

Godišnji izveštaj 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.



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Uvod

Drage prijateljice i dragi prijatelji,

Pred vama je naš 20. godišnji izveštaj, i iza nas je 20 godina rada. Kako je red i običaj, na 20. rođendan pozvali smo prijatelje, sa svih strana sveta i regije, i prvo porazgovarali o tome „Gde smo posle 20 godina i gde to srljamo?“, a onda i drugim temama, pa smo na kraju malo i slavili. 20 godina je mali jubilej za mir u svetu, ali je veliki za nas, mirovnu organizaciju nastalu u Sarajevu poratne 1997. U ovom izveštaju čitajte šta nam se sve za 20 godina dogodilo i šta smo sve uradili.

Ono što je obeležilo 20. godinu našeg rada je niz izložbi „Rat sjećanja“ održanih u Sarajevu, Mostaru, Banja Luci, Bihaću, Beogradu, Tuzli i Brčkom. I tu nije kraj, ta izložba nastavlja svoj put, zahvaljujući prijateljima i saradnicima koji su se prihvatili odgovornosti da je organizuju u svojim gradovima, tako da sledi izložba u Skoplju, a očekujemo da će je biti i u Kruševcu, Sisku, Novom Pazaru, Zagrebu...

Premijerno smo prikazali publici film „Dom u tuđini“ koji je nastao od ideje proistekle sa našeg Treninga za trenere-ice, i koji je radila grupa naših saradnika-ca. Još uvek nemamo dogovor, iako smo mnogima nudili, da neka od televizija u BiH emituje taj film. Jedan od odgovora koji smo nezvanično dobili je „da film ne može biti emitovan, jer ne ispunjava tehničke standarde, nije sniman „dronovima“.“ Tako se lepše kaže ono što nam se u poverenju, na parking u ispred, za bilo koju od naših aktivnosti, došapne: „Nije vreme... Znaš kako je, politika...“ Izgleda da nikad nije pravo vreme za suočavanje s prošlošću, ali mi želimo da ukažemo da je uvek vreme za priču o tome. Pa i kad se o nečemu glasno čuti ili šuti, ta tišina daje prostor za delovanje.

To upravo rade naši saradnici u akciji „Obilježavanja neobilježenih mjesta stradanja“ koji su imali čak tri akcije za poslednjih godinu dana. Ljubičaste nalepnice ostale su da podsećaju da su na tim mestima nad ljudima vršena neljudska djela i da su tu stradali ljudi, koji zaslužuju sećanje. Na komemoracijama, u Vrivodama i Gošiću (Hrvatska) i poseti Vozućkom ratištu (BiH), ratni veterani različitih vojski, su zajedno sa nama iz CNA ukazali da su sećanja na žrtve važna, te da je posebno teško javno govoriti o žrtvama o kojima lokalna zajednica čuti, ali da razbijanje tog nepisanog zaveta ćutanja dovodi do oslobađanja, te na koncu, može da bude i put ka pomirenju.

U vreme kad ovaj izveštaj bude odštampan, već će se znati rezultati drugog „Biber“ višjezičnog konkursa za kratku priču na temu pomirenja. Unapred već znamo, po broju pristiglih priča, kojih je bilo više nego na prvom konkursu, da su ljudi sa ovih prostora, imali potrebu i želju da pišu o pomirenju, na različite načine.. I unapred se radujemo novoj zbirci, koja će biti odštampana početkom naredne godine.

Pokušali smo da institucijama države Srbije predložimo usvajanje Strategije izgradnje mira, održali smo i jedan Dijaloški krug na tu temu, imamo pripremljen dokument koji bismo rado ustupili na dalju razradu, ali i pored činjenice da su ideju gotovo svi pohvalili, još uvek nismo dopreli do institucije koja bi sasvim stala iza ove ideje, i na tome ćemo raditi i dalje.

U ovom izveštaju o stanju u različitim državama regije pišu Boro Kitanoski (Makedonija), Nedžad Novalić (BiH), Nenad Vukosavljević (Srbija), Jelena Svirčić (Hrvatska), a za Kosovo imamo dva pogleda: iz Kosovske Mitrovice piše Maja Fićović, novinarka i učesnica našeg Osnovnog treninga održanog na Ohridu u aprilu 2017. godine, te Qerim Ondozi, prevodilac, iz Prištine.

Još smo prethodne godine održali dva osnovna treninga iz izgradnje mira, treći Mir-Paqe-Mip trening, treći trening za studente i studentice iz BiH.

Putovali smo, na poziv saradnika-ca, u Manipur, Kolumbiju, učestvovali u „Mandela dijalozima“ u Šri Lanki. Uz podršku naših saradnika-ca iz Južnoafričke Republike, nas 11 mirovnih aktivista-kinja iz regije je boravilo na studijskom putu, vratili smo se puni raznih utisaka, o kojima takođe možete da čitate u ovom izveštaju.

U vreme kada je mir u celom svetu reč koja se sve slabiječuje, iza ratnih pokliča, pretnji, stradanja, diskriminacije, ljudske patnje, želimo nam svima, svim mirovnim aktivistima i aktivistkinjama, u celom svetu, solidarnost, nesalomivu veru da radimo pravu stvar, i moć da u tome istrajemo, ma kako izazovno i teško bilo.

CNA tim



20 godina mirovnog rada

Prvih 20 godina CNA

U prisustvu brojnih prijatelja, saradnika, drugara, ljudi sa kojima smo se sretali i jedni drugima pomagali u borbi za mir na ovim prostorima, Centar za nenasilnu akciju je obeležio 20 godina postojanja i rada organizacije, tokom vikenda 22-24.9.2017.

Kako smo tokom 20 godina sarađivali sa hiljadama ljudi, jasno je da smo tek ponekog mogli da ugostimo tih sarajevskih dana, i da se u opuštenijoj atmosferi prisetimo minulih godina.

Susreti i razmena su krenuli okruglim stolom na temu: „Gdje smo poslije 20 godina i gdje to srljamo?“. U razgovoru, koji je moderirala Natascha Zupan, učestvovali su Nenad Vukosavljević, koji je osnovao CNA, uz pomoć organizacije Kurve Wustrow, koju je predstavljao Jochen Neumann, te Martina Fischer, koja je podržavala rad CNA od samog početka, Adnan Hasanbegović, jedan od prvih zaposlenih u CNA, Ibrahim Topčić Pajo, ratni veteran sa kojim sarađujemo godinama i Albulena Karaga, mirovna aktivistkinja iz Makedonije i učesnica našeg Treninga za Trenerice/ice.

Program smo nastavili projekcijom filma „Dom u tuđini“, koji je plod jedne od aktivnosti proistekle sa poslednjeg Treninga za trenerice i trenerice, a čiji su autori Davorka Turk, Nedžad Novalić, čedomir Glavaš i Tamara Zrnović, koji su gostima i predstavili film.

Tokom popodneva smo razgovarali sa umetnicima/ama i aktivistima/kinjama na temu „Umetnost je mir“, a u razgovoru su učestvovali/e: Elma Selman, Faruk Šehić, Lejla Kalamujić, Ivana Franović i Nedžad Horozović iz CNA, a moderatorica je bila Kristina Ljevak.

Koncertom benda „Mara iz Mostara“ započet je neformalni deo naše proslave.

Zahvaljujemo se svima koji su došli u Sarajevo da zajedno obeležimo jubilej, da se prisetimo sa emocijama prošlosti, te da zajedno gledamo i u budućnost.



Za 20 godina...

Između ostalog, za tih 20 godina...

... kroz CNA je radeći prošlo 23 ljudi. Trenutno nas je 9 i među našim pasošima mogu se naći oni koji su iz 4 različite države.

... naši uredi su bili na 8 adresa. 4 u Sarajevu, 4 u Beogradu.

... organizovali smo 39 osnovnih treninga, 6 treninga za trenere/ice, 12 treninga za učesnike ratova, 4 napredna treninga, 3 treninga Mir-Paqe-Mир, i nebrojeno dužih i kraćih treninga...

... kroz radionice i treninge smo zajedno sa bar još 1000 ljudi rasli, podržavali se, mijenjali se....

... u 24 grada zajedno sa mješovitom grupom veterana na preko 100 mjesta smo se sjetili stradalih u ratu, položili cvijeće i odali im poštu...u jednom gradu nam to nisu dozvolili.

... snimili smo i prikazali 7 dokumentarnih filmova, organizovali 8 izložbi fotografija, 14 javnih tribina sa učesnicima rata...

... objavili smo 8 priručnika, knjiga i publikacija na BHS jeziku, koji su prevedeni na albanski, makedonski, mađarski, engleski, njemački i/ili ruski. Organizovali smo dva višejezična "Biber" književna konkursa za kratku priču na temu pomirenja, na koja nam je stiglo ukupno oko 700 priča

... obišli smo i fotografisali preko 85 spomenika, logora, spomen soba, mjesta sjećanja i obilježenih i neobilježenih mjesta stradanja u BiH... objavili fotografije i podatke o tim mjestima i naše viđenje toga kako se sjećamo rata 90-ih.

... objavili smo na nenasilje.org – našoj zadnjoj verziji web stranice, 320 stranica, 467 postova... i danas preko hiljadu ljudi dnevno posjeti naš sajt.

... dijelili smo svoja lijepa i teška iskustva kroz 19 godišnjih izvještaja o radu, i spremamo 20.

...učili smo iz iskustva drugih u drugim dijelovima svijeta. U Njemačkoj, Austriji, Palestini, Indiji, Južnoj Africi, Šri Lanki, Venecueli...

... prešli smo u automobilima bar 2 miliona kilometara, imali dvije saobraćajne nesreće, dva automobila su nam ukrali, jedan automobil smo platili i nikada dobili. Naš prvi automobil je bio golf dvojka, dizel. Teget. Kada je stigao bio je mladi tinejdžer, kada smo ga prodali bio je u voznom stanju i odavno punoljetan.

... spavali smo u preko 100 hotela, motela, prenoćišta u regiji... ali draže nam je bilo po kućama i stanovima naših prijatelja/ica i saradnika/ca.

... svo vrijeme se borimo i nadamo se da naše postojanje i naš rad postanu suvišni. Nismo optimisti da ćemo u tome i uspjeti, ali daćemo sve od sebe, kao i do sada, da na ovim prostorima "započne mir" ...



mirovno obrazovanje

Osnovni trening iz izgradnje mira, Ulcinj 14-24.10.2016.

36. Osnovni trening iz izgradnje mira održan je u Ulcinju, u Crnoj Gori, od 14-24.10.2016. Prošlo je tri godine od našeg posljednjeg Osnovnog treninga, naime, u 2014. i 2015. organizirali smo Trening za trenere/ice iz izgradnje mira, kao i programe mirovnog brazovanja koje su iz tog treninga proizašle – radionice sa srednjoškolcima/ama, trening iz izgradnje mira za studente/ice iz BiH, kao i trening iz izgradnje mira za građane/ke Kosova, Makedonije i Srbije. Vremensku „pauzu“ ističemo kao važnu pojedinost, s obzirom da su promjene koje su se tijekom tog vremena dogodile u našim društvenim kontekstima značajno utjecale na način na koji smo odabranim temama mogli pristupiti, kao i na tempo rada, kako ćete imati prilike pročitati nešto kasnije u tekstu.

Za trening se prijavilo 159 osoba. Iz Bosne i Hercegovine stiglo je 80 prijava, slijede Srbija (39), Makedonija (17), Hrvatska (12), Kosovo (7) i Crna Gora (4). Odmah po svršetku selekcijskog procesa imali smo znatan broj otkazivanja učešća. Ovo nam je ispočetka u bitnome otežalo, budući je na trening stiglo znatno više prijava žena nego muškaraca (103:56). Kako je jedna od osnovnih pretpostavki kvalitete treninga jednaka spolna, dobna i regionalna zastupljenost, nastojali smo je uspostaviti. Osim prijava koje smo već u samom selekcijskom postupku odbacili (budući su bile nedovoljno sadržajne, bez jasne motivacije ili izražene namjere da se radi na temama navedenim u pozivu), veoma mali broj muškaraca je pristao biti na listi čekanja (ili je datum do kojega su pristali biti na listi čekanja već prošao), što nam je onemogućilo da željenu spolnu ravnotežu i postignemo. Razloge tako velikog broja otkazivanja učešća ne želimo pretpostavljati. Finalnu grupu činilo je 20 osoba, 14 žena i 6 muškaraca – novinara/ki, nastavnika/ca, članova/ica političkih partija, ratnih veteranki, uposlenika/ca vladinih agencija i tijela, LGBT aktivista/kinja, ali i onih koji su na trening došli prvenstveno zbog jake osobne motivacije. Velika dobit za nas je bila raznovrsna životna dob naših učesnika/ca (ukupni prosjek godina je 36.4, raspon godina između 21 i 61). Naša bojazan da će nas disbalans u broju žena i muškaraca onemogućiti da kvalitetno radimo, nije se ostvarila. A različitost predznanja i životnog iskustva potaknula je vrlo intenzivnu međugeneracijsku razmjenu, i inače vrlo važnu sastavnicu rada na suočavanju s prošlošću i izgradnji mira, te već u početku treninga potaknula razumijevanje različitih i drugačijih perspektiva, bilo da

se radi o pitanjima svakodnevnog života, ili pitanjima društvenih odnosa.

Planirajući trening, namjera nam je, između ostalih, bila da potaknemo raspravu o porastu netrpeljivosti i nepovjerenja među državama regije zapadnog Balkana, te osvještavanje takvih tendencija kroz susret i povezivanje, propitivanje narativa i „slika neprijatelja“ te poticanje prekogranične suradnje. Naime, stanje u našim društvima i njihovi međusobni odnosi i tenzije koje u tim odnosima kontantno postoje, u posljednjih nekoliko godina trpe stalno pogoršanje, i to se unekoliko pokazalo i u našoj grupi. Već u ranoj fazi treninga bila je primjetna tendencija da se ne otvaraju teme koje su etnički ili nacionalno osjetljive zbog straha od konflikata, već smo raspravljali o temama u kojima se znatan dio grupe osjeća relativno sigurno, poput odnosa društva prema marginaliziranim društvenim skupinama i seksualnim manjinama. Iako to nije slučaj sa našim društvima u cjelini, mnogi u našoj grupi već su prošli različite edukacije iz područja ljudskih prava i osvještavanja o ovim pitanjima. Individualizam kao društvena vrijednost, diskurs ljudskih prava prema kojemu postoje organizacije ili pojedinci koji se meritorno bave ovim pitanjima, te u tom smislu potreba da tražimo „točne“ (politički korektne i profesionalne) odgovore na društvena pitanja, isprva su nam otežavali da osvijestimo društvenu odgovornost koju kao pojedinci nosimo za stanje u našim društvima. U tom se smislu se znala artikulirati potreba za liderom, za nekim tko će tražiti rješenje i meritorno preuzeti odgovornost. Međutim, upravo zato se ovaj program mirovne edukacije naziva treningom, zbog mogućnosti da vježbamo – drugi nam na treningu pružaju društveno ogledalo koje nam omogućuje da se vidimo iz drugog ugla, da uđemo u tuđe cipele, da se preispitujemo i druge potičemo da to čine, da i sami preuzimamo ulogu lidera (da ne čekamo neophodno da neko drugi nešto preduzme) i konačno, da mijenjajući sebe, vlastite stavove i reakcije, mijenjamo društvo u kojemu živimo. Zbog toga smo bitni odsječak vremena posvetili razumijevanju sukoba, kako na ličnom, tako i društvenom nivou, te propitivanju identiteta i nacionalnih identiteta. Na taj smo način postavili dobre temelje da se bavimo suočavanjem s prošlošću, temeljito i sadržajno, da komuniciramo jedni drugima što je to što doživljavamo nepravdom, što možemo učiniti da kažemo drugima kako se osjećamo ili pokušamo promijeniti okolnosti koje su

dovele do toga da su razna zvjerstva počinjena u naše ime, ili u ime etničke grupe koju percipiramo ili nam je naturaju kao neprijateljsku. Da osvijestimo potencijale koje dominantna društvena tumačenja naše bliže i daljnje nacionalne povijesti mogu imati u održavanju starog i stvaranju nekog budućeg nasilja, ali i da zajedno razmišljamo u smjeru konstruktivnog odnosa prema prošlosti.

S takvom postavkom stvari, rasla je i motivacija da radimo na ovim pitanjima, i da ih stavimo u konkretni društveni kontekst za što nam je priliku pružila radionica o memorijalizaciji i kulturi sjećanja. Na konkretnim primjerima spomenika, spomeničkih mjesta, obilježenih i neobilježenih mjesta stradanja, imali smo prilike vidjeti čega se kao društva sjećamo a što prešućujemo, kako i kome se u tom sjećanju obraćamo i kakvu poruku odašiljemo. Na tom tragu se kristalizirala i potreba da tražimo drugačije načine rješavanja spornih pitanja iz prošlosti, da to što se ne slažemo u stajalištima ne znači da moramo ratovati, već da pokušamo otvoriti prostor za druge perspektive i drugačije viđenje događaja iz prošlosti. Da ne moramo utvrditi konačnu istinu, već da naše istine mogu supostojati a da se nužno ne ugrožavaju. Do ovoga smo došli propitujući sam koncept pomirenja, njegov sadržaj, preduslove i načine njihovog postizanja. Grupa je ovim zadacima vrlo ozbiljno pristupila, te smo cijeli trening vrlo naporno radili, naše je zadovoljstvo postignutim, podjednako u grupi i u trenerskom timu, time bivalo veće. Između ostalog, to nam je pomoglo da unutar grupe

osvijestimo kolika je razina povjerenja potrebna da bi se ovim temama moglo pristupilo konstruktivno. Znatno broj učesnika ocijenio je rad na društvenim tabuima o prošlosti i suočavanju s prošlošću kao onaj dio treninga koji ih je najviše zaokupio, budući da je osim grupnog propitivanja otvorio i siguran prostor za izražavanje vlastitog mišljenja o ovim temama, kritiku postojećih modela odnosa prema bolnoj prošlosti, dubinsku samorefleksiju, kao i za kritiku od strane drugih.

Tim su čini Adnan Hasanbegović, Davorka Turk i Nedžad Horozović iz CNA, te naša dugogodišnja drugarica i kolegica Albulena Karaga iz Detske ambasade Megjashi, Skoplje. Vrlo brzo se pokazalo da će za kvalitetnu refleksiju o identitetskim pitanjima u ovako mješovitoj grupi, i s nacionalnim identitetom povezanim ličnim i društvenim konfliktima biti potrebna ona posebna kvaliteta koja nastaje našim uzajamnim komplementarnim djelovanjem, u timu, ali i u grupi. Tako je i bilo, svaki je pokušaj nametanja vlastite nacionalne perspektive bez vidljivog nastojanja da se o njoj i kritički progovori, u grupi konfrontiran uvođenjem drugih viđenja i perspektiva danog problema. Početna nesprijetnost učesnika/ca da se uhvate u koštac s pitanjima koja u njima izazivaju prije svega emocionalnu reakciju, s odmicanjem treninga pretvorila se u sve veću spremnost na samorefleksiju, ali i konstruktivnu kritiku. Albulenino prisustvo u timu nam je omogućilo da izbjegnemo situaciju u kojoj bismo se pretežito orijentirali na situaciju u Daytonskom trokutu (Bosna i Hercegovina, Hrvatska, Srbija), već smo mogli podjednako tematizirati



dinamiku makedonsko-albanskih odnosa, smještajući ih u širu perspektivu regije. Time smo uspjeli stvoriti uvjete u kojima o etničkim odnosima zajednica u našim društvima razgovaramo uspoređujući sličnosti i razlike u modelima i prirodi tih odnosa (na čemu se temelje, koji je odnos suprotstavljenih identiteta, kakva je priroda nacionalnih narativa koji nas drže u suprotstavljenim pozicijama), i da nastojimo utvrditi prisutne društvene trendove, poput normalizacije nacionalizma kao dominantnog društvenog modela. Iako smo bili svjesni da bi upotreba makedonskog kao još jednog radnog jezika u grupi mogla biti poteškoća, prevagnule su prethodno navedene pretpostavljene prednosti ovakvog oblika rada. Grupa je na ovu okolnost iznimno dobro reagirala, mnogima od nas ovo je bila prva prilika da (ponovno) čujemo makedonski, i podsjetimo se koliko toga nam je zajedničko, te i na taj način potaknula sinergiju u grupi. Plod našeg zajedničkog rada je i mini makedonsko-bhs rječnik osnovnih termina, kojega smo tijekom treninga zajednički dopunjavali.

Osim već pobrojanih teškoća u izboru učesnika/ca, pola grupe i pola trenerskog tima bilo je pokošeno nepoznatim želučanim virusom, što nam je objektivno znatno moglo otežati rad. Međutim, kako je to s nama tijekom cijelog treninga bio slučaj, imali smo neočekivanu pomoć u činjenici da nas je bolest zadesila na jedini slobodni dan koji smo imali. Sreća je velika da veće zdravstvene opasnosti nije bilo, niti je bilo kome bila potrebna liječnička pomoć. Upravo suprotno, entuzijazam i želja da nastavimo raditi je potaknula proces oporavka.

Na našu veliku žalost, pred sam kraj treninga napustila nas je jedna učesnica, zbog smrti u obitelji. Nedostajala nam je, svojim duhom i doprinosom, i žalimo što joj nismo mogli više pomoći. Jer, značajno vrijeme koje smo provodili zajedno, u radioničkom prostoru ali i tijekom slobodnog vremena, povezalo je ovu grupu učesnika/ca iskreno i dubinski. Nadam se da će to bogatstvo još dugo nositi sa sobom. Kao grupa, spremno su nosili odgovornost za proces rada. Kako je trening odmicao sve više su ga koristili kao priliku da ne bježe od konflikata, već da na njima konstruktivno rade, kao priliku za propitivanje vlastitih stavova, razumijevanje drugačijih perspektiva i dijalog sa neistomišljenicima. Već to je znatno više nego što u našim društvima, pa i aktivističkim krugovima, možemo doživjeti. Smatramo to važnim napomenuti budući smo dojma da većina naše grupe sebe inače ne doživljava kao nositelje

društvene promjene, te se nadamo da ćemo ih i na ovaj način ohrabriti i potaknuti na daljnji društveni angažman. Iskustvo učešća na ovom treningu i njihov angažman na njemu, može da im da smjernice i ono najvažnije zdravu, vrijednosno utemeljenu osnovu mirovnog rada ma kako ga oni u skladu sa svojim mogućnostima "artikulirali".

Davorka Turk



Osnovni trening iz izgradnje mira, Ohrid, 20-30. 4. 2017.

Svi čekaju nekog drugog da bude prvi...

Osnovni trening iz izgradnje mira u organizaciji Centra za nenasilnu akciju Sarajevo/Beograd, 37. po redu, održan je u Ohridu (Makedonija) u periodu od 20. do 30. aprila 2017. Makedonija je, uz Crnu Goru, mjesto na kojem u posljednje vrijeme najčešće organiziramo osnovni trening iz izgradnje mira sa željom da nam se pridruži što veći broj ljudi sa Kosova i iz Makedonije.

Ukupno smo imali 142 prijave, od čega je najviše prijava bilo iz Bosne i Hercegovine (72), Srbije (30), Makedonije (21), Kosova (10), Hrvatske (7) te iz Crne Gore dvije prijave. Ponovo je (kao i za posljednjih nekoliko treninga) broj prijavljenih žena bio mnogo veći (97) u odnosu na broj prijavljenih muškaraca (45), što je imalo utjecaja pri odabiru učesnika jer nam je, pored regionalne i dobne, važna i jednaka rodna zastupljenost. Nažalost, u konačnici nismo imali nijednog učesnika/cu iz Crne Gore, a veći broj prijava iz Hercegovine nas je posebno obradovao jer iz ove regije smo ranije imali znatno manji broj prijava. Nakon selekcije na treningu je učestvovalo ukupno 20 osoba i to iz Bosne i Hercegovine 7, Srbije 5, Hrvatske 3, Makedonije 3 i sa Kosova dvije učesnice.

Davorki Turk, Katarini Miličević i Nedžad Novalić (Centar za nenasilnu akciju Sarajevo/Beograd) u trenerskom timu pridružio se i drug Boro Kitanoski iz Mirovne akcije, Prilep, kojeg doživljavamo kao "stalnog pridruženog člana" kada se trening radi u Makedoniji, i koji nam je posebno dragocjen saradnik zbog višegodišnjeg aktivističkog iskustva i poznavanja makedonskog konteksta.

Osnovni trening iz izgradnje mira prolazio je od 1997. kroz različite transformacije, te svaki novi trening traži određena prilagođavanja, te sami učesnici/e i njihove potrebe uvjetuju mnoge promjene. Raditi trening iz izgradnje mira nakon skoro 20 godina od završetka ratova u zemljama bivše Jugoslavije svakako nas tjera na promišljanja u kojem smjeru ići. Danas već dobijamo prijave učesnika koji su rođeni nakon završetka ratnih sukoba u njihovim zemljama, a u kontekstu Bosne i Hercegovine prvi put smo imali prijave osoba koje su rođene nakon potpisivanja Dejtonskog mirovnog sporazuma. Stoga nam je bilo važno da na ovom osnovnom treningu pokušamo osvijestiti ono što jesu stvarne posljedice ratova, a što nove generacije uzimaju kao nešto dato, nešto sasvim

normalno, kao što je, naprimjer, činjenica da su u školskim klupama bili isključivo sa pripadnicima svoje etničke zajednice.

"Normalizacija" nacionalizma u regionu, te činjenica da sve manje znamo o važnim problemima u drugim zemljama regiona koje nisu naši susjedi (primjer Hrvatske i Makedonije, u jednom i u drugom smjeru) prepoznali smo kao važna kretanja, a jedno od pitanja s kojim smo ušli u trening bilo je i kako u ljudima osvijestiti da imaju moć za promjene, ali i šta su to, u vrijeme društvenih mreža, aktivizam i nenasilna akcija.

Prije samog dolaska u Ohrid učesnici su sjajno međusobno komunicirali, dogovorivši se da putuju zajedno, pa su se mnogi od njih u dolasku već upoznali i proveli cijeli dan zajedno. Pored tog prethodnog upoznavanja, činjenica da je dio grupe već prošao mnoge različite edukacije donekle su utjecali na rad u prvim nekoliko blokova kada se radilo na upoznavanju grupe i timskom radu, u smislu da su neki od učesnika/ca ranije već radili određene vježbe, pa su ih ponovo prolazili kao nešto već naučeno, uz smanjenju mogućnost da se "prepuste" novoj grupi ljudi oko sebe. Ciljanje "tačnih", već naučenih i politički korektnih odgovora kako se ponekad ne bi ulazilo u konflikt, te bježanje od ličnog ka društvenom (a posebno političkom) polju djelimično su ometali neke od učesnika da dijelove treninga prođu na dubokom ličnom nivou.

No, u nastavku treninga grupa je pokazala motiviranost i spremnost da dubinski "zaore" u teme kao što su identiteti/nacionalni identiteti, predrasude, moć, suočavanje s prošlošću... Otvorenost grupe, poznavanje društvenog konteksta iz kojeg dolaze te osjećaj nezadovoljstva istim doprinjeli su da pojedine radionice prevaziđu uobičajnu "dubinu", posebno vježbe "Moja motivacija da do rata ne dođe" i "Šta me boli/šta mi smeta u pričama o ratu"...

Nasilje u Parlamentu Makedonije 27. aprila 2017. kada je skupina demonstranata upala u zgradu parlamenta i brutalno pretukla opozicione zastupnike značajno je obilježilo trening te utjecalo na njegovu modifikaciju. O samom nasilju učesnici/e su saznali neposredno pred kraj šestog radnog dana u vrijeme dok smo gledali dokumentarni film "Isprekidana crta" koji predstavlja

makedonsko-albanski dijalog o ratu u Makedoniji iz 2001., a ono što je uslijedilo nakon prvih informacija poslije smo nazvali “pokaznom vježbom iz izgradnje mira”. Već senzibilizirana grupa zajedno je pratila nastavak dešavanja u Skoplju, komunicirala sa vlastitim porodicama, a sve nastojeći biti podrška ljudima iz Makedonije. Istovremeno smo učili o kontekstu i pozadini nasilja, posebno o neizbježnom prebacivanju trenutnih političkih trzavica u Makedoniji na polje etničkog s referiranjem na rat iz 2001. Kako region, iako rascjepkan u više država, i dalje funkcioniše po sistemu spojenih posuda, nasilje u Parlamentu Makedonije, ali i odluka francuskih vlasti da puste na slobodu Ramusha Haradinaja, bivšeg vođu Oslobođilačke vojske Kosova (UČK) kojeg Srbija sumnjiči za ratne zločine, imalo je svoj odjek u više zemalja, a posebno na Makedoniju, Kosovo i Srbiju.

Jutarnji dio treninga 28. aprila, osjećajući takvu potrebu grupe, prilagodili smo aktuelnim događajima. Umjesto ranije pripremljenih radionica razgovarali smo o makedonskom kontekstu i trenutnom stanju, pokušali smo zajednički doći do odgovora šta raditi u ovakvim situacijama, kakva podrška nam je potrebna... Vježbama “Koji elementi bi mogli dovesti do budućih ratova” i “Moja motivacija da rata ne bude” nastojali smo povezati diskusiju o događajima u Makedoniji i priču o suočavanju s prošlošću i izgradnji mira čime smo dodatno osvijestila da je trening itekako značajan ne samo u smislu odnosa spram prošlosti već i svakodnevnih događaja u našim društvima. Nasilje u makedonskom parlamentu je još jedna zorna ilustracija kako živimo u društvima koja nasilje još uvijek smatraju legitimnim i dozvoljenim u borbi za ostvarivanje (političkih) ciljeva, ali i kako se ratovi iz prošlosti i sama prošlost koriste kao glavno pogonsko gorivo u takvim situacijama.

Zbog ovakvog razvoja događaja i potrebe da se unutar grupe aktivno bavimo ovom neposrednom konfliktnom situacijom, nešto nam je manje vremena ostalo za prethodno planirani rad na temama pomirenja i nenasilne akcije. Ipak, dubinski rad na temama suočavanje s prošlošću i povezivanje cijelog treninga sa aktuelnim događajem vidimo kao posebnu vrijednost 37. treninga iz izgradnje mira.

Različita starosna struktura grupe, pri čemu smo među učesnicima imali i dva ratna veterana, doprinijeli su smanjenju međugeneracijskog jaza između onih koji su rat(ove) (pro)živjeli i onih koji na rat(ove) nemaju sjećanje ili su rođeni poslije njih. Taj jaz, podstican porukama

kako bi “rat trebalo zaboraviti zarad budućnosti” čini se sve većim, pa je ustručavanje starijih generacija da govore o vlastitom ratnom iskustvu vjerojatno proizlazi iz želje da osiguraju svojoj djeci kvalitetniju budućnost, što za posljedicu ima da se javni prostor prepušta “profesionalnim naratorima” koji ponavljaju ustaljene (nacionalne) narative koji ne doprinose suočavanju s prošlošću i izgradnji mira.

Više učesnika/ca izrazilo je želju i nadanje da će iz osnovnog treninga proizići različite akcije na polju suočavanja s prošlošću, izgradnje mira i pomirenja. Ohrabrujemo grupu na takve korake i obećavamo da ćemo biti aktivna podrška na tom putu koji nije lak, ali nije ni nemoguć, posebno nakon “izlistavanja” koliko koraka na putu pomirenja možemo napraviti samostalno bez čekanja na nadležne, na različita ministarstva, vlade, države...

“Svi čekaju nekog drugog da bude prvi koji će napraviti prvi korak, izviniti se, tražiti oprost, a ne shvataju da tu nema prvog, drugog, trećeg”, kazala je jedna od učesnica treninga. Zato, na kraju, zakoraćimo.

Nedžad Novalić

Mir – Paqe – Мир, Uvod u izgradnju mira Veles, 31.3-9.4. 2017.

Trening “Uvod u izgradnju mira: Mir-Paqe-Mip 2017”, organizovan je treći put, u saradnji Centra za nenasilnu akciju (CNA), Sarajevo–Beograd i Akcija za nenasilje i izgradnju mira (ANP) iz Gnjilana, od 31. marta do 09. aprila 2017 godine. Trening je održan u Velesu, Makedonija. Trenerski tim je bio sastavljen od mirovnih aktivista i aktivistkinja koji dolaze iz različitih sredina: Albulena Karaga (Skoplje), Nexhat Ismajli (ANP, Gnjilane) Aleksandra Bogdanovska (Skoplje), Nataša Okilj (Stara Pazova) i Nedžad Horozović (Doboj/Sarajevo), svi troje iz CNA. Značajno je bilo deljenje iskustva i paralela sa bosanskim kontekstom, koje je doneo novi član tima, što je osvežilo koncept i sadržaj treninga i poticalo kreativnost u timu.

Kao i prethodnih godina, motivaciju za organizovanje ovog programa mirovnog obrazovanja nalazimo u mogućnosti susreta, razmjene mišljenja i iskustava među ljudima koji, iako ne govore isti jezik, žive u vrlo sličnim društvima, koja snažno utiču jedna na druga i dele zajedničku prošlost. Trening vidimo i kao priliku da učesnici/ce pričaju o stvarima o kojim se uobičajeno ne priča “kod kuće” i sa ljudima sa kojima za to teško dolaze u priliku. To nam omogućava da kritički posmatramo različite narative o ratovima i problemima koji dominiraju

u društvima iz kojih dolazimo. Trening vidimo i kao mesto na kojem možemo da se osnažimo da delujemo tamo gde živimo, uz međusobnu podršku koja prelazi sve vidljive i nevidljive granice.

Uprkos uzburkanoj političkoj situaciji u celom regionu, stigle su 73 prijave za trening. Najveći broj prijava, kao i prošle godine, bio je sa Kosova, što ilustruje da potreba i interesovanje za ovaj vid treninga postoji i da je, ukoliko se premosti jezička barijera u našem regionu, spremnost na učenje o miru prisutna, iako se ponekad čini da smo “daleko” jedni od drugih. Od izabranih 20 učesnika/ica, zbog kasnog otkazivanja, koje nismo mogli da nadoknadimo pravovremeno, trening smo započeli sa njih 17, bez Albanaca i Albanci iz Makedonije. Grupa je bila heterogena, sastavljena od 9 učesnica i 8 učesnika različitih godina, od kojih su neki rođeni 1970-ih i 1980-ih, i većeg broja učesnika/ica koji/e su rođeni tokom 90-ih godina prošlog veka.

Budući da smo trening radili sa konsekvativnim prevodom, tempo je bio sporiji u poređenju sa treninzima koji se rade samo na jednom jeziku. No, kako već imamo iskustvo u radu sa prevodom, tokom priprema smo izabrali teme i način rada koji se puno ne razlikuje od osnovnih treninga. Tako, radili smo upoznavanje, komunikaciju,



timski rad, donošenje odluka, stvaranje sigurnog prostora i poverenja unutar grupe, da bi nakon toga prešli na razumevanje sukoba, nasilje, diskriminacija, identitet, rod, suočavanje sa prošlošću i izgradnju mira.

Vežbe koje smo radili su bile prilagođene radu u višezjezičnoj grupi sa prevodom. Grupa je bila vrlo znatiželjna, otvorena i spremna za rad. Puno snage smo uložili u praćenje pulsa grupe jer je na početku postojao otpor prema otvorenom pričanju o emocijama, kao i povezivanju paralela između situacije tokom vežbe i realnosti. Kroz poticanje na kritiku i samokritiku i osnaživanje da učesnici/e dele svoje potrebe i želje, zajedno smo došli do uspostavljanja odgovarajućeg tempa koji ne odstupa od ciljeva treninga – osnaživanja za delovanje u polju izgradnje mira. Kasnije se dinamika učenja na treningu promenila, na način da je grupa učesnika/ca preispitivala vrednosti i ponašanja tokom rada unutar grupe, pa te procese reflektovala na društveni nivo i kontekste iz kojih dolaze. Otvorili smo puno osetljivih tema i razgovarali o društvima u kojim živimo, te kako mi lično, ali i zajedno, možemo da delujemo kako bi ih menjali. Vrhunac treninga se desio tokom radionice na temu suočavanja sa prošlošću. Naime, osveštavanje dominantnih narativa i tabua u našim društvima je bilo teško, emotivno i značajno za sve nas, jer je predstavljalo suočavanje sa tim kako izgledaju društva u kojima živimo i šta to znači za druge ljude, koji su nam neretko predstavljeni kao neprijatelji.

Jezička barijera koja postoji među ljudima koji žive u ove tri zemlje se koristi u dnevno-političke svrhe kao još jedan od mehanizama za podele, ali društveni obrasci koje funkcionišu u Makedoniji, Srbiji i na Kosovu su slični, povezani i nužno se “hrane” i utičku jedni na druge. Na ovom treningu učesnici su imali mogućnost da spoznaju da svako/a može jasno da kaže koliko boli i smeta ono što se u društvima radi “u naše ime”. To nije lako, ali time postajemo saveznici i podrška onima na “drugoj” strani koji žele i hoće isto.

Kako je jedan učesnik rekao tokom vežbe:

“Ja ovdje imam prijatelje i Albance i Srbe i bilo me je sramota da pred njima kažem šta je to što se o njima govori i misli u mojoj sredini.”

Kako je ovo treći ovakav trening koji smo radili, dosadašnje stečeno iskustvo i impresije učesnika/ca koji su ohrabreni da preuzmu veću ulogu u izgradnji mira u svojim zajednicama nas motiviše da nastavimo sa ovim programom. To se potvrdilo i na ovom treningu, jer lična promena je nužan korak ka promeni u društvu i svako/a od nas ima moć da krene tim putem i da pokuša da deluje i menja društvo u kojem živi.

Aleksandra Bogdanovska



Drugi trening izgradnje mira za studentice i studente iz BiH, Jahorina, 17-26.7.2017.

Trening izgradnje mira za studente i studentice iz BiH u organizaciji Centra za nenasilnu akciju Sarajevo/Beograd održan je u periodu od 17. do 26. srpnja/jula 2017. godine u hotelu Lavina na Jahorini. Na treningu je sudjelovalo 20 osoba iz raznih dijelova BiH, koje studiraju na Univerzitetima u Sarajevu, Banja Luci, Doboju, Bihaću, Istočnom Sarajevu, Mostaru i Zenici te na Sveučilištu u Mostaru i Međunarodnom Burch Univerzitetu. Prilikom odabira sudionika osim po kvaliteti aplikacije, trenerski tim je vodio računa i o ravnomjernoj regionalnoj, spolnoj/rodnoj i nacionalnoj zastupljenosti, tako da smo dobili mozaik mladih ljudi iz cijele BiH. Na treningu je sudjelovalo 11 žena i 9 muškaraca.

Odluka da održimo još jedan trening izgradnje mira za studente/ice iz BiH donjeta je nakon što je 2015. održan prvi ovakav trening izgradnje mira sa fokusom na studentsku populaciju. Tada smo zaključili da želimo i dalje raditi na stvaranju potencijala za promjenu među mladim ljudima i budućim akademski obrazovanim građanima i građankama.

Trening je planiran tako da se u prvom dijelu radi na osobnoj promjeni i na grupnim mehanizmima i ponašanjima. Teme kojima smo se bavili bile su nenasilna komunikacija, timski rad i donošenje odluka. Tijekom rada

na ovim temama pojavile su se prve poteškoće, dijelom i zbog promjene načina učenja ali i zbog straha od iskrenog izražavanja mišljenja kod određenog broja sudionika što je rezultiralo usporenijom dinamikom rada i manjkom prostora za razmjenu. Osim toga, prilikom iznošenja svojih očekivanja od treninga, veliki broj sudionika je naveo da želi izbjeći svađe i konflikte što se u dobroj mjeri i dogodilo. No unatoč početnim poteškoćama, protekom vremena i prilagodbom na novi, iskustveni način učenja, ipak smo duboko ušli u teme komunikacije, timskog rada i donošenja odluka. Sudionici su se posebno osvrtni na vježbu "Tvrđava" koju su doživjeli vrlo emotivno. Vježba je osvjestila grupne mehanizme na koje smo svi navikli i koje olako prihvaćamo i lakoću posezanja za nasiljem u odnosima među grupama.

Nakon što smo podigli energiju cijelim slobodnim danom, drugi dio treninga nastavili smo radeći na društvenoj promjeni i to na temama koje se tiču identiteta, nasilja, suočavanja sa prošlošću, pomirenja i izgradnje mira. Ove teme su kod sudionika prihvaćene sa puno entuzijazma i energije. Osjetila se potreba i motivacija da se dubinski radi na ovim temama i želja da se nešto promijeni. Iako se mahom radi o generaciji mladih ljudi koja se samog rata ne sjeća i koja je dobrim dijelom rođena



nakon njega, efekti i posljedice rata su se snažno osjećale u grupi. Radeći na vježbama koje su propitivale i analizirale narative i načine kako gledamo na ratna događanja, osjetilo se da postoji snažna želja da se radi na ovim temama i da se propituju političke pozicije i ratni narativi kojima smo naučeni. Posebice je to došlo na vidjelo kod vježbe “što treba promijeniti u pričama o ratu u mojoj zajednici, a što bi predstavljalo pošten odnos prema prošlosti” gdje su sudionici zaorali duboko u ratne tabue naših zajednica i mahom bez suzdržavanja su stavili na papir ogroman broj konkretnih primjera koji predstavljaju iskorak prema suočavanju s prošlošću i zdravijoj budućnosti.

Vježba “kad sam bio ponosna/a na svoj nacionalni identitet a kad me bilo sramota te kad mi je nacionalni identitet stvarao problem” je još više zbližila grupu i stvorila sigurni prostor za premošćavanje etničkih granica te donijela multiperspektivni pogled na to kako mi svi gledamo na naše nacionalne identitete i događaje koji se vezuju za njih. Vrhunac treninga prema utiscima sudionika bila je radionica sa ratnim veteranima.

Poslijepodne šestog dana treninga su nam se pridružili Spasoje Kulaga RVI i ratni veteran VRS iz Dervente, Ibrahim Topčić veteran ARBiH iz Gornjeg Vakufa/Uskoplja te Zvonko Lucić veteran HV-a iz Slunja. Oni su nam, zajedno sa članom trenerskog tima i veteranom Adnanom Hasanbegovićem, iznjeli svoje ratne i mirovnjačke priče/ sudbine te približili studentima i studenticama način na koji oni gledaju našu prošlost i budućnost. Iskustvo koje su podijelili još će dugo odjekivati u nama, a i učesnicama/ ima, i podsjećati nas na krhkost mira i potrebu da se konstatno radi na miru i pravednijoj budućnosti. Sa ovog susreta veterana i studenata, neke rečenice su nam ostale posebno upečatljive kao npr. “Mir treba stalno graditi, kad se puške krenu dijeliti tada je već kasno” i posebno rečenica “učite na našim greškama”.

Već u ovom dijelu treninga se mogla osjetiti promjena, posebice senzibilizacija prema drugima i njihovim viđenjima i potrebama. Drago nam je i da je bilo i dosta komentara kako je mnogo novog naučeno, mahom o narativima koji se u njihovim zajednicama doživljavaju kao tuđi i kojima sudionici do tada nisu imali pristup.

Trening smo zaključili temama izgradnje mira i nenasilne akcije gdje smo pokušali osnažiti i konkretizirati načine na koje možemo djelovati u svojim zajednicama a ujedno i podijeliti među sobom ideje kako djelovati. Naši konteksti koliko god bili različiti u srži su i isti i traže iste načine djelovanja i mjenja.

Ovim treningom smo i mi učili. Naučili smo i da je u našim zajednicama još uvijek teško pričati o ratu makar

bio rođen/a poslije njega. Naučili smo i da se uloga trenera gleda kroz više prizmi i da ona ne završava samo kod davanja poticaja i mišljenja za vrijeme radionica. Shvatili smo da u ovom procesu nismo sami i da imamo mnogo saveznica i saveznika koji su spremni dati sebe za sretniju budućnost. Otvorili smo mnogo tema i problema, od kojih neki još uvijek čekaju odgovore i prikladno vrijeme za promjene. Iz treninga izlazimo osnaženi i motivirani za budući rad sa mladim ljudima i puni nade da će jednog dana kad bude trenutak odluke postojati osobe koje će prepoznati takvu situaciju i da će se uz pomoć njih kazaljka povijesti okrenuti u pozitivnom pravcu.

Trenerski tim su činili Dalmir Mišković, Tamara Zrnović i Jordančo Poposki te Nataša Okilj i Adnan Hasanbegović iz CNA.

Nataša Okilj



rad sa ratnim veteranima

Posjeta ratnih veterana bivšem Vozućkom ratištu

A da te pitam, kako je tebi bilo?

5. i 6. juli/srpanj 2017. godine

Ja znam kako je bilo meni, ali me živo zanima i kako je bilo onima protiv kojih sam se borio u tom ratu. Ako sjedimo samo u svom toru i ataru onda mi samo znamo onu istinu koju želimo čuti.

Ratni veterani iz Bosne i Hercegovine, Srbije i Hrvatske posjetili su bivše Vozućko ratište na području općine Zavidovići odavši počast stradalim civilima i vojnicima, uz želju da čujemo, kako je to kazao Enes Bajrić, jedan od učesnika, kako je bilo i drugima na ratištu na kojem je stradalo više od hiljadu vojnika i više stotina civila na sve tri strane koje su bile u sukobu (Armija BiH, VRS i HVO).

Ideja o zajedničkoj posjeti veterana Armije BiH, VRS-a, HVO, VJ, HV i JNA plod je višegodišnje saradnje sa udruženjima veterana iz Zavidovića i Doboja. Naši domaćini i suorganizatori ove posjete bili su veterani Armije BiH Asim Parlić, Amir Mujkić i Enes Bajrić, te Zoran Blagojević, veteran VRS-a i predsjednik Zavičajnog udruženja Zavidovićana u Doboju i Nenad Bukvić iz dobojske Boračke organizacije Republike Srpske. Ratni veterani, u organizaciji Centra za nenasilnu akciju Sarajevo/Beograd, već su posjećivali Zavidoviće, ali i Doboj - mjesto gdje smo se okupili i odakle smo krenuli u posjetu Vozućkom ratištu.

Zašto onda još jedna posjeta ratnih veterana Vozućkom

ratištu ako smo već bili, vidjeli, čuli? Željeli smo ovaj put otići jedan korak dalje: željeli smo da Vozućko ratište, jedno od najkrvavijih u proteklom ratu u BiH, zajednički posjetimo sa veteranima iz Zavidovića i Doboja, sa bivšim pripadnicima koji su bili direktni učesnici sukoba na ovom području, zajedno sa onima koji su bili na frontovima gdje su rovovi jedni od drugih bili udaljeni tek nekoliko metara. Takav korak naprijed, zahvaljujući našim domaćinima u Zavidovićima i Doboju te ratnim veteranima s kojima već sarađujemo nekoliko godina, napravili smo 6. jula 2017.

Okupili smo se u Doboju 5. jula 2017. Ovo nekadašnje željezničko čvorište bivše Jugoslavije nismo slučajno odabrali - nakon jeseni 1995. najveći broj Vozućana protjeran je sa područja Zavidovića pri čemu ih se najviše nastanilo u Doboju. Vozućani u Doboju ne zaboravljaju svoj zavičaj - organizovani su u zavičajna udruženja, posjećuju Vozuću, obnovili su spomenike, crkve te komemoriraju događaje iz 1995. koje nazivaju egzodusom.

Brda smrti

Naše prvo odredište 6. jula bila je Kota 715. Kota 715 na brdu Podsijelovo na obroncima planine Ozren na području općine Zavidovići mogla bi se nazvati i "Brdom smrti". Udaljena 20-ak kilometara od Zavidovića Kota 715 imala je izrazit vojno-strateški značaj, a plato Kote 715



bio je poprište sukoba Armije RBiH i VRS-a tokom 1994. i 1995. godine. Na prostoru od jedva nekoliko stotina metara kvadratnih u periodu od nekoliko mjeseci stradalo je više od 300 vojnika s obje strane, a o intenzitetu sukoba na izrazito malom prostoru, pored broja stradalih, govori i opaska kako bi se ovu kotu trebala nazivati Kotom 714 jer je najmanje jedan metar zemlje "uzoran" ratnim dejstvima.

O borbama na Koti 715 govorili su nam veterani Armije BiH i VRS čiji su rovovi na ovom području bili udaljeni tek 15-ak metara. Danas na Koti 715 postoji spomenik bez nacionalnih ili religijskih obilježja na kojem je ispisana sljedeća poruka: Onima koji svojom krvlju natopiše ovu kotu. Narod i borci Zavidovića. Iako ne znamo je li to bila i namjera onih koji su spomenik postavljali, zbog ove poruke, na ovom mjestu, danas je moguće komemorirati stradale bez obzira s koje strane dolazili.

Postoji ideja i da livada - čiji je, kako kažu bivši borci, svaki pedalj natopljen krvlju, bude vraćena u stanje neposredno nakon ratnih dejstava kako bi svjedočila o strahotama rata. Amir Mujkić, ratni vojni invalid i veteran Armije BiH, govorio je i o mogućnosti izgradnje ovakvog spomenika: Nadam se da će neka generacija smoći snage da izgradi takav spomenik, spomenik koji će opominjati kakvu bol rat donosi. Volio bih da taj spomenik podigne naša generacija, generacija ljudi koji su se ovdje borili kako bismo pokazali putokaz onima koji dolaze iza nas.

Sa Kote 715 poslat je i poziv pojedincima i institucijama da se učini više na pronalasku nestalih - a i danas se traga za više od 100 vojnika i civila nestalih na ovom ratištu -

te da se procesuiraju odgovorni za ratne zločine. Na toj koti su izginuli najhrabriji, ali i danas veterani koji su došli odati počat stradalim sigurno su hrabri. Sa te kote mi smo uputili apel pojedincima i institucijama s ciljem pronalaska nestalih vojnika i civila. Oni zaslužuju ljudski kraj, dostojanstvenu sahranu i to je možda i najznačajniji apel današnje posjete, kazao je nakon posjete Koti 715 Ninko Đurić, bivši pripadnik VRS-a.

Nakon Kote 715 posjetili smo mjesto Stog gdje je u dvorištu obnovljene Crkve Svetog Georgija podignut spomenik u znak sjećanja na 21 žrtvu čiji su posmrtni ostaci pronađeni u masovnoj grobnici na istom lokalitetu. Također, na istoj lokaciji nalazi se i spomen-ploča pripadnicima VRS-a koji su poginuli i nestali na ovom području u septembru 1995. Polaganjem cvijeća i molitvenom šutnjom odali smo počast stradalim te osudili počinjenje zločine, a na ovom mjestu pridružili su nam se i čelni ljudi vjerskih zajednica iz Zavidovića: Izet ef. Čamdžić, glavni imam Medžlisa Zavidovići, paroh Zoran Živković i župnik Miro Bešlić. Prisustvo vjerskih poglavara iz sredine koju posjećujemo je novina koja nam se čini jako važnom - vjerske zajednice imaju značajan utjecaj te su jedan od glavnih stubova na kojima počivaju (nacionalni) narativi o proteklom ratu.

Ljudi - nenadoknadivi gubitak

Zavidovičko ratište bilo je aktivno faktički od početka do kraja ratnih sukoba u BiH, odnosno od sredine 1992. do jeseni 1995. U sklopu posjete Zavidovićima odali smo počast i položili cvijeće i na Centralni gradski spomenik u Zavidovićima koji je podignut u sjećanje na 977 boraca



Armije RBiH i 138 civilnih žrtava rata poginulih na teritoriji općine Zavidovići. Spomenik u obliku slomljenog krila ptice simbolizira velike ljudske gubitke koji su nenadoknadivi. Spomen-ploča u dvorištu crkve Svetog Josipa u Zavidovićima podignuta je u znak sjećanja na stradale branitelje HVO koji su poginuli na ovom području te smo i na ovom mjestu položili cvijeće i odali počast stradalim.

Na lokaciji "13. kilometar", uz rijeku Gostović kod Zavidovića, tokom 1995. uspostavljen je zatočenički objekt za civile i vojnike srpske nacionalnosti. Upravu nad objektom imala je jedinica El-Mudžahid, sastavljena od stranih boraca. Zatočnici su bili podvrgnuti zlostavljanjima, premlaćivanjima i ubistvima. Polaganjem cvijeća na ovom mjestu poslali smo poziv da se mjesto stradanja obilježi.

Lokalne vlasti iz Zavidovića i Doboja, predvođene načelnikom Hašimom Mujanovićem i predsjedavajućim Općinskog vijaća Zavidovići Redžom Seferovićem te gradonačelnikom Doboja Obrenom Petrovićem pridružile su nam se na radnom ručku u mjestu Kamenica te su poželjeli dobrodošlicu učesnicima i izrazili podršku ovakvim akcijama.

Ko će, ako nećemo mi?

Za dovesti bivše neprijatelje na mjesta vlastitog stradanja ili zajedno s njima otići na mjesta njihovog stradanja treba hrabrosti. Zato za ovakvo pomijeranje ljestvice - zajedničku posjetu ratnih veterana koji su se direktno borili jedni protiv drugih - dugujemo posebnu

zahvalnost našim domaćinima, veteranima Armije BiH i VRS-a. Već smo prije nekoliko mjeseci svjedočili da su vjerski poglavari u BiH obišli mjesta stradanja na Kazanima, u Križančevu selu i na Korićanskim stijenama. No, gest vjerskih čelnika iz Zavidovića čini se još većim: otišli su da se poklone ubijenima na svim stranama u zajednici u kojoj žive i djeluju, mjestu u kojem ih ljudi prepoznaju i često doživljavaju kao važne autoritete. Podrška lokalnih zvaničnika svakako je značajna jer na kraju često su upravo oni ti koji odlučuju šta se i kako može komemorirati na njihovom području.

Ovakva posjeta bivšem Vozučkom ratištu pokazala nam je i koliko sitnih koraka je potrebno za nešto slično. Humanizacija neprijatelja i potreba da se čuje i njegova istina dugotrajan je proces. Prethodne posjete Zavidovićima i Doboju, druženje i saradnja sa ratnim veteranima sa ovog područja, povezivanje bivših neprijatelja samo su neki od tih koraka.

Činjenica je da mi na svim stranama imamo poginule, nestale, ranjenje, demobilisane i nezaposlene borce... Prema tome, ako mi nećemo da pokrenemo ovakvu inicijativu, ko će drugi?, kazao je Enes Bajrić, veteran Armije BiH. Ovo je primjer da su bivši borci spremni ne samo da se bore za bolji položaj u društvu već i za bolje društvo u kojem žive.

Nedžad Novalić



Jugoslavenske željeznice na 13. kilometru

Za sve postoji prvi put. Tako sam prvi put bio na Vozući, i prvi put u Zavidovićima. Također sam prvi put putovao kanjonom rijeke Gostović, i prvi put u životu sam prenoćio u Doboju.

Moje misaone predstave o prijeratnom Doboju svedene su na veliko čvorište Jugoslavenskih željeznica, čije ime i postojanje se preselilo u fikciju, i zauvijek će me podsjećati na onaj red vožnje, koji je pisao Eduard Sam, alter-ego Kiševog oca koji je nestao u dimu Auschwitzta.

Zadnji put sam u Doboju bio na željezničkoj stanici tačno 15. 4. 1992. Datum pamtim, jer je dan prije bio moj dvadesetdrugi rođendan kada sam odlučio napustiti studij u Zagrebu i vratiti se u Bosnu i Hercegovinu. Rat u Hrvatskoj je bio u terminalnoj fazi. Znao sam da će se ratna mašinerija preseliti u moju republiku, koja će uskoro postati nezavisna država. Do tada nikad nisam živio u Bosni, nego sam osjećao i smatrao da živim u Jugoslaviji. Moje bosanstvo je bilo preskočeno transnacionalnim jugoslavenstvom. Bio sam Jugoslaven, tako sam živio i tako se osjećao duboko u sebi.

Taj zadnji put u Doboju sam bio Jevrej u getu nekog njemačkog grada, koji čeka da dođu po njega. Željezničkim kolodvorom su hodali pijani rezervisti u petobojnim uniformama specijalnih jedinica već bivše JNA. Nikad neću zaboraviti scenu u kojoj jedan rezervista udara otvorenim dlanom po željezničkoj kapi nekog ko je mogao biti otpravnik vozova. Bilo je jasno da čovjek ima pogrešno ime i prezime, i da se našao u pogrešno vrijeme na pogrešnom mjestu. Skupio sam se na drvenoj klupi i čekao voz Bosna Ekspres, kojim sam trebao doći do Bosanskog Novog, i dalje motornim vozom do Bosanske Krupe. Molio sam sve moguće bogove da pijani čovjek u uniformi ne dođe do mene i ne traži mi dokumente, jer sam, kao i otpravnik vozova, imao pogrešno ime i prezime. Tada je već svako mjesto i svako vrijeme postalo pogrešno, osim jednonacionalnih sredina, koje tada nismo tako zvali.

Pijani rezervista me zaobišao, i došao sam do Bosanske Krupe nakon cjelodnevnog putovanja. Nakon tog datuma vozovi više nisu saobraćali na toj relaciji. Jugoslavenske željeznice su prestale postojati i preselile se u našu memoriju, postale su fiktivna činjenica, građa za roman o žudnji za povratkom u normalan život.

Drugi put u Dobar sam došao kao pisac, novinar, ratni veteran, prijatelj CNA (Centar za nenasilnu akciju, Sarajevo-Beograd), na još jedan skup veterana svih vojski, svih ratova u kojima je nestao red vožnje Jugoslavenskih

željeznica, i povukao se duboko u sjećanje, odakle ga niko nikad neće moći istjerati.

Kao i uvijek na susretu veterana, kojeg organizuje CNA, vidio sam stare, poznate i drage face, i nova lica. Dobar je bio čist i infrastrukturno sređen. Na širokom, dugim ulicama bila je ljetna vreva, djelovalo je kao da rata tu nikada nije ni bilo.

Onda smo imali cjelodnevno putovanje po ratištima i mjestima stradanja, gdje su ratovala tri vojske, i stradavali pripadnici tri naroda.

Prvo smo posjetili Kotu 715. Čuvano ratište na području Vozuće, koja je stalno bila u vijestima Radio Sarajeva, kojeg smo mi u Okrugu Bihać slušali tako što bi radio priključili na automobilski akumulator. Na Koti 715, malom prostoru od nekoliko hiljada kvadratnih metara, skoro četiri godine vodile su se surove i brutalne borbe u kojima je poginulo na stotine boraca Armije BiH i Vojske Republike Srpske. To je minijaturni prostor na kojem sam mogao zamisliti silinu artiljerijskih napada, i žestinu borbe prsa u prsa. Prije nego smo se popeli na sam vrh Kote 715 vidio sam spomenik partizanskim jedinicama, I i II dalmatinskoj brigadi koje su, kako piše na obnovljenom spomeniku, na tom mjestu razbile pripadnike 369. hrvatske divizije (u sastavu Wermachta), poznate kao Vražja divizija.

S Kote 715 se vidi pola Bosne, od Vlašića do dimnjaka termoelektrane Tuzla. U svakom ratu ovdje su vođene presudne bitke, sada je to samo obično brdo na kojem puše ugodni povjetarac. I na koje se, među veteranima drugih vojski, penju borci Armije BiH i VRS-a da odaju počast poginulim saborcima.

Na tom mjestu pripadnik VRS-a, i zarobljenik Armije BiH, koji je, po vlastitom priznanju, u zatvorima Armije BiH proveo sedam mjeseci, a u samici 179 dana, pričao je kako je u jednom zatvoru bio pod muslimanskim imenom, jer su u inspekciju logora dolazili predstavnici Crvenog krsta ili slične organizacije. Tu je bio zajedno sa pritvorenicima Bošnjacima. I prvi put nakon mnogo vremena je osjetio okus kafe. Pritvorenici su mu doturili malo kafe pomiješane sa šećerom, a to su stavili u celofan od kutije cigareta. Čovjek koji nam je to pričao onda je tu mješavinu kafe i šećera lizao. Tako je "pio" svoju prvu kafu nakon brojnih dana samice.

Poslije smo išli polagati vijence na centralni spomenik poginulim borcima Armije BiH, na lokaciju u centru Zavidovića. Brojka od više od 1.000 poginulih vojnika

Armije BiH svjedoči o gotovo epskim razmjerama borbe na Koti 715 i drugim kotama Vozučkog ratišta. O goloj borbi za opstanak, gdje uzmicanje nije bilo opcija.

