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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

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Uredila/ Editor
Davorka Turk

Prijelom i dizajn/ Layout & Design
Katarina Miličević

Naslovna strana:
Nenad Vukosavljević
fotografija: "Mi smo jedan narod"

Fotografije/ Photos
Nedžad Horozović
Nenad Vukosavljević

Prijevod/ Translation
Ulvija Tanović
Marija Stojanović
Nina Vukosavljević

CNA tim/ CNA team
Adnan Hasanbegović
Amer Delić
Davorka Turk
Ivana Franović
Katarina Miličević
Nedžad Horozović
Nenad Vukosavljević
Sanja Burazerović
Marijana Stojčić

Tehnička podrška/ Technical Support
Velja Mijanović

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

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

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Drage prijateljice, dragi prijatelji,

Predstavljamo vam šesnaesti po redu godišnji izvještaj o našim aktivnostima za period septembar/rujan 2012. – septembar/rujan 2013. na uvid i kao poticaj za reakcije, komentare, kritike, pitanja i pohvale.

U njemu smo najveći dio posvetili mirovnim aktivnostima mješovite grupe ratnih veterana, čiji se obujam znatno povećao, pa tako u godinu dana bilježimo studijsku posjetu Berlinu, zajedničke posjete mjestima stradanja i sjećanja - Srebrenici, Busovači i Vitezu, ali i komemorativne posjete Gornjem Vakufu/ Uskoplju, jugu Srbije i Zavidovićima (što je prvi slučaj da jedna od nekadašnjih neprijateljskih strana poziva u goste bivše “neprijatelje” na ovakav vid obilježavanja nekog značajnog datuma iz novije historije). Osim treninga za učesnike ratova, u Doboju smo održali i susret veterana na kojem smo analizirali dosadašnja postignuća veteranske grupe na polju mirovnog rada, te potencijale i mogućnosti zajedničkih nastupa u budućim mirovnim akcijama. Osnovni trening iz izgradnje mira naš je najstariji program mirovnog obrazovanja, ove godine bilježimo 34. po redu. Iz dugogodišnjeg iskustva CNA programa mirovnog obrazovanja, dvanaest godina po izlasku priručnika Nenasilje?, proizašao i naš novi priručnik Pomirenje?! Priručnik za rad na suočavanju s prošlošću kroz treninge i radionice. Engleski prijevod priručnika izaći će tijekom 2014. godine. Poslije nekoliko godina rada na pripremi, krajem 2012. krenuli smo i u realizaciju dokumentovanja mjesta stradanja i sjećanja i načinima memorijalizacije u Bosni i Hercegovini nakon rat(ova) 1992.-1995. Očekujemo da će i ova knjiga, kao rezultat istraživanja i fotografiranja obilježenih i neobilježenih mjesta sjećanja, iz štampe izaći 2014. godine.

Nakon gotovo deset godina, s veseljem i iščekivanjem se pripremamo i za novi ciklus Treninga za trenere/ice. Sve potrebne informacije objaviti ćemo na vrijeme. Objavljivanje publikacije u kojoj bismo predstavili svoja dosadašnja iskustva u radu s ratnim veteranima još uvijek nam je nerealizirana želja, ali strpljivo radimo na tome da i ona u skorije vrijeme ugleda svjetlost dana. Imamo puno planova i želja, o kojima ovdje ipak nećete čitati, sve do njihove konačne realizacije. Želimo samo reći da radimo puno i predano, ali ne žalimo se, vaše povratne informacije i zadovoljstvo koje iz tog rada proizlazi su nam poticaj za dalje.

Ove nam se godine pridružila i naša dugogodišnja suradnica i drugarica Marijana Stojčić. Na ovaj način, proširenje kapaciteta znači i da se pripremamo za neke nove iskorake u izgradnji mira u našim društvima. Trebat će nam vaša povratna informacija, reakcija, kritika, ali i podrška, kao i u prethodnih šesnaest godina. Jedino tako sve ovo na čemu radimo ima smisla.

Srdačno,
CNA tim

rad sa ratnim veteranima

Studijska posjeta grupe bivših boraca Nemačkoj

Berlin, 15.-21. oktobar/listopad, 2012.

Namjera studijskog putovanja jedanaestorice bivših boraca iz Bosne i Hercegovine i Srbije u Berlin bila je da se istraži kako se Nemačka odnosi prema svojoj prošlosti i može li to iskustvo biti inspiracija za proces pomirenja na Balkanu. Ovo se prvenstveno odnosi na ostvarivanje inkluzivnije kulture sjećanja, nastojanja u koje su ovi bivši borci, u suradnji sa CNA, aktivno uključeni već dugi niz godina.

Posjeta je obuhvatila obilazak spomen mjesta, razgovore o dokumentovanju lokalne i usmene istorije, te promišljanja

i diskusiju o „politici sjećanja“, njezinim potencijalima, ograničenjima, akterima te uslovima uspeha tog procesa.

O tome, kao i o radionici čiji je domaćin bila Berghof Fondacija, a koja je poslužila kao prostor za produbljivanje diskusije, te predstavljanje pristupa, lične motivacije i utisaka ove grupe bivših boraca objavili smo publikaciju „Jedno je lice užasa“, koju možete pronaći na sljedećim stranicama našeg godišnjeg izvještaja.



Srebrenica, sveto mjesto i mjesto pomirenja

Memorijalni centar Srebrenica - Potočari, 17. novembar/ studeni 2012.

Noću smo stigli u Srebrenicu iz Beograda. Noću grad izgleda kao i svaki drugi bosanski grad, zamotan pomrčinom, opkoljen brdima na kojima je iznova niklo drveće, jer je ono bliže gradskoj jezgri, tokom rata, bilo posjećeno radi ogrijeva. Srebrenička brda nisu toliko visoka, ali imaju nagle obronke. Tek drugi dan boravka, kad sunce obasja prostor, brda će pokazati svoju ljepotu, izvjesnu blagost naglašenu pastelnim bojama lišća kalendarskog početka zime. Prva asocijacija na Srebrenicu je siva boja zgrada, ulica, prirode, i neobičan naziv prigradskog naselja: Soločuša. Sivilo uporedivo sa bojom oblaka koji zaklanjaju sunce i smanjuju horizont. Takav sam osjećaj prema ovom gradu imao iznutra, pomiješan sa gorkim okusom ljudskog poraza. Tu sam bio nekoliko puta, ovaj put najduže, dovoljno da upoznam njegove ulice, kojima su 2004. vraćeni prijeratni nazivi. Silazio bih Učinom baščom, pa dalje kroz ulicu Reufa Selmanagića Crnog. Kada je Ratko Mladić ušao u grad naredio je da se tabla sa ovim imenom odmah skine sa zida. Nazivi ulica su ispisani ćirilicom i latinicom na plavim metalnim tablama. Prvi put sam se uvjerio da je Srebrenica pust grad. Dok prolaziš pored nizova kuća, na koju god stranu da pogledaš, vidiš ugasle dimnjake. Prozore u kojima ne stanuje svjetlost ni ljudska toplina. Srebrenica je pusta kao provincijski željeznički kolodvor. U njoj su kuće opipljive metafore usamljenosti. Jedinu zvuk koji možeš čuti dok hodaš ovim ulicama jeste žubor potoka oko kojeg su se zbile kuće na strmim padinama brdâ. Tako sam prvi dan posmatrao kuće, one su mi bile društvo u noćnim šetnjama. Na betonskim stepenicama bez ograde, koje vode u potkrovlje kuće kraj puta, neko je ostavio dvije dunje sa smežuranim lišćem. Srebrenica je zvijezda padalica, prolazi mi kroz glavu naziv poeme Me-like Salihbeg Bosnawi. Ponegdje ugledaš svjetlo u prozoru, već na štriku, mačku na haubi kako se grije u pozi Sfinge, sve što te može obradovati i pokazati da ovdje ima života, i da je on skriven u svakoj desetoj kući. Prije rata Srebrenica je bila jedna od najbogatijih opština u BiH, i imala je 36. 666 stanovnika prema popisu iz 1991. Ovdašnji ljudi procjenju da tu danas živi nešto više od pet hiljada stanovnika. Dosta manje nego što ih leži u Potočarima.

Sutradan smo posjetili Memorijalni centar u Potočarima. U ime grupe ratnih veterana iz Srbije i BiH vijenac žrtvama su položili Ljuban Volaš, veteran VRS-a, Novica Kostić, veteran JNA iz Srbije, i Narcis Mišanović, veteran Armije BiH iz Sarajeva. Bio je to zaista poseban trenutak odavanja počasti i poštovanja žrtvama srebreničkog genocida. Uz nas su bile srebreničke majke koje su veteranima pričale svoje tragične životne priče. Naša kustosica Amra Begić, koja je bila maloljetna u doba kada se desio genocid, živopisno, iz ugla svjedokin-

je, predočila nam je hronologiju tragedije. Opet se potvrđuje da onaj ko je na svojoj koži osjetio užas može najuvjerljivije i govoriti o njemu.

Nakon časa istorije nastavili smo obilazak Memorijalnog centra. Po ustaljenoj proceduri posjetiocima je ostavljena mogućnost da sami, ili uz pomoć vodiča, obidu ogroman prostor kojeg ispunjavaju bijeli nišani mezarluka. Onda sam, na puteljku, među mezarlucima, naišao na stariju ženu koja mi je počela pričati o svojoj ubijenoj djeci. Od svega sam zapamtio rečenicu: „Djeca nisu gljive.“

Stakleni klikeri

U Potočarima su dvije temeljne boje: zelena od trave i bijela od mramora nišana. Ponegdje se vidi boja svježeg zemlje u koju se ukopavaju nišani na krajevima humki. Radnici buše beton postavljen na polovima humke kako bi se u njega zacementirali nišani i na taj način onemogućilo naginjanje mramora, i potonuće u zemlju. Jedinu kontrast su crveni listovi niskog drveta, a njihova nijansa je ona zalazećeg sunca. U Potočarima sam se krio iza fotoaparata. On ti omogućava da budeš nevidljiv i da imaš emotivnu barijeru. Objektiv je hvatao ličâ veterana dok pričaju sa srebreničkim majkama i dok slušaju Amru Begić. Oni teže ranjeni su sjedjeli na stolicama i njihova lica odlikavaju bol i saosjećanje prema ubijenim ljudima. Riječ je o odraslim, snažnim muškarcima koji su u ratu časno izvršavali svoje dužnosti. Prostor je ovdje nadjačao mjerljivo vrijeme, koje se izgubilo u hiljadama mramornih nišana. Ovdje postoji samo vrijeme mrtvih, a ono je počelo 11. jula 1995.

U hangaru, gdje je bio smješten famozni holandski bataljon, gledali smo izložbu fotografija o hronologiji rata u Srebrenici. Predmeti pronađeni u masovnim grobnicama su izloženi u tamnim nišama. Vidio sam srebrenu tabakeru, dioptrijske naočale, i dva staklena klikera, koji su stajali na staklenoj plohi. Ispod fotografije i biografije je pisalo: „Dva klikera koja su pripadala Ismetu Hasanoviću, pronađena 1996. sa njegovim tijelom na površini masovne grobnice Kamenica, Bratunac.“ Treba li objašnjavati krhkost dječije igračke, svjetlost zarobljenu u geometrijskom tijelu, egzotični mikrosvijet u koji se nije moglo pobjeći prije trenutka strijeljanja na livadi, koja pulsira životom.

Kruna zločina

Nakon dokumentarnog filma o stradanju Srebreničana, najveći utisak na veterane ratova ostavili su iskazi majki koje su izgubile svoje porodice u julu 1995. „Reakcije majki su takve da znamo da smo na pravom putu, da možemo ići dalje“, bile su riječi Narcisa Mišanovića, veterana Armije BiH, pred novi-

narima u Potočarima. Zatim smo otišli u hotel Misirlije gdje je svako pričao o svojim utiscima nakon posjete Memorijalnom centru.

Đoko Pupčević, pripadnik VRS-a iz Šamca, svoja razmišljanja je ovako sažeo: „Emotivno mi je bio težak dan. I prije sam znao dosta o Srebrenici, ali kad dođeš i vidiš 8000 grobova, nišana, onda vidiš da je život ništa. Danas ima više mrtvih u Srebrenici nego živih. Nisam zapazio nijedan dječiji pogled ili osmijeh. Ulice su puste, a danas je neradni dan. Došao sam da odam počast nevino ubijenim ljudima, koji su ubijeni samo zbog toga što su pripadali drugoj vjeroispovjesti.“

Novica Kostić iz Vlasotinca u Srbiji, veteran JNA iz 1991. u Hrvatskoj, amputirac, bez nekoliko prstiju na ruci, i s ranom na „zdravoj“ nozi je rekao: „Srebrenica je sveto mjesto. U Srebrenici se nije desio samo genocid, Srebrenica je kruna zločina.“

Ljuban Volaš, pripadnik VRS-a iz Prnjavora, mi je rekao da je dva puta do sada dolazio u Potočare. Jednom je samo gledao kroz ogradu, drugi put je ušao u krug Memorijalnog centra i razgledao, ne ulazivši među grobove. „Kao čovjek, ja sam protiv zločina. Jedinica kojoj sam komandovao nije činila zločine. Bila mi je čast da položim cvijeće žrtvama u Srebrenici.

Osjetio sam tu bol i gorčinu majki koje i dan-danas nose to u sebi. Treba vidjeti i drugu stranu, srpsku stranu, jer je i tu bilo zločina. Samo tako se može dobiti kompletna slika tragedije u BiH“, zaključio je Ljuban. Podršku inicijativi za odavanje počasti žrtvama srebreničkog genocida dali su domaćini iz Srebrenice Amir Mehmedović Gera iz Patriotske lige, Nedžib Delić, predsjednik organizacije RVI-ja i Nedžad Bektić iz Udruženja nosilaca najvišeg ratnog priznanja Zlatni ljiljani. S njima smo se rastali na glavnom raskršću u Srebrenici napravivši jednu zajedničku fotografiju za sjećanje. Ne vjerujem da ću ovdje sljedeći put imati osjećaj da sam stranac. Možda je baš Srebrenica taj grad odakle je moguće započeti proces istinskog pomirenja među ljudima u BiH. A možda je to moja tekstualna iluzija. Jedino znam da je ovaj grad postao dio moje svijesti. Smjestio se tamo gdje ga granate i vatra nikad neće moći dohvatiti.

Faruk Šehić

Skraćena verzija ovog teksta objavljena je u magazinu „Dani“, 23.11.2012.





Busovača, Vitez

23. i 24. novembar/ studeni 2012.

Ratni veterani, bivši pripadnici jedinica Armije BiH, Vojske Republike Srpske, Hrvatskog vijeća obrane, Hrvatske vojske i Jugoslavenske narodne armije, posjetili su 23. i 24. novembra 2012. godine Busovaču i Vitez, gdje su obišli mjesta stradanja i odali počast žrtvama iz proteklog rata.

Posjetu je organizovao Centar za nenasilnu akciju Sarajevo/Beograd uz podršku lokalnog partnera Anđelka Kvesića iz Hrvatske udruge logoraša Domovinskog rata u Kantonu Srednja Bosna, sa sjedištem u Busovači.

Posjeta Busovači obuhvatila je mjesto nekadašnjeg logora „Silos“ u Kačunima, gdje se prisutnima u ime logoraša obratio bivši zatočenik Marijan Krajina, te Spomenik poginulim braniteljima i Spomen sobu busovačke brigade HVO-a. O ratnom putu brigade govorio je bivši zapovjednik Zdravko Babić.

U Vitezu je posjećeno spomen obilježje „Cisterna“, Spomen soba šehidima i poginulim borcima ARBiH u Kruščici,

te Spomen soba u Novoj Biloj, koja je tokom rata korištena kao bolnica.

Nažalost, ovaj put nisu posjećeni Ahmići, jer su upravo u toku radovi na izradi Spomen obilježja žrtvama zločina nad civilima i vojnicima ARBiH u ovom mjestu.

Uz posjete organizovan je sastanak i razgovor sa Hamdi-jom Karićem, predsjednikom udruženja Ratni vojni invalidi ARBiH Vitez, koji je podržao inicijativu zajedničkih posjeta i izrazio ličnu spremnost i interes da u budućnosti ulestvuje u sličnim posjetama u regionu.

A.D.

Neki od medijskih zapisa o ovoj posjeti:

Dnevnik 2, Federalna TV, 24.11.2012. (Radio-televizija Federacije Bosne i Hercegovine)

TV Kiss, Kiseljak, Bosna i Hercegovina

Svečana akademija u Gornjem Vakufu/Uskoplju

21. decembar/prosinac 2012.

Na poziv organizatora – udruženja boraca “Goranovi” iz Gornjeg Vakufa/Uskoplja – ratni veterani iz Bosne i Hercegovine, Srbije i Hrvatske, uz podršku Centra za nenasilnu akciju (CNA), posjetili su ovaj grad u Srednjoj Bosni gdje su prisustvovali svečanoj akademiji pod nazivom „Sjećanje na komandanta Gorana Čišića“, koja se tradicionalno organizuje 21.-og decembra.

U prepunoj sali Centra za obrazovanje i kulturu, skupu se obratio Ibrahim Topčić, predsjednik udruženja “Goranovi” koji je nakon uvodnih riječi pročitao imena poginulih i umrlih saboraca.

Pomen da su na ovom skupu prisutni ratni veterani iz regiona koji rade na promicanju ideje pomirenja, kao i aktivisti Centra za nenasilnu akciju (CNA), dočekan je sa dugotrajnim aplauzom podrške. Ispred CNA pozvan je Adnan Hasanbegović koji je prisutnima pojasnio da ideja u kojoj veterani posjećuju jedni druge na komemorativnim događajima, zajednički obilježavajući značajne datume iz ratne prošlosti, ima svoj simbolički značaj za građenje mira i pomaže u traganju za

zajedničkom kulturom sjećanja, te prevazilaženja mržnje kao prepreke slobodi.

U nastavku je upriličen kulturno umjetnički program u kojem su učestvovali učenici iz ovog grada. Svojom izvedbom pozorišnog mjuzikla “Kosa” dali su pečat ovom događaju i odaslali anti-ratnu poruku kao težnju mladih ovog grada da žive slobodno i grade budućnost na temeljima mirnog suživota sa svim ljudima sa ovih prostora.

Po završetku oficijelnog dijela akademije nastavljeno je druženje veterana sa domaćinima.

Na žalost, poput mnogih gradova u Bosni i Hercegovini, Gornji Vakuf/Uskoplje egzistira kao podijeljen grad, tako da je i ovaj događaj podržan samo u jednom njegovom dijelu.

Za nadati se je da će doći vrijeme kada neće biti podijeljenih gradova i kada će se slične manifestacije moći organizovati sa svim ljudima bez obzira odakle dolaze, čemu i mi iz CNA nastojimo doprinijeti.

A.D.

Komemoracija žrtvama u Grdeličkoj klisuri

Vlasotince, Leskovac, Grdelička klisura, 12. aprila/travnja 2013.

Ratni veterani iz Bosne i Hercegovine i Hrvatske, uz podršku Centra za nenasilnu akciju (CNA), te u saradnji sa lokalnim partnerima iz opštine Vlasotince - Udruženja ratnih veterana 1999. i Udruženja boraca rata od '90-te, posjetili su Vlasotince i Leskovac, opštine na jugu Srbije.

Tokom boravka, održan je radni sastanak sa predstavnicima Organizacije boraca veterana rata 1991. - 1999. godine Republike Srbije sa sjedištem u Leskovcu i predstavnicima opštinskih odbora koje okuplja ova organizacija iz Niša, Kruševca, Prokuplja, Valjeva i Pirota.

Veterani iz regiona su zajednički posjetili Grdeličku klisuru u opštini Leskovac gdje su učestvovali na komemoraciji u pomen žrtvama nastradalim prilikom raketiranja putničkog voza na dan 12. aprila 1999.godine. Tom prilikom su položili vijence na spomen obilježje i odali počast poginulima.

Osim ovoga svi su se učesnici i predstavnici lokalnih veteranskih udruženja u opštinskim prostorijama sastali sa predstavnicima lokalne vlasti u Vlasotincu i Leskovcu gdje se mogla čuti podrška ovakvim inicijativa i načinima saradnje.

Posjeta Vlasotincu i Leskovcu, uz učestvovanje na komemoraciji žrtvama u Grdeličkoj klisuri, prva je posjeta organizovana u Srbiji.

A.D.

Medijski izvještaji o posjeti:

Naš je život crna hronika, Faruk Šehić, www.e-novine.com

Održan pomen poginulim u Grdeličkoj klisuri, www.mondo.rs

Obeleženo 14 godina od raketiranja putničkog voza, tanjug.rs

Godišnjica bombardovanja voza u Grdelici, www.rts.rs

Pomen poginulim putnicima iz bombardovanog voza, www.studiob.rs

14 godina od granatiranja voza, www.b92.net

Obeleženo 14 godina od NATO raketiranja voza u Grdeličkoj klisuri, <http://glassrbije.org>

Obeleženo 14 godina od raketiranja voza u Grdelici, www.kurir-info.rs

Ratni veterani iz Hrvatske, Srbije i BiH na mestima stradanja, www.mcleskovac.com

Ratni veterani iz Sarajeva i Vukovara prvi put na jugu Srbije, <http://jugmedia.info>



Ratni veterani na godišnjici bitke : Kota 715 - brdo smrti

Manifestacija „Junski dani otpora“, Zavidovići, 29. juna/ lipnja 2013.

Već nekoliko mjeseci unazad aktuelan je bio Asimov poziv, ispred Odbora ratnih vojnih invalida opštine Zavidovići, da mješovita veteranska grupa, zajedno sa nama iz CNA, posjeti ovaj grad 29-og juna. To je dan obilježavanja godišnjice bitke za kotu 715 na brdu Podsijelovo, jednim od obronaka planine Ozren, koja se proteže na potezu Doboj-Maglaj-Zavidovići-Vozuća-Banovići-Gračanica.

Procjenjujući da su ljetne vrućine uzele maha i da je mjesto dosta udaljeno za učesnike iz Srbije i Hrvatske, jer se dolazi na samo jedan dan, te da je teren pristupa Koti fizički zahtjevan, odlučili smo da formiramo manju grupu sa ratnim veteranima iz BiH, predstavnike VRS-a, HVO-a i ARBiH.

Dogovorili smo se da se tog dana ujutro nađemo u hotelu u Zavidovićima. Asim i ja smo već u hotelu zatekli Anđelka, a uskoro pristigoše i Pajo, Mirko, Đoko, Ljuban, Narcis i Ado.

Susret kreće u razgovore kao da smo se juče rastali negdje, pa sada samo nastavljamo neispričano.

Osvrnuli smo se na program i protokol manifestacije, znajući da je ovo tvrđa forma obilježavanja datuma iz novije istorije, sa jasno izraženim nacionalističkim i vojničkim koloritom. Ali o tome smo već dosta pričali i na treninzima i sastancima, tako da smo ostatak vremena do polaska proveli u ugodnom ćaskanju uz kafu. Nije džaba jednom prilikom jedan od naših ratnih veterana, komentarišući šta smo sve zajedno spremni da uradimo, prokomentarisao da nema toga što bi nas moglo spriječiti jer smo već veterani - veteranskih akcija.

Kota 715 je udaljena nekih dvadesetak kilometara od grada, podijelili smo se u tri vozila i krenuli.

Put vodi dolinom rijeke Krivaje nekih dvanaest kilometara da bi se zatim počeo vijugavo penjati uz Laz, kako ga lokalci nazivaju po istoimenom selu koje ga prati cijelom dužinom. Vozeći tom uzbrdicom pomislio sam koliko puta sam taj krajolik promatrao sa karoserije kamiona kroz prozor načinjen od zadignute cerade na njegovom kraju, drndajući se na klupama sa saborcima za vrijeme rata. Rekoh baš čudna koincidencija,

tada sam gledao unazad i kretao se ka naprijed, a sada gledam u prošlost kako bi znao bolje voziti u budućnost.

Stigli smo u selo Hajderovići, mjesto gdje će se po završenom programu na Koti nastaviti manifestacija nazvana Junski dani otpora, u sklopu koje se i obilježava godišnjica bitke za kotu 715. Inače, sva ta sela i zaseoci čine jednu od najvećih mjesnih zajednica u BiH - Pašin Konak, koja je po posljednjem popisu iz devedeset prve brojala preko šest hiljada žitelja. Sve je bilo spremno - i roštilji i ražnjevi, i štandovi sa sladoledom i šećernom vatom. Bio je i ringišpil. Čudno je kako se u ovom narodu svetkovine žalovanja za stradalim isprepliću sa slavljenjem ovosvjetovnog kroz dekor teferića.

Prilazeći platou Kote, vidjeli smo kolonu automobila, autobus a i pješaka.

Izlazimo iz auta i Ljuban, k'o najmundrija sijeda glava, reče: Kum me je nazv'o i kaže da nigdje ne silazimo s puta, sijali smo i mi i oni, aludirajući na mine. Zaista, gdje god nije pokošeno i uređeno ili gdje počinje šuma, sve je obilježeno sa trakama upozorenja čija prisutnost tjera žmarce niz kičmu.

Popeli smo se na plato, prostrana livada, zaravan. Na sredini spomen ploča i do nje, na par koraka, improvizovana govornica sa razglasom i zastavama na jarbolima. Taj centralni prostor bijaše ograđen trakama sa uskom stazom za prilaz. U pozadini šator kuhinje na otvorenom sa stolovima i klupama predviđenim za zajednički ručak domaćina i zvanica.

Par stotina ljudi je već bilo okupljeno na platou. Asim prilazi sa čovjekom koga predstavlja kao Amira Mujkića, predstavnika iz organizacionog odbora. Amir nam poželi dobrodošlicu i upoznaje se sa svima uz napomenu da zna ko smo i šta radimo, pričao mu je Asim. Kaže da će se prilikom obraćanja skupu koristiti terminom agresor, jer osjeća da to oni, neprijatelji, i jesu bili. Kasnije smo konstatovali da je bio pošten, pa je barem rekao ono što misli. Pozvao je momka zaduženog za protokol polaganja cvijeća koji nas je upitao kako će nas prozvati na polaganje. Dogovorili smo se da to bude Centar za nenasilnu akciju Sarajevo/Beograd. Takođe, rečeno nam je da nije predviđeno da se neko od nas obrati skupu, ali da ćemo u daljnjem dijelu programa biti pomenuti kao mješovita veteranska grupa iz BiH, i da je to već ranije dogovoreno s Asimom. Bilo je važno da nas prisutni tako dožive, kao zajedničku grupu sastavljenu od bivših neprijatelja. Iako na koncu nismo spomenuti, kroz razgovor s pojedinim ljudima poslije programa moglo se zaključiti da su znali o kome se radi.

Zvanični spiker najavio je dolazak kolone učesnika kako bi otpočeo Svečani program. Ubrzo se ukaza čelo kolone sa šarenilom zastava što ratnih, što državnih bivših i sadašnjih, što vjerskih. Promoli se aplauz, a stjegonoše se postrojiše ispred govornice, unutar ograđenog prostora. Ostali prisutni se natiskali po njegovom obodu.

Nakon toga uslijedio je poziv da se oda počast poginuli-

ma učenjem Fatihe ili minutom šutnje. Intonirana je himna, a potom su po redoslijedu prozivani najavljeni učesnici da polože cvijeće. Dogovorili smo se da ispred CNA to učine Ljuban, Mirko i Ado. Ja sam se pokušao probiti kroz masu kako bih napravio par fotki. Nakon svake najave - aplauz, što me je zateklo, jer mi je nelogično da se aplaudira u ovakvim situacijama. Čuo sam spikera kako proziva Centar za nenasilnu akciju iz Sarajeva i Beograda. Aplauz, jak. Vidim našu trojku kako se približava spomen ploči i polaže cvijeće. Poput pripadnika nekadašnje rumunske Sekuritaea-e načulio sam uši i gledao ljude nakon što se Ljuban i Mirko prekrstiše, očekujući reakciju. Niko ništa ne komentariše, sve normalno, bez i jednog trenutka nelagode.

Sa završetkom tog dijela programa, drugi dio je započeo predavanjem raporta ratnih komadanata, što je bio uvod u Historijski čas.

Okupljenima je ratnu priču o značaju ove kote za zavidovički kraj i detalje bitke ispričao Amir, koji nas je dočekao. U jednom trenutku je spomenuo da je plato na kojem stojimo bio preplavljen mrtvim tijelima. Počeše mi dolaziti flešbekovi. Sjetih se svojih saboraca kada je dio moje jedinice prebačen u ispomoć na 715. Sreo sam ih nakon dva-tri dana, poprilično tupih pogleda i uvelih lica. Kažu nije više kota 715, već 714. Jedan metar su garant granate skinule. Samo još atomsku nisu na njih bacili.

Slušajući Amira uživiljenog u priču čiji je bio protagonista, imao sam osjećaj kao da slušam radio prenos fudbalske utakmice sa distorzijom glasa komentatora u trenucima kada je bilo napeto. Kao što je i rekao, spominjao je agresore u nekoliko navrata, jednom mu se otelo i takozvana Republika Srpska, hajd' kontam politička relativizacija. Ali četnike je spomenuo jedno šezdeset osam puta. Pitao sam Ljubana i Đoku kako im je ovo slušati. Ljuban kaže: Nek' čovjek priča, to je njegovo viđenje stvari. Meni to ne smeta. Đoko na to doda: Ni meni ne smeta. Ja se tako nisam osjeć'o u ratu, k'o četnik. Kasnije je Mirko komentarisao da se osjećao zapostavljenim jer govornik nijednom nije spomenuo ustaše.

Svoje pozdravne govore zatim su izredali brojni zvaničnici i političari. Mogao se osjetiti fon o karakteru rata na području BiH sa osvrtom na Deklaraciju o uzrocima, karakteru i posljedicama tragičnog oružanog sukoba u BiH od 1992. do 1995. godine, koju je donijela Narodna skupština RS-a dva dana prije ovog događaja. Jasno je poručeno da takvo tumačenje nikada neće biti prihvaćeno.

Nešto razmišljam o nepomirljivosti etnonacionalizama u ovoj postdejtonskoj BiH, odabranim sjećanjima na rat koji su zamrznuili žrtve u jedan jednoobrazno prihvatljiv obrazac. Obrazac u kome se ne percipira potreba za oprostom i pomirenjem sa drugom stranom i koji se prenosi na generacije koje dolaze. Šta je onda model suživota? Jaka država koja zakonodavnim i policijskim aparatom garantuje građanima da ih

niko neće ubiti, spaliti im kuću, oteti imovinu, protjerati!? Je li prihvatljivo oni sebi-mi sebi i tu završiti priču? Pa pobogu, nisu ovi narodi hemijski rastvori koji se moraju držati u odvojenim retortama kako ne bi spajanjem izazvali burnu reakciju. Ima li ko model za saradnju, prosperitet...

Po završetku prišao nam je Amir i pozvao na zajednički ručak. Procijenili smo da je velika gužva i da smo već umorni od dvosatnog stajanja i uputili se prema Zavidovićima.

Sjeli smo u jedan restoran da bi sumirali današnji dan. Zaključili smo da naše aktivnosti ovog tipa trebamo nastaviti i da imaju odjeka u sredinama koje posjećujemo. Ljudi su nam prilazili, raspitivali se, podržavali. Je li to slučajno da nam ni u jednom trenutku niko ne kaže da radimo nešto loše ili pogrešno? Do sada nismo doživjeli niti jednu incidentnu situaciju, psovku ili pogrdnu riječ. Nema boljeg znaka da smo na dobrom putu.

Iako je odnos prema ratnoj prošlosti u našem društvu podijeljen i zaglavljen u jednostrano donošene aktove koji imaju za cilj da odgovornost svoje strane operu, a one druge da kompromituje, ovakve pozitivne reakcije bude nadu. Mi smo spremni ići i promovisati ideju pomirenja kroz potrebu da se nekadašnji neprijatelji uvažavaju i na tim temeljima us-

postave povjerenje i grade odnose koji će zajedničku prošlost artikulirati bez aktiviranja mržnje. Asim je spomenuo da bi u budućnosti bilo dobro da se izradi spomen obilježje i srpskim vojnicima na koti 715, koji su u tim borbama takođe imali strahovite gubitke.

Jedan je od načina da se uloga vojnika i njihova žrtva obostrano prepozna i uvaži jeste i mogućnost da se zajednički obilježe dani stradavanja u žestokim borbama. Smatrati bivšeg neprijatelja čovjekom sa sličnom sudbinom koji ima sjećanja na smrt saborca, danonoćno kišljenje i smrzavanje u rovu, strah i beznađe ratnog vihora, lakše je za premoštavanje ratnih trauma od stereotipnih predodžbi o nepomirljivim zakletim dušmanima. Prema zločinima i zločincima častan čovjek se odnosi kao prema nečemu sramotnom, kobnom po civilizacijske tekovine. Šta je to onda kod nas problem? Noseći prljave gaće možemo prikriti svoju sramotu, ali problem je što se i dalje uvlače u našu guzicu i žuljaju..

