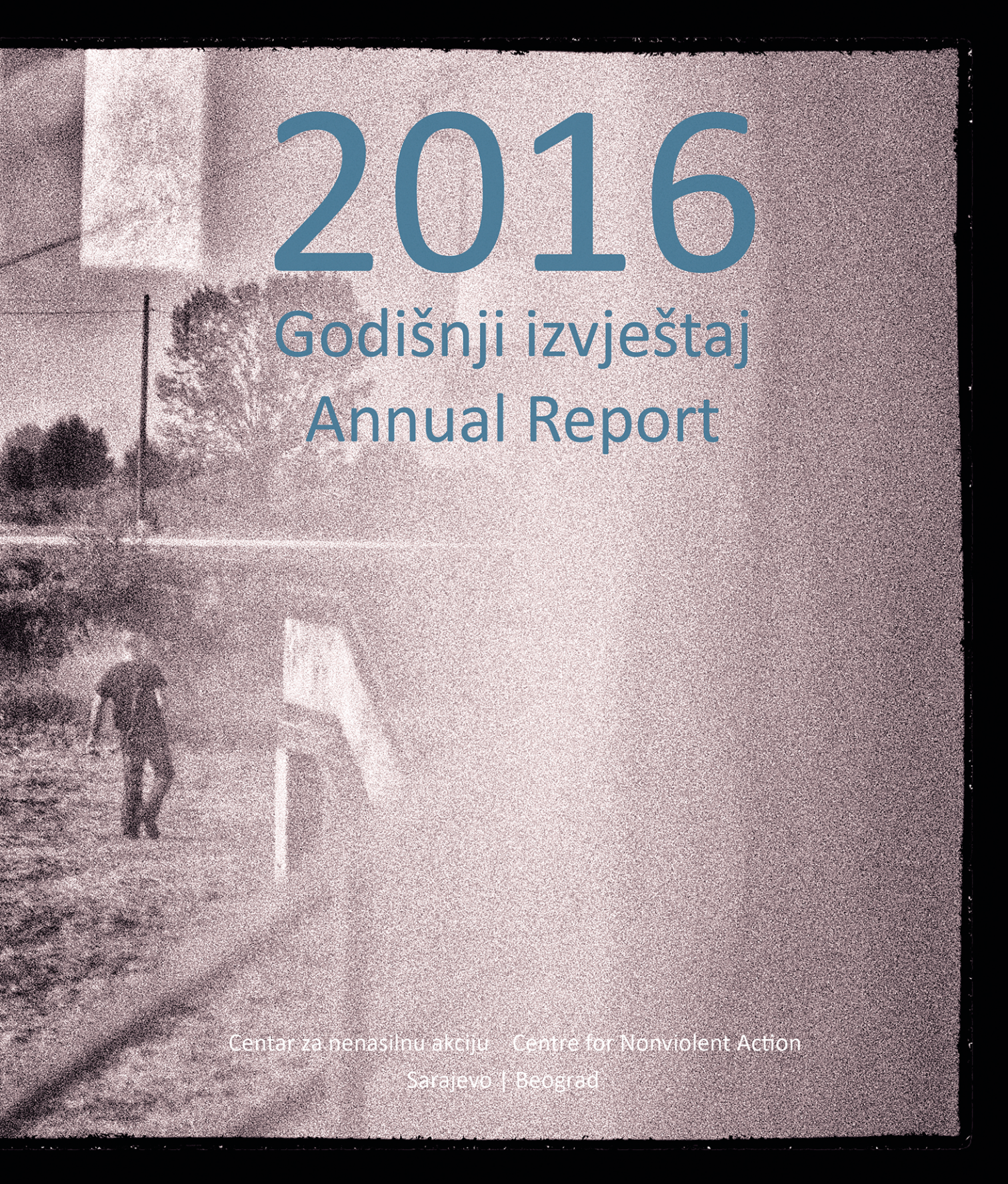




2016

Godišnji izvještaj Annual Report

Centar za nenasilnu akciju | Centre for Nonviolent Action
Sarajevo | Beograd

Godišnji izvještaj Annual report

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Centar za nenasilnu akciju
Centre for Nonviolent Action
Sarajevo | Beograd

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

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



Sadržaj

Uvod	6	mirovno obrazovanje	41
publikacije	9	Radionice “Slike moje i tvoje/Stereotipi i predrasude”	42
Rat sjećanja	10	Drugi trening iz izgradnje mira za studente/ice iz BiH	43
<i>Dobar dan (Nenad Vukosavljević)</i>	10	Bol bez obilježja	44
Biber – kratke priče o pomirenju	13	Gradovi, zaborav i trnje	47
<i>Kratka priča: Kristalna vaza (Nadia Geras)</i>	15	Mir – Paqe – Мир	2016. 50
Na tragu Podunavskih Nemaca	18	aktivnosti kojima smo se pridružili/le	51
rad s ratnim veteranima	19	Pomirenje s prošlošću? Otpor i kolaboracija u različitim nacionalnim narativima i sjećanjima	52
Možemo li se približiti? – posjeta ratnih veterana Novom Gradu/Bosanskom Novom	20	Napredni trening iz izgradnje mira (saradnja s Mirovnom akcijom)	53
Ratni veterani prisustvovali komemoracijama na Hrastovoj Glavici, Trnopolju i Novom Gradu	22	politički i društveni konteksti	54
Posjeta ratnih veterana Daruvaru, Pakracu i Lipiku	23	Bosna i Hercegovina: Samo da pobijedimo sebičnost... (<i>Edin Ramulić</i>)	55
Obilježavanje godišnjice početka rata u Hrvatskoj	26	Hrvatska: Vrag je odnio šalu (<i>Aneta Lalić</i>)	57
razmjena, suradnja i umrežavanje	27	Kosovo: Ćutanje kao sredstvo suočavanja sa prošlošću (<i>Qerim Ondozi</i>)	59
Od kulture upotrebe mrtvih ka kulturi odnosa prema mrtvima	28	Makedonija: “Po nacionalnost sum siromav” (<i>Flanza Jusufi</i>)	60
<i>Hrastovi, Topole, Tišina (Faruk Šehić)</i>	33	Srbija: Zapalio bih celo selo (<i>Katarina Milićević</i>)	62
Putovanje u Manipur	35	razmišljanja	65
Izložba fotografija i promocija publikacije „Rat sjećanja”	38	Islam i nenasilje: Kako sam postao musliman i mirovnjak (<i>Adnan Hasanbegović</i>)	66
Studijski put Beograd-Vukovar-Srebrenica-Sarajevo-Mostar	39	Nosači kovčega (<i>Katarina Milićević</i>)	68
Razmena sa <i>Gegen Vergessen/Für Demokratie</i>	40		

Contents

Introduction	72		
publications	75	peace education	109
War of memories	76	Workshops “ <i>Images mine and yours/Stereotypes and prejudice</i> ”	110
<i>Good day (by Nenad Vukosavljević)</i>	76	Second Peacebuilding training for students from BH	111
Biber – short stories on reconciliation	79	Unmarked pain	112
<i>Short story: The Crystal Vase (by Nadia Geras)</i>	82	Towns, forgetting and thorns	115
Following the traces of the Danube		Mir – Paqe – Мир 2016	118
Swabians	85		
work with war veterans	86	activities we joined	120
Can we come closer? – War veterans visit Novi Grad/Bosanski Novi	87	Reconciliation with the past? Resistance and collaboration in different national narratives and remembrances	121
War veterans attend commemorations at Hrastova Glavica, Trnopolje and Novi Grad	89	Advanced Peacebuilding training (cooperation with Peace Action)	122
War veterans visit Daruvar, Pakrac and Lipik	90		
Marking the anniversary of the start of the war in Croatia	93	political and social contexts	
exchange, cooperation and networking	94	in which we work	124
From a culture of using the dead towards a culture of relating to the dead	95	Bosna i Hercegovina: If we could just defeat selfishness... (<i>by Edin Ramulić</i>)	125
<i>Oaks, Poplars, Silence (by Faruk Šehić)</i>	101	Croatia: It’s no laughing matter (<i>by Aneta Lalić</i>)	127
Journey to Manipur	102	Kosovo: Silence as a means of dealing with the past (<i>by Qerim Ondozi</i>)	129
Photography exhibition and promotion of the publication “War of Memories”	106	Macedonia: “Poverty is my nationality” (<i>by Fllanza Jusufi</i>)	131
Study trip Belgrade-Vukovar-Srebrenica-Sarajevo-Mostar	106	Serbia: I’d burn down the entire village (<i>by Katarina Milićević</i>)	132
Exchange with <i>Gegen Vergessen/Für Demokratie</i>	108	thoughts	135
		Islam and nonviolence: How I became a Muslim and a peace activist (<i>by Adnan Hasanbegović</i>)	136
		Coffins (<i>by Katarina Milićević</i>)	138

Uvod

Već treću godinu zaredom u uvodu Godišnjeg izvještaja bilježimo pogoršanje društveno-političkih uvjeta u kojima živimo i radimo, jednako globalno, na kontinentu, kao i u regiji Zapadnog Balkana. Čini se kako moramo pratiti što se događa na Bliskom istoku, u Turskoj, ali i u Njemačkoj ili Francuskoj, jer je to prokletstvo našeg geopolitičkog položaja. Nevini, međutim, nismo, jer, zatreba li, svjetske će se sile i bez nas dogovoriti o podjeli interesnih zona na Balkanskom poluotoku, no čini se kako naši narodi (odnosno njihova militantna manjina) u tome rado sudjeluju. Tako su svaki izbori, bili oni parlamentarni ili lokalni, najveća prijetnja miru u regiji. Govor mržnje, zloupotreba prošlosti i otvorene prijetnje postale su toliko uobičajene da ih se smatra sastavnim dijelom predizborne kampanje. U tome, svakako, prednjače političke elite, međutim, to ipak najviše govori o nama samima. Rat se nije dogodio ni 90-ih, rat se priprema. Već je odavno jasno da naši društveni upravljači ne osjećaju niti prihvaćaju ikakvu društvenu odgovornost, no mi, obični građani, nemamo taj luksuz. Istina je, nosimo nerazriješene traume, strah je puno lakše potaknuti kad je sjećanje u koje možete zagrebat i svježje. I istoriju smo već prilagodili ratnom potencijalu. Sve to postoji u našoj realnosti – bol, strah, mržnja i neriješeni računi. No postoji i svijest o tome što rat donosi, i odgovornost da takvo iskustvo ne ponavljamo. Da tražimo kreativne mogućnosti, ne samo da takve pokušaje osujetimo, već i da im se aktivno suprotstavimo. O društvu u kojemu bismo voljeli živjeti i u kojemu bismo mogli graditi budućnost za svoju djecu, potrebno je misliti, potrebno ga je graditi. Potrebno je moći zamisliti život kakvim bismo voljeli živjeti i društvo u kojemu će to biti moguće. Zato je i najmanji otpor ovome u što nas nastoje uvući aktivistički akt, svjesno preuzimanje odgovornosti za realnost u kojoj živimo.

S tom idejom smo u 2015. god. raspisali višejezični konkurs za kratku priču na temu pomirenja. Konkurs, i zbirku kratkih priča koja je iz njega proizašla i koju vam predstavljamo na sljedećim stranicama, nazvali smo *Biber*, budući da se taj ljuti začim jednako govori i razumije na svim našim jezicima: albanskom, bosanskom, crnogorskom, hrvatskom, srpskom i makedonskom. Konkurs ćemo ponovno raspisati početkom sljedeće godine. Tema ostaje ista – pomirenje. Ono je, dakako, usko povezano s konstruktivnim suočavanjem s prošlošću – da razumijemo kako se to rat „događa“ i kako je takvo što bilo moguće, kako ne bismo bili osuđeni na beskrajno ponavljanje. Ove godine smo objavili publikaciju „Rat sjećanja“, koja je nastala kao dio projekta „Ratni spomenici u Bosni i Hercegovini (od 1991.)“. Cilj nam je bio istražiti (dokumentirati i analizirati) politiku memorijalizacije i kulturu sjećanja u BiH, na svim nekad zaraćenim stranama, promatrajući je prvenstveno iz perspektive izgradnje trajnog mira i pomirenja. Do kakvih smo nalaza došli, možete pogledati već sada, na stranici kulturasjecanja.org, ili u sljedećih nekoliko mjeseci na izložbama u Sarajevu, Mostaru, Banjoj

Luci, Bihaću i Beogradu. Još jedno istraživanje koje smo objavili ove godine, istraživanje o sudbini Podunavskih Nijemaca u Vojvodini nakon Drugog svjetskog rata, dio je istog napora – konstruktivnog suočavanja s prošlošću, ovaj put kroz prizmu „nepopularnih žrtava“, kao što su to bili Nijemci u Jugoslaviji nakon Drugog svjetskog rata.

Ove smo godine organizirali prvu posjetu mješovite grupe ratnih veterana mjestima stradanja u Pakracu, Lipiku i Daruvaru, u Hrvatskoj. Ovo posebno ističemo, budući da su nam ova vrata, za izgradnju mira u regiji zapadnog Balkana vrlo važna, predugo bila zatvorena. Osim toga, ove smo godine imali poteškoća u organiziranju veteranskih posjeta, što je očekivana posljedica pogoršanja društveno-političke situacije, pa smo tako, nakon dugo vremena, ponovno mogli čuti da je za neke posjete „suviše rano“ ili da „još nije vrijeme“. Međutim, kako nas poučava i ovo posljednje iskustvo, vrijedi ustrajati, svaka ova posjeta je važna, između ostalog i zato što daje drugačiju sliku o veteranima u regiji i doprinosi miru i pomirenju.

U proteklih godinu dana smo znatno intenzivirali i međunarodnu suradnju i razmjenu. Dio naših iskustava u konstruktivnom suočavanju s prošlošću nastojali smo prilagoditi u nama dosad nepoznati kontekst, u Manipuru, u Indiji, na treningu koji je bio organiziran za članice mreže nevladinih organizacija u Manipuru. Organizirali smo i dva studijska puta: posjet Vukovaru, Jasenovcu i Prijedoru, na kojemu su nam se pridružili naši partneri iz regije; i drugi, u suradnji s njemačkom Bundesstiftung Aufarbeitung, posjet Beogradu, Vukovaru, Srebrenici, Sarajevu i Mostaru za grupu teoretičara i praktičara na polju rada na sjećanju iz Njemačke.

Ne manje važno, ove smo godine nastavili s podrškom aktivnostima proizašlim iz Treninga za trenere/ice – radionicama sa srednjoškolcima i treningu sa studentima. Višejezični trening iz izgradnje mira za građane/ke Kosova, Makedonije i Srbije u međuvremenu je postao naša redovna aktivnost. Dio ovih nastojanja predstavljaju i obilježavanja neobilježenih mjesta stradanja, aktivnost koja se nastavlja i u predstojeće vrijeme, te dokumentarni film o ljudima koji su, nakon potpisivanja Daytonskog mirovnog sporazuma, mijenjali kuće s drugima „s one strane“ entitetske granice. Film „...a da te pitam, odakle si?“ je u posljednjoj fazi postprodukcije i trebao bi izaći do kraja 2016. godine.

I za predstojeću godinu imamo puno planova, uskoro nas očekuje 36. Osnovni trening iz izgradnje mira, a sve bliže smo i tome da Strategija za izgradnju mira, koju već dulje vrijeme pripremamo za Srbiju, uđe u proces javne rasprave i potom političkog pregovaranja, sa željom da, ukoliko to bude moguće, taj dokument postane dio državne politike. No, prije svega vas pozivamo da pročitate što smo vam pripremili. Kao i uvijek dosad, nadamo se vašoj povratnoj informaciji, kritici i podršci.

CNA tim



publikacije

Rat sjećanja

Početkom 2016. godine iz štampe je izašla publikacija „Rat sjećanja: Istraživanje o mjestima stradanja i sjećanja na rat u BiH“. Nastala je kao dio projekta „Ratni spomenici u Bosni i Hercegovini (od 1991.)“ kojim smo hteli da



dokumentujemo i analiziramo kulturu sećanja na rat u Bosni i Hercegovini kroz spomenike koji se na njega odnose. Dostupna je na BHS i engleskom jeziku. Svi podaci iz štampane verzije nalaze se i na posebnoj web stranici: kulturasjecanja.org.

Tijekom trogodišnjeg istraživanja snimili smo veliki broj spomenika te neobilježenih mjesta stradanja širom Bosne i Hercegovine. Njih 85, popraćene identifikacijskim karticama sa osnovnim podacima i dokumentirane fotografijama, predstavljamo vam u publikaciji „Rat sjećanja“. Namjera ove publikacije je podizanje svijesti o trenutno prisutnim modelima kolektivnog sjećanja, poticaj na otvoreni dijalog o postojećim modelima memorijalizacije, te poziv na nalaženje novih rješenja koja će se, prije svega, usmjeriti na žrtve nepravde i nasilja, bez obzira na njihovo porijeklo.

Istraživanje možete pronaći i na web stranici koju smo dizajnirali specifično za ovu svrhu (link: kulturasjecanja.org), kako bismo ovaj materijal učinili dostupnim široj javnosti. Ona će se i nadalje dopunjavati novim spomenicima i (ne)obilježenim mjestima stradanja, kao i svim relevantnim podacima koje o njima uspijemo pribaviti.

Dobar dan

Nenad Vukosavljević, u Beogradu, 9. 11. 2015.

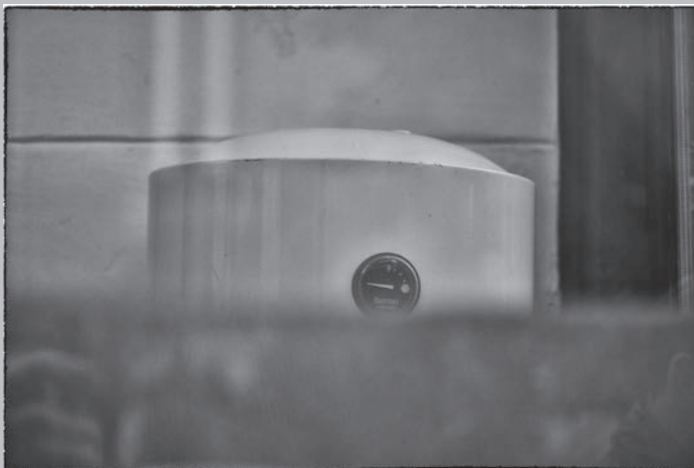
Godine 2010. smo u CNA doneli odluku da radimo na dokumentaciji spomenika iz poslednjeg rata u BiH, da ih fotografišemo i sakupimo osnovne podatke vezano za njihovo nastajanje. Odluka je obuhvatila i poznata mesta stradanja na kojima ne postoji spomen obeležje. Od 2012-2015 je trajao proces povremenih putovanja, fotografisanja, sakupljanja podataka, pregleda urađenog i dogovaranja o daljim koracima. Putovanja i fotografisanje smo radili Nedžad Horozović i ja. Ovaj tekst pruža uvid u delić onoga što smo doživeli, a čemu se teško može naći mesto u analizi kulture sećanja.

I kada sve prođe sećamo se doručka pod neonskim svetlom, sedimo sami u prostranoj sali namenjenoj svadbama, na stolu beli stolnjak preko njega ukoso postavljen plavi, umazani slanik na sredini. Nezainteresovani konobar donosi omlet natopljen uljem i turske kafe koje stavlja ispred nas uz koricu belog hleba.

Sedimo u jaknama, jer grejanje te prostorije se hotelu ne isplati, toplo je u zadimljenom kafiću koji gleda na trg i



centralni spomenik na njemu. Rano je, grad je pust. Drago nam je što o hotelu u kojem smo prenoćili nismo saznali da je mesto masovnog zločina, osoblje nas već zna, bili smo nekoliko puta već.



Vani je zabeleo mraz, pijemo kafu i čekamo da nas naš prijatelj iz lokalnog udruženja boraca odvede do spomen sobe i provede do mesta na kojima su spomenici i mesta stradanja.



Idemo sa njim u tišini, prerano je za priču, otključava nam spomen sobu, ulazimo i počinjemo da fotografiramo. U svakoj od njih osećam nelagodu pomešanu sa potrebom da iskažem poštovanje prema gubitku koji je pretrpljen. Okruženi smo fotografijama ljudi kojih više nema. Za neke od njih dobijamo njihovu skraćenu životnu priču, ono što stane u minut dva, sećanja i anegdote. Nelagoda raste uz slike političara iz vremena rata, uz trofeje u obliku delova unifomi neprijatelja. Razmišljam o tim zarobljenim i ubijenim vojnicima sa druge strane, čije slike ću možda za neki dan videti na nekom drugom zidu. Težina besmisla i tuge me pritiska.

Ali navikli smo, nagledali smo se ovakvih mesta, Nedžad i ja, razmenjujemo poglede i bez reči pokazujemo jedni drugima uglove koje smo otkrili.

Oko svakog spomenika koji fotografiramo, retki prolaznici zastaju i posmatraju šta se dešava, a naš prijatelj i vodič se ubacuje i objašnjava. Čak i u centru grada, foto-aparat izaziva podozrenje, ko smo, zašto smo tu, zašto fotografiramo? Pozdrav “pomoz Bog”, “selam alejkum”, “hvaljen Isus” i poneka ispružena ruka nakon našeg odgovora “dobar dan”. Mir jeste sa nama, ne kudimo Isusa, a ako nam Bog pomogne, utoliko bolje. Ipak, nadamo se dobrom danu. Dobar će biti ako nas niko ne napadne.



Fotografišemo barake sa velikom reklamom za stočnu hranu "Sana" na obodu grada, tridesetak metara od jedine uređene zelene površine u selu, na kojoj je pre rata bio partizanski spomenik, a nakon poslednjeg dodat još jedan za žrtve iz poslednjeg rata. Žrtve iz one zajednice koji su danas tu u većini. U baraci pored je 7. maja 1992. godine pobijeno 16 ljudi, zatočenih civila. Dvadeset godina kasnije, nema nikakvog znaka koji bi govorio o tome šta se tu dogodilo, a mi krišom i u brzini fotografišemo jer se uz baraku nalazi kafana, a zna se da u kafani uvek ima pijanih ljudi. Sedamo u auto i odlazimo u tišini, sa osećajem poniženja i sputanosti. Svima je nelagodno i meni i Nedžadu i našem domaćinu koji zločin u Crkvi doživljava kao mrlju i sramotu, a niko od nas nije kriv za to. Ne trudimo se da odagnamo nelagodu, nosimo je mirno, treba da se zna da je tu, da je naša. Zbližava nas osećaj deljenja sramote i bola. Umalo da ne pomenem bol, otupi se pomalo.

U skoro tri godine povremenog fotografisanja, putovanja, na svakom mestu na kojem smo bili, domaćini su želeli da nam pokažu još neka mesta stradanja ili spomenike za koje nismo prethodno znali. A njima je bilo važno da nas odvedu da vidimo, i mi smo išli i snimali. Neki od njih su snimljeni ali podatke o njima nikada nismo uspeli da sakupimo.

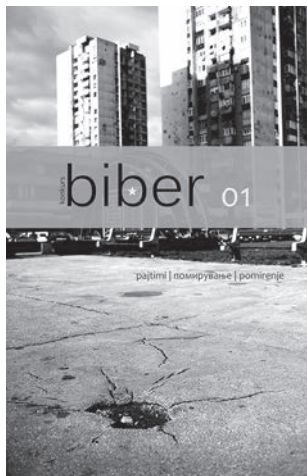
U poslednjoj turi snimanja, na samom kraju ostao nam je put za Višegrad. Primio nas je lokalni hodža koji se brine i o mezarju na kojem je postavljen spomenik stradalim Bošnjacima iz Višegrada. Dugo je razgovarao sa nama a onda nas je poveo do mezarja da nam ga pokaže. Tamo sam video grob jednog deteta i kleknuo sam u travu da napravim fotografiju i tu scenu više ne mogu da zaboravim. Vraćala mi se danima u snu i na javi, preplakao sam je puno puta i dugo nisam hteo da je pokažem nikome osim najbližima, nesiguran u to da li treba da bude javna ili ne.

To je ova fotografija.



Biber – kratke priče o pomirenju

U aprilu/travnju 2016. godine objavili smo *Biber 01*, zbirku kratkih priča o pomirenju. Elektronsko izdanje zbirke može se naći na stranici biber.nenasilje.org, a štampano u našem uredu u Sarajevu ili Beogradu dok još ima kopija.



Biber je konkurs za kratku priču na temu pomirenja koji je bio otvoren od marta/ožujka do septembra/rujna 2015. godine. Na konkurs se moglo prijaviti kratkom pričom koja je napisana na jednom od sledećih jezika: albanskom, bosanskom, crnogorskom, hrvatskom, srpskom ili makedonskom.

Žiri su činili Doruntina Basha, dramaturškinja iz Prištine, Faruk Šehić, književnik iz Bosne i Hercegovine i Bojan Krivokapić, književnik iz Srbije. Konkurs je organizovao *Biber* tim¹ u saradnji s Centrom za nenasilnu akciju Sarajevo|Beograd.

Na konkurs je stiglo 316 priča iz različitih krajeva bivše Jugoslavije, kao i dijaspore.

Žiri je izabrao 25 priča koje su ušle u višejezičnu zbirku. Pored toga, žiri je doneo i odluku o tri nagrađene priče. Treću nagradu je dobila priča *Limbo u letnjem periodu*, Slađane Ljubičić iz Novog Sada. Drugu nagradu je dobila priča *Kristalna vaza*, Nadie Geras iz Zagreba. Prvonagrađena je priča *Rat*, Vladimira Tabaševića iz Beograda.

O ideji i organizaciji

Ideja o konkursu za kratku priču na temu pomirenja nastala je krajem 2014. godine, tokom Treninga za trenere i trenerice u organizaciji Centra za nenasilnu akciju Sarajevo|Beograd. Tada smo učesnike i učesnice treninga ohrabрили da razmišljaju o konkretnim idejama šta bi voleli da rade na polju izgradnje mira i suočavanja s prošlošću u regionu i da imaju u vidu vrlo različite formate, od radionica i treninga, preko uličnih akcija i literarnog konkursa, do video radova. I tu negde, kao rezultat spoja mirovnog aktivizma i književnosti nastao je *Biber*. Glavni ciljevi su bili:

- Promocija pomirenja i konstruktivnog suočavanja s prošlošću
- Doprinos kulturi čitanja i prevođenja pisaca i spisateljica iz najbližeg susedstva
- Doprinos kulturi prekogranične saradnje.

Organizovati višejezični konkurs za kratku priču bio je izazov. Bilo nam je jasno da ne možemo sastaviti žiri u kom svi članovi/ce koji govore ili bar čitaju sve jezike zastupljene na konkursu. A bila nam je neprihvatljiva ideja žiri čita i odlučuje o pričama samo na svom jeziku, jer nam je bilo važno da odluka bude plod saradnje i razmene.

Na kraju smo postavile model tako da pristigle priče prvo idu kroz ruke predselekcije sastavljene od mirovnih aktivistkinja i aktivista iz regiona, koji su čitali na svom maternjem jeziku. Predselekcija je proveravala da li priče zadovoljavaju uslove konkursa, odnosno da li odgovaraju na temu i da li doprinose izgradnji poverenja i prevazilaženju postojećih granica. Ovaj proces nam je bio garancija da ne može da pobedi priča koja je odlična i vešto napisana, ali koja hrani postojeće predrasude i neprijateljstva. Takođe, taj proces je znatno smanjio troškove prevoda.

Jedno od poslednjih pitanja koje smo rešile je sam naziv konkursa. Odmah smo se složile da bi ime trebalo da bude jedna reč koja se isto kaže na svim ovim jezicima, a da ne dolazi iz militarističkog sveta (tipa: puška, bunker). Bilo je dosta ideja, svojski nam je pomogla čitava ekipa koja je učestvovala na Treningu za trenere/ice. Kad je stigao predlog da se zove "Biber", to nam se učinilo kao idealno.

Bilo nam je važno da stručni žiri bude sastavljen od društveno angažovanih pisaca i spisateljica iz različitih zemalja i različitih generacija. Relativno lako smo napravile

1 Biber tim su činile Aleksandra Bogdanovska, Ivana Franović, Jasna Dimitrijević i Katarina Milićević.



izbor i na naše veliko zadovoljstvo svi su odmah prihvatili da sa nama krenu u ovu avanturu.

Očekivale smo da će konkurs naići na interesovanje, i da će nam različiti ljudi pružiti podršku, ali nismo očekivale da ćemo naići na takav odziv. Iskreno, 316 pristiglih priča nas je zateklo. No, dobro smo se organizovale, pa nije došlo do prekoračenja planiranih rokova.

O promocijama zbirke

Tokom maja/svibnja meseca organizovali smo promocije zbirke u Sarajevu (12.05.), Beogradu (24.05.) i Skoplju (31.05).

U sarajevskoj promociji učestvovali su Nadia Geras, Slađana Ljubičić i Mehmed Đedović, čije su priče objavljene u zbirci i Katarina Milićević u ime Biber tima. Razgovor je vodio Ahmed Burić. U razgovoru u Beogradu učestvovali su Vladimir Tabašević i Nadia Geras, dobitnici prve i druge nagrade na konkursu, zatim Faruk Šehić kao član žirija, Qerim Onđozi koji je prevodio priče na albanski jezik i Ivana Franović u ime Biber tima. Razgovor je vodila Jovana Gligorijević. U Skoplju su učestvovali Arsim Jonuzi, autor čija je priča objavljena u zbirci, prevodilac Qerim Onđozi, mirovni aktivista Boro Kitanoski i Aleksandra Bogdanovska u ime Biber tima, a razgovor je vodio Xhabir Deralla. Skopska promocija je bila dvojezična, na

makedonskom i albanskom, uz simultan prevod.

Na našu radost, na inicijativu Slađane Ljubičić, dobitnice treće nagrade, organizovana je i promocija u Novom Sadu 9.06. Pored Slađane, na njoj su govorili Bojan Krivokapić kao član žirija i Katarina Milićević u ime Biber tima, a razgovor je vodio Nedim Sejdinović, predsednik Nezavisnog društva novinara Vojvodine.

S obzirom da promocije knjiga i književne večeri nisu jako popularni događaji, nismo očekivali veliku posećenost, pa smo bili zadovoljni brojem posetilaca (oko 30 na svakoj od ovih promocija). U Skoplju i Beogradu u publici su većinom bili aktivistkinje i aktivisti mirovnih ili organizacija za ljudska prava, a posebno su nas obradovali dragi prijatelji koji su došli iz drugih gradova i država i dodatno nam uveličali događaj.

Jedino je sarajevska promocija bila medijski propraćena, u ostalim gradovima tradicionalnim medijima ovi događaji nisu privukli dovoljno pažnje.

Malo podataka

Iza objavljenih 25 priča u zbirci stoji 10 autora i 15 autorki, što nam je zanimljiv podatak, jer je neuobičajeno da je u jednoj zbirci više autorki nego autora. Zanimljivo nam je i da se više žena prijavilo na konkurs - 57%.

Objavljeni autori i autorke su iz sledećih gradova:

Kumanova, Prilepa, Tuzle, Novog Sada, Zagreba, Skoplja, Glamoča, Osijeka, Mitrovice, Križevaca, Prištine, Rijeke, Bitolja, Sinja i Tirane. Različitih su i generacija: od 1945. do 1997., koliko nam je poznato.

Najviše prijava je stiglo iz Srbije (86), potom iz Bosne i Hercegovine (80), pa iz Hrvatske (59). Stiglo nam je zapravo malo priča na albanskom jeziku, svega 11, pa se nadamo da će biti bolje sledeći put.

Šta sledi

I pre nego što je zbirka objavljena, i u Biber i u CNA timu bilo nam je jasno da smo dobili nešto vredno i lepo. Dobili

smo puno inspiracije i podrške od pisaca i spisateljica zahvaljujući pričama koje su “otelo tvorile” taj nepopularan i nejasan, a neophodan pojam pomirenja. Takođe smo dobili brojne potencijalne saradnike i dosta širi prostor za promociju rada na pomirenju. I procenili smo da ne treba stati s jednim konkursom. Sada je već izvesno da će drugi krug konkursa Biber biti otvoren početkom 2017. godine.

Uslediće i promocije u još nekim gradovima, vrlo verovatno u Prištini, možda u Zagrebu, koje će pratiti otvaranje novog kruga.

Ako želite da osetite ukus našeg bibera, ovde prenosimo jednu od objavljenih priča.

I. F.



Kratka priča na temu pomirenja

Kristalna vaza

Nadia Geras

Razbacala je meso iz škrinje po cijeloj kući. Ljetno doba, brzo je zasmrdjelo.

Tko bi ovo jeo? Ako ovo preživim, više meso ne jedem, zavjetovala se. I tako je u šezdeset petoj postala vegetarijanka. Kad je sve počelo, pokupiše se svi i

pobjegoše pred vojskom što je u daljini grmjela.

Kamo bi ona išla. Trebalo se brinuti, štala puna. Velike vrućine. Natočila ona vode u kante, svugdje gdje je stalo. Da ne skapa blago od žeđi. I oslobodila ga.

Za svaki slučaj.

Što njoj vojska da učini? Čega bi se plašiti mogla?

Sin joj poginuo u vojsci. Prve godine tog rata.

Nije se znalo tko ga je ubio. Njegovi ili njihovi. Nije se slagao ni sa svojim ni s njihovima.

Donijeli ga njoj da ga izljubi. Omotali mu zavoj oko glave. Kad su ga položili na krevet, stala mu skidati cipele. Bile su blatnjave. Neki dečko ostao uz nju sve dok ga nije istjerala iz sobice. Nije se puno opirao. Poslali ga da joj pomogne, ali ona nije od onih kojima treba pomagati. Plakala, vriskala i bacala se u očaju nije.

Samo je htjela biti nasamo s njim. Spustila je zelene platnene rolete na prozorima i poduprla vrata stolicom. Čula je komešanje u hodniku, jaukanje snahe koja je izgubila muža, glas unuka koji pokušava umiriti majku. Još ništa ne razumije.

Ona mu skida čarape. Stopala lijepa, nijednog kurjeg oka nema. Kao neki gospodski sin. Pokrije ih ipak. Osluškujе mu srce. Tiho je. Zna ona što to znači, ali ipak skida mu s usta povoj koji ih prekriva. Radi to brzo, u nadi koja je još brže napušta.

Šarlah je dobio oko četvrtog rođendana. Pao veliki snijeg. Visoka temperatura tri dana ga nije puštala, umotavala ga cijelog u rakiju ne bi li vrućinu iz njega izvukla. Sav posao pustila i zatvorila se s njim u sobu. Brojila mu udahe. Dočekivala s veseljem one duboke, a budila ga kad bi ga preuzeli oni kratki. Opasni.

Četvrti dan je rekao, ja sam, majko, gladan.

Rakija sve izvukla.

Ova muka rakiji preteška.

Ostala je s njim tako u miru dok se udarci po vratima nisu pojačali i zazivanje tako oglasnilo da samu sebe nije čula.

Ostala je kraj njega u sobi i kad su ga odnijeli, i nakon pokopa na groblju, i među svim onim ljudima koji su došli da joj nešto kažu.

Vidjela ga je skrivena među kukuruzima. Bio je jako mlad. Vojna uniforma prevelika. Odvojio se od grupe što je kružila oko kuće i krenuo ravno prema njoj. Kao da je znao gdje se skriva.

Bili su glasni kao i svi oslobođioci. Maknuo se od njih valjda da se u miru popiše. Vidio je kristalnu vazę. Sagnuo se, podigao je, pogledao i nježno spustio. Imao je crvenu fleku na obrazu. Onu s kojom se rodiš i koja te nikad ne napusti. Samo malo potamni s vremenom, da te muči svako jutro. I podsjeća kako si sretan jer, eto, moglo je biti i gore. Ogleđao se na tren oko sebe i pogledi su im se susreli. Trgnuo se i krenuo unatrag.

„Neću ti ništa“, viknula je.

„Jebemti!“ bilo je jedino što je rekao prije nego što je skinuo pušku s ramena i počeo nasumice pucati po kukuruzu. Nije ju pogodio, a nisu ni njegovi drugari, koji su također zapucali. Kad je pala noć i ona ostala sama u oslobođenom selu, zavukla se u sjenik i u mirisu ljeta zaspala. Probudila se petnaest godina kasnije s rakom na plućima.

Kako je lijep bio kad je diplomirao. Obukla se tada i ona lijepo. Bijelu košulju na plave sitne cvjetice. Skinula s glave maramu. Ona je rubac stalno nosila ne zato što je bila pokorna i smjerna žena, već da joj čuva kosu od prašine i sijena.

Vozili su se u *amiću* do Zagreba.

Svi koji u rat kreću, misle, neće baš njih, a roditelji da neće baš njihovog sina. Ona nije bila od tih. Zнала je: ako rat počne, njen će sin poginuti. Ti koji imaju karakter prvi stradaju, pa je sa zebnjom slušala ratne trube koje su se orile s televizije. Voljela je kaubojske filmove, nedjeljno poslijepodne, onog spikera s dubokim glasom i spikericu što je imala kćer Srnu i sina Istoka.

To s imenima joj se sviđalo. U njenom selu kao da je bilo samo jedno ime za muške.

Pred rat televizija joj se ogadila. Kad ju upali, svađa se s njom, ne ostaje joj dužna, već kune i proklinje.

Tjerala ga je da ide u Australiju, Kanadu, bilo kamo. Dok se još moglo. Mogao je kamo je htio s tolikim školama, ali ne, neće on. Nije on znao niti razumio da bi taj rat mogao biti tako strašan. Pametni su ljudi, nisu budale, umirivao bi ju kad bi ona opet s tim započinjala.

Tko još mater sluša. Hajde ti budi majka i prepusti djetetu da srlja u propast, a da ne opominješ i ne kukaš.

U selo se nakon Oluje vratila samo Danica, njoj se u Srbiji nije svidjelo, pa su neko vrijeme živjele zajedno kod nje u staroj kući.

Mislila je da se nikad neće smijati, ali Danica ju je znala nasmijati.

Sačuvala je radijatore iz velike kuće od prvog naleta pljačkaša. Smrad ih je otjerao.

Kad su drugi put došli, na smrad se nisu obazirali. Skinuli radijatore, pažljivo ih natovarili na kamion i odvezli. Pomučili se samo oko peći za centralno jer je bila teška.

Ono kristala što je posijala po kukuruzištu iza kuće skupila je jedno jutro i poslala u koferu snahi, zajedno s nešto novca koje je čuvala i skrivala za *ne daj Bože*. A *ne daj Bože* došlo. Kristal nije nešto detaljno prala prije nego što ga je spakirala. Zavukla se zemlja u silne one usjeke i

kristal malo promijenio boju. Valjalo bi ga četkicom prati. Nije za te stvari marila ni kad su bile u vitrini.

Sad su ju podsjećale na vrijeme kad su i kristalne posude imale nekog smisla. Zato ih šalje da im se nađu u novom životu. Snahi i unuku.

Zamotala ih je u vezene svadbarske ručnike s resama.

Nije htjela u bolnicu.

„Jel’ rak?“ pitala je doktora. Zbog sebe doktora nije upoznala, nego zbog unuka. Bio bolešljiv od rođenja pa su se sprijateljili s doktorom. Dolazio na kobasice i domaću hranu u njihovu kuću.

„A šta da vam kažem.“

„Nema veze, doktore“, tješila ga je.

„Imam ja još nešto posla obaviti. Samo me ne šalžite u bolnicu. Kod kuće ću ja to.“

U bolnicu su ju odvezli kad više nije mogla disati pa je pala na stepenicama. Danica pozvala hitnu i ona se našla u sobi s pet ležajeva. Opet je mogla disati.

I oni koji skoče u more da se ubiju i udave, batrgaju se u potrazi za još jednim udahom. Nitko ne skoči i jednostavno prestane disati. Disanje samo svoju volju ima te se i ona primila tog kisika žedno.

Znala je da je svježi zrak važan, ali ovaj iz boce čudo joj učinio, tako da se pridigla u krevetu. Sluša žene u sobi. Promatra one koji ih obilaze. Gleda im torbe s ukrasima. Zlato se nosi. Nalakirani nokti vire iz sandala. Danas i sitnoj dječici lakiraju nokte. Tome se ona čudi iz svog kreveta. Čudi se i tome što svi donose čokolade, mentol bombone i sokove. Svaka bolesnica cijeli dućan ima naguran u mali ormarić kraj kreveta. Sokovi u tetrapaku poredani po stolićima. Na njenom ormariću ništa. Ona je sve svoje u ladicu spremila. Nude i njoj, no ona nikad nije bila od slatkog, zahvaljuje se, ali ne uzima.

Prepoznala ga je odmah s vrata. Po crvenilo na obrazu. Samo je sad okrupnio.

I lice mu se malo raširilo, crvenilo kao malo povećalo i nabreklo.

„Ajmo, bako, vozim te na rendgen.“

Bio je nježan. Čučnuo da joj pronađe papuče ispod kreveta i kolica približio krevetu pa joj sve daje upute.

„Primi ti mene, bako, oko vrata, tako će biti lakše.“

Kad ju je smjestio u kolica, popravi krevet da ga ne

ostave onako razdrljenog i golog i to joj se učini lijepo. Vidi se, lijepo odgojen.

„Hvala, sinko.“

Vozio ju je i liftom. Gurao ju je po dugim mračnim podrumima bolnice, vukao čak i uza stepenice, a onda su sjedili jedan kraj drugog i čekali na red pred rendgenom.

„Idem ja zapaliti jednu. Hoćete ostati tu ili da i Vas izguram na zrak?“

„Ja bih s tobom, sinko.“

Izgurao ju je na mali plato kroz metalna vrata za dostavu i sjeo na zidić. Izvadio kutiju cigareta.

„Nije zdravo, ali paše. Ne nudim Vas. Vi ne bi smjeli.“

Ona se nasmije.

„Odakle si ti, bako?“ pita između dva duga dima.

„Iz sela u kojem si i ti bio. Bio si kraj moje kuće. Našao si moju vazu.“

Nisam te htjela uplašiti.“

„Jesam li ja to po vama pucao?“

„Jesi.“

„A joj, što mi je drago da Vas nisam pogodio.“

Sutradan su ju vozili na neki drugi pregled.

Rekli su, ne smijete se pomaknuti dok Vam ne kažemo da smijete. Jedva je to izdržala. Bilo joj žao što on nije došao da ju vozi. I pomalo je žalila što mu je rekla da je bio kod nje.

On je jedini koga tu poznaje. I sad ga je od sebe otjerala.

Kad su ju vratili nakon tog dugog pregleda, na njenom stoliću dočekala ju je mala kristalna vaza i tri ljubičasta klobuka hortenzije.

Ubrao ih je u svom vrtu. Znala je to.

Bilo joj drago zbog cvijeća, a žao zbog vaze.

Nije valjda kupovao, zabrinula se.

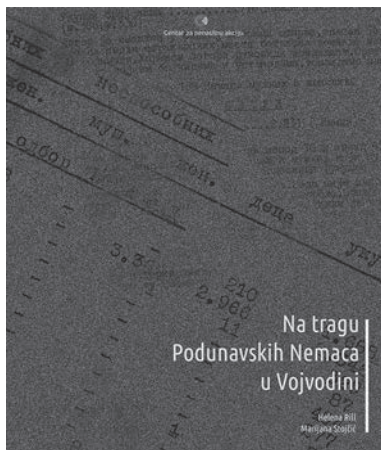
Popodne je došao obučen u trenirku i svježe obrijan. Sjeo je na njen krevet i primio je za ruku. Imao je velike šake, a njene su se skroz uvukle u sebe, tek malo žilica omotanih oko kostiju. Kao da nikad nisu radile ni teret njezina života nosile.

„Nisi trebao.“

„Mama Vam je moja poslala vazu, a ja sam ubrao cvijeće. I njoj je drago da ste živi.“

Na tragu Podunavskih Nemaca

Pred Vama je rezultat istraživanja o sudbini Podunavskih Nemaca u Vojvodini, autorica Helene Rill i Marijane Stojčić. Istraživanje je započeto još krajem 2010. godine, a intenzivnije nastavljeno od proleća 2014. godine.



Postavlja se pitanje otkud danas, u moru problema u odnosima između društveno najvidljivijih etničkih grupa nakon ratova devedesetih godina, vraćanje na “neke”

Nemce i na ono šta im se dešavalo posle II Svetskog rata?

Pa, naša ideja za ovo istraživanje

“...nije motivisana željom da se ispravi nepravda načinjena ljudima pre skoro sedamdeset godina, već potrebom da se nepravda učini vidljivom, i samim tim prihvati, i da se oda priznanje žrtvama, a da time našu sadašnjost učinimo boljom i povučemo paralelu sa nepravdama koje su skorijeg datuma, koje se još uvek tretiraju kao nedavne, a tiču se ratova devedesetih.

Kao što su vojvođanski Nemci nepopularne žrtve, za koje se mahom smatra da su dobili šta su zaslužili (kolektivno), tako nepopularnih žrtava ima u skorijoj istoriji, skrivenih u slojevima narativa o pravednim ratovima, sopstvenim nevinim i tuđim vinim žrtvama.”

...

“Ali kakva je korist od svega toga?

Korist nije materijalna, ali nam pruža priliku da postanemo malo bolji nego što jesmo, da umanjimo bol uniženih i povređenih i učinimo naše društvo malo humanijim. I da u budućnosti budemo oprezniji, pažljiviji, pošteniji i uporniji da saznamo sve i ne podrazumevamo ništa.” (Iz predgovora publikacije)

Za svaku povratnu informaciju, bićemo Vam zahvalni.





rad s ratnim veteranima

Možemo li se približiti? – posjeta ratnih veterana Novom Gradu/Bosanskom Novom

17. mart/ožujak 2016.

Posjetu mjestima sjećanja u opštini Novi Grad dogovorili smo sa članovima lokalne boračke organizacije proistekle iz Vojske RS ali su nam se, po dolasku, priključili i nekadašnji pripadnici Armije RBiH iz ovog grada, tako da smo i u njima imali neformalne domaćine. Sa nama četvoricom iz CNA u posjeti su bili : petorica ratnih veterana Hrvatske vojske, po četvorica iz Armije RBiH, Vojske RS, Hrvatskog vijeća obrane, i po dvojica iz JNA i Vojske Jugoslavije.

Tokom ratnih godina, nasilje u ovoj opštini je eskaliralo u nekoliko faza. Sa početkom rata u Hrvatskoj, koju od Novog dijeli samo rijeka Una, jedinice rezervnog sastava JNA popunjavane sa ljudima sa ovog područja, uglavnom Srbima. Mnogi su stradali. Kada se rat preselio u BiH 1992. godine, otpočela je golgota nesrpskog stanovništva, većinom bošnjačkog, koje je protjerano. Dešavali su se i ratni zločini, ljudi su zatvarani, deportovani u logore i ubijani. U septembru 1995. Hrvatska vojska je

izvela napad na Novi i tada je stradalo 57 civila, vojnika i policajaca srpske nacionalnosti.

Prije obilaska memorijala organizovali smo sastanak i razgovor sa predstavnicima lokalnih vlasti opštine, zamjenikom načelnika Zoranom Starčevićem i potpredsjednikom Skupštine opštine Selimom Ekićem, od kojih smo dobili riječi podrške, kako rekoše, „jer smo se okupili oko pozitivne ideje koja vodi ka dijalogu o teškim temama“. „Bitno je da se nakon dvadeset godina pogledamo u oči, da razgovaramo o tome šta se događalo, šta dalje da radimo, kamo da idemo u budućnosti“, rekao je Zoran dodajući da je i sam ratni veteran i da kao takav osjeća potrebu da razgovara o ratnim zbivanjima sa čestitim ljudima sa druge strane. On nam se nakon posjete i pridružio, kako je rekao, „da razgovara iz perspektive ratnog veterana“.

„Mi političari bi trebali biti ti od kojih dolaze ovakve inicijative, ali vi ste svojim dolaskom i svojom namjerom





pokazali da ste iznad politike i da bi se na vas trebali ugledati“, rekao je Selim ističući da je potreba građana ove opštine da se uvažava sve žrtve čime bi se otvorio put ka boljem suživotu i pomirenju. Napomenuo je da postoji ideja da se proglasi Dan civilnih žrtava rata, tokom kojeg bi se zajednički odala počast stradalim. Ova ideja me je podsjetila na posjetu koju smo imali u Velikoj Kladuši, gdje je takođe slična inicijativa pomenuta. Ono što me muči je da te inicijative dolaze od predstavnika manjinskih zajednica, što je jedan od indikatora neravnopravnosti u tim sredinama. Oni koji su u većini bez problema obilježavaju svoje značajne datume, tako da i ne postoji interes sa kojim bi se iskoračilo iz standardne šeme dominantnog narativa. Zašto ne svim žrtvama, i vojnicima takođe? Radi se o ljudima, velikom većinom običnim, čestitim ljudima, otrgnutim od porodica i prijatelja i odvedenih u rat.

Obilazak mjesta sjećanja započeli smo posjetom spomen obilježju na centralnom gradskom trgu. Podignuto je u pomen na tristo sedamdeset i sedam poginula pripadnika VRS sa područja opštine Novi Grad. Domaćini su nam ispričali pojedinosti o vojnim angažmanima Novljana u VRS i naveli da ih je većina stradala na ratištima izvan njihove opštine, na prostorima Bihaća, Sanskog Mosta i Bosanske Krupe. Odatle smo se uputili u spomen sobu smještenu u zgradi opštine, koja je

u neposrednoj blizini. Uvijek je težak taj susret sa licima na fotografijama posloženim na zid. Godišta rođenja i pogibije govore da su to bili ljudi u punoj životnoj snazi. Milorad, jedan od naših domaćina, pokazuje nam među poginulima članove svoje porodice. Emotivnu težinu ni mišići ne mogu da nose, teško je stajati i slušati. Osjeća se ta tuđa bol i postaje tvoja.

Sljedeće odredište bili su nam mjesta Ekići i Alići. Radi se o zaseocima na brdima koja okružuju dolinu riječice Japre, nekih petnaestak kilometara udaljena od Novog. Bili su nastanjeni Bošnjacima. Sada su tu samo uništene kuće i poljane zarasle u korov. Lošim makadamskim putem popeli smo se do lokalnog mezarja na kojem se nalazi spomen obilježje. Podignuto je na mjestu gdje je pronađena masovna grobnica sa šest tijela ubijenih mještana ovih zaselaka. Ukupno ih je 1992. godine ubijeno dvadeset i sedam i njihova su imena ispisana na spomen ploči. O tadašnjem događaju govorio je imam, navodeći da se do danas još uvijek traga za osamnaest tijela. Svake godine se u junu mjesecu, na ovom mjestu održava komemoracija u znak sjećanja na ove žrtve. Do sada je za ovaj ratni zločin Tužilaštvo BiH podignulo optužnicu protiv jednog lica, bivšeg pripadnika VRS Milenka Karlice.

Uputili smo se zatim u obližnje mjesto Blagaj Japra. Tu, takođe u mezarju, izgrađeno je šehidsko turbe, kao centralno spomen obilježje za sve stradale Bošnjake

opštine Bosanski Novi (od 1921.do 1992. godine grad i opština su nosili naziv Bosanski Novi, danas se legitimno koriste oba naziva Novi Grad/ Bosanski Novi). Imam je naglasio je da se pri tome odnosi i na one Novljane koji su u ratu stradali na ovim prostorima, a i na ostale stradale širom BiH, i civile i vojnike, njih više od šest stotina.

Nastavljajući svoj put došli smo do mjesta Svodna, koje se nalazi na magistralnom putu prema Prijedoru. Odmah uz cestu izgrađeno je spomen obilježje za stradale tokom napada aviona Hrvatskog ratnog zrakoplovstva na kolonu sa srpskim izbjeglicama iz tadašnje Republike Srpske Krajine, 8.avgusta 1995.godine. Na spomen ploči je napisano da je postavljena u pomen troje poginulih i osmero ranjenih toga dana, uslijed direktnog napada aviona, a i u pomen dvije osobe koje su tog i prethodnog dana stradale pod drugim okolnostima. Domaćini su nam pojasnili da je s obzirom da se radilo o krajiškim izbjeglicama, odlučeno da se i njima oda pomen, jer su stradali kao posljedica događaja koji su se tada odvijali.

