dogurali.

Inače, Gruzija je nekadašnja sovjetska republika, a Abhazija je imala status autonomne pokrajine u okviru Gruzije. Nakon raspada Sovjetskog Saveza i usled različitih viđenja statusa Abhazije od strane vladajućih struja, 1992. godine je došlo do rata koji je trajao nešto više od godinu dana i u toku koga je poginulo na hiljade ljudi, dok su stotine hiljada morale da napuste svoj dom. Samo jedan manji deo se vratio i to u jednu pograničnu regiju. Abhaske vlasti se protive povratku većih razmera jer bi u slučaju njegove realizacije etnički Gruzijci bili relativna većina u Abhaziji. Danas, Abhazija funkcioniše kao nezavisna država, međutim priznata je od jedva nekoliko zemalja u svetu, dok Gruzija ima aspiracije da je "vрати pod svoje okrilje". Za razliku od Balkana, tamo ne postoje ni domaći, ni međunarodni sudovi koji se bave pitanjima ratnih zločina. Zatim, dok je rad na pomirenju deklarativno pozdravljen od gruzijskih vlasti, on se u Abhaziji doživljava kao pokušaj asimilacije. Skoro da ne postoji direktna saradnja čak ni između predstavnika građanskog društva.

Radionicu u Beogradu je organizovao Conciliation Resources (CR) iz Londona, a CNA je imao ulogu podrške u organizaciji i sprovođenju radionice. CR već dugi niz godina podržava organizacije građanskog društva na Kavkazu. Ova radionica se oslanjala na iskustvo sa prethodnih sličnih susreta, uključujući i radionicu održanu pre oko godinu i po dana u Švajcarskoj. Ovoga puta su radionicu vodili Rachel Clogg iz CR i Diana Francis, a Ivana Franović iz CNA je imala ulogu resursne osobe. Sandra Orlović iz Fonda za humanitarno pravo je u okviru jedne sesije predstavila rad Fonda i REKOM inicijativu.

Bilo mi je jako zanimljivo učestvovati na ovoj radionici, pratiti kako ljudi iz gruzijsko-abhaskog konteksta mapiraju probleme i tragaju za načinima da se bore sa nekadašnjom i sadašnjom nepravdom, učiti od njih i uviđati sličnosti i razlike između naših konteksta. Takođe mi je bilo zanimljivo primetiti da u samoj Gruziji postoji mnogo više prostora za rad na suočavanju s prošlošću, iako on zahteva dosta snage i hrabrosti, dok u Abhaziji, naravno, to ide mnogo teže, jer se ne može istovremeno graditi država i suočavati s njenom prošlošću.

Jako sam radoznala da vidim razvoj događaja, i da li će, i na koji način, ljudima sa Kavkaza ovaj seminar biti inspirativan. U svakom slučaju, želim im mnogo snage i sreće u daljem radu, i što je najvažnije, da se ne predaju i ne popuste pod različitim pritiscima.

I.F.

politički i društveni konteksti u kojima radimo

Hrvatska

Šta je ostalo?

Davorka Turk

U trenutku nastajanja ovog izvještaja iz Vlade RH najavili su otpuštanje 20 000 ljudi iz javnog sektora. Iznenađeni nepovoljnim reakcijama, objasnili su da se uglavnom radi o prijevremenim mirovinama i dokupu radnog staža, ali će biti i otkaza, i to na temelju nekakvog „ocjenjivanja zaposlenih“. „Sva ta drama oko otpuštanja je potpuno bezvezna“ izjavio je potpredsjednik Vlade i dodao: „Pred nama su ozbiljni rezovi“.

U tom smislu, „nova“ vlast nije donijela ništa novo. Bez pretjerano dobre ideje o tome kako da popravi devastirani javni budžet, ukine oblike političke korupcije određenih grupa glasača (kao primjerice poljoprivrednika, ili nekih drugih skupina korisnika državnih sredstava) koja ionako služi nekom konkretnom, najčešće monopolskom interesu¹ ili pokrene nepostojeću privredu, vlast se obrušila na građane.

U tijeku je intenzivna kampanja koja građanima ima objasniti: 1) da su lijeni, naslijedili radni metalitet i ponašanje iz doba socijalizma te da se moraju naučiti redu jer, 2) u kapitalizmu ništa nije besplatno. Zahvaljujući tome, traje snažan i intenzivni udar na preostanke socijalne države, pa se tako ukidaju različiti oblici socijalne sigurnosti građana (odnosno dobivaju komercijalnu cijenu), umjesto državnih tijela osnivaju se nezavisna, nevladina tijela ili organizacije na koje se te usluge prebacuju, urušavaju se osnovne postavke socijalnog dogovora (Vlade i sindikata) i uspostavlja komunikacija s poslodavcima mimo ovih potonjih.

Zato se ne čini nevažnim ovdje napomenuti da Hrvatska ima i više od 50 milijardi kuna nenaplaćenog poreza. Kako je običnim građanima gotovo nemoguće izbjeći poreznu upravu, ostaje otvoreno pitanje kome se to i zašto porez „oprštao“ – budući među neplatišama, ima i onih koji svoju ljubav prema domovini iskazuju glasno i spremno, poput Marka Perkovića Thompsona. Za razliku od ovih povlaštenih, teret krize, ili kako se to „popularno“ kaže - „stegnuti remen“ - moraju građani.

Ovi pak, slušajući upute za preživljavanje iz Vlade, imaju zadovoljstvo pratiti suđenje bivšem premijeru Ivi Sanaderu zbog sumnje u nezakonito izvlačenje desetaka milijuna kuna iz državnih tvrtki i institucija. Uz njega je optužena i stranka kojoj

je bio na čelu, HDZ. No, teško da to popravlja opći dojam o (ne)pravednosti i (ne)funkcioniranju institucija. Postoji čitav niz protuzakonitih djela, prvenstveno u sferi privatizacije nekad uspješnih poduzeća iz kojih se kapital izvlači na prokušane iako nezakonite načine, a čiji se prekršitelji ne procesiraju zahvaljujući jakim vezama s različitim instancama političke ili sudbene vlasti. Radnici pak ostaju na cesti.

Da uvezivanja ekonomske, medijske i političke moći nije pošteđena ni manjinska politika pokazao je sukob između predsjednika Republike Ive Josipovića i potpredsjednika Samostalne demokratske srpske stranke i predsjednika Srpskog narodnog vijeća Milorada Pupovca. Predsjednik Josipović je, čini se, bio spreman anulirati dobre učinke svoje regionalne politike optužujući Pupovca i Srpsko narodno vijeće² da su izgradili „etnobiznis“, te da se bave „reketačenjem“ i podgrijavanjem „nacionalnih sukoba niskog intenziteta“.

Optužbe za financijski i politički monopol „koji zatvara mogućnost pluralizma unutar srpske manjine“ idu prvenstveno na račun tjednika „Novosti“ čije izdavanje financira Srpsko narodno vijeće, i to iz sredstava državnog proračuna. Tjednik koji je, umjesto da se bavi isključivo manjinskim pitanjima, jedini kritički orijentiran prema vlasti (ma o kojoj se vlasti radilo), financira se nelegalno, smatra predsjednik Josipović i takvoj se praksi treba stati na kraj. Takav napad navodno ne bi trebao imati nikakve veze s „aferom ZAMP“, privatnim biznisom predsjednikova prijatelja Marka Vojkovića, o čemu su „Novosti“ opširno izvještavale. Slučaj je to koji se naziva aferom i zbog predsjednikove uloge u omogućavanju tog biznisa, kao i određenog dohodovnog kolača koji predsjedniku u postavljenom poretku stvari pripada.

Slijedom događaja, Pupovac je izostavljen s liste uzvanika proslave godišnjice „Oluje“, a poziv je upućen predsjedniku Srpskog demokratskog foruma Veljku Džakuli. Njegov je dolazak u Knin, na proslavu akcije tijekom i nakon koje je pobijeno više stotina srpskih civila, predsjednik protumačio kao znak da

¹ Prvi potpredsjednik Vlade Radimir Čačić izjavio je tako prilikom Todoriceva pokušaja da kupi slovenski „Mercator“ kako je „interes Agrokora, interes hrvatske države i građana“.

² Kao izabrano političko, savjetodavno i koordinativno tijelo koje djeluje kao samouprava Srba u Republici Hrvatskoj u stvarima u koje pripadaju pitanja njihovih neotuđivih ljudskih, građanskih i nacionalnih prava, te u pitanjima njihova identiteta, njihove participacije i integracije u hrvatsko društvo.

su Srbi priznali hrvatsku pobjedu u Domovinskom ratu te time prihvatili Hrvatsku kao svoju domovinu. Osim ovog, kako ga je Pupovac okarakterizirao "vrlo opasnog načina potvrđivanja državlanske lojalnosti", Džakula se predsjedniku pridružio i u osudi „Novosti“, optužujući urednika Ivicu Đikića³ ni manje ni više nego za ustaštvo. Podršku predsjedniku iskazali su, saznali smo iz prijateljski mu nastrojenih novina poput „Jutarnjeg lista“, i mnogi „građani“, „udruge“ i „srpske organizacije“, ali i čitav niz ljudi s hrvatske političke desnice, poput Danijela Srba, predsjednika HSP-a.⁴

Ne ulazeći dalje u tanane niti predsjednikova medijskog utjecaja, neprijeporno je da je, štiteći vlastiti interes i u želji da ograniči slobodu jednog medija, predsjednik sasvim kratkovidno i krajnje nedržavnički otvorio prostor za kritiku modela sudjelovanja nacionalnih manjina u hrvatskoj državnoj vlasti, kao da je ovaj model proizašao iz građanskog tipa društva u kojemu su i pripadnici manjina prije svega građani, a tek potom pripadnici etničkih skupina.

Podsjetimo se zato o kakvom se društvu radi. Gostujući u emisiji „Nedjeljom u 2“ splitski gradonačelnik Željko Kerum za vlastiti je financijski slom optužio upravo Srbe, budući "najjači utjecaj na banke i medije ima srpska i jugoslavenska opcija". Iako su lik i djelo Željka Keruma predmet sprdnje hrvatske liberalne javnosti koja njegove ispade tretira uglavnom karikaturalno, očito postoji neka glasačka podrška koju uživa budući da je izabran za gradonačelnika i saborskog zastupnika. Niti mu je ovo prvi put (prije tri godine u istoj je emisiji izjavio kako „ne bi Srbina za zeta“ te kako „svatko treba znati gdje mu je mjesto“) niti misli da je nešto krivo u takvom tumačenju stvarnosti („Stojim iza svog mišljenja, to misli većina naroda, ali nisu došli u priliku da javno odgovore na to“), ali i dalje izostaju reakcije političkih (i krivičnih?) instanci na tako eklatantan govor mržnje (uzgred ga je spomenuo tek predsjednik Josipović, komentirajući slučaj diskriminacije djece romske nacionalne manjine).

U skladu s tim valja napomenuti da je krajem septembra Žarko Domljan, prvi predsjednik Hrvatskog sabora, koji je gostujući u istoj emisiji oklevetao bivšega šefa saborskog restorana Milana Škorića etiketirajući ga kao "Srbina koji je meso nabavljao u okupljalištu kosovaca i leglu udbaša" (što je naveo kao razlog zbog kojeg je ovaj najuren s posla i izložen policijskoj torturi), oslobođen krivnje po presudi Županijskog suda u Zagrebu. Posebno perverznu notu cijelom slučaju daje činjenica da je pod navedenim „okupljalištem“ Domljan mislio na mesnicu Mihajla Zeca, kojeg su zajedno sa supru-

gom i 12-godišnjom kćerkom brutalno likvidirali pripadnici Merčepova eskadrona smrti 1991. godine.

Inače, suđenje bivšem pomoćniku ministra unutarnjih poslova Tomislavu Merčepu je u tijeku. Na suđenju se pokazalo, prema iskazima tada visoko pozicioniranih dužnosnika, da je državni vrh na čelu s predsjednikom Franjom Tuđmanom znao za ratne zločine koje su činile jedinice pod Merčepovim zapovjedništvom, ali da po tom pitanju nije ništa poduzeo. Vladimir Šeks, u to vrijeme šef Kriznog stožera za Slavoniju, a potom i državni tužitelj, čovjek koji je zbog nepravilnosti u postupku i pustio na slobodu ubojice obitelji Zec, o Merčepovim zločinima nije rekao ništa.

Proces Mihajlu Hrastovu, sudska trakavica koja se sa raznim zapletima odvija već 20 godina, okončan je presudom Vrhovnog suda u kojoj je optuženi proglašen krivim za smrt 13 rezervista JNA na Koranskom mostu u Karlovcu 1991. godine, i osuđen na četiri godine zatvora. Kazna, manja od zakonom predviđene, obrazložena je argumentom da je Hrastov bio smanjeno uračunljiv u trenutku izvršenja nedjela, a kao olakšavajuće okolnosti navedene su i činjenice da nije kažnjavan, da je dao doprinos kao branitelj, da je otac maloljetnog djeteta i da ima bolesnu suprugu. Tu trakavicu, međutim, nije kraj jer je Državno odvjetništvo najavilo žalbu zbog mizerne kazne, dok će obrana tražiti oslobođajuću presudu. Hrastov je dosad tri puta bio oslobođen na Županijskom sudu u Karlovcu, ali je Vrhovni sud poništavao presude i vraćao predmet, a onda i sam preuzeo suđenje.

Vrhovni sud presudio je i da je Republika Hrvatska odgovorna za masakr devetero starijih srpskih civila u selu Varivodama, počinjen 28. rujna 1995. Nad njima je, dva mjeseca nakon akcije "Oluja", „izvršen teroristički čin iz političkih pobuda s ciljem izazivanja straha, užasa i osjećaja osobne nesigurnosti građana“. Zbog toga, a temeljem Zakona o odgovornosti za štetu nastalu uslijed terorističkih akata, Hrvatska je obavezna obiteljima žrtava isplatiti naknadu štete, neovisno o tome je li počinitelj utvrđen, krivično gonjen ili proglašen krivim. Za počinjeni zločin, naime, do sada nitko nije odgovarao, no ova se presuda smatra značajnim korakom u inače kritičnoj i diskriminatornoj praksi ostvarivanja prava civilnih žrtava.

Postoje određene procjene (Žarko Puhovski) da je Josipovićevo približavanje Džakuli (inače samoproglašenom predsjedniku SAO Zapadna Slavonija) mudar način popravljivanja hladnih odnosa s Tomislavom Nikolićem. Ne ulazeći u intendiranost takve političke strategije, imamo se pravo upitati je li ona i najmudrija, s obzirom na pobrojane društvene okolnosti. Pogotovo zato što joj kao žrtve padaju legitimni i izabrani predstavnici manjina koje se optužuje za „etnobiliznis“ i smatra ih glavnom zaprekom stvaranju građanskog društva. A sve to samo zbog zaštite kapitala i profita. Ostaje nam stoga da ga priupitamo (kao onomad Nenad Ivanković Franju Tuđmana): „Predsjedniče, šta je ostalo?“

³ Nekada novinara i urednika Feral Tribunea, čovjeka koji je, između ostalog, pisao i o zvjerstvima koje su u ratu počinili tzv. „merčepovci“.

⁴ Hrvatska stranka prava koja se poziva na lik i djelo Ante Starčevića i koja je početkom Domovinskog rata organizirala paravojne Hrvatske obrambene snage (HOS) koje su se ideologijom naslanjale na Hrvatske oružane snage, nastale u NDH 1944. godine spajanjem Domobranstva i Ustaške vojnice.

U poslednjih godinu dana, u Srbiji se dogodilo mnogo šta, ali nije se promenilo ništa. Naravno da ima ljudi koji političku promenu doživljavaju kao stvarni preokret, ali u svakodnevnom društvenim kretanjima ta promena, bar za sad, nije donela ništa. Najvažnija vest u ovoj godini bila je odlazak Demokratske stranke sa vlasti, i dolazak Srpske napredne stranke, uz promenu predsednika države što više nije Boris Tadić, predsednik DS, a jeste Tomislav Nikolić, predsednik SNS. No, ni SNS nije mogao sam da formira Vladu, pa je ušao u koaliciju sa Socijalističkom partijom Srbije i Ujedinjenim regionima Srbije, koji su bili koalicioni partneri Demokratske stranke u prethodnoj vladi. Zvuči komplikovano? Tako i jeste – nema tu priče o ideologiji, osim ako ne služi kratkoročnom interesu (kao, recimo, blagonaklono gledanje DS vlasti na rehabilitaciju Draže Mihajlovića) već o broju ministarskih i direktorskih mesta, koja moć znače. A gde je moći, tu ima i novca...

Očekivanja od promena su različita, od čoveka do čoveka. Prosečan glasač u Srbiji ima maglovitu predstavu kakve tačno promene želi i kako se do njih dolazi, pa lako upija opšta mesta iz političkih obećanja: "Uradićemo, rešićemo, biće..." Šta tačno i kako tačno niti ko pita, niti ko odgovara. Krizu morala i duhovno siromaštvo niko ne stavlja u prioritet za promene, a zapravo to je osnova i svega drugog. Korupcija je toliko zahvatila sve sfere društva, da je minimalan broj onih koji zaista žele njeno stvarno iskorenjavanje, što nije ulaženje u ulogu Eliota Nesa, koja se jako dopada Aleksandru Vučiću, koji poslednjih par meseci obećava hapšenja. U isto vreme, sve stranke koje su u kampanji imale istaknutu „departizaciju“, odmah po stupanju na vlast su sva mesta popunile svojim kadrovima. Pa tako, sin čelnika PUPS-a odmah postade direktor Pošte. Ako teramo mak na konac, da li je to funkcija dobijena po partijskoj liniji, ili po nepotizmu, teško je razlučiti. Kao i uvek, najbolje je imati nekoliko štihova u rukavu. Besmislenost je došla dotle da je nemoguće zaposliti se kao čistačica u tržnom centru, bez članstva u partiji koja „pravi spisak“.

U poslednjih 20 godina građani Srbije su navikli da žive korupciju, te da za novac ili protivuslugu mogu u državnim organima, bolnicama, školama da završe poslove koje inače ne bi mogli, ili bi im to oduzelo mnogo vremena (što u slučaju medicine znači i život). Saučešće u korupciji pravi u ljudima osećaj da su učinili nešto loše, i tera ih da se pravdaju: "Nisam mogao drugačije, svi to rade, tražili su mi novac, nije to mito, već znak pažnje..." Te sve i da se dogodi korenita promena, što je u ovom trenutku izmaštana iluzija, sutradan bi se neko, u čudu, pitao: "Kako ne može? Ne može ni za pare?!"

U krizi u kojoj država proglašava bogatim svaku porodicu

koja ima prihode veće od 80.000 dinara (ni celih 700 evra, po kursu krajem septembra) (povodom usvajanja povraćaja pdv-a na opremu za bebe, ministar Dinkić), dok je za realnu potrošačku korpu četvorčlane porodice potrebno bar 100.000, kao da je sve dopušteno, i kao da se, ponovo, kao devedesetih sve granice pomeraju. Kada u apotekama nema lekova (dečiji sirup „brufen“ od maja je nemoguće naći na tržištu Srbije), a na rafovima prodavnica ulja i šećera, grč u želudcu podseća na poslednju deceniju prošlog veka, kada se činilo da je dotaknuto dno, dok se prvih godina novog milenijuma vraćala jalova nada da se od dna pomera.

Politika Borisa Tadića, „i Kosovo i Evropska unija“ u novoj vladi i Nikolićevom kabinetu dobila je zanimljivo proširenje: „I Kosovo, i EU, i Rusija, i Amerika, i Nemačka i Kina, i Betmen i Supermen..." Što ne govori o širini stavova i otvorenosti, već o želji da se pobegne od konkretnih poteza, i delovanja.

Ovih dana aktuelna je politika „nećemo da žurimo u EU“, odnosno, citiram: "Predsednik Srbije Tomislav Nikolić rekao je da će Srbija u daljem procesu evrointegracija imati svoje uslove, jer "nema razloga da trčimo za datumom i papirom"." To netrčanje za datumom i papirom me podseća na jednu od onih besmislenih situacija, u kojoj se svako našao: kasnite na neki događaj toliko, da je postalo apsolutno nebitno kad ćete stići. I da li ćete uopšte stići. No, na važne događaje u svom životu niko nije stigao prekasno, pa se ovde postavlja pitanje da li nežurba znači i nevažnost? "Deset godina trčanja je Srbiju dovelo do prosijačkog štapa. Sad ćemo malo da mislimo o sebi. Na sve strane imamo prijatelje, neka se takmiče ko će da pomogne Srbiji", nastavio je Nikolić." Retorički, u dobrom delu javnosti koji je u njemu i video najboljeg kandidata za predsednika Srbije, ovo zvuči kao "Srbija se saginjati neće" 21. veka. Realno – to i dalje znači odsustvo svake odgovornosti, i prebacivanje tereta na leđa "prijatelja" koji treba da se takmiče, kako bi pomogli Srbiji. I opet, retorski, to nekome može nešto da znači, da nakratko podigne moral, ali bez jasnog vođstva kroz procese ne samo integracije, nego pre svega rešavanja pitanja unutrašnje politike, ovo je samo fraza, od koje se ne dobija čak ni dnevna politička korist.

Žurila Srbija u EU, ili išla polako, "bez srljanja i grlom u jagode" (Suzana Grubješić, potpredsednica vlade za evropske integracije), jagode Srbiji odavno stoje u grlu, i pitanje je koliko će još daha imati. Guranje problema pod tepih, i ostavljanje bolnih tačaka da ih uradi neko drugi: nova vlada, EU, prijatelji, NVO iz zemlje i inostranstva, Supermen, Betmen, Alan Ford... Srbiju i jeste koštalo deset godina zaostatka. Novo odugovlačenje možda pomogne samoočuvanju neke funk-

cionerske fotelje, ali rešavanju problema sigurno da ne dopri- nosi.

