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

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



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Drage prijateljice, dragi prijatelji,

Pred vama je još jedan, sedamnaesti godišnji izvještaj o našim aktivnostima za period septembar/rujan 2013.- septembar/rujan 2014.

Kada se osvrnemo na proteklih godinu dana i pogledamo globalni razvoj događaja, čini nam se da je ovaj svijet postao još opasnije mjesto za život nego što je bio prije dvanaest mjeseci. Zahuktali sukobi i vojne intervencije, podjednako na Bliskom Istoku, kao i u Evropi, budući da nas se ta zbivanja neupitno tiču, kreiraju realnost u kojoj živimo i radimo, i njihove odjeke osjećamo na prostorima na kojima djelujemo. Da ne bismo potonuli u pesimizam i apatiju, mi u CNA timu imamo potrebu da radimo kolikogod možemo ne bi li napravili bar male pomake. Zato nam je iznimno važno što vam na stranicama ovoga izvještaja, osim *Osnovnog treninga iz izgradnje mira* održanog u oktobru/listopadu 2013., možemo predstaviti i *Trening za trenere*, program mirovnog obrazovanja koji je, nakon deset godina pauze, u ovoj 2014. zaokupio značajan dio naših kapaciteta. U njemu je sadržano sve ono što smatramo važnim u ostvarenju društva održivog mira – kritičko mišljenje, preuzimanje odgovornosti za društvo i zajednicu, poticanje na preispitivanje vlastitih stavova i prihvatanje različitosti. Također, radeći dugo godina na izgradnji mira, i susrećući se sa suprotstavljenim narativima o ratovima, željeli smo otvoriti prostor za zajedničko promišljanje dominantne kulture sjećanja na ovim prostorima, i utjecaja dominantnih politika na mirovni rad. O tome smo govorili na seminaru razmjene „Kako pomiriti (h)istorije?“, na kojem su sudjelovale osobe iz BiH, Hrvatske i Srbije, iz sfera mirovnog i građanskog aktivizma, historije, umjetnosti i medija. Ove je godine izašao i engleski prijevod našeg priručnika *Pomirenje?! Priručnik za rad na suočavanju s prošlošću kroz treninge i radionice*, koji je naišao na neočekivan odjek, što nas svakako ohrabruje da nastavimo s radom čiji rezultati najčešće nisu tako neposredno vidljivi, ali mu zapravo nema alternative. Pokazuju to i mirovne akcije bivših boraca, sada uključenih u procese dijaloga, izgradnje mira i povjerenja. Ove godine vam predstavljamo posjete mješovite grupe ratnih veterana mjestima stradanja, kao i prisustvo na komemoracijama, manifestacijama koje označavaju važne datume iz bliske nam prošlosti, značajne za život zajednica u kojima djelujemo. Pridružili smo se i Mandela dijalozima, u okviru kojih smo imali prilike čuti o iskustvima na temu sjećanja u kontekstima koji su drugačiji od naših, iako su pitanja koja dijelimo zajednička. O svemu tome više o tome na stranicama koje slijede.

Dokumentovanje mjesta stradanja i sjećanja i načine memorijalizacije u Bosni i Hercegovini nakon rat(ov)a 1992-1995. privodimo kraju. Obujam istraživanja, kao i praktična ograničenja dolaska do službenih podataka o memorijalizacijskim praksama u BiH, ponešto su nam pomrsili planove, tako da ćemo publikaciju koja dokumentira osnovna obilježja i procese koji prate načine na koje se naše zajednice sjećaju svoje neposredne prošlosti, objaviti sljedeće godine. Trenutno je u tijeku i istraživanje o sudbini Podunavskih Nijemaca po završetku Drugog svjetskog rata u Srbiji. Naime, tragovi Podunavskih Nijemaca i Nijemica prvo naglo, a onda i polako kopne, kao što se to, na žalost, dešava i danas sa nekim drugim etničkim grupama na nekim drugim mjestima na skoro svim prostorima zahvaćenim ratovima, Pa „tragovi“ naših dojučerašnjih komšija već počinju da blijede. Baš zbog toga je važno da se označi i 'ucrta' šta je to ostalo, a više se ne primećuje, šta je nestalo, šta je njihovo nasleđe; ne samo zgrade, spomenici, već i mesta stradanja, logori i masovne grobnice. Na ovom nam se istraživanju ponovno pridružila dugogodišnja prijateljica i kolegica Helena Rill, na obostranu radost i zadovoljstvo.

U očekivanju onoga što će tek doći, prije svega vas pozivamo da pogledate što je sve obilježilo našu proteklu godinu. Kao i obično, nadamo se vašoj povratnoj informaciji, reakciji, kritici, ali i podršci i radovalo bi nas da one ne izostanu.

CNA tim



mirovno obrazovanje

Osnovni trening iz izgradnje mira (Ulcinj, 2013)

Ulcinj, Crna Gora, 18-28.10.2013.

Program Osnovnog treninga iz izgradnje mira, koji CNA organizuje od 1997. godine, prošao je kroz mnogo transformacija i promena, i stalno se menja, jer nijedan trening nije isti kao prethodni, niti je ijedna vežba ista, kada se radi sa drugom grupom. Zovemo ga “treningom” upravo zbog mogućnosti učenja, lične transformacije, vežbanja (za koje se na treningu odvajaju poseban prostor), i koji učesnicima/ama daje predstavu da menjajući sebe, svoje poglede i reakcije, mogu da prepoznaju i menjaju društvo u kome žive. Na taj način oni/e se, na neki način, i motivišu i osnažuju, ali i senzibiliju kroz radionice i vežbe da mogu da prepoznaju društvene mehanizme i procese, i da stvaraju kreativnu promenu u svom okruženju.

Počinem izveštaj ovom konstatacijom, jer je utisak da neki učesnici/e koji/e prolaze kroz druge programe često dolaze na naš trening sa očekivanjem da će na njemu dobiti gotova rešavanja, predavanja “eksperata” i “recepte” koji će biti primenljivi u svakoj drugoj situaciji u kojoj se nađu. I onda se, doduše retko, ali se događa, na samom treningu zatvore i ne mogu da daju sebe, svoja

razmišljanja i dileme, u strahu od toga da će odgovori biti pogrešni ili nezadovoljavajući za nekoga... Tako se gubi dragocen prostor za razmenu, i za učenje, što na kraju stvara frustraciju, i osećaj da se nije stiglo dokle se moglo, i kod trenerskog tima i kod nekih učesnika/ca. Zbog stalnog traženja sebe u današnjem svetu, koji je na jedan čudan način sve više globalan, i otvoren, a na drugi sve zatvoreniji i otuđeniji za pojedinca, događa se da se u moru ponuđenih rešenja i modela razmišljanja gubi samosvojstvo, ličnost i originalnost, te je sve manje prostora da jedinka zadržava pravo na različitost. Prava je veština iz svega naučenog i nepropitanog doći do suštine, zadreti u ličnost i doći do onoga što čovek u svojoj biti jeste. Sa jednim delom grupe koja je bila na Osnovnom treningu izgradnje mira u Ulcinju, od 18-28. oktobra 2013. godine, trenerski tim je imao poteškoću da prepozna gde se u razmišljanjima nalaze, i zašto svoje impresije ne dele transparentno, sa celom grupom, u procesu u kom, čak i kad čute, ipak učestvuju.

Bez obzira na ove poteškoće, sa ovog treninga izlazimo



osnaženi jer se na razne načine i raznim otvorenim procesima došlo do novih ideja, saznanja i uvida, koji će verujem, kada se prenesu u mikro-sredine, biti mali pomeraji društvenih procesa. Možda ne toliko vidljivi u javnom prostoru, ali bitni za pojedince i njihovu blisku okolinu.

Jako dragoceno iskustvo učešća u ratu podelili su na treningu veteran iz Armije BiH i veteranka iz Vojske RS, koji su svojim iskustvom, i željom da rade na izgradnji mira u svojim sredinama, na neki način dali podsticaj i svim ostalim učesnicima/cama. Takođe, smatram velikim korakom što su učesnici/e umeli da prepoznaju probleme svojih sredina i u drugima, te da ih zajednički analiziraju i promišljaju o daljim mogućim koracima u izgradnji poverenja, i na koncu, mira u regionu. Početni dijalozi na radionicama, koji su svima približavali kontekste problema u Makedoniji, na Kosovu, u Hrvatskoj, Srbiji (uključujući Preševsku dolinu i Sandžak), u Bosni i Hercegovini, odakle su sve bili učesnici/e treninga, nastavljani su i u neformalno vreme, što je stvaralo dodatnu sigurnost i osećaj razumevanja i potrebe da se i drugi razume/ju, i na samim radionicama. Na ovom treningu jako je bila izražena potreba da se čuje drugi, što je stvorilo osećaj sigurnosti, bar u većem delu grupe. Iz te sigurnosti, nastajala je i solidranost, i potreba da se pazi na druge, pa je u pojedinim momentima nedostajalo otvorenog konflikta, ali to nije ostavilo utisak da se problemi sakrivaju, već da se želi o njima promišljati. I to se najbolje pokazalo



na radionici Suočavanje sa prošlošću, za koju je postojala najveća motivacija kod učesnika/ca, i na kojoj se dubinsko propitivalo ono što se u prošlosti regiona i društava događalo, a što ostavlja posledice i na sadašnjost i na budućnost.

Na kraju, pored utiska da smo imali još jedan jako kreativan i inspirativan trening, i za CNA, kao tim koji organizuje, i za sve učesnike/ce, ostaje i mala doza žaljenja što je na treningu, zbog kasnog otkazivanja jedno mesto ostalo upražnjeno. Takođe, raditi u Ulcinju, u ambijentu hotela "Dvori Balšića" i "Palata Venecija" kao i uvek do sada je i kvalitetno, i inspirativno, jer su usluga i ljubaznost na visoko profesionalnom nivou.

K. M.

Pismo iz budućnosti

Nekoliko meseci nakon završenog treninga u Ulcinju (18-28.10.2013.), članicama tima CNA, stigla je poruka od jedne učesnice, koja za sebe kaže da je Srпкиnja koja živi na Kosovu, u Gračanici, i koja je u to vreme intenzivno tražila posao, najviše u Srbiji.

Sa njenom saglasnošću, poruku prenosimo u celini:

Drage Dado i Katarina,

Zbog podrške i ohrabrenja za odlazak na intervju za posao, i to usred treninga, ne mogu a da ovo lično ne podelim sa Vama, pa makar i na ovaj način. Sjajna novost -DOBILA SAM POSAO- u jednoj organizaciji, kao Kids for Peace Coordinator, i to u Prištini. Danas sam zvanično potpisala ugovor, pa eto i da se pohvalim.

Moram da se vratim na trening. Jedna od poslednjih

tema, radionica, vežbi...kako god, bila je da zamislimo da je sve u redu u našem gradu, državi i da napišemo šta bismo tada radili. Uh! Ja sam tada imala problem da bilo šta napišem, jer mi se to činilo nemogućim, te tako sam nekoliko puta pisala i gužvala one papiriće. Šta god da sam napisala, činilo mi se nerealno u tom trenutku, i u toj borbi sama sa sobom jedva sam se izborila. Ne mogu zaboraviti rečenicu Katarine, koja nas je uvela u vežbu i rekla (improvizovaću, jer se tačno ne sećam da bih citirala): "Ja se sa Olgicom nalazim na kafi u Prištini, gde ona radi...." Verujte mi da mi je tada to bilo toliko daleko i nemoguće, da vam to ne mogu opisati. A vidi me sada.

Naravno da to što sam dobila posao ne znači da je sve sjajno-bajno ovde, ali znači da ima nade, kada se čovek bori za svoja prava, kad se bori za život ne ugrožavajući nikog oko sebe. Trening me je pokrenuo da tražim posao na Kosovu. Da nađem neke odgovore

i oslobodim se stega i straha. Radiću sa decom srpske i albanske nacionalnosti, koja su mi dala glas u svojstvu komisijskog člana.

Zaista bi mi bilo zadovoljstvo da sam sa vama na kafi u Prištini podelila ovo, ali se nadam da će biti prilike za to!

Primate puno pozdrava i srećno u daljem radu!
Srdačan pozdrav za ceo tim,
Olga

28. januar 2014. godine

Trening za trenere/ice iz izgradnje mira

Nakon 10 godina pauze, u maju ove godine, započeli smo novi program *Trening za trenere i trenerice iz izgradnje mira*. Nismo ga organizovali od 2004. godine jer smo smatrali da je druga vrsta rada bila potrebija, između ostalog i ulaganje u to da ljudi koji su prošli ovakav program nađu načina da stečena znanja upotrebe u aktivnostima izgradnje mira. Tako je veliki broj ranijih učesnica/ka programa radio sa nama na aktivnostima obrazovanja i promocije izgradnje mira. Međutim, interesovanje za njega nije jenjavalo, a shvatili smo da bi i nama dobro došlo da obnovimo svoje kapacitete i kapacitete najbližih saradnika/ca ulažući u nove ljude. Pošto smo u međuvremenu od poslednjeg TzT-a uradili devetnaest Osnovnih treninga, a preduslov za učešće je iskustvo sa osnovnog treninga iz izgradnje mira koji smo organizovali mi ili neko drugi čiji rad nam je vrednosno blizak, bilo nam je jasno da bismo mogli da formiramo dosta jaku grupu polaznika/ca.

Ispitivanje potrebe

Ipak, pre nego što smo se upustili u organizaciju ovog programa, napravili smo malo istraživanje koje sa sastojalo iz tri faze:

1. Kontaktirali smo desetak osoba širom regije koje su učestvovala u ovom programu prethodne decenije, a koje su još uvek vrlo aktivne u polju izgradnje mira ili ljudskih prava i zamolili ih da nam daju svoju procenu koliko i zašto je jedan ovakav program potreban za područje gde žive i/ili rade i koliko se isplati da u njega ulažemo, ali i da nam kažu da li bi njihovim organizacijama bilo od koristi da neko od njihovih kolega ili koleginica prođe ovaj program. Dobili smo skoro jednoglasnu podršku da se u tu avanturu upustimo, a od nekih čak i konkretna imena saradnika/ca čije učešće bi značilo njihovim organizacijama.

2. Potom smo pripremili anonimnu *online* anketu za dvadesetak ljudi za koje smo smatrali da imaju dosta dobar potencijal za trenerski rad. Anketa se sastojala iz tri pitanja u kojima smo ispitali njihovu procenu potrebe za programom TzT, njihovu ličnu zainteresovanost za učešće i njihovu raspoloživost da se posvete programu u šestomesečnom periodu. I tu smo dobili sasvim jasan fidbek da TzT treba organizovati.¹ Svi osim jedne osobe su izrazili zainteresovanost da lično učestvuju u programu, a 16 osoba je potvrdilo da bi moglo da izdvoji potrebno vreme.
3. Zatim smo ista pitanja postavili potencijalnim učesnicima programa, odnosno svima koji su prošli naš Osnovni trening u proteklih 10 godina, a da smo raspolagali njihovim važećim email adresama. I ova anketa je bila anonimna, postavljena na internet stranici. 94% osoba koje su učestvovala u anketi izjasnilo se da TzT treba organizovati.²

Pošto su nas ovakvi rezultati dodatno ohrabрили, sredinom februara smo raspisali poziv za učešće u programu. Stiglo nam je 96 prijava za osamnaest predviđenih mesta, uglavnom od ljudi koji su prošli Osnovni trening CNA.³ Bilo nam je teško napraviti izbor od osamnaest, naročito imajući u vidu da je ovo možda poslednji put da organizujemo ovakav program, pa smo

1 Na pitanje o potrebi za TzT programom od 20 anketiranih, niko nije odabrao opciju "nije neophodno organizovati", 19 je odgovorilo "treba organizovati", a jedna osoba je izabrala odgovor "treba, ali ima prioritetnijih stvari".

2 Od sto odgovora, 94 je bilo "treba organizovati", 5 je bilo "treba, ali ima prioritetnijih stvari", a 1 "nije potrebno". Na pitanje da li su zainteresovani da učestvuju u programu odgovorilo je 90 osoba, od toga 86 pozitivno.

3 Interesantan nam je i podatak da je dokument sa pozivom za trening sa naše internet stranice skinut 1776 puta.

odlučili da prihvatimo 22 prijave, odnosno da predviđena grupa bude za četvoro ljudi veća.

O programu

Program je predviđen za ljude iz zemalja bivše Jugoslavije (osim Slovenije), koji imaju iskustvo učešća na Osnovnom treningu iz izgradnje mira, a od kojih se očekuje visoka motivacija i spremnost za naporan rad na izgradnji mira i suočavanja sa prošlošću.

Program se sastoji iz četiri faze koje će biti sprovedene u periodu od šest meseci, od maja do novembra 2014. *Prva faza* je desetodnevni trening na kome se produbljuju teme sa osnovnog treninga i uvode nove kao što su uloga trenera/ice i pristup radu. Takođe, u toku ovog treninga se biraju teme koje će biti obrađene na sledećem treningu i formiraju se timovi učesnika/ca koji će pripremiti radionice na izabrane teme, pa ih potom voditi na sledećem treningu. *Druga faza* su prateći sastanci (*follow-up*), jednodnevni ili dvodnevni. Ovaj sastanak služi da se formirani tim sretne i pripremi radionicu na temu koju su izabrali i da dobiju podršku, sugestije i savete od dve osobe iz trenerskog tima. *Treća faza* je opet desetodnevni

trening. U prvom delu treninga timovi učesnika/ca će voditi radionice koje su pripremili, imaće priliku da dobiju *feedback* od trenerskog tima i ostalih učesnika/ca. Drugi deo treninga je predviđen za teme poput poteškoća u radu, motivacije i drugih koje su važne za trenerski rad. Poslednja, *četvrta faza* je petodnevni trening gde ćemo evaluirati program, napraviti pogled u budućnost i baviti se temama koje se pokazuju kao prioritet.

Ovaj program vidimo kao početak, prvi korak ka samostalnom trenerskom radu, uključivanju elemenata radionica u rad na izgradnji mira: s omladinom, odraslima, decom, itd. Smatramo poželjnim da u svojim počecima učesnici/ce rade u timu sa iskusnijim osobama jer ne možemo očekivati da će svi učesnici/ce odmah nakon završetka programa biti spremni za samostalno vođenje dužih treninga.

Prva faza: trening u Dojranu

Znajući kakva grupa ljudi će se okupiti, jedva smo čekali da program počne. To nije čudno s obzirom da je zaista posebno zadovoljstvo raditi sa visoko motivisanom grupom.





Trenerski tim se dan ranije zaputio ka Makedoniji gde je prvi susret i trebalo da se dogodi u gradiću Dojranu. Međutim, ubrzo smo postali svesni da se održavanje treninga dovodi u pitanje zbog vremenskih nepogoda (kiša i poplava) koje su zahvatile priličan deo Bosne, a potom i Srbije, i veći deo puteva je bio zatvoren ili neprohodan. Za devetoro ljudi iz BiH je bilo izvesno da ne mogu uopšte da krenu ka Makedoniji, pa smo odlučili da odložimo početak za jedan dan, nadajući se da će za to vreme uspeti da se probiju. Šestoro je uspeo, i to upustivši se u čitave avanture, putujući oko 24 časa. Dve osobe iz Bijeljine su nam se pridružile tek na pola treninga, a jedna osoba iz Doboja nije uspeła uopšte da izađe iz grada, a i kad je uspeła morala je da se pobrine za svoje najbliže.

Ova katastrofa je prilično uticala na tok treninga i atmosferu, međutim, zahvaljujući visokoj motivaciji svih prisutnih, uspeali smo da uradimo mnogo i da sam rad bude fokusiran.

Pomeranje početka je značilo i jedan manje radni dan. Dodatna poteškoća je bila povelika grupa (21 osoba) u kojoj svi imaju šta da kažu i uglavnom nas ne uskraćuju za svoje mišljenje. I pored toga što smo se trudili da vreme planiramo što fleksibilnije, redovno su nam radionice trajale duže od predviđenih tri i po sata, što je uticalo na zamor. Radni dan je trajao od 9:30 pre podne, pa do noćnih sati. Nakon večere bismo održavali "otvoreni tim" – evaluaciju dana na kojoj bi učestvovao trenerski tim i po troje do četvoro učesnika/ca. Posle toga bi trenerski tim prekracao ili koncipirao sutrašnje radionice. To govori da je za ovaj program potrebno dosta energije, međutim apsolutno je vredno uložiti jer se sva uložena energija vrati kroz zadovoljstvo rada sa ljudima kojima je zaista stalo da dođe do društvene promene.

U toku treninga smo se trudili da produbljivanje tema

i iskustvene vežbe kombinujemo sa promišljanjem o etici mirovnog rada i ulozi trenera/ice i čini nam se, da smo napravili dobar balans između potreba učenja "trenerskog posla" i neophodnog produbljivanja iskustva i znanja koje čini temelj mirovnog obrazovanja. Zadovoljni smo time što smo osmislili veliki broj vežbi, ne prepuštajući se uobičajenoj inerciji da se "ponavlja uspešan recept od ranije" i zadovoljni smo ishodom samih vežbi, koje su otvorile prostor za uvide koji su teško mogući bez iskustvenog dela.

Pored toga što je grupa učesnika/ca bila izuzetno aktivna i motivisana, ono što je bilo karakteristično je sasvim neuobičajen nivo preuzimanja odgovornosti za proces i zajednički rad. Fenomenalno je kako su se ljudi podelili u timove za pripremanje i vođenje radionice, kockice su se toliko izmešale da nismo mogli da predvidimo te kombinacije. Ljudi su u velikoj meri prihvatili naše savete: da iskoriste priliku i budu u timu s nekim ko živi na većoj udaljenosti jer sada ne moraju da brinu o putnim troškovima, smeštaju i slično; i da pokušaju da budu u timu sa nekim s kim im je izazov raditi, a ne samo s onima s kojima im komunikacija dosta lako ide. Jedino što nam je povremeno nedostajalo jeste malo više konfrontacije u pojedinom situacijama i manje stidljivo ophođenje sa potencijalnim sukobima kako bi se umanjila ponekad primetna, puka politička korektnost.

Što se sastava grupe tiče, najviše nam nedostaju ljudi s Kosova pošto imamo samo jednu osobu iz Mitrovice. Ovo smo delimično premostili time što smo pozvali gosta s Kosova da nam se pridruži u toku prvog dana, kada smo imali zadatak da predstavimo društveno-političke kontekste iz kojih dolazimo koji su relevantni za rad na izgradnji mira i suočavanju s prošlošću. Postoji i mala neravnoteža u broju žena i muškaraca, pošto ima 9 muškaraca i 11 žena (biće ih 12 na narednom treningu), što, očekivano, nismo mapirali kao problem. Devet osoba je iz BiH, tri iz Hrvatske, jedna s Kosova, tri iz Makedonije i šest iz Srbije. Na osnovu prijava za program, mogli smo da postignemo bolji regionalni balans, ali nam je definitivno presudna bila procena visine motivacije pojedinaca/ki.

Trenutno su u toku prateći sastanci koji dosta dobro idu. U ovoj fazi se pridružila programu i osoba iz Doboja koja je bila sprečena da dođe u Makedoniju zbog katastrofalnih poplava.

I sada jedva čekamo da učestvujemo na radionicama koje pripremaju timovi učesnika/ca.

I. F.

Druga i treća faza Treninga za trenere/ice

Beograd/Sarajevo, Ivanjica, jun-avgust 2014.

Na kraju prve faze Treninga za trenere-ice, učesnici su se podelili u grupe i odabrali teme koje žele da rade na svojim radionicama.

Formirano je sedam malih timova, a odabrane teme su bile vezane za suočavanje sa prošlošću, pomirenje i izgradnju mira: predrasude i diskriminacija, identiteti, narativi, memorijalizacija, identiteti i granice, pomirenje i moć. Svakom timu su se priključile po dve osobe iz trenerskog CNA tima u funkciji pružanja podrške, savetima i pitanjima. Posebno nas je radovala činjenica da su svi odabrali da izađu iz zone komfora, i da su birali teme i timove više po izazovu, nego po osećaju sigurnosti. Tako je, tokom juna i jula, održano sedam „follow-up“ sastanaka, tri u Beogradu i četiri u Sarajevu, na kojima su tokom dva do tri dana osmišljavane samostalne radionice. Čini se da su i sama putovanja (učesnik sa Kosova je dolazio u Beograd, učesnica iz Makedonije u Sarajevo...) bila jako korisna jer su se učesnici sretali i upoznavali sa drugačijim kontekstima, i sticali nove uvide. Naravno, bila je to i prilika za druženja ☺.

Svi, vrlo uzbuđeni i znatiželjni, smo stigli u Ivanjicu, gradić na jugo-zapadu Srbije, na treću fazu, koja je trajala od 8-18. avgusta, i održavala se u hotelu „Park“. Učesnici su bili uzbuđeni zbog svojih radionica i nestrpljivi da se započne sa radom. Svaki mali tim imao je po jedan ceo

blok (pre ili posle podne) za izvođenje radionice, koju su, uz podršku trenerskog tima, sami osmišljavali i vodili. Na kraju svakog dana, održavani su evaluacioni sastanci sa svakim timom koji je vodio radionicu ponaosob, i na tim sastancima su evaluirane radionice, tok timskog rada, spoznaje i poteškoće koje su uočene, kako bi se maksimalno iskoristila prilika za učenje upravo na temelju neposrednog trenerskog iskustva.

Kao i kod izbora timova u kojima će raditi, i kod izbora tema i vežbi, učesnici su pokazali veliku spremnost da se oprobaju u novim vežbama, koje do tada nisu videli, i nisu bežali od toga da istraže nove situacije iz uloge trenera-ice. Uz puno obzira jednih spram drugih u timovima, te dobru podelu odgovornosti, imali su i ogromnu podršku ostatka grupe prilikom izvođenja vežbi. Ta solidarnost i kooperativnost je posebno pomogla u nekim malo manje osmišljenim situacijama tokom izvođenja vežbi, pa su propusti i greške, svoje i tuđe, postajale dragoceno iskustvo.

U drugom delu treninga bavili smo se intenzivno ulogom trenera, etikom u mirovnom radu, a snažno emotivno iskustvo koje su svi prošli u prvom dijelu ovog treninga je bila osnova za promišljanje i traganje za zaključcima i spoznajama. Odvojili smo jedan radni blok za temu „uloga polova u društvu“, jer smo procenili da je rad



na njoj bio neophodan. No, najjači utisak na sve ostavio je Teatar ugnjetenih/Forum teatar, kojem smo posvetili čitav jedan dan, i koji je za skoro sve učesnike bio nov, a za trenerski tim prilika da se podsetimo kako ta metoda, u kreativnoj i motivisanoj grupi, može da funkcioniše sjajno i osnažujuće za svakodnevnu borbu protiv nepravde.

U Ivanjici smo, time, završili deo programa koji se odnosi na sticanje i vežbanje trenerskih veština. U

četvrtoj fazi, koja će biti održana od 7-13. novembra 2014. godine, u Andrevlju na Fruškoj Gori, Vojvodina, Srbija, bavićemo se razradom ideja, umrežavanjem i podrškom za akcije i aktivnosti koje će tokom naredne 2015. godine osmišljavati i sprovesti učesnice-i Šestog programa Treninga za trenere i trenerice CNA.

N. H., K. M.

Osvrti učesnika/ca treninga

Sposobnost da razumijevam

Piše: Nedžad Novalić

Kada sam u maju 2014. godine, usred vremenskih nepogoda koje su zadesile Bosnu i Hercegovinu i posebno moj rodni kraj, trebao da krenem na put za Makedoniju gdje se održavala prva faza Treninga za trenere (TzT) našao sam se pred nimalo lahkim zadatkom. Trebalo je, naime, porodici, radnim kolegama i prijateljima objasniti gdje i zašto idem.

Priznajem da im nisam govorio baš cijelu istinu jer me je bilo strah da me ne posmatraju kao čudaka koji usred poplava, a skoro dvije decenije nakon rata, ide da se bavi nečim što nije spašavanje ljudi koji su ostali bez domova. Nakon povratka iz Makedonije, u Žepču, sreo sam Edina, bivšeg borca Armije RBiH. Za Edina rat je počeo u njegovoj dvadeset i nekoj, ranjen je na samom početku, pa je vraćen na front, pa još jednom ranjen... Geleri su mu tik pored srca, kaže da ih osjeti svako jutro kad ustaje. Kako je u državi finansijska kriza, svake godine mu smanjuju stepen invalidnosti da bi mu isplaćivali manju penziju. Dobro, ako se 50 KM uopće i može nazvati penzijom. O svemu tome, i još ponečemu, Edin mi samoinicijativno priča dok mu iz kuće koju je nedavno napravio (*sklep'o*, kako kaže on) iznosimo posljednje stvari jer je kuća uništena zbog klizišta. U tom trenutku shvatam da je rat/ovi 1990-ih najveći požar, poplava, zemljotres i klizište koje nas je zadesilo. Ustvari, koje smo proizveli.

Potreba ljudi da govore o ratu je velika, s tim što svako na svoj način *pripovijeda*. Zarad tranzicije ka boljem, a po uputama izvana, ljude koji su željeli i žele govoriti o tome natjerali smo da učute iz straha da su upravo oni ti koji stoje između nas i svijetle posttranzicijske budućnosti. Nepročitanu stranu je nemoguće *prevrnuti*,

ili je moguće uz rizik da zbog nepročitanosti jedne strane ne razumijemo cijelu knjigu.

Vrednost TzT-a vidim u, prije svega, činjenici da dobijamo prostor da zajednički razmišljamo i razumijevamo vrijeme u kojem živimo. Krst iznad Sarajeva koji jedni ovih dana podižu a drugi obaraju govori nam mnogo o sadašnjosti, a tek malo o prošlosti. Razumijevanje vremena i prostora na kojem obitavamo smatram neobično značajnim i rado se laćam svega onoga što mi to omogućava. TzT je jedan od alata. Poznanstva koja stičem tokom TzT-a važan su krajnji rezultat koji je jako vidljiv: mreža ljudi već postoji, konekcija između njih je iz dana u dan bolja, i za očekivati je da će oni na različite načine surađivati i u budućnosti.

Ipak, nemjerljiva je važnost TzT-a za ličnu transformaciju koja nije tako lahko vidljiva i mjerljiva. Ta vjera da će trening rezultirati ličnom transformacijom presudni je motiv za prijavu na jedan trening za koji je neophodno odvojiti skoro 30 dana. Lična transformacija se pretvara u nešto što često nazivam *dert*. Ovu arapsko-tursku riječ teško je jednoznačno prevesti: to je neki unutrašnji poriv, muka i briga za sebe i druge, za cijelo društvo, ali ujedno i potreba da i sebe i to društvo mijenjamo nabolje. TzT rezultira jednim takvim *dertom*.

Naravno, izuzetnim smatram i metode, tehnike i vještine koja sam stekao tokom TzT-a. Trening mi je omogućio i razvoj na ličnom planu: usavršavanje komunikacije, poboljšanje rada u timu, sticanje novih vještina prezentiranja različitih ideja. Na kraju, kao najznačajniji rezultat smatram vlastitu sposobnost da *razumijevam* (sebe, druge, društvo). Da razumijem Edinovu potrebu da usred poplava govori o nečemu što je bilo *davno prije*. Izuzetno mi je važna i spoznaja da svaka faza TzT-a rezultira jednim *upitnikom* više u mojoj glavi. Taj upitnik mi omogućava ne samo da propitujem

sebe i druge, već i da ne donosim ishitrene i konačne zaključke, sudove i stavove.

Jasno, kada budem odlazio na posljednju fazu TzT-a, ili na sljedeći sličan trening, nisam siguran kako da objasnim gdje i zašto to ja idem.

Zašto mi je važno

Piše: Nataša Okilj

Kada sam dobila mejl od CNA, da baš ja od svih učesnica i učesnica napišem zašto mi je važno učešće na TzT-u baš sam se osećala važnom. To nije zato što učešće na ovom programu znači jednu više ili jednu dobru referencu u biografiji, već je to zato što mi je ovaj program jako važan, za mene lično.

Budući da sam u poslednje vreme veoma umorna od treninga i organizacija koje na prilično banalan način teže da postignu neku društvenu promenu, zbog toga neretko imam osećaj da sam instrument za ostvarivanje (projektnog) cilja, a da to ni ne znam.

U tom smislu, ovaj trening je pravo osveženje, jer predstavlja mogućnost da grupa od dvadeset ljudi radi na sebi, time stvarajući mogućnost za rad na boljem društvu.

Ovaj trening volim zato što mi je pružio mogućnost da radim u grupi od dvadesetak sjajnih i pametnih ljudi, u kojoj smo napravili sjajnu otvorenu atmosferu, u kojoj možemo da suočimo stavove i argumente, a da to nije na ličnom nivou, tu priliku nemam svakodnevno. Takođe, bilo mi je važno da prepoznam to da, ma koliko god da mi imamo slične vrednosne pozicije, nismo jedno niti mislimo na isti način, niti bismo svoje vrednosne ideale preveli u realnost na isti način. Koliko god da ovo znam teoretski, uvek mi je važno da to osvestim i u praksi i to u neposrednom kontaktu sa ljudima.

Ja sam na trening došla sa stavom da je timski rad preceđen, te da timski rad nastaje spontano i da se posao na kraju sam završi. Iskristila sam sjajnu priliku da se preispitam, koliko je timski rad težak i šta na njega sve utiče, koliko je zapravo pogrešna moja pozicija, sve to to učeći u konkretnom radu.

Cenim to što na ovom treningu, nemaš priliku da učiš dok ti neko predaje, već učiš kroz iskustvo, kroz svoje lične emocije, osveštavaš koje je tvoje mesto u svetu, koji su ti načini prihvatljivi da nešto realizuješ, ma koliko to energije traži u svakom momentu od tebe. Takva iskustva nikada neću zaboraviti. Nekada je daleko

važniji proces, no sam rezultat.

Nije ovo trening koji će nekom dati gotove pakete odgovora na set složenih pitanja, kakva su suočavanje sa prošlošću, mir, mirovni aktivizam, identiteti, rodne pozicije u društvu, odnosi moći, društvena promena, ovo je za mene jedan trening koji ti otvori oči da vidiš koliko je percepcija na istu temu moguće, zašto je bilo koje od ovih pitanja važno za svakog od nas i svakako daje ti šansu da poneseš pitanja o kojima ćeš dugo razmišljati, na koje ćeš dati odgovore sam za sebe, koje ćeš kasnije opet preispitivati, kako bi sa njima mogao svakog dana živeti.

Otkrivala sam sposobnosti i odgovornosti svakog od nas da menja svet onoliko koliko proceni da može u datom momentu, ali da svako od nas može da reaguje i da to u konačnici ipak menja svet u kom živimo, ma koliko to bilo malo ili makar to delovalo. To mi daje snagu da nastavim dalje, ma koliko mi se nekad čini sporim, beznadežnim i nedovoljnim.

Dobila sam priliku da osvestim i ono što me boli u društvu, ono što me blokira, sa čim se nosim na određen način i zašto je to tako. Ali ako si spreman da se „baciš u proces“ kao što ja jesam, shvatiš na koje načine svakodnevno ti praviš bol nekim drugim ljudima, a nikada to ne bi pomislio za sebe.

Dobila sam priliku da pogrešim i da ispravim svoju grešku, da vidiš da i to može na fer način, naučila sam da ni greška nije kraj sveta, da je važna namera i trud koji uložiš u nešto, a ne greška koju napraviš.

Naučila sam da kada misliš da nisi kreativan, ti zapravo jesi, jer živiš svakog dana u složenom društvu i moraš to bar u nekoj meri biti, samo je važno da uroniti duboko u sebe i krenuti od sebe! Koliko mi samo vredi svako ovo pojedinačno znanje i koliko mi je dragoceno.

Zbog svega što sam prošla radeći na ovom programu sa divnim kolegama i kolegamicama, osećam ličnu odgovornost da dam potpuni doprinos da kroz neke treninge kakav je ovaj, koji predstavljaju sjajnu priliku ne samo za učenje, nego za celokupni rad na sebi, prođu i neki novi ljudi.

Ima li svrhe?

Piše: Dalmir Mišković

Gdje sam ja nakon odrađene treće faze treninga, i u iščekivanju četvrte faze "Treninga za trenere izgradnje mira"? Nisam ni sam siguran u odgovor, nalazim se

na jednoj vjetrometini stavova i razmišljanja do koje me doveo cijeli proces TZT-a, na križanju pitanja, je li područje izgradnje mira zapravo područje kojim se želim baviti u budućnosti i ima li svrhe ulagati energiju i baviti se nečime što okolina baš i ne prihvaća olako? Ali opet, gledajući koje su alternative, i što nas čeka u slučaju ako ne pokušamo nešto uraditi po pitanju mira i sadašnjeg stanja, i uzimajući u obzir konfliktnu i bolnu prošlost naših zemalja, mislim da je ovo dobar i jedini pozitivan recept za sretniju zajedničku budućnost, u kojoj mladost neće čekati red za strijeljanje i biti ta koja strijelja, budućnost u kojoj neću iščekivati sljedeći rat i prijetiti svojim unucima mobilizacijom ako ne budu dobri.

