



Godišnji izveštaj Annual Report

Centar za nenasilnu akciju
Centre for Nonviolent Action
Sarajevo | Beograd

2021

GODINE
24
YEARS



Godišnji izveštaj
Annual report

2021



Centar za nenasilnu akciju
Centre for Nonviolent Action
Sarajevo | Beograd

CENTAR ZA NENASILNU AKCIJU

nenasilje.org

Ured u Beogradu / Office in Belgrade
Džordža Vašingtona 2, 11 000 Beograd, Srbija
cna.beograd@nenasilje.org

Ured u Sarajevu / Office in Sarajevo
Grbavička 80, 71 000 Sarajevo, Bosna i Hercegovina
cna.sarajevo@nenasilje.org

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Uredili | Editors
Katarina Milićević · Radomir Radević

Prijelom i dizajn | Layout & Design
Ivana Franović

Naslovnica | Cover
Nenad Vukosavljević

Fotografije | Photos
Nenad Vukosavljević · Tamara Zrnović · Nedžad Horozović · Ajdin Kamber

CNA tim | CNA Team
Amer Delić · Davorka Turk · Ivana Franović · Katarina Milićević · Nedžad Novalić · Nenad Vukosavljević ·
Radomir Radević · Tamara Zrnović · Helena Rill · Nedžad Horozović · Ahmed Novalić

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,
Pandemija je obeležila i 2021. godinu i naše delovanje u njoj. Daleko više smo radili i kretali se nego prošle godine, no i dalje ovo nisu uslovi za normalan rad.

Kao i prethodne, i ove godine najveći deo naših aktivnosti obuhvatao je rad sa ratnim veteranima i obilježavanje neobilježenih mjesta stradanja. Bili smo na komemoracijama u Varivodama i Gošiću (Hrvatska), te u Bosni i Hercegovini: u Boderištu i mostu na Savi (Brčko), Bradini kod Konjica, ubijenoj deci u Vitezu, Uborku, Sutini i Zaliku kod Mostara.

Tim aktivnosti Obilježavanje neobilježenih mjesta stradanja imao je pet akcija, u kojima su obeležili još 33 mesta stradanja širom Bosne i Hercegovine. Detaljnije o svim akcijama možete čitati i na sajtu onms.nenasilje.org.

Uspeli smo da održimo jednu aktivnost iz našeg mirovnog obrazovanja - Trening za studentice i studente iz BiH, tokom leta na Vlačiću. Osnovni trening i Mir-Paqe-Mup nismo imali ni ove godine, jer je epidemiološka situacija ograničavala prekogranična putovanja i okupljanja.

Pokrenuli smo novi sajt - handbook.nenasilje.org i na njemu je kompletan naš priručnik za treninge iz izgradnje mira, nenasilnu razradu sukoba i suočavanje sa prošlošću, pa je sada lak za korišćenje online svima koji rade na ovim temama.

Napokon možemo da planiramo promocije Biber 03 zbirke, koju nismo mogli ranije da promoviramo zbog pandemije. Pripremamo i zbirku Biber 04, sa odabranim pričama koje su tokom prošle, 2020. godine stizale na konkurs, i planiramo predstavljanje te zbirke, kao i raspisivanje sledećeg konkursa, Biber 05. Objavili smo i odabir priča sa prva tri konkursa na

engleskom Biber 0a, a sve o Biberu možete da pratite na sajtu biber.nenasilje.org.

Prijatelji iz organizacije Conciliation Resources štampali su naš priručnik "Pomirenje?!" na ruskom jeziku.

Jako nam je dragocena, i nadamo se da će u budućnosti biti sve veća, saradnja sa Srpskim narodnim vijećem iz Hrvatske. U maju smo bili na studijskom putu u njihovoj organizaciji, te imali značajne, i nadasve emotivne, susrete sa Srbima koji žive u Hrvatskoj.

Bavili smo se, ne zato što smo to baš želeli, i problematičnim predstavljanjem našeg rada i uopšte pristupa pomirenju, u knjizi sociološkinje Lee David "Prošlost nas ne može izlečiti". O pomirenju i izgradnji mira se uvek može razgovarati, ali za dijalog su potrebne dve strane, podjednako zainteresovane da do dijaloga dođe. Kako je o našem radu pisano, bez da je iko sa nama razgovarao, morali smo da reagujemo.

U saradnji sa našim prijateljem Luanom Imerijem (Severna Makedonija), članovi/ce CNA tima su pisali/e o kontekstima u kojima delujemo. Pandemija je pogodovala nedemokratskim režimima u regionu, da još više smanje slobodu i demokratiju.

Sa velikim bolom oprostili smo se od našeg dragog dugogodišnjeg saradnika Novice Kostića, te još nekoliko dragih ljudi i prijatelja organizacije.

O svemu pobrojanom možete čitati u ovom izveštaju, a detaljnije i na našem sajtu nenasilje.org.

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

CNA tim
rujan/septembar 2021.



rad s ratnim veteranima

Akcije i komemoracije:

- Sjećanje na žrtve iz Varivoda i Gošića, Hrvatska, 28. 9. 2020.
- Komemoracija na Boderištu kod Brčkog, BiH, 8. 3. 2021.
- Komemoracija ubijenima na mostu u Brčkom, BiH, 30. 4. 2021.
- Komemoracija u Bradini kod Konjica, BiH, 25. 5. 2021.
- Sjećanje na ubijenu djecu kod Viteza, BiH, 11. 6. 2021.
- Komemoracija ubijenima na Uborku i Sutini kod Mostara, BiH, 13. 6. 2021.

Rad sa ratnim veteranima: Put saradnje, razumijevanja, strpljenja...

Iako je pandemija COVID-19 znatno ograničila naš rad sa veteranima koji prevashodno podrazumijeva kontakte sa ljudima i okupljanje - što se uveliko nastavilo ograničeno tokom cijele godine - uspjeli smo organizirati značajan broj aktivnosti. Organizirati veteranske aktivnosti bilo nam je značajno iz nekoliko razloga: na neke komemoracije smo bili pozvani već ranije i žrtvama i(li) organizatorima bilo je značajno da prisustvujemo; sami ratni veterani sa kojima sarađujemo jasno su komunicirali sa nama potrebu da nastave rad na ovom polju i često nam je jedan od izazova bio reći nekima od njih da, zbog ograničenja broja ljudi koji mogu prisustvovati događajima u zatvorenom prostoru, neke od njih ne možemo uvijek pozvati da nam se pridruže. O samim potrebama naših društava za ovakvim aktivnostima više možete čitati u odjeljku o kontekstima u kojima djelujemo.

Mislama i molitvama uz žrtve

Prošle jeseni smo se odazvali pozivu prijatelja iz Srpskog narodnog vijeća iz Hrvatske da prisustvujemo komemoraciji u Varivodama i Gošiću kod Knina. Tamo smo sa mješovitom grupom veterana bili i 2018. godine, a od tad se desilo nekoliko značajnih stvari. Te 2018. tadašnji kninski gradonačelnik Marko Jelić prisustvovao je komemoraciji skoro pa inkognito, što je ipak bio iskorak jer ranija gradonačelnica Knina nije

dolazila odati počast ubijenim srpskim civilima. Svake naredne godine prisustvo kninskog gradonačelnika bilo je javno čemu je, prema povratnim informacijama, doprinio i dolazak naše grupe ratnih veterana, među kojima su bili i bivši pripadnici Hrvatske vojske. Na 25 godišnjicu zločina u Varivodama i Gošiću komemoraciji je, po prvi put, prisustvovao i hrvatski premijer Andrej Plenković, a Marko Jelić je nekoliko mjeseci kasnije izabran na višu funkciju šibensko-kninskog župana. To je bio značajan iskorak ne samo za Knin ili pak srpsku zajednicu u Hrvatskoj - ljudski potezi Jelića, možda politički riskantni, pokazali su da značajan broj ljudi podržava takvo djelovanje. Osim što smo željeli podržati takve iskorake i biti sa žrtvama na 25 godišnjicu zločina, željeli smo i po prvi put u vrijeme pandemije raditi sa ratnim veteranima "prekogrančno". No, kako su s jeseni ponovo uvedena ograničenja putovanja, odlučili smo snimiti kratki video podrške te na taj način omogućiti da jedna velika grupa ratnih veterana barem mislima i molitvama bude uz žrtve. Ova aktivnost nam je posebno značajna i zbog činjenice da je do njene

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



realizacije došlo na inicijativu našeg prijatelja i saradnika iz Bihaća Franje Grgića, bivšeg pripadnika HVO-a. Osim videa, uspjeli smo organizirati da petočlana delegacija na 28. 9. bude u Kninu i tu položi cvijeće.

S prvim zracima proljeća, nastavili smo sa našim aktivnostima prisustvujući 8. 3. 2021. komemoraciji ubijenim hrvatskim vojnicima na Boderištu kod Brčkog. Iako je ovaj odjeljak našeg godišnjeg izvještaja naslovljen kao rad sa ratnim veteranima, Brčko i dvije komemoracije kojima smo tamo prisustvovali ove godine najbolji su dokaz da, koliko god je to rad sa ratnim veteranima, jednako je rad i sa udruženjima žrtava, lokalnim političarima, predstavnicima vjerskih zajednica... Na Boderišta smo otišli na poziv naših dugogodišnjih saradnika i prijatelja Ive Anđelovića i Mirka Zečevića Tadića koji organiziraju komemoraciju za poginule saborce HVO-a. No, kako je to čest slučaj, na isti dan svega nekoliko kilometara dalje u mjestu Grbavica organizira se i još jedna komemoracija: poginulim srpskim vojnicima. Radi se o istom ratnom događaju u kojem su vojnici poginuli s obje strane, s tim da je važno reći da se trenutno vodi sudski postupak pred Sudom BiH zbog postojanja osnovane sumnje da su srpski

vojnici ubijeni kao zarobljenici. Namjera nam je bila da prisustvujemo na obje komemoracije i tu namjeru smo pokušali iskomunicirati sa članovima obje zajednice. Nama je bilo značajno da smo imali podršku Ive i Mirka kao organizatora komemoracije na Boderištu koji su bili spremni prisustvovati i komemoraciji u Grabovici te su nas tokom priprema upoznali i sa predstavnicima boračkih i drugih lokalnih organizacija koje organizuju komemoraciju u Grbavici. Iako načelno niko nije bio protiv našeg dolaska i u Grbavicu, na kraju je izostao poziv da se pridružimo komemoraciji uz nezvaničnu poruku da je namjera u redu ali da još nije vrijeme. Kako uvijek vodimo računa da sa ratnim veteranima ne dolazimo nepozvani, u Grbavicu je otišlo samo nas troje ispred CNA kako bi prisustvovali parastosu i komemoraciji, dok nam se ostatak grupe pridružio na komemoraciji u Boderištu. Osim inspirativne mise, bilo je važno i da su na Boderištu pomenuti i srpski vojnici kao žrtve kojih se na taj dan prisjećamo te da, iako neprijatelji u ratu, zaslužuju naš pomen. Samo Brčko je specifično jer u njemu koegzistiraju sve tri etničke zajednice te boračka udruženja proistekla iz ARBiH, HVO-a i VRS-a imaju svakodnevne kontakte i saradnju

do određenog nivoa, što je faktički jedinstven slučaj u postratnoj Bosni i Hercegovini, spominjanje poginulih neprijateljskih vojnika s pijetetom komemoraciju u Boderištu čini jedinstvenom. Iako na kraju grupa nije otišla u Grbavicu, vjerujemo da smo kroz razgovore uspjeli izgraditi osnovni nivo povjerenja kao i da ćemo dogodne vijenac položiti i ubijenim vojnicima u Grbavici.

Minirani mostovi

Prije 29 godina prilikom miniranja mosta koji povezuje Brčko i Gunju, odnosno Bosnu i Hercegovinu i Hrvatsku, ubijeno je više od stotinu civila koji su se u trenutku miniranja zatekli na mostu. Najveći broj posmrtnih ostataka ubijenih civila ni do danas nije pronađen, a specifičnost zločina leži i u tome što za njega do danas niko nije odgovarao niti je sudski utvrđeno ko je odgovoran za zločin, dok u samom Brčkom odgovornost za ovaj zločin se prebacuje sa jedne na drugu zajednicu. Početni pregovori sa organizatorima komemoracije, bošnjačkim i hrvatskim udruženjima civilnih žrtava, zahtijevali su od nas da objasnimo same

temelje našeg rada od toga zašto dolazimo, šta su nam namjere, šta očekujemo zauzvrat... Bila je to situacija sa kojom se nerijetko susrećemo, posljedica prisutnog nepovjerenja ne samo prema bivšim neprijateljima koji dolaze da odaju počast našim žrtvama, već i nepovjerenja, nažalost često opravdanog, prema različitim nevladinim organizacijama koje nisu imale ni takta ni suosjećanja za potrebe žrtava, lokalne zajednice, udruženja... Nama je bilo važno da sa predstavnicima civilnih žrtava otvoreno razgovaramo o svim ovim pitanjima, kao i o općenitom pitanju odnosa civilnih i vojnih žrtava, ili pak udruženja ratnih veterana i udruženja civilnih žrtava. Na kraju, kroz višesedmične razgovore, izgradili smo ne samo dovoljno povjerenja i kredibiliteta da budemo na komemoraciji na mostu već i da nastavimo saradnju i u budućnosti.

Značajan dio resursa s početka godine potrošili smo na Brčko koje ima ne samo specifičan položaj distrikta u okviru BiH koji nije dio nijednog od dva entiteta već je i faktički jedini grad u današnjoj BiH gdje sve tri zajednice ravnopravno dijele prostor, uključujući i prostor za sjećanje. Grad u podjednakom





iznosu finansira sva udruženja, sve tri vojske imaju spomenike u centralnom dijelu grada, sve tri zajednice organiziraju vlastite komemoracije... Pa ipak, određene granice se ne prelaze: još uvijek su rijetki primjeri zajedničkog sjećanja na stradale, sjećanja koje prelazi etničke granice, civilne žrtve su nezadovoljne jer pojedina mjesta stradanja nisu obilježena niti je izgrađen centralni spomenik civilnim žrtvama dok su vojne žrtve dobile tri spomenika... Brčko, uz sve probleme i manjkavosti, ipak ostaje primjer aktivne miroljubive koegzistencije (da upotrijebimo rječnik Pokreta nesvrstanih) zajednica i njihovog sjećanja. Može li Brčko iskoračiti još jedan korak naprijed? Mogu li ostali dijelovi BiH slijediti?

Biti manjina

U bivšoj Jugoslaviji 25. 5. obilježavan je kao Dan mladosti, dan rođenja doživotnog predsjednika Tita. Sletove i štafete na ovaj dan odavno su zamijenile komemoracije na Kapiji u Tuzli i u Bradini kod Konjica. Mi smo ove godine bili u Bradini kod Konjica gdje se malobrojna srpska zajednica prisjeća vlastitog

stradanja. Zajednice koje su danas manjinske, kakva je ona srpska u Konjicu, uvijek su dobri i zahvalni domaćini: njima su svaki dolazak i svaka podrška sa strane vitalni. To su zajednice koje su bore za goli opstanak, svedene na biološki minimum sa prijetnjom nestanka koja se nad njih nadvila već poodavno. Ta manjinska pozicija svaku od njih određuje, usudio bih se reći, primarno. Iz manjinske pozicije ništa ne ide na mišiće već vas gura na put saradnje, razumijevanja, strpljenja, osluškivanja potreba drugog... Kako su sve to vrijednosti koje i sami zagovoramo, uvijek nam je drago otići na takva mjesta: tek tamo vidite koliko vaš rad znači običnim ljudima, koliko im je drago da ste tu, koliko bi vas i svake naredne godine voljeli vidjeti... Ta manjinska iskustva, duboko vjerujem, nešto su najvrednije u našoj okolini koje bi moglo transformisati odnose unutar društva: jedna te ista crkva ili vjerska zajednica drastično je različita u mjestu gdje je u manjini i tamo gdje je u većini. Vjerske zajednice spominjem jer su to često jedine institucije koje možete komparirati u dva konteksta: tamo gdje je jedan narod u manjini vjerske zajednice su često jedina utočišta, tamo ne idu političari, tamo ne obitavaju

mediji, akademije, nacionalne institucije.... A oni koji se najkomotnije osjećaju tamo gdje su u većini uvijek su više zainteresirani za голу moć, prije svega ostalog, i njoj podređuju sve, sjećanje na bolnu prošlost ponajprije.

U Vitezu na komemoraciji ubijenoj djeci na lokalitetu "Osmica" bili smo i prošle godine. U godinu dana primijetne su značajne razlike: Do prošle godine bila je to mala, intimna, mahalska komemoracija koju organiziraju porodice ubijene djece, a ove godine stradanja viteške djece sjetili su se i hrvatski političari ne samo iz BiH već i iz Hrvatske. I dalje je to izrazito intimna komemoracija na kojoj nema političkih govora i jedino što se čuje su molitve. No, političke potrebe itekako utječu i na to kako se komemoriraju ratni događaji: Kako je primarni politički sukob u BiH na relaciji Bošnjaka i Hrvata oko izbornog zakona, ratne rane su nerijetko argumenti u takvim političkim okršajima, nažalost. Time objašnjavam činjenicu da je komemoracija bošnjačkim žrtvama u Ahmićima kod Viteza posljednjih godina izdignuta na jedan viši nivo uz prisustvo bošnjačkog političkog vrha što ranije nije bio slučaj. Tako je i predsjednik Hrvatske Zoran Milanović tokom julske posjete Vitezu posjetio "Osmicu" što ranije nije bio slučaj. Mi smo na "Osmicu" išli i prošle godine, a namjera namjera nam je da odemo i iduće, sa još većom grupom. Idemo čistih namjera sa željom da odamo počast ubijenoj djeci, pružimo podršku njihovim porodicama. Prisustvo ili neprisustvo političara uočavamo jer takvi procesi su značaji za naša društva, ali to ne utječe ni na koji načina na naše namjere.

Na Uborku i Sutini bili smo i prošle godine, nas četvero položilo je vijence na spomenike da bismo kroz godinu dana bili pozvani da kao veća grupa zajedno sa veteranima prisustvujemo komemoraciji. Na Uborku i Sutini ubijeno je 113 civila, Bošnjaka i Hrvata, u ljeto 1992. godine i to je faktički prva masovna grobnica koja je ekshumirana, još u augustu 1992. godine. Za Mostar, koji je posebno obilježen ratom Armije RBiH i HVO-a, komemoracija ubijenima na Uborku i Sutini jedinstven je događaj na koje zajednički dolaze svi predstavnici gradske vlasti kao i predstavnici boračkih udruženja proisteklih iz ARBiH i HVO-a. Nakon prošlogodišnje posjete upravo ovom dijelu Mostara, odlazak na zvaničnu komemoraciju na Uborku i Sutini bio je sljedeći željeni korak. Zahvaljujući snažnoj podršci lokalnih partnera u Mostaru, ratnih veterana koje smo upoznali i sa kojima sarađujemo, novinara, predstavnika udruženja logoraša, južni dio Bosne i Hercegovine nam je sve otvoreniji.

Kao i prethodne godine, usljed pandemije i ograničenja putovanja, bilo je teško, skoro nemoguće, intenzivnije raditi van Bosne i Hercegovine. I pored takvih ograničenja, uspjeli smo ostvariti vrijedne kontakte na području Hrvatske. Ne samo po broju aktivnosti nego i po određenim iskoracima, uprkos svim izazovima i ograničenjima, zadovoljni smo učinjenim. Nosili smo maske, ali smo vidjeli radost na licima kad bi se sreli jedni sa drugima ili sa onima koje je naš dolazak obradovao, od Knina, preko Brčkog i Konjice, do Mostara.

Nedžad Novalić

Komemoracija ubijenoj djeci u Vitezu: Anđeli naši, mi vas nismo zaboravili

Prije 28 godina, na današnji dan, 10.6.1993. godine, u vohoru ratnih sukoba između Armije RBiH i HVO-a, od granate ispaljene sa položaja ARBiH, u Vitezu je ubijeno osmero djece. Porodice žrtava i ove godine su na lokaciji pogibije svojih najbližih položili cvijeće i molitvom se sjetili stradalih.

Najmlađa žrtva je bila devetogodišnja djevojčica

Augustina Grebenar, čiji je 12-godišnji brat Velimir također poginuo. Među žrtvama su i 12-godišnjak Milan i 18-godišnja Sanja Garić, također brat i sestra, kao i 15-godišnjaci Dragan Ramljak, Draženko Čečura i Sanja Križanović, te desetogodišnji Boris Antičević.

Dječju igru, njih 15-ak, prema sjećanju preživjelih, tog 10. juna 1993. godine u naselju Podgradina, oko

20:45 sati prekinula je granata. Na mjestu je poginulo petero djece, troje je preminulo u bolnici, a šestero je ranjeno.

Klupa, koš i spomenik "Osmica" na igralištu u Podgradini danas podsjećaju na prekinutu dječju igru. Svake godine, 10. juna, porodice se okupljaju kako bi na tom mjestu položile cvijeće i upalile svijeće.

Misu je i ove godine predvodio fra Velimir Bavrka, lokalni župnik, koji je, uz riječi utjehe i nade za porodice ubijenih, kazao je kako je današnje okupljanje svjedočanstvo da nevino ubijena djeca nisu zaboravljena.

"Dragi naši anđeli, mi vas ovdje nismo zaboravili. Kao vjernici, došli smo ovdje da slavimo euharistiju koja je vrhunac kojem teži djelovanje Crkve. To je izvor iz kojeg se mi napajamo i hranimo. Došli smo kako bi i ovaj put svome Gospodinu kazali da smo zahvalni što stojimo pred Tobom i Tebi služimo, kao što su ti služila i naša nevino ubijena djeca. Molimo i molit ćemo, ali doista srcem moliti, i praštati u duhu Isusovom, i onima koji su to uradili", kazao je fra Bavrka.

Ubistvo viteške djece još uvijek nije procesuirano, a kako je ranije za BIRN potvrđeno iz Tužilaštva Bosne i Hercegovine predmet se nalazi u njihovoj nadležnosti. Porodice iz godine u godinu upozoravaju da se na procesuiranju ne čini ništa, a same okolnosti stradanja djece, poput tačne lokacije sa koje je granata ispaljena, do danas nisu sudski utvrđene. Okolnostima pogibije viteške djece detaljnije su se bavili novinari Balkanske istraživačke mreže (BIRN) u svom serijalu "Zaboravljene žrtve".

Milko Garić, otac ubijene Sanje i Milana, kazao je uoči današnje komemoracije da je porodicama jednako teško danas, kao i prvog dana.

"Nama su djeca ubijena noću, u 21 sat, ukopani su u rano jutro oko 5 sati, nije bilo ni mise, ni sprovoda, mi se okupimo tu kod spomenika, kod koša da se sjetimo", kazao je Garić.

Obilježavanje godišnjice porodice ubijene djece organiziraju sami, bez političara i predstavnika udruženja proisteklih iz proteklog rata, jer, kako poručuju, ne dopuštaju manipuliranje žrtvama. Kako



kažu, dobrodošli su svi dobronamjerni da se zajedno, u molitvi, sjete nevino ubijenih.

Davorka Turk, iz mirovne organizacije Centar za nenasilnu akciju Sarajevo-Beograd, i ove godine je na komemoraciju ubijenoj djeci došla sa kolegama kako bi pružila podršku porodicama.

“Bili smo ovdje i prošle godine, nažalost, mnogo ljudi još i ne zna za ovo stradanje, posebno ljudi van Viteza i Bosne. Zanemarivanje mjesta stradanja i nepriznavanje počinjenih zločina hrani strah da će se oni ponoviti. Došli smo, kao i na toliko drugih mjesta, da izrazimo podršku i solidarnost s obiteljima žrtava, te

da još jednom pozovemo institucije na procesuiranje odgovornih, njihova je odgovornost tim veća budući se radi o djeci. Ovdje smo i jer želimo ovu djecu, njihovo stradanje i patnju njihovih obitelji otrgnuti od zaborava javnosti. Žalimo za gubitkom svakog ljudskog života i ujedinjeni smo u opredjeljenju da ne dopustimo da se rat, nepravde i stradanja ponove”, kazala je Davorka Turk.

Komemoraciji u Vitezu prisustvovalo je, uprkos kišnom vremenu, više od stotinu mještana Viteza i drugih mjesta.





obilježavanje neobilježenih
mjesa stradanja

Akcije:

- 12 ONMS akcija, Tuzla, Zvornik, Srebrenik, oktobar 2020.

Obilježena mjesta stradanja:

Brčanska Malta, Tuzla

Omladinski dom, selo Rapatnica kod Srebrenika

Prostorije fudbalskog kluba, selo Rapatnica kod Srebrenika

Domo kulture, selo Drinjača, Zvornik

Nekadašnji Dom kulture, selo Čelopek, Zvornik

„Rašidov han“, selo Snagovo kod Zvornika.

- 13 ONMS akcija, Livno, Ljubuški, Čapljina, decembar 2020.

Obilježena mjesta stradanja:

Jama iznad Zastinja na brdu Bašajkovac kod Livna

Dvorana „Dalibor Perković Dali“, Livno

Garaže Elektroprivrede, Livno

Zgrada bivšeg Komiteta, Livno

Objekat OŠ u naselju Zabrišće, Livno

Objekat OŠ u naselju Orguz, Livno

Objekat vojno-istražnog zatvora, Ljubuški

Objekat „Silos“, Čapljina

- 14 ONMS akcija, Zenica, Žepče, Doboj, februar 2021.

Obilježena mjesta stradanja:

Objekat nekadašnjeg silosa, Žepče

Fiskulturna sala osnovne škole, Žepče

Objekat OŠ u selu Ljubatovići, Žepče

Fiskulturna sala OŠ u naselju Pekovići, Žepče

Kazneno-popravni dom, Zenica

Željezni most, Doboj

- 15 ONMS akcija, Doboj, Odžak, Orašje, mart 2021.

Obilježena mjesta stradanja:

Objekat „Perčin disko“, Doboj

Skladišta nekadašnje kasarne JNA u Ševarliji, Doboj

Objekti „Livnice Strolit“, Odžak

Objekat nekadašnje OŠ „Bratstvo i jedinstvo“, sada OŠ „Vladimir Nazor“, Odžak

Objekat OŠ „Donja Mahala“, Orašje

- 16 ONMS akcija, Nevesinje, Bileća, maj 2021.

Obilježena mjesta stradanja:

Objekti kasarne JNA „Moša Pijade“, Bileća

Objekat „Đački dom“, Bileća

Objekat „Dom JNA“, Nevesinje

Objekat „Alatnica“, Nevesinje

Objekat OŠ Dnopolje, selo Zijemlje, Mostar

Jama Dubravica-Breza, selo Zijemlje, Mostar

Jama Doline-Kušići, selo Zijemlje, Mostar

Objekat bivšeg policijskog odmarališta i kafić „Strela“, Boračko jezero, Konjic

Obilježavanje mjesta stradanja: Ima smisla

Kao i na niz drugih aktivnosti i na naše akcije obilježavanja neobilježenih mjesta stradanja u Bosni i Hercegovini u protekloj godini značajno je utjecala pandemija koronavirusa. Ograničenja kretanja, sastajanja i druge zdravstvene preporuke primorale su nas da akcije izvodimo u vremenu kada je broj zaraženih bio manji ili barem bio u padu i da ograničimo broj susreta na terenu na minimum. Dijelom zbog pandemije, ali i kao opredjeljenje unutar tima da se fokus preusmjeri sa mjesta na ljude, nastojali smo sa lokalnim partnerima kao što su udruženja žrtava, zatočenika, porodice žrtava i lokalne vlasti, ostvariti intenzivniji kontakt i pokušati njihova svjedočanstva zabilježiti i dati im veći prostor u javnosti.

Iza svakog neobilježenog mjesta stradanja postoje stvarni ljudi koji su na različite načine vezani za ta mjesta: neki su na tim mjestima bili zatočeni, drugi su aktivisti koji godinama ukazuju na takva mjesta i spremno su nas dočekali i bili nam svojevrsni lokalni vodiči, treći su istraživači... Preusmjerivši fokus na ljude i njihove priče skoro na svim akcijama u protekloj godini snimili smo važna svjedočanstva ljudi i različite priče o neobilježenim mjestima stradanja.

Jedna od tih priča, jedno od svjedočanstava, je i ono Ekrema Nadžaka koji je više mjeseci bio zatočen na području Žepča, svog rodnog grada. Ekrem nam se javio još početkom 2020. godine sa informacijama o mjestima zatočenja na području Žepča koja nisu obilježena do danas. Bilo nam je to značajno kao primjer gdje su nas žrtve prepoznale kao partnere i osobe od povjerenja te su nam se obratile da zajednički obilježimo njihova stratišta. Ekrem nas je dočekao u Žepču, obišao sa nama lokaciju "Silosa" u kojem je bio zatočen i govorio o tome zašto je njemu važno da se ovakva mjesta obilježe.

Bilo nam je značajno da jasno, lokalnim vlastima i udruženjima žrtava, pojasnimo da obilježavamo sva mjesta stradanja, a ne samo mjesta stradanja jednog naroda ili u jednom gradu.

„Ako je neko bio u logoru, zna da je to patnja, neko je otpatio manje, neko više, ja sam dobro otpatio. Tako je isto i sa onim tamo, na drugoj, na trećoj strani. Bilo bi dobro da mi logoraši porazgovaramo jedni sa drugima,

da se izjadamo, bez obzira sa koje smo strane. Kad neko ima neku svoju bol, nemam kome da se izjadam, jedino mogu onome što osjeti isto kao i ja. Imam osjećaj da bi mi bilo lakše, da bih i ja čuo i vidio muku onog drugog, da kažem sebi da nisam sam. Volio bih da doživim i to“, kazao nam je prilikom obilaska mjesta stradanja na području Žepča Mirza Maglić, predsjednik Udruženja logoraša iz Žepča.

Takva solidarnost žrtava sa žrtvama, bez obzira na njihovu etničku pripadnost, nešto je što je u javnom prostoru rijetko ili skoro nikako prisutno. Mirzine riječi pokazuju da stradalnici osjećaju patnju i bol *drugog*, bez obzira ko taj drugi bio, a to priznanje patnje i boli drugog značajan je iskorak za bosanskohercegovačko društvo, a nama je bilo motivacija za daljnji rad i potvrda smislenosti urađenog.

U Modriči smo sreli Vladu Dragojlovića koji neumorno godinama insistira na procesuiranju odgovornih za zatočenja srpskih civila i vojnika na području Odžaka, Orašja i drugih mjesta u Posavini. U Zvorniku, Srebreniku i Tuzli lokalni partner bio nam je Sinan Alić, novinar i dugogodišnji predsjednik tuzlanske fondacije "Istina, pravda, pomirenje". Bile su nam dragocjene njegove priče o Domu kulture u Drinjači, simbolu *bratstva i jedinstva*, čijem je otvorenju Alić svjedočio kao novinar prije više od 40 godina. Isti Dom kulture 1992. postao je mjesto zatočenja za više stotina bošnjačkih civila iz Zvornika odakle su mnogi odvedeni i u smrt. Opet, u Rapatnici kod Srebrenika, kada smo obilježavali jedan drugi Dom kulture gdje su bili zatočeni srpski civili, dojmila nas je Alićeva hrabrost dok je lokalnim mještanima koje smo zatekli u blizini otvoreno govorio zašto smo došli i šta su nam namjere. Nažalost, Sinan Alić je preminuo pola godine poslije - otišao je vrijedan hroničar tuzlanskog kraja i čovjek koji je bio spreman otići sa nama na sva mjesta stradanja, od Novog Travnika, Travnika, Tuzla, Srebrenika...

U Livnu smo se kratko sreli sa predstavnicima

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



udruženja logoraša, ali je bio očigledan strah s njihove strane za značajniju saradnju. Nakon što smo objavili saopćenje i nakon što su lokalni mediji prenijeli vijesti mogli smo razumjeti zašto su bivši zatočnici bili rezervirani. Naime, uslijedila je žestoka reakcija lokalnog hrvatskog stanovništva koje je ovakve akcije vidjelo kao neprijateljski gest. Većina ljudi koji su se javljali putem različitih kanala komunikacije nije čitala dalje od naslova, malo njih ili niko nije želio vidjeti desetine mjesta stradanja Hrvata koja smo također obilježili i naše jasno opredjeljenje da obilježimo mjesta stradanja bez obzira na etničku pripadnost žrtava ili počinioca. Izrada website, mape, popis mjesta stradanja, moderiranje komentara i komunikacija jedan na jedan, samo su neki od načina kojima smo pokušali prevenirati ovakvo (ne)razumijevanje našeg rada. Ovakve reakcije pokazuju mnogo stvari, od podijeljenih *javnosti* i medija koji komemoriraju samo *svoje* žrtve, preko trenda da se skoro isključivo čita samo naslov, do postojanja svojevrsnog prećutnog dogovora: u svakom mjestu većina određuje šta čega će se sjećati. Pojednostavljeno, hrvatska većina u Livnu

nameće okvir dopuštenog sjećanja i prihvatljivo joj je da isti takav okvir nameće, naprimjer, bošnjačka većina u Zenici. U takvom sistemu potpuno su zanemareni interesi bošnjačke manjine u Livnu čija smo mjesta obilježili u decembru 2020, ili pak interesi hrvatske manjine u Zenici čija smo mjesta stradanja obilježili u aprilu 2020. Naše opredjeljenje ostaje da na takav nametnuti okvir ne pristajemo i da se solidarišemo sa svim žrtvama, posebno onima koje su danas u manjini, čiji se glas ne čuje i koje se bore za pravo na sjećanje. Obilježiti mjesta stradanja u Livnu bilo nam je značajno i jer su dva člana našeg tima iz Livna, a poseban teret po(d)nio je naš dugogodišnji saradnik Dalmir Mišković.

Akcijom iz maja 2021. obilježili smo mjesta stradanja na području Istočne Hercegovine. To nam je bilo značajno jer ranije nismo uspijevali obilježiti mjesta stradanja na ovom području Bosne i Hercegovine, a upoznali smo i istraživača Suada Omeriku koji nas je upoznao sa kontekstom stradanja Bošnjaka Nevesinja i vodio nas na teško dostupne lokacije. Momenat u kojem nam se slučajno pridružio jedan poznanik Suada Omerike, i sam Nevesinjac koji danas živi u Mostaru,

vrijedan je pomena. Nakon što smo zajednički obišli mjesta stradanja on nas je počastio kolačima i kafom u znak zahvalnosti za ono što radimo. Razgovori sa takvim ljudima, u kojima ispred sebe vidite cijeli jedan svijet kojem mnogo znači ono što radite, izuzetna su motivacija za daljnji rad. Ima smisla i vrijedi, dvije su odrednice koje nas vode i umjeravaju. Još kad ih čujete od običnih ljudi, eeejjj.

Posebno nam je značajno izgrađeno povjerenje sa udruženjima žrtava, logorašima, lokalnim aktivistima... Danas smo u prilici da planiramo akcije na poziv lokalnih udruženja (Brčko) ili pak da planiramo da sa različitim udruženjima logoraša, onim bošnjačkim i hrvatskim, maštamo (planiramo?) zajedničku posjetu neobilježenim mjestima stradanja na području Mostara. To su samo neke od perspektiva rada u narednom periodu na ovom polju. Ono što nam je

drago jest da obilježavanje neobilježenih mjesta stradanja toliko različitih ljudi doživljava kao *svoju stvar*: Od novinara (posebno veliko hvala prijateljima iz Balkanske istraživačke mreže - BIRN), ratnih veterana koji su uvijek spremni biti nam partneri, udruženja žrtava...

Ovdje želim spomenuti i Bravnice kod Jajca. To je mjesto stradanja srpskih civila koje smo obilježili 2018. a 2019. smo zajedno sa mješovitom grupom ratnih veterana posjetili ovo neobilježeno mjesto i zajedno sa žrtvama po prvi put javno položili cvijeće. E u tim Bravnicama, u Jajcu u kojem danas Srba gotovo da i nema, skoro četiri godine neko brine o tabli da se radi o neobilježenom mjestu stradanja, podigne je kad padne, očisti, vrati gdje smo je i mi ostavili... Eto, zato vrijedi, zato ima smisla.

Nedžad Novalić

Trinaesta akcija: Što je nama sjećanje!?

