



Godišnji izveštaj Annual Report

Centar za nenasilnu akciju
Centre for Nonviolent Action
Sarajevo | Beograd

2023

GODINE
26
YEARS



Godišnji izveštaj
Annual report

2023



Centar za nenasilnu akciju
Centre for Nonviolent Action
Sarajevo | Beograd

CENTAR ZA NENASILNU AKCIJU

nenasilje.org

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

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

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Uredili | Editors
Radomir Radević · Amer Delić

Prijelom i dizajn | Layout & Design
Ivana Franović

Naslovnica | Cover
Nenad Vukosavljević

Fotografije | Photos
Nenad Vukosavljević · Tamara Zrnović · Nedžad Horozović

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

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

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



Sadržaj

Uvod	6
obilježavanje neobilježenih mjesta stradanja	8
Kako smo vidjeli pomirenje	9
Bivši logoraši i mirovni aktivisti zajedno obišli mjesta zatočenja i uputili apel javnosti	12
rad s ratnim veteranima	14
Tri decenije od zločina u Sjeverinu kod Priboja: Porodice i dalje čekaju na pravdu	15
mirovno obrazovanje	18
Dani kada se dešavaju godine	19
publikacije, promocije	22
Objavljena zbirka Biber 05	23
Predstavljanje Bibera	24
Najava: šesti konkurs Biber	25
Dokumentacija: Sadašnjost naše prošlosti	25
Izgradnja mira u Južnoj Aziji i na Zapadnom Balkanu – Uvidi sa neuobičajenog susreta	26
Podkast o Osnovnom treningu iz izgradnje mira	27
razmjena, saradnja, umrežavanje	28
Studijski put „Sadašnjost naše prošlosti“	29
Trening iz Suočavanja prošlosti u Wustrow, Njemačka	30
Konferencija „Preispitivanje transformacionog potencijala tranzicione pravde“	31
Kad pojmovi sretnu ljude: O jednoj mreži u koju smo se upecali	31
politički i društveni konteksti u kojima delujemo	34
Bosna i Hercegovina: Rata neće biti. Živio rat	35
Hrvatska: Država, selo, grad	38
Srbija: Srbija protiv nasilja	40
Severna Makedonija: Makedonija: O Bugarima, opet	42
Crna Gora: Korak dublje	44
Umesto konteksta Kosova: Vapaj!	47
In memoriam – Stanislav Stana Krezić	49

Contents

Introduction	52
marking unmarked sites of suffering	54
How We Saw Reconciliation	55
Prison Camp Survivors and Peace Activists Visit Sites of Detention Together and Issue a Public Appeal	58
work with war veterans	60
Three Decades since the Crime in Sjeverin near Priboj: Families Still Waiting for Justice	61
peace education	64
Days when Years Happen	65
publications, promotions	68
Biber 05 Collection published	69
Biber Promotions	70
The 6th Biber Short Story Contest	71
Documentation: The Present of Our Past	71
Peacebuilding in South Asia and the Western Balkans – Insights from an Unusual Encounter	72
exchange, cooperation, networking	74
Study Trip “The Present of Our Past”	75
Training in Wustrow, Germany	76
Conference: “Revisiting the transformative potential of transitional justice”	77
When Terms Encounter People: How We Got Caught in a Net	77
political and social contexts in which we live	82
Bosnia and Herzegovina: There will be no more war. Long live war.	83
Croatia: Country, village, city	87
Serbia: Serbia against violence	89
North Macedonia: On the Bulgarians, yet again	92
Montenegro: Going deeper	94
Instead of the Context for Kosovo: A Cry for Help!	97
In memoriam – Stanislav Stana Krezić	99

Uvod

Drage prijateljice, dragi prijatelji,

U godini koja je ostala za nama (septembar/rujan 2022. – septembar/rujan 2023.) rad sa ratnim veteranima, obilježavanje neobilježenih mjesta stradanja, međunarodna saradnja, mirovno obrazovanje kao i publikovanje i promocije predstavljale su najveći dio naših aktivnosti.

Bili smo na komemoracijama u Sjeverinu kod Priboja u Srbiji, Lozju kod Goražda i Rogatici u Bosni i Hercegovini. Tim koji radi na Obilježavanju neobilježenih mjesta stradanja realizovao je veliku akciju koja je obuhvatala obilazak i obilježavanje 4 silosa, nekadašnja zatočenička objekta u Bosni i Hercegovini i obilazak Željeznog mosta nadomak Doboja, mjestu strijeljanja zarobljenih civila.

Realizovali smo dvije aktivnosti mirovnog obrazovanja. Osnovni trening iz izgradnje mira, 44. po redu, održan je u periodu 14. – 24. oktobra/listopada 2022. godine u Ulcinju, u Crnoj Gori, a peti Trening iz izgradnje mira za studente-ice iz Bosne i Hercegovine, održan je od 22. do 28. srpnja/jula 2023. godine na Vlašiću, u Bosni i Hercegovini. Kako bismo naš rad na polju mirovnog obrazovanja približili potencijalnim učesnicima/ama, napravili smo i podkast o osnovnim treninzima, koji je dostupan [online](#). Iskustva nekih od učesnika/ca naših programa mirovnog obrazovanja; kako je na njih uticao trening na kojem su učestvovali, smo takođe objavili i ona su dostupna [online](#).

Studijski put „Sadašnjost naše prošlosti“ održan od 25.9. do 1.10. 2022. godine, u našoj organizaciji obuhvatao je posjete obilježenim i neobilježenim mjestima stradanja vezanim za Drugi svjetski rat i ratove 90-ih, na širem području Potkozarja. Na putu su učestvovali studenti/ce i mlađi istraživači/ce iz polja istorije, psihologije, istorije umjetnosti, te aktivisti/ce za ljudska prava, mirovni aktivisti/ce i novinari/ke iz regiona. Publikovana je obimna dokumentacija sa ovog Studijskog puta.

Objavili smo petu po redu zbirku kratkih priča Biber 05 i organizovali 4 promocije: u Zagrebu i

Petrinji u HR, Bitolju u Sjevernoj Makedoniji i Travniku u BiH. Najavljujemo otvaranje 6 konkursa Biber za decembar 2023. godine.

Centar za nenasilnu akciju je postala jedna od partnerskih organizacija „Globalnog edukativnog hub-a za tranzicionu pravdu i pomirenje“ ([Global Learning Hub for Transitional Justice and Reconciliation](#)). Konferencija, pod nazivom „[Preispitivanje transformacionog potencijala tranzicione pravde](#)“, na kojoj smo uzeli učešća, je predstavljala inicijalni događaj.

Publikovali smo i specijalni izvještaj/ dokumentaciju na engleskom jeziku sa susreta u okviru projekta „Razmena o izgradnji mira Južna Azija – Zapadni Balkan“ održanom od 26. marta do 2. aprila 2022. godine u Bosni i Hercegovini.

U saradnji sa našim prijateljima Luanom Imerijem (Sjeverna Makedonija), Vanjom Šunjić (Bosna i Hercegovina), te Dalmirom Miškovićem (Hrvatska) članovi/ce CNA tima su pisali/e o kontekstima u kojima djelujemo.

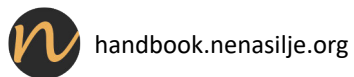
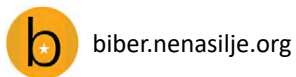
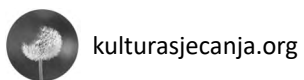
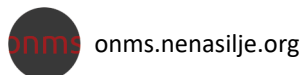
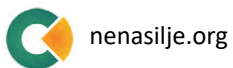
Sa velikim bolom oprostili smo se od našeg dragog dugogodišnjeg saradnika i prijatelja Stanislava Krezića Stane.

Zahvalni smo donatorima koji su finansijski podržali aktivnosti u prethodnoj godini o kojima možete čitati u ovom izvještaju. Ministarstvo za ekonomsku saradnju i razvoj (BMZ) SR Njemačke je naš dugogodišnji donator kroz program Civilne mirovne službe, a ove godine podržao nas je i The Rockefeller Brothers Fund.

O svemu pobrojanom možete čitati u ovom izvještaju, a detaljnije i na našim internet stranicama. Zahvalni smo vam za svaki komentar, uvid ili povratnu informaciju koju dobijemo.

CNA tim
rujan/septembar 2023.

Naše stranice na internetu:





obilježavanje neobilježenih
mjestâ stradanja

Zajednička posjeta neobilježnim mjestima stradanja "4 Silosa"

Silos u Tarčinu, Hadžići
Silos u Kačunima, Busovača
Silos u Žepču
Silos u Polju, Derventa
Željezni most u Doboju

Kako smo vidjeli pomirenje

Postoje trenuci kada je pomirenje moguće vidjeti. Nisu svakodnevni, nemoguće ih je isplanirati, čak ih je teško i opisati. Za deset, dvadeset ili više godina moguće je da se neću sjećati svih detalja, imena ljudi i mjesta, razgovora i poruka i zato je ovaj tekst pišem kao podsjetnik nekom budućem sebi. Ono što se sigurno ne zaboravlja jeste osjećaj, čudna mješavina ushićenja, ponosa, sreće i zadovoljstva u tim trenucima kad vidite plodove dugogodišnjeg rada, plodove koji daju smisao prethodno urađenom i motiviraju za ubuduće i koji pride sve poraze i neuspjehe, a nije da ih nije bilo, čine zanemarivim.

Mart je 2023. godine, još je pro hladno, u Sarajevu ima i snijega, ali ne i u Žepču. U taj gradić, gdje rijeka Bosna naglo skreće u desno, došli smo da obiđemo nekadašnji zatočenički objekat „Silos“. Nas četrdesetak, iz pet ili šest zemalja i mnogo više gradova, mi novinari, bivši logoraši, mirovni aktivisti, ratni veterani, i njih samo dvojica – Mirza i Ekrem, domaćini iz Udruženja logoraša Žepče. Trideset godina poslije rata prvi put ulaze u objekat u kojem su te ratne 1993. doživjeli i vidjeli strahotu. I njima i nama emocije su pomiješane, svima nam znači uopće mogućnost da, nakon toliko godina, uđemo u objekat bivšeg silosa. Njima je, pored toga, sigurno i posebno teško, vidjeli smo to uostalom koji sat vremena ranije kada smo ulazili u neke druge silose koji su također bili zatočenički objekti. Novi vlasnik postavio je novu fasadu, renovirao objekat i sad ga koristi kao stovarište građevinskog materijala, susretljiv je i dopušta obilazak. Mirza i Ekrem vode nas sa druge strane gdje je ostao nerenovirani dio, zloglasna soba „trica“ samo se nazire, kad su već ušli u dvorište htjeli bi da obiđu što više, da dođu do svakog

zapečka, da nam ispričaju kako je današnje stovarište građevinskog materijala prije samo tridesetak godina bilo obično, najobičnije stovarište ljudskog materijala i kako su taj materijal bili oni.

Oko Mirze su i drugi logoraši, slušaju ga i više za sebe nego za druge potvrđuju: „Sve isto“. Prošli su neke druge logore, bili su zatočeni u nekom drugom silosu, stražari su nosili različite uniforme, ali patnja haman ista. Dok Mirza govori okrenut leđima silosu prilazi mu Zlatko, sapatnik i bivši logoraš iz Vareša:

„Ja sam hrvatski logoraš, mogu li vam pružiti ruku?“

Eto, u tih tridesetak sekundi, u tom pitanju, u tom stisku ruke, negdje na blatu iza nekadašnjeg žepačkog silosa, nas tridesetak je vidjelo pomirenje. U tim martovskim danima **posjetili smo** i silose koji su tokom rata služili kao zatočenički objekti u Hadžićima kod Sarajeva, Kačunima kod Busovače, Žepču i Derventi te Željezni most u Doboju. Bilo je to prvi put da su bivši logoraši iz Bosne i Hercegovine zajednički obišli bivše zatočeničke objekte, upoznali jedni druge, zajednički položili cvijeće i razgovarali o mogućnosti da se ovakvi obilasci nastave. Sama udruženja bivših zatočenika, kao i toliko mnogo toga u postratnoj Bosni i Hercegovini, podijeljena su, uglavnom, po etničkim linijama. I pored „okvira“ koji zahtijeva sjećanje isključivo na žrtve iz „svog“ naroda, kroz višegodišnji rad na izgradnji mira na prostoru bivše Jugoslavije sreli smo mnogo ljudi koji su bili spremni prelaziti vidljive i nevidljive granice, koji su bili i jesu spremni pokloniti se svim žrtvama, pozvati na procesuiranje odgovornih i podržati dostojnu memorijalizaciju svih mjesta stradanja sa ciljem izgradnje boljeg i pravednijeg društva. U proljeće 2022. organizirali smo zajedničku posjetu Trusini kod Konjica



i Stupnom Dolu kod Vareša i to uz pomoć udruženja žrtava iz oba ova mjesta. Bila je ovo rijetka prilika saradnje i zajedničkog odavanja počasti hrvatskim i bošnjačkim žrtvama iz ova dva mjesta, a činjenica da su predstavnici udruženja posjetili oba mjesta i poklonili se i jednim i drugim žrtvama pokazuje put kojim se može ići. Emir iz Stupnog Dola i Dragica iz Trusine pridružili su nam se i tokom martovske akcije obilaska bivših zatočeničkih objekata pokazavši i sebi i drugima da nisu sami. Znali smo da nisu sami jer smo kroz obilježavanje neobilježenih mjesta zatočenja sreli bivše logoraše koji nemaju nikakvu zadršku da iskažu podršku ljudima iste ili slične sudbine, da obidu sva mjesta zatočenja bez obzira ko je bio žrtva, a ko počinilac te da pozovu da se svim bivšim logorašima omogući dostojanstveno obilježavanje ovakvih mjesta i njima značajnih datuma.

U tom stisku ruke Mirze i Zlatka, u tih nekoliko sekundi, stale su godine i godine rada. Kada bih pokušao odgovoriti kada smo počeli sa pripremama zajedničke posjete bivših logoraša mjestima zatočenja prvo bih se morao vratiti u 2015. godinu, na početke obilježavanja

neobilježenih mjesta stradanja. Obilježavajući ove lokacije srećali smo ljude koji su bez ikakve zadrške sa nama bili spremni obići i obilježiti i sva druge mjesta, bez obzira ko su žrtve. Dio ljudi koje smo u tim godinama sreli bio je skeptičniji, ali smo jednim poštenim odnosom prema svim žrtvama vremenom zadobijali njihovo povjerenje i povjerenje šire zajednice. Negdje u tom procesu izgradnje povjerenja, koji se nikada ne okončava, ljudi su nas prepoznali kao nekoga ko izgrađeno povjerenje neće zloupotrijebiti, nekoga ko nema nikakve skrivene interese i ima pošten odnos prema svim žrtvama. To bazično povjerenje bilo je osnov na kojem smo sa pojedincima i udruženjima razgovarali i mogućnosti zajedničke posjete bivšim zatočeničkim objektima.

Ali, opet, značajnu podršku u ovoj aktivnosti pružili su nam i ratni veterani sa kojima sradujemo godinama pa bi se valjalo vratiti unazad barem četvrt stoljeća. Zajedno sa ratnim veteranima težimo ka izgradnji inkluzivne kulture sjećanje i upravo su oni ti koji su bili spremni na samim počecima obilježavanja neobilježenih mjesta stradanja biti naši partneri i



saradnici na terenu, neki od njih bili su i sami zatočeni i prošli su pakao logora... Pored obilazaka obilježenih i neobilježenih mjesta stradanja sa ratnim veteranima već godinama odlazimo na zvanične komemoracije koje organizuju lokalne vlasti ili pak udruženja žrtava. Nastavljajući tu aktivnost u proteklom periodu u fokusu smo imali istočni dio Bosne koji je posebno stradao u ratu. Krajem 2022. prisustvovali smo komemoraciji povodom 30. godišnjice otmice i ubistava civila iz mjesta **Sjeverin**, pograničnom području između BiH i Srbije, te komemoraciji ubijenim u naselju **Lozje** (Goražde) i u **Rogatici**. Masovna ubistva civila na potezu od Foče do Bijeljine tokom 1992. godine kao i genocid u Srebrenici 1995. godine trajno su obilježili ovaj dio Bosne uz rijeku Drinu. Iako smo i ranije posjećivali ovaj dio BiH (posjeta veteranske grupe Memorijalnom centru Potočari kod Srebrenice kao i prisustvo komemoraciji u Skelanima također kod Srebrenice) pokazalo se da je tu rad na izgradnji mira i suočavanju s prošlošću posebno težak. Masovna stradanja, minimalan ili nikakav povratak, negiranje („tuđeg“) stradanja, nepoštivanje osnovnih prava povratnika, politička zloupotreba sa različitih

strana, samo su neke od stvari koje tome doprinose i s kojima se svakako valja izboriti. Spremnost da se uhvati u koštac sa svim tim izazovima, da se ode i tamo gdje je teško u svakom smislu, pokazuje ne samo posebnu motiviranost veteranske grupe već i izgrađen stav, čvrstu uvjerenost u važnost takvih dolazaka kao i strpljenje jer često, baš kao i u slučaju posjete bivšim mjestima zatočenja, rezultati će biti vidljivi tek mnogo kasnije.

Valja se vraćati još unazad, kopati dublje jer smo prve ratne veterane sreli na treninzima iz izgradnje mira na samim počecima rada CNA, a i sama ideja da se krene u obilježavanje neobilježenih mjesta razrađena je na jednom od treninga. Opet, ništa od ovoga nije se desilo stihijski, nije se desilo samo od sebe, valjalo je imati vjere u nemoguće, predano raditi i biti beskrajno strpljiv pa bi se valjalo prisjetiti nekoliko ljudi, desetaka putovanja po raznim većim i manjim mjestima, stotine sastanaka planiranja i promišljanja...

Kada sumiramo rezultate urađenog, a godišnji izvještaj jedan je od načina, fokus na urađeno, na rezultate, na konkretno obavljeni posao, učini da

zaboravimo koliko posla ostaje potpuno „nevidljivo“. U koji izvještaj da uđe stotine sastanaka, sati telefonskih razgovora, čekanje po usputnim kafanama, emailovi na koje nikad nije stigao odgovor, dopisi i molbe institucijama, nebrojena pojašnjenja ko smo i šta smo...

Toga se valja prisjetiti kada god sami pred sebe ili drugi pred nas postavljaju pitanja kada smo počeli sa realizacijom određene aktivnosti: Davno, baš mnogo davno.

Nedžad Novalić

Bivši logoraši i mirovni aktivisti zajedno obišli mjesta zatočenja i uputili apel javnosti

Sa bivšim logorašima, uz podršku mirovnih aktivista, novinara i ratnih veterana, od 3. do 6. marta 2023. Centar za nenasilnu akciju je organizirao zajednički obilazak i obilježavanje četiri silosa, lokacija koje su bile mjesta zatočenja i to na području Tarčina kod Hadžića, Kaćuna kod Busovače te u Žepču i Derventi. Također, na kraju su, simbolički, obišli i obilježili Željezni most u Doboju na kojem je u junu 1992. strijeljano 13 logoraša. Više o ovim mjestima zatočenja možete pronaći na <https://onms.nenasilje.org>.

Brojna mjesta stradanja, patnje, mučenja širom BiH su neobilježena jer se lokalne vlasti protive postavljanju obilježja za mjesta stradanja ljudi koji su pripadali narodu koji u toj sredini danas nije većinski. Bivši logoraši i porodice žrtava se danas, nakon toliko godina, i dalje bore za pravo na sjećanje na svoje najmilije. Centar za nenasilnu akciju od 2015. godine podržava i akciju obilježavanja neobilježenih mjesta stradanja u BiH, a do sada se na ovaj način od zaborava pokušali otrgnuti više od 130 mjesta stradanja širom BiH.

Nakon posjete ovim mjestima bivši logoraši i mirovni aktivisti iz BiH i regiona uputili su zajednički apel:

„Duboko vjerujući da sve žrtve zaslužuju jednako poštovanje, ovakvom zajedničkom posjetom mjestima stradanja, među kojima su i nekadašnja mjesta zatočenja, želimo iskazati ljudsko poštovanje, podijeliti bol, ohrabriti i podržati jedni druge. Zajedničkom posjetom ovakvim i sličnim mjestima nadamo se da će ona postati mjesta susreta, dijaloga i učenja budućih naraštaja, mjesta na kojima ćemo se sjećati ratne prošlosti bez podsticanja na mržnju i osvetu, već da bi upozorili na tragične i višegeneracijske posljedice rata.

Sjećajući se stradanja svih, ma iz kojeg naroda bili, spremni da jednako osudimo svaki zločin počinjen od strane bilo koga, želimo ukazati na neophodnost da se svaka žrtva poštuje i da je to put ka izgradnji održivog mira u kojem želimo živjeti.

Naše prijatelje, komšije, sunarodnike i sve ljude dobre volje pozivamo da nam se pridruže na ovom putu sjećanjem na sve žrtve i uvažavanjem svake ljudske patnje. Ne bježeći od svih naših razlika, vjerujemo da međusobno uvažavanje i razumijevanje, zasnovano na ovim principima, može stvoriti prostor za dijalog u kojem ćemo otvorena srca čuti jedni druge, čuti za naše boli i potrebe koje su, u toliko mnogo slučajeva, slične.

Svjedoci smo da mnoga mjesta stradanja, među kojima su i zatočenički objekti, do danas nisu obilježeni, a bivšim zatočenicima, preživjelim i porodicama ubijenih nerijetko se onemogućuje ili otežava pristup ovakvim mjestima. Pozivamo vlasti, posebno one na lokalnom nivou, da žrtvama koje se bore za pravo na sjećanje budu podrška, a ne prepreka, da im omoguće nesmetan pristup lokacijama, kao i trajno obilježavanje ovakvih mjesta. Želja nam je da se stradanje nikada više ne ponovi.

Ne možemo nadomjestiti ljudske gubitke i patnju, ali želimo učiniti sve što je u našoj moći da izgradimo odnose međusobnog uvažavanja, poštovanja i povjerenja koji bi bili brana prijetnji da mržnja među

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

ljudima različitih zajednica bude temelj novih nepravdi i nasilja u budućnosti. Vjerujemo da pravo na slobodu i mir možemo ostvariti samo radeći zajedno, prelazeći granice koje nas od rata razdvajaju i učeći iz bolne prošlosti.“

Bivši logoraši i mirovni aktivisti, njih više od 50, koji su učestvovali u obilasku ovih mjesta i zajednički stali iza ovog apela dolaze iz sljedećih mjesta: Mostar, Jablanica, Konjic, Sarajevo, Rogatica, Višegrad, Bijeljina, Zenica, Zagreb, Glina, Kruševac, Beograd, Podgorica, Bihać, Novi Grad, Šamac, Derventa, Zavidovići, Žepče, Brčko, Rudo, Busovača, Fojnica, Prijedor, Livno, Doboј, Vareš, Jajce...

„Kroz višegodišnji rad na izgradnji mira na prostoru bivše Jugoslavije sreli smo mnogo ljudi koji su bili spremni prelaziti vidljive i nevidljive granice, koji su bili i jesu spremni pokloniti se svim žrtvama i pozvati na procesuiranje odgovornih i podržati dostojnu memorijalizaciju svih mjesta stradanja sa ciljem izgradnje boljeg i pravednijeg društva. U proljeće 2022. organizirali smo zajedničku posjetu Trusini kod Konjica i Stupnom Dolu kod Vareša i to uz pomoć udruženja žrtava iz oba ova mjesta. Bila je ovo rijetka prilika saradnje i zajedničkog odavanja počasti hrvatskim i bošnjačkim žrtvama iz ova dva mjesta, a činjenica da su

predstavnici udruženja posjetili oba mjesta i poklonili se i jednim i drugim žrtvama pokazuje put kojim se može ići. Emir iz Stupnog Dola i Dragica iz Trusine nisu sami – i kroz obilježavanje neobilježenih mjesta zatočenja sreli smo bivše logoraše koji nemaju nikakvu zadržku da iskažu podršku ljudima iste ili slične sudbine, da obidu sva mjesta zatočenja bez obzira ko je bio žrtva, a ko počinilac te da pozovu da se svim bivšim logorašima omogući dostojanstveno obilježavanje ovakvih mjesta i njima značajnih datuma“, navodi Amer Delić iz Centra za nenasilnu akciju.

Doprinos izgradnji inkluzivne, neselektivne kulture sećanja u BiH, Centar za nenasilnu akciju Sarajevo – Beograd (CNA) je pokušao pružiti na različite načine: istraživanjem mjesta stradanja i mjesta sjećanja, sakupljenim u bazi podataka i web-sajtu kulturasjecanja.org; publikacijom „Rat sjećanja“; izložbom „Rat sjećanja“ kojom smo u nekoliko godina obišli region; programima neformalnog obrazovanja sa ciljem podizanja društvenog kapaciteta za izgradnju mira; razmjenom i učenjem iz iskustava drugih zemalja, te sistematiziranjem sakupljenog znanja; zajedničkim komemorativnim akcijama ratnih veterana iz BiH, Hrvatske i Srbije.



rad s ratnim veteranima

Komemoracije:

- Komemoracija u Sjeverinu kod Priboja, Srbija, 22. 10. 2022.
- Komemoracija u Lozju kod Goražda, BiH, 22. 5. 2023.
- Komemoracija u Rogatici, BiH, 19. 6. 2023.

Tri decenije od zločina u Sjeverinu kod Priboja: Porodice i dalje čekaju na pravdu

Na tridesetu godišnjicu od otmice i stradanja 17 civila iz Sjeverina kod Priboja u ovom mjestu je klanjana kolektivna dženaza i održana komemoracija u znak sećanja na ubijene. Komemoraciji žrtvama prisustvovali su i mirovni aktivisti/aktivistkinje i ratni veterani iz Srbije, Bosne i Hercegovine i Hrvatske.

Zločin u Sjeverinu dogodio se 22. 10. 1992. godine, kada je grupa od 17 Bošnjaka, među kojima je bila i jedna žena, izvedena iz autobusa kojim su se vozili u Priboj na posao, kod mesta Mioče. Kamionom su

ih dalje odvezli u Višegrad, gde su svi ubijeni. Ovoj otmici prethodila je, dan ranije, 21. 10. 1992. otmica Sabahudina Čatovića, koji je otet iz svoje kuće.

Punih 30 godina poslije zločina pronađeni su posmrtni ostaci samo jedne žrtve. Poslije 30 čekanja odlučeno je da se i ostalima klanja dženaza iako posmrtni ostaci nisu pronađeni. Dženazu je predvodio reisul-ulema Islamske zajednice Husein ef. Kavazović.

Toga dana 1992. oti i pogubljeni su Mehmed Šebo, Zafer Hadžić, Medo Hodžić, Medredin Hodžić,





Ramiz Begović, Derviš Softić, Mithad Softić, Mujo Alihodžić, Alija Mandal, Sead Pecikoza, Mustafa Bajramović, Hajrudin Sajtarević, Esad Džihic, Idriz Gibović, Ramahudin Čatović i Mevlida Koldžić.

Trideset godina traje, osim tuge, i borba porodica žrtava, za pronalaženje posmrtnih ostataka i priznavanje statusa civilnih žrtava rata. Država Srbija, kao i Evropski sud za ljudska prava, zbog vrlo birokratskih i proceduralnih razloga, odbili su dosadašnje pokušaje zadobijanja bar neke pravde. Država Srbija zbog činjenice da se sama otmica dogodila na teritoriji Bosne i Hercegovine (kuda je autobus morao da prođe na putu za Priboj), a Evropski sud zbog toga što u vreme otmice, Srbija nije bila potpisnica Evropske konvencije o ljudskim pravima. Okružni sud u Beogradu osudio je na po 20 godina zatvora Milana Lukića i Olivera Krsmanovića, a Dragutina Dragičevića i Đorđa Ševića na 15 godina zatvora, između ostalih i za zločin u Sjeverinu. Lukić je pred Haškim tribunalom osuđen na doživotnu kaznu zatvora za zločine počinjene u Višegradu, ali među nebrojena zlodjela koja je počinio nije uvršten i zločin u Sjeverinu.