Mislim da se ne smijemo prepuštati apatičnom toku bolnih i nasilnih događaja koji su nas i doveli do ovog stanja u kojem se trenutno nalazimo, stanja koje ni u kom slučaju, ni u kojoj dimenziji, nije dobro i koje ne vodi naprijed već stalno prijeti svojim ponavljanjem. Trening za trenere otvara prostor za dekonstrukciju tog obrasca, otvara prostor za obranu protiv te potencijalno nesretne i krvave budućnosti, koju većina nas čak i očekuje. Stvara neku nadu da ipak nije sve uzaludno i

izgubljeno te da se neke stvari ipak mogu preventivno uraditi.

Prolazeći kroz dosadašnje faze treninga prošao sam kroz cijelo jedno iskustvo praktičnog mirovnog rada, usvajajući znanja i vještine koje će mi zasigurno biti vrlo korisne u budućnosti i u mom budućem radu, nadam se na ovom ili bliskom području. Mislim da to preneseno znanje neće biti korisno samo meni nego i cijeloj mojoj okolini, i okolinama ostalih članova moje TZT grupe, više od dvadeset ljudi po povratku u svoje lokalne zajednice će biti pokretači izgradnje mira i sretnije i pravednije budućnosti.

I upravo je tu najveća vrijednost TZT-a, to pokretanje pozitivnog kotača, i dokidanje potencijalne krvave budućnosti koja u našem slučaju uvijek prijeti. Sam koncept obuke je usmjeren ka širenju i dopiranju do maksimalnog broja ljudi što u krajnoj mjeri treba završiti dobrom.

Odgovornost svih nas je da se odazovemo zovu sretnije budućnosti i pokušamo učiniti nešto što predstavlja univerzalno zajedničko dobro, jer alternative već poznajemo i one su nedopustive!



razmjena i
umrežavanje

Seminar razmjene “Kako pomiriti (h)istorije?”

Sarajevo, 20-24.3.2014.

U Sarajevu je, od 20-24.3.2014. održan seminar razmjene „Kako pomiriti (h)istorije?“, posvećen promišljanju dominantne kulture sjećanja u Bosni i Hercegovini, Hrvatskoj i Srbiji. Ovaj smo seminar organizirali zato što smo, nakon dugogodišnjeg rada na izgradnji mira, hvatanja u koštac sa suprotstavljenim narativima o ratovima i zabrinutosti gdje nas vode ustaljene politike sjećanja, osjetili potrebu da otvorimo kanale komunikacije i sa historičarima/kama. Zbog potrebe za dijalogom i podrškom, a prije svega zbog nade da bismo zajedničkim snagama mogli postići više u radu na društvenoj promjeni, uz njih, na seminar smo pozvali mirovne i građanske aktiviste/ce, kustose i muzeologinje, novinare i novinarkе s kojima već jesmo ili bismo voljeli surađivati. Seminar je bio podijeljen u tri radna dana, tri tematske cjeline, s uvodnim izlaganjima koja su imala poslužiti kao poticaj za daljnju diskusiju.

1. dan: uvodno izlaganje prof. dr. Husnije Kamberovića, „Povijesne interpretacije između politike povijesti, kulture pamćenja i demitologizacije povijesti“

2. dan: uvodno izlaganje Adnana Hasanbegovića, „Pogled na kulturu sjećanja i suočavanje s prošlošću kroz aspekte izgradnje mira (iskustva i praksa CNA)“

3. dan: uvodno izlaganje dr. Svjetlane Nedimović, „Prošlost koja ne prolazi, kao politički resurs“

Različitost iskustva u „susretu“ s prošlošću odredila je i tok vrlo intenzivne rasprave tijekom sva tri dana trajanja seminara. U izgradnji mira s prošlošću se susrećemo svakodnevno, do te mjere da ona prestaje biti ono što se dogodilo u prošlom vremenu, već se u punini svojih različitih interpretacija ukazuje neprestano, odasvud izvire i ima vrlo aktivan utjecaj na društvo. Za historičare,

pak, relevantnost historije kao znanstvene discipline u velikoj mjeri ovisi od sposobnosti distanciranog odnosa prema historijskim činjenicama, njihovog tumačenja u kontekstu vremena u kojem su se dešavale, te otpora revizionističkim interpretacijama kojima je ova znanost izložena. Pod revizijom se u ovom slučaju ne misli na logičan put razvoja historije kao znanosti (interpretacije koje proizlaze iz novih saznanja), već na reinterpretacije koje su u skladu s dnevnim politikom i koje uvode selektivnost, prešutkivanje i poricanje u prikazu historijskih događaja (u Srbiji je to slučaj revizije četničkog pokreta, u Hrvatskoj su te debate prilično oštre u ocjeni socijalističkog razdoblja, ili razdoblja NDH, dok su se u BiH debate uglavnom odvijale oko pitanja kontinuiteta i diskontinuiteta, uključujući postojanje države).

Ovo se ne odnosi samo na politiku povijesti (koja podrazumijeva državni utjecaj na interpretaciju povijesti¹), već i na kulturu sjećanja, kao društvenu konstrukciju pamćenja, koja je bliska politici povijesti, ali uključuje i niz drugih disciplina poput sociologije, politologije, kulturne antropologije itd.

Odatle proizlazi i zahtjev za apolitičnošću historije, „historija kao nauka se ne bi trebala uključivati ni u kakve suvremene odnose“, istaknuo je profesor Kamberović, “kao politički instrument za opravdavanje određenih političkih projekata“, bilo da se radi o projektu uspostave nacionalne države ili pomirenju, koje se među dijelom učesnika/ca ovog seminara također doživljava kao politički projekt državnih i drugih političkih institucija.

To je za dio učesnika/ca bio ponešto iznenađujući razvoj teza, jer pretpostavlja da je u znanosti moguće izolirati se od ukupnosti društvenih uvjeta u kojima se ona odvija. Rasprava se tako počela odvijati na dvije ravni – historije kao idealno tipske znanstvene discipline, koja pretpostavlja političku i vrijednosnu neutralnost, te historije koja se nada je kao društvena, i predstavlja se kroz dominantne diskurse u javnom prostoru. Ovu podijeljenost



1 Najupečatljiviji recentni primjeri državne intervencije u interpretacije povijesti su rezolucije i deklaracije koje se izglasavaju u parlamentima postjugoslavenskih zemalja, a koje predstavljaju službeni stav države o prirodi i značenju historijskih događaja. Na taj način države sudjeluju u postavljanju okvira unutar kojih se historiografija mora kretati. Školski udžbenici, zbog ovakvih nastojanja, predstavljaju poseban problem.

između znanstvenog ideala i društveno-političke prakse nismo uspjeli prevazići do kraja seminara. Na znanosti je, pokazalo se u raspravi, da inzistira na znanstvenoj metodi i u svojim nalazima bude objektivna, odnosno autonomna od političkih utjecaja. Na nama ostalima je da pokušamo omogućiti tim glasovima u historiografiji da se čuju u javnom prostoru. No, bez obzira na to koliko je taj rad zasnovan na znanstvenom pristupu činjenicama, argumentirano i razložno predstavljen, on jednostavno ne dopire do značajnog dijela populacije, zbog čega se ti naponi često doimaju uzaludnim. Slična kritika upućena je i mirovnim organizacijama i organizacijama za ljudska prava – da njihov rad u javnom prostoru nije dovoljno vidljiv niti prisutan, te da bi u tom smislu valjalo razmišljati i o opcijama unapređenja odnosa s javnošću, medijske koordinacije i slično. Pitanje koje ostaje je da li je sama prisutnost u medijima istovremeno i garancija toga da će netko to doista i čuti. Naime, glasovi koji dolaze iz civilnog društva vrlo često proturječe dominantnom društvenom narativu o nedavnoj prošlosti.

Unutar svake nacionalne zajednice postoji mitološko tumačenje prošlosti, koje nije potpuno odvojeno od nekih istina, ali predstavlja subjektivno tumačenje jedne grupe. Kako je i istaknuto tijekom drugog dana seminara, u CNA, tijekom dugogodišnjeg rada na izgradnji mira, tumačenja prošlosti na svakodnevnoj razini doživljavamo kao prilično antagonizirana, na linijama koje su bile prisutne i tijekom 90-ih, dok se u političkom diskursu mogu prepoznati kao nastavak rata drugim sredstvima. To je u Bosni i Hercegovini možda najvidljivije, ali je prisutno i u cijeloj regiji. Postoji kolektivizacija krivice, odgovornost se prebacuje na „drugu stranu“, a mitološko se tumačenje prošlosti reflektira kroz viktimizaciju (nacije, etnije) i glorifikaciju ratnika. Ta se slika uspostavlja kroz politiku, ali i kulturu sjećanja, uvjetujući načine koje kao društvo odabiremo da bismo se sjećali.

I dok smo se složili oko toga da je matrica sjećanja, uspostavljena na glorifikaciji, heroizaciji i viktimizaciji prošlosti naslijeđena iz razdoblja socijalističke modernizacije, te da u tom smislu ne predstavlja neki naš kuriozitet već je prije opće pravilo u međunarodnim odnosima, u raspravi se inzistiralo na razlici socijalističkog narativa i narativa uspostavljenog unutar postjugoslavenskih nacionalnih država, posebno kada je riječ o procesima memorijalizacije. Jugoslavenska spomenička plastika ima emancipatornu funkciju, istaknuto je, ona slavi herojsku žrtvu, ali je u tim spomenicima bila simbolizirana vrijednost suradnje i solidarnosti (za razliku od današnje osnovne vrijednosti



suosjećanja), usmjerena ka „boljoj budućnosti“ (za razliku od današnjeg usmjerenja na prošlost, „da se ne zaboravi“) te uspostavi pravednijeg društvenog poretka od onog koji je nasilje i proizveo. Međutim, i taj se narativ temelji na isključivanju (onih „koji nisu s nama“) te se također uspostavlja odozgo, nametanjem propisane politike povijesti.

Dosta se razgovaralo o tome da neprijateljstvo koje baštinimo u dobrom dijelu naših društava, svoje opravdanje pronalazi upravo u nacionalnoj historiji. Mitovi u povijesti nisu potpuna laž, prije izvlačenje određenog događaja iz konteksta, ili potenciranje jednog njegovog dijela koji podupire određenu sliku o prošlosti. Samo utvrđivanje činjenica neće spriječiti ponavljanje nasilja, potrebno je dovesti u pitanje njegovu opravdanost. Ono se utemeljuje u tragičnoj prošlosti i često postaje opravdanje za buduće (preventivno) nasilje. Kako „opustiti“ ove odnose, otvoriti prostor za stvaranje kulture sjećanja koja će biti multiperspektivna jer, kako je istaknuto i dan ranije, iskustva su nam različita, i o povijesnim događajima ne može biti konsenzusa, ali na ovaj način možemo otvoriti dijalog o konfliktnim interpretacijama prošlosti. „Naša“ posebnost se utvrđuje u razlici spram „onih drugih“, ono čega se sjećamo određuje tko smo. I to je ona točka gde je potrebno intervenirati, nastojeći pronaći one načine memorijalizacije i komemoriranja koji će biti inkluzivni, neće biti zasnovani na hijerarhiji žrtava (vojne, pa civilne, „naše“ žrtve naspram „njihovih“) i koji će prije svega predstavljati opomenu nad destrukcijom ljudskog roda.

No, prošlost u suštini može biti vrlo značajna za transformaciju društva, i to ne kao nekakav repozitorij zaključenih poruka, upozorenje. Ona može biti dijelom samostvaralačkog procesa društva i postati dijelom konsituiranja društva i novih mreža značenja. O tome smo razgovarali posljednjeg, trećeg dana seminara, s naglaskom na nedavne proteste u Bosni i Hercegovini.

Ti su se protesti u svojoj biti definirali kao socijalni. Reakcija vladajućih struktura sve je vrijeme trajanja protesta pokušavala ovaj socijalni bunt vratiti u registar etno-nacionalnog, kao temeljne paradigme BH društva. Ne radi se o tome da bi nedavnu nasilnu prošlost trebalo prevazići, kako bismo se mogli baviti socijalnim i ekonomskim pitanjima. Upravo suprotno, prevazilaženje prošlosti bi značilo po sebi nepravdu, čak i ako je društvo provelo ono što propisuju procesi tranzicijske pravde. Mehanizmi tranzicijske pravde odnose se na omeđeni vremenski period. A za odnos društva s prošlošću, ukupnost je puno bitnija. Procesiranje, vetting, reparacije, ovi mehanizmi tranzicijske pravde i dalje bi potencijalno mogli predstavljati perpetuiranje historijskih nepravdi. Izmještajući naš odnos s prošlošću, društvenim upravljačima (političkoj eliti) ostavljamo prostor da našu sadašnjost kreiraju van dodira s onim što utvrđujemo u procesima suočavanja s prošlošću i tranzicijske pravde. Dok god uznemirava, opire se rutinizaciji i normalizaciji odnosa, dok god društvu nije na neki način dopušteno da se pomiri s tim što je učinilo, ta prošlost je izvor političke pedagogije. Tek tada ona postaje resurs za nekakav politički obračun s nepravdama iz prošlosti, i s nepravdama u sadašnjosti. Politička odgovornost u ovom slučaju bi značila, kako je rekla Svjetlana Nedimović „da svi oni koji učestvuju u produkciji i reprodukciji strukturnih odnosa koji za posljedicu imaju nepravdu, svi oni imaju

odgovornost da kolektivno transformativno djeluju“. Praktično, to znači da se prošlost ne može promatrati kao nešto što je prošlo, već se promatra u odnosu sa sadašnjošću i moralnim i egzistencijalnim potrebama zajednice. To je model odgovornosti koji počiva na društvenoj povezanosti. „I nije pozicija za neku neutralnu liberalnu državu, to je pozicija za vrlo angažovanu državu, čak i kad je ovako problematično funkcionalna kao BiH.“

To su bili glavni naglasci vrlo intenzivne trodnevne diskusije. To je i najveći dobitak ovog seminara, budući da smo imali prilike razgovarati u krugu ljudi iz Bosne i Hercegovine, Hrvatske i Srbije koji dugo i sa značajnim rezultatima djeluju u javnom prostoru, bilo da se radi o historiji kao znanosti, pitanjima javnih politika vezanih uz kulturu sjećanja, ili aktivističkom radu na poticanju društvene promjene. Različitost perspektiva, strategija borbe i iskustava u ovim procesima omogućili su nam jedan vrlo široki pogled, u kojem je procese suočavanja s prošlošću u ovim postjugoslavenskim državama moguće sagledati unutar šireg društvenog, u ovom slučaju europskog, konteksta. Recepte nismo uspjeli pronaći, upravo suprotno, tema se na trenutke činila sveprožimajućom, i gotovo nerješivom. Međutim, ovo je, nadamo se, inicijalni korak. Prisutni su izrazili potrebu za suradnjom i povezivanjem, te pronalaženjem novih strategija i načina ulaza u dominantni diskurs.

D. T.



*Publikacija o seminaru
"Kako pomiriti (h)istorije?"
dostupna je na našoj
internet stranici
www.nenasilje.org*



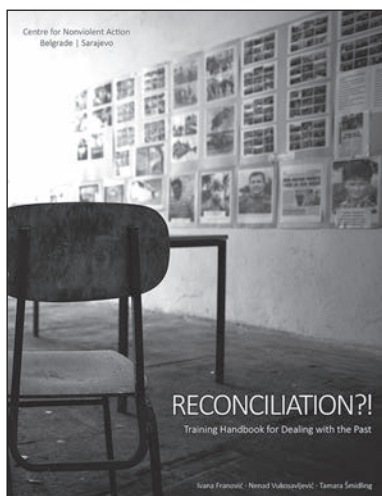
publikacije

Prevod priručnika “Pomirenje?!” na engleski jezik

“Pomirenje?! Priručnik za rad na suočavanju sa prošlošću kroz treninge i radionice” preveden je na engleski jezik, a prevod je u februaru ove godine izašao iz štampe. Kao što je slučaj i sa izvornom verzijom, priručnik na engleskom je dostupan na našoj internet stranici.

Na priručniku smo radili da bismo podržali ljude u našoj regiji, ali i drugim delovima sveta, koji pokušavaju da hodaju neutabanim stazama pomirenja, izgradnje mira i nezaobilaznog suočavanja s prošlošću. Odjek nas je ipak

iznenadio. Neverovatan nam je podatak da je za sedam meseci (tačnije: nekoliko dana više od punih sedam meseci) priručnik skinut sa naše internet stranice 108.225 puta. Pitamo se ko su svi ti ljudi. Vrlo nas je iznenadio i zainteresovao upit koji smo dobili da podržimo tim ljudi iz Južnog Sudana da prilagode priručnik njihovom kontekstu. Postoji i ideja, a na inicijativu ljudi koji rade u kavkaskom kontekstu, da se priručnik prevede i na ruski jezik.



U Predgovoru za englesko izdanje, Diana Francis piše:

Ono što ovaj priručnik čini posebnim nije samo širok izbor mogućnosti u svakoj grupi vježbi, već i bogatstvo iskustava i razmišljanja na kojima se taj izbor temelji. Ovo se dalje očituje u jasnoći opisa vježbi, pratećim praktičnim napomenama (npr. vrijeme potrebno za svaku vježbu) i drugim razmatranjima i uvidima. (...)

Osnovna svrha svih vježbi je da učesnicima omogući zajedničko i dubinsko istraživanje teških pitanja vezanih za osjećanja koja leže u srcu društvenih odnosa i mogućnosti da se nova otkrića prevedu u akcije. To prevođenje je od suštinskog značaja jer prema riječima autora: “Obuka je sredstvo, alat za pokretanje promjene, a ne samo sebi svrha.” Međutim, obuka započinje proces promjene u pojedincu, a cijeli skup vježbi daje dojam uređenog, visoko kvalitetnog razgovora među kolegama. Izradu ovog priručnika smatram činom iznimne velikodušnosti i solidarnosti koji je proizašao iz predanosti neumornom radu na preobražaju. (...)

Iznad svega, on će nadahnuti aktiviste u zemlji i inostranstvu, ohrabrujući ih da se pridruže onima koji

*‘doba za dobom, začudno,
bez izvanrednih moći,
iznova stvaraju svijet.’*

(Adrienne Rich. The Fact of a Doorframe.)

Radionica u Berlinu

Povodom objavljivanja prevoda priručnika za treninge “Pomirenje?!” na engleski jezik, Nenad i Ivana iz CNA tima su 26.07.2014. održali trosatnu radionicu u Berlinu na Univerzitetu Alice Salomon. Radionicu je organizovala naša sestrinska organizacija KURVE Wustrow. Među

učesnicima radionice je bilo ljudi aktivnih u poljima izgradnje mira, razvojnog i međunarodnog rada, nekoliko studentkinja ovog Univerziteta kao i nekoliko ljudi iz KURVE Wustrow i njihovih saradnika.

U prvom delu radionice učesnici su imali priliku

da iskuse delić metodologije karakterističan za CNA pristup. Drugi deo je bio posvećen razmeni iskustava u radu na suočavanju s prošlošću i izgradnji mira u regiji bivše Jugoslavije, a posebno smo se bavili poteškoćama i izazovima u radu. Učesnike je zanimalo kada treba početi s radom na pomirenju, kako raditi na suočavanju s prošlošću kada ne postoji politička volja za to, koje su to tipične poteškoće sa kojima se susrećemo, kako nalazimo ratne veterane zainteresovane za mirovne programe, šta su za naš kontekst primeri konstruktivnog,

a šta destruktivnog suočavanja s prošlošću, kako se nositi s ulogom pobednika u ratu, kako raditi na izgradnji poverenja i razgradnji straha da će nas komšije napasti, i mnoga druga.

Povratna informacija o radionici je bila vrlo pohvalna i učesnici se je doživeli korisnom. A nama je bilo vrlo zanimljivo facilitirati i učestvovati u ovim diskusijama u nemačko-međunarodnom kontekstu.

I.F.

Statistika sa naše internet stranice: www.nenasilje.org

Publikacije koje su najviše puta preuzete u poslednjih 12 meseci (okt. 2013 - sept. 2014)

1.	Reconciliation?! Training Handbook for Dealing with the Past (2014) Priručnik "Pomirenje?!" na engleskom jeziku	108.225 *	broj preuzimanja
2.	Nenasilje? Priručnik za treninge iz nenasilne razrade konflikata za rad sa odraslima (2000) - na BHS	36.261	
3.	Horror always has the same face (2012) Jedno je lice užasa. Dokumentacija studijskog puta o kulturi sećanja	17.448	
4.	ERŐSZAKMENTESSÉG? (2005) Priručnik "Nenasilje?" na mađarskom jeziku	17.166	
5.	Pomirenje?! Priručnik za rad na suočavanju sa prošlošću kroz treninge i radionice - na BHS	15.769	

* Publikacija je objavljena tek u februaru 2014, tako da se radi o broju preuzimanja za nešto više od 7 meseci.

Ukupan broj preuzimanja naslova na različitim jezicima u poslednjih 12 meseci

Pomirenje?! Priručnik za rad na suočavanju sa prošlošću kroz treninge i radionice	123.994 *	na engleskom: 108.225 *, na BHS: 15.769
Nenasilje? Priručnik za treninge iz nenasilne razrade konflikata za rad sa odraslima	61.633	na BHS: 36.261, na mađarskom: 17.166, na albanskom: 4.354, na makedonskom: 3.852
Jedno je lice užasa. Dokumentacija studijskog puta o kulturi sećanja	25.897	na engleskom: 17.448, na BHS: 8.449
Ne može meni bit dobro, ako je mom susjedu loše	9.895	na makedonskom: 4.627, na BHS: 2.843, na engleskom: 1.709, na albanskom: 716
Nasleđe nacionalsocijalizma – kultura sećanja u Berlinu	8.384	na engleskom: 5.898, na BHS: 2.486
20 poticaja za buđenje i promenu: O izgradnji mira na prostoru bivše Jugoslavije	3.957	na engleskom: 2.523, na BHS: 1.434
Slike tih vremena. Životne priče ratnih veterana/veteranki i članova/članica njihovih porodica	3.165	(nije prevedeno na druge jezike)

* Publikacija na engleskom je objavljena tek u februaru 2014, tako da se radi o broju preuzimanja za nešto više od 7 meseci.



rad sa ratnim veteranima

Glas ratnih veterana u pričama o ratu uvek je bio veoma važan. Njihov doprinos i uticaj na sećanje na rat je ogroman.

Od samog početka svog mirovnog rada CNA se susretao sa bivšim borcima. Verujući da moramo graditi mir zajedno, od 2002. godine razvijali smo različite programe u dijalogu sa bivšim borcima kojima smo odgovarali na postojeću potrebu da se susretnu sa svojim "neprijateljima". Želja nam je bila da uključimo ratne veterane u procese izgradnje mira i konstruktivnog suočavanja s prošlošću. Od početnih dijaloških radionica i javnih nastupa koji su doprinosili razgradnji slika neprijatelja, došli smo do zajedničkih akcija

bivših neprijatelja. Okosnicu saradnje čine zajedničke posete stratištima i odavanje pošte nastradalim ljudima, te priključivanje zvaničnim komemoracijama.

U ovom izveštaju možete čitati o aktivnostima sa ratnim veteranima u poslednjih godinu dana: o ovogodišnjem treningu za ratne veterane, o zajedničkim posetama mešovite grupe ratnih veterana mestima stradanja i sećanja u Bihaću i o komemoracijama u Vozući, Gornjem Vakufu - Uskoplju i Novom Gradu. Više informacija o prethodnim aktivnostima možete naći na našoj stranici www.nenasilje.org.

Trening za učesnike ratova

Brčko, 11-14.04.2014.

Na ovogodišnjem treningu za učesnike ratova, održanom u Brčkom (BiH) od 11. do 14. aprila, učestvovalo je četrnaest ratnih veterana. Iz oba BiH entiteta, Republike Srpske (Novi Grad, Prijedor) i Federacije BiH (Gornji Vakuf/Uskoplje, Bihać, Zavidovići) te Distrikta Brčko, iz Srbije (Kruševac) i Hrvatske (Pakrac). Trenerski tim CNA činili su Nenad Vukosavljević, Nedžad Horozović, Adnan Hasanbegović i Amer Delić.

Ohrabrujuće je što se, nakon par godina pauze, nastavila saradnja sa nekom od veteranskih udruga iz Hrvatske. Iako je bilo pojedinaca koji su redovno bili prisutni na našim treninzima i zajedničkim akcijama, do sada nismo našli kontinuirani model saradnje sa braniteljskim udrugama. Takođe, raduje i činjenica da su na treningu učestvovali predstavnici Opštinskih odbora BORS-a¹ iz gradova sa kojima do sada nismo imali priliku sarađivati.

Kao ciljeve treninga izdvojili smo osvještavanje potencijala ratnih veterana u ulozi graditelja mira i njihovo osnaživanje kao pojedinaca, kako bi bili spremni preuzeti tu ulogu u svojim sredinama. Pored toga, važna nam je bila uspostava povjerenja među učesnicima, uz nadu da će se, vremenom, i između organizacija koje predstavljaju stvoriti uslovi za prekograničnu saradnju, što bi omogućilo sprovođenje zajedničkih mirovnih akcija na širem području regiona. Kroz dvodnevne radionice, nastojali smo doći do toga šta bi to bio pošten odnos prema prošlosti i kako zajednički tragati za njim. Uprkos kratkom vremenskom

periodu, vjerujemo da smo uspjeli izgraditi prostor za otvorene diskusije i različite interpretacije, kako ratnih događaja, tako i društveno-političkih konteksta u kojima danas živimo.

Bilo je polemika, pa i otvorenih konfrontacija, što tumačimo kao znak da su učesnici bili motivisani i otvoreni. Nama iz CNA je to bio signal da uživamo njihovo povjerenje, jer nije postojala suzdržanost prema voditeljskom timu.

Kroz dijalog, jasno je iskazana osuda rata i zločina koji su počinjeni na ovim prostorima, bez obzira ko su bile njihove žrtve. Takođe, ukazano je i na dalju prisutnost nepravde i nasilja, naročito prema osobama iz manjinskih grupa čija prava se ugrožavaju i koje su često izložene diskriminaciji od strane većine. Bilo je i razgovora o sve prisutnijoj nacionalističkoj retorici i govoru mržnje, koji



1 BORS - Boračka organizacija Republike Srpske



su od nekadašnjih boraca prepoznati kao potencijalni generator budućeg nasilja, posebno kod poslijeratnih generacija. Zato smo posebno razgovarali i o zajedničkim mirovnim akcijama kao jednoj od mogućnosti nošenja s tim pojavama. Kroz ove akcije moguće je dati primjer mladima da je neprijateljstva moguće prevazići i da je potrebno raditi na izgradnji međusobnog povjerenja i uspostavljanju dobrosusjedskih odnosa.

Utisak je da su kroz trening ratni veterani izrazili spremnost da učestvuju u procesima izgradnje mira.

Procesima koji su dugi i mukotrpni, ali vremenom mijenjaju i oplemenjuju. Preobražanje *iz ratnika u graditelja mira* nosi sa sobom dilemu sa kojom je teško suočiti se. Da li je licemjerno da na pomirenje pozivaju upravo oni koji su u ratu, vjerujući da čine pravu stvar, učestvovali? I na to pozivali i druge iz svoje zajednice?

Iz mog iskustva, rekao bih da nije licemjerno promijeniti mišljenje nakon proživljenog rata, upravo suprotno, tako gradimo budućnost.

A. D.

Vo(l)j(e)na Krajina

11-12.12.2013.

Krajina, naziv za područje ili mjesto sa širom okolinom, uobičajen je kod slavenskih naroda. Na teritoriju bivše Jugoslavije možete pronaći desetke Krajina, takođe i u Poljskoj, Ukrajini... Ukoliko ste sa ovih, balkanskih prostora, i pojmu Krajine ne pridodate geografsku odrednicu u vidu imena područja na koje se odnosi, u većini slučajeva ljudi će pomisliti na onu smještenu između Hrvatske i Bosne i Hercegovine, podijeljenu prirodnom granicom - rijekom Unom, koja je ujedno i administrativna, državna. Ta Krajina, utisnuta je u podsvijest ljudi i kao "Vojna" Krajina. Naseljena je planski prije par stotina godina kako bi osiguravala zaleđa Habsburškom od Osmanskog

Carstva i obrnuto. Tadašnjim imperijama bilo je bitno na granici imati ljude spremne da se dignu na oružje u što je moguće kraćem roku. Dijelevći im zemljišne posjede i pružajući poreske olakšice dobili su stražare sa uvijek budnim okom koje motri neprijatelja. Baš taj militaristički koncept odredio je to područje, te se zadržao i za vrijeme SFRJ. Iako je granica između tadašnjih socijalističkih republika bila samo formalna, tradicionalno se gajio ratnički duh "ljutih Krajišnika" u uvjerenju da će jednog dana biti koristan naspram "vanjskog" neprijatelja koji vrebao i nikada ne miruje. Devedesete godine prošlog vijeka, na ovom području ostaće zapamćene kao godine

stradanja, zločina i etničkog čišćenja. Pokazala se ljutina, ali neprijatelji su se našli iznutra.

Nastavljajući svoje akcije posjeta stratištima, nas dvadeset dvojica ratnih veterana iz regiona i aktivista Centra za nenasilnu akciju Beograd/Sarajevo, posjetili smo Bihać, administrativno i privredno sjedište Unsko-sanskog kantona (USK), u Federaciji BiH. Inače, područje USK-a se proteže na tri Krajinne - Bihaćku, Cazinsku i dijelom Bosansku. Posmatrajući u širem kontekstu, sve tri se nalaze unutar gore spomenute "Vojne", tačnije njenog dijela unutar BiH. Kao što se i sam geografski pojam čini komplikovanim, tako je bilo i sa ratnim zbivanjima. U borbama su u periodu 1992-1995. učestvovalle jedinice Armije Republike Bosne i Hercegovine (ARBiH), Vojske Republike Srpske (VRS), Hrvatske vojske (HV), Hrvatskog vijeća obrane (HVO), Jugoslovenske narodne armije (JNA) - kasnije Vojske Jugoslavije (VJ), i još dvije formacije koje devedeset pete nisu dočekale primirje i Dejtonski sporazum, jer su prethodno već bile doživjele slom, a teritoriju koju su pokrivali zaposjele su druge snage. Naime, radi se o Vojsci Republike Srpske Krajine (VRSK) i Narodnoj odbrani Autonomne pokrajine Zapadna Bosna (NOAPZB). Takođe, valja napomenuti i čitav niz policijskih, specijalnih i paravojnih jedinica koje su po potrebi bile upućivane u ovaj rejon. Ovdje se moram osvrnuti na to da je bilo planirano da, uz Bihać, posjetimo i Veliku Kladušu. Grad koji još uvijek pritišće ratno naslijeđe sukoba unutar jedne etničke i vjerske zajednice, bošnjačko-muslimanske.

Posljedice ovog tragičnog sukoba su evidentne i borba za prevlast u ovom gradu je nastavljena kroz političko djelovanje. Stvaraju se koalicije stranaka sa političkim opcijama koje su tokom ratnih zbivanja bile suprostavljene, što rezultira pojavom frakcija unutar njih samih, koje se otcjepljuju i formiraju nove stranke koje etiketiraju ove prvonavedene kao izdajničke, koje su iznevjerile svoj narod i zaboravile žrtve pale u sukobu. Osim na opštinskom, sukob se reflektira i na kantonalni nivo - smjenjuju se načelnici, skupštine se proglašavaju nelegitimnim, politički protivnici se međusobno optužuju za protivustavno djelovanje. Konfuzna politička situacija se uveliko odražava i na ostale sfere društvenih zbivanja. Privredni razvoj je zanemario, a sve je više nezaposlenih, pogotovo mladih. Veliki broj je onih koji odlučuju svoju sreću potražiti u inostranstvu, te je prisutan trend iseljavanja u zemlje Zapadne Evrope i Amerike. Planirajući posjetu Velikoj Kladuši održali smo zajednički sastanak sa nekadašnjim pripadnicima ARBiH i NOAPZB, koji danas djeluju u boračkim udruženjima proisteklim iz navedenih ratnih formacija. Na sastanku je

bio prisutan i član Opštinskog vijeća Velike Kladuše inače i Sekretar udruženja žrtava rata. Postigli smo dogovor o zajedničkoj posjeti i odavanju počta na mezarju Dubrave, gdje su ukopani pripadnici NO, i Spomen obilježlju pripadnicima ARBiH. Ovaj sastanak nije bio samo službeni. Ljudi koji su bili prisutni imali su šta jedni drugima da kažu i o životu prije sukoba, zajedničkim druženjima i lijepim sjećanjima, i prvim kontaktima poslije, susretima koje su obilježili okretanje glava od pogleda i čak pokoja psovka i uvreda. Vrijeme između, ratno, nisu spominjali. Bilo je dirljivo slušati ih. "Zar je potrebno da nam dođu ljudi sa strane da bi se mi ovako sastali i ispričali, i da si na groblja odemo," bio je komentar jednog od njih. Međutim, netom prije finalnog dogovora o posjeti ovom gradu, politička zbivanja su se zakomplikovala, i posjeta je odgođena. Ono što je dobro jeste da postoji spremnost da se posjeta desi u dogledno vrijeme i što je inicirana mogućnost da nekadašnji borci sami organizuju nešto što bi pomoglo poboljšanju odnosa i izgradnji povjerenja u lokalnoj zajednici.

U Bihaću smo prvo posjetili mezarje Humci, gdje je smješteno i spomen obilježlje ARBiH - "Memorijal braniocima grada". Dok smo prilazili, sa spoljne strane na masivnim mermernim pločama, poredanim u krug, vidio sam uklesana imena stradalih. Ulazeći unutar tog kruga uočio sam da su i sa unutrašnje strane ploče ispisane. Hiljade imena. O Bihaću za vrijeme rata govorio je jedan od domaćina posjete - Almir Tutić, predsjednik Saveza demobilisanih boraca odbrambeno-oslobodilačkog rata 1992-1995. USK-a. Spomenuo je strateški položaj Bihaća, brojne kasarne, vojne poligone, te aerodrom ratnog vazduhoplovstva kao razloge zbog kojih se htjelo ovladati ovim prostorom. Borbe su bile brutalne, sa ogromnim gubicima. O sukobima između ARBiH i NOAPZB, koji su odnijeli tri hiljade života na obje strane, govorio je Agan Elkasović, predsjednik Udruženja nosilaca najvećih ratnih priznanja i odlikovanja USK-a. I sam je još uvijek začuđen eskalacijom nasilja u tom sukobu, bukvalno bratoubilačkom, jer bilo je porodica čiji su članovi ratovali na različitim stranama. Riječima je to teško i nemoguće za objasniti, završio je svoje izlaganje.

Na Centralni spomenik braniteljima HVO-a, na rimokatoličkom groblju Žegar, poveo nas je Franjo Grgić, predsjednik Koordinacije braniteljskih udruga HVO USK-a. Došli smo do križa sa raspelom koji dominira grobljem. Franjo je ispričao ratni put jedinica HVO-a na ovom području i posebno istakao da, za razliku od nekih drugih dijelova BiH, ovdje nije bilo bošnjačko-hrvatskog sukoba, na šta su ponosni.

Ove godine ostali smo bez Đure Pejaka, dugogodišnjeg prijatelja i saradnika, ratnog veterana Hrvatske vojske iz Županje. Hvala mu na ljudskoj toplini koju je unosio u naše zajedničke akcije sa ratnim veteranima.

Sljedeće mjesto koje smo obišli bila je Spomen soba pripadnicima Petog korpusa ARBiH i civilima iz mjesne zajednice Ribić-Orljani. Na zidovima prostorije su okačene fotografije sa biografskim podacima i kur'anskim stihovima. Ukratko nas je Almir upoznao sa najosnovnijim informacijama vezanim za period rata u tom dijelu bihačke opštine. U jednom trenutku je, nakon što smo mu postavili nekoliko pitanja vezanih za broj stanovnika, etničku strukturu i slično, izašao iz prostorije na par minuta i vratio se sa podebelom knjigom. „E sad pitajte, ovdje imaju svi podaci od popisa devedeset prve“, reče i otvori knjigu. I dobismo odgovore. Nastavio je svoju priču pominjući sudbine ljudi sa fotografija, koje je lično poznao. I rekao je nešto za zapamtiti: “U ratu bogati daju volove, a sirotinja sinove.” To i jeste tako, pomislih. Zna se čije je “topovsko meso” jeftinije.

