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O CENTRU ZA NENASILNU AKCIJU

Misija CNA je rad na izgradnji trajnog mira u regionu bivše Jugoslavije kroz promociju kulture nenasilja, dijaloga i izgradnje poverenja među pojedincima/kama i grupama, te rad na konstruktivnom suočavanju s prošlošću kao jednom od ključnih faktora izgradnje mira.

Naša težnja je rad na ostvarenju društva održivog mira u kojem se neguje razvoj kritičkog mišljenja, preuzimanje odgovornosti za društvo i zajednicu, poticanje na preispitivanje vlastitih stavova i prihvatanje različitosti. Na ostvarenju ovih društvenih vrednosti radimo kroz različite vidove aktivizma od kojih su najvažniji mirovno obrazovanje, izdavaštvo i video produkcija.

Šta želimo i čemu težimo?

Svojim radom želimo poticati i osnaživati promociju mira kao osnovne društvene vrednosti, te odbacivanje rata i nasilja kao načina rešavanja sukoba. Suočavanje sa prošlošću (SsP) u regionu bivše Jugoslavije stavljamo u fokus naših interesovanja zalažući se za definiciju SsP kao višeslojnog i kompleksnog procesa koji uključuje, pored obznanjivanja o tome šta se desilo i kažnjavanja odgovornih za to, još i: rad na razgradnji “slika neprijatelja” i izgradnji poverenja među ljudima na prostorima bivše Jugoslavije; rad na uspostavi kulture sećanja; zalaganje za promovisanje i pokretanje javnih politika usmerenih na SsP; preispitivanje i razgradnju nacionalizma, militarizma i patrijarhata kao ideoloških izvora nasilja u društvu. Programima mirovnog obrazovanja i aktivnostima na polju dokumentarne produkcije i izdavaštva nastojimo i stvoriti nove i ojačati postojeće kapacitete za mirovni rad u regionu bivše Jugoslavije. Želja nam je stvarati i podržavati kapacitete fokusirane na vrednosni pristup izgradnji mira, vođeni načelom zaštite ljudskih prava i sloboda svih pojedinaca/ki, te vrednostima dijaloga, saradnje, društvene pravde i solidarnosti među pojedincima/kama i grupama.

Na koji način to želimo postići?

Poštovanjem osnovnog načela “živi to što radiš”, kao i stvaranjem čvrstog vrednosnog ishodišta u našem radu, ali i načinu funkcionisanja same organizacije.

Otvorenošću za dijalog sa svima koji to žele, te spremnošću za saradnju sa onima sa kojima delimo vizije i vrednosti nenasilja, kulture dijaloga, konstruktivne kritike i borbe protiv nepravde.

Fokusiranjem na regionalnu saradnju kao neophodan element trajnog i održivog mira u regionu bivše Jugoslavije.

Spremnošću da se menjamo, razvijamo, učimo i prilagođavamo ne zahtevima donatora i “real-politike”, već realnih društvenih potreba.

Dragi prijatelji, drage prijateljice,

Dvanaesti godišnji izveštaj je pred vama. To ujedno znači da je dvanaest godina rada iza nas. Nije malo, zar ne?

U godini koja je iza nas radili smo na programima po kojima je CNA prepoznatljiv - programi mirovnog obrazovanja, rad s učesnicima rata, dokumentarni filmovi i publikacije, ali smo i proširili naš spektar delovanja, neke aktivnosti smo sprovedi s drugim organizacijama, a u neke smo aktivnosti uključili i druge 'grupe' ljudi... O svemu tome možete pročitati više u ovom izveštaju.

Nakon prošlogodišnje neizvesnosti - hoćemo li morati da stavimo ključ u bravu, ove godine ipak lakše dišemo i dalje nastavljamo punom parom, prvenstveno zahvaljujući obezbeđenim sredstvima za funkcionisanje oba naša ureda u narednom trogodišnjem periodu. No, daleko od toga da nam je prethodna godina bila laka. Društveno-politička situacija na ovim bivšejugoslovenskim prostorima nije sjajna, puna je nasilja i neizvesnosti. U isto vreme čeka nas dosta posla i unutar samog CNA, da se 'pozabavimo' našom strukturom, organizacijom, odnosima, da pitamo i da se preispitamo. Rasti i menjati se nije lak proces, često je težak i bolan, ali kad se čovek okrene i pogleda iza sebe, može da kaže da taj proces - vredi. A sada, kad pogledamo iza sebe šta sve imamo, šta smo sve uradili, možemo reći - i te kako vredi.

Početkom 2010. godine CNA timu će se priključiti još jedna osoba - Jessica Žic i time ćemo još malo porasti, nadamo se, ne samo brojčano.

„Čitamo se“ onda opet naredne godine, da vas izvestimo šta smo sve novo uradili, naučili i koliko smo narasli. I da za kraj iskoristim onu čuvenu Gandhijevu rečenicu koja se već toliko haba od korišćenja - *budi promena koju želiš da postigneš - be the change you want to see in the world*. Iskreno se nadamo da nam to neće biti nedostižan zadatak.

osnovni trening iz izgradnje mira

Tivat, 20-30.03.2009.

Osnovni trening iz izgradnje mira, trideseti po redu, održan je u Tivtu, Crnoj Gori, od 20. do 30. marta/ ožujka 2009.

U trenerskom timu su bili Sanja i Tamara iz sарајevskog ureda, te naš novi kolega, Nenad P., i Helena iz beogradskog.

Treningu je prisustvovalo 19 ljudi, jedno je mesto ostalo upražnjeno jer se pozvana osoba nije pojavila. Iako je bilo još par slučajeva kasnog otkazivanja, ipak smo uspjele/i popuniti mjesta zahvaljujući dobroj volji osoba sa liste za čekanje.

Pristiglo nam je dosta aplikacija (oko 100) iz Srbije, BiH, Hrvatske, Makedonije i sa Kosova, dok se iz Crne Gore, i ovog puta, niko nije prijavio. Ovog puta smo dobili dosta prijava iz Hrvatske i čini nam se da velikom broju prijava za trening doprinela komunikacija preko Facebook-a.

Nekoliko je momenata i radionica/blokova obeležilo ovaj trening.

Iz prvog dela treninga možemo da izdvojimo radionicu *Nasilje* gde se dosta *prašine diglo*, posebno povodom izjave koja se odnosi na Albance i stereotip/predrasude vezane za tu grupu, gde su se neke osobe potresle zbog osveštavanja svoje predrasude i razumevanja nasilja prema toj grupi. Specifičnost ovog slučaja jeste da se tim vrstama predrasuda stalno vraćalo i bavilo tokom celog treninga. Posebno je interesantno, mada ništa novo, kako su se na toj radionici teško otvarale izjave koje su imale veću poveznicu s ratom ili s nečim etničkim. Na kraju se i to otvorilo, uglavnom na inicijativu trenerskog tima.

Ovog puta smo uveli i novinu koja se odnosi na samu *izgradnju mira*. Uglavnom smo do sada ovu temu postavljali pred kraj treninga kao kruna svega onoga što je rađeno na treningu i što se sve teme mogu obuhvatiti upravo tom temom. Međutim, uvideli smo da ljude zbunjuje kakve veze ima, recimo, komunikacija, timski rad, donošenje odluka s izgradnjom mira, pa smo je uveli u prvom delu treninga povezujući teme na više nivoa (kroz definicije, vrednosti i sl), što se pokazalo odličnim za razumevanje čitavog konteksta treninga.

Drugi deo treninga su obeležile teme koje se odnose na suočavanje s prošlošću: prva je *Nacionalni identitet* a druga upravo *Suočavanje s prošlošću*. U okviru nacionalnog identiteta postavili smo radionicu gde su ljudi imali prilike da govore o svom iskustvu tokom devedesetih a odnosile su se na nacionalni identitet, tako da bi se ta vežba mogla nazvati i *Rat i ja*. Ta radionica je bila nabijena emocijama, ali je pomogla da bolje razumemo jedni druge lično, ali i "drugu stranu", a isto tako bio je otvoren prostor da se kaže drugima o svom iskustvu, i često, o svojim patnjama koje su uzrokovane nacionalnim identitetom tokom devedesetih godina.

Ovom radionicom smo uveli učesnike/ce u suočavanje s prošlošću i na toj temi smo radili više blokova. Jedan od blokova je bio rezervisan za gostovanje Jasne Janković Šarčević, portparolke Tužilaštva za ratne zločine iz Beograda. Do sada još nikad nismo imali gošću/gosta na osnovnom treningu pa je ovo bio svojevrsni eksperiment. Došli smo do toga da za osnovni trening ipak ne bi trebalo organizovati gostovanje prvenstveno zbog dinamike, unutrašnjih procesa grupe i potreba koje postoje u grupi. Što se tiče same radionice na kojoj je bila naša gošća, posebno se dojmilo učesnike/ce film koji je rađen u produkciji Tužilaštva za ratne zločine i OEBS-a - Pravda u regionu (poseta novinara iz Srbije pravosudnim organima Bosne i Hercegovine i Hrvatske 2005/2006). U okviru filma se moglo čuti o procesima koji su se odvijali, ali i žrtvama o kojima su govorili njihovi bližnji, što je svakako bilo potresno čuti i videti. Zbog toga nam je bilo važno u timu da sledeća postavljena radionica bude u vezi s našim odnosom prema suočavanju s prošlošću: emocije koje imamo, dileme, pitanja, stahovi koji se odnose na tu temu.

Grupa učesnika/ca je bila raznolika, s dosta aktivista/aktivistkinja što je dalo poseban ton celom treningu. Drago nam je da smo imali znatan broj učesnika/ca manjinskih nacionalnosti, ali nam fale npr. osobe hrvatske nacionalnosti iz Bosne i Hercegovine, bošnjačke iz Republike Srpske, mađarske iz Vojvodine. Ostaje

nam pitanje kako ih motivisati za prijavu na trening, a sa druge strane, kad bismo sve primili, to bi svakako premašilo broj učesnika/ca predviđenih za trening (dvadesetoro).

Učesnici/e treninga su generalno bili dosta u sebi, ima se utisak da su sve vreme pratili, razmišljali i preispitivali se. Mislimo da ova grupa ima potencijal za dalji rad i voljne/i smo ostati u kontaktu i podržati ih ili raditi s njima koliko možemo.

Inače, nije bilo lako voditi proces sa njima u grupi jer je trebalo dosta vremena, osnaživanja i sigurnog prostora da se otvore i da pričaju o određenoj temi. Međutim, bilo je zadovoljstvo raditi s tim ljudima zbog brige i topline koju su imali jedni za druge. Trudili smo se da ih osnažimo i podržimo.

U trenerskom timu je bilo lepo raditi, pazili smo se i podržavali jedni druge. Drago nam je što je Nenad Porobić prošao prvo svoje trenersko iskustvo sa nama.

Poteškoća i dilema koju imamo već duže vreme odnosi se na poslednji dan treninga gde fizički postoji prostor da se još nešto uradi, ali generalno se oseća ve-

liki umor pa je nemoguće nešto ozbiljnije obrađivati, bez obzira koliko to ne iziskuje puno energije. Jedna od pouka sa ovog treninga je i potreba da se u upitniku za Trening izmene i preformulišu neka od pitanja kako bi bila što konkretnija.



posjete ratnih veterana

Tuzla, Doboju, Brčko, decembar/prosinac 2008.

Međusobne zajedničke posjete veterana, bivših pripadnika zaraćenih vojski sa prostora Bosne i Hercegovine, Srbije i Hrvatske, počeli smo organizovati u zimu 2008. godine. Prve posjete upriličene su u februaru i martu 2008. godine, i to u Sarajevu, Bugojnu i Prnjavoru. Nakon prvih organizovanih posjeta i nakon ovogodišnjeg programa mirovnog obrazovanja za učesnika rata u maju i junu, odlučili smo se da organizujemo još jednu seriju posjeta, sa novom grupom veterana motivisanih za akcije koje doprinose izgradnji mira.

Koncept posjeta u svakom gradu je podrazumjevaao odlazak na neobilježena i obilježena mjesta stradanja čime smo željeli zajednički odati počast žrtvama, civilnim i vojnim, bez obzira na njihovu etničku i vjersku pripadnost. Takođe smo se i upoznali sa različitim lokalnim kontekstima i dešavanjima u toku rata. Značajno za ovu seriju posjeta je i činjenica da smo u gradovima obišli i mjesta stradanja i simbole stradanja „drugih“. Ovim smo pokušali potaknuti preispitivanje vlastite uloge žrtve a time i dominantan način odnosa prema ratnoj prošlosti u većini gradova u BiH, da su žrtve drugih nešto o čemu se ne govori.

Ovaj put smo posjetili:

Tuzlu¹, 03-05.12.2008.

Doboju², 05-07.12.2008.

Brčko, 20-22.12.2008.

Domaćin u Tuzli nam je bilo veteransko udruženje „Stećak“ iz Tuzle, a u Doboju „Odbor ratnih vojnih invalida“.

Iako je odgovornost za iniciranje realizacije ideje preuzeo CNA, odgovornost za organizovanje posjeta u svojim gradovima su u potpunosti preuzeli veterani i njihova udruženja. Drago nam je istaći da smo svuda

osjećali brigu za goste, trud da se da se ljudi osjećaju ugodno i bezbjedno i spremnost da se ideja iskreno podrži.

U planu je bila i posjeta Đurđenovcu u Hrvatskoj, ali su ljudi iz udruženja koje je trebalo biti domaćin neposredno pred posjetu dobili prijetnje od drugog lokalnog veteranskog udruženja i poruke da veterani iz drugih vojski nisu dobrodošli te da će posjeta biti



sprječena. Ostavljajući prostor ljudima iz lokalne sredine da donesu konačnu odluku, ovaj put smo odustali od posjete Đurđencu.

Kako je posjeta Hrvatskoj otkazana a svi su očekivali još jedan susret, odlučili smo se da okupimo grupu u Brčkom. Ovaj skup smo iskoristili za razgovore o strategiji za ubuduće u situacijama kada nailazimo na prijetnje i opstrukcije lokale sredine, razmjenu ideja za dalje i da razmjenimo iskustva i razmišljanja o važnosti ove i ovakvih akcija u kontekstu konstruktivnog odnosa prema prošlosti i pomirenja na prostoru

¹ U Tuzli smo posjetili: Spomenik poginulim borcima Armije BiH, „Kapiju“ - mjesto gdje je granata 25.05.1995. usmrtila 72 mladih ljudi i groblje gdje su oni sahranjeni, „Brčansku maltu“ (u blizini Tuzle) mjesto na kojem je 15.05.1992. napadnuta kolona JNA zbog čega je nekoliko tadašnjih čelnika Tuzle osumnjičeno za ratni zločin.

² U Doboju smo posjetili: spomen sobu palim borcima Vojske RS-a sa područja Doboja, spomenik civilnim žrtvama Doboja, obnavljenu džamiju i spomenik palim borcima Armije BiH iz Doboja u dvorištu džamije, mjesto gdje se desila jedna od najvećih bitaka na području Doboja između Armije BiH i Vojske RS i gdje postoje dokazi da su ljudi nesrpske nacionalnosti izvedeni u „živi štit.“



bivše Jugoslavije.

Prije i tokom posjeta stvoreni osjećaj povjerenja unutar grupe veterana je omogućio da pozovemo lokalne medije iz gradova koje smo posjetili, čime smo dobili priliku da aktivnost učinimo vidljivijom i da uputimo snažniju mirovnu poruku javnosti. U Doboju su nam se obratili i gradonačelnik Doboja i predsjedavajući opštinskog vijeća, te predsjednik glavne boračke organizacije RS-a³.

