



Godišnji izvještaj Annual Report

Centar za nenasilnu akciju
Centre for Nonviolent Action
Sarajevo | Beograd

2020

GODINE
23
YEARS

years
23
godine

Godišnji izvještaj
Annual report

2020



Centar za nenasilnu akciju
Centre for Nonviolent Action
Sarajevo | Beograd

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Godišnji izvještaj 2020.
Annual Report 2020

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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, dragi prijatelji,

Pred vama je 23. godišnji izveštaj Centra za nenasilnu akciju.

Ovaj godišnji izveštaj o našem radu razlikuje se od prethodnih, koliko se cela 2020. godina razlikovala od svih dosadašnjih. Pandemija, koja je zahvatila ceo svet početkom ove godine, umnogome se odrazila i na naš rad i sve planirane aktivnosti. Poremećaji do kojih je pandemija dovela, nisu se odrazili samo na naš rad, već i na stanje demokracije i ljudskih prava u regiji Zapadnog Balkana, o čemu možete čitati na samom početku izveštaja.

Ove godine morali smo da otkazemo sve programe mirovnog obrazovanja, Mir-Paqe-Mип trening za ljude sa Kosova, iz Srbije i iz Severne Makedonije, koji je bio planiran za maj i Osnovni trening iz izgradnje mira, planiran za oktobar. Nemogućnost putovanja i opasnost od epidemije, kao i zabrane država za dolazak građana iz inostranstva, učinili su taj deo našeg rada nemogućim. Poslednji osnovni trening realizovali smo krajem 2019. godine, i o njemu možete da čitate u ovom izveštaju.

Ono što je bilo moguće raditi – u malim timovima, sa manjim grupama učesnika-ca iz samo jedne države – smo realizovali: akcije obilježavanja neobilježenih mjesta stradanja i dve promocije onms.nenasilje.org sajta, u Sarajevu i Banja Luci, kao i zajedničke posete ratnih veterana komemoracijama, te njihove zajedničke posete stratištima. Bili smo, sa mešovitim grupama ratnih veterana u Skelanima, Prijepolju (na komemoraciji otetima iz voza u Štrpcima), Vitezu (na godišnjici stradanja dece na lokalitetu Osmica), Uborku, Briševu, Zecovima, Korićanskim stijenama, Mostaru i Grabovici.

Takođe, kako smo na samom početku epidemije shvatili da će umetnici biti bez posla, a svi smo bili

zatvoreni, odlučili smo da skoro godinu dana ranije raspišemo četvrti Biber konkurs za kratku priču, te da izbor priča sa prethodnih konkursa objavimo i na engleskom, u elektronskom formatu. To su aktivnosti koje mogu da se rade online, i ne zahtevaju fizičko kretanje tima koji ih realizuje, niti učesnika-ca. Ono što se ove godine nije dogodilo – nismo uspjeli da napravimo promocije Biber 03 zbirke, koja je objavljena krajem februara, iako smo ih planirali najmanje tri – u Šibeniku, Prijedoru i Prizrenu.

Naš priručnik „Nenasilje!?” preveden je i odštampan na makedonski i albanski jezik. Takođe, naši prijatelji iz Mirovne akcije preveli su i objavili na albanskom i naš priručnik „Pomirenje“. Objavili smo, posle putovanja članova našeg tima u Argentinu i publikaciju „Koliko god da me to košta, želim bolju zemlju za svoju decu“ Sećanje na zločine hunte u Argentini. Tu je i članak o našem radu na obilježavanju neobilježenih mjesta stradanja „Osim nesreće, nema ništa drugo“, takođe objavljen u elektronskom formatu.

Iskreno se nadamo da će vreme koje je pred nama dozvoliti da se vratimo uobičajenim aktivnostima, na način da će naše aktivnosti biti susreti ljudi, njihova razmena, upoznavanje, podrška i međusobna razmena ideja, misli, strahova i želja.

U ovom izveštaju moći ćete da pročitate o našem delovanju u kraćim tekstovima, dok za detaljnije informacije možete da posetite naš sajt nenasilje.org, kao i sajtove onms.nenasilje.org, te biber.nenasilje.org.

Zahvalni smo vam za svaki komentar, uvid ili povratnu informaciju koju dobijemo.

CNA tim
rujan/septembar 2020.

Anno Covidi

Već duži niz mjeseci živimo pod vrlo čudnim okolnostima, život koji to zapravo i nije. Period neizvjesnosti i iščekivanja kome još niko ne nazire kraj, razorno utiče i na našu svijest i na naša društva. Ljudi preplavljeni morem različitih (dez)informacija, pojačanim medijskim senzacionalizmom, paranojama, teorijama zavjere, ali i sve jačom represijom vlasti, kao da su raspolovljeni između ustavom zagarantovanih prava i sloboda s jedne, i strahovima od gubitka posla/siromaštva i(li) smrti, s druge strane. Stanje iščašenja koje smo nemoćni da sami promijenimo, dok se ono samo stalno mijenja, u nama izaziva mješavinu apatije, nemoći i bijesa. Stanje koje istovremeno provocira postavljanje temeljnih pitanja poput vrijednosti života, načela slobode, ljudskog dostojanstva i jednakosti, solidarnosti i odgovornosti, a već započetu krizu „samorazumijevanja čovjeka“ dobrobrano produbljuje.

Epidemija korona virusa ili zarazne bolesti pod tehničkim nazivom COVID-19, izbila je početkom januara 2020. godine u Wuhanu, Kina. Ubrzo se pretvorivši u pandemiju, zahvatajući od početka marta stotine hiljada ljudi dnevno u svim dijelovima svijeta i odnoseći desetine hiljada života nedeljno, ugrozila je funkcionisanje ljudske civilizacije na globalnom nivou. Naravno, teško je suditi o nečemu što još uvijek traje, donositi zaključke još teže. Možda je najadekvatniji „žanr“ unutar kojeg možemo i misliti i pisati o virusu, hronika čekanja, briga i opreza.

Iako još uvijek ne znamo da li je COVID-19 neočekivani kraj civilizacije i života kakvog poznajemo, početak ili prva faza neke nove (r)evolucije ili samo zastrašujuća pandemija virusa koja će dolaskom vakcine nestati zauvijek, on je barem za sada, jedan od boljih dijagnostičara našeg vremena. Skinuo nam je ružičaste ili crno-bijele naočare koje smo do sada zaslijepljeni nosili i pustio nas da još uvijek bojažljivo zavirimo i pogledamo u sve one političke, društvene i ekonomske strukture koje upravljaju našim životima i odnosima među ljudima. Usmjerio nam poglede na vrlo zamršenu, duboku i razgranatu mrežu korijenja nepravdi i nejednakosti, razotkrio ih ili makar učinio vidljivijim.

Bolest koja je ujedno dijagnostičar bolesti društava u kojima živimo.

Demokratija na odloženo

Različita su polja koja je sve COVID-19 uspio da „zarazi“: svetska ekonomija, međuljudski odnosi, sistem vrijednosti, kretanje ljudi i dobara, globalni trendovi, lokalni običaji, svakodnevne navike i rutine. Ni demokratski procesi, na žalost, nijesu imuni. Prema podacima Međunarodnog instituta za demokratiju, najmanje 70 država i teritorija je odložilo izbore od sredine februara. Premijerka Novog Zelanda saopštila je da će, usled porasta broja zaraženih, za oktobar odložiti parlamentarne izbore koji su u toj zemlji bili planirani za septembar. Odluku su pozdravile i njena partija i opozicija. Predsjednik SAD je u trenutku kada, prema prognozama, ima slabe šanse za reizbor u novembru, predstavio ideju da odloži američke predsjedničke izbore, ali je naišao na žestok otpor kako demokrata tako i njegovih republikanaca u Kongresu.

To da i bolest može biti i u službi partijskih interesa ili pojedinaca jasno se pokazuje i na Balkanu. Nakon nekih od najstrožih mjera, uključujući policijski čas i zatvaranje, vlasti u Srbiji i Sjevernoj Makedoniji i Crnoj Gori i Hrvatskoj su ukinule zabrane dijelom radi održavanja izbora u trenutku kada je djelovalo da to odgovara vladajućim partijama. Odluka da se otvore granice u nekim državama je rezultirala porastom broja zaraženih, dok kod drugih bivamo prepušteni da vjerujemo podacima koji nam se iznose (Istraživačka mreža BIRN je objavila da je Beograd u cilju održavanja izbora prikrivao broj zaraženih i umrlih od kovida-19 u to vrijeme). Samo odlaganje izbora češće je bilo posledica straha od poraza, a ne brige da se zaraza ne proširi. Drugim riječima virus je poslušio kao dobar izgovor ili za održavanje izbora ili za njihovo odlaganje, volja građana je na čekanju, a pravo na izbor je moguće samo onda kada odgovara vladajućim elitama. Čast izuzecima!

Ljudska prava i odgovornost

U Srbiji je novinarka Ana Lalić privedena zbog objavljivanja teksta o nedostatku adekvatne zaštitne opreme za medicinske radnike u Kliničkom centru Vojvodine, koji je navode demantovao i podnio prijavu protiv „širenja panike“. Lalić je narednog dana puštena na slobodu. Umetnica Jovana Popović iz Kikinde, koja je javnosti postala poznata kao autorka antivladine pesme „Bagra“, uhapšena je 10 dana nakon što je došla iz Crne Gore, dan prije uvođenja vanrednog stanja, zbog navodnog kršenja mjera obavezne kućne izolacije.

Upravo je hapšenje Ane Lalić bio primjer ugrožavanja ili čak pokušaja ukidanja prava na informisanost i prava na kritiku, a hapšenje Jovane Popović ugrožavanje prava na građansku neposlušnost i bunt. Ovo su samo dva od mnoštva primjera kršenja ljudskih prava pod izgovorom zaštite od COVID-19. Savjet Evrope je pozvao sve države da očuvaju ova prava, kao veoma važna prava u ovom periodu, te da bi trebalo uložiti sve napore da se zaštite vrijednosti demokratskog društva kao što su pluralizam, tolerancija i slobodoumnost.

Iako se vreme prividno usporilo ili čak gotovo zaustavilo, brzina donošenja političkih odluka i njihova primjena u doba pandemije se ekstremno ubrzala. Parlamenti mogu samo da naknadno verifikuju odluke koje su naprečac, bez konsultacija ili vremena za širu raspravu donijele Vlade, krizni štabovi ili najčešće samo jedan čovjek. Pod izgovorom bezbjednosti i brige za živote svih građana lako se iz slobode sklizne u samovolju. Bježanje od odgovornosti, preuzimanje previše odgovornosti u svoje ruke, nedostatak prihvatanja odgovornosti, najpopularnije su COVID-19 discipline, mada ni ranije nisu bile zanemarivane. Odgovornost je ono što pravi razliku, razliku između slobode i samovolje. I iako nam sa gotovo svih bilborda, tv kanala, novina ili plakata, maltene iza svakog ugla, poručuju „Budite odgovorni“, kod onih kod kojih bi trebalo da je na prvom mjestu, odgovornosti najmanje ima. Ona je među prvim žrtvama virusa, izgleda da nije bila niti imuna niti blagovremeno tretirana. Tamo gdje ima odgovornosti ima šanse i za demokratiju i za poštovanje ljudskih prava.

Pandemija ksenofobije

Da zlo nikada ne dolazi samo, pokazuje jedna u

nizu „nuspojava“ pandemije virusa, a to je pandemija ksenofobije. Sve je polako krenulo od preventivne zabrane ulaska u zemlju Kinezima od strane Japana, Singapura, Mongolije, Sjedinjenih Država, Australije i drugih, preko pojavljivanja natpisa „Zabranjen ulaz Kinezima“ po kafićima u Italiji i Francuskoj, sve do izbjegavanja i podozrivosti prema ljudima azijskog porijekla u javnom prevozu, na ulici ili u prodavnicama. Mnogi ljudi azijskog porijekla u Evropi i Americi suočili su se s predrasudama i diskriminacijom samo na osnovu činjenice da je COVID-19 krenuo iz Kine. Ni države Balkana naravno nisu pošteđene ove nuspojave, u kojima nerijetko, a mimo svakog zdravog razuma, svi koji ne izgledaju kao „mi“ postaju Kinezi, tj. oni koji su „donijeli bolest među ljude“.

Uporo sa ovim često se dešava da suviše olako prenebregavamno činjenicu da „Ostanite doma!“ mnogima ne znači puno jer nemaju gdje niti ostati niti otići (beskućnici), dok je za neke druge koji žive u prenaseljenim kampovima „socijalna distanca“ nemoguća (migranti, izbjeglice, Romi). Usled vanrednih stanja koja bivaju proglašavana u manje više svim državama i zatvaranja granica pripadnici različitih naroda bivaju „pod vatrom“ krajnje desnih političara i medija koji traže jeftinu senzaciju, samo zato što su drugačiji. Zbog zamrzavanja velikog dijela ekonomije i sveopšteg zatvaranja stanovništva u izolaciju, beskućnici su dodatno izloženi gladi, bolestima i represiji policije.

Krizne situacije, bile one političke, ekonomske ili medicinske prirode često zahtjevaju „brza rješenja“ koja nužno ne moraju biti pogrešna. Ali rješenja koja će rezultirati diskriminacijom, segregacijom i brutalnošću prema skupinama ljudi na osnovama njihove nacionalne, vjerske ili druge pripadnosti, motivisana su isključivo mržnjom i ksenofobijom. Mehanizmi karakteristični za srednji vijek pokazuju se i danas. Mržnja i ksenofobija su odavno tu, postaju samo vidljivije i jače izražene u doba krize. COVID-19 je samo „dobro došao povod“ da se ksenofobija probudi.

Zdravstvo na rentgenu

Jedna od najupečatljivijih ali i najotrežnijujućih slika koja će definitivno ostati urezana u glavama mnogih jesu scene koje su nam stizale iz Italije i Španije.

Vojnici unose crne vreće u kamione i razvoze po okolnim mjestima jer su u Bergamu groblja prepuna. U Španiji pripadnici nacionalne garde skupljaju leševe i odvoze u prepune mrtvačnice. Sve više se klasični način sahranjivanja zamjenjuje kremiranjem. „Bolnice“ niču na svakom koraku: u konferencijskim salama, u parkovima, sajmovima, čak i po bibliotekama. Djelovalo je kao da se evropski zdravstveni sistem, ili barem u onim državama u kojima je zdravstvo važilo za uzorno (Italija, Španija, Francuska) rasuo u komade. Uzrok tome, kako se ispostavilo, leži u činjenici da su vlasti godinama urušavale javno zdravstvo na račun privatnog sektora. U nekim državama poput SAD su klasne razlike još izraženije, jer siromašni nemaju novaca ni da se liječe od posledica virusa, pogotovo ako su dobili otkaze. Zdravstveno osiguranje nisu ni imali.

Naravno ni kod nas godinama unazad nije drugačije. Desetine hiljada ljekara i medicinskog osoblja su napustili zemlje bivše Jugoslavije u poslednjih 20 godina. Nakon ponovnog pogoršavanja situacije sa pandemijom u Srbiji više od 2.700 ljekara potpisnika inicijative „Ujedinjeni protiv kovida“ je tražilo smjenu sadašnjeg i formiranje novog Kriznog štaba za borbu protiv virusa. Tražili su i utvrđivanje odgovornosti za, kako su naveli „javno-zdravstvenu katastrofu u kojoj se naša država nalazi“. Pokazalo se istinitim da je stepen represivnih mjera preduzetih za vrijeme trajanja pandemije obrnuto proporcionalan kapacitetu zdravstvenog sistema, a da je COVID-19 ujedno i najbolji rentgen stanja u kojim se nalaze naši zdravstveni sistemi.

Na prvoj liniji odbrane

COVID-19 nije pokazao samo ranjivost javnog zdravstva pred pandemijom, on nas je podsjetio na sve veća socijalna raslojavanja i prouzrokovao dalekosežne socijalne probleme. Pandemija je najteže pogodila one koji su u velikim sistemima najslabiji i najranjiviji, ali i one na koji su u normalnim okolnostima zapostavljeni i marginalizovani, a takvih je u našim društvima mnogo. To su svi oni koji, da se poslužimo uobičajenim dnevno političkim žargonom, stoje „na braniku naše otadžbine“ (čitaj ekonomije i posrnule privrede) i rizikuju svoje živote, počevši od ljekara, ostalih zdravstvenih radnika/

ca, apotekara/ki do najsiriromašnijih radnika/ca u polju proizvodnje i usluga. Većina njih, ako ne svi, generalno slabo plaćeni, a često odgovorni za izdržavanje svojih porodica, našli su se u situaciji da nemaju baš mnogo izbora da li da nastave da odlaze na posao. Dok su se mnogi drugi iz srednje klase mogli zaštititi radom od kuće, police u supermarketima ili apotekama ne mogu se slagati putem daljinskog upravljača, a to važi i za mnoge druge od fabričkih radnika i radnica do čistača i čistačica, vozača javnog prevoza, bankarskih službenika, poljoprivrednika, novinara, poštara, dostavljača....

Bez posla ostaje sve više zaposlenih zbog firmi koje ne mogu da opstanu u ovakvim uslovima. A država sporo i gotovo nezainteresovano najavljuje planove za pomoć, takozvane ekonomske pakete. I odmah na startu, saznajemo da su paketi namijenjeni onima koji su ionako privilegovani i jaki, dakle oni koji mogu da istrpe teret zadržavanja većeg broja radnika, pokrivanja gubitaka i recimo doniranja novca za kupovinu respiratora i ostale zdravstvene opreme. Mali privrednici su kao po pravilu prepušteni sami sebi i najčešće primorani da smanjuju broj radnih mjesta ili otpuštaju.

Zatvaranje škola i vrtića tokom pandemije drugačije se odrazilo na muškarce i žene. Kada je izbila kriza, mnogi parovi bili su prisiljeni da donesu odluku: ko će od nas dvoje da ostane kod kuće i pazi na djecu? Ako su oba partnera zapošljena, a jedan je morao da ostane kod kuće i vodi računa o djeci, mnogo više žena odlučilo se za brigu o djeci, pokazali su rezultati više studija. Pandemijom su pogođeni i mnogi drugi, poljoprivrednici, turistički i ugostiteljski radnici, umjetnici, kulturni poslenici, samohrani roditelji, osobe migrantskog porijekla ... niz je dugačak, predugačak...

Moramo se zapitati da li su svi ovi radnici na terenu, oni koji su na „prvoj liniji odbrane“, građani, ili su njihova prava (i goli životi) manje vrijedni od naših? Da li će na kraju „rata“ dobiti ordenje za službu domovini i globalnoj ekonomiji, ili možda još po 100 evra? Koliko će njih preživjeti sve ovo, a koliko će dodatno proširiti zarazu zbog svakodnevnog putovanja i boravka na poslu na kom su u kontaktu sa stotinama drugih „vojnika ekonomije“? Ono na šta nas je upozoravao francuski ekonomista Toma Piketi, da je „nejednakost ideologija“, a ne prirodno ili nekakvo pravedno stanje

stvari, sada sasvim ogoljeno, kao pod lupom, vidimo. Da li znamo da možemo i moramo drugačije?

Život dostojan življenja

Nalazimo se na početku iskustva koje vjerovatno nikada nećemo zaboraviti, a tek „treba da naučimo da živimo“ sa njim. Naučiti živjeti život sa socijalnom i fizičkom distancom, izolacijom, bez putovanja i na najmanju moguću mjeru smanjenom interakcijom, naporno je i neobično. Pri tom, u velikom broju kultura smo navikli da se blizina, solidarnost, empatija i uopšte briga za drugog, obično iskazuju rukovanjem, zagrljajem, dodirima, poljupcem, ili ponudom nekome da uđe u vašu kuću, da ode sa vama na kafu, u pozorište, u bioskop, da pripremite večeru za prijatelje. Sve se to sada zapravo preokreće i taj preokret je prilično bolan.

Ovo iskustvo nam pokazuje da smo zapravo jako dugo i uveliko, posebno na ovim prostorima, omeđeni granicama u glavi, ali i sve manje propusnim državnim granicama, patili od usamljenosti, asocijalnosti i izolovanosti. COVID-19 je samo ta osjećanja i tu realnost pojačao i učinio očiglednijom. Međutim, paralelno, a paradoksalno, ovo iskustvo kao da nas je jače uputilo jedne na druge. Skloniji smo razumijevanju, puno

spremniji na razgovor, otvoreniji za one koji dolaze s druge strane. Uželjeli smo se, u svakom smislu, jedni drugih. Pokazuje se da je čovjek ipak bitno biće odnosa, da smo neminovno upućeni jedni na druge i uvijek okrenuti jedni drugima. Da nema, niti može biti, Ja bez Ti.

Koliko smo kao civilizacija otišli daleko u smislu da više cijenimo i vrednujemo puko preživljavanje, „goli život“ od svega ostalog? Jedna od najvećih cijena koju u toku pandemije plaćamo svakako jeste žrtvovanje društvenosti, u širokom luku preko porodičnih, prijateljskih do poslovnih odnosa. Da li ovo znači i to da pod izgovorom ili opravdanjem dostojanstvenog života većine možemo donijeti odluku protiv očuvanja „golog života“ nekih? Iako načelo očuvanja svakog individualnog života mora imati prednost u odnosu na utilitarizam tržišta, ekonomske koristi ili štete, nastavka rada privreda itd., ono ne smije biti u protivrječnosti sa načelima ljudskog dostojanstva i dobrog ili društvenog života. Očuvanje „golog“ života svakog pojedinca mora biti neodvojivi dio dostojanstvenog života svih nas, a ne njegova teorijska ili politička opozicija.

Radomir Radević



rad s ratnim veteranima

Akcije i komemoracije:

- Komemoracija u Skelanima, BiH, 16.1.2020.
- Komemoracija u Prijepolju za stradale u Štrpcima, Srbija, 27.2.2020.
- Komemoracija u Vitezu, godišnjica stradanja djece, BiH, 10.6.2020.
- Komemoracija u Uborku i Sutini kod Mostara, BiH, 13.6.2020.
- Komemoracija u Briševu kod Prijedora, BiH, 25.7.2020.
- Komemoracija u Zecovima kod Prijedora, BiH, 25.7.2020.
- Komemoracija na Korićanskim stijenama kod Kneževa/Skender Vakufa, BiH, 21.8.2020.
- Veteranska posjeta Mostaru, BiH, od 7.9. do 9.9.2020.
- Komemoracija u Grabovici kod Mostara, BiH, 9.9.2020.

Godina koja je za nama definitivno je obilježena pandemijom što je u bitnome utjecalo i na naše aktivnosti. Naš rad sa ratnim veteranima na polju izgradnje mira također je značajno određen takvim okolnostima, ali na kraju godine možemo reći da smo uradili značajno velik posao, i po broju aktivnosti i po njihovom značaju.

Na samom početku godine, u januaru 2020. godine, sa 15-ak ratnih veterana i mirovnih aktivista iz BiH, Hrvatske i Srbije prisustvovali smo komemoraciji srpskim žrtvama u mjestu Skelani kod Srebrenice. Iako je Srebrenica poznata po genocidu nad Bošnjacima iz jula 1995. na širem području ovog grada postoje i druga stratišta, bošnjačka i srpska, vezana za ratni period. Skelani su jedno od mjesta koje kao mjesto stradanja doživljavaju i Bošnjaci (ubistva civila sredinom 1992.) i Srbi (ubistva civila početkom 1993.). Nasilje koje generiše novo nasilje vodi u začarani krug gdje se jedan zločin nakon rata opravdava prethodnim zločinom i to je nešto što je (pre)poznato u svakom ratu. Prisustvom komemoraciji u Skelanima željeli smo poslati poruku kako je izlazak iz tog začaranog kruga moguć, da odavanje počasti jednim žrtvama nikako ne negira ili relativizira druge žrtve, uz jasnu osudu i svakog pravdanja zločina. Iako se u javnosti može često čuti potreba da se priznaju i *naše* žrtve i da *druga strana* izrazi žal za tim žrtvama, u praksi se često dešava da, kada ti *drugi* izraze spremnost da dođu

odati počast žrtvama, ne budu prihvaćeni ili se pred njih postavljaju različiti uslovi. To govori o dubokom nepovjerenju među zajednicama, a nešto slično smo i mi doživjeli u Skelanima. Pa ipak, uprkos određenoj dozi nepovjerenja, dolaskom i odavanjem počasti žrtvama, vjerujemo da smo uspostavili kvalitetan kontakt sa organizatorima komemoracije, a nadamo se da ćemo i u narednim godinama imati priliku odati počast žrtvama u Skelanima.

Otmica civila iz voza koji je zaustavljen na stanici u Štrpcima (Rudo, Bosna i Hercegovina) jedan je od simbola ratnih stradanja na prostoru bivše Jugoslavije. Radilo se o državljanima Srbije i Crne Gore koji su putovali vozom na relaciji Bar-Beograd, a oteti su na stanici koja se nalazila na području Bosne i Hercegovine gdje su i pogubljeni. Najveći broj ubijenih bio je iz Prijepolja gdje je u znak sjećanja na žrtve podignut spomenik. Kako posmrtni ostaci većine žrtava ni do danas nisu pronađeni taj spomenik je mjesto gdje porodice dolaze svake godine da se 27. februara prisjete svojih najmilijih. Dan uoči komemoracije grupa od 30-ak ratnih veterana sastala se sa Nailom Kajevićem kome je tog kobnog 27. februara 1993. otet i ubijen

Više o radu s ratnim veteranima možete vidjeti na našoj internet stranici nenasilje.org

brat. Nail je sa nama podijelio bolnu priču o tome kako ubijeni civili ni da danas nemaju status civilnih žrtava rata, kako su u pokušaju da pronađu otete godinama obilazili različite institucije, kako su se borili za pravo na sjećanje i podizanje spomenika u centru grada... Susret sa Nailom bio je emotivan, ali opet na jedan način osnažujući za sve nas - njegova ustrajnost, posvećenost i borba poziv su na zajedničku borbu za sve žrtve. Sama komemoracija u organizaciji bošnjačkih političara i nacionalnih udruženja iz Sandžaka bila je, nažalost, sasvim suprotna i više je ličila na predizborni skup nego li na dostojanstveno sjećanje na žrtve. Takva zloupotreba žrtava nije nas omela u namjeri da podijelimo bol sa Nailom i drugim porodicama žrtava, odamo počast ubijenim i pozovemo na pronalazak tijela i procesuiranje odgovornih.

Izbijanje pandemije korona virusa u martu utjecalo je da otkazemo planirano višednevno druženje sa užom grupom ratnih veterana iz regiona sa ciljem osvrta na prethodnih nekoliko godina i planiranja budućih akcija. Period nakon smirivanja prvog vala pandemije iskoristili smo za više pripremnih sastanaka u Vitezu gdje smo prisustvovali i komemoraciji za osmero ubije-

ne hrvatske djece, Mostaru gdje smo prisustvovali komemoracijama na Uborku i Sutini te u Prijedoru.

U Prijedoru smo, ponajviše zahvaljujući svesrdnoj podršci prijatelja i saradnika Edina Ramulića, prisustvovali komemoraciji ubijenim civilima u Briševu i u Zecovima. Sam Prijedor je jedno od najvećih stratišta u Bosni i Hercegovini sa više od 3.000 ubijenih civila, koncentracionim logorima, masovnim ubistvima... U Briševu je 25. jula 1992. godine ubijeno 68 hrvatskih civila, a faktički ista jedinica Vojske Republike Srpske je na isti dan u susjednom bošnjačkom selu ubila veći broj civila među kojima je i više od 30 članova porodice Fikreta Bačića. S druge strane, lokalitet Korićanskih stijena nalazi se 150 kilometara od Prijedora, na teritoriji općine Skender Vakuf/Kneževu, ali je također vezan za stradanje prijedorskih civila. Naime, Prijedorčani su u ljeto 1992. transportovani iz Prijedora ka Travniku, a tokom prolaska jednog od izbjegličkih konvoja 21. augusta 1992. izdvojeno je i strijeljano oko 200 civila upravo na Korićanskim stijenama. Ova lokacija do danas je neobilježeno mjesto stradanja jer lokalne vlasti u Skender Vakufu/Kneževu ne dozvoljavaju da se ovo mjesto primjereno obilježi, pa su aktivisti i naši



prijatelji ovo mjesto obilježili 2019. u sklopu akcije obilježavanja neobilježenih mjesta stradanja.

O posjeti ratnih veterana Mostaru i prisustvu na komemoraciji u Grabovici možete čitati u zasebnom tekstu. Bio je to vrhunac ovogodišnjeg rada sa ratnim veteranima na polju izgradnje mira, ali i plod višegodišnjih napora. Posjeta je imala veliki značaj za sam grad Mostar iako smo posjetili prigradsko područje Bijelog Polja, ali je to bila prva prilika da ratni veterani Armije RBiH i HVO-a iz Mostara zajednički posjete jedni drugima spomenike, odaju počast ubijenim i ostvare komunikaciju o periodu koji je još uvijek bolan i izvor različitih trvenja u Mostaru u kojem danas Bošnjaci i

Hrvati žive u skoro jednakom omjeru. Tokom boravka u Mostaru, snimili smo i video prilog komemoraciji srpskim civilima u Varivodama i Gošiću kod Knina u Hrvatskoj. Sa mješovitom grupom veterana u Varivodama i Gošiću smo bili 2017. godine na poziv Srpskog narodnog vijeća (SNV) kao organizatora komemoracije. Nažalost, zbog pandemije ove godine nismo bili u mogućnosti organizirati veću grupu ratnih veterana, ali smo ovim videom i prisustvom manje delegacije na samoj komemoraciji željeli još jednom odati počast žrtvama, te pozdraviti pozitivne korake na polju suočavanja s prošlošću u Hrvatskoj.

Šta će Prijedor sa svojom prošlošću?

Briševo i Zecovi kod Prijedora, 25.7.2020.

Briševo i Zecovi su dio prijedorske ratne priče iz 1992. godine. Priče o teroru koji su nad Bošnjacima i Hrvatima sprovele vojne i policijske snage predvođene tadašnjim ratnim rukovodstvom Srpske demokratske stranke i formiranim Kriznim štabom Opštine Prijedor. Masovna ubistva, logori i prisilne deportacije obilježili su taj period čiji je epilog više od 3.000 ubijenih i preko 50.000 protjeranih.

U napadu na Briševo koji su 24. i 25. jula 1992. izveli pripadnici 5. Kozaračke brigade iz Prijedora i 6. Krajiške brigade iz Sanskog Mosta Vojske Republike Srpske (VRS), ubijeno je 68 stanovnika ovog mjesta, civila, mahom starijih ljudi, žena i djece. Stradale su i čitave pojedine porodice. Brojni žitelji su tada odvedeni u logor "Krinks".

U Zecovima je 25. jula 1992. ubijeno više od 100 civila, takođe uglavnom žena, djece i starijih osoba. Punoljetni muškarci su dva dana ranije, 23. jula, odvedeni u prijedorske logore. Mnogi od njih su ubijeni prilikom transporta ili kasnije u organizovanim egzekucijama logoraša. Ukupan broj je više od 150 ubijenih mještana Zecova. Zločin su počinili pripadnici VRS i rezervnog sastava milicije iz susjednog sela Rasavci.

Poziv da dođemo u Briševo na obilježavanje

godišnjice stradanja njihovih mještana dobili smo od Udruge Dom Briševo - Dobri. Ovu Udrugu sa sjedištem u Sesvetama u Hrvatskoj osnovali su prognanici iz Briševa koji žive u Hrvatskoj sa namjerom da se bave obnovom svog sela, izgradnjom infrastrukture koja bi olakšala povratak i izgradnjom spomen obilježja za ubijene Briševljane te organizacijom komemoracije na dan stradanja. Predsjednik ove Udruge Zdravko Marjan izrazio je zadovoljstvo što postoji inicijativa koja okuplja bivše ratnike sa plemenitim ciljem da se oda pošta nevino stradalim. I takođe, što će imati priliku razgovarati sa tim ljudima jer je i sam bio učesnik rata kao pripadnik Hrvatske vojske.

U Zecove nas je na komemoraciju pozvao Fikret Bačić. Od 1998. Fikret je povratnik u Zecove. Za vrijeme masakra 1992. zatekao se na radu u Njemačkoj. Ubijeni su mu supruga, kćerka, sin, majka i još 25 članova porodice. "Svi dobronamjerni ljudi su dobrodošli, bez obzira koje vjere i nacije bili i kojoj vojsci pripadali. Na ovom mjestu mogu čuti istinu o tome kako su ovdje ljudi pobijeni i kako i danas tragamo za tijelima svoje familije", reče nam Fikret prilikom susreta.

Komemoracije se održavaju istog dana, jedna ujutro, druga popodne. Zbog pandemije korona virusa odlučili smo da se komemoracijama pridružimo sa manjom



mješovitom grupom veterana, uz pridržavanje svih propisanih mjera. Sa domaćinima smo bili u stalnom kontaktu i pratili razvoj situacije, odnosno da li će doći do otkazivanja događaja ili će biti uvedene nove mjere koje bi onemogućile naš dolazak. Nažalost, upravo zbog pandemije, ovog puta sa nama nisu bili ratni veterani iz Srbije i članovi i članice CNA iz beogradskog ureda.

Oni koji ne odustaju

Sa grupom od 11 ratnih veterana, bivših pripadnika VRS, HVO, Armije RBiH i HV-a i nas 4-ero iz CNA stigli smo u Prijedor 24. jula. Pridružila su nam se i dvojica "naših" Prijedorčana, bivših pripadnika VRS i Armije RBiH, a te večeri imali smo priliku za susret i razgovor za Zdravkom i Fikretom.

Zdravko je opisao situaciju u ta fatalna 24 sata koliko je trebalo ubicama da počine zločin, onoliko koliko je čuo od preživjelih, jer tada nije bio tu. Naveo je da su ljudi ubijeni neviđenom brutalnošću. Povoda nije bilo, svo lovačko naoružanje je prethodno bilo predato, a drugo nije ni postojalo. Niti je bilo pokušaja da se organizuje neka vojna formacija u selu. Nakon

rata tijela su ekshumirana iz masovne i nekoliko pojedinačnih grobnica, još uvijek nedostaje tijelo jednog dječaka. Što se tiče procesuiranja, ovaj zločin je bio sastavni dio optužnica u kojima su po komandnoj odgovornosti osuđeni članovi ratnog rukovodstva bosanskih Srba, dok su visoki oficiri VRS Branko Basara i Nedjeljko Aničin, za koje je Tužilaštvo BiH 2015. podiglo optužnicu, nedostupni pravosuđu BiH jer se skrivaju u Srbiji. Briševo od predratnih 370 danas ima 4 stanovnika, 2 povratnika i jedan bračni par koji se prije par godina doselio iz Njemačke. Nakon rata upravni organi Grada Prijedora nisu obezbjedili kvalitetan put do ovog sela i nije sprovedena elektrifikacija tako da su izostali preduslovi masovnijeg povratka. Posmatrajući druga povratnička sela u okolini Prijedora, može se reći da je Briševo izuzetak jer su ova infrastrukturna pitanja u većini drugih mjesta osigurana. Zdravko je naveo da ni hrvatsko političko rukovodstvo u BiH a ni u Hrvatskoj ne pokazuje interes za Briševo, tako da se ni na komemoraciji ne pojavljuju visoki dužnosnici, iako se radi o najvećem počinjenom ratnom zločinu nad hrvatskim civilima u BiH u proteklom ratu.

Fikret se i nakon ovih proteklih 28 godina u nevjerici pita zašto mu ubiše najmilije. Volio bi to pitanje postaviti ubicama, mašta o tome da se sa njima sretne lice u lice i da ih pita. Ispričao nam je priču o zlodjelima nad stanovništvom Zecova, najviše ga boli što su u tome učešće uzele komšije. Mnogi su vjerovali da su oni u selu tog dana da ih zaštite. Nije bio tu, ali jeste njegov rođak Zijad Bačić koji je tada kao četrnaestogodišnjak igrom sudbine jedini preživio streljanje svoje familije. Fikret je ponovo u svojim Zecovima osnovao porodicu. Život je posvetio borbi za pronalaženje tijela svojih stradalih i privođenju pravdi ubica i njihovih naredbodavaca. Ne krivi za svoju nesreću drugi narod, razumije i da su drugi stradali i može da razumije njihovu bol. Obilazi BiH i sa drugim žrtvama, i on i Zijad učestvuju u programima javnog govorenja. Ali ubicama djece, žena i nemoćnih nikada neće oprostiti. Nada se da će 14 uhapšenih, za koje je Tužilaštvo BiH 2014. podiglo optužnicu, dobiti zaslužene zatvorske kazne. Fikret je i član Savjetodavnog odbora Instituta za traženje nestalih osoba, odbora koji sačinjavaju porodice žrtava. Ispričao nam je sa kakvim se problemima susreću. U velikoj mjeri je razočaran

radom Instituta. Malo toga se poduzima čak i kada se dođe do relevantnih informacija o grobnicama, u nekim slučajevima prođe i više godina. Za informacije o grobnicama često moraju plaćati, a iskopavanje na terenu finansiraju sami. Tek ukoliko pronađu tijela institucije im refundiraju troškove za angažman bagera i ljudi. "To je tako jer nema države, prepušteni smo sami sebi", kazuje. I spomen obilježje svojim stradalim je podigao sa svojom porodicom na svojoj zemlji u zaseoku Gradina. Procedure o dobijanju saglasnosti i dozvole za gradnju nije dočeka, nije htio više da čeka nakon godina ignorisanja. "To je tako jer nema države", ponavlja. Bori se Fikret od 2012. i za izgradnju spomenika ubijenoj djeci Prijedora, da njegovo dvoje i još stotinu druge djece dobiju dostojanstven memorijal. Poziva, učestvuje u pregovorima sa predstavnicima lokalnih vlasti, traži opcije i istrajava. Ne želi da spomenik bude predmetom bilo kakve zloupotrebe, želi sjećanje na ubijenu djecu. Bori se Fikret i za bolji život u Zecovima. Kuće i put su obnovili ali navodi da i nakon 22 godine od povratka, imaju problem sa vodosnabdijevanjem. U Zecove se nakon rata vratilo oko 350 stanovnika



Bošnjaka od predratnih 700, ali iz Zecova danas ljudi ponovo odlaze. Neizvjesna ekonomska egzistencija je novi pokretač ljudi sa njihovih ognjišta.

Edin Ramulić je aktivista Fondacije za kulturu sjećanja iz Prijedora i naš dugogodišnji saradnik i prijatelj, učesnik u mnogim akcijama koje smo organizovali. Osvrnuo se na to da su se u tom periodu od 20-30. jula 1992. dogodili prijedorski najkrvaviji dani jer su tada vršena i masovna strijeljanja logoraša u logoru Keraterm i masakri u Briševu i Zecovima, čime su izvršena brutalna etnička čišćenja. Naveo je da su iz nekog razloga ovi datumi stavljeni u drugi plan kada je u pitanju politika sjećanja jer se zvanično uz pomoć političkog vrha i vjerske zajednice komemoriraju drugi izabrani događaji, dok se sa ovima bave uglavnom porodice žrtava. Edin nosi niz identiteta, i člana porodice žrtava i logoraša i bivšeg pripadnika Armije RBiH i ratnog vojnog invalida i povratnika. Ističe da mu je upravo to pomoglo da sagleda širu sliku našeg društva i potrebu za mirovnim aktivizmom.

Teške priče, teške sudbine. Duboko oranje po emocijama tih ljudi kao i nas prisutnih. Šta smo nakon što ih saslušasmo mogli reći? Čuteći smo zagrlili tu bol. Ona je univerzalna za svakog ko ima ljudskosti u sebi. Iz ovih iskustava učimo i prenosimo ih u svoje zajednice. Teško je doći do tih spoznaja jer živimo u podijeljenom društvu, informacije se friziraju i selektivno se puštaju u medijski prostor. U ovoj našoj grupi su ta bol i patnja ono što nas povezuje, uz opredjeljenost da činimo sve da se zlodjela ne ponove. Dolazićemo na mjesta stradanja, možemo još boli da upijemo. A naš dolazak je potvrda da izrazom saosjećanja i odavanjem počasti žrtvama želimo da pređemo te granice u kojoj svaki narod samo za svojima žali.

Dostojanstveno pred Bogom i ljudima

Na dan komemoracije posjetili smo obnovljenu crkvu u Briševu u čijoj unutrašnjosti je postavljena spomen ploča sa imenima stradalih. Nerijetko je slučaj u poslijeratnoj BiH da se memorijali postavljaju unutar vjerskih objekata kako bi se zaštitili od sknavljenja. Uz put koji vodi kroz selo postavljeno je 15 spomen ploča kako bi se obilježila mjesta ubistva mještana. Na njima su ispisana imena i prezimena, godine rođenja i datum stradanja. Broj imena na ploči zavisi od broja osoba koje su ubijene na svakoj pojedinoj

lokaciji. Zdravko ističe kako na ovaj način tim spomen pločama žele samo uputiti poruku da se stradanje bilo kog naroda na ovim prostorima više ne smije dogoditi zbog budućnosti generacija koje dolaze. Nada se da je došlo vrijeme i da se spomen ploča iz crkve premjesti u dvorište i nastojeće i to napraviti možda već naredne godine. Nakon polaganja cvijeća pridružili smo se mještanima u misi koju je predvodio banjalučki biskup Franjo Komarica. Uz sjećanje na žrtve biskup je posebno naglasio važnost i potrebu za praštanjem i pomirenjem. Župnik župe Stara Rijeka, koja pokriva Briševo, don Boris Ljevak zahvalio se prisutnim veteranima nekadašnjih vojski na dolasku i naveo da mu je drago da smo sa njima na dan kada oni sjećaju svojih ubijenih.

Nakon Briševa uputili smo se u zaselak Gradina, koja je dio mjesne zajednice Zecovi. Na mjestu ispred nekadašnje porodične kuće gdje su ubijeni članovi njegove porodice, Fikret je podigao spomenik koji ima oblik otvorene knjige na čijim su stranicama uz ajete iz Kur'ana ispisana imena stradalih. Komemoracija je privatnog porodičnog karaktera, okupljaju se članovi rodbine i uz vjerski program odaje se počast stradalim. Ali nije zatvorena za druge. Fikret navodi i da su dolazili i pojedini srpski politički predstavnici iz Prijedora. Pred spomenikom je lokalni imam izgovorio molitvu i pozvao nas da svako na svoj način za koji misli da je primjeren oda poštu ovim nevinim ubijenim žrtvama. Položili smo cvijeće a onda nam se pridružio Zijad. Gleda u spomenik i prisjeća se tog kobnog dana. Priča i rukom pokazuje na ostatke kuće njegove strine u kojoj se tada krilo više od 30 osoba. "Svi smo bili u jednoj prostoriji. U jednom momentu se čula pucnjava te glas ispred kuće koji je rekao da svi izađemo vani. Žene i djeca su izlazili, a ja sam, od Boga je to dato, zadnji izlazio i dok sam oblačio cipele oni su već počeli paljbu. Čula se vriska žena i djece. Uzeo sam cipele i proturčao u kuću koja se nalazila u blizini, sakrio sam se. Pucali su dok nisu vidjeli da svi leže na zemlji. Poslije sam vidio kako vojnik pištoljem puca u one za koje je mislio da su živi", govori Zijad. Kasnije se neko vrijeme skrivao u obližnjoj bašti a onda je otišao da provjeri ima li ko živ. Nije nikog zatekao živog i odlučio je da pobjegne u susjedno selo kod druga iz školske klupe, koji je bio Srbin. On i njegov otac skrivali su Zijada 8 dana nakon čega su ga odveli kod amidže sa kojim je uspio da se prebaci do Travnika

a zatim do Njemačke. "Ljudi vama hvala što ste došli, ja stvarno nikog ne mrzim. Ovo su učinili zločinci. Nikad mi neće biti jasno zašto je došlo do toga jer smo sa komšijama Srbima uvijek bili u dobrim odnosima, a Srbi su me na kraju i spasili", dodao je Zijad.