Nakon toga smo posjetili takozvani 13. kilometar. Na tom mjestu, u kanjonu rijeke Gostović, u srcu prirode koja je pokazivala svoju raskoš, nalazio se kamp pripadnika Odreda El Mudžahid, takozvanih mudžahedina, boraca iz arapskih zemalja. Na tom mjestu se nalaze temelji stare pravoslavne bogomolje, i baš tu su mudžahedini držali zarobljenike VRS-a. Tu su činili stravične zločine; kidali glave zarobljenim srpskim vojnicima, mučili ih na mnoge načine. Ono što me fasciniralo je bila ljepota prirode.

I da nisam znao da je to mjesto zločinâ, koje zdrav ljudski um teško može shvatiti, pomislio bih kako je ovo mjesto idealno za piknik. Zidine stare crkve zarasle travama i mirisnim korovom. Cijela površina je bila kao zeleni tepih od divlje mente, i drugog bilja koje je tako lijepo mirisalo. Sa dvije strane tekli su maleni potoci. Vode je bilo u

izobilju, na obroncima kanjona rasli su borovi. Priroda je bila u svom najboljem izdanju.

Za trenutak sam pomislio kako su tajanstvene sile prirode ovaj prostor prekrile divljom mentom kako bi njenim smirujućim mirisom pokušale izliječiti ovo mjesto od tragične i neljudske prošlosti. Za trenutak priroda je mogla pobijediti ljudsko zlo. Ona je jača od svakog nasilja nad ljudskim životima, koje treba pamtiti. Pogotovo pamtiti one koji su demonski mučeni, i ubijani baš na ovom mjestu.

Kako to često biva u Bosni, njena prekrasna priroda je u apsolutnoj suprotnosti naspram užasnih događaja kojima ova zemlja obiluje. Jedino ljudska dobrota i samilost, empatija za patnju drugog može spasiti ovu zemlju od novih krvoprolića. Kao što je priroda spašava svojom ljekovitom ljepotom.

Faruk Šehić



Uspuntna stanica našeg pakla

13. kilometar/ neću ga nikad zaboraviti/ pokušavao sam, nije išlo/ zazivanje Allaha i odsijecanje ljudskih glava/ ovdje je išlo jedno s drugim

13. kilometar

austro-ugarske uskotračne pruge

u kanjonu rijeke Gostović

miris mente, čist i nevin zrak

tu smo došli na piknik

juli je, i još nisam vidio svjetlace

volim kad žmirkaju u mrkloj noći

leteći mini-fenjeri Majke prirode

13. kilometar

tu smo na pikniku

čudno je kako menta ovdje raste kao tepih

sitno vođeno bilje miriše opojno

tjera ti krv u obraze, zjenice su pulsirajuće zvijezde

djeca trčkaraju, nebo je blizu, na dohvat ruke

lopta bježi niz zeleni biljni pokrivač

sitna stopala tonu u močvarnu crnicu

13. kilometar

tu smo sretni, ako je sreća oslobođenost od viška misli

nikad prije nismo bili ovdje

pronašli smo ovo mjesto u turističkom vodiču

činilo se kao stvoreno za nas četvoro

igračke, hranu i knjige

da se od toga umijesi fin svemir razbibrige

13. kilometar

svijet se čini kao od šećerne vune

slatko je gdje god pogledaš

obronci načičkani borovima

rijeka koja gleda svoja posla

ako postoji ideal zagrobnog života, onda je ovo njegova preteča

probna serija onostranog hronotopa

13. kilometar

neću ga nikad zaboraviti

pokušavao sam, nije išlo

zazivanje Allaha i odsijecanje ljudskih glava

ovdje je išlo jedno s drugim

u kampu mudžahedina, u logoru za zarobljene srpske

vojnike

u turističkom vodiču drukčije je pisalo

pravdala bi se slijepa porodica s piknika

13. kilometar

tu je ubijano u ime Allaha, onog koji nije rođen, i nije rodio

neko je prao ruke krvlju, neko je uzimao abdest krvlju

jedno je jasno: oni koji su ubijali u Njegovo ime

zaslužuju džehennemsku vatru, ako Pakao postoji

ubijeni će u Džennet, ako takav postoji

barem ovdje, na ovom mjestu

ja im otvaram ta vrata

skovana od riječi, pokrивam ih mentom; mekim,

zelenim plaštom

nemoćan da ponudim drugu utjehu

papir može biti vatra

čak i čovjek začas postane buktinja

knjige gore na 451. Fahrenheitu

jedino su riječi vatrostalne

njima ne možeš odrubiti glavu.

Faruk Šehić

Ratni veterani na komemoraciji u Varivodama i Gošiću:

Osuditi zločin i kazniti počinioce

5. i 6. avgust/kolovoz 2016. godine

U organizaciji Srpskog narodnog vijeća Hrvatske (SNV) i općine Kistanje, u selima Varivode i Gošić su 28. septembra/rujna 2017. organizovane komemoracije za šesnaest srpskih žrtava, civila starije dobi, ubijenih krajem rujna/septembra 1995. nakon vojno-policijske akcije Hrvatske vojske, poznate pod nazivom „Oluja“. Na poziv SNV-a da prisustvujemo obilježavanju sjećanja na stradale, mi iz Centra za nenasilnu akciju (CNA) odazvali smo se pozivu i zajedno sa ratnim veteranima Hrvatske vojske (HV), Vojske Jugoslavije (VJ), Armije Republike Bosne i Hercegovine (ARBiH), Hrvatskog vijeća obrane (HVO) i Vojske Republike Srpske (VRS) pridružili smo se ovom događaju. Ovaj put sa nama su bile i dvije mirovne aktivistkinje iz CNA i organizacije Graditelji mira iz Kruševca. Ukupno nas je bilo osamnaest.

U Knin, nekih četrdesetak kilometara udaljenom od mjesta koja ćemo posjetiti, stigli smo 27.9. dan prije komemoracija. Tamo smo prenoćili i imali priliku razgledati pusti grad sa istorijskom kraljevskom tvrđavom. Istorija Knina se čini vidljivom na svakom koraku od

srednjevjekovne prošlosti do devedeset pete prošlog vijeka. Ulice sa svojim nazivima i tvrđava kralja Zvonimira u kojoj smo posjetili muzej „Oluja 95“ na to podsjećaju, dok je period bivše Jugoslavije izbrisao ili jednostavno izostavljen. Vraćanje ovog grada pod okrilje hrvatske države nakon petogodišnjeg stolovanja Republike Srpske Krajine, koja se trudila da ostane bez Hrvata tokom tih godina, ovdje se shvata ozbiljno, sveto i konačno. Pravo stečeno vojnom pobjedom. Zamrznuto i kao takvo nezainteresovano za ono što je došlo poslije „Oluje“. Bitno i vidljivo je ono što je bilo prije i tokom te akcije, od 91. do 95. Grad kao takav živi, preživljava od godišnjice do godišnjice, kada se više slavi pobjeda. Nakon toga ga svi zaborave. I sve je manje ljudi u njemu. I oni što su doseljeni iz Bosne, polako odlaze, jer tu nema života.

Varivode dvadeset i dvije godine nakon zločina. Komemoracija za one koji su ostali pedeset dana nakon „Oluje“. Devet starih i nenaoružanih srpskih civila koji su odlučili da ostanu, da vjeruju da time što ništa nisu skrivili mogu da ostanu kod svojih kuća. Na spomen obilježju



ispisana su imena ovih nesretnika, i ćirilicom i latinicom, koje možda samo tu mogu još da spokojno stoje. Vjetar je šibao zastave, hrvatsku, srpsku i evropsku, ispreplitao ih, možda skrivajući metafizičku poruku o povezanosti naroda. Jedan čovjek je prilazio i učvršćivao ih, da ih ne odnese vjetar, toliko još čovjek može da uradi, da pokuša da sačuva. Toliko možemo svi mi, da pokušamo da spriječimo da nas odnese ratni vihor, ponovo.

Skupu od nekih dvije stotine prisutnih obratio se Milivoj Beader pročitavši „Filozofiju bede“ iz knjige eseja „Jesmo li čudovišta?“ Filipa Davida. Počelo je sa tom teškom pričom o spoznaji uzroka nesreća koje se proizvode u i među narodima sa našeg podneblja, autor ih je prepoznao u duhovnoj bijedi koja proizvodi mržnju. „Tupost i moralna zakržljalogost proglašavaju se u civilizaciji bede dostignućima te civilizacije, a nasilje se predstavlja kao lekovito oslobađanje viška snage. Zato su na ceni razbojnici, palikuće i obične ubice. Filozofija bede proizvodi nitkove u velikim količinama, a ništavnost oglašava svojom verom.“ Uslijedio je vjerski obred – parastos, nakon čega smo zajedno sa porodicama žrtava i političkim predstavnicima, položili vijenac. Voditeljica programa je zatim obavijestila prisutne da će im se ispred CNA obratiti Adnan Hasانبegović. Adnan je u svom govoru ukazao na put kojim možemo pokušati otkloniti bijedu. Riječima utjehe porodicama stradalih izrazio je saučešće i u ime naše grupe odaslao je

poziv nadležnim da se odgovorni za zločine procesuiraju. „Došli smo da pošaljemo poruku mira i da pokažemo da naša generacija koja je sudjelovala aktivno u ratu nije sastavljena od ratnih zločinaca, već čestitih ljudi koji su imali nesreću naći se u ratnim zbivanjima. Želimo ukazati novim generacijama da ne rade naše greške“, poručio je okupljenim, nakon čega se prolomio aplauz. Samilost i solidarnost osvajaju srca. Boris Milošević, saborski zastupnik Samostalne demokratske srpske stranke (SDSS) u svom govoru se osvrnuo na period nakon “Oluje” obilježen pljačkama posjeda i ubistvima civila koji su ostali. Kao ključ za otvaranje kvalitetnog međunacionalnog dijaloga i građenje dobrih odnosa naveo je djelovanje pravne države koja ne smije ratne zločine ostaviti nekažnjenima.

Uputili smo se ka Gošiću vozeći se kroz pusti krajolik. Sunčano šibensko zaleđe do kojeg dopire miris mora bori se sa melanholijom koju donosi pogled na napuštena imanja. U Gošiću smo se okupili u hladu ispod krošnje velikog stabla kostjele, okružene niskim kamenim zidom sa ugrađenim drvenim sjedalima. Sedam sjedala za sedam mještana, starih ljudi ubijenih dvadeset dana nakon “Oluje”. Na velikoj čeličnoj tabli vertikalno postavljenoj i u dobroj mjeri načetoj hrđom urezana su imena stradalih. Simbolizuje izrešetanu ogradu kroz koju su prošli puščani rafali usmrćujući porodicu Borak. Memorijal je zamišljen kao mjesto za okupljanje, a ne samo za komemoracije



pojasnila nam je Aneta Lalić, voditeljica odjela za kulturu SNV-a. Tu obitelji i prijatelji mogu da sjede i razgovaraju.

Program je otpočeo ponovo čitanjem glumca Beadera. Ovog puta je pročitao pjesmu Tina Ujevića "Sat kasnih spoznaja". Služen je parastos, a zatim smo svi položili po jednu ružu na zid memorijala. Potom se skupu obratila Anja Šimpraga, dožupanica Šibensko-kninske županije, koja je poručila da sa ovog mjesta, dok se sjećamo nevino stradalih, samo traži da se kazne krivci za ratni zločin i pruža ruku pomirenja kako bi se živjelo mirno i zajedno kao nekada. Ispred SNV-a prisutnima se obratila Aneta Lalić, posebno zahvalivši na dolasku kninskom gradonačelniku Marku Jeliću i ratnim veteranima. "Nasilje nad čovjekom je i onda kada ga se tjera da vrši nasilje, a to se u Hrvatskoj često zaboravlja. Hvala vam zato što otvoreno govorite, ne o onom što se ratom dobilo već o onome što se u ratu izgubilo. Zato su vaš dolazak i vaša poruka koju donosite, naročito iz BiH, danas jako važni", rekla je Aneta.

Ljudi su počeli da nam prilaze pitajući jesmo li mi ti ratni veterani. To nisu bili likovi iz neke priče, bili su tu – stvarni, mještani i članovi porodica stradalih. Suznih očiju, ali sa osmijehom na licu su nam zahvaljivali, pružali ruke i grlili nas. Osjetili su našu podršku dok oplakuju svoje najmilije,

zato i jesmo bili tu. Upoznali smo se i sa gradonačelnikom Knina, kojeg smo željeli sresti prilikom našeg boravka u tom gradu, ponukani njegovom izjavom u medijima iz proteklih mjeseci da nema problem s tim da se pokloni srpskim žrtvama. Izvinuo se jer se zbog obaveza nije mogao sastati sa našom grupom, ali je napomenuo da su nam njegova vrata uvijek otvorena. U razgovoru sa glumcem Beaderom saznali smo da je i on bivši pripadnik HV. Bilo mu je drago što su u našoj grupi takođe dvojica bivših "branitelja" i izrazio je nadu da ćemo imati još prilika da se sretnemo.

Našim dolaskom u Varivode i Gošić poslali smo poruku da kao bivši borci imamo ljudsku potrebu da odamo počast stradalim ta da nosimo i odgovornost da budućim generacijama ukažemo na pogubnost rata jer u njemu stradaju ljudi.

Ratni veteran HV-a iz naše grupe zaključio je da je važno, više kulturološki, nego politički, to što smo bili ovdje u Hrvatskoj, jer mijenja kulturu sjećanja, ona se ovim gradi u drugom smislu.

Amer Delić





akcije, publikacije, film...

Izložbe i promocije publikacije “Rat sjećanja”

Sarajevo, Mostar, Banja Luka, Bihać, Banja luka, Beograd, Tuzla, Brčko

Nakon što smo u Centru za nenasilnu akciju priveli kraju istraživanje o spomenicima i kulturi sjećanja u Bosni i Hercegovini i objavili publikaciju Rat sjećanja, prikupljenu građu smo prikazivali i na izložbi fotografija, koje sadrži spomenike i neobilježena mesta stradanja u BiH iz rata od 1991. godine. Izložba sadrži 51 fotografiju velikog formata (60*90cm) sa kratkim objašnjenjem šta se nalazi na svakoj od fotografija.

Tokom 2016. i u prvoj polovini 2017. godine organizovali smo izložbu fotografija u Sarajevu, Mostaru, Banja Luci, Bihaću, Beogradu, Tuzli i Brčkom.

Pripremajući i postavljajući izložbu u gradovima BiH i Srbije imali smo nameru da javnosti prikažemo da je dominantna kultura sjećanja i politika memorijalizacije rata iz 1990-tih godina često jednostrana i selektivna. Težili smo da otvorimo dijalog o tome šta nam u budućnosti donosi ovakva politika sećanja, te kakvo nam sećanje treba da bismo mogli živeti zajedno u miru.

Prvu izložbu organizovali smo u Sarajevu u periodu od 1.10.2016. – 15.10.2016. godine. Za mesto održavanja odabrali smo sarajevsku Vijećnicu, smatrajući da u tome ima simbolike, jer i ona kao spomenik čini deo izložbe. Otvaranje izložbe je propratio veliki broj gostiju, uprkos činjenici da su narednog dana održani lokalni izbori. Saradnja sa medijima je bila odlična, te je bila dobro medijski ispraćena. No, domaćini iz Vijećnice nisu izložbu držali otvorenom tokom celog dogovorenog termina, stoga ostaje žal da smo možda izgubili na posećenosti izložbe. Na otvaranju u Sarajevu je govorila u ime Vijećnice, kao domaćina, Belma Zimić, dok je u ime Centra za nenasilnu akciju posetiocima dobrodošlicu poželeo Adnan Hasanbegović, potom je govorila autorka istraživanja Ivana Franović i jedan od autora fotografija Nedžad Horozović.

Izložba u Mostaru je održana u periodu od 2.11.2016.- 16.11.2016. godine u Hrvatskom domu Herceg Stjepan Kosača. Otvaranje izložbe je propratio veliki broj novinara.. Na otvaranju je ispred grada Mostara, publiku pozdravila Marina Deronjić, načelnica za urbanizam i gradnju, autor fotografija Nenad Vukosavljević je istakao da su dugogodišnji rad i saradnja sa ratnim veteranima bili inspiracija da uradimo ovo istraživanje. Iako na otvaranju nije bio veliki broj posetilaca, tokom trajanja izložbe u Mostaru prema evidenciji domaćina postavku je pogledalo više od 1000 ljudi. Imali smo priliku da ugostimo i grupu

studenata iz celog regiona koja je pogledala izložbu, nakon čega smo razgovarali o utiscima. Studenti koji dolaze iz zemalja bivše Jugoslavije su prepoznali koliko spomenici utiču i pomažu dominantne nacionalne narative, ali isto tako koliko je važno da se bavimo njima, makar samo da razgovaramo o njima.

U Banja Luci je izložba bila postavljena od 22.11.2016.- 4.12.2016. godine u Muzičkom paviljonu Staklenac. U samom srcu gradskog parka, na otvaranju se okupio veliki broj predstavnika medija, publike među kojom je bilo aktivista i aktivistkinja, pa do velikog broja građana/ki Banja Luke i značajnog broja ratnih veterana sa kojima sarađujemo. Rad naše organizacije je predstavila Katarina Milićević, a o iskustvima zašto je bilo potrebno ovakvo istraživanje i kako je bilo fotografisati spomenike je govorio Nedžad Horozović.



2016. godinu smo zaokružili u Bihaću izložbom koja je trajala od 12.12.2016. – 27.12.2016. godine u gradskoj galeriji Bihać. Brojnu publiku na otvaranju je pozdravila ispred grada Bihaća, Ilda Alibegović, koja je pored reči dobrodošlice napomenula koliko je važno sećanje kako se stvari iz ratne prošlosti ne bi ponovile. Davorka Turk je ukratko predstavila rad Centra za nenasilnu akciju, dok su Nenad Vukosavljević i Nedžad Horozović podelili svoja iskustva kako im je bilo fotografisati ratne spomenike, obilaziti spomen mesta i groblja. Ilustrujući etničku podelu koja je vidljiva i u načinu na koji se sećamo, Nedžad Horozović je podelio iskustvo jednog ratnog veterana, koji je tokom posete mešovite grupe ratnih veterana spomeniku u njihovom mestu rekao: „Znate ljudi, mi kad smo gradili ovaj spomenik, nismo znali da ćete vi ovde doći, zato izgleda ovako“. Tokom trajanja izložbe u Bihaću naročito nas je obradovao odgovor na poziv srednjim školama da posete izložbu, koji je stigao u vidu zajedničke posete učenika i profesora iz dve srednje škole, sa kojima je upriličen i razgovor o izložbi.

Sam početak 2017. godine je obeležila izložba Rat sjećanja koja je bila postavljena u Beogradu, a trajala je od 12.1.-2.2.2017. godine u galeriji Podroom, Kulturnog centra Beograda. Nakon praznika i u danima kada je živa u termometru bila dosta ispod nule, na otvaranju nas je obradovao veliki broj posetilaca. U atmosferi koja je bila opterećena tematikom istraživanja a istovremeno podržavajuća za ovakav obiman posao, publiku je pozdravila Katarina Milićević, dok je o istraživanju govorila Ivana Franović, a publici se su obratili Nenad Vukosavljević i Nedžad Horozović. Domaćini iz Kulturnog centra su nam predložili i omogućili da pored izložbe predstavimo i naš rad šire, te smo tokom trajanja izložbe prikazivali film o zajedničkim posetama ratnih veterana sa sve tri nekad zaraćene strane.

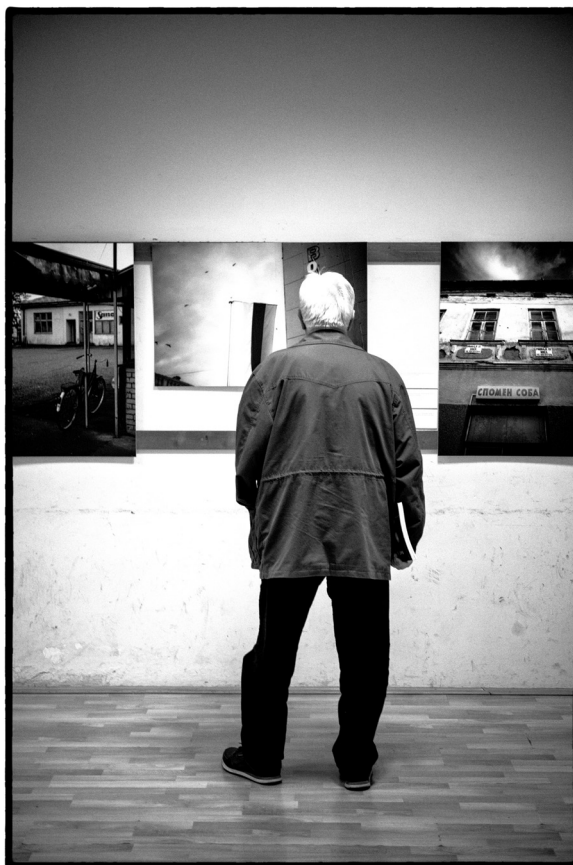
Prema prvobitnom planu nismo planirali da održimo izložbu u Brčkom i Tuzli, no za ove dve izložbe je karakteristično da smo u oba grada izložbu postavili zahvaljujući pozivu i podršci naših saradnika i partnera.

U Bosanskom kulturnom centru Tuzle izložba je trajala od 21.2.-4.3.2017 godine. Na otvaranju su u ime grada domaćina govorili direktor BKC-a, Edis Bajić, gradonačelnik Tuzle Jasmin Imamović i poslanica kantonalne skupština Nedžada Avdić. Poslanica je istakla koliko joj je bilo važno da organizuje i prikaže izložbu u njenom gradu, te da se u Tuzli počne preko spomenika pričati o učešću i životu tokom rata. Ispred Centra za nenasilnu akciju su se obratili publici i medijima Davorka Turk i Nenad Vukosavljević.

Izložba je izazvala interesovanje kako publike, tako i kod predstavnika medija.

U Brčkom je domaćin izložbe i organizator bio ratni veteran i dugogodišnji saradnik Avdija Banda. Izložba je postavljena u Omladinskom centru Vlade Brčko distrikta, u periodu od 16.3.-30.3.2017. Otvaranje izložbe u Brčkom su ispratili lokalni mediji, kao i ratni veterani koji su je propratili i podržali. Na otvaranju su se publici obratio Damir Bulčević, glavni koordinator Vlade Brčko distrikta koji je iskazao zadovoljstvo i želju da izložbom otvorimo dijalog o prošlosti, a nakon njega se u ime domaćina obratio i Avdija Banda, koji je kao i neki drugi ratni veterani, pomagao da prikupimo relevantne informacije o spomenicima, ali i da uopšte imamo mogućnosti pristupiti im kako bismo ih fotografisali. Malobrojnoj publici i novinarima su se obratili Nenad Vukosavljević i Nedžad Horozović.

Tokom izložbi posetioci su mogli da dobiju publikaciju „Rat sjećanja“. Interesovanje za publikaciju je postojalo



u svim gradovima, što nam ukazuje da ova tema jeste od značaja za ljude koji žive na prostoru kako BiH, tako i Srbije. Publikacija se može preuzeti na našem sajtu.

Budući da je ovo prva izložba koju Centar za nenasilnu akciju napravio, kada smo je pripremali imali smo različita očekivanja ali i strahove i brige. Prilikom prikazivanja izložbi nas je prijatno iznenadila posećenost i interesovanje za samu izložbu kod publike različitih godina, profesija, miljea iz kog dolaze. Iako se radio o izložbi koja ima zahtevnu temu i pokreće lična preispitivanja, značajno nam je da smo neretko dobijali pohvale za posao koji smo uradili i hrabrost da se toga prihvatimo. Svedočanstvo da je izložba pomno praćena su nam i sugestije i kritike koje smo dobili. Komentar jednog posetioca u Banja Luci: „Gledajući

spomenike sve tri zaraćene strane na jednom mestu vidim koliko je ljudi patilo, a o tome se u mom okruženju ćuti ili šapuće“ nam je jedan od znakova da postoji potreba da se o ovom razgovara i da oko nas ima ljudi koji spremno dočekuju ideju o brisanju etničkih linija oko žrtvi i bola.

Ohrabreni prijemom izložbi koje su održane u prvom ciklusu u narednom periodu planiramo da sa našim partnerima izložbu postavimo u Skoplju, Kruševcu, Preševu, Zavidovićima, Sisku i Zagrebu.

Nataša Okilj



Obilježavanje neobilježenih mjesta stradanja u BiH

Na posljednjem Treningu za trenere/ice iz izgradnje mira, pokrenuta je ideja obilježavanja neobilježenih mjesta stradanja. Četvoro aktivista/kinja širom BiH privremeno obilježava ta mjesta stikerom na kojem piše:

Nobilježeno mjesto stradanja. Na ovom mjestu su, u proteklom ratu, nad ljudima vršena neljudska djela. Ne prepuštajući te događaje zaboravu, solidarišemo se sa svim žrtvama. Da se nikad i nikome ne ponovi.

Fotografije tako obilježenih mjesta dijele medijima i svima drugima kroz društvene mreže.

Zavjet šutnje vol.4

Tim obilježavanja neobilježenih mjesta stradanja po četvrti je put nastavio svoju misiju obilaženja zaboravljenih i nepoželjnih lokacija stradanja. Ovaj put smo proširili sastav te se Ameru, Čedi i Dalmiru, pridružila i nova članica tima Tamara i novinar freelancer Ajdin Kamber, koji je o sprovedenom napravio prilog za Deutsche Welle.

Aktivnost smo započeli u Sarajevu, u prenapućenoj ulici Hamdije Kreševljakovića, nekadašnjoj Dobrovoljačkoj. Pojam Dobrovoljačke ulice je regionalno poznat kao mjesto obrane Sarajeva i izigravanja dogovora o napuštanju Sarajeva. Slike odavanja počasti žrtvama su odavno marginalizirane scenama konfrontacije između veterana ARBiH i obitelji žrtava praćenih jakim policijskim snagama. Iako je događaj u Dobrovoljačkoj predmet sporenja i još uvijek ne postoji sudska presuda, istraživanjem smo utvrdili da je optužnicom utvrđeno da se u Dobrovoljačkoj dogodio zločin nad razoružanim i zarobljenim pripadnicima JNA. Iako je lokacija bila prepuna ljudi koji su na stanici čekali gradski prijevoz, prošli smo neprimijećeno. Izgleda da se u masi najmanje stvari primjećuje.

Dan kasnije imali smo namjeru obilježiti Dom kulture na Palama, koji je tokom ljeta 1992. godine služio kao mjesto zatočenja oko 600 osoba pretežito bošnjačke nacionalnosti. Prethodno smo istraživanjem dostupnih podataka o tačnoj lokaciji objekta utvrdili da na Palama postoji objekat Doma kulture, koji sada nosi naziv Kulturni centar. Međutim, dolaskom na lokaciju, lijepljenjem stickera i fotografiranjem privukli smo pažnju zaposlenika koji izlaze i ispituju nas tko smo i što želimo. Nakon razgovora uvjeravaju nas da to nije ta lokacija i da je tu u ratu bilo sjedište TV SRNA. Napuštamo lokaciju u nevjerici i provjeravamo preko lokalnih kontakata da li se radi o pravom objektu, i dobijamo potvrdu da je to jedini objekat na Palama koji je u funkciji doma kulture. Kasnije, nakon naše objave na Facebook-u, dobijali smo iste prigovore, ali smo bili uvjereni da se radi o

poricanju i negiranju na koje često nailazimo u lokalnim zajednicama. To nas je uvjerenje držalo dok nam se nije obratio čovjek koji je pojasnio da je sedemdesetih godina prošlog stoljeća, nekadašnji Dom kulture pretvoren u fiskalturnu salu, a izgrađen novi objekat u kojem je sada Kulturni centar. Pojasnio nam je i kontekst ratnih zbivanja na Palama potvrđujući da je u tom nekadašnjem Domu kulture bio zatočenički objekat. Odmah po ovom saznanju povukli smo našu objavu i odlučili da u što skorije vrijeme obilježimo pravu lokaciju. Pogriješili smo, ali bez toga ne bismo potakli javnu raspravu na stranici, koja nas je u konačnici i dovela do ove spoznaje.

Rasadnik u Rogatici je služio kao mjesto zatočenja Bošnjaka tokom cijelog rata 1992-1995. Zatočenici su bili podvrgnuti teškim uvjetima, zlostavljanjima i ubojstvima. Zločini na ovoj lokaciji su utvrđeni sa više međunarodnih i domaćih sudskih presuda. Lokaciju smo pronašli uz pomoć naših prijatelja iz Rogatice, no prilikom obilježavanja primjećujemo da nas osobe iz kruga rasadnika posmatraju, te nakon odlaska sa lokacije i prate autom. Praveći par krugova po centru i lokalnim uličicama Rogatice uspjevamo pobjeći pratnji, ali nas prilikom uključenja na glavnu cestu počinje pratiti policijsko auto. Na izlazu iz grada nas zaustavlja grupa od dva policijska auta sa 6 policajaca i 2 inspektora. Počinje policijska obrada na cesti, uzimaju nam dokumente, te nas ispituju o svemu i svačemu, čak i o nekim banalnim informacijama tipa visine i godine fakulteta, što smo protumačiti kao neku vrstu psihičkog pritiska. Ne vraćajući nam dokumente govore nam da nas ne privode, ali da trebamo poći sa njima na informativni razgovor u stanicu policije. Tamo nas dočekuje komandir stanice sa epoletama ovjenčanim sa 4 zvjezdice. Mlad i očito obrazovan čovjek, koji iako službenim i autoritativnim tonom, jako korektno komunicira sa nama. Tu objašnjavamo svoju aktivnost i misiju te omekšavamo krute policijske procedure. Nakon upozorenja da ugrožavamo svoju sigurnost, te da remetimo javni red i mir, pitaju nas planiramo li još

išta obilježiti u Rogatici, te pošto ne planiramo, puštaju nas samo uz upozorenje. Zadnja rečenica komandira stanice ipak govori da postoji podrška kod ljudi ovome što radimo, poželio nam je sreću i da “nastavimo sa svojom misijom”. Zahvalili smo se na korektnom postupanju i napustili Rogaticu, te nastavili prema Bijeljini i objektu zemljoradničke zadruge Batković.

Scene sa policijom su nas prodrmale i ubrizgale adrenalin u organizam, ali su nam još jednom pokazale koliko je teško i složeno baviti se mjestima stradanja na koje lokalne zajednice žele zaboraviti.

Zbog nepredviđenih događaja u Rogatici, do Batkovića stižemo sa zalaskom sunca. Ne imavši vremena za izviđanje lokacije lijepimo sticker na prednju ogradu objekta, fotografiramo i, uz znatiželjne poglede čuvara objekta i lovačke pucnjeve u pozadini, brzo napuštamo lokaciju.

Prenoćili smo u Brčkom, u hotelu Posavina, lokaciji koja je tijekom proljeća 1992. bila mjesto stradanja. Namjerno smo izabrali taj hotel, jer smo ga planirali obilježiti, ali u komunikaciji sa našim domaćinima, ratnim veteranima sa sve tri strane, na njihovo inzistiranje ipak odustajemo. Odluku da ne obilježimo hotel definitivno je pojačala i čudna situacija da nas zaposlenik hotela prati i gleda sve šta radimo. No dan je odmicao, a mi smo trebali sa našim domaćinima u Brčkom obilježiti ostale lokacije.

Kasarna JNA u centru Brčkog je vidjela svašta tih ratnih godina, kao i cijelo Brčko, no duh neprijateljstva i rata na prvi pogled nije prisutan u gradu, život je vidljiviji. Na

lokalitetu kasarne koji smo planirali obilježiti sad se nalaze razne institucije distrikta, sudovi, škole i veliki parking, možda je to i najbolja svrha kasarni, da ne budu više kasarne. Zbog dogovora sa domaćinima ovaj put nismo lijepili stickere, nego smo imali mobilnu ploču sa već zaljepljenim stickerima koju smo postavljali i fotografirali. Nakon kasarne obilježavamo objekte Osnovne škole u selu Boće i skladišta građevinskog materijala u Gornjem Zoviku, koje su pod kontrolom držali pripadnici HVO i ARBiH. Nažalost, iako je bilo u planu, nismo uspjeli obilježiti još jedno mjesto stradanja koje je bilo pod kontrolom ARBiH.

Iduća postaja Šamac, tamo nas dočekuju opet domaćini, veterani VRS-a, u planu je da obilježimo objekte skladišta i stadiona u Crkvini. U Šamcu nam je upriličen i sastanak sa predstavnicima lokalne vlasti, kojima smo predstavili svoju inicijativu i dobili načelnu podršku za ono što radimo. Nakon obilaska memorijala u Šamcu i upoznavanja sa kontekstom rata u gradu, stižemo na mjesto stradanja u Crkvini, gdje je su bile zatočene osobe hrvatske i bošnjačke nacionalnosti, a 16 osoba je 8. maja/ svibnja i ubijeno. Obilježavamo ga, fotografiramo i nakon opraštanja sa domaćinima nastavljamo ka jugu.

U Zenici smo obilježili lokaciju Muzičke škole. U podrumskim prostorijama škole je bilo zatočeničko mjesto za civile srpske i hrvatske nacionalnosti i zarobljene vojnike HVO-a. Obilježavanje prolazi glatko, a odlaskom sa lokacije vidimo da nekoliko osoba dolazi vidjeti šta se zbiva. Kasnije putem medija i portala (više od 15 portala je objavilo vijest)



saznajemo da je pozvana i policija. Vijest da je obilježeno mjesto stradanja u Zenici je obišla državu i donijela našoj aktivnosti željenu medijsku pozornost.

U Visokom smo obilježili lokaciju bivše kasarne Ahmet Fetahagić, čije su prostorije služile kao mjesto zatočenja osoba srpske nacionalnosti sa područja Visokog. Zgrada gdje su držani zatočenici je prije Drugog svjetskog rata pripadala franjevačkom samostanu, a za vrijeme SFRJ je nacionalizirana i bila je kasarna JNA, te je 2006. vraćena franjevcima. Sada je u njoj franjevačka srednja škola. Velebno zdanje sa mračnom prošlosti, što smo saznali i u razgovoru sa franjevcima iz susjednog samostana koji su nam rekli da su pričali sa osobama koje su bile zatočene tu tijekom 1992. godine i da su im oni govorili o svojim teškim iskustvima.

Nakon Visokog i kasarne, iduća lokacija je željeznička stanica u Podlugovima (opjevana hitom Zdravka Čolića) još je uvijek neobilježena, iako je u zajednici čiji su većinski pripadnici bili žrtve na toj lokaciji. Podrumske prostorije su korištene od VRS-a za zatočenje osoba bošnjačke i hrvatske nacionalnosti sa područja Ilijaša. Za vrijeme obilježavanja, primjećuje nas i zadržava prometni policajac koji je prekoputa obavljao kontrolu. Poučeni iskustvom iz Rogatice, preplavljuje nas adrenalin i očekujemo policijsku obradu, dok on poziva svog kolegu, koji je, kako se razgovorom ispostavlja, logoraš, te je bio zatočen u jednom od zatočeničkih objekata na području Ilijaša. Ovog puta obilježili smo 10 neobilježenih mjesta stradanja. Iako je ovo do sada najsloženija i najnapornija tura obilježavanja, u nama je probudila neku nadu u promjenu. Jako nam je značila podrška domaćina na terenu koji rade promjenu odnosa prema tabuiziranim mjestima stradanja u svojim lokalnim zajednicama i mijenjaju stvari na bolje.

Heroji zaboravljenog

Obilježavanje neobilježenih mjesta stradanja u BiH, 23-24. 5. 2017

Završena je još jedna akcija obilježavanja neobilježenih mjesta stradanja, peta po redu, a u ovoj akciji odlučili smo obilježiti mjesta stradanja u Derventi, Brodu, Zavidovićima, Bratuncu i Palama. Želja nam je bila da posjetimo i obilježimo lokacije stradanja i ljudske patnje koja nisu dostojno obilježena i priznata. Na taj način da ukažemo na njihovo postojanje i pozovemo ljude iz tih sredina i predstavnike tih lokalnih zajednica da krenu pravednije pristupiti tim mjestima stradanja.

Prvi dan, stigli smo u Posavinu, gdje nas u Derventi dočekuje domaćin, ratni vojni invalid i veteran Spasoje

Kulaga, koji će nas pratiti u obilasku lokacija na području Dervente i Bosanskog Broda. Općina Derventa je od 3. do 10. mjeseca 1992. godine bila pod kontrolom hrvatskih snaga, HVO-a i HV-a. Za to vrijeme vlasti otvaraju zatočeničke objekte za osobe srpske nacionalnosti sa područja Dervente koje su ostale u gradu ili su zarobljene prilikom sukoba. U planu smo imali nekoliko lokacija, prva od njih je bivše vojno skladište JNA (Jugoslavenske narodne armije), a sada OS BiH (Oružane snage BiH) u mjestu Rabić. Pošto je to još uvijek aktivni vojni objekt, stražarka na kapiji nas, nakon naše molbe da fotografiramo hangare, nekadašnja mjesta zatočenja, upućuje na pretpostavljene. U razgovoru sa njima dobijamo informaciju da je zbog specifičnosti svrhe u koju se danas hangari koriste, gotovo nemoguće dobiti dozvolu za pristup tim objektima i za fotografiranje, čak i da smo podnijeli molbu Ministarstvu odbrane. Ljubazno su nas zamolili da napustimo područje pod njihovom kontrolom, što smo i učinili....

Druga lokacija prema planu je bio Silos u selu Polje. Objekt je nakon rata privatiziran i sadašnja uprava objekta nije kooperativna po pitanju memorijalizacije. Nakon upita na kapiji Silosa smijemo li ući u objekt i fotografirati, portir nas, uz konsultacije sa šefom obezbjeđenja, s odlučno odbija i traži od nas da napustimo privatni posjed.

Ali pošto se radi o otvorenom prostoru, odlučujemo se malo udaljiti od kapije i pokušati fotoaparatom uloviti široki kadar objekta. Međutim, ubrzo do nas stiže radnik obezbjeđenja, te nam jako autoritarnim i odlučnim tonom prenosi da se mičemo odatle te da nema fotografiranja, ni rasprave oko toga. Ne želeći ulaziti u konflikte, nastavljamo dalje prema Brodu.

U Brodu smo u planu imali obilježiti lokacije Skladišta GIK (građevinsko industrijski kombinat), Kajak kluba i Tvornice čarapa Bosna. Sve lokacije smo obilježili, uz pokoji znatiželjni pogled. Ipak je situacija tu specifična, gdje u gradu sa srpskom većinom mjesta stradanja srpskog naroda još uvijek nisu obilježena. Nakon obilježavanja trebali smo imati prethodno dogovoreni sastanak sa ljudima iz lokalne zajednice, točnije predsjednikom Boračke organizacije VRS iz Broda, sa namjerom da mu prenesemo ono što radimo, međutim zbog njegove zauzetosti sastanak se nije dogodio.

Nakon aktivnosti u Brodu, u Derventi smo održali sastanak sa predsjednikom Udruženja ratnih zarobljenika opštine Derventa Dragom Kneževićem, koji nam je dao podršku za inicijativu, ali nam i prenio svoja traumatična logoraška iskustva. On nam je također, otkrio i još jedno neobilježeno mjesto stradanja, Osnovnu školu Poljari, koja je tijekom 1992. služila kao mjesto zatočenja osoba srpske nacionalnosti.

Nakon sastanka odlučujemo potražiti Osnovnu školu Poljari. Skrećemo sa glavne ceste i vozimo se makadamom kilometrima kroz opustošena i razrušena naselja, za koja smo kasnije saznali da su sela koja su prije rata bila naseljena Hrvatima. Od silnih srušenih kuća nijedna nas nije podsjećala na školu. Na sreću, dolazimo do mjesnog katoličkog groblja i pred obnovljenom crkvom srećemo osobu koja uređuje dvorište, te nas ona upućuje da se vratimo par kilometara nazad, do zarasle uzvisine. Tu nalazimo pravu džunglu iza koje se krije ruševina OŠ Poljari.

Obilježavamo lokaciju i praćeni nadolazećim mrakom napuštamo je prepuni utisaka.

Drugi dan akcije smo započeli u Zavidovićima gdje nam je pratilac bio Asim Parlić, ratni veteran i umirovljeni časnik/oficir ARBiH. Istraživanjem smo prethodno utvrdili postojanje dva mjesta stradanja na području ove općine, koja su još uvijek neobilježena. Prvo od njih se nalazi na takozvanom "13. kilometru" uz rijeku Gostović, gdje je tijekom rata bio kamp stranih boraca okupljenih u postrojbu El-mudžahedin. U tom kampu su vršena zlostavljanja, egzekucije, te čak dekapitacije zarobljenih pripadnika Vojske Republike Srpske. Lokacija je pusta i samo zujanje pčela iz obližnjih košnica remeti tišinu prirode i našu misiju. Vidljivi su ostaci porušenih objekata koji su se nekada tu nalazili. Šut od betona i cigli je odložen u obližnji potok.

Nakon obilježavanja "13. kilometra" nastavljamo prema Lovačkom domu "Franjo Herljević", za vrijeme SFRJ izgrađenom da bi ugostio najviše funkcionere vladajuće partije koji su se po pričama tu spuštali čak i helikopterom. U ratu je dobio drugačiju svrhu, tijekom 1992. služio je kao zatočenički objekt VRS-a za osobe bošnjačke nacionalnosti. U njemu su vršena zlostavljanja i premlaćivanja.

Nakon obilježavanja neobilježenih mjesta stradanja u Zavidovićima sastali smo se sa predstavnicima lokalne vlasti, pomoćnikom načelnika za boračko-invalidsku zaštitu Asimom Karajbićem i predsjednikom Općinskog vijeća Zavidovića Redžom Seferovićem. Obojica su nam dala podršku, te nam je predsjednik OV rekao da smo mi za njega heroji, jer se sa svojim djelovanjem zalažemo za bolju budućnost.

Iduća lokacija stradanja koju smo željeli da obilježimo se nalazila na drugom kraju države, te smo krenuli prema njoj. Traumatično Podrinje i Bratunac, u kojem smo odlučili obilježiti lokaciju gradskog stadiona, su nažalost sinonim za zločine i patnju. Stadion u Bratuncu je tijekom proljeća 1992. bio mjesto zatočenja više od 5000 Bošnjaka sa područja Bratunca, koji su na tom mjestu zlostavljani i pljačkani, a prema sudskim navodima, neki od zatočenika su na tom mjestu i ubijeni.

Treći dan akcije bio je rezerviran za "repove" koji su ostali za nama. Naime u prošloj akciji smo imali veliki propust, te smo obilježili pogrešnu zgradu na području Pala. Naknadno smo utvrdili tačnu lokaciju "starog" Doma kulture na Palama, u kojoj su počinjeni ratni zločini, utvrđeni sa više sudskih presuda od strane MKSJ (Međunarodnog kaznenog suda za Jugoslaviju) i domaćih sudova. Grešku smo morali ispraviti, tako da smo ovaj put, pod dobrom dozom straha i adrenalinom, obilježili pravo mjesto stradanja.

Sa akcije dolazimo osnaženi podrškom osoba koje srećemo, ali i umorni i pod dojmom brojnosti mjesta patnje u BiH. Svaki kutak naše zemlje je obilježen nečijom suzom, krvlju i patnjom. Previše takvih mjesta je još uvijek sakriveno ili im je zabranjen pristup, a prema premalo njih se odnosimo pošteno i konstruktivno. Iako do sad imamo obilježenih 38 lokacija širom BiH, osjećamo kao da smo na početku i da preuzimamo odgovornost za nešto što bi cijelo društvo trebalo raditi. Sjećati se.

Putevima ratnog stradanja

Ponovo okupljeni sa namjerom nastavka aktivnosti Obilježavanja neobilježenih mjesta stradanja, nas trojica, Čedomir Glavaš, Dalmir Mišković i Amer Delić, ovoga puta obišli smo zapadne dijelove Bosne i Hercegovine. Razloga da posjetimo ove krajeve bilo je više. Posljedice rata na ovim prostorima su veliki broj ubijenih, zatočenih i protjeranih. Nepravda se nastavila i u poslijeratnom periodu. U zapadnoj Bosni, opštinske komisije za spomenike birokratskim procedurama sprovode političku volju većine i godinama onemogućavaju manjinskim zajednicama sa statusom povratnika da spomen obilježjima obilježe mjesta ratnog stradanja. Izgradnja memorijala je ograničena na dvorišta vjerskih objekata i groblja. To je i bio razlog da se odlučimo da posjetimo ta mjesta, u nadi da ćemo doprinijeti tome da ne padnu u zaborav i pružiti podršku onima kojima su uskraćena prava da svoju bol učine vidljivom. U pripremi akcije i lociranju tih mjesta pomogla su nam iskustva posjeta ratnih veterana mjestima stradanja koje je Centar za nenasilnu akciju (CNA) organizovao na području Bosanske Krajine proteklih godina. Takođe, prošlogodišnji studijski put mirovnih aktivista iz regiona, prilikom kojeg smo posjetili Prijedor, omogućio nam je da uvidimo sa kojim preprekama se susreću udruženja žrtava rata u svom nastojanju da obilježe lokacije nekadašnjih logora Trnopolje i Omarska.

Na put smo krenuli 18. oktobra 2016. Prvo mjesto koje smo posjetili i obilježili bila je zgrada Doma kulture u

Trnopolju kod Prijedora. Nekadašnji logor za Prijedorčane bošnjačke i hrvatske nacionalnosti, pod kontrolom policije i Vojske Republike Srpske (VRS), obuhvatao je kompleks koji su uz ovaj objekat činili zgrada škole sa sportskim poligonom, fudbalsko igralište i prazna zemljišna površina uz cestu. Sve je bilo ograđeno bodljikavom žicom. Sada je zgrada Doma kulture renovirana i u njoj se nalaze prostorije Mjesne zajednice Trnopolje i nedavno otvorena Spomen soba poginulim pripadnicima VRS. Takođe, uz objekat je 2000. godine podignut Spomenik poginulim pripadnicima VRS sa ovih prostora. Našu aktivnost na tom mjestu posmatrali su prolaznici i dvije grupice ljudi ispred dvije prodavnice koje se nalaze u blizini. Niko nije ništa pitao ni komentarisao.

Sljedeće odredište bio je hotel Una u Novom Gradu/Bosanskom Novom. Hotel je nekad bio grandiozno zdanje iz vremena procvata lokalne privrede u 80-im godinama prošlog vijeka. Danas, nakon neuspješne privatizacije, pust je i pokazuje znakove propadanja. Unutar tog hotela, u periodu od početka maja do kraja avgusta 1992. nalazio se zatočenički objekat za civile bošnjačke i hrvatske nacionalnosti, pod kontrolom policije i VRS. Prostorija od 15m², bez prozora i sanitarnog čvora. Dok smo lijepili naljepnice na prizemske prostorije, kiša je padala tolikom silinom, da se ni čuvaru parkinga ispred hotela nije mililo napuštati svoju kućicu da nam naplati. Sve je proteklo mirno. Nastavili smo put ka Bihaću, gdje smo prenoćili.

U Bihaću nam se pridružio Jasmin Osmankić, ratni veteran i dugogodišnji saradnik CNA. U jutro 19. oktobra zajedno smo krenuli ka prvom odredištu tog dana, Tvornici praškastih proizvoda u mjestu Čoralići kod Cazina, jednoj od mnogobrojnih nekadašnjeg privrednog giganta - Agrokomerca. U tvornici je tokom rata postojao objekat koji je korišten kao mjesto zatočenja civila i vojnika, pripadnika Narodne obrane Autonomne pokrajine zapadna Bosna (NO APZB), pod kontrolom Armije Republike Bosne i Hercegovine (ARBiH), čija je 510. brigada takođe bila stacionirana u krugu tvornice. Sada je to tvornica u stečaju, čiji objekat propada. Pristup nije dozvoljen, ali nakon kratkog razgovora sa Jasminom, čuvar nas je pustio da uđemo na glavnu kapiju. Takođe, nakon što smo ga pitali za lijepljenje naljepnica i fotografisanje, dozvolio nam je. Osjetili smo olakšanje, jer mogao je i da nas odbije.

U Velikoj Kladuši smo posjetili dvije lokacije, Dubrave i Nepeke. Obje su bile farme sa hangarima namijenjenim za uzgoj peradi. Za vrijeme rata ovi objekti su korišteni kao mjesta zatočenja civila lojalnih tadašnjoj Vladi RBiH i vojnika ARBiH, pod kontrolom tadašnje NO APZB. Od nekadašnjih objekata ostali su samo pokoja devastirana zgrada i temelji. Sve je zaraslo u korov i prepušteno je

zubu vremena. Nismo imali problema da obilježimo sa naljepnicama, izuzev da nađemo ravnu i suhu površinu.

U povratku ka Bihaću zaustavili smo se u Bužimu. Tu nas je dočekao Jasminov prijatelj Hasan Kovačević, ratni invalid ARBiH i predsjednik udruženja Amputirci Bužim. Odveo nas je do nekadašnjeg motela Radoč, danas hotel Europa, u čijim je podrumskim prostorijama za vrijeme rata bio smješten zatočenički objekat za civile lojalne APZB i vojnike, pripadnike jedinica NO APZB i VRS, dok se iznad nalazila komanda 505. brigade ARBiH. Sam silazak u podrum, spiralnim betonskim stepenicama koje završavaju sa ulaznim rešetkatim čeličnim vratima i sad priozvodi jeziv osjećaj.

Iza vrata je prostorija bez prozora i sanitarija u kojoj je bio zatvor. Na zid stepenica i vrata postavili smo naljepnice. Nakon toga nas je Hasan odveo na prilaz podrumu sa spoljne strane, koji kao skladište koristi lokalna građevinska firma. U polumraku uočili smo zid improvizovan od čeličnih ploča i armaturne mreže na kojem još uvijek piše „PRITVOR“. Imali smo namjeru i taj zid obilježiti i pripremili naljepnicu, ali je došao čovjek, uposlenik firme, i uz dosta galame i negodovanja optužio nas da smo povrijedili privatni posjed. Hasan i Jasmin su mu pojasnili sa kojom smo namjerom došli i brzo se smirio, navodeći da su česte krađe uskladištenog materijala. Dozvolio nam je da fotografiramo, ali ne i da zalijepimo naljepnicu. Sreća je da smo imali pratnju.

U planu nam je bilo da obilježimo i kasarnu Adil Bešić u Bihaću. I danas je u funkciji, kao kasarna Oružanih snaga BiH, a u ratu se od početka 1993. unutar nje nalazio zatočenički objekat za civile i vojnike, pripadnike jedinica NO APZB i Vojske Srpske Krajine (VSK). Nakon izviđanja objekta i saznanja da su dijelovi kasarne kojima bismo pristupili zbog obilježavanja izloženi pogledima stražara, odustali smo.

Posljednjeg dana naše akcije, 20.10. krenuli smo ka mjestu Kamenica, nekih 8 km udaljenom od Drvara. U bivšoj zgradi osnovne škole, u periodu od 1992. do 1995. godine nalazio se logor za civile bošnjačke i hrvatske nacionalnosti i pripadnike Hrvatskog vijeća obrane (HVO) i ARBiH, pod kontrolom vojne policije VRS. Na putu ka tom mjestu pridružio nam se Midhat Družić iz Bosanskog Petrovca koji je bio zatočenik logora u Kozilima, da bi kasnije bio prebačen u Kamenicu. Na licu mjesta smo zatekli objekat u ruševnom stanju. Midhat je pojasnio da je logor bio opasan dvostrukim prstenom bodljikave žice i minskim poljem, tako da nikom nije padalo na pamet da bježi. Vidljivi su još pokoji betonski stub i komadi žice u travi. Govorio je o mučenjima i ubistvima o kojima je svjedočio i na Međunarodnom sudu za bivšu Jugoslaviju

i pred Sudom BiH. Kakvi su bili uslovi zatočenja pokazuje i podatak da je on u periodu svog zatočenja od juna do oktobra 1992. godine, smršavio sa 130 na 59kg. Objekat smo obilježili i fotografisali, uz Midhatov savjet da se ne udaljavamo puno od njega zbog mogućih zaostalih mina. Tu smo se oprostili sa njim i Jasminom i nastavili dalje. Iako prvobitno nismo planirali u ovoj turi obilježiti Osnovnu školu Ivan Goran Kovačić u Livnu, odlučili smo da ispitamo mogućnost, jer nas je put vodio ka tome gradu.

Put od Drvara ka Livnu je spoj ljepote prirode i totalne pustoši praznih sela i imanja. Pokoji dimnjak na kući iz kojeg se puši dokazuje da tu ipak još uvijek ima ljudi. A takvih je malo, puno je više kuća bez krova sa ugašenim ognjištima.

U Livno smo stigli i napravili dva kruga oko Osnovne škole Ivan Goran Kovačić, u kojoj je 1992. godine bio zatočenički objekat za civile srpske nacionalnosti, pod kontrolom HVO-a. Kiša je pljuštala i ispred su čekala vozila i roditelji koji su došli po svoju djecu. Ranije smo imali dogovor da u slučaju obilježavanja školskih objekata nećemo fotografisati maloljetne osobe. Odlučili smo pričekati i otišli na kafu. Po ponovnom dolasku na lokaciju, kiša nam je postala saveznik, jer još jače je padala i nikog više nije bilo pred školom. Napravili smo još jedan krug i fotografisali sa distance. Prišli smo onda i ušli u školsko dvorište automobilom. Velikom brzinom je naljepnica zaljepljena i načinjeno par fotografija. Pomjerali smo se ka glavnom ulazu i ponovo fotografisali i nestali. Morali smo tako, na brzinu. Ljepljenje na javim objektima je zakonom

zabranjeno i kažnjivo, a i sam ulaz sa vozilom u dvorište, bez odobrenja, dovoljan je da imamo posla s policijom. Taj rizik smo svjesno prihvatili.

Uspjeli smo obići široko područje. Težak je bio zadatak. Nikada se čovjek ne može dovoljno pripremiti za susret sa ovakvom dimenzijom patnje i destrukcije. Naše škole, hoteli, kulturni domovi i privredni objekti su tokom rata bili pretvoreni u mjesta ljudske patnje. Najgore je što se nakon svakog ovog mjesta koje smo obišli, sazna za neko novo koje je povezano sa njim, neka masovna grobnica u kojoj su nađena tijela, ili ubice i tlačitelji koji su dolazili i u jedan i u drugi zatvor... Ovo što radimo i jeste pokušaj da se patnja svih učini vidljivom i nadamo se da će ove aktivnosti potaknuti zajednice da promijene dosadašnji odnos prema neobilježenim mjestima stradanja.

Aktivnost smo nastavili objavljivanjem fotografija sa propratnim informacijama o kontekstu mjesta koja smo obilježili na Facebook-u, uz pojačanu promociju tih postova u mjestima koja smo posjetili. Reakcije na postove su se kretale najviše od pohvala za inicijativu i uređeno, do kritika zbog oživljavanja prošlosti, negiranja postojanja pojedinih mjesta stradanja, pa i vrijeđanja našeg tima. U komentare su se uključivali ljudi iz šire Facebook zajednice, ali i ljudi koji su preživjeli torture, bližnji ubijenih i akteri događaja iz ratnog perioda.

Amer Delić
Dalmir Mišković



Dom u tuđini

Dokumentarni film o ljudima koji su nakon potpisivanja Dejtonskog mirovnog sporazuma mijenjali svoje kuće.

„Sve izbjeglice i raseljena lica imaju pravo slobodno se vratiti u svoje domove. Imaju pravo na vraćanje imovine koje su lišeni u toku neprijateljstva od 1991. godine i na naknadu imovine koja se ne može vratiti. Što raniji povratak izbjeglica i raseljenih lica važan je cilj rješavanja sukoba u Bosni i Hercegovini“

Natalija Bošković, Željka Katanić, Zijad Delić, Safet Šiljak, Enes Delić i Dragan Đurić dio su ljudi koji potvrđuju da se Aneks 7 dejtonskog mirovnog sporazuma nikada do kraja nije proveo u Bosni i Hercegovini. Povratak "svih na svoje" nikada nije dovršen i sudeći prema njihovim svjedočenjima neće ni biti. Pod pritiskom političkih odluka ili zbog lične nesigurnosti otišli su na teritorije pod vlašću onih kojima etnički pripadaju. Mijenjajući vlastite kuće za one na drugoj teritoriji formirali su dom u tuđini i počeli/e neke nove živote koji tek imaju obrise nekadašnjeg. Uglavnom su usmjereni/e na budućnost vlastite djece kojima je novo okruženje prirodno. A njima su najprirodnije i najbliže uspomene. Sjećanja vezana za predratno blagostanje, ekonomsku sigurnost, poznata i draga lica u prvom i daljem komšiluku.

Rat nije samo odnio ljudske živote, ostavio traume preživjelim nakon gubitka najmilijih, za nastavak života onesposobio one koji/e su preživjeli nasilje... Rat je "izmjestio" ljude, a o toj izmještenosti najmanje se govori. Skloni smo praviti gradaciju nesreće i umanjivati onu koju nismo preživjeli, zanemarujući činjenicu da je svakome njegova nevolja najteža, posebno ako se drugi ponašaju kao da ona ne postoji.

Ove ljude upoznali/e smo zahvaljujući dokumentarnom filmu "Dom u tuđini" koji je premijerno prikazan u sarajevskom Media centru.

Osim premijerne publike film su prvi put pogledali i njegovi učesnici/e i podijelili iskustva o "postdejtonskim nevoljnim razmjenama kuća" kako stoji u podnaslovu filma.

Bez obzira na porijeklo i trenutno mjesto prebivališta, njihove priče su iste, kao i reakcije na film. Dopao im se finalni rezultat i ništa od onoga što su rekli danas ne bi mijenjali/e.

Međusobno se ranije nisu poznavali/e i posebno dirljiv i važan bio je razgovor učesnika/ca o filmu s publikom. Ovaj, kao i svaki razgovor o iskustvima iz prošlosti potvrda je nužnosti njegovanja dijaloga na temu sjećanja. Upravo je to i misija Centra za nenasilnu akciju (Sarajevo-Beograd) u čijoj produkciji je film "Domu tuđini" i nastao.

U filmu se ne "prebrojavaju" ni krivci ni žrtve. Ne istražuje se geneza procesa prognaništva. Iskustva ljudi, bez obzira s koje "strane" dolaze ista su - problem nisu komšije već politika, ljudi su se promijenili nakon rata, bez obzira kojoj etničkoj skupini pripadaju. Nemoć i mirenje s postojećim njihova je zajednička karakteristika. U raseljeništvu nema razlika, osim individualnih iskoraka i



odluka da se nastavi život dalje, bez obzira na to što to nije bio njihov izbor već posljedica okolnosti.

Živeći "okolnosti" i posljedice rata, oko 80 000 ljudi u Bosni i Hercegovini još uvijek ima status raseljenih osoba. Nitko nema precizne podatke o tome koliko je osoba mijenjalo svoje domove, niti imaju ikakav poseban status. Dokumentarni film "Dom u tuđini" nastao je zbog potrebe ukazivanja na ovaj problem, na život u izmještenosti, u poraču i tranziciji, na život pod tuđim krovom.

Ovaj film donosi još jednu spoznaju koju ignoriramo a ona podrazumijeva da za dovršetak procesa etničkog čišćenja najprije trebalo da se rat završi.

"Živiš što moraš da živiš", kaže jedan od sagovornika u filmu i u tome sublimira njihovo zajedničko iskustvo koje bi bilo dobro da što više ljudi čuje. Zbog toga će Centar za nenasilnu akciju (Sarajevo-Beograd) nastojati organizovati projekcije i u drugim gradovima te domaćim televizijskim kućama ponuditi prikazivanje bez novčane nadoknade.