Time je upućena veoma snažna poruka mira i želje za ponovnom izgradnjom povjerenja, kada jedna mješovita grupa bivših boraca (Srba, Hrvata, Bošnjaka, itd.) zajednički posjeti različita mjesta stradanja, te kada svako ponaosob napravi u svom srcu i umu mjesta i za žrtve „drugih“ i osjeti istinsku empatiju koja nije omeđena etničkim i vjerskim granicama. Ovo na jak simbolički način govori da je uspostava povjerenja moguća, jer ako su ljudi koji su do juče pucali jedni na druge i koji su u društvu, uglavnom nepravedno, okarakterisani kao nosioci destruktivnih nacionalističkih ideja spremni na korake pomirenja, onda bi i naša društva u cijelini to trebala biti.

Na kraju nešto od utisaka učesnika ove aktivnosti koje su iznijeli nakon posjeta:

- *Nikad nisam imao predrasude, ali, ako je ikada postojala iskrivljena slika o drugima kod mene, ona je sada ispravljena. Mi ćemo, samim dolaskom ovdje, animirati 450 ljudi kući, pošto ovdje predstavljamo čitavo udruženje.*

- *Strašno mi je bilo čuti o tolikim žrtvama. Dobio sam nove prijatelje i saradnike. Bogatiji sam za ovo iskustvo. Čuo sam priče s druge strane i dosta mi je jasnije šta se desilo. Stvorili smo prisniju atmosferu da bi mogli razgovarati o težim stvarima. Očekujem nastavak saradnje s CNA i sa svima vama, da ispoštujemo dogovor. Hvala vam svima, bili ste dobri gosti.*

- *Dobio sam ljude, oslobodio sam dva grada od samog sebe, od predrasuda. Osjetio sam mir bez ikakvih strahova, prijatno sam se osjećao. U Tuzlu sam došao s ljudima "s druge strane" i tu sam se oslobodio strahova. Dobio sam motivaciju i ubijeđen sam da je ovo prava stvar, ma koliko mali ovaj korak bio. Ovo je put da vidimo kako živimo i da suštinski spoznamo problem.*

training za učesnike ratova iz bih, hrvatske i srbije

Jahorina, 26-30.06.09; Šamac, 31.07.-03.08.09.

Program ovog imena, u različitim formama održava se od 2003. godine, ove 2009. godine po sedmi put, okupljajući četrnaest, odnosno jedanaest učesnika u radu na prvoj tj. drugoj fazi treninga.

Svojevremeno započet rad sa bivšim boricima koji su od 2002. godine govorili na tribinama "Četiri pogleda" koje smo organizovali, ubrzo je dopunjen pripremnim treninzima na kojima je razvijan dijalog i međusobna empatija negdašnjih neprijatelja. Nakon tribina organizovali smo treninge/susrete bivših boraca u očekivanju da ćemo podstaći njihov mirovni angažman. Kada smo

uočili da željeni samostalni angažman bivših boraca na izgradnji mira ostaje na nivou pojedinaca i da neće uzeti veće razmere ukoliko kao organizacija ne preuzmemo inicijativu i vodeću odgovornost, odlučili smo da sami probamo da definišemo polje mogućeg učešća ratnih veterana na osnovu dugogodišnjeg rada s njima i pridobijemo ih za učešće.

Pre nepune dve godine su tako održane prve zajedničke akcije ratnih veterana sa tri strane, koje su prevazilazile okvir susreta pojedinaca i učešća na seminaru. Bile su to posete veteranskim udruženjima

³ Republika Srpska

na tri strane i u okviru njih posete stratištima na kojima su stradali ljudi sa različitih “strana”: sa “strane” domaćina posete i sa “strane” gostiju.

Godinu dana kasnije napravljen je veliki korak napred. Domaćini ugovorenih poseta su iskazali sprem-



nost da u plan posete uključe i mesta na kojima su stradali ljudi za čiju smrt je odgovorna njihova strana. Time je na vrlo jasan način iskazano poštovanje spram žrtava “drugih” i učinjen ogroman iskorak ka pomirenju, štagod taj kontraverzni pojam podrazumevao. Šta dalje posle toga, bilo je pitanje koje smo sebi postavili kada smo planirali ovogodišnji ciklus rada sa veteranima koji započinje sa dve faze treninga, intenzivnog sučeljavanja i delimičnog planiranja budućih zajedničkih akcija.

Još više i još jače.

Cilj nam je da sa ljudima koji su u novoj grupi učesnika nastavimo započeti proces, da ga produbimo i učinimo znatno vidljivijim. U toj grupi su i oni koji su privučeni svojim kolegama pređašnjim učesnicima treninga, bili delom zajedničkih poseta stratištima, a evo sada i sami učestvuju u ovim intenzivnim susretima.

Umalo da ovaj izveštaj sa treninga privedem kraju bez ikakvog direktnog osvrta na sam trening i proces rada sa ljudima.

Važno je napomenuti da postoji dobar deo posla

koji kada govorim o treningu nije vidljiv, a koji presudno doprinosi kvalitetu rada stvarajući preuslove za ispunjenje postavljenih ciljeva. Naime, organizacione pripreme pred početak treninga između svega ostalog, obuhvataju i čitav niz poseta udruženjima ratnih veterana, čime se sastavlja grupa za trening. Traže se oni pojedinci koji imaju uporište u svom udruženju i time dodatni legitimitet, a ujedno žele da se iskreno upuste u suočavanje i dijalog sa bivšim neprijateljima.

Pošto je trenerski tim, u istom sastavu već par godina i pošto smo se toliko uigrali i osmelili u radu sa borcima, čini mi se da postoji opasnost da potcenimo intenzitet sa kojim učesnici doživljavaju susret sa bivšim neprijateljima.

Možda smo u nekom pogledu više počeli da ličimo na ljude sa kojima radimo. Iako ohrabreni uspesima u sprovođenju smelih ideja, većini nas se fitilj skratio, postali smo umorni, nestrpljivost da se vidi pomak u radu je prisutniji. Tako je to kad se čovek brine da bude mir.

Evo i osvrta jednog učesnika na reakciju sredine nakon njegovog učešća na prvom delu: *Reakcije su bile super, oni moji invalidi su svi zadovoljni, traže one vaše knjige, čitaju, pitaju gdje je, filmove gledaju... Čak me ovaj iz firme pitao da l' treba dnevnice da piše. Iznenađeni su da ima ljudi da brinu da bude mir. Kažu „e, da je više takvih ljudi ne bi ni bilo rata“. I iz moje porodice vas sve pozdravljaju.*



usmene istorije učesnika/ca rata i članova/ica njihovih porodica

Nakon dugogodišnjeg rada na polju izgradnje mira i suočavanja sa prošlošću te intenzivnog višegodišnjeg rada sa grupom učesnika rata, odlučili/e smo da izgrađene kapacitete iskoristimo na polju prikupljanja usmenih istorija. Usmene istorije su zabeležene životne priče ljudi - neposrednih aktera/ki, svedoka/inja,

posmatrača/ica određenih istorijskih događaja, vremena, okolnosti... Njihova važnost za procese suočavanja sa prošlošću i izgradnje mira je velika, s obzirom da su one često jedini relevantan izvor podataka o svim onim aspektima društvenog života koji u zvaničnim istoriografijama ostaju nezabeleženi i marginalizovani.

Učesnici/e rata i članovi/ce njihovih porodica su svakako među najvažnijim neposrednim akterima / kama naše ratne prošlosti, čije priče svakako treba da se najpre ispričaju, pa onda i objave.

Planirana aktivnost koja se odnosi na usmene istorije obuhvata:

- trodnevnu obuku za prikupljanje usmenih istorija
- rad na terenu na prikupljanju priča ljudi
- objavljivanje prikupljenih priča na web-strani
- objavljivanje publikacije sa odabranim pričama

Zamišljeno je da se publikacija sastoji iz dva odvojena dela - deo sa pričama veterana/ki, i deo sa tzv. „ženskim“ glasovima iz njihovih porodica. Ideja je da se javnosti pruži uvid u život u ratu i posle njega, iz različitih perspektiva i pozicije različitih uloga, te da se doprinese promeni sadašnje situacije ignorisanja, getoizacije i radikalizacije (često traumatiziranih) veterana/ki i njihovih porodica.

Obuka: usmene istorije

Jahorina, 10-13.07.2009.

Trodnevna obuka za prikupljanje usmenih istorija održana je na Jahorini tokom jula/srpnja. Sastavili smo grupu od trinaestoro učesnika/ca koji su posvećeni vrednostima izgradnje mira i suočavanja s prošlošću. Iako je bilo planirano troje ljudi više (dvoje je otkazalo, a jedna osoba se nije pojavila), ispostavilo se da je to dovoljno velika grupa za ovu vrstu rada jer nije bilo ni vremena da pokrijemo sve teme s obzirom na dileme, pitanja i komentare koje su ljudi imali. Imamo doživljaj da su učesnici/e pristupili ovoj obuci s velikom dozom ozbiljnosti i da je većina njih i senzibilisana na teme koje se odnose na suočavanje s prošlošću, što i nije čudno ako uzmemo u obzir da su mnogi prošli neku od naših edukacija, bilo da se radi o osnovnom i naprednom treningu iz izgradnje mira, bilo o treningu za ratne veterane.

Možemo reći da nam je grupa bila prilično raznolika iako generalno gledano pripada dvema grupama - veteranskoj populaciji i mirovnim aktivistima/aktivistkinjama. Ljudi su sa vrlo različitim iskustvima, a posebna specifičnost jeste i učestvovanje veteranki - učesnica ratova što je celoj priči dodalo jedan poseban ton odnosno iskustvo.

U trenerskom timu je bilo na momente teško da napravimo jasnu crtu između treninga i obuke jer generalno sve naše edukacije do sada su bile u okviru

treninga i seminara gde se između ostalog, radilo i na senzibilizaciji. Ovde jesmo postavili drugačije stvari i osnovni cilj nam je bio osposobljavanje ljudi da prikupljaju usmene istorije, ali kako je postojala tenzija između (nekih) mirovnjaka/kinja i (nekih) veterana/ki, to je ipak uticalo na dinamiku rada i učinilo da se obuka u nekim momentima približi treningu i radu na senzibilizaciji i razgradnji sopstvenih predrasuda.

Ovom edukacijom smo pokrili sledeće teme: šta su usmene istorije, njihov istorijat, faze prikupljanja usmenih istorija (pripremna, proces samog intervjua, posle intervjua), etička pitanja i to je najvećim delom bio teorijski input. Naravno, posle svakog bloka inputa, postojao je prostor za pitanja, dileme, komentare i taj deo je bio inspirativan i poprilično promišljen i dubok. Drugi deo obuke se odnosi više na praktični i "tehnički" deo: učesnici/e su imali/e priliku da se oprobaju u obe uloge - kako je to intervjuisati, a kako je biti intervjuisan/a; a potom i emotivni izlaz te deo posvećen refleksiji (šta nam je bilo dobro, pomoglo, šta je smetalo i odmagalo pri vođenju intervjua odnosno kod osobe koja je intervjuisana). Ujedno smo i spremili obiman pisani materijal da bi ljudima bilo lakše da se snađu u gomili informacija kad se vrate kućama.

Sve u svemu, zadovoljni/e smo urađenim. Primedba učesnika/ca sa kojom se mi potpuno slažemo najviše se svodila na to da je bilo malo vremena a puno toga za uraditi/obraditi, odnosno da je postojala potreba za jednim danom više obuke kako bi se sve moglo pokriti.

Sledeći korak jeste prikupljanje priča, usmenih istorija na terenu i jedva čekamo da ih krenemo čitati.



promocije filma „pticu ti ne čuješ“

Grožnjan, Gornji Vakuf/Uskoplje, Mostar, Sarajevo
novembar/studenj – decembar/prosinac 2008.

Tokom novembra i decembra 2008. godine organizovali smo četiri promocije filma „Pticu ti ne čuješ“, trećeg filma iz serijala smuliranih dijaloga koje se bavi odnosom Hrvata/ica i Bošnjaka/inja. U ovome filmu različiti ljudi iz BiH i Hrvatske govore o predrasudama, strahovima, iskustvima iz rata i problemima vezanim za među etničke odnose i pomirenje.

Promocija u Grožnjanu/Hrvatska se desila na regionalnom mirovnom susretu pod nazivom „Miramirani“ koji je za temu imao ulogu veterana u izgradnji mira, a gdje je CNA bio jedan od organizatora. U sklopu jedne od sesija upriličili smo promociju filma za oko tridesetak učesnika/ca - mirovne aktivisti/kinje i ratne veterane iz regiona, nakon čega su uslijedili osvrt i komentari na film. Iako je bilo planirano da film posluži kao uvertira za diskusiju o pitanju pomirenja i suočavanja s prošlošću, učesnici/ce su bili dosta emotivno potreseni, tako da je razgovor poslije filma više sadržavao emotivnu evaluaciju, uz jasnu poruku da je film jako upečatljiv i potresan, i da je potrebno i važno da ga vidi što više ljudi u regiji. Zajedno sa nama na ovoj promociji je prisustvovao u svojstvu protagoniste filma i Goran Božićević.

Promocije ovoga filma u Gornjem Vakufu/Uskoplju i Mostaru su predstavljale poseban izazov i zapravo mjesto koji se ovaj film najviše tiče jer se radi o gradovima podjeljenim na Hrvatski i Bošnjački dio te smo ih iz tog razloga izabrali za mjesta promocije ovoga filma. U tim gradovima su posljedice rata i nacionalne podjele još uvijek jako prisutne i vidljive na svakom koraku, a gdje je jedan od ciljeva ovih promocija zapravo bilo ohrabrivanje i podsticanje javnog mnijenja na dijalog, pomirenje i prevazilaženje stanja nepovjerenja i mržnje. Također bilo nam je i važno čuti mišljenje ljudi koji žive u takvim sredinama o samom filmu koji se bavi stvarima koje su njima jako bliske.

Promociju u Gornjem Vakufu/Uskoplju smo organizovali u saradnji sa lokalnom organizacijom Centar za mlade, koji su naši dugogodišnji saradnici i čija je aktivistica Jasminka Drino Kirlić u svojstvu organizatorke i predstavnice lokalne zajednice govorila nakon prikazivanja filma. Gosti na ovoj promociji su bili Zvonko Lucić, veteran rata iz Zagreba i Samir Ahmić aktivista iz Zavidovića, koji su bili protagonisti filma. Na promociji je prisustvovalo oko 50 ljudi iz lokalne zajednice i posebno važno ekipa lokalne TV stanice koji su napravili prilog o ovoj promociji i intervju za govornicima. Tokom diskusije koja je uslijedila nakon filma razgovaralo se najviše o problemima vezanim za podjele i nedostatak dijaloga među lokalnim ljudima. Atmosfera u sali gdje smo imali promociju je bila dosta teška i dosta ljudi je imalo pesimistične stavove, ali je preovladavao utisak kod ljudi da se nešto može i mora mijenjati po pitanju među nacionalnih odnosa kako na lokalnom tako i na širem nivou.