Trinaestu akciju obilježavanja neobilježenih mjesta stradanja sproveli smo početkom decembra/prosinca 2020. godine na području Livna, Ljubuškog i Čapljine

Završena je 13. akcija obilježavanja neobilježnih mjesta stradanja.

U proteklom periodu posjetili smo Livno, Ljubuški i Čaplinu te smo u tim lokalnim zajednicama obilježili mjesta ubojstva i zatočeničkih objekata. Većina ovih lokacija je u lokalnim zajednicama obavijena velom tajne, nerado se o njima govori i svaki izlazak iz te nametnute matrice šutnje smatra se napadom onu neku "našu" kolektivnu verziju istine. Memorijali i drugi oblici sjećanja ne postoje.

Zločin iza bojišnice

Nakon što su u proljeće 1992. Hrvatsko vijeće obrane i druge hrvatske jedinice obranile Livno od napada Jugoslovenske narodne armije i Vojske Republike Srpske (VRS) i nakon što su se događanja na liniji fronta smirila, došlo je do često primjenjivane procedure obračuna u pozadini, sa onima koji su smatrani pripadnicima neprijateljskog naroda, u ovom slučaju Srbima.

Osobe srpske nacionalnosti sa područja Livna, koje su činile brojčanu manjinu na tom području, optužene su da spremaju pobunu te su kolektivno prisilno zatvarane u zatočeničke objekte na području Livna. 2016. godine, kad smo bili prvi put u Livnu u akciji obilježavanja, obilježili smo objekt Osnovne škole Ivan Goran Kovačić koja je tijekom 1992. služila kao jedan od takvih zatočeničkih objekata.

U ovoj etapi obilježavanja lokacija u Livnu, prva lokacija koju smo obilježili bila je jama iznad sela Zastinje na brdu Bašajkovac kod Livna. Na lokaciji te jame je ubijeno i bačeno u jamu 13 osoba srpske nacionalnosti koje su tu dovedene iz zatočeničkog objekta prethodno spomenute Osnovne škole Ivan Goran Kovačić. Žrtve su iz jame ekshumirane 1999. od strane Operativnog tima Republike Srpske za traženje nestalih lica. Za zločin počinjen na ovoj lokaciji još uvijek nitko nije osuđen.

1993.

Kada je 1993. došlo do širokog sukoba između Hrvatskog vijeća obrane (HVO) sastavljenog većinom od Hrvata i Armije Republike Bosne i Hercegovine (ARBiH) sastavljene većinom od Bošnjaka, poremetili su se i do tada koliko toliko postojeći odnosi Bošnjaka i Hrvata u Livnu, nastali na temeljima zajedničkog osjećaja ugroženosti od srpskih vojnih formacija.

Livanjski Bošnjaci su tada ravnopravno, kao vojnici Hrvatskog vijeća obrane, sudjelovali u obrani Livna te su dominantno nadzirali jedan od šest sektora livanjske bojišnice. Razvojem neprijateljstava između HVO i ARBiH dolazi do nepovjerenja prema Bošnjacima na području Livna te zapovjedništvo lokalnog HVO-a 21. 7. 1993. odlučuje da razoruža pripadnike HVO-a bošnjačke nacionalnosti. No, s razoružavanjem priča ne staje, dolazi do kolektivnog zatvaranja osoba bošnjačke nacionalnosti na području Livna, kako onih bivših pripadnika HVO-a tako i civila. I u ovoj fazi rata jedno od zatočeničkih mjesta bila je Osnovna škola Ivan Goran Kovačić, koju smo obilježili 2016. godine. Osim škole, obilježili smo lokacije drugih zatočeničkih

objekata i to: Sportsku dvoranu Dalibor Perković Dali, Garaže Elektroprivrede, bivšu zgradu Komiteta u Livnu, zgradu područnog odjeljenja OŠ Ivan Goran Kovačić u selu Zabrišće, zgradu područnog odjeljenja OŠ Ivan Goran Kovačić u selu Orguz. Svi ti objekti, zajedno sa glavnom zgradom OŠ Ivan Goran Kovačić i policijskom postajom su tijekom ljeta i jeseni 1993., a počevši sa 21.7.1993. služili kao zatočenička mjesta za osobe bošnjačke nacionalnosti s područja Livna. Zatočenici su bili podvrgnuti nehumanim uvjetima, prisilnim premještanjima i radu, zlostavljanjima i premlaćivanjima. U komunikaciji sa predstavnicima lokalnog udruženja logoraša 21. juli saznali smo da za događaje na ovim lokacijama još uvijek nitko nije kazнено odgovarao.

Kad je pjesnik Ivan Goran Kovačić 1943. u Livnu završavao svoju svjetski poznatu poemu "Jama" ni u najluđim košmarima nije mogao zamisliti da će se slične stvari ponavljati 45 godina nakon. Njegov umjetnički pokušaj da ostavi sjećanje na patnju ljudi koji su u ovom kraju početkom Drugog svjetskog rata ubijani bacanjem u jame očito nije ispunio svoju svrhu



opominjanja novih generacija, kad su i u ovom ratu jame opet služile za istu stvar, a škole sa njegovim imenom kao zatočenički objekti.

Zapadnohercegovačka mjesta zatočenja

U Ljubuškom smo obilježili objekt bivšeg Vojno-istražnog zatvora koji je tijekom 1993. služio kao mjesto zatočenja osoba bošnjačke nacionalnosti s područja Hercegovine. Zatočenici su bili podvrgnuti nehumanim uvjetima i zlostavljanjima. Mnogi od zatočenika su završili u drugim zloglasnim zatočeničkim objektima u Hercegovini, Heliodromu kod Mostara, Dretelju kod Čapljine itd. Jedan dio zatočenika iz Livna, krajem 1993. je prebačen u neke od ovih zatočeničkih objekata, odakle su među zadnjima izašli 1994. godine nakon potpisivanja Washingtonskog sporazuma.

Na području Čapljine smo već bili 2017. godine kad smo obilježili objekt bivše kasarne JNA u naselju Dretelj, koje je nažalost trenutno jedino poznato po tom zatočeničkom objektu.

Ovom prilikom smo obilježili lokaciju porušenog "silosa" u Čapljini koja je tijekom 1993. i 1994. služila kao zatočenički objekt za osobe bošnjačke nacionalnosti. Zatočenici su bili podvrgnuti nehumanim uvjetima, prisilnim premještanjima, zlostavljanjima i premlaćivanjima.

Sve ove prethodno nabrojane lokacije još uvijek nisu obilježene na dostojan način i na njima ne postoje memorijali koji bi sjećali na događaje koju su se tu odvili.

Ovim obilježavanjem došli smo do broja od 100 neobilježenih mjesta stradanja u više od 60 lokalnih zajednica u BiH u kojima je pravo na sjećanje na razne načine onemogućeno i otežano.

Što je nama sjećanje?

U proteklih 5 godina kroz aktivnost obilježavanja neobilježenih mjesta stradanja pokušavamo promijeniti odnos prema sjećanju na ratna događanja u BiH i šire. Prošli smo kroz puno različitih lokalnih zajednica, vidjeli i čuli veliki broj bolnih i traumatičnih iskustava, ali u svakoj od tih zajednica naišli smo na jako sličan pristup nedavnoj ratnoj prošlosti.

U svim tim zajednicama, dominantna nacionalna grupa selektivno kroji način na koji se sjećamo onoga što se zbilo tijekom devedesetih. Sjećanje je uokvireno

u nacionalne okvire te se teži simplificiranom i viktimiziranom pogledu koji potencira samo obrambeni karakter rata u kojemu smo "mi najveće i jedine žrtve".

U tim jednodimenzionalnim nacionalnim okvirima sjećanja, najčešće nema mjesta za sjećanje i patnju onih drugih, a svi glasovi koji dolaze iz tih manjinskih krugova predstavljaju se kao ugrožavanje našeg sjećanja. Takva selektivna kultura sjećanja koja je u neku ruku i destruktivna, u našim podjeljenim zajednicama služi da bi se održala sadašnja podjela moći. Štoviše, sjećanje služi i kao gorivo kojim se potpaljuju neki sadašnji zategnuti odnosi koji bi mogli nekad u budućnosti prerasti u nešto gore i nasilnije. I kao takvo, selektivno i destruktivno, sjećanje na rat u našem postratnom traumatiziranom društvu zauzima jako važnu poziciju jer se još uvijek, sve što se događa u javnoj sferi, mjeri i opravdava onime kako se sjećamo rata.

Obljetnice, komemoracije, tko je bio na kojoj strani, tko je agresor a tko branitelj, tko je otišao a tko ostao, tko je bio na liniji a tko u podrumu, tko je zločinac a tko žrtva itd. su pojmovi i vrijednosne konstrukcije koje dominiraju našim javnim prostorom a na kojima se bazira naše društvo i gledište na svijet. Takvi društveni elementi, koji se u našem društvu smatraju jednim od najvažnijih, baziraju svoje postojanje na ovoj našoj iskrivljenoj kulturi sjećanja.

Put kojim idemo

Jako je teško graditi slobodno i pravedno društvo kad su mu temelji potpuno iskrivljeni. Način za ispravljanje tih temelja nije lagan, niti postoji jednostavan i gotov recept kojim bi to uradili, ali smo sigurni da je put koji vodi ka ispravljanju tih temelja popločan inkluzivnim i neselektivnim pristupom onome što se događalo u prošlosti. I mi pokušavamo tako djelovati.

Akciju za akcijom i mi smo se mnogo promijenili, napredovali smo i tehnički i ljudski. Osim nas, promijenio se i način na koji nam ljudi pristupaju. U početku je glavna povratna informacija od ljudi bila puko negiranje bez ikakvog objašnjenja, nakon 13. akcije, pored brojnih komentara podrške, dominantna povratna informacija je nešto što zovu whataboutism, a to je pozivanje na mjesta stradanja gdje su žrtve pripadnici njihove etničke skupine. Iako se whataboutism najčešće smatra negativnom pojavom kojom se na

neko teško i složeno pitanje odgovara kontrapitanjem da bi se izbjeglo primarno teško pitanje.

U našem kontekstu whataboutism je donekle i iskorak u kulturi sjećanja. Pažnja prelazi sa negiranja žrtava koje je skroz destruktivno, na traženje pravde za one žrtve koje se smatraju svojim. Takav pristup, makar selektivan, jednosmjern i nacionalno uokviren

je ipak donekle legitimna pozicija i napredak za naše društvo pošto se traži makar neka ograničena pravda.

I da, mi nastavljamo i dalje, kako na društvenim mrežama, tako i na obilježavanju drugih neobilježenih mjesta stradanja.

Dalmir Mišković



mirovno obrazovanje

Usled epidemije Covid19 tokom 2020. i polovinom 2021. godine nismo mogli da organizujemo treninge i edukacije. Bilo je neizvodljivo da na jednom mestu, više dana, u zatvorenoj prostoriji, bude 20-24 osoba, koliko ih bude na našim treninzima inače.

Kako trening izgradnje mira nije samo puko sprovođenje radionica, već podrazumeva intenzivnu interakciju učesnika/ca i trenerskog tima, kako u vremenu za rad, tako i u slobodno vreme, opcije za online organizovanje nisu bile prihvatljive.

Bili smo prinuđeni da otkazemo sve osnovne treninge predviđene za održavanje u tom periodu, te dva Mir-Paqe-Mup treninga.

Uspeli smo da održimo Trening za studente i studentice iz Bosne i Hercegovine, na Vlašiću, krajem jula meseca 2021. godine, i širi izveštaj sa tog treninga pročitajte u nastavku.

4. Trening iz izgradnje mira za studente i studentice iz Bosne i Hercegovine

Vlašić, Bosna i Hercegovina, 22-28.7.2021.

Broj prijava: 67

20 učesnika/ca koji studiraju na Univerzitetima: u Sarajevu, Istočnom Sarajevu, Bihaću, Zenici, Tuzli, Bijeljini i Banjaluci

Rodni balans: 12 žena i 8 muškaraca.

Tim: Dalmir Mišković, Tamara Zrnović, Nedžad Novalić, Katarina Milićević

Četvrti po redu Trening iz izgradnje mira za studentice i studente iz Bosne i Hercegovine održan je u periodu od 22. do 28. srpnja/jula na planini Vlašić. Na treningu je sudjelovalo 20 studentica i studenata, razolikih društvenih i kulturnih pozadina, a koji dolaze iz lokalnih zajednica na području cijele BiH.

Nažalost, zbog otkazivanja, ali i manjeg broja prijava (67 ukupno) ostali smo uskraćeni za prisustvo sudionika koji dolaze s područja u kojima je dominantan hrvatski kontekst. Ovaj nedostatak nam je predstavljao poteškoću zbog važnosti etničkih identiteta u državi u kojoj živimo, osim toga, grupni mehanizmi koji se baziraju na nacionalnom su jedan od najjsnažnijih faktora koji utječe na društvenu dinamiku koju imamo u Bosni i Hercegovini. Naravno, nacionalna dimenzija nije jedina, ali je ta dimenzija, u našem kontekstu, faktor čije bi zanemarivanje po našim vrijednosnim standardima predstavljalo korak unazad. Isto tako, reprezentativnost nam je važna i zbog raznolikosti same grupe.

Među sudionicima smo imali buduće pravnike, doktore medicine, inženjere, arhitekte, ekonomiste, politologe, te buduće svršeničke filozofskih fakulteta, a koji studiraju na Univerzitetima: u Sarajevu, Istočnom Sarajevu, Bihaću, Zenici, Tuzli, Bijeljini i Banjaluci.

Rodni balans se sastojao od 12 žena i 8 muškaraca.

Organizirati ovakav trening u pandemijski nesigurnom vremenu predstavljalo je nimalo lagan zadatak. Prije svega, nismo mogli biti sigurni da će se trening uopće održati, mogućnost otkazivanja stalno je postojala, i bitno nam je bilo da sam prostor i ljude zaštitimo od mogućnosti zaraze i komplikacija virusom tijekom samog rada. Ipak, zbog važnosti programa i potencijala za promjenu koji nosi ova generacija budućih visoko obrazovanih ljudi i potencijalnih donosioca odluka u našim zajednicama, odlučili smo da je održavanje ovakvog treninga, uz sve mjere opreza i predostrožnosti, ipak moguće i održivo i da je važno da i ove godine uradimo ovakav jedan trening.

Hrabrost i otvorenost dvadesetogodišnjaka

Početni dio treninga je bio rezerviran za međusobno upoznavanje, te teme vezane uz upoznavanje, komunikaciju i timski rad. Sudionici su u startu pokazali iznenađujuću razinu otvorenosti i hrabrosti da pred grupom od 20 nepoznatih ljudi, podijele o sebi i svom životu intimne i snažne priče te svoj formativni put. Takva snažna grupna dinamika mladih ljudi koji su se tek upoznali, nastavila se i u dijelu gdje smo se bavili komunikacijom, a posebice na timskom radu gdje su sudionici prepoznali važnost i potencijal suradnje i timskog rada u svemu što se radi, pa tako i u izgradnji mira koja je fokus ove vrste neformalnog obrazovanja.

Važan dio treninga, po utiscima koji su dolazili iz grupe, ali i po utiscima trenerskog tima, predstavljao je dio koji se bavio identitetima i onome što oni predstavljaju u našim životima. Učesnici su po prvi put (po njihovim riječima tokom radionica i evaluacije) dobili priliku da otvoreno razgovaraju o onome što ih oblikuje i definira u odnosu prema drugima, ali i da vide na koji to način funkcioniraju mehanizmi identitetskog svrstavanja drugih ljudi i na koji način to utječe na druge. Promišljanje o ovome, kao i sloboda razmišljanja "izvan kutije" predstavljaju jedan od osnovnih mehanizama promjene koji nam omogućuje da se oslobađamo onoga što se kod nas uzima zdravo za gotovo i što se često naziva naslijeđem ili tradicijom, a ima negativne utjecaje na druge te dovodi do predrasuda i diskriminacije prema drugima.

Bojazan od nametanja odgovornosti

Središnji dio treninga predstavlja dio koji se bavi zajedničkom nasilnom prošlosti i onime što ona nosi sa sobom. Iako smo kao trenerski tim imali bojazan da se ovi mladi ljudi neće moći pronaći u ovim temama, da su im daleke i da će im, uzimajući u obzir prosječnu starost od 20 godina, razmjena o temama rata predstavljati nametanje i obavezu, ispostavilo se da nam je bojazan potpuno neutemeljena. Kako smo zamjetili, iako se radi o ljudima rođenima nakon rata, vidljive i nevidljive posljedice rata su itekako prisutne u njihovim životima, oni su bili spremni da o njima promišljaju jako duboko i konstruktivno. Štoviše, razina na kojoj su oni razgovarali o ratu i prostor koji su dali jedni drugima, uz odsustvo autocenzure, predstavljalo je ogroman iskorak u odnosu na način na koji se o ovim temama razgovara u javnom prostoru i bosanskohercegovačkom društvu. Ta

sloboda i otvorenost nam govori, da se promjene ipak događaju i da su dijelom pogonjene time što ovi mladi ljudi nemaju breme direktnog sjećanja na ratno doba. Većina grupe je objeručke prihvatila siguran prostor za razgovor, sukob mišljenja, dijeljenje iskustava i stavova te ga je koristila ne samo da nešto kaže nego i da čuje druge. Taj otvoreni prostor postojao je ne samo za vrijeme rada, nego i u neformalnom dijelu, i on predstavlja jako važan element treninga. Uz sve to, dinamika otvorenog prostora je ključna kako bi se mogle razumjeti potrebe, iskustva, strahovi pa i kritike onih drugih. Ta vrsta sigurnog i otvorenog prostora je važna i zbog treniranja osobnih mehanizama kako da se s tim neslaganjima i razlikama nosimo i kako da na taj način rješavamo naše sukobe.

Nažalost, i taj otvoreni prostor za razgovor o prošlosti i ratu nije bio prihvaćen od svih učesnika i učesnica tako da su, zbog onoga što je na tu temu rečeno tijekom radionica, dvije sudionice napustile trening. No, i to je jedan o realnih mehanizama koji nam se svakodnevno događaju kad radimo na ovim temama, pa je u ovom slučaju bio koristan da uvidimo i na koji način se moramo i možemo nositi sa ignoriranjem i bježanjem kad se bavimo zajedničkom ratnom prošlosti. Odabir da se izađe iz prostora koji je otvoren za razgovor, ne kaže ništa, ali gestom odlaska pošalje poruka drugima je osobna odluka, na koju ni trenerski tim, ni grupa, nisu mogli u datom trenutku utjecati.

Osim toga, ražalostio nas je, ali ujedno i obradovao feedback iz grupe da su oduševljeni interaktivnim načinom rada i da je većini učesnika/ca ovo prvi put da imaju iskreni osjećaj da je njihovo mišljenje važno, da ih se sasluša i razumije ono što govore. Koliko vidimo, društvo već dvadeset godina oblikuje ovu generaciju u ex-chatedra stilu (šuti-slušaj-reprodukuji) koji ih potpuno otuđuje od kritičkog mišljenja, razmišljanja svojom glavom i osobne inicijative. Moramo se zapitati kako se to naš obrazovni sustav odnosi prema svojim budućim nositeljima zajednice, te na koji način ih oblikuje i gdje nas to sve skupa zapravo vodi?!

Ratni veterani: Ako oni mogu, mi moramo

Četvrti dan treninga, nakon tema koje se direktno tiču rata i onoga što bi bio pošten odnos prema prošlosti u našim zajednicama, grupi su se pridružila i

trojica ratnih veterana, mirovnih aktivista: Franjo Grgić (bivši pripadnik HVO iz Bihaća), Đoko Pupčević (bivši pripadnik Vojske Republike Srpske iz Šamca) i Adnan Hasanbegović (bivši pripadnik Armije BiH iz Sarajeva). Oni su studentima i studenticama prenijeli svoja iskustva i način na koji oni grade mir. Ratni veterani, kao mirovni aktivisti su kod učesnika ostavili snažan utisak te smo sa zajedničkog razgovora, svi zajedno izašli osnaženi i motivirani za daljni mirovni rad, jer ako bivši neprijatelji mogu, mi onda moramo, kao što je rekla jedna učesnica

Trening smo završili temama izgradnje mira i nenasilne akcije, te smo zajednički razmijenili ideje za načine na koji svatko od nas može graditi mir u svojoj najužoj zajednici. Dotakli smo se i nekih konkretnih primjera na koje možemo zajednički utjecati, te zaključili da je izgradnja mira zapravo napravljena od ogromnog broja malih koraka i kotačića koji zajednički čine korak ka promjeni i boljem i pravednijem sutra.

Važnost ovog programa ističe se u ogromnom potencijalu za promjenu koji ova generacija posjeduje, posebice zbog činjenice da su još uvijek u formativnim godinama da baš u tom periodu senzibilizacija na druge i njihova mišljenja i stavove ostavlja najjači utisak na njih. Prije samog treninga, senzibilizacija je bila jedno od očekivanja trenerskog tima, te nakon završetka treninga možemo reći da izlazimo ne samo sa ispunjenim očekivanjima nego i premašenim, posebice u domeni koja se tiče senzibilizacije na našu zajedničku ratnu prošlost i vidljive i nevidljive posljedice rata.

Sudionici su po prvi put imali priliku da se sretnu sa ovim temama na ovakav način, gdje su bili subjekti i akteri u radu na ovim temama, a ne pasivni slušači te su stvarno dali prostor jedni drugima da se čuju i razumiju.

Mladost u našim društvima, još uvijek samo u ratovima nije premlada

Posebno nam je ostao zanimljiv društveni fenomen u kojem se generacija od dvadeset i nešto godina smatra i osjeća premladom da govori o ratu i suočavanju s prošlošću, te im se tako oduzima mogućnost da preuzimaju odgovornost za društvenu promjenu, a kada u istom tom trenutku znamo, da su upravo dvadesetogodišnjaci na svojim plećima iznijeli rat, ranjavanja i zapovijedanje i većinu onoga što rat sa sobom nosi. Izgleda da *mladost u našim društvima još uvijek samo u ratovima nije premlada*.

Sve nas ovo vodi ka zaključku da itekako ima smisla raditi na društvenoj promjeni s ovakvom specifičnom grupom ljudi, te da nakon četiri studentska treninga do sad, možemo reći da već vidimo stvarne korake naprijed od ovih ljudi i da su neki od bivših sudionika treninga već počeli uzimati svoje mjesto u društvu, te mjenjati stvari.

Trenerski tim se sastojao od Tamare Zrnović, Nedžada Novalića, Katarine Milićević i Dalmira Miškovića.



publikacije

Biber 04

Završili smo i 4. Biber konkurs, a očekujemo i da će zbirka priča biti uskoro odštampana.

Na četvrti konkurs za kratku priču Biber pristiglo je oko 750 radova. Žiri u sastavu Tatjana Gromača, Anton Berishaj i Selvedin Avdić doneo je odluku o nagradama i napravio je izbor priča koje će biti objavljene u višejezičnoj zbirci.

Prve tri nagrađene priče su sledeće:

Prva nagrada: „Ptičice“ autora Bojana Krivokapića iz Novog Sada

Druga nagrada: „Kućica u šumi“ autorke Alme Tabak iz Sarajeva

Treća nagrada: „Trokut“ autorke Maje Halapir iz Samobora

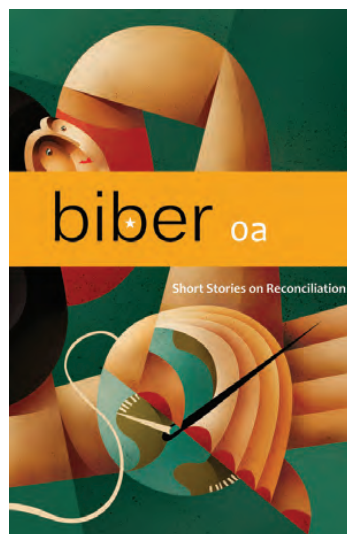
Pored nagrađenih priča, u zbirci će se naći još 22 priče sledećih autora/ki: Aleksandre Jovanović iz Vranja, Anete Velkoske iz Skoplja, Bese Morine iz Prištine, Bojana Krivokapića iz Novog Sada, Boška Lomovića iz Gornjeg Milanovca, Dinka Telečana iz Zagreba, Gorana Paladina iz Zagreba, Hoje Ogrizovića iz Novog Sada, Irene Skopljak Barić iz Vrboveca, Jelene Kalajdžije

iz Bijeljine, Jovane Matevske Atanasove iz Bitolja, Marijane Čanak iz Novog Žednika, Mihovila Rismonda iz Zagreba, Milana Vorkapića iz Vrnjačke Banje, Milene Babić iz Kruševca, Milice Rašić iz Niša, Nikole Nikolića iz Podgorice, Nikole Petrovića iz Beograda, Petre Rapačić iz Novog Sada, Sanje Trpkovske iz Skoplja, Senada Jusića iz Bugojna i Vese Qene iz Prištine.

Biber je konkurs za kratku, angažovanu priču 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. Konkurs organizuje Biber tim Centra za nenasilnu akciju.

Biber, izdanje na engleskom jeziku

Objavili smo **prevod odabranih priča** sa Biber konkursa na engleski jezik. U zbirci se nalazi 41 priča koje je pisalo isto toliko autora/ki, na albanskom, makedonskom, bosanskom, srpskom, hrvatskom ili crnogorskom jeziku. Izbor je napravljen od priča objavljenih u prve tri Biber zbirke (2016-2020).



Najava: peti konkurs Biber

U decembru 2021. godine raspisaćemo i 5. konkurs Biber. Uslovi za učešće i tema će biti isti kao i na nekoliko prethodnih: pozvaćemo autore/ke da napišu kratke, angažovane priče na albanskom, makedonskom, bosanskom, hrvatskom, srpskom ili 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. Konkurs organizuje Biber tim Centra za nenasilnu akciju Sarajevo-Beograd.

Priručnik “Nenasilje!” *online*

Napravili smo i online priručnik za treninge iz izgradnje mira, nenasilnu razradu sukoba i suočavanje sa prošlošću.

Ovaj priručnik je zamišljen da bude pomoć i podrška, alatka i oruđe, svima onima koji poseduju

osnovna znanja i veštine rada sa grupama odraslih na temu ophođenja sa konfliktima i izgradnje mira.

Posetite: handbook.nenasilje.org

Priručnik “Pomirenje?!” na ruskom jeziku

Priručnik Centra za nenasilnu akciju “Pomirenje?!” preveli su i objavili na ruskom jeziku naši saradnici iz

organizacije [Conciliation Resources](#). Očekujemo da uskoro objave i link za pdf izdanje priručnika na ruskom.

Reakcije

Na knjigu “The Past Can’t Heal Us. The Dangers of Mandating Memory In the Name of Human Rights” (Cambridge University Press, 2020) čija je autorka Lea David objavili smo dve reakcije.

Tekstove su pisale Ivana Franović i Davorka Turk i možete ih pročitati na našem sajtu.

Ivana Franović: [Reakcija na knjigu „The Past Can’t Heal Us“](#)

Davorka Turk: [Pravilo pretjerane generalizacije](#) (tekst je izvorno objavljen u časopisu [Tragovi: časopis za srpske i hrvatske teme](#), Vol. 4 No. 1, 2021)



razmjena, saradnja, umrežavanje

Ja sam došao da vas spasim, reče

Na poziv Srpskog narodnog vijeća iz Hrvatske, učestvovali smo u dvodnevnom studijskom putovanju 30. aprila i 1. maja 2021. u sklopu akcije "Pamti povijest, ne ponavljaj je", a povodom godišnjice VRO Bljesak.

Iznimno je neobično naći se „s druge strane“ hrvatskih (i ne samo hrvatskih) „briljantnih“ vojnih pobjeda, među onima nad kojima se te pobjede slave. Jasno je tko je poraženi, međutim, uvijek ostane pitanje, ima li uopće pobjednika?

U Pakrac smo stigli iz Brčkog, gdje smo prisustvovali komemoraciji, 29. obljetnici stradanja više desetina civila na brčanskom mostu. „Mi“ se ovdje odnosi na mješovitu grupu ratnih veterana (ARBiH, HVO, VRS) i mirovnih aktivista/ica u organizaciji Centra za nenasilnu akciju. Akcije obilježavanja stradanja ili prisustva na službenim komemoracijama za nas su već uobičajene, poduzimamo ih godinama, to je jedan od načina na koji nastojimo pokazati suosjećanje sa obiteljima žrtava i žal za svakim izgubljenim ljudskim životom, ma kome pripadao. To su ujedno i prilike kada pozivamo na procesuiranje i kažnjavanje odgovornih, ukoliko je ono dosad izostalo, doživljavamo to kao jedan vid nužnog pritiska na institucije, da rade svoj posao. Zajedno žalujemo, i zajedno tražimo pravdu, za sve.

Moj šok je bio tim veći kad smo, također žalosnim povodom, stigli u Pakrac, na 26. godišnjicu vojne operacije HV-a „Bljesak“ (1-3.5.1995.). Nismo se, međutim, gurali među slavljenike. Hrvatska je vojska u svakoj svojoj „briljantnoj“ vojnoj akciji ubijala zatečene civile, pa tako i u ovoj. Došli smo da razgovaramo s onima koji su ovu vojnu akciju doživjeli i preživjeli, i da zajedno odamo počast onima koji su tih dana mučki ubijeni.

„Pamti povijest, ne ponavljaj je“

Tako su naši prijatelji i organizatori iz Srpskog narodnog vijeća nazvali ovo studijsko putovanje. Zapravo smo došli naučiti, bosanske zločine dobro poznajem, ovi moji, hrvatski, o njima se ne govori, a otkako sam otišla u Bosnu, više i ne pitam, odustala sam u nemoći da bilo šta promijenim. Tako moram reći da sam tek neki dan naučila da je postojao zatvor u Bjelovaru, sabirni centar u Varaždinu i zatvor u Požegi. Moglo je da te ne bude mjesecima, moglo je da te više

nikad ne bude. Nisam znala da je u Vojsci RSK bilo i Mađara, i Hrvata, i drugih nacionalnosti, na obroncima Psunja nije lako izabrati stranu. Da je u Kraguju nekad živjelo mnogo domaćinstava, s tradicijom *mačkara* koja je, kao i dobrosusjedski odnosi, uništena 1991. Čuli smo i ono što smo nebrojeno puta dosad čuli u susretima s manjinom, i onima sa izbjegličkim iskustvom, da je pomoć stizala s neočekivane strane, a nepravda tamo gdje su na pravdu računali. Da među ljudima nema razlike i da ovo nitko nije želio. No, žurim.

Bili smo se izgubili tražeći Kraguj i naše domaćine. Za put smo se raspitali kod ljudi koje smo u Pakracu zatekli na uličnim radovima. Kragujevac?!, čudili su se. Pomislih, ovi nisu odavde. A nisam ni ja, u toplo proljetno popodne sva su ova brda prekrasno zelena, ovce, konji, nose mirise nekog boljeg, prošlog vremena.

Postoji ta legenda među Hrvatima u Hrvatskoj, kad su hrvatski Srbi u pitanju. Ne potiče iz davnina, nego iz ranih 90-ih, utoliko je njezin mitski status začudniji, naime, svi smo mi u životu imali prilike susresti pravog, pa i istinskog Srbina ili Srpkinja. Našeg, bosanskog ili srpskog. Legenda, međutim, upozorava da su toliko krvoločni da im krv curi niz bradu. Šta onda ako koji i nestane kao 'kolateralna žrtva' inače legitimne vojne akcije, ili ne kao kolateralna žrtva, već sasvim zaslužen? Nismo znali, a pravo govoreći, nije nas bilo ni briga kako ljudi u okupiranoj Krajini žive. Krajina je za nas bila i ostala crna rupa, zajedno sa svojim stanovnicima. To je vjerojatno prvi stadij smrti, kad ti netko poriče postojanje.

Saznali smo tako i da su svi naši sugovornici čuli poziv Franje Tuđmana da ostanu, ali mu je malo tko vjerovao, do 1995. su već izgubili sve iluzije. Među onima koji su ga poslušali i ostali, ne toliko iz povjerenja, koliko zbog starosti i bolesti, neki su ubijeni na kućnom pragu. Bilo je i onih koji nisu stigli pobjeći, među njima ima i staraca i djece. Posjetili smo grob djevojčice Milke Bosanac, koju je Bljesak ubio na igralištu u Šehovici. Majka je nešto kasnije podlegla ranama. Otac je ubijen još 1991., u zločinu nad mještanima Grahovljana.

Višak sjećanja, manjak povijesti

Zarobljeni pripadnici Vojske RSK s kojima smo imali prilike razgovarati predali su se, bila je to demilitarizirana UNPA zona, Sektor Zapad, i značajnijeg oružja nisu imali, koju godinu ranije predali su ga UN-u. Slijedile su dionice, bjelovarski zatvor, sabirni centar u Varaždinu, za neke i zatvor u Požegi. Nekad i mjesecima bez optužnice. Čuli smo i tko je tukao, tko nije. Tko je u zatvoru poludio. Tko se iz zatvora nije vratio. Ljudi s kojima smo razgovarali nisu zločinci, to je stalno potrebno govoriti. Iako su prošli kroz „opsežna i teška“ ispitivanja istražnih organa, nikakav zločin nisu im uspjeli dokazati jer nikakav zločin nisu ni počinili. Osim onog u očima države najvećeg, pobune. Taj će im prijestup kasnije zapriječiti šanse za zapošljavanje, i mogućnosti za povratak i obnovu. Najteže od svega, međutim, pokazalo se nastojanje da se procesuiraju i osude počinitelji ratnih zločina nad stanovnicima pakračkih i okučanskih srpskih sela. I treba, reći ćete, što su počeli? Kako je bilo ljudima koji su istjerani 1991. i nisu se mogli vratiti nikako?

E sad, ko je prvi počeo, i kad, to se stvarno možemo upitati, ovdje ne možeš ignorirati činjenicu da svaka obitelj ima nekoga tko je skončao u Jasenovcu, ili nekoga tko je progonio u Jasenovac, i značajan broj onih koji su poginuli u partizanima. Zapravo, ukoliko nisi odavde, postaješ vrlo oprezan s inače spremnim generalizacijama, ustaše, četnici... Povijest nije nigdje, ovdje ponajmanje, počela 1991. Blizina Jasenovca je sjena koja te stalno prati u obilasku ovih sela, a postaješ bolno svjestan njegove beznačajnosti za svakodnevnicu ostatka Hrvatske. Jasenovac nam je škola koju još nismo završili. 83.145 dosad poimence utvrđenih žrtava, od toga gotovo 50 tisuća Srba. Toliko o predodžbama krvoločnosti. Znači, ništa od ovoga nije opravdanje ni za kakvo nasilje, ali ako ne nastojimo razumjeti što se dogodilo, naći će se netko drugi voljan da nam tumači.

Postoji još jedna ta hrvatska legenda, kaže „90-ih su nas ubijali, sad slobodno hodaju Hrvatskom“. Tako je privlačna ta zločinačka priroda drugih, da se ne sjetimo upitati, a tko je dužan te zločince procesuirati? Ili, hodaju li i naši zločinci slobodno Hrvatskom?

Kad ih pitamo, zašto ste se vratili, kažu nam da je to njihov dom, njihova zemlja, da tu počivaju njihovi djedovi i pradjedovi. Ali puno je naroda otišlo, „ne

samo naših, već i njihovih, posebno u zadnje vrijeme“.

Od svega me možda najviše frapirala nemogućnost da govorim. Zapazila sam je prvo u naših domaćina, kako neke riječi preskaču, ne izgovaraju, zaobilaze ili ne završavaju rečenice. Međutim, razumijemo se. Uz ostala, poraženima je zaniijekano i pravo da imenuju pojave i događaje u svom životu, budući da hrvatskoj javnosti mogu zvučati skaredno. Htjela sam, vjerujte, poželjela sam da im kažem, evo ja vas slušam sad, i čujem, i jedva dišem od krivice, strašno mi je žao zbog svega što ste prošli. Ali zašto bi me ovi ljudi bili dužni te krivice odriješiti? Nepravda time neće nestati.

Petra Vukotića, oca Dušana Vukotića, kao pripadnika Kraljevske vojske, 1941. zarobio je Wehrmacht, i sproveo ga u radni logor u Njemačku. Dušanova majka Desanka, zajedno je sa sestrama i majkom 1941. odvedena u Jasenovac, potom u Staru Gradišku, odakle su je deportirali u Njemačku. Oboje su preživjeli, i po svršetku rata vratili u rodni kraj. Živjeli su u Paklenici do 1991., kada su izbjegli rodbini u Beograd. Pretpostavljam da nismo o njima razmišljali onomad kad se Franjo Tuđman igrao idejom povratka ustaške valute, ili izvjesnog ustaškog emigranta iz Kanade.