Odatle smo posjedali u auta i krenuli prema jami Bezdana, udaljenoj trinaest kilometara od Bihaća. Vrlo brzo smo sišli sa asfaltnog puta i počeli da se penjemo makadamskim, koji služi za transport trupaca iz šume. Stigli smo do platoa i pješice se uputili ka jami. Natkriva je spomen obilježlje, a oko samog okna postavljena je sigurnosna ograda koja omogućava da se nadvijete nad njom i pogledate u jezovitu dubinu uklesanu u stijeni. Ambis od nekih osamdeset pet metara. Priča o zločinima koji su na tom mjestu počinjeni 1992. godine sve nas je šokirala. Jasmin Osmankić, predsjednik Kantonalnog saveza udruženja/udruga pripadnika ARBiH i HVO liječenih od PTSP-a, takođe jedan od domaćina posjete Bihaću, govorio je kako je u jamu silazio poslije rata 1997. godine, kako bi pronašao posmrtnu ostatku nestalog brata. Među osamdeset i jednim ekshumiranim nije ga

bilo, Jasmin i danas traga. Okamenjenih lica napustili smo plato i krenuli nazad u hotel.

Održali smo zajednički sastanak na kojem su nam se priključili i predstavnici boračkih organizacija, i NOAPZB i ARBiH iz Velike Kladuše, što nas je obradovalo i dodatno ohrabrilo za nastavak saradnje sa tim udruženjima. Sastanku se priključio i Emdžad Galijašević, načelnik općine Bihać, koji je izrazio svoje slaganje sa našom idejom i ciljevima i uputio nam riječi bezrezervne podrške. Poručio je da u budućnosti možemo računati na pomoć ovog grada i njegovih institucija pri sprovođenju naših aktivnosti na ovim prostorima. Posjetu Bihaću smo završili sa neformalnim obilaskom muzeja Prvog zasjedanja AVNOJ-a¹ koje je ovom gradu održano 1942. godine. Ljudi u ovom kraju baštine vrijednosti antifašističke borbe, naglasio je Almir.

Svi smo ovu posjetu ocijenili izuzetno korisnom i uspješnom. Uz ratne veterane sa kojima smo sprovodili mirovne aktivnosti proteklih godina, pridružili su nam se i novi članovi, ljudi koji su bili na našem posljednjem Treningu za učesnike ratova, održanom u Doboju početkom juna 2013. Odlično su se uklopili u grupu, tako da se osjećalo kao da su oduvijek sa nama. Posebno bih naglasio izuzetnu transparentnost i neposrednost domaćina posjete Bihaću, koji su pridobili naklonost cijele grupe. Stekli smo i nove simpatizere, ljude sa kojima možemo još puno stvari da napravimo na ovim širim prostorima. A potrebe za tim ima. Breme prošlosti ispunjeno ratnim nasiljem opterećuje svakodnevnicu ovih ljudi i danas, skoro dvije decenije poslije. Kako istovremeno osjećati ponos na istorijsko ratničko nasljeđe, prihvaćeno kao neotuđivi dio vlastitog identiteta, a trasirati put prema izgradnji mira, povjerenja i saradnje, odgovor je koji će Krajišnici morati da daju sami sebi i svojim potomcima. Nadamo se da ih ovakve akcije i upućuju na propitivanje.

A. D.

1 Antifašističko vijeće narodnog oslobođenja Jugoslavije

Kroz Uskoplje, od Gornjeg do Donjeg Vakufa

20-21.12.2013.

U proteklih godinu dana smo imali priliku posjetiti različite događaje komemorativnog karaktera u čiju organizaciju su uključena boračka udruženja sa kojima

sarađujemo. Mogli smo na licu mjesta vidjeti kakvu kulturu sjećanja njeguju bivši učesnici ratova i sredine iz kojih potiču.

Ponovo smo posjetili Gornji Vakuf/Uskoplje (GVU) da bismo učestvovali na Svečanoj akademiji pod nazivom "Sjećanje na komandanta Gorana Čišića", koju tradicionalno organizuje udruženje boraca "Goranovi", na taj način njegujući uspomene na svog zapovjednika i sve poginule i umrle borce ove jedinice Armije RBiH. Svečana akademija je održana u prepunoj sali Centra za kulturu i obrazovanje Općine Gornji Vakuf/Uskoplje. Prisutnima se obratio predsjednik udruženja „Goranovi“ Ibrahim Topčić. Osvrnuo se na ratni period, svoju jedinicu i komadanta Čišića, ističući da su tada oni pokazali svoju ljudskost i veličinu u najtežim trenucima, dok su danas na margini društva i osjećaju da su i oni i njihove porodice prepušteni sami sebi. Bio je vidno uznemiren, iako nije adresirao uzroke takvog stanja. Na istom ovom mjestu lani, omladina je izvela predstavu mjuzikla "Kosa" odaslavši poruke mira za koje zidovi ove sale nisu bili granica. Ove su godine djeca samo čitala literarne radove, uspomene na Gorana Čišića.

Još prošle godine ova je manifestacija bila iskorak u odnosu na ostale koje se organizuju sličnim povodom. Povlačenje unazad u ustaljene, "provjerene" obrasce koji se međusobno razlikuju samo po nacionalnim simbolima i nazivu neprijatelja, pokazuje nam da mir nije dovršeno

stanje, već proces s neizvjesnim ishodom. Možda sam tada i maštao da su ovdje učinjeni pionirski koraci na tom mirovnom putu. I jesu bili, ali da bi se to i nastavilo, potrebna je podrška zajednice, lokalnih vlasti, društva u cjelini.

Iskoristili smo boravak u ovom gradu da održimo sastanke sa predstavnicima lokalnih vlasti i drugih boračkih udruženja/udruga. Susreli smo se sa načelnikom Seadom Čauševićem i predsjednikom Općinskog vijeća Marinkom Krajinom. Ukratko su nam pojasnili situaciju u ovoj općini po završetku bošnjačko-hrvatskog sukoba koji je trajao od oktobra 1992. do marta 1994. godine, iz kojeg su ostale stotine poginulih, razoren grad i okolna sela, i uništeni međuljudski i međususedski odnosi. Danas su, kažu, primjetni pomaci koji su učinjeni od rata na ovamo. Nakon višegodišnjih paralelnih struktura vlasti, objedinjena je općinska administracija, domovi zdravlja, vatrogasno društvo, kao i druge ustanove i institucije. Ove se godine desio i prvi nastup članova folklornog ansambla Bošnjačke zajednice kulture "Preporod" na "Uskopaljskim jesenima", tradicionalnoj kulturnoj manifestaciji koju od 1997.godine organizira Hrvatsko kulturno društvo "Napredak", a bošnjačka i hrvatska djeca treniraju i igraju zajedno u nogometnom klubu "Sloga". Znači li to da se



život ovdje vraća u normalne tokove?

Sa naše strane, predstavnike općinske vlasti upoznali smo sa dosadašnjim radom u regionu, posebno sa posjetama zajedničke grupe veterana stratištima, te izrazili želju da u tom kontekstu posjetimo i GVU gdje bi nam zajednički domaćini bili bivši pripadnici HVO i ARBiH, sa kojima bi obišli spomen obilježlja na obje strane. Tu ideju su podržali, ističući da su obojica ratni veterani i da su spremni da učestvuju u svim akcijama koje su na dobrobit ljudi u ovoj sredini i koje doprinose boljim međusobnim odnosima i saradnji. Potencijalnu prepreku organizovanju posjete vide u razjedinjenosti udruženja boraca u ovom gradu. Naime, postoji čak devet drugu proisteklih iz HVO-a i šest iz ARBiH, koje nastupaju odvojeno. Sastanku je bio prisutan i Suad Duratbegović, sekretar kantonalnog odbora Jedinstvene organizacije boraca ARBiH Srednjo-bosanskog kantona, koji je takođe podržao ideju i istakao da će nastojati da koordinira “armijska” udruženja, kako bi imali jedno predstavničko tijelo u slučaju organizovanja posjete.

Uslijedili su neformalni sastanci, o potencijalnoj saradnji i posjeti, sa predstavnicima Udruge nositelja ratnih odličja HVO-a i Udruge dragovoljaca domovinskog rata HVO-a. Nekada ljudi ne mogu da prevale preko leđa osjećaj da će ispasti licemjerni u svojim sredinama, jer u prošlosti su predvodili ljude u ratu, a sada bi trebalo da ih usmjeravaju ka pomirenju. Ta dilema je ujedno i kočnica, često prisutna kod ratnih veterana, koja sputava njihov mirovni angažman.

Sutradan smo posjetili Spomen obilježlje¹ na mjestu

1 Odluku da posjetimo ovo spomen obilježlje donijeli smo na nivou naše grupe tokom boravka u GVU, jer nije uobičajeno da obilazimo spomen mjesta pojedinaca sa statusom heroja u

pogibije Gorana Čišića, u rejonu sela Podrepici – općina Bugojno. Tradicionalno, u organizaciji Planinarskog društva “Goran”, godišnjica pogibije Gorana Čišića obilježava se planinarskim pohodom na ovo mjesto. Predsjednik PD “Goran”, Ekrem Polić, pojasnio nam je da su izabrali ovakav način čuvanja uspomene na svog prijatelja, a potom i saborca i komadanta, jer je i sam bio veliki ljubitelj prirode i planinarenja. Po povratku, susreli smo kolonu od nekoliko stotina ljudi, članova ovog društva i njihovih prijatelja, učesnika ovogodišnjeg pohoda.

Zaputili smo se u Donji Vakuf. Tamo smo održali kraći sastanak da bi razmijenili utiske o sprovedenim aktivnostima. Novim članovima grupe iz RS-a, koji su prvi put sa nama učestvovali na nekoj komemoraciji, upućen je poziv za organizaciju posjete mjestima stradanja u Republici Srpskoj.

Često dolascima u razne gradove evociramo uspomene na bolnu prošlost, potisnutu, a ne zaboravljenu. U GVU smo, po kasnijem saznanju, bili smješteni u motelu koji je za vrijeme rata bio logor. Jedan od ratnih veterana, sa kojim već godinama sarađujemo, bio je tu zatočen sa još dvadesetak svojih saboraca i do kraja našeg boravka nije smogao snage da nas posjeti. Ovo nije prvi put da se susrećemo sa tabuaiziranim mjestima koja kriju svoje tajne i koja se šapatom spominju samo unutar svoje zajednice. Jedan od razloga zašto ovo radimo i jeste da bi podsjećali da takva mjesta postoje i da nas potiču na razmišljanje. I da se ne čuti.

A. D.

svojim sredinama. Pred dolazak imali smo informaciju da se radi o obilježlju ARBiH

Komemoracija u Stogu

10.09.2014.

Stog je malo selo u blizini Vozuće, mjesne zajednice u opštini Zavidovići¹. Pitome doline rijeke Krivaje okružene brdima i planinama, krajolik izuzetne ljepote bogat pašnjacima, šumama i voćnjacima. Godine 1992., ljepota prirode bila je nevažna. Vozuća je postala “strateški” važna i ono što je uslijedilo rezultiralo je hiljadama

poginulih, ratnih invalida i raseljenih. Iz Vozuće su u aprilu '92. izbjegli Bošnjaci, a u septembru '95. Srbi. Ono što se između ta dva perioda dešavalo predstavlja, možda, i najkrvaviju ratnu zonu u Bosni i Hercegovini, obilježenu teškim borbama, ratnim zločinima i nestalim osobama.

Vozuća je jedno od mjesta koja simbolišu stradanje srpskog naroda u proteklom ratu i svake godine, 10. septembra u mjestu Stog, održava se komemoracija

1 Zavidovići - grad i opština u Federaciji BiH

kojom se odaje počast poginulim i nestalim, ali i žal za napuštanjem rodne grude, nakon viševjekovnog egzistiranja na tim prostorima. Zvanični naziv manifestacije je "Obilježavanje godišnjice egzodusa naroda Vozuće, naselja dolinom rijeke Krivaje i južnog dijela Ozrena", a organizuje je "Zavičajno udruženje Zavidovičana, Doboj"². Uz pomoć prijatelja iz dobojskog BORS-a³ i sa njegovom preporukom, posjetili smo ovo udruženje u dva navrata, predstavili naš rad sa ratnim veteranima i zajedničke akcije odlazaka na komemoracije, upriličene na dane obilježavanja značajnih datuma iz prošlosti. Uskoro smo dobili zvaničan poziv od ovog udruženja u kojem su iskazali dobrodošlicu našoj grupi. Program obilježavanja predviđao je okupljanje učesnika u naselju Tumare, nekih 22km od Stoga, odakle je kretao tradicionalni "Marš egzodusa", maršrutom kojom su se '95. kretale izbjegličke kolone. Dolazak učesnika marša na odredište u Stog određivao je i početak komemoracije, tako da smo odlučili da se i mi pridružimo učesnicima u tom trenutku.

Veći dio grupe, sastavljene od ratnih veterana iz Srbije, Hrvatske, oba bosansko-hercegovačka entiteta i nas iz CNA, stigao je u Zavidoviće noć prije, dok su se ostali grupi pridružili ujutro. Tada su nam se pridružili i članovi udruženja ratnih vojnih invalida iz Zavidovića.

"Odbor ratnih vojnih invalida Armije Republike BiH opštine Zavidovići"⁴, koji nam je bio domaćin na komemoraciji obilježavanja bitke na Koti 715 prošle godine, pozvao nas je da istog dana prisustvujemo i drugoj manifestaciji koja se održavala u Vozući. Tiče se istog događaja, ali posmatrano iz drugog ugla. Taj dan se sa bošnjačke strane obilježava kao "Dan oslobođenja Vozuće". Bilo bi nam jako značajno vidjeti kako se isti događaj doživljava i interpretira na obe strane, te čuti, u istom danu, dva suprostavljena narativa. Takođe, i osjetiti atmosferu kod domaćih, u trenutku kada im dođu u goste „bivši neprijatelji“, na njihovu svetkovinu. Međutim, s obzirom da su se satnice preklapale, poziv nismo mogli da prihvatimo, ovaj put. Prijepodne smo proveli u druženju sa članovima ovog udruženja, koji su nas povelili u obilazak Spomen sobe, parka "Kamene kugle", Spomen obilježlja žrtvama rata 1992-1995. i radionice u kojoj sami izrađuju i servisiraju ortopedske proteze za invalide rata. Posjeta radionici je izazvala veliki interes kod veterana iz naše grupe i domaćini su se maksimalno potrudili da prezentiraju svoj rad i proizvode. Da nismo bili vremenski

ograničeni, boravak u radionici bi potrajao jako dugo...

Na izlazu iz Zavidovića formirali smo kolonu i uputili se prema Stogu koji je udaljen nekih 25km. Nakon pređenih 14km ušli smo u nekadašnju ratnu zonu, sa još uvijek vidljivim tragovima razaranja i devastiranim objektima. Tu i počinju naselja sa, nekada većinskim, srpskim življem. Ima i obnovljenih kuća, pogotovo vikendica, ali sam broj povratnika je mali i uglavnom se radi o starijim ljudima.

Na ulasku u Stog dočekali su nas pripadnici Federalnog MUP-a, koji su bili u velikom broju i raspoređeni duž ceste, što je znak da je ovaj događaj okarakterisan potencijalno visokim rizikom po sigurnost učesnika. Jedan policajac nas je usmjerio gdje da parkiramo auta, a potom smo krenuli prema crkvi Svetog Đorđa ispred koje je na platou bio montiran veliki šator sa postavljenim redovima stolova i stolica i pokretnom kuhinjom. Po izgledu fasade vidjelo se da je crkva obnovljena. U dvorištu se nalazi Spomen obilježlje, sa krstom. Na prostoru ispred crkve i pod šatorom već je bilo prisutno nekoliko stotina ljudi. Sa razglasa su se orile srpske "patriotske" pjesme.

Javili smo se gospođi zaduženoj za protokol, koja nas je uputila pod šator i objasnila da ćemo biti prozvani prilikom polaganja vijenaca. Naš je formalni domaćin učestvovao u maršu, pa smo bili pomalo izgubljeni u masi. Ljudi nas nisu poznavali i malo su nas čudno zagledali i raspitivali se ko smo i zašto smo tu.

A tada se nebo otvorilo. Pljusak, munje, grmljavina. Svi su dotrčali pod šator i krenuli da se sabijaju jedni uz druge, kako bi izbjegli silnu kišu koja se sručila. I upravo u tom trenutku počeo je razglasa dopirati taktovi "Marša na Drinu" i ukaza se čelo kolone sa srpskim trobojkama. Narod pod šatorom podiže se na noge i aplauzom pozdravi pristigle učesnike marša. Kolona nepregledna, stotine ljudi, a najviše mladih. Prvo što sam pomislio je koliko li je od njih izgubilo očeve na ovom ratištu. I učesnici marša dođoše pod šator, umorni i pokisli krenuše da se presvlače. Dođe do nas informacija da u crkvi počinje služenje Svete liturgije i parastos za poginule na vozućkom frontu, i nekolicina nas se zaputi u crkvu. Primjetio sam na zidovima istaknute spomen ploče stradalim pripadnicima Vojske Republike Srpske iz Vozuće i sa prostora opština Bijeljina, Srbac, Prnjavor, Vukosavlje, Modriča, Teslić i Doboj. Razlog iz kojega su ploče unutar crkve je isti kao i razlog zbog kojeg ovakav skup treba da obezbjeđuje policija u velikom broju.

Po završenom obredu u crkvi, pristupilo se ceremoniji polaganja vijenaca na Spomen obilježlje poginulim i nestalim pripadnicima VRS, u crkvenom dvorištu. Kiša je bila toliko jaka da se iz razglasa nije čula najava, već se

2 Doboj - grad i opština u Republici Srpskoj

3 BORS – Boračka organizacija Republike Srpske

4 Zvaničan naziv udruženja ratnih vojnih invalida

voditeljica protokola služila znakovima kako bi pokazala na koga je red za polaganje. Četvorica veterana iz naše grupe su položila vijenac i poklonila se žrtvama. Pokisli do gole kože pridružili su nam se pod šatorom. Sa domaćinom, takođe izmorenim i pokislom, sastali smo se samo nakratko uz pozdrav i njegove riječi dobrodošlice. Okolnosti su bile zaista vanredne, tako da nismo mogli planirati susret članova njegovog udruženja sa veteranima iz naše grupe. Obraćanje organizatora učesnicima i gostima je pomjereno zbog vremenskih neprilika, tako da smo odlučili da, zbog izloženosti ljudi kiši i vjetru,

izostanemo sa daljeg programa obilježavanja. Pozdravili smo se i uputili nazad prema Zavidovićima.

Naša svakodnevica je obilježena slavljenjem “briljantnih vojničkih pobjeda” koje su nekome “egzodus” i prilika za žalovanje. U oba slučaja postoje ljudi kojih više nema i čija je smrt tragedija za njihove najbliže i kompletne zajednice. Mi se kroz sjećanje na te ljudi možemo sjećati i strašnih okolnosti koje rat nosi sa sobom. I željeti svojoj, ali i djeci “onih drugih” dobru budućnost, jer ako ne polazimo od toga, duboko smo zakopani u problem.

A. D.

Ratni veterani na komemoraciji u Novom Gradu

18.09.2014.

Poziv da sa grupom ratnih veterana posjetimo Novi Grad, u vrijeme kada se organizuje komemoracija povodom obilježavanja dana odbrane zapadnokrajiskih opština Republike Srpske¹, 18. septembra, primili smo tokom održavanja našeg posljednjeg Treninga za učesnike ratova od ratnog veterana iz ovog grada, inače člana lokalnog BORS-a. Upoznao nas je sa tim da je ova manifestacija pod entitetskim pokroviteljstvom² i da će za naš dolazak trebati saglasnost i podršku od lokalnog boračkog udruženja. Takođe, i da je događaj regionalnog karaktera i da su u organizaciju uključene i opštine Kozarska Dubica i Kostajnica, te da se svake godine naizmjenično, centralna manifestacija održava u neka od ova tri grada.

Poziv smo prihvatili sa zadovoljstvom, jer ukazala nam se prilika da prvi put učestvujemo na nekoj zvaničnoj manifestaciji koja se organizuje u RS-u. Željeli smo prisustvovati događaju koji je značajan ne samo na lokalnom nivou, već i šire u srpskoj zajednici. Dolazak zajedničke grupe ratnih veterana sa ciljem da odaju poštu žrtvama, vidjeli smo kao simboličan čin pomirenja koji će prisutne podsjetiti na ljudskost bivših neprijatelja.

Dogovor o gostovanju i detalje posjete smo postigli tokom ljeta. Međutim, zbog teške situacije sa poplavama na ovom području, i samo održavanje manifestacije je

bilo pod znakom pitanja, tako da smo i mi, s obzirom na ta dešavanja, odlučili da formiramo manju grupu ratnih veterana iz BiH, budući da je bilo vjerovatno da ćemo o polasku morati odlučiti “u zadnji čas”.

I zaista, tek par dana pred događaj dobili smo informaciju da će centralna manifestacija biti održana u Novom Gradu. Zvaničan poziv dobili smo 16. septembra. Odlučili smo se okupiti noć prije, u Prijedoru, koji je udaljen tridesetak kilometara od Novog Grada.

Tokom boravka u Prijedoru susreli smo se sa potpredsjednikom Opštinskog odbora boračke organizacije RS-a, kome smo predstavili svoje dosadašnje aktivnosti sa ratnim veteranima. Govorilo se o potrebi da se i u ovom gradu potenciraju nove ideje i dogovorili smo načelno novi susret u kojem bi došlo do formalnijeg sastanka naše grupe i prijedorske boračke organizacije.

U Novi Grad smo stigli ujutro i posjetili prostorije BORS-a. Prisutni članovi udruženja su nam iskazali dobrodošlicu, te izrazili potrebu da odmah krenu prema Tunjicu, gdje je počinjala manifestacija, uz poziv da se kasnije ponovno sastanemo u njihovim prostorijama.

U naselju Tunjica, smještenom na par kilometara od Novog Grada, nalazi se Spomen obilježje podignuto u znak sjećanja na stradale civile i vojnike, poginule prilikom napada Hrvatske vojske, 18. septembra 1995.³ Na platou ispred spomenika u pravilnom luku su bili

1 Zvaničan naziv manifestacije glasi “Obilježavanje odbrane zapadnih granica Republike Srpske i Bosne i Hercegovine od hrvatske agresije”.

2 Manifestacija organizuje “Odbor Vlade Republike Srpske za njegovanje tradicija oslobodilačkih ratova”.

3 Dana 18. septembra 1995., u ovom mjestu su pripadnici Hrvatske vojske prešli rijeku Unu, a prilikom napada je poginulo 57 ljudi, građana opštine Novi Grad. Od toga 37 civila, 18 vojnika VRS i 2 pripadnika MUP-a RS.

raspoređeni vojni “pleh orkestar”, počasni vod oružanih snaga, djeca u narodnoj nošnji i brojni politički zvaničnici, te ljudi zaduženi za organizaciju događaja. Između njih i spomenika, sveštena lica. U pozadini su se nalazili brojni okupljeni građani kojima smo se i mi pridružili. Ambijent svečan, bez kičavosti i isturenih nacionalističkih simbola koji često “krase” ovakve manifestacije. Umjereno je možda najbolja riječ. Voditelj programa je označio početak manifestacije, uz uvodne riječi o značaju čuvanja tekovina oslobodilačko-odbrambenog rata. Nakon toga su sveštenici upalili svijeće i održali zajedničku molitvu u znak sjećanja na poginule. Prije nego što se pristupilo polaganju cvijeća i vijenaca, obavijestili smo nadležnog iz službe protokola o tome da nas najave kao mješovitu grupu ratnih veterana. Vrlo brzo nam je prišao drugi čovjek iz službe protokola, koji je energično rekao da „nikakav HVO neće tu polagati vijence“. Misleći da je sporan natpis na lenti “Vijenac polažu ratni veterani VRS, HVO i Armije BiH”, dogovorili smo se da uklonimo lentu i nastavili pripreme za polaganje. Međutim, isti čovjek nam je ponovo prišao i rekao da nam neće dozvoliti polaganje unutar zvaničnog programa.

Uz taktove posmrtnih marševa, voditelj je poimenično pozvao službene delegacije da polože vijence: izaslanika predsjednika RS, delegacije Vlade i Narodne skupštine

RS, generalnog konzula Republike Srbije u RS i delegaciju opštine Novi Grad.

Potom je pozvana da položi vijenac zajednička delegacija sačinjena od Boračke organizacije Republike Srpske, Organizacije porodica zarobljenih i poginulih boraca i nestalih civila, Udruženja logoraša Srpske, Saveza i organizacija RVI RS, SUBNOR-a i Udruženja civilnih žrtava rata Trećeg pješadijskog - Republika Srpska puka OS BiH. Nakon toga su pozvani i ostali, koje nije nabrajao, a radilo se o predstavnicima političkih partija i različitih udruženja.

Položili smo vijenac i odali poštu tek po završetku službenog programa. Ispred spomenika smo ostali još samo mi, i ljudi koji su pakovali razglas i zastave. Bili smo svi zbunjeni i pomalo ljuti, a najviše srpski veterani koji su to osjećali kao vlastitu sramotu.

Centralna manifestacija obilježavanja ovog događaja bila je predviđena u Novom Gradu, ispred “Spomen obilježja poginulim borcima Novog Grada u odbrambeno-otadžbinskom ratu”.

Vrijeme do početka programa smo proveli u prostorijama boračkog udruženja, ali u neformalnom druženju. Zbog aktivnosti oko manifestacije u svom gradu, domaćini nisu mogli da održe radni sastanak sa nama. Jednostavno su bili prezauzeti i izvinili su se zbog toga.

Centralna manifestacija je po sadržaju bila slična kao



i prethodna, s tim što je parastos održan u hramu Svetih apostola Petra i Pavla, koji se nalazi u neposrednoj blizini. Uz brojne građane prisutan je bio i veliki broj učenika iz osnovnih i srednjih škola. Isti je bio i voditelj programa, ali je ovaj put program otpočeo vatreno recitujući stihove, meni nepoznate pjesme i autora. Sve je odzvanjalo gromoglasnom porukom upućenoj vječitim dušmanima.

Situacija sa našom delegacijom se ponovila, tako da smo i na ovom spomeniku položili vijenac i odali poštu stradalim tek po završetku zvaničnog dijela programa. U međuvremenu je jednom od članova naše grupe, ratnom veteranu iz Šamca, policajac prišao i zatražio na pokaz lične dokumente. Nakon što je izvršio prepisku u svoj notes, udaljio se. Mi smo se zgledali uz kisele osmjehе.

Boračko udruženje iz Novog Grada nije ni pristupilo polaganju, jer su ih, kako smo čuli, iz službe protokola odbili da svrstaju među službene delegacije.

I nama i novigradskoj boračkoj ovo iskustvo može poslužiti u budućnosti. Želja nam je da nastavimo

saradnju i da ih detaljno upoznamo sa našim radom i dosadašnjim akcijama, kao i ciljevima ovakvih posjeta. Takođe, da se bolje pripremimo za manifestacije koje se odvijaju pod pokroviteljstvom Vlade ili nekih drugih nadležnih institucija. Vjerovatno je da se neke stvari trebaju dogovoriti unaprijed i sa proslijeđenim službenim zahtjevima, tako da organizator može da donese pravovremenu odluku. U tom slučaju i lica iz službe protokola moraju da se ponašaju sukladno sa prethodno postignutim dogovorom.

Na kraju smo održali sastanak naše grupe kako bi razmijenili utiske i zaključili smo da ovaj događaj nije izazvao probleme među nama. Nije nas učinio sretnim, ali nije nas ni obeshrabrio. Doživljeno iskustvo vidimo kao jedan od mogućih scenarija koji su potencijalno pred nama u budućnosti u ovakvim aktivnostima, sa kojim želimo da nastavimo.

A. D.





aktivnosti kojima
smo se pridružili/le

Okrugli sto: Jačanje partnerstva za promociju prava na istinu, pravdu i sjećanje u Evropi

*U organizaciji: Fondacija Robert Bosch i Documenta - Centar za suočavanje s prošlošću
25 – 27.11.2013. Berlin, Njemačka*

Na poziv Vesne Teršelič iz Documente iz Zagreba, Nenad Vukosavljević i Adnan Hasanbegović su ispred CNA učestvovali na seriji okruglih stolova organizovanih u Berlinu u uredu Fondacije Robert Bosch. Događaj je predviđao tri okrugla stola:

1.dan: Obrazovanje o Suočavanju s prošlošću

2.dan: Saradnja muzeja, memorijala, dokumentacionih centara, univerziteta i organizacija civilnog društva

3.dan: Zajedničke aktivnosti na promociji Prava na Istinu, Pravdu, Reparaciju i Garanciju neponavljanja

Učestvovalo je tridesetak predstavnika/ica organizacija civilnog društva, muzeja, univerziteta, memorijalnih i dokumentacionih centara iz Njemačke, Hrvatske, BiH, Srbije, Kosova, Danske, Holandije, Poljske, Crne Gore i Slovenije.

Teme, uglavnom zahvalne za diskusiju i inspirativne, doticale su se razmjene iskustava i uz njih vezanih dilema, te ključnih problema sa kojima se srećemo u radu. Donekle različita polja djelovanja prisutnih organizacija proširila su temu, ali i doprinijela raznolikosti pristupa problemima.

Bilo je dosta riječi o prostoru bivše Jugoslavije kao regiona koji je 90-tih godina imao jedan rat više od ostalih zemalja u Evropi. Pored ratnih, doticali smo se i iskustva društava koja su imala totalitarne i represivne komunističke režime.

Opservacije nas iz CNA su uglavnom išle u pravcu toga da pomirenje i izgradnju mira razumijemo kao osnovu i cilj procesa suočavanja s prošlošću, te razvijanja kulture sjećanja kao opomene na politička nasilja iz prošlosti. Također smo govorili o kompleksnosti procesa uspostavljanja kulture i politike sjećanja koji se odvijaju na prostoru bivše Jugoslavije, obzirom na prisutne nacionalne i nacionalističke tendencije predstavljanja sopstvenih narativa kao jedinih relevantnih i ispravnih.

Izdvojio bih razmišljanje nekih od učesnika/ca koja su govorili o potrebi za kulturom sjećanja koja nadilazi koncepte ratnih pobjednika i gubitnika i nudi inkluzivan odnos prema svim akterima kroz kritički odnos spram nasilne prošlosti sa što manje ideoloških okvira.

Među onima koji se ozbiljno bave radom na društvenom sjećanju, čini se relativno jednostavnim stvoriti konsezus oko željenih rezultata i uticaja procesa suočavanja s prošlošću na društvo. Kada govorimo o putu kojim se treba ići, očite razlike postoje i sukob koncepata retributivne i restorativne pravde ostaje nerazrađen. Osim toga, u CNA iskustvu su dostignuća u radu sa ratnim veteranima građena strpljivim i često nevidljivim radom na programima neformalnog obrazovanja i stvaranjem kapaciteta za akcije na pomirenju, koje godinama kasnije svojim obimom i kvalitetom privlače puno pažnje.

Treći dan je fokus diskusije je bio na inicijativi Documente za formiranjem alijanse ili mreže organizacija na nivou Evrope koje bi, između ostalog, participirale u organizovanju globalne međunarodne konferencije krajem 2014. Razgovaralo se o *draftu* programa sa okvirnim temama kao što su: *Pravo na pravdu i znanje o istorijskim činjenicama, Osiguranje da nove generacije uče istoriju zasnovanu na činjenicama, Zajedničko zagovaranje za pravo na pravdu, reparacije i garanciju neponavljanja...*

Ostalo je dosta otvorenih pitanja vezanih za ovu konferenciju, ali postoji interes i želja da se tako nešto organizuje.

Kako i sam naslov ovog događaja kaže, ovaj susret poslužio je za upostavljanje kontakata među organizacijama kroz razmjenu ideja i mogućih zajedničkih aktivnosti što smo i mi iskoristili.

A. H.

Peace Event 2014

U Sarajevu je, od 6–9.06.2014. godine, održan međunarodni skup pod nazivom “Peace event - Sarajevo

2014”. Povod skupa je bila godišnjica početka Prvog svjetskog rata i osmišljen je kao susret mirovnih aktivista/

ica iz cijelog svijeta i promociju mira i nenasilja. Inicijativu za organizovanje ovog događaja i njegovu koordinaciju je preuzelo deset lokalnih i međunarodnih mirovnih organizacija iz EU. Učestvovalo je oko 900 ljudi iz regije i svih krajeva svijeta.

Bila je to prilika za susrete i razgovore o temama vezanim za iskustva, uspjehe i izazove na polju izgradnje mira, nenasilja, ljudskih prava i antiratnih aktivnosti.

Događaj je uključivao radionice, plenarne diskusije, konferencije, međunarodni kamp mladih, javne promocije, prezentacije, kao i šetnju za mir na ulicama Sarajeva. Također, organizovani su kulturni događaji kao što su filmski i muzički festivali te izložbe angažovanih karikatura i fotografija.

Programi skupa su podjeljeni u pet tematskih kategorija:

- Militarizam i njegove alternative
- Mir i socijalna pravda
- Kultura mira i nenasilje
- Spol, žene i mir
- Pomirenje i suočavanje s prošlošću

Učešće mirovnjaka i mirovnjakinja iz Sirije, Iraka, Palestine i Ukrajine dalo je ovom skupu posebnu notu, jer nas je podsjetilo na stanje u kojem je svijet danas, te da

rat(ovi) nije prošlo vrijeme, već realnost u kojoj djelujemo.

Mi iz CNA smo imali priliku da, u dvosatnoj radionici, prezentiramo naš rad sa ratnim veteranima, u kontekstu pomirenja i izgradnje mira u regiji. Uz veliki interes i učešće pedesetak ljudi, uglavnom iz zemalja EU i USA, razgovarali smo o pristupima i dilemama vezanim za mirovni rad. Raduju nas iskrene riječi ohrabrenja, pohvala i podrške, koje smo dobili od prisutnih. Realizaciju radionice pomogao je naš prijatelj i saradnik Pete Haemmerle iz organizacije IFOR iz Beča.

Peace Event je bio inspirativan i koristan prvenstveno za mirovne aktiviste/kinje, kao prostor za susrete, razgovore i razmjenu iskustava, nova i stara prijateljstva i saradnja.

Što se tiče Sarajeva, ovaj događaj nas podsjeća da postoji nada da grad, koji je u dvadesetom vijeku bio simbol rata, postane simbol mira, susreta i pomirenja.

Međutim, kako je to naglasila jedna od učesnica, Ingeborg Breines iz Međunarodnog ureda za mir (IPB): "Bez nenasilnih akcija, to jednostavno neće funkcionisati."

Više o ovom događaju možete naći na: www.peaceeventsarajevo2014.eu

A.H.

Mandela dijalozi o radu na sećanju

Od novembra 2013. do jula 2014. godine odvijali su se Mandela dijalozi na temu sećanja u organizaciji GIZ Global Leadership Academy (Nemačka agencija za međunarodnu saradnju – Globalna liderska akademija) i Nelson Mandela Centre of Memory (Centar sećanja Nelson Mandela). Dijalozi su bili zamišljeni kao forum gde bi se razmenjivalo o kompleksnim ličnim, kolektivnim i profesionalnim izazovima koje imaju ljudi koji se bave suočavanjem s prošlošću.

Učesnici dijaloga su bili aktivisti, istraživači i predstavnici institucija aktivni u radu na društvenom sećanju, 26-27 ljudi iz sledećih zemalja: Južne Afrike, Kenije, Kambodže, Bosne i Hercegovine, Hrvatske, Srbije, Nemačke, Argentine, Urugvaja i Kanade. Sastojali su se iz tri susreta: prvi je bio od 6-10.11.2013. u Južnoj Africi, u blizini Johannesburga; drugi je bio od 3-6.03.2014. u Kambodži, u Phnom Penhu, a poslednji od 28-30.07.2014. u Nemačkoj, u Berlinu. Iz CNA su bili pozvani da učestvuju Ivana Franović i Nenad Vukosavljević.

U okviru uvodne ceremonije na početku Mandela

dijaloga Sello Hatang, izvršni direktor Nelson Mandela Fondacije je na neki način pojasnio njihovu motivaciju da rade na ovom programu: Južna Afrika još uvek nije izašla na kraj sa svojom prošlošću i pored toga što su imali Komisiju za istinu i pomirenje, kao i brojne druge neformalne procese traganja za istinom i poveliku memorijalizaciju. Iako je dosta truda uloženo da se prevaziđu predrasude i nepravda iz prošlosti i dalje se siromaštvo i predrasude povećavaju, umesto da se smanjuju, arhiva Komisije i arhiva iz doba aparthejda i dalje nisu dostupne javnosti, a država traži načine da zatvori pristup informacijama. Hatang smatra da je centralno pitanje za Južnu Afriku kakvo društvo žele i kako rad na sećanju može doprineti stvaranju takvog društva. A to pitanje je i te kako relevantno za post-jugoslovenska društva.