U Mostaru promocija je organizovana u saradnji sa Teatrom Mladih iz Mostara, čiji je voditelj Sead Đulić ujedno bio i akter promocije kao jedan od protagonista filma, uz gosta Zvonka Lucića iz Zagreba. Na promociji filma prisustvovalo je oko 30 ljudi. Nakon filma uslijedila je diskusija na kojoj se najviše moglo čuti da film prikazuje sadržajno ono što većina Mostaraca proživljava svaki dan i da je suočavanje s ratnom prošlošću i dijalog među ljudima nešto što itekako nedostaje u ovom gradu te da je stoga logično da su podjele još uvijek jako vidljive i ukorijenjene. U oba grada i Mostaru i Gornjem Vakufu/Uskoplju reakcije ljudi na film su bile pozitivne, ali sa druge strane ostaje utisak da postoji doza zasićenosti i bezidejnosti kod lokalnih ljudi o načinu nošenja sa teškoćama poslijeratnih podjela i nepovjerenja koji su za njih postali svakodnevnica i na koju se postepeno



navikavaju.

U Sarajevu smo prikazali film u Mediacentru uz prisustvo oko 75 ljudi i nekoliko novinara. Gosti koji su govorili nakon prikazivanja filma su uz autora filma Nenada Vukosavljevića bili Fra Ivo Marković, franjevački sveštenik aktivan na polju izgradnje mira i Dino Mustafić režiser i političar. U diskusiji nakon prikazivanja filma najviše se govorilo o nacionalizmu u BiH kao velikoj prepreci u procesu stabilizacije društva i potrebi da se iznađu drugačiji načini ophođenja sa tim problemom, gdje su ovakvi filmovi dobar primjer alternativnog pristupa.

Detaljni izvještaji za ove promocije objavile su nedeljne sarajevske novine *Dani* kao i novinska agencija *Deutsche Welle*.

I na kraju, film je otvorio Festival dokumentarnog filma o ljudskim pravima 2008 pod naslovom „Preko zidova“, održanog u Tuzli i organizovanog od strane Biroa za ljudska prava iz Tuzle. Data nam je prilika da

prikažemo film posle kratkog uvoda, a brojna publika i predstavnici lokalne vlasti primili su film veoma dobro i preporučili da se organizuju projekcije za mlade ljude širom BiH.



dokumentarni film "isprekidana crta"

Isprekidana crta (Испрекината црта - Linja e ndërprerë) je naslov dokumentarnog filma albansko-makedonskog simuliranog dijaloga koji je nakon godinu dana od dana početka snimanja, konačno završen. Naime, krajem marta i početkom aprila 2008. ekipa iz CNA je snimila 22 intervjuua uz pomoć i podršku naših bliskih saradnika/ca: Gorde, Margarite, Ane, Luana, Gorana, Bore, Safeta, Velje, Katarine i drugih.

Isprekidana crta o kojoj govori jedan od protagonista filma jeste simbolična slika sadašnjeg stanja u kojem je donekle sazrela svest o potrebi da se podvlačenjem crte prihvati i razume prošlost i time stvori osnova za novi početak odnosa dve zajednice, albanske i makedonske. No crta je isprekidana i kroz nju se provlače bolne stvari iz prošlosti interpretirane na destruktivan način, ometajući time pokušaje novog početka...

Sa tehničke strane, film je bio veliki zalogaj jer je po prvi put rađen sa prevodom, te je i u montaži filma bila neophodna povremena pomoć prevodioca. Film je titlovan na dva osnovna jezika, albanski i makedonski, te dodatna tri, srpski, nemački i engleski. Korištena je muzika autora iz Makedonije i sa Kosova, čije licenciranje je logistički

predstavljalo malu noćnu moru koju su u punoj meri izneli naši partneri i partnerice iz Makedonije. Na ovom mestu želimo posebno da se zahvalimo organizacijama Megjashi - Prva Detska Ambasada na Svetot iz Skoplja, te pilepskoj organizaciji Mirovna Akcija.

Predstoji nam predstavljanje filma publici u Makedoniji, što je planirano za jesen 2009. i dogovaranje oko prikazivanja na ondašnjim TV stanicama. Želja nam je

da promocije filma učinimo medijski vidljivim događajima u više mesta i da ostvarimo prisutnost mirovnih poruka u javnosti, ali i da povećamo svest o opasnosti koju nosi nerešavanje postojećih sukoba tj. o opasnosti koju upotreba sile nosi.

Nakon prikazivanja na TV, film će bez naknade biti dostupan za prikazivanje TV stanicama iz regiona, kao i zainteresovanim institucijama, organizacijama i pojedincima/cima.

Trailer na engleskom, srpskom i makedonsko-albanskom

je dostupan na: www.youtube.com/view_play_list?p=B690B7CB6B36972B

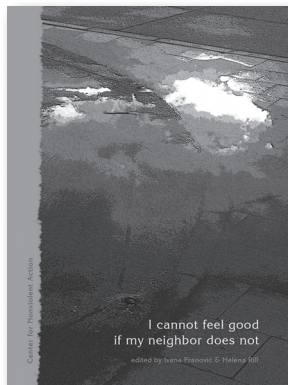
Više o samom snimanju filma možete naći u našem prethodnom izveštaju.



prevod knjige "ne može meni bit dobro, ako je mom susjedu loše" na engleski jezik

septembar/rujan 2009.

Ovog septembra izašla je iz štampe knjiga prevedena na engleski „Ne može meni bit dobro ako je mom



susjedu loše“, odnosno „I cannot feel good if my neighbor does not“ u izdanju CNA. Da podsetimo, radi se o zbirci intervjuja s ljudima širom bivše Jugoslavije, ljudima različitih profila: različitih, godina, profesija, pola, etničke pripadnosti. Oni govore o prošlosti, sagledavaju sadašnjost i dele svoje nade, strepnje i želje za budućnost. Knjiga je januara 2006. objavljena

višejezično - na srpskom/ /hrvatskom/bosanskom, makedonskom i albanskom.

Knjigu je na engleski preveo Nenad Porobić, a izdavanje su podržali Berghof Reasearch Center for Constructive Conflict Management, Berlin i Nemačko savezno ministarstvo za ekonomsku saradnju i razvoj.

Ovde prenosimo Predgovor za englesko izdanje knjige.

predgovor za englesko izdanje

Zbirka intervjuja pod nazivom „Ne može meni biti dobro ako je mom susjedu loše“ prvobitno je objavljena u zimu 2005, i to na srpsko/hrvatsko/bosanskom, albanskom i makedonskom jeziku. Svi ti jezici, zastupljeni u različitim krajevima regiona bivše Jugoslavije, bili su „uvezani“ u jednu knjigu, koja je, po rečima jedne od urednica Ivane Franović, trebalo da simbolizuje i „neraskidivu povezanost ljudskih sudbina u ovom regionu“. Povezanost, uprkos etničkim i nacionalnim omeđenostima. Ili povezanost *upravo zbog njih*...

Skoro pet godina kasnije odlučili smo da publikaciju prevedemo i na engleski jezik i tako je učinimo dostupnom i čitaocima van regiona bivše Jugoslavije. Na tako nešto potakli su nas različiti razlozi, raspoloženja i osećaji.

Od onih **pomalo banalnih** - brojni istraživači i aktivisti izvan našeg regiona neprestano su se raspitivali o čemu se radi u „velikoj narandžastoj knjizi“. Jel' to nešto o pomirenju? Teorijski radovi? A, svedočenja

ljudi... how interesting! Onda smo odlučili da nam je lakše da knjigu prevedemo na engleski, nego da stalno iznova objašnjavamo ono što uopšte nije lako objasniti. Niti prepričati.

Preko **solidarnih** - znajući koliko nama znači „živ“ materijal iz drugih konteksta, želeli smo da onima koje ova tematika zanima publikaciju učinimo dostupnom, sve nadajući se da će ona biti čitana i korišćena u krugovima koji se bave pitanjima izgradnje mira, suočavanja sa prošlošću i pomirenja. Sa aktivističkog, ali i akademskog i teorijskog stanovišta.

I tom smo stazom stigli i do vrlo **aktivističkih i političkih razloga**.

Naime... mislili ste da je kod nas „sad sve u redu“? Bili ste par puta u regiji, i baš je fino? Ljudi su, onako, prijatni, znaju da se vesele, druželjubivi su, nikakav se pritisak ne oseća. Nije baš da se ludo vole i poštuju međusobno, ali dobro, pa bio je rat, to je valjda *normalno*...

U pravu ste.

Kategorija „normalnosti“ dominantan je diskurs na ovim prostorima u poslednjih par godina. Stvari se normalizuju. *Odnosi se normalizuju*. Region je otvoren (kad već ostatak Evrope, i dobar deo sveta to za većinu nas nisu). Možemo da putujemo i da se posećujemo. Možemo da zajedno trgujemo. Gledamo iste filmove, slušamo istu muziku i čitamo (manje-više) iste knjige. Istovremeno ispunjavamo uslove za pristupanje EU i tako dalje, i tako dalje... Normalizovali smo stanje u našoj regiji, normalizovali smo naše odnose. A normalizovali smo i još ponešto, o čemu, ovako preko noći „uljudeni“ po najboljim savetima međunarodnih i domaćih „stilista“, radije čutimo.

Normalizovali smo mržnju, međuetničko nepoverenje, etnički čiste države i regione, prezir, podsmeh i gađenje spram drugog i drugačijeg. Normalizovali smo i odnos prema zločinima i nasilju iz (bliske) prošlosti koji se ogleda u sleganju ramenima i okretanju glave. Šta je bilo, bilo je. I svi su krivi. Osim „nas“.

Možda nas je i neka vrsta mirovno-aktivističke naviklosti navela da poverujemo da prevod ove knjige na engleski može biti doprinos jednom malo drugačijem shvatanju. Onom koje kaže - da, ovde su se desile promene, neke od njih i vrlo pozitivne. I istovremeno kaže - ali ovde je potrebno još mnogo rada želimo li da te pozitivne promene budu održive. I želimo li da se neke, još suštinskije i dublje promene stvarno dese. Potreban nam je ne bilo kakav rad, nego *mirovni rad*. Neophodno nam je delovanje koje počiva na uverenju

da imati pun frižider (npr.) hrvatskih proizvoda nije isto što imati i puno hrvatskih prijatelja. Da *mogućnost* da se putuje po regiji nije isto što i *potreba* da se ponovo obidu neka mesta i sretnu neki ljudi. Da deklarativna osuda zločina i deklarativno izjašnjavanje za mir (ili, još češće, protiv rata) nisu dovoljni da bismo zaista prestali da se plašimo jedni drugih i da bismo mentalne i stvarne mape u kojima se osećamo sigurno mogli obogatiti i toposima *sa one strane* granica.

Iz svih ovih razloga hteli smo da se podsetimo priča ljudi iz različitih krajeva našeg regiona na temu pomirenja. Te priče su prikupljane tokom 2004-e godine, koja, iz današnje perspektive, našem *normalnom* regionu izgleda kao neki davno prošli nagoveštaj lepših vremena.

Možemo samo pretpostavljati kakve bi odgovore na ista pitanja ljudi danas davali. Neki dugo sanjani nacionalni snovi su u međuvremenu ostvareni (Crna Gora) ili delimično ostvareni (Kosovo). Neki dugo

traženi zločinci (Gotovina, Župljanin, Karadžić) su izvedeni pred lice... Haškog suda. Bez sumnje dovoljno za povećanu dozu optimizma kod nekih ljudi. Mi pak ne delimo taj osećaj optimizma. Pre nam se čini da ćemo na stabilan mir, poverenje, pravdu, istinu i pomirenje morati još dugo da čekamo. Barem donde dokle naša društva ne shvate da se na lošim temeljima, i otrovnoj „zemlji“, ništa trajno ni dobro ne može izgraditi.

Sigurno je da taj trenutak nećemo čekati skrštenih ruku. Previše je krvi i žuči proliveno da bismo „kupili“ tu normalnost, koju, uzgred, skupo plaćamo. Toliko skupo da, pritisnuti svojim bolima, traumama, strahovima, dugovima više nismo svesni ni da imamo susede. A kamoli da, možda, tim susedima nije dobro sa nama/pored nas.

Ova knjiga je još jedan doprinos afirmaciji verovanja da „Ne može meni biti dobro ako je mom susjedu loše“. Nadamo se ne uzaludan.

Tamara Šmidling

ljudi i sećanja govore. usmene istorije u organizaciji ogi-ja

Novi Pazar, 23-25.10.2008.

Odbor za građansku inicijativu iz Niša u okviru projekta *Ljudi i sećanja govore* organizovao je trodnevni trening-seminar na temu beleženja sećanja i usmene istorije (UI). To je bio samo jedan deo edukacije koja je imala za cilj da se učesnici/e osposobe za vođenje intervjua/usmenih istorija koje će voditi u svojim sredinama. Trening/seminar su vodile Tamara i Helena iz CNA, te Neira Nuna Čengić iz Sarajeva i Milan Colić iz Beograda.

S obzirom da su seminaru prisustvovali mahom mlađi ljudi i to iz različitih sredina (Rudo, Priboj, Novi Pazar, Priština, Mitrovica, Niš) koji uglavnom nisu imali prilike da se sretnu s ljudima iz drugih država (odnosno nekadašnjih republika SFRJ), gledali smo da postavimo radionicu na način da damo osnovne informacije o usmenim istorijama, ali i da napravimo vezu sa prošlošću, odnosu prema njoj te kontekstu kojem ljudi pripadaju.

Teme koje smo pokrili su: komunikacija sa akcentom na slušanju i empatiji (kao važnom delu slušanja), zatim odnos prema prošlosti (kako se naše sredine odnose prema prošlosti), važnost razumevanja društvenog konteksta za rad na usmenim istorijama, o ćutanju naših sredina, važnost UI za rad na suočavanju sa prošlošću. Poseban blok je bio posvećen tehničkim i etičkim pitanjima UI. Što se tiče vođenja usmenih istorija, posebno je obrađen pripremni deo za intervjue, kako sam intervju treba da teče, te šta sledi posle in-

tervjua. Jedan poseban blok je bio posvećen 'vežbanju' vođenja intervjua gde su se učesnici/e podelili/e u parove i sproveli intervju na temu *Kako smo moja porodica i ja 'preživeli' devedesete?*

Taj blok je imao posebnu težinu jer oprobavajući se u obe uloge (uloga intervjuera/ke i intervjuisanog/e) imali su priliku da kažu svoju priču i da čuju tuđu, i te priče su bile prilično nabijene emocijama što ljudi nisu očekivali. Nakon intervjua, učesnici/e su imali instrukciju da zapišu svoje utiske, osećanja, misli i kasnije se o tome razgovaralo, a podelile su se i poteškoće, dileme itd. Posebno se napravio još jedan osvrt na *debriefing* (određena vrsta razgovora o tome gde smo i kako smo) zbog velikog emotivnog naboja ljudi ono što su rekli i onog što su čuli.

Poteškoće koje smo imali smo rešavali u hodu. Do poslednjeg momenta se nije znalo koliko će ljudi učestvovati, da li ćemo raditi uporedo dve radionice (po dvoje trenera/ica) ili samo jednu (ali s većem brojem učesnika/ca), kako ćemo s prevodom (bilo je potrebno da se obezbedi prevod što nije bilo učinjeno) itd. No, s druge strane, organizatorka Mirjana Vojvodić je dala sve od sebe kako bi stvari funkcionisale.

Ovo iskustvo nam je bilo dragoceno, a svakako će nam pomoći pri organizovanju usmenih istorija sa ratnim veteranima i mirovnim aktivistima, planiran za juli 2009. (edukacija) i sprovođenje intervjua za knjigu, planiranu za 2010.

