

Godišnji izvještaj Annual Report

Centar za nenasilnu akciju
Centre for Nonviolent Action
Sarajevo | Beograd

2022

GODINA
25
YEARS



Godišnji izvještaj
Annual report

2022



Centar za nenasilnu akciju
Centre for Nonviolent Action
Sarajevo | Beograd

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Godišnji izvještaj 2022.
Annual Report 2022

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

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



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Uvod

Drage prijateljice, dragi prijatelji,

Iako se situacija značajno popravila, pandemija je i krajem 2021. i tokom 2022. godine uticala na naš rad. Neke od naših aktivnosti je odlagala, neke redukovala i izmijenila, prije svega u pogledu onemogućavanja fizičkog susreta sa ljudima, te nas prinudila da i u ovom periodu manji dio njih realizujemo u on line prostoru. Sa odlaganjem i redukovanjem aktivnosti, sa sprječavanjem kretanja i sretanja ljudi, kao da su se i procesi dalje demokratizacije i uvažavanja ljudskih prava na našim prostorima redukovali, odlagali, zabranjivali. To nas, kao niti prethodnih godina, nije obeshrabrilo, već jače uvjerilo u ispravnost i neophodnost nastavka borbe za izgradnju mira na ovim prostorima.

Obilježavanje neobilježenih mjesta stradanja (ONMS) i rad sa ratnim veteranima predstavljali su najveći dio naših aktivnosti i u toku ovog perioda.

U decembru/prosincu 2021. godine organizovali smo Komemorativni skup: Sjećanje na Novicu Kostića, u znak sjećanja na našeg dugogodišnjeg saradnika i prijatelja, mirovnog aktivistu i veterana, preminulog u decembru 2020. godine. Tom prilikom smo u Vlasotincu, gradiću na jugu Srbije, položili cvijeće na njegov grob, održali komemorativni skup, te zajedno sa tridesetak ratnih veterana i mirovnih aktivista iz regiona, uz podršku porodice i sa potpisima podrške preko 150 sugrađana/ki, podnijeli inicijativu za promjenu naziva ulice u kojoj je stanovao u Ulicu Novice Kostića. I dalje, nakon devet mjeseci, sa nadom očekujemo odgovor nadležnih institucija.

Tokom januara/siječnja 2022. prisustvovali smo komemoracijama u Skelanima, opština Srebrenica, i u

Tarčinu kod Hadžića u Bosni i Hercegovini. Zajedničku posjetu Stupnom Dolu kod Vareša i Trusini kod Konjica skupa sa članovima/cama porodica stradalih sa obje strane, organizovali smo u maju/svibnju 2022. Bili smo i treći put za redom, ovog puta sa većom grupom ratnih veterana, na komemoraciji u Vitezu, Bosna i Hercegovina, u junu/lipnju 2022. Na kraju smo u Blagaju kod Mostara, Bosna i Hercegovina, početkom juna/lipnja 2022. organizovali susret na kojem smo sa ratnim veteranima razgovarali i promišljali o dosadašnjim rezultatima, izazovima i preprekama, kao i budućim akcijama i planovima.

Organizovali smo i dvije akcije obilježavanja neobilježenih mjesta stradanja, u novembru 2021. sedamnaestu po redu, kada smo obišli i obilježili lokacije u Trnovu, Hadžićima i Bugojnu, i osamnaestu u februaru 2022. na teritoriji Brčko distrikta BiH. Detaljnije o svim akcijama možete čitati i na ONMS sajtu onms.nenasilje.org.

Uspjeli smo da održimo jednu aktivnost iz našeg mirovnog obrazovanja i to šesti po redu „Mir-Paqe-Mир“ trening izgradnje mira, koji prethodne godine zbog epidemiološke situacije nismo mogli organizovati. U planu je da se do kraja 2022. godine realizuje i naš Osnovni trening iz izgradnje mira.

Napokon smo uspjeli da organizujemo niz promocija Biber 03 zbirke, koje smo zbog pandemije korona virusa morali da odložimo. Promocijama smo pridružili i krajem septembra/rujna 2021. godine publikovanu [Biber 04 zbirku](#). Od septembra/rujna 2021. do marta/ožujka 2022. Biber je predstavljen publici u 8 gradova: Šibeniku, Prijedoru, Podgorici, Novom Sadu, Bugojnu, Bujanovcu, Prištini i Prizrenu.

Djeliće atmosfere sa nekih od promocija možete poslušati na našem podcastu *Da razumemo drugog onako kako on razume sebe*, dok ako vam treba dodatni nagovor da pošaljete priču na Biber konkurs poslušajte i podcast *Ako razmišljate da li da napišete priču za Biber*. Raspisan je i zatvoren peti Biber konkurs, odštampanu zbirku kratkih priča Biber 05 očekujemo u februaru 2023. godine. Šest priča iz zbirke Biber 04 dobilo je i svoja **audio izdanja**, a sve o Biberu možete da pratite na sajtu biber.nenasilje.org.

Realizovali smo krajem marta/ožujka - početkom aprila 2022. godine u Bosni i Hercegovini susret u okviru projekta „Razmena o izgradnji mira Južna Azija – Zapadni Balkan“. Susret se sastojao od dva dijela, studijskog puta u Mostar i radionica u Sarajevu.

Program je realizovan u saradnji sa **Bread for the World**.

Uz doprinos naših saradnika i prijatelja Luana Imerija (Severna Makedonija), Qerima Ondoziya (Kosovo) i Dalmira Miškovića (Hrvatska) članovi/ce CNA tima su pisali/e o političko-društvenim kontekstima u državama u kojima živimo i radimo.

O svemu pobrojanom možete čitati u ovom izveštaju, a detaljnije i na našim sajtovima nenasilje.org; onms.nenasilje.org; biber.nenasilje.org

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

CNA tim
rujan/septembar 2022

Naše stranice na internetu:



nenasilje.org



onms.nenasilje.org



kulturasjecanja.org



biber.nenasilje.org



handbook.nenasilje.org



rad s ratnim veteranima

Akcije i komemoracije:

- **Sećanje na Novicu Kostića**, Vlasotince, Srbija, 8. decembar/prosinac 2021.
- **Komemoracija u Skelanima**, BiH, 16. januar/sjećanj 2022.
- **Komemoracija Silos u Tarčinu kod Hadžića**, 27. januar/sjećanj 2022.
- **Veteranska posjeta, Trusina – Stupni do**, Bosna i Hercegovina, 23-25. maj/svibanj 2022.
- **Veteranski retreat**, Blagaj, Bosna i Hercegovina, 4-10. jun/lipanj 2022.
- **Komemoracija, Vitez**, Bosna i Hercegovina, 10.jun/lipanj 2022.

Rad sa ratnim veteranima: Plodna godina

Postoje momenti kada se osjećanja tako miješaju da je nemoguće odrediti koje preovladava. Jedan takav momenat bio je i krajem 2021. kada se grupa ratnih veterana iz BiH, Hrvatske i Srbije, uz mirovne aktiviste, okupila u Vlasotincu, malom gradu na jugu Srbije. Došli smo da odamo počast prijatelju i dugogodišnjem saradniku Novicu Kostiću koji je preminuo godinu dana ranije, ali smo, uslijed pandemije, tek na prvu godišnjicu uspjeli da organiziramo posjetu njegovom gradu, održimo komemoraciju i predložimo gradskim vlastima da jednu ulicu u Novičinom Vlasotincu nazovu po njemu. Smrt je po sebi tužan povod da se okupimo, ali je sjećanje na Novicu, jednog istinskog mirotvorca i bivšeg borca, bilo i ostaje protkano i ponosom i srećom da smo stigli da upoznamo tu dobru južnjačku dušu. Novica nas je i u smrti, kako je to radio i za života, uspio okupiti, sjединiti i dati nam elana i motiva da radimo zajedno. Vlasti još uvijek nisu privedle kraju proceduru imenovanja ulice po Novicu, a ne možemo sa sigurnošću znati ni da li će to učiniti. Mi znamo da bi trebalo i da se trudimo podsjetiti ih da to učine.

Na samom početku 2022. godine prisustvovali smo komemoraciji ubijenima u Skelanima kod Srebrenice. Srpske žrtve na ovom području osjećaju se zapostavljeno i često se može čuti prigovor kako drugima nije stalo da odaju počast srpskim žrtvama na ovom području te da je isključivi fokus na bošnjačkim žrtvama genocida u Srebrenici iz jula 1995. Pa ipak, poziv da drugi dođu i odaju počast žrtvama je rijedak ili

ga opće nema, a naša nastojanja da dođemo u Skelane trajala su više godina. Sa manjom grupom smo istoj komemoraciji prisustvovali i 2020. godine nastojeći otvoriti put za zvanični dolazak grupe ratnih veterana i mirovnih aktivista. Zahvaljujući upoznavanju lokalnih aktera i predstavljanju ideje zašto dolazimo i kakvu poruku želimo poslati, uspjeli smo zadobiti dovoljno povjerenja da budemo dobrodošli. Svaki rat iza sebe ostavlja tegobu sa kojom se teško nositi u procesu izgradnje mira, ali imam osjećaj da nigdje nije tolika tegoba kao na području istočne Bosne. Masovni zločini i genocid u ratu, negiranje i relativiziranje zločina, viktimizacija zajednica, dodatno komplikuje potpuni izostanak sjećanja koje bi prelazilo etničke granice. Dolaskom na ovu komemoraciju, kao i odlaskom u memorijalni centar Potočari 2012. ili odlaskom na bilo koju drugu komemoraciju nastojali smo pokazati da je zajedničko sjećanje na žrtve moguće, da zajednički možemo tražiti puteve ka takvom sjećanju i da je svaki strah od takvog puta, iako razumljiv, moguće prevazići.

U februaru 2022. prisustvovali smo komemoraciji povodom zatvaranja logora Silos u Tarčinu na području općine Hadžići koji se nalaze u blizini Sarajeva. Iako je za ovaj zločin pred Sudom BiH procesuirano više

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



pripadnika ARBiH i MUP-a RBiH, mjesto zatočenja, kao i tolika druga širom BiH, nije obilježeno, a i sama komemoracija se počela održavati tek od prošle godine. U sklopu obilježavanja neobilježenih mjesta stradanja već ranije smo Silos u Tarčinu obilježili, a dolazak na komemoraciju posebno je dobro primljen među žrtvama i njihovim bližnjim. Ako smo u Skelanima dočekani sa dobrodošlicom ali spuštenih ruku, na komemoraciji u Hadžićima smo dočekani raširenih ruku i kao istinska podrška žrtvama. Posebno nam je važno što je ova komemoracija bila prilika da ostvarimo bliže kontakte sa udruženjima žrtava sa područja Sarajevsko-romanijske regije Republike Srpske kao i sa krovnim udruženjem bivših zatočenika iz Republike Srpske. Iako imaju toliko toga zajedničkog, od proživljenih ratnih strahota, zatočeničkog iskustva i jednako neriješenog pravnog statusa nakon rata, udruženja ratnih zatočenika, podijeljena po etničkoj liniji, sarađuju malo ili nikako, posebno u dijelu kulture sjećanja. Kako je u našoj grupi ratnih veterana bilo i onih koji su također bili zatočenici, bila je ovo prilika, iako nije istaknuta u prvom planu, da bivši zatočenici sa različitih strana zajednički odaju počast svojim

sapatnicima. Nadamo se da ćemo upravo na ovom planu napraviti dalji iskorak u narednom periodu.

Zajednička posjeta Stupnom Dolu kod Vareša i Trusini kod Konjica sigurno je bila najvažnije postignuće u radu sa veteranima u ovoj godini. Naime, sa grupom ratnih veterana već ranije smo bili i u Trsuini (2018) i u Stupnom Dolu (2019). Ostali smo u stalnom kontaktu sa predstavnicima udruženja žrtava iz ova dva mjesta gdje su u istoj godini, u razmaku od nekoliko mjeseci, ubijeno više desetina hrvatskih (Trusina) i bošnjačkih (Stupni Do) civila. U tim kontaktima i saradnji koja traje već nekoliko godina rodila se ideja da zajednički posjetimo oba mjesta i da nam se tom prilikom pridruže i predstavnici udruženja žrtava iz oba mjesta. Taj prelazak preko etničkih granica i građenje zajedničkog sjećanja je, kao što smo više puta pomenuli, put kojim ne samo da se izbjegava već se na svaki način nastoji blokirati. Zadržati sjećanje isključivim u svakom pogledu važan je napor političkih i drugih elita koje grade dominantne politike sjećanja koju opet koriste za sijanje straha i nastavak jedne vrste hladnog rata u bosanskohercegovačkom društvu koji se, po potrebi, može i podgrijati. Zato smo neizmjereno sretni da smo



upoznali Emira i Dragicu, Mustafu i Ceciliju, i mnoge druge ljude koji su bili spremni da naprave iskorak. Posebno nam znači kada znamo da se toliko divnih i hrabrih ljudi međusobno upoznalo kroz naš rad. Uvjereni da čine ispravnu stvar za sebe, svoju djecu, širu zajednicu, pokazali su nam koliko pojedinci ipak mogu. Osim iskoraka na planu zajedničke posjete različitim mjestima stradanja i uvezivanja različitih udruženja žrtava, posjeta Trusini i Stupnom Dolu bila je iskorak i po tome što smo, pored ratnih veterana iz BiH, Hrvatske i Srbije, pozvali da nam se pridruže i novinari i drugi aktivisti.

Komemoraciji ubijenoj djeci u Vitezu ove godine smo prisustvovali sa mješovitom grupom ratnih veterana, njih tridesetak. Na ovu komemoraciju odlazimo već treću godinu zaredom, prvo samo nas troje iz CNA tima, potom sa jednom manjom grupom od 4-5 ratnih veterana i konačno ove godine sa jednom većom grupom. Iako smo od prve godine primljeni tako srdačno od samih porodica ubijene djece, župnika i šire zajednice, trebalo nam je vrijeme da organiziramo odlazak veće grupe. Nije to bilo samo pitanje pandemije, organizacijskih izazova, već i želje da ni na koji način ne ugrozimo jedno istinski čisto sjećanje na ubijenu djecu, očišćeno od svakog politikanstva koje je toliko često baš na takvim komemoracijama.

Otvorenog srca i ruku kojima smo dočekivani svaki put od porodica, nevinost stradale djece, napori porodica da sjećanje zaštite od svake zloupotrebe prosto su nas obavezivali na to. Bilo je posebno pratiti i kako ova komemoracija, do prije godinu ili dvije vrlo malo poznata van Viteza, postaje ipak vidljiva. Opet, značajno je i to što ne postoji, ili i ako postoji onda je marginalno, negiranje ili relativiziranje ovog zločina. Sada je godišnjica stradanja osmero hrvatske djece u Vitezu ipak ispraćena u svim medijima, a negiranje ili relativiziranje ovog stradanja nailazi na opću osudu. To je iskorak, svakako da nevinost dječijih života ljude lakše povezuje, ali ostaje pitanje kako da zaživi takav model odnosa prema svim žrtvama.

Na kraju, sredinom 2022. uspjeli smo odvojiti vrijeme da zajednički sa grupom ratnih veterana promišljamo o urađenom, trenutnim izazovima i budućim planovima. Ova potreba da se razgovara i promišlja često se javi unutar grupe veterana tokom različitih aktivnosti, ali je manjak vremena često prepreka da se pitanja, nedoumice i ideje koje se jave u tim prilikama detaljnije razrade. Pet dana u Blagaju kod Mostara bila je upravo prilika za takve osvrte i promišljanja.

Nedžad Novalić

Zajednička posjeta i odavanje počasti stradalima u Trusini i Stupnom Dolu

Grupa mirovnih aktivista i ratnih veterana, bivših pripadnika Armije RBiH, Hrvatskog vijeća obrane (HVO), Hrvatske vojske (HV), Vojske Republike Srpske (VRS) i Vojske Jugoslavije (VJ), zajedno sa članovima porodica stradalih, obišli su mjesta stradanja u Trusini i Stupnom Dolu i polaganjem cvijeća na oba spomenika odali počast žrtvama.

Prvi put su predstavnici dvije zajednice i članovi porodica žrtava zajedno obišli oba spomenika i odali poštu stradalima na obje strane.

Posjeta Trusini i Stupnom Dolu realizovana je u **periodu od 23-25. maja/svibnja 2022. godine**. Prilikom posjete ovim lokalitetima, skoro tri decenije nakon

njihovog stradanja, razgovaralo se sa povratnicima, upriličeni su susreti sa lokalnim zvaničnicima i vjerskim predstavnicima iz oba mjesta; upućena je podrška udruženjima i članovima porodica stradalih iz oba mjesta, posebno njihovoj međusobnoj saradnji.

„Želim prije svega da se zahvalim svima koji su smogli snage i hrabrosti da dođu, da odaju počast poginulima u Trusini. Iako je prošlo mnogo godina od 1993. kada se zločin dogodio mi i dalje treba da izvučemo pouku da rat nije donio nikome dobro, da je donio samo tugu i bol i da nam bude opomena da se više nigdje i nikada ne dogodi ni jedan zločin,“ izjavila je Dragica Tomić predsjednica Udruge poginulih, umrlih



i nestalih hrvatskih branitelja u Domovinskom ratu Konjic

U utorak, 24. 5. 2022. u mjestu Trusina - Općina Konjic upriličen je obilazak i polaganje cvijeća na spomen obilježje stradalima, te organizovan obilazak mjesnog groblja i crkve. U Trusini, koja se nalazi 20-ak kilometara od Konjica, 16. aprila 1993. u napadu Armije RBiH ubijeno je, prema podacima Suda Bosne i Hercegovine, 19 civila i trojica zarobljenih pripadnika HVO-a. Za ovaj ratni zločin pred Sudom Bosne i Hercegovine osuđeno je više osoba, a suđenje jednom od optuženih je u toku.

„Nalazimo se u selu Trusina, mjestu gdje se ja osjećam veoma poraženim iz razloga što su ovdje zločin počinili pripadnici vojske kojoj sam i ja pripadao. Dodatno mi je teško jer su u tim jedinicama bili ljudi iz mog Prijedora, pa na taj način osjećam povezanost sa tim ljudima koji su iz mog zavičaja. Osjećam time jače i poraz identiteta koji i ja nosim u sebi.“ Rekao je Edin Ramulić, veteran ARBiH iz Prijedora.

U srijedu, 25. 5. 2022. u mjestu Stupni Do položeno je cvijeće na spomenik stradalima, te upriličen obilazak

mjesnog mezarja/groblja i džamije. U Stupnom Dolu, koji se nalazi pet kilometara od Vareša, 23. oktobra 1993. u napadu jedinica HVO-a ubijeno je (prema podacima Haškog tribunala u predmetu protiv Ivica Rajića) 32 civila, među kojima je bilo i petero djece. Za ovaj ratni zločin osuđeno je više osoba.

„Već duži niz godina mi veterani različitih vojski pokušavamo zajedno odati počast na mjestima gdje su stradali nedužni civili i uvijek se jako teško osjećam na ovim mjestima, teško mi je čak i pričati. Posebno na mjestima gdje su zločin napravili pripadnici mog naroda. Ovim akcijama pokušavamo prije svega poslati poruku pomirenja, ali pokušavamo i tražiti istinu koja se i dan danas krije. Kao bivši pripadnici vojski imamo posebnu odgovornost prema našoj djeci i zato tražimo pomirenje među ljudima. Mislim da je to naš put,“ izjavio je Ivo Anđelović, veteran HVO-a

„Danas smo u Stupnom Dolu u okviru aktivnosti za mir. Rado sam se odazvao i uvijek ću se odazivati pozivu da se pridružim aktivnostima obilaska ovakvih mjesta, da se ne zaboravi i da se na neki način pokuša kazati ljudima da je sve ovo bilo uzalud. Mir nam

treba, treba mi dostojanstvo čovjeka, da mogu otići u Zagreb, Beograd, Sarajevo kao svojoj kući. Nadam se da će ovakve inicijative dati neke rezultate, da ćemo omasoviti ove stvari i da će ovaj rad biti prepoznat kao važan i značajan“ izjavio je Mustafa Kamenjaš, član porodice stradalih iz Stupnog Dola i ratni veteran ARBiH.

Mirovni aktivisti i aktivistkinje, te ratni veterani iz regije u organizaciji Centra za nenasilnu akciju dosada su prisustvovali komemoracijama u BiH u Gornjem Vakufu, na Koti 715 kod Zavidovića, Stogu kod Vozuće, Novom Gradu/Bosanskom Novom, Sanskom Mostu (Hrastova glavica), Sijekovcu kod Broda, Laništima kod Brčkog, Trusini kod Konjica, Ahmićima kod Viteza, Grabovici, Uborku i Sutini kod Mostara, Briševu i Zecovima kod Prijedora, Korićanskim stijenama, Stupnom Dolu kod Vareša, Boderištu kod Brčkog, mostu na Savi u Brčkom, Bradini kod Konjica, Skelanima kod Srebrenice, Silos u Tarčinu kod Hadžića, Srbiji u Grdeličkoj klisuri kod Leskovca, Varvarinu kod Kruševca, Aleksincu, te u Hrvatskoj u Pakracu, Varivodama i Gošiću kod Knina.

„Potrebno je da se posjećujemo, da izađemo izvan

etničkih barijera koje nas omeđuju i sputavaju. Nešto najnormalnije bi trebalo biti da se iskaže poštovanje prema svim žrtvama i osude zločini počinjeni u bilo čije ime, jer radi se o ljudima, o zajednicama koje su zauvijek obilježene tom nesrećom. Obilazeći mjesta stradanja i upoznajući ljude iz tih zajednica, bilo da se radi o porodicama žrtava, političkim i vjerskim predstavnicima... vi od njih ne možete čuti da se nečija žrtva smatra vrijednijom od druge. Svi žele da se svačija žrtva prizna i uvaži, i pokazuje se razumijevanje i za druge koji su stradali. Pa gdje smo onda zapeli? Zašto je prepušteno nevladinom sektoru da organizuje susrete koji doprinose izgradnji povjerenja među zajednicama, zašto nema državne strategije za izgradnju mira i trasiranju puta ka pomirenju? Do kada će se mržnja koristiti za generiranje političkih poena? Nama je potrebno stabilno društvo temeljeno na uvažavanju i solidarnosti. Nemamo više vremena za svađe. Mi pokušavamo na ovaj način da trasiramo put ka takvom pravednijem društvu,“ kazao je Amer Delić, ratni veteran Armije RBiH i član Centra za nenasilnu akciju.





obilježavanje neobilježenih
mesta stradanja

Akcije:

- 17 ONMS akcija, Trnovo, Hadžići, Bugojno, novembar 2021.

Obilježena mjesta stradanja:

Hotel Treskavica, Trnovo

Hotel Mrazište, Igman, Hadžići

Motel Akvarijum, Bugojno

Nekadašnja Osnovna škola Vojin Paleksić, Bugojno

Salon namještaja Slavonija, Bugojno

Nekadašnja BH Banka, Bugojno

Kloster časnih sestara - Marksistički centar, Bugojno

Gimnazija Bugojno, Bugojno

- 18 ONMS akcija, Brčko, februar 2022.

Obilježena mjesta stradanja:

Osnovna škola u Gornjem Rahiću, Brčko

Bivši objekt hladnjače Rasadnik u Okrajcima, Brčko

Nekadašnja Sportska dvorana Partizan, Brčko

Nekadašnje Autobusko preduzeće Laser, Brčko

Nekadašnji Hotel Posavina, Brčko

Stanica javne bezbjednosti, Brčko

Lokacija stradanja dva dječaka u gradskom naselju Novo Brčko, Brčko

- Podkast „Kako učiti o prošlosti“



U proteklih godinu dana, tim inicijative *Obilježavanje neobilježenih mjesta stradanja* sproveo je dvije akcije na terenu. U novembru 2021. posjetili smo lokacije na području Trnova, Hadžića i Bugojna te u februaru 2022. na području Brčko Distrikta.

Ono što je posebno značajno za prvu od navedenih akcija jeste da su nam se pridružili i članovi Balkanske istraživačke mreže (BIRN) i zajedno sa nama obišli lokacije te snimili video materijal, koji su objavili u vlastitoj produkciji u okviru TV Justice serijala. **Reportažu** su prenijeli brojni tv emiteri u BiH i sigurno je da će doprinijeti tome da šira javnost bude upoznata o našim aktivnostima ali i da dobiju jasniju sliku o tome ko smo i zašto ovo radimo. Reportažu možete pogledati na stranici detektor.ba, TV Justice serijal, epizoda 132: *Označavanjem neobilježenih mjesta stradanja aktivisti ih čuvaju od zaborava*.

Veoma važno i vrijedno je istaknuti da smo u obje akcije imali priliku sarađivati sa izuzetnim ljudima. Ovdje moram napomenuti da su aktivnosti koje je Centar za nenasilnu akciju sprovodio na ovim područjima ranijih godina, u mnogome doprinijele da imamo bazu potencijalnih saradnika. Saradnja sa udruženjima koje okupljaju porodice žrtava, bivše logoraše i ratne veterane, organizacija izložbi i promocija, posjete stratištima i komemoracijama, omogućile su nam da ove akcije sprovedemo zajedno sa akterima i svjedocima ratnih događaja.

Dobili smo širu sliku o tome kakva se kultura sjećanja njeguje u ovim zajednicama, saznali na kakve prepreke nailaze u procesima memorizacije i naučili da nije preduslov da spomen obilježje bude postavljeno i u slučaju da se radi o vlastitim žrtvama u većinskoj zajednici.

U Bugojno i **Brčko** smo se vratili nakon nekoliko godina i obilježili značajan broj novih lokacija, čiji broj, nažalost, i nije konačan. Važno je spomenuti da smo jedan lokalitet u Brčkom obilježili nakon obraćanja na našoj Facebook stranici, u inbox smo dobili poruku sa prijedlogom, opisom konteksta i kontakt sa članovima porodice stradalog, što nam je omogućilo da sprovedemo akciju na terenu.

Primjetno je da je porastao broj ljudi koji komuniciraju sa nama putem društvenih mreža. Također, porastao je i interes novinara, istraživača i eksperata koji nas kontaktiraju, koriste resurse sa naše web stranice i daju nam podršku, što nam svakako daje poticaj da nastavimo dalje.

Video prilog sa akcije sprovedene na području Brčkog možete pogledati na: youtu.be/zvZMYPAJ3il

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

Borba protiv zaborava i ravnodušnosti

Akciju obilježavanja neobilježenih mjesta stradanja (ONMS), osamnaestu po redu, sproveli smo tokom februara 2022. na teritoriji Brčko distrikta BiH.

Obilježili smo sedam lokacija: nekadašnja **Sportska dvorana Partizan**, nekadašnji **Hotel Posavina**, objekat **Stanice javne bezbjednosti (SJB)**, **mjesto stradanja dva dječaka u gradskom naselju Novo Brčko**, **Osnovna škola u Gornjem Rahiću**, bivši objekat **hladnjače Rasadnik u Okrajcima** i nekadašnje **Autobusko preduzeće Laser**. Kada se ovima dodaju iz prethodne ONMS akcije obilježene lokacije: **skladište građevinskog materijala u Gornjem Zoviku**, **Osnovna**

škola Boće i bivša **kasarna JNA**, kao i ostala mjesta stradanja u Brčkom: Savski most, logor Luka, Hadži-Pašina džamija, Bolnica u Brčkom ... dobija se dugačak, na žalost ne i konačan niz mjesta stradanja u Brčkom.

Niz koji je predugačak za čitavu jednu vječnost, a kamoli za par godina; prevelik za čitavu jednu planetu, a kamoli za jedan mali bosanski grad. Ako slijedeći Agambena znamo da je „logor mjesto u kojem je realizovana najapsolutnija *conditio inhumana* (neljudska situacija) koja je ikada postojala na zemlji, to je ono što na kraju vrijedi kako za žrtve tako i za potomke“, onda bismo za Brčko, tih ratnih godina



1992-1995, mogli reći da je bilo upravo to, (ne)mjesto, grad-logor.