Dušan je živio i radio u Novskoj. Budući da je bio pripadnik rezervnog sastava milicije, upozoren je da bi bilo mudro da se sam prijavi u HV, što je on nakon nekog vremena i učinio. Za Pakračku Poljanu se već znalo. Smatra da mu je to sačuvalo glavu, ali njegovim roditeljima sigurno nije moglo pomoći. Oni su se početkom 1995., ne mogavši više izdržati život u tuđini, vratili u Paklenicu. Drugi mještani su znali da im je sin u Hrvatskoj vojsci, svašta su doživljavali. Međutim, i to su izdržali, sve samo da bi u jednoj od rijetkih prilika susreta na improviziranoj granici vidjeli sina, jer nisu vjerovali da je živ. Skončali su mučki ubijeni u podrumu rođakove kuće, gdje su se, sa Pantelijom i Vjerom Kovačić, skrivali od Hrvatske vojske koja je nadirala. Tom je prilikom u Paklenici ubijeno 13 civila.

Dušan je 18 godina čekao na mogućnost da identificira tijela roditelja. Deset je godina, pravnim putem, pokušavao pritisnuti Republiku Hrvatsku da istraži, pronađe i osudi počinitelje. Dušanov je otac bio 1919., a majka 1925. godište. Sud je izgubio, a troškove je morao snositi sam. Uobičajena je to situacija, govori nam, naprosto nemate šanse. „Čovjek treba oprostiti

onoliko koliko može da ne poludi i sebi ne naškodi. Ali, ne treba zaboraviti”.

Dok nam ovo govori, stojimo na zemljištu Srpske pravoslavne crkve. S naše desne strane malena je kapelica, uzurpira zemljište. Izgleda da ovo nije samo bosanski kuriozitet, komentira Amer. Nije ta simbolika bila dovoljna, uskoro smo otkrili da je dio zemljišta uzurpiran i za katoličko groblje. Međutim, čini se da se koncept nije osobito dobro primio, groblje ne izgleda kao da se koristi. Čovjek bi milijun pitanja pitao, ovako kad vrtiš film unatrag, ali vjerujte, tamo, na licu mjesta, jednostavno zanijemiš.

Odlazimo do kuće u čijem podrumu se dogodio ovaj zločin. Prilazni put uredno je pokošen, iako je kuća zarasla u šipražje. Pozdravljamo susjeda, simpatičnog brku koji otpozdravlja okružen svojim ovcama i janjčićima. Kaže, raskrčio bih ja, ali ne smijem, nije moje. „Volio bih pomoći, samo da imam dozvolu“. Vlasnik je, doznajemo, nasljednik obitelji, živi vani i rijetko navraća. Pričamo o tragediji depopulacije ovog kraja. Ih, kako je bilo nekad, kaže susjed Ivica, skupimo se, za tri sata ovo janje oderemo i ispečemo. Komšije, prijatelji.

Nema ti važnijeg od komšije i susjeda, rekao nam je dan ranije u razgovoru i vladika Jovan Ćulibrk. Stari Gradišćanin, vladika Jovan stara se za dobro svog srpskog i hrvatskog naroda ovoga kraja, i ne samo ovoga kraja. Naime, nekad smo znali, a danas zaboravljamo presudne doprinose srpskog naroda hrvatskoj kulturi, kroz stoljeća. Vladičanski dvor čuvar je **biblioteke starih rukopisa**.¹ Osim zbirke starih rukopisa iz 16. stoljeća, ranih štampanih srpskih knjiga i bizantske biblioteke, eparhijska biblioteka sadrži i rijetka izdanja, periodike više zemalja, biblioteku vezanu uz Svetu zemlju i kršćanstvo Bliskog Istoka, zbirku judaike, prva izdanja Voltairea, Rousseaua, ali i Nietzschea...

Ovo neprocjenjivo blago, suprostavivši se zapovjedi (i inače sumanutog) generala Koradea da se biblioteka spali, spasio je vojnik HV-a, Ivan Hiti. Njegov portret krasi zid u jednoj od odaja Vladičanskog dvora, među drugim zaslužnim građanima, znanstvenicima i uglednicima, ljudima koji su prepoznali društvenu vrijednost ovog kulturnog blaga i činjenicu da se čuva upravo u Hrvatskoj. Hrvatska, umjesto zasluga, priuštila

je Hitiju izgon iz vojske, i nemogućnost da ikada više do mirovine pronađe posao.

Praznicima voljeni najviše nedostaju

Posebno oni koji više nisu među živima, još više oni s čijim se odlaskom teško mirimo, zbog teških ili nepoznatih okolnosti pod kojima su umrli. Preduskršnji pomen za stradale u hramu Svetog Velikomučenika Dimitrija u Okučanima bio nam je prilika da se sjetimo ubijenih i nestalih, i izrazimo poštovanje prema njihovom životu i stradanju. Na putu do hrama preusmjeravani smo sporednim ulicama uz policijsku pratnju, pripreme za svečanu proslavu Bljeska te dolazak predsjednika i premijera, bile su u jeku. U dvorištu hrama dočekala su nas reportažna vozila HTV-a, koji je prenosio svečanost iz Okučana.

Prema podacima srpske zajednice, za 36 sati, sa područja Zapadne Slavonije, koja je bila u sastavu tadašnje RSK i pod zaštitom UN-a, protjerano je više od 10 tisuća Srba, a 238 je ubijeno ili nestalo. Za samo 162 žrtve do danas je rasvjetljena sudbina².

Njihova imena čitana su po svršetku službe, ispred krsta u dvorištu hrama. Na njemu je natpis – Žrtvama ratova 1991.-1995. Položili smo ruže i odali im počast, a posljednje pozdravno slovo prekinula je zaglušujuća buka sa susjedne katoličke crkve, poziv na službu domovini i onima koji su u njezinoj obrani poginuli. Kao što možda već pretpostavljate, katolička je crkva dvaput veća od pravoslavne, i za razliku od ove potonje, isturena je na ulicu. Spomenula sam već, ima i suvremeno koncertno ozvučenje. Uz to, ova crkva jednim svojim dijelom također zadire na zemljište SPC-a. Tko se ima pravo buniti?

Nitko od prisutnih nije bio vidno uzrujan, ali ni iznenađen ovako grubim prekidom rituala. Danas je takav dan, komentiraju, oni slave, mi žalujemo. Neukusno je plesati po tuđim grobovima, mislim, i odlazim da vidim taj šušur na glavnoj ulici. Razgovaram s osiguranjem događaja, kažu, gotovo je, bili su svi. Čudno im je što pitam za predsjednika i premijera, budući da sam izašla iz dvorišta SPC-a. Međutim, nisu neugodni. HTV-ovci se drže za sebe.

Kasnije smo saznali i da je godinama trajala

1 <https://www.portalnovosti.com/biblioteka-na-deset-jezika>

2 Točan broj stradalih nije utvrđen, više o procjenama i podacima <https://www.portalnovosti.com/tamna-strana-bljeska>

uzrupacija partizanskog spomenika i spomen-kosturnice palim borcima i žrtvama fašističkog terora okučanskog kraja. Spomenik je 1995. uklonjen, i na njegovo mjesto podignut gotovo isti, ovaj put hrvatskim braniteljima poginulima u Bljesku, koji je umjesto petokrake na vrhu imao mramorni križ. Godine su prošle dok su shvatili da, uz branitelje, odaju počast i partizanima čije se kosti nalaze u kosturnici. Spomen-kosturnica je obnovljena 2019., ali ovaj put bez partizanskog spomenika. Branitelji su dobili drugo spomen-obilježje, odmah do ovoga. Spomenik nosi naziv „Kristalne kocke vedrine“. Možda je to neki eufemizam za vojsku.

“Evo nama gostiju za Uskrs! uskliknula je teta Milena kad smo se pojavili u njenom dvorištu u Čovcu. Kava i farbana jaja. Uzmite djeco, moji i ko je mogao, zbog korone neće doći”, dodala je.

Kad je pitamo o Bljesku kaže, radila sam taj dan, nema veze što je bio Prvi maj, radilo se. Preko u Gradiški, u banci. Išla sam kolima, yugu sam vozila, nisam ja ni znala šta se dešava. Kad detonacije, onaj na putu neće da me pusti, kaže, plaća se prolaz. Rekoh, ja prolazim, ti vidi, tek maknuše one ježeve i tako sam prošla. Deda (pokazuje na muža, koji kraj nje sjedi) nije htio, ali poslije je morao. Ostala nam je baba nepokretna, izgorila je u kući što je bila tu.

Vratili smo se 2008., kad smo dobili obnovu kuće.

Bolje je sad nego što je bilo kad smo se tek vratili. Ali, više niko nikog ne gleda, nema veze koji je. Bilo je ovdje 120 porodica, sad nema ko na ulici da te pozdravi. 150 svinja smo nekad imali, pa istjeraš tuda, nikad nikakvih problema. Do 1991.

Podosmo dalje za Vrbovljane, pričali smo još sa mnogima o mnogočemu, o Jovanu Raškoviću, kulturnoj autonomiji i Planu Z-4. O prijelaznoj policiji, pa onda opet o pravima koja je nemoguće ostvariti. U tišini praznih slavonskih sela zvoni nesloboda, život pun prepreka i prijekog gledanja, i iskustvo opetovane i sustavne diskriminacije. Koliko dugo čovjek mora okajavati svoje grijehe? Dok su zločinci pod zaštitom države.

„Ja sam došao da vas spasim“

Stigli smo u Medare. Od 24 stanovnika koje su zatekli u selu u zoru 1.5.1995., hrvatski su vojnici ubili

22. Preživjele su samo dvije curice, sestre od 6 i 4 godine.

To jutro smo se probudili rano, prije šest, priča nam Zvezdana. Mama je otišla na posao u Okučane (radila sam kao patronažna sestra u UNHCR-u, majka dodaje), a tata u dvorište po drva, da naloži vatru, doručak da nam spremi. Čule smo neko komešanje, vidjeli smo vojsku na dvorištu. Željko predaj se! vikali su, neko ga je po imenu zazvao, dakle, poznavao ga je. Moj otac nije bio naoružan, jedino što je imao ključeve u ruci. On je digao ruke u vis, i ubili su ga, pao je na prag kuhinje. Imala sam tad 6 godina, odmah mi je bilo jasno šta se dešava. Instinktivno sam seki stavila ruku na usta da je ne čuju kako vrišti. I sebi. Kasnije, kad su išli od kuće do kuće, da vide valjda je li tko ostao, sakrile smo se u ormar. Našao nas je jedan hrvatski vojnik. Ja sam njemu rekla, molim vas, nemojte nas ubiti, nismo vam mi ništa krive! Međutim, on je na to odvratio, ja sam došao da vas spasim, i odnio nas je u Crveni križ. Nikad nismo doznali tko je.

Znate, ljudi se dijele samo na ljude i neljude. Na ljude i neljude, nikako drugačije, zaključuje.

Zvezdana danas živi u Njemačkoj, s porodicom. “Ja sam htjela živjeti u mome selu, ali sva vrata su vam zatvorena. Godinama smo pokušavale, bezuspješno, da dobijemo status civilne žrtve rata”. Zvezdanina majka objašnjava da u osnovi pokušavaju dobiti smrtni list s točnim datumom Željкове smrti – 1.5.1995. „Jedini smrtni list koji možemo dobiti u Novoj Gradiški je onaj s datumom 3.5., koji više nema nikakve veze s Bljeskom“, dodaje.

Iako je poznato koje su jedinice HV-a bile na glavnim pravcima napada na tom području – 81. gardijska bojna, Peta gardijska brigada, te dijelovi Prve, Druge i Treće gardijske brigade – počinitelji zločina ne samo da nisu procesuirani, već se cijeli slučaj i dalje nalazi u predistražnoj fazi. Nije još vrijeme?

Obitelj ubijenog Željka Dička pravdu više ne očekuje. Ali priznanje bi nam puno značilo, kaže Zvezdana, priznanje da se taj zločin dogodio.

Dok pričamo, promatraju nas izrešetani anđeli nikad obnovljene, u ratu uništene pravoslavne crke u Medarima. Da se ne bojim da će ono što je od hrama ostalo progutati drveće i šipražje, pomislila bih da nam je ta srušena crkva možda najbolji spomenik,

podsjetnik na to kakvo smo ludilo i kakvu nesreću sposobni proizvesti.

Čak i kad ih otvoreno ne mrze (to je rezervirano za desnicu), od ovih ljudi građani Hrvatske, pa i sam hrvatski predsjednik, očekuju da u najmanju ruku sruše vladu Andreja Plenkovića. Odnosno, maskiraju takvo očekivanje u tobožnje razočaranje sudjelovanjem manjine u vlasti te joj pripisuju moć vlastodržaca, ili u najmanju ruku, prigovaraju popustljivost i odobravanje politika vladajućeg HDZ-a. Pravimo se, naime, da nam nije poznato da je jedini način da manjina opstane taj da i formalno podrži vlast. Kao što je slučaj i sa ostalim manjinama u Hrvatskoj, ali eto, nisu to te manjine koje su nam trn u oku. Sve su te manjine, međutim, sudjelovale i u vladi Zorana Milanovića, što on rado zaboravlja.

Vidjelo se to najbolje na uskršnje jutro kad smo napuštali Pakrac i Okučane. Iz Hrvatske su nas ispratile vijesti o šetnji šovinistički nastrojenih „navijača“ kroz Borovo. Prije nego što će položiti vijenac u ratu stradalim hrvatskim policajcima, što je bio nominalni povod njihovog dolaska, prošetali su kroz Borovo pjevajući krvave balade ljudima pod prozorima. Na uskršnje jutro. Sve to u pratnji policije, koja je grupicu osiguravala i čuvala.

Iako je događaj hrvatska vlada osudila, ni nadležni ministar koji se povodom obljetnice našao u Borovu, ni predsjednik države nisu osjetili potrebu ni poriv da podrže svoje sugrađane srpske nacionalnosti, i da im garantiraju sigurnost. Ministar je događaj nazvao „kršenjem javnog reda i mira“, a predsjednik je za cijelu stvar na koncu opet optužio – Srbe. Pa je tako ustvrdio da je policija koja je kriminalnu grupicu štitila zapravo Pupovčeva policija, jednako koliko i Plenkovićeva (čime je zapravo delegitimirao jednu od institucija poretka). Kao dokaz „dosljednosti u nečinjenju“ toj je Pupovčevoj policiji zamjerio i što nije uklonila spomenik Vukašinu Šoškočaninu, kojeg se smatra odgovornim za ubojstvo hrvatskih policajaca i koji, kao takav, „smeta i provocira“.

Činjenica da vođa srpske paravojske koji je umro 1991. ima nadgrobni spomenik u Borovu godinama se koristi kao opravdanje za nasilje nad Srbima tog kraja. Pitajmo stoga Milanovića, što ga nije on uklonio za vrijeme svog premijerskog mandata? Kad je bila njegova policija?

O čemu se, dakle, radi, molim vas? Koji je to krimen koji tako bespoštedno moraju okajavati ovi ljudi? U Okučanima, u Borovu. U Lici i na Baniji. Na Kordunu.

Amnestija ne vrijedi za ratni zločin. Dakle?

Zamjerit ćete mi što ovim tekstom činim isti propust koji službenoj Hrvatskoj zamjeram, nisam ništa napisala o stradanju Hrvata ovoga kraja, o hrvatskim izbjeglicama i prognanicima. Ni meni, ni ljudima s kojima smo razgovarali, tako nešto nije namjera, da zanemarimo njihovu patnju. Svaki od naših sugovornika, ali svaki, ispričao nam je barem jednu zgodu o pomoći koju su im pružali prijatelji i susjedi, čak i nepoznati ljudi s hrvatske strane. Svakom od nas je stalo da to ponavljajuće zlo stane jednom zauvijek, i želimo biti ljudi koji ćemo ga zaustaviti, da se više nikad, nikom ne ponovi. Ali ove ljude nitko o tome ne pita, kao što ih rijetko pitaju bilo što o njihovoj hrvatskoj domovini ili mrtvima za koje nastoje postići pravdu.

Sudimo im već 30 godina za uvjerenja za koja pretpostavljamo da su ih morali imati 1991. godine. Pritom, ni mene nitko nije pitao kad su mi mijenjali jezik, povijest i društveno uređenje. Ili kad su Hercegovinu htjeli pripojiti Hrvatskoj, isto me nitko ništa nije pitao. Nikad u životu nisam glasala za HDZ ili Franju Tuđmana. Piše li mi to na čelu? Je li moj krimen što sam dopustila da se Hrvatska pretvori u ovo što danas živimo? Jest, i moj je, nisam bila ni dovoljno glasna ni dovoljno hrabra da se suprotstavim. Na koncu konca, i otišla sam jer mi je postalo nepodnošljivo. Tako ljudski, zar ne?

Za one koji se čude mojim izborima, vjerujte mi kad vam kažem, za Hrvatsku je Bosna slobodna zemlja. Jest, manjinske i povratničke muke svuda su iste, i u Bosni ljudi sve rjeđe žive zajedno. Ali postoji barem mogućnost da zločince privedemo pravdi, ma kojoj strani oni pripadali. Nije nam strano i neobično da žalimo i „njihove“ žrtve i odajemo im dužno poštovanje, i da pritom to doista i mislimo. Ukidanje principa nekažnjivosti u Bosni nas je učinilo slobodnim ljudima, hvala haškom sudu.

U Hrvatskoj takva sloboda ne postoji, tamo postoje građani prvog i drugog reda. Bitno da red postoji, reći ćete. To su te europske vrijednosti?

Davorka Turk



politički i društveni konteksti
u kojima delujemo

Bosna i Hercegovina: Цивилизацијски мрак

Visoki predstavnik u BiH Valentin Incko na osnovu bonskih ovlasti, 23. jula 2021. godine nametnuo je izmjene Krivičnog zakona BiH kojom se zabranjuje i kažnjava negiranje genocida. Dopune Zakona o Krivičnom zakonu BiH, kojima se zabranjuje negiranje i kažnjavanje genocida, stupaju na snagu odmah na privremenoj osnovi, sve dok ga Parlamentarna skupština Bosne i Hercegovine ne usvoji u istom obliku, bez izmjena i dopuna i dodatnih uslova.

“Ko javno odobri, porekne, grubo umanjiti ili pokuša opravdati zločin genocida, zločin protiv čovječnosti ili ratni zločin utvrđen pravomoćnom presudom u skladu s Poveljom Međunarodnog vojnog suda pridruženom uz Londonski sporazum od 8. kolovoza/avgusta 1945. ili Međunarodnog kaznenog suda za bivšu Jugoslaviju ili Međunarodnog kaznenog suda ili suda u Bosni i Hercegovini, a usmjereno je protiv skupine osoba ili člana skupine određene s obzirom na rasu, boju kože, vjeroispovijest, porijeklo ili nacionalnu ili etničku pripadnost, i to na način koji bi mogao potaknuti na nasilje ili mržnju usmjerenu protiv takve skupine osoba ili člana takve skupine, kaznit će se kaznom zatvora od šest mjeseci do pet godina”

Nakon odluke Valentina, koja dolazi u poslednjim sedmicama njegovog mandata, bosanskohercegovačko javno mnijenje je podijeljeno po etničkim linijama, i to oko prihvatanja ove odluke, odnosno njenog odbacivanja. Ako krenemo da čitamo donesenu odluku onda uviđamo da se ova odluka ne odnosi samo na negiranje počinjenog genocida u Srebrenici. Ona jasno govori da je zabranjeno svako veličanje presuđenog ratnog zločina. U praksi bi to značilo da se npr. ukloni ulica Rasima Delića u Bihaću. Rasim Delić je pripadnik vojske ARBiH i osuđeni ratni zločinac pred Haškim tribunalom. Ako bi nastavili dalje čitati onda bi uvidjeli da se npr. ulica Mile Budaka u Mostaru treba ukloniti. Чињеница је да људи слабо читају, а и кад читају слабо разумију прочитано.

U javnom prostoru RS se potpuno negiraju sva dešavanja u Srebrenici i pored svih dokumenata, presuda, istraživanja. I ne samo da se negiraju presuđeni ratni zločinci, oni se slave i veličaju kao heroji.

Centralna mitomanska figura potpunog negiranja je Milorad Dodik, srpski član Predsjedništva BiH, koji poručuje međunarodnoj zajednici da ima sve manje vremena da povuče odluke koje mu smetaju, a kada to urade, onda će on odlučiti o narednim koracima.

Pretenciozno je očekivanje međunarodne zajednice da će se u prvom momentu nametnuta zakonska odredba uticati na odnos prema ratu i pomirenju na način da se preko noći u javnom prostoru ne negiraju zločini i vrijeđaju žrtve. Prije svega je BiH zemlja u kojoj sistemsko suočavanje sa prošlošću nikad nije počelo i u kojoj rat riječima nikad nije stao, sa lokalnim motom nastalog mira: “Ćuti, dobro je, samo da ne puca”. Bilo bi, naravno, dobro da se shvati da je prihvatanje presude međunarodnog suda civilizacijski iskorak za sve tri zajednice u BiH. Neprihvatanje, odbacivanje i negiranje presuda međunarodnog suda je koraćanje ka civilizacijskom mraku. Помирење.

Kruh na stolu

Lokalni izbori u Bosni i Hercegovini organizovani su krajem 2020. i bili su sve samo ne lokalni izbori. Veće lokalne zajednice bosanskohercegovačkog društva su se trgle iz gordijevog čvora nakaradnih mitomanija, i odlučile da ne pristupe šatoru sa “jagnećim i prasećim fondom”. Milorad Dodik je, naime, sa skupštinske govornice Republike Srpske, pozvao ljude da izađu na izbore, mameći ih mesom. Jesmo tada shvatili da smo sirotinja i da ne želimo da nas pljačkaju i ponižavaju. Željeli smo promjene, lijepe uređene parkove i klupe, uličnu rasvjetu koja radi, autobuse, trolejbus, tramvaje koji rade, i dovoljno kanti za otpatke na bulevarima i šetalištima. Promjene su se desile i to u najvećim i najvažnijim gradovima BiH, u Sarajevu, Banja Luci i Mostaru. Opozicija je uzela maha.

“Građani Sarajeva su jasno i glasno rekli da želimo da živimo u BiH gdje se nećemo dijeliti po etničkim tonovima” ovako je govorio Predrag Kojojić, predsjednik Naše stranke, nakon pobjede opozicije u Sarajevu. Лијене ријечи и најгрђу стварност мијењају. U pobjedničkom govoru Naše stranke u Sarajevu se govorilo o revoluciji, o demokratiji, o

poštivanju ljudskih prava. Gdje smo mi nakon godinu dana revolucije? Iskreno govoreći, nismo se pomakli. Predrag Kojović je podnio ostavku.

Posljednji lokalni izbori u Mostaru su održani 2008. godine. Kada je Centralna izborna komisija BiH raspisala izbore za Gradsko vijeće grada Mostara za 20. prosinac 2020. godine, tek tada su građani Mostara ali i cijela BiH, mogli da vjeruju da će se oni uistinu i održati. Bilo je potrebno da jedna Mostarka, Irma Baralija, profesorica filozofije i sociologije i magistrica političkih znanosti, tuži Bosnu i Hercegovinu Evropskom sudu za ljudska prava u Strasbourgu. Evropski sud je donio presudu da je došlo do povrede Evropske konvencije o ljudskim pravima (opća zabrana diskriminacije), i da je pravna praznina nastala propustom vlasti da izvrši odluku Ustavnog suda koja se ticala odredbe koja je regulisala lokalne izbore u Mostaru. Та Ирма Баралија је права нека тужибаба.

Mostar je grad u kojem je simbolika važnija od kruha na stolu, jer ona održava granice, podjele i duševne rane koje su prepuštene decenijskoj depresiji. Ovi izbori su ukazivali na promjene, na otpor, jer ko će biti gradonačelnik „u gradu slučaju“ u glavama građana i građanki Mostara predstavlja pitanje opstanka. I nakon 12 godina čekanja da se održe lokalni izbori, „da dođe demokracija“, jel' se desilo nešto novo? Nakon pregovora političkih stranaka koje su većinom dobile izbore, za gradonačelnika je izabran Hrvat Mario Kordić (ne onaj Kordić). Ovo je prvi put nakon rata, da su se srpske stranke iz RS-a zainteresovale značajnije za Mostar i zajedno sa Crkvom napravile listu sa rezultatom, da na kraju imaju svog jednog predstavnika u Gradskom vijeću. Bošnjaci su ostali okrenuti svojim tradicionalnim izborima kao i do sada, prema SDA. Dok je ljevica ostala na svojoj standardnoj, ali rasutoj brojci. To je to, nakon 12 godina čekanja „dolaska demokratije“, u Gradskom vijeću Mostara dobili smo koaliciju HDZ BiH i SDA, koja je i prije vladala.

No, treba biti oprezan u analizama i promjenama koje se očekuju i dati neku razumnu primjedbku, da u politici ništa ne biva preko noći i da se prepreke rješavaju korak po korak, pa ako treba i cinizmom, pretvaranjem, ulizivanjem i dodvoravanjem, a sve ovo nekako ne može biti pogrešno, bar je to pokazala dosadašnja politička praksa u BiH.

Prazno kino

Nakon afere “Malina” i nabavke sto respiratora koje je naručila Vlada Federacije BiH, i platila ih 10,5 miliona KM, polako ali sigurno smo ugazili u novu 2021. godinu, sa činjenicom da ti respiratori ne rade, a pandemija korona virusa ubija. I ne, nisu samo neupotrebljivi respiratori stvorili problem, problem je nastao onog momenta kada je bosanskohercegovačka vlast trebala da nabavi vakcine za svoje građane i građanke. U jednom danu, tokom marta 2021. godine u Bosni i Hercegovini broj novozaženih je bio veći od 1000, a broj umrlih od posljedica bolesti je u jednom momentu dostigao 100. To vam je slikovito kao da je neko pustio film u praznoj sali bioskopa. Vlasti nisu ništa poduzele da ovo promijeni, a izgovori su bili od toga da su vakcine plaćene još 2020., i da je velika potražnja na tržištu, do blaćenja EU mehanizama za nabavku vakcina, pa je sad, eto Evropska unija kriva što smo mi nesposobni.

U momentima nesposobnosti bosanskohercegovačkih vlasti da učine nešto da zaštite svoje građane, pojavljuje se Aleksandar Vučić, predsjednik Republike Srbije, “zaštitnik građana”, sa otvorenim pozivom da se građani BiH i Sjeverne Makedonije vakcinišu u Srbiji. U periodu od desetak dana krajem marta 2021., 25.000 građana BiH se vakcinisalo protiv COVID-19 u Srbiji. Kilometri redova su se stvorili pred halama za vakcinisanje, kao onda 2005. g. kada je na Hipodromu održan koncert Bijelog dugmeta, na kojem je bio isti broj ljudi. Југославија.

I nije Aleksandar Vučić kao zaštitnik građana, samo pozvao narod da se vakciniše, nego je i donirao BiH prvih 10.000 vakcina. Hvala mu na tome. I na kraju, par mjeseci nakon trećeg vala zaraze, koji se desio u martu i aprilu, mi i dalje dobijamo vakcine na kašičicu, čekajući da nam ih neko pokloni.

Osnovna škola

Живот мора да иде даље. Ovo je rečenica koju sam izgovorila nakon što sam pogledala film “Quo Vadis, Aida” redateljice Jasmile Žbanić. Film govori o životu u Srebrenici za vrijeme rata, odnosno neposredno prije genocida i progona stanovništva. Očekivala sam dokumentarac ili neku naučnu filmsku studiju kakve obično gledamo, a koje tematizuju rat u BiH. “Quo Vadis, Aida” je film o vezama između pojedinaca,

porodica, prijatelja, susjeda, kolega i neprijatelja. On je dio kulture sjećanja u BiH.

U filmu se osim života i smrti ljudi u Srebrenici, prepliću i druge ratne činjenice koje je važno navesti, a tiču se nastanka i snimanja filma. Jedan dio filma sniman u Osnovnoj školi u Potocima kraj Mostara, koja je tokom 1993. i 1994. godine služila kao mjesto zatočenja osoba hrvatske nacionalnosti sa područja Mostara, pod kontrolom Armije RBiH. U objektu su bili zatočeni muškarci i žene, mahom civili, koji su bili podvrgnuti teškim uvjetima, premlaćivanjima i slanjem na prinudni rad. Prilikom odvođenja na prinudni rad najmanje troje zatočenika je izgubilo život, a zatočenice su bile podvrgnute seksualnom zlostavljanju. Ova škola je jedna od mnogih mjesta stradanja u BiH koja nije obilježena, na kojoj ne stoji tabla o tome šta se tu dešavalo. Tako je Jasmila dala mali doprinos da se ova škola u Potocima isplete u filmsku kulturu sjećanja. Na kraju, Američka akademija proglasila je dobitnike Oscara, a film "Quo Vadis, Aida?" nije uspio ostvariti pobjedu u kategoriji najboljeg stranog filma, ali je priču o Srebrenici vidio cijeli svijet. Тако се ствара оно што остаје као залог будућим генерацијама, да се не понови.

Potvrđena doživotna

Kada govorimo o Srebrenici i mjestima stradanja, stvaranju kulture sjećanja, moramo spomenuti presudu Haškog tribunala kao potvrđenu doživotnu. Međunarodni sud za ratne zločine za bivšu Jugoslaviju podigao je optužnicu protiv Ratka Mladića 24. jula 1995. Nakon gotovo 16 godina skrivanja, Mladić se pred sudom prvi put pojavio jula 2011. U sudnici Haškog tribunala, Ratko Mladić, general koji je u ratu u Bosni i Hercegovini od 1992.-1995. bio komandant Vojske Republike Srpske (VRS), 22. novembra 2017. prvostepeno je osuđen na doživotnu kaznu zatvora zbog genocida i zločina protiv čovječnosti. Potvrđena mu je kazna doživotnog zatvora 8. juna 2021. godine. Лакше се дише 26. година након рата у БиХ.

Neću pisati o pravdi i pravičnosti koja se svakojako tumači nakon ove presude. Doduše, važno je da se tumači i da se traži i pravda i pravičnost. Ono što vidim kao olakšanje jeste stavljanje doživotne tačke na jedan pravni proces, da se zločini nazovu imenom i prezimenom, da se može reći tko je sve kriv.

Pomirenje nije grandiozno, ne dolazi kao neki veliki događaj koji zauzme pozornicu i nije nešto što treba da se desi na zakazani datum. Za pomirenje na našim prostorima potrebni su koraci koji će svako od nas pojedinačno da napravi, koraci koje prave sudovi i tužilaštva, koraci koji prave i političari, ova naša etnička elita. Ove godine pred 11. juli često se u medijima citirala izjava nekadašnjeg predsjednika Republike Srpske Dragana Čavića iz 2004. g.: "Najprije kao čovjek i Srbin, a onda kao otac, brat i sin, a tek onda kao predsjednik Republike Srpske, moram reći da je ovih devet dana jula srebreničke tragedije crna strana istorije srpskog naroda. Učesnici ovog zločina ne mogu se opravdati nikome i ničim. Onaj koji je činio ovakav zločin i pri tome se možda pozivao na narod kome pripada po imenu i prezimenu činio je zločin i prema vlastitome narodu." До данас, ниједан српски политичар није изјавио ништа важније за будућност и помирење у Босни и Херцеговини.

Domaće političke elite se ne bave procesima suočavanja s prošlošću i pomirenjem. Jedino kada imaju interes da time manipulišu i pokušavaju izazvati netrpeljivosti u društvu ili pojedinoj od tri zajednice. To je tema u kojoj smo svi mi žrtve, ovce za šišanje, zadojeni mržnjom prema drugome. Ove političke elite se obračunavaju na mjestima stradanja i zločina. Na spomenicima i memorijalima se poziva na nove bitke, jer nam oni prvenstveno za to služe. Daleko negdje u budućnosti vidim da su nam isti ovi spomenici mjesta gdje se susreću patnja, opraštaj, sloboda i pomirenje. Vjerujem da zajednička patnja može da poveže više nego sreća. Žaljenje ima veću vrijednost nego pobjeda, jer ono nameće obavezu, odgovornost i zahtjeva zajedničke napore da napravimo korake ka pomirenju. Taj korak će biti jedan ljudski čin, onoliko koliko može da napravi svako od nas, pojedinačno.

Nasleđe

Iduće godine nas očekuju opšti izbori u BiH na kojima se biraju članovi Predsjedništva, tri etnička predstavnika. Ono što je trenutno aktuelno i što može promijeniti cijeli sistem državnog ustrojstva, jesu politički obračuni koji uvijek liče na neke veoma dobro poznate sukobe koji samo što nisu rasplamsali vatru. Bosanskohercegovačko društvo je i dalje istraumatizirano, i ne može drugačije gledati na

prijetnje Dragana Čovića, predsjednika HDZ BiH da će zaustaviti jedan suludi izborni ciklus. Naime, trenutno su u toku politički pregovori i dogovori Dragana Čovića, predsjednika HDZ BiH i lidera Stranke demokratske akcije (SDA) Bakira Izetbegovića pod budnim okom međunarodne zajednice, a tiču se izmjena Izbornog zakona BiH. Izmjena Izbornog zakona 25 godina nakon Dejtonskog sporazuma, stavlja u fokus politički interes HDZ-a BiH i pitanje koje se poistovjećuje sa identitetskim pitanjima bosanskohercegovačkih Hrvata. Cilj kojem teži Dragan Čović, zajedno sa potporom predsjednika Hrvatske Zorana Milanovića i premijera Hrvatske Andreja Plenkovića, jeste da se insistira na legitimnom “predstavniku hrvatskog naroda”, odnosno “predstavniku političkih stranaka Hrvata u BiH”, kojeg u Predsjedništvo BiH biraju građani hrvatske nacionalnosti. Mijenjanje Dejtonskog mirovnog sporazuma nije lak posao koji se može desiti preko noći, jer nam je to ipak nasleđe “prestanaka ratnih sukoba” koji su nam ostavili Izetbegović (stariji), Milošević i Tuđman. No, ako uzmemo za ozbiljno sastančenje između Čovića i Izetbegovića (mlađeg), to

bi na državnom nivou imalo za posljedicu i određene ustavne reforme ili jednostavno rečeno mora doći do implementacija presuda Europskog suda za ljudska prava iz Strasbourga u slučajevima: Sejdić-Finci; Azra Zornić, Ilija Pilav, Samir Šlaku i Svetozar Pudarić, kao implementacija svih konačnih i obvezujućih presuda Ustavnog suda BiH (Ljubić, Komšić itd.) i Ustavnog suda Federacije BiH. Pa ovo bi bilo sjajno, zar ne? Imali bi demokratiju na visokoj razini u izborima onih koji nas vode ka EU.

Ipak, da ne žurimo, jer nisu ove naši etno-nacionalni politički predstavnici naivni, oni sa namjerom održavaju status-quo onog što obećaju međunarodnoj zajednici. To je taj licemjerni status koji nas drži budnim, vazda u sukobu između dvije političke koncepcije. Prva zagovara ekskluzivni status i primat etničkih grupa, tzv. konstitutivnih naroda u političkom predstavljanju, a druga, građanska, daje primat čl. 25 Međunarodnog pakta o građanskim i političkim pravima, koji je, da paradoks bude potpun, sastavni dio Ustava BiH.

Tamara Zrnović

Hrvatska: Povratak Vrhovnika

Kolinda, vrati se?

I dalje mislim da je prošlogodišnje prisustvo premijera Plenkovića na komemoraciji ubijenim srpskim civilima u Varivodama, te ministra branitelja Medveda u Gruborima, bilo značajno za dobrobit hrvatskog društva u cjelini. Koliko će biti prijelomno, pokazat će se u godinama koje dolaze. Zasad služi kao marker, prilično precizan u određivanju pulsa desnice. Tome nas je podučio predsjednik Milanović. Ovaj zagrebački *zlatni dečec*¹, izabran glasovima birača lijev(ij)e orijentacije, u sad već evidentnoj kampanji za svoj drugi mandat, odlučio je igrati na sigurno – nacionalizam, relativizaciju ratnih zločina i ruganje žrtvama širom regije.