Kao ni prošle – ni ove godine u Srbiji nije održana Parada ponosa, zbog pretnji raznih ultradesničarskih grupa da njeno održavanje neće dozvoliti. Još jednom se država Srbija povukla pod pretnjama nasilnika, i time proširila teren za nasilje nad svakim ko slučajnom prolazniku homofobu izgleda drugačije. Iako su ove godine organizatori samu paradu postavili kao poslednji događaj u nizu, pitanje je šta slabo posećeni okrugli

stolovi, i izložbe u alternativnim prostorima zaista mogu da donesu kao promenu, i koliko ljudi to može da vidi.

Iako, generalno, svetska i evropska politička strujanja dovode do toga da Srbija i ne mora da pliva, neki procesi su nezaustavljivi u vreme globalizacije i interneta, previše vreme- na je provedeno plutajući i čekajući prijateljski brod spasa koji će odvesti zemlju u mirnu i bogatu luku. Dok ne dođe Betmen, vredi malo i zaplivati... ali, sve se bojim da se ni Betmenu ne žuri, ne bi ni on da srlja grlom u jagode.

Bosna i Hercegovina

Puna usta pomirenja

Amer Delić

Teško je govoriti o bosanskohercegovačkoj zbilji, a da se pri tome ne baci pogled na naš komšiluk, Srbiju i Hrvatsku konkretno. U poslednje dvije godine od tamo su dolazile inicijative za unapređenje dobrosusjedskih odnosa, u vidu posjeta stratištima u BiH od strane hrvatskog predsjednika Josipovića, donošenja Deklaracije o Srebrenici¹ u Srbiji i ponovno prisustvo sada već bivšeg predsjednika Tadića komemoraciji srebreničkim žrtvama u Potočarima. Dobili smo osjećaj da se nešto pokrenulo.

Želja je postojala da se u protekloj godini nastavi sa sličnim inicijativama unutar same BiH, što je urodilo plodom pa su i predstavnici zajedničkog izaslanstva Federacije BiH odali počast žrtvama u Trusini i Ahmićima, u aprilu ove godine. Moram ovdje napomenuti da CNA u saradnji sa lokalnim veteranskim organizacijama/udrugama, već niz godina organizuje slične akcije i planira ih nastaviti u budućnosti sa naročitim osvrtom na prostore gdje to do sada nije praktikovano i gdje bi potencijalno moglo biti otpora ovakvim inicijativama.

Naravno, s obzirom da je ovo godina održavanja lokalnih (opštinskih) izbora, neke od već dogovoreni akcija su prolongirane do daljnjeg ili otkazane, što samo po sebi govori koliko je utjecaj aktuelne politike u svim sferama društva, pogotovo na veteranske udruge/organizacije koje su koncipirano „pupčano“ vezane za vladajuću oligarhiju.

Na međureligijskim susretima² organizovanim u Sarajevu

u septembru mjesecu, poruke mira su odaslane od visokih crkvenih i političkih autoriteta iz regiona i šire. Svima su bila puna usta pomirenja i multikulturalnosti (da ne bi sve bilo pod konac, čuli smo i međusobna optuživanja vladike Gligorija koji je prozvao reisa Cerića da želi islamsku BiH, dok mu je ovaj uzvratilo da hoće Republiku Srpsku bez Bošnjaka).

Priča koja se nastavila na zajedničko odavanje počasti žrtvama, takođe je rezultirala mnogobrojnim otvorenim pozivima na pomirenje od strane predstavnika međunarodne zajednice i domaćih visokopozicioniranih političara, koji su je ipak, ruku na srce, eksploatisali do nivoa perverzности. Na terenu se stvarna problematika i netransparentnost politike opet maskirala sa nacionalnom ugroženošću i manjom ravnopravnošću u odnosu na druge, te su se jako brzo i ove stvari vratile na polaznu tačku i uglavnom se svako bavio sa svojim žrtvama. Niko nikome ne vjeruje i niko tuđe ne priznaje.

Koliki je jaz pokazale su obilježavanje godišnjice početka rata u Sarajevu³ 6. aprila, pri čemu je taj događaj od strane političara iz Republike Srpske ocijenjen neprimjerenim. Predsjednik Republike Srpske Milorad Dodik je povodom obilježavanja godišnjice pisao šefu BiH diplomatije Zlatku Lagumdžiji i poručio da je organizovanje prijema povodom obilježavanja početka »opsade Sarajeva« apsolutno neprihvatljivo i da nije prethodno usaglašeno sa svim stranama u BiH. Ministar spoljne trgovine i ekonomskih odnosa BiH Mirko Šarović je izjavio da se »ne može govoriti o opsadi Sarajeva« i istakao da bi sva tri naroda u BiH s obzirom na različite poglede na događaje od 1992.-1995. godine trebalo da koriste

Sant'Egidio iz Rima.

³ Povodom obilježavanja 20-godišnjice početka opsade Sarajeva, priređen je performans „Sarajevska crvena linija“, gdje su u pomen obilježavanja pogibije 11.541 građana Sarajeva Titovom ulicom u dužini od 800m bile poredane crvene stolice, po jedna za svakog građanina poginulog u ratu.

¹ Deklaracija o Srebrenici kojom se osuđuje zločin nad bošnjačkim stanovništvom Srebrenice u julu 1995 godine i u kojoj Skupština Srbije poziva sve nekadašnje sukobljene strane u Bosni i Hercegovini i drugim državama bivše Jugoslavije da nastave proces pomirenja i jačanja uslova za zajednički život zasnovan na ravnopravnosti nacija i punom poštovanju ljudskih i manjinskih prava i sloboda, da učinjeni zločini više nikada ne bi bili ponovljeni.

² Međunarodna konferencija za mir „Naša je budućnost živjeti zajedno - Religije i kulture u dijalogu“, koju je organizovala organizacija

dejtonsku formulaciju da se radilo o »nesretnom sukobu u regionu«.

S druge strane zabilježen je incident prilikom obilježavanja godišnjice stradanja vojnika JNA u nekadašnjoj Dobrovoljačkoj ulici u Sarajevu. Naime, tada je, uz jako policijsko obezbjeđenje, spriječena eskalacija sukoba kada se grupa građana Sarajeva okupila i uz povike „ubice“, upućivala psovke i pogrdne riječi porodicama žrtava.

U javnim nastupima ponovo se moglo čuti negiranje genocida u Srebrenici od strane predsjednika i drugih zvaničnika iz Republike Srpske, kao i novoizabranog predsjednika Republike Srbije Tomislava Nikolića. Vidjeli smo usamljene šetnje porodica žrtava Prijedorčana⁴ i zabranu prilaza nekadašnjem logoru Omarska, nepovjerenje i optužbe prilikom ekshumacija grobnica na Ozrenu⁵. Jednostavno lošim primjerima nema kraja.

Šta čovjek da kaže i kako da protumači napad na Ambasadu SAD u Sarajevu od strane dotičnog Mevlida Jašarevića⁶, koji se zaputio iz Novog Pazara (Sandžak, Republika Srbija) sa »borbenim kompletom« i odlučio ovdje da se sveti za brutalnost globalnih američkih ratova. Je li to okidač koji je dao legitimitet policijskim strukturama da preduzmu akcije prema organizovanim »radikalnim islamistima« ili jednostavan dokaz da su BiH i Sandžak kolijevke novih terorističkih grupa, kojim se nastoji diskreditovati bošnjačka politička relevantnost.

Mediji po običaju, kao što nisu preuzeli odgovornost za učinjeno zlo u prošlosti, jedva su dočekali da rehabilituju nacionalističku retoriku, šovinizam i mržnju i dolijevaju ulje na vatru. Kao da ne shvataju kolika je krhkost mira na ovim prostorima i kao da nisu svjedoci dešavanja diljem svijeta, gdje zemlje za koje se do juče mislilo da su stabilne i sa uređenom unutrašnjom strukturom, gotovo preko noći upadaju u glib krvavih sukoba kojima se kraj ne nazire.

Ko bi rekao da sukob u Siriji može da dovede do krize vlasti u Bosni i Hercegovini, jer su se naši političari zakoprcali u mreži protektorata i svrstavaju se na strane za koje su nagonски opredjeljeni te daju podršku svako svojim »dokazanim«

prijateljima iz Savjeta bezbjednosti UN. Takođe, posljedice operacije »kukavičije jaje« koju je SDP⁷ lansirao na unutrašnjo-političku scenu BiH na proteklm parlamentarnim izborima (kada je hrvatski član predsjedništva Željko Komšić izabran uz pomoć bošnjačkog izbornog tijela, čime je HDZ⁸ nadglasan i izigran princip jednakopravnosti konstitutivnih naroda), evidentne su jer već dvije godine nije formirana federalna vlada. U međuvremenu je pokušaj partnerstva na relaciji SDP-SDA rezultirao otvorenim sukobom te dvije stranke i nastojanjem SDP-a da počisti SDA⁹ kadrove iz svih ministarstava federalnog i kantonalnih nivoa. U junu mjesecu za novog koalicionog partnera izabran je Radončićev¹⁰ SBB¹¹. Uglavnom, SDP je uoči lokalnih izbora grcao u vlastitoj zamci tražeći načine da povрати kredibilitet kod glasača, a u isto vrijeme braneći stečene pozicije na koje udaraju kako SDA na federalnom, tako i Milorad Dodik¹² na državnom nivou, tražeći smjenu Zlatka Lagumdžije sa mjesta ministra vanjskih poslova. No poznavajući njih dvojicu, možda već sutra osvanu u zagrljaju. Moram ovdje da se osvrnem i na predizbornu inicijativu Predsjednika Republike Srpske Milorada Dodika o demilitarizaciji BiH, konkretno o ukidanju oružanih snaga i privođenje svih pripadnika vojnih u civilne strukture. Kao ključni razlog naveo je da oružane snage puno koštaju, a ne doprinose sigurnosnoj situaciji. Vjerovatno je nestalo silnih miliona zarađenih prodajom telekoma i ostalih entitetskih dobara koje je rasprodao, a razlog za tešku ekonomsku situaciju pravda nepotrebnim ulaganjem u vojsku. Nažalost, jedna uistinu dobra ideja došla je od čovjeka koji bi na sve načine volio doprinjeti slabljenju BiH. Kamo sreće da se kompletan region okrene demilitarizaciji kao primarnom cilju u stabilizaciji ovog dijela Evrope i uspostavljanju međusobnih odnosa na temeljima prijateljstva i saradnje.

Ono što je zabrinjavajuće pored svega ostalog što karakteriše posljednju predizbornu trku je i to da u ovako malojoj zemlji može da bude ovoliki broj ljudi koji žele da se okušaju u institucijama vlasti. O kvalitetu kandidata neću da sudim, niti o njihovim ličnim motivima (ideološki - hm!?, ekonomski - par stotina maraka mjesečno za vjećnike, ne bi trebalo ni da je to, ali mogućnost da kroz politički utjecaj zarade dio kolača trpajući kovertne u džep - to mi već ima smisla). U moru istovjetnih floskula koje su se danonočno vrtile u medijima, mogla su se čuti obećanja da će se u slučaju pobjede njihovih favorita otvarati nova radna mjesta i podići standard građana. Zar to nije stvar makroekonomskog plana!? Uči u ovako haotičnu političku situaciju bez konkretnog plana i spremnosti

⁴ Istraživačko dokumentacijski centar (IDC) navodi da je u razdoblju od 1991. do 1995. u izravnim vojnim akcijama ubijeno ili nestalo 5209 građana Prijedora, od toga 4093 Bošnjaka, 898 Srba te 182 Hrvata. Nakon preuzimanja Prijedora i susjednih područja u maju 1992 godine, srpske snage su zatvorile hiljade muslimanskih i hrvatskih civila u logore u Omarskoj, Keratermu i Trnopolju.

⁵ Republička organizacija porodica zarobljenih, poginulih boraca i nestalih civila Republike Srpske i Operativni tim Srpske za traženje nestalih traži povrat nadležnosti od Tužilaštva i Instituta za nestale BiH zbog sumnji o izmještanju grobnica i krađi skeletnih ostataka poginulih srpskih boraca na Ozrenu. Zatraženo je da se, uz učešće visokog predstavnika i svih relevantnih domaćih i inostranih institucija u BiH, održi konferencija o ovom pitanju.

⁶ Prema vlastitim izjavama, Mevlid Jašarević boravio je u februaru 2010. godine u selu Gornja Maoča, poznatom vehabijskom uporištu u BiH, u trenutku kad je policija uhapsila veliki broj pripadnika tog pokreta. Nakon toga se vratio u Novi Pazar kako bi "širio islam".

⁷ Socijal-demokratska partija

⁸ Hrvatska demokratska zajednica

⁹ Stranka demokratske akcije

¹⁰ Radončić Fahrudin, bosanskohercegovački privredni tajkun i osnivač stranke SBB, često dovođen u vezu sa kriminalnim radnjama uz pomoć kojih je postao jedan od najbogatijih ljudi u BiH i regionu

¹¹ Stranka za bolju budućnost

¹² Predsjednik Republike Srpske

da se vadi vrelo kestenje iz vatre, obično je licemjerstvo.

Kako god, naš(e) narod(e) očekuju hladna jesen i zima sa enormnim poskupljenjima struje i životnih namirnica. Moglo bi se desiti da uz proračune mjesečne »potrošačke korpe« za četveročlanu porodicu, Zavod za statistiku počne izbacivati i brojke koliko penzionera u prosjeku može da opsluži jedan kontejner.

Nadam se da će ovaj osvrt na kontekst u kojem djelujemo pomoći da razumijete BiH realnost. U takvoj svakodnevni gdje se na jedan hrabar pozitivan iskorak odgovara sa dva koraka unazad koja nas vraćaju u glib prošlosti, vrlo je teško sprovoditi programe izgradnje mira i tražiti partnere koji su u stanju da preuzmu dio odgovornosti i djeluju u lokalnim zajednicama. No, borba se nastavlja, slijedi nova runda.

Makedonija

Prometej u pelenama

Boro Kitanoski

Protekle godinu u Makedoniji definitivno je obeležio Smiljkovski masakar. Kobnog 12-tog aprila 2012, u ranu večer pre pravoslavnog Velikog petka, na tri dana pred Uskrs, ubijeno je pet ljudi kod Smiljkovskog jezera, u neposrednoj blizini Skoplja. Istraga je pokazala kako su četiri mladića makedonske nacionalnosti, od 17 do 21 godine starosti, legitimirani, poređani i hladnokrvno likvidirani. Peta žrtva je bio stariji čovek, 45 godina, ribar, koji je najverovatnije bio slučajni svedok. Nijedan od mladića nije imao policijski dosije, niko nije pominjao bilo kakvu mogućnost njihove umešanosti u bilo kakvu radnju koja bi ovom zločinu dala kakvu-takvu razumljivu notu. Ništa. Ljudi su bili potpuno šokirani hladnokrvnošću kojom su ubistva počinjena i šokirani mogućnošću da u zemlji, deset godina nakon poslednjeg rata, može postojati grupa ubica koja je spremna ubiti pet civila na ovakav način. I, kako to obično biva, već sutradan su se sa obe glavne etničke strane čuli pozivi za obračun, upiranje prstom, pozivi na masovne proteste. Premijer se nedelju dana krio od medija (uprkos brojnim pozivima da se pojavi u javnosti i da smiri situaciju, koja je pretila da eskalira), što samo po sebi ukazuje na to da ni on nije imao pojma šta nam se to dešava.

No da vidimo u kakvom nas je to stanju našao ovaj događaj.

Nakon prošlogodišnjih obračuna sa medijima i onog propagandnog jada što je ostao da koprcu u atmosferi podmetanja, spinova, hajki i kleveta, jedan deo javnosti se kompletno sklonio, nalazeći sklonište po mrežama na internetu ili pak zabio glavu u pesak i kompletno pobeo u apolitičnost. Drugi, vidljivi deo javnosti, uveliko se bavljao temama koje su bacane u prostor. (Verovatno vam delujem preoštro, ali ja stvarno ne verujem ogromnoj većini "događaja" koji su aktuelni po medijima, čak i da su se uopšte desili. Uzme se događaj, od toga se napravi ogromno plašilo od slame koje se zatim junački napada sa svih mogućih strana i kada se sve to obrne i spinuje, nikoga više ne zanima šta se to zapravo zbilo,

već samo – koja interpretacija kome odgovara.)

Elem, teme su bile sledeće:

- Skoplje 2014., grandiozni multimilionski projekat, još uvek je glavni punkt na kojem se ocenjuje rad vlade. Projekat ide punom parom. Još uvek je tajna koliko košta, pa čak i koji su mu dometi, šta sve spada u taj projekat. (Ima li kraja?) Nakon grandioznog "ratnika na konju", na drugoj strani reke se izdigao ništa manji "otac ratnika na konju", a ovih se dana postavlja i velika kompleksna kompozicija, valjda, "majke ratnika na konju". Zlobnici kažu da broj 2014 u imenu projekta ne označava godinu kada bi projekat trebao biti završen, već broj spomenika koji treba da se postave, ali ja mislim da preteruju. Računao sam, ne verujem da ih do sada ima više od 200. Evo, već nekoliko godina vlasti uporno odbijaju da čuju bilo kakvu kritiku projekta, demoniziraju svaki kritički glas, ali su zato samo jedan dan nakon postavljanja nagog spomenika Prometeja odmah naručili da se izradi prekrivač koji bi mu pokrio genitalije. Poznati skulptor je spremno izvršio naređenje. Gradonačelnik opštine Centar je rekao kako to radi jer je dobio pritužbe od "ženskih" organizacija. Koje su to organizacije – nikada nam nije saopštio. Tako smo dobili i Prometeja u pelenama. Možda će kad poraste i uspeti da nam donese obećanu vatru. Možda.

- Igre sa statistikom kako smo treća, prva, druga (ni ja ne pamtim sve) zemlja u Evropi, svetu,... po raznim parametrima: borba sa ekonomskom krizom, najmanjim padom ekonomije usred krize (šta je to ostalo pa da padne?)... Evo, samo što nam nije krenulo! Neke druge statistike uporno tvrde kako je procenat siromaštva stanovnika još uvek oko 30%.

- Lustracija od komunističkog nasleđa je tek bila zabava. Vlast je uporno gurala projekat, opozicija kočila. Ne razumem zašto. Ja sam pobornik toga da se sve što je preostalo od arhiva državne bezbednosti iz vremena SFRJ objavi javno. Da se digne na web. Da se to napravi u atmosferi poverenja i sa iskrenom željom da se sa tim politikama prekine. Da se jasno ukaže i na

moгуćnost da je deo arhive uništen ili falsifikovan od strane sluţbi. Ali to se neće desiti. Nakon što je Ustavni sud ukinuo deo odredbi tog zakona, parlamentarna većina je vratila još rigorozniji zakon. To se onda pretvorilo u alat za političku eliminaciju. Selektivno se postavljaju slućajevi (umesto, recimo, da prioritet imaju funkcioneri koji su sada aktuelni) i odluke u Komisiji se donose nadglasavanjem i pored prilićno jasnih odredbi kako se neko proglašava doušnikom. Postavljen je i javni registar osoba na web: <http://www.kvf.org.mk> Ne ţalim ja njih toliko, koliko mi je ųao propuštene moгуćnosti da se ovim procesom dobije javno prihvatljiviji odnos prema toj prošlosti, koji bi bio vrednosno određen više ka nemirenju sa takvim praksama, nego vođen pukim osvetničkim nagonima, a za račun dnevne politike.

- Spor oko imena sa Grćkom je već konstantan i tu su karte postavljene, kao i propagandna upotreba svake od pozicija. Nekakva novost je moгуćnost da se otpoćnu pristupni pregovori sa EU, ali da se obe strane obaveţu da će kao prvo pitanje u pregovorima postaviti spor. Sa grćke strane još uvek nema pozitivnog odgovora.

I tu negde dolaze međuetnićki odnosi. Preciznije, odnosi između Makedonaca i Albanaca. Podosta je isplivalo u prošloj godini. Već duţi period, glavni problem je nepreuzimanje odgovornosti za politike koje se ionako sprovode. Svaka od strana će da ispuni dogovorene obaveze, ali neće stati iza njih kada se obraća “svom narodu”. Za to obraćanje uvek postoji neka emotivna prića o nepravdi i stranim pritiscima. Ta neodgovornost gaji neprijateljstvo i hrani karijere “narodnih branitelja”. I toleriše ćak i javne oblike međuetnićkog nasilja dok god misli da moţe da ih kontroliše. Mi smo Smiljkovski masakar doćekali usred jedne spirale etnićkog nasilja. Krenulo je islamskim protestima zbog neprilične maske kojom je vrećan Kuran na karnevalu u jednom selu na jugozapadu zemlje. Pa je oštećena neka crkva, pa je u drugom gradu osvanula dţamija sa uvredljivim grafitima, pa je u drugom selu neko pokušao da zapali crkvu, pa su poćele masovne tuće po gradskim autobusima u Skoplju. I to je trajalo celo proleće. A onda se desio masakar. Ministarka policije, pored koje je stajao zamjenik ministra, etnićki Albanac, u objašnjenju je totalno nespretno rekla da je motiv za ubistva “radikalni islam” (što samo po sebi moţe znaćiti sve i ništa). To je izazvalo reakcije na svim stranama. Onda se desilo nešto neoćekivano. Prvi protest su odmah zakazali makedonski nacionalisti. (Porodice ubijenih su pozivale na smirivanje situacije.) Više stotina njih se okupilo ispred zgrade vlade, bacali kamenje, nešto po vladi, nešto po novinarima, i onda su pokušali da idu ka ćaršiji u tzv. “albanski deo grada”. Tu je veoma odlućno reagovala specijalna policija koja ih je blokirala i zatim potisnula u suprotnom smeru. Ne pamtim drugi slućaj u kome se makedonska policija tako odlućno suprotstavila makedonskim nacionalistima. Drugi dan, u petak, posle dţume okupilo se mnogo Albanaca i krenulo ka Vladi. Policija je vrlo paţljivo obezbeđivala protest

i nije dozvolila veće incidente. Nisam sklon podrćci policije kada ogranićava pravo protesta, no u ova dva slućaja je policija reagovala upravo kako treba i sa namerom da smanji nasilje na ulici. Znaći, znaju kako treba, kad hoće. ųelja za većim ulićnim obraćunima je splašnjavala jer je bilo onemogućeno da sukob eskalira na taj naćin. Ubrzo je policija privela 20-tak ljudi, od kojih je nekoliko zadrţano po nekoliko osnova, dvojica u direktnoj vezi sa ubistvom (navodni šofer i jedan od ubica), i raspisana je poternica za još dvojicom Albanaca pod sumnjom da su direktni izvršioci zloćina. I tu je stalo. Ovog se meseca navršava šest meseci od pritvora i optuţba mora biti pokrenuta ili ljudi osloboćeni. Videćemo, ali ovo je zloćin takvog kalibra da ne sme ostati nerazjašnjen. Nadam se da ćemo stići bliće istini.