„Kada stanem ispred ogledala da razmislim šta danas treba kazati, najprije sebi, pa svima vama ovdije, zastane mi knedla u grlu, jer malo je toga što se može kazati, a da već za ovih 30 godina kazano nije. Nećemo odustati od borbe za istinu i status koji nam, kao žrtvama pripadaju. Mi, kao porodice, očekujemo da se osude zločinci i nalogodavci, otvore arhive, da nam se prizna status, da se ne dijelimo na građane prvog i drugog reda, da zakon o civilnim žrtvama rata bude promijenjen, i da se nikada i nikome me ponovi ono što smo mi doživjeli“, rekao je u emotivnom obraćanju Omer efendija Hodžić, čiji su otac i tetka bili u autobusu na putu ka poslu, i nikada ih više nije vidio.

Osim porodica žrtava, verskih poglavara Islamske zajednice, komemoraciji je prisustvovao i veliki broj građana, a organizatori posebno ističu zahvalnost opštini Priboj, koja je pomogla u obeležavanju dosadašnjih godišnjica i podizanju spomenika u Sjeverinu. Odavanju počasti i bacanju cveća sa mosta na Limu u mestu Mioče prisustvovala je i meštovita grupa ratnih veterana i aktivista i aktivistkinja Centra za nenasilnu akciju Sarajevo-Beograd.

„Ovi ljudi kojih se danas sećamo su bili građani Srbije, oni su zbog svoje nacionalnosti oteti i ubijeni, a ćutanje države Srbije, i njeno ignorisanje ovog i događaja u Štrpcima, koji su po svemu jako slični, govori da to nisu bili incidenti bolesnih umova koji su zločin počinili, već organizovana akcija od strane državnih organa. Građani Srbije su oteti i ubijeni, i država Srbija ima obavezu da njihovu sudbinu rasvetli, da pronade gde su pokopani, obezbedi dostojanstvenu sahranu i sećanje na te ljude i nadoknadu njihovim porodicama. I to je najmanje što može da učini. Dok mi, građani i građanke Srbije moramo da se solidarišemo sa porodicama, da ih podržimo u njihovoj borbi za pravdu i istinu, i da ne dozvolimo da se u naše ime ikada više ubijaju ljudi“ rekla je Katarina Milićević, aktivistkinja Centra za nenasilnu akciju posle komemoracije u Sjeverinu.

Mirovni aktivisti i aktivistkinje, te ratni veterani iz regije u organizaciji Centra za nenasilnu akciju do sada

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

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, Vitezu, Srbiji u Grdeličkoj klisuri kod Leskovca, Varvarinu kod Kruševca, Aleksincu, Prijepolju za otete iz voza u Štrpcima, te u Hrvatskoj u Pakracu, Varivodama i Gošiću kod Knina.



mirovno obrazovanje

Održani treninzi:

- 44. Osnovni trening iz izgradnje mira, Ulcinj, Crna Gora, 14-24. 10. 2022.

Broj prijava: 104

20 učesnika/ca iz Bosne i Hercegovine, Hrvatske, Srbije, Makedonije, Crne Gore i Kosova

Rodni balans: 12 žena i 8 muškaraca

Tim: Ivana Franović, Tamara Zrnović, Amer Delić i Luan Imeri

- 5. Trening iz izgradnje mira za studente i studentice iz BiH, Vlačić, BiH, 22-28. 7. 2023.

Broj prijava: 53

20 učesnika/ca iz Hadžića, Banja Luke, Breze, Ilidže, Travnika, Sarajeva, Velike Kladuše, Bijeljine, Žepča, Jakeša-Vukosavlja, Viteza, Cazina, Laktaša i Živinica

Rodni balans: 11 žena i 9 muškaraca

Tim: Dalmir Mišković, Tamara Zrnović, Katarina Milićević, Amer Delić i Radomir Radević

U protekloj godini realizovali smo dva programa Mirovnog obrazovanja: 44. Osnovni trening iz izgradnje mira, koji je održan od 14-24. oktobra/listopada u Ulcinju, Crna Gora i 5. Trening iz izgradnje mira za studente-ice iz Bosne i Hercegovine.

Kako bismo rad Centra za nenasilnu akciju na polju mirovnog obrazovanja približili potencijalnim

učesnicima/ama, napravili smo i podkast o osnovnim treninzima, koji je dostupan [online](#).

Takođe smo zamolili i neke od učesnika/ca naših programa mirovnog obrazovanja da nam napišu svoja iskustva i kako je na njih uticao neki od naših treninga na kom su bili, i te su impresije objavljene na [našem sajtu](#).

Dani kada se dešavaju godine

Za početak – statistika

Osnovni trening iz izgradnje mira, 44. po redu u organizaciji Centra za nenasilnu akciju Sarajevo/Beograd, održan je u periodu 14. – 24. oktobra/listopada u Ulcinju, u Crnoj Gori.

Ukupno smo dobili 104 prijave, od čega ih je najviše pristiglo iz Bosne i Hercegovine (46), zatim Srbije (16), a podjednak broj (12) je pristigao iz Makedonije, Hrvatske i Crne Gore, te Kosova (6). Broj prijavljenih žena je bio veći (58) u odnosu na broj prijavljenih muškaraca (46), što je imalo uticaja pri odabiru učesnika jer nam je, pored regionalne i starosne, važna i jednaka rodna zastupljenost. I ovaj put smo zabilježili nekoliko otkazivanja u posljednji trenutak, zbog čega se prilika za sudjelovanje pružila onima koji su do zadnjeg dana odlučili ostati na listi čekanja. Veoma

smo zahvalni ljudima koji su u posljednjem trenutku pozvani i u kratkom roku potvrdili svoje učešće. Na kraju je našu grupu činilo 20 učesnika/ca, 12 žena i 8 muškaraca iz Bosne i Hercegovine (8), Hrvatske (4), Srbije (3), Makedonije (2), Crne Gore (2) i Kosova (1). Starosna zastupljenost učesnika/ca je bila u rasponu od 23 do 60 godina (u prosjeku oko 34).

Članovi/ce trenerskog tima bili su Ivana Franović, Tamara Zrnović i Amer Delić iz Centra za nenasilnu akciju Sarajevo/Beograd i naš dugogodišnji prijatelj i saradnik Luan Imeri, iz Centra za ljudska prava i rješavanje konflikata iz Skoplja.

Brzo smo se povezali

Bili smo u grupi širokog raspona godina, šarolike profesionalne strukture i različitih nivoa životnih



iskustava. To, međutim, nije bila prepreka da se brzo povežemo i izgradimo međusobno povjerenje. Potreba da se čuju drugi stvorila je osjećaj sigurnosti i već od prvog dana i prve radionice iskazana je velika otvorenost i jaka želja za upoznavanjem konteksta, prevazilaženjem prepreka, razmjenom i saradnjom. Uvažavajući potrebe grupe i njihov fdbek da smo jednom vježbom preduboko otišli u evociranje traumatičnih iskustva, u nastavku smo trening nastojali prilagoditi. Sve to skupa je doprinijelo dobroj atmosferi i otvaranju perspektiva za rad na najzahtjevnijim temama i tokom čitavog treninga se osjetio značajan napredak. Ključne radionice bile su na teme: nasilje, predrasude i diskriminacija, identitet, uloga polova u društvu, suočavanje s prošlošću i izgradnja mira.

Svrstani

Etničke predrasude koje čujemo jedni o drugima nemaju jedinstvenu referencu, različite su od sredine do sredine. Osvještavanjem postojećih nacionalističkih obrazaca koji održavaju matricu netrpeljivosti i straha želimo da potaknemo dijalog koji bi iz nas istisnuo i zamjerke koje imamo jedni prema drugima kao i

osjećaje povrijeđenosti koji nosi osjećaj kolektivne krivice kojem smo često izloženi bez obzira što nikakvu vlastitu krivicu ne nosimo. Svjesni smo da sebe često ne vidimo u ulogama koje su nam dodijeljene, ali to su stvari koje su prisutne u našim društvima i prepoznavajući ih dobijamo mogućnost da djelujemo i borimo se protiv njih.

Radionica o ulogama polova u društvu je bila dinamična i izazvala je najburnije emocije i reakcije. To je još jedna potvrda da i dalje na ovim prostorima postoji velika potreba za senzibilizacijom ljudi za različite vrste ljudskih prava i ravnopravnosti u društvu, ali i u porodici. Bio je primjetan trud svih da bar pokušaju da iskomuniciraju sasvim različite doživljaje nepravde i diskriminacije. Za rad na izgradnji mira ključan je odnos prema drugom i drugačijem, a on se u velikoj mjeri ogleda u položaju žena u društvu, ali i u ulozi muškaraca koju im patrijarhat dodjeljuje, a posljednjih nekoliko godina bilježimo povratak u tradicionalne, patrijarhalne obrasce u našim društvima. Rezultat radionice, iako je bilo i rasprave i teških momenata, ipak je polučio veće razumijevanje i povezivanje unutar grupe.

Balkansko breme prošlosti

Rad na suočavanju s prošlošću, a potom i izgradnji mira, bio je veoma konstruktivan i sadržajan. Ratni sukobi iz naše nedavne prošlosti su nam zajedničko teško naslijeđe, a očekivano je da i na taj period imamo drugačije poglede. Treningom i želimo da potaknemo razgovor o odnosima među državama regije zapadnog Balkana, jer je naše vrijeme i dalje više postratno, nego mirnodopsko. A evidentno je da malo znamo jedni o drugima iako dijelimo zajedničku prošlost, uključujući i nesreću ratnog iskustva nakon raspada Jugoslavije. Ako i dobijamo informacije iz susjedstva, one su na nivou dnevnih vijesti ili drugih informacija koje dobijamo putem medija koji su najčešće jednostrani i ispolitizirani. Na taj način je teško osjetiti potrebe i probleme onih drugih, a samim tim i odrediti tačke povezivanja koje bi nam bile odskočne daske za saradnju. Zato je posebno važno i dragocjeno upoznati stvarne ljude iz drugih zemalja, imati ih kao nekoga kod koga možeš provjeriti neku informaciju, raspitati se šta vidi i prepoznaje kao problematično u svojoj zemlji i šta ga to žulja kad su u pitanju odnosi naših zemalja ili društava, jednih prema drugima.

Ovom razmjenom dobili smo priliku i za predstavljanje rada CNA na izgradnji mira i izazove sa kojima se susrećemo što je otvorilo prostor i učesnicima/ma da predstave ideje za koje smatraju da su važne i koje bi voljeli/e da se ostvare a koje bi doprinijele izgradnji trajnog i stabilnog mira te predstavljale iskorak ka pomirenju.

Završna riječ

Iz ove perspektive, sada kada su se utisci malo slegli, zaključak je da smo za deset, prekratkih dana, puno toga zajedno prošli. Poput brzog voza protutnjali smo kroz barijere koje su nam bar naoko mogle biti

prepreka, bilo da su državne granice, etnički ili rodni identiteti – malo teže doduše, starosna raznolikost ili one najtvrdje, one koje smo donijeli u svojim glavama. Radili smo punim kapacitetom, trošili se mentalno na teškim temama, ali smo imali vremena i za odmor i neformalno druženje. Nedostajalo nam je vremena i prostora da malo više aktualiziramo situaciju u Ukrajini, homofobiju, predrasude prema izbjeglicama... Mnogo je tema još koje se mogu uključiti u trening. Humor je bio alat koji nas je ojačao i pomagao da istrajemo, smijehom smo potisnuli uzdahe i suze i uspjeli da se povežemo kao ekipa starih prijatelja, koji su ipak bili na važnom zadatku.

Raditi trening nakon dvogodišnje pauze prouzrokovane pandemijom COVID-19 je bio izazov. Pauzu smo napravili nakon procjene da je transformacija u digitalno ipak ograničena i da ovakve razmjene imaju smisla samo uživo te da je gotovo nemoguće online raditi ovakav trening. Pandemija je za posljedicu imala to da su mnoge veze pokidane, kako one lične, uslijed izolacije i društvene nebrige za najranjivije, tako i one doslovne, poput javnog prevoza. Poznato nam je da je i ranije bilo komplikovano doći do Ulcinja iz pojedinih krajeva, ali je bilo izvodljivo, ali danas brojne autobusne linije više ne saobraćaju, ili je to tek rijetkost. Međutim, i taj izazov je na kraju uspješno savladan.

Zahvaljujemo svim učesnicama i učesnicima na predanom radu i motivaciji koju smo od njih dobili. A zahvalnost dugujemo i osoblju hotela „Palata Venezia“ koje je nevjerovatno ljubazno i od velike pomoći bilo u svakom trenutku. Posljednju večer su nam i organizovali zabavu i počastili nas pićem. A na pitanje koji je razlog, dobili smo odgovor: „Vidjeli smo da vam je potrebno.“

Nema dalje.



publikacije, promocije

Objavljena zbirka Biber 05

Peti konkurs Biber bio je otvoren od 10. 12. 2021. do 1. 6. 2022. Na konkurs su stigla ukupno 473 anonimna rada. Dvadeset pet priča koje su uvrštene u zbirku izabrao je žiri u sastavu: **Lejla Kalamujić, Kalina Maleska i Olja Savičević Ivančević.**

Četiri priče su nagrađene:

Prva nagrada: *Doba linjanja*, autorice **Ane Kutleše** iz Zagreba;

Druga nagrada: *Fertik*, autorice **Lidije Deduš** iz Varaždina;

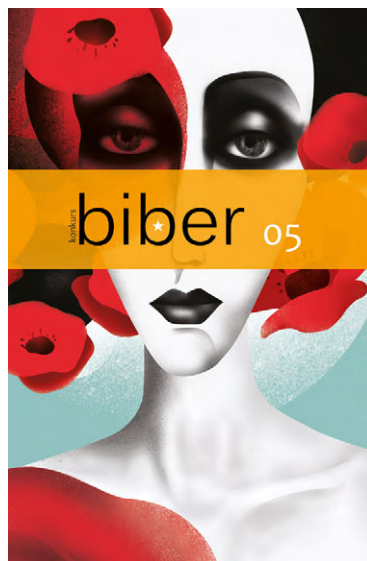
Treća nagrada: *Zemlja sreće* autora **Ante Storića** iz Šibenika i *Reči* autora **Miloša Perišića** iz Aranđelovca.

Za prevode su zaslužni **Borislav Pavlovski, Kreshnik Ajdini, Irena Šentevska, Đoko Zdravski, Đorđe Božović, Ivan Šopov i Qerim Ondozi.**

Ilustraciju za korice uradio je **Zoran Cardula.**

U zbirci se, pored nagrađenih, nalazi još 21 priča: *Vaške*, Dušana Radakovića iz Zrenjanina; *Kada uđem u kuću, ugasim svjetlo*, Ene Katarine Haler iz Zagreba; *Crveni neboder*, Lane Bunjevac iz Zagreba;

Vrtlozi, Senada Jusića iz Bugojna; *Gluvonema*, Albine Idrizi iz Gnjilana; *Suze isto bole*, Vesne Todorovske



iz Kumanova; *Kava, komšinice*, Tene Lončarević iz Županje; *Graho*, Dražane Marković Krezić iz Mostara; *Rat je ružna reč*, Srđana Miljevića iz Beograda; *Kava s Jelenom*, Anice Marcelić iz Zaprešića; *Crtice iz života izbjeglice*, Ane Jugo iz Beča; *Kolačić sreće*, Naide Mujkić iz Doboja; *Zovem se Mama*, Sanje Mučkajeve Vidanovske iz Bitolja; *Priča cijela, a čovjek...*, Gorana Jankovića iz Ljubljane; *Pogača*, Aide Šečić Nezirević iz Sarajeva; *Djevojčica*, Andree Hribar Livada iz Zagreba;

Nešto mračno što mama nosi u sebi, Slađane Nine Perković iz Banja Luke; *Moja baba Anica*, Dubravke Tintor iz Viškova; *Na dnu šoljice*, Amine Kaje iz Prištine; *Razmera boga... separat*, Vasilija Perovića iz Beograda i *Zaključci sa sastanka mjesne zajednice na kojem nije bilo suzdržanih*, Ernada Osmića iz Brčkog.

Zbirku Biber 05 možete besplatno preuzeti sa našeg sajta biber.nenasilje.org u PDF i MOBI formatu.



Predstavljanje Bibera

Biber je tokom ove godine predstavljen u četiri grada iz regiona: **Zagreb**, **Petrinja**, **Bitolj** i **Travnik**. Na promocijama su učestvovali: Olja Savičević Ivančević iz Zagreba, Ana Kutleša iz Zagreba, Miloš Perišić iz Aranđelovca, Ernad Osmić iz Brčkog, Ivana Franović iz Beograda, Monika Herceg iz Zagreba, Lejla Kalamujić iz Sarajeva, Ante Storić iz Šibenika, Srđan Miljević iz Beograda, Katarina Milićević iz Kragujevca, Sanja Mučkajeva Vidanovska iz Bitolja, Amina Kaja iz

Prištine, Kalina Maleska iz Skoplja, Angelina Stanojoska iz Bitolja, Senad Jusić Čupo iz Bugojna, Slađana Nina Perković iz Banja Luke, Davorka Turk iz Zagreba, Enes Škrگو iz Travnika.

Predstavljanja Bibera je organizovao je CNA u saradnji sa Memorijalnim muzejom Rodna kuća Ive Andrića i Bosanskim kulturnim krugom iz Travnika, Hrvatskim društvom pisaca iz Zagreba, Udrugom IKS iz Petrinje i Mirovnom akcijom iz Prilepa/Tetova.



Najava: šesti konkurs Biber

U decembru 2023. godine raspisaćemo i 6. konkurs Biber. Uslovi za učešće i tema će biti isti kao i na nekoliko prethodnih: pozvaćemo autore/ke da napišu kratke, angažovane priče na albanskom, makedonskom, bosanskom, hrvatskom, srpskom ili crnogorskom jeziku.

Tema konkursa je pomirenje u kontekstu zaostavštine ratova i nasilja u zemljama bivše Jugoslavije, a dolaze u obzir i priče koje mogu da

doprinesu boljem razumevanju među ljudima, smanjenju mržnje i razgradnji predrasuda, antiratne priče, priče koje se bave suočavanjem s prošlošću, razgradnjom slika o neprijateljima, saosećanjem sa drugima, hrabre priče koje se usuđuju da hodaju u „neprijateljskim“ cipelama, priče koje pomeraju granice i otvaraju nam puteve da gradimo izvesniju, bezbedniju i slobodniju budućnost za sve.

Dokumentacija: Sadašnjost naše prošlosti

Studijski put „Sadašnjost naše prošlosti“, koji smo organizovali u jesen 2022, obuhvatio je posjete obilježenim i neobilježenim mjestima stradanja na širem području Jasenovca i Novske u Hrvatskoj, te Donje Gradine, Kozare, Prijedora i Sanskog Mosta

u Bosni i Hercegovini. Ovo šire područje Potkozarja obilježeno je masovnim stradanjem stanovništva u Drugom svjetskom ratu, ali i u ovom posljednjem 1991.-1995. Put je predstavljao priliku da se stekne uvid u memorijalne prakse i politike sjećanja na ovom

prostoru, kako su one formirane i na koji način se održavaju ili mijenjaju.

Obimnija dokumentacija o ovom događaju se sastoji od dva dijela, prvog, u kojemu možete naći informacije i impresije koje smo dobili o ovim mjestima; i drugog dijela u kojemu smo kroz radionice, vježbe i razgovore tematizovali kontekst, jugoslovensku i postjugoslovensku kulturu sjećanja, njihove sličnosti i razlike, te naše dileme i razmišljanja.

Na putu su sudjelovali studenti/ce i mlađi istraživači/ce iz polja povijesti, psihologije, povijesti umjetnosti, te aktivisti/ce za ljudska prava, mirovni aktivisti/ce i novinari/ke iz Bosne i Hercegovine, Crne Gore, Hrvatske, Makedonije i Srbije.

Dokumentaciju sa studijskog puta „Sadašnjost naše prošlosti“ dostupnu samo na BHSC jeziku, možete preuzeti na [ovom linku](#).

Izgradnja mira u Južnoj Aziji i na Zapadnom Balkanu – Uvidi sa neuobičajenog susreta

Susret u okviru projekta „Razmena o izgradnji mira Južna Azija – Zapadni Balkan“ organizovali smo od 26. marta do 2. aprila 2022. godine u Bosni i Hercegovini. Obuhvatao je dva dijela: izborni studijski put u Mostar i radionice u Sarajevu.

Učesnice i učesnici ovog programa došli su iz Indije (Institute for Social Democracy), Manipura/Indija (UNMM i Centre for Women and Girls), Bangladeša (Maleya Foundation), Nemačke (Bread for the World), Severne Makedonije (Mirovna akcija i Centar za ljudska prava i rešavanje sukoba), Hrvatske (Srpsko narodno vijeće), Srbije (Helsinški komitet za ljudska prava u Srbiji i CNA) i Bosne i Hercegovine (CNA). Susret je osmislio i sproveo u delo CNA tim, čiji su zaposleni iz različitih zemalja bivše Jugoslavije.

O ovom događaju već smo izveštavali, a sada imamo zadovoljstvo da vam predstavimo poseban izveštaj „[Peacebuilding in South Asia and the Western Balkans – Insights from an Unusual Encounter](#)“ koji je uredila Martina Fischer uz veliku podršku Edde Kirleis i CNA tima. Izveštaj je sastavljen prvenstveno za međunarodne čitateljke i čitaoce koji nisu učestvovali u ovoj razmeni, a koji su zainteresovani da saznaju više o prednostima, mogućnostima i metodama multi-regionalnih mirovnih susreta.

Martina Fischer u uvodu kaže: „Ljudi koji se bave izgradnjom mira i ljudskim pravima suočeni su širom planete sa mnogim zajedničkim izazovima: mnogi od njih rade u veoma kompleksnim društvenim i političkim okolnostima u kojima je izgradnja mira

retko linearan proces, a češće je u vidu petlje, sa devijacijama i preprekama. Posledično, oni se ponekad osećaju kao da se kreću dva koraka napred, pa zatim tri nazad. Graditeljima mira često se čini da su suočeni sa Sizifovim poslom i stoga su im potrebni izrazito visok nivo lične motivacije i otpornost da se odupru frustraciji. Na mnogim mestima aktivistkinje i aktivisti moraju da se nose sa oštrim otporima ili čak represijom, stalno odmeravajući rizik po sopstveni život i život svoje porodice. Mnogima od njih je veoma dobro poznat osećaj preopterećenosti, kao i briga da im ponestaje vremena. Pa zašto bi onda aktivistkinje



i aktivisti iz Indije, Banladeša, Bosne i Hercegovine, Srbije, Severne Makedonije i Hrvatske, koji dolaze iz vrlo različitih kulturnih, duštено-političkih i geografskih okolnosti, putovali unaokolo i sreli se u sred Bosne i Hercegovine?...”

Izveštaj je dostupan samo na engleskom jeziku i možete ga preuzeti na našoj web stranici nenasilje.org.

Podkast o Osnovnom treningu iz izgradnje mira

Kako bismo rad Centra za nenasilnu akciju na polju mirovnog obrazovanja približili potencijalnim učesnicima/ama, napravili smo i podkast o osnovnim treninzima, koji je dostupan [online](#).

O tome koja su im najznačajnija iskustva sa treninga, šta im je trening dao, šta im je bilo važno,

kakve uvide su stekli, kakva je povezanost radionica na treningu sa problemima i izazovima današnjeg društva, šta bi poručili ljudima koji razmišljaju da li da se prijave za učešće na nekom od treninga, govore učesnice i učesnici [44. Osnovnog treninga iz izgradnje mira](#), koji je održan u Ulcinju, Crna Gora, od 14-24.10.2022. godine.



razmjena, saradnja, umrežavanje



Studijski put „Sadašnjost naše prošlosti“

Studijski put, u organizaciji Centra za nenasilnu akciju (CNA), obuhvatio je posjete obilježenim i neobilježenim mjestima stradanja vezanim za Drugi svjetski rat i ratove 90-ih, na širem području Jasenovca i Novske u Hrvatskoj te Donje Gradine, Kozare, Prijedora i Sanskog Mosta u Bosni i Hercegovini. Ovo šire područje Potkozarja obilježeno je masovnim stradanjem stanovništva ne samo u Drugom svjetskom ratu, već i u ratu 1991-1995. Studijski put je okupio učesnike/ce iz Srbije, Hrvatske, Bosne i Hercegovine, Makedonije i Crne Gore, njih, sa CNA timom, ukupno dvadeset dvoje, od kojih su većim dijelom bili istoričari, ali i mirovni aktivisti/ce, novinarke/i, psihološkinje, studenti/kinje.

Studijsko putovanje je od starta zamišljeno kao prostor i prilika da se na neposredan način stekne uvid u memorijske prakse i politike sjećanja na ovom

prostoru, da se upoznamo sa tim kako se one formiraju i prekravaju, razlozima zašto toliko dugo ili kratko traju, da li i kako utiču, kroz vrijeme i kroz prostor, jedne na druge, kome i zašto kao takve (ne)odgovaraju. A sve to putem obilazaka memorijalnih kompleksa i muzeja, posjeta obilježenim i neobilježenim mjestima stradanja; kroz istorijske časove i kustoska vođenja, te razgovore s istoričarima, svjedocima, žrtvama i ratnim veteranima/mirovnim aktivistima.

Pored ovoga prilika za dublje samopreispitivanje, ali i razmjenu, je postojala kroz blokove refleksija koje su bile upriličene – što sa ljudima sa kojima smo se sretali, što unutar same grupe učesnica/ka.

Više o Studijskom putu možete pogledati u [izveštaju](#), dok je obimniji prikaz možete pročitati u [Dokumentaciji](#) sa puta, koji su dostupni na našoj web stranici.



Trening iz Suočavanja prošlosti u Wustrow, Njemačka

CNA je zamoljena od naše sestrinske organizacije, **KURVE Wustrow – Bildungs- und Begegnungsstätte für gewaltfreie Aktion**, da nastavi sa sprovođenjem treninga iz suočavanja sa prošlošću, u okviru obuke „Peacebuilding Practitioners“ koja sadrži mnogo modula. Trening je održan 13-17. februara 2023. u Wustrow, Nemačka, za mešovitu grupu lokalnih i međunarodnih mirovnih radnika, koji su dolazili u/ iz zemalja: Nemačke, Kameruna, Obale Slonovače, Nepala, Šri Lanke, Palestine i Sudana.

Naš tim su činili Davorka Turk, Nedžad Novalić, Nenad Vukosavljević i Ana Bitoljanu, sa poreklom iz četiri različite zemlje bivše Jugoslavije.

Tim je bio zadovoljan kako je grupa prihvatila naše radne metode i pitanja koja smo pokrenuli, jer su uglavnom pronašli nit za povezivanje sa sopstvenim kontekstima. Bilo je zadovoljstvo raditi sa njima i provesti nedelju dana u novoj seminarskoj kući koja je pružala odlične uslove za fokusiran rad.

Nameravamo da tamo sprovodimo obuke i u naredne dve godine.

Konferencija „Preispitivanje transformacionog potencijala tranzicione pravde“

Centar za nenasilnu akciju postala je jedna od partnerskih organizacija „Globalnog edukativnog *hub-a* za tranzicionu pravdu i pomirenje“ (*Global Learning Hub for Transitional Justice and Reconciliation*) koji je zajedničkim naporom organizovao konferenciju, uz koordinaciju Berghof fondacije.

Davorka Turk and Nenad Vukosavljević iz CNA, Maria Wilke iz Fondacije EVZ (Sećanje, odgovornost, budućnost) i Natascha Zupan iz Berghof fondacije

su pripremili i sproveli jednu od četiri konferencijske radionice, naslovljene „Uprkos svemu: Transformacija uloge „nepopularnih“ žrtava“

Konferencija je predstavljala inicijalni događaj Huba koje počinje da raste i dobija oblike, te se volja i opredjeljenje među partnerima da ispitaju i iskoriste mogućnosti saradnje i sinergije, već na jesen 2023. godine konkretizuje kroz Studijski put u BIH, za članove/ce Huba.

Kad pojmovi sretnu ljude: O jednoj mreži u koju smo se upecali

BIH, 23-28. 9. 2023.