1 Eufemizam za pripadnike zagrebačke mladeži povoljnog društvenog položaja, i natprosječne startne pozicije, s prvim radnim mjestom u Ministarstvu vanjskih poslova. Drugi takav primjer je premijer Plenković.

Umjesto otvaranja dijaloga i traženja konstruktivnih rješenja za odnose sa susjedima, ZM se odlučio za nasilništvo, prijetnje i ucjene. Nizu uvreda koje je već izgovorio kad je BiH u pitanju, pridružio je i onu prema kojoj se u BiH nad Hrvatima provodi „zulum“, iako HDZ BiH upravlja carinom, državnim financijama i granicom, dok u svom neprijepornom savezništvu s Miloradom Dodikom, Dragan Čović u šaci drži cijeli energetski sektor BiH. Ovaj privredni kriminal je, međutim, nezamjetljiv ako se postavi kao problem političke reprezentacije. Da se razumijemo, izbor Željka Komšića za hrvatskog člana Predsjedništva BiH bošnjačkim glasovima doista je prvorazredna politička svinjarija, i strašno opterećenje za odnose Hrvata i Bošnjaka u Federaciji BiH. Međutim, iako Hrvatska ne uživa međunarodnu potporu za koncept preuređenja izbornog zakonodavstva koji bi naglašavao princip „legitimnog političkog predstavljanja“, počela se stvarati

nada da bi do sporazuma o izbornom zakonodavstvu moglo doći. U takvu situaciju ulazi Milanović, i zlorabi je, ne zbog posebne brige za BH Hrvate, već kao argument u svom sukobu s vladom, čineći tako nemjerljivu štetu i Hrvatskoj i BiH. Kljentelističko Čovićevo savezništvo s Dodikom podržava i formalnim potezima, poput onoga kad je „vođu srpskog naroda“(!?) pozvao u Zagreb na razgovore o „situaciji u BiH i njezinim euroatlantskim perspektivama, problemima u provođenju Daytonskog sporazuma, te položaju i pravima sva tri konstitutivna naroda“ u rujnu 2020. Bošnjačke je političke predstavnike, iz gore navedenih razloga, odlučio iz razgovora o tim perspektivama isključiti. Da ne bismo imali zablude o njegovom opredjeljenju za trajnu destabilizaciju BiH, ove se godine odlučio za turneju Herceg-Bosnom, i to, ni manje ni više, nego na godišnjicu srebreničkog genocida. Već dugo se u odnosima službenog Sarajeva i Zagreba nije dogodilo nešto tako vulgarno i sramotno. Rekli bismo, baš po Dodikovom ukusu.

Uvidjevši kako mu dobro ide „zaštita malobrojnih“ u susjednoj zemlji, obrušio se na vlastitu. Kao da nam nije dovoljno što je politički diletant, u međuvremenu je postao i internetski trol, koji putem svog „osobnog“² Facebook naloga u naš politički prostor plasira uvredljive i zapaljive poruke te omalovažava svoje političke protivnike, neistomišljenike, građane koji ga kritiziraju, ali možda s najvećom slašću - žene. Prilikom hapšenja Dragana Kovačevića, bivšeg šefa Jadranskog naftovoda – Janafa, i još desetak osoba optuženih za pogodovanje, trgovanje utjecajem, davanje i primanje mita, pokazalo se da je predsjednik Milanović, zajedno s HDZ-ovim ministrima i drugim političkim „uglednicima“ bio redoviti gost Kovačevićevog notornog kluba u Slovenskoj 9. Kad su ga, zajedno s HDZ-ovim ministrima, zbog toga na odgovornost pozvale neke saborske zastupnice, toliko se razljutio da ih je nazvao „opsesivnim samodopadnim narikačama“. Kad su na njegovu izjavu, u kojoj regionalnu #MeToo kampanju protiv seksualnog zlostavljanja žena naziva kampanjom „razmaženih zvijezda“, reagirale aktivistice udruge B.a.b.e., njihovo je ime ocijenio „glupim

2 Da je Milanovićev fejsbuk nalog osoban naravno ne može biti točno, budući da kao predsjednik ima iznimnu moć i imunitet od kaznenog progona, i kao takav može bez ograničenja napadati bilo koga, pa i bez dokaza i argumenata.

i neduhovitim akronimom“ a njih dogmatičnim dnevno-političkim oportunističkama³. Na sve je morala reagirati i pravobraniteljica za jednakost spolova, pa je i ona dobila po nosu⁴. Zvuči nevjerovatno, ali tako je bilo, dugogodišnja aktivistica za ljudska prava Sanja Sarnavka izjavila je da ćemo „na koncu plakati za Grabar-Kitarović jer nas je ona barem uveseljavala“.

Srušilo se sve

Između Božića i Nove godine, tlo nam se i doslovno izmaknulo pod nogama. 29.12.2020. u 12 sati i 19 minuta, seizmografi su zabilježili razoran potres s epicentrom 5 km jugozapadno od Petrinje. Magnituda potresa iznosila je 6.2 prema Richteru. U potresu je poginulo sedmero ljudi, više desetaka je ozlijeđeno te je nastala golema šteta na brojnim kućama i infrastrukturi oko Petrinje, Siska, Gline, Hrvatske Kostajnice, a štete su zabilježene u više županija i gradu Zagrebu. Prevladavajući osjećaj nepouzdanja u državu i njene mehanizme pomoći u uvjetima prirodne katastrofe, potaknuo je masovnu mobilizaciju običnih ljudi, koji su iz svih dijelova Hrvatske, potom i regije i svijeta, nagnuli prema Petrinji, ne bi li na neki način pomogli unesrećenima. Dojam da je država reagirala prekasno i nedovoljno i danas je prisutan. Potres je, kao i svaka katastrofa, razotkrio sve ono što se godinama nastojalo prikriti, pa i zaboravilo – kao kule od karata srušile su se kuće koje su nakon rata bile obuhvaćene Zakonom o obnovi. Ove je kuće srušila korupcija – država, odnosno projektanti, nadzorni inženjeri, izvođači radova koje je ona ovlastila – obnovili su ove kuće bez betona i željeza, potkrajajući tako ne samo njihove stanare, nego i sve nas koji smo tu obnovu platili. Vlastodršci su nas požurili upozoriti da se takve radnje ne mogu procesuirati, zbog zastare. Tek potom smo se sjetili da na ovom „području od posebne državne skrbi“, što

3 Podsjetimo, akcija koju su pokrenule beogradske glumice ubrzo potom dobila je i svoj hrvatski epilog, na svjetlo dana su isplivale tisuće jezivih priča žena svih društvenih slojeva i zanimanja o pretrpljenom seksualnom nasilju, koje bi, bez globalnog pokreta i njegove regionalne inačice, ostale prešućene. Za više informacija: <https://www.nisamtrazila.org/> B.a.b.e. predstavlja akronim slogana „Budi aktivna. Budi emancipiran.“

4 <https://www.index.hr/vijesti/clanak/izvukli-smo-izjave-milanovica-o-zlostavljanju-podrzavate-li-njega-ili-zene/2253381.aspx>

predstavlja ratom zahvaćene krajeve Hrvatske, živi značajan dio i inače zaboravljenih hrvatskih Srba. To su stanovnici onih sela do kojih su se spasioci morali probijati zbog nepostojanja bilo kakve infrastrukture dostojne jedne članice EU. Koji se i inače moraju boriti za put, rasvjetu i struju, jedina je razlika što mi to nismo znali, ili jesmo, ali nas nije bilo briga. Dogradonačelnica Gline izjavila je krajem kolovoza da država na području Gline, nakon potresa, još nije izgradila nijednu kuću. Za to vrijeme, donacijama običnih ljudi(!), na istom je području izgrađeno 36 objekata. Zagrepčani još uvijek čekaju početak obnove nakon potresa 2020., godinu dana je bilo potrebno samo da se donese Zakon o obnovi nakon potresa, bez obzira na sredstva koja su nam za to dodijeljena iz Fonda solidarnosti EU.

U veljači 2021. umro je Milan Bandić, višedecenijski zagrebački gradonačelnik. Gradom je vladao klijentelistički i autokratski, a umro je prije okončanja ijednog sudskog procesa za korupcijske afere koje su ga godinama pratile. I prije lokalnih izbora, koje bi, sasvim izvjesno, konačno izgubio. Nacionalistički ton, dirigiran s desne strane političkog spektra, i utjelovljen prvenstveno u Domovinskom pokretu i njihovim adutima za gradonačelnika Zagreba (Miroslav Škoro) i Vukovara (prebjeg iz HDZ-a, Ivan Penava) odredio je i ovu izbornu kampanju kao otvoren poziv na zastrašivanje i mržnju. Ipak, bilježimo smjenu vlasti u zagrebačkoj gradskoj skupštini i premoćnu pobjedu Tomislava Tomaševića na izborima za gradonačelnika Zagreba. HDZ je proglasio pobjedu, iako su na izborima izgubili mogućnost participacije u vlasti u većim gradovima poput Zagreba, Splita i Vukovara. Istočni dio Hrvatske im je izmakao iz ruku, pojavom ovih koji su od njih nominalno veći nacionalisti, a južni pojavom pojedinih nezavisnih kandidata koji su uspjeli pridobiti širu potporu.

Premoćna pobjeda Možemo! u Zagrebu otvara neko novo poglavlje u nacionalnoj politici. Ovaj uspjeh na lokalnoj razini ne iznenađuje (veliki uspjeh polučili su i u Istri, Primorsko-goranskoj županiji, Splitu i Dubrovniku, ali i nekim manjim gradovima), zahvaljujući njihovom dugogodišnjem aktivizmu i dobrom poznavanju komunalne problematike. Dobar je to test za jačanje Možemo! na nacionalnoj razini i priprema za parlamentarne izbore. Međutim, iako su se iskazali u predlaganju inovativnih ekonomskih i upravljačkih

politika, za parlamentarne će se izbore morati uhvatiti u koštac i s nekim drugim problemima koje su dosad manje-više izbjegavali – poput nacionalizma, pitanja ratnih zločina i politike sjećanja. Osim što je Tomašević bio prisutan na ovogodišnjoj obljetnici Oluje, a dogradonačelnik Luka Korlaet, prilikom istog praznika, položio vijenac na grob Franje Tuđmana, predstavnici ove koalicije nisu se posebno izjašnjavali o tome što je predsjednik vratio odlikovanja Branimiru Glavašu, niti kad je odlikovao jedinicu specijalne policije HVO-a koja je činila zločine u Srednjoj Bosni.

„Za dom spreman“, iako ne baš tim riječima

Predsjednik Milanović, naime, vratio je odlikovanja i čin general-bojnika Branimiru Glavašu, nakon što je Ustavni sud ukinuo pravomoćnu, a Vrhovni sud prvostupanjsku presudu u slučajevima „garaža“ i „selotejp“ te vratio postupak na početak. Predsjednik je to učinio na Glavašev zahtjev, a zato što je „već pet godina formalno isto kao i ja, neosuđena osoba“. Osim što upućuje na travestiju pravosuđa, ovo ništa ne znači, i nije presudno za odluku da predsjednik odlikovanja nekome oduzme ili vrati, za takav postupak dovoljna je njegova vlastita odluka. Činjenice o ovim zločinima utvrđene su van razumne sumnje, a veći je dio osuđenih već izdržao kazne. Predsjednik, koji se u međuvremenu proglasio „zaštitnikom Srba u Hrvatskoj“ kako bi se i na taj način nastavio razračunavati sa omiljenom mu metom, predsjednikom SDSS-a Miloradom Pupovcem, ne vidi diskrepanciju između proklamiranih parola i konkretnih djela.

Zato ćemo nastaviti s djelima. Početkom svibnja, u službenu je posjetu primio Tihomira Blaškića, osuđenog za ratne zločine u BiH. Na sebe je preuzeo autoritet da, eto, on procjenjuje, tko je manji a tko veći ratni zločinac, kao i da neke presude, poput one Blaškiću, tumači kao „političke“. Takvom je ocijenio i presudu Milivoju Petkoviću, te naglasio da će i njega primiti kad izađe iz zatvora (?!). Na stranu što Zoran Milanović ratnim zločincem ne smatra nekoga koga je Haški sud osudio na dvadeset godina zatvora, ali kao predsjednik svojim istupima krši međunarodno i hrvatsko pravo. Bit će zanimljivo ove njegove poteze tumačiti u svjetlu tzv. Inzkovog zakona o zabrani negiranja genocida, zločina protiv čovječnosti i ratnog zločina, iako nam trenutno nije jasno tko bi to mogao učiniti.

Svojim prisustvom i govorom na predstavljanju monografije specijalne jedinice GROM, Milanović je podržao njihova nekadašnjeg člana i ratnog zločinca Mihajla Hrastova, smatrajući nepravednim da RH želi regresno naplatiti ranije isplaćene odštete Hrastovljevim žrtvama. To je nazvao „zlostavljanjem“. Hrvatsko se pravosuđe izrazito kompromitiralo u te 23 godine koliko im je trebalo za sedam presuda istom čovjeku za isto kazneno djelo, poništavanje presuda, i konačno proglašavanje ratnim zločincem. Milanović može od njega praviti žrtvu, ali nigdje neće spomenuti da je Hrastov naposljetku, za smrt 13 i ranjavanje dvojice ratnih zarobljenika na Koranskom mostu u Karlovcu 1991., dobio četiri(!) godine zatvora.

Milanović je, nadalje, i ove godine nastavio s praksom spornih odlikovanja. Prošle je godine u Kninu, u ime Specijalne jedinice MUP-a Herceg-Bosne, odlikovanje primio Zlatan Mijo Jelić, koji je u BiH optužen za etničko čišćenje, protupravno zatvaranje, prisilni rad zarobljenika i ubojstvo i ranjavanje najmanje 40 ratnih zarobljenika u vrijeme sukoba u Mostaru 1993. godine. U Hrvatskoj je, vidimo, našao najbolje moguće utočište od kaznenog progona. Ove je godine u Kninu predsjednik pak odlikovao i samu Vojnu policiju HVO-a, kao i Postrojbu za posebne namjene „Ludvig Pavlović“. U okviru provedbe Udruženog zločinačkog pothvata, institucija Vojne policije HVO-a imala je vrlo važnu ulogu. Upravom vojne policije HVO-a rukovodio je Valentin Čorić, jedan od haških osuđenika u slučaju Prlić i ostali, osuđen na 16 godina zatvora, a pripadao joj je i Berislav Pušić, osuđen na 10 godina zatvora. Postrojba „Ludvig Pavlović“ dovodi se u vezu sa ratnim zločinima na području Čapljine, te ratnim zločinima u Doljanima i Sovićima kod Jablanice u travnju 1993. godine. Po vlastitim riječima, predsjednik Milanović odlikovao je ove postrojbe za vojna djelovanja. Tko mari što pritom, legitimirajući upravo postrojbe koje su činile brutalne zločine i kojima su rukovodili ratni zločinci, predsjednik jedne EU države negira presude i sudski utvrđene činjenice, simbolički nastavlja ratnu politiku 1990-ih i krivotvori povijest.

Međutim, najgori od svega je taj potpuni nedostatak poštovanja prema žrtvama, pogotovo onima „s druge strane“. Govoreći u Kninu, poručio nam je da nije pobornik nauka da je svaka žrtva ista. Zato je i obećao štititi hrvatske ratne zapovjednike od optužbi

za „nedokazana ili izmišljena djela“, kakvima je ocijenio optužbe koje dolaze iz BiH, a koje se odnose i na ratne zločine koji su počinjeni u operaciji Bljesak. To što je on obećao da se „tim ljudima u Hrvatskoj neće suditi“, ne znači da se ti zločini nisu dogodili. Prijetiti BiH zbog postojanja optužnica za ratni zločin ne znači da će se ti zločini zaboraviti, da ćemo o njima šutjeti.

Ima među njegovim biračima i onih koji opravdavaju ovakve riječi i odluke činjenicom da je zapovjednik Oružanih snaga, i da je militarizam dio funkcije koju obavlja. Okružje birača koji ga i dalje podržavaju je ono u kojem je moguće od države provedeno etničko čišćenje odvojiti od Oluje, u kojem militantni patriotizam (nacionalizam?) može supostojati s gay-prideom, europska orijentacija s negacijom žrtava, i predsjednička funkcija s „mangupskom“ retorikom. Ti će reći da je ZM mačo-liberal, a ne desničar. Treba nas zabrinuti što ga, prema posljednjim istraživanjima javnog mnijenja, i dalje podržava znatan dio birača SDP-a, i Možemo!. Međutim, ono što nas ne iznenađuje jest da ga u jednakoj mjeri podržavaju i birači Mosta, te svaki drugi birač HDZ-a. Žarko Puhovski nije puno pogriješio kad ga je nazvao „nezakonitim političkim sinom Franje Tuđmana“.

Na koncu i ne čudi da upravo HDZ-u možemo zahvaliti što je konačno izglasan zakon o civilnim žrtvama. Prava civilnih žrtava do sada su bila regulirana Zakonom o zaštiti vojnih i civilnih invalida rata koji je donesen 1992. Usprkos mnogim izmjenama, ovim propisom i dalje nisu bile obuhvaćene sve civilne žrtve, niti su prava bila prilagođena potrebama ove populacije. Novi zakon je donesen sedam godina nakon što su 555 dana razne braniteljske udruge prosvjedovale ispred šatora u Savskoj 66 blokirajući Ministarstvo branitelja Milanovićeve vlade - u namjeri da zaustave i praktički zabrane javnu raspravu i donošenje ovakvog zakona. Tvrdili su tada da novi zakon izjednačava agresora i žrtvu budući da jednako tretira civilne žrtve bez obzira na nacionalnost. Sada je ponovno Ministarstvo branitelja, ali koje ovaj put predvodi prosvjednik iz šatora Tomo Medved, predložilo Zakon o civilnim stradalnicima Domovinskog rata. Tomo Medved branio ga je u Saboru jednako kao onomad politički mu protivnici Predrag Matić Fred i Bojan Glavašević. Ali HDZ-ove veteranske poluge su obuzdane i prosvjedovali su tek oni nešto desniji od HDZ-a.

Veliki je ovo korak za Hrvatsku, ali za njegovo kažnjenje od odgovornosti ne treba amnestirati nikoga, ni SDP-ovu vladu, koja je, usprkos prosvjedima, imala dovoljno ruku da taj zakon izglasa u Saboru 2014., niti HDZ, koji je tada blokirao donošenje zakona kako bi s vlasti srušio SDP-ovu koalicijsku vlast. Između Zorana Milanovića i HDZ-a, ostalo nam je da se uzdamo u

Možemo!, koji su se namjerili prvo uhvatiti u koštac s upravljanjem i svakodnevnim problemima građana. Zvuči obećavajuće, ali s konačnim ćemo ocjenama pričekati sve dok im HDZ ne postane oporba, tek onda ćemo vidjeti.

Davorka Turk

Srbija: Zagađenost

Danas, 26. avgusta 2021. godine u prepodnevnom satima, dok počinjem sa pisanjem ovog teksta, dve aplikacije koje koristim pokazuju da je vazduh u Beogradu dobar. Beležim datum jer su retki dani kada je vazduh koji udišemo dobar. Početkom ovog meseca, požar koji je izbio na deponiji u Vinči, doneo je enormnu zagađenost. U isto vreme, brojni zagađivači, sadašnji i budući, poput Rio Tinta, koji kupuje zemljište na zapadu Srbije, zbog nalazišta litijuma koje želi da eksploatiše, ili Zidfin fabrike u Boru, koja ovaj grad čini nemogućim za život živog sveta, ne preduzimaju ništa, niti ih državni regulatori primoravaju da to čine. Najviše što građani mogu da dobiju je umirivanje, poput izjave zamenika gradonačelnika Beograda Gorana Vesića: *“Deponija u Vinči jeste gušila, ali nije trovala građane.”*¹ Kad se ugušite, neće vam biti previše važno jeste li usput i otrovani, ili niste.

Fizička zagađenost vode, vazduha, hrane, reka, okoline je vidljiva i merljiva, ako se želi može i da se izmeri i da se kontroliše, pa i da se reaguje i spreči dalje zagađivanje. U Srbiji je opasnija ona vrsta zagađenosti koja nema mernu jedinicu, zavod koji bi trebalo da je kontroliše i regulaciju kako da se ona smanji: mi smo kao društvo zatrovani. Na svim poljima i u svakom pogledu.

Tu maske ne pomažu.

Unutra

Dovoljno je da objavite tvit koji nije po volji vladajuće stranke, i da vas rastrgnu tabloidi, partijski botovi - zaposleni u javnim preduzećima da za redovnu

platu hvale predsednika Vučića na internetu, ili čak i sam predsednik u višesatnom gostovanju na nekoj od televizija kojima upravlja vladajuća većina. Iza medijskih idu formalne horde za uterivanje straha protivnicima režima: ili će se neko od desničarskih organizacija fizički obračunavati na ulici sa pojedincem ili pojedinkom, ili će država započeti proces ispitivanja i finansijskog zastrašivanja organizacija i pojedinaca, poput onih koji su se našli na spisku Uprave za sprečavanje pranja novca i finansiranje terorizma. Na tom spisku se našlo 20 pojedinaca/ki i 37 nevladinih organizacija, listom svi oni koji je vlast obeležila kao svoje neprijatelje, jer objavljuju i javno izgovaraju činjenice koje joj ne idu u prilog. Na tom spisku su i nezavisni novinari, te redakcije čiji rad ne kontroliše sistem na vlasti.

Deluje da postoji otpor, da postoje nezavisni mediji i oni koji nisu pod direktnom kontrolom režima, i zaista je njihov rad neprocenjivo važan, no nažalost, dometi su im jako slabi: vlast kontroliše sve televizije sa nacionalnom frekvencijom, sve novine osim par nedeljnika, kao i nacionalnog telefonskog i internet operatera koji ima monopolsku poziciju. Realnost nam je ista, ali percepcija ljudi koji se informišu preko nezavisnih izvora, i percepcija ljudi koju vlast informiše preko svih svojih kanala (u koje spadaju i brojni tv i YouTube kanali osmišljeni da plasiraju samo lažne informacije) je suprotna. Jedni misle da je za požar na deponiji kriva nebriga odgovornih, drugi da je za nju kriva opozicija. Jedni misle da je za obračune kriminalnih grupa i brojne smrti krivo saučesništvo vlasti i organizovanog kriminala, drugi gledaju kako predsednik pokazuje krvave fotografije i veruju da se on bori protiv kriminalaca, iako su to isti

1 <https://www.istinomer.rs/izjava/deponija-u-vinci-jeste-gusila-ali-nije-trovala-gradjane/>

ljudi koje je režim koristio za obračun sa političkim neistomišljenicima (na protestima u julu prošle godine, prilikom inauguracije kada su se građani pobunili, na utakmicama gde se skandiralo protiv predsednika...). Jedni traže način da se epidemija zaustavi, drugi je koriste za političke i lične ciljeve (organizovanje izbora, utakmica, slavlja, mitinga podrške predsedniku....). Živimo dve drugačije realnosti, i one su međusobno suprotstavljene. Bojim se eskalacije tog sukoba, a ne vidim način da se dijalogom dođe do bilo kakvog izlaska iz ove situacije. Jer, za dijalog je potrebno imati dve strane zainteresovane da do dijaloga uopšte dođe.

Da biste imali pravu informaciju o onome što se događa, vi morate zaista da se potrudite da je pronađete: morate da odaberete internet i tv provajdera protiv kojeg vlast vrši svakodnevnu antikampanju, a vlasnicima, novinarima i urednicima tih medija režimski tabloidi nizom laži i monstruoznih manipulacija čine ne samo rad, već i život, ugroženim.

Skupština Srbije se u aktuelnom sazivu (posle izbora koje je opozicija bojkotovala) sastoji od 180 poslanika Srpske napredne stranke, 24 Socijalističke partije Srbije i 46 poslaničkih mesta koja su pripala manjinskim strankama ili strankama koje su već bile u vlasti (PUPS na primer). Vladajuća stranka ima više nego dvotrećinsku većinu, potrebnu i za promenu Ustava. O kojoj neretko i govori, njome preti ili ucenjuje. Bukvalno, imaju takvu vlast i takvu moć da mogu da izglasaju da godina ima 11 meseci, i da sve koji bi se tome usprotivili proglase protivnicima napretka i boljitka Srbije. Zato je jako opasno kada im se, zbog bilo čega, nađete na radaru. Ili na radaru neke od desničarskih organizacija, koje vlast koristi za fizički obračun sa neistomišljenicima, a koje se obračunavaju sa protivnicima vlasti, ili javnom prozivkom na društvenim mrežama, ili premlaćivanjem, upadanjem u posed, često uz nemešanje ili prećutno odobravanje policije.²

Iste te, ili vrlo slične organizacije, postavljaju murale sa likovima ratnih zločinaca na javna mesta u gradovima. Tako je, odmah po proglašenju presude kojom je potvrđena doživotna kazna zatvora Ratku Mladiću, nekadašnjem generalu Vojske Republike Srpske za genocid u Srebrenici, progone Bošnjaka

i Hrvata, terorisanje građana Sarajeva i uzimanje pripadnika UN-a za taoce, u Beogradu nacrtan mural sa njegovim likom. Zločinac je za veliki deo javnosti heroj - osim za anonimnog aktivistu/kinju, koja/i mu je ruke na muralu polio/la bojom krvi. Srbija je i dalje sigurna kuća za ratne zločince, pa tako osuđeni ratni zločinac Kapetan Dragan, osuđen za ratne zločine u Hrvatskoj, u Subotici od gradske vlasti dobija prostorije za rad svoje fondacije, a u Beogradu deli majice sa likom osuđenog ubice premijera Zorana Đinđića 2003. U Novom Sadu se ne krije, već normalno živi, osumnjičeni za ratne zločine Duško Kornjača, ratni komandant opštine Čajniče. Tokom cele prošle, 2020. godine, podignuto je ukupno sedam optužnica pred Sudom za ratne zločine, ali su pet njih ustupljene iz BiH, što zapravo znači da je u celoj godini podignuto samo dve nove optužnice. Strahujem da će rezultat i ove godine biti sličan, ako ne i gori.

Epidemiju covid 19 na sve načine koriste da ili drže građane zatvorene, ili ih ucenjuju slobodama, ili pak stvaraju „ekonomsko čudo“ jedine zemlje koja je u epidemiji, navodno, ekonomski napredovala. Što je, naravno, samo još jedna u nizu laži, kao i laži o broju preminulih od epidemije (koju je Srbija „uspešno pobedila“, još u proleće 2020.). Time se našla na 5. mestu u svetu po „višku smrtnosti“: broj stvarno umrlih od aprila 2020. do kraja juna ove godine i onih čija je smrt prijavljena kao posledica covid 19 se bitno razlikuje: prijavljeno je 7.030 smrtnih slučajeva, a zaista ih je bilo 30210 više umrlih od proseka broja umrlih prethodnih godina.³

Spolja

Lice srpskog režima je prijateljsko, blago i nasmevano kada govori sa strancima. Osim kada govori sa kosovskim Albancima – Vučić i Rama se dopisuju i časkaju preko poruka, dok u isto vreme, sa Kurtijem (premijer kosovske vlade) nema nikakvog **dijaloga**.⁴ I to opisuje i diplomatiju i veštinu vođenja države – on (Vučić) radi samo ono što mu prija i od čega ima

3 <https://rs.n1info.com/vesti/britanski-ekonomist-srbija-peta-na-svetu-po-visku-smrtnosti/?fbclid=IwAR17O4DrJ7K4bulxbhqhIV968ZctH4PmSrgjsqOovyqDuzQBtxFREaqZb4>

4 <https://kossev.info/vucic-sa-kurtijem-najlakse-da-se-razgovara-i-najneprijatnije-sa-ostalima-teze-ali-manje-neprijatno/>

2 <http://www.glassumadije.rs/levijatan-pokusao-da-prekine-skup-marinke-tepic-video/>

konkretnu (on, ne društvo) korist – bilo materijalnu, bilo populističku.

Nerazdvojan sa Dodikom, čini se da čini sve da postane predsednik Svih Srpskih Zemalja – neprikosnoveni vladar i vođa Srbije i Srba u rasejanju. S tim u vezi, široj javnosti nepoznato, prošle godine je ustanovljen praznik – Dan nacionalnog jedinstva, 15. septembar. Izabran je simboličan datum, dan proboja Solunskog fronta u Prvom svetskom ratu, i taj dan obeležavaju Republika Srbija i Republika Srpska. Ove godine će Skupštine obe republike izglasati Zakon o zaštiti srpskog jezika i ćirilice. Ko tačno napada srpski jezik, pa njih dvojica moraju da nas Zakonom od napadača štite, nejasno je. Niti je u javnosti ikada to pominjano kao bilo kakva tema od opšte nacionalne opasnosti. No, oni će izmisliti i događaj i neprijatelja, sve zarad prostog populizma i učvršćivanja na svojoj vlasti.

Takođe, potpuno je jasno da postoji i izrazita želja da se kontrolišu procesi unutar Crne Gore – u kojoj se krajem prošlog leta dogodila promena višedecenijske vlasti, te da je Vučić nezadovoljan time što tamošnji političari ne igraju oko njega poput Dodika. Dodatno zahlađenje odnosa nastalo je nakon što je pre par meseci Skupština Crne Gore usvojila Rezoluciju o Srebrenici, što je Vučić okarakterisao kao narušavanje “vitalnog interesa srpskog naroda”, uz poruku: “Daleko im lepa kuća”.

Dobro je da se desilo

Ipak, desilo se nekoliko dobrih stvari, i poteza, populističkih naravno, ali treba pozdraviti činjenicu da je za građane Srbije obezbeđen dovoljan broj svih vakcina koje se nalaze na tržištu, te da su, kada nije bilo dovoljne zainteresovanosti u samoj Srbiji, pozvani građani iz regiona da se vakcinišu u Srbiji. I zaista, desetine hiljada ljudi iz komšiluka u Srbiji je vakcinisano, dok u njihovim državama proces vakcinacije nije još bio ni započeo. Takođe, Srbija je donirala i veliki broj vakcina građanima susednih država.

Početkom leta, ukinut je roming između zemalja Zapadnog Balkana - građani Srbije, Crne Gore,

Severne Makedonije, BiH, Kosova i Albanije mogu sada da razgovaraju bez dodatnih troškova. I to u praksi funkcioniše, zaista, iako smo svi na početku bili skeptični, nenavikli da vlasti ovih država čine bilo šta od čega će svi građani imati korist.

Srpska pravoslavna crkva bila je potpuno nesnađena u epidemiji virusa Covid19, i tu nesnađenost i izolovanost od realnosti kakva je, platili su životima i mnogobrojni vernici, ali i patrijarh Irinej, te vladika Artemije. Promena na čelu SPC dogodila se božjom voljom, a voljom vladika za novog patrijarha izabran je Porfirije Perić, dotadašnji vladika zagrebačko-ljubljanski, koji se potpuno retorikom, porukama i ponašanjem razlikuje od glavne struje SPC. Očekivanja od njega su da bude osoba pomirenja, saradnje i razumevanja.

Početkom godine Srbiji se dogodila revolucija zlostavljanih žena – u nekoliko odvojenih slučajeva, hrabreći jedna drugu, i izlazeći u javnost sa pojedinostima onoga što im se dogodilo od strane moćnih muškaraca, pokrenule su talas, posle kojeg više ništa neće biti isto. Iako će sigurno hiljade zlostavljača i dalje biti sakriveni i nekažnjeni (poput političara u vlasti, kao što je Dragan Marković Palma), ipak se dogodila promena – žrtve su dobile glas, zlostavljači su dobili bar osudu javnosti, a iskreno se nadam i sudsku presudu adekvatnu počinjenim delima.

Dogodio se i događa se niz malih protesta ekoloških grupa, koje reaguju na lokalne probleme zagađenja okoline i uništavanja prirodnih dobara, reka, šuma, planina. Sve su to pokreti nastali spontano, iz ugroženosti osnovnih ljudskih prava, ali je paradoksalno da postoje njihovi protivnici – poslušnici vlasti koji napadaju građane koji žele čistu vodu, recimo, u Zrenjaninu. Njima, tim protivnicima, ne treba čista voda za piće, koju ovaj grad nema već 17 godina? Nemoguće je. Moguće je da su instruirani da napadaju demonstrante, jer svaki protest je napad na vlast.

Ukratko: z(a)gađenost.

Katarina Milićević

Severna Makedonija: Bugarska je nova Grčka

Kratko pamćenje je nacionalna disciplina u Makedoniji. Vlast postaje ono protiv čega se nekada borila. Ne tako davno protestovali smo sa parolom: "Zaslužujemo bolje", ali očigledno je da smo imali različitu predstavu koji smo to mi i šta je to što zaslužujemo.

Ove godine dobili smo veto od Bugarske za početak pregovora o pristupanju Evropskoj uniji. Razočarenje je veliko. Time je, nadam se samo privremeno, oduzeta naša evropska budućnost. Nema pristupnih fondova, nema evropskog obrazovanja, nema druženja sa drugima iz Evrope, nema slobodnog prelaska granica. Veto je problem, no više zabrinjava to što će ova vladajuća elita, ali i buduća, uvek imati opravdanje sopstvenih neuspeha, kao što su decenijama unazad imali opravdanje u Grčkoj. Sada, Bugarska je nova Grčka, no mnogo više neracionalna i neevropska.

Korupcija je stalni problem u zemlji. Zakoni postoje, ali vlast najčešće procesuirala svoje kritičare i prestupnike sitnog kalibra. Relevantne domaće i međunarodne organizacije konstatuju pad na indeksu za percepciju korupcije, koji je posledica nedovoljnog truda vlade u borbi protiv korupcije i sukoba interesa u javnoj administraciji. Najodgovorniji nas ubeđuju da direktori i ministri nisu korumpirani, već samo službenici. Vlast nas ubeđuje da je transparentna, a najveći dokaz za to je što su budžeti i nekakvi dokumenti postavljeni na web stranice. Naravno, to ih ne čini ni transparentnim, ni dostupnim. Naprotiv. Tako ostaju jedni od najnerazumljivijih i najtežih za kontrolu. Ipak, vlast uspeva da pokaže ono što želi, a da sakrije sve drugo. I to prolazi u narodu. Dogodilo se da je vlada korupcijom nabavila softver. Otkako se otkrila ova afera, vlada nam je rekla da sigurno postoji razlog zašto je nabavljen, ali da u ovom momentu ne znaju koji je to razlog. Znači, nisu nabavili nešto što je potrebno, neophodno, nešto što može odmah da se iskoristi, već nešto što je tu, samo da se ima. I tako to ide.

Nesreće su bile i ostale najbolje partijsko oružje, iz kojeg pucaju istim topovima u zavisnosti na kojoj strani fronta su neprijatelji. Ocrni se protivnik, i proglasi za neprijatelja i izdajnika državnih i nacionalnih interesa. Pandemijski požari u kombinaciji sa siromaštvom postali

su najbolja tema za partijsku predizbornu kampanju.

Sadašnja vlast se godinama borila protiv nelegalnih urbanističkih planova koje je VMRO-DPMNE donosila – ali se predala. Samo nekoliko meseci pred lokalne izbore gradonačelnik opštine Centar je potpisao odobrenje za izgradnju jedne od tri nove i kontroverzne dvadesetospratnice blizu hotela „Holidays in“. Na isti način je usvojen i nov zakon za divlju gradnju, prema kojem će moći da se legalizuje gradnja i u nacionalnim parkovima i u zaštićenim zonama na izvorima vode za piće.

Scena za veliki politički obračun je postavljena i treba da se dogodi na lokalnim izborima 2021. godine. Partije nastavljaju da kroje kandidate za gradonačelnike. Opozicijska VMRO-DPMNE je odlučila da ide u koaliciju sa albanskom opozicijom, odnosno sa Alijansom za Albance i Alternativom, dok će SDSM i DUI ići zajedno na izbore u određenim opštinama. Iako javno to ne priznaju, očigledno je da sve partije imaju unutrašnje sukobe zbog kandidata za gradonačelnike i odbornike. Politički trik DUI za „premijera Albanca“ odavno je zaboravljen, ali zato DUI ima novi trik kojim će nastupiti na lokalnim izborima, sada postaje zelena partija, a zelenom agendom DUI započinje novu politiku za ekološku ispravnost i kvalitet. DUI je ranije očigledno pogodio u metu blizu centra, pa sada mora ponovo da proba, ionako ništa ne gubi.