Nedžad Novalić

Moj komšija je susjed

*Ljepotu grada čine svijetla,
ulična vreva kad grad se budi,
grad čine gradom kuće i zdanja,
a ipak najviše ljudi.*

U moje mjesto najviše ih je došlo 1993. kada je u Srednjoj Bosni u punoj žestini trajao sukob Armije BiH i HVO. Uselili su se u prazne kuće, školsku salu, po spratovima i podrumima domaćih. Zajedno s njima sam krenuo u osnovnu školu, bilo nas je, i sad se sjećam, 43 u prvom razredu te 1995. Odlazili su jednako iznenada kako su i došli, razred se praznio, pa nas je do četvrtog ostalo manje od 20. Iznenadni dolazak, upoznavanje, snalaženja, zajednički polazak u školu i na kraju rastanak objašnjavali su nam, za nas djecu, maglovitim pojmovima: izbjeglice, integracija i pomoć izbjeglicama, Dejtonski sporazum, povratak, integracija i pomoć povratnicima... Poslije, mnogo poslije, počeo sam da razumijevam kako je svako izmještanje praćeno etiketiranjem kojeg se ne možeš otarasiti: Jednom kad te protjeraju postaješ izbjeglica, ako se ikad vratiš bit ćeš povratnik za vjeke vjekova, bez mogućnosti da više ikad budeš samo taj i taj, bez prefiksa, etikete, nametnutog identiteta.

Neki od njih su ostali nikad se ne vrativši tamo odakle su protjerani, ali mi smo ih i dalje, zauvijek, zvali izbjeglicama. Evo, i danas kad nekom objašnjavam reći ću: Nije taj Nuriya, već Nuriya izbjeglica, nije taj Emir, već Emir, onaj od Nuriye izbjeglice...

Paradoks je da je u BiH rat morao stati da bi se tek onda dovršio proces etničkog čišćenja. Hiljade protjeranih nakon rata su na različite načine primamljivani i tjerani da ostanu među svojim, Bošnjaci među Bošnjacima, Srbi među Srbima,

Hrvati među Hrvatima. Između tog čekića i nakovnja, između šargarepe i štapa, nikada utvrđeni broj njih međusobno je zamijenio kuće. Preko oglasa u novinama tražio se anam onaj s kim bi se mijenjala kuća ili stan, na stotine takvih oglasa mogli ste naći krajem 1990-ih i početkom 2000-ih, kratkih, jasnih, takvih da te tjeraju da kažeš da ili ne, bez dodatnih pitanja: Mijenjam kuću u Hadžićima za stan ili kuću u Vlasenici. Prihvataš ili listaš dalje, nema propitkivanja.

A niko nije mijenjao samo kuću. Mijenjali su se životi. Zato ćete u tim oglasima i kasnijim pričama naići na sasvim neobične detalje kakav je onaj da se kuća nalazila u blizini mjesta gdje je Drina najdublja, da je stan bio u zgradi u Ilijašu gdje je stajao taj i taj voz koji ne saobraća već godinama, da stan gleda na igralište na kojem je prve driblinge učila ta i ta šampionska generacija... Kvadrati, spratnost zgrade, broj soba bilo je skrajnuto negdje sasvim postrani. Na taj tas stavljale su se uspomene na jedan život, bila je to posljednja prilika kada se nostalgija mogla, ili se barem tako činilo, unovčiti.

Zamjenivši kuće ljudi su nadali novom početku, koliko god težak bio bilo kakav početak u četrdesetim ili pedesetim, ali avet prošlog neponovljivo se vraćala zauvijek ih obilježivši kao izbjeglice. Da etnički identitet nije svemoćan i da nikada, ali nikada, ne može izbrisati sve druge identitete, ti ljudi su se uvjerali na vlastitoj koži. Bili su Bošnjaci izbjeglice među svojim Bošnjacima, Srbi izbjeglice među svojim Srbima, Hrvati izbjeglice među svojim Hrvatima. Kad bi ih htjeli povrijediti do koske u mom kraju bi kazali: Sad za komšiju imamo susjeda. Čisto da se povuče granica: mi i oni.

Vrijeme ne samo da nije saniralo taj procjep već ga je produbilo na jednom još traumatičnijem nivou, onom porodičnom. Danas njihova djeca kuće u kojima žive

doživljavaju svojim domom, a predratni domovi njihovih roditelja su im strani, za njih bi danas eventualni povratak u domove i rodna mjesta svojih roditelja značio novo izbjeglištvo. Ta spoznaja život jedne cijele generacije pretvara u puko životarenje.

Ako ih je na hiljade, zašto se o njima u bh. društvu ne govori? Koliko god bilo bolno, objašnjenje je vrlo jednostavno: zvanični narativ, koji na etničku homogenizaciju i teritorijalizaciju gleda pozitivno, te ljude vidi kao sitne, vrlo sitne ratne profitere. A kao takvi, nemaju se kome i na šta žaliti.

Dokumentarni film *Dom u tuđini* nastojao je prepoznati bol onih koji su u jednom trenutku zamijenili svoje domove. Ta bol nadilazi granice nametnute oko njih, bile one etničke,

regionalne, rodne, starosne... Riječima Hannah Arendt: Prvi gubitak koji su pretrpjeli obespravljeni bio je gubitak njihovih domova. Nije gubitak domova ono što povijest ne pamti, nego nemogućnost nalaženja novog.

Ideja o filmu "*Dom u tuđini*" nastala je tokom Treninga za trenere i trenerice iz izgradnje mira 2014. u organizaciji CNA, a film je sniman u jesen 2015. Još jednom se posebno zahvaljujemo ljudima koji su s nama podijelili svoje priče kao i svima koji su nam pomogli da njihove priče zabilježimo. Nadamo se da će ova, kao i druge posljedice rata, biti prepoznate, te biti jedan od motiva za izgradnju boljeg i pravednijeg društva.

Nedžad Novalić

Biber 02

U januaru/siječnju 2017. godine po drugi put smo otvorili konkurs za kratku priču *Biber*. Tema konkursa je, kao i prethodni put: pomirenje. Na konkurs su mogli da se prijave autori i autorke sa pričama na makedonskom, albanskom i bosanskom/hrvatskom/srpskom/crnogorskom jeziku. Konkurs je zatvoren 14. juna/lipnja 2017. godine. Stigle su 384 priče.

U žiriju su Tatjana Gromača, Faruk Šehić i Kim Mehmeti. Žiri će do 20. oktobra/listopada doneti odluku i izabrati između 20 i 25 priča koje će ući u višejezičnu zbirku, kao i tri priče koje će biti nagrađene. Očekujemo da će knjiga sa odabranim pričama biti objavljena u februaru/veljači 2018. godine.

Mala tvornica aktivizma

Film o mirovnom aktivizmu, motivaciji da se "*prihvatimo*" izgradnje mira i pomirenja, besmislu rata i šta on sa sobom donosi...

https://youtu.be/AHG8zfTcz_M



razmena, saradnja, umrežavanje...

10 dana u postojbini čoveka

Studijski put u Južnoafričku Republiku, 29.1-8.2.2017.

Grupa od 11 mirovnih aktivistkinja/aktivista sa područja ex Jugoslavije, boravila je od 29. januara do 8. februara u Južnoafričkoj Republici. Posetili smo dva grada: Johannesburg i Cape Town, gde smo se sreli i razgovarali sa ljudima, obišli muzeje i pokušali da saznamo što više o prošlosti i sadašnjosti života u ovoj zemlji.

Realizaciju puta su umnogome olakšali Nelson Mandela Foundationn (Johannesburg) i The Human Rights Media Centre (Cape Town), prihvativši da nam budu domaćini. Ideja da posetimo JAR rodila se davno, a samo planiranje putovanja trajalo je skoro godinu dana.

Ne samo fizička razdaljina, već i društvenitudijski sukobi koji su po mnogo čemu drugačiji, a opet po mnogo čemu i slični ovdašnjim, bili su razlozi za veliku strepnju od ishoda ovog putovanja, ali i razlozi da idemo tamo. Na kraju, kad smo se vratili, ukratko sam zaključila: dogodilo mi se jedno od najznačajnijih putovanja i saznanja u životu. Višeslojno, teško, bolno, iscrpljujuće, a sa druge strane jako, lepo i motivišuće.

(Ovaj izveštaj neće biti pisan hronološkim redom, već će biti podeljen u tri celine: LJUDI, MUZEJI, ZEMLJA. Izveštaj će dopuniti i različite impresije učesnika/ca putovanja i galerija fotografija, autora Nenada Vukosavljevića i Nedžada Horozovića.)

LJUDI

Nelson Mandela Foundation

Zahvaljujući Nelson Mandela Foundation i našem prijatelju Verneu Harrisu, sreli smo se sa ljudima čije su nam lične priče iz doba aparthejda, i današnji aktivizam, pomogli da shvatimo taj period istorije Južnoafričke Republike, kao i nijanse problema koji postoje danas. Verne i Nelson Mandela Foundation, osim što su se potrudili da nam obezbede sagovornike, ljubazno su nam ustupili i mesto za sastanke, na čemu im posebno zahvaljujemo.

Na početku našeg boravka Verne nas je upoznao sa širim kontekstom južnoafričkog društva, koje je, po njegovim rečima, i dalje duboko podeljeno, te da belci kao manjina i dalje kontrolišu većinu.

“U suštini, mi smo i dalje kolonija,” rekao je on i time nama ukazao na nit koja će nas pratiti tokom celog putovanja: od „naseljavanja“ Afrike pionirima, do današnjih dana, kada je u okviru pravnog i državnog

sistema sve u okvirima demokratije i poštovanja ljudskih prava, ali ona su daleka većini stanovnika ove države.

Mesta koja su bila zabranjena ljudima crne boje kože tokom aparthejda, sada su im otvorena, ali oni nemaju novca da idu na ta mesta, rekao je neko od naših sagovornika, i ako je moguće u jednoj rečenici opisati stanje u ovoj državi, to bi bila ta rečenica.

Naravno, ne postoji pokušaj relativizacije, ni opravdanja aparthejda, i naravno da je prekid ovog sramnog perioda u svetskoj istoriji potlačenima doneo puno na poboljšanje svakodnevnog života, i dao prava i državu obespravljenima, ali u celoj promeni postoji još mnogo polja na kojima je nužno raditi, dok su plodovi tog rada u nekom dalekom i teško predvidljivom vremenu.

Khulumani je organizacija čija misija je „rad na izgradnji inkluzivnog i pravednog društva, u kome se ponovo uspostavlja dostojanstvo ljudi koji su pretrpeli štetu od aparthejda, kroz proces transformacije žrtava u pobednike“. Okuplja oko 100 hiljada žrtava i preživelih tortura povezanih sa aparthejdom. Krenuli su sa radom od svedočenja preživelih pred Komisijom za istinu i pomirenje (TRC – Truth and Reconciliation Commission). U prošlih 20 godina rade na istini, sećanju i isceljenju. Sa nama su razgovarali Dr. Marjorie Jobson, direktorka organizacije, i saradnici/e: Nomarussia Bonase i Danisile Mabanga, koje rade sa ženama koje su preživele seksualno nasilje; Thabo Shabangu, predsednik Khulumani Forumu muškaraca, veteran Dick Mokoena, Dr Charles Hlatshwayo, bivši ratnik, koji je preživeo torturu, i koji se bavi tradicionalnim izlečenjem i pomaže porodicama da reše mnogobrojne slučajeve nasilja koji se nisu našli pred izveštajima TRC-a.

U drugom delu sastanka, zajedno smo gledali dokumenatni film u produkciji Khulumani centra „Krvavi Božić“ (link), koji govori o preobražaju Stefaans Coetzee, pripadniku desnice, koji je 1996. bacio bombu u prepun tržišni centar, i ubio četiri, a ranio 67 osoba. Film govori o njegovoj ličnoj promeni, o oprost koji je tražio i dobio od žrtava, o procesu kroz koji su prolazili, i on, osuđen na doživotnu robiju, i oni, koji žive sa doživotnim gubitkom.

Posle filma, u našoj, ex-Yu mirovnoj grupi se razvila diskusija, vezana za iskrenost preobražaja počinioca zločina. Iz našeg konteksta, koji ne poznaje ili ne priznaje pojam duhovnog isceljenja, promenu smo posmatrali kao trgovinu počinioca – da se preobratim, pa da mi smanje



zatvorsku kaznu. No, posle dugih razgovora, došli smo do zaključka da – ako su žrtve dale oprost, ko smo mi da to dovodimo u pitanje?

Leon Wesseles je advokat za ljudska prava, profesor univerziteta i osoba koju nikada nećete zaboraviti, ako ste je i samo jednom sreli. On je sin policajca, i sam je bio policajac, ali ako bi ga samo slušali, a da ga ne vidite, mislili biste da govori osoba crne boje kože. U vreme aparthejda bio je član vlade, i pregovarao oko procesa tranzicije sa ANC-om. Potom je, na kraju tog procesa, stajao uz Nelsona Mandelu, prilikom potpisivanja novog Ustava Južnoafričke Republike, ali to neće biti najvažnija stvar po kojoj ćemo ga mi pamtit. Pitali smo ga kako je došlo do toga da on, sa takvom porodičnom i ličnom istorijom, doživi promenu, i posveti se borbi protiv aparthejda.

Reinventing yourself is not one time event – rekao je Wesseles, i ovo je rečenica koju je najbolje ne prevoditi, a ako bismo morali, ja je razumem kao „ponovno kreiranje ličnosti nije događaj koji se odvija samo jednom“.

On stanje u JAR naziva „nezavršenim mirom“ (unfinished peace), i dobro je da smo ga sreli na početku puta, jer

su nas njegovi uvidi potakli da iz još jedne perspektive sagledamo ono što ćemo videti i doživeti kasnije.

Yasmin Sooka je u doba aparthejda bila advokatica za ljudska prava, da bi potom bila članica Komisije za istinu i pomirenje (TRC), i jedna od tri osobe koje su pisale izveštaj te komisije. Ona nam je predstavila kratak pregled dešavanja u JAR posle prestanka rada Komisije za istinu i pomirenje. Iako je komisija, kada je završila rad, ostavila u nasleđe niz preporuka o tome šta država mora da čini dalje, to se nije u potpunosti dogodilo. Posebno je govorila o slučaju 23-godišnje Nokuthule Simelani, koja su mučili i ubili pripadnici specijalne policije, u aparthejdu. Njeno telo nije nikada pronađeno, a zločin koji se dogodio 1983. godine, tek prošle godine je stigao do tužilaštva, koje je optužilo četvoricu policajaca za to ubistvo. Ona je govorila i o studentskim protestima koji se događaju u JAR, i na kojima protestuju oni koji predstavljaju prvu generaciju žitelja ove zemlje koja nema direktno sećanje na aparthejd.

Savremeni kapitalizam je produžena ruke segregacije: ono što je ljudima crne boje kože bilo nedostupno zbog aparthejda, danas im je dostupno, ako za to imaju novca.

A novca nemaju. Bes studenata usmeren je na promene koje se nisu desile: nastavni program fakulteta je evrocentričan, u upravnom odboru su belci, finansijska i socijalna podrška crnim studentima je slaba. Posebno traže novo pisanje istorije, u kojoj neće biti slavljene tvorci aparthejda, heroji kolonijalizma, već novi pogled na te delove istorije i novo stvaranje nacionalnog identiteta. U JAR 60% stanovništva je mlađe od 25 godina.

Shirley Gunn je revolucionarka, ilegalka, belkinja koja se borila na strani ANC-a (African National Congress), i sa svojim tek rođenim sinom bila u zatvoru, a sada vodi The Human Rights Media Centre. U Kejptaunu ona nam je bila i domaćin i vodič, te smo zahvaljujući njoj, i ugledu koji ima u zajednici, mogli da posetimo mesta koja bi nam inače bila nedostupna. Shirley je angažovana na promenama, spremna da kritikuje sadašnju vlast, za koju je, kao borkinja protiv aparthejda i žrtva tog sistema, u prošlosti mnogo propatila. U svojoj organizaciji se trudi da nastavi onde gde je TRC stala ili pogrešila. Prikupljaju životne priče, a ne priče o životu (eng. Life story, not storytelling).

U toj organizaciji dosta smo čuli o događaju iz 1985. godine, koji se zove „Troyan horse massacre“, događaju u kom je ubijeno 5, a ranjeno 12 mladih ljudi. Upoznali smo Gordona Mali, brata blizanca jednog od ubijenih mladića, te posetili grob brata i još jednog ubijenog dečaka, u naselju Ghuguletu. Potom smo otišli u samo naselje i tamo, ispod drveta, a pošto smo primljeni kao gosti po svim običajima, i oprali ruke u koritu ispred kuće pred pozdrav, razgovarali smo sa Zodua Gogo i njenom ćerkom Anastasijom, Gordonovom majkom i sestrom.

Pričali smo o životu, gubitku, bolu, bili jedni drugima zanimljivi i dragi. Niti njima u posetu često dolaze beli ljudi iz Evrope spremni da čuju ljudsku stranu priče, niti je nama dostupno da vidimo kako žive i razmišljaju ljudi koji su preživeli jedan od najrepresivnijih režima u ljudskoj istoriji, te kako vide i svoju i budućnost društva. Gogo nije optimistična što se lične sudbine tiče: vrlo brzo može da očekuje da će dobiti zidanu kuću, u „fazi tri“ iseljenja lokalnog stanovništva iz neuslovnih, limenih domova u malene kuće od cigle. No, Gogo kaže da njoj, na kraju životnog puta, bez deteta koje je ubijeno, to ništa ne znači.

U kraju Johanesburga u koji, pa, retko svraćaju osobe bele boje kože, bili smo gosti Sifisa, vlasnika restorana Roving Bantu Kitchen.

„Ja nisam crnac, ja sam Afrikanac. Crnac sam postao kad su beli odlučili da budu belci,“ kaže on, dok nam priča svoju životnu priču, kako je živeo u egzilu, pa radio za Ujedinjene nacije, živeo u Kanadi, da bi se vratio, posle

promena, u svoju domovinu, u kojoj mu se ni danas mnogo toga ne dopada.

Naš vodič kroz Južnoafričku Republiku, njena dva grada, Johanesburg i Kejptaun, istoriju i sadašnjost, i razne probleme sa kojima se današnje društvo suočava, bio je Haroon Gunn-Salie, mladi umetnik. Njegovo delo, nastalo u Brazilu, mogli smo da vidimo u galeriji u Kejptaunu, a svakodnevno druženje sa njim dalo nam je prostora da razgovaramo i postavljamo mnoga pitanja, koja su nam se rađala dok smo pokušavali da shvatimo što više nijansi života u ovoj zemlji. Dugujemo mu veliku zahvalnost za strpljenje i trud koji je uložio da nam vreme bude što ispunjenije raznim sadržajima i da upoznamo drage, interesantne ljude.

MUZEJI

Museum Constitution Hill nalazi se u Johanesburgu, sa jedne strane je zatvor, u kojem su zatočeni bili i brojni politički zatvorenici, poput Mahatme Gandija i Nelsona Mandele. Prolazeći kroz zatvorske ćelije, koje su sačuvane u stanju u kom su bile, posetioci mogu da steknu sliku o zatvorima i životu zatvorenika, kao i o odnosu koji je vlast imala prema njima. Ni u zatvoru ljudi nisu bili jednaki, već je njihov život tamo zavisio od boje kože. Po tome je određivano kakvi i koliki im obroci sledeju, kada i kako se kupaju, pa čak i broj ćebadi kojima se pokrivaju.

U posebnom delu se nalazi postavka, otvorena 2016. godine, koja je posvećena najpoznatijim zatvorenicima: Gandiju i Mandeli.

U drugom delu nekadašnjeg zatvora je nova zgrada Ustavnog suda, u koju se ulazi kroz ogromna drvena vrata. U Južnoafričkoj Republici zvanično je 11 jezika, i umetnička postavka unutar zgrade je posvećena svim različitostima ove zemlje.

Voortrekker Museum

Pretorija – Ime muzeja možemo da prevedemo kao „Muzej pionirima“ kako se najčešće nazivaju evropski osvajači Afrike. Glorifikovan je njihov put, ličnosti, način na koji je osvajana afrička zemlja i porobljavani ljudi. Muzej slavi „svetlost civilizacije“, kako bela istorija opisuje donošenje svog kulturnog, privrednog i životnog obrasca u Afriku.

Sa stanovišta ljudskih prava, muzej slavi belu rasu, koja je „civilizovala“ ovaj deo sveta, bez ikakve zadrške ili preispitivanja odnosa prema domaćem stanovništvu, njihovoj kulturi, običajima, eksploataciji prirodnih dobara i ljudi, za potrebe evropskih osvajača.



Freedom Park

Nalazi se na susednom brdu u odnosu na „Voortrekker Museum“, i predstavlja drugo lice života na afričkom kontinentu, sa naglaskom na ljudskim pravima. Prikazuje razvoj života od postanka prvog čoveka na tlu Afrike, do današnjih dana, sa svim elementima koji su na taj razvoj uticali. Robovlasništvo, aparthejd, ratovi, razaranja, masovna ubistva ljudi. Takođe, slavi oslobođanje i razvoj demokratije, sa željom da doprinese pomirenju u JAR. Kažu da je dugo većano gde bi taj muzej mogao da bude smešten, te da je konačna odluka doneta da bude u blizini administrativnog centra, Pretorije, „jer će svaki žitelj Južne Afrike, jednom u životu tu morati da dođe, zbog posete rođacima, lečenja, administrativnih obaveza...“ No, utisak iz posete je da, osim malobrojnih turista, tu ne prolazi mnogo ljudi.

Muzeji, zapravo, u celom svetu, pa tako i ovde, a ovde možda i najvidljivije, predstavljaju svetišta koja obilaze ljudi koji imaju dovoljno novca i dovoljno obrazovanja koje na taj način produbljuju. Tužna istina je da su oni i dalje praktično nedostupni najvećem broju ljudi na

planeti. A posebno onima kojima je takav muzej, izvorno, i namenjen.

Muzej aparthejda

Prilikom plaćanja ulaza u ovaj muzej, dobićete određenu kartu. Na njoj će pisati: za belce ili za ne-belce, i to će odrediti ulaz na koji treba da odete da biste posetili muzej.

Kako smo bili u grupi, već činjenica da nemamo svi iste karte i da se razdvajamo na ulazu je stvorila nelagodu. Iako smo kroz rešetke mogli da se vidimo, prilikom prolaska kroz predvorje muzeja, taj osećaj nelagode i klaustrofobije se produbljavao. Na samom ulazu prikazani su najdrastičniji oblici segregacije, kako su ljudi obeležavani na ličnim dokumentima, i na taj način svrstavani pred zakonom u kategorije.

Muzej predstavlja uspon i pad aparthejda, na razne načine: dokumentovanom građom, filmovima, prikazima, umetničkim delima i instalacijama, vernim prikazima, mapama, fotografijama, oružjem i opremom koju su koristile državne snage u zaštiti sistema aparthejda.



Kao i u svim drugim muzejima koje smo u Južnoj Africi videli, dokumentarnoj građi unet je duh izvorne religije, i umetnosti, što pomaže posetiocima da se suoče sa najstravičnijim periodima života na ovom prostoru. Poseban utisak na nas, iz ovog dela Evrope, i u proseku godina od oko 40, ostavio je dokumentarni film: "Šta se dešavalo '80-ih u ostatku sveta", u vreme kada su ovde bile najžešće borbe protiv sistema aparthejda. Posebna postavka je u trenutku našeg boravka bila posvećena Nelsonu Mandeli, dok smo na nekim fotografijama prepoznavali ljude sa kojima smo se prethodnih dana sretali, poput Yasmin Sooka, koja se nalazi na velikoj fotografiji sa prvog zasedanja Komisije za istinu i pomirenje, kojom je predsedavao Desmond Tutu.

District Six Museum

Nalazi se u samom centru Kejptauna, u delu grada koji se nekada zvao „District Six“, i u kojem su živeli ljudi raznih boja kože, nacionalnosti, veroispovesti. Bio je trgovački i zanatski centar grada, u kojem su ljudi živeli u suživotu, miru i međusobnoj solidarnosti. No, 1966. godine vlast je odlučila da taj deo grada promeni namenu, i prisilno raselila iz njega više od 60 hiljada ljudi. Uprkos zabranama,

oni su nastavili da uporno dolaze u svoje crkve i džamije, a u jednoj od crkava se danas nalazi muzej, kroz koji su nas proveli ljudi koji su tu živeli, i koji su odatle nasilno preseljeni, svedočeći o svojoj sudbini, životu pre, i životu danas. Ironija je da je sada taj deo grada gotov pust, te da se stiče utisak da tu malo ko živi, dok na nekoliko stotina metara odatle vri život centra četvoromilionskog grada.

Naš vodič kroz ovaj deo grada bio je čovek koji je, reparacijom, uspeo da se vrati u stari kvart. No, njegove uspomene, njegove susede, duh kraja u kojem je odrastao ne zamenjuje malena zidana kuća.

Robben Island

Ovo ostrvo je najpre bilo dom umirućih od lepre, i zatvor za političke zatvorenike još od 18. veka. Nelson Mandela je na njemu boravio od 1964. do 1982. godine, u jednoj od skučenih samica, dok je zajedno sa ostalim zatvorenicima morao da radi u kamenolomu, bez ikakve zaštite, zbog čega je do kraja života imao problem sa oštećenim vidom.

Naš vodič kroz muzej na ostrvu bio je Thulani Mabaso i sam zatvorenik, koji jedva govori, zbog problema sa plućima, i otežano se kreće.

Već na početku susreta, niz lice su mu se slivale suze. Retraumatzacija i stalno vraćanje na teške godine zatočeništva njega nisu mentalno slomile, iz njega ne isijava mržnja, bes, potreba za pravdom i osvetom, nego duboka tuga, koja je i dirljiva. Proveo nas je kroz ćelije, pokazao kako su izgledali dani, sa priličnim ponosom govorio o solidarnosti među zatvorenicima, međusobnoj pomoći u obrazovanju, učenju jezika, štrajkovima glađu koje su organizovali kako bi poboljšali bar malo uslove života na ostrvu.

Iako je za nas, posetioce sa drugog kraja sveta, ovo svedočenje nemerljivo korisno, ipak, ostaje iza njega zapitanost da li mi, nesvesni svoje boje kože, na neki nov način maltretiramo ljude koji su već mnogo u životu propatili. Emotivno je teško prolaziti kroz taj zatvor i to ostrvo i kao posetilac, iz drugog kulturnog obrasca, teško je i zamisliti kako je teško iznova i iznova prolaziti kroz golgotu koja je ostavila najdublji trag na čoveku. Sa druge strane, živa svedočenja su dragocena, i daju istoriji notu ljudskosti, a patnju i bol približavaju.

ZEMLJA

Gugulethu i Mashipumalele

Township – je reč za koju smo tražili adekvatan prevod.

Taj pojam ne može da zameni jedna reč, to je predgrađe ili deo grada u kom žive ljudi crne boje kože, kako im je određeno u vreme aparthejda. To nije geto – jer bi onda najveći deo grada bio u getu. Nije ni predgrađe, jer se menja percepcija – ako najveći broj ljudi živi u takvim naseljima, da li je centar tamo gde vlasti kažu da jeste ili je centar tamo gde ljudi žive? U svakom slučaju, takva naselja nisu novost za nas, ima ih u svakom našem gradu, siromaštvo, život u limenim kućicama, nije nešto sa čim se prvi put srećemo. Prvi put smo se sreli sa tim da na takvim mestima žive stotine hiljada ljudi, na svakom od njih, pa puta broj naselja... Konkretno, prema dostupnim podacima, a uzmimo da oni nisu sasvim tačni, u Gugulethu townshipu živi na 6 km² skoro 100 hiljada ljudi, ili 15 hiljada na 1km². (Poređenja radi, gustina naseljenosti Beograda je oko 500 ljudi na km².) Ti ljudi su u takvom naselju rođeni, tu žive njihova deca i unuci, i ta mesta su im trajan dom,



generacijama unazad. Sa druge strane, ono što se naziva ekonomsko-trgovačko-poslovnim delom grada je nalik na najrazvijenije gradove Zapadne Evrope. Nove, velelepne zgrade u staklu, radnje sa skupocenim stvarima, novi luksuzni automobili.

Nesklad, i vidna neravnopravna raspodela dobara, a Južna Afrika je kao država, najbogatija država Afrike, su vidni, i ne može se na tu spoznaju ostati bez emotivne reakcije.

Kao suprotnost jako kompleksnim i teškim društvenim odnosima, Južna Afrika posetioca zgrabi svojom veličanstvenom prirodom. Ona je doživljaj za sva čula, u isto vreme dok se očima gleda i mozgom pokušava da shvati sva tragičnost prošlosti, i njeni ostaci u sadašnjosti, sa druge strane dopiru očaravajući mirisi i omamljujuća muzika. Tela su nam opuštena, kao da smo kroz stopala vezani za svoje izvorište. I na taj način se u isto vreme osmehujemo i plačemo, drhtimo od tuge i pevamo iz glasa. Kao da Afrika probudi sva čula, ona koja se u nama nalaze od postanka, pročisti ih od suvišnog, javi se potreba da hodaš bos i da pevaš, igraš u blagom ritmu, smeješ se dok plačeš.

Sa Balkana smo došli iz zime u leto, promenili smo godišnje doba, ali ne i vremensku zonu, pa je to bilo malo lakše. Naši domaćini su nas vodili na Smitswinkel Bay, plažu koja se nalazi južno od Kejptauna, niže i od Rta Dobre Nade. Tu negde, u blizini, spajaju se Indijski i Atlantski okeani, i kao da su Južnoj Africi doneli svaki za sebe trag obala koje zapljuskuju. U isto vreme tu se kupaju foke, ajkule i

pingvini (u blizini Robben Islanda postoji posebna plaža koja je njihovo stanište). Posetili smo i veliku Kirstenbosch botaničku baštu, u kojoj je u to vreme bio i koncert neke lokalno jako popularne grupe, pa je bašta bila prepuna ljudi na pikniku ili posetilaca koncerta. Ipak, naučeni da budemo svesni svoje boje kože – što ipak, nismo u svakodnevnom životu – primetili smo da su posetioci mahom belci, kao što smo primetili da nas nije uslužio nijedan beli konobar, prodavac, vozač, čistača/ica... dok su u isto vreme beli ljudi bili posetioci i konzumenti. Nosivši na sebi neko nasleđe koje ne osećamo kao izvorno svoje, a opet svesni da je moguće da nas drugi doživljavaju samo po tom jednom obeležju, pokušavali smo da razumemo duboko usađene kodove ponašanja između ljudi. Kao što bi prve asocijacije na reč Afrika u ovom delu planete bile (najčešće): siromašna, zaostala, glad, tako je prva asocijacija na grupu ljudi koja dolazi iz Evrope: bogati, beli ljudi. I ma kako to bile osobine na koje ne možemo da utičemo, beli smo ne svojom zaslugom, niti voljom, takvi smo rođeni, činjenica je da o boji kože i privilegijama koje ona ima u današnjem svetu, pa makar dolazili i sa Balkana, treba da razmišljamo.

Sama svesnost da ne postoji jednakost, i da živimo u svetu nejednakih, te da smo ipak u maloj grupi privilegovanih, nosi sa sobom odgovornost da se promišlja, bude svestan i reaguje na nasilje kojem su ljudi izloženi. Opet, ne svojom ni voljom, ni zaslugom, već samo zbog – boje kože sa kojom su rođeni.

Katarina Milićević



Afrika majka

Južna Afrika je neobična i čudesna zemlja na mnogo načina, ali da me neko sada pita da li bih se tamo opet vratio, rekao bih čvrsto i odlučno ne. To je velika i prelijepa zemlja, njena veličina je tu negdje kao veličina Evrope, i teško je našem lokalnom umu shvatiti da postoje tolike zemlje, jer kad gledaš na atlasu Južna Afrika zauzima samo špic kontinenta, koji dijeli dva okeana: Atlantik i Indijski okean. Potrebno je letjeti dobra dva sata brzinom od 900 km na visini od 10.000 metara da bi iz Johannesburga stigao u Cape Town na jug zemlje, tamo gdje se nalazi legendarni Rt Dobre Nade, i gdje u Atlantiku patroliraju opasne velike bijele ajkule. Inače, Evropu preletiš od Istanbula do Osla dok si rekao čas. Naš kontinent je malen, samo nam ga je naša mašta uvećala zbog evropocentričnosti.

Afrika je toliko velik kontinet da moraš letjeti više od devet sati, što bi rekli u Krupi, nizvodno, duž zemljine lopet prema krajnjem Jugu gdje se na Suncu lješkare pingvini, iako na vidiku nema santi leda, i temperatura pola godine bude od 25-30 stepeni Celzijusa. Mislim, letjeti od Istanbula, iznad Egipta, pa dalje pustahijama neviđenih proporcija, koje sam gledao kroz kameru na nosu i trbuhu aviona.

Prvo jutro svi smo se probudili začuđeni istom pojavom. Probudio me je neobičan zvuk koji je dopirao iz zelene avlije, u sjenci džinovskih platana, hotela Sunnyside Park u dijelu Johannesburga koji se zove Parktown. Došao sam do prozora i otvorio ga i čuo najljepšu pjesmu na svijetu. Bilo je pet ujutro i ptice su pjevale kao da je to zadnja stvar koju će uraditi u svojim krhkim životima. Pjev životniji od svih arija, klasične ili punk-rock muzike. Tako sam jedva čekao naredno jutro da opet čujem pjesmu ptica u zelenoj oazi našeg hotela.

Onda ćemo otkriti da svaki rezidencijalni dio grada, a ovaj u kojem smo bili smješteni nesumnjivo je bio takav, ima svoj township – sirotinjski geto. Klasne razlike u Južnoj Africi prevazilaze sva vaša očekivanja. To je mnogoljudna zemlja u kojoj bijela manjina drži sve prirodne resurse, a svi bi trebali znati da JAR raspolaže s najvećim rudnikom zlata na svijetu, koji se zove Witwatersrand i u njegovoj okolini nekad s kraja 19. vijeka je podignut Johannesburg, ili Džoberg kako ga zovu od milja.

Istorija tog vremenskog perioda je istorija Burskih ratova, u kojim su Britanci pobjeđivali i progonili Boerove (Holandane s nešto Nijemaca i ostalih), pa su čak imali i konclogore u kojima je stradalo desetine hiljada žene, djece i staraca. Ako je nekog mislio da postoji dio zemaljske kugle gdje nije izgrađen konclogor, dobro se prevario.

Naravno, rat se vodio zbog zlata, sigurno nije zbog ideala.

Pošto smo u posjeti JAR-u bili zbog kulture sjećanja, gdje sam bio gost Centra za nenasilnu akciju Sarajevo-Beograd, posjetili smo sve moguće i nemoguće spomenike, a jedan od najnemogućijih je bio spomenik Voortrekker. Monumentalni spomenik s ogromnom kupolom kroz čiji centar svakog 16. decembra tačno u 12:00 Sunčeva zraka pada na kenotaf u spomen vođi seobe koji je poginuo u sukobu sa Zulu ratnicima.

Južna Afrika je zemlja kontrasta, pa je iluzorno objašnjavati patnju jednih bijelaca zato što su ih proganjali drugi bijelci. U Južnoj Africi sam se, uglavnom, loše osjećao zbog boje svoje kože. Tješilo me to što smo se u djetinjstvu identifikovali sa crnim junacima filmova ili knjiga. Također tokom zadnjeg rata teško je ne primijetiti kako smo mi bili Indijanci i crnci iz američkih filmova, jer nam je UN zabranio uvoz naoružanja, pa je time dao dozvolu za nesmetano ubijanje nas bijelih bh. crnaca, što se i desilo zaključno s genocidom u Srebrenici.

Tako, premda crn u duši, bijah napadno bijel, i čak svijetle kose, zelenih očiju. Jedino sam mogao biti bjelji da sam imao crvenu boju kose, kao većina Boereva koje smo sretali kao ekonomski vladajuću bijelu manjinu. Kada smo na Cape of Good Hope vidjeli upozorenja da se ne hrane babuni, jer su oni opasne divlje životinje, naš fikser Haroon nam je rekao da se ne obaziremo na to jer su to problemi bijelog čovjeka u JAR-u. Haroon je inače od oca indijskog muslimana i majke rođene bijele Južnoafrikanke porijeklom iz Engleske. Maternji jezik mu je engleski, kojeg ovdje svi znaju, jer u JAR-u ima 11 službenih jezika. Haroon bi po svojoj puti, u nekadašnjoj aparhejdskoj klasifikaciji, spadao u colored people, čime bi imao određene privilegije u odnosu na black people, koji su smatrani životinjama i nisu imali nikakve privilegije.

U muzeju Apartheida sam saznao za proces mijenjanja boje nazvan Chameleon Dance. To se radilo preko štele i uz mito, pa ste tako mogli iz Asian People preći u kategoriju White People, ili iz Colored u željenu bijelu grupu ljudi. Razumljivo iz najniže kategorije Black se nije moglo pobjeći.

U zatvoru koji se nalazi u Džobergu, na brdu koje zovu Brdo ustava (Constitution Hill), jer je tu donešen novi ustav današnje države, skontali smo značenje sintagme Tause Dance. To je ples koji su Afrikanci morali raditi pred svojim bijelim čuvarima. Morali su biti goli i taj ples je imao specifične kretnje a cilj mu je bio da se provjeri da neko nije u anus stavio grumen zlata. Ovdje su se sećad

prala jednom godišnje, a tanjiri svaka tri mjeseca. Baš u ovom zatvoru je Nelson Mandela upoznao Mahatmu Ghandija. I tu je od njega učio vještinu nenasilnog otpora tzv. So nenasilja. Tu sam vidio kopiju Ghandijevog džepnog sata, i tenk napravljen od ćebadi, koji je služio za zabavu robijaških šefova, koji su bili obični kriminalci, ne politički zatvorenici.

Na Robben Islandu smo došli brodom iz Cape Towna. Na tom ostrvu su bili zatvoreni Mandela i mnogi njegovi saborci, među njima i Sobukwe, koji je bio odvojen od ostalih, u nekom malom objektu ograđenom žicom, kao što se čuva pernata stoka. Vidio sam ćeliju u kojoj je ležao Mandela, imao je najbolji jastuk i najviše ćebadi, jer su mu ostali zatvorenici dali svoje deke, od kojih je i napravljen njegov jastuk. Ideja bijega sa ovog ostrva nije bila moguća, jer okolo njega su velike bijele ajkule.

Najviše sam bio sretan u Freedom Parku, to je veliki, moderno opremljen muzej gdje smo na početku ture pogledali animirani film o afričkoj kosmogoniji, kako je čovjek nastao od trstike, i kako su nastala druga živa bića. Film je bio sjajan hommage bliskosti s prirodom, panteizmu i duhovima predaka. Negdje sam uhvatio citat u kojem se raspavljalo da li leopardima i slonovima treba dati pravo građanstva, što je bilo prilikom pisanja novog antiaparthejskog južnoafričkog ustava.

Svaki dan bi započinjali sastankom i kafom u centru Nelson Mandela, koji je bio ograđen visokim zidovima na kojima je bila žica. Inače, Južna Afrika je država disklejmera. Gdje god dođete i šta god činite piše da to radite na svoju odgovornost. Kad parkirate na zaštićenom parkiralištu piše da parkirate na svoju odgovornost, ako ručate u nekom restoranu na zidu imate broj napisan crvenim slovima, koji možete nazvati i dobiti pomoć oružanog odreda ako vas napadnu pljačkaši naoružani kalašnjikovima. Ako mijenjate novac znajte da ste na gubitku, tako je meni uzelo proviziju od deset eura, jer sam htio zamijeniti deset eura.

U većini kvartova su kuće s visokim zidovima na kojima se nalazi bodljikava žica. Naveče bijeli ljudi ne hodaju

gradom, a i zašto bi kad su bogati pa imaju skupocjena auta. Nisam imao nikakvih neugodnosti, ali sam čuo priče da je jedna grupa prije nas imala problem s uličnim pljačkašima. Jednoj djevojci su uzeli pola novca kojeg je imala, jer im je rekla da ni ona nema para, pa su se pljačkaši sažalili i ostavili joj drugu polovinu.

U Mandelinom centru je bila muzejska postavka o programu aparthejske vlade za biološko i hemijsko ratovanje, kojim je rukovodio izvjesni Wouter Basson. Čovjek koji je čuven po rečenici: «Stvar je vrlo jednostavna, sa jednom ili dvije čokoladice neću počiniti genocid».

Na Bassonovom repertoaru biološkog i hemijskog oružja, kojeg su isprobavali na siromašnom afričkom stanovništvu nalazili su se: šećer sa salmonelom, cigarete sa antraksom, pepermint čokoladice sa cijanidom ili brodifakumom (otrovnim antikoagulansom). Odmah sam se pomislio da su mogli koristiti i koka-kolu sa Zyklonom B u prahu, ali Basson se nije toga mogao dosjetiti. Južnoafrički TRC (komisija za istinu i pomirenje) je Bassona oslobodio 1994.

Iako sam već bio u Africi, ali u njenom arapskom, sjevernom dijelu, ovaj put sam shvatio kako je lako zavoljeti pravu Afriku, i kako je lako imati na svojim leđima breme krivice bijelog čovjeka, kojeg sam imao u manjoj ili većoj mjeri tokom boravka u ovoj zemlji. Teško je ne voljeti zemlju koja je kolijevka današnjeg čovječanstva. Svi ljudi su na svom početku bili crni. Poslije smo mijenjali boje u kameleonskom plesu slučajnog spajanja hromosoma. Afrika je mati, velika usamljena mati, prostor iskonske dobrote i naivnosti, kojem ću se opet vraćati, iako sam na početku tvrdio suprotno. Tamo se čovjek može sjetiti izgubljene čistoće i nevinosti iz djetinjstva.

Faruk Šehić

Dok sam je gledala kako govori

Iza njenog šarenog turbana stajalo je nešto zlatno. Kako je pomerala glavu, zlatna tračica je podrhtavala. Proveravala sam svoj vid: nije bilo zraka Sunca, to nije bila ni izvučena nit tkanine, jer se u tkanju nije videlo ništa zlačkasto.

Šta je to bilo?

Znak?

Poruka?

Dok je govorila držala je ruke sklopljene ispred sebe, kao što to čine ljudi u molitvi.

Povremeno bi ih razdvojila i opisivala njima širok krug ispred sebe.

Bio je to mekan, pun, pravilan krug, u čijem središtu, iako je izgledalo prazno, je gorela vatra, vatra kuće, toplote, zagrljaja, utehe.

Govorila je o pomirenju, repatrijaciji, teškim temama i videlo se da joj je stran jezik pravnih termina.

Želela sam da slušam kako govori pesmu, uspavanku, utehu.

Iz nje je progovarala Majka Zemlja, toplim, malo promuklim, odlučnim, ali tihim glasom.

Boja srca

Dlan ruke, ono što nas je napravilo čovekom, ono što stavljamo na srce kad se molimo, ono čime milujemo, ono čime dodirujemo svet oko nas – iste je boje.

Tabani, koji nas drže na Zemlji, i koji nas sa njom spajaju, iste su boje.

I oči.

Iste su nam oči kojima gledamo tugu, nepravdu, podele, ubistva, smrt, rađanje, ljubav, život.

Katarina Milićević



Dijaloški krug u vezi državne Strategije izgradnje mira za Republiku Srbiju

Beograd 8-9.11.2017.

Centar za nenasilnu akciju je rad na Strategiji izgradnje mira počeo još 2010. godine, pošavši od svojih iskustava tokom dugogodišnjeg rada u regiji, i želje da se iz aktivističkog pristupa otpočene proces institucionalizacija održivog mira i prekogranične saradnje. U prvoj fazi rada na tekstu Strategije izgradnje mira intervjuisani su brojni aktivisti/kinje iz Srbije i regiona, i to oni koji su imali iskustva u institucionalizaciji i kreiranju zakonodavnog okvira. Kako su intervjui pokazali da postoji značajna potreba za kreiranjem strateškog dokumenta u ovoj oblasti, za Srbiju i region, prešlo se na dužu i kompleksniju fazu njegovog osmišljavanja i pisanja. Tokom poslednjih šest meseci je predlog teksta završen. U prethodnom periodu održali smo sastanke u državnim institucijama i nezavisnim organima, te sa vrednosno bliskim organizacijama iz Srbije, na kojima smo im predstavili ideju i koncept Strategije izgradnje mira, te smo razgovarali o mogućnostima da dokument uđe u zvaničnu proceduru usvajanja. Održani su sastanci sa predstavnicima: Ministarstva prosvete, Ministarstva kulture, Ministarstva unutrašnjih poslova, Ministarstva omladine i sporta, Kancelarije za saradnju sa civilnim društvom, Kancelarije zaštitnika građana, Kancelarije poverenika za zaštitu informacija, Kancelarije za ljudska i manjinska prava, Kancelarije poverenice za zaštitu ravnopravnosti i Tima za smanjenje siromaštva. Obratili smo se još nekolicini insititucija i organizacija, ali nismo uspjeli da dobijemo odgovor, ili da zakažemo sastanak.

Osim korisnih i sadržajnih saveta, na svim sastanicima smo dobili i ohrabrenje da nastavimo sa ovakvim delovanjem, te uveravanja da prepoznaju potrebu za ovakvim dokumentom i vide značaj njegovog donošenja za Srbiju i region. To je učvrstilo našu odluku da napravimo sastanak u formi Dijaloškog kruga 8-9.11.2016. na kom

su, osim predstavnika insititucija, prisustvovali i naši partneri iz nevladinog sektora iz regije, kao i nekoliko ratnih veterana sa kojima sarađujemo. Cilj nam je bio da zajednički prođemo kroz najvažnije dileme koje još uvek imamo u vezi Strategije izgradnje mira, ta da čujemo i koji bi uticaj eventualnog usvajanja ove strategije bio na Srbiju i zemlje u regionu, ali i koje su mogućnosti i neophodni koraci za usvajanje Strategije.

Dijaloškom krugu je prisustvovalo sedam naših partnera iz regije, te sedam predstavnika/ca državnih institucija Republike Srbije, kao i članovi Centra za nenasilnu akciju. Dijalog je bio podeljen u četiri velike celine, sadržajna pitanja i dileme, mogućnosti i potrebe institucionalizovane regionalne saradnje, planiranje mogućih nosilaca i predlagača za Strategiju izgradnje mira i definisanje sledećih koraka delovanja.

U živom i inspirativnom dijalogu, čulo se da je ovo pravi momenat za ovakav dokument i političku viziju, te da najveći problem (kako se sada čini) nije usvajanje Strategije od strane države, već njeno praćenje i sprovođenje. Iako nam to u ovoj fazi nije bio prioritet, nametnulo se pitanje potencijalnih nosilaca, kao i drugih mogućih partnera. Jedna od sugestija bila je da se javnost postepeno, preko posebno kreirane kampanje, upoznaje sa pojmom izgradnje mira.

Uz zahvalnost svim učesnicima/ama Dijaloškog kruga, na nama je da razgovaramo o preporukama koje smo dobili na sastanku i uradimo neophodno kako bismo našli predlagača za ovako važan strateški dokument, imajući u vidu i činjenicu da je usvajanje, na kraju, najviše pitanje političke odluke vlasti.

Katarina Milićević

Strategija izgradnje mira - sažetak

Kao posledica ratova, stradanja i posleratnih politika, vlada veliko nepoverenje među pripadnicima različitih etničkih grupa na Balkanu, stoga je neophodno da se sistematski bavimo procesima pomirenja i suočavanja sa prošloću. Predlog Strategije se odnosi na Republiku Srbiju, koja bi preuzela odgovornost da prva razmatra strateški dokument, čime na simboličan način pruža i ruku pomirenja, a formalno ga usvaja kao svoju dugoročnu politiku.

Pomirenje je proces usmeren ka budućnosti i stvaranju osećanja sigurnosti da se nasilje iz prošlosti neće ponoviti. U izradi nacarta Strategije za izgradnju mira uključena su mišljenja iz susednih zemalja, što predstavlja novu praksu i otelotvoruje suštinu da mir, da bi se unapredio i održao, mora biti stalni proces komunikacije u međuzavisnim društvima budnih građana i građanki. On treba da nastaje u procesu razmene, kritike, sukobljavanja mišljenja i saradnje svih ljudi na čije živote ima uticaj. Proces sazrevanja ideja koje pospešuju izgradnju mira nije samo proces istomišljenika/ca, već mora uzeti u obzir i glasove onih koji „druge“ doživljavaju kao neprijatelje ili pretnju, treba u sebi da sadrži multiperspektivnost, multidisciplinarost, i podstiče na slobodno mišljenje.

U tom smislu, Strategija izgradnje mira je utemeljena na vrednostima poštovanja različitosti i ravnopravnosti individua, dijaloga, saradnje, društvene pravde i solidarnosti među pojedincima/kama i grupama u procesima donošenja odluka o tome kako zadovoljiti potrebe i zaštititi prava pojedinaca, svoje zajednice kao i onih susednih.

Nacrt Strategije sadrži tri oblasti: pomirenje, mirovno obrazovanje i suočavanje sa prošloću. Za svaku od tri oblasti su definisani strateški ciljevi, aktivnosti koji su razvrstani po specifičnim oblastima (npr. obrazovanje, spoljna politika, sigurnost, međunarodna saradnja itd.).

Predložena Strategija izgradnje mira uvažava i oslanja se na postojeća zakonska rešenja i standarde, ali u sebi sadrži predloge za unapređenje društvenog stanja i uvođenje evropskih standarda u brojnim oblastima.

Cilj Strategije izgradnje mira je stvaranje delotvornih mehanizama i aktivnosti, koji će raditi na stvaranju održivog mira, i stabilne društvene ravnoteže u kojoj sukobi ne eskaliraju u nasilje i rat. Ona podrazumeva promenu društvenih odnosa koji su u korenu samog sukoba, kao i stvaranje prostora da se sukobi rešavaju na pravedan način kroz saradnju i izgradnju poverenja.

Ja, međunarodni ekspert

Kolumbija, 14 – 16 novembar 2016

Seminar je organizovan od strane Mo Bleeker, specijalne poverenice švajcarske vlade za pitanja Suočavanja sa prošlošću i prevenciju zločina, i Philipp Lustenbergera iz švajcarskog Ministarstva spoljnih poslova, a uz tesnu saradnju sa lokalnim aktivistima Jesus Alfonso Florez i svećenikom Jesus Albeiro Parra.

Četrdesetak učesnica i učesnika seminara su bili lideri lokalnih zajednica, domorodačkih zajednica i predstavnici katoličke crkve koji su tokom proteklih godina igrali centralnu ulogu u započetim mirovnim procesima u Kolumbiji. Oni su zaslužni i za uspostavljanje pod-regionalnih mirovnih sporazuma koji su dogovarani paralelno sa centralnim procesom mirovnih pregovora koji je tekao u Havani.

Međunarodni eksperti iz Gvatemale (Helen Mack), Čilea (Elisabeth Lira), Meksika (Dolores Saravia), Severne Irske (David Bloomfield) i Balkana (ja) su pozvani da svojim uvidima i znanjem pruže podršku konsultacijama i učestvuju u razmeni, sa ciljem pripremanja za predstojeće izazove koji dolaze u periodu nakon sklapanja mirovnog sporazuma.

Veoma sretna okolnost koja je pratila ovaj susret, je činjenica da je noć pred početak seminara objavljena vest o uspešnom sklapanju dopunjene verzije mirovnog sporazuma između vlade i FARC pobunjenika, čija prva verzija je odbijena na referendumu u Kolumbiji, referendumu koji je tankom većinom odbio sporazum, a u kojem su prevagnuli glasovi iz krajeva koji nisu bili obuhvaćeni oružanim sukobima.

Meni neprijatna uloga međunarodnog eksperta, u kojoj se sve češće nalazim, me je stavila u nelagodnu poziciju koja je bila otežana time da sam od svih prisutnih, bio samo jedan od dvojice ljudi koji nisu govorili španski

jezik i oslanjali smo se na pomoć prevodioca. Ali, ostao sam fasciniran živim duhom učesnika-ca i hvatao sam sebe kako ne trepćući gledam u njih, naprežući se da razumem španski. Nije puno pomoglo prvog i drugog dana, ali već od trećeg osetio sam kako napredujem. Može biti da je fantastičan prevodilac kojega smo imali, doprineo mom osećaju razgradnje jezičke barijere.

Osećaj olakšanja i velikog zadovoljstva doneo mi je rad u manjoj grupi, tokom kojeg sam govorio o našem radu sa ratnim veteranima i bio suočen sa gomilom dobro sročениh i vrlo preciznih pitanja, te mi je ta intenzivna razmena dala osećaj da je moje prisustvo imalo smisla i bilo vredno ljudima. Oni su suočeni sa predstojećim povratkom hiljada boraca iz raznih borbenih grupa i formacija u svoja sela i zajednice, situacija u kojoj će mnogi biti suočeni sa obeležavanjem kao počinioци nepravde i zločina. Same zajednice su podeljene oko načina ophođenja sa tom nadolazećom situacijom i brojnim problemima koji je prate.

Bilo je jako lepo videti da se ljudi iz Švajcarskog ministarstva sa velikim respektom odnose prema lokalnim aktivistima i koliko se trude da pronađu načina da ih podrže na najbolji mogući način. To mi je pomoglo da se osećam manje neprijatno u ulozi stranog eksperta, a kako su mi ljudi i grad Cali bivali svakim danom sve draži, moj osećaj slobode i prijatnosti su rasli.

Nenad Vukosavljević

Dijalog sa neprijateljem – Trening za Manipuri političke aktiviste

Indija, 23-27.11.2016.

Petodnevni trening iz Suočavanja sa prošlošću za članove-ice United NGO Mission Manipur, je održan od 23-27.11.2016. Učesnici-e treninga su bili ključni lider etničkih zajednica u Manipuru (severoistočna Indija) od kojih su mnogi povezani sa političkim krilima militantnih pokreta.

Trenerski tim su činili Ivana Franović, Adnan Hasanbegović i Nenad Vukosavljević, mirovni aktivistkinja Centra za nenasilnu akciju Sarajevo/Beograd.

Kao nastavak saradnje posle februarskog treninga u Manipuru, CNA je angažovana da radi sa, ovaj put novom grupom, ključnih političkih lidera iz Manipurskih zajednica. Polagane su velike nade u pokušaj da se razgovor o temam razdora obavi na konstruktivan način i time pruži primer za rešavanje sve većih i nasilnijih političkih sukoba u Manipuru. Predstavnici političkih grupa zajednica Meitei, Naga, Kuki i Muslimana su naporno radili jedni sa drugima tokom ovih pet dana. Činjenica da dolazimo iz zemalja koje su međusobno bile u ratu sa ogromnim razaranjem i surovosti, je dodavala našem kredibilitetu, kada bi učesnike upozoravali da prepucavanje korišćenjem istorijskih i pravničkih argumenata, ne može voditi razumevanje ili rešavanju sukoba.

Rekli smo im da mogu samo sebe da pobede ako budu pokušavali da smožde svoje političke protivnike korišćenjem takvih argumenata. Ponudili smo im da probaju slušanje i razumevanje i to im se mahom dopalo. Možda se nekima dopalo preko mere koja im je bila podnošljiva, pa su poslednjeg dana morali da učine vidljive i pomalo demonstrativne korake unazad, pokazujući više formalan nego prijateljski odnos. No to spada u uobičajene oscilacije i korak napred – korak nazad proces kada se dotaknemo borbe sa demonima u nama samima, proces kroz koji se prolazi kada nas neko izazove da se izlečimo od mržnje.

Bila je to jednostavna vežba dijaloga sa neprijateljima, ni manje, ni puno više od toga. Rekoše nam da su svi prethodni pokušaji da se o teškim temama i tačkama razdora razgovara, završavali u svađi, tako da su naš trening ocenili kao uspeh. Da li će inercija i energija sa ovog susreta uspeti da bude pretočena u konkretne akcije koje doprinose uzgradnji poverenja, ostaje da vidimo u budućnosti. Prostor za njih je svakako sužen u političkom pejzažu u kojem poslednjih meseci sve više dominiraju scene nasilja.

Nenad Vukosavljević





aktivnosti kojima
smo se pridružili/le

Mandela dijalozi 2: Stvaranje sigurnog prostora preko generacijskih granica

Drugi serijal Mandela dijaloga na temu rada na sjećanju održan je u organizaciji GIZ Global Leadership Academy (Njemačka agencija za međunarodnu suradnju – Global Leadership Academy (Njemačka agencija za međunarodnu suradnju – Globalna liderska akademija) i Nelson Mandela Foundation (Nelson Mandela Fundacija). Ovaj dijalog su činila dva susreta, prvi u Cape Townu u Južnoj Africi (14-19.6.) te drugi u Batticaloi/Colombu, Šri Lanka (31.10.-5.11.).

Učesnici/ce dijaloga su bili aktivisti/ce, istraživači/ce, umjetnici, sveučilišni radnici/e i predstavnici/ce institucija aktivni u radu na društvenom sjećanju, njih ukupno 29 iz 9 zemalja: Argentine, Bosne i Hercegovine, Hrvatske, Južne Afrike, Kolumbije, Nepala, Ruande, SAD i Šri Lanke. Iz CNA je u programu učestvovala Davorka Turk.

Tema ovogodišnjih Mandela dijaloga, prema riječima organizatora, obuhvaćala je dva ključna izazova u radu na sjećanju koja su proizašla iz prve serije dijaloga: kreiranje sigurnog prostora („Kako kreiramo prostore koji su dovoljno sigurni kako bi se ono neizrecivo moglo komunicirati, i u kojima oni koji se čak ne žele ni vidjeti - bivši neprijatelji, počinitelji i žrtve, pobjednici i gubitnici - mogu početi slušati jedni druge?“) preko generacijskih granica („Kako stvoriti temelje za održivo intergeneracijsko djelovanje koje će voditi društvenoj promjeni i transformaciji?“).

Program se odvijao u prostoru District Six muzeja (<http://www.districtsix.co.za/>) koji tematizira prošlost nasilno preseljenog, dotad multikulturnog dijela grada, ispričanu kroz pripovijesti njegovih nekadašnjih stanovnika. Prvi susret u Cape Townu bio je namijenjen međusobnom upoznavanju, uz nešto manje vremena za razmjenu znanja, iskustava, izazova i mogućnosti specifičnih za praksu učesnika/ca i kontekste iz kojih dolaze. Poseban dio programa predstavljale su posjete lokalnim organizacijama ili inicijativama:

District Six muzej (www.districtsix.co.za) predstavlja prostor posvećen uvodu u politiku nasilnih preseljenja za vrijeme apartheida, otpor apartheidu i tekuće borbe oko sjećanja i društvene pravde. Alternativna tura muzejom koja nam je ovdje ponuđena, predstavljala je priče Districta Six i njegovih različitih lokacija, nastanak muzeja, iskustva preseljenja i pitanja povratka;

Clowns Without Borders (Klaunovi bez granica) svoj program „Our Story Your Story“ (Naša priča, vaša priča) provode u siromašnim zajednicama Cape Towna. Oni, kroz

autobiografsko pripovijedanje, povezuju starije s mlađim članovima zajednice koji nemaju direktno iskustvo života za vrijeme apartheida, i na taj način nastoje povećati koheziju zajednice i osobno osnaživanje njezinih članova. U njihovoj smo pratnji posjetili Philippi, jedno od siromašnih područja Cape Towna, odnosno Centar za starije u kojemu Klaunovi provode ovu aktivnost, gdje su nam se pridružili mladi iz drugog, podjednako velikog i siromašnog gradskog područja Khayelitsha;

- U organizaciji Instituta za pravdu i pomirenje, učesnici/ce Mandela dijaloga imali su priliku učestvovati u dijalogu članova komunalne zajednice Delft i susjednog Blikkiesdorp o spornim pitanjima između ove dvije gradske zajednice;

- U organizaciji Human Rights Media Centra (www.hrmc.org.za) imali smo priliku učestvovati u dijalogu nekadašnjih neprijatelja – pripadnika vojnog krila Afričkog nacionalnog kongresa (Umkhonto we Sizwe ili MK) i nekadašnjih vojnih obaveznika SADF-a (South African Defense Forces – Južnoafričke obrambene snage). Između ostalog, imali smo priliku čuti o njihovim formativnim godinama tijekom 70-ih i 80-ih, o tome što je utjecalo na njihove životne izbore (u danima našeg boravka u Cape Townu obilježena je 40-godišnjica pobune u Sowetu) i što o tome misle danas.

Iako je to nominalno bila namjera ovih susreta, općenito nam je nedostajalo dovoljno prilike da se upoznamo sa specifičnostima i kompleksnošću južnoafričkog konteksta, bilo da su u pitanju dosezi procesa tranzicijske pravde (s posebnim naglaskom na Komisiju za istinu i pomirenje), kao i suvremeni kontest življenja u Južnoj Africi.