Iskreno, ovaj zloćin vidim izvan spirale etnićkog nasilja u koju smo upali. To što se desilo mi je malo previše za uobićajeno podgrevanje naroda nacionalizmom, kako bi se lakše preveslalo preko ostalih problema, nešto ćemu smo svedoci već dve decenije. Ali je doćlo u pravi tren. Reakcija oba partnera u Vladi mi isto govori u prilog tome da su oni shvatili ozbiljnost situacije i reagovali najbolje što znaju sa namerom da smire situaciju. Ne znam ko je organizovao ubistva i za ćiji račun, samo se nadam da nećemo dugo ćekati na odgovore. Izgubio sam nadu da ćemo izvuć pouku o tome kako to uvek iste grupe odmah reaguju na svaki dogaćaj na isti naćin (pozivom na novi sukob), na to da je ovo druştvo zaboravilo na obićaj ųaljenja posle smrti, zaboravilo da ne trći upirući prstom na ubićajene neprijatelje, kompletno zaboravilo na porodice ubijenih, a pozivali na osvetu navodno u njihovo ime, zaboravilo da osim policijskih izveštaja i partijskih prepucavanja evo šest meseci skoro i da nema analiza ni diskusija o tome što se desilo i na kraju, zaboravilo da svim tim kreira zajednicu koju bilo koja malo bezoćnija grupa hladnokrvnih ubica moţe tako lako da dovede pred veoma ozbiljan ispit.

Nakon malog zatišja, ćini se da su svi zaboravili na Smiljkovska ubistva, i spirala nasilja se uobićajenim sporadićnim sukobima po ulicama, stadionima, gradskim autobusima. Raste nam nova generacija mladih u urbanim sredinama kojima su ovi sukobi jedina taćka susreta. Organizovan je i veoma labav pokret za mir kroz koji smo se javljali. Tu ima volje i ima divnih ljudi i ovaj put mi se ćini da se išlo dalje od uobićajenih aktivistićkih krugova. No, tu je problem bio zadrţati fokus na pitanje mira. Ta neka malo dugoroćnija posvećenost miru nam uveliko fali. Onda su ovog ljeta usledile godišnjice pogibija od rata 2001. Veći skandal je izbio kada je Fatmir Besimi, ministar odbrane, sa oficijalnom delegacijom armije otišao na godišnjicu i poklonio se pred spomenik palih boraca UĆK u kumanovskom selu Slupćane. To je diglo tenzije i ćini se ozbiljno najlutilo makedonskog partnera u vladi, VMRO-DPMNE (a i javnost). Treba imati u vidu da se spomen-ploće pogibije boraca od 2001. ćuvaju samo u “svom etnićkom

dvorištu". Inače se ne dopušta postavljanje ili se već sutradan uništavaju. VMRO-DPMNE je reagovala tako što je odmah pripremila i poslala u proceduru zakon za prava branitelja (koji obuhvata samo pripadnike regularnih snaga vojske i policije, tj. makedonsku stranu). To je podržala i makedonska opozicija (Socijaldemokrati). Albanski partner DUI se oštro suprotstavio i uz podršku albanske opozicije (DPA) su najavili kako nipošto neće prihvatiti da taj zakon prođe i da će u krajnoj instanci tražiti novu promenu Ustava, koja bi išla ka federalizaciji zemlje. (Navodno je postojao dogovor da partneri ovo pitanje ne otvaraju uopšte za vreme mandata.) Ne znam kako će sve ovo da završi, ali znam da ćemo, ako se ne dogovore, imati nove parlamentarne izbore već ove zime, eventualno na proleće za kada su zakazani redovni lokalni izbori. Znam i da će opet nacionalizam biti glavna izborna tema.

Ne bojim se da će ova situacija da eskalira ka novom velikom sukobu. Makedonija ima dugu istoriju međuetničke saradnje (čak je i za vreme rata od 2001. opstala multietnička vlada) i nekad komplikovane sisteme prilagođavanja jednih drugima. Sklon sam verovanju da postoje razlozi zašto se i taj sukob od 2001. zaustavio i nije se sunovratio u totalni haos. I da je nešto od tih razloga još uvek aktivno i snažno u ljudima

ovde. Ali sam svestan da taj kredit već neko vreme trošimo na pogrešne politike. Na kraju, mnogo je karijera napravljeno na javnim neprijateljstvima (i privatnim tenderima) da bi to tek tako nestalo. A, boga mi, uživa i popriličnu podršku u narodu. Neće nestati, to jednostavno moramo shvatiti i krenuti odatle.

Pre par dana sam sedeo sa prijateljima. Svi smo već zašli u tridesete godine života, vide se neki okviri ličnog razvoja, pričali smo kako smo ranije maštali o sebi, a kuda idemo sada i takve neke stvari. Onda smo malo općenito pričali o svemu i prisećali se onih pismenih zadataka u školi o budućnosti, svet posle 2000-te i to. Slične su nam bile zamisli o tehnološkom razvoju, putovanjima na Mesec i Mars, kućnim robotima i modernim autima koji lete kroz gradove. Niko nije ni sanjao da ćemo se i nakon svih ovih godina baviti ovakvim problemima kakve proživljavamo. Niti smo mi, kako smo se zamišljali, niti nam je društvo kakvim smo ga sanjali. Valjda je to i logično, ne? Na kraju, sličnih smo godina, a ni društvo se nije samo od sebe stvorilo. Politike koje nam se ne sviđaju neće nestati, niti će se predati pred našim superiornim argumentima. Neće ni ljudi koji te politike sprovode, podstiču i podržavaju. Šta ćemo onda? Valja nam nešto uraditi sa ovakvom spoznajom.

Kosovo

Dug je put

Bojan Veselić

Tokom poslednjih nekoliko godina, društveno-političku scenu na Kosovu obeležilo je više događaja koji imaju dugoročne implikacije na kosovsko društvo u celini. U tekstu će biti pomenuto nekoliko takvih momenata koji ukazuju na stanje u kome se nalazi Kosovo danas.

Najveća promena se dogodila 17. februara 2008. kada je skupština Kosova jednostrano proglasila nezavisnost na osnovu plana koji je izradio Marti Ahtisaari. Inače, ovaj plan nije usvojen od strane saveta bezbednosti Ujedinjenih Nacija. Zatim je skupština usvojila ustav koji je stupio na snagu 15. juna 2008. godine. Od tada, Kosovo nastavlja svoj put ka demokratskom razvoju i u tom procesu, Međunarodna civilna misija (ICO) je imala zadatak da sugeriše put kojim treba ići. Ova misija je okončala svoj mandat 10. septembra 2012., a Kosovo je nastavilo svoj put ka međunarodnom priznanju.

Imajući u vidu slabe ekonomske potencijale na Kosovu, 11. jula 2008., održana je međunarodna donorska konferencija na kojoj je sakupljeno 1.236 milijardi eura s ciljem daljeg demokratsko-političkog razvoja na Kosovu. Usled globalne finansijske krize, sniženog budžeta većine industrijalizovanih zemalja, nedovoljno razvijenih mehanizama za implementaciju raznih projekata i niske administrativne osposobljenosti

kadrova u vladi, stvarna količina finansijskih sredstava koja je do sada stigla na Kosovo je daleko niža od planirane. Ovo je jedan od razloga koji doprinosi netrpeljivosti između etničkih grupa.

Trenutno, Ahtisarijev plan predstavlja najbolje političko rešenje za mirnu koegzistenciju i demokratski razvoj. Vlada Kosova ga se, uglavnom, pridržava, kao i većina srpske populacije koja se nalazi južno od Ibra i koja aktivno učestvuje u političkom razvoju. Međutim, najveći izazov punoj primeni ovog plana predstavlja činjenica da nije prihvaćen od strane vlade Srbije, a ni od Srba koji žive na severu Kosova i koji vrše vlast na tome delu teritorije. Mitrovica je formalno podeljena 1999. godine, mada se ova podela mogla uočiti daleko ranije. Građani su nevoljno odlazili s jedne strane na drugu, iako je postojalo nekoliko bezbednijih prelaza koji su se mogli koristiti. Trenutna ukupna bezbednosna situacija je daleko bolja i politički pritisci jenjavaju, ali građani i dalje ne žele da se predugo zadržavaju na suprotnim stranama. Inače, u južnom delu Mitrovce živi oko 70.000 građana

Tokom poslednje tri godine, napravljeni su krupni koraci na pravnom planu, međutim implementacija novih zakona je i dalje na niskom nivou. Pozitivni koraci su načinjeni ka zaštiti

dece tokom 2009. godine, a imenovanje ombudsmana predstavlja napredak ka civilnom i demokratskom razvoju društva. Uprkos ovim promenama, siromaštvo i nejednakost su široko rasprostranjeni na Kosovu. Prema podacima Svetske banke, nivo siromaštva nije se snizio za poslednjih 5 godina. Skoro 45% ljudi i dalje živi u siromaštvu, a 16% živi u ekstremnom siromaštvu. Ukoliko se ubrzo ne pronađe rešenje za ove izazove, budućnost za građane Kosova će biti neizvesna.

Interno raseljena lica i izbeglice i dalje ne mogu u potpunosti da ostvare svoja prava. Međunarodna zajednica i zvaničnici na Kosovu još uvek nisu pronašli adekvatno rešenje za ovaj problem. Lokalno albansko stanovništvo se uglavnom protivi povratku Srba. Oni koji odluču da se vrate u svoje kuće, izloženi su čestim napadima i pretnjama, a opšta sigurnost je dovedena u pitanje. Ovi konflikti su često motivisani nerešenim pitanjem vlasništva nad zemljom. Zbog loše ekonomske situacije, građani koji su u mogućnosti, prodaju svoja imanja i na taj način uspevaju da prežive. Ovi stalni konflikti i nesuglasice, ukazuju na loše stanje lokalne vlasti i u suštini podrivaju napore ka demokratskom razvoju. Institucionalna i društvena diskriminacija je prisutna i prema ostalim manjinama, prema zajednici Roma, Aškalija, Bošnjaka, Goranaca i Egipćana u pogledu obrazovanja, zapošljavanja, socijalnih servisa, upotrebe jezika, slobode kretanja, prava na povratak i ostalih osnovnih prava i sloboda. Pripadnici ovih zajednica su stalno izloženi ekonomskoj diskriminaciji, žive u jako lošim higijenskim uslovima i često nemaju osnovno zdravstveno osiguranje i u potpunosti zavise od međunarodne pomoći. Prema podacima UNHCR-a, krajem 2011. godine, bilo je 18,196 interno raseljenih lica, od kojih 54% su bili Srbi a 40% su činili Albanci. Od 4.100 lica koja su raseljena u nemirima 2004. godine, još uvek se 1,000 stanovnika nije vratilo u svoje domove, a u periodu od 2000 - jula 2012. godine, bilo je 9,947 registrovanih povratnika. Iako je pravni okvir usvojen, njegova implementacija je neuspešna, i sve manjine, a posebno srpska, suočavaju se sa teškim izazovima.

Medijska scena nije daleko odmakla i deli sudbinu ostalih društveno-političkih aspekata društva u razvoju. Kanal na srpskom jeziku koji se može gledati na celom Kosovu i dalje nije u funkciji. Mediji imaju velikih problema da pribave informacije od strane vlasti, ali i od ostalih javnih institucija. Samo

nekoliko pisanih medija je finansijski održivo i u mogućnosti da se odupre političkim i ekonomskim interesima pojedinih grupacija i razvije kritički osvrt prema političkim dešavanjima. Često su novinari izloženi pretnjama od strane političara i kriminalnih grupa, i tada je, zbog opstanka, autocenzura jedino rešenje. Većina novinara se suzdržava i ne želi da se bavi istraživačkim novinarstvom iz straha od gubitka posla i lične sigurnosti. Takođe, i novinari su korumpirani, ali i suočeni sa pretnjama nakon objavljenih nepristrasnih tekstova. Ovakvih i sličnih primera ima jako puno i Kosovska strateško-akciona mreža često piše o tome.

Razvoj demokratske vladavine na Kosovu je vođen evropskom perspektivom i aspiracijom da postane član EU u što skorije vreme. U toku su kompleksne administrativne reforme koje imaju za cilj da unaprede efikasnost centralnih i lokalnih institucija i povedu odlučnu borbu protiv korupcije. Uččešće civilnog društva, osnaživanje žena i njihova participacija na političkom nivou i na mestima gde se donose ključne odluke, transparentnost rada kosovskih zvaničnika, kao i odgovornost, i dalje su ispod prihvatljivog nivoa.

Odsustvo održivog ekonomskog razvoja u velikoj meri podriava razvoj vladavine prava na Kosovu. Do sada se ekonomija uglavnom razvijala zahvaljujući sredstvima iz inostranstva i činjenici da je veliki deo radno sposobnih zaposlen kod lokalnih i međunarodnih organizacija.

Nesretna konstanta u javnom životu Kosova još od 1999. godine je jako visok nivo korupcije i nepotizma, stalni konflikti između partija i interesnih grupa u pogledu izrade zakona i njihove implementacije, disfunkcionalni odnosi institucija na nivou opština, kao i na relaciji lokalnih i međunarodnih institucija, a kontraproduktivni odnosi nisu zaobišli ni nivo centralne i lokalne administracije.

Razlog koji donekle otežava demokratski razvoj na Kosovu jeste i nedostatak potpunog međunarodnog priznanja. U svakom slučaju, put ka članstvu u Ujedinjenim Nacijama je dug, i samo članstvo neće mnogo pomoći ukoliko političke elite ne shvate koje promene su neophodne građanima Kosova. Do tada, ljudska prava, demokratski razvoj i vladavina zakona ostaju nepremostivi izazovi za celokupno kosovsko društvo.

novi ljudi u timu

Davorka Turk

Dolazak u Sarajevo

Puno toga dugujem CNA, teško mi je to pobrojati a da ne zvuči kao (samo)hvala. Do trenutka do kad sam se prijavila za osnovni trening iz izgradnje mira već sam preko 15 godina radila na Hrvatskoj radioteleviziji, bila sam krajnje opterećena odnosima snaga u društvu, odnosima snaga u takvoj ideološki i tehnički složenoj organizaciji rada kao što je proizvodnja programa javne televizije i nisam bila u mogućnosti artikulirati svoj otpor. Vjerojatno se tako može opisati onaj osjećaj „apatije“ što ga građanima pripisuju razljučeni društveni i novinski komentatori.

Napisala sam ovo zato što ima još ljudi koji se ovako osjećaju. Žulja te sve, a ne znaš šta te žulja prije. Dalje od općenitih kritika poteza vladajućih partija, mehanizama i diskursa kojima se služe da bi ostali na vlasti ili kapitalizirali ono što su ratom stekli, jer to je tek posljedica. Dugo sam, imajući priliku i sreću da upoznam način na koji CNA radi, mislila da sam dobro rastočila te sve razne slojeve vlastite muke – poziv na zaborav simboličkog prostora bivše Jugoslavije na koji sam se, kao hrvatska građanka, valjda imala obavezati; razne instance i manifestacije opresije po rasi, rodu ili etnicitetu i navodnu neizbježnost oružanih sukoba koji iz toga proizlaze; nedostatak ili nedostižnost društvene moći koji bi takav poredak stvari mogao promijeniti. Doista mislim da postoje načini da se jedan tako uopćeni osjećaj apatije i nemoći razloži na dijelove na koje je moguće utjecati. Da postoji svijest i mogućnost jedinke da se okrene prema društvu, okolišu u kojem živi, da spozna svoje (ne)djelovanje i njegove posljedice.

Dolazak u Sarajevo u mnogočemu mi je začepio usta jer ne postoji recept za preživljavanje u postjugoslavenskog tranzicijskom društvu. Dogodilo mi se da se, po ne znam koji put u životu, prije svega imam suočiti s vlastitim predrasudama. Nije nam svima isto, u Hrvatskoj se živi bolje (u Hrvatskoj se sve ovo vrijeme živi bolje) i Hrvatska sljedeće godine ulazi u EU (što ne obećava, ali trenutno čini presudnu razliku). Rat mi je, kao i mnogim drugim ljudima, mnogošta oduzeo. Ali sam mislila da ga mogu smjestiti u prošlo vrijeme. Ovdje je svakodnevica njime definirana, ne možeš od njega pobjeći, pa ga imaš intenzivnu potrebu jednostavno zaboraviti, jer je dojam da se mišljenjem o onome što je bilo ništa bitno neće promijeniti sada. Nije to samo u Bosni, ista se stvar radi i u Hrvatskoj, ali si ona taj luksuz navodno može priuštiti. Tim me



više frustrira što se u Hrvatskoj ponašamo kao da s ratom u Bosni i Hercegovini ništa nismo imali, pa za ovu državu i njezinu budućnost ne snosimo nikakvu odgovornost. Dodaj, poruši, ostavi tako. Zaboravi.

Ne mislim da tako može. Nikad nisam bila jugonostalgiczna, mislim da štošta s navedenom federacijom nije bilo kako treba, i da se zato sada moramo baviti stvarima koje smo zakopali ispod „bratstva i jedinstva“ kojeg smo se prvom danom prilikom odrekli. Važno mi je vidjeti kako funkcioniraju ti obrambeni nacionalni mehanizmi, zašto se najbolje ispoljavaju u vremenu krize, kojim se to diskursima konstantno obnavljaju i čemu služe. Važno mi je što CNA, osim sa zainteresiranim građanima, aktivistima, članovima političkih partija, novinarima, znanstvenicima, radi i sa ratnim veteranima svih triju zaraćenih strana. Važno mi je što se bavimo načinima na koje se naša društva (ne) sjećaju prošlosti, kako je iznova konstruiraju i na kojim se stupovima tako nacionalno konstruirano sjećanje temelji. Ne mislim da u bilo kojoj vrsti opresije ima bilo čega „prirodnog“. Postoje mehanizmi kojima se takve stvari prenose i uče. Naravno da i ja, kao i Amer, želim vidjeti što nas je to snašlo. I šta da s tim radimo.

Amer Delić

Dolazak/povratak u Sarajevo

Prije 20 godina (april,1992.), kao student ekonomije, otišao sam iz Sarajeva sa torbom u kojoj sam ponio samo odjeću kući na pranje i krenuo uhativši zadnji voz iz Sarajeva prema svom rodnom gradu. Mislio sam da će horor koji je počeo da se smiri u narednih par dana. E pa Boga mi, grdno sam se prevario. Naredne tri i po godine proveo sam sa puškom po brdima i šumama bosanskim, prolazeći kroz predjele za koje nisam ni znao da postoje, ali koji su izuzetno precizno ucrtani u topografske karte (bilo zgodno kako za izgradnju, tako i za devastaciju, znaju geodeti i artiljeri najbolje).

Predratni period proveo sam sa usađenim idejama primjernog socijalističkog omladinca, sa neizostavnom primjesom nacionalističko-šovinističkog prizvuka za čije iskorjenjenje partija¹ nije imala recept, a koji je eskalirao u ratu i koji mi je dao jasnu odrednicu kojem taboru pripadam, a tada se, priznajem, na to nisam mnogo ni žalio.

Moj dolazak u CNA je slijed događaja nečega što je počelo prije 9 godina, sa prvim kontaktom ljudi iz tima i odlaskom na prvi trening za učesnike ratova koji se održavao na Bjelašnici (BiH). Usljedili su bazični i napredni treninzi iz izgradnje mira, veteranski treninzi, razne edukativne radionice i konferencije. Sada, kada se prisjetim kakav sam krenuo na put vlastite ideološke detoksikacije pomislim na procese koji su se odvijali u meni po prvi puta susrećući se sa vlastitim, ali i predrasudama drugih o svemu što se do tog momenta uzimalo zdravo za gotovo u našim društvima, a kako se dotakosmo društava otvoriše se pitanja identiteta, sukoba, polne, rasne i svih inih segregacija. Po prvi puta tada se susrećem sa vidom aktivizma koji je u stanju da nenasilnim metodama vrši pritisak na odgovorne institucije i pojedince i nudi modele prevazilaženja nesuglasica i problema koji su, sa sigurnošću tvrdim, stereotipno u mislima ogromne većine ljudi sa prostora bivše SFRJ bili rješivi slanjem na Goli Otok² na dugogodišnje kazne ili još jednostavnijim „stavljanjem pred zid“ neistomišljenika i drugačijih od onoga što većina proklamuje.

Sada, kao članu tima CNA, konačno mi se ukazala prilika da direktnije i sa više manevarskog prostora mogu da podstičem promjene koje naša društva očekuju i da budem jedan od onih koji se obično bave onim što niko drugi neće, a trebao bi (čast izuzecima) ili o čemu se misli da će vremenom doći na



svoje i da o svemu odlučuje neko drugi. Nekako živeći među ovim ljudima, naravno pri tome mislim na čitav region jer sam imao tu sreću da ga proputujem i upoznam priličan broj ljudi koji u njemu obitavaju ili su vezani za njega, nisam stekao utisak da su ljudi baš opušteni i kutarisani duhova prošlosti. Više su kao mala djeca koja zažmire kad ih je strah i vjeruju da im od onoga što ne vide ne prijeti opasnost. A ja, Boga mi, mislim da im treba otvarati oči i staviti ih pred ogledalo da prepoznaju sebe i svoju odgovornost, i vraćati ih nanovo ispočetka da vide kako se odnose i prema prošlosti i prema državama iz okruženja, narodima i komšijama, svojim porodicama i svim ljudima uopšte, životinjama, biljkama, zemlji, vodi. Dosadilo mi je odavno da slušam konstantno prebacivanje krivice na druge, žalopojke o mizernosti vlastitog postojanja od ljudi koji, svrstavajući se u plemena, maštaju da će se biti jači, dok vlastite poglavice isisaše im i njihove živote i resurse zemlje koje su zaposjeli. Znam da su više ubijedeni da su toliko drugačiji od „onih drugih“, nego što ih mogu ubijediti da su po genetskom materijalu isti unazad desetine hiljada godina. U redu, imaju pravo na izbor.