U toku južnoafričkog susreta imali smo priliku da razmenimo pitanja sa kojima smo došli, a koja nas muče i/ili na kojima radimo. Neka od tih pitanja su: Čega se moramo sećati, a šta bismo mogli da zaboravimo? Da li rad na sećanju treba da bude subverzivan prema



dominantnim narativima? Kako da svojim radom na suočavanju s prošlošću ne napravimo još više štete? Kako se nositi sa ulogom pravednika i iskušenjem da se u nju uđe? Možemo li imati mir bez pravde? Da li sudske kazne počiniteljima ugrožavaju proces pomirenja? Koga bi trebalo kazniti i koliko njih? Da li je moguće i da li je poželjno stvoriti prostor za priče onih koji su učestvovali ili bili umešani u nasilje i zločine? Kako postići da se čuju marginalizovani glasovi? Na žalost, nismo imali priliku da ova pitanja i tematizujemo tragajući za odgovorima. Ali smo imali priliku da posetimo dva ključna spomenika, Voortrekker Monument - spomenik evropskim naseljenicima i "Park slobode" - spomenik borbi protiv rasizma i aparthejda, oba u Pretoriji. To su dva suprotstavljena spomenika suprotstavljenim narativima, čiji je i položaj znakovit: nalaze se jedan nasuprot drugom, na vrhovima dva susedna brežuljka. Suprotstavljeni, a dovoljno daleko jedan od drugog.

Kraj južnoafričkog susreta je obeležila tribina na kojoj je učestvovalo petnaestak osoba istaknutih u radu na sećanju ili borbi za ljudskih prava u Južnoj Africi koji su govorili o svom radu i odgovarali na naša pitanja, a centralno pitanje tribine je bilo: Kada Južna Afrika naredne godine obeleži 20 godina demokratije, šta ćete vi slaviti, a za čim ćete žaliti?

Susret u Phnom Penhu je trajao samo tri dana. Tu

smo imali priliku da se po malo upoznamo sa društveno-političkim kontekstom Kambodže i praksama i izazovima u radu na suočavanju s prošlošću u tom kontekstu. Bilo nam je ponuđeno da izaberemo jednu od tri poludnevne ekskurzije: Muzej genocida Tuol Sleng, poseta specijalnom sudu koji se bavi zločinima Crvenih Kmera ili istorijski obilazak grada koji su vodili studenti iz Kambodže, pa smo se podelili u tri grupe. Takođe, imali smo kratku i intenzivnu razmenu sa ljudima iz Kambodže, posebno sa onima koji rade na polju sećanja.

Nakon ove studije slučaja poslednjeg dana smo se vratili međusobnom dijalogu koji se odvijao u nekoliko grupa i na nekoliko tema:

- Rad na sećanju zarad društvene akcije i društvene promene
- Uloga državnih i nedržavnih aktera u radu na oblikovanju sećanja. Odnos između institucija i 'korisnika' rada na sećanju.
- Šta je svrha rada na sećanju – izgradnja nacije? Izgradnja mira? Biti u trendu?
- Prostor za neprijatelje u našem radu?
- Kako obezbediti prostor za međugeneracijski dijalog koji bi uključivao žrtve, počiniocima i mlade ljude?
- Kako se nositi sa izazovom da se informiše i uključi nova generacija, a da je se ne preopteretiti emocijama?
- Emotivna otvorenost / empatija kao kvalitet lidera u

- oblasti sećanja
- Kako kreirati centar koji bi se bavio sećanjem?
- Za šta smo odgovorni? Kako se organizujemo i nosimo sa onim za šta smo odgovorni?

Poslednji trodnevni susret odvijao se u Jevrejskom muzeju u Berlinu. Pored prilike da se bolje upoznamo sa radom na nemačkoj nacističkoj prošlosti i komunističkoj diktaturi, ovaj susret je imao za cilj da potakne učesnike da preduzmu nove inicijative. Pobrojali smo veliki broj ideja za dalje: od potencijalnih sledećih susreta (na Balkanu, u Kanadi, u Južnoj Americi) na različite teme (npr. transgeneracijska trauma), preko projekata za rad na sećanju pomoću medija, mobilni "Centar sećanja", objavljivanje knjige inspirisane ovim dijalozima. Vreme će pokazati šta će biti realizovano i na koji način. Još u Phnom Penhu se pojavila ideja da sastavimo zajedničku deklaraciju. I od marta meseca se taj proces kotrlja, s usponima i padovima. Trenutno je opet na uzlaznoj liniji, tako da postoji šansa da ćemo uskoro imati formulaciju zajedničke deklaracije.

Za mene je najveća vrednost berlinskog susreta, pored prilike da se opet sretnemo sa ovom grupom ljudi, to što smo napokon dobili priliku da razgovaramo

o pitanjima oko kojih se ne slažemo ili koja doživljavamo na veoma različit način. Jedna od glavnih tačaka diskusije bilo je upravo pomirenje – nelagoda ili odlučnost da se taj termin koristi, doživljaj pomirenja kao poziva da se prošlost zaboravi ili oprostiti onima koji su činili nepravdu, ili razumevanje da je svrha rada na suočavanju s prošlošću upravo *pomirenje*. I to je, naravno, univerzalna, i nedovršena diskusija. No njome smo stekli ukus kakva vrsta dijaloga nam je potrebna kako bismo sa razmene iskustva na nivou informacije o različitim kontekstima i/ili pristupima mogli da dođemo do intenzivnijeg učenja od drugih ogledajući svoje iskustvo u njihovom. Učešće u ovim susretima je definitivno bila privilegija. Učešće u dijalogu gde bismo temeljno mapirali tačke o kojima se ne slažemo ili ih različito doživljavamo i gde bismo intenzivno razmenjivali svoja iskustva, prepreke, uspehe, poteškoće i naučene lekcije ostaje duboka potreba nas u CNA timu. I tome se nadamo.

Više informacija o ovim dijalozima dostupno je u detaljnim izveštajima koje je sastavila Chandre Gould i koji su dostupni na stranicama organizatora: www.nelsonmandela.org i www.giz.de.

I. F.

iz ličnog ugla

Dijalog bez Mandele

Stajao sam tik uz uže kojim je bio ograđen mali prostor uz vrata koja su povezivala ostatak kuće sa uredom. Na drugoj strani prostorije su bila vrata kojima se iz bašte direktno ulazilo u sobu "on je kroz ta vrata dolazio na posao". Levo od mene stajao je od masovnog drveta napravljen radni sto, iza njega polica sa knjigama i uramljenim fotografijama, a desno od mene komoda prekrivena keramičkim figuricama krava, njegovih omiljenih životinja, kako nam rekoše. Osećao sam nelagodu, ljudi pored mene su pitali razna pitanja o njegovom privatnom životu, želeo sam da izađem na vazduh. Njegov idol je bio Muhamed Ali. Madiba mu je bilo ime, naučio sam to u Johanesburgu, a po sili zakona aparthejda morao je imati i englesko ime: Nelson Mandela.

Kada je odlučeno da kuća u kojoj je radio bude pretvorena u centar ove fondacije, Mandela je saradnicima poručio "ne dozvolite da se ova priča vrti samo oko

moje ličnosti". "Nije želeo da ovo mesto postane njegov mauzolej" rekao nam je direktor fondacije. Čovek koji je 27 godina proveo u zatvoru, koji je predvodio borbu protiv najomraženijeg rasističkog režima na svetu, koji je odbio da se kandiduje za drugi mandat kao prvi demokratski predsednik Južnoafričke Republike, čovek koji se nije predao pred sopstvenom slavom.

Pre nekoliko sati je objavljeno da je umro Nelson Mandela.

Mandelini dijalozi, ime je programa u kojem sam učestvovao sa grupom ljudi iz celog sveta koji rade na programima društvenog memorisanja vremena političkih nasilja. Odgovore na pitanja i dileme sa kojima se borimo, tražio sam zajedno sa onima kojima je zadatak da naslede Nelsona Mandele učine živim i dostupnim celom svetu, na način na koji je on to tražio, ne njega radi, već za dobrobit svih ljudi.

Nešto sasvim drugačije sam našao u Južnoj Africi od

onoga što sam očekivao. U muzeju neobičnog, pomalo smešnog imena "Park slobode" sagrađenog sa idejom da slavi borbu za slobodu, stanovništva ugnjetavanog tokom rasističke vladavine, putovanje kroz vreme ne započinje tragovima južnoafrikanskih praćedova. Na prvoj tački izložbe, našli smo se u jednoj mračnoj prostoriji sa velikim belim zidom na koji je projektovan film, a sedeli smo oko dve kružne drvene klupe, a potom i na podu prostorije. Animirani film nas je uz zvuke udaraljki vodio kroz vatru i vodu od prvih životinja koje su nastale na Zemlji, riba, ptica i sisara, do nastanka čoveka. Nastao je život, postao je čovek. To je početak svega. To je smisao slobode. To je to. Ljudi, priroda, sloboda. Nema zastava, nema oružja, nema žrtava. Tu je radost, tu je život, energija, pokret.

Kroz glavu su mi proletale slike naših muzeja i mauzoleja, izložbe i monografije, sav njihov smisao i besmisao, brojke, ratovi, žrtve i krugovi osvete. I onda pređem pola sveta i petominutni film me ostavi bez daha, sa suzama u očima i osećajem zahvalnosti. Već sam video dovoljno. Nije put kroz park slobode bio jednako uzbudljiv i dirljiv kao njegov početak, ali napomenuću kako se završava. Na poslednjoj etaži izložbe na vrhu zgrade, stoje table na kojima sam sa ponosom pročitao i ime "Jugoslavija" kao zemlju iz koje je dolazila podrška za oslobodilački pokret, shvativši da se ne sećam kada sam poslednji put osetio ponos zbog imena zemlje iz koje dolazim. Pred sam kraj izložbe visoko naslagani rafovi prepuni su raznih prehrambenih proizvoda i lekova.

Kurator izložbe nam je pojasnio, da je kod dela stanovnika izbila panika kada je stigla vest da se proglašava kraj aparthejda i da će biti slobodnih izbora. Naslagani proizvodi su oni koji su bili predmetom panične kupovine u strahu od predstojećeg haosa. Smisao za humor je hranio i čuvao one koji nisu imali novac za kupovinu zaliha hrane.

Nisam tužan što je Madiba umro, sretan sam što je živio, čovek koji je zagovarao oružanu borbu, odbio da je se odrekne u zatvoru u zamenu za slobodu, koji je uz osmeh savladao želju za osvetom kada je bio u poziciji moći. Istina i pomirenje dobijaju posebno značenje u njegovom životnom veku. Poneo je svu slavu svojih brojnih saboraca koji slobodu nisu doživeli i prevazišao mržnju. Bio je toliko slobodan da je dozvolio sebi da se menja i uči. Veliki čovek. I znam, samo čovek, svakako.

Na našim osnovnim treninzima, često razgovaramo o izjavi "Treba pomoći Africi da se civilizuje", lakmus test rasizma i uvek se nađe puno ljudi koji smatraju da "treba pomoći da se civilizuju". I onda pričamo o tome, otvaramo poglede i prozore. Treba pomoći kontinentu sa kojeg potiče kolonijalizam, sa kojeg su započeta dva svetska rata, sa kojeg dolaze vojske koje ratuju širom sveta, da se civilizuje. A Afrika je kontinent sa kojeg je zemlja koja se prva i jedina dosad, odrekla svog nuklearnog naoružanja i trajno ga uništila. Živela Afrika!

Nenad Vukosavljević
6.12.2013.





politički i društveni konteksti
u kojima djelujemo

BiH: 100 godina kolektiviteta

Kada sam naumio da pišem tekst o društvenom kontekstu u Bosni i Hercegovini shvatio sam da imam problem selekcije događaja koje bih pomenio. Odabрати prioritete u zemlji suočenoj sa dubokim etničkim podjelama, ekonomskim kolapsom, surovom tranzicijskom borbom sa novac i moć, te uz sve pobrojano vezanim gubitkom povjerenja u državu i demokratiju, izgleda kao veliki izazov.

2014. godina je bila zanimljiva zbog niza događaja, značajnih za ovdašnje ljude, koji su uticali na politički ambijent i nastavak socijalnog i ideološkog raslojavanja. Iako su obim i problematika tih dešavanja izgledali jako ozbiljno, upitno je da li će pokrenuti procese izlječenja temeljnih boljki ovog društva.

Od 2010-te traje kriza vlasti, pri čemu se promijenilo nekoliko koalicija. Tako i danas imamo prilično nestabilne vlade, koja nisu uspjele pokrenuti neophodne reforme, a novi zakoni jedva da su donošeni u proteklom periodu. Uzroka je više, primarni su sukobi između velikih partija, oko dominacije u svom ataru, ali i „stari“ problemi, vezani za loše međunacionalne odnose. To za posljedicu ima blokadu bilo kakvog ozbiljnijeg napretka. U tom pogledu, 2014-ta nije donijela ništa novo.

Sredinom oktobra imamo parlamentarne izbore i trenutno su aktuelne stranačke kampanje u kojima dominiraju socijalne teme, i nešto manje „patriotsko“ / nacionalne. Ipak, pojavljuju se fragmenti poput kampanje o nacionalnom jedinstvu, Putina na plakatima pojedinih srpskih partija, intenziviranja druženja sa turskim investitorima i zvaničnicima kod bošnjačkih partija itd. „Siguran prostor“ nacionalizma uz prigodne prateće parole pojedinim partijama služi kao dobar izborni marketing, jer nije mali broj onih koji tu vrstu ideologije i žive.

Novo je da sve više ljudi prepoznaje te predizborne „finte“ i radikalizacije, bar prema reakcijama ljudi vidljivim kroz medije.

Zanimljivo je da većina političara ističe da je rješavanje socijalnih i ekonomskih problema, razvoj obrazovnog i zdravstvenog sistema, prioritet ovoga društva. Međutim, zbog dosadašnjeg lošeg iskustva, teško je prepoznati novu političku snagu kao alternativu. Ili se nadati da će postojeće partije da naprave vitalne promjene u svojim pristupima i krenu istinski i pošteno u suočavanje sa potrebama društva. A ne kao do sada, da jedno rade, drugo pričaju, a Bog zna šta misle.

U isto vrijeme nacionalizam, u nekoj svojoj novoj, tranzicijskoj formi, suvereno dominira našim javnim prostorom. Nekad prikriven, nekad brutalno transparentan. Što jedan poznanik reče: *“Nije problem kod nas nacionalizam, tu smo najbolji, već druge stvari o kojima nemamo pojma.”*

Bitan događaj se odigrao tokom februara. Bili su to masovni protesti, pretežno mladih ljudi, koji su se proširili na nekoliko gradova. Iako je došlo do paljenja i uništavanja zgrada kantonalnih vlada u nekoliko gradova i zgrade predsjedništva države, čovjek ne može a da ne gleda sa simpatijama i podrškom eksploziju bunta značajnog dijela društva, koji godinama trpi nepravdu političkih struktura. A tu nepravdu čine korupcija, javašluk, nepotizam, nesposobnost i neodgovornost skoro u svim institucijama države.

Erupcija protesta desila se 7. februara. „Lavina“ bunta se zakotrljala u Tuzlanskom kantonu gdje su već duže trajali mirni sindikalni protesti vezani za zahtjeve radnika i radnica u pojedinim državnim firmama. Uslijedile su blokade saobraćajnica, a u većim gradovima su organizovani javni forumi - plenumi građana/ki - koji su se pokazali kao zanimljiva kombinacija artikulacije građanskih zahtjeva, stalnog pritiska i javne prisutnosti. Kako se moglo čuti na samim protestima i plenumima, koji su se dešavali u Tuzli, Sarajevu, Zenici, Bihaću, Mostaru itd., glavne poruke su bile usmjerene na socijalne probleme i loše politike, a da zapravo nije bilo nacionalno-patriotskih parola, uobičajenih za BH društvo.

Opravdano, ljudi su se pobunili zbog nagomilanih socijalnih problema koje oni sa izbornim mandatom uporno zataškavaju, ne rješavaju ili čak proizvode.

Čini se da nezadovoljstvo ljudi nije primarno eruptiralo zbog prisutnog siromaštva koliko zbog odsustva perspektive, zbog nejednakih šansi i sveobuhvatne korupcije.

Javnost se podijelila po pitanju protesta. Spektar reakcija se kretao od apsolutne podrške, preko podrške protestima uz osudu paljenja i blokada saobraćaja, do otvorenog protivljenja i napada na demonstrante/kinje.

Političke partije su se međusobno optuživale da stoje iza „rušenja“ države, iako je iz poruka ljudi na protestima i plenuma, bilo jasno da je ljutnja usmjerena na sve vlastodršce, bez obzira na stranačku pripadnost i nivo vlasti.

Za razliku od prošlogodišnjih protesta, tzv.

“bebolucije“, ovaj put su protesti bili masovniji, kontinuirani i sa mnogo jasnijim porukama uz direktno upozorenje političkim strukturama da se uozbilje. Istini za volju, ni paljenje institucija nije zanemariv faktor poziva na buđenje, ali je etički nepreporučljiv kao doktrina. Ipak, za nadati se je da je ovo jasan znak ljudima koji hoće u politiku ili su već duboko u njoj, koliko je javna funkcija ozbiljan i odgovoran posao, koji ne bi smio da proizvodi nepravdu, bilo korupcijom, neadekvatnim djelovanjem ili pasivnošću. Jasno da se ovakvi protesti mogu ponoviti ukoliko ne bude vidljivih pomaka u radu svih nivoa vlasti.

Protekli protesti su jako važni za naše društvo, zbog buđenja protestnog duha, izlaska iz apatije, ali prije svega zbog prekida dugogodišnje pasivnosti i sputanosti, nastale na strahu od političkog nasilja i nestabilnosti koja plovi po rubovima etničkih podjela.

Iako u Republici Srpskoj nije bilo masovnijih protesta, od dijela tamošnjeg društva dolazile su poruke podrške i solidarnosti, što daje nadu da će nekad biti moguće zajedno pružiti otpor nepravdi.

Da solidarnost preko etničkih granica nije nemoguća pokazale su i katastrofalne poplave u maju. Zahvatile su skoro četvrtinu BH teritorije, stradale su 23 osobe, a uništeno je na hiljade objekata u nekoliko gradova. Poplave su zahvatile i dijelove Hrvatske i Srbije. Vanredno stanje je trajalo danima i veliki broj ljudi je izbjegao iz pogođenih područja. Osim poplava, u mnogim mjestima su se pojavila klizišta u kojima je urušeno niz stambenih kuća. Ova katastrofa nas je gurnula još dublje u ovisnost o vanjskoj finansijskoj pomoći, a oporavak će trajati godinama.

Javila se velika potreba za međusobnom solidarnošću i pomoći ugroženima, čemu su se lokalni ljudi uglavnom masovno odazvali. Organizovane su radne akcije, akcije pomoći u hrani, higijenskim sredstvima, smještaju i sl.

Posebno je bitno što se ta solidarnost prenijela i preko etničkih granica, jer su komšije iz susjednih etničkih zajednica masovno priskakali u pomoć u najgorim trenucima.

Da li nam trebaju katastrofe da bi se sjetili ljudskosti koja je zatamnjena ratnom prošlošću i nacionalizmom?

U Sarajevu je, nizom javnih događaja, obilježena i 100-godišnjica početka Prvog svjetskog rata. Obilježavanje ovog događaja, usprkos njegovom međunarodnom karakteru, ponovno nas je podsjetilo koliko smo u društvu podijeljeni, i to u pogledu tumačenja istorije.

Nisu se uspjele organizovati zajedničke manifestacije koje bi uključile institucije iz oba entiteta. Dok se u federalnom Sarajevu, uz učešće međunarodnih institucija,

obilježava godišnjica atentata, uključujući vraćanje kipa Franje Josipa u Vijećnicu, u istočnom Sarajevu je podigut spomenik Principu. Umjesto poželjnog multiperspektivnog pristupa sjećanju, na simboličkoj ravni na ovaj način ti pristupi ostaju u sukobu, obilježeni uobičajenim inatom i osporavanjem drugačijeg tumačenja istorije. Ovaj put u sjeni manifestacije koja je trebala biti poruka čovječanstvu da se u 21. vijeku, za razliku od brutalnog 20, konačno okrene miru.

Pokazalo se i na ovom primjeru da proteklo vrijeme, u nedostatku konstruktivnog pristupa, nije dovoljan lijek za drugačiji odnos prema nasilnoj prošlosti već je potrebno tragati za novim pogledima i načinima.

Tegobno je podsjećanje da živimo u gradu koji je simbol najmanje dva rata. Iako, nije loše za turizam.

Ista ta, u ratu zapaljena Vijećnica je nakon godina trome rekonstrukcije konačno obnovljena. Doduše, nakon spektakularnog otvaranja opet je privremeno zatvorena, zbog još nekih dorada, pa je to prilika za još jedno spektakularno otvaranje. Spomen ploča, stavljena u ratnom periodu, sa problematičnim sadržajem je zadržana, iako je bilo inicijativa da se zamijeni. Izgleda da nismo spremni drugačije pogledati na taj dio prošlosti i da je još uvijek važno da stoji da su Vijećnicu zapalili Srbi, a ne pripadnici VRS ili nešto slično, politički korektno. Doduše, to su kod nas još uvijek sinonimi. Jednako kao što ABiH znači muslimani/Bošnjaci i HVO Hrvati, pa ljudi ni ne vide problem u tome da na javnim objektima i mjestima stradanja i rušenja stoji kako su „to i to“ napravili konstitutivni BH narodi. Donekle daje nadu činjenica da je bilo polemike i dijaloga oko toga, makar se i nije uspjelo pronaći novo rješenje.

Nedavno su u nekoliko gradova u BiH izvršena hapšenja 15-ak ljudi optuženih da regrutiraju ratnike za Siriju i da sarađuju sa famoznim ISIS-om (Islamska Država u Iraku i Siriji). Po nekim procjenama, oko 300 ljudi iz BiH odlučilo se za odlazak u borbu na područje Bliskog istoka. Jedan od rijetkih zakona koji je u proteklom periodu ipak donijet je zakon kojim se zabranjuje odlazak na strana ratišta, s predviđenom kaznom do 10 godina zatvora. No ne trebaju potencijalni ratnici „klonuti duhom“ jer na strana ratišta će se vjerovatno ići legalno, u ime države: i BiH je putem „Pakta za stabilnost“ uključena u globalnu koaliciju u borbi protiv ISIS-a. Kao, uostalom, i druge zemlje regije.

Kontroverzan je fenomen islamističkih grupa u BiH gdje postoje manje grupe radikala, koje su više pod uticajem stranih centara moći nego lokalne islamske zajednice. Proteklih je godina bilo nekoliko terorističkih napada na

povratnike, ali i institucije, od strane pojedinaca u javnosti (ali i u sudskim procesima) prepoznatih kao islamistički radikali. Većina muslimana u BiH ne podržava islamističke vojne formacije koje djeluju na Bliskom Istoku, ali kako ovdje imamo osjetljive međunacionalne i vjerske odnose, takve pojave ljude plaše i podsjećaju na nedavne, domaće ratove.

Svakako je da ratovi koji trenutno traju u Ukrajini i Bliskom istoku odzvanjaju na ovom prostoru na različite načine kod različitih naroda, pa su često korišteni i za predizborne „trikove“. Jer „normalno“ je ovdje da Srbi navijaju za Ruse, Bošnjaci za razne grupe muslimana, a Hrvati su svakako već odavno u NATO-u. Jedino još nije postalo normalno da pružamo ruke „neprijateljima svih boja“. Na to se čeka, a prilike ima. Pa makar kad nas poplavi i „voda dođe do guše“.

Ima i dobrih stvari koje se dešavaju na raznim poljima, kako poslovnim, sportskim. Ima i onih koje doprinose pomirenju. Izdvojio bih neke:

U provedenom istraživanju¹ u BiH, pokazalo da

1 Studija Sveučilišta u Edinburgu i CEIR-a.

podrška za pomirenje i izgradnju povjerenja postoji širom populacije, te da više od 75 posto ispitanika smatra da bi ozbiljni pokušaji da se izgrade odnosi povjerenja i pomirenje imali uticaj na budućnost BiH.

Srebrenički imam odbio put u Englesku iz solidarnosti sa pravoslavnim sveštenikom koji nije dobio vizu.

Otac mladog huligana u Prijedoru se javno izvinio jer je njegov sin skrnatio lokalnu džamiju.

...

Ima takvih primjera još i čini se da postoji potreba da se više čuje o dobrim stvarima i našoj boljoj strani. A baš to često nedostaje.

Citirat ću jednu aktivisticu iz Banjaluke:

„Kad jedna takva ljudska priča dospije u javnost, kad se posveti pažnja na ono izvorno dobro u nama, koje još uvijek postoji, onda se svi iznenadimo, prosto u nekoj nevjerici da se tako nešto moglo desiti. A to otvara pitanje, u kakvom onda društvu živimo, kad nas dobrota i ljudskost iznenade“.

Prostora za promjene ima, a najteže je promijeniti sebe. Jer kako kažu: „Kakav narod, takva vlast“.

Adnan Hasanbegović

Hrvatska: Brod bez kormilara

Od članstva Hrvatske u Europskoj uniji prošlo je godinu dana. Imali smo imali prilike vidjeti kako se to odražava na unutarpolitičkom planu (između ostalog i usvajanjem novog Zakona o radu, koji je u potpunosti prilagođen zahtjevima MMF-a, Europske središnje banke i Europske komisije¹), ali i u nepostojanju bilo kakve smislene vanjske politike. Hrvatska jasnih stavova o bliskoistočnom mirovnim procesu i stanju u Gazi nema (osim ako se kao stav ne računa potvrđivanje stava EU), jednako kao ni o sankcijama Rusiji, u rusko-ukrajinskom konfliktu igrajući aktivnu ulogu promatrača, kao da je rat kroz koji je prošla neka daleka nevezana slučajnost, iz koje

1 Novim se ZOR-om legaliziraju već postojeće promjene u radnim odnosima – fleksibilizacija radnih odnosa (rad na određeno vrijeme, nepuno radno vrijeme, agencijski rad), fleksibilizacija radnog vremena (određuje se prema potrebama poslodavca), olakšava se otkazivanje (skraćivanje otkaznih rokova, smanjenje otpremnina), otežava sindikalno organiziranje, ograničava pravo na štrajk, i legalizira mogućnost otkaza po povratku sa porodičnog dopusta.

nije moguće izvući nikakve pouke, niti predlagati rješenja koja proizlaze iz neposrednog iskustva².

A bilo bi važno, pa i zbog podijeljene naklonosti balkanskih država prema različitim stranama u sukobu. Tko bi uopće mogao ponijeti takav zadatak u hrvatskom društvu, za sada je posve neizvjesno. Zatvorenost koju Hrvatska pokazuje prema svojim zapadno-balkanskim susjedima očituje se u tvrdom „pobjedničkom“ narativu koji onemogućuje bilo kakav konstruktivan dijalog kojim bi se, prije svega, na unutarnje političkom planu mogla suočiti s vlastitom ulogom u ratu. Narativ je, međutim, sve teže propitivati, kao da o njemu ovisi sama opstojnost države, i Hrvata uopće.

U nedostatku aktivne državne politike Vlada se prepustila svjetonazorskim sukobima u hrvatskom društvu.

2 Pobrojani su nedostaci doveli i do situacije da se hrvatsko oružje, otkrili su nam međunarodni mediji, našlo i u rukama članova ISIS-a, ali i suprotstavljenih im iračkih Kurda. (<http://www.novosti.com/2014/08/hrvatska-puska-s-ob-je-strane-bliskoistocnog-fronta/>)

Naime, u posljednjih godinu dana, Crkva se u hrvatskom društvu nametnula kao značajna politička snaga. Tko će ju na izborima eventualno predstavljati vidjet ćemo i po „uspjehu“ posljednjeg u nizu referendumu, referendumu o promjeni izbornog zakona. Ukoliko uspije, omogućio bi i ljudima koji se nalaze izvan postojećih stranačkih baza (stranačkih lista) da sudjeluju u kreiranju vlasti, izravno izabrani od građana. To je još jedna od inicijativa konzervativne, i od crkve značajno pomagane udruge „U ime obitelji“. Jedan su referendum već dobili, referendum o ustavnoj definiciji braka kao zajednice muškarca i žene. Za takvo određenje braka glasala je većina od građana koji su izašli na referendum. Iako je vlast propustila politički i institucionalno djelovati kako do ovog referenduma uopće ne bi došlo, Hrvatski je sabor 15.7.2014. usvojio Zakon o životnom partnerstvu. Ovim zakonom i LGBT osobe i njihove obitelji stječu pravo na obiteljsku mirovinu, zdravstveno osiguranje preko životnog partnera/ice, pravo i obavezu uzdržavanja partnera/ice, ravnopravnost u području stanovanja i poreznim olakšicama, kao i niz drugih prava koja inače proizlaze iz bračnog odnosa³.

Referendumska Pandorina kutija donijela nam je i prikupljanje potpisa za „anti-ćirilčni“ referendum⁴. Situacija na području Vukovara počela se zahuktavati godinu ranije, sa lupanjem latinično-ćirilčnih tabli sa službenih državnih i gradskih institucija. Netom prije saborske rasprave o ovom referendumu, društvenim je mrežama kružio poziv na bojkot trgovina, obrta i roba čiji su vlasnici vukovarski Srbi, sa navedenim adresama tih objekata. Presudnu je riječ imao Ustavni sud, proglašivši referendumsko „anti-ćirilčno“ pitanje neustavnim, dakle referendumu „protiv ćirilice“ neće biti. No, potreban broj potpisa za raspisivanje referenduma je prikupljen⁵, što dovoljno govori o preovladavajućem raspoloženju, jednako u gradu, kao i u cijeloj državi. Tu društvenu činjenicu nije moguće riješiti jednostavnom uredbom, kako je to pokušao Ustavni sud, naloživši da gradsko

vijeće Vukovara treba propisati u kojim bi se vukovarskim četvrtima ‘dvojezični’ natpisi trebali postaviti, uvažavajući „potrebe većinskog hrvatskog naroda koje izviru iz još uvijek živih posljedica velikosrpske agresije početkom 90-ih 20.st., te potrebu pravednog i pravilnog tretmana srpske nacionalne manjine na području Grada Vukovara“⁶.

Vukovarskim je stanovnicima, jednako onima hrvatske i srpske nacionalnosti, potrebno puno više od populizma i pukog tepanja vlasti, potrebna im je mogućnost da počnu vidati svoje ratne rane na konstruktivan način. Nijedna vlast do sada za to nije imala dovoljno sluha, niti je izvjesno da će se to u skorijoj budućnosti početi mijenjati.

Silom prilike, zbog poplava koje su ove godine dvaput u nekoliko mjeseci pogodile Hrvatsku, bilo je moguće vidjeti da Hrvatska, sa susjednima BiH i Srbijom dijeli temeljno nefunkcioniranje sustava koji bi ove pojave ublažio, ako ih već nije moguće prevenirati (nasipi se grade na pogrešnim mjestima, kanali se ne održavaju, sustav uzbunjivanja ne funkcionira). Jedina dobra stvar koja je iz ovoga proizašla, p(r)obuđena je solidarnost, koja je pobrisala granice među trima zemljama. One su se ubrzo potom ponovno uspostavile, ali važno je znati da još uvijek u sebi nosimo taj potencijal, da imamo i neko drugo sjećanje, koje gradi, a ne samo ono koje razara.

Ovo potonje je, međutim, puno žilavije. Vidi se to i u međusobnim tužbama Hrvatske i Srbije za genocid, procesu u kojemu nitko ne može pobijediti. Temeljna odrednica ovog procesa, sa hrvatske strane, su pravna tumačenja sukoba koja nastoje izbjeći bilo kakvu vezu s prošlošću. Čovjek ima dojam da se rat pojavljuje i prestaje s određenim datumom, a sud tobože ima odrediti čiji je datum važniji⁷.

Koliko se na taj način utvrđene činjenice prihvaćaju ovisi o tome rade li u „našu“ korist. Doček osuđenog ratnog zločinca Darija Kordića u zagrebačkoj zračnoj luci proizveo je kontroverzu u javnosti budući da se dvoje BH aktivista usudilo, među razdraganom svjetinom, povikati „Ubojice!“ čovjeku koji je dokazano odgovoran za svirepo ubojstvo 116 civila, žena i djece u selu Ahmići, u Bosni i Hercegovini. Mons. Vlado Košić, sisački biskup, značajno lice u crkvenoj hijerarhiji, tom je prilikom ovom „hrvatskom mučeniku“ držao misu, a crkveni vrh ne samo da u tome nije našao ništa problematično, već je podržao svoga biskupa, „izloženog neprimjerenim grubostima i nepravednim prozivanjima, koja su plod zatvorenosti

3 <http://www.lupiga.com/vijesti/le-zbor-video-sve-obiljelji-su-napokon-jednake-i-pred-zakonom>

4 Neformalna skupina građana, „Stožer za obranu hrvatskog Vukovara“ referenduskim je pitanjem tražio da se postotak manjinskog stanovništva koji bi omogućio važenje ustavnog Zakona o nacionalnim manjinama (kojim im se garantira upotreba jezika i pisma) na nekom području poveća na 50%, umjesto dosada važećih 30%. Takvom odredbom ovaj bi se Zakon i praktično ukinuo.

5 Prikupljeno je gotovo 600 000 potpisa <http://www.index.hr/vijesti/clanak/prikupljen-dovoljan-broj-potpisa-za-referendum-o-cirilici/757838.aspx>

6 <http://www.jutarnji.hr/ustavni-sud-donio-odluku--referendum-o-cirilici-nece-se-odrzati-/1212764/>

7 <http://justiceinconflict.org/2014/04/01/a-futile-endeavour-croatia-v-serbia-at-the-icj/>

prema traženju istine i pokušaja da se Crkvi oduzme glas u zalaganju za pročišćavanje spomena prošlosti koja i dalje opterećuje hrvatsku sadašnjost⁸.

To „pročišćavanje“ utjelovljuje se u, još od Franje Tuđmana zamišljenoj, ideji „pomirbe“ ustaša i partizana (sve dok su svi navedeni Hrvati), pa je tako ove godine u Splitu spomenik podignut IX. bojni HOS-a. Cinično je da je spomenik pripadnicima hrvatskih paravojnih snaga iz Domovinskog rata, koje od ustaških jedinica NDH iz Drugog svjetskog rata ne razlikuje ni slovo u akronimu⁹ (niti od te povijesne podudarnosti bježe, pa su se tako i

8 <http://www.zg-nadbiskupija.hr/dokumenti/aktualnosti/priopcenje-s-dvadeset-i-prve-sjednice-biskupa-zagrebacke-crkvene-pokrajine#.U7VDy2rAm71.twitter>

9 Hrvatske oružane snage – ime za vojne snage NDH, Hrvatske obrambene snage – organizirane paravojne jedinice u Domovinskom ratu

prozvali bojnem Rafaela viteza Bobana, ustaškog zločinca) otkriven na Dan antifašističke borbe, koji je sada označen kao Dan Europe. Koji mjesec kasnije splitsko gradsko vijeće odbilo je dodijeliti ulicu Prvom splitskom partizanskom odredu, kao spomen na 21 Splićanina ubijena nakon što su upali u talijansko-ustašku zasjedu, 1941. godine.

Nakon ovakve godine, dojam je da Hrvatska, izgubljena u svojim povijesnim putešestvijama, zatvorena u svoje unutarnje sukobe, zapravo nema niti jasnog cilja, niti ideje o budućnosti kojoj stremi. Zato možda i nije toliko neobično što se, u jeku novoga rata međunarodnih razmjera, uključila u „široku međunarodnu kolaciju“ za borbu protiv Islamske države, ni ne obavijestivši pritom svoje građane. Odluku smo doznali od američkog State Departmenta. Koje su posljedice ovoga čina, tek ostaje da se vidi.

Davorka Turk

Kosovo: Komentar iz Mitrovice

Trenutna politička situacija guši ovu zemlju. Izbori su održani u junu, a vlast još¹ nije formirana. Pobjednička stranka na izborima nije uspjela da sakupi potrebnu većinu u parlamentu, dok su, sa druge strane, opozicione stranke formirale najveću parlamentarnu grupu, želeći moć, po svaku cenu. A političke partije igraju se strpljenjem naroda i ne zna se ko šta radi! Fokusiramo se na neke od događaja, koji se mogu oceniti kao najvažniji u zemlji.

Sloboda kretanja. Skoro da ne postoji razlika u odnosu na prethodnu godinu! Ili u odnosu na prethodne dve godine. Fokus je ostao skoro isti... glavni most na reci Ibar. U jednom trenutku transformisana je barikada na ovom mostu u jedinstven „Park mira“. Ovakav park se ne može pronaći nigde na svetu. Barikade ili Park mira, put i glavni most su i dalje blokirani za vozila, koje policija treba „da obezbedi“.

Ovaj jedinstven park izazvao je mnogo nezadovoljstva kod Albanaca sa Kosova, pa su čak i organizovani protesti u blizini glavnog mosta. Posle intervencije policije, demonstranti su se umirili.