H.R.

radionica: suočavanje s prošlošću i bivši borci

Bonn, Nemačka, 25-26.11.2008.

Akademija za mirovnu civilnu službu⁴ iz Bona, Nemačka, sprovodi edukativne kurseve za ljude koji počinju da rade kao eksperti/savetnici za izgradnju mira. Edukacija se sastoji od mnogih modula/radionica koje drže spoljni treneri/predavači. Učesnici su i

Nemci/zapadni Evropljani i ljudi iz zemalja koje su bile pogođene ratom, koji su angažovani u izgradnji mira (i srodnim poljima).

Uz podršku Stephana Claussa koji je bio ko-trener, održao sam (N. V. iz CNA) dvodnevnu radionicu, sa

⁴ Akademie für Konflikttransformation im Forum Ziviler Friedensdienst e.V., www.forumzfd-akademie.de/en-af/about

donekle ambicioznim ciljevima i sadržajem:

- Važnost ratnih veterana za mirovne procese
- Ratni veterani, pitanje takozvanih "kvarilaca" tj. aktera sklonih nasilju, nasuprot mirovnim potencijalima
- Rasuđivanje i zaključivanje u pristupu radu s bivšim borcima
- Pitanje ratnih zločinaca i uloga pravde
- Značaj stida, traume i moći
- Razvoj inkluzivnih i sistematičnih pristupa
- Suočavanje s prošlošću kao primer praktičnog pristupa

Naravno, za tako kratko vreme mogao je biti dat samo kratak uvod u navedene teme.

Verujem da su mnogi učesnici razmislili o sopstvenim predrasudama i stereotipima vezanim za bivše borce i spoznali da se ova društvena grupa može posmatrati ne samo kao pretnja, već i kao grupa sa ogromnim potencijalom za izgradnju mira.

Čini se dobrom ideja da se u koncept radionice uključi i preispitivanje opšteg pristupa, koje je bilo povezano s dokumentarcem u kojem su polaznici mogli da prepoznaju ista pitanja, samo postavljena na životan i praktičan način.

Namera da se ne ponude 'recepti za rad sa veteranima rata' pretila je da dođe u sukob sa očekivanjima

učesnika da upravo to dobiju, ali verujem da je bila opravdana, zato što je poenta u tome da se nauči koja su to pitanja koja treba da postavim sebi u određenom kontekstu, umesto da koristim modele koji su se pokazali korisnim u nekim drugim kontekstima.

Kako je jedna od mojih najvažnijih poruka spoljnim akterima da moraju delovati kao podrška lokalnim strukturama, a ne na svoju ruku, na ovoj radionici sam se podsetio da ne bi trebalo bezgranično slušati i slediti lokalne ljude. Pri kraju radionice grupa podeljena u 2 podgrupe radila je na zadatku da nabroji i objasni potencijalne aktivnosti koje bi se mogle sprovesti sa bivšim borcima. Iskustvo mi kaže da su predlozi koje su dali lokalni ljudi bili veoma nerealni, iz konteksta iz kojeg ja dolazim, i da su uveliko bili vođeni „akcijom vođenom projektom“ umesto „potrebama vođenim odgovorom“. Tako je moja osnovna poruka, koja bi se pojednostavljeno mogla sažeti u „lokalni ljudi bolje znaju“, relativizovana, a ja sam se potsetio da to možda nije uvek istina. Svedeno, ostajem pri stavu da „lokalni ljudi imaju više prava da deluju od stranaca“, ne zaboravljajući pri tom, da duboko senzibilizirani spoljni akteri u saglasju sa ne samo obučanim, već i istinski motivisanim i posvećenim lokalnim ljudima, mogu dati izvanredan doprinos izgradnji mira.

N.V.

17

trening: narativi i intergeneracijsko prenošenje traume

Novi Sad, 04-05.03.2009.

Dvodnevni trening o istorijskim narativima i intergeneracijskom prenošenju traume održan je početkom marta u prostorijama novosadskog Centra za ratnu traumu (CzRT).

Trening su pripremile i vodile Amela Puljek-Shank (MCC Sarajevo) i Tamara Šmidling (CNA), za grupu od 15-ak učesnika/ca koji zajednički prolaze kroz program obuke za facilitatore/ice u organizaciji CzRT.

Rad sa grupom sastavljenom od psihologa/ica i bivših učesnika rata bio je izazovan, dinamičan i vrlo intenzivan. U zgusnutom rasporedu tokom samo dva radna dana, tematizovana su pitanja odnosa narativa i identiteta; narativa i traume; diskutovano je o mehanizmima za stvaranje slika neprijatelja i o mogućnostima za njihovu dekonstrukciju i uspostavljanju dijaloga. Jedno od centralnih pitanja je bilo: kako nam grupe i njihovi narativi daju opravdanje i dozvolu za činjenje nasilja nad drugima.

Diskusije su bile duge i sadržajne, na momente i žučne. Autentičnost veteranskog iskustva onemogućavala je da priča „pobegne“ na sigurniju - apstraktnu i teorijsku ravan. Kontekst Vojvodine (ponovo)

je pružio sočan materijal za razumevanje važnosti suptilno prikazanih narativa, čak i kada je, barem naizgled, situacija daleko od dramatične.

Deljenje ličnog ratnog iskustva jedne od voditeljica svakako je bio centralni momenat treninga, koji je pomogao jednoj grupi učesnika/ca da se pomere iz svoje pozicije onih za koje je rat nešto što se dešavalo daleko od nas, i što sa nama ima malo veze. Za druge je deljenje tog ličnog iskustva bila prva prilika da se čuje lična priča nekoga sa, do juče, „neprijateljske strane“. Time smo, neplanirano, dobili priliku da na „živom“ materijalu vidimo kako narativi deluju, ali i kako se dekonstruišu u susretu sa „ljudskom stranom drugoga“.

Sve u svemu, bila je to između ostalog, i odlična prilika za trenerski par da radi na daljem razvijanju koncepta treninga na temu narativa, traume i pomirenja. Taj proces započet je još prošle godine, sličnim treningom u Centru za ratnu traumu, a ovim je napravljen još jedan značajan korak ka poboljšanju i unapređenju koncepta za koji se nadamo da će doživeti još širu primenu u budućnosti.

T. Š.

tribina: dom je tamo gde stanuje sloboda

Linz, 19.03.2009.

Linz je 2009. godine kulturna prestonica Evrope, uz grad Viljnus u Litvaniji.

U okviru čitavih serija raznih kulturnih manifestacija u Linzu je organizovan i serijal javnih tribina/ razgovora na temu "Gradjanski ratovi u Evropi u XX veku", u okviru kojeg je tema bila i rat/ovi u bivšoj Jugoslaviji. Predstavnik CNA je bio gost tribine i govorio o iskustvima posleratne izgradnje mira, a osim voditelja tribine g. Kloesch-a, govorila je i gđa Miličević koja je poreklom iz bosanske Posavine a od rata živi u Austriji i radi na pomoći izbeglicama u Austriji. Ona je u svom delimično potresnom izlaganju govorila o svom ličnom iskustva života u tuđini i iskustvu gubitka doma. Govorila je i o tome šta svojoj deci govori o prošlosti i na koji način se trudi da njima ne usadi mržnju spram drugih naroda.

Tridesetak prisutnih su mahom činili Austrijanci, a među nekoliko građana poreklom iz bivše Jugoslavije, može se slobodno reći da se posebno istakao predstavnik jedne bosanske imigrantske organizacije. On je već pre tribine pismeno uložio žalbu što podnaslov tribine sadrži odrednicu građanski rat, smatrajući to

iskrivljavanjem stvarnosti, a takođe je i pre i tokom tribine izrazio svoje nezadovoljstvo činjenicom da niko od govornika nije po nacionalnosti Bošnjak. Taj „nedostatak“ je isti značajno nadomestio svojim istaknutim, čestim i vrlo opširnim izlaganjem, u par navrata prekidajući protestima dela publike, koji su tražili da i drugi dobiju reč.

Ma koliko opskurno to zvučalo, potreba za vođenjem dijaloga između ljudi različitog porekla sa prostora ex-YU postoji i u Austriji očigledno. Utoliko je sigurno, ovaj jednodnevni naporan put u Linz imao barem dvoznačnog smisla. Sa jedne strane, to je korak ka uspostavljanju komunikacije i sa onima sa kojima to nije lako i uobičajeno (dijaspora „patriotskog“ naboja), a sa druge strane je bilo važno preneti zainteresovanim ljudima u Austriji iskustva i izazove sa kojima se susrećemo u izgradnji mira u regionu.

Inače i inicijalni kontakt sa organizatorima tribine je usledio po preporuci naših dugogodišnjih prijatelja i saradnika, austrijskih mirovnih aktivista.

N. V.

seminar: difficult memory places in europe

Tuzla/Srebrenica/Sarajevo, 22-29.05.2009.

Zanimljiv seminar koji se bavi načinima na koja društva i kolektivi pamte događaje iz prošlosti, održan je u maju mesecu u Tuzli, Srebrenici i Sarajevu. Organizatori su okupili grupu od 25 učesnika/ca iz Nemačke, Francuske i Bosne i Hercegovine, sa osnovnim ciljem rada na temi ophođenja sa istorijom i mestima sećanja u ove tri zemlje.

Među učesnicima/ama je bilo dosta mladih ljudi, studenata/ica, ali i onih iskusnijih sa dugim stažom rada u ustanovama koje se bave pitanjima kolektivnog pamćenja i ophođenja prema prošlosti. Neke od tih ustanova su: Memorijalni centar Oradur u Francuskoj, Memorijalni centar Dahau i Jevrejski muzej u Nemačkoj.

Ovo je bila treća, završna faza, nakon prva dva dela organizovana tokom 2008.godine u Limožu/Oraduru i Dahau-u.

Kao deo ovog seminara, dve članice našeg tima, Sanja i Tamara, pripremile su prezentaciju rada CNA na polju suočavanja sa prošlošću. S obzirom da je centralno pitanje ove poslednje faze seminara bilo - Pomaže li svest o istoriji mirovni i društveno-politički angažman -

smatrali smo da prezentacija našeg rada može pomoći u davanju pozitivnog odgovora na to pitanje.

U skoro dvočasovnom razgovoru dotakli smo se različitih aspekata rada CNA na ovom polju, pri čemu je najviše interesovanja, očekivano, izazvao naš rad sa bivšim borcima. Tematizovan je bio i širi kontekst našeg rada u regionu bivše Jugoslavije, posebno u BiH, čije se kompleksnosti čine izvanrednim poljem za proveru i testiranje nekih globalnijih postavki rada na suočavanju sa prošlošću. Možemo li kreirati odgovornu i pravednu politiku sećanja u duboko podeljenom društvu kakvo je danas BiH? Ili će ta politika i u doglednoj budućnosti ostati isključivo nacionalna?

Naravno da ova pitanja i nakon ovog susreta ostaju otvorena, verovatno i za mnoge buduće generacije. No, ovaj nam je susret dao inspiraciju za daljnji i fokusiraniji rad na ovom interesantnom polju, a nadamo se da smo i mi uspele da inspirišemo barem deo grupe da nastave sa svojim veoma relevantnim društvenim angažmanom.

Za više informacija o ovom programu kontaktirajte organizatore:

- Centre de la Mémoire d'Oradour
- DDJS Haute-Vienne et Limousin
- Jugendgästehaus Dachau
- IPAK Tuzla

- Centre André Malraux Sarajevo
- Deutsch-Französisches Jugendwerk

T.Š.

seminar: tragom vjere i mira

Vlašić, 28-31.05.2009.

Na Vlašiću je organizovan četvorodnevni seminar pod nazivom „Tragom vjere i mira“ čiji je inicijator bila organizacija „Mali koraci“ iz Sarajeva. Voditelji seminara su bili Goran Božićević iz Miramida centra iz Grožnjana i Adnan Hasanbegović član CNA tima.

Generalna ideja ovog seminara je bila poticanje na mirovni aktivizam vjernika/ca i analiza potencijala unutar religijskih tradicija islama i k(h)rišćanstva na polju izgradnje mira.

Ovo je bio seminar namjenjen grupi od 20-tak učesnika/ca koji dolaze iz islamske tradicije za područja BiH. Grupa je formirana od članova/ce različitih organizacija, imama i vjeroučitelja/ca. Čitav koncept ideje se sastoji od još dvije faze, gdje bi se na drugom seminaru formirala grupa sastavljena od ljudi iz h(k)rišćanske tradicije, a na trećem završnom bi se formirala grupa od 40-ak ljudi sa oba predhodna seminara i zajedno radili da temama vezanim za religiju i njenu ulogu u procesu izgradnje mira.

Koncept seminara je zamišljen kao kombinacija interaktivnih radionica, predavanja, plenarnih diskusija i rada u malim grupama. Teme koje su se obrađivale su izgradnja mira, liderstvo, religija i aktivizam u sklopu radioničarskog dijela, kao i predavanja Amre Pandžo (voditeljica „Malih koraka“) na temu: Mirovna dimenzija Islama, Muhameda Jusića (teolog iz Bugojna): Šta ku'ranski ajeti i muslimanska tradicija govore o miru?

I Ugo Vlasisavljević (profesor filozofije sa sarajevskog Univerziteta): Etničko i religijsko - nužnost ili izbor.

Radionice i predavanja su bile dosta inspirativne sa dosta temeljnim diskusijama o ulozi muslimana/ki u društvenom ambijentu poslijeratne BiH i pomirenju, nacionalizmu, društvenoj odgovornosti itd. Većina učesnika/ca iskazala je zadovoljstvo ovim seminarom kao i želju učešćem u sljedećim fazama ovog programa.

Neke od izjava učesnika/ca u evaluaciji seminara:

- *Imam moć da upoznajem pametne ljude. Čekam septembar s nestrpljenjem.*

- *Ovakva vrsta okupljanja u mojoj sredini je doslovno zabranjena. Trudiću se da razvijam ovo i u svojoj sredinu.*

- *Hvala na pozivu, uživao sam u susretu. Jedva čekam septembar. Drago mi je što sam vas upoznao sve. Dosta će mi pomoći u radu s djecom. Nedostatak seminara je veliki problem.*

- *Bilo je super sve na ovom seminaru. Predavači su me oduševili. Puno sam naučila, uvezala prethodno stečena znanja. Dobro ukomponirana dva gostujuća predavača.*

Više detalja o ovome seminaru možete dobiti od organizatorke: amrap70@gmail.com

A. H.

19

druga post-jugoslovenska mirovna akademija

Sarajevo, 26.07 - 04.08.2009.

Organizatori: MCC South-East Europe, CNA, Terca Sarajevo, Nansen Dijalog Centar Sarajevo

Franjevački studentski dom u Sarajevu je i ovoga leta bio mesto okupljanja ljudi iz regiona bivše Jugoslavije, Nemačke, SAD, Severne Irske... Razlog okupljanja bila je druga Mirovna Akademija, na kojoj je ove godine učestvovalo pedeset učesnika/ca, koji su pohađali neki od tri ponuđena kursa:

- *Aktivizam reloaded, Goran Božićević & Paul Stubbs*
- *Pamćenje: sećanje i zaboravljanje, Stef Jansen*
- *Understanding Internal Dynamics of Societies in Conflict, Orli Fridman*

Ono što je prošle godine započeto kao hrabra ideja sa potpuno neizvesnom budućnošću, nastavilo je da živi i da se razvija u pravcu uspostavljanja jednog od retkih konstantnih naprednih programa mirovnog obrazovanja na našim prostorima.