Za razliku od svih dosadašnjih izbora, interesantna je činjenica da se za ove prikupljaju potpisi za mnogo nezavisnih listi, i to je ohrabrujuće za demokratiju. Ljudi počinju da se organizuju. To što im nisu omogućili političari u strankama za koje su glasali, sada žele da postignu sami. Skoro niko ne očekuje da ove nezavisne liste preuzmu vlast u opštinama, no ipak, svi očekuju da budu različit glas od naredbi koje dolaze iz partijskih centrala.

Učenici prvog i četvrtog razreda od ove školske godine treba da uče na interesantan, dinamičan, zabavan, ali efikasan način. Iako većina u to ne veruje, ipak je doneta nova Konceptcija za osnovno obrazovanje, koja je usvojena u martu posle više meseci debate i reakcija. Iako je deo javnosti negodovao i čak protestovao protiv Konceptcije, ipak

je veliki deo stručne javnosti nju podržao. Lično mislim da je ovo jako lepa vest i nada za buduće generacije posle mnogo neodgovarajućih reformi obrazovanja. Konačno dobijamo digitalizaciju u školstvu, promene koje vode napred i koji su podrška nauci.

Ove godine imamo jedan jubilej, dvadeset godina slavljenja i kritikovanja Ohridskog okvirnog sporazuma. Za Albance on predstavlja dobru ideju i pozitivan kompromis, dok je za većinu Makedonaca, Okvirni sporazum od starta loša ideja u kojoj ne samo da se nisu pronašli, već ga i smatraju razlogom za sve negativnosti koje su se dogodile od dana potpisivanja, a verovatno i u budućnosti.

Svi drugi događaji u 2021. godini mogu da se sumiraju jednom rečenicom: "Sve nešto nedostaje i kasni!". Nedostaju pasoši i registarske tablice, nema svedočanstava za učenike, kasni isporuka insulina, nema izvoda iz matičnih knjiga. Planiranje – nula. I to malo resursa koje imamo, mi ih ne koristimo. U takvim uslovima planiramo da sprovedemo Popis stanovništva (koji nije sproveden 20 godina).

(Ne)Odgovornost!

Šume rastu godinama, a gore za tren. Kada su izgorele, oni koji treba da ponesu odgovornost nas ubeđuju da mi koji odgovornost tražimo ne znamo ništa, a oni su mnogo pametni, mnogo su se trudili, kao generali posle izgubljene bitke, ama eto, nekako je izgorela šuma. I ne samo jedna, već stotine šuma. Na kraju nam rekoše da smo svi odgovorni, odnosno da niko nije odgovoran. Na temperaturi od preko 40 stepeni, kada svi tražimo senku da se rashladimo, da šume ne bi gorele vlasti su došle na kreativnu ideju – potpunu zabranu kretanja po šumama.

Ohridsko jezero, najstarije jezero u Evropi i jedno od najstarijih na svetu, zbog turističkih projekata i nedovoljne brige za prirodna dobra je steklo uslove da se upiše na listu Svetske prirodne i kulturne baštine u opasnosti. I pogodite šta: svi, odnosno, niko nije odgovoran! To uopšte ne sme da nas iznenadi. Istraživanja pokazuju da 55% rukovodilaca u institucijama, poput agencija, uprava, preduzeća ili ogranaka u Ministarstvima koje imenuje vlada ima minimum kompetencija iz oblasti u kojoj rade, dok ih 45% uopšte nema.

Diskriminacija

Pandemija Covid19 je otežala normalno funkcionisanje svugde u svetu, a restriktivne mere postale su sastavni deo rešavanja zdravstvene krize. Ograničena je sloboda kretanja i ugrožena su druga ljudska prava. Virus ne diskriminiše, ali pripadnici marginalizovanih grupa koje su tradicionalno diskriminisane se mnogo teže nose sa ovom situacijom. Postoji realan strah od virusa, ali i strah od drakonskih kazni, pa se svi nekako lako odriču svojih prava, kao i od bilo kakve kontrole nad državnim aparatom.

Paralelna pandemija lažnih vesti i dezinformacija predstavlja veliku opasnost za zdravlje građana. Lažne vesti se šire brže od samog virusa. Često se građani informišu iz nerelevantnih izvora, koji nisu zasnovani na naučnim saznanjima i preporukama i lako prihvataju informacije bazirane na lažima i teorijama zavera. Iako se poslednjih dana beleži porast obuhvata vakcinacije, brojevi pokazuju da cela zemlja daleko zaostaje od evropskog proseka.

Govor mržnje

Nevladine organizacije stalno beleže veliki broj slučajeva govora mržnje na društvenim mrežama. Najveći broj se odnosi na prijave povezane sa govorom mržnje na osnovu etničke pripadnosti. Negativna retorika se koristi i u kontekstu priprema za sprovođenje popisa i učestali su napadi i uvrede ka romskoj etničkoj zajednici. Zabeleženo je i drastično povećanje homofobije, a govor mržnje se koristi kao sredstvo uvrede i ponižavanja pojedinaca, što je ujedno i napad na celu zaštićenu grupu ljudi, na osnovu seksualne orijentacije i rodnog identiteta. Homofobne uvrede se intenziviraju posebno prema sadržajima koji su objavljivani za Dan borbe protiv homofobije, transfobije i bifobije. Već smo navikli da svaka Parada ponosa ima svoju kontra paradu. Grafiti koji podstiču i šire govor mržnje na osnovu etničke i nacionalne pripadnosti su čest ukras naših ulica.

Dok se celi demokratski svet solidariše sa humanitarnom katastrofom koja se dešava u Avganistanu, naša zemlja, iako skromno, odlučila je da bude solidarna i privremeno prihvati civilno stanovništvo iz Avganistana. To je rapidno povećalo govor mržnje okrenut prema izbeglicama. Interesantno, iz Avganistana u ovom trenutku ne beže

lopovi, nasilnici i religiozni fanatici. Beže intelektualci, slobodni i emancipovani ljudi. Mi u Makedoniji se izgleda baš njih najviše plašimo.

Umesto zaključka

Da, definitivno ispred sebe imamo mnogo izazova i problema. EU, SAD ili bilo ko drugi ne može da nam

pomogne. Na žalost, nekompetentni i kriminalci bili su i jesu na vlasti. Samo mi možemo da im je oduzmemo. Ako želimo. Ali, po svemu sudeći, baš nam odgovaraju.

Luan Imeri

Crna Gora: Crnogorski 6. oktobar?

Prošlo je gotovo godinu dana od „istorijske“ smjene vlasti u Crnoj Gori. Nova vladajuća većina se izgleda još navikava na činjenicu da ona sada vrši vlast. Dezorijentacija u prostoru i vremenu, nezainteresovanost za vlastiti posao, hronični nedostatak konkretnog plana ili strategije, uz akutni nedostatak kvalitetnog i iskusnog kadra, glavne su karakteristike jednogodišnje vladavine. Paralelno, nova opozicija se izgleda ne snalazi baš najbolje u ulozi opozicionara. Dugogodišnji život u koruptivnom konformizmu i bahatosti svake vrste, briga za očuvanje države kroz očuvanje ličnih, unosnih privilegija i povlastica, te lažna briga za društvo, odnosno za sve građane, izgleda da ne idu u prilog oštirci opozicionog djelovanja.

Sve skupa rezultira godinom u kojoj izostaju najavljivane socijalne i ekonomske reforme, izostaje dijalog o nacionalnim i vjerskim pitanjima; nema govora o konačnom raskidanju sa klijentelizmom i partijskim zapošljavanjem, oslobađanjem institucija - posebno sudstva i tužilaštva, strateškom zaštitom novinara, obezbjeđivanjem nezavisnog javnog servisa, istinskim i planskim potezima ka smirivanju tenzija i pomirenju. Čini se kao da se ogromna energija promjena i nade u dolazak pravednijeg društva, pokrenute prošle godine, polako pretvaraju u još jednu propuštenu priliku.

Početni entuzijazam i polet vrlo brzo su zamjenjeni nepovjerenjem i nevjericom sve većeg broja građana, a sve kulminira salvom uvreda i optužbi između pripadnika Demokratskog fronta (DF) i premijera Zdravka Krivokapića, te malicioznim i političko profilerskim naslađivanjem ali i podizanjem i održavanjem nacionalnih podjela, od strane nove opozicije. Sve je krenulo prilično i neočekivano rano,

odmah po najavi premijera da će nova Vlada biti ekspertska što je značilo da kadar DF-a ostaje bez važnih resora. Zahtjevi za smjenu Vlade i premijera se nastavljaju, a za septembar su se najavljivali i protesti. Premijer, s druge strane je više puta ponovio da sam neće podnijeti ostavku i pozvao poslanike DF-a da podnesu inicijativu za smjenu Vlade. Prijeti li da nam se ponovi 6. oktobar?

Koga ima više, a?

Dugo očekivani i najavljivani popis stanovništva u Crnoj Gori se polako pretvara u sagu kojoj nema kraja, a zapravo je jedan plastični pokazatelj demokratski nesazrelog društva, društva bez institucija. Planirani popis za april 2021. je zbog neusvajanja budžeta i epidemije COVID 19 odložen za jesen. Kako se jedna prosta statistička operacija, koja je uzgred itekako korisna radi boljeg planiranja, jer se između ostalog utvrđuje broj građana, naseljenost, starosna struktura, vlasništvo nekretnina, nivo obrazovanja itd. vrlo lako pretvara u događaj ravan izborima, ako ne i važniji od njih.

Nacionalno i vjersko izjašnjavanje građana uvijek je najvažnije, jer se popis uvijek doživljava i kao statističko, ali i kao političko pitanje. Naravno nije problem u ova dva pitanja (većina zemalja EU kao i SAD ne prikupljaju podatke o nacionalnoj i vjerskoj pripadnosti, ili su ova pitanja samo opcionalna), već u tome što se ona doživljavaju kao pitanja biti ili ne biti, a cjelokupni popisni proces se svodi samo na njih. Dva pitanja, nacija i vjera, zapravo su samo jedno: Koga ima više? Srba ili Crnogoraca? Odgovor na to pitanje će jednima biti veliki gubitak i poraz, a drugima vjetar u leđa, jer od rezultata prebrojavanja zavisi i “ispravnost” političkih

odluka, prošlih i budućih. Popis je zapravo sredstvo za prebrojavanje i mjerenje. Onoga koga bude više taj po nekoj iskrivljenoj logici ima više prava i odlučuje kome sve i koliko prava da dodijeli. Dakle koga bude više taj će da vlada, imaće opravdanje za sve političke odluke, taj je i jači i bolji.

Inauguracija

Još jedan od događaja koji je trebalo da bude ceremonijalnog karaktera ozbiljno je zaprijetio da se pretvori u drugačiju, mnogo opasniju vrstu prebrojavanja i podjela. Događaj koji je trebalo da samo konstatuje nešto što je već odlučeno i poznato, prerastao je u novu priliku za zaoštavanje podjela, za pocrtavanje različitosti, za produbljivanje mržnje, zaprijetio mnogo gorim posledicama, zaprijetio čak i građanskim ratom.

Vladika Joanikije je na mjestu mitropolita crnogorsko-primorskog zamijenio preminulog Amfilohija. Činu ustoličenja novog crnogorskog mitropolita 5. septembra na Cetinju, prisustvovao je i patrijarh SPC-a Porfirije. Tenzije koje su povodom ustoličenja trajale nedeljama kulminirale su protestom na Cetinju, blokadom prilaznih puteva gradu, barikadama, spaljivanjem guma i sukobima sa policijom. Policija je posle viščasovne blokade razbila barikade i otvorila prilaze gradu, upotrebljavajući suzavac i mehanizaciju. Bilans je 60 lakše povrijeđenih građana i policajaca, srećom niko nije zadobio teže tjelesne povrede. Cetinjski manastir, opasan policijskim ogradama i kordonima policije, antiterorističkim jedinicama sa dugim cijevima, više je ličio na tvrđavu nego na manastir.

Protestu je prisustvovala cjelokupna crnogorska opozicija, poslanici i odbornici cetinjskog parlamenta, predvođeni Milom Đukanovićem, predsjednikom Crne Gore. Protest su obilježili i pokušaji njegovog savjetnika za sigurnost i dugogodišnjeg apsolutnog šefa bezbjedonosnih struktura Veselina Veljovića da utiče na policiju. Prvo putem autorskog teksta objavljenog par dana pred ustoličenje kojim je pozvao policijske službenike da "odbiju naređenja koja su suprotna crnogorskom Ustavu", a potom na samom protestu napadom na policajce koji su obezbjeđivali ustoličenje. Uhapšen je i potom pušten da se brani sa slobode.

Bivšem šefu policije, sadašnji policijski službenici nisu izašli u susret.

Mitropolit Joanikije i patrijarh Porfirije su helikopterom vojske Crne Gore prebačeni do cetinjskog manastira i bez prisustva ostalih gostiju i zvaničnika obavili čin ustoličenja, nakon čega su istim putem i na isti način odletjeli iz manastira i sa Cetinja.

Na prvi pogled pobjedili su svi, i oni koji su htjeli da se sprovede čin ustoličenja i oni koji su željeli da iskažu protest protiv tog čina. Međutim, na Cetinju smo tog dana svi izgubili. Prvo predsjednik Crne Gore Milo Đukanović, za koga je jasno da posle ovih događaja i pokušaja destabilizacije društva i time demonstarcije moći, jasno da nje više nema, bar ne u onoj mjeri koju je imao svih ovih godiina. Drugo, novi mitropolit Crne Gore Joanikije, koji je ustoličen na blago rečeno neprimjeren način, način koji mu onemogućava da relazuje ono što se može čuti iz njegovih besjeda – prevazilaženje podjela i pomirenje. Izgubila je i Crna Gora u koju spadaju i Crnogorci i Srbi, i Hrvati i Bošnjaci i Albanci i Muslimani, i bijeli i zeleni, i crveni i crni, i šareni i bezbojni, ona Crna Gora koja vapi za nekim drugačijim, boljim svijetom, koji nije "ni svijet Mila Đukanovića, ni srpski svet"

Sloboda govora

Zabrinjavajuća je spirala prijetnji i napada na novinare/ke u Crnoj Gori koja se nastavlja i tokom 2021. godine. Od početka godine do septembra bilo je ukupno 14 prijetnji i napada od kojih su poslednja dva napadi na ekipu TV Vijesti koja je izveštavala sa protesnog skupa protiv ustoličenja mitropolita na Cetinju i napad na direktoricu CIN-CG Milku Tadić-Mijović.

Ovo naravno da ne predstavlja novost u društvu u kojem su napadi na novinare/ke svih prethodnih godina ohrabrivani od strane bivše vlasti i to na način da se institucije nisu mnogo trudile da otkriju napadače i nalogodavce. Puno profesionalno funkcionisanje institucija neophodnih za sistemski obračun sa nasilnicima i kriminalcima kroz iscrpno korišćenje svih zakonskih mogućnosti kako bi se nasilnicima dodjeljivale maksimalne kazne propisane zakonom ili pooštavanje zakonskih sankcija za napadače na novinare/ke, nisu dometi prethodne vlasti. Nova

većina za sada nastavlja putem stare. Još nema ozbiljne reakcije na niz inicijativa novinarskih i ostalih nvo usmjerenih na kvalitetniju i profesionalniju zaštitu nonara/ki. Vjerovatno su prezauzeti nacionalnim i kadrovskim pitanjima.

Izabran je i novi generalni direktor Radio televizije Crne Gore, crnogorskog javnog servisa. Riječ je o Borisu Raoniću, dosadašnjem predsjedniku Građanske alijanse Crne Gore i dugogodišnjem aktivisti. Činjenica da novi direktor dolazi iz svijeta NVO, dakle da nije pripadnik niti jedne političke partije, raduje i daje nadu da će Javni servis konačno postati ono što mu i ime kazuje, "javni" i "servis". Crnogorski javni servis krasila je uglavnom redukcija informacija, najčešće politički motivisana i svjesno dekontekstualizacijom zloupotrebljavana; obezvrjeđivanje ličnosti i djela; ratnohuškaštvo; namjerno i cinično izazivanje podjela; govor mržnje. Crnogorski javni servis je bio nezavisan i oslobođen od svega, samo nije od vlasti, od vlastitog straha od vlasti, od laži i obmane, od neprofesionalizma, od konformizma vodećih ljudi. Lišen istraživačkog novinarstva, istine ili makar potrage za istom, javni servis je postao lišen autonomije, slobode i odgovornosti.

Ostaje nada da će novi direktor uspjeti da unese promjene koje bi javni servis učinile mjestom na kojem će se, kroz konstantnu javnu debatu o svim pitanjima koja preokupljaju cg društvo, putem sučeljavanja različitih mišljenja i ideja, slobodnih i nezavisnih ljudi, slati kritičke poruke zajedništva i mira, naročito u periodima borbe sa različitim krizama koje zadnjih godina pritiskaju Crnu Goru.

Par dobrih stvari

Svakako u godini za nama treba izdvojiti i nekoliko dobrih poteza. U Skupštini Crne Gore je donijet set socijalnih zakona. Uvedeni su dječji dodaci, besplatni udžbenici, povećanje minimalnih zarada, povećanja staračkih naknada, smanjenje računa za struju. Pored ovoga ispravljene su dugogodišnje nepravde prema Islamskoj zajednici (u vidu vraćanja vlasništva nad objektima), došlo i do smjene starog Tužilačkog savjeta i izgleda sazrelo vrijeme za izbor novog, postoje naznake da se krenulo u ozbiljan obračun sa organizovanim kriminalom itd.

U Crnoj Gori je sklopljen prvi brak osoba istog

pola, nakon što je počela primjena Zakona o životnom partnerstvu koji je stupio na snagu 15. jula ove godine. Iako je sam Zakon manjkav po mnogim pitanjima, između ostalog i po pitanjima ispunjenja preduslova za njegovu kompletnu i potpunu primjenu, ipak se ovim činom i od ove godine prvim sklopljenim brakom, konačno krenulo sa omogućavanjem konkretnije pravne zaštite i ravnopravnijeg i sigurnijeg života LGBTQ osobama.

Crnogorski parlament je usvojio Rezoluciju o Srebrenici kojom se između ostalog „najoštrije osuđuje genocid u Srebrenici“ i „potvrđuje da se genocid dogodio na tlu Evrope nakon Drugog svetskog rata u kojem je stradalo preko 8.000 civila bošnjačke nacionalnosti“. Rezolucija još „osuđuje pokušaje pripisivanja odgovornosti ili krivice srpskom, bošnjačkom, hrvatskom ili bilo kojem drugom narodu za genocid, zločine protiv čovečnosti ili druge zločine, jer odgovornost može biti isključivo individualna, a nijedan narod ne može biti označen kao genocidan ili zločinački“. Dokumentom se podržava proglašenje 11. jula Danom sećanja na žrtve Srebrenice, te se institucije države pozivaju „na sprovođenje istraga i procesuiranja optuženih za genocid u Srebrenici, ratne zločine i zločine protiv čovečnosti“. Prema riječima jednog od predlagača Rezolucije, poslanika Bošnjačke stranke Ervina Ibrahimovića, cilj tog dokumenta je demokratizacija crnogorskog društva i pomirenje u regionu, da se zabrani javno negiranje genocida u Srebrenici, kao i da se prenese poruka da Rezolucija nije uperena ni protiv jednog naroda. Ostaje i pitanje zašto se Rezolucija predlaže tek sada, kao da se nije imalo vremena za to dok se vršila vlast skupa sa DPS-om.

Paralelno sa procesom usvajanja rezolucije poslanici crnogorskog parlamenta podržali su većinom glasova inicijativu premijera Zdravka Krivokapića za smjenu ministra pravde, ljudskih i manjinskih prava Vladimira Leposavića. Zahtjev za smjenu Leposavića premijer je uputio nakon što je sada već bivši ministar pravde tokom skupštinskog zasjedanja kazao "da je spreman da prizna da se u Srebrenici desio genocid, kada se to nedvosmisleno utvrdi". Dio vladajuće koalicije koji je bio protiv smjene Leposavića bojkotuje rad parlamenta. Rijedak, ali zaista na mjestu potez premijera Krivokapića, koji je iskazao spremnost da

snosi odgovornost za vlastite i postupke Vlade čiji je predsjednik, što i ne pamtimo baš kao čestu pojavu.

Okamenjene podjele

I dok jedni tvrde da je konačno došlo vrijeme organizacije popisa bez straha i prava da se po prvi put u istoriji slobodno izjasne bez asimilatorskih pritisaka od strane komunista ili crnogoraca, drugi popis vide kao priliku za širenje srpskog sveta u Crnoj Gori, i ponovno povampirenje politika devedesetih godina; i dok jedni vide ustoličenje Mitropolita kao prirodan porces prava na vjeroispovjest kojeg uzgred podržava više od 90% pravoslavnog stanovništva, drugi kao velikosrpsku okupaciju Crne Gore, i dok jedni misiju Mitropolije crnogorsko-primorske konačno vide kao duhovnu i hrišćansku, drugi kao političko ideološku i aismilatorsku, i dok jedni rezoluciju o Srebrenici vide kao šansu za pomirenje i nastavak suživota, drugi kao stigmatizaciju i prijetnju.

Sve dok je tako nastavlja se stara mantra po kojoj su oni drugi fašisti u našim antifašističkim očima, oni drugi su izdajnici u našim patriotskim srcima, oni drugi

su okupatori našeg dostojanstva i slobode, oni drugi ostaju zli za nas dobre, oni drugi nama ostaju vječito drugi i daleki.

Sve dok bude tako, korumpirani funkcioneri poraženog ili novog režima još uvijek će se nalaziti na visokim značajnim pozicijama, a sama korupcija i nepotizam još uvijek pod okriljem „učinjenosti“ prije doživljavati kao vrijednost, a ne kao pošast. I sve dok bude tako, podjele po nacionalnim i vjerskim šavovima biće sve izraženije, tenzije u društvu na ivici pucanja, sudstvo i tužilaštvo i dalje daleko od nezavisnih, građanski sukobi bliži nego ikad, socijalna i ekonomska slika porazna, zdravstvena situacija ozbiljna i pored žrtve koju podnose zdravstveni radnici i još mnogo, mnogo toga.

Izgleda kao da sve stagnira, sve je zamrznuto u ledu nekretanja, nepromjena i neakcije. Samo su uloge zamjenjene, a Crna Gora ostaje jedna politička kriza bez kraja, okamenjena i sputana samonametnutim ograničenjima i podjelama.

Radomir Radević

In memoriam

Naši saradnici, ratni veterani, Novica Kostić iz Vlasotinca, Velimir Lima Stojanović iz Niša i Marko Čolić iz Daruvara preminuli su tokom protekle godine. Zahvalni smo im na dugogodišnjoj saradnji i predanosti koju su uložili u izgradnju mira na prostorima bivše Jugoslavije.

Sa tugom smo ispratili i vest o smrti Sinana Alića, predsednika fondacije "Istina, pravda, pomirenje" iz Tuzle.

Na sahrani Novice Kostića pročitano je pismo Nenada Vukosavljevića:

Kažu o pokojnima sve najbolje, a ja vam baš ne verujem u to i zato nemojte mislite da ovu priču imalo ulepšavam.

Novica je čovek koji je uvek više mislio na druge nego na sebe. I kad bi bio upitan kako je proživeo rat, ranjavanje i posledice svega, on je uvek govorio kako ga boli što je unesrećio svoje najbliže. Sve njegove muke, patnje i bol sa kojima je živeo, nosio je stiočki, srećan što je živ, jer dok je živ može da pomaže drugima.

Nije dao umoru i bolestima da ovladaju njegovim životom, jer nepravdu nije trpeo i morao je da se bori protiv nje do poslednjeg daha.

Kada sam prvi put bio kod njega kući, prekinuli su nas ljudi koji odnose smeće, takozvani đubretari, pozdravljali su ga, a on mi je objasnio da ih on često zove da svrate na kafu. Imao je srce za njihov težak posao imao je podršku i razumevanje da im ponudi, jer znao je da su oni u onoj grupi najranjivijih ljudi.

Kad čujem "ne bi ni mrava zgazio", ja pomislim na Novicu.

I potpuno je nestvarno da je on stvarno celim srcem i bićem bio takav čovek. To nije "najlepša" priča za one kojih nema, već istinska priča o tome kakav je bio. Zato mi je bio primer koji blista i zato će ostati za mene primer koji blista.

Da nas sad vidi, bilo bi mu žao što plaćemo.

Nedostajaće mi mnogo, ali mi je uteha da je našao odmor duši.

Velika mi je čast što sam bio njegov prijatelj, obogatio je moj život, a učinio ovaj svet malo boljim mestom za život.

Volim te, Novice.

*Nenad Vukosavljević,
12.12.2020. u Beogradu*

Annual Report 2021

(English version)

Translation
Ulvija Tanović

Introduction

Dear friends,

The pandemic has marked yet another year and our work during 2021. We did a lot more and travelled a lot more than last year, but these are still not normal working conditions.

Like last year, most of our activities this year involved working with war veterans and marking unmarked sites of suffering. We attended commemorations in Varivode and Gošić (Croatia), and in Bosnia and Herzegovina: in Boderšite and at the bridge on the Sava (Brčko), in Bradina near Konjic, the commemoration for children killed in Vitez, as well as the commemorations in Uborak, Sutina and Zalik near Mostar.

The team conducting activities to mark unmarked sites of suffering carried out five actions, marking another 33 sites of suffering across Bosnia and Herzegovina. More details about all their actions can be found on their website onms.nenasilje.org.

We managed to organise one of our peace education activities – Training for Students from BiH – during the summer on Mount Vlašić. We did not hold the Mir-Paqe-Mир Training this year, again, because the epidemiological situation restricted cross-border travel and gatherings.

We launched a new site, handbook.nenasilje.org, hosting our complete handbook for training in peacebuilding, nonviolent conflict resolution and dealing with the past, making it easily accessible online for everyone working on these topics.

We can finally plan the promotions of the Biber 03 Collection that had previously been hindered by the pandemic. We are also preparing the Biber 04 Collection with stories entered in the competition last year, 2020, and we plan to present this collection and publish the call for the next competition, Biber 05. We

have also published Biber 0a, a selection of stories from the first three competitions in English translation. For more news about Biber, follow the website biber.nenasilje.org.

Friends from Conciliation Resources printed our handbook “Reconciliation?!” in Russian.

Our cooperation with the Serb National Council in Croatia is very valuable to us and we hope to expand it in the future. In May, we went on a study visit to their organisation and had important and very emotional encounters with Serbs living in Croatia.

We also had to deal with a problematic representation of our work and our general approach to reconciliation in the book of sociologist Lea David, *The Past Can't Heal Us*. Reconciliation and peacebuilding can always be discussed, but dialogue requires two sides equally interested in establishing dialogue. Since our work was written about without anyone reaching out to us, we had to respond.

In cooperation with our friend Luan Imeri from North Macedonia, members of the CNA team wrote about the contexts in which we work. The pandemic has helped undemocratic regimes in the region further restrict freedoms and democracy.

It was with great sorrow that we said our final goodbyes to our good friend and long-time associate Novica Kostić, and a number of other dear people and friends of the organisation who passed away this year.

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

More details on all of the above can be found in this report and on our website nenasilje.org.

CNA Team
September 2021



work with war veterans

Actions and commemorations:

- Remembering the victims from Varivode and Gošić, Croatia, 28 September 2020
- Commemoration at Boderište near Brčko, BiH, 8 March 2021
- Commemoration for victims killed on the bridge in Brčko, BiH, 30 April 2021
- Commemoration in Bradina near Konjic, BiH, 25 May 2021
- Remembering killed children near Vitez, BiH, 11 June 2021
- Commemoration for victims killed in Uborak and Sutina near Mostar, BiH, 13 June 2021

Working with War Veterans: A Path of Cooperation, Understanding, Patience...

Although the COVID-19 pandemic significantly curtailed our work with veterans, which is focused on contacts between people and gatherings (with which we proceeded throughout the year, albeit in limited scope), we still managed to organise a considerable number of activities. It was important for us to organise activities with veterans for a number of reasons: we had been invited to some of the commemorations earlier and it was important for the victims and/or organisers that we attend; the veterans themselves clearly communicated to us their need to continue working in this field and it was often challenging for us to have to tell some of them that due to limitations on the number of people at indoor events, we would not be able to invite all of them to join us for all activities. More about the need of our societies for these types of activities can be found in the section on the contexts in which we work.

In Thoughts and Prayers with the Victims

Last autumn, we were invited by friends from the Serb National Council of Croatia to attend the commemoration in Varivode and Gošić near Knin. We had attended before with a mixed group of veterans in 2018, but several important developments had taken place since then. Back in 2018, Marko Jelić, the mayor of Knin at the time, attended the commemoration almost incognito, which was still a step forward

because the previous mayor of Knin had never come to pay her respects to the killed Serb civilians. Each subsequent year, the presence of the mayor of Knin was public and according to feedback we received, it seems that the arrival of our group of war veterans, and former members of the Croatian Army among them, contributed to this development. The commemoration marking 25 years since the crimes in Varivode and Gošić was the first to also be attended by the Croatian Prime Minister Andrej Plenković, while a few months later, Marko Jelić was elected to the higher position of Prefect of the Šibenik-Knin County. This was an important step forward, not just for Knin or the Serb community in Croatia – Jelić's human gestures, though perhaps politically risky, showed that a considerable number of people supported such actions. Apart from wanting to support such developments and wanting to be with the victims to mark 25 years since the crime, we also wanted to do our first "cross-border" activity with war veterans since the pandemic started. However, since travel restrictions were re-introduced in the autumn, we decided to make a short video of support and thus enable a large group of war

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



veterans to be with the victims at least in thoughts and prayers. This activity is particularly important to us also because of the fact that it was initiated by our friend and colleague from Bihać, Franjo Grgić, a former member of HVO. In addition to the video, we managed to have a five-member delegation visit Knin on 28 September and lay flowers.

With the first signs of spring, we continued our activities and on 8 March 2021, we attended the commemoration for Croat soldiers killed at Boderišće near Brčko. Even though the title of this section of our Annual Report refers to working with war veterans, Brčko and the two commemorations we attended there this year offer the best proof that as much as this is working with war veterans, it is also working with associations of victims, local politicians, representatives of religious communities, etc. We went to Boderišće at the invitation of our long-time associates and friends Ivo Anđelović and Mirko Zečević Tadić, who are also the organisers of the commemoration for their fallen fellow HVO fighters. However, as is often the case, that same day, a few kilometres away in the town of Grbavica, another commemoration was being organised – one

for fallen Serb soldiers. The two commemorations concern the same wartime event where soldiers on both sides had been killed, but it should be noted that court proceedings are currently under way before the Court of BiH due to reasonable grounds for suspicion that the Serb soldiers were killed as prisoners of war. We had planned to attend both commemorations and tried to communicate our plans to both communities. It was important for us that we had the support of Ivo and Mirko, as the organisers of the commemoration at Boderišće, who were prepared to also attend the commemoration in Grbavica and had introduced us to members of veterans' and other local organisations involved in preparing the commemoration in Grbavica. In principle, no one was against our also coming to Grbavica, but ultimately, we were never invited to join the commemoration and were told off the record that our hearts were in the right place, but that it still wasn't the right time. We always make sure that we do not arrive with war veterans uninvited, so only the three of us representing CNA went to Grbavica to attend the service for the dead and the commemoration, while the rest of the group joined us

at the commemoration in Boderišće. The mass service in Boderišće was inspiring, and mention was also made of the Serb soldiers who are remembered that day as victims and whose memory, even though they were the enemy during the war, deserves to be honoured by us. Brčko itself is specific because of the coexistence of all three ethnic communities there, as well as veterans' associations from ARBiH, HVO and VRS being in constant contact and engaging in a certain level of cooperation, which is a unique case in post-war Bosnia and Herzegovina, in fact. Still, the respectful mention of fallen enemy soldiers makes the commemoration in Boderišće unique. Even though the group did not end up going to Grbavica in the end, we believe that the dialogue we established has helped build a basic level trust and that next year we will be able to lay flowers to commemorate the soldiers killed in Grbavica.

Destroyed Bridges

29 years ago, more than a hundred civilians were killed when the bridge connecting Brčko and Gunja, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia, was blown up.

The remains of most of the civilians who were killed were never recovered and this crime is also specific in that no one has yet been held responsible and no court has ruled on who committed it. Meanwhile, the communities in Brčko keep laying the blame for this crime on each other. The initial negotiations with the commemoration organisers, Bosniak and Croat associations of civilian war victims, required us to explain the very foundations of our work and why we were coming, what our intentions were, what we expected in return, etc. It was a situation we often face as a result of general distrust not just towards former enemies coming to pay their respects to our victims, but also the unfortunately often justified mistrust of various nongovernmental organisations that lacked both tact and empathy towards the needs of the victims, the local community, their associations, etc. It was important for us to speak openly with the representatives of the civilian war victims about all issues, including the general relationship between civilian and military victims and between associations of war veterans and those of civilian war victims.





Ultimately, through months-long conversations, we built up not only enough trust and credibility to attend the commemoration at the bridge, but also to continue our cooperation in the future.

We devoted a considerable portion of our resources at the beginning of the year to Brčko which is specific not only in terms of its status as a district within BiH that does not belong to either of the entities, but also because it is, in fact, the only city in today's BiH where all three communities share space equally, including space for memory. The city allocates equal amounts of funding to all the associations, all three armies have their memorials in the central part of the city, all three communities organise their own commemorations... Still, certain boundaries are never crossed: examples of jointly remembering those who perished or of memory traversing ethnic boundaries are still rare. Civilian war victims are dissatisfied because some sites of suffering remain unmarked and there is no central memorial for civilian victims while three memorials commemorate fallen soldiers... However, with all its problems and shortcomings, Brčko still remains an example of active

peaceful coexistence (to borrow a phrase from the Non-aligned Movement) of its communities and their memories. Can Brčko make another step forward? Can the other parts of BiH follow its lead?

To Be a Minority

In the former Yugoslavia, 25 May was marked as Youth Day, the birthday of its lifelong president Tito. Mass games and relays characteristic of this day have long been replaced by commemorations at the Kapija in Tuzla and in Bradina near Konjic. This year, we were in Bradina near Konjic where the small Serb community commemorates its victims. Communities that have become minorities today, such as the Serb community in Konjic, are always good and thankful hosts: for them, every arrival and gesture of support from the outside is vital. These are communities fighting to survive, reduced to eking out an existence under constant threat of disappearance. This minority position is, I would dare say, their primary determinant. From a minority position, nothing happens by sheer force. The position pushes you towards cooperation,

understanding, patience, awareness of the needs of others... Since there are all values we advocate ourselves, we are always glad to visit such places. It is only there that we see how much our work means to ordinary people, how happy they are that you're there, how much they'd like you to come again... It is my firm belief that the experiences of minorities are the most valuable thing we have in our surroundings and that they could transform social relationships. One and the same church or religious community behaves in drastically different ways where it is in the minority compared to where it is in the majority. I mention religious communities because they are often the only institutions that lend themselves to comparison across contexts: where an ethnic group is in the minority, the religious community is often the only safe haven and is not frequented by politicians, the media, academies or national institutions. Meanwhile, those who feel most comfortable where they are in the majority are always more interested in sheer power, above all else, and they subordinate everything else to it, most of all the memory of a painful past.

We attended the commemoration for the children killed at the Osmica location in Vitez last year as well. Noticeable changes have transpired over that year: Up until last year, this was a small, intimate, neighbourhood commemoration organised by the families of the killed children, while this year their deaths have garnered the attention of Croat politicians, not just from BiH, but also from Croatia. It is still a very close-knit commemoration where there are no political speeches and only prayers are heard. However, political needs still have a strong influence on how wartime events are commemorated. Since the primary political conflict in BiH between Bosniaks and Croats concerns the election law, wartime wounds are unfortunately often used as arguments in such clashes. This is how I would explain the fact that the commemoration for Bosniak victims in Ahmići near Vitez has in recent years been elevated to a higher level with the attendance of the Bosniak political leadership, which had not been the case previously. In much the same way, during his

July visit to Vitez, Croatian president Zoran Milanović also visited Osmica, which had not been the case previously. We visited Osmica last year and we plan to go back next year, with an even bigger group. We go with pure intentions, wishing to honour the killed children and offer support to their families. We duly note the presence or absence of politicians because such processes are significant for our societies, but this in no way influences our plans.