U vremenu između dva dijaloška susreta, učesnici/ce su pozvani da poduzmu edukacijska putovanja - upoznavanja s organizacijama iz vlastitog konteksta, čija je namjera imala biti promjena ili širenje perspektive o pitanjima relevantnima za rad učesnika/ca.

I mnogi od učesnika/ca na vrlo su kreativan način poduzeli ovaj zadatak, iskoristivši priliku da upoznaju postojeće inicijative s kojima do sada nisu imali prilike komunicirati ili surađivati, kao i da stvore neke nove kontakte i veze. O ovome smo mogli doznati tijekom prvog dana susreta na Šri Lanki. Dva dana, koliko smo proveli u Kolombu, poslužili su za kratku evaluaciju dosadašnjeg tijeka procesa, kao i priprema za nastavak susreta na istoku zemlje, koji je zajedno sa sjeverom tijekom gotovo 30 godina

bio ratna zona. Prometna i gospodarska izoliranost ovog područja (koje uglavnom nastanjuju Tamili i Muslimani, kao i druge manjinske etničke skupine) samo je jedna od posljedica rata, okončanog 2009. Posljedice rata su višestruke – veliki broj poginulih i nestalih, značajan broj otetih (od strane vojnih i paravojnih formacija, koje su na taj način prisilno regrutirale svoje kadrove), veliki broj nasilno iseljenih, kao i veliki broj izbjeglica, udovica (od kojih mnoge nisu u mogućnosti ostvariti osnovna prava za sebe i svoju djecu, budući proces identifikacije nestalih još nije počeo, a postoje i naznake daljnjeg odugovlačenja procesa od strane vlasti). Uz to, ovo je područje jedno od najteže pogođenih cunamijem iz 2004.

Ponešto od lokalnog šri lankanskog konteksta mogli smo doznati upoznavajući se s radom lokalnih organizacija i inicijativa:

Butterfly Peace Garden (Leptirov vrt mira) uspostavljen je kao oaza za djecu iz ovog ratom uništenog područja, za vrijeme jednog od primirja između pobunjeničkih i vladinih snaga. Djeca u vrt dolaze iz okolnih sela, i tijekom 9 mjeseci, u mješovitim etničkim grupama učestvuju u spoju umjetnosti, teatra, kreativne igre, brige o okolišu i savjetovanju koji im imaju pomoći u iscjeljenju psiholoških posljedica rata. Dio ovog napora predstavlja i Monkey's Tale Centre for Contemplative Art (Centar za kontemplativnu umjetnost – Majmunov rep) koji smo također imali priliku posjetiti.

Inter-religijski dijaloški centar, čija je namjera da potiče dijalog i razumijevanje između triju većih religijskih zajednica na ovom području – islamske, hinduističke i kršćanske – s primarnim fokusom na interakciji pripadnika ovih vjera u svakodnevnom životu. Učesnici/ce su imali priliku posjetiti Heritage Museum (Muzej baštine) i lokalnu medresu, kao i memorijal u džamiji koji komemorira članove zajednice koji su ubijeni od strane LTTE¹-a.

Swami Vipulananda Institut za umjetničke studije koji, kroz performativnu praksu tradicionalne drame Koothu, uspostavlja odnos sa i između marginaliziranih etničkih društvenih skupina na istoku, poput Veddara (autohtoni narodi), Arunthathia (porijeklom iz Andhra Pradesh, Indija), Burghera (holandskog i portugalskog porijekla) i Kaffira (potomci afričkih robova koje su na Šri Lanku doveli Portugalci). Učesnici/ce su, zajedno sa izvođačima koji su porijeklom iz ovih zajednica posjetili veddarsko selo, gdje su imali priliku promatrati ovu performativno-dijalošku praksu.

1 The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam, poznatiji pod nazivom Tamilski Tigrovi.

Valkai grupa je inicijativa i grupa podrške za žene izložene različitim vrstama nasilja – poput nasilnih regrutacija djece od strane LTTE-a, zlostavljanja od strane vojske, zastrašivanja, „nestanaka“, tortura... Učesnici/ce su prisustvovali sastanku grupe na kojemu se govorilo o nedavnoj odluci vlade da otvori Ured za nestale, doživljenoj uglavnom kao odgovor na zahtjeve međunarodnih donatora, prije negoli kao stvarnoj podršci obiteljima nestalih.

Susret s nekadašnjim kadrovima LTTE-a, od kojih su neki regrutirani kao djeca i većinom okupljeni u društvu za osobe s invaliditetom. U razgovoru smo doznali da se uglavnom suočavaju s nemogućnošću ostvarenja prava, pronalaska zaposlenja i drugih vidova društvene i državne podrške za integraciju u društvo, uz stalnu prisotnost od strane vlasti.

Kako nismo imali vremena ni mogućnosti da se uputimo u sve navedene inicijative (svatko je imao priliku sudjelovati u dvije od navedenih 6 lokalnih posjeta) niti u dubinu problema s kojima se suočavamo, unutar grupe se pojavilo pitanje o etičkoj dimenziji ovih posjeta. Naime, u nekoliko navrata su nam upućene primjedbe od lokalnih organizacija, kako smo samo još jedna grupa koja je došla „da ih promatra i uzima bilješke“. Na Šri Lanki su, naime, odnedavno uspostavljeni uvjeti za provođenje principa tranzicijske pravde, pri čemu se, kako nam je rečeno, vodilo malo računa o specifičnostima šri lankanskog konteksta. O ovim posjetama nismo posebno raspravljali u okviru programa, budući je namjera organizatora bila da se s ovim inicijativama upoznamo tek kako bismo neke od viđenih praksi doživjeli kao poticaj za konkretan rad u društvima iz kojih dolazimo.

Važna pitanja o kojima jesmo raspravljali odnosila su se na samu prirodu rada na sjećanju – što sjećanje jest – osobno ili društveno konstruirano iskustvo; je li uopće moguće stvoriti siguran prostor za sve zainteresirane strane, za koga je prostor siguran?; koliko naše prakse mogu dovesti prije do ušutkivanja i poticanja novog nasilja negoli transformacije konflikta; koliko je rad na sjećanju sam sebi svrha (što s optužbama da rad na sjećanju skreće pozornost s neposrednijih, u društvenom smislu „hitnijih“ problema?), a koliko doista može pomoći u društvenoj transformaciji? Što u slučaju kada nam je sjećanje prijetnja o kojoj ne smijemo govoriti (budući su njegovi aktivni akteri još uvijek živi i politički aktivni, čak i na pozicijama vlasti)? Na koji način se naša društva odnose prema preživjelima? Kakav je utjecaj procesa tranzicijske pravde na društvo u kojemu se sprovodi? Na koji način promišljamo pomirenje i zašto je ono, u političkom smislu, gotovo uvijek vezano s oprostom? Na koji način se

odnosi moći i/ili društvenog položaja reflektiraju na naš rad? Kako, u tom smislu, potaknuti intergeneracijski rad na sjećanju, koji će biti inkluzivan, a ne didaktički? Kako razgovarati s mlađom generacijom, koja trpi posljedice konflikta, ali se ne osjeća dijelom tog konteksta? Što želimo postići intergeneracijskim radom na sjećanju?

Svakako je bila privilegija učestvovati u ovim susretima, zbog prilike da se barem donekle upoznamo s društvenim kontekstima u koje dolazimo, kao i da se razmijenimo s praktičarima iz istog polja djelovanja, sa različitih strana svijeta. Nažalost, u okviru programa nije bila predviđena satnica niti metodologija kojom bi se ovim pitanjima moglo konstruktivno pristupiti, te smo većinu od njih zagrebali tek površinski, bez mogućnosti da

odredimo koje su nam zajedničke polazne točke, ukoliko ih imamo, vrijednosti od kojih u radu polazimo i prakse kojima nastojimo doći do odgovora. Tada bi vjerojatno bila ispunjena i osnovna namjera organizatora, da se učesnicima omoguću da obogate postojeće ili uspostave nove programe koje sprovode unutar institucija i zemalja iz kojih dolaze, te međusobnu suradnju tamo gdje je moguće.

Davorka Turk

Međunarodna konferencija o umjetnosti u pomirenju

17-9.11. 2016. Colombo, Šri Lanka

Bandaranaike Memorial International Conference Hall

Međunarodnu konferenciju koja se odvijala od 7-9. 11. u Kolombu organizirali su Ured za nacionalno jedinstvo i pomirenje Vlade Šri Lanke, Umjetničko vijeće Šri Lanke, Europska Unija, CARE International, GIZ - Njemačka agencija za međunarodnu suradnju i FLICT (Facilitating Initiatives for Social Cohesion and Transformation – program Njemačkog saveznog ministarstva za ekonomsku suradnju i razvoj (BMZ) koji sprovodi GIZ).

Konferencija je imala fokus na tri područja – Umjetnost proturječja (Art of Dissent), Umjetnost povezivanja (Art of Connecting) i Umjetnost svjedočenja (Art of Witness), i to kroz prezentacije, panel diskusije i prateće izložbe na temu umjetnosti u pomirenju. Program konferencije možete pronaći ovdje (wingssrilanka.com).

U tri dana, 77 učesnika/ca iz različitih dijelova svijeta imalo je priliku čuti o akademskim istraživanjima i umjetničkim i aktivističkim praksama na ovom polju. Uz panel diskusije o komparativnim pristupima pomirenju, povezanosti umjetnosti, kulture i izgradnje mira, propitivanje uloge novih medija, intergeneracijskog dijaloga te uloge umjetnosti u transformaciji konflikta, imali smo se prilike upoznati i sa konkretnim muzeološkim, memorijalizacijskim i umjetničkim praksama čija je namjera da pridonesu procesu pomirenja (literatura, muzika, performativne umjetnosti), ali i o njihovim ograničenjima.

Za dio učesnika/ca Mandela dijaloga koji su učestvovali na konferenciji, ona je bila prilika i da jedni druge pobliže

upoznamo s projektima na kojima radimo. Rad CNA na konferenciji je predstavljen kroz prezentaciju istraživanja i publikacije o mjestima stradanja i sjećanja u BiH nakon rata 1991-1995., „Rat sjećanja“.

Memorijalne šetnje (Povijesti borbe i protesta - Histories of struggle and protest <http://wingssrilanka.com/programmes/walking-tours/> i Povijesti nasilja i kapitalizacije - Histories of violence and capitalisation

<http://wingssrilanka.com/programmes/walking-tours-histories-of-struggle-protest-independence-monument-to-liptons-circus/>) koje su bile dio programa konferencije, pokazale su se posebno važnim u razumijevanju suvremenog konteksta Šri Lanke, od kolonijalnog perioda do današnje kapitalističke eksploatacije. Uz boravak u Bandaranaike memorijalnom centru, koji su obilježile jake mjere sigurnosti i prisutnost oružanih snaga, memorijalne šetnje su, barem za učesnike/ce Mandela dijaloga koji su netom proveli 6 dana u zaštićenom okolišu odmarališta u Batticaloi, bile nužan i potreban susret s realnošću života u zemlji koja, iako živi svoj postkolonijalni i postratni period, nije daleko odmakla niti od jednog niti od drugog, i to ne nužno samo vlastitom krivicom.

Davorka Turk



razmišljanja

Nije izgubljeno

Amer Delić

Prošlo je sedam godina kako je Centar za nenasilnu akciju (CNA) prvi put organizovao posjetu ratnih veterana iz regiona Zavidovića. Tog aprila 2010. godine bio sam domaćin ovoj grupi, zajedno sa dvojicom svojih sugrađana i saboraca iz Armije RBiH (ARBiH), Mirsadom Omerovićem i Asimom Parlićem, članovima Udruženja ratnih vojnih invalida (RVI). Tadašnje akcije zajedničkih obilazaka stratišta bile su u samom začetku, povjerenje među nama, bivšim neprijateljima, tek se uspostavljalo i pomalo smo ga gradili na treninzima izgradnje mira i na ovakvim susretima. Bilo nam je tada bitno da ukažemo na ratna stradanja na zavidovičkoj opštini i ogromne ljudske gubitke naše strane, ali bili smo spremni da obidemo stratište na kojem je počinjen teški ratni zločin nad zarobljenim pripadnicima Vojske Republike Srpske (VRS), počinjen u naše ime. Obišli smo mjesta velikih bitaka, memorijale u gradu i lokaciju mudžahedinskog kampa na „13. kilometru“. Zajedničkim odavanjem počasti stradalim na svim lokacijama dobili smo satisfakciju za tu vrstu potrebe da se gubici svih nas uvažavaju i razumiju. A obilazak tog „13-og“ bio je ključ za uspostavljanje povjerenja između nas i građenje prije svega dobrih, prijateljskih odnosa među nama u godinama koje su uslijedile, što nam je omogućilo brojne zajedničke mirovne akcije.

Prilikom tadašnjeg boravka u Zavidovićima susreli smo se i sa tadašnjim načelnikom općine i predstavnicima lokalnih vlasti. Kao neformalna grupa ratnih veterana i CNA uputili smo apel da se lokacija bivšeg logora na „13-om“ obilježi spomen-pločom. Ideja je podržana, općinari su obećali da će je predložiti i razmotriti. I tako je na tome ostalo. Nakon par mjeseci ponovo smo se sreli sa tadašnjim predsjedavajućim općinskog vijeća i aktualizirali pitanje spomen-ploče, ali taj put smo dobili konkretni odgovor. Od toga nema ništa.

Drugi put, tada sam već postao član CNA, sa grupom ratnih veterana u Zavidovićima smo boravili u junu 2013. godine. Iz udruženja RVI su nas pozvali na komemoraciju koju organizuju na Koti 715 na brdu Podsijelovo, koje je bilo poprište najžešćih bitaka između ARBiH i VRS tokom rata. Bilo je to prvi put da sa grupom ratnih veterana učestvujemo na jednom takvom skupu na kojem su se, pred više stotina prisutnih, obraćali politički predstavnici, predstavnici udruženja žrtava i boračkih organizacija, vjerski službenici, postrojeni uz desetine zastava, ratnih, vjerskih i državnih. Dolazak bivših neprijatelja na jedan

takav monolitan nacionalni događaj bio je presedan u dotadašnjem načinu memorizacije na prostoru BiH, koji se u pravilu odvijao unutar jedne etničke zajednice, zatvoren za druge.

Prilikom boravka na Koti 715 predsjednik Udruženja RVI Amir Mujkić nam je predao ideju da se na platou kote planira izgradnja velikog spomen kompleksa. Zamišljeni projekat je podrazumijevao vraćanje izgleda kote kakav je bio u vrijeme ratnih deštava, sa tranšeima i rovovima na pozicijama ARBiH i VRS. Tada se rodila ideja i da se boračka udruženja VRS mogu uključiti u fazu projekta i da sami doprinesu zajedničkom memorijalu. Ideja da memorijal, umjesto jačanja jednog narativa, šalje univerzalnu antiratnu poruku, i danas je živa.

Kada smo zaključili da nam u Zavidovićima nedostaje refleksije i druge strane, u smislu ratnih veterana VRS i HVO konkretno sa područja ove opštine, tragali smo za kontaktima koji bi nas povezali s tim ljudima. Tadašnji predsjednik Boračke organizacije VRS iz Doboja, Nenad Bukvić dogovorio nam je sastanak sa Zoranom Blagojevićem predsjednikom Zavičajnog udruženja Zavidovičana sa sjedištem u Doboju, nekadašnjim ratnim komadantom VRS na području Ozrena i Vozuće i jednim od najvećih autoriteta među vozućkim Srbima. Na sastanku smo razmotrili mogućnosti saradnje predstavivši naš rad sa ratnim veteranima i želju da se i srpski ratni veterani iz Zavidovića uključe u naše mirovne aktivnosti. Ubrzo nakon tog sastanka smo dobili poziv našoj grupi da se pridruži komemorativnom događaju pod nazivom „Dani egzodusa“, koji Zavičajno udruženje Zavidovičana organizuje u naselju Stog kod Vozuće 10. septembra svake godine.

Tog dana 2014. godine smo učestvovali na komemoraciji gdje nam je domaćin bilo Zavičajno udruženje Zavidovičana, ali imali smo i posjetu RVI Zavidovići, obilazeći njihovo sjedište, radionicu za proizvodnju ortopedskih pomagala i spomen sobu. Iako su istog dana bili organizatori drugog događaja povodom oslobođenja Vozuće, koji obilježava bošnjačka strana, odvojili su vrijeme da budu domaćini našoj grupi, a neki su se kasnije i pridružili komemoraciji u Stogu. Susret zavidovičkih boraca sa obje strane potaknuo je priču o ratnim vremenima i bitkama, ali i o vremenima kada se zajedno išlo u škole i preduzeća, druženjima na igrankama i fudbalskim turnirima. Sa sjetom smo se prisjetili ljudi

koje smo poznavali, a koji su stradali u ratu. Dobili smo priliku jedni drugima reći da nam je žao, vratili smo si ljudskost.

U maju 2017. godine smo u sklopu aktivnosti Obilježavanja neobilježenih mjesta stradanja, u čijem sam timu i ja, sprovedi akciju na dva lokaliteta na području Zavidovića. Obilježili smo logor na „13-om kilometru“ i zatočenički objekat Lovački dom u Kamenici. Pratilac nam je bio Asim P. koji nam je organizovao i sastanke sa predstavnicima lokalne vlasti, pomoćnikom načelnika za boračko-invalidsku zaštitu Asimom Karajbićem i predsjedavajućim općinskog vijeća Zavidovića Redžom Seferovićem. Imali smo priliku i njih da upoznamo sa našim akcijama i još jednom da oživimo ideju o postavljanju spomen ploče na mjestu logora. Tada sam im kao sugrađanima i ratnim veteranima istakao potrebu da skinemo stigmatu sa našeg grada koju nosimo duže od dvije decenije. A najbolji put ka tome je da ukažemo na to šta se događalo i da se odredimo prema ratnom zločinu počinjenom u naše ime, kao surovom i nepotrebnom.

U julu ove godine, CNA je u saradnji sa Udruženjem RVI iz Zavidovića, Boračkom organizacijom VRS Grada Doboja i Zavičajnim udruženjem Zavidovićana iz Doboja organizovao zajedničku posjetu ratnih veterana iz regiona opštini Zavidovići i rejonu nekadašnjeg Vozućkog ratišta. Prilikom posjete odali smo počast stradalim civilima i vojnicima svih strana koje su učestvovali u ratu, pri čemu su nam se pridružili i vjerski službenici sve tri vjerske zajednice. Zajedno smo odaslali apel da je potrebno pronaći sve nestale i obilježiti mjesta stradanja. Takođe, načelnici općina Doboj i Zavidovići, Obren Petrović i Hašim Mujanović, te predsjedavajući općinskog vijeća Zavidovići Redžo Seferović pridružili su se našoj grupi.

Susret će mi ostati u sjećanju zbog trenutka kada je Zoran B. sa dozom sjete i humora rekao da je malo tužan na ovom susretu, jer mu je žao kada vidi šta su on i njegovi izgubili, aludirajući na ljepotu vodopada na rijeci Gostović u Kamenici i okolnu prirodu. „Zorane, niste ovo izgubili. Ovom prilikom ja, kao načelnik Zavidovića, pozivam i vas i sve izbjegle Srbe sa ovih područja da se vratite. Ovo je i sad vaše“, izjavio je tom prilikom Hašim. Načelnik je deset dana nakon naše posjete, posjetio izbjegle gostovičke Srbe prilikom obilaska njihovih nekadašnjih ognjišta i crkve, na dan seoske slave i pozvao ih na povratak, što nije niko učinio sa te pozicije u proteklih 22 godine. A sve zajednice imaju svoje izbjeglice i povratnike.

A dočekali smo i da općinska komisija za spomenike odobri podizanje spomen ploče na „13-om“ i ona je konačno postavljena 29. avgusta 2017.

Neki „novi val“ je zahvatio Zavidoviće, valjda će poprimiti šire razmjere i preliti se i u susjedna mjesta. Želja mi je sa Žepčem da otvorimo priču.

Naravno, ne možeš to sam. Trebaju ti ljudi. Neko ko te razumije i sa kim možeš da podijeliš iskustva, da ukažeš na zlo koje rat nosi i s kim možeš da razmjeniš ideje i tragaš za načinima angažmana kojim možeš da doprineseš izgradnji mira. Putujući kroz vrijeme, gledajući Zavidoviće i sebe, sjećam se kroz šta smo prošli od 1992. do do danas. Nije mi bilo lako odabrati put ka pomirenju nakon svega proživljenog u ratu, ali baš to nasilje me i opredjelilo u namjeri da pokušam da gradim nešto što će ga u budućnosti spriječiti i otkloniti mržnju u kojoj smo se ostrastili. Čineći prve korake na tom putu dobio sam osjećaj da se i moja duša mijenja. Rasla je i u sebe upustila neprijatelje koji su vremenom postali bivši.

Moj dolazak u CNA

Nedžad Novalić

Nikada nisam pisao o sebi, što je, otkrivam sada, neobično teško mjerenje, kao muka sa kratkim pokrivačem. Kada bih bio toliko važan i umišljen pa se odlučio pisati autobiografiju, pričam sam sa sobom, odakle bih krenuo? Kako bih podijelio poglavlja? Po godinama nikako, već viđeno. Po nekim velikim, prijelomnim događajima? Imalo bi smisla, ali opet, koliko god zov povijesti bio primamljiv, negdje duboko u sebi želim da me ta ista povijest mimoiđe, da preko Modre rijeke pređem bez sudbonosnih skretnica znajući da se na istim vrlo često iskače iz šina. Zato mi ljudi i knjige ostaju kao sigurno pribježište.

Veliko dvorište

Rat je sigurno bio stao, a države još nije bilo pa bi mogla to biti 1996. Narandžastim kombijem - kad se država jednom vaspostavila prvo je ukinula taj narandžasti kombi pod izlikom nelegalnog prijevoza - sa ocem u vojničkoj uniformi otišao sam do Gradske biblioteke u Zenici podići svoju prvu knjigu, sve mi se čini, ali me ne držite za riječ, da je bilo Veliko dvorište S. Raičkovića. Bio sam prvi ili drugi razred, neobično dobar učenik za nekoga ko je, usljed ratnih okolnosti, u školu krenuo sa osam godina bez da je znao pisati, raspoznavati boje ili životinje. (Nek sačeka godinu, sad nam je navala izbjeglica, pa vidjet ćemo šta ćemo, kazali su mi kada sam sa mamom ratne 1994. pokušao postati đak prvak).

Sumnjali smo da je rat konačno stao kada smo redovno počeli ići u školu, upoznavati se sa sasvim neobičnim stvarima (pamtim i sad trenutak kada sam prvi put vidio bijeli hljeb), a negdje sam logikom dječaka zaključio da rata više definitivno neće biti kada smo dobili i telefon. Pa ipak, natovareno breme rata, vidio sam to mnogo kasnije, nismo skinuli: išao sam u školu u kojoj su skoro isključivo bili Bošnjaci, staru školsku zgradu niko nije obnavljao ali je dobila sasvim novo, puno pristojnije, ime, otac je od vojnika postao profesionalni vojnik: umjesto da ratuje za džaba sad je dobijao pare bez ratovanja. Zenička Željezara teško je osakaćena u izafrontovskim borbama u privredi koje se još nazivaju i privatizacijom što je cijelu moju generaciju, za razliku od naših očeva, nagnalo da tražimo neka druga zanimanja daleko od ugašenih visokih peći.

Povijest pornografije

Dolazak u Sarajevo u 15. godini života i to u medresu (vjersku gimnaziju) obilježio me na više nivoa. Po prvi put sam se osjetio izmještenim, identitet koji ću kao

dragocijen spoznati tek kasnije i brižno gajiti. Razočarenje pa otpor medresanskim autoritetima i internatskom mačo-religijskom drilu, slikali smo cheguevara likovima, slušanjem rokenrola i čitanjem. Dvoumljenje između studija historije i književnosti i konačna odluka za historiju bili su, osim izbora profesije, i lijek za nas koji smo na pragu života shvatili da nam matura umjesto vrata povijesti nudi tek bh. kaljužu. Taj osjećaj generacijske besperspektivnosti nebrojeno me puta vraćao romanu G. Tribusona *Povijest pornografije*.

Strast prema novinarstvu iz srednje škole na fakultetu sam polako pretvorio u profesiju. Honorarno sam sarađivao sa različitim medijima time aktivno ulazeći u društveno polje. Volontirajući i radeći s mladima u sebi sam otkrivao vjeru kao sediment, onu vjeru koja nije bila plod naučenog u medresi ili naslijeđenog iz porodice, već nečeg što sam osjećao kao iskonsko. Taj proces ponovo me izmjestio i potaknuo na razmišljanje o mom identitetu i društvu u kojem živim, nagnavši me da reinterpretirajući temelje na kojima sam ponikao mijenjam sebe i svijet oko sebe.

Ubilački identiteti

U ljeto 2012. otišao sam na Osnovni trening CNA u Makedoniju bez prevelikih očekivanja, spreman da hvatam bilješke i ulazim u beskonačno duge rasprave kako samo historičari umiju. Vratio sam se bez ijedne bilješke, zapitan, začuđen, izbijen iz cipela. Suočio sam se sa svojim predrasudama (naprimjer onim prema ateistima ili LGBT osobama), razmišljao o tome šta za mene u mom društvu znači što sam muškarac, ili pak bijelac, ili Bošnjak u dijelu zemlje gdje su Bošnjaci većina? Da li bih bio spreman otići u rat? Rat za šta? Ubiti nekoga? Vratio sam se zamišljen nad sobom, sa upaljenom iskrom empatije za druge koje sam počinjao razumijevati iako smo bili različiti. Siguran prostor da se iskažem, pa potom i mijenjam sebe, bez da budem osuđen i sasječen raznoraznim etiketama poželio sam ponijeti iz Mavrova i učiniti društvenom normom, a čuvati druge od sebe učinilo mi se kao prvi korak na tom putu. Ubilački identiteti Amina Maaloufa bili su prva stanica na kojoj sam nakon treninga potražio odgovore.

Nedugo nakon treninga počeo sam prvo raditi u novopokrenutom sedmičnom magazinu a potom i na jednom internet portalu. Bio je pravi izazov raditi u profesiji koja se dramatično brzo mijenja pri čemu te promjene i nisu uvijek nužno korak naprijed. Posebnog

traga ostavili su susreti, razgovori i intervjui sa ljudima koje osobito cijenim, a ovdje se sjećam inspirativnih razgovora sa Latinkom Perović, Michaelom Lapsleyem, nobelovcem Muhammadom Yunusem... Novinarstvo mi je dalo, ili barem utvaram da jeste, priliku da djelujem, pokušavam utjecati na procese i mijenjati društvo u kojem obitavam. Konačno, novinarstvo mi je pomjerilo tas na vagi u korist onog što D. Stojanović naziva historijom sadašnjosti, a što bi najjednostavnije bilo definisati kao spoj historije i aktivizma. Komercijalizacija svega pa i medija traži od čovjeka da prati trenutačne želje konzumenata pri čemu sam se sve više zatrpavao onim što sam doživljavao kao nebitno te sam tražio izlaz.

Nemoguće je ostati neutralan na vozu koji se kreće

U tim trenucima došao je poziv CNA. Od upoznavanja sa CNA 2012. do tog poziva već smo se bili sprijateljili, aktivno surađivali i družili, a o tome kako odgovoriti na poziv da se priključim timu CNA razmišljao sam, evo priznajem, i mnogo prije nego sam poziv dobio. Čas mi se činilo da je prerano, čas da sam već okasnio, ili da to nije za mene niti sam ja za toga. Poslije poziva da se priključim timu, dileme,

nedoumice, pitanja i strahovi su se umnogostručili. Kako i zašto raditi treninge iz izgradnje mira 20 godina nakon rata? Kako sa veteranima ostavljenim na marginama društva i često (zlo)upotrebljavanim obilaziti mjesta stradanja? Kojim kantarem i kako izmjeriti učinak i odagnati pomisao da se radi uzaludan posao? Dileme i zapitanost ostaju.

U bosanskohercegovačkom (post)ratnom društvu, a nije velika razlika ni u većini drugih zemalja regiona, mnogi životni izbori su ujedno i zauzimanje stava. Ostati ovdje, tu podizati dijete, nadati se starosti, svakako su, na nekom nivou, jasan društveno-politički stav. Život i rad Howarda Zinna, historičara koji je odbio biti neutralan na vozu koji se kreće, ohrabrenje su da ne bježim u konformiskuitet.

A motiv? Pregršt ih je. Jednog sam se sjetio i ispričao nedavno na svom prvom treningu u ulozi trenera. Pamtim da su porodice čiji bi članovi poginuli u ratu te 1993. dobijali posebne pakete hrane i kako smo, tada petogodišnjaci, očeve pitali zašto i oni ne poginu. Ne sjećam se šta su nama roditelji odgovarali niti znam šta bih ja odgovorio svojoj kćerci Sari.





politički i društveni konteksti
u kojima djelujemo

Bosna i Hercegovina: Rubikon sa stotinama rukavaca

Nedžad Novalić

Božo Ljubić, bivši ministar u Vijeću ministara BiH i sadašnji zastupnik u Hrvatskom saboru, krajem augusta je zaprijetio da bi BiH već sljedeće godine mogla prijeći Rubikon ukoliko se ne riješi aktuelno hrvatsko pitanje kroz izmjene Ustava BiH i Izbornog zakona. "A, šta je iza Rubikona, to ćemo onda svi zajedno vidjeti i tako nešto nikoga u BiH ne bi moglo da ostavi ravnodušnim", veli Ljubić koji obično govori ono što "prvi u Hrvata" Dragan Čović misli, ali ne bi da kaže kako bi sačuvao imidž nositelja europskih vrijednosti. Taj Rubikon u BiH ima stotine rukavaca, a naši cezari poručuju: Koska je bačena.

Pobjeda nad antifašizmom

"Mislim da će 2016. biti bolja od 2017", povjerio mi se jedan od bh političara između dvije političke krize krajem 2016. To da nam je svaka prošla bolja od svake naredne godine, jedno je od rijetkih obećanja koje političari ispunjavaju. Neki će reći da je to samo lapsus i sitničarenje. Lapsus je, možda, ali samo možda, kad sarajevski gradonačelnik 9. maja izjavi da se "danas obilježeva dan pobjede nad antifašizmom". Dobro, događaji u 2017, kao ono kad je jedna sarajevska osnovna škola ponijela ime po liku koji se 1942. radovao nestanku jevrejskog duha iz Čaršije, pokazali su da ni to nije bio lapsus.

I u 2017. smo iz jedne političke krize srljali u drugu, a pokušaj da se pobroje sve krize bio bi sulud. Valja spomenuti samo nekoliko onih koje su nas podsjetile koliko krhki (ne)mir živimo.

Kriza povodom obilježavanja 9. januara kao Dana Republike Srpske, koji je Ustavni sud BiH proglasio neustavnim, i postrojavanja Oružanih snaga BiH tim povodom, dali su tempo godini koja je bila tek pred nama. Parada svega što u RS-u nosi uniformu koja je tim povodom organizirana u Banjoj Luci (od policije do vatrogasaca i civilne zaštite) poslužila je predsjedniku tog entiteta da pokaže kako, iako nema vojsku, itekako ima bazu koja se vrlo lako može transformisati u oružanu silu. Samo osam mjeseci poslije, isti oni vatrogasci, pokazalo se, nemaju ni osnovna sredstva za rad pa su požari u Hercegovini divljali danima dok se vlast, od efektivnih mjera, dosjetila jedino molitve za kišu.

Odluka da se krene u reviziju presude Međunarodnog suda pravde protiv Srbije a po tužbi BiH i reakcije na odluku

suda da zahtjev za reviziju nije validan jer ga je inicirao jedan član Predsjedništva BiH (Bakir Izetbegović) a ne cijelo Predsjedništvo BiH, pokazali su koliko neodgovorno se političari odnose prema ratnim traumama iz prošlosti, žrtvama i njihovim porodicama te izgradnji mira na ovim prostorima. Sama odluka da se krene u reviziju donesena je potpuno vaninstitucionalno, na svojevrsnom savjetovanju plemenskih vođa, u uskom krugu stranačkih istomišljenika, uz jasno upozorenje stručnjaka kako će revizija završiti fijaskom i imati dugoročno negativne posljedice. Sud je za samo nekoliko dana odbio zahtjev za reviziju bez ulaženja u meritum, što je bošnjačke političare zateklo jer su se nadali kako će sud proces revizije u najgorem slučaju razvući nekoliko godina. Krenula su međusobna optuživanja političkih lidera, udruženja žrtava još jednom su zloupotrijebljena kako bi se diskreditirao Međunarodni sud pravde, da bi se sve, samo nekoliko mjeseci poslije, jednostavno zaboravilo. No, ovim se pun krug u BiH konačno zatvorio: Uz vaninstitucionalno djelovanje koje urušava i ono malo što je od države ostalo, nezadovoljstvo radom međunarodnih sudova i optužbe za zavjeru protiv nas sada su zajedničko naslijeđe svih naroda u BiH.

Presuda Haškog tribunala Prliću i drugim čelnicima tzv. Herceg-Bosne očekuje se krajem 2017. i sigurno će izazvati krizu bez obzira kakva bila a već sada su izvjesni i komentari, od pravda je zadovoljena do Haški tribunal je donio političku odluku: dijalozi i didaskalije, ma cijeli dramski tekst, već je sročen, ostaje samo da se podijele uloge.

Naš mali raj(h)

Ranije iscrtavanje granica našeg malog raj(h)a, što se na stransko jezik prevođa i kao lebensraum, nastavljeno je i u 2017. (Npr: Čović: Stolac ću uvijek doživljavati kao hrvatski prostor; Dodik: Muslimani su ponovo okupirali Drinu). Istovremeno, i jedni i drugi i treći, a bogme i (pre) ostali, okupiraju redove ispred stranih ambasada ispisujući se iz Bošnjaka, Hrvata i Srba i aplicirajući za Gastarbeitere: doduše, za razliku od 1970-ih i 1980-ih danas se odlazi da se ne vrati. Sve prazniju zemlju rado za sitne pare kupuju sve češće stranci koji nam ništa novo nisu otkrili osim što su nam potvrdili neke stvari koje smo već znali: Bh. vlasti

bi prodali Boga Oca samo ako mogu da se ugrade, pa je tako neki dan prodat i dio Vrela Bosne, polja Bjelašnice, dolina Bune...

Nigdje se kao u BiH ne vidi razlika između pregovora i dogovora. Politički lideri o rješavanju suštinskih problema građana pregovaraju uz podgrijavanje strahova, diranje nikad zacijeljenih rana i skrivanje iza mi. S druge strane, dogovaraju se vrlo učtivo, tiho, iza zavjese, uvijek u prvom licu jednine: o dizanju novih kredita, podjeli javnih preduzeća i drugih javnih resursa. Država, u onom dijelu gdje skrbi o onima kojima je pomoć potrebna, odumire iz godine u godinu, naknade za porodilje i dječiji dodatak ne postoje ili su potpuno mizerne, bolnice, koje baš evo od ove godine reformišemo metodom sebi ja izacije, ne nude više besplatno ni obične zavoje i gaze, imamo najskuplje vrtiće... Sve praznije osnovne škole, posebno one van gradskih sredina, doslovno se urušavaju, skoro svaki grad muku muči ili sa vodosnabdijevanjem, ili sa odvozom smeća ili sa gradskim prijevozom, s tim da Sarajevo, valjda jer je glavni grad, ima probleme sa svim pobjojanim. Istovremeno, samo ove godine država je na različite načine natjerala građane da izdvajaju prosječno 50 KM mjesečno više na ime različitih poreza, prireza, taksi i drugih administrativnih čuda.

Žitije tri kralja

Pravnu državu koja ne postoji ništa ne objašnjava bolje od situacije u policijsko-pravosudnom sistemu. Policijske agencije međusobno ne sarađuju, često opstruišu jedna drugu, a potpuna politizacija tužilaštava i sudova na svim nivoima dokaz je neuspjeha reforme pravosuđa. Svakodnevni medijski izvještaji o radu pravosuđa sve više liče na televizijske saponice sa lošim glumcima i još gorim scenarijem. A kad ništa ne ide, barem sa historijskim spektaklima nikako ne možete da omanete, znaju to, eno, i Turci koji snimaju seriju Alija, toliko idilično žitije da je čak i porodica Izetbegović morala reagirati poručivši Turcima da smanje doživljaj. Već je najavljeno snimanje i filma o Radovanu Karadžiću (predlažem naziv: Radovan Prvi), dok bi se trilogija okončala snimanjem filma o Mati Bobanu.

Strukturno uređenje BiH i sveopći politički promiskuitet doveli su do toga da je teško danas povući jasnu liniju između opozicije i vlast: Teško da vam se pored 10 kantona, dva entiteta i (ni)jedne države ne zalomi da ste negdje vlast. Nominalna opozicija u FBiH, po principu mi smo se podijelili da bi bili ujedinjeni, nastoji se okupiti oko SDP-a, stranke iz koje je prvo nastao DF, pa je iz DF-a nastao GS... A taktika i politička strategija ljevice su jednostavne i jedinstvene: 2018. oprostit ćemo

narodu što 2014. nisu glasali za nas. O novim strankama sa starim licima, nastalim na sujetama, koje, zbog lova na nove članove i kasnijem brzom vraćanju u matičnu poklopu iz koje su iskočili, nazivaju i PokemonGo strankama, suvišno je trošiti riječi. Opozicija u RS-u oličena u Savezu za promjene, rastrgana unutarstranačkim i unutarkoalicionim trzavicama, gađana teškom medijskom artiljerijom vladajućeg režima, teško da se može suprotstaviti Dodiku, posebno u trenucima kada pristanu na igru ko je veći Srbin - tu im Dodik pusti tri kruga prednosti pa ih stigne bez da se i oznoji. Pa ipak, paradoks vrijedan da se zabilježi svakako je da su, posebno među Bošnjacima, dva omiljena i, po relevantnim ocjenama, dva najkorisnija ministra u Vijeću ministara kadrovi SDS-a.

Nema ljudi, nema problema

Na polju izgradnje mira valja zabilježiti nekoliko značajnih koraka naprijed. Međureligijsko vijeće BiH organiziralo je zajedničku posjetu mjestima stradanja, pa su tako zamjenik reisul-uleme Husein ef. Smajić,



episkop Grigorije, kardinal Vinko Puljić i predsjednik Jevrejske općine zajednički obišli Kazane, Križančevo selo, Krušćicu i Korićanske stijene. Iako je ovaj potez značajan na simboličnom nivou čak i bez dubljeg propitivanja motiva, ostaje nada da će vjerske zajednice prepoznati potencijal koji imaju na, kako razgradnji, tako i izgradnji mira. CNA je, zajedno sa veteranima koji su bili na suprotstavljenim stranama, posjetila Zavidoviće i tzv. Vozučko ratište, odavši počast stradalim i pozvavši na pronalaženje nestalih i obilježavanje mjesta stradanja. Zavidovići i lokalna vlast polako i, nažalost ili na sreću, izvan fokusa ostatka bh javnosti prave korake od sedam milja. Načelnik Hašim Mujanović pozvao je izbjegle Srbe da se vrate, nedugo potom otišao je i na slavu u jedno od povratničkih mjesta, podržao povratnike i osudio skrnavljene spomenika, a na kraju je, 22 godine poslije rata, dato odobrenje i za podizanje spomenika na jednom

od neobilježnih mjesta stradanja Srba. Raduje činjenica da Hašim Mujanović nije usamljen: Na drugom kraju BiH načelnik Rudog već nekoliko godina zaredom polaže cvijeće na spomenik stradalim Bošnjacima, a ove godine je kazao: Drago mi je što kao načelnik mogu da pošaljem jednu poruku razumijevanja tuđe boli i tuge i poruku za bolji život generacija u budućnosti.

Rudo je ilustrativan primjer i za još jedan problem sa kojim se BiH (ne)suočava: odlazak najvitalnijeg dijela stanovništva. Do danas ne postoji nikakva studija zašto ljudi odlaze, a posljednjih nekoliko godina uočljivo je da odlaze i oni koji su imali posao i riješena osnovna egzistencijalna pitanja. Za vlast koja građane vidi kao problem, ovo se čini kao win-win situacija: Nema ljudi, nema problema.

Hrvatska: Olujne godine nisu iza nas, one tek dolaze

Jelena Svirčić

Gazda i slom hrvatske države

Čudne su se stvari počele kotrljati u ovoj 2017. godini na izmaku. Pod kotrljanjem prije svega mislim na urušavanje Agrokor, poslovnog carstva Ivice Todorića, čovjeka kojem je hrvatska država, kako bi se to narodski reklo, dugo bila mati da bi mu odjednom postala maćeha.

Otkako su počele izlaziti na vidjelo financijske malverzacije obitelji Todorić koja je unutar svojeg kapilarno razgranatog poslovnog carstva imala prste u nevjerojatnoj količini različitih poslovnih sektora, i otkako je HDZ-ova vlada proglasila famozni Lex Agrokor kako bi spasila što se spasiti da i spriječila urušavanje kompletnog gospodarstva, na vidjelo izlaze svi razmjeri kriminala pod visokim pokroviteljstvom države.

Todorić, u narodu poznat kao Gazda, sad je u Londonu gdje sigurno u visokoj udobnosti piše svoj blog u kojem se redovito prijeti HDZ-ovoj vladi znajući da će ga teško fizički dopremiti pred lice odavno osramoćenog hrvatskog pravosuđa. Njegova priča počinje kad i priča nezavisne hrvatske države i s njom je od početka, upravo dirljivo, nerazdvojivo povezan. Dugo je to sveopće poznata javna tajna o kojoj su tek rijetki mediji pisali. Kažem rijetki, jer većina je živjela od oglašavanja bezbrojnih firmi koncerna Agrokor. Ignoriranje stvarnosti – mala cijena

za visoke medijske oglase. Dodatno, najveći oglašivač istovremeno je bio i monopolist u distribuciji novina što je u potpunosti zacementiralo bilo kakvu mogućnost kritičnosti mainstream medija. (<http://h-alter.org/vijesti/besplatna-vecera>)

Tek je prošle godine izlaskom dokumentarca Darija Juričana pod nazivom Gazda javnost dobila uvid u linearno ispričanu priču o uspjehu na hrvatski način i detalje o tome kako su Todorići pod visokim pokroviteljstvom Franje Tuđmana za sramotno niske ili uopće nikakve novce, dobili društveno vlasništvo da ga pretvore u privatno i dotada državne firme upogonili u svoju poslovnu mašineriju. Država im je od početka pogodovala i pustila ih da se šire, toliko da se nijedna vlada u dvadeset i nešto godina hrvatske samostalnosti nije usudila baviti ovim pitanjem sve dok nedavno voda nije došla do grla i dok strani kreditori nisu otkrili koliki su razmjeri financijske katastrofe koju je Agrokor uspješno godinama plasirao kao najljepšu i najuspješniju priču hrvatskog biznisa preko koje se hrane na tisuće usta hrvatskih radnika.

Priča o Tuđmanovom planu o 200 bogatih obitelji koji će nositi državu odavno je prožvakana ali je i dalje aktualna, a posljedice takve politike vidljivije su više nego ikad. Država koja je u devedesetima slavodobitno

prešla na tržišno gospodarstvo nikad zapravo to tržište nije ni okusila jer je u njoj za uspješan biznis potrebno biti dio klijentelističkih mreža usko povezanih s politikom i korumpiranim državnim strukturama. Podobni a ne sposobni, krilatica je koju smo svi već odavno usvojili. Sve je isto samo Todorica više nema, a hrvatski mediji sad napokon mogu otvoriti svoje debele registre na temu malverzacija i raskošnih života članova obitelji Todorčić i njihovih mezimaca i sve tajne koje su toliko dugo namjerno bile stavljane pod tepih. Odličan primjer takvog skoka iz potpunog neznanja u iscrpno znanje je tekst nedavno izašao u Jutarnjem listu u kojem su pobrojani svi koji su na neki način profitirali od privilegiranog položaja Agrokora. (<http://www.jutarnji.hr/vijesti/hrvatska/tko-je-tko-u-aferi-agrokor-115-kljucnih-igraca-detaljnovodic-za-pracenje-najvece-politicko-ekonomske-drame-suvremene-hrvatske/6671469/>)

O tome kako je Tuđman početak i kraj svega

Nedavno je na grobu, kako se to voli reći – prvog hrvatskog predsjednika dr. Franje Tuđmana, samoubojstvo počinio jedan u nizu deziluzioniranih branitelja koji nerijetko dižu ruku na sebe u ovo malo desetljeća hrvatske nezavisnosti. Nijedan branitelj dosad nije otišao toliko daleko u iskazivanju razočarenja i to na samom izvoru samostalne hrvatske države. Osim šturog

opisa tragedije u medijima, nitko – ni s lijeva ni s desna, barem ne u javnom političkom prostoru, nije se posebno osvrnuo na temu goleme simbolike ovog samoubilačkog čina.

Ne čudi to nimalo jer Hrvatska je, u ovoj 2017. godini, zemlja u kojoj se devedesete kovitlaju opet u zraku pa se nitko valjda nije usudio dodatno čeprkati po tome što je nama a što njima Franjo Tuđman. Dovoljno je sjetiti se da je za vrijeme mandata Zorana Milanovića tadašnja SDP-ova vlada preimenovala zagrebački Pleso u Zračnu luku dr. Franje Tuđmana. Tuđman je zadnja obrana hrvatstva i onda kad se sa svime oko hrvatstva ne slažeš. Ljudi su za njega umirali pa bolje da ga se ne dira. Podsjetio me jedan članak kako za vrijeme njegova režima bez obzira na demografsko-reproduktivne histerije sa don Bakovićem i njegovim tadašnjim sloganima poput onog legendarnog ‘Hrvatska majko, dijete nam rodi’, nije bilo ni blizu tako ozbiljna pokušaja da se reduciraju ženska reproduktivna prava kao što je to danas slučaj u vremenu uzleta konzervativne revolucije.

U ovim milenijskim godinama umjesto u budućnost putujemo strelovito u prošlost na krilima konzervativne revolucije koja se ne događa samo nama već i zemljama regije kao i svijeta. U hrvatskom kontekstu, fundamentalistički katolici divljaju, udružuju se razne inicijative financirane od strane Katoličke crkve,



organiziraju mitinge, pardon, hodove za život, za nerođeno, za embrij, za fetus. Treba li to uopće reći - mareći manje nego ikad za već rođene.

„U zaštitu nerođenog života“

Društvena napetost i polarizacija u Hrvatskoj su na zavidnoj razini, materijalne i svjetonazorske razlike sve su veće, a desno-klerikalne snage sve jače i ono što posebno plaši – nikad ambicioznije. Nakon što je prošle godine Zlatko Hasanbegović u svom kratku mandatu ministra kulture doslovno potaracao neprofitne medije i time jedinu stvarnu oporbu sveopćoj društvenoj regresiji bilo u smislu fanatičnog branjenja domovine kao da je u stalnoj ugrozi ili stvaranja sad već prilično jakog katoličko-fundamentalističkog pokreta čija je ishodišna točka udruga U ime obitelji i koji nakon velikog uspjeha i upisivanja u Ustav RH definiciju po kojoj je jedini mogući brak onaj između muškarca i žene, do nedavnog pokušaja da se u Obiteljski zakon stavi definicija obitelji koja bi podrazumijevala samo heteroseksualne brakove i to samo one s djecom (i time isključila čak i samohrane majke ili očeve, izvanbračnu djecu, nevjenčane parove i sve moguće kombinacije ljudskog suživota, da ne govorimo o LGBTIQ životima) pa sve do dugotrajne kampanje za zabranu pobačaja i bjesomučne borbe protiv pojma roda i u tu svrhu izmišljene rodne ideologije pa time posljedično i protiv konvencije Vijeća Europe, tzv. Istanbulske konvencije o sprečavanju i borbi protiv nasilja nad ženama jer u sebi sadrži definiciju rodno uvjetovanog nasilja.

Konzervativna revolucija u Hrvata slična je onoj u Poljskoj ili Americi. Pro-life pokret dobio je svoju hrvatsku inačicu u obliku opskurne zaklade Vigilar i njezinog glavnog lica, povratnika iz dijaspe, Vice Batarela koji je, povodom nedavne predaje skoro 170 tisuća potpisa Saboru za „zaštitu nerođenog života“, izjavio da bi i silovane žene morale roditi jer „tko smo mi da odlučujemo koje bi se dijete trebalo roditi a koje ne“ i povrh toga da je „znanstveno dokazano da žene koje jesu silovane imaju manji postotak pobačaja“(!). Logično, žensko je tijelo još jednom bojno polje, teritorij koji treba osvojiti, disciplinirati i upogoniti u svrhu reprodukciju nacije. Žene se opet preko vlastitog tijela tjera u okove religije i nacije kako bi im se oduzelo pravo na autonomno odlučivanje koje su stekle još u socijalističkoj Jugoslaviji.

O tome kako HDZ više nije ni dovoljno desno ni dovoljno katolički

Hasanbegović, Batarelo i ostali iz njihova fundamentalističkog, ultra-nacionalističkog ešalona predstavnici su neke nove snažne struje kojoj HDZ nije ni približno dovoljno radikalni u obrani hrvatskih i katoličkih vrijednosti, a trenutni HDZ-ov premijer Andrej Plenković za njih je nedopustivo (pre)liberalno nastrojen. Kako će se HDZ nositi s rastućim ekstremizmom unutar donedavno vlastitog glasačkog tijela, preostaje za vidjeti. Da im je zauzdavanje radikala puno bolje išlo u mračnim devedesetima, misao je koju ne želim izvesti do kraja.

2017. godina je i u kojoj se nakon uspješne ofanzive nad neprofitnim medijima, Zlatko Hasanbegović, otpadnik iz HDZ-a i predsjednik novoosnovane stranke Bruna Esih i Zlatko Hasanbegović - Neovisni za Hrvatsku, čovjek s doktoratom iz povijesti i osoba koja javno negira postojanje ustaškog logora u Jasenovcu i uporno ponavlja kako je 'Za dom spremni' starohrvatski pozdrav, uspio je u samo nekoliko mjeseci što mnogima nije desetljećima. Uspio je, naime, začepiti rak ranu hrvatskog nacionalizma iz koje je neprekidno kapalo jer je jedan prominentni zagrebački trg sve ovo vrijeme nosio Titovo ime. Trg maršala Tita postao je tako Trg republike Hrvatske da slučajno ne zaboravimo gdje se nalazimo.

I zato, sretna nam svima nova, 2018. godina. Sasvim sigurno u njoj će cvasti stotinu cvjetova konzervativne nacionalističke revolucije u uvjetima klijentelističkog kapitalizma.

Kosovo: Izdajnička klika

Qerim Ondozi

Na nedavno održanoj konstitutivnoj sednici Skupštine Kosova, koja je po peti put zaredom prekinuta zbog nedostatka kvoruma, pružena je prilika pojedinim poslanicima da uzmu reč i da se obrate prisutnima, kao naravno i onima koji ih prate u prenosu uživo.

Među njima je i jedan od poslanika Pokreta "Samoopredeljenje", koji je uputio brojne kritike na račun koalicije Demokratske partije Kosova—Saveza za budućnost Kosova—Inicijative (PDK-AAK-Nisma), takozvanom ratnom "krilu", povodom njihovog odbijanja da uzmu učešća na sednici. On je kritikovao pojedince iz redova ove koalicije da su sva moguća zla uspeli da počine u ime svog "komandovanja" i nedavnog ratnog sukoba na Kosovu.

Svakako, takvo obraćanje ovog poslanika naišlo je na protivljenje kako unutar Skupštine (sa nekoliko prigodnih reagovanja), tako i izvan nje. U popodnevnom satima, stigla je i reakcija Organizacije ratnih veterana Oslobođilačke vojske Kosova, u kojoj se između ostalog kaže:

"Stavljamo do znanja svima da ćemo, u slučaju opasnosti, mi ponovo biti veterani OVK, čiji će komandanti ponovo biti oni kojima se u Skupštini sada upućuju uvrede, a koji se ovoj zemlji stavljaju na raspolaganje; dok će se klika konobara, prevodilaca i komisara odmah zavući u prvu rupu koju pronađe, kao što su činili i za vreme Oslobođilačkog rata."

Ovakva reakcija, iako se čini nedovoljno promišljenom i nespretno sročenom, zapravo je ogledalo turobne stvarnosti na Kosovu. Ova reakcija svedoči o društvenoj raslojenosti i dubokoj podeljenosti, koju se neko na Kosovu trudi da održi i da predstavi u javnosti. Podela je jasna i nije nam nepoznata. To je podela na "nas" i "njih", na "dobre" i "loše", na "patriote" i "izdajnike", i tako dalje.

Odavno nisam čuo reč "klika". Stoga sam pogledao u rečnik i tamo sam pronašao ovakvo objašnjenje:

KLIKA ž. r. pej.

Mala grupa ljudi udruženih iz ambicije, interesa i mračnih ciljeva, koja ostvaruje štetnu delatnost. Izdajnička (razbojnička) klika. Vojna klika. Revizionistička klika.

Da razmotrimo načas gorepomenute klike.

Klika konobara

Biti konobar na Kosovu znači raditi za mizernu platu, u užasnim uslovima rada, bez ugovora, sa produženim

radnim vremenom i sa još mnogo, mnogo peripetija. Poznajem i konobare koji su radili za platu manju od minimalne zarade predviđene kosovskim kolektivnim ugovorom, a koji su radili i za šankom, i služili su goste. Na engleskom (budući da se ovo tiče i klike prevodilaca), to bi se moglo nazvati one-man show.

Mnogi mladi se bave ovim zanimanjem ili za vreme studija, ili dok ne nađu drugi posao, ili jednostavno zato što su nam fabrike i druga društvena preduzeća privatizovane po tragikomičnim cenama, pretvorivši se od proizvodnih potencijala u ruševine ili građevinske parcele (po mogućstvu, bez dozvole).

Konobari se bave ovim zanimanjem kako bi podmirili svoje svakodnevne troškove, struju i vodu, te kako bi platili studije, u nadi da će jednog dana naći bolje radno mesto, u skladu sa svojim kompetencijama ili snovima.

Klika prevodilaca

Uglavnom prevodioci budu krivi. Za neprevodive izjave "naše političke vrhuške", koja otvori zgrade i nikada ih ne zatvori. Za saradnju sa strancima, kao i sa neprijateljem. Za izazivanje nesporazuma na sednicama i drugim važnim susretima, jer "ti nisi preveo kako treba". Za činjenicu da je Kosovo na engleskom Kosovo, a ne Kosova, i tako dalje. Krivci su, nije šala!

Nedostatak simpatije prema prevodiocima javio se na Kosovu još po završetku rata. Jedan od razloga zašto se na Kosovu od kraja rata podozrivo gleda na prevodioce jeste to što oni uglavnom rade za strance, a kako vlada predubeđenje da "stranci nama ne žele ništa dobro", to se i prevodioci smatraju kolaboracionistima.

Prevodioci, a naročito tumači (oni koji prevode usmeno), uvek se nalaze u senci, u drugom planu. Često se na mnogim sastancima ne smatraju ravnopravnim učesnicima, često treba da potisnu sopstvene stavove i mišljenja, jer ova profesija od njih zahteva poverljivost, nepristrasnost, etičnost, poštenje i tako dalje. Takođe, ne treba zaboraviti da je prevođenje intelektualna delatnost. Kako bi se postalo dobar prevodilac, potrebno je znanje najmanje dva jezika, poznavanje najrazličitije terminologije, kao i dosta iskustva, jer je to veoma stresan i odgovoran posao. Ali ovo zanimanje se, nažalost, zloupotrebljava i potcenjuje, uz predrasudu da svako može to da radi.

Umesto da se prema njima odnose kako dolikuje i da se okoriste ovom klikom kako bi postigli i svoje veličanstvene ciljeve (budući da ova klika govori i jezik “neprijatelja”), pripadnici iznad pomenute organizacije tom potencijalu okreću leđa!

Ja sam, kao što rekoh iznad, deo ove klike.

Klika komisara

Ko su komisari? Šta su komisari? Ova reč zvuči kao da je iz nekog kriminalističkog filma, serije ili romana. Ne mogu da se oduprem da ponovo ne pogledam u rečnik da shvatim značenje ove reči. A plašim se da će naš rečnik (iz onih vremena) ovoj reči dati pozitivnu konotaciju, iz već poznatih razloga. Da vidimo... Nisam pronašao reč “komisar” jer je izjava, kako izgleda, napisana sa (makar jednom) slovnom greškom. Da nije ta greška namerna, sarkastična?!

Rečnik, između ostalog, kaže:

KOMESAR m. r.

Rukovodilac političke organizacije u nekoj vojnoj jedinici, glavni odgovorni u komandi koji se bavi političkom i vojnom edukacijom. Politički komesar. Crveni komesari (partizani). Komesar čete (bataljona brigade, divizije, jedinice).

Kako ova reč ima vojnu konotaciju, povući ću se i predajem se. Ne mislim da bih mogao da razložim i da izvučem značenje iz onoga što se htelo preneti ovom oznakom. Možda se insinuiira na to što se Pokret “Samoopredeljenje” pozicionira kao socijaldemokratska partija, možda na to što se protivi desničarskim politikama, ko zna...

Na kraju, mnoge izjave koje dolaze kako od političara, tako i od strane različitih organizacija i udruženja na Kosovu, često – bilo to namerno ili nenamerno – nažalost sadrže uvredljivi jezik prema čitavoj nekoj društvenoj grupi. Pri tome greše kada polaze od pretpostavke da je narod neobrazovan, da narod to ne razume, da te reči nisu njima upućene, i tako dalje.

Za žaljenje je što jedna takva izjava obezvređuje zanimanja velikog dela društva. Štaviše, za žaljenje je što to obezvređivanje potiče upravo od organizacije koja bi trebalo da predstavlja ideal slobode i nezavisnosti celog naroda, uključujući tu i konobare, prevodioce, nadničare i sve one koji časno zarađuju svoj hleb.

Ja se ne kajem što sam izabrao ovo zanimanje. A ti, šta si ti?!

Kosovo: Da li se sve to već desilo?

Maja Fićović

Rođena na severu Kosova gde sam provela celi svoj dosadašnji život, ne seleći se ni milom, a što je ovde nakon svega - blagoslov, ni silom, kada sam dobila poziv da napišem kako vidim dešavanja poslednjih 12 meseci na Kosovu, što ne bi trebalo da mi predstavlja teret, ja sam sebe upitala, pa o čemu i šta ćeš ti pisati?

Poslednje godine na Kosovu se nižu, sa istim ili sličnim filmovima, a sa novim licima u ulogama, da se polako gubi pojam o vremenu, šta je kada bilo, da li se već desilo, i kad sledeće isto u drugom obliku dolazi?

Poslednje godine na Kosovu nisu život, već životarenje. Niko nije dobio ono što je želeo, a narod je razapet između mogućnosti i htenja. Međusobno se svađaju, optužuju, prepiru, a sve me podseća na decu koja se užasno posvađaju, pa kad dođu roditelji, da ne bi prošli još gore, fini su ili se prave da se ništa nije desilo. Tako i

Srbi i Albanci kad pregovaraju sa EU, ambasadama i svim moćnicima iz međunarodne zajednice, pokušavajući da za sebe izvuku najbolje, i iskoriste sve što im se nudi.

I „roditeljima“ odgovara mir u kući, pa zažmure, kao da nisu ništa videli, a nekad bi trebalo da primete, jer je situacija na Kosovu veoma krhka, i sva je prilika da će tako biti i u godinama koje dolaze.

Iako sam htela da krenem od dešavanja iz septembra prošle godine, ne mogu da se otmem utisku da su Srbi u kosovskom parlamentu, koji su deo Srpske liste, a koju podržava Vlada Srbije i predsednik Aleksandar Vučić, u septembru ove godine, podržali vladajuću koaliciju PAN, čiji je kandidat za premijera Ramuš Haradinaj, i tako postali deo Vlade Kosova.

Presudni glasovi bili su upravo glasovi poslanika Srpske liste, koji su istog dana kada su dali podršku ovoj

vladi, prethodno boravili u Beogradu, na konsultacijama sa srpskim zvaničnicima, iako smo svi znali da je stvar "rešena" mnogo pre.