Kao što pisac, i sam veteran i naš saradnik, Faruk Šehić reče: O, vi, koji ste preživjeli rat, ostavite svaku nadu da ćete iz njega ikada izići.

Amer Delić



Trening za učesnike ratova. *Bili smo do-boja*

Doboj, 7.-10. juna/lipnja 2013.

Već duže od decenije Centar za nenasilnu akciju, kroz rad sa ratnim veteranima, organizuje Treninge za učesnike ratova. Okupiti ratne veterane, pripadnike suprotstavljenih vojski tokom ratova u bivšoj Jugoslaviji samo je po sebi izazov. Organizovati trening sa pratećim radionicama u kojem će se govoriti o nasilju i ratu, a u svrhu pomirenja i izgradnje mira, je podizanje ljestvice, rečeno sportskim žargonom, sa vrlo neizvjesnim ishodom. Svojevrсна kockarska igra koja može donijeti potpuni debakl ili džek pot. To kažem iz razloga što uvijek postoji ta doza opreza, u smislu da li se politička svakodnevnica reflektuje u velikoj mjeri i na bivše ratnike. A kod nas je sveprisutno tumačenje ovog poratnog perioda kao vremena kada je sve isto kao u ratu, samo što se ne puca. Nekada suprostavljene vojske sada su ljudi suprostavljenih sjećanja.

Nakon višegodišnjih akcija u koje su bili uključeni ratni veterani iz regiona, koji tvore jezgro mješovite grupe koja je obilazila obilježena i neobilježena mjesta stradanja u BiH i koja je počela sa praksom odlazaka jednih kod drugih na komemoracije i manifestacije organizovane povodom obilježavanja značajnih datuma iz novije istorije¹, ukazala se potreba za pridruživanjem novih ljudi koji su spremni i motivisani da svojim učešćem i zalaganjem doprinesu izgradnji mira. Takođe, uključivanjem novih aktivnih pojedinaca i organizacija, cilj nam je potaknuti daljnje regionalno širenje mirnovnih aktivnosti.

Ovaj put trening smo organizovali u Doboju, gradu u sjevernom dijelu Bosne koji, po predanju, ime dobio po tome što su nekada bile česte bitke na poljani gdje je smješten, tako da je bilo putnika namjernika koji su išli do-boja. Razmišljam koliko li je tih ljudi htjelo da vojevaju bojeve, a koliko li ih je gurnuto ili natjerano u njih!? Kako li bi se zvalo mjesto gdje nikada nije bilo rata i po tome je baš čuveno? Šta bi takvo mjesto odlikovalo i šta bi dominiralo krajolikom, kao što Dobojem dominira tvrđava na brdu, Gradina, kako je ovdje zovu?

Doboj je bio alternativno rješenje, jer je trening zbog geografske pristupačnosti ljudi iz regije, prvobitno bio zakazan u Brčkom. Međutim, zbog neprofesionalnog odnosa menadžmenta iz hotela, morali smo da promijenimo lokaciju i to četiri dana pred sam događaj.

¹ Nažalost, još uvijek se za takve akcije ratni veterani ne odlučuju da djeluju samostalno odnosno u okvirima svojih boračkih udruženja, već uveliko se oslanjaju na podršku CNA, kako u organizacionom, tako i logističkom smislu. Nadati je se da će u skoroj budućnosti početi realizacija zajedničkih aktivnosti na koje ćemo biti pozvani kao prijatelji i dragi gosti. U tom pravcu ih ohrabrujemo.

Formirajući novu grupu, oslonili smo se na dio ljudi sa kojima je CNA ostvario prvobitni kontakt kroz posjete stratištima koje smo organizovali, te na preporuke ratnih veterana sa kojima smo sarađivali proteklih godina. Takođe, grupa je još dodatno pojačana sa dvojicom ratnih veterana iz gore spomenute jezgre. Nažalost, neki od pozvanih učesnika su otkazali, odnosno izostali zbog iznenadno iskrsljelih obaveza, kako su naveli.

Grupa je u konačnici brojala jedanaest učesnika, članova boračkih udruženja iz Bosne i Hercegovine, Federacije BiH (Bihać, Vitez, Brčko, Žepče) i Republike Srpske (Šamac, Rogatica), Srbije (Leskovac, Kruševac) i Hrvatske (Zagreb) i nas četvoricu iz trenerskog tima, Nenada Vukosavljevića, Adnana Hasanbegovića, Nedžada Horozovića i Amera Delića.

Na samom početku treninga uočljivo je bilo kako učesnici vrlo brzo uspostavljaju dijalog. Transparentno, bez zadržke i sa puno motivacije ulaze u diskusije i o najtežim pitanjima iz prošlosti, takozvanim vrućim temama. Iskrenost, kao sve veći raritet u komunikaciji u našem savremenom društvu, u slučaju ratnih veterana je spontana reakcija ljudi željnih da budu slušani i da čuju jedni druge. Svjesni da imaju drugačija viđenja i stavove o događajima iz prošlosti, ne bježe od toga da to iskažu i da budu prihvaćeni kao takvi. Govorilo se o idealima za koje se ratovalo, žrtvama i patnjama, kako vlastitog tako i drugih naroda.

Takođe, jako izražen je bio i kritički osvrt na vlastitu ulogu i odgovornost u proteklom ratu, kao i uočavanje lične transformacije u poratnom periodu, kada su u pitanju nacionalna i ideološka tumačenja ratnih zbivanja. U velikoj mjeri i nama je bilo od pomoći to što je trenerski tim uvidio da uživa povjerenje među učesnicima, s obzirom na njihovu upućenost i u dosadašnji rad CNA i očekivanja sa kojim su došli. Ni u jednom trenutku se nije osjetila doza rezerve prema članovima tima.

Ponovno potezati ratna sjećanja kroz sam ciklus vraćanja ljudi u ta apokaliptična iskustva ima na ovakvim skupovima posebnu težinu. Ovakav vid treninga nema terapijsku funkciju, već kroz duboku ličnu priču učesnici razvijaju empatiju jednih prema drugima koja je ključ za izgradnju povjerenja neophodnog za nastavak rada i preduslov je bilo kakve dalje saradnje.

Generalno, kroz trening je bila prisutna osuda rata kao društvene pojave sa osvrtom na bilo koji oblik nasilja uopšte. Pogotovo onog prisutnog u našim društvima s kojim se svakodnevno susrećemo, a često nismo u mogućnosti da ga sami prepoznamo.

Vođeni dosadašnjim iskustvom i uz prezentaciju rada sa ratnim veteranima u proteklom periodu, trenerski tim je



otvorio pitanja o mogućnostima, ali i o brojnim dilemama koje nosi proces izgradnje mira. Pomirenje nema alternativu, osim opredjeljenja ka zatvorenom društvu u kojem je stalno prisutno otkucavanje sata za novi sukob. Sadašnja situacija je takva da veterani mirovnjaci strše u svojim lokalnim zajednicama i nerijetko nailaze na osudu i od bivših saboraca i od relevantnih političkih faktora, jer se konfrontiraju društveno prihvaćenom tumačenju događaja iz prošlosti koja lansira tezu o nepomirljivoj suprostavljenosti naroda s ovih prostora i tumači periodičnost međusobnih sukoba kao nešto što nije stvar izbora ovozemaljskog.

Generalno, iz pozicije organizatora, ciljevi i očekivanja koja smo imali za ovaj trening su ispunjeni. Otvorila nam se mogućnost saradnje u, do sada slabo pokrivenim, regionima istočne Bosne i Cazinske Krajine. Učesnici iz tih dijelova BiH ponudili su konkretnu saradnju i koordinaciju u razvijanju daljih akcija. Moram ovdje da napomenem da smo i prije treninga,

mi iz CNA, ostvarili dobre kontakte sa predstavnicima BORS-a iz Prijedora i Šipova koji, iz privatnih razloga zauzetosti u tom terminu, nisu mogli prisustvovati treningu, ali su podržali ideju saradnje i zajedničkih posjeta bivših boraca, te izrazili želju da i sami tome doprinesu.

Takođe, svi učesnici su izrazili spremnost da učestvuju u posjetama stratištima sa ljudima iz postojeće grupe, ali i spoznali šta bi, u skladu sa svojim kapacitetima, mogli da učine u svojim sredinama, kao pojedinci ili članovi organizacija. Činiti stvari za opšte dobro u ovakvoj delikatnoj misiji kao što je pomirenje, podrazumijeva i osjećanje za potrebe druge strane, bivših neprijatelja.

Ovakvim pristupom i ozbiljnošću i trenerskom timu je omogućeno da konkretno planira buduće aktivnosti u koordinaciji sa veteranima.

Entuzijazma i želje ne nedostaje, dakle preostaje da se radi – na terenu.

Amer Delić

“Jedno je lice užasa”

Autorke: Martina Fischer i Miriam Schroer-Hippel

Izdavač: Centar za nenasilnu akciju

Odlomak

Ratom razorena društva suočavaju se sa ključnim pitanjem i izazovom: kako pronaći reči, gestove, mesta, i oblike komemoracije koji bi objasnili prošlost na primeren način i ponudili smernice za izgradnju zajedničke budućnosti, bez ponovnog nanošenja bola? Mirovni praktičari i učenjaci su uverenja da postoji potreba suočavanja sa nasleđem nasilne prošlosti da bi se utro put mirnom suživotu, poverenju i građenju odnosa. U isto vreme, javna prezentacija istorije često je izvor sukoba. Postoje različiti interesi i perspektive i o njima je potrebno raspravljati. Da bi se diskutovalo o ovim pitanjima, Centar za nenasilnu akciju (CNA Beograd/Sarajevo) je organizovao studijsko putovanje u Berlin (Nemačka), sa ratnim veteranima iz regiona bivše Jugoslavije, od 15. do 21. oktobra 2012. godine.

Jedanaest bivših boraca iz Bosne i Hercegovine i Srbije putovalo je u Berlin. Svi oni su ratovali u Bosni tokom 90-ih i borili se jedni protiv drugih na suprotstavljenim stranama. Ovi bivši neprijatelji sada promovišu mir. Radeći pod najtežim uslovima, oni posećuju mesta stradanja u lokalnim zajednicama u Bosni i iniciraju razgovore sa stanovništvom i vlastima. Mnoga mesta u Bosni još uvek nisu obeležena, dok su neka obeležena spomenicima koji izazivaju kontroverze. Grupa ima za cilj da uveri i senzibilizira svoje sugrađane da ta mesta moraju biti obeležena na način na koji će izazivati saosećanje za patnje žrtava, koje potiču sa svih strana.

Namera obilaska Berlina bila je da se istraži kako se Nemačka odnosi prema svojoj prošlosti i može li to biti inspiracija za proces pomirenja na Balkanu. Grupa je posetila spomen mesta koja je tim CNA odabrao prilikom svoje ranije posete, u martu 2012. godine, uključujući: „Spomen ubijenim Jevrejima Evrope“ i „Topografiju terora“ što je spomen na centar za planiranje nacističkih političkih institucija i bivši zatvor u centru Berlina, spomen mesto nekadašnjeg zatvora „Gedenkstätte Hohenschönhausen“ u Demokratskoj Republici Nemačkoj, spomen i muzej bivšeg koncentracionog logora i ratnog zatvora „Sachsenhausen“, i Brandenburšku policijsku školu koja se nalazi u susedstvu. Poseta je obuhvatila i

razgovore s inicijativama civilnog društva o dokumentovanju lokalne i usmene istorije (Berliner Geschichtswerkstatt) i umetničkim oblicima sećanja na ekskluziju, progon i deportaciju jevrejskih stanovnika Berlina (postavljenim, pored drugih mesta, i u bivšoj jevrejskoj četvrti „Spandauer Vorstadt“ u takozvanoj „Bavarskoj četvrti“). (Za kompletan pregled pogledati <http://nenasilje.org/2012/nasledje-nacionalsocijalizma-kultura-secanja-u-berlinu/>).

Pored studijskog putovanja, 18. oktobra 2012. učesnici su se okupili na radionici čiji je domaćin bila Berghof Fondacija. Događaj je ponudio prostor za produbljivanje diskusije s nemačkim stručnjacima, prijateljima i pristalicama CNA, kao i za promišljanje o utiscima stečenim nakon posete spomen obeležjima. Događajem su predsedavali Martina Fischer (Berghof Fondacija) i Nenad Vukosavljević (CNA). Kao osnov za debatu poslužila su dva izlaganja: Daniela Gaedea, direktora Odeljenja za edukaciju u Memorijalnoj fondaciji Buchenwald, koji je predstavio primere iz mnogih nemačkih istorija nakon 1945. godine: ko je postao aktivan u „politici sećanja“ i na koji način su se ti akteri angažovali? Kakvi su bili uslovi za uspeh? On je istakao potencijal i organizovanja delovanja na različitim nivoima (ličnom, društvenom i državnom) i pokazao da suočavanje s prošlošću nije linearan proces. Adnan Hasanbegović i Nenad Vukosavljević su predstavili pristup Centra za nenasilnu akciju i kako on podržava napore bivših boraca za ostvarivanje inkluzivne kulture sećanja. Ratni veterani su objašnjavali svoje lične motivacije i raspravljali o utiscima iz Berlina s prijateljima i pristalicama CNA i članovima Tima Fondacije Berghof. Nemačko Ministarstvo za razvoj i saradnju (BMZ) finansiralo je putovanje i radionicu.

Dokumentacija ukazuje na neke od najvažnijih momenata i diskusija:

<http://nenasilje.org/2013/jednojeliceuzasa/> (preuzeto preko 29000 puta na oba jezika)

Pomirenje?!

Priručnik za rad na suočavanju sa prošlošću kroz treninge i radionice

Uredila: Ivana Franović

Autor/ke: Ivana Franović, Nenad Vukosavljević, Tamara Šmidling

Iz uvoda publikacije (odlomak):

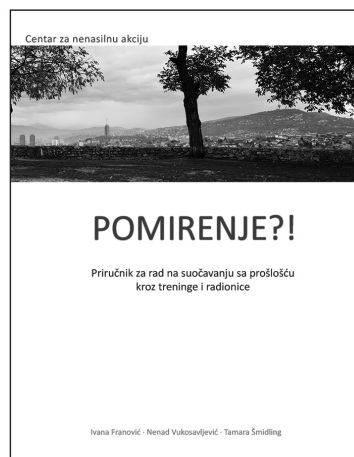
Na ideju za ovaj priručnik došli smo upravo u želji da podelimo sakupljeno iskustvo. Mislimo da postoji deficit konstruktivnog pristupa suočavanju s prošlošću u regiji, pa se nadamo da ćemo ovim još neke ljude podstaći da se upuste u rad. Samo u posljednjih godinu dana, 12 godina od objavljivanja priručnika *“Nenasilje?”*, on je sa naše internet stranice skinut preko 30.000 puta (najviše na „bhs“ jezicima, ali i verzije na mađarskom, makedonskom i albanskom). To govori da je vredelo uložiti svu energiju u rad na njemu, prevođenje i objavljivanje. Između ostalog i to nas je potaklo da objavimo šta smo novo naučili i do čega smo došli.

Ovaj priručnik sastoji se iz tri bloka. U prvom je niz uvodnih tekstova kojim smo pokušali da opišemo kontekst u kom radimo (ili kako ga doživljavamo), da pojasnimo pristup koji imamo i damo sliku onoga kako trening funkcioniše. U središnjem delu su četiri potpoglavlja s vežbama koje koristimo na treninzima, a veći broj njih popraćen je praktičnim uvidima do kojih smo došli. Na kraju se nalazi „Pojmovnik“, koji smo zamislili kao skup kratkih tekstova koji bliže pojašnjavaju pojmove relevantne za suočavanje s prošlošću.

Većina navedenih vježbi su osmišljene u „CNA kuhinji“. Najefektnije su bile one koje smo smišljali za određenu grupu inspirisani radom sa tim konkretnim ljudima. Ovo smo vrlo rano uvideli, tako da već dugi niz godina praktikujemo da najveći dio treninga ne pripremamo unapred, već da, vodeći se uočenim potrebama i poteškoćama grupe, vreme ispunimo onim što je prioritetno. I nadamo se da ćemo ovu pouku

preneti i dalje: priručnik ne bi valjalo koristiti kao kuvar s receptima, pa od oka odlučivati šta će biti predjelo, šta glavno jelo, a šta dezert. Njegova uloga bi trebalo da bude takva da prevashodno inspiriše i da ideju kako bi se nešto moglo uraditi, ali je najbolje da glavna pitanja formulišete sami, u zavisnosti od potreba grupe sa kojom radite.

Nadamo se da će ovaj priručnik poslužiti drugima kao inspiracija za konkretan rad na ovim temama. I da će bar neke ljude u drugim delovima sveta koji tek počinju ili razmišljaju da počnu da rade na ovim temama ohrabriti da se može, bez obzira na to koliko izgledalo teško.



Suočavanje s prošlošću u kontekstu etnonacionalizma

Slučaj Bosne i Hercegovine, Hrvatske i Srbije

Autorka: Ivana Franović

Prevod rada: „Dealing with the Past in the Context of Ethnonationalism. The Case of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia and Serbia“, Berghof Occasional Paper Nr.29, oktobar 2008, Berghof Research Center for Constructive Conflict Management (sada: Berghof Conflict Research)

Iz uvoda (odlomak):

Postoji mnogo teorija i narativa o tome šta su razlozi za raspad Jugoslavije, rat koji ga je pratio i krivicu i odgovornost za pokolj koji se dogodio. Kako navodi Sabrina P. Ramet, svi

mi „znamo“ zašto se Socijalistička Federativna Republika Jugoslavija (SFRJ) dezintegrirala i zašto je izbio rat(ovi) (1991.-1995.):

„Za sve je kriv Milošević/ Tuđman/ „Slovenci“/ komunisti/ organizovani kriminal/ zapadne zemlje/ zavera Vatikana i Kominterne, koji je/ su to sve sam/i isplanirao da bi ostvarili svoje lične/ srpske/ slovenačke/ američke/ vaticanske interese – po vašem izboru. Ili, pak – sve se to dogodilo zbog loših lokalnih tradicija/ ekonomskih problema/ strukturnih pitanja/ nesigurnosti sistema/ legitimnih zamerki/ nelegitimnih zamerki/ dugih senki prošlosti. Ili, pa – sve je u stvari počelo još 1389./ 1463./ 1878./ 1918./ 1941./ 1986./ 1987./ 1989./ 1990./ 1991. – sami birajte. Naravno, svi znamo da je i raspad i rat bilo potpuno moguće izbeći/ da su bili neizbežni, je l' tako? A najbolje od svega svi mi znamo da u ovoj drami pravi zlikovci mogu da budu jedino Milošević/ Tuđman/ „Srbi“/ „Slovenci“/ „Hrvati“/ „Muslimani“/ „Nemačka“/ balkanski narodi uopšte/ Velike Sile, koji moraju (isključivo/ zajednički) da snose odgovornost za najveći deo ubijanja, mada neki od nas takođe znaju da su sve strane bile jednako krive. Pa, možda svi znamo šta je izazvalo jugoslovenske nesreće, ali izgleda da svi „znamo“ nešto različito.“ (Sabrina p. Ramet, „Explaining the Yugoslav Meltdown, 1. 'For a charm of pow'rful trouble, like a hell-broth boil and bubble': theories about the roots of Yugoslav troubles,“ *Nationalities Papers* 32 (2004), 731.)

Ovo je autentičan sažetak toga koliko su različite stvari koje „znamo“. Narativi variraju širom regiona. Moglo bi se reći da ne patimo od nedostatka istine, nego od postojanja previelikog broja „istina“ i nedostatka doslednih napora da o njima otvoreno raspravljamo, da se s njima suočimo i integrišemo ih.

Skoro da ne postoji zajednička istina, a mnogima je teško da prihvate da različiti ljudi različite stvari percipiraju kao istinu zbog različitih iskustava. Samo se naša 'istina' prihvata kao prava istina, dok se 'istine' drugih doživljavaju kao manipulacija i propaganda. A u mnogim slučajevima, 'naša istina' je to da smo mi žrtve, dok su drugi počinitelji. Zemlje bivše Jugoslavije i dalje pate od nasleđa rata (ratova) devedesetih. Ovo nasleđe ozbiljno utiče na sadašnjost i ugrožava budućnost društava u Bosni i Hercegovini, Srbiji i Hrvatskoj.

(...)

Ovaj tekst će diskutovati šta može i treba da se uradi u regionu bivše Jugoslavije kako bi ova društva razvila konstruk-

tivne načine suočavanja s prošlošću i krenula ka trajnom miru. Tvrdiću da je konstruktivno suočavanje s prošlošću nezamenjivi preduslov koji mora da prati procese izgradnje mira. Moje interesovanje za ovu temu nije čisto akademske prirode. Takođe je vođeno vrlo ličnim iskustvima i potrebom da se o njima razmišlja. Dezintegracija bivše Jugoslavije, praćena krvavim ratovima, značila je da se moja zemlja raspala. Činjenica da se jedna država dezintegrirala čak ni nije tako značajna – ono što užasava je kako je to učinjeno, šta smo bili u stanju da uradimo jedni drugima, kako smo postupali i kako još uvek postupamo jedni prema drugima.

Fokus ovog rada jesu potencijali i prepreke procesu izgradnje mira u trouglu Srbija-Bosna i Hercegovina-Hrvatska. Ljudi u ove tri zemlje nalaze se u veoma različitim situacijama. Ali u isto vreme, ove situacije su povezane i utiču jedna na drugu. Kako bi se izbegli bilo kakvi nesporednosti, kada se u radu osvrćem na 'nas', to se odnosi na ljude u regionu bivše Jugoslavije, bez obzira na to koji im je etnički prefiks. Najpre, rad će dati kratak pregled problema s kojim se prvo treba suočiti: patnja koju su ljudska bića trpela tokom rata (poglavlje 2). Ovo poglavlje baviće se i ulogom etnonacionalizma u našoj tragediji. Zastupaću tezu da, da bismo analizirali uzroke rata, ne treba da gledamo u 'vekovnu mržnju' među plemenima ili na etničke razlike. Treba da posmatramo samu suštinu patrijarhata (ne zaboravljajući da je etnonacionalizam jedna od inkarnacija patrijarhata): naime, moć nad drugima, bez obzira ko su oni i kojoj grupi pripadaju. Ostajem uverena da su dokle god smo posvećeni etnonacionalizmu naše šanse za izgradnjom trajnog mira male. Treće poglavlje fokusira se na pomirenje i izgradnju mira. Istražuje šta bi pomirenje moglo da znači u našem kontekstu i posmatra koncepte konstruktivnog „suočavanja s prošlošću“. Četvrto poglavlje daje pregled mehanizama tranzicije pravde i suočavanja s prošlošću primenjenih u regionu bivše Jugoslavije i podvlači šta bi još trebalo uraditi kako bi se postigao trajni mir. Peto i poslednje poglavlje identifikuje aktere čija dužnost jeste i/ ili bi trebalo da bude da preuzmu aktivnu ulogu u procesima izgradnje mira.

Publikaciju možete preuzeti na <http://nenasilje.org/download/#publikacije>

prevod: Marija Stojanović

„Na putu ka nenasilju“, Iskustva sa Zapadnog Balkana

Autor: Nenad Vukosavljević

Prevod rada: 'Preparing for Nonviolence - Experiences in the Western Balkan.' U: B. Austin, M. Fischer & Hans J. Gießmann (ur.), Advancing Conflict Transformation. The Berghof Handbook II. Opladen/Farmington Hills: Barbara Budrich Publ., 2011.

Članak iz Berghof priručnika za transformaciju sukoba
<http://www.berghof-handbook.net/>

Iz uvoda (odlomak):

U ovom eseju ću razmatrati iskustva sa treninga iz izgradnje mira i transformacije konflikta držanih na Zapadnom Balkanu, izdvajajući lekcije naučene tokom poslednjih 13 godina rada Centra za nenasilnu akciju (Centre for Nonviolent Action – CNA). CNA je mirovna organizacija koju vode lokalni aktivisti, a u čijem fokusu su prekogranične aktivnosti na Balkanu. Osnovan je nakon rata u Bosni i Hercegovini i počeo je s radom 1997. godine u Sarajevu, u periodu između nekoliko regionalnih ratova i eskalacije nasilja koje ih je pratilo (npr. u Srbiji/Kosovu i Makedoniji). Godine 2001., počeo je s radom i drugi ured CNA u Beogradu (Srbija).

(...)

Krajnja svrha čitavog rada na izgradnji mira koji CNA obavlja je doprinos izgradnji poštenih i pravednih društava koja svim svojim građanima garantuju jednaka prava, bez obzira na njihovo ime i poreklo; društava koja neguju vrednosti poštovanja različitosti i pravde; društava koja svoje građane čine sposobnim da preuzmu odgovornost za svoje zajednice i da se odupru populističkim, nacionalističkim i šoviniističkim ideologijama. Želimo da doprinesemo izgradnji društva koje će težiti sigurnosti gradeći odnose i mostove sa susedima, čiji stanovnici će se distancirati od zločina počinjenih u prošlosti u njihovo ime.

U periodu od 1997. do 2002. godine, aktivnosti CNA bile su usmerene isključivo na mirovno obrazovanje i prekogranično umrežavanje, okupljajući pojedince različitog prethodnog profesionalnog iskustva koji su imali potencijal za širenje ideja ("multiplikatore"). Veći deo tog rada je bio, a i dalje je, malo vidljiv u javnosti, ali je doprineo stvaranju široke mreže mirovnih aktivista u celom regionu koji su razvijali aktivnosti i saradnju koja sada funkcioniše nezavisno od CNA. Od 2002. godine, pored treninga, CNA je razvijao nove aktivnosti koje su bile mnogo više usmerene na podizanje svesti i aktivnosti u cilju konstruktivnog "suočavanja s prošlošću". Svi mi u timu CNA, osećali smo da je sazrelo vreme i da postoji goruća

potreba da se ljudi u regionu suoče s prošlošću u smislu prihvatanja i preuzimanja odgovornosti za nasilje počinjeno u prošlosti. Tako smo na primer, odlučili da radimo s bivšim boricima sa različitih strana (iz Hrvatske, Srbije i Bosne i Hercegovine), koji su učestvovali bilo kao regruti ili dobrovoljci u ratu u Bosni i Hercegovini. Organizovali smo treninge s mešovitim grupama, nakon čega su bivši borci diskutovali o svojim iskustvima na javnim forumima. Oni su u osnovi pričali svoje lične priče, o tome kako su otišli u rat i kako se osećaju sada kad se na to osvrnu. Ti skupovi naširoko su praćeni od strane lokalnih a povremeno i regionalnih medija. Osim toga, počeli smo da pravimo i dokumentarne filmove u čijem fokusu su bila iskustva ljudi iz proteklih ratova. U skorije vreme, radili smo i intervju sa običnim ljudima iz različitih delova bivše Jugoslavije na temu "pomirenja" i prikupili smo iskustva onih koji se bave mirovnim radom za buduće publikacije (Centar za nenasilnu akciju 2005, 2007, 2009). U isto vreme, nastavili smo sa treninzima. U ovom eseju ću se osvrnuti na rezultate treninga iz izgradnje mira i nenasilne transformacije konflikata. Razmatraću ta pitanja iz perspektive praktičara - mirovnog aktiviste i trenera iz izgradnje mira i nenasilne akcije – a ne naučnika (iako stremimo tome da kombinujemo aktivizam i strukturisano promišljanje i planiranje svoga rada). Tekst odražava iskustva izgradnje mira kroz prizmu insajdera – iako je danas neizbežno razmišljati i o ulogama insajdera i autsajdera i njihovom međusobnom odnosu.

Drugi deo eseja predstavlja ciljeve i metode trenerskog rada CNA, nakon čega sledi treći deo koji podvlači neke naučene lekcije i praktične preporuke. Četvrti deo zalazi dublje od problema vezanih za treninge jer se bavi glavnim izazovima i dilemama s kojima se suočavamo u mirovnom radu. Tu se takođe bavim teškoćama da se proceni učinak i uticaj treninga. Trening ima za cilj promenu stavova pojedinaca. Pitanje je da li će "uspešno" sprovođenje treninga ili sprovođenje više takvih aktivnosti, nužno dovesti do situacije u kojoj će uslediti društvena promena. Teško je proizvesti održivu snagu koja će ostvariti društveni uticaj. Peti deo članka izvodi zaključke i ukazuje na preostale izazove.

Publikaciju možete preuzeti na: <http://nenasilje.org/2013/na-putu-ka-nenasilju-iskustva-sa-zapadnog-balkana/>
Prevod: Nina Vukosavljević

Dokumentiranje mjesta stradanja i mjesta sjećanja

Ove smo godine započeli rad na novoj aktivnosti na temu memorijalizacije: kako i čega se sjećamo iz prošlog rata, na primjerima spomenika u Bosni i Hercegovini. Poslije nekoliko godina rada na pripremi, krajem 2012. krenuli smo u realizaciju knjige fotografija o mjestima sjećanja i načinima memorijalizacije. Očekujemo da će ova knjiga, poslije dugog istraživanja i fotografiranja obilježenih i neobilježenih mjesta sjećanja, iz štampe izaći 2014. godine.

Tokom protekle godine smo, uz fotografiranje i prikupljanje podataka o spomenicima koje u knjizi želimo prikazati, održali i dvije fokus grupe, koje su sastavni dio ovog istraživanja.

Fokus grupa I

Sarajevo, 15. decembra/ prosinca 2012.

Prva fokus grupa, planirana u okviru ovih aktivnosti, sastojala se od mirovnih aktivista/kinja i aktivista/kinja za ljudska prava, povjesničara/ki, kustosa/kinja i predstavnika/ca nadležnih institucija, u najvećem broju iz Bosne i Hercegovine, ali i iz zemalja u regiji.

Namjera nam je bila da, kroz prezentaciju prikupljenog materijala i fotografija spomenika, obilježenih i neobilježenih mjesta stradanja, otvorimo prostor za raspravu o tome što nam ti spomenici danas znače, kakvu poruku prenose, te koliko doprinose izgradnji mira, a koliko nastavku rata drugačijim sredstvima. Planirano je da publikacija sadrži fotografije 30-tak odabranih spomenika u Bosni i Hercegovini, uz osnovne detalje o svakom spomeniku.

Prikazana memorijalna mjesta, zaključeno je, utjelovljuju homogene nacionalne narative koji prikrivaju heterogenost

unutar samih grupa, izražavaju „neupitne historije etničkog predznaka“ u prošlosti koja se prikazuje jednodimenzionalno, i vrlo često daju prioritet vojničkim spram civilnih žrtavama. Namjesto većinom prisutnog etnonacionalističkog diskursa, valja otvoriti prostor za dijalog i različite perspektive kako bi se otvorio prostor za inkluzivniju memorijalizaciju te komunikaciju između nacionalnih narativa i kulture sjećanja.

U tom je smislu izražena nada da će planirana monografija dati doprinos tome da spomenici i mjesta stradanja, sada gotovo isključivo mjesta društvenog rituala, postanu mjesta o kojima će se diskutirati, priznanja onoga što se na pojedinom mjestu dogodilo te spona prošlosti i sadašnjosti, kao opomena, i utjeha.

D.T.

Fokus grupa II - susret veterana

Doboj, 26.-28. aprila/ travnja 2013.

U Doboju je od 26. do 28. aprila 2013. održan susret ratnih veterana iz Hrvatske, Srbije i Bosne i Hercegovine, u organizaciji Centra za nenasilnu akciju iz Beograda/ Sarajeva, u čijem su trenerskom timu bili Katarina Milićević, Davorka Turk, Nedžad Horozović, Adnan Hasanbegović i Amer Delić.

Aktivnosti su obuhvatile Forkus grupu za potrebu istraživanja na temu memorijalizacije te prateću radionicu na temu Tabui.

Fokus grupom sadržajno je obuhvaćena prezentacija prikupljenog materijala i fotografija sa više od trideset spomenika, ali i još uvijek neobilježenih mjesta stradanja na prostoru Bosne i Hercegovine tijekom rata 1992.-1995. Namjera nam je bila raspraviti o postojećim modelima i primjerima memori-

jalizacije u Bosni i Hercegovini.

Radionica na temu Tabui tematizirala je otvorena pitanja o suočavanju s prošlošću u regionu i brojne kontroverzne teme koje dolaze iz javnog prostora. Govorilo se o manipulaciji žrtvama, nedostatku pravde u kontekstu oslobađajućih presuda i neprocesuiranih zločina, te o različitim interpretacijama uzroka ratova u regiji.