Trenutak u kojem čovjek počinje imenovati stvari i pojave objašnjavati pojmovima, kada krene redefinisati pojmove i davati im skroz druga značenja u različitim objašnjenjima svijeta, od filozofskih do religijskih, ustvari predstavlja magični iskorak u civilizaciju. U kršćanstvu je to riječ („U početku bijaše riječ“), u islamu osnovna karakteristika prvog čovjeka u odnosu na meleke (anđele) jeste da zna imenovati stvari, logos je jedan od ključnih termina kod grčkih filozofa... Od malih nogu mi učimo pojmove, sve oko nas upregnuto je da na naša pleća prenese sijaset pojmova i njihovih značenja. Kasnije, izbor profesije ustvari često jeste izbor polja iz kojeg ćemo više pojmova usvojiti i njima baratati bolje od drugih...

Iako svaka generacija tom univerzalnom pojmovniku dodaje neke nove pojmove dok stare redefiniše ili odbacuje skroz, puka je istina da mi ustvari većinu pojmova usvojimo i njima kasnije baratamo kao nečim datim. Samo će se djeca usuditi postaviti sasvim logično pitanje: Zašto je danas ponedjeljak? Zašto danas ne bi bila subota?

Global Learning Hub for Transitional Justice and Reconciliation osnovan je krajem prošle godine sa

idejom razmjene međusobnih iskustava i zajedničkog učenja. Mrežu čine vladine i nevladine organizacije iz Njemačke (Federal Foundation for the Study of the Communist Dictatorship in Eastern Germany; Foundation Remembrance, Responsibility and Future EVZ Foundation; Working Group on Peace and Development FriEnt, Berghof Foundation), međunarodne/regionalne organizacija (Impunity Watch; Asia Justice and Rights, Centar za nenasilnu akciju Sarajevo-Beograd) kao i organizacija iz drugih zemalja (Dejusticia iz Kolumbije, Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation iz Južnoafričke Republike).

Kada smo se odlučili organizirati studijski put za članice mreže organizacija iz cijelog svijeta koje su se okupile u još jednom pojmu koji je nemoguće prevesti na naš jezik a da ne zvuči blesavo željeli smo krenuti u suprotnom smjeru: Umjesto da mi srećemo pojmove, željeli smo vidjeti šta bi se desilo kada bi pojmovi sreli neke ljude i neka mjesta. Kako su i tranzicijska pravda i pomirenje pojmovi satkani opet od nekih drugih pojmova, kao neki veliki lego grad, želja nam je bila da uzmemo *pravdu, pomirenje, istinu, žrtve, počinioce, bol, reparacije, stid, sjećanje, suosjećanje, pravedništvo*



i mnoge druge pojmove i odemo do nekih mjesta i ljudi i vidimo šta će se desiti. Kako funkcioniše *sjećanje* u postratnom bosanskohercegovačkom društvu, šta znači pravda, kako se komemoriraju žrtve genocida i druge žrtve, postoji li i šta znači hijerarhija žrtava, da li se i kako sjećati vojnih žrtava u kontekstu tranzicione pravde i izgradnje mira, šta preživjeli i porodice ubijenih vide kao svoje potrebe i šta za njih znači pojam *reparacija*, ima li i ko je taj ko smije stati ispred nas i reći postoji *garancija da se zlo neće ponoviti*...

Neka mjesta i neki (posebni) ljudi

Prvi dan smo posjetili Memorijalni centar u Potočarima kod Srebrenice gdje smo obišli stalnu postavku posvećenu žrtvama genocida, izložbu „Koracima onih koji nisu prešli“ i mezarje, dok smo u povratku kratko posjetili spomenik srpskim žrtvama u Kravicama u blizini Bratunca te vojničko spomen-groblje *Mali zejtinlik* (od neki dan *Novi zejtinlik*) na Sokocu. Drugi dan posjetili smo spomen-park Vraca, grandiozni (i *grandiozno* zapušteni) kompleks posvećen žrtvama, vojnim i civilnim, iz Drugog svjetskog rata te smo potom u dvorištu Osnovne škole „Sveti Sava“

u Istočnom Sarajevu posjetili spomenik posvećen ubijenoj djeci *Srpskog Sarajeva*. U nastavku drugog dana posjetili smo Ahmiće kod Viteza i spomenik za 116 bošnjačkih civila iz ovog mjesta koji su ubijeni 16. aprila 1993. kao i spomenik „Osmica“ koji je podsjetnik na osmero ubijene hrvatske djece iz juna 1993. Treći dan posjetili smo urbani dio Sarajeva i ključna mjesta sjećanja kao što su Most Suade i Olge, sarajevske ruže, Spomen-obilježje ubijenoj djeci opkoljenog Sarajeva, Ferhadiju, Markale...

Više od samih mjesta značili su nam susreti sa ljudima i razgovori sa njima. U Memorijalnom centru vodič nam je bio Azir Osmanović, historičar, kustos i preživjeli svjedok genocida, sa kojim smo ostali puna dva sata. Kakvu podršku trebaju žrtve, kakva su njegova porodična iskustva sa izostankom te podrške, kome je namijenjen Memorijalni centar, ko su uobičajeni posjetioci, koja su njihova pitanja i stotine drugih tema smo uspjeli u ta dva sata barem načeti. Na *Novom zejtinliku* kustos nam je bio historičar Tomislav Tamburić, dok nas je u Istočnom Sarajevu kratko pozdravila i kontekst kako je i zbog čega podignut spomenik ubijenoj djeci *Srpskog Sarajeva*

pojasnila Željka Topalić, direktorica škole koja je i inicirala podizanje spomenika. Dva dana *pratnja* nam je bio i naš dugogodišnji prijatelj i saradnik Adnan Hasanbegović. Ratni veteran i dugogodišnji aktivista, naš Ado, neiscrpni je izvor *priča*, (pri)povijest koja hoda i čovjek koji svakom pojmu ili daje novu perspektivu ili barem o svakom ima neki vic, šalu, doskočicu...

U Vitezu nam se priključila Dragica Tomić iz Trusine kod Konjica. Željeli smo da na neki način *ispričamo* priču i Ahmića i Trusine, pa nam se zgodnim učinilo, nakon obilaska Ahmića, razgovarati sa nekim iz Trusine kad već nećemo stići otići i do Hercegovine. Dragica, takva kakva jeste, iako to od nje nismo imali obraza tražiti, insistirala je da sa nama posjeti i Ahmiće i položi ružu žrtvama iz ovog mjesta koje su ubijene na isti dan kad i njeni najmiliji u Trusini. Nakon što smo sa mješovitom grupom ratnih veterana u dvije godine bili i u Trusini i u Ahmićima maštao sam kako se Ahmići i Trusina sreću. I tako, do susreta nije došlo na pola puta, Trusina je potegla do Ahmića, da vidimo tu na licu mjesta šta znači *oprost, hrabrost, zajedničko sjećanje, stid, ponos, strpljenje*... Ima ljudi veći su od svakog mjesta, grada, države... Dragica je jedna od njih. Zahvalni smo i Mahir ef. Husiću, imamu iz Ahmića čija su vrata (i srce) uvijek otvoreni za nas i koji je i sam jedne prilike *potegnuo* do Trusine. U Vitezu smo sreli i porodicu Garić kojoj su na *Osmici*, a to je jedva deset metara od praga njihove porodične kuće, ubijeno dvoje djece a njihov sin Ivan, koji danas skrbi o spomeniku, teško ranjen. I sad kad se prisjećam tog kratkog razgovora sa majkom koja je izgubila dvoje djece vidim *radost i zadovoljštinu* (ima li mjesta za radost u trancijskog pravdi i pomirenju?) na njenom licu zbog toga što se cijeli svijet skupio tu na *Osmici*. Pričali smo i o tome šta za porodicu znači šta niko nije procesuiran za ovaj zločin, važno im je to, ali eto, njoj, majci, milo i što ljudi dolaze i znači joj mnogo. Ime je znak, kažu. Mira joj je ime.

Cijelo jedno popodne smo ostavili i za razgovor sa ratnim veteranima i dugogodišnjim mirovnim aktivistima, našim prijateljima Amerom Delićem, Đokom Pupčevićem i Krešom Primorcem. Zašto su se susreli sa bivšim *neprijateljima*, kako se nose sa *pritiscima* i optužbama za *izdaju* i *izdaju jedinstva svog naroda*, zašto su otišli odati počast bivšim neprijateljima, kako se nose sa *odgovornošću* za rat, kako gledaju na *proslave ratnih pobjeda*, ima li u ratu

pobjednika, vide li sebe, s obzirom da su neki od njih i ratni invalidi, kao *počinioce* ili *žrtve*, kako im je otići tamo gdje su *njihovi* počinili zločin, zašto odlaze i sebi toware na pleća ogroman teret... Često razgovaramo o svemu ovome sa ratnim veteranima, to su pitanja koja uvijek otvaramo i koja nam i samima mnogo znače, ali ovaj put razgovor je bio posebno emotivan i sadržajan. Hvala i Đokinoj supruzi Milki koja nam se pridružila i svojim prisustvom dala razgovoru skroz nove dimenzije.

Dogovorna zajednica

Nakon trodnevnog studijskog puta o mnogim od ovih pojmova nastavili smo da razgovaramo i naredna dva dana kroz različite radionice. Željeli smo da onaj *lego grad* od pojmova potpuno raspakujemo i vidimo od kojih sve kockica ja sazdan, kako su te kockice sklapane na Balkanu, kako u Indoneziji, Južnoj Africi ili Kolumbiji, možemo li zamisliti da ih, sada nakon svih tih iskustava, sastavimo nekako drukčije, da ih uklopimo bolje? Ima djece koja vole slagati ispočetka. Ima i onih koji se boje jednom složeno srušiti. Ma koliko nakrivo nasadaeno bilo.

Kako je Global Learning Hub for Transitional Justice and Reconciliation pokušaj umrežavanja i izgradnje partnerstva, bilo nam je važno da otvorimo prostor za razgovor ne samo o tome kako razumijemo iste pojmove već i šta naše organizacije trenutno rade i kako želimo raditi jedni sa drugima. Šala kaže da se čovjek za partnerstvo (u originalu: brak) uvijek kaje: U slučaju loših partnerstava kaje se što se uopće upustio u tako nešto, u slučaju dobrih partnerstava kaje se što se i ranije nije upustio u nešto slično. Kako mi partnerstvo vidimo kao dogovornu zajednicu od suštinske važnosti nam je bilo otvoriti prostor za sam *dogovor* i izgradnju *zajednice* što je zajednička odgovornost svih uključenih u proces. Bez obzira kako će se naša mala *zajednica* dalje razvijati mi smo beskrajno srećni što smo se u ovu mrežu *upecali* i što smo mogli ugostiti ljude iz Južne Afrike, Libana, Kolumbije, Indonezije i Njemačke. Pitanja, osvrti, druženja, neslaganja i razmimoilaženja, a na momente i samo ćutanje, nas su neizmjereno obogatili. Hvala dragi prijatelji.

Nedžad Novalić



politički i društveni konteksti
u kojima delujemo

Bosna i Hercegovina: Rata neće biti. Živio rat

Dok se u svijetu nakon novogodišnjih praznika građanstvo, sitih trbuha i ispražnjenih novčanika polako vraća svakodnevnicima i normalnom životu uz pokoji postpraznična depresiju, stanovnici i stanovnice Bosne i Hercegovine, permanentno praznih novčanika tradicionalno čekaju novu inflaciju, masovno poskupljenje osnovnih životnih namirnica i snižavanje životnog standarda, te proslavu devetog januara. Ovaj datum u mnogočemu odredi tok političkih događaja u narednim mjesecima. Jer, jaka Republika Srpska je poziv na buđenje nacionalne svijesti i ostala dva najbrojnija naroda u BiH, što mejnstrim medijima daje povod da kreiraju situaciju kao da će sutra rat. Iako rata neće biti.

Svaki deveti januar

Proslava Dana Republike Srpske kakvog danas imamo počela je 2014. u godini prve ruske invazije na Ukrajinu, te vidovdansskog okupljanja srpske političke, crkvene i intelektualne elite u Višegradu ujedinjene oko ideje Memoranduma. No, ovog devetog januara politički dužnosnici su otišle korak dalje, pa centralna proslava nije bila u Banjaluci kako je to do sada bivalo, nego u Istočnom Sarajevu. Kao prst u oko građanima i građankama Sarajeva koji su pod opsadom proveli 1425 dana upravo zbog ideja koje su se izrodile i tog 9. januara 1992. godine. Na ulicama ovog grada bila je razvijena i srpska trobojka duga 527 metara. Tih dana je predsjednik Republike Srpske Milorad Dodik odlikovao niz ličnosti iz političkog, vjerskog, kulturnog i sportskog života Srpske i Srbije. Među prvoodlikovanim su bili Vladimir Vladimirovič Putin i Patrijarh Porfrije. Iako su i sa jedne i sa druge strane entitetske granice svjesni opasnosti ovih poteza, osuda nije bila dovoljno jaka, niti je ovaj čin polučio bilo kakve sankcije koje bi upućivale na to da je Bosna i Hercegovina jedinstvena, sekularna država koja želi da raskine sa politikama podjele i guranja u ćorsokak.

Izbori k'o izbori

Nakon posljednjih Opštih izbora u Bosni i Hercegovini 2022. godine, početkom ove godine je trebalo formirati vlast. Iako je u entitetu Republika

Srpska stanje nepromijenjeno, SNSD je ubjedljivo ostao na svim pozicijama, uz ponovne sumnje da se radilo o izbornim krađama, ali bez sankcija., U Federaciji BiH matematika formiranja vlasti se okrenula protiv SDA. I koalicijom u Kantonu Sarajevo, stranke „Osmorke“ okupljene oko SDP-a na višim nivoima su pristupile sistematičnoj eliminaciji SDA i njenog satelita DF-a iz vlasti. Međutim, „Osmorka“ se na kantonalnom nivou raspala na dva bloka prije preuzimanja teškog bremena koje je bilo pred njima. Ostala je oslabljena „Trojka“, SDP, NS i NiP. I sama „Trojka“ je pod tenzijama podjela, zbog NiP-a, koji je fundamentalno desna stranka i često opstruira mnoge procese, ugnjetava ljudska prava i podržava koruptivne radnje.

Na Federalnom nivou „Osmorka“ sa HDZ-om je ostala, sa lošim kadriranjem koje je prednost dalo partijskim namještenicima, ministrima koji su optuženi za nasilje u porodici i različite kriminalne radnje, unutarkoalicijskim trgovanjem, ustupcima, ogromnom dozom populizma i stalnim prozivkama i prebacivanjem odgovornosti. Preuzimanje velikog broja institucija na Federalnom i državnom nivou je bilo ishitreno, postojeći kriminal još nije u dovoljnoj mjeri sankcionisan, kapitalni projekti su na čekanju i sve to budi gnjev kod glasača, koji kod onih „patriotski nastrojenih“ prelazi u histeriju.

Ugnjetavanje ljudskih prava za pravedniju BiH

Bosna i Hercegovina je krajem prošle godine dobila kandidatski status za Evropsku Uniju. Osim svega drugog na šta se obavezala, a tiče se transparentnijih i efektivnijih politika, socijalne i ekonomske pravde itd., to podrazumijeva i jednu novu razinu poštovanja ljudskih prava i novinarskih sloboda. Međutim, očita je regresija po ovom pitanju. Početkom marta predsjednik Republike Srpske je najavio kriminalizaciju klevete, što se i desilo u avgustu izmjenom Krivičnog zakonika RS, te je kleveta postala krivično djelo nakon što je 22 godine bila dekriminalizovana, uprkos protivljenju međunarodnih organizacija, organizacija civilnog društva i medija. Svemu ovome je prethodilo lijepljenje etiketa novinarima i novinarkama da su strani plaćenici_e i da ruše sistem i Republiku Srpsku,

što je rezultovalo napadom na nekoliko novinara_ki u Banjaluci. Napad u Banjaluci se desio i na LGBTIQ+ aktiviste_tkinje nakon što im je policija zabranila događaj, a oni otišli na sigurno mjesto, odakle su posredstvom policijskih snaga isporučeni huliganima. Do ovoga su dovela i medijska spinovanja prorežimskih medija, u čijem centru su bili Milorad Dodik i Draško Stanivuković, koji su se zalagali za patrijarhat i tradicionalnu porodicu, nagovještavajući potencijalne zakone koji će zabraniti pristup LGBTIQ+ osobama obrazovnim institucijama, ali i zakon koji će kontrolisati novac koji nevladine organizacije i nezavisni mediji prime od stranih organizacija, iako je i Vlada korisnik tih sredstava.

Osim toga, građanima i građankama Bosne i Hercegovine se prošle i ove godine suspenduju osnovna ljudska prava na vodu, zrak i zemljište. Sve više je nelegalnih iskopavanja šljunka u koritima rijeka koja vrše privatne firme bliske strukturama moći, a nastavljaju se i geološka istraživanja koja treba da otkriju litijum, srebro, zlato i druge metale koji se mogu eksploatisati i izvoziti, a dostižu visoku tržišnu vrijednost.

Schmidt ne treba nikome

Iako je Christian Schmidt na mjesto Visokog predstavnika u BiH došao 2021. godine i već tada je počela debata u BiH i zemljama regiona o legalnosti i legitimnosti njegovog imenovanja, te tvrdnje da je „nelegitiman“ ili „lažni“ i „nelegalno izabran“ jer ga nije imenovalo Vijeće sigurnosti UN-a. Ova priča se aktualizirala prije i nakon izbora u oktobru prošle godine, nakon što je Schmidt izmijenio Izborni zakon, što SDA vidi kao glavni uzrok za gubitak vlasti na Federalnom nivou. Od tada je Schmidt nepoželjan i za Srbe i za Bošnjake. U aprilu su nezadovoljni građani, predvođeni strankom SDA i njenim satelitima protestovali ispred zgrade OHR-a, upozoravajući da su namjere Christiana Schmidta diskriminatorne, antidemokratske i na štetu države Bosne i Hercegovine. Ovome su prethodila i hapšenja niza SDA i koalicioni dužnosnika koji su u prethodnim mandatima obavljali važne političke funkcije. Milorad Dodik ide korak dalje i Visokom predstavniku želi zabraniti ulazak na teritoriju RS-a, što je protiv Ustava, a u julu je podnio krivičnu prijavu protiv Schmidta, jer se, kako je navedeno, neovlašteno

bavi poslovima Visokog predstavnika. Tada je prijavio i direktora Službenog lista BiH, Dragana Prusinu, jer je ovaj omogućio objavljivanje njegovih odluka.

Komemoracije za nove majorizacije

Od završetka rata do danas vlast u BiH se prema komemorativnim praksama oduvijek odnosila nedobronamjerno i populistički, s idejom da se produbljuju tenzije i jaz među narodima i nekadašnjim zaraćenim stranama. Gotovo svaki dnevnik na nacionalnoj frekvenciji počinje komemoracijom u nekom mjestu, odakle se šalju poruke da ćemo, ako se to ponovo, sljedeći put biti jači i spremniji i osvetiti ove žrtve. Samo pojedinci s margine komemoriraju žrtve onako kako priliči, šaljući poruke nezaborava, oprosta i pomirenja. Ove godine su vlasti otišle i korak dalje kada su u pitanju komemoracije, a primjer za to su standardne komemoracije u Donjoj Gradini gdje se svake godine manipuliše brojem žrtava i stvara se dojam da su u Jasenovcu stradali samo Srbi, bez Jevreja, Roma, antifašista i ostalih. Bilo je još nekoliko događaja koji bude sram i nelagodu.

Komemoracija ubijenoj djeci Sarajeva 5. maja, povodom Dana sjećanja na ubijenu djecu opkoljenog Sarajeva 1992-1995, bila je nemušti performans na kojem nije pročitano niti jedno ime ubijene djece. U Sarajevu je skarednim kartonskim instalacijama u obliku dječijih silueta obilježeno i stradanje ubijene djece u Prijedoru. Instalacija je trajala do prve kiše, a postavio ju je sporni AntiDayton pokret, samo malo ranije odlikovan „Zlatnikom grada Sarajeva“. Uvažena je i inicijativa ovog pokreta za podizanje velikog bijelog platna na Vijećnicu, u znak sjećanja na žrtve Prijedora, no nakon kritika javnosti to nije realizovano. Nažalost, naredne godine ovo neće biti moguće, budući da je Gradsko vijeće Grada Sarajeva, nakon što na Dan povorke ponosa u Sarajevu nije dozvoljena projekcija zastave duginih boja, izglasalo zabranu svih projekcija osim onih koje su, kako je zaključeno od posebne važnosti. Projekcije mogu za datum koji su važni za grad Sarajeva kao i u znak sjećanja na žrtve Prijedora i Srebrenice - time je uspostavljena i pravno kodificirana hijerarhija žrtava čak i unutar jednog naroda.

U kontekstu komemorativnih praksi to znači da su neke žrtve vrijednije jer su iz Sarajeva, život su dale za Sarajeva i njihova imena će moći biti projicirana na

Vijećnicu, za razliku od žrtava iz Prijedora, Zvornika, Foče, itd.

Još jedna u nizu zlonamjernih komemoracija koja je imala političko-revizionističku namjeru koja je trebala samo da pobudi najniže emocije, uz amputiranu svaku dobronamjernu ideju o sjećanju na stradanje, bila je za žrtve Oluje, u Prijedoru. Gradu u kojem je ubijeno 3176 nesrba i u kojem je otkrivena najveća masovna grobnica iz posljednjeg rata. I dok su političke elite preko Save u Prijedoru pravile ekspozituru stradanja i boli srpskog naroda u Hrvatskoj, ne dotičući se konteksta i političkih odluka koje su uticale na to, niti sramnog odnosa Srbije prema izbjeglicama koje su tada morale napustiti svoje domove, u Hrvatskoj, u središtu Otočca i obližnjem selu Doljani gradske vlasti Otočca i Srpsko narodno vijeće zajedno su komemorirali stradanje hrvatskih branitelja i srpskih civila za vrijeme i nakon akcije Oluja, šaljući poruku o važnosti međusobnog poštovanja stradanja i žrtava, bez obzira na njihovu nacionalnost.

Žene su naše vlasništvo. Živjele žene

Bosanskohercegovačko društvo je duboko patrijarhalno i tradicionalno, sa otvorenim ratnim ranama i enormnom količinom legalnog i nelegalnog oružja. Sve ovo je idealan preduslov za nasilje, pogotovu kada se tome dodaju siromaštvo i drugi socijalni parametri. Savremeno bh. društvo nasilje u porodici i dalje smatra kao privatnu stvar i okreće glavu od njega. U Bosni i Hercegovini je od početka godine stradalo najmanje deset žena od femicida. Službena statistika ne postoji, niti kvalifikacija, ali medijski natpisi ukazuju na ovaj broj. Slučaj iz Gradačca u kojem je ubica na društvenim mrežama prenosio femicid nad svojom suprugom je dodatno otvorio pitanje koliko je maligno bh. društvo, ko su ljudi koji su to gledali i podržavajuće reagovali na to. Kazne za nasilje i ubistvo su i dalje preblage i ne postoji u društvu konsenzus oko toga da je nasilje nešto što je nedopustivo. Čak i ako bi se femicid uveo u krivični zakonik, zbog needuciranosti i tromosti sistema, postoji mogućnost da se ne bi tretirao tako.

Protesti na granici

Zbog neustavne odluke da se ne objavljuju odluke visokog predstavnika u BiH Christian Schmidta, protiv predsjednika RS i direktora Službenog glasnika RS

Tužilaštvo BiH je podiglo optužnicu, koja je rezultirala protestima širom entiteta Republika Srpska, na entitetskim granicama, jer protest nije dozvoljen ispred Suda BiH. Kao i svake godine, Milorad Dodik različitim performansom prebrojava potencijalno glasačko tijelo i simpatizere. Ako nije referendum za odcjepljenje, onda su to protesti na granici, jer u Sarajevo mogli nisu. Zvanično Sarajevo je ovim napravilo ogroman propust i produbljenje novog međuentitetskog jaza koji očito odgovara i jednima i drugima, jer da su Dodikove pristaše došle ispred Suda BiH, dale bi legitimitet toj instituciji i čitavoj BiH koju ne priznaju. Ovako imamo novu separaciju i jačanje nacionalnog bića, što očito, odgovara svima.

I Kovačević je protiv BiH

Slaven Kovačević, savjetnik člana Predsjedništva BiH iz reda hrvatskog naroda Željka Komšića, za kojeg Hrvati tvrde da je izabran uglavnom glasovima bošnjačkog biračkog tijela, tužio je Bosnu i Hercegovinu Evropskom suda za ljudska prava u Strazburu, a zaključak presude je da se Predsjedništva BiH moraju birati na području cijele države, a ne iz entiteta, da je Predsjedništvo BiH – jedna izborna jedinica, te Dom naroda PSBiH – jedna izborna jedinica, bez entiteta. Šanse za provođenje ove persuade su minimalne, polovina građana BiH, prvenstveno nebošnjaka, ima strah da bi ukidanjem svih etničkih i(li) entitetskih mehanizama bili dovedeni u situaciju da budu manjina, a biti manjina, iz našeg povijesnog iskustva, znači biti diskriminisan. Istovremeno, etnički i(li) entitetski mehanizmi nesumnjivo također diskriminiraju one koji se ne izjašnjavaju etnički ili se izjašnjavaju ali nisu Bošnjaci, Srbi ili Hrvati ili pak jesu Bošnjaci i Hrvati ali žive u RS-u, odnosno Srbi u FBiH. Izostaje bilo kakav smislen dijalog i otvaranje procesa koji bi uvažao sve strahove.

Depopulacija i stagnacija. Rata biti neće

Deset je godina od prvog i posljednjeg popisa stanovništva u BiH. Za deceniju, iz zemlje se odselilo gotovo pola miliona radno sposobnog stanovništva. Popis je već tada osim niza nevažnih statističkih detalja pokazao koliko koga ima, te da je 97% stanovništva naše zemlje religiozno. Deset godina nakon popisa, kote za upis u škole i fakultete nisu popunjene ni polovično,

mladi na dnevnoj bazi autobusima napuštaju državu, ne samo zbog nemogućnosti pronalaska posla, nego iz opšteg stanja beznađa, korupcije i besperspektivnosti. Penzije se isplaćuju iz kredita, jer penzioni fond nema ko da puni. Svako malo se putem humanitarnih brojeva sakuplja novac za liječenje nekoga, a vrlo često nema važnih lijekova, citostatika i sl. Esencijane liste koje bi građanima i građankama obezbijedile besplatne lijekove sve su kraće. Socijalna davanja su rijetka i minimalna, uglavnom pred izbore i predstavljena tako da političke elite, jer su dobronamjerne, to dijele građanstvu.

Aktivisti i aktivistkinje su umorni, često rade posao koji bi trebale institucije i gotovo su jedini korektiv zbilji u kojoj živimo, jer se opozicija stapa sa politikama na vrhu.

Iako je SDA, najveća nacionalistička stranka, skinuta sa federalne vlasti, nacionalizam buja. Neke političke opcije koje se predstavljaju za prograđanske daleko su rigidnije i opasnije. Klerikalizacija politike i javnog života je sve veća. U entitetu Republika Srpska, opozicija, koja je formativno desna trenutno ima manje rigidne politike od onih koje su na vlasti. I jedni i drugi i treći žive u prošlosti, sputavajući nadu za budućnost i po potrebi zveckaju oružjem pod izgovorom da se štite od onih drugih, što drugima daje legitimitet da to isto učine i tako se nacionalizam perpetuira i buja. Poratno stanje, sa svim svojim strahovima, nemogućnostima i opštom apatijom i obespravljenošću permanentno traje. No, rata biti neće.

Vanja Šunjić

Hrvatska: Država, selo, grad

Kada je 1.7.2013. godine Republika Hrvatska ušla u Europsku Uniju malo tko je mogao predvidjeti kako će život i društvo izgledati za deset godina. Velika očekivanja većeg dijela stanovništva kao i najcrnje slutnje euroskeptičnog dijela populacije podsjećaju nas kako se kolo povijesne sreće stalno vrti i kako zapravo nikad ne znamo što nas čeka. Danas, nakon deset godina članstva u Europskoj uniji i nakon što s određene distance možemo sagledati ono što se Hrvatskoj dogodilo, možemo reći da u 2023. Hrvatska definitivno diše i izgleda drugačije.