„Ratni dani u Brčkom su bili veoma teški, naročito zatočenje mnogih Bošnjaka i Hrvata u ovom gradu i to na više lokacija. Bilo je mnogo zlostavljanja, silovanja, ubistava kroz sve te objekte zatočenja ljudi. Mislim da je bilo oko 15 takvih objekata širom Brčkog, koja su kasnije sva zatvorena, a većina ljudi prebačena u logor Luka. Danas je samo Luka obilježena kao mjesto stradanja, dok sva ta ostala mjesta nisu,“ kazao je Amir Didić, bivši logoraš i predsjednik Udruženja logoraša iz Brčkog, koji nam se pridružio prilikom obilježavanja mjesta stradanja.

Selektivan pristup žrtvama, uglavnom baziran na njihovoj nacionalnoj pripadnosti ili češće na nacionalnoj pripadnosti počinilaca zločina, potpomognut strahom ili sramotom, duboko nepravdan i sputavajući, karakterističan je i za Brčko. Na desetine je mjesta stradanja u gradu, o kojima, uglavnom neobilježenim, se ili ne zna ili zna, ali se ne govori. Zavjet ćutnje. Selektivnost i nepravda time postaju dublje, bol veća, a povjerenje i pomirenje sve udaljeniji. Želeći da, prije svega, pošaljemo poruke solidarnosti i empatišemo

sa žrtvama i porodicama žrtava, ONMS akcijama osvještujemo ljude iz lokalnih zajednica o postojanju takvih mjesta, mjesta na kojima su stradale njihove komšije, sugrađani, sa ciljem da ni ta mjesta, ni ti događaji, ni ti ljudi ne budu prepušteni zaboravu.

Tim povodom tokom ove ONMS akcije pridružila nam se i novinarka i urednica portala E-trafika, Vanja Stokić, čije utiske iz Brčkog možete pročitati na etrafika.net pod naslovom *Sjećanje je ujedno i opomena*.

Vanja, iako Brčanka, za neke od lokacija koje smo obilježili je prvi put čula. Jedno od njih, sportska dvorana Partizan u kojoj je kao djevojčica trenirala odbojku, tokom maja/svibnja 1992. bila je mjesto zatočenja za oko 50 osoba bošnjačke i hrvatske nacionalnosti sa područja Brčkog. Pet ljudi je ubijeno. Dvorana Partizan se i danas koristi kao sportski objekat. Iako se svaki godine na datum obilježavanja stradanja polaže cvijeće, objekat nema trajni memorijal.

Vanja je, uostalom kao i većina stanovnika/ca Brčkog, prvi put čula i za mjesto stradanja dva dječaka u gradskom naselju Novo Brčko. Tokom igre, ispred zgrade u kojoj su stanovali, od rakete ispaljene iz višecjevnog bacača sa druge strane Save koja je pala

na parkić, stradali su Nenad Stolić i Siniša Ješić, dječaci od 12 i 14 godina. Za razliku od većine lokacija do kojih smo dolazili na osnovu sudskih dokumenata, procesa, presuda itd. Ovog puta je poziv da se lokacija posjeti i obilježi došao od strane građana.

„Do ove lokacije smo došli tako što su nam građani javili šta se desilo. Na našu stranicu je pisao prijatelj porodice poginulog dječaka. Kontaktirali smo brata poginulog dječaka i on nam je ispričao šta se desilo. Ovim putem želimo ohrabriti i ostale građane da nam se jave jer smo svjesni da u Bosni i Hercegovini postoje stotine ovakvih ili sličnih lokacija koje nisu našle mjesta u postojećoj kulturi sjećanja. Trebalo bi uputiti inicijativu nadležnim organima da se ovo mjesto obilježi i da se postavi neki memorijal, kao znak podsjećanja“ riječi su mirovnog aktiviste i člana ONMS tima Amera Delića.

Postavljanje memorijala, sjećanje kao dokaz da žrtva nije zaboravljena itekako znači porodicama stradalih dječaka, kojima ovaj čin iako slaba, jeste i utjeha i podrška.

„Znači itekako, ovakve stvari treba da se sačuvaju od zaborava. Neko će možda reći da se vraćamo u prošlost, ali ipak, lijepo je znati da se neko sjetio da ovo mjesto obilježi i da se ne zaboravi, da se više nikad nikome ne ponovi“ Predrag Stolić, brat stradalog Nenada i prijatelj stradalog Siniše.

Hotel Posavina i objekat Stanice javne bezbjednosti (SJB) u Brčkom su tokom 1992. godine bili mjesta zatočenja osoba bošnjačke i hrvatske nacionalnosti sa područja Brčkog. Oba objekta se nalaze u strogom centru grada, u pješačkoj zoni, bez ikakvog trajnog obilježja ili memorijala na njima.

Objekat Osnovne škole u Gornjem Rahiću kraj Brčkog je u periodu od 14. septembra /rujna 1992. do 4. marta/ožujka 1993. godine služio kao zatočenički objekat za vojnike i civile srpske nacionalnosti, baš kao i objekat hladnjače Rasadnik u Okrajcima u Gornjem Rahiću kraj Brčkog u periodu od maja/svibnja do juna/lipnja 1992. Autobusko preduzeće Laser u Brčkom je objekt koji je od 4. do 10. maja/svibnja 1992. godine bio mjesto zatočenja za civile bošnjačke i hrvatske nacionalnosti sa područja Brčkog.

Sve pomenute lokacije su uglavnom vraćene prvobitnoj namjeni: u školi djeca slušaju nastavu, u policijskoj stanici je bila smještena policija distrikta

Brčko, u sportskoj dvorani se i dalje trenira odbojka, u parkiću ispred zgrade se igraju djeca, autobusko preduzeće se koristi u poslovne svrhe... Reklo bi se život ide dalje, i to Bulevarom mira, promičući između tri spomenika. Sva tri podignuta braniocima grada, srpskim, bošnjačkim, hrvatskim. Život zna ponekad da iznenadi svojom svirepom ravnodušnošću. A upravo tom ravnodušnošću, tom svejednošću, tim negiranjem, bjekstvom u lagodnost zaborava i ćutnje, potencijalno hranimo novo zlo, nove ratove, nove logore.

Sva mjesta nam je pokazao i skupa sa nama obilježio Golić Sead, sekretar Udruženja porodica nestalih, nasilno odvedenih i ubijenih Bošnjaka Brčko distrikta BiH. Niti jednog trenutka ne starhujući za eventualne posljedice svog postupka, Sead je ponavljao da nema čega niti koga da se boji, niti mi dok smo sa njim. „Moj obraz je čist“, stalno je tokom akcije ponavljao. Upravo su nam naši domaćini pokazali da nismo usamljeni u borbi protiv narečene svejednoće i njoj pripadajuće svireposti. I to i riječju i djelom. Obilaskom i obilježavanjem lokacija i kao po dogovoru jednoglasnim tvrdnjama:

„Bilo bi veoma važno da se postavi neka ploča, simbolika da ima, da se zna istorija, radi daljeg pomirenja tako sa svih strana, ne samo sa bošnjačke i hrvatske, već i sa srpske strane, gdje god je ko bio zatočen da se zna, da se obilježi. Moje mišljenje je da bi to doprijnijelo mnogo boljem suživotu. Da svi zajednički obilježavamo ta mjesta, sva tri naroda, da svi zajednički obilježavamo te značajne datume i mjesta“ poziva dalje u svojoj izjavi Amir Didić, bivši logoraš i predsjednik Udruženja logoraša iz Brčkog.

„Mislim da to treba raditi u svakom gradu, treba obilježiti stvarna mjesta bez obzira gdje su i Srbi i Bošnjaci i Hrvati poginuli ili bili zatočeni, jer samo tako dolazimo do istine. Treba obilježiti sva mjesta, čak i pojedinačna ako treba, gdje je ubijen jedan čovjek, jer jedan život je vrijedan više od svega na svijetu. Vjerovatno će doći vrijeme kada ćemo svi zajedno moći da dođemo na lice mjesta, da se poklonimo, da odamo počast tim ljudima, da se sjetimo tih ljudi koji su izgubili živote ili koji su bili zatočeni, sa sve tri strane,“ nada se Sead Golić.

Ove riječi su nam ujedno i potvrda da se stvari ipak pomjeraju nabolje. Da smo od početnih negiranja da

se zločin uopšte desio, preko pozivanja da se obilježe mjesta stradanja isključivo pripadnika moje etničke ili nacionalne skupine, jer smo samo mi žrtve, polako došli do trenutka kada se poziva na obilježavanje mjesta stradanja pripadnika onih „drugih“. Poziv da to uradimo svi zajedno!

Sa odzvanjanejm drugog dijela Agambenove misli o logorima „... to je ono što na kraju vrijedi kako za žrtve tako i za potomke“ odzvanja i želja da se potomcima uskrati mogućnost proživljavanja takve ili slične *conditio inhumana*. Ta želja je i želja da se onaj

niz konačno prekine, da se završi, zapečati. Ali ne na način da se zaboravi ili zanemari, već da obilježen stoji kao opomena. Moramo početi od priznanja da se zločini jesu desili i da mjesta stradanja postoje, da su tu, u našim gradovima, selima, u našim ulicama ... među nama. Nastaviti time da te činjenice i sjećanje na njih ne zloupotrebjavamo i koristimo kao sredstvo za demonizaciju drugih i mobilizaciju sopstvenih snaga za neke nove ratove. A završimo, ili bolje nikad ne prestanemo sa borbom protiv zla i mogućnosti njegovog ponavljanja.

Podcast: Kako učiti o prošlosti?

Ko su ljudi koji stoje iza akcija Obilježavanje neobilježenih mjesta stradanja, koliko su do sada takvih mjesta obilježili, o kakvim se mjestima uopšte radi, koja je njihova motivacija, kao i zašto je važno ovakva mjesta obilježiti možete poslušati u podcastu „**Kako učiti iz prošlosti?**“ na našem sajtu onms.nenasilje.org.

Učestvuju: Tamara Zrnović i Amer Delić

Razgovarala: Davorka Turk



mirovno obrazovanje

Posle tri godine od poslednjeg održanog Mir-Paqe-Mip treninga, bili smo jako radosni što opet možemo da organizujemo ovaj vid mirovnog obrazovanja, šesti po redu. Dobili smo neočekivano mali broj prijava za trening: ukupno 58, od kojih je sa Kosova bilo 34, iz Severne Makedonije 16, a iz Srbije samo osam prijavljenih. To nam je u startu otežalo izbor, jer ga za prijavljene iz Srbije takoreći nije ni bilo, a tokom pripreme treninga dešavale su se promene jer su mnogi učesnici/e koje smo pozvali otkazivali učešće.

Na kraju, na treningu je bilo 16 učesnika/ca, sedam sa Kosova, četvero iz Severne Makedonije, i pet iz Srbije. Učesnici/e su dolazili iz sledećih gradova: Mitrovice, Lipljana, Podujeva, Štrpca, Prištine, Uroševca, Prizrena, Bitole, Skoplja, Prilepa, Ohrida, Preševa, Kragujevca,

Novog Sada, Ljubljane (ekonomska migracija iz Srbije)... Po zanimanjima: policajka, inženjerka, ekonomistkinje, lekarka, studentkinje i studenti na različitim stepenima studiranja, profesori, zaposleni u javnoj upravi...

Trening je održan u Velesu, Severna Makedonija, od 13-22.5.2022.

Prevoditeljice ovog treninga bile su Naile Keçmezi i Luljeta Ademi.

Trenerski tim činili su Luan Imeri (Centar za ljudska prava i rešavanje konflikata, Skoplje), Boro Kitanoski (Mirovna akcija, Prilep – Tetovo), Ana Bitoljanu (Prva dečija ambasada Međaši, Skoplje), Nenad Vukosavljević i Katarina Milićević (Centar za nenasilnu akciju, Sarajevo – Beograd).

Širi izveštaj sa treninga pročitajte u nastavku.

Mir-Paqe-Mip, Uvod u izgradnju mira 2022.

Šesti trojezični „Mir-Paqe-Mip“ trening izgradnje mira održan je od 13-22. maja u Velesu, u Severnoj Makedoniji. Ovo je bio prvi trening koji smo mogli da organizujemo za učesnike/ce iz više zemalja, posle epidemije Covid 19.

Na treningu je učestvovalo ukupno 16 učesnika-ca iz Srbije, Kosova i iz Severne Makedonije. Učesnici-e su dolazili iz Mitrovice, Lipljana, Podujeva, Štrpca, Prištine, Uroševca, Prizrena, Bitole, Skoplja, Prilepa, Ohrida, Preševa, Kragujevca, Novog Sada, Ljubljane (ekonomska migracija iz Srbije)...

Propitivanje narativa i mitova

Na treningu su obrađene teme od uvoda i upoznavanja, preko komunikacije i timskog rada, nasilja, diskriminacije, identiteta, uloge polova u društvu, suočavanja sa prošlošću do izgradnje mira.

Teme koja su ostavile najjači utisak na učesnike-ce bile su diskriminacija i nasilje. Sadržajno vrednom se pokazala vežba sa pitanjem: „Šta je to što treba da se promeni u sredini gde je moj narod u većini, a što bi predstavljalo pošten odnos prema prošlosti i korak ka pomirenju?“.

Mnoge teme i pitanja o kojima se na treningu govorilo su tabu teme u društvima iz kojih dolazimo,

teme o kojima se ne govori, čak ni u najužim krugovima. „Drugi“ se posmatraju kao neprijatelji, i malo je prostora za propitivanje odakle to sve dolazi.

„Prirodna Albanija, Objedinjena Makedonija i Velika Srbija, koja je razlika između ovih pojmova, pitao se jedan od učesnika na treningu, dok je drugi izrazio strah za ono što nam budućnost donosi, jer su se svi problemi na Balkanu u prošlosti rešavali ratom.“

Najburnije reakcije dogodile su se u radionici Suočavanja sa prošlošću, kada se govorilo o herojima u društvima u kojima živimo, šta nam oni lično znače, kakvi odnosi u društvima se grade na osnovu odabira koje ličnosti i dela se veličaju. Važna je i poveznica sa sopstvenim ulogama, i time kako nas drugi doživljavaju, na osnovu nekih od identiteta, o čemu se razgovaralo na treningu.

„Smeta mi što su me na jednom drugom mestu predstavili kao nekog teroristu, a ja ne smem ni kokošku da ubijem, bila je iskrena jedna učesnica, koja je komentarisala kolektivne identitete koje nosimo, i prema kojima nas neki ljudi posmatraju, ne gledajući u nama ljude, slične sebi, već kolektive.“

Da bismo se prepoznali, moramo da se sretnemo, naši narativi moraju da dobiju lice, da budu humanizovani, čulo se na jednoj radionici, što



nikako nije zaključak, već početak rada na razgradnji kolektivnih slika i predrasuda koje imamo prema drugim narodima, ali i razbijanje mitova koje gajimo prema sopstvenim identitetima.

Odabrali smo da zajedno pogledamo film „Isprekidana crta“, u produkciji CNA, koji tretira makedonsko-albanski sukob iz 2001. godine kako bismo potakli razmišljanja o tome šta sukobi donose, ali i šta ostavljaju za budućnost, i o važnosti otvaranja prostora za razgovor o tome šta su nam potrebe, šta nas boli.

„Rane treba otvoriti, da bi se izlečile, rekao je jedan učesnik.“

Zadovoljni smo i odlukom da uradimo radionicu o ulogama polova u društvu, jer postoji tendencija u celom regionu za vraćanje unazad u strožije patrijarhalne okvire. Ili okove.

Poverenje gradi mir

Procesi u društvima iz kojih dolazimo, te nametnute teme iz dnevne politike uticali su na rad i sadržaj treninga, i teško je kada u sred rata koji traje u blizini, treba da razgovaramo o mirnim rešenjima

sukoba. Uprkos tome, drago nam je da smo, i pored svih teškoća, radili sa jako motivisanom grupom, spremnom da se uključi i podrži mirovne aktivnosti u svojoj sredini.

„Muči me jako velika mržnja koju imaju balkanske države između sebe. Debata i pomirenje na Balkanu treba da počnu od običnih građana, od nas ovde. Svako od nas odlazi sa bar jednom pozitivnijom mišlju nego kad smo dolazili. Politika nas ne zastupa kao individue, već kao narod. Da bismo promenili politiku, moramo prvo da promenimo sebe, izjavila je jedna učesnica na treningu.“

Zaključak trenerskog tima je da je jako važno održati ovaj program, kao jedini mirovni trening u regionu koji se izvodi na tri različita jezika, uprkos teškoćama koje smo imali u organizaciji (neujednačen broj prijava iz svih zemalja, mnogo odustajanja odabranih učesnika i učesnica).



publikacije, promocije

Objavljena zbirka Biber 04

Izašla je iz štampe Biber 04 zbirka kratkih priča.

Na četvrti konkurs Biber raspisan krajem aprila/travnja 2020. godine, pristiglo je oko 750 radova. Žiri konkursa radio je u sledećem sastavu: Tatjana Gromača, Anton Berishaj i Selvedin Avdić.

Prve tri nagrađene priče su:

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

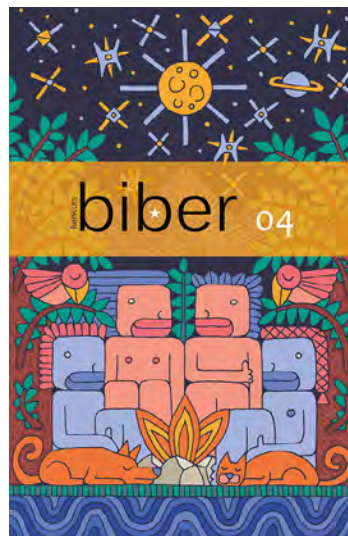
Druga nagrada: „Kućica u šumi“ autorke Alme Tabak iz Sarajeva,

Treća nagrada: „Trokut“ autorke Maje Halapir iz Samobora.

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.

Zbirku Biber 04 možete besplatno preuzeti sa našeg sajta biber.nenasilje.org u PDF i MOBI formatu.



Biber, audio priče

Šest priča iz zbirke Biber 04 dobilo je i svoja **audio izdanja**. Teškom mukom je izabrano samo šest, glavni kriterijum je bio da priče budu iz različitih krajeva.

Dramatizaciju audio priča radila je ekipa: glumica Vladislava Đorđević, reditelj Aleksandar Nikolić i ton-majstor Nikola Radošević.

U audio formatu dostupne su sledeće priče:

Ukus putera od kikirikija, autorke Vese Gene

Kako je Dado postao drvo, autora Senada Jusića

Ptičice, autora Bojana Krivokapića

Ne govori ružno o mrtvima, autorke Jovane Matevske Atanasove

Trokut, autorke Maje Halapir

Mačići u zidovima, autora Nikole Petrovića

Dostupne su na našoj stranici biber.nenasilje.org. Mnogo bi nam značilo da nam javite svoje utiske kada preslušate priče. Hvala.

Zatvoren peti konkurs Biber

Peti konkurs za kratku priču Biber na koji je pristiglo oko 470 priča, zatvoren je 1. 6. 2022. godine.

Priče koje će biti uvrštene u višejezičnu zbirku, kao i dobitnike prve tri nagrade, očekujemo prije kraja novembra/studenog 2022. godine, a odabiraće ih žiri u sastavu: Lejla Kalamujić, Kalina Maleska i Olja Savičević Ivančević.

Odštampanu zbirku kratkih priča Biber 05 očekujemo u februaru 2023. godine.

Zahvaljujemo se svima koji su učestvovali na konkursu.

Predstavljanje Bibera

Zbog pandemije zbirku priča Biber 03 nismo mogli predstaviti kada smo planirali. Čim se za to ukazala prilika, zbirke Biber 03 i Biber 04 smo predstavljali zajedno.

Promocije su tokom minule godine stigle do publike iz osam gradova širom regiona: Šibenik, Prijedor,

Podgorica, Novi Sad, Bugojno, Bujanovac, Priština i Prizren.

Na promocijama su učestvovali: Tamara Kovačević iz Beograda, Ante Storić iz Šibenika, Lejla Kalamujić iz Sarajeva, Ivana Franović iz Beograda, Emir Imamović Pirke iz Sarajeva/Šibenika, Monika Herceg iz Zagreba/





Petrinje, Ernad Osmić iz Brčkog, Stefan Slavković iz Beograda, Katarina Milićević iz Beograda/Kragujevca, Radmila Karlaš iz Banja Luke, Milica Rašić iz Niša, Afrim Demiri iz Uroševca, Nikola Nikolić iz Podgorice, Nedžad Novalić iz Sarajeva, Maja Halapir iz Osjeka/Samobora, Bojan Krivokapić iz Novog Sada, Qerim Ondozi iz Prištine, Marijana Čanak iz Novog Žednika, Davorka

Turk iz Zagreba/Sarajeva, Andrea Popov Miletić iz Novog Sada, Senad Jusić Čupo iz Bugojna, Aleksandra Jovanović iz Vranja, Irena Skopljak Barić iz Vrbovca, Ivor Fuka iz Bugojna, Vesa Qena iz Prištine, Rumena Bužarovska iz Skoplja, Besa Kalaja iz Prištine, Linda Gusia iz Prištine, Imer Tapanica iz Prištine i Donjete Murati iz Prištine.

Biber podkasti

Dijeliće atmosfere sa promocija iz Bugojna, Šibenika, Novog Sada i Prijedora možete poslušati u našem podkastu ***Da razumemo drugog onako kako on razume sebe.***

U podkastu učestvuju: Ante Storić, Qerim Ondozi, Lejla Kalamujić, Bojan Krivokapić, Ivor Fuka, Aleksandra Jovanović, Tamara Kovačević, Marijana Čanak, Irena Skopljak-Barić, Monika Herceg, Senad Jusić, Stefan Slavković, Ernad Osmić i Maja Halapir. Autorka podkasta je Davorka Turk.

Ako i pored ovoga još uvijek niste donijeli odluku da pišete za neki naredni Biber konkurs, onda poslušajte i podkast: ***Ako razmišljate da li da napišete priču za Biber.*** Za vas govore: Marijana Čanak, Monika Herceg, Slađana Ljubičić, Bojan Krivokapić, Ernad Osmić, Stefan Slavković, Andrea Popov Miletić, Maja Halapir i Qerim Ondozi. Priredile: Ivana Franović i Davorka Turk.



razmjena, saradnja, umrežavanje

Susret razmjene sa prijateljima iz Azije

Pamtim da je jedan od asistenata na prvim časovima iz savremene svjetske historije satima govorio o važnosti razumijevanja koliki je svijet i koliko naša pozicija određuje projekciju svijeta. Čak i geografske karte koje su osnovno pomagalo u razumijevanju veličine svijeta tu često više odmažu nego što pomažu: Deformacije koje se javljaju u procesu kartografskih projekcija, posebno u slučaju geografskih karata koje u Evropi najčešće koristimo, Evropu čine odveć velikom, skoro jednakom, na primjer, Africi. Evropocentrični pristup ostavljao je malo mjesta za druge, u svakom smislu a ne samo u prostornom, historiji Azije pridavano je nemjerljivo manje pažnje, o historiji Afrike da i ne govorimo. Taj sudar veličine svijeta i naše nemogućnosti da ga pojmimo, upoznamo i posjetimo najbolje oslikava kulturna scena iz filma Kuduz kad Bećir Kuduz polaže završne razrede osnovne škole.

- Kakav si s geografijom, ajd nabroji glavne gradove republika?

- Bio sam u Foči...

- Pa nije to glavni grad...

- Meni je bio...

Zato je susret sa ljudima iz Azije za mene uvijek prvo pitanje geografije i poimanja relativnosti pojmova *veliko* i *malo*. Kada vam čovjek iz Indije kaže da pripada malom narodu koji živi na malom prostoru, obavezno je pitanje koliko malom? Nerijetko će se ispostaviti da se radi o narodu od desetak miliona koji živi na prostoru veličine Balkana.

Različiti konteksti

Prilika za ovakva neobično obična pitanja i osnovna upoznavanja za mene je bio je susret mirovnih aktivista iz Indije i Bangladeša s jedne strane i Evrope, prvenstveno Balkana, sa druge strane. Odgađan više puta usred pandemije COVID-19 i znatno izmijenjen u odnosu na početnu ideju koja je podrazumijevala međusobne posjete, do susreta je konačno došlo krajem marta u Bosni i Hercegovini. Iz perspektive Centra za nenasilnu akciju, bio je ovo nastavak i



produblјivanje saradnje sa ljudima iz Azije koja je započeta prije skoro deset godina.

Program razmjene za 17 učesnika (šest iz Indije i Bangladeša, devet sa prostora bivše Jugoslavije i dvije osobe iz Njemačke) inicijalno je bio zamišljen kao prostor za razmjenu iskustava, znanja i međusobnog osnaživanja između ljudi koji dolaze iz različitih konteksta ali rade na istom polju - izgradnji mira i promicanju ljudskih prava. Uz samorefleksiju i propitivanje dosadašnjeg rada, nadali smo se da takva razmjena može biti podsticajna za razvijanje novih ideja u kontekstu rada na suočavanju sa prošlošću i rada u našim zajednicama.

Pa ipak, dobili smo mnogo više iz nekoliko razloga. Jedan je motivisanost samih učesnika, drugi je radioničarski način rada koji nas je vodio od ličnog ka društvenom, treći je svakako siguran prostor koji je zajednički stvoren i koji je omogućio dubinsku samorefleksiju. Sve to utjecalo je da je, gledajući iz pozicije ishoda, pravilnije govoriti o treningu iz izgradnje mira sa visoko motivisanim i izuzetno iskusnim učesnicima, a ne o razmjeni ili konferenciji ili nekoj drugoj vrsti susreta slabijeg intenziteta i sa mnogo manje kopanja po vlastitoj nutрини, spremnosti da se govori i o vlastitim greškama, pogrešnim procjenama, nedoumicama i pitanjima na koja ni sami nemamo odgovor.

Ima li igdje ovako komplikovane zemlje?

Za ponešto od svega navedenog zaslužen je i studijski put u Mostar. Tri dana u sunčanom Mostaru bili su prilika da se upoznamo, kako sa gradom, tako i međusobno. Kako nam je rekao jedan od lokalnih vodiča, Mostar je zgodan za ovakve susrete jer se na malom prostoru koji je moguće pješke obići možete susresti sa svim značajnim obilježjima postratne Bosne i Hercegovine i Balkana: nevidljivim granicama koje odbijaju nestati, suprotstavljenim memorijalima, sa tri ili u slučaju Mostara četiri kulture sjećanja koje teku paralelno bez da se u nekom momentu susreću, i danas vidljivim ratnim razaranjima, ali i životom koji uprkos svemu tome nekako teče. O tom životu u takvom Mostaru razgovarali smo sa novinarima, predstavnicima vjerskih zajednica, bivšim logorašima koji, uprkos ili baš zbog toga, zajednički rade na izgradnji mira... Kada je legendarnom Mostarcu

Vahidu Halilhodžiću jednom neko hvalio Hercegovinu, sve govoreći kako *niđe takve ljepote nema*, Vaha je mostarski duhovito odgovorio: Ima, ima, samo ti nisi nigdje bio. Meni je to naum palo kad smo na jednom od susreta sa lokalnim akterima čuli pitanje/konstataciju: *Ima li igdje ovako komplikovane zemlje?* Ima, reći će pola svijeta, da te istovremeno i utješi i razočara.

Po povratku u Sarajevo u preostalih pet dana u deset radioničarskih blokova po nekim temama smo duboko zaorali, neke smo samo površno dotaknuli, a dio njih ostao je neotvoren jer je, uz rad prijedpodne i poslijepodne, opet nedostajalo vremena. U prvom dijelu bazirali smo se na temeljitije upoznavanje, ispitivanje potreba, razgovor o pitanjima koja vidimo kao zajedničke vrijednosti. Istovremeno, kroz sve teme i diskusije, jedni druge smo upoznawali i sa kontekstima u kojima djelujemo. Pitanje sličnosti i razlika u kontekstima, dosta kompleksno zbog realnog manjka znanja u oba smjera, tako je učinjeno lakšim, interesantnijim i plodonosnijim.