Obje ove komemoracije su pošteđene vatrenih političkih govora, patriotskih pjesama koje grme sa razglasa i kolorita nacionalnih zastava. Kada me pitaju kako ljudi obilježavaju stradanje u Briševu i Zecovima odgovaram - dostojanstveno. To su mjesta susreta, razgovora i solidarnosti. Otvorena za sve dobronamjerne ljude. Osjeti se to u zraku, taj dio atmosfere. Jednostavno se osjećaš dobrodošlo.

Prijedor danas, 25 godina nakon posljednjeg rata, nosi jaram grada sa najviše osuđenih ratnih zločinaca i ekshumiranih 99 masovnih grobnica. Traga se za još 760 nestalih osoba, tako da i taj broj grobnica nije konačan. Samo oko 10% nekadašnjih stanovnika prijedorskog okruga se vratilo na svoja ognjišta.

Sjećanja jednog grada

Suočavanje sa prošlošću Prijedorčana prolazilo je različite faze. Postojao je period kada su se nastojanjima porodica žrtava da obilježe stradanja svojih najmilijih komemorativnim događajima i spomenicima većinski srpski politički predstavnici protivili. Negirali su odgovornost za zločine i jednostranom politikom sjećanja favorizovali vlastite žrtve gradeći spomenike najčešće na izabranim lokacijama poput parkova i ostalih javnih površina. Čak i na lokaciji nekadašnjeg logora Trnopolje, što je dodatno uznemirilo žrtve i njihovu zajednicu. Taj period je srećom prošao. Značajni datumi stradanja nesrba se unazad nekoliko godina komemoriraju, u organizaciji raznih udruženja žrtava

i drugih predstavnika nevladinog sektora. Povremeno su im se pridruživali i predstavnici lokalnih vlasti. Spomenici Bošnjaka i Hrvata su uglavnom izgrađeni na površinama u vlasništvu Islamske zajednice i Katoličke crkve. Međutim, u posljednjih par godina došlo je do pomjeranja sa mrtve tačke i čini se da će se i za pitanje podizanja spomenika u gradskoj jezgri Prijedora pronaći rješenje. Spomenik za 102 ubijene prijedorske djece dobio je zeleno svjetlo za izgradnju i trenutno je u fazi pronalaženje adekvatne lokacije.

Priča o posljednjem ratu u Prijedoru nespojiva sa onom koja je baštinjena nakon Drugog svjetskog rata, o gradu koji leži podno planine Kozare, a Kozara je sinonim antifašističke borbe protiv njemačkih okupatora i domaćih izdajnika, ustaša i četnika. Grad je to dr. Mladena Stojanovića i ostalih narodnih heroja koji položiše živote pozivajući na bratstvo i jedinstvo naših naroda, ostavljajući u amanet novim generacijama da čuvaju slobodu i mir koji su krvavo plaćeni. Ona količina zla što je isplivala 90-ih pokazuje da je istorija imala loše učenike. Bilo je kalkulacija koji su računali da je preventivno nasilje put kojim se treba ići, da im se ne bi ponovilo stradanje njihovih predaka. Danas to možemo posmatrati kao jedan od primjera kako se iz pozicije žrtve dođe do počinioca zločina. Valja s tim živjeti. Izbor je da li taj dio istorije 90-ih braniti i živjeti izolovano negujući tradiciju koja bespogovorno opravdava djela činjena zarad "višeg političkog cilja" ili tražiti način na koji bi zajednica preuzela odgovornost i poštenim odnosom prema prošlosti pružila satisfakciju porodicama žrtava i povratničkoj populaciji da se mogu integrisati i graditi zajedničku budućnost sa sugrađanima.

Amer Delić

„Blagoslovljeni bili graditelji mira“

Mostar, 7.9. - 9.9.2020.

Želja da, sa mješovitom grupom ratnih veterana, posjetimo mjesta stradanja i sjećanja civila i vojnika u Mostaru postoji već dugo, naši pokušaji da je ostvarimo sežu u 2010. Nije nam nedostajalo kontakata, ni ljudi

koji su nam u tome bili spremni pomoći, ali nije bilo pravo vrijeme. To je, naime, stanje stvari koje se odražava u medijima, Mostar je sve ove godine bez demokratski izabrane vlasti, pojam „podijeljenog

grada“, „grada slučaja“, kolateralna šteta Čovićevih i Dodikovih trgovina, od SDA tretiran samo usputnim patroniziranjem.

Heroji vremena

Sve to on jeste, ali nije samo to. Posjetu smo realizirali zahvaljujući suradnji i upornosti veterana ARBiH i HVO-a sa područja Bijelog Polja, predgrađa Mostara. „To je tako bilo u tom vremenu i svi smo mi bili vojnici i bili smo heroji u tom vremenu. Danas smo još veći heroji jer pružamo ruku pomirenja i oprosta i nadam se da je ovo jedan veliki korak za Mostar“, rekao je naš domaćin Stanislav Krezić, ratni veteran HVO-a i bivši logoraš. Uz Stanu, najzaslužniji za posjetu mješovite grupe ratnih veterana Bijelom Polju su, naš dugogodišnji prijatelj Zoran Zovko, predsjednik županijske organizacije HVIDR-e; Enver Karabeg, predsjednik Jedinstvene organizacije boraca Bijelo Polje i Haris Kljako, predsjednik RVI Stari grad Mostar.

Iako danas u Mostaru većinom žive Hrvati i Bošnjaci, u gotovo podjednakom broju, postoje najmanje tri narativa o ratnim događanjima i najmanje tri sjećanja, od kojih svako gradi svoje spomenike. Te se etničke linije ne prelaze ni kad je iskazivanje poštovanja prema žrtvama u pitanju. Preći ovako postavljene granice doista je herojsko nastojanje: uz posjetu lokalitetu Sutine, koji obilježava masovnu grobnicu civila, Bošnjaka i Hrvata, mješovita grupa ratnih veterana posjetila je mjesta sjećanja na poginule vojnike ARBiH, HVO-a i VRS-a.

(Nova) normalnost?

U društvu u kojemu živimo, kao da nije dovoljno neobično već to što ratni veterani ARBiH i HVO-a jedni drugima posjećuju spomenike i odaju počast, nego su to učinili i za one koje unutar Federacije BiH smatramo epitomskim neprijateljima, vojnicima VRS-a. Da stvar bude još neobičnija, veteranima se u odavanju počasti pridružio i resorni ministar Hercegovačko-neretvanskog kantona/županije Oliver Soldo i njegov pomoćnik Halil Ćućurević. Iako unutar Ministarstva za branitelje/borce dobro surađuju, po prvi put su ove spomenike posjetili zajedno. Ministar je javno podržao inicijativu, a u izjavama za medije naznačio da nam nedostaje ovako „normalnih pojava“, „gdje ljudi normalno razgovaraju

u svoj svojoj sličnosti i različitosti, međusobno se poštuju i uvažavaju“. Svi mi možemo zajedno nastaviti graditi ovaj grad, dodao je i pozvao na poklon svim žrtvama, „jer sve su to ljudi koji su dali svoje živote“.

Već dugo posjećujemo mjesta stradanja i sjećanja, obilježena i neobilježena. Već dugo u odavanju počasti ne radimo razliku između odavanja počasti civilima i vojnicima, što nam ponekad zamjeraju optužujući nas za relativizaciju, inzistirajući na tome da nisu sve žrtve iste. Bivši su vojnici razapeti unutar okvira kontrole sjećanja koju danas živimo, jednog društva koje ih doživljava/koristi kao heroje, i drugog koje ih doživljava/koristi kao zlikovce. Heroji su „naši“ vojnici, zlikovci su naši neprijatelji. „Mi“ smo se borili za ispravnu stvar, „oni“ su agresori i prema tome moralno upitni. Stoga je očekivano da ćemo posjećivati spomenike „našim“ herojima, a s prezirom se odnositi prema spomenicima „njihovih“, i to i jest obrazac po kojemu se odvija trenutna kultura sjećanja, ograđena u prostoru i ograničena u odnosu na to tko je dobrodošao izraziti počast.

Smatramo da sve žrtve rata zaslužuju poštovanje što podrazumijeva kako civilne, tako i vojne žrtve. Odavanje počasti svim stradalima ne podrazumijeva odobravanje ciljeva za koje su se oni možda zalagali, već predstavlja prije svega iskazivanje ljudskog poštovanja i žaljenja za gubitkom ljudskih života. I to je bila naša namjera i tokom posjete Bijelom Polju.

Blago mirotvorcima! Blagosloveni!

Grupu je činilo 30-tak ratnih veterana, bivših pripadnika ARBiH, Hrvatske vojske, Hrvatskog vijeća obrane, Vojske Jugoslavije i Vojske Republike Srpske, iz Brčkog, Bihaća, Šamca, Novog Grada, Zavidovića, Jajca, Zagreba, Kruševca, Goražda, Sarajeva i Mostara. Na samom početku naši su nas domaćini upoznali sa ratnim dešavanjima na području Bijelog Polja.

Prvi od spomenika koji smo posjetili centralni je spomenik poginulim pripadnicima HVO-a kod Crkve Presvetog Srca Isusova u Potocima. Položili smo cvijeće i odali počast, a potom nam se obratio don Josip Galić. Nekoliko puta nas je upitao, radimo li iz srca? Zaintrigirala ga je naša družina, pa je dijelom za sebe, dijelom da svi čujemo ponavljao životno važna pitanja, poput odnosa brata i brata, susjeda i susjeda. Ispričao nam je koliko su Bjelopoljci propatili, govorio je o



praštanju i pomirenju. Pomolili smo se za sve poginule i njihove obitelji, a potom nam je don Josip pročitao Evanđelje po Mateju... *Blago gladnima i žednima pravednosti, oni će se nasititi! Blago milosrdnima, oni će zadobiti milosrđe! Blago čistima srcem, oni će Boga gledati! Blago mirotvorcima, oni će se sinovima Božjim zvati!* grmio je don Josipov glas kroz mali zvučnik podno spomenika u obliku križa. Ispričao nam je da je vertikalna baza uznesenje čovjekovo prema Bogu, a horizontalna linija križa ljubavi prema bližnjem. „Ako ovo što radite, radite iz srca, blagoslovljeni bili“, ispratio nas je. „A blagosloveni bili oni koji grade mir“ rekao je okupljenima par sati kasnije pravoslavni sveštenik u Zijeplji, ne znajući da smo istu poruku čuli od katoličkog svećenika.

Posjećujući mjesta stradanja, s olakšanjem prihvaćam ovakav blagoslov jer mi je potreban. Ti daš najbolje od sebe što možeš, ostalo nije u tvojoj moći, ni to kako će te zajednica prihvatiti, hoće li ljudi razumijeti što činiš i zašto, ni to kako će sam događaj percipirati oni koji o njemu čuju u vijestima, koju vrstu pritiska mogu pretrpjeti oni koji su uključeni...

Uputili smo se prema lokalitetu Sutina. Spomenik

se nalazi na mjestu na kojem je 1992. otkrivena masovna grobnica sa tijelima Bošnjaka i Hrvata koji su ubijeni u noći između 13. i 14. juna 1992., kao i njihovi sugrađani pronađeni na Uborku. Bilo je planirano da na ovogodišnju komemoraciju 13. juna dođemo upravo sa mješovitom grupom ratnih veterana, međutim, zbog pandemije smo odlučili da na komemoraciju idemo samo kao mala delegacija. Zahvaljujemo udruženju porodica žrtava koji su nam izrazili posebnu dobrodošlicu prilikom polaganja cvijeća, nadamo se da ćemo sljedeći put biti u prilici doći u većem broju i posjetiti sva tri lokaliteta ovog ratnog zločina. Radi se o nekažnjenom zločinu koji je bio pod nadležnošću generala JNA Momčila Perišića, ali on zbog granatiranja Mostara, kao ni za zločin na Uborku, Sutini i Zaliku nikada nije odgovarao.

Odlazimo na centralni spomenik šehidima i poginulim borcima Armije RBiH kod Karađoz-begove džamije u Potocima. Stojim sa jednim od drugova, veteranom ARBiH, gunđa jer je okolina zarasla u travu, slabo se pazi na ovakva mjesta, kaže, ni ona fontana dolje kod crkve ne radi. Razgledamo ploču sa imenima i fotografijama poginulih, na tim pločama

je vidljivo gdje je nestalo pola moje generacije. Svi mladi, konstatiramo. I žalimo. Ispred spomenika na koji su uklesana imena poginulih počinje molitva. I na ovom, kao i na prethodnim spomenicima pozvani smo da odamo počast mrtvima „na način koji smatramo prikladnim“. Kad sam to prvi put čula, nije mi bilo pravo, pomislila sam da se to podrazumijeva i da nas nitko ne treba podsjećati na to da smo različiti. Tek sad mi je naum palo da taj poziv uključuje i „nevjernike“ i nas koji nismo sigurni kome se točno u našim molitvama upućujemo.

Most preko planine

Uslijedio je odlazak u Zijemlje, selo u opštini Istočni Mostar, 25 km udaljeno od Mostara, 40 minuta vožnje od Potoka makadamskom cestom preko Veleža. Planinski nam zrak i vjetar godi, u nizini temperatura već prelazi 30 stupnjeva. Susrećemo bagere i kamione, prave cestu, vidi se da nas uskoro očekuju izbori, od 20 kilometara puta, vrijedni neimari već su završili 30ak metara. Izbijamo na visoravan, kućice su raštrkane po sitnim obroncima, neke od njih još uvijek stoje porušene. Velika većina nas ovdje nikad nije bila, uzdišemo i divimo se prirodi, ovce kraj nas mirno pasu. Na putu prema groblju i crkvi u čijem se dvorištu nalazi spomenik palim borcima VRS, susrećemo mještane kako pobiru krumpir. Pitaju koji smo, i što tu tražimo. Neki od naših drugova ostaju s njima u razgovoru.

Oca Nebojšu Radića upoznali smo prošle godine, kada se odazvao pozivu da prisustvuje sastanku naše grupe. Našem pozivu se rado odazvao i ovaj put, predvođeci molitvu ispred spomenika. Stojim s kolegom, komentira kako mu je draža pravoslavna nego ta moja katolička služba, nekako je mekanija i nježnija? Klimam glavom, vjetar raznosi pojanje i molitve, slušamo imena poginulih upisana na spomeničku ploču. Pridružio nam se i mještananin što nas je dočekao u polju s krumpirima. Čuo je u međuvremenu tko smo, blagosilja nas, kaže, ovakvih nam stvari više treba. Planina nas ispraća hukom.

Po povratku u Bijelo Polje pričamo o utiscima, mjestima i ljudima koje smo sreli. Mi žene uvijek imamo određene predrasude kad je u pitanju način na koji se muškarci, uz to još i ratnici, nose sa emotivnim teretom ovakvih razmjera – biti u stanju pokloniti se

neprijatelju, ukazati mu poštovanje i moći izraziti žal za gubitkom svakog ljudskog života zahtijeva duboki, unutarnji psihološki rad. Način na koji to ovi ljudi čine je za primjer i učenje, budući dopušta prostor za perspektivu drugoga, za drugo viđenje rata od onog na koji smo naučeni, za tuđu patnju i stradanje, i suosjećanje. Privilegija je biti okružen njima.

Ostatak dana smo proveli u Mostaru. Obišli smo Hram Svete Trojice u rekonstrukciji, inače pod zaštitom UNESCO-a. Izgrađen 1873., 1992. je prvo zapaljen, a potom miniran. Otac Nebojša nam je ispričao kratki historijat života srpskog naroda na području Mostara. Koliko se Mostar promijenio od tih vremena do danas, govori i činjenica da je 1991. imao oko 23 tisuće Srba, uz 12 tisuća Jugoslavena, a da ih danas u Mostaru i okolici živi nešto manje od 5 tisuća. Posjetili smo spomenik Aleksi Šantiću, i njegovoj Emini, a da naša posjeta Mostaru bude potpuna pobrinuli su se naši domaćini iz armijskih udruženja, koji su je i simbolički željeli obilježiti zajedničkom fotografijom na Starom mostu, te skokom nekog spretnog mladića u Neretvu. Oni koji su Mostar obilazili turistički znaju koliko je rijetka prilika doista i doživjeti nečiji skok - iako redom sredovječni, u tom smo trenutku svi bili uzbuđeni kao djeca. Odjednom me preplavio osjećaj normalnosti, isti onaj koji sam osjećala dok sam se kao dijete penjala skalama Starog grada, da Mostar zapravo nikada i nije prestao biti onakav kakvim ga pamtim – grad u kojemu ima mjesta za sve, i u kojemu izmiješanost vjera i naroda nije bila teškoća već komparativna prednost. Jesmo li mi zaboravili biti takvi ljudi?

Nade ima, čak i za nas koji se stalno suočavamo s posljedicama rata, povjerenje se gradi polako, ali nije nam nedostižno. Suočavam se s ovim izazovom u najvećoj mjeri na mjestima koja komemoriraju žrtve iz mog naroda, možda je upravo komemoracija u Grabovici za mene najbolji lakmus papir za to što želimo postići veteranskim mirovnim akcijama. Na nju smo se uputili ujutro 9.9.

Grabovica 1993.

U mjestu Grabovica, koje se nalazi između Jablanice i Mostara, 8. i 9.9.1993. ubijen je veći broj civila. Prema navodima Udruge hrvatskih stradalnika „Grabovica 93“ tih je dana ubijeno 33 civila, a veći dio posmrtnih

ostatka ubijenih ni do danas nije pronađen. Za ovaj je ratni zločin pred sudovima u BiH osuđeno pet pripadnika Armije RBiH.

Treći put zaredom prisustvujem ovoj komemoraciji, prvi put smo došli kao manja delegacija, potom sa veteranskom grupom, i ove godine ponovno sa veteranskom grupom, iako nešto manjeg obima zbog ograničenja vezanih uz uvjete pandemije. Pred nekoliko godina na ovoj komemoraciji nismo bili poželjni. Nitko vam to neće otvoreno reći, ali vam je jasno već prema tome kako se odvijaju dogovori. Odustajali nismo, išli smo na sastanke, nastojali organizatoru komemoracije približiti što je to što radimo i želimo postići. Kada smo konačno pozvani da dođemo s grupom, prvi dojam koji smo dobili o komemoraciji bile su Thompsonove koračnice koje su odjekivale sa zvučnika. Tada sam imala osjećaj da je svećenik koji je držao misu pročitao našu molbu da se pridružimo komemoraciji samo kako bi našu misiju javno doveo u pitanje. Ali, dolazak na komemoracije najmanje ima veze s time kako se mi sami osjećamo, jer nismo tu zbog sebe, već smo došli izraziti poštovanje prema žrtvama. I s tom namjerom smo se u Grabovicu uputili i ove godine. Ovaj put su Thompsonove pjesme izostale. U govoru koji je održao predsjednik Udruge i organizator komemoracije Josip Drežnjak pomenute su sve žrtve i potreba da se sve žrtve

priznaju i ukaže im se poštovanje. Još je jednom uputio poziv institucijama da se prestane za zataškavanjem ovog zločina i procesuiraju odgovorni. Ratni zločin u Grabovici bio je dio optužnice protiv Sefera Halilovića, ali je oslobođen krivnje zbog nedostatka dokaza. To, međutim, ne znači da sa traženjem odgovornih treba prestati, i nadamo se da smo svojim dolaskom pružili podršku obiteljima žrtava u njihovim nastojanjima.

Za nekoga bi ti pomaci bili jedva zamjetni, ali u mirovnom radu mali koraci su sve. Kad te savlada veličina zadatka, vraćanje na prethodne korake, pritisci i nerazumijevanje, valja se sjetiti da se stvari mijenjaju polako, da svaki uloženi trud uroditi nekim pomakom u razumijevanju i da djelovanje iz srca uvijek naiđe na odjek. „Tu smo da pokažemo da možemo zajedno i da trebamo krenuti dalje, da možemo da učinimo taj jedan korak prema boljoj budućnosti za sve nas, posebno za naša pokoljenja koja dolaze. Da damo poruku da rat ne treba da se dešava više nikada i nikome. Da svojim dolaskom ovdje pokažemo da još uvijek smo svi ljudi i da možemo da živimo zajedno“, rekao je jedan od naših veterana obraćajući se medijima. Ovome se nema što dodati, osim da saveznike u ovom nastojanju sad već imamo i na najnevjerovatnijim mjestima, poput lijepoga grada Mostara.

Davorka Turk



NEOBILJEŽENO
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 NIKADA I NIKOME NE PONOVI

НЕОБІЛЖЕНО
МЈЕСТО СТРАДАЊА

НА ОВОМ МЈЕСТУ СУ, У ПРОТЕКЛОМ РАТУ, НАД ЉУДИМА ВРШЕНА НЕЉУДСКА ДЈЕЛА
НЕ ПРЕПУШТАЈУЋИ ТЕ ДОГАЂАЈЕ ЗАБОРАВУ, СОЛІДАРІШЕМО СЕ СА СВИМ ЖРТВАМА
ДА СЕ НИКАДА И НИКОМЕ НЕ ПОНОВИ

obilježavanje neobilježenih
mjesto stradanja

Akcije i aktivnosti:

- **Deseta ONMS akcija, Bosanska Krajina**, od 11. do 14.10.2019.

Obilježena mjesta stradanja:

Naselja Lušci Palanka i Zdena, Sanski Most

Osnovna škola, Društveni dom, Rizvanovići, Prijedor

Fudbalski stadion Mlakve, Novi Grad/Bosanski Novi

Jama Lisac, Krupa na Uni

- **Jedanaesta ONMS akcija, Srednja Bosna i okolina Sarajeva**, 16.6.2020.

Obilježena mjesta stradanja:

Hotel Igman, Hadžići, Bjelašnica

Hotel Maršal (nekadašnji hotel Famos), Trnovo, Bjelašnica

Selo Bilivode, Zenica

Selo Miletići, Travnik

Tuzlanski konvoj spasa, Novi Travnik

- **Predstavljanje ONMS web sajta, Sarajevo** 4.3.2020.
- **Predstavljanje ONMS web sajta, Banja Luka**, 21.7.2020.
- Objavljen članak „Osim nesreće nema ništa drugo“ (više u delu „Publikacije“)

Od gerile do akademske zajednice

Aktivnost *Obilježavanje neobilježenih mjesta stradanja (ONMS)* u protekloj godini, osim dosadašnjih akcija na terenu i obilaženja i obilježavanja lokacija u BiH, unaprijeđena je i izradom web stranice onms.nenasilje.org putem koje se može na jednostavan način pristupiti informacijama o svim mjestima koje smo u proteklih pet godina obilježili. Uz dokumentovanje podataka stranica sadrži i mapu u kojoj su označene sve posjećene lokacije. Kao takva stranica bi mogla poslužiti kao svojevrsni alat za sve one koji se aktivno bave kulturom sjećanja, bilo kao aktivisti, novinari ili akademski istraživači.

Web stranicu smo željeli predstaviti bosanskohercegovačkoj javnosti i odlučili smo napraviti dvije promocije, u Sarajevu i Banja Luci i uz njih upriličiti javni razgovor koji će tematizirati aktuelnu kulturu sjećanja u BiH i našu aktivnost kao vid alternativne memorizacije.

U Sarajevu je promocija održana 4. marta 2020. na

Fakultetu za kriminalistiku, kriminologiju i sigurnosne studije. Bio je to svojevrsni spoj akademske zajednice i mirovnog aktivizma. U razgovoru su učestvovali Mirza Buljubašić, asistent na Fakultetu za kriminalistiku, kriminologiju i sigurnosne studije, Lamiya Grebo, novinarka Balkanske istraživačke mreže Bosne i Hercegovine (BIRN BiH) te Tamara Zrnović, Dalmir Mišković i Amer Delić, članovi tima ONMS. Razgovor je moderirala Davorka Turk iz Centra za nenasilnu akciju (CNA).

U razgovoru s prisutnima moglo se zaključiti da je jedan od mogućih puteva ka pomirenju i taj da se napusti dosadašnji obrazac favorizovanja vlastitih žrtava i potraži novi pristup u kojem je moguće

Više o akcijama obilježavanja mjesta stradanja možete pronaći na našoj internet stranici onms.nenasilje.org

uvažavanje i stradanja drugih a ne samo pripadnika vlastite zajednice. Značajno je spomenuti da su promociji prisustvovali i članovi Organizacije porodica zarobljenih, poginulih i nestalih boraca i civila Republike Srpske iz Istočnog Sarajeva koji su izrazili zadovoljstvo načinom na koji naša aktivistička grupa pristupa svim zajednicama u Bosni i Hercegovini.

Promocija u Banja Luci je bila planirana za 17. mart 2020., ali je uslijed propisanih mjera zbog pandemije korona virusa otkazana.

Održana je čim su se za to stekli uslovi 21. jula 2020. u Socijalno-edukativnom centru. U razgovoru su učestvovali Edin Ramulić, aktivista Fondacije za izgradnju kulture sjećanja iz Prijedora, Tamara Zrnović (ONMS) i Krsto Rakić iz Regionalnog udruženja logoraša iz Višegrada. Edin i Krsto su podijelili svoja iskustva iz akcija u kojima su sudjelovali i govorili su o važnosti da se obilježe sva mjesta stradanja. Razgovor sa prisutnim posjetiteljima je ukazao da postoji potreba da se u primjerenu memorijalizaciju uključe i drugi predstavnici društveno-političkog života u BiH jer je trenutno teret na predstavnicima nevladinog sektora.

Akcije na terenu u protekloj godini sprovedene su u dva navrata. U desetoj akciji sprovedenoj u novembru 2019. obišli smo lokalitete pojedinačnih i masovnih egzekucija i bivše zatočeničke objekte u Bosanskoj Krajini, na području Sanskog Mosta, Prijedora, Bosanskog Novog/Novog Grada i Krupe na Uni. Imali smo priliku obilježavati lokacije uz prisustvo povratnika i porodica žrtava, a u Sanskom Mostu smo održali i sastanak sa članovima Udruženja logoraša općine Sanski Most. I porodice žrtava i povratnici i bivši logoraši imaju zajednički stav da je potrebno učiniti

vidljivim svačije stradanje, govoriti o njemu i na taj način doprinijeti životu u miru, poštovanju i toleranciji.

Jedanaesta po redu akcija je sprovedena u junu 2020. Zbog pandemije smo izabrali lokacije u okolini Sarajeva i srednje Bosne, područja Zenice, Travnika i Novog Travnika. Nastavili smo sa praksom da u lokalnim zajednicama koje posjećujemo susretnemo i ljude s tih područja, a ostvarili smo i saradnju sa članovima Fondacije "Istina, pravda, pomirenje" iz Tuzle sa kojima smo zajedno posjetili neobilježeno mjesto stradanja kod Novog Travnika.

Nakon akcija na terenu nastavili smo kampanju oglašavanja na društvenim mrežama s ciljem da ukažemo na potrebu da se svim žrtvama, njihovim porodicama i zajednicama, omogući pravo na dostojanstveno sjećanje i da se na taj način doprinese izgradnji trajnog mira na našim prostorima.

Put koji smo prešli u proteklih pet godina razvijao se od samostalnih gerilskih akcija, preko saradnje sa ratnim veteranima, susreta sa udruženjima žrtava rata i predstavnicima lokalne zajednice, do prezentacije našeg rada u visokoškolskim institucijama uz učešće predstavnika akademske zajednice. Bili smo prisutni u javnom prostoru općenito i pozivani smo da predstavimo naš rad i na događajima koji organizuju drugi, poput "Škole drugačijih sjećanja" u istočnoj Bosni i obilježavanju sjećanja na prijedorske logore u okviru komemoracije "Noć u Trnopolju".

Aktivnost planiramo nastaviti i u narednom periodu. Nastojaćemo produbiti saradnju sa lokalnim zajednicama i udruženjima i pokušati da otvorimo prostor za konstruktivnu promjenu postojećih obrazaca kulture sjećanja.

Aktivisti obilježili mjesta stradanja u Srednjoj Bosni i okolini Sarajeva

Grupa aktivista uz podršku Centra za nenasilnu akciju u junu 2020. godine nastavila je sa akcijom obilježavanja neobilježenih mjesta stradanja u Bosni i Hercegovini. U proteklom periodu obilježeno je pet lokacija: Hotel Igman i Hotel Maršal, Bilivode

kod Zenice, Miletići kod Travnika i mjesto napada na Tuzlanski konvoj spasa kod Novog Travnika.

Od proteklog rata u Bosni i Hercegovini prošlo je 25 godina, a skoro da u svakom gradu i dalje postoji veliki broj neobilježenih mjesta stradanja (domovi kulture,

škole, poljoprivredna i šumarska gazdinstva, policijske stanice, hoteli itd.) Ovi objekti su nakon ratnih razaranja uglavnom obnovljeni i vraćeni u prvobitne funkcije, ali je izostalo njihovo obilježavanje kao mjesta stradanja. Aktivisti iz Bosne i Hercegovine uz podršku Centra za nenasilnu akciju Sarajevo-Beograd već pet godina obilježavaju neobilježena mjesta stradanja nastojeći ukazati na važnost prepoznavanja patnje i bola drugih i izgradnje konstruktivne kulture sjećanja na bolnu prošlost.

Lokacije vezane za **Tuzlanski konvoj spasa** do danas su također neobilježena mjesta stradanja. Taj konvoj sa humanitarnom pomoći sastojao se od nekoliko stotina kamiona, bio je dugačak sedam kilometara i išao je iz Splita, preko Gornjeg Vakufa za Tuzlu. Konvoj je zaustavljen 10. juna 1993. na barikadi na putu koju je stvorila velika skupina hrvatskih civila i vojnika u Rankovićima, sjeverno od Novog Travnika. Osam vozača ubijeno je iz vatrenog oružja, vozila su odvezena, a konvoj su opljačkali civili i vojnici. Konvoj je zatim ponovno zaustavila grupa mještana na kontrolnom punktu Dubravica u blizini Viteza. Haški tribunal je utvrdio da su grupe koje su zaustavila konvoj bile pod kontrolom vrha HVO-a, prvenstveno Daria Kordića i Tihomira Blaškića. Posmrtni ostaci tri osobe ubijene nakon zaustavljanja konvoja još uvijek nisu pronađeni. Prema navodima medija, Tužilaštvo BiH vodi istragu o napadu na konvoj.

Prilikom obilježavanja ovog mjesta priključili su nam se i članovi Fondacije "Istina, pravda, pomirenje" iz Tuzle koji već godinama istražuju ovaj slučaj i insistiraju na njegovom procesuiranju.

"Za nas iz Tuzle je bitno da se lokacija napada na konvoj obilježi, a specifičnost ovog zločina je da se vojnim licima u napadu pridružilo i civilno stanovništvo", kazao je Sinan Alić, predsjednik Fondacije "Istina, pravda, pomirenje" iz Tuzle uz napomenu da je predmet proslijeđivan različitim tužilaštvima bez da se učinilo išta konkretno u procesuiranju. Alić napominje da se napad desio u zoni odgovornosti HVO-a i na području koje je kao vojni tužilac pokrivao Marinko Jurčević koji je nakon rata bio i glavni tužilac Tužilaštva BiH.

Bilivode (Zenica)

U vrijeme oružanog sukoba Armije RBiH i HVO-a na području Zenice, u periodu od 17. do 24. aprila 1993.

ubijena su 4 civila hrvatske nacionalnosti na dvije lokacije u selu Bilivode. Nakon ubistava, tijela troje civila zapaljena su u jednoj vikendici u selu Bilivode. Za ovaj zločin Kantonalni sud u Zenici sudio je Enizu Bašiću koji je prvostepenom presudom proglašen krivim i osuđen na dvije godine zatvora, ali je u drugostepenom postupku oslobođen.

U Bilivodama danas živi samo Katica Mijač. Dio kuća je nakon rata obnovljen, ali se stanovništvo nikada nije vratilo. Katica je zajedno sa porodicom pokušala da obilježi mjesto pogibije Ive Kusture.

"Ponijeli smo po dvije svijeće i neko cvijeće smo postavili na mjesto pogibije. Malo poslije, sve to cvijeće i svijeće je pogaženo, a niko poslije nije ni pokušavao da obilježi to mjesto. Obilježiti takva mjesta je humano, puno mi je važno da se takva mjesta obilježe, nek se zna ako je čovjek poginuo, svakom se stavlja, bilo na groblju, bilo gdje, neki znak te osobe", kaže nam Katica Mijač koja dodaje kako je za ubijene civile u Bilivodama ploča izrađena ali još uvijek nije postavljena iz straha da ne bude oskrnavljena.

Miletići (Travnik)

U vrijeme sukoba Armije RBiH i HVO na širem području Srednje Bosne izvršen je napad na hrvatsko selo Miletići 24. aprila 1993. Selo su napale jedinice stranih boraca tzv. mudžahedina te su ubili pet civila dok je 35 civila hrvatske nacionalnosti zarobljeno i odvedeno u kamp jedinice gdje su premlaćeni. Dio hrvatskih mještana pomoć je zatražio u susjednom bošnjačkom selu, a pripadnici mudžahedina pritvorili su i trojicu Bošnjaka koji su pomagali komšijama. Izvršioци zločina nikada nisu kažnjeni, a sud u Haagu zločinom u Miletićima detaljnije se bavio u predmetu protiv Envera Hadžihasanovića i Amira Kubure, zapovjednika Armije RBiH. Haški Tribunal je utvrdio da su napad izvršile jedinice tzv. mudžahedina sastavljene od stranih i domaćih boraca nad kojima jedinice Armije RBiH nisu imale efektivnu kontrolu.

U junskoj akciji obilježavanja mjesta stradanja obilježili smo i **Hotel Igman** na Igmanu te **Hotel Maršal** (nekadašnji Famos) na Bjelašnici. Hotel Igman je u periodu od februara do marta 1993. godine pretvoren u zatočenički objekat za vojnike i civile srpske i hrvatske nacionalnosti. Upravu nad objektom imala je ARBiH i specijalna jedinica za posebne namjene

zvana “Zulfikar”. Sud Bosne i Hercegovine je za zločine počinjene u Hotelu Igman osudio Dževada Salčina, pripadnika Specijalnog odreda za posebne namjene „Zulfikar“ ARBiH na zatvorsku kaznu u trajanju od 2 godine. Sud BiH je 2013. godine potvrdio optužnicu koja tereti i Nedžada Hodžića za zločine počinjene u Hotelu Igman. Predmet Nedžada Hodžića pred Sudom BiH trenutno “miruje” zbog zdravstvenog stanja optuženog. Objekat hotela Maršal (Famos) na planini Bjelašnici je u periodu od juna do avgusta 1992. godine pretvoren u zatočenički objekat za civile srpske nacionalnosti. Između 100 i 150 civila je uhapšeno u Bradini kod Konjica i dovedeno u hotel. Upravu nad objektom imala je ARBiH i specijalna jedinica za posebne namjene zvana “Zulfikar”. Zatočenicima su bili smješteni u podrumске prostorije hotela gdje su svakodnevno zlostavljani i premlaćivani. Nakon nekoliko dana provedenih u prostorijama hotela Famos, premješteni su u logore Čelebić ili u Silos u Tarčinu. Za ove zločine još niko nije procesuiran.

Uz podršku Centra za nenasilnu akciju aktivisti su do sada obilježili više od 80 neobilježenih mjesta stradanja u Bosni i Hercegovini. [Popis obilježenih lokacija sa podacima o počinjenim zločinima i procesuiranju odgovornih kao i mapa mjesta stradanja](#) dostupni su na našoj internet stranici.

“Naš cilj je da potaknemo neselektivno i primjereno obilježavanje mjesta stradanja kako bi se ukazalo na potrebu da se svim žrtvama, njihovim porodicama i zajednicama, omogući pravo na dostojanstveno sjećanje i da se na taj način doprinese izgradnji trajnog mira na našim prostorima. Pozivamo lokalne vlasti u svim dijelovima Bosne i Hercegovine da ne opstruišu obilježavanje mjesta stradanja već da se aktivno uključe u njihovo obilježavanje. Suosjećanje i solidarnost sa svim žrtvama naša su obaveza”, kazao je Amer Delić, član CNA tima.

U Sarajevu i Banja Luci predstavljena *online* mapa neobilježenih mjesta stradanja u BiH

Mirovna inicijativa **Obilježavanje neobilježenih mjesta stradanja** (ONMS) i Centar za nenasilnu akciju Sarajevo-Beograd su u Sarajevu, 4. marta i Banja Luci 21. jula 2020. godine predstavili aktivnost i [web stranicu](#) koja dokumentuje akciju obilježavanja neobilježenih mjesta stradanja vezana za rat u BiH 1992-1995.

Aktivnost na obilježavanju neobilježenih mjesta stradanja je mirovna inicijativa koja od 2015. godine nastoji da obilježi neobilježena mjesta stradanja u Bosni i Hercegovini. U pet godina djelovanja *posjetili su, dokumentirali i obilježili 81 mjesto stradanja u BiH*, vezanih za period rata od 1992–1995. godine.

Nakon višegodišnjih aktivnosti obilježavanja mjesta stradanja u svim dijelovima Bosne i Hercegovine ukazala se potreba za izradom web stranice koja bi na pregledan i jednostavan način prezentirala do sada obilježena mjesta te bi mogla poslužiti kao svojevrsni alat za sve one koji se aktivno bave kulturom sjećanja, bilo kao aktivisti, novinari ili akademski istraživači.

Web stranica onms.nenasilje.org dokumentuje do sada obilježena mjesta stradanja, daje kratke informacije o tim mjestima, fotografije mjesta nastale tokom akcije obilježavanja, te mapu sa ucrtanim tačnim lokacijama gdje se neobilježena mjesta stradanja nalaze.

“Kada smo krenuli da obilježimo neka od neobilježenih mjesta stradanja namjera nam je bila da ta mjesta detabuiziramo i da potaknemo ljude koji danas žive u tim mjestima da ih na prikladan način obilježe. Od početka smo komunicirali sa različitim akterima, od udruženja žrtava, lokalnih vlasti, do običnih građana koji su nam se javljali sa informacijama o lokacijama stradanja koja do sada nisu obilježena. S obzirom na broj takvih mjesta u BiH, javila se potreba da do sada obilježena mjesta stradanja prezentiramo na jedan pregledan i lako dostupan način”, kazala je Tamara Zrnović iz Centra za nenasilnu akciju na promociji u Sarajevu.

Obilježavanjem neobilježenih mjesta stradanja mirovni aktivisti žele ukazati na postojanje tabuiziranih, zaboravljenih i prešućenih mjesta stradanja i patnje u našim zajednicama. Mnoga od tih mjesta (domovi kulture, škole, tvorničke hale, fudbalski stadioni, policijske stanice, hoteli itd.) bila su mjesta zatočenja ili ubistava, a danas su, nakon ratnih razaranja, uglavnom obnovljena i vraćena u prvobitne funkcije.

“Jedan od ciljeva ove akcije, pa i same web stranice je i osvještavanje ljudi u lokalnim zajednicama ukazujući im da postoje mjesta stradanja koja su najčešće simbol patnje ‘onih drugih’ i prepuštena su zaboravu, čak i negiranju, iako postoje i sudski procesi i činjenice koje su u njima navedene kao nesumnjive. Činjenjem tih mjesta vidljivim i upoznavanjem sa događajima, ta mjesta neće biti prepuštena zaboravu”, rekao je tom prilikom Dalmir Mišković, član tima ONMS i mirovni aktivista iz Livna.

Krsto Rakić i Edin Ramulić, iz perspektive logoraša, govorili su u Banja Luci o važnosti da se obilježe mjesta stradanja.

“Osim što mi je lično značajno da se obilježi mjesto mog zatočenja, bio sam spreman i voljan da aktivistima na terenu pomognem da obilježe druga mjesta stradanja, mjesta stradanja drugog naroda u Foči i Višegradu”, kazao je Krsto Rakić.

Edin Ramulić, aktivista iz Prijedora, kazao je kako u Bosni i Hercegovini postoji niz mjesta za koje je u sudskim presudama neosporno utvrđeno da su mjesta zatočenja ili ubijanja, a koja ni do danas nisu obilježena.

“To nije samo fizičko obilježavanje mjesta, odnosno lokacija, to je i pokušaj da se stradanja otrgnu od zaborava. Za mnoge žrtve i njihove porodice to nije prošlost, oni sa tim žive, i priznanje da se na tim mjestima desio zločin, da je neko tu stradao, njima je značajno”, kazao je Ramulić.





mirovno obrazovanje

Održan:

- 43. Osnovni trening iz izgradnje mira (Ulcinj, Crna Gora, od 18. do 28.10.2019.)

Broj prijava: 148

20 učesnika/ca iz: Bosne i Hercegovine (6), Hrvatske (5), Sjeverne Makedonije (3), Srbije (3), Kosova (2) i Crne Gore (1)

Zanimanja: studenti/ce, aktivisti/ce ljudskih prava, političari/ke, prosvjetni radnici/ce, novinari/ke, ekonomisti, antropologinja, psihologinja

Tim: Ivana Franović, Nedžad Novalić, Tamara Zrnović, Davorka Turk

Programi mirovnog obrazovanja pripadaju temeljnim aktivnostima Centra za nenasilnu akciju. Upravo zbog toga što treninzi nude mogućnosti za razvijanje senzibiliteta za različite forme nasilja, mehanizama i dinamike nastajanja sukoba, preispitivanje vlastitih stavova i vlastite pozicije u društvu, ali i poticaj i osnaživanje za konkretan društveni angažman, treninzi su mjesto za povezivanje i izgradnju neophodnih savezništava u izgradnji stabilnog i trajnog mira. Upravo kroz treninge crpimo motivaciju i inspiraciju za naš daljnji rad, i što je još važnije, srećemo buduće saveznike i suradnike, sa kojima potom razvijamo druge aktivnosti.

Tijekom godina razvili smo različite programe mirovnog obrazovanja, prilagođavali ih i mijenjali, ovisno o promjenama kroz koje su prolazila naša društva i potrebama koje su iz toga proizlazile. Uz regionalni *Osnovni trening iz izgradnje mira*, redovito održavamo i *Mir-Paqe-Mup* (trening iz izgradnje mira sa posebnim fokusom na kontekst Kosova, Makedonije i Srbije), kao i *Trening iz izgradnje mira za studente/ice* iz Bosne i Hercegovine. Ostali programi mirovnog obrazovanja, poput *Treninga iz izgradnje mira za učesnike ratova*, i *Treninga za trenere*, odvijaju se periodično i vezuju uz potrebu daljnje izgradnje kapaciteta za rad na izgradnji mira.

Kad su treninzi u pitanju, ne znamo kakvu će dugoročnu promjenu izazvati trenutna pandemija virusa Covid-19. Treninge planirane za 2020. godinu morali smo otkazati, kao zone povećanog rizika, zbog neposrednog kontakta koji podrazumijevaju. No, ni ne vidimo puno smisla u tome da radimo na društvenoj promjeni zatvoreni u svoje monoetničke zajednice, a na to smo sada manje-više prisiljeni, budući su

granice između naših zemalja još uvijek zatvorene. Ne vidimo budućnost u tome da treninge održavamo online, budući naši treninzi podrazumijevaju i rad na teškim temama, koje se ne komuniciraju online i bez podrške ljudi koji su se posvetili istoj zadaći. Vjerujemo i nadamo se da trenutno stanje neće potrajati, iako je nesumnjivo da svijet više nikada neće biti isti. U „normalnosti“ svijeta kakvog smo ga poznavali je i bio problem, te se nadamo da ćemo svi zajedno početi razmišljati konstruktivnije, ne samo kada je naše zdravlje u pitanju, već i naša okolina, priroda jednako kao i društvo.