Mada su najavljivali da će se pre bilo kakve odluke konsultovati sa predsednikom Srbije Aleksandrom Vučićem, oni su se zapravo susreli samo sa direktorom Kancelarije za Kosovo Markom Đurićem. Začuđava činjenica da za tako važno pitanje Vučić, kako je sam rekao par dana kasnije u obraćanju naciji, nije imao vremena, te mu je Đurić rekao "šefo, mora tako da bi Srbi tamo preživeli". Istovremeno, predsednik Srbije je javnosti saopštio da podržava ulazak Srpske liste u Haradinajevu vladu, iako on za Srbiju i dalje ostaje ratni zločinac.

Srbi ovog puta nisu protestovali, kao mnogo puta u prethodnim mesecima, za čini se manje važne stvari u odnosu na činjenicu da je podržan Haradinaj, čije je izručenje Srbija od Francuske tražila ovog proleća, kako bi odgovarao za ratne zločine počinjene nad Srbima, za koje ga tereti optužnica u Srbiji. Na Kosovu se nije desilo ništa nakon toga. Srbi nisu protestovali, nije bilo okupljanja, nije bilo ničega, izveštaji su bili mlaki, a "udarnija" vest je bila to što je Haradinaj govorio na srpskom. Podrška Srba svesno je gurana u drugi plan.

U prošlom skupštinskom sazivu, njegova partija bila je u opoziciji i žustro se protivila formiranju Zajednice opština sa srpskom većinom. To je upravo ono na čemu Srbi insistiraju, što je glavna poruka njihovih predizbornih programa, i što je kruna svih zahteva, a što im garantuje sporazum o normalizaciji odnosa potpisan aprila 2013.

godine u Briselu. Novi kabinet je nakon intoniranja himne Kosova položio zakletvu pre nekoliko dana.

Sva fama oko formiranja parlamenta i vlade na Kosovu, koje je skoro pa zagazilo u duboku institucionalnu krizu zbog više neuspešnih pokušaja konstituisanja parlamenta, već se zaboravlja, jer Kosovo 22. oktobra očekuju lokalni izbori. Kampanja će trajati dugih 30 dana, a utisak je da je uveliko počela, i pre početka. Kako stvari stoje, biće nezgodno, prljavo, a može postati i opasno. Nekim kandidatima iz srpske zajednice, tokom leta, zapaljeni su automobili. To su Oliver Ivanović i Dragiša Milović, kandidati za gradonačelnike u Severnoj Mitrovici i Zvečanu. Oni nisu deo političke partije "Srpska lista".

Za gradonačelnika najveće srpske opštine Severna Mitrovica, kandidovao se i sadašnji prvi čovek grada Goran Rakić, od pre nekoliko meseci i predsednik Srpske liste. Oliveru Ivanoviću sudski proces pred kosovskim sudom za zločine nad Albancima, u kojem se brani sa slobode, još nije završen.

Animozitet između dvojice kandidata je očigledan, a Ivanović povodom povlačenja kandidatura sa liste kandidata navodi da su izloženi pretnjama, zastrašivanjima i ucenama, pa je s tim u vezi podneo krivičnu prijavu protiv N.N. lica.

Kraj prošle godine obeležila je situacija vezana za nekada najveći rudarski gigant TREPČA. Zbog predloga zakona koji je upućen Vladi Kosova radnici Trepče na severu Kosova danima su protestovali, blokirali puteve, izražavajući na taj način nezadovoljstvo odlukom Vlade



da Zakon o Trepči prosledi Skupštini na razmatranje. Skupština Kosova usvojila je Zakon kojim se predviđa 80 odsto vlasništva vlade u Prištini nad Trepčom i ulazak vlade u moguća partnerstva sa privatnim sektorom.

Predsednik liste Srpska u tom periodu, Slavko Simić, naglasio je u Skupštini Kosova da su celokupna srpska zajednica koja živi na Kosovu, kao i parlamentarni predstavnici Srpske liste, duboko uvereni da će zakon u čijoj izradi nije učestvovao ekspertski tim srpske zajednice, ugroziti u velikoj meri egzistencijalni opstanak radnika Trepče, pa i većinsko srpsko stanovništvo koje živi u opštinama gde se nalaze najveća nalazišta ruda i minerala.

Albanski radnici Trepče smatraju da je usvajanje Zakona u interesu razvoja, zato jer Trepča kao vlasnik mineralnih resursa može biti u interesu svih građana Kosova.

Srbi su bili jednoglasni u tome da usvojeni zakon o Trepči nije u interesu srpske zajednice, a srpski poslanici su bojkotovali parlament u narednom periodu, do momenta kada su se neprimetno vratili u institucije. Zakon više niko ne spominje, radi se kao i do sada, a reklo bi se da se on i ne sprovodi.

Briselski sporazum o pravosuđu, odnosno o integraciji srpskih sudija i tužilaca sa severa Kosova u kosovski sistem iz februara 2015. godine, još nije implementiran, i poslednji dogovor postignut u Briselu najavljuje kao realni početak 17. oktobar ove godine.

S druge strane, srpske sudije i tužioci koji će biti integrisani i raditi u okviru kosovskog pravosudnog sistema, očekuju izmenu zakonodavstva u Srbiji, koja će rešiti njihov status pre integracije, i omogućiti im redovno primanje penzija od Republike Srbije. Takav zakon i dalje nije usvojen. Implementacijom ovog sporazuma sudije i tužioci počinju zajedno da rade nakon 18 godina, a srpski sudovi na Kosovu se gase.

Glavni most na Ibru, simbol podele grada, još uvek nije prohodan za vozila, iako je bilo više najava da bi u ovoj godini mogao biti otvoren. Evropska unija uložila je značajna sredstva u njegovu obnovu. Tokom rekonstrukcije na severnoj strani, došlo je do izgradnje zida, koji je, kako je gradonačelnik Severne Mitrovice Goran Rakić rekao, trebalo da posluži u svrhu "otvorenog amfiteatra". Nakon oštih reakcija iz Prištine i protivljenja zbog, kako su naveli, „ilegalne izgradnje zida van projekta“, ovaj zid je početkom godine i srušen. Prema planu uređenja, on je zamenjen novom konstrukcijom. Dogovor o uklanjanju zida postigli su predstavnici Evropske unije, Srbije, Kosova i ambasade SAD. Nakon više incidenata zabeleženih sa severne strane mosta, Rakić je stopirao radove i rekonstrukciju, i to je još uvek na snazi, uz obrazloženje da „nema bezbednosnih

uslova“. Natalija Apostolova, specijalna predstavnica Evropske unije u Prištini je rekla da će se otvaranje mosta desiti kada se projekat pretvaranja glavne ulice u Severnoj Mitrovici razvije u pešačku zonu, i prateće procedure koje tek treba da se urade.

Utišak godine, pored neprestanih izbora i izbornih kampanja koje nas zatiču, jeste i "čuveni ruski voz" koji je zimom krenuo iz Beograda u Kosovsku Mitrovicu. Voz je, prema najavama Vlade Srbije, trebalo da saobraća u okviru redovne železničke linije na ovoj relaciji. Zaustavljen je u Raškoj, poslednjoj stanici pre granice s Kosovom, a nakon turbulentnih dešavanja u vezi sa njegovim dolaskom, vratio se u Beograd.

Tadašnji premijer, a danas predsednik Srbije Aleksandar Vučić, rekao je da je doneo odluku da se voz koji je krenuo iz Beograda zaustavi u Raškoj da bi se sačuvala bezbednost putnika i izbegli sukobi, dok su specijalci Kosovske policije sa sedam oklopnih vozila ušli na sever Kosova. Vučić je rekao da je trebalo da uhapsu putnike, mašinovođu, i izazovu velike sukobe. Saopšteno je da je sprečena velika katastrofa. Mitrovčani nisu bili oduševljeni idejom dolaska voza čija je unutrašnjost oslikana freskama, a na čijoj spoljašnjosti piše „Kosovo je Srbija“ na više od 20 jezika sveta. Razumeli su da to može biti shvaćeno kao provokacija, i da posledice po Srbe mogu biti nesagledive, a novo nasilje nikom nije potrebno.

Vučić je tada rekao da će pored EU, obavestiti Rusiju, Kinu i SAD, "da se Priština igra 'ratnih igara'", a da Srbija želi mir. On je poručio Albancima da ne pokušavaju da napadnu Srbe, jer Srbija neće to dozvoliti. To je unelo nemir u deo lokalnog stanovništva, dok oni koji nisu pratili medije tih dana, nisu stekli utisak da se nešto posebno dešava.

Nakon Vučićeve, usledila je i vanredna konferencija premijera Kosova Ise Mustafe, koji je rekao kazao da se dogodila "nepotrebna situacija koju je prouzrokovala Srbija u okviru svojih nepravednih igara".

I Kosovo je "zapretilo" da će međunarodna zajednica biti obaveštena o poslednjim događajima. Premijer Kosova je povratak voza ocenio kao ispravan potez, rekavši da njegovo dolazak u "nezavisno Kosovo" ne bi dopustili. I predsednik Kosova Hašim Tači je rekao da definitivno voz neće ući na Kosovo, a prethodno je ministar unutrašnjih poslova Kosova Skender Hiseni izdao naredbu da se zaustavi voz iz Srbije.

U Severnoj Mitrovici nakon toga organizovan je još jedan protest Srba zbog "pokušaja ugnjetavanja i zastrašivanja Srba na severu Kosova".

Ni proleće ništa nije bilo mirnije. Nakon izbora za predsednika Srbije koji su održani i na Kosovu, prvog

dana maja ugašen je signal srpskih mobilnih telefonija Telenor i Vip, koje su uglavnom funkcionisale u srpskim sredinama. To je predviđeno briselskim Sporazumom o telekomunikacijama, a Kosovo je ove kompanije smatralo ilegalnim operaterima. Korisnici su pod istim uslovima prebačeni u novoosnovanu kompaniju MTS d.o.o za koju državni Telekom Srbije kaže da njihova „ćerka firma“, a koja je registrovana po zakonima Kosova.

Korisnici koji su se zatekli van zemlje, i koji nisu bili u mogućnosti da predaju zahtev za prelazak u MTS, ostali su trajno bez svojih brojeva, jer je rok za to bio samo tri dana. Svi korisnici Telekoma Srbija su i mimo svoje volje prebačeni u novu firmu, a račune su počeli da dobijaju u evrima.

U isto vreme, sa još većim problemom, suočili su se vlasnici srpskih pasoša sa prebivalištem na Kosovu. Kosovska vlada je u maju ove proglasila nevažećim pasoše Republike Srbije koje je izdala Koordinaciona uprava, a kojih je do jula prošle godine izdato preko 98.000. Nevladin sektor je upozorio da na te pasoše ima pravo „svaki državljanin Kosova u skladu sa članom 3 kosovskog Zakona o državljanstvu, a koji definiše pravo na višestruko državljanstvo“. Pored toga što se Kosovo ne može napustiti sa pasošima Republike Srbije - Koordinaciona uprava, upotrebna vrednost srpskih ličnih karata je takođe ograničena samo na tri prelaza na Kosovu.

Srpske vozačke dozvole se smatraju nevažećim još od 1999. godine i ukoliko učesnik u saobraćaju ima ovu dozvolu može da bude kažnjen i do 1.500 evra. Sa procenama populacije četiri severne opštine na Kosovu, koje se kreću između 50.000 i 70.000, a imajući u vidu podatke koje je poslalo Ministarstvo unutrašnjih poslova Kosova, u najboljem slučaju samo oko 60 procenata građana severnih kosovskih opština ima kosovske lične karte, dok svega tri procenta ima vozačke dozvole. Ove brojke jasno ukazuju na to da ogromna većina populacije ima ozbiljnih administrativnih smetnji u slobodi kretanja. O tome se ne pregovara, a uglavnom i čuti.

Usledili su i parlamentarni izbori na Kosovu. Iz redova srpske zajednice na izborima se takmičilo šest političkih subjekata sa 99 kandidata za 10 garantovanih poslaničkih mesta u Skupštini Kosova. Srbija je odlučila da podrži samo Srpsku listu, pa su ostali predstavnici srpske zajednice

ocenili da je na prljavu kampanju uticao upravo stav Beograda da podrži samo jednu listu.

Srpska lista je tokom prošlih izbora okupila sve političke partije Srba, ali je na ovim došlo do njihovog razilaženja. Ipak, devet od 10 mesta, je pripalo listi Srpska.

Tokom leta, opština Severna Mitrovica, u kojoj živi većinsko srpsko stanovništvo, ostala je bez 7,8 miliona evra finansijske pomoći Evropske unije, koja je bila namenjena za izgradnju nove petospratne zgrade Univerziteta u Severnoj Mitrovici i Kulturnog centra, zbog kako je EU navela, odbijanja lokalne samopurave da ispuni određene uslove, misleći na, „illegalno izgrađene objekte koji su bili u blizini mesta gde je trebalo da počne izgradnja“. Naveli su da je uklanjanje tih objekata bilo neophodno radi pristupa radnim oblastima.

S druge strane, gradonačelnik Severne Mitrovice, Goran Rakić, razočaran odlukom, kazao je da su pravi razlozi otkazivanja projekta to što je specijalna predstavnik EU, Natalija Apostolova tražila od opštine da se omogući nastavak revitalizacije mosta, kako je naveo „bez ikakvih garancija kada je u pitanju očuvanje bezbednosti građana“.

Izuzimajući politički kontekst koji je neminovan ako živite na Kosovu, građane brine ekonomska kriza, visoka stopa nezaposlenosti, korupcija, nedostatak perspektive za mlade ljude, manjak kulturnih i sportskih dešavanja, koncerata, redovnih repertoara, mogućnosti za razvoj i svega što bi život na Kosovu, pre svega mladima, učinilo dostojnim čoveka u 21. veku. U isto vreme, ilegalni poslovi, šverc droge i mladi koji u sve većem broju postaju njeni konzumenti, su u stalnom porastu. Nema strategije za suštinsko rešavanje ozbiljnih problema za život i razvoj mladih ljudi.

Nije ni lako danas biti „srpskog roda na Kosovu i Metohiji“. Običnim ljudima nije. Iz kog god ugla posmatrali. Osećate se kao da ste svačiji i ničiji. Svi vas svojataju, dok ujedno i peru ruke od vas. U, čini mi se, večnoj borbi za očuvanje nacionalnog identiteta, jezika, kulture, običaja, kao da polako gubimo sebe i prava da budem ja samo ja, i da živim život koji nije opterećen prošlošću i bez straha za budućnost. Kao da su nam dodeljene uloge, životne misije, čije smo odgovornosti masovno svesni. Izaći iz kalupa i okova, i pokušati menjati stvari, nije lako, ali sigurna sam da vredi.

Makedonija: Čka tash? / Šta sada?

Boro Kitanoski

Previše se toga desilo prošle godine u Makedoniji da bi se sve to moglo objasniti u kratkoj formi kao što je ovaj tekst, a u isto vreme svi ti događaji mi se čine važnim dijelovima mozaika koji i sam pokušavam sklopiti kako bih razumeo procese i bar za sebe izgradio perspektivu koja bi bila malo više od pukog reagovanja na dnevne događaje i šokove.

Dugo očekivani parlamentarni izbori, dvije godine nakon što je opozicija¹ objavljivala prisluškovane razgovore, održani 11. decembra 2016. godine, doneli su i teške i neočekivane rezultate. Do tada vladajuća demokrišćanska VMRO-DPMNE i pored ogromnog pada je ipak ostala najveća stranka. Vladajuća Albanska DUI je izgubila polovinu mandata, ali je ipak ostala najveća u tzv. albanskom bloku. Pojavile su se dvije nove albanske stranke – Alijansa za Albance i BESA koje su ušle u parlament. Socijaldemokrati su osvojili samo jedan mandat manje od VMRO-DPMNE-a, ali ono što je bilo iznenađenje je da su socijaldemokrati po prvi put (ne samo za njih, nego uopšte) dobili više desetina hiljada glasova Albanaca. Još je veće iznenađenje kada se vidi koja su ta albanska mjesta u kojima su pobeđivali: pored urbanih sredina, u dobrom delu i mesta koja su najviše stradala za vrijeme rata 2001., mjesta koja su u ogromnoj većini albanska u etničkom smislu. Praktično, da nisu Albanci u tolikom broju glasali za SDSM, razlika između njih i VMRO-a bi bila dramatično veća i svrgavanje VMRO-a sa vlasti bi bilo, ako ne i nemoguće, onda daleko teže, a i ovako je bilo pakleno. Kako je to moguće, šta se to desilo?! Kasnije ću o tome.

Nakon izbora je tek uzavrilo. Zbog izuzetno odvratne anti-albanske predizborne kampanje koju je VMRO vodila, sada se našla u situaciji da, iako pojedinačno najveća stranka i kao takva dobila mandat od predsednika države da formira vladu, nije mogla da nađe albanskog partnera. Predsednik države je ostao lojalan svom partijskom šefu iz VMRO-a² pa je dodatno otežavao situaciju time što je protivustavno odbijao da preda mandat drugoj stranci po broju mandata, tj. socijaldemokratima. Država je još uvijek bila kompletno zarobljena (termin upotrebljen i u zadnjem izveštaju Evropske Komisije) i taj period krize se samo produbljavao.

1 Socijaldemokratski Savez Makedonije (SDSM) (prim.ur.)

2 Trenutni predsednik Makedonije je član VMRO-DPMNE-a Gjorge Ivanov. Nikola Gruevski je šef VMRO-DPMNE-a i bio je premijer u prošlom sazivu vlade Makedonije (prim.ur.)

Na ulicama svih gradova su redovne bile nacionalističke povorke pod kontrolom VMRO-a. Na kraju je predsednik popustio i SDSM su objavili da su postigli suglasnost sa svim albanskim strankama za učešće ili podršku za novu vladu. U takvoj se situaciji i desio onaj dramatični 27. april 2017. kada je na jedva održanu konstitutivnu sednicu Sobranija (na kojoj je za prvi put nakon osamostaljenja države izabran Albanac za mesto predsednika parlamenta) upala rulja od nekoliko stotina građana koji su napali poslanike nove parlamentarne većine. Slike dramatičnog nasilja su verovatno prošetale regionom. Te su nas vesti zatekle na regionalnom Osnovnom treningu CNA u Ohridu (gdje sam bio kao član trenerskog tima), pratili smo prenose iz Sobranija očekujući da će ona, uistinu tragično-karikaturna figura u ulozi predsednika zemlje da proglasi vanredno stanje i da uđemo u još dramatičniji period za zemlju. To se nije desilo, on je na kraju ipak popustio (ili se uplašio, ili ga je neko ipak upozorio da je to ipak malo previše za njegove i makedonske kapacitete, ma šta god on o sebi fantazirao kada stoji sam ispred ogledala). To nasilje do sada još nije pravno raščišćeno, ali je uz više novinarskih istraga i svedočenja učesnika-ca poprilično jasno šta se dešavalo. Bivši premijer i vođa VMRO-a je bio van države (kao i uvek u zadnjoj deceniji kada se nešto dramatično dešavalo u Makedoniji – priznanje Kosova, dvodnevni rat u Kumanovu 2015, itd.). Onih nekoliko stotina protestanata ispred parlamenta su unutra pustili neki poslanici VMRO-a (što se vidi na snimcima unutrašnjih kamera). Manja ekipa nasilnika koja je prva ušla u salu gdje su bili zabarikadirani poslanici SDSM-a i albanskih stranki je bila sačinjena od 20-30 ljudi od kojih su pola bili razni kriminalci i nasilnici iz različitih gradova zemlje, a pola (oni maskirani) su razni policijski i armijski službenici i oficiri i oni su najverovatnije već bili u zgradi parlamenta pušteni preko drugog ulaza i znali su raspored sala te upravljali gomilom. U javnosti se priča da je plan bio da se napravi veliki incident (možda i neko likvidira, idealno albanski poslanik, Zijadin Sela je jedva preživio, njega su nasilnici prestali tući zato što su mislili da je preminuo), što bi izazvalo ulične neredе i sve to omogućilo predsedniku da proglasi vanredno stanje u državi. Ne znam šta se sve dešavalo u pozadini, ali sigurno znam da su poslanici koji su bili tamo, uz nekoliko članova obezbeđenja koji su im ostali lojalni (ustvari, ostali lojalni svojoj profesiji), stoički podnijeli situaciju i da su sprečavali

dolazak svojih pristalica koje su se počele okupljati na više mesta u Skoplju spremajući se da idu u parlament da ih brane. Tek nakon više sati je specijalna policija dobila naređenje da uđe u parlament i iznese povređene. Još jedanput se sa svima nama neko igrao na ivici noža.

Uspostava vlasti je išla (i još uvijek ide) polako, uz svakodnevne sabotaže. Instalacije od 11 godina onakve vladavine su duboke, mnogo je lojalnih i učenjenih, posebno u pravosudnom sustavu. Vrlo brzo, još pre uspostave nove vlade, su se postarali da svi koji su učestvovali u nasilju u parlamentu budu „osuđeni“ za prekršaj „učesće u rulji“ za što su dobili uslovne presude, što je bezobrazno. I još i danas je pravosudni sistem u velikom delu lojalan staroj vlasti kada su u pitanju dela protiv njih i sve to ide užasno sporo ili nemoguće.

Sada su pred nama lokalni izbori (zakazani za 15.10.) i VMRO (koja je btw najbogatija stranka u cijeloj Evropi po jednom evropskom istraživanju od prošle godine) na veliko usred kampanje obećava nove parlamentarne izbore ako dobiju lokalne. I sada bih da se vratim na ono pitanje sa početka ovog teksta: kako to da je toliko Albanaca glasalo za „makedonsku“ partiju na parlamentarnim izborima, a kojima je u društvu kao Makedonija veoma važno da se etnički legitimiraš što si i koliko „vas“ (nas, onih,...) ima u zemlji. Kao i mnogi u zemlji koji nisu bili deo klijentelističkog (i zastrašivačkog) sistema, Albanci su bili veoma nezadovoljni načinom na koji je DUI davala svoj doprinos što korupcijom, istim praksama ili ćutanjem. U

SDSM su vidjeli ozbiljnu mogućnost da preko njih kazne i „svoje“ političke elite. Ta prva prekoetnička mešanja unutar antivladinog pokreta su se mogla vidjeti prošlih godina kako uzimaju mah na protestima i drugim akcijama. Prošlih smo godina više puta kao društvo bili gurani u etnički sukob (nekada i uz žrtve) i odolijevali tome. Raslo je ubeđenje da su ti sukobi u velikom delu fabrikacija elita koje su navikle da vladaju svako u svom etničkom korpusu kao najveće patriote. Zato su im etnički sukobi super profitabilni. I negdje usput je to saznanje raslo i prešlo preko nekog praga koji ni sam ne mogu da lociram. Mi koji smo u aktivizmu, posebno u mirovnom radu smo gledali tu rastuću energiju i prevazilaženje etničkih granica i stavljali u praksu moguću suradnju. Takva se suradnja na protestima istinski uspostavila i prestala je da bude bauk, čak ni velika vest. I sada posle izbora i ovakvog mučnog početka post-VMRO-vske tranzicije su i očekivanja velika. Međutim, SDSM su za ove lokalne izbore odlučili ući u dogovor sa DUI (što iako nije oficijalna koalicija, jeste po prvi put javna suradnja albanske i makedonske stranke još od početka izbora). Ali ipak, mnogi Albanci koji su glasali za SDSM ili ostale opozicijske stranke, razočarani u DUI su sada stavljeni u situaciju da budu iznevereni. Da je ovo politički dogovor koji će za račun izborne pobede da amnestira DUI od odgovornosti. A ne samo to. Postoji cijeli niz političkih poteza koji se očekuju i nepravde iz prošlosti koji su ranije bile zatrpavane obiljem nacionalizma kao opravdanje, a i potencijalno nevini ljudi po zatvorima. Slučaji za koje smo



mnogi zainteresirani da saznamo istinu. Ostane i poneki gorak okus u ustima kada se u detalje pogleda to njihovo „otvaranje“ ka sada novim albanskim glasačima. Ravno se vidi kako je to kompletno novi teren za njih i opravdane su mi sve sumnje u iskrenost ili najmanje, razumevanje situacija i ljudi. Kao da su dobili blanko podršku, a nisu! Ovakav razvoj doživljam kao regres, da nas ovakva kompozicija opet gura u etničke pozicije. I kada smo već jednom osetili oslobađajuću snagu energije kada se pređu etnički zidovi, gdje smo možda i po prvi put osetili da smo eto, konačno na dobrom mestu za jedan novi početak, mogući ishod, bar na kratkom roku, deluje razočaravajuće. Ne znam da li su mogli drugačije. Ne znam ni dali su htjeli, poznati su mi i otpori i nepoznavanja koji postoje. Krivo mi

je što ne prepoznaju veliku šansu. Nisam pesimist (ne znam funkcionirati tako), i ne verujem da će VMRO dobiti lokalne izbore (iako su veoma snažni, drže skoro sve opštine koje su finansijski i politički jake), ali znam da mnogo, mnogo ljudi ovu godinu vide kao zadnju šansu koju bi oni lično dali zemlji da se počne postavljati kao bar malo pristojna za svoje građane. A ne radi se o ljudima koji su prošlih godina sedeli sa strane i samo čekali od nekog drugog, naprotiv!

P.S. Inače, samo je 5.3 % kandidatkinja žena za gradonačelnica na ovim izborima. Verovatno, kao i u makedonsko-albanskim odnosima od malopre, i za ovo pitanje postoje važniji prioriteti.

Srbija: I vuk sit i ovce na broju

Nenad Vukosavljević

Autokratska praksa

Trenutni predsednik Srbije, a doskora premijer, Aleksandar Vučić, voli sebe da poredi sa predsednikom SFRJ Josipom Brozom Titom, državnikom koji je uživao veliki međunarodni ugled i bio apsolutni autoritet unutar zemlje. Tito je između ostalog bio i doživotni predsednik SFRJ. Da bi bili fer prema g. Vučiću, morali bi mu dati malo više vremena, jer ipak je Tito na vlasti bio skoro 40 godina, a Vučić osim poslednjih 5 godina na poziciji potpredsednika i predsednika vlade ima i staž ministra informisanja iz perioda 1998-2000 iz vremena pred, tokom i nakon rata na Kosovu (vremena masovnog kršenja ljudskih prava i masovne represije režima). U nekim elementima je g. Vučić već nadmašio neuporedivo cenjenijeg i poznatijeg prethodnika, kao npr. u medijskom prisustvu. Ako gledate centralnu informativnu emisiju javnog TV servisa, nije nimalo neobično da dvadeset minuta predsednik priča, postavlja sam sebi pitanja i daje odgovore na njih, odgovara na optužbe čiji izvorni oblik nismo čuli i podsmeva se opoziciji, koja nema priliku da se obrati, te da vodi „dijalog“ sam sa sobom. Nakon dvadeset minuta, obično slede vesti o tome šta je još predsednik danas radio i sa kim se susreo. Pomislio bi čovek da je svemoguć, da je na više mesta istovremeno,

rešava probleme svakog građanina i građanke ponaosob i nadgleda svakog funkcionera iz vlade, iako mu to nije u opisu posla. Tito nije uspevao da toliko dominira medijskim prostorom, mada ni on nije bio skroman.

Predsednik ima svoje novine koje u naslovima „otkrivaju izdajnike“, crtaju mete ljudima na čelo, ispaljuju afere, atentate, objave rata i pretnje ratom, državne udare, a kadgod mu zatreba pravi se da nema veze sa tim. Na brojne natpise kako je nađeno oružje blizu njegove kuće, da je pokušao atentat automobilom i slično, on smerno i skromno odgovara da se ne boji i da mu njegov život nije bitan i da se on voljno žrtvuje za građane Srbije.

No osim očigledne samozaljubljenosti, na koju, istini za volju, brojni političari-ke u Srbiji nisu imuni, g. Vučićeva vladavina je interesantna sa aspekta da se trudi da bude opozicija sam sebi. I to mnogo bolja opozicija nego što to stvarna opozicija jeste. On je i u tome bolji.

Tako, dok se kune u dijalog sa Albancima i poziva na dijalog sa opozicijom, nezavisni novinari bivaju izloženi napadima koje policija ne istražuje a otkrivene afere zataškava pričama o zapadnim stranim centrima moći koji izmišljaju te afere i plaćaju novinare da ih izmišljaju. Istovremeno ne trepnuvši, prima političare iz zapadnih zemalja, kune se u pravnu državu, ljudska prava, medijske

slobode, posvećen je ulasku u EU. Istovremeno mu je desna ruka ministar odbrane koji se zaklinje Rusiji na vernost i saradnju, a prethodni predsednik iz iste stranke je predsednik novoizmišljenog saveta za saradnju sa Rusijom i Kinom, obezbeđen mesečnim budžetom od milion evra.

Vučić se zalaže za istorijski dijalog sa Albancima koji bi obezbedio trajni mir, ali to treba da bude u skladu sa tim da je Kosovo srpsko, što će ponavljati čim ode iz Brisela. I naravno, protivi se neustavnim rešenjima. I istovremeno, demonizovana slika Albanaca kao vekovnih zakletih neprijatelja biva pažljivo gajena od strane vladi bliskih medija i pojedinih funkcionera, te svaki kontakt sa Albancima izaziva sumnju da se radi o neakvoj zaveri protiv Srba. Ne sećam se da se predsednik ikad usprotivio govoru mržnje, osim kada je tvrdio da je on korišten protiv njega ili njemu bliskih.

Opozicija sebi samom

Kada štrajkuju zaposleni u javnim službama ministar, bliski saradnik predsednika, se ljuti što su tako nezahvalni i što podrivaju napore vlade za stabilizacijom, a predsednik ih razume i obećava rast standarda. Najčešće zapravo, objašnjava kako im je već mnogo bolje nego što im je bilo, samo to oni ne primećuju.

Kada tvrdi da je Srbija lider u regionu u ekonomskom razvoju, onda javni servis i nezvanično zakupljene privatne TV stanice ne objavljuju nezavisne podatke da je upravo suprotno, već ponavljaju ono što im je rečeno. To nije samo "što je mladoj milo to joj se i snilo", tu je i pretnja da će oni koji tvrde drugačije postati metom tabloida i ostalih

plaćenika u službi moći. Predsednik sve to vrlo dobro zna, ali ga nisu informisali i spreman je da zaštiti svakog građanina od zloupotrebe državnih službi, ali nikada ne čini ništa da kazni odgovorne da to sprovedu, uostalom to nije njegova nadležnost. On je protiv toga da se prekoračuju nadležnosti i zalaže se za to kada je potrebno zemlji i građanima. On se ljuti kada ga retki hrabri (znači zlonamerni) novinari pitaju kako je istovremeno "za" i "protiv" i kada ga podsećaju na neispunjena obećanja, jer pobogu on je tako dobronameran a svi koji to ne vide su zlonamerni.

Kada su u ministarstvu prosvete dve stručne saradnice odobrile priručnik za osnovnu školu koji je sadržavao upute za izbegavanje diskriminacije spram dece manjinskog seksualnog opredelenja, one su na pritisak crkve odmah otpuštene. A sa druge strane, predsednik postavlja javno deklarisanu lezbejku na mestu predsednice vlade. I vuk sit i ovce na broju. I tako ukруг. Šta da radi opozicija kad je on opozicija? I mada to izgleda smešno sa distance, kada gledate informativne emisije javnog servisa, nema nikakve nejasnoće i nelogičnosti. Šta je čudno u tome što predsednik voli sam sebi da postavlja pitanja, da se "kritikuje" i hvali, da istovremeno bude "za" i "protiv"?

Odnosi sa susedima

Kada su krajem aprila u Skoplju izvršene nasilne demonstracije i upad u parlament, na snimcima je registrovan pripadnik tajne službe iz ambasade Srbije. Njegovo prisustvo i uloga nisu nikada objašnjeni, ali novofomirane makedonske vlasti nisu zbog toga povlačile



potez proterivanja ili slično. Kada je krajem avgusta 2017 je u iznenadnom i dramatičnom potezu evakuisana i zatvorena ambasada Srbije u Skoplju/Makedonija, uz optužbe za "neprijateljske, ofanzivne akcije protiv Srbije". Društvene mreže su odmah bile prepravljene šalama na račun navodnog neprijateljstva, te podsmevanja sumanutom potezu srpske diplomatije, da bi samo nekoliko dana kasnije bez javnog objašnjenja, osoblje bilo vraćeno, jer je navodno Vučić sredio stvar sa makedonskim premijerom Zaevom. Stalno generisanje nekakvih navodnih drama u kojima nastupa Vučić i rešava ih, je uobičajen model ponašanja. On je taj koji predlaže makedonskoj vladi zajedničku sednicu, a da niko ne pita, čekajte on je predsednik republike, kako sad on to predlaže, zar to nije posao premijerke? Usled izgradnje kulta vođe, u kojem mu svesrdno pomažu i drugi, pa tako i sama premijerka, blede pitanja o nadležnosti, pravnoj državi, istrage o brojnim aferama i zloupotrebama položaja se ne vrše, nezavisni instrumenti kontrole vlasti su marginalizovani i onesposobljeni, a u pozadini se sprovodi gomilanje finansijske moći u rukama saradnika vlasti.

Odnosi sa susedima su u vremenu vlasti stranke koja pripada predsedniku, drastično pogoršani, to važi posebno za Hrvatsku, ali i za Makedoniju i Bosnu i Hercegovinu. Ministar vanjskih poslova Dačić se ističe u širenju teorija zavere i najmoćniji čovek u Srbiji je po svemu sudeći vrlo zadovoljan poslom koji ovaj obavlja. Isti taj ministar diplomatije Dačić bez imalo stida govori o prethodnim vladama u kojima je i sam lično bio, kao štetničkim, o vremenu Miloševićeve vladavine ima samo reči hvale i opravdanja, teorije zavere predstavljaju temelj svih njegovih znanja, a kvarenje odnosa sa susedima uspešno sprovodi u svakoj prilici. Ali kada ne bi bilo njega i ministra vojnog sam predsednik Vučić bi izgledao mnogo gore nego što je to slučaj kada ga se poredi sa ovom dvojicom - zato oni i jesu takvi kakvi su. Možda je upravo to razlog zbog kojeg izostaju jasnije kritike upućene od strane EU sa kojom se Srbija nalazi u pregovaračkom procesu za članstvo. Iako je jasno da bez rešenja normalizacije odnosa sa Kosovom nema perspektive članstva, tolerisanje poteza vlasti kojima se ruše temelji pravne sigurnosti i jednakosti građana, stvara nekažnjivost i podstiče atmosfera linča za opoziciju vlasti, se može pokazati pogubnim na duže staze za pitanje demokratske kulture u Srbiji.

U julu 2017 zaustavljeno je jedino suđenje za zločin u Srebrenici koje se odvijalo u Republici Srbiji i to iz formalnog razloga jer u vreme podizanja optužnice niko nije imao mandat tužioca za ratne zločine. Namerno ili ne, ovaj vakuum je kreirala sadašnja vlast, a posledice su da se

obustavlja suđenje, a to će se možda dogoditi i sa drugim procesima. To naravno doprinosi stvaranju dubljeg jaza i nepoverenja između Bošnjaka i Srba, te unosi tenziju u odnos BiH i Srbije.

A dodatne posledice za ceo region su grozne i opasne, jer podstiču strah, mržnju, otvaraju rane iz prošlosti na beskrupulozan način[1] i otežavaju stvaranje uslova za bolji i bezbedniji život.

Makedonski scenario

Zaposleni u državnim službama žive u strahu od otkaza ukoliko javno pokažu svoje opoziciono političko opredelenje i ostaje da se vidi do koje tačke taj pritisak može da raste, a kada će doći do eksplozije nezadovoljstva i oslobađanja od straha.

Javne ličnosti koje dignu glas protiv autokratske vladavine, neslobode medija i zatupljivanja kroz režimske medije, bivaju od strane državnih i/ili stranačkih funkcionera proglašavani državnim neprijateljima, oni nestaju sa javnih servisa, njihovi nastupi se otkazuju, kažnjavaju se institucije koje bi prekršile zabranu i strahom se vlada. U nastupima na TV emisijama se čitaju liste ljudi koji su navodni strani plaćenici i neprijatelji i dovodi ih se u vezu sa ratnim zločincima i kriminalcima.

Zapravo je u poslednjih godinu dana napravljeno puno velikih koraka unazad što se tiče razvoja kulture demokratije, kritičke svesti, nezavisnosti institucija, kontrole vlasti, korupcije i to je ono što mnoge mlade obeshrabruje i tera da svoju budućnost potraže van zemlje. Jasno je da ovakav sistem ne može večno opstati i da će se kad-tad urušiti i nemam strah da to ovako može dugo opstati u ovom obliku, ali gubimo čitave generacije i to je šteta koja nastaje.

Proletos je u svojoj predizbornoj kampanji sadašnji predsednik govorio kako "neko sprema makedonski scenario da sruši Srbiju" i da ga on neće ni po koju cenu dozvoliti. Makedonski scenario je onaj u kojem građani protestuju protiv privatizacije države u kriminalne svrhe: nezakonitog prisluškivanja, zastrašivanja, protiv izborne prevare, protiv korupcije i sistema nekažnjivosti koji je vlada VMRO-a sprovodila u Makedoniji. Izgleda da sadašnji predsednik misli da je rušenje takvog sistema nešto loše, no na sreću ono je neizbežno, jer ljudi nisu rođeni da budu robovi, pokorne slugе ili poltroni, iako se neki tokom svojih života nađu u tim ulogama.

I još...Kršenje novinarskog kodeksa, ili - kako se CNA našla na udaru tabloida

Početkom aprila volonter CNA Gentrit Behramaj, koji je u tom trenutku započinjao tromesečnu praksu u beogradskom uredu, i Centar za nenasilnu akciju, našli su se na naslovnoj strani novina "Alo" (u tom trenutku još uvek u vlasništvu nemačkog koncerna "Ringier", nedugo potom te novine su prodate), a u tekstu su optuženi za niz potpunih besmislica i laži (strani špijun plaćen od kosovske vlade i tome slično). Nažalost, nije samo ostalo na tome, već je takvu "vest" preuzeo i parlamentarni glasnogovornik vladajuće stranke koji ju je delimično preneo.

Kako nam je u tom trenutku bila najvažnija bezbednost Gentrita, (Albanca sa Kosova koji je došao u Beograd na tromesečnu praksu, zbog želje da nauči jezik i upozna sredinu, i time da svoj doprinos izgradnji mira i poverenja u regionu), ali i bezbednost svih zaposlenih u CNA, razmišljali smo šta sa tim da uradimo, te kako da odbranimo i organizaciju i pojedinca od takvog napada.

Odlučili smo da se žalimo „Savetu za štampu“, kao profesionalnom telu, čija je uloga da reaguje na kršenje Kodeksa novinara. Zbog nas, ali i misleći i o tome kako se "lako" neko drugi može naći u, najblaže rečeno, jako neprijatnoj situaciji da mu slika osvane na naslovnoj stranici novina sa nekim suludim naslovom ili u rukama finkcionera neke stranke.

To smo i učinili, pa je na sednici održanoj 25. maja Savet doneo odluku da je list „Alo“ prekršio Kodeks novinara Srbije i naložio tom listu da objavi ovu odluku, što, koliko je nama poznato, nije urađeno. Tabloid "Alo" je inače poznat po lažnim vestima kojima se pokušavaju diskreditovati nezavisni novinari, aktivisti ili opozicioni političari, te je više puta utvrđivano da se ne pridržava novinarskog kodeksa.

Navodimo celo obrazloženje odluke Saveta za štampu: „Centar za nenasilnu akciju podneo je, uz saglasnost Gentrita Behramaja, žalbu Savetu za štampu zbog toga što je "Alo", kao je navedeno, koristeći fotografije sa njegovog privatnog Fejsbuk profila, objavio tekst koji sadrži niz neistina. U žalbi je, između ostalog, navedeno da Behramaj nije došao na demonstracije, već je u Beogradu bio u okviru svojih studija na praksi u Centru za nenasilnu akciju, što je dogovoreno mesecima ranije, da nije ničiji izaslanik, pogotovo ne Hašima Tačija, niti ima ikakve veze sa njim ili njegovom strankom. "Centar za nenasilnu

akciju nikako i nigde nije „poznat po plasiranju strašnih neistina o srpskim zločinima u ratovima devedesetih. Reč je o mirovnoj organizaciji, čije aktivnosti, između ostalog, finansiraju nemačko Ministarstvo za međunarodni razvoj i ekonomsku saradnju (BMZ) i austrijska razvojna agencija ADA. Nikada za 20 godina ova organizacija nije imala finansiranje od bilo koje vlade ili predsednika iz regiona, direktno ili indirektno, uključujući i Kosovo i Hašima Tačija. Nikada za 20 godina nismo sarađivali sa Centrom za primenjene nenasilne akcije i strategije CANVAS", ističe se u žalbi. Naglašeno je takođe da je novinarka lista "Alo" kontaktirala Behramaja, i da je on zamolio da ne objavljuje ništa.

Redakcija lista "Alo" nije odgovorila na žalbu.

Većina članova Komisije ocenila je da list nije ponudio nikakve dokaze za teze iznete u tekstu, pre svega kada je reč o tome da je Behramaj na demonstracije došao, kao Tačijev "pulen" da bi "srušio Vučića", zbog čega su prekršene odredbe Kodeksa koje se odnose na obavezu novinara da tačno i istinito izveštava, da ne iznosi neosnovane optužbe, kao i da razlikuje činjenice od pretpostavki i nagađanja. Komisija je smatrala da je tekst napisan samo na osnovu toga što je Behramaj Albanac, te da su zato prekršene i odredbe Kodeksa novinara koje se odnose na zabranu diskriminacije, u ovom slučaju na osnovu nacionalne pripadnosti. Novinar, zaključila je Komisija, nije postupio sa dužnom profesionalnom pažnjom, nije proverio informacije koje je objavio, a Behramaju je narušena i privatnost time što su, uprkos njegovom jasno izrečenom protivljenju, preuzete fotografije sa njegovog privatnog Fejsbuk profila. Ovim je prekršena iz smernica za primenu Kodeksa novinara u onlajn okruženju, po kojoj je novinar dužan da, prilikom preuzimanja informacije koju je na društvenim mrežama i drugim digitalnim platformama objavio pojedinac koji nije javna ličnost, pribavi njegovu/njenu prethodnu saglasnost, osim ako je objavljivanje od interesa za javnost i u vezi sa temom o kojoj se javnost izveštava, što, po mišljenju većine članova Komisije, ovoga puta nije slučaj.

Mišljenje je izdvojila Ljiljana Smajlović, između ostalog, jer podnosilac žalbe nije objasnio zašto nije iskoristio pravo da odgovori na netačne informacije u listu kojima mu je naneta šteta, kao i zato što je Komisija za žalbe, po njenom mišljenju, u ovom slučaju dala za pravo

i vrednosnim i činjeničnim tvrdnjama Centra za nenasilnu akciju, a da te tvrdnje niko nije proveravao.

Zbog svega toga, Komisija je sa deset glasova „za“ i jednim „protiv“ odlučila da je list „Alo“ prekršio Kodeks novinara Srbije i naložila listu da ovu odluku objavi.“

A Gentrit? On je odlučio da ipak ostane svo vreme sa nama, iako bi potpuno razumeli da je odlučio da odustane

od volontiranja u CNA i boravka u Beogradu. Jedino se jako brinuo da mu roditelji ne saznaju za sve ovo jer bi to jako teško podneli, ionako već dovoljno zabrinuti.

Katarina Milićević

Annual Report 2017

(English version)

Translation
Ulvija Tanović
Nina Vukosavljević

Intruduction

You have before you our twentieth annual report, and behind us is twenty years of work. True to custom, we invited friends from all over the world and the region to our twentieth birthday. Firstly, we talked about “Where are we after twenty years and where are we rushing to?” and then about some other topics as well, and eventually we celebrated a little, too. Twenty years is a small anniversary for peace in the world, but for us, a peace organization created in Sarajevo in post-war 1997, it is a big one. In this report in the text written by Nedžad Horozović, you can read about everything that’s been happening to us in these twenty years and all the things we did.

What marked the twentieth year of our work is a series of “War of Memories” exhibitions, held in Sarajevo, Mostar, Banja Luka, Bihać, Beograd, Tuzla and Brčko. And that’s not the end of it. The exhibition continues on its path, thanks to our friends and associates who took upon themselves to organize it in their communities, therefore what follows is the exhibition in Skopje, and we are expecting it will also take place in Kruševac, Sisak, Novi Pazar, Zagreb...

We premiered our film “Alien Home”, which is a result of an idea originated from our Training for Trainers programme, and was done by a group of our associates. We offered the film to many TV stations in BiH for screening, but nothing has been agreed yet. One of the unofficial responses we received was that „the film cannot be screened because it fails to meet technical standards, it’s not filmed with drones. “ That’s a better way of saying what we were being told in confidence, outside at the parking lot, through whispers, in response to our every activity: “Now is not the time,... You know how it is, it’s politics...” It never seems to be the right time for dealing with the past. Nonetheless, we want to point out that it is always the right time to talk about it. Even when there’s a loud silence about something (in whatever language), that silence offers space for action.

That’s exactly what our associates do in “Marking Unmarked Sites of Suffering”. They managed to complete three activities in a year. Purple stickers were left as reminders of inhumane acts which were committed on these sites against people and that those people who suffered deserve to be remembered. At commemorations that took place in Vrivode and Gošić (Croatia) and during a visit to Vozuća battleground (BiH), war veterans of different armies together with us from CNA, indicated that the memories of victims are important, and that it is particularly difficult to talk publicly about victims when local community is silent, but that breaking an unwritten oath of silence brings liberation, which in the end, may lead towards reconciliation.

At the time when this report is printed, the results of the second multilingual competition for a short story „Biber“, on the topic of reconciliation will have been known. Judging by

the number of the stories we received, which is bigger than in the first competition, we know in advance that people from the region had the need and the desire to write about reconciliation, in various ways. We are looking forward in advance to the new collection, which will be printed in the beginning of next year.

We tried to propose the adoption of the Strategy of Peace Building to Serbia's state institutions and even held one round of dialogue on the topic. We prepared the document that we would gladly submit to further development, but beside the fact that almost everyone commended the idea, we still haven't reached an institution willing to back the idea completely and that's something we are going to continue to work on.

Boro Kitanoski (Macedonia), Nedžad Novalić (BiH), Nenad Vukosavljević (Serbia), Jelena Svirčić (Croatia), wrote about the situation in different states of the region for this report. We have two views from Kosovo: from Kosovska Mitrovica, by Maja Fićović, a journalist and participant of our Basic Training held in Ohrid in April 2017, and from Priština by translator Qerim Ondozi.

In previous year we also held two basic training events in peace building, the third Mir-Paqe-Mip training and the third training for students in BiH.

At the invitation of our associates we travelled to Manipur, to Colombia, participated in Mandela's Dialogues in Sri Lanka. With the support of our associates in Republic of South Africa, 11 of us peace activist from the region took a study tour and came back full of different impressions, about which you can also read in this report.

At the times when the word peace is heard less and less everywhere in the world, somewhere behind the war cries, threats, suffering, discrimination and human distress, what we want for all of us, for all the peace activists all over the world is: solidarity, unbreakable faith that we are doing the right thing and the power to persevere, however challenging and difficult that is.

CNA Team



20 years of peacework

The First 20 Years of CNA

Joined by numerous friends, associates, comrades, people we met as we helped each other in the struggle for peace in the region, the Centre for Nonviolent Action marked its 20th anniversary over the weekend from 22 to 24 September 2017.

Since we have worked with thousands of people over the past 20 years, we could only bring some of them to Sarajevo for that weekend to remember the past years in a relaxed atmosphere.

The meetings and exchanges kicked off with a round table about “Where are we 20 years later and where are we off to?” The discussion was moderated by Natascha Zupan and the participants included Nenad Vukosavljević, who founded CNA with the assistance of the Kurve Wustrow organisation, represented on this occasion by Jochen Neumann; Martina Fischer, who has supported CNA from the very beginning; Adnan Hasanbegović, one of CNA’s first employees; Ibrahim Topčić Pajo, a war veteran and long-time associate; and Albulena Karaga, peace activist from Macedonia and participant in our Training for Trainers.

We continued the programme with a screening of the documentary “Dom u tuđini” [“Alien Home”] that resulted from one of the activities from our last Training for Trainers and whose authors, Davorka Turk, Nedžad Novalić, Čedomir Glavaš and Tamara Zrnović, presented the film to the audience.

The discussion topic in the afternoon was “Art is Peace” and we were joined by artists and activists: Elma Selman, Faruk Šehić, Lejla Kalamujić, Ivana Franović and Nedžad Horozović from CNA, with Kristina Ljevak as moderator.

The concert of Mara iz Mostara band kicked off the informal part of our celebrations.

We would like to thank all those who came to Sarajevo to mark this anniversary with us, emotionally remember the past and look to the future together.



In 20 years, we have...

Among other things, in these past 20 years...

- ... 23 people have worked for CNA. There are currently 10 of us and our passports come from 4 different countries.

- ... our offices have been at 8 different addresses. 4 in Sarajevo, 4 in Belgrade.

- ... we have organised 39 basic trainings, 6 trainings for trainers, 12 trainings for war veterans, 4 advanced trainings, 3 Mir-Paqe-Mир trainings, and countless longer and shorter trainings...

- ... through the workshops and trainings, together with at least 1000 other people, we have grown, supported each other, changed...

- ... together with a mixed group of veterans, we have visited 24 cities and over 100 sites to remember victims of war, lay wreaths and pay our respects... in one city, we were prevented from doing so.

- ... we have produced and screened 7 documentaries, organised 8 photography exhibitions, 14 public debates with war veterans...

- ... we have published 8 manuals, books and publications in B/C/S that were translated into Albanian, Macedonian, Hungarian, English, German and/or Russian. We have organised two “Biber” multilingual short story competitions about reconciliation and received a total of 700 stories

- ... we have visited and photographed over 85 monuments, former detention camps, memorial rooms, sites of memory and marked and unmarked sites of suffering in BiH... we have published photographs and information about these places and our view of how we remember the wars of the 1990s.

- ... at nenasilje.org – the latest version of our website – we have published 320 pages, 467 posts... and today, over a thousand people visit our site every day.

- ... we have shared our good and our difficult experiences through 19 annual reports, and we are working on our 20th.

- ... we have learnt from the experience of others in other parts of the world. In Germany, Austria, Palestine, India, South Africa, Sri Lanka, Venezuela...

- ... we have travelled at least 2 million kilometres in our cars, had two traffic accidents, two cars stolen, one we paid for, but never got back. Our first car was a Golf 2, Diesel. Navy blue. It arrived as a young teenager; when we sold it, it was still running, but long since grown up.

- ... we have slept in over 100 hotels, motels, lodgings in the region... but we prefer staying with friends and associates.

- ... the whole time, we are fighting and hoping our existence and work will become unneeded. We are not optimistic, but we will keep doing our best to “start the peace” in this region...



peace education

Basic Training in Peacebuilding, Ulcinj 14-24.10.2016.

The 36th Basic Training in Peacebuilding was held in Ulcinj, Montenegro, from 14 to 24 October 2016. It has been three years since our last Basic Training. In 2014 and 2015, we organised Training for Trainers in Peacebuilding, as well as peace education programmes resulting from the ToT – workshops with secondary school pupils, peacebuilding training for students from BiH, as well as peacebuilding training for citizens of Kosovo, Macedonia and Serbia. We point out this “hiatus” as an important factor because the changes that happened in the meantime in our social contexts significantly influenced the way we approached the selected topics, as well as our work dynamic, as will be explained in more detail below.

159 people applied for the training. We received 80 applications from Bosnia and Herzegovina, followed by Serbia (39), Macedonia (17), Croatia (12), Kosovo (7) and Montenegro (4). Upon completion of the selection process, we had a considerable number of cancellations. This created difficulties at the beginning, given that there was a predominance of female applicants for the training compared to the number of male applicants (103:56). Since one of the basic preconditions for quality of the training is equal gender, age and regional representation, we tried to strike this balance. In addition to applications that we discarded in the selection process (because they lacked content, clear motivation or intention to work on topics listed in the call for applications), very few male applicants agreed to be on the waiting list (or the date until which they had agreed to be on the waiting list had already passed), which prevented us from achieving the desired gender balance. We do not wish to make assumptions about the large number of cancellations. The final group was made up of 20 persons, 14 women and 6 men – journalists, teachers, members of political parties, war veterans, government employees, LGBT activists, as well as those who came to the training on account of strong personal motivation. We were very fortunate to have such a diverse age range among our participants (the average age was 36.4, with actual ages ranging from 21 to 61). Our concern that the lack of gender balance would hinder our work did not turn out to be true. And the diversity of previous knowledge and life experience fostered a very intense inter-generational exchange, which is an important element for dealing with the past and peacebuilding, and at the very beginning of the training, there was exchange of diverse perspectives

on issues regarding daily life as well as issues of social relations.

When planning the training, our intention was, among other things, to encourage discussion about increased animosities and distrust among the Western Balkan countries, and to raise awareness about such tendencies through encounters and contacts, examinations of the narrative and “image of the enemy”, and by encouraging cross-border cooperation. Namely, the situation in our societies and their mutual relations and continuing tensions have been getting worse in the past few years, which is something that also became evident within our training group. Already in the early stage of the training, there was a noticeable tendency to avoid ethnically or nationally sensitive topics for fear of creating conflict. Instead, we discussed topics where most of the group felt relatively secure, such as social attitudes towards marginalised groups and sexual minorities. Although this is not the case with our societies as a whole, many from the group had already attended various forms of training in human rights and awareness raising on these issues. Individualism as a social value, the human rights discourse whereby there are organisations or individuals with authority to deal with these issues, and the consequent need to seek “accurate” (politically correct and professional) responses to social issues, initially made it difficult to bring to light the social responsibility we all have as individuals for the state of our societies. There were instances where the need for a leader was articulated, someone who would seek solutions and have the qualifications to take on responsibilities. However, this is precisely why this peace education programme is called a training, because it provides an opportunity to practice – others at the training serve as a social mirror that allows us to view ourselves from a different angle, to figuratively walk in someone else’s shoes, to re-examine and encourage others to do so as well, and to take on the role of leaders ourselves (without waiting for someone else to do something), and finally, by changing ourselves, our own attitudes and responses, to change the society we live in. This is why we devoted a considerable chunk of time to understanding conflict, both at the personal and the social level, and to examining identity in general and national identity in particular. This put in place a good basis to then tackle dealing with the past, thoroughly and meaningfully, to communicate to each other what it is

that we view as being unjust, what we can do to convey to others how we feel or try to change the circumstances that resulted in various atrocities that were committed in our name, or in the name of an ethnic group that we perceive or that has been imposed as the enemy. To become aware of the potentials that dominant social interpretations of our recent and remote national history may have for maintaining old and creating new violence in the future, but also to come together and think about the directions of constructive dealing with the past.

This set-up increased motivation to work on these issues and to place them in concrete social contexts, which was facilitated on this occasion by the workshop on memorialisation and culture of memory. The concrete examples of monuments, memorial sites, marked and unmarked sites of suffering gave us an opportunity to see what it is that we remember as a society and what it is that we keep quiet, who do we address these memories to and how and what sort of message we convey. Along these lines, we formulated a need to seek different ways of resolving contentious issues from the past, that our disagreements need not lead to war, but that we need to create a space for other perspectives and different ways of seeing the events from the past. That we do not need to determine the final truth, but that our truths can exist simultaneously without necessarily encroaching on each other. We arrived at this conclusion through an examination of the concept of reconciliation, its content, preconditions and ways to achieve it. The group approached these tasks with due seriousness and we spent the entire training working hard, so our satisfaction with the results, both among the group and the team of trainers, grew accordingly. This also helped us bring to light among the group the level of trust needed to approach these topics constructively. A significant number of participants identified working on social taboos about the past and dealing with the past as the part of the training that engaged them the most, given that apart from a group examination, it also opened a space to express personal opinions on these topics, critique existing models of dealing with the painful past, deep self-reflection and openness to comments from others.

The team was made up of Adnan Hasanbegović, Davorka Turk and Nedžad Horozović from CNA, as well as our long time friend and colleague Albulena Karaga from the Megjashi Children's Embassy in Skopje. It soon became clear that a quality reflection on issues of identity in such a mixed group, and with national identities tied to

personal and social conflicts, would require the particular atmosphere created by our mutual complementary actions, both within the training team and within the group. And, indeed, every attempt to impose one's own national perspective without any apparent effort to speak about it critically was confronted in the group by introducing other perspectives and views of the given problem. The initial reluctance of the participants to tackle issues that provoke in them an emotional reaction, gradually turned into increased readiness to engage in self-reflection, as well as constructive criticism. Albulena's presence on the team enabled us to avoid a situation where we would mostly deal with the situation in the Dayton triangle (Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Serbia), and allowed us to devote equal attention to Macedonian-Albanian relations, situating them within the wider context of the region. This created the preconditions to discuss ethnic relations within our societies by comparing similarities and differences found in the different models and the nature of these relationships (what they are based on, what is the relationship between opposing identities, what is the nature of national narratives keeping us at opposed positions), and to try to determine current social trends, such as the normalisation of nationalism as a dominant social model. Although we were aware that using Macedonian as another working language in the group could present difficulties, the abovementioned advantages of this way of working helped us overcome these. The group reacted exceptionally well to this circumstances, for many of us this was the first opportunity to hear Macedonian (again) and remember how much we have in common, all of which further increased synergies within the group. The product of our joint work is also a mini Macedonian-BCS dictionary of basic terminology that we added to during the training.

Apart from the difficulties in selecting participants described above, half the group and half the training team came down with a stomach flue, which could have been disastrous. However, it seems that luck was on our side throughout the training, so the flue hit us during the one free day we had. Fortunately, everyone's health soon improved and there was no need to seek medical care. On the contrary, the enthusiasm and desire to continue working helped the recovery process. Just before the end of the training, we were very sad that a participant had to leave us because of a death in the family. We missed her spirit and contributions and are sorry we were not able to be of more help. The considerable time we spent together, in the workshops and during our free

time, genuinely and deeply connected this group of participants. I hope that they will cherish this treasure for a long time to come. As a group, they demonstrated a readiness to take responsibility for the work. As the training progressed, they increasingly used it as an opportunity to stop avoiding potential conflicts, but to approach them constructively instead, as an opportunity to re-examine their own attitudes, understand different perspectives and engage in dialogue with different opinions. This is considerably more than we can see in our societies, and even among activists. It should be noted that, given our impression that most of the group

did not see themselves as bearers of social change, we hope this training will serve as encouragement and inspiration for further social engagement. The experience of participating in this training and their engagement with it can provide guidance, and more importantly, a healthy, value-based foundation for peace work however they choose to “articulate” it in the future.

Davorka Turk



Basic training in peace building , Ohrid, 20-30. 4. 2017.

Everyone is waiting for someone else to be the first...

The 37th basic training in peacebuilding organised by the Centre for Nonviolent Action Sarajevo/Belgrade was held in Ohrid, Macedonia from 20 to 30 April 2017. Macedonia, along with Montenegro, has recently become the most frequent location for our basic peacebuilding training because we would like to encourage more people from Kosovo and Macedonia to join us.

We received a total of 142 applications, with most coming from Bosnia and Herzegovina (72), followed by Serbia (30), Macedonia (21), Kosovo (10), Croatia (7) and two applications from Montenegro. Again, like in the previous years, the number of women applying was much higher (97) compared to the number of men (45), which influenced the selection of participants, because apart from regional and age diversity, we also aim for equal gender representation. Unfortunately, we ultimately did not have any participants from Montenegro, but the increased number of applications from Herzegovina was a welcome development because we had considerably fewer applications from this region in the past. A total of 20 people were selected to participate in the training: 7 from Bosnia and Herzegovina, 5 from Serbia, 3 from Croatia, 3 from Macedonia and two participants from Kosovo.

The training team comprising Davorka Turk, Katarina Milićević and Nedžad Novalić (Centre for Nonviolent Action Sarajevo/Belgrade) was joined by Boro Kitanoski from Peace Action Prilep, someone we consider a “permanent associate member” when trainings are organised in Macedonia and someone who is a particularly valuable collaborator thanks to his long activist experience and knowledge of the Macedonian context.

The basic training in peacebuilding underwent various transformations since its inception in 1997, with each new training requiring certain adaptations and the participants and their needs conditioning many changes. Conducting peacebuilding training almost 20 years after the end of the wars in the countries of the former Yugoslavia certainly makes us consider which direction to take. These days, we are already receiving applications from people born after the end of the wars in their countries, and in the case of Bosnia and Herzegovina, this year was the first time we had applicants born after the signing of the Dayton Peace Agreement. It was, therefore, important for us to use this

basic training to bring to light the actual consequences of the wars, which is something the new generations take for granted, as something completely normal, such as, for instance, the fact that they went to school exclusively with members of their own ethnic community.