Nakon Parka mira, počele su da se postavljaju i ulice, koje takođe na neki način blokiraju slobodan prolaz građana. Imena ulica su jako simbolična: Trg „Car Lazara“,

Trg „OVK“, Trg „Adem Jašari“ i tako dalje.

Ipak, svi ovakvi trgovi i ovakav Park mira, ne mogu da zaustave slobodu kretanja za pešake. Mitrovčani mogu preći slobodno sa jedne strane grada na drugu stranu. I upravo se desilo da vidim kosovske Albance da odlaze u severni deo grada (čak i „samo“ na kafu ili u kupovinu), ali i Srbi sa Kosova se pojavljuju u južnom delu grada (kafa, kupovina, dokumenta itd).

To dokazuje da smo naučili da živimo jedni bez drugih, ali smo naviknuti da radimo jedni sa drugima (u smislu Srbi - Albanci sa Kosova). Uglavnom, vesti su negativne, ali gledano sa pozitivnije strane, dva kulturna događaja jako dobro su primljena kod građana. Umetnica, fotografkinja, (rođena na Kosovu, albanske nacionalnosti), koja živi i radi u Švajcarskoj, organizovala je samostalnu izložbu u svom dvorištu, u naselju Brđani, u delu Severne Mitrovice. Nesumnjivo, ova izložba, nazvana „Boginja“, okupila je ljubitelje umetnosti iz različitih zajednica. Ono što je vredno i treba pozdraviti je inicijativa, što je retkost.

Još jedan događaj trebalo bi da bude mesto susreta 6. oktobra. U Kulturnom centru u Mitrovici (koji se nalazi u blizini glavnog mosta) biće održan festival filmova, nagrađivanih na lokalnom, regionalnom i međunarodnom nivou. Radi se o „Bridge Film Fest“-u, koji je organizovan po prvi put u Mitrovici, a jedna od glavnih karakteristika ovog događaja je da su ga organizovale žene. Takođe, to

1 početak oktobra, vreme kad je pisan tekst

je retka inicijativa koja prevazilazi razlike u zajednici. (Za više informacija, link: <http://www.bridgefilmfest.com/index.php?lang=en>)

Mediji. U razvijenim zemljama, ljudi veruju državnim institucijama. U zemljama “u tranziciji”, većina ljudi veruje medijima. Mediji imaju svoje mesto u svakoj kući na Kosovu. Ljudi im veruju bez obzira da li su informacije tačne. Postoji četiri-pet nacionalnih televizija, javni televizijski program sa 4 kanala (uključujući i poseban kanal na srpskom jeziku), kao i stotine kanala na kablovskim mrežama. Osim televizije, tu su i novine, nekoliko radio stanica, koji ostaju u senci televizija. Tu su i različiti portali na internetu, koji imaju tendenciju da brzo šire vesti, bez principa provere, verifikacije, što je obavezno u novinarskom etičkom kodeksu. Dakle, više se veruje medijima nego državnim institucijama.

Odnosi između zajednica. U tom smislu, skoro da nije bilo velikih promena u poslednje dve godine. Nevladine organizacije imaju programe čiji je cilj poboljšanje odnosa između Albanaca i Srba sa Kosova, kao i drugih manjina koje žive na Kosovu, poput Bošnjaka, Roma, Aškalija, Turaka, Egipćana, itd... Programi NVO su atraktivni za društveno približavanje jednih drugima, u etničkom,

rasnom ili vjerskom smislu. Međutim, nije dovoljno da na tome rade samo NVO, to bi morale da omoguće i institucije, koje, navodno, rade u tom pravcu, ali rezultati još uvek nisu vidljivi.

Prošle godine najviše se govorilo o buci koju stvaraju verske institucije. Takođe se dosta pričalo i o ljudima koji idu da se bore na Bliskom istoku. Pretpostavka je da su stotine ljudi sa Kosova angažovane u ratovima, u takozvanoj grupi “ISIS”. Međutim, ovi problemi nisu uticali mnogo na pogoršavanje odnosa između različitih zajednica.

Sport. Ova godine se može smatrati kao najuspešnija godina na sportskim takmičenjima. Posle mnogo pokušaja, FIFA je dozvolila da se igraju međunarodne prijateljske utakmice (osim sa balkanskim državama). Kada govorimo o fudbalu, Liga Kosova će izgleda dobiti sudiju, Srbina sa Kosova, koji je u procesu sertifikacije kao glavni sudija, a sudiće u Super ligi Kosova. Rukometna reprezentacija je međunarodno priznata, sa punim pravima. Po prvi put titulu šampiona brani devojka sa Kosova, svetska šampionka u džudou Majlinda Keljendi (-52kg kategorija), koja se takmiči sa nepotpunim pravima u džudo asocijaciji.

Lulzim Hakaj

Makedonija: Izvinite, ništa novo

Spisak svega što se dešavalo u Makedoniji u proteklih nekoliko meseci je dugačak i opsežan. Mogao bi se steći pogrešan dojam da se radi o veoma živom društvu u pokretu. Ali prije se radi o onoj dobroj staroj francuskoj izreci: “Što se više stvari mijenjaju tim više ostaju iste.” Imali smo, na primjer, izbore, redovne predsjedničke i prijevremene parlamentarne. Rezultat: imamo istog predsjednika i gotovo identičnu vladu, samo što su sad moćniji, sa više mjesta u parlamentu (tj. vlada, predsjednik je kao i do sad ostao uglavnom nevidljiv).

Iz razvoja događaja postalo je jasno da vladajuća koalicija ima puno povjerenje da će u slučaju prijevremenih izbora izvojevati pobjedu i učvrstiti svoj položaj. Štaviše, time će dobiti dvije dodatne godine vlasti. Izmislili su prilično jadan izgovor za sazivanje prijevremenih izbora. DUI, albanska stranka na vlasti, je u koaliciji sa VMRO-DPMNE zatražila tzv. “konsenzusnog predsjednika”. U slučaju neprihvatanja prijedloga “zaprijetili” su sazivanjem

prijevremenih izbora. Prijedlog je odbijen. Na parlamentu je pokrenuta inicijativa za prijevremene izbore.

NVO-i koji su posmatrali izbore izvijestili su o brojnim neregularnostima prije/tokom/i nakon perioda predizborne kampanje, kao i tokom dana glasanja: pritisci, ucjene, državne institucije u službi vladajućih stranaka, fantomski birači, skandali o korupciji, kupovina glasova, itd. Prljavi posao je uglavnom odrađen mjesecima unaprijed s talasima pojačanog intenziteta između krugova glasanja.

Gjorgje Ivanov dobio je najviše glasova za predsjednika. VMRO DPMNE osvojile su gotovo apsolutnu većinu u parlamentu. DUI je pobijedio u tzv. albanskom bloku. Nakon toga je opozicija izašla sa optužbama za izbornu prevaru i odbila svoja mjesta u Parlamentu. Svi osim DPA, albanske opozicione stranke koja je osvojila samo 7 mjesta, ali je ostala u parlamentu. Uprkos tome, predsjedavajući parlamenta je izjavio da “Rad parlamenta

ne smije se zaustavljati.” Od tada je parlament, najčešće ubrzanom procedurom bez javne debate i bez opozicije u parlamentu, usvojio i izmijenio mnoštvo zakona, radeći svakodnevno. Ponekad je to bilo previše za upratiti. Nakon tuče koja je izbila između albanskih parlamentarnih zastupnika iz DUI i DPA u sred parlamenta, DPA stranka je također zaprijetila da će napustiti parlament. Na koncu je ipak ostala, kao ukras, kako bi se pokazalo da ipak postoji neka opozicija.

U ovakvoj konstelaciji vlada je čak predložila izmjene Ustava. Među prijedlozima koji se tiču fiskalnih pravila, budžetskog deficita, javnog duga i sudstva našao se i prijedlog da se brak i vanbračna zajednica definiraju strogo kao zajednica muškarca i žene. Ovo nije prvi put da se pojavio takav prijedlog. Ali prvi put su na snazi “odgovarajući” uslovi da se takav prijedlog usvoji. Vlada je već ustalila praksu miješanja u intimne odnose i promoviranja homofobnih vrijednosti. Prošle godine su jeku protesta feminističkih pokreta usvojili izmjene Zakona o pobačaju kojima se ograničavaju prava žena. Ove godine smo usljed izmijenjenih odredbi došli u situaciju da žene sa mrtvim plodom u materici ne mogu obaviti pobačaj prije isteka zakonskog roka od “tri dana” nakon savjetovanja s ljekarom.

Predložene su i izmjene Zakona o osnovnom i srednjem obrazovanju. Vlada skraćenom procedurom želi izmijeniti dijelove zakona koji se tiču prava na štrajk. Uz prethodne konsultacije sa načelnikom ili ministrom obrazovanja (u zavisnosti od toga da li se radi o osnovnom ili srednjem obrazovanju) izmjene zakona bi omogućile direktorima škola da “privremeno” zaposle nastavnike koji bi zamijenili one koji štrajkuju. Vladi se žurilo da usvoji ove izmjene prije najavljenog generalnog štrajka koji je trebao početi 29. septembra. Niske plate, proces vanjske provjere znanja kojim se nastoji provjeravati/kontrolirati/kažnjavati/nagrađivati nastavnike, loši uslovi rada, našli su se među mnoštvom razloga za štrajk. Nastavnici iz sindikata stavljeni su pod veliki pritisak. Ministar obrazovanja najavio je da u slučaju štrajka, roditelji koji svojoj djeci ne budu dozvolili da idu u školu bit će kažnjeni novčanim iznosom od 2000 eura. U posljednjem trenutku štrajk je otkazan, a nastavnički sindikat i ministarstvo obrazovanja trebaju riješiti probleme putem “socijalnog dijaloga”. Mogućnost štrajka također je ograničena i u drugim područjima.

Što se tiče među-etničkih odnosa, uglavnom između Makedonaca i Albanaca, živimo u stanju stalne krize i tenzija uz povremene erupcije. U zavisnosti od stranačkih interesa stranački zvaničnici čas podgrijevaju čas smiruju

tenzije. Političari očajukaju sa nacionalizmom, posebno tokom predizborne kampanje. Svjedoci smo tuča na autobusima, nasilnih demonstracija, porasta straha i nesigurnosti po pitanju “drugog”. U maju je u skopskoj općini Gjorce Petrov jedan mladi Albanac počinio ubistvo jednog mladog Makedonca. Povod je bio banalan, radilo se o ukradenom biciklu. Ubistvo kao takvo nije bilo u fokusu, već etnička pripadnost žrtve i počinitelja; kao što je često slučaj, crna hronika se primarno tumači iz etničke perspektive. Podignute su tenzije, došlo je do nasilnih demonstracija u kojima su uništavane albanske radnje u općini Gjorce Petrov. Obje strane su se mobilizirale. Međutim, spriječen je sukob među njima.

Krajem juna donesena je presuda u predmetu ‘Monstrum’¹ (o ubistvu na Smilkovskom jezeru iz 2012.). Šest od sedam osoba osuđenih za ubistvo dobilo je doživotnu kaznu zatvora. Medijsko izvještavanje (na albanskom i makedonskom) bilo je podvojeno, a javna percepcija predmeta relativno se razlikovala. Prevladavajuće uvjerenje s albanske strane bilo je da je doživotna kazna pretjerana. Ljudi su imali zamjerke po pitanju načina vođenja policijske istrage i sudskog postupka. Došlo je do masovnih protesta u Skopju koji su trajali sedmicama i proširili se i na druge gradove u Makedoniji. Mnogi učesnici protesta (svi Albanci) uhapšeni su i osuđeni na tri godine zatvora. Time je samo učvršćen sveukupni položaj žrtve koji Albanci uglavnom osjećaju i promoviraju. Poređeni su sa protestima u općini Gjorce Petrov. Naglašavana je percepcija duplog standarda u određivanju kazni na osnovu etničke pripadnosti.

U međuvremenu, dok su Škoti glasali na referendumu odlučujući o tome da li ostati ili napustiti Ujedinjeno Kraljevstvo, grupa Albanaca koji vjeruju da je nezavisnost jedini način da Albanci ostvare sva svoja prava proglasila je “Republiku Iliridu”. Ova ideja ne uživa rasprostranjenu podršku među Albancima. Prva stvar koja mi je pala na pamet kad sam pročitala tu vijest bila je jedna scena iz Malog princa gdje on odlazi na jedan od asteroida i upoznaje jedinog čovjeka koji tu živi: usamljenog kralja koji ima apsolutnu moć nad svim.

‘Skopje 2014’ nastavlja se izgrađivati punom parom. Kipovi se redovno pojavljuju tokom noći ili u ranu zoru.

1 U aprilu 2012. četiri mlade makedonske osobe (17-21 godina starosti) i 45-togodišnji ribar ubijeni su na Smilovskom jezeru u predgrađu Skopja. Masakr se dogodio noć uoči Velikog petka, tri dana prije pravoslavnog Božića. U maju je policija senzacionalistički uhapsila 20 osoba pred kamerama; nakon čega je ministar unutrašnjih poslova na konferenciji za štampu izjavio kako su počinitelji uhvaćeni.

Prošle godine je kip Cara Dušana, srednjovjekovnog srpskog vladara, tajno postavljen na jednom od mostova. Ovaj čin dočekan je revoltom jer se srpski carevi u albanskom diskursu shvataju kao arhetipski neprijatelji i okupatori. Bilo je pokušaja da se kip obori maljem. Bilo je navoda da su čak i parlamentarni zastupnici iz stranke DUI bili dio mase. Stranka DUI odbila je dati izričit odgovor novinarima o tome da li su te informacije tačne. Srpska zajednica uvrijeđena je postupanjem prema srpskim kipovima iako ih je tako malo. Kip su neko vrijeme čuvali specijalci. Javnost nikad nije saznala koja je institucija naručila, platila i postavila sporni kip. Igralo se ping-ponga, a ni Općina Centar, ni Grad Skopje, ni Ministarstvo Kulture nisu preuzeli odgovornost. Ove godine se na Dan nezavisnosti Makedonije pojavilo pet novih kipova. Sasvim je netransparentno koliko su koštali i ko ih je platio. Navodno su dva "velikodušne donacije" kipara koji je izradio 'Ratnika na konju', a ostale su donirali NVO-i za koje je javnost po prvi put čula.

Sudstvo, mediji, parlament, svi su pod kontrolom

vlade. Ko god se usudi progovoriti protiv vlade bude tužen za klevetu. Šef tajne službe je posebno vičan u tome. Upravo je dobio spor protiv "Fokusa", jednog kritičkog medija. Ova "velikodušna duša" će donirati sredstva sirotištu. Premijer je pokrenuo tužbu za klevetu protiv vođe opozicije navodeći na sudu da je pretrpio "emotivnu bol" jer mu je ugled doveden u pitanje. Navodna kleveta se ticala konferencije za štampu na kojoj je vođa opozicije optužio premijera da je primio mito u iznosu od 1.5 miliona eura kao primjer korupcije. Opozicija je pokrenula tužbu i iznijela dokaze (audio snimak i drugu dokumentaciju), ali javni tužilac je odbacio većinu dokaza, kao i mogućnost da se glavni svjedok obrati sudu. Naveo je kako nema pravnog osnova za pokretanje istrage u tom slučaju jer je od tada prošlo deset godina.

U međuvremenu, plate su najniže u cijeloj regiji; mnogi ljudi napuštaju zemlju; oni koji ostanu smišljaju načine kako otići... Ne mogu vam navesti tačne brojke, čak ni približne. Nismo imali popis stanovništva od 2002.!

Albulena Karaga

Srbija: ...a leta kao da nije ni bilo.

Ne umanjujući značaj dijaloga i pregovora između Srbije i Kosova, koji su vođeni u Briselu, i koji su dali neke rezultate u svakodnevnom životu ljudi na Kosovu, građanima Srbije nedostaje objašnjenje tačnog određenja ka čemu se ide, koji su ciljevi, čemu ti pregovori uopšte služe, i šta se njima želi postići. Ujedno, to su informacije koje nedostaju uopšte u spoljnoj politici Srbije prema zemljama u susjedstvu. Recimo, ako sa jedne strane, prva zvanična poseta premijera Aleksandra Vučića BiH bude zvaničnom Sarajevu, a ne Banja Luci, to se može tumačiti i kao poruka vlastima Republike Srpske, a naglašavanje da se ide kao "prijatelj" simbolično označava promenu retorike i viđenja odnosa unutar BiH entiteta. Opet, sa druge strane, poruka nije sasvim jasna, naročito što joj slede mnogobrojni susreti sa rukovodstvom RS, i izjave koje se tom prilikom prenose: "Ne doživljavam BiH kao zemlju u kojoj će RS trajno ostati, i svidjelo se to nekom ili ne, to je bazično osjećanje građana RS-a", izjavio je prilikom jednog susreta sa Vučićem Milorad Dodik. U svetlu pozicije "ma, ko nas zavadi?", mogu se gledati i odnosi sa Hrvatskom, gde bi se sve što je bilo loše u bliskoj prošlosti rado gurnulo pod tepih, sa stremljenjem ka zajedničkoj budućnosti u EU, dok i sa jedne i sa druge

strane građani imaju veliku potrebu da pronađu svoje nestale, vide okrivljene za zločine koji su pravljani, povrate imovinu i nađu kakvo-takvo obrazloženje čemu je sva ta patnja trebalo da služi.

Strategija vlasti u Srbiji je da se ni o čemu ne odredi tačno i jasno, kako bi sebi ostavila manevarski prostor za promene, ukoliko se to od nje zahteva. Namerno ili slučajno, dolaze potpuno različite izjave predsednika i premijera, pa i ministara u istoj vladi. Valjda "tamo negde" za čije uši i pričaju i ne mare mnogo, ali "za ovde" se govori o stvarima koje bukvalno život znače: tako ministarka saobraćaja (ex ministarka energetike) kaže u septembru da Srbiji preči energetska kriza na zimu. Srbija je gotovo deset godina bila pod sankcijama i svi se još uvek dobro sećaju kako to izgleda: restrikcije struje, život između dva isključenja, kupovina benzina na ulici, u plastičnim flašama od dva litra, kupovina uglja na kofu, seča drveća iz parkova... Posle nje se oglosio ministar energetike (ex ministar saobraćaja) koji to demantuje i ustvrdi da "nisu u planu restrikcije struje, ali štedite." I to je samo jedan od primera. Ne ulazeći u unutrašnja ustrojstva i odnose političkih stranaka, sve što od zvaničnika dolazi stvara još veću konfuziju kod građana, i inače uplašanih od svakog

novog dana koji nosi i nove probleme. Preporuka za štednju je cinična, jer je struja toliko skupa da je svi u Srbiji štede, a isključenja onih koji ne plaćaju rigidna. Tako je krajem septembra ceo grad Niš ostao bez ulične rasvete, zbog duga za struju.

Svemu ovome prethodile su razarajuće poplave tokom maja i septembra, koje su napravile ogromnu štetu i odnele brojne ljudske živote (zvanično 25 stradali u Srbiji, 4 se vode kao nestali)¹. Poplave su zahvatile ne samo Srbiju, već i Hrvatsku i BiH, pa su na neki način suprotstavljanja zajedničkoj nevolji, povezala i ujedinila ljude, koji su nesebično i ne mareći za podele, koje inače postoje, pomagali jedni drugima, slali pomoć, solidarisali se i činili sve da se štete i spreče i saniraju. Po prvi put posle ratova na prostoru bivše Jugoslavije osetio se duh zajedništva i solidarnosti, i iskrene želje da se spasi ljudi i imovina, od vode koja nadire, ma gde to bilo. Na nekoliko dana, granice i podele nisu postojale, i kada se voda povukla, ostale su pukotine na zidovima razdora, zidanim decenijama unazad.

Siromaštvo, život na ivici egzistencije, ili najčešće ispod nje, takođe je kohezioni faktor među ljudima, jer se povezuju po zajedničkoj muci. U Srbiji teška ekonomska situacija, prezaduženost, nedovoljno razvijena privreda, nespremna da odgovori na zahteve multikorporativnog svetskog tržišta, u ljudima stvara osećaj zajedništva da smo svi u istoj muci, i da nečije zlo danas može da bude moje koliko sutra. Tako su sve češće akcije pomoći pojedincima, bilo da se radi o deci kojoj je potrebno skupo lečenje u inostranstvu, ljudima koji su ostali bez imovine, onima koje je zadesila neka teška nesreća... Iako su neke ranije akcije poljuljale poverenje građana u institucije, i pojedince, ipak postoji želja da se drugima pomogne, i da se pokaže i saosećanje i solidarnost. Tu ulogu može da ima i osećaj krivice, jer se godinama unazad celokupno društvo, ali i pojedinci u njemu, osećaju kao krivci za mnoga zla, a u gotovo svakom čoveku postoji istinska potreba da čini dobro i da bude prepoznat u zajednici po tome, da na taj način bude prihvaćen i potvrđen.

Sa željom da se pokaže stav ili pošalje poruka, pojavile su se male, ali značajne građanske akcije kojima se vrši pritisak na vlasti da nešto urade, što ne čine dovoljno brzo ili temeljno. Nažalost, uglavnom se radi o deci koja su tragično stradala pod nerazjašnjenim okolnostima (slučajevi Tijane Jurić i Luke Jovanovića), ali nije nezapažen ni protest povodom namere vlasti i Srpske pravoslavne crkve da urnu naučnika Nikole Tesle premeste iz muzeja

u hram Svetog Save. Iako je vlast, usled pritiska javnosti, odložila sprovođenje te ideje u delo, čini se da će se, opet zbog javnosti, od nje i odustati. Hrabri sama činjenica da je takvih protesta i akcija sve više, i da se oni šire na sve sfere društvenog života, dok su u ranijem periodu bili bazirani isključivo na socio-ekonomskim pravima, kada su štrajkovali radnici, poljoprivrednici, malinari...

Celokupna atmosfera, sa jedne strane vlast koja želi da se priključi evropskim trendovima i pokaže EU da je Srbija demokratska zemlja, i glasni građani koji zahtevaju poštovanje prava manjina, dovela je i do održavanja prve Parade ponosa koja je protekla bez većih incidenata. Vlast, sa jedne strane, tvrdi da ih uopšte nije ni bilo, dok sa druge strane, veče pre su protestovale, predvođene Srpskom pravoslavnom crkvom, razne ultradesničarske grupe, dok je samog dana održavanja parade centar Beograda bio blokiran, a na ulicama su hiljade policajaca čuvali bezbednost nešto više od hiljadu demonstranata. Svakako, poslata je važna poruka, Parada je održana, a na odgovornima i na strani vlasti i na strani organizatora je da do sledećeg okupljanja rade na onome što nisu u deceniju i više dugom pokušaju da se parada održi: objašnjenju građanima šta ona predstavlja, zašto je ona značajna i zašto poštovanje prava jedne od manjina ne ugrožava ni jednu od većina u Srbiji.

U svemu što se događa, veliku ulogu bi, po svojoj definiciji, morali da imaju i mediji, čija bi i odgovornost morala da bude srazmerna ulozi koju u društvu imaju. No, mediji su tabloidizovani, do te mere da im više niko ne veruje, ili im se sve veruje, što je nonsens, ali kada jednom osobu provuku kroz senzacionalističke naslove, ma koliko oni bili netačni, ta osoba gubi svoj teškom mukom i radom sticani kredibilitet. Istraživačko novinarstvo se svelo na jednu emisiju - "Insajder", čija autorka Brankica Stanković godinama živi sa jakim policijskim obezbeđenjem, jer joj je ugrožena bezbednost. Pa i ta jedna emisija, stvarana u takvim uslovima - koliko zaista može da bude slobodan i nezavisan novinar koji živi sa policijskom pratnjom? - u novim poslovno-političkim okolnostima je stalno pod znakom pitanja koliko će se još dugo emitovati. Gotovo sve autorske emisije, koje se bave politikom su, sa različitim opravdanjima, skinute sa programa. Vlast na razne načine: kaznama ("Danas", jedini nezavisan dnevni list, kažnjen je visokom novčanom kaznom, zbog prekršaja člana Zakona o zapošljavanju osoba sa invaliditetom, koji je, u međuvremenu, ukinut), uređivačkom politikom ("Problem" emisija Studija B), ili nerazjašnjenim okolnostima opravdanim interesom kapitala ("Utišak nedelje" Olje Bečković) guši svaku kritiku. Iako je to, u doba

1 <http://www.rts.rs/page/stories/sr/story/9/Politika/1610037/Vu%C4%8Di%C4%87%3A+25+%C5%BErtava+nevremena.html>

interneta, sve teže, jer postoje brojni načini prenošenja informacija i stavova preko društvenih mreža, ipak klasično medijsko informisanje u Srbiji i dalje ima najveću publiku. A toj publici su ostavljene sapunica-serije, muzički i rijaliti šou programi, bez ikakvog ozbiljnijeg sadržaja, ni u društvenom, ni u političkom smislu. No, čini se da u svetlu nove međunarodne uloge koju Srbija preuzima (Zapad na Istoku, Istok na Zapadu, bez odrednice i jasnog

smera kuda se želi ići i šta sve to znači) to nikoga ozbiljnije ne zanima: OEBS je reagovao zbog dirigovanog obaranja nekih internet portala ("Peščanik"), a premijer je tražio izvinjenje OEBS-a.

Ispred nas je duga zima, posle leta kojeg nije ni bilo. (Ovo nije meteorološki izveštaj. To je metafora o životu u Srbiji, poslednjih 25 godina.)

Katarina Milićević

U vreme kada je ovaj Godišnji izveštaj već bio u pripremi za štampu, 14. oktobra 2014. na stadionu u Beogradu prekinuta je, nakon niza incidenata i nasilja (koje je teško i pobrojati, a naročito odrediti hronološki tok) fudbalska utakmica između reprezentacija Srbije i Albanije.

Nemoguće je analizirati šta se sve dešavalo pre, za vreme i posle same utakmice, a izbeći ulazak u koloplet svakog nasilja: od "ko je prvi počeo" do "...a kad su oni nama".

Za nekoliko trenutaka pokazalo se koliko je nepostojan mir u regionu. Od stadiona, danima, nasilje se širilo dalje: paljene su kuće i automobili Srba na Kosovu, a pekare i lokali čiji su vlasnici Albanci u Vojvodini. Mediji su preneli da je nasilja bilo i na jugu Srbije, u Makedoniji, Grčkoj, Crnoj Gori... Vlasti i državne institucije (i u Srbiji, i u Albaniji, i na Kosovu) nisu učinile ništa da se incidenti spreče, reagovali su prekasno, osuđivali posledice, a ne uzroke, i svojim neprimerenim izjavama samo pogoršavali situaciju. Pomeran je ranije najavljen dolazak albanskog premijera Edija Rame Beogradu.

Sve što se dešavalo prethodnih dana samo je (još jednom) ogolilo koliko je tenzija, nakupljene mržnje i nasilja prisutno, i da je potrebna samo mala varnica da izbije požar. Koji se teško gasi, i širi velikom brzinom. Nesumnjivo je da se odmah, ne nekad u budućnosti, mora raditi na procesima pomirenja i smanjivanju mržnje u regionu, i da u te procese moraju da budu uključeni svi, te da svi - od roditelja, do predsednika i premijera, moraju da ponesu svoj deo odgovornosti.

K.M.

Annual Report 2014

(English version)

Dear friends,

You have before you one more, our seventeenth annual report on our activities in the period September 2013 - September 2014.

Looking back at the past year and global developments, it seems the world has become an even more dangerous place to live than it was twelve months ago. Intensified conflicts and military interventions, both in the Middle East and in Europe, events that are no doubt of concern to us, create the reality we live and work in since we feel their aftershocks in the places where we work. To avoid falling into pessimism and apathy, we in the CNA team feel the need to do what we can, hoping that we can make at least small steps forward. That is why we are particularly glad that apart from the Basic Training in Peacebuilding held in October 2013, this report also includes a presentation of our Training for Trainers, a peace education programme that we have re-launched after an almost ten-year-long hiatus and that took up a significant portion of our capacities in 2014. It comprises everything we consider important for achieving a society of sustainable peace - critical thinking, taking responsibility for society and the community, encouraging a re-examination of own attitudes and acceptance of diversity. Also, working on peacebuilding for many years, and encountering opposing narratives about wars, we wanted to create a space for a joint analysis of the dominant culture of memory in this region and the impact of dominant policies on peace work. This was discussed at our exchange seminar "How to Reconcile Histories?" that brought together participants from BiH, Croatia, and Serbia involved in peace and civic activism, history, art and the media. This year also saw the publication of the English translation of our handbook Reconciliation?! Training Handbook for Dealing with the Past whose reception exceeded our expectations. This encourages us to persevere in our activities whose results are often not directly visible, but that we know are indispensable. This is also apparent from the peace actions of war-veterans now involved in processes of establishing dialogue, building peace and trust. This year we present the visits of our mixed groups of war-veterans to memorial sites, as well as their attendance of commemorations and events to mark important dates from the recent past of significance to the communities in which we work. We also joined the Mandela Dialogues where we had an opportunity to learn about memory-related experiences in contexts different from ours, although the issues we face are often shared. All of this will be described in more detail in the report.

Our work on documenting places of suffering and memorial sites, as well as modes of memorialisation in Bosnia and Herzegovina following the war(s) of 1992-1995 is almost complete. The scope of the study, as well as practical limitations when it comes to acquiring official data on memorialisation practices in BiH have somewhat disrupted our plans, so that the publication documenting the basic traits and processes that characterise how our communities remember their immediate past will be published next year. Currently under way is a research study on the fate of ethnic Germans from the Danube region in the aftermath of the Second World War in Serbia. Namely, traces of ethnic Germans in the Danube region are first suddenly, then gradually ebbing away, as is unfortunately the case even today with other ethnic groups in other areas throughout war-torn regions where "traces" of those who were only yesterday our neighbours start to fade. That is precisely why it is important to mark and 'record' what remains but is no longer noticeable, what is gone and what legacy it left behind: not just buildings, monuments, but also sites of suffering, concentration camps and mass graves. Our long-term friend and colleague Helena Rill joins us for this study, a welcome development for all of us.

In anticipation of what is yet to come, we ask you to look at what marked this past year for us. As usual, we look forward to your feedback, reactions, criticism, but also your support, all of which we find useful.

CNA Team



peace education

Basic Training in Peacebuilding (Ulcinj, 2013)

Ulcinj, Montenegro, 18-28 October 2013

The Basic Training in Peacebuilding Programme that CNA has been organising since 1997 has undergone numerous transformations and changes, in fact, it keeps constantly changing, no training is identical to previous training, exercises are not repeated, instead adaptations are made depending on the group. We call it a “training” precisely because of the opportunities for learning, personal transformation, exercise (a special segment of the training is devoted to this), and because it gives the participants the sense that by changing themselves, their views and responses, they can recognise and change the societies they live in. This is a way to motivate and encourage, but also raise awareness through workshops and exercises that show them how to recognise social mechanisms and processes and effect creative change in their environments.

I begin the report with this statement, because we get the impression that some participants that have attended other programmes often come to our training expecting complete solutions, lectures by “experts” and “recipes”

applicable in any and all situations. And then, albeit rarely, but it does happen, at the training they close up, they are unable to give anything of themselves, their thoughts and dilemmas, because they fear their answers will be wrong or judged... This deprives us of valuable room for exchange, and for learning, which ultimately leads to frustration and a feeling that we got nowhere, both on the part of the team of trainers and on the part of some participants. In today’s world, which is in some respects more global and open, but in other more closed off and alienating to the individual, when we try to find ourselves, we often end up with a sea of proposed solutions and models of thinks that make us lose our personality and originality, there is less and less space for an individual to maintain the right to be different. It takes skill to wade through everything learned but unexamined to get at the core of the person and the essence of what a human being is. One part of the group at the Basic Training in Peacebuilding held in Ulcinj from 18 to 28 October 2013 presented a problem for the team of trainers in terms of



recognising their way of thinking and why they do not share their impressions transparently, with the entire group in a process where, even when they are silent, they are still participating.

Despite these difficulties, we come out of the training strengthened in various ways and though various open processes that have resulted in new ideas, knowledge and insights, which, I believe, once transferred to micro-environments will start changing social processes. They may not be visible in the public arena, but they are significant for individuals and their immediate environment.

Veterans from the Army of BiH and the Army of RS shared valuable experience from their participation in the war. Their experience and desire to work on peacebuilding in their local communities provided incentives for the other participants. Also, I believe it is a great leap that the participants were able to recognise the problems in their communities and in others, to jointly analyse them and think about the next steps in building trust and, ultimately, peace in the region. The initial discussions at the workshops intended to introduce everyone to the contexts of Macedonia, Kosovo, Croatia, Serbia (including Preševska dolina and Sandžak), Bosnia and Herzegovina, the countries where the training participants were from, spilled over into the free time, giving an additional feeling of security and understanding and the need to understand others to the workshops themselves. This training saw a pronounced need to hear from the other, which created a sense of security, at least for the majority of the group. This security gave rise to



solidarity and the need to watch out for others, and in some cases there was a lack of opposition, but this did not give the impression of problems being concealed, but rather that they were being taken into consideration. This was best illustrated at the Facing the Past workshop for which the participants demonstrated the highest degree of motivation and which examined in depth the events from the past of the region and its societies that have consequences on the present and the future.

Finally, apart from these impressions, we have had another very creative and inspiring training, both for CNA, as the organisers, and for all the participants. There is only one small regret that due to a late cancellation one spot on the training was left vacant. Also, working in Ulcinj, at the “Dvori Balšića” and “Palata Venecija” hotels was, as always, top-quality and inspirational, because the service and hospitality are at a highly professional level.

K. M.

A letter from the future

A few months after the training in Ulcinj (18 – 28 October 2013), members of the CNA team received a letter from a participant, a Serb from Gračanica, Kosovo, who had at the time been actively seeking employment, mostly in Serbia.

With her consent, we are publishing her letter in full:

Dear Dada and Katarina,

Because of your support and encouragement to go for the job interview in the middle of the training, I feel I must share this with you personally, if only in this message. Great news, I GOT A JOB – I will be working

as a Kids for Peace Coordinator in an organisation in Priština. I officially signed the contract today, and I guess I just wanted to boast a bit.

I also have to go back to the training. One of the final topics, workshops, exercises, whatever, was for us to imagine everything was fine in our town, country, and to write what we would be doing then. Huh! I had a hard time writing anything then, because it seemed impossible to me, so I kept writing something and then throwing the notes away. Whatever I wrote seemed unrealistic to me at that moment, and I had a hard time dispelling my own attitude. I can never forget Katarina's sentence, when she was introducing this exercise (I'm paraphrasing): “I meet Olgica for coffee in Priština where she works...” Believe me, it all seemed to so far

away and unreachable for me back then. And look at me now.

Of course, the fact that I got a job does not mean everything is peachy here, but it does mean there is hope, when you fight for your rights, and when you fight for your life without encroaching on anyone else around you. The training inspired me to seek employment in Kosovo. To find some answers and free myself of restraint and fear. I will be working with Serbian and Albanian children who have me the vote to be a committee

member.

It would have been a real pleasure to share this with you over coffee in Priština, but I hope there'll be a chance for that, too!

My warmest regards and wishing you success in your future work!

All my best for the whole team,
Olgica

28 January 2014

Training for Trainers in Peacebuilding

After a 10-year hiatus, in May this year we launched a new round of *Training for Trainers in Peacebuilding*. We had not organised this programme since 2004 because we believed other activities were more urgent, including our efforts to help people who had undergone the training to find ways of putting their knowledge and skills to use in peacebuilding activities. Thus, a large number of previous participants in the training programme worked with us on activities of peacebuilding education and promotion. However, interest for the training did not wane, and we realised that it would also be useful for us to renew our capacities and the capacities of our closest associates by investing in new people. Going through basic training in peacebuilding provided by us or another organisation that shares our values is the precondition for participation in the TtT. Since we had conducted nineteen Basic Trainings from the time of our last TtT, we realised that we were in a position to form quite a strong group of participants.

Needs Assessment

Still, before committing to the organisation of this programme, we conducted a small-scale analysis in three phases:

1. We contacted a dozen or so persons from across the region that had participated in this programme ten years ago and that were still very active in peacebuilding or human rights and asked them to give us their assessment of how much and why a programme of this kind is needed in the areas where they live and/or work and whether it is a worthwhile investment. We also asked them to tell us whether

their organisation would benefit if more of their colleagues were to undergo the training programme. We received almost unanimous support to re-embark on this adventure, and some of them even sent us names of co-workers whose participation in the training would benefit their organisations.

2. We then prepared an anonymous online survey for some twenty people we believed to be good potential candidates for trainers. The survey consisted of three questions to assess the need for a TtT programme, their personal level of interest in participating and their availability to commit to the programme over a six-month period. We received clear feedback that the TtT should be organised.¹ All but one expressed an interest to personally participate in the programme, and 16 persons confirmed their availability.
3. We then sent the same questions to potential participants in the programme, that is, all those who had undergone our Basic Training in the past 10 years and whose e-mail addresses were still valid. They were also directed to an anonymous online survey. 94% of the respondents stated that the TtT should be organised.²

1 When answering a question on the need for a TtT programme, out of the 20 respondents, no one selected "no need to organise", 19 selected "should be organised", and one person selected "should be organised, but there are more urgent needs".