Posljednji trening koji smo održali prije pandemije bio je 43. Osnovni trening iz izgradnje mira, održan u Ulcinju, u Crnoj Gori, od 18-28. oktobra/listopada 2019.

Uz teme koje su vezane uz našu ratnu i postratnu prošlost, i na ovom treningu se pokazalo da je vrijeme i trud koji se ulaže u – upoznavanje sa osnovnim postavkama timskog rada (bez kojih izgradnja mira nije moguća, budući uvijek pretpostavlja i zajedničko, kolektivno djelovanje), osvještavanje naših vlastitih predrasuda, njihovih ličnih i društvenih pretpostavki i posljedica, kao i osvještavanje različitih oblika društvenog nasilja i njihovog utjecaja na naše živote te dinamike sukoba uopće – nužno kako bismo bili spremni raditi na društvenoj promjeni. Uz to, to je vrijeme u kojem se gradi prostor u grupi, siguran u onoj mjeri u kojoj se osjećamo slobodnima da izrazimo upravo ono što nas muči, što nam smeta i što nas povrjeđuje kad

Više o mirovnom obrazovanju možete naći na našoj internet stranici nenasilje.org



su u pitanju naše svakodnevne životne borbe, jednako kao i ratni sukobi iz naše nedavne prošlosti, koji su nam zajedničko breme.

Dio ovog „paketa“ predstavljaju i društveno nam dodijeljene rodne uloge, obrasci koji diktiraju unutar kojeg okvira se ima kretati naše konkretno životno iskustvo, što nam je kao ženama, odnosno muškarcima dopušteno i što se od nas očekuje, kao i koji oblik društvene sankcije možemo očekivati ako iz tako određenih društvenih uloga istupamo. Posljednjih nekoliko godina na ovom polju bilježimo povratak u tradicionalne, patrijarhalne obrasce, i u tom smislu naši treninzi nisu drugo no mikro slika društava iz kojih dolazimo. Međutim, na treningu smo o ovoj temi razgovarali vrlo konstruktivno, a sama je radionica neočekivano i neuobičajeno rezultirala većim razumijevanjem i povezivanjem unutar grupe. Jednako je bilo i sa radionicom o nacionalnim identitetima, koje osjećamo svojim ili ih osjećamo nametnutima, ali ovdje smo barem imali priliku da razmislimo na koje načine definiraju našu društvenu poziciju, kako utječu na našu sliku sebe i odgovornosti koje preuzimamo, o

trenucima u kojima su nam bitni i onima u kojima nam uopće nisu važni.

Dijalog o ovim temama omogućuje nam ne samo da čujemo kako se osjećaju ljudi s „druge strane“, koja je njihova perspektiva ratnih događanja, već i da sami osvijestimo rane koje nosimo. Trening je prilika da stvari koje zamjeramo ljudima „s druge strane“ otvorimo i raspravimo, ali i da vidimo koje su to teme koje unutar naših društava ne smijemo otvarati. Tabu se najčešće odnosi na suočavanje sa zločinima počinjenim „s naše strane“, tabu su žrtve drugih i obilježavanje mjesta stradanja drugih u zajednici u kojoj smo „mi“ većina, kao i narativ o „vječnoj žrtvi našeg naroda koji nikad ništa zlo nije napravio“. Još veći tabu predstavljaju rasprave za koje se u našim društvima pretpostavlja da dovode u pitanje same temelje države, poput rasprava o prirodi rata (agresija i/ili građanski rat), odgovornosti vjerskih zajednica u ratu, slavljenju „pobjeda“ koje su prouzročile velike žrtve drugoj strani, slavljenje bez ikakvog obzira prema stradalima. Raditi na ovim temama velika je prednost, budući imamo priliku da se zapitamo tko i s kojim razlozima čini našu nedavnu

prošlost tabuiziranom i što se mora promijeniti u našim društvima kako bismo mogli uspostaviti pošteniji odnos prema prošlosti i načiniti korak ka izgradnji trajnog mira. Na ovaj način možemo spoznati i da imamo odgovornost da važna pitanja otvaramo na mjestima gdje je moguće, gdje nam je važno, bilo da se radi o našoj vlastitoj porodici, našim kolegama ili prijateljima, radnoj zajednici ili na društvenom nivou.

Ovakva nastojanja gotovo redovito predstavljaju i korake koji će nas izvesti iz zone komfora, ali jedino tako i možemo napredovati, u ličnom, kao i u društvenom

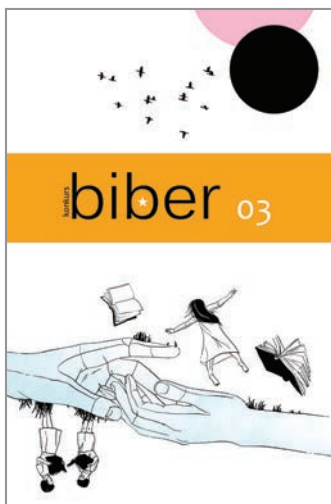
pogledu. Ponekad doista ne možemo učiniti ništa kako bismo adresirali nepravde počinjene drugim ljudima, ali uvijek imamo glas koji se čuje; ponekad je jedino što možemo učiniti da utišamo glasove mržnje to da razmislimo o akcijama koje će ih barem zbuniti, ako ne u potpunosti osujetiti, i moć da pokažemo da i nas, ovih koji budućnost žele graditi u suradnji s našim susjedima ili komšijama ima barem jednako, ako ne i više od onih koji svoju mržnju glasno i bez stida rasipaju po javnom prostoru, gradskim ulicama i društvenim mrežama.



publikacije

Biber 03 – zbirka kratkih priča

Početak marta 2020. objavili smo zbirku priča sa trećeg konkursa Biber. Izbor priča napravio je žiri u sastavu **Lejla Kalamujić, Rumena Bužaravska i Shkelzen Maliqi**.



Biber je konkurs za kratku priču za autorke i autore koji pišu na albanskom, makedonskom, bosanskom, hrvatskom, srpskom i crnogorskom jeziku. Tema konkursa je pomirenje u kontekstu zaostavštine ratova i nasilja u zemljama bivše Jugoslavije, a dolaze u obzir i priče koje mogu da doprinesu boljem razumevanju među ljudima, smanjenju mržnje i razgradnji predrasuda, antiratne priče, priče koje se bave suočavanjem s prošlošću, razgradnjom slika o neprijateljima, saosećanjem sa drugima, hrabre priče koje se usuđuju da hodaju u „neprijateljskim“ cipelama, priče koje pomeraju granice i otvaraju nam puteve da gradimo izvesniju, bezbedniju i slobodniju budućnost za sve.

Treći konkurs je bio otvoren od januara do juna 2020. godine. Na konkurs su prijavljene ukupno 464 priče (na prvi konkurs 2015. godine stiglo je 316 priča, na drugi 2017. godine 385 priča). Kao i prethodnih godina, prijavilo se više autorki nego autora, čime se ponosimo. Posebno nas je obradovao nešto veći broj priča na makedonskom (66) i albanskom jeziku (56).

U oktobru prethodne godine žiri trećeg konkursa se sastao u Beogradu i u sjajnoj radnoj atmosferi doneli

su odluku. Izabrali su 25 priča da budu objavljene u zbirci *Biber 03*. Prvu nagradu dobila je priča *Glava*, **Monike Herceg** iz Petrinje, drugu nagradu dobila je priča *Lito*, **Ante Storića** iz Šibenika, a treću nagradu priča *Mačedom ćeš me*, *mačedom ću te*, **Tamare Kovačević** iz Ljubljane. Ostali autori i autorke čije su priče objavljene u zbirci Biber 03 su: **Abid Jarić** iz Zenice, **Afrim Demiri** iz Uroševca (Ferizaj), **Aida Šečić Nezirević** iz Sarajeva, **Aneta Petruševska** iz Skoplja, **Besa Kalaja** iz Prištine, **Bojan Todorović** iz Novog Sada, **Bojana Babić** iz Pančeva, **Dimitrije Bukvić** iz Beograda, **Dragana Ranđelović** iz Despotovca, **Ernad Osmić** iz Brčkog, **Gabrijel Delić** iz Zagreba, **Gordana Stojanoska** iz Bitolja, **Imer Topanica** iz Podujeva, **Isidora Petrović** iz Beograda, **Luiza Bouharaoua** iz Splita, **Manja Veličkovska** iz Skoplja, **Mario Merdžan** iz Zagreba, **Milana Gajović** iz Beograda, **Nikola Petrović** iz Beograda, **Slađana Nina Perković** iz Banja Luke, **Stefan Slavković** iz Beograda i **Tihana Gambiraža** iz Zadra. Već postaje tradicija da među objavljenima ima više autorki: 14 od 25, od čega su dve i nagrađene.

Zbirka je dostupna u PDF i Kindle formatu na stranici biber.nenasilje.org na svim jezicima konkursa. Kao i prethodne *Biber* zbirke i ova je na svim jezicima konkursa. To znači da pored originalne verzije priče, u njoj se nalazi i prevod na druga dva jezika: albanski ili makedonski ili BHSC. Na zbirci je radilo 8 prevodilaca: **Anton Berishaj, Bashkim Fazliu, Borislav Pavlovski, Gjoko Zdraveski, Ivan Šopov, Kreshnik Ajdini i Qerim Ondozi**.

Po prvi put nismo sami radili korice, već je za njih zaslužna mlada umetnica **Jelena Jaćimović**. Organizacioni tim, tzv. „*Biber* tim“ činili su **Davorka, Ivana, Katarina i Radomir** iz CNA, kao i **Ana Bitoljanu** iz Skoplja i **Qerim Ondozi** iz Prištine. Konkurs i objavljivanje zbirke omogućeni su finansijskom podrškom nemačkog Saveznog ministarstva za privrednu saradnju i razvoj (BMZ).

Po izlasku zbirke iz štampe planirali smo da održimo tri promocije. Bilo je dogovoreno i zakazano da se promocije održe u Šibeniku, Prijedoru i Prizrenu. Pandemija COVID-19 nam je pomutila planove. Trenutno ne znamo kada će biti moguće održati ove događaje.

Glava

Monika Herceg

Često sanjam kako susjedovom bratu sijeku glavu na panju.

U snu je plavokos, kao njihov sin, mršav i visok. Ohlađena rujanska svjetlost probija se kroz gustu maglu zapljuskujući stabla koja polako presvlače krošnje u sporo gašenje ljeta. Plavokosom mladiću ruke su zavezane ispred trbuha, a dvojica ga drže spuštajući se seoskom cestom. Kad dođu do crvene jednokatnice bez fasade, u neograđeno dvorište ulaze kao oprezne mačke. Orahov panj je nekoliko metara dalje od kuće. Kraj njega čeka treći čovjek prema kojem se zapute.

Ne mogu vidjeti lica, ponekad mi sunce upada u oči, ponekad je sjena prevelika. Zrak je otežan tišinom. Znam da je prazan, zavezani mladić, kao karoserija automobila bez motora. Glavu mu polože na potamnjеле godove. Ne pruža otpor. Poslušno klekne i nasloni lice na hrapavo drvo.

Uvijek je isto: dvojica ga drže, jedan zamahne sjekirom, precizno i bez oklijevanja, kao da cijepa drva.

*

Susjed Iva ima veliki nos crven od rakije, kaže majka da je od rakije i poludio. Kao što je Blaž koji živi nekoliko kuća niže, ako je vjerovati pričama, umro jer je pomiješao tablete za srce i rakiju.

Majka kaže da u selu nema normalnog čovjeka.

Blaž je imao kuju koja je okotila nekoliko štenića. Mi smo uzeli jedno, a ostale je odnio u šumu. Kuja se odvezala pa ih donijela natrag. Blaž ju je prebio, a štenad potopio u kanti jedno po jedno. Iako smo ga mrzili, svakog smo se Božića spuštali do njega i kitili plastičnu jelku jer nam je majka prijetila šibom. Rekla je da je red da mu pomognemo. Često bih odvezala pseto dok je spavao, ali glupa kuja nikad nije pobjegla.

Gradska vlast želi graditi cestu kroz selo, pravi asfalt, ali susjed Iva ne dopušta. Kaže da neće ići put kroz Srbe dok je on živ. Majka redovito ide u općinu nadležnima objašnjavati da ne mora on svaki dan voziti djecu u školu, samo se ona pati po putu koji više nije ni za konje.

Nesreća je da se u naše selo može doći s dvije strane, s jedne kroz srpsko selo, s druge kroz hrvatsko. Majci je puno brže prevesti nas do stanice za školu preko srpskog sela, inače mora okružiti cijelo brdo.

Često napuni tačke zemljom i otpadom od cigle pa popravlja rupe koje se pojavljuju iza svake veće kiše. Tačke vozi od lokve od lokve, puni ih, a onda udara stražnjom stranom velike sjekire da razbije komade cigle. Na kraju zamasima velike lopate izbija posljednje neravnine iz kičme ceste dok ne procijeni da je rupa napokon izgubila identitet rupe.

*

Ne idem kod susjeda u dvorište, osim kad igramo nogomet.

Nogomet je teško igrati u selu jer nema ravne livade, samo je oko kuće susjeda Nikole teren nešto pogodniji za loptu. Nikola ne živi u kući koju su obnovili iza rata, dođu samo vikendom kad je toplije kako bi sadili vrt ili kosili travu. Majka takve ljude zove vikendaši.

Kod Nikole u vočaru rastu najfinije kruške u selu, slatke, velike s tankom kožom. Mi takvih nemamo. Kod nas su sve one alkoholičarske, sitne za rakiju peći.

S Nikolinim sinom, kad dođu, igramo nogomet, dva na dva.

Označimo gol s dvije cigle kraj crvenog zida njegove jednokatnice, a na drugoj strani livade zabodemo dva kolca. Lopta svako malo nepredvidivo poskoči kad padne na veći busen trave, ali već smo navikli na takve nepredvidive putanje. Jedino nas smeta veliki panj nasred livade. Kad igramo uvijek netko zapne za njega ili se lopta odbije i ode u šikaru pored dvorišta. Stariji brat tad šalje panj ljutito u materinu. Šikara je puna trnja, čičaka, šipka i kupina, visoka skoro do pupka.

Susjed Nikola mrko nas pogleda ako čuje bratove psoske. Majka kaže da i on popije, vidi mu se po očima. One su tamne, skoro crne, kao što su bile u našeg oca.

Brat najčešće ide u visoku travu po loptu jer je najviši. Trava mu seže do bokova, probija se kroz nju

polako kao da hoda u dubokoj vodi. Trnovi kupina toliko su oštri da nam često poderu odjeću pa zaradimo pljuske kad nas majka dočeka s večerom.

*

Lopta je poput glave. Ona je proračunata, iako je prazna, ukoliko zanemarimo natisnute molekule zraka. Ako vjerujemo da postoji savršenstvo u obliku kugle, možemo zaključiti da je lopta savršenija od glave. Čak je i Zemlja zapravo elipsoid, spljoštena na polovima.

Otac nas je izbjegavao dok je bio živ.

Ponekad mi se čini da je bio samo imenica koja je opisivala lažnu funkciju unutar organizma naše obitelji. Kao i fantomska ruka, činjenica da se ponekad javio osjećaj njegove ljubavi prema nama nije zapravo bila ljubav, nego naša potreba da dobijemo ono što nikad nismo imali.

*

Baba je, dok je bila živa, govorila da je sve to od rata. Bolest koja je ostala i nakon što je sve naizgled završilo, gora od samog rata jer je izjedala potiho kao tumor. Bila je ono što nije davalo ocu da spava, ono što ga je tjeralo na tavan da se ide objesiti, ono što je odvezivalo njegove pljuske. Bolest u kojoj su se kiselile sve ružne riječi poput kurve, a zapravo ih nitko nikad nije mislio. Ni ded ni tata. Bolest zbog koje bi noću čuli Nikolu kako razbija po vikendaškoj kući. Plač plavokosog sina koji smo zamišljali, iako ga nismo čuli.

Možda se moglo naslutiti da dolazi vojska po trzajima vjetra koji je dražio njuške seoskih pasa pa su lajali satima prije nego je prvi pucanj ušao u drveno tijelo trešnje kraj kuće na ulazu u selo.

Metak pun nezadržive snage. Zrak je pred njim ostao ukočen, sabijen u prasak ubojitog zagrljaja.

Stara trešnja imala je stablo koje je skladištilo desetljeća tuđih života pa je metak apsorbirala svojom čvrstoćom.

Ali jedna trešnja nije dovoljna da rat ne započne.

*

Pod buretom od rakije nemoguće je tiho disati. Drvo je čvrsto, na dodir glatko.

Baba je pričala kako je mogla čuti kako vatra liže kuću, glasnu smrt koja proždire sve ostalo.

Pronašao ih je susjed iz srpskog sela. Djed je posrao gaće kad ga je ugledao, a on je bure spustio natrag nad njih. Dva dana ležali su na zemlji odvojeni hrastovinom od umiranja.

*

Nikolinom bratu sjekli su glavu na panju kad je počeo rat.

Put koji prolazi kroz srpsko selo do našega, osim što je dvostruko kraći, manje je oštećen od onog koji ide kroz hrvatsko selo. Nikola uvijek dolazi sa srpske strane. Odnedavno vozi i novi auto. Majka zna reći da njega Iva ne psuje samo jer ga se boji, a nju može jer je žensko i sama. Ona često ide u srpsko selo. Popije kavu, kupi sir i jaja. Susjedi Srbi ujesen joj pomognu navući drva iz šume i preorati baštu, ako treba i pokositi. Susjed Iva tad se zatvori u kuću i spusti sve rolete na prozorima.

*

Glava nekoliko minuta beživotno leži kao da je otkinuta od lutke. Oči su sitne, nacrtane. Nema krvi ni tkiva, samo mekana plastika iz koje izbijaju plavi čuperci. Kad napokon dotakne moje prste, plastika s kojom se suočim na trenutak me utješi. Moj Ken, to je samo moj Ken kupljen na prostranstvu tržnice rabljene robe, Ken izvučen iz hrpe starih igračaka, Ken kojem su bile izgrižene ruke. Suosjećala sam s osobom koja ga je grizla, osjetila sam držeći ga da je nagrizala plastiku kao što je strah nagrizao nju, možda u sličnim trenucima kao što su bili oni kad bih po očevim teturavim koracima primijetila da je pijan.

Ponekad otvorim oči u mraku, udišući miris ustajale rakije koji se uvukao u drvo. Nema ni babe, ni deda. Sjedim u lokvi svoje mokraće. Vani je baš onako kako je baba opisivala. Buka nadglasava razum.

Moje ubrzano disanje ispunjava bure ljepljivim strahom. Ne usudim se pomaknuti. Kao što se nisam pomicala kada bi prišle očeve šake. Tijelo je plavjelo, kosti i ljubav pucketali su pomiješani, kao drva u vatri.

Uvijek sam na korak daleko, na korak od toga da vratim glavu tijelu. Na korak da uzvratim udarac.

*

Bojim se praznog prostora. Kad zatvorim oči, često prije sna pokušavam otjerati osjećaj da sam najmanja

na svijetu i veliko ništa udara u mene toliko jako da poželim nikada ne zatvoriti oči.

Ponekad šetam do ulaza u selo samo kako bih dodirnula trešnjino stablo. Njene ukočene, suhe ruke iz kojih otječe pokušaj borbe s prolaznošću. Bolest i nju nagriza, već godinama ne daje plodove.

Trešnju dodirujem kao da je mama, gladim tijelo za koje znam da je trpjelo koliko je moglo, tepam joj i zamišljam kako napokon uzvraća zagrljaj.

Četvrti konkurs Biber

Kako nam je pandemija COVID-19 pomrsila račune sa planiranim promocijama zbirke *Biber 03*, ali i većinom drugih aktivnosti, odlučili smo da četvrti konkurs *Biber* otvorimo ranije nego što je planirano. Planiran je za početak 2021. godine, ali smo ga pokrenuli već u aprilu 2020. Dva su razloga za to: jedan je da *Biber* među retkim našim aktivnostima koje možemo da radimo skoro u potpunosti *online*, pridržavajući se

fizičke distance i izolacije, a druga je da smo želeli da ponudimo ljudima opciju da pišu dok su izolaciji zbog pandemije.

U žiriju četvrtog konkursa *Biber* biće **Tatjana Gromača, Anton Berishaj i Selvedin Avdić**. Konkurs će biti otvoren do 1. 12. 2020. Rezultate konkursa saznaćemo krajem aprila 2021, a zbirku *Biber 04* imaćemo u rukama pre kraja te godine.

Biber na engleskom jeziku

Do kraja godine objavićemo zbirku kratkih priča na engleskom jeziku. Zbirka će činiti izbor od 41 priče iz prethodne tri objavljene *Biber* zbirke. Želja nam je da podržimo ove angažovane autorke i autore i doprinesemo njihovoj afirmaciji, kao i da doprinesemo

promociji i prevođenju savremene književnosti iz regije. Iako smo o ovoj ideji duže razmišljali, situacija sa pandemijom COVID-19 nas je poterala da ideju razradimo i sprovedemo je u delo.

Priručnik „Nenasilje!“ na makedonskom i albanskom jeziku

Iz štampe izašao prevod na albanski i makedonski jezik našeg priručnika ***Nenasilje! Priručnik za treninge iz izgradnje mira***, autora **Ivane Franović i Nenada Vukosavljevića**, koji smo objavili krajem 2018. godine.

Priručnik smo preveli u saradnji sa **Mirovnom akcijom** iz Prilepa, a pod budnim okom **Luana Imerija**.

Priručnik na albanskom jeziku nosi naslov **Padhunshmëria! Doracak trajnimesh për ndërtimin e paqes**. Uredio ga je **Luan Imeri**, a preveo **Safet Ballazhi**.

Priručnik na makedonskom jeziku nosi naslov **Ненасилство! Прирачник за тренинг за градење мир**. Uredila ga je **Ana Bitoljanu**, a prevela **Renata Dedova**.

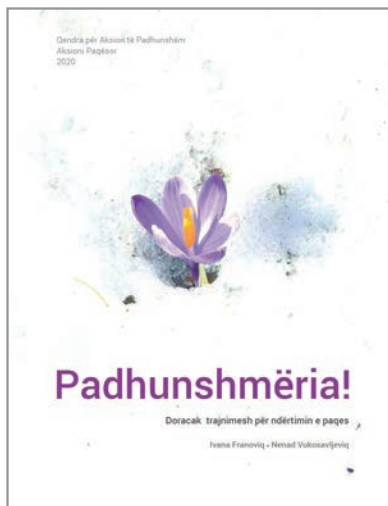
Oba prevoda se mogu besplatno preuzeti sa našeg sajta u PDF formatu, dok će po, nadamo se, skorom okončanju pandemije COVID-19, štampana izdanja biti dostupna u oba naša ureda, kao i u prostorijama Mirovne akcije u Prilepu i Tetovu, Sjeverna Makedonija.

U njima možete naći predloge za radionice i vježbe na čitav niz tema koje su usko vezane uz izgradnju mira: komunikacija, saradnja i timski rad, percepcija, nasilje, predrasude i diskriminacija, identitet i nacionalni identitet i različitosti, razumijevanje sukoba, rodna ravnopravnost, suočavanje s prošlošću, izgradnja mira, pomirenje, nenasilje i nenasilna akcija.

Ova publikacija nastoji uputiti na ideje koje zagovaraju nenasilje i izgradnju mira, kao i na to kako mi razumijevamo pojmove: sukob, nasilje, nenasilje, pomirenje, izgradnja mira, suočavanje s prošlošću. Tu je sabran i čitav spektar poteškoća s kojima smo se sretali u svom radu i opisali one uspješnije odgovore na njih.

Priručnik je i alatka, sredstvo ali i primjer kako se nasilju možemo oduprijeti nenasiljem. Ovdje imamo na umu prije svega mirovno obrazovanje, te stoga vjerujemo da priručnik može najviše koristiti ljudima koji rade u obrazovanju, formalnom i neformalnom, ali i svima onima koji rade na kvalitativnoj promjeni u društvima u kojima žive i u kojima se bore.

Nadamo se da će ovaj priručnik biti podrška i pomoć, oruđe i štit, korijen i voda, i svima vama koji ste dovoljno hrabri da štiteći druge i sebe, konstantno zalijevajući, uzgajate vrijednosti nenasilja i nenasilne borbe i time stvarate uslove za perspektivniju i slobodniju budućnost za sve nas.



Priručnik „Pomirenje?!“ na albanskom jeziku

Iz štampe izašao prevod na albanski jezik našeg **Priručnika za rad na suočavanju sa prošlošću kroz treninge i radionice – Pomirenje?!**

Izdavač publikacije pod nazivom **PAJTIMI?! Doracak për punë me ballafaqimin me të kaluarën përmes trajnimeve dhe punëtorive**, za Sjevernu Makedoniju je Mirovna akcija, Prilep – Tetovo.

Prevodilac je **Ardian Saliu**, a lektor **Rexhep Rexhepi**.

Upravo su želje i potrebe ljudi iz Makedonije

koji već koriste priručnik na BHS i makedonskom, bile da bude dostupan i na albanskom jeziku. Kada je rad na suočavanju sa prošlošću i izgradnji mira u pitanju, njima ovaj priručnik predstavlja dragocjenu alatku. Vjerujemo se da će svima ostalima koji rade u obrazovanju, formalnom ili neformalnom, prije svega sa odraslima ili mladima, ovaj prevod koristiti, posebno svima onima koji rade na društvenim promjenama u Makedoniji, na Kosovu i u Albaniji.

U priručniku se mogu naći predlozi za radionice i vježbe na čitav niz tema koje se odnose na: razumijevanje konteksta u kojima živimo, suočavanje s prošlošću, izgradnju mira, nasilja, predrasuda i diskriminacije, identiteta i različitosti, razumijevanja, nenasilja i mirovnog aktivizama, nenasilne akcije itd.

Publikacija se može besplatno preuzeti sa našeg sajta u [PDF formatu](#).

Štampana izdanja prevoda priručnika na albanskom i makedonskom jeziku će po okončanju pandemije COVID-19 biti dostupna u oba naša ureda.

Nadamo se da će priručnik predstavljati i valjanu alatku ali i podršku i pomoć svima vama koji ste dovoljno hrabri da radeći na sebi, radite i na promjeni svijeta i društava u kojima živimo.



Sećanje na zločine hunte u Argentini

Sa zadovoljstvom vas obavještavamo da se naša nova publikacija **„Koliko god da me to košta, želim bolju zemlju za svoju decu.“ Sećanje na zločine hunte u Argentini** može preuzeti sa našeg sajta u [PDF formatu](#).



Od 24. do 26. juna u Buenos Airesu je održana međunarodna konferencija pod naslovom: „Sadašnjost prošlosti, hitnost sadašnjosti: Autoritarna i totalitarna prošlost i izazovi savremenih demokratija“. Konferenciju su organizovale dve organizacije: **Centro Internacional para la Promoción de los Derechos Humanos (CIPDH-UNESCO)** iz Buenos Airesa i **Bundesstiftung zur Aufarbeitung der SED Diktatur** iz Berlina.

Nenad Vukosavljević i Ivana Franović učestvovali su na ovoj konferenciji i iskoristili priliku da posete nekoliko mesta sećanja na zločine hunte. To iskustvo im je bilo veoma značajno, pa su odlučili da naprave publikaciju o toj poseti.

Zahvale

Želimo da zahvalimo Marii Eleonori Cristini, Mariani Tello Weiss i Danielu Rafecasu na vremenu, strpljenju i svemu što su nam pokazali i ispričali. Mnogo smo naučili. Takođe, veliko hvala Anni Kaminsky i fondaciji Bundesstiftung zur Aufarbeitung der SED Diktatur. Anna ulaže nesebičan trud u međunarodnu razmenu i okuplja ljude koji rade na sećanju u cilju razmene iskustava i dilema na koje nailaze u svom radu.

Ovo četvoro ljudi verovatno nije svesno do koje mere su nam pružili inspiraciju i podršku koje su nam neophodne da nastavimo. Od srca im hvala.

„Osim nesreće, nema ništa drugo“

Neformalna grupa aktivista, uz podršku CNA, do sad je obilježila više od 80 neobilježenih mjesta stradanja. Ovaj tekst Nenada Vukosavljevića predstavlja osvrt na akcije obeležavanja neobebeženih mesta stradanja u Bosni i Hercegovini vezanih za period rata 1991-95. godine: kako je došlo do ideje da se obeleže neobebežena mesta stradanja u Bosni i Hercegovini, kako se taj proces razvijao, na koje se od poteškoća nailazilo, a koje su perspektive razvoja ovih akcija. Tekst je nastao na osnovu vođenih pojedinačnih intervjua sa članovima ONMS tima u leto 2019. godine.

Tekst možete preuzeti sa sajta Obilježavanje neobilježenih mjesta stradanja (ONMS) u [PDF formatu](#).

Brojna mjesta stradanja, patnje, mučenja širom BiH su neobebežena jer se lokalne vlasti protive postavljanju obeležja za mesta stradanja ljudi koji su pripadali narodu koji u toj opštini nije većinski. Uz retke časne izuzetke, sprovođenje selektivne empatije samo sa žrtvama iz svog naroda je zajednička crta svim konstitutivnim narodima u BiH (Bošnjaci, Srbi, Hrvati). Rado isticanje pojedinih primera multietničnosti među

pripadnicima vojski u BiH, ne menja suštinu, već štaviše pokušava da stvori privid kako se nije vodio etnički motivisan rat.





razmjena, saradnja, umrežavanje

Među dobitnicima priznanja „Krunoslav Sukić“ i Centar za nenasilnu akciju

Među dobitnicima priznanja „Krunoslav Sukić“ za 2019. je i Centar za nenasilnu akciju. Priznanje za promicanje mirotvorstva, nenasilja i ljudskih prava „Krunoslav Sukić“ 2019. Centru za nenasilnu akciju je dodijeljeno, kako je navedeno u odluci Odbora nagrade, za „dugogodišnji nenasilan rad na uključivanju pojedinaca, posebnih grupacija i veterana iz svih strana u ratu u mirovno obrazovanje, dijalog, suradnju i komemoracije koje otvaraju i osvajaju emancipirajući prostor inkluzivne kulture sjećanja koja vodi pomirenju“.

„Ovo nam je prvo priznanje ove vrste. I hvala vam na njemu. Nismo ga očekivali. Mi u Centru za nenasilnu akciju ne ispunjavamo osnovne kriterijume, pa mu se nismo ni nadali. Pre svega: ne radimo u R. Hrvatskoj. Iako imamo urede u Sarajevu i u Beogradu, ne radimo ni u BiH ni u Srbiji, a ni na Kosovu, ni u Makedoniji ili Crnoj Gori. Radimo prekogranično, neprestano se trudeći da granice prelazimo i pomeramo: fizičke granice, a posebno one u našim glavama. To kao posledicu ima i da često nigde ne pripadamo, ali ujedno da pripadamo svuda. Čini mi se da je upravo to jedan od razloga što prilično uspešno gradimo poverenje sa vrlo

različitim ljudima, iako je to dovoljno često mukotrpan proces. Tako smo došli i do rada sa učesnicima rata: braniteljima i borcima.

Za ovo priznanje želim da zahvalim Centru za mir iz Osijeka i odboru koji je odlučivao. A posebna zahvalnost ide ka učesnicima naših programa koji su nam davali osećaj da ipak negde pripadamo, a mnogi su zajedno s nama stvarali ovo što radimo. Takođe, posebna zahvalnost ide onima koji su rizikovali sarađujući s nama, prvenstveno ratni veterani, koji su time izlazili iz zone komfora i ponekad bivali označeni kao izdajnici. Hvala im na hrabrosti da pre svega budu ljudi.

Iako nismo baš državotvorni, moram da priznam da je posebna čast primiti priznanje za mirovni rad iz druge države. To mi govori da nismo na krivom putu. A i da nismo baš sami“, kazala je Ivana Franović iz Centra za nenasilnu akciju pri preuzimanju nagrade.

Svečana ceremonija dodjele priznanja održana je 12. 12. 2019. u svečanoj sali Hrvatskog narodnog kazališta u Osijeku.

Više o Krunoslavu Sukiću i nagradi koja nosi njegovo ime možete saznati na internet stranici

krunoslav-sukic.centar-za-mir.hr

Pridružili smo se Danu bijelih traka i komemoracijama u Vitezu i Mostaru

Izbijanje pandemije Covid-19 umnogome je obilježilo naš rad u prvoj polovini 2020. godine te je utjecalo da otkazemo neke već planirane i dogovorene aktivnosti i pokušamo iznaći nove načine rada i djelovanja. No, nakon što su sredinom maja u većini zemalja bivše Jugoslavije mjere za sprečavanje širenja pandemije ublažene, poštujući aktuelne preporuke, nastavili smo sa našim radom.

Krajem maja, na inicijativu prijatelja iz Prijedora okupljenih oko Inicijative „Jer me se tiče“, u Sarajevu smo se pridružili aktivistima koji su 31. maja/svibnja

organizirali obilježavanje Dana bijelih traka u Sarajevu. Porodice žrtava iz Prijedora i aktivisti već godinama 31. maj obilježavaju kao dan sjećanja na početak progona nesrpskog stanovništva u ovom gradu, a u samom Prijedoru se organizira komemoracija u znak sjećanja na 102 ubijene djece u Prijedoru.

Jedna od glavnih poruka i ovogodišnjeg Dana bijelih traka bio je zahtjev lokalnim vlastima u Prijedoru da dozvole izgradnju spomenika za ubijenu djecu u užoj gradskoj jezgri. Istovremeno, aktivisti su, solidarišući se sa svim žrtvama, pozvali i druge lokalne vlasti da

dozvole izgradnje spomenika i pravo na sjećanje svim žrtvama.

Zajedno sa građanima Sarajeva 31. maja ove godine sa Ajfelovog mosta u Sarajevu poslali smo poruku solidarnosti sa aktivistima i žrtvama u Prijedoru, ali i svim drugim žrtvama koje se suočavaju sa različitim opstrukcijama pri obilježavanju stradanja najmilijih. Zajedno sa aktivistima iz Prijedora, na ovakvu vrstu akcije odlučili smo se kako bismo, između ostalog, ukazali na nedopustivost različitih zloupotreba Dana bijelih traka kojima smo u Sarajevu svjedočili prethodnih godina. Dan bijelih traka, odnosno način na koji se obilježava u samom Prijedoru, ostaje jedna od rijetkih komemoracija koje pozivaju sve ljude dobre volje da se pridruže u borbi za prava svih žrtava pri čemu se žrtve apsolutni fokus, a različiti pokušaji politizacije do sad su uspješno izbjegavani.

Jedno od stradanja djece u proteklom ratu u Bosni i Hercegovini koje je, nažalost, manje poznato jeste i ono u Vitezu. Na godišnjicu stradanja, 10. juna/lipnja pridružili smo se komemoraciji na lokalitetu "Osmica" u Vitezu na kojem 1993. godine od granate ispaljene

sa položaja Armije BiH ubijeno osmero djece. Bila je to dirljiva i vrlo intimna komemoracija, kojoj su prisustvovali brojni mještani Viteza, posebno oni mlađi. Spomenik se nalazi u dvorištu kuća u kojima i danas žive roditelji i rodbina ubijene djece, samu komemoraciju organiziraju porodice ubijene djece i, osim mise, na njoj nema govora političara i drugih aktivnosti koje su uobičajene u aktuelnoj komemorativnoj praksi u BiH, pa i u regionu.

Iz razgovora sa žrtvama koje su preživjele napad, kao i sa članovima porodica ubijene djece, saznali smo o njihovoj dugogodišnjoj borbi za dostojanstveno sjećanje na najmilije, borbi protiv bilo kakve politizacije, činjenici da odgovorni za napad do danas nisu procesuirani... Bili smo toplo dočekan od svih, a razgovori koje smo vodili sa različitim ljudima tokom tih dana u Vitezu još jednom su nam pokazali koliko su važni susreti, uvažavanje svih žrtava i odavanje počasti svim žrtvama kao i nastojanje za međusobnim razumijevanjem.

Osjećamo se obaveznim i javno zahvaliti porodicama Garić i Grebenar, porodicama koje su u tom tužnom



danu izgubile četvero djece, za topli prijem, znake pažnje i riječi ohrabrenja. Sigurno da je bol porodica nemoguće ublažiti, ali smo zahvalni na njihovoj širokogrudnosti i prilici da saučestvujemo u njihovom bolu. U tih nekoliko sati osjetili smo ono što u suštini i jesmo: da smo svi zajedno samo jedna velika porodica i da nas svaki gubitak ljudskog života beskrajno boli i 27 godina poslije. Poznavanje konteksta kao i aktualnih dešavanja izuzetno je važno za ponovnu izgradnju povjerenja među ljudima i zajednicama. Sretni smo što smo imali priliku sresti se i upoznati i mlade i hrabre političare, vjerske zvaničnike, novinare... Nadamo se da ćemo imati priliku u Vitez doći i pokloniti se žrtvama na "Osmici" i sljedećih godina, sa brojnijom grupom.

Zločin na Uborku i Sutini kod Mostara još je jedan od nekažnjenih zločina u Bosni i Hercegovini. U razgovoru sa Adninom Hasićem, tokom našeg junskog boravka u Mostaru, saznali smo o mukotrpnoj borbi za procesuiranje odgovornih i pravo na sjećanje na najmilije koji su ubijeni na ovim lokalitetima. Hasić vodi Udruženje porodica ubijenih na Uborku i Sutini, a kao jedanaestogodišnjem dječaku te 1992. zajedno sa još 114 bošnjačkih i hrvatskih civila ubijeni su mu i otac i majka.

Sutina i Uborak su specifične i kao prve lokacije masovnih grobnica koje su ekshumirane. Iako su tijela

ekshumirana u junu i augustu 1992. godine, ni nakon toliko godina za ove zločine niko nije odgovarao. Sve to s pravom ljuti, ponajviše porodice žrtava, ali i sve druge koji čuju priču o ovom zločinu. Bilo je značajno vidjeti da udruženje porodica žrtava koje organizira komemoraciju vodi računa o svim ljudima koji žele doći i odati počast žrtvama, kao i da su svi dobrodošli. Doista su svi bili dobrodošli, uključujući i predstavnike sve tri vjerske zajednice, predstavnike političkog života Mostara i Hercegovine, udruženja proistekla iz Armije BiH i HVO-a...

Želja nam je bila da ove godine na ovu komemoraciju dođemo sa većom grupom ratnih veterana i mirovnih aktivista-kinja, jer osjećamo da je važno da se oda počast žrtvama jednog od najtežih zločina u Hercegovini. Budu li okolnosti prouzročene pandemijom dopuštale, planiramo da već najesen organiziramo posjetu ove grupe mjestima stradanja u Mostaru, za to se pripremamo već duže vrijeme.

Željno iščekujemo da nastavimo i druge planirane aktivnosti do kraja godine, što uključuje prisustvo mješovite grupe veterana komemoracijama u Briševu i Zecovima kod Prijedora, kao i na Korićanskim stijenama, veteransku posjetu Mostaru, Osnovni trening iz izgradnje mira...



razmišljanja

Ljudi, a ne teritorije! Potrebni su novi pristupi zapadnom Balkanu*

Nenad Vukosavljević

Ne postoji politička volja za pomirenjem i izgradnjom održivog mira između Kosova i Srbije. Kako bi se podržali napori izgradnje mira u regionu, EU i Nemačka trebaju zauzeti jasan stav po dva pitanja: fokus pregovora mora biti na ljudima a ne na teritorijalnom razgraničenju i drugo, podrška razvoju demokratije, umesto tolerisanja autoritarnih tendencija zarad navodne stabilnosti.

Istina o ratu na Kosovu je nepotpuna, preostale su nečitke mrlje na njoj, iz perioda pre, tokom i posle rata. Pravda sprovedena kroz pravosudni sistem je još nekompletnija, dok su nezadovoljstvo i ljutnja ogromni sa obe strane. Odštete zbog gubitaka su neznatno prisutne i štaviše, šteta i gubici načinjeni tokom rata su nepopravljivi. Moglo bi se zaključiti da je, obzirom na neispunjenje svih ovih ciljeva, pomirenje neostvarivo, odnosno postizanje stanja odnosa u kojem bi ponavljanje bilo nezamislivo. Ali, gledano iz drugog ugla, izbor se svodi na to da se posvetimo naporu da do pomirenja dođe i da učinimo sve što je u našoj moći da sprečimo nasilje, ili da nađemo sebi dobar izgovor koji svedoči o tome da je pomirenje nemoguće. Ipak, iako bi napor za pomirenje podrazumevao snagu, hrabrost, (samo)-refleksiju, komunikaciju, temeljnu upornost i strpljivost, za poboljšanje odnosa između ljudi ne postoji nemoguć zadatak.

Za nas koji živimo na Balkanu može biti korisno da sagledamo da nismo prvi i poslednji koji se suočavaju sa ovakvim izazovom. Oni koji su tim putem prošli pre nas, nam mogu osvetliti put. Npr nemačka vlada, koja je nedavno usvojila „Međusektorsku strategiju za podršku Suočavanju sa prošlošću i pomirenju (tranzicionoj pravdi)“ koja sadrži mnoge sjajne preporuke, uključujući i onu o potrebi da lokalni akteri moraju biti vlasnici i upravljači procesa pomirenja.

Trampa navodne stabilnosti za mir, nije održiv koncept

Sprovođenje pomenutih preporuka predstavlja izazov zbog kompleksnih konteksta i okolnosti koje katkad vode prihvatanju neželjenih propratnih efekata. Na taj način razumem podršku Nemačke, srpskoj vladi: u nadi da se održi stabilnost i postigne mirovni sporazum između Kosova i Srbije, nedemokratske i autoritarne tendencije su tolerisane godinama.

To je dovelo do erozije sudske nezavisnosti, rasprostranjene korupcije, vladine kontrole svih glavnih nacionalnih medija, te zloupotrebe vladine medijske moći za klevetanje opozicije, fizičkog nasilja i umnožavanja slučajeva pretnji. Za svo to vreme, mirovni sporazum sa Kosovom je ostao jednako nedokučiv.

Principi podrške procesa suočavanja sa prošlošću i pomirenja su manje eksplicitni kada definišu akcije koje razgrađuju mir. Trampa navodne stabilnosti za „mir“ uz prihvatanje nedemokratske prakse i podrška mirovnim sporazumima koji zanemaruje dugoročni cilj pomirenja, su primeri odluka koje mogu doprineti razgradnji mira umesto da ga unaprede. Nemačka treba biti svesna ovih neželjenih posledica koje mogu unazaditi put ka zacrtanom cilju.

Svaki mirovni sporazum mora imati ljude u svom fokusu, a ne granice

Kakva je priroda mirovnog sporazuma o kojem predsednici Kosova i Srbije pregovaraju od 2011?

Radi se o promeni granica – fokus je na teritorijama, a ne na ljudima. Domaći i inostrani protivnici takvog pristupa, to uglavnom čine sa pozicije „nepromenljivosti granica“, koja opet potvrđuje značaj teritorija, a ne ljudi. Njihova kritika se ne odnosi na težište dato granicama, već na primenu pregovora

* Prevod teksta objavljenog na blogu PeaceLab 12. decembra 2019. godine.

oko utvrđivanja granice. Zadržavanje granica kakve su danas istovremeno znači održavanje segregacije, a segregacija nije rešenje. Pitanje granica bi bilo nebitno, ukoliko bi se transformisao odnos ljudi sa obe strane tih granica.