We recognised the “normalisation” of nationalism in the region, and the fact that we know less and less about important issues in other countries in the region that are not our immediate neighbours (the example of Croatia and Macedonia that works both ways) as significant trends, and one of the questions we posed at the beginning of the training concerned how to make people aware that they had the power to create change and what activism and nonviolent action meant in our time of social networks.

Before going to Ohrid, the participants had already established excellent communication, arranging to travel together, so that many of them had already met and spent the day together before arriving. Apart from meeting ahead of the training, the fact that some of the group had already attended various educational activities influenced their work in the first few sessions devoted to getting to know each other and working as a team, where some of the participants already had experience of such exercises and were now repeating them without truly engaging with this new group of people. Going for “accurate”, pre-learned and politically correct responses to avoid conflict and avoiding the personal by invoking the social (and especially the political) field, partially prevented some of the participants from experiencing parts of the training on a deeply personal level.

However, as the training continued, the group demonstrated motivation and readiness to “plough” deeper into topics such as identities/national identities, prejudice, power, dealing with the past, etc. The openness of the group, knowledge about their respective social context and their dissatisfaction with it contributed to some workshops going beyond the usual “depth”, especially the exercises on “My motivation to prevent war” and “What hurts me/what bothers me in stories about the war”.

The violent incident in the Macedonian Parliament on 27 April 2017, when a group of protesters burst into the parliament building and brutally beat up opposition

MPs, significantly marked the training and caused its modification. The participants found out about the violence at the end of the sixth day of training, while we were watching the documentary “The Dotted Line” about the Macedonian-Albanian dialogue concerning the war in Macedonia in 2001, and we termed what followed after the initial information about the incident a “demonstration exercise in peacebuilding”. The already sensitised group followed the unfolding events in Skopje together, communicated with their own families, while trying to provide support to the people from Macedonia. We learned about the context and background of the violence, especially the inevitable transfer of current political tensions in Macedonia to the ethnic sphere with references to the 2001 war. Since the region, though fragmented into different states, still functions as a system of communicating vessels, the violence in the Macedonian Parliament, as well as the decision of the French authorities to release Ramush Haradinaj, the former leader of the Kosovo Liberation Army (UČK) suspected by Serbia of war crimes, echoed through the different countries, and especially through Macedonia, Kosovo and Serbia.

Being responsive to the needs of the group, we changed the morning session of the training on 28 April to deal with current events. Instead of the previously prepared workshops, we discussed the Macedonian context and the current situation, tried to formulate solutions together about what to do in such situations, what sort of support is needed... With the exercises on “Which elements could cause wars in the future” and “My motivation to prevent war”, we tried to connect the discussion about the events in Macedonia and issues of dealing with the past and peacebuilding, thereby further reinforcing the importance of the training not only in terms of the past, but also for current events in our societies. The violent incident in the Macedonian Parliament is another prime example of how our societies still consider violence a legitimate and permissible means for achieving (political) ends, and how wars from the past and the past itself are used to fuel and drive such situations.

Because of this turn of events and the need of the group to engage with this immediate conflict situation, we had comparably less time for the previously planned sessions on reconciliation and nonviolent action. Still, we see the deep explorations of dealing with the past and connecting the entire training with current events as an added value of the 37th peacebuilding training.

The different ages of the participants, where we had two war veterans in the group, contributed to lessening the generational divide between those who lived through the war(s) and those with no direct memory of the war(s) or who were born after they ended. This divide, encouraged by messages about how “the war should be forgotten for the sake of the future” seems ever wider, so that the reluctance of older generations to speak about their own wartime experiences probably comes from the desire to ensure a better future for their children. However, this results in public space being relinquished to “professional narrators” repeating established (national) narratives that do not contribute to dealing with the past and peacebuilding.

A number of participants expressed their desire and hope that the basic training would lead to various actions in dealing with the past, peacebuilding and reconciliation. We would like to encourage the group to take such steps and promise to provide active support along a path that is no easy, but is not impossible either, especially after we’ve “listed” all the steps towards reconciliation that we can make independently, without waiting for the powers that be, various ministries, governments, states, etc.

“Everyone is waiting for someone else to be the first, to make the first step, apologise, ask for forgiveness, but they don’t realise that there is no first, second or third,” said one of the participants in the training. So, let us take that step together.

Nedžad Novalić

Mir – Paqe – Мир, Veles, 31.3-9.4. 2017.

The training “Introduction to Peacebuilding: Mir-Paqe-Mip 2017” was organised for the third time, through cooperation between the Centre for Nonviolent Action (CNA) Sarajevo-Belgrade and the Action for Nonviolence and Peacebuilding (ANP) from Gnjilane, from 31 March to 9 April 2017. The training took place in Veles, Macedonia. The team of trainers was made up of peace activists from various places: Albulena Karaga (Skoplje), Nexhat Ismajli (ANP, Gnjilane) Aleksandra Bogdanovska (Skopje), Nataša Okilj (Stara Pazova) and Nedžad Horozović (Doboj/Sarajevo), all three from CNA. Exchanging experiences and drawing parallels with the Bosnian context stood out as significant and was facilitated by the new team member, helping to refresh the concept and content of the training and encourage creativity within the team.

As in the previous years, our motivation for organising this peace education programme lies in the possibility to facilitate encounters, exchange of opinions and experiences among people who, though they do not speak the same language, live in very similar societies that impact each other and that share a common past. We also see the training as an opportunity for the participants to talk about things that are usually not discussed “at home”, with people they are otherwise unlikely to meet. This enables a critical view of various narratives about the

war and dominant problems in our respective societies. The training is also a place where we can be empowered to act in our local contexts, with mutual support that crosses all visible and invisible borders.

Despite the tumultuous political situation throughout the region, we received 73 applications for the training. Just like last year, Kosovo had the largest number of applications, which is indicative of the need and interest for this type of training and that, if the language barrier in our region is bridged, there is a readiness to learn about peace, although it may sometimes seem that we are “remote” from each other. Of the 20 selected participants, due to late cancellations that we could not make up for in time, we started the training with 17 participants, without Albanians from Macedonia. The group was heterogeneous, made up of 9 women and 8 men of various ages, some of them born in the 1970s and 1980s and a larger number of participants born in the 1990s.

Because the training was conducted with consecutive interpretation, the tempo was slower compared to trainings with just one language. However, since we have experience working with interpretation, in preparation, we selected the topics and methodology very similar to basic training. So, we started with a round of introductions, devoted some time to communication, teamwork,



decision making, creating safe spaces and trust within the group, and then moved on to understanding conflict, violence, discrimination, identity, gender, dealing with the past and peacebuilding.

The exercises we did were adapted to working in a multilingual group with interpretation. The group was very curious, open and motivated. We invested a lot of effort in keeping up with the pulse of the group, because initially, there was a resistance to openly discussing emotions and drawing parallels between situations during the exercises and reality. By encouraging criticism and self-criticism and empowering participants to share their needs and wishes, together we managed to establish the right tempo that does not detract from the aims of the training – empowerment for action in peacebuilding. Later, the learning dynamics at the training changed, with the participants re-examining the values and behaviours demonstrated during group work and connecting those processes to the social level and their respective contexts. We opened up a lot of sensitive topics and talked about the societies we live in and about how we individually and all of us together can act to foster change. The training reached its peak during the dealing with the past workshop. Namely, illuminating dominant narratives and taboos in our societies was difficult, emotional and momentous for all of us, because it concerned dealing with how our societies function and what that means for others, who are often represented as enemies.

The language barrier between the people living in these three countries is used for petty political agendas as another divisive mechanism, but the social patterns at play in Macedonia, Serbia and Kosovo are similar, connected and necessarily feed into and impact each other. This training presented the participants with an opportunity to learn that everyone can clearly express how much it hurts to see what is being done in our societies “in our name”. This is by no means easy, but it makes us allies and provides support to those on the “other” side who want to achieve the same things we do.

As one participant said during the exercise:

“I have Albanian and Serbian friends here, and I was ashamed to say in front of them what is being said and thought about them in my community.”

Since this is the third such training we have conducted, our experience from the past and the impressions of the participants who were motivated to take on a bigger role in peacebuilding in their communities encouraged us to continue this programme. This training confirmed our projections, because personal change is a necessary step towards social change and each of us has the power to take that path and endeavour to change the society s/he lives in.

Aleksandra Bogdanovska



Second peacebuilding training for students from BiH, Jahorina, 17-26.7.2017.

Peacebuilding training for students from BiH organised by the Centre for Nonviolent Action Sarajevo/Belgrade was held from 17 to 26 July 2017 at Hotel Lavina on Mount Jahorina. The training was attended by 20 people from different parts of BiH studying at the Universities of Sarajevo, Banja Luka, Doboj, Bihać, Istočno Sarajevo, Mostar, Zenica, the Džemal Bijedić University of Mostar and the International Burch University. When selecting the training participants, apart from the quality of their applications, the training team also took account of regional, gender and national balance, so we ended up with a mosaic of young people from all parts of BiH. The training was attended by 11 women and 9 men.

The decision to organise another peacebuilding training for students from BiH was made after the first training focusing on the student population was held in 2015. At that time, we concluded that we wanted to continue working on creating potential for change among young people and future higher education graduates.

The training was planned so that the first part focused on personal change and on group mechanisms and behaviours. The topics included nonviolent communication, teamwork and decision-making. Working on these topics, we encountered the first difficulties, partly due to a change in the habitual learning method and the reluctance of some participants to openly express their opinions, which resulted in slower dynamics and lack of exchange. In addition, when identifying their expectations from the training, many participants noted they wanted to avoid arguments and conflict, and for the most part, they did. However, despite the initial difficulties, with time and as they got used to the new, experiential way of learning, we managed to delve deeper into the topics of communication, teamwork and decision-making. The participants were particularly responsive to the “Fortress” exercise that they experienced very emotionally. This exercise illuminates group mechanisms that we are all used to and all too ready to accept, showing how easy it is to resort to violence in relationships between groups.

After recharging our energy with a full day of free activities, the second part of the training focused on social change and topics related to identity, violence, dealing with the past, reconciliation and peacebuilding. The participants were very enthusiastic and full of energy. It was clear that there was both a need and motivation

to work on these topics, and a desire to effect change. Although this is a generation of young people who do not remember the war itself, because they were mostly born in its aftermath, the impact and effects of the war were keenly felt in the group. Working through exercises that examine and analyse narratives and approaches to wartime events, it became clear that there was a strong desire to tackle these issues and re-examine preconceived political positions and war narratives. This was particularly visible in the exercise on “what should be changed in the war narrative in my community and what would constitute a fair attitude towards the past”, where the participants got down into the nitty-gritty of wartime taboos in our communities and were largely uninhibited in writing down a large number of concrete examples of ways to deal with the past in order to have a healthier future.

The exercise on “when I was proud of my national identity and when I was ashamed, and when my national identity caused me problems” brought the group even closer together, creating a safe space for bridging ethnic boundaries and introducing multiple perspectives about how we view our national identities and events associated with them. The high point of the training, according to the impressions of the participants, was the workshop with war veterans.

In the afternoon of the sixth day of the training, we were joined by Spasoje Kulaga, a disabled war veteran of VRS from Derventa, Ibrahim Topčić, an ARBiH veteran from Gornji Vakuf/Uskoplje, and Zvonko Lucić an HV veteran from Slunj. Together with a member of the training team, Adnan Hasanbegović, himself a veteran, they presented their wartime and peacebuilding stories/fates and explained to the students how they view our past and our future. The experiences they shared will stay with us and with the training participants for a long time yet, as a reminder of the frailty of peace and the need to constantly work on peace and a more just future. Some things that were said during this encounter between veterans and students made a lasting impression, e.g. “You have to keep building peace, when they start handing out guns, it’s already too late” and the statement “Learn from our mistakes”.

Already in this part of the training, a change could be felt, especially a growing sensitivity towards others,

understanding for their views and needs. We are also glad that there were many comments about how much they learned, mainly about narratives considered alien in their communities, that they could therefore never properly access.

We concluded the training with peacebuilding and nonviolent action topics where we tried to strengthen and specify the ways we can act in our local communities, but also how we can exchange ideas about actions with each other. As different as our contexts may seem, they are essentially the same and require the same types of action and change.

This training was also an opportunity for us to learn. We learned how in our communities, it is still difficult to talk about war, even if you were born after it was over. We learned that the role of trainer is multifaceted and does not end with giving encouragement and food for

thought during workshops. We realised we were not alone in this process and that we have many allies prepared to contribute to a happier future. We opened up many topics and problems, some of them still waiting to be solved and acted upon. We emerged from the training empowered and motivated to continue working with young people, hopeful that one day, when it's time to make decisions, there will be people to recognise the moment and turn the hand of history in a positive direction.

The training team comprised Dalmir Mišković, Tamara Zrnović and Jordančo Poposki, as well as Nataša Okilj and Adnan Hasanbegović from CNA.

Nataša Okilj





work with war veterans

War Veterans Visit the Former Vozuća Battleground

Let me ask you, what was it like for you?

5. and 6. July 2017. godine

I know how it was for me, but I want to know what it was like for those I fought against in the war. If we just sit in our own pen, then we will only know the truth we want to hear.

War veterans from Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia and Croatia visited the former Vozuća battleground in the Zavidovići Municipality, paying their respects to the civilian and military casualties, wishing to hear, as one of the participants, Enes Bajrić, put it, what it was like for others on this battleground that took the lives of more than a thousand soldiers and hundreds of civilians from all three sides involved in the conflict (Army of BiH, VRS, HVO).

The idea of a joint visit by veterans of the Army of BiH, VRS, HVO, VJ, HV and JNA resulted from years-long cooperation with veterans' associations from Zavidovići and Doboj. Our hosts and co-organisers of the visit were veterans of the Army of BiH, Asim Parlić, Amir Mujkić and Enes Bajrić, a VRS veteran and president of the Zavidovići Homeland Association in Doboj, and Nenad Bukvić from the Doboj Veterans Organisation of Republika Srpska. The Centre for Nonviolent Action Sarajevo/Belgrade had already organised visits by war veterans to Zavidovići and Doboj, where we gathered this time as well to set off for our visit of the Vozuća battleground.

Why another visit by war veterans to the Vozuća battleground, if we have already been there, seen it, heard the stories? This time, we wanted to go a step further: we wanted to visit the Vozuća battleground, one of the bloodiest in the past war in BiH, together with veterans from Zavidovići and Doboj, with former soldiers that directly participated in the battles in this area, together with those who were on front-lines where the trenches were just a few meters away from each other. We made this step forward on 6 July 2017, thanks to our hosts in Zavidovići and Doboj, and the war veterans we have been working with for years now.

We gathered in Doboj on 5 July 2017. The choice of what was once a major railway junction in the former Yugoslavia was not accidental – after the autumn of 1995, most of the residents of Vozuća were expelled from Zavidovići with the majority settling in Doboj. The people of Vozuća living in Doboj have not forgotten their home, they are organised into homeland associations, the visit Vozuća, they have rebuilt the monuments, churches, and they commemorate events from 1995 that they term the exodus.



Death Hills

Our first destination on 6 July was Site 715. Located on the Podsijelovo Hill at the foot of Mount Ozren in the Zavidovići Municipality, Site 715 may well be called the “Death Hill”. Some 20 kilometres from the centre of Zavidovići, Site 715 was of great military strategic importance, and the plain of Site 715 was the scene of conflict between the Army of BiH and VRS during 1994 and 1995. In an area of scarcely a few hundred square meters, more than 300 soldiers from both sides were killed over the course of just a few months. Apart from the number of casualties, the intensity of the combat on such a small area is also testified to by the remark that this site was supposed to be called Site 714, as at least one meter of terrain was “ploughed up” by combat operations.

We heard about the battles at Site 715 from veterans of the Army of BiH and of VRS whose trenches in this area were only some 15 meters apart. Today, there is a monument at Site 715 without national or religious symbols, with only an inscription that reads: To those whose blood soaked this site. The people and fighters of Zavidovići. Although we do not know whether this was the intention of those that built the monument, this inscription allows for the commemoration of victims here, whatever side they were on.

There is also an idea for the meadow – whose every inch, according to the veterans, is soaked in blood – to be returned to the state it was in immediately after combat in order to testify to the horrors of war. Amir Mujkić, a disabled war veterans of the Army of BiH, spoke about the possibility to construct such a monument: I hope that a future generation will muster the strength to build such a monument as a warning about the agony wrought by war. I would have liked our generation to erect that monument, the generation of people who fought here, to serve as a signpost for the generations to come.

An appeal was also voiced from Site 715 to individuals and institutions to do more on finding the missing – over 100 soldiers and civilians that went missing on this battleground have still not been found – and to prosecute those responsible for war crimes. The bravest lost their lives at this site, but the veterans that had come to pay their respects to the fallen that day were also brave. We sent an appeal from the site to individuals and institutions to help find the missing soldiers and civilians. They deserve a human end, a dignified burial, and that is perhaps the most important appeal of today’s visit, said Ninko Đurić, a former member of VRS, after the visit to Site 715.

After Site 715, we visited the village of Stog, where a

monument was erected in the courtyard of the Church of St George to commemorate 21 victims whose remains were found in a mass grave in the same locality. There is also a memorial plaque commemorating members of VRS who were killed or went missing in this area in September 1995. They laying of flowers and a moment of prayer and silence was observed to honour the victims and condemn the crimes committed here, and we were joined by the religious leaders from Zavidovići: Izet ef. Čamdžić, Head Imam of the Zavidovići Majlis, the parish priest of the Serbian Orthodox Church, Zoran Živković and the parish priest of the Catholic Church, Miro Bešlić. The presence of local religious leaders is a new development we believe to be noteworthy – religious communities have significant influence and are one of the main pillars of (national) narratives about the past war.

People: An Irreplaceable Loss

The Zavidovići battleground was active practically from the beginning to the end of war combat in BiH, i.e. from mid-1992 to the autumn of 1995. As part of our visit to Zavidovići, we paid our respects and laid flowers at the Central Town Monument in Zavidovići commemorating 977 fighters of the Army of RBiH and 138 civilian war victims killed in the territory of the Zavidovići Municipality. “The monument shaped like a broken wing symbolises the great human losses that cannot be undone.” The memorial plaque in the yard of the Church of St Joseph in Zavidovići commemorates the HVO defenders who lost their lives in this area and we laid flowers and paid our respects there too.

At the site of the “13th kilometer” along the Gostović river by Zavidovići, a detention facility was set up in 1995 for captured Serb civilians and soldiers. The facility was run by the El-Mudžahid unit made up of foreign fighters. The prisoners were subjected to abuse, beatings and killings. By laying flowers at this location, we called for this site of suffering to be marked.

The local authorities from Zavidovići and Doboj, represented by Mayor Hašim Mujanović and Chairman of the Zavidovići Municipal Council Redžo Seferović, as well as the Mayor of Doboj, Obren Petrović, joined us for a working lunch in Kamenica, welcoming all the participants and expressing their support for our actions.

If not us, who else?

It takes courage to bring former enemies to sites of their own suffering or accompany them there. We are therefore greatly indebted to this pushing of the bar – a joint visit of war veterans that had directly fought each other – to our hosts, veterans of the Army of BiH and

of VRS. A few months ago, we saw religious leaders from BiH visit sites of suffering in Kazani, Križančevo selo and Korićanske stijene. The gesture of religious leaders from Zavidovići seems even greater: they went to pay their respect to victims from all sides in the community where they live and work, in a place where people recognise them and often see them as important authorities. The support of local officials is certainly important because they are often in a position to decide what will be commemorated and how in their area.

This visit to the former Vozuća battleground showed us how many small steps need to be made for such an endeavour. Humanising the enemy and the need to hear their truth is a long-term process. Previous visits to

Zavidovići and Doboј, spending time and cooperating with war veterans from this area, connecting former enemies are just some of those steps.

The fact is that we have casualties on all sides, missing, wounded, demobilised soldiers and unemployed veterans... Therefore, if we don't start an initiative like this, who else will?, said Enes Bajrić, a veteran of the Army of BiH. This goes to show that veterans are prepared not just to fight for a better position in society, but also for a better society.

Nedžad Novalić



The Yugoslav Railroads on the 13th Kilometre

There's a first time for everything. So, I have been to Vozuća and Zavidovići for the first time. I also travelled for the first time along the ravine of the Gostović river, and spent a night in Doboj, for the first time in my life.

My conceptions of pre-war Doboj were reduced to the big Yugoslav Railroads' Hub, the name and the existence of which became part of the fiction, and will always remind me of the timetable, written by Eduard Sam, literary alter-ego of the writer Danilo Kiš's father, who disappeared in the smoke of Auschwitz.

The last time I was in Doboj, it was at the railroad station, on April 15 1992, to be exact. I remember the date, because it was the day before my twenty-second birthday, when I decided to drop out of university and come back to Bosnia and Herzegovina from Zagreb. The war in Croatia was at the terminal stage. I knew the war machine was going to move over to my Republic, which was soon to become an independent state. Until then I had never lived in Bosnia, but felt and considered that I had been living in Yugoslavia. I skipped my Bosnianness with transnational Yugoslavism. I was a Yugoslav – that's how I lived and what I felt deep down inside of me.

That last time in Doboj, I felt like a Jew in some German city ghetto, waiting to be taken away. Drunk reservists of then former Yugoslav People's Army walked around the railroad station, wearing their five-coloured special forces' uniforms. I will never forget the following scene: one of the reservists slapped someone who could be a railway dispatcher on his railway man's cap. It was clear that the man had a wrong name and last name and that he happened to be in the wrong place at the wrong time. I shrunk on a wooden bench while waiting for Bosnia Express Train, that was supposed to take me to Bosanski Novi, and further to Bosanska Krupa, by a railcar. I prayed to all the Gods to make the drunk man in a uniform not come to me to ask me for an ID, because just like the railway dispatcher, I had a wrong name and a wrong last name. By then, each and every place and time had become the wrong one.

The drunk reservist passed me by and I reached Bosanska Krupa after an all-day long trip. After that date trains did not run on that line. They went to history. The Yugoslav Railroads ceased to exist and became part of our memory, a fictional fact, material for a novel. The novel about a railroad network that could take you anywhere in the entire world. As far as Vladivostok, if you wished to see far, unknown destinations.

The second time I came to Doboj, it was as a writer, journalist, veteran, friend of the CNA, to attend another meeting of veterans of all the armies, of all the wars in which Yugoslav Railroads timetable had disappeared and retreated far into the memory, from which no one will ever be able to banish it.

Just like always at veteran meetings, I saw some old, familiar, dear faces and some new ones, too. Doboj was clean and its infrastructure put in order. With summer throng on wide, long streets it seemed that there had never been a war there.

Then we travelled all day, visiting battlegrounds and sites of suffering, where three armies were engaged in a conflict and members of all three peoples were killed.

We first visited Site 715, the famous battleground in the area of Vozuća, which was mentioned in the news of Radio Sarajevo, all the time. We in Bihać County were able to listen to it by plugging the radio into a car battery. At Site 715, on a very small space of only several hundred square meters, ferocious and brutal fighting had been going on for almost four years, where hundreds of combatants of the Army of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina (ARBiH) and the Army of the Republika Srpska (VRS) were killed. I could imagine the intensity of the artillery attacks and the heavy hand-to-hand fighting that went on in that miniature space. Before we climbed onto the very top of Site 715 I saw a monument commemorating Partisan units, 1st and 2nd Dalmatian Brigade, that had crushed 369. Croatian Division, also known as the Devil's Division, which was part of the Wehrmacht armed forces, at the same place.

One can see half of Bosnia from Site 715, from Vlašić, all the way to the chimneys of Tuzla Thermal Power Plant. Decisive battles were waged there in every war, but now it's just an ordinary, breezy hill, that combatants of ARBiH and VRS, amongst veterans of other armies, climb to pay their respect to their fellow fighters.

It was the place where a member of VRS, who was a prisoner of the ARBiH for seven months, and according to his own testimony, spent 179 days in solitary confinement, spoke about being held under a Muslim name in one of the prisons, because representatives of the Red Cross or some other organisation came for an inspection of the camp. He was there together with detained Bosniaks. And that's where he had tasted coffee for the first time, after a long time. The detainees passed him some coffee powder mixed with sugar, in the cellophane wrapper of

a pack of cigarettes. He told us how he licked the mixture, thus “drinking” his first coffee after many days spent in solitary confinement.

Afterwards we went to lay flowers at the Central Town Monument in Zavidovići in honour of the killed combatants of ARBiH. The number of more than 1000 killed soldiers of the ARBiH is a testament to the battle of almost epic proportions, that took place on Site 715 and other sites of Vozuća battleground.

After that we visited so called „13th kilometre“. There was a camp run by members of the El-Mudžahid unit, so called mujahideen, fighters from Arab countries, in the ravine of the Gostović river, surrounded by nature in all its glory. There are foundations of an old Orthodox place of worship there, and it's where mujahideen kept imprisoned members of the VRS. That's where they committed hideous atrocities: decapitating and torturing captured Serbian fighters in many ways. What fascinated me was the beauty of nature.

Even if I hadn't known that it was the place where crime was committed, crime incomprehensible to a sane

human mind, I would have thought that the place was ideal for a picnic. The walls of the old church were covered in herbs and fragrant weeds. The entire surface resembled to a green carpet, made of wild mint and other aromatic herbs. Little creeks streamed from two sides. There was plenty of water, with pine trees at the slopes of the ravine. It was nature at its best.

For a moment I thought that mysterious forces of nature covered that space with wild mint in order to cure it with its soothing scent from its tragic and inhumane past. For a moment, nature could conquer human evil. It is more powerful than any violence against human lives, that we should remember. We should especially remember those who were satanically tortured and killed at this very place.

As often as it happens in Bosnia, beautiful nature is an absolute opposite to the horrific events this country abounds in. It's only human kindness and compassion, empathy with other's suffering that can save this country from new bloodshed. Just like nature is saving it with its healing beauty.

Faruk Šehić



The Way Station of Our Hell

the 13th kilometre / I'll never forget / I've tried, no
good / swearing by Allah and
decapitated human heads / went hand in hand
the 13th kilometre
of Austro-Hungarian narrow-gauge railway
in the canyon of the Gostović river
the scent of mint, clean innocent air
we had come for a picnic
it was July, but I still hadn't seen the fireflies
I like how they nictate in the pitch dark
flying mini-lanterns of Mother Nature
the 13th kilometre
there we are at the picnic
strange how mint grows here like a carpet
the small watery herbs give a heady scent
make the blood rush to your cheeks, pupils become
pulsating stars
children run around, the sky is close, within reach
the ball rolls down the green herbal eiderdown
tiny feet sink into the marshy black soil
the 13th kilometre
we are happy there if happiness is freedom from
excess thoughts
we've never been here before
we found this place in a tourist guide
it seemed perfect for the four of us
toys, food and books
mix it all up into a nice universe of distraction
the 13th kilometre
the world seems made of candy floss
always sweet wherever you look
slopes dotted with pines
the river minding its own business

if there is an ideal of the afterlife, this is its harbinger
a trial run of the otherworldly chronotope
the 13th kilometre
I'll never forget
I've tried, no good
swearing by Allah and decapitated human heads
went hand in hand
in the mujahedeen camp for Serb prisoners of war
there was nothing in the tourist guide
the unseeing family at the picnic would protest
the 13th kilometre
killing in the name of Allah, who begets not, nor is
begotten
someone washed their hands with blood, someone
took their ablutions with blood
one thing is clear: those that killed in His name
deserve the fires of Jahannam, if there is such a Hell
the killed will go to Jannah, if such exists
at least here, in this place
I open a door for them
forged with words, I cover them with mint; a soft
green shroud
unable to offer other solace
paper can turn to fire
even a man can become a torch
books burn at 451 degrees Fahrenheit
only words are fireproof
they cannot be used to decapitate.

by Faruk Šehić

War Veterans at the Commemoration in Varivode and Gošić: Condemn the Crime and Punish the Perpetrators

5. i 6th August 2016.

Co-organised by the Serb National Council of Croatia (SNV) and the Municipality of Kistanje, commemorations were held on 28 September 2017 in the villages of Varivode and Gošić to honour sixteen Serb victims, elderly civilians killed in late September 1995 after the military and police action of the Croatian Army known as Operation “Storm”. The Centre for Nonviolent Action (CNA) was invited by SNV to attend the commemorations and together with war veterans from the Croatian Army (HV), the Army of Yugoslavia (VJ), the Army of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina (ARBiH), the Croat Defence Council (HVO) and the Army of Republika Srpska (VRS), we attended the event. We were also joined by two peace activists from CNA and the Kruševac organisation Peace Builders. There were eighteen of us in all.

We arrived in Knin, some forty kilometres from the commemoration sites, on 27 September, a day early. We spent the night there and had an opportunity to see the deserted city with its historical royal fortress. The history of Knin is visible at every step, ranging from the

medieval period to that fateful 1995. The street names and the fortress of King Zvonimir where we visited the Museum “Storm 95” remind us of this, while the period of the former Yugoslavia has been erased or simply left out. The return of this city to the Croatian state after five years when it was the capital of the Serb Krajina Republic, which at the time did all it could to remain without Croats, is taken very seriously here, as something sacred and final. A right won by military victory. Frozen in time and as such uninterested in what came after the “Storm”. What is important and visible is what came before and during this operation, from 1991 to 1995. The city lives like that, surviving from anniversary to anniversary, when victory is celebrated. In the meantime, it is forgotten. And there are fewer and fewer people in it. Even those resettled from Bosnia are slowly leaving, because there is no life there.

Varivode, twenty-two years after the crime. A commemoration for those that remained fifty days after Operation “Storm”. Nine elderly and unarmed Serb civilians who decided to stay, to trust that having done



no wrong they would be allowed to remain in their homes. The memorial bears their names, written in both Cyrillic and Latin script, perhaps the only place where the two can still peacefully coexist. The wind beat the flags, of Croatia, Serbia and the EU, making them intertwine and perhaps hiding a metaphysical message about the connectedness of peoples. A man went to secure the flags so the wind does not tear them away, which is as much as a man can do in an effort to preserve. It is as much as any of us can do to help prevent being torn away by the winds of war again.

The gathering of some two hundred people was addressed by Milivoj Beader who read the essay "The Philosophy of Deprivation" from the collection *Are We Monsters?* by Filip David. It started with this difficult story about knowing the cause of the deprivation produced within and among the peoples of the region, the author having recognised it in the spiritual impoverishment that produces hatred. "Dullness and moral atrophy are proclaimed achievements in the civilisation of deprivation, while violence is presented as therapeutic because it releases an excess of power. This is what elevates bandits, arsonists and ordinary killers. The philosophy of deprivation produces reprobates in great quantities as it proclaims faith in nullity." This was followed by an Orthodox Christian memorial service at the end of which, together with the victims' families and political representatives, we laid a wreath. The host then announced that Adnan Hasanbegović would address the gathering on behalf of

CNA. In his speech Adnan indicated the path we could take to try to overcome deprivation. He expressed his condolences to the families of the victims and on behalf of our group, he called on the authorities to ensure that those responsible for the crimes are prosecuted. "We have come to send a message of peace and to show that our generation, that participated actively in the war, in not made up of war criminals, but of honourable people who had the misfortune of finding themselves in the midst of a war. We want to warn new generations not to repeat our mistakes," he said to those gathered and was greeted by applause. Compassion and solidarity win hearts.

Boris Milošević, an MP from the Independent Serb Democratic Party (SDSS), spoke about the period after the "Storm", the looting and the killing of civilians who had stayed. He said that the key to opening dialogue between the nationalities and building good relations rests on the rule of law which must not leave war crimes unpunished.

We then set off for Gošić, driving through a barren landscape. The sunny Šibenik hinterland where you can still smell the sea air is struggling with the melancholy brought on by scenes of abandoned farmland.

In Gošić we gathered in the shade of a large chestnut tree surrounded by a low stone wall with wooden benches. Seven benches for the seven villagers, elderly civilians killed twenty days after the "Storm". A large steel plaque installed vertically and already rust-bitten bears the names of the victims. It symbolises the bullet-ridden fence



through which the Borak family was shot. The memorial was envisaged as a place of gathering, but not just for commemorations, as Aneta Lalić, director of SNV's culture section, explained. It is a place for families and friends to gather and talk.

The programme started with another reading by Beader. This time he recited the poem "The Hour of Belated Knowledge" by Tin Ujević. After the religious service, we each laid a rose on the wall of the memorial. The gathering was then addressed by Anja Šimpraga, Deputy Prefect of the Šibenik-Knin County, who said that from this place, as we remember the innocent victims, she only asks that the guilty be punished for this war crime and extends her hand in reconciliation in the interest of living together in peace as we once did. Aneta Lalić addressed the gathering on behalf of SNV, particularly thanking the Mayor of Knin, Marko Jelić, and the war veterans for coming. "Violence against a person is also when the person is coerced into committing violence, and this is often forgotten in Croatia. So, thank you for speaking openly about this, not about what was won in the war, but about what was lost. That is why your coming here and the message you bring, especially from BiH, are so very important today," Aneta said.

People started approaching us to ask whether we were these war veterans. These were not storybook characters, they were real, local villagers and members of the victims' families. With tears in their eyes, but smiles on their faces,

they thanked us, shook our hands and embraced us. They felt our support as they came to mourn their loved ones, which is why we were there. We also met the Mayor of Knin, whom we wanted to meet while we were in the city because of his statement to the media in recent months where he said he had no problem with paying his respects to Serb victims. He apologised for not being able to give our group more time due to prior engagements, but he assured us his door was always open. Speaking with the actor Beader, we found out he was also a former member of HV. He was glad to find another two former "defenders" in our group and said he hoped we would have more opportunities to meet.

Our visit to Varivode and Gošić sent a message that as veterans, we have a human need to pay our respects to victims, that we feel a responsibility to future generations to speak out about the destructiveness of war and its human toll.

The HV war veteran from our group concluded that it was important, culturally more than politically, that we were here in Croatia, because it went towards changing the culture of memory, which can then be constructed in a different direction.

Amer Delić





actions, publications, film...

War of Memories exhibitions and promotions

Sarajevo, Mostar, Banja Luka, Bihać, Beograd, Tuzla, Brčko

After we had completed research on monuments and culture of memory in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the Centre for Nonviolent Action and published *War of Memories*, we decided to show an exhibition of our collection of monuments and unmarked sites of suffering in BiH from the 1990s war. The exhibition is made up of 51 large format photographs (60*90cm) with brief descriptions of what is portrayed.

During 2016 and the first half of 2017, we exhibited the photographs in Sarajevo, Mostar, Banja Luka, Bihać, Belgrade, Tuzla and Brčko.

The aim of the exhibitions in BiH and Serbia was to show the public the often one-sided and selective nature of the dominant culture and policy of memorialisation regarding the 1990s war. We wanted to start a dialogue about what this kind of memorialisation policy will bring in the future and what kind of memorialisation we need in order to live together in peace.

We organised the first exhibition in Sarajevo from 1 to 15 October 2016. We chose the Sarajevo Vijećnica as the venue because of its symbolism and because as a monument, it could become part of the exhibition. Opening night saw a big turnout, despite the fact that local elections were scheduled for the next day. Cooperation with the media was excellent and we had good media coverage. However, the host institution of the Vijećnica did not keep the exhibition open throughout the agreed period, so we regret that we may have lost out on more visits. Belma Zimić spoke at the opening of the exhibition as a representative of the host institution, the Vijećnica, while Adnan Hasanbegović welcomed visitors on behalf of the Centre for Nonviolent Action, and the audience was also greeted by Ivana Franović as the author of the research study and one of the photographers, Nedžad Horozović.

The exhibition was on display in Mostar from 2 to 16 November at the Croat Lodge Herceg Stjepan Kosača. The opening was covered by many reporters. At the opening, Marina Deronjić, Head of Urban Planning and Construction, greeted the audience on behalf of the City of Mostar and Nenad Vukosavljević, as one of the photographers, pointed out that long-standing work and cooperation with veterans inspired the research. Although the audience at the opening was small, according to the records of the host institution in Mostar, the exhibition was seen by more than 1000 people while

it was on display. We also had an opportunity to bring a group of students from across the region to see the exhibition and discuss their impressions. Students from former Yugoslav countries recognised how monuments influence and support dominant national narratives, but also how important it is to take them into account, even just by talking about them.

In Banja Luka, the exhibition was on display from 22 November to 12 December 2016 at the Staklenac Music Pavilion. In the very heart of the city park, the opening saw many reporters, an audience of activists, many citizens of Banja Luka and quite a few war veterans we work with. Katarina Milićević introduced the work of our organisation and Nedžad Horozović talked about why this research was needed and what it was like to photograph the monuments.



We concluded 2016 in Bihać where the exhibition was on display from 12 to 27 December at the Bihać City Gallery. The numerous audience at the opening was greeted by Ilda Alibegović from the City of Bihać who welcomed everyone and pointed out how important memory is in making sure the past of the war is not repeated. Davorka Turk briefly presented the work of the Centre for Nonviolent Action, while Nenad Vukosavljević and Nedžad Horozović shared their experience of photographing war monuments, visiting memorials and cemeteries. To illustrate the ethnic divisions visible even in the way we remember, Nedžad Horozović shared the experience of a war veteran who, during a joint visit by a mixed group of war veterans to a monument in their city, said: “You know, when we were building this monument, we didn’t know you would be coming to see it, that’s why it looks like this.” While the exhibition was on display in Bihać, we were particularly glad that pupils from two secondary schools and their teachers responded to the invitation to visit the exhibition and we organised a discussion with them about their impressions.

The beginning of 2017 was marked by the War of Memories exhibition being put on display in Belgrade from 12 January to 2 February 2017 at the Podroom Gallery of the Belgrade Cultural Centre. Right after the holidays and with temperatures well below zero, we were happy to see so many visitors show up for the opening. In an atmosphere that was weighed down by the topic of the research, but also supportive of the extensive work done, the audience was greeted by Katarina Miličević, with Ivana Franović presenting the research and Nenad Vukosavljević and Nedžad Horozović also taking the floor. Our hosts from the Cultural Centre suggested we present our work in a wider perspective, so while the exhibition was on display, they made it possible for us to screen the documentary on joint visits by war veterans from all three sides that used to be at war.

Initially, we had not planned to take the exhibition to Brčko or Tuzla, so these two exhibitions are particular, because we went to both cities at the invitation and with the support of our associates and partners.

At the Bosnian Cultural Centre in Tuzla, the exhibition was on display from 21 February to 4 March 2017. The director of the BKC Edis Bajić, the Mayor of Tuzla Jasmin Imamović and Cantonal Assembly Representative Nedžada Avdić spoke at the opening of the exhibition. The Assembly Member pointed out how important it was for her that the exhibition should be organised and displayed in her city, and that Tuzla should use monuments to

discuss participation in and life during the war. Davorka Turk and Nenad Vukosavljević addressed the audience and spoke to the media on behalf of the Centre for Nonviolent Action. The exhibition garnered the interest of both the audience and the media.

In Brčko, the host and organiser of the exhibition was our long-standing associate and war veteran Avdija Banda. The exhibition was on display at the Brčko District Youth Centre from 16 to 30 March 2017. The opening was attended by local media and by supportive war veterans. The Brčko District Government Chief Coordinator Damir Bulčević spoke at the opening and expressed his looking forward to the exhibition opening dialogue about the past. Avdija Banda addressed the audience as the host and spoke about how with other war veterans he helped gather relevant information about the monuments and helped us gain access so that we could photograph them. The small audience and reporters were also greeted by Nenad Vukosavljević and Nedžad Horozović.



During the exhibitions, visitors could pick up a copy of War of Memories. Interest for the publication was recorded in all the cities, which tells us that this is an important subject for people living in both BiH and Serbia. The publication can be downloaded from our web site.

Given that this was the first exhibition prepared by the Centre for Nonviolent Action, when we were preparing it, we had different expectations, as well as fears and concerns. While it was on display, we were pleasantly surprised by the number of visitors and interest shown in the exhibition by people of different ages, professions and backgrounds. Although the exhibition deals with a demanding topic and initiates self-reflection, it was important for us to hear commendations for the work we had done and for the courage to get involved. The suggestions and critiques we received further show how closely the exhibition was

followed. One visitor in Banja Luka remarked, "Looking at the monuments of all three warring sides in one place, I see how many people suffered. This is not talked about or it's just whispered about where I live." To us, this is a sign that there is a need to talk about this and that there are people around us ready to erase ethnic demarcation lines around victims and suffering.

Encouraged by the reception of the exhibitions organised in the first round, we plan to display the exhibition in cooperation with our partners in Skopje, Kruševac, Prešev, Zavidovići, Sisak and Zagreb.

Nataša Okilj



Marking unmarked sites of suffering in BiH

The Activity “Marking Unmarked Sites of Suffering” originated in 2014 at the Training for Trainers in Peacebuilding organised by the Centre for Nonviolent Action. Četvoro aktivista/kinja širom BiH privremeno obilježava za mjesta stikerom na kojem piše:

UNMARKED SITE OF SUFFERING - At this site, during the war, human beings were subjected to inhumane acts. By not letting these events be forgotten, we stand in solidarity with all victims. May it never happen again to anyone.

Photos of places of suffering marked this way are shared through media and social networks.

Vow of Silence, Vol. 4

The team for marking unmarked sites of suffering continued its mission of marking forgotten and unwanted locations of suffering for the fourth time. This time, we had two new additions to the team. Amer, Čedo and Dalmir were joined by new team member Tamara and freelance journalist Ajdin Kamber who did a story on our activities for Deutsche Welle.

We started our activities in Sarajevo, in the crowded Hamdije Kreševljakovića Street, former Dobrovoljačka Street. The name of Dobrovoljačka Street is regionally recognised as a place of defence of Sarajevo and a place where the deal about the retreat from Sarajevo was broken. Images of commemorations for victims have long been overshadowed by scenes of confrontation between veterans of ARBiH and families of the victims under heavy police protection. Although the events in Dobrovoljačka are a contentious topic and there is still no court judgement, we conducted research and found that the indictment states that a crime was committed in Dobrovoljačka Street against disarmed and captured members of the JNA. Although the site was full of people waiting at the nearby trolleybus stop, our action went by unnoticed. It seems things are least noticeable in a crowd.

The next day, we intended to mark the Cultural Home in Pale, which in the summer of 1992 served as a place of detention for some 600 persons, mostly Bosniaks. Researching available data on the exact location of the building, we found that the former Cultural Home building in Pale had been renamed the Cultural Centre. However, when we arrived, attached the stickers and took photographs, we attracted the attention of employees who came out to ask who we were and what we wanted there. They tried to persuade us that we had the wrong location and that during the war their building was the

home of TV SRNA. We left the site in disbelief and went to check with local contacts whether we had the right building. They confirmed that this was the only building in Pale that served as a cultural home. Later, after we posted about this on Facebook, we received the same complaints, but we were convinced this was the kind of denial we often face in local communities. This conviction held until we were contacted by a man who explained that in the 1970s the former Cultural Home was turned into a gym and a new building was constructed which now serves as the Cultural Centre. He also explained the context of war events in Pale, confirming that the former Cultural Home was used as a detention facility. As soon as we found this out, we took down our post and decided to mark the correct location as soon as possible. We had made a mistake, but without it, we wouldn't have been able to have a public discussion on our page that ultimately led us to this new information.

The greenhouse in Rogatica served as a site of detention of Bosniaks through the 1992-1995 war. The prisoners were subjected to harsh conditions, abuse and murder. The crimes committed at this site have been established in a number of international and domestic court judgements. We found the location with the help of our friends from Rogatica, but when we were marking it, we noticed we were being watched by people on the greenhouse premises, who then proceeded to follow us in their car as we left. Taking a few turns around the centre and down the small streets of down-town Rogatica, we managed to lose them, but when we turned onto the main road, we noticed a police car following us. As we were leaving the town, we were stopped by two police cars with 6 police officers and 2 inspectors. The police procedure started on the road, they took our documents and started asking us all sorts of questions, even for some banal information such as height and years of university,

which we interpreted as a type of psychological pressure. Without returning our documents, they said they were not arresting us, but that we should come down to the police station with them for an informative talk. There, we were met by the station chief with epaulettes adorned with 4 stars. He was young and evidently well-educated. He used an official and authoritative tone, but was polite in communication with us. We explained our activity and mission and managed to soften the rigid police procedure. After warning us that we were putting ourselves in danger and disturbing public peace and order, they asked us whether we were planning to mark anything else in Rogatica, and since we were not, they let us go with a warning. Still, the station chief's last sentence tells us that there is support for what we are doing. He wished us luck and that we "continue with the mission". We thanked him for treating us properly and left Rogatica, continuing on to Bijeljina and the Batković agricultural cooperative.

The encounter with the police shook us and upped our adrenaline levels, but it also demonstrated once again how difficult and complex it is to deal with sites of suffering that local communities would rather forget.

Due to unforeseen events in Rogatica, we reached Batković only at sundown. Without time for reconnaissance of the location, we attached the sticker to the front fence, took photographs, and as the guard looked on curiously and shots fired by hunters echoed in the distance, we quickly left the site.

We spent the night in Brčko, in Hotel Posavina, a location that was a site of suffering in the spring of 1992. We chose the hotel on purpose because we planned to mark it, but through communication with our hosts, war veterans from all three sides, and at their insistence, we decided against it. The decision not to mark the hotel was definitely reinforced by the strange situation of a hotel employee following us around and watching everything we were doing. The day wore on and we still had other locations to mark with our hosts in Brčko.

The JNA barracks in the centre of Brčko had seen much in the war years, as had the whole of Brčko, but the spirit of animosity and war is not apparent in the city at first glance; life is more visible. The barracks we were planning to mark are now home to various institutions of the District: courts, schools and a large parking lot, which is perhaps the best way to re-purpose a barracks. As we had agreed with our hosts, we did not attach stickers this time, but instead had a mobile board with the stickers already attached that we set up and photographed. After the barracks, we marked the buildings of the primary school in the village of Boće

and construction material warehouses in Gornji Zovik that used to be controlled by members of the HVO and ARBiH. Unfortunately, although we had planned for it, we did not manage to mark another site of suffering that had been controlled by ARBiH.

Our next stop was in Šamac where our hosts were VRS veterans and where we planned to mark the buildings of the warehouse and stadium in Crkvina. In Šamac we also met with representatives of local government to present our initiative and received their support, in principle, for our activities. After visiting the memorial in Šamac and learning about the context of the war in this town, we arrived at the site of suffering in Crkvina where Croats and Bosniaks had been detained and where 16 persons were killed on 8 May. We marked it, photographed it and, saying goodbye to our hosts, we continued on south.

In Zenica, we marked the site of the Music School. The cellars of the school building were used as a detention facility for Serb and Croat civilians and captured HVO soldiers. The marking proceeded without problems, and as we were leaving, we saw a few people gather to see what had happened. Later, through the media and web portals (more than 15 portals published the news) we found out the police had been called. News that a site of suffering had been marked in Zenica went around the country and brought welcome media attention to our activities.

In Visoko, we marked the site of the former Ahmet Fetahagić barracks where Serbs from Visoko had been detained during the war. The building where they were held used to belong to a Franciscan monastery before the Second World War, but was nationalised by SFRY and became a JNA barracks. In 2006, it was returned to the Franciscans. It now houses the Franciscan secondary school. An impressive building with a dark past, as we found out when we met with the Franciscan monks from the neighbouring monastery who told us about the people who had been detained there during 1992 and the testimonies they heard about what they had been through.

After Visoko and the barracks, our next location was the railway station in Podlugovi (immortalised in the hit song by Zdravko Čolić), which is still unmarked even though it is located in a community whose majority is from the same ethnic group as the victims from this location. The basement of the station was used by the VRS as a detention facility for Bosniaks and Croats from Ilijaš. As we were marking the building, a traffic police officer, who had been doing controls across the street, noticed us. With the experience from Rogatica still fresh in our minds, we were flooded with adrenaline in anticipation of

police processing, but he called over his colleague and it turned out the colleague was a prison camp survivor who had been held in one of the detention facilities in Ilijaš. This time, we marked 10 unmarked sites of suffering. Even though this was the most complex and exhausting trip on our mission, it gave us hope for change in the future. We are extremely grateful for the support of our hosts in the field who are working to change attitudes towards taboo sites of suffering in their local communities and change things for the better.

Heroes of the Forgotten

We have completed another action to mark unmarked sites of suffering, our fifth, and in this action we decided to mark sites of suffering in Derventa, Brod, Zavidovići, Bratunac and Pale. Our aim was to visit and mark sites of deaths and human suffering that are not sufficiently marked or recognised. This is a way to point out their existence and invite the local residents and representatives of local communities to adopt a fairer approach to these sites of suffering.

On the first day, we arrived in Posavina and were welcomed by our host in Derventa, Spasoje Kulaga, a disabled war veteran, who would accompany us as we visited sites in the Derventa and Bosanski Brod area. From March to October 1992, Derventa was under the control of Croat forces, the HVO and HV. In that period, the authorities established prison facilities for Serbs from Derventa who had remained in town or were captured in clashes. We planned to visit a number of sites, the first being the former JNA (Yugoslav National Army) warehouse, now owned by the OS BiH (BiH Armed Forces) in Rabić. Since it is still a military facility in active use, when we approached the guard at the gate to ask about photographing the hangars, former sites of detention, she directed us to her superiors. They told us that due to the specific use of the hangars at present, it is practically impossible to receive permission to access the facilities and photograph them, even if we had filed a request with the Defence Ministry. They kindly asked us to vacate the premises under their control, which we did...

The second location according to our plan was the Silos in the village of Polje. After the war, this facility was privatised and the current management is not cooperative when it comes to memorialisation. At the gates to the Silos we asked whether we could come in and take photographs. The guard consulted with the head of security and gave us a decisively negative answer, asking us to leave the private estate.

Because the facility is located in an open outdoor area, we decided to move away from the gate and try to take a wide shot of the building. However, a security guard soon showed up to very authoritatively and decisively tell us to get lost and stop taking photographs, without further discussion. In an effort to avoid conflict, we continued on towards Brod.

In Brod, we planned to mark the sites of the GIK Warehouse (construction industry conglomerate), the Kayak Club and the Bosna Hosiery Factory. We marked all the locations with a few curious glances directed our way. The situation here is specific, because this is a Serb majority town where sites of suffering of Serb victims have been left unmarked. After marking the sites, we were supposed to meet people from the local community, namely the president of the VRS Veterans Organisation from Brod, in order to present our activities, but unfortunately he cancelled our meeting due to other engagements.

After our activities in Brod, we returned to Derventa and had a meeting with the president of the Association of Prisoners of War from the Derventa Municipality, Drago Knežević, who expressed his support for our initiative and told us about his traumatic prisoner of war experiences. He also revealed to us another unmarked site of suffering, the Poljari Primary School, which served as a place of detention for Serbs in 1992.

After the meeting, we decided to look for the Poljari Primary School. We turned off the main road and drove on macadam for kilometres through deserted and destroyed villages, which we later learned used to be populated by Croats before the war. Of the myriad houses in ruins, none seemed to resemble a village school. Fortunately, we happened upon the local Catholic cemetery in front of the renovated church where we met the person responsible for upkeep of the yard who directed us to go back a few kilometres to an overgrown elevation. There we found a real jungle obscuring the ruins of the Poljari Primary School behind it.

We marked the site and with darkness slowly setting in, we left full of impressions.

We started the second day of our action in Zavidovići where our companion was Asim Parlić, a war veteran and retired ARBiH officer. Our prior research revealed the existence of two sites of suffering in the territory of this municipality that were still unmarked. The first was located on the so-called "13th kilometre" along the Gostović river and was the site of the foreign fighters encampment of the El-mudžahedin unit during the war. The encampment was the site of abuse, executions, even decapitations of captured members of the Republika Srpska Army. The

location is deserted and only the buzzing of the bees from a nearby apiary disturbed the silence of nature and our mission. The remains of torn down buildings can be seen. Concrete and brick debris was dumped into the nearby stream.

After marking the “13th kilometre”, we continued towards the Franjo Herljević Hunting Lodge, built during the SFRY period to host high-ranking party officials who, the story goes, were even known to arrive there by helicopter. It acquired a different purpose in the war and served as a prison facility run by the VRS for detaining Bosniaks during 1992. It was also the site of abuse and beatings.

After marking the unmarked sites of suffering in Zavidovići, we met with representatives of the local authorities, the mayor’s assistant for disabled veterans Asim Karajbić and the president of the Zavidovići Municipal Council Redžo Seferović. Both expressed their support, with the Municipal Council president telling us we were heroes in his eyes, because our actions were working towards a better future.

The next site of suffering we wanted to mark was located at the other end of the country, so we set off on our way. The traumatic Podrinje and Bratunac, where we planned to mark the site of the town stadium, are unfortunately synonymous with crimes and suffering. In

the spring of 1992, the Bratunac stadium was a detention site for more than 5000 Bosniaks from the Bratunac area who were abused and robbed there, and according to court records, some were killed at the site.

The third day of the action was set aside for the “loose ends” we left behind. Namely, in our previous action, we made a terrible mistake and marked the wrong building in Pale. We subsequently identified the right location of the “old” Cultural Centre in Pale where, according to multiple judgements of the ICTY (International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia) and domestic courts, war crimes had been committed. We had to remedy our mistake, so this time, with a good dose of fear and adrenaline, we marked the correct site of suffering.

We returned from the action empowered by the support of the people we met, but also tired and still processing our impressions of the sheer number of sites of suffering in BiH. Every corner of our country is marked by somebody’s tear, blood and suffering. Too many such sites are still concealed or kept inaccessible, and too few receive a fair and constructive approach. Although we have marked 38 sites across BiH to date, we still feel like we are only at the beginning and that we are taking on the responsibility for something that the whole of society should be doing. Remembering.



The Paths of Wartime Suffering

Gathered again with the intention to continue activities on marking unmarked sites of suffering, the three of us, Čedomir Glavaš, Dalmir Mišković and Amer Delić, went to the western parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina this time. There were a number of reasons to visit this area. The war had left a large number of casualties, prisoners and displaced persons from this area. The injustices continued into the post-war period. In western Bosnia, municipal committee for monuments use bureaucratic procedures to implement the political will of the majority and for years, they have been preventing returnee minority communities to mark places of wartime suffering with memorial plaques. The construction of memorials is limited to courtyards of places of worship and cemeteries. This was why we decided to visit the area, hoping to contribute to their not being forgotten and to provide support to those deprived of their right to make their pain visible. In preparing the action and locating the sites, we were aided by experience from visits of war veterans to sites of suffering organised by the Centre for Nonviolent Action (CNA) in the Bosanska Krajina region in the past years. Also, last year's study visit by peace activists from the region, when we went to Prijedor, informed us about the kind of obstacles faced by associations of war victims in their efforts to mark the sites of the Trnopolje and Omarska camps.

We set off on 18 October 2016. The first site we visited and marked was the building of the Cultural Centre in Trnopolje near Prijedor. The former camp for Bosniaks and Croats from Prijedor run by the police and Army of Republika Srpska (VRS) included a number of other buildings, the school building and sports facilities, the football pitch and areas adjoining the road. Everything was encircled with barbed wire. Now the building of the Cultural Centre has been renovated and houses the Trnopolje Local Community Centre as well as the recently opened Memorial Room dedicated to fallen fighters of the VRS. Also, in 2000, a Monument to Fallen Fighters of VRS from the area was erected next to the building. Our activities at the site were observed by passers-by and two small groups of people gathered in front of the two shops located nearby. No one asked any questions or uttered any comments.

Our next destination was Hotel Una in Novi Grad/ Bosanski Novi. The Hotel was once a grand building from the time of the economic boom in the 1980s. Today, following unsuccessful privatisation, it is empty and exhibiting signs of disrepair. In the period from early May until the end of August 1992, the hotel served as a

detention facility controlled by the police and VRS for Bosniak and Croat civilians. A room of 15m², without windows or toilet facilities. While we were attaching our stickers to the ground floor rooms, the rain was pouring so heavily that even the parking lot guard was loath to come out of his booth and charge us for parking. Everything transpired peacefully. We continued on towards Bihać where we would spend the night.

In Bihać, we were joined by Jasmin Osmankić, war veteran and long-time partner of CNA. In the morning of 19 October, we set off together for our first destination of that day, the Factory of Powder Products in Čoralići near Cazin, one of the numerous plants of the former economic giant - Agrokomerc. During the war, the factory was used as a detention site for civilians and combatants, members of the Popular Defence of the Autonomous Province of Western Bosnia (NO APZB). It was controlled by the Army of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina (ARBiH) whose 510th brigade was also stationed within the factory premises. Now the factory as a whole is bankrupt and its facility is falling into disrepair. Access is usually denied, but after a brief talk with Jasmin, the guard let us enter through the main gate. Also, we asked him about attaching our stickers and taking photos and he let us. We felt relieved, because he could have easily refused.

In Velika Kladuša, we visited two sites, Dubrave and Nepeke. Both used to be farms with hangars for poultry. During the war, these facilities were under the control of the NO APZB and were used for the detention of civilians loyal to the RBiH Government at the time and soldiers of the ARBiH. All that is left of the former facilities are a few ruined buildings and foundations. Everything is overcome with weeds and left to deteriorate. We had no problems in marking the site, except as far as finding a flat and dry surface.

On our way back to Bihać, we stopped in Bužim. There, we were met by Jasmin's friend Hasan Kovačević, a disabled veteran of ARBiH and president of the Bužim Amputees Association. He took us to the former Motel Radoč, today Hotel Europa, whose basement was used during the war as a detention facility for civilians loyal to APZB and combatants, members of NO APZB and VRS units, while the command of the 505th Brigade of ARBiH was situated on the floors above. Going down the spiral concrete steps that lead to a steel grid door to the basement still sends chills down one's spine, even today.

Beyond the steel grid door was a room without windows or a toilet that was used as a prison. We attached the stickers to the wall of the staircase and the door.

Afterwards, Hasan took us to the entrance to the basement from the outside, which is now used for storage by a local construction company. In the semi-darkness we saw a partition made with steel plates and reinforcing mesh that still bears the sign saying "DETENTION". We were going to mark that wall too with a sticker, but an employee of the company came along, and with a lot of noise and agitation accused us of trespassing. Hasan and Jasmin explained why we were there and he soon calmed down, saying that they've had a lot of thefts of the stored construction material. He let us take photographs, but he would not let us attach the sticker. It's a good thing we were not alone.

We were also planning on marking the Adil Bešić Barracks in Bihać. The building is still used as a barracks of the Armed Forces of BiH, but during the war, since the start of 1993, it was used to house a detention facility for civilians and combatants, members of NO APZB and the Serb Krajina Army (VSK). After we inspected the building and saw that parts of the barracks that we wanted to mark were exposed to the view of the guards, we gave up.

On 20 October, the last day of our action, we set off for Kamenica, some 8km from Drvar. A camp for Bosniak and Croat civilians and combatants of the Croat Defence Council (HVO) and the ARBiH was situated in what used to be the primary school from 1992 to 1995, when it was under the control of the VRS military police. On our way there we were joined by Midhat Družić from Bosanski

Petrovac, a former Kozila detention camp prisoner who was later transferred to Kamenica. We found the building in ruins. Midhat explained that the camp had been encircled by a double ring of barbed wire and a minefield, so that no one contemplated trying to escape. A few concrete pillars and pieces of barbed wire could still be found in the grass. He talked about the torture and murders he testified about before the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia and the Court of BiH. The conditions in the prison camp were such that during his detention there from June to October 1992 he went from weighing 130 to just 59kg. We marked and photographed the building and Midhat advised us not to stray too far from it because of possible left over land mines. We said goodbye to him and Jasmin and continued our journey. Although we had not initially planned on marking the Ivan Goran Kovačić primary school in Livno, we decided to check it out because we would be passing by the city.

The trip from Drvar to Livno brings together the beauty of nature and the total emptiness of deserted villages and estates. A chimney on a house here and there spouting smoke indicates that there are still some people living there. But these are few and far between, there are far more houses without roofs, their hearths extinguished.