Bijeg s periferije

Ulaskom u novu 2023. Hrvatska je došla do posljednje faze integracijskog *crescenda*. Naime, ulaskom u Schengen i uklanjanjem granica prema Sloveniji i Mađarskoj Hrvatska je ušla u društvo europskih država koje ne dijeli granica. Ta ideja, sadržana u samom srcu stvaranja Europske Unije predstavlja vrhunac njenog mirotvornog koncepta te jedan od najvećih benefita članstva u Uniji. U Hrvatskom slučaju ona znači da od Zagreba do Berlina ili Varšave više ne postoje fizičke granice koje ograničavaju putovanje i promet. Za Hrvatsku to također znači da

je njena granična linija prema Srbiji, BiH i Crnoj Gori vanjska granica Schengena i EU te da postaje puno teže propusna i tvrđa što velikoj većini ljudi, koji još uvijek nose teret obiteljskih i drugih veza s drugim državama bivše Jugoslavije stvara poteškoće i probleme. Trenutno će u Hrvatsku, preko takve granice lakše ući kilogram kokaina nego livanjski sir jer je, jelte, ovo drugo puno veća ugroza postojanju EU. A i kazne su tu negdje. Štoviše, uskoro je najavljeno uvođenje elektronskog sustava koji će obvezati osobe koje nisu državljani EU, na plaćanje naknade od sedam eura i najavu ulaska u EU prilikom svakog potencijalnog prelaska granice. Bedem Europa, antemurale christianitatis brani se na Savi, Izačiću i Dinari, a svaki uljez/nedržavljanin EU mora platiti za ulazak sedam eura i najaviti se ako slučajno želi pokvasiti noge ili pojesti štrukle u Lijepoj našoj. Koliko tek mora žrtvovat ako želi raditi i pronaći bolju budućnost?!

Hrvatska je početkom godine uputila posljednji pozdrav i jednom od temeljnih simbola državnosti. Hrvatsku kunu je zamijenio euro. Hrvatsko obilježje inkorporirano je simbolom Nikole Tesle u zajednicu europskih država putem zajedničke kovanice od jednog eura. Naravno, ni to nije prošlo nezapaženo, kako s ove

strane, tako i preko vanjske granice EU obzirom kako je i Tesla na kovanici bio svojevrsni prst u oko drugima koji također svojataju Nikolu Teslu, tj. istočnim susjedima što je, naravno, u Hrvatskoj dočekano sa velikim odobravanjem. Kako kažu, nek smo mi prvi stavili Teslu, samo da oni ne mogu. Vidjet ćemo kakav nas scenarij čeka u trenutku kad se novčanica od 100 dinara bude pretvarala bude transformirala u 1 euro.

Iako su ulazak u Schengen i uvođenje eura predstavljali finalnu fazu integracije Hrvatske u EU te formalno pomjeranje Hrvatske prema središtu EU i zapadnoj Europi što je predstavljalo svojevrsno ostvarenje zacrtanih nacionalnih ciljeva, ipak je Hrvatska duboko povezana i upućena ka nečemu što su zapadnjaci nazivali Zapadni Balkan te je usprkos svojim željama za bijegom iz tog društva još uvijek jednom nogom u plitkoj zajedničkoj bari malih perifernih država.

Humano preseljenje

Dekada članstva u EU omogućila je Hrvatskoj osim humanog preseljenja 10% stanovništva u Irsku, Njemačku i druge prosperitetnije države i malo manje humano preseljenje i doseljenje ljudi koji su spremni doći u Hrvatsku i za manje love raditi one poslove s kojih i zbog kojih su domaći otišli i koje domaći zapravo ne žele raditi. Scenarij o organiziranom dolasku desetina tisuća Nepalaca teško da je se mogao zamisliti u trenutku ostvarenja državotvornih snova tijekom devedesetih. Tada su politike humanog preseljenja bile dio službenih i neslužbenih politika te su prazni prostori s kojih su pobjegli hrvatski i krajiški Srbi punjeni Hrvatima koji su pobjegli iz BiH. Iako je pojava dolaska radnika sa područja indijskog potkontinenta više vezana uz urbanija područja, posebice Zagreb i okolicu, nije nimalo neobično u Korenici ili Udbini, sresti grupu građevinskih radnika ili dostavljača koji ne izgledaju baš kao da su sišli s obronaka Plješevice, već se više čini kao da su ispali direktno iz bolivudskog filma.

Bilo kako bilo, „nacionalni romantik snuje, a ekonomska integracija određuje“ pa se procjenjuje da trenutno u Hrvatskoj živi i radi oko 200 tisuća stranih radnika koji su mahom koncentrirani u urbanijim sredinama. Državni zavod za statistiku kaže kako je samo u 2022. godini izdano 124.000 radnih dozvola.

Ta brojka nam govori da se u proteklih desetak godina odvila ogromna populacijska promjena koja se očitovala u odlasku oko 10% od ukupnog broja domicilnih stanovnika i dolasku 6-8% od ukupnog broja stranih radnika koji su još uvijek prvenstveno radnici iz zemalja sa kojima Hrvatska dijeli zajedničku bivšu državu i plitku zajedničku perifernu baru, ali i sve više radnici iz Nepala, Indije, Bangladeša itd. a koji su zaposleni na najnepopularnijim radnim mjestima (dostave, građevina, a sve više i trgovina).

Na medijskoj površini je još uvijek prisutna velika drama zbog odlaska Hrvata, kako kažu, „odoše nam mladi“, ali pitanje je dana kad će zbog manjka integracijskih politika, nedostatka razumijevanja i nedovoljno razvijene političke kulture, medijsku površinu preplaviti problematika doseljavanja tamnoputijih radnika i plać zbog istiskivanja i ugroženosti „poštenog domaćeg čovika“.

Znajući mehanizme na kojima počiva „poštenu domaću čovika“ ostaje nam samo da sa strepnjom promatramo kako će izgledati integracija i društveni život sve većeg broja stranih radnika koji dolaze i koji će i u budućnosti dolaziti obzirom kako novac ne pita odakle si, nego koliko možeš raditi.

Iako je granica prema BiH i Srbiji sve tvrđa i nasilnija, te iako se na vanjskoj granici Europske unije brani sama „tvrđava Europa“ putem nasilnih pushbackova nesretnika zarobljenih u BiH, paradoksalno, ipak je baš iz razloga ulaska Hrvatske u EU i neumoljivog mehanizma zajedničkog tržišta ljudi i kapitala broj ljudi koji dolaze u Hrvatsku iz trećih zemalja s ciljem pronalaska sreće i boljih prilika eksponencijalno porastao.

Uzalud vam trud svirači – rekao bi svježije raspadnuti zagrebački bend koji trenutno egzistira u dva oblika.

Superizborna godina

Politički odnosi u Hrvatskoj u proteklom periodu obilježeni su relativnom stabilnošću i srednjestrujaškim tihim tokom koji gura briselizirani HDZ na čelu s Andrejom Plenkovićem. Osim minornih prepucavanja koja inicira i zakuhava reality show voditelj u ulozi predsjednika Republike, zapravo se nije događalo ništa vrijedno spomena, a što bi označavalo neki potencijalni veliki preokret i promjenu u Hrvatskoj. Valjda je to tako kad se centar odlučivanja pomjeri u birokratizirani Bruxelles, smanji ti se maksimalno prostor za isticanje,

galamu, a posebice za dizanje prašine i pravljenje reality showa od države. Naravno, dragi vođa je pronašao zaobilazni put za podizanje tenzija i privlačenje pažnje tako da medijski prostor puni posredno preko susjeda, igrajući se posebice sudbinom BiH i složenim odnosima u njoj. Također, nije mu manjkalo nespretnih i malicioznih izjavama o ženama manjinama i onima koji nisu u poziciji moći u društvu.

Tiha nada liberalne i progresivne Hrvatske, pretvorio se u najgoru noćnu moru s velikim potencijalom reizbora, upravo zbog toga.

Iduća godina je superizborna, Hrvatsku iščekuju europski, predsjednički i opći/parlamentarni izbori. Kampanje su već u pripremi, kandidatske liste se slažu i plaćaju se PR agencije da smisle koje su to teme na koje se može pomjeriti fokus javnosti kako bi se osigurala izborna pobjeda.

Teško se možemo nadati kako će inflacija koja jede naše plaće i onemogućava nam da živimo životom dostojnim „radnika, Hrvata i državljanina EU“ biti popularna tema. Možemo se jedino nadati kako se kampanje neće bazirati na starim strastima i temama koje su nam tradicionalno uspaljivačke i na kojima

su se ranije dobivali izbori. Pomjeranje odlučivanja s periferije donekle je spriječilo ustaše i partizane kao i novije aktere iz posljednjeg rata da imaju toliku izbornu mobilizacijsku snagu koju su imali ranije te nam daje nadu da će se budući izbori i kampanje voditi oko onih stvari koje su nam životno bitnije. Kako kažu, da se ostavimo prošlosti napokon.

Idući opći/parlamentarni izbori će se voditi po novim pravilima o izbornim jedinicama nakon što je Ustavni sud, prethodne odredbe proglasio neustavnim zbog različite vrijednosti pojedinačnog glasa. Tako smo s novim izmjenama dobili i neke zanimljive mamutske izborne jedinice koje su, makar formalno ustavne i osiguravaju približnu jednakost jačine glasa, ipak neobične i govore da tu baš i nije sve kako valja posloženo. Oporba kaže da su jedinice formirane tako da osiguraju o(p)stanak HDZ-a, a vlast kaže kako nisu imali puno prostora obzirom na ustavne i zakonske odredbe o izbornim jedinicama.

Bilo kako bilo, glasač snuje, a vlast određuje, ispred nas je zanimljiva godina.

Dalmir Mišković

Srbija: Srbija protiv nasilja

Svi koji živimo u Srbiji znamo tačno gde smo bili i šta smo radili u jutro 3. maja 2023. godine. Bila je sredi, prvi radni dan posle prvomajskih praznika. Hladnjikavo, ali sunčano vreme, tipično za početak maja. Tipični roditelji ustali su tog jutra, spremili doručak, kratko upozorili decu da ne zakasne u školu. Oni su požurili na posao.

Kod prve jutarnje kafe krenule su vesti da se nižu.

Prvo su objavili da je bila pucnjava u školi u centru Beograda. Centar Beograda je velik, u njemu žive stotine hiljada ljudi i ima mnogo škola. Niko nije bio miran, vesti su u početku stizale sporo, ali je potom senzacionalizam krenuo da nas melje.

Obična sredi postala je sredi koje ćemo se svi zauvek sećati. Devetoro dece i čuvar Osnovne škole „Vladislav Ribnikar“ su ubijeni. Ubio ih je pucnjima iz pištolja trinaestogodišnji učenik iste škole. Šestoro još ih je ranio. Svi smo bili u šoku.

Otišla sam u školu da zagrlim svoje dete. Nastava nije bila prekinuta. Deca su uredno učila o reljefu Srbije ili pisala pisane zadatke na temu: „U budućnosti sebe vidim...“ dok su njihove drugare sa treninga, iz vrtića, iz parka, muzičke škole, na nekoliko stotina metara dalje iznosili u crnim vrećama. Grčila sam svoje dete, a želela sam da zagrlim svu decu ovog tužnog grada i ove tužne zemlje. Nisam plakala, samo sam imala potrebu da grlim decu. Da im se izvinim zbog društva u kom žive.

Da molim za oprost što žive u nasilju, i što sam nemoćna da ih od nasilja zaštitim.

Dok sam grčila svoje dete, odgovorni u ovoj državi su održali konferenciju za novinare. Načelnik Policijske uprave za grad Beograd novinarima je pokazao spisak dece koji je napravio ubica. Imena na tom spisku su čitljiva i skoro svi mediji su fotografiju preneli. Osim ubijene i ranjene dece, na tom su spisku i druga imena, imena dece koja su, srećom, preživela, ali su svedočila

ubijanju, što će im obeležiti celi život. Svako dete u ovoj državi je moglo da bude na tom spisku. Svako normalan u ovoj državi spisak nikada ne bi javno objavio.

A ipak, načelnik policije jeste, iza njega je stajao ministar policije koji ga nije sprečio, ispred njih su stajali novinari, od kojih neki, istina, nisu objavili taj spisak, ali većina jeste.

Ispred ekrana bili smo svi – i deca i roditelji, i cela Srbija u tuzi.

Bol

Nekoliko je dana u ličnoj istoriji svakog čoveka kojih će se sećati zauvek – dan kada se venčao/la, kada su mu se rodila deca, desilo nešto vanredno lepo ili tužno. Društvo nam daje još nekoliko takvih dana – Amerikanci znaju gde su bili i šta su radili kad je ubijen Kenedi, kad je bio 11.9.2001. godine.

Mi koji živimo u Srbiji znamo gde smo bili 5. oktobra 2000. kada je promenjena vlast u Srbiji. Znamo gde smo bili 28.6.2001. kada je sudu u Hagu isporučen Slobodan Milošević. Znamo gde smo bili 12.3.2003. kada je izvršen atentat na premijera Zorana Đinđića.

I znamo gde smo bili 3.5.2023.

Znamo i gde smo bili sutradan, 4.5.2023.

U kasno veče tog dana dvadesetjednogodišnji mladić ubio je osmoro mladih ljudi (15-25 godina) u selima Malo Orašje i Dubona u okolini Mladenovca. Rano je još 15 osoba. Iako je ubica više puta prijavljivan za nasilje, štitio ga je moćan otac – oficir Vojne kontraobaveštajne službe, svojim tajnim vezama. Otac i drugi osumnjičeni za saučestvovanje u ovom zločinu privedeni su danima kasnije, a sumnja se da su se bavili trgovinom oružjem, i u kućama su im pronašli arsenale oružja.

Ostali smo nemi.

Strah

Svi ti ljudi žive tu, oko nas, svi ti ljudi koji svoju decu nemaju čemu pametnijem da nauče osim da pucaju i sakupljaju oružje. Svi ti ljudi koji neguju masovne ubice, nesvesni odgovornosti koju imaju, ne samo za svoju, već za svu drugu decu i ljude u okruženju. Svi ti ljudi koji štite i opravdavaju nasilje, svi ti ljudi koji objavljuju imena dece koja su bila na spisku ubice, svi ti ljudi koji umesto svoje dece brane predsednika Srbije i njegovu partiju, svi ti ljudi koji dolaze na miting podrške

predsedniku Srbije dok deca polažu belo cveće na grobove svojih drugova i drugarica, svi ti ljudi koji gaze decu na pešačkim prelazima i za to ne odgovaraju, svi ti ljudi koji u korumpiranom sudstvu ne osuđuju ubice, svi ti ljudi koji štite direktora „Namenske“ u Lučanima, a ne porodicu Milovanović koja traži odgovornost za smrt svog deteta u toj fabrici, svih tih više od 22 hiljade ljudi koji iz državnih preduzeća za platu iz budžeta botuju za predsednika i Srpsku naprednu stranku, svi ti ljudi koji veličaju ratne zločince, svi ti ljudi koji crtaju lik Ratka Mladića na fasade Beograda... Oni žive oko nas, oni nam se ujutru javljaju na stepeništu, oni pomaze našeg psa u prolazu, oni se zaklinju u porodične vrednosti dok viču: „Ubij pедера!“ ili „Nož, žica, Srebrenica!“ ili „Dogodine u Prizrenu“, ili „Kad se vojska na Kosovo vrati“.

Oni žive oko nas i ukoliko im se suprotstavimo, kreneće na nas nasiljem.

A već su krenuli.

Buđenje

Krenuli smo i mi, na proteste „Srbija protiv nasilja“. Bilo nas je, od 8. maja do sada, 19¹ puta u Beogradu, ali i u raznim gradovima Srbije, i po više od sto hiljada na ulici.

Osnovni zahtevi su: 1) ostavke Branka Ružića (ministar prosvete, podneo ostavku kao lični čin 7. maja), Bratislava Gašića (ministra policije) i Aleksandra Vulina (direktora Bezbednosno-informativne agencije) 2) Ostavke članova regulatornog tela za elektronske medije i Radio-televizije Srbije 3) Oduzimanje nacionalnih dozvola za emitovanje programa RTV Pink i Hepi televiziji. Ti protesti su građanski, iako ih tehnički organizuje deo opozicionih partija.

Zašto smo na ulici – zbog nasilja.

I zato što ne znamo i ne umemo i ne možemo ništa bolje u ovom trenutku.

Nemoć nas je zarobila, iskreno se nadam da negde postoji mogućnost promene, samo da je sada, iz ove pozicije, i vrtloga nasilja u kom se nalazimo, ne prepoznam.

Sve drugo što bi se o Srbiji i životu u njoj moglo reći – takođe se definiše nasiljem: i odnos prema Kosovu i ljudima koji tamo žive, od kojih su Srbi posebno

1 Tekst je napisan 11.9.2023. Protesti se nastavljaju i dalje.

ugroženi od raznih političko-mafijaških interesa i sa srpske i sa albanske strane, i to da su predsednici Srbije i Republike Srpske obeležavali godišnjicu „Oluje“ u Prijedoru, nemi na stradanje tamošnjeg nesrpskog stanovništva, i to da su od nemara posle nevremena u Bačkoj Palanci stradali deda i unuk iz iste porodice, iako su građani 27 puta prijavili pokidane strujne kablove, a čovek koji je govorio na protestu povodom tog događaja je otpušten sa posla, i to što je zbog privatnih političkih stavova iznetih na Twitteru otpuštena naučnica, i to što deca politički drugačije opredeljenih roditelja bivaju izbačena iz vrtića, i to što su životno ugroženi policajci koji rade svoj posao i nisu korumpirani, i to što je uopšte moguće da osuđeni ratni zločinac iz zatvora preko video linka obraća učenicima jedne osnovne škole, i to što je za samo prvih šest

meseci ove godine ubijeno 20 žena... i to što je inflacija dovela većinu građana na rub siromaštva i to da nam se za poslednjih 40 dana Aleksandar Vučić obratio 30 puta sa televizija koje imaju nacionalnu frekvenciju, i to da će „on“ da gradi stadione i sajmove, dok se na operacije čeka godinama (za operaciju kuka ili kolena, ako se prijavite danas, operisaće vas 2033. godine), i to što nas koji protiv nasilja protestujemo vlast naziva hijenama i lešinarima...

Sve je to nasilje u kojem živimo svakodnevno.

Srbija protiv nasilja nije izjava – to je vapaj.

Mogu samo da se nadam da je i – političko obećanje za budućnost.

Katarina Milićević

Severna Makedonija: Makedonija: O Bugarima, opet

Ove godine meteorolozi predviđaju vrela leto. Ove temperature dodatno podgrejaju rasprave za i protiv najavljenih ustavnih promena. Ulazak Makedonije u Evropsku uniju trenutno je uslovljen ustavnim amandmanima, odnosno da li će Bugari biti uneti u Ustav. Redovno slušamo mnoge argumente, rasprave, analize i logičke zaključke za i protiv unošenja Bugara u Ustav. Situacija je krajnje polarizovana i, nažalost, sugestije stručnjaka ne idu u pravcu koristi ili onoga što bi se izgubilo unošenjem makedonskih Bugara u Ustav i kakve posledice to može da izazove. Svako daje različite argumente u odbranu svog stava, neki su veoma dobri i legitimni, bez obzira iz kog tabora dolaze.

Mnogi profesori su se čak potrudili da logički i naučno dokažu da Bugari ne smeju da uđu u Ustav. Međutim, svesno ili ne, zaboravljamo da je to, ipak, politička odluka. Često, nešto što je logično u nauci pokazalo se nelogičnim u politici. Iz dosadašnjih diskusija nije dovoljno jasno ko su ti koji žele da makedonski Bugari ne uđu u Ustav – da li je to politički vrh Bugarske ili, prema istraživanjima, većina etničkih Makedonaca. Prvi, možda, jer jedino tako mogu opravdati svoje nerazumne zahteve, kako iz prošlosti, tako i iz sadašnjosti. Za druge nije sasvim jasno da li

je odbijanje rezultat straha od mogućih posledica, ili potrebe da pokažu da su umorni od toga da budu žrtve istorije.

Izvesno je da će makedonski Bugari biti upisani u Ustav, kao i svi ostali narodi koji žive u Makedoniji, ali nije izvesno kada će se to dogoditi. Uključivanje Bugara u Ustav garantuje nastavak pregovora naše zemlje sa Evropskom unijom – procesa za koji se procenjuje da će obezbediti evropsku budućnost zemlje. Formalno ćemo biti korak bliže pridruživanju EU, što će pomoći ne samo jačanju prava manjinama, već i, što je mnogo važnije, boljem suočavanju sa unutrašnjim izazovima. Imamo i alternativu, odnosno ustavne promene ne moraju da budu izglasane. Verovatno ćemo tada biti blokirani da nastavimo pregovore sa EU. Razočarenje će biti veliko. Time će nam, nadam se samo privremeno, biti oduzeta evropska budućnost. Neće biti predpristupnih fondova, evropskog obrazovanja, slobodnog prelaska granica, druženja sa drugima iz Evrope. Još više mladih tražiće bugarske pasoše, a Bugarska će verovatno tražiti da se odreknu makedonskog identiteta da bi ih dobili. Suočićemo se sa ozbiljnim političkim i ekonomskim posledicama i blokadama. Indirektne posledice će dugoročno biti još štetnije. Polako, ali sigurno, zemlja

će biti izolovana, a mladi neće imati priliku da rade ili prežive. Što je još strašnije, svaka politička elita u budućnosti će imati izgovor za sopstvene neuspehe, kao što se dešavalo decenijama ranije tokom sukoba sa Grčkom.

Македонија vs Македониа

Podela na osnovu etničke pripadnosti postoji i produbljuje se svake godine, a etnocentrizam koji se širi, kako kroz udžbenike, tako i kroz nastavne planove i programe, rasprostranjen je. Udžbenici, i oni na makedonskom i oni na albanskom jeziku godinama su promovisali etnički nacionalizam, a rezultate toga vidimo svakodnevno. Ne ulaže se dovoljno truda u inkluziju u obrazovanju i postoji segregacija između učenika različitih etničkih grupa. Nastavljamo da učimo u različitim školama, a u retkim slučajevima kada moramo da učimo u istom objektu onda učimo u različitim smenama. A ako učimo u istoj smeni, na odmoru smo u različitim delovima dvorišta. Učenici različitih etničkih zajednica se sve ređe druže u školi. Deca se ne sastaju, ne komuniciraju. Kada, ipak, razgovaraju, najčešće to rade na engleskom jeziku. Akademске zajednice jedva komuniciraju jedna sa drugom. Istraživanja pokazuju da mladi nemaju poverenja u pripadnike drugih etničkih zajednica, ne vole ih čak ni kao komšije. Težnja je da se spreči direktan kontakt, posebno između albanskih i makedonskih učenika, sa obrazloženjem da se želi izbegavanje sukoba. Živimo jedni pored drugih. Retko izlazimo na ista mesta. Čitamo različite knjige i gledamo različite televizije. Gradimo paralelne, „naše“ svetove. Jednostavno se sve manje poznajemo, uprkos deklarativnom opredeljenju za multikulturalnost i suživot. Ostajemo robovi svoje prošlosti i često verujemo da se osećaj sigurnosti, sreće i nade može postići samo u etnički homogenom okruženju.

Образованје је наша будућност

Iako se ulaganja u obrazovanje deklarativno smatraju ulaganjem u budućnost zemlje, u stvarnosti se kod nas troškovi obrazovanja smatraju rasipanjem resursa. Podaci istraživanja pokazuju da je izdvajanje za obrazovanje neefikasno i da se smanjuje svake godine u poslednjih desetak godina. Broj nastavnika se povećava uprkos demografskom padu. U proseku, na svakih 14 učenika manje, zaposli se jedan novi nastavnik. Prema

PISA testiranju, više od polovine petnaestogodišnjaka je funkcionalno nepismeno iz oblasti prirodnih nauka, matematike i čitanja. Približno 50 hiljada dece (od predškolskog do srednjoškolskog uzrasta) ne pohađa školu. Preko 14 hiljada dece predškolskog uzrasta ne pohađa nastavu. Isto toliko, 14 hiljada dece ne pohađa osnovno obrazovanje, dok preko 22 hiljade dece srednjoškolskog uzrasta ne pohađa školu. Prosečno davanje za stručno usavršavanje po nastavniku iznosi samo 3,5 evra. Profesionalno usavršavanje nastavnika je nedovoljno finansirano i ne smatra se prioritetom.

I ove godine, po tradiciji, neki đaci započinju godinu bez udžbenika. Oni koji su nam prošle godine obećali da neće dozvoliti da u narednu školsku godinu krenemo bez udžbenika, sada nam obećavaju isto to, ali za sledeću godinu.

Izbori su (verovatno) sledeće godine

Opozicija je uverena da vlast ne može da ispuni ono što je obećala, a to je početak pregovora sa Evropskom unijom i ustavne promene, pa je najlogičnije raspuštanje skupštine i izlazak na vanredne parlamentarne izbore. Za narednu godinu planirani su redovni parlamentarni izbori.

Na izbore ćemo izaći u veoma osetljivom kontekstu. Bugarska ostaje dosledna svojim uslovima da pokrene veto na naše pregovore sa Evropskom unijom. Neprimerena reakcija EU uspeła je, ne samo da pojača argumente evroskeptika, već i da izazove antizapadno raspoloženje među najzapadnjačnije orijentisanim građanima, pre svega Makedoncima. Hibridni rat je u punom jeku. Govor mržnje i dezinformacije, kao oruđe propagande, polarizuju javno mnjenje, smanjujući i samim tim nisko poverenje u političke lidere, institucije i demokratske procese. Na izbore idemo u vreme velike korupcije i kada su (ne)vladavina prava i nekažnjivost alarmantni. Sve ovo ide u prilog najradikalnijim političkim opcijama, pre svega onima iz makedonskog etničkog korpusa. Albanska opozicija se u poslednjih godinu dana uveliko kompromitovala. Pokazalo se da oni nisu politička opozicija, već samo politička konkurencija DUI. Videli smo da se gotovo ni po čemu ne razlikuju od vladajuće albanske partije, jedini cilj im je vlast, odnosno žele da ih smene da bi i oni produžili da rade isto.

Nevidljivi za društvo

U našem društvu ljudi često postaju „nevidljivi“ zbog pripadnosti određenoj etničkoj zajednici, polu, seksualne orijentacije, religije, socijalnog statusa... Problemi i izazovi osoba sa invaliditetom, hroničnih bolesnika i osoba obolelih od retkih bolesti, starih, lica bez državljanstva, izbeglica, seksualnih manjina, beskućnika i mnogih drugih ljudi iz marginalizovanih grupa, najčešće ostaju nevidljivi ostalim članovima društva, ali što je još gore, ostaju nevidljivi institucijama sistema.

Nisu samo neregistrovane osobe nevidljive za društvo. Nevidljiv je ostao i migrant kojeg je policajac nedavno smrtno upucaao u Đevđeliji, nevidljiv je ostao i oboleli od cistične fibroze koji je preminuo posle skoro dve godine čekanja da dobije lek koji država nije obezbedila. Nevidljiva je i borba i patnja mnogih žena koje pokušavaju da se izvuku iz nametnutih rodni uloga. Nažalost, mnoge žene koje ne ispunjavaju očekivanja koja im društvo nameće, bile su i jesu žrtve nasilja. Mnoge devojke i žene marširaju i demonstriraju

za svoja prava, ne odustaju, ali ih ne vidimo ni mi, ni država.