Održivo rešenje može biti moguće kroz proces sitnih koraka: prostore za susrete i dijalog običnih građana-ki, izgradnju poverenja, primere saradnje, šire društveno prihvatanje novih odnosa, dijalog na vrhu, izgradnju poverenja, saradnju i međusobno poštovanje bi u tom redosledu mogli voditi ka transformaciji sukoba. No, sve ovo zahteva jako puno vremena, a imamo li mi toliko vremena? I imamo i nemamo. Koliko vremena smo potrošili na procese kojima je u fokusu bio brz rezultat, po principu „daj nekakav mirovni sporazum, a za ostalo ćemo videti posle“?

Populisti se i dalje koriste jednostranim narativima o prošlosti

Nemačka se na zapadnom Balkanu doživljava kao zemlja nade, kao vodeća EU zemlja i verovatno najuticajnija u regionu. U očima domaćih ljudi, Nemačka je sinonim za EU, koja predstavlja san o boljem životu i cilj vredan žrtvovanja. Jeste primarno viši životni standard magnet za obične ljude, ali nije samo to. Privlačnosti izvesno doprinosi i to što se radi o funkcionalnom društvu zasnovanom na vladavini prava, koje daje osećaj sigurnosti svojim građanima, zasnovan na poštovanju vrednosti solidarnosti i građanskih sloboda. Nada u bolji život zahteva (samo) disciplinu jer obavezuje na temeljno preuređenje naših korumpiranih državnih sistema, od čega zapadni Balkan može imati samo koristi. Ali ono što mnogi građani, a posebno stara nacionalističko-autoritarna politička elita smatraju gorkom pilulom za progutati na putu ka EU članstvu, jesu neophodne mere koje bi vodile ka pomirenju i uspostavljanju dobrih međususedskih odnosa između Kosova i Srbije. Politički populistima imaju ogroman otpor spram ovih koraka jer bi to značilo da moraju da obustave svoju ustaljenu praksu manipulacije strahom i korišćenja pretnje od neprijatelja kao načina da za sebe kao navodne zaštitnike, obezbede podršku građana. Za njih su jednostrani narativi o nasilnoj prošlosti kojima se vrši demonizacija drugih a o sopstvenom kolektivu gradi slika nevinih kolektivnih žrtava, deo ličnih političkih

dostignuća. Takav način bavljenja sa prošlošću nije samo poguban za izgradnju dobrosusedskih odnosa, već i za izgradnju društvene demokratske kulture. Zbog svega toga, autokratima nije potrebno puno da nađu izgovor, kako bi zaključili da „sa njima pomirenje nije moguće, jer oni nas očigledno mrze“.

EU ne bi smela da izneveri data obećanja o perspektivi priključenja

Kada popusti privlačnost EU, unutrašnje destruktivne snage počinju da rastu i glasovi autokrata postaju snažniji. Privlačnost EU postoji samo dok postoji ikakav napredak procesa pristupanja, ili u najmanju ruku razumljiv razlog zastoja tog procesa. Obični građani pristupanje EU vide kao korake ka boljem životu, pa je prihvatanje ustupaka na tom putu prihvatljivo zarad cilja kojem se stremiti. Ali, ako se ciljna linija ulaska u EU neobjašnjivo pomera ili ako se postavljaju nove prepreke na tom putu, proces počinje da se doživljava kao nefer. Doživljaj EU se pomera ka izgledu nepredvidivog, nepouzdanog i sebičnog džina. Odluka EU da odbije početak pregovora sa Albanijom i Severnom Makedonijom je izazvala ogromno razočaranje i doživljena je kao nefer. Ovakvo razočaranje može voditi ka očajničkim potezima.

Politička opstrukcija je uobičajen deo političkog procesa: ona će se događati unutar EU, prouzrokujući odluke suprotne proklamovanim principima. Događaće se opstrukcija i u regionu, kroz autoritarne poteze koji će unazaditi praksu prihvatanja EU standarda u borbi protiv korupcije, demokratskih principa i ekološke zaštite. Ljudi na zapadnom Balkanu ne očekuju od entuzijazam po pitanju njihovog priključenja, svesni smo toga da svi pomalo glume zainteresovanost da do priključenja dođe. Ipak uprkos svemu, na Balkanu smo naučili da ne očajavamo lako, te se još uvek nadamo pristupu EU.

Nemačka treba podržati izgradnju domaćih kapaciteta za dijalog

Šta može Nemačka učiniti da, mimo svih komplikacija, doprinese procesu pomirenja?

Može ostati partner koji je predvidiv, pouzdan, uporan i strpljiv, te dodatno unaprediti svoju poziciju visokog poverenja. Kada govorimo o odbrani

demokratskih principa, naša društva mogu samo profitirati od nemačke posvećenosti tim principima. Predanost principu slobode je zarazna.

Na lokalnom nivou, nemačka podrška bi bila jako važna za:

- razvoj kapaciteta za dijalog, saradnju i prekograničnu razmenu u sledećim oblastima: građanski aktivizam, izgradnja mira, ljudska prava, demokratizacija, ekologija, kultura, akademska zajednica (posebno istoričari), omladina, političari – u ovom redosledu prioriteta;
- podrška političkim demokratskim opcijama;
- pružanje primera za multiperspektivnu kulturu sećanja kao načina za uspostavljanje interpretacije prošlosti koja neće poticati na mržnju i nasilje.

Promocija mira nužno zahteva podršku demokratskih principa

Vezano za proces pomirenja između Kosova i Srbije, sledeće promene pristupa bi bile potrebne – što kod lokalnih, što kod međunarodnih aktera:

- odbaciti pristup koji podrazumeva traženje „rešenja“ koje bi značilo opstajanje hladnog rata i koegzistenciju međusobno rasističkih narativa (između Srba i Albanaca, ali u određenoj meri i između Makedonaca i Albanaca).
- Poboljšanje odnosa između stanovnika zapadnog Balkana treba biti adresirano umesto teritorijalnih zahteva.
- prihvatiti i podržati dugoročni proces koji vodi ka pomirenju u smeru od dole ka gore. Da

bi se došlo do održivog i opšteprihvaćenog sporazuma, potrebno je menjati zatrovanu političku atmosferu i boriti se protiv razgradnje mira koju raspiruju vlade.

- kritikovati i odbaciti dvolične poteze funkcionera kosovske i vlade Srbije koji za EU imaju pripremljen sladak rečnik, a jedni spram drugih koriste govor mržnje.
- podržati prekogranične inicijative između pojedinaca, grupa i institucija, a koje dolaze iz ratom suprotstavljenih tabora i međusobno se vide kao neprijateljske.
- snažno braniti demokratske principe poput slobode medija, uključujući i javne servise, a ne samo kada se napadaju marginalizovani i često od vlade demonizovani medijski akteri.
- podržavati prekogranične aktivnosti, uz učešće bivših neprijatelja, koje nisu samo bilateralne, već regionalne, posebno za trouglove Bosna i Hercegovina – Srbija – Hrvatska, i Srbija – Kosovo – S. Makedonija.
- snažno osuditi simptome zarobljavanja državnih institucija: ne tolerisati korupciju, izbornu manipulaciju, uskraćivanje medijskih sloboda, veličanje ratnih zločinaca itd. Iako se čini manje važnim, sve pomenuto unazađuje demokratski kapacitet, podstiče populizam, sužava prostor za alternative i smanjuje šanse za prevazilaženje nasleđa nasilne prošlosti. Kontraproduktivno je tolerisati zarobljenu državu, zarad očekivanog „mirovnog sporazuma“. Takav mirovni sporazum svakako ne bi bio dugoročno održiv.



politički i društveni konteksti
u kojima delujemo

Hrvatska: Iskorak

Svaka odrasla osoba zna da čarobnog štapića nema i da se stvari ne mijenjaju izgovaranjem magične riječi „abracadabra“ uz zamah drvenim artefaktom iz bajki. Sada kada smo utvrdili da mahanje štapićem treba ostaviti Pepeljuginoj šumskoj vili ili Harryju Potteru da se njime zabavlja u onoj njegovoj školi magije, poprilično sigurno možemo ustvrditi da događaji od ljeta gospodnjeg 2020. neće učiniti da se dogodi čudo, ali su itekako vrijedni da ih se mora zabilježiti. Mali je to, ali vrlo značajan korak. Naime, nakon niza godina gaganja u glibu nacionalizma iz kojeg nezaustavljivo izbija mržnja valja upamtiti mjesec august ove godine, ili ako vam smeta august, onda kolovoz. Tog mjeseca u Hrvatskoj se dogodilo nešto čemu do sada, nažalost, baš i nismo imali prilike svjedočiti, ukoliko govorimo o potezima visoke politike da se barem malo napokon pomaknemo s mrtve točke na kojoj nas drži balast ratova koji su ovdje završili još prije 25 godina.

Dakle, da pređemo na stvar, prvo je 5. kolovoza na 25. godišnjicu vojno-redarstvene akcije „Oluja“ u Knin, gdje se ta obljetnica svake godine obilježava, stigao Boris Milošević, novi potpredsjednik Vlade iz redova Samostalne demokratske srpske stranke (SDSS). Do toga dana u obilježavanju „Oluje“ nikada nije sudjelovao nijedan visoki predstavnik srpske nacionalne manjine, a samo obilježavanje najčešće je bilo prilika za ispoljavanje najprizemnijih nacionalističkih strasti.

„Želim da se prekine spirala mržnje kako se užasi rata nikada ne bi ponovili. Društvo je sazrelo da čujemo jedni druge i poštujemo jedni druge bez obzira na nacionalnost“, jasna je poruka koju je iz Knina odaslao Milošević, dodajući da je na obljetnicu „Oluje“ čuo poruke mira zbog čega svoj dolazak u Knin smatra zalogom za bolju budućnost na ovim prostorima.

Miloševićeva odluka u Srbiji je dočekana na nož te je u uobičajenom narativu, kakvog uredno slušamo na ovim prostorima, proglašavan sramotom srpskog naroda i izdajnikom, a u huškanju i pokušaju kreiranja apsolutne osude prednjačili su srbijanski „mediji“ pod kontrolom vlasti.

Tri tjedana kasnije, 25. kolovoza, ponovno se dogodilo nešto na što u Hrvatskoj nismo navikli, a stiglo je pomno planirano, u paketu s onim prvim. U selo

Grubori, u kninskom zaleđu, na komemoraciji nakon „Oluje“ ubijenim civilima srpske nacionalnosti, došao je ministar hrvatskih branitelja Tomo Medved i odao počast žrtvama. Ovo selo, inače, više ni ne postoji, ne možete ga naći na karti, ali našli su ga 25. kolovoza 1995. godine pripadnici Anti-terorističke jedinice Lučko koji su čisteći teren odlučili Grubore očistiti od života i popaliti skoro sve kuće u selu. Do dana današnjeg obitelji ubijenih staraca čekaju na pravdu, a mi smo prisiljeni udisati isti zrak kao i monstrumi odgovorni za zločin.

„Hrvatska žali zbog svih stradalih i naša je dužnost iskazati pijetet prema žrtvama“, riječi su koje je u Gruborima izgovorio Medved, inače pripadnik desne struje u vladajućem HDZ-u, a ova poruka je itekako važna jer od rata na ovamo u Hrvatskoj je stalno samo negiranje zločina i izbjegavanje „mračnog naličja pobjede“. Ovdje i dalje egzistira teza da „u ratu napadnuti ne mogu počiniti zločin“ i da je Hrvatska vojska „neukaljanog obraza“, pa kada ministar branitelja dolaskom na mjesto zločina prizna da je Hrvatska vojska ubijala nevine civile, to je potez koji šalje jasnu poruku, gradi kulturu mira i na neki način službeno priznaje stradavanje Srba u prošlom ratu. A kako je Hrvatska tretirala „tuđe“ žrtve može se vidjeti iz činjenice da je službena istraga zločina u Gruborima započela tek 2001. godine, i to tek nakon niza upita međunarodnih institucija za taj slučaj.

U Gruborima je uz Medveda bio i hrvatski predsjednik Zoran Milanović te, ponovno, Boris Milošević, koji je i ovu priliku iskoristio za slanje poruke sljedećeg sadržaja: „Vrijeme je da mržnja prestane, da se ne prenosi na nove generacije i da nam djeca ne rastu s predrasudama prema drugima. Samo tako možemo graditi bolju Hrvatsku, to je politika ove Vlade“.

A koliko je zapravo snage i volje bilo potrebno da Milošević i Medved donesu takvu odluku govore njihove osobne tragedije. Nekoliko dana prije odlaska u Knin u potresnoj ispovijesti Milošević je ispričao svoju obiteljsku priču, koja je do tada bila nepoznata javnosti. Naime, Milošević je „Oluju“ dočekao u rodnom Šibeniku, a nakon vojne akcije skupa s ocem

koji je bio mobiliziran u Hrvatskoj vojsci obilazio je svoju baku, očevu majku, koja je živjela na području oslobođenom u „Oluji“. Mjesec dana kasnije njegovu su baku pronašli ubijenu, a ubojica je otkriven samo zato što se hvalio svojim nedjelom misleći, kao i mnogi monstrumi, da se u takvim vremenima za smaknuće Srba nikada neće odgovarati. S druge strane, ministar Medved u ratu je tri puta ranjavan, a u Oluji je poginuo njegov brat Milan. Imajući to na umu ne treba čuditi što je najava odlaska Miloševića u Knin i Medveda u Grubore tjednima uoči tih događaja bila najvažnija politička tema ljeta.

Nipošto se Hrvatska ovime nije riješila opterećenosti ratnim naslijeđem, ali barem u tom mjesecu nekome sa strane moglo se učiniti da više nema „naših“ i „njihovih“ žrtava. I bilo je toga ovo ljeto još. Milanović i slovenski predsjednik Borut Pahor, upozoravajući na „banalnost zla“, sudjelovali su u obilježavanju 77 godina od oslobođenja koncentracijskog logora Kampor na otoku Rabu, gdje su u velikom broju internirani hrvatski i slovenski antifašisti u Drugom svjetskom ratu. Više od 15.000 ljudi prošlo je kroz Kampor, a po nekim procjenama gotovo 4.000 njih ostavilo je živote u tom logoru. Po prvi put sada su na obljetnicu oslobođenja došli hrvatski i slovenski predsjednici, kazavši kako ovo mjesto podsjeća na „sposobnost čovjeka da se iz čovjeka pretvori u nečovjeka“. Otprilike u isto vrijeme premijer Andrej Plenković u povodu Europskog dana sjećanja na žrtve totalitarnih i autoritarnih režima posjetio je zloglasni Goli otok, a spremnost da mu se pridruži pokazao je i čelnik Saveza društava Josip Broz Tito, Jovan Vejnović, izjavljujući kako je Goli otok velika mrlja na socijalističkom sistemu. Krajem rujna, Plenković, bi se trebao nakloniti i srpskim civilima ubijenima u selu Varivode, nedaleko od Šibenika.

Koliko god se „visoka politika“ pravila da ne formira raspoloženje društva, to je miljama daleko od istine, što često možemo vidjeti pred izbore kada nacionalističke opcije posegnu za dobro razrađenim mehanizmom kojim se učas oko neke pogodne sitnice stvori pravi mali vanjskopolitički rat u koji se onda uključuju premijeri, predsjednici, ministri ... U Hrvatskoj je to uglavnom slučaj sa Srbijom i Slovenijom, a manje s Bosnom i Hercegovinom.

Ovogodišnji parlamentarni izbori svojim su rezultatima zapravo omogućili poteze Miloševića i

Medveda, jer su HDZ-u stvorili uvjete da uz podršku HNS-a, Reformista i zastupnika nacionalnih manjina formira Vladu. Tako su iz postizborne računice, kao ribe na suhom, ostale ekstremno desne političke opcije, poput Domovinskog pokreta, u kojima su viđeni akteri upravo oni huškači koje je HDZ godinama držao uz sebe i koji su govor mržnje uveli kao sasvim normalnu pojavu među saborske klupe. Takvi, primjerice, nisu željeli doći u Knin u koji dolaze i službeni predstavnici Srba, poručivši da ne žele sudjelovati u „samopromociji hrvatsko-srpske trgovačke koalicije“. O kakvim se ljudima radi govori i slučaj s kraja srpnja. Tada je u Saboru Anja Šimpraga, zastupnica SDSS-a, u uistinu potresnom govoru, koji bi morao dirnuti svako ljudsko biće koje se želi nazivati čovjekom, ispričala kako je kao osmogodišnja djevojčica preživjela zbjeg nakon Oluje. Nakon njenog dirljivog govora, sva uspuhana na svoju saborsku fotelju doslovce je dotrčala zastupnica Domovinskog pokreta, Karolina Vidović Krišto, koju je prije političke karijere javna televizija, unatoč njenim brojnim skandaloznim propustima, držala kao „novinarku“ HRT-a. Nova zvijezda hrvatske desnice trčala je kako bi zatražila repliku kojom je upozorila da je Šimpraga u svojoj ispovijesti upotrijebila „mrske“ riječi „tačno“ i „august“. To je očito jedino što je Vidović Krišto čula od tog potresnog govora.

Kad se već toliko toga vrti oko Knina uistinu bi bio grijeh, a da na ovom mjestu ne spomenemo i jednu vrlo značajnu knjigu koja radi na pomirenju, i to na način kakav na ovim prostorima baš nismo imali prilike vidjeti. I prava je šteta što neće dospjeti u mnoge ruke. Autori su Slaven Rašković i Igor Čoko, dvojica Kninjana koja su nakon Oluje, prvi s 11, a drugi s 20 godina izbjegla u Srbiju. Rašković se brzo vratio u Hrvatsku, dok je Čoko ostao živjeti u Beogradu. Njihova se knjiga zove „Život u limbu – knjiga ožiljaka“ i počinje efektom frazom jednog Kninjanina – „jedino što je u Kninu naraslo u posljednjih 25 godina je gradsko groblje“. Rašković riječju, a Čoko sjajnim fotografijama postratnog Knina, faktografski iznose sve što se uoči rata, za njegovog trajanja i poslije Oluje događalo u Kninu. Lišena je svih nacionalističkih narativa, ali zato nije lišena emocije. Zbog svega što se u knjizi iznosi, otkako je mržnja prokuljala - od maltretiranja i šikaniranja Hrvata još uoči rata, preko njihovog progona, do zločina koje su Hrvati počinili nakon Oluje, jer osveta se, kako

piše Rašković, u Kninu servira vruća - sigurno je da se zbog nepodilaženja nacionalističkim strastima ova knjiga neće svidjeti ni „pravim „Hrvatima“, ni „pravim“ Srbima.

Ograničeni prostor za ovu priliku ne ostavlja nam dovoljno mjesta za detaljnije seciranje nekih drugih mračnih fenomena koji su u Hrvatskoj posljednjih godinu dana izraženiji nego ikada, a koji se mogu vidjeti na fasadama mnogih hrvatskih gradova gdje se gomilaju kukasti križevi, ušasto „U“ ukrašeno križem, ustaški pozdravi, gdje se na društvenim mrežama slijeva krv s očnjaka i gdje su „mediji“ koji koriste huškačku retoriku ušli u mainstream, a hrvatska Wikipedija

otvoreno simpatizira fašizam i ustaštvo te revidira povijest. Ili gdje navijačke skupine šire nacionalnu mržnju, poput slučaja sa zagrebačke Kustošije kada su „navijači“ Dinama proslavljali dovršetak murala svom klubu skandirajući „Ubij Srbina“, zastavom HOS-a i transparentom na kojem je pisalo - „Jebat ćemo srpske žene i djecu“.

Čarobnog štapića, dakle, nema i sve aktere u hrvatskom društvu očekuje još puno posla na izgradnji kvalitetnijeg i pitomijeg društva. Nama ostaje tek da se nadamo kako će pozitivni primjeri od ovog ljeta ipak donijeti neke promjene.

Ivor Fuka

Bosna i Hercegovina: Je l' ovdje ikom' išta jasno?

Još jedna godina je iza nas u kojoj smo mogli ustanoviti, odnosno bolje rečeno osjetiti na vlastitoj koži, brojne afere i krizne situacije koje su pokazatelj neodgovornosti političara koji nisu u službi građana, već su sami sebi svrha postojanja sprovodeći programe stranaka koje predstavljaju. I to ne one u izbornim kampanjama obećane programe, već one koji imaju namjeru nahraniti postojeći megalomanski administrativni aparat i očuvati postojeće pozicije moći.

Bosna i Hercegovina (BiH), četvrt vijeka nakon rata i više od tri decenije provedene u tranziciji - tranziciji kojoj se ne nazire kraj, čeka, pati se, stenje od nagomilanih problema i besperspektivnosti, suočena sa izumiranjem, jer mladi odlaze. Ali odlaze i oni koji su situirani, porodice koje nisu materijalno ugrožene, ljudi koji su stekli i zvanja i status u ovoj zajednici. Dosta im je čekanja, laži i obmane. Ne žele da se uklope u društvo koje je zasnovano na principima političke podobnosti i nepotizmu. U 2019. zabilježeno je rekordno iseljavanje, i ono što je možda presudno, u BiH je u cijelom poslijeratnom periodu, različitim intenzitetom doduše, prisutan strah od eskalacije sukoba koji bi zemlju ponovo survao u ponor rata. U posljednje vrijeme taj strah je prisutan možda više nego ikad.

Ostaje dilema, da li smo kao građani ove zemlje

u stvarnom problemu i izloženi prijetnji ili živimo u konstruisanoj matrici vladajućih političkih elita koje putem iluzionističkih trikova obezbjeđuju sebi trajnost i beneficije.

A može im se u državi u kojoj se potpuno korumpirano pravosuđe ne bori protiv kriminala i korupcije već služi za političko potkusurivanje, u kojoj se najviši politički čimbenici zauzimaju za svoje kadrove i štite ih i u slučajevima kada je očita njihova odgovornost za činjenje kriminalnih radnji, u državi čije podijeljeno društvo nema kapaciteta dovoljnih da se odlučno ustane protiv svega toga što joj ne da da postane poželjna za život.

Dakle, politika

Imali smo trenutke kada se rađala nada da su dogovori mogući, poput slanja u Brisel Godišnjeg nacionalnog plana (Annual National Plan - ANP), prvog godišnjeg programa reformi konačno usaglašenog u Sarajevu, voljom svih članova trojnog Predsjedništva BiH - Milorada Dodika, Željka Komšića i Šefika Džaferovića. Ali, nismo dočekali ni da se mastilo osuši a već smo imali situaciju da se potpisnici međusobno prepucavaju o tome da li je time trasiran put BiH u NATO ili se radi o dokumentu koji samo određuje poziciju države o statusu i obimu saradnje sa Alijansom. Tri mjeseca smo njih trojicu gledali i slušali u medijima

kako tumače i brane svoje stavove i ko je koga nadmudrio. Bezbroj specijalnih emisija sa političkim i pravnim ekspertima se bavilo tim, a onda se zašutilo i maltene zaboravilo to “pitanje svih pitanja”.

Ostatak vremena naše političke zbilje slušali smo člana predsjedništva BiH Dodika kako nastavlja iznositi stavove o nemogućnosti funkcionisanja države BiH kao cjeline i kako dolazi trenutak kada će Republika Srpska (RS) doživjeti svoju samostalnost. Na te iznesene stavove druga dva člana predsjedništva, Komšić i Džaferović, odgovarali su ponavljajući priču da su to prijetnje po konstitutivnost i ustavnost BiH. Tražili su poštivanje zakona i očuvanje Ustava BiH, intervenciju Ureda visokog predstavnika (OHR), međunarodne zajednice, zemalja Kvinte (pet najutjecajnih zapadnih država: SAD, Velika Britanija, Italija, Francuska i Njemačka), koji su se onda oglašavali sa saopštenjima u kojima su pozivali na to da su načela pravne države ključni element, pri čemu je Ustavni sud središnja institucija, a dovođenje teritorijalnog integriteta Bosne i Hercegovine u pitanje vrlo štetno za razvoj Bosne i Hercegovine i njezino približavanje Europskoj uniji. I tako unedogled. Povremeno se u javnosti pojavljivao lider najjače bošnjačke partije Stranke demokratske akcije (SDA) Bakir Izetbegović koji je koristio oštriju retoriku prema Dodiku izražavajući spremnost da brani nezavisnost i integritet BiH po svaku cijenu. Dodik je zatim optuživao SDA za nepoštivanje Dejtona i sprovođenje politike koja ima za cilj centralizaciju države i opet je bila perpetuobilizacija istog, kao i posljednjih ko više zna koliko godina.

Posmatrajući entitetske nivoe vlasti, u RS-u Savez nezavisnih socijademokrata (SNSD) sa Dodikom na čelu suvereno vlada. Dodik je u više navrata uspio da i ono malo opozicije što u RS-u postoji u potpunosti potčini uvodeći u Narodnu skupštinu RS pitanja ugroženosti institucija RS, opasnosti gubljenja nadležnosti ovog entiteta, stranih sudija u Ustavnom sudu BiH koji rade protiv interesa Srba i drugih pitanja koja su navedena kao ključna za opstanak RS. Igrao je na kartu koja dobija, viši nacionalni interes. I za sve je dobijao punu podršku u ovom najvišem tijelu ustavotvorne i zakonodavne vlasti u RS. Korupcija, privredni kriminal, siromaštvo i ostali problemi nekada će doći na red da se rješavaju.

Unutar Federacije BiH, Hrvatska demokratska zajednica (HDZ) i SDA ne uspijevaju naći rješenja

za probleme. Stranke sa hrvatskim predznakom su funkcionalnost institucija Federacije BiH uslovljavale izmjenom izbornog zakona, a podržali su i SNSD-ov zahtjev za smjenom stranih sudija. Blokade konstituisanja izvršne vlasti traju već duže od godinu i po dana, Vlada Federacije funkcioniše u tehničkom mandatu od 2018. a tek u junu ove godine došlo je do dogovora SDA - HDZ kada su njihovi lideri potpisali politički sporazum kojim je obuhvaćen usaglašeni model Izbornog zakona koji će se primjeniti na lokalnim izborima u Mostaru. Konačno dobra vijest za građane ovog grada koji su na lokalne izbore zadnji put izašli 2012.

Ovdje ću navesti i da će se lokalni izbori u BiH održati 15. novembra, osim na području Mostara, gdje će bit održani 20. decembra. Prvobitno planirani rok za izbore je bio 4. oktobar, ali je pomjeren zbog kašnjenja s usvajanjem budžeta. U međuvremenu su se političke stranke međusobno optuživale da, svaka iz svojih razloga, namjerno opstruišu usvajanje budžeta kako bi što duže prolongirali održavanje izbora.

Jednog dana možda i Drugi svjetski rat u BiH bude prošlost

Aktuelno stanje u bosanskohercegovačkom društvu dočarala je i misa za “blaiburške žrtve” održana u Sarajevu 16. juna 2020. Misa se tradiconalno zadnjih 30 godina održava na Blajburškom polju u Austriji, gdje su partizani pobili desetine hiljada ustaša, domobrana i drugih nacističkih saradnika iz marionetske Nezavisne Države Hrvatske (NDH), ali i civila koji su bježali s njima. Međutim, ove godine zbog pandemije misu nije bilo moguće organizovati u Austriji te je Katolička crkva održala misu u Sarajevskoj katedrali uz pokroviteljstvo Hrvatskog sabora, Hrvatske biskupske konferencije i Počasnog blajburškog voda - profašističke i ustašofilske organizacije. Događaj je naravno ispolitizovan i bile su brojne reakcije. Kritičari su smatrali da se radi o rehabilitaciji ustaštva, a crkveni dužnosnici izjavljivali da je samo riječ o vjerskom obredu koji nema veze ni sa jednim režimom i ideologijom. Misa je ipak više bila ideološki nego vjerski čin i glavna poruka se odnosila na osudu svih totalitarističkih režima.

U toku mise, u organizaciji Saveza antifašista i boraca Narodnooslobodilačkog rata (SABNOR) BiH, organizovan je protestni skup i mimohod u kojem

je učestvovalo nekoliko hiljada građana koji su uz partizansku ikonografiju i pjevanje antifašističkih pjesama iskazali svoje nezadovoljstvo ukazujući na nepravедno izjednačavanje žrtava fašističkog terora koji je u Sarajevu odnio 10000 života, sa žrtvama onih koji su taj teror sproveli.

Protesti ipak nisu bili usmjereni ka svim fašizmima. U Sarajevu je izostalo suočavanje Bošnjaka sa vlastitom nacističkom prošlošću i već decenijama se gradi mit o gradu kao kolijevci antifašizma iako se zna da je jako puno Sarajlija u 2. svjetskom ratu kolaboriralo sa nacistima i obnašalo visoke funkcije u institucijama NDH. Bošnjačka nacionalistička elita je i rehabilitovala neke od presuđenih ratnih zločinaca iz tog vremena, a neke ulice i škole nose ime po njima. Ovog puta propuštena je osuda i toga i pitanje je da li će se i kada pristupiti denaficikaciji.

Revizionizam je ključni pojam procesa koji se odvijao na prostorima bivše Jugoslavije u zadnje tri decenije. Demonizacija partizanskog pokreta i socijalizma je osnova nacionalističkih snaga. A u BiH naravno sve se to multiplicira x 3.

Covid 19 protiv nas 3 konstitutivna naroda i ostalih građana BiH

Na pandemiju korona virusa nadležne institucije, Ministarstvo zdravlja RS i Ministarstvo zdravlja Federacije BiH su u startu reagovalе na možda tada i jedini ispravan način. Formiranjem kriznih štabova i donošenjem odredbi o ograničavanju kretanja starijim i djeci, zabranom okupljanja i zabranom kretanja u noćnim satima, svakako su dirnuli i u ljudske slobode, ali s obzirom na stanje u našem zdravstvu, koje nije na nivou zapadno evropskih zemalja poput Italije i Španije, a čiji su sistemi bili na koljenima, vjerujem da su spriječeni crni scenariji sa mnoštvom zaraženih i mrtvih. Istina je da u tom dvomjesečnom "lock down" periodu od kraja marta do sredine maja se nije ni testiralo u dovoljnoj mjeri i da su mnogi zaraženi bez simptoma prošli ispod radara zdravstvenih institucija, ali može se reći da je na taj način kriza u tom momentu prevaziđena. Ono što je došlo kasnije jeste posljedica opuštanja i nepridržavanja mjera zaštite, a posljedice periodično variraju i kreću se od 100-300 zaraženih i 10-15 umrlih na dnevnom nivou.

Pandemija je otkrila brojne slabosti u zdravstvenom

sistemu, ali su na površinu izašli primjeri nezasite potrebe za ličnim bogaćenjem zloupotrebom krize, uz brutalnu otimačinu budžetskih - narodnih para.

Vlada Federacije BiH (FBiH) naručila je iz Kine 100 respiratora u vrijednosti 10,5 miliona KM. Za taj posao bio je zadužen Federalni štab civilne zaštite (FŠCZ). Ništa to ne bi bilo čudno da prvi čovjek, načelnik FŠCZ, nije posao povjerio firmi koja je specijalizirana za uzgoj i prerađu voća - Srebrna malina iz Srebrenice, iako je znao da ta firma nema dozvolu za uvoz medicinske opreme i lijekova, koju izdaje Agencija za kontrolu lijekova BiH. Međutim, to je otkriveno tek kada je prvi avion sa respiratorima sletio na sarajevski aerodrom i kada zbog nedostatka dozvole za uvoz nije bilo moguće izvršiti carinjenje. Slučaj se prvo pokušao zataškati da bi se nakon toga krenulo u pribavljanje neophodne dozvole, ali do tada je već afera isplivala i postala predmetom policijskih agencija. Uslijedila su hapšenja premijera Vlade FBiH, načelnika FŠCZ i vlasnika pomenute firme, a predmet će dobiti sudski epilog. Naknadno je utvrđeno i da respiratori nisu upotrebljivi u odjelima intenzivne njege, već se radi o mobilnim uređajima koji se ugrađuju u vozila hitne pomoći, tako da su faktički neupotrebljivi. Vidjet ćemo ko će namiriti narodne pare.

U RS-u je skandal izbio oko nabavke šatora u vrijednosti 5 miliona KM, a koji ima funkciju mobilne bolnice. Montiran na livadu i bez ikakve dodatne opreme ubrzo je postao predmet ismijavanja ali i teret vladajućim strukturama jer se tražila odgovornost za zaludo trošenje novca. Uskoro je šator vraćen isporučiocu uz navodni povrat uplaćenog novca. To je informacija koja će pričekati svoju potvrdu.

Zajedničko djelovanje predstavnici vlasti iskazali su u podnošenju zahtjeva Međunarodnom monetarnom fondu (MMF) za dodjelu kredita za ublažavanje štete nastale pandemijom. Iako se moralo dugo čekati na odluku o raspodjeli novca, Vijeće ministara Bosne i Hercegovine postiglo je dogovor o raspodjeli 333 miliona eura kredita.

Migrantska kriza

Migranti u BiH dolaze sa namjerom da u njoj ne ostanu. To je već unazad tri godine, od kad su počeli da stižu u većim grupama, poznata stvar. Migrantska

kriza trenutno doživljava ovogodišnji vrhunac i sa sobom vuče niz problema. Od negodovanja lokalnih zajednica i nezadovoljstva građana koje dovodi do sve češćih protesta, nezadovoljstva migranata uslovima smještaja i načinom na kojim se prema njima opходи zajednica, policija i nadležne vlasti, do pojačanih aktivnosti na krijumčarenju migranta ka EU zemljama. Pored svih već pomenutih problema koje sa sobom nosi trenutna situacija, umjesto dogovora i zajedničkog pristupa rješavanju ovog problema nosioci vlasti odgovornost prebacuju jedni na druge. Pitanje je kada će, odnosno hoće li, vlasti u BiH iznaći rješenje za ovu krizu uz poštivanje osnovnih ljudskih prava. Trenutne prilike su takve da je uz raniju odluku rukovodstva RS, da se migrantima ne dozvoli boravak na prostoru ovog entiteta, i političko rukovodstvo USK donijelo nove mjere kojima se migrantima zabranjuje ulazak na područje ovog kantona. Sada imamo situaciju da migranti koji iz RS dođu do USK provode vrijeme između punktova policije. Prijeti im humanitarna katastrofa jer nisu u ničijoj nadležnosti, a svakodnevno na te lokacije pristižu autobusi puni novih ljudi koji tu ostaju zarobljeni.

Ključ

Ostaje otvoreno pitanje koje su to promjene potrebne da bi naše društvo profunkcionisalo u punom kapacitetu!? Da li su realna očekivanja da će institucije početi da rade svoj posao, a da pri tome ne prethodi promjena u glavama, kako njih samih, tako i ljudi koje predstavljaju? Da li je moguće da dođe do stvarnog pomirenja i izgradnje stabilnog mira, a da tome ne prethodi katarzičan odnos prema svim zločinima koji su vršeni u bilo čije ime i da li je uopšte moguće očekivati da će predstavnici naših naroda ikada biti voljni da ponesu teret odgovornosti za ono što je činjeno u njihovo ime, a bilo usmjereno protiv drugih, ili će nastaviti da brane tekovine pravdajući te postupke kao neophodnim u datom trenutku bez obzira na količinu krvi koja se prolila? I kada će se prestati braniti "svoj" pa makar bio i najgori? Društvo poput našeg koje se ne suoči sa ovim suštinskim pitanjima samo će se zavaravati da je ključ u ekonomskom prosperitetu ili pridruživanju evroatlantskim integracijama. Mi jednostavno sami moramo da damo odgovore kakve živote želimo da živimo. Ovo u zadnje tri decenije je životarenje pod strahom.

Amer Delić

Srbija: Sve demokratije su različite, ali su sve diktature slične

Pre nekoliko godina, na početku migrantske krize, posmatrajući kako svet okreće glavu od sudbine nevoljnika koji mu hrle, nadajući se da će u zemljama Evrope pronaći mir, stabilnost i ekonomski boljitak, ali najpre sistem koji će im urediti živote provedene u haosu država koje se u ratovima raspadaju, u diktatorskim režimima u kojima opstaju samo bliski vlastima, razmišljala sam o paraleli događaja pred Drugi svetski rat i sadašnjih. Srbija je na migrantskom putu bila zemlja kroz koju su prolazili, niko zaista nema životnu nameru da ovde oстане, ali me je slika tih ljudi koji nikome ne trebaju, niko ne zna šta bi sa njima, niko ih zaista ne želi, podsetila na tzv. „Brod ukletih“, koji je na početku Drugog svetskog rata prevozio Jevreje iz Nemačke, a kojem gotovo nijedna država, na dugom

putu, nije pružila pristanište. <https://nenasilje.org/brodovi-ukletih/>

Poslednjih meseci osećam se kao da je cela država u kojoj živim na tom brodu. Brodu ukletih. Mi plovimo, niko nas ne želi, svi okreću glavu od događaja u Srbiji i nadaju se da će se to rešiti samo od sebe. Nikome nismo cilj, samo prolazna teškoća. I kada bi sa ovog broda poslali SOS poruku, verujem da je niko ne bi čuo, ili bi se pravio da je ne čuje.

Izbori - prilika za grabež i nasilje

Ono što se činilo nemoguće se dogodilo, jer demokratija u Srbiji je prešla dugačak i trnovit put, ali ga nije završila, ostala je negde na početku, ipak

se činilo da su neka pravila uspostavljena: no, opet smo izglasali diktaturu, posledice osećamo godinama unazad, a kako će biti u buduću, a pri tom ne mislim na budućnost u smislu godina, već na dane i mesece – niko ne može da predvidi. U Srbiji su, na silu i pod okriljem korone održani izbori 21. juna. Izbori su praznik demokratije – tamo gde demokratije ima, oni su demokratskim vladama izazov, ali su diktatorskim prilika za grabež, obračune, nasilje i strah.

Ceo izborni proces bio je u službi vladajuće stranke – pa su takvi i rezultati: od 250, SNS, stranka čiji je predsednik Aleksandar Vučić (koji je i predsednik Srbije) osvojila je 188 mandata. U parlament je ušao i njihov dugogodišnji partner Socijalistička partija Srbije sa 32 mandata, i stranka (bivšeg vaterpoliste, gradonačelnika Novog Beograda koji je optužen za falsifikat doktorskog rada) Aleksandra Šapića sa 11 poslanika. Tu su i četiri stranke manjina, koje imaju ukupno 19 poslanika. Opozicija je izbore bojkotovala, ali je na njih izašlo 49% upisanih birača (naravno da postoje opravdane sumnje i dokazi o nepravilnostima).

Sa tri stranke desnice na vlasti, i bez ikakve opozicije – tako će izgledati parlament Srbije, najviše zakonodavno telo, u sledeće četiri godine. Tako se Srbija, po monolitnoj strukturi parlamenta svrstala u red najnedemokratskijih država Evrope. (Ispred nje je, za sada, samo Belorusija, ukoliko nedavno održani izbori u toj zemlji, na kojima je pobedio Lukašenko sa više od 80% glasova budu priznati kao legitimni.) SNS je u Srbiji osvojio 62,6% ali je to dovoljno da imaju dvotrećinsku većinu, koja im daje legitimitet da menjaju sve, uključujući i Ustav, sami, i bez ikoga drugog.

U trenutku dok završavam ovaj tekst - 1.9. - dva meseca i 10 dana posle izbora, još uvek nije formirana vlada - niti ima naznaka kada će se to dogoditi, što je samo još jedan pokazatelj da kad je sva vlast u rukama jednog čoveka - institucije su suvišne, makar i kao paravan demokratije.

Izbiorima je prethodila višegodišnja tortura građana svim polugama koje vlast može da ima: mediji su u funkciji jedne stranke i jednog čoveka, policija, sudstvo, osim časnih izuzetaka takođe, opozicija je razjedinjena i gotovo nepostojeća, dok stranke desnice bujaju, ali se ne bez razloga sumnja da iza njih stoji vladajuća stranka, koja ih formira, finansira i njima

upravlja kako bi ih koristila kao strašilo: u komparaciji sa pokretima i strankama desnice, SNS čini da izgleda kao demokratska stranka evropske orijentacije.

Od najsmešnijeg virusa u istoriji do plakanja pred kamerama

Pre ovih izbora imali smo višemesečnu zatvorenost, vanredno stanje i policijski čas, koji su uvedeni 17. marta i trajali su do 7. maja. U Srbiji živim skoro pola veka i doživela sam tri vanredna stanja: prvo kad je tokom rata na Kosovu NATO pakt bombardovao Srbiju, drugo kad je ubijen premijer Zoran Đinđić, i sada ovo, treće, zbog korone. Policijski čas sam doživela prvi put u životu. Iako se iskustva i lični doživljaji ne porede, iza sva ova tri vanredna stanja stoje isti uzročnici: u prvom, 1999. bili su deo vlasti, i dok se na Kosovu ratovalo, sadašnji predsednik, a tada ministar u Miloševićевой vlasti nagrađen je stanom. U drugom, ubijen je demokratski premijer, a politička pozadina ubistva ni posle 17 godina nije istražena, iako je jasno da to nije bio čin pojedinaca, već udruženi poduhvat, sa ciljem da se zaustavi demokratizacija društva. Ovo treće, najsvežije vanredno stanje zateklo me je, kao i većinu građana, nespremnu. Vlast je najpre ignorisala pandemiju, održavši konferenciju za novinare na kojoj se predsednik, uz podršku nekolicine stranački bliskih lekara, smejaao. Jedan od tih lekara nazvao je virus covid19 „najsmešnijim virusom u istoriji“. Iza njegovih leđa, dok je to govorio, Vučić se smejaao. Mi, koji smo shvatali da ništa nije smešno, mogli smo samo da se još više plašimo.

I sad dolazimo na klizav teren u kome treba objasniti kako je naš strah od pandemije veći od straha bilo kog drugog čoveka na svetu? I to je teško i objašnjivo i razumljivo ljudima koji žive u zemljama sa sistemom, demokratijom i kakvim-takvim poverenjem u institucije. Ovde su institucije politizovane do te mere da niko u njih nema poverenja. Paradoks – ni oni koji veruju Vučiću, ne veruju sistemu koji on predvodi. (Najčešće se može čuti, kao i za Miloševića nekada: „Vučić brani Srbiju, on je dobar, ne valjaju ovi oko njega, ne zna on šta oni rade“.) Sve je uništeno, svaki misleći glas drugačiji od vladajućeg je ućutkan ili kompromitovan optužbama i napadima – i onda smo se u martu našli u situaciji da nam preti virus, da nemamo zdravstveni sistem spreman da na njega

odgovori, nemamo stručan, već politički krizni štab, te da nas predsednik i njegovi izaslanici svakog dana maltretiraju konferencijama za novinare, u kojima se virusu prvo smeju, a onda nas zastrašuju, prete, do toga da manipulativno plaću pred kamerama. Ne znam da postoji još ijedna zemlja na svetu u kojoj o nabavci medicinske opreme predsednik govori iz prvog lica: „Ja sam tražio, Ja sam nabavio, Ja sam obezbedio, Ja sam...“ Ja, i ja i ja. Zamišljala sam tržište medicinskih aparata kao neku buvlju pijacu, na koju dolaze ljudi iz celog sveta, a naš predsednik im otima respirator iz ruku, i beži sa njim. Tako on predstavlja svoju „spasilačku misiju“. Tako su nas danima maltretirali – dok na kraju nije ustanovljeno da su nas i lagali.

To se dalo pretpostaviti, nije baš veliko iznenađenje. Ako ne postoje institucije, ako je sistem centralizovan do te mere da o životu i smrti odlučuje jedan čovek – onda taj čovek nema obavezu da govori istinu. Istina je ono što on kaže, sve drugo su manipulacije i laži.

Polijski časovi i policijsko nasilje

Informacije o lažiranju podataka o brojevima zaraženih i umrlih od virusa Covid19 u Srbiji objavljene su 22. juna, dan posle izbora. Niko se nije ni potrudio da ih demantuje, a objavili su ih nezavisni mediji¹. Nekoliko nedelja kasnije, ti mediji, NVO i pojedinci koji se suprotstavljaju Vučiću biće meta vanredne finansijske provere, pod optužbom da „peru novac i finansiraju terorizam“.