Posljednje mjesto sjećanja koje smo posjetili je spomenik u Tunjicama. Na tom mjestu je 18. septembra 1995. otpočeo napad Hrvatske vojske na Novi Grad. Na spomeniku je ispisano pedeset i sedam imena. Stradalo je trideset sedam civila, osamnaest vojnika i dva pripadnika policije. Milorad, naš domaćin, tadašnji pripadnik VRS i akter tog događaja, ispričao nam je kako se bitka

odvijala, koje su jedinice učestvovala sa druge strane, a koje sa njihove. Pokazao je kuću u kojoj je sa komandom tada bio smješten, i danas stoji izrešetana mecima i gelerima granata i zlokobno svjedoči i podsjeća na silinu ratnog nasilja. Veterana HV iz naše grupe, koji je tih dana također bio u blizini, rekao je kako ni njima nije bilo lako i da je njegova brigada pretrpila značajne gubitke, bilo je poginulih i ranjenih. „Sad znam dio priče i odavde i odande i slika mi je kompletnija“, dodao je.

Po završenom obilasku memorijala, tokom razgovora sa učesnicima, osjetila se emotivna potrebenost, ali i zadovoljstvo zbog sprovedene akcije. Domaćini su istakli da će ova posjeta sigurno proći zapaženo u njihovom gradu i da doprinosi težnji za boljim suživotom. Kako je naveo jedan od njih, došlo je vrijeme da se promijeni odnos prema ratnoj prošlosti i da se prestanemo smatrati neprijateljima. „Mi imamo ove naše tri-četiri istine, možemo li barem pokušati da ih približimo?“, dodao je. Domaćini su također izrazili želju i spremnost da učestvuju u našim budućim akcijama, tako da ćemo ih nastaviti, ojačani novim članovima. Nadamo da smo dolaskom u Novi Grad „u pozitivnom smislu uznemirili ovu sredinu“, kako reče kolega Nedžad iz CNA, i da će se inicirati i druge aktivnosti koje doprinose izgradnji mira i pomirenju.

Amer Delić

Ratni veterani prisustvovali komemoracijama na Hrastovoj Glavici, Trnopolju i Novom Gradu

5. i 6. avgust/kolovoz 2016. godine

Grupa sačinjena od devetnaest ratnih veterana Armije RBiH, Hrvatske vojske, Vojske Republike Srpske, Hrvatskog vijeća obrane i Vojske Jugoslavije i četvero aktivista CNA, pridružila se komemorativnim događajima organizovanim u pomen na žrtve iz proteklog rata stradalim na područjima opština Sanski Most, Prijedor i Novi Grad.

Na lokalitetu Hrastova Glavica, opština Sanski Most, 5. avgusta je upriličena komemoracija u znak sjećanja na sto dvadeset i četiri ubijena logoraša iz prijedorskih logora Keraterm i Omarska. Ovom događaju smo prisustvovali na poziv Udruženja logoraša iz Sanskog Mosta, koje je jedan od organizatora. Tom prilikom odali smo počast stradalim, a u ime naše grupe skupu se obratio Adnan Hasanbegović iz CNA koji je istakao važnost čina da jedni drugima

dolazimo u dane koji nas podsjećaju na bolnu prošlost i da pokazujući saosjećanje sa žrtvama i njihovim porodicama činimo iskorak ka pomirenju i trajnom miru.

U večernjim satima istog dana naša grupa je stigla u Trnopolje gdje se na području nekadašnjeg logora u organizaciji Centra za mlade „Kvart“ iz Prijedora tradicionalno održava memorijalni događaj pod nazivom „Noć u Trnopolju“, u znak sjećanja na 5. avgust 1995. godine kada je svjetska javnost saznala za postojanje prijedorskih logora. Nažalost nas i svih prisutnih, uslijed vremenske nepogode, a s obzirom da se događaj odvija na otvorenom prostoru, program se nije održao kako je bilo predviđeno.

Na poziv Dokumentacijsko-informacionog centra

„Veritas“ učestvovali smo na obilježavanju godišnjice stradanja Srba u vojnoj akciji hrvatske vojske „Oluja“. Inače, ta godišnjica se obilježava višednevno u nekoliko gradova Republike Srpske i Srbije, a mi smo pridružili u dijelu koji je organizovan u Novom Gradu, 6. avgusta. Zajedno sa ostalim učesnicima obišli smo mjesta sjećanja - „Most spasa“ preko kojeg je 1995. godine prešlo više od sto hiljada izbjeglica iz Hrvatske, spomen obilježje stradalim civilima i vojnicima u naselju Tunjica i spomen-obilježje stradalim civilima u Svodni. Organizator se

zahvalio našoj grupi na dolasku i pokazivanju saosjećanja i razumijevanja za žrtve i njihove porodice.

Važno je istaći da su organizatori na događajima javno ukazivali na prisustvo grupe ratnih veterana različitih, pa i „neprijateljskih“ vojski i pridali mu važan značaj. Na taj način su učinili i da naša potreba za dostojanstvenim sjećanjem na žrtve i naša nastojanja za konstruktivnim sučavanjem sa prošlošću budu sastavni dio ovih komemoracija.

A.D.



Posjeta ratnih veterana Daruvaru, Pakracu i Lipiku

7-9. septembar/rujan 2016.

Sa saradnicima, ratnim veteranima, nekadašnjim pripadnicima VRS, JNA,VJ, AR BiH, HVO i HV, posjetili smo gradove Daruvar, Pakrac i Lipik. Iz CNA su bili Nenad Vukosavljević, Adnan Hasanbegović i Amer Delić. Ukupno grupa od nas dvadeset i četiri.

Prvog dana posjete susreli smo se sa domaćinima, članovima Udruge hrvatskog časničkog zbora Pakrac, Željkom Špelićem, Marijanom Čapekom i Stipanom Grgićem, i Udruge HVIDR-a Daruvar, Krešimirom Ivančićem, Sašom Premecom i Markom Čolićem. Uz dobrodošlicu domaćini su izrazili spremnost za saradnju i dijalog, ističući da im je žao što među nama nema i pripadnika Vojske Srpske Krajine (VSK), njihovih neposrednih bivših neprijatelja.

Susretu je prisustvovao i gradonačelnik Grada Daruvara, Dalibor Rohlik, koji nas je pozdravio i podržao našu aktivnost. I sam je ratni veteran i kaže: *„Nikada nije dovoljno raditi na promicanju mira, trebali smo se davno zabrinuti o dešavanjima u zadnjih 60 godina. U Hrvatskoj se još borimo oko 1941-1945.“*

U obilazak mjesta sjećanja i mjesta ratnog stradanja krenuli smo u jutro 8.9.2016. Najprije smo položili vijenac na Spomenik poginulim braniteljima Daruvara 1991-1995., nakon čega smo se uputili u obližnji barokni dvorac grofa Antuna Jankovića, sagrađen davne 1771., a koji danas ima funkciju muzeja. Unutar dvorca, uz visoke holove i plesne dvorane smješten je Stalni izložbeni postav *Domovinski rat u Daruvaru*. Kako rekoše domaćini



koji se brinu o postavci ove spomen sobe, nisu htjeli da razdvajaju civile i vojnike i ne žele da služi širenju mržnje već istine o ratu i sjećanju na stradale. Brojni dokumenti i fotografije svjedoče o pogibiji i intenzitetu sukoba na širem području Daruvara u periodu od 19. jula 1991. do 1. maja 1995. godine. Pažnju mi je privukla fotografija na kojoj su prikazani ljudi svezanih ruku sa prostrijelnim ranama na glavama. Radi se o civilima koje su 11. maja 1994. godine ubili pripadnici srpskih formacija u selu Batinjska Rijeka. Pitao sam da li je iko za to odgovarao, a jedan od domaćina, Krešimir Ivančić je rekao – *“Ne, niko”*. Rukom je pokazao na jednog od ubijenih i dodao – *“To je moj otac, Zdravko.”* Prikazan nam je dokumentarni film o ratu u Daruvaru, trajao je 12 minuta, meni se činilo da traje satima. Ponovo teški prizori bombardovanja i ubijanja, vrijeme ništa ne znači, sjećanja iz *mog* rata mi naviru.

Na putu ka Pakracu Željko Špelić je preuzeo ulogu vodiča, i dogovorili smo se da nas u prolazu upoznaje sa događajima vezanim za pojedina mjesta, a da se zaustavljamo na mjestima koja je izdvojio, kako bismo odali počast stradalim. Prolazili smo ceste na kojima su nekada bile barikade na kojima su ljudi zastrašivani i ubijani, pokazivao nam je mjesta gdje su bile postavljane zasjede i vođene borbe. *“Ovdje smo bili mi, a tamo oni”*, govorio je. *“To je što znam sa naše strane, a sa njihove ne znam gotovo ništa. Sada kada govorim o stradalim,*

govorim o civilima i vojnicima sa hrvatske strane. Kasnije ćemo doći do mjesta gdje su stradali civili srpske nacionalnosti, nad kojima je počinjen ratni zločin.”

Bučje – U tom mjestu je u periodu od avgusta 1991. do januara 1992. pod upravom vojnih formacija tadašnje Republike Srpske Krajine bio uspostavljen logor, većinom za zarobljene hrvatske vojnike, ali bilo je i civila. Takođe, među zatočenima su bili i civili srpske nacionalnosti koji su odbijali da se priključe VSK. Ukupno je bilo zatočeno između 200 i 250 osoba. Tačan broj ubijenih u tom logoru je nepoznat, do sad su identifikovana 3 tijela, a 21 osoba se vodi kao nestala. Od nekadašnjeg zatočeničkog objekta je ostao samo jedan zid, dok su u dvorištu podignuta dva spomen obilježja i kapelica.

Selo Kusionje – mjesto pogibije 18 pripadnika bjelovarske brigade HV i dvojice pripadnika MUP-a RH, koji su u tom selu, tada naseljenom većinski srpskim stanovništvom, upali u zasjedu srpskih vojnih formacija. Kasnije su mjestom ovladale hrvatske snage, a u susjednom Rakovom Potoku pronađena je masovna grobnica sa tijelima dvadesetorice poginulih u zasjedi.

Rakov Potok – obišli smo dva spomenika. Jedan je u znak sjećanja na poginule pripadnike HV i MUP-a RH u zasjedi u Kusionjama, čija su tijela pronađena u masovnoj grobnici na tom lokalitetu. Drugi je u spomen na 12 pripadnika virovitičke brigade HV koji su na tom području nestali 29. 12. 1991. Kasnije se pronađeni mrtvi.

Pakrac – zgrada policijske stanice za koju se vežu događaji od 1.3.1991. koji nezvanično označavaju početak rata u Hrvatskoj. Stipan Grgić koji je bio akter događaja, kao tadašnji policajac, opisao nam je na koji način se situacija odvijala tih dana. Konflikt koji se desio između njih i JNA nije završio sa žrtvama, ali su uskoro nakon toga su uslijedili pravi sukobi. Prva žrtva na području Pakraca pala je 9.6.1991., bio je to hrvatski policajac Vlado Laučan.

Lipik – grad koji je u ratu bio potpuno uništen. U Hrvatskoj ima status prvog oslobođenog grada u Domovinskom ratu.

Ribnjak kod Marinog Sela – U sklopu objekta *Ribarska koliba* 1991. je napravljen improvizovani zatvor u koji su dovođeni zarobljeni srpski civili iz sela u okolini Pakraca. Za ratni zločin počinjen u Marinom Selu osuđena su dvojica bivših pripadnika vojne policije, Tomica Poletto na 15 i Željko Tutić na 12 godina zatvora. Teretilo ih se za mučenja 24 srpska civila, pri čemu ih je 17 ubijeno. U blizini se nalazi Pakračka poljana, mjesto takođe poznato po ratnom zločinu nad srpskim civilima, koje su počinili pripadnici hrvatske specijalne policije, takozvani *merčepovci*. Tačan broj stradalih još nije utvrđen (više od 70 ukupno), a za ovaj ratni zločin je proglašen krivim ratni doministar unutarnjih poslova RH Tomislav Merčep, te osuđen na pet i pol godina zatvora.

Ova posjeta dogodila se 7 godina nakon prve pripremljene, ali neodržane posjete mješovite grupe ratnih veterana jednom gradu u Hrvatskoj. Tada su domaćini ratnim veteranima iz Srbije i BiH trebali biti predstavnici braniteljske udruge iz tog mjesta. Međutim, dva dana uoči dolaska, sve je otkazano, jer su domaćini dobili prijetnje i zabrinuli se za bezbjednost gostiju, ali i

za svoju bezbjednost. Nakon toga smo teško dolazili do pozicije da ostvarimo bilo kakvu vrstu saradnje. Nekada nije bilo volje, a nekada je onima koji su bili zainteresovani falila podrška ostalih članova udruge. Takođe, bilo je i bojazni od političkog pritiska kojem bi mogli biti izloženi, jer saradnja sa bivšim neprijateljima ne nailazi na podršku od strane vladajućeg političkog establišmenta.

Za stvari poput ovih potrebna je hrabrost, odluka da se stvari pomjere ka budućnosti u kojoj ne moramo strahovati da će nam djeca nositi puške. Takvi postupci nekada ne nailaze na odobravanje u vlastitim sredinama, ali kako reče jedan od domaćina: *“Posljedice ovog događaja ćemo mi osjetiti. Može se dogoditi da nas neki popljuju zbog ovoga, ali znamo se mi obraniti od takvih. Imali smo srce u ratu, imamo i sad. Uvijek sam spreman razgovarati sa nekim sa druge strane, osim ako je činio zločine.”*

Važno nam je da smo prvi put posjetili Hrvatsku i to u vrijeme kada su politički odnosi Srbije i Hrvatske na najnižem nivou još od rata i dok se u BiH zaoštavaju bošnjačko-srpski odnosi oko referenduma, uz prisustvo ratne retorike u medijima. Ratni veterani su opredjeljeni da nastave svoju misiju i ukazuju na pogubnost rata i dragocjenost mira. *“Želja mi je da nikada politika ne donosi odluke, već trezveno ljudi. Ovaj rat nije ništa dobro donio, išli smo svi ovim prostorom i vidjeli masu praznih tvornica, nitko se time od političara ne bavi, to je isto u svim zemljama tu kod nas. Prijateljstva sklopljena na ovakvim mjestima traju i to je ono što vrijedi”,* izjavio je jedan od učesnika, ratni veteran iz Šamca.

Amer Delić



Pridružili smo se:

Obilježavanje godišnjice početka rata u Hrvatskoj

Pakrac, 1.mart/ožujak 2016.

U Pakracu je 1. marta/ožujka 2016. godine organizovano „Obilježavanje dvadeset i pete godišnjice početka Domovinskog rata u Republici Hrvatskoj“. Posredstvom naših prijatelja i saradnika na polju izgradnje mira iz Udruge „Hrvatski časnički zbor“ Pakrac-Lipik, mi iz Centra za nenasilnu akciju (CNA) dobili smo poziv da prisustvujemo ovoj manifestaciji. Pozivu smo se odazvali i uz Adnana Hasanbegovića i Amera Delića iz CNA, uz nas je bio i naš dugogodišnji saradnik, ratni veteran Hrvatske vojske, Zvonko Lucić.

U programu obilježavanja organizovan je „Mimohod pobjednika“ ulicama grada do rimokatoličkog groblja gdje je održan komemorativni skup kojem smo se pridružili. Prisustvovali smo i skupu održanom na platou ispred zgrade Policijske stanice Pakrac, koja i simbolizira početak oružanog sukoba u Hrvatskoj, gdje su se prisutnim obratili politički predstavnici, predstavnici vojske i braniteljskih udruga i sudionici ratnih zbivanja. Program manifestacije završen je zajedničkim ručkom i druženjem učesnika u Hrvatskom domu „Dr. Franjo Tuđman“. Zahvaljujući našim domaćinima, tokom učešća u programu obilježavanja imali smo priliku upoznati se i razgovarati sa predstavnicima lokalnih vlasti Pakraca i čelnim ljudima braniteljskih udruga.

Tokom boravka u Pakracu, održali smo i sastanak kojem su prisustvovali predsjednik HVIDR-e Požeško-slavonske županije i predstavnici Koordinacije udruga proisteklih iz Domovinskog rata gradova Pakraca i Lipika. Kroz razgovor predstavili smo CNA iskustva višegodišnjeg rada sa

ratnim veteranima na polju konstruktivnog suočavanja sa prošlošću, te govorili o aktivnostima posjeta stratištima i zvaničnim komemoracijama koje sprovodimo zajedno sa grupom ratnih veterana iz regiona. Takođe, izrazili smo želju da ostvarimo intenzivniju saradnju sa braniteljskim udrugama iz Hrvatske, kao i dileme koje imamo o pristupu udrugama i poteškoće koje smo imali u dosadašnjim nastojanjima da organizujemo posjete mjestima sjećanja i stradanja u Hrvatskoj.

Naši sagovornici su pokazali zainteresovanost za ideju saradnje na polju izgradnje mira među bivšim neprijateljima i istakli potrebu unaprijeđenja dijaloga među ljudima koji žive na prostorima na kojima su trajali sukobi.

Predložili smo im da nam se pridruže na nekoj od budućih aktivnosti posjeta, što je i prihvaćeno.

Takođe, razgovarali smo i o mogućnosti zajedničke posjete ratnih veterana mjestima sjećanja i stradanja u Pakracu i okolini, što je ostalo kao otvoreno pitanje i u perspektivi će biti predmet dogovaranja.

Za nas je važno napomenuti da smo prvi put učestvovali na jednom ovakvom skupu obilježavanja značajnih datuma iz ratne prošlosti u Hrvatskoj. Iako bi voljeli da se ovakav susret i prije desio, vjerujemo da će naš dolazak u Pakrac i razgovori koje smo vodili biti od koristi i biti korak naprijed u uspostavljanju intenzivnijeg dijaloga o bolnoj prošlosti i izgradnje mira u regionu.

A.D.



razmjena, suradnja
i umrežavanje

Od kulture upotrebe mrtvih ka kulturi odnosa prema mrtvima

Studijski put Vukovar-Jasenovac-Prijedor

23-27. novembar/studen 2015.

Studijski put u Vukovar, Jasenovac i Prijedor planirali smo relativno dugo. Kroz naš rad na izgradnji mira na prostoru bivše Jugoslavije i suočavanje s prošlošću koje mu je jedan od preduvjeta, sa ovim se mjestima također susrećemo dugo, prvenstveno kao simbolima patnje i stradanja. Iako su po prirodi univerzalni, njihov je predznak izrazito nacionalan. Nije riječ o pukom pripisivanju, već o ljudskoj i historijskoj činjenici, naime, na tim su mjestima ljudi stradali baš zato što su pripadali, odnosno, zato što su doživljeni kao pripadnici određene etničke skupine. Ta je historijska činjenica i temelj upotrebe ovih mjesta danas. Stoga nam se činilo važnim da, uz cijeli CNA tim koji čine ljudi iz Bosne i Hercegovine, Hrvatske i Srbije, na put pozovemo i naše kolege/ice i prijatelje/ice, mirovne aktiviste/ice iz Makedonije i sa Kosova. Željeli smo zajedno posjetiti ova mjesta i razgovarati o njima, o njihovim složenostima, sličnostima i razlikama, kao i o značaju koji imaju u etno-nacionalnoj strukturi dejtonskog trougla (Bosna i Hercegovina, Hrvatska, Srbija), ali i na području cijele bivše Jugoslavije. Željeli smo vidjeti kako se sjećamo svojih mrtvih, te kakvu pouku za budućnost ovo sjećanje nosi.

Na put smo krenuli 23.11., i prvo smo posjetili Vukovar. U sljedećih nekoliko dana obišli smo Jasenovac, Donju Gradinu, Sanski Most i Prijedor. Ova mjesta smo izabrali

zbog njihove međusobne isprepletenosti u nacionalnim narativima postjugoslavenskih zemalja. Ona su Prošlost, koja uvijek iznova oblikuje našu sadašnjost, a budućnost čini krajnje (ne)izvjesnom.

Vukovar 1991. je po mnogočemu bio primjer onoga što će zahvatiti bivšu Jugoslaviju u godinama koje su uslijedile – opsada grada, mučenja, zatočenja, pogubljenja, potpuno razaranje dobara i života, ljudska moralna i svaka druga degradacija. Stalni postav izložbe „*Mjesto sjećanja – Vukovarska bolnica 1991.*“ predstavlja rekonstrukciju bolničkog života tijekom tri mjeseca opsade, bez struje, vode, lijekova i medicinskih potrepština. Ovdje su upisani i brojevi ranjenih i poginulih koji su svakodnevno zaprimani u bolnicu, kao i imena ranjenika i medicinskog osoblja odvedenih iz bolnice na stratište na Ovčari. U ratne dane vukovarske bolnice uvodi kratki film, zbirka tv reportaža iz opkoljenog i porušenog grada, snimke mrtvih tijela na porušanim ulicama, krvi i razaranja. Lutke postavljene u nekadašnje atomsko sklonište bolnice u kojemu su ranjenici i osoblje bolnice boravili, nemaju lice niti ime. No, zna se „čije su“, govore to krunice¹ koje su nekima od ovih ranjenika položene na prsa. U posljednjoj sobi muzeja gori svijeća, imena ljudi koji su iz bolnice odvedeni po slomu obrane grada nabrajaju se iz zvučnika. Ovo će

1 Rozarij, brojanka





ostati s vama još neko vrijeme, kad izađete iz bolnice osjećate se ljudski poraženo. Ako dolazite s „druge strane“ ovakva postavka muzeja vas a priori osuđuje, jednako kao što to čine mnogi drugi naši spomenici, bez obzira na to tko ih je postavio. Bila sam ovdje nekoliko puta, u razmaku od nekoliko godina. Čini mi se da vrijeme čini svoje, pa je ta krivnja koja vam se slijeva niz ramena i u kosti sada nešto razrjeđenija. No, ostaje dojam da su autori postava to i htjeli, ili barem nisu razmišljali o učincima koje preplavlivanje emocijama ima na posjetitelje.

Obolnici smonajviše i razgovarali, ostaviv as nemoćnim. „Mi“ koje se ovdje pojavljuje je samorazumijevajuće. Tako je i s neprijateljem, on nema ime, ali je svugdje prisutan: jugovojaska, velikosrpski agresor, četnici. Razgovarali smo o ljudima koje znamo, a da su u Vukovaru poginuli, i ne samo sa hrvatske strane. O prijateljičinom mužu, 21-godišnjaku kojeg su pokupili na ulici na vojnu vježbu i poslali na ratište, da se više ne vrati. O silnim poznanicima koji su se skrivali po tuđim kućama i pod lažnim imenima. O dezterterima iz JNA. Za njih ovdje nema mjesta, ali nema ga nigdje, ovi poginuli ne pripadaju nikome jer se njihova priča ne uklapa niti u jedan narativ, ona je prešućena. Pljačke, razbojništva, ubijanja, silovanja, nikad ne čuješ da su se naši ljudi proslavili dobrim djelima, reći će moj kolega. Odeš 200km dalje, i priča se okrene.

U ovakvoj postavci stvari rat je neupitan, on je potpuno legitiman, važno je samo da se nađeš na „pravoj“ strani.

O ratu smo pričali sa brigadirom Petrom Čavarom, našim vodičem kroz izložbe postavljene u *Memorijalnom centru Domovinskog rata* u kasarni/vojarni vukovarske 204. brigade. Ovaj nesuđeni agronom i pjesnik (odgovor

na naše pitanje šta bi bilo da nije bilo rata) pričao je s nama o tome kako mir nema alternative, i kako je to poruka koju u centru nastoje prenijeti osmoškolcima koji dolaze u posjetu Vukovaru. Miris bolnice nekima je od ratnih veterana iz naše grupe bio teži od mirisa fronta, podijelili su. Kad smo se našli u kasarni, proradio je i taj štit-mehanizam, da se razgovara o naoružanju ne bi li se pobjeglo od težine, od emocije u banalnu racionalizaciju. Rat je velika priča koja proguta sve što se ne uklapa u herojski, epski narativ, nema suptilnosti niti kompleksnosti.

Na *Memorijalnom groblju žrtava iz Domovinskog rata* jedan je od estetski ljepših spomenika žrtvama u ratovima 1991-1999. Podignut kraj lokaliteta masovne grobnice, čije su žrtve simbolički prikazane u redovima bijelih mramornih križeva, on također nosi simbol križa i potpuno se uklapa u narativnu matricu žrtve, križnog puta i uskrsnuća. To je priča, razgovarali smo kasnije, o hrvatskoj Hrvatskoj, bez obzira što su tu pokopani i Nijemci i Bošnjaci i mnogi drugi. Njena je funkcija da pokaže iracionalnu mržnju „onih drugih“ protiv „nas“, crno-bijelu ekspoziciju. U tom smislu na groblju su razdvojeni civili i vojnici, i porodice od vojnika, smještajući ove potonje u prvi red, prema zaslugama.

Spomen dom na Ovčari dostojanstveno je mjesto. Smješten je u hangaru u kojem su zatočnici dovedeni iz vukovarske bolnice mučeni, te potom odvedeni na stratište 800 metara dalje, i pogubljeni. 261 žaruljica na stropu simbolizira njihov ukupan broj. U hangaru su njihove fotografije, nešto osobnih stvari koje su pronađene na mjestu grobnice. U ritmičkog slijedu te se

fotografije pale i gase, dovodeći ih povremeno natrag u postojanje. U sredini hangara je spirala koja sa sobom odnosi imena poginulih, koju je autor nazvao Spiralom zla². Na mjestu gdje su ubijeni i pokopani u masovnu grobnicu stoji spomenik. Nedugo prije našeg dolaska bio je Dan sjećanja na žrtvu Vukovara, kako se službeno naziva. Crveno-bijelo-plave svijeće svuda oko nas. Na spomeniku piše:

U spomen na 200 ranjenih hrvatskih branitelja i civila iz vukovarske bolnice pogubljenih u velikosrpskoj agresiji na Republiku Hrvatsku.

Ovčara 20. Studenog 1991.

Hrvatski narod prosinac 1998.

Danas Vukovar pohode tisuće ljudi. U obilasku muzeja Vukovarska bolnica rečeno nam je da muzej godišnje primi i do 100 tisuća posjetitelja. Svi će ti posjetitelji, kao i mi, posjetiti i Memorijalni muzej Domovinskog rata, smješten u kasarni/vojarni vukovarske 204. brigade, Memorijalno groblje žrtava iz Domovinskog rata, te spomen dom i spomenik na Ovčari. Vukovar je grad memorijal, obnovljen za sjećanje na „herojsku žrtvu golorukog naroda koji brani svoju zemlju od višestruko brojnijeg i oružano nadmoćnijeg neprijatelja“. Žrtva je kolektiv, neprijatelj je kolektiv. Stvari su tako zacrtane i upisane, u spomenicima, u obilježjima, u zastavama i svijećama, ovdje se hrvatski narativ nadaže kao samodovoljan, od Hrvata za Hrvate. No, nema boljeg dokaza zločina od onog kada mjesto zločina posjete i svoje poštovanje prema žrtvama iskažu oni za koje ovdje nije predviđeno mjesto. Prisustvo „drugih“, koji su došli u dobroj volji, narušava tu samodovoljnost. Stradanje Vukovara i Vukovaraca je univerzalno strašno, i kao takvog ga se treba sjećati. Samo ako ga priznamo kao univerzalnu ljudsku žrtvu, možemo osigurati da se više nikada ne ponovi.

Sljedeći dan posjetili smo **Jasenovac** i Donju Gradinu, dijelove nekad jedinstvene memorijalne cjeline koja je raspadom Jugoslavije podijeljena između Hrvatske i entiteta Republika Srpska u Bosni i Hercegovini. Jasenovac je mjesto iznimne historijske važnosti, ali slabog društvenog statusa. O tome govori i broj posjetitelja, koji je deset puta manji nego u Vukovaru. U Jasenovcu i Donjoj Gradini rade iznimni ljudi - Ivo Pejaković, Đorđe Mihovilović i Dejan Motl – kustosi koji međusobno aktivno surađuju preko državnih granica i političkih ograničenja u nastojanju da kompleks logora Jasenovac

ima prvenstveno edukativnu funkciju, da se više nikome i nikad ne ponovi.

Iako se čini da se o Jasenovcu sve zna, u posljednjih 20 godina on nestaje iz hrvatske političke i historijske stvarnosti, koja se, pokušajima historijskog revizionizma ili pukom političkom manipulacijom, od njega nastoji ograditi. Jasenovac je mjesto holokausta nad Židovima i genocida nad Srbima i Romima. U hrvatskoj sadašnjosti ovaj drugi dio rečenice se počesto zanemaruje, iako je od 83145 dosad identificiranih žrtava najviše Srba, njih 47627. Ovi su brojevi materijalizirani u imenima čitavih porodica pogubljenih na ovom stratištu, i upisanih u pločama Memorijalnog muzeja koja vam, simbolički i doslovno, više kao mač nad glavom dok prolazite njegovom tjeskobnom arhitektonskom strukturom.

Brojčana će manipulacija postati jedno od najčešćih opravdanja za započinjanje rata 1991. godine. To nije relativizacija, već činjenica. To je kao da gledate u materijaliziranu spiralu nasilja - herojska žrtva i pravednički gnjev koje te silne besmislene smrti porađaju će, ukoliko im se ne pristupa konstruktivno, s vremenom od žrtve učiniti dželata. Sve to baštinimo od jugoslavenske kulture sjećanja. Nikad ekshumirani, nikad dostojno pokopani, nikad točno prebrojani, slavljeni kao bezimeni heroji i upotrebljeni za opravdanje nasilja koje će uslijediti. Ta lekcija nigdje nije očitija nego kad stojite ispod jasenovačkog cvijeta okruženi masovnim grobnicama.

Ono što u Jasenovcu bolno nedostaje jest počinitelj. Osim nekoliko ustaških proglašavanja, eksponata u Memorijalnom muzeju, o samoj NDH u Jasenovcu nećete saznati ništa. Da bi se takav obim zločina mogao provesti potrebna je podržavajuća državna struktura, rasni i diskriminirajući zakoni, i tiho slaganje većine koja promatra kako njihove dojučerašnje susjede odvođe u smrt. No, umjesto konstruktivnog suočavanja s ovom stranom hrvatske prošlosti, o njoj se izabralo šutjeti, kao da je povijest linearni pravac čije je dijelove i posljedice moguće izolirati na određeni segment vremena. Ako je Jasenovac kolektivno sjećanje, koja je njegova društvena funkcija? Što smo iz Jasenovca naučili?

Donja Gradina je dio jasenovačkog logora koji je bio namijenjen za egzekucije desetina tisuća ljudi, koji i danas leže u toj zemlji. Stratište koje nosi preko stotinu masovnih grobnica – raspoznat ćete ih kao udubljenja u tlu – mjesto je tišine. U ovom gotovo poetskom okruženju, jer u Donjoj Gradini postoje samo livade i šuma, stoje ti brojevi. Pod Kozarom, koja je i u Drugom svjetskom ratu i u ovom našem posljednjem, izbrojala hiljade smrti, ne možeš se oteti dojmima da su nama na ovim prostorima samo brojevi

2 Hangar je preuređen prema idejnom projektu Miljenka Romića <http://www.ipu.hr/uploads/documents/1670.pdf>

važni – u regionalnom natjecanju brojevi pokazuju čija je žrtva bila veća, tko je najviše stradao i tko je najveća žrtva. Iz ovoga slijedi relativizacija zločina počinjenih s „naše“ strane, te relativizacija tuđe patnje. Brojevi su smrtni neprijatelji empatije s „drugim“, zato ih svi lažiraju, ili barem ne čine ništa da bi se do pravih brojeva došlo. Ova se činjenica odnosi na sve postjugoslavenske zemlje.

50 km od Donje Gradine nalazi se **Prijedor**. Zločini počinjeni na ovom području od 1992. dobro su dokumentirani i dokazani, i zahvaljujući tome je inicijalno i utemeljen Međunarodni krivični sud za bivšu Jugoslaviju. Za razliku od Vukovara, gdje stradanje obilježava većina pa je ono i državno priznato, u Republici Srpskoj usprkos nizu dokazanih činjenica, sudskih procesa i najvećem broju osuđenih za počinjene zločine, ova mjesta i događaje i dalje obavlja zavjet šutnje. U Prijedoru nije lako biti, niti o njemu pisati. Logori, mučenja, silovanja i pogubljenja se lakše podnose ako stoje u nekoj davnijoj prošlosti, kad su akteri već davno umrli, pa o njihovom zločinstvu možemo razmišljati u patološkim kategorijama. No, ovakvi razmjeri zločina nikad nisu proizvod nekog poremećenog uma, koliko sistematske kampanje svih razina (para)vlasti, strahovlade i šutnje većine, i to je ljudski poražavajuće.

Mjesta zločina u prijedorskoj opštini su u najvećem broju neobilježena, a pristup ovim mjestima se opstruira.

U obilasku prijedorskih mjesta stradanja i sjećanja pridružio nam se Edin Ramulić iz udruženja Prijedorčanki „Izvor“, svjedok ovih događaja i urednik Knjige nestalih opštine Prijedor „Ni krivi, ni dužni“. Surađivati s Edinom je duboko inspirativno. Tegobnom kontekstu i realnosti unio je treću dimenziju, pitanje kako konstruktivno postupati s tim s čim smo suočeni.

Naš obilazak započeli smo u *Keratermu*.

Da su hangari pred kojima smo se našli mjesto zločina govore ožiljci od metaka koje trpe zidovi. I spomen ploča koja je ispred jednog od njih postavljena gerilski, bez dozvole. Radni strojevi, stražarska kućica, pas čuvar i sveprožimajuća hladnoća jedini su svjedoci našeg boravka ovdje. Edin nam objašnjava gdje je zloglasna soba 3, prepričava što se ovdje dogodilo. Damir Došen, jedan od osuđenih za ovaj zločin, svoju je kaznu odslužio, i može ga se sresti na društvenim mrežama ili na ulici.

Za ulazak u *Omarsku* trebala nam je dozvola uprave rudnika koji je trenutno u vlasništvu svjetski vodećeg proizvođača željeza ArcelorMittala. Vrijeme posjete nam je strogo ograničeno na jedan sat. Nedugo prije našeg



dolaska padao je snijeg, blato svuda oko nas. U blatu su nas prisilili stati, iako je pred rudničkim zgradama asfaltirani parking. Potom smo upozoreni da snimati možemo samo zloglasnu Bijelu kuću, drugo nam je zabranjeno zbog, kako su rekli, opasnosti od industrijske sabotaže. Stojimo pred Bijelom kućom, fizički ograničeni da vidimo i razgledamo cijeli logor. U nju su zatvorenici dovođeni na ispitivanje, premlaćivani, mučeni i ubijani. Nije to najstrašnija zgrada na području rudnika-logora. Zvjerstva su se događala u svim njegovim dijelovima, iz malene crvene kućice koja stoji 100m od nas nitko nije izašao živ, zato o njoj i ne postoje svjedočanstva. Budući da nam je poznato da obitelji žrtava godinama bezuspješno nastoje da se prostor logora dostojno obilježi, razgovaramo o mogućnostima. Procjena je da će ArcelorMittal za nekoliko godina iscrpiti svu željeznu rudu s ovog područja, što će vjerojatno olakšati nastojanja za memorijalizacijom ovog lokaliteta. To je istovremeno i tragična činjenica, plansko je iskopavanje rude, za razliku od ovakvog kapitalističkog, desetljećima omogućavalo kruh brojnim obiteljima s ovog područja. No, sve se ionako već promijenilo, Omarska će od 1992. ostati zabilježena kao koncentracioni logor.

Istraživanje grobnice *Tomašica* je završeno, što je podatak koji ćete teško naći jednostavnim guglanjem. Nije to činjenica koja se rado spominje, budući se masovne grobnice ove veličine mogu beskraino politički eksploatirati, kao što je slučaj i sa ostalim mjestima stradanja, i to ne samo u Bosni i Hercegovini. Toga smo bolno svjesni dok stojimo među zemljanim humcima nastalim iskapanjem, i malim jezerom u kojem su napadali snijeg i kiša pronašli svoje prirodno ispunjenje. Edin nam govori o činjenicama, brojevima, odgovara na naša pitanja. Nevjerojatno je koliko je čovjek kao takav sklon romantičnim predstavama, poput one naše da je o postojanju grobnice dojavio netko tko više nije mogao trpjeti duševne boli i košmarne snove. Takvo što rijetko se događa, svjedoči o tome i broj Prijedorčana koji se još uvijek vode kao nestali. Priča je da je grobnica otkrivena razmjenom informacija, možda dijelom i političkom trgovinom između Federacije i RS-a. Ovo su mjesto pohodili brojni političari obećavajući pravdu za žrtve. Do danas se ništa bitno nije promijenilo.

Nije nam prvi put u *Trnopolju*, stoga nam je već poznato da se u dvorištu, s prednje strane logora, nalazi spomeniku palim borcima RS-a iz Trnopolja. Teško se oteti dojmu da takva inicijativa predstavlja „maskiranje“ prostora, ili krađu sjećanja na proživljenu patnju, iako je on sam već pomalo pohaban, vrijeme čini svoje te je u nedostatku brige sa spomenika spala i ploča. Ovdje smo

imali prilike razgovarati s Fikretom Alićem, čovjekom koji je 1992., snimljen ovdje iza logorske žice, sablasno neuhranjen i izmučen, postao simbolom stradanja u prijedorskim logorima. Zahvaljujući i ovoj fotografiji, svijet je upoznat s postojanjem logora što je uvjetovalo njihovo zatvaranje. Fikret se, nakon teškog ratnog razdoblja i dugog zdravstvenog oporavljanja, 2006. vratio u Kozarac u opštini Prijedor. Ovaj skroman čovjek, koji sve što je pretrpio nosi stoički i pomirljivo, okrenut je prema budućnosti. S nama se susreo kako bi odaslao poruku mira, kaže. Tako on priča svoju priču, s namjerom da se više nikom i nikad ne ponovi. Svi smo bili duboko potreseni ovim susretom.

Iz Trnopolja smo se zaputili ka **Sanskom Mostu**, pa potom ka *Hrastovoj glavici*. Ovdje su 1998. ekshumirani posmrtni ostaci 124 osobe, prethodno zatočene u logorima Keraterm i Omarska, te još dvije osobe za koje je forenzika utvrdila da su u jamu bačene još u Drugom svjetskom ratu. Ova prirodna jama, smještena je u šumi, na kraju šumskog puta. Okolni je krajolik idiličan, prekriven snijegom, neometan prolaznicima. Ulaz u jamu sada je zagrađen. Kako je ovaj lokalitet na području Federacije, spomen obilježje ovdje je postavljeno na dvadesetu obljetnicu zločina:

*Nad ovom jamom su 6. augusta 1992 godine
Pripadnici srpske vojske i policije ubili 124
Zatočenika iz prijedorskih logora smrti
Keraterm i Omarska.
Ubijali su ih po trojicu svezane žicom i bacili
U ponor dubok preko 20 metara.
Skeletni ostaci su pronađeni 1998 godine
Kada su izvađene i kosti dvojice Sanjana
Ubijenih u Drugom svjetskom ratu.
Spomen obilježje podižemo na 20. godišnjicu
Zločina u nadi da nikada više u ovu jamu
Neće bacati nevine ljude.*

*Udruženje Prijedorčanki „Izvor“
Udruženje logoraša Sanski Most*

Edin nas je upitao je li postavljena ploča previše generalizirajuća, i predstavlja li kao takva prijetnju Srbima povratnicima u okolna sela. Zahvaljujući istraživanju koje smo provodili u posljednje tri godine, a koje se odnosi na spomenike nastale na području BiH nakon ratova 1991-1995., svjedočili smo brojnim spomeničkim inskripcijama. Vrlo često, iz boli, tuge i bijesa na spomenicima se nađu dušmani, četnici, ustaše, zločinci, riječi zauvijek i nikad, ni oprost, ni halalit, ni zaboravit, vječna pouka. Ovo nije takvo obilježje, ne mrzi nikoga, već opominje i sjeća se.

Na spomen ploči su navedena imena poginulih i koliko su godina imali kad su ubijeni. Nakon ovih naših ratova nedostaju nam generacije i generacije ljudi.

U povratku smo posjetili *Memorijalni kompleks Šušnjar* u Sanskom Mostu. On možda najbolje pokazuje kako se spomenici mijenjaju u skladu s duhom vremena. Podignut za žrtve fašističkog terora i borcima NOR-a, tijekom posljednjeg rata je devastiran, i na njemu su napravljene intervencije koje su imale izmijeniti ideološku potku njegovog postavljanja, ali i etno-nacionalnu strukturu žrtava i boraca kojima je podignut. Prije nekoliko godina je proglašen nacionalnim spomenikom BiH. Mislimo da ga ne bi trebalo obnavljati. On je spomenik navodno slavnoj prošlosti, ali i spomenik njenoj krvavoj ideološkoj dekonstrukciji. Zato ga ovakvog treba sačuvati i dovoditi djecu da ga gledaju i nauče se stidu. Možda će stid biti početak sumnje u veličanstvenost njihovih predaka koji su se u borbi za njihovu bolju budućnost malo zanjeli, i ostavili im ovakvo naslijeđe, kojeg je Šušnjar najbolji primjer.

Sve nas je ovo ostavilo u značajnoj mjeri zabrinutima i obeshrabrenima. Uz sve drugo, osim prošlosti dijelimo i kulturu sjećanja koja svojim epskim, herojskim narativima u obrazovanju i javnom prostoru ne dopušta propitivanje

osnovne matrice. Naša (ne)davna ratna prošlost nam jasno kazuje koliko je takva postavka pogrešna. U njoj leži ogromna opasnost koja prijeti stalnim povratom nasilja, i rađa osjećaj da nam sve to visi nad glavom, da nam se ponovno može dogoditi.

U memorijalizaciji i kulturi sjećanja multiperspektivnost je nužna za otklon od crno-bijelog poimanja svijeta kao borbe dobra i zla jer istina je negdje između, u području sivog. Za nas je važno kako se mi kao živi ljudi ponašamo prema mrtvima. No, uz sve poštovanje koje zaslužuju, postoje i živi ljudi koji zaslužuju to isto. Tek će poštovanje ljudskog života i života uopće stvoriti prostor za zapitanost, za dijalog, da to ne bude još jedan krug koji se ponavlja, i na tome treba ustrajati. Zato valja posjećivati obilježena mjesta stradanja, pogotovo ako vas percipiraju kao pripadnike „neprijateljske grupe“. Prisustvo omogućava transformaciju ideološke matrice i otvara mjesto za poštovanje prema mrtvima i čovječnost prema živima. A pogotovo je važno posjećivati neobilježena mjesta stradanja, svojim dolaskom ih obilježavamo, sjećamo se i vraćamo dostojanstvo mrtvima. Tu smo da se ne zaboravi i da se nikome, nigdje i nikad više ne ponovi.

Davorka Turk

Hrastovi, Topole, Tišina

Faruk Šehić

Sjećam se Vukovara kada je bio pod opsadom. Tada sam studirao u Zagrebu. Još nisam bio upoznao rat na svojoj koži, iako je Zagreb bio gađan artiljerijom iz kasarni JNA, i avionskim bombama. Jednom sam prolazio pored Lisinskog kada me uhvatila snajperska paljba. Taj zvuk snajperskog hica ću poslije, u Bosni, vrlo lako raspoznavati. Tragediju Vukovara smo gledali na TV ekranima, slušali svakodnevno na ulicama Zagreba. Priče o herojstvu branitelja, i izdaji vrha hrvatske vlasti. Onda je došao naš rat, i sjećanje na Vukovar je pokrila prašina, osim onda kada smo jednu od glavnih ulica na «našoj» strani rijeke i grada Bosanska Krupa nazvali: Vukovar. Jer je bila srušena do temelja. Tako je Vukovar postao sinonim za najveće moguće ratno stradanje.

Dvadeset tri godine poslije bio sam u Vukovaru s ljudima iz Centra za nenasilnu akciju. Bio sam šokiran podacima o broju mrtvih hrvatskih vojnika, zarobljenih pa ubijenih vojnika, strijeljanih civila.

Na Novom groblju pored Vukovara, gdje se sada nalazi Memorijalno groblje žrtava iz Domovinskog rata, otkopana je masovna grobnica sa 938 ubijenih. Civila, ranjenika, vojnika. Tu je i spomenik Zračni križ. I mjesto gdje se nalazila masovna grobnica sada je velika udubina s 938 mramornih križeva.

Ono što posebno zapanjuje jeste činjenica da ovaj barokni grad uopšte nije velik. Pa je samim tim njegova opsada bila još tragičnija. S jedne strane je bio Dunav i Srbija, a s druge strane najmodernije naoružanje JNA, i brojne srpske paravojske. Grad je uništen do temelja. Hiljade vojnika je poginulo na obje strane. Samo iz vukovarske bolnice je odvedeno 260 ranjenika (većinom vojnika), ali i civila koju su se tu sklonili, medicinskog osoblja, i ubijeno na Ovčari. Tu se nalazi skroman spomenik, i muzej na mjestu gdje je bio hangar. Gdje su prvo mučili zarobljenike i ranjenike, a potom ih ubijali na ledini, stotinjak metara dalje.



Ostali zarobljeni; hiljade civila i vojnika su prebačeni u logore Stajićevo, Begejce, Sremsku Mitrovicu, te istražne zatvore. U muzejskoj postavci Memorijala domovinskog rata u Vukovaru nalaze se karte koje su pravili logoraši, crteži, i kuhinjska krpa na kojoj su imena i potpisi logoraša iz nekog vojno-istražnog zatvora u Beogradu, predmeti vrijedniji od opisa bitaka i fotografija uništenih tenkova.

Vukovar je sada obnovljen, ali je cijeli grad muzej, u kojem ljudi i dalje pokušavaju živjeti normalno. Nakon posjete Vukovaru bilo je lako zaključiti da je on bio samo «probni balon» za ono što će se desiti u BiH. Ako shvatite strahote koje su se desile u Vukovaru, onda su vam Prijedor, Foča, Višegrad, Srebrenica logičan nastavak neviđenih okrutnosti i zločina.

Sve je tu bilo jasno, Milošević je htio Vukovar po svaku cijenu, i to se može shvatiti, ali čemu tolika ubistva civila, vojnika i ranjenika. Zašto se moralo ubijati ljude kao na fabričkoj traci. Čemu tolika krv koja je barijera bilo kakvom pomirenju među ljudima i narodima.

Sutradan smo posjetili koncentracioni logor Jasenovac, čiji dio, Donja Gradina, se sada nalazi u BiH, jer je stoljetna

granična linija bila izbrisana endehazijskim gutanjem BiH. Tokom NDH preko Save su iz Jasenovca skelom prevozili logoraše i ubijali ih u Donjoj Gradini. Tu se u šumama i livadama nalazi 120 – 150 grobnih jama. Do sada ih je otkriveno oko stotinu. Kako tada iza 2. svjetskog rata nije bilo metode za utvrđivanje identiteta putem DNA, tako su kosti ostale u masovnim grobnicama. Ustaše su prilikom povlačenja uništili logor, i mještani okolnih sela su razgrabili cigle kako bi ih ugradili u svoje nove domove.

Danas tu imate beskrajnu livadu od nekih kilometar ili dva, i veliki betonski cvijet beogradskog arhitekta Bogdana Bogdanovića.

U muzeju u Jasenovcu sam vidio fotografiju Emerika Bluma, koji je tu bio neko vrijeme, kao i Danijela Ozme iz Sarajeva, te fotografije i predmete brojnih sarajevskih i zagrebačkih Jevreja, poput prstena kojeg je tajno izradio Gabrijel Jug, i s unutrašnje strane zapisao: «I to će proći».

I prošlo je, ali će odzvanjati užasom do vječnosti. Konačni broj ubijenih ljudi vjerovatno nikad neće biti utvrđen. Do danas je imenom i prezimenom utvrđeno 85.000 žrtava ustaškog terora. Od toga najveći broj Srba, Jevreja, Roma, Hrvata, Bošnjaka, Slovenaca i mnogih drugih.

Sramotno je da muzej u Jasenovcu ne posjećuju škole iz Bosne i Hercegovine kao što smo mi nekad to radili u Jugoslaviji. Također iz Srbije ne postoje posjete iako se tamošnji nacionalisti sjete Jasenovca samo kad im zatreba opravdanje za genocid u Srebrenici ili stradanje Vukovara. Takođe je sramotno za vlast u RS-u (i za državni vrh BiH, iz kojeg niko ni ne dolazi) koja dolazi samo na godišnjicu osnivanja logora, kada drže predizborne govore ističući političke brojeve ubijenih Srba. Tako imate 500.000 ubijenih Srba i 127.000 ubijenih antifašista. Kao da jedno drugo isključuje.

Memorijal u Donjoj Gradini izuzev časnog kustosa, nekog zahoda što liči na oklopni voz, i nekoliko panoa sa kojih vrište preuveličane brojke ubijenih ništa ni ne nudi. Postoje tartan staze koje vas mogu asocirati da ste na mjestu predviđenom za šetanje u dubokim i tihim šumama, a ne na ogromnom stratištu.

Tako su grobne jame / masovne grobnice, sa karakterističnim udubljenjima nastalim propadanjem zemlje, dobile nazive prema drveću koje tu raste, ili prema atmosferi. Hrastovi, Topole, Tišina, neki su od naziva grobnih jama. Tišina je ono što ove šume čini nezemaljskim. Kao da ste u Tolkienovoj šumi, a ne na području najvećeg stratišta iz 2. svjetskog rata u Jugoslaviji.

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Putovanje u Manipur

Imphal, 21.2.-2.3.2016.

U Manipur na sjeveroistoku Indije stigli smo na poziv naše prijateljske i partnerske organizacije, *Brot fuer die Welt* i UNMM-a iz Manipura (United NGO Mission to Manipur), kako bismo predstavnicima/cama organizacija članica UNMM mreže održali trening iz suočavanja s prošlošću. Dosad nam nije bila praksa da organiziramo ili držimo internacionalne treninge, no naši su partneri smatrali da upravo naše konkretno ratno i postratno iskustvo sa zapadnog Balkana može biti od velike koristi kad je u pitanju poticanje dijaloga i izgradnja povjerenja među etničkim zajednicama u Manipuru. Tim za trening su činili Ivana Franović, Nenad Vukosavljević i Davorka Turk.

Naš posjet Manipuru sastojao se od kraćeg studijskog puta, tijekom kojeg smo se поблиže upoznali sa predstavnicima/cama organizacija civilnog društva te s društvenim kontekstom u kojemu rade i djeluju, i petodnevni trening za grupu učesnika. Prije dolaska smo se informirali o konkretnim okolnostima i prirodi konflikta¹, tako da smo bili do određene mjere pripremljeni za vojsku na ulicama. Različite razine i vrste konflikta koji su u Manipuru gorući, i poseban status koji

Manipur ima u Indiji je ono što njegovi stanovnici osjećaju kao kontinuirano nasilje nižeg ili višeg intenziteta, a indijska država tretira kao „sprovođenje zakona i reda“ u pograničnom pojasu.

U tom se smislu veliko prisustvo i značajne ovlasti koje imaju vojska i policija tumače kao rezultat sigurnosne nužnosti – kontrole pograničnog područja s Mijanmarom, ali i borbe protiv naoružanih pobunjeničkih grupa. Zakon koji se primjenjuje od 1958. - AFSPA (Armed Forces Special Power Act) postao je simbol opresije i instrument diskriminacije kojim vojska i policija održavaju atmosferu straha i terora te uzrokuju teške povrede ljudskih prava. Naime, to je akt kojim je propisano postupanje u slučaju pobune protiv vlasti i drugih oružanih situacija. Prema AFSPA-u oružane snage imaju ovlasti, bez sudske naloga, primijeniti oružanu silu protiv osoba i grupa za koje sumnjaju da su pobunjenici ili da s njima surađuju, bez sudske naloga pretresati ljude i objekte, primijeniti silu prilikom hapšenja. Kako ovaj zakon osigurava imunitet, odnosno nekažnjivost za pripadnike vojske i policije, predstavlja izgovor za niz brutalnih kršenja ljudskih prava, ubojstava, silovanja, otmica, nestanaka, tortura i mučenja te održavanja atmosfere straha i terora. Pravo na kretanje, slobodno udruživanje i mirno okupljanje njegovom primenom su također ugroženi. AFSPA posebno pogađa žene, o čemu su organizacije civilnog društva podnijele

1 U razumijevanju društvenog konteksta sjeveroistoka Indije od velike pomoći nam je bila knjiga Sudeepa Chakravartija „Highway 39“ – Journey through a Fractured Land (Fourth Estate, New Delhi, 2012).



izvještaj UN-ovom Komitetu za ukidanje diskriminacije nad ženama (CEDAW).²

O kršenju ljudskih prava u Manipuru, kako u Indiji, tako i u ostatku svijeta, zna se malo ili ništa, izuzmemo li borbu lrom Sharmile. Ova je aktivistica započela svoj nenasilni protest prije 15 godina, obavezujući se na štrajk glađu sve dok AFSPA ne bude ukinut. Posljednjih 15 godina indijske je vlasti drže zatvorenu zbog kršenja zakona (tretirajući cijeli slučaj kao pokušaj samoubojstva) te kako bi ju se održalo na životu.