Analizirana su i dosadašnja dostignuća veteranske grupe na polju mirovnog rada i potencijala koji učesnici prepoznaju kod sebe, te mogućnosti zajedničkih nastupa u budućim mirovnim akcijama.

A.D.



Lični osvrt

Put mrtvih

Da nije puke slučajnosti čovjek nikad ne bi opet vidio mjesta koja je zaboravio, potisnuo u sebi, ili ona na kojima nikad nije bio. Tako je meni slučaj da sam radio sa CNA (Centar za nenasilnu akciju) po Unsko-sanskom kantonu omogućio da iznova posjetim spomen-sobu u Pištalinama i vojničko groblje Ometaljku. I nešto što nikad prije nisam vidio: fantazmagorično groblje autonomaških vojnika smješteno ispred i u krugu fabrike peradi nedaleko od Velike Kladuše.

Bio je prokleta hladan dan u Krajini kada smo se popeli putem preko Ljusine do Pištalina, onim putem kojeg znam preći i zavezanih očiju u bilo koje doba dana i noći. Prolazimo kraj kafane Šoferska noć odakle smo se Alija Kurtović i ja takmičili ko će prije na štakama, pijani obojica, stići do brigadne bolnice udaljene stotinjak metara od kafane. I gdje mi je konobarica, noseći paket pivskih limenki, rekla: "Dabogda te mati ovako mrtvog nosila." Samo jednom sam doživio goru kletvu od ove, a ona se desila u mjestu Skokovi, koje

smo osvojili od autonomaša, tada mi je jedna djevojka rekla: "Dabogda ti kosa gorila kao ova kuća." Dešavalo se to dok smo prolazili kraj njene kuće, dok je susjedna kuća gorila kao bezninom polivena.

Prolazili smo dalje kroz Pištaline, i sjetio sam se improvizovane brigadne bolnice, te kako sam koristio specijalna kolica za vršenje nužde, koja imaju rupu na sjedištu, jer mi je rana bila svježja i nisam mogao lijevim stopalom dodirnuti zemlju. Mogao sam, ali bi to iziskivalo neviđene bolove, krvarenje i suze u očima. Zato su izmislili invalidska kolica da u njima možemo vršiti veliku nuždu u drvenom, poljskom zahodu, aprila 1994. na nekoj krajiškoj visoravni kojom je puhao vjetar kroz naše mlade kosti. Onda smo stigli do komande brigade i ušli u spomen-sobu. Unutra je bilo hladno kao u grobu. Na centralnom zidu su fotografije poginulih boraca, njih blizu pet stotina, sa datumima rođenja i pogibije. Jedna ovdašnja književna kritičarka i pjesnikinja bi sigurno upotrijebila sinta-

gmu: "nasilna smrt" umjesto pogibije. Nisam nikad čuo gluplje sintagme od ove. Kao da u ratu postoji ijedna smrt koja nije nasilna. Kao da smrt, bez obzira koliko je proglašavali prirodom, nije apsolutno nasilje nad životom.

Gledao sam sva ta mrtva lica, većinu njih sam lično poznavao. Neki su mi bili baš prijatelji, drugi samo poznanici, ali smo svi negdje dijelili ratne trenutke skupa. Vežu me zajedničke uspomene sa njima, bez obzira gdje se oni sada nalaze. Da li su zaista šehidi, i uživaju u raju, ili su samo pod zemljom, vodoravni i nijemi. Na šehidskom mezarju / vojničkom groblju Ometaljka bilo je još hladnije, plus vjetar koji je brijao po snježnim brežuljcima, oduzimao dah iz grla. Stajao sam kraj svojih prijatelja i gledao u nišane od bijelog mramora. Na kraju reda nišana nalazi se staza zarasla u mahovinu. Nekoliko drveća čija je kora isto obrasla mahovinom. Mogao sam zele- nilo mahovine zamisliti kao tepih kojim se, naveče, kada nema nikoga u blizini, kreću sjenke mojih mrtvih drugova. Sjećam se jedne dženaze kada je ukopano dvanaest boraca poginulih u akciji oslobođanja Čojluka. Sjećam se Čipe i Šoka rahmetli. Djelovali su tako živo tog jula (ako me sjećanje ne vara) kada su ukopani. Čipo je na čelu imao svježe rane, kao da je prolazio kroz gusto šiblje koje ga je izranjavalo po licu ranama nalik na duge crvene fuge. Šok je ležao na tabutu ozbiljan kakav je bio i za života.

Na Ometaljki, osim vjetra, ptice su pjevale tako razdragano znajući da će snijeg brzo nestati, i da je proljeće nezaustavljiva milina koja će u svim živim bićima obnoviti snagu i volju za životom. Poslije smo nastavili naše putovanje u potrazi za spomenicima vojski iz minulog rata. Prolazili smo Skokove, Pećigrad, gdje sam svojim saputnicima objašnjavao gdje se nalazi tzv. razrušena kuća, koja i dan-danas opravdava svoje ime, jer je još niko nije ni pokušao obnoviti. Rupe od granata

su njeni futuristički prozori. Da ne bude zabune za one koji ne znaju, radi se o ratištima prema Fikretovim autonomašima, to su rubna sela cazinske opštine prema Velikoj Kladuši. U ovom ratu je, prema grubim procjenama, poginulo 3500 ljudi na obje strane. Pripadnika 5. korpusa je ovdje poginulo puno više nego protiv boraca VRS-e, u raji "popularnih" četnika. I onda mi je najslađe kada me neki sarajevski imbecil pita: "A što ste se, ba, 'arane, vi ono gore poklali međusobno?" Pitaj rahmetli Aliju Izetbegovića, Tuđmana i Miloševića, neka ti oni odgovore ako im podzemne vrane nisu pojele jezike.

Najzanimljivije mjesto na kojem smo bili definitivno jeste autonomaško groblje, vrlo blizu centra grada i granici sa Hrvatskom. Čitav taj prizor kao da je ukraden iz Stalkera Andreja Tarkovskog. Mezarluci i, tu i tamo, poneki grob sa krstom, na samom su prilazu hangarima gdje se nekad uzgajala perad. Hangari su očerupani, opljačkani, vide se samo rebra na kojima je stajao krov, i pramenovi staklene vune koja se nije mogla opljačkati. Mjesto je nadrealno mirno i pusto. Ostaci industrijske romantike i vojničko groblje unutar bivše fabrike Agrokomerca. Crnogorično drveće što raste između mezarluka. Pjev ptica i muzika vjetra. Naš sagovornik Nijaz Miljković, ratni komandant 506. kladuške brigade, na moju konstataciju da ovdje ima stotine ukopanih kaže: "Nažalost je tako. Tu leže i očevi i sinovi, braća, sirotinja." Put mrtvih se ovdje završava. Na spomeniku poginulim borcima Armije BiH, koji je prognan u dvorište gradske džamije, nalaze se stihovi Skendera Kulenovića: "Mrtve oči, ali vide bolje nego žive uz brijeg niz polje. Sva krvava od davnih davnina, sad Krajina zelena haljina..."

Faruk Šehić

(tekst je objavljen u bh magazinu „Dani“ 12. 4. 2013.)

CNA programi mirovnog obrazovanja

Osnovni trening iz izgradnje mira

Mavrovo, Makedonija, 28. juna/lipnja -8. jula/srpnja 2013.

*“Nervira me tretiranje rata kao elementarne nepogode.”
(citat, učesnica na treningu)*

Kako je prošlogodišnji izvještaj sa osnovnog treninga održanog u Mavrovu završen rečenicom u kojoj stoji citat jednog od naših domaćina: „Mavrovo je mesto u kojem se problemi sami rešavaju“, tako je red ovogodišnji izvještaj, sa istog mesta, započeti tom konstatacijom, jer se ponovno potvrdila u praksi.

Iako nam je jedna od najvećih želja, konstantno, da se na naše osnovne treninge prijavljuje više osoba sa područja Kosova, a izborom mesta za trening pokušavamo da olakšamo putovanje ljudima s tog područja, ni ovog puta nismo dostigli taj cilj. Sa Kosova smo imali samo jednu prijavu, dok je najviše njih došlo sa područja Srbije (47), pa Bosne i Hercegovine (28), Makedonije (17), Hrvatske (14), Crne Gore (9). Jedna, pretpostavljamo, zalutala prijava, stigla je iz Albanije. Od ukupno 127 prijava, povećan je broj aplikacija osoba mlađih od 21 godine. Iako je to donja starosna granica za učešće na treningu, ova informacija može poslužiti organizacijama koje rade na programima za mlade, jer očigledno u toj starosnoj grupi postoji interesovanje za rad na izgradnji mira u regionu.

Kako je izbor mesta na kojem će se održati trening za nas

jako važan, tako smo i ovog puta želeli da svim učesnicima/cama iz regiona približimo makedonski kontekst, a da, sa druge strane, osnažimo aktiviste/kinje sa područja Makedonije na daljnji rad na konfliktima koji postoje na ovom području. Odatle još jedan plus za Mavrovo, i hotel „Srna“ koji nam je pružio sasvim pristojne uslove za rad.

Radni plan koji smo pripremili pre početka treninga, uvidom u potrebe i kapacitete grupe, na samom treningu je bitno promenjen, sa čim su i trenerski tim i učesnici/e, izašli zadovoljni. Iako je naša početna ambicija bila da se dublje pozabavimo radom na izgradnji mira, na samom treningu smo odlučili da produbimo radionice suočavanja sa prošlošću i pomirenje, te da osnažimo učesnike/ce za prepoznavanje socijalnih nepravdi koje postoje u društvima iz kojih dolaze. Kao i (gotovo) uvijek, radionica o rodu i polu izazvala je najžustrije polemike. Čini se da i dalje na ovim prostorima postoji velika potreba za senzibilizacijom ljudi za različite vrste ljudskih prava i ravnopravnosti u društvu, ali i u porodici.

Kako je jedan od naših bazičnih ciljeva rad na razradi konflikata, ovoga puta smo imali sreće, jer je sama grupa prepo-



znavala, i u svom neformalnom vremenu na kreativan i zabavan način uspevala da razradi postojeće konflikte unutar grupe, te se sam trenerski tim nije njima bavio u radno vreme, na čemu smo im posebno zahvalni. Vrlo smo ohrabreni što se daljnijeg angažmana osoba koje su bile na treningu tiče, jer smo osetili i potencijal za daljnje reprodukovanje stečenih znanja i veština. Posebno nas raduje što su dva ratna veterana bila učesnicima treninga za izgradnju mira, jer CNA, kao organizacija, godinama unazad prepoznaje i podržava, godinama unazad, mirovnu angažovanost ratnih veterana.

Iako se na početku činilo da je tim od petero ljudi, možda, prevelik, sasvim smo efikasno i koncentrisano radili, i posebno nam je drago što se CNA timu i ovog puta pridružio naš kolega

Boro Kitanoski iz Mirovne akcije Prilep, sa kojim je uvek zadovoljstvo raditi i družiti se, a njegov doprinos izgradnji mira u regionu ima posebnu težinu, obzirom da je redovno aktivan i u svetskim mirovnim pokretima.

Završiću ovaj izveštaj citatom koji je izgovoren na jednoj od radionica, a koji je, na neki način, postao moto celog treninga: „Nervira me tretiranje rata kao elementarne nepogode.“ Dakle, kad rat prestanemo da tretiramo kao nešto što nam se dogodilo, van našeg uticaja i moći da na njega utičemo, tek tada možemo da počnemo da gradimo mir. Potpuno sam sigurna da su učesnici/ce ovog treninga već daleko na putu izgradnje mira u svojim sredinama.

Katarina Milićević

Najava: Trening za trenere/ice

Program Treninga za trenere/ice razvijen je uslijed potrebe za izgradnjom kapaciteta za rad u polju treninga/ neformalnog obrazovanja.

Do sada je sprovedeno 5 ciklusa ovog programa (1998-1999, 2000, 2001, 2002-2003, 2003-2004).

Iako je posljednji ciklus održan prije gotovo deset godina, interesovanje učesnika naših drugih programa mirovnog obrazovanja za ovaj program nije jenjavalo. Anketirali smo učesnike naših prethodnih Treninga za trenere/ice, kao i druge zainteresirane, te utvrdili kako potreba za ovim programom i dalje postoji. Stoga smo odlučili krenuti u novi ciklus, koji će započeti 2014. godine. O detaljima ćemo vas pravovremeno obavijestiti.

U čemu smo još učestvovali

Istraživanje “Suočavanje sa prošlošću na prostoru Zapadnog Balkana”

Bergof Fondacija objavila je 2013. godine istraživanje „Suočavanje sa prošlošću na prostoru Zapadnog Balkana“ autorki Martine Fischer i Ljubinke Petrović-Ziemer. Istraživanje je rađeno u periodu mart 2010- april 2012. godine.

U istraživanju su učestvovali i saradnici: Srđan Dvornik

(Hrvatska), Ismet Seffija (Bosna i Hercegovina) i članica našeg tima, Katarina Milićević (Srbija).

Ceo tekst istraživanja dostupan je na sajtu: www.berghof-foundation.org

Forum kulture “Sjećanja na ratove ili ratovanje”

Vukovar, 11-13. aprila/travnja 2013.

Forum kulture sjećanja, u organizaciji Centra za suočavanje s prošlošću „Documenta“, okupio je niz aktivista, povjesničara, muzeologa i umjetnika u propitivanju praksi kulture sjećanja u zemljama bivše Jugoslavije. Tijekom rada Foruma dotakli smo se postojećih praksi, kritika postojećih praksi, kao i mogućih alternativnih modela komemoriranja.

Iako postoje neke mogućnosti usporedbe sa sličnim procesima u zapadanoj i središnjoj Evropi nakon II. svjetskog rata, nacionalistički diskurs, karakterističan za memorijalizaciju žrtava i događaja iz nedavnih ratova na ovim prostorima, utjecao je na nastanak velikog broja memorijalnih obilježja sa izraženim nacionalnim ili vjerskim simbolima, upitne umjetničke vrijednosti, koji mahom komuniciraju veličinu vlastite žrtve i stradanja, te heroja vlastite „strane“. Kao jedna od osnovnih odrednica ovog procesa istaknuta je i (ne)komunikacija memorijalnih obilježja sa svojom neposrednom urbanom ili drugom okolinom, ili pak potpuna nemogućnost njihova postavljanja (ukoliko se radi o stradanju „onih drugih“).

Može se govoriti i o procesu depolitizacije samih umjetnika i nedostatku institucionalne podrške umjetničkim projektima koji se bave nedavnom prošlošću što rezultira komemoracijskim praksama čija svrha zapravo ostaje nedefinirana: radi li se o sjećanju ili žalovanju, je li to problem nacionalne homogenizacije, koja je njihova obrazovna po(r)uka...

Ovo posljednje posebno je tematizirano uz obilazak memorijala na području grada Vukovara, s osvrtnom na lokalitet vukovarske bolnice. Za razliku od drugih mjesta sjećanja i obilježavanja prošlosti na kojima je život u jednom trenutku prekinut, u ovoj bolnici život teče, ona je u stalnoj komunikaciji s ljudima koji u njoj rade ili borave, što joj daje posebnu

vrijednost. No, stradanje same bolnice, njeno značenje za stanovnike Vukovara tijekom rata, te događaji koji su uslijedili po padu grada prezentiraju se na način koji su sudionici skupa mahom ocijenili neprikladnim za posjete školskih ekskurzija s kojima smo se susretali tijekom obilaska. Jedan od zaključaka Foruma bio je kako će se gradu uputiti pismo koje ima upozoriti na potrebu da komemoracijske prakse omoguće i komunikaciju s onima koji dolaze s „druge strane“, postanu inkluzivnije, s naglaskom na stradanje prvenstveno civilnih žrtava, izbjegavajući generalizaciju počinitelja, što trenutno nije slučaj.

Ovdje se postavlja pitanje u kojoj je mjeri moguće univerzalizirati patnju žrtve, a da ta univerzalizacija ne poništi specifičnost svake situacije? Udruženje srpskih civilnih žrtava rata u Vukovaru već dugo traži mogućnost i prostor da se obilježi stradanje srpskih civila. Edin Ramulić govorio je o dosadašnjim naporima obilježavanja stradanja Prijedorčana, istaknuvši da su „manjinska“ memorijalna obilježja (jednom kad se dopusti njihovo postavljanje) uglavnom u povratničkim sredinama, mjestima ukopa ili masovnih grobnica... Nema ih blizu prometnica ili bilo kakvih frekventnijih mjesta.

Inicijativama za obilježavanje mjesta sjećanja istaknuta je regionalna podrška. Mjesta sjećanja, zaključeno je, možda neće ljude učiniti boljima, ali njihovo postojanje u određenoj zajednici predstavlja čin priznavanja da se na tom mjestu dogodilo stradanje.

Centar za nenasilnu akciju Sarajevo/Beograd predstavio je zajedničke regionalne studijske posjete ratnih veterana sa tri zaračene strane mjestima stradanja u lokalnim zajednicama u Bosni i Hercegovini i Srbiji. Cilj ovih aktivnosti je razgovarati

sa stanovništvom i lokalnim vlastima te pokazati da ta mjesta moraju biti obilježena na način koji će izazvati suosjećanje sa patnjama žrtava, koje potiču sa svih strana. Za nadati se je, kako smo istaknuli i na samom Forumu, da ćemo uspjeti

zadobiti podršku za te aktivnosti i u Hrvatskoj, te da će ova, kao i druge inicijative otvoriti neke nove mogućnosti susreta i buduće suradnje.

D.T.

IX Međunarodni forum za tranzicionu pravdu

Jahorina, 17-18. maj/ svibanj 2013.

U organizaciji Koalicije za REKOM na Jahorini je 17. i 18. maja 2013. godine održan IX Međunarodni forum za tranzicionu pravdu pod nazivom "Pomirenje u postjugoslovenskim zemljama". Predstavnici/e državnih institucija, organizacija civilnog društva, udruženja žrtava i verskih zajednica, umetnici/e i osobe iz akademske zajednice razgovarali/e su iz različitih perspektiva o dometu i mogućnostima procesa pomirenja u regionu.

Kao izuzetno zanimljive izdvajamo izlaganja dr. fra Ivana Šarčevića koji je govorio o ulozi verskih zajednica u pomirenju u regionu, dr. Hrvoja Klasića (pomirenje iz ugla naučne zajednice), dr. Zorana Pajića (pomirenje iz ugla država u regionu) i dr. Jasne Dragović – Soso (pomirenje iz ugla civilnog društva). Po rečima dr. fra Ivana Šarčevića, religija je na ovim prostorima često korišćena za teološka opravdavanja rata i u odnosu prema drugima zakazale su sve verske zajednice. Baš zbog toga što su u toj prošlosti postavljeni naši sadašnji identiteti (koji se često vide kao religijski), odgovornost verskih zajednica i vernika/ca uopšte je da rade na otvaranju prostora za dijalog kroz spremnost da se razumeju »tuđe istine« (čak i ako se one čine kao čista laž). Dr. Hrvoje Klasić je govorio o opterećenosti zvanične istorije nacionalizmom, nedostatku multiperspektivnosti u udžbenicima istorije i odsustvu dijaloga istoričara/ki i van pojedinih zemalja i unutar njih. Prema dr. Zoranu Pajiću, pomirenje je moguće tek nakon stvaranja uslova za pomirenje: priznavanje žrtava i uspostavljanja sistema reparacija i kompenzacija. Izvinjenja lidera u regionu često idu sa poricanjem zločina, a spomenici i memorijali koje je on video u BiH su uglavnom „jednonacionalni, sa strašnim porukama mržnje prema drugim narodima“. O izvinjenjenju kao simboličkom gestu od velike važnosti za političku transformaciju govorila je i Jasna Dragović – Soso. Međutim, izvinjenja imaju svrhu

kada su rezultat dijaloga koji uključuje i one koji imaju različita mišljenja i različite narative. Ono što se može uočiti u regionu, po njenom mišljenju je rast socijalne amnezije, koja označava i nebrigu o žrtvama, dok je najveći deo civilnih inicijativa lokalnog karaktera i pod političkim pritiskom.

Najveće razočarenje je bila sesija posvećena pomirenju iz ugla umetnika/a. Sa ponekim izuzetkom, utisak je da je promišljanje uloge umetnika/a i umetnosti u procesu pomirenja nekako ustupilo mesto nezadovoljstvu govornika odnosom države/a prema umetnicima/ama (posebno u finansijskim segmentima).

Ono oko čega uglavnom postoji saglasnost svih govornika/a na Forumu je da postoji potreba za regionalnim pristupom i u suočavanju s prošlošću i pomirenju. Takav pristup je potreban i da bi se utvrdile nepobitne činjenice o ratnim zločinima i teškim kršenjima ljudskih prava. Iako pomaci postoje, posebno u procesuiranju ratnih zločina, postizanje pravde za žrtve i proces suočavanja s prošlošću je i dalje spor. A to su neophodni uslovi za pomirenje. I dalje inicijative za suočavanje s prošlošću i pomirenje dominantno dolaze iz civilnog društva, a da bi to imalo širi efekat potrebno je veće uključivanje različitih socijalnih aktera i mere države.

Ono što ostaje kao primedba organizatorima je da zbog velikog broja govornika/ca na sesijama nije ostalo dovoljno prostora za diskusiju, kao i utisak da su se govornici/e uglavnom držali/e suviše doslovno plana svojih izlaganja ne komunicirajući njihov sadržaj sa drugim učesnicima/ama, niti publikom. Uprkos zamerka, bilo je više nego korisno tokom ova dva dana slušati i razmišljati o kompleksnosti koju proces pomirenja sadrži.

M.S.

Internacionalni kamp MURS MURS

Goražde, 13. avgusta/ kolovoza 2013.

Udruženje GRAD iz Goražda (BiH), domaćin "Internacionalnog kampa MURS MURS" u kojem učestvuju mladi iz Njemačke, Francuske, Palestine i BiH, pozvalo nas je da mladim učesnicima kampa predstavimo rad sa pripadnicima različitih vojski koje su u ratu bile na suprotstavljenim stranama, a koji danas kroz zajedničke mirovne akcije doprinose pomirenju u regionu. Naročito su bili zainteresovani za priče ratnih veterana.

Ovaj kamp već niz godina okuplja mlade iz različitih dijelova svijeta. Pišu novine, slikaju, rade teatarske predstave, razgovaraju i imaju stručna predavanja. Sve to s ciljem razbijanja barijera i predrasuda među ljudima koji dolaze sa različitih podneblja i iz različitih kultura. Takođe, i iz različitih društveno-političkih konteksta.

Posjetili smo kamp 13. avgusta 2013. godine. Veteran-

skom timu CNA za ovu se priliku pridružio i Đoko Pupčević iz Šamca, ratni veteran koji ima višegodišnje iskustvo mirovnog rada i saradnje sa CNA.

Iskustva ratnih veterana predstavili smo dokumentarnim filmom iz produkcije CNA "Posjete veterana", a u nastavku se mladima, kroz diskusiju, nastojala približiti ideja veteranskog mirovnog angažmana i regionalni kontekst njihovog djelovanja.

Svojom energijom i interesom koji su pokazali za naš rad, ovi mladi ljudi su doprinijeli tome da ovo druženje bude inspirativno i osnažujuće i po nas.

Određeni propusti u organizaciji nisu umanjili zadovoljstvo susreta sa ovim mladim ljudima.

A.D.

Konferencija: Osobna sjećanja na ratove i druge oblike političkog nasilja od '41. do danas

Zagreb, 26. septembra/ rujna 2013.

U svojstvu posetioca/učesnika bio sam na konferenciji koja je upriličena povodom završetka prve faze rada na sakupljanju ličnih svjedočenja o doživljajima političkog nasilja od 1941. do danas, sačuvanih u obliku video arhive (450 sakupljenih svjedočenja). <http://www.osobnasjecanja.hr/>

Konferenciju su pozdravili, osim ambasadorke Nizozemske, i lični izaslanici predsjednika Republike Hrvatske i ministra kulture, sprečenih da prisustvuju. Ovo napominjem jer je indikativno za institucionalnu podršku koju razvijeni program uživa, uprkos perceiveranoj vrlo nepovoljnoj klimi za pitanja suočavanja sa prošlošću u Hrvatskoj. Hoću reći, stvari se menjaju, malo po malo, javni prostor postaje sve prijemčiviji za glasove koji imaju kritički odnos spram prošlosti i načinu sećanja koji se gaji u Hrvatskoj, a posebno vezano za tzv. „dignitet Domovinskog rata“, odnosno nepravde počinjene od strane hrvatskih snaga.

Osim uvodnih izlaganja održana su još četiri panela

tematizirajući: odnos društvene i individualne memorije, potrebu za ličnim svjedočenjem i načinima mogućeg korišćenja zabeleženih usmenih istorija u obrazovne, istraživačke, muzejske i umetničke svrhe.

O značenju ličnih svjedočenja rečeno je puno toga, a ja bih napomenuo sledeće misli:

U stvaranju društvenog sjećanja, ništa ne može zamijeniti ljudsko svjedočanstvo.

Istorija nije zatvorena knjiga, ne postoji samo jedan narativ.

Sjećanja blijede, a spomenici koliko-toliko ostaju.

Osobna sjećanja su važna kao korektiv društvene historije nastale između nauke i ideološkog konteksta.

Vrednost zbirke video snimaka usmenih istorija je u emotivnom preživljavanju kroz gledanje osobnih svjedočenja.

N.V.

Konteksti u kojima djelujemo

Uvrnuto vrijeme

(Bosna i Hercegovina)

Kada govorimo o vremenu i njegovom proticanju danas općenito postoje dva shvatanja. Prvo je ono koje je skoro općeprihvaćeno, a prema kojem vrijeme posmatramo kao rijeku. Ta rijeka teče od svog izvora prema ušću, od prošlosti ka budućnosti. Drugo poimanje vremena dao je engleski astronom James Bradley. Prema njemu, vrijeme teče obrnuto: od budućnosti prema prošlosti pri čemu trenutak u kome budućnost postaje prošlost nazivamo sadašnjošću. U kontekstu postratne Bosne i Hercegovine valjalo bi dodati i još jedno tumačenje prema kojem vrijeme protiče uvrnuto: čas živimo prošlost, čas budućnost, bližu ili dalju; sadašnjost skoro da i ne postoji, jer ona zahtijeva suočavanja s nama samima onakvima kakvi doista jesmo. U tom smislu, neka mi bude oprošteno što o Bosni i Hercegovini u 2013. ne govorim hronološki – ionako njeni stanovnici ne podnose niti uvažavaju bilo koji termin koji u sebi sadrži logos.

Godina koja traje 15 dana

Pa, kakvi smo to bili u 2013. godini? Ako posmatramo većinu običnih ljudi i njihovo uključivanje u javni prostor kojim daju znak da su i dalje članovi ovog društva, 2013. godina u Bosni i Hercegovini trajala je kratko, jedva 15-ak dana. Počela je 1. oktobra, a završila već 15. oktobra. Sve prije bile su tek pripreme za najluđi događaj godine, a sve poslije 15. samo je glavobolja koja nije posljedica triježenjenja, već međufaza između dva ludovanja. Riječ je, dakako, o Popisu stanovništva, domaćinstava i stanova u BiH, ili jednostavnije Na Bošnjake, Hrvate i Srbe razbroj se. Nacionalne elite koje žive od procenata (matematički: procent broja naroda na popisu u kombinaciji s procentom glasova na izborima kao rezultantu daje vlast; vlast daje moć, a moć se koristi isključivo za individualne interese) već su u javnost izašle i s rezultatima popisa ispod kojih neće pristati. Bošnjaka je 54%, Srba 33%, Hrvata 15%, i ostalih 2-3%. Dakle, ukupno 106%. Iako za većinu popis nema smisla ukoliko nije izražen u procentima, kao fakat ostaje da je popis pokazao da nas ukupno ima 3,7 miliona, što je bar nekoliko stotina hiljada više nego li je stvarno stanje. To što nas je u odnosu na 1991. manje za skoro milion, kao i gdje su svi ti ljudi, nikome nije bitno. Tako smo popisom dobili tačan zbir netačnih podataka koji će malo kome koristiti.

Sve ostalo prošlo je manje-više mimo običnih ljudi, iako uvijek preko njihovih leđa. Političku scenu obilježilo je tmurno

vrijeme koje je praćeno povremenim padovima neke od 13 vlada u Bosni i Hercegovini. Istina, taj astronomski fenomen vlade padalice bilježimo još od 2012. i vrlo je izvjesno da će nebo nad nama najmanje do sljedećih izbora u oktobru 2014. godine biti u ovom horoskopskom znaku. I u kontekstu prelazaka preko rijeke 2013. je, barem za sad, u BiH itekako šugava. Izuzev nagle i nikad razjašnjene smrti akademika Sulejmana Redžića i tihog, ali dugog odlaženja Mostarca Ilijaza Delića, ova godina bosanskohercegovačke medije nije počastila odlaskom nekog velikana, kakav je u Hrvatskoj bio Mirko Kovač ili u Srbiji Srđa Popović. Tako smo ostali bez crno-bijelih naslovnica, uz kitnjaste omaže i posljednje poruke mom dragom prijatelju tom i tom, iako su, barem je tako u većini slučajeva, takvi umirali sami, ostavljeni, neshvaćeni, davno gurnuti na društvenu marginu.

Povijest BiH u šest čaša

Tom Standage posmatrao je cjelokupnu povijest ljudskog roda na osnovu pića koja su bila dominantna u određenom periodu, pa je govorio o Povijesti svijeta u šest čaša. Iskreno se nadam da će neko cjelokupnu postratnu povijest BiH jednog dana posmatrati kroz optiku mjesta gdje se protestiralo. Mjesto protestiranja pokazuje količinu nemoći i beznađa u kome se nalazimo. Oni najnemoćniji, koji su svjesni da njihovi protesti ne mogu smijeniti ni načelnika općine koja broji jedva nekoliko hiljada stanovnika, uglavnom idu protestirati pred zgradu OHR-a¹. Tu, pred dovoljno velikim i snažnim Golijatom, nadaju se da će iskamčiti ono što smatraju da im pripada, a ako i ne dobiju ono što traže znaju da protiv takvih i nije sramota izgubiti. Od sredine oktobra ispred OHR-a su povratnici u bh. entitet Republiku Srpsku, koji traže da se poštuje sporazum iz 2002. godine koji bošnjačkim povratnicima garantira pravo na nacionalnu grupu predmeta u školama. Iz RS-a su prvobitno opravdanje pronašli u činjenici da ni Srbi u bh. entitetu Federacija BiH nemaju prava na nacionalnu grupu predmeta što su federalne vlasti negirale da bi već sutradan federalni premijer izdao instrukciju da se za njih uvede nacionalna grupa predmeta koja, kako je samo dan ranije rekao, postoji. Što bi rekao grčki premijer Micotakis 1994: “Mi nismo podržavali

¹ Office of the High Representative in Bosnia and Herzegovina/ Ured visokog predstavnika u Bosni i Hercegovini



Karadžića, ali obećavamo da to više nećemo činiti". Nakon toga, iz RS-a su ponudili solomonsko rješenje po staljinističkom principu nema čovjeka - nema problema: Goran Mutabdzija, ministar prosvjete RS-a zatražio je ukidanje škole u Konjavić-Polju. Baš kao što je i predsjednik RS-a pokazao svu količinu socijaldemokratske tradicije koju baštini kazavši kako "ozbiljno razmišlja da ukine sud u Bijeljini" koji je presudio protiv RS-a u korist litvanskih investitora.

Bebolucija

Oni koji nisu potpuno nemoćni idu da protestiraju ispred Zgrade institucija BiH. Takvi su moćni taman koliko i država Bosna i Hercegovina: na papiru se vodi da postoji, a u stvarnom životu je i mikroskopom teško pronalazite. Na ovom mjestu su u junu protestirali građani Sarajeva, ali i drugih bh. gradova nakon što bh. vlasti nisu usvojile zakon o jedinstvenom matičnom broju što je onemogućilo upisivanje novorođenčadi u matične knjige rođenih i izdavanje potrebnih dokumenta za bebe koje su trebale liječenje u inostranstvu. Nakon dramatične blokade parlamentaraca koji su pušteni iz zgrade tek nakon 15 sati i to na intervenciju Visokog predstavnika Valentina Inzka, sve je krenulo silaznom putanjom. Iz Banja Luke su poručili da vole bebe, ali da im je RS milija, a

banjalučki studenti koji su također protestirali ulicama Banja Luke poručili su da im ne pada na pamet da se na bilo koji način identificiraju sa sarajevskim protestima. Na kraju, sve se završilo kao davne 1968. Istina, bez Tita i Kozaračkog kola, ali uz obećanje vlasti da će zakon usvojiti (još uvijek je na snazi privremena uredba koja istječe krajem godine) i pravi dernek zadnje noći uz neke od najpopularnijih bendova.