Prilika za samorefleksiju

Krećući od ličnog ka društvenom, bila je ovo prilika i za samorefleksiju, odnosno evaluaciju na ličnom planu kao i na planu svake pojedinačne organizacije, ali i jedne dosta široke samoevaluacije ukupnog rada na polju izgradnje mira. Pitanje teorija promjene od kojih polazimo u našem radu postalo je jedno od centralnih pitanja razmjene jer upravo teorija promjene na društvenom nivou i na nivou same organizacije u kojoj djelujemo uvjetuje toliko mnogo stvari u našem radu. Nismo bježali ni od propitivanja organizacione strukture organizacije iz kojih dolazimo i pitanja na koji način naše interne strukture inkorporiraju vrijednosti za koje se zalažemo. Spremnost da priznamo i vlastite greške i pogrešne procjene važne su i neophodne kako ne bismo upali u kolotečinu ponavljanja programa i aktivnosti kada one ne daju rezultate ili pak kada se okolnosti u kojima djelujemo znatno promijene.

Odnosi vanjskih aktera, od različitih međunarodnih institucija, vlada i vladinih organizacija do donatora, itekako utječu na naš rad pa je ovaj susret bio prilika da razgovaramo o tome zašto imamo nečiju podršku, kakva su nam iskustva sa vanjskim akterima, koje su poteškoće kao i šta i ko treba promijeniti. Na kraju, otvorili smo i pitanje *burnouta* kao važnog pitanja u

radu na izgradnji mira koji često podrazumijeva ličnu involviranost, nemogućnost da se „posao“ ostavi u uredu, uz rezultate koji nisu lako mjerljivi i vidljivi i česte situacije u kojima napredak nije linearan. Kako zaštititi sebe, kako pomoći kolegama, kako zaštititi organizaciju, samo su neka od pitanja o kojima smo razgovarali.

Osam dana ovakvog susreta posebna je privilegija. Kako smo najčešće fokusirani na programe i aktivnosti koje u fokusu imaju rezultat, pokazalo se korisnim odvojiti vrijeme za samorefleksiju i samoevaluaciju. Čak i sa partnerima sa kojima dugo sarađujemo i dobro ih poznajemo, važno je u nekom trenutku postaviti pitanje zašto jedni druge podržavamo, gdje vidimo mogućnost da saradnju unaprijedimo, koje su poteškoće... Sa onima koji dolaze iz drugih društvenih konteksta ta razmjena je jednako bogata jer omogućava da učimo iz tuđih iskustava, da vidimo neke specifičnosti karakteristične za jednu zemlju ili regiju ali i neke globalne trendove koji nas jednako pogađaju kao što je onaj jačanja desnih, rigidnih i isključivih politika. Važna je i mogućnost da jedni druge osnažimo, motivišemo, da razgovaramo o izgradnji mira u vrijeme kada se svijet nalazi na ivici svjetskog rata i kada svjedočimo globalnom nazatku u kontekstu ljudskih prava i globalnog mira.

Posebno smo zahvalni organizaciji *Bread for the World* i Eddi Kirleis i Martini Fischer koji su među

rijetkima koji imaju senzibiliteta da prepoznaju potrebu i podrže ovakvu razmjenu. Martinu i Eddu znamo već godinama, ali su njihova posvećenost, aktivistički duh i ogromno znanje i iskustvo uvijek inspirirajući. Godinama stojeći rame uz rame sa nama, dijeleći uspone i padove, Edda i Martina su postale naše: zato je njihov doprinos i samoj razmjeni poseban jer su, nakon godina rada, mogle govoriti iz dvostruke pozicije, i iznutra i izvana. Možda se nama podrazumijeva jer ih znamo, ali bila je posebna njihova spremnost da razmjenu prihvate kao dvosmjerni proces u kojem su svi istovremeno i učenici i učitelji.

Ostaje žal što je pandemija prvobitnu ideju djelimično reducirala i onemogućila nam uzvratne posjete, susrete jedan na jedan te je učinila nemogućim prisustvo ljudi iz drugih dijelova Azije kako je bilo planirano. Pandemija nas je sve prinudila da mnoge stvari radimo u on line prostoru. Makar je mnogo stvari moguće zamisliti u on line formatu, ovakvi susreti imaju smisla skoro isključivo uz susret licem u lice. Samo takav susret omogućit će vam da vam Indija ili Bangladeš postanu, umjesto dalekih, malo poznatih zemalja, jednako daleke, i dalje malo poznate zemlje, ali sa par prijatelja u njima, zbog kojih vam nikad više neće biti svejedno kada čujete vijesti iz tog dijela svijeta.

Nedžad Novalić



politički i društveni konteksti
u kojima delujemo

Hrvatska: Quo vadis, Hrvatska

Završetkom pandemijske drame i cijelog niza izvanrednih okolnosti koje su obilježile protekli period naših života možemo reći da smo se vratili u normalne tokove društvenih i političkih odnosa. Dramatika tih odnosa možda jest umanjena onime što smo proživjeli u situaciji svjetske zdravstvene ugroze, ali na mikroregionalnoj razini ta dramatika još uvijek ima veliku važnost u oblikovanju naših odnosa i naše budućnosti. Trzavice između Hrvatske i Srbije možda ne znače mnogo u Washingtonu, ali u Vukovaru i Kninu oblikuju svijet. Posebice su te trzavice i nerješeni odnosi dobili na važnosti nakon što smo postali svjesni krhkosti mira i koliko je malo potrebno da nam se rat opet prišulja kao što smo vidjeli na rusko-ukrajinskom primjeru gdje je rat bio pogonjen pod tepihom nagomilanim problemima i nerješenim odnosima. Uvijek postoje oni koji samo čekaju pravi moment.

Elem, maske se ne nose, rat bjesni u Ukrajini, a kod nas se opet igraju stare utakmice.

Slučaj Milanović

Problematika ponašanja Zorana Milanovića nije nešto novo, ali u svakom slučaju nije ni stvar na koju ćemo se tako lako naviknuti. Zlatna zagrebačka mladež, kaljena po briselskim i drugim diplomatskim hodnicima, od početka svog mandata puni naslovnice nesmotrenim i bezobraznim izjavama i tjera nas da klikamo i pratimo reakcije koje pritom uzrokuje. Iako se osobno diči ustavnim patriotizmom i držanjem slova Ustava, Zoran Milanović od ustavnih vrijednosti selektivno prakticira i promovira samo one koje on očito smatra vrijednima. Najvažnija ustavna vrednota, sudeći po angažiranosti kontroverznog (o da, došao je do titule kontroverznosti) nam predsjednika je briga za prava i dobrobit Hrvata koji žive izvan domovine, pri čemu se on tu trenutno i jedino bavi pravima Hrvata koji žive u BiH.

Svojim djelovanjem, posjetama, odlikovanjima kojima već dvije godine miluje srce i uši domoljubno orijentiranog puka, Zoran očito pokušava osigurati sebi drugi mandat na mjestu prvog u Hrvata. Iako se radi o nizu simplifikirajućih izjava koje su tu da pokažu njegovu opuštenost i fakinsku stranu te da poberu simpatije

nekih desnijih krugova, posebice onih koji korijene vuku u BiH, te izjave su nažalost dovele do opasnog narušavanja odnosa između Hrvata i Bošnjaka. Iako ti odnosi ni prije nisu bili harmonični ni konstruktivni, oni su sad došli u fazu u kojoj uopće ne postoje ozbiljni politički glasovi koji bi pokušali na toj političkoj razini djelovati konstruktivno i graditi odnose između ova dva, međusobno toliko povezana i usmjerena korpusa.

Osim toga, Zoki nije propustio odlikovati novu turu optuženika za ratne zločine, narušiti odnose između Hrvata i Srba napadajući Milorada Pupovca, zakuhati s pola članica NATO-a prijeteći blokadom ulaska Finske i Švedske, stigmatizirati Rome kao sakupljače smeća, i tako u nedogled. Sve u svemu, ako su i postojali neki koji su imalo gajili nade da će predsjednik lijevo liberalne orijentacije biti konstruktivan po pitanju najvažnijih odnosa u državi i regiji, te su nade pale u vodu. Ostaje nam samo da vidimo kakve nam to trzavice i skandale nose iduće dvije godine mandata i nada da će briselske uzde ipak biti dovoljno jake da nas drže pod kontrolom.

Nacionalni ciljevi

Još od osamostaljenja Hrvatske jedna od najčešćih mantri od strane prvih u Hrvata je ostvarenje nacionalnih ciljeva. Iako se o tim nacionalnim ciljevima i nije konzultiralo šire narodne mase, oni su ipak smjerom zacrtanim devedesetih podrazumijevali pristupanje Hrvatske u Europsku Uniju i NATO, što je i ostvareno.

Dvije tisuć i pedeset godina je izgleda bila godina ostvarenja ostatka nacionalnih ciljeva. Ostvarenje nacionalnog cilja prometnog povezivanja Dubrovnika i okolice s ostatkom Hrvatske kopnenim putem koji se godinama mantrao bilo je, ostvaren je ove godine pompoznom otvaranjem Pelješkog mosta. Mega projekt vrijedan više od 2 milijarde kuna zaobišao je Neum i omogućio putovanje u/iz Dubrovnika bez zaustavljanja na granicama. Dobili smo mega most, solidne estetike, ali osim simboličke vrijednosti, dugoročno gledano jako male uporabne vrijednosti, uzimajući u obzir da u zaleđu Neuma i primorja prolazi Jadransko-jonski cestovni koridor koji će kad-tad u potpunosti istisnuti most. Dugoročno gledajući Pelješki most gubi svoju

svrhu jer mostovi se ne prave za desetljeća, nego za stoljeća. A tko zna, možda BiH nekad uđe i u EU. Iako su neki rekli da Pelješki most predstavlja dokaz odustanka Hrvatske od teritorijalnih pretenzija na Bosnu i Hercegovinu, po meni on predstavlja dokaz odustajanja od regionalne suradnje i prihvatanja BiH kao ravnopravnog partnera, jer zašto bi s BiH dogovorili deseterostruko jeftiniji cestovni koridor iza Neuma kad možemo pokazati snagu i simbolički izgraditi najveći most u Hrvatskoj. Prst u jedino BH morsko oko europskim novcem.

Ostali su, gledajući popularne nacionalne ciljeve, još ulazak u Schengen i uvođenje Eura, što je planirano za 2023. godinu. Šta onda? Koji će nam to nacionalni ciljevi biti u fokusu nakon ostvarenja ovih do sada razvikanih ostaje nam za vidjeti, iako nas se oko njih vjerojatno neće pitati. Možemo se jedino nadati da će nekada među nacionalne ciljeve u skladu s Ustavom i najvišim vrednotama ući i mirotvorstvo te da će Republika Hrvatska postati konstruktivan i fer partner svojim susjednim zemljama.

Koliko god bježali od susjedstva, ono će uvijek biti na granicama. Srednja Europa je daleko, a BiH i Srbija će zauvijek biti na granici, tj. jako blizu. Uostalom većina svijeta nas svakako trpa u košaru zvanu Zapadni Balkan. Tko zna, možda i mi doživimo jednog dana pacifikaciju regije i onu razinu suradnje i prosperiteta koju vidimo u ostatku Zapadne Europe. Ali, onda moramo u tome i aktivno sudjelovati.

Osim toga, gledajući dinamiku odnosa između Hrvatske i BiH, BiH je bila i ostala nacionalni cilj Hrvatske. Već nekoliko godina, sa svih razina - diplomatskih i unutrašnjih, traje ofenziva koja teži ka nominalnom poboljšanju pozicije Hrvata u BiH. Ta ofenziva najveću snagu i odjek ima u Briselu, gdje Hrvatska kao članica EU sada iskorištava sve moguće kapacitete kako bi utjecala na promjenu odnosa unutar BiH te kako bi osigurala jednakopravnost Hrvata unutar BiH. Tu ofenzivu zajednički provode i predsjednik i vlada i Sabor te je to, po svemu sudeći, njihov jedini iskreno usaglašen nacionalni cilj.

Regija i region

Ono što se događa u Hrvatskoj postalo je ulaskom Hrvatske u Europsku uniju neodvojivo od šireg europskog konteksta i događaja u Briselu. Kako je

premijer tamo rado viđena osoba i kako je Hrvatska trenutno članica koja pristaje uz sve proeuropske ideje i inicijative, Hrvatska se u kontekstu rata u Ukrajini od početka stavila na stranu najodlučnijih zemalja članica kad govorimo o podršci Ukrajini. To je naravno imalo odjeka u regiji Zapadnog Balkana gdje su se mjesecima uspoređivale odlučnosti i neodlučnosti u osudama Rusije i podršci Ukrajini. Osim odlučnosti, u Hrvatskoj se i pomno pratilo koliko će hrabrosti i odlučnosti imati Srbija u ovoj novoj situaciji. Naravno, strogi monitoring pratilo je i likovanje, te osude neosuđivanja strašne agresije od vlasti u Srbiji. Iako su se svi ovi koraci mogli predvidjeti od trenutka otvaranja novog fronta na istoku, oni su za nas bili samo još jedan dio našeg mikrohladnoratovskog igrokaza u kojem sudjeluju Srbija i Hrvatska te koji je uz diplomatsku i državnu nesuradnju debelo praćen i lokalnom utrkom u naoružanju. Kako to biva, Hrvatska kupi Raffale, Srbija tajno iz Kine dovuče srednjedometni protuzračni sustav HQ22; Srbija nabavi Pancire, Hrvatska se nakiti Bradley-ima, i tako u nedogled. Uzimajući u obzir nacionalne sentimente i nišane, možemo zaključiti da ta oruđa čekaju trenutak kad će se upotrijebiti usmjerena u obe strane Dunava. Prvi među nama na obje strane, očito nisu svjesni, niti žele biti svjesni potencijala koji tom mikroutrkom u naoružanju grade.

Mini Hladni rat nastavljen je i diplomatskim sredstvima te je svoju kulminaciju doživio u nedopuštanju Aleksandru Vučiću da posjeti Spomen područje Jasenovac u momentu kad je on htio. Iako je Aleksandar Vučić politička priča za sebe, i nakon što mu je ovo poslužilo kao još jedna cigla u vikitimizacijskom narativu prvenstveno usmjerenom na njega pa onda i na kolektiv kojim se diči i koji zastupa, moramo se zapitati što je Hrvatska i što su Hrvati dobili ovom zabranom. Jasenovac je mjesto sjećanja i najvećeg pijeteta o kome je brigu preuzela Republika Hrvatska i na čijem se teritoriju nalazi. Jasenovac je i mjesto u kojem je izvršen genocid nad Srbima, iako su u tom genocidu najviše stradali oni Srbi koji su živjeli van granica Srbije. Veliku simboličku važnost ima mogućnost i praksa posjeta srbijanskog vodstva Spomen području Jasenovac. Najviši mogući interes Republike Hrvatske je pijetet i komemoriranje onoga što se dogodilo u Jasenovcu te slanje poruke da se takvi užasi nikad više i nigdje ne smiju ponoviti.

Simbolički najveću snagu bi imale zajedničke posjete hrvatskog i srbijanskog vodstva Jasenovcu, ali to su neostvareni snovi na koje ćemo još dugo čekati. Ovako smo dobili politički spin u režiji obje strane i simboličko potkusurivanje nečime što bi trebalo biti svetinja i jednima i drugima.

Stanje nacije

Početkom ove godine objavljeni su rezultati popisa stanovništva koji je obavljen tijekom 2021. godine i on nam govori da je stanje nacije u procesu decimacije. Decimacija je bila praksa koju su upotrebljavale rimske legije, pri čemu su kod loših rezultata u vojnim pohodima izvršavali kažnjavanje vojnih jedinica koje su podbacile tako što bi svakog desetog vojnika kamenovali ili nasmrtno prebijali. Broj stanovnika Hrvatske smanjio se za skoro 10% u referentnom razdoblju od 2011. do 2021. godine te trenutno u Hrvatskoj živi 3.88 milijuna ljudi. Decimacija stanovništva Hrvatske zaslužena je nizom loših odluka i praksi na kojima smo nastali, funkcioniramo i na koje smo zapravo navikli. Tako nam je otkad znamo za sebe. Gledajući koje su to loše prakse koje nas decimiraju, među svim anketama, glavno, šampionsko mjesto redovno uzima korupcija. Koruptivne prakse su uvučene u sve pore društva te su postale općeprihvaćen način funkcioniranja, a oni koji nisu vični korupciji ili koji iz nekih moralnih razloga imaju problem s korupcijom, osuđeni su doslovno na smrt, što smo vidjeli u kolovozu u slučaju smrti jednog od najkvalitetnijih istraživačkih novinara u Hrvatskoj,

Vladimira Matijanića, koji zato što nije htio nikoga zvati i nikome platiti, nije bio primljen na bolničko liječenje te je preminuo uslijed komplikacija uzrokovanih Corona virusom.

Koruptivna hobotnica i praksa ne bira ni vrijeme ni mjesto nego iskorištava svaku moguću priliku, što se pokazalo i u aferi koja je upravo otkrivena, a tiče se krađe više od milijarde kuna iz državne naftne kompanije INA-e. Sami izgovor brojke od milijardu je za većinu običnih civila neodređena brojka koju ne možemo zaraditi niti steći ni u najluđim snovima igrajući po pravilima. Preostaje nam jedino raditi i slušati o ovim brojkama iz snova. Iako sudeći prema inflatornoj dinamici, ova godina sve brojke lansira u brojke iz snova, a vrijednost onoga što teškom mukom zaradimo je svakim danom sve manja.

Gledajući i čitajući naslove i ono što nas okružuje, zapravo je teško osuditi bilo koga tko je sudjelovao u toj humanoj decimaciji i tko je u proteklih desetak godina odlučio napustiti ovo podneblje u potrazi za boljim životom.

Quo vadis Hrvatska?

Što zapravo čekati i očekivati ovdje? Nove problematične izjave Predsjednika? Novog ministra ulovljenog u krađi milijuna? Nove smrti jer nismo dali kuvertu doktoru? Novi rat sa susjedima?

Gdje idemo, što čekamo - zna li itko?

Dalmir Mišković

Bosna i Hercegovina: Život u čekaonici Evrope

Podgrijavanje hladnog rata

„Međutim, da se poslušim primjedbom jednoga svoga razumnog prijatelja, 1990-ih je nacionalistička politika eksplodirala u rat, a danas je ona implodirala u rat: dovela se do zida, do rata, ali njega jednostavno ne može biti jer za to ne postoje kapaciteti. Sve što možemo očekivati je dodatno desetljeće hladnoga rata, praćeno prevlašću mediokriteta, kriminalom i korupcijom, srozavanjem svih kriterija, svakodnevnim malim implozijama u mržnjama, populacijskom

katastrofom zbog masovnog iseljavanja i prirodnog izumiranja, slabljenjem sekularnog i građanskog elementa u korist stalnoga jačanja političke religioznosti i konzervativizma i tako dalje. Ukratko: uništavanjem društva iznutra, i onoga u RS-u i onoga u Federaciji, i srpskog, i bošnjačkog, i hrvatskog, i bosanskohercegovačkog. Država će, dakle, formalno opstati, s manje ili više zajedničkih institucija, u to se kladim, ali ne vjerujem u zdravu budućnost društva u Bosni i Hercegovini.“ Franjo Šarčević, decembar 2021.

U nekoliko rečenica citiranih iznad sažeta je cjelokupna ocjena društveno-političkog konteksta u Bosni i Hercegovini posljednjih godina, ali u protekloj godini je eskalirala. Njen autor, uspješni i mladi profesor na Univerzitetu u Sarajevu, dugogodišnji aktivista i kolumnista, izrekao ju je kao prognozu koja je, danas kada idemo ka kraju 2022. godine to možemo sa sigurnošću reći, bolno precizna. U međuvremenu, Franjo je s porodicom napustio (privremeno) BiH otišavši na postdoktorske studije, nesiguran da li će se ikada vratiti kao i hiljade drugih mladih.

Taj *hladni rat* povremeno se podgrijava do tačke usijanja i protekla godina u tom je smislu vjerovatno najizazovnija u postratnom periodu u Bosni i Hercegovini. Sa početkom invazije Rusije na Ukrajinu, bosanskohercegovačka kriza ispostavlja se kao druga potencijalno najopasnija i najzapaljivija u Evropi i nema naznaka da će se uz vladajuću političku garnituru uskoro nešto promijeniti. Ponovno raspoređivanje dodatnih snaga EUFOR-a, Bosna i Hercegovina na naslovnica svjetskih medija sa otvorenim pitanjem je li novi rat moguć, strah običnih ljudi, govor mržnje u javnom prostoru i još štošta nas tek podsjećaju da je i *hladni rat* ipak rat.

Ono što su tokom rata od 1992. do 1995. bili, ugrubo kazano, ratni ciljevi, danas su preživjeli u formi dominantnih politika u Bosni i Hercegovini. Pitanje uređenja države i svojevrstne ustavno-političke krize možda je najprisutnije i u bosanskohercegovačkoj i u javnosti van BiH i o tome su u protekloj godini ispisane hiljade stranica i nemoguće je u ovako kratkom osvrtu detaljnije ulaziti u fineze problema. Ukratko, pitanje oko kojeg se lome koplja jeste državni ustroj koji je opet određenim dvjema krajnostima koje zagovaraju aktuelne politike: secesiju kojoj alternativa (privremena) može biti i labava konfederacija zasnovana na etnoteritorijalizaciji u kojoj bi svaka etnička grupa imala *svoje parče zemlje*, dok je na drugom polu jaka, centralizirana država.

Nakon što je prethodni visoki predstavnik međunarodne zajednice u BiH (OHR) Valentin Inzko nametnuo zakon kojim se zabranjuje negiranje genocida i drugih ratnih zločina, vladajuća politika u Republici Srpskoj predvođena SNSD-om i Miloradom Dodikom započela je proces tihe secesije kroz najavu formiranja vlastitih oružanih snaga, pravosudno-

policijskog sistema i drugih institucija. Zima 2021. i proljeće 2022. obilježeni su upravo tom političkom krizom koja je u drugoj polovini 2022. zamijenjena političkom krizom vezanom za odnos Bošnjaka i Hrvata u kontekstu uređenja Federacije BiH, dijela BiH u kojem većinski žive Bošnjaci i Hrvati.

Ono što se dešavalo na društvenom nivou koji je površinski obilježen gore pomenutim političkim krizama jeste jedno stanje koje je najbliže nekoj vrsti *hladnoratovske psihoze*. Kao takva se održava gotovo svakodnevnim *podgrižavanjem*. Govor mržnje, dehumanizacija cijelih naroda kroz obraćanja putem medija i društvenih mreža nisu više u domenu nisko-pozicioniranih stranačkih poslušnika i botova, sada to ide od vrha, od predstavnika vlasti na najvišim funkcijama, počev od članova državnog predsjedništva, perjanica nacionalnih ali i stranaka građanske provenijencije. Također, poruke sličnog sadržaja dopiru i iz susjednih država, Hrvatske i Srbije. I udara se snažno, na emocije, s namjerom da uvrijedi i naljuti. U kost, što bi naš narod rekao.

Šta je nama OHR i šta želimo od njega?

Nažalost, vezivno tkivo BiH izgleda sad čini samo međunarodna zajednica (OHR) na čelu sa visokim predstavnikom Christianom Schmidtom. Bez obzira kako ga doživljavaju domaći političari, da li kao njemačkog turista koji nema mandat Ujedinjenih nacija, ili kako mu je zvanje u punom kapacitetu i za koje ima podršku šire međunarodne zajednice, evidentno je da je u BiH došao da radi ono za šta je Članom II Aneksa 10 Dejtonskog mirovnog sporazuma kao visokom predstavniku zadatak. Dakle, tu je da pomogne ako zapne. A zapinjalo je ranije mnogo puta, i oko jedinstvene monete, registarskih oznaka za vozila, pa i oko dodjeljivanja zemljišta za izgradnju memorijalnog centra u Potočarima, Hrvatskoj samoupravi, Zakona o zabrani negiranja genocida i veličanja ratnih zločinaca... Bilo bi suludo i sada očekivati da bi legitimno izabrani politički predstavnici bez uplitanja i pomoći međunarodne zajednice i danas došli do dogovora i rješenja koja bi omogućila da nešto bude lakše u ovoj zemlji. Schmidt je već u svom mandatu koristio Bonske ovlasti, nametnuo je Odluku o finansiranju oktobarskih izbora, zabranio Zakon o nepokretnoj imovini RS-a te doprinio da Zakon



o lijekovima i medicinskim sredstvima RS-a bude privremeno suspendovan i čeka odluku Ustavnog suda.

Visoki predstavnik je tu da zaštiti Mirovni sporazum, spriječi majorizaciju i otimanje ustavom zagaranovanog statusa konstitutivnog naroda bilo kojem od tri, Hrvatima, Bošnjacima ili Srbima. Svima je jasno da uz taj paket ide i poštovanje teritorijalnog integriteta države BiH, sastavljene od dva entiteta i Brčko Distrikta BiH.

Zašto ovo pišem i navodim? Jednostavno sam bio iznenađen količinom spinovanja i histerije koja je zavládala u bošnjačkom javnom mnijenju u vezi sa namjerom Schmidta da nametne izmjene Izbornog zakona i Ustava FBiH. Bošnjačke i građanske stranke, koje sebe tako predstavljaju, nisu ovako žestoko reagovala ni na Dodikove najave referenduma o podjeli BiH i otcjepljenju RS-a. Da li je ta žestina već parametar predizborne mobilizacije birača ili borba za bolju poziciju u pregovorima o Izbornom zakonu, ne znam, ali znam da je u tim danima količina mržnje prema Hrvatima eskalirala.

Sljepilo

Čudno je kako se jako brzo veliki broj ljudi u ovoj zemlji mobilise kada su u pitanju reakcije na nešto što smatraju prijetnjom po vlastite nacionalne interese dok ih se kao pojedince obespravljuje i pljačka, a da se ni glava ne podigne. I još čudnije je kako reaguju na one koji su odlučili da se bore za svoja prava. Povorka ponosa održana je 25. juna i ove 2022. godine u Sarajevu. Jeste, nažalost, ponovo bilo potrebno ispuniti visoke bezbjednosne zahtjeve, jer je takva bila procjena sigurnosnih agencija, jeste, nažalost, ponovo bio upriličen i kontra skup, ali održana je. Čovjek bi očekivao i da povorku podrže predstavnici političkih opcija koji su istrajni u ideji ostvarenja vizije BiH kao građanske države, odnosno modela građanskog društva. Ali po reakcijama koje su uslijedile od oponenta povorke, uvidjelo je se da su taj događaj prepoznali kao opasnost po tradicionalne porodične vrijednosti, koje se, kao, ovdje stoljećima njeguju i ugrađene su u genom ovdašnjih ljudi. Predstavnici vlasti Kantona Sarajevo na čelu sa premijerom Edinom Fortom, koji su povorku podržali, bili su izloženi

napadima i pokušajima diskreditacije na više nivoa. Etiketirani su kao izdajnici, strani plaćenici, otimači novca iz budžeta građana ... I naravno, ukazivano je na njih kao jeres i znatno ranije od početka izborne utrke pozivani su građani da im ne daju povjerenje na narednim izborima, jer dovode *cirkus* u Sarajevo.

Daleko smo mi od bilo čega građanskog, etno-religijska matrica je sveprisutna. Za građansko treba uvijek biti na strani ljudskih prava.

Mali mi na velikoj sceni

S početkom rata u Ukrajini, svjetlo pozornice je ponovo na nama, drugih značajnih promjena nema. Ukrajina i Moldavija su dobile status kandidata za ulazak u EU. Mali, ali ipak napredak ostvaren je po pitanju evropskih ambicija Bosne i Hercegovine. Kandidatski status je moguć, ali tek nakon sprovođenja ključnih reformi. U decembru 2016. godine, Evropska komisija poslala je BiH detaljan Upitnik. Dakle, dok se to ne završi ništa od statusa. To smo već znali, ali nadali smo se da ćemo taj zadatak preskočiti, jer nije izvjesno

ko bi takav upitnik od naših vladajućih znao ispuniti. Naša je sudbina da budemo u čekaonici, dok vozovi prolaze.