Dodajmo ovome probleme slabe i neučinkovite vlasti, korupcije i nezaposlenosti, etničkih sukoba i drugih oblika nasilja, s posebnim naglaskom na seksualno nasilje protiv žena i djece, to je društveni okvir koji su nam predstavili iz organizacija civilnog društva.

UNMM, mreža koja nas je pozvala, okuplja znatan broj organizacija autohtonih zajednica sa sjeveroistoka Indije preko linija etničkih, vjerskih i drugih podjela - hinduističke, kršćanske, budističke, muslimanske organizacije odnosno organizacije Meitei, Naga, Kuki i drugih plemenskih zajednica. Radi se o organizacijama žena usmjerenih na zaštitu žena i djece od seksualnog, obiteljskog i drugih oblika nasilja (i pružanje pomoći i podrške žrtvama iz manjinskih zajednica, te obranu njihovih prava unutar legalnog sistema), organizacija usmjerenih na zaštitu ljudskih prava, zaštitu autohtonih zajednica i njihovih prava i sl. Susreli smo i aktiviste te lidere zajednica iz Moreha, grada na granici s Mijanmarom, koji je svojedobno bio poprištem sukoba između različitih etničkih zajednica, a inače čini važno trgovačko i krijumčarsko čvorište droge, zlata te trgovine ljudima. Tijekom studijskog puta posebno nas se dojmio susret sa grupom žena, udovica, koje se nakon gubitka supružnika u oružanim incidentima i konfliktima suočavaju sa velikom društvenom stigmom, no usprkos tome pokušavaju pronaći način kako da prehrane sebe i svoju djecu³.

2 Ovo je jedan u nizu izvještaja koji su lokalne organizacije civilnog društva uputile prema međunarodnim tijelima, zahtijevajući zaštitu: https://www.ecoi.net/file_upload/1930_1415203563_int-cedaw-ngo-ind-17527-e.pdf.

3 Žene i djeca u Manipuru su neposredno pogođeni svim razinama konflikta, bilo kao neposredne žrtve ili kao udovice pogubljenih ili nestalih tijekom vojnih akcija protiv oružanih grupa, akcija oružanih grupa u otimanju resursa, kao žrtve seksualnog nasilja koje su nad njima počinili pripadnici vojske, policije, oružanih grupa, ali i članovi obitelji. Uslijed svog lošeg društvenog statusa, ove su žene vrlo često stigmatizirane i na meti nasilnika, budući da, nakon smrti muževa, ili trpeći nasilje, bivaju odbačene kao društveno nepotrebne, potpuno nezaštićene i ostavljene u situaciji da se bore za goli život.

Uz strukuralno nasilje (kolonijalno naslijeđe, državno uspostavljeno nasilje, rasizam i patrijarhat, te još uvijek djelatne kastinske podjele), problem su i tradicionalni etnički konflikti, poput sukoba između zajednica Naga i Kuki, ali i Hindusa i autohtonih zajednica, kao i odnos većinske zajednice prema Muslimanima. Svi su ovi konflikti dugotrajni, materijalno i ljudski iscrpljujući i pridonose općem stanju nesigurnosti, straha i frustracije. Tijekom boravka u Manipuru često smo imali priliku čuti kako su etnički konflikti instruirani i podgrijavani „sa strane“ (bez obzira na to tko se adresira kao druga strana – kolonijalna Britanija, indijska vlada, oružane skupine čija se borba najčešće manifestira kao borba za kontrolu trgovine drogom, zlatom ili ljudima ili pak susjedne indijske države poput Nagalanda, zbog pretpostavljenih ili stvarnih teritorijalnih pretenzija). Takvo nam tumačenje vlastitih sukoba zvuči poznato, kao i mnogi drugi obrasci kojima se služimo kad pokušavamo dati smisao konfliktima koji su nam obilježili život ili ga još uvijek obilježavaju. Tijekom osam manipurskih dana puno smo toga ispričali o Jugoslaviji, o tome kako su se naši ratovi odvijali, zbog i oko čega, i jesu li se i kako mogli predvidjeti ili preduprijediti. No, nečemu smo se i podsjetili, na primjer kako je to kad vojska drži važne punktove ili zaposjeda prirodne ljepote (poput jezera Loktak). Dok prolazimo pored dugih cijevi na putevima, *checkpointima* i ulicama, nadamo se da je nešto moguće naučiti i iz tuđeg iskustva, zato nam je i bilo važno da pođemo na ovaj put.

Zbog svega navedenog, iz UNMM-a su smatrali da im naše iskustvo izgradnje mira u regiji bivše Jugoslavije može pomoći u konstruktivnom suočavanju s vlastitom prošlosti te izgradnji dijaloga i povjerenja među različitim stranama u sukobu, smatrajući ove alate primjenjivim i potrebnim u vlastitim zajednicama.

Grupu za koju smo organizirali trening, i koja je u jednom trenutku brojala i 34-ero ljudi, činile su predstavnice i predstavnici ženskih organizacija i organizacija za zaštitu ljudskih prava iz različitih etničkih i vjerskih zajednica. Zahvaljujući prethodnoj pripremi i studijskom putu, trening smo oblikovali prema danim okolnostima, kao i prema potrebama koje su artikulirane tijekom ovih nekoliko dana, kroz susrete i razgovore. Namjera nam je bila potaknuti interakciju među učesnicima/cama i stvoriti uvjete za konstruktivan dijalog o gorućim društvenim pitanjima, međusobno isključujućim stavovima, pretpostavkama i predrasudama. No, jednako tako, nastojali smo se međusobno ohrabriti za daljnji rad u izgradnji mira, tražeći one točke koje možemo ostvariti zajedno ili uz međusobnu podršku.



U našem se radu držimo premise da nije moguće prepisivati rješenja ne vodeći računa o specifičnim društvenim kontekstima u kojima se konflikti zbivaju. Uz to, poučeni vlastitim iskustvom, u najmanju ruku smo obazrivi na rješenja koja nam dolaze izvana. No, čini se da pogled izvana može biti katalizator koji će dovesti do toga da se o nekima od ovih pitanja počne raspravljati. Osim toga, čini se da je zahvaljujući konkretnim iskustvima sa zapadnog Balkana, moguće analizirati ili barem prepoznati ono što, uz specifičnosti određenih konteksta, ipak ostaje univerzalno: način na koji vidimo naše „neprijatelje“, kako se i po kojim linijama podjela uspostavlja diskriminacija grupa i pojedinaca, institucionalizira nepravda ili potiče nasilje, kao i na koje se načine moguće suprotstaviti takvim tendencijama, kako unutar vlastite grupe, tako i u društvu samom. Iznimna prednost ovih radionica je bila u tome što su, kao i puno puta u našem slučaju, predstavljale mjesto susreta, gdje je onog „drugog“ moguće ne samo vidjeti nego i čuti, te puno toga naučiti iz samog procesa i jedni od drugih. Iznenadila nas je spremnost na samorefleksiju, dijalog i suradnju. Većina je učesnika, onih koji su to podijelili sa nama, kao veliko olakšanje doživjela spremnost da se razgovara o spornim pitanjima, kao i o mogućim točkama za suradnju i zajedničko djelovanje.

Osobno sam većinu učesnica i učesnika doživjela kao vrlo politične osobe, svjesne složenosti problema i političkog trenutka, ali spremne na traganje za drugim rješenjima koja mogu premostiti ušančena neprijateljstva, što je kvaliteta koja nam često nedostaje u postjugoslavenskom kontekstu.

Trening je premašio sva naša očekivanja, a tako su ovih nekoliko dana procijenili i učesnici. Iako smo zbog iznimne veličine grupe predviđali razne probleme u radu, oni su izostali zahvaljujući velikoj motiviranosti učesnika i njihovoj posvećenosti ovom procesu. Kao potencijalnu prepreku smo doživjeli dobnu razliku među učesnicima, zbog različitosti uloga koju stariji i mlađi nose u društvu (kao instancu autoriteta koju starije osobe predstavljaju). To je svakako utjecalo na dinamiku grupe, ali i donijelo značajne uvide kao pouku za moguću buduću suradnju.

U Manipur smo otišli sa skepsom, sumnjajući da naš odlazak ima puno smisla, s obzirom da nismo dobro poznavali kontekst. A pristali smo otići samo zato što su naši suradnici iz Brot fuer die Welt i UNMM-a bili veoma uporni. Na kraju smo uvidjeli da je put u Manipur bio višestruko koristan. Pored toga što smo sami mnogo naučili, uspjeli smo stvoriti prostor za dijalog među pripadnicima različitih zajednica o bolnim temama, o

onome o čemu se šuti iz straha da bi razgovor o tome bio vrlo neprijatan ili čak doveo do novog ciklusa nasilja. Većina učesnika nam je rekla da im je to bio prvi put da sa nekim iz druge zajednice pričaju o tome i na takav način. Nema efektnijeg osnaživanja od osjećaja olakšanja na kraju dijaloga o teškim i bolnim temama.

Nadamo se da će naše prijateljice i prijatelji u Manipuru iskoristiti ovaj trenutak kada postoji atmosfera, hrabrost, elan i motivacija, i da će nastaviti sa dijalogom.

I da će na taj način uspjeti izgraditi društvo u kome se ponose bogatstvom svojih različitosti i u kome se niko ne osjeća kao građanin drugog reda. Posebno se nadamo da neće odlučiti da probleme među različitim grupama probaju riješiti kao mi na Balkanu, silom. Jer mi tako ništa nismo riješili, samo smo problem uvećali onoliko puta koliko je života tom prilikom izgubljeno.

Davorka Turk

Izložba fotografija i promocija publikacije „Rat sjećanja“

Beč, 8-9.april/travanj 2016.

Prva javna izložba fotografija, predstavljanje publikacije „Rat sjećanja“ i ideje koja stoji iza objavljenog materijala u njoj i na sajtu kulturasesecanja.org organizovano je u Beču, 8-9. 04. 2016. Predstavljanje su pratili izložba izabranih fotografija, panel diskusija na otvaranju izložbe (8. 4. 2016.) i radionica za zainteresovane na temu „Rat sjećanja i pomirenje“ (9.4.2016.). Cijeli događaj je organizovan od strane *Brot für die Welt* i *Internationaler Versöhnungsbund* (IFOR) iz Austrije, a uz podršku *Österreichische Entwicklungs zusammenarbeit* (Austrijske agencije za razvoj). Izložba je postavljena u *Albert Schweitzer Haus* u Beču.

Na otvaranju izložbe, osim nas iz CNA (Ivana Franović i Nedžad Horozović), su govorili Jasmina Haračić iz austrijskog Crvenog krsta, Robert Streibel historičar i publicista iz Beča i Pete Hämmerle iz IFORA-a. Publika je bila „šarena“, i uz austrijance/ke bilo je i veliki broj ljudi sa prostora bivše Jugoslavije, naših ljudi iz „dijaspore“.

Veći dio vremena tokom panela je bio posvećen pitanjima koja su dolazila od publike, a koja su tematizovala potrebu za sjećanjem na rat, lekcije koje možemo naučiti iz prošlosti, presude za ratne zločine na sudu u Hagu, kulturu sjećanja i memorijalizaciju, trenutak u kojem se nalazimo na globalnom nivou...Zanimljivo je bilo čuti i porediti iskustva Austrije nakon II svjetskog rata i iskustva zemalja bivše Jugoslavije, i čuti od ljudi koji se bave prošlošću da neki procesi u Austriji još traju, neki su puno kasnije započeti nego kod nas na Balkanu, a neki su „završeni“. Robert Streibel je opisao primjer

na koji je on naišao u svom istraživanju, o jednoj vojnoj jedinici iz II svjetskog rata kojoj je podignut spomenik Austriji a koja je, na osnovu njegovog istraživanja koje je sproveo, odgovorna za ratne zločine u Slavoniji o čemu se u austrijskoj javnosti ne govori ni nakon toliko vremena. Time je na slikovit način „spojio“ dva konteksta i temu odnosa prema prošlosti i počinjenim ranim zločinima učinio dodatno slojevitom ali i približio je svima prisutnim.

Kako se to uobičajeno zna reći: „Svečanost su svojim nastupom uljepšali“ bend Azrah, čiji su članovi/ce iz Austrije i iz „dijaspore“, i koji su otpjevali nekoliko „naših pjesama“ (Samo da rata ne bude, Par godina za nas...) uz koje su i Austrijanci/ke pljeskali i pjevušili k'o da su „njihove“.

Kako bismo pokušali odgovoriti na interesovanje grupe od 15-ak ljudi čiji je rad u vezi sa SsP ali i drugim poljima društvenog aktivizma u Austriji, sljedeći dan smo održali radionicu „Rat sjećanja i pomirenje“ (da je još jednom spomenemo). Razmjenjivali smo mišljenja i iskustva o terminima pomirenja, oprosta i prava na oprost, krivice i odgovornosti... Metodologijom i sadržajem smo probali da približimo naš rad i naš pristup radu na pomirenju i izgradnji mira, prije svega kroz primjer rada sa bivišim učesnicima rata.

Na povratku kući „ponijeli“ smo dosta podrške ali i naraslog iščekivanja planiranih promocija i izložbi u Sarajevu, Mostaru, Banja Luci, Bihaću, Beogradu... krajem ove i početkom sljedeće godina.

N.H.

Studijski put Beograd-Vukovar-Srebrenica-Sarajevo-Mostar

29.5.-5.6.2016.

U suradnji s njemačkom *Bundesstiftung Aufarbeitung*¹ organizirali smo studijski put za grupu teoretičara i praktičara na polju rada na sjećanju iz Njemačke. Osim historičara, našu su grupu činili i bivši parlamentarci/ke, ministri i novinari/ke, te četvero nas iz CNA.

Namjera ovog studijskog puta bio je uvid u različite pristupe suočavanju s prošlošću ili *prošlostima* u društvima i državama Daytonskog trougla. Naši su gosti izrazili želju upoznati se sa službenim politikama sjećanja i memorijalizacije, vidjeti čega se to sjećamo u javnom diskursu i prostoru, kako se sjećanje oblikuje i upisuje u društvenu stvarnost. Prednost ovog studijskog puta za nas iz CNA je bila u mogućnosti da dobijemo zrcalnu sliku, ogledalo ovih aspekata naših društava, te da ih vidimo iz jednog novog ugla.

S obzirom na isprepletnost prošlosti i sadašnjosti na području bivše Jugoslavije, i njihovo međusobno uvjetovanje, tijekom studijskog puta posjetili smo ne samo lokacije važne za razumijevanje događaja iz nedavne prošlosti, već i one iz Drugog svjetskog rata. Na put smo krenuli iz Beograda i u sljedećih sedam dana posjetili Vukovar, Srebrenicu, Sarajevo i Mostar, te se susreli sa znatnim brojem ljudi čiji je rad, posredno ili neposredno vezan uz prošlost, bilo da se radi o historičarima ili praktičarima na polju suočavanja sa prošlošću.

U našem se radu suočavanje s prošlošću nametnulo kao jedna od osnovnih pretpostavki izgradnje mira. Ono što svojim radom nastojimo postići jest da to suočavanje bude konstruktivno, inkluzivno, i multiperspektivno, budući da samo tako može ispuniti svoju zadaću. Upravo zbog toga je prekogranična suradnja još jedna od pretpostavki ovoga procesa. Naša postratna svakodnevnica, međutim, funkcionira po drugim principima, pa smo tako tijekom cijelog trajanja studijskog puta, ma gdje se nalazili, mogli svjedočiti snažnoj prisutnosti samo jedne – nacionalne i većinom isključive perspektive kako novije povijesti tako i polazišta koje uzurpira iz socijalističke povijesti, odnosno historije Drugog svjetskog rata.

Posjećujući spomen-mjesta značajna za nacionalne narative naših zemalja, imali smo prilike uvjeriti se kako se kroz ratno neprijateljstvo formirano sjećanje sve više okamenjuje, zadobija konkretnu, „službeniju“, verziju

prošlosti u kojoj više nema mjesta za nijanse koje smo, čini se još donedavno, mogli prepoznati. Kondenziranu verziju narativa možda i ne bismo imali prilike čuti da nismo bili u grupi stranaca, Nijemaca, kojima se, pretpostavljam zbog „lakšeg razumijevanja“, sva kompleksnost ratova 1991-1999. posluži u pojednostavljenoj verziji epsko-junačkih mitova kakve smo nekad slušali o narodno-oslobodilačkoj borbi. To nam svakako nije novost. Međutim, s obzirom da smo na put pratili ljude čiju je osobnu i društvenu povijest obilježila komunistička diktatura DDR-a, upravo nam je mnoštvo pitanja koje je naša grupa postavljala nama i ljudima s kojima smo se sretali, omogućilo da se podsjetimo na tu paralelu, kao i na ono što predstavlja korijen naših problema – autoritarnost režima, militarizacija i patrijarhat. Ta se osnovna postavka, naime, nije promijenila do danas.

U okviru studijskog puta smo posjetili:

Beograd - uži gradski centar, obilježen ostacima NATO bombardiranja iz 1999., mjesta na kojima su se odvijale demonstracije koje su dovele do pada režima Miloševića, Bajrakli džamije napadnute i zapaljane tokom provladinih demonstracija organizovanih zbog proglašenja nezavisnosti Kosova, ali i Staro sajmište na kojem je tokom Drugog svjetskog rata postojao koncentracioni logor.

Vukovar – „Mjesto sjećanja – Vukovarska bolnica 1991.“, Memorijalni centar Domovinskog rata, Spomen dom i spomen obilježje na Ovčari

Srebrenica – Memorijalni centar Srebrenica – Potočari, Spomen obilježje i mezarje za žrtve genocida iz 1995. godine

Sarajevo – Muzej Mlada Bosna – Principov most, Vase Miskina-Ferhadija (mjesto stradanja u redu za hljeb), Vječna vatra, Spomenik ubijenoj djeci opkoljenog Sarajeva, Spomenik međunarodnoj zajednici, Spomenik žrtvama hladnog i drugih ratova, sarajevski ratni tunel.

Tijekom boravka u Sarajevu održali smo i radionicu o suočavanju s prošlošću na kojoj su sudjelovali ratni veterani sa tri zaraćene strane. Posjetili smo i Istraživačko-dokumentacioni centar i Institut za istoriju, gdje su nam domaćini bili bh historičari čije je polje rada suvremena bosansko-hercegovačka i jugoslavenska socijalistička povijest. Primili su nas i u misiji OSCE²-a za BiH, koja u

1 Savezna zaklada za proučavanje komunističke diktature www.bundesstiftung-aufarbeitung.de.

2 Organization for Security and Co-operation - Organizacija za sigurnost i suradnju.

BiH djeluje od 1995., te nam predstavili neke od rezultata svog rada.

Na putu za Mostar posjetili smo Muzej „Bitka za ranjenike na Neretvi“ u Jablanici, te smo i obilazak Mostara, uz nediskretnu pratnju tri policajca, započeli na Partizanskom groblju – spomen nekropoli, autora Bogdana Bogdanovića. Nastavili smo u zapadnom dijelu grada, obilaskom spomenika koji je podignut Bruceu Leeju (u liku imaginarnog borca za pravdu utjelovljuje zahtjev za univerzalnom pravdom), potom nekadašnje prve linije fronta i današnje linije razgraničenja – Bulevara, te srušeni spomenik ARBiH. Ušli smo u Stari grad, na Stari most i obilazak završili na Šehitlucima. Tijekom boravka u Mostaru imali smo prilike posjetiti Centar za mir i međuetničku saradnju (iako smo imali dogovoren sastanak, njegov predsjednik Safet Oručević je sa sastanka izostao), te Hrvatski dokumentacijski centar Domovinskog rata u BiH. Pri ovom centru djeluje Odjel za Drugi svjetski rat i poraće i Domovinski rat, sa zadaćom izgradnje politike sjećanja za označeni vremenski period od 1941-1995. Tako su nam predstavili svoj projekt izgradnje „Groblja mira“, na kojemu će biti sahranjeni posmrtni ostaci formacija koje u Hrvatskom dokumentacijskom centru nazivaju „hrvatskom vojskom“ (radi se većinom o pripadnicima ustaškog pokreta poginulima i/ili ubijenima tijekom Drugog svjetskog rata na području Hercegovine), kao i drugih žrtava „jugokomunista“.

S brojem dana provedenim na putu u ovom ipak

jedinstvenom memorijalnom kontekstu, rasla je i bojazan sudionika puta da postoji potencijal za nove nasilne sukobe na našim područjima. Tom uvjerenju svakako pridonosi i „ukopavanje“ narativa kojemu smo svjedočili cijelim trajanjem puta i koje je podjednako značajka svih memorijalnih mjesta, bez obzira gdje se nalaze. Ovakva vrsta sjećanja i ekskluzivna samoviktimizacija koju ona propisuje tako postaju prepreke trajnom miru.

Ništa od viđenog nije nam novo, niti su razlike u odnosu na neke ranije posjete ovim mjestima drastične. Međutim, zabrinjava sve veći nedostatak refleksije i propitivanja istina koje se na ovim mjestima „serviraju“, pomognut činjenicom da oni „drugi“ na ova mjesta ne dolaze. Poražavajuće je da o toj mogućnosti nitko i ne razmišlja, kao ni o potrebi da otvorimo svoje rane jedni drugima, ekskluzivnost vlastite boli čini nas slijepim za patnju drugih.

Zato mi dopustite da završim pričom koju nam je, na kraju prezentacije projekta „Groblja mira“ u Hrvatskom dokumentacijskom centru, ispričao g. Rainer Eppelmann prepričavši citat Bertolta Brechta, i time pozvavši domaćine na dijalog i nužnost suradnje s drugima:

Veliki Karthago vodio je tri rata. Nakon prvog je još uvek bio moćan. Nakon drugog je još uvek bio naseljiv. Nakon trećeg ga se više nije moglo pronaći.

Bertolt Brecht, Otvoreno pismo nemačkim umetnicima i piscima, 1951.

D.T.

Razmena sa *Gegen Vergessen / Für Demokratie*

Beograd, 5-8. maj/svibanj 2016.

Sa velikim zadovoljstvom nastavili smo saradnju i međusobnu razmenu ideja i iskustava sa berlinskom organizacijom „Gegen Vergessen / Für Demokratie e.V.“ kojoj smo uzvratili gostoprimstvo od 5-8.5.2016. u beogradskoj kancelariji CNA. Susret upoznavanja i početka saradnje dogodio se prethodne godine u Berlinu, gde smo zaključili da imamo mnogo vrednosnih poklapanja, i da jedni drugima možemo da budemo podrška i inspiracija.

Na susretu u Beogradu razgovarali smo o ulozi istoričara u radu na društvenoj promeni i o mogućnostima

društvenog delovanja iz te profesije. Koleginice i kolege iz *Gegen Vergessen* su nam predstavile njihov rad na prevenciji neonacizma, kako pristupaju problemu i sa kakvim se izazovima suočavaju. Njih je zanimalo da saznaju više o našem radu s ratnim veteranima, pa nam se tom prilikom pridružio i naš dugogodišnji prijatelj i saradnik Novica Kostić, ratni veteran JNA iz Vlasotinca.

Složili smo se da ćemo nastaviti razmenu i saradnju i sledeće godine.

K.M.



mirovno obrazovanje

Posljednji Trening za trenere/ice iz izgradnje mira održan je 2014. godine. Između ostalog, tokom trajanja treninga radili smo na razradi akcija i aktivnosti koje su učesnici/ce željeli provesti u djelo. U nastavku vam predstavljamo aktivnosti proizašle iz Treninga za trenere/ice koje su realizirane u proteklih godinu dana.

Radionice “Slike moje i tvoje/Stereotipi i predrasude”

Foča/Goražde 01.10.2015.

Srebrenica/Milići 03.10.2015.

Kao jedna od aktivnosti proizašlih iz prošlogodišnjeg Treninga za trenere i trenerice (TzT) Centra za nenasilnu akciju Sarajevo/Beograd, održane su dve jednodnevne radionice “*Slike moje i tvoje/Stereotipi i predrasude*” za učenike/ce završnih godina srednjih škola u BiH iz gradova u kojima postoji nacionalna podjeljenost. Ideja o ovim radionicama potekla je od učesnica programa TzT, koje su ih osmislile i realizovale uz podršku CNA tima.

Prva radionica održana je u etno selu “Bijele vode” u okolini Goražda 01. oktobra 2015. i u njoj su učestvovali/le srednjoškolci i srednjoškolke iz Foče i Goražda, dok se druga 03.10. odvijala u Milićima, uz učešće mladih iz Milića, Bratunca i Srebrenice. Radionice je organizovao tim mirovnih aktivistkinja iz Skoplja, Mostara, Bijeljine i Beograda, uz podršku Centra za nenasilnu akciju Sarajevo/Beograd i Kuće otvorenog srca iz Mostara. S obzirom da su različiti stereotipi i predrasude (posebno etničke) osnova za isključivanje “drugih” u našim sredinama, činilo nam se logičnim da od toga treba krenuti. Posebno s obzirom na naš zajednički utisak da nema dovoljno programa mirovnog obrazovanja namenjenih mladima u ovom, za formiranje ličnosti važnom, periodu odrastanja. To je tim važnije što mladi u BiH danas pretežno žive u sredinama u kojima se dominantni etnički narativi retko problematizuju, bez mnogo prilika da se o različitim perspektivama istinski razgovara sa onima “sa druge strane”.

Iako su obe jednodnevne radionice koncipirane na skoro identičan način (uz neznatne modifikacije nekih vežbi nakon prve), rezultati su bili različiti. Prva radionica sa devetnaestoro mladih iz Foče i Goražda plenila je energijom i dinamičnošću. U značajnoj meri je sama grupa svojom otvorenošću i spremnošću za otvaranje (i bolnih) tema, diktirala tempo. Istovremeno, spremnost da se otvoreno razgovara bila je praćena pažljivošću i brigom da se ne povrede i uvrede drugi. Etnička izmešanost učesnika i učesnica i razgovor o uzajamnim stereotipima i predrasudama koji postoje u njihovim sredinama i načini

na koji to oblikuje i ograničava i njihove živote, olakšavalo je osveščivanje društvenih mehanizama koji su zapravo jako slični (iako sa različitim etničkim predznakom) i povezivanje ličnog i društvenog. To može biti povezano i sa tim što je značajan deo učesnika/ca na različite načine vrlo aktivan u svojim lokalnim zajednicama. Za razliku od te radionice, grupa sastavljena od mladih iz Srebrenice, Bratunca i Milića bila je dosta zatvorenija i sa mnogo više oklevanja se doticala bolnih tema. Neki od faktora koji su tome možda doprineli je da je za razliku od prve, ona gotovo potpuno bila monoetnička, kao i to što se značajan deo učesnika (osmoro od dvadesetoro predviđenih) nije pojavio na radionici. Uprkos tome, utisci učesnika i učesnica obe radionice se poklapaju. Kao posebno značajno i jedni i drugi su izdvojili zapravo samu mogućnost da razgovaraju o svim ovim temama, jer se razgovor o tome u mestima u kojima žive najčešće ne ohrabruje.

I za nas iz trenerskog tima ove radionice, njihova priprema i izvođenje bile su značajne iz više razloga. Iako nam je procena da prvobitno postavljen cilj radionice koji se ticao osnaživanja mladih da aktivno deluju na izgradnji poverenja u svojim sredinama, nije postignut, već se ostalo na bazičnijem nivou prepoznavanja stereotipa i predrasuda, smatramo da je i samo otvaranje ovih tema jedan korak ka tome. Mada su same radionice i za nas bile inspirativne i motivišuće, frustracija procesom timskog rada u procesu priprema radionica, nedovoljno iskomunicirana međusobna očekivanja, ad hoc podela rada i uloga unutar tima i zaokupljenost unutrašnjom dinamikom tima, rezultiralo je osećanjem istrošenosti i logističkim i sadržajnim propustima u pripremi radionica. Ovo su razlozi za odustajanje od izvođenja radionica u Mostaru i Travniku/Novom Travniku koje su prvobitno bile predviđene za 15. i 17. oktobar. Tim više što u smislu logističke pripreme za njihovo izvođenje nije urađeno gotovo ništa. Važnost detaljne i jasne podele uloga,

obaveza i očekivanja je jedna od važnih pouka celokupnog procesa.

Na drugoj strani, izvedene radionice su nam potvrdile pretpostavku da je izuzetno važno raditi sa mladima u ovom uzrastu koji žive u gradovima u kojima postoji duboka nacionalna podeljenost, ali je umesto jednodnevnih radionica potrebno razmisliti o drugim

načinima rada sa njima koji bi imali više efekta (kao što su možda duži treninzi, okupljanje oko neke zajedničke aktivnosti i slično). Na kraju, uprkos procesu pripreme radionica koji se može opisati kao izuzetno frustrirajući, uprkos propustima koji su se mogli izbeći, izlazimo iz celog ovog procesa bogatije za novo iskustvo i nove uvide.

Marijana Stojčić

Drugi trening iz izgradnje mira za studente/ice iz BiH

Bjelašnica, 6-11. novembar/studen 2015.

Drugi trening iz izgradnje mira za studente/ice održan je u periodu od 6-11.11.2015 godine. Lokacija treninga bio je hotel Bjelašnica.

Sadržajno je iz treninga dobijeno mnogo, a dubok utisak je ostavila i promjena na nekim sudionicima/ama koja je bila vrlo vidljiva u odnosu na prvi trening, na Jahorini, kao i ohrabrenost da se bez zadržke radi na teškim temama. Kao i na prvom treningu, tome je mnogo doprinijela i velika spremnost na samorefleksiju sudionika/ca, ali i sudjelovanje trenerskog tima koji je fokusirao proces.

U prvom dijelu ovog treninga, radili smo na suradnji, donošenju odluka, timskom radu i sukobu, i tu je intenzitet bio malo sporiji, zbog početka i uhodavanja, ali i zbog

nekih propusta napravljenih u vođenju vežbi. Drugi dio se sastojao od rada na društvenom nivou, pa smo u tom dijelu treninga obradili teme: diskriminacija, suočavanje sa prošlošću, kreativna razrada sukoba, te načini na koje možemo nenasilno djelovati.

Vježba „Korak naprijed“ je kod većine sudionika/ca ostavila dubok utisak, jer se propitivala osvještenost na nepravdu i nejednakost i solidarnost sa grupama koje nemaju velike šanse u društvu. To je velik zadatak, ali ova grupa se nosila sa njime zrelo. Tokom iskustvenih vježbi bilo je mnogo jakih i konstruktivnih trenutaka. Kreativna razrada konflikta je bila prilika da studenti prepoznaju nasilje oko sebe i da razmisle kako da se ophode prema njemu. Prethodno su urađene radionice o sukobu i



ulogama u nasilju. Za svaku pohvalu je, pored spremnosti na rad na osjetljivim pitanjima, i kreativnost koju su učesnici/e izrazili. Radionice sa temom suočavanja sa prošlošću su pokazale da su generacije rođene tijekom i nakon rata svjesne da u pričama koje ih okružuju nešto ne štima. Vježba „Heroji“ je bila odlično iskorištena prilika da se kritički razgovara o dominantnim narativima. Posebno je intenzivan bio razgovor o obiteljskim narativima. Nije manjkalo spremnosti na dijeljenje i samorefleksiju, te kritičkog pristupa mikrokontekstima iz kojih dolaze.

Najemotivniji dio treninga je bilo gostovanje ratnih veterana Mirka Zečevića-Tadića, Ibrahima Topčića i Spasoja Kulage, iz tri sukobljene ratne grupacije u BiH u periodu 1991-1995 – HVO, ABiH i VRS, od kojih su dvojica i ratni vojni invalidi. U izlaganju se pridružio i član trenerskog tima koji je također ratni veteran. Podijelili su sa nama svoja životna iskustva sa težištem na rat i poslijeratni mirovni aktivizam. Pitanja je bilo mnogo, studenti i studentice su pokazali veliko zanimanje za načine na koje su veterani proživjeli ratni period, te kako su se osjećali tada. Prisutan je bio osjećaj da se rat može dogoditi svima, da svi nosimo odgovornost za eskalaciju i da je mirovni rad jedina prihvatljiva opcija. Tijekom te radionice bila je prisutna neka nova, međugeneracijska energija te osnaživanje i motiviranje obiju grupa, veteranske i studentske za daljnji mirovni rad.

Zadnji dan smo govorili o nenasilnoj akciji, te o tome što bi mogle biti prve alatke za mijenjanje svoje okoline.

Sudionici su pokazali veliku kreativnost kod osmišljavanja načina nenasilne akcije kojima bi se rješavali problemi sa kojima se susreću, kako u vježbama koje su se ticale kreativne razrade sukoba tako i u *brainstormingu* ideja za rješavanje problema koji ih okružuju.

Iako prvotno zamišljen kao druga faza treninga koji se održao na Jahorini, ovo je bio neovisan trening, što zbog našeg planiranja, ali i zbog činjenice da su nam se pridružila tri nova sudionika, koja su na trening uneli novu energiju. Zbog velikog broja otkazivanja u zadnji trenutak, treningu je prisustvovalo 15 studentica i studenata. Rad sa manjim brojem sudionika je pokazao svoje pozitivne karakteristike, grupna kohezija i povjerenje su se izgradili vrlo brzo, a bila je prisutna i zajednička potreba za aktivnim sudjelovanjem, što je za rezultat imalo veliku aktivnost svih sudionika/ca. Motivacija je bila na vrlo visokom nivou i konstatno se osjećala potreba i želja da se radi.

Planiranje treninga je bio poseban izazov za trenerski tim, pošto je trebalo uskladiti potrebe većine grupe za produbljivanjem iskustava stečenih na prvoj fazi i potrebe novih sudionika koji nisu bili na Jahorini, a o kojima smo imali sliku tek na osnovu njihovih motivacija iz aplikacija. Planirano je da radimo na različitim i zahtjevnim temama i trebalo je to sve uklopiti u četiri dana rada. Trenerski tim su činili Adnan Hasanbegović, Dalmir Mišković, Jordančo Poposki, Katarina Milićević i Nataša Okilj.

Dalmir Mišković

Bol bez obilježja

7-8. oktobar/listopad 2015.

Aktivnost „Obilježavanje neobilježenih mjesta stradanja“ je idejno začeta 2014. godine na „Treningu za trenere i trenerice iz izgradnje mira“ koje je organizovao Centar za nenasilnu akciju. Razgovarajući o mjestima stadanja, obično pripadnika manjinskih zajednica, koja se nalaze u sredinama u kojima od strane „većine“ ne postoji volja da se obilježe nekim memorijalom, iz političkih i ideoloških razloga naslijeđenih iz rata, razmatrali smo na koji način da ta mjesta otrgnemo zaboravu. Takođe, i da potaknemo ljude iz lokalnih zajednica da ih obilježe na primjeren način i time odaju počast žrtvama i izraze žal nad izgubljenim životima i ljudskom patnjom. Zbog toga smo donijeli odluku da sprovedemo akciju koja

će ukazati na ta mjesta i učiniti ih vidljivim¹. Formirali smo tim i krenuli u pripremu. Prikupljali smo dostupne podatke putem interneta i neformalnim linijama preko predstavnika udruženja žrtava i boračkih udruženja sa kojima se poznajemo i sarađujemo. U početku smo to radili selektivno, fokusirajući sa na mjesta masovnih ubistava i logora. Mapirajući ta mjesta ubrzo smo bili obeshrabreni, što brojem i količinom informacija o logorima, uz koje su i kao posebna kategorija navedeni zatočenički objekti, što samom spoznajom da je BiH preplavljena takvim mjestima. I većinom su neobilježena.

¹ Vidjeti više na facebook stranici Neobilježena mjesta stradanja.

Tokom procesa, odlučili smo da želimo da naša akcija bude prepoznata kao kredibilna i da se donekle izbjegne prostor za relativizaciju, te da navodimo samo ona mjesta za koja postoje presude i činjenice koje su navedene u njima kao nesumnjive. Kasnije smo pridodali i mjesta za koja su u toku sudski procesi. Selekcijom smo obuhvatili 24 takva mjesta, od kojih su 6 mjesta masovnih ubistava² civila i vojnika, a 18 logori³ u kojima su civili i vojnici bili izloženi svakovrsnom nasilju i u nekim slučajevima i ubijani. Za svako mjesto smo napravili propratni tekst sa podacima koji se na njih odnose, preuzetim iz arhiva Suda BiH, Međunarodnog suda za bivšu Jugoslaviju i Apelacionog suda za ratne zločine Republike Srbije. Takođe, koristili smo se informacijama dostupnim na stranicama BIRN-a i Tranzicijske pravde. Za obilježavanje mjesta napravili smo naljepnicu koja će u poruci ukazivati da je to mjesto

2 Kazani-Sarajevo, Zemljoradnička zadruga Kravica-Bratunac, Branjevo-Zvornik, "Stara Čuprija"-Višegrad, Brčanska Malta-Tuzla, Korićanske stijene-Skender Vakuf/Kneževo.

3 „13. Kilometar“-Kamenica/Zavidovići, Crkvina-Šamac, Silos-Tarčin/Hadžići, Stadion NK Iskra-Bugojno, Lovački dom "Franjo Herljević"-Karnik/Zavidovići, Osnovna škola u Donjoj Mahali-Orašje, Čelebići-Konjic, Manjača-Banja Luka, Trnopolje-Prijedor, Hotel Vilina Vlas-Višegrad, Vojno-Mostar, Rasadnik-Rogatica, Dom Kulture Čelopek-Zvornik, Muzej revolucije-Jablanica, bivša kasarna „Viktor Bubanj“-Sarajevo, Silos-kačuni/Busovača, Batković-Bijeljina.

stradanja ljudi i pozivati na solidarnost sa žrtvama, sa porukom da se nikada i nikome ne ponovi nesreća koju su tu ljudi doživjeli.

Aktivnost obilježavanja na terenu sproveli smo na 6 lokaliteta. Prema prvobitnom planu željeli smo obilježiti hotel Vilina Vlas i Staru čupriju u Višegradu, silos u Tarčinu kod Hadžića, kasarnu u Čelebićima i silos u Kačunima kod Busovače. Nakon zajedničke posjete CNA sa ratnim veteranima, Čelebiće smo ovaj put izostavili zbog nepristupačnosti, a muzej u Jablanici smo označili kao potencijalni objekat za obilježavanje.

Počeli smo sa Višegradom, 7.10.2015. Prva destinacija hotel Vilina Vlas. Približavajući se, bili smo uvjereni da dolazimo do pustog i zapuštenog objekta. Procjena je bila da ćemo tamo "obilježiti" bez poteškoća i malo strahovali od 'Čuprije' za koju smo, neposredno pred naš dolazak, dobili informaciju da je nakon rekonstrukcije otvorena za prelazak. Ispred hotela - šok. Parking pun automobila, redaju se taksiji, ljudi odlaze i dolaze. Prvobitni plan smo morali u hodu da mijenjamo. U hotelu kao da je vrijeme stalo sedamdeset i neke prošlog vijeka. Brkati recepcioner, sa naočalama na vrh nosa uperenim na sto ispred, a pogledom zakucanim na nas, malo nas odmjeri i nastavi da radi svoje. Mimoilazeći se na stepeništu sa bakama i djedovima, koji ovde dolaze na banjsko liječenje, popeli smo u bife. Težak zrak, miris mema pomiješan sa duhanskim dimom. Zaključili smo da nećemo moći biti



neprimjetni, pa smo skontali da ćemo se malo šetkati, fotkati i u datom trenutku, kad ne bude puno prolaznika, zalijepiti naljepnicu. Izašli smo i strpljivo čekali priliku. Taman kad smo zalijepili naljepnicu na fasadu zida, kod ulaza za lica sa invaliditetom, napravili par fotki i ušli u auto - odlijepio se. Ponovo smo ga zalijepili na betonski dio zida i fotkali. Tamo je i ostao. Baš tada se iz šetnje vraćala grupa od 7-8 starijih osoba, koji su nam preko ramena gledali u natpis. Šutili su i nisu nas ništa pitali. Sjeli smo u auto i otišli.

Stara ćuprija je još uvijek u fazi izvođenja radova. Prilaz iz grada (varoši, kako bi rekao Andrić) je ograđen pločama iverice i postoji samo jedan ulaz širine oko 1 metar. Na drugoj strani mosta prisutno je dosta radnika i mehanizacija. Padala je kiša i most je bio prazan. Bili smo sami na centralnom dijelu i zalijepili naljepnicu na bočni zid, kako bi bila dobro uočljiva prolaznicima iz pravca grada. Uradili smo par fotki, a onda su počeli problemi sa naljepnicom. Te iskrivi se, te se odlijepi. U tom je kiša prestala, a most se napuni sa desetinama ljudi, koji kao da su bili u skloništu i samo čekali znak. Kod nas se stvorila grupa mladića iz Srbije, vjerovatno neki sportisti. Bili su dosta bučni, fotkali se i smijali. Povremeno bi neki od njih pogledao u nas kako se mučimo sa naljepnicom, dok smo tražili povoljnu podlogu. Malo su nam živci popustili i otišli smo prošetati, s namjerom da se vratimo. Nakon što smo se malo presabrali, vratili smo se na most i promijenili položaj naljepnice. Izabrali smo prvi čeon stub ograde mosta, iz pravca grada, na njega zalijepili i fotkali. Položaj odličan, čim se krene na most mora se uočiti.

U povratku smo htjeli izvršiti izviđanje objekata poljoprivrednog dobra „Rasadnik“ u Rogatici, koji je takođe na našoj listi, ali na istoj adresi je nekoliko objekata koji bi mogli odgovarati fotografijama sa sajta koje smo imali. S obzirom na kišu i zamor odustali smo.

Drugog dana, 8.10.2015. otišli smo u Tarčin. Silos je velikih razmjera i smješten je usred naselja. Napušten, okružen razvaljenom ogradom, djeluje zlokobno. Uz njega je cesta kojom pješaci i vozila intenzivno prolaze. Ohrabreni prethodnim danom, bez kolebanja, odmah smo pristupili glavnom ulazu i naljepnicom “označili” vrata. Zadržali smo se poprilično dugo, kružili oko objekta i isprobavali kadrove. Prolaznici bi bacali pogled i bez riječi nastavljali dalje. Dobro pokisli nastavili smo put i krenuli ka Jablanici.

Po dolasku u Jablanicu, na parking muzeja - gužva. Kandidati su polagali vozački ispit, bili su tu i članovi komisije i policajci i još nekakve publike je bilo. Mi smo krenuli u obilazak, malo oko topa, malo oko voza i kada je grupa posjetilaca napustila muzej, odmah smo zalijepili

naljepnicu na prozor kraj ulaznih vrata. Međutim, bila je preduboko u sjeni i nije se mogao uhvatiti kadar koji bi obuhvatio i objekat. Dok smo se tu “vrtili”, čuli smo povišen muški glas koji je dopirao iz muzeja, a potom je izašla čistačica i malo gledala u nas zbunjeno, da bi onda iznijela svoj pribor, džoger i kantu, i mrtva-hladna ispirala ih u bazenu pred ulazom. Ta scena je bila nadrealna i pretpostavili smo da su je poslali u izvidnicu. Zalijepili smo zatim naljepnicu na izdvojeni zid ispred muzeja, ali je spadao, pa smo je zalijepili na ogradu. Međutim, nije nam se svidjelo. U tom trenutku su na plato ispred ulaza u muzej, pješačku zonu sa stazama i stepenicama, stigli bajkeri sa trociklima i istaknutim češkim zastavama na antenama. Počeli su svoj performans, sa mnogo bučnog turiranja i brzog vozikanja uokolo. Ljudi su se okupili, nekoliko mladića je izašlo iz prostorija udruženja mladih koji je smješten u muzeju. Mi smo iskoristili priliku, te zalijepili naljepnicu na veliku staklenu stijenu. Fotkali smo, Česi su otišli, a neki od mladića su nas posmatrali, ulazili u muzej, izlazili i ponovo na posmatrali. Ali niko ni riječ da kaže. Otišli smo mirno i odlučili da u Busovaču idemo preko Bugojna, kako bismo izvidili stadion Iskre. U prolasku kroz Gornji Vakuf javili smo se našim prijateljima, ratnim veteranima. Ispričali smo im šta radimo. Njihovo “svaka vam čast” je bilo veliko i jako ohrabrujuće da nastavimo dalje.

U Bugojnu, parkirali smo se u naselju Jaklić, gdje se nalazi stadion Iskre. Prizor koji smo zatekli ispred stadiona malo nam je nahranio maštu sa crnim scenarijem, jer bio je tu čovjek u maskirnoj jakni sa velikom sjekirom u rukama koji je cijepao drva. Samo nas je pogledao i nastavio da radi svoj posao. Unutar stadiona treniralo je par atletičara, a plato ispred je bio prazan. Zalijepili smo naljepnicu na ogradu i fotkali. Iz prostorija, smještenih ispod tribina, u dva navrata je izlazio čovjek, vjerovatno čuvar, ali nije nas ništa pitao. Naljepnicu smo na kraju skinuli, jer je bila namjenjena za silos kod Busovače. Razmišljali smo da li da ostavimo ćirilični natpis koji smo imali, ali bojali smo se da bi možda u srpskoj zajednici mogli imati problema zbog toga, pa smo tu opciju isključili. Skontali smo da akciju obilježavanja ovdje možemo sprovesti bez poteškoća, nekada u budućnosti. Prethodno smo se bojali da će to u Bugojnu biti jako teško.

Na kraju dana došli smo pred silos u Kačunima. Objektu se ne može prići, opasan je ogradom, a u dvorištu se nalazi stado ovaca. Najveću bojazan nam je predstavljao potencijalno naoružani čoban, koji bi pomislio da smo tu kako bi koje janje “spakovali” u gepek. Naljepnicu smo zalijepili na kapiju i fotkali. Tu je i ostala. Prolazili su ljudi i vozila, ali nisu obraćali pažnju. Iz obližnjih

kuća se povremeno izvirivalo, ali niko nije ni prilazio, niti šta pitao. Ovce su kao hipnotisane pratile naše kretanje i muvale se uz ogradu za nama, tako da je sve na momente izgledalo kao uvježbana cirkuska predstava. Završivši sa ovim bosanskim "Twin Peaksom" osjetili smo olakšanje. U odlasku smo se javili prijatelju iz Udruženja logoraša u Busovači. Nakon što smo mu pokazali par fotografija, vidno uzbuđen čestitao nam je na hrabrosti i učinjenom.

Nakon obilježavanja mjesta stradanja, aktivnost smo nastavili izradom stranice na Facebooku, na koju smo postavili kratak background ove aktivnosti i fotografije objekata obilježenih našom naljepnicom sa opisom konteksta tih mjesta vezano za ratne događaje i procesuranja. Nakon toga smo ciljano promovisali obilježena mjesta u lokalnim sredinama gdje se nalaze.⁴

Akcija na Facebooku je doživljena i praćena na različite načine. Dobili smo dosta podrške, većina ljudi koji su posjetili stranicu ocijenila ju je sa „sviđa mi se“, a bilo je i pohvale za inicijativu. Medijsku podršku smo dobili

i od portala Lupiga.⁵ Takođe, nakon ciljane promocije u gradovima, sa radijusom od 20 kilometara u okolinu gdje se nalaze mjesta stradanja koja smo obilježili, većina ljudi nas je podržala. Što se tiče negativnih kritika, potrebno je prvo istaknuti da smo i pored jasne prezentacije koja mjesta i sa kojim ciljem obilježavamo, dobijali komentare da u tim mjestima postoje i druga mjesta stradanja, i da favorizujemo nečije žrtve. Bilo je i onih koji su nam psovali, a i vrijeđali autore komentara na nacionalnoj i vjerskoj osnovi, tako da smo odlučili pojedine komentare i obrisati. Vidljivo je i iz ove akcije da je u našem društvu duboko prisutna i želja da se pošteno odnosimo prema prošlosti, ali i različit odnos prema događajima iz rata, negiranje krivice počinitelja iz vlastitog naroda i odbijanje da se zajednice sa tim problemom suoče. Nadamo se da smo ovom akcijom bar malo zatalasali žabokrečinu u ovoj ustajaloj baruštini koju zajedno djelimo i u kojoj je više od 20 godina nedovoljno da shvatimo da je sa gubitkom svakog ljudskog bića i nas bivalo manje.

Čedomir, Dalmir i Amer

4 Vidjeti više na Facebook stranici Neobilježena mjesta stradanja.

5 Vidjeti više na: <http://lupiga.com/vijesti/obiljezavanje-neobiljezenog-putevima-nepriznatih-ratnih-zlocina-bih>.

Gradovi, zaborav i trnje

*Nastavak aktivnosti „Obilježavanje neobilježenih mjesta stradanja“ u Podrinju i Hercegovini
17-18. maj/svibanj 2016. godine*

Nastavljajući aktivnost započetu u jesen 2015. godine, nas trojica aktivista Čedomir Glavaš, Amer Delić i Dalmir Mišković, povezani istom željom za promjenom odnosa prema prošlosti, krenuli smo na putovanje koje ima za cilj da podsjeti lokalne zajednice, a i BH društvo da oko nas još uvijek postoje mjesta stradanja, patnji i zločina koja su zaboravljena i da takav odnos prema njima predstavlja nepošten odnos prema prošlosti. Samom radu na terenu prethodilo je istraživanje lokacija i prikupljanje informacija o događajima i sudski utvrđenim činjenicama.

U jutro 17. maja, uputili smo se ka Podrinju, području u istočnom dijelu Bosne i Hercegovine koje je bilo teško pogođeno ratom i na kojem su se desila velika stradanja. Prva lokacija koju smo planirali obilježiti bio je nekadašnji logor Sušica u opštini Vlasenica, u kojem su tokom 1992. godine bile zatočene osobe bošnjačke nacionalnosti. U prijeratnom periodu objekti su imali funkciju vojne poljoprivredne zadruge. Sada su napušteni, i u velikoj

mjeri devastirani. U Vlasenici smo imali kontakt sa lokalnim stanovnicima koji su nas odveli do same lokacije (s obzirom da su povratnici, a kako smo saznali od jednog od njih, situacija u Vlasenici nije dobra i međunarodne tenzije su porasle nakon prošlogodišnjeg terorističkog napada na policijsku stanicu u Zvorniku, sačuvaćemo njihovu anonimnost). Ali interesantno je spomenuti da smo nakon što smo postavili ćirilčna obilježja na objekte bivšeg logora i nastavili put ka Bratuncu, primili telefonski poziv od jednog od njih i dobili primjedbu što su natpisi samo na ćirilici. Bio je uzbuđen, citirao je ustavne odredbe oko pisama u BiH i entitetima, te ocijenio da smo to prekršili. Objašnjavali smo mu da to i radimo iz razloga da lokalne, povratničke i najčešće manjinske zajednice ne izložimo dodatnom pritisku, ali bio je istrajan, pa se umirio kada smo mu obećali da ćemo staviti i latinične natpise, što smo u povratku i učinili.

Naredna lokacija je bila bivša poljoprivredna zadruga

u Kravici kod Bratunca, u njoj su u srpnju 1995. godine snage Vojske Republike Srpske (VRS) pogubile više od 1000 Bošnjaka, koji su zarobljeni nakon pada Srebrenice. Lokacija je postala poznata širom javnosti nakon što su na tom mjestu 13.7.2013. policajci MUP-a RS fizički spriječili Udruženje „Majke enklava Srebrenice i Žepe“ da polože cvijeće i odaju počast stradalim. Objekte smo zatekli sablasno prazne, a naš dolazak je praćen uz tek poneki znatiželjni pogled prolaznika i okolnih seljana koji su obavljali poljoprivredne poslove. To nam je ulijevalo sigurnost da ćemo aktivnost realizirati bez problema, što se i dogodilo. Lokacija je specifična po tome što se u samoj blizini ovog mjesta stradanja nalazi spomen područje srpskim žrtvama srednjeg Podrinja i Birča, sa izgrađenim velikim krstom koji dominira okolicom.

Nakon Kravice put nas je odveo u Srebrenicu. Plan je bio da obilježimo prijašnju zgradu policijske stanice u Srebrenici, koja je za vrijeme dok je Srebrenica bila pod kontrolom Armije Republike BiH (ARBiH), služila kao zatočenički objekt za osobe srpske nacionalnosti, te mjesto tortura i egzekucija. Objekt je trenutno u funkciji nekoliko društvenih organizacija među kojima su politička stranka Savez nezavisnih socijaldemokrata (SNSD) i udruga „Naša prava“, a tu je i smješteno i Vijeće mladih općine Srebrenica. Jednu stranu zgrade krase veliki mural sa multinacionalim (bar ih doživljavamo tako) imenima djece i drvetom ispod kojeg piše „TOLERANCIJA NIJE STRANA RIJEČ“.