Nije problem, dakle, što ova bebolucija nije uspjela, i drugi su protesti u prvom pokušaju doživljavali fijasko. Problem je što je u tih nekoliko dana, i pored medijske pompe, na ulice izašlo jedva nekoliko hiljada građana, pri čemu su i ti građani jasno rekli da trenutno stanje ne valja, ne ponudivši nikakvu alternativu. Prošireno na cjelokupno stanje i cijelu BiH: uopće nije problem što je trenutno stanje loše, problem je što i najveći optimisti sve teže uočavaju kraj tunela makar nas na tom kraju i ne dočekalo blještavo svjetlo.

Ko ne skače mrzi Bosnu hehehe

Zato je tu, kad ništa ne ide, nogomet i nogometna reprezentacija. Kao neka vrsta opijuma i melema na sve naše rane, došao je odlazak naše reprezentacije na svjetsko prvenstvo u Brazilu. E, tada se na ulicama Sarajeva okupio buljuk svjetine koja je mahala bh. zastavama (sadašnjim i prošlim),

padala u trans gledajući Zmajeve zaboravivši barem na jednu noć da su nezaposleni, bez zdravstvene zaštite, riješenog stambenog pitanja, da će ih već sutra nazvati iz banke, jer kasne s uplatom rate kredita. Političarima, koji su o državnom trošku redovito boravili u zmajevom gnijezdu ovaj je uspjeh došao kao naručeni i dobro plaćeni spin pa je pobjednik izbora iz 2010. i veliki socijaldemokrata svoju ljubav prema BiH poslije dokazivao degutantno skačući u jednom televizijskom studiju i uzvikujući ko ne skače mrzi Bosnu hehehe. I pritom ni jednom ne skočivši.

I tako, u 2013. smo još danima svečano ćutali umjesto da smo urlali, aranžmane s MMF-om smo potpisivali svečano kao da se rešavamo svih sadašnjih i budućih problema, kod Prijedora je otkrivena masovna grobnica s preko 600 tijela, vratio nam se Momčilo Krajišnik i još neki neki osuđeni heroji, ni u ovoj godini nismo riješili presudu Sejdić-Finci...

Kentaur Sejdić-Finci

Da, ne treba zaboraviti Sejdić-Finciju, ali čovjeku ponestaje snage da objašnjava. Ukratko, presudom Suda za ljudska prava svim bh. građanima bi trebalo biti omogućeno da biraju i da budu birani za članove Predsjedništva BiH (prema važećim ustavnim rješenjima trenutno mogu biti birani samo Bošnjaci, Hrvati i Srbi). Presudu valja provesti jer EU prijeti sankcijama,

pa se sad naši političari domišljaju kako da ovu diskriminaciju formalno ukinu, s tim da se pri tom riješi trenutno evidentno pitanje majorizacije Hrvata na državnom nivou, pri čemu se ne bi diralo u suštinu troetničke matrice. O Sejdić-Finciju (sjeća li se iko ko su uopće Sejdić-Finci, znamo li njihova imena ili se radi o potpunom sjedinjavanju, nekoj vrsti novonastalog kentaura?) napisane su stotine kolumni, već su objavljeni stručni radovi, izvještaji... Pa opet, dozvolite mi da prosudim kako je jedan obični građanin, na novinarsko pitanje o Sejdić-Finciju dao najsazetiji i najpotpuniji odgovor: U svakom slučaju izvode pizdarije, ona četvorica (bh. lidera). I jebu nam mater jer smo blesavi. A u tome im pomaže ova kurva od međunarodne zajednice.

Ukoliko 2013. godinu posmatramo u kontekstu procesa pomirenja i suočavanja s prošlošću vrijedi spomenuti nekoliko stvari. Narodna skupština RS-a usvojila je deklaraciju kojom se definira karakter rata u BiH. Bio je to, prema ovoj deklaraciji, tragični (kao da postoje sretni) građanski rat i bilo kakva druga interpretacija ne samo da nije dobrodošla, već je zabranjena. Istovremeno, još uvijek nije usvojena deklaracija o zabrani negiranja genocida nad Bošnjacima šireg područja Srebrenice, uz stalno i uporno negiranje genocida koje dolazi od nekih najviših zvaničnika RS-a. Sjećanje na žrtve nije u potpunosti zabranjeno, ali je svakako ograničeno. Lokalne vlasti u Prije-



doru još uvijek zabranjuju da se posjete bivši koncentracijski logori Keraterm i Omarska; višegradске vlasti ovih dana se pripremaju da sruše kuću u kojoj su braća Lukići 1992. godine zapalili 72 civila jer eto, baš tuda, treba da prođe lokalni put širok desetak metara; Sarajevo još uvijek nema spomenik civilnim žrtvama koje su ubijene na lokalitetu Kazana...

Sve u svemu, 2013. u BiH je bila takva da na kraju ne možemo reći ni onu toliku ofucanu floskulu ko preživi pričat

će. Neće, jer neće imati šta. Ko preživi vraćat će kredite MMF-u, Svjetskoj banci, privatnim stranim bankama, domaćim (nacionalnim) liderima i uspješnim privatnim poduzetnicima koji nam i zrak i vodu i sami život (pro)daju na kredit.

Neđžad Novalić

Brk Crnogorca

(Crna Gora)

„Brk Crnogorca, da je neko nekad takao, samo je mogao da izgubi glavu. Rađanje i umnožavanje, to je jedini spas ovom narodu...”

(Na dan kad je bavljenje mirom počelo da u meni izaziva preveliki nemir, naprasno sam prestala da budem aktivistkinja i postala savjetnica za turizam i održivi razvoj (ne kažu uzalud "turizam je pasoš mira", ah!). Kome to ne smeta, neka nastavi sa čitanjem moje reportaže o Crnoj Gori, turističkoj destinaciji. Ipak, čim sam odlučila o čemu ću da pišem osjetila sam bol u želucu.)

Ko (smije da) se bavi politikom?

U posljednje vrijeme tokom obuka koje sam radila imala sam priliku da pitam oko 60 ljudi u Crnoj Gori da li se bave politikom. Samo jedan od njih je odgovorio „da“, i to kao član političke partije. Čak i djevojka koja je bila u radnoj grupi za izradu nekog zakona, rekla je da nju politika ne zanima i da nema nikakve veze sa tim. Na sasvim tehničkom sastanku, na pomen „poboljšanje poljoprivredne politike“, bila sam zamoljena da „ne koristimo tu riječ“. Prije par godina, na nekoj radionici predavač je pitao za primjer prava koje nam je najviše ugroženo u Crnoj Gori (pitanje je trebalo da posluži samo kao lagan primjer, i niko od prisutnih se zapravo nije bavio ljudskim pravima niti sličnom tematikom). Tri četvrtine odgovora je bilo isto i ja sam se zaprepastila kad smo svi „otkrili“ papire na kojima smo prethodno zapisali prvu asocijaciju: pravo na slobodu govora/izražavanja (?!). Odavno znamo da ako ovo pravo iskoristiš kako bi iskritikovao bilo kakvu pojavu u društvu, pa i sebe samog, postaješ državni neprijatelj. Pored toga, vlast često proziva nevladine organizacije da se bave politikom, odnosno da „rade isto što i opozicija“. Nakon toga, sve političke partije pozivaju građane da izađu na izbore, samo to, a oni (partije) će sami sve ostalo... onih 60 ljudi je za kratko vrijeme promijenilo mišljenje i sada su ponosni što rade važne stvari za svoju zemlju i time daju doprinos unapređenju socijalne, ekonomske, ekološke, omladinske ili

neke druge politike.

Ove godine bilježimo 200 godina od rođenja Petra II Petrovića Njegoša, a njegov rođendan 13. novembar biće novi državni praznik – Dan crnogorske kulture. Ovoj odluci protivili su se predstavnici Bošnjačke stranke, koji vjeruju da je Njegoš insiprisao mržnju prema islamskom svijetu, te „da su neke ideje tog djela, u svojoj bukvalnoj interpretaciji, bile idejni koncept i opravdanje izvođačima zločina i genocida nad islamskim stanovništvom i u 19. i u 20. vijeku, u Crnoj Gori i okruženju“. Bošnjaci nadalje smatraju da treba makar iz školskih udžbenika ukloniti sadržaje koji su uvredljivi za muslimane. Sa druge strane, većina poštovaoca Njegoša govori da je potrebno razumjeti kontekst u kojem je on živio i stvarao, pa na osnovu toga donositi sud. Tokom višemjesečnog obilježavanja 200 godina od njegovog rođenja, mnogo se o Njegošu govorilo. Isječaka iz njegovog života i djela ima bezbroj, i samo je pitanje pojedinca/društva da li želi da ih posmatra pojedinačno ili kao cjelinu.

Ko je ugrožen?

Što se tiče nejednakosti u društvu, do skoro se ona vezivala uglavnom za neravnopravnost polova. Međutim, ova lista je sve veća: korisnici socijalne pomoći, samohrani roditelji/majke, trudnice i porodilje (kojima su ugrožena radna prava), djeca bez roditeljskog staranja, dugotrajno nezaposlena lica, osobe iz ruralnih i udaljenih gradskih sredina, Romi i Egipćani, raseljena lica i izbjeglice, osobe sa invaliditetom, LGBT osobe... Ako želimo ići u detalje, treba pomenuti i novinare, koji su definitivno osjetljiva grupa, naravno, u zavisnosti od toga o kome i na koji način pišu/govore. Takođe, ugroženi su brkati Crnogorci, i to od LGBT populacije jer su organizatori Parade ponosa kao svoj zaštitni znak odabrali – brkove, tradicionalni simbol časti i junaštva! Lista i dalje nije zatvorena, ako ste i vi ugroženi, ne zamjerite, nego se samo upišite!

Zašto?

U posljednje vrijeme za svaki problem se kao odgovor nađe svjetska ekonomska kriza, pa moram napomenuti da je veliki broj slučajeva nejednakih mogućnosti nastao zbog vrijednosti, stavova i ponašanja u društvu, a nikako zbog nedostatka novca. Na primjer, niz faktora utiče na odluku žena o (ne)ulasku u politiku: uticaj sredine, istorijski kontekst i tradicija: „za ženu nije da se bavi politikom“; mali broj žena u politici i njihova značajno slabija mogućnost napredovanja; nedovoljno moralne i praktične podrške okoline: briga o djeci i domaćinstvu; ekonomska zavisnost i nedovoljno ženske solidarnosti među političarkama. Individualni činoci koji zavise od samih žena su da one često politiku smatraju prljavom i da nisu spremne da rizikuju cjelokupnu prijašnju profesionalnu karijeru i integritet. S druge strane, građani Crne Gore imaju veoma oštra predubjeđenja o ženama/muškarcima u politici, odnosno biračko tijelo je specifično i patrijarhalno. Istraživanje je pokazalo da pola ispitanica smatra da bi muškarci uspješnije nego žene obavljali državne funkcije na visokom nivou, dok samo 13-19% žena (u zavisnosti od pozicije) vjeruje da bi žene bile uspješnije.

Jedna anketa je pokazala da je glavni razlog za nejednake mogućnosti za zapošljavanje mladih nepotizam, ali tu nije kraj priče. Nepotizam je zamalo pa neizbježan u našoj maloj zemlji, ali pravi problemi nastaju kad imate više rođaka i prijatelja koje biste da zaposlite, a naprosto ne znate koga ćete prvo, ili kada obećate i njima i njihovim prijateljima da će da budu zapošleni nakon narednih izbora a onda se suočite sa novim problemom – radnih mjesta naprosto nema.

U zadnje vrijeme me jako ljute planovi opozicije koji govore građanima šta će dobiti ako za njih glasaju, a radi se projektima koje bi mogli da realizuju i ako nisu na vlasti. Tako smo dobili još jednu osjetljivu grupaciju – opoziciju, koja bi uradila sve za Crnu Goru, ali nikako da je izglasamo! Kako god, i jedni i drugi su skloni aferama, mada ni oni „treći“ (NVO) ne zaostaju, a ove godine aktuelna afera „Snimak“¹ nikako da dobije svoj epilog. Za mene lično jeste, kada sam čula kako predstavnicu vlasti uz osmijeh (javno) kaže predstavniku opozicije: „Priznajte, i vi bi ste - da ste na našem mjestu“.

EU je svetinja, ili je porodica svetinja, a možda (nije) oboje?

Primjećujem da je sve što dolazi iz EU najbolje rješenje za Crnu Goru. Ako će nam pomoći da joj se približimo, svako rješenje je pravo. Ako nema veze sa njom, prošvercovaćemo svoje ideje kao „evropske“. Tako smo prije nekoliko godina, od svih recepata iz Evrope, odlučili da usvojimo tzv. evropsko radno vrijeme. Praktično, ova odluka je od crnogorskih

porodica napravila tempirane bombe, roditelji do danas nisu u mogućnosti da se usklade sa radom vrtića i škola. Umjesto „staromodnog“ dolaska sa posla na ručak u 15h, ručak se odvija na kioscima brze hrane, djeca su ljuta na roditelje što nemaju vremena za njih, a roditelji isfrustrirani što nisu u mogućnosti da obezbijede vrijeme, prostor i novac za svoju porodicu. Neko će reći da današnju djecu vaspitava ulica, da, to je tačno, ali to je tako „evropski“!

A što se tiče Evropske Unije, priznajem da je sreća da imamo makar nekoga prema kome ne gajimo teorije zavjere kada nam pošalje kritiku. Naravno, i ovdje ima izuzetaka.

Zanimljivo za region: Gej je OK?

Ako Evropa tako kaže - naravno! Jedna dobra vijest: održane su dvije parade ponosa u Crnoj Gori! Jedna manje i jedna više uspješno. Prva je bila organizovana u Budvi, gdje je oko hiljadu osoba (što je velik broj za tako mali prostor) napalo predstavnike parade riječima, kamenicama, flašama i drugim predmetima, a vlasnici nekoliko gradskih kafića su ugostili sveštenika koji je osveštao njihove lokale na čijem platou su prolazili aktivisti. Mišljenja građana su podijeljena – jedni su zgroženi i ugroženi paradom, a drugi lažnim moralom onih kojima „smeta parada, a ne smeta korupcija, organizovani kriminal i divlja gradnja“. Baš me zanima kako ovo posljednje navedeno utiče na tradicionalne crnogorske vrijednosti. Dvadesetak osoba je pritvoreno, a organizatori su evakuisani sa kopna kako bi se spriječili veći incidenti.

Nakon dva mjeseca organizovana je prva parada ponosa u Podgorici, uz ponovno veliko učešće huligana, od kojih je većina mladih osoba. Ova je ipak uspješno realizovana, doduše uz neizbježne napade i hapšenja.

Zanimljivo mi je bilo da gledam kako su političke partije mahom poslale žene da podrže skup (iako se znalo da će biti vrlo vjerovatno izložene fizičkom nasilju), a prije toga su se muškarci – političari uglavnom izjasnili da oni nisu „gay“ ili da sebe ne vide na „takvim“ skupovima, ali da treba poštovati ljudska prava, naročito jer je to bitno za ulazak u EU(?!). Koji god razlog bio, država je organizovano stala na stranu pravde i zaštitila učesnike povorke, kako organizovanim prisustvom predstavnika policije, tako i ličnim dolaskom da se skup podrži. S druge strane, Mreža mladih koalicije neparlamentarnih stranaka pod nazivom „Srpska lista“ pozvala je građane Crne Gore na protest, a predstavnik Nove srpske demokratije iskreno je naveo: „Mi smo konzervativna hrišćanska stranka koja baštini tradicionalne vrijednosti. Neka ih podrži vlast, koja maše demokratijom i evropskim standardima.“ Čak su se oglasili iz Udruženja boraca ratova od 1990. koji su „doživjeli kao provokaciju“ to što je za datum događaja izabran 20. oktobar, „jedan od najznačajnijih datuma NOB-a, kada su 1944. godine, združene snage jugoslovenskih partizana i sovjetske Crvene armije oslobodile Beograd od Hitlerovih fašista“. Ovim povodom Mitropolit crnogorko-primorski Amfilohije orga-

¹ U javnost su procurile audio-snimke sa sjednice Vijeća crnogorske vladajuće partije DPS-a, na kojima se čuje kako njeni zvaničnici otvoreno govore o stranačkom zapošljavanju, mijenjanju popisa birača i direktorima državnih tvrtki koje rade isključivo u interesu stranke.

nizovao je svečanu litiju, kako bi „očistio grijeh kojim je tih dana grad bio zagađen“. On je kazao na svečanoj akademiji povodom osveštenja Sabornog hrama da ta „bogomolja predstavlja poziv na praštanje i pomirenje u Crnoj Gori“ što nije bio slučaj sa njim samim, koji je danima pozivao na mržnju i otpor „bestidnoj povorci koja proglašava grijeh za vrlinu, a čovjekomržnju za čovjekoljublje.“ Građani intervjuisani na ulici su ponavljali njegove riječi o tome kako smo stvoreni da se razmnožavamo i kako treba čuvati porodicu od napasnika, a naročito su ih naljutili (gore pomenuti) brkovi.

Nevjerovatna je količina nasilja i mržnje koja je ovom prilikom isplivala iz mladih ljudi, koji su činili većinu privedenih huligana, od čega je trećina bila maloljetna. Jedan podgorički dječak zadobio je teže opekotine kada mu se zapalila eksplozivna naprava koju je pripremao po „receptu“ sa interneta, a želio da aktivira na paradi.

Za kraj, da se vratimo na moju struku (turizam!), u kontekstu priče o LGBT pravima. Samo par dana nakon Parade ponosa u Budvi, na tačno 30 km dalje, u Kotoru iskrcan je kruzer sa 2.800 homoseksualaca.

Direktor lokalne turističke organizacije Mirza Krčić, kojeg smo zatekli u gradu, kazao je "Vijestima" da se sve odvija u najboljem redu, da nema nikakvih problema, te da su Kotorani pokazali da su dostojanstveni:

"Svako treba da izražava svoje mišljenje i opredjeljenje, i to treba ljudi da poštuju. Građani Kotora su pokazali da su dostojanstveni i da poštuju različitosti i da će sve proteći u najboljem redu. U Kotor je svako dobro došao, svako ko ne izlazi iz okvira onih sloboda koji ne ugrožavaju druge, i po meni je sve to legitimno. Treba pustiti ljude da razmišljaju i osjećaju se onako kako žele i misle, i to treba poštovati, svačije mišljenje i opredjeljenje. Ovo je svuda u svijetu normalno, oni su posjetili juče i Dubrovnik, i Dubrovčani su rekli da su dobri potrošači", kazao je Krčić, uz opasku da njega lično više interesuje i brine šta će biti sa budžetom Crne Gore ili Kombinatom aluminijuma (koji je u procesu zatvaranja), nego što je u Kotoru 2.800 pripadnika gej populacije.

Lidija Brnović

Sve su znali, a ništa nisu napravili

(Hrvatska)

Najveća promjena koja se u Hrvatskoj dogodila u posljednjih godinu dana članstvo je u Europskoj Uniji. Uz puno ispostavljenih računa, i mjera koje „rastrošnu“ državu imaju dovesti u fiskalni red, postoje neki trenuci u kojima je moguće vježbati državni suverenitet, poput spora s EU oko zakona koji je kolokvijalno nazvan Lex Perković, prema nekadašnjem članu UDBE, optuženom u Njemačkoj za ubojstvo političkog emigranta Stjepana Đurekovića. Teško je tvrditi da postoji puno ljudi koji razumiju u čemu je zapravo spor i zašto je zbog takvog propisa vrijedno riskirati sankcije odmah po ulasku u „europsku obitelj“. No, to je ujedno bila i prilika da se još jednom zapitamo o stanju hrvatskih medija, nemogućnosti razaznavanja ikakvih smislenih informacija u kakofoniji potencijalnih prijetnji i insinuacija. Ujedno, iako to do sada (pa ni tijekom dugog razdoblja pregovaranja) nismo imali priliku vidjeti, doista je moguće razgovarati za pregovaračkim stolom, jednom kad je vaša pozicija barem nominalno jednaka onima koji postavljaju uvjete. Dakle, moguće je državnički djelovati, i prava je šteta da je takvo djelovanje izolirano na pojedinačne akte zajedničke evropske pravne stečevine. Iako premijer tvrdi da se radi o načelnom stavu, čitav ovaj nered nije ni trunčice pomogao u rasvjetljavanju recentne hrvatske povijesti, niti načina na koje su spomenute službe (ili pojedinci) imali utjecaja na stvaranje hrvatske nezavisnosti.

Hrvatska je, reći će premijer Milanović u Saboru u svom

izvještaju o „stanju nacije“, u 22 godine nezavisnosti ostvarila sve svoje strateške političke ciljeve, među koje ubraja članstvo u NATO-u i EU. Osim toga, najavio je novi val privatizacije preostalih državnih poduzeća zbog nužnosti konsolidacije državnog proračuna¹. Dakle, osim političkih strateških ciljeva, Hrvatska je u 22 godine nezavisnosti uspjela rasprodati i svu svoju državnu imovinu, ekonomija je i dalje disfunkcionalna, a građani i sama država nalaze se u dužničkom ropstvu. BDP je i dalje u padu, 70 tisuća radnika ne dobiva plaće, i brojimo 314 tisuća nezaposlenih, odnosno 18%.

Ulaskom u EU utvrđena je i granica između Hrvatske i njezinih balkanskih susjeda, pa smo tako ove godine ponovno doživjeli regresiju u prekograničnoj komunikaciji, onoj doslovnoj, propustivši isposlovati za naše susjede isto ono što je Hrvatska imala u godinama slovenskog članstva u EU - prelazak granice s osobnom iskaznicom.

Da ta granica nije samo teritorijalna pokazalo se pri pokušaju Vlade da osigura sprovođenje hrvatskih zakona na čitavom teritoriju države, uključujući i područja od posebne državne skrbi (područja devastirana tokom posljednjeg rata).

¹ Croatia Osiguranje, Croatia Airlines, ACI, monetizacija autocesta, nakon što je to ova vlada već učinila s prodajom Brodosplita, Brodotrogira i Trećeg maja (brodogradilišta) i ugovorom o koncesioniranju Zračne luke Zagreb

Međutim, iako su „dvojezične“ (latinica plus ćirilica) ploče postavljene na zgrade državnih institucija u Udbini, u Lici, ispostavilo se da taj zadatak neće biti tako lako provesti na području Vukovara. Istog jutra kad su postavljene, uz zaštitu policije, polupane su u rušilačkom pohodu pred kojim je ta policija bila nemoćna do te mjere da je ploča s neželjenim natpisom odvaljena i sa zgrade policijske stanice. HDZ koji je prije 4 godine omogućio stupanje na snagu Ustavnog zakona o pravima nacionalnih manjina sada se njegovom provođenju izrazito protivi² i zahtijeva da se Vukovar proglasi „gradom posebnog pijeteta“. U konkretnom slučaju to bi značilo legaliziranje suspenzije hrvatskih zakona na hrvatskom teritoriju.

Međutim, više od ciničnog stava nekadašnje vlasti nervira stajalište sadašnje. SDP, naime, u obranu zakona, uporno naglašava presudnu odgovornost HDZ-a, a oni kao dobri, građanski nastojeni legalisti sad „samo“ pokušavaju odraditi ono što je ustavnim zakonom propisano. Čak i kada bi se mogli othrvati osjećaju da se političari cijelog hrvatskog političkog spektra odnose prema ovom zakonu kao da je neželjeno dijete, više plaši ideološka potka koja iza takve obrane stoji. Premijer je, braneći zakon u Hrvatskom saboru, izjavio: „Ovaj zakon je trijumf Hrvatske. U pobjedi moramo biti velikodušni, a u miru imati dobru vjeru“.

Nije posve jasno u čemu se ta dobra vjera sastoji, ili zašto za njom postoji potreba. O „pobjedi“ se malo tko još i pita. Službeni „pobjednički“ diskurs o prirodi Domovinskog rata toliko je prevladao u javnom prostoru da se i pomenuti premijer požurio oprati kad mu je jednom drugom prilikom, posve nesmotreno, izletjelo promišljanje o višestrukoj prirodi tog sukoba, pa mu je i sintagma „građanski rat“ prešla preko usana. Na opasnost od cementiranja takvog stanja upozorava i jedna „crtica“ iz znanstvenog svijeta, područje povijest. Zahvaljujući zahtjevu mlade znanstvenice Julijane Antić Brautović, koja je za potrebe svoje doktorske disertacije u kojoj istražuje „trgovinu“ teritorijem između RH, Republike Jugoslavije i Bosne i Hercegovine (Prevlaka i istočni dio Konavala) tražila pristup klasificiranim podacima iz Tuđmanovog arhiva (sada pohranjenima u Državnom arhivu), saznali smo da pristup takvim dokumentima imaju samo osobe koje posjeduju sigurnosni certifikat, a o dopuštenju pristupa odlučuje Vlada i njezino povjerenstvo, na zatvorenoj sjednici. Možda takav pristup državničkim dokumentima za koje još nije istekao rok od 30 godina tajnosti i ne bi bio neobičan, da se nije saznalo da sigurnosni certifikat, a time i pristup tim dokumentima ima direktor Hrvatskog memorijalno-dokumentacijskog centra Domovinskog rata, Ante Nazor. Objašnjenje se sastoji u činjenici da

je osnivač centra Vlada, a zadaća mu je „istraživanje istine o Domovinskom ratu“. Ostaje pitanje kako je takvu „istinu“ moguće istraživati kada Vlada (uz pomoć obavještajne zajednice) određuje ne samo tko ima pristup datim dokumentima, već i što je za takvo istraživanje relevantno.

Da takvo postupanje nije izolirani incident pokazale su i najave ministra branitelja Freda Matića da Vlada u školske programe planira uvesti teme o Domovinskom ratu, i to kroz eksperimentalnu terensku nastavu koja bi obuhvaćala na prvom mjestu posjetu Vukovaru³. U školskim programima se, u tom smjeru, kao obavezan planira i najmanje jedan posjet godišnje ratištu koje je najbliže mjestu i školi koju djeca pohađaju. U praksi to znači da bi zadarska djeca išla na Maslenicu, no nitko nije upitao ministra znači li to da bi splitska djeca imala prilike posjetiti splitsku ratnu luku Lora. Teško da bi za osnovce mogla biti prikladna priča o premlaćivanjima i ponižavanjima ljudi koji su u Loru dovođeni pod optužbom da su spremali oružanu pobunu protiv Hrvatske, koja se rijetko mogla potkrijepiti materijalnim dokazima. S deklarativne strane, država nikad nije priznala ove zločine. S druge pak strane, s nekima od žrtava postignuta je nagodba i isplaćen im je određen novac. Ipak, teško je vjerovati da bi se tako nečemu moglo naći mjesta u obrazovnom sustavu. Dodajmo ovome još i da je ministarstvo branitelja raspisalo natječaj namijenjen neprofitnim organizacijama „čije je primarno djelovanje usmjereno na područje zaštite interesa i skrbi o hrvatskim braniteljima i stradalnicima Domovinskog rata“. Za ovu je svrhu predviđeno 5 milijuna kuna, a bit će namijenjena promicanju vrijednosti Domovinskog rata.

Sve je to utvrđeno oslobađajućim presudama hrvatskim generalima Markaču i Gotovini, koje su u domovini dočekane s pravedničkim zadovoljstvom nepokvarenim pomenutim „sporadičnim“ incidentima. Ovom je potonjem, Anti Gotovini, uručena i povelja počasnog građanina grada Splita, na svečanoj ceremoniji kojoj je nazočio i u ovom izvještaju najviše pominjani ministar, kao i dvojica njegovih kolega iz Vlade. Ponešto disonantne tonove u ovu hrvatsku priču o pobjedi i pravednosti unijela je nepravomoćna haška presuda hercegovačkoj šestorki. Nekadašnji politički i vojni lideri samoproglašene „Herceg-Bosne“ proglašeni su krivima za udruženi zločinački pothvat protjerivanja i ubijanja Bošnjaka u Bosni i Hercegovini. Zločinački pothvat je, prema presudi, koordinirao Franjo

2 Nekadašnji ministar državne uprave u HDZ-ovoj vladi izjavio je u jednoj televizijskoj emisiji: „Kad je HDZ bio za ćirilicu, Srba u Vukovaru nije bilo dovoljno da bi mogli ostvariti pravo na službenu uporabu jezika i pisma“. Ovo se odnosi na postotak srpske manjine u stanovništvu koji bi dvojezičnost u društvenom i javnom životu te službenoj komunikaciji u javnim poslovima odredio obaveznim.

3 Svaki dan, ne računajući ljetne praznike i vikende, u Vukovar bi ulazilo desetak autobusa sa školskom djecom. Spavat će u vojarni, na vojničkim krevetima, a organizirano će slušati satove povijesti koje će im predavati stručne osobe iz redova branitelja ili mladi povjesničari koje će educirati pravi branitelji. Posjetit će sva važna mjesta u gradu, ali i okolici, ako to žele, od Iloka do Kopačkog rita. Zadnje predavanje održat će se u Mirovnom centru, kako bi svi iz Vukovara otišli s porukama mira“. <http://www.slobodnadalmacija.hr/Hrvatska/tabid/66/articleType/ArticleView/articleId/201818/Default.aspx>

Tuđman, s krajnjim ciljem „pripajanja“ navedenog bosansko-hercegovačkog teritorija Hrvatskoj. Sudsko je vijeće utvrdilo da je sukob bio međunarodnog karaktera, čime je Hrvatska označena kao agresor na BiH. U tijeku je žalbeni postupak, a s obzirom na neke recentne neobične prakse Haškog suda, ishod je, čini se, neizvjestan.

I premijer Milanović i predsjednik Josipović nakon oslobađajuće presude Gotovini i Markaču izjavili su da zločine u počinjene u „Oluji“ treba procesuirati. Dodajmo tome da je također nužno da se Hrvatska distancira od naslijeđa Franje

Tuđmana, čija je vlast zataškavala ratne zločine, sprječavala njihovo procesuiranje, te sprovodila politiku koja je onemogućavala povratak izbjeglih Srba. Da nam jednog dana sama povijest ne bi sudila zato što smo učinili ono što je tako plastično izraženo u nepravomoćnoj presudi Jadranku Prliću, Bruni Stojiću, Slobodanu Praljku, Milivoju Petkoviću, Valentinu Čoriću i Berislavu Pušiću: „Sve su znali, a ništa nisu napravili“.

Davorka Turk

Sporazum ili +383

(Kosovo)

Najvažniji događaj, u sklopu budućnosti saradnje između Kosova i Srbije je potpisivanje SPORAZUMA, koje se dogodilo u aprilu 2013. godine. Ovo je bila važna tema, o kojoj se mnogo pričalo u javnosti, a detalji su i dalje predmet dogovaranja, uz posredovanje Evropske Unije i baronice Ketrin Ešton.

Ovaj dijalog, koji intenzivno traje, veoma je značajan, ne samo za jednu ili drugu zemlju, nego i za Evropu, pa i za ceo svet. Svi konflikti na svetu, ratovi, nesporazumi... na kraju su završavani dijalogom, što je suština i ovog Sporazuma. Neke od najinteresantnijih tema dijaloga, za koje još uvek nema konkretnih rezultata su teme vezane za Telekom i energetiku. Kosovska vlast zahteva svoj sopstveni pozivni broj, +383, međutim, vlada Srbije ovaj zahtev ne prihvata.

I kroz dijalog je vidljivo da ima problema u razumevanju jedne ili druge strane, te da neke detalje sporazuma svaka od strana tumači na svoj način, pokušavajući da kroz tumačenje suštinu prilagodi sopstvenom jednostranom interesu.

Izbori su, takođe, jedna od najvažnijih tema sporazuma. Na prethodno održanim izborima nisu učestvovali građani severnog dela Kosova, tako da su se premijeri obe zemlje, uz posredstvo EU, dogovorili da izbori budu održani 3. novembra, i da se održe na celoj teritoriji Kosova, uključujući i sever (Severna Mitrovica, Zvečan, Leposavić, Zubin Potok). Građani srpske zajednice bojkotovali su prethodne izbore, iz straha od formiranja vlasti od strane samo kosovskih Albanaca, te nisu učestvovali ni na lokalnim, ni na parlamentarnim izborima, iako imaju zagarantovan broj poslaničkih mesta u parlamentu Kosova. No, za razliku od prethodnih, stvara se utisak da će učestvovati na ovim izborima, jer je već prijavljeno deset srp-

skih stranaka Centralnoj izornoj komisiji.¹

Mimo ovoga, stalni i veliki problemi koji muče sve građane Kosova su: nedostatak slobode kretanja, velika nezaposlenost (najviše mladih, od 18-30 godina), privatizacija najvećih javnih preduzeća (Telekom i energetska kompleks), velika korupcija, i stalni incidenti i nasilje (poput ubistva EULEX-ovog policajca).