We arrived in Livno and drove around the Ivan Goran Kovačić Primary School that in 1992 was the site of a detention facility for Serb civilians, under the control of



the HVO. It was pouring and parents waited in cars in front of the school to pick up their children. We had agreed beforehand that when marking school buildings, we would not be photographing minors. We decided to wait and went for coffee. When we returned to the site, the rain was our ally, it was coming down even harder and there was no one left in front of the school. We drove around once more and took photos from a distance. We then drove up and into the school yard. Quickly, we attached the sticker and made a few photos. We moved to the main entrance, made a few more photos and then quickly disappeared. We had to be quick about it. Attaching stickers to public buildings is prohibited and punishable by law, and even entering the yard with the car and without a special permit was enough to put us in trouble with the police. We were aware of the risks involved.

We managed to visit a wide area. It was no small feat. You can never prepare yourself fully for encountering this scale of suffering and destruction. Our schools, hotels, cultural centres

and commercial buildings were turned into sites of human suffering during the war. The worst thing is that after each site we visit, we find out about another related site, a mass grave where bodies were found, or about murderers and torturers that operated in that and another

prison camp... What we are doing is an attempt to make the suffering visible and we hope that these activities will encourage communities to change their attitudes towards unmarked sites of suffering.

We continued our activity by posting the photographs on Facebook with accompanying information about the context of the sites we marked, and then promoted these posts in the places we visited. The reactions to the posts ranged from mostly commendations on our initiative and activity, to criticism for reviving the past, denial of the existence of individual sites of suffering, and there were even some insults directed at our team. People from the wider Facebook community got involved in the comments discussion, as well as torture survivors, relatives of those killed and participants in the events from the war period.

Amer Delić
Dalmir Mišković

Screening of the documentary “Alien Home”

Documentary film about people who swapped houses after the Dayton Peace Accord

“All refugees and displaced persons have the right freely to return to their homes of origin. They shall have the right to have restored to them property of which they were deprived in the course of hostilities since 1991 and to be compensated for any property that cannot be restored to them. The early return of refugees and displaced persons is an important objective of the settlement of the conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina.”

Natalija Bošković, Željka Katanić, Zijad Delić, Safet Šiljak, Enes Delić and Dragan Đurić are some of the people whose stories confirm that Annex 7 of the peace agreement was never fully implemented in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The return of “all to their own” was never completed and, judging by their testimonies, never will be. Under the pressure of political decisions or for reasons of personal safety, they moved to territories controlled by those of their own ethnicity. Exchanging their own homes for new ones in these other territories, they established homes in strange lands and started new lives with only the bare outlines of their former ones. They are mostly focused on the future of their children who feel at home in the new surroundings. While they only feel at home with their memories. Memories of pre-war prosperity and economic security have become well-known and cherished faces in their immediate and wider neighbourhood.

The war did not only take human lives, it left the survivors who lost their loved ones traumatised, it made those who survived violence unable to continue living... The war “displaced” people, but the displacement is seldom, if ever, discussed. We tend to make a gradation of misfortune, diminishing things we did not experience ourselves, neglecting the fact that everyone finds their own misfortune the hardest, especially if others act as if it does not exist.

We met these people thanks to the documentary “Dom u tuđini” [“A Home Away”] that had its premiere at Media Centre in Sarajevo.

This was also the first time the participants saw the documentary and shared their experience about the “post-Dayton trouble of exchanging houses” as the film is billed.

Whatever their origin and current residence, their stories are the same, as are their reactions to the film. They like the final result and would not change anything they said.

They had not met each other before and it was particularly touching to witness the conversation of the participants with the audience after the film. This, like all other conversations about experiences from the past, confirms the need to foster dialogue about memory. That is precisely the mission of the Centre for Nonviolent Action (Sarajevo-Belgrade) that produced the documentary “Dom u tuđini”.

The film does not “count” the perpetrators or victims. It does not explore the origins of the displacement process. The experiences of people, whichever “side” they come



from, are the same, the problem is not the neighbours but politics, people changed after the war, irrespective of their ethnicity. Helplessness and having to reconcile with the current situation are a common trait. Displacement does not discriminate, but there are individual efforts and decisions to move on, despite the fact that moving was not their choice but the result of circumstances.

Living the “circumstances” and consequences of war, some 80 000 people in Bosnia and Herzegovina still have the status of displaced persons. No one has precise data about how many persons exchanged their homes, nor do they have any special status. The documentary film “Dom u tuđini” arose out of the need to raise awareness about this problem, about life in displacement, in the war’s aftermath and transition, about life under a strange roof.

This film brings another bitter realisation that we ignore, which is that the completion of ethnic cleansing required putting an end to the war.

“You live because you have to live,” said one of the participants in the film, summarising their common experience and something that more people should hear about. This is why the Centre for Nonviolent Action (Sarajevo-Belgrade) will try to organise screenings of the documentary in other cities and will offer the film to local TV stations for broadcasting free of charge.

<https://youtu.be/UpdVRfyT5zM>

Nedžad Novalić

My Neighbour is One of Them

*Lights make the town beautiful,
and the sounds of the streets as they wake.
Houses and buildings make a town what it is,
but the most important are the people.*

Most of them came to my town in 1993, at the height of the clashes between the Army of BiH and HVO in Central Bosnia. They moved into the empty houses, the school gymnasium, into the corridors and cellars of local residents. Together, we enrolled in elementary school; I still remember that there were forty-three of us entering first grade in 1995. They left as unexpectedly as they had arrived; the classroom emptied out and by fourth grade there were only twenty of us left. The sudden arrivals, making acquaintances, coping, going to school together and, finally, saying goodbye was explained to us children with vague terms: refugees, integration and assisting refugees, the Dayton Agreement, return, integration and assisting returnees... Later, much later, I began to understand how displacement is always accompanied by a label that you cannot escape: Once you are displaced you become a refugee and if you ever return you will forever be a returnee, without the possibility of ever again being just so-and-so, without a prefix, a label, an imposed identity.

Some of them stayed and never returned to the places they had fled, but we still continued to and always will call

them refugees. Even today when I want to clarify I will say: Not that Nurija, I meant Nurija the refugee; not that Emir, the other Emir, son of Nurija the refugee...

It is a paradox that the war in BiH had to end for the process of ethnic cleansing to be completed. In various ways, the thousands displaced during the war were incited to stay and forced to stay among their own kind: the Bosniaks with the Bosniaks, the Serbs with the Serbs, the Croats with the Croats. Caught between the hammer and the anvil, the stick and the carrot, an unknown number of them exchanged houses. At the end of the 1990s and the beginning of the 2000s, there were hundreds of classified ads looking for one of them to exchange houses or apartments—short, simple, and demanding a yes or no answer without additional questions posed. I am exchanging a house in Hadžići for an apartment or house in Vlasenica. You accept or move on, no questions asked.

But no one simply exchanged a house. Lives changed. That’s why in these ads and in the stories that followed, you could come across very unexpected details: for example that the house is close to where the Drina is as deep as it gets, that the apartment is located in a building in Ilijaš next to where such-and-such train stopped, although that line hasn’t existed for years, that the apartment looks out at the field where such-and-such generation of champions first learned to dribble... The square footage, number of floors,

number of rooms were disregarded. That's how a life was memorialised; it was the last opportunity, it seemed, to extract some value from nostalgia.

People hoped to begin anew by exchanging houses, no matter how difficult it was to begin anew at forty or fifty. But the specter of the past would always return, marking them forever as refugees. These people knew firsthand that ethnic identity is not all-powerful and that it can never ever erase all other identities. They were Bosniak refugees among their Bosniaks, Serb refugees among their Serbs, Croat refugees among their Croats. When someone wanted to cut deep, in my town, they would say: We now have one of them for a neighbour. Simply to establish a border: us and them.

Time did not heal that rift; it deepened it on another, even more traumatic level—the familial level. Today, their children think of the houses they live in as their homes: the pre-war homes of their parents are foreign to them and a return of any sort to the homes and birthplaces of their parents would mean becoming refugees. Knowledge of this fact has turned the lives of an entire generation into mere survival.

If there are thousands of them, why do we not speak of them in Bosnian-Herzegovinian society? As painful as it

is, the explanation is simple: the official narrative, which frames ethnic homogenisation and territorialising as a positive thing, thinks of these people as petty—very petty—war profiteers. And as such, they don't have the right to complain to anyone about anything.

The documentary film *Alien Home* aims to recognise the pain of those who exchanged their homes at some point in their lives. This pain spills over the borders imposed around them, whether they are ethnic, regional, familial, age-based, etc. As Hannah Arendt observed: People who lost their rights first lost their homes. It's not the loss of home that history forgets, but the impossibility of finding a new one.

The idea behind the film *Alien Home* arose during the 2014 Training of Trainers for Peace Building, organised by CNA, and the film was made in the fall of 2015. We would again like to give a special thanks to all the people who shared their stories with us and all those who helped us record these stories. We hope that this consequence of war, like others, will be recognised and will be one of the motivations for building a better and more just society.

Nedžad Novalić

Biber 02

In January 2017, we announced the second Biber short story competition. The topic was once again: reconciliation. The competition was for authors writing short stories in Macedonian, Albanian and Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian/Montenegrin. The competition ended on 14 June 2017. We received 384 stories.

The jury is made up of Tatjana Gromača, Faruk Šehić and Kim Mehmeti. On 20 October, the jury will select between 20 and 25 stories to be published in a multilingual collection, and three stories that will receive awards. The collection of stories is slated for publication in February 2018.

Small Factory of activism

Film about peace activism, motivation to start working on peacebuilding and reconciliation, the misery of war and its legacy...

https://youtu.be/AHG8zfTcz_M



exchange, cooperation
and networking...

Ten Days in the Homeland of Humanity

A Study Visit to the Republic of South Africa, 29.1-8.2.2017.

A group of 11 peace activists from the former Yugoslavia visited the Republic of South Africa from 29 January to 8 February. We visited two cities: Johannesburg and Cape Town, where we met and talked with people, went to museums and tried to find out more about the past and present aspects of life in this country.

A group of 11 peace activists from the former Yugoslavia visited the Republic of South Africa from 29 January to 8 February. The trip was significantly aided by the Nelson Mandela Foundation (Johannesburg) and the Human Rights Media Centre (Cape Town), who agreed to be our hosts. The idea to visit RSA was born long ago, and the planning of the trip took almost a year.

Apart from the physical distance, the social conflicts, so different and yet in many ways reminiscent of those familiar to us, were reasons for our apprehension about the outcome of this visit, but also reasons to go there. At the end, when we had returned from the visit, I quickly concluded: this was one of the most important journeys and experiences in my life. Multi-layered, difficult, painful, exhausting, but also powerful, beautiful and motivating.

(This report will not follow a chronological order, but will instead be divided into three sections: PEOPLE, MUSEUMS, COUNTRY. The report will also include various impressions of the visit participants and a photo gallery by Nenad Vukosavljević and Nedžad Horžović.)

PEOPLE

Nelson Mandela Foundation

Thanks to the Nelson Mandela Foundation and our friend Verne Harris, we met people whose personal stories from the time of apartheid, and their present-day activism, helped us understand this period of South African history, as well as the nuances of the problems they face today. Apart from making sure we had someone to talk to, Verne and the Nelson Mandela Foundation were also kind enough to provide us with a conference room, for which we are particularly grateful.

At the start of our visit, Verne introduced us to the broader context of South African society, which, according to him, is still deeply divided and where the white minority still has control over the majority.

“Essentially, we are still a colony,” he said, indicating a thread that would run throughout our visit: from the “settlement” of Africa by the pioneers until present day, when the legal and state system are bound by democracy

and respect for human rights, but these remain inaccessible for the majority of the country’s population.

The places from which black people were banned during apartheid are open to them now, but they do not have the money to visit them, said one of our interlocutors, and if you had to describe the situation in the country in one sentence, that would be it.

This is by no means an attempt to relativise or justify apartheid, and it goes without saying that the end of this shameful period in world history did much to improve daily life for those that were oppressed by it, with the disenfranchised gaining rights and a country, but there is still much to be done in many fields and the products of such efforts often lie far in the unforeseeable future.

Khulumani is an organisation whose mission is to “build an inclusive and just society in which the dignity of people harmed by apartheid is restored through the process of transforming victims into victors.” It brings together some 100 thousand victims and survivors of apartheid-era torture. It was started by survivors testifying at the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC). For the past 20 years they have been working on truth, memory and healing. We spoke with Dr Marjorie Jobson, the organisation’s director, and her associates: Nomarussia Bonase and Danisile Mabanga, who work with women survivors of sexual violence; Thabo Shabangu, president of the Khulumani Men’s Forum; veteran Dick Mokoena, Dr Charles Hlatshwayo, former fighter who survived torture and is now working with traditional healing techniques to help families resolve numerous cases of violence that were not recorded by the TRC.

In the second part of our meeting, we watched a documentary together, produced by the Khulumani Centre and called “Bloody Christmas” ([link](#)) about the transformation of Stefaans Coetzee, a member of the right-wing, who in 1996 set off a bomb in a crowded shopping centre, killing four and wounding 67 people. The film recounts his personal transformation, the forgiveness he sought and received from the victims, the process they went through, he – sentenced to life imprisonment and they – left to live with a lifelong loss.

After the film, a discussion developed within our ex-Yu peace group about the honesty of the transformation of perpetrators. From our context, which is unfamiliar or does not recognise the notion of spiritual healing,



we saw the transformation as the perpetrator's attempt at a trade-off – if I am transformed, they may reduce my prison sentence. But after a long talk, we arrived at the conclusion that if the victims gave their forgiveness, who are we to question it?

Leon Wesseles is a human rights lawyer, a university professor, and someone you are unlikely to ever forget even if you only meet him once in your life. He is the son of a police officer and was a police officer himself, but if you were to hear him speak without seeing him, you would think he was black. During the period of apartheid, he was a member of the government and negotiated the transition process with the ANC. Then, at the end of that process, he stood by Nelson Mandela for the signing of the new Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, but this will not be the main thing we will remember him for. We asked him how it came about that with such a family and personal history, he experienced a transformation and devoted himself to fighting apartheid. "Reinventing yourself is not a onetime event," Wesseles told us.

He calls the situation in RSA "unfinished peace" and

it was good that we met him at the beginning of our visit because his insights encouraged us to view what we saw later from one more perspective.

Yasmin Sooka was a human rights lawyer during apartheid. She later became a member of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) and was one of the three persons who wrote the Commission's report. She gave us a brief overview of developments in RSA after the Truth and Reconciliation Commission completed its work. Although the Commission left a number of recommendations about what the state should do as part of its legacy, these were not completely implemented. She told us about the case of 23-year-old Nokuthula Simelani who was tortured and killed by members of the special police during apartheid. Her body was never found and this crime that dates back to 1983 reached the prosecutor's office only last year when the four police officers were charged with murder. She also talked about the student protests in RSA that are seeing participation by members of the first generation in this country without any direct memory of apartheid. Contemporary capitalism is the long arm of segregation:

what used to be inaccessible to black people due to apartheid is accessible today only if they can afford it. And they cannot. The wrath of students is directed at changes that did not happen: the university curricula are Eurocentric, the steering board is white, financial and social support to black students is poor. They demand, in particular, a new history that will not glorify the creators of apartheid, the heroes of colonialism, but will introduce a new perspective of these parts of history and a new creation of national identity. 60% of the population of RSA is under 25 years of age.

Shirley Gunn is a revolutionary, a resistance fighter, a white woman who fought on the side of the ANC (African National Congress) and was imprisoned with her new-born son. Today, she runs the Human Rights Media Centre. She was our host and guide in Cape Town and it was thanks to her and her reputation in the community that we were able to visit places that would have been inaccessible otherwise. Shirley is engaged in changes, prepared to criticise the current government for which, as a fighter against apartheid and a victim of that system, she suffered much in the past. Her organisation strives to continue where the TRC left off and amend where it erred. They collect life stories, not storytelling.

At the organisation, we heard much about an event from 1985 referred to as the Trojan Horse Massacre in which 5 young people were killed and 12 wounded. We met Gordon Mali, the twin brother of one of the boys that were killed and visited his grave and that of another killed boy in the Gugulethu township. We then went into the township itself and there, beneath a tree, after we had been received as guests with all the accompanying customs, having washed our hands in the basin in front of the house, we spoke with Zodua Gogo and her daughter Anastasia, Gordon's mother and sister.

We spoke about life, loss, pain, showing interest and amicability for each other. They do not often have white visitors from Europe prepared to hear the human side of their story, and for us it was a singular opportunity to see how people who have survived one of the most repressive regimes in human history live and think, how they see the future for themselves and for society as a whole. Gogo is not optimistic as far as her personal fate is concerned: she can expect to get a brick house soon, part of "phase three" of the resettlement of the population from their unsuitable tin sheeting homes into small brick houses. But, Gogo says that at the end of her life's journey,

without her child that was killed, it means nothing.

In a part of Johannesburg rarely visited by white people, we were hosted by Sifis, owner of the Roving Bantu Kitchen restaurant.

"I am not a black man, I'm an African. I became black when the whites decided to be white," he says, as he tells us his life story, how he lived in exile, worked for the United Nations, lived in Canada, in order to return to his homeland after the changes, where he lives today, though there is still much he does not like in it.

Our guide through the Republic of South Africa, it's two major cities, Johannesburg and Cape Town, its history and present, and the various issues faced by its society today was Haroon Gunn-Salie, a young artist. His work, created in Brazil, we saw on display at a gallery in Cape Town, and our daily meetings gave us a chance to discuss and ask many questions that would crop up as we tried to understand the many aspects of life in this country. We owe him a great debt of gratitude for his patience and effort to fill our time with as much varied content and help us meet other interesting people.

MUSEUMS

The Constitution Hill Museum is located in Johannesburg and on the one side is a prison where numerous political prisoners had been detained, including Mahatma Gandhi and Nelson Mandela. Walking through the prison cells, preserved as they were in the past, visitors can get a sense of how the prisoners lived and the attitude of the authorities towards them. People were not equal even in prison, their life there depended on the colour of their skin. It determined the type and quantity of meals, when they would be allowed to wash, and even the number of blankets they would be given.

A special section houses an exhibition opened in 2016 and dedicated to the most famous prisoners: Gandhi and Mandela.

The second part of the former prison is the new building of the Constitutional Court with its imposing wooden doors. The Republic of South Africa officially has 11 languages and the art exhibition in the building is dedicated to the country's diversity.

Voortrekker Museum

Pretoria – the museum's name can be translated as "Museum of the Pioneers", which is the term most often applied to the European conquerors of Africa. It glorifies their journey, various figures, the way African land was conquered and its people enslaved. The museum



celebrates the “light of civilisation”, as white history describes the import of its cultural, economic and life model into Africa.

From the point of view of human rights, the museum celebrates the white race that “civilised” this part of the world, without any reservations or examination of its relation to the domestic population, their culture, customs, the exploitation of natural resources and people for the benefit of the European conquerors.

Freedom Park

Located on a hill next to the one with the Voortrekker Museum, it represents the other side of life on the African continent, focusing on human rights. It depicts the development of life from the first humans in Africa to present day, with all the elements that influenced that development. Slavery, apartheid, wars, destruction, mass killings. Also, it celebrates the liberation and development of democracy with a view to contributing to reconciliation in RSA. They say that it was long debated where the museum should be located and that it was finally decided that it should be near the administrative centre, Pretoria, “because every inhabitant of South Africa will have to

come there at least once in their life, to visit relatives, undergo medical treatment, for administrative errands...” However, our impression from the visit was that, apart from the few tourists, not many people come there.

In fact, museums throughout the world, and perhaps most visibly here, are shrines frequented by those with enough money and education, for the purpose of expanding the latter. It is a sad truth that they are still practically inaccessible to the majority of the world’s population. And especially to those for whom such a museum was originally intended.

Apartheid Museum

When paying the entrance fee for this museum, you will receive a ticket. It will say: for whites or for non-whites, and will determine the entrance you are to walk through into the museum.

Since we were in a group, the very fact that we did not all get the same ticket and had to separate at the entrance created a sense of discomfort. Although we could see each other through the bars, walking through the lobby of the museum intensified this feeling of discomfort and claustrophobia. The most drastic forms of segregation are



shown at the very entrance, depicting how people were marked in their personal documents and thus distributed into different legal categories.

The museum follows the rise and fall of apartheid through various media: archival documents, films, depictions, artworks and installations, documentary depictions, maps, photographs, weapons and equipment used by the state forces to protect the apartheid system. As in all other museums we saw in South Africa, the archival documents are combined with the spirit of indigenous religion and art, which helps visitors understand the most horrible periods of life in this region. One thing that left a particular impression on us, coming from this part of Europe and aged 40 on average, was the documentary about the 80s in the rest of the world, at the time when the fight against apartheid was at its peak. The special exhibition on display at the time of our visit was dedicated to Nelson Mandela, and on some of the photographs we recognised people we had met during the previous days, such as Yasmin Sooka on the large photograph of the first session of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission presided over by Desmond Tutu.

District Six Museum

The museum is located in the very centre of Cape Town, in the part of the city that used to be called District Six and was inhabited by people of different skin colours, nationalities, religions. It was the trade and crafts centre of the city where people lived in peaceful coexistence and mutual solidarity. But in 1966, the authorities decided to change the purpose of that part of the city and forcibly evicted more than 60 thousand people from their homes. Despite the bans, they kept persistently coming back to their churches and mosques, and the museum is located in one of the churches. We were guided through the museum by people who used to live there and who had been forcibly removed. They told us about their fate, their life before and their life today. The irony is that this district is now almost deserted, so one gets the impression that few people live there, while just a few hundred meters away is the bustling centre of a city with a population of four million.

Our guide through the district was a man who was able to return to his old neighbourhood with the help of reparations. However, his memories, his neighbours, the

spirit of the neighbourhood where he grew up cannot be substituted by the small brick house.

Robben Island

This island was initially a leper colony and a prison for political prisoners dating back to the 18th century. Nelson Mandela was imprisoned there from 1964 to 1982 in one of the cramped solitary cells, while he had to work together with the other prisoners in the quarry during the day, without any protection, which is why his eyesight was impaired for the rest of his life.

Our guide through the museum was Thulani Mabaso, himself a prisoner, who can barely speak due to lung problems and has trouble moving about.

Already at the start of our meeting, tears flowed down his face. Retraumatism and constantly going back to the difficult years of imprisonment have taken their toll on him. He does not emanate hatred, anger, the need for justice or revenge, but instead a deep sorrow that is painfully touching. He took us through the cells, showed us what the days were like, spoke with undisguised pride about the solidarity among the prisoners who helped each other in education, learning languages, hunger strikes that they organised to make their living conditions on the island at least fractionally more bearable.

Although for us, coming from the other end of the world, this testimony was immensely useful, it still left us wondering whether we, unaware of our skin colour, impose a new kind of harassment on people who have already suffered so much. Emotionally, it is very difficult to walk through that prison and that island and as a visitor

from a different cultural context, it is difficult to even imagine how gruelling it must be to relive the Golgotha that left such deep traces on this man. On the other hand, living testimonies are invaluable in giving history a human face and conveying suffering and pain.

COUNTRY

Gugulethu and Mashipumalele

A township is a suburb or part of the city inhabited by black people, designated for them during the apartheid period. It is not a ghetto – because then the greater part of the city would be in the ghetto. It is not the city's periphery, for that would change the perspective – if the majority of people live in such townships, is the centre of the city where the authorities say it is or where people actually live? In any case, we were not entirely unfamiliar with the concept of such neighbourhoods, they are also to be found in our cities where poverty leads to people living in homes made of tin sheeting. But this was the first time we encountered such settlements inhabited by hundreds of thousands of people, in each township, and multiply that with the number of townships... Concretely, according to the latest available data, which cannot guarantee accuracy, in the Gugulethu township, there are 100 thousand people living in an area of 6 km², or 15 thousand per 1km². (For the sake of comparison, population density in Belgrade is 500 people per km².) The people are born in the township, their children and grandchildren live there, and these places have been their home for generations. On the other side, what is called the economic-trade-commercial district of the city resembles the most developed cities of



Western Europe. New and imposing glass buildings, shops selling expensive ware, new luxury cars.

The discrepancy and the visibly unfair distribution of wealth, what with South Africa being the richest country in Africa, are deeply distressing.

As a contrast to its highly complex and difficult social relations, South Africa grips the visitor with its magnificent natural beauty. It is a feast for all the senses, while you look upon with your eyes and try to understand with your mind all the tragedies of the past and their extensions in the present, you are also exposed to enticing scents and mesmerising music. Our bodies are relaxed, as if our feet were firmly grounded at their source. And so we smile and cry at the same time, shudder with sorrow and sing at the top of our lungs. It is as if Africa awakens all the senses that have been in us since time immemorial, cleanses them of everything that is superfluous, and you feel like walking barefoot and singing, swaying to the rhythm, you feel like laughing while you cry.

We left the winter in the Balkans and arrived into summer, we changed the season, but not the time zone, so that made it easier. Our hosts took us to the Smitswinkel Bay beach south of Cape Town, lower even than the Cape of Good Hope. Thereabouts the Indian and the Atlantic Ocean meet and it is as if they each brought to South Africa a trace of the shores they touch elsewhere. This is where seals, sharks and penguins swim together (there is a special beach near Robben Island which is their habitat). We also visited the Kirstenbosch Botanical Garden where a concert was being held by a very popular local group,

so the Garden was full of people picnicking and concert goers. Still, having learned to be aware of our skin colour – something we are usually not – we noticed that the patrons were predominantly white, just as we noticed that none of the waiters, sellers, drivers, cleaners were... but almost all the patrons and consumers were white. Having been saddled with a legacy that we do not feel as inherently ours, but still conscious of how we may be perceived exclusively based on this one characteristic, we tried to understand the deep-seated codes of behaviour between people. Just as the first associations at the mention of Africa in our part of the planet would (most often) be: poor, backward, famine, the first association about a group of people coming from Europe is: rich, white people. And as much as this is a characteristic we cannot do anything about, we are white through no merit or fault of our own, we were born like this, the fact is that skin colour and the privileges that come with it in today's world, even if you come from the Balkans, is something we need to think about.

The very awareness that there is no equality, that we live in a world of inequality, and that we are members of a small privileged group brings with it the responsibility to think about, to be conscious of and to react against the violence people are exposed to. Again, through no merit or fault of their own, but just because of the skin colour they were born with.

Katarina Miličević



Mother Africa

South Africa is a strange and amazing country in many ways, but if someone was to ask me now to go back there again, I would say no, firmly and decidedly. It's a big and beautiful country, around the size of Europe, and it's hard for our locally bound mind-set to understand that such big countries exist, because on the map South Africa takes up just the tip of the continent, dividing two oceans: the Atlantic and the Indian Ocean. It takes a good two-hour flight, flying at 900 km/h, at 10.000 meters above ground, to get from Johannesburg to Cape Town, in the south of the country, where the legendary Cape of Good Hope is with dangerous, big, white sharks that patrol the Atlantic. On the other hand, one flies over Europe, from Istanbul to Oslo at the drop of a hat. Our continent is small and it's only that our imagination makes it look bigger due to our Eurocentrism.

Africa is such a big continent that you have to fly for more than nine hours, downstream, along the globe, as they say in Krupa, to the furthestmost South, where penguins lay in the Sun, even though there isn't a single ice block in sight, and the temperature is 25-30 °C for half a year. I mean, you fly from Istanbul, over Egypt, and further over the wastelands of unprecedented proportions that I watched through the camera placed on the nose and the body of the airplane.

On the first morning, one incident awoke us all. It was an unusual sound, coming from the shadows of gigantic plane trees, in the green garden of the Sunnyside Park Hotel, in the part of Johannesburg named Parktown. I came to the window and opened it to hear the most beautiful song in the world. It was five A.M. and the birds were singing like it was the last thing they were ever going to do in their delicate lives. The song was more lively than any aria, of either classical or punk-rock music. I could not wait for the next morning to hear the bird song coming from the green oasis of our hotel again.

We would then discover that every residential part of the town, and the one we were accommodated in was undoubtedly like that, had its township – wretched ghetto. Class differences in South Africa exceed all your expectations. It's a populous country, where white minority has a hold of all the natural resources, and everyone should know that Republic of South Africa has the world's biggest gold mine, named Witwatersrand, in

the surroundings of which Johannesburg, or Joburg, as it is affectionately called, was built.

The history of that period is the one of the Boer wars, in which the Brits were winning and oppressing the Boers (the Dutch with some Germans, and others), and even had concentration camps where tens of thousands of women, children and old people were killed. If anyone thought that there was a part of the globe without a concentration camp, boy were they wrong. The war was waged for gold, of course, and certainly not for ideals.

Since the topic of our visit to the Republic of South Africa was culture of remembrance, with me as a guest of the Centre for Nonviolent Action Sarajevo-Beograd, we visited monuments of all shapes and sizes, and one of the most incredible ones was the Voortrekker monument. It is colossal, with an enormous dome, through the centre of which ray of Sun falls to the cenotaph, each December 16, at exactly 12:00, thus commemorating the leader of a migration who was killed in the conflict with Zulu warriors.

South Africa is the country of contrasts, and it's deceptive to explain how some white men suffered because the other white men oppressed them. I mostly felt bad about the colour of my skin in South Africa. It was comforting to remember how we had identified with black heroes of films and books in my childhood. Furthermore, it was difficult not to be aware that during the last war we were the Indians and blacks from the American films, because the UN introduced an embargo on import of arms thus allowing the killing of us - white black men of BiH, which ended with the genocide in Srebrenica.

Therefore, even though my soul is black, I was conspicuously white there, especially with my light hair and green eyes. I could have been whiter only if I had had red hair, as most of the Boers that we met do – they are the ones that belong to the white minority ruling the economy. When we saw the warning at the Cape of Good Hope: not to feed the baboons because they are dangerous wild animals, Haroon, our fixer told us not to pay any attention to it because those were the problems of the white man in RSA. Haroon's father is a Muslim from India while his mother is a white South African, originally from England. His mother tongue is English, spoken by everyone in South Africa, since there are 11

official languages. The colour of Haroon's skin should put him into the coloured people category according to former apartheid classification, hence giving him certain privileges over black people, who were considered animals and had no any privileges at all.

I learned about the process of changing one's colour, called Chameleon Dance. It was done through connections and bribe, enabling you to transfer from Asian People to White People category, or from Coloured to the desired white people group. Understandably, there was no escape from the lowest Black category.

When we were at the Joburg's prison, situated at the Constitution Hill, where the new Constitution of the present state was adopted, we realised the meaning of the term Tause Dance. It was the dance that Africans had to perform in front of their white guards. They had to be naked, and had to make special moves aimed to enable checks that the person did not hide a nugget of gold up their rectum. The blankets were washed once a year there, and the plates once every three months. It's exactly in this prison that Nelson Mandela met Mahatma Ghandi, and learned from him the skill of nonviolent resistance, called So nonviolence. I saw the copy of Ghandi's pocket watch there, and the tank made out of blankets, an amusement for mob bosses who were just ordinary criminals and not political prisoners.

We came to Robben Island on a boat from Cape Town. Mandela and many of his fellow fighters were jailed on that island, including Sobukwe, who was separated from the rest, and kept in a small structure, with a wire fence, like the one you keep poultry in. I saw the prison cell Mandela was incarcerated in. He had the best pillow, made out of blankets, and the most blankets, because other prisoners gave him their own. The idea of an escape from this island was impossible, because of the big white sharks in the sea surrounding it.

I was the happiest in the Freedom Park. It's a big museum with contemporary facilities, where at the beginning of our tour we watched an animated film on African cosmogony - how man was made out of chervil, and how other living creatures were created. The film is a brilliant homage to closeness to nature, pantheism and spirits of the ancestors. I caught one quotation from the discussion concerning the writing of a new anti-apartheid constitution of South Africa. It was about whether leopards and elephants should be given citizenship.

We'd start each day with a meeting and coffee at the Nelson Mandela Centre, which is surrounded by tall walls

with wire. Having said that, South Africa is a country of disclaimers. Wherever you go and whatever you do, there's a warning that you do it on your own responsibility. When you park a car at a guarded parking lot, the sign says that you park on your own responsibility. When you have lunch at a restaurant, there's a number on the wall written in red which you can call to ask for help from an armed unit, in case Kalashnikov-armed robbers attack you. If you exchange money, be aware that it's at your loss - I wanted to exchange ten € and paid extra ten € for the service.

In most neighbourhoods, houses have tall walls with barbed wire. White people don't walk the city's streets at night, and why would they really, when they are rich and have expensive cars. I had no problems at all, but I heard the stories that the group that had come before us had had some problems with some muggers. They took pity on a girl they wanted to rob when she told them she didn't have money, so they only took half of it from her and left her the other half.

The museum exhibition at the Mandela Centre was about the apartheid government programme on biological and chemical warfare, run by a certain Wouter Basson. The man became famous for the following sentence: „It's rather a simple matter, I won't commit genocide with one or two candy bars“.

Basson's repertoire of biological and chemical weapons he tested on the poor African population included: sugar with salmonella, cigarettes with anthrax, peppermint bars with cyanide and Brodifacoum (poisonous anti-coagulant). I thought they could have used Coca-Cola with Zyklon B powder, but Basson did not think of it. In 1994, South African TRS (Truth and Reconciliation Commission) freed Basson.

Although I had been to Africa already, in the north, in its Arab part, this time I realised how easy it was to fall in love with real Africa, and how easy it was to carry a burden of white man's guilt on your back. I carried it to a bigger or lesser extent during my stay in this country. It is hard not to love the country which is the cradle of today's mankind. All people were black in the beginning. We changed colours afterwards in a chameleon dance of accidental chromosomal crossover. Africa is the mother, the great, lonely mother, the space of prehistoric kindness and naivety, to which I'll return, even though I claimed otherwise at the beginning. That's where one can remember lost purity and innocence of childhood.

Faruk šehić

As I watched her speak these lines

There was something golden behind her turban. As she moved her head, the strip of gold glimmered. I checked my eyesight: there was no sunbeam, it was not a stray thread from the turban cloth, for no gilded strands could be seen in its weave.

What was it?

A sign?

A message?

As she spoke, she held her palms together in front of herself, as people do in prayer.

She would part them from time to time, inscribing a wide circle in front of herself.

It was a soft, full, whole circle in whose centre, though it looked empty, a fire was burning, a fire of the hearth, of warmth, of embraces and solace.

She spoke of reconciliation, repatriation, difficult topics and you could see the legal language was unfamiliar to her.

I wanted to hear her speak a poem, a lullaby, a consolation.

Mother Earth spoke from within her in a warm, slightly hoarse, determined but soft voice.

The Colour of the Heart

The palms of our hands, what made us human, what we put on our hearts when we pray, what we use to caress, to touch the world around us – are the same colour.

The soles of our feet that keep us grounded, that connect us to the Earth, are the same colour.

And our eyes.

Our eyes that look upon sorrow, injustice, divisions, killings, death, birth, love, life, are the same.

by Katarina Milićević



Dialogue circle regarding the National Peacebuilding Strategy for the Republic of Serbia

Beograd 8-9.11.2017.

The Centre for Nonviolent Action started working on the Peacebuilding Strategy already in 2010, taking as its starting point its years of working in the region and the desire to use its activist approach to start a process of institutionalising a sustainable peace and cross-border cooperation. In the first phase of drafting the Peacebuilding Strategy, numerous activists from Serbia and the region were interviewed, particularly those with experience in institutionalising and creating a legislative framework. Because the interviews showed that there was a significant need to create a strategic document in this area, for both Serbia and the region, the more protracted and complex phase of its drafting was started. The draft version was completed during the past six months. In the previous period we also organised meetings with state institutions and independent bodies, and with organisations from Serbia that share our values, where we presented the idea and concept behind the Peacebuilding Strategy and discussed possibilities to have the document officially adopted. Meetings were held with representatives of: the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Culture, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Ministry of Youth and Sports, the Office for Cooperation with Civil Society, the Office of the Ombudsperson, the Office of the Commissioner for Data Protection, the Office for Human and Minority Rights, the Office of the Commissioner for Equality and the Team for Poverty Reduction. We contacted a number of other institutions and organisation, but did not receive a reply and were unable to schedule a meeting.

Apart from useful and detailed advice, all the meetings also provided encouragement to continue our activities and assurances that the need for this type of document was recognised as important for Serbia and the region. This fortified our decision to organise a meeting in the form of a Dialogue Circle on 8-9 November 2016 attended

by representatives of institutions as well as our partners from the non-governmental sector in the region, as well as a number of war veterans that have worked with us. Our aim was to go through the major dilemmas we still have regarding the Peacebuilding Strategy together and to hear what potential impact the adoption of this Strategy might have on Serbia and the region, as well as about the possibilities and necessary steps to adopt the Strategy.

The Dialogue Circle was attended by our seven partner organisations from the region and representatives of seven state institutions of the Republic of Serbia, in addition to members of the Centre for Nonviolent Action. The dialogue was divided into four main sections: content issues and dilemmas, possibilities and needs for institutionalised regional cooperation, planning of responsible bodies and proposers of the Peacebuilding Strategy, and defining next steps.

In the lively and inspirational dialogue, we heard that this was the right moment for such a document and political vision, that the biggest problem (as it seems now) is not the adoption of the Strategy by the state, but its monitoring and implementation. Although it is not a priority at this stage, we also discussed the issue of potential responsible bodies and other possible partners. One suggestion was to gradually introduce the public, through a specially designed campaign, to the concept of peacebuilding.

With gratitude to all the participants of the Dialogue Circle, it is now up to us to discuss the recommendations we received and do what is necessary to find a proposer for this important strategic document, given that its adoption will ultimately depend most on a political decision by the government.

Katarina Milićević

Peacebuilding Strategy - Summary

Due to the effects of war, suffering and post-war policies, there is great distrust among members of different ethnic groups in the Balkans. It is, therefore, necessary to systematically engage in processes of reconciliation and dealing with the past. The proposed Strategy pertains to the Republic of Serbia that would take on the responsibility of being the first to consider this strategic document, thereby symbolically extending a hand in reconciliation, and would formally adopt the Strategy as its long-term policy.

Reconciliation is a future-oriented process that aims to create a sense of security and certainty that past violence will not be repeated. The drafting of the Peacebuilding Strategy incorporated views from neighbouring countries, which is a new practice and a practical manifestation of the principle by which fostering and sustaining peace entails a constant process of communication in interdependent societies of informed citizens. It should arise from a process of exchange, critique, debate and cooperation between all people whose lives it affects. The process of bringing forth ideas that foster peacebuilding is not one conducted among like-minded people, but must also take into account the voices of those who see “others” as enemies or threats, it must contain multiple perspectives, be multidisciplinary and encourage free thinking.

In that sense, the Peacebuilding Strategy is based on the values of respecting differences and the equality of individuals, dialogue, cooperation, social justice and solidarity among individuals and groups in decision-making processes about how to meet the needs and protect the rights of individuals, one’s own and neighbouring communities.

The Draft Strategy comprises three domains: reconciliation, peace education and dealing with the past. Strategic objectives have been defined for each domain, as well as activities divided by specific fields (e.g. education, foreign policy, security, international cooperation, etc.).

The proposed Peacebuilding Strategy recognises and relies on existing legislation and standards, but also contains proposals for improving the social situation and for introducing European standards in many areas.

The aim of the Peacebuilding Strategy is to create effective mechanisms and activities for creating sustainable peace and a stable social balance where conflicts do not escalate into violence and war. It entails a change of social relations that are at the root of the conflict, as well as creating a space to resolve conflicts in a fair way through cooperation and trust building.

Reconciliation and Peacebuilding seminar

Cali, Columbia, 14 – 16. 11. 2016

The seminar was organised by Mo Bleeker, Special envoy for Dealing with the Past and Prevention of Atrocities, and Philipp Lustenberger From the Swiss Federal Department of Foreign Affairs in close cooperation with local reconciliation activists Jesus Alfonso Florez, Padre Jesus Albeiro Parra.

The participants (around 40) of the seminar were high level leaders, women and men, from communities, indigenous groups and also from the dioceses who have played crucial roles in peace processes that took place in last years in Colombia. In particular they developed specific agreements in parallel to the Havana peace-talks with non-state and state armed actors, within their respective subregions.

International experts from Guatemala (Helen Mack), Chile (Elisabeth Lira), Mexico (Dolores Saravia), Northern Ireland (David Bloomfield) and Balkans (me) were invited to provide support and input to a process of consultation and exchange about upcoming challenges of peacebuilding in Colombia.

The very fortunate circumstance, was the fact that the night before the start of the event, the new peace-deal was announced by the government to have been agreed with FARC rebels, weeks after a disaster referendum which declined peace agreement on violence ongoing for over 40 years, with thin margin, based predominantly in areas unaffected by violence directly.

The unpleasant role of an international expert that I happen to find myself in, ever more often, made me feel rather uncomfortable, especially that I was one of the two persons present who spoke no Spanish and had to rely on translation services. But, it was the atmosphere and

the vibrant spirit of participants that truly fascinated me and I found myself increasingly attempting to understand speakers, by looking at them firmly, avoiding blinking. It didn't help much the first and second day, but by the third I felt I was getting somewhere. It might have to do something with a fantastic translator that we had present.

I was relieved and awfully pleased to hear in a small-group where I reported of our work with ex-combatants and answered many well placed questions, that my input was relevant and valuable to people. In the wake of the peace agreement thousands of ex-combatants are about to return to villages, some of them being branded as victimisers and oppressors. Communities as such are divided about ways to deal with this situation and many problems are anticipated.

It was very good to see how representatives of Swiss Ministry treat those local activists with utmost respect and how they seek to provide them with support in a most appropriate way. It has helped me feel less uncomfortable in the role of international expert. My comfort enhanced as I was taken by surprise how quickly I grew keen of people and place I was in, as it happened in Cali.

Nenad Vukosavljević

Dialogue with the Enemy – Training for Manipuri Political Activists

India, 23-27.11.2016.

The five day training in Dealing with the Past for members of the United NGO Mission Manipur was held from 23 - 27 November 2016. The participants in the training were key leaders of ethnic communities in Manipur (north-east India), many of whom had connections to political wings of militant movements.

The training team comprised Ivana Franović, Adnan Hasanbegović and Nenad Vukosavljević, peace activists of the Centre for Nonviolent Action Sarajevo/Belgrade.

As a continuation of cooperation following the February training in Manipur, CNA was engaged to work with a new group of key political leaders from Manipuri communities. Great hope was invested in this attempt to constructively discuss contentions topics, thereby providing an example for resolving increasingly violent political conflicts in Manipur. Representatives of political groups from the Meitei, Naga, Kuki and Muslim communities worked diligently with each other during the five days. The fact that we were coming from countries that had been at war with each other, with widespread destruction and barbarity, added to our credibility when we warned the participants that one-upping each other by using historical or juristical arguments cannot lead to understanding or conflict resolution.

We told them they only had themselves to defeat if they attempt to wear out their political opponents with such arguments. We proposed they try listening and understanding and this seemed to go over very well. So well, in fact, that it exceeded what was acceptable, so on the last day some of them had to make visible and quite demonstrative steps back, exhibiting an attitude that was more formal than friendly. This is, however, consistent with the usual oscillations of taking a step forward only to take a step back when we deal with fighting the demons within ourselves, a process that is initiated when someone challenges us to heal ourselves from hatred.

It was a simple exercise of entering into dialogue with enemies, not less and not much more than that. They told us how all previous attempts to talk about difficult topics and points of contention ended in an altercation, so they assessed our training as successful. Whether the momentum and energy from this meeting will be transferred into concrete actions to foster trust building remains to be seen. Room for such actions is certainly constricted within a political landscape increasingly dominated in the past few months by scenes of violence.

Nenad Vukosavljević





activities we joined

Mandela Dialogues 2: (Creating Safe Spaces Across Generations)

The second round of the Mandela Dialogues on memory work was organised by the GIZ Global Leadership Academy (GIZ is the German international cooperation agency) and the Nelson Mandela Foundation. This dialogue was made up of two meetings, the first in Cape Town, South Africa (14-19 June) and the second in Batticaloa/Colombo, Sri Lanka (31 October - 5 November)

The participants included activists, researchers, artists, academics and representatives of institutions active in social memory work, a total of 29 participants from 9 countries: Argentina, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, South Africa, Colombia, Nepal, Rwanda, USA and Sri Lanka. Davorka Turk took part in the programme on behalf of CNA.

According to the words of the organiser, the topic of this year's Mandela Dialogues covered two key challenges related to memory work, drawn from the first round of dialogues: creating safe spaces ("How do we create spaces that are safe enough to allow what is unutterable to be communicated, and where those who would prefer not to even see each other – former enemies, perpetrators and victims, winners and losers – can start listening to each other?") across generational borders ("How to create the foundations for sustainable intergenerational action that will lead to social change and transformation?").

The programme was held at the District Six Museum dedicated to the past of a forcibly resettled, and previously multicultural part of the city, told through the stories of its past residents. The first meeting in Cape Town was intended to help the participants get to know each other better, with less time devoted to exchange of knowledge, experience, challenges and opportunities specific to the practice of the participants and their home contexts. A special part of the programme included visits to local organisations and initiatives:

The District Six Museum (www.districtsix.co.za) is a space dedicated to introducing viewers to the policy of forcible resettlements during apartheid, resistance to apartheid and the current struggle surrounding memory and social justice. The alternative tour of the Museum that we were offered presented the stories of District Six and its various locations, the formation of the museum, resettlement stories and return issues;

Clowns Without Borders implement their programme "Our Story Your Story" in Cape Town's poorest communities.

Through autobiographic storytelling, they connect older members of the community to the youth that have no direct experience of living under apartheid, thereby working to increase community cohesion and empower its members. They took us to Philippi, one of the poorer areas of Cape Town, and the Senior Citizens Centre there, which is where the Clowns implement their activities. We were joined by young people from another, equally large and impoverished city neighbourhood, Khayelitsha.

Thanks to the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation, participants in the Mandela Dialogues took part in a dialogue between members of the Delft local community and the neighbouring Blikkiesdorp on contentious issues between these two city districts.

Thanks to the organisation of the Human Rights Media Centre (www.hrmc.org.za), we were able to participate in a dialogue between former enemies – members of the armed wing of the African National Congress (Umkhonto we Sizwe or MK) and former conscripts of the South African Defence Forces (SADF). We heard about their formative years during the 1970s and 1980s, about what influenced their life choices (during our stay in Cape Town, the 40th anniversary of the uprising in Soweto was marked) and about what they think today.

Although, nominally, it was the intention of these meetings, we generally lacked opportunities to learn more about the specificities and complexities of the South African context, both in terms of issues concerning the achievements of transitional justice (featuring the Commission for Truth and Reconciliation) and the current context of daily life in South Africa.

Between the two dialogue meetings, the participants were invited to undertake educational journeys – to meet organisations from their own contexts in order to change or widen perspectives on issues relevant to the work of the participants.

Many of the participants found creative ways to fulfil this task, using the opportunity to meet with initiatives they had not communicated or cooperated with before, and to create new contacts and links. We learned more about this during our first day in Sri Lanka. The two days we spent in Colombo served as a brief evaluation of the process so far and preparations to continue the dialogue meeting in the east of the country, which together with the north was a war zone for almost 30 years. The lack

of roads and the economic isolation of this area (mostly inhabited by Tamils and Muslims, as well as other minority ethnic groups) is just one consequence of the war, which ended in 2009. The consequences of the war are manifold – a large number of killed and missing, a considerable number of kidnapped (by military and paramilitary formations carrying out forcible conscriptions), a large number of forcibly displaced persons, as well as refugees, widows (many of whom are unable to access basic rights for themselves and their children, because the process of identifying the missing has not started yet, and there are indications that the authorities will seek to drag it out even further). In addition, this area was one of the most hard-hit by the 2004 tsunami.

Something of the local Sri Lankan context could be gleaned by learning about the work of local organisations and initiatives:

The Butterfly Peace Garden was established as an oasis for children from this war ravaged area, during one of the ceasefires between the rebel and government forces. Children come to the garden from the neighbouring villages and over 9 months, in mixed ethnic groups, they participate in a mixture of art, theatre, creative play, care for the environment and counselling, all of which are meant to help them heal the psychological effects of war. Another part of this effort is the Monkey's Tale Centre for Contemplative Art that we also visited.

The Inter-religious Dialogue Centre aims to encourage dialogue and understanding between the three major religious communities in this area – the Islamic, Hindu and Christian community – with a primary focus on the interaction of members of these communities in everyday life. The participants also visited the Heritage Museum and the local madrasa (Islamic religious school), as well as a memorial in a mosque commemorating members of the community killed by the LTTE¹.

The Swami Vipulananda Institute for Art Studies, which uses the performance practice of traditional Koothu plays, establishes relations with and between marginalised ethnic groups in the east, such as the Vedda people (indigenous), the Arunthathiyar community (originating from Andhra Pradesh, India), the Burghers (of Dutch and Portuguese origin) and the Kaffirs (descendants of African slaves brought to Sri Lanka by the Portuguese). Together with performers from these communities, the participants visited a Vedda village where they had the opportunity to observe this performance-dialogue practice.

1 The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam, better known as the Tamil Tigers.

The Valkai group is an initiative and support group for women exposed to various forms of violence – such as forcible conscription of children by the LTTE, abuse by the military, intimidation, “disappearances”, torture, etc. The participants attended a meeting of the group that discussed the recent government decision to open a Missing Persons Office, seen mostly as a response to demands made by international donors, more than as real support to the families of the missing.

meeting with former LTTE members, some of whom were recruited as children and who are now mostly members of the association of persons with disabilities. In conversation, we found out that they mostly face obstacles preventing them from accessing their rights, finding employment and other forms of social and state support for integration into society, and are under constant surveillance by the authorities.

Since we didn't have time to get to know all the above initiatives (everyone had the opportunity to participate in two of the above 6 local visits) or the depth of the problems they were facing, the group started wondering about the ethical aspect of these visits. Namely, on a number of occasions, we heard from local organisations that we were just another group that had come “to observe and take notes”. Namely, conditions had been put in place in Sri Lanka for the implementation of transitional justice principles, but, as we were told, little account was taken of the specificities of the Sri Lankan context. We did not discuss these visits as part of the programme, because the organisers intended them to serve simply as practice examples that we may decide to transfer to our own societies.

The important issues that we did discuss pertained to the very nature of memory work – What is memory – personal or social constructed experience; is it possible to create a safe space for all stakeholders, for whom is the space safe?; to what extent can our practices lead to silencing and inciting new violence, as opposed to transforming the conflict; to what extent is memory work its own end (what about the accusations that memory work diverts attention from more direct, and socially more “urgent” problems?), and how much can it truly aid social transformation? What about when memory is a threat we dare not speak out about (because its protagonists are still alive and politically active, some even in positions of power)? How do our societies treat survivors? What is the impact of the transitional justice process on the society where it is implemented? How do we understand reconciliation and why is it, politically speaking, almost

always tied to forgiveness? How do power relations and/or social positions impact our work? How do we encourage intergenerational memory work that would be inclusive and not didactic? How do we talk to the younger generation that is suffering the consequences of the conflict, but does not feel part of that context? What is it that we want to achieve through intergenerational memory work?

It was certainly a privilege to participate in these meetings, for the opportunity they provided to get to know the social contexts we were visiting, and to exchange experience with practitioners from our field but from different ends of the earth. Unfortunately, the

programme did not foresee a schedule or methodology for a more constructive approach to these issues, so for most we only managed to scratch the surface, unable to determine our common starting points, if any, or values at the core of our work and practices we employ to find answers. That would have helped fulfil the main intention of the organisers: to enable participants to enrich existing or establish new programmes within their institutions and countries, and to set up mutual cooperation where possible.

Davorka Turk

International Conference on Arts in Reconciliation

*Bandaranaike Memorial International Conference Hall
7-9 November 2016 Colombo, Sri Lanka*

The international conference held from 7 to 9 November in Colombo was organised by the Office for National Unity and Reconciliation of the Sri Lankan Government, the Arts Council of Sri Lanka, the European Union, CARE International, GIZ - German International Cooperation Agency and FLICT (Facilitating Initiatives for Social Cohesion and Transformation – a programme of the German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ) implemented by GIZ).

The conference focused on three areas – Art of Dissent, Art of Connecting and Art of Witness – through presentations, panel discussions and exhibitions on the role of art in reconciliation. The conference programme is available here (wingssrilanka.com).

Over the course of three days, 77 participants from different parts of the world had an opportunity to hear about academic research and artistic and activist practices in this field. Apart from panel discussions on comparative approaches to reconciliation, links between art, culture and peacebuilding, examination of the role of new media, intergenerational dialogue and the role of art in transforming conflict, we also had the opportunity to learn about concrete museological, memorialisation and artistic practices aiming to contribute to the process of reconciliation (literature, music, performance arts), but also about their limitations.

For those participants of the Mandela Dialogues that also attended this conference, it was an opportunity

to learn more about each other's projects. At the conference, CNA presented its work on researching and publishing findings about sites of suffering and memory in BiH after the 1991-1995 war, titled "War of Memories".

Memorial walks (Histories of struggle and protest and Histories of violence and capitalisation) included in the conference programme proved to be particularly important in understanding the contemporary context of Sri Lanka, from the colonial period to today's capitalist exploitation. For the participants of the Mandela Dialogues who had just spent 6 days in the protected environment of the Batticaloi Resort, visiting the Bandaranaike Memorial Centre under heavy security measures and in the presence of armed forces, and participating in the memorial walks presented a necessary encounter with the reality of daily life in a country that, although it is going through its post-colonial and post-war period, has not moved far from either, and not necessarily through its own fault.

Davorka Turk



thoughts

Not all is lost

Amer Delić

It has been seven years since the Centre for Nonviolent Action (CNA) organised the first visit of war veterans from the region to Zavidovići. That April 2010, I hosted this group together with two of my fellow townsmen and veterans of the Army of RBiH (ARBiH), Mirsad Omerović and Asim Parlić, both members of the Disabled War Veterans Association (RVI). At that time, joint visits to sites of suffering were just beginning, we were just starting to build trust among us former enemies, it was only just being established through peacebuilding training and encounters such as this visit. It was important for us at the time to draw attention to the wartime casualties in Zavidovići and the enormous human losses on our side, but we were also prepared to visit the site of a grave war crime committed in our name against members of the Army of Republika Srpska (VRS). We visited the sites of major battles, memorials in the town and the site of the Mujahideen camp at the “13th kilometre”. By paying our respects together to all the victims at all the sites, we met the need for all losses of all of us to be understood and respected. Visiting the “13th kilometre” was key to establishing trust between our group and building good, friendly relations between us in the years that followed, which enabled us to carry out numerous peace actions together.

During our visit to Zavidovići at that time, we also met with the mayor and representatives of the local government. Together with CNA, as an informal group of war veterans, we called for a memorial plaque to be installed at the site of the former camp at the “13th kilometre”. The idea was supported and the municipal representatives promised to present it and take it under consideration. And it was left at that. A few months later, we met with the president of the municipal council at the time and brought up the question of the memorial plaque again, but this time we got a concrete answer. It was not going to happen.

The second time we visited Zavidovići with a group of war veterans, I had already become a member of CNA by that time, was in June 2013. The RVI Association invited us to attend the commemoration they were organising at Kota 715 on Podsijelovo Hill, the site of the most intense battles between ARBiH and VRS during the war. It was the first time that we participated at such a gathering with

a group of veterans, where the gathered hundreds were addressed by political representatives, representatives of victims’ associations and veterans’ organisations, religious leaders, all standing before dozens of flags, wartime flags, flags with religious insignia, and state flags. The arrival of former enemies to such a mono-ethnic event was a precedent in memorialisation practice in BiH which was, as a rule, confined to a single ethnic community and closed to others.

During the visit to Kota 715, the president of the RVI Association Amir Mujkić told us about the plan to build a large memorial complex at this site. The design would entail recreating the appearance of the site from the time of war, with trenches dug out to show the positions of ARBiH and VRS. The idea was then floated to have veterans’ associations from VRS join that phase of the project and contribute to a joint memorial. The idea for a memorial sending a universal anti-war message, instead of supporting just one narrative, is still alive today.

When we realised that what we were missing in Zavidovići was the perspective of the other side, of VRS and HVO veterans from this municipality, we started looking for people who could put us in touch with such veterans. The president of the VRS Veterans Organisation from Doboj at the time, Nenad Bukvić, arranged a meeting with Zoran Blagojević, the president of the Zavidovići Homeland Association in Doboj, a former wartime VRS commander from the Ozren and Vozuća area, and one of the biggest authorities among the Vozuća Serbs. At the meeting, we discussed possibilities for cooperation, presenting our work with war veterans and expressing our wish to have Serb war veterans from Zavidovići join our peacebuilding activities. Shortly after that meeting, our group received an invitation to join to attend a commemorative event called “Days of Exodus”, organised by the Zavidovići Homeland Association in Stog near Vozuća on 10 September every year.

That day in 2014, we attended a commemoration where our host was the Zavidovići Homeland Association, but we also visited RVI Zavidovići, seeing their headquarters, their workshop for orthopaedic prosthetics and their memorial room. Although they were organising another event that day to mark the liberation of Vozuća, which is marked by the Bosniak side, they took

the time to host our group, and later, some even joined the commemoration in Stog. The encounter between Zavidovići veterans from both sides started them talking about the time of war and battles, but also about the time when they went to school together or to work, about times spent socialising at dances and football tournaments. We remembered with sadness the people we used to know, who were killed in the war. We had a chance to say to each other that we were sorry, we regained our humanity.

In May 2017, as part of activities to mark unmarked sites of suffering, the team I was on conducted actions at two sites in the Zavidovići area. We marked the camp at the “13th kilometre” and the detention centre at the Hunting Lodge in Kamenica. Our guide was Asim P. who had organised meetings with representatives of local authorities, the Assistant Mayor for veterans’ disability assistance, Asim Karajbić, and the President of the Municipal Council of Zavidovići, Redžo Seferović. We had an opportunity to inform them of our actions and once again bring up the issue of installing a memorial plaque at the site of the camp. At that time, I told them as my fellow townsmen and war veterans, that we needed to remove the stigma that our town had been under for more than two decades. And the best way would be to recognise what had happened and take a position in relation to the war crime committed in our name as being cruel and unnecessary.

In July this year, in cooperation with the RVI Association from Zavidovići, the Doboj VRS Veterans Organisation and the Zavidovići Homeland Association from Doboj, CNA organised a joint visit by war veterans from the region to the Zavidovići Municipality and the site of the Vozuća battleground. During the visit, we paid our respects to the civilian and military victims on all sides in the war, and we were joined by representatives of all three religious communities. Together, we issued an appeal to find all the missing persons and mark all the sites of suffering. The Mayors of Doboj and Zavidovići, Obren Petrović and Hašim Mujanović, and the President of the Zavidovići Municipal Council, Redžo Seferović, also joined our group.

I will remember this meeting for the moment when Zoran B. with a degree of sadness and humour said he was sad when he saw what he and his had lost, alluding to the beauty of the waterfall on the Gostović river in Kamenica and the surrounding nature. “Zoran, you did not lose this. On this occasion, as the Mayor of Zavidovići, I invite you and all Serb refugees from this area to return. All this is also yours,” Hašim said. Ten days after our visit, the Mayor visited the Serb refugees from Gostović who had come to see their old houses and church, and on their village’s patron saint’s day, he invited them to return, something nobody in his position had done in the past 22 years. All these local communities have their own refugees and returnees.

And we also saw the day when the Municipal Commission for Monuments approved the memorial plaque at the site of the “13th kilometre”, which was finally installed on 29 August 2017.

Some “new wave” had come over Zavidovići, hopefully it will grow and spread to neighbouring towns. I’d like to see it reach Žepče.

Of course, you cannot do anything on your own. You need people. Someone who understands you, with whom you can share your experiences, recognise the evil that war brings, exchange ideas and search for ways to engage and contribute to peacebuilding. Thinking back, looking at Zavidovići and at myself, I remember what we went through since 1992 until today. It was not easy for me to choose the path of reconciliation after everything I had been through in the war, but it was precisely the experience of violence that gave me the determination to build something that would prevent it in the future and do away with the hatred that had run wild. Taking the first steps on that path, I felt my soul was changing too. It grew to let in enemies that in time became former.

Coming to CNA

Nedžad Novalić

I've never written about myself, which is, as I have now discovered, unusually difficult, like trying to cover yourself with a blanket that is too small. If I were to give myself airs and be so conceited as to decide to write an autobiography, I say to myself, where would I start? How would I divide up the chapters? Not by years, that's been done. By big, crucial events? That would make sense, but then again, as attractive as the call of history may be, somewhere deep inside I want to be bypassed by that history, I want to make it over the Deep Blue River without any fateful shunts that would expel me from the rails. That is why I find a safe haven among people and books.