2 Out of one hundred responses, 94 were that "it should be organised", 5 were "it should be organised, but there are more urgent needs", and 1 was "it is not necessary". 90 people responded to the question of whether they were interested in participating in the programme, and 86 stated they were.

Encouraged by these findings, in mid-February we published a call for applications for participation in the programme. We received 96 applications for eighteen spots, mostly from people that had gone through CNA's Basic Training.³ It was difficult to select eighteen candidates, especially given the fact that this is perhaps the last time that we will be organising this type of programme, so we decided to accept 22 applications, that is, to expand the group to include four more people.

About the Programme

The programme is intended for people from ex-Yugoslav countries (except Slovenia) who have gone through basic training in peacebuilding and who are expected to show a high level of motivation and be prepared for working hard on peacebuilding and dealing with the past.

The programme is made up of four phases to be conducted over a period of six months, from May to

November 2014. *The first phase* is a ten-day training that delves deeper into basic training issues and introduces new topics such as the role of the trainer and approach to training. Also, during this first phase, topics are selected for the next training and teams of participants are formed to prepare workshops on these topics to be conducted at the next training. *The second phase* consists of follow-up meetings during one or two days. These meetings allow the formed team to meet and prepare the workshop on the selected topic and to receive support, suggestions and advice from two persons among the team of trainers. *The third phase* is another ten-day training. In the first part of this training, the teams of participants conduct the workshops they prepared and have an opportunity to receive feedback from the team of trainers. The second part of the training is intended to tackle matters such as difficulties in working, motivation and other relevant issues for working as a trainer. The final, *fourth phase* is a five-day training where we will evaluate the programme, make projections for the future and deal with topics that are identified as having priority.

We see this programme as a beginning, the first step towards independent work as a trainer, including elements

³ It was also interesting that the document with the invitation for the training was downloaded from our website 1776 times.





from the workshops into peacebuilding activities with young people, adults, children, etc. We recommend that at the beginning the participants work in a team with more experienced persons because we cannot expect all the participants to be prepared to independently conduct longer trainings right after they complete the programme.

First Phase: Training in Dojran

Knowing the group of people that it would bring together, we could hardly wait for the programme to begin. This is no wonder since it is truly a special privilege to work with a highly motivated group.

The team of trainers set off for Macedonia a day ahead to prepare for the first meeting in the small town of Dojran. However, it soon turned out that the training was being brought into question because of extreme weather conditions (heavy rain and floods) that had affected a sizeable part of Bosnia, and then also Serbia, leading to most of the roads being closed or impassable. For nine people from BiH, it was quite clear that they would not be able to travel to Macedonia at all, so we decided to postpone the start of the programme for a day, hoping they would still be able to make it. Six of them did, and by going through various ordeals, with the journey lasting some 24 hours. Two people from Bijeljina managed to join us half-way through the training, and one person from Doboje could not get out of the city at all, and finally having managed to do this had to take care of affected family members.

This natural disaster had quite an impact on the course of the training and the atmosphere, but due to the high level of motivation of all the participants, we managed to do a lot of work and remain focused.

Postponing the start of the programme meant we

would have one day less to work. An additional difficulty was the rather large group (21 persons) in which everyone had something to say and no opinion was left unvoiced. Even though we tried to plan our time as flexibly as possible, the workshops regularly ran over the planned three and a half hours, which led to fatigue. The working day lasted from 9:30 in the morning until the evening. After dinner, we would hold an “open team meeting” – an evaluation of the day by the team of trainers and three to four participants. After that, the team of trainers would revise or draft the workshops for the next day. This programme requires a lot of energy, but it is absolutely worth it because all the invested energy is returned through the pleasure of working with people that truly care about effecting social change.

During the training, we tried to combine in-depth analysis of relevant topics and experiential exercises with thinking about the ethics of peacebuilding and the role of the trainer, and we believe we managed to strike a good balance between learning needs in terms of “working as a trainer” and the necessary in-depth knowledge and experience that form the basis of peace education. We are glad that we came up with many new exercises, that we did not succumb to the usual inertia of “repeating a tried and tested recipe”, and we are satisfied with the outcome of the exercises that opened up possibilities for insights that are hard to come by without experiential components.

Apart from being exceptionally active and motivated, the group of participants was also remarkable in their preparedness to take on the responsibility for the whole process of joint work. It was phenomenal how the participants divided themselves into teams for preparing and conducting workshops, the combinations they came up with were utterly unpredictable. By and large, the participants took our advice: to use this opportunity and be in a team with someone who lives far away because this is one time when they do not have to worry about travel expenses, accommodation, etc.; and to try to be in a team with someone they find challenging to work with, and not just with people they communicate with fairly easily. In fact, the only thing we found lacking from time to time was a bit more confrontation in certain situations and less holding back in addressing potential conflicts at the expense of the sometimes noticeable, pure political correctness.

As for the composition of the group, we are most deficient in people from Kosovo because we have only one person from Mitrovica. We bridged this gap partially

by inviting a guest from Kosovo to join us during the first day when we were presenting the socio-political contexts of the region relevant to peacebuilding and dealing with the past. There is also a slight lack of gender balance since there are 9 men and 11 women (there will be 12 at the next training), but, naturally, we did not map this as a problem. Nine participants are from BiH, three from Croatia, one from Kosovo, three from Macedonia, and six from Serbia. We could have achieved a better regional balance in selecting from the pool of applications, but

our leading principle was the level of motivation of the applicants.

Follow-up meetings are currently under way, and they are going quite well. In this phase of the programme, we are joined by the person from Doboï who could not make it to Macedonia due to the disastrous floods.

And now we can hardly wait for the workshops that the teams of participants are preparing.

I. F.

Second and Third Phase of the Training for Trainers

Beograd/Sarajevo, Ivanjica, June-August 2014

At the end of the first phase of the Training for Trainers, the participants formed groups and chose topics for their workshops.

Seven small teams were formed, and the topic chosen concerned dealing with the past, reconciliation and peacebuilding: prejudice and discrimination, identities, narratives, memorialisation, identities and borders, reconciliation and power. Each team was assigned two people from the CNA Training Team for support, guidance and consultation. We were particularly glad to see that everyone chose to step out of their comfort zone, that they chose topics and teams that were challenging, not

safe. During June and July, seven follow-up meetings were held, three in Belgrade and four in Sarajevo, where two to three days were spent designing the independent workshops. It seems the travelling itself (the participant from Kosovo coming to Belgrade, the participant from Macedonia to Sarajevo, etc.) was useful because the participants met and got to know different contexts, acquiring new insights on the way. Of course, it was also an opportunity to socialise ☺

Everyone was very excited and curious upon arrival in Ivanjica, a small town in the south-west of Serbia, for the third phase that took place from 8 to 18 August at



Hotel Park. The participants were excited about their workshops and eager to start working. Each small team had a whole session (morning or afternoon) for their workshop that they had designed and lead themselves, with the support of the training team. At the end of each day, we held evaluation meetings with each workshop team individually, and at these meetings we assessed the workshops, the teamwork, insights gained and difficulties encountered in order to make the best of this learning opportunity based on practical training experience.

Just like when they were choosing their teams, when it came to selecting the topics and exercises, the participants opted for new exercises that they had not seen before and were not reluctant to explore new situations in their roles as trainers. With a lot of respect for each other in the teams and with good distribution of responsibilities, they also had a lot of support from the rest of the group during the exercises. This solidarity and cooperation was useful in some less well-thought-out situations during the exercises so that shortcomings and errors on all sides were easily transformed into valuable experiences.

In the second part of the training, we focused on the role of the trainer, ethics in peacebuilding, and the powerful emotional experience everyone went through in the first part of the training formed the basis for our thinking, conclusions and insights. We devoted one session to the “role of the sexes in society” because we assessed this as necessary. However, the deepest impression was achieved by the Theatre of the Oppressed/Forum Theatre that we spent a whole day on and that was a novelty for almost all the participants, while reminding the training team who this method, in a creative and motivated group, can have a strong impact in terms of empowering people for the daily struggle against injustice.

Thus, in Ivanjica, we completed the part of the programme for acquiring and trying out training skills. During the fourth phase that will be held from 7 to 13 November 2014 in Andrevlje in Fruška Gora, Vojvodina, Serbia, we will deal with expanding ideas, networking and support for actions and activities to be planned and implemented in 2015 by participants of the 6th CNA Training for Trainers programme.

N. H., K. M.

Impressions by the training participants

Ability to understand

By Nedžad Novalić

When in May 2014, in the midst of the natural disaster that had struck Bosnia and Herzegovina, and especially my region, I was to set off for Macedonia for the first phase of the Training for Trainers, I found myself facing a by no means easy task. Namely, I had to explain to my family, work colleagues and friends where I was going and why.

I admit I did not tell them the whole truth for fear of being seen as an eccentric who, in the midst of the floods and almost two decades after the war, is going off to do something that does not involve aid to people devastated by the floods. Upon my return from Macedonia, in Žepče, I ran into Edin, a veteran of the RBiH Army. For Edin, the war started when he was in his early twenties, he was wounded right at the start, then returned to the front, only to be wounded once again... He has shrapnel right next to his heart, he says he can feel it every morning when he wakes up. With

the financial crisis in the country, they keep reducing his degree of disability each year so they can pay him a lower pension. If you can call 50 BAM a pension at all. Edin tells me about all this and a few other things while we're evacuating the house that he had recently built (*threw together* as he puts it), now destroyed by a landslide. At that moment I realise that the war/s of the 1990s were the greatest fire, flood, earthquake and landslide to have struck us. Or that we produced, actually.

There is a pressing need to talk about the war among people, except everyone *tells it in their own way*. In the interest of transitioning to something better, following instructions from the outside, we made the people who wanted and still want to talk keep silent, fearing that they would be the ones standing between us and a bright post-transition future. It is impossible to *turn over* an unread page without running the risk of failing to understand the whole book because of that one unread page.

I see the value of the TtT primarily in the fact that

we are given room to think about and understand the times we live in together. The cross above Sarajevo that is being erected by one side and torn down by the other tells us much about the present, and only so much about the past. Understanding the time and space we inhabit is, I believe, extraordinarily important and I am quick to take up any opportunity for further exploration. TtT is one of the tools. The people I meet through the TtT are an important and clearly visible output: the network of people is already there, connections between them keep growing stronger and we can expect them to carry their cooperation into the future.

Still, the importance of TtT for personal transformation is not as visible or as measurable. The conviction that the training will result in a personal transformation is the decisive motivation to apply for a training that requires you to make yourself available for almost 30 days. Personal transformation becomes something I often refer to as *dert*. This Arab-Turkish work is difficult to translate straightforwardly: it is an internal drive, a concern for yourself and for others, for the whole of society, but also the need to change yourself and society for the better. TtT results in such *dert*.

Of course, I also highly value the methods, techniques and skills acquired through the TtT. The training has also facilitated my personal development: improving communication, bettering teamwork, acquiring new skills to present diverse ideas. Ultimately, I see my own ability to *understand* (myself, others, society) as the most significant result. To understand Edin's need, in the midst of the floods, to talk about something that happened *long ago*. I am also struck by the important realisation that each phase of the TtT results in another *question mark* in my head. The question mark enables me not only to re-examine myself and others, but also prevents me from making rash and final conclusions, judgements and attitudes.

Of course, when I set off for the last phase of the TtT or a similar training in the future, I am not sure I will be able to explain where I am going and why.

Why do I find it important

By Nataša Okilj

KWhen I received an email from CNA telling me that out of all the participants, I should be the one to write

about why I found it important to participate in the TtT, I felt rather pleased with myself. This is not because participating in this programme means one more or a good reference on my resume, but because I found this programme important for me personally.

Lately, I have become fatigued with trainings and organisations that have a banal approach to effecting social change where I often feel that I am an instrument for the achievement of a (project) objective without even knowing it.

In that sense, this training was a breath of fresh air. It provided an opportunity for a group of some twenty people to work on personal growth and thus create possibilities for the development of a better society.

I value this training because it gave me an opportunity to work with a group of twenty brilliant and intelligent people that came together to create an open atmosphere where we could present our views and arguments without making it personal, and this is not an opportunity that comes along every day. It was also important for me to recognise that however similar our positions on values, we are not the same and we do not think in the same ways, nor would we translate our ideals to reality in the same way. I know this in theory, but it is always important to feel it in practice, in direct contact with other people.

I came to the training with the attitude that teamwork was overrated, that teamwork comes about spontaneously and that the job just gets done by itself. I used this excellent opportunity to re-examine my views, to see how much work is involved in teamwork and how it is influenced by different factors, and I realised the error of my position all the while working on something concrete.

I appreciate that this training did not have us learn through lectures, but rather through experience, through personal emotions, you come to be aware of your place in the world, you decide on ways you find acceptable to achieve your aims, no matter how much energy it will take at every turn. I will never forget these experiences. Sometimes the process is far more important than the result.

This is not the sort of training that will provide finished solutions for a set of complex issues such as dealing with the past, peace, peace activism, identities, gender roles in society, power relations, social change. For me, this was an eye-opener of a training and made me see how many different perspectives there are on a

single topic, why each of these issues is important for each one of us and it certainly provided plenty of food for thought, things to mull over and find answers for yourself, only to re-examine them again and again so that you always come up with something you can live with.

I discovered the ability and responsibility of each of us to change the world as much as we deem possible at the given moment, but each of us can react and ultimately this is what changes the world we live in, as small as these changes may seem individually. This gives me the strength to go on, as slow and hopeless and insufficient as it sometimes seems to me.

I got an opportunity to identify what it was that hurt me in society, what blocks me, how I deal with things, and why this is so. But if you are prepared to “throw yourself into the process” as I did, you come to realise the ways you cause pain for others without being aware of it.

I got an opportunity to make a mistake and to fix it, to see that fairness was possible, I learned that a mistake is not the end of the world, that it's the thought that counts and the effort you put into something, and not the mistakes you make.

I learned that even when you don't think of yourself as creative, you actually are, because you live each day in a complex society and you just have to be. It's just a matter of reaching deep down and starting from yourself! Just this one realisation is immeasurable precious to me.

Because of everything I went through working on this programme with wonderful colleagues, I feel a personal responsibility to give my full support to this type of training and excellent learning opportunity as well as a chance for personal growth in the hopes that new people will be able to attend it in the future.

Is it worth?

By Dalmir Mišković

Where do I find myself after the third phase and awaiting the fourth phase of “Training for Trainers in Peacebuilding”? I am not entirely sure. I find myself

on a windswept plain of views and thoughts inspired by the entire Tft process, at a crossroads of issues, is peacebuilding something I want to do in the future, is it worth investing energy in something not readily acceptable in your context? But then again, considering the alternatives, and what we would have to look forward to if we do not try to do something concerning peace and the current situation, and taking into account the conflict-ridden and painful past of our countries, I believe this is a good and singularly positive recipe for a better future where young people will not be waiting in line for the execution squad or be that execution squad, a future where I will not be constantly expecting another war and threatening my grandsons with military service if they don't behave.

I believe we must not give into the apathetic current of painful and violent events that have led to the present state of affairs that is irredeemable and leads nowhere, but constantly threatens to repeat itself. The Training for Trainers provides a space to deconstruct that discourse, to mount a defence against a possibly disastrous and bloody future that most of us cannot escape expecting. It gives hope that not everything is in vain or lost, that things can be done to prevent disaster. Going through the phases of the training, I actually underwent an experience of practical peacebuilding, acquiring knowledge and skills that will certainly be very useful in the future and in my work in this or a closely related area. This knowledge will not be useful only to me, but to my whole environment, and the environments of other members of my Tft group. Upon return to their communities, more than twenty people will become the drivers behind peacebuilding and a happier and more just future.

There lies the greatest value of the Tft, the initiation of positive wheels turning, the prevention of a bloody future that always looms over this region. The very concept of the training aims to spread and reach the maximum number of people and thus do the most good. It is our responsibility to answer the call of a happier future and try to do something that is universally good, because we have seen the alternatives and they are unacceptable!



exchange and
networking

Exchange Seminar “How to Reconcile Histories?”

Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, 20-24 March 2014

An exchange seminar “How to Reconcile Histories?” was held in Sarajevo from 20 to 24 March 2014. It was dedicated to discussing the dominant culture of memory in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia and Serbia. We organised this seminar because after years of peacebuilding activities, dealing with opposing narratives about the war and concerns over where established memory policies are leading us, we felt the need to open up the channels of communication with historians. Arising from the need for dialogue and support, and primarily out of hope that if we joined forces we could achieve more in terms of social changes, apart from historians, we also invited to the seminar peace and civil activists, curators and museologists, as well as reporters we had worked with already and those we wanted to establish cooperation with. The seminar was divided into three working days, three thematic wholes, with introductory presentations that served as incentive for further discussion.

Day 1: introductory presentation by Prof Husnija Kamberović, PhD, “Historical Interpretations between Memory Policy, Memory Culture and Demythologising the Past”

Day 2: introductory presentation by Adnan Hasanbegović “A Peacebuilding Perspective of Memory Culture and Dealing with the Past (experience and practice of CNA)”

Day 3: introductory presentation by Svjetlana Nedimović, PhD, “The Past That Doesn’t Go Away as a Political Resource”

Different experiences with “dealing” with the past determined the course of very intensive discussions throughout the three days of the seminar. In

peacebuilding, we deal with the past on a daily basis, to an extent that it ceases to be something that happened in the past, but crops up constantly with the full force of its diverse interpretations and has an active influence on society. For historians, however, the relevance of history as a scholarly discipline greatly depends on the capacity for approaching historical facts from a distance, interpreting them in the context of the time when they took place, and resisting revisionist interpretations this discipline is often exposed to. Revision in this case does not mean a logical course of development of history as an academic discipline (interpretation that arises out of new knowledge), but rather the selective reinterpretation catering to daily politics, historical events whose aspects are glossed over or denied (in Serbia, this revisionism is applied to the Chetnik movement, in Croatia these debates become quite harsh in assessing the socialist period or the NDH period, while in BiH debates mostly concentrate on the issue of continuity and discontinuity, including that of the state).

This does not pertain only to history policy (meaning state influence on interpreting the past¹), but also to the culture of memory as a social construct of memory related to history policy, but also involving a set of other disciplines such as sociology, political science, cultural anthropology, etc.

This calls for an apolitical history. “History as a scholarly discipline should not be involved in any contemporary relations,” pointed out Prof Kamberović, “as a political instrument to justify certain political projects,” whether these are projects to establish nation states or reconciliation, also seen as a political project of state and other political institutions by some of the participants of this seminar.

For some of the participants, this was a rather surprising development, because it presupposed that it was possible to isolate scholarly pursuits from the totality



1 The most vivid recent examples of state intervention in interpretations of the past are the resolutions and declarations adopted by parliaments in post-Yugoslav countries representing the official position of the state about the nature and meaning of historical events. In this way, states participate in establishing the framework within which historiography is bound. Because of these efforts, school textbooks present a particular problem.

of social conditions within which they take place. The discussion developed along two strands: history as an ideally typical scholarly discipline presupposing political and evaluative neutrality, and history as a social discipline manifested through dominant discourses in the public space. This rift between the scholarly ideal and the socio-political practice persisted throughout the seminar. The discussion showed that it was up to the scholarly discipline to insist on scientific method and be objective in its findings, independent from political influence. And it was up to the rest of us to help these voices from historiography be heard in the public arena. However, as much as scholarly work may be based on a scientific approach to facts, supported by arguments and reasoned, it simply does not reach a significant portion of the population, which is why these efforts often seem futile. Similar criticism was addressed to peace organisations and human rights organisations - that their work in the public arena is not sufficiently visible or present, and that they should consider improving public relations, media coordination and the like. The question that remains is whether media presence automatically guarantees that people will hear what you have to say. Namely, voices from civil society often contradict the dominant social narrative on the recent past.

Each national community has its own mythological interpretation of the past, not entirely divorced from some factual truths, but still a subjective interpretation of a single group. As pointed out during the second day of the seminar, at CNA, during our years of peacebuilding activity, we have experienced daily interpretations of the past as quite antagonised along the lines of the 1990s discernible in the political discourse as a way to continue the war by other means. This is perhaps most visible in Bosnia and Herzegovina, but it is present throughout the region. There is a collectivisation of guilt, responsibility is transferred to the “other side”, and the mythological interpretation of the past is reflected through victimisation (of the nation, ethnic group) and through the glorification of the warrior. This image is established through the policy, but also the culture of memory, conditioning the ways that we as a society chose to remember.

And while we agreed that the memory matrix based on the glorification, heroisation and victimisation of the past was inherited from the period of socialist modernisation, and as such is not a local curiosity but a general rule within international relations, the discussion insisted on the difference between the socialist narrative and the narrative established within post-Yugoslav nation states, especially when it comes to memorialisation



processes. It was pointed out that Yugoslav memorial art has an emancipatory function, it celebrates the heroic sacrifice, but the monuments also symbolise the value of cooperation and solidarity (as opposed to the present-day basic value of compassion), aiming towards a “better future” (as opposed to the present-day orientation towards the past, “never forget”), and the establishment of a more just social order than that which produced the violence in the first place. However, this narrative is also based on exclusion (of those “not with us”), and is also established from above, by imposing a prescribed policy of history.

There was a lot of discussion about how the animosity fostered in a large part of our societies finds its justification precisely in national history. Myths in history are not outright lies, but rather the extraction of events from their contexts, or the foregrounding of only a single aspect of the event that supports a certain vision of the past. Mere determination of facts will not prevent the repetition of violence, instead, the justification for that violence must be questioned. It is based in a tragic past that often becomes the justification for future (preventive) violence. How do we “relax” these relations, make room for creating a culture of memory with multiple perspectives, because, as pointed out the day before, our experiences are different, and there can be no consensus on historical events, but in this way, we can open up a dialogue on conflicting interpretations of the past. “Our” particularity is determined through difference from “those others”, what we remember determines who we are. This is the point where intervention is necessary, trying to find ways of memorialisation and commemoration that will be inclusive, not based on a hierarchy of victims (military, then civilian, “our” victims juxtaposed to “theirs”), but primarily set up as a warning against the destruction of humanity.

However, the past can essentially be very important for the transformation of society, and not as some sort of repository of conclusive messages, a warning. It can be part of a self-creating social process and become part of constituting society and new networks of meanings. We discussed this during our final, third day of the seminar, focusing on the recent protests in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

These protests were essentially defined as social. Throughout the duration of the protests, the reaction of the ruling structures tried to pull this social rebellion back into the ethno-national register as the basic paradigm of BiH society. It is not a matter of overcoming the recent violent past in order for us to be able to deal with social and economic issues. Quite the opposite, overcoming the past would be an injustice in itself, even if the society were to implement what is mandated by transitional justice processes. The mechanisms of transitional justice pertain to a limited time period. The relationship of society towards the past in its totality is much more important. Prosecuting, vetting, reparations, these transitional justice mechanisms may still potentially represent perpetuating historical injustices. By displacing our relationship towards the past, we leave room for social controllers (the political elite) to create our present out of touch with what is being established through processes of dealing with the past and of transitional justice. As long as it disrupts, resists becoming routine and normalising relations, as long as society is somehow not allowed to make peace with what it had done, that past is a source of political pedagogy. Only then does it become a resource for a political dealing with the injustices of the past and the injustices of the present. In this case, political

responsibility would entail, as Svjetlana Nedimović said, “that all those participating in the production and reproduction of structural relations resulting in injustices are responsible for collective transformative action.” In practice, this means that the past cannot be conceived as something that has passed, but must be viewed in relation to the present and the moral and existential needs of the community. The foundation of this model of responsibility is social cohesion. “It is not a position for a neutral liberal state, it is a position for a socially responsible state, even when its functionality is as problematic as that of BiH.”

These were the main highlights of a very intensive three-day discussion. This was also the greatest benefit of the seminar, since we were able to talk within a circle of people from Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, and Serbia that have been active in the public arena for a long time and with considerable results, whether it be within history as a scholarly discipline, public policy issues related to the culture of memory, or activism to incite social change. The diversity of perspectives, strategies of action and experiences in these processes provided us with a very broad overview within which the processes of dealing with the past in these post-Yugoslav countries can be viewed within a wider social-in this case European-context. We did not come up with any recipes for success. On the contrary, at times the topic seemed all-pervasive and almost irresolvable. However, we hope this is the first step. The participants expressed the need for cooperation and networking, as well as finding new strategies and ways into the dominant discourse.

D. T.



*Publication about the seminar
“Kako pomiriti (h)istorije?”
is available on our web page
www.nenasilje.org
(only in BCS language)*



publications

Translation of the “Reconciliation?!” Manual into English

“Reconciliation?! Training Handbook for Dealing with the Past” has been translated into English, and the translation was printed in February this year. Just like the original handbook, the English version is also available on our website.

We worked on the handbook in order to support people in our region and in other parts of the world who are trying to walk the untrodden paths of reconciliation, peacebuilding and the inevitable dealing with the past. We were still surprised by the response. We find it

incredible that within six months (or more precisely: a few days more than the full six months) the handbook was downloaded from our website 108 225 times. We keep wondering who all these people downloading the handbook are. We were also surprised and intrigued by a request we received from a team of people in South Sudan to help them adapt the handbook to their context. There is also now the idea, instigated by people working in the Caucasus context, for the handbook to be translated into Russian.

In the Foreword to the English edition, Diana Francis writes:

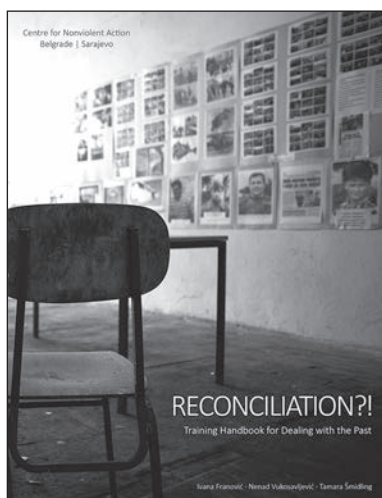
What makes this handbook so special is not only the rich array of options in each group of exercises but also the wealth of experience and thought on which the selection is based. This is evident in the clarity with which the exercises are described, the practical observations that accompany them (such as the time needed for each), and the other considerations and insights that accompany them. (...)

The core purpose of all the exercises is to enable participants to explore, together and in depth, the tough questions and related feelings that lie at the heart of social relationships, and the possibilities for translating new insights into action. That translation is vital, as the authors insist: ‘Training is a means, a tool to initiate change, not an end in itself.’ But the training begins the process of change in the individual, and the whole section of exercises has the feel of an orderly, high quality conversation between colleagues. I see the handbook’s creation as an act of great generosity and solidarity, borne of commitment to the painstaking work of transformation. (...)

It will, above all, inspire activists at home and abroad, encouraging them to join with those who

*‘age after age, perversely,
with no extraordinary power,
reconstitute the world.’*

(Adrienne Rich. The Fact of a Doorframe.)



Workshop in Berlin

To promote the publication of the training manual “Reconciliation?!” in English translation, Nenad and Ivana from the CNA Team held a three-hour workshop in Berlin at the Alice Salomon University on 26 July 2014. The workshop was organised by our sister organisation KURVE

Wustrow. The participants included people active in peacebuilding, development and international activities, a number of students from the University and members of KURVE Wustrow and their partners.

In the first part of the workshop, the participants

got a taste of the methodology that characterises CNA's approach. The second part of the workshop was devoted to exchanging experience in dealing with the past and peacebuilding in the former Yugoslavia, with a particular focus on difficulties and challenges faced in this area of work. The participants were interested to know about when to start working on reconciliation, how to work on dealing with the past in the absence of political will, what are the typical difficulties we face, how do we find war-veterans interested in peace programmes, what sorts of

examples of constructive and destructive dealing with the past can be found in our context, how to handle the role of victor in a war, how to work on building trust and dismantling the fear of neighbours, and much more.

The feedback about the workshop was very positive and the participants found it useful. For us, it was interesting to facilitate and participate in these discussions in a German-international context.

I.F.

Website statistics: www.nenasilje.org

The most downloaded publications in the last 12 months (Oct. 2013 - Sept. 2014)

1.	Reconciliation?! Training Handbook for Dealing with the Past (2014) (in English language)	108.225 *	number of downloads
2.	Nenasilje? Priručnik za treninge iz nenasilne razrade konflikata za rad sa odraslima (2000) - Training Handbook "Nonviolence?" in BCS language	36.261	
3.	Horror always has the same face (2012) (in English)	17.448	
4.	ERŐSZAKMENTESSÉG? (2005) Training Handbook "Nonviolence?" in Hungarian language	17.166	
5.	Pomirenje?! Priručnik za rad na suočavanju sa prošlošću kroz treninge i radionice - Training Handbook "Reconciliation?" in BCS language	15.769	

* Published only in February 2014, number of downloads in 7 months

Total number of downloads per title in different languages in the last 12 months

Reconciliation?! Training Handbook for Dealing with the Past	123.994 *	English version: 108.225 *, BCS: 15.769
Nonviolence? Training handbook for conflict transformation for work with adults **	61.633	BCS: 36.261, Hungarian: 17.166, Albanian: 4.354, Macedonian: 3.852
Horror always has the same face. Documentation of the study trip and workshop on remembrance cultures in Germany and Balkans	25.897	English: 17.448, BCS: 8.449
I cannot feel good if my neighbor does not	9.895	Macedonian: 4.627, BCS: 2.843, English: 1.709, Albanian: 716
The Heritage of National Socialism: The Culture of Remembrance in Berlin	8.384	English: 5.898, BCS: 2.486
20 Pieces of Encouragement for Awakening and Change. Peacebuilding in the Region of the Former Yugoslavia	3.957	English: 2.523, BCS: 1.434
Slike tih vremena. Životne priče ratnih veterana/veteranki i članova/članica njihovih porodica	3.165	(available only in BCS)

* Published only in February 2014, number of downloads in 7 months

** Not available in English



work with war veterans

The voice of war-veterans in war stories has always been important. Their contribution and impact on the memory of war is enormous.

From the very start of its peacebuilding activities, CNA has met with war-veterans. Believing that we have to build peace together, from 2002 we have steadily developed various programmes in dialogue with war-veterans, responding to their need to meet with their “enemies”. It was our desire to involve war-veterans in peacebuilding processes and constructive dealing with the past. From early dialogue workshops and public appearances that

contributed to the deconstruction of notions of the enemy, we arrived at joint actions by former enemies. The backbone of our cooperation comprises joint visits to memorial sites to honour victims and to participate in official commemorations.

This report presents the activities with war veterans in the past year: this year’s training for war veterans, joint visits of mixed groups of veterans to memorial sites in Bihać and commemorations in Vozuća and Novi Grad. More information on previous activities is available on our website www.nenasilje.org.

War-Veterans Training

Brčko, Bosnia and Herzegovina, 11 - 14 April 2014

Fourteen war-veterans participated in this year’s training for war-veterans held in Brčko, BiH from 11 to 14 April. Participants came from both BiH entities, Republika Srpska (Novi Grad, Prijedor) and the Federation of BiH (Gornji Vakuf/Uskoplje, Bihać, Zavidovići), and the Brčko District, as well as from Serbia (Kruševac) and Croatia (Pakrac). The CNA Training Team comprised Nenad Vukosavljević, Nedžad Horozović, Adnan Hasanbegović and Amer Delić.

It is encouraging that after a few years of hiatus, cooperation has been established with a veterans association from Croatia. Although individuals had always regularly attended our trainings and joint actions, we have not been able to find a continuous model of cooperation with veterans associations. We were also pleased that the training was attended by representatives of BORS¹ Municipal Boards that we had not previously had an opportunity to work with.

The objectives of the training included raising awareness about the potential of war-veterans as peacebuilders and their empowerment as individuals in order to take on this role in their communities. Apart from that, it was important for us to establish trust among the participants in the hope that, with time, that trust would help the organisations they represent establish cross-border cooperation and enable them to implement joint peace actions in the wider region. Through two-day workshops, we tried to find what a just attitude towards

the past would be and how to jointly seek it. Despite the short time available, we believe we have managed to make room for open discussion and diverse interpretations of both events from the war and the socio-political contexts we live in today.

There were disagreements and even open confrontations, which we see as a sign that the participants were motivated and open. For us from CNA, this was a signal that we have their trust, because there was no holding back in front of the Training Team.

The dialogue led to a clear condemnation of the war and the crimes committed in this region irrespective of the victims. The persistence of injustice and violence was also pointed out, especially towards minorities whose rights are threatened since they are often exposed to discrimination from the majority population. Discussions also delved into the increasingly present nationalist rhetoric and hate speech that the ex-combatants recognised as a potential generator of future violence, especially among the post-war generations. We, therefore, focused on joint peace actions as a way to deal with these phenomena. These actions can serve as an example for young people that animosities can be overcome and that we need to work on establishing mutual trust and good neighbourly relations.

The general impression is that through the training, the war veterans expressed readiness to participate in peacebuilding processes. These processes may be long and arduous, but in time they effect changes and are ennobling. The transformation from a combatant into a

1 BORS - Veterans Organisation of Republika Srpska



peacebuilder entails a dilemma that is difficult to face. Namely, is the call for reconciliation hypocritical if it comes from those who participated in the war, believing they were doing the right thing? Those that had also called on others from their communities?

From my experience, I would say it was not hypocritical to change your mind after having lived through the war, on the contrary, this is the way to the future.

A. D.

Krajina Mon A(r)mour

11-12 December 2013

Krajina denotes an area or place and is common among the Slavic peoples. Dozens of Krajinas are to be found in the territory of the former Yugoslavia, as well as in Poland, the Ukraine...

If you are from these Balkan lands and if you do not precede Krajina with a geographic determinant specifying the area you are referring to, most cases people will think of the Krajina situated between Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, divided by a natural border – the river Una, which is also the administrative state border. This Krajina has been impressed upon the subconscious of people as the “Military” Krajina. It was settled by plan a few hundred years ago in order to provide the hinterland for the Hapsburg Empire against the Ottomans, and vice versa. The empires of the time needed people at their borders ready to come to arms at a moment’s notice. Dealing

out estates and tax waivers earned them guards always watchful of the enemy. It was this militaristic concept that determined the area and remained in place even at the time of the SFRY. Even though the border between the socialist republics at the time was merely formal, the warrior spirit of “fierce Krajina men” was fostered in the belief that it could come in useful one day against an “external” enemy forever lurking, never sleeping. The 1990s will be remembered in the area as a time of strife, crimes and ethnic cleansing. The ferocity lived up to its name, but the enemy came from within.

In pursuit of our activities where we visit sites of suffering, twenty two of us war veterans from the region and activists of the Centre for Nonviolent Action Belgrade/ Sarajevo visited Bihać, the administrative and economic seat of the Una-Sana Canton (USC) in the Federation of

BiH. The area of the USC stretches over three Krajinas – the Bihać, Cazin and part of the Bosnian Krajina. In a wider context, all three are situated within the abovementioned “Military Krajina”, or more precisely its part within BiH. The complexity of the geographic term was reflected by the events of war. The period from 1992-1995 involved fighting between units of the Army of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina (ARBiH), the Army of Republika Srpska (VRS), the Croatian Army (HV), the Croat Defence Council (HVO), the Yugoslav National Army (JNA) – later the Army of Yugoslavia (VJ), and another two formations that did not make it to 1995 and the Dayton Agreement because they had been crushed beforehand and the territories they had held were taken over by other forces. These were the Army of the Republic of Serb Krajina (VRSK) and the Popular Defence of the Autonomous Province of Western Bosnia (NOAPZB). There was also a series of police, special and paramilitary units directed to this region as needed. Here I must relate that apart from Bihać, we were also to visit Velika Kladuša. A town still labouring under the legacy of the war conflict within one ethnic and religious community, that of the Bosniaks-Muslims.

The consequences of this tragic conflict are evident and the struggle to gain the upper hand in this town has continued through political activities. Coalitions of parties representing opposing political options from the time of the war are formed, which results in fractions within themselves, with parties fragmenting to form new parties that label the original ones as treacherous, as having let their people down and forgotten the casualties of the conflict. Apart from the municipal level, this conflict is also reflected at the cantonal level – mayors are deposed, assemblies proclaimed illegitimate, political opponents accuse each other of unconstitutional action. The confusing political situation has a strong impact on all other social spheres. Economic development is negligible, the unemployment rate is on the rise, especially among young people. Many decide to seek a better life abroad, and there is a trend of emigrating to Western Europe and the US.