Sve nabojano stanovnike Kosova drži godinama u stanju povećane tenzije, straha od budućnosti, novog nasilja, što ne doprinosi procesima stabilizacije i izgradnje mira u regionu.

Jedan od svetlih događaja desio se krajem septembra, u Mitrovici, gde je održana Prva konferencija za mlade Foruma za gradove u tranziciji. Mladi predstavnici iz Belfasta, Derija-Londonderija, Jerusalima, Kadune, Kirkuka, Ramalaha, Tripolija i domaćina Mitrovice, razmenili su iskustva iz svojih sredina, i upoređivali načine na koji su oni slični.² Jedan od najvažnijih zaključaka ove razmene je nužnost komunikacije između različitih ljudi, neophodnost jačanja komunikacije između kosovskih Srba i kosovskih Albanaca, takođe i ostalih zajednica koje žive na Kosovu. Značaj ovog događaja je i što se ovakvi i slični dešavaju retko, pogotovo u Mitrovici, pa su i mediji dali veliki značaj susretu mladih i jačanju njihovog međusobnog povezivanja. Nadajmo se da će i organizacija koje rade na poboljšanju etničkih odnosa, i događaja koji ih stavljaju u prvi plan, biti sve više, te da će i rad ovih koje sada postoje i deluju biti vidljiviji u javnosti.

Lulzim Hakaj

¹ Podaci se odnose na kraj septembra meseca 2013. godine, kada je tekst pisan.

² <http://citiesintransition.net/2013/09/29/young-leaders-ready-to-develop-conflict-transformation-network/>

Jedno veliko ništa, spakovano i nađifano

(Makedonija)

Dok kućam ove redove na TV-u ide direktni prenos prvog Sahara Balkanskog Mirovnog Festivala, u organizaciji kompanije indijskog milijardera Subrata Roj i pod pokroviteljstvom Vlade Makedonije. Malopre se državnoj eliti, uredno skockanoj u večernjim toaletama, obratio i najskuplji govornik današnjice, Toni Bler, a prije njega premijer Nikola Gruevski. Čekam dodelu prve nagrade Šampion mira. Lete citati Gandija i Majke Tereze na sve strane. O čemu se radi? Ne znam da li da se smijem, ljutim ili plašim. Naime, indijskog milijardera koji se pojavio u Makedoniji početkom ove godine, vlada je bombastično predstavila kao velikog investitora koji preuzima uzgoj stoke na istoku zemlje, te izgradnju milionskog luksuznog kompleksa na Ohridskom jezeru i naravno – grandioznog spomenika Majke Tereze na glavnom trgu u Skopju. Njega u Indiji traže zbog pravosnažne sudske odluke koja kaže da je prevario više stotine hiljada ljudi za uplate od preko 4 milijarde dolara. Malo se ko zabrinjava dok se javno veličaju njegove najave o investicijama. Evo ga sada u ulozi organizatora, ni manje ni više, već Balkanskog mirovnog festivala. Ko je tu još prisutan iz regije? Naravno – niko. Zašto baš u Makedoniji? On je to jučer veoma lepo objasnio, kaže da ga je dugih godina ta ideja terala da traži zemlju u kojoj bi je realizovao, zemlju mira, ljubavi, zemlju bez korupcije. I konačno je našao. Ne, ne šalim se. Uopšte mi nije do šale.

Prošlu je godinu u Makedoniji obeležio oštar sukob na relaciji vlast – opozicija. Mi živimo tu tenziju već nekoliko godina, ali sada je taj sukob progutao bukvalno sve. Svi su društveni procesi podvedeni pod to poravnavanje ili su kompletno ignorisani. Taj je sukob imao svoj klimaks 24. decembra 2012. godine. Usred uzavrele rasprave oko novog budžeta zemlje, vlast je odlučila da na filibustering¹ od strane opozicije odgovori uvođenjem tajne policije u parlament i fizičkim izbacivanjem kompletne opozicije iz parlamenta. Desetak minuta pre toga su na isti način izbacili novinare iz galerije. Kažu, iz bezbednosnih razloga. Snimke brutalnog izbacivanja poslanika iz parlamenta su, verujem, obišle regiju. U isto vrijeme opozicija je imala nekoliko hiljada demonstranata ispred parlamenta, na što je vlast reagovala tako što je skupila isto toliko svojih pristalica. I jednima i drugima se „desio narod“. Tako kažu. (A šta se narodu desilo?) Rizična situacija na ulici ipak je prošla bez većih incidenata. Sledećih meseci opozicija je bojkotovala rad parlamenta, demonstrirala na ulicama gradova

i na kraju ipak prihvatila izlazak na lokalne izbore uz znatnu umešanost posrednika iz EU i uvjetovano formiranje komisije koja će doneti zaključke o kršenju zakona u parlamentarnoj praksi tog dana. Izbore su uveliko dobile vladajuće stranke, a komentar na zaključke koje je komisija donela dao nam je jedan od učesnika, poslanik Ilija Dimovski, koji kaže da izveštaj ima važnost koliko i paloma maramice. Kako god, izveštaj je tu, notirane zabeleške na procedure treba da se operacionaliziraju. Ostaje gorak ukus da su maltene svi dokumenti nakon velikih okršaja u zemlji napravljeni uz snažno posredstvo ljudi sa strane, Brisela ili Washingtona.

Drugi, meni važan događaj je suludo hapšenje novinara Tomislava Kežarovskog iz Velesa (specijalci u punoj opremi, rano ujutru, kamere...). Apsurdna optužba ga tereti da je svojim tekstom iz 2008. otkrio identitet tajnog svedoka u slučaju ubistva. Informacije koje su poznate u javnosti govore da taj čovek nije imao status zaštićenog svedoka sve do sledeće godine, a malo je kasnije i sam javno priznao da su ga inspektori iz policije prinudili da lažno svedoči protiv nekoga za ubistvo. U međuvremenu Tomislavu Kežarovskom je po peti (!) put produžen pritvor. Na veliki pritisak od strane međunarodnih (na domaće se odavno ne obaziru) novinarskih i drugih udruženja, vlast odgovara da se ne meša u poslove suda, a i da je evo, proces već blizu, pa će i presuda brzo.

Makedonija je, inače, pala za još 22 mesta u izveštaju Reportera bez Granica o slobodama medija i 2013. se našla na 116 mestu.

Ništa se značajno nije desilo na polju međuetničkih odnosa. Generalna politika – svatko (vlada) svoje i svako sa svojim - se nastavlja. Etnička homogenizacija i fizičko razdvajanje odvijaju se kontinuirano, sa povremenim potresima koji drže trend. To je, po meni, najgori razvoj za Makedoniju koji u kombinaciji sa općom klimom nerazumevanja za drugačija mišljenja ne obećava ništa dobro. Prije par meseci bio sam na jednoj diskusiji u Tetovu. U diskusiji maltene istomišljenika snažno se provlačila ideja da nije bitno ko je šta. Da su etnički i verski identiteti nebitni. Hajde, šta ima veze ko je šta, to uopšte nije bitno. Ja sam se držao teze da jesu bitni, da su ljudi ovde u konstantnom konfliktu po tim osnovama, da imamo dugu istoriju konflikata, na kraju krajeva i rat nam se desio po tim osnovama, i da ti identiteti koji su tako neprijateljski postavljeni jedni protiv drugih treba da se protresu, a ne da se ignorišu. I ta dilema mi stoji i dan danas. Dokle da idemo sa poštovanjem potreba i ambicija tih identiteta. Imaju li te ambicije kraj, tačku gde su konačno realizovane, neugrožene, gde je „dosta više, eto, proživeli smo to, 'ajmo sada dalje“. Je li to 30-metarski kip Aleksandra Makedonskog u centru Skoplja

¹ Filibustering (Filibustering) je parlamentarna procedura kojom se rasprava o nekom predlogu prolongira, čime jedan ili više članova parlamenta mogu da odlože ili u potpunosti spreče glasanje o određenom predlogu.

ili one 50-metarske albanske zastave pored magistrala na zapadu zemlje? Gde je ta tačka? Postoji li uopšte?

Da, postoje neke druge male tačke u vremenu i prostoru u kojima se može otvoreno i prijateljski raspravljati o nama bitnim stvarima. Kompletno van javne pažnje i medija. Verovatno je i tako bolje.

Skoro da je iščezla javna diskusija, kritičko promišljanje i kontekstualizacija događaja. Sve se svodi na uniformnu propagandu. Ide se dotle da se može i kompletно kreirati događaj i onda se razbija danima. Kao recimo Balkanski regionalni mirovni festival bez prisustva ikoga iz regije u organizaciji mili-

jardera iz Indije, na kome priča Toni Bler, a plesne grupe iz Indije dramatiziraju bunt Gandija na pozlaćenju sceni novog pozorišta od 45 miliona eura. Jedno veliko ništa, spakovano i nađidano. Jedan kompletно novi nivo manipulacije. E, da, šampionom mira za ovu godinu proglašen je Jeremy Gilley iz Peace One Day. Drži govor i kaže čovjek da mu se ne veruje da je dobio nagradu. Pa ni meni. Jedva čekam da vidim koja će nam kompanija sledeće godine organizovati mirovne festivale. Možda Coca Cola?

Boro Kitanoski

Kontinuitet loše beskonačnosti

(Srbija)

Nakon potpisivanja Briselskog sporazuma dva meseca ranije, kojim se obavezala na ukidanje paralelnih državnih struktura na severu Kosova i regulisanje odnosa s Kosovom, Srbija je u junu 2013. dobila obećanje da će u januaru 2014. otpočeti pregovori o pristupanju Evropskoj Uniji. EUforia je izostala. Nimalo neočekivano, jer je ionako potpuno nejasno (bar u javnom prostoru) šta bi ta Evropa zapravo trebalo da bude¹. Evropski standardi, evropske integracije u diskursu domaće političke elite najčešće funkcionišu kao džoker reči koje su same po sebi prazne, ali zgodne da se u njih ulivaju najrazličitija značenja, po dnevnoj potrebi ili potrebi govornika/ce. Najčešće kao obećanje pristupa blagostanju i socijalnoj sigurnosti građana Prvog sveta ili opravdanje stvari »koje ne bismo, ali Evropa traži«. A ta Evropa, osim možda deklarativno, traži sve manje. Osim implementacije Briselskog sporazuma i kontrole azilanata/kinja. Tu nema deklarativnosti.

U Srbiji potpisivanje Briselskog sporazuma nije izazvalo nikakve veće potrebe. Kosovo ovde već veoma dugo funkcioniše kao mekgafin², a film predugo traje. Konstantna nesigurnost i strah od sveprisutnog nasilja i onoga šta nosi budućnost, svakodnevnica su za najveći deo stanovnika/ca Srbije. Po mnoštvu pokazatelja, Srbija je među najsiromašnijim zemljama u Evropi, s više od milion nezaposlenih, gde sve češće očajni ljudi seku prste, zabijaju eksere u ruke ili se spaljuju jer »obični« štrajkovi glađu više ne privlače dovoljno pažnje. Širokih protesta nema,

niti se očekuju. Očajanje je individualno, neartikulisano, a solidarnost s drugima ne ide dalje od izolovanih protesta grupe sapatnika/ca koji/e su u istoj situaciji. Ni Kosovo nije izuzetak. Osim skupa od nekoliko hiljada ljudi na Trgu Republike 10. maja koji su organizovali Srbi s Kosova, zapamćenog najviše po »opelu« za upokojenje Vlade i Skupštine koju je održao crnogorsko-primorski mitropolit Amfilohije, i poređenju Dačića s ubijenim premijerom Đinđićem (»Dačić kaže da je za zemaljsku politiku, ne interesuje ga nebeska, tako je govorio i Đinđić, a kako je završio, neka Bog sudi« - vladika Atanasije³), gotovo da se ništa nije dogodilo. Oštre reakcije gotovo svih političkih partija i javnosti na izrečeno i brzo ograđivanje patrijarha SPC Irineja, ponovo su podsetili da Crkva ima zapravo onoliko moći u javnom prostoru koliko joj prepusti politička elita.

Odlaskom Demokratske stranke (DS) i dolaskom Srpske napredne stranke (SNS) na vlast u maju prošle godine ponešto se promenilo, suštinski - malo toga. Nije usledio nikakav radikalni preokret u odnosu na politiku Demokratske stranke. Evropski kurs, svođenje demokratije na periodične izbore svake četiri godine, zapošljavanje po partijskoj i rodbinskoj liniji⁴, dominacija izvršne nad sudskom i zakonodavnom vlašću, odsustvo efektivne podela vlasti i međusobne kontrole

1 To što tu konfuziju u značajnoj meri dele i zemlje Evropske Unije, ne olakšava, već dodatno otežava stvar.

2 Mekgafin (McGuffin) je termin koji je uveo Alfred Hičkok i označava postupak građenja čitave priče u filmu oko jednog motiva koji se svuda provlači, pokreće likove na akciju i prati priču, a suštinski je nebitan za gledaoca. Funkcija tog motiva je da gledaoca stalno drži u neizvesnosti i napetosti.

3 Srbin. Info - Srpske brze internet novine, 2013, <http://srbin.info/2013/05/mitropolit-amfilohije-sluzio-opelo-za-upokojenje-vlade-srbije/>

4 Prema podacima Centra za praktičnu politiku koju je preneo dnevni list Blic, sadašnja vlast je smenila skoro 3000 ljudi u državnoj upravi, a u isto vreme, u poslednjih godinu dana, po partijskoj liniji u javnim službama zaposleno je još 3000 ljudi. Izvor: Blic online, 2013, <http://www.blic.rs/Vesti/Politika/380172/Vlada-do-sada-smenila-3000-ljudi>

različitih grana vlasti, zaklinjanje u svetost ljudskih prava bez istinske volje da se ona zaista poštuju i/ili zaštite, deo su tog kontinuiteta. Nekih novina ipak ima. Jedna od njih je da se od deklarativnih zalaganja za borbu protiv korupcije u političkim emisijama prešlo na medijski najavljena hapšenja tajkuna. Uhapšen je i optužen za korupciju Miroslav Mišković, najkrupniji među bogatašima nastalim tokom devedesetih. Do sistema koji omogućava i indukuje tu korupciju nije se (još?) stiglo. Mada to nije važno sve dok rejtinzi rastu. A rastu. Ništa tako ne razveseli ljude kao bogataš u zatvoru.

Bilo da se pozicionira kao zaštitnik opljačkanih i poniženih, onaj koji će se žrtvovati za modernizaciju Srbije i/ili oličenje narodne volje, Aleksandar Vučić je trenutno najpopularniji političar u Srbiji. Ta popularnost odslikava i jedan dublji kontinuitet čežnje za „tamo nekim ko zna“, „ko će (sam?) rešiti stvar“, „ko je drugačiji“, koju u većoj ili manjoj meri dele svi slojevi društva. Ideologija se tu uglavnom pojavljivala tek kao kozmetika. Istovremeno, specifičan spoj „dokazanog patriotizma“ i proevropske, modernističke retorike amortizuje kritike i obezbeđuje Vučiću široku podršku kako tradicionalnih glasača/ca (pređašnje) Srpske radikalne stranke, tako i dobrog dela glasača/ica onoga što se ranije zvalo prodemokratski blok. Radikalni politički zaokret od-šešelja-do-vebera ne da nije okrnjio njegovu popularnost, već je naprotiv – povećao. A SNS se vidi kao stranka koja drži svoja obećanja⁵.

Na drugoj strani je dezorijentisana opozicija, u prvom redu Demokratska stranka, koja se, nakon smenjivanja Borisa Tadića, s konstantnim padom rejtinga, nosi s optuživanjem »svojih« glasača/ica za nelojalnost i/ili nerazumevanje i frakcijskim borbama unutar stranke. Praksa uvedena mnogo ranije, da se lokalna vlast usklađuje s republičkom, kao bumerang se vraća Demokratskoj stranci. Predsednik DS Dragan Đilas, smenjen je sa mesta gradonačelnika Beograda i slede novi izbori u glavnom gradu. Sada se gotovo u celoj državi lokalna i republička vlast podudaraju, što po ko zna koji put otvara mnoga pitanja. Recimo, ako se odnosi moći na republičkom nivou (ili nivou predsednika) prenose na druge nivoe vlasti, koji je tačno smisao lokalnih izbora? Ili kakve posledice nosi koncentracija moći u rukama malog broja ljudi? Ali, dobro, ovde bar pitanja nikad nije nedostajalo. A nije baš ni da su nova.

Nova nije ni zabrana održavanja Parade ponosa koja skoro metaforički sublimira različite forme kontinuiteta neodgovornosti i/ili cinizma političke klase u Srbiji. Po treći put, njeno održavanje je zabranjeno iz »bezbednosnih razloga«. U jednom se treba složiti sa izjavama političara/ki iz vladajućih struktura – to nije poraz države. Da bi država bila poražena, ona bi morala da stane iz svog Ustava i svojih zakona i da pokuša da obezbedi njihovo sprovođenje. Bez relativizacije,

ličnih ne/simpatija i zaklanjanja iza huligana, ekstremno desničarskih i navijačkih grupa (koje su oko potpisivanja Briselskog sporazuma, potencijalno mnogo rizičnijeg događaja, sve odreda bile na pecanju). To je ono što je suština često rabljene reči »vladavina prava«. Jedna od svrha Ustava, zakona i institucija jeste ograničavanje vlasti, njena efektivna kontrola i sprečavanje samovolje. Maks Veber, omiljeni mislilac prvog potpredsednika Vlade Republike Srbije Aleksandra Vučića⁶, je o tome pisao mnogo i sa strašću. Bez toga ulazimo u ono što se u srpskom novogovoru naziva »politička volja«, siva zona pogodna za zastarevanje sudskih procesa, pljačku državnih i reketiranje privatnih preduzeća od strane tajkuna bliskih vlasti, nerasvetljavanje ubistava novinara/ki ili proglašavanje mleka sa nedozvoljenom količinom aflatoksina savršeno zdravim. Niz je potencijalno beskrajan. A mnogo toga je već viđeno.

Prošlogodišnja promena vlasti i ustoličavanje kao nove vlasti onih koji su imali značajnu ulogu u oblikovanju poslednje deкаде dvadesetog veka u ovom regionu, nije donela nikakav »povratak u devedesete«. Socijalna amnezija koja prekriva devedesete u Srbiji u kojima »Srbija nije bila u ratu« vremenom se sve više pretvara u »Koji rat?«. Toj amneziji umnogome su doprineli i čelnici Demokratske stranke nedostatkom političke vizije i/ili hrabrosti da se otvori pitanje odgovornosti Srbije za ratove, pitanje posledica tih ratova, ali i da u ime države koju su predstavljali, izraze žaljenje bez relativizacija, i upute nedvosmislenu poruku drugima (u regionu i unutar zemlje) da se tako nešto neće ponoviti. Onda nije neočekivano da i režim koji je Milošević personifikovao postaje samo »vlast koja nije bila idealna, s obzirom da je izgubila izbore«, ali i da »sve to treba ostaviti u prošlosti« jer »ako ne možemo da ispravimo prošlost možemo da utičemo na sadašnjost i budućnost« (Ivica Dačić)⁷. Međutim, ta prošlost je tu i iz dana u dan opominje da nigde ne ide. Bilo u obliku naizgled, nerazumljivih erupcija nasilja kakvo je bilo višestruko ubistvo koje se dogodio u Velikoj Ivanči kod Mladenovca, gde je čovek koga komšije opisuju kao tihog i dobrog (inače ratni veteran iz Slavonije 1991), ubio trinaestoro ljudi na spavanju⁸. Ili nedavno prebijanje nastavnika od strane osnovaca dok je čekao ženu i dete u parku⁹. Bilo u selektivnoj istoriji, uprošćenim crno-belim objašnjenjima i/ili diskursu samoviktimizacije gde »smo mi ako ne jedine, a ono najveće žrtve« koji je i dalje dominantan u javnom prostoru u odnosu prema ratovima iz devedesetih. Očajanje i frustracija u kombinaciji sa normalizovanim nasiljem, opasna su kombinacija, a prošlost nikada nije samo prošlost. Takva prošlost

6 TV B92, 2013, <http://b1ip.tv/b92/utisak-nedelje-10-3-2013-6548445>

7 Akter, 2013, <http://akter.co.rs/25-politika/54434-hvala-im-to-sunas-smenili-oktobra-2000-godine.html>

8 Glas Amerike, 2013, <http://www.glasamerike.net/content/masakr-kod-mladenovca/1637770.html>

9 Slobodna Evropa, 2013, <http://www.slobodnaevropa.org/content/grupa-osnovaca-pretukla-nastavnika-u-novom-sadu/25101346.html>

5 Politika, 2013, <http://www.politika.rs/rubrike/Politika/SNS-sam-na-vrhu.sr.html>

traje zauvek.

U širokom rasponu između narativa o gubljenju identiteta, izdaji Kosova i nacionalističkog resantimana i (sve bleđe) nade u dolazak zlatnog doba (oličenog u blagostanju EU), stanovnici/ce Srbije poput brodolomnika čekaju brod koji će ih spasiti

od plutanja u lošoj beskonačnosti. Loša vest je da ne treba preterano računati na pomoć sa strane i da će ljudi koji ovde žive morati sami da zaveslaju. Dobra vest je to isto.

Marijana Stojčić

Annual Report 2013
(English version)

Dear friends,

We present to you the 16th annual report on our activities for the period September 2012 - September 2013 and hope to receive your feedback.

Most of the report is devoted to peacebuilding activities of the mixed group of war veterans that has been increasingly busy this year so that we can report on their study visit to Berlin, joint visits to places of strife and memory - Srebrenica, Busovača, and Vitez, as well as commemorative visits to Gornji Vakuf/Uskoplje, the south of Serbia and Zavidovići (which was the first instance where one of the former warring sides invited their former “enemies” to this type of commemoration of an important date from recent history). Apart from training for war veterans, in Doboј we organised a meeting of veterans to analyse what the veterans group had achieved to date in terms of peace-building, and the possibilities and opportunities for joint participation in future peace-building actions. The Basic Training in Peacebuilding is our oldest programme of peace education, and this year we held our 34th round of trainings. From long years of experience of the CNA peace education programmes, twelve years after the publication of the Nonviolence? manual, follows our new manual Reconciliation?! A manual for dealing with the past through trainings and workshops. The English translation of the Manual will be available in 2014. After years of preparation, at the end of 2012, we started putting together a book of photographs of places of memory and modes of memorialisation in Bosnia and Herzegovina after the war(s) of 1992-1995. We expect that this book, a result of long-term research and photographing of marked and unmarked sites of memory, will be printed in 2014.

After almost ten years, we are gladly looking forward to and preparing for a new cycle of Training for Trainers. We will be publishing all the necessary information on time. We would also like to publish our experience in working with war veterans, and we are patiently working on this publication, hoping that it too will see the light of day soon. We have a lot of plans and wishes that you will have an opportunity to read about when they are finalised. We just want to say that we are working hard and with dedication, but we are not complaining, the feedback we get and the pleasure we derive from the work encourage us to keep at it.

This year, we were joined by our long-term associate and friend Marijana Stojčić. With this expansion of our capacities, we are preparing for some new ventures in peacebuilding in our societies. We will need your feedback, reactions, criticisms, but also your support, just like in the past sixteen years. Only then can our work have meaning.

Kind regards,
CNA Team

Work with War Veterans

Study Visit of War Veterans

Berlin, October 15th-21st, 2012.

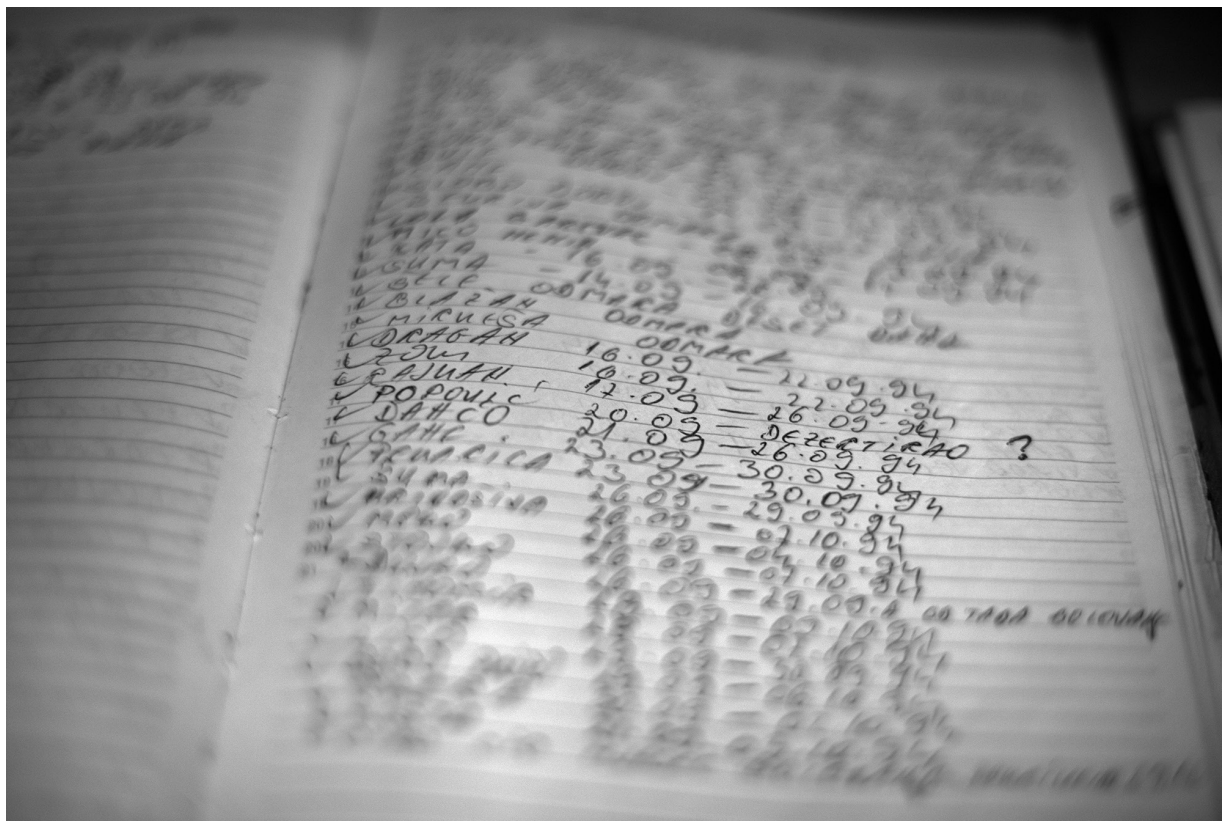
The purpose of the study visit by eleven veterans from Bosnia and Herzegovina and Serbia to Berlin was to explore how Germany deals with its past and whether this experience could be a source of inspiration for the reconciliation process in the Balkans. This is primarily a matter of establishing a more inclusive culture of memory, an effort that these veterans, in cooperation with CNA, have been actively involved in for years now.

The study visit included tours of memorial sites, talks

about documenting local and oral history, and discussions about "memory policy", its potentials, limitations, stakeholders, and the preconditions for its success.

We brought all these topics together, as well as materials from the workshop hosted by the Berghof Foundation where discussions ran deeper, and presented the approach, personal motivation and impressions of this group of veterans in a publication called "Horror Has Only One Face", which is also included in our annual report.





A group of war veterans made up of former fighters in the Army of BiH, the Croat Defence Council, the Army of Republika Srpska, the Croatian Army and the JNA, later the Army of Yugoslavia has for a number of years been jointly visiting sites of suffering from the 1991-1999 wars. This is a way to express respect towards all victims, and to contribute to constructive dealing with the recent past, which is singularly important for the reconciliation process in the region.

Srebrenica, a Sacred Place and a Place of Reconciliation

Srebrenica, 17th of October, 2012

We arrived in Srebrenica from Belgrade by night. At night the town looks like any other Bosnian town, enveloped in darkness, surrounded by hills now repopulated by trees; those closer to the town centre were cut down for firewood during the war. The hills around Srebrenica are not very tall, but they have sudden drops. Only on the second day of our stay, the sun will shine to reveal the beauty of the hills, a certain mildness brought out by the pastels of the leaves at the calendar start of winter. The first thing Srebrenica brings to mind is the grey colour of buildings, streets, nature, and the unusual name of its suburb: Soločuša. The greyness is comparable to the colour of the clouds hiding the sun and constricting the horizon. That was my gut feeling about this town, mixed in with the bitter taste of human defeat. I had been here a few times before, but this time for the longest stay, long enough to get to know its streets whose pre-war names were reinstated in 2004. I would go down Učina bašča and then further on down Reuf Selmanagić Crni Street. When Ratko Mladić entered the town, he ordered the sign with the name of this street be removed from the wall right away. The names of the streets are written out in Cyrillic and Latin script on blue metal plates. For the first time, I realised Srebrenica was a deserted town. As you walk by rows of houses, everywhere you look, you see extinguished chimneys. Windows uninhabited by light or human warmth. Srebrenica is as desolate as a provincial railway station. Its houses are tangible metaphors of loneliness. The only sound you can hear as you walk these streets is the babbling of a brook crowded in by houses on the steep slopes of the hills. So, for the first day, I observed the houses, they kept me company during my night-time walks. Out on the concrete unfenced steps leading to the attic of the house by the road, someone left two quinces with shrivelled leaves. Srebrenica is a falling star, the title of Melika Salihbeg Bosnawi's poem runs through my mind. You may see a light in a window here and there, clothes hanging out to dry, a cat taking up the sphinx pose to warm itself on a car bonnet, welcome surprises revealing that there is life here, that it is hidden in every tenth house. Before the war, Srebrenica was one of the wealthiest municipalities in BiH. Its population, according to the 1991 census, was 36,666. The locals estimate there are just over five thousand people living in Srebrenica today. Quite a few less than there are buried in Potočari.

The next day, we visited the Memorial Centre in Potočari. On behalf of the group of war veterans from Serbia and BiH, a wreath for the victims was laid down by Ljuban Volaš, a veteran of VRS, Novica Kostić, a veteran of the JNA from Serbia, and Narcis Mišanović, a veteran of the BiH Army from Sarajevo. It was a truly special moment of showing respect and honour-

ing the victims of the Srebrenica genocide. With us were the mothers of Srebrenica who told the veterans their tragic life stories. Our curator, Amra Begić, who was a child when the genocide happened, recounted the chronology of the tragedy vividly, from the point of view of a witness. Once again it turns out that those who have felt the horror on their own skin are the ones to talk about it most convincingly.

Following the history lesson, we continued walking around the Memorial Centre. The usual procedure is to let visitor decide whether they want to walk around on their own or have a guide take them through the vast space populated by white tombstones. Then, on a path between the graves, I chanced upon an older woman who started telling me about her murdered children. Of everything she said, I remembered the sentence: "Children are not mushrooms."

Glass Marbles

There are two basic colours in Potočari: the green of the grass and the white of the marble tombstones. Here and there, you see the colour of fresh earth as the tombstones are dug into it at the ends of recent mounds. Workers are drilling into the concrete blocks at the poles of the mound in order to cement in the tombstones so that the marble does not tilt and sink into the earth. The only contrast are the red leaves on a stout tree, they are the colour of a setting sun. In Potočari, I hid behind my camera lens. It allows you to stay invisible, to put up an emotional barrier. The lens captured the faces of the veterans as they spoke with the mothers of Srebrenica and as they listened to Amra Begić. The once severely wounded sat on chairs, their faces reflecting pain and sympathy for those that were killed. These are all grown, strong men, who had discharged their duties honourably in the war. Here, space has overpowered measurable time, it was lost among the thousands of marble tombstones. The time of the dead reigns supreme here, and it started on 11 July 1995.

At the hangar where the infamous Dutch battalion was stationed, we saw an exhibition of photographs depicting the chronology of the war in Srebrenica. Objects found in mass graves are exhibited in dark niches. I saw a silver cigarette case, reading glasses, and two glass marbles on a glass pane. Beneath the photograph and the biography, it said: "Two marbles that used to belong to Ismet Hasanović, found in 1996 with his body on the surface of the Kamenica mass grave, Bratunac." Is there a need to explain the frailty of child's play, the flash of light trapped in a geometric figure, pulsating with life, an exotic microcosm you could escape into right before the moment of your execution in a field.

The Crown of the Crime

After seeing a documentary about the killing of the people of Srebrenica, the war veterans were most deeply touched by the testimonies of mothers who had lost their families in July 1995. "The reactions of the mothers tell us we are on the right track, that we should go on," were the words of Narcis Mišanović, a veteran of the BiH Army, when he spoke to the press in Potočari. We then withdrew to the Misirlije hotel where everyone talked about his impressions from the visit to the Memorial Centre.