Nastavili smo ka općini Zvornik. Prvo smo u planu imali obilježiti lokaciju Doma kulture u Čelopeku, koji je nakon rata srušen. Nakon nekoliko vožnji kroz mjesto Čelopek, nismo uspjeli naći ni približnu lokaciju nekadašnjeg Doma kulture. Bezuspješno traganje za objektima koje smo planirali obilježiti nastavilo se i na idućoj lokaciji, Farma Branjevo, koja je bila posljednja stanica za više od 1200 Bošnjaka iz Srebrenice, isto je izgubila svoje obrise u ekonomskim, građevinskim i društvenim tokovima nakon rata. Za zločine na farmi Branjevo, između ostalih pripadnika Desetog diverzantskog odreda VRS-a, osuđen je i prvi pokajnik na Haškom sudu, Dražen Erdemović. On je, prema vlastitom svjedočenju na Haškom sudu, izjavio da je „premoren od strijeljanja preko 1200 Bošnjaka na farmi Branjevo, otišao u susjedno selo Pilicu, zasjeo u kafanu da odmori od strijeljanja, te odbio naređenje da nastavi sa poslom, jer ga je čekalo u Domu kulture zatočenih još oko 500 Bošnjaka“. Ove detalje svjedočenja ističemo upravo jer nas je iduća lokacija odvela u Dom kulture u Pilicu, mjesto gdje se naknadno „posao“ obavio do kraja. Devastirani objekt je bio mjesto stradanja 500 Bošnjaka koji su u njemu pogubljeni. Preko puta Doma kulture i sada

se nalazi kafana iz koje su nas promatrali znatiželjni gosti, vjerojatno isto onako kao što je Erdemović promatrao nastavak zločina. Ispred Doma kulture stoje dva spomen obilježja, jedno posvećeno Narodno-oslobodilačkoj borbi 1941-1945., a drugo posvećeno borbi Vojske Republike Srpske i žrtvama posljednjeg rata.

Drugog dana naše akcije, 18. maja, krenuli smo put juga, u Hercegovinu. Prva planirana lokacija je bila u sjevernom djelu Mostara, logor Vojno. Mjesto stradanja se sastojalo od tri obiteljske kuće i garaže, koje je tokom rata Hrvatsko vijeće obrane (HVO) pretvorilo u zatočeničke objekte za Bošnjake sa područja Mostara. Ipak, obilaskom mjesta utvrdili smo da su sve kuće u tom dijelu grada nakon rata obnovljene, tako da je stvarno bilo teško procijeniti koji su to objekti koje trebamo obilježiti, a zaključili smo i da nam je nezgodno ulaziti na privatni posjed, i u obiteljska dvorišta, te lijepiti naša obilježja na privatne kuće.

U širokom Brijegu, odabrana lokacija za obilježiti bila je zgrada bivše Duhanske stanice, koja je tijekom rata bila sjedište zloglasne Kažnjeničke bojne pod vodstvom Mladena Naletilića Tute. Objekt je prije nekoliko godina stradao u požaru, tako da je sada u potpunosti devastiran, te nam je obilježavanje proteklo bez puno problema i bez znatiželjnih pogleda.

Nakon Širokog Brijega nastavili smo prema Čapljini, gdje smo, kako se naknadno ispostavilo, naišli na najviše nepredviđenih problema. Od tri planirane lokacije u tom gradu, sve tri su bile bivše baze JNA. Prilikom vršenja istraživanja o lokacijama, imena lokacija koja smo planirali obilježiti vezivala su se na prijeratno vrijeme, a lokalni kontakti su nas obavijestili da nisu čuli za aktivnu vojnu bazu u Dretelju, te da nisu čuli ni za kasarnu Grabovine. Prilikom dolaska na lokaciju Grabovine (navigacija nas je vodila) utvrdili smo da se tamo nalazi veliki vojni objekt po nazivom vojarna Božan Šimović. Mjere sigurnosti koje su podignute na višu razinu nakon ubojstva dvojice vojnika Oružanih snaga BiH 18.11.2015. godine u Rajlovcu kod Sarajeva, onemogućile su nam da obilježimo mjesto. Ta lokacija je služila tokom 1993. i 1994. kao zatočenički objekt za Bošnjake Hercegovine i bio je pod kontrolom HVO. Iduća lokacija je bila selo Gabela. Informacije kojima smo raspolagali, govorele su nam da se radi o vojnom skladištu, ukopanom u brdo, koje je tokom rata služilo kao mjesto zatočenja velikog broja također Bošnjaka iz Hercegovine. Istraživanjem stranica Ministarstva obrane BiH našli smo da se objekt u Gabeli nalazi na listi besperspektivnih vojnih objekata i to nam je ulilo nadu da tu možda možemo postaviti svoje obilježje. Pronalaskom lokacije, uvidjeli smo da su tu mjere osiguranja veće

nego u vojarni Božan Šimović u gradu Čapljini. Tri stražara naoružana dugim cijevima i znak stroge zabrane fotografiranja onemogućili su nam da i na tom mjestu stradanja sprovedemo akciju.

Nakon toga krećemo ka Dretelju, naselju sjeverno od Čapljine. Dretelj je uz mostarski „Heliodrom“ simbol stradanja u tom dijelu Hercegovine. Dolaskom smo utvrdili da je i taj objekt čuvan od strane Oružanih snaga, iako je označen kao „beperspektivan“. U vrijeme našeg dolaska čuvao ga je samo jedan stražar i to na suprotnoj strani od mjesta koje smo procijenili kao prikladno za postavljanje obilježja. Nakon što smo odlučili da imamo prostora za riskirati, pripremili smo materijal i ekspresno odradili postavljanje i slikanje. Iz kafića preko puta, gosti su nezainteresovano gledali što se događa, a stražar je ostao sjediti u hladu.

Mjesto stradanja u Dretelju je bio dvostruki logor. U toku 1992. je bio pod kontrolom paravojnih filoustaških Hrvatskih obrambenih snaga (HOS), a u njemu su bili zatočeni hercegovački Srbi. Objektom je jedno vrijeme rukovodio i zloglasni serijski ubojica Edib Buljubašić, koji je neposredno prije toga pobjegao iz zeničkog zatvora sa odsluženja dvadestogodišnje kazne zbog dvostrukog ubojstva. Nakon što je u kolovozu 1992. godine objekt zatvoren, snage HVO-a ga ponovno stavljaju u funkciju tijekom sukoba Armije RBiH i HVO-a, te u njemu zatvaraju više od 2000 Bošnjaka iz Hercegovine.

Putem do Mostara, odlučujemo da izvidimo i eventualno pokušamo obilježiti i objekt vojne baze Heliodrom kod Mostara. Imali smo informacije da je to još uvijek aktivna vojna baza, da se zove „Stanislav Kraljević

Baja“, po vojniku HVO-a poginulom prilikom zauzimanja te baze 1992. godine. Znali smo i prema satelitskim snimcima da se radi o ogromnom objektu, te smo se nadali da će nas poslužiti sreća kao i u Dretelju. Nažalost, jedna strana baze je graničila sa industrijskim objektom Alumininija Mostar, a druga strana je bilo polje preko kojega nismo mogli proći automobilom. Nakon što smo okružili bazu i nakon što nas je navigacija odvela do ulazne kapije, tamo su nas opet dočekale duge cijevi i pogledi naoružanih stražara. Odlučili smo da ipak nemamo prostora riskirati.

Pomalo razočarani, istražujemo u vožnji i utvrđujemo da u sjevernom dijelu Mostara postoji sudski utvrđeno mjesto stradanja, Osnovna škola u Potocima. Dolazimo do nje u nezgodno vrijeme velikog odmora, i zaključujemo da slikanje tolikog broja djece i aktivne škole nije baš ispravan potez, te odustajemo i nastavljamo ka Sarajevu.

Daljni koraci ove aktivnosti tiču se postavljanja fotografija i informacija o mjestima stradanja na Facebook stranicu „Neobilježena mjesta stradanja“ i promoviranje tih postova putem ove društvene mreže u lokalnim zajednicama i na razini BiH, kako bismo potakli diskusiju.

Akcija je praćena uz dosta reakcija i komentara podrške, ali i onih negativnih, a također dobili smo i nove informacije o neobilježenim mjestima stradanja u drugim gradovima i prijedloge za suradnju.

Zahvaljujemo se Centru za nenasilnu akciju na podršci prilikom realiziranja ove aktivnosti, bez čije podrške ne bi mogli raditi na onome što mislimo da je potrebno.

Pozdrav od Tri mušketaira mira!

Dalmir Mišković



Mir – Paqe – Мир 2016.

Dojran, 15-24. april/travanj 2016.

Organizacije Akcija za nenasilje i izgradnju mira (ANP), Gnjilane, Прва детска амбасада во светот Меџаши/ FCEW Megjashi, Skopje i Centar za nenasilnu akciju (CNA), Sarajevo–Beograd organizovale su drugi trening “*Uvod u izgradnju mira: mir – paqe – мир 2016.*” Trening je održan u Dojranu, u Makedoniji, od 15-24.4.2016. godine. U trenerskom timu bili su Albulena Karaga, Aleksandra Bogdanovska, Nataša Okilj, Nexhat Ismajli i Nenad Vukosavljević.

Osnovni razlog da napravimo ovakav trening je želja da se stvori prilika za susretanje ljudi, za dijalog i da se čuju narativi koji su neretko suprotstavljeni i isključivi, kako bi se umanjio strah a povećalo poverenje među učesnicima/ama, te da razgovaramo kako u ovakvim okolnostima menjati društva. Trening je rađen sa konsekvativnim prevodom, a učesnici su mogli govoriti na svom maternjem jeziku (albanski, makedonski ili bhs).

Za trening je stiglo 107 prijava, od čega je izabrano 19 učesnica i učesnika treninga. Grupa je bila rodno izbalansirana. Starosna struktura grupe je bila heterogena, te smo imali učesnike od preko 60 godina, ali i one koji imaju tek neku više od 20. Različita profesionalna iskustva učesnika su doprinela bogatoj razmeni. Na Dojran su stizali učesnici sa Kosova, iz Gnjilana, Prizrena, Kosovske Mitrovice, Prištine, Dečana i Kosovo polja, dok su iz Makedonije bili iz Bitole, Dolnena, Kumanova, Skoplja, Gorno Svilare, a učesnici iz Srbije su doputovali iz Beograda, Leskovca, Novog Sada, Smedereva i Sremske Mitrovice. Interesantno je da smo ove godine imali najveći broj aplikacija za trening sa Kosova, koje su činile gotovo polovinu svih primljenih prijava, što ranije nismo mogli da ostvarimo, a što nas veoma raduje i ohrabruje za dalji rad.

U vreme pred sam početak treninga, predsednik Makedonije je abolirao sve protiv kojih se vodi istražni postupak zbog korupcije, izbornih i političkih malverzacija, što je izazvalo veliki bunt građana i proteste u više gradova. Uzburkana politička situacija nije se odrazila na dolazak na trening, nije bilo otkazivanja učešća, što nam je bio pokazatelj visoke motivacije za sam trening.

Koncept treninga je postavljen tako da učesnici na početku usvoje osnovne tehnike nenasilne komunikacije i izgrade odnos međusobnog poverenja, kako bi započeli dijalog o društveno osetljivim temama. Važna je bila

šansa da se oprobaju u dijalogu o osetljivim temama iz više razloga, kako bi videli šta dobijamo njime, kako bi se osnažili, ali i zato što nema mnogo prilika da se govori o osetljivim temama. Teme koje su obrađene su komunikacija, timski rad, donošenje odluka, konflikt, nasilje, predrasude, identiteti, rod, suočavanje sa prošlošću, pomirenje. Radili smo vežbe koje su doprinele da učesnici osveste gde sve postoji nasilje u društvu, da razumeju sukobe, ali i da se ohrabre da utiču i menjaju način razmišljanja i delove postojećeg sistem koji je zasnovan na nepravednim odnosima.

Tokom treninga su početna očekivanja trenerskog tima premašena, više od prvobitno planiranog sadržaja je kvalitetno obrađeno, a zahvaljujući pre svega izuzetno motivisanoj i vrednoj grupi učesnika i učesnica, te upravljanju procesom koje je zasnovano na praćenju potreba koje dolaze iz grupe, a imajući u vidu zacrtane tematske ciljeve.

Učesnici su na samom treningu govorili da iako žive na relativno malom geografskom prostoru, da iako postoji praktična usmerenost ljudi iz suprotstavljenih etničkih zajednica jednih na druge, političke odluke i klima međunacionalnog neprijateljstva ipak utiču da se ljudi distanciraju i ne grade međusobne kontakte. Manji broj ljudi koji su ostvarivali kontakte su govorili o tome koliko im je teško i sa kakvim preprekama se susreću. Dragocena je bila prilika da učesnici i učesnice treninga uoče kako žive ljudi koji su u njihovoj neposrednoj blizini, ali su iz druge zajednice, odnosno najčešće manjina, te da se zapitaju kako ranije o tome nisu razmišljali i zašto se o tome ne govori glasno u društvima. Sjajni su bili momenti u kojima su ljudi iskazali šta im je potrebno za suočavanje sa prošlošću, šta im je potrebno od ljudi koji su iz drugih nacionalnih zajednica na svakodnevnom nivou, ali i šta su sami spremni da urade.

Veliki interes za trening, atmosfera i kvalitet rada na njemu nas je ohrabrio da smo prepoznali potrebu koja postoji i adekvatno odgovorili na nju. Ponekad je teško menjati stvari oko sebe, a nekada nam se čini da je nemoguće, no u ovoj grupi, desilo se da su ljudi uvideli da imaju moć u svojim rukama i šansu da utiču i oblikuju društvo u kome žive.

Nataša Okilj



aktivnosti kojima
smo se pridružili/le

Pomirenje s prošlošću? Otpor i kolaboracija u različitim nacionalnim narativima i sjećanjima

14. East-West-European Memorial Seminar, Krzyszowa/Kreisau, Poljska
9-12.3.2016.

Seminar, koji se tradicionalno održava u Međunarodnom centru za mlade Krzyszowa/Kreisau u Donjoj Šleskoj u Poljskoj (u organizaciji Kreisau Fondacije, Njemačke savezne fondacije za proučavanje komunističkih diktatura, Poljskog Instituta za nacionalno sjećanje iz Wroclawa, Njemačke komisije za ratna groblja i Evangelističke akademije iz Berlina, ove je godine bio posvećen temi otpora i kolaboracije u nacionalnom sjećanju. Tijekom tri radna dana, kroz panel diskusije i prezentacije različitih memorijalizacijskih pristupa ovim pitanjima, bavili smo se različitim konceptima otpora i kolaboracije, ulogom koju otpor i kolaboracija imaju u različitim nacionalnim narativima, te kontroverzama odnosno poteškoćama na koje nailazimo u pokušaju da definiramo ove pojmove u jednoznačnim kategorijama.

U seminaru su sudjelovali istraživači/ce i praktičari/ke na polju rada na sjećanju, muzealci/ke, historičari/ke, aktivisti/ce i novinari/ke iz Albanije, Bosne i Hercegovine, Francuske, Hrvatske, Italije, Kanade, Litve, Mađarske, Njemačke, Poljske, Rusije, Slovačke i Ukrajine. Imali smo priliku čuti različite perspektive i pristupe ovim pitanjima, a mi iz CNA održali smo radionicu o suočavanju sa pitanjima krivice i odgovornosti u postratnom društvu.

Tradicionalno se pojmovi otpora i kolaboracije vezuju, odnosno vezivali su se uz Drugi svjetski rat. Tada je uspostavljena određena moralna vertikala otpora nacizmu. U tom smislu, kad govorimo o pokretu/ima otpora, najčešće imamo posla sa herojskom slikom otpora i podrazumijevamo one koji su bili na moralno ispravnoj strani (u smislu da su se borili i protiv antisemitizma, poput jugoslavenskog, francuskog, ili talijanskog pokreta otpora i drugih). Oni pak koji su s neprijateljem/okupatorom surađivali, u ovakvom se poretku stvari smatraju izdajnicima, a takva im je nakon Drugog svjetskog rata bila i sudbina. Zbog toga najčešće i izostaju iz nacionalnih narativa, kao poratne žrtve o kojima nije popularno govoriti.

Ove se uloge, nakon pada berlinskog zida i urušavanja istočnoevropskih komunističkih sistema, u određenim nacionalnim narativima i kontekstima radikalno mijenjaju. Koga je povijest zapamtila kao onoga tko se (neprijatelju) suprotstavljao, a tko je s njim surađivao, ovisiti će o

vremenu u kojemu govorimo, o razdoblju o kojem govorimo, te u skladu s tim, ovisno o tome tko je označen kao neprijatelj i na koji način se to reflektira na dati nacionalni narativ. Naime, promjena političkog sistema nakon 1989., odnosno tijekom 1990-ih, predstavljala je moćan psihološki prekid s prethodnom političkom tradicijom, i označila vrijeme u kojemu se „slobodni ljudi, u slobodnoj zemlji“ mogu uključiti u kritičku diskusiju o ovim pitanjima.

Uslijed promjene političke paradigme, nakon 1990-ih, postaje moguće govoriti o tome da kolaboracija može označavati i minimalni stupanj suradnje (poput plaćanja poreza, ili slanja djece u školu). Postaje moguć i govor o drugačijim vrstama otpora (nekomunistički otpor, desničarski otpor sa antisemitskim elementima i sl.), propituju se okolnosti u kojima otpor nastaje, koliko su evropski pokreti otpora doista bili uspješni i rašireni, te kako su u odnosu na to tretirani u konkretnom nacionalnom narativu. Trenutna upotreba ovih pojmova uvelike će ovisiti i o tome tko govori, što je najvidljivije u bivšim komunističkim zemljama, odnosno zemljama bivšeg Istočnog bloka, gdje se pitanje otpora i kolaboracije sada primjenjuje i u odnosu na period sovjetske okupacije.

Tako se uspostavlja natjecanje između historijskog sjećanja i činjenica, te različite zajednice sjećanja, od kojih svaka naglašava ili pamti druge elemente. Neke od ovih različitih pristupa sjećanju ili elementima sjećanja u muzejima, na izložbama i memorijalnim mjestima imali smo prilike čuti na konkretnim primjerima Italije, Hrvatske, Mađarske, Albanije, Kanade, Francuske i Rusije.

U sklopu seminara posjetili smo i njemačko ratno groblje *Nadolice Wielkie* (*Groß Nödlitz*), memorijal za oko 18 tisuća njemačkih vojnika poginulih u Drugom svjetskom ratu¹. Njemačka ratna groblja su memorijali uspostavljeni za mir, te kao mjesta susreta i pomirenja, kaže se na izložbi

1 Broj poginulih njemačkih vojnika tijekom Drugog svjetskog rata u Poljskoj se procjenjuje na 468 tisuća, od kojih je 300 tisuća i službeno registrirano. Tome treba dodati i još neutvrđeni broj njemačkih civilnih žrtava. Više od 200 njemačkih ratnih groblja iz Prvog svjetskog rata su u Poljskoj označena kao historijski spomenici, te o njima brine Poljska, uz podršku Njemačke komisije za ratna groblja.

postavljenoj u središnjoj zgradi groblja, gdje se čuvaju i knjige s imenima pokopanih i datumom identifikacije. U sklopu groblja nalazi se i Park mira, sa preko 600 stabala koja nose simboličku poruku – drvo može doživjeti veliku starost, ali samo ako se za njega skrbimo i štitimo ga,

tek tada može rasti i cvasti u miru. Svatko tko je živio s posljedicama rata, lako može razumjeti tu paralelu, piše na izložbenom panou u centralnoj zgradi, park mira podjseća da je mir potrebno očuvati pod svaku cijenu.

Davorka Turk

Napredni trening iz izgradnje mira (saradnja s Mirovnom akcijom)

Kruševu, 11-25. april/travanj 2016.

U organizaciji Mirovne akcije Prilep/Tetovo, od 11-25.4.2016. godine u Kruševu je organizovan napredni trening iz suočavanja sa prošlošću. Mirovna akcija je za ovaj trening tražila podršku od CNA, s obzirom da im je to prvi napredni trening koji rade, a imajući u vidu iskustvo koje CNA ima na tom polju. Tako su u timu bili Goran Taleski, Boro Kitanoski i Fllanza Jusufi iz Mirovne akcije, i Katarina Milićević iz CNA.

Grupa je ranije odabrana od učesnika/ca sa prethodnih osnovnih treninga u organizaciji Mirovne akcije, a sam trening je za cilj imao osnaživanje aktivista/kinja za delovanje u makedonskom kontekstu. Učesnici/e su pozivani na trening, prema prethodnom učešću na bazičnim treninzima, i aktivizmu u svojim zajednicama. Činili su je mladi, gotovo svi ispod 30 godina, Albanci i Makedonci, najvećim delom. No, kako je par dana pred sam trening i inače napeta situacija u Makedoniji odlukom predsednika da abolira od krivične istrage sve političare umešane u razne afere postala još napetija, nekoliko učesnika/ca, posebno aktivista/kinja je otkazalo svoje učešće. U trenerskom timu smo i sami imali dileme šta činiti imajući u vidu situaciju u zemlji, ali smo odlučili da radimo prema planu, jer procesi demokratizacije nisu kratki i jasno oročeni na nekoliko dana, te da je sam trening potrebniji i pojedincima i društvu od učešća na protestima u tih 10 dana.

Trening je zamišljen kao produblјivanje osnovnog treninga, sa tim da su teme suočavanja sa prošlošću i izgradnje mira rađene u više blokova, i temeljitije nego na osnovnim treninzima. U ovoj grupi, bile su interesantne radionice kreativne razrade konflikata i identiteta i diskriminacije, u kojima su pokazivali svoj kreativni potencijal, što je delovalo i inspirativno za samu grupu i motivišuće za trenerski tim, da kreativnim vežbama da prednost u odnosu na „polemičko-diskusione“.

Radionice o suočavanju sa prošlošću i iz izgradnje mira nisu dovele do očekivane međusobne konfrontacije unutar grupe, pa ni samorefleksije ustaljenim i prihvaćenim načinom razmišljanja, načinom posmatranja „neprijatelja“ i „vlastitih heroja“. Postoji neka vrsta zadržke u spremnosti na suočavanje, na jednoj strani sumnjajući u svoju „kompetentnost“ jer su u vreme konflikta bili deca, a sa druge strane ne želeći da poremete neki nivo druženja i bliskosti koji je nastao u grupi, i kojim su zadovoljni, samom činjenicom da su se sreli i da na nečemu zajedno učestvuju.

I posle rada sa studentima/cama u Bosni i Hercegovini, mi je bio utisak da mladi ljudi budu ushićeni što se uopšte nalaze zajedno na jednom mestu, što se na ličnom nivou razumeju, te da se boje da bi ulaskom u „teške teme“ pokvarili svoje druženje. Čini se da imaju jako malo prilike da komuniciraju jedni sa drugima i trećima i... te da im ovakvi susreti sami po sebi dođu kao rad na izgradnji mira, što i jesu, na neki način, ali je očekivanje trenerskog tima da se radi na dubljem nivou, izgleda, bilo preterano.

Takođe, zabrinjava smanјivanje broja aktivista/kinja koji žele da se bave izgradnjom mira i suočavanjem sa prošlošću u celoj regiji, što je rezultat smanјjenja broja nevladinih organizacija, i u odnosu na prethodnu deceniju, bitno je smanјen aktivistički potencijal, a da nije smanјena potreba društava za aktivizmom.

U samom timu je bilo teškoća u radu, koje su izazvane odsustvom i bolešću jednog od članova i neblagovremenim komuniciranjem tih teškoća unutar samog tima. Sa druge strane, i pored te teškoće, bilo je vrlo izazovno oprobavati se u novim postavkama i vežbama, što su članovi/ce tima iskoristili da prodube svoja trenerska iskustva i veštine, podrže jedni druge i prate ritam i potrebe same grupe.

Katarina Milićević



politički i društveni konteksti
u kojima djelujemo

Bosna i Hercegovina: Samo da pobijedimo sebičnost...

Edin Ramulić

Bosanskohercegovačko društvo je u 2016. godini uvedeno u najveću krizu od vremena kada su topovi utihnuli, u oktobru 1995. godine. Najave referenduma u Republici Srpskoj, ali i i sve drskije verbalne prijetnje srpskih političara o mogućem odvajanju tog entiteta od ostatka teritorije države, gotovo da su paralisale život ljudi u Bosni i Hercegovini. Neodmjerene izjave vodećih srpskih i bošnjačkih političara, ali i naglašena pojava ekstremnih nacionalističkih grupa sa ratobornim porukama u medijima i na društvenim mrežama, izazvale su nelagodu i zebnju kod stanovnika u svakom kutku zemlje.

Evidentno je da ta kriza odgovara strankama i partijama na vlasti u oba entiteta i da im je ona sastavni dio kampanje na predstojećim lokalnim izborima. Zaštita vitalnih nacionalnih interesa nakon prepadanja ratom oprobao je recept da se pažnja nezaposlenih i osiromašenih birača skrene sa njihovih stvarnih egzistencijalnih problema. Izborna kampanja dakako nije jedini motiv. Tenzije oko referenduma na relaciji političkog Sarajeva i Banja Luke poslužile su kao dimna zavjesa za podizanje novog kredita kod MMF-a u iznosu od 1.077.030.789 KM (milijardu sedamdeset sedam miliona trideset hiljada sedmastotina osamdeset devet). Taj kredit će se, kao i svi prethodni, utrošiti na krpljenje budžetskih provalija, održavanje glomaznog birokratskog aparata i kupovinu socijalnog mira u naredne tri godine. Dogovor za kredit je postignut u kafani, a dogovorili su ga dvojica nacionalnih lidera Milorad Dodik i Bakir Izetbegović. Odmah po izlasku iz kafane nastavili su verbalni obračun u medijima oko referenduma pa se teško oteti utisku da i ta predstava za birače nije prethodno dogovorena.

Zaoštavanje odnosa na relaciji Sarajevo-Banja Luka možda više u ovom trenutku odgovara rukovodstvu Republike Srpske i strankama koje čine vlast u tom entitetu, kako zbog očuvanja same vlasti, tako i zbog izbjegavanja odgovornosti za brojne sumnjive i kriminalne poslove, ali ne treba zanemariti ni najavu Vlade Federacije BiH da prodaje vlasnički udjel u profitabilnim javnim kompanijama. Tako je ovih dana u jeku izborne kampanje i referendumske krize prodano 40% dionica Fabrike duhana Sarajevo po cijeni daleko manjoj od stvarne vrijednosti. Prodaja je obavljena gotovo u tajnosti i izvršena pod pritiskom međunarodnih finansijskih centara kod kojih je Bosna i Hercegovina kreditno zadužena. Referendum je,

dakle, spasonosniji političarima u Republici Srpskoj, ali je za sada profitabilniji njihovim kolegama i partnerima u Federaciji BiH.

Igranje na kartu podizanja nacionalnih tenzija zbog ostanka na vlasti je opasna igra u Bosni i Hercegovini. Svijet se u međuvremenu promijenio. Postao je nesiguran i prijeteci za slabe i nestabilne države. Međunarodna zajednica kakvu smo poznavali više ne postoji, sada smo u domenu nacionalnih interesa svjetskih sila, prije svega USA i Rusije, a zatim i vodećih država u EU i Turske. Pored toga, ponovno se bude i stari apetiti iz susjednih država za teritorijom BiH. To što smo geografski u Evropi nije više nikakva garancija posebne pažnje i brige bilo koga u svijetu. U slučaju izbijanja sukoba bili bi samo još jedna krizna tačka na globusu, gdje bi sa udaljenosti ratovala velike sile. Ako sumnjate u to, pitajte očajnike iz kolona izbjeglica koje traže spas od ratova. Na neki bizaran način imali smo sreću da nam se rat desio devedesetih, a ne dvadeset godina kasnije. Oni koji i danas vide rješenje bosanskohercegovačkih problema oružanim putem neka zaborave rovove, odbranu i osvajanje kota po bosanskim gudurama, na način kako se ratovalo devedesetih. Tada smo imali uveden embargo na oružje, strane promatrače i ograničeno djelovanje NATO-a u iznimnim prilikama. Imali smo dijelove zemlje i naselja u kojima se mogla pronaći relativna sigurnost za civile. U nekom novom ratu veoma lako bi nam se mogao desiti sirijski scenarij, da svaku noć različiti vojni savezi šalju svoje strateške bombardere i dalekometne projekte na sve naše gradove i djecu u oba entiteta i da se tome ne nazire kraj.

Bosna i Hercegovina i njeni građani su skoro dvije decenije bili miljenici međunarodne zajednice. Svi pozitivni procesi u zemlji (sloboda kretanja, imovinska prava, reforma pravosuđa, procesuiranje ratnih zločina...) rezultat su, u najvećoj mjeri, međunarodnih inicijativa, dok su se domaći političari okrenuli djelatnostima koje su osnaživale njihovu političku i ekonomsku moć (privatizacija društvene/državne svojine, uvećanje birokratskog aparata, nacionalizacija obrazovnog sistema...) i usput kočili i osporavali rezultate međunarodne zajednice gdje god su to mogli, a u cilju tobožnje zaštite teritorije osvojene/zadržane u ratu.

Sistem vrijednosti strpljivo građen u dvije poslijeratne decenije se urušio. Taj sistem se zasnivao na tome da

će nam međunarodna zajednica, kao brižni roditelj, u svakom trenutku priteći u pomoć, bez obzira koliko se mi neodgovorno ponašali i konstantno proizvodili konflikte u zajedničkoj državi. Taj sistem vrijednosti je imao svoju utopiju da će sva neriješena nacionalna pitanja i svi egzistencijalni problemi običnog čovjeka biti prevaziđeni ulaskom u Evropsku uniju.

Sve do ove godine domaći političari su mogli ležerno da se bave rasprodajom resursa ove zemlje i stvaranjem privatnih imperija, a glasačima nuditi ulazak u obećanu Evropsku uniju. Dragan Čović, u to vrijeme predsjedavajući Predsjedništva BiH, u februaru ove godine je predao zahtjev za članstvo u Evropskoj uniji. Iako je to najavljeno kao istorijski dan do danas nije stigao nikakav konkretan odgovor iz Brisela po tom zahtjevu. U međuvremenu je Evropsku uniju zadesio Brexit, kojim Velika Britanija istupa iz tog saveza i dugoročno dovodi u pitanje njegov opstanak. Ali i da nije bilo Brexita, političarima u BiH bi bilo sve teže zainteresovati birače ulaskom u Evropsku uniju zato što u susjednoj Hrvatskoj stanovnici nisu osjetili nikakav napredak nakon pridruživanja.

Problemi Evropske unije nisu iznenađenje i pretjerani razlog za brigu kod onih koji upravljaju tokovima novca u BiH i našim sudbinama. Njihov opstanak na vlasti neće biti doveden u pitanje čak i ako jednom odustanu od "evropskog puta". Prava prijetnja dolazi iznutra.

Vrlo je izvjesno da je sva ova radikalizacija odnosa između dva bloka nacionalnih stranaka, sa sjedištem u Banja Luci i Sarajevu, odgovor političara na masovne proteste radnika, nezaposlenih i nezadovoljnih u više

bosanskohercegovačkih gradova u februaru 2014. godine. To je zapravo jedina prava prijetnja enormno uvećanoj imovini političara i njihovom opstanku na vlasti u Bosni i Hercegovini. Nažalost, to nisu institucije ove zemlje: pravosuđe, porezna uprava, policijske agencije, nego jedino nezadovoljan narod u pobuni.

Kako bi onemogućili ponavljanje tzv. februarskih protesta vladajući političari su izabrali dvije strategije. Jedna je proizvodnja međunacionalnog straha u kojem se niko neće usuditi da traži svoja radnička i ljudska prava jer će protiv sebe imati ne samo ekstremne patriotske i nacionalističke grupe, već i širok front različitih narodnih kategorija, naročito onih proisteklih iz rata, koji će stati u zaštitu svojih nacionalnih institucija i tekovina. Realna opasnost te strategije je da stvari izmaknu kontroli i da se ponovo pojave naoružane seoske straže i balvani na cesti. Ali nije isključeno da je i to dio plana. Usput bi vlasti mogle da disciplinuju sve one koji iskažu iz nacionalnog patriotskog fronta, pohapse aktiviste za ljudska prava i druge misleće ljude. Poigravanje političara sa nacionalnim emocijama i sadašnje stvaranje atmosfere straha nanosi ogromne i dugotrajne štete započetim procesima izgradnje mira i međusobnog povjerenja među pripadnicima različitih identiteta u Bosni i Hercegovini. Ta šteta je i najveća.

Druga strategija je raseliti sve one koji se "nisu snašli" u inostranstvo kako bi umanjili broj nezadovoljnih na ulici kada se opet dese protesti. Ta strategija je veoma uspješna i na desetine hiljada radnosposobnih i mlađih ljudi su već napustili Bosnu i Hercegovinu. Krupni kapital i ne planira u



ovoj zemlji otvarati pogone koji bi zahtjevali veliku radnu snagu. Za ovaj prostor su predviđene termoelektrane i hidrocentrale za koje ne treba više od 30 do 50 radnika. Za rad u rudnicima će uvijek biti dovoljno radnika koji nisu uspjeli otići ili se zaposliti u javnom sektoru, a ako ne bude domaće radne snage mogu se lako naseliti izbjeglice iz Sirije ili ekonomski emigranti iz Indije.

Zemlja je prošla surov rat sa nesagledivim posljedicama. Da nesreći ne bude kraj, dovedena je ponovo na ivicu sukoba. Većina mladih ljudi ne vidi nikakvu perspektivu i želi otići. Obrazovni i zdravstveni sistemi se urušavaju. Privredni potencijali su uništeni ili rasprodani. Korupcija se uvukla u svaku poru društva. Većina stanovnika jedva preživljava... Gdje je u svemu tome odgovornost običnih ljudi?

Sebičnost običnih ljudi je idealno srasla uz ovakvu vlast. Niko se, uglavnom, ne buni zbog novih međunarodnih kredita jer većina ljudi u tome vidi vlastitu korist kroz isplatu penzija, toplog obroka, invalidnina, socijalne pomoći ili ručka u javnoj kuhinji. Sloboda nerođene djece i njihovih unuka prodaje se u dužničko ropstvo MMF-u zarad sadašnjeg standarda sebičnih ljudi. Ti ljudi iz istih razloga čute i glasaju za one koji rasprodaju resurse ove zemlje, nepovratno, jednom za sva vremena daju u besicjenje i one resurse koje su naslijedili i one koje bi trebali ostaviti budućim generacijama. Sebični ljudi tako podižu ili pristaju da se trgovci i javni prostori okupiraju njihovim "vječnim" spomenicima i obilježjima, kao da budućim naraštajima ti prostori neće trebati za njihove spomenike. Kupuju stanove i poslovne prostore u centru, koji su izgrađeni na dojučerašnjim parkovima i dječjim igralištima. Onečišćavaju rijeke, stvaraju divlje deponije, prekomjerno sjeku šumu i ubijaju divljač, kamen iz stećaka

i starih utvrda ugrađuju u temelje novih kuća, čupaju petokrake i postavljaju križeve i polumjesece. Sebični ljudi čute kada im djeca u školi nauče nacionalističke pjesmice i parole. Sebični su prema izbjeglicama i raduju se kada njihove kolone zaobilaze državne granice. Zaziru od Arapa koji su "došli po zapuštenu zemlju i djecu". Sebični ljudi u medijima hvalje ovakve vlasti i važan su dio njihovog ostanka. Sebični ljudi stvaraju elite u kulturi i intelektualnim zajednicama i međusobno dijele mrvice iz budžeta. Iz sebičnih razloga čute i kada radnici u drugoj firmi ostanu bez posla. Kada obespravljeni protestuju oni radije navijaju lajkovima. Sebični ljudi se ne bore, oni sjede kod kuće ili napuštaju zemlju i odlaze za boljim životom. Sva ta sebičnost običnih ljudi u svakodnevnim situacijama razara zemlju iznutra i čini je lakšim plijenom finansijskim grabežljivcima iz vana.

U Jajcu su ljetos učenici izašli na ulicu i uspjeli se izboriti za zajedničko školovanje u istoj učionici, unatoč namjerama vlasti da ih odvoje. U julu su antifašisti na Kozari pokušali obilježiti Dan proboja i Dan borca i oduzeti taj prostor nacionalistima. U martu su u Novom veterani različitih vojski obišli stratišta ubijenih Srba i Bošnjaka, po prvi put su u tu mirovnu priču uključili i vjerske prvake. U Banja Luci djeluje organizacija "Oštra nula", a u Prijedoru "Kvart", oni u maju organizuju obilježavanje Dana bijelih traka i zajedno sa roditeljima ubijene prijedorske djece traže da se izgradi spomenik. U Sarajevu je jedan dan stajala ploča za žrtve ratnog zločina nad Kazanima. Postavile je Sarajlije i njihovi prijatelji iz inicijative "Jer me se tiče"... Toga nije bilo prije deset godina i to je veliki razlog da budemo optimistični, ima nade za ljude u Bosni i Hercegovini, samo da pobijedimo sebičnost...

Hrvatska: Vrag je odnio šalu

Aneta Lalić

Od ulaska Republike Hrvatske u EU i oslobađajućih haških presuda Hrvatska plovi na valu svoje eto, zašto ne reći, međunarodno verficirane nevinosti ne mareći pri tom za zemaljski, egzistencijalni očaj tako voljenih Hrvata i Hrvatica. Već je i nesretnim izbjeglicama jasno da se kod nas nikako ne može krenuti od početka, jer interpretacije početka su obično najzahtjevnije. Stoga teška srca krenuću od kraja – Zoran Milanović, čovjek proćerdane političke karizme, promašio je zicer. Nakon očaja šestomjesečne

vlade Tihomira Oreškovića, nakon materijaliziranja dvadesetogodišnjih proustaških aspiracija u liku i djelu čovjeka začudne dikcije, Zlatka Hasanbegovića¹, nakon

1 Zlatko Hasanbegović, po vokaciji povjesničar desne političke provenijencije u čijem radu dominiraju revizionističke interpretacije novije hrvatske povijesti, krajem siječnja 2016. imenovan je ministrom kulture u Vladi RH. Osim Hasanbegovićevih fotografija iz mladosti (fotografiran s ustaškom kapom na glavi), najveću je buru izazvala njegova

Reinerovog² pokušaja preimenovanja Sabora u svoju povijesnu ustašku inačicu Hrvatski državni sabor, nakon Darija Kordića, osuđenog ratnog zločinca, koji „hoda za život“ , nakon uništavanja gotovo svih mehanizama zaštite krhke nam demokracije, Zoran Milanović je izgubio izbore. Starom, nedjelotvornom Josipovićevom metodom „mogu ja i desno i bijesno“ izgubio je posljednju priliku da područje političke borbe redefinira i tako potakne stvaranje političkog ozračja u kojemu su društvene promjene moguće.

Umjesto kakve-takve socijaldemokratske vlade dobili smo nove Ciklon-B zvijezde poput Brune Esih³. Nije isključeno da ćemo tiho i kad nitko ne vidi jecati za živopisnim pravašima čija je politička pismenost taman tolika da teško skrivaju svoje namjere i svoja uvjerenja. Nasuprot njima stižu na red visoko profilirani desničari, daleko discipliniraniji, koje se teško može zamisliti u Ćorićevoj čuvenoj metafori o mladom luku i janjetini .

Šest mjeseci čekani uzdah olakšanja ostao je tako zarobljen u nevjericu kulturnjaka, novinara pisanih i elektronskih medija, nevladinih organizacija, vladinih zaklada i svih onih koji su na vlastitoj koži osjetili djelovanje Vlade Oreškovića-Petrova-Karamarka. Ne sumnjam da je ostalo jednako zapanjeno i onih 40000 protestanata u epskom „čekanju tramvaja“ koji su u šestom mjesecu potegnuli na Trg bana Jelačića za nastavak kurikularne reforme⁴. U društvu prestrašene i/ili ravnodušne većine bio je to svojevrсни spektakl, doduše tek relativno uvjerljiv. Šestomjesečna vladavina Karamarkovog HDZ-a i kolebljive grupe MOST upravo je uspjela izazvati dugo

čekanu reakciju građanstva. Pa ipak ta reakcija i revolt su ostali bez političke artikulacije i ishoda. Što će reći da je na lijevoj strani političkog spektra i dalje dosta neupraženih mjesta pa čak i onih koalicijskih tzv. love seats, dok je desno od centra gužva neopisiva.

I koliko god 2015. nije obećavala, 2016. godina je ipak pokazala da je dno uvijek duplo. Vlada Tihomira Oreškovića je u doista kratkom vremenskom periodu uspjela dovršiti proces desekulariziranja hrvatskog društva i države čije se posljedice nesmanjenom žestinom osjećaju i nakon izglasavanja opoziva. Hrvatska radio televizija, očišćena od nepoćudnih novinara , pod vodstvom Siniše Kovačića sve pozornije prati život Crkve, ali istovremeno otvara i nove medijske prostore u kojima se crkvenim velikodostojnicima velikodušno ostavlja na volju da li bi govorili o reproduktivnim pravima žena , karakteru logora u Jasenovcu ili pak o psiho fizičkom zdravlju homoseksualnih osoba. Učinak je teško mjerljiv, ali ne treba sumnjati u uspjeh propovijedi u društvu u kojemu osmaši na satu vjeronauka mogu učiti o tome kako su logor Aušvic-Birkenau osnovali ateisti.

Groteska zvana Šator⁵ poslužila je kao metafora i u tekućoj godini i to u malom ličkom mjestu Srb u izvedbi Dražena Keleminca, vođe Autohtone hrvatske stranke prava. Danima su pripadnici stranke logorovali kraj Spomenika ustanku⁶ zastrašujući mještane. Njihovo pravo na miran život i čuvanje antifašističke tradicije neslavno je obranjeno u posljednjem trenutku. Umjesto da primijeti kršenje čl. 325 Kaznenog zakona, Ministarstvo unutarnjih poslova je radi izostanka komunalnih dozvola

odluka o ukidanju financijske potpore neprofitnim medijima, odluka o razrješenju predsjednice Upravnog vijeća Spomen-područja Jasenovac, ali i mnoge druge.

2 Željko Rainer, predsjednik Hrvatskog sabora u sazivu 3.12.2015. – 20.6.2016.

3 Bruna Esih znanstvena je novakinja na Institutu Ivo Pilar i predsjednica Udruge Hrvatski križni put, bliska suradnica Zlatka Hasانبegovića. Široj je javnosti postala poznata kao izaslanica Predsjednice RH na komemoraciji u Bleiburgu, te kao autorica prijedloga nacrtu zakona o lustraciji. Kao kandidatkinja na listi HDZ-a, u Hrvatski je sabor izabrana preferencijalnim glasovima građana na posljednjim izborima u rujnu/septembru 2016.

4 Inicijativa Hrvatska može bolje koju je podržalo oko 300 udruga i saveza udruga civilnog društva, sedam sindikata i dvije sindikalne središnjice, organizirala je 1.6.2016. prosvjed protiv ukidanja dugoočekivane kurikularne reforme. Prosvjed koji je, na središnjem gradskom trgu, okupio oko 40 tisuća građana, od strane vladajućih partija pokušao se diskreditirati umanjivanjem broja okupljenih građana, kao i tvrdnjama kako su ti ljudi „samo čekali tramvaj“.

5 „Šator“ označava protest određene grupacije branitelja ispred Ministarstva branitelja u Savkoj 66 u Zagrebu. Tražeći ostavku ministra u SDP-ovoj vladi, branitelji su „kampirali“ ispred Ministarstva 555 dana. Po održavanju parlamentarnih izbora u rujnu/septembru 2016. i pobjedom HDZ-a, „šator“ je razmotiran, ali je ostao paradigma izražavanja protivljenja ove braniteljske populacije svim društvenim pojavama, ali i zakonima koji odstupaju od njihovog viđenja uređenja društva.

6 Dan ustanka naroda Hrvatske u socijalističkoj Jugoslaviji obilježavao se 27.7., u spomen na dan kada su, nakon tjedana izloženosti ustaškoj represiji, partizanski gerilski odredi i stanovnici ličkog kraja 27.7.1941. podigli ustanak koji se proširio na čitavu Liku i Kordun te ubrzo zahvatio i druge dijelove Hrvatske. Raspadom Jugoslavije, ovaj datum je ukinut, a umjesto njega se kao praznik uspostavlja Dan antifašističke borbe, u znak sjećanja na 22.6.1941., kada je u šumi Brezovica kod Siska oformljen Sisački partizanski odred. Ustanak 27.7. 1941. u posljednja se dva desetljeća u Hrvatskoj osporava te nastoji odrediti kao zločin koji su Srbi Like i Korduna počinili nad Hrvatima.

o postavljanju šatora na javnoj površini uklonilo i šator i njegove stanare. Ne treba podsjećati da su se isti vratili na sam Dan ustanka, uobičajeno razdragani ustaškim pjesmama i neviđenom ljubavlju spram Milorada Pupovca.

Ni ove godine na obilježavanju Dana domovinske zahvalnosti⁷ nije falilo crnih uniformi, bijelih polja i ustaških koračnica. Kninom su kao jedan stupali pripadnici Udruge „Rafael Vitez Boban“⁸, a sličan scenarij ponovljen je par tjedana nakon u pretežito srpskom mjestu Donji Lapac. Veteranska udruga je na putu svog hodočašća u Udbinu imala posebnu potrebu, da ne velimo pijetet, marširati u

7 Dan pobjede i domovinske zahvalnosti i Dan branitelja obilježava se 5.8., u spomen na vojno-redarstvenu akciju Oluja, kojom je teritorij koji je bio pod kontrolom Srpske autonomne oblasti Krajina vraćen pod hrvatsku vlast. Jedna od posljedica ove akcije je protjerivanje oko 200 tisuća hrvatskih Srba sa tog teritorija.

8 Udruga i bojna „Rafael Vitez Boban“ uspostavljena je u spomen na ustaškog satnika Rafaela Bobana, zamjenika zapovjednika zloglasne ustaške postrojbe Crna legija. Crna legija je taj nadimak dobila zbog crnih odora koje su nosili njezini pripadnici, ali i zbog iznimne okrutnosti prema žrtvama, prije svega civilima.

ustaškim uniformama i pod zastavama pozdrava „Za Dom Spremnii“ ovim mirnim mjestom. Kako od viška glava ne boli, policija je cijelim putem štitila hodočasnike.

Neodgovorni politički nastupi i šutnja nakon prijetećih protesta protiv Mirjane Rakić (ravnateljice Agencije za elektroničke medije), nesankcionirani govor mržnje u medijima, ukidanje prvostupanske presude Branimiru Glavašu⁹, film Sedlara „Jasenovac - istina“ sa očiglednim negiranjem holokausta i genocida, samo su neke od redovitih pojava koje generiraju atmosferu linča. Kapilarno širenje linča u konačnici se uvijek manifestira fizičkim napadom poput onih koji su se dogodili novinaru Anti Tomiću ili kazališnom redatelju Oliveru Frljiću.

Dakle, idu dani i sve je teže razlikovati informativne emisije od šeretskih. Ukidanje jedne takve, „Montiranog procesa“¹⁰, ostaće trajna inspiracija autorima, ali i najjasniji pokazatelj da se ničemu i nikome ne smijemo smijati. Vrag je, što bi rekli, odnio šalu.

9 Branimir Glavaš je 2009. osuđen za ratni zločin nad srpskim civilima u Osijeku te osuđen na 10 godina zatvora.

10 Satirični televizijski magazin koji je inspiraciju počesto nalazio u tada vladajućoj stranci i članovima Vlade.

Kosovo: Ćutanje kao sredstvo suočavanja sa prošlošću

Qerim Ondozi

Uvek kada govorimo o suočavanju sa prošlošću, na pamet nam pada samo jedan jedini pristup za koji znamo, a to je pristup po kome se pod suočavanjem podrazumeva diskusija i razjašnjavanje prošlosti, sučeljavanje stavova jednih sa drugima, sučeljavanje naših stavova sa faktima o događajima, sučeljavanje stavova drugih sa istim faktima, pokušaj da se sagledaju stvari iz naše perspektive, iz perspektive drugih, spolja, iznutra, i tako redom.

Kako suočavanje sa prošlošću, tako i suočavanje sa različitim problemima koji nam ne daju mira i traže razrešenje takođe ima dva moguća pristupa: jedan koji podrazumeva aktivno suočavanje, te ćutnju. Dok je prvi pristup prilično poznat, u širokoj je upotrebi i njemu su posvećene mnoge psihološke i sociološke studije, ja ću ovde pokušati da govorim o drugom, manje popularizovanom pristupu, onom koji se zasniva na ćutanju.

Naime, ljudi se često koriste ćutanjem kako bi rešili

neki nerešivi problem. Koriste se ćutanjem onda kada su već iskoristili sve druge argumente vike, ubeđivanja, sučeljavanja, sudaranja, svađe, napada, intelektualnog i emotivnog ponižavanja, verovanja, neverovanja. Spisak je to bez kraja. Ljudi se koriste ćutanjem zato što su shvatili da im nijedno drugo sredstvo neće doneti rešenje problema o kome je reč. Ljudi se koriste ćutanjem kada ih tačka do koje je problem zakomplikovan uveri da nema drugog načina da mu pristupe, osim da dignu ruke od njega i da okrenu novu stranu, u nadi da sećanje na prethodnu neće prekriti svaku narednu stranu, sve do kraja knjige. Ali svaka nova stranica otvara se u nadi. Jer se i aktivnim suočavanjem nadamo da ćemo rešiti, a ne da ćemo dodatno zakomplikovati problem.

Ćutanje nije popularna metoda jer u sebi prikriva cilj.

Ćutanje prikriva i plemenite ciljeve, kao i lukave namere.

Ćutanje prikriva i uverljive argumente, kao i prazne reči.

Ćutanje prikriva i najjače oružje napada, kao i najsnažnija sredstva samoodbrane.

Ćutanje i jeste, i nije metafora.

Pokušaću ovde, naime, da ne ponavljam stvari koje su ljudi pre mene već rekli, bilo javno ili prećutno.

Dolazim iz jednog nevelikog grada na Kosovu, u kome se u ogromnoj meri ćuti. Ćuti se kada se govori na albanskom, ćuti se i kada se govori na srpskom. Ćuti se kada se govori o grožđi u šljivama, ćuti se i još više onda kada se govori o poslednjem ratu na Kosovu.

Prema rečima onih koji su odlučili da ipak ne ćute, u julu 1998. su ovaj višenacionalni gradić na jugu napale gerilske jedinice Oslobođilačke vojske Kosova, u pokušaju da zauzmu stratešku tačku koja bi poslužila za stvaranje baze za nastavak takvih operacija, sve do postizanja krajnjeg cilja.

Prema onima koji su odlučili da ne ćute, ovi vojnici su napadali grad tri dana za redom. Naravno, bili su malobrojniji, slabiji u pogledu naoružanja, kao i svih onih karakteristika koje prate jedan takav događaj, koji tek što se bio dogodio u jednom novom vremenu i prostoru.

Nakon tri-četiri dana, i dalje sve prema onima koji su odlučili da o tome ne ćute, ovi vojnici su otišli, pobegli su, dezertirali, taktički se povukli, i tako dalje, dok nije došao red za napad na srpsku vojsku i policiju, koja je za vrlo kratko vreme, u znak odmazde za prethodne napade, pobila veliki broj civila.

Smrt je apsolutno ćutanje.

Smrt je krajnji anestetik, zaborav, prirodno neshvatljiv teren.

Smrt je suočavanje sa samim sobom, suočavanje sa životom, suočavanje sa ćutanjem.

Smrt je beskrajni vapaj, neopisivi bol.

Smrt je apsurd ispunjen značenjem.

Na Kosovu se malo govori o žrtvama rata. Tu mislim na ubijene civile, na žrtve nasilja.

Naime, na Kosovu se mnogo govori samo o palim borcima, odvažnim vojskovođama, o slavnim bitkama, neslavnim bitkama, prvom napadu, drugom napadu, prvom ubijenom borcu, drugom ubijenom borcu, prvoj bombi, drugoj bombi.

Ali, na Kosovu se malo govori o smrti jednog čoveka, o fizičkoj i emotivnoj praznini koja nastupa pred intelektualnom neshvatljivošću iznenadne smrti, smrti najvoljenije osobe.