Uspesi

Sama činjenica da je organizacioni tim ostao na okupu više od tri godine, uprkos neretkim razmimoilaženjima i razlikama u viđenju nekih stvari,

u našem kontekstu predstavlja veliki uspeh. Postoji osećaj da se i prostor za dijalog i saradnju u našem timu vremenom razvija i postaje kvalitetniji, pa nam je drago ako možemo doprineti da saradnja ne bude samo mrtvo slovo na papiru.

Uspeli/e smo da ponudimo tri potpuno nova kursa ove godine i da krug voditelja/ica i saradnika/ca proširimo novim ljudima, spremnim da čine napore u pravcu afirmisanja mirovnog rada i smanjivanja jaza između akademskog i aktivističkog.

Veliki je uspeh i što smo uspeli/e da zainteresujemo dovoljan broj ljudi iz regije, ali i izvan nje, da apliciraju za ovaj program i učestvuju u procesu razmene, učenja i refleksije. Ove godine smo dobili 80 prijava, što smatramo velikim uspehom s obzirom da nismo pokrivali putne troškove i da su sve planirane promotivne aktivnosti morale biti otkazane zbog nedobijanja planiranih sredstava. Od toga je odabrano 51 osoba, za učešće na tri kursa. Zbog problema sa finansiranjem broj učesnika po sesiji smo smanjili sa 20 na 17. Ponovo je problem bio mali odaziv sa Kosova, a iznenadio nas je popriličan broj prijava od ljudi koji su potpuno izvan našeg regiona (od Irske do Nigerije).

Posebno smo zadovoljni/e medijskom pokrivenošću ovogodišnje Akademije. Brojne novinarske ekipe na svečanom otvaranju MA 09 su nas dosta iznenadile i pomalo „zatekle“. Još nas je više (prijatno) iznenadilo interesovanje novinara/ki koje nije jenjavalo ni tokom prva četiri dana trajanja naše aktivnosti. Rezultat svega toga su brojni intervjui objavljeni u štampanim medijima i na internet portalima, prilozi u informativnim emisijama skoro svih relevantnih elektronskih medija, gostovanja na radio stanicama... Nadamo se da ćemo uspeti da prikupimo sav taj materijal i objavimo ga na našoj web strani, na uvid svim zainteresovanim osobama.

S obzirom da se utisci tek sležu, a da evaluacija kompletnog procesa Mirovne Akademije 2009 još nije napravljena, možemo očekivati da će uvidi o dodatnim uspesima tek doći u vidu budućeg angažmana naših polaznika/ca i njihovog povećanog uticaja na političke, intelektualne i kulturne tokove u našim društvima.

Neuspesi

Najveći neuspeh vezan za MA 09 odnosi se na nemogućnost da obezbedimo finansijska sredstva za prvobitno planirane dve sesije sa ukupno šest kurseva. Tako se ispostavilo da nam je namicanje sredstava i dalje najslabija tačka u čitavom sklopu rada na MA. U toku priprema za ovogodišnju Akademiju ovom pitanju smo posvetili/e posebnu pažnju, nastojeći da što bolje iskoristimo postojeće kapacitete i dopunimo ih „una-jmljivanjem“ kapaciteta spolja. Međutim, naš trud se nije pokazao naročito uspešnim usled različitih okolnosti - od svetske ekonomske krize, iznenadnog pre-

kida saradnje sa *fundraiserom*, preko neočekivanih i neobjašnjivih okolnosti sa odgovorima nekih donatora. Zbog svega toga smo morali da otkazemo čitavu jednu sesiju sa tri kursa. Ostaje nam veliko pitanje kako ćemo namicanje sredstava organizovati u budućnosti, jer želimo da Mirovna Akademija traje, a očigledno je da neće moći da potraje sa ovako neefikasnim *fundraisingom*.

Izazovi i pogled unapred

Izazova je u proteklih godinu dana bilo raznih i raznolikih.

Jedan od najrelevantnijih pojavio se u vidu pokušaja da započnemo proces strateškog planiranja za narednih pet godina. To je otvorilo čitav niz veoma važnih pitanja koja se tiču strukture tela koje Akademiju organizuje, vizija za budućnost, mesta koje za Mirovnu Akademiju želimo na mapi edukativnih programa u našoj regiji...

Rad na organizovanju jedne ovakve aktivnosti zahteva jako puno ulaganja, vremena, energije i kreativnosti. Kako Akademija raste i razvija se postaje sve jasnije kako se takav posao ne može raditi „sa strane i usput“. Neophodna nam je drugačija i jasnija organizacija i još veća posvećenost, dok nas istovremeno pritiskaju brojne druge obaveze i aktivnosti. Veliki je izazov za sve nas da kreiramo optimalan način i strukturu koja će nositi Mirovnu Akademiju u narednom periodu, kao i da svaka organizacija i pojedinac/ka jasno definišu svoje mogućnosti i željenu ulogu u celoj ovoj priči.

Drugi izazov podjednake važnosti tiče se programskog i metodološkog određenja Mirovne Akademije kao **naprednog programa mirovnog obrazovanja**. Veliki zadatak je pred nama da jasnije definišemo gde želimo da se pozicioniramo na tom polju, i kakvu vrstu prenošenja i primanja znanja želimo da ohrabrujemo ovim programom. Iz prve faze evaluacije ovogodišnje MA vidljiva su različita poimanja/ideje šta Akademija jeste i šta bi trebalo da bude, pa ćemo se već na evaluaciji čitavog programa u septembru morati detaljnije pozabaviti ovim pitanjima.

Na to promišljanje o budućem profilu i mestu Mirovne Akademije posebno nas je potakla evaluacija kursa „Aktivizam reloaded“ i uvidi koje smo tom prilikom dobili i od strane učesnika/ca, i od strane voditelja kursa. Jedan deo učesnika/ca bio je dosta nezadovoljan konceptom kursa i načinom na koji je kurs vođen, smatrajući da kursevi na Mirovnoj Akademiji treba da ponude jasniji spoj teorijskih koncepata i praktičnog rada, te da imaju jasniju i (čvršću) strukturu i fokus. Voditelji su, sa druge strane, istrajavali na svom krajnje otvorenom i fleksibilnom konceptu, bez jasno postavljene linije „podučavaoci - oni koje treba učiti“ i sa potpunim fokusom na razmenu ličnih iskustava i uvida.

Tenzije su bile, što bi se reklo, vidljive golim okom i dosta su uticale na tok, dinamiku i sadržaj rada na tom kursu. Pred organizatore se postavio novi izazov - da li i kako reagovati? U nekoliko navrata smo razgovarali/ e sa voditeljima kurseva, kako bismo zajednički doprineli da kursevi u najvećoj mogućoj meri odgovaraju onome što je definisano u dokumentu pod imenom „Metodološki okvir kurseva“ i oko čega je postojalo slaganje pre samog početka MA. Ono što nikako nismo hteli jeste da intervenišemo u sadržaj i metodologiju kursa izvan onoga što naša uloga nalaže. Bilo je jasno da se radi o sudaru različitih koncepcija između voditelja i iskusnijeg dela grupe, a da je naša odgovornost za ubuduće da što bolje izdefinišemo koji to model(e) želimo poticati, kao i da ga što bolje prezentujemo potencijalnim učesnicima/ama kako ne bi dolazilo do ovakvih razmimoilaženja u očekivanjima.

Veliki će izazov i u budućnosti biti zainteresovati dovoljan broj iskusnih ljudi da se prijavljuju na MA. No ono što u tom pogledu ohrabruje jeste već formi-

rana jezgrica (njih 10) učesnika/ca koji učestvovali na obe Mirovne Akademije i čiji potencijal želimo iskoristiti u promociju ovog programa u budućnosti. Posebnu pažnju potrebno je posvetiti promociji programa na Kosovu odakle dobijamo nimalo ili vrlo malo aplikacija. Svesni smo da je jezik velika prepreka, ali ćemo ipak pokušati da kroz kontakte sa lokalnim organizacijama na Kosovu približimo ideju Mirovne Akademije tamošnjim aktivistima/cama i teoretičarima/kama.

Izazova dakle ne manjka, kao što ne manjka ni inspiracije i entuzijazma za dalje. Svakako će i inspiracija i entuzijazam morati biti nadopunjeni još nekim elementima kao što su opsežno, detaljno i precizno planiranje i neophodna nadogradnja kapaciteta. Reputacija koju MA već sada uživa, kao i preko sto učesnika/ca i grupa izuzetnih voditelja/ca koji su doprineli ugledu Akademije, obavezuju nas na još ozbiljniji, odgovorniji i promišljeniji pristup organizovanju ove aktivnosti. Jer više nema nazad ☺.

T. Š.

miramidani: dani izgradnje mira „kamo idemo i idemo li tamo zajedno?“

Grožnjan, Hrvatska, 11-15.09.2009.

Tokom pet septembarskih dana u Grožnjanu se okupilo pedesetak aktivista/ica, teoretičara/ki, novinara/ki, umetnika/ca, muzičara i onih čiji profesionalni identiteti nisu lako određivi ili su tek u procesu formiranja. Okupio ih je skup o *promirenju* tokom kojeg su upriličene brojne radionice, predavanja, diskusije, prezentacije, dva okrugla stola i jedna izložba. Okupila ih je radoznalost, te profesionalna, a u nekim slučajevima i duboko lična povezanost sa problemom (po)mirenja.

Svi prisutni sa sobom su doneli/e mnoštvo pitanja i hrpu različitih shvatanja šta pomirenje jeste ili nije, a šta bi, pak, trebalo da bude. Širina problema kojim se bavimo, o kome mislimo, ili koji živimo, tako nas je tokom tih kišno-sunčanih dana češće zbunjivala nego osnaživala. Češće ostavljala sa hrpom novih nedoumica, nego sa odgovorima za kojima smo žudeli/e. Osećaj da smo usamljeni u sopstvenom razumevanju ovog problema ponekad je odnosio prevagu nad osećajem da se razumemo i pričamo istim jezikom. Pa ipak, neizrecivo je dragocena bila ta prilika da se stvari sagledavaju iz više (neočekivanih) perspektiva, da se sopstveni rad prevrednuje i nakon svega - još više ceni.

Kao i svi pionirski pokušaji da se problemi obogate novim dimenzijama i poljima, i Miramidani su imali svoja „šepanja“ (duge popodnevne plenarne sesije), nespretne korake (nije li program možda, ipak,

bio preteran?), na momente nejasan fokus („i... šta smo ono hteli sa ovim pitanjem“). No, iznad svega i prvenstveno, Miramidani su ove godine hrabro otvorili nova polja promišljanja, bez kompleksa i suviše pretencioznosti kročili na neke, do sada uglavnom neposećivane, terene (društveno odgovorno poslovanje i pomirenje; mirovno novinarstvo, hip-hop i izgradnja mira itd.) i (p)ostali prepoznatljiv slobodan forum za susrete i razmenu, mesto refleksije i samorefleksije. I definitivno potvrdili da spadaju u red onih aktivnosti koje sa protokom vremena i povećavanja vremensko-prostorne distance samo dobijaju na važnosti, relevantnosti i aktuelnosti.

Osmislili i priredili: Miramida Centar Grožnjan i CNA

Radionice, prezentacije i uvodna izlaganja pripremili/e: David Bloomfield, Vesna Kesic, Jasminka Drino-Kirlic, Brian Phillips, Vlasta Jalušić, Vladan Beara, Tihomir Ponoš, Rajko Božić, Eugen Jakovčić

Na okruglim stolovima (veza pomirenja i poslovnog sektora, te umetnosti i pomirenja) govorili: Vladimir Cvijanović, Goran Ješić, Igor Galo i mnogi drugi/e

Svoje video radove i fotografije izlagali: Adela Jušić, Igor Roginek, Nenad Vukosavljević, Biljana Cincarević, Sašo Alušeovski, Davor Konjikušić i Nedžad Horozović

Pričali/e i mislili/e smo sledeće teme: Tko se s

kim treba miriti? Treba li? Pomirenje kao provokacija; Etničko ili etičko u pomirenju; Kako se miriti nakon teških rana?

I još: kakve veze ima hip-hop sa izgradnjom mira; možemo li nešto naučiti od festivala EXIT; postoji li takva stvar kao što je mirovno novinarstvo; je li pravda za žrtve kroz REKOM katarza ili utopija; iskustva

podeljenih zajednica i šta sa njima itd.

Aktivnost je podržalo Ministarstvo inostranih poslova Norveške.

Ukoliko želite da saznate više o ovogodišnjim Miramidanima rado ćemo vam e-mailom poslati brošuru. Samo je zatražite!

T. Š.

trening razmene u organizaciji war resisters' international

Bilbao/Baskija, 26-30.10.2008.

Trening razmene iz nenasilnog delovanja održao se u Bilbaou u organizaciji War Resisters' International (WRI) u saradnji sa KEM-MOC (sekcijom WRI u Baskiji).

Trening je bio namenjen trenerima/icama koji vode treninge iz nenasilne akcije i aktivistima/kinjama koji imaju iskustvo rada na tom polju, pa je tako i Helena, članica CNA, učestvovala na njemu. Cilj ovog okupljanja je razmena iskustva i znanja, produbljivanje pojmova i razumevanja nenasilja, a tema se obrađivala i na nivou senzibilizacije, zatim sa strateškog aspekta, kao i kroz razvoj i obezbeđivanje podrške grupama koje rade na nenasilju. Važnost ove razmene se ogleda i u različitim kontekstima iz kojih aktivisti/kinje dolaze, koristeći različite metode i iskustva u svom radu.

Neka od pitanja na kojima se radilo su: kako se trening iz nenasilja menjao i adaptirao tokom godina, koju ulogu trening u nenasilju igra u pokretima za društvenu promenu, novi metodi treninga iz nenasilja,

izazovi s kojima se susrećemo, kako raditi treninge s međunarodnim učesnicima/ama, razmena 'alatki' i vežbi.

WRI je ujedno predstavio svoju publikaciju "Handbook for Nonviolent Campaigns" koja se može naći na sajtu <http://wri-irg.org/node/3855>

Učesnici/e su bili/e iz različitih delova sveta (od Kolumbije, preko SAD-a, evropskih zemalja do Indije...) iz potpuno različitih društava, različitih iskustava, odnosno aktivističkih *bekgrunda*. Bilo je ne samo sjajno čuti njihova iskustva, razmeniti razmišljanja, dileme, pitanja, izazove, nego je ujedno bilo osnažujuće i ohrabrujuće za dalji rad. Sem toga, upoznati ljude koje "znaš" samo iz knjiga, tekstova ili iz akcija o kojima si čitala, i čuti ih "uživo" je bilo izazovno.

Inače, WRI ima dugu istoriju rada na nenasilnim akcijama, a više o organizaciji možete naći na web stranici: http://www.wri-irg.org/network/about_wri.

H. R.

sastanak qpsw i partnerskih organizacija iz regije

Umag, 15-18.02.2009.