E sada baš imam namjeru kopati i čeprkati po tabuiziranim stvarima, uletjeti u vremeplov i tražiti odgovore, da vidimo šta je to što nas je snašlo (maltene ima svojstvo permutacije sa pravilnom vremenskom odrednicom). Ima li alternative nešto gdje ćemo tražiti činjenice, istinu, zatražiti i dobiti oprost, konačno dati smiraj mrtvima i njihovim porodicama. Ne želim da vidim šminkanje nečega trulog kako bi se približili evropskim tokovima. Nema ni Evropa, a najmanje mi sami, nikakve koristi od mumificiranog leša koji ne zna šta ga je snašlo.

Sreća zavoljeh ovo Sarajevo još kao mali dječak iz provincije. Sada kad se uhvatim u klinč sa svim ovim tegobama gore spomenutim, imaću njegove ulice i parkove za revitalizaciju duha koga ova stvarnost smori.

¹ Partija- često korišten sinonim za „Savez komunista“ u bivšoj YU, jedina i vladajuća politička stranka na sceni do 90-ih.

² Politički logor Goli otok zloglasni logor na istoimenim otoku za jugoslavenske političke zatvorenike osnovan je 1949. po nalogu rukovodstva komunističke partije i države. Izabran zbog nenaseljenosti i gotove nemogućnosti bijega.

Posetili smo, i iskreno preporučujemo: „Ecofutura“ (www.ecofutura.ba)

Poslednjih godina su trend etno-turizam i eko-turizam (lično, nisam sigurna u čemu je sve razlika između ova dva, ali pretpostavljam da ta razlika postoji). U praksi to obično znači da ćete otići u neko „etno-selo“ (najviše ih ima u Zapadnoj Srbiji i Istočnoj Bosni), gde će sve biti veženo, drveno, a onda ćete iz menija moći da birate picu, špagete, pijete espresso, ili koka-kolu. Šta je tu tačno etno ostaje mi kao pitanje, dok ne dobijem račun po kojem etno-espresso u srpskom selu košta dva puta više nego u italijanskom.

Sa tako nekom, prilično zamagljenom vizijom kako će eko-selo da izgleda i čime će moći da nas ponudi, krenusmo krajem jula na Romaniju, u „Ecofuturu“. Priznajem, očekivanja su mi bila niska, a već sam bila toliko iscpriljena (dani zvani „čekajući-konačno-odmor“) da mi je jedina prava želja bila da krevet bude udoban. A dočekalo me mesto bez licemerja u ponudi, ekološko, napravljeno od eko-materijala, i sa potpuno organskom ponudom jela i pića.

Kuće pravljene od slame, iako izgledaju kao kuća najlenjeg praseta iz priče „Tri praseta“ savršeno su i čvrste i postoje (saznala sam da su kuće od slame bolji izolatori, da gore na višoj temperaturi od betonskih, te da su izdržljivije. „Zašto onda svi prave kuće od betona?“ naivno sam pitala. „A zašto piju koka-kolu umesto vode? Industrijalizacija.“ Beše to jednostavan odgovor, iza koga se krije mnogo komplikovanosti današnjice.) Čitav sistem je samoodrživ – kompleks se napaja vodom iz sopstvenog izvora, grejanje je ekološko, namirnice se dobavljaju sa sopstvene plantaže ili kupuju od seljaka iz okoline, jedino struju i internet „dopremaju“ iz grada.

Sobe su slatke, i jednostavne. Dopuštaju duhovni luksuz, u njima je baš sve što je potrebno, ali ničeg nema previše. Dušeci su pravljani od specijalnog materijala, koji garantuje odličan odmor, a maleni jastuci su od heljde. Sa svih strana pruža se pogled na planinu, a oko kompleksa su igrališta za razne sportove, i za decu i za odrasle. Mi smo odabrali „tree climbing“, neko je bio ambiciozan, neko manje, ali smo se uspešno spustili na zemlju.

Hrana je organska, zdrava, i previše ukusna da bi joj se lako odolelo. Od doručka koji počinje domaćim slatkim i džemovima, preko pogačica od heljedinog brašna sa (domaćim, a kakvim?) sirom i kajmakom, kiselim mlekom, preko voća, do ručka i večere gde se iz menija može izabrati neko od divnih vegetarijanskih jela. Od kojih se osećaš i sito i lako, pošto je jedna od mojih predrasuda bila i da se od vegetarijanske hrane brzo ogladni. Obroci su kalorijski i energetski izbalansirani, taman da zadovolje pojačanu planinsku glad.

Tu izvornu tišinu, i mir tog mesta ne nerušavaju ni zrikavci. Ona vrsta tišine koja te iznutra dubinski pročisti, oslobodi mozak svih šumova, i svega nebitnog u glavi.

Za spavanje, za uživanje, za seminare (najbolje za grupe koje su već izgrađene, zbog izolovanosti mesta), za tim-building sastanke, za odmor posle velikih napora – ovo mesto preporučujem iskreno svima koji mogu i žele da se sretnu i sa prirodom i sa sobom. I moja lična preporuka je da, čim dođete, naručite bure napitka od đumbira – svedeće vam se toliko da ćete ga piti na litre, i bićete mnogo tužni, ako ga u nekom trenu nestane.



K.M.

Annual Report 2012
(English version)

To all the friends of CNA,

This is our fifteenth annual report, covering the period from September 2011 to September 2012. One may say it's an anniversary report and an anniversary year, because the Centre for Nonviolent Action has been active for that long, exactly. Unfortunately, we did not celebrate our 15th anniversary with a party, where we'd have received a pat on the back and raised a glass for many years to come. It was like a busman's holiday, marked by activities, under the pressure of time, events and people, some pleasant and other not so pleasant situations we found ourselves in (and coped with). Yet, we've managed to not take it too hard, to draw a moral from and find merits in all of it. We'd like to celebrate our 16th birthday if we had a chance and take some people we collaborated with, up on their offer to supply us with some home-made food and beverages for that occasion. All in good time.

During this year we have completed an Advanced training, which consisted of three modules and was rather exhausting, but also quite energizing when it comes to future work. We held two Basic training events; an Exchange seminar on dealing with the past with the participants from our region, Germany and Austria; we worked with veterans; went on a study trip to Berlin, which we needed for further activities that proved inestimably precious for all of us, due to the insights we gained ... In previous years, we wrote in the reports that "we worked long and hard". This year is no exception: it was very difficult, stressful at times, but we were immensely satisfied with what we had done, and received incredibly positive feedback from our trainees and friends of our organization. You will read about all that we've been working on in this report. Moreover, something about our plans, of which there are plenty, our future actions, our desires.

It's been a difficult year for us because we changed our team. Due to various reasons, Tamara Šmidling and Sanja Deanković are no longer in the CNA while Sandra Khusrawi, was with us for a short while as an international volunteer. We point out that we took the departure of Tamara Šmidling, who had spent 11 years in CNA, very hard, both personally and organizationally. After all, we want to thank them sincerely for the contribution they gave with their work to the organization.

Our team has grown bigger with the arrival of Davorka Turk from Zagreb and Amer Delić from Zavidovići to the CNA Sarajevo office, and an additional support is gained with Sanja Burazerović (Sarajevo) and Tanja Marković (Belgrade). Since Dada and Amer have been our long-time friends, who participated in numerous activities in our organization, and contributed greatly to the peacebuilding process in the region, we are looking forward to working and sharing with them on daily basis. You can read their impressions upon arrival at CNA, in this report, too.

This year, too we've had a shortage of resources and plenty of work. However, we are entering next year full of enthusiasm and new ideas, knowing in advance that we are going to work a lot, and hoping that there will be no shortage of results or feedback from all of you.

We'd like to hear your feedback, criticism, opinion ...

Sincerely,
CNA team

news and announcements

Heritage of National Socialism – culture remembrance in Europe

At the end of March 2012, six members of our team had the opportunity to visit Berlin on a study trip and dedicate the whole week to the Berlin monuments, i.e. to the culture of remembrance. We have been waiting this opportunity for a long time, and when it finally came, we used it until the last atoms of our energy. We have returned overwhelmed by impressions, not yet completely settled, and I believe how we cannot comprehend everything we have learned during this trip.

Study trip report: <http://nenasilje.org/2012/nasledje-nacionalisocijalizma-kultura-secanja-u-berlinu/>

External evaluation

Evaluation report is available only in English:

http://nenasilje.org/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/Evaluation_Report_2012_CNA_by_C_Schweitzer.pdf

Report is consisted of the evaluation on the field of informal education in peace building by CNA and it covers the programs of Basic training and Advanced training.

Author of the evaluation is peace researcher Christine Schweitzer from Hamburg.

SOON: Dealing with the past manual

We are in the midst of preparations for Dealing with the past manual, based on a fifteen years long experience in working in former Yugoslavia area. Manual will also contain all the working methods of CNA on dealing with the past, experiences and lessons learned, as well as a small glossary of words and phrases, used mostly in this context. We expect it to be printed by the end of 2012.

New activity on memorialisation is starting

We are starting work on the subject of **Memorialisation**: How and what we remember from the past war, studied on examples of monuments from the last war(s) in Bosnia-Herzegovina. After several years of preparation, we finally began realization process of a photo book about places of remembrance and the ways of memorialisation. We expect this book, after a long research period and process of photographing, to be released from printing in 2014.

cna peace education programmes

Basic trainings in peacebuilding

Basic training in peacebuilding (Ulcinj 2012.)

Ulcinj, April 20th- 30th 2012

Between April 20th - 30th, 2012 we organized the 36th “Basic Training in Peacebuilding”, a ten-day-long event that took place in Ulcinj/Montenegro.

The participants were highly motivated, committed, and they worked hard during the workshop. They were interested in all of the suggested topics, and especially in the ‘Dealing with the Past’ theme. For most of the participants it was their first opportunity to talk about these topics with people of different backgrounds.

It was an eventful, emotionally intense, but also a demanding training due to the difficult group of participants. There were no particularly ‘troubled’ individuals in the group, but their combination and mutual interaction created a fertile ground for numerous conflicts. Building the feeling of confidence in the group was a long and slow process, mostly due to the lack of understanding of different opinions, especially among those of the same ethnic background. These difficulties are not uncommon, but this time we needed an unusual amount of time to build some relative confidence among the group members. One of the reasons for this is

certainly the combination of certain participants within the group. Another reason is that the real constructive emotional exchange took place only in the second half of the training. This could have been prevented by arranging a slightly different workshop settings during the first two working days so that time could be spared for some of the practices that led to a constructive emotional exchange. Otherwise, the first emotional exchange took place only during the conflicts between individual members of the group, and special efforts were needed to work on building mutual trust.

During this workshop, we dedicated most of our work to the ‘Dealing with the Past’ theme. For that reason we had to limit the space for work on the ‘Peacebuilding’ theme, but it was a good decision because the need to work on ‘Dealing with the Past’ was the strongest. We continued to carefully refer back to all the main points of disagreement, but in a way in which it made us understand why and how our attitudes differed. All exercises that could lead to heated discussions and raise adrenaline were, of course, limited in time. However, all the disputed points of these exercises were expanded and worked on during subsequent workshops, but in a way that would allow us to discuss them in a constructive



manner. It is interesting that while evaluating the training, some participants complained that they were interrupted and prevented from telling their stories until the end, although they still had the opportunity to continue their stories (in a different way) during one of the subsequent practices or during informal time.

Triggered by the developments of the recent months, an initiative was launched during the workshop to write an appeal for peace in Macedonia. The appeal is being worked on (which is a durable process, because mere writing of text in such a diverse group is a challenge), but it seems that the text will finally be shaped and sent to relevant addresses.

All in all, we are left with the impression that this training was worth the effort (and the effort to organize such a ten-day-long training, maintain it, and participate in it is really quite substantial). The objectives of the training related to the sensitization and awareness raising have to a large extent been achieved. The objectives related to working on empowerment for action were achieved to a somewhat lesser extent. The expected minimum of what we believe to be the effect of the training is that more than half of the participants apply what they have learnt to their work / environment in one way or another. We are aware that it would be exaggerated to expect that some participants activate themselves also outside of their usual work environment, especially bearing in mind that large part of the group has no experience in social activism. We would need to dedicate more working days to them, during which we could work on some of the principles of social action and helpful practical skills.

In the oral and written evaluation of the training, the participants showed their big satisfaction with the workshop. Some of them even called the training their great school of life (policeman!). Right now, the only thing left to do is to translate this satisfaction into action.

The group of participants consisted of 20 people from Croatia (3), Bosnia and Herzegovina (4), Macedonia (4), Montenegro (2), Serbia (4) and Kosovo (2). There was one participant from Germany who took part in the training as part of her Civil Peace Service. She lives and works in the Sarajevo office of the CNA, and speaks Bosnian very well. In this very heterogeneous group, there were 11 women and 9 men, aged 22 to 67. The average age was 35. About half of the participants are active in non-governmental organizations (although others also occasionally collaborate with some NGOs). Three participants are active in political parties, two in the media, two in the civil service (one of which was an employee of the police), two in education (one teacher of civic education and one teacher of religion), and one person from the Association of Detainees and War-prisoners.

The training team was represented by Adnan Hasanbegović, Katarina Milićević and Ivana Franović from the CNA, and our associate Marijana Stojčić.

And now a few more interesting facts concerning the application procedure and the selection process for the training: we have received a record number of 227 applications and it was very difficult to make choices, and not to omit a number of quality applications. Most applications came from Bosnia and Herzegovina - 68 (which is often the case), then from Macedonia - 58, and from Serbia - 56, Croatia - 26, from Montenegro even 10 (considering the fact that in the previous years there were almost none), and 9 from Kosovo. Besides those 227 applications, there were also those which were not considered: a number of unfilled applications (not to say empty ones), two applications from Ghana (the working language of the training is Bosnian / Croatian / Serbian, and the focus remains on the countries of the former Yugoslavia), and applications from people who have already participated in our basic training (which often happens), etc.

The statistics show that as usual, more applications were submitted by women - 140, whereas 87 were submitted by men. The applicants were people between 19 and 67, and the average age was 29.

In the application questionnaire the applicants were asked how they learned about our training. From it we managed to notice that most applicants learned about the training from the internet (various sites, mailing lists), directly from us (our website, Facebook profile, mailing lists), or from other non-governmental organizations. Large percentage of people (20%) received information or recommendation from our former participants. It is interesting to remark that some people were informed about our training at their universities, by their professors or people working in education. It is interesting that some recommendations came from professors from Argentina or Nuremberg, and that there was an increased number of applications from students of the Institute for Security, Defense and Peace in Skopje, encouraged by their university.

Facing this number of applications, the selection of applicants is becoming increasingly difficult, thus the advice for those who wish to apply is to pay special attention to completing the questionnaire, and to better clarify why they want to participate in the training, what is it that they are already working on, and how they think the training could be beneficial for their future work, why they are interested in this particular topic, what is it that they want to discuss with the people from different countries of the former Yugoslavia, etc.

It's important to mention that we are, as always, very pleased with the cooperation and service of the hotels "Dvori Bašića" and "Palata Venecija", where this year's training took place. The multi-ethnic community such as Ulcinj is always a good choice for the training. This is why we love to go back there.

I.F.

Basic training in peacebuilding (Mavrovo 2012.)

Mavrovo, 6-16.7.2012.

We organized a basic training in peacebuilding in Macedonia, amongst other things, so that participants from Kosovo could join us. Those hopes were somewhat dashed, but we persisted in another one of our intentions: to bring the Macedonian context of conflict and peacebuilding process closer to the trainees who came from other parts of the region - Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, Serbia and Croatia. This proved to be a good solution because it allowed us to set the processes of peacebuilding and dealing with the past into a wider background, determine their common points and trouble spots.

Several things were important and indicative in this process.

Many of our trainees had already attended various educational programmes in the area of human rights, which was not unusual since it's one of the points upon which the emphasis is placed in the European Union accession process. Since all the countries in the region decided to follow the European path, such programmes aren't lacking. Given that the awareness of the discriminatory potential for social prejudice has already existed, it makes it harder to discuss that we all have them (prejudices) and it's just that some are more socially acceptable and others less so. They often depend on the current moment we live in - in our group, amongst those to whom unwanted labels were attached to, "smokers" were the worst off, even though many of us have that particular identity, too.

Furthermore, the sign of the times was also noticeable when it comes to gender, since there was an evident effort to establish a certain balance in discrimination against women and men, therefore more mail influence was demanded for what had once been an indisputable women's right - abortion. That's why it is exceptionally important that the issue of the impact of war on the status and perception of women in our societies, today, was opened up for discussion. I find the re-examination of the re-traditionalized practices and image of the mother-of-the-nation to be the most important emphasis of this discussion.

In the present times both social tensions and conflicts are seen as a struggle between different identities for their own recognition and space, therefore the initial reticence to discuss national identities might not be so unusual, after all. Some of the younger ones amongst us strived to explain that they could not see themselves "in that story," that they were bored with (post) war identity of the area they lived in and that they did not want that kind of distinguishing mark.

If we compare it to some other identities that we have,

national identity can indeed be cumbersome. That's exactly why we insisted on the process of dealing with the past in a constructive way, for which the discussion on narratives inside of which our identities look for their foundations, was very helpful.

That's why the Macedonian context was of crucial importance. Rest of the region is not too familiar with it for the media, political and regional precedence was taken over by the conflicts from the 90's. We tried to bring it closer to our participants by showing them the documentary "Intermittent Line" - "I find it incredible. I can't help but compare it to the Bosnian context. Some narratives are so similar and we hear them from people from different sides, the formulations of words are the same, same sentences, judgments, deliberations. I have experienced the film very emotionally, but I cannot help this being the first thing that comes to mind".

We have tried to identify the mechanisms and processes that can lead to conflict and debate about the significance of those things that remain unspoken in our society, and the impact this may have on the peacebuilding processes. When it comes to national identities, we travelled a long and emotional journey in this training. Thanks to national identities, we also had the opportunity to experience some quite cathartic moments.

From the very beginning, our trainees demonstrated a great openness, desire and willingness for work and re-examination. We were in group of people of wide age range and various level of activist experience, that bonded intensively very early on, threw themselves headlong into the whole process, and spent a significant portion of the time unwilling to undermine that early established trust with reexamination. On the one hand, it allowed us to go deep into the process, argue vigorously and strive to set things up so that we could understand them. There was a safe space and well-articulated support inside of it. However, due to this we somewhat vacillated which was manifested as an unwillingness to confront opinions, until the later stages of the training. However, it is important that it did happen, and that there was a commitment to make the most of that situation. Therefore, in the very end we got reconciliation in practice! Or, as N. would put it: "I expected some experts, people with PhDs, and people tell you everything you've known already - forget it. Really, when someone give you a label to put an identity on someone else, that's something entirely different. It is important I spend time with someone from Serbia, Macedonia, Kosovo ... We have some differences, but when you spend ten days here you see how irrelevant they are".

Two people had to leave the training due to some unexpected personal issues, and since one of them was our

only trainee from Kosovo, we felt the lack of that perspective.

We received 114 applications for the 37th Training in Peacebuilding. Most of them were from Serbia (36) and Macedonia (31), Bosnia and Herzegovina (25) followed, with Croatia (12) and Montenegro (7) and only two applications came from Kosovo. It was a bit disappointing, especially since the number of applications from Kosovo for the previous training was higher. The number of applications from other countries was in fact expected having in mind where the training took place. We are glad that we are receiving applications from Montenegro again, just as we did for Ulcinj, while there's still not much luck with Herzegovina (with only two applications, this time). We hope that the situation will improve in the future, regarding this. That would be extremely important for both the context of dealing with the past of Bosnia and Herzegovina as well as Croatian context.

There was considerably more female than male applicants (73 women, compared to 41 men), which is why there was a slightly more of them in the training, although we always try to establish gender balance.

In the end, the group consisted of 5 participants from Macedonia, 5 from Serbia, 4 from Bosnia and Herzegovina, 3 from Croatia, 2 from Montenegro and one from Kosovo. They were people of different profiles - activists (both those who had been active within an organization and those who either acted independently or were interested in these topics), journalists, people employed in public institutions, in

education ...

The training team consisted of Katarina Milićević, Adnan Hasanbegović, and Davorka Turk from the CNA and our friend and colleague Boro Kitanoski from Prilep-based Peace Action. We have several connections with Peace Action and they are one of the organizations that are the closest to us, when it comes to the values we share, so we are delighted every time we are able to materialize these ties into a concrete cooperation.

Our trainees had high expectations from us and they were actively re-examining our role and how we were working. Thanks to that the process was totally transparent, intense, but very rewarding, with every next step deeply reflected upon. And, perhaps most importantly, we felt we were part of the group. The bursting energy fully reflected onto the team. It was the first training in peacebuilding in the role of the trainer for the author of this article, and the first time we all worked together. However, there was a safe space, which was also motivating and an inexhaustible source of inspiration and support.

Who knows, perhaps we were enchanted at the “Alpina Hotel” in Mavrovo? Those wonderful people and brilliant hosts explained to us upon arrival that the “Alpina Hotel” was a place “where problems sort themselves out.” As an activist, I cannot quite accept such an attitude, but it seems to me that we certainly had the support of dryads ☺

D.T.



Peace Indepth. Values and practices.

Module 3 – Stepping unbeaten ways. Challenges in the peacebuilding work.

Fruška Gora, Serbia, 7-13.10.2012.

The final, third module of this years' advanced peace education programme "Peace Indepth" was held in Fruška Gora in October. The idea was for the third module to serve as a platform for exchange of experiences, challenges and difficulties we encountered in our peacebuilding work and the fields related to it. But as it often happens, initial ideas and concepts often change in the process and the end result differs to a certain extent from the initially envisaged concept. Therefore with this module we eventually got a combination of the exchange of gathered experiences and the much needed incentive for people to engage in stepping of their own beginners' unbeaten ways in this field. The segment relating to possible actions primarily had the aim of stimulating people to think from multiple angles and consider possible damages, but also to encourage them to accept a reasonable risk when engaging with attempts of acting towards a social change. The training team for this module consisted of Ivana, Katarina, Nenad and Tamara.