Đoko Pupčević, a member of the VRS from Šamac, summed up his thoughts thus: "Emotionally, it was a difficult day. I knew quite a bit about Srebrenica beforehand, but when you come here and see 8000 graves, tombstones, you see that life is nothing. The dead outnumber the living in Srebrenica today. I did not see a single child or smile. The streets are deserted, and it's not a working day. I came to honour the innocent people killed here, killed only because they belonged to a different religion."

Novica Kostić from Vlasotinac in Serbia, a JNA veteran from 1991 in Croatia, an amputee, missing fingers on his hand and with a wound on his "healthy" leg, said, "Srebrenica is a sacred place. It's not just genocide that happened in Srebrenica, Srebrenica is the crown of the crime."

Ljuban Volaš, a member of the VRS from Prnjavor, told me he had visited Potočari twice before. Once, he just looked

through the fence, the second time, he entered into the Memorial Centre to look around, but did not venture among the graves. "As a man, I stand against crimes. The unit under my command did not commit crimes. It was an honour to lay down flowers for the victims of Srebrenica. I felt the pain and bitterness of mothers who bear it to this day. We must also see the other side, the Serb side, because there were crimes there, too. That is the only way to get a complete picture of the tragedy in BiH," Ljuban concluded. The initiative to honour the victims of the Srebrenica genocide was supported by our hosts from Srebrenica: Amir Mehmedović Gera from the Patriotic League, Nedžib Delić, President of the Disabled War Veterans Association, and Nedžad Bektić from the Golden Lilies Association of the highest war medal bearers. We parted with them at the main intersection in Srebrenica, posing for a joint photo. The next time I come here, I don't think I'll feel like a stranger. Perhaps Srebrenica is the town from which we can start the process of genuine reconciliation among people in BiH. And perhaps that's just my textual illusion. One thing I know: this town has become part of my conscious. It has settled itself deep within where shells and fires cannot reach it.

Faruk Šehić

(the shorter version of the article is published in bh magazine „Dani“, on November 23rd, 2012)





Busovača, Vitez

23rd and 24th of November 2012

War veterans, former members of units in the Army of BiH, the Army of Republika Srpska, the Croat Defence Council, the Croatian Army, and the Yugoslav National Army went to Busovača on 23rd and 24th of November 2012 where they visited memorial sites and honoured the victims of the past war.

The visit was organized by the Centre for Nonviolent Action Sarajevo/ Belgrade with the support of local partner Anđelko Kvesić from the Croat Association of Prison Camp Survivors from the Homeland War in the Central Bosnia Canton located in Busovača.

The visit to Busovača included the site of the „Silos“ internment camp in Kačuni where those present were addressed by a former internee of the camp, Marijan Krajina, and the Monument to Fallen Fighters, as well as the Memorial room of the Busovača brigade of the HVO. Former command-

er Zdravko Babić spoke about the war travails of the brigade.

In Vitez, the visit included the memorial site of „Cisterna“, the Memorial room to honour the shaheeds and fallen fighters of ARBiH at Kruščica, and the memorial church in Nova Bila that had been used as a hospital during the war.

Unfortunately, Ahmići was not visited this time, because the Memorial for the Civilian Victims and Fallen ARBiH Soldiers was under construction.

A meeting was organized with Hamdija Karić, President of the Disabled War Veterans of ARBiH in Vitez, who supported the initiative for joint visits and expressed his personal readiness and interest in participating in similar visits in the region in the future.

A.D.

Commemoration in Gornji Vakuf/ Uskoplje

21st of December 2012

At the invitation of the organiser – the veterans association „Goranovi“ from Gornji Vakuf/Uskoplje – and with the support of the Centre for Nonviolent Action (CNA), war veterans from Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia and Croatia visited this town in Central Bosnia and attended the commemoration „In memory of Commander Goran Čišić“, traditionally organized on 21 December.

In the overflowing hall of the Centre for Education and Culture, those gathered were addressed by Ibrahim Topčić, President of the „Goranovi“ association who delivered the introductory speech and read out the names of killed and deceased fellow fighters.

The mention of the presence of war veterans from the region working on promoting peace and activists from the Centre for Nonviolent Action (CNA) was greeted by a long applause of support.

Adnan Hasanbegović was invited to speak on the behalf of CNA, and he explained the idea behind the veterans visiting each other for commemorative events, jointly marking signifi-

cant dates from the wartime past as symbolically important for building peace and seeking a common culture of memory, as well as overcoming hatred as an obstacle to freedom.

Pupils from the town took part in the cultural and artistic part of the programme. They gave their seal to this events from the town to live freely and build a future on the foundations of peaceful coexistence with all people from the region.

After the official part of the commemoration, the veterans continued their stay with the hosts.

Unfortunately, like many towns in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Gornji Vakuf/Uskoplje is a divided town, and the commemoration was supported by only one part of the town.

We hope that there will come a time when divided towns become a thing of the past and when events such as this one include all people irrespective of their background. This is something we from CNA hope to contribute to.

A.D.



A commemoration to victims of NATO's 'humanitarian campaign'

Vlasotince, Leskovac, Grdelička klisura, 12th of April 2013

War veterans from Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia, with the support of the Centre for Nonviolent Action (CNA) and in cooperation with local partners from the municipality of Vlasotince - the Association of War Veterans 1999 and the Association of Fighters from the 1990 war, visited Vlasotince and Leskovac, two municipalities in the south of Serbia.

During their stay, a working meeting was held with the Organisation of Veterans from the 1991 - 1999 war of the Republic of Serbia located in Leskovac and representatives of municipal committees of this organisation from Niš, Kruševac, Prokuplje, Valjevo and Pirot.

Together, the veterans from the region visited Grdelička klisura in the Leskovac municipality where they attended a

commemoration to honour the victims who lost their lives during the bombing of the passenger train on 12 April 1999. They laid wreaths at the memorial and honoured the dead.

The participants and representatives of local veteran associations also met with representatives of the local administration in Vlasotince and Leskovac where they heard expressions of support for initiatives and ways of cooperation such as theirs.

The visit to Vlasotince and Leskovac, and the participation at the commemoration in Grdelička klisura was the first organised to Serbia.

A.D.

War Veterans at the Anniversary of the Battle: Site 715 - Hill of Death

Podsijelovo Hill, Zavidovići, 29th of June 2013

Months ago we received an invitation from Asim on behalf of the Council of Disabled War Veterans of Zavidovići for a mixed veteran group and the CNA team to visit this town on 29 June. That day was to mark the anniversary of the Battle for Site 715 on Podsijelovo Hill on the outskirts of Mount Ozren which stretches across Doboj-Maglaj-Zavidovići-Vozuća-Banovići-Gračanica.

Anticipating the summer heat and given that the site was quite remote for participants from Serbia and Croatia to travel just for a one-day event, and in view of the fact that access to the Site was physically demanding, we decided to form a smaller group with war veterans from BiH, representatives of VRS, HVO and AR BiH.

We arranged to meet on the morning of that day at the hotel in Zavidovići. Asim and me found Anđelko waiting at the hotel, and Pajo, Mirko, Đoko, Ljuban, Narcis and Ado soon joined us. Once we were all together, it was as if we had seen each other just the day before and were now picking up the conversation we started then.

We talked about the programme and protocol for the event knowing that this was a hard-liner type of commemoration of a date from recent history, with clearly expressed nationalist and military colouring. But we had gone through all that at our trainings and meetings, so we spent the rest of the morning before departure engaged in small talk over coffee. It was not for nothing that one of our war veterans commenting on what we were prepared to do together said

that nothing could stop us because we were already veterans of veteran actions.

Site 715 is some twenty kilometres from the town, so we split up into three vehicles and were on our way.

The road runs along the valley of the Krivaja River for about twelve kilometres before it starts zig-zaging uphill along Laz, as the locals call it after an eponymous village that stretches all along the hillside. Driving up that incline, I thought about all the times I had watched this landscape from the back of a truck, through a window made by pulling the tarp away at the edge, jostling on the benches with my fellow fighters during the war. What a coincidence, I thought, back then I looked backwards while moving forwards, and now I am looking into the past so as to better drive into the future.

We arrived at the village of Hajderovići, a place where we were to return after visiting the Site and attend an event called June Resistance Days that provides the framework for the commemoration of the Battle for Site 715. All these villages and hamlets make up one of the largest local communities in BiH - Pašin Konak, which had a population of some six thousand according to the last census from 1991. Everything was ready - the barbecues and roasting spits, the ice-cream and candy floss stands. There was even a merry-go-round. It is curious how among the people, events to mourn the dead are intertwined with festivities to celebrate things of this world through the décor of the village fair.

Arriving at the plateau of the Site, we saw a convoy of cars, buses and pedestrians. We get out of the car and Ljuban, as the wisest greying head among us says, "My friend called to tell me not to get off the road anywhere, who know how many were planted here, by both us and them," alluding to the mines. And truly, wherever the grass was not cut or where the forest started, everything was marked by ribbons whose warnings sent shivers down one's spine.

We climbed to the plateau, a spacious meadow, a plain. In the middle was a commemorative block, a few steps further an improvised rostrum with speakers and flags on poles. The central space was bordered by ribbons providing a narrow path up to the rostrum. In the background was a tent-covered kitchen with tables and benches prepared for an outdoor lunch of the host and guests.

A few hundred people had already gathered on the plateau. Asim approaches with a man he introduces as Amir Mujkić, a representative of the organising committee. Amir welcomed us and shook hands with everyone saying he knew who we were and what we did, that Asim had already filled him in. He said that during his speech he would be using the term aggressor, because he felt that's what they, the enemy, were. We later concluded that he was fair, at least he said what he thought. He called over the young man in charge of protocol for the laying of the wreaths who asked us about how he should announce our group. We agreed it should be Centre for Nonviolent Action Sarajevo/Belgrade. We were also told that the programme did not foresee any of us addressing the gathering, but that we would be mentioned as a mixed group of veterans from BiH as was previously agreed with Asim. It was important for those gathered to see us as such, as a joint group made up of former enemies. Although we were ultimately never mentioned, through conversations with people following the programme, we found they knew who we were after all.

The host announced the arrival of participants to start the Ceremony. Soon we saw the front of the column with a motley of flags, both from the war, state flags past and present and religious flags. They were greeted by applause and the colour guard arranged themselves in front of the rostrum. The others gathered around the periphery of the designated central space.

This was followed by a call to honour the killed by reciting the Al-Fatiha or taking a moment of silence.

Following the national anthem, participants were called up to lay their wreaths. We agreed that Ljuban, Mirko and Ado should go up on behalf of CNA. I tried to push through the crowd to take a few photos. The announcement of each group was followed by applause. I was taken aback because the applause seemed ill fitting to the occasion. I heard the host call Centre for Nonviolent Action from Sarajevo and Belgrade. Ap-

plause, loud. I see our three representatives walking up to the clock to lay the wreath. Like a member of the once Rumanian Sekuritetea I pricked up my ears and watched people closely for any reaction after Ljuban and Mirko crossed themselves. No one made any comments, everything was normal, without a moment's pause.

With that part of the programme over, the second part started with salutes from the war commanders, which was an introduction to the History Lesson.

Those gathered were told the war story about the importance of this site for the Zavidovići area by Amir, the man who greeted us. At one point, he said that the plateau we were standing on was once overcrowded by dead bodies. That's when the flashbacks started. I remembered my fellow fighters, from when part of my unit was transferred over to help with 715. I saw them again two or three days later with dulled eyes and sunken faces. They said it was no longer site 715, it was now 714. The shells certainly knocked off at least one meter. The only thing they didn't throw at them was an atom bomb.

Listening to Amir engrossed in the story where he was the protagonist, I felt like I was listening to a radio broadcast of a football match with the commentator's voice becoming distorted in particularly suspenseful moments. He mentioned aggressors a few times, like he said he would, and once he even slipped up and said the so-called Republika Srpska, whatever, I thought, political relativisation. But he mentioned Chetniks about sixty-eight times. I asked Ljuban and Đoko how it was for them listening to this. Ljuban said, "Let the man speak, it's his view of things. Doesn't bother me." Đoko added, "Me neither. I didn't feel like that during the war, like a Chetnik". Later Mirko said he had felt left out because the speaker did not mention Ustasha even once.

A series of speeches followed given by various officials and politicians. You got the general gist about the nature of the war in BiH with a view to the Declaration on the causes, nature and consequences of the tragic armed conflict in BiH from 1992 to 1995 adopted by the RS National Assembly just two days before. A clear message was sent that such an interpretation would never be accepted.

I think about the irreconcilability of ethno-nationalisms in this post-Dayton BiH, select memories of war that have petrified victims into a uniformly acceptable model. A model that leaves no room for the need for forgiveness and reconciliation with the other side and that is transferred to the coming generations. What of the model of co-existence? A strong state with a legislative and law enforcement apparatus as a guarantee to its citizens that they will not be killed, their houses will not be burnt, their property taken, that they will not be made to flee their homes? Is this to each his own model acceptable

and end of story? These peoples are not chemical solutions that must be kept in separate containers to avoid a volatile reaction. What of a model for cooperation, prosperity...

After the closing, Amir came and invited us to lunch. We realised it was quite crowded and we were tired from standing for two hours, so we decided to head back to Zavidovići.

We went to a restaurant to sum up the day. We concluded we should continue our activities and that they do have an impact in the places we visit. People had approached us, asked about our work, expressed their support. Can it be a coincidence that at no point did anyone come to say we were doing something bad or wrong? We never had an incident, a curse or bad word come our way. There is no better sign that we are on the right track.

Even though our society is divided when it comes to attitudes towards the past war and stuck in a cycle of unilateral acts aiming to shift responsibility from one's own side at the expense of others, these positive reactions give rise to hope.

We are prepared to go and promote the idea of reconciliation through the need to respect former enemies and establish trust and mutual relations that will articulate our common past without activating hatred. Asim mentioned that in the

future it would be good to erect a memorial to Serb soldiers at Site 715, because they also suffered tremendous losses in those battles.

One of the ways for the roles of soldiers and their victims to be recognised and acknowledged on both sides is the possibility of jointly marking the casualties from intense battles. Considering your former enemy a man with a similar fate, with memories of losing his fellow fighters, spending days in the rain and freezing in the trenches, memories of the fear and hopelessness of war - is better for overcoming the trauma of war than the stereotypical preconceptions about irreconcilable foes. An honest man will treat crimes and criminals like something shameful, something detrimental to civilisation. What, then, is our problem? Wearing dirty underwear might hide our shame, but they'll still ride up our cracks...

As the writer, himself a veteran and our colleagues, Faruk Šehić says, "Oh, you who survived the war, leave all hope of ever getting out of it alive".

Amer Delić



Ex-combatants Training. *We Were by the Battle / in Doboj*

Doboj, 7-10 June 2013.

For more than a decade, the Centre for Nonviolent Action has been working war veterans and organising Trainings for those who participated in wars. Bringing together war veterans, members of opposed armies from the wars in former Yugoslavia, is a challenge in and of itself. To organise a training with workshops where they will discuss violence and war, and all in the interests of reconciliation and peace building means to raise the stakes and face an uncertain outcome. It is a gamble that can result in a complete washout or a jack pot. I say this because there is always a degree of caution in the sense that the everyday political situation has a strong influence on veterans. And we have a general interpretation of the post-war period being just like the war, except there's no shooting. What used to be opposed armies has now become people with opposed memories.

After years of actions that involved war veterans from the region, who make up the core of a mixed group that visited marked and unmarked sites of suffering in BiH and that started the practice of visiting each others' commemorations and events organised to mark important dates from recent history¹, a need arose for new people to join in, people prepared and motivated to participate in and advocate for peace-building. Also, by involving new individuals and organisations, our aim is to encourage further regional expansion of peace building activities.

This time, we organised the training in Doboj, a town in northern Bosnia that was named, as legend has it, after numerous battles occurring in the field adjacent to it, so that there were travellers going to the site of the battle. I wonder how many of those people wanted to wage war, and how many were pushed or forced into it? What name would be given a place never touched by war and known for it? What would characterise such a place, what would dominate its landscape the way the fortress on Gradina hill dominates the landscape of Doboj?

Doboj was an alternative solution. For reasons of geographical accessibility for people from the region, the training was initially planned to take place in Brčko. However, due to a lack of professionalism on the part of the hotel management there, we had to change the location, and only four days be-

fore the event.

Forming a new group, we relied on people that CNA had established initial contacts with through visits to execution sites that we organised, and on recommendations from war veterans that we had worked with in the past. The group was reinforced by two war veterans from the above mentioned core. Unfortunately, some of the participants cancelled due to obligations that had cropped up suddenly, as they said.

Ultimately, the group consisted of eleven participants, members of veterans' associations from Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Federation of BiH (Bihać, Vitez, Brčko, Žepče) and Republika Srpska (Šamac, Rogatica), Serbia (Leskovac, Kruševac) and Croatia (Zagreb), and the four of us from the team of trainers, Nenad Vukosavljević, Adnan Hasanbegović, Nedžad Horozović and Amer Delić.

At the very beginning of the training, it was noticeable how the participants were quick to establish dialogue. Transparently, without holding back and with a lot of enthusiasm they entered into discussions of the most difficult topics from the past, the so-called burning issues. In the case of war veterans, honesty, which is becoming increasingly rare in communication in our contemporary society, comes out as a spontaneous reaction of people wanting to be heard and to hear each other out. Aware that they have different perspectives and opinions on the past, they do not shrink from expressing them and from being accepted as such. We talked about the ideals that were fought for, victims and suffering, both of our own and of other peoples.

Also, there was a pronounced critical view of one's own role and responsibility in the past war, as well as awareness of personal transformation in the post-war period when it comes to national and ideological interpretations of the course of the war. It was beneficial that the training team saw that it had the trust of the participants based on their knowledge of the activities CNA has conducted in the past and the expectations they had from this training. At no time was there any reluctance to cooperate with the team members.

To revive war memories through the cycle of having people go back to their apocalyptic experiences carries a particular weight at these events. This sort of training is not straightforwardly therapeutic, instead, through deeply personal stories, participants develop empathy towards each other, which is key to building trust as the cornerstone of future cooperation.

In general, the training exhibited a condemnation of war as a social phenomenon and all other forms of violence. Especially the insidious form of violence we encounter in our societies daily, but are often unable to clearly identify.

1 Unfortunately, such actions are still not something that war veterans decide to take up independently within the scope of their veterans' organisations. Instead, they rely on the support of CNA, both in terms of organisation and in terms of logistics. We hope that in the foreseeable future, joint activities will be organised and we will be invited to attend them as friends and dear guests. We certainly provide encouragement for things to develop in this direction.



Based on past experience and along with a presentation of the work conducted with war veterans, the team of trainers opened discussion on the possibilities and numerous dilemmas inherent in the peacebuilding process. There is no alternative to reconciliation, unless we opt for a closed society where a new conflict is just a matter of time. The current situation is such that peacebuilding veterans stick out in their local communities and are frequently ostracised by both their fellow veterans and the political powers that be precisely because they stand up to socially accepted interpretations of the recent past, which propagate irreconcilable opposition between the peoples in the region and see the regular recurrence of conflict as inevitable.

From the point of view of the organiser, we can generally say that the goals and expectations for this training were fulfilled. A possibility for cooperation in hitherto under-represented areas of eastern Bosnia and the Cazin region opened up. Participants from these part of BiH offered concrete cooperation and coordination in developing further actions. I must point out that before the training, we from

CNA established contacts with representatives of BORS from Prijedor and Šipovo. Due to prior engagements, they were unable to attend the training, but they expressed their support for the idea of cooperation and joint visits by veterans and their readiness to contribute to our work.

Also, all the participants expressed their readiness to participate in visits to sites of suffering with people from the existing group, and they also realised what they may be able to do in their communities either as individuals or members of their respective organisations. Working for the common good in such a delicate mission as reconciliation entails understanding the needs of the other side, of former enemies.

The approach and commitment of the participants enabled the team of trainers to plan concrete future activities in coordination with the veterans. Enthusiasm and readiness are in abundance, now we must put them into practice - in the field.

Amer Delić

Publications

Horror Always Has the Same Face

By Martina Fischer and Miriam Schroer-Hippel

Published by CNA

Excerpt

War-torn societies face a crucial question and challenge: How to find words, gestures, sites, and forms of commemoration that explain the past in an appropriate manner and give guidance for building a shared future without repeating the pain? Peace practitioners and scholars are convinced that there is a need to face the legacies of the violent past to pave the way for peaceful co-existence, trust- and relationship building. At the same time, public presentation of history is often a source of conflict. Different interests and perspectives are involved and need to be addressed. To discuss these questions, the Centre for Nonviolent Action (CNA, Belgrade/Sarajevo) conducted a study tour to Berlin (Germany) with war veterans from the region of former Yugoslavia from October 15th-21st, 2012.

Eleven ex-combatants from Bosnia-Herzegovina and Serbia travelled to Berlin. All of them waged war in Bosnia in the 1990s and fought against each other on opposing sides. These former enemies are now promoting peace. Working under the most difficult conditions, they visit sites of atrocities in local communities in Bosnia and initiate discussions with inhabitants and authorities. Many places in Bosnia are still unmarked and others are marked by monuments that raise controversy. The group aims to convince and sensitise their fellow-citizens that the sites have to be marked in a way that creates empathy for the suffering of the victims of all sides.

The aim of the tour to Berlin was to explore how Germany has dealt with its past and whether this can inspire the reconciliation process in the Balkans. The group visited memorial sites selected by the CNA-team during an earlier visit in March 2012: They included the "Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe", the "Topography of Terror", which is a memorial to the planning hub of the Nazi police institutions and former prison in the center of Berlin, the memorial site of the former GDR-Prison "Gedenkstätte Hohenschönhausen", the memorial and museum of the former concentration camp and war prison "Sachsenhausen", and the Brandenburg Police School

in the same neighbourhood. The visit also included talks with civil society initiatives for documenting local and oral history (Berliner Geschichtswerkstatt) and artistic forms of remembering exclusion, persecution, and deportation of the Jewish inhabitants of Berlin (established i.e. in the former Jewish quarter "Spandauer Vorstadt" and in the so-called "Bavarian Quarter"). (For a complete overview see <http://nenasilje.org/en/2012/the-heritage-of-national-socialism-the-culture-of-remembrance-in-berlin/>).

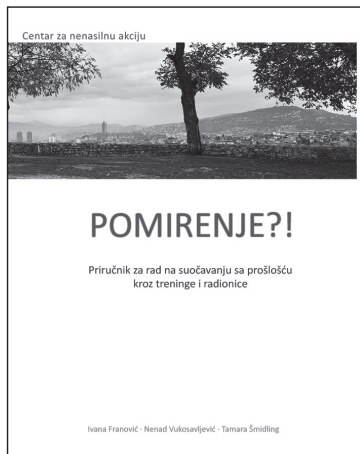
In addition to the study tour, the participants met for a workshop hosted by the Berghof Foundation on October 18th, 2012. The event offered space for deepening discussion with German experts, friends and supporters of CNA's activities, and for reflecting on impressions from the visits to the memorials. The event was chaired by Martina Fischer (Berghof Foundation) and Nenad Vukosavljević (CNA). Two inputs informed the debate: Daniel Gaede, Director of the Educational Department at the Buchenwald Memorial Foundation, presented examples from the many German histories after 1945: Who became active in "remembrance policy" and how did these actors engage? What were the conditions for success? He highlighted the potential and limits of action on diverse (personal, social and state) levels and showed that dealing with the past is not a linear process. Adnan Hasanbegović and Nenad Vukosavljević presented the Centre for Nonviolent Action's approach and how it supports ex-combatants' efforts to achieve an inclusive culture of remembrance. War veterans explained their personal motivations and discussed their impressions from Berlin with friends and supporters of CNA and staff members of the Berghof Foundation. The German Ministry for Development and Cooperation (BMZ) financed the tour and the workshop.

The report marks some of the most important issues and discussions:

<http://nenasilje.org/en/2013/horroralwaysasthesameface/> (downloaded over 29000 times on both languages)

“Reconciliation?!”

Training Handbook for Dealing with the Past



Publisher: Centre for Nonviolent Action, Belgrade - Sarajevo, 2012

Editor: Ivana Franović

Authors: Ivana Franović, Nenad Vukosavljević, Tamara Šmidling

English version is expected in February 2014

Excerpt

The idea for this handbook came about from the desire to share the experience we have gathered. We feel that there is a lack of constructive approaches to dealing with the past in our region, and we hope that this will encourage people to engage in this important work. Since its publication twelve years ago, and up until last year, the training handbook *Non-violence?* has been downloaded from our website over 30 000 times (mostly in “BCS” [Bosnian, Croatian, Serbian] languages, but also Hungarian, Macedonian and Albanian versions). This demonstrates how rewarding and valuable it was to invest our energy in working on this handbook, in its translation and publication. Amongst other things, it encouraged us to publish new insights we have gained and knowledge we have accumulated.

We hope that this handbook will serve as an inspiration for concrete work on these issues. We also hope that at least some people in other parts of the world, who are just starting to work on these issues, or thinking about it, will be encouraged, no matter how difficult it seems.

The handbook consists of three parts. The first part is a series of introductory essays in which we attempt to describe the context in which we work (or as we experience it), to clarify the approach that we have and provide a picture of how

training sessions work. The mid section contains four sub-chapters with exercises that we use in workshops, and many of them are accompanied with practical insights gained during training sessions. The publication is concluded with a “Glossary,” that is conceived as a collection of short essays which define concepts relevant to the theoretical and practical field of dealing with the past.

Most of these exercises are designed in the “CNA kitchen”. We feel that the most effective ones are those developed and tweaked for some groups of participants who inspired us to work further. This is something we realized very early on; therefore, in recent years our practice has been only to set the basic blueprint for the training in advance, and then, guided by the identified needs and inhibitions in the group itself, develop sessions for issues that are a priority in the given composition of the group. We hope to clearly convey the following lesson: the handbook should not be used as a cookbook, with a selection of recipes for an appetizer, main course and dessert. Rather, it should inspire and provide an idea how something might be done but it would be best if the users of the handbook formulated their own priority issues, depending on the needs of the group they are working with.

Publications in Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian language

We finally translated into B/C/S language two essays previously published only in English:

- 'Dealing with the Past in the Context of Ethnonationalism. The Case of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia and Serbia' by Ivana Franović. *Berghof Occasional Paper* No. 29, October 2008.
- 'Preparing for Nonviolence - Experiences in the Western Balkan' by Nenad Vukosavljević. In B. Austin, M. Fischer & Hans J. Gießmann (eds.), *Advancing Conflict Transformation. The Berghof Handbook II*. Opladen/Farmington Hills: Barbara Budrich Publ., 2011.

Excerpt from 'Dealing with the Past in the Context of Ethnonationalism'

There are many theories and narratives about the reasons for the break-up of Yugoslavia, the war that accompanied it and guilt and responsibility for the slaughter that happened. As Sabrina P. Ramet states, we all „know“ why the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY) disintegrated and why the war(s) (1991-1995) broke out:

„It was all because of Milosevic/ Tudjman/ „the Slovenes“/ communists/ organized crime/ Western states/ the Vatican-Comintern conspiracy, who planned it all by himself/ themselves in order to advance his own personal/ Serbian/ Slovenian/ American/ Vatican interests – your choice. Or again – it all happened because of local bad traditions/ economic problems/ structural issues/ system illegitimacy/ legitimate grievances/ the long shadow of the past. Or again – it really started in 1389/ 1463/ 1878/ 1918/ 1941/ 1986/ 1987/ 1989/ 1990/ 1991 – your pick. Of course, we all know that both the break-up and the war were completely avoidable/ inevitable, don't we? And the best of all, we all know that the real villain(s) in this drama can only be Milosevic/ Tudjman/ „the Serbs“/ „the Slovenes“/ „the Croats“/ „the Muslims“/ Germany/ Balkan peoples generally/ the Great Powers, who must be held (exclusively/ jointly) responsible for most of the killing, though some of us also know that all parties were equally guilty. Well, maybe we all know what caused the Yugoslav troubles, but it seems that we „know“ different things.“ (Sabrina P. Ramet, „Explaining the Yugoslav meltdown, 1. 'For a charm of powerful trouble, like a hell-broth boil and bubble': theories about the roots of the Yugoslav troubles,“ *Nationalities Papers* 32 (2004), 731.)

This is an authentic summary of how different the things we „know“ are. Narratives vary throughout the region. Some people might argue that we do not suffer from a lack of truth, but from the existence of too many 'truths' and a lack of consistent efforts to debate them openly, to face and integrate them.

There is almost no shared truth, and for many people it is still hard to accept that different people perceive different things as truths due to different experiences. Only our 'truth' is accepted as the truth, while the 'truths' of others are per-

ceived as manipulation and propaganda. And in many cases, 'our truth' is that we are the victims, while the others are perpetrators. The countries of former Yugoslavia still suffer from the legacy of the 1990s war(s). This legacy seriously affects the present and endangers the future of societies in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Serbia and Croatia.

(...)

This text will explore what can and should be done in the former Yugoslav region, so that these societies develop constructive ways to deal with the past and take a path towards lasting peace. I will argue that constructive dealing with the past is an indispensable prerequisite for accompanying peace-building processes.

My interest in this topic is not purely academic. It is also driven by very personal experiences and the need to reflect on them. The disintegration of former Yugoslavia, which was accompanied by bloody wars, meant that my home country fell apart. The fact that one federal state disintegrated is not even such a big deal – what is horrifying is how it was done, what we were able to do to each other, how we treated and still treat each other.

This paper will focus on the potentials and obstacles for peacebuilding processes in the triangle Serbia – Bosnia-Herzegovina – Croatia. People face very different situations in these three countries. But at the same time, these situations are related, affecting each other. And to avoid any misunderstanding, when the paper refers to 'us', it refers to people in the region of the former Yugoslavia, no matter what their ethnic prefix is. First, the paper will give a brief overview of the issue that needs to be faced foremost: the suffering that human beings endured during the war (chapter 2). This second chapter will address the role of ethnonationalism in our tragedy. I will argue that for analysing the causes of war we should not look at 'ancient hatreds' between the tribes or at ethnic differences. We should look at the essence of patriarchy (not forgetting that ethnonationalism is one of the incarnations of patriarchy): namely power over others, no matter who they are and which group they belong to. I remain convinced that as long as we are dedicated to ethnonationalism, our chances

for building lasting peace are low. The third chapter focuses on reconciliation and peacebuilding. It explores what reconciliation could mean in our context, and it looks at concepts for „dealing with the past“ in a constructive way. The fourth chapter gives an overview of mechanisms for transitional justice and dealing with the past applied in the region of former Yugoslavia and outlines what should be done in addition to these, in order to establish lasting peace. The fifth and final

chapter identifies actors whose duty is and/or should be to take an active role in peacebuilding process.

Source: *‘Dealing with the Past in the Context of Ethnonationalism. The Case of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia and Serbia’* by Ivana Franović. Berghof Occasional Paper No. 29, October 2008.

Excerpt from ‘Preparing for Nonviolence’

In this essay I will discuss experiences from training for peacebuilding and conflict transformation in the Western Balkans, extracting lessons learned throughout the past 13 years of practice by the Centar za nenasilnu akciju (Centre for Nonviolent Action – CNA). CNA is a peace organisation driven by local activists focusing on cross-border activities in the Balkans. It was founded after the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina and started its work in Sarajevo in 1997, in-between several regional wars and the escalation of violence that followed (for instance in Serbia/Kosovo and Macedonia). In 2001, a second CNA office was set up in Belgrade (Serbia).

(...)

The ultimate purpose of all peacebuilding work which CNA conducts is to contribute to building fair and just societies that guarantee equal rights to all citizens, irrespective of their name and background; societies that nurture values of respecting diversity and justice; societies that make citizens capable of taking responsibility for their communities and of resisting populist, nationalistic and chauvinistic ideologies. We want to contribute to building a society that would seek security by building relationships and bridges with neighbours, populated by people who would distance themselves from crimes committed in the past in their names.

CNA’s activities in the period 1997-2002 were focused strictly on peace education and cross-border networking, gathering individuals with professional backgrounds who had a potential for disseminating ideas („multipliers“). Most of this work was, and still is, barely visible in public, but it has contributed to producing a wider network of peace activists across the region who have developed activities and cooperation that now function independently from CNA. Since 2002, beyond its training courses, CNA has also developed new activities that were much more focused on public awareness-raising and activities for constructively „dealing with the past“. Within the CNA-team, we all felt that the time was ripe now and that there was an urgent need for people in the region to face the past in the sense of acknowledging and taking responsibility for past violence. We decided, for example, to work with ex-combatants from various sides (Croatia, Serbia, Bosnia-Herzegovina) who had participated as draftees or volunteers in the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina. We organized train-

ing courses in mixed groups and after this the ex-combatants discussed their experiences in public forums. They basically told their personal stories, how they entered the war and what they felt now looking back on this. These events were broadly covered by local and sometimes also regional media. In addition, we started to produce documentary films that focus on people’s experience of the past wars. More recently, we also conducted interviews with ordinary people in different regions of former Yugoslavia on „reconciliation“ and we collected practitioners’ peacebuilding experiences for further book publications (Centre for Nonviolent Action 2005, 2007, 2009). At the same time, training activities have been continued throughout.