We had also been to Uborak and Sutina last year, when four of us laid wreaths at the memorials. A year later, we were invited back as a bigger group to attend the commemoration together with our veterans. In Uborak and Sutina, 113 Bosniak and Croat civilians were killed in the summer of 1992. It was the first mass grave that was exhumed, already in August 1992. In Mostar, marked as it is by the conflict between the Army of RBiH and HVO, the commemoration for those killed in Uborak and Sutina is attended jointly by all representatives of the city government and by associations of veterans from both ARBiH and HVO. Following last year's visit to this part of Mostar, attending the official commemoration in Uborak and Sutina was what we wanted our next step to be. Thanks to strong support from our local partners in Mostar, war veterans that we met and developed cooperation with, reporters, representatives of associations of prison camp survivors, the southern part of Bosnia and Herzegovina is becoming increasingly open to us.

Similar to last year, due to the pandemic and travel restrictions, it was difficult, close to impossible, to have more extensive activities outside Bosnia and Herzegovina. Despite such limitations, we have managed to make some valuable contacts in Croatia. We are satisfied with what we have achieved, not just in terms of the number of activities, but also in terms of steps forward, despite all the challenges and restrictions. We were wearing face masks, but the joy on people's faces when they met each other or welcomed us was unmistakable, from Knin to Brčko, Konjic and Mostar.

Nedžad Novalić

Commemoration for Children Killed in Vitez: Our Angels, We Haven't Forgotten You

On today's date 28 years ago, on 10 June 1993, as the conflict between the Army of RBiH and HVO raged, a shell fired from an ARBiH position killed eight children in Vitez. This year, once again, the families of the victims came to lay flowers and say a prayer at the site where their loved ones were killed.

The youngest victim was nine-year-old Augustina Grebenar whose 12-year-old brother Velimir was also killed. The victims also included 12-year-old Milan and 18-year-old Sanja Garić, another pair of siblings, as well as 15-year-old Dragan Ramljak, Draženko Čečura and Sanja Križanović, and ten-year-old Boris Antičević.

According to the memories of the survivors, the 15 of them were outside that day, 10 June 1993, in the Podgradina neighbourhood when around 8:45 pm a shell interrupted their play. Five children were killed instantly, three died in hospital, and six were wounded.

The bench, basketball hoop and "Osmica" memorial at the playground in Podgradina stand as reminders of

this cruelly interrupted children's play. Each year on 10 June, families gather there to lay flowers and light candles.

This year again, the mass was led by Fra Velimir Bavrka, the local priest, who addressed words of comfort and hope for the families of the victims, saying that the gathering was proof that the innocent children that were killed had not been forgotten.

"Our dear angels, we have not forgotten you here. As believers, we have come here to celebrate the Eucharist as the pinnacle of Church life. This is the source from which we quench our thirst and hunger. We have come once again to testify to Our Lord that we are grateful for standing before Him and serving Him, as our innocent killed children had done. We continue to pray with all our hearts, and forgive in the spirit of Christ even those who did this," said Fra Bavrka.

No one has yet been prosecuted for the killing of these children in Vitez, but as the Prosecutor's Office



of Bosnia and Herzegovina previously confirmed to BIRN, the case is within its competences. From year to year, the families have been pointing out that nothing is being done in terms of prosecution and that the circumstances of the children's deaths, such as the exact location from where the shell was fired, have not been established by a court of law to this day. Reporters of the Balkan Investigative Reporting Network (BIRN) have dealt in more detail with the killing of the Vitez children in their [series of articles on forgotten victims](#).

Milko Garić, the father of Sanja and Milan who were killed, said at the commemoration that the families feel the same pain today as the first day.

"Our children were killed that night at 9, we buried them early in the morning around 5, there was no mass, no funeral, we gather here by the memorial, by the hoop, to remember them," Garić said.

They organise the commemorations themselves each year, without politicians or representatives of associations from the past war, because, as they say, they will not allow manipulations with the victims. They also say that all people of good will are welcome to join them in prayer to remember the innocently killed.

Davorka Turk from the peace organisation Centre for Nonviolent Action Sarajevo-Belgrade attended the commemoration for the killed children again this year with her colleagues to show support to the families.

"We were here last year and, unfortunately, many people are still unaware of these deaths, especially people outside Vitez and Bosnia. Neglecting sites of suffering and failure to recognise the crimes that were committed feed fears that they will be repeated. We have come here, as we have gone to many other places, to express our support and solidarity with the families of the victims and to once again call on the relevant institutions to prosecute those responsible, their responsibility being all the greater because these victims were children. We are here because we want to keep these children, their deaths and the suffering of their families from oblivion. We mourn the loss of every human life and stand united in our commitment to ensure that the war, injustices and atrocities are never repeated," said Davorka Turk.

Despite the rain that day, the commemoration in Vitez was attended by several hundred people from Vitez and other towns.





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marking unmarked
sites of suffering

Actions:

- 12 ONMS action, October 2020 - Zvornik, Tuzla, Srebrenik

Marked places of suffering:

Brčanska Malta in Tuzla Primary school in the village of Orguz

The Youth Centre Rapatnica, near Srebrenik

Rooms of the Football Club in Rapatnica

Cultural Centre in Drinjača

Former Cultural Centre in Čelopek

“Rašidov han” in Snagovo, near Zvornik

- 13 ONMS action, December 2020 - Livno, Ljubuški, Čapljina

Marked places of suffering:

The pit above Zastinje on Bašajkovac Hill, near Livno

Primary school in the village of Orguz, near Livno

Primary school in the village of Zabrišće, near Livno

“Dalibor Perković Dali” Sports Hall, Livno

Elektroprivreda Garages, Livno

Former Committee Building, Livno

Military Prison in Ljubuški

The Silos in Čapljina

- 14 ONMS action, February 2021 – Zenica, Žepče, Doboj

Marked places of suffering:

Silos, Žepče

Gym hall at the Žepče Primary School, Žepče

Zenica Penitentiary, Zenica

Ljubatovići Primary School, Žepče

Gym hall at the Perković Primary School, Žepče

Iron Bridge in Doboj

- 15 ONMS action, March 2021 - Doboj, Odžak, Orašje

Marked places of suffering:

Perčin disko, Doboj

Warehouses of the former JNA barracks in Ševarlije, Doboj

Strolit foundry, Odžak

Bratstvo i Jedinstvo Primary School, Odžak

Donja Mahala Primary School, Orašje

- 16 ONMS action, May 2021 - Bileća and Nevesinje

Marked places of suffering:

Former Moša Pijade JNA Barracks in Bileća

Student Dorm in Bileća

JNA Hall in Nevesinje

“Alatnica”, Nevesinje

School Dnopolje, village of Zijemlje, Mostar

Dubravica-Breza pit, village of Zijemlje, Mostar

Doline-Kušići pit, village of Zijemlje, Mostar

Former police resort at Boračko Lake / Cafe Bar Strela, village of Borci, Konjic

Marking Sites of Suffering: Making Sense

As it did with many other activities, the coronavirus pandemic affected our actions to mark unmarked sites of suffering in Bosnia and Herzegovina over the past year. Restrictions of movement, assembly and other health recommendations compelled us to organise the actions at times when the daily number of new cases was lower or at least decreasing and to reduce the number of meetings in the field to a minimum. Partly because of the pandemic, but also because the team decided to shift the focus from places to people, we tried to increase contacts with local partners, such as associations of victims, prison camp survivors, families of victims and local authorities, record their testimonies and provide them with a bigger public platform.

Behind every unmarked site of suffering, there are real people who are connected to these sites in various ways: some had been imprisoned there, others are activists who have been pointing out these sites for years and readily welcomed us and became our local guides, then there are also researchers, etc. By shifting our focus to people and their stories in almost all our actions in the past year, we have recorded important testimonies and various stories about the unmarked sites of suffering.

One such story, one of the testimonies, comes from Ekrem Nadžak who had been imprisoned for several months in his hometown of Žepče. Ekrem contacted us in early 2020 with information about sites of detention in Žepče that had never been marked. This was an important example for us of where we were recognised as partners and as trustworthy by victims, and invited to mark their sites of suffering together with them. Ekrem met us in Žepče. He went with us to the Silos site where he had been imprisoned and told us about why it was important for him that places like this be marked.

It was important for us to clarify to local authorities and associations of victims that we mark all sites of suffering, not just those of one person or in one city.

Anyone who's been in a prison camp knows what suffering it is, some suffered less, some more, I suffered quite a lot. It's the same with them over there, on the

other side, and on the third side. It would be good if us prison camp survivors were to talk to each other, air our grievances, no matter what side we're from. When you have your own pain, you have no one to confide in, I can only talk to people who have felt the same. I feel like it would make it easier, if I could hear and see that others had suffered, so I would know I wasn't alone. I would like to live to see the day," Mirza Maglić, president of the Prison Camp Survivors' Association from Žepče, told us when we visited sites of suffering in the area.

Such solidarity between victims, irrespective of their ethnicity, is something rarely or almost never seen in public. Mirza's words show that those who have suffered themselves feel the pain of others, whoever they may be, and this recognition of the pain and suffering of the other is an important step forward in Bosnian-Herzegovinian society and provided us with motivation to carry on and confirmation that what we were doing was making sense.

In Modriča, we met with Vlado Dragojlović who has been tirelessly insisting for years that those responsible for the detention of Serb civilians and soldiers in the area of Odžak, Orašje and other places in Posavina should be prosecuted. In Zvornik, Srebrenik and Tuzla, our local partner was Sinan Alić, a reporter and long-standing president of the Tuzla-based Foundation "Truth, Justice, Reconciliation". He provided us with valuable testimony about the Community Cultural Centre in Drinjača, a symbol of brotherhood and unity whose opening Alić attended as a reporter more than 40 years ago. In 1992, that same Community Cultural Centre became a site of detention for several hundred Bosniak civilians from Zvornik, many of whom were taken from there to be executed. Then in Rapatnica near Srebrenik, where we marked another Community Cultural Centre, one where Serb civilians had been detained, we were impressed by Alić's courage as he

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



talked to the local passers-by, openly explaining our reasons for coming there. Sadly, Sinan Alić, a valuable chronicler of the Tuzla area and a man prepared to accompany us on all our visits to sites of suffering, from Novi Travnik and Travnik to Tuzla and Srebrenik, passed away six months later.

In Livno, we met briefly with representatives of the local prison camp survivors' association, but there was evident reluctance on their part to engage in further cooperation. After we published a press release and the local media picked up on the news, we came to understand why the former prisoners had been so reserved. Namely, there was a strong reaction from the local Croat population that perceived actions like ours as hostile. Most of the people who contacted us through various channels had not read further than the headline, few if any wanted to know about the dozens of sites of suffering of Croats that we had also marked or about our clear commitment to mark all sites of suffering, whatever the ethnicity of victims and perpetrators associated with them. Developing a website, map, list of sites of suffering, moderating

comments and one-on-one communication are just some of the ways we tried to mitigate this (mis) understanding of our work. Reactions of this kind are indicative of many things, from divided publics and media outlets commemorating only our own victims to a tendency to never read past the headline and a tacit agreement of sorts where the majority population in any given town decides what will be memorialised. At the risk of oversimplifying, the Croat majority in Livno imposes the limits of permitted memory and accepts that such limits will also be imposed by, for example, the Bosniak majority in Zenica. This kind of system completely disregards the interests of the Bosniak minority in Livno, whose sites of suffering we marked in December 2020, as well as those of the Croat minority in Zenica, whose sites of suffering we marked in April 2020. We remain committed to rejecting this imposed framework and we stand in solidarity with all victims, especially those who today find themselves in the minority, whose voice is not heard and who are fighting for their right to memory. It was important for us to mark sites of suffering in Livno also because two

of our team members are from Livno, with our long-term associate Dalmir Mišković bearing much of the burden.

In our action in May 2021, we marked sites of suffering in eastern Herzegovina. This was important for us because we had been unable to mark sites of suffering in this area of Bosnia and Herzegovina. We met with researcher Suad Omerika who introduced us to the context of the atrocities against the Bosniaks of Nevesinje and took us to hard-to-reach locations. At one point, we were unexpectedly joined by an acquaintance of Suad Omerika, another man from Nevesinje who now lives in Mostar, and the encounter left a lasting impression. After we visited the sites of suffering together, he treated us to coffee and cakes as a way to thank us for what we were doing. Such encounters show us that there is a whole world of people for whom what we are doing is important, and this is supreme motivation for us to continue. It makes sense and it is worthwhile, these are the two principles that determine and guide our work. And they mean so much more when you hear them from ordinary people.

We are particularly proud to have built trust with associations of victims, prison camp survivors, local activists, etc. Today, we can plan actions at the

invitation of local associations (Brčko) and even go so far as to imagine (plan?) joint visits to unmarked sites of suffering in the Mostar area with both Bosniak and Croat associations of prison camp survivors. These are just some of the perspectives of our work in the future that have opened up for us. We are particularly glad to see that so many different people have accepted marking unmarked sites of suffering as something of their own: from reporters (a special thank you to our friends from the Balkan Investigative Reporting Network - BIRN) and war veterans, who have always been ready partners, to associations of victims.

I don't want to end this report without mentioning Bravnice near Jajce. We marked this site of suffering where Serb civilians were killed in 2018, and then in 2019, we visited the site again, this time with a mixed group of war veterans, and together with representatives of the victims, we publicly laid flowers at the site for the first time. In Bravnice near Jajce, with almost no Serb population today, for almost four years, someone has been taking care of the sign marking the site of suffering, lifting it when it falls, cleaning it and putting it back where we had left it... That is why what we are doing is worth it, why it makes sense.

Nedžad Novalić

Thirteenth action: What is memory to us!?

Our 13th action of marking unmarked sites of suffering is complete.

In this period, we visited Livno, Ljubuški and Čapljina and in these local communities, we marked sites of killings and imprisonment. Most of these locations are shrouded in secrecy in their local communities, few are willing to talk about them because any foray out of the imposed matrix of silence is seen as an attack on "our" collective version of the truth. Memorials and other forms of remembrance are absent.

Crimes behind the battlefield

In the spring of 1992, when the Croat Defence Council and other Croat units successfully defended Livno from attacks by the Yugoslav National Army

and the Army of Republika Srpska (VRS) and after the situation on the front lines calmed, steps were taken in the background in retaliation against those who were seen as belonging to the enemy ethnic group, in this case the Serbs.

Serbs from the Livno area that made up a minority there were accused of preparing an uprising and were collectively captured and imprisoned in facilities in the Livno area. In 2016, when we visited Livno for the first time in connection with an action to mark sites, we marked the Ivan Goran Kovačić Primary School that served as one such site of imprisonment in 1992.

This time, the first site we marked in Livno was the pit near the village of Zastinje on Bašajkovac Hill near Livno. At this site, 13 Serbs were killed and thrown into

the pit, having been brought there from the Ivan Goran Kovačić Primary School where they had been held captive. Remains of the victims were exhumed in 1999 by the Republika Srpska Operative Team for Missing Persons. No one has yet been held responsible for the crime committed at this site.

1993.

When in 1993, widespread conflict began between the Croat Defence Council (HVO) made up mostly of Croats and the Army of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina (ARBiH) made up mostly of Bosniaks, this upset the relations between Bosniaks and Croats in Livno that had been formed on the basis of their joint sense of being threatened by Serb military formations.

At that time, the Bosniaks of Livno participated in its defence as soldiers of the Croat Defence Council and held one of the six sectors of the Livno battlefield under their control. With the development of hostilities between HVO and ARBiH, distrust towards Bosniaks in the Livno area grew and ultimately, on 21 July 1993, the local HVO command decided to disarm Bosniak HVO members. The story did not end, however, with

their disarming. Bosniaks from the Livno area were then collectively imprisoned, both former members of HVO and civilians. In this phase of the war, one of the sites of imprisonment was the Ivan Goran Kovačić Primary School that we marked in 2016. In addition to the school building, we also marked the locations of other imprisonment sites: the Dalibor Perković Dali Sports Hall, the Elektroprivreda garages, the former Committee Building in Livno, the Ivan Goran Kovačić Primary School buildings in the villages of Zabrišće and Orguz. All of these sites, along with the Ivan Goran Kovačić Primary School and the police station were used in the summer and autumn of 1993, starting from 21 July 1993, as sites of imprisonment for Bosniaks from the Livno area. The prisoners were subjected to inhumane conditions, forced displacement and forced labour, abuse and beatings. Through communication with representatives of the local association of prison camp survivors “21st July”, we found out that no one has been criminally prosecuted for the crimes committed at these sites.

When in 1943, the poet Ivan Goran Kovačić was in Livno completing his famous poem “Jama” (“The



Pit”), not even in his worst nightmares could he have imagined that similar things would be happening 45 years later. His artistic endeavour to memorialise the deaths of people who were killed at the start of the Second World War in this area and thrown into pits evidently did not do enough to deter new generations, because the pits were used again in this war and the schools bearing his name became prison facilities.

Sites of imprisonment in Western Herzegovina

In Ljubuški, we marked the former Military Prison that in 1993 served as a site of imprisonment for Bosniaks from the Herzegovina region. Prisoners were subjected to inhumane conditions and abuse. Many of the prisoners ended up in other infamous prison camps in Herzegovina, Heliodrom near Mostar, Dretelj near Čapljina, etc. At the end of 1993, some of the prisoners from Livno were transferred to these other camps and were not released until 1994, after the signing of the Washington Agreement.

We had already visited Čapljina in 2017 when we marked the former JNA barracks in Dretelj, a place currently only known for the prison camp at the barracks.

This time, we marked the site of the destroyed silos in Čapljina that in 1993 and 1994 served as a prison facility for Bosniaks. The prisoners were subjected to inhumane conditions, forced displacement and forced labour, abuse and beatings.

None of the above locations have yet been marked in a dignified manner and no memorials have been made to commemorate those who perished there.

This action brought us to 100 unmarked sites of suffering that we have marked in 60 local communities in BiH where the right to remembrance is made impossible or difficult in various ways.

What is memory to us?

Over the past five years, through actions to mark unmarked sites of suffering, we have endeavoured to change attitudes towards memory of the war in BiH and the broader region. We have visited many different local communities, seen and heard about numerous painful and traumatic experiences, but in each of these communities we found a very similar approach to the recent wartime past.

In all these communities, the dominant national group selectively tailors the way we remember what happened in the 1990s. Memory is ethnically framed and tends towards a simplified perspective of victimisation that insists on a purely defensive character of the war where “we are the biggest and only victims”.

These one-dimensional ethnic memory frameworks usually leave no room for remembering the suffering of others, and voices coming from these minority circles are viewed as impinging on our memory. This selective culture of memory with its destructive aspects is used in our divided communities to preserve the current division of power. What is more, memory is also used to fuel current tensions that could develop into something much worse and more violent in the future. As such, selective and destructive remembrance of the war in our postwar traumatised society takes up an important position because everything happening in the public sphere is still measured against and justified by how we remember the war.

Anniversaries, commemorations, who was on what side, who is the aggressor and who the defender, who left and who stayed, who was fighting on the frontline and who was sheltering in the basement, who is the perpetrator and who is the victim, etc. – these are the terms and value constructions that dominate our public space, they form the basis of our society and its outlook. These social elements, given high significance in our society, are based on our distorted culture of memory.

The path we take

It is very difficult to build a free and just society when its foundations are completely crooked. The way to put these foundations right is not easy, and there is no simple and ready recipe for it, but we are certain that the path to correcting these foundations is paved with an inclusive and non-selective approach to what happened in the past. This is what we are trying to do.

Action after action, we too have changed, we have progressed and developed our technical and human capacities. In addition to this, the way people approach us has also changed. Initially, the main feedback we got from people was sheer denial without any explanation, but after our 13th action, in addition

to numerous comments of support, the predominant feedback is something called whataboutism, where people refer back to sites where the victims were from their ethnic group. Whataboutism is most often seen as being negative, where a difficult and complex issue is met with counter-questions to avoid dealing with the primary difficult problem.

In our context, however, whataboutism can be seen as a step forward in the culture of memory. The focus has shifted from negating victims as entirely

destructive to seeking justice for victims belonging to one's own group. This approach, as selective, one-directional and ethnically framed as it may be, is still a somewhat legitimate position and shows progress in our society because at least it seeks some limited degree of justice.

And so, we carry on, both on social networks and with marking other unmarked sites of suffering.

Dalmir Mišković



peace education

Due to the Covid19 pandemic, we were unable to organise trainings during 2020 and the first half of 2021. It was impossible to have 20 to 24 people, the usual number of participants at our trainings, indoors together in person for several days.

Given that peacebuilding training is not just conducting workshops, but also entails intensive interaction between the participants and the training team, both during training sessions and during free time, webinars were not an acceptable substitute.

We were forced to cancel all basic trainings that we had planned to hold in this period, as well as two Mir-Paqe-Mир trainings.

We managed to hold the Peacebuilding Training for students from Bosnia and Herzegovina on Mount Vlašić at the end of July 2021. For more about this training, please read the report below.

4th Peacebuilding Training for students from Bosnia and Herzegovina

Vlašić, Bosnia and Herzegovina, 22-28. July 2021.

Number of applications: 67

20 participants from Universities in Sarajevo, Istočno Sarajevo, Bihać, Zenica, Tuzla, Bijeljina and Banja Luka.

Gender: 12 women and 8 men

Team: Tamara Zrnović, Nedžad Novalić, Katarina Milićević and Dalmir Mišković.

The fourth Peacebuilding Training for students from Bosnia and Herzegovina was held from 22 to 28 July on Mount Vlašić. Twenty students of various social and cultural backgrounds and from local communities across the whole of BiH participated in the training. Unfortunately, due to cancellations, as well as a smaller number of applications (67 in total), we did not have participants from areas where the Croat context is dominant. This shortcoming presented a difficulty for us due to the importance of ethnic identities in our country. Additionally, ethnicity-based group mechanisms are among the strongest factors influencing social dynamics in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Of course, the ethnic dimension is not the only one, but in our context, neglecting this factor would mean taking a step backwards according to our value standards. A representative group is also important because it ensures group diversity.

Among the participants, we had future lawyers, doctors, engineers, architects, economists, political

scientists, as well as future graduates in the humanities from universities in Sarajevo, Istočno Sarajevo, Bihać, Zenica, Tuzla, Bijeljina and Banja Luka.

In terms of gender distribution, there were 12 women and 8 men.

Organising the training in the midst of pandemic uncertainty was by no means an easy task. First, we couldn't be sure that the training would be held at all, there was always the possibility of cancellation, and it was also important for us to ensure we could protect people from risks of infection and complications from the virus during the training.

Still, given the importance of this programme and the potential of this generation of future highly educated individuals and decision-makers to effect changes in our communities, we decided that holding the training, while maintaining all precautionary measures, was possible and doable and that it was important to have this round of training this year.

The Courage and Openness of Twenty-Year-Olds

The start of the training was reserved for getting to know each other and topics relevant to this, including communication and teamwork.

Right from the start, the participants demonstrated a surprising level of openness and courage in sharing personal and powerful stories about how their lived experiences had shaped them with a group of 20 strangers. The strong group dynamics among these young people that had just met each other continued throughout our sessions on communication, and especially the one on teamwork, where the participants recognised the importance and potential benefits of cooperation and teamwork in everything they do, including in the area of peacebuilding, which was the focus of this non-formal training.

An important part of the training, according to impressions from the participants as well as the team of trainers, was the one dealing with identities and what they mean to us in our daily lives. For the first time (according to their words from the workshops and evaluation), the participants had an opportunity to openly talk about what shapes them and defines them in relation to others, but also to see how identity mechanisms classify other people and what consequences this has.

Thinking about this, as well as the freedom to think “outside the box” are one of the basic mechanisms for change that enable us to be liberated from what is taken for granted and is often called heritage or tradition, but negatively impacts others and leads to prejudice and discrimination.

Fear of Imposed Responsibility

The central part of the training deals with our common violent past and everything it implies. Although the team of trainers had misgivings about these young people being receptive to these topics, thinking they were too remote for them and that, given their average age of 20, discussing topics of war would seem like an imposed responsibility, it turned out our fears were unfounded. We found that even though these were people born after the war, both the visible and invisible consequences of the war were ever-present in their lives and they were prepared to

think about them profoundly and constructively. What is more, the level at which they discussed the war and the amount of space they gave each other, with no self-censoring, was a huge step forward compared to how these topics are treated in the public arena and in Bosnian-Herzegovinian society. Their freedom and openness tell us that changes are happening and that they are partly owing to the fact that these young people are not burdened by direct memories of the war. Most of the group welcomed a safe space for having conversations, expressing opposing opinions, sharing experiences and attitudes, and used it not just to say something, but also to listen to others. This space of openness was maintained not just during the workshops, but also during informal free time, and it is an important element of the training. Additionally, the dynamics of openness are key for understanding the needs, experiences, fears and grievances of others. This type of safe and open space is also important for developing personal mechanisms to deal with disagreement and difference and to resolve conflicts.

Unfortunately, the openness in discussing the past and the war was not accepted by all participants and because of something that was said during the workshops, two participants decided to leave the training. But this too is a reality of our daily work with these topics, and in this particular case, it was useful to see how we can and must deal with decisions to ignore and run away from our common wartime past. The choice to leave a space that is open for conversation, to say nothing, but to have the act of leaving send a message to others is a personal decision that neither the team of trainers nor the group could influence at the time.

We were disappointed, but then also encouraged by the feedback from the group about how much they liked the interactive method and that for most of the participants, this was the first time they had a genuine sense that their opinions were important, that what they were saying was being listened to and understood. As far as we can see, for twenty years already, society has been shaping this generation in the ex cathedra style (be quiet-listen-reproduce), alienating them completely from critical thinking, from using their own heads and from personal initiative. We have to ask

ourselves, how is our education system treating future members of our communities, how is it shaping them and where will that actually lead all of us?

War Veterans: If they can do it, then we must

On the fourth day of the training, having covered topics directly related to the war and what would be a fair and just approach to the past in our communities, the group was joined by three war veterans and peace activists: Franjo Grgić (former member of HVO from Bihać), Đoko Pupčević (former member of the Army of Republika Srpska from Šamac) and Adnan Hasanbegović (former member of the Army of BiH from Sarajevo). They shared their experiences with the students and the ways that they engage in peacebuilding. The war-veterans-turned-peace-activists left a strong impression on the participants and we all came out of the workshop feeling empowered and motivated to continue our peace work, because if former enemies can do it, then we must, as one of the participants said.

We finished the training with topics related to peacebuilding and nonviolent action and exchanged ideas about how each of us can build peace in our own immediate community. We also touched upon some concrete examples of things we can all do and concluded that peacebuilding was actually made up of a multitude of small steps and small cogs that work together to move us towards change and a better and more just tomorrow.

The importance of this programme is reflected in the vast potential for change that this generation possesses, especially given the fact that they are still in their formative years and this is precisely the moment when being sensitised to others and their opinions and attitudes leaves a lasting impression.

One of the expectations of the training team prior to the training was sensitisation and we can say that we have come out of the training with this expectation not just fulfilled, but exceeded, especially when it comes to sensitisation for our common wartime past and the visible and invisible consequences of war. This was the first time that the participants encountered these topics in this manner, where they had agency in dealing with them, instead of being passive listeners, and they truly gave each other room to be heard and understood.

Youth in our societies is still not too young only in wars

We were particularly struck by this social phenomenon where the generation of twenty-somethings is considered too young to speak about the war and deal with the past. They are thus deprived of the possibility to take responsibility for social change, and yet at the same time, we know that it was precisely the twenty-somethings that carried the war on their shoulders, along with the wounds it inflicted and commands and everything that war entails. It seems that *youth in our societies is still not too young only in wars*.

All of this leads us to the conclusion that it definitely makes sense to work on social change with this specific group of people. After four student trainings to date, we can say that we have seen real progress with this group, as some of the former training participants have already started ushering in positive changes in society.

The team of trainers was made up of Tamara Zrnović, Nedžad Novalić, Katarina Milićević and Dalmir Mišković.



publications

Biber 04

The 4th Biber Short Story Contest has been completed and we expect the collection of stories to be printed soon.

Some 750 stories were entered in the Fourth Biber Short Story Contest. The jury made up of Tatjana Gromača, Anton Berishaj and Selvedin Avdić decided on the awards and made a selection of stories to be published in a multilingual collection.

The three winning stories are:

First Prize: “Ptičice” [Little Birds] by Bojan Krivokapić from Novi Sad

Second Prize: “Kućica u šumi” [Little House in the Woods] by Alma Tabak from Sarajevo

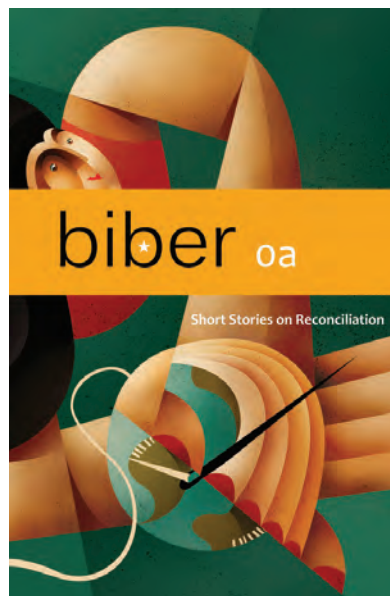
Third Prize: “Trokut” [Triangle] by Maja Halapir from Samobor

In addition to the prize-winning stories, the collection will include another 22 stories by the

following authors: Aleksandra Jovanović from Vranj, Aneta Velkoska from Skopje, Besa Morina from Pristina, Bojan Krivokapić from Novi Sad, Boško Lomović from Gornji Milanovac, Dinko Telečan from Zagreb, Goran Paladin from Zagreb, Hoja Ogrizović from Novi Sad, Irena Skopljak Barić from Vrbovec, Jelena Kalajdžija from Bijeljina, Jovana Matevska Atanasova from Bitolj, Marijana Čanak from Novi Žednik, Mihovil Rismond from Zagreb, Milan Vorkapić from Vrnjačka Banja, Milena Babić from Kruševac, Milica Rašić from Niš, Nikola Nikolić from Podgorica, Nikola Petrović from Belgrade, Petra Rapaić from Novi Sad, Sanja Trpkovska from Skopje, Senad Jusić from Bugojno and Vesa Qene from Pristina.

Biber: Short Stories on Reconciliation

We have published a selection of stories from the Biber Contest in English translation. The collection includes 41 stories, written by as many authors, in Albanian, Macedonian, Bosnian, Serbian, Croatian and Montenegrin. The selection was made from the stories published in the first three Biber Collections (2016-2020).



The 5th Biber Short Story Contest

In December 2021, we will be publishing the call for the 5th Biber Contest. The entry criteria and topic will be the same as in the past several contests: we will invite authors to write short, engaged stories 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 contest is organised by the Biber Team of the Centre for Nonviolent Action Sarajevo-Belgrade.

Handbook “Nonviolence!” online

We have also developed an online handbook for training in peacebuilding, nonviolent conflict resolution and dealing with the past.

This handbook was developed to be of assistance and support, a tool and instrument for those with basic

knowledge and skills in working with groups of adults on topics of dealing with conflicts and peacebuilding.

Visit: handbook.nenasilje.org/en

“Reconciliation?!” Handbook in Russian

The “Reconciliation?!” Handbook of the Centre for Nonviolent Action was translated into Russian and published by our associates from the organisation

Conciliation Resources. The pdf version of the handbook in Russian should be available soon.

Responses

We published two responses to the book *The Past Can’t Heal Us: The Dangers of Mandating Memory in the Name of Human Rights* by Lea David (Cambridge University Press, 2020).

The texts were written by Ivana Franović and Davorka Turk, and you can read them on our website.

Ivana Franović: [The Past Can’t Heal Us Book Review](#)
Davorka Turk: [The Rule of Over-Generalisation](#) (the text was originally published in the journal [Tragovi: časopis za srpske i hrvatske teme](#), Vol. 4 No. 1, 2021)



exchange, cooperation, networking

I've come to save you, he said

We were invited by the Serb National Council of Croatia to participate in a two-day study visit on 30 April and 1 May as part of the action "Remember the Past, Don't Repeat It" marking Operation Flash.

It is very unusual to find yourself "on the other side" of "glorious" Croatian (and not just Croatian) military victories, among those against whom the victories are being celebrated. It is clear who was defeated, but there is always the question of whether anyone actually won?

We arrived in Pakrac from Brčko, where we had attended the commemoration to mark 29 years since the killing of dozens of civilians on the Brčko bridge. "We" are a mixed group of war veterans (ARBiH, HVO, VRS) and peace activists brought together through the Centre for Nonviolent Action. For us, actions to mark sites of atrocities and attending official commemorations have become par for the course, we have been doing them for years, they are one of the ways we endeavour to show compassion with families of victims and mourn the loss of human lives, whosever they may be. They are also opportunities where we call for the prosecution and punishment of those responsible, if it is still absent. We see this as a necessary form of pressure on institutions to do their job. We mourn together, and together we seek justice, for all.

So, my shock was all the greater when, on one such sad occasion, we arrived in Pakrac, to the 26th anniversary of the Croatian Army's Operation Flash (1 - 3 May 1995). We did not, however, join the celebrations. In every one of its "glorious" military actions, the Croatian Army had killed civilians, and this one was by no means an exception. We had come to talk with those who lived through and survived this operation and to pay our respects together to those who had been brutally killed.

"Remember history, don't repeat it"

That is how our friends and organisers from the Serb National Council called this study visit. We had come to learn. I am well-versed in Bosnian crimes, but the crimes on my own side, Croatian crimes, are

rarely spoken about, and since I left to live in Bosnia, I no longer even ask, I've given in to my powerlessness to change anything. So, I must admit that it was only the other day that I learnt of the prison in Bjelovar, the collection centre in Varaždin and the prison in Požega. People could be gone for months, people could be gone forever. I didn't know that the RSK Army included Hungarians, and Croats, and other nationalities. On the slopes of Psunj, it wasn't easy to pick a side. I didn't know that Kraguj used to be home to many households that kept up the mačkare [carnival] tradition, which was destroyed, along with good neighbourly relations, back in 1991. We also heard what we had heard countless times before when meeting minorities and those who used to be refugees – that help was given where it was unexpected, and injustice came from where you were counting on justice. That there are no differences between people and that no one wanted this. But I'm getting ahead of myself.

We had gotten lost looking for Kraguj and our hosts. We asked some workers fixing the road in Pakrac for directions. "Kragujevac?!" they said, baffled. They're not from around here, I thought. And neither am I. It was a warm spring afternoon and all the hills were wonderfully lush, the sheep, horses, the breeze carried scents of better times past.

There is this legend among Croats in Croatia when it comes to the Croatian Serbs. It is not old, it only dates back to the 1990s, which makes its mythical status all the more surprising, because we have all had an opportunity to meet a real, even a genuine Serb man or woman. Our own, or of a Bosnian or Serbian variety. The legend, however, warns that they are so bloodthirsty that blood runs down their chins. So what if a few of them are disappeared as 'collateral victims' of an otherwise legitimate military operation, or not even as collateral damage, but as just deserts? We did not know, and in all honesty, we did not care how people lived in occupied Krajina. For us, Krajina

was and remains a black hole, together with all its inhabitants. That is probably the first stage of death, when someone denies you exist.

We found out that all our interlocutors had heard Franjo Tuđman's call for them to remain, but that few had believed him, and that by 1995, all had been disillusioned. Among those who had heeded his call and remained, not so much out of trust, but due to old age and sickness, some were killed on their thresholds. There were also those who did not get away on time, among them both the elderly and children. We visited the grave of little Milka Bosanac, the girl killed in Operation Flash on the playground in Šehovica. Her mother succumbed to her injuries a while later. Her father had been killed already back in 1991, in the crime against the civilians of Grahovljani.

Excess of memory, dearth of history

The captured members of the RSK Army we spoke with had surrendered, it was a demilitarised UNPA zone, Sector West, and they were not significantly armed, having surrendered most of their weapons to the UN a few years earlier. They were split up, some taken to the prison in Bjelovar, some to the collection centre in Varaždin, and some to the prison in Požega. Sometimes for months without an indictment. We also heard about who dealt beatings and who didn't. Who lost their mind in prison. Who never came back. The people we spoke with are not criminals, this bears repeating. Though they were put through "extensive and difficult" interrogations by investigative authorities, no crime could ever be proven, because they had never committed any crime. Except for the greatest crime in the eyes of the state – rebellion. This offence will later prevent them from accessing employment and from returning and rebuilding. It turns out, however, that they will face the most difficulties in trying to ensure the prosecution and conviction of the perpetrators of war crimes against Serb villagers in the area of Pakrac and Okučani. Serves them right, you may say, why did they start it in the first place? What was it like for people who were expelled in 1991 and could never return?