U Umagu je održan trodnevni susret QPSW i partnerskih organizacija koje su sarađivale posljednjih 18 godina na polju izgradnje mira na prostoru bivše Jugoslavije. Tih 18 godina od kada su Kvekeri aktivnije prisutni u regiji obilježile su značajan broj partnerstava, projekata i saradnje na nacionalnim, lokalnom i regionalnom nivou sa nekoliko organizacija aktivnih na poljima izgradnje mira, ljudskih prava, mirovne edukacije, suočavanja s prošlošću, itd. Ovaj susret je bio, može se reći, rezime djelovanja QPSW u regiji uz prisustvo 30-ak aktivista/ica organizacija iz Hrvatske, Srbije, BiH, i kvekerskih ureda iz Velike Britanije i Belgije. S obzirom da QPSW od ove godine neće imati urede u regiji ovo je bila i neka vrsta pokušaja sagledavanja novih mogućih načina saradnje i podrške koje

Kvekeri kao i civilna društva iz zemalja EU mogu pružiti lokalnim organizacijama i inicijativama

Radionice su poslužile kao prostor za razgovore i analize o prethodnim godinama rada, presjeka prošlih, trenutnih i budućih aktivnosti za kojima postoji potreba da se održe i osnaže. Također su inspirativne bile razmjene uspomena i sagledavanje niza pojedinih veza, aktivnosti i projekata o čemu je većina prisutnih imala šta reći.

Interesantne su bile i prezentacije studija koje su rađene u okviru QPSW regionalnih projekata. Prva pod nazivom „Grassroot peacebuilding and enlargement“ koji nudi prijedloge za prioritete djelovanja na polju izgradnje mira, lobiranja na nacionalnim nivoima u regiji i na nivou EU. Druga prezentacija ticala se meha-

nizama i protokola vezanih za evropske integracije, kao i prezentacija studije o percepciji ljudi iz Srbije, Hrvatske i BiH o tome kako vide EU i evropsku budućnost zemalja zapadnog Balkana.

Ova studija se čini važna jer ukazuje na nedovoljno poznavanje, neinformisanost i predrasude kod lokalnih ljudi o tome šta jeste EU i koje dileme i poteškoće nas očekuju na tom planu.

Susret je bio i značajan po tome što je uz veći broj

mirovnjaka/inja prisustvovalo i nekoliko ljudi iz vetersanske populacije koji se sve više uključuju u mirovne aktivnosti u regiji.

Uglavnom susret je protekao u radnoj i prijateljskoj atmosferi uz utisak da se saradnja i kontakti na polju izgradnje mira nastavljaju i dalje.

Za više informacija o ovom događaju možete se obratiti na: miramida@zamir.net

A.H.

međunarodni trening: nenasilje u kontekstu rata ili oružanog sukoba

Wustrow/Nemačka, 16.06.-03.07.2009.

Kao član tima Centra za nenasilnu akciju sam učestvovao na međunarodnom treningu pod nazivom "Nenasilje u kontekstu rata ili oružanog sukoba" koji je organizirala sestrinska organizacija KURVE Wustrow iz Njemačke. Trening se održao u gradiću Wustrow, sjedištu organizacije, od 16. juna do 3. jula 2009. godine. Na treningu je učestvovalo šesnaest mirovnih aktivista/ca iz Njemačke, Sudana, Palestine, Južnoafričke Republike, Nepala, Kolumbije, Malezije, Bangladeša, Šri Lanke i Nigerije, od kojih je većina već imala iskustvo izgradnja mira u svojim lokalnim sredinama.

Cilj treninga je bio usavršavanje nenasilnih vještina transformacije konflikta u kontekstu rata ili oružanog sukoba. Teme treninga su bile principi nenasilja, nenasilne direktne akcije i nenasilne intervencije; razumijevanje i transformacija konflikta; politička analiza, strategija i rad na pomirenju u društvima pogođenim ratom; praćenje i prijavljivanje kršenja ljudskih prava, kao i rad na promociji ljudskih prava; nošenje sa stresom, strahom i traumatičnim iskustvima; donošenje odluka putem konsenzusa i timski rad; kulturološka i rodna senzibilizacija.

Rad na treningu je bio radioničarskog tipa, s visokim stepenom učešća polaznika i polaznica. Obradivane teme su se sagledavale iz ugla prvenstveno ličnog iskustva i promišljanja koje ga slijede. U grupi se nisu svi/e podjednako čuli/e, neki/e od učesnika i učesnica nisu iskoristili/e taj prostor prvenstveno zbog nedovoljnog poznavanja engleskog jezika koji je bio radni. Preostaje mi pitanje da li je važnije odlično poznavanje engleskog (u nekim od navedenih zemalja još obavijenim plaštom brutalnog viševjekovnog kolonijalizma) ili princip solidarne inkluzivnosti zarad osnaživanja osoba koje rade u vrlo teškim ratnim uslovima (Šri Lanka i Palestina), pa makar i po cijenu otežanog rada, uspostavljanja komunikacije i razumijevanja?

Nekoliko radionica su ostavile snažan utisak na mene. Najupečatljivija je bila dvodnevna radionica

koja je obradila nenasilnu direktnu akciju, detaljni prikaz procesa donošenja konsenzusa kroz praksu (odlučivanje o grupnom učešću u nenasilnoj direktnoj akciji kojom se naglašava značaj lične odgovornosti za globalno zagrijavanje, s naglaskom na pretjeranu i neodgovornu upotrebu automobila). Stimulativna je bila i radionica koja se bavila idejom "Do No Harm" (iliti ne čini štetu) koja tematizira probleme koji se javljaju kada pomoć međunarodnih organizacija rezultira u pojačavanju podjela između strana u konfliktu. Autorica istoimene knjige, Mary B. Anderson, pruža neke od mogućih alternativa.

Učesnici i učesnice treninga su također dobili/e priliku da predstavljaju lokalni kontekst iz kojeg dolaze kao i njihov udio u težnji za promjenama u okviru istog. Te prezentacije, kao i druženje s grupom u neformalno vrijeme, su mi dali dovoljno fizičkog momenta da se otkačim i od naše dnevno-političke stvarnosti i od nekih slika ostatka svijeta koje su prvenstveno stvorene od strane najuticajnijih medija zarad sopstvenih interesa.

Tokom ovog treninga mi je vrlo značajno bilo i upoznavanje sa njemačkim kontekstom, pogotovo sa načinima na koje se njemačko društvo ophodi spram iskustva Drugog svjetskog rata, kao i trenutni odnos spram manjina. Društva sa ratnom i zločinačkom prošlošću prolaze kroz slične procese u kojima samo višedecenijski okviri mogu predstavljati referentni okvir uspjeha (ili neuspjeha). Ipak, vremenski okviri služe kao korito koji bujicu društvenih procesa pridržavaju u jednom od dva pravca - prema sistemskom i sistematičnom ozdravljenju ili prema metastazi zločinačkih ideja i politika.

Iako trening, sa svojom glavnom temom - nenasiljem u kontekstu rata ili oružanog sukoba, denotacijom ne odgovara trenutnom kontekstu u kojem djeluje Centar za nenasilnu akciju, mislim da glavni utisak s kojim sam se vratio, a to je da je *nenasilje* opcija koju ne bi nikad trebalo zanemariti, treba brižljivo njegovati. (N. P.)

koalicija za rekom

Iako to nije vest, čini nam se važnim napisati nekoliko reči o Koaliciji za REKOM (Regionalna komisija za utvrđivanje činjenica o ratnim zločinima) prvenstveno zbog onih koji možda nisu imali prilike da za nju čuju.

Inicijativu su još 2006. godine pokrenule nevladine organizacije iz regije: Fond za humanitarno pravo iz Beograda, Documenta iz Zagreba i Istraživačko-dokumentacioni centar iz Sarajeva. U oktobru 2008. na skupu u Prištini zvanično je formirana Koalicija, kojoj je pristupio nezanemarljiv broj prvenstveno nevladinih organizacija, ali i pojedinaca/ki, kao i neka od udruženja žrtava i veteranskih udruženja. U maju 2009. u Podgorici održana je i prva Skupština članica Koalicije.

Misija Koalicije jeste zalaganje za uspostavljanje Regionalne komisije za utvrđivanje *činjenica* o ratnim zločinima i drugim teškim kršenjima ljudskih prava na prostoru bivše Jugoslavije koju će sporazumno *osnovati države* koje su nastale na teritoriji bivše SFRJ.

Do sada je održano na desetine regionalnih i na-

cionalnih konsultacija na kojima su učestvovali predstavnici različitih društvenih grupa i gde su diskutovali o mehanizmima za utvrđivanje činjenica o ratnim zločinima, a potom i o tome kakva Komisija je potrebna regionu bivše SFRJ i kakav bi mandat trebalo da ima. Konsultativni proces bi trebalo da se okonča do kraja 2010. godine i to prikupljanjem milion potpisa podrške građana. Koalicija za REKOM će izraditi predlog modela Komisije i predaće ga na usvajanje parlamentima država u regionu.

Kritičara i kritika ove Koalicije ne nedostaje, od kritika same inicijative, preko kritika strategije, do kritika nosilaca procesa. Međutim, bez obzira da li će ova inicijativa uspeti i ispuniti svoju misiju, njena velika vrednost jeste u samom pokretanju ovog procesa i organizovanju javnih dijaloga u kojima učestvuju različite interesne grupe. A takav proces treba podržati.

Više informacija o koaliciji za REKOM možete naći na stranici www.korekom.org.

I.F.

bosna i hercegovina – proizvodnja ubilačkih identiteta⁵

„Sve dok mesto neke osobe u društvu nastavi da zavisiti od njene pripadnosti ovoj ili onoj zajednici, time ovekovečujemo jedan izopačen sistem koji samo može da produbi podele (...) Jedini častan cilj je borba da se prema svakom građaninu postupa kao prema građaninu s punim pravima, ma kakve bile njegove pripadnosti“

Amin Maalouf

Iz države/zemlje BiH ni ove godine dobrih vesti. Prethodnih dvanaest meseci nisu gotovo ni u jednom segmentu političkog i društvenog života doneli olakšanje ili značajniji napredak. Naprotiv, moj lični osećaj, ljudski i profesionalni, govori mi da situacija nikada nije bila teža u zadnjih skoro petnaest godina. Opasna odsutnost bilo kakvog konstruktivnog političkog rešenja za „slučaj Bosna“, kao i zastrašujuća žilavost politika mržnje i podele, ne ostavljaju puno prostora za optimizam. Ne ostaje zapravo gotovo nimalo prostora za mišljenje izvan ustoličenih kategorija etničkog, verskog, „kulturnog“. A „teror“ navedenih, okamenjenih i jednom-za-svagda definisanih kategorija, svakodnevno uzima svoj danak zbog koga ovo društvo iz dana u dan postaje sve nepoželjnije mesto za život hiljada obrazovanih i mladih ljudi koji odlaze glavom bez obzira. Koliko je tek teško tu živeti stotinama hiljada osiromašenih i obespravljenih radnika/ca, penzionera, nezaposlenih, ne treba ni naglašavati.

Bez obzira kako imenovali procese koje smatramo prioritetnim za BiH, većina se slaže da je jako teško doći do pozitivne društvene promene u državi kojoj su principi vladavine etničkog principa i sa njim povezane diskriminacije upisani u sve institucije. Od Ustava, preko parlamen(a)ta, do obrazovnog sistema. Ljudska i građanska prava podvrgnuta su tako vrhovnom principu „pripadnosti etničkoj grupi“ koji je nepresušan rezervoar kako upitnih privilegija, tako i diskriminacije.

Pregled koji sledi je samo delić onoga čime smo svakodnevno „čašćavani/e“ u prethodnom periodu.

Daleko je Evropa?!

Od 01. januara naredne godine oni građani/ke ove tužne države koji nisu imali sreće da se dočepaju nekog drugog pasoša (uglavnom hrvatskog ili srbijanskog) ostaće sa druge strane „sanitarnog kordona“ koji pravi Evropska Unija, i koji se, naravno, nikada ne naziva tim imenom. Jer, valjda, nije „civilizovano i u skladu sa evropskim vrednostima“. Drugim rečima, građani/ke BiH, zajedno sa građanima/kama Kosova, te Albanije, i dalje će biti onemogućeni da putuju bez viza u većinu evropskih zemalja. S obzirom da preduslove za ukiđanje viznog režima vlasti u BiH nisu ispunile ljudi će i dalje stajati u redovima za vize, a mladi će „inostranstvo“ i dalje gledati na televiziji. Nesposobnost, nerad i bahatost lokalnih političara platiće oni koji ih biraju iz godine u godinu i možda će ih, nadajmo se, jednom i kazniti zbog svega. Pošteno? Samo na prvi pogled.

Bez ikakve želje da u bilo kom pogledu amnestiram lokalne institucije ogromne odgovornosti za nerad i nesposobnost, moram primetiti da ovakvu odluku EU smatram lošom i dugoročno opasnom za BiH, ali i stabilnost čitavog regiona. Ta odluka pokazuje da se BiH tretira kao (uglavnom) funkcionalna država, što, nažalost, zbog ogromnih unutrašnjih podela i izraženih opstrukcija sakrivenih iza navodne zaštite „vitalnih nacionalnih interesa“, nije slučaj. Ona dalje pokazuje potpuno odsustvo sluha za kompleksnu i veoma osetljivu poziciju u kojoj se nalazi BiH na planu među-etničkih i međudržavnih odnosa. Ona nam, naposljetku, po ko zna koji put demonstrira nemoć evropske administracije da misli izvan skućenih, administrativno-birokratskih okvira kada je Bosna u pitanju.

Odmah po saopštenju ovakve odluke iz Brisela, u javnom prostoru u BiH naglo su ojačala dva diskursa. Prvi je onaj o starom i poznatom anti-islamskom raspoloženju Evrope kao glavnom razlogu za takvu odluku. Evropska islamofobija je, po tom diskursu, odavno dokazana, a ovim je samo potvrđeno da za

⁵ Ovde se koristim izrazom Amina Maaloufa, čija knjiga „Ubilački identiteti“ (Les identités meurtrieres) jako dobro osvetljava problem kolektivnih identita i mehanizma pretvaranja „običnih i dobrih“ ljudi u ubice i zločince onda kada osete da je njihovo pleme/grupa ugroženo. Mislim da se u današnjoj BiH upravo dešava proces proizvodnje „ubilačkih identiteta“, a da su glasovi koji se tome konstantno suprotstavljaju, nudeći jasnu alternativu, nejak i malobrojni.

„nas“ (Bosance, Turke, Albance - jednom rečju evropske muslimane/ke) nema mesta u toj i takvoj Evropi. Kada se uzme u obzir da je argument „islamofobije“ postao omiljena brana Islamske zajednice pred bilo kojom, ma kako opravdanom, vrstom kritike postaje još jasnije koliko će teško biti dekonstruisati taj alibi posle ovakve odluke EU. Drugi diskurs, potencijalno još maligniji za ovo društvo, dodatno viktimizira bošnjački narod i tretira ovu odluku kao još jednu u nizu istorijskih nepravdi nanetu toj grupi. Nakon ogromnih patnji i stradanja pretrpljenih tokom rata 1992-1995, nakon indolentnosti i mlakih reakcija međunarodne zajednice na genocid i etničko čišćenje koji su se godinama nesmetano odvijali, sada su, kazuje taj narativ, na red došle post-ratne uvrede koje zaobilaze dželate, i nepogrešivo pogađaju žrtve.

Sami prosudite koliki je potencijal ovakvog raspoloženja za konstruktivan pristup iznalaženju političkog rešenja za BiH, za trezvenu analizu nerada lokalnih političara/ki, te za jačanje pro-evropskog raspoloženja i radnog elana.