7. jula, tokom popodneva, naciji se obratio predsednik, optužio građane za nedisciplinu, i najavio mogućnost novog vanrednog stanja i policijskog časa. Nije pominjao kao uzrok širenja zaraze izbore, koji su bili epidemiološka bomba. Ni utakmicu Zvezda-Partizan, dva fudbalska kluba koja finansira država, i na čijem derbiju je bilo nekoliko desetina hiljada ljudi, na jedinom takvom događaju održanom u Evropi ovog leta. Ni izbornu kampanju u kojoj su njegovi stranački drugovi i pristalice iz grada u grad mogli da prenose zarazu. Ni to da je pola vlade posle izbora bilo zaraženo koronom – za neke istaknutije članove, poput Aleksandra Vulina, ministra odbrane, Marka Đurića, direktora Kancelarije za Kosovo i Metohiju, i Maju Gojković, predsednicu Skupštine Srbije se saznalo, ali

za većinu drugih, verovatno, nikada nećemo znati.

Vučić je optužio građane za nedisciplinu, i posle nekoliko sati, imao je građane na ulici. Spontano, ljudi su izašli da pokažu svoj bes, nezadovoljstvo, da traže odgovornost. Na ulici su bili pripadnici najrazličitijih političkih opredeljenja, i oni koji su bez njih. Od krajnje desnice do krajnje levice. Kako to biva na skupovima koji nemaju strukturu, organizaciju, pa ni odgovornost, došlo je do sukoba sa policijom, koja je pokazala do sad neviđenu agresiju u obračunu sa demonstrantima.

Bukvalno su se iživljavali nad ljudima, koristili pse, konje, bacali suzavac². Snimci kako policija tuče ljude, preplavili su društvene mreže, jednu televiziju koja se emituje samo preko jednog kablovskog distributera, jedne dnevne novine i par nedeljnika. Gledaoci televizija sa nacionalnom pokrivenošću mogli su o protestima da čuju da su to huligani, ili dovedeni ili plaćeni iz inostranstva, da „ruše svoju državu i legitimno izabranog predsednika“. Smenjivali su se režimski „analitičari“ na ekranima, u takmičenju ko će više da popljuje demonstrante i pohvali vlast i policijsku reakciju. Više od dve trećine Srbije je to gledalo i odatle stvaralo sliku o događajima.

Dok su trajali protesti, prišla mi je novinarka Al Jazeera televizije, i pitala za razloge zašto sam tu. Odgovorila sam joj, suze su joj krenule niz lice, bilo mi je žao što sam bila tako emotivna u obrazloženju. Previše nam je svih emocija, preplavljeni smo, treba se malo prizemljiti, razmišljala sam u sebi. Iste večeri, na vestima sam videla da su ta novinarka i snimatelj napadnuti, i da im je razbijena oprema.³ To je učinio neko blizak vlasti, nesumnjivo, jer je Al Jazeera jedna od televizija koja je o protestima objektivno izveštavala. Fotoreporter i novinari slobodnih ili slobodnijih medija bili su meta suzavca i napada. Gotovo svi su na neki način povređeni tokom protesta.

Para nema - osim za naoružanje i crkvu

U isto vreme, dok imamo epidemiju (u trenutku dok pišem ovaj tekst krajem avgusta zvanično je registrovano preko 30.000 slučajeva, ali tu treba imati u vidu da se testiraju samo osobe sa težim simptomima oboljevanja, dok se svi drugi, šalju na kućno lečenje,

1 <https://javno.rs/analiza/korona-broj-umrlih-i-zarazenih-visestruko-veci-od-zvanicno-saopstenog>

2 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=k-yPRdMhgXA>

3 <http://www.nuns.rs/info/news/49208/trenutak-napada-na-ekipu-al-jazeera-u-beogradu.html>

bez testiranja), smrtnost više od 700 ljudi, nespreman i neopremljen zdravstveni sistem, tešku ekonomsku krizu, nepoznanice kako će se život odvijati u bliskoj budućnosti, korupciju, kriminal, ubistva na ulicama, samoubistva nesrećnika koji odustaju od pristajanja na trpljenje pritisaka, Srbija ulaže novac u kupovinu naoružanja i Hram Svetog Save.

Naoružanje je potrebno da bi se pretilo komšijama – iako situacija ni u jednoj zemlji regiona, posebno u zemljama koje su ratovale, nije mnogo bolja, ovde ne treba izgubiti iz vida činjenicu da su skoro sve te zemlje članice NATO pakta – dok Srbija nije. Logično pitanje je – od koga bi se tim oružjem branila, ili koga bi njim napadala?

Sa druge strane, populizam brani nacionalizam, pa se podrška crkvenog vrha kupuje enormnim novcem koji se poklanja Srpskoj pravoslavnoj crkvi, koja je u službi režima, i koja, u danima kada je uteha, istinska vera i briga za drugoga najpotrebnija, vernicima šalje

poruke mržnje, da ne prihvataju mere suzbijanja epidemije i da se okupljaju u crkvama, na obredima koji postaju žarišta zaraze.

Ovaj tekst je već predug, da bih u njega svrstala sve primere kršenja ljudskih prava⁴, sve pretnje i optužbe sa kojima se pojedinci i grupe sreću, montirane sudske procese, hapšenja novinara⁵ i uzbunjivača⁶, opštu pandemiju apatije i straha u kojoj ljudi ovde žive.

Sve demokratije su različite na svoj način, sve diktature su slične u nastojanju da ponište život i budućnost.

Katarina Milićević

4 <http://www.bgcentar.org.rs/izvestaj-o-stanju-ljudskih-prava-u-srbiji-za-period-januar-jun-2020-godine-2/>

5 <http://rs.n1info.com/Vesti/a594377/Ana-Lalic-za-Komitet-za-zastitu-novinara.html>

6 <http://rs.n1info.com/Vesti/a610718/Aleksandar-Obradovic-Hapsile-me-tri-sluzbe-prepoznao-sam-agenta-BIA.html>

Crna Gora: Sloboda nije trenutno osećanje stanja, nego trajno osećanje cilja (Borislav Pekić)

Promjena vlasti u Crnoj Gori je moguća demokratskim putem! Na parlamentarnim izborima održanim 30.8.2020. godine Milo Đukanović i njegova Demokratska partija socijalista (DPS) doživjeli su poraz. Nakon 31 godine vlasti, sedam premijerskih i dva predsjednička mandata, od kojih drugi još uvijek teče, konačno je došao kraj. Jedan od poslednjih balkanskih diktatora, za koga je čak i Lukašenko sa 26 godina na vlasti početnik, posljednji od svih ratnih vođa i ratnih premijera s prostora bivše Jugoslavije, postao je istorijska ličnost, barem se nadamo da je tako. Istorijska ličnost je on po mnogo čemu, ali u ovom trenutku ipak najviše po tome što će ostati upisan kao prvi crnogorski vladar, predsjednik i(li) despot kojeg nije oborila neka vojna hunta, nasilne demonstracije nezadovoljnih građana, spoljni faktor, rat ili kolokvijalno rečeno ulica, već izborna volja građana, ili kako se ovih dana u Crnoj Gori to sve više čuje, olovka!

Iako je DPS ostala pojedinačno najjača partija

u Crnoj Gori sa 35 odsto glasova i 30 osvojenih mandata u parlamentu, ona sa svojim tradicionalnim partnerima ima ukupno 40, dok su tri opozicione koalicije osvojile ukupno 41 mandat. Najveći skok zabilježila je koalicija „Za budućnost Crne Gore“, koju predvodi Demokratski front (DF) sa 32,5 odsto glasova i imaće 27 mandata. Koalicija „Mir je naša nacija“ na čelu sa Demokratskom Crnom Gorom uzela je 12,5 odsto odnosno 10 mandata, a lista „Crno na bijelo“, okupljena oko Građanskog pokreta URA 5,5 procenata, i četiri mandata. U parlament ulaze i Socijaldemokrate i Bošnjačka stranka sa po tri, Socijaldemokratska partija (SDP) sa dva i dvije albanske koalicije sa po jednim mandatom, dok su hrvatske nacionalne stranke nažalost ostale bez mandata jer nisu prešle cenzus od 0,35 odsto.

Dugogodišnji nagomilani bijes i različita nezadovoljstva koja je autokratija prouzrokovala, prijetili su da kulminiraju nasiljem i sukobima. Ipak,

paradoksalno, strahovlada je doživjela da bude smjenjena hrabrošću građanki i građana; strah pobjeđen ostvarenim pravom glasa, olovkom tj. nadamo se, konačno glavom. Nakon tri decenije vladavine jedne partije, jednog sistema ili samo jednog čovjeka, u jednom izbornom danu se sve promjenilo i to na najbolji mogući način. Mirno i bez većih nepravilnosti, baš kao što to demokratski izbori i treba da budu, praznik demokratije, mira i tolerancije. Upravo je taj civilizacijski iskorak najveći pobjednik i ovih izbora i ove Crne Gore. I najveći pobjednik i nadamo se najveća lekcija i opomena kako novoj vlasti tako i svim građanima Crne Gore. Lekcija koja staje u onu jednu rečenicu s početka teksta: vlast je smjenjiva demokratskim putem, i samo tako ubuduće, ali i mnogo češće nego do sada, treba da bude. Ništa naravno nakon ovog za Crnu Goru traumatskog iskustva neće biti isto. Već su (dan nakon izbora) krenule različite reakcije: od podržavajućih i ohrabrujućih do zlokobnih i pesimističkih, onih prožetih slavljem ali i tugom, radošću ali i strepnjom. No krenimo redom.

Veliki demokratski potencijal

Pad najstarijeg evropskog režima daje nadu da definitivno može doći do prosperiteta regiona Zapadnog Balkana te da čak i one najsmjelije teze o tome da je CG država sa najvećim demokratskim potencijalom u regionu, ipak imaju smisla. Demokratski potencijal se ogleda prije svega u pomirljivim porukama koje su neposredno po izborima slali lideri nove parlamentarne većine i na taj način uspjeli, barem neposredno po izborima, uticati i na one građane koji ih ne podržavaju, a koji uplašeni najavama napada na državu, strahuju i za ličnu bezbjednost. Poruke poput toga da neće biti revanšizma, da je Crna Gora država za sve nas, da će manjinama, ali i svima ostalima biti pružena ruka, te da će se tražiti odgovornost onih koji su u prethodnoj vlasti bili najodgovorniji, pokazuju i političku zrelost, ali i obavezuju. Potvrda da se krenulo pravim putem jesu i odmah po okončanju izbornog procesa usvojeni principi na kojima će počivati buduća vlast, a koje su potpisala trojica lidera, Zdravko Krivokapić, Aleksa Bečić i Dritan Abazović.

„Prvi princip koji je usaglašen jeste da će nova, demokratska vlast, odgovorno sprovoditi sve međunarodno preuzete obaveze. Drugi, da će nova

demokratska vlast realizovati sve neophodne reforme kako bi Crna Gora u najkraćem mogućem roku pristupila Evropskoj uniji. Treći, da će nova, demokratska vlast, biti ekspertska, konstituisana od kadrova koji su stručnjaci iz konkretnih oblasti bez obzira na njihovu političku, vjersku, nacionalnu ili bilo koju drugu osobenost. Četvrti, nova vlast će u potpunosti biti posvećena poštovanju Ustava i primjeni zakona, uz izmjene, dopune i reviziju svih diskriminatorskih zakonskih i podzakonskih akata, uključujući i Zakon o slobodi vjeroispovijesti. Oni su kazali da osim toga, pružaju ruke predstavnicima manjinskih naroda sa željom da zajednički grade ljepšu i prosperitetniju budućnost Crne Gore“.

Usvojeni principi iako i odlučan i odličan, ipak su samo prvi korak. Izazovi koji se nalaze pred novom vlašću, ali i pred svim crnogorskim građankama i građanima su mnogo veći i mnogo kompleksniji. Dekonstrukcija preko trideset godina starog i okoštalog sistema; reforma inertne i korupcijom zaražene državne uprave, promjena na nacionalnim identitetima građane političke kulture, pokretanje lustrativnih procesa, očuvanje tekovina antifašizma i posebno sekularizma, snažnije okretanje ekonomskim, socijalnim, ekološkim pitanjima; konačno ubrzavanje i privođenje kraju procesa pregovora o članstvu sa EU; a sve to uz prisutnu pandemiju virusa i najavljenу ekonomsku krizu, lošim privatizacijama razorenu privredu, nikad goru turističku sezonu, ogroman javni dug.... zahtjevan i dugotrajan posao. Spisak toga šta sve treba dekonstruisati i mijenjati u CG je predugačak za stranice ovog teksta. No da ukažemo na svega par problema, barem kada je 2020. godina u pitanju, nad kojima treba i pružiti ruke ali i zasukati rukave.

Afere, stare i nove

Afera „Koverta“ koju je još početkom protekle godine u javnost iznio odbjegli biznismen Duško Knežević i to snimkom na kome se vidi kako predaje kovertu sa 97.500 eura Slavoljubu Stijepoviću, bivšem ministru prosvjete i bivšem gradonačelniku Podgorice, a sadašnjem generalnom sekretaru predsjednika države Mila Đukanovića, nanovo je aktuelizovana u izbornoj godini. Knežević je tvrdio da su to pare za finansiranje izborne kampanje uoči izbora 2016. godine i da je to uradio u dogovoru s Đukanovićem. Tužilaštvo koje je,

po navodima Kneževića takođe upleteno u ovu aferu, nije procesuiralo odgovorne.

Afera „Stanovi“ pokazala je jasne zloupotrebe državnih i javnih funkcija. Stanove ili povoljne stambene kredite iz državnog budžeta dobili su javni funkcioneri koji imaju čak i po pet nekretnina. Na spiskovima povlašćenih javnih funkcionera kojima je Vlada obezbijedila „krov nad glavom“ našli su se poslanici, ministri, sudije, tužioci, policijski funkcioneri, pa čak i predsjednica Vrhovnog suda, Vesna Medenica. Ni ovdje nije bilo nikakve odgovornosti jer iz Vlade nisu željeli da priznaju da je bilo zloupotreba.

Afera „Možura“ zbog koje je početkom ove godine pala Vlada Malte, a Evropska komisija očekuje da optužbe za korupciju dobiju vjerodostojne, nezavisne i efikasne istrage, još nije dobila svoj epilog. Radi se o ubistvu novinarkе Dafne Karuane Galicije koja je istraživala poslove vezane za kapitalni projekat izgradnje vjetroelektrana na Možuri, brdu iznad Ulcinja. Mediji su objavili istraživanje u kojem se navodi da je kompanija „17 blek“, koja se nalazi u vlasništvu Jirgena Feneča, malteškog preduzetnika koji je uhapšen zbog uključenosti u ubistvo novinarkе, povezana sa kompanijama koje su kupile crnogorsku vjetroelektranu Možur. Desetak dana prije izbora nosilac liste koalicije „Crno na bijelo“ Dritan Abazović je pokazao nove ugovore vezane za „afere Možura“ koji, kako tvrdi, potvrđuju „očiglednu korupciju i kriminal zvaničnika Crne Gore među kojima je i Đukanović“. Tužilaštvo iako zamoljeno od strane Abazovića da preuzme dokazni material, još se nije oglasilo.

Sve tri afere pokazuju duboku korumpiranost državnih institucija i organa, ali generalno i cjelokupnog crnogorskog društva koje kao da je sraslo sa uvjerenjem da se sve „može završiti“ i proći bez posledica i odgovornosti, naravno ukoliko se dobro plati. Stoga je jedan od najvažnijih zadataka nove vlasti (ili da počnemo da uvodimo drugačiju terminologiju, „novog servisa građana/ki“) da pokaže da ima nultu toleranciju prema korupciji i nepotizmu, te su poruke o formiranju vlade stručnjaka (što bi trebalo da važi i za sve kadrove po dubini državnog aparata) veoma ohrabrujuće.

Nacionalno klatno podjela

Političko „samoubistvo“ Milo Đukanović je ipak izgleda potpisao usvajanjem Zakona o slobodi vjeroispovijesti, po mnogo čemu kontroverznog i sa aspekta prava više nego upitnog zakona. Zakon je usvojen pod čudnim okolnostima u decembru 2019. godine, naprečac, posle ponoći i pratilo ga je hapšenje gotovo čitavog poslaničkog kluba DF koji su se oštro suprotstavili njegovom usvajanju i pokušali fizički da ometu njegovo izglasavanje i usvajanje u parlamentu. Neprihvatanje ovog zakona od strane crkve i stanovništva, rezultiralo je masovnim litijama u gotovo svim gradovima Crne Gore.

Ma šta mislili o njima, njihovoj pozadini i namjerama, litije su se ispostavile kao katarzična i ujediniteljska sila i to najveća i najmasovnija od dolaska Đukanovića na vlast, te time postale najveća prijetnja DPS vladavini. U njih kao da su se ulila različito motivisana nezadovoljstva velikog broja građana/ki, ne samo vjernika. Uslijedilo je niz razgovora ekspertskih timova, međutim do kompromisa ili bilo kakvog dogovora, odlaganja primjene Zakona ili njegovog povlačenja, nije došlo.

Nakon kraćeg mirnijeg perioda izazvanog zabranom javnih okupljanja zbog pandemije korona virusa, tenzije između vlasti i Srpske pravoslavne crkve (SPC) su prerasle u ulične sukobe u više gradova. Povod je bila litija u Nikšiću 12. maja, na praznik Svetog Vasilija Ostroškog, nakon koje je policija uhapsila vladiku SPC Joanikija i još sedam sveštenika. Oni se terete da su masovnim, a zabranjenim okupljanjem, ugrozili zdravlje građana dok traje epidemija. Joanikije se brani da nije zvao vjernike na litiju, već da su se sami pojavili, odnosno da se „dogodio narod“.

Tenzije su se u međuvremenu usijale i u parlamentu, gdje je Andrija Mandić poručio da „ako Joanikije ostane u zatvoru, vlast neka slobodno spremi uniforme“. On je i krajem prošle godine, kada se usvajao sporni zakon, pozivao „ratne drugove“ i prijetio „otkopavanjem oružja“. Nije procesuiran zbog toga, dok je vlast, u međuvremenu, besomučno hapsila pristalice opozicije i SPC, i zbog benignih i sarkastičnih komentara na društvenim mrežama.

Sve ovo ukazuje na jedan po mnogo čemu ozbiljniji i veći problem, na duboku podjeljenost unutar pravoslavnog dijela stanovništva Crne Gore, na Srbe

i Crnogorce. Pitanja nacionalnog identiteta ponovo dijele Crnu Goru i to krajnje tenzično i ovakvo opasno stanje prijeti da traje još dugo. Riječi Milovana Đilasa da kada god neko gurne klatno srpsko-crnogorskog nacionalnog pitanja na jednu stranu, ono se snažnije i u širem luku vrati na drugu. Možda je konačno došao trenutak da se klatno zaustavi, klatno podjela i razdora i da se umjesto na lijevo i na desno, na crveno i na crno, na bijelo i na zeleno, počne klatiti od boljeg standarda ka većoj toleranciji, od demokratije ka vladavini prava.

Sloboda je stigla! Jedan je od najčešćih uzvika ovih postizbornih dana u Crnoj Gori. Ali sve dok nema slobode za sve one druge, sve dok ignorišemo ili relativizujemo strahove onih drugih, ni ja nisam slobodan niti bezbrižan. *Sloboda nije trenutno osećanje stanja, nego trajno osećanje cilja*, rekao bi Borislav Pekić, pa hajde onda da ovo trenutno lijepo osjećanje nas nekih, zajedno pretočimo u permanentnu borbu za ono što bi trebalo da bude cilj svih nas, sloboda i mir.

Radomir Radević

Sjeverna Makedonija: Vanredno i stanje izbora

Društveno-politički kontekst u Republici Severnoj Makedoniji u 2020. godini može da se opiše u nekoliko ključnih reči: Covid 19, tehnička vlada, vanredno stanje, parlamentarni izbori, govor mržnje, nacionalizam, diskriminacija i svakako, kriminal.

Ranija uzdanica, specijalna tužiteljka Katica Janeva je osuđena za korupciju, odnosno zloupotrebu službenog položaja i prekoračenje ovlašćenja. Istovremeno, najveći deo onih koje je trebalo da procesuiraju, poput nekadašnjeg obavješajca i rođaka bivšeg premijera, nekada jednog od „nedodirljivih“ i jednog od najbogatijih preduzetnika u zemlji, šteta se po Skoplju slobodno. I sam bivši premijer uživa u svom (nelegalno stečenom) bogatstvu u egzilu. A mi ostali i dalje živimo uglavnom sa partizanskim institucijama, korumpiranim sudstvom i porobljenim medijima.

Pandemija je definitivno doprinela da ove teme ne budu u fokusu dešavanja u našoj zemlji. Bez neke euforije prošla je i odluka Saveta Evropske Unije da otpočne pregovore za članstvo Republike Severne Makedonije u Evropskoj Uniji, kao i naše formalno učlanjenje u NATO.

U jeku pandemije bili smo bez političke vlade. Kada su raspisani parlamentarni izbori, parlament se samoraspustio. Izbori su najpre bili zakazani u aprilu, a prethodno, 100 dana pre prevremenih izbora, formirana je tehnička vlada, na čelu sa tehničkim premijerom. Zbog odlaganja izbora ova vlada ostala je na vlasti duže nego što je prvobitno planirano.

U kontekstu globalne zaraze korona virusom i sa

ciljem uspešnog sprečavanja širenja zaraze, u martu, predsednik je proglasio vanredno stanje u državi. Potom je ono nekoliko puta produžavano. Policijski čas i vanredne mere postale su sastavni deo naših života. Posle nekoliko meseci, nekako kao da smo zaboravili da živimo u „normalnim“ uslovima.

Posle svake sednice vlade informisani smo o novim merama. Nove mere, po pravilu, svaki put su bile rigoroznije od prethodnih. U isto vreme, priliv lažnih vesti o pandemiji povećao je strahove građana, a često je bilo teško razlučiti šta je prevara, a šta su tačne informacije. Lažne vesti su se širile brže od samog virusa. Al ipak, posle početnog negodovanja, vremenom više niko nije postavljao pitanja o merama koje je nametnula vlast. Jednostavno smo ih prihvatili.

Istovremeno, stroge mere doprinele su narušavanju javnog reda i mira. Česte su bile slike gužvi u saobraćaju, prodavnicama i apotekama. Napeto je bilo i ispred banaka, gde su redovi i kolone građana čekale nekoliko sati da stignu na red.

I konačno izbori

Na političkom planu dominirala je diskusija oko održavanja prevremenih parlamentarnih izbora, koji su održani 15. jula 2020. godine. Ovi izbori su održani u vreme svetske pandemije i pod merama zaštite građana. Političke partije najčešće su predstavljale svoje političke stavove preko društvenih mreža, mada nisu izostali ni tradicionalni mitinzi. I pored preporuka

o zaštiti, zabeleženo je nepoštovanje mera od strane dela prisutnih, kao i delimično nepoštovanje mera od strane samih institucija.

Kampanja, iako u negativnom tonu, bila je relativno mirna i korektna, uprkos ograničenjima normalne komunikacije. Mediji su uglavnom samo izveštavali o aktivnostima političkih partija, bez ozbiljnog kritičkog osvrta na njihove platforme. Aktuelni zakoni u vezi plaćanja političkog reklamiranja favorizuju tri najveće partije. Izborni dan protekao je mirno i pored tehničkih problema u objavljivanju rezultata i primedbama u vezi registracije glasača.

Na kraju dana, najviše glasova dobila je koalicija SDSM-BESA¹, koja je time dobila i legitimitet da pregovara za novu vladu. Od albanskih partija najviše glasova je dobio DUI.

Jedno od glavnih obećanja SDSM, zbog kojeg mnogi veruju da je i pobedio, je zalaganje da se dosadašnji partner u vlasti, DUI, pošalje u opoziciju. Sa druge strane, jedino predizborno obećanje DUI je da je došlo vreme za „albanskog premijera“, te da će, ako pobede u albanskom bloku stranaka, tražiti da tako bude. Ostrašćena retorika SDSM da je vreme da DUI postane opozicija pomogla je ovoj partiji da zbije redove i kampanju usmeri na tezu da niko sa strane ne može da određuje albanskim glasačima ko će biti na vlasti. To je, začinjeno govorom mržnje, doprinelo rastu nacionalizma, a pokazalo se da je albanofobija makedonskih partija i deo njihovih medija garancija pobede DUI².

Nova vlada starih prijatelja

Gore navedeno svakako je bila samo predizborna retorika. Sada nije tako. Naprotiv! SDSM i DUI su dogovorili da sarađuju i da formiraju vladu. Iza kamera su se gložili oko podele plena, iako su ispred kamera to nazivali „usaglašavanjem pobedničkih izbornih programa i raspodelom odgovornosti u resorima“, dok su trgovinu nazivali „usaglašavanjem vladinog programa i raspodelom kadrova“.

1 Ovo je prvi put da dve partije, iz albanskog i makedonskog političkog bloka, nastupaju zajedno na izborima

2 Koalicija oko SDSM je osvojila 46 poslaničkih mandata, VMRO-DPMNE 44, DUI 15, koalicija Albanske alijanse i Alternative 12, Levica 2 i jedan DPA

Realno, SDSM je prisiljena na još jedno druženje sa DUI (i obrnuto, zbog izbornog rezultata). Samo je trebalo malo vremena da lepo upakuju priču i da je prodaju sopstvenim glasačima. DUI se sada ponosi što Albanci imaju prvog šefa diplomatije u Severnoj Makedoniji (i predsednik parlamenta je iz DUI, u drugom mandatu, al to više nije vest), dok SDSM nije podlegla „uceni“ od strane DUI, ali će ipak biti „velikodušna“ pa će pre kraja mandata predložiti premijera iz redova DUI.

Politički trik DUI za „albanskog premijera“ očigledno je pogodio metu blizu centra. Blizu, budući da su ipak Alijansa za Albance i Alternativa (AA-A) dobile ogroman broj glasova. Iako se čini da je scena za veliku borbu u albanskom korpusu postavljena i trebalo bi da se finale odigra na lokalnim izborima 2021. godine, ipak koalicija AA-A može da bude prezadovoljna postignutim, iako nije pobedila.

Ovi izbori će biti obeleženi i po ulasku Levice³ u parlament, koja je iskoristila priliku da se promoviše kao radikalna desnica, a na izborima su nastupili sa aurom branitelja makedonske državnosti nakon „nacionalnog poniženja“ koje su priredili SDSM i VMRO-DPMNE sa promenom imena države. Poražavajuće je da su osvojili značajan broj glasova.

Ratni profiteri

Očekuje se da će zemlja ući u recesiju 2020. godine, prognozira se negativan rast, dok će se i dalje suočavati sa ekonomskim posledicama pandemije. Vlada je u nekoliko navrata usvajala pakete ekonomskih mera za razvoj, podsticanje potrošnje, i promociju domaće ponude. Na žalost, mediji su izveštavali o mnogom primerima kada su, tokom najveće krize i vanrednog stanja neki vlasnici nezakonito profitirali na leđima radnika, a mnogo radnika je ostalo bez državne pomoći koja im je bila namenjena.

Diskriminacija

Iako virus ne diskriminiše, ipak pripadnici marginalizovanih grupa, koje su tradicionalno diskriminisane, mnogo se teže nose sa novonastalom situacijom. U ovakvim okolnostima povećalo se kršenje

3 Lider stranke je često optuživan da širi govor mržnje i svakodnevno privlači pažnju svojim nepristojnim, vulgarnim i skandaloznim izjavama.

ljudskih prava. U uslovima stvarnog straha od virusa, ali i straha od drakonskih kazni vlasti, građani su se neverovatno lako odrekli i od to malo demokratije koju smo imali, kao i od bilo kakvog oblika kontrole nadležnih. Očigledno da zakoni ne važe jednako za sve. Nametnute su mere određenim kategorijama građana, i te su ljude stavile u nepovoljniju situaciju od ostalih, dok ih sama vlast vrlo često nije poštovala.

Vladavina zakona počinje poštovanjem zakona od strane vlasti. Kada vlast ne poštuje zakone, obećanja da će se boriti za vladavinu prava postaju besmislena.

Govor mržnje

Generalno negativna politička atmosfera i posebno situacija sa COVID 19, doprinela je velikom broju prijava za govor mržnje na društvenim mrežama. Najveći broj prijava se odnosio na govor mržnje prema etničkoj i političkoj pripadnosti, što je posebno bilo primetno za vreme i posle prevremenih parlamentarnih izbora. Grafiti koji podstiču i šire govor mržnje na osnovu etničke i nacionalne pripadnosti su

čest ukras naših ulica. Na žalost, govor mržnje često potiče od eminentnih intelektualaca, poput akademika Makedonske Akademije Nauka i Umetnosti (MANU), koji je na svom Tviter nalogu⁴ objavio poruku u vezi sa korona virusom, koja je ocenjena kao nacionalistička i šovinistička. Takođe je povećan i broj izveštaja o govoru mržnje na osnovu seksualne orijentacije i rodnog identiteta.

U Republici Severna Makedonija, umesto da razvijamo građansko društvo, u čijem se centru nalazi građanin, kao pojedinac, nosilac svojih prava i određenih potreba, interesa, želja itd. uporno veličamo kolektivitete. Ukoliko pojedinac želi da ostvari određeno pravo najčešće je primoran da se prikloni nekoj od partija, što ne odgovara njegovim ideološkim razmišljanjima ili potrebama, interesima i slično, već njegovoj unapred određenoj etničkoj pripadnosti, odnosno pripadanju određenoj zajednici.

Luan Imeri

4 On je napisao "Cenu suživota plaćamo životom", očigledno aludirajući na albansku etničku zajednicu

Annual Report 2020

(English version)

Translation
Ulvija Tanović

Introduction

Dear friends,

You have before you the 23rd annual report of the Centre for Nonviolent Action.

This year, our annual report differs from previous ones inasmuch as 2020 differs from previous years. The pandemic that enveloped the whole world this year has significantly impacted our work and all our planned activities. The disruptions caused by the pandemic affected not just our work, but the state of democracy and human rights in the Western Balkans region as a whole. You can read more about this at the very beginning of our report.

This year, we have had to cancel all our peace education programmes, the Mir-Paqe-Mir training for people from Kosovo, Serbia and North Macedonia, which had been planned for May, and our Basic Training in Peacebuilding, which had been planned for October. The impossibility of travel and the dangers of the epidemic, as well as countries closing their borders to foreign nationals made this part of our work impossible. We organised our last basic training at the end of 2019 and you can read about it in this report.

What was possible to do – in small teams, with smaller groups of participants from just one country – we did: actions to mark unmarked sites of suffering and two promotions of the onms.nenasilje.org website in Sarajevo and Banja Luka, as well as joint visits by war veterans to commemorations and sites of killings. With mixed groups of war veterans, we visited Skelani, Prijepolje (the commemoration to victims abducted from the train in Štrpci), Vitez (at the commemoration for children killed at Osmica), Ubork, Briševo, Zecovi, Korićanske stijene, Mostar and Grabovica.

Also, having realised at the very start of the epidemic that artists would likely be left with nothing

to do, and with all of us under lockdown, we decided to launch the fourth Biber Short Story Competition almost a year early, and to publish a selection of stories from previous rounds of the competition in translation into English, in electronic format. These are activities that can be conducted online and do not require the team implementing them or the participants to move around physically. What we did not manage to do this year – we were unable to organise promotions of the Biber 03 Collection, which was published at the end of February, though we had planned at least three – in Šibenik, Prijedor and Prizren.

Our *Nonviolence!?* handbook has been translated and printed in Macedonian and Albanian. Also, your friends from Peace Action translated and published our *Reconciliation* handbook in Albanian. After members of our team visited Argentina, we published *Whatever it may cost me, I want a better country for my children*, a publication about memory of the crimes of the junta in Argentina. There is also our article on our work to mark unmarked sites of suffering, “Misery is all there is”, which was also published in electronic format.

We sincerely hope that the time ahead will allow us to return to our usual activities of bringing people together, facilitating exchanges, helping them get to know each other, providing support and sharing ideas, thoughts, fears and wishes.

This report contains summaries of our activities, but more detailed information is available on our website nenasilje.org, as well as on onms.nenasilje.org and biber.nenasilje.org.

We welcome your comments, insights and any feedback you can send us.

CNA Team
September 2020

Anno Covidi

For months now, we have been living under very strange circumstances, a life that isn't really living. No one knows how long this period of uncertainty and anticipation will last and this is harmful for both our mental health and our societies. People are swamped by a sea of disparate (dis)information, amped up media sensationalism, paranoias, conspiracy theories, as well as increasing government repression, torn between their rights and freedoms as guaranteed by the constitution, on the one hand, and fears of losing their jobs/poverty and/(or) death, on the other. The disjointed state that we are powerless to change ourselves, while it keeps changing around us, evokes in us a mixture of apathy, helplessness and anger. At one and the same time, the situation brings up fundamental questions of the value of life, the principles of freedom, human dignity and equality, solidarity and responsibility, and deepens the emerging crisis of "people's self-understanding".

A coronavirus epidemic spreading the contagious disease technically known as COVID-19 broke out in early January 2020 in Wuhan, China. By March it had become a pandemic, affecting hundreds of thousands of people each day in all parts of the world and killing tens of thousands a week, it endangered the functioning of human civilisation globally. It is, or course, difficult to judge something that is still going on, and still harder to draw conclusions. Perhaps the most suitable "genre" for thinking and writing about the virus would be a chronicle of waiting, worrying and caution.

Although we still do not know whether COVID-19 is the unexpected end of civilisation and life as we know it, the start of first stage of a new (r)evolution, or just a harrowing viral pandemic that will be swept away once we have a vaccine, for now at least, it is one of the better diagnosticians of our age. It has removed our rosy or black-and-white spectacles that we had been blindly wearing and let us, still timidly, take a peek at and see all the political, social and economic structures that govern our lives and relations between people. It has directed our gazes at a very convoluted,

far-reaching and branched out network of roots of injustice and inequity, uncovering them and at least making them visible.

The disease has also diagnosed the social diseases we live in.

Democracy postponed

COVID-19 has managed to "infect" various areas: the world economy, inter-personal relations, the system of values, the movement of people and goods, global trends, local customs, daily habits and routines. Democratic processes have, unfortunately, not remained immune. According to the International Institute for Democracy, at least 70 countries and territories have postponed elections since mid-February. The New Zealand prime minister said that due to the increase in the number of cases, she would be postponing the parliamentary elections from September to October. The decision was welcomed both by her party and the opposition. The US president, at a time when his prospects for re-election in November were assessed as slim, floated the idea of postponing the US presidential elections, but encountered vehement opposition both from the Democrats and his own Republicans in Congress.

The fact that even a disease can be put in the service of party or individual interests was also made plain in the Balkans. After introducing some of the most stringent measures, including a police curfew and lockdown, the authorities in Serbia, North Macedonia, Montenegro and Croatia lifted the bans at least partly to facilitate the holding of elections at a time when it suited the ruling parties. The decision to open borders in some countries led to an increase in the number of cases, while in others we were left to take the data presented on faith (the BIRN investigative network found that Belgrade was not reporting the actual numbers of covid-19 cases and deaths at the time when it needed to ensure the holding of elections). The postponing of elections, on the other hand, was more often the result of fear of defeat than of concern over the spread of the virus. In other words, the virus

served as a good excuse to either hold elections or postpone them, the will of the citizens has been placed in the waiting room, and the right to vote is made possible only when it suits the ruling elites. With a few notable exceptions!

Human rights and responsibility

In Serbia, reporter Ana Lalić was arrested for publishing an article about the lack of adequate protective equipment for medical workers at the Vojvodina Clinical Centre, which denied these claims and filed charges against her for “spreading panic”. Lalić was let go the next day. Artist Jovana Popović from Kikinda, who became known to the public as the author of the anti-government song “Bagra”, was arrested ten days after returning from Montenegro, and one day before the state of emergency was declared, for allegedly breaching her home isolation requirement.

The arrest of Ana Lalić was an example of curtailing or even trying to abolish the right to information and the right to criticism, while the arrest of Jovana Popović reflects the curtailment of rights to civil disobedience and protest. These are just two of many examples where human rights were violated under the guise of protection from COVID-19. The Council of Europe has called on all countries to preserve these rights as very important in this period, saying that governments should do everything in their power to protect the democratic values of pluralism, tolerance and freedom of thought.

Though time seems to have slowed down or even come to a standstill, the speed at which political decisions are made and implemented during the pandemic has increased exponentially. Parliaments are put in a position where they can only confirm hasty decisions made by governments, or more likely single leaders, without consultations or time for broader debate. Using safety and protecting the lives of all citizens as an excuse, it is a slippery slope to autocracy. Avoiding accountability, but taking matters into one's own hands have been the most popular COVID-19 disciplines, though they had been pursued earlier as well. Accountability is what makes a difference, the difference between freedom and autocracy. And though we are told from countless billboards, TV

channels, newspapers and posters on almost every corner to “Be Responsible”, those whose job it is to be responsible show the least responsibility. In fact, responsibility has been one of the first victims of the virus, having no immunity and receiving no timely treatment. Where there is responsibility, there is a chance for democracy and upholding human rights.

The xenophobia pandemic

Proverbially, bad things never come alone, as demonstrated by one of the many “side-effects” of the virus: the xenophobia pandemic. It all started quite unremarkably with the preventive border closures to Chinese nationals who were banned from entering Japan, Singapore, Mongolia, the US, Australia and other countries, only to escalate with “No Chinese” signs put up in cafes in Italy and France, and the avoidance and disdain for people of Asian background on public transport, in the streets and shops. Many people of Asian descent in Europe and America faced prejudice and discrimination based solely on the fact that COVID-19 started in China. The small states of the Balkans were not, of course, spared this side-effect, being characteristically and irrationally susceptible to treating everyone who does not look like “us” as Chinese, i.e. those “spreading the disease among the people”.

At the same time, we are often quick to gloss over the fact that “Stay home!” does not mean much for many who have nowhere to stay or go (the homeless), while for others, living in overcrowded camps, “social distancing” is impossible (migrants, refugees, the Roma). Due to states of emergency being declared in more-or-less all countries and the accompanying border closures, members of different peoples have come “under fire” of extreme right politicians and media looking for cheap thrills, simply because they are different. With the lockdown freezing a large part of the economy and the population generally staying in isolation, the homeless are further exposed to hunger, disease and police repression.

Emergency situations, be they political, economic or medical, often require “quick fixes” that need not necessarily be misguided. However, solutions that result in discrimination, segregation and brutality towards groups of people based on their national,

religious or other belonging are motivated solely by hatred and xenophobia. Mechanisms characteristic of the Middle Ages have reared their ugly heads in our times as well. Hatred and xenophobia have been around for a long time, but they become visible and more pronounced in times of crisis. COVID-19 is just a “good excuse” to stir up xenophobia.

An X-ray scan of healthcare

One of the most memorable and most sobering images that will remain imprinted in the minds of many are the scenes we saw coming from Italy and Spain. Soldiers loading black body bags onto lorries to take them to surrounding towns because the graveyards in Bergamo had become overcrowded. In Spain, the national guard was called in to collect corpses and take them to overflowing morgues. Increasingly, burials have been replaced with cremation. “Hospitals” are cropping up everywhere: at conference halls, in parks, at fairgrounds, even in libraries. It seems that the European healthcare system, or at least in countries where it was thought of as a model system (Italy, Spain, France), is falling apart. The reason, it turned out, was in the fact that for years governments have been destroying public healthcare for the benefit of the private sector. In some countries, such as the US, class differences are even more prominent, because poor people do not have the money to pay for treatment when they contract the virus, especially not if they have already lost their jobs or if they never had healthcare to begin with.

Of course, the situation in our countries is not much different and also harks back years. Tens of thousands of doctors and medical staff have left the countries of the former Yugoslavia over the past 20 years. After the pandemic worsened again in Serbia, more than 2,700 doctors signed the initiative “United against Covid” and demanded the replacement of the Crisis Staff that had been appointed to fight the virus. They also demanded that responsibility for, as they put it, the “public health catastrophe in our country” be clearly assigned. It turned out to be true that the degree of repressive measures undertaken during the pandemic was inversely proportional to the capacity of the healthcare system and that COVID-19 was the best way to x-ray the state of our healthcare systems.

On the front lines of defence

COVID-19 did not just expose the vulnerability of public healthcare to a pandemic, it also brought to light the growing social stratification and caused far-reaching social problems. Those who are the weakest and most vulnerable in large systems were the hardest-hit by the pandemic, as well as those who are neglected and marginalised under even the best of circumstances and who are numerous in our societies. They include, to borrow from the quotidian political jargon, all those who stand “at the front lines of our fatherland” (meaning our struggling economy), risking their lives, starting from doctors and other health workers, including pharmacists, and down to the poorest workers in production and services. Most if not all of them are generally underpaid and taking care of their families, and they have now been put in a position where they do not have much choice over whether to continue going to work. While much of the middle class could stay safe by working from home, shelves at supermarkets and pharmacies cannot be restocked by remote control, and the same is true of many other occupations, such as factory workers, cleaning and maintenance staff, public transport workers, bank tellers, farmers, reporters, postal workers, delivery workers, etc.

People are increasingly losing their jobs because their companies cannot stay afloat under the present circumstances. And the government is slow and almost indifferent when it comes to assistance plans for the economy. And right at the start, we were informed that the assistance plans were intended for those who were already privileged and strong, those who could bear the burden of keeping on workers, covering losses and even donating funds for ventilators and other healthcare equipment. Small businesses were once again left to their own devices and most often forced to reduce the number of workers and let people go.

The closing down of schools and daycares during the pandemic affected men and women differently. When the crisis started, many couples were forced to decide who would stay at home to care for the children. Studies have shown that if both partners were employed and one had to stay home and care for the children, it was mostly women who took on the task of childcare. Many others were also affected by

the pandemic: farmers, tourism and catering workers, artists, cultural workers, single parents, persons with migration backgrounds... the list is long, too long...

We have to ask ourselves whether all the workers in the field, those who are “on the front lines of defence”, are equal citizens or whether their rights (and their lives) are worth less than ours? At the end of the “war”, will they receive medals for services to their homeland and the global economy, or maybe just a 100 euro bonus? How many of them will survive all this, and how many will further spread the disease by daily travel and being at work where they come into contact with countless other “foot soldiers of the economy”? As the French economist Thomas Piketty warned, inequality is “ideological”, not natural or just, and this state of affairs has now become quite apparent and magnified. Do we know that we can and must do things differently?

A life worth living

We are at the start of an experience we are unlikely to ever forget, and we are only just starting to come to terms with “living with it”. Learning to live life with social and physical distancing, isolation, without travel and with human interaction reduced to the smallest possible degree is exhausting and unsettling. On top of this, in many cultures closeness, solidarity, empathy and care for others are usually expressed through handshakes, hugs, physical contact, kisses or inviting someone to your home, or out for coffee, to the theatre or cinema, by having friends over for dinner. All of that has now been turned on its head and rather painfully.

This experience also shows us that for a long time, especially in this region, we have been constricted by borders in our heads, but also by increasingly impermeable state borders, suffering from loneliness, being asocial and isolated. COVID-19 has simply intensified those feelings and that reality, making them more apparent. However, in parallel and paradoxically, this experience has also made us depend more on each other. We have become more amenable to understanding, more ready to talk, more open to those coming from the other side. We have missed each other in more ways than one. It turns out that people are truly social beings, that we need each other and depend on each other. That there cannot be any I without You.