It was quite difficult to form the group due to numerous cancellations, some of which came in the last moment when the possibility of inviting someone from the waiting list was significantly decreased. The training was attended by 17 participants, and for the first time it happened that there were no people from Macedonia (FYROM) in the group. That had, along with the already standard absence of people

from Monte Negro and the occasional lack of participants from Kosovo, reduced the story to the so called "Dayton triangle" Bosnia and Herzegovina – Serbia – Croatia. However, as it turned out, despite the smaller number of views and perspectives from different parts of former Yugoslavia, the abovementioned triangle is more than sufficient inspiration for the work and discussions of such groups. It was a great challenge to reconcile the needs of those who are currently not working because they got tired and "frightened" by the previous experience and frustrations, and of those who are intimidated by their own inexperience and the feeling of powerlessness. Important for increasing motivation was the presence of two war veterans who had, with their presence and a brave approach, certainly beaten one small path for the whole group – that leading to an open approach founded on a strong motivation and integrity.

As the whole concept is new for us as well, we tried to experiment a bit and had invited as many as three guests to this module. Personal experiences were presented by: Vesna Teršelić and Eugen Jakovčić from Documenta, Zagreb; Adnan Hasanbegović from the CNA team, and Predrag Azdejković, an LGBT activist from Serbia. With views from different angles (REKOM, work with war veterans, fight for LGBT rights), the guests had brought closer to us their years long experiences in beating paths along which almost no one had dared to walk before. The three presented approaches differ in the subject they deal with, but also in their method and scope.



The work of a wide regional coalition for REKOM, the acting of a medium-size peace organization such as the CNA, and the individualist and out-of system approach of Pedja Azdejković offered to the participants a wide spectrum of possibilities as to the different ways one can act, and what that in itself entails. It was evident that none of the approaches was stripped of problems nor external and internal difficulties, but the important message was – it is possible!

Numerous guests contributed to the wealth of presented approaches, however, due to the limited time, that went to the detriment of the inner-group interaction and full development of the optimal group dynamics. It seemed that in the second half of the training we were faced with being torn between the need for deeper discussions about problems and approaches to peacebuilding, and the need for considering the question as to how we will concretely act in the future. The team responded to this challenge by giving the group a possibility of choice, demanding with it concrete questions from the group about which there was a need to talk. In the work process we also came to the initial sketches of some possible ideas for future actions: mapping of antifascism in some cities in Serbia, Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina; peace actions of war veterans; actions against hate speech in local environments; cooperation of the so called European regions (Primorje-Gorski Kotar County in Croatia and Banat in Serbia) etc. The impression was that there is no lack of ideas, while the question regarding the way they should be realized is still quite foggy. But since planning was not the main goal of this training, that stays as a task for the future. The CNA team will strive to support the carriers of each reasonable idea as much as possible, but it is certain that we neither can nor want to be the carriers of these ideas.

The general notion after the training was an impression of enjoying the exchange and a great need for it. We were reminded of the unpleasant fact that, in their everyday lives, most of our participants are faced with the lack of understanding of their environment for this kind of work, and occasionally there are instances of a kind of (self) isolation of those who act and live in contrast to the dominant conformist attitudes. Members of the CNA team saw for themselves

that the term “unbeaten way” has a hundred of meanings, and that unbeaten ways of us who are almost 15 years in this story are not the same as the unbeaten ways of someone who is just starting. The dilemmas that plague those working in teams and developed systems differ from the ones faced by those who are trying to do something alone (or with minimal informal support). It seems that the way in which we can effectively and truly support each other, regardless of differences in our personal and professional paths, is still one of the least beaten ways in peacebuilding in general.

Finally, it is important to say that with this module the programme “Peace Indebth. Values and Practices” is completed. Even though the real reach of the programme will be visible after some time, already now we are able to draft the main sources of pleasure, omissions and deficiencies. The upcoming external evaluation will certainly help a lot in the assesment of whether to continue with this type of advanced peace education programme. It is certain that the organization of this kind of a three-day training is extremely demanding in terms of logistics, and that there exists a sometimes greater sometimes lesser deviation from initial ideas and concepts due to the inability to put together a group with greater activist and peacekeeping experience. On the other hand, it was really a pleasure to notice great growth and significant progress made by some people since the basic trainings they had attended. Maturity in thinking and acting could be sensed in many levels, among others also in abandoning the expectation that each CNA training will be an “adrenalin-loaded” and “shocking” experience, like the one from the basic training. As the people would say, we grew up a bit, matured, and therefore we should perceive the situation and ourselves in it also from a more realistic and less emotionally charged point of view. What makes us most happy and encouraged is the evident need for cooperation across state borders, entities, local regions. And the feeling that some lasting partnerships and friendships got defined and strengthened through this uneasy months’ long work.

T.S.

Exchange Seminar

Ways our societies remember the past – the examples of the former Yugoslavia, Austria and Germany

Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, 09-14 March 2012

Together with our partners, the Austrian branch of the

International Fellowship of Reconciliation (IFOR) and Diakonie Austria, we gathered a group of 18 participants from Austria, Germany and former Yugoslavia (Serbia, Croatia and Bosnia

and Herzegovina) in Sarajevo from 09th until 14th of March, 2012.

Our partner and friend, Boro Kitanoski from „Peace Action“ Prilep, Macedonia, joined the training team and commonly we developed the concept of this seminar.

This seminar was a specific step of CNA in the field of international exchange, an area of interest which we plan to intensify in future. With this seminar we intended to create an open and constructive space where characteristics and similarities of Austria, Germany and former Yugoslavia could be compared, where experience, dilemmas and thoughts on dealing with the past in the particular countries could be shared and where ideas and needs for future cooperation and initiatives could be raised.

The majority of participants is professionally involved in dealing with the past, reconciliation, peacebuilding and/or nonviolence, i.e. within the work of NGOs, within research projects or work for media. Their knowledge, experience, dilemmas and challenges provided the basis for the methodological course and content of the seminar.

The single seminar modules consisted of presentations about processes of dealing with the past in the particular countries, critical assessment of memorial examples, plenum discussions about different models of peacebuilding and reconciliation, work and exchange in groups about good practices in dealing with the past, a guest lecture on memory cultures and politics in Europe and excursions to memorial sites of Sarajevo and the museum of the Battle at Neretva in Jablanica.

During the seminar, but also in the breaks and evenings, a lively exchange and a high interaction between the participants could be watched. In addition many persons talked about their personal experience in the war or shared intimate personal doubts and challenges with others. This can be seen as indicators that the seminar was perceived as a safe space for exchange.

These are only some of the questions with which the participants “entered” the seminar:

- What do you/we expect from DwP?
- The question of collective guilt?
- Is it easier for losers of wars to change than for winners?!
- Why is the issue of DwP so strong in Ex-Yu? (Seems to be stronger than in other regions of post-conflict)
 - Who are the victims in former Yugoslavia?
 - What is the interdependence between victimization and taking responsibility?
 - What do you lack in this (DwP) process in Austria?
 - Do fallen members of „Wehrmacht“ have monuments and cemeteries with symbols?

- What are you satisfied with and what are you unsatisfied with in regard how the DwP process went in Germany?

Many of these questions could be opened and addressed during the seminar and understanding for post-war situations, difficulties of reconciliation processes and the dimensions of dealing with the past processes in general was developed. Still the feeling left that there is a need for more and deeper exchange and learning of this kind. This is especially referring to thoughts on the relationship between reconciliation and dealing with the past, analysis of current models of memorialisation and more learning about the context of certain countries.

Similar needs were also raised in the feedback and suggestions about the methodological approach of the seminar by the participants. This might thus be an important direction for future activities of CNA in the field of international exchange on dealing with the past and similar issues.

The seminar showed that such kinds of opportunities for exchange are also in the future useful, especially as this group composition (participants from Austria, Germany and former Yugoslavia) was specific and rare.

The topics of peacebuilding, reconciliation and dealing with the past are still of high actuality and importance in all explored regions, especially in former Yugoslavia due to recent wars, but also in Austria and Germany. The seminar showed that these topics cannot be determined by a certain deadline, but are in fact ongoing processes that need continuous personal commitment and critical reflection and questioning of people.

Some quotes from the participants from the evaluation:

“I am more aware that we are not alone in the dealing with the past process, I have more people to ask about certain topics.”

“The experience (of the seminar) will enrich my personal life, especially according to sensibility towards certain topics.”

“It was a safe room so everybody was allowed to talk about whatever he/she wanted to.”

“The level of listening and personal interest for each individual participant was high and respectful.”

To the question “With which steps in your learning process are you satisfied?”, two persons answered: “Learning the complexity of the process of memorialization, what question must be addressed, with whom or with what we must reconcile?”

“Deepening understanding of dealing with the past in former Yugoslavia as well as in Germany and Austria. Connectedness of personal and peace work approaches to dealing with the past.”

S.K.

work with war veterans

Opening of the monument to the fallen soldiers of the Army of BiH

We, in CNA, received an invitation to attend the opening of the monument to the fallen soldiers of the Army of BiH, in Brčko. Only seven days before a monument to fallen soldiers of 108th HVO Brčko infantry brigade (Croat Defense Council) was officially opened.

For a long time in this city, which is an independent district within BiH, there is a monument to fallen VRS (Army of the Republic Srpska) soldiers. All of the three monuments are located in the city center very close to each other.

There were four of us: Adnan, Nedžad, Amer and me. We decided to follow the received invitation and informed our friend Avdija from veterans' organization, who was in the organizing committee for the opening ceremony, that we will attend and lay flowers ourselves. We tried to organize the arrival of two of our partners from the veterans' association of VRS, but it did not work out this time, unfortunately. The mere possibility of the presence of representatives of the Serbian fighters, which would be rather unusual, requested consultations among the organizers, but the announced possibility has yet been accepted. Nevertheless, it is a large public event with representatives of authorities, lots of people, the media ... "The situation could be discomforting" Avdija warned us.

Discomfort ... I thought: "Of course, that appears to be our ultimate field of work", we tend to overcome discomfort in order to be who we are and to become what we want to be.

I took the invitation as an honor and an expression of trust towards us. We bought flowers in the afternoon and agreed that Adnan and me would lay down the wreath in the name of the CNA. We split up for a couple of hours, waiting for an evening event in front of the Hotel Posavina in the pedestrian zone.

Adnan was rather concerned about the arrival of people from the association of VRS (Army of Republika Srpska). All of us were a bit confused after Avdija's instruction that "when the moderator calls our name, we just had to do the same as those before us." I asked Adnan why he was worried if he was not the one to come from Belgrade. We laughed.

Sure, I was concerned also, wondering whether someone might protest to hear the word "Belgrade". I repeat to myself, "I know why I am willing to show respect to each war casualty, including soldiers, of course." The death of each of them is a

tragedy, as well as the circumstances in which some people forgot that we are all humans.

We arrived at the square where the monument is erected, about half an hour early, and found Mirko and Ivo from HVO (Croat Defense Council) association who have already been prepared on behalf of their organization to lay a wreath. I am glad to see that that they came. And then, a man on the crutches, young, skinny and pale with a big smile singled out from the crowd: Admir, from the veterans' association, a member of both SDA and a representative of the local assembly. Admir was almost cut in half by a machine gun. He barely survived. We met each other in the ex-combatants meeting, former enemies, that we organise. He struggles to walk with crutches, but he is moving, "he doesn't give up". He hugged me, and I got a scare not to drop the wreath, or knock him down, accidentally. I am glad that we met then, on that place. Admir knows where I come from and what my name is and what it means altogether. I asked him how he felt and he replied "good, until there is medicine". He told me of an encounter with his doctor who asked him how he hold out, if he, the doctor himself who wasn't wounded in war still feels the pain all over the body. And he responded: "Doc, even my body hair hurts, everything hurts, please prescribe me some more medication".

"Promise me that later we will drink coffee together with others from CNA. We could sit here, in the "Posavina". I promised.

I saw Avdija giving a statement to the TV. We waited him to finish, and as soon as he turned round he approached Adnan, who was near, and then I went to him. He cordially shook my outstretched hand and said, "You are not my highest level guests to come here today, but you are my dearest guests." Such a warm welcome obliges.

We have stood and stood while the speakers approached the microphones, followed by an artistic program. The night was falling, it was fresh. The photographer irritated all of us by his frequent flashing and too jolly mood. "As if it was a wedding" Amer mumbled. A sour smile. I thought: "How do all these wounded people as Admir manage to stand still, this is getting very long?"

And then it finished. The announcer started to read the names of the families of fallen and missing and then veterans'

associations who laid the wreaths one after the other. The big crowd clogged immediately the access to the monument. Adnan and I looked at each other, worried that we will not be able to get through the crowd when they read out our name. We went around the monument and stood next to soldiers who were lined up in honor there. Gathered citizens applauded at each delegation name to be read. At the announcement of the HVO delegation the applause got stronger, a special honor, a special thanks. Then, it was read out: "A Center ..." A speaker stuttered and then pronounced the whole: "The Center for Nonviolent Action Sarajevo-Belgrade". We are walking.

Applause. I hear no protest. Glaring spotlights, cameras ahead of us, as if time had stopped, I am breathing deeply. We lay the wreath, stand still, bow, walk down.

On the third step, Avdića and his colleague from the Association of Veterans, outstretching their hands again, thanking us, explaining that the dinner party on which we are invited is to follow. We descended from the monument, and saw Admir in the bottom of the track: "Let's go for a coffee". Nedžad and Amer hugged me. I was excited.

"Let's go for a coffee."

N.V.



Encounter of ex-combatants

Brčko 8-10.6.2012

This time, the informal group of veterans in peacebuilding (as we, in practice, name the former combatants or war-participants in former Yugoslavia) met in Brčko. An attempt to reach agreement and to define ways for future joint peace actions was made during the three-days workshop organised by CNA. Training team was made of: Nenad Vukosavljević, Nedžad Horozović, Adnan Hasanbegović and Amer Delić.

The war-veteran group consisted of 15 participants from the planned 18.

Unfortunately, three invited persons had to cancel their participation for personal reasons.

The introductory part of the workshop, with the introduction of a new member, showed the extent to which the participants themselves created a safe environment in the group, sensitized to each other, and how they felt mutual trust necessary to continue further work. Among them there were very strong emotions, that characterized a meeting of friends after a long time.

The training team looked back at the past period of several months, which was used for development of plans and readjusting strategy for continuing working with war-veterans. It was particularly emphasized that CNA expects from the participants and the organizations they represent more independent steps in strengthening mutual cooperation, with less or none CNA agitation and assistance in both financial and organizational terms.

The “unsuccessful” attempts to mark the places of atrocities in Šamac and Zavidovići were analysed, which, however, yielded results and empirically determined work in future actions. The reminder of previously proposed joint action was presented, and requested from participants to make a selection of the specific events they see feasible.

The participants formed three independent mixed groups that will organise: visits to the memorial centre in Potočari, Kravice and Vukovar (group I); guest appearance in the “Al-Jazeera Balkan” TV shows at the studio in Sarajevo (group II); and at local TV in Brčko (group III) – by the agreed deadline.

CNA presented the idea of making the “Identity cards” of monuments and unmarked sites of suffering in Bosnia and

Herzegovina, and expressed expectation to be supported by the participants from BiH in researching the places that are important for the implementation of this idea.

Significant dates from the recent past (symbolically named “red letter”), that are commemorated in their respective communities, were collected from all participants. Everyone had the opportunity to offer where they see the possibility of visit from the “enemy armies”. This way we want to instigate the change of current “mono-ethnic” way of commemoration and celebration of important dates. Individual examples that would be supported by local communities and political structures were separated and analysed, as well as potential problems that the organizers and guests would eventually met.

One of the recognized problems that it is necessary to point out, is the political incompatibility of historical facts in the areas of adjacent municipalities, whereby authorities tend to take into account as valid, only the cases of crimes that are prosecuted (when victims are of their side). It happens that the members of associations involved in peace work are unable to obtain support, both from their organizations, and socio-political establishment, because of the slowness of the judicial authorities in some areas although the facts of committed atrocities are indisputable.

The study travel to Berlin was presented to participants, which will be implemented this year in October. Besides the four representatives of CNA, the trip was also planned for 10 veterans. Unfortunately, the selection will have to be made because most participants are very interested in participating.

The most important feature of this training is the excellent motivation to continue working together in our cross-border group and to intensify work in their own environments. Part of that motivation came from the sense of group coherence and faith in peace work potential, which participants identified within themselves.

Also, the need to involve new members while preserving the group “core” was emphasised as well as the expansion of regional cooperation in areas that have not been involved yet, or where the wider aspect of action have been restrained for various reasons.

A. D.

cooperation

(Em)powered by Germany

I am 266 days late with this text, so says my calendar reminder.

I am not one of those people who would praise those they depend upon, without a feeling of unease, so it does plague me now. At one hand pressed with unease and at the other hand having a will to publicly express gratitude and furthermore to extract lessons learned about advantages of the specific support that we are receiving, I was stranded in between and hesitated to write.

I intend to write about the meaning of support for our work which we received and still receive. It is exactly due to the circumstances of such support that some of our work was able to develop and that might have not been thinkable otherwise. It is 10 years that we receive support for peacebuilding work from the German government through the Federal ministry for economic development and cooperation. Third corner of this cooperation triangle is made of our sister organisation, Center for Networking and Education in Nonviolent Action, widely known as KURVE Wustrow.

What is it that we get

All these years, at no occasion and by no one, has there been any pressure or influence attempt regarding our work strategy and contents of our work. One may say that it is just common sense that decisions of strategy and operational ones remain with those are most closely involved in peacework. However, as know from other organisations and other donors it can by no means be taken for granted. It means that we enjoy full trust and freedom to adjust our programmes according to changing circumstances.

We are not confronted with demands to plan in detail years ahead, specific activities, providing lists and naming places where it is due to happen. When receiving EU funds, one is forced to plan it exactly that way, years ahead, number of participants, place where it happens etc. If in three years time, what you have planned becomes obsolete due to changing social and political circumstances, one has no other possibility but to implement the plan, whether it makes sense or not.

Conditions of BMZ support remain full freedom to decide freely, within the predefined goals and fields, about what and when shall be done. This is of enormous value in particular for those actions which bear a great risk of cancellations,

changes, dropouts, threats, etc. Instead of pure quantity based control, the quality of work is assessed through quality based scientific evaluation.

We work a lot with ex-combatants and exactly in this field, cancellations and dropouts happen often due to pressures from the surrounding, steps backwards follow steps forward and a dynamic, non-linear process typical for peacebuilding goes on. Within this process, incidents, political or politicized events quickly turn into obstacles for peacebuilding activities. It is difficult to explain and justify why does it make sense to conduct eight visits and negotiations to a mistrustful hardcore Association of ex-combatants from Hercegovina, to have it all after 6 months of efforts and agreements, blown off with a one day notice. So we tried and almost succeeded but ultimately failed this one time. But it was not for nothing because we crumbled some ice and know that it will be easier next time.

If it wasn't for BMZ support, it is apparent that we could not have conducted our work with ex-combatants with such persistence in a flexible, adaptable, patient manner. Reacting quickly and looking into far future.

An example: It happened that planned event with 20 participants, gets cancelled one day before, due to received threats by the partnering veterans association, directed towards visitors. We reacted to this by organising an alternative meeting in the city at the border area, in order to discuss the situation, encourage participants and make further plans. Without the ability to plan as flexibly, such reaction would have been unthinkable.

The support we receive was reconsidered in three-years cycles, which gave us certainty of ongoing support, space to think few years ahead, our core costs were covered to a great extent just as some of the activities. Hence we were relieved of the ongoing pressure and survival concern, so instead of using our energy to fundraise we could focus on programme implementation.

We have full liberty to steer our programmes, we receive trust and respect for our work, relative material stability and certainty is provided. We made effort to respond to this by committed hard work, to make pioneer steps and beat ways through the bushes of hatred and fear.

And it cannot be a coincidence, that specifically that area of our work, war-veterans crossborder cooperation,

reconciliation and remembrance culture, attracts so much attention and meets many praises. We believe to be doing an important and big work, that we are often at least one step ahead of what our societies expect, hold viable and are capable of understanding and accepting. Developing such work was only possible under circumstances that this article describes.

If it is somewhat expected and self-explanatory that we continuously receive great support from KURVE Wustrow and Berghof Center Conflict Research, who are our partners for 15 years, the cases where we were provided with more than “just” money for our programmes, were rather scarce. When those cases occur, it meant a lot to us, because it created a link beyond the joint interest, a value-based link.

Visits

In the past two years we had two rather high ranking visits from the BMZ. During a state visit of the BMZ to Serbia, we have met with Mrs Mikota who among other fields of development work covers also the section for civil peace service. We experienced her visit as an encouragement and we believe that she has managed to recognize the energy we put into our work as she expressed her personal content with what she has heard from us.

In October 2011 I took part as member of the five people delegation to a regional visit lead by Mr Volkmann who is directly managing the support programme of civil peace service. We were meant within 5 days, to visit Serbia, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Macedonia. I was not too keen on joining the travel, as I expected Mr Volkmann to be a somewhat stiff

bureaucrat, who might do his job properly, but who will not really be moved by what we go through over here. I had not expected him to sympathise or understand the challenges of peacebuilding in the Balkan. And then I faced my own prejudice.

Born African, from Namibia a former German colony, few years younger than me, Mr Volkmann was all but not a stiff bureaucrat. After starting reserves and series of meetings, talks, encounters we faced at our trip, I understood that there was a wavelength we could meet and that his understanding for peacebuilding was much more profound than I could have ever guessed. As the days went by and our talks became more open and sincere, I realised that having such person on such position meant a small wonder, being of great support for me and my colleagues. Imagine, there in Berlin at that position sits someone who cares to channel peace support in the best possible way, someone who sympathises with it and personally reflects his own life experience into understanding of reconciliation processes!