Beda poricanja, beda mržnje

Podeljenost BiH nije novost, kao što nije novo ni da svaki od tri konstitutivna naroda u ovoj državi iz godine u godine svoju kolektivnu pripadnost naciji definišu kroz mitomanske i selektivne interpretacije bliže i dalje prošlosti. Te interpretacije, očekivano, izostavljaju nasilje i nepravde koje je „naša“ grupa počinila, dok se drugi demonizuje i sagledava isključivo kroz slike neprijatelja.

Ipak, ono što je novo u odnosu na period od pre par godina, jeste frapantno povećan prostor za bezočno poricanje i relativizaciju zločina iz prošlosti koji su „hrabro“ prokrčili vodeći političari Republike Srbije, na čelu sa premijerom ovog entiteta - Miloradom Dodikom.

Ovaj političar koji je pre par godina na vlast došao kao dugo željena alternativa SDS-u, za vrlo kratko vreme prigrabio je enormnu moć u RS-u, tamošnje medije stavio pod svoju kontrolu, gotovo u potpunosti disciplinovao civilnu scenu i dao istorijski prilog mržnji i netrpeljivosti na ovim prostorima. Radoznali čitatelj/čitateljka lako će na internetu pronaći izjave iz Dodikove bogate riznice, čije su težina i ozbiljnost, s obzirom na političku poziciju na kojoj se on nalazi, u mogućnosti da za pet minuta potru rezultate višegodišnjeg mukotrpnog mirovnog rada. Za potrebe ovog teksta pomenuću samo njegove izjave o prljavom Sarajevu, pardon Teheranu, nepodobnosti muslimanskih (sic!) sudija koji ne mogu suditi „nama u Republici Srpskoj“, i poslednju koja kaže da su zločini na tuzlanskoj Kapiji i sarajevskoj pijaci Markale „inscenirani“ kako bi se izolovala Srbija i Srbi na ovim prostorima“.

Tako su širom otvorena vrata za svako moguće zlonamerno izvrtanje i interpretaciju zločina počinjenih na prostorima BiH i šire, bez obzira ko ih počinio. To je nedvosmisleno zeleno svetlo da se proces proizvodnje „ubilačkih identiteta“ koji u ovom društvu ionako ozbiljno tinja - sada nesmetano rasplamsa i prodeluje. A suvih grančica za potpalu ne manjka ni na jednoj od tri (konstitutivne) strane i to treba shvatiti što je ozbiljnije i što je pre moguće.

Beda „moralnih vertikalâ“

Kao po pravilu, teška i krizna vremena na površinu izbacuju intelektualni i etički mulj i talog. Kada etičnosti nema ni na mapi, a moralni relativizam osvaja čitavu javnu sferu, pojavljuju se vođe i vođice, da svoje stado, valjda viđeno kao nemo i slepo, provedu kroz mrak i razveju maglu „smutnog vremena“. Ne manjka nam takvih ni u BiH, a najbrojniji su u verskim zajednicama, te „moralne vertikale“, koji se, iako u sprezi sa zločincima i kriminalcima, ne libe da svako malo očitaju bukvicu drugima - neverujućima, nemoralnima, nepodobnima.

Svakako najmoćniji među njima je reis Islamske zajednice u BiH Mustafa ef. Cerić, koga često nazivaju i najmoćnijim bošnjačkim političarem. I kome se takvo tituliranje nimalo ne gadi, kao što mu nije mrsko ni prijateljavanje sa ljudima iz kriminalno-nacionalno-patriotskog miljea.

Duga je lista Cerićevih izjava koje su izricane sa pozicije moralne superiornosti, a koje potiču nacionalizam ili relativizuju kriminalne radnje nekih od njegovih prijatelja i saradnika. No, koliko se daleko može otići u branjenju svojih problematičnih *moralističkih* pozicija najjasnije je pokazao jedan poseban slučaj, poznat kao „Gluha Bukovica“.

Gluha Bukovica (simboličnog li imena!) je seoce u srednjoj Bosni u kome je nekoliko roditelja maloletnih devojčica prijavilo slučajeve seksualnog zlostavljanja njihovih ćerki od strane lokalnog imama Rešada Omerhodžića koji je decu podučavao veronauci. Slučaj je ubrzo dospao u medije, a očajni roditelji su, u želji da zaštite svoju decu, bili spremni da javno progovore o sramnim dešavanjima u selu. Usledila je „ekskomunikacija“ tih roditelja od strane „doličnih“ članova/ca zajednice, napadnute su novinarske ekipe koje su pokušale da izveštavaju o pomenutim događajima, a IZ je stala u odbranu imama koji je, tek nakon što je osuđen⁶ za pomenuta nedela, premešten iz datog džemata! Podrška od strane vodećih ljudi IZ mu međutim nikada nije uskraćena. Reakcija efendije Cerića na ove slučajeve pedofilije zaista je bila nečuvena. Bez nedvosmislene reči osude, bez jasno iskazanog saosećanja za traumatizirane devojčice i njihove porodice, Cerić je otišao u Gluhu Bukovicu, bukvalno saslušao jednu od

⁶ Općinski sud u Travniku je Rešada Omerhodžića prvostepenom presudom proglasio krivim i osudio ga na 18 meseci zatvora zbog vršenja bludnih radnji nad maloletnom osobom.

devojkica, pitao je da objasni kako ju je imam dirao po kolenima i kakav je izraz lica imao i na kraju izjavio da oni koji olako izleću sa ovakvim optužbama protiv zvaničnika IZ - ne poznaju i ne razumeju bosansko selo!!! Svaki dodatni komentar je suvišan.

Gotovo istovremeno, iz jednog drugog uporišta „moralnih vertikalā“ - Univerziteta u Sarajevu, javnost je počašćena nečim što se po žutoj i žućkastoj štampi nazivalo „seks skandal na Pravnom fakultetu“. Iza tog prostačkog imena krije se zapravo ozbiljna afera korupcije i seksualnog iskorištavanja studentica isturenog odeljenja u Tuzli, od strane tri vrlo profesora Fuada Saltage, Bajre Golića i Zdravka Lučića. U celom slučaju je najstrašnije bilo ćutanje sa fakulteta i univerziteta u vezi sa ovim slučajem, te gotovo potpun izostanak reakcija iz čitave tzv. akademske javnosti. Teško je onda ne osetiti zebnju kada se pomisli na sve druge stvari na koje bi Akademija trebalo da reaguje, a ona to uporno ne čini...

Postavlja se logično pitanje ko ima integritet i kredibilitet da reaguje u ovakvim i sličnim slučajevima? Čiji je taj glas koji se čuje dovoljno u jako u zemlji u kojoj vaše ime i prezime, porodično stablo i krvna slika presudno utiču na percepciju vaših reči? Očigledno je da to nisu uspavani intelektualci niti anemična civilna scena. Jasno je takođe da je tragično da sav trud spadne na novinare/ke onih slobodomislećih medija koji ionako grcaju u dugovima i pod političkim pritiscima i na par

uvek istih aktivista/ica. Ko će da reaguje? Pitanje je za sve nas...

I šta još?

Kako ovaj tekst ne bi imao desetine strana, ovde ćemo se zaustaviti i samo ovlaš pomenuti još izuzetno tešku ekonomsku situaciju (ovde velika kriza traje već godinama), katastrofalnu situaciju radnika i penzionera, odsustvo bilo kakve socijalne solidarnosti („nek štrajkuju tamo na trotoaru, šta zaustavljaju saobraćaj“), smanjen osećaj bazične sigurnosti na ulicama većih gradova, estradno-politički kič u kome se bukvalno gušimo...

Nije nimalo lako pored svega spomenutog održati motivaciju za mirovni rad u BiH. Previše je toga što demotiviše i plaši, premalo je vidljivih rezultata i napretka. I izgradnja mira se ovde, poput čitavog društva, uglavnom kreće račjim hodom - korak napred, dva koraka nazad. Uglavnom kao pokretačka snaga ostaje čist inat i čvrsto uverenje da se uvek i svuda vredi boriti za društvo i institucije koje ne diskriminišu i ne posipaju benzin po tlu kojim hodimo - ma koliko ta borba ponekad izgledala nemoguća i neravnopravna. Ono što nam svakako treba kao hleb je više delovanja, manje šuplje; i mnogo više spremnosti na razgovor i dijalog, a mnogo manje moralisanja iz udobnih i dobro uhlebljenih pozicija, pa bile to pozicije političara/ki, verskih poglavara ili civilnog društva.

Tamara Šmidling

crna gora

Pisanje izvještaja iz Crne Gore iz godine u godinu postaje sve teže, jer je gotovo nemoguće izbjeći konstantno ponavljanje istih stvari i opisivanje istih fenomena. Ukoliko se kojim slučajem posle dvadeset godina nekim naučnim eksperimentom uspavani - danas probudi iz duboke kome (u nekoj vrsti hibernacije većina se još uvijek nalazi) i zatekne u CG, jedine novine koje bi uvidio jesu par podgoričkih mostova, par luksuznih hotela i šoping molova i par sijedih vlasi na ništa manje lijepoj glavi istog nam premijera. Trenutno su oči javnosti ponajviše uperene u ekonomsku krizu, što je „opravdanje“ za niz loših poteza i nepokretanja raznih važnih pitanja od strane crnogorske vlasti.

Izveštavanje o istom izbornom rezultatu donosi samo tu novinu da je vladajuća koalicija (već dvije decenije ista) na martovskim parlamentarnim izborima odnijela pobjedu od blizu 70% glasova, što je nezapamćeni izborni rezultat na Balkanu u novije vrijeme. Niz afera koje se vezuju za starog-novog premijera, počev od optužnice podignute u Bariju za organizovanje šverca cigareta, preko onih nedavnih za organizovani kriminal i prijateljstva sa Canetom

Subotićem i ostalim licima s Interpolove potjernice, kao i mnogobrojni izvještaji stranih organizacija o velikom stepenu korumpiranosti, organizovanog kriminala itd. izgleda da nisu bili dovoljni da se bilo kakva promjena desi. Naprotiv, što je veći broj afera i optužbi, to je bolji izborni rezultat, što samo ukazuje na činjenicu da moć malog broja ljudi u CG neprestano raste. Sa rastom moći trebalo bi da i tolerancija, ali - i što je mnogo važnije - odgovornost raste, međutim, upravo se dešava suprotno - da se „moćnici“ ne libe da moć demonstriraju na najneposredniji mogući način. Jedan od primjera toga jeste nedavni incident u kojem je gradonačelnik Podgorice Miomir Mugoša, skupa sa svojim sinom (gle slučajnosti - službenikom Ministarstva inostranih poslova i trećim sekretarom ambasade CG u Vašingtonu) fizički nasrnuo na fotoreportera i zamjenika urednika dnevnog lista *Vijesti*, koji su pokušali da fotografiju jedan od gradonačelnikovih automobila nepropisno parkiran. Tom prilikom su im otac i sin nanijeli niz lakših i težih tjelesnih povreda. Reakcije medijske zajednice, opozicionih partija, nevladinih organizacija, kao i optužbe novinara i *Vijesti* nisu izostale. Međutim,

izgleda da zakon u Crnoj Gori nije isti za sve, budući da je državna tužiteljka podigla optužnicu protivu Mugoše mlađeg i urednika *Vijesti*, dok se kontra gradonačelnika glavnog grada za sada nije pokrenuo nikakav postupak (o skidanju imuniteta trenutno postoje tek blijedi nagovještaji, ali sve je to još u sferi imaginarnog). Dotični se, naravno, brani kontraoptužbama, navodeći da su on, njegov sin i vozač bili žrtve napada...

Izvjestavanje o "novoformiranoj" Vladi Crne Gore donosi istog premijera, iste ministre, ali i povratak Svetozara Marovića - sada novog-starog potpredsjednika Vlade, koji je krenuo stopama svog prijatelja premijera - stopama "velikog povratka" na političku scenu. Da sve liči na latinoameričku sapunicu, postarao se sam potpredsjednik Vlade, organizujući "veličanstvenu" svadbu svom sinu u hotelu Splendid, svadbu na kojoj su u vremenima krize gostovali Ceca Ražnatović, Haris Džinović, Ana Bekuta, Severina i ostali Svetovi estradni prijatelji, ali i razni svjetski biznismeni, svadbu za koju su neki mediji izvijestili da je koštala oko 500 000 eura.

Na putu k evropskim i NATO integracijama Crna Gora je, između gostovanja Pamele Anderson (revitalizatorke crnogorske privrede) i Berluskonija (revitalizatora crnogorske elektroprivrede), dobila upitnik od strane EU, koji je prva istinska provjera sposobnosti CG da uđe u porodicu evropskih država. Paralelno sa time, kampanja o priključivanju NATO alijansi sve više uzima maha. Skupština (vladajuća većina) odobrila je odlazak crnogorskih vojnika u Avganistan i time dovela Crnu Goru na korak do članstva u NATO. Ono što najviše brine je da, osim rijetkih usamljenih negodovanja, organizovanije anti-NATO ili bilo kakve anti-militarističke kampanje u Crnoj Gori nema.

Trenutno vrlo zanimljiva stvar je - po ocjenama mnogih - sramna dokapitalizacija Elektroprivrede Crne Gore; naime, data je prednost italijanskoj firmi sa znatno nižom finansijskom ponudom (u tom smislu, nije li simptomatična nedavna Berluskonijeva posjeta?) što je oštetilo manjinske akcionare za oko 50 miliona eura. Situacija s ostalim crnogorskim firmama (KAP, Boksiti, Mljekara...) nije ništa bolja; hiljade radnika štrajkuje - uzaludno.

Nedavno je Ministarstvo prosvjete i nauke Crne Gore odobrilo novi crnogorski pravopis koji su zbog neslaganja unutar komisije za standardizaciju jezika izradili stručnjaci koji nisu iz CG niti su lingvisti, što je izazvalo burne reakcije kako protivnika crnogorskog jezika,

tako i same komisije za standardizaciju. "Zahvaljujući" pravilu "Piši kao što zboriš" u crnogorski jezik, koji se temelji na lingvistici i gramatici srpskog, unijeta su dva nova slova: š i ž. Brojne su i svakodnevne polemike za i protiv ovog jezika - s jedne strane postoje mišljenja da je to tvorevina koja služi da se srpski jezik izvrgne ruglu, te da se nasilno stvori crnogorski identitet, dok s druge strane imamo pokušaje da se preko izgradnje najmlađe grane slavistike - montenegristike i zvanično ustanovi novi jezik, kao prirodan odraz "stanja na terenu".

Na polju suočavanja sa prošlošću velika je novina to da je Skupština Crne Gore usvojila deklaraciju UN o osudi svih zločina počinjenih u ratovima na teritoriji bivše Jugoslavije, sa Srebrenicom kao simbolom svih zločina, u kojoj je stradao najveći broj ljudi od Drugog svjetskog rata. Za deklaraciju nije glasala opozicija, zahtijevajući da se prije nje donese deklaracija o zločinima u toku i neposredno po Drugom svjetskom ratu, kao i sumnjajući da je potez usvajanja deklaracije od strane DPS-a pokušaj ne direktnog suočavanja s prošlošću, već izbjegavanje i prebacivanje odgovornosti na režim u Srbiji. U skladu s ovim zahtjevima, dugogodišnji zahtjevi za zakonom o lustraciji, koji bi direktno pogodio ljude iz vrha vlasti, bivaju rezignatno odbacivani.