As to who started it, and when, that question is far from simple. It's impossible to ignore the fact that every family here has someone who ended up in Jasenovac,

or someone who put people in Jasenovac, but then there's also a significant number of those who died for the Partisan cause. In fact, if you're from these parts, you become very cautious with ready generalisations of Ustashas, Chetniks, etc. History did not start in 1991 anywhere, least of all here. The proximity of Jasenovac follows you around like a shadow through these villages and you become painfully aware of its insignificance in the daily life of the rest of Croatia. Jasenovac is the lesson we still haven't learnt. 83,145 victims identified by name to date, of that number almost 50 thousand Serbs. So much for images of bloodthirstiness. None of this is any justification for any other violence, but if we do not try to understand what happened, someone else will come along with their own interpretation.

There's another Croatian legend that says "they were killing us in the 1990s and now they walk free in Croatia". Such is the attraction of the criminal nature of others that we forget to ask ourselves: who is responsible for prosecuting those criminals? Or, do our criminals walk free in Croatia, too?

When we ask them why they came back, they tell us this is their home, their land, their grandfathers and great-grandfathers are buried here. But many people have left, "not just ours, but theirs too, especially lately."

What shocked me most, perhaps, was my inability to speak. I'd noticed it first among our hosts, how they would skip over some words, not utter them, avoiding or leaving sentences unfinished. Still, we understood each other. Among the rights the defeated are denied is the right to name the phenomena and events in their lives, since these may sound scurrilous to the Croatian public. Believe me, I wanted to say to them, here I am, I'm listening to you now, and I hear you, and I can barely breathe from the guilt, I am so immensely sorry for everything you went through. But why should these people be responsible for absolving me? The injustice would not have been laid to rest.

Petar Vukotić, father of Dušan Vukotić, was captured by the Wehrmacht in 1941 as a member of the Yugoslav Royal Army and taken to a labour camp in Germany. In 1941, Dušan's mother Desanka was taken to Jasenovac together with her sisters and mother, then later to Stara Gradiška, from where she was deported to Germany. Both of them survived

and returned to their home country after the war. They lived in Paklenica until 1991 when they became refugees and went to stay with relatives in Belgrade. I guess we weren't thinking about them back when Franjo Tuđman was toying with the idea of reinstating the Ustasha-era currency, or a certain Ustasha émigré from Canada.

Dušan lived and worked in Novska. Given that he was a member of the reserve police force, he was warned that it would be wise for him to volunteer for the Croatian Army, which he ended up doing. Pakračka Poljana was already known about. He thinks this is what saved his life, but could not help his parents. Early in 1995, not being able to bear staying away from home any longer, they returned to Paklenica. The other villagers knew their son was in the Croatian Army, they had all kinds of difficulties. But they endured, just so they could see their son on one of the rare encounters at the improvised border, because they did not believe he was alive. They ended up brutally killed in the basement of a relative's house where they had been hiding, together with Pantelija and Vjera Kovačić, from the advancing Croatian Army. This was when 13 civilians were killed in Paklenica.

Dušan waited 18 years for the opportunity to identify the bodies of his parents. For ten years, he fought a legal battle to pressure the Republic of Croatia into investigating, finding and convicting the perpetrators. Dušan's father had been born in 1919, his mother in 1925. He lost in court and had to cover the costs himself. This is common, he tells us, you simply stand no chance. "You should forgive as much as you can, so you don't go crazy and harm yourself. But you shouldn't forget."

As he tells us this, we are standing on the land of the Serb Orthodox Church. To our right is a small chapel, usurping the land. Seems this isn't just a Bosnian curiosity, Amer comments. The symbolism was not enough, apparently, because we soon discovered that part of the land was also usurped for a Catholic graveyard. Still, it doesn't seem the concept worked out too well, the graveyard appears unused. In retrospect, you come up with a million questions, but believe me, when you're there, you can't speak.

We walk away from the house in whose basement the crime was committed. The driveway is neatly

mowed, though the house itself is in a thicket. We said hello to the neighbour, a congenial man with a moustache surrounded by his sheep and lambs. I'd clear it up, he says, but I'm not allowed, it's not mine. "I'd like to help, I just need permission." The owner, we find out, inherited the house, but lives abroad and rarely visits. We talk about the tragic depopulation of these parts. "Oh, the good old days," Ivica the neighbour says, "we'd get together and in three hours we'd have this lamb here skinned and roasted. Neighbours, friends."

The day before we spoke with bishop Jovan Ćulibrk and he told us nothing was more important than neighbours. Originally from Gradiška, bishop Jovan cares for the welfare of his Serb and Croat people in this area, and not just here. Namely, we used to be aware, but today we forget the crucial contributions of the Serb people to Croatian culture through the centuries. The Bishop's Palace houses an old manuscripts library¹. In addition to old manuscripts from the 16th century, early printed books in Serbian and a Byzantine collection, the diocesan library also keeps rare editions, journals from a number of countries, a collection dedicated to the Holy Land and Christianity in the Middle East, a collection of Judaica, first editions of Voltaire, Rousseau, but also Nietzsche...

This invaluable treasure was saved by Ivan Hiti, a soldier of the Croatian Army, when he refused to follow orders from (the generally unhinged) General Korade to burn down the library. Hiti's portrait adorns a wall in one of the rooms of the Bishop's Palace, along with other deserving citizens, scientists and dignitaries, people who had recognised the social value of this cultural heritage and the fact that it was being preserved precisely in Croatia. Instead of high honours, Croatia gave Hiti a dishonourable discharge from the army and the inability to find work again.

Loved ones are missed the most around the holidays

Especially those no longer among the living, even more so those whose loss weighs heavy on us due to the difficult or unknown circumstances of their deaths. At the Lenten mass for the dead at the Temple of the Holy

1 <https://www.portalnovosti.com/biblioteka-na-deset-jezika>

Greatmartyr Dimitrius in Okučani, we remembered the killed and missing and honoured their lives and deaths. On the way to the temple, we were rerouted through backstreets under police escort, because preparations to celebrate Operation Flash and the arrival of the president and prime minister were well under way. In the temple courtyard we found HTV broadcasting vehicles covering the celebrations from Okučani.

According to data from the Serb community, within 36 hours, more than 10 thousand Serbs were expelled from Western Slavonia, at that time part of RSK and under UN protection, and 238 were killed or disappeared. The fate of only 162 victims has been brought to light since then².

Their names were read out at the end of the service, in front of the cross in the temple courtyard. The inscription on the cross reads – To the victims of the 1991-1995 wars. We laid roses and paid our respects, but the last farewell was interrupted by deafening noise from the neighbouring Catholic church, a call for the mass service dedicated to the homeland and those killed defending it. As you may have guessed, the Catholic church is twice the size of the Orthodox church, and juts out onto the street. And as I've mentioned, it also has a modern sound system fit for concerts. In addition, part of it also encroaches on the land of the Serb Orthodox Church. But who has the right to complain?

None of those present were visibly disturbed or particularly surprised by this rude interruption. Today is that kind of day, they said, when they celebrate and we mourn. It is distasteful to dance on graves, I think to myself as I go out to the main street to see the commotion. I talk with the security staff, they tell me it's over, everyone was there. They find it strange that I'm asking about the president and the prime minister, seeing as I'd just come from the Serb Orthodox church courtyard. They're not unpleasant, though. The HTV crew keep to themselves.

We later find out that the partisan monument and ossuary for the remains of fallen fighters and victims of fascist terror in the Okučani area had been usurped for years. In 1995, the monument was removed and

replaced by an almost identical one, but this time dedicated to Croatian defenders killed in Operation Flash, and instead of a five-point star, it now featured a marble cross. Years passed before it occurred to anyone to also honour the partisans whose bones had been laid to rest in the ossuary. The ossuary was renewed in 2019, but this time without the partisan monument. The defenders were given another monument, right next to this one. The monument is titled "Crystal Cubes of Serenity". Perhaps it's some sort of euphemism for the army.

"Here come our guests for Easter!" Milena exclaimed when we appeared in her yard in Čovac. Coffee and Easter eggs. "Dig in, kids," she said, "my people, even those who could've made it, won't be coming now, on account of corona."

When we ask her about Operation Flash, she tells us how she was working that day, "even though it was May Day, it was a working day. Over in Gradiška, at the bank. I took the car, I drove a Yugo, I didn't know what was happening. Then the detonations, they wouldn't let me through at the checkpoint, said I had to pay. I told them I was coming through one way or another, so they removed the barricade and I drove through. Grandpa here (she indicates her husband, sitting next to her) didn't want to, but later had to." Old bedridden grandma was left behind, she was burned in the house.

We came back in 2008, when we got funds to reconstruct the house.

It's better now than it was before when we just returned. No one takes any notice any more, doesn't matter what you are. There used to be 120 families here, now there's no one to greet you on the street. We used to have 150 pigs, and you'd drive them through here, never any problems. Until 1991.

We continued on towards Vrbovljani, talking with many more people about many more things, about Jovan Rašković, cultural autonomy and the Z-4 Plan. About the interim police, and again about rights that remain inaccessible. The silence of empty Slavonian villages rings out with unfreedom, a life full of obstacles and sideways glances, and the experience of repeated and systematic discrimination. How long should a person atone for their sins? While criminals enjoy the protection of the state.

² The exact number of victims has not been determined, more about estimates and data

<https://www.portalnovosti.com/tamna-strana-bljeska>

“I’ve come to save you”

We reach Medari. Of the 24 people who found themselves in the village at dawn on 1 May 1995, Croatian soldiers killed 22. Only two girls survived, sisters aged 6 and 4.

“That morning, we woke up early, before six, Zvezdana tells us. Mum had gone to work in Okučani (she worked as a community nurse with UNHCR, the mother adds) and Dad was out in the yard getting wood for the fire, to make us breakfast. We heard some noise and saw the army in the yard. ‘Željko, surrender!’ they were shouting, someone was calling him by his name, so they knew him. My father was unarmed, he just had the keys to the house in his hand. He put his hands up, but they killed him, he fell over the kitchen threshold. I was 6 years old, I understood right away what was happening. Instinctively, I put my hand over my sister’s mouth so they wouldn’t hear her scream. I covered my mouth too. Later, when they went from house to house, to see if anyone was left over, I guess, we hid in the wardrobe. A Croatian soldier found us. I told him, ‘Please, don’t kill us, we didn’t do anything to you!’ But he said, ‘I’ve come to save you,’ and he took us to the Red Cross. We never found out who he was.”

“You know, people are only divided into human and inhuman. Just human and inhuman, no other way,” she concluded.

Today, Zvezdana lives in Germany with her family. “I wanted to live in my village, but all the doors were closed to us. We tried for years, without success, to be recognised as civilian war victims.” Zvezdana’s mother explains that they are essentially trying to get a death certificate with the precise date of Željko’s death – 1 May 1995. “The only death certificate we can get in Nova Gradiška is dated 3 May, which no longer has anything to do with Operation Flash,” she added.

Although it is known which HV units were on the main lines of attack in the area – the 81st Guards Battalion, the 5th Guards Brigade, and parts of the 1st, 2nd and 3rd Guards Brigade – not only have the perpetrators not been prosecuted, but the entire case is still in the pre-investigation phase. It’s still not time?

The family of the murdered Željko Dičak no longer expects to see justice. “But recognition would mean a lot to us,” Zvezdana says, “recognition that the crime happened.”

As we talk, we are watched over by the bullet-riddled angels of the Orthodox Church in Medari that was destroyed in the war and never reconstructed. If I weren’t afraid that what is left of it would be swallowed up by trees and undergrowth, I’d think the ruins of the church would perhaps be the best monument, a reminder of the madness and misfortune we are capable of producing.

Even when they are not openly hated (that is reserved for the right wing), the citizens of Croatia, even the Croatian president himself, expect these people to bring down the government of Andrej Plenković at the very least. Or rather, they conceal such expectations behind supposed disappointment with the participation of the minority in government, treating it as if it had the power to rule, or at minimum, berating it for being compliant and condoning the policies of the ruling HDZ. Namely, we pretend not to know that the only way for the minority to survive is to formally support the government. As is the case with all other minorities in Croatia, but those other minorities just don’t happen to be a thorn in our side. All those minorities, however, were also part of the government of Zoran Milanović, as much as he would like to forget that.

It was most clearly visible on Easter morning as we were leaving Pakrac and Okučani. As we were leaving Croatia, we heard news of chauvinist-leaning “hooligans” marching through Borovo. Before going to lay a wreath in honour of Croatian police officers killed in the war, which was the nominal reason for their visit, they marched through Borovo singing bloodthirsty ballads beneath people’s windows. On Easter morning. And under police protection.

Even though the event was condemned by the Croatian government, neither the minister who came to Borovo for the commemoration, nor the president felt any need to support their fellow citizens of Serb nationality or to guarantee their security. The minister referred to the event as “disturbing public peace and order”, while the president, once again, ended up blaming the whole thing on Serbs. Namely, he claimed that the police that was protecting the criminal march was actually Pupovac’s police as much as Plenković’s (whereby he delegitimised one of the institutions of law and order). As proof of “consistency in failure to

act”, he berated Pupovac’s police for not removing the monument to Vukašin Šoškočanin, considered responsible for the murder of Croatian policemen, which, therefore, “disturbs and provokes”.

The fact that the leader of a Serb paramilitary unit who died in 1991 has a tombstone in Borovo has been used for years to justify violence against Serbs in the area. So, we should ask Milanović why he did not remove it during his mandate as prime minister. When the police was his.

What is this about, then? What is the crime for which these people must so ruthlessly atone? In Okučani, in Borovo. In Lika and Banija. In Kordun.

There is no amnesty for war crimes. Right?

You will hold it against me that this text is guilty of the same omission of which I accuse official Croatia: I’ve written nothing about the suffering of Croats in this area, about Croat refugees and people expelled from their homes. It is not my intention, or that of the people we spoke with, to neglect their suffering. Every one of our collocutors, every single one, told us of at least one instance when friends and neighbours, and even strangers from the Croat side stepped in to help. Every single one of us wants to stop the repetition of evil once and for all, and we want to be the ones to stop it, so that it never happens to anyone else again. But no one ever asks the people here, no one ever asks them anything about their Croatian homeland or the dead for whom they seek justice.

We have been condemning them for over 30 years for beliefs we assume they must have held back in 1991. No one asked me either when they changed my language, my history and social order. Or when they wanted to annex Herzegovina to Croatia, no one asked me. I have never in my life voted for HDZ or Franjo Tuđman. Is it written on my forehead? Is my crime that I have allowed Croatia to turn into what we are living today? Yes, it is also mine, because I was not loud enough or brave enough to stand up to it. At the end of the day, I left because it had become unbearable for me. Such a human failing, isn’t it?

For those who wonder at my choices, believe me when I tell you that compared to Croatia, Bosnia is a free country. True, minorities and returnees suffer equally, and in Bosnia too people rarely live together anymore. But there is at least the possibility of bringing criminals to face justice, whatever side they may belong to. It is not strange or uncommon to mourn “their” victims too and pay our respects to them, and truly mean it. Abolishing the principle of impunity in Bosnia has made us free people, thanks to the Hague Tribunal.

In Croatia, such freedom does not exist, in Croatia there are first- and second-class citizens. But at least there’s an order, you might say. Are those the European values?

Davorka Turk



political and social contexts
in which we live

Bosnia and Herzegovina: The Dusk of Civilisation

On 23 July 2021, the High Representative in BiH Valentin Inzko used his Bonn powers to impose changes to the BiH Criminal Code which prohibit genocide denial and foresee sanctions. Amendments to the BiH Criminal Code that prohibit genocide denial and foresee sanctions have entered into force on an interim basis until such time as the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia and Herzegovina adopts them in due form, without amendment and with no conditions attached.

“Whoever publicly condones, denies, grossly trivializes or tries to justify a crime of genocide, crimes against humanity or a war crime established by a final adjudication pursuant to the Charter of the International Military Tribunal appended to the London Agreement of 8 August 1945 or by the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia or the International Criminal Court or a court in Bosnia and Herzegovina, directed against a group of persons or a member of such a group defined by reference to race, colour, religion, descent or national or ethnic origin, when the conduct is carried out in a manner likely to incite to violence or hatred against such a group or a member of such a group, shall be punished by imprisonment for a term between six months and five years.”

Following Valentin Inzko’s decision, enacted in the final weeks of his mandate, Bosnian-Herzegovinian public opinion became divided along ethnic lines between accepting and rejecting this decision. When we start reading the decision, it becomes clear that it does not only pertain to denial of the Srebrenica genocide. It clearly states that any glorification of an adjudicated war crime shall be prohibited. In practice, this would mean renaming Rasim Delić Street in Bihać, for instance. Rasim Delić is a member of the Army of BiH convicted of war crimes by the ICTY. Reading further still, we would see that Mile Budak Street in Mostar would also need to be renamed. The fact is that people seldom read and even when they do, they seldom understand what they have read.

In the RS public arena, all events in Srebrenica are routinely denied, despite ample documents,

judgements and research. Not only are convictions of war criminals negated, they are themselves celebrated and glorified as heroes. The central mythomaniacal figure of complete denial is Milorad Dodik, the Serb member of the Presidency of BiH, who has warned the international community that its time for revoking decisions not to his liking is running out, but that once they do so, he will decide on the next steps.

It is rather presumptuous of the international community to expect the imposed legal provision to momentarily influence attitudes towards the war and reconciliation, halting the denial of crimes and insults to victims overnight. Above all, BiH is a country where systemic dealing with the past has never started and where the war of words has never stopped, with the local motto of the peace being: “Shush, it’s fine, as long as there’s no shooting.” It would, of course, be good to have an understanding that accepting judgements of international tribunals would be a civilisational step forward for all three communities in BiH. Non-acceptance, rejection and denial of international judgements is a path towards the dusk of civilisation. Reconciliation.

Bread on the Table

Local elections were organised in Bosnia and Herzegovina at the end of 2020 and they were everything but local. Larger local communities in Bosnia-Herzegovinian society defied the Gordian knot of unsightly mythomanias and opted out of the “lamb and pork barbecue”. Namely, in a speech at the Republika Srpska National Assembly, Milorad Dodik called on people to come out and vote, enticing them with meat. We did then understand that we were wretchedly poor, but that we don’t want to be robbed or humiliated. We wanted changes, cleaned-up parks and benches, functioning street lighting, buses, trolleybuses, trams that work, and enough bins along boulevards and promenades. Changes did take place in the biggest and most important cities of BiH, in Sarajevo, Banja Luka and Mostar. The opposition was on the rise.

“The citizens of Sarajevo have said, loud and clear, that we want to live in a BiH where we will not be divided along ethnic lines,” said Predrag Kojović, president of Naša stranka, when the opposition won in Sarajevo. Beautiful words are apt to change the ugliest reality. The victory speech of Naša stranka in Sarajevo invoked revolution, democracy, respect for human rights. Where are we after a year of revolution? To be honest, we haven’t even moved. Predrag Kojović has resigned.

The previous local elections in Mostar were held in 2008. It was only when the Central Elections Commission of BiH set the Mostar City Council elections for 20 December 2020 that the citizens of Mostar, and the whole of BiH, could let themselves believe that elections would truly be held. It took a native of Mostar, Irma Baralija, a philosophy and sociology professor with an MA in political science, suing Bosnia and Herzegovina before the European Court of Human Rights in Strasbourg. The European Court found a violation of the European Convention on Human Rights (general prohibition of discrimination) because of a legal void that had resulted from the failure of the authorities to implement the decision of the Constitutional Court on the provision regulating the local elections in Mostar. That Irma Baralija is such a tattle-tale.

Mostar is a city where symbolism matters more than bread on the table because it maintains the boundaries, divisions and psychological wounds that have been left to fester for decades. These elections seemed to indicate change, resistance, because the issue of who would be mayor in the “ailing city” was a question of survival for the citizens of Mostar. And after 12 years of waiting for local elections to be held, “for democracy to arrive”, did we get anything new? Following negotiations, the political parties that formed the majority after the elections chose a Croat, Mario Kordić (no, not that Kordić), to be mayor. It was the first time since the war that Serb parties from RS showed a detectable level of interest for Mostar. Working together with the Church, they formed a list for the elections and managed to have one representative elected to the City Council. The Bosniaks remained attached to their traditional choice as before, to SDA. Meanwhile, the Left remained at

its standard dishevelled number. That was it, after 12 years of waiting for “democracy to arrive”, the Mostar City Council ended up ruled by the HDZ BiH and SDA coalition, just like before.

Still, it is best to be cautious when analysing and expecting change, and give a reasonable assessment, taking into account that nothing in politics happens overnight and that obstacles are resolved step by step, sometimes even by resorting to cynicism, pretence, grovelling and subservience, and this cannot be wrong somehow, at least judging by the political practice in BiH to date.

An Empty Cinema

Following the “Malina” scandal involving the procurement of one hundred ventilators by the Government of the Federation of BiH, costing 10.5 million BAM, slowly but surely, we rolled into 2021, conscious of the fact that the ventilators don’t work and that the coronavirus pandemic kills. And no, it was not just the useless ventilators that caused problems. The real problem arose when the Bosnian-Herzegovinian government was meant to procure vaccines for its citizens. On one day in March 2021, the number of new cases in Bosnia and Herzegovina exceeded 1000 and the number of fatalities reached 100. It was like a movie screening in an empty cinema. The authorities did nothing to change the situation, resorting to excuses ranging from the fact that the vaccines had been paid for already in 2020, but the market could not meet the demand, to slinging mud at the EU vaccine procurement mechanism and blaming the EU for our own ineptitude.

With the Bosnian-Herzegovinian authorities being too incompetent to protect their citizens, in comes Aleksandar Vučić, president of Serbia, “protector of citizens”, with an open call for citizens of BiH and North Macedonia to come get vaccinated in Serbia. Over a period of some ten days at the end of March 2021, as many as 25,000 citizens of BiH were vaccinated against COVID-19 in Serbia. The queues in front of vaccination halls stretched for miles, just like in 2005 when the Hipodrom hosted roughly the same number of people for the Bijelo dugme concert. Yugoslavia.

Not only did Aleksandar Vučić as protector of citizens invite people to come and get vaccinated, he

even donated to BiH its first 10,000 vaccines. We thank him for that. Finally, a few months after the third wave of infections that we saw in March and April, we're still getting vaccines drop by drop, waiting for another donation.

Primary School

Life must go on. This is what I said after I saw the film *Quo Vadis, Aida?*, directed by Jasmila Žbanić. The film is about life in Srebrenica during the war, right before the genocide and expulsion of the population. I expected a documentary or a scientific film study that we usually see on the topic of the war in BiH. *Quo Vadis, Aida?* is a film about relationships between individuals, families, friends, neighbours, colleagues and enemies. It is part of the culture of memory in BiH.

In addition to the lives and deaths of the people of Srebrenica, the film also features other aspects of the war that should be noted and that are also related to how the film was made. Part of it was filmed at the Primary School in Potoci near Mostar. In 1993 and 1994, the school building was used as a site of detention under the control of the Army of RBiH for Croats from Mostar. Men and women, mostly civilians, were held there under harsh conditions and subjected to beatings and forced labour. At least three of the prisoners died as a result of the forced labour, while the female prisoners were subjected to sexual abuse. The school is one of many sites of suffering in BiH that remain unmarked, with no sign to indicate what took place there. In a way, Jasmila has woven the school in Potoci into filmic culture of memory. Ultimately, at the Academy Awards, *Quo Vadis, Aida?* did not receive the Oscar for best foreign language film, but the whole world did get to see a story about Srebrenica. A legacy was thus created for future generations to ensure this never happens again.

Life Sentence Upheld

When we talk about Srebrenica and sites of suffering, about creating a culture of memory, we must also mention the ICTY judgement upholding a life sentence. The International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia raised the indictment against Ratko Mladić on 24 July 1995. After almost 16 years on the run, Mladić first appeared before the Tribunal in

July 2011. On 22 November 2017, the ICTY convicted General Ratko Mladić, who was the Commander of the Army of Republika Srpska (VRS) during the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina from 1992 to 1995, in the first instance and sentenced him to life in prison for the crime of genocide and crimes against humanity. The life sentence was upheld on 8 June 2021. It's easier to breathe 26 years after the war in BiH.

I will not write about justice and fairness and their various interpretations following the verdict. Although, it is important that there are interpretations and that justice and fairness are sought. What I see as a source of relief is that a legal process has definitively come to an end, we can now put a face to the crimes, we can say who is guilty.

Reconciliation is not grandiose, it does not come as a big event that takes up the stage, and it is not something that should happen on a predetermined date. Reconciliation in our region requires each of us to take individual steps, including the courts and prosecutors' offices, as well as the politicians among our ethnic elites. This year, leading up to 11 July, the media often quoted the words of Dragan Čavić from 2004, when he was the president of Republika Srpska: "Above all as a man and a Serb, and then as a father, brother and son, and only then as the president of Republika Srpska, I must say that these nine days of July marking the Srebrenica tragedy are a black page in the history of the Serb people. Those who took part in this crime can have no justification before anyone or anything. Whoever committed this crime while also invoking the people to whom he belonged by his name, he has also committed a crime against his own people." To date, no Serb politician has said anything of greater importance for the future and for reconciliation in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Domestic political elites do not engage in dealing with the past and reconciliation processes. Except when they have an interest in using this to manipulate and create rifts in society or within one of the three communities. In this, we are all victims, lambs for the slaughter, indoctrinated with hatred towards the other. The political elites continue the conflict at sites of suffering and atrocities. Monuments and memorials call for new battles, because that is their primary purpose. Somewhere far in the future, I see these same

monuments as places where suffering, forgiveness, freedom and reconciliation shall meet. I believe that shared suffering binds stronger than shared happiness. Remorse carries greater value than victory, because it imposes the obligation, the responsibility to undertake joint efforts towards reconciliation. That step will be an act of humanity, however much each of us can do individually.

Heritage

General elections in BiH are scheduled for next year and they include electing the members of the Presidency, three ethnic representatives. What is currently making the news and may change the entire organisation of the state are political clashes that always resemble well-known conflicts that are on the brink of boiling over. Bosnian-Herzegovinian society is still traumatised, and there is no other way to view the threats issued by Dragan Čović, leader of HDZ BiH, that he will halt this ridiculous round of elections. Namely, political negotiations and dealings are currently under way regarding changes to the Election Law of BiH between Dragan Čović, leader of HDZ BiH, and Bakir Izetbegović, leader of SDA, under the watchful eye of the international community. Twenty-five years after the Dayton Agreement, changes to the Election Law place a focus on the political interests of HDZ BiH and the issue at stake is framed as being central to the identity of Bosnian-Herzegovinian Croats. The aim of Dragan Čović, which has the support of Croatian President Zoran Milanović and Croatian Prime Minister Andrej Plenković, is to insist on a legitimate “representative of the Croat people”, meaning a “representative of the

political parties of Croats in BiH” who would be elected to the Presidency of BiH by citizens of Croat ethnicity. Changing the Dayton Peace Agreement is no easy task and cannot be accomplished overnight, for it is the legacy of “stopping the war” left to us by Izetbegović (Senior), Milošević and Tuđman. However, if we take the meetings between Čović and Izetbegović (Junior) seriously, this would result in certain constitutional reforms at the state level, or more precisely, it would necessitate the implementation of judgements of the European Court of Human Rights in Strasbourg in the cases of: Sejdić-Finci; Azra Zornić, Ilijas Pilav, Samir Šlaku and Svetozar Pudarić, as well as all final and binding judgements of the Constitutional Court of BiH (Ljubić, Komšić etc.) and the Constitutional Court of the Federation of BiH. This would be great, wouldn’t it? We would have a high level of democracy in electing those to lead us towards the EU.

Still, let’s not get ahead of ourselves, because our ethno-national political representatives are by no means naive, they are quite deliberately maintaining the status quo while making promises to the international community. This whole hypocritical status keeps us up at night, always caught up in a conflict between two political concepts. The first advocates exclusivity of status and primacy of ethnic groups, the so-called constitutive peoples, in political representation, while the second, the civic option, gives primacy to Art. 25 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, a document that, to make the paradox complete, forms an integral part of the Constitution of BiH.

Tamara Zrnović

Croatia: Return of the Supreme Leader

Kolinda, come back?

I still think last year’s presence of Prime Minister Plenković at the commemoration for Serb civilians killed in Varivode, and of Veterans’ Affairs Minister Medved in Grubori was important for the welfare of Croatian society as a whole. The coming years will show whether this will constitute a turning point. For now, it

can serve as a fairly accurate marker to determine the pulse of the right wing. We have learnt how to do this from President Milanović. This Zagreb golden boy¹,

1 Euphemism for socially privileged Zagreb youth with above-average starting positions, habitually landing their first jobs at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Another such example is Prime Minister Plenković.

elected by left(ish) votes, now evidently kicking off his campaign for a second mandate, has decided to go for the sure thing – nationalism, relativising war crimes and mocking victims throughout the region.

Instead of opening dialogue and looking for constructive solutions in relations with neighbours, ZM has opted for bullying, threats and blackmail. To the host of insults he had already flung at BiH, we can add the one accusing BiH of “robbing” Croats, even though HDZ BiH controls the customs, state finances and borders, while through his indisputable alliance with Milorad Dodik, Dragan Čović has the whole of the BiH energy sector in his grip. These economic crimes, however, become imperceptible when political representation is made to be the issue at stake. To be clear, the election of Željko Komšić as the Croat member of the Presidency of BiH with Bosniak votes is a first-rate political snafu that puts a dire strain on Croat-Bosniak relations in the Federation of BiH. However, though Croatia does not have international support for its concept of reorganising the election legislation so as to prop up the principle of “legitimate political representation”, hopes have been stirred up that an agreement on the election law may yet be reached. In comes Milanović and abuses this situation, not out of any particular concern for BiH Croats, but instead as an argument in his clash with the government, causing immeasurable harm to both Croatia and BiH along the way. He has also supported Čović’s clientelism of Dodik with formal gestures, such as when he invited the “leader of the Serb people”(?!) to Zagreb for talks about “the situation in BiH and its Euro-Atlantic prospects, problems in implementing the Dayton Agreement, and the position and rights of all three constitutive peoples” in September 2020. For the above reasons, he decided to exclude Bosniak political representatives from talks on these prospects. Lest we have any doubts about his commitment to permanent destabilisation of BiH, this year he decided to tour Herceg-Bosna, and he decided to do this on the anniversary of the Srebrenica genocide, no less. It has been a long time since something so vulgar and shameful has tainted official relations between Sarajevo and Zagreb. This was perfectly suited to Dodik’s taste, we would say.

Seeing how well he was doing with “protecting the few” in the neighbouring country, he decided to bring it home. As if being a political dilettante was not enough, he also became an internet troll who uses his “private”² Facebook account to send offensive and incendiary messages into our political space and to denigrate his political opponents, those who disagree with him, citizens who criticise him, and – perhaps with the greatest delight – women. The arrest of Dragan Kovačević, former head of the Janafa oil pipeline in the Adriatic, and a dozen others accused of favouritism, trading in influence, giving and receiving bribes, revealed that President Milanović, along with HDZ ministers and other political “dignitaries” was a regular guest at Kovačević’s notorious club at No. 9 Slovenska Street. When several female MPs called him and the HDZ ministers to account for this, he became so enraged that he called them “obsessive smug wailers”. When activists of the B.a.b.e. association reacted to his calling the regional #MeToo campaign against sexual abuse of women a campaign of “spoiled celebrities”, he called the name of their association a “stupid and unfunny acronym” and characterised them as dogmatic petty-political opportunists³. The human rights defender for gender equality was compelled to respond, so she also got her share of abuse⁴. Incredible as it may sound, but true nonetheless, the long-time human rights activist Sanja Sarnavka said we would end up “missing the days of Grabar-Kitarović because at least she was entertaining”.

2 Milanović’s Facebook account can by no means be private, given that as president he has both exceptional power and immunity from criminal prosecution, and as such, he can attack anyone without restraint, and even without proof or sound argument.

3 To recall, the action initiated by Belgrade actresses quickly received a Croatian epilogue with thousands of horrifying stories coming to light from women of all walks of life about the sexual violence they suffered and that, had it not been for the global movement and its regional iteration, would have remained unspoken. For more, see: <https://www.nisamtrazila.org/>

B.a.b.e. is an acronym of the slogan “Be active. Be emancipated.”

4 <https://www.index.hr/vijesti/clanak/izvukli-smo-izjave-milanovica-o-zlostavljanju-podrzavate-li-njega-ili-zene/2253381.aspx>

Everything came crashing down

Between Christmas and New Year's, the ground literally shook beneath our feet. On 29 December 2020, at nineteen minutes past noon, seismographers recorded a destructive quake whose epicentre was 5 km south-west of Petrinja. Its magnitude was 6.2 on the Richter scale. Seven people were killed, dozens were injured, many houses were severely damaged, as was a lot of the infrastructure around Petrinja, Sisak, Glina and Hrvatska Kostajnica, and damage to structures was also recorded in several other counties and in the city of Zagreb. The prevailing lack of confidence in the state and its disaster relief mechanisms inspired a mass mobilisation of ordinary people who came in droves from all parts of Croatia, as well as the region and the world, to try and somehow help the disaster-struck people of Petrinja. The impression that the state responded with too little too late still lingers. Much like any catastrophe, the earthquake revealed everything that had been swept under the rug and even forgotten for years – houses built after the war under the Reconstruction Act came toppling down like houses of cards. These houses were destroyed by corruption – the state, that is, the designers, supervisory engineers and contractors it authorised – reconstructed these houses without concrete or reinforcements, thereby robbing not only their tenants, but all of us taxpayers who financed the reconstruction. The authorities were quick to remind us that the statute of limitations had expired on such actions and they could no longer be prosecuted. It was only later that we remembered how this “area of special state concern”, meaning the parts of Croatia affected by the war, is populated by a considerable number of the habitually neglected Croatian Serbs. Those were the inhabitants of villages that rescuers had to scramble to reach due to the lack of any kind of infrastructure worthy of an EU member state. These are the people who have had to struggle to get a road, lighting and electricity, except we didn't know this, or we did, but we just didn't care. The deputy mayor of Glina said in a statement at the end of August that the state has yet to build a single house in Glina after the earthquake. Meanwhile, donations of ordinary people(!) have ensured the construction of 36 buildings there. The citizens of Zabreb are still

waiting for the start of reconstruction after the 2020 earthquake. It took a year just to adopt the Earthquake Reconstruction Act, despite funds being allocated from the EU Solidarity Fund.

Milan Bandić, who had been the mayor of Zabreb for decades, died in February 2021. He ruled the city through clientelism and autocracy and he died before any of the corruption cases that followed him for years had been adjudicated in court. And before the local elections that he would most certainly have finally lost. The nationalist tone, directed by the right wing and embodied primarily in the Homeland Movement and their candidates for the mayors of Zagreb (Miroslav Škoro) and Vukovar (Ivan Penava, who defected from HDZ) defined this election campaign too as an open call for intimidation and hatred. Still, we noted a change of government in the Zagreb City Assembly and the overwhelming victory of Tomislav Tomašević in the Zagreb mayoral elections. HDZ proclaimed its victory even though they would not be participating in the governments of larger cities such as Zagreb, Split and Vukovar. The eastern part of Croatia slipped through their fingers with the appearance of some nominally greater nationalists, while the south was whisked away by independent candidates who managed to secure broader support.

The overwhelming victory of Možemo! in Zabreb opens a new chapter in national politics. Their success at the local level comes as no surprise (they also had big wins in Istria, Primorje-Gorski Kotar County, Split and Dubrovnik, as well as some smaller cities, thanks to their long-standing activism and familiarity with local community issues. It was a good test run for strengthening Možemo! at the national level and preparing for parliamentary elections. However, even though they have made strides in proposing innovative economic and governance policies, the parliamentary elections will require grappling with issues that they have so far more or less avoided – such as nationalism, war crimes and memory policy. Apart from Tomašević attending this year's event marking Operation Storm, and Deputy Mayor Luka Korlaet laying a wreath at the grave of Franjo Tuđman on the same occasion, representatives of this coalition have not spoken out in particular when the president restored military

honours to Branimir Glavaš, or when he awarded medals to the HVO special police unit that committed crimes in Central Bosnia.