U ostalim stvarima slijedimo evropski put. Inflacija je zvanično prema Agenciji za statistiku u BiH 14,4%, a nezvanično i 25%, pojedini energenti su poskupili i za 100-150%, prognoze za cijenu plina ali i samo snabdijevanje nisu optimistične, namirnice su svakim danom sve skuplje. Državna vlast u BiH je jedina koja nije uradila ništa na ograničavanju cijena i olakšavanju situacije građanima. Postoje inicijative za ukidanje akciza na gorivo, međutim to nije zaživjelo u Parlamentarnoj skupštini BiH, kao ni ukidanje PDV-a na osnovne životne namirnice. Da su parlamentarci imali volju da usvoje ta dva zakona, sigurno je da bi trenutna situacija bila mnogo bolja.

Nema se kome vjerovati da će nešto poduzeti, a ostaje briga kako ovo sve preživjeti.

Amer Delić

Srbija: Tačka.

Da bih napisala ovaj tekst, vratiću se, za početak na ono što bi trebalo da bude njegova suština: da opišemo atmosferu u društvu i okolnosti u kojima radimo na izgradnji mira u protekloj godini. Iako svake godine pišemo ovakve izveštaje, sa sigurnošću mogu da tvrdim: svake je godine sve gore i gore, i nemoguće je opisati sve okolnosti koje utiču na naš rad i na naše živote, kao građana Srbije koji ne pripadaju vladajućoj stranci, ne kao mirovne aktiviste i aktivistkinje.

Iz svih učenja i čitanja o diktatorskim režimima, sa kojima se nismo samo sretali u prošlosti, već oni određuju i našu sadašnjost, ni ova realnost Srbije se ne razlikuje mnogo. Dan za danom je slobode sve manje, godina za godinom se niže i svake smo sve obespravljeniji, sve tiši i sve nas je manje koji o tome možemo i smemo javno da govorimo. Diktatorski režim živi od desničarske ideologije, pa gotovo svakodnevno imamo prilike da ih sretnemo na ulici ili da budemo označeni kao neprijatelji, „drugosrbijanci“ ako

pružamo podršku Ukrajini, zbog životne sredine, zbog LGBT prava, femicida, korupcije, nasilja...

Ko koga napada?

Ako živite u Srbiji, čitate tabloide (a to su sve štampane novine, osim jednih dnevnih i dva nedeljna lista – „Danas“, „NIN“ i „Vreme“, čiji domet je mali, zbog raznih pritisaka koje mediji trpe od vlasti) i gledate televizije sa nacionalnom frekvencijom, dakle, trudite se da se informišete iz dostupnih sredstava, nije čudo ako mislite da je Ukrajina napala Rusiju. Sve vesti sa glavnih i široko dostupnih izvora navode ili vam već daju gotov zaključak kako su podeljene uloge u tom sukobu, u kom je ruska strana označena kao ispravna, bratska, zaštitnička, ona koja se bori za pravoslavlje, porodične vrednosti, i protiv fašista, ona koja je na strani Srbije i koja nam najviše pomaže.

Iako je članstvo u EU navodni strateški cilj Srbije, ona je jedina zemlja kandidat za pridruživanje Evropskoj

uniji (EU), pored Turske, koja nije uvela sankcije Rusiji zbog napada na Ukrajinu.

Kako su na novom konkursu održanom ove godine nacionalne televizijske frekvencije podeljene ponovo istim televizijama, listom onih koje su u službi vladajuće stranke, tako do najvećeg broja ljudi u Srbiji dopiru vesti da je rat na vratima, i da je samo pitanje dana kada će doći do sukoba sa Kosovom, Hrvatskom ili Bosnom i Hercegovinom, zavisi od doba dana i stava predsednika Srbije ko mu je koristan neprijatelj u tom trenutku. Čak i kada izjavi: „Ne pada mi na pamet da ratujem sa Bošnjacima“, to naravno kod svakog mislećeg bića izaziva jezu – odakle ideja da je rat moguć? Zašto se o tome govori? Ako on konkretno to neće, ko onda hoće? Ako neće s Bošnjacima, s kim onda hoće? :)

Izbori bez izbora

Vanredni izbori u Srbiji, predsednički, parlamentarni i delom lokalni, održani su 3. aprila. U trenutku kada završavam ovaj tekst, skoro pet meseci kasnije, još uvek nemamo formiranu vladu. Izbori su održani u nedemokratskoj atmosferi, sa izmenom izbornog zakona desetak dana pred raspisivanje izbora (u poslednjem trenutku da bi odluka bila legalna i objavljena u Službenom glasniku), sa neuređenim biračkim spiskovima, pritiscima i ucenama birača, sa medijima koji su u potpunoj službi vladajuće stranke, ali je opozicija ovog puta odlučila da ih ne bojkotuje kao dve godine ranije. Rezultati su očekivani, ali imajući u vidu u kakvoj opštoj atmosferi su održani, lično sam sklona optimizmu (teško opravdanom) da je zapravo vladajuća stranka Aleksandra Vučića najviše izgubila. On je pobedio, i ponovo postao predsednik, glasovima 58,59% izašlih glasača (2017. je imao 55,05%).

Lista oko vladajuće Srpske napredne stranke „Aleksandar Vučić-Zajedno možemo sve“ ima 120 poslanika (2020. godine je imala 188 od ukupno 250 koliko ih čini Skupštinu), a njihov koalicioni partner Socijalistička partija Srbije ima 31 (imali 32). Opoziciona lista „Ujedinjeni za pobedu Srbije“ ima 38 poslanika i građanska koalicija „Moramo“ 13, dakle ukupno 41 poslaničko mesto. Desna koalicija NADA u Skupštini ima 15 poslanika, a desničarske stranke Dveri i Zavetnici imaju po 10 poslanika, što je ukupno 35. Trinaest mandata imaju manjinske stranke.

Kome rat, kome brat?

U društvu u kom živimo neprestano smo izloženi teroru straha i pretnji. Rat je reč koja se koristi u svakodnevnom govoru i najviše je upotrebljavaju najviši zvaničnici države. I dok građanima prete raznim neprijateljima i izmišljenim ili stvarnim aferama – što su pretnje veće – to je sakrivanje nečega što se zaista događa uspešnije. Tako se svaka afera ove vlasti maskira nečim – pad aviona koji prenosi oružje iz Srbije, maskira se nekom aferom za jednokratnu upotrebu – i tu se ne bira sredstvo. Konkretno taj slučaj je maskiran zloupotrebom Jasenovca i stradanja ljudi u njemu. Baš kad je pao ukrajinski avion na severu Grčke, sa oružjem proizvedenim u Srbiji u državnoj fabrici „Krušik“, koje je diler iz Bosne i Hercegovine prodao Bangladešu, napravljena je višednevna lažna afera oko predsednikove posete Jasenovcu.

Predsednik Srbije je namerio da „privatno“ poseti Jasenovac, ali mu hrvatske vlasti to nisu dozvolile – jer je svakome jasno da je nemoguća privatna poseta osobe koja se nalazi na tako važnoj funkciji u drugoj zemlji – za početak, ako osoba privatno putuje – ko je odgovoran za njenu bezbednost? Ako osoba privatno putuje, ne treba joj saglasnost. Ukoliko se predsedniku Srbije bilo šta desi na tom privatnom putu – ko bi bio kriv? On sam nikada i ni za šta nije kriv. On je samo žrtva, kao što je srpski narod žrtva i to je mantra koja se ponavljala danima, toliko dugo i besmisleno jer zaista nigde nije bilo reči o stvarnim žrtvama u Jasenovcu, sećanja na njih, već je predsednik Srbije bio u prvom i jedinom planu kao žrtva, a sadašnja vlast, pa i građani Hrvatske kao agresori.

Taj „sukob“ sa Hrvatskom služio je i kao odmak od situacije na Kosovu, skrenuo nam je pažnju sa njega, jer se taj „rat“ stalno pominje u Srbiji, dok se o saradnji pregovara u Briselu. Građani Srbije se pripremaju da saradnje nema, niti je može biti, te da je rat uvek moguć i samo što nije, da su za to krivi isključivo Albanci sa Kosova i njihova vlast. U isto vreme se sa njima pregovara, pa je tako moguće da nam predsednik i njegovi saradnici slavodobitno saopšte da „od danas svi građani Srbije - svi Srbi, Albanci, Bošnjaci, Mađari, Romi, Goranci - mogu slobodno da putuju na KiM uz lične karte.“¹ Posle ove izjave preispitala sam sebe

1 Blic, 28. 8. 2022., članak „Od danas svi građani Srbije mogu slobodno na KiM uz lične karte“.

– kad god sam išla na Kosovo prethodnih nekoliko godina, prelazila sam sa ličnom kartom, bez problema. Mogla sam to i 2017. i 2022. – šta se promenilo? U stvari – nije se promenilo ništa za nas koji dolazimo iz Srbije. Promenilo se za građane Kosova, koji nisu mogli da uđu u Srbiju sa ličnom kartom izdatom na Kosovu, već su na granici imali probleme, izvođenje iz prevoza, i onda su dobijali određen papir, koji im je važio kao privremeni dokument. A dešavalo se da budu i vraćeni i da im ulazak u Srbiju ne bude odobren. Istina je da nisu mogli ni svi građani Srbije da uđu na Kosovo tek tako – neki su vraćeni. Recimo, pripadnici ultra desničarske grupe „Levijatan“, koji su u oktobru prošle godine krenuli uz ratne pokliče na društvenim mrežama na Kosovo – ali su vraćeni, jer nisu imali PCR test.² Iako je ova vest izazvala brojne duhovite reakcije, ipak je njena srž problem – odakle uopšte mogućnost da takve grupe postoje i imaju bilo kakvu društvenu ulogu? Oni zapravo predstavljaju produženu ruku vlasti – ono što vlast želi, a ne čini sama, delegira njima. Onda ih koristi da javnosti u Srbiji pokaže kako su takve grupe gore od onih na vlasti, a svetu da ne mogu da se bave rešavanjem problema, jer imaju otpor takvih grupa u društvu.

Mučnina i bes

Desničarske grupe, kojih nije malo – su paradržavne organizacije. I mafijaške grupe, iako se između njih najčešće može staviti znak jednakosti. Postoji jako opasna organizovana kriminalna grupa, bliska vlasti, koja je činila najstrašnije zločine, a čije su vođe (ako su to zaista vođe) uhapšene. Koloplet umešanosti državnih zvaničnika u zaštitu tih grupa, i prljavi poslovi koje su one obavljale za vlast zahtevaju jako dugačka objašnjenja. Meni, kao autorki ovog teksta je jasno da bi on bez opservacije o uticaju i dešavanjima vezanim za kriminalno delovanje i navodno sprečavanje daljeg delovanja hapšenjem bio nedopustivo uskraćen. Pa ipak, oprostite mi – ljudsko sam biće koje ne može da čita o tome kako su ljudi mleveni u mašinama za meso, sa svim užasnim detaljima. Ti ljudi imaju svoje porodice, majke koje su hrabro istupile tražeći istinu o svojim sinovima, a neke od njih su tu istinu i

saznale sa televizije, gledajući jedno od vanrednih obraćanja predsednika Srbije. Ne pristajem da budem zlostavljana takvim vestima i informacijama, koje u meni, kao što pretpostavljam i u svakom ljudskom biću sa malo empatije i malo odgovornosti stvaraju ne samo mučninu, već i revolt – ko je odgovoran za to što su oni činili? Ko je svojim nečinjenjem dozvolio da postoje i da takve stvari rade? Naposletku – ko ih je slao da građane koji su prethodnih godina protestovali raznim povodima – tuku na ulicama?

Bombe i nepročitani mailovi

Svakodnevno smo zlostavljani činjenjem i nečinjenjem državnih organa. Majka sam koja je 16. maja rano ujutru dobila mail iz škole u koju ide moje dete, sa naslovom „Dojava o bombi“. Ispostaviće se da je sto škola u Beogradu dobilo mailove sa pretnjom da su postavljene bombe. Prethodnih dana evakuisani su neki tržni centri i javne institucije zbog takvih dojava. A onda je krenulo, i gotovo celi maj i jun su deca u pratnji policije izlazila sa nastave, zbog takvih dojava. To je bilo maltretiranje svih, i dece koja nisu imala nikakvu stručnu podršku, i roditelja. I pretvorilo se u cirkus koji je trajao skoro dva meseca – iako je uvek postojao neki broj građana koji ni takve pretnje, ni ponašanje onih koji u državi o bezbednosti treba da brinu nisu shvatali olako. Dešavalo se i da neka institucija shvati da je dobila pretnju tek posle nekoliko dana jer – nisu otvarali mail u međuvremenu.

Protesti i posledice

Deo društva je u stalnim protestima, i nema dana da se neko ne buni, pa ipak, sve proteste možemo da svrstamo u dve grupe: jednu koja se obraća predsedniku, i od njega traži rešenje, koje on ne daje, ali daje obećanja, i drugu koja se buni zbog principa, uključujući tu i vladavinu prava, i ne doživljava predsednika kao čudesno biće koje čarobnim štapićem rešava sve. Tako su trajali i traju brojni ekološki protesti, najveći su bili krajem 2021. godine zbog namere Rio Tinta da otkupom obradivog poljoprivrednog zemljišta otvori pogone za prerađu litijuma, čime bi narušio eko sistem čitave regije Jadrta. Blokada puteva širom Srbije dala je rezultat, i taj projekat je zaustavljen, no svi strahuju da je samo usporen, i da će nova vlada dati dozvolu da se taj projekat nastavi. Trenutno traju

2 Nova.rs, 14. 10. 2021., članak „Levijatan krenuo na Kosovo, vratili ih jer nisu imali PCR test“.

protesti u Šodrošu u blizini Novog Sada, gde aktivisti pokušavaju da zaštite šumu, te u okolini Majdanpeka, gde kineska kompanija Žiđin miniranjem planine Starice želi da proširi rudnik.

Protesta je bilo i zbog murala koji slavi osuđenog ratnog zločinca Ratku Mladiću u centru Beograda, koji su aktivisti prekrećili, pa desničari branili, pa aktivisti reagovali, i to je trajalo dani. U međuvremenu širom Beograda pojavili su se grafiti sa slikom Mladića. Policija je reagovala i sprečila aktiviste koji su protiv ovog murala da ga prekreće. Dve aktivistkinje koje su mural gađale jajima (Aidu Ćorović i Jelenu Jaćimović) su silom priveli u stanicu, ali se i tu oglasio predsednik i rekao da „policija nije štitila mural, već da neko ne bude povređen“, što je direktna podrška onima koji su taj mural napravili i branili ga.

Kao eho sporazuma koji je dogovoren sa Kosovom, u istom obraćanju i gotovo istoj rečenici, predsednik je zabranio održavanje Europrajda, zakazanog za 17. septembar. Iako on za to nema ovlašćenja, on je taj

koji je zabranu obelodanio, sve se pozivajući na tešku bezbednosnu situaciju u kojoj se Srbija nalazi. Na reagovanje dela društva (mora se naglasiti da drugi deo u nekim versko-političkim litijama šteta Beogradom pod parolom zaštite „porodičnih vrednosti“ i protiv Europrajda, sa pretnjama onima koji ga organizuju i podržavaju) zbog te zabrane, rekao je, citiram:

„A to što ste planirali da imate, država je odlučila da nećete da imate. Tačka.“ rekao je Vučić.

Europride, slobodu, sigurnost, bezbednost, osećaj da pripadate društvu, a ne da ste otpadnik zato što letujete u Hrvatskoj, letujete uopšte ili kritikujete predsednika i njegovu vlast, saradnju sa susedima, suočavanje sa ratnim zločinima i neveličanje osuđenih ratnih zločinaca, državu prava i pravde, objektivne i slobodne medije... upišite slobodno i vi ono što biste planirali da imate u Srbiji.

Država je odlučila da nećete da imate.

Tačka.

Katarina Milićević

Crna Gora: Pala Vlada, opet?!

Ovu rečenicu je prije malo više od dvije godine u Crnoj Gori bilo teško i zamisliti, a kamoli izgovoriti. Međutim, samo u nešto malo više od dvije godine su „pale“ tri Vlade. Prvo u avgustu 2020. godine ona višedecenijska DPS-a, a onda samo u sedam mjeseci 2022. godine i dvije nove Vlade. U februaru je izglasano nepovjerenje Vladi premijera Zdravka Krivokapića, a u avgustu manjinskoj Vladi Dritana Abazovića. Izgleda da se „stara dobra“ (ne samo crnogorska) disciplina *ne skidanja s vlasti* pretvara u neku novu, malo više pokretljiviju i padu skloniju, „vitešku“ disciplinu.

Vlada premijera Zdravka Krivokapića „pala“ je u crnogorskom parlamentu glasovima opozicije i dijela vladajuće koalicije i to potpredsjednika iste te Vlade, Dritana Abazovića. Time je nakon 14 mjeseci okončan mandat Krivokapićevog kabineta u kojem je Abazović bio jedini političar, a svi ostali ministri „eksperti“. Pad Vlade treba tražiti u činjenici da nije od početka imala punu podršku svih svojih članova, da je njen legitimitet bio skoro beznačajan, a personalni

sastav se okrnjio već nakon 6 mjeseci mandata, smjenjivanjem ministra pravde Vladimira Leposavića. Još veći balast predstavljalo je konceptualno razilaženje Krivokapićevog kabineta sa obećanjima pobjedničkog bloka biračkom tijelu. Očekivanja birača se nisu realizovala u radu nove Vlade, a posebno im je bio problematičan njen odnos prema NATO, Evropskoj uniji, Kosovu i naročito Srbiji.

Nakon pregovora krajem aprila je za novog premijera izabran dotadašnji potpredsjednik Vlade Dritan Abazović. Prethodno je imenovana Danijela Đurović iz redova Socijalističke narodne partije za predsjednicu parlamenta. Abazović je pored toga što je ponosan na svoj i na rad prethodne Vlade, istakao da će se rad nove Vlade zasnivati na vladavini prava i ekonomskom razvoju.

Međutim, nova Vlada sa premijerom koji po prvi put dolazi iz redova „manjinskog naroda“ oborena je nakon samo tri mjeseca, tačnije 113 dana. Pad Vlade pokrenula je Demokratska partija socijalista, koja

joj je do tada davala podršku. Podrška je prestala nakon što je Abazović potpisao „temeljni ugovor“¹ sa Srpskom pravoslavnom crkvom (SPC), za koji u DPS-u smatraju da je neustavan. Zamjerili su mu i da je napustio evropski put jer u međuvremenu nije došlo do deblokade pravosuđa, a što je glavni uslov za dalji napredak Crne Gore ka Evropskoj uniji. DPS nekome zamjera blokadu pravosuđa, i to smo dočekali! Dakle aktuelna vlada koju predvodi Dritan Abazović od 20. avgusta 2022. godine djeluje u tehničkom mandatu.

Ništa loše, reklo bi se, čak i poželjno, vlast je smjenjiva, to se konačno i u Crnoj Gori događa i to redovno (ne mora baš ovoliko često, ali kad su nove discipline u pitanju tu smo konzistentni). Međutim, da li je prije svega prvo 13 mjeseci, pa onda samo 3 mjeseca dovoljno vremena bilo kome da se u državi koja je decenijama zarobljena kriminalom, korupcijom, nepotizmom, partijakratijom itd., bilo šta uradi? Da li su očigledne opstrukcije opozicije i dijela vladajućih isuviše jake za bilo kakvu radikalniju promjenu? Ipak, i pored malo vremena, moramo se zapitati da li je Crna Gora danas u boljem stanju nego prije dvije godine ili prije pola godine, zavisno od toga rezultate koje Vlade posmatramo? Ili je doživjela još jednu u nizu degradacija, još jedan u nizu koraka unazad i u demokratiji, i u ekonomskom razvoju i u regionalnim i međunarodnim odnosima? U najboljem slučaju nismo li samo hibernirali prethodne dvije godine?

Kako upokojiti vampira?

Da se nova disciplina revnosno sprovodi, postarao se Demokratski front (DF) na čiju inicijativu je u prvim danima septembra 2022. organizovan sastanak predstavnika parlamentarne većine iz 2020. godine. Na sastanku je potpisan sporazum² i najavljeno formiranje nove Vlade Crne Gore (samo treća po redu u ovoj godini). Prva tačka tog sporazuma glasi „Eliminacija svake mogućnosti povratka DPS-a na vlast u bilo kojoj formi i nastavak demontaže bivšeg režima“. Lov na vampire ili dugo najavljivana lustracija? Za sve podjednako, nadamo se!

Tvrdnje da je na avgustovskim izborima 2020. godine konačno okončana ne samo decenijska vladavina DPS već i njihov politički život i uticaj, pokazale su se pogrešnim. DPS je ne samo kumovao padu Krivokapićeve Vlade, već je prvo podržao pa nakon samo tri mjeseca srušio vladu Dritana Abazovića. Kakav manjak moći! Pri tome je Milo Đukanović kao predsjednik Crne Gore sve vrijeme upražnjavanja nove viteške discipline, ma koliko to teško bilo priznati, umnogome stabilniji pol crnogorskog društva, za razliku od vlade i parlamenta zbog čijih je unutrašnjih previranja i sukoba rad i jedne i druge institucije daleko od efikasnog.

Politički upokojiti DPS, znači upokojiti višedecenijski „zarobljenu državu“, u kojoj su institucije ako ne i čitav sistem duboko srasle sa organizovanim kriminalom. Znači upokojiti korumpirano i nestručno tužilaštvo i sudstvo, osloboditi i sve ostale institucije, garantovati i sprovesti vladavinu prava i sloboda i niz drugih stvari. Da se sa ovim procesom već započelo govori i to što su uhapšeni dugogodišnja bivša predsjednica Vrhovnog suda Vesna Medenica i predsjednik Privrednog suda Blažo Jovanić, dok je Europol optužio dvojicu policajaca da su kao članovi jednog od dva najjača mafijaška klana švercovali velike količine kokaina. Medenica je osumnjičena za protivzakoniti uticaj u više sudskih postupaka, dok se njen sin Miloš Medenica po podacima Europolu sumnjiči za šverc cigareta i trgovinu drogom. Predsjednik Privrednog suda se tereti za malverzacije tokom stečajnih postupaka u kojima je, navodno, uzimao novac.

Sezona hapšenja počela je nakon postavljanja Vladimira Novovića na mjesto Glavnog specijalnog tužioca. Njegov prethodnik, Milivoje Katnić, optuživan je da je štitio pojedince iz vlasti, naročito predsjednika države Mila Đukanovića. Hapšenja su nastavljena tokom ljeta, kada su prvo uhapšeni nekadašnji predsjednik i članovi Odbora direktora kompanije „13. jul Plantaže“ Veselin Vukotić, Božo Mihailović, Đorđije Rajković i Sead Šahman, a na kraju i bivša izvršna direktorka kompanije Verica Maraš i to zbog postojanja osnovane sumnje da su počinili krivično djelo zloupotreba položaja u privrednom poslovanju. Hobotnici je počelo da se staje na pipke. Da li sazrijeva trenutak da se udari u glavu?

1 *Radio Slobodna Evropa*, 3. 8. 2022., „*Nakon potpisivanja Temelnog ugovora sa SPC upitan opstanak Vlade*“

2 *Euronews Srbija*, 2. 9. 2022., članak „*Stara većina potpisala sporazum, formiraće novu Vladu Crne Gore*“

Mjesecima se već pretpostavlja i očekuje da će uslijediti hapšenja i nekih političara za koje postoje sumnje u korupciju ili protiv kojih su i ranije podnošene krivične prijave. Veliki dio javnosti tu prije svega cilja na članove Đukanovićevog DPS-a čije nedavno povampirenje samo otežava taj proces. Ali ukoliko postoji političke volje, a u nesumnjivu hrabrost novog specijalnog tužioca smo se uvjerali, treba očekivati plodotvorno-lustrativnu crnogorsku jesen.

Hljeba i praznika

Sedam godina od početka gradnje, Crna Gora je otvorila prvu dionicu svog prvog autoputa, koja će, kada bude završena, povezati Podgoricu sa sjeverom države i sa Srbijom. Za izgradnju 41 kilometara autoputa potrošeno je četiri Vlade i skoro milijardu evra. Procjene stručnjaka su da će to biti najskuplji autoput u Evropi, po izgrađenom kilometru.

Talas poskupljenja koji je Crnu Goru zapljusnuo početkom 2022. godine, dostigao je rekord u julu kada je inflacija bila 15%. Pored negativnih tendencija na svjetskom tržištu energenata, hrane i usluga, sve više se za uzrok tome uzima u obzir i početak primjene Vladinog programa „Evropa sad“ kojim su od februara uvećane zarade i povećana socijalna davanja, ali time i rashodi budžeta, što sve govori na kakvom je udaru životni standard u Crnoj Gori.

No kad nema hljeba, ima praznika. Proslava 13. jula, Dana državnosti kada je svečano i otvoren autoput, okončana je intervencijom policije koja je spriječila širi sukob dvije grupe građana okupljenih u Nikšiću radi proslave praznika. Na glavnom gradskom trgu je održan skup u organizaciji crnogorske nacionalne organizacije pod nazivom Forum slobodnih građana Luča, dok je u blizini, na trgu Šaka Petrovića, praznik slavila druga grupa građana sa trobojkama, srpskim nacionalnim simbolima i simbolima Srpske pravoslavne crkve. Do većeg sukoba nije došlo zahvaljujući intervenciji policije koja je dvije grupe razdvojila, uhapsila više osoba, a intervenisala je i ekipa hitne pomoći. Pored osuda nasilja i traženja odgovornosti, nastavilo se po starom, Srbi su optuživali Crnogorce, Crnogorci Srbe, odgovornosti nema, a praznovanje je okončano suzavcem!

„Utihnuo duh crnogorskog junaštva, a još više čojstva“

„Prije 30 godina, u sumraku raspada jedne države, koja je, čak i prije nego je Evropa krenula tim putem, decenijama okupljala naše očeve u bratstvu i jedinstvu, na ovom mjestu, na plavoj obali Jadrana, za trenutak je utihnuo duh crnogorskog junaštva, a još više čojstva“, rekao je ministar vanjskih poslova Crne Gore, Đorđe Radulović, prilikom polaganja vijenaca na ulaz u Logor Morinj. Po prvi put nakon 30 godina delegacije Hrvatske i Crne Gore su zajedno odale počast postradalima u Logoru Morinj³ sa, kako je dodao Radulović, željom da se to nikad više ne smije ponoviti, te da je interes nove Crne Gore „pomirenje naših očeva zarad budućnosti naše djece“.

Da ovo nije izolovan slučaj govori i to da su memorijalnom skupu organizovanom 25. maja 2022. godine povodom obilježavanja trideset godina od deportovanja bosansko-hercegovačkih izbjeglica, prisustvovali direktor Uprave policije Crne Gore Zoran Brđanin, ministar unutrašnjih poslova Filip Adžić, ministar pravde Marko Kovač i ministar rada Admir Adrović. Opet po prvi put, nakon trideset godina, predstavnici vlade Crne Gore prisustvuju obilježavanju godišnjice deportacije muslimana. Tog 25. maja 1992. godine izbjeglice su pohapšene i isporučene Vojski Republike Srpske. Najveći broj od njih 79 je likvidiran, dok je njih 12 uspjelo da preživi mučenje u logorima.

Direktor Uprave policije Crne Gore Zoran Brđanin uputio je izvinjenje žrtvama i članovima porodica i iskazao žaljenje što do sada nije bilo političke volje niti spremnosti da se ovaj zločin prihvati, nazove pravim imenom i na valjan način do kraja rasvijetli. Adžić je poručio da podržava podizanje spomen obilježja ispred zgrade policije u Herceg Novom, rekavši da je to „ne samo profesionalna, već prije svega ljudska i moralna obaveza“⁴.

3 U logoru „Morinj“ su 1991-92. bili zarobljeni civili (oko 160) koje su rezervisti tadašnje Jugoslovenske narodne armije (JNA) hapsili u kućama po Konavlima kao i malobrojni zarobljeni pripadnici hrvatskih oružanih snaga koje su tada branile Dubrovnik. Oni su kasnije svjedočili o raznim zlostavljanjima koje su preživjeli tokom zarobljeničtva, a Viši sud u Podgorici je za ratni zločin i nečovječno postupanje osudio četvoricu bivših rezervista JNA na 12 godina zatvora.