Preživeli civili ožale ubijene civile, a zatim ćute. Dok preživeli vojnici ožale ubijene vojnike, a zatim počnu da se suočavaju sa prošlošću, sa sadašnjošću i sa budućnošću.

U takvom suočavanju, o imenima i delima tih vojnika piše se u knjigama, podižu im se biste i spomenici.

S druge strane, u ćutanju onih prvih, o imenima ubijenih se ne govori, i to možda ne zato što ona ne zaslužuju da budu upamćena, da se spominju u knjigama, da se uklešu na biste i spomen-ploče, već zato što je nakon beskrajnog vapaja i boli od koje zastaje dah nastupilo ćutanje kome su se oni predali.

Ali, ćutanje je uvek poslednji korak, nikada prvi ili drugi.

Stoga, treba da ostavimo s mirom one koji su odlučili da ćute.

Treba da ostavimo s mirom one koji su u ćutanju pronašli utehu.

Treba da ostavimo s mirom one kojima ne možemo da vratimo njihove nestale.

Treba da ih ostavimo s mirom, sve dokle njihovo ćutanje ne bude i nas navelo da konačno začutimo.

Makedonija: “Po nacionalnost sum siromav”

Fllanza Jusufi

Do prije godinu dana sam mislila dok sam živa shvatiti neću zašto većina ljudi svijetom hodaju širom zatvorenih očiju. Kako ne vidimo da nas, iz dana u dan, iz godine u godinu, neodgovorni političari sve više uništavaju.

Razmišljajući o Makedoniji i svim dešavanjima zadnjih 15 godina jedino što sam uspjela konstatirati je da nekako neprekidno živimo u nekoj vrsti konflikta. Da nam se svako malo dešava ponešto, a to nešto održava konflikt živim. Posljednjih godinu dana Makedonija je, zbog građanskih

podjela, najviše partijskih, ali i protesta, opet privukla pažnju medija po regionu a i šire. Nešto slično kao i 2001. godine, no, za razliku od toga tada, od rata, povod za potencijalni konflikt ovoga puta nije međuetnički.

Politička kriza je započela prije više od godinu dana, poslije skandala sa prisluškivanjem¹. Naslušali smo

¹ U februaru 2015. opozicija (Socijaldemokrati) su izašli u javnost tvrdeći da posjeduju dokaze o nezakonitom

se o umiješanosti državnih i partijskih funkcionera u kriminal i korupciju. Slušali smo kako dogovaraju krađu izbora i još mnogo drugih stvari uključujući i vrijeđanje i ponižavanje građana. Zbog nastale situacije je došlo do nekakvog prisilnog dogovora zvanog "Pržinski dogovor" koji su potpisali lideri četiri glavne partije u zemlji, dvije makedonske i dvije albanske, a koji je imao uspostaviti uslove za održavanje izbora u novonastaloj situaciji. Taj dogovor nije bio ispoštovan kako je bilo predviđeno. Čini mi se da nam svi ti mirovni dogovori kao što je i "Ohridski ramkovni dogovor" nisu donijeli nešto pretjerano dobroga i korisnoga. Ali, ipak, iz "Pržinskog dogovora" je formirano Specijalno tužiteljstvo čija uloga je gonjenje organiziranog kriminala, djela koja proizlaze iz sadržaja ilegalnog prisluškivanja. Ovaj će organ istražiti falsificiranje dokumenata i kršenje prava glasa, dogovaranje izbora, treba objelodaniti slučaj Monstrum (petostruko ubojstvo kod Smilkovskog jezera)², slučaj Martina Neškovskog (ubijen od policajaca na dužnosti na proslavi izborne pobjede vladajućeg VMRO-DPMNE) i još veliki broj slučajeva.

Kriza je svoj vrhunac postigla nakon masovne abolicije političara za koje je utvrđeno da su krivi za zloupotrebu vlasti, i koju je proglasio predsjednik države Gjorge Ivanov. Abolicija je bila vrhunac razočarenja, bila je nešto preko čega se nije moglo preći pa je to natjeralo građane da izađu na ulice i da postanu "neposlušni". Svakako, diktatutra vladajuće partije VMRO-DPMNE izlazi na vidjelo na različite načine, ovoga puta kroz organizaciju kontra protesta na koje su simpatizeri partije dovoženi autobusima iz raznih gradova. Dok se sve ovo dešava u zemlji, albanske partije i njihove pristalice se drže po strani (a samim time podržavaju VMRO-DPMNE) kao da se njih ne tiče, kao da isti taj premijer nije premijer njihove države. Ali jasna je podrška koja se indirektno daje vladajućoj koalicijskoj partiji, nešto u stilu ruka ruku mije.

Namjera abolicije je bila da zaštiti funkcionere. Da spriječi da se krivci imenuju i odgovaraju za svoja djela. Pokušao se spriječiti rad Specijalnog tužiteljstva jer je

prisluškivanju više od 20 000 građana/ki. Snimke su potom periodično puštane u javnost, a njihov je sadržaj bio toliko skandalozan po vlast i institucije države da su snimke kolokvijalno nazvane "bombe".

2 Masakr na Smilkovskom jezeru dogodio se uoči Uskrsa 2012. godine, kad su ubijeni mladići Kire Tričkovski, Filip Slavkovski, Cvetančo Acevski i Aleksandar Nakevski, te ribolovac Borče Stevkovski. Za krivično djelo terorizma, po presudi Krivičnog suda u Skoplju, su na doživotni zatvor nepravomoćno osuđeni Alil Demiri, braća Afrim i Agim Ismailović, Fejzi Aziri, Haki Aziri i Sami Ljuta.

podneseno dosta krivičnih prijava protiv funkcionera vladajućih partija. Makedonskih i albanskih. Abolicija je obuhvatila 56 osoba, među njima je bio pomilovan Nikola Gruevski, lider vladajuće partije te bivši premijer Makedonije, isto tako i Gordana Jankulovska, ministrica unutarnjih poslova, koju ta pozicija obavezuje da se bori protiv korupcije i kriminala. Abolicija svakako potvrđuje sumnje da je bilo kriminala u vlasti.

Ljudi su izašli na ulice, podigao se glas protiv nepravde, pružao se otpor onima koji im oduzimaju pravo na dostojanstven život i pravo na ponos. Organizacija je započela od strane nevladinih organizacija, no priključili su se različito opredjeljeni građani. To više nisu samo protesti nego je nastala revolucija, koju čine međusobno i po svim osnovama različiti učesnici, po tome su je i nazvali "šarena revolucija". Nezadovoljstvo građana je raslo, a samim tim i naš broj na ulicama, svakim danom nas je bilo sve više i više. Na početku samo u Skoplju, kasnije i u ostalim većim gradovima u zemlji. Moram priznati da je savršen osjećaj biti dio te revolucije. Epitet "šareno" se prakticira tako da se tokom protesta u šarene boje oboje preskupi spomenici izgrađeni da svedoče o antičkoj Makedoniji i barok fasade.

"Neposlušni građani" su se okupljali ispred Specijalnog tužiteljstva pa nisu zaboravili posjetiti kancelariju predsjednika države u centru Skoplja, koju su vrlo lijepo ofarbal i napravili veću štetu. Tražili su da predsjednik povuče odluku o aboliciji, što je i učinio nakon nekog vremena, pod pritiskom Evropske Unije i građana. Centar grada, odnosno spomenici iz projekta "Skoplje 2014" (koji su ništa drugo sem pokazatelji nacionalizma) su fantastično obojeni u šarenilo od strane takonazvanih huligana. Policija je nakon toga incidenta privela nekoliko učesnika na protestima.

Narod je i dalje u neizvjesnosti koja već dosta traje, istovremeno zasićeni od svega. Pitanje je kako ćemo se izvući iz ovoga labirinta u kojemu se već dugo vremena, bez izlaza, vrtimo u krug. Jasno mi je da je pravda skupa.

Najtužnija stvar, no i realnost je da je veliki broj građana došao do prosjačkog štapa, veliko je siromaštvo postala zajednička stvar različitih nacionalnosti u zemlji. Tako je nastala i gore navedena slika u Skoplju sa grafitom na zidu "Po nacionalnost sum siromav", dok čovjek prebire po smeću. Ljudima u zemlji je njihova nacionalnost siromaštvo. Ova slika puno govori o stanju u Makedoniji. U ovoj zemlji žive stotine tisuća dobrih ljudi, a sve više njih obrazovanih i sposobnih odlaze iz zemlje.

Nedavno je zemlju pogodila i vremenska nepogoda, desila se poplava u Skoplju i Tetovu, službene informacije

kažu da su poginule 22 osobe. Štete su velike za mnoge obitelji. No to i dalje ne sprječava vladu da ulaže u projekat “Skoplje 2014” i da nastavi sa gradnjom baroka i panoramskog kola za koje je predviđeno da košta 19 milijuna eura, dok za oštećene obitelji u poplavi nema para ni rješenja.

Iako sve ovo zvuči dosta tmurno, nada za bolje sutra postoji, nada da još nije sve izgubljeno jer se narod budi i ne pristaje više tako lako na vladine manipulacije. To se dokazalo nakon njihovog pokušaja da ponovno destabiliziraju državu međunarodnim problemom, odnosno slučajem u Kumanovu u “Divljem naselju” (Maj,

2015)³, no narod to nije dozvolio. Šarena revolucija je isto dokaz da postoje ljudi različitih pripadnosti, a zajedno su u jednoj ideji i cilju - da žele bolju Makedoniju za sve nas. I što je najbitnije, ima nas dosta. Kod nas više nije sve sivo, kod nas je šareno, nose se sve boje, i lijepo nam stoje.

3 9. maja 2015., u par ulica u Divom naselju/ Lagja e trimavë vodio se pravi rat. Policija je rekla da su započeli akciju protiv veće grupe terorista koja je ukopana u više kuća. Krvavi sukob koji je trajao skoro 24 sata je ostavio tragičan bilans od 22 poginulih (od njih 8 policajaca) i 37 ranjenih policajaca... Vidi Boro Kitanoski, “Makedonija: Së bashku. Заедно” u CNA, *Godišnji izveštaj 2015*, str. 61-63.

Srbija: Zapalio bih celo selo

Katarina Milićević

Pre nekoliko meseci iz Haškog tribunala u Srbiju se vratio Vojislav Šešelj¹. Bilo je potrebno samo da njegov nekadašnji sekretar stranke raspusti vladu, a potpredsednik stranke raspiše izbore, pa da Šešelj uđe, kao poslanik, u Skupštinu Republike Srbije. U prvostepenoj presudi Šešelj je oslobođen optužbi, i posle 13 godina vratio se u Srbiju kao “pobednik”. Neko ko je “pobedio” Haški tribunal, „kazamat za Srbe“.

Kada je, 2003. godine Šešelj odlazio u Hag, premijer Srbije bio je Zoran Đinđić. Ubijen je neposredno posle toga. Kada se 2016. slavodobitno vratio iz Haga, premijer Srbije bio je Aleksandar Vučić, a predsednik Tomislav Nikolić, njegovi dugogodišnji najbliži saradnici, koji su, u međuvremenu, osnovali svoju stranku (2008. godine), i ubrzo pobedili na svim izborima, i osvojili apsolutnu vlast u Srbiji. Tako da se njihov nekadašnji idejni vođa i politički otac² vratio u atmosferu koja mu je poznata, i koja njegovim idejama prija.

U vreme kada je on odlazio put Haga, u Srbiji je postojala nada, vera da su promene moguće, vizija da se nešto menja, olakšanje što su diktatorsko-fašistički lideri svrgnuti sa vlasti, ideja da je „Srbija na dobrom putu“. Vratio se u opljačkano i ojađenu državu, među ljude bez nade, bez vere da je bilo kakva promena iole moguća, među ljude koji biraju njegove nekadašnje partijske

saradnike na nekoliko izbora zaredom, i to ogromnom većinom. Da je od Deda Mraza pozeleo poklon, bolji ne bi mogao da dobije. I za sve to nije kriv ni samo on, ni sadašnja vlast u Srbiji, samo je dobar primer koliko nada i vera mogu da budu iluzija, i koliko Srbija nikada nije izašla iz nacionalističke matrice, ma kako se ponekad činilo da „evo je, tu je, samo što nije“. Nije.

Izbori su bili, u aprilu ove godine, vlada je formirana nakon skoro četiri meseca, ali ne postoji više žar iščekivanja promena, bilo kakvih, ne postoji vera da su one moguće, ne postoji ni iluzija da je „Srbija na dobrom putu“. Aleksandar Vučić koji ima dve košulje i dva lica: jedno za Evropu i svet, drugo za Srbiju, ponovo je premijer. U istom trenutku kada je na svečanosti u Briselu otvarao poglavlja 23 i 24 za pristupanje Evropskoj Uniji, njegovi partijski drugovi, onako bliski kako je on bio Šešelju, su u cetru Beograda otvorili izložbu „Necenzurisane laži“ na kojoj su izložili sve javne kritike koje su za dve godine upućene Aleksandru Vučiću. Autori tih kritika, mahom novinari i novinarkе, ali i drugi ljudi koji samo imaju naloge na društvenim mrežama su obeleženi kao „neprijatelji“ i vlast im je stavila metu na čelo.

Sa metom na čelu kreću se svi nezavisni novinari u Srbiji, jer svakodnevno dobijaju pretnje. Poslednje su upućene Slobodanu Georgievu, novinaru Vremena i BIRN-a, i Nedimu Sejdinoviću i Dinku Gruhonjiću, iz Nezavisnog udruženja novinara Vojvodine. Kada premijer zemlje svakog ko se usudi da kritikuje nešto iz domena društvenog života nazove „ološem“, onda su vrata nasilja

1 Lider Srpske radikalne stranke, optužen pred Haškim sudom za ratne zločine. 2003. se dobrovoljno predao Tužilaštvu.

2 Aleksandar Vučić, iz vremena članstva u SRS: “Sve što znam o politici sam naučio od Vojislava Šešelja.”

širom otvorena, posebno za ono malo ljudi koji još imaju hrabrosti i nade. Ili bar jedno od ta dva.

Izbegavam da pomenem opoziciju, jer su opozicija Vučiću (sa osvojenih 48,25% glasova) i SPS-u sa kojima formira vlast (10,95%) sada i Šešeljeva stranka koja se vratila u parlament (SRS, 8,10%), i profašističke „Dveri“ i DSS (5,04%), i stranka nekadašnjeg Vučićevog ministra Saše Radulovića „Dosta je bilo“ (6,02%), i sa druge strane Demokratska stranka (ili ono što je od nje ostalo, sa 6,02%) i koalicija LDP-LSV-SDS (iliti poznatija kao Čeda-Čanak-Tadić, sa 5,02%). U izbornoj noći, ujedinjena opozicija je reagovala na pokušaj izborne krađe, pa se ta krhka demokratija u Srbiji našla na još jednom teškom ispitu: da li podržati princip da je izborna volja građana svetinja, i boriti se protiv krađe glasova, iako to znači da će profašistička partija da se nađe u parlamentu, ili ne činiti to, jer se tako samo jačaju prilično već osnažene partije na ivici zabrane i pojedinci na ivici zatvora zbog govora i delanja iz nacionalne i šovinističke mržnje.

Apsolutna vlast je osvojena i na lokalnim nivoima, što najviše odgovara tabloidima, koji sad imaju nepresušan izvor za razne bizarne vesti o tome kako se pojedini političari na lokalnu ponašaju, i to se kreće od ozbiljnih optužbi za seksualno uznemiravanje, korupciju, mobing, do toga da neki skorojevići u politici bebama daju cuclu sa „svarovski“ kristalima, ili sa platom od oko 400 evra letuju u luksuznim letovalištima po svetu. Tako se stvara iluzija slobode govora i iluzija da je vlast podložna kritici: vrh i najmoćnije niko ne kritikuje, kritikuje se neki mali šrafčić u lokalnoj vlasti, nebitan, i samim tim, laka meta.

Svakakve bizarnosti se mogu naći u medijima, ali ono o čemu se čuti je rušenje objekata u Hercegovačkoj ulici, u naselju Savamala, zarad izgradnje megalomanskog projekta „Beograd na vodi“. Zbog bespravnog rušenja u toku izborne noći, kada je i policija odbila da reaguje na pozive građana, mesecima unazad hiljade ljudi u Beogradu protestuje. Kao i u Novom Sadu, zbog smene urednika na Televiziji Vojvodina. No, slike protesta, reči i poruke protestanata ne stižu do glavnih medija, pre svega do televizije, ili budu nazivani „šaćicom plaćenika“, baš kao i u ono vreme sa kraja '90-ih kada je sadašnji premijer bio ministar informisanja.

Od početka godine, do sredine devetog meseca, ubijeno je (najmanje) 23 žena³. Ubice su njihovi partneri. Osim žena koje su žrtve, bilo je i drugih žrtava – njihove dece, sadašnjih partnera, prijatelja. Jedno od najvećih ubistava desilo se u vojvođanskom mestu Žitište, u kojem je jedan čovek ubio svoju bivšu ženu i još četvoro ljudi,

a ranio preko 20 njih. Većina tih žena se obraćala policiji i ostalim službama koje su trebale da ih na neki način zaštite, ali nisu. Zaštitnik građana je ukazao na propuste državnih organa u 12 slučajeva ubistva žena (u preporuci izdatoj krajem jula, kada je bilo 14 ubijenih žena, u međuvremenu je taj broj, na žalost, porastao).

U Beogradu je u junu ove godine organizovana jedna Parada ponosa, u septembru će biti druga. Odakle i zašto su sad dve, pitanje je za LGBT organizacije, no, važno je reći, junska parada nije izazvala gotovo nikakve reakcije. Videćemo kako će proći septembarska, no čini se da je vlast zaustavila svoje jurišnike, te da osim Srpske pravoslavne crkve i (pomenutih, gore) Dveri, zabranjenog Obraza – nema većeg i nasilnijeg otpora održavanju Parade. Što je pozitivan pomak.

A, kada se izmaknemo iz unutrašnje politike u Srbiji i pogledamo preko plotu – ili preko nišana – možemo da vidimo da odnosi u regionu od zaustavljanja ratova do danas – nikad nisu bili gori. I opet u svojoj šizofrenoj politici gde u Briselu glumi faktor mira i stabilnosti, a u Beogradu velikog vođu srpske nacije, Vučić se sa jedne strane šeta sa Izetbegovićem po Kalemegdanu i igra šah, a sa druge podržava Dodika i voda ga sa sobom. Iako nisu podržali referendum u Republici Srpskoj, i Vučić i Nikolić podržavaju Dodika, i samim tim doprinose destabilizaciji BiH.

Iako je nedavno premijer Srbije Vučić predao predsednici Hrvatske Kolindi Grabar Kitarović veliki buket cveća, i to simbolično, na mostu, kao da su zaljubljeni par koji se malo sporečkao, a ne predstavnicima država, odnosi Srbije sa Hrvatskom su neupitno loši, i opšte je mišljenje, najgori od rata do danas. I to tako loše stanje odgovara i jednim i drugima – svoju slabost i nedostatke najbolje sakriješ optužujući onog drugog. Podgrevanjem vojničkog pasulja, koji su oni i skuvali pre 25 godina, i jedni i drugi se nadaju samo dobrim izbornim rezultatima, jer je strah, shvatili su to davno, najbolji vladar. Jedni će rehabilitovati ustaštvo i beatifikovati Stepinca, drugi će odmah Dražu Mihailovića. Pa sve tako: ne da komšiji crkne krava, nego da crknu i krava i komšija, i da izgori selo. Pa šta ćeš onda ti, ako izgori selo? Neka izgorim i ja, samo da njima ne bude dobro. Lako ćemo za selo.

Sa Kosovom je sve i dalje pod velom neke čudne tajne: u Briselu se održavaju neki pregovori, nešto se na njima i dogovori, daju se zvanične i šture izjave, ali onda svaka strana, kad se obraća novinarima na maternjem jeziku, govori o svojoj pobedi. I o nečemu što je, uprkos otporu, izdejstvovala. Šta tačno, niko baš ne zna. Smeškaju se i rukuju, to znamo. I samim tim se nadamo boljim odnosima,

3 Podaci na dan: 14.9.2016. ; izvor: mreža „Žene protiv nasilja“.

slobodi kretanja, rešavanju spornih pitanja... ali onda se, na početku Olimpijade oglasi ministar sporta i omladine i pozove sportiste iz Srbije da siđu sa postolja ako se na njemu nađe i predstavnik Kosova. Posebno je zanimljivo što je sportiste iz Srbije pozvao da se „ne intimiziraju“ sa kosovskim, pa se javnost danima zabavljala tumačeći šta zapravo znači „intimiziranje“.

Gotovo u celom svetu je sada desnica na vlasti – ili će na nju, bojim se, uskoro doći. A gde je levo i postoji li uopšte u svetu danas levo, ili svi stojimo na nekom centru, čekajući da nas strah odvede skroz desno? Ma uostalom, lako ćemo za svet.



razmišljanja

Islam i nenasilje

Kako sam postao musliman i mirovnjak

Adnan Hasanbegović

Kada se 1995. završio rat u BiH, bio sam sretan čovjek. Nakon četiri godine rata ubijanje je stalo. Ja sam demobilisan, nakon 3 i po godine ratovanja. Iako potrošen i pogubljen kao i većina, osjećao sam blagi optimizam. Prvi odlasci na more, nakon godina opsade i rovova, snajpera i granata, izgledali su kao posjete rajju. U rat sam ušao sa 19 a izašao sa 23. Dovoljno mlad za nastavak života, ali ipak „star“, sa viškom iskustva patnje, nasilja i blizine smrti.

Duboko u meni ostale su dileme. Odakle u ljudima spremnost na nasilje i kako to budemo uvučeni u ratove, iako to zapravo malo ko želi. Šta nas to hiponotiše, odakle spremnost na ubijanje, kakva je to sila? I zašto?

Prije rata sam bio agnostik, odrastao u takvoj porodici i okruženju. Nisam vjerovao u koncepte relegije i bili su mi daleki. Na početku rata religiju sam vidio kao produženu ruku nacionalizma koja je uništila našu zemlju i uzrokovala sukobe među ljudima.

Strah od smrti i besmisao stradanja ponukali su me da pokušam da razumijem. Mnogi bliski i dragi ljudi iz mog okruženja su se posvetili vjeri, tražeći svoj smiraj. Kada ste suočeni za iskušenjem rata i svakodnevnim svježću o smrtnosti, vlastitoj i svojih bližnjih, počnete razmišljati o smislu, sudbini, višoj sili. Gubljenje povjerenja u sistem, državu, društvo pa i u ljude, izaziva osjećaj duboke neizvjesnosti i nesigurnosti.

Ja sam u duhovnosti i vjerovanju našao odgovore i za razum i za dušu. Hvala Allahu koji mi je pokazao put, kako mi muslimani kažemo.

O vjeri sam učio iz knjiga različitih religija, ali prije svega od ljudi različitih vjera. Takođe, kroz umjetnost, filmove, knjige dolazali su mi znakovi, putokazi ka osvještavanju vlastitog uvjerenja u Boga, koji se objavio poslancima i što je zabilježeno u Svetim knjigama.

Živeći u Sarajevu i na Balkanu, svojevrtnim mostovima i čvorovima kultura, nacija i vjera, u meni je oduvijek postojao osjećaj povezanosti sa različitim ljudima, bez obzira na njihove identitete i porijeklo. Nisam mogao da prihvatim da budem u sukobu sa ljudima samo zbog različite nacije i religije, i teško sam podnosio činjenicu da je rat u BiH dijelom imao i elemente vjerskog sukoba. Razmišljajući o tome i čitajući Kuran, naiđem na ajet:

„... A da je Allah htio, On bi vas sljedbenicima jedne

vjere učinio, ali On hoće da vas iskuša u onome što vam propisuje, zato se natječite ko će više dobra učiniti; Allahu ćete se svi vratiti, pa će vas On o onome u čemu ste se razilazili obavijestiti. (El-Maida, 48)

Kasnije sam saznao da riječ koja je ovdje sa arapskog jezika prevedena kao “natječite se”, može značiti i “sarađujte u dobru”.

Ovaj i slični dijelovi svetih tekstova otvorili su mi razumijevanje duhovnosti i Boga koji od nas traži dobrotu i pravednost. Katarzično otkriće Boga milostivog koji želi dobro svim ljudima i voli ih, smirili su moje srce i unijeli radost i želju za svjedočenjem. Moja vjera je rasla i uskoro sam postao prakticirajući musliman.

Imao sam sreću, a vjerujem da ništa nije slučajno, da se u tom periodu susrećem sa mirovanjacima iz Srbije, BiH i Hrvatske, ljudima duboko posvećenim izgradnji mira, nenasilju i pravdi. Bilo je među njima i kršćana, ateista, muslimana, ... i svi su se trudili biti aktivni na putu mira. Neki od njih postali su mi prijatelji i saradnici. Na treninzima iz nenasilne razrade sukoba i izgradnje mira imali smo privilegiju učiti jedni od drugih, razmjenjivati emocije i stavove, upoznavati se i probati razumjeti sebe i društvo. Učili smo kako u zemljama zahvaćenim ratovima, mržnjom, strahom i kolektivnim duhovima nasilne prošlosti, tražiti puteve pomirenja, slobode i međuljudske podrške i saradnje.

U tom procesu, pronašao sam još jedan svoj identitet, pored muslimana i bivšeg ratnika, postao sam i mirovni aktivista.

Na jednom od treninga iz izgradnje mira upoznao sam ženu iz Banjaluke, posvećenu kršćanku, koja mi je poklonila, za mene važnu, knjigu iz islamske duhovne tradicije i sa kojom sa imao duge razgovore o duhovnosti. U slobodno vrijeme, zajedno smo posjetili dervišku tekiju u Blagaju kod Mostara. Bilo je puno lijepe simbolike u tome da Srpkinja i Bošnjak, kroz razgovore o ratu između njihovih naroda, različitim duhovnim tradicijama i praksama, razmjenjuju religiozna iskustva i uče da rade na pomirenju.

Već na početku moje religioznosti bilo mi je blisko poimanje Boga do kojeg postoje različiti i mnogi putevi,



za one koji Ga traže. U to, hvala Bogu, nisam nikad posumnjao. Otkrio sam da je izgradnja mira put truda i rada sa ljudima, i da vjernicima na tom putu najbolji uzori mogu biti upravo Muhamed a.s. i Isus a.s., kao i mnogi drugi poslanici i obični ljudi nadahnuti Bogom.

Zanimljivo je da sam o primjenjenoj izgradnji mira mnogo naučio od ateista i agnostika, ljudi koji sa svojim visokim moralnim standardima, posvećenošću i predanošću miru i društvenoj pravdi, mogu biti svijetli primjer mnogim vjernicima. „Čudni su putevi Gospodnji“.

Raditi na pomirenju, nakon brutalnog rata, nije jednostavno. Eksplozija nasilja i nepravde, što rat jeste, ostavlja pustoš u gradovima, selima, ali i u ljudskim srcima. Masovna ubistva, zločini, opsade, genocid, ... teško su breme za ponijeti, razumjeti i ići dalje kroz život. Najviše uznemiruje ljudska spremnost na destrukciju kada, do jučer obični ljudi, postaju ubice i nasilnici. Teško je naći utjehu, ostaje bol i zebnja u stomaku. Kao opomena, iskušenje svim generacijama, da nauče kako da se nose sa svojim identitetima i suočavaju sa svojom prošlošću.

U takvim trenucima, kada mi se to breme učini preteško, prisjetim se ajeta iz Kurana:

„A da Allah ne suzbija ljude, jedne drugima, na Zemlji bi doista, nered nastao, ali, Allah je dobar svim svjetovima“ (El – Bekara, 251)

Kako sam i sam bio učesnik rata, spreman da ubijem neprijatelja, nije mi lako da potpuno razumijem vlastite motive i stanja kroz koja sam prolazio. Olakšanje mi donosi svijest o ljudskoj ograničenosti, slabosti, sklonosti ka nasilju, o kojim sam u islamu učio. To mi pomaže da razumijem i bivše neprijatelje.

“Ja ne pravdam sebe, ta duša je sklona zlu, osim one kojoj se Gospodar moj smiluje. Gospodar moj zaista prašta i samilostan je.” {Sura 12 - Jusuf, 53}

Zadnjih godina radim sa ratnim veteranima iz BiH, Hrvatske i Srbije. Zajedno obilazimo mjesta stradanja iz posljednjeg rata. Sa svojim prijateljima - bivšim neprijateljima, pripadnicima vojski koje su ratovala u BiH i na Balkanu 90-ih, odajemo poštu žrtvama koje su naše vojske poubijale. Nekad pričamo o svemu tome, a nekad samo šutimo. Želimo poslati poruku da nam je žao i da smo danas zajedno protiv rata. Ne slažemo se često oko prošlosti, ali vjerujemo jedni drugima i smjeli bi našu djecu ostaviti jedni drugima na čuvanje. Među nama ima vjernika, kršćana i muslimana, i atesita, i svi imamo duboku potrebu za mirom i razumijemo šta je rat. Nadamo se da gestovima pomirenja i osude zločina, spašavamo neke druge živote.

U takvim trenucima, volim da razmišljam o ajetu:

„Zbog toga smo Mi propisali sinovima Israilovim: ako neko ubije nekoga koji nije ubio nikoga, ili onoga koji na zemlji nered ne čini – kao da je sve ljude poubijao; a ako neko bude uzrok da se nečiji život sačuva – kao da je svim ljudima život sačuvaao.“ (Al-Maida, 32)

Uloga religijskih zajednica u ratovima na Balkanu bila je, blago rečeno, kontraverzna. Osim rijetkih poruka razuma i poziva na mir, uglavnom su se oglašavale kao podrška etnonacionalizmu i ratnim opcijama. Na žalost, i nakon rata često su prepreka ka pomirenju, kako zbog slavljenja rata i blagosiljanja zločinaca, tako i zbog čestog transparentnog pozivanja na diskriminaciju i netrpeljivost prema drugima.

To su bili neki od razloga što smo, prije nekih 9 godina, pokrenuli inicijativu koja se zove „Vjernici za mir“. Okupilo se nas desetak kršćana i muslimana iz regije da pokušamo promovirati mirovne dimenzije naših vjera. Želimo potaknuti i druge vjernike na aktivno mirovnjaštvo i nenasilje kao princip, nadahnut našim tradicijama. Zajedno smo napisali i deklaraciju koju je već potpisalo na stotine ljudi.¹

I mi, vjernici za mir, često se ne slažemo oko mnogih stvari vezanih za naše vjere, ratove, prošlost, ... Naše su zajednice u sukobu i ponekad ratuju, pozivajući se na Boga i vjeru. Jedan od temeljnih principa mirovnog rada je nenasilno rješavanje sukoba, koji su sastavni dio života. Sukob je vrsta iskušenja u međuljudskim odnosima, a nasilje može biti posljedica. U međureligijskom dijalogu, ali i dijalogu sa neistomišljenicima, važno je imati na umu da su naši stavovi i znanja ograničeni.

„A da je Gospodar tvoj htio, sve bi ljude sljedbenicima jedne vjere učinio. Međutim, oni će se uvijek u vjerovanju

1 www.vjernicizamir.org/deklaracija/dkellaracija-bos

Nosači kovčega

Katarina Milićević

Pogledala sam oko sebe, ljude sa kojima sam. Oni su 1991, 1992... 1999. godine bili mladi.

I sportisti su bili, kao ovi sad, na Olimpijadi, koja je tog dana počela.

Sada su invalidi, neko bez noge, neko bez stopala, neko sa gelerima u telu.

Njima su u ruke dali puške.

Današnjoj omladini daju da nose mrtvačke kovčege, u koje su spakovali 25 godina života njihovih roditelja, preko 130 hiljada mrtvih, stotine hiljada raseljenih i izbeglih, milione čiji je život trajno narušen ratovima, tranzicijom, krađama, kriminalom, bedom, nesrećama koje uz njih idu. Sve su to spakovali i dali mladima da nose, da se tom kovčegu kao jedinoj istini zauvek mole, i da ga tegle dok su živi, sa sve krivicom što ih bole i leđa i glava, i što ne vide drugu budućnost osim otići što dalje ili vući kovčeg na ramenima do kraja svog života, koji je tek počeo.

Još su im rekli da je nošenje kovčega nacionalna čast, da samo tako mogu da budu dostojni svetlih predaka

razilaziti, osim onih kojima se Gospodar tvoj smiluje. A zato ih je i stvorio. (Hud, 119-120)

U decembru 2014. bio sam u Jerusalemu. Sveto mjesto monoteizma, puno dugih cijevi, vojske, policije i svakodnevnih tenzija. Vidio sam da je svetost toga mjesta obavijena nasiljem. Dugo sam se molio u džamiji Al Aksa i plakao. Kada sam izašao iz džamije bio sam smiren, i nisam se bojao jer i tamo sam sreo mirovnjake: jevreje, kršćane i muslimane. Ima nade dok je takvih ljudi.

Završio bih sa meni mnogo važnom predajom od Muhameda a.s.:

„Tako mi onoga i čijoj je ruci moja duša, nećete ući u raj sve dok se ne smirite, a nećete se smiriti sve dok se ne budete voljeli, a zavoljet ćete se ako budete širili Selam (mir). Čuvajte se mržnje, jer je ona poput britve, samo što ne sječe kosu, već vjeru.“

Članak je objavljen u Spinnrad, Zeitschrift des Internationalen Versöhnungsbundes (Spinnrad - Magazin međunarodnog društva za pomirenje) - Austria, nr. 1/April 2016., na njemačkom jeziku.

i njihove pravdeničke borbe. Da nose kovčeg, ugušeni teškim mirisom tamjana.

- A gde si to bila, mama?
- U Bosni.
- Ima li tamo nekih prodavnica kojih kod nas nema?
- Nema, a nisam ni gledala prodavnice, bila sam na grobljima.

- A jesi li udahnula miris tih duša koje su tamo sahranjene? – pitala je ćerka, kada sam se vratila iz Prijedora i Novog Grada, gde sam sa bivšim pripadnicima oružanih snaga, raznih, odavala počast žrtvama.

Samo po ulegnućima na travi koja buja i niče može se zaključiti da su ispod tankog sloja zemlje ostaci ljudi koji su tu skončali, u nepreglednim poljima pored Save, i mesta koje se zove Jasenovac. Sunce tu sija, bio je lep letnji dan, 5. avgust, i ja sam se vozila smerom autoputa ka Zagrebu, posmatrajući drugu traku, onu kojom su pre 21 godinu nesrećni ljudi peške, ili na traktorima, zauvek napuštali svoje domove.

Isto Sunce me je pržilo i dok smo kroz šumu koračali ka Hrastovoj Glavici, prirodnoj jami u koju su bačena tela 124 Prijedorčana, 122 Bošnjaka i 2 Hrvata. Tu su ih dovezli autobusima, iz Omarske i Keraterma, gde su od maja držani u logorima. Kažu da su im svima dali po cigaru, pa su ih u grupama od po troje dovodili pred jamu, i streljali. U jami su pronađene i ručne bombe, valjda za one koji su davali znakove života, da ih dokrajče, da zlo pojačaju.

I ta mi cigara koju su im dali ne da mira već danima, samo o njoj razmišljam, dok gledam u dim koji se vije sa vrha moje cigarete.

Šta li su mislili ljudi koji su udisali poslednji dim, znajući da iza njega ne postoji ništa više osim jame i smrti? Koje su to poslednje misli, je li to bes prema ubicama, je li to tuga zbog rastanka sa životom, je li to olakšanje koje dolazi pred konačnošću, posle meseci mučenja i teške neizvesnosti? Da li su dim cigarete uvlačili sporo, udahnujući sa njim i poslednji miris svog kratkog života, ili im je udah bio jak, i snažan, u pokušaju da se i od to malo preostalog života uzme što više? O kome su mislili? O sebi, žaleći što nisu više udisali život, o dragima, žaleći što ih neće još jednom dodirnuti, o zlotvorima koji stoje ispred njih, žaleći što ih nisu pre prepoznali, već su sa njima živeli kao sa svim drugim komšijama? I da li su tu cigaretu zapalili i oni koji nikada nisu pre pušili?

O čemu razmišlja čovek dok puši poslednju cigaretu pred smrt?

O čemu razmišlja ubica dok svojoj žrtvi pred smrt daje poslednju cigaretu? Da li njom pokazuje da u njemu postoji nešto čovečno, ljudsko, nešto što razume drugoga, ili njom pokazuje osionost sile, kojoj oružje daje moć da deli život ili smrt, pa i cigaretu?

Zašlo je Sunce za oblake, i sipila je neka sitna letnja

kišica dok smo obilazili mesta na kojima su stradali Srbi izbegli iz Hrvatske u vojnoj akciji Oluja. Bacili smo vence u reku, i oni su otekli sa njom, kao ljudske sudbine. Una je bila mutna i brza. Neka žena je pričala šta se tu dogodilo. Nekolicina ljudi tek, koračala je sa mesta na mesto, kao da smo u probi neke predstave, kao da to sve nije izistinski, emocije su ponavljane, uzdisalo se strašno, strašno. Sveća u mojoj ruci nije gorela, vetar je gasio čim joj se pojavi plamičak. Da li to neki znak, razmišljala sam? Ipak, na Stupinama, mestu gde su poginule izbeglice iz Hrvatske, čija je kolona bombardovana, plamen je goreo. Čitam imena troje ljudi koji su tu stradali, a ispod piše: "... dok je teže ranjeno četvero djece i četiri žene iz njihovih porodica."

Šta je sa njima posle bilo? Gde su te žene i ta deca? Da li su ovde među nama? Pogledom sam prelazila po ljudima, videlo se da su neki posebno svečano obučeni, to su sigurno političari, nose odela i subotom, neki su u crnini, neke žene, par mladih. Pokušavala sam da im sa lica prepoznam jesu li tu, na tom mestu, oni ranjeni. Nisam mogla. Svi su imali isti, tvrd pogled i stisnute usne.

Tamjan je mirisao nekako čudno, toplo i meko, mamio je. Duboko sam udisala njegov miris, škripao je pomeran vetrom jarbol sa visoko podignutom zastavom, na krst je kapala sitna kiša, a prazan voz je prošao brzinom ne većom od ljudskog hoda.

Kad bi mogli, e samo kad bi to mogli, da spakujemo u voz sve te nevidljive kovčege, pa da i naše duše, ove na zemlji, kao i one na nebu, negde nađu odmora i konačnog smiraja.

Da ih skinemo sa dečijih leđa.

Kovčege.



Annual Report 2016

(English version)

Translation
Ulvija Tanović

Introduction

For a third year running, the introduction to our Annual Report notes a deterioration of the socio-political situation in which we live and work, both globally, on our continent and in the Western Balkans region. It seems we must keep up with the events unfolding in the Near East, in Turkey, but also in Germany and France, because this is the curse of our geopolitical situation. We are not innocent, however, because if need be, the world powers will arrange the division of interest zones in the Balkan peninsula without our participation, but it seems our peoples (or rather, the militant minority of each) are eager participants. Therefore, any elections, be they parliamentary or local, are the greatest threat to peace in the region. Hate speech, abuse of the past and open threats have all become so commonplace that they are now considered an integral part of election campaigns. It is, naturally, the political elites that excel in these activities, but that still speaks volumes about the rest of us. The war didn't even happen in the 1990s, the war is being prepared. It has long been clear that our social masters feel and accept no social responsibility, but we ordinary citizens cannot afford such luxury. It is true that we bear unresolved traumas and that fear is much more easily instigated when the memory you unearth is still fresh. We have already adapted history to the needs of war. Our reality contains all the necessities – pain, fear, hatred and unsettled accounts. But there is also an awareness about what war brings with it and the responsibility not to repeat the past. To seek creative possibilities not just to undermine retrograde attempts, but to actively oppose them. The kind of society we would like to live in and in which we could build a future for our children needs to be thought out, needs to be constructed. We need to be able to imagine the kind of life we would like to live and the society that would make that life possible. That is why even the smallest resistance to what they are trying to drag us into is an activist act, a conscious taking on of responsibility for the reality we live in.

With that idea in mind, in 2015, we published a multilingual competition for a short story about reconciliation. We named the competition and the short story collection that resulted from it, which will be presented in the following pages, Biber [pepper], because the name of that spice is shared among all our languages: Albanian, Bosnian, Croatian, Macedonian, Montenegrin and Serbian. The competition will be published again at the beginning of next year. The topic remains the same – reconciliation. It is, of course, closely linked to constructive dealing with the past – understanding how war “happens” and how it was possible, so that we may not be condemned to endless repetition. This year, we published a publication called “War of Memories” that resulted from the project “War Memorials in Bosnia and Herzegovina (since 1991)”. The aim was to research (document and analyse) memorialisation policy and culture of memory in Bosnia and Herzegovina, from all warring sides, viewing it primarily in terms of potential to bring lasting peace and reconciliation. Our findings are available at kulturasjecanja.org and will be presented in the coming months at exhibitions

in Sarajevo, Mostar, Banja Luka, Bihać and Belgrade. Another study we published this year concerns the fate of the Danube Swabians in Vojvodina following the Second World War and is part of the same effort – constructive dealing with the past, this time from the perspective of “unpopular victims” such as the German minority in Yugoslavia in the aftermath of the Second World War.

This year we organised the first visit of a mixed group of war-veterans to sites of suffering in Pakrac, Lipik and Daruvar in Croatia. This is noteworthy because this particular door, important to peacebuilding in the Western Balkans region, was closed to us for far too long. Apart from that, we had some difficulty organising veteran visits this year, which is the expected repercussion of a deterioration in the socio-political situation. Thus, after a long time, we could again hear that it was “too early” for some visits or that “it is not yet time”. However, what we have learned from experience is that it is worthwhile to persevere, that every visit is important, not least because it projects a different image of veterans in the region and contributes to peace and reconciliation.

In the past year, we have considerably enhanced our international cooperation and exchange. We tried to adapt some of our experience with constructive dealing with the past to a context we were not familiar with before, in Manipur, India, for a training organised for members of an NGO network in Manipur. We also organised two study visits: a visit to Vukovar, Jasenovac and Prijedor, where we were joined by our partners from the region; and another, in cooperation with the German Bundesstiftung Aufarbeitung, a visit to Belgrade, Vukovar, Srebrenica, Sarajevo and Mostar for a group of theorists and practitioners in the field of memory work from Germany.

No less important was our continued support to the activities resulting from the Training for Trainers – workshops with secondary school pupils and trainings with students. The multilingual training in peacebuilding for citizens of Kosovo, Macedonia and Serbia has since become a regular activity. Part of these efforts is the activity to mark unmarked sites of suffering, which will continue in the future, and a documentary film about people who, following the signing of the Dayton Agreement, exchanged their houses with people “from the other side” of the entity demarcation line. The documentary “... let me ask, where’re you from?” is now in the final stage of post-production and should be out by the end of 2016.

We have a lot of plans for the coming year, we will soon be organising the 36th Basic Training in Peacebuilding, and we are closer to having the Peacebuilding Strategy, that we have been preparing for Serbia, finally enter the public debate and then the political negotiation process so that it may hopefully become part of national policy. But first we invite you to read what we have prepared in this report. As always, we welcome your feedback, criticism and support.

CNA team



publications

War of memories

At the beginning of 2016, the publication “War of Memories: Places of suffering and remembrance of war in Bosnia-Herzegovina” was printed. It developed as part of the project “War Monuments in Bosnia and Herzegovina



(since 1991)” with which we wanted to document and analyse the culture of remembrance about the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina through the monuments commemorating it. It is available in BCS and English. All the information from the printed version is also available online through a dedicated website: kulturasjecanja.org.

During three years of research, we surveyed a large number of monuments and unmarked sites of suffering throughout Bosnia and Herzegovina. We compiled 85 with basic information and documentary photographs to present in the publication “War of Memories”. The intention of this publication is to raise awareness about the current models of collective memory, encourage open dialogue on the existing models of memorialisation, and call for new solutions whose primary focus will be the victims of injustice and violence, whatever their origins.

The research can also be browsed online through a dedicated website. (kulturasjecanja.org) set up in order to make this material available to a wider public. The website will continue to be updated with new monuments and (un)marked sites of suffering, as well as all other relevant information we manage to obtain.

I.F.

Good day

Nenad Vukosavljević, in Belgrade, 9 November 2015

In 2010, we at CNA decided to start documenting monuments from the last war in BiH, to photograph them and gather basic information about how they were created. Our decision was to also include sites of suffering that were not marked by a memorial. From 2012 to 2015, we went on field visits, photographed, gathered data, reviewed our collection and discussed next steps. The travelling and photographing was done by Nedžad Horozović and myself. This text provides an insight into a small portion of what we experienced that cannot be seamlessly included in an analysis of the culture of memory.

When all this was over, we remembered the breakfast under neon lighting, sitting alone in a spacious dining hall intended for wedding parties, the white tablecloth overlaid with a greasy blue one, a salt dish in the middle. The detached waiter brings our oil-soaked omelettes and Turkish coffees along with a basket of white bread.

We sit in our jackets, because that hall in the hotel is not worth heating, it is warm in the smoky cafe facing the



town square with its central monument. It's early, the town is deserted. We are glad that the hotel where we spent the night was not the site of a mass crime, the staff already know us, we have stayed there a few times.



Outside there is a whitish cover of frost. We drink our coffee waiting for our friend from the local war-veterans association to come and take us to the memorial room and on to the locations of the memorials and sites of suffering.



We follow him in silence, it's too early for conversation, he unlocks the memorial room, we walk in and start photographing. In each of the connected rooms, I feel a sense of unease mixed in with the need to pay my respects to the loss that was suffered. We are surrounded by photographs of people who are no longer among the living. For some of them we get their abridged life stories, whatever fits into a minute of two, memories and anecdotes. My unease grows as I look over photos of politicians from the war period, next to trophies that take the form of parts of enemy uniforms. I think about those captured and killed soldiers from the other side, whose photographs I will perhaps see some day on some other wall. The pressure of senselessness and sorrow weighs heavily on me.

But we are accustomed to it, we have seen dozens of such places, Nedžad and me, we exchange mute glances and show one another the angles we discovered.

At each monument that we photograph, the rare passers-by stop and watch us, and our friend and guide steps in to explain. Even in the centre of town, the camera elicits suspicion, who are we, why are we there, why are we taking

pictures? To our “Good day,” they reply with “God bless,” “As-Salaam Alaykum,” “Praise Jesus,” and a few shake our hand. Peace is with us, we would never berate Jesus, and if God decides to bless us, all the better. Still, most of all we hope for a good day. A good day would mean no one attacking us.



We photograph shacks with a billboard advertising “Sana” cattle feed on the outskirts of the city, some thirty meters away from the only landscaped green area in the village that used to be the site of a monument to the Partisans before the war, and has since become the site of an added monument commemorating the victims from the recent war. Victims from the community that makes up the majority of the population there today. On 7 May 1992, 16 detained civilians were killed in the adjacent shack. Twenty years later, there is no sign that would indicate what happened there, and we furtively and quickly take our photos because there is a bar near the shacks, and there are always drunks in a bar. We get into our car and drive away in silence, feeling humiliated and restricted. Everyone is uncomfortable, both Nedžad and me, and our host who sees the crime in Crkvina as a shameful stain, even though none of us are to blame. We do not try to dispel the uneasiness, we bear it calmly, it should be there, we must own it. The feeling of shame and pain brings us closer together. I almost left out the pain, one tends to grow numb.

Over almost three years of our intermittent travels to photograph monuments, in each place we visited, our hosts wanted to show us another site of suffering or monuments we had not known about. It was important for them to take us to see these places, and we went along and took pictures. Some of them were photographed, but we never managed to gather information about them.

During our last round of photographing, one of the last places we visited was Višegrad. We were received by the local imam who maintains the graveyard with the monument to killed Bosniaks from Višegrad. He talked to us for a long while, and then he took us to see the graveyard. There, I saw the grave of a child and I knelt on the grass to take a photo, and that scene has become imprinted in my mind. It keeps coming back to me in my dreams and waking life, I have cried over it many times, and for a long time, I would not show the photograph to anyone but my closest friends and family, unsure of whether it should be made public or not.

This is that photograph.



Biber – short stories on reconciliation

In April 2016, we published *Biber 01*, a collection of short stories on reconciliation. The electronic edition of the collection is available at biber.nenasilje.org, and the print edition at our offices in Sarajevo and Belgrade while supplies last.

Biber is a short story competition on the topic of reconciliation, which was open from March to September 2015. Stories written in one of the following languages

were eligible: Albanian, Bosnian, Montenegrin, Croatian, Serbian or Macedonian.

The jury was made up of Doruntina Basha, a dramaturgist from Priština, Faruk Šehić, an author from Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Bojan Krivokapić, an author from Serbia. The competition was organised by the *Biber* team¹ in cooperation with the Centre for Nonviolent Action Sarajevo|Belgrade.

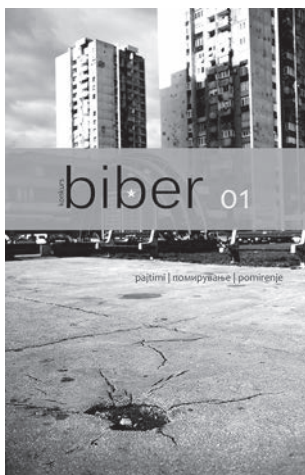
The competition received 316 stories from different parts of the former Yugoslavia and the diaspora.

The jury selected 25 stories to be included in the multilingual collection. The jury also awarded three stories. The short story *Limbo u ljetnjem periodu* [*Limbo in the Summer Season*] by Slađana Ljubičić from Novi Sad received the third prize. The short story *Kristalna vaza* [*The Crystal Vase*] by Nadia Geras from Zagreb received the second prize. The short story *Rat* [*War*] by Vladimir Tabašević from Belgrade received the first prize.

About the idea and organisation

The idea for a short story competition on the topic of reconciliation originated at the end of 2014, during

¹ The Biber team was made up of Aleksandra Bogdanovska, Ivana Franović, Jasna Dimitrijević and Katarina Milićević.





a Training for Trainers organised by the Centre for Nonviolent Action Sarajevo |Belgrade. At the time, we encouraged the training participants to think about concrete ideas that they would like to implement in the field of peacebuilding and dealing with the past in the region and to bear in mind the various formats, from workshops and trainings, street actions and a literary competition, as well as video works. And somewhere at the intersection of peace activism and literature, they came up with Biber. The main objectives were:

- Promoting reconciliation and constructive dealing with the past,
- Contributing to a culture of reading and translating writers from neighbouring countries,
- Contributing to a culture of cross-border cooperation.

Organising a multilingual short story competition was a challenge. It was clear that we could not put together a jury where all members would be fluent at least in reading all the languages eligible for the competition. And we did not like the idea of members of the jury reading and deciding only on stories written in their own language, because it was important that the decision should be the product of cooperation and exchange.

Finally, we set up a model where the short stories received for the competition would first be read and pre-selected by peace activists from the region in their native languages. The pre-selection also checked whether the stories fulfilled the conditions of the competition, i.e. whether they were on topic and whether they contributed to building trust and overcoming existing borders. This process made sure that a story could not win, no matter how masterfully it was written, if it fed existing prejudices and animosities. The process also considerably reduced translation costs.

One of the final questions we solved was the name of the competition. We agreed right off that it should be one word that is the same in all the eligible languages, but that it should not come from the militarist field (such as: gun, bunker). There were a lot of ideas, the whole team participating in the Training for Trainers was a lot of help. The suggestion to call it “Biber” seemed an ideal solution.

It was important that the jury should be made up of socially engaged writers from different countries and different generations. It was relatively easy to make a choice of jury members and to our great pleasure, they all accepted our invitation to join us on this journey.

We expected that the competition would garner interest and that various people would lend their support,

but we did not expect such a great response. Truthfully, we were overwhelmed to receive 316 stories. But, we managed to get organised and stay within our deadlines.

About the collection promotions

During May, we organised promotions of the short story collection on reconciliation in Sarajevo (12 May), Belgrade (24 May) and Skopje (31 May).

The Sarajevo promotion was attended by Nadia Geras, Slađana Ljubičić and Mehmed Đedović, whose stories were published in the collection, and Katarina Milićević on behalf of the Biber team. Ahmed Burić was the moderator. The panel discussion in Belgrade hosted Vladimir Tabašević and Nadia Geras, awarded the first and second prize in the competition, as well as Faruk Šehić who was a jury member and Qerim Ondozi who translated the stories into Albanian, and Ivana Franović on behalf of the Biber team. Jovana Gligorijević was the moderator. The Skopje promotion was attended by Arsim Jonuzi, an author published in the collection, translator Qerim Ondozi, peace activist Boro Kitanoski and Aleksandra Bogdanovska on behalf of the Biber team. Xhabir Deralla was the moderator. The Skopje promotion was bilingual, in Macedonian and Albanian, with simultaneous interpretation.