In this essay I will reflect on the effects of training for peacebuilding and nonviolent conflict transformation. I will reflect on these issues from the point of view of a practitioner – a peace activist and trainer for peacebuilding and nonviolent action – and not as a scientist (although we do strive to combine activism and structured thinking and planning in our work). The text reflects peacebuilding experiences through the lens of an insider – although nowadays it is inevitable to think of roles of both insiders and outsiders and their correlation. The second section presents the goals and methods of CNA’s training work, followed by a third section that outlines lessons learned and recommendations for practice. The fourth section goes beyond the training issue as it discusses general trade-offs and dilemmas we face in our peace work. It also reflects on the difficulty of assessing the impact and influence of training. Training aims at changing the attitudes of individuals. The question is whether conducting “successful” training, or conducting more of these activities, will necessarily lead to a situation where social change will follow. It is a difficult task to generate sustainable force that will have social impact. The fifth section draws conclusions and points to remaining challenges.

Source: *‘Preparing for Nonviolence - Experiences in the Western Balkan’* by Nenad Vukosavljević. In B. Austin, M. Fischer & Hans J. Gießmann (eds.), *Advancing Conflict Transformation. The Berghof Handbook II. Opladen/Farmington Hills: Barbara Budrich Publ., 2011.*

Documenting of the places of strife and sites of memory

We started working 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. This year, with photographing and collecting information on selected monuments and memorials, we held two focus groups, which are an integral part of this research.

Focus Group I

Sarajevo, 15th of December 2012

In the autumn of 2012, the Centre for Nonviolent Action started working on a publication about the culture of memory in Bosnia and Herzegovina, focusing on memorials, memorial sites, marked and unmarked places of strife during the 1992-1995 war, with the aim of exploring the culture of memory in the context of reconciliation, dealing with the past, and with a view to the socio-political message conveyed by these forms of memorialisation.

The first focus group planned as part of these activities was made up of peace and human rights activists, historians, curators and representatives of relevant institutions, mostly from Bosnia and Herzegovina, but also from other countries in the region.

By presenting the material and photographs we have gathered of memorials, marked and unmarked places of strife, our intention was to open a space for discussion about what these memorials mean to us today, what sorts of messages they convey, and to what extent they contribute to peacebuilding, and to what extent to a continuation of war by other means. The publication is planned to contain photographs of some

30 selected memorials in Bosnia and Herzegovina with basic details about each.

It was concluded that the displayed memorial places embody homogeneous national narratives that conceal the heterogeneity within the groups themselves, express “unquestionable ethnically marked histories” in a past that is presented one-dimensionally, and often prioritise military over civilian victims. In place of the prevalent ethnonationalist discourse, we need to open up a space for dialogue and different perspectives to enable inclusive memorialisation and communication between national narratives and the culture of memory.

In that respect, we hope that the planned monograph will contribute to these memorials and sites of strife - now almost exclusively places of social ritual - becoming places of discussion, recognition of past events, and links between the past and the present to serve as warning and as solace.

D.T.

Meeting of War Veterans – Focus group II

Doboj, 26-28 April, 2013

A meeting of war veterans from Croatia, Serbia and Bosnia and Herzegovina was held in Doboj, from 26 to 28 April 2013. It was organized by the Centre for Nonviolent Action from Belgrade/ Sarajevo and its field team made up of Katarina Milićević, Davorka Turk, Nedžad Horozović, Adnan Hasangebović and Amer Delić.

The activities included a Focus Group set up to consider the issues of memorialisation, and an accompanying workshop dealing with Taboos.

The Focus Group included a presentation of collected materials and photographs from more than thirty monuments, as well as from some still unmarked sites of suffering in the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina from the 1992-1995 war.

The intention was to discuss the existing models and examples of memorialisation in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The Taboos Workshop dealt with issues of facing the past in the region and the numerous controversial topics circulating in the public space. There was talk of manipulation of victims, lack of justice in the context of acquittals and unprosecuted crimes, as well as about the various interpretations of the causes behind wars in the region.

The achievements of the veterans group in terms of peacebuilding were also analysed, as well as the potential participants recognize in themselves, and the possibility for joint activities in the future peace actions.

A.D.



Personal impressions

The Way of the Dead

If it were not for coincidence, you would never again see the places you forgot, repressed deep inside yourself, or places where you had never been. So it was for me. Working for CNA (Centre for Nonviolent Action) in the Una-Sana Canton gave me an opportunity to visit the memorial room at Pištaline and the Ometaljka military cemetery. And also something I had never seen before: the phantasmagorical cemetery of Autonomous soldiers located in front and within the premises of the poultry plant near Velika Kladuša.

It was a hellishly cold day in Krajina when we ascended along the road through Ljusina to Pištaline, the road I could traverse with my eyes closed any time day or night. We pass the Šoferska noć bar where Alija Kurtović and me raced on crutches, both drunk, to see who would be first to reach the field hospital some hundred meters from the bar. And where the waitress, carrying a carton of beer cans, said to me, “May your mother carry you dead like this.” Only once had I been

subject to a curse worse than that: in Skokovi, a place we had overtaken from the Autonomous forces, a girl said to me, “May your hair burn like this house.” It happened as we were walking past her house, while the house next door was burning as if doused in petrol.

We passed on through Pištaline and I remembered the improvised field hospital, and how I used a special wheelchair with a hole in the seat to go to the bathroom because my wound was fresh and I could not touch the ground with my left foot. I could, but this would cause unspeakable agony, bleeding and tears. So they came up with this wheelchair for us to use when we went to the outhouse, in April 1994, on some Krajina plain where the wind blew through our young bones. Then we reached the brigade command and entered the memorial room. Inside, it was cold like in a tomb. On the central wall were photographs of fallen fighters, some five hundred of them, with dates of birth and death. A literary

critic and poetess from these parts would have been certain to use the phrase “violent death” instead. I’ve never heard a more stupid phrase. Can there be any other kind of death in war. As if death, no matter how much they insist on it being a natural phenomenon, is not an absolute form of violence against life.

I looked at all those dead faces, most of them I knew personally. Some were friends, some just acquaintances, but we had all shared moments of war together at some point. Our common memories from the past bind us wherever we may be today. Are they truly shahids, enjoying paradise now, or are they just underground, horizontal and mute. At the Ometaljka shahid / soldiers cemetery, it was even colder, the wind blowing down from the snowy hillocks took your breath away. I stood next to my friends and looked out at the white marble tombstones. At the end of the row of tombstones is a moss covered path. A few trees whose trunks are also covered in moss. I could imagine the lush green of the moss as a carpet upon which, at night, when there is no one around, the shadows of my dead comrades walk. I remember a funeral when twelve fighters killed in the liberation of Čojluk were buried. I remember the late Čipo and Šok. They seemed so alive that July (if my memory isn’t playing tricks on me) when they were buried. Čipo had fresh cuts on his forehead, as if he had been walking through a thicket that had cut long red stripes across his face. Šok was lying on the tabut, serious as he had always been.

At the Ometaljka, apart from the wind, there were birds chirping excitedly, knowing it would soon snow, and that spring is unstoppable in its grace, reviving all living things with the fresh will to live. Later, we continued our journey looking for memorials to armies from the past war. We went through Skokovi, Pečigrad, where I explained to my fellow passengers where the so-called ruined house stills stands to this day and honours its name, for no one has tried to renew it yet. Shelled out holes are its futuristic windows. Just so there’s no mis-

understanding, these are former battlegrounds with Fikret’s Autonomous forces, the peripheral villages of the Cazina Municipality facing Velika Kladuša. According to rough estimates, some 3500 were killed on both sides during the war. Many more members of the 5th Corps were killed here than fighting the VRS, popularly known around town as the Chetniks. So I really get a kick out of some Sarajevo imbecile asking me, “So, man, what happened, why did you all like slaughter each other?” Ask the late Alija Izetbegović, Tuđmana and Milošević, let them tell you if the underground crows haven’t eaten their tongues by now.

The most interesting place we visited was definitely the Autonomous soldiers cemetery, very close to the town centre and the border with Croatia. The whole scene looks like it was lifted straight out of Andrei Tarkovsky’s *Stalker*. Muslim tombstones, and here and there a cross or two, right in front of the hangars where poultry used to be kept. The hangars have been plucked clean, looted, all that’s left are the ribs that used to support their roofs and wisps of glass wool that could not be looted. The place is surreally peaceful and deserted. The remains of industrial romanticism and a military cemetery on the premises of a former Agrokomerc factory. The evergreens growing among the graves. Birdsong and windmusic. Talking to Nijaz Miljković, wartime commander of the 506th Kladuša Brigade, who at my claim that there are hundreds buried here says, “Unfortunately, that’s true. There are both fathers and sons here, brothers, the destitute.” The way of the dead ends here. Inscribed on the monument to the fallen fighters of the Army of BiH that has been exiled to the yard of the town mosque are the verses of Skender Kulenović: “Dead eyes, but they see better down the field than the living. All bloodied from of old, now Krajina like a green dress...”

Faruk Šehić

(the article was published in bh magazine “Dani”, 12th of April 2013)

CNA peace education programmes

Basic Training in Peacebuilding

Mavrovo, Makedonija, 28th of June – 8th of July 2013

*“It irritates me when war is treated like a natural disaster”
(quote, training participant)*

Since last year’s report from the basic training held in Mavrovo ended with a statement from one of our hosts: “Mavrovo is a place where problems solve themselves,” it is only fitting to start this year’s report from the same place, because this claim has been proven in practice yet again.

Although one of our greatest aspirations has been to have more people from Kosovo applying to these trainings, and the choice of location was a way to facilitate travelling for people from this region, we were unable to achieve our goal. We only received one application from Kosovo, while most came from Serbia (47), followed by Bosnia and Herzegovina (38), Macedonia (17), Croatia (14), Montenegro (9). One, presumably misguided application arrived from Albania. Out of a total of 127 applications, there was an increase in applications from persons under 21. Even though 21 is the minimum age for participation at the training, this information may be useful to organisations working on youth programmes, because there is evidently interest within this age group for peace building in the region.

Since the choice of location for the training is very impor-

tant for us, we wanted to familiarise the participants from the whole region with the Macedonian context, and also to encourage activists in Macedonia in their work dealing with conflicts in this area. Hence, another plus for Mavrovo and Hotel Srna that provided us with very adequate working conditions.

The working plan we had prepared before the training was significantly changed at the training itself after insight into the needs and capacities of the group. Ultimately, both the team of trainers and the participants came out satisfied. Our initial ambition was to work on peace building in more detail, but at the training we decided to spend more time on workshops for dealing with the past and reconciliation, and on enabling the participants to recognise social injustices in their societies. As (almost) always, the workshop on gender and sex elicited the most heated discussions. It seems there is still a pressing need in this region to sensitise people for different types of human rights and equality in society, but also in the family.

One of our basic aims is working on conflict resolution, and this time we were very lucky, because the participants themselves recognised and in their free time worked creative-



ly to resolve existing conflicts within the group in a fun way. The training team is therefore particularly grateful that they did not need to spend time on this during the working hours. We are encouraged in terms of further engagement of training participants, because we felt the potential for further reproduction of the knowledge and skills gained at the training. We are particularly glad that two war veterans participated in the peace building training, since CNA as an organisation recognises and has been supporting peace building activities by war veterans.

Although at the beginning it seemed that the team of five might be too big, we worked efficiently and with focus, and we are pleased that the CNA team was once again joined by

our colleague Boro Kitanski from Peaceful Action Prilep. He is always a pleasure to work with and socialise with, and his contribution to peace building in the region is especially significant given his regular activities in world peace movements.

I will conclude this report with a statement heard at one of the workshops that, in a way, became the motto for the whole training: "It irritates me when war is treated like a natural disaster." So, when we stop treating war like something that happened to us, something out of our control and influence, only then can we begin to build peace. I am positive that the training participants have already gone far in peace building in their areas.

Katarina Milićević

Announcement: Training for Trainers

The Training Programme for Trainers was developed due to the need to build capacities for work in non-formal education.

Five cycles of the programme have been implemented to date (1998-1999, 2000, 2001, 2002-2003, 2003-2004).

Although the last cycle was held almost ten years ago, the interest of participants in other segments of peacebuilding education for the training programme has remained strong. We conducted a survey of participants at our previous Training for Trainers, as well as other interested parties, and determined that there is still a need for this training. We have, therefore, decided to organise another cycle to start in 2014. We will provide you with more details in due time.

Activities we joined

Research: Dealing with the Past in the Western Balkans

Berghof Foundation has published the research report: “Dealing with the Past in the Western Balkans. Initiatives for Peacebuilding and Transitional Justice in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Serbia and Croatia”, ed. by Martina Fischer and Ljubinka Petrović-Ziemer. The research was conducted from March

2010 to April 2012. Co-authors are Srdjan Dvornik (Croatia), Ismet Sejfića (Bosnia-Herzegovina) and Katarina Milićević (Serbia), member of CNA team.

The report is available at www.berghof-foundation.org.

Culture of Memory Forum “Remembering Wars or Warring Memories?”

Vukovar, 11 - 13 April 2013

Organised by the Documenta Centre for Dealing with the Past, the Culture of Memory Forum brought together activists, historians, museologists and artists to examine culture of memory practices in former Yugoslav countries. During the Forum, we discussed existing practices, their shortcomings, as well as possible alternative memorialisation models.

Although there is some room for comparison with similar processes in Western and Central Europe following World War 2, the nationalist discourse characteristic of memorialising victims and events from the recent wars in the region has given rise to numerous memorial sites with pronounced national or religious symbols and questionable artistic value that by-and-large communicate the magnitude of own victimhood and suffering and the heroism of the respective “side”. One of the main features of this process is the (non-)communication of memorial sites with their immediate urban or other vicinity, or the complete impossibility of setting up memorial sites (if they portray the suffering of “the others”).

We can also talk about the process of depoliticisation of the artists themselves and the lack of institutional support to artistic projects dealing with the recent past, all of which results in commemoration practices whose purpose remains undefined: is it memory or mourning, is it the problem of national homogenisation, what is their educational message or lesson...

The latter was examined through a tour of memorials in the town of Vukovar and a review of the site of the Vukovar hospital. In contrast to other sites of memory and memorialisation of the past where life had at one point been interrupted, life in this hospital goes on, it is in constant communi-

cation with the people that work or stay there, which gives it a special value. However, the ordeal of the hospital, its significance for the population of Vukovar during the war, and the events that followed the capture of the town are presented in a way that the participants in the Forum for the most part assessed as unsuitable for visits by schoolchildren that we encountered during our tour. One of the conclusions of the Forum was that a letter be sent to the town indicating the need for commemoration practices to also enable communication with those coming from the “other side”, to become more inclusive, foregrounding the plight of civilian victims and avoiding generalisations about perpetrators, none of which is currently the case.

There is also the issue of the extent to which it is possible to universalise the suffering of victims without that universalisation cancelling out the specificity of each individual situation. The Association of Serb Civilian Victims of the War in Vukovar has been seeking a site to commemorate Serb civilian victims for a while now. Edin Ramulić talked about the efforts to mark the plight of victims in Prijedor, pointing out that “minority” memorials (once their establishment is granted) are mostly located in returnee areas, burial or mass grave sites... They are never close to roads or more frequented public areas.

Initiatives to mark memory sites were given regional support. It was concluded that memory sites may not make people kinder, but their existence in a community represents an act of recognition that suffering took place at that site.

The Centre for Nonviolent Action Sarajevo/Belgrade presented joint regional study visits by war veterans from all three warring sides to places of suffering in local communities

in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Serbia. The aim of these activities is to speak with the local population and local authorities and show that such places should be marked in a way that will elicit empathy with the victims from all sides. As was pointed out at the Forum, we hope we will manage to garner support

for such activities in Croatia, and that this initiative, as well as others, will open up new possibilities of encounters and future cooperation.

D.T.

9th International Forum for Transitional Justice

Jahorina, 17 - 18 May 2013

On 17 and 18 May 2013, at Mount Jahorina, the RECOM Coalition organised the 9th International Forum for Transitional Justice under the title "Reconciliation in Post-Yugoslav Countries". Representatives of state institutions, organisations of civil society, victims associations and religious communities, artists and members of the academic community discussed the reach and possibilities of the reconciliation process in the region from various perspectives.

Particularly interesting were the presentations by fra Ivan Šarčević, PhD, who talked about the role of religious communities in the region, Hrvoje Klasić, PhD (reconciliation from the perspective of the academic community), Zoran Pajić, PhD (reconciliation from the perspective of the countries in the region) and Jasna Dragović-Soso, PhD (reconciliation from the perspective of civil society). According to fra Ivan Šarčević, PhD, religion in this region was often used to provide theological justification for war and all the religious communities have failed in their treatment of others. Precisely because our current identities (often seen as religious) were grounded in that past, it is the responsibility of religious communities and believers in general to work on making room for dialogue through their readiness to understand "the truths of others" (even when such truths seem like falsehoods). Hrvoje Klasić, PhD spoke about official history being burdened by nationalism, a lack of multiple perspectives in history textbooks, and an absence of dialogue among historians outside and within individual countries. According to Zoran Pajić, PhD, reconciliation is possible only once the necessary preconditions are met: recognition of victims and establishment of a system of reparations and compensation. Apologies from leaders in the region are often accompanied by denials of the crimes, and the monuments and memorials he saw in BiH were mostly "one-national, with terrible messages of hatred towards other nationalities". Jasna Dragović-Soso also spoke about apologising as a symbolic gesture of great importance for political

transformation. However, apologies are meaningful when they result from a dialogue that includes different opinions and diverse narratives. In her opinion, what is noticeable in the region is a tendency towards social amnesia marked, among other things, by neglect of victims, while most civil society initiatives are local in character and suffer from political pressures.

The session devoted to reconciliation from the perspective of artists was disappointing. With a few exceptions, the general impression was that thinking about the role of artists and the arts in the reconciliation process has been deposed by dissatisfaction with the attitude of the state towards artists (especially in financial segments).

Something that all the speakers at the Forum agreed on was the need for a regional approach both in dealing with the past and in reconciliation. Such an approach is needed in order to determine irrefutable facts on war crimes and severe human rights violations. Although some progress has been made, especially in prosecuting war crimes, achieving justice for victims and the process of dealing with the past remain slow. Certain preconditions are necessary for reconciliation. Initiatives for dealing with the past and reconciliation still mostly come from civil society, and in order to have broader effects, it would be necessary to involve different social stakeholders as well as state measures.

The organisers should be advised that due to the large number of speakers at the sessions, there was not enough time for discussion, and there was also a general impression that the speakers mostly stuck to their planned presentations without communicating with the other participants or the audience. Despite these shortcomings, it was exceptionally useful to listen and think about the complexities of the reconciliation process during these two days.

M.S.

MURS MURS International Camp

Goražde, 13th August 2013

The GRAD Association from Goražde, BiH, hosted the “MURS MURS International Camp” that brought together participants from Germany, France, Palestine, and BiH. We were invited to give a presentation to the young people at the Camp about our work with members of various armies that had been on opposing sides during the war and that are now contributing to reconciliation in the region through their peace building actions. They were particularly interested in the stories of war veterans.

This Camp traditionally gathers young people from different parts of the world. There, they write articles, paint, stage plays, talk and attend lectures. The overall aim is to break down barriers and prejudice among people coming from different places and belonging to different cultures, as well as diverse socio-political contexts.

We visited the Camp on 13 August 2013. The CNA veterans team was joined on this occasion by Đoko Pupčević from Šamac, a war veteran with years of experience in peace building and cooperation with CNA.

We presented the experience of war veterans through a documentary film produced by CNA “Visits by Veterans” followed by a discussion with the young people where we provided more information about the concept of peace building activities by veterans and the local context they work in.

The enthusiasm and interest of the young people made this experience inspiring and encouraging for us as well.

Certain shortcomings in the organisation of the event did not diminish the pleasure of this meeting with young people at the Camp.

A.D.

Conference “Unveiling Personal Memories on War”

26 September 2013, Zagreb, Croatia

As a guest/participant, I attended the conference to mark the end of the first phase of the project that collects personal testimonies of political violence from 1941 to the present day into a video database (450 testimonies collected). <http://www.osobnasjecanja.hr/>

Apart from the Dutch Ambassador, welcoming remarks were also given by personal representatives of the Croatian president and minister of culture, who were unable to attend. I mention this because it is indicative of the institutional support given to this programme despite the perceived unfavourable climate in Croatia for matters of dealing with the past. I mean to say that things are changing, little by little, the public space is becoming more receptive to voices with a critical attitude towards the past and the culture of memory fostered in Croatia, and especially towards the so-called “dignity of the Homeland war”, that is, the injustices committed by Croatian forces.

The keynote speeches were followed by four panels on

the following topics: the relationship between social and individual memory, the need for personal testimony and possible ways of using recorded oral histories for educational, research, museum and artistic purposes.

Much was said about the importance of personal testimonies, but I would like to point out the following:

Nothing can take the place of human testimony in constructing social memories.

History is not a closed book, there is no one single narrative.

Memories fade, memorials, for the most part, remain.

Personal memories are important as a corrective to social history developed somewhere between scholarly work and the ideological context.

The value of the video database of oral histories is in the emotional experience available to the viewer of these personal testimonies.

N.V.

Contexts in which we work

Twisted time

(Bosnia and Herzegovina)

When it comes to time passing, broadly speaking, there are two ways to look at it. The first is the universally accepted notion of time flowing like a river. That river flows from its source towards its mouth, from the past towards the future. The other notion of time was provided by the English astronomer James Bradley. According to him, time flows backwards: from the future towards the past where the moment when the future becomes the past is called the present. In the context of Bosnia and Herzegovina, we should add another interpretation whereby the flow of time is twisted: one moment we're living the past, the next moment the future, immediate or far-off; the present is practically non-existent since it would require facing ourselves as we truly are. In that respect, forgive me for not speaking chronologically about Bosnia in 2013 -- besides, its inhabitants are averse to anything smacking of logic.

The 15 Day Long Year

So, what were we like in 2013? If we look at the majority of ordinary people and their involvement in the public space that would signal their still being members of this society, 2013 was a short year in Bosnia and Herzegovina lasting only about 15 days. It started on October 1st and was over by the 15th. Everything that came before was just preparation for the maddest event of the year, and everything after the 15th is a headache, not a consequence of sobering up, but an interval between two bouts of madness. We are talking about the Population, Households and Dwellings Census in BiH, of course, or rather about Counting the Bosniaks, Croats and Serbs. The national elites that live off of percentages (mathematically speaking: the percentage of the nation in the census combined with the percentage of votes won at the elections equals participation in government; participation in government equals power, and power is used exclusively to pursue personal interests) have already come out with the minimum census results, saying they would not accept anything less. 54% of Bosniaks, 33% of Serbs, 15% of Croats, and 2-3% of others. So, 106% in total. Although for most, the census is meaningless if not expressed in percentages, the fact of the matter is that the census has shown that there are all in all 3.7 million of us, which is at least a few hundred thousand people more than actually live in the country. The fact that this

means there is almost one million fewer people here than in 1991, and what happened to all those people, no one seems to care. The census has provided us with the correct sum of incorrect data that will be of little use to anyone.

Everything else more or less bypassed the ordinary people, although it always seems to break their backs. The political scene was characterised by gloomy weather accompanied by intermittent failures of one of the 13 governments in Bosnia and Herzegovina. This astronomical phenomenon of falling governments has been marked since 2012, and it is quite clear that the sky above us will remain in this zodiac sign at least until the next elections in October 2014. In the context of getting over to the other side of the river, 2013 in BiH has, at least so far, been a lousy year. Apart from the sudden and never fully elucidated death of the academician Sulejman Redžić and the quiet and protracted departure of Ilijaz Delić of Mostar, this year has not treated the media in Bosnia and Herzegovina to the departure of a great figure, such as Mirko Kovač in Croatia or Srđa Popović in Serbia. We were, thus, spared the black-and-white front pages with ornate homages and final farewells to my dear friend so-and-so, although in most cases such people died abandoned, misunderstood, long pushed to the margins of society.

The History of BiH in Six Glasses

Tom Standage viewed the history of the entire human race through the drinks that were dominant in a given period and talked about *A History of the World in Six Glasses*. I sincerely hope that someday someone will view the whole of post-war BiH history through places of protest. Places of protest show the magnitude of helplessness and hopelessness we are mired in. The most powerless, those aware that their protests could not even depose a mayor in a municipality of scarcely a few thousand inhabitants, stage their protests mainly in front of the OHR building¹. There, in front of a large and powerful enough Goliath, they hope to wheedle what they believe is theirs by right, and even if they don't get it, they know there is no shame in being defeated by such a powerful opponent. Since mid-October, returnees to the BiH entity of Republika

¹ *Office of the High Representative in Bosnia and Herzegovina/ Ured visokog predstavnika u Bosni i Hercegovini*



Srpska have been protesting in front of the OHR, asking that the 2002 agreement affording Bosniak returnees the right to a national group of subjects in schools be honoured. From the RS, they initially found justification in the fact that Serbs in the BiH entity of the Federation of BiH do not enjoy the right to a national group of subjects, which the Federal government denied, only to have the Federal Premier issue instructions the very next day for the Serb national group of subjects to be introduced, the same one he had claimed the previous day was already available. As the Greek Prime Minister Mitsotakis said in 1994, "We did not support Karadžić, but we promise not to do it any more." After that, the RS offered a Solomon solution based on the Stalinist principle of no people - no problems: Goran Mutabdzija, the RS Education Minister asked for the school in Konjević-Polje to be closed down. Just like the RS President demonstrating all the magnitude of the social democratic tradition he fosters when he said he was "seriously thinking about abolishing the Court in Bijeljina" after it had ruled against the RS and in favour of the Lithuanian investors.

Babylution

Those who are completely powerless stage protests in

front of the BiH Joint Institutions Building. They are about as powerful as the state of Bosnia and Herzegovina: it exists on paper, but in real life you'd be hard-pressed to find it even with the help of a microscope. This was the site of protests in June by citizens of Sarajevo and other BiH cities after BiH authorities failed to adopt a law on the unique ID number which made it impossible to enter new-borns into the birth registry and issue documents for babies that needed to travel abroad for medical treatment. Following the dramatic blockade of the MPs that were allowed to leave the building only 15 hours later and even that thanks to an intervention of the High Representative Valentin Inzko, everything went downhill. From Banja Luka they said they were all for the babies, but were still more for the RS, while the students of Banja Luka also protesting on the streets of Banja Luka said they had no intention of in any way identifying with the Sarajevo protests. In the end, it all came down like in 1968. Albeit, without Tito and the Kozara ring dance, but with government assurances that the law would be adopted (the temporary order expiring at the end of the year is still in force) and a real party on the last night with some of the most popular local bands. The problem isn't that this babylution failed, other protests were disastrous on

their first attempts, too. The problem is that during those few days, despite the media display, only a few thousand citizens came out protesting, and even they, clearly saying the current situation was no good, failed to offer any sort of alternative. Expanded to the overall situation and the whole of BiH: the problem isn't that the current situation is bad, the problem is that even the greatest of optimists find it harder to see the end of the tunnel even if we reconcile ourselves to there being no blinding light out there to greet us.

If you don't jump, you hate Bosnia hehehe

When nothing works out, at least we still have football and the national team. Like opium, or a balm to heal all our wounds, our national team is going to the world cup in Brazil. Now, that's when the crowds really hit the streets in Sarajevo, waving BiH flags (both current and former), going into a trance watching the Dragons play, forgetting, at least for one night, that they were unemployed, had no health insurance, questionable roofs over their heads, that they could very well be getting a call from the bank tomorrow because they were late with their loan instalment. For the politicians, who charged the state budget for their regular visits to the Dragons' lair, this success was just the spin they needed. The winner at the 2010 elections and great social democrat demonstrated his

love for BiH by disgustingly jumping in a television studio, shouting, "If you don't jump, you hate Bosnia hehehe". And somehow managing not to actually jump.

And so, in 2013, we were solemnly silent for days instead of shouting, we solemnly signed arrangements with the IMF as if we were solving all our current and future problems, a mass grave was discovered in the vicinity of Prijedor with over 600 bodies, Momčilo Krajišnik returned as well as a few other convicted heroes, the Sejdić-Finci judgement has remained solemnly unresolved.

The Sejdić-Finci Centaur

Right, Sejdić-Finci shouldn't be left out, but explaining it has become exhausting. In brief, the European Court of Human Rights Judgement should allow all citizens of BiH to vote and stand for elections for the Presidency of BiH (according to current constitutional provisions, only Bosniaks, Croats and Serbs are eligible to stand for elections to the Presidency). The EU is threatening with imposing sanctions if the Judgement is not implemented, so our politicians are now trying to figure out how to formally remove discrimination while also resolving the currently evident issue of out-voting of Croats at the state level, but without tampering with the core of the



tri-ethnic matrix. Sejdić-Finci (does anyone still remember who Sejdić-Finci are, do we know their names, or have they in fact become conjoined like some sort of newly developed centaur?) has been the subject of hundreds of editorials, academic papers have been written on the subject, reports, etc. Still, allow me to conclude that an ordinary citizen stopped in the street by a reporter and asked about Sejdić-Finci gave the most succinct and complete answer: In any case, they're screwing around, the four of them (BiH leaders). And they're fucking with us, because we're stupid. And that whore, the international community's helping them out.

If we look at 2013 in the context of reconciliation and facing the past, a few things are worth mentioning. The RS National Assembly adopted a Declaration defining the nature of the war in BiH. According to this Declaration, it was a tragic (as if there were any other kind) civil war and any other interpretation is not just unwelcome, but outright banned. At the same time, a declaration prohibiting the denial of the genocide against Bosniaks in the wider Srebrenica area has not

been adopted yet, and the genocide is being constantly and persistently denied by some of the highest officials in RS. Remembering victims is not entirely prohibited, but it is certainly restricted. Local authorities in Prijedor still do not allow visits to the former concentration camps of Keraterm and Omarska; the Višegrad authorities are preparing to tear down the house where in 1992 the Lukić brothers torched 72 civilians, to make way for a local road ten meters wide that can't possibly take any other route; there is still no memorial to civilian victims killed at Kazani in Sarajevo...

All in all, 2013 in BiH was such that we can't even use the tired old phrase of surviving to tell the tale. There will be nothing to tell. Those that survive will be repaying loans to the IMF, the World Bank, foreign private banks, domestic (national) leaders and successful private entrepreneurs who are selling us both air and water and our lives on credit.

Nedžad Novalić

A Montenegrin's moustache

(Montenegro)

"If anyone ever even touched a hair from a Montenegrin's moustache, they would be liable to lose their head. Birth and procreation is the only salvation for this people..."

The day when dealing with peace started causing me too much distress, I abruptly stopped being an activist and became an advisor for tourism and sustainable development (it's not for nothing that they say "tourism is the passport of peace", eh!). If this does not bother you, please continue reading my report on Montenegro, a tourist destination. Still, as soon as I decided what I would write about, I felt an ache in my stomach.)

Who (is allowed) to engage in politics?

During a recent training I was conducting, I had the opportunity to ask about 60 people in Montenegro whether they were engaged in politics. Only one of them said yes, and he was a member of a political party. Even the young woman who was a member of a working group developing a law said she was not interested in politics and had nothing to do with it. At a purely technical meeting, after

mentioning "improvements to agricultural policy" I was asked "not to use that word". A few years ago at a workshop, the trainer asked for an example of a right that was most endangered in Montenegro (the question was meant to elicit easy examples, none of those present were involved with human rights or anything along those lines). Three quarters of the responses were identical and when we "disclosed"

our notes where we had written down the first thing that popped into our heads, I was shocked to find it was: the right to freedom of speech/expression (?!). We have long known that when you use this right to criticise any phenomenon in society, yourself included, you automatically become an enemy of the state. Apart from that, the government often calls out non-governmental organisations for dealing in politics, or rather for "doing the same as the opposition". After that, all political parties call upon citizens to turn out for elections, just that, they (the parties) will take care of the rest... those 60 people that changed their minds and are now proud to be doing important things for their country, contributing to improving social, economic, environmental, youth and other policies.

This year we mark 200 years since the birth of Petar II Petrović Njegoš, and his birthday on 13th of November will be a new national holiday - Montenegrin Culture Day. This decision was challenged by representatives of the Bosniak party who believe Njegoš inspired hatred towards the world of Islam and that "some of the ideas from his work, interpreted literally, formed the concept and justification for the crimes and genocide against the Muslim population in the 19th and 20th centuries in Montenegro and the region." Furthermore, Bosniaks believe that at least school textbooks should be purged from contents insulting to Muslims. On the other hand, most

admirers of Njegoš say it is necessary to understand the context of his life and work, before we can judge them. During the many months marking the 200th anniversary of his birth, much was said about Njegoš. Excerpts from his life and works are countless and it is just a matter of whether a person/society wants to view them individually or as a whole.