How far have we come as a civilisation in terms of being more appreciative and valuing mere survival, “bare life”, more than anything else? One of the biggest costs of the pandemic is the toll on our social lives broadly conceived to include family, friends and business relations. Does this also mean that for the sake of the majority having a decent life we can decide to sacrifice the preservation of “bare life” for some? Though the principle of preserving every single individual life must take precedence over the utilitarianism of the market, economic benefit or loss, keeping the economy going, etc. it must not come into conflict with the principles of human dignity and a good or social life. Preserving the “bare” life of every individual must be an integral part of a decent life for all of us, not its theoretical or political opposite.

Radomir Radević



work with war veterans

Actions and commemorations:

- Commemoration in Skelani, BiH, 16.1.2020.
- Commemoration in Prijepolje for the victims in Štrpci, Serbia, 27.2.2020.
- Commemoration in Vitez, anniversary of the suffering of children, BiH, 10.6.2020.
- Commemoration in Uborak and Sutina near Mostar, BiH, 13.6.2020.
- Commemoration in Briševo near Prijedor, BiH, 25.7.2020.
- Commemoration in Zecovi near Prijedor, BiH, 25.7.2020.
- Commemoration on Korićanske stijene near Kneževo/Skender Vakuf, BiH, 21.8.2020.
- Visit by War Veterans to Mostar, BiH, od 7 – 9 September 2020.
- Commemoration in Grabovica near Mostar, BiH, 9.9.2020.

This past year has definitely been marked by the pandemic which also had a significant impact on our activities. Our peacebuilding work with war veterans was also subject to the circumstances, but at the end of the year, we can say that we did a considerable amount of work, both in terms of the number of activities and in terms of their importance.

At the very beginning of the years, in January 2020, we attended the commemoration to Serb victims in Skelani near Srebrenica with a group of 15 or so veterans and peace activists from BiH, Croatia and Serbia. Although Srebrenica is known for the genocide against Bosniaks from July 1995, the broader area includes other sites of executions, of Bosniaks and Serbs, from the war period. Skelani are a site significant for both Bosniaks (civilians killed in mid-1992) and Serbs (civilians killed in early 1993). The violence generating new violence creates a vicious cycle where after the war, a crime is justified by the one that preceded it and this is a well-known phenomenon in every war. By attending the commemoration in Skelani, we wanted to send the message that breaking that vicious cycle is possible, that honouring one group of victims does not negate or relativise another, while clearly condemning all efforts to justify crimes. Although we can often hear public appeals for *our* victims to be recognised and for the *other side* to express mourning over those victims, in practice, when these *others* express readiness to

come and pay their respects to victims, they are not accepted or are encumbered with various conditions. This speaks to a deep distrust between communities, and we saw some of it in Skelani. Still, despite a certain dose of distrust, by coming and paying our respects to the victims, we believe we have established meaningful contact with the commemoration organisers and we hope that we will have an opportunity to come back to honour the victims in Skelani.

The abduction of civilians from a train stopped at the station in Štrpci (Rudo, Bosnia and Herzegovina) is a symbol of wartime atrocities in the former Yugoslavia. These were citizens of Serbia and Montenegro who were travelling by train on the Belgrade-Bar line and they were taken off the train at a station located in Bosnia and Herzegovina and later executed. The majority of those killed were from Prijepolje where a monument has been erected in memory of the victims. Since the remains of most of the victims have not been found to this day, the monument is a place where families come every year on 27 February to remember their loved ones. The day before the commemoration, a group of some 30 war veterans met with Nail Kajević

You can find more on work with war veterans
on our nenasilje.org/en website

whose brother was abducted and killed on that fateful 27 February 1993. Nail shared with us the painful story of how the killed civilians have still not been giving the status of civilian war victims, how their families have been going to various institutions for years in an effort to find their remains, how they had to struggle for the right to be remembered and for a monument to be erected in the city centre... The meeting with Nail was emotional, but also empowering for all of us – his perseverance, dedication and struggle are a call for working together for all victims. The commemoration itself was organised by Bosniak politicians and national associations in Sandžak and was unfortunately the very opposite, resembling an election rally more than a dignified commemoration for the victims. This misuse of victims did not, however, prevent us from sharing in the pain of Nail and other families of victims, to pay our respect to those killed and call for finding their bodies and prosecuting those responsible.

The corona virus pandemic in March made us cancel the workshop we had planned to hold over a number of days with a smaller group of war veterans from the region in order to take stock of the past few

years and plan future activities. We used the lull after the first wave of the pandemic to hold a number of preparatory meetings in Vitez where we later attended the commemoration for eight killed Croat children, in Mostar where we attended commemorations in Uborak and Sutina, and in Prijedor.

Mostly thanks to the heartfelt support of our friend and partner Edin Ramulić, in Prijedor we attended the commemoration for the civilians killed in Briševo and Zecovi. Prijedor itself is one of the places with the biggest number of casualties in Bosnia and Herzegovina with more than 3000 killed civilians, concentration camps, massacres... 68 Croat civilians were killed in Briševo on 25 July 1992, and on the same day, the same unit of the Republika Srpska Army killed more civilians in the neighbouring Bosniak village, including 30 members of Fikret Bačić's family. The site of Korićanske stijene, though located some 150 kilometres from Prijedor in the Skender Vakuf/Kneževo Municipality, is also connected to the killings of civilians from Prijedor. Namely, in the summer of 1992, residents of Prijedor were being transported to Travnik when 200 civilians were taken from a refugee convoy on 21 August 1992



and executed at Korićanske stijene. The location has remained an unmarked site of suffering to this day because local authorities in Skender Vakuf/Kneževo have not allowed it to be marked. Our activist friends marked this site in 2019 as part of one of their actions to mark unmarked sites of suffering.

We have written a separate article about our visit to Mostar and the commemoration in Grabovica. That was the high point of our peacebuilding work with war veterans this year and is the result of multiple years of work. The visit was very important for the city of Mostar itself, though we visited the suburb area of Bijelo Polje, but it was the first opportunity for war veterans of the Army of RBiH and of HVO from Mostar to visit each other's monuments together, to honour those killed

and to start communication about a period that is still painful and still the source of tensions in Mostar which is today inhabited by Bosniaks and Croats in almost equal number. During our stay in Mostar, we made a video to contribute to the commemoration of Serb civilians killed in Varivode and Gošić near Knin in Croatia. We had been to Varivode and Gošić with a mixed group of war veterans in 2017 at the invitation of the commemoration organiser, the Serb National Council (SNV). Unfortunately, due to the pandemic we were unable to organise a larger group of war veterans this year, but with the video we prepared and a smaller delegation present at the commemoration, we wanted to once again honour the victims and welcome the positive steps made in dealing with the past in Croatia.

What Will Prijedor Do with Its Past?

Briševo and Zecovi near Prijedor, 25.7.2020.

Briševo and Zecovi are part of the Prijedor war story from 1992. It is a story of terror against Bosniaks and Croats perpetrated by military and police forces under the command of the wartime leadership of the Serb Democratic Party and the Prijedor Municipality Crisis Staff that was established at the time. Mass killings, camps and forced deportations marked this period, leaving more than 3,000 killed and over 50,000 expelled.

When on 24 and 25 July 1992, members of the Republika Srpska Army's (VRS) 5th Kozara Brigade from Prijedor and 6th Krajina Brigade from Sanski Most attacked Briševo, 68 civilians were killed, mostly the elderly, women and children. Whole families were wiped out. Many of the villagers were taken to the Krinks camp.

In Zecovi, on 25 July 1992, more than 100 civilians were killed, also mostly women, children and the elderly. Two days earlier, on 23 July, men over 18 were taken to the Prijedor camps. Many of them were killed during the transport or later in organised executions of camp prisoners. The final tally is that more than 150 villagers from Zecovi were killed. The crime was

committed by members of VRS and the reserve police from the neighbouring village of Rasavci.

We were invited by the Dom Briševo - Dobri Association to come to Briševo for the annual commemoration. This Association was established in Sesvete in Croatia by exiles from Briševo who had settled there and were brought together by plans to renew their village, build infrastructure to facilitate return and a memorial to honour the killed people of Briševo, as well as by the annual commemorations organised to mark the day when they were killed. The Association president Zdravko Marjan welcomed our initiative that brings together former warriors under a noble cause to honour killed innocents. He was also glad of the opportunity to talk with the veterans, having himself participated in the war as a member of the Croatian Army.

We were invited to the commemoration in Zecovi by Fikret Bačić. Fikret returned to Zecovi in 1998. At the time of the massacre in 1992, he was away, working in Germany. His wife, daughter, son, mother and another 25 family members were killed. "All people of good will are welcome, whatever their religion or nationality and



whatever army they may have been in. At this place, they can hear the truth about how people were killed here and how we are still looking for the bodies of our family members,” Fikret told us when we met.

The commemorations are held on the same day, one in the morning, the other in the afternoon. Due to the coronavirus pandemic, we decided to attend the commemorations with a smaller mixed group of veterans, while keeping to all prescribed safety measures. We had been in constant contact with our hosts and keeping up with how the situation was developing, whether the event would be cancelled or whether new measures would be introduced that would preclude our arrival. It was precisely because of the pandemic that this time we could not have veterans from Serbia and members of CNA from the Belgrade office with us.

Those Who Do Not Give Up

With a group of 11 war veterans, former members of VRS, HVO, the Army of RBiH and HV, and the four of us from CNA, we arrived in Prijedor on 24 July. We

were joined by another two members of our group from Prijedor, former members of VRS and the Army of RBiH, and that evening we met with Zdravko and Fikret.

Zdravko described the situation during those fatal 24 hours that it took the killers to commit the crime, relating what he had heard from the survivors because he had not been there himself. He said people were killed with unprecedented brutality. There was no cause, all hunting weapons had been surrendered previously, and the villagers were completely unarmed. There had been no attempt to organise a combatant unit in the village. After the war, bodies were exhumed from one mass grave and a number of individual graves, but the body of one boy is still missing. As for prosecution, this crime was included in the indictments for command responsibility of members of the wartime Bosnian Serb leadership, while high-ranking officers of VRS Branko Basara and Nedjeljko Aničin, indicted by the Prosecutor’s Office of BiH in 2015, are at large and presumed to be hiding in Serbia. Before the war, there were 370 people living

in Briševo. Today, there are four: two returnees and one couple that moved there from Germany a few years back. After the war, the authorities of the City of Prijedor did not provide for decent road access to the village or for the electricity grid, hampering return on a larger scale. When looking at other returnee villages around Prijedor, we can say that Briševo is an exception, because infrastructure has been provided to most other places. Zdravko said that neither the Croat political leadership in BiH nor politicians from Croatia have shown any interest in Briševo, with no high officials attending the commemorations, even though this is the largest single war crime committed against Croat civilians in BiH in the past war.

Even though 28 years have passed, Fikret is still incredulously asking why they killed his loved ones. He would like to put that question to the killers, he imagines meeting them face to face and asking them. He told us about the atrocities committed against the people of Zecovi, and the thing that hurts him the most: that some neighbours took part. Many believed the neighbours had come to their village that day to protect them. Fikret wasn't there at the time, but his

cousin Zijad Bačić was. He was a fourteen-year-old boy at the time and the only one to survive the killing of his family. Fikret returned to his village of Zecovi and started a family there again. He has dedicated his life to finding the bodies of his family members and bringing their killers and those who gave the order for the massacre to face justice. He does not blame another people for what happened, he understands others suffered too and he can understand their pain. He goes around BiH with other victims, both him and Zijad participate in public speaking programmes. But he will never forgive the killers of children, women and the powerless. He hopes that the 14 that were arrested and indicted by the Prosecutor's Office of BiH in 2014 will receive a just prison sentence. Fikret is a member of the Advisory Board of the Missing Persons Institute, a board made up of victims' family members. He told us about the kinds of problems they face. He is generally disappointed with the work of the Institute. Little is being done and even when relevant information about grave sites is obtained, sometimes years go by without anything being done. They often have to pay for information about mass graves and they finance



the exhuming themselves. Institutions reimburse the costs of equipment and workers only if they find the bodies. "That's what it's like when there is no state, we are left to our own devices," he says. He made the memorial to his loved ones with his own family, on his own land in the hamlet of Gradina. Procedures to receive approval and a building permit were taking too long, he didn't want to wait any more after years of being ignored. "That's what it's like when there's no state," he repeats. Fikret has also been struggling since 2012 for a memorial to the killed children of Prijedor, so that his two and a hundred other children from Prijedor finally receive a dignified memorial. He has been issuing appeals, attending negotiations with local authorities, looking for options and persevering. He does not want the monument to fall prey to any kind of manipulation, he just wants it to commemorate the killed children. Fikret is also fighting for a better life in Zecovi. They have reconstructed the houses and the road, but he says that even 22 years after returning, they still have trouble with water supply. Some 350 of the pre-war 700 Bosniaks who used to live in Zecovi have returned, but people are once again leaving. Economic insecurity of livelihoods is now chasing people away from their homes.

Edin Ramulić is an activist of the Culture of Memory Foundation from Prijedor and a long-time associate and friend who has participated in many actions we organised. He recounted how that period from 20 to 30 July 1992 was the bloodiest in Prijedor when mass executions of camp prisoners were committed in Keraterm, as well as the massacres in Briševo and Zecovi, all forming part of the brutal ethnic cleansing campaign. He said that for some reason these dates have been obscured in memory policy because other events were selected for official commemorations organised with support from political and religious leaders, while these are mostly left to the victims' families to commemorate. Edin himself bears multiple identities, he is a victim's family member and a prison camp survivor and a former member of the Army of RBiH and a disabled war veteran and a returnee. He points out that this is precisely what helped him see the bigger picture in our society and the need for peace activism.

Difficult stories, difficult fates. Digging deep into the emotions of these people and those of us who came to see them. What could we say to them after hearing their stories? In silence, we embraced the pain. It is universal for anyone imbued with humanity. We learn from these experiences and transfer them to our own communities. It is difficult to arrive at this knowledge, because we live in a divided society where information is manipulated and selectively released to the media. In our group, it is this pain and suffering that unite us, along with our commitment to do everything we can to make sure the atrocities of the past are never repeated. We will keep coming to sites of suffering, we will keep absorbing the pain. Our presence is confirmation that by expressing compassion and honouring victims, we want to overcome the barriers that keep each people mourning only their own dead.

Dignity before God and the People

On the day of the commemoration, we visited the reconstructed church in Briševo where there is a memorial plaque bearing the names of the victims. As is often the case in post-war BiH, memorials are placed inside religious buildings to protect them from desecration. Along the road leading to the village there are 15 memorial plaques marking the places where the villagers were killed. They bear the name, year of birth and date of death of the victims. The number of names on a plaque varies depending on the number of people killed at each location. Zdravko points out that the memorial plaques are meant to send the message that the killing of people in this region must not be allowed to happen again for the sake of future generations. He hopes it is now time to move the memorial plaque from inside the church into the courtyard and will try to do this perhaps as soon as next year. After laying flowers, we joined the villagers at the mass led by the Bishop of Banja Luka Franjo Komarica. In commemorating the victims, the Bishop particularly highlighted the importance and need for forgiveness and reconciliation. The parish priest of Stara Rijeka, which includes Briševo, don Boris Ljevak thanked the veterans of former armies for coming and said he was glad that we were there with them on the

day when they remember the killed members of their community.

Leaving Briševo, we went to the hamlet of Gradina which is part of the Zecovi local community. In front of where his family house used to be and where members of his family were killed, Fikret has installed a monument in the shape of an open book with ayahs from the Qu'ran and the names of the victims. The commemoration is a private family affair with relatives and a religious service to honour the victims. But it is not closed to others. Fikret tells us that Serb political representatives from Prijedor have attended the commemoration in the past. The local imam recited a prayer in front of the monument and invited all of us to pay our respects in our own way to these innocent victims. We laid the flowers and then we were joined by Zijad. He looked at the monument and thought back to that fateful day. As he talks, he points to the remains of his aunt's house where more than 30 people were hiding. "We were all in one room. At one point, he heard gunshots and someone in front of the house telling us to come out. The women and children came out first, but I was among the last, it was God's will, as I was putting on my shoes, they had already started shooting. I could hear women and children screaming. I picked up my shoes and ran to the next house over to hide. They kept shooting until everyone was laying on the ground. Later, I saw a soldier take out a pistol and shoot those he thought were still alive," Zijad tells us. He hid for a while longer in a nearby garden and then went over to check if anyone was still alive. He found no one still alive and he decided to flee to the neighbouring village where he had a friend from school, a Serb. The friend and his father hid Zijad for 8 days before taking him to his uncle with whom he managed to make it over to Travnik and then on to Germany. "Good people, thank you for coming. I really do not hate anyone. This was done by criminals. I will never understand why this happened, because we were always on good terms with our Serb neighbours, and it was Serbs who saved me in the end," added Zijad.

Both of the commemorations were spared fiery political speeches, patriotic songs thundering from loudspeakers and the colours of national flags. When they ask me how people mark the atrocities in Briševo

and Zecovi, I will say: with dignity. These are places for coming together, talking with each other and showing solidarity. They are open to people of good will. You could feel it in the air, it was part of the atmosphere. You simply felt welcome.

Today, 25 years after the war, Prijedor bears the burden of being the city with the largest number of convicted war criminals and 99 exhumed mass graves. There are still 760 people listed as missing, so the number of mass graves is not final either. Only around 10% of the pre-war population of the Prijedor area have returned to their homes.

The City's Memory

Dealing with the past has gone through various phases for the people of Prijedor. There was a time when efforts by victims' families to mark the deaths of their loved ones with commemorations and monuments ran up against opposition from Serb political representatives. They denied responsibility for the crimes and had a one-sided memory policy that privileged their own victims, erecting monuments in prominent locations such as parks and other public areas. Even at the site of the former Trnopolje prison camp, which distressed the victims and their community. Fortunately, that time is past. Commemorations for non-Serb victims have been organised for the past few years by various victims' associations and others from the non-governmental sector. From time to time, they are attended by representatives of the local authorities. Monuments for Bosniaks and Croats have mostly been built on grounds owned by the Islamic Community and the Catholic Church. However, in the past few years, the deadlock seems to have been broken and there is now hope that a solution will be found for the issue of installing a monument in the centre of Prijedor. The monument to 102 killed children of Prijedor has been green-lighted for construction and is currently in the phase of searching for an appropriate location.

The story of the past war in Prijedor is irreconcilable with its Second World War legacy of a town at the foot of Mount Kozara, which was a symbol of antifascist struggle against the German occupier and domestic traitors, the Ustashas and Chetniks. It is the city of Dr Mladen Stojanović and other national heroes who

gave their lives calling for brotherhood and unity among our peoples, entrusting new generations with the noble task of preserving the freedom and peace that were paid for in blood. The sheer quantity of evil that surfaced in the 1990s shows that history has had some very poor students. There were those who were calculating and figured preventive violence was the way to go to avoid being on the receiving end as their ancestors had been. Today, we can view this as an example of how victims become perpetrators of crimes. And it is something we have to live with. The

choice before us is whether to take that part of history from the 1990s and defend it and live in isolation, nurturing a tradition that unquestioningly justifies acts committed for a “higher political purpose”, or to find a way for the community to take responsibility and with a fair attitude towards the past provide satisfaction to the victims’ families and the returnee population, allowing them to integrate and build a future with their fellow townspeople.

Amer Delić

“Blessed are the peacebuilders”

Mostar, 7-9 September 2020

We have been wanting to visit sites of suffering and remembrance for civilians and soldiers in Mostar with a mixed group of war veterans for a long time, our attempts to make this happen date back to 2010. It was not for lack of contacts or people prepared to help us, but the time was not right. This is the situation as reflected in the media: all these years Mostar is without a democratically elected local government, the epitome of a “divided city”, a “difficult case”, the collateral damage of Čović’s and Dodik’s political trading, patronised by SDA in passing.

Heroes of the times

It is all this, but that is not all it is. We organised the visit thanks to the cooperation and perseverance of ARBiH and HVO veterans from Bijelo Polje, a suburb of Mostar. “That’s how it was in those times and we were all soldiers and we were all heroes of the times. Today, we’re even greater heroes because we are extending a hand in reconciliation and forgiveness and I hope this is a big step for Mostar,” said our host Stanislav Krezić, an HVO war veteran and prison camp survivor. Along with Stano, we also owe gratitude for making the visit of a mixed group of war veterans to Bijelo Polje possible to our old friend Zoran Zovko, head of the cantonal HVIDR organisation; Enver Karabeg, head of the Bijelo Polje Veterans’ Organisation and Haris Kljako, head of

the Disabled War Veterans Association of Stari Grad Mostar.

Although today Mostar is mostly inhabited by Croats and Bosniaks, in almost equal numbers, there are at least three narratives about the war and at least three memory policies, each with its own monuments. These ethnic lines are never crossed, not even when it comes to honouring victims. Crossing that kind of line is a heroic endeavour: the mixed group of war veterans visited the site of the mass grave for Bosniak and Croat civilians in Sutina, as well as sites of remembrance for killed soldiers of ARBiH, HVO and VRS.

(New) normal?

In our society, as if it were not unusual enough for war veterans of ARBiH and HVO to visit and honour each other’s monuments, they also did this for those who within the Federation of BiH are seen as the epitome of the enemy, the soldiers of VRS. To make the matter more unusual, the veterans were joined by the Herzegovina-Neretva Canton minister for veterans Oliver Soldo and assistant minister Halil Ćučurević. Though they work together within the ministry for veterans, this was the first time they visited these monuments together. The minister publicly supported the initiative and in statements given to the media he pointed out how we lack such “normal events where

people talk to each other in all their similarities and differences, respecting and recognising each other.” We can continue developing this city together, he added and called for respect for all victims “because these were all people who lost their lives”.

We have been visiting sites of suffering for a long time, both marked and unmarked. For a long time, in paying our respects we make no difference between civilians and soldiers, which is sometimes held against us when we are accused of relativism and admonished that not all victims are the same. Veterans are torn within the framework that controls remembrance today, a society that sees/uses them as heroes and another that perceives/uses them as wrongdoers. “Our” soldiers are the heroes, our enemies are the wrongdoers. “We” fought for the right cause, “they” are aggressors and morally suspect. It is, therefore, expected that we will visit monuments to “our” heroes and disdain monuments to “theirs”, this being the current model of the culture of memory, marked off in space and restrictive in terms of who is welcome to come pay their respects.

We believe that all victims of war deserve respect, both civilian and military victims. Paying respects to all those killed does not mean approving of their aims, if any, but is instead an expression of decency and mourning for the loss of human lives. That was our motivation on this occasion as well, when we visited Bijelo Polje.

Blessed are the peacemakers!

The group was made up of some 30 war veterans, former members of ARBiH, the Croatian Army, the Croat Defence Council, the Yugoslav Army and the Army of Republika Srpska, who came from Brčko, Bihać, Šamac, Novi Grad, Zavidovići, Jajce, Zagreb, Kruševac, Goražde, Sarajevo and Mostar. To start, our hosts introduced us to the wartime events in the area of Bijelo Polje.

The first monument we visited was the central monument to fallen HVO fighters next to the Church of the Most Sacred Heart of Jesus in Potoci. We laid flowers and paid our respects, and were then addressed by Don Josip Galić. He asked us if we were working from our hearts? He was intrigued by our company, so he kept repeating, partly to himself and

partly for all of us to hear, important questions such as the relationship between brother and brother, neighbour and neighbour. He told us about how much the people of Bijelo Polje had suffered, he talked about forgiveness and reconciliation. We prayed for all those killed and their families, and then Don Josip read from the Gospel of Matthew... *Blessed are they that hunger and thirst after righteousness, for they shall be filled. Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy. Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God. Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called the children of God*, thundered Don Josip’s voice through the small speaker beneath the monument in the shape of a cross. He told us how the vertical base is man’s exaltation towards God, while the horizontal line of the cross symbolises neighbourly love. “If what you are doing, you do from the heart, may you be blessed,” he said in parting. “Blessed are the peacemakers,” said the Christian Orthodox priest in Zijemlje to the congregation, not knowing that we had heard the same message from the Catholic priest.

Visiting sites of suffering, I accept such blessings with relief because I feel I need them. You give the most you can, the rest is not in your power, not how the community will accept you, whether people will understand what you do or why, how the event will be perceived by those who hear about it on the news, the pressures that those involved may be subject to...

We made our way to Sutina. The monument is located near the site where in 1992 a mass grave was discovered with bodies of Bosniaks and Croats killed there in the night between 13 and 14 June 1992, as were their fellow citizens found at Uborak. The plan was to come with a mixed group of war veterans to the commemoration on 13 June, but due to the pandemic, we decided to attend the commemoration with just a small delegation. We are grateful to the association of families of victims who welcomed us when we came to lay the wreaths and we hope that next time we will be able to come in greater number of visit all three sites connected to this war crime. This is an unpunished crime that was committed under the authority of JNA general Momčilo Perišić, but he was never held accountable for the shelling of Mostar, or for the crimes committed in Uborak, Sutina and Zalik.

Next we visited the central monument to shahids and fallen fighters of the Army of RBiH next to the Karađoz-beg Mosque in Potoci. I stand there with one of my friends, a veteran of ARBiH, he's grumbling because of the high grass, the neglect of places like this, that fountain down by the church doesn't work either, he says. We look at the plaque with the names and photographs of fallen fighters. These plaques reveal where half my generation has gone. They were all young, we conclude. And we mourn. A prayer starts in front of the monument inscribed with the names of the killed. At this monument, just like at those we visited before, we are asked to pay our respects to the dead "in the manner each of us considers suitable". When I heard this for the first time, I was upset, I thought it went without saying and that no one should remind us that we are different. Only now does it occur to me that this also includes the "unbelievers", those of us not sure to whom we address our prayers.

A bridge over the mountain

We left Zijemlje, a village in Istočni Mostar, some 25 km from the city centre, and drove for 40 minutes along a macadam road over Velež to reach Potoci. The mountain air and breeze are welcome because the temperature is already above 30 degrees down in the valley. We run across excavators and trucks working on the road, which can only mean elections are coming. Of the 20 kilometres of road, the hard-working builders have already completed some 30 meters or so. We come out onto a plain, houses dotting the small slopes, some of them still in ruins. Most of us have never been here before, we breathe deeply and admire the nature, the sheep grazing peacefully around us. On the way to the graveyard and church where the monument to fallen fighters of VRS is located, we meet locals tending to potato patches. They ask us who we are and what we've come for. Some of our friends linger in conversation with them.

We met Father Nebojša Radić last year, when he accepted our invitation to a meeting of our group. He gladly accepted our invitation again this time and we came to see him lead a prayer in front of the monument. I stand there with a colleague who comments how he prefers the Christian Orthodox service to my Catholic one, because it is somehow softer and gentler. I nod

my head, the chants and prayers are carried on the wind, we hear the names of those killed that are also inscribed on the monument. We are also joined by one of the locals we saw tending potatoes. In the meantime, he had heard who we were, he blesses us, says we need more things like this. The mountain sees us off with a rush of wind.

Returning to Bijelo Polje, we discuss our impressions of the places and people we've seen. As women, we have certain prejudices about how men, especially men of war, handle the emotional burden of this scale – to be able to bow to the enemy, express respect and mourn the loss of every human life requires profound inner psychological work. The way these people do so is an example to learn from because it leaves room for the views of others, for a different perspective of the war than what we have been taught, for the suffering of others, and for compassion. It is a privilege to be with them.

We spent the rest of the day in Mostar. We visited the Church of the Holy Trinity which is being reconstructed and is under UNESCO protection. It was built in 1873, but in 1992 it was first set on fire and then dynamited. Father Nebojša gave us a brief history of the Serb people in the Mostar area. How much Mostar has changed in the meantime can be seen from the fact that in 1991 there were some 23 thousands Serbs and 12 thousand Yugoslavs living there, while today there are under 5 thousand of them in and around Mostar. We visited the monument to Aleksa Šantić, and his Emina, and to make our visit to Mostar complete, our hosts from army associations organised a group photo on the Old Bridge and a skilful dive by a young lad into the Neretva. Those who have been to Mostar as tourists know how rarely you have an opportunity to see a dive – and although we were all middle aged, at that moment we were excited like children. I suddenly had a feeling of normality, the same I felt as a child when I climbed the stairs of the Old Town, as if Mostar never stopped being as I remember it – a city with room for all, where the mix of religions and peoples is not an impediment, but a comparative advantage. Have we forgotten how to be such people?

There is hope, even for us constantly dealing with the consequences of the war, trust is being built slowly, but it isn't out of reach. We deal with this challenge

most in places that commemorate victims from among my own people. Perhaps the commemoration in Grabovica is for me the best litmus test for what we want to achieve with veteran peace actions. We went there on the morning of 9 September.

Grabovica 1993

A group of civilians were killed on 8 and 9 September 1993 in Grabovica, a village located between Jablanica and Mostar. According to the Association of Croat Victims "Grabovica 93", over those few days, 33 civilians were killed and their remains have mostly not been found to this day. Five members of the Army of RBiH have been convicted of this war crime before the courts in BiH.

This is the third time that I have attended this commemoration. The first time we came as a small delegation, then we came with a group of veterans, and we did so again this year, but with smaller numbers due to restrictions on account of the pandemic. A few years ago, we were not welcome at this commemoration. No one will tell you so to your face, but you get a clear sense of it from how arrangements are made. We did not give up, we went to meetings, we tried to explain to the organisers of the commemoration what it is we do and what we want to achieve. When we were finally invited to come with a group of veterans, the first impression of the commemoration were Thompson's marching songs reverberating from the speakers. At that time, I had the feeling that the priest leading the service read our request to join the commemoration only to bring our mission into question. But going to commemorations is least about how we ourselves feel, we are not there for ourselves, we come to pay

our respects to the victims. That was our intention in coming to Grabovica this year as well. This time, there were no Thompson songs. The speech held by the president of the Association and organiser of the commemoration Josip Drežnjak mentioned all victims and the need to recognise and show respect towards all victims. Once again, he called on institutions to stop covering up this crime and prosecute those responsible. The war crime in Grabovica was part of the indictment against Sefer Halilović, but he was acquitted due to lack of evidence. This does not mean, however, that the search for those responsible should stop and by coming here we hope to provide support to the families of victims in their efforts.

For some this incremental progress may seem negligible, but in peace work small steps are all there is. When you are overwhelmed by the enormity of the task, having to backtrack, being exposed to pressure and lack of understanding, it is worth remembering that things change slowly and that every effort invested results in some small step towards understanding and that if your heart is in it, there will always be a response. "We are here to show that we can do this together and that we should move forward, that we can make this step towards a better future for us all, especially for the new generations. We have come to send the message that war should never happen to anyone again. By coming here, we wanted to show that we are still all people and that we can live together," said one of our veterans when talking to the media. There is nothing to add to this, except that we already have allies even in the most unexpected places, such as the beautiful city of Mostar.

Davorka Turk



NEOBILJEŽENO
MJESTO STRADANJA
NA OVOM MJESTU SU, U PROTEKLOM RATU, NAD LJUDIMA VRŠENA NELJUDSKA DJELA
NE PREPUŠTAJUĆI TE DOGAĐAJE ZABORAVU, SOLIDARIŠEMO SE SA SVIM ŽRTVAMA
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marking unmarked
sites of suffering

Actions and activities:

- Tenth ONMS action, Bosnian Krajina, 11-14, November 2018

Marked sites:

Settlements Lušci Palanka and Zdena, Sanski Most

Elementary school, Community centre, Rizvanovići, Prijedor

Mlakve Football Stadium, Novi Grad/Bosanski Novi

Pit Lisac, Krupa na Uni

- Eleventh ONMS action, Central Bosnia and surroundings of Sarajevo, 16.6.2020.

Marked sites:

Hotel Igman, Hadžići, Bjelašnica

Hotel Maršal (former hotel Famos), Trnovo, Bjelašnica

The village of Bilivode, Zenica

The village of Miletići, Travnik

Tuzla rescue convoy, Novi Travnik

- Presentation of the ONMS website, Sarajevo, 4.3.2020.
- Presentation of ONMS website, Banja Luka, 21.7.2020.
- ONMS article „Nothing but misery“ (more in the „Publications“ section)

From Guerrilla Action to the Academic Community

In this past year, the activity of *Marking Unmarked Sites of Suffering* (ONMS), in addition to actions in the field to mark locations in BiH, was enhanced by the development of its own website onms.nenasilje.org that enables simple and easy access to information on all the sites we have marked over the past five years. The website also contains a map of all the sites we visited. As such, the website could serve as a tool for all those actively working on the culture of memory, either as activists, journalists or academic researchers.

We wanted to present the website to the Bosnian-Herzegovinian public and so we decided to organise two promotional events, one in Sarajevo and one in Banja Luka, each followed by a public discussion about the current culture of memory in BiH and our activities as a form of alternative memorialisation.

In Sarajevo, the promotion was held on 4 March 2020 at the Faculty of Criminal Justice, Criminology and Security Studies. It brought together the academic community and peace activism. Participants in the

discussion were Mirza Buljubašić, a teaching assistant at the Faculty of Criminal Justice, Criminology and Security Studies, Lamija Grebo, a reporter of the Balkan Investigative Reporting Network (BIRN BiH), as well as Tamara Zrnović, Dalmir Mišković and Amer Delić of the ONMS team. Davorka Turk from the Centre for Nonviolent Action (CNA) acted as moderator.

In conversation with those present, we arrived at one of the possible paths towards reconciliation being to abandon the past model of privileging victims from one's own community and seek a new approach that would allow us to show respect for victims from other communities. It should be noted that the promotion was also attended by members of the Organisation of Families of Captured, Killed and Missing Fighters and

Reports and videos on actions to mark unmarked sites of suffering are available on our onms.nenasilje.org website

Civilians of Republika Srpska from Istočno Sarajevo, who expressed their satisfaction with how our activist group approaches all communities in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The promotion in Banja Luka was planned for 17 March 2020, but had to be cancelled because of lockdown measures that were imposed due to the coronavirus pandemic.

It was held as soon as the situation allowed for it, on 21 July 2020, at the Social Education Centre. Taking part in the discussion were Edin Ramulić, activist of the Culture of Memory Foundation from Prijedor, Tamara Zrnović (ONMS) and Krsto Rakić from the Regional Association of Prison Camp Survivors from Višegrad. Edin and Krsto shared their experiences of participating in our actions and talked about the importance of marking all sites of suffering. The discussion that was opened with those present indicated that there is a need for other stakeholders in social and political life in BiH to become involved in appropriate memorialisation, because the non-governmental sector is currently taking on the lion's share of this task.

In the past year, actions in the field were conducted on two occasions. In the tenth action implemented in November 2019, we visited sites of individual and mass executions and former sites of imprisonment in Bosanska Krajina, in the area of Sanski Most, Prijedor, Bosanski Novi/Novi Grad and Krupa na Uni. We had an opportunity to mark the sites in the presence of returnees and families of victims, and in Sanski Most we also had a meeting with members of the Prison Camp Survivors Association of Sanski Most. Families of victims, as well as returnees and prison camp survivors all agree that everyone's suffering should have visibility,

it should be talked about in a way that contributes to peace, respect and tolerance.

The eleventh action was conducted in June 2020. Due to the pandemic, we chose locations in the vicinity of Sarajevo and in central Bosnia, in the area of Zenica, Travnik and Novi Travnik. We continued our practice of meeting with people in the local communities we visit, and we also established cooperation with members of the "Truth, Justice, Reconciliation" Foundation from Tuzla with whom we visited an unmarked site of suffering near Novi Travnik.

After conducting actions in the field, we continued our campaign on social networks in order to draw attention to the need for all victims, their families and communities to have the right to dignified remembrance, as a way to contribute to building lasting peace in our region.

The path we have travelled over the past five years developed from independent guerrilla actions, through cooperation with war veterans, meetings with associations of war victims and representatives of local communities, to presenting our work at higher education institutions with the participation of members of the academic community. We have been present in public space in general and we have been invited to present our work at events organised by others, such as the "School of Different Memories" in eastern Bosnia and at an event to commemorate the Prijedor camps that was part of "Night in Trnopolje".

We plan to continue our activities in the upcoming period. We will seek to reinforce our cooperation with local communities and associations, and try to open possibilities for constructive changes to existing models of the culture of memory.

Activists mark sites of suffering in Central Bosnia and around Sarajevo

With the support of the Centre for Nonviolent Action, in June 2020, a group of activists continued their activities to mark unmarked sites of suffering in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Five sites were marked: Hotel

Igman and Hotel Maršal, Bilivode near Zenica, Miletići near Travnik and the site of the attack against the Tuzla Convoy of Salvation near Novi Travnik.

It has been 25 years since the last war in Bosnia

and Herzegovina, and almost every town still has many unmarked sites of atrocities (cultural centres, schools, farms and forest estates, police stations, hotels, etc.). Most of these buildings have been reconstructed since the war and returned to their original purpose, but they were never marked as sites of atrocities. With the support of the Centre for Nonviolent Action Sarajevo-Belgrade, activists from Bosnia and Herzegovina have been marking unmarked sites of suffering for the past five years in an effort to point out the importance of recognising the suffering and pain of others and building a constructive culture of memory about the painful past.

Sites related to the **Tuzla Convoy of Salvation** have remained unmarked sites of suffering to this day. This humanitarian aid convoy was made up of a few hundred trucks, it was seven kilometres long and went from Split, through Gornji Vakuf, to Tuzla. The convoy was stopped on 10 June 1993 at a barricade set up by a large group of Croat civilians and soldiers in Rankovići, north of Novi Travnik. Eight drivers were shot, the vehicles were seized and the convoy was looted by civilians and soldiers. The convoy was stopped again by a group of local residents at the Dubravica checkpoint near Vitez. The ICTY found that the groups that stopped the convoy were under the control of the HVO, primarily Dario Kordić and Tihomir Blaškić. The remains of three people killed after the convoy was stopped have still not been found. According to media reports, the Prosecutor's Office of BiH is conducting an investigation into the attacks against the convoy.

When we were marking this site, we were joined by members of the Foundation "Truth, Justice, Reconciliation" from Tuzla who have been investigating this case for years and advocating for its prosecution.

"For us from Tuzla, it is important that the site of the attack against the convoy is marked, and the particularity of this crime is that soldiers were joined by the civilian population," said Sinan Alić, president of the Foundation "Truth, Justice, Reconciliation" from Tuzla, adding that the case has been referred to various prosecutor's offices, but no concrete action has been taken to prosecute it. Alić points out that the attack took place in an HVO-controlled area where Marinko Jurčević was the responsible military prosecutor and

that after the war, he was a chief prosecutor at the Prosecutor's Office of BiH.

Bilivode (Zenica)

During the armed conflict between the Army of RBiH and HVO in the Zenica area, four Croat civilians were killed at two locations in the village of Bilivode, in the period from 17 to 24 April 1993. The bodies of three of the civilians were then burned in a weekend house in the village of Bilivode. The Cantonal Court in Zenica tried Eniz Bašić for this crime and found him guilty in the first instance judgement, sentencing him to two years in prison, but he was acquitted in the second instance proceedings.

The sole remaining resident of Bilivode today is Katica Mijač. Some of the houses were reconstructed after the war, but the population never returned. Together with her family, Katica tried to mark the site where Ivo Kustura was killed.

"We took two candles each and some flowers and placed them at the site where he was killed. A bit later, the flowers and candles were trampled and no one has tried to mark the site since. Marking such sites is the humane thing to do. It means a lot that such sites are marked to show that someone was killed there, that there is some trace of that person placed either at the graveyard or anywhere else," Katica Mijač tells us and adds that a plaque has been made for the killed civilians in Bilivode, but it has not been mounted yet for fear that it would be desecrated.

Miletići (Travnik)

During the armed conflict between the Army of RBiH and HVO in the wider Central Bosnian region, the Croat village of Miletići was attacked on 24 April 1993. The village was attacked by units of foreign fighters, the so-called mujahideen, who killed five civilians, while 35 Croat civilians were captured and taken to the unit's camp where they were beaten. Some of the Croat villagers sought help in the neighbouring Bosniak village, but the mujahideen detained three Bosniaks who had helped their Croat neighbours. The perpetrators were never punished and the ICTY considered details of the crime committed in Miletići in the cases against Enver Hadžihasanović and Amir

Kubura, commanders of the Army of RBiH. The ICTY found that the attack was carried out by units of so-called mujahideen made up of foreign fighters over which Army of RBiH units did not have effective control.

In our June action to mark sites of suffering, we also marked **Hotel Igman** on Mount Igman and **Hotel Maršal** (former Famos) on Mount Bjelašnica. In February and March 1993, Hotel Igman was converted into a detention facility for Serb and Croat soldiers and civilians. ARBiH, specifically its special “Zulfikar” unit, had control over the facility. For the crimes committed at Hotel Igman, the Court of Bosnia and Herzegovina convicted Dževad Salčin, member of the ARBiH “Zulfikar” Special Forces Division, and sentenced him to two years in prison. In 2013, the Court of BiH upheld the indictment against Nedžad Hodžić for war crimes committed at Hotel Igman. The trial against Nedžad Hodžić at the Court of BiH is currently “postponed” due to the health of the accused. From June to August 1992, Hotel Maršal (Famos) on Mount Bjelašnica was converted into a detention facility for Serb civilians. Between 100 and 150 civilians were apprehended in Bradina near Konjic and brought to the hotel. ARBiH,

specifically its special “Zulfikar” unit, had control over the facility. The prisoners were kept in the hotel basement where they were subjected to daily abuse and beatings. After a few days spent at Hotel Famos, they were transferred to the Čelebić camp or the Silos in Tarčin. No one has been held accountable for these crimes.

With the support of the Centre for Nonviolent Action, activists have marked more than 80 unmarked sites of suffering in Bosnia and Herzegovina. [A list of marked sites with information about crimes and prosecutions, as well as a map of the sites of suffering](#) can be accessed on our website.

“Our aim is to encourage non-selective and appropriate marking of sites of suffering in order to highlight the right of all victims, their families and communities to dignified memory and thus contribute to building lasting peace in our region. We call on local authorities across Bosnia and Herzegovina to refrain from obstructing the marking of sites of suffering and instead get actively involved in marking them. Compassion and solidarity with all victims are our duty,” said Amer Delić, member of the CNA team.

Map of unmarked sites of suffering in BiH presented in Sarajevo and Banja Luka

The peace initiative **Marking Unmarked Sites of Suffering** (ONMS) and the Centre for Nonviolent Action Sarajevo-Belgrade presented their activities and [website](#) with documentation on actions to mark unmarked sites of suffering related to the 1992-1995 war in BiH in Sarajevo 4.3. and Banja Luka 21.7.2020.

Activities to mark unmarked sites of suffering in Bosnia and Herzegovina have been conducted by the peace initiative since 2015. Over the past five years, they have **visited, documented and marked 81 sites of suffering in BiH** related to the 1992–1995 war.

After years of activities to mark unmarked sites of suffering across Bosnia and Herzegovina, there was a need to develop a searchable and simple website that could be used as a research tool for all those working

on issues of culture of memory, whether as activists, reporters or academics.

The website [onms.nenasilje.org](#) has documentation on sites that were visited to date, it provides brief background information, photographs from the action to mark them, and a map of precise locations of the unmarked sites of suffering.

“When we decided to start marking some of the unmarked sites of suffering, it was our intention to break the taboos about these places and encourage people who live in the area to properly mark the sites. From the beginning, we communicated with various stakeholders, from victims’ associations and local authorities to ordinary citizens who would contact us with information on sites of suffering that had not

been marked. Given the number of such sites in BiH, there was a need to present the sites we had marked in a systematic and accessible way,” said Tamara Zrnović from the Centre for Nonviolent Action in Sarajevo.

Marking unmarked sites of suffering is a way for peace activists to point out taboos, forgotten sites of atrocities and suffering that have been brushed under the rug in our communities. Many of these sites (culture centres, schools, factory halls, football stadiums, police stations, hotels, etc.) were sites of detention or murder, but today, after being damaged in the war, they have mostly been reconstructed and are being used again.