To our great joy, at the initiative of Slađana Ljubičić, who received the third prize, a promotion was also organised in Novi Sad on 9 June. Apart from Slađana, Bojan Krivokapić as a jury member and Katarina Milićević

on behalf of the Biber team participated in the discussion moderated by Nedin Sejdinović, president of the Independent Society of Journalists of Vojvodina.

Given that book promotions and literary readings are not very popular events, we did not expect many visitors and were satisfied with the number of people that showed up (about 30 for each of the promotions). In Skopje and Belgrade, the audience was mostly made up of peace and human rights activists, and were particularly glad to welcome dear friends who came to join us from other cities and countries.

Only the Sarajevo promotion received media coverage, the events were unable to garner the attention of traditional media in the other cities.

Some statistics

The 25 short stories published in the collection were written by 10 male and 15 female writers, which is an interesting statistic, given that it is unusual for a collection to feature more female than male writers. It is also interesting that more women applied for the competition - 57%.

The authors whose stories were published come from the following cities: Kumanovo, Prilep, Tuzla, Novi Sad, Zagreb, Skopje, Glamoč, Osijek, Mitrovica, Križevci, Priština, Rijeka, Bitolj, Sinj and Tirana. They also come from different generations: their birth dates ranging from 1945 to 1997 according to our data.

We received the most applications from Serbia (86),



followed by Bosnia and Herzegovina (80), and Croatia (59). We actually received few stories in Albanian, only 11, so we hope this number will increase next time.

What's next

Even before the collection was published, it was clear to both Biber and the CNA team that we had something valuable and beautiful. We received a lot of inspiration and support from writers thanks to the stories that 'embodied' the unpopular and unclear, but indispensable term of reconciliation. We also opened numerous

avenues for cooperation and a wider space to promote reconciliation work. And we decided we should not leave this at a single competition. It is now quite certain that the second Biber competition will be opened at the beginning of 2017.

There will also be further promotions in other cities, most probably in Priština, perhaps also in Zagreb, to accompany the announcement of the new competition.

If you'd like a taste of our *Biber [Ground Pepper]*, here is one of the published stories.

I.F.

Short story on the topic of reconciliation

The Crystal Vase

By Nadia Geras

She spread the meat from the freezer all around the house. Being summer, it soon stank.

Who would eat this? If I live through this, I'm never eating meat again, she vowed. And so at sixty-five she became a vegetarian. When it all started, everybody picked up and ran away before the army thundering in the distance.

Where would she go? There were things to do, a full barn. The terrible heat. She poured water into all the buckets she could find to make sure cattle didn't die of thirst. Then she let them go.

Just in case.

What could the army do to her? What could she fear? Her son was killed in the army. In the first year of the war.

No one knew who killed him. His own or theirs. He didn't get along with his own or with theirs.

They carried him to her so she could kiss him. His head was bandaged. When they laid him down on the bed, she started taking off his boots. They were muddy. Some boy stood by her until she shooed him out of the small room. He didn't put up a fuss. They had sent him to help her, but she was not the kind who needed help. Crying, screaming in the throes of despair was not something she would do.

She just wanted to be alone with her son. She pulled down the green canvas blinds on the windows and secured the door shut with a chair. She could hear movements in the hallway. The wails of her daughter-in-law who just

lost her husband. Her grandson trying to calm his mother, still not understanding.

She took off his socks. Handsome feet, not a corn in sight. As if he were a gentleman's son. She covered them all the same. She listened for his heart. It was quiet. She knew what that meant, but still she took off the bandage covering his mouth. She did it quickly, racing against the hope that was abandoning her.

He had come down with scarlet fever somewhere around his fourth birthday. They were snowed in. A high fever held him for three days. She wrapped him whole in brandied sheets to tease the heat out of his body. She'd abandoned her chores and shut herself in the room with him. Counting his breaths. Joyful at the deep ones, shaking him awake when they became short, shallow, dangerous.

On the fourth day he said, Mother, I'm hungry.

The brandy had pulled the fever out.

Now he was too far gone for the brandy.

She stayed with him like that in peace until the beating on the door became harder and the cries so loud she could not hear herself think.

She stayed by his side in the room even when they took him away, and after the burial at the cemetery, and amidst all those people who had come to say something to her.

She saw him from where she was hiding in the corn. He was very young. The army uniform too big for him. He had separated from the group that was circling around the house and walked straight to her, as if he had known where she was hiding.

They were loud, like all liberators. He must have strayed from them to take a leak in peace. He saw the crystal vase. He bent down, picked it up, looked at it and then gently put it down again. He had a red stain on his cheek, the kind you're born with that never goes away but just gets a bit darker with time, there to torment you every morning. And remind you how lucky you are, because it could have been worse. He looked around for a moment and their eyes met. He flinched and took a step back.

"I won't hurt you!" she cried.

"Fuck!" was the only thing he said as he took his gun down from his shoulder and started spraying bullets into the corn. He did not hit her, and neither did the rest of his unit, who had also started shooting. When night fell and she was left alone in the liberated village, she crept into the hayloft and fell asleep in the scent of summer. She woke up fifteen years later with lung cancer.

How handsome he was when he graduated. She had dressed up for the occasion too. A white blouse with a pattern of tiny blue flowers. She took the kerchief off her head. She always wore it, not because she was a servile and meek woman, but to keep the dust and hay out of her hair.

They drove all the way to Zagreb.

Everyone going into war thinks it won't be them, and parents think it won't be their son. She wasn't like that. She knew: if war started, her son would get killed. The ones with character are the first to get killed, so she listened to the trumpets of war screaming on television with growing apprehension. She liked westerns, Sunday afternoon programmes, the newscaster with the deep voice and the one who had a daughter named Doe and a son named East.

She liked that the names were different. In her village it seemed there was only one male name.

She had grown to resent television right before the war. She would switch it on and then quarrel with it, without holding back, swearing and cursing.

She tried to get him to go to Australia, Canada, anywhere. While there was still time. He could have gone anywhere, what with his diplomas, but he wouldn't budge. He didn't know, he couldn't understand, that the war would be so horrendous. People are smart, they're

not fools, he would say, trying to pacify her when she started on him.

Who still listens to his mother? You try being a mother and letting your child rush to his doom, without trying to warn him, without pleading.

Only Danica returned to the village after the Storm, she had not liked it in Serbia. So the two of them lived together in her old house for a while.

She thought she would never laugh again, but Danica could make her laugh.

She had kept the radiators from the big house safe from the first wave of looters. The stench had driven them away. By the time they came again, they didn't care about the stench. They took down the radiators, loaded them carefully onto a truck and drove away. They only had trouble with the central heating furnace because it was so heavy. One morning she gathered up the crystal she had sowed in the cornfield behind the house and sent them to her daughter-in-law in a suitcase, with some money she had kept hidden for God forbid. And God forbid had come. She had not washed them thoroughly before she packed them up. Soil had gotten into the many crevices and the crystal had changed colour. You'd have to use a toothbrush. She never cared for them, not even when they were displayed in her cabinet.

Now they just reminded her of a time when crystal dishes made sense. That's why she sent them to her daughter-in-law and her grandson to be of use in their new life.

She wrapped them in embroidered dowry towels with tassels.

She didn't want to go to hospital.

"Is it cancer?" she had asked the doctor. She hadn't got to know the doctor on her own account, but because of her grandson. He had always been a sickly child, so they made friends with the doctor. He would come for sausages and home-cooked food to their house.

"What can I say?"

"No matter, doctor," she comforted him.

"I still have some work to do. Just don't send me to hospital. I'll make do at home."

They drove her to the hospital when she could no longer breathe and fell on the stairs. Danica had called for an ambulance and she found herself in a room with five beds. She could breathe again.

Even those who jump into the sea to drown themselves still flounder to catch just one more breath. No one jumps in and simply stops breathing. Breathing has a will of its own and she thirstily took in the oxygen.

She'd known that fresh air was important, but the air from the bottle was miraculous. She could even sit up in bed. She listened to the women in the room. Observed their visitors. Their fancy handbags. Their gold jewellery. Varnished toenails peering out of sandals. Even small children wear nail polish these days. She wondered at it from her bed. She wondered also at everyone bringing chocolates, mints and juice. Every patient had a whole convenience store piled up in her small bedside cabinet. Juice boxes arranged on the bedside tables. There was nothing on her cabinet. She had put all her things in the drawer. They would keep offering, but she was never too fond of sweets. She would thank them and decline.

She recognised him as soon as he stepped through the door. The red stain on his cheek. He had grown and filled out since.

His face had widened slightly, the stain had stretched and swelled.

"Come, granny, I'm taking you up for your x-ray."

He was gentle. He crouched down to find her slippers under the bed and rolled the wheelchair right up to the edge as he kept talking to her.

"Now, granny, you put your arm around my neck, that's the best way."

When he had her in the wheelchair, he tidied up the bed so it wasn't left dishevelled and bare, and that seemed nice to her. You could tell he was a well brought up boy.

"Thank you, son."

He took her to the lift. Pushed her along the winding dark corridors of the hospital, even pulled her up stairs, and then they were sitting next to each other waiting in front of the x-ray room.

"I'm going out for a smoke. You want to stay there or should I wheel you out for some fresh air?"

"I want to go with you, son."

He pushed her out onto a small platform beyond the metal delivery door and he sat down on the stoop. He

took out a pack of cigarettes.

"It's not healthy, but it feels good. I'm not offering you any because you really shouldn't."

She laughed.

"Where are you from, granny?" he asked between two long drags.

"From a village you've been to. You came to my house. You found my vase."

I didn't mean to scare you."

"Was it you I shot at?"

"It was."

"My, I'm so glad I missed."

The next day they took her for another test.

They told her not to move until they said she could. She barely made it. She was disappointed he hadn't shown up to take her. And now she felt sorry for telling him it had been her.

He was the only person she knew there. And now she'd scared him away.

When they brought her back after that second test, there was a small crystal vase on her bedside table with three purple baubles of hydrangea.

He had picked them in his garden. She just knew.

She was glad for the flowers, but sorry about the vase.

He didn't buy it, she hoped.

That afternoon he came wearing a tracksuit and freshly shaven. He sat on the edge of her bed and took her hand. He had large hands, and hers had receded into themselves, just a few sinews wrapped around bones. As if they had never worked a day or borne the weight of her life.

"You shouldn't have."

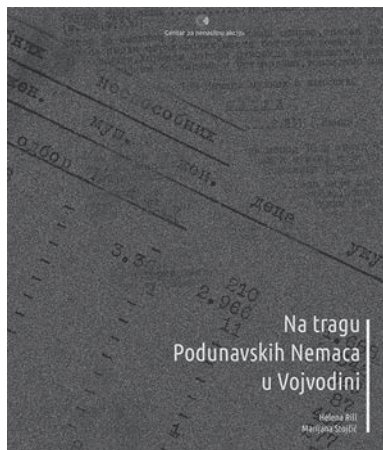
"My mother sent you the vase, and I picked the flowers," he said. "She was also glad to know you were alive."

(Translated by Ulvija Tanović)

Following the traces of the Danube Swabians

Presented here are the findings of research into the fate of the Danube Swabians in Vojvodina by Helena Rill and Marijana Stojić. The research was started at the end of 2010 and intensified in the spring of 2014.

The question arises of why today, in a sea of problems



in relations between the socially most visible ethnic groups after the wars of the 1990s, why go back to “some” Germans and what happened to them after the

Second World War?

Well, the idea behind our research

“... was not motivated by the desire to right the wrongs committed against people almost seventy years ago, but by the need to make these wrongs visible and have them acknowledged, to pay respects to the victims, and to thus better our present and draw a parallel with the wrongs of more recent date, which are still treated as present-day even though they concern the wars of the 1990s.

Just as the Swabians of Vojvodina are unpopular victims, generally believed to have gotten their just deserts (collectively), there are also unpopular victims in more recent history, hidden in the layers of narratives about just wars, our own innocent victims as opposed to their guilty ones.

[...] But what is the use of all this?

The benefits are not material, but they do present an opportunity for us to become better people, to diminish the pain of the humiliated and injured and to make our society more humane. And in the future to be more cautious, careful, fair and persistent in finding out everything, taking nothing for granted.”

(from the Foreword to the publication).

We welcome your feedback.





work with war veterans

Can we come closer? – War veterans visit Novi Grad/Bosanski Novi

17 March 2016

We organised the visit to sites of memory in the Novi Grad municipality with members of the local RS Army veterans organisation, but upon our arrival, we were also joined by R BiH Army veterans from this town, who became our hosts too, albeit unofficially. Together with the four of us from CNA, the following people also participated in the visit: five war veterans of the Croatian Army, four veterans from the R BiH Army, the RS Army and the Croat Defence Council, each, and two veterans from the JNA and the Yugoslav Army, each.

During the war years, violence in this municipality escalated on a number of occasions. With the start of the war in Croatia, which is separated from Novi only by the Una River, people from this area, mostly Serbs, were drafted into JNA reserve units. Many were killed. When the war moved on to BiH in 1992, a Golgotha began for non-Serbs, mostly Bosniaks, who were forcibly displaced. There were also war crimes, people were imprisoned,

deported to concentration camps and killed. In September 1995, the Croatian Army carried out an attack against Novi and 57 Serb civilians, soldiers and police officers were killed.

Before visiting the memorials, we organised a meeting and discussion with representatives of local municipal authorities, the Deputy Mayor Zoran Starčević and the Vice-President of the Municipal Assembly Selim Ekić, who were supportive of our efforts because, as they said, “we gathered around a positive idea that leads to dialogue on difficult topics.” “It is important that twenty years later, we look each other in the eye, we talk about what happened, about what to do next, about the kind of future we are heading for,” Zoran said, adding that he was himself was a war veteran and as such felt the need to discuss events from the war with honest people from the other side. After our visit, he joined us “to talk from the perspective of a war veteran,” as he put it.





“We politicians should be the ones launching initiatives such as this, but your visit and your intentions show that you are above politics and should serve as an example for us,” Selim said, pointing out that the inhabitants of this municipality need all victims to be acknowledged in order to clear the way for better coexistence and reconciliation. He mentioned the idea of establishing the Day of Civilian War Victims which would feature a joint commemoration of all victims. This idea reminded me of a visit we made to Velika Kladuša, where a similar initiative was also mentioned. What bothers me is that these initiatives tend to come from representatives of minority communities, which is an indicator of their inequality in these areas. Those who are in the majority have no trouble marking their important dates, so they see no reason to step out of the standard scheme of the dominant narrative. Why not commemorate all victims, soldiers too? They are all people, ordinary, honest people for the most part, separated from their families and friends and taken off to war.

We started our visit of sites of suffering by going to the monument in the central town square. It is dedicated to the three hundred seventy seven killed soldiers of VRS from the Novi Grad municipality. Our hosts told us the details of the military activities of Novi residents in VRS and said that most were killed in battle outside

their municipality, in the area of Bihać, Sanski Most and Bosanska Krupa. We then went to the memorial room at the municipal administration building, which was nearby. It is always difficult to encounter the faces on the photos arranged on the wall. Dates of birth and death show that these were people at their prime. Milorad, one of our hosts, indicates the members of his family among the killed. The emotional weight is difficult to bear, it's hard to stand there and listen. You feel the other's pain, it becomes your own.

Our next destination was Ekići and Alići. These are hillside hamlets in the valley of the Japra stream, some fifteen kilometres from Novi. They had been populated by Bosniaks. Now, there are just ruins of houses and fields overgrown with weeds. We took a bad macadam road to the local cemetery where the memorial is located. It marks the site where a mass grave with six bodies of killed residents of these hamlets was found. A total of twenty seven were killed in 1992 and their names are inscribed on the memorial plaque. The imam spoke about those events, saying that eighteen bodies have not been found yet. Every year in June, a commemoration takes place here to honour these victims. To date, the Prosecutor's Office of BiH has raised an indictment for this war crime against one person, a VRS veteran Milenko Karlica.

We then went to the nearby Blagaj Japra. The local

cemetery there has a shahid monument as the central memorial for all killed Bosniaks from the Bosanski Novi municipality (from 1921 until 1992, the town and municipality were called Bosanski Novi, today, both names Novi Grad/ Bosanski Novi are in official use). The imam pointed out that this includes the residents of Novi who were killed in the area as well as those killed throughout BiH, both civilians and soldiers, more than six hundred of them in all.

Continuing our visit, we reached Svodno on the road to Prijedor. A memorial was put up right by the roadside to commemorate those killed when the Croatian Air Force bombed a convoy of Serb refugees fleeing what was at the time the Republic of Serb Krajina, on 8 August 1995. The inscription on the memorial plaque indicates that it is dedicated to three killed and eight wounded on that day as a direct result of the air raid and two other persons who were killed that day and the previous day under other circumstances. Our hosts explained that since these were refugees from Krajina, it was decided that they too should be commemorated, because they were killed as a result of events unfolding at the time.

The final site of memory we visited was the monument in Tunjice. From this site, on 18 September 1995, the Croatian army launched its attack against Novi Grad. Fifty seven names are inscribed on the monument. Thirty seven civilians were killed, in addition to eighteen soldiers and two police officers. Milorad, our host, who

was in the VRS at the time and participated in the event, told us about the course of the battle, the units that took part in it from both sides. He showed us the house where he was stationed at the time, and it still stands today, riddled by bullets and shrapnel, an ominous reminder of the immensity of wartime violence. The HV veteran in our group, who had also been stationed nearby at the time, told us how it was not easy for them either and how his brigade suffered significant losses, there were both killed and wounded fighters. "I now know part of the story from here and from the other side and the picture is more complete," he added.

At the end of our visit, talking to the participants, it was evident that they were emotionally shaken but glad to have participated in this action. Our hosts pointed out that the visit was important for their town and that it contributes to efforts for better coexistence. As one of them said, it is time to change our attitude towards the wartime past and stop thinking of each other as enemies. "We have our three or four truths here, the least we can do is try to bring them closer together," he added. Our hosts also expressed their desire and readiness to participate in our future actions, so we will be reinforced with new members. We hope that our visit to Novi Grad "was a positive disturbance" as my colleague Nedžad from CNA puts it, and that it will initiate other activities that contribute to peacebuilding and reconciliation.

Amer Delić

War veterans attend commemorations at Hrastova Glavica, Trnopolje and Novi Grad

5 and 6 August 2016

A group of nineteen war veterans from the Army of RBiH, the Croatian Army, the Army of Republika Srpska, the Croat Defence Council and the Army of Yugoslavia and four CNA activists joined the commemoration events organised to honour those killed in the war in the areas of Sanski Most, Prijedor and Novi Grad.

A commemoration was held at Hrastova Glavica in the Sanski Most Municipality on 5 August to honour the memory of the one hundred and four detention camp prisoners from the Prijedor camps of Keraterm and Omarska who were killed there. We were invited

to the commemoration by the Former Camp Prisoners Association from Sanski Most, who were among the organisers. We paid our respects to those killed and Adnan Hasanbegović addressed the gathering on behalf of CNA. He pointed out the importance of meeting each other on dates that remind us of our painful past and that by showing compassion towards victims and their families, we pave the way towards reconciliation and lasting peace.

In the evening of the same day, our group arrived in Trnopolje for the traditional memorial event called "Night

in Trnopolje”, which is organised by the Kwart Youth Centre from Prijedor in the former detention camp. The event commemorates 5 August 1995 when the world public was informed about the existence of the Prijedor camps. Unfortunately, due to harsh weather and because the event was to take place in the open, the programme did not proceed as planned.

We were invited by the Veritas Documentation and Information Centre to attend the commemoration of Serb victims killed in Operation Storm carried out by the Croatian Army. The commemoration is marked on a number of days and in a number of cities in Republika Srpska and Serbia, and we attended the one organised in Novi Grad on 6 August. Together with the other participants, we attended the sites of memory – the

Bridge of Salvation which was crossed in 1995 by more than a hundred thousand refugees from Croatia, the memorial to killed civilians and soldiers in the Tunjica settlement and the memorial to killed civilians in Svodna. The organiser thanked our group for attending and showing compassion and understanding for the victims and their families.

It should be noted that at the commemorations, the organisers pointed out the presence of a group of war veterans from different, even “enemy” armies as an important milestone. In this way, they made our need to remember victims with dignity and our efforts at constructive dealing with the past an integral part of the commemorations.

A.D.



War veterans visit Daruvar, Pakrac and Lipik

7-9 September 2016

With our partners, war veterans, formerly belonging to VRS, JNA, VJ, AR BiH, HVO and HV, we visited Daruvar, Pakrac and Lipik. The CNA team comprised Nenad Vukosavljević, Adnan Hasanbegović and Amer Delić. There were twenty four of us in total.

On the first day of our visit, we met with our hosts, members of the Association of the Croatian Officers' Corps in Pakrac, Željko Špelić, Marijan Čapek and Stipan Grgić, and members of the HVIDR branch in Daruvar, Krešimir

Ivančić, Saša Premec and Marko Čolić. They welcomed us and expressed their readiness for cooperation and dialogue, saying they were sorry that there were no veterans of the Serb Krajina Army (Vojska Srpske Krajine, VSK) among us, these being their *direct former enemies*.

The meeting was also attended by the Mayor of Daruvar, Dalibor Rohlik, who welcomed us and expressed support for our activities. Himself a war veteran, he said, “We must never stop working on promoting peace, we



should have long been concerned over the events from the past 60 years. In Croatia, we still quarrel over 1941-1945."

We set off to visit sites of memory and suffering during the war in the morning on 8 September 2016. We first laid a wreath at the Monument to Fallen Defenders of Daruvar 1991-1995, and then we went to the nearby baroque castle of Count Antun Janković, dating back to 1771, but which now serves as a museum. Inside the castle, with its high ceilings and ballrooms, is the Permanent Exhibition *The Homeland War in Daruvar*. According to our hosts who maintain the exhibition in this memorial room, they did not want to separate civilians and soldiers, and they did not want to serve spreading hatred, but only the truth about the war and remembrance of its victims. Numerous documents and photographs testify to loss of life and the intensity of the conflict in the wider Daruvar area in the period from 19 July 1991 to 1 May 1995. I was drawn to a photograph showing bodies with hands tied behind their backs and gunshot wounds to the head. These were civilians killed on 11 May 1994 in the village of Batinjska Rijeka by members of Serb formations. I asked whether anyone had been held accountable for this, and one of our hosts, Krešimir Ivančić, said, *"No, no one."* He pointed to one of the bodies and added, *"That's my father, Zdravko."* We watched a 12-minute documentary about the war in Daruvar, but to me it felt hours long. Again,

there were difficult scenes of bombing and killing, time heals nothing, memories from *my* war are brought back.

On our way to Pakrac, Željko Špelić took on the role of our guide and, as we agreed, he narrated the events that took place at the sites we were passing and we stopped at sites he selected to pay our respects to the victims. We drove down roads where once there were barricades where people were threatened and killed, he showed us where ambushes were set up and where battles were fought. *"We were here, and they were over there,"* he would say. *"That's all I know from our side, but I know almost nothing from theirs. Now, when I talk about the victims, I am talking about civilians and soldiers from the Croatian side. Later, we will go to a place where Serb civilians were killed in a war crime."*

Bučje – In this place, from August 1991 until January 1992, under the administration of the military formations of the Serb Krajina Republic of the time, a camp was set up, mostly for Croatian prisoners of war, including some civilians. Among the prisoners were also some Serb civilians who refused to join the VSK. Between 200 and 250 people were imprisoned there in total. The precise number of those killed in the camp is unknown. To date, 3 bodies have been identified, and 21 persons are registered as missing. All that is left of the former prison camp building is one wall. There are two memorials and a small chapel in the courtyard.

Kusonje village – the site where 18 members of the Bjelovar HV brigade and two members of the Croatian Police were killed. In the village, at the time with a majority Serb population, they fell into the ambush of Serb military formations. The village was later taken by Croatian forces, and in neighbouring Rakov Potok, a mass grave was discovered with the bodies of the twenty men killed in the ambush.

Rakov Potok – we visited the two monuments. One commemorates the members of the Croatian Army and Police killed in the ambush in Kusonje, whose bodies were found in the mass grave at that site. The other commemorates 12 members of the Virovitica HV Brigade who went missing in the area on 29 December 1991. They were later found dead.

Pakrac – the police station building related to the events of 1 March 1991, which is taken as the unofficial start of the war in Croatia. Stipan Grgić, who was a participant in the events as a police officer at the time, described the way the situation developed in those days. There were not casualties in the clash between them and the JNA, but soon real combat started. The first victim in the Pakrac area was killed on 9 June 1991. It was Croatian police officer Vlado Laučan.

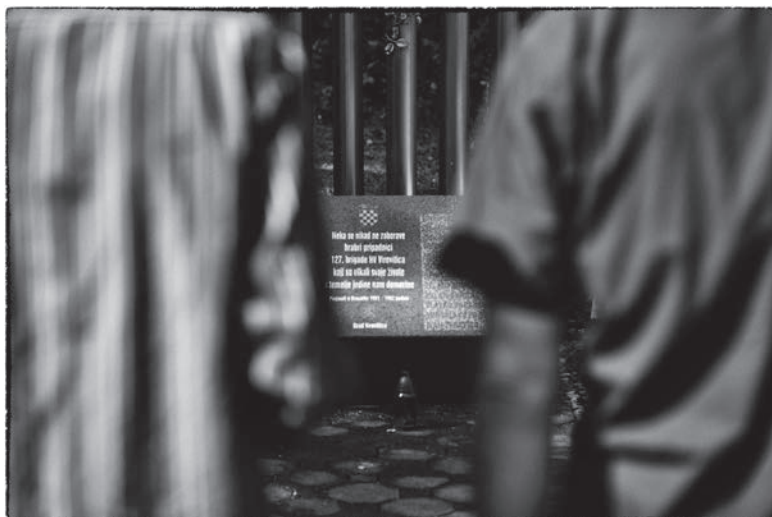
Lipik – a city completely destroyed during the war. In Croatia it has the status of the first liberated city in the Homeland War.

Fishery near Marino Selo – Within the *Fisherman's Cabin* complex, an improvised prison was set up in 1991 for Serb civilians from the villages around Pakrac. Two former members of the military police, Tomica Poletto and Željko Tutić, were convicted for the war crime in

Marino Selo and sentenced to 15 and 12 years in prison, respectively. They were charged for torturing 23 Serb civilians, and killing 17. Nearby is the Pakrac Field, also a site known by a war crime against Serb civilians committed by members of the Croatian Special Police, the so-called *merčepovci*. The precise number of victims has not been determined yet (more than 70 in total), and the Croatian wartime deputy minister of the interior, Tomislav Merčep, was convicted of this crime and sentenced to five and a half years in prison.

This visit took place 7 years after the first prepared but cancelled visit of a mixed group of war veterans to a city in Croatia. At that time, the war veterans from Serbia and BiH were supposed to be hosted by representatives of the war-veterans association from the city in question. However, two days before the visit, everything was cancelled, because the hosts received threats and were concerned for the safety of the guests, and for their own safety. After that, it was very difficult to establish any form of cooperation. Sometimes it was for lack of will, and sometimes those who were interested lacked the support of other members of their association. There were also concerns about the political pressures they may be exposed to, because cooperation with former enemies is not supported by the ruling political establishment.

These things require courage, a firm decision to look to the future in which we will not have to fear that our children will bear arms against each other. Sometimes such activities are not met with approval in the local communities, but as one of our hosts said, *"We will feel the consequences of this event. Some may spit at us for doing this, but we can defend ourselves from them. We*



had heart enough during the war, and we have it still. I am always prepared to talk to someone from the other side, provided he did not commit crimes.”

It was important for us that our first visit to Croatia came at a time when the political relations between Serbia and Croatia are at their lowest since the war and when relationships between Bosniaks and Serbs have been increasingly tense because of the referendum and the warmongering rhetoric in the media. The war veterans are committed to continuing their mission as a

warning about how fatal war is and how precious peace is. *“My wish is for politics to never make the decisions, but only sober-minded people. This war brought nothing good, we all went through this area and saw a mass of empty factories, none of the politicians care about this, and it’s the same in all of our countries. The friendships made at places such as these last and that is the main value,”* said one of the participants, a war veteran from Šamac.

Amer Delić

We participated in:

Marking the anniversary of the start of the war in Croatia

Pakrac, Croatia, 1 March 2016

In Pakrac, on 1 March 2016, a commemoration was organised “Marking the 25th Anniversary of the Start of the Homeland War in the Republic of Croatia”. Through our friends and associates in peacebuilding from the Pakrac-Lipik Association of Croatian Officers, the Centre for Nonviolent Action (CNA) received an invitation to attend this event. We accepted the invitation and together with Adnan Hasanbegović and Amer Delić from CNA, we also had with us our long-term associate and war veteran from the Croatian Army, Zvonko Lucić.

The programme of the event included a “Victory Parade” through the streets of the town to the Roman Catholic cemetery where the commemoration that we joined was held. We also attended the assembly in front of the Pakrac police station, which is a symbol of the start of armed conflict in Croatia, where the crowd was addressed by political representatives, representatives of the army and veterans associations and participants from the war. The event programme concluded with a lunch organised at the Croatian Centre „Dr. Franjo Tuđman”. Thanks to our hosts, while participating in the programme, we had the opportunity to meet and talk with representatives of local authorities in Pakrac and leaders of the veterans associations.

During our stay in Pakrac, we also held a meeting attended by the president of HVIDR of the Požega-Slavonia County and representatives of the Coordination of Homeland War Associations in Pakrac and Lipik. At the meeting, we presented CNA’s experience of working

with war veterans on constructive dealing with the past and discussed our visits to sites of suffering and official commemorations that we organise together with a group of war veterans from the region. We also expressed our wish to establish closer cooperation with veterans associations from Croatia, as well as our dilemmas about how to approach the associations and the difficulties we encountered in our efforts to organise visits to places of memory and sites of suffering in Croatia.

Our interlocutors showed interest for the idea of cooperation in peacebuilding among former enemies and stressed the need to improve dialogue between people living in what used to be war-affected areas.

We invited them to join us for one of our future visits and they accepted.

We also discussed the possibility of a joint visit by war veterans to places of memory and sites of suffering in Pakrac and the surrounding area, which remained an open question and will be subject to further arrangements in the future.

For us it is important to note that this was the first time that we took part in an event of this kind marking an important date from the war history of Croatia. Although we had hoped to organise a meeting of this sort earlier, we believe that our visit to Pakrac at this time and the contacts we made will be of use and a step forward in establishing more intensive dialogue about the painful past and building peace in the region.

A.D.



exchange, cooperation
and networking

From a culture of using the dead towards a culture of relating to the dead

Vukovar-Jasenovac-Prijedor Study Trip

23 - 27 November 2015

We had spent a relatively long time planning the study trip to Vukovar, Jasenovac and Prijedor. Through our peacebuilding work in the former Yugoslavia and dealing with the past, which is one of its preconditions, we had encountered these sites many times, primarily as symbols of suffering and death. Although universal by nature, their prefixes are pointedly national. It is not a matter of simple attribution, but of human and historical fact. Namely, these are sites where people were killed precisely because they belonged or were perceived as belonging to a certain ethnic group. This historical fact remains the foundation for the use of these sites today. It therefore seemed important to us to invite our colleagues and friends, peace activists from Macedonia and Kosovo to join the CNA team made up of people from Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia and Serbia. We wanted to visit these places together and talk about them, about their complexities, similarities and differences, as well as the importance they hold in the ethno-national structure of the Dayton triangle (Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Serbia), as well as throughout the former Yugoslavia. We wanted to see how we remember the dead and what message for the future is inherent in this memory.

We set off on 23 November and we first visited

Vukovar. Over the next few days we visited Jasenovac, Donja Gradina, Sanski Most and Prijedor. We chose these places because of how they intertwine in the national narratives of post-Yugoslav countries. They are the Past that keeps shaping our present and making the future quite (un)certain.

Vukovar in 1991 was in many aspects a preview of what would envelop the former Yugoslavia in the years to come -- the siege of the city, torture, captured prisoners, executions, complete destruction of goods and life, human moral and every other type of degradation. The permanent exhibition "*Site of Memory – Vukovar Hospital 1991*" is a reconstruction of hospital life during the three months of the siege, without electricity, water, medicines or medical supplies. There are inscriptions of the number of wounded and killed brought to the hospital daily, as well as the names of the wounded patients and medical staff taken from the hospital to the execution site at Ovčara. A short film gives an introduction to the war days of the Vukovar hospital, a collection of TV reports from the surrounded and destroyed city, footage of corpses on the destroyed streets, of blood and destruction. The mannequins placed in what used to be the nuclear fallout shelter of the hospital where the wounded and hospital





staff stayed are faceless and nameless. But it is clear “whose they are”; this can be seen from the rosaries placed across the chest of some of the wounded. In the final room of the museum, there is a burning candle, the names of the people who were taken from the hospital after its defences were broken are enumerated over the speaker system. This will stay with you for a while, when you leave the hospital, you feel defeated. If you are coming from “the other side”, the museum exhibition a priori condemns you, just as many other of our monuments do, no matter who erected them. I have been here a number of times over the course of a few years. It would seem that time takes its toll, so the guilt that flows down your shoulders and into your bones is now somewhat diluted. But, there is a lingering impression that the designers were aiming for this, or at least that they were thinking about the effects of an emotional response from the visitors.

We talked about the hospital the most, it leaves you felling powerless. The “we” here is self-explanatory. The same goes for the enemy, he has no name, but is ever present: the Yugo-army, the Greater Serbian aggressor, the Chetniks. We talked about the people we knew who were killed in Vukovar, and not just on the Croatian side. About a friend’s husband, a 21-year-old picked up off the street for a military exercise and sent off to war, never to return. About countless acquaintances who hid in other people’s houses and under false names. About JNA deserters. There is no room for them here, or anywhere else, these dead belong to no one. Because their story

does not fit into any narrative, it is silenced. Robbery, looting, killings, rapes, you never hear of our people being known for good deeds, my colleague will say. You go 200 km further, and the story turns around.

The way things are set up makes war inevitable, completely legitimate, it’s just a matter of finding yourself on the “right” side.

We discussed the war with Brigadier Petar Ćavar, our guide through the exhibitions at the *Homeland War Memorial Centre* located at the barracks of Vukovar’s 204th Brigade. This undestined agronomist and poet (answers to our question of what he would have been if it were not for the war) talked to us about how there is no alternative to peace, and how that is the message they try to convey to primary school children who come to visit Vukovar. For some of the war veterans in our group, the smell of a hospital was worse than the smell of the front, they said. When we were at the barracks, the defence mechanism kicked in, turning the conversation towards weapons in order to avoid the difficult topics, from emotion towards banal rationalisation. War is a grand narrative that swallows up everything that does not fit into the heroic, epic narrative, it is devoid of subtleties and complexities.

The Memorial Cemetery for Victims from the Homeland War features one of the aesthetically more pleasing monuments to victims from the wars of 1991-1999. It is situated next to the site of the mass grave, the victims symbolically depicted by rows of white marble crosses, the monument itself bears the symbol of the

cross and fits seamlessly into the matrix of the victim, the Way of the Cross and resurrection. The narrative is, we talked about it later, of a Croatian Croatia, even though there are Germans and Bosniaks and many others buried there. Its purpose is to show the irrational hatred of “the others” against “us” in black-and-white. In that sense, the civilian and military victims are separated in the cemetery, and families are separated from soldiers, with the latter placed in the front row, according to their merit.

The Memorial at Ovčara is a dignified place. It is located at the hangar where prisoners captured from the Vukovar hospital were brought, tortured and then taken 800 meters further and executed. 261 light bulbs on the ceiling symbolises the number of victims. Their photographs and a few personal items found at the site of the mass grave are also exhibited in the hangar. In rhythmic succession the photographs are illuminated and dimmed, periodically bringing them back into existence. In the centre of the hangar is a spiral taking with it the names of the victims. The author called it the Spiral of Evil¹. There is a monument at the site where they were shot and buried in a mass grave. Shortly before our visit was the Day of Remembrance for the Victims of Vukovar, as it is officially called. Red-white-blue candles all around us. The inscription on the monument reads:

In memory of 200 wounded Croatian defenders and civilians from the Vukovar hospital executed in the Greater Serbian aggression against the Republic of Croatia.

Ovčara 20 November 1991

The Croatian people December 1998

Today, Vukovar is visited by thousands of people. At the Vukovar Hospital Museum, we were told that it has up to 100 thousand visitors a year. Just like us, all these visitors will also visit the Homeland War Memorial Museum located at the barracks of Vukovar’s 204th Brigade, the Memorial Cemetery for Victims from the Homeland War, and the Memorial and monument at Ovčara. Vukovar is a memorial itself, reconstructed in memory of the “heroic sacrifice of the unarmed people defending their land from an enemy stronger both in numbers and in arms.” The victim is a collective, the enemy is a collective. That is how things are set out and inscribed, on monuments, memorials, flags and candles, here the Croatian narrative is given as self-sufficient, from Croats for Croats. However, there is no better evidence of crime than when the site of the crime is visited and the victims honoured by those

for whom this place was not designed. The presence of “others” who come in good faith undermines that self-sufficiency. The suffering of Vukovar and its people is universally horrific, and should be remembered as such. Only if we recognise it as a universal human victim can we ensure that it never happens again.

The next day we visited **Jasenovac** and Donja Gradina, parts of what was once a unique memorial complex, subsequently divided between Croatia and the Republika Srpska entity in Bosnia and Herzegovina following the dissolution of Yugoslavia. Jasenovac is a place of eminent historical importance, but poor social status. The number of visitors, only a tenth of that in Vukovar, attests to this. Exceptional people work in Jasenovac and Donja Gradina - Ivo Pejaković, Đorđe Mihovilović and Dejan Motl - curators involved in active mutual cooperation across state borders and political restrictions in an effort to give the Jasenovac camp complex a primarily educational purpose, to make sure it never happens again.

Although it seems that everything is known about Jasenovac, in the past 20 years, it has been disappearing from the Croatian political and historical reality, which through attempts at historical revisionism or purely political manipulation, seeks to distance itself from it. Jasenovac is the site of holocaust against Jews and genocide against Serbs and Roma. In the Croatian present, this latter part of the above sentence is often neglected, even though of the 83145 victims identified to date, the majority, 47627, were Serbs. These numbers are materialised in the names of whole families executed here, now inscribed on the plaques of the Memorial Museum that both symbolically and literally hang like a sword over your head as you walk through its uneasy architectural structure.

Manipulation of numbers will become one of the most common justifications for starting the war in 1991. This is not relativisation, but a fact. It is like watching a materialised spiral of violence - the heroic victim and righteous wrath incurred by countless senseless deaths, unless they are approached constructively, will in time lead to the victim becoming the executioner. This is our legacy from the Yugoslav culture of memory. Never exhumed, never properly buried, never precisely counted, celebrated as nameless heroes and used to justify the violence that would ensue. That lesson is nowhere so evident as when you stand before the Jasenovac flower surrounded by mass graves.

What is sorely missing in Jasenovac is the perpetrator. Apart from a few Ustasha proclamations, exhibits at the

1 The hangar reconstruction was designed by Miljenko Romić.

Memorial Museum, you will find out nothing about NDH at Jasenovac. The scale of the crime required a supporting state structure, racial and discriminatory laws, and the quiet acquiescence of the majority of the population looking on as their neighbours are taken away to be killed. However, instead of constructively dealing with this side of the Croatian past, silence was chosen, as if history were a linear trajectory whose parts and consequences can be isolated in segments. If Jasenovac is an example of collective memory, what is its social function? What have we learned from Jasenovac?

Donja Gradina was part of the Jasenovac camp intended for executions of tens of thousands of people who remain buried in the ground there to this day. The execution site with over a hundred mass graves -- you will see them as depressions in the ground -- is a place of silence. In almost poetic surroundings, for in Donja Gradina there are only meadows and forests, these numbers stand. At the foot of Mount Kozara, which both in the Second World War and our latest war, counted thousands of dead, it is hard to resist the impression that all we care about here are numbers - in a regional contest, the numbers show who sacrificed more, who was killed the most and who is the greatest victim. What follows is

a relativisation of crimes committed by "our" side and a relativisation of the suffering of others. Numbers are the fatal enemies of empathy for "others", which is why everyone is busy falsifying them or at least doing nothing to get to the real numbers. This applies to all the post-Yugoslav countries.

50 km from Donja Gradina is **Prijedor**. The crimes committed in this area from 1992 are well-documented and proven, and it was on their account that the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia was initially established. In contrast to Vukovar, where the suffering is commemorated by the majority and is even recognised by the state, in Republika Srpska, despite a series of proven facts, trials, and the largest number of convictions for committed crimes, these places and events are still veiled in silence. It is not easy to be in Prijedor, or to write about it. Camps, torture, rapes and executions are easier to bear when they hark back to a more distant past, when the participants are long gone, when their crimes can be considered within pathological categories. But this scale of crime is never so much the product of a deranged mind as of a systematic campaign at all levels of (para)government, of tyranny and the silence of the majority, and these are defeating facts. The



sites of the crimes in the Prijedor Municipality are mostly unmarked, and access to them is obstructed.

Visiting the sites of suffering and memory in Prijedor, we were joined by Edin Ramulić from the Izvor Association of Women of Prijedor, a witness of these events and the editor of the Book of the Missing from the Prijedor Municipality “Innocents”. Working with Edin is profoundly inspirational. Into a difficult context and reality, he brought in another dimension, the question of how to constructively deal with what we are facing.

We started our visit in *Keraterm*.

That the hangars we found ourselves before were sites of crimes is attested to by the bullet pockmarks on their walls. And the memorial plaque mounted in front of one of them in a guerrilla act, without a permit. The machines, the guard post, the guard dog and the pervasive cold are the only witnesses of our visit. Edin explains where the infamous room number 3 was, telling us what happened there. Damir Došen, one of the men convicted for this crime, has served his sentence and can be seen on social networks or on the street.

To enter *Omarska* we needed a permit from the mine management currently owned by the world leading iron producer ArcelorMittal. The time of the visit was strictly limited to one hour. It had snowed shortly before our arrival, there was mud all around. They made us stand in the mud, even though there was an asphalted parking lot in front of the mine buildings. We were then warned that we may only take photographs of the infamous White House, everything else was prohibited to safeguard against, as they said, industrial sabotage. We stand in front of the White House, physically prevented from seeing and walking around the entire camp. Prisoners were brought here for interrogation, they were beaten, tortured and killed. It is not the most horrific building on the premises of the mine-camp. Atrocities were committed in all parts of the camp; from the small red house some 100m from us, no one came out alive, which is why there is no testimony about what happened inside. Since we are familiar with the fact that the families of victims have been endeavouring for years to have the premises of the camp marked accordingly, we discuss the possibilities. It is estimated that ArcelorMittal will exhaust the iron ore from this locality in a few years, which will probably facilitate efforts to memorialise this location. This is, at the same time, a tragic fact. For decades, the planned mining of iron ore, in contrast to the present capitalist approach, provided livelihoods to numerous families in the area. But everything has been changed. As

of 1992, Omarska shall remain known as a concentration camp.

The exhumation of the *Tomašica* mass grave has been completed, a fact you will not easily find by googling. It is not a fact that is readily mentioned, given that mass graves of this size are given to endless political exploitation, as with other sites of suffering, and not just in Bosnia and Herzegovina. We became painfully aware of this as we stood among the heaps of earth left after the exhumation and the small pond where snow and rain now make a natural filling. Edin tells us the facts, figures, answers our questions. The human propensity for romantic notions is incredible, like our idea that the location of the grave was reported by someone who could no longer suffer the pangs of conscience and nightmarish dreams. Such events are rare, as can be seen from the number of people from Prijedor still listed as missing. The story is that the grave was discovered through an exchange of information, perhaps even in part through political trade-offs between the Federation and RS. Many politicians visited this site promising justice for the victims. Little has changed in the meantime.

It is not our first time in *Trnopolje*, which is why we already know that in the yard, in front of the camp, there is a monument to fallen fighters of RS from Trnopolje. It is hard to resist the impression that this initiative was a way to “mask” the space or steal memories of suffering, even though the monument itself is somewhat worse for wear; time has taken its toll and lack of maintenance has seen the plaque fall from the monument. Here we met with Fikret Alić, a man who was photographed in 1992 behind the barbed wire fence of the camp, ghostly undernourished and tortured, and became a symbol of suffering in the Prijedor camps. Owing in part to this photograph, the world was made aware of the existence of the camps, eventually leading to their closing. After a difficult wartime period and long recovery, in 2006 Fikret returned to Kozarac in the Prijedor Municipality. This humble man, bearing all he has suffered stoically and peacefully, is turned towards the future. He met with us in order to convey a message of peace, he said. That is how he tells his story, with the intention of making sure it never happens to anyone again. We were all deeply shaken by this meeting.

From Trnopolje, we set off for **Sanski Most**, and then to Hrastova glavica. Here in 1998, the remains of 124 people were exhumed, previously prisoners at the Keraterm and Omarska camps, and the remains of another two persons forensically determined to have

been thrown into the pit at the time of the Second World War. This natural pit is situated in the forest, at the end of a forest road. The surroundings are idyllic, covered in show, undisturbed by passers-by. The opening of the pit is now covered. Since this locality is in the territory of the Federation, the monument was inaugurated on the 20th anniversary of the crime:

*Above this pit, on 6 August 1992
members of the Serb army and police killed 124
prisoners from the Prijedor death camps
Keraterm and Omarska.
They killed three at a time, tied with wire, and threw
them
into an abyss more than 20 meters deep.
Their skeletal remains were found in 1998
along with the bones of two men from Sanski Most
killed in the Second World War.
This memorial is dedicated on the 20th anniversary
of the crime in the hope that this pit shall never
again see innocent people thrown in.*

*Association of Prijedor Women "Izvor"
Association of Camp Survivors Sanski Most*

Edin asked us whether we thought the plaque was too generalising and whether as such it could be perceived as a threat to Serb returnees to the surrounding villages. Thanks to research we conducted over the past three years about monuments and memorials in BiH following the 1991-1995 wars, we had become familiar with numerous memorial inscriptions. Very often, out of pain, sorrow and anger, inscriptions mention foes, Chetniks, Ustasha, criminals, the words forever and never forgive or forget, an eternal lesson. This is not one such memorial, it does not hate anyone, it warns and remembers. The memorial plaque includes the names of those killed and their age at the time. Our wars have left us without generations and generations of people.

On our way back, we visited the *Šušnjar Memorial Complex* in Sanski Most. It is perhaps the best example of how monuments change in keeping with the times. Erected to commemorate victims of fascist terror and fighters of NOR², it was heavily damaged during the last

war and subjected to interventions aiming to change its ideological background, as well as the ethno-national structure of victims and fighters is honours. A few years ago it was proclaimed a national monument of BiH. We don't believe it should be reconstructed. It is ostensibly a monument to a glorious past, but also a monument to its bloody ideological deconstruction. That is why it should be preserved as it is and schoolchildren should be brought to see it to learn about shame. Perhaps shame will be the beginning of doubt in the gloriousness of their forefathers who in the fight for their better future got a bit carried away and left them this legacy, of which Šušnjar is a prime example.

All of this left us considerably concerned and disheartened. Along with everything else, apart from the past, we also share a culture of memory whose epic, heroic narratives in education and the public arena allow for no questioning of the basic matrix. Our (recent) war past clearly tells us how wrong this approach is. It contains a grave danger that threatens endless returns to violence, and bears forth a feeling of it all hanging over our heads, ready to happen again.

In memorialisation and culture of memory, multiple perspectives are necessary to counteract black-and-white world views of the struggle between good and evil, because the truth is somewhere in between, in the grey zone. For us it is important how we as the living relate to the dead. But, with all due respect, there are some among the living who deserve nothing less. It is only through respect for human life, for life in general, that we can create the space for questions, for dialogue, a way out of the vicious circle, this is what we should strive for. That is why we should visit marked sites of suffering, especially if you are perceived as belonging to the "enemy group". Your presence will enable the transformation of the ideological matrix and make room for being respectful of the dead and humane towards the living. And it is especially important visit unmarked sites of suffering; we mark them by being there, we remember and restore dignity to the dead. We are here to make sure it is not forgotten and that it never happens to anyone anywhere again.

Davorka Turk

2 NOR – Narodnooslobodilački Rat / National Liberation War (of Yugoslavia during WW2).

Oaks, Poplars, Silence

Faruk Šehić

I remember Vukovar under siege. I was studying in Zagreb at the time. I had not felt war on my own skin yet, even though Zagreb had been hit by artillery fire from the JNA barracks, and aerial bombs. I was once passing by Lisinski when I got caught in the line of sniper fire. Later, in Bosnia, I would come to readily recognise the sound of a sniper bullet. We watched the tragedy of Vukovar on our TV screens, heard about it daily on the streets of Zagreb. Stories about the heroism of its defenders and the betrayal of the highest Croatian authorities. Then our war came and memories of Vukovar were covered in dust, except when we decided to call one of the main streets on “our” side of the river and the town of Bosanska Krupa: Vukovar. It had been razed to the ground. Thus, Vukovar became synonymous with large-scale destruction during the war.

Twenty-three years later, I visited Vukovar with people from the Centre for Nonviolent Action. I was shocked by the information on the number of killed Croatian soldiers, killed prisoners of war, executed civilians.

At the New Cemetery near Vukovar where the Homeland War Memorial Cemetery is located, a mass grave containing the remains of 938 people was exhumed. Civilians, the wounded, soldiers. The monument there is called the Air Cross. And the site of the mass grave is now a large depression with 938 marble crosses.

What is particularly astonishing is the fact that this baroque town is not that big. This makes its siege all the more tragic. On the one side was the Danube and Serbia, and on the other were state-of-the-art weapons of the JNA and numerous Serbian paramilitaries. The city was completely destroyed. Thousands of soldiers were killed on both sides. Just from the Vukovar hospital, 260 wounded patients (mostly soldiers), but also civilians who had taken shelter there and medical staff, were taken away and killed at Ovčara. There is a modest monument at the site and a museum where the hangar used to be. Where they first tortured the prisoners and the wounded, before killing them in the field less than a hundred meters away.

The other prisoners; thousands of civilians and soldiers were transferred to the camps in Stajićevo, Begejci, Sremska Mitrovica, and to remand prisons. The museum collection of the Homeland War Memorial in Vukovar contains maps made by camp prisoners, drawings, and a

dishcloth with names and signatures of camp prisoners from a military remand prison in Belgrade, items more valuable than descriptions of battles and photos of destroyed tanks.

Vukovar has since been reconstructed, but the whole city is a museum where people are still trying to live normal lives. After visiting Vukovar, it was easy to conclude that it had been just a “trial balloon” for what would happen in BiH. When you grasp the atrocities that happened in Vukovar, then Prijedor, Foča, Višegrad, Srebrenica appear as the logical continuation of unprecedented cruelty and crime.

It was all clear, Milošević wanted Vukovar at any price, that much is understandable, but why so many killings of civilians, soldiers and the wounded. Why was it necessary to kill people as if on a conveyor belt. Why so much blood



that now stands as a barrier to reconciliation between people and nations.

The next day we visited the former concentration camp of Jasenovac, part of which, Donja Gradina, is now located in BiH, given that the centuries-old boundary had been erased when NDH annexed BiH. During NDH, camp prisoners were ferried across the Sava river from Jasenovac and killed in Donja Gradina. Its forests and fields contain 120 - 150 grave pits. About a hundred have been discovered to date. Since at the time, after the Second World War, DNA identification methods had not yet been invented, the bones remained in the mass graves. The Ustasha destroyed the camp when they were retreating, and the nearby villagers snapped up the bricks to put into their new homes.

Today, the site is an endless field a kilometre or two long, with a large concrete flower designed by the Belgrade architect Bogdan Bogdanović.

In the Jasenovac Museum, I saw a photograph of Emerik Blum, who was imprisoned there for a time, as well as Danijel Ozmo from Sarajevo, and photographs and personal items of numerous Sarajevo and Zagreb Jews, such as the ring made in secret by Gabrijel Jug with the following words engraved along its inside surface: "This too shall pass."

And it did pass, but its horrors will echo through eternity. The final number of victims will probably never be determined. To date, 85,000 names of victims of the Ustasha terror have been recorded. Most of them were Serbs, Jews, Roma, Croats, Bosniaks, Slovenes, and many others.

It is shameful that schools from Bosnia and Herzegovina do not visit Jasenovac the way we used to do in the former Yugoslavia. There are no visits from Serbia either, and Serbian nationalists remember Jasenovac only when they need it to justify the genocide in Srebrenica or the destruction of Vukovar. It is also shameful for the RS government officials (and the BiH level leadership that sends no one) who come only on the anniversary of the camp's establishment to hold election campaign speeches, politicising the number of Serbs killed. So you have 500,000 killed Serbs and 127,000 killed antifascists. As if those two groups were mutually exclusive.