In planning our visit to Velika Kladuša, we held a joint meeting with veterans of ARBiH and NOAPZB gathered around veterans associations stemming from these wartime formations. The meeting was attended by the secretary of the war victims association, who is also a member of the Velika Kladuša Municipal Council. We reached an agreement about a joint visit to pay our respects at the Dubrave graveyard where members of the

NO are buried and to the ARBiH Memorial. This meeting was not only formal. The people there had much to say to each other about life before the conflict, living together and pleasant memories, about first contacts made after the conflict and encounters marred by heads turning away, and even a few curses and insults here and there. The time in between, the time of war, was not mentioned. It was touching to listen to them. “Do we really need people from outside to come for us to meet and talk like this, for us to visit each other’s graveyards,” one of them commented. However, just before the final arrangements were made to visit this town, the political situation became complicated and the visit was postponed. The good thing is that there is a readiness to organise the visit in the near future, and that the possibility has been initiated for these veterans organising something to help heal broken ties and build trust in the local community.

In Bihać, we first visited the Humci graveyard that holds the ARBiH Memorial to Defenders of the Town. As we approached, massive marble slabs arranged in a circle had names of fallen fighters inscribed on the outside perimeter of the circle. Walking into the circle, I realised the slabs were inscribed with names on the inside as well. Thousands of names.

One of the hosts of the visit – Almir Tutić, president of the 1992-1995 Defensive-Liberation War Veterans Federation of USC, spoke about Bihać during the war. He mentioned the strategic position of Bihać, numerous barracks, military grounds, the military airforce base, as well as reasons why the area was targeted. The fighting was brutal, with tremendous losses. Agan Elkasović, president of the War Medal Bearers of USC, spoke about the conflict between ARBiH and NOAPZB that had taken three thousand lives on each side. He is still bewildered by the escalation of violence in the conflict himself, the literal fratricide that it entailed, because there were families whose members fought on opposite sides. He ended his presentation saying words could never describe what had happened.

Franjo Grgić, president of the HVO Defence Associations Coordination of USC, took us to the central HVO memorial at the Žegar Roman Catholic cemetery. We reached the crucifix that dominates over the cemetery. Franjo explained the war journey of HVO units in the area, particularly pointing out that, as opposed to some other parts of BiH, there was never a Bosniak-Croat conflict in this area, a fact they are proud of.

Next we visited the Memorial Room dedicated to members of the Fifth Corps of ARBiH and civilians from

This year leaves us without our long-time friend and associate Đuro Pejak, a war-veteran of the Croatian Army from Županja. We will forever remain grateful for the human warmth he brought to our joint actions with war-veterans.

the local community of Ribić-Orljani. Photographs with biographic data and verses from the Qur'an hang on the walls. Almir gave us a brief overview of the war period in this part of Bihać. At one point, as we were asking questions about the number of population, ethnic structure, etc., he left the room and came back with a thickish book. "Now, ask. Here I have all the data from the 1991 census," he said and opened the book. And we got our answers. He continued his story, describing the fates of people from the photos that he know personally. And he said something worth remembering: "In war, the rich give their oxen, and the poor their sons." That is so true, I thought. It's clear whose "cannon fodder" is cheaper.

We then got into our cars and set off for the Bezdana pit some thirteen kilometres from Bihać. We were soon off the asphalt and going uphill along a steep macadam road used for transporting timber from the forest. We reached the plain and set off on foot towards the pit. It is covered by a memorial and there is a safety fence around the shaft that allows you to peer over and look into the eerie depths carved into the rock. It is an abyss some eighty-five meters deep. The account of the crimes committed at this site in 1992 shocked us all. Jasmin Osmankić, president of the Cantonal Federation of Associations of ARBiH and HVO Veterans with PTSD, another of our hosts in Bihać, talked about how he had gone down into the pit after the war, in 1997, to find the remains of his missing brother. He was not among the eighty-one exhumed remains. Jasmin is still searching for him. Our faces petrified, we left the plain and headed back to the hotel.

We held a joint meeting where we were joined by

representatives of veterans organisations, both NOAPZB and ARBiH from Velika Kladuša, a welcome development and something that encouraged us to continue our cooperation with these associations. The meeting was also attended by Emdžad Galijašević, Mayor of Bihać, who expressed his support of our idea and objectives and have us his full endorsement. He said we could count on the assistance of the town and its institutions in our future activities in this area.

We ended our visit to Bihać with an informal tour of the museum of the First Session of AVNOJ¹ held in this town in 1942. People in this area foster the values of antifascist struggle, Almir pointed out.

All of us assessed this visit as very useful and successful. The war veterans we had been conducting peacebuilding activities in the past years were joined by new members, people who had been at our last Veterans' Training held in Doboj at the beginning of June 2013. They fit in with the group so well that we felt they had always been with us. I would particularly like to point out the high level of transparency and immediacy from our hosts in Bihać who earned the respect of our whole group. We also gained new sympathisers, people that we can involve to do many more things in this area. And there is need for that. The legacy of the past filled with the violence of war still burdens the lives of these people today, almost two decades later. How to simultaneously feel pride on account of their historical warrior heritage, accepted as an inseparable part of their identity, while forging the way towards building peace, trust and cooperation is something that the people of Krajina will have to resolve for themselves and for the coming generations. We hope actions such as this one can pave the way to asking the right questions.

A. D.

1 Antifascist Council for the National Liberation of Yugoslavia

Through Uskoplje, from Gornji to Donji Vakuf

20-21 December 2013

In the past year, we've had an opportunity to visit various commemorative events organised by veterans associations we cooperate with. We could see first hand the kind of culture of memory fostered by war veterans and the places they come from.

We visited Gornji Vakuf/Uskoplje (GVU) again to attend a ceremony "In memory of Commander Goran Čišić" traditionally organised by the veterans association Goranovi to commemorate their commander and all the fallen and deceased fighters of this unit of the Army of

RBiH. The ceremony was held in the crowded hall of the Gornji Vakuf/Uskoplje Municipal Culture and Education Centre. The gathering was addressed by the president of the Goranovi association, Ibrahim Topčić. He talked about the war period, his unit and Commander Čišić, pointing out that in those days people showed their humanity and decency in the most difficult moments, while today they are marginalised and feel like both they and their families have been abandoned. He was visibly upset, although he did not address the causes behind this situation. Last year, in this same place, a youth group performed the musical “Hair”, sending a message of peace far beyond the walls of this hall. This year, children read their literary compositions in memory of Goran Čišić.

Last year, this event had been avant-garde compared to other such commemorations. This retreat back to the established “tested” models that differ from each other only by the national symbols they use and the name they give to the enemy shows that peace is not a completed state, but rather a process with an uncertain outcome. Perhaps even then I had only imagined that pioneering steps on the road to peace had been made here. They were, but this did not continue, because it needs the support of the community, local authorities, society as a whole.

We used our visit to this town to hold meetings with representatives of local authorities and other veterans associations. We met with Mayor Sead Čaušević and the President of the Municipal Council, Marinko Krajina. They briefly explained the situation in the municipality since the end of the Bosniak-Croat conflict that had lasted from October 1992 to March 1994, leaving behind hundreds of casualties, a destroyed town and surrounding villages, and severed human and neighbourly ties. They say that, today, progress made since the war is noticeable. After years of parallel government structures, the municipal administration has been unified, as well as the local clinics, fire brigades and other institutions. This year also marked the first performance of the folklore ensemble from the Bosniak Cultural Community Preporod at the Uskoplje Autumn, a traditional event organised by the Croat Cultural Society Napredak since 1997, and Bosniak and Croat children train and play together in the Sloga football club. Does this mean life is going back to being normal?

From our side, we informed the municipal authorities with our work in the region, focusing on the visits by a joint veterans group to sites of memory, and expressed our desire to visit GUV in the same context, where our joint hosts would be the HVO and ARBiH veterans with



whom we would visit memorials on both sides. They supported this idea, saying they were both veterans and were prepared to participate in all actions for the benefit of the people in this community and that contribute to better mutual relations and cooperation. They pointed out the disunity of veterans associations in the town as a potential obstacle to the organisation of the visit. Namely, there are no less than nine associations of HVO veterans and six of ARBiH veterans, each acting separately. The meeting was also attended by Suad Duratbegović, Secretary of the Cantonal Board of the Joint ARBiH Veterans Association in the Central Bosnia Canton, who also supported the idea and said he would try to coordinate the “Army” associations into a single representative body for the organisation of the visit.

We also had informal meetings to discuss potential cooperation and organising a visit with representatives of the HVO War Medal Recipients Association and the HVO Homeland War Volunteers Association. Sometimes, people cannot get over the feeling that they will come off as hypocritical in their communities, because in the past, they lead their people into war, and now they are supposed to direct them towards reconciliation. This dilemma is also an obstacle often encountered by war veterans, preventing their engagement in peacebuilding.

The next day, we visited the Memorial¹ at the

1 The decision to visit this memorial was made by our group during our stay in GUV, because it is not common practice for us to visit memorials to individuals with the status of heroes in their communities. Before coming, we were informed that it was an ARBiH memorial

site where Goran Čišić lost his life, in the area of the Podrepci village in the Bugojno municipality. Traditionally, organised by the Goran Mountaineering Society, the anniversary of Goran Čišić’s death is marked by a hike to this site. The President of the Goran Mountaineering Society, Ekrem Polić, explained that they had chosen this way of commemorating the death of their friend, fellow fighter and commander, because he had been a great lover of nature and mountaineering. On our way back, we met a column of a few hundred people, members of this society and their friends, participants in this year’s hike.

We went to Donji Vakuf. There, we held a brief meeting to exchange our impressions about the activities we had conducted. New members of the group from RS, who had participated at a commemoration with us for the first time, were invited to organise visits to sites of memory in Republika Srpska.

Often, when we visit various towns, we evoke memories of a painful past, repressed, but not forgotten. We later found out that the motel we stayed at in GUV used to be a concentration camp during the war. One of the war veterans that we had been cooperating with for years had been detained there with another two dozen or so of his fellow fighters, and throughout our stay he could not muster the strength to come to visit us. This isn’t the first time we encountered taboo places that hide their secrets and that are only whispered about among the local community. One of the reasons behind what we are doing is to remind people that such places exist and that they should make us think. And not be silent.

A. D.

Commemoration in Stog

10 September 2014

Stog is a small village in the vicinity of Vozuća, a local community in the municipality of Zavidovići¹. It is located in the tame valley of the Krivaja River, surrounded by hills and mountains, a landscape of exquisite beauty, rich in pasture land, forests and orchards. In 1992, the beauty of nature was irrelevant. Vozuća became “strategically” significant and what followed resulted in thousands of casualties, disabled war-veterans and displaced persons. April 1992 saw the exodus of Bosniaks from

Vozuća, September 1995 saw the exodus of Serbs. What happened in the meantime makes Vozuća perhaps the bloodiest war zone in Bosnia and Herzegovina, marked by heavy fighting, war crimes and missing persons.

Vozuća is a place emblematic of the strife of the Serb people in the past war, and every year on 10 September in Stog, a commemoration is held to honour the dead and missing, and to mourn the loss of homesteads after centuries of habitation in the area. The official title of this event is “Commemoration of the anniversary of the exodus of the people of Vozuća, from settlements along

1 Zavidovići - Town and Municipality in the Federation of BiH.

the Krivaja River valley and southern Mount Ozren” and it is organised by the Zavidovići Homeland Association, Doboj². With the help of a friend from the Doboj branch of BORS³ and with his recommendation, we visited this association on two occasions, presented our work with war-veterans and joint visits of commemorations that mark important dates from the past. We soon received an official invitation from the association welcoming our group. The commemoration programme planned for a gathering of the participants in the settlement of Tumare, some 22km from Stog, where the traditional “Exodus March” would begin. The march would retrace the route taken by refugee columns in 1995. The arrival of participants at the destination in Stog would mark the beginning of the commemoration, so we decided to join them at that point.

Most of the group made up of war-veterans from Serbia, Croatia, both Bosnian-Herzegovinian entities and us from CNA arrived in Zavidovići the night before, while others joined the group in the morning. We were also joined by members of the disabled war-veterans association from Zavidovići.

The Council of Disabled War-Veterans of the Army of the Republic of BiH in the Municipality of Zavidovići⁴, that had been our host at the commemoration of the battle at Site 715 the year before, invited us to attend another event to be held that same day in Vozuća. It concerned the same event, but from a different perspective. That day is marked on the Bosniak side as the “Day of Liberation of Vozuća”. It was very important for us to see how the same event is experienced and interpreted on both sides and to hear, on one and the same day, two opposing narratives. We also wanted to feel the atmosphere among those present when they are joined by “former enemies” at their ceremony. However, because the two events were taking place at the same time, we were unable to accept the invitation this time. We spent the morning with members of this association, who had invited us to visit the Memorial Room, and “Kamene kugle” park, commemorating the victims of the 1992-1995 war and their workshop where they produce and repair prosthetics for disabled war-veterans. The visit to the workshop evoked great interest among the veterans from our group and our hosts did their best to present their work and products. If it were not for the time constraints,

our visit to the workshop would have been much longer.

Leaving Zavidovići, we formed a column and set off for Stog, some 25km away. Fourteen kilometres down the road, we entered the former war zone still bearing visible traces of destruction and ruins of buildings. This is also where predominantly Serb settlements were once located. There are some reconstructed houses, especially holiday homes, but the number of returnees is small and mainly consists of older people.

At the entrance to Stog, we were met by members of the Federal Ministry of Interior, many of them distributed along the road, a sign that this event had been characterised as potentially presenting a high risk for the security of the participants. A police officer directed us to where we could park our cars, and we then went towards the Church of St George where a large tent had been put up in the courtyard with rows of tables and chairs and an outdoor kitchen. Judging by the façade, it seemed the church had been reconstructed. There was a memorial with a cross in the courtyard. A few hundred people were already in front of the church and in the tent. Serb “patriotic” songs thundered from the sound system.

We signed in with the lady in charge of protocol and she told us to go into the tent and explained that we would be called to lay our wreath. Our formal host had participated in the march, so we were somewhat lost in the crowds. People did not know us, so they looked at us strangely and asked about who we were and what we were doing there.

And then the sky opened up. Torrents of rain, thunder and lightning. Everyone ran under the tent and started crowding in to avoid the pouring rain. At that moment, the first bars of “March on the Drina” started coming from the loudspeakers and the front of the column bearing the Serbian tricolours came into view. The people beneath the tent stood up and applauded the arriving participants in the march. The column was seemingly endless, hundreds of people, mostly young people. The first thing that occurred to me was to wonder how many of them had lost their fathers at this battle site. The march participants came into the tent, tired and soaked, to change their clothes. We got wind that the Holy Liturgy and Mass for the fallen at the Vozuća front was under way, and some of our group went to the church. On the walls I noticed memorial plaques bearing the names of fallen fighters of the Republika Srpska Army from Vozuća and the municipalities of Bijeljina, Srbac, Prnjavor, Vukosavlje, Modriča, Teslić and Doboj. The reason why the plaques are inside the church is the same as the reason why this

2 Doboj - Town and Municipality in Republika Srpska.

3 BORS – Veterans Organisation of Republika Srpska.

4 Official title of the disabled war-veterans association

gathering is being protected by a large police force.

The ceremony of laying wreaths at the Memorial to the killed and missing members of VRS in the courtyard followed the church service. The rain was so heavy that it drowned out the announcements from the loudspeakers so that the hostess used gestures to indicate whose turn it was to lay the wreath. Four veterans from our group laid the wreath and honoured the victims. Soaked through, they joined us back under the tent. We met with the host, also exhausted and soaked from the rain, only briefly when he greeted and welcomed us. The circumstances did not allow for a meeting between members of his associations and the veterans from our group. The speech of the organiser addressing participants and guests had

to be cancelled, so we decided to get out of the rain and wind and forgo the remainder of the commemoration. We said our goodbyes and headed back towards Zavidovići.

Our everyday lives are marked by celebrating “glorious military victories” that for some are an “exodus” and a time for mourning. In both cases, there are people who are no longer with us and whose deaths are a tragedy for their families and communities. By remembering these people, we also remember the horrors of war. And in remembering we can wish for our, and the children of “the others”, a better future, for if we do not start from three, we will be mired deep in our problems.

A. D.

War-Veterans at the Commemoration in Novi Grad

18 September 2014

The invitation to visit Novi Grad with a group of war-veterans on the occasion of a commemoration to mark the day of defence of western Krajina municipalities of Republika Srpska¹, 18 September, came during our last Training for War-Veterans from a veteran in this town and member of the local BORS. He told us that this event is under the patronage of the entity² and that our presence will require the approval and support of the local veterans association. He also said that the event is regional in character and that it is co-organised by the municipalities of Kozarska Dubica and Kostajnica, which together with Novi Grad take turns hosting the central event every two years.

We were glad to receive the invitation because it was the first time we got the chance to participate at an official event organised in RS. We wanted to attend an event that is important not just locally, but to the wider Serb community. We saw the attendance of our joint group of war-veterans to honour the victims as a symbolic act of reconciliation that would remind those present of the humanity of former enemies.

We made arrangements for the visit over the summer.

1 The official title of the event is “Commemoration of the defence of the western borders of Republika Srpska and Bosnia and Herzegovina from Croatian aggression”.

2 The event is organised by the “Republika Srpska Government Committee for Fostering the Traditions of Liberation Wars”

However, due to the difficult situation following the floods in this area, the very holding of the event came into question, so we decided to set up a smaller group of war-veterans from BiH since it was clear that we would probably have to decide about going “at the last minute”.

It was only a few days before the event that we were informed that the central ceremony would be held in Novi Grad. We received an official invitation on 16 September. We decided to gather the night before in Prijedor that is some thirty kilometres from Novi Grad.

During our stay in Prijedor, we met with the Vice-Chairman of the Municipal Board of the RS Veterans Organisation and presented our activities with war-veterans. There was also talk about the need to promote new ideas in this town and we agreed to meet again in order to arrive at more formal arrangements between our group and the Prijedor veterans organisation.

We arrived in Novi Grad in the morning and visited the BORS offices. The present members of the association welcomed us and said we had to set off towards Tunjica right away where the event would begin, inviting us to meet with them again in their offices afterwards.

In Tunjica, a settlement on the outskirts of Novi Grad, there is a Memorial to civilians and soldiers killed during the attack of the Croatian Army on 18 September 1995.³

3 On 18 September 1995, at this place, members of the Croatian Army crossed the river Una, 57 people, citizens of the

On the plateau in front of the monument, a semicircle comprised a military brass band, an honorary guard, children in national dress and numerous officials, as well as people in charge of organising the event. Between them and the monument stood the clerics. In the background were numerous gathered citizens that we also joined. The atmosphere was solemn, without the usual kitsch and prominent national symbols that accompany events such as this one. Moderate is perhaps the best way to describe it. The host of the programme announced the start of the event with introductory remarks about the importance of fostering the legacy of the liberation-defence war. After that, the priests lit the candles and led the congregation in prayer to commemorate the victims. Before flowers and wreaths were laid at the monument, we informed the protocol service that we should be announced as a mixed group of war-veterans. We were soon approached by another man from the protocol service who told us in no uncertain terms that "HVO will not be laying any wreaths here". Thinking that the problem was with the sign on the ribbon saying "This wreath is from the war-veterans of VRS, HVO and Army of BiH," we agreed to

Novi Grad Municipality were killed. Of that number, 37 were civilians, 18 were VRS soldiers and 2 were members of the RS police forces.

remove the ribbon and continued to prepare for laying the wreath. However, the same man came up to us again and told us we would not be allowed to lay the wreath within the official programme.

To the bars of a requiem, the host called the official delegations to lay the wreaths: the delegate of the President of RS, the delegations of the Government and National Assembly of RS, the Consul General of Serbia in RS and the delegation of the Novi Grad Municipality.

Next to be called were the joint delegation comprising representatives of the Republika Srpska Veterans Organisation, the Organisation of Families of Captured and Killed Soldiers and Missing Civilians, the Association of Prison Camp Survivors of Srpska and the Disabled Veterans Association of RS, the Federation of Veterans Organisations from the Peoples' Liberation War (SUBNOR) and the Association of Civilian War Victims and the Third Infantry Platoon of the BiH Armed Forces in Republika Srpska. All others were called to lay their wreaths after that, but were not mentioned by name. They included representatives of political parties and various associations.

We laid our wreath and honoured the victims only after the official programme had ended. We were the only ones left standing in front of the monument, apart



from the technicians taking down the sound system and flags. We were all a bit confused and upset, and especially the Serb veterans who felt embarrassed.

The central commemoration of the event was to take place in Novi Grad, in front of the “Memorial to fallen fighters of Novi Grad in the defence-homeland war”.

Before the start of the programme, we visited the veterans association and spent time in informal conversation. Due to activities for the event in their home town, our hosts could not hold a working meeting with us. They were simply too busy and apologised.

The central event was similar to the previous commemoration, but it included a mass for the dead held at the Temple of the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul located next to the memorial. Apart from many citizens, the commemoration was attended by a large number of pupils from primary and secondary schools. The host of the programme was the same, but this time he started the programme with a fiery reading of verses from a to me unknown poem. Everything echoed with the thundering message directed at eternal enemies.

The situation with our delegation repeated itself, so that we were able to lay our wreath at this memorial and honour the victims only after the official part of the programme had been concluded. In the meantime, one of the members of our group, a veteran from Šamac was

approached by a police officer who asked to see his ID papers. After noting down his ID information, the police officer left. We looked at each other, our smiles souring.

The veterans association from Novi Grad did not lay their wreath within the official programme because, as we heard, the protocol service refused to put them among the official delegations.

Both we and the Novi Grad veterans association can use this experience in the future. We want to continue our cooperation and introduce them in detail to our work and our actions to date, as well as the purpose of these joint visits. Also, we want to be better prepared for events organised under the auspices of the Government or other institutions. Some things should probably be arranged beforehand and include official requests so that the organiser can make a timely decision. In that case, protocol officers will also have to act in accordance with previously reached agreements.

At the end, we held a meeting of our group in order to exchange impressions and we concluded that this event did not cause problems among us. It did not make us happy, but it did not discourage us either. We see this experience as a possible scenario that may repeat itself in the future within our activities that we definitely want to continue.

A. D.





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MAGIC TREE .. THE TREE WAS USED AS
A TOOL TO HANG A LOUDSPEAKER WHICH
MAKE SOUND LOUDER TO AVOID THE MOAN
OF VICTIMS WHILE THEY WERE BEING EXECUTED

activities we joined

Round Table: Strengthening Partnerships for Promoting the Right to Truth, Justice and Memory in Europe

*Organised by: Robert Bosch Foundation and Documenta - Centre for Dealing with the Past
25 - 27 November 2013 Berlin, Germany*

At the invitation of Vesna Teršelič from Documenta, Zagreb, Nenad Vukosavljević and Adnan Hasanbegović participated as CNA representatives at a series of round tables organised in Berlin at the offices of the Robert Bosch Foundation. The event planned for three round tables:

Day 1: Education on Dealing with the Past

Day 2: Cooperation between Museums, Memorials, Documentation Centres, Universities and Civil Society Organisations

Day 3: Joint Activities to Promote the Right to Truth, Justice, Reparation and Guarantees of Never Again

The participants were some thirty representatives of civil society organisations, museums, universities, memorial and documentation centres from Germany, Croatia, BiH, Serbia, Kosovo, Denmark, the Netherlands, Poland, Montenegro, and Slovenia.

The topics, mostly thought-provoking and inspirational for discussion, dealt with exchanging experience and dilemmas, as well as the key problems we face in our work. The somewhat different fields of activity of the present organisations expanded the overall topic, but also contributed to the diversity of approaches to problem solving.

Considerable attention was devoted to the former Yugoslavia as a region that during the 1990s had one war more than the other European countries. Apart from experiences of war, we also discussed the experience of societies with totalitarian and repressive communist regimes in their past.

The observations contributed by CNA mostly revolved around the fact that we see reconciliation and peace building as the basis and objective of the process of dealing with the past, and that we see the development of a culture of memory as a warning about political violence from the past. We also spoke about the complexity of the processes for establishing a culture and policy of memory currently under way in the former Yugoslavia given the

national and nationalistic tendencies of representing exclusively own narratives as relevant and correct.

I would particularly emphasise the thoughts of some participants who talked about the need for a culture of memory that would overcome the concepts of war victors and losers and offer an inclusive position towards all stakeholders through a critical approach to past violence with as little ideological framing as possible.

Among those seriously working on social memory, it seems easy to reach a consensus on the desired results and social effects of the process of dealing with the past. In terms of the choice of avenues, evident differences between the opposed concepts of retributive and restorative justice remain unresolved. Apart from that, CNA also has experience that achievements in working with war veterans are built through patient and often invisible work on non-formal education programmes and building capacities for reconciliation actions that only years later grow in scope and quality to attract a lot of attention.

The third day focused on the initiative of Documenta to form an alliance or network of organisations at the European level that would, among other things, participate in organising a global international conference at the end of 2014. We discussed a draft agenda with proposed topics such as: *The right to justice and knowledge of historical facts, Ensuring that new generations learn history based on facts, Joint advocacy of the right to justice, reparation and guarantees of non-recurrence...*

Many open questions regarding the conference remained, but there is evident interest and a sincere desire for it to be organised.

As the title suggested, this event served for establishing contacts among organisations through exchanging ideas and possible joint activities, something we also made use of.

A. H.

Peace Event 2014

An international gathering under the title “Peace Event - Sarajevo 2014” was held in Sarajevo from 6 to 9 June 2014. The occasion of the gathering was the anniversary of the beginning of the First World War and it was envisaged as a meeting of peace activists from across the world working to promote peace and non-violence. The initiative for organising this event and its coordination was taken up by ten local and international peace organisations from the EU. It brought together some 900 people from the region and from across the globe.

It was an opportunity to meet and discuss topics related to experience, progress and challenges in peacebuilding, non-violence, human rights and anti-war activities.

The event included workshops, plenary discussions, conferences, an international youth camp, public promotions, presentations, as well as a peace walk in the streets of Sarajevo. Cultural events were also organised, including film and music festivals and exhibitions of socially engaged caricatures and photographs.

The programmes were divided into five thematic categories:

- Militarism and Alternatives
- Peace and Social Justice
- A Culture of Peace and Nonviolence
- Gender, Women and Peace
- Reconciliation and Dealing with the Past

The participation of peace activists from Syria, Iraq,

Palestine and the Ukraine added a special tone to this gathering because it reminded us of the state of our world today, that war(s) are not a matter of the past, but a reality we live in.

We from the CNA had an opportunity to present our work with war-veterans in the context of reconciliation and peacebuilding in the region during a two-hour workshop. With high interest and the participation of some fifty people, mostly from the EU and USA, we talked about approaches and dilemmas encountered in peace work. We were glad to hear genuine words of encouragement, commendation and support from the workshop participants. Our friend and associate Pete Haemmerle from the IFOR organisation in Vienna helped us conduct the workshop.

The Peace Event was inspirational and useful primarily for peace activists as a space for encounters, talks and an exchange of experience, new and old friendships and cooperation.

As for us from Sarajevo, this event reminds us that there is hope for this city, which had become a symbol of war in the 20th century, to become a symbol of peace, meetings and reconciliation.

However, as pointed out by a participant, Ingeborg Breines from the International Peace Bureau (IPB): “Without nonviolent action, this simply won’t work.”

More on the event can be found at: www.peaceeventsarajevo2014.eu

A. H.

Mandela Dialogues on Memory Work

The Mandela Dialogues about memory were organised between November 2013 and July 2014 by GIZ Global Leadership Academy (German International Cooperation Agency) and the Nelson Mandela Centre of Memory. The dialogues were envisioned as a forum for exchanges on complex personal, collective and professional challenges faced by people engaged in dealing with the past.

The participants included activists, researchers and representatives of institutions concerned with social memory, 26-27 people from the following countries: South Africa, Kenya, Cambodia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Serbia, Germany, Argentina, Uruguay, and

Canada. They comprised three meetings: the first was from 6 to 10 November 2013 in South Africa, in the vicinity of Johannesburg; the second from 3 to 6 March 2014 in Cambodia, in Phnom Penh, and the final meeting took place from 28 to 30 July 2014 in Germany, in Berlin. Ivana Franović and Nenad Vukosavljević from CNA were invited to participate.

At the opening of the Mandela Dialogues, Sello Hatang, the Executive Director of the Nelson Mandela Foundation clarified the motivation behind this programme: South Africa still has not resolved its past, despite having a Commission for Truth and Reconciliation and many other



informal processes of truth seeking and quite extensive memorialisation. Even though a lot of effort has been invested in overcoming the prejudices and injustices of the past, poverty and prejudice are increasing instead of decreasing, the archives of the Commission and the archives from the time of apartheid are still not available to the public, and the state keeps finding ways to bar access to information. Hatang believes that the central question for South Africans is what sort of society do they want and how can memory work contribute to the creation of such a society. That question is also very relevant for post-Yugoslav societies.

During the South African meeting, we had an opportunity to discuss the issues we brought with us that are of concern and/or that we were working on. The issues included: What must we remember, and what could we forget? Should memory work endeavour to subvert dominant narratives? How do we make sure our work on dealing with the past does not make matters worse? How do we handle the role of righteousness and avoid the temptation to become self-righteous? Can there be peace without justice? Do judicial sanctions of perpetrators endanger the reconciliation process? Who should be punished and how many of them? Is it possible and is it desirable to create space for the stories of those who participated or were involved in the violence and crimes? How can marginalised voices be heard? Unfortunately, we did not have an opportunity to debate these issues and look for answers. But we did have an opportunity to visit two key monuments, the Voortrekker Monument to European settlers and Freedom Park, a memorial to the struggle against racism and apartheid,

both in Pretoria. These are two opposing monuments to opposing narratives whose locations are symbolic: they are situated across from each other on the tops of adjacent hills. In opposition, but far enough from each other.

The end of the South African meeting was marked by a panel discussion between some fifteen people prominent in memory or human rights work in South Africa. They spoke about their work and answered our questions, while the central question of the discussion was: When South Africa marks 20 years of democracy next year, what will you celebrate, what will you mourn?

The meeting in Phnom Penh was only three days long. There we had an opportunity to get to know the socio-political context of Cambodia and the practices and challenges of dealing with the past in that context. We could pick one of three half-day field trips: the Tuol Sleng Genocide Museum, a visit to the special court dealing with the crimes of the Khmer Rouge, or a historical tour of the city guided by Cambodian students, so we separated into three groups. We also had a brief and intensive exchange with people from Cambodia, especially those working with issues of memory.

After the case study, on the last day, we returned to mutual dialogue working in groups on a series of topics:

- Memory work for the purpose of social action and social change
- The role of governmental and non-governmental stakeholders in shaping memory. The relationship between institutions and 'beneficiaries' of memory work.

- What is the purpose of memory work - nation building? Peacebuilding? Following trends?
- The space for enemies in our work?
- How to provide space for inter-generational dialogue that would involve victims, perpetrators and young people?
- How to respond to the challenge of informing and involving a new generation without overburdening it with emotions?
- Emotional openness / empathy as a leadership quality in memory work
- How to create a centre that would deal with memory?
- What are we responsible for? How do we organise and deal with our responsibilities?

The final three-day meeting took place at the Jewish Museum in Berlin. Apart from an opportunity to learn more about the work done on the German Nazi past and the communist dictatorship, this meeting also aimed to encourage the participants to undertake new initiatives. We listed many ideas for next steps: new meetings (in the Balkans, Canada, South America) to discuss various topics (e.g. transgenerational trauma), memory work projects through the media, mobile “Memory Centres”, publications inspired by these dialogues, etc. Time will tell what will be implemented and how. Already in Phnom Penh, there was an idea to draft a joint declaration. This process has been ongoing since March, sometimes progressing smoothly and sometimes halting. Currently,

it is once again active with a fair chance that we will soon have a draft of our joint declaration.

For me the biggest value of the Berlin meeting, apart from the opportunity to meet this group of people again, was that we finally had the chance to discuss issues we do not agree on or that we see very differently. One of the main topics of discussion was *reconciliation* -- the hesitancy or determination to use that term, the understanding of reconciliation as an invitation to forget the past or to forgive those who committed injustices, or understanding reconciliation as the purpose of dealing with the past. This is, of course, a universal and open-ended discussion. But it gave us a taste of the type of dialogue that is needed in order to move on from exchanging experience at the level of information on various contexts and/or approaches towards more in-depth learning from others by mirroring our experiences in theirs. It was, above all, a privilege to attend these meetings. Participating in a dialogue where we would painstakingly map out the points of disagreement or divergence of understanding and where we would share experience, obstacles, successes, difficulties and lessons learned remains a deep-rooted need for us on the CNA team. And it is something we look forward to.

More information on the dialogues is available in the detailed reports compiled by Chandre Gould that are available via the organisers’ websites: www.nelsonmandela.org and <http://www.giz.de>

I. F.

personal reflection

Monologue without Madela

I stood beside the rope marking the small space next to the door connecting the office with the rest of the house. Opposite of me, on the other side, there was a door which allowed direct entrance from the garden. “It is the door he usually took when coming in”. Left of me a massive wooden working table, behind it a cupboard filled with books and framed photographs, right of me a small shelf covered with ceramic toy-cows, his favorite animals, so we were told. I felt unpleasant, as people around me asked questions about his private life, I felt the need to grasp some air outside. His idol was Muhammad Ali. Madiba was his name, I learned in Johannesburg, but due to the apartheid law, all people must have had their english name: Nelson Mandela.

When the decision was made to turn the house he worked in, into the seat of the foundation “Nelson Mandela”, Mandela told his associates “do not make it all about me”. “He did not want this place to become his mausoleum” the foundation director told us. A man who spent 27 years in prison, who led the struggle against the most notorious racist regime in the world, who refused to run for a second presidential mandate, being the first democratically elected president of South Africa, a man who did not surrender to his own fame.

Few hours ago, it became known, that Nelson Mandela died.

Madela dialogues is the name of the programme I participated in, together with a group of people all around

the world who work on programmes of remembrance related to the past of political violence. I have searched for answers to challenges and dilemmas I struggle with in my life, jointly with those whose task is to make the legacy of Nelson Mandela available and alive for the whole world. And they are supposed to make it the way he wanted them to, not for his own sake, but for the benefit of all people.

I have found in South Africa much I had not expected to find. In a museum with somewhat odd name “Freedom park”, built with an idea to honor the freedom struggle of people oppressed during the racist rule, the exhibiting journey does not start with proofs of land claim by southafrican grandfathers. The first point of the exhibit took us into a dark room with a projection wall and two circle-formed benches that we sat at watching. The animated film has begun and took us by the sound of drums through fire and water to the birth of first animals on Earth, fish, birds, mammals and finally the humans. The life was born and then the humans became. The beginning of it all. The sense of freedom. That is it. Humans, nature, freedom. No flags, no weapons, no victims. You have joy, life, energy, movement.

Pictures of museums and mausoleums back home, went through my head, exhibitions and monographs, all of their sense and senselessness, numbers, wars, victims and cycles of revenge. And I go around half of the world to be blown away by a five minute animated film, with tears in my eyes and a feeling of gratitude. I have seen enough already. The journey through the Freedom park was not half as exciting as it's beginning, but I wish to describe how it ends. The last stage of the climbing exhibition ends on the top level of the building, where boards are displayed where I have seen the name “Yugoslavia”, listed as country that supported the liberation struggle. I have

forgotten when was the last time I felt proud hearing the name of the country I come from. At the very end of the exhibition, highrising shelves full of medicine and canned food. The curator explained to us, that when the news about the end of apartheid and upcoming free elections broke out, part of the people stormed the shops to set-up reserves for the chaos the feared will break out. The sense of humour must have fed and protected those who had no money to spend on food supplies.

I am not sad that Madiba died, I am happy that he lived, a man who advocated struggle against racism, rejected to denounce armed struggle in exchange for prison release, a man who has managed to overcome the desire for revenge once he was in power. Truth and reconciliation become a special meaning in his era. He took the honor of his numerous compatriots who had not lived to see the freedom they fought for, and then he overcame hatred. He was as free to allow himself to change and to learn. A great man. And yes, I know, of human kind.

At trainings that we conduct, we often speak of the statement “We should help Africa to civilize”, a classical racism-test and ever so many people fail to see through it and subscribe to the thought that “we should help civilize”. And then we all speak about it from different angles, open windows and different perspectives. But there is a continent that needs help, the one which started two World wars, the one who gave birth to colonialism, the one who still send armies to fight wars around the world. That continent needs help to become civilized. Africa is the continent with one and only country ever that has destroyed it's own nuclear weapons. Long live Africa!

Nenad Vukosavljević
6 December 2013





political and social contexts
in which we work

Bosnia and Herzegovina: 100 Years of Collectivity

Sitting down to write this text on the social context in Bosnia and Herzegovina, I realised I was facing a problem in terms of selecting the events to mention. Choosing priorities in a country confronted with deep-seated ethnic rifts, economic collapse, the brutal transition race for money and power, and the consequent loss of trust in the state and in democracy is quite a challenge.

2014. was an interesting year on account of various events of relevance for citizens of BiH, events that impacted the political environment and the continuation of social and ideological stratification. Although the scope and issues at the centre of these events seemed very serious, it is doubtful whether they would start healing processes for the fundamental wounds of this society.