Mr Volkmann is apparently from another continent, but not from another planet. Sharing the sense of belonging to the same planet and determination to make it a better place is the link.

And that is possible in Germany!? Marvellous.

Professional state clerk fully motivated with heart and mind to do his job!? Encouraging us “down at the frontline” and expressing appreciation for our work!?

It seems that there is hope left, yet.

Nenad Vukosavljević



Visit to Memorial Sites and My Recollections

Vukovar, Jasenovac, Stara Gradiška, Prijedor, and Kozara

When I was 12 years old, my school organized an excursion to the memorial site of Jasenovac (back then, it was not called a “study trip”). I haven’t had the opportunity to revisit this place since then, but my memories of this journey still run very deep. Images of the exhibition, a documentary movie with actual scenes of bulldozers thrusting against the piles of emaciated corpses and pushing them into the Sava River, photographs of men in black uniforms standing on the execution site, in front of dead bodies, stories from a book I bought titled *You Just Do Your Job, Son* - about a man who calmly utters this sentence to his executioner as he is being slaughtered, and poplar trees on the river bank...all of these images instilled fear. Back then, I did not understand who, why and to what “purpose” is all of this being done to a fellow human. All I knew was this: it was done by the ustashe, and victims were the innocent people. Back then, nothing beyond this point was clear to me, and today - it no longer matters. For me as a child, the sense of fear, dismay and the lack of ability to comprehend what people can do to one another;

cast a shadow on everything else.

I have roughly fifteen years of “peace building experience” in the regions of former Yugoslavia under my belt, yet I have never been to Vukovar. Twenty years ago, I wore a JNA [Yugoslav National Army. TN.] uniform, as I was leaning over the army map of the town of Vukovar. I received an order to calculate the coordinates for targeting the bridge in the center of the town. I refused to do it. But somebody else did calculate them, and released fire not only at the bridge, but everything surrounding it. I was well into adulthood, but I again experienced feelings of fear, dismay and inability to understand.

My only visit to Prijedor was in 2004. A colleague from Belgrade and I met with some friends from Prijedor, and one of them invited us to the memorial service for the victims of the Omarska camp. We joined the queue of cars heading to Omarska, realizing with sadness that we only see each other at funerals, Janazahs [Islamic funeral prayer. TN.] and memorial services. It felt unusual, but I was very proud to be



in a car with Belgrade license plates, which was noticed by many – and both by the Prijedor police guarding the queue, and by the participants. Seeing us elicited curiosity, and curiosity usually leads to reflection and thinking.

Once an invitation came from Documenta – Center for Dealing with the Past (Zagreb), French-German Youth Office ((Berlin/Paris), Andre Malraux Center (Sarajevo) and Youth Initiative for Human Rights BiH (Sarajevo) to join a group of people from Germany, Belgium, France, Italy, Serbia, Croatia, and Bosnia and Herzegovina who were going to these memorial sites, I did not have an easy time accepting the invitation. This would mean facing my difficult past as well. On the other hand, I describe myself as someone who works on the issue of facing the past. Besides, I have already visited places where atrocities were committed with the group of young soldiers from the last war. We visited them, empathized, and condemned the atrocities; we talked about how and what we have experienced during those visits. The visits always left me feeling content in a profound way – glad to be a part of them. And so, the decision was made: I would go. First stop – Jasenovac.

The current exhibition in the museum and the memorial ground itself is similar to the previous one, and set in similar fashion – but still different. Photographs that depict brutality towards the captives are not on display any longer. No pictures of ustashe in black uniforms¹, no pictures of dead bodies...Just black glass panels with the names of the executed, hanging over your head, threatening in a way. There was so many of them, both panels and names. It somehow felt less tormenting this time. I still cannot wrap my head around it...In some way, I feel a dimension is lacking, of visually depicting the atrocities of Jasenovac during WWII, in order to accompany the feelings of sorrow and pain that inevitably stay with you.

We stood under the Stone Flower Monument designed by the architect Bogdan Bogdanović. All questions to the curator, while being politically correct, unveiled to a careful listener the ethnic narrative from which they came. Their common denominator was the start of the sentence with: "Isn't it true that...?" A vivid memory from this visit however, came from the place Jasenovac, close to the memorial grounds. Dilapidated, poor and war torn – some of the houses still carry a mark of ustashe symbols sprayed with black paint. Was anything taken as a lesson from all the evil that took place in close proximity?

Not far from Jasenovac is the border crossing between Croatia and Republika Srpska. The once singular and autonomous memorial complex is now divided between these two states. It is divided not only by the border line, but also by interpretations of events, the underlying ideologies for

those interpretations, the lack of communication and ways of representation. Stara Gradiška [Old Gradiška], a site of mass executions and mass graves of the captives killed in Jasenovac, is now a memorial ground managed from Banja Luka. Unlike the setting provided by the "opposite side" the brutality of the events depicted is quite visible here. The children's drawings exhibited in the only office of the memorial complex are frightening, and the displayed numbers of the victims elicit strong emotions. Sure enough, they are quite different from the ones shared with us on the opposite bank of the Sava River.

Official communication between the memorial center in Jasenovac and that of Stara Gradiška is entirely absent. However, two young men, historians and curators, both "from different sides" know each other well: they are friends, and refer to one another as "colleague," they visit each other and work together on collecting the testimonies of the survivors of Jasenovac. They say that they do it not because they are obligated to, but for their own sake. I felt compelled to say one single sentence: "My hat is off to you, good people."

The Vukovar visit included going to the Vukovar Hospital Museum, the Memorial Center and the mass grave in the locality of Ovčara, as well as the Memorial Cemetery. I finally saw the often mentioned places of our recent past. Because of its sheer vastness, I felt like I only witnessed a part of the tragedy, even though I broke into tears several times. The city of Vukovar is a great monument in and of itself. Destroyed beauty of this town overwhelmed me, but even more so what the town still was under the surface, despite the destruction and how it changed over time. And then Danube!

While trying in her own way to familiarize us with life during the bombing of Vukovar, the woman who guided us through the Vukovar Hospital Museum often started her sentences with: "We are..." One of the participants, a German (which added a new dimension to the situation) asked if she was present during the war, since she spoke in the "we" pronoun. The woman responded she hadn't been there, that she had been away – but that all people of Vukovar share the same destiny. When I asked a woman in front of the "official" monument² of mass grave Ovčara, if Vukovar inhabitants of Serbian nationality express respect for the victims that were killed and buried there, in some way and on any occasion, she modestly replied: "No."

A big tree in front of the Vukovar Hospital Museum, as is customary in many other places, displays small obituaries put up by family in order to inform people of the death of their loved ones. I saw obituaries for Vukovar people on this

¹ Apart from one, showcasing Ante Pavelić, smiling and demure - shaking hands with Adolf Hitler.

² One had been erected by the state authorities of Croatia, and the other, not far away, was later placed by the veterans' associations because they were unhappy with the location and the appearance of the existing one.

tree - several of them. One of the deceased was a Croatian war veteran, and the other obituary was written in Cyrillic alphabet. One displayed next to the other. After the visit to Vukovar, I was under the impression that people of Vukovar “meet” each other only in this way.

During the visit to Prijedor, we went to Keraterm, Omarska and Trnopolje. We also visited the monument dedicated to the fallen soldiers of Republika Srpska, erected in the center of Prijedor. Regrettably, since I was here last, things have not progressed far in terms of inter-ethnic cooperation in Prijedor, which is also reflected in their perception of the events of the last war. Victimization and the collective condemnation on the one side, negating and diminishing crimes on the other still take place. This vicious circle is hard to break. For instance, we have talked with a bartender in one of the pubs we went to. Once he heard who we were, and what the objective of our visit was, he merely responded that he is not to be told how things went on in Prijedor in 1992, because he had witnessed them with his own eyes. He saw people being taken away, and he knew where they were being taken to. We went on to talk about football.

We were greeted by a lovely man in Trnopolje, and his name was, at first, unfamiliar to me. We listened to his testimony as one of the survivors of the Prijedor detention camp. Among other things, he said he had been subjected to foot whipping several times. In the course of conversation, one of our hosts from Prijedor reminded us that this man – Fikret Alić – was the man from the Time magazine cover page

showing Omarska camp. The photo captures his emaciated body. Just seeing that photo is heartbreaking, but meeting this man from the photo, and making it “come to life” again is more than that. It was only at that moment, that I grasped the full extent of things taking place in the very spot we stood on. After fifteen minutes, and with a painful frown, Fikret grabbed his knee and lost his balance. With help from the others, he sat down and then walked to the car minutes later. He just said these were the results of his torture. His testimony was completed with this image hard to forget. During our stay, we were scheduled for a visit with the mayor of Prijedor – that, however, did not materialize.

At the end of this journey, we visited the Mrakovica Monument dedicated to the people of Kozara executed during WWII, and the Museum within this memorial site. The museum exhibition dating back to SFRJ [Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia. TN] was changed, and some new artifacts depicting the suffering of Serbian people in recent history are now displayed alongside the old ones. After this visit, several people expressed their surprise and disappointment that the exhibition had been altered. I, however, saw a glimpse of hope. If the monument, that represented something everlasting, something that cannot be touched at the moment it was established - could be transformed in a relatively brief period, then so can the recent monuments established after the last war. I hope that the ones inviting and perpetuating hatred will, one day, start to change.

Nedžad Horozović

Conference: 20 Years after – The Wars in Yugoslavia

Responsibility and Challenges of an European Culture of Peace

Alps-Adriatic-University of Klagenfurt, November 30th - December 1st, 2011

The conference gathered various scientists, researchers and some artists and practitioners who exchanged views on roots of conflicts that led to war in Yugoslavia.

In the audience there were quite a few migrants from the territory of former Yugoslavia, whose emotional links to the subject were voiced at several moments, demonstrating how vivid the violent past still is in the minds of people who survived war. These emotional voices stood for me in contrast to lengthy lectures which were read out by some speakers.

Few conference guest-speakers from the region of former Yugoslavia were rather unlucky if they did not speak German language as apart from one sequence, the whole conference was working in German.

Interesting case-study reports were provided by media researchers analysing media pictures created and how they contributed to war escalation.

Nenad Vukosavljević spoke at the conference about experiences of CNA's peacework in the Western Balkans. Based on examples of work with war-veterans, main current and future peacebuilding needs were underlined.

Interesting contacts were made such as the one with Bosnian writer Dževad Karahasan, who impressed the author of these lines with his humbleness and wisdom.

N.V.

Life after the war – Salzburg conference

In the pleasant ambience of the conference center St. Virgil in Salzburg an exchange of experiences dealing with post-war challenges was held from January 27th to 28th 2012, both for social workers and others who work in Austria and face the impact on consequences of war on the generations of migrants from former Yugoslavia living in Austria, and the migrants themselves, as well as those who deal with matters of war and peacebuilding from academic or activist point of view.

I attended the meeting on behalf of CNA and I was one of the keynote speakers at the first panel with Martina Fischer, PhD (Berghof Research Center-Berlin) and Vedran Džihic, PhD (Professor -Vienna/ Washington). My topic was “truth-justice-reconciliation,” and the main message was that even though complete truth is not possible to achieve, and certainly all of us would have never agreed about what justice is, it does not mean that the work on reconciliation to combat hatred between communities (not as the individual step that everyone may or may not make) should have to wait or should not have to be done.

Personally, I found very interesting Vedran Džihic’s presentation. He brought a dose of personal emotions, talking about his motivation to contribute to the progress of his native country (BiH), from which he escaped as a teenager refugee at the beginning of the war. Then, exposure about experiences in the therapeutic work with traumatized migrants (Michael Schreckeis), which testifies of the degree of trauma that many individuals have been exposed and which can not be overcome after years of living in Austria. The challenges that social workers and teachers are exposed working with children originating from the Balkans and growing up in Austria and who are deeply infected by hate and prejudice, have been the topic of numerous presentations and questions to which answers are sought, and in front of that challenges the powerlessness is felt.

The second day of the conference I had lead the workshop and it involved about 30 people, mixed female migrants and female Austrians, as well as several male Austrians. As one of the organizers of the Peace Office Salzburg well observed, no man from the Balkans was participating...

The workshop lasted about 2 hours and there was a moderated discussion that has provoked a dialogue between participants, particularly migrant women from different ethnic communities. With a lot of emotions, but also a lot of good will and intentions, it seems to me that it was a step toward much-needed dialogue between adult migrants, which is probably the key for solving the problems that their children absorbed and with whom they live. It is interesting and it was nice to see that The Peace Bureau Salzburg is apparently successful in motivating young people to become involved as a peace-activists. There were lots of young people moved with this topic and they were full of energy and will to work.

In the second part of the morning session we watched Nedžad Horozović’s film “Veterans Visits,” which partly caused tears among the people from our region and the compassion of others. As the talking about the film and the issues that derive from it was anticipated after the film, I found interesting that the first person who spoke said that the film is very emotional and difficult, and perhaps it would be good to raise some other issues, and to get back to the impressions of the film when emotions settle ... I expected someone to contradict, but it did not happen.

Participants were very satisfied with the workshop and very impressed with the CNA’s work.

I went down to the dining hall and asked the group of waiters what table is scheduled for the “war never again” conference (instead of the real name “life after the war”) in order to sit down at the right place, and the waiter replied like a shot, “that’s what we all hope for” I was confused for a moment, than I smiled to him and thought “what would the waiter in Belgrade or Sarajevo answer to this question “.

N.V.

Civil Peace Service, strategy workshop

Strategy workshop on Civil Peace Service, a programme funded by German Ministry for International Cooperation and Development, has been held in Belgrade 8-11th March 2012.

Besides representatives of two German organisations, who are main actors of the programme within the region of West Balkan, members of local partner organisations were also included (MK, KOS, SRB, BH)

CNA is a partner organisation in the programme.

The goal of the workshop was to gather relevant information for the 5-year strategy design.
The workshop was moderated by Natascha Zupan and Steffen Emrich.

N.V.

The workshop on dealing with the past in the Georgian/Abkhaz context

The workshop on dealing with the past in the Georgian/Abkhaz context was held in Belgrade from 11th to 14th June. Workshop participants were representatives of civil society from that region who are currently investigating the possibility of developing own work on tackling issues of the violent past and trying to learn about it from experiences collected elsewhere in the world. In regard to numerous parallels between the conflicts in the Caucasus and the Balkans, the initiative to learn something from the Balkan experience is understandable. However from Balkan perspective it may appear that there is nothing to be learned from us, or that it is better not to learn from us, considering how little we have achieved.

It should be noticed that Georgia is a former Soviet republic and Abkhazia had the status of an autonomous republic within it. After the collapse of Soviet Union, in 1992 the war started because of the conflict regarding future status of Abkhazia. It lasted over a year and thousands were killed, while hundreds of thousands had to flee from their homes. A proportion of those displaced by the war have returned to one region – but the Abkhaz authorities resist large-scale return, fearing that ethnic Georgians would become a relative majority in Abkhazia. Today, Abkhazia operates as an independent state, recognized by only several countries in the world, while Georgia aspires to "return Abkhazia under its wing." Unlike the Balkans, neither domestic nor international tribunals dealing with war crimes exist there. Furthermore, while Georgian authorities claim to support reconciliation, in Abkhazia it is seen as an assimilation attempt. Direct cooperation is minimal, even between representatives of civil society.

The Belgrade workshop was organised by Conciliation Resources (CR) from London, while CNA had a supporting role in organising and conducting it. For many years CR has supported civil society organizations in the Caucasus. This workshop drew on the experience of previous workshops, including one held about a year and a half ago, in Switzerland. This time, Rachel Clogg from CR and Diana Francis facilitated the workshop, and Ivana Franović from CNA acted as resource person. Sandra Orlović from the Humanitarian Law Center presented the organisation and RECOM initiative within one working session.

It was very interesting to participate in this workshop, and to see how people from the Georgian-Abkhaz context map the problems and look for ways to fight with former and current injustices, as well as to learn from them and to recognize the similarities and differences between our contexts. It was also interesting to note that there appears to be much more space for the Georgians to work on dealing with the past, although it requires a lot of strength and courage, and for the Abkhaz, of course, it's much harder, because you can not do state building and simultaneously deal with its past.

I am very curious to see the development, whether people from the Caucasus will find an inspiration in this seminar. Either way, I wish them much strength and happiness in their future work, and most importantly, not to surrender and give up under various pressures.

I.F.

contexts in which we work

Croatia

Mr. President, what is left?

Davorka Turk

As this report is being compiled, the government of Croatia announces a layoff of 20.000 public sector employees. Faced with an unfavorable response from the general public, they provided an explanation that the cases in question refer mainly to early retirements and buying of extra years of service towards retirement. They add, however, that there will be layoffs as well, based on so-called “evaluation of employees.” “All the drama around layoffs is quite nonsensical” states Croatia’s DPM and adds: “Serious cuts are ahead.”

With regard to this issue, the “new” government brings about nothing new. Without a solid plan on how to mitigate the problems of deficit and public spending, eradicate political corruption and monopolization¹ present in certain segments of the electorate (such as workers in agriculture, or some other groups that use various state funds), or indeed jumpstart a dying economy – the government is targeting its own citizens. An intensive campaign is underway, with the objective to convey the following: a) citizens are lazy, and have inherited their poor work ethics from the socialist times, therefore they have to be disciplined, and b) there is no such thing as a free lunch in capitalism. Consequently, there is an intensive effort underway to undermine any remains of the welfare state, and so different forms of social welfare are withdrawn (or transferred into service sector), and state bodies are replaced with independent, non-governmental ones, meant to take on these services. The collective bargaining agreements (between the Government and trade unions) are being fundamentally shaken and the negotiations with the employers’ associations are conducted without the participation of trade unions. For this reason, it feels important to mention the fact that Croatia has more than 50 billion kuna [Croatian currency. TN] in tax debt. Since ordinary citizens can hardly escape taxation, we have to ponder on why this tax debt was “forgiven” and who was allowed to get away with it – is it people like Marko Perković Thompson, apparently one of those exempt from paying, who readily and eagerly

declares his love of the homeland? Unlike the privileged ones, ordinary citizens have to bear the brunt of the crisis or, put differently, tighten the proverbial “belt”. These citizens have the “pleasure” of following the court trial of the former PM Ivo Sanader, charged with corruption and draining of funds from state enterprises and institutions, while simultaneously taking the “lessons in survival”, courtesy of the Croatian government. The allegations against Sanader also reflect on the political party he was heading – HDZ. However, this hardly improves dominant perceptions regarding discrimination and the lack of effectiveness of the system’s institutions. There is a whole spectrum of misconduct, primarily in the area of privatization: once successful enterprises are being drained of their capital in the usual (unlawful) ways, and the perpetrators are not being indicted because of their strong ties to the political or the judicial elite. Workers end up on the streets.

The conflict between President Ivo Josipović and vice-president of the Independent Democratic Serb Party and Chair of Serb National Council² Milorad Pupovac shows that the politics of minority groups also become subject to entanglements of economic, media and political influence. It appears that President Josipović has been willing to sacrifice the good reputation of his regional policy in order to accuse Pupovac and the Serb National Council of establishing an “ethno-business,” and practicing “racketeering” and stirring up of “low intensity national conflicts.” The weekly Novosti financed by the Serb National Council with funds from the state budget, is accused of financial and political monopoly “which forecloses the possibility of pluralism within the Serb minority.” The weekly in question, instead of dealing solely with “minority issues” as expected, critically engages with current politics (regardless of who is in power), and is – according to President Josipović – financed illegally. According to the President, this practice has to stop. Such accusations allegedly have nothing to do with the “ZAMP affair,” a

¹ Deputy Prime Minister Radomir Čačić gave a statement during the attempt by Todorčić to purchase the Slovenian “Mercator” that: “What is in the interest of Agrokor, is in the best interest of Croatia and its citizens”.

² Serbian National Council (SNV) is an elected political, consulting and coordinating body acting as a self government of Serbs in the Republic of Croatia concerning the issues of their human, civil and national rights, as well the issues of their identity, participation and integration in the Croatian society.

private enterprise of the President's friend Marko Vojković, an affair that was extensively covered by Novosti. The case is dubbed an affair because of the President's role in making this lucrative business possible, as well as the piece of that pie (in the form of funds) that would logically find its way to the President. Following this event, Pupovac was left off the invitee list for the annual celebration of "Operation Storm," while an invitation was extended to the president of the Serb Democratic Forum Veljko Džakula. President interpreted his attendance at the event in Knin, marking the anniversary of a military action during and after which hundreds of Serb civilians were killed, as a signal of Serbs accepting Croatian victory in the Homeland War, and Croatia as their homeland. In addition to this "dangerous way of affirming civic loyalty to the state" as expressed by Pupovac, Džakula also joined the President in condemning Novosti, and went as far as to accuse its editor Ivica Đikić³ of being pro-ustashe. The President apparently received support from "friendly" newspapers such as Jutarnji list, and many "citizens" and "groups," as well as "Serb's associations," but also from an array of right wing Croatian politicians such as Daniel Srb, the president of HSP⁴.

Without going further into the intricacies of the President's influence on the media, it seems evident that, in order to protect his own interest and limit the freedom of the media, he had in fact opened the space for criticism of the current model of minority representation. Short sided and entirely not statesmanlike, he created the space for criticism in a specific manner: as if the existing model emerged from a civil society paradigm, in which the minorities are first and foremost citizens, and only then members of ethnic groups. Let us be reminded how our society understands the issue. During an appearance on the TV show "Sundays at 14:00" the mayor of Split, Željko Kerum, accused Serbs for the financial breakdown, since "the Serb and pro-Yugoslav elite has had the highest impact on the banks and the media." Even though Željko Kerum has zero reputation as a political figure (indeed, he is considered a caricature), and is a butt of jokes of the Croatian liberal public, there obviously exists enough electoral support for him to become major and a member of Parliament. This is not the first time Kerum had made similar statements (three years ago he stated that he would never "have a Serb for a son-in-law" and that "everyone should know where their place is"), and he certainly does not think

that his statements are problematic ("I stand behind every word I say, it is an opinion of the majority, who just never had the opportunity to express it publicly"). Still to this date, there are no political (nor judicial for that matter) reactions to this explicit hate speech. (President Ivo Josipović has, but briefly, mentioned it in relation to the case of discrimination of Roma national minority children.) It is worthwhile mentioning another incident: end of September, Žarko Domljan, speaker of the Parliament made an appearance in the same TV show, and engaged in defamation of Milan Škorić, the chef of the Parliament restaurant, labeling him as "a Serb who purchased meat in the known gathering place of KOS and UDBA members," [Former Yugoslav secret services. TN] which, he stated, was a principal reason for Škorić's subsequent firing and police torture. He was acquitted for the charges of slander by the Zagreb County Court. What makes this story particularly perverse is the fact that the mentioned "gathering place" is, in fact, a local butcher store owned by Mihajlo Zec, a man who was, along with his wife and twelve-year old daughter, killed brutally by the members of the Merčep's death squadron.