The Memorial in Donja Gradina, apart from a decent curator, a toilet that resembles an armoured train, and a few billboards that scream out exaggerated numbers of victims, does not offer much. There are walking paths that might give you the impression that you are visiting a nature reserve meant for walking through deep and quiet forests, and not a vast execution ground.

Thus, the grave pits / mass graves, with their characteristic depressions created by the settling of the soil, were named after the trees that grow in the area or the atmosphere that surrounds them. Oaks, Poplars, Silence, are the names of some of the grave pits. Silence is what makes these forests otherworldly. As if you were in Tolkien's forest, and not the site of the largest WW2 execution ground in Yugoslavia.

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Journey to Manipur

Imphal, 21 February – 2 March 2016

We arrived in Manipur in north-east India at the invitation of our partner organisation Brot fuer die Welt and UNMM from Manipur (United NGO Mission to Manipur) in order to hold a training in dealing with the past for representatives of UNMM member organisations. We have not in the habit of organising or holding international trainings, but our partners believed that our specific war and post-war experience from the Western Balkans would be particularly useful to initiate dialogue and build trust between the ethnic communities

in Manipur. The training team consisted of Ivana Franović, Nenad Vukosavljević and Davorka Turk.

Our visit to Manipur included a brief study visit where we got better acquainted with representatives of civil society organisations and the social context in which they work, and the five-day training for a group of participants. Before our arrival, we had read up on the concrete circumstances and nature of the conflict¹, so we

1 In order to understand the social context of north-east

were somewhat prepared for seeing army troops on the streets. The various levels and types of conflict flaring up in Manipur and the special status of Manipur within India is something its inhabitants feel as continuous violence of lower or higher intensity and that the Indian state treats as “implementing law and order” in the border area.

In that sense, the strong army and police presence and their broad authorisations are interpreted as necessary for the sake of security – in order to control the border area with Myanmar and fight against armed rebel groups. The law that has been applicable since 1958 – AFSPA (Armed Forces Special Power Act) has become a symbol of oppression and an instrument of discrimination with which the army and police maintain an atmosphere of fear and terror and commit grave human rights violations. Namely, this Act regulates the response in the event of insurgence against the authorities and other situations involving armed rebels. According to the AFSPA, the armed forces have the discretion to resort to armed force against persons or groups suspected of being insurgents or sympathisers, they do not require a warrant to search persons and homes and can use force when making arrests. Since this law ensures the immunity, or rather the impunity of members of the army and police, it is used to justify a host of brutal human rights violations, including murder, rape, kidnapping, disappearances, torture and maintaining an atmosphere of fear and terror. The right to freedom of movement, freedom of

India, the book by Sudeep Chakravarti “Highway 39” – Journey through a Fractured Land (Fourth Estate, New Delhi, 2012) was of great help.

association and assembly are also endangered by this Act. AFSPA particularly targets women, and civil society organisations have submitted a report on this issue to the UN Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW).²

Little to nothing is known about human rights violations in Manipur, both in India and the rest of the world, with the exception of the struggle of Irom Sharmila. She started her nonviolent protest as an activist 15 years ago, going on hunger strike until the AFSPA is abolished. For the past 15 years, the Indian authorities have kept her locked up for violating the law (treating the whole case as a suicide attempt) and in order to keep her alive.

If we add to this the problems of a weak and inefficient administration, corruption and unemployment, ethnic strife and other forms of violence, in particular sexual violence against women and children, a picture of the social framework presented to us by civil society organisations begins to emerge.

UNMM, the network that invited us, brings together numerous organisations of local communities from north-east India across ethnic, religious and other divisions – Hindu, Christian, Buddhist, Muslim organisations as well as organisations of the Meitei, Naga, Kuki and other tribal communities. There are women’s organisations working on protecting women and children from sexual, domestic and other forms of violence (and providing assistance

2 This is one in a series of reports that local civil society organisations have submitted to international bodies, requesting protection. https://www.ecoi.net/file_upload/1930_1415203563_int-cedaw-ngo-ind-17527-e.pdf





and support to victims from minority communities, and defending their rights within the legal system), human rights organisations, organisations protecting local communities and their rights, etc. We also met with activists and community leaders from Moreh, a town on the border with Myanmar, which was the scene of inter-ethnic conflicts, and is also an important trade and smuggling node for drugs, gold and human trafficking. During our study visit, we were particularly impressed by a meeting with a group of women, widows who lost their husbands in armed incidents and conflicts and now face social stigmatisation, but are nonetheless trying to find ways to feed themselves and their children³.

In addition to structural violence (colonial heritage,

state-imposed violence, racism and patriarchal violence, as well as still effective caste divisions), there is also the problem of traditional ethnic strife, such as that between the Naga and Kuki communities, but also between the Hindus and the local communities, as well as the attitude of the majority community towards the Muslims. All these conflicts are long-lasting, materially and humanly exhausting and contribute to a general state of insecurity, fear and frustration. During our stay in Manipur, we often heard how ethnic conflicts were instructed and stoked “from outside” (irrespective of who is considered to be the outsider – colonial Britain, the Indian government, armed groups mostly clashing to take control over the trafficking of drugs, gold or human beings, or neighbouring Indian states such as Nagaland, due to assumed or real territorial claims). This interpretation of conflicts from the inside sounds familiar, as well as many other matrices we use to try to make sense of the conflicts that have affected or are still affecting our lives. During our eight days in Manipur, we said a lot about Yugoslavia, about how our wars progressed, what they were fought over and whether and how they could have been foreseen or pre-empted. But we also remembered many things. For example, what it is like when the army holds important locations or natural

3 In Manipur, women and children are directly affected at all levels of the conflict, either as direct victims or as widows of those executed or gone missing during military interventions against armed groups, the actions of armed groups to seize resources, as victims of sexual violence committed by members of the army, the police, armed groups, as well as family members. Due to their low social status, these women are often stigmatised and targeted by violators, given that, after the death of their husbands, or as victims of violence, they are outcast as socially unneeded, completely unprotected and reduced to struggling just to stay alive.

resources (such as the Loktak Lake). As we pass by the long barrels on the roads, checkpoints and on the streets, we hope that something can be learned from another's experience, which is why we came all this way.

Because of all of the above, UNMM believed our experience in peacebuilding in the former Yugoslavia could help them constructively deal with their own past and establish dialogue and trust among the various sides in the conflict, believing these tools to be applicable and needed in their own communities.

The group for which we organised the training, and which numbered 34 people at one point, comprised representatives of women's organisations and human rights organisations from different ethnic and religious communities. Thanks to prior preparations and the study visit, we designed the training to respond to the given circumstances and the needs articulated over these few days through meetings and conversations. Our intention was to encourage interaction among participants and create conditions for constructive dialogue on burning social issues, mutually exclusive attitudes, presumptions and prejudices. But we also sought to encourage each other for further efforts in peacebuilding, seeking out things that we can achieve together or through mutual support.

In our work, we start from the premise that it is impossible to copy solutions without taking into account the specific social context of each particular conflict. Furthermore, based on our own experience, we are, to say the least, weary of solutions coming from the outside. However, it also seems that a view from the outside can be a catalyst to start discussions on some of these issues. Apart from that, it seems that concrete experiences from the Western Balkans can be used to analyse or at least recognise some aspects that, notwithstanding their specific contexts, remain universal: the way we perceive our "enemies", how and along which lines discrimination against groups and individuals is established, how injustice is institutionalised and how violence is instigated, as well as the ways to counteract such tendencies, both within one's own group and in society as a whole. A great advantage of these workshops was that, much like in our case, they were a meeting place, where the "other" can not just be seen but also heard, and where much can be learned from the process itself. We were surprised by the readiness for self-reflection, dialogue and cooperation. Most of the participants that spoke to us about this, felt a

great relief that there was readiness to discuss contentious issues and identify areas for cooperation and joint action. Personally, I perceived most of the participants as very political, aware of the complexity of the problem and the political moment, but also prepared to seek alternative solutions to bridge the deep-seated animosities, which is a quality we often lack in the post-Yugoslav context.

The training surpassed all our expectations, and the participants assessed these few days in much the same way. Although we had anticipated various problems due to the large size of the group, they were avoided thanks to the high level of motivation among the participants and their dedication to this process. We realised that the age differences among the participants may pose an obstacle due to the different social roles ascribed according to age (with older persons having authority). This did affect the dynamics of the group, but also gave us important insights to be used for any future cooperation.

We went to Manipur feeling sceptical, we doubted our visit would be meaningful given our lack of familiarity with the context. We decided to go only because our friends from *Brot fuer die Welt* and UNMM were very persistent. At the end, we realised that the trip to Manipur proved useful in many ways. Apart from having learned a lot ourselves, we managed to create a space for dialogue among members of different communities on painful subjects, on things that are not talked about for fear that the conversation would be uncomfortable or might even lead to a new cycle of violence. Most of the participants told us that this was the first time that they had spoken to someone from another community about these matters and in this way. There is no better path towards empowerment than the feeling of relief following a conversation about difficult and painful topics.

We hope that our friends in Manipur will use this opportune moment when they have the right climate, courage, enthusiasm and motivation to continue their dialogue. And we hope that this will help them construct a society where they will be proud of the wealth of their diversity and where no one will be made to feel like a second-class citizen. We particularly hope that they will not decide to resolve the problems between the different groups as we did in the Balkans, by force. Because we did not solve anything, we just amplified the problem as many times as the number of lives lost.

Davorka Turk

Photography exhibition and promotion of the publication “War of Memories”

Vienna, Austria, 8 - 9 April 2016

The first public exhibition of photographs, presentation of the publication “War of Memories” and the idea behind the published material on the kulturasjecanja.org/en/ website was organised in Vienna on 8 and 9 April 2016. The presentation was accompanied by an exhibition of selected photographs, a panel discussion at the exhibition opening (8 April 2016) and a workshop about “War of Memories and Reconciliation” (9 April 2016). The whole event was organised by Brot für die Welt and Internationaler Versöhnungsbund (IFOR) from Austria, with the support of Österreichische Entwicklungs Zusammenarbeit (Austrian Development Agency). The exhibition was set up at the Albert Schweitzer Haus in Vienna and will remain on display until 27 April 2016.

Speaking at the opening of the exhibition, apart from us from CNA (Ivana Franović and Nedžad Horozović), there were also Jasmina Haračić from the Austrian Red Cross, Robert Streibel, a historian and publicist from Vienna and Pete Hämmerle from IFOR. The audience was diverse, apart from Austrians, there were also many people from the former Yugoslavia, people from the “diaspora”.

Most of the panel discussion was devoted to questions from the audience about the need for memory of war, lessons to be learned from the past, ICTY judgements for war crimes, the culture of memory and memorialisation, the current global situation, etc. It was interesting to hear and compare experiences from Austria after the Second World War and those from the former Yugoslavia, and to hear from people working on memory and dealing with the past that some processes in Austria are still on-going, some were started much later than in the Balkans, and some have been “completed”. Robert Streibel described

an example he discovered while doing research about a military unit from the Second World War to whom a monument was dedicated in Austria, but he found that this unit was responsible for war crimes in Slavonia, something that is not discussed in the Austrian public even though so much time has passed. In this way, he vividly “combined” the two contexts and the topic of how we relate to the past and crimes from the past, making the issue both more complex, but also bringing it closer to those present.

The opening of the exhibition also featured the band Azrah, whose members are from Austria and our “diaspora” and who performed a few of “our songs” (Samo da rata ne bude, Par godina za nas), but the Austrians were clapping and humming as if they were also “theirs”.

In order to respond to the interest of a group of 15 people working on dealing with the past and other social activism in Austria, the next day we held a workshop about “War of Memories and Reconciliation” (to mention it once more). We exchanged opinions and experience about reconciliation, forgiveness and the right to forgiveness, guilt and responsibility, etc. We tried to introduce our methodology and approach to reconciliation and peacebuilding, primarily through the example of working with war veterans.

Returning home, we took with us a lot of support, but also heightened expectations of planned promotions and exhibitions in Sarajevo, Mostar, Banja Luka, Bihać, Belgrade, etc. at the end of this and the beginning of next year.

N.H.

Study trip Belgrade-Vukovar-Srebrenica-Sarajevo-Mostar

29 May – 5 June 2016

In cooperation with the German *Bundesstiftung Aufarbeitung*¹, we organised a study trip for a group of

people from Germany involved in the theory and practice of memory work. Apart from historians, the group also included former members of parliament, ministers and reporters, as well as the four of us from CNA.

¹ Federal Foundation for the Study of the Communist Dictatorship

The purpose of the study trip was to gain insight into the various approaches to dealing with the past or pasts in the societies and states of the Dayton triangle. Our guests were interested in the official memory and memorialisation policies, they wanted to see what it is we remember in public discourse and public spaces, how memory is shaped in inscribed in our social reality. The benefit of this study trip for us from CNA was the opportunity to see a mirror image, a mirror held up to all the aspects of our societies and to see them from a different perspective.

Given the intertwining of the past and the present in the former Yugoslavia and their mutual conditioning, during the study trip, we visited not just sites important for understanding the recent past, but also those from the time of the Second World War. We started the trip in Belgrade and in the subsequent seven days we visited Vukovar, Srebrenica, Sarajevo and Mostar, where we met with many people whose work is directly or indirectly linked to the past, be they historians or practitioners working on issues related to dealing with the past.

In our work, dealing with the past has imposed itself as a basic precondition for peacebuilding. What we are trying to achieve with our work is to make dealing with the past constructive, inclusive and with multiperspectivity, given that it can fulfil its purpose only as such. This is why cross-border cooperation is another precondition of this process. Our post-war day-to-day life, however, is based on different principles, which is why throughout the study trip, wherever we went, we saw the dominant presence of a single – national and usually exclusive perspective of both the more recent history and the focal points it usurps from socialist history or the history of the Second World War.

When we visited memorial sites significant for the national narratives of our countries, we could see how the memory formed through wartime hostilities is becoming increasingly established, becoming a concrete “official” version of the past that leaves no room for nuances that were, until fairly recently, still discernible. We would probably not have had an opportunity to hear the condensed version of these narratives if we had not been in a group of foreigners, Germans, for the benefit of whose “easier understanding” all the complexity of the 1991-1999 wars was served up in a simplified version of epic-heroic myths the likes of which had once been a common feature of narratives about the people’s liberation struggle. This, of course, is nothing new. However, because we were accompanying people whose

personal and social history was marked by the DDR communist dictatorship, the numerous questions that our group asked us and the people we met enabled us to re-establish that parallel and remind ourselves of the root of our problems – authoritarian regimes, militarisation and the patriarchy. That basic premise remains the same to this day.

The study trip included visits to:

Belgrade – city centre marked by the traces of the 1999 NATO bombing, places where demonstrations that lead to the fall of the Milošević regime were held, the Bajrakli mosque which was attacked and set fire to in 2004 as an act of retribution for similarly savage acts in Kosovo, but also the Staro sajmište (Old Fairground) which was the site of a concentration camp during the Second World War.

Vukovar – “Place of Memory – Vukovar Hospital 1991”, the Homeland War Memorial Centre, the Ovčara Memorial Centre and monument.

Srebrenica – Memorial Centre Srebrenica - Potočari, Memorial and cemetery for victims of the 1995 genocide
Sarajevo – Young Bosnia Museum – Princip’s Bridge, Vase Miskina-Ferhadija (site of the bread queue massacre), Eternal Flame, Monument to the children killed in the siege of Sarajevo, Monument to the International Community, Monument to Victims of the Cold War and Other Wars, the Sarajevo War Tunnel.

During our visit to Sarajevo, we held a workshop on dealing with the past with war-veterans from all three sides from the war. We also visited the Research and Documentation Centre and the Historical Institute where we were hosted by BiH historians working on contemporary Bosnian-Herzegovinian and Yugoslav socialist history. We were also received at the OSCE Mission in BiH which has been present in BiH since 1995 and they presented the results of their work.

On our way to Mostar, we visited the Museum “Battle for the Wounded at Neretva” in Jablanica and we started our visit of Mostar, with the non-discreet escort of three police officers, at the Partisan Cemetery – a memorial cemetery designed by Bogdan Bogdanović. We continued on to the western part of the city and visited the Bruce Lee monument (the image of an imaginary champion of justice embodies the demand for universal justice), and the former front lines, which are today the lines of demarcation – the Boulevard and the destroyed ARBiH monument. We visited the Old Town and the Old Bridge and we ended our visit in Šehitluci. During our time in Mostar, we visited the Centre for Peace and Inter-ethnic

Cooperation (although we had a scheduled meeting, the Director of the Centre, Mr Safet Oručević, was absent), and the Croat Documentation Centre of the Homeland War in BiH. The latter Centre has a Department for the Second World War and postwar period and the Homeland War tasked with constructing the memory policy for the 1941-1995 time period. They presented their project of constructing the “Peace Cemetery” as the burial place for members of formations that the Croat Documentation Centre calls the “Croat Army” (these are mostly members of the Ustasha movement who died or were killed during the Second World War in the territory of Herzegovina), as well as other victims of the “Yugo-communists”.

With each day of the study trip in this rather unique memorial context, the participants were increasingly apprehensive about the potential for renewed hostilities in the region. This opinion was certainly reinforced by the “entrenchment” of narratives that we saw throughout our trip as a feature of all memorial sites wherever they may be located. This type of memory and exclusive self-victimisation that it imposes thus become obstacles to lasting peace.

Nothing we saw was new to us, and there was no stark contrasts compared to our earlier visits to these places. However, what is worrying is the increasing lack of reflection and examination of truths that are “served up” at these places, supported by the fact that the “others” do not visit these sites. It is disheartening that no one is considering this possibility, or the need to open up about our wounds to each other, the exclusivity of our own pain makes us blind to the suffering of others.

Allow me, therefore, to conclude with a story told to us at the end of the presentation of the “Peace Cemetery” project at the Croat Documentation Centre by Mr Rainer Eppelmann, paraphrasing Bertolt Brecht and inviting our hosts to dialogue and the need for cooperation with others:

Great Carthage fought three wars. After the first it was still powerful. After the second it was still inhabitable. After the third, it could no longer be found.

Bertolt Brecht, Open letter to German artists and writers, 1951

D.T.

Exchange with *Gegen Vergessen / Für Demokratie*

Belgrade, Serbia, 5-8 May 2016

It was with great pleasure that we continued our cooperation and mutual exchange of ideas and experiences with the Berlin organisation *Gegen Vergessen / Für Demokratie e.V. (Against Forgetting / For Democracy)* whom we hosted from 5 to 8 May 2016 in the Belgrade office of CNA. Our initial meeting that launched our cooperation took place the previous year in Berlin. There, we concluded that our values overlapped to a large extent and that we could support and inspire each other.

At our meeting in Belgrade, we discussed the role of historians in working towards social change and the

possibilities of social engagement from that profession. Our colleagues from *Gegen Vergessen* presented their work on preventing neo-Nazism, how they approach this problem and the challenges they face. They in turn wanted to know more about our work with war-veterans, so we were joined by our long-term friend and partner Novica Kostić, a JNA war veteran from Vlasotinac.

We agreed that we would continue our exchanges and cooperation in the following year as well.

K.M.



peace education

The last Training for Trainers in Peacebuilding was held in 2014. Among the sessions implemented during the training, we worked on developing actions and activities that the participants wanted to put into practice. The following is an overview of the activities originating at the Training for Trainers that were implemented in the past year.

Workshops “*Images mine and yours*/Stereotypes and prejudice”

Foča/Goražde, Bosnia and Herzegovina, 1 October 2015
Srebrenica/Milići, Bosnia and Herzegovina 3 October 2015

One of the activities originating from last year's Training for Trainers (TfT) of the Centre for Nonviolent Action Sarajevo/Belgrade, two one-day workshops under the title “*Images mine and yours*/Stereotypes and prejudice” were held for upper classes of secondary school pupils in BiH from towns where there were national divisions. The idea for these workshops came from the participants of the TfT who came up with them and organised them with the support of the CNA team.

The first workshop was held at the ethno village Bijele vode near Goražde on 1 October 2015 and it was attended by secondary school pupils from Foča and Goražde, while the second was held on 3 October in Milići and included young people from Milići, Bratunac and Srebrenica. The workshops were organised by a team of peace activists from Skopje, Mostar, Bijeljina and Belgrade with the support of the Centre for Nonviolent Action Sarajevo/Belgrade and the Open Heart House from Mostar. Given that various stereotypes and prejudices (especially ethnic) are the basis for excluding ‘others’ in our environments, this seemed like the logical place to start. Particularly because of our common impression that there was a lack of peace education intended for young people in this very crucial period of growing-up when personalities are formed. This is all the more important because young people in BiH today mostly live in environments where dominant ethnic narratives are rarely questioned, without many opportunities to truly discuss different perspectives with those ‘from the other side’.

Although both one-day workshops were designed to be almost identical (with minor modifications of some exercises after the first one was held), the outcomes were different. The first workshop with nineteen young people from Foča and Goražde was bursting with energy and dynamics. To a large extent, the participants themselves, with their openness and readiness to breach (even painful) topics, dictated the tempo. Their readiness to openly

discuss issues was also accompanied by a sensitivity and care not to hurt or offend others. The ethnic diversity of the pupils and discussions of mutual stereotypes and prejudices in their respective environments and the way these shape and restrict their lives facilitated bringing awareness to social mechanisms that are actually very similar (although with different ethnic prefixes) and connecting the personal to the social. This can also be connected to the fact that a large part of the pupils were active in their local communities in different ways. Compared to this first workshop, the group made up of young people from Srebrenica, Bratunac and Milići was more closed and hesitant to touch upon painful topics. Some of the factors that may have contributed to this were that, as opposed to the first group, this group was entirely mono-ethnic, and a significant number of participants (eight of the twenty that were planned to attend) did not show up for the workshop. Despite this, the impressions of the participants at both workshops coincide. Both groups pointed out as particularly significant just the very opportunity to discuss all these topics, because talking about them is usually not encouraged in their environments.

The preparation and implementation of these workshops was also significant for us from the training team. Although we assessed that the initial objective of the workshop to empower young people to actively work on building trust in their environments was not achieved, that instead we remained on the basic level of recognising stereotypes and prejudices, we believe that the very opening of these topics is a step in the right direction. Even though the workshops themselves were inspiring and motivating for us, frustration with the teamwork process in preparing the workshops, insufficient communication of mutual expectations, ad hoc division of tasks and roles within the team and a preoccupation with the internal dynamics of the team resulted in a feeling of exhaustion

and logistical and content-related shortcomings in the preparation of the workshops. These were the reasons for cancelling the workshops planned for Mostar and Travnik/Novi Travnik on 15 and 17 October. Mostly because almost nothing was done in terms of logistical preparation for the workshops. The importance of a detailed and clear division of roles, obligations and expectations was one of the important lessons learned from the whole process.

On the other hand, the workshops confirmed our supposition that it was extremely important to work with

young people at this age who live in communities with deep national divides, but instead of one-day workshops, we need to think about different ways to work with them that would be more effective (such as perhaps longer trainings, doing an activity together, etc.). Ultimately, despite the very frustrating process of preparing the workshops, and despite shortcomings that could have been avoided, we have come out of this process richer for a new experience and new insights.

Marijana Stojčić

Second Peacebuilding training for students from BH

Bjelašnica, Bosnia and Herzegovina, 6-11 November 2015

The second Peacebuilding Training for Students was held from 6 to 11 November 2015. The location was Hotel Bjelašnica

Much was gained in terms of content, and the change in some of the participants visible compared to the first training at Mount Jahorina left a deep impression, as did the readiness to take on difficult topics without reservation. As at the first training, this was largely due to the readiness of participants for self-reflection, as well as the input of the training team that focused the process.

In the first part of this training, we worked on

cooperation, decision-making, teamwork and conflict, and the tempo was a bit slower, partly because it was the beginning and people were still adjusting, but also due to some errors in conducting the exercises. The second part consisted of working at the social level, so we turned our attention to the topics of: discrimination, dealing with the past, creative conflict resolution, and ways of nonviolent action.

Most of the participants were deeply impressed by the exercise “A Step Forward” because it examined awareness of injustice and inequality, as well as solidarity



with marginalised groups in society. This was a big task, but the group handled it maturely. During the experiential exercises, there were many powerful and constructive moments. Creative conflict resolution was an opportunity for students to recognise violence around them and to think about how to address it. They had previously done workshops on conflict and roles in violence. Apart from their readiness to tackle sensitive issues, the creativity of the participants deserves the highest praise. Workshops on the topic of dealing with the past showed that the generations born during and after the war were aware that there was something amiss in the narratives that surround them. The exercise “Heroes” was an excellently used opportunity to critically discuss these dominant narratives. The discussion of family narratives was particularly intense. There was no lack of readiness to share and self-reflect, and there was a sound critical approach to the micro-contexts of the participants.

The most emotional part of the training was the visit by war-veterans, two of whom are also disabled war-veterans, Mirko Zečević-Tadić, Ibrahim Topčić and Spasoje Kulaga from the three opposed sides of the 1991-1995 war in BiH – HVO, ABiH and VRS. A member of the training team, also a war-veteran, joined the presentation. They shared with us their life experience, focusing on the war and their post-war peace activism. There were many questions, the students showed great interest in the way the war-veterans had lived through the war period, and about how they felt at the time. There was a feeling that war could happen to anyone, that we are all responsible for its escalation and that peace work is the only acceptable option. The workshop brought forth a new, inter-generational energy and strengthened and

motivated both groups, the veterans and the students, for further peace work.

We spent the last day talking about nonviolent action, and about the best tools to effect change in your environment. The participants demonstrated ample creativity in coming up with different types of nonviolent action to solve the problems they face, both in the exercises concerned with creative conflict resolution and in brainstorming ideas for tackling the problems around them.

Although initially designed as the second phase of the Jahorina training, this was an independent training, both because of our planning and because of the fact that we were joined by three new participants that brought new energy to the training. Due to many last-minute cancellations, the training was attended by 15 students. Working with a smaller group of participants showed its positive sides, group cohesion and trust were built very quickly, and there was a common need to actively participate, which made for a very active training. Motivation was at a high level and there was a constant need and desire to do more.

Planning the training was a particular challenge for the training team because the needs of most of the group to deepen the experience gained through the first phase had to be reconciled with the needs of the new participants that had not been with us at Mount Jahorina and whom we knew only through their applications. We planned to work on diverse and demanding topics, and it all had to be fit into four days. The training team comprised Adnan Hasanbegović, Dalmir Mišković, Jordančo Poposki, Katarina Miličević and Nataša Okilj.

Dalmir Mišković

Unmarked pain

7-8 October 2015

The Activity “Marking Unmarked Sites of Suffering” originated in 2014 at the Training for Trainers in Peacebuilding organised by the Centre for Nonviolent Action. Talking about sites of suffering, where the victims are usually from minority communities located in areas where the “majority” is not willing to have them marked by a memorial for political and ideological reasons courtesy of the war, we thought about ways to save these sites

from oblivion. We also wanted to encourage people from the local communities to mark these sites appropriately, honour the victims and express grief over the loss of lives and human suffering. We therefore decided to implement an action that would highlight these sites and make them visible.¹ We set up a team and started preparing.

1 For more information in BCS language see the Facebook page Neobilježena mjesta stradanja.



We gathered available data online and through informal channels, thorough representatives of victims and war-veterans associations that we have worked with in the past. At the beginning, we were selective, focusing on sites of mass killings and camps. Mapping these sites, we were disheartened, both by the sheer number and amount of information about camps, which included detention facilities as a special category, and by the realisation that BiH was rife with such sites. And that most of them are unmarked. Through this process, we decided that we wanted our action to be recognised as credible and that we needed to safeguard against relativizing by citing only sites for which there are judgements that identify facts as indisputable. We later added sites for which trials are under way. We selected 24 unmarked sites, of which 6 are sites of mass killings² of civilians and soldiers, and 18 are former camps³ where civilians and soldiers were exposed

to various violence and in some cases killed. For each site, we compiled an explanatory note with information taken from the archives of the Court of BiH, the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia and the Appellate Court for War Crimes of the Republic of Serbia. We also used information available through the BIRN and Transitional Justice websites. To mark the site, we made a sticker with a message indicating the site of suffering and calling for solidarity with the victims so that what happened to them never happens again to anyone else.

The activity to mark these sites in the field was conducted in 6 localities. According to our initial plan, we wanted to mark Hotel Vilina Vlas and the bridge Stara Ćuprija in Višegrad, the silo in Tračin near Hadžići, the barracks in Čelebići and the silo in Kaćuni near Busovača. After a joint visit of CNA and war-veterans, we left out Čelebići because it was inaccessible, and we flagged the Museum in Jablanica as a potential site to be marked.

We started with Višegrad on 7 October 2015. Our first destination was the Vilina Vlas Hotel. On our approach, we were convinced we would find a deserted and run-down building. We thought we would “mark” it without difficulty and were a bit apprehensive about the Ćuprija because we had heard just before our arrival that its

2 Kazani-Sarajevo, Zemljoradnička zadruga Kravica-Bratunac, Branjevo-Zvornik, “Stara Ćuprija”-Višegrad, Brčanska Malta-Tuzla, Korićanske stijene-Skender Vakuf/Kneževo

3 „13. Kilometar”-Kamenica/Zavidovići, Crkvina-Šamac, Silos-Tarčin/Hadžići, Stadium NK Iskra-Bugojno, Hunting Lodge “Franjo Herljević”-Kamenica/Zavidovići, Primary School in Donja Mahala-Orašje, Čelebići-Konjic, Manjača-Banja Luka, Trnopolje-Prijedor, Hotel Vilina Vlas-Višegrad, Vojno-Mostar, Rasadnik-Rogatica, Cultural Centre Čelopek-Zvornik, Museum

of the Revolution-Jablanica, former barracks „Viktor Bubanj”-Sarajevo, Silos-kaćuni/Busovača, Batković-Bijeljina

reconstruction had been completed and it was open for crossing. We were in for a shock when we reached the hotel. The parking lot was full of cars, there were taxis lining up, people coming and going. We had to change our initial plan as we went along. The hotel seemed to be stuck in time in the 1970s. The moustachioed receptionist with spectacles on the end of his nose slanted towards the desk in front and his eyes fixed on us sized us up and then proceeded with his business. Passing by the elderly guests who come here for spa treatments, we went up to the bar. The air was stuffy, damp mixed with tobacco smoke. We realised we were not going to be unnoticed, so we figured we would walk around a bit, take some photos and pick the right moment when there aren't many people around to place our sticker. We went out and patiently waited for our chance. Just as we affixed the sticker to the façade by the disabled entrance, took a few photos and got into the car, it came unstuck. We affixed it again to the concrete part of the wall and took some more photos. It stayed in place. Just then, a group of 7 or 8 elderly guests came by returning from a walk and looked at the sign over our shoulders. They were quiet and did not ask us anything. We got in the car and left.

The bridge Stara ćuprija is still being reconstructed. From the direction of the town it is boarded up with plywood and there is only one entrance about a meter wide. On the other side of the bridge, there were many builders and equipment. It was raining and the bridge was deserted. We went to the centre of the bridge and affixed the sticker to the side wall so that it would be visible to passers-by coming from the direction of the town. We took a few photos, and then the problems with the sticker started. It went lopsided, then it got unstuck. In the meantime, the rain had stopped and the bridge filled with dozens of people who seemed to have been waiting for just that sign. A group of young men from Serbia, probably athletes, stood next to us. They were quite loud, taking photos and laughing. From time to time, one of them would look over at us having trouble with our sticker as we tried to find a surface it would adhere to. We were exasperated by this point, so we decided to go for a walk and come back later. Having cooled down a bit, we returned to the bridge and changed the position of the sticker. We chose the first frontal pillar of the bridge fence from the direction of the town, affixed the sticker and took some photos. The position was excellent, as soon as you approach the bridge, you can't miss seeing it.

On our return, we wanted to scope out the facilities of the „Rasadnik“ agricultural estate in Rogatica, which is

also on our list and at the address there were a number of buildings that could correspond to the photos from the website we had. Given the rain and general tiredness, we gave up.

The next day, 8 October 2015, we went to Tarčin. The silo is large and located in the centre of the settlement. It is deserted, surrounded by a broken fence and appears menacing. A busy road runs alongside it. Encouraged by the previous day, without hesitation, we went to the main entrance and “marked” the door with our sticker. We stayed for quite a while, circling the building and taking photos. Passers-by would look in our direction and walk on without a word. Soaked with rain, we continued our journey towards Jablanica.

When we arrived in Jablanica, we saw a crowd in the parking area in front of the Museum. A driving test was being conducted, there were test commissions, police officers, and an audience. We walked around, saw the cannon and the train car, and when a group of visitors left the Museum, we affixed our sticker to the window by the entrance. But it was in the shadow and we couldn't get a good photo that would show the whole building. As we milled about, we heard a raised male voice from inside the museum, and then a cleaning lady appeared and looked at us with slight confusion before proceeding to take her cleaning tools, a mop and bucket, and calmly washed them in the fountain in front of the entrance. The scene was surreal and we assumed she had been sent out to check on us. We then affixed the sticker to a fence wall in front of the museum, but it kept falling off, so we affixed it to the fence itself. We didn't like how it looked there, though. At that moment, a group of bikers with Czech flags attached to the antennas of their bikes descended upon the pedestrian zone, complete with stairs, of the plateau in front of the Museum. They started their performance with a lot of loud revving and speedy driving around. People gathered, a few young men came out of the youth association rooms located at the Museum. We took advantage of the situation and affixed a sticker to the large glass wall. We took photos, the Czechs left, and some of the young men looked at us, went into the Museum, came out and looked at us again. But nobody said a word. We moved on and decided to go to Busovača via Bugojno so that we could check out the Iskre Stadium. Passing through Gornji Vakuf, we dropped in on our friends, war-veterans. We told them about what we were doing. Their support was a big encouragement to continue our activities.

In Bugojno, we parked in the Jaklić neighbourhood

where the Iskre Stadium is located. The scene in front of the stadium fed into the dark scenario in our imagination: there was a man in a camouflage jacket with a large axe, chopping wood. He just looked at us and went on with his business. Inside the stadium, a few athletes were training, and the lot in front was empty. We affixed the sticker to the fence and took photos. On two occasions, a man, probably a guard, came out of the rooms located underneath the seating area, but he did not ask us anything. At the end, we took the sticker off because it was intended for the silo near Busovača. We thought about leaving the sign in Cyrillic that we had with us, but feared it might cause problems for the local Serb community, so we decided against it. We realised we could mark the site here without difficulty in the future. We had previously feared this would be very difficult to do in Bugojno.

Late in the afternoon, we reached the silo in Kaćuni. The building itself cannot be accessed, there is a fence around it, and a flock of sheep in the yard. We were most afraid of the potentially armed shepherd who might think we were there to “pick up” a lamb from his flock. We affixed the sticker to the gate and took photos. It stayed in place. People and cars passed by, but took no notice. Some peered from the nearby houses, but nobody approached or asked us anything. The sheep followed our movements as if they were hypnotised, crowding around the fence where we stood, so at times it looked like a rehearsed circus show. Having finished with this Bosnian version of Twin Peaks, we felt relieved. On our journey back, we dropped in on our friend from the Camp Survivors Association in Busovača. After we showed him some of our photos, he was very excited and congratulated us on our courage.

Having marked these sites of suffering, we continued our activities by setting up a Facebook page where we posted a brief background to the activity and photos of places marked by our sticker and descriptions of the significance of these places in terms of war events and trials. We then did a targeted promotion of the marked sites in the local communities where they are located.

Our Facebook activity was perceived and followed-up in different ways. We received a lot of support, most people who visited the page clicked “like” and there were some compliments for the initiative. We also got media support from the Lupiga portal. Also, after targeted promotion in towns located within a 20 kilometre radius of the sites of suffering we marked, most people supported us. As for negative criticism, we first need to mention that despite a clear explanation of which sites we were marking and for which reasons, we received comments that there were other sites of suffering in these places and that we were playing favourites with victims. There were also those who wrote obscenities and insulted other commenters based on their nationality or religion, so we decided to delete some comments. This action has shown that our society has a deep-seated desire to honestly face the past, but also harbours different perspectives on the events of the war, denial of responsibility of perpetrators belonging to one’s own ethnic group and a refusal of communities to deal with this problem. We hope that with this activity we have managed to cause at least some ripples across the sludge in this stagnant pond we share, where 20 years have not been enough for us to understand that the loss of every single human life meant that there were fewer of all of us together.

Čedomir, Dalmir i Amer

Towns, forgetting and thorns

*Continuation of the activity “Marking unmarked sites of suffering” in Podrinje and Herzegovina
17 - 18 May 2016*

Continuing activities started in the autumn of 2015, the three of us activists, Čedomir Glavaš, Amer Delić and Dalmir Mišković, connected by a common wish to change how we relate to the past, set off on a journey to remind local communities and the whole of BiH society that there were still sites of suffering and crimes around us that have been forgotten and that this attitude of oblivion is an unfair relation to the past. Our fieldwork was preceded

by researching the locations and gathering information about events and facts determined by courts.

On the morning of 17 May, we set off towards Podrinje, an area in eastern Bosnia and Herzegovina that was particularly hard hit by the war and where there were many casualties. The first site we planned to mark was the former camp Sušica in the Vlasenica Municipality where Bosniaks were detained in 1992. Before the



war, the buildings were part of a military agricultural cooperative. They are now abandoned and for the most part dilapidated. We had contacted locals in Vlasenica who took us to the site (since they are returnees and, as we found out from one of them, the situation in Vlasenica is not good, with increased inter-ethnic tensions following last year's terrorist attack on the police station in Zvornik, we will be maintaining their anonymity). It is interesting that after we had put up signs in Cyrillic on the buildings of the former camp and continued on towards Bratunac, we received a phone call from one of them expressing his disapproval that the signs were only in Cyrillic. He was excited, citing constitutional provisions about the use of different alphabets in BiH and the entities, saying we had committed a breach. We explained that we had done so precisely to shield local returnee and usually minority communities from additional pressure, but he was steadfast and calmed down only when we promised we would also put up signs in the Latin alphabet, which we did on our way back.

Our next location was the former agricultural cooperative in Kravica near Bratunac where in July 1995, forces of the Army of Republika Sroška (VRS) executed more than 1000 Bosniaks, captured after the fall of Srebrenica. The location became publicly known after an incident on 13 July 2013 when police officers of the RS Ministry of Interior physically prevented representatives from the Association of Mothers of Srebrenica and Žepa Enclaves from laying wreaths and honouring the victims. We found the buildings eerily deserted, and our arrival was witnessed by only a few curious passers-by and

the local villagers working in their fields. This gave us confidence that we could complete our activity without problems, which we did. The location is specific because in the immediate vicinity of this site is a memorial to Serb victims of central Podrinje and Birč with a large cross that dominates the landscape.

After Kravica, we continued on to Srebrenica. The plan was to mark the former police station building in Srebrenica, which during the time Srebrenica was under the control of the Army of the Republic of BiH (ARBiH) served as a detention facility for Serbs and a place of torture and summary executions. The building currently houses a number of social organisations, including the local branch of the political party Union of Independent Social Democrats (SNSD) and the Naša prava association, as well as the Youth Council of the Srebrenica Municipality. One side of the building features a mural with multiethnic (at least in our view) names of children and a tree under which it says "TOLERANCE IS NOT A FOREIGN WORD".

We continued on to Zvornik. We first planned to mark the site of the Čelopek Cultural Centre, which had been demolished after the war. However, after driving around Čelopek a few times, we could not even approximately locate the site where the Cultural Centre used to be. We were equally unsuccessful in finding the buildings we planned to mark at our next location, the Branjevo Farm, which had been the final stop for more than 1200 Bosniaks from Srebrenica and which had also been lost in the economic, building and social developments after the war. Among the members of the 10th Sabotage Detachment of VRS convicted for the crimes at the Branjevo Farm was

the first penitent at the ICTY, Dražen Erdemović. In his testimony before the ICTY, he stated that “exhausted by the execution of 1200 Bosniaks at the Branjevo Farm, he went to a bar in the neighbouring village of Pilica to rest from the executions and refused the order to continue the work because there are another 500 Bosniaks waiting for him at the Cultural Centre.” We cite these details from his testimony because our next location was the Cultural Centre in Pilica, the site where the “work” had subsequently been completed. The dilapidated building was the site of the execution of 500 Bosniaks. Across from the Cultural Centre was the bar from which curious customers watched us, probably much like Erdemović watched the continuation of the slaughter. There are two monuments in front of the Cultural Centre, one dedicated to the People’s Liberation Struggle of 1941-1945, and the other dedicated to the Army of Republika Srpska and the victims from the recent war.

The second day of our action, on 18 May, we headed south to Herzegovina. The first location we planned to visit was the former Vojno detention camp in northern Mostar. This site comprised three houses with garages that were turned by the Croat Defence Council (HVO) into detention facilities for Bosniaks from the Mostar area during the war. However, once we were in the area, we found that all the houses in that part of the city had been reconstructed after the war, so it was very difficult to determine where the facilities we were looking for were located, and we also decided that it would be problematic to trespass on private property, walking into people’s yards to put up our signs on private family homes.

In Široki Brijeg, the site we were planning to mark was the building of the former Tobacco Station that served as the wartime headquarters for the infamous Convicts’ Battalion under the leadership of Mladen Naletilić Tuta. The building had been caught in a fire a few years ago, and was now completely in ruins, so marking was unproblematic and without many curious bystanders.

After Široki Brijeg, we continued on towards Čapljina where, as it would turn out, we would meet with numerous unforeseen problems. Of the three sites we planned to mark in this town, all three were former JNA¹ bases. While we were researching the locations, we used the names they had before the war, and our local contacts informed us that they had not heard of an active military base in Dretelj or of a barracks by the name of Grabovine. When we arrived at Grabovine (using GPS), we found there a large military facility now called Božan Šimović

Barracks. The heightened security measures, following the murder of two soldiers of the Armed Forces of BiH on 18 November 2015 in Rajlovac near Sarajevo, meant that we could not mark this site. The site had been used in 1993 and 1994 as a detention centre for Bosniaks from Herzegovina under the control of the HVO. Our next destination was the village of Gabela. The information we had at our disposal indicated that this was a military storehouse, dug into the hillside, which during the war served as a detention site for a large number of Bosniaks from Herzegovina. When we searched the sites of the BiH Defence Ministry, we found that the facility in Gabela was on the list of obsolete military facilities, which gave us hope that we would be able to mark it. When we got to the location, however, we found that the security measures were even more strict than at the Božan Šimović Barracks in Čapljina. Three guards with long barrelled firearms and a sign prohibiting the taking of photographs prevented out from implementing our action at this site.

We then went on to Dretelj, a village to the north of Čapljina. Along with the Heliodrom from Mostar, Dretelj is a symbol of suffering in this part of Herzegovina. When we arrived, we found that the building was being guarded by members of the Armed Forces, even though it had been designated as “obsolete”. At the time of our arrival, only one guard was present and he was on the opposite side of the spot we thought would be a good place to put up our signs. After deciding that it was worth the risk, we prepared the sign and expediently put it up and took a photograph. Patrons of the cafe across the street watched disinterestedly, while the guard remained sitting in the shade.

The site of suffering in Dretelj was a dual camp. During 1992 it had been under the control of the paramilitary Ustasha-sympathising Croat Defence Forces (HOS) and Herzegovina Serbs had been detained there. For a time, the facility was under the command of the infamous serial killer Edib Buljubašić, shortly after he escaped from the Zenica prison where he had been serving a twenty-year sentence for double murder. The facility was closed down in August 1992, only to be reopened by HVO forces during the conflict between the Army of RBiH and the HVO for the purpose of detaining more than 2000 Bosniaks from Herzegovina.

On the way to Mostar we decided to scout out and possibly try to mark the building of the Heliodrom military base near Mostar. We had been informed that it was still an active military base, now called “Stanislav Kraljević Baja” after an HVO soldier killed in the battle to capture

1 Yugoslav People’s Army

that base in 1992. Based on satellite images we had seen, we know that this would be a sprawling compound and we hoped to have the same luck as in Dretelj. Unfortunately, one side of the base shared a fence with the Aluminij Mostar industrial complex, and the on the other side was a field we could not drive across in our car. After we had circled the base and our GPS led us to the entrance gate, we were again greeted by long barrels and the forbidding looks of armed guards. We decided it would be too much of a risk.

Somewhat disappointed, we drove away and did some research on the road, finding out that in the northern part of Mostar there was a court adjudicated site of suffering, the Primary School in Potoci. We reach it at an inopportune moment, right in the middle of recess, and decide that photographing this many children in front of the reinstated school would not be the right thing to do, so we give up and drive on to Sarajevo.

The next steps of this activity include posting the photographs and information on sites of suffering on our Facebook page “Neobilježena mjesta stradanja” and promoting these posts through the social network in local communities and at the level of BiH to encourage discussion.

The action was followed by many responses and comments of support, as well as criticism, but we also received new information about unmarked sites of suffering in other towns and proposals for cooperation.

We would like to thank the Centre for Nonviolent Action for supporting this activity and making possible what we believe is indispensable.

All the best from the Three Musketeers of Peace!

Dalmir Mišković

Mir – Page – Мир 2016

Dorjan, Macedonia, 15-24 April 2016

The organisations Action for Nonviolence and Peacebuilding (ANP), Gnjilane, Прва детска амбасада во светот Меџаши/FCEW Megjashi, Skopje and the Centre for Nonviolent Action (CNA), Sarajevo–Belgrade organised the second training “*Introduction to Peacebuilding: Mir – Page – Мир 2016*”. The training was held in Dorjan, in Macedonia, from 15 to 24 April 2016. The training team included Albulena Karaga, Aleksandra Bogdanovska, Nataša Okilj, Nexhat Ismajli and Nenad Vukosavljević.

The rationale behind the training was to create an opportunity for people to meet, for dialogue and for hearing often opposing and exclusive narratives in order to reduce fear and increase trust among the participants, and to discuss change in society in these circumstances. The training was conducted with consecutive interpretation, and the participants could speak in their native language (Albanian, Macedonian or BCS).

We received 107 applications and selected 19 participants for the training. The group was gender balanced. The age structure was heterogeneous, we had participants of over 60 as well as those still in their early 20s. The diverse professional experience of the participants contributed to enriching the discussions.

The Dorjan training was attended by participants from Gnjilan, Prizren, Kosovska Mitrovica, Priština, Dečani and Kosovo polje in Kosovo, from Bitola, Dolneni, Kumanovo, Skopje, Gorno Svilare in Macedonia and the participants from Serbia came from Belgrade, Leskovac, Novi Sad, Smederevo and Sremska Mitrovica. It is interesting that this year we had the largest number of applications from Kosovo, making up almost half of all applications, which we never managed to achieve before, and which was welcome encouragement for our future work.

Just before the start of the training, the president of Macedonia terminated all proceedings concerning corruption, election and political fraud, causing an outcry from the citizenry and protests in a number of cities. The turbulent political situation did not effect arrivals to the training, there were no cancellations, which we perceived as an indicator of high motivation for the training.

The training was conceived so that at the beginning, the participants would gain basic techniques in nonviolent communication and build a relationship of mutual trust in order to start a dialogue on socially sensitive topics. It was important to provide them with an opportunity to talk about sensitive topics for a number of reasons,

to see what we stand to gain, to become empowered, but also because there are few opportunities to discuss sensitive topics. The topics that were discussed included communication, teamwork, decision-making, conflict, violence, prejudice, identities, gender, dealing with the past, reconciliation. We conducted exercises that contributed to the participants' awareness about the presence of violence in society, helping them understand conflict and encouraging them to influence and change ways of thinking and parts of the existing system which is based on injustice.

The initial expectations of the training team were exceeded during the training, more content was covered than was initially planned. This was primarily due to the exceptionally motivated and diligent group of participants and an approach to guiding the process that was responsive to the needs of the group while maintaining focus on the set topical aims.

The participants at the training said that even though they live in a relatively small geographic area and even though there are practical reasons for people from opposing ethnic communities to come together, political decisions and a general climate of inter-ethnic animosity

creates distances between people and prevents contacts. A small number of people who had managed to establish contacts across ethnic divided talked about the obstacles they faced. This was a valuable opportunity for training participants to gain an insight into the lives of people who are in their immediate vicinity but come from a different community, most often a minority community, and to ask themselves why they had not thought about this before and why this is not discussed in public. There were outstanding moments when people articulated the prerequisites for dealing with the past, both in terms of what they would need from people from other ethnic communities on a day-to-day level and what they were themselves prepared to give.

The high interest for the training, the atmosphere and quality of work done allowed us to conclude that we had recognised a real need and found an adequate response to it. It is sometimes difficult to change things around yourself, it may even seem impossible, but in this group we had people realising they held the power in their hands and had a chance to influence and shape the society they live in.

Nataša Okilj



activities we joined

Reconciliation with the past? Resistance and collaboration in different national narratives and remembrances

*14th East-West-European Memorial Seminar, Krzyszowa/Kreisau, Poland
9 - 12 March 2016*

This year, the Seminar, traditionally held at the International Meeting Place in Krzyszowa/Kreisau in Lower Silesia, Poland (organised by the Kreisau Foundation, the German Federal Foundation for the Study of Communist Dictatorships (Bundesstiftung Aufarbeitung), the Polish Institute of National Remembrance from Wrocław, the German War Grave Commission (Volksbund), and the Evangelische Akademie Berlin, was devoted to the topic of resistance and collaboration in national remembrance. During the three days of the Seminar, through panel discussions and presentations on different memorialisation approaches to these issues, we dealt with various concepts of resistance and collaboration, the role of resistance and collaboration in different national narratives, and the controversies and difficulties we face when we try to define these concepts in unequivocal terms.

The Seminar was attended by memory researchers and practitioners, museum staff, historians, activists and reporters from Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, France, Croatia, Italy, Canada, Lithuania, Hungary, Germany, Poland, Russia, Slovakia and Ukraine. We had the opportunity to hear different perspectives and approaches to these issues, and we from CNA held a workshop on dealing with issues of guilt and responsibility in post-war society.

Traditionally, the concepts of resistance and collaboration are related, or were related to the Second World War. That was when the ethical standard of resistance against Nazism was formed. In that sense, when we talk about resistance movement(s), we are usually dealing with a heroic image of resistance that includes those that were ethically on the right side (also in the sense that they fought against anti-Semitism, such as the Yugoslav, French and Italian resistance movements, and others). However, those who collaborated with the enemy/occupier are considered traitors and were dealt with as such after the Second World War. They are, therefore, largely left out of national narratives as post-war victims and are not a popular topic of discourse.

After the fall of the Berlin Wall and the collapse of Eastern European communist systems, these roles

were radically changed in some national narratives and contexts. Who will be remembered as having resisted (the enemy) and who will be remembered as a collaborator will depend on the vantage point in time and the time period under consideration, and therefore, also on who is identified as the enemy within that time period and how this relates to the given national narrative. Namely, the change of political system following 1989 and during the 1990s was a powerful psychological break with the previous political tradition and marked a time when “free people in a free country” could engage in critical discussion of these issues.

Due to changes in the political paradigm, after the 1990s, it became possible to claim that collaboration may denote even a minimal degree of cooperation (such as paying taxes or sending children to school). Speaking about different types of resistance (non-communist resistance, right-wing resistance with anti-Semitic elements, etc.) also became possible. The circumstances under which resistance arose were examined, as well as the extent to which European resistance movements were successful and widespread and how they were subsequently treated within their respective national narratives. The current use of these concepts will largely depend on who is speaking, which is most visible in former communist countries, i.e. the former countries of the Eastern Bloc, where the binary of resistance and collaboration is now also applied to the period of Soviet occupation.

This establishes competition between historical memory and facts, and various memory communities, each of which emphasises or remembers different elements. We had the opportunity to hear about some of these different approaches to remembrance and elements of remembrance in museums, exhibitions and memorial sites through presentations on concrete examples from Italy, Croatia, Hungary, Albania, Canada, France and Russia.

The Seminar also included a visit to the German war cemetery Nadolice Wielkie (Groß Nädltitz), a memorial to some 18 thousand German soldiers killed in the Second

World War¹. German war cemeteries are memorials established for peace, and as places of meeting and reconciliation, says the exhibition set up in the central building of the cemetery where registers of names of those buried at the cemetery and the dates of their

1 It is estimated that 468 thousand German soldiers were killed in Poland during the Second World War, of which 300 thousand have been officially registered. The number of German civilian casualties has not been determined yet.

identification are kept. The cemetery also includes a Peace Park with over 600 trees bearing a symbolic message – a tree can live to a very old age, but only if we care for it and protect it, only then can it grow and bloom in peace. Anyone who has lived with the consequences of war can easily understand this parallel, says a poster in exhibition at the central building. The Peace Park serves as a reminder that peace must be kept at all costs.