4 Individualna i objektivna odgovornost nije utvrđena u slučaju „Deportacije“, iako je država neposredno prihvatila odgovornost

Svakako značajan pomak u odnosu na prakse dosadašnjih državnih zvaničnika ali da „duh junaštva i još više čojstva“ ponovo zaživi nisu dovoljna samo ova dva primjera, već ovakve i slične aktivnosti treba da postanu praksa i obaveza. A prilika za to pored ova dva slučaja u Crnoj Gori ima još. Recimo: Napad na Dubrovnik 1991 - stradalo 116 civila, 194 hrvatskih vojnika, 165 crnogorskih pripadnika JNA; 33 000 ljudi prognano, 2071 stambenih objekata oštećeno

za ovaj ratni zločin i u decembru 2008. godine donijela odluku o sudskom poravnanju i isplatila oštećenima ukupnu odštetu u iznosu od 4,13 miliona eura. Istinska politička volja da se ovaj ratni zločin adekvatno riješi i procesuirati i dalje uporno izostaje.

ili uništeno. Bukovica 1992 - 6 osoba je ubijeno, 2 osobe izvršile samoubistvo nakon mučenja, 11 osoba kidnapovano, 125 muslimanskih porodica sa ukupno 330 članova raseljeno. Porodica Klapuh 1992 - tri člana porodice Klapuh iz Foče je ubijeno u blizini Plužina. Kaluđerski Laz 1999 - pripadnici rezervnog sastava Vojske Jugoslavije su ubili 22 izbjeglice albanske nacionalnosti

Iako prema do sada zvaničnim stavovima Crna Gora nije učestvovala u ratovima 90-tih, ova mjesta govore da postoje mogućnosti za pošteniji odnos prema prošlosti.

Radomir Radević

Kosovo: Kako voleti svoju zemlju?

U jednoj virtuelnoj raspravi koju sam vodio sa jednim veteranom prošlog rata na Kosovu, prilikom još jednog od niza nesporazuma između vlade Kosova i Srbije, objašnjavao mi je da nas Srbija ne može napasti pešadijom. Kada sam video da se rasprava zahuktala i postala ozbiljna, kako bih smirio situaciju i pokušam da budem opušteniji, rekao sam kako nas Srbija može osvojiti za 24 sata, dok je on počeo da nabraja našu vojnu i policijsku sposobnost, ubeđujući me da za 24 sata Srbija nema nikakvih šansi.

- *Dobro, onda za 48* – odgovaram, neozbiljno.

- *Idi, ubij se* – kaže on, i tu stavljamo tačku našoj virtuelnoj raspravi.

Sa veteranom svakako ostajem prijatelj, i nastavljamo povremene sukobe.

Ali šta sam naučio iz ove rasprave?

Da je rat uvek opcija

Odnosi između Kosova i Srbije ostaju vrlo krhki, i nikakva duboka analiza ne može doneti uverljive zaključke o tome jesu li odnosi bolji ili gori od kraja rata 1998-1999. A već smo u 2022. godini.

Mada, naravno, postoji napredak u mnogim poljima kao što su trgovina, slobodno kretanje, komunikacija na umetničkom i kulturnom nivou (zar ta komunikacija nije oduvek postojala?!), ne može se reći da taj

napredak dolikuje nekom normalnom dobrom odnosu između dve države ili između dva susedna naroda.

I to se vidi kad god postoji bilo kakva odluka ili izjava koja uključuje odnos Kosova sa Srbijom ili odnos Kosova sa Srbima, posebno onima na severu zemlje.

Rat je toliko prisutan u političkom, javnom i medijskom diskursu da se ponekad dobije utisak da se završio juče, a ne pre 23 godine. Neki kažu da 23 godine nisu puno, mada ja ne mislim tako.

Svakako, rat ne treba zaboraviti, žrtve treba pamtiti dostojanstveno, bol se mora prepoznati i prihvatiti izvan etničkih i drugih pripadnosti, ali rat ne treba uvek pamtiti kao pobjedu, kao poraz „zlog“, kao poraz „neprijatelja“ već kao proces koji se desio zbog niza isprepletenih i komplikovanih razloga i koji mora poslužiti kao podsetnik da se više nikada ne ponovi, da ne bude tako laka opcija koja se može uzeti u razmatranje i planirati u detalje.

A tu ne smemo zaboraviti mlade. Oni koji uopšte nisu uključeni u rasprave o ratu, i kojima se ratni narativ servira u obliku slavnih pobjeda i legendarnih bitaka. Njih niko ne pita da li žele rat. Štaviše, ne pitaju ih ni da li žele da slušaju o ratu, već im samo pune glave i uši pričama koje su, ruku na srce, dosta bahate.

I to bi mogao biti jedan od neistraženih razloga za gubljenje nade mladih na Kosovu.

Da je Srbija večni neprijatelj

Kad god se priča o Srbiji, nikad se o njoj ne govori kao o susednoj državi s kojom (ironično?) Kosovo ima najnaglašenije ekonomske, političke i socijalne odnose.

Kada se govori o Srbiji, govori se o njenom neprijateljstvu prema Kosovu, o čitavom narodu koji ima neprijateljska osećanja prema albanskom narodu, koji želi zlo albanskom narodu, koji je došao sa Karpata da kviri mir Albancima.

Svakako, cilj ovde nije da se umanje stravični zločini koji su srpski režimi istorijski počinili na Kosovu i u drugim zemljama u regionu. Ali to nikome ne daje za pravo da ima predrasuda prema celom jednom narodu, da im sudi zbog strahota koje su činili pojedinci, i da baca kolektivnu krivicu za pojedinačne krivice.

Toliko se gaji mržnja protiv ovog severnog suseda da se čak i BHSC jezik smatra lošim jezikom, koji zvuči loše, neprijateljskim jezikom (ima li lošeg jezika na svetu?).

I veoma je žalosno učešće medija u ovom diskursu. Valjda kleveta, uvreda i jezik mržnje uvek dobiju više rezultata nego pisati i izveštavati o nekom dobrom primeru suživota među različitim narodima – takvih primera ima, nesumnjivo, koliko god želite, i to nedaleko od Prištine – glavnog grada produkcije takvih neprijateljskih narativa.

Naravno, sadašnji srpski nacionalistički režim nije ništa bolji. Kosovo je talac dva susedna naroda, koji nikako da se sporazumeju i da gledaju u budućnost

koja bi bila dobra za sve. Ali možda to ne bi odgovaralo nacionalistima kojima uvek trebaju sukobi (stvarni i zamišljeni) da ostanu na vlasti što je duže moguće. A dokazi za to su svi režimi širom zapadnog Balkana već dugi niz godina.

Da se mentalitet 90ih nije promenio

Uopšte se nije promenio mentalitet od devedesetih godina na Kosovu. Barem onih koji zauzimaju najviše prostora u medijima, u javnom i političkom diskursu.

Uprkos promeni generacija (nemojmo zaboraviti – oni koji su rođeni završetkom rata danas imaju 23 godine i čine značajan deo stanovništva i birača na Kosovu), najglasniji su svadljivci, mrzioci, pokretači sukoba i sve to u ime „domovine“, „zaštite zavičaja“, „borbe protiv vekovnog neprijatelja“. I tako dalje.

I niko ne pita one koji su za devedesete čule samo od svojih roditelja, iz (subjektivnih) školskih udžbenika, od medija.

Niko ih ne pita da li žele da ratuju, da li žele da žive u miru sa drugim narodima na Kosovu, da li žele da uče jezik jedni drugih, čak i da li žele da žive na Kosovu.

I oni su taoci ovog spornog Kosova, ove male, pognute zemlje koja jedva drži sav taj teret istorije na svojim leđima, svu tu mitomaniju, svu tu bol i svu tu prolivenu krv, za Bog zna šta.

A pomirenje nikad nije put, uvek usput!

Qerim Ondozi

Severna Makedonija: Ako kradeš, kradi mnogo

Bugarska je i ove godine ostala dosledna svojim, za nas neshvatljivim, uslovima da iskoristi veto u pregovorima Severne Makedonije sa Evropskom Unijom. Razočarenje je bilo i jeste veliko. Na stranu naši političari, nesposobni, korumpirani, nepismeni, naivni, ovakvi, onakvi... dobro ih znamo, i sami smo krivi što smo ih izglasali (a izgleda da nam baš takvi odgovaraju), ali ima takvih i u EU? Takvih koji prihvataju da uopšte razgovaraju o našem postojanju i postojanju makedonskog jezika. Takvih koji direktno pomažu jačanje nacionalističkih partija, oživljavanje snaga

koje žele međuetničke konflikte i istovremeno duboko razočaravaju i ono malo građansko-liberalnih krugova.

EU je uspela ne samo da pojača argumente evroskeptika, već i da izazove antizapadno raspoloženje među najzapadnije orjentisanim građanima, pre svega Makedoncima. Opšti je utisak da je EU postala ono protiv čega se nekada borila. Da, suočavamo se sa nestabilnošću izazvanom pristupnim pregovorima sa EU!? Naša opsesija i cilj ka EU već tri decenije su posledica uverenja da će nam članstvo obezbediti stabilnost i prosperitet, umesto stabilizacije, a sada je

to ozbiljna opasnost da se destabilizuje Makedonija.

Dobijali smo različite predloge i rešenja da bismo na kraju prihvatili dogovor sa „francuskim šmekom“.

Znači dogovorili smo se

Iako niko i ne zna šta smo se tačno dogovorili, nekako razumemo da sada Bugarska nije bila okupator u Drugom svetskom ratu i nije bila deo fašističkih snaga, a svako pominjanje Bugarske kao okupatora, bilo gde i na bilo koji način smatraće se govorom mržnje. Bugari će kao državotvoran narod biti upisani u Ustav, a mi ćemo makedonski jezik u Ustavu nazivati makedonskim jezikom. Sada nas čeka još jedna promena Ustava i sve drame koje sa tim idu - duge sednice, rasprave, prebrojavanja, kupovina poslanika, obećavanja direktorskih i ambasadorskih mesta, pretnje, protesti, blokade...

Dnevopolitičke aktuelnosti i razvoj pregovora o takozvanom „francuskom predlogu“ za prevazilaženje spora sa Bugarskom i veto na početak pregovora Severne Makedonije za članstvo u Evropskoj Uniji, ponovo su rasplamsali govor mržnje u javnosti, medijima i na društvenim mrežama. Govor mržnje i dezinformacije, kao oružje propagande, su polarizovali javno mnjenje, promovisali nasilni ekstremizam i akte mržnje, podrili našu krhku demokratiju i smanjili i onako nisko poverenje u političke lidere, institucije i demokratske procese.

Govor mržnje na protestima protiv predloženog pregovaračkog okvira EU prešao je sa političke na dežurnu etničku osnovu. Neki od učesnika protesta protiv „bugarizacije“ uzvikivali su „Čista Makedonija“, „Šiptare u gasne komore“ i slično, a retko koji medij se usudio da o tome izveštava. Muk u većini medija i udruženjima građana, a izostala je reakcija i nadležnih institucija. Zauzvrat, na proslavi godišnjice Ramkovnog sporazuma, koju sa ponosom i pompom proslavlja DUI (naravno, o trošku državnog budžeta), izviždana je voditeljica kada se obratila na makedonskom jeziku. Umesto proslave multietničkog karaktera, što bi trebalo da je jedan od glavnih postulata Ramkovnog sporazuma, obeležavanje 21 godine od njegovog potpisivanja palo je u senku ponašanja dela prisutnih na događaju. A Ramkovni sporazum i dalje za Albance predstavlja dobru ideju i pozitivan kompromis, dok je za većinu Makedonaca Ramkovni od početka loša

ideja, u kojoj ne samo da se ne nalaze, već ga smatraju i uzrokom za sve negativno što se dešava od dana potpisivanja, a verovatno i u budućnosti.

Tokom ove godine, nažalost, političari su normalizovali govor mržnje i doprineli atmosferi podela, tenzija i destabilizacije.

Pismena opomena

Svi smo jednoglasni da, kada se govori o korupciji, posebno sudija, javnih tužilaca, ministara i visokih funkcionera u vlasti, mora da postoji kazna. I to najstroža. I da, napokon smo ove godine imali prilike da to vidimo na delu. Konačno, kada je sama vlast konstatovala da ministar nije postupio u saglasnosti sa odredbama koje propisuje Etički kodeks, Vlada je odlučila da mu izrekne drakonsku kaznu: pismenu opomenu! Kraj!... Uzgred, radi se o slučaju kada su ministar, sudija i javni tužilac (zvanično mnogo bliske funkcije) zajedno leteli u Palermo da bi bodrili našu fudbalsku reprezentaciju i na kraju je ustanovljeno, uprkos njihovim tvrdnjama, da niko od njih nije sam platio let, smeštaj i kartu za utakmicu. Oni, i njima slični, mnogo vole državu, posebno ako je ta ljubav plaćena iz državnog budžeta.

U delu građana postoji percepcija da zakoni ne važe podjednako za sve, i to je postala najbolja stranačka artiljerija, iz koje pucaju istim topovima u zavisnosti od toga na kojoj strani fronta stoje neprijatelji. Neki misle da zakoni ne važe za one na vlasti, radikalniji misle da zakoni ne važe za Albance i tako dalje. No ipak, ima mnogo onih iz vlasti i mnogo Albanaca koji završavaju u zatvoru, bilo je čak i Albanaca u vlasti koji su završili u pritvoru: oni koji su pogrešili stranku!! Oni koji žele brzo da se obogate, kao generalni sekretar Vlade iz SDSM koji je završio u pritvoru zbog optužbe za krađu. Da je bio u „pravoj“ partiji, odnosno da je bio u DUI, danas bi uživao u blagodatima svoga dela, jer su funkcioneri DUI ili najpošteniji ili najlukaviji, nedodirljivi i nekažnjivi.

Još malo o pravosuđu i poverenju u sudstvo, kroz nekoliko primera

Primer 1. Bivši visoki funkcioner, državni službenik, optužen za više krivičnih dela iz oblasti korupcije, prevare, pranje novca i slično, se dogovorio za kaznu od tri godine zatvora (i to luksuznog zatvora, otvorenog tipa, sa pravom na godišnje odmore i slobodne vikende)

i da plati 36 miliona evra državi. Ako se zna da je plata visokih funkcionera na vlasti u proseku oko 1.000 evra mesečno, ovom službeniku bi bilo potrebno 36 hiljada meseci, odnosno 3 hiljade godina da zaradi taj novac. Ipak, na kraju svi su srećni. Niko ne pita odakle državnom službeniku ovoliki novac? Ali, svi znamo da će biti u zatvoru koji se nalazi na tri kilometra od centra Struge i sa pogledom na jezero iz skromne zgrade sa parkom u dvorištu. Ovaj zatvor je novo utočište za mnoge kriminalce koji su bili moćni i koji su uspeli da dobiju zatvorske kazne manje od tri godine, pa su se sa ohridskim ličnim karatama preselili iz glavnog grada na obalu Ohridskog jezera. Zaključak: ako kradeš, ukradi mnogo, u suprotnom loše ti se piše.

Primer 2. Tužilaštvo za organizovani kriminal i korupciju vrši pretres u Upravi finansijske policije (institucija 1 vs institucija 2). Direktor Uprave finansijske policije se žali, a tužiteljka na kraju biva suspendovana sa posla. Bez obzira na konačan ishod jedno je sigurno, sukob javne tužiteljke i direktora uprave je rat do istrebljenja i jedan od učesnika mora da bude poražen. Na žalost, u tom procesu je poraženo i onih mizernih osam odsto poverenja u sudstvo. Zaključak: nemoj ni da pomisliš da optužiš bilo koga iz vlasti, a posebno ne nekoga iz DUI!

(Ne)kompetentan i (ne)prikladan

Neadekvatnih kadrovskih rešenja svugde. Za generalnog konzula u Čikagu poslat je sin političkog analitičara, bez diplomatskog iskustva, ali miljenik vlasti. Mlada TV voditeljka, bez ikakvog iskustva bila je u centru pažnje pošto je vlada pokušala da je pošalje da bude šefica diplomatsko-konzularnog predstavništva u Njujorku, iako ne dolazi iz redova Ministarstva spoljnih poslova, niti je pogodna osoba za tu funkciju. Ovakvih primera ljudi bez odgovarajućeg obrazovanja ili iskustva u diplomatiji, ali sa nespornim stranačkim ili političkim poreklom je bezbroj.

Deca, rođaci, prijatelji političara (čitaj ljubavnice), po pravilu oni najnesposobniji koji ne mogu nigde

drugde da se zaposle, postaju članovi nadzornih ili upravnih odbora javnih preduzeća.

Korona profiteri

Sada kada je pandemija malo popustila, imamo mogućnost da analiziramo kako smo se nosili sa ovim izazovom. Iako je bilans izgubljenih života katastrofalan, ipak onaj drugi saldo, finansijski, nije tako loš. Posebno ne onima koji su trebali da nas štite i leče od virusa. Jedno istraživanje novinara iz Istraživačke reporterske laboratorije (IRL) pokazuje da je privatna bolnica koja je primila najviše pacijenata za vreme pandemije Covid-19 i u kojoj je lečenje koštalo desetine hiljada evra po pacijentu, primenila u lečenju sumnjiv metod, koji je bio u fazi kliničke studije. Klinika je sakrila podatke o unutar bolničkim bakterijskim infekcijama kod pacijenata, kao i to da je koristila u kliničkim ispitivanjima hemofiltraciju krvi kao metodu za lečenje kovid 19, za koju niti je informisala porodice pacijenata, niti je imala dozvolu za takva ispitivanja od nadležnih institucija. Mnogo pacijenata je umrlo u ovoj privatnoj bolnici. Podaci o tome su lažirani. Postupano je nezakonito. Ipak, ova bolnica ima neto dobit od 9,2 miliona evra. Stopa profitabilnosti bila je čak 28,3 odsto.

Dan D: Podaci sa popisa

Ove godine su predstavljeni rezultati popisa koji nije bio sproveden prethodnih 20 godina. Brojevima se dosta manipulisalo pred i za vreme trajanja popisa. Slede zvanični podaci: od ukupnog broja popisanih građana, rezidenata i nerezidenata, Makedonaca je 54,21%, Albanaca 29,52%, Turaka 3,98%, dok se 1,18% izjasnilo kao Srbi, 0,87 Bošnjaci a 0,34 odsto su Vlasi. Od rezidentnih stanovnika 58,44% su Makedonci, a 24,3 su Albanci. Na popisu se 3.504 građana izjasnilo kao Bugari, što je 0,19% no ipak će Bugari biti upisani u Ustav kao državotvoran narod, naravno ako želimo u EU.

Luan Imeri

Annual Report 2022

(English version)

Translation
Ulvija Tanović

Introduction

Dear friends,

Even though the situation has improved significantly, the pandemic still affected our work at the end of 2021 and during 2022. Some of our activities had to be postponed, some reduced in scope or modified, primarily so as to preclude in-person meetings, but this year a smaller number of our activities was conducted online. With the postponing and reduction of activities, with people being prevented from travelling and meeting, it seems as if further democratisation and human rights processes in our region were also reduced, postponed, or entirely prevented. As in the previous years, we did not let this discourage us, but instead strengthen our commitment to forging ahead in this necessary struggle for peacebuilding in the region.

Marking unmarked sites of suffering (ONMS) and working with war veterans took up most of our activities during this period as well.

In December 2021, we organised a commemorative gathering in memory of Novica Kostić, our long-time associate and friend, a peace activist and war veteran who died in December 2020. We visited Vlasotince, a small town in southern Serbia, where we laid flowers on his grave, held a commemorative gathering, and together with some thirty veterans and peace activists from the region, with the support of his family and with signatures from over 150 local citizens, we submitted an initiative for the street where he lived to be renamed Novica Kostić Street. This was nine months ago, and we are still hoping for a positive response from the local authorities.

In January 2022, we attended commemorations in Skelani, Municipality of Srebrenica, and in Tarčin near Hadžići, both in Bosnia and Herzegovina. In May 2022, we organised a joint visit to Stupni Do near Vareš and Trusina near Konjic, together with family members of victims from both sides. In June 2022, we attended the commemoration in Vitez, Bosnia and Herzegovina for the third time in a row, this time bringing a larger group of war veterans. Finally, in Blagaj near Mostar, Bosnia and Herzegovina, at the beginning of June 2022, we organised a meeting with war veterans to discuss our results so far, the challenges and obstacles we faced, and our future actions and plans.

We also organised two actions to mark unmarked sites of suffering, our 17th action in November 2021, when we visited and marked sites in Trnovo, Hadžići and Bugojno, and our 18th action in February 2022 in the Brčko District of BiH. More details about all ONMS actions can be found on the dedicated website nenasilje.org.

We managed to implement a peace education activity, our sixth “Mir-Paqe-Mир” peacebuilding training, which could not be organised last year due to the pandemic. The plan is to hold our Basic Training in Peacebuilding by the end of 2022.

We finally managed to organise the promotions of the Biber 03 Collection that we were forced to postpone due to the pandemic. The promotions now also featured the [Biber 04 Collection](#) published at the end of September 2021. From September 2021 to March 2022, Biber was promoted in 8 cities: Šibenik, Prijedor, Podgorica, Novi Sad, Bugojno, Bujanovac, Pristina and Prizren.

The Fifth Biber Contest was conducted and we expect to have the Biber 05 Short Story Collection printed in February 2023. Six stories from Biber 04 are now also available in audio format, and for more news about Biber, please go to biber.nenasilje.org.

At the end of March - beginning of April 2022, we organised a meeting as part of the project "South Asia - Western Balkans Peacebuilding Exchange". The meeting had two parts, a study trip to Mostar and a workshop in Sarajevo. This programme is implemented in cooperation with Bread for the World.

With contributions from our associates and friends Luan Imeri (North Macedonia), Qerim Ondozi

(Kosovo) and Dalmir Mišković (Croatia), members of the CNA Team wrote about the political and social contexts in the countries where we live and work.

More details on all of the above can be found in this report and on our websites

nenasilje.org; onms.nenasilje.org; biber.nenasilje.org.

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

CNA Team
September 2022

Our websites:



nenasilje.org



onms.nenasilje.org



kulturasjecanja.org



biber.nenasilje.org



handbook.nenasilje.org



work with war veterans

Actions and commemorations:

- In Memory of Novica Kostić, Vlasotince, Serbia, 8. 12. 2021
- Commemoration in Skelani near Srebrenica, BiH, 16. 1. 2022.
- Commemoration Silos in Tarčin near Hadžići, BiH, 27. 1.2022.
- Visit by War Veterans, Trusina – Stupni Do, BiH, 23-25.5.2022.
- War Veterans Retreat, Blagaj, BiH, 4-10.6.2022.
- Commemoration, Vitez, BiH, 10.6.2022.

Working with War Veterans: A Good Year

There are moments when emotions overlap so much it's hard to tell which is the most dominant. One such moment happened at the end of 2021, when a group of war veterans from BiH, Croatia and Serbia and peace activists gathered in Vlasotince, a small town in southern Serbia. We came to pay our respects to a friend and long-time associate Novica Kostić, who died a year ago, but due to the pandemic, we were able to organise a visit to his town only on the one-year anniversary of his death, to hold a commemoration and propose to the authorities that they name a street in Novica's hometown of Vlasotince after him. Death is a sad reason to come together, but memory of Novica, a true peacebuilder and veteran, has always been and remains permeated by pride and gratefulness that we have had the chance to meet this good southern soul. In his death, much like in life, Novica has managed to bring us together, unite us and give us energy and motivation to work together. The authorities have not completed the procedure to name a street after Novica, and we cannot be certain that they will indeed do so. We are certain that they should and we will do our best to remind them.

At the very start of 2022, we attended the commemoration to victims killed in Skelani near Srebrenica. Serb victims in this area feel neglected and there are often complaints that others do not care to honour Serb victims in this area, instead focusing exclusively on the Bosniak victims of the Srebrenica

genocide from July 1995. And yet, invitations to come and honour the victims are rare or non-existent, our own efforts to come to Skelani lasted several years. We attended this same commemoration in 2020 with a smaller group in an effort to open up the way for an official visit by our group of war veterans and peace activists. By getting to know the local actors and explaining the idea behind our visit and the message we want to send, we managed to gain enough trust to be welcomed. Every war leaves behind difficulties that are hard to deal with in the process of peacebuilding, but I feel these difficulties are greatest in eastern Bosnia. Crimes on a massive scale and genocide during the war, denial and relativism of the crimes, and victimisation of entire communities further compound the complete absence memory practices that would reach across ethnic lines. By coming to this commemoration, and by visiting the Potočari Memorial Centre in 2012, as with all other commemorations, we have tried to show that coming together to remember victims is possible, that together we can find paths to that kind of memory, and that fears of such paths, though understandable, can be overcome.

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



In February 2022, we attended the commemoration to mark the closing of the Silos camp in Tarčin, Municipality of Hadžići, which is located close to Sarajevo. Although several members of ARBiH and MUP RBiH were prosecuted for this crime before the Court of BiH, this detention site, like many others across BiH, has not been marked and the commemoration was organised for the first time last year. We had already marked the Silos in Tarčin as part of our activities to mark unmarked sites of suffering, and our presence at the commemoration was particularly welcomed by the victims and their loved ones. If in Skelani we were welcomed but with lowered arms, at the commemoration in Hadžići, we were welcomed with open arms and our gesture was seen as genuine support for the victims. It was very important to us that this commemoration gave us an opportunity to make closer contacts with associations of victims from the Sarajevo-Romanija region of Republika Srpska, as well as the umbrella association of wartime detainees from Republika Srpska. Although they have much in common, from the horrors of war they survived, the experience of being detained and their unresolved

post-war status, associations of wartime detainees are divided along ethnic lines, with little to no cooperation, especially when it comes to the culture of memory. Since our group of war veterans also included former detainees, this was an opportunity, though not foregrounded, for former detainees from different sides to come together and honour their fellows. We hope to make further progress in this area in the upcoming period.

Our joint visit to Stupni Do near Vareš and Trusina near Konjic was certainly our biggest achievement in working with war veterans this year. Namely, we had been to Trusina (2018) and Stupni Do (2019) with a group of veterans before. We remained in constant contact with representatives of victims' associations from these two places where in the same year, only a few months apart, dozens of Croat (Trusina) and Bosniak (Stupni Do) civilians were killed. Through these contacts and our cooperation over the past few years, we worked on the idea to visit both places together and to have representatives of victims' associations from both places join us. This crossing over ethnic lines and building a joint culture of memory is, as we've



pointed out several times before, a path that is not only avoided, but actively blocked. To keep memory exclusive is perennially important for political and other elites that are constructing dominant memory policies to use for sowing fear and continuing a type of cold war in Bosnian-Herzegovinian society that can be heated up if needed. That is why we are immensely happy to have met Emir and Dragica, Mustafa and Cecilija, and many other people of good will who are ready to take this step forward. We are touched to know that so many wonderful and courageous people met each other through our work. Convinced that this was the right thing to do for themselves, their children and their communities, they have shown us how much individuals can achieve. In addition to being a step forward as a joint visit to different sites of suffering and by connecting different victims' associations, the visit to Trusina and Stupni Do was also a step forward because in addition to war veterans from BiH, Croatia and Serbia, we also invited reporters and other activists to join us.

We attended the commemoration for children killed in Vitez this year with a mixed group of war veterans numbering around thirty. We have been coming to this commemoration for three years now, at first just three of us from the CNA team, then with a smaller group of a handful of war veterans, and finally this year with a larger group. Although from the first year, we were warmly welcomed by the families of the killed children, the local priest and wider community, it took time to organise a visit by a larger group. It wasn't

just a matter of the pandemic and organisational challenges, but also that we wanted to make sure that we would in no way disrupt the truly pristine memory of killed children, devoid of any political overtones that are so often seen at such commemorations. Being welcomed with open hearts and arms by the families, the innocence of the killed children, the efforts of their families to protect their memory from any misuse meant we had a duty to do the same. We had to pay close attention to how this commemoration, almost unknown outside Vitez up until a year or two ago, was becoming visible. Again, it is important that there is no denial or attempts at relativising this crime, or if there is, it is very marginal. The anniversary of the killing of eight Croat children in Vitez was covered in all the media, and denial or attempts to relativise their deaths are universally condemned. This is a step forward, and the innocence of children's lives can more easily connect people, but there is still a question of how to apply this model to all victims.