Who is endangered?

As for inequality in society, until recently it was mostly related to gender inequality. However, the list goes on: people on welfare, single parents/mothers, pregnant women and mothers (whose labour rights are endangered), orphans, the long-term unemployed, people from rural areas and the periphery, Roma and Egyptians, displaced persons and refugees, persons with disabilities, LGBT persons... If we were to get into the details, we would have to mention reporters who are definitely a vulnerable group, albeit depending on who they write/speak about and how. Moustachioed Montenegrins are also endangered, and by the LGBT population no less, because the organisers of the Pride Parade chose for their logo - the moustache, the traditional symbol of honour and heroism! The list is not exhaustive, so if you are also endangered, don't mind, just add yourself to the list!

Why?

Lately, the global economic crisis has been used to explain every problem, so I feel I must point out that the majority of cases of unequal opportunities arose out of the values, attitudes and behaviours in society, and not due to a lack of funds. For example, a number of factors affect the decision of women (not) to enter into politics: influence of the community, historical context and tradition: "a woman's place is not in politics"; the small number of women in politics and their considerably narrower opportunities for advancement; insufficient moral and practical support from the community; childcare and household work; economic dependence and insufficient female solidarity among women politicians. Individual factors that depend on the women themselves are that they often consider politics a dirty business and are unprepared to put their entire past professional career and integrity on the line. On the other hand, citizens of Montenegro have quite strong preconceptions about women/men in politics, that is to say, the electorate is quite specific and patriarchal. Surveys have shown that half the female respondents believe men would be more successful than women in high level official positions, while only 13-19% of women (depending on the position) believe women would be more successful.

One survey found that the main reason behind unequal employment opportunities for young people is nepotism, but that's not the end of the story. Nepotism is almost unavoidable in our small country, but real problems arise when you have a host of cousins and friends you'd like to see employed

that you simply don't know where to start, or when you promise both them and their friends jobs right after the next elections and then face a new problem - there are simply not enough jobs to go around.

Lately, I have been extremely irritated by plans of the opposition telling people what they stand to gain if they vote for them, and these are projects they could implement even if they are not in power. Thus we have another vulnerable group - the opposition, who would do anything for Montenegro, we just can't seem to vote them into office! Either way, both the position and the opposition are prone to scandals, though the "third" (NGO) option is not much better. It seems the current "Recording" scandal will have no end. For me personally it ended when I heard a government representative with a smile (publicly) telling an opposition representative, "Admit it, you'd do the same if you were us".

The EU is sacrosanct, or the family is sacrosanct, or both(neither)?

I've noticed that everything coming from the EU is the best solution for Montenegro. If a solution will help us approximate the EU, it is the right solution. If it has nothing to do with the EU, we'll smuggle our ideas in as "European". Thus a few years ago, out of all the recipes from Europe, we decided to adopt the so-called European working hours. In practice, this decision has turned Montenegrin families into ticking time bombs; parents are still unable to match their working hours with daycare and school schedules. Instead of the "old-fashioned" return from work for lunch at 3 p.m., lunch now takes place at fast food grills, children are upset with parents who have no time for them, parents are frustrated for not being able to find the time, space or money for their families. Someone will doubtless say that today's children are raised by the street, which is true, but it's also so "European"!

As for the European Union, I admit it's fortunate to have at least one entity we don't spin conspiracy theories about when they criticise us. Of course, there are always exceptions.

Interesting for the region: Gay is OK?

If Europe says so - of course it is! Good news: two pride parades were held in Montenegro! One more and one less successful. The first was organised in Budva where about a thousand people (which is a large number for such a small place) attacked the participants in the parade with words, stones, bottles and other objects, and the town's cafe owners hosted a priest who consecrated their establishments as the parade had marched through the square in front. Public

1 Audio recordings have been leaked to the public from a meeting of the ruling Montenegrin party DPS where its representatives openly discuss employment along party lines, changes to the voters list, and directors of state companies that work exclusively in the interests of the party.

opinion was divided - some felt enraged and endangered by the parade, others by the false morality of those who "mind the parade but don't mind the corruption, organised crime and illegal construction". I'd really like to know how the latter affects traditional Montenegrin values. Some twenty people were detained, and the organisers were evacuated from the shore to prevent further incidents.

Two months later, the first pride parade in Podgorica was organised, again with ample participation of hooligans, most of them young. This one was successfully implemented, albeit with the inevitable attacks and arrests.

I found it interesting that the vast majority of political parties sent women to support the parade (although it was known they would most likely be exposed to physical violence), and before that the male politicians predominantly identified themselves as not being 'gay' or as not being able to picture themselves at 'such' parades, but that human rights should be respected, especially since this was important for EU accession (?!). Whatever the reason, the state organised to stand on the side of justice and protected the participants in the parade, both by organising police protection and by sending representatives to support the parade. On the other hand, the Youth Network of an opposition coalition named the "Serb List" called on the citizens of Montenegro to protest, and a representative of New Serb Democracy truthfully said, "We are a conservative Christian party that fosters traditional values. Let the government waving its democracy and European standards support them." Even the Association of War Veterans from 1990 chimed in saying they "saw it as a provocation" that the date selected for the event was 20 October, "one of the most important dates of the People's Liberation Struggle when in 1944 the joint forces of the Yugoslav partisans and the Red Army liberated Belgrade from Hitler's fascists". On this occasion, the Metropolitan of Montenegro and the Littoral, Amfilohije organised a ceremonial liturgy to "purge the sins the city had been polluted with". At the solemn academy on the occasion of the consecration of the Cathedral that "this house of worship is a call to forgiveness and reconciliation in Montenegro," which apparently did not

apply to him since he spent days calling for hatred and resistance to the "shameless parade proclaiming sin to be a virtue and misanthropy to be philanthropy." Citizens interviewed on the street parroted his words about how we were created to procreate and how the family must be defended from those that would destroy it, and they were particularly angered by the (above mentioned) moustache.

The magnitude of the violence and hatred issuing from the young people who made up the majority of the assembled hooligans, a third of them under-age, was shocking. One boy from Podgorica suffered third-degree burns from an explosive device he had made himself following a "recipe" from the internet and planned to activate at the parade.

At the end, let us return to my profession (tourism!) in the context of LGBT rights. Only a few days after the Pride Parade in Budva, exactly 30 km away, at Kotor, 2.800 homosexuals disembarked from a cruiser:

The Director of the local tourism organisation Mirza Krčić, who we found in the town, told the "News" that everything was going smoothly, there were no problems, and that the people of Kotor showed themselves to be dignified:

"Everyone should express their opinions and choices, and people should respect that. The citizens of Kotor have proven their dignity and that they respect differences and that everything would be fine. Everyone is welcome in Kotor, everyone whose freedoms that do not endanger others, and in my opinion, it's all legitimate. We should let people think and feel however they want to think and feel, and that should be respected, everyone's opinion and choice. This is normal everywhere in the world. Yesterday, they visited Dubrovnik, and the people of Dubrovnik say they're big spenders," Krčić said, noting that he was personally more interested and concerned about what would happen with the Montenegro budget or the Aluminium Conglomerate (which is being shut down) than about having 2800 gay people in Kotor."

Lidija Brnović

They knew everything, and they did nothing

(Hrvatska)

The greatest change to happen in Croatia in the past year was accession to the European Union. With a lot of settled accounts and measures to impose fiscal order on the "wasteful" state, there were some instances for exercising state sovereignty, such as the dispute with the EU concerning the law that became popularly known as Lex Perković after the former

UDBA (Yugoslav secret police) agent accused in Germany for the murder of the political emigrant Stjepan Đureković. It is hard to imagine there are many people who understand what the dispute is about and what makes this piece of legislation worth risking sanctions over upon entry into the "European family". However, this was also an opportunity for us to re-

examine the state of Croatian media, the impossibility of discerning any meaningful information in the cacophony of potential threats and insinuations. Also, though we have yet to see it (notwithstanding the long period of negotiations), it is possible to negotiate once your position is at least nominally equal to those setting the conditions. It is possible to act in the capacity of the state, and it is a shame that such actions are limited to individual acts of the EU *acquis*. Although the Premier contends this is a principled standpoint, the whole mess has done nothing to help shed light on the recent Croatian past and the way the secret services (or individual agents) influenced the emergence of Croatian independence.

According to Premier Milanović addressing the Parliament on the “state of the nation”, in the 22 years of its independence, Croatia has achieved all its strategic political aims, including NATO and EU membership. Apart from that, he also announced a new wave of privatisation of the remaining state-owned enterprises due to the necessity of consolidating the state budget¹. So, apart from political strategic aims, in the 22 years of its independence, Croatia has also managed to sell off its state-owned property, the economy is still dysfunctional, and the citizens, as well as the state itself, find themselves enslaved by debt. The GDP is still on the decrease, 70 thousand workers are not being paid, and there are 314 000 unemployed people, or 18%.

EU accession also determined the border between Croatia and its Balkan neighbours, so this year was again marked by regression in cross-border communication in the literal sense, failing to arrange for our neighbours what Croatia had enjoyed in the years of Slovenian EU membership - crossing the border with personal ID cards.

The fact that the border is not merely territorial became clear when the government attempted to ensure the implementation of Croatian laws on the entire territory of the state, including areas of special state concern (areas destroyed during the last war). However, although “bilingual” (Latin plus Cyrillic script) plaques were affixed to buildings of state institutions in Udbina, in Lika, the same task turned out to be far more difficult to carry out in Vukovar. The same morning when they were put up, under police protection, they were smashed in a destructive campaign the police was helpless to stop to such an extent that the new plaque was torn off the building of the police station itself. The HDZ that had enabled the passing of the Constitutional Law on the Rights of National Minorities four years ago is now vehemently opposed to its implementation² and is demanding that Vukovar

be proclaimed a “city of special piety”. In this concrete case, that would mean legalising the suspension of Croatian laws on a piece of Croatian territory.

What is more irritating than the cynical attitude of the former government is the standpoint of the current government. Namely, to defend the law, SDP keeps pointing out the pivotal responsibility of HDZ, while they as good, civic-minded legalists are “merely” trying to implement what is stipulated by the constitutional law. Even if we could resist the feeling that politicians across the Croatian political spectrum treat this law like an unwanted child, what is even more worrisome is the possible ideological background to this defence. Defending the law in the Croatian Parliament, the Premier said, “This law is triumph for Croatia. We must be generous in victory and act in good faith in peacetime.”

It is not entirely clear what this good faith consists of or why it is deemed necessary. Few would be apt to ask about the “victory”. The official “victorious” discourse on the nature of the Homeland War has become so dominant in public space that the Premier was quick to wash his hands when he once openly contemplated the multifaceted nature of this conflict, quite recklessly uttering the phrase “civil war”. The danger of cementing this state of affairs is illustrated by an “anecdote” related to scholarly research, specifically history. Thanks to a request submitted by the young scholar Julijana Antić Brautović doing research for her doctoral dissertation on the “trade” in territory between the Republic of Croatia, the Republic of Yugoslavia and Bosnia and Herzegovina (Prevlaka and the eastern part of Konavle), asking for access to classified information from the Tuđman archives (now stored at the State Archives), we found out that access to such documents is granted only to individuals with security clearance, which in turn is decided upon by the government and its committee at a closed session. Perhaps such restriction of access to state documents still under the 30-year confidentiality rule would not be unusual if it had not turned out that Ante Nazor, Director of the Croatian Homeland War Memorial Documentation Centre, has security clearance and access to the documents. The explanation is that the government founded the Centre and tasked it with “researching the truth about the Homeland War”. What remains unanswered is how such “truth” can be researched when the government (with the help of the intelligence community) determines not only who has access to such documents, but also what is relevant for such research.

That this treatment is not an isolated incident is made clear by the announcement issued by the minister for veterans Fred Matić that the government is planning to introduce Homeland War topics into school curricula through experi-

1 Croatia Osiguranje, Croatia Airlines, ACI, highway monetisation, after this government already did the same with the sale of Brodosplit, Brodotrogir and Treći maj (shipyards) and the concession of the Zagreb Airport

2 The former state administration minister in HDZ's government said on a TV show, “When HDZ was in favour of Cyrillic, there were

not enough Serbs in Vukovar to make them eligible for official use of language and script.” This pertains to the percentage of the Serb minority in the population that would make bilingualism in social and public life and official communication in public affairs mandatory.

mental teaching that would include, in the first place, a field trip to Vukovar³. School curricula would also include as mandatory at least one annual visit to a battleground closest to the location of the school. In practice, this means that children from Zadar would go to Maslenica, but no one asked the minister whether this also means children from Split would visit the Lora wartime port. It would hardly be appropriate to tell schoolchildren about the beatings and humiliations that took place at Lora where people were brought under accusations of having participated in preparing an armed uprising against Croatia that could rarely be substantiated by material evidence. On the declarative side, the state never recognised these crimes. On the other hand, some of the victims settled out of court and were paid compensation. Still, it is hard to believe there would be room for a story like this in the education system. In addition, the ministry for veterans has published a call for proposals from non-profit organisations “whose primary activities deal with protecting the interests and caring for Croatian defenders and victims of the Homeland War.” Five million Kunas have been set aside for this purpose, and it is intended to promote the values of the Homeland War.

All of this was determined by the acquittals of Croatian

3 *“Every day, not counting the summer holidays and weekends, Vukovar would greet a dozen buses with schoolchildren. They would sleep in the barracks on army cots, and would attend organised history classes taught by professionals from among the veterans or young historians trained by real veterans. They would visit all the important sites in the town, but also its periphery if they wish, from Ilok to Kopački rit. The final lecture would be held at the Peace Centre so that everyone would be leaving Vukovar with messages of peace.”*
<http://www.slobodnadalmacija.hr/Hrvatska/tabid/66/articleType/ArticleView/articleId/201818/Default.aspx>

generals Markač and Gotovina received in their homeland with righteous enthusiasm untainted by the above “sporadic” incidents. The latter, Ante Gotovina, was made honorary citizen of Split at a ceremony attended by the minister most mentioned in this report as well as two of his colleagues from the government. A note of dissonance was introduced into this Croatian story of victory and righteousness by the first-instance ICTY judgement against the Herzegovinian six. The former political and military leaders of the self-proclaimed “Herceg-Bosna” were found guilty of a joint criminal endeavour to expel and kill Bosniaks in Bosnia and Herzegovina. According to the judgement, Franjo Tuđman coordinated the criminal endeavour with the ultimate aim of “annexing” this part of Bosnian-Herzegovinian territory to Croatia. The Trial Chamber found that the conflict was international in character, denoting Croatia as an aggressor in relation to BiH. The appeal process is currently under way, and given some recent unusual practices at the Tribunal, the outcome seems uncertain.

Following the acquittal of Gotovina and Markač, both Premier Milanović and President Josipović stated that crimes committed during operation “Oluja” should be prosecuted. We should also add that Croatia needs to distance itself from the heritage of Franjo Tuđman whose government covered up war crimes, prevented their prosecution and conducted a policy to prevent the return of Serb refugees. So that one day history itself would not judge us for doing what was so aptly stated in the first-instance judgement against Jadranko Prlić, Bruno Stojić, Slobodan Praljak, Milivoje Petković, Valentin Ćorić and Berislav Pušić: “They knew everything, and they did nothing.”

Davorka Turk

Agreement or +383

(Kosovo)

The most important event in terms of the future cooperation between Kosovo and Serbia was the signing of the AGREEMENT in April 2013. This was an important topic much discussed in the public, but the details are still being negotiated with the mediation of the European Union and Lady Catherine Ashton.

This intensive dialogue is of significance not just for the two countries involved, but for Europe and the wider world. All the conflicts in the world, wars, disputes, etc. were ultimately resolved through dialogue, something that is at the core of this Agreement.

Some of the more interesting topics of the dialogue are

still open, including the issue of the Telecom company and energy policy. The Kosovo authorities have requested that the country code of +383 be assigned to Kosovo, but the Serbian government has refused the request.

The dialogue has shown that there are problems in reaching compromises on both sides, and that certain particularities of the agreement are differently interpreted, whereby each side uses the interpretation to sway matters in the direction of its unilateral interest.

The elections are another important topic in the Agreement. Citizens in the north of Kosovo did not participate in the previously held elections, so the premiers of both countries,

with EU mediation, agreed to have elections on 3rd November in the entire territory of Kosovo, including the north (Severna Mitrovica, Zvečan, Leposavić, Zubin Potok). Members of the Serb community had boycotted the previous elections fearing the government would be made up exclusively of Kosovo Albanians. They also did not participate in the local or parliamentary elections despite there being reserved seats for Serbs in the Kosovo Parliament. However, in contrast to what happened in the past, it seems they will participate in the upcoming elections. Ten Serb parties have already registered with the Central Elections Committee.¹

Apart from this, the constant major problems faced by all citizens of Kosovo are: lack of freedom of movement, high unemployment (mostly among the 18-30 age group), privatisation of major public enterprises (Telecom and energy complex), widespread corruption, and constant incidents and violence (such as the murder of the EULEX police officer).

All of this has been keeping the inhabitants of Kosovo in a state of elevated tensions for years, making them fear the future, new outbreaks of violence, and is not conducive to sta-

bilisation and peace-building in the region.

One positive event took place at the end of September when Mitrovica hosted the First Youth Conference of the Cities in Transition Forum. Youth representatives from Belfast, Derry-Londonderry, Jerusalem, Kaduna, Ramallah, Tripoli and their hosts from Mitrovica exchanged experience from their locations and compared similarities they share². One of the main conclusions of this exchange was the necessity for communication between different people, the necessity of strengthening communication between the Kosovo Serbs and Kosovo Albanians, and members of other communities present in Kosovo. The significance of this event lies in its rarity, especially in Mitrovica, so the media devoted considerable attention to this meeting of young people and the strengthening of links between them. We hope that this will encourage the establishment of more organisations working to improve ethnic relations and events foregrounding these relations, and that the work of existing organisations will become more visible to the public.

Lulzim Hakaj

1 Data from the end of September 2013, at the time of writing.

2 <http://citiesintransition.net/2013/09/29/young-leaders-ready-to-develop-conflict-transformation-network/>

One Big Nothing, Nicely Wrapped and Gaudily Decorated

(Macedonia)

As I type this, the TV is showing live coverage of the first Sahara Balkan Peace Festival organised by the company of the Indian billionaire Subrata Roy and under the patronage of the Macedonian Government. The state elite, all decked out in formal attire, was just addressed by the most expensive speaker of the day, Tony Blair, and just before him Nikola Gruevski. I'm waiting to see who gets the Champion of Peace prize. Gandhi and Mother Theresa get quoted all over the place. What is this about? I don't know whether to laugh, fume with rage or be frightened. Namely, the Indian billionaire who appeared in Macedonia early this year was presented bombastically by the government as a great investor taking over cattle raising in the east of the country, investing millions in the construction of a luxury resort on Lake Ohrid and, of course, erecting the grandiose monument of Mother Theresa in Skopje's main square. He is wanted in India due to a final court decision that found he had cheated hundreds of people for payments of over 4 billion dollars. Few show any concern while his investment plans are publicly glorified. And now, here he is organising no less than a Balkan Peace Festival. Who else from the region is in attendance? No one, of course. Why in Macedonia? He explained it nicely yesterday, he said that for years he

had nurtured this idea and was looking for a country where it could be implemented, a country of peace, love, a country without corruption. And finally, he found it. This is not a joke. I am not joking in the least.

Last year, Macedonia was marked by a severe conflict between the government and the opposition. We have been living this tension for a few years, but now the conflict has overtaken literally everything. All social processes have been subsumed under this settlement of accounts, or they are completely ignored. The conflict culminated on 24 December 2012. In the midst of a heated debate about the new state budget, the government to respond to the filibustering¹ of the opposition by bringing the secret police into the Parliament to physically remove the entirety of opposition members. That was ten minutes after they had removed members of the press from the gallery. For security reasons, they said. Videos of the brutal expulsion of MPs from the parliament were, I believe, seen throughout the region. At the same time, the opposition had a few thousand protesters in front of the Parliament, which incited the government to assemble the same number of its own supporters. In both cases "the people happened". So they say. (And what happened to the peo-

ple?) The risky situation in the streets passed without major incidents. For the next months, the opposition boycotted the work of the Parliament, protested in the streets of cities and ultimately accepted participating in the local elections with significant involvement of EU mediators and on the condition that a committee be formed to report on legal violations in parliamentary practice on that day. The elections were mostly won by the ruling parties, and a comment regarding the conclusions of the committee was given by one of the participants, MP Ilija Dimovski, who likened the significance given to the report to that given a box of Kleenex. Either way, the report has been issued, noted remarks regarding the procedure are now waiting to become operational. A bitter aftertaste is left by the fact that almost all documents following the large-scale skirmishes in the country were produced with strong mediation by outsiders, mainly people from Brussels or Washington.

Another important event in my opinion was the absurd arrest of reporter Tomislav Kežarovski from Veles (special police in full gear, early morning, cameras...). The ludicrous charges were that an article he published in 2008 had revealed the identity of a protected witness in a murder case. Information known to the public indicate that the man did not have the status of a protected witness until the next year, and a little later he himself publicly admitted that police inspectors had coerced him into giving false testimony against someone accused of murder. In the meantime, Tomislav Kežarovski's detention was extended five (!) times. In response to pressures from international (they have long since ceased paying attention to national) press and other associations, the government said they did not interfere with the work of the courts and, besides, the trial would begin soon, and a verdict would closely follow.

Macedonia has dropped another 22 places in the Reporters without Borders report on freedom of the media, and in 2013 it occupied position 116.

There were no significant developments in the field of inter-ethnic relations. The general policy - each to (rule) his own - continues. Ethnic homogenisation and physical segregation continue with intermittent disruptions holding up the trend. In my opinion, this is the worst course for Macedonia since, in

combination with the general climate of lack of understanding for different opinions, it does not promise a good outcome. A few months ago I participated in a discussion in Tetovo. A discussion among people who were all practically of the same opinion there was a strong undercurrent of discounting who was what. Implying that ethnic and religious identities were unimportant. Come now, who cares about what you are, that is unimportant. I argued that it was important, that people here were in constant conflict along these lines, that we have a long history of conflicts, that, after all, the war happened along the same lines, and that the identities set up in opposition to one another should be examined, not ignored. I still have this dilemma. How far should we take the respect for the needs and ambitions of these identities. Is there an end to such ambitions, a point where they are finally realised, not endangered, where "enough now, we've made it, let's go on". Is that point the 30 meter tall statue of Alexander the Great of Macedonia in the centre of Skopje or the 50 meter long Albanian flag along the motorways in the west of the country? Where is that point? Does it even exist?

Yes, there are some other small points in time and space where we can openly and amicably discuss important matters to do with us. Outside the media and public eye. It's probably better that way.

Public debate, critical thinking and contextualising events have all but disappeared. Everything boils down to uniform propaganda. It goes so far as completely creating an event to be distributed. Such as the Balkan Regional Peace Festival without anyone from the region in attendance, organised by a billionaire from India, with Tony Blair as the keynote speaker, and with dance groups from India dramatising Gandhi's revolt against the gilded stage of the new 45-million-Euro theatre. One big nothing, nicely wrapped and gaudily decorated. A completely new level of manipulation. Oh, right, the Champion of Peace for this year is Jeremy Gilley from Peace One Day. During his acceptance speech he said he could not believe he received the prize. I can't believe it, either. I can't wait to see which company will be organising peace festivals for us next year. Coca Cola, perhaps?

Boro Kitanoski

Continuity of Endless Disaster

(Serbia)

Following the signing of the Brussels Agreement two months earlier, with which it took on the obligation to abolish parallel structures in the north of Kosovo and regulate rela-

tions with Kosovo, in June 2013, Serbia received assurances that negotiations on accession to the European Union would begin in January 2014. The response was less than Euphoric.

Unsurprisingly, since it is quite unclear (at least to the public) what this Europe should mean¹. In the discourse of the domestic political elite, European standards and European integration mainly function as a wild cards devoid of meaning and therefore convenient as receptacles for a wide variety of meanings depending on the requirements of the occasion or speaker. Most frequently as promises of access to the welfare and social security of First World citizens or as a justification of things "we'd rather not, but Europe says we have to". And that Europe, except perhaps superficially, is asking for less and less. Apart from the implementation of the Brussels Agreement and control of asylum seekers. Nothing superficial about that.

The signing of the Brussels Agreement did not give rise to any major shifts in Serbia. Kosovo has long played the *McGuffin*² here, and the film is dragging on. Constant insecurity and fear of the pervasive violence and what the future will bring makes up the everyday lives of most of Serbia's population. By many indicators, Serbia is among the poorest countries in Europe, with more than a million unemployed, where desperate people are increasingly driven to chopping off their fingers, hammering nails into their hands or self-immolation, because "ordinary" hunger strikes no longer draw enough attention. There are no widespread protests, nor are they expected. The desperation is individual, inarticulate, and solidarity goes no further than isolated protests by groups of co-sufferers that find themselves in the same situation. Kosovo is no exception. Apart from a gathering of a few thousand people at the Square of the Republic on 10 May - organised by the Serbs from Kosovo, and memorable mostly due to the "liturgy" for laying to rest of the Government and Parliament led by the Montenegrin and Littoral Metropolitan Amfilohije, and the comparison of Dačić with the assassinated Premier Đinđić ("Dačić says he is interested in earthly, not heavenly politics. Đinđić spoke that way, too, and how he ended up, Lord knows." - Bishop Atanasije³) - not much else has happened. Harsh reaction from almost all the political parties and the public to what was said and the swift distancing of Patriarch Irinej of the Serb Orthodox Church from the events served as a remainder that the Church's power in the public space is derived from the will of the political elites.

The departure of the Democratic Party (Demokratska

stranka - DS) and the arrival of the Serbian Progressive Party (Srpska napredna stranka - SNS) brought in some changes, but nothing fundamental has changed. There was no radical turn-about compared to the politics of the Democratic Party. *The European course*, reducing democracy to periodic elections every four years, employment based on party and family affiliation⁴, the dominance of the executive over the judicial and legislative branch of government, the lack of division of government and mutual control of the various branches, paying lip-service to the sanctity of human rights without a genuine effort to uphold and/or protect them make up this continuity. There are some novelties, however. One is that from the superficial advocating of fighting corruption in political shows, the media have started announcing arrests of tycoons. Miroslav Mišković, the top fat cat from the 1990s, was arrested under corruption charges. Part of the system that enables and induces corruption has not been dismantled (yet?). But that's hardly important as long as the ratings are kept up. And they are. People like to see nothing better than a rich man in jail.

Whether he positions himself as a defender of the robbed and humiliated, or the man to sacrifice himself for the modernisation of Serbia, and/or the embodiment of the will of the people, Aleksandar Vučić is currently the most popular politician in Serbia. His popularity is reflective of a deeper continuity of desire for "someone who knows how", "someone who will solve things (himself?)", "someone different", shared to a greater or lesser degree by all strata of society. In that respect, ideology mostly serves a decorative purpose. At the same time, a particular combination of "proven patriotism" and pro-European modernist rhetoric offsets criticism and affords Vučić widespread support both from traditional voters of the (formerly) Serb Radical Party and a sizeable portion of those who vote for what was once known as the pro-democratic block. Not only did his radical political *about-face from-Šešelji-to-Weber* leave his popularity unscathed, if anything - his popularity increased. And SNS is seen as a party that keeps its promises⁵.

On the other side is the disoriented opposition, primarily the Democratic Party, which, following the replacement of Boris Tadić, deals with constantly decreasing ratings by accusing "its" voters of disloyalty and/or misunderstanding and inner-party fractioning. The previously introduced practice of having local authorities harmonise with state-level government is returning to the Democratic Party like a boomerang. The DS President Dragan Đilas was deposed from the position of

1 The fact that this confusion is shared to a considerable extent by the member states of the European Union only makes matters worse.

2 McGuffin is a term introduced by Alfred Hitchcock to describe the method of building up the plot of a film around a motif that permeates the story, drives characters to act and runs through the story, but is essentially unimportant for the viewer. The function of this motif is to keep up the suspense.

3 Srbin. Info - Srpske brze internet novine, 2013, <http://srbin.info/2013/05/mitropolit-amfilohije-sluzio-opelo-za-upokojenje-vlade-srbije/>

4 According to the Policy Centre as reported by the daily Blic, the current government has deposed almost 3000 people in the state administration, while in the last year it employed another 3000 people along party lines in public services. Source: Blic online, 2013, <http://www.blic.rs/Vesti/Politika/380172/Vlada-do-sada-smenila-3000-ljudi>

5 Politika, 2013, <http://www.politika.rs/rubrike/Politika/SNS-samna-vrhu.sr.html>

Mayor of Belgrade and new elections will be held in the capital. Local and central government concur almost throughout the country, which once again opens up many questions. For example, if power relations at the central level of the Republic (or the level of the President) are to be replicated at other levels of government, what exactly is the point of local elections? Or, rather, what would be the consequences of concentrating power in the hands of such a small number of people? Still, questions are something we've always had more than enough of. And these are not exactly new questions.

It is also not particularly novel to ban the Pride Parade, something that almost metaphorically sublimates the various forms of continuous lack of accountability and/or cynicism of the political class in Serbia. It has been banned for the third time for "security reasons". There is one aspect where statements of politicians from ruling structures leave us no room for disagreement - namely, that this is not a defeat for the state. For the state to be defeated, it would have to stand by its Constitution and its laws and try to ensure their implementation. Without resorting to relativism, personal dis/likes and hiding behind thugs, extreme right and hooligan groups (who when it came to the signing of the Brussels Agreement, a potentially far more risky event, were apparently all off on a fishing holiday somewhere). That would be the core of the frequently used phrase "rule of law". One of the purposes of the Constitution, laws and institutions is the restriction of authority, its effective control and the prevention of arbitrary rule. Max Weber, a favourite thinker of the first Vice-President of the Government of the Republic of Serbia, Aleksandar Vučić⁶, had much to say about it, and with great passion. Without it, we enter what Serbian Newspeak calls "political will", a grey zone conducive to judicial processes running into obsolescence, tycoons connected to the government robbing state-owned and racketeering private enterprises, murders of reporters remaining unsolved and milk with unacceptable levels of aflatoxins being proclaimed perfectly healthy. The list could conceivably go on forever. And much has already been seen.

Last year's change of government and the coming to power of those who had had a significant role in shaping the last decade of the 20th century in this region did not bring about any sort of "return to the 1990s". The social amnesia that enshrouds the 1990s in Serbia and according to which "Serbia

was not involved in the war" has in time come closer to "What war?". Leaders of the Democratic Party have contributed to this amnesia through their lack of political vision and/or courage to open up the question of Serbia's responsibility for these wars, the question of their consequences, but also their failure to, on behalf of the country they represented, express remorse without relativism and send an unambiguous message to others (in the region and in the country) that something like that would not be repeated. It is then not inconceivable for the regime personified by Milošević to become merely "a government that was not ideal, given that it lost the elections", but "all that should be left in the past" because "if we cannot correct the past, we can influence the present and the future" (Ivica Dačić)⁷. However, that past is present, issuing daily warnings that it's not going anywhere. Either in the guise of seemingly incomprehensible eruptions of violence such as the multiple murder in Velika Ivanča near Mladenovac where a man described by his neighbours as quiet and good (otherwise a war veteran from Slavonija in 1991) killed thirteen people in their sleep⁸. Or the recent incident of primary school pupils beating up their teacher while he waited for his wife and child in the park⁹. Or in the selective history, simplified black-and-white explanations and/or discourses of self-victimisation whereby "we are, if not the only, then the greatest victims" still dominating public space in relation to the wars of the 1990s. Desperation and frustration coupled with normalised violence make for a dangerous combination, and the past is never just the past. This kind of past lasts forever.

Swimming between the narrative of lost identity, the betrayal of Kosovo and nationalist resentment, and the (failing) hope of a golden age (personified in the prosperity of the EU), the shipwrecked inhabitants of Serbia wait for a boat to save them from floating in endless disaster. The bad news is that we should not expect much in the way of help from the outside, and that the people living here will have to row themselves ashore. That's also the good news.

Marijana Stojić

6 TV B92, 2013, <http://blip.tv/b92/utisak-nedelje-10-3-2013-6548445>

7 Akter, 2013, <http://akter.co.rs/25-politika/54434-hvala-im-to-sun-as-smenili-oktobra-2000-godine.html>

8 Glas Amerike, 2013, <http://www.glasamerike.net/content/masakr-kod-mladenovca/1637770.html>

9 Slobodna Evropa, 2013, <http://www.slobodnaevropa.org/content/grupa-osnovaca-pretukla-nastavnika-u-novom-sadu/25101346.html>