Davorka Turk

Advanced Peacebuilding training (cooperation with Peace Action)

Kruševo, 11-25 April 2016

Organised by Peace Action Prilep/Tetovo, an advanced training in dealing with the past was held from 11 to 25 April 2016 in Kruševo. Peace Action sought the support of CNA for this training, given that it was the first advanced training they were organising and CNA already had experience in this area. The team included Goran Taleski, Boro Kitanoski and Fllanza Jusufi from Peace Action, and Katarina Miličević from CNA.

The group was pre-selected from among participants at previous back trainings organised by Peace Action, and the training itself was aimed at building capacities for activism in the Macedonian context. The participants were invited to the training based on their previous participation in basic training, and their local community activism experience. They were made up of young people, almost all of them under 30, mostly Albanians and Macedonians. However, just a few days before the training, the already tense situation in Macedonia was further exacerbated by the decision of the president to terminate criminal investigations into politicians involved in various affairs, so a number of participants, particularly activists, cancelled their participation. The training team also faced the dilemma of what to do given the situation in the country, but we decided to press on in line with our initial plan, because processes of democratisation are not short or limited to a few days, and we thought we would be more useful to both individuals and society doing the training than participating in the protests during those 10 days.

The idea of the training was to expand the basic training by focusing on the topics of dealing with the past

and peacebuilding in more blocks and in more detail. The group engaged in interesting workshops related to creative conflict resolution, identity and discrimination, where the participants demonstrated their creative potential, which was inspirational for the group and motivational for the training team, leading to giving priority to creative exercises over “polemic-discussion” activities.

The workshops on dealing with the past and peacebuilding did not lead to the expected confrontations within the group, or even to self-reflection on the established and prevalent ways of thinking about the “enemy” and “own heroes”. There was a sense of reservation on the part of the participants, on the one hand doubting their “competence” because they had been children during the conflict, and on the other not wanting to disrupt a level of friendliness and closeness created in the group, because they seemed to be satisfied by the mere fact that they had met each other and were jointly participating in something.

I had the same impression after working with students in Bosnia and Herzegovina, namely, that young people are so excited by simply being together in one place, being able to connect with each other on a personal level, that they fear encroaching on “difficult subjects” would spoil their good relations. It would seem that they have so little opportunity to communicate amongst each other and that these meetings in themselves are for them a facet of peacebuilding, which they are in a sense, but it would appear that the expectation of the training team for deeper exploration was overestimated.

Another point of concern is the diminished number of activists prepared to engage with peacebuilding and dealing with the past throughout the region, resulting from a decreased number of non-governmental organisations compared to the previous decade, which has reduced activist potential, but the need of our societies for activism was not lessened.

The team itself experienced difficulties due to the absence of one of the members of the team on account

of their being ill and the failure to timely communicate these difficulties within the team. On the other hand, despite this difficulty, it was very challenging to test out new set-ups and exercises, which the team members used to develop their training experience and skills, support each other and keep up with the tempo and the needs of the group.

Katarina Milićević



political and social contexts
in which we work

Bosna i Hercegovina: If we could just defeat selfishness...

Edin Ramulić

In 2016 Bosnian-Herzegovinian society was plunged into the deepest crisis since the time when the guns were silenced in October 1995. Announcements about the referendum in Republika Srpska, as well as the increasingly brash verbal threats issued by Serb politicians about the possible secession of that entity from the remainder of the state, practically paralysed the lives of people in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The immoderate statements of leading Serb and Bosniak politicians, as well as the prominent rise of extremist nationalist groups with warmongering messages in the media and on social networks, caused disquiet and apprehension among the citizens in every corner of the country.

It was evident that the crisis was playing into the hands of ruling parties in both entities and that it formed an integral part of their campaign for the upcoming local elections. The protection of vital national interests following war scares is a tried and tested recipe for diverting the attention of unemployed and impoverished voters from their real living problems. The election campaign is not the only motive. Tensions around the referendum between the political scene in Sarajevo and in Banja Luka served as a smokescreen behind which a new loan of 1.077.030.789 BAM (one billion seventy seven million thirty thousand seven hundred and eighty nine) was negotiated with the IMF. This new loan, just like all those that came before it, will be used to patch up budget gaps, maintain the unwieldy bureaucratic apparatus and buy social peace for the next three years. The deal on the loan was struck at a bar by the two national leaders Milorad Dodik and Bakir Izetbegović. Immediately upon leaving the said bar, they resumed their verbal clashing over the referendum in front of the media, so it is difficult to subdue the impression that this whole performance for the benefit of voters was pre-arranged.

The increase in tensions between Sarajevo and Banja Luka is perhaps currently more advantageous for the leadership of Republika Srpska and the parties that make up the government in that entity, both for the purpose of staying in power and in order to escape responsibility for numerous suspect criminal activities, but the announcement of the Government of the Federation of BiH that it will sell its ownership share in profitable public

enterprises should by no means be underestimated. Thus, for example, in these heady days of the election campaign and referendum crises, over 40% of the shares in the Sarajevo Tobacco Factory were sold at a price that goes far below their real value. The sale was conducted practically in secret and under pressure from international financial centres from which Bosnia and Herzegovina had taken out loans. So, the referendum be a means of salvation for politicians in Republika Srpska, but it is currently more profitable for their colleagues and partners in the Federation of BiH.

Increasing national tensions in order to remain in power is a dangerous game in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The world has changed in the meantime. It has become unsafe and threatening for weak and unstable countries. The international community as we knew it no longer exists, we are now in the domain of national interests of world powers, primarily the USA and Russia, as well as leading EU countries and Turkey. In addition, there has been a revival of old appetites from neighbouring countries for the territory of BiH. The fact that we are geographically situated in Europe is no longer any guarantee of special attention and care from anyone in the world. In the event of a conflict, we would be just another crisis point on the globe where the great powers would wage their proxy war from a safe distance. If you have any doubts about this, just ask the desperate columns of refugees seeking shelter from war. In some bizarre sense, we were lucky to have had our war back in the 1990s and not twenty years later. Those who still see the solution to Bosnian-Herzegovinian problems through armed conflict should forget all about trenches, defence and conquest of strategic positions amid Bosnian ravines the way it was done in the 1990s. At that time, we had an arms embargo, international observers and limited NATO action in exceptional circumstances. We also had parts of the country and settlements that could provide relative safety for civilians. In a new war we could easily go down the way of Syria, with different military alliances sending their strategic bombers and long-range missiles every night to all our cities, killing children in both entities, with no end in sight.

For almost two decades, Bosnia and Herzegovina

and its citizens were the favourites of the international community. All the positive processes in the country (freedom of movement, property rights, justice reform, war crimes prosecution, etc.) were by and large the result of international initiatives, while local politicians devoted themselves to activities that strengthened their political and economic power (privatisation of public/state property, expanding the bureaucratic apparatus, nationalisation of the education system, etc.), meanwhile hindering and contesting the results of the international community wherever they could, ostensibly all in the interest of protecting territories conquered/retained during the war.

The system of values painstakingly constructed during the two post-war decades collapsed in on itself. The system had been based on the premise that the international community would jump in to help like a caring parent, no matter how irresponsibly we behaved and how constantly we produced conflicts in our common state. That system had as its utopia the promise that all unresolved national issues and all problems of sustenance for the ordinary citizen would be overcome through membership in the European Union.

Up until this year, the domestic politicians could calmly go about their business of selling off the resources of this country and creating their private empires, while offering voters accession to the promised European Union. In February this year, Dragan Čović, at the time the President of the Presidency of BiH, submitted the application for membership to the European Union. Although it was announced as a historic event, to this day there has been no concrete reply from Brussels. In the meantime the European Union was hit by Brexit, with the UK exiting the union and bringing into question its sustainability in the long term. But even if it wasn't for Brexit, politicians in BiH would still have a harder time getting voters interested in accession to the European Union because the citizens of neighbouring Croatia did not feel any improvement after their country became a Member State.

The problems of the European Union are not a surprise or cause for concern to those managing the flow of funds in BiH and our collective fate. Their positions of power will not be brought into question even if they decide to give up on the "European path". The real threat comes from the inside.

It is quite certain that this whole radicalisation of relations between the two blocks of nationalist parties, respectively centred in Banja Luka and Sarajevo, is

the response of the politicians to the mass protests of workers, the unemployed and dissatisfied citizens in a number of Bosnian-Herzegovinian cities in February 2014. This was, in fact, the only real threat to the enormously enlarged property of the politicians and their prospects of remaining in power in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Unfortunately, it is not the institutions of this country: the justice system, tax administration, law enforcement agencies, but only the dissatisfied people in revolt.

In order to prevent a repetition of the so-called February protests, the ruling politicians chose two strategies. One was to produce fear between the national groups so that no one would dare demand their worker's or human rights because they would be going up against not just extremist patriotic and nationalist groups, but also a wide front of various national categories, especially those stemming from the war, that would stand up to protect their national institutions and legacies. The real danger of that strategy is if things were to spin out of control and we were to see the reappearance of armed village guards and lumber roadblocks. This, however, might also be part of the plan. At the same time, the authorities could discipline all those who stray from the national patriotic front, arrest human rights activists and all other thinking individuals. Politicians toying with national emotions and the recent creation of an atmosphere of fear causes vast and long-term damage to already started processes of peacebuilding and fostering mutual trust between members of various identity groups in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Indeed, this damage is the most serious.

The other strategy is to displace all those who "couldn't make it" abroad in order to decrease the number of dissatisfied citizens on the streets when protests erupt again. That strategy has been very successful and tens of thousands of younger working age people have already left Bosnia and Herzegovina. Besides, big business is not planning of starting production in this country that would require a large labour force. This area has been earmarked for thermal and hydropower plants that require no more than 30 to 50 workers. And there will always be enough wretches to work in the mines, those that do not manage to leave the country or find employment in the public sector, and in the event of scarcity among the domestic labour force, it should be easy to bring in refugees from Syria or economic migrants from India.

The country has suffered a brutal war with far-reaching consequences. To make matters worse, it has once again been brought to the brink of conflict. The

majority of young people see no perspective here and want to leave. The education and healthcare systems are collapsing. Economic potentials have been destroyed or sold off. Corruption has found its way into every pore of society. Most of the population barely manages to make ends meet... Where in all this is the responsibility of ordinary people?

The selfishness of ordinary people is the perfect complement to this type of government. Almost no one complains about the new international loans, because most people see a benefit for themselves through payment of pensions, salary bonuses, disability benefits, social assistance benefits or meals at the soup kitchen. The freedom of our unborn children and their grandchildren is being sold into debt slavery to the IMF for the benefit of the current standard of selfish people. Those same people for those same reasons keep their mouths shut and vote for those selling off the resources of this country, irrevocably, once and for all relinquishing at a miserable price both those resources they inherited and those they should be leaving for future generations. Selfish people thus construct or acquiesce to squares and public spaces being occupied by their “eternal” monuments as if future generation won’t need these spaces for their own monuments. They buy flats and offices in the city centre built on what only yesterday used to be parks and children’s playgrounds. They pollute the rivers, create illegal garbage dumps, cause deforestation and kill off game animals, use stone from *stećaks*¹ and old fortresses for foundations of their new houses, rip out red stars and set up crosses and crescents. Selfish people keep their mouths shut when their children are taught nationalist ditties and slogans in school. They are selfish towards the refugees and are glad to see their columns

1 Medieval tombstones.

avoid our state borders. They shrink away from Arabs who have “come for neglected land and children”. In the media, selfish people praise the government and are an important factor for keeping it in power. Selfish people create elites in cultural and intellectual communities and divide the crumbs of public budgets amongst themselves. It is for selfish reasons that they keep their mouths shut when workers in another company are laid off. When the disenfranchised come out to protest, they cheer them on with “likes”. Selfish people do not fight, they sit at home or leave the country in search of a better life. All this selfishness of ordinary people in everyday situations is destroying the country from the inside and making it easy prey for financial predators from the outside.

This summer in Jajce, secondary school pupils took to the streets and managed to secure education together in the same classroom, despite the intentions of the authorities to segregate them. In July, antifascists tried to mark the day of breaking through enemy lines and the Day of the Fighter and to take that space away from the nationalists. In March in Novi, veterans of different armies visited the sites where Serbs and Bosniaks were killed, and for the first time involved religious leaders in this peacebuilding activity. The organisation “Oštra nula” is active in Banja Luka and “Kvart” is active in Prijedor. In May they mark White Armband Day and together with the parents of the killed children of Prijedor demand that a monument commemorating these children is built. In Sarajevo, a plaque commemorating the victims of the war crime at Kazani stood intact for one day. It was set up by Sarajevans and their friends from the initiative “Jer me se tiče”... We didn’t have any of this ten years ago and this is a big reason to be optimistic, to hold out hope for people in Bosnia and Herzegovina, if only we can defeat the selfishness...

Croatia: It’s no laughing matter

Aneta Lalić

Since the Republic of Croatia joined the EU and acquittals were handed down at The Hague, Croatia has been sailing on a wave of its own, why not say it, internationally verified innocence, without a thought for the earthly, existential despair of its so beloved Croatian citizens. Even the poor refugees know that no one can start

from the beginning in this country, because interpretations of the beginning are usually the most demanding. This is why, with a heavy heart, they start from the end – Zoran Milanović, a man of wasted political charisma, managed to miss a sure thing. After the despair of the six-months-long rule of Tihomir Orešković, after the materialisation

of pro-Ustasha aspirations that were twenty years in the making in the person and work of a man of strange diction, Zlatko Hasanbegović¹, after Reiner's² attempt to rename the Parliament into its historical Ustasha-era iteration of the Croatian State Parliament, after seeing Dario Kordić, a convicted war criminal, participate in a "pro-life walk", after the destruction of almost all of the mechanisms for protecting our frail democracy, Zoran Milanović managed to lose the elections. Using Josipović's old and ineffective method of "I can go right and mean it", he missed the final opportunity to redefine the arena of political struggle and encourage the creation of a political climate where social change would be possible.

Instead of at least some form of social democratic government, what we got are new Cyclone-B stars such as Bruna Esih³. It is not unimaginable that we will silently and secretly weep for those colourful characters of the right whose political literacy was just enough to make it difficult for them to conceal their true intentions and convictions. As opposed to them, we are now dealing with highly-profiled right-wingers, far more disciplined, that are hard to imagine in Ćorić's famous metaphor about spring onions and lamb.

The six-months-long awaited sigh of relief was thus left stuck in the disbelief of cultural workers, reporters for print and electronic media, non-governmental organisations, government foundations and all those who felt on their own skin the actions of the Orešković-Petrov-Karamarko government. I have no doubt that those 40000 protesters, who participated in the most epic "queue for the tram" when they came out to Ban Jelačić

Square in June to support the continuation of curricular reforms, were left equally flabbergasted.⁴ In the company of the intimidated and/or indifferent majority, this was a spectacle of sorts, though only relatively convincing. The six-months-long rule of Karamarko's HDZ and the shaky MOST coalition finally managed to elicit the long-awaited reaction from the citizenry. And yet, the reaction and rebellion were left without political articulation or outcome. Which is to say that on the left of the political spectrum, there are still quite a few vacant seats, even those so-called coalition love seats, while the melee right of centre is incredible.

And as much as 2015 was not a promising year, 2016 has shown us that there's always a false bottom. In truly record time, the government of Tihomir Orešković managed to complete the process of de-secularisation of Croatian society and state, whose repercussions are felt with undiminished intensity even after the government was recalled. The Croatian public broadcaster, purged of undesirable reporters, under the leadership of Siniša Kovačić, increasingly follows the life of the Church, as well as opening new media spaces where church dignitaries are generously offered the choice of speaking about the reproductive rights of women, the nature of the Jasenovac camp or perhaps about the mental and physical health of homosexuals. The cumulative effect is difficult to measure, but there should be no doubt about the power of sermon in a society where religious instruction classes for 8th-graders include lessons on how the Auschwitz-Birkenau camp was founded by atheists.

The grotesque of the Tent [Šator]⁵ served as a metaphor this year too, in a small village in Lika called

1 Zlatko Hasanbegović, a historian of right-wing political leanings whose works are dominated by revisionist interpretations of newer Croatian history, was appointed Minister for Culture in the Croatian government in 2016. Apart from photographs of Hasanbegović when he was young (he was photographed with an Ustasha cap on his head), the biggest tempest was caused by his decision to cut financial support to non-profit media, as well as his decision to dismiss the Chairwoman of the Steering Council of the Jasenovac Memorial, among others.

2 Željko Rainer, Speaker of the Croatian Parliament during its mandate from 3 December 2015 to 20 June 2016.

3 Bruna Esih is a scholarly novice at the Ivo Pilar Institute and President of the Croatian Association "Way of the Cross", as well as a close associate of Zlatko Hasanbegović. She became known to the public as the envoy of the Croatian President at the commemoration in Bleiburg, and as the author of the draft law on vetting. As a candidate on the HDZ list, she was elected to the Croatian Parliament by preferential votes of citizens at the last elections in September 2016.

4 The initiative Hrvatska može bolje [Croatia can do better], which was supported by some 300 civil society organisations and networks, seven unions and two union federations, organised protests on 1 June 2016 against the abolishment of the long-awaited curricular reforms. In an attempt to disqualify a protest that brought some 40 thousand people to the central square, the ruling parties tried to diminish the number of gathered citizens and say that people were just there "waiting for the tram".

5 The "Tent" ["Šator"] denotes a protest of a certain group of war-veterans in front of the Ministry for War-Veterans in Savska 66 in Zagreb. Demanding the resignation of the minister in the SDP government, the veterans camped out in front of the Ministry for 555 days. After the parliamentary elections in September 2016 and the victory of HDZ, the "tent" was dismantled, but it remained as a paradigm to express opposition of this veterans population to all social phenomena and laws that deviate from their understanding of how society should be organised.

Srb, as performed by Dražen Keleminac, the leader of the Croatian Autochthonous Party of Rights [Autohtona hrvatska stranka prava]. For days, members of the party camped out in front of the Monument to the Uprising⁶ frightening the villagers. Their right to a peaceful life and to cherishing their antifascist tradition was ingloriously defended in the last possible moment. Instead of noticing a violation of Art. 325 of the Criminal Code, the Interior Ministry removed the tent and its tenants because they did not have camping permits to set up their tent in a public space. It goes almost without saying that they returned on the Day of the Uprising itself, giddy with Ustasha ditties and an immense love towards Milorad Pupovac.

This year again, there was no shortage of black uniforms, white squares and Ustasha marches for Homeland Thanksgiving Day⁷. Members of the Association “Rafael Vitez Boban”⁸ marched in file through Knin, and

6 The Day of Uprising of the people of Croatia was marked in socialist Yugoslavia on 27 July to commemorate the day when, after weeks of being exposed to Ustasha repression, guerilla partisan units and the people of Lika mounted an uprising on 27 July 1941, which then spread to the whole of Lika and Kordun and soon took hold in other parts of Croatia. With the dissolution of Yugoslavia, this date was abolished, and replaced by the Day of Antifascist Struggle to commemorate 22 June 1941 when in the forest of Brezovica near Siska, the Sisak Partisan Unit was formed. The uprising of 27 July 1941 has been contested for the past two decades in Croatia in an attempt to characterise it as a crime committed by the Serbs of Lika and Kordun against the Croats.

7 Victory Day and Homeland Thanksgiving Day and Day of Croatian Defenders is marked on 5 August to commemorate the military Operation Storm when the territory that had been under the control of the Serb Autonomous Province of Krajina was returned to Croatian control. One of the outcomes of the operation was the expulsion of some 200 thousand Croatian Serbs from that territory.

8 The association and battalion “Rafael Vitez Boban” was established in memory of the Ustasha officer Rafael Boban,

a similar scenario was repeated a few weeks later in the predominantly Serb populated Donji Lapac. The war-veterans association on its pilgrimage through Udbina had a particular need, not to say piety, to march through this sleepy town in Ustasha uniforms and under flags proclaiming “Za Dom Spremni”⁹. Going by “better safe than sorry”, the police protected the pilgrims throughout their march.

Irresponsible political statements and silence following threatening protests against Mirjana Rakić (director of the Agency for Electronic Media), unsanctioned hate speech in the media, the overturning of the first instance judgement against Branimir Glavaš¹⁰, Sedlar’s film “Jasenovac - The Truth” with evident negation of the holocaust and genocide, are only some of the regular occurrences that generate the atmosphere of a lynching. The capillary spread of this lynching atmosphere ultimately always manifests itself in a physical attack, such as the one on reporter Ante Tomić or theatre director Oliver Frlić.

As the days go by, it is increasingly difficult to tell news shows from entertainment. The cancellation of one such show, “Montirani proces” [“Show Trial”]¹¹ will remain a constant inspiration to the authors, but also the clearest indicator that we must never laugh at anyone or anything. It’s no laughing matter, as they say.

the deputy commander of the notorious Ustasha formation called the Black Legion. The Black Legion got its name both for the black uniforms its members wore, and because of their exceptional cruelty towards their victims, primarily civilians.

9 During World War II, the salute was used by the Ustaše as their official salute.

10 In 2009, Branimir Glavaš was convicted of a war crime against Serb civilians in Osijek and sentenced to 10 years in prison.

11 A satirical television show that often found inspiration in the ruling party and members of the government.

Kosovo: Silence as a means of dealing with the past

Qerim Ondozi

Whenever we talk about dealing with the past, the only approach we know of involves discussion and elucidation of the past, confronting opposing views,

confronting our own views with the facts of events, confronting the views of others with those same facts, an attempt to view matters from our own perspective, the

perspective of others, from outside, from within, and so forth.

There are two possible approaches to both dealing with the past and dealing with various persistent problems in need of resolution: one involves active confrontation, the other entails silence. The former is quite well-known, widely used and has had numerous psychological and sociological studies devoted to it, so I will discuss the latter, which has been less popularised and which is based on silence.

Namely, people often use silence to resolve an irresolvable problem. They use silence having exhausted all other arguments of yelling, convincing, confrontation, clashing, arguing, attacking, intellectual and emotional humiliation, trust, distrust. The list goes on. People use silence because they have come to realise that no other means will bring about a solution to the given problem. People use silence when the complexity of the problem convinces them that there is no other approach than to throw up their hands in resignation and turn a new page in the hope that memories of the previous page will not cover each subsequent one to the very end of the book. And so each new page is turned with hope. Because with active confrontation we hope to resolve and not further exacerbate the problem.

Silence is not a popular method because it conceals the aim.

Silence conceals noble causes as much as hidden agendas.

Silence conceals convincing arguments as much as empty phrases.

Silence conceals the most powerful instruments of attack as much as the most sturdy means of self-defence.

Silence is, and is not a metaphor.

I will try not to repeat things that people have stated before me, either publicly or tacitly.

I come from a smallish town in Kosovo where so many things remain unsaid. They remain unsaid in Albanian and in Serbian. They remain unsaid when we talk about grapes and plums, and even more so when we talk about the most recent war in Kosovo.

According to the words of those few who decided not to remain silent, in July 1998, this multinational small town in the south was attacked by guerrilla units of the Kosovo Liberation Army in an attempt to take a strategic area that could serve to establish a stronghold from which to launch more such operations until the final aim is achieved.

According to those who decided not to remain silent, the town was under attack for three consecutive days.

Of course, the attackers' numbers were meagre, they were less well armed and less well provisioned for such an event, which had only just started in a new time and place.

After three or four days, and again according to those who have decided not to remain silent, the soldiers left, escaped, deserted, tactically retreated and so forth, and then it was the turn of the Serbian army and police to attack, and in a very short time, as retribution for previous attacks, they killed a large number of civilians.

Death is absolute silence.

Death is the ultimate anaesthetic, oblivion, a naturally unfathomable domain.

Death is confronting yourself, confronting life, confronting silence.

Death is an endless wail of indescribable pain.

Death is the absurd filled with meaning.

Victims of war are little spoken of in Kosovo. Here I mean the killed civilians, the victims of violence.

Namely, in Kosovo, there is much talk only about the fallen fighters, brave warriors, glorious battles, inglorious battles, the first attack, the second attack, the first killed fighter, the second killed fighters, the first bomb, the second bomb.

But little is said of the death of a single man in Kosovo, about the physical and emotional emptiness left before the intellectual unfathomability of sudden death, the death of a loved one.

The surviving civilians mourn the killed civilians, and then retreat into silence. While surviving soldiers mourn killed soldiers, and then start dealing with the past, the present and the future.

In their dealing, the names and deeds of the soldiers are recorded in books, busts and monuments are erected.

On the other hand, the silence of the former does not utter the names of the killed, and not because they are not worthy of being remembered, recorded in books, inscribed onto busts and memorial plaques, but because the silence that comes after the endless wail of pain that leaves one breathless is an all-consuming silence.

But silence is always the last resort, never the first or second.

Therefore, we should leave in peace those who have decided to remain silent.

We should leave in peace those who have found comfort in silence.

We should leave in peace those to whom we cannot return their missing loved ones.

We should leave them in peace until their silence finally leads to our own.

Macedonia: “Poverty is my nationality”

Fillanza Jusufi

Up to a year ago I thought I would never in my life understand why most people choose to walk this earth with their eyes wide closed. How do we not see how day by day, year by year, irresponsible politicians are dragging us further and further into ruination.

Thinking about Macedonia and all the developments of the past 15 years, the only thing I managed to conclude is that we keep living in some sort of conflict. Something keeps happening to keep the conflict alive. In the past year, due to civic strife, mostly along party lines, but also due to protests, Macedonia once again attracted the attention of the media in the region and beyond. Something similar to what happened in 2001, except that this time, as opposed to the war, the motivation for potential conflict was not inter-ethnic.

The political crisis started more than a year ago, after the surveillance scandal.¹ We heard plenty about the involvement of state and party officials in crime and corruption. We listened to them arrange election fraud and many other things, including insulting and humiliating citizens. Due to this situation, a forced agreement was made called the “Pržin agreement” signed by the leaders of the four main parties in the country, two Macedonian and two Albanian, which was supposed to establish preconditions for holding elections in the newly emerged situation. The agreement was not upheld as was foreseen. It seems to me that none of these peace agreements, such as the “Ohrid Peace Agreement”, ever did much good or were of much use. But still, the “Pržin agreement” established a Special Prosecutor whose role was to prosecute organised crime, offences deriving from the contents of the illegal surveillance. This body will investigate the falsification of documents and violation of voting rights, the fixing of elections; it should shed light on the *Monstrum* case (the murder of five people near Smilkovsko Lake)², the case of Martin Neškovski (killed

by an officer on duty at the celebration of the election victory of VMRO-DPMNE) and many more cases.

The crisis reached its peak after the mass amnesty granted to politicians found guilty of abuse of authority, which was announced by the President Gjorge Ivanov. The abolition decision was the height of disappointment, it was too much and it made the citizens take to the streets in “disobedience”. The dictatorship of the ruling VMRO-DPMNE party starts coming out in various ways, this time through the organisation of counter-protests to which party sympathisers from other cities were brought in on buses. While all of this is going on in the country, the Albanian parties and their sympathisers keep to the side (thereby effectively supporting VMRO-DPMNE) as if this was none of their concern, as if that same Premier was not the Premier of their country too. However, it is clear that this constitutes indirect support to the ruling coalition party, something along the lines of ‘you scratch my back and I’ll scratch yours’.

The intention of the abolition decision was to protect the officials. To prevent the naming of those implicated and holding them accountable for their actions. An attempt was made to prevent the work of the Special Prosecutor, because many charges had been filed against officials from the ruling parties. Both Macedonian and Albanian. The abolition decision included 56 persons, including amnesty for Nikola Gruevski, the leader of the ruling party and former premier of Macedonia, as well as Gordana Jankulovska, minister of interior, who as such had a mandate to fight corruption and crime. The abolition decision certainly confirms suspicions that there were criminal activities in the government.

People took to the streets, raising their voices against injustice, defying those who deprived them of the right to a life of human dignity and pride. The non-governmental organisations were the first to start organising, but were soon joined by various groups of citizens. These were no longer mere protests, but a full-fledged revolution made up of very diverse participants, which is why it was dubbed

1 In February 2015, the opposition (Social Democrats) made a public statement claiming they were in possession of evidence about illegal surveillance of more than 20 000 citizens. The recordings were then periodically made public, and their content was so scandalous for the government and state institutions that they were colloquially called “bombs”.

2 The massacre at Smilkovsko Lake took place on the eve of Easter 2012; the victims were young men Kire Tričkovski, Filip

Slavkovski, Cvetančo Acevski and Aleksandar Nakevski, and the fisherman Borče Stevkovski. In the first instance judgement, the Criminal Court in Skopje convicted Alil Demiri, brothers Afrim and Agim Ismailović, Fejzi Aziri, Haki Aziri and Sami Ljuta for the crime of terrorism and sentenced them to life imprisonment.

the “Colourful Revolution”. Citizens’ dissatisfaction grew, and therefore also our numbers in the streets, there were more and more of us each day. At the beginning only in Skopje, but soon in all the other larger cities in the country. I must admit it was a wonderful feeling to be part of that revolution. The “colourful” epithet was made visible by painting the overly expensive monuments built to testify to an ancient Macedonia and baroque façades in motley colours during the protests.

The “disobedient citizens” gathered in front of the Special Prosecutor’s Office and also visited the Office of the President in the centre of Skopje which they painted with eggs and caused more serious damage. They demanded that the President withdraw the abolition decision, which he did after a while thanks to pressures of the European Union and the citizens. The centre of the city, meaning the monuments from the Skopje 2014 project (that are nothing more than indicators of nationalism) were fantastically painted into all colours of the rainbow by the so-called hooligans. After that incident, the police arrested a number of protesters.

The people are still grappling with an uncertainty that has been protracted and are at the same time fatigued by it. It is not clear how we will get ourselves out of this labyrinth that we have been in for a long time, running around in circles. I understand that justice comes at a high price.

The saddest reality is that many citizens have been reduced to abject poverty, which has become a commonality of the various nationalities in the country. That explains the above photo from Skopje with the writing on the wall “Poverty is my nationality”, while a man rummages through garbage. Poverty is the nationality for the people in the country. This photo says a lot about the

situation in Macedonia. Hundreds of thousands of good people live in this country, and more and more of the educated and qualified are leaving.

The country recently suffered a natural disaster, a flood in Skopje and Tetovo, with official sources saying 22 people were killed. For many families, the damage was devastating. But this still did not prevent the government from continuing to invest in the Skopje 2014 project, building in the baroque style and planning a panoramic wheel that is to cost 19 million Euros, while having no funds and no solution for families that suffered damage by the flood.

All of this may sound quite dismal, but there is hope for a better tomorrow, a hope that not all is lost because people are waking up and refusing to be taken in by the government’s manipulations so easily. This became apparent after the government’s attempt to destabilise the country with an international problem, the case of the “Divo naselje” in Kumanovo (May 2015)³, but the people prevented this. The Colourful Revolution also goes to show that people of various backgrounds can come together around the same idea and objective - a better Macedonia for all of us. And what is most important, there are many of us. Not everything is dull and grey, it’s colourful, all the colours for all of us.

3 On 9 May 2015, in a few streets of Divo naselje /Lagja e trimavë, a real war was being waged. The police said they had gone on a raid against a larger group of terrorists dug in in a number of houses. The bloody clash that lasted for almost 24 hours left a tragic balance of 22 dead (including 8 police officers) and 37 wounded police officers... See Boro Kitanoski, “Macedonia: Še bashku. Заедно” in CNA, *Annual 2016*, pp. 128-130.

Serbia: I’d burn down the entire village

Katarina Milićević

A few months ago, Vojislav Šešelj returned to Serbia from the Hague Tribunal¹. It was just a matter of his former party secretary disbanding the government, and of the party vice-president calling elections, for Šešelj to

become a representative in the Parliament of the Republic of Serbia. In the Trial Judgement, Šešelj was acquitted and after 13 years, he returned to Serbia as a “winner”. As someone who “defeated” Hague Tribunal, that “dungeon for Serbs”.

When in 2003, Šešelj went to the Hague, the Premier of Serbia was Zoran Đinđić. He was killed shortly thereafter. When Šešelj triumphantly returned in 2016, the Premier

1 Leader of the Serbian Radical Party, accused of war crimes before the Hague Tribunal. In 2003, he voluntarily surrendered to the Prosecutor’s Office.

of Serbia was Aleksandar Vučić, and the President was Tomislav Nikolić, his long-time closest associates who had established their own party in the meantime (in 2008) and were soon winning elections and taking absolute power in Serbia. Thus, their one-time ideological leader and political father² returned to an atmosphere that was familiar and conducive to his ideas.

At the time when he was leaving for the Hague, there was hope in Serbia, faith that changes were possible, a vision that something was changing, relief that dictatorial-fascist leaders had been deposed, the idea that “Serbia was on the right path”. He returned to a robbed and miserable country, among people without hope, without faith that any kind of change is possible, among people who have been electing his former party associates at a number of consecutive elections and by an overwhelming majority of votes. Santa Claus himself could not have given Šešelj a better present. And he is not the only one to blame, nor is it all because of the current government in Serbia; this is just a good example of how hope and faith can be illusory, and how Serbia has never left the nationalist matrix, however much it may have sometimes seemed that “it was almost there”. Not quite.

The elections came and went in April this year, it took almost four months to form the new government, but there is no more anticipation of change, of any sort, there is no more faith that changes are possible and no more illusion that “Serbia is on the right path”. Aleksandar Vučić, with his two jerseys and two faces: one for Europe and the world, another for Serbia, is premier once again. At the time when he was attending the official opening of Chapters 23 and 24 for accession to the European Union in Brussels, his party comrades, as close to him as he once was to Šešelj, were opening the exhibition “Uncensored Lies” in the centre of Belgrade where they displayed all the public criticism addressed to Aleksandar Vučić in the past two years. The authors of the criticism, mostly reporters, but also other individuals with no more than a social network account, were marked as “enemies” and the authorities put a cross-hairs on their foreheads.

Independent reporters in Serbia habitually move about with cross-hairs on their foreheads, receiving daily threats. The most recent were sent to Slobodan Georgiev, a reporter for Vreme and BIRN, and Nedim Sejdinović and Dinko Gruhonjić from the Independent Reporters Association of Vojvodina. When the premier calls “scum” anyone who dares to criticise anything from the domain

of social life, this means that the doors of violence have been flung open, especially for those few people who have managed to retain some courage and hope. Or at least one of the two people.

I hesitate to mention the opposition, because the opposition to Vučić (with 48.25% of the votes) and SPS with which the government was constituted (10.95%) now also includes Šešelj’s party, which has returned to the Parliament (SRS, 8.10%), and the pro-fascist “Dveri” and DSS (5.04%) and the party of Vučić’s one-time minister Saša Radulović “Dosta je bilo” (6.02%), as well as, on the other side, the Democratic Party (or whatever is left of it, with 6.02%) and the LDP-LSV-SDS coalition (better known as Čeda-Čanak-Tadić, with 5.02%). On the eve of the elections, the united opposition reacted to an attempt at stealing votes, so the fragile democracy in Serbia found itself facing a difficult test: whether to support the principle that the election choice of the citizens is sacrosanct and fight against the stealing of votes, even if that means that a pro-fascist party will be elected into Parliament, or refrain from action, because it would only go to strengthen the already strengthened parties on the margins of what is permissible and individuals on the cusp of imprisonment for their words and actions motivated by nationalist and chauvinistic hatred.

Absolute power has also been won at the local level, which best suits the tabloid which now have an inexhaustible source for various bizarre news items about the goings and doings of local politicians, ranging from serious allegations of sexual harassment, corruption, mobbing, to reports of how some political parvenus give babies dummies encrusted with “Swarovski” crystals or how they manage to summer in luxury resorts around the world on a salary of 400 Euros. This creates the illusion of freedom of speech and the illusion that the government is susceptible to criticism: no one criticises the top or the most powerful, those that are fair game are the small cogs in local government, insignificant and therefore an easy target.

There is never any shortage of the bizarre in the media, but what is conveniently overlooked is the demolition of buildings in Hercegovačka Street, in the Savamala quarter, to make room for the megalomaniac development of the “Belgrade Waterfront”. Because of the illegal demolitions on the eve of the elections, when the police refused to respond to calls from citizens, thousands of people have been protesting in Belgrade for months. Just like in Novi Sad, because of the replacement of the Vojvodina Television editors. However, photos from

2 Aleksandar Vučić, when he was a member of SRS: “Everything I know about politics I learned from Vojislav Šešelj.”

the protests, the words and messages of the protesters do not make it into the mainstream media, they are not shown on television at all or are alternatively dismissed as a “handful of hirelings”, just as in the late 1990s when the current premier was minister for information.

Since the beginning of the year until mid-September, (at least) 23 women have been killed.³ They were killed by their partners. Apart from the women victims, there were other victims – their children, current partners, friends. The Vojvodina town of Žitište was the site of a mass shooting where a man killed his ex-wife and another four people, and wounded over 20. Most of the women killed had previously contacted the police and other services that were meant to protect them, but failed to do so. The ombudsperson pointed out the failures of state authorities in 12 cases of murder of women (in a recommendation issued at the end of July when there were 14 murders of women on record; in the meantime, their number has unfortunately increased).

One Pride Parade was organised in Belgrade in June of this year, another will be organised in September. Why two all of a sudden is a question for LGBT organisations, but it is important to note that the June Parade elicited almost no reactions at all. We will see how the September Parade will go, but it seems the authorities have reined in their troopers, and that apart from the Serb Orthodox Church and the likes of Dveri (mentioned above) and the banned organisation Obraz, there is no widespread or violent resistance to the Parade. This is a positive development.

When we take a step back from internal politics in Serbia and glance over the fence – or through the cross-hairs – we can see that relations in the region have never been worse since the cessation of open wartime hostilities. And once again, in his schizophrenic policy where he pretends to be a factor of peace and stability in Brussels and a leader of the Serb nation in Belgrade, Vučić strolls around Kalemegdan and plays chess with Izetbegović, on the one hand, while supporting Dodik and leading him about with the other. Although they did not lend their support to the referendum in Republika Srpska, both Vučić and Nikolić support Dodik, thereby contributing to the destabilisation of BH.

³ Data from 14 September 2016 ; source: “Women against Violence” network.

Although the Premier of Serbia, Mr Vučić, recently presented the President of Croatia, Ms Kolinda Grabar Kitarović, with a large bouquet of flowers, symbolically on a bridge, as if they were a romantic couple making up after a brief squabble and not heads of state, the relations between Serbia and Croatia are indisputably bad, and the general opinion is that they are the worst they’ve been since the war. The dismal state of affairs suits both parties – the best way to hide your weaknesses and shortcomings is by accusing the other. By heating up the army mess beans that they originally cooked up 25 years ago, both hope only for good election results, because fear, as they have come to understand a long time ago, is the best ruler. While ones are rehabilitating the Ustasha movement and beatifying Stepinac, the others will do the same for Draža Mihailović. And on it goes: not just hoping that your neighbour’s cow drops down dead, but that both the cow and the neighbour drop down dead and that the village burns down with them. But what will you do when the whole village burns down? I don’t mind going down with it, just as long as harm comes to them. Nevermind about the village.

With respect to Kosovo, everything is still shrouded in secrecy: negotiations of some sort are being held in Brussels, something is being said there, official and sparse statements are issued, and then each side, speaking to the press in its own language, speaks of its own victory. And about something it managed to secure despite the resistance. Exactly what that is no one knows. They smile and shake hands, that much we know. That alone makes us hope for better relations, freedom of movement, resolving contested issues... but then, at the beginning of the Olympics, the minister for sports and youth chimes in to call on the athletes of Serbia to step off the pedestal if a representative of Kosovo should be on it. It is particularly interesting that he called on the athletes from Serbia “not to become intimate” with those from Kosovo, so the public had a field day interpreting what “becoming intimate” might mean.

The right is in power almost everywhere in the world – or will be coming to power soon, I fear. And where is the left and is there a left in the world today, or are we all standing somewhere in the middle, waiting for fear to take us all the way to the right? But nevermind about the world.



thoughts

Islam and nonviolence

How I became a Muslim and a peace activist

Adnan Hasanbegović

When the war in BiH ended in 1995, I was a happy man. After four years of war, the killing had stopped. I was demobilised after three and a half years of warfare. Though spent and feeling lost like most of my fellow veterans, I felt a mild optimism. My first trips to the seaside after years spent under siege and in trenches, under sniper fire and shelling, seemed like trips to paradise. I went into war at age 19 and came out at age 23. Young enough to pick up my life, but still “old”, with an excess of experience of suffering, violence and the proximity of death.

I still harboured deep dilemmas. Why do people have a tendency towards violence and how do we get dragged into wars even though few actually want them. What is it that hypnotises us, makes us prepared to kill, what sort of force is it? And why?

Before the war, I was an agnostic, I had grown up in such a family and such an environment. I did not believe in the concepts of religion, they were unfamiliar. At the beginning of the war, I saw religion as an extension of the nationalism that had destroyed our country and caused rifts among people.

Fear of death and the senselessness of suffering made me try to understand. Many of my close friends turned to religion looking for a sense of peace. Faced with the challenges of war and the daily awareness of mortality, your own and that of your loved ones, you start thinking about meaning, fate, a higher power. Losing faith in the system, the state, society, even people creates a feeling of deep uncertainty and insecurity.

In spirituality and believing, I found answers to soothe both my mind and my soul. I thank Allah for showing me the way, as we Muslims like to say.

I learned about faith from books of different religions, but mostly from people of different faiths. Also through art, films, books, I saw signs, road signs leading to my awareness of my own belief in God, as He revealed himself to the prophets and as testified by the Holy Books.

Living in Sarajevo, and in the Balkans, where bridges and nodes span cultures, nations and religions, I had always felt connected to different people, whatever their identity and background. I could not reconcile myself to being in conflict with people simply because of their

nationality or religion, and I found it hard to bear the fact that the war in BH had elements of religious conflict. Thinking about this and reading the Koran, I found the following verse:

“... If Allah wanted He could have made all of you a single nation. But He willed otherwise in order to test you in what He has given you; therefore try to excel one another in good deeds. Ultimately you all shall return to Allah; then He will show you the truth of those matters in which you dispute.” (Al-Maida, 48)

I later found out that the word translated from the Arabic here as “excel one another” can also mean “cooperate in doing good”.

These and similar verses from holy texts helped me understand spirituality and God asking goodness and justice from all of us. My cathartic discovery of God in His mercy, benevolent to all people and loving all people, calmed my heart and gave me joy and a desire to testify my faith. My faith grew and I soon became a practising Muslim.

I had the good fortune, and I do not believe in coincidences, to encounter peace activists from Serbia, BiH and Croatia in this period, people deeply committed to peace building, nonviolence and justice. There were among them Christians, atheists, Muslims,... and they were all active on the path to peace. Some of them became my friends and associates. During trainings on nonviolent conflict resolution and peacebuilding, we had the privilege of learning from each other, exchanging our thoughts and feelings, getting to know each other and trying to understand ourselves and our societies. We learned how to work in countries affected by wars, hatred, fear and the collective hauntings of a violent past to find the path to reconciliation, freedom and mutual support and cooperation.

In that process I discovered another facet of my identity, in addition to being a Muslim and a veteran, I also became a peace activist.

At one peacebuilding training, I met a woman from Banja Luka, a devout Christian, who gave me a book on Islamic spiritual tradition that was very important to me



and that lead to us having long talks on spirituality. In our free time, we visited the Dervish Teki in Blagaj near Mostar together. There was a lot of beautiful symbolism in a Serb and a Bosniak talking about the war between their peoples, their different spiritual traditions and practices, exchanging religious experiences and learning how to work on reconciliation.

Already at the beginning of my religiosity, I was attached to the notion of God being reachable by many paths for those who seek Him. And, thank God, I never had cause to doubt this. I found that peacebuilding was a path of engaging and working with people, and that religious believers can in that sense look to the example of Muhammad, peace be upon him, and Jesus, peace be upon him, as well as many other prophets and ordinary people inspired by God.

It is interesting that I learned much about applied peacebuilding in particular from atheists and agnostics, people whose high moral standards, dedication and commitment to peace and social justice can serve as an example to many believers. "God works in mysterious ways".

Working on reconciliation, following a brutal war, is no simple task. The explosion of violence and injustice, which is what war is, leaves behind devastated cities and villages, but also wreaks havoc in people's hearts. Mass killings, crimes, sieges, genocide, ... this is a heavy burden to bear, understand and carry through life. Most distressing is the human propensity for destruction when formerly ordinary people become violent killers. It is difficult to find solace; pain and apprehension seem to linger. As a warning, a challenge to all generations, to

learn how to deal with their identities and their past.

At such moments, when the burden seemed too heavy, I would remember this verse from the Koran:

"And if Allah had not repelled some men by others the earth would have been corrupted. But Allah is a Lord of Kindness to (His) creatures" (Al-Baqara, 251)

Since I was a participant in the war myself, prepared to kill the enemy, it was not easy for me to completely understand my own motives and the states I was in. I am relieved by the awareness of human limits, weaknesses, propensity for violence, that I learned about through Islam. This also helps me understand my former enemies.

"I do not exculpate myself. Lo! the (human) soul enjoineeth unto evil, save that whereon my Lord hath mercy. My Lord is Forgiving, Merciful." (Yusuf, 53)

In the past years, I have worked with war veterans from BiH, Croatia and Serbia. Together, we visit sites of suffering from the past war. With my friends – former enemies, members of warring armies in BiH and in the Balkans in the 1990s – together we honour the victims that our armies killed. Sometimes we talk about it, sometimes we are silent. We want to send the message that we are sorry and that today we stand together against war. We often disagree about the past, but we trust each other and would leave our kids in the other's care. There are believers among us, Christians and Muslims, and there are atheists, but we all have a deep need for peace and a profound understanding of what war means. We hope that our gestures of reconciliation and condemnation of crimes, we are saving some future lives.

At such moments, I remember the verse:

“For that cause We decreed for the Children of Israel that whosoever killeth a human being for other than manslaughter or corruption in the earth, it shall be as if he had killed all mankind, and whoso saveth the life of one, it shall be as if he had saved the life of all mankind.” (Al-Maida, 32)

The role of religious communities in the wars in the Balkans was controversial, to put it mildly. Apart from rare messages of reason and calls for peace, they mainly spoke up in support of ethno-nationalism and the warring sides. Unfortunately, even after the war, they are often an obstacle to reconciliation, both by glorifying the war and bestowing blessings on war criminals, and often by blatant calls for discrimination and intolerance towards the other.

This is why some 9 years ago, we launched an initiative called “Believers for Peace”. About a dozen of us, Christians and Muslims from the region, came together to try and promote the peaceful aspects of our religions. We also want to encourage other believers to engage in active promotion of peace and nonviolence as a principle, inspired by our traditions. Together we also wrote a declaration that has already been signed by hundreds of people.

Even we believers for peace often disagree on various points related to our faiths, wars, the past. Our communities are in conflict, sometimes even at war, all the while invoking God and faith. One of the fundamental principles of peacebuilding is nonviolent conflict resolution as an integral part of daily life. Conflict is a type of trial in interpersonal relations, and violence can be the

outcome. In interreligious dialogue, and in dialogue with people who do not share our opinions, it is important to keep in mind that our attitudes and our knowledge are limited.

“And if thy Lord had willed, He verily would have made mankind one nation, yet they cease not differing, Save him on whom thy Lord hath mercy; and for that He did create them. (Hud, 119-120)

In December 2014, I visited Jerusalem. The sacred place of monotheism was full of long barrels, army, policy and daily tension. I saw that the sanctity of that place was enveloped in violence. I spent a long time praying at the Al-Aqsa Mosque and I wept. When I came out of the mosque, I was calm, and I was not afraid, because I had met peacebuilders there too: Jewish, Christian and Muslim. There is hope while there are people like them.

I would like to conclude with a testimony of Muhammad, peace be upon him, that is very significant to me:

“By the One in Whose Hand my soul is, you will not enter Paradise until you believe, and you will not believe until you love one another. Spread the greetings of peace (As Salaamu Alaikum) among yourselves. Beware of hatred, for it is like a blade that cuts not just hair, but faith.”

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Coffins

Katarina Milićević

I looked around at the people.

In 1991, 1992, 1999, they were young.

And they were athletes, like the ones competing in the Olympics that started that day.

But today, they are disabled, some have lost a leg, some a foot, some still have shrapnel in their bodies.

They put rifles in their arms.

Today, the youth get coffins packed with 25 years of their parents' lives, over 130 thousand dead, hundreds of thousands of displaced persons and refugees, millions

whose lives were permanently damaged by wars, transition, theft, crime, misery, all the misfortunes that go with it. They've packed it all up and made young people the pall-bearers, made that coffin the only truth the young people can pray to, having to carry it for the rest of their lives, all the while feeling guilty because their backs and heads ache, and because they see no other future than to either leave and go as far away as possible or keep carrying that coffin on their backs for the rest of their lives, lives that have just started.

They told them that carrying that coffin is a national honour, that it is the only way to be worthy of their illustrious ancestors and their righteous struggle. To carry that coffin, suffocating in the heavy scent of frankincense.

- Where were you, mum?
 - In Bosnia.
 - Do they have shops over there that we don't have?
 - No, but I didn't go to the shops, I went to the graveyards.
 - Did you inhale the scent of those souls buried there?
- my daughter asked when I returned from Prijedor and Novi Grad, where I went with war veterans from different armies to honour the victims.

It is only the depressions in the overgrown grass that give any indication of human remains having been left under a thin layer of soil, in the endless fields by the Sava river, by a place called Jasenovac. The sun was shining, it was a bright summer day, 5 August, and I was driving along the highway towards Zagreb, looking at the opposite lane, the one along which 21 years ago destitute people walked or drove their tractors, forever leaving their homes.

The same sun beat down on me as we walked through the forest towards Hrastova Glavica, a natural pit into which the bodies of 124 residents of Prijedor, 122 Bosniaks and 2 Croats, were thrown. They had been driven there in buses, from Omarska and Keraterm, where they had been held in detention camps since May. They say they were each given a cigarette and lead in groups of three to the pit where they were shot. Hand grenades were also found in it pit, presumably for those who continued to show signs of life, to finish them off, to amplify the evil.

The cigarette they were given has been tormenting me for days, it's all I think about, as I watch the smoke rising off the tip of my own cigarette.

What were they thinking as they took their final drags, knowing there was nothing beyond it apart from the pit and death? What were their final thoughts, was it rage at their killers, or sorrow over parting with life, was it a sense of relief that comes with finality, after months of torture and constant uncertainty? Did they take slow drags of the cigarette, inhaling the last scent of their brief lives, or was it a quick and forceful drag, an attempt to take as much from what little life they had left? Who were they thinking about? About themselves, regretting to see their lives end, about their loved ones, regretting that they would never touch them again, about their killers,

regretting that they had not recognised them sooner, but lived with them as with all other neighbours? And did even those who never smoked before light that cigarette?

What goes through a man's head as he smokes his last cigarette before death?

What is the killer thinking as he gives that last cigarette before death to his victim? Is it a way to show that there is still something human in him, something that understands another, or is it just a way to demonstrate the arrogance of power, having weapons to dispense life and death, and even last cigarettes?

The clouds covered the sun and gave way to a thin summer drizzle as we walked around the places where Serbs fleeing Operation Storm in Croatia were killed. We threw the wreaths into the river and they flowed down with it, like human fates. The Una River was muted and rapid. A woman was talking about what had happened there. A few people were milling about, as if we were at a dress-rehearsal, as if it were not all genuine, emotions were repeated, sighs of terrible, terrible. The candle in my hand was not burning, the wind would blow it out as soon as a flame appeared. Is this a sign, I wondered? Still, at Stupine, the place where refugees from Croatia were killed when their convoy was bombed, the flame burned. I read the names of the three people that were killed, and beneath it says "... while four children and four women from there families were seriously wounded."

What happened to them later? Where are those women and children today? Are they here among us? My gaze drifted over the gathering, some people had dressed up, those must be the politicians, they wear their suits and ties even on Saturday, some were in mourning, wearing black, a few women and youths. I tried to read in their faces whether they had been wounded here, at this place. I couldn't. They all had the same brittle gaze and taut lips.

The frankincense had a strange scent, somehow warm and soft, cajoling. I took deep breaths, the pole with the flag flying high screeched in the win, a light rain fell on the cross, and an empty train went by at no more than walking pace.

If we could, if we only could load all the invisible coffins onto that train, so that our souls, those here on earth and those up in heaven, could find rest and final peace.

So that we could take them off the backs of children. The coffins.



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