Finally, in mid-2022, we set aside some time to put our heads together with a group of war veterans and think about what we have done, our current challenges and future plans. This need to talk and think things out often comes up among the group of veterans during our various activities, but there never seems to be enough time to go into more detail on the questions, dilemmas and ideas that crop up. Five days in Blagaj near Mostar were just the right opportunity for looking back and thinking forward.

Nedžad Novalić

Joint Visit and Honouring of Victims in Trusina and Stupni Do

A group of peace activists and war veterans, former members of the Army of RBiH, the Croatian Defence Council (HVO), the Croatian Army (HV), the Army of Republika Srpska (VRS), and the Army of Yugoslavia (VJ), joined families of the victims to visit sites of atrocities in Trusina and Stupni Do and laid flowers at both monuments to honour the victims.

For the first time, representatives of the two

communities and families of victims visited both monuments and paid their respects to the victims on both sides.

The visit to Trusina and Stupni Do was conducted **in the period from 23 to 25 May 2022**. During the visit to these sites, almost three decades after the atrocities, there were conversations with returnees, meetings with local officials and religious representatives from



both places; support was expressed for the associations of families of victims from both places and especially for their mutual cooperation.

"I would like to thank all those who mustered the strength and courage to come, to pay their respects to the people who were killed in Trusina. Even though a long time has passed since 1993, when the crime was committed, the lesson that war never brings anything good to anyone is still relevant. War brings only sorrow and pain and should stand as a warning to never allow such crimes to happen again to anyone," said Dragica Tomić, president of the Konjic Association of Killed, Deceased and Missing Croatian Defenders of the Homeland War.

On Tuesday, 24 May 2022, we went to Trusina in the Konjic Municipality to visit and lay flowers at the memorial to the victims and we went to the local cemetery and church. According to the information of the Court of Bosnia and Herzegovina, on 16 April 1993, in an attack by the Army of RBiH on Trusina, located some 20 kilometres from Konjic, 19 civilians and three captured members of the HVO were killed. A number

of persons have been convicted for this war crime by the Court of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and a trial against one of the accused is still ongoing.

"We are in the village of Trusina, a place where I feel defeated because the perpetrators of the crime that was committed here belong to the same army as me. It is all the more difficult because these units included people from my native Prijedor, so I feel additionally implicated because they came from my home region. This makes me feel the defeat of the identity that is also mine more keenly," said Edin Ramulić, a veteran of ARBiH from Prijedor.

On Wednesday, 25 May 2022, we went to lay flowers at the memorial in Stupni Do and visit the local cemetery and mosque. On 23 October 1993 (according to ICTY information in the case against Ivica Rajić), Stupni Do, about five kilometres from Vareš, was attacked by HVO units and 32 civilians, including five children, were killed. Multiple perpetrators have been convicted of this war crime.

"For years now, we war veterans from different armies have been coming together to pay our respects

at sites where innocent civilians were killed, and it is always hard, it's hard to even talk about it. Especially at sites where the crime was committed by members of my group. These actions are intended above all to send a message of reconciliation, but we are also trying to get to the truth which is still being concealed. As veterans, we have a special responsibility to our children to seek reconciliation among people. I believe that is our path," said Ivo Anđelović, an HVO veteran.

"Today, we have come to Stupni Do as part of an action for peace. I was glad to take up the invitation and I will always readily join visits to such sites, so that they are not forgotten and so that we somehow show people that it was all senseless. We need peace, we need human dignity, I need to be able to feel at home in Zagreb, Belgrade and Sarajevo. I hope initiatives like this one will yield results, I hope they will grow and that this work will be recognised for how important it is," said Mustafa Kamenjaš, a family member of a victim from Stupni Do and a veteran of ARBiH.

Under the organisation of the Centre for Nonviolent Action, peace activists and war veterans from the region

have attended commemorations in BiH in Gornji Vakuf, at Site 715 near Zavidovići, in Stog near Vozuća, in Novi Grad/Bosanski Novi, Sanski Most (Hrastova glavica), Sijekovac near Brod, Laništa near Brčko, Trusina near Konjic, Ahmići near Vitez, Grabovica, Uborak and Sutina near Mostar, Briševo and Zecovi near Prijedor, Korićanske stijene, Stupni Do near Vareš, Boderište near Brčko, the bridge over the Sava in Brčko, Bradina near Konjic, Skelani near Srebrenica, the Silow in Tarčin near Hadžići, and in Serbia in Grdelička klisura near Leskovac, Varvarin near Kruševac, Aleksinac, as well as in Croatia in Pakrac, Varivode and Gošić near Knin.

"We need to visit each other, go beyond the ethnic barriers that separate us and keep us penned in. It should be the most natural thing to express respect towards all victims and condemn all crimes committed in whosever name, because these are people, these are communities that are still marked by what happened to them. Visiting sites of suffering and meeting people from those communities, be they families of victims, political or religious representatives, you will never hear from them that one victim is



considered more worthy than another. They all want every victim to be recognised and respected and they show understanding for others who have suffered. So, why are we stuck? Why has it been left to the non-governmental sector to organise encounters that will contribute to building trust between communities, why is there no state strategy for peacebuilding and paving

the way to reconciliation? For how long will hatred be used to score political points? We need a stable society based on respect and solidarity. We can't waste any more time on quarrelling. What we are trying to do is pave the way to a more just society," said Amer Delić, a war veteran of the Army of RBiH and member of the Centre for Nonviolent Action.



marking unmarked
sites of suffering

Actions:

- 17 ONMS action, Trnovo, Hadžići, Bugojno, BiH, Novembar 2021

Marked places of suffering:

Hotel Treskavica, Trnovo

Hotel Mrazište Igman, Hadžići

Motel Akvarijum, Bugojno

Slavonija DI furniture salon, Bugojno

Former BH Bank, Bugojno

Former Vojin Paleksić Primary School, Bugojno

Gymnasium, Bugojno

Cloister of Nuns - former Marxist Centre, Bugojno

- 18 ONMS action, Brčko, February 2022

Marked places of suffering:

Partizan Sports Hall, Brčko

Hotel Posavina, Brčko

Former Police Station, Brčko

Site where two boys were killed, Novo Brčko residential area, Brčko

Primary School in Gornji Rahić, Brčko

Former Rasadnik refrigeration facility in Okrajci, Brčko

Laser Bus Company, Brčko

- Podcast “How to learn about the past?”



Over the past year, the team of the initiative to *Mark Unmarked Sites of Suffering* carried out two actions in the field. In November 2021, we visited locations in the area of Trnovo, Hadžići and Bugojno, and in February 2022, we visited sites in the Brčko District.

It is particularly important to note that for the first of our actions, we were joined by members of the Balkan Investigative Reporting Network (BIRN), who accompanied us on visits to the sites and recorded video material that they produced into a segment for the TV Justice series. Their report was then broadcast by numerous TV stations in BiH and will undoubtedly contribute to informing the wider public about our activities and making it clearer who we are and why we are doing this. This video report is available at detektor.ba site, TV Justice Magazine, Episode 132: *Marking unmarked sites of suffering*

It is very important to point out that in both actions, we had an opportunity to cooperate with exceptional people. I should also mention that the activities carried out by the Centre for Nonviolent Action in these areas in the previous years significantly contributed to us having a pool of potential associates. Previous cooperation with associations of victims' families, prison camp survivors and war veterans, the exhibitions and promotions that were organised, as well as visits to execution sites and commemorations enabled us to carry out our actions this year together

with people who were witnesses to these wartime events.

This provided us with a broader picture of how the culture of memory is fostered in these communities, we found out about the kinds of obstacles they come up against in memorialisation processes, and learned that having a memorial is not a given even when it concerns victims of the majority group in a community.

We returned to Bugojno and Brčko after several years to mark many more new sites, but their number is unfortunately not final. We marked one of the sites in Brčko after we were contacted through our Facebook page. We received a message with the proposal, a description of the context and contact information for family members of the victim, and all of this enabled us to carry out the action in the field.

There has been a noticeable increase in the number of people engaging with us on social networks. We have also seen increased interest from reporters and experts who have contacted us, used resources from our website and provided us with support, which gives us further motivation to continue.

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

Against Forgetting and Indifference

The 18th action to mark unmarked sites of suffering (ONMS) was carried out in February 2022 in the Brčko District of BiH.

We marked seven locations: the former Partizan Sports Hall, the former Posavina Hotel, the Public Security Station (SJB) building, the site where two boys were killed in the residential settlement of Novo Brčko, the Primary School in Gornji Rahić, the former Rasadnik refrigeration facility in Okrajci, and the former Laser Bus Company. If we add to this the sites marked during our previous ONMS action: the construction materials warehouse in Gornji Zovik, the Boće Primary School,

and the former JNA barracks, as well as the other sites of suffering in Brčko: the bridge over the Sava, the Luka camp, Hadži-Pašina Mosque, the Brčko Hospital... it makes for a long but unfortunately not a final list of sites of suffering in Brčko.

The list is too long for a whole eternity, and not just the few years it spans; it is too long for a whole planet, and not just a small Bosnian town. If, according to Agamben, we know that the "camp is merely the place in which the most absolute *conditio inhumana* (inhumane situation) that has ever existed on earth was realized: this is what counts in the last analysis,



for the victims as for those who come after,” then we could say for Brčko in the war years of 1992-1995 that it was exactly that, an (un)place, a town-camp.

“The days of war in Brčko were very difficult, especially the detention of many Bosniaks and Croats in this city, at various locations. There was widespread abuse, rape, killings at all the detention facilities. I think there were some 15 such facilities across Brčko, all of them were later closed and most of the prisoners were transferred to the Luka camp. Today, only Luka is marked as a site of suffering, but none of the other places are,” said Amir Didić, a prison camp survivor and president of the Brčko Association of Prison Camp Survivors, who joined us in marking the sites of suffering.

Brčko features a selective approach to victims, mostly based on their ethnicity or more often on the ethnicity of the those who committed the atrocities, and aided by fear or shame, it is deeply unjust and constrictive. There are dozens of sites of suffering in the city, mostly unmarked and either unknown or not spoken about. A vow of silence. Selectivity and

injustice thus become deeper, the pain greater, and trust and reconciliation further out of reach. Our primary aim is to send a message of solidarity and empathy for the victims and their families. With ONMS actions, we are raising awareness in local communities about the existence of such sites, places where their neighbours were killed, their fellow citizens, and our aim is to make sure that the places, events, and people are not forgotten.

This time, our ONMS action was joined by Vanja Stokić, a reporter and editor at the E-trafika portal. For Vanja, even though she is a native of Brčko, this was the first time she heard of some of the sites we marked. One of them, the Partizan Sports Hall, where she played volleyball as a girl, was a site of detention in May 1992 for some 50 Bosniaks and Croats from the Brčko area. Five people were killed there. The Partizan Sports Hall is still used today as a sports facility. Although flowers are laid at the site each year in commemoration, there is no permanent memorial.

Vanja, like most residents of Brčko, had never before heard about the site where two boys were

killed in the residential settlement of Novo Brčko. As they were playing in front of the building where they lived, a missile fired from a multiple rocket launcher situated across the Sava hit the small park and killed Nenad Stolić and Siniša Ješić, boys of 12 and 14. In contrast to how we learned about most of the sites we marked, from court documents, trials, judgements, etc., this time the invitation to visit and mark the site came from ordinary citizens.

“We learned about this site from citizens who reached out to us and told us what happened there. A friend of the family of one of the boys who were killed contacted us through our website. We then got in touch with the brother of the boy who was killed and he told us about what happened. We would like to encourage other citizens to reach out to us, because we know that in Bosnia and Herzegovina, there are hundreds of sites like this that remain outside the existing culture of memory. Competent authorities should be petitioned to mark this site and place a memorial there, some sign of memory,” said Amer Delić, a peace activist and member of the ONMS Team.

Having a memorial, some proof that the victim has not been forgotten would mean a lot to the families of the boys who were killed. Even our action, however modest, provided a sense of comfort and support.

“Of course, it means a lot, these things should be preserved from oblivion. Some might say we’re going back into the past, but still, it’s nice to know that someone remembered to mark this site, so it’s not forgotten, so something like this never happens to anyone again.” said Predrag Stolić, brother of Nenad and friend of Siniša, the two boys that were killed at the site.

The Posavina Hotel and the Public Security Station (SJB) in Brčko were used in 1992 as sites of detention for Bosniaks and Croats from the Brčko area. Both buildings are in the very centre of town, in the pedestrian zone, without any permanent sign or memorial plaque.

The Primary School in Gornji Rahić near Brčko was used from 14 September 1992 to 4 March 1993 as a detention facility for Serb prisoners of war and civilians, as was the Rasadnik refrigeration facility in Okrajci in Gornji Rahić from May to June 1992. The Laser Bus Company in Brčko was used from 4 to 10

May 1992 as a detention site for Bosniak and Croat civilians from the Brčko area.

All the sites have mostly been restored to their original purpose: children go to classes at the school building, the police station is now used by the Brčko District police, volleyball is still played at the sports hall, there are children playing in the little park in front of the residential building, and the bus company is a commercial building again... Life goes on, you might think, walking down the Boulevard of Peace where you will pass by three monuments. All three were erected to honour the defenders of Brčko, its Serb, Bosniak, and Croat defenders. Sometimes life is surprisingly callous in its indifference. And it is precisely this indifference, this obliviousness, this denial, this escape into the ease of forgetting and keeping silent, that is perhaps feeding a new evil, new wars, new camps.

We were shown to all the sites by Sead Golić, secretary of the Association of Families of Missing, Forcibly Removed and Killed Bosniaks of the Brčko District of BiH. Without a trace of fear that his actions could have unwanted consequences, Sead kept repeating that he had nothing to fear, and neither did we while we were with him. “My honour is untainted,” he kept repeating during the action. It was our hosts that showed us that we were not alone in fighting against indifference and the callousness it breeds. In both their words and actions. By coming with us to mark the sites and by unequivocally saying:

“It would be very important to mount a plaque, something symbolic, for history to be known, in aid of reconciliation on all sides, not just the Bosniak and Croat, but also the Serb side, wherever someone was detained, for it to be known, to be marked. In my opinion, this would contribute to much better coexistence. For all of us to mark these sites together, all three peoples, for all of us to mark these significant dates and sites together,” said Amir Didić, a prison camp survivor and president of the Association of Prison Camp Survivors from Brčko.

“I think this should be done in every town, all the actual places should be marked, wherever they are, wherever Serbs or Bosniaks or Croats were killed or detained, because only then can we reach the truth. All these places should be marked, even sites of individual deaths, where one person was killed, because one life

is worth more than anything else in the world. There will probably come a time when we will be able to come to a site together, in humility, to pay our respects to these people, to remember the people who were killed or detained, on all three sides,” Sead Golić said.

These words also confirm to us that things are changing for the better. From the initial denial that a crime took place, and then calls to mark only the sites where members of my own ethnicity or nationality suffered, because only we are the victims, we have slowly arrived at a point where people are calling for the sites of suffering of the “others” to be marked. Calling for all of us to do this together!

As Agamben’s thought on camps “...this is what counts in the last analysis, for the victims as for those

who come after” echoes, so does the desire to make sure those who come after will never be subjected to such *conditio inhumana*. It is a desire to finally break off that long list from the beginning, to end it, seal it. Not by forgetting or neglecting it, but by marking it and having it stand as a warning. We have to start by recognising that the atrocities happened and that these sites of suffering exist, that they are here, in our towns, our villages, our streets... among us. Then we must make sure that these facts and memories are not misused to demonise others or to mobilise for a new war. And finally, or rather never, we should never stop fighting against evil and its chances of being repeated.

Podcast: “How to learn about the past?”

During this year, a podcast about ONMS actions “How to learn about the past?” has been recorded. An informal activist group (the ONMS team) with the support and participation of CNA members has been marking unmarked places of suffering since 2015, to date they have marked 133 such places.

Who are the people behind this actions, what is their motivation, what kind of places are they talking

about, why is it necessary to do it at all and what are the effects of these actions, are some of the topics covered in the podcast.

Participants: Tamara Zrnović and Amer Delić

Interviewed by: Davorka Turk

This podcast is **available in BHCS language** at onms.nenasilje.org.



peace education

It had been three years since our last Mir-Paqe-Mip training, so we were very happy to be able to organise this form of peace education again, for what would be the sixth time. We received an unexpectedly small number of applications: a total of 58, of which 34 were from Kosovo, 16 from North Macedonia, and only eight people from Serbia applied. This made the selection difficult from the start, because for applicants from Serbia we practically had no choice, and then during our preparation of the training, there were changes because many of the applicants we had invited to participate decided to cancel.

Finally, the training brought together 16 participants, seven from Kosovo, four from North Macedonia, and five from Serbia. The participants were from the following cities: Mitrovica, Lipjan, Podujevo, Štrpce, Pristina, Uroševac, Prizren, Bitola, Skopje,

Prilep, Ohrid, Preševo, Kragujevac, Novi Sad, Ljubljana (economic migrant from Serbia)... Their occupations included: policewoman, engineer, economist, doctor, students from various university levels, teachers, public administration employees...

The training was held in Veles, North Macedonia, from 13 to 22 May 2022.

Naile Keçmezi and Luljeta Ademi were the interpreters at this training.

The training team comprised Luan Imeri (Centre for Human Rights and Conflict Resolution, Skopje), Boro Kitanoski (Peace Action, Prilep – Tetovo), Ana Bitoljanu (First Children's Embassy Međaši, Skopje), Nenad Vukosavljević and Katarina Miličević (Centre for Nonviolent Action, Sarajevo – Belgrade).

A more detailed report from the training is given below.

Mir-Paqe-Mip, Introduction to Peacebuilding 2022

The sixth trilingual “Mir-Paqe-Mip” peacebuilding training was held from 13 to 22 May in Veles, North Macedonia. This was the first training we managed to organise for participants from multiple countries since the Covid 19 pandemic.

The training brought together 16 participants from Serbia, Kosovo and North Macedonia. The participants came from Mitrovica, Lipjan, Podujevo, Štrpce, Pristina, Uroševac, Prizren, Bitola, Skopje, Prilep, Ohrid, Preševo, Kragujevac, Novi Sad, Ljubljana (economic migrant from Serbia).

Questioning Narratives and Myths

The training started with an introduction and getting to know each other and tackled the topics of communication and teamwork, violence, discrimination, identity, gender roles in society, dealing with the past and peacebuilding.

The topics that left the deepest impression on the participants were discrimination and violence. An exercise that elicited valuable content started with the question: “What would need to change where my people are the majority in order to have a fair attitude

to the past and take a step towards reconciliation?”

Many topics and questions discussed at the training are taboos in our societies, they are not spoken about, not even in the most intimate circles. “Others” are viewed as enemies and there is little room for examining the roots of such attitudes.

“Natural Albania, Unified Macedonia and Greater Serbia, what is the difference between these terms,” asked one of the training participants, while another expressed fear about what the future would bring, because in the past, problems in the Balkans always led to war.

The workshop on dealing with the past saw the most heated reactions when we discussed heroes in our societies, what they mean to us personally, what kinds of social relations are fostered based on the figures and acts that are glorified. An important link was made with our own roles and how others see us, based on various identities – this was also discussed at the training.

“I am bothered that in another place, they see me as some kind of terrorist, but I’m too scared to even kill a chicken,” said one participant frankly when talking



about collective identities and how we are viewed through them, how some don't see us as simply people, like them, but as collectives.

In order to recognise each other's humanity, we have to meet, we have to put a face to our narratives, humanise them – this was said at one of the workshops, but it is not a conclusion, it marks the beginning of work that has to be done to deconstruct collective images and prejudices that we have about other peoples, as well as myths we foster about our own identities.

Together, we watched the CNA produced documentary "Intermittent Line" about the Macedonian-Albanian conflict from 2001 in order to start thinking about what conflicts bring and what kinds of legacies they leave for the future, but also about how important it is to make room for talking about our needs and our grievances.

"Wounds have to be laid bare in order to heal," said one participant.

We are also glad we decided to do a workshop on gender roles in society, because there is a tendency

across the whole region of regressing into stricter patriarchal frameworks. Or fetters.

Trust Builds Peace

Processes in our societies and the topics imposed by daily headlines also affected the activities and content of the training. With a war raging close by, it is difficult to talk about peaceful conflict resolution. Despite all these difficulties, we are glad that we had a chance to work with a very motivated group of people, prepared to get involved and support peace activities in their communities.

"I am troubled by the amount of hatred between countries in the Balkans. Debate and reconciliation in the Balkans should start from ordinary citizens, from us here. Each of us will come away with at least one more positive thought than what we had when we came. Politics does not represent us as individuals, but as peoples. To change politics, we first have to change ourselves," said one participant at the training.

The training team concluded that it is very important to maintain this programme as the only peace training

in the region conducted in three different languages, despite the difficulties we had with the organisation

(uneven number of applicants from different countries, many cancellations).



publications, promotions

Biber 04 Collection published

The Biber 04 Short Story Collection has been published.

Some 750 stories entered the Biber Contest, announced at the end of April 2020. The jury comprised Tatjana Gromača, Anton Berishaj and Selvedin Avdić.

The three winning stories were:

First Prize: “Ptičice” [Birdies] by Bojan Krivokapić from Novi Sad,

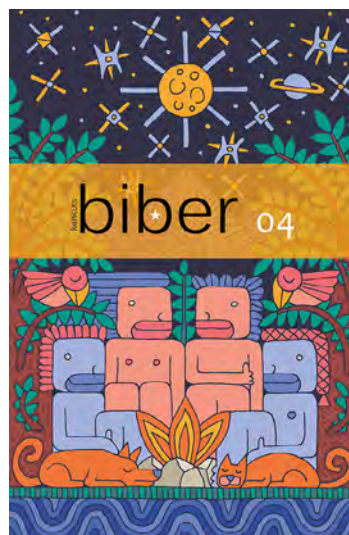
Second Prize: “Kućica u šumi” [Little House in the Woods] by Alma Tabak from Sarajevo,

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

Biber is a short story contest for authors writing in Albanian, Macedonian, Bosnian, Croatian, Serbian and Montenegrin. The theme of the contest is reconciliation in the context of the aftermath of the wars and violence in the countries of former Yugoslavia, but also eligible are stories that can contribute to better understanding among people, reducing hatred and dismantling prejudice, anti-war stories, stories about dealing with the past, deconstructing images of the enemy, about empathy, brave stories that dare walk in

the “enemy’s” shoes, stories that push boundaries and open up the way to build a more stable, safer and freer future for all.

The collection is available in Albanian, BCS and Macedonian language at biber.nenasilje.org.



Biber, Audio Stories

Six stories from the Biber 04 Collection are also available as audio stories. It was difficult to choose just six, the main criterion being that the stories should come from different regions.

The team that worked on the dramatisation of the stories comprised actress Vladislava Đorđević, director Aleksandar Nikolić and sound mixer Nikola Radošević.

The following stories are available in BHSC language in audio format:

Ukus putera od kikirikija [The Taste of Peanut Butter] by Vesa Qena

Kako je Dado postao drvo [How Dado Became a Tree] by Senad Jusić

Ptičice [Birdies] by Bojan Krivokapić

Ne govori ružno o mrtvima [Never Speak Ill of the Dead] by Jovana Matevska Atanasova

Trokut [Triangle] by Maja Halapir

Mačići u zidovima [Kittens in Walls] by Nikola Petrović

Fifth Biber Contest Completed

Some 470 stories entered the Fifth Biber Short Story Contest, which was closed on 1 June 2022.

The announcement of the stories to be included in the multilingual collection, as well as the first three prizes, is expected before the end of November 2022, and the jury that will make the decision comprises:

Lejla Kalamujić, Kalina Maleska and Olja Savičević Ivančević.

We expect to have the Biber 05 Short Story Collection out in print in February 2023.

We would like to thank everyone who participated in the contest.

Biber Promotions

Due to the pandemic, we were unable to organise presentations of the Biber 03 Collection as we had planned. As soon as conditions improved, however, we decided to present Biber 03 and Biber 04 together. Promotions were held in the past year in eight cities across the region: Šibenik, Prijedor, Podgorica, Novi Sad, Bugojno, Bujanovac, Pristina and Prizren.

The following people took part at the promotions: Tamara Kovačević from Belgrade, Ante Storić from Šibenik, Lejla Kalamujić from Sarajevo, Ivana Franović from Belgrade, Emir Imamović Pirke from Sarajevo/Šibenik, Monika Herceg from Zagreb/Petrinja, Ernad Osmić from Brčko, Stefan Slavković from Belgrade, Katarina Miličević from Belgrade/Kragujevac, Radmila





Karlaš from Banja Luka, Milica Rašić from Niš, Afrim Demiri from Uroševac, Nikola Nikolić from Podgorica, Nedžad Novalić from Sarajevo, Maja Halapir from Osijek/Samobor, Bojan Krivokapić from Novi Sad, Qerim Ondozi from Pristina, Marijana Čanak from Novi Žednik, Davorka Turk from Zagreb/Sarajevo, Andrea Popov Miletić from Novi Sad, Senad Jusić Čupo from

Bugojno, Aleksandra Jovanović from Vranj, Irena Skopljak Barić from Vrbovac, Ivor Fuka from Bugojno, Vesa Qena from Pristina, Rumena Bužarovska from Skopje, Besa Kalaja from Pristina, Linda Gusia from Pristina, Imer Topanica from Pristina and Donjete Murati from Pristina.

Biber Podcasts

In this period two podcasts about Biber have been recorded. The first one was compiled to conjure up the atmosphere from promotions in Bugojno, Šibenik, Novi Sad and Prijedor for people who have not been able to attend. In the second podcast eight authors who have been published in a Biber collection talked about how

they decided to write for Biber Contest and for whom are stories published in Biber collection. They also sent messages to people who are uncertain if they should participate in the contest.

Both podcasts are [available in BCS language at biber.nenasilje.org](http://biber.nenasilje.org).



exchange, cooperation, networking

Exchange with Friends from Asia

It is very unusual to find yourself “on the other side” At the end of March, we organised an exchange meeting of activists from India and Bangladesh, on the one hand, and Europe, primarily the Balkans, on the other.

I remember one of the teaching assistants for my introductory course on modern world history kept going on about how important it is to remember how big the world is and how our position determines our perspective of it. Even geographical maps that are meant to help us understand the size of the world are often misleading: The distortions that accompany cartographic projections, especially on maps we commonly use in Europe, make Europe look too big, almost as big as Africa. The Eurocentric approach left little room for others, in every sense, not just spatial, devoted far less attention to Asian history, not to mention the history of Africa. There’s a scene from the cult film *Kuduz* that best illustrates our inability to wrap our minds around the size of the world, to get to

know it and visit its various places. The scene is when Bećir Kuduz is taking his night school exams.

– *How are you with geography? Can you list the major cities in the Republics?*

– *I’ve been to Foča...*

– *That’s not a major city...*

– *It was to me...*

That is why for me, meeting people from Asia was always primarily a matter of geography and understanding how relative the terms *big* and *small* are. When a man from India tells you he belongs to a small ethnic group that lives in a small area, you must ask how small. Often, it will turn out to be an ethnic group of some ten million people living in an area that is the size of the Balkans.

Different Contexts

The meeting of peace activists from India and Bangladesh, on the one hand, and those from Europe,



mainly the Balkans, on the other was an opportunity to explore these extraordinary ordinary issues and get to know each other. It had been postponed several times due to the COVID-19 pandemic and was significantly altered compared to the initial idea that would have included an exchange of visits, but the meeting was finally organised at the end of March in Bosnia and Herzegovina. From the perspective of the Centre for Nonviolent Action, this was a way to continue and deepen cooperation with people from Asia that started almost ten years ago.