“One of the objectives of this action, and the website as well, is to raise awareness in local communities, to point out these sites of suffering that are usually associated with victims ‘from the other side’ and have been relinquished to oblivion, even denial, though there are trials and facts that have been established as beyond doubt. By making these sites visible and information about the events that took place there accessible, we hope to rescue them from oblivion,” said Dalmir Mišković, member of the ONMS team and peace activist from Livno.

Krsto Rakić and Edin Ramulić spoke in Banja Luka from the point of view of prison camp survivors about the importance of marking sites of suffering.

“It was important for me personally that the place where I was held prisoner should be marked, but I was also ready and willing to help the activists in the field to mark other sites of suffering, where members of a different group suffered, in Foča and Višegrad,” said Krsto Rakić.

Edin Ramulić, an activist from Prijedor, pointed out that in Bosnia and Herzegovina there were sites that had been incontrovertibly identified in court judgements as sites of crimes or killings, but that have not been marked to this day.

“It is not just a matter of physically marking the site of suffering, it is also an attempt to save what happened there from being forgotten. For many victims and their families, this is not the past, they continue to live with it, and recognising that a crime took place there, that someone was killed there, it’s important for them,” said Ramulić.





peace education

Held:

- 43rd Basic Training in Peacebuilding (Ulcinj, Montenegro, 18-28 October 2019)

Number of applications: 148

20 participants from: Bosnia and Hercegovina (6), Croatia (5), North Macedonia (3), Serbia (3), Kosovo (2) and Montenegro (1)

Occupations: students, human rights activists, politicians, teachers, journalists, economists, an anthropologist, a psychologist

Team: Ivana Franović, Nedžad Novalić, Tamara Zrnović, Davorka Turk

Peace education programmes are among the fundamental activities of the Centre for Nonviolent Action. Precisely because they offer opportunities to develop sensitivity to various forms of violence, examine the mechanisms and dynamics of how conflicts come about, to re-examine our own attitudes and position in society, as well as providing encouragement and empowerment for concrete social action, trainings are a place for making connections and forming alliances necessary for the building of a stable and lasting peace. It is from trainings that we draw motivation and inspiration for future activities, and, even more importantly, meet future allies and associates with whom we then develop new activities.

Over the years, we have developed various peace education programmes, adapting and changing them to respond to the changes happening in our societies and the new needs that arose. In addition to the regional *Basic Training in Peacebuilding*, we regularly also hold *Mir-Paqe-Mup* (peacebuilding training with a special focus on the context of Kosovo, Macedonia and Serbia), as well as *Peacebuilding Training for Students* from Bosnia and Herzegovina. Other peace education programmes, such as *Peacebuilding Training for Veterans* and the *Training of Trainers*, are organised periodically as a way to further strengthen capacities for peacebuilding work.

When it comes to trainings, we cannot predict the long-term changes caused by the current Covid-19 pandemic. We have had to cancel trainings planned for 2020 on account of being in heightened risk zones and because of the direct contact inherent in trainings. We also don't see much point in working on social change isolated in our monoethnic communities, to which

we have now been more or less confined, since the borders between our countries remain closed. We do not see a future for holding trainings online, because our trainings entail working on difficult topics that cannot be adequately communicated online or handled without the support of people dedicated to this task. We hope and believe that the current situation will not last, though it is already undeniable that the world will never be the same again. The problem was precisely the "normality" of the world as we knew it, and we hope that we will all start thinking more constructively together, not just in relation to our health, but also about both our natural and our social environment.

The last training we held before the pandemic was our 43rd Basic Training in Peacebuilding, held in Ulcinj, Montenegro, from 18 to 28 October 2019.

In addition to topics concerning our wartime and post-war past, it turned out once again that time and effort need to be invested in familiarising everyone with the basics of teamwork (without which peacebuilding would not be possible, because it always requires joint, collective action), bringing to light our own prejudices, their personal and social causes and consequences, as well as becoming aware of different forms of social violence and its impact on our lives, and the dynamics of conflict in general – because all these are necessary to prepare us for working on effecting social change. This is also a time to form space within the group, a space that feels sufficiently safe for us to freely express

You may find more on our peacebuilding trainings on our nenasilje.org/en website



exactly what bothers us, our grievances related to our daily life's struggles as much as the wars from our recent past that are a common burden to all of us.

Part of this 'package' are also our socially assigned gender roles that dictate the limits within which our life experience is to be contained, what we are allowed as women and as men and what is expected of us, as well as the social sanctions we can expect to face if we overstep the limits of our social roles. In the past few years, we have seen a return to traditional patriarchal models and in that sense our trainings are nothing else but a miniature of the societies we come from. However, we discussed this topic very constructively during the training, and the workshop itself, unexpectedly and unusually, resulted in greater understanding and bonding within the group. The same happened with the workshop on national identities, which we feel as our own or we feel are imposed on us, but here at least we had an opportunity to think about how they define our social position, how they impact our self-image and the responsibilities we take on, about when these identities are important to us and when they are completely irrelevant.

Dialogue about these topics enables us not just to hear how people from the "other side" feel, to see their perspective of wartime events, but also to bring to light the wounds we carry within ourselves. The training is an opportunity to open up about grievances and discuss the things we hold against people "from the other side", but also to see which topics we are forbidden to open within our own communities. This taboo commonly concerns dealing with the crimes committed "by our side", the taboo are the victims of the other side and marking sites of suffering of others in the community where "we" are the majority, as well as the narrative of the "perpetual sacrifice of our people, a people that had never done anyone any wrong". An even bigger taboo are discussions seen in our societies as undermining the very foundations of the state; these are discussions about the character of the war (aggression and/or civil war), the responsibility of religious communities in the war, celebrating "victories" that caused numerous casualties on the other side, celebrations that give no consideration to victims at all. Working on these topics is a privilege, because it gives us the opportunity to ask who is

making our recent past into a taboo and why, and what needs to change in our societies so that we may establish an attitude of fairness towards the past and make a step towards building lasting peace. This helps us understand that we have the responsibility to open up important issues where this is possible, where it matters to us, be it within our own families, among our colleagues or friends, at work or within our social network.

Almost as a rule, such efforts mean making steps that will take us out of our comfort zone, but this is the only way we can move forward, both on a personal

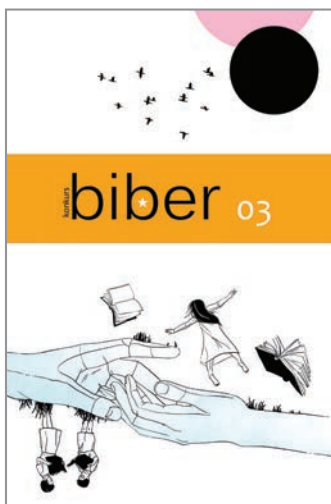
level and as societies. Sometimes, we really cannot do anything to address the injustices committed against others, but we always have a voice that can be heard; sometimes the only thing we can do against the voices of hatred is to come up with actions that will at least confuse them, if not completely undermine them, and the power to show that we, those of us who want to build a future in cooperation with our neighbours, are at least as numerous if not more numerous than those who spill their hatred loudly and shamelessly across public space, city streets and social networks.



publications

Biber 03 – Short story collection

In early March 2020, we published the short story collection from the 3rd *Biber* Contest. The stories were selected by a jury made up of **Lejla Kalamujić**, **Rumena Bužarovska** and **Shkelzen Maliqi**.



Biber is a short story contest for authors writing in Albanian, Macedonian, Bosnian, Croatian, Serbian and Montenegrin. The theme of the contest is reconciliation in the context of the aftermath of the wars and violence in the countries of former Yugoslavia, but also eligible are stories that can contribute to better understanding among people, reducing hatred and dismantling prejudice, anti-war stories, stories about dealing with the past, deconstructing images of the enemy, about empathy, brave stories that dare walk in the “enemy’s” shoes, stories that push boundaries and open up the way to build a more stable, safer and freer future for all.

The 3rd *Biber* Contest was open from January to June 2020. A total of 464 stories were received (the first contest in 2015 received 316 stories, the second in 2017 received 385 stories). As in previous years, we are proud to announce that more female than male authors applied. We were particularly glad to see more stories in Macedonian (66) and Albanian (56).

In October last year, the jury for the 3rd *Biber* Contest met in Belgrade and in a terrific working

atmosphere made their decision. They selected 25 stories to be published in the *Biber 03* collection. The first prize went to the story *Glava [Head]* by **Monika Herceg** from Petrinja, the second prize to *Lito [Summer]* by **Ante Storić** from Šibenik, and the third prize to *Mačedom ćeš me, mačedom ću te [Machete You Me, Machete Me You]* by **Tamara Kovačević** from Ljubljana. The other authors whose stories are included in the *Biber 03* collection are: **Abid Jarić** from Zenica, **Afrim Demiri** from Uroševac (Ferizaj), **Aida Šečić Nezirević** from Sarajevo, **Aneta Petruševska** from Skopje, **Besa Kalaja** from Pristina, **Bojan Todorović** from Novi Sad, **Bojana Babić** from Pančevo, **Dimitrije Bukvić** from Belgrade, **Dragana Randelović** from Despotovac, **Ernad Osmić** from Brčko, **Gabrijel Delić** from Zagreb, **Gordana Stojanoska** from Bitolj, **Imer Topanica** from Podujevo, **Isidora Petrović** from Belgrade, **Luiza Bouharaoua** from Split, **Manja Veličkovska** from Skopje, **Mario Merdžan** from Zagreb, **Milana Gajović** from Belgrade, **Nikola Petrović** from Belgrade, **Slađana Nina Perković** from Banja Luka, **Stefan Slavković** from Belgrade, and **Tihana Gambiraža** from Zadar. It has already become traditional to have more female than male authors in the collection: 14 of 25, two of whom wrote prize-winning stories.

The collection is available in PDF and Kindle format on the website biber.nenasilje.org. Just like previous *Biber* collections, this one is also available in all the languages of the contest. This means that in addition to the original, translations of each story into two other languages – Albanian or Macedonian or BCMS – are also available. Eight translators worked on the collection: **Anton Berishaj**, **Bashkim Fazliu**, **Borislav Pavlovski**, **Gjoko Zdraveski**, **Ivan Šopov**, **Kreshnik Ajdini** and **Qerim Ondozi**.

For the first time, we did not do the covers ourselves, they were instead designed by the young artist **Jelena Jaćimović**. The organisational team, the so-called “Biber Team” was made up of **Davorka**, **Ivana**, **Katarina** and **Radomir** from CNA, as well as **Ana Bitoljanu** from Skopje and **Qerim Ondozi** from Pristina. The contest and the publishing of the collection were made possible thanks to financial support from the

German Federal Ministry of Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ).

Once the collection is printed, we planned to hold three promotional events. Arrangements had been

made for promotions to be held in Šibenik, Prijedor and Prizren. The COVID-19 pandemic has interfered with our plans. We are currently unsure when it will be possible to hold these events.

The first-prize story

Head

Monika Herceg

biber

I often have this dream where they chop off my neighbour's brother's head on a tree stump.

In my dream, he is blond, like their son, slender and tall. Crisp September light breaks through the thick fog lapping at the trees that are slowly changing their colours as the summer dies down. The blond youth's hands are tied in front of his stomach and two men lead him down the village road. When they reach the unplastered single storey red-brick house, they enter the unfenced yard cautious as cats. There's a walnut stump a few yards from the threshold. A third man waits beside it and they go to him.

I can't see their faces, sometimes it's the sun in my eyes, sometimes the shadows are too deep. The air is heavy with silence. I know he is hollow, the young man with his hands tied, like the shell of a car with the engine taken out. They place his head on the darkened tree rings. He offers no resistance. He kneels obediently and lays his face against the course surface of the stump.

It's always the same: two of them hold him down, the third swings the axe, precisely and without hesitation, as if he were chopping wood.

*

Our neighbour Iva has a large nose, red from brandy, mother says the brandy is also what made him go insane. Just like Blaž, who lived a few houses down the road, died because he mixed his heart medication with brandy, if the stories are true.

Mother says there's not a normal person left in the village.

Blaž had a bitch that had a litter of puppies. We took one and he took the rest to the woods. The bitch

untied herself and brought them back. Blaž beat her and drowned the puppies in a bucket one by one. Though we hated him, we'd go down every Christmas to decorate his plastic Christmas tree because mother threatened to use the stick on us. She said it was neighbourly to help out. I would often untie the dog while he was sleeping, but the stupid bitch never ran away.

The city authorities want to build a road through the village, real asphalt, but our neighbour Iva will have none of it. He says they can build the road through where the Serbs live only over his dead body. Mother regularly goes to the municipality to explain to the authorities that he's not the one who has to drive his kids to school every day on a road that is no longer even fit for horses.

The problem is that you can reach our village from two directions, one passes through a Serb village and the other through a Croat village. It's a lot quicker for Mother to take us to the bus stop through the Serb village, otherwise she has to go around the entire hill.

She often fills up a wheelbarrow with dirt and shards of brick to fill up the holes that open after heavy rains. She pushes the wheelbarrow from puddle to puddle, filling them up and then pounding them down with the back of a large axe to break up the pieces of brick. Finally, she heaves a large shovel to beat out the last chinks from the backbone of the road until she is satisfied that the hole has finally lost the identity of a hole.

*

I don't go to my neighbour's yard, except when we play ball.

It's hard to play ball in the village, because there are no flat meadows. Only the ground around our neighbour Nikola's house is somewhat more forgiving on the ball. Nikola does not live in the house they rebuilt after the war, they only come on weekends when it's warm to plant the garden and mow the grass. Mother calls such people weekenders.

Nikola's orchard has the finest pears in the village; sweet, large, with thin skin. Ours are nothing like that. We have the alcoholics' kind; small, good for making brandy.

We play ball with Nikola's son when they come, two against two.

We mark the goal with two bricks by the red wall of his one-storey house and we stick two stakes into the ground on the other end of the meadow. The ball keeps flying up unexpectedly whenever it hits a big clump of grass, but we've already got used to these unpredictable trajectories. The only thing that really gets in the way is the large tree stump in the middle of the meadow. When we play, someone always stumbles over it or the ball bounces off it and rolls off into the undergrowth by the yard. My older brother swears angrily at the stump. The undergrowth is full of thorns, burdocks, rosehip and bramble, almost up to your belly button.

Our neighbour Nikola scowls at us if he hears my brother cursing. Mother says he drinks too, you can tell by his eyes. They're dark, almost black, just like our father's were.

My brother usually goes into the tall grass for the ball because he's the tallest. The grass comes up to his hips, he wades through it slowly as if treading deep water. The bramble thorns are so sharp that they often rip our clothes, so we get smacked when Mother calls us in for supper.

*

The ball is like a head. It is calculating, despite being empty, not counting the gas molecules pumped into it. If we believe there is perfection in a sphere, we can conclude that the ball is more perfect than a head. Even the Earth is actually elliptical, flattened at the poles.

Father avoided us while he was alive.

Sometimes I think he was just a noun to describe a false function within the organism of our family. Like a

phantom limb, the fact that we would sometimes get the feeling of his love for us was not really love, it was our need to be given what we never had.

*

Grandma would say, while she was still alive, that it was all because of the war. The disease that remained even after it seemed everything was over, it was worse than the war itself, because it ate at you quietly, like a tumour. That was what kept father up at night, what made him go up to the attic to hang himself, what unleashed his slaps across our faces. Steeped in the disease were all the ugly words, like whore, but no one actually ever meant them. Not grandpa, not dad. It was because of the disease that we heard Nikola ransacking his weekend house by night. The cries of his blond son that we imagined, though we never heard them.

Perhaps the army could have been anticipated by the gusty wind that baited the snouts of the village dogs, making them bark for hours before the first shot entered the wooden body of the cherry tree next to the house at the edge of the village.

A bullet of irrepressible force. The air before it went rigid, compressed into the crack of its mortal embrace.

The old cherry tree had a trunk that had stored up decades of people's lives, so its firmness absorbed the bullet.

But one lone cherry tree cannot stop a war from starting.

*

It is impossible to breathe quietly under a brandy barrel. The wood is solid, smooth to the touch.

Grandma would say how she could hear the flames lick the house, the loud death devouring everything around it.

A neighbour from the Serb village found them. Grandpa shit his pants when he saw him, but the neighbour placed the barrel back over them. For two days, they lay on the earth, the oakwood separating them from dying.

*

They chopped off Nikola's brother's head on the tree stump when the war started.

The road that passes through the Serb village to

reach ours is not only shorter by half, but also less damaged than the one going through the Croat village. Nikola always comes from the Serb side. He recently started driving a new car. Mother likes to say that it's only because Iva's afraid that he doesn't curse him, but he can curse her because she's a woman and alone. She often goes to the Serb village. Has coffee, buys cheese and eggs. In the autumn, the neighbouring Serbs help her bring in firewood from the forest and break up the soil in the garden, mow the grass as well if needed. At such times, neighbour Iva shuts himself up in his house and pulls down all the blinds.

*

The head lies lifelessly for a few minutes, as if ripped off a doll. The eyes are tiny, drawn on. No blood or flesh, just soft plastic sprouting blond locks. When it finally touches my fingers, the plastic I encounter gives me momentary consolation. My Ken, it's just my Ken, bought in the vast second-hand market, my Ken, pulled out of a pile of old toys, my Ken, with bite marks on his hands. I commiserated with whoever bit his fingers, I felt while holding him that they gnawed at the plastic as fear gnawed at them, maybe in moments similar to those when I was able to tell by father's stumbling gait that he was drunk.

Sometimes I open my eyes in the dark, breathing in the stale odour of brandy that has saturated the wood. There is no grandma or grandpa. I'm sitting in a puddle of my own urine. Outside it's just as grandma described. The noise drowns out reason.

My rapid breathing fills the barrel with sticky fear. I dare not move. Just as I did not move when father's fists drew near. The body turns blue, bones and love crackling together, like wood on a fire.

I am always a step short, a step short of returning the head to the body. A step short of fighting back.

*

I'm afraid of empty space. When I close my eyes, before going to sleep, I often find myself trying to dispel the feeling that I'm the smallest thing in the world and that a vast nothing is hitting against me so hard that I never want to close my eyes again.

I sometimes walk to the edge of the village just to touch the cherry tree. Its brittle, dry arms sapped from trying to fight transience. It too is diseased, hasn't borne fruit in years.

I touch the cherry tree as if it were my mother, I caress the body that I know has endured as much as it could bear, I whisper sweetly and imagine finally being hugged in return.

4th Biber Contest

Since the COVID-19 pandemic disrupted our plans to promote the *Biber 03* collection, as well as most of our other activities, we decided to open the 4th *Biber* Contest earlier than was planned. It had been planned for early 2021, but we launched it already in April 2020. There are two reasons for this: one is that *Biber* is one of only a few of our activities that we can do completely online, maintaining physical distance and lockdown measures, and the other is that we wanted

to give people the opportunity to write while they were isolating during the pandemic.

The jury of the 4th Biber Contest will be made up of **Tatjana Gromača**, **Anton Berishaj** and **Selvedin Avdić**. The Contest will be open until 1 December 2020. The winners will be announced at the end of April 2021, and the *Biber 04* collection will be published by the end of that year.

Biber in English

By the end of this year, we plan to publish a short story collection in English. The collection will feature 41 stories selected from the three previously published *Biber* collections. We want to support these activist authors and contribute to their affirmation, as

well as contributing to the promotion and translation of contemporary literature from the region. Though we had been thinking about this idea for a while, the COVID-19 pandemic made us develop it further and put it into action.

Handbook “Nonviolence!” in Macedonian and Albanian

Our handbook ***Nonviolence! Peacebuilding Training Handbook*** by **Ivana Franović** and **Nenad Vukosavljević**, first published at the end of 2018, is now available in Albanian and Macedonian translation.

We translated the handbook in cooperation with **Peace Action** from Prilep/Macedonia and under the watchful eye of **Luan Imeri**.

The Albanian translation of the handbook is titled **Padhunshmëria! Doracak trajnimesh për ndërtimin e paqes**. It was edited by **Luan Imeri** and translated by **Safet Ballazhi**.

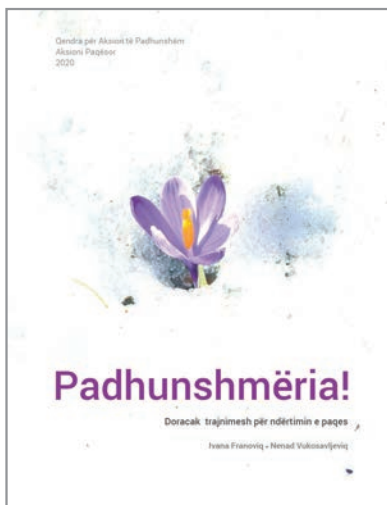
The Macedonian translation of the handbook is titled **Ненасилство!. Прирачник за тренинг за градење мир**. It was edited by **Ana Bitoljanu** and translated by **Renata Dedova**.

Both translations can be downloaded from our

website in PDF format, while, hopefully, after the end of the COVID-19 pandemic, printed editions will be available in both our offices, as well as in the premises of the Peace Action in Prilep and Tetovo, Northern Macedonia.

The handbooks provide suggestions for workshops and exercises about a whole range of topics closely related to peacebuilding: nonviolent communication, cooperation and teamwork; perception, violence, prejudice and discrimination; identity, national identity and diversity; understanding conflict; gender equality; dealing with the past; peacebuilding; reconciliation; nonviolence and nonviolent action.

This publication aims to put forward ideas that advocate nonviolence and peacebuilding, and present how we understand terms such as conflict, violence,



nonviolence, reconciliation, peacebuilding, dealing with the past. It also brings together a whole range of difficulties we have faced in our work and the more successful responses we have used.

The handbook is both a tool and an example of how we can stand up to violence with nonviolence. Here, we primarily mean peace education, which is why we believe the handbook will be most useful to people working in education, formal and non-formal, as well as all those working to achieve change in the societies where they live and struggle.

We hope that this handbook will provide support and assistance, that it will serve as a tool and a shield, that it will be the root and the water to all of you brave enough to foster the values of nonviolence and nonviolent struggle, constantly watering and nurturing, while protecting others and yourselves, in order to create the conditions for a better outlook and a freer future for us all.

“Reconciliation?!” Handbook in Albanian

The translation into Albanian of our **Handbook for Dealing with the Past through Trainings and Workshops – Reconciliation?!** has come out in print.

The publisher of the publication titled **PAJTIMI?! Doracak për punë me ballafaqimin me të kaluarën përmes trajnimeve dhe punëtorive** for North Macedonia is **Peace Action, Prilep – Tetovo**.

It was translated by **Ardian Saliu** and proof-read by **Rexhep Rexhepi**.

People from Macedonia who have already been using the Handbook in BCS and Macedonian expressed their wish and need for it to also be available in Albanian. This Handbook is a valuable tool for them in their work on dealing with the past and peacebuilding. We believe this translation will also be useful to others working in education, both formal and informal, primarily with adults and young people, and especially for those working towards social change in Macedonia, Kosovo and Albania.

The handbook features suggestions for workshops and exercises on a host of topics related to: understanding our contexts, dealing with the past, peacebuilding, violence, prejudice and discrimination, identity and diversity, understanding, nonviolence and peace activism, nonviolent action, etc.

The publication in PDF format is [available for free download](#) from our site.

The printed editions of the Handbook in Albanian and Macedonian will be available in both our offices after the COVID-19 pandemic is over.

We hope the handbook will prove to be a useful tool and provide support and assistance to all of you brave enough to be the change you want to see in the world and in our societies.



Sites of Memory about the Crimes of the Junta in Argentina

We are glad to announce our new publication *“Whatever it may cost me, I want a better country for my children.” Sites of Memory about the Crimes of the Junta in Argentina* is now available on our site in [PDF format](#).

From 24 to 26 June, an international conference was held in Buenos Aires titled: “The Presence of the Past, Urgencies of the Present: The Authoritarian and Totalitarian Past and the Challenges of Contemporary



Democracies”. The conference was organised by two organisations: [Centro Internacional para la Promoción de los Derechos Humanos](#) (CIPDH-UNESCO) from Buenos Aires and [Bundesstiftung zur Aufarbeitung der SED-Diktatur](#) from Berlin.

Nenad Vukosavljević and Ivana Franović took part at this conference and used the opportunity to visit several memory sites about crimes of the junta. They found this experience very valuable and decided to prepare a publication about these visits.

Acknowledgements

We would like to thank Maria Eleonora Cristina, Mariana Tello Weiss and Daniel Rafecas for their time, patience and everything they showed us and told us about. We have learned a lot. Also, a big thank you to Anna Kaminsky and the Bundesstiftung zur Aufarbeitung der SED Diktatur. Anna selflessly works to promote international exchanges and bring together people working on memory to exchange experiences and work through professional dilemmas.

These four people probably have no idea how much inspiration and support they provided for us to persevere. A heartfelt thank you.

“Nothing but misery”

An informal group of activists, with the support of CNA, so far has marked more than 80 unmarked sites of suffering. This text by Nenad Vukosavljević, presents reflections on actions to mark unmarked sites of suffering in Bosnia and Herzegovina related to the war period from 1991 to 1995: how we arrived at the idea to mark unmarked sites of suffering in Bosnia and Herzegovina, how the process developed, the difficulties we encountered and the future prospects for developing these actions. The text is the result of individual interviews with members of the ONMS Team conducted in the summer of 2019.

The text is available on our website in [PDF format](#).

Numerous sites of massacres, suffering and torture across BiH are unmarked because local authorities oppose having signs at sites of suffering where the victims were people who do not belong to the majority in the municipality. With rare and notable exceptions, selective empathy only for victims from one’s own people is a common trait among all the constitutive peoples in BiH (Bosniaks, Serbs, Croats). Readily pointing out individual examples of multiethnicity among members of armed forces in BiH does not change this core issue, instead, it seeks to create an illusion that the war was not ethnically motivated.



exchange, cooperation, networking

Centre for Nonviolent Action among the Winners of the Krunoslav Sukić Award

The Centre for Nonviolent Action was among the Winners of the 2019 Krunoslav Sukić Award. The 2019 Krunoslav Sukić Award is given in recognition of promoting peacebuilding, nonviolence and human rights. In the words of the Award Committee, the Centre for Nonviolent Action was recognised for its “long standing nonviolence activities aimed at engaging individuals, special groups and veterans from all sides of the war in peace education, dialogue, cooperation and commemorations that are opening up and becoming emancipatory spaces of an inclusive culture of memory that leads to reconciliation.”

“This is the first award of this kind we have received. Thank you. It was unexpected. We at the Centre for Nonviolent Action do not meet the basic criteria, so we weren’t even hoping for the award. For one thing, we do not operate in Croatia. Though we have offices in both Sarajevo and Belgrade, we do not operate either in BiH or in Serbia or in Kosovo or Macedonia or Montenegro. We operate across borders, always aiming to overcome them and go beyond them: both the physical borders, and especially the ones in our heads. As a result, we often end up belonging nowhere, but also belonging everywhere. I think this is one of the reasons why we have been quite successful in

building trust with very diverse people, though this is often enough an uphill process. It is also how we came to work with war veterans: defenders and fighters.

I would like to thank the Centre for Peace in Osijek and the Award Committee. A special thanks to the participants in our programmes who made us feel we belonged somewhere after all and many of whom built what we do with us. We also owe a debt of gratitude to those who took risks in working with us, most of all the war veterans who stepped out of their comfort zones and were sometimes labelled as traitors. We thank them for their courage to be human, above all.

Though we don’t put much stock in statebuilding, I must admit it is a special honour to receive recognition for our peacebuilding work from a different country. That tells me we are on the right path. And that we are not alone,” said Ivana Franović from the Centre for Nonviolent Action at the awards ceremony.

The official awards ceremony was held on 12 December 2019 at the Croatian National Theatre in Osijek.

For more on Krunoslav Sukić and the award that bears his name, see on website krunoslav-sukic.centar-za-mir.hr

We joined White Armband Day and attended commemorations in Vitez and Mostar

The outbreak of the Covid-19 pandemic affected our work in the first half of 2020 when we had to cancel planned activities and try to find new ways of working and carrying out our activities. However, when in mid-May most countries of the former Yugoslavia relaxed lockdown measures, we continued our activities, while abiding by the relevant recommendations regarding the pandemic.

At the end of May, we joined the initiative of

friends from Prijedor gathered around “Jer me se tiče” and in Sarajevo we joined activists who organised White Armband Day on 31 May. Families of victims from Prijedor and activists have been marking 31 May as a day of memory marking the start of persecution of non-Serbs in this city, while in Prijedor itself, a commemoration is organised for 102 killed children.

One of the main messages of this year’s White Armband Day was a call on local authorities in Prijedor

to allow a monument to killed children to be built in the city centre. At the same time, in solidarity with all victims, activists called on local authorities elsewhere to approve monuments and give all victims the right to be remembered.

Together with citizens of Sarajevo gathered on Eiffel Bridge on 31 May this year, we sent a message of solidarity with activists and victims in Prijedor and with all other victims that face different obstructions to marking the suffering of their loved ones. Together with activists from Prijedor, we opted for this action in order to, among other things, highlight the unacceptability of various misuses of White Armband Day that we had witnessed in Sarajevo in the past. White Armband Day, the way it is marked in Prijedor itself, remains one of the few commemorations that call on all people of good will to join forces in fighting for the rights of all victims, where the victims are the only focus, and various attempts to politicise these events have been successfully avoided.

Another instance where children were the victims in the past war in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which is, unfortunately, less well-known took place in Vitez. On

10 June, we attended the commemoration at Osmica in Vitez, where in 1993 a shell fired from the position of the Army of BiH killed eight children. It was a touching and very communal commemoration attended by numerous residents of Vitez, especially the youth. The monument is located in a yard between the houses where the parents and relatives of the killed children still live today. The commemoration itself is organised by the families of the killed children. No politicians are invited to speak and apart from a mass, there are no other activities common to commemorative practice in BiH and the region.

Talking with the survivors of the shelling and members of the families of the killed children, we learned about their long-standing struggle to ensure dignified memory of their loved ones, a struggle to avoid any politicisation, the fact that those responsible have not been prosecuted to this day... We were warmly welcomed by all and the conversations we had with different people in Vitez once again showed how important these encounters are, how important it is to respect all victims and honour all victims in order to foster mutual understanding.



We feel duty bound to publicly thank the Garić and Grebenar families, families that lost four children on that tragic day, for their warm welcome, caring approach and words of encouragement. The pain these families feel cannot be lightened, but we are grateful for their generosity in allowing us to empathise with their pain. Within those few hours, we felt what we essentially are: that we are all together one big family and that each loss of life causes infinite pain even 27 years later. Familiarity with the context and current developments is crucial for rebuilding trust among people and communities. We were glad of the opportunity to meet and get to know young and courageous politicians, religious officials, reporters... We hope we will be able to come back to Vitez and pay our respects to the victims at Osmica in the years to come, with more people.

The crime at Uborak and Sutina near Mostar is another unpunished crime in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Speaking with Adnin Hasić during our June visit to Mostar, we found out about the difficult struggle to ensure prosecution of the perpetrators and the right to memory for loved ones killed at these sites. Hasić leads the Association of Families of Victims killed at Uborak and Sutina. In 1992, when he was an eleven-year-old boy, his father and mother were killed with another 114 Bosniak and Croat civilians.

Sutina and Uborak are notable as the first mass grave sites that were exhumed. Though the bodies

were exhumed in June and August 1992, even all these years later, no one has been held responsible for these crimes. The warranted sense of injustice is strongest among the families of victims, but no one who hears the story of this crime can remain indifferent. It was important to see that the association of families of victims organising the commemoration takes into account all the people who want to come and pay their respects to the victims, making sure everyone feels welcome. Everyone was truly welcomed, including representatives of all three religious communities, people from the political scene in Mostar and Herzegovina, associations of veterans from the Army of BiH and HVO...

We wanted to attend this commemoration this year with a larger group of war veterans and peace activists, because we feel it is important to honour the victims of one of the gravest crimes in Herzegovina. If the measures imposed by the response to the pandemic allow, we plan to organise a visit by the group to sites of suffering in Mostar, something we have been preparing for a while now.

We are also looking forward to continuing our other planned activities for the rest of the year, including a mixed group of veterans attending commemorations in Briševo and Zecovi near Prijedor and at Korićanske stijene, a veterans' visit to Mostar, Basic Training in Peacebuilding, etc.



thoughts

People, not territories! New Approaches Needed in the Western Balkans*

Nenad Vukosavljević

Reconciliation and durable peace between Kosovo and Serbia currently lack the political will of all parties. To support peacebuilding efforts in the region the EU and Germany should take a decisive stance on two issues: focus peace talks on people, not on border changes, and support democracy, rather than tolerate authoritarian tendencies in the name of stability.

Truth about the war in Kosovo is incomplete, blind spots remain from the war, the pre-war and the post-war period. Justice delivered through any legal system is even more incomplete, while dissatisfaction and anger on both sides are enormous. Reparations are scarce, and moreover, the loss and damage inflicted during the war is irreparable. One could conclude that without achieving these goals, reconciliation – i.e. a situation in which recurrence would be unthinkable – is impossible to reach. But, to look at it from another angle, this dilemma boils down to committing to the process of reconciliation and doing whatever can be done to prevent violence from recurring, or to find a good excuse why doing so is impossible. However, though this will demand power and courage, (self-) reflection, communication, thorough inquiry, persistence and patience, there is no such thing as impossible.

It is important for us in the Balkans to understand that we are not the first ones to deal with this huge task, that others have gone the paths before us and shed light for us to cautiously step forward. The German government, for instance, has just passed a new “[Interministerial Strategy to Support “Dealing with the Past and Reconciliation \(Transitional Justice\)”](#)” which outlines many excellent recommendations, including the principle of local ownership.

Trading alleged stability for peace is not sustainable

Implementing some of the principles means facing tough challenges in different contexts and enduring complex circumstances which sometimes means accepting unwanted side effects. That is how I read German support from previous years that was granted to the Serbian government: hoping to maintain stability and achieve a peace-deal between Kosovo and [Serbia](#), undemocratic and authoritarian tendencies were tolerated for years. The result of this is the further erosion of judiciary independence, widespread corruption, government control of main media outlets, using regime propaganda; slander of opponents, physical violence and mounting threats. At the same time, the peace deal with Kosovo is as distant as ever.

Principles of supporting dealing with the past and reconciliation are less explicit about peace-degradation actions. Trading alleged stability for ‘peace’ by tolerating undemocratic rule and supporting a peace deal which neglects long-term reconciliation goals are examples of decisions that may end up degrading peace rather than promoting it. Germany should be aware of these adverse effects that could undermine the general aim.

Any peace deal must focus on people, not on border changes

What is the nature of the peace deal that the Serbian and Kosovar Presidents have been negotiating since 2011?

It is about changing borders – the focus is on territories, not people. Local and international opponents to such an approach, including the German

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government, do so in the name of “border protection”, which again reinforces the importance of territories, not people. Their criticism does not target the focus on borders, but rather the application of it. Maintaining borders would also mean maintaining segregation – and segregation is not the solution. The issue of borders would be rendered unimportant if people-to-people relationships were transformed.

A sustainable solution may be possible through a step-by-step approach: grass-root dialogue, trust-building, examples of cooperation, mid-level acceptance of new relationships, top-level dialogue, trust-building, cooperation and respect could lead to a transformed conflict. However, this would take a long time, and do we have that much time? Yes and no. How much time did we spend on a results-oriented, “get a peace deal and figure out the rest later”-approach?

Populists still use one-sided narratives of the past

Germany is perceived in the Western Balkans as a country of hope, as one of the leading EU countries, probably most influential in the region. In the eyes of local people Germany is synonymous with the EU and the EU represents the dream of a better life, a cause worth sacrifice. It is primarily, but not only, a higher living standard which attracts ordinary citizens to the EU. It is perceived as a functional society based on the rule of law which provides a sense of security for its citizens and based on values of respect, solidarity and civil liberties. This hope for a better life demands (self-) discipline as it prescribes a necessary overhaul for our ill and corrupt state systems, which is no doubt beneficial for our society in the Western Balkans. What many citizens, and particularly the old-school authoritarian and nationalistic political elites, perceive as a bitter pill to swallow, are the necessary measures towards reconciliation and good-neighbourly relationships between Kosovo and Serbia required for EU accession. Political **populists** struggle with these measures because they force them to abort their practice of manipulation, using old tropes of political enemies to swing public opinion in their favour. For them, the dominant one-sided narratives of the past are their achievements and these narratives demonize the other while painting a portrait of collective self-victimhood. Such dealing with the past is detrimental,

not only in regard to neighbourly relationships, but also regarding domestic democratic culture. Therefore, the autocrats do not need much excuse to conclude that reconciliation with ‘them – the others’ is impossible, because ‘obviously, they hate us’.

The EU should not go back on its promises regarding accession negotiations

When the attraction power of the EU declines, the destructive power within our societies grows and the populist voices become louder. The attraction of the EU exists only as long as there is a detectable progress in the EU accession or at least a clear and fair explanation for a stall. Ordinary citizens perceive EU accession as stepping towards a better life. Making concessions along the route is therefore fair, as long as one strives towards the goal. However, when the goal line of EU accession is arbitrarily removed or if new barriers are set up along the way, the process begins to feel unfair. This turns the perception of the EU as a partner into an unpredictable, unreliable and selfish giant. The decision of the EU to dismiss the proposal to start accession negotiations with Albania and North Macedonia has caused great disappointment as it is considered random and unfair. This disappointment can lead to desperate measures.

Political obstruction is part of the political process: it will happen within the EU, causing decisions contrary to proclaimed principles. It will also happen within the region, through authoritarian moves that create setbacks in regard to the adoption of EU standards in anti-corruption measures, democratic principles or environmental protection. People in the Western Balkans do not expect the EU to be enthusiastic about us joining the union. We are aware that all actors learned to play the role of wanting EU accession to happen. Despite all of this, we have learned in the Balkans not to despair – and still hope for accession.

Germany should support local capacity building on dialogue

In spite of these complications, what can and should Germany do to support reconciliation?

It can remain predictable, reliable, persistent and patient, and invest more into trustworthiness. When

it comes to defending democratic principles, our societies can only benefit from Germany's dedication. Devotion to freedom is contagious.

On a local level, German support in the following three areas will be crucial:

- Increase capacity development for dialogue, cooperation and cross-border exchange in the following fields: civic engagement, peacebuilding, human rights, democratization, ecology, culture, academia (especially historians), youth, politics – in this order of priorities;
- Aid political democratic forces;
- Incentivize inclusive, multi-perspective remembrance culture as a means to establish an interpretation of the past which will not induce the repetition of hatred and violence.

Promoting peace requires supporting democratic principles

Concerning the reconciliation between Kosovo and Serbia, the following policy changes should be implemented – both by local and international actors:

- Dismiss an approach which advocates the “solution” designed to be the continuation of cold war and coexistence of mutually racist narratives (between Serbs and Albanians, but also to an extent Macedonians – Albanians).
- The improvement of the quality of relationship between residents of Western Balkan countries should be addressed, instead of territorial claims.
- Accept and support a long-term, bottom-up

process. In order to achieve a sustainable and publicly supported agreement, one should focus on changing the political atmosphere and combating degradation to peace caused by **hate-speech** fueled inter alia by governments.

- Criticize and reject two-faced policy by Serbia and Kosovo government officials who provide sweet talk for EU and propagate hate speech internally.
- Support cross-border activities between actors/groups/institutions from societies who were at war and perceive one another as hostile.
- Strongly defend democratic principles, such as independent and free media (including public broadcasting service), not only marginalized and often discredited free media outlets).
- Support cross-border cooperation which is not only bilateral, but regional, especially the triangles formed by Bosnia and Herzegovina-Croatia-Serbia with Serbia-Kosovo-Macedonia, following a pattern of enemy-inclusion.
- Strongly condemn symptoms of a hijacked state: stop tolerating corruption, election manipulation, curbing of media liberties, glorification of war-criminals, etc. Although it may appear less important, all of this erodes the democratic capacity, fuels populism, shrinks space for alternatives and reduces the chances of overcoming the burdens of the past. It is counterproductive to trade a hijacked state for a “peace-deal”. Such a peace deal will not survive the test of time.



political and social contexts
in which we live

Croatia: A Step Forward

Every adult person knows there is no magic wand and that things will not change by saying “abracadabra” and waving a wooden fairy tale artefact about. Now that we’ve established that wand waving should be left to Cinderella’s fairy godmother and Harry Potter in his school of witchcraft and wizardry, we can safely assume that the events of 2020 will not bring about a miracle, but they are certainly worthy of recording. There has been a small but significant step forward. Namely, after years of wallowing in the mud of nationalism that irrepressibly spews forth hatred, we should take note of the month of August this year. That month, something unfortunately unprecedented, at least when it comes to the actions of high-level politicians, happened in Croatia, shifting us at least a bit away from where we were being kept by the burden of wars that had ended as many as 25 years ago.

Here’s what it was: first on 5 August, on the 25th anniversary of the military action “Storm”, Boris Milošević, the new Deputy Prime Minister from the Independent Democratic Serb Party (SDSS), arrived in Knin where the anniversary is marked each year. Up until that day, no high-level representative of the Serb national minority had ever attending the marking of the “Storm” anniversary, which had usually been an opportunity to express the basest nationalist passions.

“I want the spiral of hatred to stop so that the horrors of war are never repeated. Our society is ready for us to listen to each other and respect each other whatever our nationality,” was the clear message sent from Knin by Milošević, who added that on the anniversary of the “Storm” he had heard messages of peace that made him understand his presence in Knin as an investment for a better future in the region.

Milošević’s decision to attend was greeted with hostility in Serbia and with the usual refrain we commonly hear in the region, he was proclaimed to be a disgrace to the Serb people and a traitor, with the campaign to condemn him spearheaded by Serbian government-controlled “media”.

Three weeks later, on 25 August, something else unusual for Croatia happened, and it had been carefully planned together with the previous event. Namely, the

commemoration to Serb civilians killed in the wake of action “Storm” in the village of Grubori in the Knin area was attended by the Croatian minister for veterans Tomo Medved who paid his respects to the victims. The village has actually been wiped off the map, but it had been found on 25 August 1995 by members of the Lučko anti-terrorist unit who were clearing the area and decided to clear Grubori of all life and burn down almost all the houses in the village. To this day, families of the elderly people killed in the village are still waiting for justice and the rest of us are forced to breathe the same air as the monsters responsible for this crime.

“Croatia mourns all those killed and our duty is to show piety towards the victims,” were the words spoken in Grubori by Medved, a member of the right-wing current within the ruling HDZ, and his message is all the more significant because of the constant denial of the crimes and avoidance of the “dark side of victory” in Croatia since the war. There is still a belief here that “those attacked in war cannot have committed crimes” and that the Croatian Army has an “unsullied reputation”, so when the minister for veterans comes to the site of a crime and admits that the Croatian Army killed innocent civilians, that sends a clear message, builds a culture of peace and in some way stands for an official recognition of Serb victims in the past war. How Croatia has been treating victims belonging to “others” can be surmised from the fact that an official investigation into the crime committed in Grubori was launched only in 2001 and even then only after international institutions kept inquiring about this case.

Croatian president Zoran Milanović also came to Grubori with Medved, and so did, once again, Boris Milošević, who used this opportunity to send the following message: “It is time to put an end to hatred so it is not transferred to new generations and so that our children do not grow up with prejudice against others. This is the only way to build a better Croatia and it is this Government’s policy.”

And how much strength and will was needed for Milošević and Medved to take this step becomes

clear from their personal tragedies. A few days before going to Knin, Milošević disclosed his distressing family story that had been previously unknown to the public. Namely, at the time of the “Storm”, Milošević was in his home town of Šibenik and after the military action he went together with his father, who had been mobilised into the Croatian army, to see his grandmother, his father’s mother, who lived in an area liberated in operation “Storm”. A month later, his grandmother was found murdered, and the killer was found out only because he boasted of his crime, thinking, as many monsters were likely to think at the time, that murdering Serbs was not something they would ever have to answer for. On the other side, minister Medved was wounded three times in the war and his brother Milan was killed in operation Storm. Given all this, it should come as no surprise that news of Milošević’s plans to go to Knin and Medved’s to go to Grubori in the weeks surrounding these events were the most important political topic of the summer.