Zajednička budućnost

Ustav na papiru objedinjuje i nabraja sve narode koji žive u našoj zemlji. Verovatno će biti evidentirano i onih 3504 građana koji su se na poslednjem popisu izjasnili kao Bugari, ali to neće promeniti stvarnost. A stvarnost je da se mi koji živimo u Makedoniji međusobno ne poznajemo, a kamoli da se identifikujemo kao građani, i sve se više vezujemo za svoju etničku pripadnost. Komunikacija, empatija i poverenje su na najnižem nivou. Poverenje građana Makedonije u Evropsku uniju je na rekordno niskom nivou, a napredak ka pridruživanju EU je beznačajan. Korupcija i kriminal cvetaju. Bugarima, kao i ostalim narodima, brzo će postati jasno da ne postoje garancije da će Ustav i politika poboljšanja prava etničkih zajednica proizvesti suživot, ako sami ne pokušamo da izgradimo zajedničku budućnost.

Luan Imeri

Crna Gora: Korak dublje

Stiže Vlada

Na izborima 30. avgusta 2020. godine sa vlasti je, nakon 30 godina, smijenjena Demokratska partija socijalista (DPS) Mila Đukanovića. Prva, istorijska, postdepeesovska Vlada na čelu sa Zdravkom Krivokapićem pala je nakon četrnaest meseci. Tu Vladu srušio je Dritan Abazović uz pomoć DPS-a početkom 2022. godine, a onda formirao novu, manjinsku, uz podršku dijela te iste većine, dok je ključne glasove dobio upravo od DPS-a. Druga, Dritanova Vlada bila je značajno drugačija od prethodne, i po načinu na koji je uspostavljena, po podršci koju (ni)je dobijala, po sastavu, ali i što je najvažnije po prioritetnom cilju, a to je obračun sa korupcijom i kriminalom. Nažalost, ostatak pobjedničke koalicije – izuzev nekih manjih partija – taj cilj nije podržao. Nakon što je Abazović 2022. potpisao Temeljni ugovor sa Srpskom pravoslavnom crkvom, DPS je podnio zahtjev za rušenje i te Vlade, a ona je pala poslije stotinak dana, zahvaljujući glasovima Demokrata i nekih manjih

partija, koje su se tako na neki način osvetile Abazoviću za rušenje prethodne Vlade. Zanimljivo za ovu Vladu je i to što kao Vlada u tehničkom mandatu traje duže nego što je imala podršku (20. avgusta 2022. godine joj je izglasano nepovjerenje i od tada radi u tehničkom mandatu.) „Godina prođe, a Dritan još Vlada“. I tako će ostati sve dok Skupština ne izabere novu Vladu na predlog novog mandatara Milojka Spajića. A ta Treća, sreća, Vlada nikako da stigne, jer se suočava sa gubljenjem podrške i povjerenja i prije nego što se formirala. Nešto nam se izgleda neće u Vlade, ocjena iz Vlada(nja), nedovoljan 1.

Silom predsjednik

Jakov Milatović, kandidat Pokreta Evropa sad, ubjedljivo je, sa oko 60% glasova, u drugom krugu predsjedničkih izbora, održanih u aprilu 2023. godine pobjedio Mila Đukanovića i tako okončao njegovu trodecenijsku vladavinu. Novi predsjednik Crne Gore nije došao bez turbulencija na tu poziciju. Naime,

Predsjedništvo Pokreta Evropa sad (PES) krajem januara izabralo je njihovog lidera Milojka Spajića kao predsjedničkog kandidata. Spajić i Milatović bivši su ministri u prvoj vladi poslije smjene DPS-a, premijera Zdravka Krivokapića, a Evropa sad naziv njihovog ekonomskog programa.

Kasnije su formirali politički pokret sa istim imenom, koji je bio najveći pobjednik lokalnih izbora 2022. u Podgorici, kada je Milatoviću namjenjena funkcija gradonačelnika. Međutim, zbog problema oko prebivališta i dvojnog državljanstva (i crnogorsko i srpsko) Državna izborna komisija odbila je kandidaturu Milojka Spajića, tako da se Milatović silom prilika kandidovao i postao predsjednik države.

Pobjeda Jakova Milatovića na predsjedničkim izborima i trijumf na lokalnim izborima u Podgorici bili su vjetar u jedra Pokretu Evropa sad, koji je iako bez ozbiljnije infrastrukturne organizacije ostvario vrtoglav uspjeh na političkoj sceni i pobrao ogromnu popularnost među građanima/kama Crne Gore. To je rezultiralo time da Pokret Evropa sad, na vanrednim parlamentarnim izborima u Crnoj Gori održanim 11. juna 2023. ima najviše mandata u parlamentu, 24. Na drugom mjestu je bila koalicija koju predvodi Demokratska partija socijalista, sa 21 mandatom. Nakon izbora predsjednik Jakov Milatović je svom partijskom kolegi (da ne kažemo šefu) dao mandat za sastav Vlade, a pregovori oko njenog formiranja još uvijek traju. Novi mandatar se suočava sa gubljenjem podrške prije svega jer je sabiranje Vlade počeo sa oduzimanjem svih onih sa kojima ne bi da Vlada. Tako da je početna, izborima projektovana, većina od najmanje 44 poslanika u Skupštini, istopljena na svega 42, što je jedva, ali ipak dovoljna većina u parlamentu koji broji 81 poslaničko mjesto. Rok koji novi mandatar ima da formira Vladu je 10. 11. 2023. Za sada se ni njemu nešto neće!

Da istinske promjene ne zavise isključivo od ličnih i svjetonazora postdepeesesovskih premijera i mandatarata, već da podrazumijevaju korjenito hvatanje ukoštac sa zaostavštinama predašnjih sistema vladanja i korumpiranosti institucija, upravo ove strmoglave smjene Vlada demonstriraju. Sistematski i prilično temeljno je uništavano sve ono što je trebalo preuzeti iz perioda prije ratova devedesetih: obrazovanje, kultura te društveno prihvatljivo i odgovorno

ponašanje. Društvo koje je sistematski i dugo politički i ekonomski razarano ni mnogo mudriji i demokratskiji mandatar i premijeri ne bi znali saVLADATI, a kamoli ovi naši, mladi, lijepi i nesnađeni. Vladati znači i služiti, građanima, društvenom boljitku, opštem dobru, a ne ličnim inetresima ili interesima članova partije. Imunitet na Partokratiju još treba da izgrađujemo. Iz istinskih promjena, još uvijek, nedovoljan, 1.

„Crna Gora ne bježi od prošlosti“

Maja 1992. godine crnogorska policija je nezakonito uhapsila najmanje 66, a prema nekim procjenama i preko 80 civila iz Bosne i Hercegovine, uglavnom Bošnjaka, koji su u Crnu Goru došli bježeći od rata, a potom ih isporučila Vojsci Republike Srpske. Većina je odmah ubijena, a ostali su odvedeni u logore. Prema podacima Akcije za ljudska prava (HRA), samo njih 12 je preživjelo mučenje, dok tijela svih žrtava deportovanih još uvijek nisu pronađena, niti se zna tačno mjesto na kome su ubijeni. Zločin deportacije počinjen je u vrijeme vlasti Demokratske partije socijalista (DPS), a Milo Đukanović je u vrijeme deportacije bio premijer. Od tada je prošla 31 godina. Crna Gora je na osnovu poravnjanja 2008. godine platila naknadu štete za većinu žrtava za ovaj ratni zločin, ali niko do danas nije krivično odgovarao, niti je osuđen. Prošle godine je tadašnji direktor Uprave policije Zoran Brđanin uputio izvinjenje žrtvama i članovima porodica, dok je ove godine obilježavanju godišnjice deportacije prisustvovao Dritan Abazović, prvi premijer CG koji je to uradio. “Ovo je Crna Gora koja ne bježi od prošlosti i koja se suočava sa njom. Učimo na istorijskim greškama da bi u budućnosti bili bolji”, izjavio je Abazović. A to suočavanje sa prošlošću od kojeg kako kaže premijer, Crna Gora ne bježi, osim zvaničnih izvinjenja i prisustva obilježavanju, nije uradila ništa.

Prošlo je mnogo godina i mnogo toga je moglo i moralo da se uradi. Da se sprovede krivično gonjenje, da se pronađu nalogodavci i inspiratori zločina, te da se žrtve uvažavaju na dostojanstven način, podizanjem spomen obilježja i(li) proglašenjem zvaničnog dana sjećanja, što NVO godinama unazad zahtijevaju. Osim toga: od strategije kojom se Specijalno državno tužilaštvo (SDT) obavezalo da će preispitati sve slučajeve ratnih zločina, a od čijeg je usvajanja prošlo osam godina; od ubrzanih reformi tužilaštva i sudstva

kojima bi se osigurala nezavisnost sudskih postupaka; od inteziviranja rada na istragama slučajeva ratnih zločina; od izmjene i dopune krivičnog postupka kako bi se omogućilo da se dokazi koji su prethodno izvedeni pred Krivičnim tribunalom za bivšu Jugoslaviju mogu koristiti u pravosudnom sistemu Crne Gore; od osiguravanja održivosti Centra za informacije i dokumentaciju (koji sada vodi Inicijativa mladih za ljudska prava), koji je formalno predat CG Parlamentu 2021. godine, nema ništa! Iz suočavanja sa prošlošću, još uvijek, nedovoljan 1+.

Populacijska stagnacija

Prema podacima Monstata iz prošle godine u Crnoj Gori živi blizu 618.000 stanovnika, nešto više od 3.000 u odnosu na 1991. godinu, što predstavlja veliku stagnaciju, naročito u odnosu na kraj prošlog milenijuma.

Jedan od razloga je što je za proteklih 25 godina državu napustilo 140.000 građana, od kojih samo prošle godine 5.000. Razlozi tih migracija su brojni, a među njima svakako i mala mogućnost za zapošljavanje

i ostvarivanje pristojne zarade, politička kriza i opšta nestabilnost u društvu, partijsko zapošljavanje. Kada ovome pridodamo porast nacionalizma i desnice, neprestana politička trevenja i manjak volje za konsenzusom po svim važnijim socio-ekonomskim pitanjima, odluku koju građani CG trebaju da donesu, otići ili ostati, čini vrlo nedvosmislenom. S druge strane ta ista država ne samo da nema strategiju kako da zadrži građane, prije svega mlade, već godinama ne preduzima nikakve konkretne mjere niti poteze u pogledu njihovog zapošljavanja, te time mogućnosti za samostalno ostvarivanje mladih ljudi su vrlo skromne i rijetke. Mladi nas ocjenjuju, odlaskom, nedovoljan 1.

Tunel

U trenucima finalizovanja ovog teksta u Podgorici je obijen depo Višeg Suda. Način na koji je to urađeno podseća na scene iz holivudskog kriminalističkog filma – u samom centru grada prokopan je tunel iz podruma obližnje stambene zgrade do depoa Višeg Suda. Odnijeti su predmeti, među kojima i nekoliko komada vatrenog oružja, koji su bili dokazni materijal u slučaju



optužnice protiv vođa jednog od kriminalnih klanova u CG. Vlada koja se bori protiv kriminala dobija protiv-udarac, profesionalan i „dovoljno dubok“.

Očigledno je da hrabrost pojedinaca, prije svih premijera Dritana Abazovića i specijalnog državnog tužioca Vladimira Novovća (njihov rad javno prepoznat i pohvaljen izvještajem EK) iako dragocjeni i važni, ipak nisu dovoljni. Dok od neophodnog konsenzusa svih, i

političkih i društvenih aktera u CG, po pitanju borbe protiv organizovanog kriminala, još uvijek nema ništa.

Do potkopavanja smo imali konstantnu neprelaznu ocjenu, ili ti Crna Goro, sjedi, nedovoljan 1! A posle ovoga smo otišli korak dublje, pod-zemlju, ili ti što bi rekli Podgoričani, baš smo se zakopali!

Radomir Radević

Umesto konteksta Kosova: Vapaj!

U mom politički svesnom delu života, nije postojao nijedan trenutak u kome bih na Kosovo mogla da putujem bez ikakvih briga. Imala sam deset godina 1981. kada su u proleće, a godinu dana posle Titove smrti, krenuli protesti studenata na Kosovu.

Danas, Tita se sećaju stariji, dok generacije rođene decenijama kasnije ga posmatraju kao neku figuru iz naučno-fantastičnih filmova (dobar je ili loš junak, ali nema obrise stvarnog, kao što ni zajednički slobodan život Srba i Albanaca na Kosovu nema ni obris mogućeg).

I ta podeljena, zatrovana i čestim oružanim sukobima otežana užasna situacija traje, rekoh, celi moj svesni život.

Naravno da odgovornost za nju postoji, na svim stranama, i u meni, pa i kod mnogih koji žive u obe države, no nijednom, ali zaista nijednom i niko za sve ove godine nije imao tu političku moć, ni tu viziju da kaže svima: „Dosta. Ovako dalje ne može, ajmo da gradimo mir.“ Polako, detaljno, strateški, senzibilisano za potrebe svih građana. Demokratski, uz uvažavanje ljudi i njihovih prava.

Ako pričamo o ratu, vrlo je političko pitanje i politička odrednica o kom vremenu pričamo. Gotovo svi Srbi u Srbiji i na Kosovu će govoriti o periodu od marta 1999. do kraja 2000. godine. Za gotovo sve Albance rat je bio od početka 1998. do 11. juna 1999. Svi koji definišu vreme rata od početka 1998. do kraja 2000. su izdajnici, manipulatori, plaćenici – i tako ih nazivaju obe strane. Rođeni posle ovih godina već su u fazi završavanja fakulteta, osnivanja porodica, a najčešće, u obe zemlje – i u Srbiji i na Kosovu – u fazi

odlaska u EU ili USA, ili u snalaženju u novom životu u tim zemljama.

Generali smrti viču: „Teritorije su naše!“

Život im odgovara: „Na njima više ljudi ne žele da žive!“

Povremeno postoji nada da će se nešto pokrenuti, u pregovorima, pod pritiskom „međunarodne zajednice“ (ma šta to bilo zaista i kakva god njena uloga bila svih ovih godina, ne bih u to sad da ulazim). No, ta nada biva ubrzo eliminisana nasiljem koje se dogodi.

Poslednja u nizu eskalacija, na stalno nestabilnom području, dogodila se 26. maja, kada je predsednik Srbije Aleksandar Vučić organizovao u Beogradu miting podrške samom sebi, te na njega prevezao desetine hiljada građana iz unutrašnjosti Srbije, ali i sa Kosova. U tom trenutku njegov sagovornik u pregovorima, kosovski premijer Aljbin Kurti, doneo je odluku da u uprave opština gde živi većinsko srpsko stanovništvo uđu albanski funkcioneri, izabrani na izborima koje su Srbi (pod pritiskom Vučića) prethodno bojkotovali.

Došlo je do fizičkih i oružanih sukoba, Srba sa snagama KFOR-a i kosovskom policijom. Rat je u tom trenutku izgledao bliže nego bilo kakav mir. I jedna i druga strana odbijaju da sprovedu ono što se sporazumom sa EU i SAD predviđa, a što u njihovoj populističko-nacionalističkoj politici predstavlja ustupak zbog kojeg bi mogli i da izgube vlast: Kurti odbija da formira zajednicu srpskih opština, a Vučić da prestane da opstruira prijem Kosova u međunarodne organizacije, uključujući i Ujedinjene nacije.

Iako je, iz daljine gledano, sve izgledalo kao režirana predstava za zadovoljenje nacionalističkih emocija

građana obe države, ipak, ticala se života i sigurnosti običnih ljudi, koji žive svoje svakodnevne živote pod stalnim tenzijama. I te tenzije je, videlo se, lako dići do oružanih sukoba, ali je njihova normalizacija onda mnogo teža, duža i komplikovanija.

Uvek su postojali pojedinci i organizacije koji su se zalagali za mir, koji su se jasno i glasno, često rizikujući i svoje živote, protivili ratu, i treba ih se sećati sa dužnim poštovanjem. No, na državnom nivou, svaka inicijativa pomirenja, saradnje, ma i samo normalnog života, osuđuje se kao čin veleizdaje, i manje-više tako je na obe strane.

Uprkos tome, postoje brojne organizacije i pojedinci, umetnici i aktivisti koji rade ne projektima koji se tiču izgradnje mira i pomirenja, podjednako neprihvaćeni i u Srbiji i na Kosovu.

Kao regionalna mirovna organizacija Centar za nenasilnu akciju od nastanka 1997. godine radi i sa ljudima koji žive na Kosovu.

Do sada smo se, za konkretan rad na Kosovu, uglavnom, sretali sa preprekom: „Nije vreme.“

„Nije vreme“ za Kosovo 1981. Nije vreme 1998... 1999... 2004... 2007... 2023 ... Život prođe, vremenu se mesto nije našlo.

Početkom ove godine odlučili smo da odemo na studijski put na Kosovo, kako bismo se sreli sa ljudima koji tamo rade na izgradnji mira, u organizacijama, ili kao pojedinci/ke, umetnici/e, aktivisti/kinje i razmotrili šta bismo i kako mogli zajedno da radimo na izgradnji mira.

Pogađajte koji smo prvi odgovor na ovu inicijativu dobili?

„Nije vreme“.

Srećom bilo je i onih koji su samo rekli: „Naravno, samo dođite!“ Takav poziv daje ohrabrenje i nadu da je, ipak, moguće, sada, a ne u nekoj nedefinisanoj dalekoj budućnosti.

Sledeći studijski put na Kosovo Centar za nenasilnu akciju planira za početak novembra 2023. godine. Do poslednjeg trenutka nećemo biti sigurni da li će do njega i doći – moguće je da ponovo bude do pucanja (bukvalnog) nasilna situacija, i da put moramo da odložimo, jer – znate već.

Pa ipak, do njega će ubrzo sigurno doći.

Za mir je uvek vreme.

Katarina Milićević

Tu je on

In memoriam – Stanislav Stana Krezić (1959-2022)

U Bijelom Polju kraj Mostara, 15.11.2022. godine umro je naš prijatelj i saborac za mir. Izdalo ga je srce koje je bilo sve slabije godinama unazad.

Staninom zaslugom su se u Hercegovini mnoge stvari desile po prvi put. Povezivao je ljude, bio je most satkan od snage i poverenja koji je ljudima pomagao da u neprijatelju ponovo vide ljude.

Učestvovao je u brojnim mirovnim aktivnostima i komemoracijama širom Bosne i Hercegovine, Srbije i Hrvatske, čak i kada mu zdravlje nije dopuštalo previše kretanja.

Ma kakav čovek je naš Stana bio! Misao na njega, izmami suzu ali izmami i osmeh.

Bio je borac Hrvatskog vijeća obrane tokom rata u Hercegovini.

Bio je zatočen i mučen kao ratni zarobljenik.

Posle rata je držao kafanu i mrzeo one koji su u ratu bili na drugoj strani.

Bio je veliki čovek jer je priznao sebi greške koje je pravio i trudio se svom snagom da menja sebe i svet oko sebe. Retki su ljudi sa tolikom snagom.

Bio je aktivista udruženja logoraša.

Bio je svedok na suđenjima za ratne zločine.

Bio je strastveni zagovarač mira, neustrašivo se suprotstavljao nepravdi, ma sa koje strane dolazila.

I bez oklevanja možemo reći, u našim će srcima ostati dok hodamo, jer tu je on, tu umro nije.

Hvala ti Stana.

Volimo te.

U ime Centra za nenasilnu akciju Beograd – Sarajevo:

Nenad Vukosavljević, Amer Delić, Davorka Turk, Ivana Franović, Katarina Milićević, Nedžad Novalić, Radomir Radević, Tamara Zrnović, Helena Rill, Nedžad Horozović, Ahmed Novalić



Annual Report 2023

(English version)

Translation
Ulvija Tanović

Introduction

Dear friends,

In the past year (September 2022 – September 2023), most of our activities concerned working with war veterans, marking unmarked sites of suffering, international cooperation, peace education, as well as publishing and promotion.

We attended commemorations in Sjeverin near Priboj in Serbia, Lozje near Goražde and Rogatica in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The team working on marking unmarked sites of suffering carried out a large action to visit and mark four silos, former detention facilities in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the Iron Bridge near Doboj where captured civilians were executed.

We implemented two peace education activities. The 44th Basic Training in Peacebuilding was held from 14 to 24 October 2022 in Ulcinj, Montenegro, and the fifth Peacebuilding Training for Students from Bosnia and Herzegovina was held from 22 to 28 July 2023 on Mount Vlašić, Bosnia and Herzegovina. In order to present our work in peace education to potential training participants, we made a podcast about our basic training programmes, which is available [online](#). We have also gathered experiences from participants in our peace education programmes about how the training they attended impacted them, and have published them [online](#).

We were the organisers for the “Present of our Past” study trip that was implemented from 25 September to 1 October and that included visits to marked and unmarked sites of suffering related to the Second World War and the wars of the 1990s in the wider Kozara area. Taking part in the study trip were students and young researchers in history, psychology and art history, as well as human rights and peace activists and reporters from the region. Extensive documentation from the study trip was published.

We also published Biber 05, the fifth Biber short story collection, and organised four promotions: in Zagreb and Petrinja in Croatia, Bitolj in North Macedonia, and Travnik in BiH. We will be opening the 6th Biber Contest in December 2023.

The Centre for Nonviolent Action became one of the partner organisations of the [Global Learning Hub for Transitional Justice and Reconciliation](#). The conference on [Exploring the Transformational Potential of Transitional Justice](#), where we took part, was the initiation event.

We published a special report/documentation in English from meetings organised in Bosnia and Herzegovina from 26 March to 2 April 2022 under the South Asia - Western Balkans Peacebuilding Exchange project.

In cooperation with our friends Luan Imeri (North Macedonia), Vanja Šunjić (Bosnia and Herzegovina), and Dalmir Mišković (Croatia), members of the CNA Team wrote about the contexts we work in.

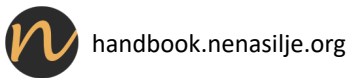
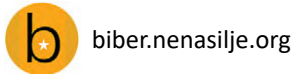
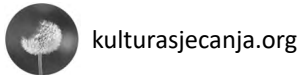
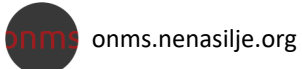
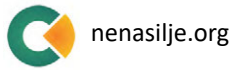
It was with great sorrow that we said our final farewell to our long-time associate and friend Stanislav Krezić Stana.

We are grateful to donors who financially supported our activities throughout the year, described in this report. German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development is our long-term donor through the programme Civil Peace Service, and this year we were also supported by The Rockefeller Brothers Fund.

You can read more about all of the above in this report, and more details are also available on our websites. We welcome your comments, insights and any feedback you can send us.

CNA Team

Our websites:





marking unmarked sites
of suffering

Joint visit to the unmarked sites of suffering “4 Silos”, BiH, 3-6 June 2023:

Silos in Tarčin near Hadžići
Silos in Kačuni near Busovača
Silos in Žepče
Silos in Polje, near Derventa
The Iron Bridge in Doboj

How We Saw Reconciliation

There are moments when reconciliation becomes visible. They don't happen every day and they are impossible to plan, they're even hard to describe. In ten, twenty or more years, I might not remember all the details, the names of people and places, conversations and messages, so I am writing this text as a reminder to my future self. What you definitely never forget is the feeling, a strange mixture of excitement, pride, happiness and satisfaction in those moments when you see the results of years of work, results that give meaning to your past efforts and motivate you for the future, and that make all intervening defeats and failures seem negligible.

It was March 2023, still cold, there was even snow in Sarajevo, but not in Žepče. We had come to this small town where the river Bosna swerves right to visit a former detention facility, the “Silo”. There were some forty of us from five or six countries and many more cities; we were reporters, prison camp survivors, peace activists, war veterans. They were only two – Mirza and Ekrem from the Žepče Prison Camp Survivors Association. Thirty years after the war, this was the first time they were entering the structure where during the war, in 1993, they suffered and witnessed atrocities. Emotions are mixed for both them and us, it is an important occasion for all of us, the possibility, after so many years, to enter the former silo. It must have been particularly difficult for them, we'd seen as much just a few hours ago when we went to visit other silos that had also been detention facilities. The new owner had put on a new facade, renovated the building and was now using it to store construction material, he was

friendly and let us take a look around. Mirza and Ekrem took us to the other side of the building that hadn't been renovated, the infamous “room number three” just around the corner; now that they've entered the yard, they wanted to see as much as possible, get to every cranny, tell us about how some thirty years ago, today's warehouse for construction material was used to store humans, how they were the material.

Mirza is surrounded by other prison camp survivors, they listen to his story and say under their breath: “Everything was the same for us.” They'd been through other camps, imprisoned in some other silo, the guards wore different uniforms, but the suffering was almost identical. While Mirza stands with his back to the silo, he is approached by Zlatko, a prison camp survivor from Vareš:

“I was a Croat prisoner, may I shake your hand?”

There, in those thirty seconds, in that single question, that one handshake, somewhere in the muddy yard behind what was once a silo in Žepče, some thirty of us saw reconciliation as it was happening. That March, we also visited silos that had been used as detention facilities in Hadžići near Sarajevo, Kačuni near Busovača, in Žepče and Derventa, as well as the Iron Bridge in Doboj. It was the first time that prison camp survivors from Bosnia and Herzegovina visited these detention facilities together, met each other, laid flowers together and talked about how these visits could continue. Their associations, just like so many things in postwar Bosnia and Herzegovina, are divided, mostly along ethnic lines. Despite a “framework” that dictates remembrance only of



victims from “your own” people, during our years of working on peacebuilding in the former Yugoslavia, we have encountered many people who were prepared to cross visible and invisible borders, who were and remain ready to pay their respects to all victims and call for the prosecution of perpetrators and support dignified memorialisation of all sites of suffering in the interest of building a better and more just society. In the spring of 2022, we organised a joint visit to Trusina near Konjic and Stupni Do near Vareš, with the help of victims’ associations from both places. This was a rare opportunity for cooperation and for jointly honouring Croat and Bosniak victims from these two places, and the fact that representatives of the associations visited and paid their respects to victims at both sites indicates the path that can be taken. Emir from Stupni Do and Dragica from Trusina joined us in our March action to visit former detention facilities, showing both to themselves and others that they are not alone. We knew they weren’t alone, because through our work of marking unmarked sites of detention, we met prison camp survivors who had no reservations about

expressing their support for people that had suffered a similar fate, about visiting all sites of suffering, irrespective of who was the victim and who the perpetrator, and about appeals to enable all prison camp survivors to mark such sites and the significant dates related to them with dignity.

That handshake between Mirza and Zlatko, those few seconds contain years and years of work. If I were to try to explain when we started preparing joint visits of prison camp survivors to sites of detention, I’d have to go back to 2015 and the beginnings of marking unmarked sites of suffering. When we went to mark those sites, we met people who were prepared to come with us and visit and mark all other sites, regardless of who the victims were. Some of the people we met in those years were sceptical, but with a fair and decent approach to all victims, in time we gained their trust and the trust of the wider community. Somewhere in that process of building trust, which is always ongoing, people recognised us as an organisation that would not abuse their trust, as someone without any hidden interests and with a fair and honest approach



to all victims. This basic trust was the foundation for our talks with individuals and associations about the possibility of joint visits to former detention facilities.

We also received considerable support in this activity from war veterans that we have been working with for years, so I should really go back at least a quarter of a century. Together with war veterans, we are working on building an inclusive culture of memory and they were the ones ready at the very beginnings of marking unmarked sites of suffering to be our partners and work with us in the field, some of them had been prisoners themselves and had survived the hell of camps... In addition to visiting marked and unmarked sites of suffering with war veterans, for years we have also been attending commemorations organised by local governments or victims' associations. Recently, we have been focusing on eastern Bosnia, a region particularly hard hit by the war. At the end of 2022, we attended a commemoration to mark 30 years since the abduction and killing of civilians from **Sjeverin**, a town on the border between BiH and Serbia, and the commemoration for victims killed in **Lozje** (Goražde) and in **Rogatica**. Mass killings of civilians from Foča

to Bijeljina during 1992, as well as the Srebrenica genocide of 1995, have permanently marked this part of Bosnia situated along the Drina River. Although we had made visits to this part of BiH before (the veterans group visited the Potočari Memorial Centre near Srebrenica and attended the commemoration in Skelani, also near Srebrenica), it seems peacebuilding and dealing with the past are particularly difficult in this area. Mass killings, little to no returns, denial of (the "others") suffering, returnees deprived to their basic rights, political exploitation from various sides, these are just some of the things that stand in the way and have to be overcome. Readiness to face up to these challenges, to go to places where things are difficult in every sense, shows not just the special motivation on the part of the veterans' group, but also the strength of their conviction about the importance of such visits and that patience is of the essence, because, as is often also the case with visits to former detention sites, the results become visible only much later.