The exchange programme with 17 participants (six from India and Bangladesh, nine from the former Yugoslavia and two from Germany) was initially conceived as a space for exchanging experience, knowledge and mutual empowerment among people coming from different contexts but working in the same field – peacebuilding and promoting human rights. In addition to self-reflection and re-examining our work so far, we hoped that the exchange would be conducive to developing new ideas in dealing with the past and working in our communities.

We got so much more than that for a number of reasons. One was the motivation of the participants, another was the workshop format that took us from the personal towards the social, and yet another was certainly the safe space that we created and that enabled deep self-reflection. All of this meant that the outcomes were more characteristic of a peacebuilding training with highly motivated and experienced participants, rather than an exchange or conference or another type of lower-intensity meeting that would have required less introspection, less preparedness to own up to mistakes and misjudgements, and less openness to discussing the dilemmas and questions with which we struggle.

Is there a more complicated country anywhere?

Some of the credit must also go to our study visit to Mostar. Three days in sunny Mostar were an opportunity to get to know both the city and each other. As one of our local guides said, Mostar is a good place for such meetings, because in a small area where everything is within walking distance, you can encounter all the main hallmarks of post-war Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Balkans: invisible borders

that refuse to disappear, conflicting memories, with three or in the case of Mostar four cultures of memory that run parallel to each other without ever meeting, the destruction of war still visible today, but also signs of life, which somehow goes on despite everything. We talked about the life that goes on in Mostar as it is today with reporters, representatives of religious communities, prison camp survivors who, despite or maybe precisely because of these circumstances, are working together on peacebuilding... Someone once praised Herzegovina to the legendary Vahid Halilhodžić who is from Mostar, saying *such beauty doesn't exist anywhere else*. With characteristic Mostar wit, Vaha replied: It does, it does, you just haven't been anywhere else. I remembered this when at one of the meetings with local actors we heard the question/claim: *Is there a more complicated country anywhere?* There is, half the world would reply, to both comfort and disappoint you at the same time.

We returned to Sarajevo and spent the remaining five days doing ten workshop sessions, delving deep into some topics, only touching upon others, and leaving some unopened because, despite working both mornings and afternoons, there still wasn't enough time. In the first part, we focused on getting to know each other better, investigating needs, discussing issues we see as values that we have in common. At the same time, through all the topics and discussions, we introduced each other to the contexts in which we work. The issue of similarities and differences of our contexts, quite complex due to the realistic lack of knowledge on both sides, was thus made easier, more interesting and fruitful.

An Opportunity for Self-reflection

Moving from the personal towards the social, this was also an opportunity for self-reflection, a personal evaluation and an evaluation of each individual organisation, but also a broad self-evaluation of peacebuilding work. The issue of change theories that we take as our starting point in our work became one of the central topics of our exchange, because it is so crucial in determining our work at the level of our societies and of our individual organisations. We did not shy away from examining our organisational structures and questioning how our internal structures

reflect the values we advocate. Readiness to admit our own mistakes and misjudgements is important and necessary to keep us from getting mired in repeating programmes and activities when they are not effective or when the circumstances in which we work are significantly altered.

Relations with external stakeholders, ranging from various international institutions, governments and government organisations to donors, have a strong influence on our work, so this meeting was also an opportunity to discuss why we have someone's support, our experience with external stakeholders, the difficulties we have encountered and what needs to be changed and by whom. Finally, we also broached the question of *burnout* as an important issue in peacebuilding work which is often so personally consuming, difficult or impossible to "leave at the office", with results that are not easy to measure or see and where progress is often not linear. How do we protect ourselves, how do we help our colleagues, how do we protect our organisations, these are just some of the questions we discussed.

The eight days we spent together were a rare privilege. Since we are most often focused on programmes and activities centred on results, it proved useful to set time aside for self-reflection and self-evaluation. Even with long-standing partners, where we have a long history of cooperation, it is important to take stock and ask why we support each other, where we see opportunities for improving our cooperation, what are the difficulties... With those coming from different social contexts, that kind of exchange is equally fruitful because it enables us to learn from the experience of others, to see aspects that are specific to a single country or region, but also trends that are global and impact all of us, such as the

rise of right-wing, rigid and exclusionary politics. It is also important that we get to empower and motivate each other, that we get to talk about peacebuilding at a time when the world is on the brink of a world war and when we are seeing global backtracking in terms of human rights and world peace.

We are particularly grateful to *Bread for the World* and Edda Kirleis and Martina Fischer who were among the precious few with the sensibility to recognise the need for this exchange and provide it with support. We have known Martina and Edda for years, but their dedication, activist spirit and extensive knowledge and experience are always inspiring. For years, standing shoulder to shoulder with us, sharing ups and downs, Edda and Martina have become ours: this makes their contribution to this exchange so special, because after years of work, they could speak from a dual position, from within and from outside. Maybe we take it for granted because we know them, but their readiness to accept this exchange as a two-way process where we are all both learners and teachers is no less remarkable.

We regret that the pandemic reduced our original idea somewhat, making it impossible to have mutual visits, one-on-one meetings and the participation of people from other parts of Asia that was initially planned. The pandemic has compelled us to do many things online. And while many things are doable online, meetings such as this only make sense when we meet face to face. Only then can India and Bangladesh stop being such far away countries you know so little about. Perhaps they remain just as far away and perhaps you still know too little about them, but now that you have friends there, you will never again be indifferent to news from that part of the world.

Nedžad Novalić



political and social contexts
in which we live

Croatia: Quo vadis, Croatia?

With the end of pandemic drama and a host of other extraordinary circumstances that have marked the past period in our lives, we can say that we are back to normal currents of social and political relations. These are perhaps less dramatic than what we have been through with the global health crisis, but on the micro-regional level, the drama is still very significant in shaping our relations and our future. Frictions between Croatia and Serbia may not mean much in Washington D.C., but in Vukovar and Knin, they shape the world. These frictions and unresolved relations gain in relevance once we became aware of how fragile peace is and how little it takes for war to creep upon us again, as we saw in the example of Russia and Ukraine where war was driven by heaping problems that had been swept under the rug and unresolved relations. There are always those just waiting for the right moment.

In any case, there are no more masks, war rages in Ukraine, and here in our parts, everyone is again playing the same old games.

The Milanović Case

Issues with Zoran Milanović's behaviour are nothing new, but they will still take some getting used to. This exponent of the golden Zagreb youth, honed in Brussels and other diplomatic corridors, has since the start of his mandate been filling the front pages with reckless and brazen statements, making us click and follow the reactions they spawn. Although he personally boasts of constitutional patriotism and sticking to the letter of the Constitution, Zoran Milanović selectively practices constitutional values and promotes only those that he himself apparently finds worthy. The most important constitutional value, judging by the engagement of our controversial (oh, yes, he's reached controversial levels) president is care for the rights and welfare of Croatians living outside the homeland, where he currently and only deals with the rights of Croats living in BiH.

With the actions, visits and bestowing of honours that he has been using for the past two years to caress the hearts and minds of the patriotically oriented

populace, Zoran is plainly trying to secure for himself a second mandate as the first among the Croatians. With a series of simplifying statements whose purpose is to show his relaxed and maverick side, and to garner the sympathies of some right-wing circles, particularly those whose roots go back to BiH, he has unfortunately managed to perilously disrupt relations between Croats and Bosniaks. Which is not to say that these relations were harmonious or constructive before, but they have now reached a stage at which there are no serious political voices that would even attempt to act constructively on the political level in an effort to develop relations between these two mutually closely connected and interdependent groups.

In addition to this, Zoki also managed to dispense medals to a new set of war crimes indictees, to damage relations between Croats and Serbs by attacking Milorad Pupovac, to fall out with half the NATO members by threatening to block access to membership for Finland and Sweden, to stigmatise the Roma as rubbish collectors, and the list goes on. All in all, if there was anyone still holding out hope that our left and liberal oriented president would be constructive when it came to the most important relations in the country and the region, all such hopes have been dashed. All that remains is to see what manner of frictions and scandals the next two years of his mandate will bring, and hope that the reins of Brussels will nonetheless be strong enough to keep us under control.

National objectives

Ever since Croatia gained its independence, its top leaders have kept repeating the mantra of achieving national objectives. The wider public was never consulted on these national objectives, but the direction set in the 1990s meant that they would include Croatia joining the European Union and NATO, which has been achieved.

It would seem that 2022 was the year of achieving the remaining national objectives. The national objective of connecting Dubrovnik and the surrounding area with the rest of Croatia by road, a long-time

mantra, was achieved this year with the showy opening of the Pelješac Bridge. This mega project worth more than 2 billion kunas circumvents Neum and enables travelling to/from Dubrovnik without stopping at a border. We now have the megabridge, of sound aesthetics, but apart from its symbolic value, it is unlikely to be of much use in the long term, given that the Adriatic-Ionian highway corridor passes behind Neum and the littoral and will eventually circumvent the bridge. In the long term, the Pelješac Bridge will become obsolete, because bridges are not built to last decades but centuries. And who knows, maybe BiH will make it into the EU one day. Although some said the Pelješac Bridge was proof that Croatia was giving up any territorial claims to Bosnia and Herzegovina, if you ask me, it is proof of giving up on regional cooperation and recognising BiH as an equal partner, because why should we agree on a ten times cheaper road corridor with BiH to run behind Neum when we can show our might and symbolically build the biggest bridge in Croatia. Like a finger poked into BiH's only coastal eye with European money.

The remaining popular national objectives include becoming part of Schengen and introducing the euro, which is planned for 2023. And then what? What national objectives will come into focus after we achieve the ones that have been promoted thus far remains to be seen, but we will probably not be consulted on any new objectives either. We can only hope that the Constitution and its highest values will one day ensure that our national objectives include peacebuilding and that the Republic of Croatia will become a constructive and fair partner to its neighbouring countries.

As much as we try to run away from our neighbourhood, it will always be on our borders. Central Europe is far away, but BiH and Serbia will forever remain on the border, very close. Besides, most of the world puts us all in the same boat called the Western Balkans. Who knows, maybe we will live to see the pacification of the region and the level of cooperation and prosperity we have become accustomed to seeing in the rest of Western Europe. But this will take some active engagement on our part.

Besides, looking at the dynamics of relations between Croatia and BiH, it is clear that BiH remains a national objective of Croatia. For a few years now, and

from all levels – diplomatic and internal, an offensive has been ongoing to nominally improve the position of Croats in BiH. This offensive is strongest and gets the most traction in Brussels where Croatia, as an EU member, is now using all available capacities to influence a change of relations within BiH and to ensure the equality of Croats inside BiH. The offensive is being jointly carried out by both the president and the government and the parliament, making it apparently their only genuinely agreed upon national objective.

Whose region

Since it joined the European Union, what is happening in Croatia has become inseparable from the wider European context and developments in Brussels. As the prime minister is a welcome guest there and as Croatia is currently a member state supporting all pro-European ideas and initiatives, in the context of the war in Ukraine, it has from the outset placed itself on the side of the member states most determined to support Ukraine. This did not, of course, go unnoticed in the Western Balkans region where months were spent comparing determination and lack thereof in condemning Russia and supporting Ukraine. In Croatia, close attention was also paid to how much courage and determination Serbia would show in this new situation. This close monitoring was accompanied by gloating when the Serbian government fell short of condemning the terrible aggression. All these developments could be foreseen since the moment the new front opened in the east, but for us, they were just one more aspect of our miniature Cold War performance between Serbia and Croatia where lack of diplomatic and state cooperation is amply complemented by a local arms race. As usual, Croatia buys Rafale jets, Serbia secretly gets the HQ22 midrange anti-aircraft system from China; Serbia gets the Pantsir, Croatia bedecks itself with Bradleys, and on and on it goes. Given the national sentiments and positioning of cross-hairs, we can conclude that the weapons are waiting for the moment when they will be used against both banks of the Danube. Leaders on both sides are evidently unaware and prefer to stay unaware of the potential that this micro arms race is building.

A mini cold war is also being waged by diplomatic means, culminating with not allowing Aleksandar Vučić to visit the Jasenovac Memorial at a time of his choosing. Although Aleksandar Vučić is a political tale in his own right, and even after he used this as another brick in his victimisation narrative, directed primarily against him and then also the collective he boasts and represents, we have to ask ourselves what Croatia and Croats had to gain from it. Jasenovac is a place of memory and solemn respect that has been placed in the care of the Republic of Croatia on whose territory it is located. Jasenovac is a place where genocide was committed against Serbs, although the most numerous victims of that genocide were Serbs living outside Serbia's borders. The possibility and practice of Serbian leadership visiting the Jasenovac Memorial has great symbolic importance. Showing respect and commemorating what happened in Jasenovac is of this highest interest for the Republic of Croatia, as it sends the message that such horrors must never be repeated again anywhere.

Joint visits of the Croatian and Serbian leadership to Jasenovac would have the greatest symbolic power, but this still seems like a dream that is a long way off from coming true. What we get now is a political spin orchestrated by both sides and a symbolic settling of accounts with something that should be sacred on both sides.

State of the nation

The start of this year saw the publication of results from the population census that was conducted during 2021 and that tells us that the state of the nation is being decimated. Decimation was a practice employed by Roman legions that consisted of punishment for poor outcomes of military campaigns where every tenth soldier in a unit that had underperformed would be stoned or beaten to death. Croatia's population has shrunk by almost 10% in the relevant period from 2011 to 2021 and currently stands at 3.88 million. The decimation of Croatia's population is owed to a series of bad decisions and practices that have made

us, that we live by and that we have gotten used to. They have been around since forever. If we look at the bad practices that are decimating us, throughout all the surveys, corruption regularly takes the top spot. Corruptive practices have entered all pores of society and become the universally accepted way of functioning, while those less skilled at corruption or those with moral qualms are condemned almost literally to death, as we saw in August with the death of one of the best investigative reporters in Croatia, Vladimir Matijanić, who, because he did not want to pull strings or pay bribes, was not admitted to hospital and died from Covid-19 complications.

The corrupt octopus and practice does not choose a time and place, but uses every opportunity, as was shown in the recently discovered scandal around the theft of more than a billion kunas from the state-owned oil company INA. Just saying the number of one billion sounds abstract to most ordinary civilians, a number that we could never earn or acquire, not even in our wildest dreams, while playing by the rules. So, we continue working and hearing about these dreamlike numbers. Though, looking at progressing inflation, this year is set to launch all numbers into the realm of dreams, while the value of our hard-earned income is decreasing every day.

Reading the headlines and looking at what surrounds us, it is hard to blame anyone who participated in this humane decimation in the past ten years and decided to leave this region in search of a better life.

Quo vadis, Croatia?

What should we be waiting for and what can we expect here? New problematic statements by the president? Some new minister caught stealing millions? New deaths because we didn't slip the doctor an envelope of cash? A new war with our neighbours?

Where are we going, what are we waiting for, does anyone know?

Dalmir Mišković

Bosnia and Herzegovina: Life in Europe's Waiting Room

Heating up the Cold War

Let me borrow an observation from a sensible friend of mine, in the 1990s, nationalist politics exploded into war, and today it has imploded into war: it has pushed itself up against the wall, brought itself to the brink of war, but war is impossible simply because capacities for it are lacking. All we can expect is another decade of cold warfare, accompanied by a predominance of mediocrity, crime and corruption, the crumbling of all criteria, daily small implosions into hatred, a demographic catastrophe due to mass emigration and natural mortality, the weakening of the secular and civil elements to the benefit of constant strengthening of political religiosity and conservatism, and so on. In brief: the destruction of society from within, in the RS and in the Federation, among Serbs, and Bosniaks, and Croats, and Bosnian-Herzegovinians. This means that the state will formally survive, with fewer or more joint institutions, I would wager on that, but I do not believe in a healthy future for society in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Franjo Šarčević, December 2021

The sentences quoted above sum up the overall state of the socio-political context in Bosnia and Herzegovina over the past few years, but in the past year, it has escalated further. The author of those sentences, a successful young professor from the University of Sarajevo, a long-time activist and columnist, spoke them as a prognosis, but today, as we move towards the end of 2022, we can safely say it was painfully precise. In the meantime, Franjo has (temporarily) left BiH with his family to pursue postdoctoral studies, unsure of whether he will ever return, much like thousands of other young people.

From time to time, the *cold war* is heated up to the point of incandescence, and in that respect, this past year has probably been the most challenging in the post-war period in Bosnia and Herzegovina. With the start of the Russian invasion in Ukraine, the Bosnian-Herzegovinian crisis is turning out to be the second potentially most dangerous and flammable in Europe, with no sign of things changing as long as the ruling political establishment remains in place.

The redeployment of additional EUFOR troops, Bosnia and Herzegovina on the front pages of world media openly asking whether a new war is possible, the fear of ordinary people, hate speech in public arenas, and many other things are reminders that even a *cold war* is still a war.

What were, roughly speaking, the war aims of 1992 to 1995 have today survived in the form of dominant politics in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The main issue concerns how the state should be organised and the constitutional-political crises that have arisen to dominate public discourse both within and outside BiH, with thousands of pages written about this in the past year, but it is impossible to go into the finer points of the problem in this short overview. Basically, the point of contention is the organisation of the state that is polarised between two extremes espoused by current politicians: secession to which a (temporary) alternative may be found in a loose confederation based on ethnic territoriality where each ethnic group would have *its own piece of the land*, and on the other end, a strong centralised state.

After the previous high representative (OHR) of the international community in BiH Valentin Inzko imposed a law banning the denial of genocide and other war crimes, the ruling politics in Republika Srpska led by SNSD and Milorad Dodik started a process of quiet secession by announcing the formation of its own armed forces, justice and police system and other institutions. The winter of 2021 and the spring of 2022 were marked by this political crisis that was replaced in the second half of 2022 with the political crisis of Bosniak-Croat relations in the context of organising the Federation of BiH, which is the part of BiH where Bosniaks and Croats make up the majority of the population.

What was taking place at the level of society, superficially influenced by the above political crises, was a state that could best be described as a kind of *cold war psychosis*. And it has been maintained by almost daily *heating up*. Hate speech, dehumanisation of entire ethnic groups in statements to the media

and on social networks are no longer the domain of low-level party henchmen and bots, but go all the way to the top now, to the highest government offices, starting with members of the presidency and leaders of both national and civic-oriented parties. Similar messages have also been coming from the neighbouring countries of Croatia and Serbia. These are strong blows, targeting emotions, intended to insult and enrage. To the bone, as our people would say.

What is OHR to us and what do we want from it?

Unfortunately, it seems that the international community (OHR) headed by its high representative Christian Schmidt is the only connective tissue in BiH at the moment. However he may be perceived by domestic politicians, whether as a German tourist with no mandate from the United Nations or as acting in his full legal capacity and with the support of the broader international community, it is evident that he has come to BiH to do precisely what is stipulated as the high representative's task under Article II, Annex 10 of the Dayton Peace Agreement. Meaning that he is here to help if we get stuck. And we have gotten stuck plenty of times before, when it came to having a single currency, car licence plates, even when it came to securing land for the construction of the Potočari Memorial Centre, then when it came to Croat self-governance, the law banning genocide denial and glorification of war criminals... It would be crazy to expect that legitimately elected political representatives would find agreement and solutions to make life easier in the country without the international community intervening and providing assistance. Schmidt has already used the Bonn powers in his mandate to impose the Decision on financing the October elections, he repealed the Law on Real Property of RS and helped suspend the Law on Medicines and Medical Devices of RS pending a decision by the Constitutional Court.

The high representative's role is to protect the Peace Agreement, prevent majorization and the robbing of any of the three constitutive peoples, Croats, Bosniaks or Serbs, of their constitutionally guaranteed status. It is clear to everyone that part of

that package is upholding the territorial integrity of the state of BiH, made up of two entities and the Brčko District of BiH.

Why am I writing this and pointing it out? Simply because I was taken aback by the amount of spin and hysteria that took hold in Bosniak public opinion regarding Schmidt's intention to impose changes to the Election Law and Constitution of FBiH. Bosniak and self-designated civic parties did not react this strongly even to Dodik's announced referendum on the division of BiH and the secession of RS. Is this ferocity a factor of pre-election mobilisation of voters or a bid for better positioning in negotiations about the Election Law, I don't know, but I do know that in the days that followed, the amount of hatred towards Croats escalated.

Blindness

It is strange how quickly a large number of people in this country gets mobilised when it comes to reacting to something they see as a threat to their national interests, while as individuals they are disenfranchised and robbed with hardly anyone seeming to notice. Stranger still is how they react to those who have decided to fight for their rights. On 25 June 2022, the Pride Parade was held in Sarajevo again this year. And again, it was unfortunately required to meet high security demands, because that was the assessment of security agencies, and again, unfortunately, a counter-gathering was organised, but still, the Pride Parade was held. You would expect the Pride Parade to be supported by representatives of political options persevering to achieve the vision of BiH as a civic state, a model of civil society. But judging from the reactions of those opposed to the parade, it seems they saw this event as a danger to traditional family values that have, apparently, been fostered here for centuries and have become part of the genome of the population. Representatives of the Sarajevo Canton, headed by the premier Edin Forto, who supported the parade, were exposed to attacks and discrediting from multiple levels. They were labelled traitors, foreign agents, accused of stealing tax-payers money... And of course, they were held up as heretics and long before

the election race officially started, citizens were called upon to vote them out at the next elections, because they had brought *the circus* to Sarajevo.

We are far from anything civic, the ethno-religious matrix is everywhere. Civic-mindedness requires always being on the side of human rights.

Little us on the big stage

With the start of the war in Ukraine, the stage lights are on us again, but there are no other major changes. Ukraine and Moldova have been granted EU candidate status. Some small progress has also been achieved in terms of Bosnia and Herzegovina's European ambitions. Candidate status is a possibility, but only after key reforms are implemented. In December 2016, the European Commission sent BiH a detailed Questionnaire. So, until that's done, there will be no change in status. We knew this already, but we thought we might skip over that task, because it's not entirely certain who among the ruling elites would know even how to fill out that questionnaire. Our fate

has been consigned to the waiting room, while trains pass by.

In other matters, we are keeping up with European trends. According to the BiH Statistics Agency, inflation is officially at 14.4%, but unofficially it is as high as 25%, the price of some fuels having gone up by 100-150%, prognoses for gas prices and availability of supply are not optimistic, groceries are getting more and more expensive. The state-level government in BiH is the only level that has done nothing to cap prices and make the situation easier for citizens. There are initiatives to abolish excise taxes on fuel, but this was not passed by the Parliamentary Assembly of BiH, and neither was exempting basic foodstuffs from VAT. If members of parliament had found the will to adopt these two laws, the current situation would undoubtedly be much better.

There is no one who can be trusted to do something, and there are rising concerns about how we'll survive all this.

Amer Delić

Serbia: Full Stop.

To write this text, first I have to go back to what should be its purpose: to describe the atmosphere in society and the circumstances under which we have been working on peacebuilding in the past year. Though we write these reports every year, I can say with certainty that each year, it has been getting worse. It is difficult to describe all the circumstances that affect our work and our lives as citizens of Serbia not belonging to the ruling party, not just as peace activists.

The current Serbian reality does not stray far from everything we have learnt and read about dictatorships, not only those we witnessed in the past, but also those determining our present. From day to day, there is less and less freedom, and with each passing year, we are increasingly disenfranchised, we grow quieter and there are fewer and fewer of us able and willing to speak about this openly. The dictatorial

regime feeds on right-wing ideology, so almost every day, we run up against it in the street or are branded enemies, "other-Serbians", if we voice our support for Ukraine, the environment or LGBT rights, or our opposition to femicide, corruption, violence...

Who's attacking who?

If you live in Serbia, read the tabloids (and that includes all the print newspapers apart from one daily and two weeklies – *Danas*, *NIN* and *Vreme* – whose circulation has been curtailed by government pressures on the media), watch national television stations, in other words, if you try to keep up with current events from the media outlets that are available, you can hardly be blamed for thinking that it was Ukraine that attacked Russia. All the news from major and widely available outlets presents a ready-made conclusion about the roles in the conflict, where the Russian side

is portrayed as the right side, fraternal, protective, fighting for the Christian Orthodox faith, family values, and against fascists, as being on Serbia's side and as giving us the most aid.

Even though EU membership is ostensibly a strategic goal, Serbia is the only European Union (EU) candidate country apart from Turkey that has not introduced sanctions against Russia for its attack against Ukraine.

Once again, this year national frequencies were granted to the same television stations, all of them in the service of the ruling party, meaning that the majority of people in Serbia are fed news that war is afoot, that it's just a matter of time before a new conflict breaks out with Kosovo, Croatia or Bosnia and Herzegovina, depending on the time of day and who the Serbian president decides is a useful enemy in the moment. Even when he says, "I have no intention of waging war against the Bosniaks," this, of course, makes every thinking individual shudder – why bring up the possibility of war? Why is this being discussed? If he has no intention, then who does? If not against the Bosniaks, then against whom?

Elections before the elections

Early presidential, parliamentary and in some places local elections were held in Serbia on 3 April. At the time of writing, almost five months later, we still don't have a constituted government. The elections were held in a non-democratic environment, with changes to the election law taking effect some ten days before the elections were called (at the very last minute when the decision could be made legal and published in the Official Gazette), with unsorted voter lists, pressures and blackmailing of voters, with media completely in the service of the ruling party, except this time the opposition decided not to boycott them as they had two years previously. The results were to be expected, but given the general atmosphere surrounding the elections, I am personally somewhat optimistic (as hard as this may be to justify) that the ruling party of Aleksandar Vučić suffered the biggest loss. He won and was confirmed as president with 58.59% of the votes (in 2017, he had 55.05%).

The list of the ruling Serbian Progressive Party "Aleksandar Vučić - Together We Can Do Everything"

has 120 seats (in 2020, it had 188 of the 250 seats in parliament), while their coalition partner, the Socialist Party of Serbia, has 31 (compared to 32 previously). The opposition list "United for Victory of Serbia" has 38 seats and the civic coalition "Moramo" has 13, making up a total of 41 seats in parliament. The right-wing coalition NADA has 15 seats in parliament, while the right-wing Dveri and Zavetnici parties have 10 each, making up a total of 35. Minority parties have thirteen seats.

Who goes to war and who gets rich?

In our society, we are constantly exposed to terrors of intimidations and threats. War is mentioned in everyday speech, mostly by the highest state officials. And while citizens are being threatened with various enemies and invented or real scandals, the scarier the threats, the easier it is to conceal what is really going on. Thus, all the transgressions of this government are masked by something else, the fall of the airplane carrying weapons from Serbia is masked by a one-off affair and the ends justify the means. In this concrete case, the incident was glossed over with manipulations of Jasenovac¹ and the people who were killed there. Just when a Ukrainian plane crashed in the north of Greece and was found to be carrying weapons produced in Serbia, in the state-owned „Krušik“ factory, that were sold by a dealer from Bosnia and Herzegovina to Bangladesh, for several days an affair was fabricated surrounding the president's visit to Jasenovac.

The Serbian president had made plans to "privately" visit Jasenovac, but the Croatian authorities would not allow this – because it is clear to everyone that a private visit is impossible for someone who holds such a high public office in another country. To start off with, if a person travels privately, who is responsible for his security? If a person is making a private trip, no permission is required. If something should happen to the president of Serbia during this private trip, who would be to blame? He himself is never to blame for anything. He is always the victim, as the Serb people

1 Jasenovac was a concentration camp in what was then the Independent State of Croatia during the Second World War. The majority of the prisoners were Serbs, followed by the Roma, Jews, Croats and prisoners of other nationalities.

are always the victims. This was the mantra repeated day in and day out, endlessly, to the point where it became meaningless, because there was no talk about the actual victims from Jasenovac and their memory. Instead, the president of Serbia was the one and only victim, and the current Croatian authorities and even citizens were the aggressors.