The Big Yard

The war had definitely stopped, but the state was nowhere to be seen yet, so it could have been 1996. In an orange van – once the state had established itself, the first thing it did was to abolish that orange van, calling it illegal transport – with my father dressed in fatigues, I went to the City Library in Zenica to take out my first book; I think it must have been *The Big Yard* by S. Raičković, but don't take my word for it. I was in the first or second grade, an unusually good pupil, especially for someone who, because of the war, started school at age eight, without knowing how to write or tell apart colours and animals. (Let him wait another year, we have a wave of refugees now, then we'll see, they said when I went there with my mum in 1994, during the war, to try to become a first-grader).

We doubted the war had finally stopped when we started going to school regularly, encountering wholly unusual things (I remember to this day the first time I saw white bread), but with a boy's logic I somehow figured there would definitely be no more war when we got a telephone. Still, the piled-up weight of the war, as I would see much later, had not shifted off our backs: I went to a school that was almost exclusively Bosniak, the old school building was never renovated, but it got a brand new, much more appropriate name; my father went from being a soldier to being a professional soldier: instead of going to war for no money, he now received money without having to go to war. The Zenica Ironworks were severely maimed in the economic fighting that went on behind the front lines, otherwise known as privatisation, and this is what made my whole generation, as opposed to that of our fathers, go out and seek other forms of employment, far from the extinguished high furnaces.

The History of Pornography

Coming to Sarajevo at 15 to attend the madrassa (religious secondary school) marked me in more ways than one. For the first time I felt dislocated, an identity whose value I would come to appreciate only later and continue to carefully cultivate. Our disappointment with the madrassa authorities and the macho-religious discipline of the dormitory grew into a defiance that manifested itself in the images of cheguavara, listening to rock music and reading. My dilemma over whether to study history or literature and finally opting for history was not just a choice of profession, but also a salve for those of us coming to realise, at the threshold of our lives, that a secondary school certificate was not a ticket to history, but only to the quagmire that was Bosnia and Herzegovina. That generational feeling of lack of options took me back countless times to G. Tribuson's novel *The History of Pornography*.

At university, I turned my secondary school enthusiasm for journalism into a profession. I worked as a freelancer for various media outlets, actively stepping into the social arena. Through volunteering and working with young people, I discovered faith within me as a sediment, not the faith that was a result of what I learnt at the madrassa or of what I inherited from my family, but something I experienced as primordial. That process displaced me once again and made me think about my identity and the society I was living in, and by reinterpreting the foundations from which I had grown, it inspired me to change myself and the world around me.

Murderous Identities

In the summer of 2012, I went to CNA's Basic Training in Macedonia without much in the way of expectations, prepared to take notes and enter into the kind of interminable discussions to which historians are particularly partial. I returned without having written down a single note, beset with questions, wondering, shaken to the core. I had faced my prejudices (for example, those about atheists and LGBT people), I thought about what it meant for me in my society that I was a man, that I was white, that I was a Bosniak in the Bosniak-majority part of the country? Would I be prepared to go to war? To fight for what? To kill someone? I returned deep in thought about myself, with a lit spark of empathy for others that I had started to understand even though we were different. A safe space for me to express and then change myself, without being judged or labelled is what I

wanted to bring back from Mavrovo and turn into a social norm, and preserving others from myself seemed like the first step in that direction. Murderous Identities by Amin Maalouf were the first stop on my quest for answers after the training.

Not long after the training I started working for a newly launched weekly magazine, and then for a web portal. It was a real challenge to work in a profession that was changing so dramatically rapidly and where the changes were not always for the better. Leaving a deep impression on me were meetings, conversations and interviews with people I greatly admire, and here I remember inspirational conversations with Latinka Perović, Michael Lapsley, the Nobel laureate Muhammad Yunus... Journalism gave me, or at least so I imagine, an opportunity to act, to try to influence processes and change the society in which I lived. Finally, journalism tipped the scales towards what D. Stojanović calls the history of the present, and which could most succinctly be defined as a compound of history and activism. The commercialisation of everything, including the media, requires keeping up with the momentary desires of the consumer and meant that I was increasingly being swamped by what I considered trivial, so I sought a way out.

It is impossible to remain neutral on a moving train

This was when I received an invitation from CNA. In the time between my first meeting with CNA in 2012 and that invitation, we had already become friends, cooperated actively and hung out, and joining the CNA team was

something I admit I had thought about long before I received the invitation. At one moment it seemed too early, at another too late, or that this wasn't for me, or that I wasn't made for that. After being invited to join the team, the dilemmas, qualms and fears multiplied. How and why do you organise peacebuilding trainings 20 years after the war? How do you take socially marginalised and often (ab)used veterans to visit sites of suffering? How do you measure the impact you make and chase away the thought that it's all futile? The dilemmas and questions remain.

In Bosnian-Herzegovinian (post)war society, and it's much the same in most other countries in the region, many of life's choices mean taking a position. To stay here, raise a child here, hope to live to an old age, are certainly, at some level, a clear socio-political position. The life and work of Howard Zinn, a historian who refused to be neutral on a moving train, gives me encouragement not to succumb to conformiscuity.

And my motivation? It's varied. I remembered one thing and I talked about it recently at my first training where I was the trainer. I remembered how back in 1993, the families that had lost members in the war received special food packages and how a bunch of us kids, all of five years old at the time, asked our fathers why they didn't go get killed too. I don't remember what our parents said to us at the time, and I don't know what I would tell my daughter Sara today.





political and social contexts
in which we work

Bosnia and Herzegovina: A Rubicon with hundreds of tributaries

Nedžad Novalić

Božo Ljubić, formerly of the Council of Ministers of BiH and currently a member of the Croat National Assembly, threatened at the end of August that BiH may very well cross the Rubicon already next year, unless the current Croat question is resolved through changes to the BiH Constitution and Election Law. “And what lies beyond the Rubicon, we shall all see together and it should leave no one in BiH feeling indifferent,” said Ljubić, who usually says what the “first among the Croats” Dragan Čović is thinking, but prefers not to say in order to maintain his “promoter of European values” image. The Rubicon in BiH has hundreds of tributaries, and our caesars proclaim: The bone has been cast.

Victory over anti-fascism

“I think 2016 will be better than 2017,” a BiH politician confided to me between two political crises at the end of 2016. That each passing year is better than the next is one of the rare promises our politicians manage to fulfil. Some will say it was just a slip of the tongue and the rest is pettiness. It is a slip of the tongue, perhaps, but only perhaps, when the mayor of Sarajevo states on 9 May that “today we mark Victory Day over anti-fascism”. However, events in 2017, when a primary school in Sarajevo was named after someone who in 1942 welcomed the disappearance of the Jewish spirit from the down-town Čaršija make it seem less likely that it was just a slip of the tongue.

2017 also saw us go headlong from one crisis into another, and any attempt to count all the crises would be pointless. It is worth noting just the few that reminded us how frail the (absence of) peace we are living is.

The crisis surrounding the marking of 9 January as Republika Srpska Day, which the Constitutional Court of BiH had ruled unconstitutional, and the lining up of the Armed Forces of BiH on that occasion, set the tone for the year that was just beginning. A parade of all things in uniform in the RS (from the police to firefighters and rescue workers) organised on the occasion in Banja Luka served as an opportunity for the entity’s president to show how, though he may not have an army, he certainly had a base that could easily be transformed into an armed force. Just eight months later, it would turn out

that those same firefighters had not even the basic means to do their jobs, so the wildfires in Herzegovina raged for days while the only effective measure the authorities could come up with was to pray for rain.

The decision to apply to the International Court of Justice for revision of its Judgement in the case of BiH v. Serbia, and reactions to the Court’s rejection of the Application for Revision as invalid because it was initiated by one Member of the Presidency of BiH (Bakir Izetbegović) and not the whole of the BiH Presidency, showed how irresponsibly politicians behave towards war trauma, victims and their families, and peacebuilding in the region. The decision to apply for revision was made completely outside any institutional framework, at a kind of consultation among tribal leaders, within a small circle of political party supporters, despite clear warnings from experts that it would end in fiasco and have long-term negative consequences. In just a few days, the Court rejected the application for revision without going into the merits, which took the Bosniak politicians by surprise, since they had hoped the revision process would drag out for at least a few years. Mutual accusations were hurled among political leaders, victims’ associations were once again exploited to discredit the International Court of Justice, only to have it all be forgotten just a few months later. But this finally brought the full circle in BiH to a close: Along with extra-institutional actions undermining the little of the state left standing, dissatisfaction with the work of international tribunals and allegations of conspiracy against us are now a common heritage to all peoples in BiH.

The Judgement of the ICTY in the case of Prlić and other leaders of so-called Herceg-Bosna is expected at the end of 2017 and will probably cause a crisis, whatever the final outcome. We already hear comments ranging from justice has been done to the ICTY made a political decision: the lines and props, the whole text of the play has already been written, now it’s just a matter of casting the actors.

Our little Himmelreich

The previously started carving out of our little Himmelreich, also translated as lebensraum continued

in 2017. (E.g.: Čović: I will always consider Stolac a Croat space; Dodik: The Muslims have occupied the Drina again.) At the same time, members of all three peoples, as well as the left-behinds, continue to line up in front of foreign embassies hoping to sign out of being Bosniak, Croat or Serb and apply for Gastarbeiter status. Except that, as opposed to the 1970s and 1980s, this time around, they are leaving for good. The emptying country is then eagerly bought up at a bargain by foreigners who show us nothing new, save for confirming what we already know: that the BiH authorities would happily sell off God and his Father for the right kickback, and just the other day sold off part of the river Bosna springs, the plains of Mount Bjelašnica, the valley of the river Buna.

BiH is a prime illustration of the difference between negotiating and deal-making. Political leaders negotiate about solving problems of vital importance to ordinary people, while stoking fears, opening up old wounds and hiding behind the pronoun we. On the other side, they make deals very politely, quietly, behind closed doors, always in the first person: about taking out new loans, divvying up public enterprises and other public resources. The state, or the part of it that is supposed to provide care for those in need, is dying off each year; maternity and children's benefits have all but disappeared, hospitals, subjected as of this year to a new round of self-serving reforms, no longer offer even ordinary bandages and compresses free of charge, daycare fees are through the roof... Increasingly empty primary schools, especially those outside urban areas, are literally collapsing in on themselves; almost every city is struggling either with water supply, or waste disposal, or public transport, and Sarajevo, presumably because it is the capital, struggles with all of the above. At the same time, just this year, the state has found various ways to force citizens to shell out an additional BAM 50 each month for different types of taxes, surtaxes, fees and other administrative carbuncles.

The Hagiography of the Three Kings

Nothing explains the state of affairs in the legal order better than the situation in the law enforcement and judicial system. Police agencies do not cooperate, they often obstruct each other's activities, and the complete politicisation of prosecutors' offices and courts at all levels testifies to the failure of justice system reforms. Daily media reports on the work of the prosecutors' offices increasingly resemble TV soaps with bad acting and worse scripts. And when nothing is going right, at least you can never go wrong with historical spectacle. Take it from the Turks making the TV series Alija, such

an idyllic hagiography that even the Izetbegović family was compelled to tell them to tone it down a notch. The making of a film about Radovan Karadžić has already been announced (my proposal for the title: Radovan I) and the trilogy could be nicely rounded off with a film about Mate Boban.

The structural organisation of BiH and the all-pervasive political promiscuity make it difficult to clearly distinguish between the opposition and those in power: It's hard to avoid, what with 10 cantons, two entities and (not) one state, being in government somewhere. The nominal opposition in FBiH, guided by the principle of divide in order to unite, is trying to gather around SDP, a party that first splintered off giving us DF, and then DF had its own splinter in the form of GS... The tactics and political strategy of the left are simple and unique: in 2018, we'll forgive the people for not voting for us in 2014. New parties with old faces, built around vanities, and popularly referred to as PokemonGo parties because of their tendency to hunt for new members before quickly retreating back to the Poké Ball whence they came, are hardly worth mentioning. The opposition in RS, embodied by the Coalition for Change, rife with intra-party and intra-coalition frictions, under constant heavy artillery fire by the regime media, can hardly be expected to stand up to Dodik, especially when they assent to the game of Who's a Bigger Serb, where Dodik gives them a three-round head-start only to catch up with them without even breaking a sweat. Still, a noteworthy paradox is that, especially among the Bosniaks, the two most popular ministers, and by relevant evaluations considered also the two most useful within the Council of Ministers, come from SDS.

No People, No Problems

A number of important steps forward in peacebuilding should be noted. The BiH Interreligious Council organised a joint visit to sites of suffering, with the Deputy Grand Mufti, Husein ef. Smajić, Bishop Grigorije, Cardinal Vinko Puljić and the President of the Jewish Community paying their respects at Kazani, Križančevo selo, Kruščica and Korićanske stijene, together. Although this is an important symbolic gesture, even without delving deeper into their motives, we are left with the hope that religious communities will recognise the potential they have not just for dismantling, but also for building peace. Together with veterans that used to be on warring sides, CNA visited Zavidovići and the so-called Vozuća battleground, to pay respects to the fallen and call for finding the missing and marking the sites of suffering.

Zavidovići and its local authorities are slowly but surely, and, fortunately or unfortunately, far from the public eye, making seven-mile strides. Mayor Hašim Mujanović invited Serb refugees to return, and shortly thereafter visited one of the returnee villages to attend Slava festivities, he supported the returnees and condemned the desecration of monuments, and then, finally, 22 years after the war, approval was given for a monument to mark one of the unmarked sites of suffering of Serbs. It is encouraging that Hašim Mujanović is not a lone example: On the other end of BiH, the Mayor of Rudo has been laying wreaths at the memorial to Bosniak victims, and this year he said: I am glad that as Mayor, I can send a message of understanding

another's pain and sorrow and a message for a better life of future generations.

Rudo is an illustrative example for another problem (de) facing BiH: the departure of the most vital part of the population. To date, there is no study on why people are leaving, and in recent years it has become apparent that even those that had jobs and could make a basic living are still leaving. For a government that sees the people as a problem, this seems like a win-win situation: No people=no problems.



Croatia: The stormy years are not over (we haven't seen anything yet)

Jelena Svirčić

The boss and the collapse of the state of Croatia

Strange things have started to happen in this 2017, which is drawing to a close. By happen, I refer primarily to the collapse of Agrokor, the business empire of Ivoica Todorić, the man to whom the state of Croatia, had been mother for a long time, and then all of a sudden become stepmother, to use the vernacular.

Since the financial wrongdoings of Todorić family have started to rise to the surface and the Croatian Democratic Union's (HDZ) government adopted the infamous Lex Agrokor in order to save what can be saved and prevent the implosion of the entire economy, proportions of criminal wrongdoings under the high patronage of the state were disclosed, uncovering that within their capillary branched business empire, Todorić family had their hands in an incredible amount of various business sectors.

Todorić, known to the people as the Boss, who is now enjoying luxurious comfort of London where he is writing his blog, regularly sends threats to the HDZ's government, while being aware that it will be difficult to bring him to a justice system of Croatia, which was disgraced long

time ago. His story began at the same time as the one of the independent state of Croatia and from the very beginning those two have been almost touchingly, inseparably interconnected. It was an open secret for a long time, a secret that only a few media reported on. I say a few, because most of them lived off the advertising of countless companies of Agrokor corporation. Ignoring the reality – a small price to pay for expensive media advertising. In addition to that, the biggest advertiser at the same time ran a monopoly in press distribution, which completely cemented whatever chance there was for criticism in mainstream media.

It was only last year that the public gained insight into the Croatian success story, with the release of the documentary *The Boss*, by filmmaker Dario Juričan, whose linear narrative also offered details on how Todorić family members had acquired public property just so they could convert it into a private one for shamefully little money, or no many at all, and made then state owned companies part of their own business apparatus, all under the high patronage of Franjo Tuđman. The state favoured them right from the beginning and let them expand, so much



so that in more than twenty years of the independence of Croatia no government dared to deal with this matter. It wasn't until recently that it became impossible for them to keep their head above water when foreign creditors discovered the extent of financial disaster which was presented by Agrokor as the prettiest and most successful story of Croatian business, the one that allegedly enabled thousands of Croatian workers to make a living.

The story about Tuđman's plan to have 200 rich families upon which the state will rely was rehashed long time ago, but remains relevant, while the consequences of such policy are more obvious than ever. The state that triumphantly made a transit to a market economy in the nineties, never really tasted the market, for what it takes to be successful in business is to be a part of the clientelist networks, tightly connected with politics and corrupt state structures. "Those who are fit, instead the competent ones" – it is the catchword that all of us adopted long time ago. Everything is the same now except that Todorčić is gone, and the Croatian media can finally open their hefty files on the wrongdoings and lavish lifestyles of Todorčić family members and their minions, files that also contain secrets that were deliberately kept under the carpet for such a long time. An excellent example of one such leap from total ignorance to in-depth knowledge is an article recently published in The Morning Paper that enlists everyone who had profited in one way or another from Agrokor's privileged position. <http://www.jutarnji.hr/vijesti/hrvatska/tko-je-tko-u-aferi-agrokor-115-kljucnih-igraca-detaljnih-vodic-za-pracenje-najvece-politicko-ekonomske-drame-suvremene-hrvatske/6671469/>

About Tuđman being the beginning and the end of everything

Yet another one of the disillusioned Croatian war veterans, who tend to take their own life quite often during the few decades of Croatian independence, recently committed suicide at the grave of the first Croatian president dr Franjo Tuđman, as he is fondly referred to. Until now no veteran has gone as far in expressing their disappointment to the very spring of the independent state of Croatia. Except for the scratchy description of the tragedy in the media, nobody, neither from the left nor from the right, at least not within public political space, directed their attention to the huge symbolism of this suicidal act.

It's not surprising at all, because in 2017 Croatia one can sense the nineties are back again in the air, hence it seems that no one dares to look through what Franjo

Tuđman means to us or what he means to them. Just when we remember that during the tenure of Zoran Milanović as prime minister, then SDP's government renamed the Pleso Airport to dr Franjo Tuđman Airport. Tuđman is the last defence of Croatness even when you disagree with everything about it. People died for him, therefore it's better not to mess with him. An article reminded me that during his regime, even with all the demographic-reproductive hysteria produced by the likes of don Ante Baković and his slogans, like the legendary one that goes: „Croatian mother, give us a child“, there weren't any even remotely serious attempts to reduce women's reproductive rights as is the case today, with conservative revolution in full swing. So, instead of going to the future, we rapidly travel to the past in these millennial years, carried by the wings of conservative revolution, which is not happening only to us, but elsewhere in the region and the world. In the context of Croatia, Catholic fundamentalist are running amok, various initiatives funded by the Catholic Church are teaming up with each other and organising rallies, i.e. "walks for life", for the unborn, the embryo, the fetus. Should we even add: all that, while caring less than ever before for those already living.

In defence of unborn life

Social tensions and polarisation in Croatia remain on a high level, economic and worldview differences are growing ever bigger, while right-wing clerical forces are growing stronger, and more ambitious than ever, which is especially worrying. Last year, Zlatko Hasanbegović, during his short tenure as culture minister, literally finished off non-profit media, which was the only real opposition to the omnipresent social regression, embodied both in fanatical defence of homeland as if it were constantly in danger and creation of rather strong fundamentalist Catholic movement, origins of which are in the In the Name of the Family Association. Their great success was the amendment to the Constitution of the Republic of Croatia with the definition of marriage that implies that the only possible marriage is the one between a man and a woman. Then there's a recent attempt to amend the Family Law with the definition of family which comprises only heterosexual marriages with children (thus excluding even single mothers and fathers, children born out of marriage, unmarried couples and all kinds of combinations of human coexistence, not to mention LGBTIQ persons). It goes on, all the way to long-term campaigns for the abolishment of abortion and

frantic battle against the notion of gender and the gender ideology created for those purposes, consequentially resulting in being against the Council of Europe's Istanbul Convention on preventing and combating violence against women because it comprises the definition of gender conditioned violence.

Conservative revolution amongst Croats is similar to the ones in Poland or America. Pro-life movement has its Croatian version in the form of an obscure Vigilare Foundation and its main representative, diaspora returnee Vice Batarelo, who stated that raped women should give birth, too because „who are we to decide which child should be born and which not“ when he delivered almost 170 thousand signatures of support to the Parliament for „protection of unborn life“. On top of that, he also said that it was scientifically proven that the percentage of abortions was smaller amongst women who had been raped“ (!) Logically, woman's body is once again used as a battlefield, a territory to be conquered, disciplined and harnessed for the purpose of breeding of the nation. Women are again forced, by way of their own bodies, into the chains of religion and nation, so that they could be deprived of their right to decide autonomously, that they had already won in the socialist Yugoslavia.

On HDZ not being neither right-wing enough nor catholic enough

Hasanbegović, Batarelo and the rest of their fundamentalist, ultra-nationalist lot are the representatives of a strong new course for whom HDZ is not even nearly radical enough in defending Croatian and Catholic values, while current HDZ's PM Andrej Plenković is unacceptably

(too much of a) liberal. How will HDZ deal with growing extremism within what has been their own electorate until recently, remains to be seen. They were much better in harnessing radicals in the dark nineties, which is something I don't want to think through.

2017 is the year in which HDZ's outcast Zlatko Hasabegović managed to do in a few months what many could not achieve in decades, after having finished his successful offensive against non-profit media. It's the man who is the president of a newly formed party: Bruna Esih and Zlatko Hasabegović – Independent for Croatia, and holds a PhD in history, but publicly denies the existence of the Ustaša concentration camp in Jasenovac, stubbornly repeating that “For homeland - ready!” is an old Croatian salute. Namely, he managed to stop the sore spot of Croatian nationalism from dripping any longer, because one prominent town Square in Zagreb which was called The Marshal Tito's Square all this time became the Square of the Republic of Croatia, just in case we don't forget where we are.

So, happy New Year 2018 to all of us. It will certainly be the year where one hundred flowers of conservative nationalistic revolution will bloom in the conditions of clientelist capitalism.

Kosovo: A Treacherous Clique

Qerim Ondozi

At the recently held constitutive session of the Kosovo Assembly, adjourned for the fifth time in a row due to lack of quorum, individual representatives had the opportunity to take the floor and address those present, as well as those watching the live coverage.

Among them was a representative of the “Self-determination” Movement who criticised the coalition of the Democratic Party of Kosovo–Alliance for the Future of Kosovo–Initiative for Kosovo (PDK-AAK-Nisma), the so-called war “wing”, for their refusal to take part in the session. He criticised individuals from this coalition, saying that they had committed all manner of evil in the name of their “commanding” and the recent war in Kosovo.

Needless to say, the representative’s speech was met by objections both within the Assembly (with a number of responses) and outside it. In the afternoon, the War Veterans Organisation of the Kosovo Liberation Army issued a press release saying, among other things:

“Let it be known that, in the event of a threat, we will once again be UÇK veterans, again under the command of those insulted in the Assembly today, those that have put themselves at the disposal of this country; while the clique of waiters, translators and commissaries will run to the nearest hole to hide, as they did during the Liberation War.”

This reaction, although it seems hastily put together and impulsive, aptly reflects the gloomy reality of Kosovo. It testifies to the social stratification and deep divisions that someone seeks to maintain in Kosovo and present to the public. The division is clear and familiar. It is the division into “us” and “them”, the “good guys” and the “bad guys”, into “patriots” and “traitors”, etc.

I hadn’t come across the word “clique” in a while. So, I looked it up and found this definition:

CLIQUE f. pej.

A small group of people, brought together by ambition, interest and ulterior motives, engaged in harmful activity. Treacherous (larcenous) clique. Military clique. Revisionist clique.

Let’s take a closer look at the above cliques.

A clique of waiters

Being a waiter in Kosovo means working for a pittance, under terrible conditions, without a contract, with extended working hours and with many, many other hassles. I know waiters who have worked for less than

the minimum wage foreseen by collective bargaining in Kosovo, and who were both manning the bar and serving the guests. In English (given that there is also a clique of translators), this might be called a one-man show.

Many young people work as waiters and waitresses, either while at university, or until they find another job, or simple because our factories and other public enterprises have been privatised at tragicomic prices and transformed from production resources into ruins or construction plots (preferably without a permit).

Waiters and waitresses work in this occupation in order to pay their bills, electricity and water, and their tuition fees, hoping to one day find a better job in line with their abilities or dreams.

A clique of translators

Translators usually take the blame. For untranslatable statements of “our political leadership” that likes to open brackets and never close them. For working with foreigners, and with the enemy. For causing misunderstandings at meetings and other important encounters, because “you didn’t translate that right”. For the fact that Kosovo is Kosovo in English, and not Kosova, etc. It’s all their fault, of course!

This unsympathetic attitude towards translators developed in Kosovo already at the end of the war. One of the reasons translators are frowned upon in Kosovo since the end of the war is that they mostly work for foreigners, and since the government presumes that “foreigners wish us no good”, translators are considered collaborators.

Translators, and especially interpreters (those providing verbal translation) are always in the shadows, in the background. As a rule, they are not considered equal participants at meetings, they must suppress their own opinions and views, because their profession requires confidentiality, impartiality, ethics, fairness, etc. Also, it should be noted that translation is an intellectual pursuit. To be a good translator, you must be fluent in at least two languages, familiar with a wide range of terminology, and you must also have a lot of experience, because it is a very stressful and responsible job. Unfortunately, this profession is abused and undervalued under the assumption that anyone can do it.

Instead of treating them with due respect and making use of this clique to achieve their own glorious ends (given that this clique also speaks the language of the “enemy”),

members of the above-mentioned organisation turn their backs on this resource!

As I said, I am myself a member of this clique.

A clique of commissaries

Who are the commissaries? What are the commissaries? This word sounds like it comes from some crime film, series or novel. I must reach for my dictionary again to look up its meaning. And I fear that our dictionary (from those bygone times) will give this word a positive spin, for all too familiar reasons. Let's see... I can't find the word "commissary" because the statement was written with (at least one) typo. Perhaps the error was intentional, sarcastic even?!

The dictionary has the following entry:

COMMISSARM.

Head of the political organisation in a military unit, the command chief responsible for political and military education. Political commissar. Red commissars (partisans). A squadron (battalion, brigade, division, unit) commissar.

Since this word has military connotations, I will retreat and surrender. I don't think I can deduce or make sense of what was meant by this epithet. Perhaps the insinuation was that the "Self-determination" Movement is positioned

as a social-democratic party, perhaps because it opposes right-wing politics, who knows...

In conclusion, many statements by politicians, and by various organisations and associations in Kosovo, often – intentionally or unintentionally – tend to unfortunately contain offensive language towards entire social groups. And they are mistaken when they assume that the people are uneducated, that ordinary people cannot understand, that these words are not meant for them, etc.

It is lamentable that such a statement depreciates the occupations of a large segment of society. What is more, it is lamentable that this depreciation comes precisely from an organisation that is supposed to represent the ideals of freedom and independence of the entire people, including all the waiters and waitresses, translators, labourers and the legions of others making an honest living.

I do not regret having chosen this profession. And you, what do you do?!

Kosovo: Has all of this happened already?

Maja Fićović

I was born in the north of Kosovo where I have lived all my life. Never having moved, either willingly or – which is quite a blessing in these parts given everything that has happened – unwillingly, when I was invited to write about my perspective of the past 12 months in Kosovo, a simple task by all accounts, I asked myself, what on earth will I write about?

The past few years in Kosovo seem like watching the same film over and over again, sometimes with new actors in old roles, so that your sense of time becomes distorted, you have trouble remembering what happened when, whether it had already happened before, and when will it happen again in some new form?

These past years in Kosovo are not life, but merely subsistence. No one got what they wanted, and the people are torn apart between their possibilities and their desires. They argue, sling accusations, bicker, and it all

reminds me of children getting into a row, but when their parents show up, for fear of faring even worse, they act all nice or pretend nothing happened. That is how both the Serbs and the Albanians act when negotiating with the EU, with the embassies and all the powers that be of the international community, in an attempt to get the best deal for themselves and make the most of everything on offer.

The "parents" also prefer this feigned peace, so they turn a blind eye, but actually, sometimes they should look up and see that the situation in Kosovo is very fragile and will remain so in the years to come.

Although I wanted to start off with the events of September last year, I cannot shake the impression that in September of this year, the Serbs in the Kosovo Parliament, those on the Serb List supported by the Serbian Government and President Aleksandar Vučić,

supported the ruling PAN Coalition, which nominated Ramush Haradinaj for Prime Minister, and thus became part of the Kosovo Government.

The decisive votes were cast by representatives from the Serb List, who, on the same day that they gave their support to this government, previously visited Belgrade to consult with Serbian officials, although we all knew the “deal” had been made much earlier.

Although they had announced that they would consult the President of Serbia, Aleksandar Vučić, before making any decision, they only actually met with the Director of the Kosovo Office, Marko Đurić. It is surprising that Vučić had no time for such an important question, as he revealed a few days later in a speech to the nation, and that Đurić told him, “Boss, it has to be that way in order for the Serbs to survive over there”. At the same time, the President of Serbia publicly announced that he supported the Serb List becoming part of Haradinaj’s government, although he still remains a war criminal in the eyes of Serbia.

The Serbs did not stage protests this time, as they had in the previous months for seemingly lesser offences than the support of Haradinaj whose extradition Serbia requested from France this spring in order to try him for war crimes committed against Serbs for which he has been indicted in Serbia. Nothing happened in Kosovo after this. The Serbs did not protest, there were no gatherings, nothing, the reports were lukewarm, and the top story was that Haradinaj spoke in Serbian. The support of the Serbs was consciously pushed to the background. Within

the previous assembly convocation, his party was in the opposition and staunchly against the establishment of the Community of Serb Municipalities. This Community was precisely what was at stake for the Serbs, it was the main message of their election campaigns, the crown of all their demands, and it was guaranteed to them under the Brussels Agreement for the normalisation of relations signed in April 2013. The new government cabinet was sworn in a few days ago following the intonation of the Kosovo anthem.

All the fuss surrounding the constitution of the Kosovo Assembly and Government, which had almost turned into a deep institutional crisis after several unsuccessful attempts to form the Assembly, is already being forgotten, because Kosovo is to have its local elections on 22 October. The campaigning will go on for 30 long days, but it seems that it is well under way already. The way things stand right now, it will be difficult, dirty and possibly dangerous. Some candidates from the Serb community saw their cars go up in flames over the summer. Namely, Oliver Ivanović and Dragiša Milović, mayoral candidates in Severna Mitrovica and Zvečan. They are not part of the “Serb List” party.

Goran Rakić, the current mayor of the largest Serb municipality of Severna Mitrovica is running for re-election, and as of a few months ago, he is also the president of the Serb List. The trial of Oliver Ivanović at the Kosovo Court for crimes against Albanians, in which his detention was waived pending a judgement, is still under way. The animosity between the two candidates is evident, and



when he withdrew his candidacy Ivanović cited threats, intimidation and blackmail, stating that he had filed criminal charges against persons unknown.

The end of last year was marked by the situation surrounding what was once a mining giant - TREPČA. The workers of Trepča spent days in protest and blocking roads over a draft law submitted to the Kosovo Government, wanting to express their dissatisfaction with the Government's decision to forward the Law on Trepča to the Assembly for consideration. The Kosovo Assembly adopted the Law foreseeing 80 percent Pristina government ownership over Trepča and possible government partnerships with the private sector.

The President of the Serb List at the time, Slavko Simić, pointed out in the Kosovo Assembly that the whole of the Serb community in Kosovo, as well as the representatives from the Serb List, are deeply convinced that the Law, whose drafting did not include an expert team from the Serb community, would seriously threaten the livelihoods of the workers from Trepča and the majority Serb populations of municipalities where the greatest mineral and ore deposits are located.

The Albanian workers of Trepča believe that the adoption of the Law supports development, because Trepča as the owner of mineral resources can be in the interest of all citizens of Kosovo.

The Serbs were unanimous in saying that the adopted Law on Trepča was not in the interest of the Serb community, and Serb representatives boycotted the Assembly for a time, until they discretely returned into the institutions. No one mentions the Law any more, work has resumed as before, and it seems the Law is not being implemented.

The February 2015 Justice agreement from Brussels on the integration of Serb judges and prosecutors from the north of Kosovo into the Kosovo justice system has still not been implemented, and the last agreement reached in Brussels indicated 17 October this year as a realistic date for the start of implementation.

On the other hand, the Serb judges and prosecutors who are to be integrated and continue working within the Kosovo justice system expect a change in the legislation of Serbia to resolve their status prior to integration and enable them to receive pensions from the Republic of Serbia. Such legislation has still not been adopted. The implementation of this agreement would see judges and prosecutors working together after 18 years, and Serb courts in Kosovo shutting down.

The main bridge over the Ibar, a symbol of division of the

city, is still not open to vehicle traffic, although there had been multiple announcements this past year that it could be opened. The European Union has invested considerable funds into its reconstruction. During the reconstruction, a wall was built on the north side, with the Mayor of Severna Mitrovica Goran Rakić saying that it was meant to serve as an "open amphitheatre". Following harsh reactions from Pristina and objections to what was called an "illegal wall not foreseen by the design plans", the wall was demolished at the beginning of this year. It was replaced in the design plans with a new structure. The agreement on removing the wall was reached by representatives of the European Union, Serbia, Kosovo and the US Embassy. After a number of incidents on the north side of the bridge, Rakić halted the reconstruction works, which have not been resumed since due to "security concerns".

Natalija Apostolova, the Special Representatives of the European Union in Pristina, said that the bridge would be opened when the conversion of the main street in Severna Mitrovica into a pedestrian zone is completed, as well as all the related procedures.

The impression of the year, apart from the constant elections and election campaigns butting in for attention, is the "famous Russian train" that set off this winter from Belgrade bound for Kosovska Mitrovica. According to the announcement of the Serbian Government, the train was meant to set up regular rail services. It was halted in Raška, the last station before the border with Kosovo, and after turbulent events surrounding its arrival, it returned to Belgrade.

The prime minister at the time, and today the President of Serbia, Aleksandar Vučić, said that he had made the decision to halt the train that had set off from Belgrade in Raška in the interest of the passengers' safety and to avoid conflict, while the Kosovo special police was deployed to the north of Kosovo with seven armoured vehicles. Vučić stated that their intention was to arrest the passengers and engine driver, and create large-scale conflict. It was further stated that a great catastrophe had been averted. The citizens of Mitrovica were not thrilled with the idea of a train whose insides were covered by frescoes, and whose outside had "Kosovo is Serbia" written in more than 20 world languages. They realised it may be seen as a provocation, with extensive potential repercussions against the Serbs, and no one wanted a new outbreak of violence.

At the time, Vučić said that apart from the EU, he would also be informing Russia, China and the US that "Pristina was playing 'war games'", while Serbia wanted peace.

He warned the Albanians to refrain from any attempts to attack the Serbs, because Serbia would not stand for it. This unsettled some of the local population, while those who did not keep up with the media in those days never got the impression that anything special was going on.

After Vučić's press conference, the Kosovo Prime Minister Isa Mustafa convened an urgent press conference where he stated that "Serbia caused an unnecessary situation as part of its unfair games."

Kosovo also "threatened" that the international community would be informed about these latest events. The Prime Minister of Kosovo also saw the return of the train as the right move, saying its arrival in "independent Kosovo" would not have been allowed. The President of Kosovo Hashim Thaçi also said that the train would definitely not be entering Kosovo, and the Kosovo Minister of Interior Skënder Hyseni had issued an order to stop the train coming from Serbia.

In Severna Mitrovica, the Serbs organised another protest over the "attempt to oppress and intimidate Serbs in the north of Kosovo".

The spring was no less tumultuous. After the Serbian presidential elections, which were also held in Kosovo, on the first day of May, the signal for Serb mobile operators Telenor and Vip, which mostly functioned in Serb areas, was shut down. This was foreseen in the Brussels agreement on telecommunications, and Kosovo considered these companies to be illegal operators. Users were transferred under identical conditions to the newly formed company MTS d.o.o., which the state Telecom of Serbia said was its "daughter company" registered under Kosovo law.

Subscribers who had been out of the country and unable to submit a request to transfer to MTS were left without their phone numbers, because the deadline for the request was only three days. All subscribers of Telecom Serbia were automatically transferred to the new company and started receiving their bills in Euros.

At the same time, holders of Serbian passports with residence in Kosovo faced even bigger problems. In May this year, the Kosovo Government invalidated Serbian passports issued by the Coordination Directorate, 98,000 of which had been issued by July last year. The non-governmental sector warned that "pursuant to Article 3 of the Kosovo Law on Citizenship, which defines the right to multiple citizenship, every citizen of Kosovo" was eligible for these passports. Apart from the fact that a Serbian passport issued by the Coordination Directorate is not valid for leaving Kosovo, the use of Serbian identification

cards is also limited to just three border crossing points in Kosovo.

Serbian driving licences have been considered invalid already since 1999 and their use in traffic is punishable by a fine of up to EUR 1500. In view of the population estimates for the four northern Kosovo municipalities, ranging from 50,000 to 70,000, and the data from the Kosovo Ministry of Interior, only about 60% of the citizens of the northern Kosovo municipalities hold identification cards, and only three percent have driving licences issued by Kosovo. These figures clearly indicate that a large majority of the population faces serious administrative obstacles to freedom of movement. This is not a subject of negotiation, and it is mostly ignored.

Next up, we had the parliamentary elections in Kosovo. Six political parties from the Serb community competed with 99 candidates for 10 guaranteed seats in the Kosovo Assembly. Serbia decided to support only the Serb List, so the other Serb community representatives held that the dirty campaign was influenced by the decision of Belgrade to support just one list.

For the previous elections, the Serb List had gathered all the Serb political parties, but this time they split. Still, nine of the 10 seats went to the Serb List.

Over the summer, the municipality of Severna Mitrovica with a majority Serbian population was left without EUR 7.8 million of financial aid from the European Union, which had been planned for the construction of a new five-storey building of the University and Cultural Centre in Severna Mitrovica, because of what the EU called the refusal of the local self-government to meet certain conditions, referring to the "unlawful construction in the vicinity of the planned construction site". They stated that access to the site necessitated the removal of the unlawfully constructed buildings.

On the other side, the Mayor of Severna Mitrovica, Goran Rakić, disappointed by the decision, said that the real reason for the project's cancellation was that the EU Special Representative, Natalija Apostolova, had demanded that the municipality enable continuation of the bridge reconstruction without, as he said, "any guarantees for the citizens' safety".

Apart from the political context which is inevitable if you live in Kosovo, citizens are also concerned over the economic crisis, high unemployment, corruption, lack of perspective for young people, scarcity of cultural and sports events, concerts, regular repertoires, development opportunities and all the things that would make for a

decent life in Kosovo in the 21st century, especially for young people. At the same time, the shadow economy, drug smuggling and increasing numbers of young addicts are constantly on the rise. There is no strategy for real solutions to the serious problems of life and development of young people.

It is not easy to be “of Serb birth in Kosovo and Metohija” today. Not for ordinary people. From whatever angle you look at it. You feel like you’re everyone’s and no one’s problem. Everyone lays claim to you, while at the

same time washing their hands of you. In what seems like an eternal struggle to maintain national identity, language, culture, customs, it is as if we are slowly losing ourselves, the right to just be ourselves, to live a life unencumbered with the past and without fear for the future. As if we were dealt roles, life missions, responsibilities we are aware of en masse. To escape the mould and the shackles and try to change things won’t be easy, but I’m convinced it’s worth it.

Macedonia: Çka tash? / What now?

Boro Kitanoski

Too much has happened in Macedonia in the past year to fit into a short account, especially since all these events seem to be important parts of the mosaic I am trying to assemble in order to understand the processes at play and create a perspective for myself that would allow for more than just reacting to daily events and shocks.

Two years after the opposition published intercepted communications, the long awaited parliamentary elections were finally held on 11 December 2016, bringing both difficult and unexpected results. The incumbent Christian Democrats VMRO DPMNE, despite a huge drop, still remained the biggest party. The ruling Albanian DUI lost half their seats, but still remained the biggest party in the so-called Albanian bloc. Two new Albanian parties were formed – the Alliance for Albanians and BESA – and made their way into parliament. The Social Democrats won just one seat less than the VMRO-DPMNE, but the surprise (not just for them, but generally) was that for the first time they won tens of thousands of Albanian votes. It is even more surprising to see which Albanian towns they won: apart from urban areas, there were many smaller towns that had suffered the most during the 2001 war, places that, for the most part, have an (ethnic) Albanian majority. In essence, if the Albanians hadn’t voted for SDSM in such numbers, the difference between the SDSM and VMRO would have been dramatically greater and deposing VMRO would have been – if not impossible – much more difficult, and it was hellish as it is. How is this possible, what happened?!

More on that later.

Things only got heated up after the elections. Due to a particularly vile anti-Albanian campaign conducted by the VMRO, it now found itself in a situation where, despite

being the biggest individual party and having thus received the president’s mandate to form a government, it was unable to find an Albanian partner. The president remained loyal to his party boss from VMRO and compounded the situation by unconstitutionally refusing to grant the mandate to the second biggest party, i.e. the Social Democrats. Due to the ongoing state capture situation (term used in the last European Commission report) the crisis only deepened. City streets were seeing regular nationalist processions under the direction of VMRO. Finally, the president yielded and SDSM announced they had secured agreement with all the Albanian parties for participation in or support for the new government. This was the situation that saw that dramatic 27 April 2017, when a mob of a few hundred people burst into the barely held constitutive session of the Sobranie (where for the first time since the country’s independence an Albanian speaker was elected) and attacked the delegates from the new parliamentary majority. Images of the dramatic violence probably made their rounds in the region. We saw them while at the regional basic training organised by CNA in Ohrid (where I was a member of the training team). We watched the dispatches from the Sobranie expecting that the truly tragic caricature posing as the country’s president would proclaim a state of emergency and herald in an even more dramatic period for the country. This did not happen, however, and he gave in at the end (or he got scared, or someone warned him that this would be a bit too much for his and Macedonia’s capacities, whatever he may imagine while standing alone in front of a mirror). The violence has never been legally clarified, but from a number of investigative reports and testimonies of those present, it is

quite clear what happened. The former prime minister and VMRO leader was out of the country (as he habitually has been in the past decade whenever something dramatic is taking place in Macedonia – the recognition of Kosovo, the two-day war in Kumanovo in 2015, etc.). The few hundred demonstrators gathered in front of the parliament were let in by a few VMRO delegates (as can be seen from the interior video surveillance footage). The smaller gang of assailants that burst into the hall where delegates of SDSM and the Albanian parties had barricaded themselves, was made up of 20 to 30 people, half of whom were criminals and thugs from different cities and the other half (those wearing masks) were various police and army officers that had, most probably, been to the parliament building before; they were brought in through a side entrance, knew the layout of the halls and were able to direct the mob. The story going around is that the plan was to create a massive incident (perhaps even to liquidate someone, ideally an Albanian delegate, Zijadin Sela barely made it out alive, namely, the assailants stopped beating him only because they thought he was dead), which would spill over into unrest on the streets and enable the president to proclaim a state of emergency. I don't know what was happening behind the scenes, but I know for certain that the delegates who were there, along with a few security guards who remained loyal to them (or rather, remained loyal to their profession) took it all stoically and prevented

their adherents, who had started gathering at a number of locations around Skopje, from coming to the parliament to defend them. It was hours before the special police were ordered to break into the parliament and bring out the injured. Once again, we were all made to walk the edge of the precipice.

Setting up the government proceeded (and is still going on) slowly, with daily acts of sabotage. Eleven years of rule makes for deep and widespread placements, there are many who are loyal or blackmailed, especially in the justice system. Very quickly, before the new government was constituted, they made sure that those participating in the violence in the parliament got “convicted” of the minor offence of “participation in a mob” with conditional sentences, which is preposterous. To this day, the justice system remains largely loyal to the old ruling power and when it comes to their prosecution, everything is either terribly slow or completely impossible.

We are now awaiting local elections (scheduled for 15 October) and the VMRO (which, by the way, is the richest party in the whole of Europe according to a European study conducted last year) have a campaign going, promising new parliamentary elections if they win the local elections.

I would now like to go back to that question from the beginning of this text: how come so many Albanians voted for a “Macedonian” party in the parliamentary elections, where in a society such as Macedonia it is very important



to identify yourself ethnically and count how many of “you” (us, them...) there are in the country. Like many in the country who were not part of the clientelist (and intimidation) system, the Albanians were very dissatisfied with the way DUI contributed to the government, either through corruption, adopting the same practices or by turning a blind eye. They saw in SDSM a very real possibility to punish “their own” political elites. These initial ethnic intersections within the anti-government movement appeared in the past few years and grew through the protests and other actions. In the past years, as a society, we were pushed to the brink of ethnic conflict (sometimes with casualties), but we withstood these pressures. There was also a growing awareness that these conflicts were largely fabricated by the elites used to ruling, each in their own ethnic corpus, on a ticket of supreme patriotism. This made ethnic conflict super profitable for them. And then somewhere along the way this awareness crossed a threshold that I myself cannot precisely locate. Those of us engaged in activism, and especially in peace work, watched this growing energy overcoming ethnic boundaries as potential cooperation was put into practice. This cooperation was truly established at the protests and it ceased to be a spectre or even big news. And now, after the elections and this tortuous start to the post-VMRO transition, expectations are high. However, for the local elections the SDSM have decided to enter into an arrangement with the DUI (which, though not an official coalition, is the first instance of public cooperation between an Albanian and a Macedonian party since the start of democratic elections). Still, many Albanians who voted for SDSM or other opposition parties due to their disappointment with DUI are now in a situation where they feel they may be betrayed. They believe this is a political deal that will absolve DUI of responsibility in exchange

for a win at the elections. And not just that. There is a whole set of political manoeuvres that are expected and the wrongs of the past that had previously been buried under a mound of nationalism to justify them, as well as potentially innocent people put in prisons. All these are cases we are very much interested in bringing to light. There is somewhat of a bitter aftertaste when you look closely at their “opening up” to new Albanian voters. It is clear how this is completely new ground for them and all doubts about their honesty or even understanding of the situation and the people seem justified to me. As if they had received unconditional support, which they haven’t! I see this development as a regression, because this sort of composition pushes us back into ethnic positions. And once we had felt the liberating energy of overcoming ethnic walls, where maybe for the first time we felt we were in a good place for a new beginning, the possible outcome, at least in the short run, seems disappointing. I don’t know if it could have been otherwise. I don’t know if they could have done it differently even if they wanted to, I am aware of the resistance and the ignorance that abound. I am disappointed that they do not recognise their big chance. I’m not a pessimist (I wouldn’t know how to be) and I don’t believe the VMRO will win the local elections (though they are very strong, they hold almost all the financially and politically powerful municipalities), but I do know that many, many people see this year as the last chance they are personally prepared to give the country to start establishing itself as at least decent towards its citizens. And these are not people who spent the past years sitting on the sidelines waiting for someone else, on the contrary!

P.S. By the way, only 5.3% of the mayoral candidates at these elections are women. Most likely, as with the above Macedonian-Albanian relations, this issue is also subordinated to more important priorities.

Serbia: To Have Your Cake and Eat It Too

Nenad Vukosavljević

Autocratic practice

The current President of Serbia, and until recently its prime minister, Aleksandar Vučić, likes to compare himself to the late president of SFRY, Josip Broz Tito, a statesman of great international renown wielding absolute authority within the country. Tito was, among other things, president-for-life of SFRY. To be fair to Mr Vučić, we would have to give him more time, because, after all, Tito was in power for almost 40 years, whereas Vučić has spent the past five as deputy prime minister and prime minister and has a previous stint as minister for information from 1998 to 2000, i.e. before, during and after the war in Kosovo (a time of mass human rights abuses and mass repression by the regime). In some respects Mr Vučić has already surpassed his incomparably more esteemed and well-known predecessor, e.g. in media presence. If you watch the central news programme on the public broadcasting service, it is by no means unusual to see the President talk for twenty minutes at a time, asking himself questions and answering them, responding to accusations whose original form we never hear and making fun of the opposition who never get a chance to respond, and in general to engage in “dialogue” with himself. These twenty minutes are

usually followed by news about what the president did that day and with whom he met. It’s enough to make you think the man was all powerful, being in several places at once, solving the problems of each individual citizen and overseeing the work of every single government official, despite this not being within his mandate. Tito never managed to dominate the media landscape to such a degree, though he was not modest himself.

The president has his newspaper whose headlines “reveal traitors”, paint targets on people’s foreheads, shoot off affairs, assassination attempts, declarations and threats of war, coups, but whenever it suits him, he pretends he has nothing to do with it. To clusters of front-page articles about how weapons were found near his home, that an assassination was attempted with a car, etc. he responds demurely and humbly that he is not afraid for his life and is readily willing to sacrifice himself for the citizens of Serbia.

But apart from the evident self-enamourment—which, to be fair, few politicians in Serbia are immune to—Mr Vučić’s rule is also interesting in terms of how he endeavours to be his own opposition. And a much better opposition, in fact, than the actual opposition. That is one more area where he excels.



Thus, as he commits to dialogue with the Albanians and invites the opposition to engage in dialogue, independent reporters are exposed to attacks left uninvestigated by the police and the shady dealings they discovered are covered up with stories about foreign centres of power from the West making up such allegations and paying reporters to disseminate them. At the same time, without batting an eyelash, he receives politicians from those same Western countries, swears by the rule of law, human rights, media freedoms, his commitment to the EU. At the very same time, his right hand man is the defence minister who swears an oath of loyalty and cooperation to Russia, and the previous president from the same party is the president of the newly invented Council for Cooperation with Russia and China, supported by a monthly budget of about a million Euros.

Vučić supports historical dialogue with the Albanians to ensure lasting peace, but only provided that Kosovo is Serbian, which he will continue repeating as soon as he leaves Brussels. And, of course, he is against unconstitutional solutions. At the same time, a demonised image of the Albanians as centuries-old bitter enemies is carefully nurtured by media close to the government and individual officials, so that any contact with Albanians gives rise to suspicions that a plot is being hatched against Serbs. I don't remember the president ever opposing hate speech, except when he claimed he or those close to him had been the targets.

An opposition to himself

When public service workers go on strike, the minister, a close collaborator of the president, gets upset at them for being ungrateful and undermining the government's efforts towards stabilisation, while the president shows understanding and promises to raise the standard. Most often, though, he explains how they are already doing better than before, they're just not aware of it.

When he claims that Serbia is a regional leader in economic growth, then the public broadcasting service and the unofficially co-opted private TV stations omit independent data indicating the opposite and instead simply repeat what they have been told. This is not just a matter of wishful thinking, there is also the very real risk that those claiming otherwise will be targetted by tabloids and other mercenaries working for the powers that be. The president is well aware of this, but he has not been properly informed and is prepared to protect each and every citizen from abuse by state services, although he never does anything to punish those responsible

and enforce implementation, because, after all, this is not within his mandate. He is against overstepping the mandate, but favours it when the country and its citizens need it. He gets upset when the rare courageous (meaning ill-intentioned) reporters ask him how he can be both "for" and "against" something and when they remind him of all his broken promises, because he is so well-intentioned all the time that those who can't see it must be ill-intentioned.

When two specialists from the ministry of education approved a primary school manual with guidance on how to avoid discrimination against children of minority sexual orientation, the church promptly exerted pressure to have them fired. On the other hand, the president appoints a lesbian who came out publicly as prime minister. He has his cake and eats it too. And round and round it goes. What is the opposition to do when he is already the opposition? And though it may seem funny from a distance, when you watch the news programmes on the public broadcaster, there is nothing unclear or illogical. Why should it be strange that the president likes to ask himself questions, "criticising" and commending himself, being "for" and "against" something at the same time?

Neighbourly relations

When violent demonstrations broke out in Skopje in late April, with the demonstrators breaking into the parliament, the footage showed a member of the secret service from the Serbian Embassy. His presence and role were never explained, but the newly constituted Macedonian authorities did not seek to deport him from the country. In late August 2017, a sudden and dramatic decision was made to evacuate and close the Serbian embassy in Skopje, Macedonia, citing "hostile, offensive actions against Serbia". Social networks were immediately flooded with jokes about this alleged animosity, poking fun at the Serbian diplomacy for this ridiculous move, but just a few days later, without publishing any explanation, the staff were returned to the embassy, because apparently Vučić had made a deal with the Macedonian Prime Minister Zoran Zaev. This constant generation of apparent dramas where Vučić comes in to save the day is his habitual model of behaviour. He is the one to propose a joint session to the Macedonian government, without anyone asking, wait a minute, he's the president, how is he proposing this, isn't that the job of the prime minister? Having built up a personality cult around his leadership, with ample help and support from others, including the prime minister, issues of competences and rule of law fall by the wayside, investigations into misconduct and abuse of authority are

not carried out, independent mechanisms for government control are marginalised and rendered powerless, all the while, in the background, financial power is amassed in the hands of the government's collaborators.

During this period of rule by the party belonging to the president, relationships with neighbouring countries deteriorated drastically, especially with Croatia, but also with Macedonia and Bosnia and Herzegovina. The foreign minister, Mr Dačić, has distinguished himself by presenting conspiracy theories, while the most powerful man in Serbia is, by all accounts, quite pleased with what the minister is doing. This same minister for diplomacy, Mr Dačić, speaks with no shame about previous governments, that he himself was part of, as pestilent, has only the best to say about the time of Milošević's rule, conspiracy theories form the foundation for all his knowledge, and he excels at spoiling relationships with neighbours at every opportunity. But, if it weren't for him and the defence minister, president Vučić himself would appear much worse than he does by comparison with the two of them - that is why they are as they are. Perhaps this is the reason why the EU, currently involved in membership negotiations with Serbia, has not come out with any unambiguous criticism. Although it is clear that without normalising relations with Kosovo, there can be no prospects for membership, tolerance for government actions undermining the foundations of legal certainty and equality of citizens, fostering impunity and facilitating a lynching climate with respect to the opposition, can prove fatal in the long run when it comes to the culture of democracy in Serbia.

In July 2017, the only trial in Serbia for crimes committed in Srebrenica was suspended for formal reasons, namely, because at the time of the indictment there was no mandate for a war crimes prosecutor. Intentionally or not, this vacuum was created by the current government, and the outcome is that a trial is terminated, which may also happen with other prosecutions. This, of course, contributes to widening the gap and distrust between Bosniaks and Serbs and creates tensions in the relationship between BiH and Serbia.

Further consequences for the whole region are terrible and dangerous, because they incite fear, hatred, unscrupulously open up old wounds and hamper creating conditions for better and safer living.

The Macedonian Scenario

Civil servants live in fear of being let go if they publicly express their oppositional political leanings and it is yet to

be seen how far that pressure can grow before it explodes in dissatisfaction and liberation from fear.

Public figures who raise their voice against autocratic rule, unfree media and the brainwashing by regime media are proclaimed enemies of the state by state and/or party officials, they are removed from public broadcasters, their appearances are cancelled, any institutions intending to go against this ban are punished and fear rules supreme. In TV appearances, lists are read of people accused of being foreign mercenaries and enemies with links to war criminals and organised crime.

The past year has seen many big leaps backwards, a decline in democratic culture, critical awareness, institutional autonomy, freedom from government control and corruption, and this is what discourages young people and forces them to seek their future outside the country. It is clear that this system cannot be maintained indefinitely and that sooner or later it will collapse in on itself. I have no fear that it can remain as it is for long, but we are losing whole generations and that is the damage that will remain.

During his campaign this spring, the current presidents talked about how "someone is preparing a Macedonian scenario to bring down Serbia" and how he would not let that happen at any cost. The Macedonian scenario is when citizens protest against the privatisation of the state for criminal purposes: against illegal surveillance and intimidation, against election fraud, against corruption and a system of impunity that the VMRO government had implemented in Macedonia. The current president seems to think that bringing down that kind of system would be a bad thing, but fortunately it is inevitable, because people were not born to be slaves, obedient servants or poltroons, although some find themselves in these roles.

And more...Violation of the Press Code, or how CNA found itself argetted by tabloids

In early April, CNA volunteer Gentrit Behramaj, who had just started his three-month internship in our Belgrade office, and the Centre for Nonviolent Action found themselves on the front page of the Alo tabloid (at that time still owned by the German corporation “Ringier”, but soon to be sold) and its accusatory article replete with nonsense and lies (foreign spy financed by the Kosovo government, etc.) Unfortunately, it did not end there, because the “news item” was then taken up by the parliamentary spokesperson of the ruling party and partially disseminated further.

Our primary concern at that moment was Gentrit’s safety (as an Albanian from Kosovo who had come to Belgrade for a three-month internship, wishing to learn the language and get to know the country, and thus contribute to building peace and trust in the region), and the safety of other CNA employees, so we set about thinking what to do and how to defend both the organisation and the individual from this attack.

We decided to file a complaint with the Press Council as the professional body responsible for reacting to violations of the Press Code. We were doing this for ourselves, but we were also thinking about how “easily” someone else might find themselves in a similarly uncomfortable situation, to say the least, with their picture on the front page of newspaper under a completely ludicrous headline or in the hands of some party official.

We filed the complaint and at its session on 25 May, the Council adopted a decision stating that Alo had violated the Press Code of Serbia and ordering the newspaper to print the decision, which, as far we know, was never done. The tabloid Alo is known for printing falsehood to discredit independent reporters, activists and opposition politicians, and it has been found in breach of the Press Code multiple times.

Here is the full text of the reasoning given in the Decision of the Press Council:

“The Centre for Nonviolent Action filed a complaint with the Press Council, with the consent of Gentrit Behramaj, because Alo had, according to the complaint, used his photographs from his private Facebook profile alongside an article with a series of falsehoods. The

complaint also stated that Behramaj did not come for the demonstrations, but was already in Belgrade as part of his studies, doing an internship at the Centre for Nonviolent Action, which was agreed months earlier, that he is not anyone’s emissary, especially not of Hashim Thaçi, and that he has no connection whatsoever to his party. “The Centre for Nonviolent Action is by no means “known for distributing dreadful falsehoods about Serb crimes in the wars of the 1990s”. It is a peace organisation whose activities are financed by, among others, the German Ministry for International Development and Economic Cooperation (BMZ) and the Austrian Development Agency ADA. Never, in its 20 years, has this organisation been financed by any government or representative from the region, either directly or indirectly, including Kosovo and Hashim Thaçi. And never in these 20 years have we cooperated with the Centre for Applied Nonviolent Action and Strategies CANVAS,” states the complaint. It was also pointed out that the reporter of Alo contacted Behramaj and that he asked her not to publish anything.

The editorial board of Alo did not respond to the complaint.

The majority of the Commission members found that the newspaper did not offer any proof of the claims made in the article, foremost among them that Behramaj came to the demonstrations as Thaçi’s “protégé” in order to “bring down Vučić”, which was found to be in violation of the Code provisions on the obligation of reporters to report truthfully, to refrain from expressing unfounded allegations and to distinguish between facts and assumptions and speculations. The Commission was of the opinion that the article was written solely on the basis of Behramaj being Albanian and that this constituted a violation of the Press Code provisions against discrimination, in this particular case, on the grounds of nationality. The Commission found that the reporter did not exercise due professional diligence, did not check the information that was published, and that Behramaj’s privacy was infringed because, despite his clearly stated opposition, photographs were taken from his private Facebook profile. This is in violation of the guidelines on the application of the Press Code in the online environment, which state that when

taking information published on social networks and other digital platforms by individuals who are not public figures, the reporter must obtain the individual's consent, unless the information is of public interest and related to public information, which, in the majority opinion of the Commission, was not the case here.

Ljiljana Smajlović stated in her dissenting opinion that the applicant did not explain why it did not avail itself of the right to respond to the damaging falsehoods in the newspaper, and cited as one of the reasons for her dissenting opinion the fact that, in her opinion, the Complaints Commission treated the factual and value claims of the Centre for Nonviolent Action as true without anyone having checked them.

In light of all of the above, the Commission, with ten votes "in favour" and one "against", decided that Alo had violated the Press Code of Serbia and ordered the newspaper to publish this decision."

And Gentrit? He decided to stay with us for the rest of his internship, even though it would have been completely understandable if he had given up on volunteering for CNA and staying in Belgrade. He was only concerned about his parents finding out about all this, as it would be very difficult for them since they were already worried enough.

Katarina Milićević

CNA tim



Adnan Hasanbegović



Davorka Turk



Amer Delić



Nedžad Novalić



Helena Rill



Ivana Franović

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Katarina Milićević



Nenad Vukosavljević