I should go back even further, dig deeper, because we met the first war veterans at peacebuilding trainings when CNA was starting out, and the very idea to start

marking unmarked sites of suffering was developed at a training. Still, none of this just happened of its own accord, it took believing in the impossible, it took dedicated work and endless patience, a few good people, dozens of visits to towns and villages, hundreds of meetings to plan and work things out...

When we sum up the results of our work, and an annual report is one of the ways we do this, the focus is on what was done, on the results that were achieved, on concrete things, which makes us forget how much of

the work always remains “invisible”. There is no report on the hundreds of meetings, phone calls, waiting at roadside cafes, emails that go unanswered, letters and petitions sent to institutions, countless clarifications about who we are and what we do...

This is what we should think back to whenever we ask ourselves or are asked by others about when we started working on an activity: A long, long time ago.

Nedžad Novalić

Prison Camp Survivors and Peace Activists Visit Sites of Detention Together and Issue a Public Appeal

Together with prison camp survivors, supported by peace activists, reporters and war veterans, from 3 to 6 March 2023, the Centre for Nonviolent Action organised a joint visit to mark four silos that were used as sites of detention in the area of Tarčin near Hadžići, Kaćuni near Busovača, and in Žepče and Derventa. The Iron Bridge in Doboј where 13 prisoners were executed in June 1992 was also visited and symbolically marked. You can find out more about these sites of detention at <https://onms.nenasilje.org/?lang=en>

Numerous sites of massacres, suffering and torture across BiH remain unmarked because local authorities oppose having signs at sites of suffering where the victims were not members of the current majority group in the given area. Even today, after so many years, families of victims are still fighting for their right to have their loved ones remembered. Since 2015, the Centre for Nonviolent Action has been supporting the action to mark unmarked sites of suffering in BiH, and we have so far tried to rescue from oblivion more than 130 sites of suffering across BiH.

After visiting these sites, the prison camp survivors and peace activists from BiH and the region issued a joint appeal:

“Deeply convinced that all victims deserve equal respect, with our joint visit to sites of suffering, including former detention sites, we want to express human decency, share in the pain, and provide encouragement and support to each other. By jointly visiting sites

such as these, we hope that they can become places of encounter, dialogue and learning for future generations, places where we will come to remember the wartime past, not to incite hatred or revenge, but in order to warn about the tragic consequences of war that span generations. Remembering the suffering of all, whatever their ethnicity, prepared to equally condemn every crime, no matter who committed it, we want to stress the importance of respecting every victim as a path towards building the sustainable peace we want to live in.

We invite our friends, neighbours, fellow community members and all people of good will to join us on this path of remembering all victims and recognising all human suffering. Without denying our differences, we believe that mutual respect and understanding, based on these principles, can create space for dialogue where we can hear each other with open hearts, and learn about each other’s difficulties and needs that are so often similar.

We know that many sites of suffering, including detention facilities, have not been marked to this day, while former prisoners, survivors and families of those who were killed are often prevented from accessing

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

these sites. We call on the authorities, especially those at the local level, to provide support to victims fighting for their right to remembrance, not to put up obstacles, but to enable access to and permanent marking of sites of suffering. We want to make sure suffering is never repeated.

We cannot make up for human losses and suffering, but we want to do everything in our power to build up relationships of mutual recognition, respect and trust, to stand as a bulwark against the threat of hatred among people from different communities becoming a basis for new injustices and future violence. We believe that our right to freedom and peace can only be achieved by working together, crossing the borders that have separated us since the war and by learning from our painful past.”

More than 50 former prisoners and peace activists took part in visiting these sites and stand together behind this appeal. They come from: Mostar, Jablanica, Konjic, Sarajevo, Rogatica, Višegrad, Bijeljina, Zenica, Zagreb, Glina, Kruševac, Beograd, Podgorica, Bihać, Novi Grad, Šamac, Derventa, Zavidovići, Žepče, Brčko, Rudo, Busovača, Fojnica, Prijedor, Livno, Doboј, Vareš, Jajce...

“During our years of working on peacebuilding in the former Yugoslavia, we have encountered many people who were prepared to cross visible and invisible borders, who were and remain ready to pay their respects to all victims and call for the prosecution of perpetrators and support dignified memorialisation of all sites of suffering in the interest of building a better and more just society. In the spring of 2022, we organised a joint visit to Trusina near Konjic and Stupni

Do near Vareš, with the help of victims’ associations from both places. This was a rare opportunity for cooperation and for jointly honouring Croat and Bosniak victims from these two places, and the fact that representatives of the associations visited and paid their respects to victims at both sites indicates the path that can be taken. Emir from Stupni Do and Dragica from Trusina are not alone. When marking unmarked sites of detention, we met prison camp survivors who had no reservations about expressing their support for people that have suffered a similar fate, about visiting all sites of suffering, irrespective of who was the victim and who the perpetrator, and about appeals to enable all prison camp survivors to mark such sites and the significant dates related to them with dignity,” says Amer Delić from the Centre for Nonviolent Action.

The Centre for Nonviolent Action Sarajevo – Belgrade (CNA) has sought to contribute to building an inclusive, non-selective culture of memory in BiH in various ways: by researching sites of suffering and sites of memory for the database and website kulturasjecanja.org; by publishing “War of Memories”; putting on the “War of Memories” exhibition that has toured the region over several years; through programmes of non-formal education aimed at enhancing social capacities for peacebuilding; through exchanges and learning from the experiences of other countries, and by systematising gathered information and knowledge; as well as through joint commemorative actions of war veterans from BiH, Croatia and Serbia.



work with war veterans

Commemoration:

- Commemoration in Sjeverin, near Priboj, Serbia, 22 October 2023
- Commemoration in Lozje near Goražde, BiH, 2 May 2023
- Commemoration in Rogatica, BiH, 19 June 2023

Three Decades since the Crime in Sjeverin near Priboj: Families Still Waiting for Justice

On the thirtieth anniversary of the abduction and killing of 17 civilians from Sjeverin near Priboj, a funeral service was held and a commemoration in memory of the victims. The commemoration was attended also by peace activists and war veterans from Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Croatia.

The crime in Sjeverin took place on 22 October 1992 when, near Mioče, a group of 17 Bosniaks, including one woman, was taken off a bus they were riding to Priboj for work. They were then taken by

truck to Višegrad where they were all killed. The day before, on 21 October 1992, Sabahudin Čatović had similarly been abducted from his home.

A full 30 years after the crime, the remains of only one victim were found. After 30 years of waiting, it was decided that a funeral service would be held for all the victims even though their remains had not been found. The service was led by the Grand Mufti of the Islamic Community Husein ef. Kavazović.

Mehmed Šebo, Zafer Hadžić, Medo Hodžić,





Medredin Hodžić, Ramiz Begović, Derviš Softić, Mithad Softić, Mujo Alihodžić, Alija Mandal, Sead Pecikoza, Mustafa Bajramović, Hajrudin Sajtarević, Esad Džihic, Idriz Gibović, Ramahudin Čatović, and Mevlida Koldžić were abducted and executed on that day in 1992.

The families of the victims have spent thirty years not just in their sorrows, but in a struggle to find the remains of their loved ones and have their status as civilian war victims recognised. The state of Serbia, as well as the European Court of Human Rights, refused all attempts to reach any measure of justice on account of very bureaucratic and procedural reasons. The state of Serbia due to the fact that the abduction took place in the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina (where the bus had to pass on its way to Priboj), and the European Court because at the time of the abduction, Serbia was not party to the European Convention on Human Rights. The District Court in Belgrade sentenced Milan Lukić and Oliver Krsmanović each to 20 years in prison, and Dragutin Dragičević and Đorđe Šević each to 15 years in prison, for the crime committed in Sjeverin, among others. Lukić was sentenced by the ICTY to life imprisonment for crimes committed in Višegrad, but

his numerous wrongdoings did not include the crime from Sjeverin.

“When I stood before a mirror to think about what needs to be said today, first to myself and then to all of you here, my throat closed up because there is little that could be said and that hasn’t already been said in these past 30 years. We will not give up the fight for truth and our rightful recognition as victims. We as families expect the criminals and those that ordered the crime to be convicted, for the archives to be opened up, for our status to be recognised, so that we are not divided into first- and second-class citizens, for the law on civilian war victims to be amended, and for what happened to us to never happen to anyone again,” said Omer efendija Hodžić in his emotional address. His father and aunt had been on that bus on their way to work, and he never saw them again.

In addition to the victims’ families and religious leaders from the Islamic Community, the commemoration was also attended by a large number of citizens, and the organisers expressed particular gratitude to the Priboj Municipality that has provided support to marking the anniversaries and to raising

a monument in Sjeverin. Paying their respects by throwing flowers from a bridge over the Lim in Mioče was a mixed group of war veterans and activists of the Centre for Nonviolent Action Sarajevo-Belgrade.

“These people that we remember today were citizens of Serbia, they were abducted and killed because of their ethnicity, and the silence of the state of Serbia, its ignoring of this crime and the one in Štrpci, both very similar, tells us that these were not just incidents by deranged criminals, but an organised action by state authorities. Citizens of Serbia were abducted and killed and the state of Serbia has a duty to shed light on their fate, to find where they were buried, to provide for a dignified funeral and memory of these people and reparations for their families. It is the least that it can do. For our part, we, the citizens of Serbia, must show solidarity with the families, we must support them in their struggle for justice and truth, and we must never again allow the killing of people in our name,” said Katarina Milićević, an activist from the Centre for Nonviolent Action, after the commemoration in Sjeverin.

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

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 Silos in Tarčin near Hadžići, Vitez, and in Serbia in Grdelička klisura near Leskovac, Varvarin near Kruševac, Aleksinac, in Prijepolje for victims abducted from the train in Štrpci, as well as in Croatia in Pakrac, Varivode and Gošić near Knin.



peace education

Implemented programmes:

- 44th Basic training in peace building, Ulcinj, Montenegro, 14-24 October 2022

Number of applications: 104

18 participants from BH, Croatia, Serbia, Macedonia, Montenegro and Kosovo

Gender balance: 12 women and 8 men

Team: Ivana Franović, Tamara Zrnović, Amer Delić and Luan Imeri

- 5th Peacebuilding Training for students from Bosnia and Herzegovina, Vlašić, Bosnia and Herzegovina, 22-28 July 2023

Number of applications: 53

20 participants from Hadžići, Banja Luka, Breza, Ilidža, Travnik, Sarajevo, Velika Kladuša, Bijeljina, Žepče, Jakeš-Vukosavlje, Vitez, Cazin, Laktaši and Živinice.

Gender balance: 11 women and 9 men.

Team: Dalmir Mišković, Tamara Zrnović, Katarina Milićević, Amer Delić and Radomir Radević

In the past year, we implemented two Peace Education programmes: the 44th Basic Training in Peacebuilding, held from 14 to 24 October 2022 in Ulcinj, Montenegro and the 5th Peacebuilding Training for students from Bosnia and Herzegovina, held from 23 to 28 July 2023 on Mount Vlašić.

In order to present the work of the Centre for Nonviolent Action in peace education to potential

training participants, we made a podcast about our basic training programmes, which is available only on BHSC language.

We also asked some of the participants in our peace education programmes to write about their experiences and how our trainings impacted them, and their impressions, available only on BHSC language, were published on our website.

Days when Years Happen

Some statistics to start

The 44th Basic Training in Peacebuilding organised by the Centre for Nonviolent Action Sarajevo/Belgrade was held in Ulcinj, Montenegro from 14 to 24 October.

We had received a total of 104 applications, the majority from Bosnia and Herzegovina (46), followed by Serbia (16), 12 each from Macedonia, Croatia and Montenegro, and 6 from Kosovo. The number of women applying was higher (58) compared to the number of men (46), which influenced the selection of participants, because apart from regional and age diversity, we also aim for equal gender representation. Once again, we had a few last-minute cancellations, but this gave the people willing to stay on the waiting

list to the last day a chance to participate. We are very grateful to those who were invited at the last minute and confirmed their participation at short notice. Ultimately, our group was made up of 20 participants, 12 women and 8 men, and they were from Bosnia and Herzegovina (8), Croatia (4), Serbia (3), Macedonia (2), Montenegro (2) and Kosovo (1). They ranged in age from 23 to 60 (average age: 34).

The training team consisted of Ivana Franović, Tamara Zrnović and Amer Delić from the Centre for Nonviolent Action Sarajevo/Belgrade and our long-time friend and associate Luan Imeri from the Centre for Human Rights and Conflict Resolution in Skopje.



We connected quickly

We were in a group with a wide range of ages, a motley of professions and various levels of life experience. This did not, however, prevent us from connecting quickly and building mutual trust. The need for others to be heard created a feeling of safety and from the first day and the first workshop, there was a high degree of openness and a strong wish to get to know contexts, overcome obstacles, exchange and cooperate. Taking into account the needs of the group and the feedback that we had gone too deep into evoking traumatic experiences with one exercise, we did our best to adapt the rest of the training. All of this contributed to a good atmosphere and an opening of perspectives for dealing with the most demanding topics, making it possible to achieve considerable progress over the course of the training. The key workshops dealt with the topics of: violence, prejudice and discrimination, identity, gender roles in society, dealing with the past and peacebuilding.

Categorised

The prejudices based on ethnicity that we hear about each other do not have a single point of reference, they differ depending on the setting. By bringing awareness to the existing nationalist patterns that maintain the matrix of intolerance and fear, we want to encourage dialogue to air out both the grievances we have in respect of each other and the feelings of hurt inherent to the feeling of collective guilt we are often exposed to even though we have no individual guilt. While conscious that we often do not see ourselves in the roles that have been assigned to us, these things are present in our societies and by recognising them, we open up the possibility to act and fight against them.

The workshop on gender roles in society was dynamic and elicited the strongest emotions and responses. This just goes to show that there is still a pressing need in this region to sensitise people for different types of human rights and equality in society, but also in the family. Everyone made an effort to at least try to communicate their completely different

experiences of injustice and discrimination. The attitude towards the Other and those who are different is key for peace building, and it is to a large extent reflected in the position of women in society, as well as the role assigned by the patriarchy to men. In recent years, we have seen a return to traditional, patriarchal patterns in our societies. Ultimately, even though there was heated discussion and some difficult moments, the workshop did lead to greater understanding and bonding within the group.

Balkan weight of the past

Our work on dealing with the past, and then on peacebuilding, was very constructive and productive. The armed conflicts from our recent past are a shared legacy, but as can be expected, we have different views of that period. The training aims to initiate a conversation about the relations between Western Balkan countries, because we are still living in a period that is more post-war than peace. And it is evident that we know little about each other, despite sharing a common past, including the misfortune of having experienced war after the break-up of Yugoslavia. Even when we receive information from our neighbouring countries in the region, it is at the level of daily news or media reports that are most often one-sided and politicised. This makes it difficult to feel the needs and problems of others, and on that basis to find points of connection that could serve as springboards for cooperation. It is, therefore, especially important and valuable to meet real people from other countries, as someone you can contact to check information, ask them what they see and identify as problematic in their countries and what bothers them when it comes to the relations and attitudes of our countries or societies to each other.

This exchange also gave us an opportunity to present CNA's work on peacebuilding and the challenges we face, which in turn allowed the participants to present ideas they considered important and would like to see put into practice as a way to contribute to building lasting and stable peace and taking a step towards reconciliation.

Concluding remarks

From this perspective, now that the many impressions have settled, the conclusion is that over ten short days, we went through a lot together. Like a fast train, we sped through barriers that were at least ostensibly obstacles, be they national borders, ethnic or gender identities – it was more difficult with the generational gaps and those most hardened barriers installed in our heads. We worked at full capacity, spent ourselves mentally on difficult topics, but we also had time for rest and informal socialising.

We lacked time and space for delving deeper into the situation in Ukraine, issues of homophobia, prejudice against refugees... There are many more topics that could be included in the training.

Humour was a tool that bolstered us and helped us persevere, we used laughter to suppress sighs and tears and managed to bond as a team of old friends with an important task, nonetheless.

It was challenging to do this training after a two-year hiatus on account of the COVID-19 pandemic. We had decided on pausing activities after having realised that the digital transformation had some serious limitations in our case, because these exchanges only make sense in person and it is virtually impossible to do this kind of training online. The pandemic has also resulted in many broken connections, both personal, due to isolation and social neglect of the most vulnerable, and literal, such as public transport. We know that it had been complicated to get to Ulcinj from some areas even before, but at least it was doable. Today, numerous bus lines are no longer in operation or only run rarely. However, we managed to overcome that challenge successfully in the end.

We would like to thank all the participants for their dedicated work and the motivation they gave us. We are also grateful to the staff at the Palata Venezia hotel who were extremely kind and always there to help. On our last night, they even organised a party for us and treated us to drinks. When asked why they decided to do so, they said, "We could tell you needed it."

It doesn't get better than that.



publications, promotions

Biber 05 Collection published

The fifth Biber Contest ran from 10 December 2021 to 1 June 2022. A total of 473 stories were entered anonymously. Twenty stories selected for the collection were chosen by the jury made up of: **Lejla Kalamujić**, **Kalina Maleska** and **Olja Savičević Ivančević**.

Four stories received prizes:

First prize: "Doba linjanja" [The Age of Shedding] by **Ana Kutleša** from Zagreb;

Second prize: "Fertik" by **Lidija Deduš** from Varaždin;

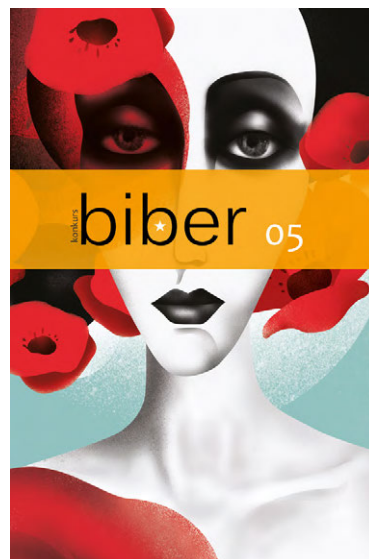
Third prize: "Zemlja sreće" [Land of Happiness] by **Ante Storić** from Šibenik and "Reči" [Words] by **Miloš Perišić** from Arandjelovac.

The translators of the stories are **Borislav Pavlovski**, **Kreshnik Ajdini**, **Irena Šentevska**, **Đoko Zdraveski**, **Đorđe Božović**, **Ivan Šopov** and **Qerim Ondozi**.

The cover illustration is by **Zoran Cardula**.

In addition to the award-winning ones, the collection includes 21 more stories by the following authors: Dušan Radaković from Zrenjanin, Ena Katarina

Haler from Zagreb, Lana Bunjevac from Zagreb, Senad Jusić from Bugojno, Albina Idrizi from Gnjilane, Vesna



Todorovska from Kumanovo, Tena Lončarević from Županja, Dražana Marković Krezić from Mostar, Srđan Miljević from Belgrade, Anica Marcelić from Zaprešić, Ana Jugo from Vienna, Naida Mujkić from Doboj, Sanja Mučkajeva Vidanovska from Bitolj, Goran Janković from Ljubljana, Aida Šečić Nezirević from Sarajevo, Andrea Hribar Livada from Zagreb, Slađana Nina Perković from

Banja Luka, Dubravka Tintor from Viškovo, Amina Kaja from Pristina, Vasilije Perović from Belgrade and Ernad Osmić from Brčko.

The **Biber 05 Collection** is available in Albanian, BHSC and Macedonian language for free at biber.nenasilje.org.



Biber Promotions

During this year, Biber was presented in four cities from the region: Zagreb, Petrinja, Bitolj and Travnik.

The promotions were attended by: Olja Savičević Ivančević from Zagreb, Ana Kutleša from Zagreb, Miloš Perišić from Arandjelovac, Ernad Osmić from Brčko, Ivana Franović from Belgrade, Monika Herceg from Zagreb, Lejla Kalamujić from Sarajevo, Ante Storić from Šibenik, Srđan Miljević from Belgrade.

The Biber presentations were organized by CNA in cooperation with the “Ivo Andrić Birthplace Memorial Museum” and the “Bosnian Cultural Circle” from Travnik, the “Croatian Society of Writers” from Zagreb, the “IKS Association” from Petrinj and the “Peace Action” from Prilep/Tetovo.



The 6th Biber Short Story Contest

In December 2023, we will announce the 6th Biber Contest. The entry criteria and topic will be the same as in the past several contests: we will invite authors to write short, engaged stories in Albanian, Macedonian, Bosnian, Croatian, Serbian or Montenegrin languages.

The theme of the contest is reconciliation in the context of the aftermath of the wars and violence in the countries of the former Yugoslavia, but also eligible

are stories that can contribute to better understanding among people, reducing hatred and dismantling prejudices, anti-war stories, stories about dealing with the past, deconstructing images of the enemy, about empathy, brave stories that dare to 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.

Documentation: The Present of Our Past

“The Present of Our Past” was a study trip we organised in the autumn of 2022 and it included visits to marked and unmarked sites of suffering in the wider Jasenovac and Novska area in Croatia, as well as Donja Gradina, Kozara, Prijedor and Sanski Most in Bosnia

and Herzegovina. This wider area at the foot of Mount Kozara was marked by mass suffering of the population in the Second World War, but also in the more recent 1991-1995 war. The study trip was envisaged as an opportunity to gain insight into memorial practices

and memory policies in the region, how they were established and how they are being maintained or adapted.

Extensive documentation about the study trip (available in PDF format in BCSM language) is divided into two parts. Part One contains information about and impressions from these sites; and Part Two details the workshops, exercises and conversations we had about the context, Yugoslav and post-Yugoslav culture

of memory, their similarities and differences, as well as our dilemmas and thoughts. It is only available in BCSM language and can be downloaded on our website

The participants of the study trip were students and young researchers working in the fields of history, psychology, and art history, as well as human rights and peace activists and reporters from Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, Croatia, Macedonia and Serbia.

Peacebuilding in South Asia and the Western Balkans – Insights from an Unusual Encounter

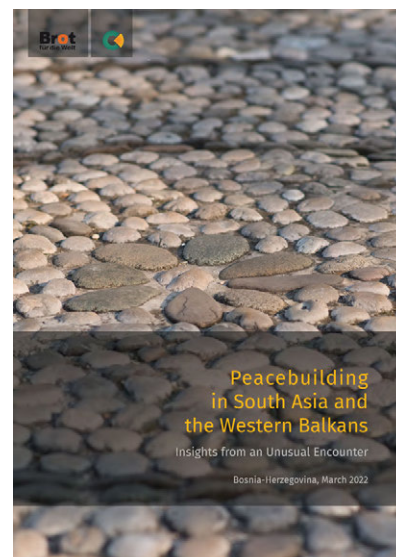
The encounter within the project “South Asia – Western Balkan Peacebuilding Exchange” took place in Bosnia and Herzegovina from 26 March to 2 April 2022. The exchange included two parts: optional study trip in Mostar and the workshop held in Sarajevo.

The participants of this exchange programme came from India (Institute for Social Democracy), Manipur/India (UNMM and the Centre for Women and Girls), Bangladesh (Maleya Foundation), Germany (Bread for the World), North Macedonia (Peace Action and the Centre for Human Rights and Conflict Resolution), Croatia (Serb National Council), Serbia (Helsinki Committee for Human Rights in Serbia and part of CNA) and Bosnia-Herzegovina (CNA). The event was planned, organised and facilitated by CNA team. Its staff is from various Balkan countries.

We have been reporting about this encounter, and now we are presenting a special report „Peacebuilding in South Asia and the Western Balkans – Insights from an Unusual Encounter“ edited by Martina Fischer with strong support of Edda Kirleis and CNA team. This report is compiled mainly for international readers who did not participate in the exchange but may be interested in learning more about the advantages, opportunities and methods of a multi-regional peacebuilding encounter.

In the Introduction, Martina Fischer stated: „People who engage for peacebuilding and human rights around the globe face a number of shared

challenges: many of them are working in very complex social and political settings in which peacebuilding rarely proceeds in linear processes but in loops, with deviations and setbacks. As a result, they sometimes feel that they are moving two steps forward and then three steps back. Peacebuilders often see themselves confronted with a Sisyphean challenge and therefore need an extremely high level of self-motivation and resilience to resist frustration. In many places, activists have to cope with harsh opposition or even repression and are constantly weighing up the risks to their own and their families’ lives. Most of them are familiar with



the feeling of being overloaded and worry that they are running out of time. So why should peace activists from India, Bangladesh, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Serbia, North Macedonia and Croatia, who come from very

different cultural, socio-political and geographical settings, travel around and come together somewhere in the middle of Bosnia-Herzegovina?...“

The report is available at nenasilje.org.



exchange, cooperation, networking



Study Trip “The Present of Our Past”

The Present of Our Past was a study trip we organised in the autumn of 2022 and it included visits to marked and unmarked sites of suffering in the wider Jasenovac and Novska area in Croatia, as well as Donja Gradina, Kozara, Prijedor and Sanski Most in Bosnia and Herzegovina. This wider area at the foot of Mount Kozara was marked by mass suffering of the population in the Second World War, but also in the more recent 1991-1995 war. The study trip was envisaged as an opportunity to gain insight into memorial practices and memory policies in the region, how they were established and how they are being maintained or adapted.

We have previously published a report, and now we are making available extensive documentation about the study trip (available in PDF format in

BCSM language). The documentation is divided into two parts. Part One contains information about and impressions from these sites; and Part Two details the workshops, exercises and conversations we had about the context, Yugoslav and post-Yugoslav culture of memory, their similarities and differences, as well as our dilemmas and thoughts.

The participants of the study trip were students and young researchers working in the fields of history, psychology, and art history, as well as human rights and peace activists and reporters from Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, Croatia, Macedonia and Serbia.

The documentation is only available in BCSM language and can be downloaded from our website.



Training in Wustrow, Germany

CNA was asked by our sister organisation, **Kurve Wustrow**, to resume conducting trainings in Dealing with the Past, within the frame of the “Peacebuilding Practitioners” training that contains many modules.

The training was held 13-17th February 2023 in Wustrow for a mixed group of local and international peace workers, coming7going to to/from countries: Germany, Kamerun, Ivory Coast, Nepal, Sri Lanka, Palestina and Sudan.

Our team consisted of Davorka Turk, Nedžad Novalić, Nenad Vukosavljević and Ana Bitoljanu, with

backgrounds from four different ex-Yugoslav countries.

The team was please how the group embraced our working methods and issues that we raised, as they have largely found a thread to connect to their own contexts. It was a pleasure to work with them and spend a week in Kurve Wustrow new seminar house that provided excellent conditions for focussed work.

We intend to conduct trainings there in the coming two years as well.

Conference: “Revisiting the transformative potential of transitional justice”

Centre for Nonviolent Action is one of the partners of the **Global Learning Hub for Transitional Justice and Reconciliation** which hosted the conference in a joint effort coordinated by the Berghof Foundation.

Davorka Turk and Nenad Vukosavljević with Maria Wilke of EVZ Foundation and Natscha Zupan of Berghof Foundation, co-hosted one of the four conference workshops: Against all odds: Transforming the role of “unpopular” victims.

It was a kick-off event of the Hub that begins to grow and take shape. The good will and determination among the partners to examine and use the possibilities of cooperation and synergy will already be concreted in the fall of 2023 through the Study Trip in Bosnia and Herzegovina, for HUB members.

When Terms Encounter People: How We Got Caught in a Net

Bosnia and Herzegovina, 23-28 September 2023

The point at which people start naming things and explaining them with terms, when they start redefining terms and giving them entirely new meanings in different interpretations of the world, ranging from the philosophical to the spiritual, this is, in fact, when they magically make the leap into civilisation. In Christianity, this moment is marked by the word (“In the beginning was the Word”), in Islam, what distinguishes the first man from the angels is his ability to name things, *logos* is one of the key terms used by Greek philosophers... We begin learning terms from a very young age, everything around us is harnessed to teach us myriad terms and their meanings. Later in life, our choice of profession often boils down to choosing the field in which we will learn more terms and how to use them better than others...