As a side note, the assistant Minister of Internal Affairs, Tomislav Merčep, is on trial which is still underway. Based on the statements of highly positioned civil servants at the time, the trial proceeding revealed that the highest instances of government, along with President Franjo Tuđman, were aware of the crimes committed by groups under Merčep's command, but did nothing. Vladimir Šeks, the Head of the Crisis Unit for Slavonija at the time, and subsequently a state prosecutor – the man who released the killers of the Zec family based on procedural irregularities – said nothing.

The process against Mihajlo Hrastov, a judicial "tapeworm" that took twenty years to unfold (including hurdles of various kinds), has ended with a court ruling sentencing the accused to four years in prison for the murder of thirteen members of JNA [Yugoslav National Army. TV] reserve forces on the Koranski Bridge in Karlovac, 1991. The sentence, lesser than the one normally given for such crimes, was justified by Hrastov's impaired judgment in the moment of execution, and mitigating circumstances: the fact that he has no previous criminal record, his contribution to society as a homeland defender, and that he is a parent of an underage child with an ill wife. The "tapeworm" does not end there, because the State Prosecutor's Office announced an appeal due to what is felt to be an appallingly mild criminal sentence, while defense will demand an acquittal. Hrastov has been acquitted three times so far in the Karlovac County Court, but the Supreme Court annulled all the rulings and first returned the case to lower courts, and subsequently took it on for further proceedings in the Supreme Court itself.

The Supreme Court ruled that the Republic of Croatia is liable for the massacre of nine elderly civilians in the village of Varivodama, committed on June 28th 1995. Two months

³ Once a journalist and an editor of Feral Tribune, Đikić was writing, among other things, about the evildoing of the so-called Merčep group.

⁴ HPS or Croatian Party of Rights follows in the path of Ante Starčević. At the onset of the Homeland War, HPS organized para-military units called HOS (Croatian Defense Forces) which shared the ideology of the Croatian Army Forces created in NDH (Independent State of Croatia) in 1944. They were created through the merging of Home Guard (Domobrani) and Ustashe Army (Ustaške vojnice).

after operation “Storm” they were the victims of the “terrorist act with the objective to provoke fear, panic and a sense of insecurity.” Therefore, and based on the Act on Liability for Damage Resulting from Terrorist Acts, Croatia is responsible for damages to the family members, regardless of whether the perpetrator was identified, persecuted or convicted. Nobody was ever charged with this particular crime, but the ruling, however, constitutes a significant step forward in otherwise problematic and discriminatory practice of civilian victims’ rights protection.

There are certain estimates (namely, by Žarko Puhovski) that President’s Josipović affiliation with Džakula (also a

self-declared president of the SAO West Slavonija) is a clever way to mend bleak relations with Serbian President Tomislav Nikolić. Without delving deeper into the issue of such a political strategy, we have a right to ask if it is the most prudent one, given the circumstances. This is especially true in light of its damage to the legitimate and elected minority representatives who are accused of “ethno-business” and considered an obstacle to the creation of a civic society. And all of this happens solely for the protection of capital and profits. All that is left is to ask (like once Nenad Ivanković asked Franjo Tuđman): “Mr. President, what is left?”

Serbia

Come to our Rescue Batman, We’re Caught Flat Footed!

Katarina Milićević

A lot has happened in Serbia in the last year, but not much has changed. There are, of course, many people who perceive political change as a real turn, but in the light of everyday social landscape, that change did not bring anything new so far. The most important piece of news this year is that the Democratic Party (DS) is no longer a part of the government and has been replaced by the Serbian Progressive Party (SNS), with former President Boris Tadić (also Head of the Democratic Party) being replaced with Tomislav Nikolić (Head of Serbian Progressive Party). SNS however, was not able to form the government on its own, so it entered a coalition with the Socialist Party of Serbia (SPS) and United Regions of Serbia (URS), both partners former coalition members with Democratic Party. Sounds complicated? It is – no common ideology, unless it is a short-term interest (much like, for instance, a rehabilitation of Draža Mihajlović with the silent approval of DS) involving ministerial and executive seats that translate into practical power. And power comes with money...

Expectations vary from person to person. An average voter in Serbia has a very vague idea of the changes he or she desires and how to go about achieving them, and is therefore likely to “soak in” generic political promises such as: “It will be done, it will be solved, it will be...” Nobody is accountable to answer what, and how exactly. The crisis of moral and the spiritual poverty are never a priority, and they actually constitute the basis for everything else. Corruption is spreading to all spheres of life, and the number of people who wish to eradicate it is minimal. To eradicate it does not mean to just promise arrests and turn into Eliot Ness, a figure that Aleksandar Vučić seems to like. At the same time, all the political parties vocal about the issue of “non-partisanship”

and nepotism [de-partizacija] in their campaigns filled all the positions with people from their ranks, soon after coming to power. For instance, a son of a high-ranking PUPS [Party of United Pensioners of Serbia. TN] official immediately became the Head of Serbian Postal Service. It is hard to distinguish: was this partisan or nepotistic? As always, it is best to have several aces up your sleeve. Things have become so banal that it is impossible to get a job as a cleaning lady in a mall, without being a member of the party that “makes the list.”

In the last twenty years, citizens of Serbia have grown accustomed to managing corruption, so that money and favors can help them close deals in state institutions, hospitals and schools. They otherwise would not have access to particular services, or it would take away too much time (which in case of medicine for instance, could mean saving a life). Being complicit about corruption instills guilt and elicits justifications such as: “There was no other way, everybody does it, I was asked for money, it is not a bribe – it is a gift etc.” Even if a profound change was to take place (and currently it amounts to wishful thinking), people would be asking: “What do you mean, it is not possible? Not even for money?”

The crisis in which the state, more specifically the current Minister of Finance and Economy Mlađan Dinkić, considers every family with the income above 80.000 dinars a month [around 700 euro, according to September exchange rate] a well-off family, while the average consumption necessitates at least 100.000 – it seems that all bets are off. When there are no drugs in the pharmacies (children’s medicine brufen is nowhere to be found since May) and no oil and sugar in the stores, things start to look a lot like the last decade of the 20th century, when it felt like we had hit rock bottom, while

there was a sense of recovery in the first years of the new millennium.

The “Both Kosovo and European Union” politics advocated by Boris Tadić receives a noteworthy amendment in the new government and Nikolić’s cabinet: “Kosovo and EU, and Russia, and USA, and Germany, and China, and Batman, and Superman...” It speaks not of open mind and broad horizons, but is telling of the desire to escape concrete actions and measures.

These days there is a motto “we don’t want to rush to EU” or, in the words of President Nikolić “Serbia will, in the further process of Euro-integration, have its own conditions, because there is no reason to chase after a certain date and a piece of paper.” This intention not to run after a piece of paper reminds me of one of those bizarre situations that we all experience: you are so late for an event, that it no longer matters when you arrive. And if you arrive at all. However, we all do make it for the important events, so we have to ask: does the lack of hurry signify a lack of importance as well? “Ten years of hastening has brought Serbia to poverty. Now we need to think of ourselves. We have friends all over, let them compete in helping Serbia” Nikolić continues. Rhetorically, to a segment of public that saw him as a best candidate for the President, this sounds like: “Serbia will not bow its head” statement of the 21st century. In reality – it still stands for the lack of responsibility, and shifting the burden to “friends” who are supposed to compete to help Serbia. Again, rhetorically, this short-term boost of moral might mean something to some people, but without clear leadership in the processes of integration, but also in the issues of national

policy, this amounts to a phrase that doesn’t even serve the day-to-day political gains.

Whether Serbia rushes into EU, or proceeds slowly “without rushing and being caught flat footed” (Suzana Grubješić, Serbian Deputy Prime Minister for European Integration), Serbia is unprepared and short of breath. Sweeping problems under the carpet and leaving the problems to somebody else: new government, EU, friends, NGOs from the country and from abroad, Superman, Batman, Alan Ford... all of this has left Serbia lagging behind for ten years. Recent procrastination could help with keeping few of the managerial seats, but does not help solve the problems.

Gay Pride Parade was not held this year in Serbia, similar to last year, due to the threats coming from various right-wing groups. Once again, Serbia backed down pressured by the hooligans, and gave space for increased homophobic violence directed at anyone looking differently. Even though this year the parade was the last in the series of events, the impact of small panel discussions and off-radar exhibitions to real social change is questionable. It also begs the question of how many people have access to it.

Generally speaking, global and European political processes determine the course of Serbia as well, being unstoppable in the era of globalization and the Internet. Too much time was spent just floating and waiting for the friendly boat of salvation to take us to a peaceful and opulent harbor. Until Batman comes, we need to swim a bit – but I am afraid Batman is in no rush either, he doesn’t want to be caught flat footed.

Bosnia and Herzegovina

All talk and no trousers

Amer Delić

It’s difficult to talk about the reality of Bosnia and Herzegovina, without casting a glance at our neighbourhood – specifically Serbia and Croatia. In the last two years, that’s where the initiatives for promotion of good-neighbourly relations were coming from, in the form of visits to atrocities sites in Bosnia and Herzegovina from the Croatian President Ivo Josipović, the adoption of the Declaration on Srebrenica¹

in Serbia and another visit from former president Tadić to the commemoration for the victims of Srebrenica in Potočari Memorial and Cemetery complex. We had a feeling that something had shifted.

The willingness to go on with similar initiatives had existed in BH and it yielded results, hence the representatives of the joint delegation of the Federation of BH attended commemoration for the victims in Trusina and Ahmići, in April. I must note here that CNA has been organizing similar activities in cooperation with local veterans’ organizations / associations for a number of years already and we are

¹ The Declaration on Srebrenica that condemns the crimes against Bosniak population of Srebrenica, committed in July 1995, in which the Serbian Parliament appeals to all former warring parties in Bosnia and Herzegovina and other former Yugoslav states to continue the process of reconciliation and strengthening the conditions for co-existence based on national equality and full respect for human

and minority rights and freedoms, in order for the crimes that were committed never to happen again.

planning to continue with it in the future, with special emphasis on the areas where it has not been done and where potential resistance to such initiatives might occur. Of course, given that this year the local (municipal) elections are being held, some previously arranged activities were either delayed until further notice or cancelled, which speaks volumes about the impact of the current politics on all spheres of society, especially on veteran's associations / organizations that are conceptually tied to the ruling oligarchy with an "umbilical cord".

High ecclesiastical and political authorities from the region and around the world spread the messages of peace from an inter-religious gathering² which was organized in Sarajevo in September. They were all talk on reconciliation and multiculturalism (just so that everything wasn't spick and span, Orthodox Bishop Gligorije accused Grand Mufti Mustafa Cerić of wishing for an Islamic BH, while he responded that Bishop Gligorije wanted to have a Republic of Srpska without Bosniaks).

The event that followed the joint commemoration for the victims, has also resulted in numerous direct appeals for reconciliation expressed, by the representatives of the international community and local high-ranking politicians, who, frankly speaking, exploited them almost to perversity. On the ground, actual problems and non-transparency of the politics were once again veiled by ethnic threats and less equality in relation to others, therefore soon enough everything went back to the starting point and everyone dealt mostly with their own victims. Nobody trusts anybody else and no one recognizes victims of others.

The wideness of that gap was demonstrated at the commemoration of the beginning of the war in Sarajevo³, on April 6, which was deemed inappropriate by the politicians from the Republic of Srpska. Milorad Dodik, the President of the Republic of Srpska wrote to Zlatko Lagumdžija, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of BH, on the occasion of the commemoration, to tell him that it was both absolutely unacceptable and not agreed on prior to the event with all parties involved in BH to organize a party to mark the anniversary of the beginning of "the siege of Sarajevo". Mirko Šarović, Minister of Foreign Trade and Economic Relations of BH, said that "one cannot talk about the siege of Sarajevo", and pointed out that due to different views on the 1992-1995 events, all three peoples in Bosnia and Herzegovina should

have used a phrase coined in the Dayton Agreement according to which it was an "unfortunate conflict in the region."

On the other hand, an incident took place during the commemoration of the deaths of the Yugoslav Peoples' Army (JNA) soldiers in former Dobrovoljačka Street in Sarajevo. Maximum police security prevented an escalation of conflict when a group of citizens of Sarajevo gathered shouting "murderers", uttering profanities and insults to the victims' families.

We could hear repeatedly in public that Srebrenica genocide was being denied by the President and other officials of the Republic of Srpska as well as by Tomislav Nikolić, President-elect of the Republic of Serbia. We've seen the lonely walks of the families of the victims' from Prijedor⁴ and the ban to approach former Omarska camp, mistrust and accusations expressed during the exhumation of graves in Ozren⁵. Basically, there seems to be no end in sight, to bad examples.

What else can one say and how to interpret the attack launched on the U.S. embassy in Sarajevo, by one Mevlid Jašarević⁶, who came here all the way from Novi Pazar (Sandžak, the Republic of Serbia) carrying a "combat gear", after having decided to take his revenge for the brutality of the global American wars here. Was that the trigger that gave legitimacy to the police authorities to take action against organized "radical Islamists" or a simple proof that BH and Sandžak were the hotbeds of new terrorist groups, aimed to discredit Bosniak political relevance?

The media, as usual, could hardly wait to rehabilitate nationalist rhetoric, chauvinism and hatred and add fuel to the flame just like they never took responsibility for all the evil things they had done in the past. As if they do not

² International Peace Conference "Living Together Is the Future: Religions and Cultures in Dialogue", organized by the Rome-based Community of Sant'Egidio

³ On the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the beginning of the siege of Sarajevo, a performance called "Sarajevo Red Line" was staged to mark the death of 11.541 citizens of Sarajevo. Red chairs were arranged along the Tito's Street and stretched for 800 meters, one for each citizen who was killed during the war.

⁴ Research and Documentation Center (IDC) reports that in the period between 1991 and 1995, 5209 citizens of Prijedor were either killed in military actions or went missing, 4093 of which were Bosniaks, 898 Serbs and 182 Croats. After the takeover of Prijedor and the surrounding area in May 1992, Serbian forces detained thousands of Muslim and Croat civilians inside the Omarska, Trnopolje and Keraterm concentration camps.

⁵ The Republican Organization of Families of Prisoners, Killed Soldiers and Missing Civilians of the Republic of Srpska and Serbian Operations Team for the Missing are demanding the jurisdiction of the Prosecutor's Office and the Institute for Missing Persons of Bosnia and Herzegovina be given back on suspicion of relocation of graves and theft of skeletal remains of killed Serbian soldiers in Ozren. The request was made for a conference to be held on this issue, with the participation of High Representative and all relevant domestic and international institutions in BH.

⁶ According to his own words, in February 2010 Mevlid Jašarević was in the village of Gornja Maoča, which is a well known Wahhabi stronghold in BH, at the time when the police arrested a number of members of this movement. He then returned to Novi Pazar in order to "spread Islam".

realize how fragile the peace in the region is and as if they have not witnessed what's happening all over the world, with countries once perceived as stable and with an orderly internal structure, almost overnight end up in a quagmire of blood with no end in sight.

Who knew that the conflict in Syria could lead to a government crisis in Bosnia and Herzegovina? It's because our politicians found themselves trapped in a web of the protectorate and aligned themselves with the parties they instinctively prefer hence they each supported their own "proven friends" in the UN Security Council. Moreover, the consequences of the operation "cuckoo in the nest" launched by the SDP⁷ at the domestic political scene of BH in the past parliamentary elections (when Željko Komšić, the Croat member of the presidency was elected with the help of the Bosniak electorate, which outvoted the HDZ⁸ and the principle of equal rights of the constituent peoples), are evident because the federal government has not been formed for two years. Meanwhile, an attempt at a partnership between the SDP and SDA ended in a major confrontation between the two parties and in SDP's efforts to remove all the SDA⁹ staff from all federal and cantonal ministries. In June, the new coalition partner became the SBB¹⁰, led by Fahrudin Radončić¹¹. Basically, in the eve of the local elections, SDP was moaning while caught up in his own trap, in search of regaining credibility with voters, all the while defending its positions that were under threat from both SDA on federal level and from Milorad Dodik¹² at the state level, who was pushing for Zlatko Lagumdžija to be ousted from his position of the Minister of Foreign Affairs. However, knowing the two of them, one may expect to see them tomorrow in a tight embrace. I must here look back at the initiative of Milorad Dodik, the President of the Republic of Srpska, proposed during the election campaign to demilitarize Bosnia and Herzegovina, namely

to dissolute armed forces and to reassign all members of the military structures to the civilian ones. He explained that the key reason for it was the high cost of the armed forces, while they do not contribute to the overall security. It must be that all those millions earned by selling telecom and other entity's assets that he had sold out, are now gone and an excuse for poor economy is found in unnecessary military expenditures. Unfortunately, a really good idea came from a man who is trying to do all he can to diminish BH. If only the entire region would turn to demilitarization as their primary goal in the stabilization of this part of Europe and establishment of mutual relations based of companionship and cooperation.

In addition to all the other peculiarities that the last election campaign was characterized by there's also the number of people willing to give it a try and participate in the establishment. I will judge neither the quality of the candidates nor their personal motives (ideological ones - ahem!?, economic ones - a few hundred convertible marks per month for a councillor - that should neither be it, but there's a chance of getting one's own slice of the cake by way of trading political power for taking money under the table - that makes sense to me). In a sea of same old clichés, that were all over the media around the clock, one could hear the promise that in case their candidates won new jobs would be created and standard of living would rise. Doesn't that have to do with a macroeconomic plan!? Getting into such a chaotic political situation without a concrete plan and willingness to pull the chestnuts out of the fire is a mere hypocrisy.

Anyway, our people(s) are expecting a cold fall and winter with a steep rise in prices of food and electricity. Federal Office of Statistics might start to provide us with the figures on the number of pensioners that can be catered for from a single garbage container along with the calculations regarding the monthly consumers' basket for a family of four.

I hope that this overview on the context in which we work will help you understand the reality of Bosnia and Herzegovina. It is extremely hard to implement peacebuilding programmes and search for partners who are able to take some responsibility and act in local communities in such reality where one courageous, positive step forward is followed by two steps back, that take us back right to the quagmire of the past. However, the struggle continues, a new round is on.

⁷ Social Democratic Party

⁸ Croatian Democratic Union

⁹ Party of Democratic Action

¹⁰ Union for a Better Future of BH

¹¹ Fahrudin Radončić is a Bosnia's tycoon and founder of the Union for a Better Future of BH, often tied to the criminal circless thanks to which he became one of the richest people in BH and the wider region

¹² President of the Republic of Srpska

Smiljkovski massacre is most certainly the thing that has marked the year. On April 21st 2012, in the early evening before Good Friday, and three days before Easter, five people were killed near the Smiljkovsko Lake, in close proximity of Skopje. The investigation revealed that four young men of Macedonian nationality aged 17 to 21 years were identified, placed in a row and assassinated in cold blood. The fifth victim was an older man, aged 45 – a fisherman and most probably a witness to the crime. None of the young people had a criminal record, nor were they implicated in any activities that would explain this crime. Nothing whatsoever. People were shocked by the cruelty with which these crimes were committed, and the fact that merely ten years after the last war, a group of assassins can execute civilians in this way. As usual, two main ethnic groups involved, immediately began pointing fingers, and calling for retribution and protests. Our prime Minister spent the entire week playing hide-and-seek with the press (despite numerous appeals to make a public appearance, and lower the tensions threatening to escalate), which goes to show his own lack of awareness on what is going on.

But let us examine the state of affairs prior to this event. After last year's media clash and the current onslaught of scandals, spin, slur and slander, a part of the public has removed itself from the media space, seeking refuge in internet networks, or fleeing entirely into a-political spaces. The other, visible, part of the public readily engages with the topics simply "thrown" into the public space. (I might sound harsh, but I simply do not believe the majority of "events" currently occupying public space, even that they took place at all. An event is taken, turned into a scare-crow, attacked from all sides and eventually nobody cares what really happened – just which interpretation is of interest.)

The topics were the following:

a) Skopje 2014, a colossal multimillion project is still the main benchmark for evaluating the success of the government. The project is in full swing. The value of the project is still a secret, as is its full scope and elements. (Is there an end to it?). After the placement of a grandiose monument "Warrior on a Horse," the other side of the river now prominently features "The Father of a Warrior on a Horse," and the last days saw the placement of a complex composition, which I can only assume is "The Mother of a Warrior on a Horse." Evil tongues say that the number 2014 does not signify the year of the project's completion, but the number of monuments foreseen, but I do think they are overstating it. In my opinion, and I have counted, there are not more than two hundred.

For several years now, the authorities refuse to hear criticism, demonize any dissonant voice, but have, only one day after the placement of Prometheus' nude figure, had a quilt made to cover his genitalia. A well known sculptor readily executed their demand. The mayor of the Center municipality said that he did it because he received complaints from "women's" organizations. Which ones – he never disclosed. So now, we have a Prometheus in diapers. Perhaps he will be able to bring us fire when he grows up. Just perhaps.

b) Playing with statistics: how we are listed as the third, or first, or second (I can never remember) country in Europe, in the World etc. and according to different parameters: managing economic crisis, and the lowest impact of crisis to economy (what is left for the crisis to have an impact on?). In other words, we're on the road to recovery! Some other statistics however show that 30% of population is still below the poverty line.

c) Lustration was just a waste of time. The government pushed for the project, the opposition halted it. I cannot understand why. I advocate public disclosure of all remaining archives of state security agencies in SFRJ [Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia]. It should be up on the Web. It should be done in an atmosphere of trust and with a genuine intention to stop these types of policies. To acknowledge the possibility that the part of the archives could be destroyed or forged by the said agencies. But this will not happen. After the Constitutional Court suspended several provisions of the Law, the Parliament majority re-introduced a Law that was even stricter. It was turned into a tool for political elimination. The cases are examined in a selective manner (e.g. the priority should be the public officials who are still in power), and the decisions in the Commission are voted on despite the very clear guidelines on how is someone defined an "informant." A public register has been put up on the Web Site: <http://www.kvf.org.mk>. I don't pity them, but I do regret the missed opportunity: this process could have lead to an acceptable stand towards the recent past, a stand that would be oriented more towards condemning the practice than revenge guided by political gains.

d) The dispute with Greece concerning the name is constant and actual, as is the misuse of both positions on the issue. The possibility might arise with accession negotiations with EU, but with both sides committing to start the negotiations with this dispute. The response from the Greek side is still pending.