The government crisis has been constant since 2010, with a series of changing coalitions. The governments are still quite unstable and have not managed to initiate the necessary reforms, while passing new legislation in the previous period has been a struggle. The causes for this are numerous, but primary among them are the conflicts between the major parties over domination in their flocks, as well as “old” problems related to poor relations between ethnicities. This has resulted in blocking any significant progress. In that sense, 2014 was nothing new.

Parliamentary elections are coming up in mid-October and the election campaigns are dominated by social topics, and to a lesser degree “patriotic”/national topics. Still, there are fragments such as the campaign on national unity, Putin on posters of certain Serb parties, intensive socialising with Turkish investors and officials on the part of Bosniak parties, etc. The “safe space” of nationalism, along with the corresponding slogans, serves some parties as good election marketing, because there are quite a few people who live this type of ideology.

The novelty is that more and more people are recognising these pre-election “tricks” and radicalisations for what they are, at least judging by the reaction of people seen in the media.

It is interesting that most politicians have stressed that resolving social and economic problems, developing the education and health systems are priorities in this society. However, due to previous bad experiences, it is difficult to recognise a new political force as a viable alternative. Or to hope that existing parties will fundamentally change their approaches and start genuinely and honestly responding to the needs of society. Abandoning their

current practice of doing one thing, saying another, and thinking God knows what.

At the same time, nationalism in a new transition form reigns supreme over our public space. Sometimes concealed, sometimes brutally apparent. As an acquaintance put it, *“We don’t have a problem with nationalism, we’re champions there, it’s other things we know nothing about.”*

An important event took place in February. There were mass protests, mainly by young people that quickly spread to a number of cities. Although cantonal government buildings were set on fire and damaged in a number of cities, as well as the state presidency building, one cannot help sympathising and supporting the explosion of revolt on a large part of the society that has been suffering the injustice of political structures for years. The injustice consists of corruption, ineptitude, nepotism, incompetence and irresponsibility in almost all state institutions.

The protests erupted on 7 February. An “avalanche” of rebellion started in the Tuzla Canton where peaceful union protests had been going on for a while in support of demands of workers from individual state-owned enterprises. Next came street barricades and in larger cities, public forums – plenums of citizens – were organised and turned out to be an interesting combination of articulating citizens’ demands, constant pressure and public presence. As could be heard at the protests and plenums in Tuzla, Sarajevo, Zenica, Bihać, Mostar, etc., the main messages dealt with social problems and bad policies, and there were no national-patriotic slogans common to BiH society.

People justifiably rebelled against piled-up social problems that those in office keep sweeping under the rug, not resolving them, and sometimes even producing them.

It seems that the primary reason for the eruption of popular dissatisfaction was not so much the prevalent poverty as the absence of prospects, unequal opportunity and ubiquitous corruption.

Public opinion on the protests was divided. The range of reactions spanned from absolute support, support of the protests but condemnation of torching and barricades, to open opposition and hostility towards the protesters.

Political parties mutually accused each other of

standing behind this “attack” against the state, although the messages heard from the people at the protests and plenums clearly showed that anger was directed at all those in power equally, whatever their party affiliation and level of government.

In contrast to last-year’s protests, the so-called “babylution”, this time the protests drew larger numbers, they were continuous and had clearer messages accompanied by direct warnings to political structures that they have to take their job seriously. Truth be told, the torching of institutions was not a negligible factor in calling for an awakening, but is ethically not recommended as a general doctrine. Still, we can hope that this is a clear sign to people with political ambitions or those already mired deep within it that public office is serious and responsible work that must not produce injustice either through corruption, inadequate action or passivity. It is clear that these protests can be repeated if visible progress is not seen in the work of all levels of government.

The protests were very important for our society, because they awakened a spirit of rebellion, abandoning apathy, but most of all because they interrupted a long-standing passivity and inaction caused by fear of political violence and instability present along the margins of ethnic divisions.

Although Republika Srpska did not see mass protests, messages of support and solidarity did come from there as well, which indicates that it should be possible to mount a joint resistance to common injustices sometime in the future.

That solidarity across ethnic demarcation lines is not impossible was shown by the catastrophic floods in May. The floods affected almost a quarter of BiH territory, 23 people were killed, and thousands of buildings in a number of cities were destroyed. The floods also hit parts of Croatia and Serbia. The state of emergency went on for days and many people were evacuated from the affected areas. Apart from the floods, there were also numerous landslides in residential areas that destroyed many houses. This disaster pushed us even further into dependence on external financial aid, and rehabilitation will take years.

It gave rise to the pressing need for mutual solidarity and assistance to affected populations that local people responded to mostly en masse. Volunteering was organised, as well as assistance in foodstuffs, sanitary supplies, accommodation, etc.

It is particularly notable that the solidarity traversed

ethnic demarcation lines because neighbours from neighbouring ethnic communities answered the call for help in the most difficult moments.

Do we really need natural disasters to remind us of the humanity that has been silenced by the past of war and by nationalism?

A series of public events in Sarajevo marked the 100th anniversary of the start of the First World War. The marking of this event, despite its international character, once again reminded us of the divisions present in our society, especially when it comes to interpreting history.

Joint events that would involve institutions from both entities could not be organised. While in Federal Sarajevo, with the participation of international institutions, the anniversary of the assassination was marked by, among other things, returning the statue of Franz Joseph to the City Hall (Vijećnica), in Istočno Sarajevo, a monument to Gavrilo Princip was unveiled. Instead of the desirable multi-perspectivity of memory, on the symbolic level, these different approaches remain in conflict, marked by the usual spite and contention of different interpretations of history. This time, it was in the shadow of an event that was meant to send a message to humanity to finally in the 21st century, as opposed to the brutal 20th century, it should turn to peace.

It became apparent this time around as well that time, in the absence of a constructive approach, is not enough to bring about a different attitude towards a violent past and that it is necessary to seek new views and ways of doing things.

Being reminded that we live in a city that is a symbol of at least two wars is not easy to take. Though, it is not bad for tourism, at least.

The same City Hall (Vijećnica) that was burned down in the war was finally re-opened after years of slow-paced reconstruction works. However, after a spectacular opening ceremony, it was once again temporarily closed to complete the last touches of renovation, so there is now a new opportunity for another spectacular opening. The memorial plaque put up during the war, with its problematic inscription, was retained despite initiatives to replace it. It seems we are not prepared to take a different view of that part of our past and that it is still important that there is a sign saying it was the Serbs that torched the Vijećnica, not members of the VRS or some other politically correct designation. But, in any case, these designations are still used synonymously. Just as the Army of BiH means Muslims/Bosniaks and HVO stands for Croats, so people do not see a problem

with plaques displayed on public buildings and memorial sites saying that “the destruction” was committed by a constitutive people of BiH. Some hope is provided by the fact that this was cause for debate and dialogue, even if a new solutions was not found.

Recently, in a number of cities in BiH some 15 people were arrested on charges of recruiting fighters for Syria and cooperating with the infamous ISIS (Islamic State in Iraq and Syria). According to some estimates, some 300 people from BiH have gone to fight in the Middle East. One of the few laws that did manage to get adopted in the previous period is the law prohibiting participation in foreign conflicts that foresees as a sanction a prison sentence of up to 10 years. However, potential fighters need not “despair” because foreign battle-grounds will probably become available to them legally as part of a state-approved mission: Through the “Stability Pact” BiH is part of the global coalition in the fight against ISIS. As are other countries of the region.

The phenomenon of Islamist groups in BiH is controversial with smaller groups of radicals taking their cue from foreign power centres and not the local Islamic community. In the past few years, there have been a number of terrorist attacks against returnees, as well as institutions by individuals recognised in the public arena (and also in court proceedings) as Islamist radicals. Most Muslims in BiH do not support Islamist military formations in the Middle East, but given the sensitive relations between ethnicities and religions in the country, such phenomena frighten people and remind them of recent, domestic conflicts.

The wars currently under way in Ukraine and the Middle East echo in this region in various ways for various peoples, and often become the tools of pre-election “shenanigans”. Because it is “normal” here for Serbs to support the Russians, for Bosniaks to support various

groups of Muslims, and the Croats have been NATO members since forever, anyway. The only thing that has not yet become normal is for us to lend a hand to “enemies of all creeds”. That’s what we’ve been waiting for, and there’s no lack of opportunity. Even if it includes massive flooding with the “water up to here”.

There are good things happening in various areas, both commercial and sports-related. There are developments conducive to reconciliation. For example:

A study¹ conducted in BiH revealed that support for reconciliation and trust-building exists throughout the population and that over 75 per cent of the respondents believe that serious attempts to build up trust and reconciliation would have an impact on the future of BiH.

The Imam of Srebrenica refused to travel to England in solidarity with an orthodox cleric who was denied a visa.

The father of a young hooligan in Prijedor publicly apologised for his son’s desecration of a local mosque.

...

There are more such examples and it seems there is a need to hear more about the good things and our better side. And that is precisely what is often missing.

Let me quote an activist from Banja Luka:

“When such a human story goes public, when attention is given to the authentic good in us, that still exists, then we are all surprised, we are simple incredulous that something like this could happen. That begs the question, what sort of society do we live in if goodness and humanity surprise us.”

There is room for change, but starting from yourself seems to be most difficult. Because as they say: “The people make the government in their image”

Adnan Hasanbegović

1 Study by the University of Edinburgh and CEIR.

Croatia: A Ship without a Captain

It has been one year since Croatia joined the European Union. We had an opportunity to see how this impacted the internal political situation (among other things, through the adoption of a new Labour Law that is completely in compliance with the requirements of the IMF, European Central Bank and European Commission¹)

1 The new Labour Law legalises the already present changes in labour relations - making labour relations more flexible

and the absence of any meaningful foreign policy. Croatia has no clear views on the Middle East peace process

(part-time employment, part-time working hours, working through agencies), making working hours more flexible (to suit the needs of the employer), making lay-offs easier (shortening notice periods, reducing severance pay), making union organising more difficult, limiting the right to strike, and legalising the possibility of being let go upon return from maternity leave.

or the situation in Gaza (unless confirming the view of the EU counts), just like it has no view on the sanctions against Russia, it plays the active role of observer in the Russo-Ukrainian conflict, as if its own war were some ancient and unrelated coincidence that no lessons can be learned from or solutions proposed on the basis of first-hand experience.²

And this is important, among other things because of the divided sympathies of the Balkan countries towards the different sides in the conflict. Who could possibly take on such a task in Croatian society remains unclear. The insular attitude of Croatia towards its Western Balkan neighbours is manifest in the hard-line “victory” narrative that precludes any constructive dialogue that would have Croatia deal with its own role in the war, in the first place, within its internal political space. It is becoming increasingly difficult to re-examine this narrative as if the very survival of the country and of Croats themselves depended on it.

Without an active state policy, the Government has descended into lifestyle conflicts in Croatian society. Namely, in the past year, the Church has imposed itself as an important political force in Croatian society. It’s potential representatives at the elections will probably be determined by the “success” of the most recent in a series of referendums, the referendum on changes to the law on elections. If successful, the referendum would enable people outside existing party bases (party lists) to participate in the government as directly elected by the citizens. This is another initiative by the conservative association “U ime obitelji” [“In the name of family”] significantly aided by the Church. They already won one referendum, the referendum on the constitutional definition of marriage as being between a man and a woman. The majority of citizens that voted in the referendum selected this definition of marriage. Although the government failed to politically and institutionally act to prevent this referendum in the first place, the Croatian Parliament adopted the Law on Life Partnership on 15 July 2014. This Law provides for the right of LGBT persons and their families to family pensions, health insurance via a life partner, the right and obligation of providing for the life partner, equality in terms of housing and tax cuts, as well as a number of other rights that otherwise stem from

marriage.³

The referendum Pandora’s box has also brought us the petition for the “anti-Cyrillic” referendum.⁴ The situation in Vukovar started heating up a year ago with the destruction of bilingual Latin-Cyrillic signs on official state and city institutions. Right before the parliamentary debate on this referendum, a call for a boycott of shops, businesses and goods owned or traded by Vukovar Serbs made the rounds on social networks with a list of addresses of these companies and traders. The Constitutional Court had the final word, proclaiming the “anti-Cyrillic” referendum issue unconstitutional, so there will be no referendum “against the Cyrillic alphabet”. However, the necessary number of signatures for a referendum was collected⁵, which just goes to show the prevailing climate, both in the city and the whole country. This social fact cannot be resolved merely by decree, as the Constitutional Court tried to do, ordering the city council of Vukovar to designate the Vukovar neighbourhoods where ‘bilingual’ signs should be put up taking into account “the needs of the majority Croat population that stem from still vivid consequences of the Greater Serbia aggression from the early 1990s, and the necessity of a just and proper treatment of the Serb national minority in the City of Vukovar”.⁶

The people of Vukovar, the Croats as much as the Serbs, need much more than populism and lip-service from the government, they need to be given an opportunity to start healing their war wounds in a constructive manner. No government has shown any understanding for their troubles, and it is uncertain that such a development might be expected any time soon.

As circumstance would have it, due to the floods that hit Croatia twice this year in just a few months, it became clear that Croatia shares with the neighbouring BiH and

2 These shortcomings have led to a situation where Croatian weapons, as the international media revealed, found their way into the hands of ISIS members, but also the hands of their adversaries, the Iraqi Kurds. (<http://www.novosti.com/2014/08/hrvatska-puska-s-obje-strane-bliskoistocnog-fronta/>)

3 <http://www.lupiga.com/vijesti/le-zbor-video-sve-obitelji-sunapokon-jednake-i-pred-zakonom>

4 An informal group of citizens, the “Headquarters for the Defence of Croat Vukovar” proposed a referendum question to raise the percentage of the minority population required for the application of the constitutional Law on National Minorities (providing for the use of language and alphabet) in some areas to 50%, instead of the currently applicable 30%. Adding this provision would effectively abolish this Law.

5 Almost 600 000 signatures were collected. <http://www.index.hr/vijesti/clanak/prikupljen-dovoljan-broj-potpisa-za-referendum-o-cirilici/757838.aspx>

6 <http://www.jutarnji.hr/ustavni-sud-donio-odluku--referendum-o-cirilici-nece-se-odrzati-/1212764/>

Serbia a fundamentally non-functioning relief system for natural disasters, if they really cannot be prevented (embankments are built in the wrong places, canals are not maintained, the alert system does not function). The only good thing to come out of all this was the (a) risen solidarity that wiped away the borders between the three countries. They were soon re-established, but it is important to know that we still carry within us that potential, that we have a different memory, one that is constructive, not merely destructive.

The latter is, unfortunately, much tougher. This is also evident from the mutual genocide charges between Croatia and Serbia, a process that can have no winners. The fundamental determinant of this process, on the Croat side, are the legal interpretations of the conflict that seek to avoid any link with the past. One gets the impression that war starts and ends on a specific date, and the court is to decide whose date is more important.⁷

The extent to which facts determined in this way are accepted depends on whether they are in “our” favour. The welcome of the convicted war criminal Dario Kordić at the Zagreb airport produced a public controversy since two activists from BiH dared to brave the frenzied masses in order to shout “Murderer!” at a man proven to be guilty of the brutal murder of 116 civilians, including women and children, in the village of Ahmići in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Mons. Vlado Košić, the Bishop of Sisak, an important figure in church hierarchy held a mass in honour of this “Croat martyr”, and the church leadership not only failed to see anything problematic in this gesture, but went as far as to support its bishop who was allegedly “exposed to undue harshness and unjust accusations stemming from a resistance to truth-seeking and an attempt to deprive the Church of its voice advocating the

7 <http://justiceinconflict.org/2014/04/01/a-futile-endeavour-croatia-v-serbia-at-the-icj/>

purification of the memory of the past that still burdens Croatia’s present”.⁸

This “purification” has been embodied, already from the time Franjo Tuđman envisioned it, in the idea of “reconciliation” between the Ustashas and the Partisans (as long as both are Croats), so that this year saw a monument go up in Split in honour of the 9th HOS Battalion. It is cynical that a monument to members of Croatian paramilitary forces from the Homeland War, that are not distinguishable from the Ustasha units of NDH in the Second World War, not even by a single letter in their acronym⁹ (nor do they shy away from this historical alignment, calling themselves the Battalion of Knight Rafael Boban, an Ustasha war criminal), was unveiled on the Day of Anti-fascist Struggle or Victory in Europe Day. Just a few months later, the Split City Council refused to name a street after the First Partisan Detachment from Split to commemorate the 21 natives of Split killed in a joint Italian-Ustasha ambush in 1941.

After a year like this one, the impression that Croatia has lost its way historically, closed up around its internal conflicts, without a clear aim or idea of the future towards which it is moving. It should therefore perhaps come as no surprise that at the height of a new war of international proportions, it joined the “wide international coalition” to fight the Islamic State, without bothering to inform its own citizens about this. We found out about this decision from the American State Department. The repercussions of this act remain to be seen.

Davorka Turk

8 <http://www.zg-nadbiskupija.hr/dokumenti/aktualnosti/priopcenje-s-dvadeset-i-prve-sjednice-biskupa-zagrebacke-crkvene-pokrajine#.U7VDy2rAm71.twitter>

9 Croat Armed Forces -- the name of the armed forces of NDH, Croat Armed Forces -- organised paramilitary units in the Homeland War

Kosovo: Comment from Mitrovica

The current political situation is suffocating this country. Elections were held in June, but a government has not yet¹ been established. The party that won the elections has not managed to garner the necessary parliamentary majority, while on the other hand, opposition parties have established the largest parliamentary group, wanting power at any price. The

political parties are testing the patience of the people and the situation is descending into chaos! We will focus on a few events that can generally be said to be the most significant.

Freedom of movement. There is almost no difference compared to last year. Or two years ago, for that matter.

The focus has remained the same. The main bridge over the Ibar River. At one point, the barricade on this bridge was transformed into a unique "Peace Park". This park is truly unique in the world. The barricades or Peace Park, the road and main bridge are still blocked for vehicles that require police "security". This unique park caused a lot of dissatisfaction among Kosovar Albanians, and even protests were organised near the main bridge. After an intervention by the police, the protestors calmed down. Following the Peace Park, streets were also made to block free movement of citizens. The street names were very symbolic: "Tzar Lazar" Square, "OVK" Square, "Adem Jašari" square, etc.

Still, these squares and this Peace Park cannot prevent freedom of movement for pedestrians. The citizens of Mitrovica can freely move from one side of the city to the other. And I have personally seen Kosovar Albanians come to the northern part of the city (even for "just" a coffee or some shopping), and also Serbs from Kosovo come to the southern part of the city (for coffee, shopping, documents, etc.).

This proves that we have learned to live without each other, but we are used to working with each other (meaning Serbs and Albanians in Kosovo). In any case, the news is not good, but on a more positive note, two cultural events were very well received by the citizens. An artist, a photographer (born in Kosovo, Albanian by nationality), who lives and works in Switzerland, organised a solo exhibition in her yard in the Brdjani neighbourhood in North Mitrovica. This exhibition, under the title "Goddess", brought together many art lovers from different communities. This rare initiative is valuable and should be acknowledged.

Another event on 6 October should provide a meeting place. At the Mitrovica Cultural Centre (located in the vicinity of the main bridge), a film festival will be held featuring films awarded at the local, regional and international level. This is the Bridge Film Fest that was organised for the first time in Mitrovica and its distinguishing feature is that it is organised by women. This is another rare initiative that overcomes difference between communities. For more information see the link: <http://www.bridgefilmfest.com/index.php?lang=en>

Media. In developed countries, people trust state institutions. In "transition" countries, most people trust

the media. The media have a place in every house in Kosovo. People believe them irrespective of whether the information is true. There are four or five national TV stations, the public TV broadcaster with 4 channels (including a special channel in the Serbian language), as well as hundreds of channels on cable networks. Apart from television, there are also the papers, and a few radio stations that remain in the shadow of TV stations. There are also various web portals that have the tendency to disseminate news quickly without doing proper verification as required by the code of ethics for reporting. In any case, the media enjoy more trust than state institutions.

Relations between communities. There have been no major changes in this respect in the past two years. Non-governmental organisations have programmes that aim to improve relations between Albanians and Serbs in Kosovo, as well as other minorities living in Kosovo such as the Bosniaks, Roma, Ashkali, Turks, Egyptians, etc. NGO programmes are attractive for social interactions that bring together different ethnicities, races and religions. However, NGO efforts are not enough and institutions must also become involved. They claim to be working on these issues, but their results have not been visible yet. Last year, the burning issues was the noise created by religious institutions. There was also a lot of talk about people going to fight in the Middle East. It is estimated that a few hundred people from Kosovo have gone to fight in wars as part of the so-called ISIS group. However, these problems have not significantly worsened relations between the communities.

Sports. This year can be considered most successful in terms of sports results. After many attempts, FIFA has allowed international friendly matches (except with Balkan countries). When it comes to football, the Kosovo League will be getting a referee, a Serb from Kosovo who is being certified as a main referee and will be active in the Kosovo Super League. The handball national team has been internationally recognised with full rights. For the first time, a girl from Kosovo is defending her title as judo champion. This is Majlinda Keljmemdi (52kg category) who is competing with partial rights in the judo association.

Lulzim Hakaj

Macedonia: No news, sorry!

The list of what has been ongoing for the past few months in Macedonia is long and overwhelming. One may get the illusion that it is a very vibrant society in motion. But it's more like that good old French "The more things change the more they stay the same." We had elections for instance, regular presidential and early parliamentary elections. Result: we have the very same president and almost an identical government in place, only more powerful, with more seats in the parliament (the government I mean, the president continues to be pretty invisible).

The way things were unfolding, it was quite obvious that the ruling coalition was pretty certain that in case of early elections they would win and would further strengthen their position. Moreover they would get two additional years to stay in power. They found a lame excuse for calling for early elections. DUI, the Albanian party in power, in coalition with VMRO-DPMNE, requested for a so-called "consensual president". In case the proposal was not accepted they "threatened" to call for early elections. Proposal rejected. Call for early elections filed in parliament.

NGOs that were monitoring elections reported upon tons of irregularities prior to/during/and after the period of election campaign as well as on the rounds of voting days: pressure, blackmailing, state institutions put to the service of parties in power, phantom voters, corruption scandals, vote buying etc... Mainly all the dirty work was done months ahead, with waves of intensification in between voting rounds.

Gjorgje Ivanov won the presidency. VMRO DPMNE won almost absolute majority in parliament. DUI won in the so called Albanian block. Afterwards opposition made allegations for election fraud and rejected their seats in Parliament. Except for the DPA, an Albanian opposition party, that won 7 seats only, they stayed in parliament. In spite of this, the president of the Parliament stated that "The work of the parliament must not be halted". Since then, the parliament, usually through short procedure, with no public debate, and no opposition in parliament, passed and amended many laws, on a daily basis. At times, it was overwhelming to follow. After a fist fight between Albanian MPs from DUI and DPA in the midst of parliament, DPA also threatened to leave the parliament. But ultimately stayed, as a decoration, to show that there is a bit opposition in.

In a constellation like this, the government even proposed amendments to the Constitution. Among many which touch upon fiscal rules, budget deficit, public debt and the judiciary, it went on proposing that marriage and extra-marital union should be defined strictly as a union of a man and a woman. It is not the first time to suggest it. It's the first time there were "appropriate" conditions to pass. The government has a legacy of interfering in people's intimate relations and promotion of homophobic values. Last year, amid protests from feminist movements, they passed amendments to the Law of Abortion that curb women's rights. This year, due to certain amended provisions we are in a situation in which a woman, with a dead fetus, cannot make an abortion before the legal "three days" after counseling have passed.

Changes in the Law on Primary and Secondary Education were proposed. The government, through shortened procedure wants to make changes in the part that regulates the right to strike. In prior consultation with the Mayor or the Minister of Education (depending whether it's primary or secondary) the changes in law would allow the directors of schools to "temporarily" hire substitute-teachers for the ones that would strike. The government was in a hurry to pass these changes before the announced General Strike that was supposed to happen on September 29th. Low salaries, the process of external testing which tries to test/control/punish/reward teachers, bad working conditions were among the many reasons for striking. Union teachers were put under severe pressure. The minister of education announced that in case the strike takes place, parents that will not allow their children to go to school will be fined with 2000 Euros. Last minute, the strike was put on hold and the Union of Teachers and the Ministry of education are supposed to solve issues through "social dialogue". Attempts for strikes have been curbed in other areas as well.

In terms of inter-ethnic relations, primarily between Macedonians and Albanians, we live in a constant crises and tension, with periodic eruptions. Depending upon party interests they're at times fueled, at times calmed, by party officials. Politicians flirt with nationalism especially during election campaigns. We witnessed fights in buses, violent protests, rise of fear and insecurity when it comes to "the other". Back in May, there was a murder of a Macedonian teenager, by an Albanian teenager in Gjorce

Petrov, Skopje municipality. The reason was banal, a stolen bike. The murder as such, was not in focus, rather the ethnic identities of the victim and the perpetrator, were; as it is often the case that black chronicle is primarily interpreted through the ethnic prism. It fueled tensions, violent protests in which Albanian stores in Gjorce Petrov were broken. There was mobilization from both sides. The groups were, however, prevented from clashing.

A verdict on the 'Monstrum' case¹ (about the murder in the Smilkovsko lake, in 2012) was rendered end of June. Life-long sentences for six out of the seven convicted for murder. The way the media (in Albanian and Macedonian) reported upon it was dichotomous and public perception upon the case was relatively different. The predominant belief in the Albanian side(s) was that a life-long sentence is too much. People had issues with the manner in which the police investigation and the court process were conducted. It spurred massive protests in Skopje that lasted for weeks, and spread in other towns in Macedonia. Many protesters (all Albanian) were arrested and were sentenced three years in jail. This act only strengthened the overall position of a victim that predominantly Albanians feel and promote. Comparisons with protests in Gjorce Petrov were done. A perception of ethnic based double standards in terms of sentences was stressed.

In the meantime, while the Scotts were about to vote on a referendum to decide whether they'll stay or leave the United Kingdom, a group of Albanians who believe that independence is the only way in which the Albanians will be granted full rights, declared the "Republic of Ilirida". There is no wide support about this idea among Albanians. First thing that came to my mind when I read the news was a scene from the "Little Prince", when he goes to one of the asteroids and meets the only person who lives there: a solitary king who has absolute power over everything.

'Skopje 2014' continues to be built, full speed. Statues pop up, in regular fashion, during the night or early dawn.

1 In April, 2012, four young Macedonians (17-21 years old) and a 45 year old fisherman were killed by the Smilkovsko lake, in the suburbs of Skopje. The massacre was conducted the night before "Big Friday" three days ahead of Orthodox Christmas. In May, a sensationalist arrest of about 20 people, in front of cameras, was done by the police; after which the Minister of Interior Affairs, stated in a press conference that the offenders have been caught.

Last year a statue of 'Tzar Dushan', a medieval Serbian king, was secretly set in one of the bridges. This act spurred revolt, due to Serbian Tsars being perceived as archetype enemies and occupiers in Albanian discourse. There were attempts to demolish it with a hammer. There were allegations that even MPs from DUI were part of the crowd. DUI refused to give explicit answer to journalists whether that information is true. The Serbian community was offended by the treatment that Serbian statues get, even though there are so few of them. The statue was protected by special police forces for a while. The public never found out which institution ordered it, paid for it, and set it up. Ping-pong games were played and neither the Municipality of Centar, nor the City of Skopje, nor the Ministry of Culture took responsibility for it. This year on the Day of Macedonia's Independence five new statues appeared. There's total lack of transparency how much they cost and who exactly pays for them. Allegedly, two were "generous donations" of the sculptor that modeled 'The warrior on horse', the rest were donations from NGOs for which the public hears for the first time.

The judiciary, media, parliament are controlled by the government. Whoever dares to talk against the government gets a charge for slander. The head of the secret services is quite good at that. He just won a case against "Fokus" a critical media. The "generous soul" will donate the money to an orphanage. The prime minister filed charges for slander against the head of the opposition and stated in court that he had to endure "emotional pain" because his reputation was at risk. The "slander" was related to press conferences in which the leader of the opposition accused the prime minister for taking a bribe of 1.5 million Euros corruption deal. The opposition filed criminal charges and presented evidence (an audio recording and other documentation), but the public prosecutor, rejected most of the evidence and the possibility of a main witness to address the court. He stated that there are no legal grounds to start an investigation upon the case, since more than ten years have passed.

In the meantime, wages are the lowest in the entire region; many people leave the country; the ones that are left are considering ways of how to leave... I can't tell you precise figures though, approximate either. We haven't had a census since 2002!

Albulena Karaga

Serbia: ...a summer that never was.

Without diminishing the importance of the dialogue and negotiations between Serbia and Kosovo conducted in Brussels, which did yield some results of relevance for the everyday life of people in Kosovo, the citizens of Serbia are still owed an explanation of the direction, objectives, the very purpose of the talks and what they hope to achieve. This sort of information is generally missing from Serbia's foreign policy when it comes to neighbouring countries. For example, if on the one hand the first official visit of Premier Aleksandar Vučić to BiH is a visit to official Sarajevo, and not Banja Luka, this can also be interpreted as a message to the authorities of Republika Srpska, and pointing out that the visit was "friendly" symbolically marks a change in the rhetoric and view of relations within BiH entities. Then again, the message is not quite clear, especially since the visit is followed by numerous meetings with RS leadership and statements given at the time: "I do not see BiH as a country where RS will permanently remain, like it or not, this is the basic feeling of RS citizens," Milorad Dodik said, for example, on the occasion of a meeting with Vučić. Relations with Croatia can also be viewed in light of the position "why did we let whatever it was come between us?" whereby all the uncomfortable elements of the recent past would gladly be swept under the rug in the interest of a common future in the EU, while on both sides, citizens need to find their missing loved ones, see perpetrators of war crimes prosecuted, regain their property and find an explanation, however incomplete, for why all that suffering was necessary.

The strategy of the government in Serbia is never to take a clear or precise position on anything in order to leave itself enough room for manoeuvre should it be required. Deliberately or coincidentally, the president and premier give contradictory statements, as do even ministers within the same government. Perhaps "over there somewhere" it makes no difference, but "here" these are literally matters of life and death: thus, the minister for traffic (former minister for energy) says in September that Serbia is facing an energy crisis in the winter. Serbia had been subject to sanctions for almost ten years and everyone still remembers vividly what that was like: power cuts, living between two cuts, buying petrol on the street in plastic two-litre bottles, buying coal by the bucket, cutting down trees in parks for firewood, etc. After her, the minister for energy (former minister for

traffic) responds saying that "power cuts have not been foreseen, but save energy". This is just one example. Without going into the internal organisation and relations between political parties, information coming from officials only adds to the confusion of citizens who are already frightened by each new day bringing new problems. The advice to save energy is cynical because electricity is so expensive and the policy to disconnect those who fail to pay their bills so rigorously enforced that everyone in Serbia is trying to save energy. Thus for example, at the end of September, the whole of Niš was left without street lighting due to unpaid electricity bills.

All of this was preceded by the destructive floods in May and September that caused extensive damages and casualties (officially 25 people lost their lives in the floods in Serbia, 4 are still considered missing)¹. The floods affected not just Serbia, but also Croatia and BiH, so that the response to a common disaster connected and united people who selflessly and despite the usually present divisions helped each other, sent aid, showed solidarity and did everything they could to prevent and repair the damages. For the first time since the wars in the former Yugoslavia, the spirit of togetherness and solidarity could be felt through the genuine desire to save people and their property from the flood waters wherever they may be from. For a few days, the borders and divisions ceased to exist, and once the flood waters retreated, the walls of strife built over the previous decades were seen to be cracked.

Poverty, barely making ends meet, and most often living beneath the poverty line is a cohesion factor among people because they are connected by their misfortune. In Serbia, the difficult economic situation, high rate of debt, the underdeveloped economy unable to respond to the demands of a multi-corporative global market contributes to a feeling among the population of all being in the same boat, that whatever misfortune has struck someone may come knocking on your door tomorrow. Thus, we have increasingly public fund raising to help individuals, be they children in need of expensive medical treatment abroad, people left without their property, people beset by severe misfortune, etc. Although some previous actions had shaken the citizens' trust in institutions and individuals, there is still a desire to help

1 <http://www.rts.rs/page/stories/sr/story/9/Politika/1610037/Vu%C4%8Di%C4%87%3A+25+%C5%Bertava+nevremena.html>

others and to show compassion and solidarity. This role may also be played by a feeling of guilt because for years the whole of society, but also individuals within it, had a guilty conscience over many evils, and in almost every person there is a genuine desire to do good and to be recognised with the community for it and to thus be accepted and appreciated.

Driven by the desire to express a view or send a message, small but significant civic actions cropped up to pressure the authorities to do something when they drag their feet or are not thorough. Unfortunately, these mostly pertain to children who tragically lost their lives under uncertain circumstances (the cases of Tijana Jurić and Luka Jovanović), but there were also significant protests over the intention of the government and the Serb Orthodox Church to move the urn containing the ashes of Nikola Tesla from the museum to the Temple of St. Sava. Although the government, under public pressure, postponed making this idea a reality, it seems that, again under public pressure, it will entirely give up on the idea. The very fact that there are more and more such protests

and actions is encouraging as is the fact that they are spreading to various areas of social life, while they were previously focused exclusively on socio-economic rights such as strikes by workers, farmers, raspberry farmers, etc.

The whole atmosphere with on the one side, the government wanting to keep up with European trends and show the EU that Serbia is a democratic country and loud citizens demanding respect for minorities, on the other, resulted in the first Pride Parade without serious incidents. On the one hand, the government claims that there were no incidents at all, while on the other, various ultra-right groups under the leadership of the Serb Orthodox Church organised protests the night before and on the day of the Parade, the centre of Belgrade was cut off, thousands of police were in the streets to protect a little over one thousand protesters. An important message was sent in any case, the Parade was held and both the powers that be, the government and the organisers now have until the next parade to do what they have not managed to achieve during more than a decade of attempts to have

At the time of designing layout for this Annual Report, on 14 October 2014, a football match between Serbia and Albania being played at the stadium in Belgrade was interrupted after a series of incidents and violence (difficult to even enumerate, let alone place in chronological order). It is impossible to analyse everything that happened before, during and after the match without getting caught up in the universal cycle of violence: from “who started it” to “...and what they did to us”.

In just a few moments, the infirmity of peace in the region became apparent. The violence spread out from the stadium for days: houses and cars belonging to Serbs in Kosovo were razed, as were bakeries and cafes owned by Albanians in Vojvodina. The media reported of violence also in the south of Serbia, in Macedonia, Greece, Montenegro... The authorities and state institutions (both in Serbia, and in Albania, and in Kosovo) did nothing to prevent the incidents, their reactions were belated, they condemned the consequences, not the causes, and their inappropriate statements only exacerbated the situation. The previously announced visit of the Albanian Premier Edi Rama to Belgrade was postponed.

Everything that has been going on in the past year (once again) revealed how much tension, accumulated hatred and violence there is, and how it takes just a small spark to start the fire. A fire that is difficult to put out and that spreads like wildfire. There is no doubt that immediately, not sometimes in the future, we have to work on reconciliation and dispelling hatred in the region, and that these processes will have to cover everyone, that everyone - starting from parents and going all the way up to presidents and premiers - will have to bear their portion of responsibility.

K.M.

the parade take place: namely, to explain to the citizens what it represents, why it is significant and why respecting the rights of one minority will not bring into question any of the various majorities in Serbia.

In everything that is happening, an important role could, and by definition should be played by the media whose responsibility would have to correspond to their role in society. However, the media have become tabloids to such an extent that no one trusts them any more, or else they believe everything they read, but once a person is dragged through sensationalist headlines, however untrue, that person loses their hard-earned credibility. Investigative reporting has been reduced to a single show - "Insajder" whose author Brankica Stanković has been living with round-the-clock police protection for years now because of threats to her life. And even that one show, created under such conditions - how free and independent can a reporter living with a police escort really be? In the new business and political circumstances, it is always uncertain how much longer the show will be broadcast. Almost all independent political programming has been taken off the air under various excuses. The government has been suppressing all criticism in various ways: through penalties ("Danas",

the only independent daily newspaper was made to pay a large monetary fine for violating a provision of the Law on Employment of Persons with Disabilities that has since been repealed), editorial policy ("Problem", a show by Studio B), or under unclear circumstances justified by being in the interest of capital ("Utišak nedelje" by Olja Bečković). In the age of the Internet, such suppression is increasingly more difficult because there are various ways of transmitting information and views via social networks, nonetheless the traditional media in Serbia still have the largest audience. This audience is left with soaps, music and reality shows, without any serious content in either social or political terms. However, it seems that in light of the new international role that Serbia is taking on (the West to the East, the East to the West, without clear determination or direction or any indication of what it all means), no one seems interested: the OSCE reacted to direct hacking of some web portals ("Peščanik"), and the Premier demanded an apology from the OSCE.

We have a long winter ahead of us, after a summer that never was. (This is not the weather forecast. This is a metaphor about life in Serbia in the past 25 years.)

Katarina Milićević