That “clash” with Croatia was also a ploy to get some distance from the situation in Kosovo, diverting our attention from it, because that “war” is constantly brought up in Serbia, while cooperation is negotiated in Brussels. The citizens of Serbia are preparing for there being no cooperation, how could there be when war is always possible and always afoot, and it is solely the Kosovo Albanians and their authorities that are to blame. But they are also at the negotiating table, which makes it possible for the president and his associates to triumphantly proclaim that “as of today, all citizens of Serbia – all Serbs, Albanians, Bosniaks, Hungarians, Roma, Gorani – can freely travel to Kosovo with ID cards.”² This statement made me think back – whenever I went to Kosovo in the past few years, I always crossed over with just my ID card and never had any problems. I did this back in 2017, but also in 2022, so what had changed? In fact, nothing had changed for those of us coming from Serbia. Things did change for citizens of Kosovo who were previously barred from entry into Serbia with an ID card issued in Kosovo. They would encounter problems at the border, be taken off transport and then given a document to serve as a temporary travel permit. But there were also cases where they were turned back and not allowed to enter Serbia. Truth be told, not all citizens of Serbia were able to easily enter Kosovo – some were turned back. For example, members of the ultra-right-wing group “Levijatan”, who had had been seen off with war cries on social media and set off for Kosovo in October last year, were turned back because they did not have PCR tests.³ Though this piece of news had elicited many witty reactions, there is a serious problem at its core – how is it possible that such groups even exist and have any kind of social role? They are the extended arm of

2 *Blic*, 28. 8. 2022, article “Od danas svi građani Srbije mogu slobodno na KiM uz lične karte”.

3 *Nova.rs*, 14. 10. 2021, article “Levijatan krenuo na Kosovo, vratili ih jer nisu imali PCR test”.

the government – whatever the government wants but cannot do itself gets delegated to them. Then it uses them to show the Serbian public how such groups are worse than those in power, and to show the world that it cannot address the problems that need solving because of resistance from such groups in society.

Nausea and rage

Right-wing groups, and there are quite a few of them, are para-state organisations. Mafia groups too, though they are most often one and the same. There is a very dangerous organised crime group with close ties to the government, a group guilty of the most horrendous crimes whose leaders (if they were its actual leaders) had been arrested. The tangled knot of government officials’ entanglement in protecting such groups, and the dirty jobs they in turn did for the government would require extensive explanations. To me, however, it is clear that without accounting for the consequences and developments surrounding their criminal activity and by ostensibly preventing further criminal activities by these arrests, such explanations have been unjustifiably withheld. Still, forgive me, a mere mortal, for I cannot bring myself to read about how people were put through meat grinders, with all the gory details included. These people have families, mothers who bravely spoke out, demanding to know the truth about their sons, as well as mothers who learned of the truth from television, watching one of the breaking news statements given by Serbia’s president. I refuse to subject myself to such news and information. They make me, as I imagine they would any human being with the least bit of empathy and the barest sense of responsibility, feel not just a sense of nausea, but also revolt – who is responsible for what they did? Whose failure to act allowed them to commit such acts? And finally, who had been sending them to beat up citizens protesting in the streets over the past few years?

Bombs and unread emails

Every day, we are subjected to abuse by the acts and omissions of state authorities. I am a mother who on 16 May, early in the morning, received an email from my child’s school with the subject: “Bomb threat”. As it would turn out, a hundred schools in

Belgrade had received emails saying a bomb had been planted. In the days before, some shopping centres and public institutions had been evacuated because of such emails. And then it really started, so that almost for the whole of May and June, children left school under police escort because of such bomb threats. This amounted to maltreatment of everyone, both the children who received no professional support and their parents. And it turned into a circus that went on for almost two months, though there were always some citizens who did not take such threats, or the conduct of those in charge of security in the country, lightly. There were also cases where an institution would realise a bomb threat had been sent only days later, because no one had been reading the emails.

Protests and consequences

A portion of society is in constant protest, not a day goes by without someone protesting, and yet, all the protests can be roughly divided into two groups: one group addresses the president, asking him to find a solution, which he doesn't, but he does make promises, and the other group protests over principles, including the rule of law, and does not see the president as a fantastical being that can wave a magic wand to solve all problems. There were and still are many environmental protests, the biggest occurring at the end of 2021 over plans by Rio Tinto to buy up arable agricultural land and convert it into lithium extraction fields that would damage the ecosystem of the entire Jadar region. Road blocks put up in protest across Serbia yielded results and the project was halted, but everyone fears it has only slowed down and the new government will give the project approval to continue. Currently, protests are under way in Šodroš near Novi Sad, where activists are trying to protect the forest, and in the vicinity of Majdanpek, where the Chinese Zijin Mining Company wants to dynamite Mount Starica in order to expand its mines.

There were also protests over the mural glorifying convicted war criminal Ratko Mladić in the centre of

Belgrade. Activists had painted over the mural, the right-wingers stepped up to defend it, the activists responded, and so it went on for days. In the meantime, graffiti with Mladić's image cropped up across Belgrade. The police responded by stopping activists who wanted to paint over the mural. Two activists who threw eggs at the mural (Aida Ćorović and Jelena Jaćimović) were taken down to the police station by force, but then the president stepped in and said that "the police was not protecting the mural, they were just making sure no one got hurt", thus directly supporting those who made the mural in the first place and were now defending it.

As an echo of the agreement negotiated with Kosovo, in the same statement, in practically the same sentence, the president banned Europride, which had been scheduled for 17 September. Although he is not authorised to do this, he was the one who announced the ban, invoking the difficult security situation in Serbia. When part of society reacted (it should be noted that the other part of society strolls through Belgrade in religious-political processions under the slogan of protecting "family values" and opposing Europride, issuing threats against its organisers and supporters) to this ban, he said, and I quote:

"And what you planned to have, the state has decided you won't have it. Full Stop."

Europride, freedom, security, safety, a feeling of belonging in society, of not being an outcast because you summer in Croatia, because you summer at all or criticise the president and his government, things like cooperation with neighbours, dealing with war crimes and not glorifying convicted war criminals, a state of rights and justice, objective and free media... feel free to add whatever else you were planning to have in Serbia.

The state has decided you won't have it.

Full Stop.

Katarina Milićević

Montenegro: The Government toppled, again?!

A little over two years ago, this statement would be hard to imagine in Montenegro, let alone speak aloud. However, in little more than two years, three governments have “toppled”. First in August 2020 the decades-long DPS government, and then over the course of seven months in 2022, two new governments toppled. Prime Minister Zdravko Krivokapić’s government received a vote of no confidence in February, and in August it was the minority government of Dritan Abazović. It seems the “good old” (and not only Montenegrin) discipline of *never leaving power* is turning into a new, more flexible “knightly” discipline that is more prone to plummeting.

Prime Minister Zdravko Krivokapić’s government “fell” when the opposition and part of the ruling coalition, including that very government’s deputy Dritan Abazović, voted against it. Thus, after 14 months, the mandate of Krivokapić’s cabinet was cut short. Incidentally, Abazović was the only politician among them, all other ministers were “experts”. The reason for its demise should be sought in the fact that it never enjoyed the full support of all its members, that its legitimacy was practically negligible, and that its composition was chipped after a mere six months with the replacement of Vladimir Leposavić as minister of justice. An even greater burden was the conceptual departure of Krivokapić’s cabinet from the promises the winning bloc made to the electorate. The new government betrayed the voters’ expectations, especially in terms of its relation to NATO, the European Union, Kosovo, and particularly Serbia.

After negotiations at the end of April, Dritan Abazović, who had been the deputy, became the prime minister. Danijela Đurović from the Socialist People’s Party was appointed speaker of the parliament. Despite being proud of his work and the work of the previous government, Abazović pointed out that the new government would focus on the rule of law and economic development.

However, the new government, the first to be headed by a prime minister from a “minority people”, fell after only three months, or 113 days to be exact. The toppling of the government was initiated by the

Democratic Party of Socialists, which had previously supported it. This support was withdrawn after Abazović signed the “Basic Agreement”¹ with the Serb Orthodox Church (SPC) that the DPS deemed unconstitutional. They also objected to his abandoning the European path because the justice system hadn’t been unblocked, which is the main precondition for Montenegro’s further advancement towards EU membership. DPS begrudging someone a blocked justice system, whatever next?! This means that the current government headed by Dritan Abazović has been working under a technical mandate since 20 August 2022.

Nothing wrong with that, you might say, it’s even welcome to have a government that can be deposed, finally this is happening in Montenegro, and regularly at that (perhaps it doesn’t have to happen so frequently, but when it comes to new disciplines, we are consistent). However, is first 13 and then 3 months enough time for anyone to do anything in a country that has been held hostage for decades by crime, corruption, nepotism, partitocracy, etc.? Are the evident obstructions of the opposition and some of the ruling coalition too strong for any sort of radical change? Still, despite their short time in office, we have to ask ourselves whether Montenegro is in better shape today than two years ago, or half a year ago, depending on which government we are evaluating. Or has it been through another degradation, another step backwards in terms of both democracy and economic development and regional and international relations? Or, in the best case, haven’t we just been hibernating for the past two years?

How to pacify a vampire?

The Democratic Front (DF) has been making sure that the new discipline is diligently implemented, so that in the first days of September 2022 a meeting was organised of parliamentary majority representatives

¹ *Radio Slobodna Evropa*, 3. 8. 2022, article „*Nakon potpisivanja Temelnog ugovora sa SPC upitan opstanak Vlade*“

from 2020. An agreement was signed² and a new government (the third just this year) was announced. The first point of the agreement cites “elimination of any possibility for the return of DPS to power in any form and continuing to dismantle the former regime.” A vampire hunt or the long-awaited vetting process? Applicable equally to all, let’s hope!

Claims that the August 2020 elections finally marked the end of not just decades of DPS rule, but also their political life and influence, turned out to be false. DPS not only orchestrated the fall of Krivokapić’s government, but also initially supported and then just three months later toppled the government of Dritan Abazović. Lack of power, indeed! As hard as it may be to admit, throughout the exercise of this new knightly discipline, it turns out Milo Đukanović had a far more stabilising effect on society as president of Montenegro, when compared to the government and parliament whose internal strife and turmoil has made the functioning of both institutions far from efficient.

Politically laying DPS to rest means laying to rest decades of a “captured state” whose institutions, if not the entire system, had become deeply entangled with organised crime. It means laying to rest a corrupt and unprofessional judiciary, liberating all other institutions as well, and guaranteeing and implementing the rule of law, and freedoms, and a host of other things. There are indications that this process has started. Namely, the long-time president of the Supreme Court Vesna Medenica and president of the Commercial Court Blažo Jovanić have been arrested, while Europol has accused two police officers of having smuggled large quantities of cocaine as members of one of the two major mafia clans. Medenica is suspected of illegal influence in a number of court proceedings, while her son Miloš Medenica is suspected based on Europol information of smuggling cigarettes and drug trafficking. The president of the Commercial Court stands accused of misconduct during bankruptcy proceedings in which he allegedly took bribes.

The season of arrests began after Vladimir Novović was appointed chief special prosecutor. His predecessor Milivoje Katnić had been accused of protecting individual government officials, especially

the president Milo Đukanović. Arrests continued during the summer, first with the arrests of the former president and board members of the “13. jul Plantaže” company, Veselin Vukotić, Božo Mihailović, Đorđije Rajković and Sead Šahman, and finally the company’s former executive director Verica Maraš, because of reasonable grounds for suspicion of abuse of office in commercial business. The octopus started to have its tentacles stepped on. Is it time to go for its head?

For months, there have been speculations and expectations that also some politicians suspected of corruption would be arrested, or those with prior criminal reports made against them. A large part of the public has its eyes on members of Đukanović’s DPS whose recent rise like vampires only makes things more difficult. But if there is political will, and we have already been assured of the new special prosecutor’s courage, then we should expect a productive Montenegrin autumn of vetting.

Bread and holidays

Seven years since construction began, Montenegro has opened the first segment of its first highway that, once finished, will connect Podgorica with the north of the country and with Serbia. It took four governments and almost one billion euros to complete 41 kilometres of the highway. Experts estimate that this will be the most expensive highway in Europe per kilometre.

The wave of price hikes that washed over Montenegro early in 2022 reached a record in July when inflation was 15%. In addition to negative tendencies in the global energy, food and services market, increasingly the cause is attributed also to the start of the government’s “Europe Now” programme that increased income and social benefits in February, but therefore also budget expenditure, all of which speaks to how hard-hit living standards are in Montenegro.

But when there is no bread, there are holidays. Celebrations of National Day on 13th July, which is also when the highway was officially opened, ended with police interventions preventing more clashes between two groups of citizens who gathered in Nikšić to celebrate this holiday. A Montenegrin national organisation called the Forum of Free Citizens Luča organised a rally in the main square, while nearby, in Šako Petrović Square, the holiday was being celebrated

² Euronews Srbija, 2. 9. 2022, article “*Stara većina potpisala sporazum, formiraće novu Vladu Crne Gore*”

by another group of citizens carrying tricolour flags, Serbian national symbols and symbols of the Serbian Orthodox Church. The police stepped in to prevent more extensive clashes by separating the two groups and arresting several people, and the ambulance team also had to intervene. Aside from condemnations of violence and calls for responsibility, everything went on as before, with the Serbs blaming the Montenegrins, the Montenegrins blaming the Serbs, no one being held responsible and the celebrations ending in teargas!

“The spirit of Montenegrin heroism went quiet, even more so its spirit of humanity”

“Thirty years ago, in the twilight hours of a country that even before Europe set on that path, had gathered our fathers in brotherhood and unity for decades, here in this place, on the blue shores of the Adriatic, for a moment, the spirit of Montenegrin heroism went quiet, even more so its spirit of humanity,” said the foreign minister of Montenegro Đorđe Radulović when placing a wreath at the entrance to Morinj Camp. For the first time after thirty years, delegations of Croatia and Montenegro honoured the victims at Morinj Camp³ together with, as Radulović said, the wish to make sure this never happens again, adding that it was the interest of this new Montenegro to see “reconciliation of our fathers for the benefit of the future of our children”.

This is not an isolated case because the memorial gathering organised on 25 May 2022 to commemorate thirty years since the deportation of Bosnian-Herzegovinian refugees was attended by the head of Montenegro’s Police Administration Zoran Brđanin, the minister of internal affairs Filip Adžić, the minister of justice Marko Kovač and the minister of labour Admir Adrović. This was the first time, after thirty years, that representatives of the Montenegrin

government attended the commemoration marking the anniversary of the deportation of Muslims. On that 25 May 1992, refugees were arrested and handed over to the Army of Republika Srpska. Most of the 79 refugees were executed, while 12 managed to survive torture in the camps.

The head of Montenegro’s Police Administration Zoran Brđanin issued an apology to the victims and their family members and expressed regret that there had previously been no political will or readiness to recognise this crime, call it by its name and fully bring it to light. Adžić expressed his support for a memorial to be placed in front of the police building in Herceg Novi, saying that “this is not just a professional, but above all a human and moral obligation”.⁴

This is certainly a significant step forward compared to the common practice of state officials before, but in order for the “spirit of heroism, even more so the spirit of humanity” to be revived, these two examples will not be enough and activities such as this will need to become regular and indispensable practice. In addition to these two cases, there are further opportunities for such gestures in Montenegro. For example: Attack on Dubrovnik in 1991 - 116 civilians killed, 194 Croatian soldiers, 165 Montenegrin members of the JNA; 33000 people expelled, 2071 residential buildings damaged or destroyed. Bukovica in 1992 - 6 persons killed, 2 persons committed suicide following torture, 11 persons abducted, 125 Muslim families numbering 330 members displaced. The Klapuh family in 1992 - three members of the Klapuh family from Foča killed near Plužine. Kaluđerski Laz in 1999 - members of the reserve forces of the Yugoslav Army killed 22 Albanian refugees.

Even though up until now, the official position has been that Montenegro did not take part in the wars of the 1990s, these places indicate that there could be a more just approach to the past.

Radomir Radević

3 During 1991-92, the Morinj Camp was a site of detention of civilians (around 160) that had been arrested in their homes in Konavle by reservists of the Yugoslav People’s Army (JNA), as well as a small number of prisoners of war from among the Croatian armed forces that were defending Dubrovnik at the time. They later testified about the various abuse they suffered while held in detention and the Higher Court in Podgorica convicted four former JNA reservists of war crimes and inhumane treatment, sentencing them to 12 years in prison.

4 Individual and objective accountability has not been ascertained in the “Deportation” case, but the state did directly accept responsibility for this war crime and in December 2008 a decision was adopted for a court settlement that included reparations in the total amount of 4.13 million euros. Genuine political will to adequately resolve and prosecute this war crime has been persistently absent.

Kosovo: How do you love your country?

I was having a virtual discussion with a veteran of the past war in Kosovo, during one more in a series of disagreements between the government of Kosovo and Serbia, and he was explaining to me how Serbia cannot attack us with infantry forces. When I saw that the discussion had gotten heated and serious, in an attempt to relax things, I said how Serbia could conquer us in 24 hours, and he started giving me a list of our military and police capacities, insisting that Serbia had no chance in 24 hours.

"Alright then, in 48," I said, jokingly.

"Go kill yourself," he said, and thus ended our virtual discussion.

I remained friends with the veteran and we continued to have disagreements from time to time.

But what did I learn from this discussion?

That war is always an option

Relations between Kosovo and Serbia remain fragile, and there is no in-depth analysis that can bring convincing arguments about whether they are any better or worse since the end of the 1998-1999 war. But here we are already in 2022.

There is, of course, progress in many areas, such as trade, freedom of movement, communication in arts and culture (hasn't that communication always been there?), but it cannot be said that such progress amounts to normal good relations between two countries or between two neighbouring nations.

This becomes plain to see whenever there is a decision or statement that touches upon the relationship of Kosovo with Serbia, or of Kosovo with Serbs, especially those in the north of the country.

War is so present in political, public and media discourse that you sometimes get the impression it only ended yesterday, and not 23 years ago. Some say 23 years is not a long time, but I disagree.

Certainly, war must not be forgotten, victims must be remembered with dignity, suffering must be recognised beyond ethnic and other affiliations, but war should not always be remembered as triumph, as defeating "evil", as defeating the "enemy", but as a

process that happened due to a host of interconnected and complex reasons and it must be used as a reminder that it should never be repeated, instead of being such an easy option that can be taken into consideration and planned out in detail.

And we should not forget the young people. Those who are not involved in discussions of the war, to whom the war narrative is served in the form of glorious victories and legendary battles. No one asks them whether they want war. What is more, no one asks them if they want to hear about the war, they just keep filling their heads and ears with stories that are, to be perfectly honest, quite crude.

That could be another unexamined reason for young people in Kosovo losing hope.

That Serbia is the eternal enemy

Whenever talk turns to Serbia, it is never discussed as a neighbouring country with which (ironically?) Kosovo has the most prominent economic, political and social relations.

When Serbia is the topic, the talk is always about its hostility towards Kosovo, about a whole people harbouring feelings of animosity towards Albanians, wanting to harm them, having come all the way from the Carpathians to spoil the peace for Albanians.

The aim here is by no means to diminish the atrocities committed by Serbian regimes historically in Kosovo and other countries of the region. But that does not give anyone the right to have prejudice against a whole people, to judge them for atrocities committed by individuals, or to blame them collectively where individuals are guilty.

So much hatred is fostered against this northern neighbour that even the BCSM language is considered a bad language, a language that sounds bad, the language of the enemy (is there such a thing as a bad language?).

It is sad to see how the media take part in this discourse. I guess slander, insults and hate speech are always more popular than writing and reporting on a good example of coexistence of different peoples –

there are such examples, without a doubt, plenty of them, and not far from Pristina – the capital where most of these hostile narratives are produced.

Of course, the current Serbian nationalist regime is no better. Kosovo is held hostage by two neighbouring peoples that cannot seem to find a common language and look to a brighter future for all of us. But maybe this would be no good for the nationalists who always need conflicts (real or imagined) to remain in power as long as possible. Proof of this can be found in all the regimes across the Western Balkans for years now.

That the 1990s mentality has not changed

The mentality in Kosovo has not changed one bit since the 1990s. At least not judging by those who take up most of the space in the media, in public and political discourse.

Despite a change of generations (let's not forget – those born at the end of the war are 23 today and make up a considerable portion of the population

and the electorate in Kosovo), the loudest are the quarrellers, the haters, the instigators of conflict, and all this in the name of the “homeland”, “protecting our land”, “fighting against a centuries-old enemy”. And so on.

And no one asks those who have heard about the 1990s only from their parents, from (subjective) school textbooks, from the media.

No one asks them if they want to go to war, or if they want to live in peace with other peoples in Kosovo, if they want to learn each other's languages, or even if they want to live in Kosovo at all.

They too are hostages of this contentious Kosovo, this small hunched country barely managing to hold up all the historical burden that has been foisted onto its back, all the mythomania, all the suffering and all the blood that was spilled, God knows what for.

And reconciliation is never the way, it's always just by the way!

Qerim Ondozi

North Macedonia: If you steal, steal a lot

Bulgaria has again this year stood by its, to us incomprehensible, conditions for putting a veto on North Macedonia's negotiations with the European Union. The disappointment was and still is great. Nevermind our politicians – incompetent, corrupt, illiterate, naive, all manner of deficient... we know them well, and we only have ourselves to blame for voting them into power (but it seems we prefer them that way) – but what about the EU, does it also have such politicians? The kind that have no qualms about questioning our very existence and the existence of the Macedonian language. The kind that directly aid the strengthening of nationalist parties, reviving forces that desire interethnic conflicts and bring deep disappointment to the scarce civic-liberal circles.

The EU has managed not just to amplify the arguments of Eurosceptics, but also to produce an anti-Western mood among the most pro-Western Macedonians. The general impression is that the EU

has become what it once stood against. Yes, we are facing instability caused by accession negotiations with the EU! Our obsessive aim of joining the EU for the past three decades came out of the conviction that membership would provide us with stability and prosperity, but instead of stabilisation, there is now serious danger that Macedonia will be destabilised.

We received various proposals and solutions, but finally settled on a deal with a “French taste”.

So, we have a deal

Although no one knows exactly what was agreed, we somehow now understand that Bulgaria was not an occupier during the Second World War and was not part of the fascist forces, so that any mention of Bulgaria as an occupier, anywhere and in any way, will be considered hate speech. Bulgarians will be written into the Constitution as a state-founding people, and the Macedonian language will be called the

Macedonian language in the Constitution. We are not looking forward to another change of the Constitution and all the drama that will come with it – long weeks of discussion, counting, buying of delegates, promises of director and ambassador posts, threats, protests, blockades...

The daily political news and developments in talks about the so-called “French proposal” to overcome the dispute with Bulgaria and its veto against starting negotiations with North Macedonia for membership in the European Union reignited hate speech in the public arena, the media, and on social networks. Hate speech and disinformation, as weapons of propaganda, polarised public opinion, promoted violent extremism and acts of hatred, undermined our fragile democracy and diminished the already low level of trust in political leaders, institutions and democratic processes.

At protests, hate speech against the proposed EU negotiations framework shifted from the political to the always-waiting ethnic plane. Some of those protesting against “Bulgarisation” shouted “Pure Macedonia”, “Albanians to the gas chambers” and the like, while few media dared report about this. Most of the media and citizens associations remained mute, and there was also no reaction from competent institutions. In return, at the anniversary celebrations of the Ohrid Agreement, celebrated with pride and pomp by DUI (at the expense of the state budget, of course), the host was booed when she addressed the audience in Macedonian. Instead of celebrating its multi-ethnic character, which is meant to be one of the main premises of the Ohrid Agreement, the 21st anniversary of its signing was overshadowed by the behaviour of some of those present. For Albanians, the Ohrid Agreement still represents a good idea and a positive compromise, while for most Macedonians it was a bad idea from the start, something they have not only never identified with, but something they blame for everything negative that has happened since the day of its signing, and probably also for whatever bad things may happen in the future.

This year, unfortunately, politicians have normalised hate speech and contributed to an atmosphere of divisions, tensions and destabilisation.

Written warning

We all agree that when it comes to corruption, especially of judges, public prosecutors, ministers and high government officials, there must be punishment. And it must be harsh. And finally, this year, we had a chance to see it in action. At long last, when the government itself found that a minister had not acted in accordance with the Code of Ethics, it decided to impose a draconian punishment: a written warning! The End!... Incidentally, the case involved a minister, a judge and a public prosecutor (officially working closely together) flying together to Palermo to cheer on our national football team. It was later found that contrary to their claims, none of them had paid for their flight, accommodation and tickets to the game out of pocket. These officials, and many others like them, cherish the state immensely, especially if the state budget pays for their affections.

Some of the citizenry is of the impression that the law is not equally applicable to all, and this has become the artillery of choice for political parties, all shooting the same cannons, depending on what side of the front their enemies are located. Some believe the law does not apply to those in power, the more radical-minded believe it does not apply to Albanians, etc. Still, there are many in the government and many Albanians who end up in prison, there were even Albanians in government who ended up in prison: they picked the wrong party! They just wanted to get rich quick, such as the SDSM Secretary General of the Government who was arrested on charges of theft. If he had been in the “right” party, i.e. the DUI, today he would be enjoying the benefits of his act, because DUI officials are either the most honest or the most cunning, untouchable and immune.

A few more words on the judiciary and public trust through some examples

Example 1. A former high-ranking state official was convicted of a host of crimes of corruption, fraud, money laundering and the like, but struck a plea bargain to spend three years in prison (and a luxury prison at that, the open type, with vacation and weekends off) and pay the state 36 million euros. If we know that high officials earn an average salary of 1000 euros per

month, then this particular official would have needed 36 thousand months, or 3 thousand years, to earn that kind of money. Still, it all worked out in the end for everyone. No one thought to ask where a government official got that kind of money? But we all know he will be in prison some three kilometres from the centre of Struga, with a view of the lake from a modest building with a park and a yard. This prison is the new refuge of many criminals who once held power and managed to get prison sentences of less than three years, so with their Ohrid ID cards, they moved from the capital to the shores of Lake Ohrid.

Conclusion: if you steal, steal a lot, otherwise you're done for.

Example 2. The Prosecutor for Organised Crime and Corruption is searching the Financial Police Administration (Institution 1 vs Institution 2). The head of the Financial Police Administration complains and the prosecutor ends up suspended. Whatever the final outcome, one thing is for certain: the conflict between the public prosecutor and the head of the administration is a war of annihilation, and one side must be defeated. Unfortunately, the process has led to the obliteration of the measly eight percent of public trust in the judiciary.

Conclusion: don't even think about accusing anyone in power, especially not someone from DUI!

(In)competent and (un)suited

Inadequate staffing solutions abound. The son of a political analyst, with no diplomatic experience to speak of, but a darling of the government, was appointed consul general in Chicago. A young TV show host, with no experience, gained attention when the government tried to appoint her to the head of the diplomatic-consular mission in New York, even though she was not employed by the Foreign Ministry and was unsuited to the position. There are countless such examples of people without the requisite education or experience in diplomacy, but with unquestionable party or political affiliations.

Children, relatives, friends of politicians (meaning mistresses), as a rule, the most incompetent people

who cannot find jobs elsewhere are appointed to supervisory or steering boards of public enterprises.

Corona profiteers

Now when the pandemic has eased up a bit, we get to look back at how we coped with its challenges. Although the mortality figures are dismal, the financial bottom line is not that bad. Especially for those who were meant to protect us from the virus and provide treatment.

One piece of investigative reporting by the Investigative Reporting Laboratory (IRL) showed that a private hospital that took in the biggest number of patients during the Covid-19 pandemic, where treatment cost tens of thousands of euros per patient, applied a suspect method that had been at the stage of clinical trials. The clinic had concealed information about hospital acquired bacterial infections, as well as the fact that it used blood hemofiltration in clinical tests as a method to treat Covid-19, something it withheld from the families of the patients and something it had not been licenced to do by competent institutions. Many patients died at this private hospital. Mortality data was faked. Illegal acts were committed. Still, this hospital has net profits of 9.2 million euros. Its profitability rate was a whole of 28.3 percent.

D Day: Census data

This year saw the presentation of census results for the first time in 20 years. There were various manipulations with the numbers before and during the census. Here are the official data: of the total number of enumerated citizens, residents and non-residents, 54.21% are Macedonians, 29.52% are Albanians, 3.98% are Turks, while 1.18% declared themselves as Serbs, 0.87% as Bosniaks and 0.34% as Vlachs. Of the resident population, 58.44% are Macedonians and 24.3% are Albanians. A total of 3504 citizens declared themselves as Bulgarians in the census, which makes up 0.19%, but Bulgarians will still be written into the Constitution as a state-founding people, if we want to ever join the EU, that is.

Luan Imeri