Multiethnic relations unfold in the midst of all these

issues. More precisely, the relations between Macedonians and Albanians. A lot of issues re-surfaced in the last year. For a while, the main problem has been the lack of responsibility for the policies implemented. Each side will implement the agreed obligations, but they will not stand by them when they speak to “their people.” Their address usually references an emotional story of injustice and “outside pressure.” This lack of responsibility brews animosities, and feeds the careers of “national defenders.” It also tolerates even the most publicly expressed forms of inter-ethnic violence, as long as it feels it can control them. The Smiljkovski massacre occurred as a climax of increasing ethnic violence. It started with Islamic protests because of a controversial mask on a village carnival in the southwest of the country, that was insulting Koran. And then a church was damaged, and then graffiti was written on a mosque, and then someone tries to set a church on fire in another village, and then fistfights began in public transport in Skopje. It lasted the entire spring. And then the massacre happened. The minister of Police, accompanied by the deputy, an ethnic Albanian, very clumsily stated that the motif for the assassination was “radical Islam” (which can mean everything and nothing). This provoked reactions on all sides. And then something unexpected happened. Macedonian nationalists immediately scheduled the first protest. (The families of the murdered called for lowering of tensions.) Several hundred people gathered around the Government building, threw rocks which landed on both governmental officials and journalists, and then made an attempt to go to the “Albanian part of town.” Special police units took stark measures and blocked the groups, and then pushed them back. I have no recollection of a similar event, in which the police so determinately confronted Macedonian nationalists. The other day, after the Friday prayer [džuma] a lot of Albanians gathered and made their way toward the Government building. The police took extra precautions to secure the protest and did not allow for bigger incidents. I am not prone to expressing support for the police when they limit the right to protest, but in both instances they reacted properly to ensure that violence on the streets did not escalate. Therefore, they know the right procedures, when they wish to implement them. Street fights did not take place, because escalation of violence was prevented. Police took twenty people into custody; few were kept on several charges and two in direct connection to the assassination (the alleged chauffeur and one of the assassins). A wanted list was issued for two more Albanians suspected to be directly involved in the assassination. And then things stopped. It is now six months since they were taken into custody and they need to be either charged or acquitted. It remains to be seen what happens, but this crime is such that it cannot go unsolved. I hope we are moving closer to the truth.

In all honesty, I see this crime outside the wave of ethnic

violence that is sweeping over us. The events that took place seem much more than the usual nationalism-infusing campaign in order to get our minds off other relevant problems, something we have witnessed for over two decades. But it came in the right time. The reaction of both partners in the Government speaks of their awareness of situation’s severity, and that was to act in the best way possible to lower the tensions. I don’t know who organized the assassinations and for whom, I just hope we will not wait long for answers. I lost any hope that we will learn the lesson: that the same groups immediately react in the same way (by inviting for conflict), that we have forgotten how to mourn, that we have forgotten not to rush in pointing fingers, that we have completely forgotten about the families of the assassinated – while calling for retribution in their name, that six month after the incident we only have police reports and party confrontations, but no serious discussion and analysis about what had happened, and lastly, that we became a community that can be seriously divided by a group of merciless murderers.

After a small break, it feels like everyone had forgotten about the Smiljkovski assassinations, and the spiral of violence continues with usual conflicts in the streets, sport arenas, and public transport. A generation of young people in urban areas is coming of age, having these conflicts as the only point of contact. A very weak peace movement is organized through which to be vocal. There is will, and there are wonderful people - and this time, I have a feeling, it has spread beyond the usual activist circles. But it was a problem to keep the focus on the issue of peace. We need a sustained commitment to peace and we don’t have it. And this summer marked the anniversaries of 2001 war. Fatmir Besimi, Minister of Defense, provoked a scandal when he went with the official army delegation to pay respects to the fallen soldiers of KLA in the Kumanovo village of Slupčane. This stirred up tensions and infuriated the Macedonian side in the Government VMRO – DPMNE, as well as the public. You have to keep in mind that the grave stones of fallen soldiers from 2001 can only be kept in “your own ethnic backyard,” otherwise they are not allowed or are immediately destroyed. VMRO-DPMNE responded immediately with the draft Law on the Rights of Defenders that was put in pipeline (it encompasses only the members of regular army and police forces i.e. the Macedonian side). This was supported by the Macedonian opposition (Social Democrats) as well. Albania partner DUI rejected the proposal vehemently and announced that they will, along with the support of the oppositional Albanian party (DPA) stop the proposal and if need be ask for a new change of Constitution, which would lead to federalization of the country. (Allegedly there was an agreement that this issue remains closed during the mandate.) I do not know how this will end, but I do know that we will have new parliamentary elections unless a deal is struck, this winter or next spring,

along with local elections. I do know that nationalism will be the main topic of campaigns yet again.

I don't fear that this situation will escalate. Macedonia has a long history of multi-ethnic cooperation (even the war of 2001 saw functioning of a multi-ethnic government) and systems of inclusion. I am ready to believe that there were solid reasons in 2001 that the tensions did not spiral into a total chaos. And some of those reasons are still alive and strong in people here. But I am aware that the good credit has been spent on wrong politics for a while. Many careers were built on public animosities (and private tenders) in order to simply disappear. And indeed, there is some support in people too. It will not disappear, we need to acknowledge it and move on.

Few days ago I was chatting with my friends. We are all in our thirties; our paths of personal development are

visible to some extent. We talked about how we used to see ourselves, and what do we do at the moment. We touched in our conversation on the written assignments we used to have in school, about the future, the World after 2000 and similar things. We shared similar thoughts on technological advances, voyages to the Moon and Mars, home robots and modern cars that fly through the cities. Nobody ever dreamt that we would, after all these years, deal with the problems we have at hand. We did not turn out to be how we fantasized, and neither did our society. It is only logical, right? We are of similar ages, and society did not just spring out of thin air. The politics we don't like will not disappear on their own, and they will not surrender in wake of our superior arguments. Neither will the people who embody those politics: who create them and perpetuate them. And what shall we do then? We need to do something with this awareness.

KOSOVO

Road is long

Bojan Veselić

In the course of the past several years, socio-political scene in Kosovo was marked by several events that have long-term implications on the Kosovo society as a whole. This article refers to several of those moments that indicate the state Kosovo's in today.

The biggest change took place on February 17, 2008 when the Assembly of Kosovo unilaterally declared the independence based on the Martti Ahtisaari plan. Actually, this plan was not adopted by the United Nations Security Council. Subsequently, the Assembly went on to adopt the Constitution, which came into force on June 15, 2008. Ever since then, Kosovo has stayed on the path of democratic development and in this process, the International Civilian Office (ICO) was given the task of proposing which way to go. This mission completed its term on September 10, 2012, while Kosovo has remained on the path to international recognition.

Given Kosovo's low economic potential, an international donor conference was held on July 11 2008, where pledges were made for 1,236 billion €, intended for further democratic and political development. Due to the global financial crisis, most industrialized countries' budget cuts, underdeveloped mechanisms for implementation of different projects and low administrative capacity of government employees, the actual amount of funds that have so far reached Kosovo is far lower than the one that had been intended. That is one of the reasons that contributes to the

hostility between ethnic groups.

At the moment, the Ahtisaari plan is the best political solution for peaceful coexistence and democratic development. The Government of Kosovo adheres to it is for the most part and so does the majority of the Serbian population living south of the Ibar River, which actively participates in the political development. However, the greatest challenge to the full implementation of this plan is the fact that neither Serbian government, nor the Serbs living in northern Kosovo, who are in charge on that part of the territory, have accepted the plan. Mitrovica was formally divided in 1999, although the division had been evident long before that. The citizens were reluctant to pass from one side to the other, although several safer crossings points were used. Present overall security situation is much better and political pressures have subsided, but people still do not want to stay too long at the other side. However, about 70,000 Albanian citizens live in the southern part of Mitrovica, while some 30,000 Serbs live in northern Mitrovica.

Over the past three years, huge steps were taken in the legal field. Nonetheless, the implementation of the new laws has still remained rather ineffective. In 2009, some positive steps were taken in child protection, while the appointment of the Ombudsman meant an improvement towards democratic and civil development of the society. Despite all these changes, poverty and inequality are

widespread in Kosovo. According to the World Bank data, the poverty level has not dropped in the last 5 years. Almost 45% of people still live in poverty while 16% live in extreme poverty. Unless these challenges are soon address, the citizens of Kosovo will have a grim future.

Internally displaced persons and refugees still cannot fully exercise their rights. The international community and Kosovo officials have not found an adequate solution to this problem yet. Local Albanian population is mostly opposed to the return of Serbs. Those who choose to return to their homes are subjected to frequent attacks and threats, and general safety is in question. These conflicts are often motivated by unresolved issues concerning land ownership. Due to the bad economic situation, those who can, sell their property thus managing to survive. The constant conflicts and disagreements indicate that local authorities are in a bad state and essentially undermine efforts made in the direction of democratic development. There is both institutional and social discrimination against other minorities as well like Roma, Ashkali, Bosniaks, Gorani and Egyptians when it comes to education, employment, social services, language use, freedom of movement, the right of return and other fundamental rights and freedoms. Members of these communities are constantly exposed to economic discrimination, living in rather poor hygienic conditions, often without basic health insurance and completely dependent on international aid. According to the data provided by UNHCR, by the end of 2011, there were 18.196 internally displaced persons, 54% of whom were Serbs and 40% were Albanians. 1,000 people of those 4,100 who were displaced in the 2004 riots, still have not returned to their homes. In the period between 2000 and July 2012, there were 9.947 registered returnees. Although the legal framework is in place, its implementation has failed and all minorities, especially Serbian, are facing difficult challenges.

The media scene has not advanced much and has shared the same fate as other socio-political aspects of a developing society. TV channel in Serbian language, with Kosovo-wide coverage still does not broadcast. The media have a lot of problems to obtain information from both the authorities and other public institutions. Only a few print media are financially viable and able to resist political and economic interests

of certain groups and to develop a critical view towards political events. Journalists have often received threats from politicians and criminal groups, and then, for the sake of survival the only solution is self-censorship. Most journalists restrain themselves and do not want to engage in investigative journalism for fear of losing their job and personal security. Furthermore, some journalists, too are corrupt, but also faced with threats after publishing non-biased articles. There are plenty of examples like these, and they are frequently covered by articles of Kosovo Action Network.

Development of democratic governance in Kosovo is guided by the European perspective and Kosovo's ambition to join the EU, as soon as possible. Some complex administrative reforms aiming to improve the efficiency of central and local institutions and wage a fierce battle against corruption are under way. The participation of civil society, women's empowerment and their participation in politics and at the places where key decisions are being made, transparency of the work of Kosovo officials as well as responsibility, all remain below an acceptable level.

The absence of sustainable economic development deeply undermines the development of the rule of law in Kosovo. Until now, the economy has been developing due to foreign support and the fact that a large part of the workforce is employed by local and international organizations.

Ever since 1999, widely spread corruption and nepotism, regular conflicts between parties and interest groups regarding the drafting of laws and their implementation, dysfunctional relationships between institutions at the municipal level, as well as those between local and international institution, have all been an unfortunate certainty of Kosovo's public life. Counterproductive relations extend to both central and local administration.

The reason that somewhat complicates the democratic development of Kosovo is the absence of full international recognition. In any case, the road to membership in the United Nations is long, and the membership alone will not help much unless political elites understand what kind of changes citizens of Kosovo need. Until then, human rights, democratic development and the rule of law remain insurmountable challenges for the entire Kosovo society.

words of the new team members

Davorka Turk

Coming to Sarajevo

I owe a lot to CNA. It's hard to count it all without making it sound as a (self) praise. Before the moment I applied for a basic training in peacebuilding, I had been working in Croatian Radiotelevision for 15 years and was extremely burdened with relations of power in the society, balance of power inside such an ideologically and technically complex working organization that a public television production programme was and I was unable to articulate my own resistance. That's probably how one can describe the sense of "apathy" that angry social and newspaper commentators ascribe to the citizens.

I've written this because there are more people who feel that way. Everything's bothering you, but you don't know what's bothering you the most. Further away from general criticism of the decisions of the ruling parties, mechanisms and discourses they use in order to stay in power or capitalize on what they gained in the war, because those are only the consequences. Since I had had the opportunity and chance to get to know the way in which CNA worked I have been thinking for a long time that I have quite well scrutinized all those layers of my own anguish - an invitation to forget the symbolic space of the former Yugoslavia, which I was supposedly obliged to do, having been a Croatian citizen; various instances and manifestations of the oppression based on race, gender or ethnicity and the alleged inevitability of armed conflicts that resulted from it; lack or unattainability of social power that could change such order of things. I do think that there are ways to take apart such an overall sense of apathy into pieces one can work with. I do think that an individual possesses an awareness and an ability to turn to the society, the environment he/she lives in, to realize his/hers actions (or inactivity) and their consequences.

My coming to Sarajevo, has in many ways made me shut my mouth, because there is no recipe for survival in a post-Yugoslav society in transition. What has happened is that, for the umpteenth time in my life, I had to face my own prejudices, before everything else. Things are not the same for all of us, life is better in Croatia (it's been better in Croatia all along) and Croatia is going to join the EU next year (which is not very promising, but at this moment, it makes all the difference). The war took away many things from me, just as it did from many others. However, I thought I could put it in the past tense. Here, it defines everyday life, you cannot escape from



it, therefore you need intensely to just forget about it because there's an impression that nothing major will change now, by thinking about the things that once happened. This is not the case only in Bosnia, the same thing is being done in Croatia, but allegedly Croatia can afford that kind of luxury. That frustrates me even

more because in Croatia we act as if we had nothing to do with the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina, therefore we bear no responsibility for this country and its future, whatsoever. You come, you tear it down, you leave it like that. You forget about it.

I do not think that's the way to do it. I've never been Yugo-nostalgic, I think a lot of things with the federation in question were not right, hence we now have to deal with the things that we had buried beneath the "brotherhood and unity" which we gave up, the first chance we had. It's important for me to see how those national defence mechanisms function, why they are best expressed in a time of crisis, what are the discourses that keep reviving them constantly and what they are for. It's important to me that the CNA works with veterans of all three warring sides, along with working with concerned citizens, activists, political party activists, journalists, scientists. It's important to me that we are dealing with the ways in which our societies (do not) remember the past, how they re-construct it all over again and what the pillars of nationally based memory are. I do not think that there's something "natural" in any kind of oppression. There are mechanisms for conveying and learning such things. Of course that I, as well as Amer, want to see what's happened to us. And what do we do with it.

Amer Delić

Arrival/return to Sarajevo

20 years ago, in April 1992, I left Sarajevo where I was studying economics at the time, with only a bag full of dirty laundry, and took the last train from Sarajevo to my hometown. I thought the horror that had begun would settle down in the next few days. Gosh, was I wrong. I spent the next three and a half years carrying arms, in the hills and forests of Bosnia, passing through the areas I never knew existed, which were drawn onto the topographic maps with extreme precision (it was convenient for both construction and devastation, don't surveyors and gunners know it all too well?).

The time before the war I spent as an exemplary socialist youth, full of ideas implanted into my mind, with an inevitable touch of nationalist-chauvinistic overtones (for the eradication of which the party¹ had no recipe), which escalated during the war and gave me a clear guidelines towards the tribe I belonged. I have to confess that it was something I did not complain about too much at the time.

My coming to CNA is the sequence of events that had started 9 years ago, with the first contact with people from the team and my first participation in the training for former combatants that took place in Bjelašnica (Bosnia and Herzegovina). What followed were the basic and advanced training events in peacebuilding, training events for veterans, various educational workshops and conferences. Now, when I think about what I was like when I first started this journey of ideological self-detoxification, I think about the processes that were going on inside of me for the first time, while I was facing both my own as well as other people's prejudices against everything that was being taken for granted in our societies. Once we've touched upon societies, the matters of identity, conflict, sexual, racial and all other types of segregations open up. For the first time I was faced with the form of activism which is capable to exert pressure upon institutions and individuals in charge by applying non-violent methods and offer models for overcoming disagreements and problems that (and I'm convinced of this) huge majority of people from the region of former Yugoslavia think are solvable by sending people to Goli otok², to long-term prison sentences or even more simply by sending the opponents and those unlike-minded to the firing squad.

Now that I'm a member of the CNA team, I've finally got the opportunity to encourage more directly and with a wider anoeuvring space the changes our societies are awaiting and to be one of those who usually deal with things no one else



wants to (with a few honourable exceptions), even though they should or with things that are believed to sort themselves out while someone else makes all the decisions. Living among these people (of course I mean the entire region, because I was lucky enough to travel all around it and meet quite a lot of people who either live in it or are somehow tied to it) I haven't got the impression that they are completely relaxed and that they got rid of the ghosts of the past. They are more like little children who squint when they are afraid and believe that what they do not see can't hurt them. I believe they need to have their eyes open and be put in front of the mirror so they can recognize themselves and their own responsibility, so they can see again and again how they treat the past and the neighbouring countries, nations and neighbours, their own families and people in general, animals, plants, soil, water. I'm tired of listening for ever how there's always someone else to blame, laments over the misery of one's own existence from people who fantasize about being stronger while aligning themselves with their tribes, whereas their chiefs are sucking away both their lives and the resources of the country they have occupied. I know that they are far more confident about being so much different from "the others", then they can ever be convinced about being the same as they have been for the past several thousand years, when it comes to genetic material. But it's okay, they have a choice.

Now I intend to dig and poke at taboos, run into the time machine and search for answers, so we can see what it is that has happened to us (it almost has the status of permutation with proper time determination). Is there an alternative to searching for facts, the truth, for seeking and receiving forgiveness, and finally offering peace to the dead and their families? I do not want to see something rotten being given a makeover in order to get closer to Europe. Neither Europe, nor we have any interest in a mummified corpse that does not know what has hit it.

Fortunately I fell in love with Sarajevo when I was a little boy from the small town. Now when I get caught in a clinch with all the problems mentioned above, I will have its streets and parks to revive the spirit tired by this reality.

¹ Party- often-used synonym for the "Communist Party" in the former Yugoslavia, the only ruling political party until the 90's.

² Political camp Goli otok was a notorious camp for Yugoslav political prisoners located on the eponymous island, established in 1949, by the order of the leadership of the Communist Party and the state. It was chosen because it was not populated and the escape from it was almost impossible.

We've visited "Ecofutura" and we wholeheartedly recommend it

www.ecofutura.ba

In recent years, there's a trend of ethno-tourism and eco-tourism (personally, I'm not sure what the difference is between the two, but I suppose there is one). In practice, this usually means that you get to go to some "ethno-village" (most of them are situated in western Serbia and eastern Bosnia), where everything's embroidered, made of wood, and then you can pick pizza, spaghetti, espresso or Coke from the menu. What exactly is ethno in it remains in question, until you get a tab for an "ethno espresso" that costs twice as much as an Italian espresso.

By the end of July, we set out for Romanija mountain, to "Ecofutura", bearing a rather blurred vision of the eco-village and its offerings. I admit to having had quite low expectations (in those days known as "waiting-for-a-holiday-at last") and since I had already been so exhausted the only true craving was for a comfortable bed. We were welcomed in a hypocrisy-free, organic place, built from eco-materials, offering a full range of organic meals and beverages.

The houses are made of straw and even though they look like a house belonging to the laziest of the "Three Little Pigs", they are perfectly safe and sound (I found out that the straw houses are better insulated, with higher ignition temperature than the concrete ones and that they are more durable. "How come everyone's building concrete houses then?" - I asked naively. "Why do they drink Coke, instead of water? It's industrialization for you." It's a simple answer behind which many complexities of present day lie). The entire system is self-sustainable - the complex's water supply comes from their own well, there's eco-heating, the food is either grown on their own farm or bought from farmers in nearby villages and only the electricity and internet are "shipped" from the town.

The rooms are cute and simple. They allow spiritual luxury, with everything that is necessary, but nothing in abundance. Mattresses are made of a special material, which guarantees a great rest with small pillows filled with buckwheat. There's a panoramic view of the mountains while playgrounds for various sports for both children and adults surround the complex. We had chosen "tree climbing" and while some of us were ambitious and others less so, we successfully descended to the ground.

The food is organic, healthy, and far too tasty to resist it easily. From breakfast, which starts with homemade jams and preserves, to buckwheat muffins with kajmak and cheese, yogurt (all homemade, oh man!), over fruit, to lunch and dinner, you can choose some wonderful vegetarian dishes from a menu. The dishes make you feel full and light even though I had a prejudice that vegetarian food makes you hungry too quickly. The meals are well balanced in calories and energy, just enough to satisfy the increased appetite in the mountains.

Not even the crickets disturb the genuine tranquillity and peace of this place. It's the kind of silence that cleanse you from deep within, relieve the brain of all the noise, and everything unimportant that goes on in your head.

I recommend this place heartily to all those who are able and willing to face both the nature and themselves: for sleeping, enjoying, for seminars (due to its isolated location it's best for the already built teams), for team-building meetings, for rest that comes after some huge effort. Additionally, I personally recommend you order a barrel of ginger juice as soon as you arrive - you'll love it so much that you will drink it by the gallon, and you'll be very sad if they run out of it at some moment.

K.M.





CENTRE FOR
NONVIOLENT
ACTION

Sarajevo | Belgrade