Although each generation adds new terms to this universal glossary and redefines or outright rejects old ones, it is plain that we actually adopt and later use most terms as given. Only children will dare ask a supremely logical question such as: Why is it Monday today? Why can't it be Saturday?

The **Global Learning Hub for Transitional Justice and Reconciliation** was founded at the end of last year with the idea of exchanging experience and learning

together. Its network comprises governmental and non-governmental organisations from Germany (Federal Foundation for the Study of the Communist Dictatorship in Eastern Germany; Foundation Remembrance, Responsibility and Future EVZ Foundation; Working Group on Peace and Development FriEnt, Berghof Foundation), international/regional organisations (Impunity Watch; Asia Justice and Rights, Centre for Nonviolent Action Sarajevo-Belgrade), as well as organisations from various countries (Dejusticia from Colombia, Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation from South Africa).

When we decided to organise a study trip for organisations of this global network that had come together in another term that is impossible to translate into our language without sounding silly, we wanted to go the other way: Instead of us encountering terms, we wanted to see what would happen if terms were to encounter some people and some places. Since both transitional justice and reconciliation are terms made up of other terms, assembled together like Lego blocks, we wanted to take *justice, reconciliation, truth, victims, perpetrators, pain, reparations, shame, memory, compassion, righteousness* and many other terms and go to people and places to see what would



happen. How does *memory* function in postwar Bosnian-Herzegovinian society, what does justice mean, how are genocide victims and other victims commemorated, is there a hierarchy of victims and what does it imply, should military casualties be remembered in the context of transitional justice and peacebuilding, and how, what do survivors and families of victims identify as their needs and what does the term *reparation* mean to them, can anyone stand before us and guarantee with certainty *never again*...

Some places and some (special) people

On the first day, we visited the Srebrenica Memorial Centre in Potočari where we took in the permanent exhibition dedicated to the genocide victims, titled "In the footsteps of those who did (not) cross", and the cemetery, and on our way back we briefly stopped at the memorial for Serb victims in Kravice near Bratunac and the military memorial cemetery *Mali zejtinlik* (recently renamed *Novi zejtinlik*) in Sokolac. On the second day, we visited the Vraca Memorial Park, the impressive (and *impressively* neglected) complex

dedicated to military and civilian victims from the Second World War, and then we went to the Sveti Sava Primary School in East Sarajevo where we visited the monument erected in the school yard to commemorate the killed children of *Serb Sarajevo*. In the afternoon of the second day, we visited Ahmići near Vitez and the memorial commemorating 116 Bosniak civilians who were killed there on 16 April 1993, as well as the "Osmica" memorial in memory of eight Croat children killed in June 1993. On the third day, we visited urban areas in Sarajevo and key sites of memory such as the Suada and Olga Bridge, the Sarajevo Roses, the Memorial to Children Killed in the Siege of Sarajevo, Ferhadija, Markale, etc.

More than the places themselves, it was important for us to meet with people and talk with them. Our guide at the Memorial Centre was Azir Osmanović, a historian, curator, and surviving witness of the genocide, and we spent two hours in conversation with him. What sort of support do victims need, what are his family's experiences with the absence of such support, who is the Memorial Centre for, who are the usual visitors, what kinds of questions do they ask,



these were just some of the many topics we managed to at least broach during those two hours. Our curator and guide at *Novi zejtnik* was the historian Tomislav Tamburić, while in East Sarajevo, we were greeted by Željka Topalić, the headmistress of the school behind the initiative for the monument to children killed in *Serb Sarajevo*, who briefly explained the context and why the monument was erected. For two days, we were also in the company of our longstanding friend and associate Adnan Hasanbegović. A war veteran and long-time activist, our Ado is an inexhaustible source of *stories*, a walking (historical) narrative, someone who gives every term either a new perspective or incorporates it into a witty remark or joke...

In Vitez, we were joined by Dragica Tomić from Trusina near Konjic. We wanted to find some way to *tell* the story of Ahmići and Trusina, so after our visit to Ahmići, and because we were unable to also visit Herzegovina, it seemed the best thing to do would be to talk to someone from Trusina. We would have never presumed to ask this of Dragica, but because of the kind of person she is, she insisted on coming with us to visit Ahmići and lay a rose in memory of the

victims killed there on the same day as her loved ones were killed in Trusina. After we visited both Trusina and Ahmići with a mixed group of war veterans in the course of two years, I kept having this vision of an encounter between Ahmići and Trusina. They did not meet half-way, instead Trusina came to Ahmići, and we saw in the flesh the meaning of *forgiveness, courage, shared memory, shame, pride, patience...* There are people who are bigger than any place, city, country... Dragica is one such person. We are also grateful to Mahir ef. Husić, the imam from Ahmići whose door (and heart) is always open to us and who himself had made the journey to Trusina once. In Vitez, we also met the Garić family whose two children were killed at *Osmica*, barely ten meters from their doorstep, while their son Ivan, who takes care of the memorial today, was gravely wounded. When I think back to that brief conversation we had with a mother who lost two children, I see *happiness* and *contentment* (is there room for happiness in transitional justice and reconciliation?) on her face because the whole world had come to visit *Osmica*. We also talked about what it meant for the family that no one has been prosecuted

for this crime. It would be important for them, of course, but as a mother, she is happy to see people come and visit, it means a lot to her. The name is a sign, says the Latin proverb. Her name, Mira, means peace.

We devoted one whole afternoon to talking with war veterans and long-time peace activists, our friends Amer Delić, Đoko Pupčević and Krešo Primorac. Why did they meet with former *enemies*, how do they handle the *pressures* and accusations of *betrayal* and *betraying the unity of their people* because they went to pay their respects to former enemies, how do they cope with the feeling of being *responsible* for the war, how do they view *celebrations of wartime victories*, are there any *victors* in war, do they view themselves, because some of them have been left with disabilities by the war, as *perpetrators* or *victims*, what is it like to visit places where *their side* committed the crimes, what makes them go anyway and take up that burden... We often discuss all these issues with war veterans, these are the questions that we always open and that are significant for us, but this time the conversation was particularly emotional and rich in detail. We are

also grateful to Đoko's wife Milka who joined us and provided a new dimension to the conversation.

A community in agreement

After the three days of the study trip, we continued our discussions of many terms over the next two days through various workshops. We wanted to completely unpack the *Lego structure* of terms and examine the blocks individually and how they are assembled in the Balkans, in Indonesia, South Africa or Colombia, we wanted to see if after all these experiences, we could imagine putting them together differently, making them fit together better? When kids play with Lego blocks, some like to start from scratch. Others fear taking apart something that has already been put together. No matter how ill-fitting.

Since the Global Learning Hub for Transitional Justice and Reconciliation aims to network and build partnerships, it was important for us to open up space for conversations not just about how we understand the same terms, but also about what our organisations are currently doing and how we would like to work together. There is a joke about there always being



regrets in a partnership (originally: marriage): In the case of bad partnerships, there is regret over having entered into them at all, and in the case of good partnerships, there is regret over not having done so sooner. Since we see partnerships as communities in agreement, it was fundamentally important for us to open up spaces for that *agreement* and *community* building, which is the shared responsibility of everyone

involved in the process. However our little *community* continues to develop in the future, we are endlessly grateful that we have been caught in this *net* and been able to host people from South Africa, Lebanon, Colombia, Indonesia and Germany. Questions, comments, friendship, disagreements and different views, and sometimes just a shared silence, all of it enriched us immensely. Thank you, dear friends.



political and social contexts
in which we live

Bosnia and Herzegovina: There will be no more war. Long live war.

While around the world, after New Year's, citizens slowly return to normal everyday life, their stomachs full and their wallets empty, with some post-holiday blues here and there, the inhabitants of Bosnia and Herzegovina, their wallets permanently empty, are traditionally awaiting another wave of inflation, mass price hikes of basic foodstuffs and declining living standards, as well as celebrations for 9 January. This date in many ways determines the course of political events in the weeks to come. Because, a strong Republika Srpska is a call to awaken national awareness in the other two most numerous groups in BiH, which gives mainstream media a reason to present the situation as if war will break out tomorrow. Even though, there will be no war.

Every 9 January

Celebrating Republika Srpska Day, as we know it today, started in 2014, the year that also saw the first Russian invasion of Ukraine and the Vidovdan gathering of Serb political, ecclesiastical and intellectual elites in Višegrad, united around the idea of the Memorandum. This time, political officials went a step further, situating the central celebration of 9 January not in Banjaluka, as before, but in Istočno Sarajevo. A poke in the eye for citizens of Sarajevo who spent 1425 under siege precisely because of the ideas originated on that particular 9 January 1992. The Serb tricolour flag totalling 527 meters in length was unfurled in the streets. Surrounding the day itself, the president of Republika Srpska Milorad Dodik awarded medals to various persons from the political, religious, cultural and sporting life of Srpska and Serbia. Among the most prominent recipients were Vladimir Vladimirovich Putin and Patriarch Porfirije. Though there is awareness about the danger of such gestures on both sides of the entity line, the condemnation was lukewarm, and there were no sanctions to suggest that Bosnia and Herzegovina is a unique, secular state aiming to do away with divisive policies and stalemates.

Elections come and go

After the last General Elections held in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 2022, governments were meant to be constituted at the start of this year. Although the situation remained unchanged in Republika Srpska, with SNSD convincingly staying put in all its positions and once again with suspicions of stolen elections, but no sanctions, in the Federation of BiH, the mathematics of forming the government turned against SDA. A coalition was formed in the Sarajevo Canton, and the parties of the "Eight", gathered around SDP, started systematically eliminating SDA and its satellite DF from power at higher levels of government. However, the "Eight" fell apart at the cantonal level before taking on the heavy burden that was before them. They were down to "Three", SDP, NS and NiP. There are divisive tensions among the "Three" as well, mainly because of NiP, which is a fundamentally right-wing party and often obstructs many processes, oppresses human rights and supports corruptive activities.

At the Federal level, the "Eight" remained with HDZ, continuing with the practice of bad staffing, giving primacy to party connections, appointing ministers accused of domestic violence and various other criminal activities, trading positions within the coalition, making concessions, and maintaining a high level of populism and constantly shifting blame and responsibility. Taking over a large number of institutions at the Federation and state level was too hasty, the existing crimes had not been sufficiently sanctioned, capital projects were halted, and all this elicited anger among voters, verging on hysteria among those most "patriotically inclined".

Suppressing human rights for a more just BiH

At the end of last year, Bosnia and Herzegovina was given candidate status by the European Union. Among its many commitments, such as more transparent and efficient policies, social and economic justice, etc., this new status requires a new level of respect for human rights and freedom of the press. However,

there has been evident backsliding on these issues. In early March, the president of Republika Srpska announced that defamation would be criminalised, which was implemented in August through changes to the RS Criminal Code, making defamation a criminal offence after it had been decriminalised for 22 years, despite protests from international organisations, civil society and the media. This was preceded by labelling reporters as foreign agents and accusing them of acting against the system and Republika Srpska, which resulted in several attacks on reporters in Banja Luka. LGBTIQ+ activists were also attacked in Banja Luka after the police banned their event and they retreated to a secure location from which they were delivered by police forces into the hands of hooligans. A contributing factor were pro-regime media spins focusing on Milorad Dodik and Draško Stanivuković, who were advocating for the patriarchy and traditional family values, implying potential laws to ban LGBTIQ+ persons from educational institutions, as well as a law that would control funding of non-governmental organisations and independent media by foreign organisations, despite the fact that the government also receives such funding.

In addition to this, citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina are being deprived of their basic human rights to water, air and land, both last year and this year. River beds are increasingly being dug up for gravel by private companies with government connections, and geological surveys have continued in an effort to discover lithium, silver, gold and other lucrative metals for exploitation and export.

Who needs Schmidt

Christian Schmidt took office as High Representative in BiH in 2021 and his mandate has been plagued by debates in BiH and the countries of the region about the legality and legitimacy of his appointment, with some calling him “illegitimate” and “false” or “illegally appointed” because he was not approved by the UN Security Council. This debate heated up before and after the elections held in October last year, after Schmidt imposed changes to the Election Law, which the SDA sees as the main reason for its loss of power at the Federal level. Since then, Schmidt has been maligned by Serbs and Bosniaks alike. In April,

dissatisfied citizens, led by the SDA and its satellites, protested in front of the OHR building, warning that Christian Schmidt’s intentions were discriminatory, anti-democratic and harmful to the state of Bosnia and Herzegovina. This was preceded by arrests of several SDA and coalition officials who had held high political offices in the past. Milorad Dodik went a step further and wants to ban the High Representative from entering the territory of RS, which goes against the Constitution, and in July, he filed a criminal report against Schmidt for allegedly illegally acting as the High Representative. He had also reported the director of the BiH Official Gazette, Dragan Prusina, who had enabled the publication of the High Representative’s decisions.

Commemorations for new majorisations

Since the end of the war until today, the government in BiH has always treated commemorative practices in bad faith and with populist overtones, aiming to deepen tensions and divisions among peoples and former warring parties. Almost every news programme with national coverage begins with a commemoration in some place, sending the message that, if it comes to that again, next time we will be stronger and better prepared to avenge these victims. Only marginalised individuals commemorate victims in a dignified manner, sending messages of remembering, forgiveness and reconciliation. This year, the authorities went a step further when it comes to commemorations. An example of this is the regular commemoration in Donja Gradina where each year there are manipulations with the number of victims and efforts to create the impression that only Serbs were killed in Jasenovac, no Jews, Roma, antifascists or others. There were several other events that elicit shame and unease.

The commemoration to the killed children of Sarajevo on 5 May, the Day of Remembrance dedicated to children killed in besieged Sarajevo 1992-1995, was an awkward performance where no single name of a child victim was read. Demeaning cardboard cut-outs of child figures were also used in Sarajevo to commemorate the children killed in Prijedor. The installation lasted until the first rain, and was put up by the contentious AntiDayton Movement, which had only

recently been decorated with the “Medal of the City of Sarajevo”. The organisation also had its initiative to raise a large white canvas over the Vijećnica in memory of the victims from Prijedor approved, but after a public outcry, this plan was scrapped. Unfortunately, this will be impossible next year, because after a projection of the rainbow on the Vijećnica on the day of the Pride Parade was not approved, the Sarajevo City Council voted to ban all projections, save those of special significance. Projections are acceptable on dates of significance for the city of Sarajevo and to commemorate victims from Prijedor and Srebrenica – thus establishing and legally codifying the hierarchy of victims within one people.

In the context of commemorative practices, this means that some victims are worth more because they are from Sarajevo, because they sacrificed their lives for Sarajevo and their names will be projected on the Vijećnica, as opposed to the names of victims from Prijedor, Zvornik, Foča, etc.

Another in a host of malicious commemorations with a political revisionist agenda aimed at eliciting the basest of emotions, absent any well-meaning idea about remembering suffering, was that for the victims of Operation Storm in Prijedor. A town where 3176 non-Serbs were killed and where the largest mass grave from the past war was discovered. While the political elites from across the Sava came to Prijedor to make a spectacle about the suffering and pain of the Serb people in Croatia, with no mention of the context and political decisions surrounding these events, or of the shameful treatment those fleeing Operation Storm received in Serbia where they sought refuge, in Croatia, in Otočac and the nearby village of Doljani, the local authorities and the Serb National Council of Croatia came together to commemorate the fallen Croat defenders and Serb civilians killed during and after Operation Storm, thereby sending a message about the importance of mutual respect for victims, whatever their nationality.

Women are our property. Long live women

Bosnian-Herzegovinian society is deeply patriarchal and traditional, with open war wounds and an enormous stock of legal and illegal firearms. All this makes for ideal conditions for violence, especially if

you add poverty and other failing social parameters to the mix. Contemporary BiH society still considers domestic violence a private matter and prefers to look the other way. There have been at least ten victims of femicide in Bosnia and Herzegovina since the beginning of the year. There are no official statistics, and the crime is not qualified as such, but a survey of media headlines would suggest this number. The case from Gradačac, where the killer streamed the femicide of his wife on social media, further opened the question of how malignant BiH society is, who are the people who watched the stream and supported it with their reactions. Punishments for violence and murder are still not strict enough, but there is consensus in society that violence is unacceptable. Even if femicide were to be introduced into the criminal code, it is quite possible it wouldn't be treated as such by an under-trained and sluggish justice system.

Protests at on the entity line

Because of the unconstitutional decision not to publish the decisions of the High Representative in BiH Christian Schmidt, the Prosecutor's Office of BiH filed charges against the president of RS and the director of the RS Official Gazette, which led to protests across Republika Srpska, along the entity line, because protests are prohibited in front of the Court of BiH. Just like every other year, Milorad Dodik has come up with another performance to count potential votes and sympathisers. If it's not a referendum on secession, then it's protests on the entity line, because they couldn't have them in Sarajevo. Official Sarajevo made a colossal mistake and contributed to deepening a new inter-entity rift that evidently suits both sides, because if Dodik's followers had been allowed to gather in front of the Court of BiH, they would have thus given legitimacy to that institution and the whole of BiH that they refuse to recognise. As things are, we have further separation and strengthening of the national being, which evidently suits everyone just fine.

Kovačević is also against BiH

Slaven Kovačević, advisor to the Croat Member of the Presidency of BiH Željko Komšić, that Croats claim was elected mostly by Bosniak votes, has sued Bosnia and Herzegovina before the European Court of Human



Rights in Strasbourg, and the judgement concluded that members must be elected to the Presidency of BiH from the entire country, not from entities, that there should be a single electoral unit for the Presidency of BiH and for the House of Peoples of the BiH parliament – a single electoral unit, no entities. The chances of this judgement being implemented are minimal; half of the citizens of BiH, mainly non-Bosniaks, fear that by abolishing all ethnic and/or entity mechanisms would place them in the position of a minority, and being a minority, in our historical experience, means being discriminated. At the same time, there is no doubt that ethnic and/or entity mechanisms discriminate against those without ethnic affiliation, or with the wrong affiliation in the wrong place, meaning anyone who is not a Bosniak, Serb or Croat, or who is a Bosniak or Croat but lives in RS, or who is a Serb but lives in FBiH. Meanwhile, there is no meaningful dialogue to open processes that would take these concerns into account.

Depopulation and stagnation. There will be no war

It has been ten years since the first and last population census in BiH. Over that decade, the country has lost almost half a million of its working population to emigration. Already back then, in addition to some negligible statistical details, the census showed how many there were of each ethnic group, and the fact that 97% of the population of our country is religious. Ten years after the census, school and university enrolment quotas are not even half-filled, young people are leaving the country in droves, not just because of a lack of job opportunities, but also because of the general state of hopelessness, corruption and lack of prospects for the future. Loans are taken out to disburse retirement benefits, because there is no one left to fill the retirement fund. Every little while there is a humanitarian number you can call to contribute to someone's medical treatment, very often there is a shortage of critical medicines, cytostatic drugs, etc. The lists of essential medicines

that should be provided to citizens free of charge keep getting shorter. Social benefits are meagre, few and far between, usually disbursed just before the elections and portrayed as the political elites giving the citizens free money out of their magnanimity.

Activists are getting tired, often having to do the job of institutions and being practically the only corrective in the reality we are living, because the opposition is merging with the ruling political parties.

Even though SDA, the largest nationalist party, has been removed from power in the Federation of BiH, nationalism is still booming. Some political options that portray themselves as pro-civic are much more rigid and dangerous. There is growing clericalism in politics

and public life. In Republika Srpska, the opposition which is formally right-wing, currently has less severe policies than the ruling parties. All three nationalisms live in the past, hampering hopes for the future, each sabre-rattling as needed under the guise of providing protection from the other two, while actually lending legitimacy to the other two to do the same, and thus perpetuating nationalism and making it bloom. The post-war situation, with all its fears, impossibilities and general apathy and disenfranchisement, persists undisturbed. Still, there will be no war.

Vanja Šunjić

Croatia: Country, village, city

When on 1 July 2013, Croatia joined the European Union, few could predict what life and society would be like in ten years' time. The great expectations of the majority and the bleakest premonitions of the Eurosceptic part of the population remind us how the wheel of historical luck keeps spinning and we never actually know what's to come. Today, after ten years of European Union membership, we can view what happened to Croatia from a certain distance and conclude that in 2023, Croatia definitely breathes and looks different.

Escape from the periphery

At the start of 2023, Croatia reached the final stage of its integration crescendo. Namely, by becoming part of Schengen and removing borders with Slovenia and Hungary, Croatia joined the company of European states not separated by borders. This idea, at the very heart of the creation of the European Union, represents the pinnacle of its concept of bringing peace and one of the greatest benefits of Union membership. In the case of Croatia, it means that from Zagreb to Berlin or Warsaw, there are no more physical borders limiting travel and traffic. For Croatia, this also means that its border with Serbia, BiH and Montenegro is now the external Schengen and EU border and has become much less permeable and much more of a hard border, making

life more difficult for a large majority of people who still carry the burden of family and other ties with the countries of the former Yugoslavia. Currently, it is easier for a kilo of cocaine to enter Croatia than a kilo of Livno cheese, because, obviously, the latter is a far greater threat to the integrity of the EU. The punishments for trying to smuggle in the two contraband goods are also similar. Furthermore, an electronic system is being developed that would require all non-EU citizens to pay seven euros and register each planned crossing of the EU border. Fortress Europe, the Antemurale Christianitatis, is being defended on the Sava, at Izačić and Mount Dinara, and every intruder/non-EU citizen must pay seven euros to enter and register before dipping a toe in our Adriatic or partaking of štrukli in our Zagorje. How much more will it cost to get a work permit or seek a better future?

At the start of the year, Croatia also bid farewell to one of its fundamental symbols of statehood. The euro replaced the Croatian kuna. Croatia was incorporated into the community of European states with one euro coins featuring the portrait of Nikola Tesla. This did not go by unremarked, either on this or the other side of the external EU border, given that Tesla on the coin was a poke in the eye for others who also lay claim to him, i.e. our eastern neighbours, which was greeted with great approval in Croatia, of course. As they say,

good thing we put Tesla on a coin first, just so they can't. We'll see what will happen when the time comes for the 100 dinar bill to be transformed into 1 euro.

Although joining the Schengen zone and introducing the euro represented the final stage of Croatia's integration into the EU, and its formal drawing closer to the centre of the EU and to Western Europe, which can be seen as a fulfilment of set national goals, in many respects Croatia remains deeply connected and bound to what Westerners refer to as the Western Balkans, and despite its longing to escape that company, it still has one foot in the shallow puddle of small peripheral states.

Humane displacement

A decade of EU membership has enabled Croatia to humanely displace 10% of its population to Ireland, Germany and other more prosperous countries, and to replace it a bit less humanely with people prepared to move to Croatia where they will now be paid even less for jobs that made the natives leave, that the natives didn't want to do. Back in the 1990s, when dreams of statehood finally became reality, it would have been hard to imagine a scenario involving the organised arrival of tens of thousands of Nepalese. At that time, humane displacement was part of official and unofficial policy, and areas from which Croatian and Krajina Serbs had fled were being populated by Croats who had fled from BiH. Although workers from the Indian subcontinent are mostly imported into urban areas, especially Zagreb and its surroundings, it is becoming increasingly common in Korenica or Udbina to meet a group of construction or delivery workers who look nothing like they'd just come down the side of Mount Plješevica, but more like they just stepped out of a Bollywood movie.

In any case, "national romantics may dream, but economic integration determines", so it is currently estimated that there are some 200 thousand foreign workers living in Croatia, mostly concentrated around urban centres. The national statistics institute says 124,000 work permits were issued in 2022 alone. That number tells us that a huge population shift has taken place over the past ten years, with 10% of the domicile population leaving and the arrival of 6-8% of the total number of foreign workers, who are still mostly coming

from countries with which Croatia shares a former common state and the shallow peripheral puddle, but increasingly include workers from Nepal, India, Bangladesh, etc. who are given the most unpopular jobs (delivery, construction, and increasingly sales).

On the surface of the media, much is still made of the departure of Croats, "the young are leaving" as they say, but it is a matter of days before the lack of integration policies, understanding and political culture leads to the media being swamped with issues of dark-skinned immigrants pushing out and endangering "honest local folks".

Knowing the mechanisms behind "honest local folks", we can only watch with apprehension to see what the integration and social life of growing numbers of foreign workers will look like, as they keep arriving because money doesn't ask where you're from, only how much you can work.

Even though the border with BiH and Serbia is ever harder and more violent, and even though "Fortress Europe" is being defended on the external EU border with violent pushbacks of wretched migrants stuck in BiH, paradoxically, it was precisely because Croatia joined the EU and the intractable mechanism of its common market for people and capital that the number of those coming to Croatia from third countries in search of happiness and better opportunities has increased exponentially.

A wasted musical effort – to paraphrase a freshly broken-up Zagreb band that currently exists in two forms.

Super-election year

Political relations in Croatia have been marked by relative stability and a quiet mainstream course pursued by Brusselized HDZ under the leadership of Andrej Plenković. Apart from some minor squabbles initiated and cooked up by the reality show host playing the role of president of the Republic, not much has happened to indicate any potential major shift or change in Croatia. I guess that's what happens when the centre of power moves to bureaucratised Bruxelles – the space for making a spectacle of yourself, shouting, kicking up dust and turning the country into a reality show shrinks significantly. Of course, our dear leader has found alternative ways to heighten tensions and

attract attention, filling up the media space indirectly via our neighbours, and in particular by toying with the fate of BiH and its complex internal relations. There was also no shortage of awkward and malicious statements about women, minorities and people who are not in a position of power in society.

Once the silent hope of liberal and progressive Croatia, he has turned into its worst nightmare, which is precisely why his chances for re-election are so high.

Next year will be a super-election year in Croatia, with European, presidential and general/parliamentary elections coming up. Campaigns are already being prepared, candidate lists are being compiled and PR agencies are being paid to come up with topics that can be used to shift public focus in order to ensure election victory.

It is highly unlikely that the inflation eating up our salaries and making it impossible for us to live lives worthy of “workers, Croatians and EU citizens” will be a popular topic. We can only hope that the campaigns will not be based on the same old passions and topics that traditionally riled everyone up and won elections. Shifting decision-making from the periphery has somewhat prevented Ustashas and Partisans, as well

as more recent actors from the last war, from having outsized election mobilisation power as they did before, and this gives us hope that future elections and campaigns might be conducted around things that are of more vital importance to us. We might finally, as they say, leave the past behind.

The upcoming general/parliamentary elections will be conducted under new rules for constituencies, after the old rules were judged by the Constitutional Court to be unconstitutional since not all votes had the same value. The new changes have introduced some interesting mammoth constituencies that, though formally constitutional and ensuring at least an approximately equal value of votes, are still unusual and may indicate that not everything was done properly. The opposition says the constituencies were formed to ensure HDZ would survive and maintain power, while the government says that constitutional and legal provisions on constituencies did not leave it much room for manoeuvre.

In any case, voters dream, but the government decides, and we have an interesting year ahead of us.

Dalmir Mišković

Serbia: Serbia against violence

All of us who live in Serbia know exactly where we were and what we were doing on the morning of 3 May 2023. It was Wednesday, the first working day after the First of May holiday. The weather was a bit chilly, but sunny, typical for early May. Parents got up that morning, prepared breakfast, got their kids ready for school. Then they hurried off to work.

Over their first coffee that morning, the news started coming in.

The first breaking news was that there was a shooting at a school in the centre of Belgrade. The centre of Belgrade is big, home to several hundred thousand people and there are many schools. No one was calm, the news was slowly trickling in at first, but then the sensationalism started.

An ordinary Wednesday became a Wednesday we would never forget. Nine children and the security guard at the Vladislav Ribnikar Primary School were killed. They were shot dead by a pupil from the school. Another six were wounded. We were all in shock.

I went to my child's school to hug my child. Classes were cancelled. Children had been learning about the topography of Serbia or writing compositions about “In the future, I see myself as...”, while just a few hundred meters away, their peers from sports practice, from kindergarten, from music school were being carried out in body bags. I hugged my child, and I wanted to hug all the children of this sad city and this sad country. I didn't weep, I just wanted to hug all the children. To tell them how sorry I was for the society they live in.