This in no way rids Croatia of its wartime legacy, but at least in this month it could have seemed to someone looking from outside that there were no more “our” and “their” victims. And there were more such instances this summer. Milanović and Slovenian president Borut Pahor, warning of the “banality of evil”, attended the 77th anniversary of the liberation of the Kampor concentration camp on the island of Rab where many Croat and Slovenian anti-fascists had been interned during the Second World War. More than 15,000 people passed through Kampor and according to some estimates almost 4,000 of them died there. This was the first time that the anniversary of the camp’s liberation was attended by both the Croatian and Slovenian presidents who said that this place is a reminder of “man’s ability to treat his fellow man with inhumanity”. Around the same time, Prime Minister Andrej Plenković visited the notorious Goli otok to mark the European Day of Remembrance for Victims of Totalitarian and Authoritarian Regimes, and the leader of the Alliance of Josip Broz Tito Societies Jovan Vajnović showed his readiness to join in the remembrance, characterising Goli otok as a big stain on the socialist system. At the end of September, Plenković is supposed to pay his respects to Serb civilians killed in the village of Varivode near Šibenik.

As much as “high politics” likes to pretend it does not sway public perception, this could not be further from the truth, and we can often see it in the time of elections when nationalist options resort to their tried and tested mechanism that quickly turns any suitable trifle into a real little foreign policy war that is then joined by prime ministers, presidents, ministers... In Croatia, such antics mostly involve Serbia and Slovenia, not so much Bosnia and Herzegovina.

This year’s parliamentary election results actually enabled the actions of Milošević and Medved because they allowed HDZ to form the Government with the support of HNS, the Reformists and representatives of national minorities. Left out of the post-election calculations, like fish on dry land, were the extreme right political options such as the Homeland Movement whose prominent actors include precisely those same instigators that HDZ had kept close for years, allowing them to normalise hate speech in parliament. They, for example, refused to come to Knin together with official Serb representatives, saying that they would not participate in the “self-promotion of the Croat-Serb trading coalition”. Their character was further illustrated by a case from late July. This was when member of parliament Anja Šimpraga from SDSS made a deeply impactful speech that could not help but touch every human heart and related how as an eight-year-old girl she survived the exodus following operation Storm. After her touching speech, an MP from the Homeland Movement, Karolina Vidović Krišto, who had been kept on as a “reporter” at HRT despite numerous scandalous mistakes before embarking on her political career, practically ran to her seat. This rising star of the Croatian right wing ran in order to request a reply in which she warned that Šimpraga had used in her account the “hateful” words “tačno” and “august” that are not part of standard Croatian. Evidently, this is the only thing that Vidović Krišto heard in the touching speech.

With so many things revolving around Knin, we would be remiss not to mention a very important book aimed at reconciliation in a way that is rarely seen in this region. And it is a crying shame that it will not end up in many hands. Its authors are Slaven Rašković and Igor Čoko, two residents of Knin who at age 11 and 20, respectively, ended up in Serbia as refugees after

operation Storm. Rašković soon returned to Croatia, while Čoko settled in Belgrade. Their book is called *A Life in Limbo: Book of Scars* and it starts with a poignant statement spoken by a citizen of Knin: “The only thing that has grown in Knin in the past 25 years is the city cemetery.” Rašković’s words and Čoko’s brilliant photographs of post-war Knin convey in documentary style everything that happened in Knin on the eve of the war, during the war and in the aftermath of operation Storm. The book is free of all nationalist narratives, but is by no means unemotional. Because of everything it contains, tracing the roiling hatred – from the ill treatment and harassment of Croats on the eve of the war to their subsequent expulsion, and to the crimes Croats committed after operation Storm because revenge, as Rašković writes, is served hot in Knin – it is almost certain that because it does not pander to nationalist passions, this book will not be liked by either “real Croats” or “real Serbs”.

The limited space of this article will not allow us to go into more detail about some other dark phenomena that have become more pronounced in Croatia in the

past year than ever before and that can be seen on the facades of many a Croatian town where swastikas multiply next to the Ustasha “U” symbol with a cross, along with the Ustasha version of Sieg Heil, while on social networks blood drips from canines and “media” that use this war-mongering rhetoric have entered the mainstream, and the Croatian Wikipedia is openly sympathetic to fascism and the Ustasha legacy as it undertakes historical revisionism. We see sports fans spreading nationalist hatred, such as the case of the Zagreb Kustošija Football Club where “fans” of Dinamo celebrated the completion of a mural dedicated to their club by shouting “Kill Serbs”, waving an HOS flag and holding up a sign that read “We’ll fuck Serb women and children”.

There is no magic wand and all stakeholders in Croatian society have a lot more work to do in building a better and more tame society. We can only hope that the positive examples from this summer will bring forth at least some changes.

Ivor Fuka

Bosnia and Herzegovina: Does anyone get what’s going on here?

Another year is behind us where we registered, or rather felt on our own skin, the numerous scandals and crises emblematic of the lack of accountability among politicians that are not working in the service of citizens but in their own interests and promoting their parties’ programmes. Mind you, not the programmes promised in election campaigns, but programmes to feed the existing megalomaniacal administrative apparatus and retain existing positions of power.

A quarter century after the war and more than three decades spent in a seemingly endless transition, Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) is still waiting, suffering, sighing under the weight of piled-up problems and lack of progress, facing extinction as its young people leave in droves. Even those well-situated, families that are not in a materially precarious position, people who have acquired degrees and status in their community,

they too are leaving. They’re tired of the waiting, lies and deceit. They don’t want to fit into a society based on the principles of political affiliation and nepotism. 2019 saw record emigration and, perhaps more crucially, fears that conflicts could escalate to the point of casting the country back into the abyss of war have been constantly present in BiH throughout the post war period, albeit with varying intensity. Lately, though, those fears are felt perhaps more strongly than ever before.

The dilemma remains: As citizens of this country, are we facing a real problem, are we actually exposed to danger, or are we living in a constant matrix of the ruling political elites who use illusionist tricks to secure their positions and benefits.

This is entirely possible in a country where the justice system is thoroughly corrupt, does not fight

crime and corruption but is used for settling political accounts, where the highest political officials protect their subordinates even in cases of blatant wrongdoing, in a country whose divided society lacks the capacity to resolutely stand up against everything that makes it an undesirable place to live.

So, politics

We had moments that gave us hope that agreement was possible, such as when the Annual National Plan (ANP) was sent to Brussels, the first annual reform programme to be finally agreed on in Sarajevo by all members of the tripartite Presidency of BiH – Milorad Dodik, Željko Komšić, and Šefik Džaferović. Alas, the ink wasn't even dry on the document when its signatories started quibbling over whether it had assured BiH's path to NATO membership or merely determined its position on the status and extent of cooperation with the Alliance. For three months, we watched the three of them in the media interpreting and defending their positions and competing over who tricked whom. Countless special shows with political and legal experts weighed in on the subject, but then this "issue of all issues" seemed to drop into silence and oblivion.

The rest of our political reality was taken up by Member of the Presidency of BiH Mr Dodik continuing to present his views on the impossibility of BiH functioning as a state and how the time will come for Republika Srpska (RS) to declare its independence. To this, the other two members of the presidency, Komšić and Džaferović, responded by reiterating that these were threats to the constitutiveness and constitutionality of BiH. They called for laws and the BiH Constitution to be upheld, an intervention by the Office of the High Representative (OHR), the international community, and the Quint countries (the five most influential Western countries. US, UK, Italy, France, Germany), which then issued statements calling for rule of law as a key element, where the Constitutional Court is the central institution, and pointing out that undermining the territorial integrity of Bosnia and Herzegovina was very damaging for its development and approximation to the European Union. On and on it went. From time to time, the leader of SDA, the strongest Bosniak party, Bakir Izetbegović would make a public appearance to use pointed rhetoric directed at Dodik and express his

readiness to defend the independence and integrity of BiH at all costs. Dodik would then accuse SDA of failing to uphold the Dayton Agreement and of adopting policies to centralise the state, which led to the usual state of perpetuum mobile of the past who knows how many years.

Turning to the entity level, RS is under the sovereign rule of the Alliance of Independent Social Democrats (SNSD) led by Dodik. Dodik has managed to completely subdue even the little opposition there is in RS by introducing to the RS National Assembly issues of vulnerability of RS institutions, the danger of losing competences at the entity level, the issue of foreign judges in the Constitutional Court of BiH working against the interests of Serbs and other issues presented as vital for the survival of RS. He played the winning card of higher national interest. And in return, he received the full support of the highest constitutional and legislative body in RS. Corruption, economic crime, poverty and other problems will never have their turn in the Assembly.

In the Federation of BiH, the Croat Democratic Community (HDZ) and the Party of Democratic Action (SDA) cannot seem to find a solution for their problems. Parties with a Croat prefix have made the functionality of institutions in the Federation of BiH conditional on changing the election law and have supported SNSD's demand for removing foreign judges. The forming of executive government has been blocked for over a year and a half, the Federation has had a caretaker government since 2018, and it was only in June this year that SDA and HDZ leaders signed a political agreement including a model Election Law to be applied at the local elections in Mostar. Finally, some good news for the citizens of Mostar who last voted in local elections back in 2012.

Let me mention here that local elections will be held in BiH on 15 November, except in Mostar where they will be held on 20 December. The initially planned date of the elections was 4 October, but it had to be moved due to delays in adopting the budget. In the meantime, political parties accused each other of obstructing the budget adoption procedure in order to delay the elections as much as possible.

One day maybe even the Second World War will be in the past in BiH

The current state of Bosnian-Herzegovinian society was also demonstrated by the mass for “Bleiburg victims” held in Sarajevo on 16 June 2020. For the past 30 years, this mass had traditionally been held at the Bleiburg field in Austria where the Partisans killed some tens of thousands of the *ustaša*, *domobran* and other Nazi collaborators from the puppet Independent State of Croatia (NDH), but also the civilians that were fleeing along with them. However, this year, due to the pandemic, the mass could not be organised in Austria, so the Catholic Church decided to have the mass at the Sarajevo Cathedral under the patronage of the Croatian Parliament, the Croatian Bishops’ Conference and the Bleiburg Honorary Guard, a pro-*ustaša* organisation. The event was of course politicised and there were numerous reactions. Critics saw it as a rehabilitation of the *ustaša* regime, while Church officials claimed it was simply a religious service with no connection to any regime or ideology. Still, the mass was more of an ideological than a religious act and its main message related to condemning all totalitarian regimes.

Concurrently with the mass, a protest and procession was organised by the BiH Alliance of Antifascists and Veterans of the People’s Liberation War (SABNOR), bringing together a few thousand citizens with Partisan iconography and antifascist songs who expressed their opposition to the unjust equating of the 10000 victims of fascist terror in Sarajevo with the victims from among the perpetrators of that terror.

The protests, however, were still not directed against all fascisms. In Sarajevo, Bosniaks never dealt with their own Nazi past and for decades the city is being mythologised as a cradle of anti-fascism even though very many Sarajevans collaborated with the Nazis in World War 2 and held high offices in NDH institutions. The Bosniak nationalist elite has even rehabilitated some of the convicted war criminals from that time and now some streets and schools are named after them. In that sense, this was a missed opportunity to condemn these practices and it is uncertain when or if denazification will be addressed.

Revisionism has been a central process taking place in the former Yugoslavia over the past three decades.

Demonising the Partisan movement and socialism is at the basis of nationalist forces. And in BiH, of course, everything gets multiplied by 3.

Covid 19 against us 3 constitutive peoples and the other citizens of BiH

The ministries of health of RS and FBiH, as the responsible institutions, initially responded to the corona virus pandemic in perhaps the only appropriate way at the time. By establishing crisis staffs and imposing restrictions on the movement of elderly people and children, bans on assemblies and night-time curfews, they certainly curtailed human freedoms, but given the state of our healthcare system, which is a far cry from that of countries like Italy or Spain whose systems were nevertheless brought to their knees, I believe they prevented the worst case scenario with multitudes of cases and fatalities. It is true that over the two-month lockdown period from late March to mid-May, there was insufficient testing and many asymptomatic cases went under the radar of health institutions, but the crisis was averted for the time being. What came later was the result of the relaxing and ignoring of protective measures, and the consequences vary periodically from 100 to 300 infected and 10 to 15 dead per day.

The pandemic revealed numerous weaknesses in the health system, as well as bringing to light examples of unbridled greed for personal gain that used the crisis to pull off a brutal looting of budget funds that belong to the people.

The Government of the Federation of BiH (FBiH) ordered 100 ventilators from China for the price of BAM 10.5 million. The Federal Civilian Protection Staff (FŠCZ) was responsible for this procurement. The problem was that the head of FŠCZ entrusted the task to a company specialising in fruit farming and processing - Srebrna malina from Srebrenica, though he knew the company was not licenced for importing medical equipment and medicines by the Agency for Medicinal Products of BiH. However, this was discovered only once the first plane with the ventilators landed at the Sarajevo airport and when the lack of an import licence made it impossible to obtain customs clearance. Initially, there were attempts to cover up what had happened while trying to obtain the necessary licence, but by

then the scandal had been discovered and came under police investigation. This led to the arrests of the prime minister of FBiH, the head of FSCZ and the owner of the unlicensed company, and the case will also have its day in court. It was later also discovered that the ventilators could not be used in intensive care wards because they were meant for installation in ambulance vehicles, making them practically useless. We are still to see who will pay back the taxpayer funds.

In RS the scandal revolved around the procurement of a tent worth BAM 5 million that was meant to serve as a field hospital. Set up in a field without any additional equipment, it soon became the object of ridicule as well as a thorn in the side of the government because it brought up questions about mismanagement of funds. The tent was soon returned to the supplier and the money was allegedly reimbursed. We are still to see that information confirmed.

Government representatives acted together when it came to requesting a loan from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) to mitigate the effects of the pandemic. Though there was a long wait for its decision, the Council of Ministers of Bosnia and Herzegovina finally agreed on how to allocate the 333 million euros from the loan.

Migrant crisis

Migrants come to BiH with the intention of not staying. For three years now, since they started arriving in larger groups, this has been a well-known fact. The migrant crisis is currently reaching its peak this year and bringing with it a series of problems. There are the disgruntled local communities and citizens increasingly prone to protests, there is discontent among the migrants with accommodation conditions and the way they are treated by the community, the police and responsible authorities, and then there are the increased rates of smuggling of migrants towards EU countries. In addition to all the problems

inherent in the current situation, instead of working out a joint response, the authorities have been shifting responsibility onto one another. It is uncertain when or if the authorities in BiH will find a solution for the crisis that upholds basic human rights. Currently, however, in addition to the previous decision of RS leadership to ban migrants from staying in this entity, the political leadership of USK has also adopted new measures to ban migrants from entering the territory of the canton. We now have a situation where migrants who reach USK from RS get stuck between two police checkpoints. This is a humanitarian disaster in the making because they're nobody's responsibility and there are buses arriving every day bringing more people who will get stuck there.

Key

The question remains: what changes are necessary for our society to start functioning at full capacity? Is it realistic to expect that institutions will start doing their job without a change of mentality, both theirs and of the people they are meant to represent? Is it possible to achieve genuine reconciliation and build a stable peace without first having a cathartic relationship towards all crimes committed in anyone's name, and is it possible to expect that the representatives of our peoples will ever be ready to accept responsibility for what was done to others in their name, or will they continue defending their legacies by justifying these acts as necessary at the time, despite the amount of blood that was spilt? And when will everyone stop defending "their own" even when they're the worst? A society like ours that does not deal with these essential issues will only delude itself that the key is in economic prosperity or Euro-Atlantic integration. We have to find our own answers for what kind of life we want to live here. These past three decades have been nothing more than hanging on in fear.

Amer Delić

Serbia: All Democracies are different, but all dictatorships are similar

A few years ago, at the start of the migrant crisis, as people turned their heads away from the fate of the unfortunates arriving in the hopes that in Europe they would find peace, stability and economic prosperity, but most of all a system to order their lives in contrast to the chaos of their war-torn countries or dictatorships where only those close to power survive, I caught myself thinking about parallels with events immediately preceding the Second World War. Serbia was a transit country on the migrant route, no one had any real intention of staying here, but seeing these people that no one needs and no one knows what to do with, no one really wants them, it reminded me of what has since become known as the “Voyage of the Damned”, when a ship carrying Jews from Germany at the beginning of the Second World War was denied entry by almost every country on its long voyage. nenasilje.org/en/voyages-of-the-damned

For the past few months, I have felt as if the whole country was on that ship. Embarking on a voyage of the damned, we sail around, no one wants us, people turn their heads away from the events in Serbia, hoping we will somehow resolve things ourselves. We are nobody’s responsibility, just a passing difficulty. And if we were to send out an SOS from this ship, I don’t think anyone would hear it, or they would pretend not to have heard it.

Elections – A Chance for Theft and Violence

What had seemed impossible ended up happening, because even though democracy in Serbia has travelled a long and thorny path it seems no nearer to its destination, despite having established some rules. Once again, we have voted in a dictatorship whose repercussions we have been feeling for years, while the future – and here I mean not the years, but the days and months to come – remains unpredictable. Elections were forcibly held in Serbia on 21 June amidst the coronavirus pandemic. Elections are a celebration of democracy – where democracy exists; they are a challenge to democratic governments, but

for dictatorial governments they are a chance for theft, clashes, violence and fear.

The entire electoral process was placed in the service of the ruling party and the results bear this out: out of the 250 seats in parliament, SNS, the party led by Aleksandar Vučić (who is also the president of Serbia), won 188. Their long-standing partner, the Socialist Party of Serbia won 32 seats, while the party of Aleksandar Šapić (former water polo player and mayor of Novi Beograd accused of plagiarising his doctoral thesis) won 11 seats. Also in parliament are four parties representing minorities, with a total of 19 seats. The opposition boycotted the elections, but the turnout was 49% of registered voters (of course, there are justifiable doubts and evidence of irregularities).

Three right-wing parties in the majority and no opposition – that will be the image of Serbia’s parliament, its highest legislative body, over the next four years. This monolith parliamentary structure places Serbia among the most undemocratic countries in Europe. (Superseded, for now, only by Belarus, if the recent elections held there, with Lukashenko winning more than 80% of the vote, are recognised as legitimate.) In Serbia, SNS won 62.6% of the vote, but this is sufficient to provide them with a two-thirds majority that gives them the legitimacy to change everything, including the Constitution, on their own, without any interference.

At the time of writing, 1 September, two months and ten days after the elections, the government has not yet been constituted, and there are no indications of when this will be done, which is just another indicator that when all the power lies in the hands of one man, institutions are superfluous, even if they are only for show.

The elections were preceded by years of harassment of citizens with all the leverage the government could muster: the media were in the service of one party and one man, as were the police and judiciary, save a few notable exceptions; the opposition is disunited and practically non-existent, while right-wing parties blossom, though there is reason to suspect they are all

backed by the ruling party that forms them, finances them and directs them to serve as scarecrows: when compared to other right-wing movements and parties, SNS starts to resemble a democratic pro-European party.

From the most ridiculous virus ever to crying in front of the cameras

Before the elections, we had lockdown for months, a state of emergency and police curfew that were introduced on 17 March and lasted until 7 May. I have been living in Serbia for almost half a century and in that time I have experienced all three states of emergency: the first when NATO bombed Serbia during the war in Kosovo, the second when Prime Minister Zoran Đinđić was assassinated, and now this third state of emergency because of the coronavirus. This was the first time I was subject to a police curfew. Although personal experiences and impressions are not meant to be compared, all three of these states of emergency have a common thread running through them: during the first, in 1999, while the war raged in Kosovo, the current president was a minister in Milošević's government of that time and was given a flat as a reward for his services. The second state of emergency was proclaimed when the pro-democracy prime minister was shot, with no light shed on the political background of his murder over the 17 years that ensued, though it was clearly not the act of an individual, but of a joint enterprise aiming to halt the democratisation of society. The third and most recent state of emergency caught me off guard, as it did the majority of citizens. Initially, the government ignored the pandemic, holding a press conference where the president, supported by a handful of doctors toeing the party line, laughed. One of these doctors called the covid19 virus "the most ridiculous virus in history". As he spoke, Vučić was standing behind him, laughing. Those of us who understood this was no laughing matter could only feel more fear.

And now we come to the difficult task of explaining how our fear of the pandemic is greater than the fear of any other people in the world. This is difficult to explain and cannot really be grasped by people living in countries with a system, with democracy and at least some basic confidence in their institutions.

Here, the institutions have been politicised to such an extent that no one has any confidence in them any longer. The paradox is that even those who trust Vučić do not trust the system at whose helm he stands. (This is most often expressed in terms once used in relation to Milošević: "Vučić is defending Serbia, he is good, those around him are bad, he doesn't know what they're doing.") Everything has been destroyed, every thinking voice of dissent has been silenced or compromised with accusations and attacks – and then in March the threat of the virus loomed over us and we realised our healthcare system was woefully unequal to the task of protecting our health, the decisions of our crisis staff were not based on expertise, but on politics, while the president and his emissaries used their daily press conferences to cause us further distress, first by laughing at the virus, then by intimidating and threatening us, and even going so far as to manipulatively cry in front of the cameras. I don't know whether there is any other country in the world whose president talks about the procurement of medical equipment in the first person: "I requested, I procured, I provided, I..." Me, me, me. I imagined the medical equipment market as some sort of flea market where people come from all over the world, with our president snatching the ventilator from somebody's hands and running away with it. That is how he described his "rescue mission". And that is how they kept tormenting us for days, until it finally came to light that they had also been lying to us.

That much was expected and came as no big surprise. If there are no institutions, if the system is centralised to such a degree that a single man decides on life and death issues, then that man bears no obligation to tell the truth. The truth is what he says it is, and everything else is manipulation and lies.

Police curfews and police violence

Information about how data on the number of Covid19 cases and deaths were falsified in Serbia became public on 22 June, the day after the elections. No one so much as bothered to deny it, and it was made public by independent media.¹ A few weeks later,

1 <https://javno.rs/analiza/korona-broj-umrljih-i-zarazenih-visestruko-veci-od-zvanicno-saopstenog>

the media, NGOs and individuals that had stood up to Vučić became targets of ad hoc financial inspections under allegations that they had been “laundering money and financing terrorism”.

In the afternoon on 7 July, the president addressed the nation, accusing the citizens of not being disciplined and announcing the possibility of instituting a new state of emergency and police curfew. He neglected to mention the elections, which were an epidemiological bomb, as the main contagion spreading event. Nor did he mention the Zvezda-Partizan match between two government-financed football clubs that was attended by tens of thousands of fans, the only such event held in Europe this summer. He also left out the election campaign during which his fellow party members and supporters were able to spread the contagion as they travelled from one town to the next. The fact that half the government was infected with the coronavirus after the elections – information about the covid-positive status of some of the more prominent government members, such as minister of defence Aleksandar Vulin, director of the Kosovo and Metohija Office Marko Đurić and speaker of the Serbian Parliament Maja Gojković, did come to light, but for most we’ll probably never know.

Vučić accused the citizens of not being disciplined and a few hours later he had citizens in the streets. Spontaneously, people came out to show their anger and discontent and call for accountability. Members of the most diverse political affiliations, as well as people without any, were out in the streets together. From the far-right to the far-left. As is common for assemblies that have no structure, organisation, or designated responsibility, there were clashes with the police who in turn demonstrated an unprecedented level of aggression towards the protesters.

It was brutality for its own sake, with the police using dogs, horses, tear-gas.² Videos of the police beating people flooded the social networks, but just one TV station hosted by a single cable operator, one daily newspaper and a few weeklies reported on the events. All that national TV viewers could hear about the protests was that these were hooligans, or people brought or paid from abroad to “tear

down their government and legitimately elected president”. Regime-friendly “analysts” took to the TV screens, competing who would sling more mud at the protesters, while extolling the government and police response. This was what more than two thirds of Serbia was watching, this was what informed their opinions.

During the protests I was approached by a reporter for Al Jazeera who asked me why I was there. When I answered, tears started streaming down her face and I was sorry for being so emotional in my response. We have too many emotions, we are overwhelmed, we need to calm down a bit, I thought to myself. That same evening, I saw on the news that the reporter and her cameraman had been attacked, their equipment smashed.³ This was done by someone close to the government, I have no doubt, because Al Jazeera was among the TV networks that reported truthfully from the protests. Photo journalists and reporters working for free or freer media were targeted with tear-gas and push-backs. Almost all were harmed in some way during the protests.

There’s no money – except for the military and the Church

At the same time, as we’re going through the epidemic (as I write this, at the end of August, over 30,000 cases have been registered, but since only persons with more severe symptoms are tested, while others are sent home without being tested, the actual number of cases is likely to be much higher), more than 700 people have died, the healthcare system is unprepared and unequipped, a severe economic crisis is setting in, we are uncertain how life will unfold in the near future, we are beset by corruption, crime, homicides in the street, suicides by those who can no longer take the pressure, while all this is going on, Serbia is investing money into purchasing weapons and refurbishing the Church of St Sava.

The weapons are needed in order to threaten our neighbours – though the situation is not much better in any of the countries of the region, and especially not in those countries that had gone to war in the past, we shouldn’t lose sight of the fact that all those other

2 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=k-yPRdMhgXA>

3 <http://www.nuns.rs/info/news/49208/trenutak-napada-na-ekipu-al-jazeere-u-beogradu.html>

countries are members of NATO, while Serbia is not. The logical question is: Who are these weapons meant to defend us from, or who are they meant to attack?

On the other side, populism defends nationalism, so the support of Church leadership is bought by enormous funds allocated to the Serbian Orthodox Church, which is in the service of the regime and which in these days when comfort, true faith and caring for others is most needed, sends its faithful messages of hatred, instructing them to ignore measures for fighting the epidemic and to gather in churches, at services that become hotspots of contagion.

This text is already too long to include all the

examples of human rights abuses⁴, all the threats and accusations individuals and groups face, the doctored trials, the arrests of reporters⁵ and whistle-blowers⁶, the pandemic of apathy and fear that people here live under.

All democracies are different in their own way, all dictatorships are similar in their efforts to negate life and the future.

Katarina Milićević

4 <http://www.bgcentar.org.rs/izvestaj-o-stanju-ljudskih-prava-u-srbiji-za-period-januar-jun-2020-godine-2/>

5 <http://rs.n1info.com/Vesti/a594377/Ana-Lalic-za-Komitet-za-zastitu-novinara.html>

6 <http://rs.n1info.com/Vesti/a610718/Aleksandar-Obradovic-Hapsile-me-tri-sluzbe-prepoznao-sam-agenta-BIA.html>

Montenegro: Freedom is not a momentary sensation of a state of being, but the lasting sense of a goal (Borislav Pekić)

A change of government in Montenegro can be achieved democratically! At the parliamentary elections held on 30 August 2020, Milo Đukanović and his Democratic Party of Socialists (DPS) suffered a defeat. After 31 years in power, seven mandates as prime minister and two as president, the second of which is still running, an end has finally come. One of the last Balkan dictators, overshadowing even Lukashenko with his 26 years in power, the last of all the war leaders and wartime prime ministers from the former Yugoslavia, he has become history, or at least we hope so. He is a historic figure in many respects, but at this moment primarily because he will go down in history as the first Montenegrin ruler, president and (or) despot not brought down by a military junta, violent protests of disgruntled citizens, external forces, a war or, colloquially speaking, the streets, but the will of the citizens expressed through elections, or, as we hear increasingly these days in Montenegro, by the pencil!

Although DPS remains the single strongest party in Montenegro with 35 percent of the votes and 30 seats in parliament, that number being brought up to 40 when combined with the seats of its traditional

partners, the three opposition coalitions have together won a total of 41 seats in parliament. The biggest leap was made by the coalition “For the Future of Montenegro” led by the Democratic Front (DF) with 32.5 percent of the votes and 27 seats. The coalition “Peace is Our Nation” led by Democratic Montenegro won 12.5 percent of the vote and 10 seats, while the “Black on White” list gathered around the URA Citizens’ Movement won 5.5 percent of the votes and four seats in parliament. Also making it into parliament are the Social Democrats and the Bosniak Party with three seats each, the Social Democratic Party (SDP) with two seats and two Albanian coalitions with one seat each, while Croat national parties have not managed to pass the 0.35 percent threshold to gain seats in parliament.

There was a danger that the anger and various grievances that had been piling up for years under the autocracy would culminate in violence and conflicts. Still, paradoxically, autocratic rule was brought down by the courage of citizens; people defeated their fear with their right to vote, with pencils, or, hopefully, by starting to use their heads. After three decades of one-party rule, one system or even just one man, it only took a single election day to change everything for

the better. Peacefully and without major irregularities, precisely as democratic elections should be, a celebration of democracy, peace and tolerance. It is precisely that cultural shift that is the biggest winner of these elections and this Montenegro today. Both the biggest winner, and hopefully also the biggest lesson and warning to the new government and all the citizens of Montenegro. The lesson can be summed up with a single sentence from the beginning of this text: government can be changed democratically, and should be changed democratically going forward, and more often than it has been up to now. Nothing will be the same after this traumatic experience for Montenegro. Already the day after the elections, various reactions started pouring in: both those that were supportive and encouraging and those that were ominous and pessimistic, as well as those imbued with celebration as well as sorrow, joy as well as apprehension. But, let's look at them one at a time.

Great democratic potential

The fall of the longest-running European regime gives hope that the Western Balkans region can achieve prosperity and that even the boldest claims that Montenegro has the greatest democratic potential in the region are not, after all, misguided. Democratic potential is reflected, above all, in the conciliatory messages sent out by the leaders of the new parliamentary majority immediately after the elections, thereby managing, at least right after the elections, to assuage the fears of citizens who do not support them and who were becoming afraid for their own personal safety having heard claims that the state would be under attack. Messages to the effect that there would be no revanchism, that Montenegro is a country for all of us, that a hand would be extended in friendship to minorities and all others, and that those most responsible in the previous government would be called to accept accountability, all these show political maturity, but also imply responsibility to make good on such promises. Another confirmation of being on the right track were the principles, adopted right after the elections, that will guide the future government and that were signed by the three leaders, Zdravko Krivokapić, Aleksa Bečić, and Dritan Abazović.

"The first principle that was agreed is that the new,

democratic government would responsibly implement all international commitments. The second is that the new democratic government will implement all the necessary reforms for Montenegro to join the European Union as soon as possible. The third is that the new democratic government would be made up of experts, professionals in concrete areas, irrespective of their political, religious, national or any other belonging. The fourth is that the new government will be fully committed to upholding the Constitution and the rule of law, while changing, amending and revising all discriminatory laws and regulations, including the Law on the Freedom of Religion. They also stated that they are extending a hand to representatives of minority peoples with the desire to together build a better and more prosperous future for Montenegro."

The adopted principles, though determined and excellent, are only the first step. The challenges facing the new government, as well all Montenegrin citizens are much greater and more complex. Deconstructing over thirty years of the old system set in its ways; reforming the inert and corruption infected state administration, changing the political culture built on national identities, initiating vetting processes, preserving the legacies of anti-fascism and secularism in particular, focusing more keenly on economic, social and environmental issues; finally speeding up and bringing to completion the EU membership negotiations; while at the same time dealing with the virus pandemic and the approaching economic crisis, an economy destroyed by malfeasant privatisation, the enormous public debt... this will be a demanding and long-term job. The list of everything that needs to be deconstructed and changed in Montenegro is much too long to fit into this text. Still, I would like to point out a few problems, at least when 2020 is at stake, where we need to both extend a hand in cooperation and roll up our sleeves.

Scandals, old and new

The "Envelope Affair" – made public early last year by renegade businessman Duško Knežević who published a video in which he hands an envelope with 97,500 euros to Slavoljub Stijepović, former minister of education and mayor of Podgorica and current General Secretary to President Milo Đukanović – was made

current again in the election year. Knežević claimed the money was intended to finance the 2016 election campaign and was given in agreement with Đukanović. The Prosecutor's Office, which was also implicated in this scandal by Knežević, never prosecuted those responsible.

The "Flats Affair" brought to light clear abuse of state and public office. Flats or advantageous housing loans from the state budget were distributed to public officials who already had up to five properties. The lists of privileged public officials given "a roof over their heads" by the Government included MPs, ministers, judges, prosecutors, police officials, and even the Supreme Court President Vesna Medenica. Again, no one was held responsible because the Government refused to admit to any malfeasance.

The "Možura Affair" that brought down the Maltese government at the beginning of this year, while the European Commission expects that corruption allegations will be credibly, independently and efficiently investigated, has yet to be resolved. Daphne Caruana Galizia, a reporter investigating dealings around a capital project to build a wind power plant on Možura, a hill above Ulcinj, was murdered. The media published an investigative report stating that the company 17 Black owned by Yorgen Fenech, the Maltese entrepreneur arrested in connection with the reporter's murder, was connected to companies that had purchased the Montenegrin Možur wind power plant. Ten days or so before the elections, the leader of the "Black on White" coalition list Dritan Abazović disclosed new contracts related to the "Možura Affair" that, as he claimed, confirm "blatant corruption and criminal dealings by Montenegrin officials, including Đukanović". Even though asked by Abazović to take the material into evidence, the Prosecutor's Office has remained silent on the matter.

All three affairs show the deep-seated corruption within state institutions and authorities, as well as the whole of Montenegrin society which seems to have internalised the conviction that everything can be "taken care of" without consequences or accountability, as long as you have the money. That is why one of the primary tasks of the new government (or, perhaps we should start using new terminology, the "new service of citizens") will be to show that it

has zero tolerance for corruption and nepotism. In this light, messages about constituting a government of experts (which should apply to all appointments throughout the state apparatus) are very encouraging.

National pendulum of divisions

Milo Đukanović's political "suicide" was, it seems, sealed by the adoption of the Law on the Freedom of Religion, a controversial and legally questionable piece of legislation in many of its aspects. The Law was adopted under unusual circumstances in December 2019, in a rushed procedure after midnight, and was accompanied by the arrests of almost the entire DF parliamentary caucus that had sharply opposed its adoption and attempted to physically prevent it being voted on and adopted in parliament. Opposition to this Law from the Church and the population led to mass litanies being held in almost all Montenegrin cities.

Whatever we may think of them, their background and motivation, the litanies proved to be a cathartic and unifying force, the biggest and most widespread since Đukanović came to power, which is why they also became the greatest threat to DPS rule. They seem to have pooled together variously motivated grievances from a large number of citizens, not just religious believers. A series of negotiations followed by teams of experts, but no compromise or agreement was reached to postpone the application of the Law or withdraw it completely.

After a brief period of calm on account of the ban on public gatherings because of the coronavirus pandemic, tensions between the government and the Serb Orthodox Church (SPC) grew into clashes in the streets in a number of cities. The immediate cause was the litany held in Nikšić on 12 May, the feast day of St Basil of Ostrog, after which the police arrested bishop Joanikije of the SPC and seven other priests. They were charged with endangering the health of citizens during the epidemic by convening a prohibited mass gathering. Joanikije said in his defence that he had not invited believers to the litany, that they showed up spontaneously, or rather that "the people happened".

In the meantime, tensions had reached boiling point in the parliament where Andrija Mandić said that "if Joanikije remains in prison, the government should prepare uniforms". At the end of last year, when

the disputed Law was being adopted, he had issued calls to “comrades in arms” and threatened to “dig up the guns”. He was not prosecuted for this, while the government, in the meantime, kept frenziedly arresting adherents of the opposition and the SPC for much more benign and merely sarcastic comments on social media.

All of this points to a much more serious and bigger problem, the deep division running through the Orthodox population of Montenegro, separating them into Serbs and Montenegrins. Issues of national identity have once again started dividing Montenegro and raising tensions. Unfortunately this state of affairs is likely to persist for a long time. In the words of Milovan Đilas, whenever someone pushes the pendulum of the Serb-Montenegrin national question to one side, it swings back with more force, extending

the arc to the other. Perhaps it is finally time to stop the pendulum of divisions and strife, and instead of swinging between left and right, red and black, white and green, it starts swinging from better living standards to greater tolerance and from democracy to rule of law.

Freedom is here! One of the most frequently heard cries in these post-election days in Montenegro. But as long as there is no freedom for the others, as long as we ignore or relativise their fears, I can be neither free nor carefree. *Freedom is not the momentary sensation of a state of being, but the lasting sense of a goal*, to borrow the phrase from Borislav Pekić, so let us turn this momentary pleasant feeling some of us have into a permanent struggle for what should be the goal for all of us: freedom and peace.

Radomir Radević

North Macedonia: State of Emergency and Elections

The socio-political context in North Macedonia in 2020 can be described with the following keywords: Covid 19, caretaker government, state of emergency, parliamentary elections, hate speech, nationalism, discrimination, and, of course, crime.

Previously a ray of hope, the special prosecutor Katica Janeva has been convicted of corruption for abuse of office. At the same time, most of those she was meant to prosecute – such as the intelligence agent and cousin to the former prime minister, once among the “untouchables” and one of the richest businessmen in the country – are walking free on the streets of Skopje. The former prime minister himself is enjoying his (illegally obtained) wealth in exile. Meanwhile, the rest of us continue living with partisan institutions, a corrupt judiciary and enslaved media.

The pandemic has definitely contributed to keeping these topics outside the focus of daily events in our country. There was also not much euphoria around the decision of the EU Council to start accession negotiations with North Macedonia, or around our formally joining NATO.

At the height of the pandemic, we were left without a political government. When the parliamentary elections were called, the parliament dissolved itself. The elections were initially scheduled in April, but prior to that, 100 days before the early elections, a caretaker government was established under a caretaker prime minister. Due to the elections being postponed, this government stayed in power longer than initially planned.

In the context of the global coronavirus pandemic and in order to prevent its spread, in March, the president declared a state of emergency. That state kept getting extended. The police curfew and emergency measures became integral to our lives. A few months later, we seem to have forgotten how to live under “normal” conditions.

After each government session, we were informed about new measures. As a rule, the new measures were always more rigorous. At the same time, the influx of fake news about the pandemic increased citizens’ fears and it was often difficult to discern a hoax from accurate information. Fake news spread faster than

the virus. Still, after some initial grumbling, in time people stopped questioning the measures imposed by the government. We simply accepted them.

Simultaneously, the strict measures led to disturbances of public peace and order. There were frequent traffic jams and crowds around shops and pharmacies. It was also tense in front of the banks where citizens would queue for hours.

And finally, the elections

The political scene was dominated by discussions on holding early parliamentary elections, which were finally held on 15 July 2020. They were held during the global pandemic and under protective measures. Political parties mostly presented their political views on social media, though there were also some traditional rallies. Despite being recommended, the protection measures were not respected by all those present, or even by all of the institutions.

The campaign, though generally negative in tone, was relatively peaceful and decent, despite restrictions on normal communication. The media mainly reported on the various activities of political parties without critically appraising their platforms. The current laws on paying for political advertising favour the three biggest parties. The election day was peaceful, despite technical problems in publishing the results and complaints about voter registration.

At the end of the day, the SDSM-BESA¹ coalition won the most votes and earned the legitimacy to negotiate the new government. Of the Albanian parties, DUI won the most votes.

One of the main promises SDSM made before the elections, and the reason many believe they won, was that they would send their hitherto partner in government, DUI, into the opposition. On the other side, DUI had promised that it was time for an “Albanian prime minister” and that they would demand this if they won among the Albanian bloc of parties. SDSM’s impassioned rhetoric that it was time for DUI to move to the opposition helped DUI close ranks and focus their campaign on claiming that no one from the outside should be telling Albanian

voters who should be in power. With a smattering of hate speech, this contributed to a rise in nationalism and showed that when Macedonian parties and some of their media espouse a phobia of Albanians, DUI’s victory is assured².

A new government of old friends

All of the above was indeed just pre-election rhetoric. It no longer holds. On the contrary! SDSM and DUI have agreed to cooperate and form a government. Behind the cameras they fought bitterly over how to divide up the loot, but in front of the cameras they referred to this as “aligning the winning programmes and allocating sectoral responsibilities” and called their dealings “reaching agreement on the government’s programme and distribution of staff”.

In reality, SDSM is forced to remain friendly with DUI (and vice versa, on account of the election results). It just took a bit of time to wrap that story nicely so they could sell it to their own voters. DUI is now proud that they have the first Albanian foreign minister in North Macedonia (the speaker of the parliament is also from DUI, in his second mandate, but that is no longer news), while SDSM did not succumb to “blackmail” by DUI, but will still be “generous” and propose a candidate from DUI for prime minister before the end of its mandate.

DUI’s political trick of an “Albanian prime minister” evidently hit close to the target. Close, because the Alliance for Albanians and the Alternative (AA-A) still received a huge number of votes. Though it seems the stage has been set for a big struggle within the Albanian constituency, with the finals to be played at the local elections in 2021, the AA-A coalition, though it fell short of victory, can be more than happy with its results.

These elections will also be remembered for the Levica [Left]³ entering parliament, though it had used the opportunity to promote itself as radically right-wing, appearing for the elections with an aura of the

1 This was the first time that two parties from the two political blocs, Albanian and Macedonian, stood for elections together.

2 The coalition around SDSM won 46 seats in parliament, VMRO-DPMNE won 44, DUI 15, the Albanian Alliance and Alternative 12, Levica 2 and DPA one.

3 The party leader was often accused of spreading hate speech and vying for attention with his indecent, vulgar and scandalising statements.

defenders of Macedonian statehood following the “national humiliation” caused by SDSM and VMRO-DPMNE agreeing to change the country’s name. The considerable number of votes they won over is disheartening.

War profiteers

The country is expected to enter a recession in 2020, negative growth is being predicted, while it will still be facing the economic fall-out of the pandemic. The government has adopted multiple sets of economic measures to boost development and consumption and promote domestic supply. Unfortunately, the media were full of examples when, during the height of the crisis and state of emergency, some illegally profited off the backs of workers, while many workers were left without the government support intended for them.

Discrimination

Though the virus does not discriminate, some members of marginalised groups, which are traditionally discriminated, are having a much tougher time dealing with the new situation. There has been an increase in human rights violations. Under constant fear of the virus, and of the draconian penalties instituted by the government, citizens were incredibly quick to give up the little democracy we had, and give up on any form of control over the authorities. It is evident that the laws are not equally applied to all. Measures were imposed on certain categories of citizens, putting these people at a disadvantage, while the authorities themselves often broke the rules.

The prerequisite for rule of law is that the govern-

ment must obey the laws. When the government does not obey the laws, any promises that it will uphold the rule of law become empty.

Hate speech

The generally negative political atmosphere, and especially the COVID 19 situation, led to increased reports of hate speech on social media. Most pertained to hate speech targeting ethnic and political belonging, which was particularly noticeable during and after the early parliamentary elections. Graffiti inciting and spreading hate speech on ethnic and national grounds often “decorate” our streets. Unfortunately, hate speech is also often heard from eminent intellectuals, such as a member of the Macedonian Academy of Sciences and Arts (MANU) whose Tweet⁴ about the corona virus was characterised as nationalist and chauvinist. There were also increased reports of hate speech based on sexual orientation and gender identity.

In the Republic of North Macedonia, instead of developing a civil society focused on citizens as individuals with rights and needs, interests, wishes, etc. we keep glorifying collectives. If an individual wants to achieve some right, s/he is usually forced to affiliate with one of the political parties, not according to her/his ideological beliefs or needs, interests and the like, but based on her/his predetermined ethnic belonging.

Luan Imeri

4 He wrote “We pay for coexistence with our lives”, obviously alluding to the Albanian ethnic community.