“Za dom spreman”, though in not so many words

Namely, President Milanović restored military honours and the rank of Major General to Branimir Glavaš after the Constitutional Court overturned the final judgement and the Supreme Court the first-instance judgement in the “garage” and “Sellotape” cases, ordering a retrial. The president did so at Glavaš’s request, because “for five years now, he has formally been a non-convicted person, just like me”. Apart from being a travesty of justice, this means nothing and is not a requirement for the president to withdraw or restore honours, that decision being solely at his discretion. The facts about these crimes have been ascertained beyond reasonable doubt and most of those convicted have already served their sentences. The president, however, having in the meantime declared himself the “protector of Serbs in Croatia” in order to continue settling accounts with his favourite target, the president of SDSS Milorad Popovac, sees no discrepancy between his proclamations and his concrete actions.

So, let us continue with the actions. In early May, he received an official visit from Tihomir Blaškić who has been convicted of war crimes in BiH. He has given himself the authority to assess who is the greater and who the lesser war criminal, and to interpret some judgements, such as the one against Blaškić, as “political”. He feels the same about the judgement against Milivoj Petković who he will also be receiving, he said, once he’s released from prison (?!). It’s not just that Zoran Milanović does not consider someone sentenced by the ICTY to twenty years in prison a war criminal, it is that as president, his statements go against international and Croatian law. It will be interesting to view his conduct in light of Inzko’s Law prohibiting the denial of genocide, crimes against humanity and war crimes, though it is as yet unclear who could possibly do this.

With his presence and speech at the presentation of the monograph on the GROM Special Unit, Milanović showed support for its former member and war criminal Mihajlo Hrastov, deeming it unfair

that the Republic of Croatia wanted to retroactively impose reparations to Hrastov’s victims. He called this “abuse”. The Croatian justice system became markedly compromised in the 23 years it took to pass seven judgement against the same man for the same crime, overturn them, only to finally convict him as a war criminal. Milanović may try to make him into a victim, conveniently failing to mention that Hrastov was ultimately sentenced to four(!) years in prison for the death of 13 and wounding of two prisoners of war at the Koranski Bridge in Karlovac in 1991.

Furthermore, Milanović also continued the practice of disputed honours again this year. Zlatan Mijo Jelić, indicted in BiH for ethnic cleansing, unlawful detention, forced labour and the killing and wounding of at least 40 prisoners of war during the conflict in Mostar in 1993, received a medal in Knin last year on behalf of the Special Unit of the Ministry of Interior of Herceg-Bosna. It seems he has found sanctuary in Croatia from criminal prosecution. This year in Knin, the president decorated the HVO Military Police, as well as Special Unit “Ludvig Pavlović”. The HVO Military Police had a very important role in the joint criminal enterprise. The head of the HVO Military Police Administration Valentin Ćorić was one of the accused in the ICTY case of Prlić and others, and was sentenced to 16 years in prison, alongside Berislav Pušić who was sentenced to 10 years in prison. The “Ludvig Pavlović” unit was involved in war crimes in the area of Čapljina, as well as the war crimes committed in Doljani and Sovići near Jablanica in April 1993. By his own account, President Milanović decorated these units for their military actions. Nevermind that this amounts to the legitimising of the very units that committed brutal crimes and were commanded by war criminals and that by doing so, the head of an EU Member State is negating judgements and adjudicated facts, thereby symbolically continuing the wartime politics of the 1990s and falsifying history.

However, worst of all is this complete lack of respect for victims, especially those “from the other side”. Speaking in Knin, he told us that he does not hold that every victim is equal. That is why he has promised to protect Croatian war commanders from accusations for “unproven or fictitious acts”, as he calls the accusations coming from BiH, including those

related to war crimes committed in Operation Flash. The fact that he promised that “these people will not be tried in Croatia” does not mean that the crimes did not happen. Threatening BiH because of the existence of war crimes indictments does not mean the crimes will be forgotten or that we will be silent about them.

There are those among his voters who justify such words and decisions with the fact that he is the commander of the Armed Forces, and that militarism comes with the job. In the environment created by these supportive voters, it is possible to separate state-sponsored ethnic cleansing from Operation Storm, militant patriotism (nationalism?) can coexist with gay pride, a commitment to Europe with negation of victims, and the office of president with “bully boy” rhetoric. They will say that ZM is a macho-liberal, and not a right-winger. We should be concerned that according to the latest public opinion polls, he is still supported by a significant portion of SDP voters, as well as Možemo!. What should come as no surprise, however, is that he is equally supported by Most voters and by one out of two HDZ voters. Žarko Puhovski was not far off when he called him the “illegitimate political son of Franjo Tuđman”.

And ultimately, it is no wonder that we have precisely HDZ to thank for the law on civilian victims being finally passed. The rights of civilian victims had previously been regulated under the Law on the Protection of Military and Civilian Persons with Disabilities, which was adopted in 1992. Despite many amendments, this law still did not cover all civilian victims and the

benefits were not suited to their needs. The new law was adopted seven years after veterans’ associations spent 555 days protesting in front of a tent set up in Savska Street to block the entrance to the Veterans’ Ministry of Milanović’s government, in an attempt to stop and practically ban public debate and the passing of this law. At that time, they claimed that the new law would equate the aggressor with the victim because it treated civilian victims equally irrespective of their nationality. Once again, the Ministry of Veterans’ Affairs, but this time with Tomo Medved, a protestor from the tent, at its helm, proposed the Law on Civilian Victims of the Homeland War. Tomo Medved defended the proposed law in Parliament, as once his political opponents Predrag Matić Fred and Bojan Glavašević did. But this time, HDZ used its influence to reign in the veterans and only those somewhat to the right of HDZ protested.

This is a big step for Croatia, but no one should be amnestied for its tardiness, not the SDP government that, despite the protests, had enough votes to push the law through Parliament back in 2014, or HDZ for blocking the law at the time in order to topple the SDP coalition government from power. Between Zoran Milanović and HDZ, we are left to put our hopes in Možemo! who intend to first grapple with the administration and everyday concerns of citizens. Sounds promising, but we’ll withhold our assessment until HDZ becomes their opposition, then we’ll see.

Davorka Turk

Serbia: Contamination

Today, on the morning of 26 August 2021, as I start writing this text, my two air quality applications are showing me that the air quality in Belgrade is good. I note down the date, because it is rare that the air we breathe is of good quality. At the beginning of this month, the fire that broke out at the landfill in Vinča caused extreme levels of air pollution. At the same time, many present and future polluters – such as Rio Tinto which is buying land in western Serbia to exploit

lithium deposits, or the Zidin factory in Bor making the city uninhabitable – are doing exactly nothing and facing no pressures from state regulators. The most citizens can hope for is to be pacified, such as when the Mayor of Belgrade Goran Vesić tells them, “The Vinča landfill did suffocate, but it did not poison citizens.”¹ When you suffocate, you won’t particularly

1 <https://www.istinomer.rs/izjava/deponija-u-vinci-jeste-gusila-ali-nije-trovala-gradjane/>

care whether you were also poisoned at the same time or not.

The contamination of water, air, food, rivers, the environment is visible and measurable, it can be measured and controlled, further contamination can be prevented by appropriate action. More dangerous in Serbia is the kind of contamination for which there are no units of measurement, no institute to control it and no regulations on how to reduce it: our society has become toxic. In all fields and in almost every respect. Masks are of no use.

Inward

It is enough for you to post a tweet that is not to the liking of the ruling party and you will be torn apart by the tabloids and the party's living bots – employed in public enterprises and given regular salaries to praise President Vučić online – or even by the president himself during one of his interminable interviews on a government-controlled TV network. The media onslaught is followed by formal hordes used to intimidate the regime's opponents: either someone from a right-wing organisation will physically attack the individual who spoke out on the street, or the state will launch an investigation and financial intimidation of organisations and individuals, such as those who found themselves on the list of the Administration for the Prevention of Money Laundering and Terrorism Financing. The list included 20 individuals and 37 nongovernmental organisations, every single one flagged by the government as an enemy because they have published and publicly spoken facts that are not in the government's favour. It also included independent reporters and news desk staff whose work is not controlled by the system in power.

There have been signals of resistance. There are independent media, in contrast to those under direct regime control, and their work is invaluable, but unfortunately, their reach is very limited: the government controls all television stations with national coverage, all newspapers, save a handful of weeklies, as well as the national telephone and internet operator with its monopoly position. The reality is the same, but the perception of people being informed from independent sources is completely different from the perception of people informed by

the government through its channels (including both numerous TV channels as well as YouTube channels designed to spread fake information). One group thinks the fire at the landfill was caused by negligence, while others blame the opposition. One group thinks that the clashes of crime groups and numerous deaths are caused by government complicity and organised crime, while others watch the president display bloody photos and believe he is fighting the criminals, even though these are the very same people the regime had employed against its political opponents (at the demonstrations in July last year, when citizens protested the inauguration, at sports matches where fans booed the president, etc.) One group is looking for ways to stop the epidemic, the other uses it for political and personal gain (organising elections, sports matches, celebrations, rallies in support of the president, etc.). We live these disparate realities that are set against each other. I fear an escalation of this conflict, because it doesn't seem like dialogue can help us find a way out of this situation. Dialogue requires two sides that want the dialogue to happen.

In order to have sound information about what is going on, you have to go out of your way: you have to choose the internet and TV news sources that are targeted by government campaigns on a daily basis, their owners, reporters and editors treated to torrents of lies and monstrous manipulation by the regime's tabloids, endangering not just their work, but also their lives.

Serbia's parliament is currently (following the elections that were boycotted by the opposition) made up of 180 deputies from the Serbian Progressive Party, 24 from the Socialist Party of Serbia, while 46 seats went to minority parties or parties that had already been in power (PUPS, for instance). The ruling party controls more than a two-thirds majority, enough to change the Constitution. Which is something they often bring up, as threat or blackmail. They are literally in such a position of power that they could secure a vote to say that the year will have 11 months and anyone opposed to it would be proclaimed to be against Serbia's progress and betterment. That is why it is so dangerous to be on their radar, for whatever reason. Or on the radar of one of the right-wing organisations that the government uses for physical reckonings with

its opponents. These organisations use various attacks, including public defamation through social media, as well as beatings and trespassing, often with the police standing idly by or even tacitly approving the attack.²

These same, or very similar organisations are also behind the murals depicting war criminals in public spaces in our cities. Thus, for example, when the judgement confirming the life sentence for Ratko Mladić, the former general of the Army of Republika Srpska convicted for genocide in Srebrenica, persecuting Bosniaks and Croats, terrorising the citizens of Sarajevo and taking UN soldiers hostage, was delivered, his face was painted on a mural in Belgrade. For a large portion of the public, this criminal is a hero – except for the anonymous activist who made sure his hands on the mural were covered in blood. Serbia is still a safe haven for war criminals. The convicted war criminal Captain Dragan, found guilty of war crimes in Croatia, was given offices by the city authorities of Subotica to house his foundation, while in Belgrade he was handing out T-shirts with the image of the convicted murderer of prime minister Zoran Đinđić in 2003. Duško Kornjača, the wartime commander in the municipality of Čajniče who has been accused of war crimes, is not hiding in Novi Sad but living a normal life. During the whole of 2020, at total of seven indictments were raised before the War Crimes Court, but five were transferred from BiH, which essentially means that only two new indictments were raised during the whole year. I fear the final tally will be much the same this year, if not worse.

The Covid-19 pandemic is being used in various ways to either keep citizens under lockdown or blackmail them with freedoms, or to create the “economic miracle” of the only country apparently experiencing economic improvement during the pandemic. This, of course, is just another in a host of lies, including lies about the number of deaths in the pandemic (which Serbia “successfully defeated” already in the spring of 2020). In fact, it is in 5th place globally in terms of “excess mortality”: there is a considerable difference between the number of deaths from April 2020 to the end of June this year and the number of deaths

reported as being due to Covid-19: 7030 deaths were reported as being due to Covid, but there were in actuality 30210 more deaths than the average from previous years.³

Outward

The face of the Serbian regime is friendly, gentle and smiling when talking with foreigners. Except when talking with Kosovar Albanians – Vučić and Rama message each other and chat, while at the same time, there is no dialogue with Kosovo’s Prime Minister Kurti.⁴ This is illustrative of both diplomacy and statesmanship skills – Vučić does only what he likes and what brings him (not society) concrete benefits, either material or populist.

Inseparable from Dodik, it seems he is doing everything in his might to become the president of All Serbian Lands – the unchallenged ruler and leader of Serbia and Serbs abroad. To that end, and unbeknownst to the general public, a new holiday was instituted last year – Day of National Unity, 15th of September. A symbolic date was chosen, the day of the Salonica Front breakthrough in the First World War, and it is marked by the Republic of Serbia and Republika Srpska. This year, the assemblies of both republics will enact a law on the protection of the Serbian language and Cyrillic script. Who exactly is attacking the Serbian language that the two of them must protect us with laws no less remains unclear. There had never been any discussion in public of this as a general national threat. Still, leave it to them to invent both an event and an enemy for sheer populism and for fortifying their positions of power.

There is also a clear desire to control processes within Montenegro. At the end of summer last year, the government that had been in power for decades was replaced and Vučić is not happy that the Montenegrin politicians are not pandering to him like Dodik. Relations became even frostier when a few months ago Montenegro’s Parliament adopted the Resolution

3 <https://rs.n1info.com/vesti/britanski-ekonomist-srbija-peta-na-svetu-po-visku-smrtnosti/?fbclid=IwAR17O4DrJ7K4bulxbhqhIV968Zcth4PmSrgjsqOovyqDuzQBtxFREaqZb4>

4 <https://kossev.info/vucic-sa-kurtijem-najlakse-da-se-razgovara-i-najneprijatnije-sa-ostalima-teze-ali-manje-neprijatno/>

2 <http://www.glassumadije.rs/levijatan-pokusao-da-prekine-skup-marinike-tepic-video/>

on Srebrenica, something that Vučić characterised as violating the “vital interests of the Serbian people” and accompanied with the message of “Good riddance.”

Good Things Happen

Still, there were a few good things and gestures, populist of course, but we should welcome the fact that sufficient vaccine doses of all producers on the market were secured for citizens in Serbia and that when interest for vaccination in Serbia declined, citizens from the region were invited to come and get vaccinated in Serbia. It is true that tens of thousands of people from the neighbourhood were vaccinated in Serbia before vaccination had even started in their countries. Serbia also donated a large number of vaccines to neighbouring countries.

At the start of summer, roaming charges were abolished between Western Balkan countries so that citizens of Serbia, Montenegro, North Macedonia, BiH, Kosovo and Albania can now communicate without additional costs. And this is really working in practice, even though we were all sceptical to begin with because we are not accustomed to the governments of these countries doing anything that will benefit their citizens.

The Serbian Orthodox Church had been wholly unprepared for the Covid-19 pandemic and its incompetence and isolation from reality cost many believers their lives, but also Patriarch Irinej and Bishop Artemije. Changes at the helm of the Serbian Orthodox Church were God’s will, but by the will of the bishops, Porfirije Perić, hitherto the metropolitan

bishop of Zagreb and Ljubljana, became the new patriarch. His rhetoric, messages and conduct are completely different from the Church’s mainstream. The expectation is that he will be supportive of reconciliation, cooperation and understanding.

At the start of the year, Serbia saw a revolution of abused women. In a series of separate cases, but with mutual solidarity, they went public with details of what they had suffered at the hands of powerful men. The wave they started can never be pushed back again. Even though thousands of abusers will remain unrevealed and unpunished (such as politicians in power, including Dragan Marković Palma), a change has taken place nonetheless – victims have a voice, abusers are at least publicly condemned, but I sincerely hope they will also be convicted by courts for their wrongdoings.

A host of small protests by environmental groups took place and some are still ongoing. They are responding to local problems of pollution and destruction of natural resources, rivers, forests, mountains. These movements arose spontaneously, because basic human rights were threatened, but paradoxically, they have their opponents – there are government supporters attacking citizens who want clean water, for instance, in Zrenjanin. They, these opponents, don’t need clean drinking water that the city has lacked for 17 years already? Impossible. More likely, they have been instructed to attack the protestors, because every protest is seen as an attack against the government.

In brief: (contami)nation.

Katarina Milićević

North Macedonia: Bulgaria is the New Greece

Short-term memory is a national sport in Macedonia. The government is becoming what it used to fight against. Not so long ago, they organised protests under the slogan: “We deserve better”, but evidently, we have different ideas of who we are and what it is we deserve.

This year, Bulgaria vetoed the start of negotiations

for us to join the European Union. The disappointment was sweeping. This, I hope only temporarily, takes away our European future. No accession funds, no European education, no joining others from Europe, no free movement across borders. The veto is a problem, but more concerning is that this ruling elite, as well as any future elite, will always have someone else to

blame for their own failures, as they had Greece for decades. Now, Bulgaria is the new Greece, albeit much more irrational and counter-European.

Corruption is a constant problem in the country. There are laws, but the authorities usually prosecute only their critics and petty criminals. Relevant domestic and international organisations have registered a worsening on the corruption perception index as a result of insufficient government efforts to counter corruption and conflict of interest in public administration. Those in power keep trying to persuade us that directors and ministers are not corrupt, just their staff. The government would have us believe that it is being transparent by publishing budgets and various documents on official websites. This, of course, does not make them transparent, or available to the public. On the contrary. They remain more difficult to understand and control. This allows the authorities to show what they want and conceal everything else. And the people are falling for this. For instance, there was corruption involved in the government procuring some software. When this came to light, the government said that there must be a reason why it was procured, but that they do not know what that reason is at the moment. So, they did not procure something that is needed, something that can be put to use, but just something that is there, just for show. And that's how it goes.

Disasters have always been and remain the best weapons that parties use to shoot cannonballs depending on what side of the front the enemy is located. The opponent is first blackened and proclaimed an enemy and traitor of state and national interests. The pandemic and fires in combination with poverty have become the best topics for the pre-election campaign.

For years, those currently in government fought the illegal zoning plans that VMRO-DPMNE was adopting – but now they've given in. Only months before the local elections, the mayor of the Centar Municipality approved the construction of one of three new controversial twenty-storey buildings near the Holiday Inn. A new law on illegal construction was similarly adopted and will enable the legalisation of construction in national parks and protected zones around drinking water sources.

The stage has been set for a political reckoning that is to take place at the 2021 local elections. The parties continue to tailor mayoral candidates. The opposition VMRO-DPMNE party has decided to form a coalition with the Albanian opposition, the Alliance for Albanians and Alternativa, while SDSM and DUI will be running for elections together in some municipalities. Though they will not publicly acknowledge this, it is clear that all parties are experiencing internal conflicts over candidates for mayors and municipal councillors. DUI's political trick of an "Albanian prime minister" has been long forgotten, but DUI has a new trick for the local elections. It has decided to become a green party and launch a new policy for environmental protection and quality with its green agenda. Evidently, DUI was not far off the mark before, so now it has decided to try again, seeing as it has nothing to lose.

As opposed to all the other elections to date, it is interesting that in the run-up to these elections, we are seeing canvassing for signatures for many independent lists, and this is encouraging for democracy. People are starting to organise. The politicians in the parties they voted for previously did not deliver, so now people want to take things into their own hands. Almost no one expects these independent lists to take power in the municipalities, but everyone expects them to be a different voice opposing the commands from party headquarters.

As of this school year, first and fourth grade pupils are to start learning in an interesting, dynamic, fun, but also effective way. Though most cannot believe this, a new Concept for primary education was adopted in March after months of debate and reactions. Although there was some public dissatisfaction and even protests against the Concept, the majority of experts supported it. I personally think this is very good news and gives hope to future generations after many ill-suited education reforms. We are finally getting digitalisation in schooling and forward-looking changes that will support scientific learning.

This year, we are marking an anniversary: twenty years of celebrating and criticising the Ohrid Framework Agreement. For Albanians, it represents a good idea and positive compromise, while for most Macedonians, the Framework Agreement was a bad idea from the very start and not something they can

identify with. Instead, they blame it for all the negative developments that followed its signing and probably for any that will follow in the future.

All other events in 2021 can be summed up in one sentence: “Something always lacking and late!” We lack passports and licence plates, pupils lack certificates, the insulin shipment is late, the birth registry is not issuing certificates. Planning is non-existent. We are not making use of the little resources we have. And it is in these conditions that we plan to conduct a population census (which has not been conducted for 20 years).

(Un)Accountability!

Forests take years to grow and only a moment to go up in flames. Once they’re gone, those that should be held accountable keep trying to persuade those of us calling for accountability that we are ignorant, while they are smart, they did their best, like generals after a lost battle, but somehow the forest burnt down. And not just one, but hundreds of forests. At the end, they told us we were all responsible, which means that no one is responsible. When the temperatures exceed 40 degrees and we’re all desperately seeking shade to cool off, in order to protect the forests from fire, the authorities have come up with an ingenious idea – to ban all access to forests.

Lake Ohrid, the oldest lake in Europe and one of the oldest in the world, has been the site of excessive tourism projects and lack of environmental protection, which have made it a candidate for the list of World Natural and Cultural Heritage in Danger. And guess what: everyone, meaning no one, is responsible! This should come as no surprise. Research has shown that 55% of heads of institutions, such as agencies, administrations, enterprises and branches of Ministries, that are appointed by the government have only the minimum competencies in the field in which they work, while 45% have none at all.

Discrimination

The Covid19 pandemic has disrupted normal functioning around the world and restrictive measures have become an integral part of responding to the health crisis. Freedom of movement has been curtailed

and other human rights have been endangered. The virus does not discriminate, but members of marginalised groups, which are traditionally discriminated, are having a much tougher time dealing with the new situation. There is real fear of the virus, but also of draconian sanctions, making everyone give up their rights easily, as well as any control over the state apparatus.

A parallel pandemic of fake news and misleading information poses a serious threat to public health. Fake news is spreading faster than the virus. Citizens often get their information from dubious sources that are not based on scientific data or recommendations, and they are quick to accept information based on lies and conspiracy theories. Although vaccination coverage has been increasing lately, the numbers still show that the country is far behind the European average.

Hate Speech

Nongovernmental organisations have steadily recorded large numbers of hate speech incidents on social networks. Most of the reported incidents concern hate speech based on ethnicity. Negative rhetoric is also used in the context of preparations for the population census, with frequent attacks and insults directed at the ethnic Roma community. There has also been a drastic increase in homophobia, with hate speech used as a means to insult and degrade individuals while also attacking an entire protected group of people based on their sexual orientation and gender identity. Homophobic insults intensified especially in relation to content published for the International Day Against Homophobia, Biphobia and Transphobia. We have already gotten used to every Pride Parade having its counter-parade. Graffiti inciting and spreading hate speech on ethnic and national grounds often “decorate” our streets.

As the world’s democracies stand in solidarity with the humanitarian crisis gripping Afghanistan, our country has, albeit humbly, decided to show solidarity by temporarily hosting civilians fleeing Afghanistan. This led to a rapid increase in hate speech against refugees. It is interesting that the people currently fleeing Afghanistan are not thieves or thugs or religious

fanatics. They are intellectuals, free-thinking and emancipated people. But it seems those are precisely the kind of people we in Macedonia fear the most.

Instead of a Conclusion

We are definitely facing many challenges and problems. The EU, the US and anyone else will have to

come to our aid. Unfortunately, those that have been and remain in power are often criminally incompetent. Only we can remove them from power. If we want to. But by all accounts, they suit us just fine.

Luan Imeri

Montenegro: Montenegro's 6th of October?

It has been almost a year since the "historical" change of government in Montenegro. It seems the new ruling majority is still getting used to being in power. The main features of their one year in office have seen them seemingly disoriented in time and space, uninterested in their own jobs, exhibiting a chronic lack of any concrete plan or strategy, on top of an acute lack of qualified and experienced staff. In parallel, the new opposition does not seem to be doing much better in its oppositional role. The long years of corruptive conformism and all-around arrogance, maintaining the state only by maintaining personal, profitable privileges, lying about caring for society, for all its citizens – all of these seem to blunt the edge of oppositional action.

Taken together, this has resulted in a year where we have not seen the promised social and economic reforms or dialogue on national and religious issues; there has been no inkling of finally doing away with clientelism and employment along party lines, of liberating institutions – especially the judiciary and prosecutors, or of protecting reporters, providing for an independent public broadcaster and making genuine and planned steps to calm tensions and move towards reconciliation. The tremendous energy of change and hope for a more just society, set in motion last year, seems to be slowly turning into another lost opportunity.

The initial enthusiasm and eagerness were quickly replaced by distrust and disbelief of increasing numbers of citizens, culminating in the salvos of insults and accusations between members of the Democratic Front (DF) and Prime Minister Zdravko Krivokapić,

and the maliciousness and political profiteering of the new opposition as it delights in maintaining and fuelling national divisions. It all started unexpectedly early, as soon as the prime minister had announced that the new government would be one of experts, meaning that DF would be left without important offices. Demands to replace the government and the prime minister continued, with even protests being announced for September. The prime minister, on the other hand, kept insisting that he would not resign of his own accord and invited DF parliamentary representatives to initiate a vote of no confidence in the government. Are we in danger of repeating the 6th of October again?

Who is more numerous?

The long awaited and promised population census in Montenegro is slowly turning into a never-ending saga, but it is also, in effect, a prime indicator of a democratically underdeveloped society, a society lacking institutions. The census planned for April 2021 was postponed for the autumn due to the failure to adopt a budget and on account of the COVID-19 pandemic. How did a simple statistical operation – that also happens to be extremely useful for better planning, because it determines the population size and distribution, age structure, real property ownership, level of education, etc. – get so easily transformed into an event to rival the elections, if not outstrip them in importance?

Citizens declaring their national and religious belonging is always the most important issue, because the census is seen not just as a statistical, but also as a

political exercise. Of course, the problem is not these two questions in and of themselves (most EU countries, as well as the US do not gather data on national or religious belonging, or make such questions optional), but the way they are perceived as questions of life and death, with the whole census being reduced to just them. The two questions, nationality and religion, are actually just one: Who is more numerous? Serbs or Montenegrins? While the answer to that question will signal loss and defeat for some, for others it will blow fresh wind into their sails, because the results of the counting have a direct bearing on the “correctness” of political decisions, both past and future. The census is an instrument of counting and measuring. By this distorted logic, those found to be more numerous will have more rights and the power to decide on who else should be given which rights. Essentially, the more numerous will be in power, they will have justification for all political decisions, for they are stronger and better.

Inauguration

Another event that was meant to be ceremonial in nature seriously threatened to turn into a somewhat different, but much more dangerous form of counting and dividing. An event that was merely meant to confirm what had already been decided and known developed into a new opportunity to throw divisions into sharp relief, underscore differences and deepen hatred, looming with much worse consequences, practically threatening to start a civil war.

Bishop Joanikije replaced the departed Amfilohije as Metropolitan of Montenegro and the Littoral. Patriarch Porfirije of the Serb Orthodox Church attended the inauguration ceremony of the new Montenegrin Metropolitan on 5 September in Cetinje. Tensions that had been building for weeks in advance of the inauguration culminated with protests in Cetinje, roads into the city being blocked with barricades, burning tires and clashes with the police. After a blockade that lasted for hours, the police finally broke down the barricades, using tear gas and mechanisation, and opened the roads into the city. The final balance is 60 injured citizens and police officers, but luckily no one sustained serious injuries. The Cetinje monastery, cordoned off with fences and police troops, as well as

heavily armed anti-terrorist units, resembled a fortress more than a monastery.

The protest was attended by the entirety of the Montenegrin opposition, deputies and councillors of the Cetinje Parliament, under the leadership of Milo Đukanović, president of Montenegro. The protest was also marked by attempts of his security advisor and long-time absolute head of security structures Veselin Veljović to sway the police. First, a few days before the inauguration, he published a text calling on police officers to “refuse orders that are contrary to the Montenegrin Constitution”, and then at the protest itself, he attacked the police forces providing security. He was arrested, but then released pending trial. The former head of the police was not going to receive any favours from current police officers.

Metropolitan Joanikije and Patriarch Porfirije were flown in by a helicopter of the Montenegrin Armed Forces to the monastery in Cetinje. The inauguration was conducted in the absence of other guests and officials, and they left the monastery and Cetinje in the same helicopter.

At first glance, everyone was a winner, those who wanted the inauguration to take place, as well as those who wanted their protest to be heard. Ultimately, however, we all lost at Cetinje that day. First, for Milo Đukanović, the president of Montenegro, it is clear from these events and his attempt to destabilise society in a show of power only demonstrated that his power is gone, or at least considerably reduced compared to all these past years. Second, Joanikije, the new Metropolitan of Montenegro, was inaugurated in such a way that it will prevent him from putting into practice what he preaches – overcoming divisions and reconciliation. Montenegro also lost, the Montenegro that is home to both Montenegrins and Serbs, as well as Croats and Bosniaks and Albanians and Muslims, to white and green, and red and black, the colourful and the colourless, the Montenegro that is in such dire need of a different, a better world, one that is “neither the world of Milo Đukanović nor the Serbian world”.

Freedom of Speech

The spiral of threats and attacks on reporters in Montenegro has continued to raise concerns in 2021. Up until September this year, there have been 14

threats and attacks, the most recent being an attack on a TV News crew reporting from the protests against the inauguration of the Metropolitan in Cetinje and an attack on CIN-CG director Milka Tadić-Mijović.

This is nothing new in a society where attacks on reporters have practically been encouraged all these years by the former government which made sure the relevant institutions never took much trouble to find the attackers or those at whose behest they were carried out. Namely, the previous government never got around to ensuring the full professional functioning of institutions needed for a systemic reckoning with abusers and criminals, one that would entail all available legal instruments, including maximum sentences foreseen by law or harsher sanctions for those found guilty of attacking reporters. So far, the new majority has been following in the footsteps of the old majority. There is still no serious response to a host of initiatives from reporters' and other NGOs calling for better quality and more professionalism in protecting reporters. They are probably too busy dealing with nationality and staffing issues.

A new director general was appointed at Radio Television Montenegro, the Montenegrin public broadcaster, one Boris Raonić, a long-time activist who used to head the Civic Alliance of Montenegro. The fact that the new director comes from the NGO world, that he is not a member of any political party, gives hope that the Public Broadcasting Service will finally become worthy of its name, a genuine "service to the public". Namely, up to now, the Montenegrin public broadcaster was mostly known for trimming information, usually with political motives and tendentious decontextualization; denigrating persons and their work; warmongering; deliberate and cynical propagation of divisions; hate speech. The Montenegrin public broadcasting service was independent and free of everything, except for the government, its own fear of the government, the lies and deception that followed, its unprofessionalism, and the conformism of its leading figures. Devoid of investigative reporting, of the truth, or at least of seeking it, the public broadcasting service was also devoid of autonomy, freedom and accountability.

We remain hopeful that the new director will manage to introduce changes that will make the public

broadcasting service a place of constant public debate on all issues of concern for Montenegrin society, where different opinions and ideas will be presented by free and independent people, sending critical messages of togetherness and peace, especially as we face the various crises pressing down on Montenegro these past few years.

A Few Good Things

We should certainly highlight a few good things that happened in the past year. Montenegro's parliament adopted a set of social laws. These introduced children's benefits, free textbooks, increases of the minimum wage and the old age pension, and reduced electricity bills. Additionally, long-standing injustices against the Islamic Community were remedied (its ownership over buildings was restored), the old Prosecutorial Council was disbanded and it seems the time has come for a new one, there are indications that a serious reckoning with organised crime is afoot, etc.

The first same-sex marriage was concluded in Montenegro after the Law on Life Partnership entered into force on 15 July this year. Although the Law itself has many shortcomings, including in terms of the requirements for its full application, its adoption and the first marriage concluded under it mean that more concrete legal protections and a more equal and secure existence will finally be provided to LGBTQ persons.

Montenegro's parliament adopted the Resolution on Srebrenica "condemning the Srebrenica genocide" and "recognising that genocide was committed on European soil after the Second World War with the killing of over 8000 Bosniak civilians". The Resolution also "condemns attempts to ascribe responsibility or blame for genocide, crimes against humanity or other crimes to the Serb, Bosniak, Croat or any other people, because responsibility can only be individual, and no people can be characterised as genocidal or criminal". The document supports proclaiming 11 July Srebrenica Memorial Day in memory of the victims of Srebrenica, and state institutions are called upon to "conduct investigations and prosecute those accused of the genocide in Srebrenica, war crimes and crimes against humanity". According to one of the proposers of the Resolution, Ervin Ibrahimović, a deputy from the Bosniak Party, the document aims to democratise

Montenegrin society and achieve reconciliation in the region, to prohibit public denial of the Srebrenica genocide and carry the message that the Resolution is not directed against any single people. The question remains of why the Resolution is only now being proposed, as if there hadn't been time for it while his party was sharing power with DPS.

In parallel with the adoption of the resolution, the majority of Montenegrin MPs also supported the initiative of Prime Minister Zdravko Krivokapić to replace the Minister of Justice, Human Rights and Minority Rights Vladimir Leposavić. The prime minister initiated his replacement after the parliament session where the now already former minister of justice said he was "prepared to recognise that what happened in Srebrenica was genocide once this is unequivocally determined". Part of the ruling coalition that was against replacing Leposavić is now boycotting parliament. A rare but correct action of Prime Minister Krivokapić who expressed readiness to take responsibility for his own and the actions of the government he leads, which is not something we are used to seeing often.

Ossified Divisions

While some claim that it is finally time to organise a census without fear, where for the first time in history people will have the right to freely declare their belonging without assimilationist pressures by either the communists or the Montenegrins, others see the census as an opportunity for spreading the Serbian world in Montenegro by raising the vampires of policies from the 1990s; and while some see the inauguration of the Metropolitan as a natural part of the right to freedom of religion, supported by more than 90% of the Christian Orthodox population, others

see it as an occupation of Montenegro in the name of Greater Serbia, so while some see the mission of the Metropolitanate of Montenegro and the Littoral as spiritual and Christian, others see it as political, ideological and assimilationist; and while some see the Srebrenica Resolution as an opportunity for reconciliation and continuing coexistence, others see it as stigmatising and threatening.

As long as things continue like this, we will not be rid of the old mantra whereby the others are fascists in our antifascist eyes, the others are traitors to our patriotic hearts, the others are occupation forces of our dignity and freedom, the others remain the bad guys to our good guys, the others remain forever othered and remote.

As long as this lasts, corrupt officials of the defeated or the new regime will continue to hold important high offices, and their corruption and nepotism, under the guise of "effectiveness", will still be seen as a value and not the plague that it is. And as long as things continue like this, divisions along national and religious fault lines will continue to increase in prominence, tensions in society will be on the brink of breaking it apart, the judiciary and prosecutors will remain far from independent, civil unrest will be more imminent than ever, the social and economic situation will remain dismal, the situation in healthcare deeply concerning despite the sacrifice of healthcare workers, and on and on it goes.

It seems like everything is stagnating, locked in ice, unchanging, inactive. Only the roles have changed, but Montenegro remains a never-ending political crisis, ossified and confined by self-imposed restrictions and divisions.

Radomir Radević

In memoriam

Our associates, war veterans Novica Kostić from Vlasotince, Velimir Lima Stojanović from Niš and Marko Čolić from Daruvar passed away this year. We are grateful to them for their long-standing cooperation and commitment to peacebuilding in the former Yugoslavia.

We were also sad to learn of the death of Sinan Alić, president of the Truth, Justice, Reconciliation Foundation from Tuzla.

A letter from Nenad Vukosavljević was read at the funeral of Novica Kostić:

They say, never speak ill of the dead, but I am not much for social mores, so don't think I'm sugar-coating any of this.

Novica was a man who always put others before himself. When asked about how he survived the war, being wounded and living with the consequences, he always talked about being sorry for bringing misfortune to his loved ones. The troubles, suffering and pain that he lived with, he bore them all stoically, happy to be alive, because as long as he was alive, he could help others.

He would not let fatigue or illness dictate his life, he could not bear injustice and fought against it to his last breath.

When I first visited him at his home, we were interrupted by the local garbage collectors who had come to say hello, and he explained that he often invited them in for coffee. His heart went out to them and he offered support and understanding because he knew they were among the most vulnerable people.

When I hear the phrase "wouldn't hurt a fly", I think of Novica.

It seems unreal that he was truly such a man with his whole heart and soul. This is not some "embellished" story we tell about those no longer with us, but a genuine account of what he was like. He was my shining light to follow and will remain my beacon.

Were he to see us now, he would be sorry to see us crying.

I will miss him immensely, but I am comforted by the thought that his soul has found peace.

I have been honoured to be his friend, he has enriched my life and made this world a better place to live.

I love you, Novica.

*Nenad Vukosavljević
12 December 2020 in Belgrade*