To ask them for forgiveness because they live amidst violence and because I am helpless to protect them from violence.

While I was holding my child, the powers that be in this country held a press conference. The Belgrade Chief of Police showed the reporters a list a children made by the killer. The names on the list could be made out and almost all the media published the photo. Apart from the killed and wounded children, the list included names of other children, those who were lucky to survive, but had witnessed the killing and would be marked for life. Every child in this country could have been on that list. No one in their right mind would have ever made that list public.

And yet, the Chief of Police did, and the minister standing behind him did not prevent this, and there were reporters in front of them, some of whom, to be fair, did not publish the list, but most did. And we were all in front of our screens – both children and parents, the whole of Serbia, in sorrow.

Pain

Everyone has a handful of days in their personal history that they will remember forever – their wedding day, the days when their children were born, days when something extraordinarily beautiful or sad happened. Society adds a few more such days – Americans know where they were and what they were doing when Kennedy was shot, or on the morning of September 11th, 2001.

Those of us living in Serbia know where we were on 5 October 2000 when the government was toppled. We know where we were on 28 June 2001 when Slobodan Milošević was extradited to the Hague Tribunal. We know where we were on 12 March 2003 when Prime Minister Zoran Đinđić was assassinated.

And we know where we were on 3 May 2023.

We also know where we were the next day, 4 May 2023.

Late in the evening that day, a twenty-one-year-old young man killed eight young people (aged 15-25) in the villages of Malo Orašje and Dubona near Mladenovac. He wounded another 15 people. Even though the killer had been reported for violence multiple times before, he was protected by a powerful

father, an officer for military counter-intelligence, who had secret connections. The father and another man suspected of aiding and abetting this crime were apprehended days later, and they are also suspected of dealing in illegal arms trade, because arsenals of weapons were found in their homes.

We were left speechless.

Fear

All these people live here, around us, all these people who seem to have nothing better to teach their children than to shoot and collect firearms. All these people who venerate mass killers, unaware of the responsibility they have not just for their own, but for all other children and people around them. All these people who protect and justify violence, all these people who publish the names of the children who were on the killer's list, all these people who defend the president of Serbia and his party instead of their own children, all these people who turn out for a rally in support of the president of Serbia while children lay white flowers on the graves of their schoolmates, all these people who run over children on pedestrian crossings and don't answer for it, all these people in the corrupt justice system who do not convict murderers, all these people who protect the director of "Namenska" in Lučani and not the Milovanović family's efforts for someone to be held responsible for the death of their child in that factory, all those more than 22 thousand people employed by state-owned companies who become bots for the president and his party, all the people who glorify war criminals, the ones drawing Ratko Mladić's face on the facades of Belgrade... They live around us, they say hello when we pass in the stairwell, they pet our dogs in the park, they swear by family values while shouting "Kill the fags!" or "Knife, wire, Srebrenica!" or "Next year in Prizren" or "When the army returns to Kosovo".

They live around us and if we don't stand up to them, they will come for us with violence.

They're already on their way.

Awakening

So, we got on our way, to the protests "Serbia against violence". From 8 May until now, we were in

Belgrade 19 times,¹ but also in other cities in Serbia, sometimes more than a hundred thousand of us in the streets.

The main demands are: 1) resignation of Branko Ružić (education minister, resigned in a personal letter on 7 May), Bratislav Gašić (police minister) and Aleksandar Vulin (head of the Security Intelligence Agency); 2) Resignations of the members of the regulatory body for electronic media and Serbian public broadcasters; 3) rescind the national broadcasting licences of RTV Pink and Hepi TV.

The protests are of the citizens, though they are technically organised by some of the opposition parties.

Why are we on the streets? Because of the violence.

And because we can't come up with a better solution at the moment.

We are in the grips of helplessness, and I sincerely hope that there is a possibility for change somewhere, it's just that right now, from this position, from the vortex of violence we're caught in, I can't make it out.

Everything else that could be said about Serbia and life inside it is also defined by violence: the attitude towards Kosovo and the people who live there, with Serbs particularly at risk from various political mafia interests on both the Serb and the Albanian side, and the fact that the presidents of Serbia and Republika Srpska marked the anniversary of Operation Storm in Prijedor, with nothing to say about the suffering of local non-Serbs, and the fact that negligence following the severe weather in Bačka Palanka caused the death of

a grandfather and grandson, even though citizens had reported the severed electricity lines 27 times, and the man who spoke about this at the protests was fired from his job, and the fact that because of private political opinions posted on Twitter, a scientist got fired, and the fact that children of parents with different political views are being thrown out of nursery school, and the fact that the lives of police officers doing their job and not being corrupt are put at risk, and the fact that it is at all possible for a convicted war criminal to speak via video link from his prison cell to pupils at a primary school, and that in only the first six months of this year, 20 women were killed... and the fact that inflation has reduced the majority of citizens to poverty, and that over the past 40 days Aleksandar Vučić has addressed us 30 times on national TV, saying "he" would be the one to build stadiums and fairgrounds, meanwhile you have to wait years for medical interventions (if you need hip or knee surgery and you apply today, you will be scheduled for the procedure in 2033), and the fact that those of us protesting against violence are being called hyenas and scavengers by the government...

This is the violence we live and breathe each day.

Serbia against violence is not a statement – it's a cry for help.

I can only hope it is also a political promise for the future.

Katarina Milićević

1 This text was written on 11 September 2023. The protests continue.

North Macedonia: On the Bulgarians, yet again

The weather forecast for this year is a hot summer. The outside temperature adds heat to the already heated discussion for and against constitutional changes. Currently, one of the conditions for Macedonia joining the European Union has to do with constitutional amendments, i.e., whether Bulgarians will be added to the Constitution. We are regularly exposed to numerous arguments, discussions, analyses and logical conclusions for and against introducing Bulgarians into the Constitution. The situation has become polarised and, unfortunately, suggestions contributed by experts do not shed light on what would be gained or lost by introducing Macedonian Bulgarians into the Constitution, or what the consequences may be. Everyone is presenting different arguments to defend their position, some very good and legitimate, on both sides.

Many professors have even taken the trouble to prove logically and scientifically that Bulgarians must not be added to the Constitution. However, consciously or not, we forget that this is ultimately a political decision. Often, something that is logical in science proves illogical in politics.

From the discussions so far, it is not sufficiently clear who wants to keep Macedonian Bulgarians out of the Constitution – whether it is the political leadership of Bulgaria or, according to surveys, the majority of ethnic Macedonians. The former, perhaps, because it would be the only way to justify their unreasonable requirements, both past and present. As for the latter, it is not quite clear whether their opposition results from fear of possible consequences or the need to show how tired they are of being history's victims. It is certain that Macedonian Bulgarians will be written into the Constitution, just like all the other groups living in Macedonia, but it is unclear when this will happen. Including Bulgarians in the Constitution guarantees the continuation of our country's negotiation with the European Union – a process that is said to be securing a European future for our country. Formally, we will be a step closer to joining the EU, which will help not just in strengthening the rights of minorities, but much more importantly, with better dealing with

internal challenges. There's an alternative, of course, the changes to the Constitution need not be adopted. In that case, we will probably be blocked from further negotiations with the EU. The disappointment will be huge. This will, hopefully only temporarily, deprive us of a European future. There will be no pre-accession funds, no European education, freedom of movement across borders, or hanging out with others from Europe. More and more young people will apply for Bulgarian passports, and Bulgaria will probably ask them to renounce their Macedonian identity in order to get them. We will be faced with dire political and economic consequences and blockades. The indirect consequences will be even more harmful in the long run. Slowly but surely, the country will become isolated and its young people will not have an opportunity to work or make a living. Even worse, any future political elite will have a ready excuse for its own failures, as we witnessed for decades during the conflict with Greece.

Македонија vs Maqedonia

Divisions along ethnic lines exist and are deepening each year, while ethnocentrism is being propagated through textbooks and school curricula. For years, textbooks in both Macedonian and Albanian have been promoting ethnic nationalism, and we are now witnessing the effects each day. Not enough is done to ensure inclusive education and pupils are being segregated based on ethnicity. We continue to go to separate schools, and in the rare case where we must share a building, we make sure we attend school in different shifts. And if we are in the same shift, we spend breaks in different parts of the school yard. Pupils from different ethnic communities rarely socialise in school. The kids don't meet, they don't communicate. And when they do, it's most often in English. The academic communities have almost no communication between them. Studies have found that young people do not trust members of other ethnic communities, and don't even like them as neighbours. Policies that prevent direct contact, especially between Albanian and Macedonian pupils, are justified by efforts to prevent conflict. We live next to each other. We rarely go out

to the same places. We read different books and watch different TV channels. We are building parallel worlds of “our own”. Simply put, we know each other less and less, despite declarations of commitment to multiculturalism and coexistence. We remain slaves to our past and often believe that a feeling of security, happiness and hope can only be achieved in an ethnically homogeneous environment.

Education is our future

Although investment in education is often touted as investment in the country’s future, in reality, costs of education are seen as squandering resources. Research findings show that education spending is inefficient and has been decreasing year on year for the past decade or so. The number of teachers has been increasing despite a demographic decline. On average, a new teacher is hired for every 14 pupils less. According to the results of the PISA testing, more than half of fifteen-year-olds are functionally illiterate in science, mathematics and reading literacy. Close to 50 thousand children (from pre-school to secondary-school age) are not attending school. Over 14 thousand pre-school-aged children are not enrolled in education. Just as many, another 14 thousand children are not enrolled in primary school, while over 22 thousand children of secondary-school-age are not in education. Average expenditure for professional development per teacher is only 3.5 euros. Needless to say, professional development for teachers is underfunded and not considered a priority.

In what has practically become a tradition, once again some pupils will start the school year without textbooks. The same people who promised last year that they would not allow another school year to start without textbooks are now promising the same thing, but for next year.

Elections are (probably) next year

The opposition is convinced that the government cannot make good on its promises, which include starting negotiations with the European Union and constitutional amendments, so it makes the most sense to dissolve parliament and hold early parliamentary

elections. Regular parliamentary elections are planned for next year.

We will be going to the polls in a very sensitive context. Bulgaria is not budging on its conditions for not vetoing our negotiations with the European Union. The EU’s inappropriate response has managed not just to amplify the arguments of Eurosceptics, but also to produce an anti-Western mood among even the most pro-Western citizens, primarily Macedonians. There’s a full-on hybrid war. Hate speech and disinformation, used as propaganda tools, have polarised public opinion, further reducing the already low levels of trust in political leaders, institutions and democratic processes. Elections are scheduled amidst high corruption and when the lack of rule of law and impunity are at alarming levels. All of this favours the most radical political options, primarily those from the Macedonian ethnic group. The Albanian opposition has compromised itself severely over the past year. They have turned out to be not so much a political opposition as a political rival to DUI. We have seen that they are practically no different from the ruling Albanian party, their only aim is to win power, to depose the ruling party in order to continue doing things in the exact same way.

Invisible for society

In our society, people often become “invisible” because of their ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, religion, social status, etc. The problems and challenges facing persons with disabilities, chronic conditions or rare diseases, the elderly, stateless persons, refugees, sexual minorities, the homeless and members of many other marginalised groups most often remain invisible to others in society, but worse still, they remain invisible to the institutions of the system.

It is not just undocumented persons who are socially invisible. So too is the migrant recently shot dead by a police officer in Đevđelija, so too is the man suffering from cystic fibrosis who died after waiting almost two years to receive medicine that the state ultimately failed to provide. Also invisible is the struggle and suffering of many women trying to pull themselves out of imposed gender roles. Unfortunately, many women

who do not meet the expectations imposed by society have been and continue to be victims of violence. Many women and girls march and protest for their rights, they're not giving up, but we don't see them, and neither does the government.

A shared future

The Constitution brings together on paper and enumerates all the ethnic groups living in our country. Those 3504 citizens who identified themselves as Bulgarian in the last census will probably be recorded as such, but this will not change reality. And the reality is that those of us living in Macedonia do not

know each other, we do not identify as citizens and we are increasingly attached to our ethnic belonging. Communication, empathy and trust are at their lowest levels. The trust of Macedonian citizens in the European Union is at a record low, while progress towards joining the EU has been negligible. Corruption and crime are booming. Bulgarians, as well as other ethnicities, will soon see that there are no guarantees that the Constitution and policies to improve the rights of ethnic communities will produce coexistence, unless we all do our bit to build a shared future.

Luan Imeri

Montenegro: Going deeper

The government is arriving

Milo Đukanović's Democratic Party of Socialists (DPS) was removed from government at the elections on 20 August 2020, after 30 years in power. The first, historical, post-DPS government led by Zdravko Krivokapić fell after fourteen months. It was toppled by Dritan Abazović with the help of DPS in early 2022, and he then went on to form a new, minority government with the support of part of the same majority, while receiving key votes from DPS. Dritan's second government was significantly different both in the way it was established and in terms of the support it did (not) receive and its composition, but most importantly in terms of its primary aim, which was to tackle corruption and crime. Unfortunately, the remainder of the political coalition, except for some smaller parties, did not support that aim. After Abazović signed the Basic Agreement with the Serb Orthodox Church in 2022, DPS initiated the toppling of the government, which fell a hundred days or so later, thanks to the votes of Democrats and some smaller parties looking to take revenge on Abazović for toppling the previous government. It is also interesting that this government has managed to hold on to its caretaker status for longer than it managed to hold on to its original support (It received a vote of no confidence in 20 August 2022 and has been a caretaker government ever since). "A year has passed, but Dritan

still rules." This will continue until parliament chooses a new government proposed by the new prime minister-designate Miloško Spajić. But this third time lucky government is having a hard time arriving, because it is losing support and confidence before it has even been formed. We seem to be averse to governing, so our government mark is an unsatisfactory F.

Forced to be president

Jakov Milatović, nominated by the Europe Now Movement, convincingly won around 60% of the votes in the second round of the presidential elections held in April 2023, defeating Milo Đukanović and ending his three decades in power. The new president of Montenegro did not arrive in office without turbulence. Namely, in late January, the presidency of the Europe Now Movement (Pokret Evropa sad, PES) selected their leader Miloško Spajić to be the presidential candidate. Spajić and Milatović are former ministers in the first government, led by Zdravko Krivokapić, following the replacement of DPS, and Europe Now was the name of their economic programme.

They later established a political movement under the same name, which was the biggest winner of the 2022 local elections in Podgorica where Milatović was to become mayor. However, due to issues over his residency and dual citizenship (both Montenegrin and Serbian), the State Elections Commission rejected the

candidacy of Milojko Spajić, so Milatović was forced by circumstances to become the candidate and ultimately the president of the country.

Jakov Milatović's victory in the presidential elections and triumph in the local elections in Podgorica filled the sails of the Europe Now Movement, which, though without significant infrastructural organisation, turned out to be wildly successful on the political scene and became hugely popular among the citizens of Montenegro. The result was that at the extraordinary parliamentary elections held in Montenegro on 11 June 2023, the Europe Now Movement won the most seats in parliament - 24. The coalition led by the Democratic Party of Socialists came in second, winning 21 seats. After the elections, president Jakov Milatović gave his party colleague (not to say boss) the mandate to form the government, but negotiations over its composition are still under way. The new head of government is facing waning support primarily because the putting together of the government started with taking away all those he would rather not share power with. Thus, the initial majority prognosis from the elections of at least 44 MPs has melted down to 42, which is still barely enough in a parliament numbering 81 seats. The prime minister-designate has until 10 November 2023 to form his government. So far, it hasn't been going well for him either!

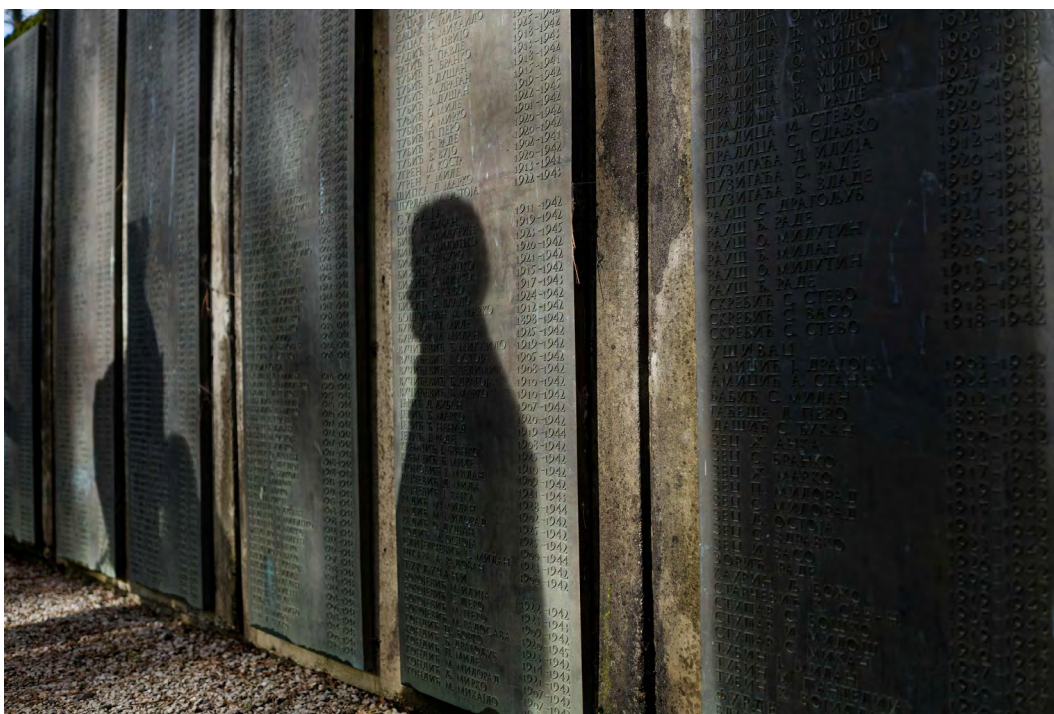
More than anything, these rapid changes of government demonstrate that true change does not depend solely on the personalities and world views of post-DPS prime ministers and prime minister-designates, but entails thoroughly taking on the legacies of previous systems of power and institutional corruption. Everything that was meant to be inherited from the period before the wars of the 1990s has been systematically and quite thoroughly destroyed: education, culture, and socially acceptable and responsible conduct. Even much wiser and more democratic statesmen would have a hard time governing a society that had suffered such systematic and long-lasting political and economic destruction, let alone our young, handsome and confused prime ministers and prime minister-designates. Governing means serving the citizens, the betterment of society, the public good, and not personal or party interests.

We are yet to build up immunity to partitocracy. In genuine change, still an unsatisfactory F.

“Montenegro not running from the past”

In May 1992, the Montenegrin police illegally detained at least 66 and according to some estimates over 80 civilians from Bosnia and Herzegovina, mostly Bosniaks, who had entered Montenegro fleeing the war, and then delivered them into the hands of the Army of Republika Srpska. Most were summarily executed, while the remainder were taken to prison camps. According to Human Rights Action (HRA), only 12 survived the ensuing torture. The remains of the deported victims have not all been found yet, as the exact location where they were executed is not known. This crime of deportation was committed at the time when the Democratic Party of Socialists (DPS) was in power and Milo Đukanović was the prime minister. It has been 31 years since then. Based on a settlement reached in 2008, Montenegro paid damages for most of the victims of this war crime, but no one has been held responsible or convicted in criminal proceedings. Last year, the director of the Police Authority at the time, Zoran Brđanin, issued an apology to victims and their families, and this year Dritan Abazović was the first prime minister of Montenegro to attend the commemoration marking the anniversary of the deportation. “This is Montenegro not running from the past but dealing with it. We are learning from historical mistakes in order to be better in the future,” Abazović stated. But this dealing with the past, from which, as the prime minister said, Montenegro is not running, has not included anything more than official apologies and attendance at commemorations.

Many years have gone by and much could and should have been done. This includes criminal prosecution, finding those who gave the order and inspired the crimes, recognising the victims in a dignified manner, installing a memorial and/or proclaiming an official day of memory, things that NGOs have been demanding for years. Besides, nothing has come of the strategy in which the Special State Prosecutor's Office (SDT) committed to reviewing all cases of war crimes, which was adopted eight years ago; or the expedited prosecutorial and judicial reforms to ensure the



independence of court proceedings; or the promised intensified work on investigating war crimes; or the changes and amendments to criminal procedure that were meant to make evidence presented before the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia admissible in the Montenegrin justice system; or of ensuring the sustainability of the Information and Documentation Centre (currently run by the Youth Initiative for Human Rights) which was formally turned over to the Montenegrin parliament in 2021. In dealing with the past, still an unsatisfactory F+.

Population stagnation

According to Monstat data for last year, Montenegro has a population of close to 618,000, which is by a little over 3,000 more than in 1991 and represents considerable stagnation, especially compared to the end of the last millennium.

One of the reasons for this is that 140,000 citizens have left the country over the past 25 years, with 5,000 leaving in the last year alone. The reasons behind these migrations are many, but they certainly include

a poor outlook for employment and earning a decent living, the political crisis and general instability, as well as employment based on party connections. When we add to this the rise in nationalism and the right wing, the constant political frictions and lack of consensus on all important socioeconomic issues, the choice for citizens of Montenegro about whether to leave or stay seems like a no-brainer. At the same time, not only does the government have no strategy for keeping the citizens from leaving, primarily young people, but it has not undertaken any concrete measures or steps for years in order to provide for their employment, which makes opportunities for young people to become independent meagre and rare. Young people have given us a mark by leaving, an unsatisfactory F.

The tunnel

At the time of finalising this text, news came in that the depot of the Higher Court in Podgorica had been broken into. The way this was done is reminiscent of scenes from Hollywood crime movies – in the very centre of the city, a tunnel was dug from the basement of a nearby residential building to the

depot of the Higher Court. Various items were taken, including several pieces of firearms held as evidence in the case against the leader of one of Montenegro's crime clans. The government fighting crime received a counterpunch, professional and "sufficiently deep".

Evidently, the courage of individuals, primarily prime minister Dritan Abazović and special state prosecutor Vladimir Novović (whose work has been publicly recognised and commended in the EC report), though valuable and important, is not enough. So far,

nothing has come of the necessary consensus between all political and social stakeholders in Montenegro regarding the fight against organised crime.

Even before the literal undermining, we had a constant non-passing mark, an unsatisfactory F for Montenegro! But after this, we have gone a step deeper, underground, or as the people of Podgorica would say, we've dug ourselves in!

Radomir Radević

Instead of the Context for Kosovo: A Cry for Help!

Ever since I've been politically aware, there has never been a single moment when I could travel to Kosovo without worry. I was ten years old in the spring of 1981, a year after Tito's death, when student protests broke out in Kosovo.

Today, Tito is remembered by the older generations, while those born decades later perceive him as a figure from science fiction movies (a good guy or a bad guy, but no longer real, just as the coexistence in freedom of Serbs and Albanians in Kosovo no longer seems possible).

This divided, toxic situation, compounded by frequent armed clashes, has been ongoing ever since I can remember.

Of course, responsibility resides on all sides, and in me, and in many living in both countries, but not once, not one single time did anyone in all these years have the political might or vision to say: "Enough. This can't go on, let's build peace." Slowly, thoroughly, strategically, with sensitivity for the needs of all citizens. Democratically, with respect for people and their rights. When we talk of war, its timeframe is a supremely political issue and is politically determined. Almost all Serbs in Serbia and in Kosovo will situate it in the period from March 1999 to the end of 2000. For almost all Albanians, the war started in early 1998 and lasted until 11 June 1999. All those who define the duration of the war as starting in early 1998 and lasting to the end of 2000 are accused of being traitors, manipulators, mercenaries – by both sides. Those born after these years are already graduating from

university, starting families, and most often, in both countries – both in Serbia and in Kosovo – have put in motion plans to leave for the EU or the US, or have already left and are building lives abroad.

The generals of death cry: "The territories are ours!"

Life responds: "No one wants to live there anymore!"

From time to time, there is hope of moving forward, in negotiations, under pressure from the "international community" (whatever that represents and whatever its role over all these years, I won't go into all that now). But such hopes are quickly dashed by the ensuing violence.

The most recent in a series of escalations in this ever unstable area took place on 26 May when Serbia's president Aleksandar Vučić organised a meeting in support of himself in Belgrade and bused in tens of thousands of citizens from Serbia's interior, but also from Kosovo. At that moment, his counterpart in the negotiations, Kosovo's prime minister Albin Kurti, issued a decision that Albanian officials elected at previous elections, which were boycotted by Serbs (under pressure from Vučić), should take up positions in the administrations of municipalities with majority Serb populations.

There were physical and armed clashes of Serbs with KFOR forces and the Kosovo police. War seemed closer at that moment than any chance of peace. Both sides have refused to implement what is foreseen in the agreement with the EU and the US, because in

their populist-nationalist policy, this would be seen as a concession that could cost them their position in power: Kurti has refused to form the community of Serb municipalities and Vučić has refused to stop obstructing Kosovo's membership in international organisations, including the United Nations.

Although, seen from afar, it all seemed like a staged performance to satisfy the nationalist sentiments of citizens in both countries, it concerned the lives and safety of ordinary people, living their everyday lives under constant tensions. And these tensions, as we could see, are easily raised to the level of armed clashes, but their normalisation is then much more difficult, time-consuming and complicated.

There have always been individuals and organisations that have advocated for peace, that have spoken up loud and clear, and often risking their lives, against war, and they should be remembered with the dignity they deserve. However, at the government level, any initiative for reconciliation, cooperation, even for normal life, is condemned as an act of high treason, and this is more or less true on both sides.

Despite this, there are numerous organisations and individuals, artists and activists working on projects to build peace and reconciliation, and they are equally shunned in both Serbia and Kosovo.

Since its founding as a regional peace organisation in 1997, the Centre for Nonviolent Action has also been working with people living in Kosovo.

So far, when it comes to concrete action in Kosovo, they have mostly met with the obstacle known as: "It's not the right time."

"It's not the right time" for Kosovo in 1981. It's not the right time in 1998... 1999... 2004... 2007... 2023... Life passes, and it's still not the right time.

At the start of this year, we decided to go on a study visit to Kosovo in order to meet with people working on peacebuilding there, in organisations or as individuals, artists or activists, so that we could figure out how we could work together on peacebuilding. Guess what was the first response to our initiative?

"It's not the right time."

Fortunately, there were also those who said, "Of course you should come!" This invitation gives us encouragement and hope that things are possible now, and not in some vague distant future.

The Centre for Nonviolent Action is planning its next study visit to Kosovo at the start of November 2023. We will not know whether it will take place until the very last minute – it's possible that violence may break out again, and we may have to postpone the visit, because – see above. Still, we will make the study trip soon, that's for certain.

It's always the right time for peace.

Katarina Milićević

He is There

In memoriam – Stanislav Stana Krezić (1959-2022)

On 15 November 2022, in Bijelo Polje near Mostar, our dear friend and fellow fighter for peace passed away. His heart gave out, having grown weaker over the past few years.

It was thanks to Stana that many things happened in Herzegovina for the first time. He brought people together, he was a bridge made of strength and trust, helping people see human beings in their enemies.

He participated in numerous peace activities and commemorations across Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia and Croatia, even when his health condition limited his mobility.

What a man our Stana was! Thinking of him brings tears, but also a smile.

He was a fighter with the Croatian Defence Council during the war in Herzegovina.

He was captured and tortured as a prisoner of war.

After the war, he owned a bar and hated those who were on the other side during the war.

He was a big man and admitted the mistakes he made, so he endeavoured with all his might to change himself and the world around him. People with that kind of fortitude are few and far between.

He was an activist of the prison camp survivors' association.

He was a witness at war crimes trials.

He was a passionate advocate for peace, fearlessly standing up against injustice, whatever side it may come from.

And we can say without any reservation that he will remain in our hearts for as long as we live, for he is there, there he did not die.

Thank you, Stana.

We love you.

On behalf of the Centre for Nonviolent Action Belgrade – Sarajevo:

Nenad Vukosavljević, Amer Delić, Davorka Turk, Ivana Franović, Katarina Milićević, Nedžad Novalić, Radomir Radević, Tamara Zrnović, Helena Rill, Nedžad Horozović, Ahmed Novalić