Slučaj Kaluđerski Laz je i dalje u toku, a sudski proces protiv čuvara u logoru Morinj, u kojem su mučeni hrvatski ratni zarobljenici se u posljednjih godinu dana nije pomjerio unaprijed. Direktni počinioци su na optuženičkim klupama, dok se ljudi iz tadašnjeg političkog i vojnog vrha ne pominju. Najnovija vijest vezuje se za izdavanje međunarodnih potjernica za licima koja su direktno učestvovala u deportaciji 79 Muslimana iz Herceg Novog. Sva lica za kojima je izdata potjernica se nalaze na teritoriji republike Srbije, a neka imaju srpsko državljanstvo što, po svemu sudeći, onemogućava njihovo isporučivanje u Crnu Goru, jer prema srpskim zakonima, oni mogu biti isporučeni samo tribunalu u Hagu.

Najavljeno je i formiranje dokumentacionog centra, po uzoru na ostale dokumentacione centre ratova 1990-99. iz regiona, čiji će zadatak biti prikupljanje i arhiviranje informacija o svim nastradalim i učesnicima ratova u Bosni, Hrvatskoj i na Kosovu, a koji su (bili) građani Crne Gore, što bi bio pozitivan korak u procesu suočavanja sa prošlošću.

Kristina Bojanović i Radomir Radević

hrvatska

U posljednjih godinu dana, u Hrvatskoj ništa suštinski novo, osim što su zbog gomile unutrašnjih i

međunarodnih problema sa Slovenijom usporeni pregovori za ulazak u Evropsku uniju. Zbog svega toga

polako se istopila voštana maska najsređenije države u regionu i neki procesi i pojave u hrvatskom društvu postali su nešto vidljiviji.

Republika Hrvatska je sekularna država. Tako je barem definirano člankom 41. Ustava RH koji u svom prvom paragrafu navodi: „Sve vjerske zajednice su jednake pred zakonom i odvojene od države.“ Realni život kao da je malo u nesuglasju s ovom konstatacijom budući da su dogme i učenja katoličke crkve zašla gotovo u sve pore javnog i političkog života i uređuju živote ljudi mnogo vidljivije nego ikad prije.

Hrvatska je nedavno dobila vrlo konzervativni zakon o umjetnoj oplodnji i iako su pompozno najavljivane promjene zakona i dalje netaknuto ostaje ono najkontroverznije, a to je da na nju imaju pravo samo bračni parovi i osobe koje mogu dokazati da su najmanje tri godine u izvanbračnoj zajednici. Nadalje, u udžbenicima biologije koji su verificirani od Ministarstva prosvjete i sporta stoji kako je abortus ubojstvo ljudskog bića i može narušiti ženino zdravlje, kroz udžbenike vjeronauka istospolni odnos se navodi kao grešan i pogrešan oblik seksualnosti, posebne pogodnosti za dizanje stambenog kredita imaju mladi bračni parovi, a reproduciranje crkvene dogme učestalo se očituje i u pravosudnom sustavu kroz tumačenje muškog nasilja nad ženama koje vrlo često ostaje nesankcionirano.

Ovo su samo neke od situacija koje pokazuju kako kršćanska dogma postaje politički fiksirana i utiče na živote svih građana i građanki Hrvatske ne uzimajući u obzir drugačije identitete i drugačije svjetonazore.

Svi oni/e koji se pobune, svako pozivanje na ustavne odredbe o odvojenosti države i crkve, a nije da ih je baš malo, uglavnom dobiju mogućnost da iskažu što žele, ali društvenog dijaloga nema pa uglavnom bivaju prešućeni/e, marginalizirani/e i sve se i dalje odvija po starom. Svako pozivanje na ustavne odredbe o odvojenosti države i crkve pa dolazilo ono i od predsjednika republike Stjepana Mesića koji je nedavno zahitijevao da se iz javnih prostora uklone vjerski simboli i raspela, završe oštom osudom većine konzervativnih političara i vrha katoličke crkve pozivanjem na hrvatsku katoličku tradiciju i „više vrijednosti“ kao da je to primarni i najveći državni interes.

Biskupi se osjećaju prozvanima da sugeriraju i to kakav bi trebao biti sljedeći predsjednik republike što se nedavno moglo čuti na javnoj propovijedi biskupa Štambuka koji je povodom blagdana Hrvatskih mučenika izjavio kako bi sljedeći Hrvatski predsjednik ipak trebao biti katolik. To bi valjda značilo da će samim time biti i dobar čovjek, mudar i odlučan političar. Prošli premijer nam je bio katolik sa nekoliko svećenika i časnih sestara u obitelji, pa se u trenutku političke krize bez konkretnog objašnjenja povukao sa čela Vlade i ostavio državu na cjedilu.

Dok raslojavanja između bogatih i siromašnih postaju sve očiglednija, svakodnevno svjedočimo štrajkovima ljudi koji mjesecima ne primaju plaće, što je još jedna od zaostavština privatizacije i loše gospodarske politike „smjernih katolika“. Iz državnog proračuna se izdvaja oko 350 milijardi kuna za potrebe katoličke crkve, a socijalne i zdravstvene reforme idu u smjeru toga da ljudi sebi ne mogu priuštiti ni dostojan život ni dostojnu skrb o zdravlju. Vrlo kršćanski u jednoj katoličkoj državi...

Žalosno je što to što u Hrvatskoj monokulturi najviše šanse za opstanak imaju oni/e koji ispunjavaju dvije vrlo uske identitetske odrednice - Hrvati i katolici. I po mogućnosti da ne talasaju i ne preispituju puno.

I novi gradonačelnik drugog grada po veličini u Hrvatskoj - Splita, biznismen i poduzetnik Željko Kerum, također se deklarira kao Hrvat i katolik. Ti identiteti mu očito daju mnogo prava. Nakon nekoliko mjeseci njegove vladavine teško je ne primijetiti kako su stvari postavljene obrnuto: grad i gradska dobra služe gradonačelniku, a ne gradonačelnik gradu.

Nedavno je gostujući u jednoj emisiji na državnoj televiziji u udarnom terminu izjavio da srpske poduzetnike ne bi dovodio jer kako dalje kaže, oni nam nikad nisu dobro donijeli kao ni Crnogorci i kako nema šanse da mu zet bude Srbin.

Isto tako, kaže on, svatko mora znati gdje mu je mjesto u ovoj zemlji.

Eto, Kerum je samo javno izrekao ono što puno ljudi u Hrvatskoj misli i mada su te njegove izjave naišle na oštre osude od strane nekih hrvatskih političara/ki kao i na osude iz civilnog društva, apsurdno je što županijsko tužiteljstvo nije podiglo optužnicu protiv njega uz obrazloženje kako nije imao za cilj propagiranje i raspirivanje nacionalne mržnje. A kako se onda raspiruje nacionalna mržnja i po kojim kriterijima se to određuje?

Otprilike u isto vrijeme još jedna presuda je donešena i izašla je u javnost. Naime, koordinatrica Autonomne ženske kuće Neva Tolle, također u televizijskoj emisiji 2003. godine nazvala je zlostavljateljem muškarca nepravomoćno osuđenog za nasilje u obitelji. Vijeće od tri sutkinje Županijskog suda proglasilo ju je krivom za uvredu nakon postupka koji je trajao šest godina.

Je li nam ovo poruka da tako završavaju oni/e koji su spremni/e javno problematizirati nasilje u porodici koje bi tradicionalno trebalo ostati između četiri zida? Valjda se to i ne doživljava kao opasna društvena pojava u našem društvu, kao ni Kerumove izjave kao govor mržnje.

Jer naime, pozivali smo te iste Srbe da nam dođu ove godine na more i da spase turističku sezonu u ovo doba recesije. Pokoja masnica na oku, razbijeni farovi, izgrebana farba prosto je dio folklora jer su to valjda

i zalužili/e. Kako kaže Kerum „Svatko treba znati gdje mu je mjesto u ovoj zemlji“.

Ali odnos prema Srbima u lijevopj našoj domovini i tako je više isprana tema, a onu šacicu koja se vratila nakon rata i tako samo davno zaboravili/e i dobro je dok su u manjini jer tako neće stvarati probleme.

Dokle god govorimo o popravljaju odnosa prema „drugima“ na deklarativnoj razini i dokle god zakon zaista ne bude podjednako primjenjivan prema svima i dok nam cijeli sistem to ne bude mogao garantirati ne možemo govoriti o korjenitoj društvenoj promjeni.

Važno mi je u ovom tekstu spomenuti studentsku blokadu najprije zagrebačkog Filozofskog fakulteta koja se kasnije proširila na većinu fakulteta diljem Hrvatske. Ovu inicijativu pokrenula je Nezavisna inicijativa studenata za pravo na besplatno obrazovanje koja je u javnom prostoru pokrenula priču o zaboravljenim društvenim vrijednostima - socijalnoj pravdi i jednakim pravima za sve neovisno o tome iz kojeg društvenog

sloja dolazili/e. Inicijativa je podržana od strane nekih profesora, civilnog društva, sindikata i brojnih drugih javnih osoba bez obzira što ju je resorni ministar Primorac okarakterizirao kao pobunu studenta instrumentaliziranih od strane nekih političkih opcija. Valjda se u našem društvu ne očekuje da se netko neposredno angažira za uređenje vlastite sudbine.

Iako je blokada fakulteta prekinuta nakon 34 dana, a studenti za sada nisu ostvarili svoja prava, Nezavisna inicijativa za besplatno obrazovanje i dalje djeluje i dalje talasa i nadajmo se da neće stati jer da bi se stvari mijenjale očito je nužan konstantni organizirani pritisak „odozdo“.

Na svima nama koji/e činimo to Hrvatsko društvo je da pokažemo kako ipak nije najbolje i najsigurnije koristiti svoje pravo na šutnju, trpljenje i samosažaljenje...

Sanja Deanković

makedonija

„Ovde je samo budućnost sigurna. Prošlost se menja sa svakom novom vlašću.“

Protekle smo godine u Makedoniji, čini mi se, osetili svu snagu poražavajuće točnosti rumunske poslovice iz naslova ovog teksta. Još jedna je godina prošla u kojoj je dominirao spor između Makedonije i Grčke oko imena zemlje. Posle grčkog veta na prijem Makedonije u NATO, konflikt je metastazirao unutar makedonskog društva i zauzeo uistinu zastrašujuće dimenzije. Svojevidni debakl koji je makedonska diplomatija doživela u Bukureštu na samitu NATO-a se ubrzo kući pretvorio u politički spektakl. Slijedila je serija događaja koji su, čini mi se, radikalno promenili makedonski javni diskurs na gore. Proces koji je u javnosti poznat kao „antikvizacija“ se vodio po već viđenim scenarijama u drugim balkanskim sredinama devedesetih. Vlada je uveliko okupirala sav medijski prostor putem zakupa za svoje spotove duge po pet ili deset minuta za svoje razne kampanje. Pokušaću da navedem samo neke od kampanja kojima je makedonska javnost bila bombardovana putem svih medija po desetak puta dnevno. Usput ću da navedem i neke događaje koje su kampanje prouzrokovala, kako bih plastičnije oslikao njihov uticaj:

Kampanja o trećem detetu - ova se kampanja obraćala samo makedonskoj etničkoj zajednici, forsirajući priču da se makedonski etnikum brojčano smanjuje i da mu preti iščezavanje. Vlast je otišla toliko daleko da je čak i usvojila zakonske povoljnosti za majke. Naime, za svako novorođenče, majke su do-

bivale novčanu naknadu koja je rasla za svako novo dete. Ukoliko bi neka majka dobila četvrto dete, mogla se komotno penzionisati na državni trošak sa prilično solidnim primanjima. Poruka upućena siromašnim Makedoncama je sasvim jasna i strašna: ne morate učiti, ne morate graditi karijeru, samo rađajte i država će da se brine o vama. Ovaj zakon je (naravno) važio samo za sredine gdje je prirodni prirast bio ispod nasumično odabranih 2.1 promila. Gle čuda, sve opštine koje je ovaj zakon obuhvatio su bile dominantno naseljene etničkim Makedoncima. Naravno da je ovakva zakonska diskriminacija kroz nekoliko meseci pala na Ustavnom Sudu. Ali nije pao ceo zakon i po mom mišljenju, Ustavni Sud je uspeo videti samo etničku diskriminaciju, a nije video spolnu. Sada, taj zakon važi na teritoriji cele države.

Uporedo sa kampanjom o trećem detetu je krenula i kampanja protiv abortusa. I ona se odvijala pod istim velom straha od „nestanka“ nacije. Bazirala se na iznošenje najobičnijih laži o broju abortusa, načinima na koji se on vrši i optužbama koje su varirale od religioznih propovedi protiv ubistva do optužbe za nedovoljni nivo patriotizma. Nakon snažnog otpora koji je kampanja prouzrokovala u javnosti, jer je dodirнула i slojeve ljudi koji obično nisu deo aktivističkog, ili nekog javno vidljivog spektra, utihnula se time što je Premijer javno izjavio kako Vlada ne namerava zaštititi abortus (koji je u Makedoniji kompletno dostupan i besplatan) već da samo želi podići svjesnost o opasnostima koje abortus nosi. Skoro, kao da se radi o kampanji o reproduktivnom zdravlju. Inače, ova je

kampanja pokrenuta u periodu kada je broj abortusa bio u opadanju. Još uvek nije jasno ko je vodio ovu kampanju, mada stoji to da je Vlada raspisala tender o kampanji za podizanje svijesti o posljedicama abortusa. A i to da se još uvek, svakih par meseci naši gradovi probude prekriveni hiljadama nepotpisanih plakata protiv abortusa. Koja god da je struktura iza toga, očito je da raspolaže sa popriličnim novčanim sredstvima i organizovanim ljudstvom u skoro svim gradovima države.⁷

Kampanja o jačanju nacionalne svesti „Ti si Makedonija“ - ova se kampanja također obraćala samo makedonskoj etničkoj zajednici. Kampanja je hrabro uvela dva elementa u tretiranju nacionalnog: militarizam i antiku. Spotovi su bili baš slikoviti: Aleksandar Makedonski koji kudi svog generala savjetujući ga da nije baš pametno napasti dalekobrojnijeg neprijatelja, državna zastava koja se kida na mjestu momka koji se nije digao na državnu himnu... ali to je bio tek početak. Početkom 2009. nam se putem državne televizije obratio Bog lično. Da, da, Bog. Na desetominutnom spotu nazvanom „Makedonska molitva“ (www.youtube.com/watch?v=PZJ62MGF7xl) se Bog obraća modernim Makedoncima u pokušaju da im objasni kako su Makedonoidi prva bela rasa na planeti zemlji! (Jedna od tri koje je Bog stvorio.) Nakon burne reakcije javnosti, spot je maknut sa programa televizije, ali je nastavio svoj život po Internet medijima. Razne kvazinaučne historijske teorije o etnogenezi makedonskog naroda koje su godinama bile diskutirane na marginama društva su preko noći postale dominantno prisutne. Glavna penetracija je bila silovitim uvođenjem antičkih elemenata u moderno shvatanje nacije. Potrebu je otprilike jednostavno opisao Direktor uprave o zaštiti kulturnog naslijeđa, arheolog, Pasko Kuzman: „Ako ne dokažemo etnogenezu od antike do danas, onda nemamo pravo na ime - Makedonija“. Naravno, sve je bilo stavljeno u funkciju novog državnog prioriteta. Svakakve smešne teorije sa vrlo sumnjivom argumentacijom su bile svakodnevno elaborirane na svim medijima. Na termin korišćen u spotu makedonska molitva „Makedonoidi“, koji je brzo postao podrugljiv termin za nove „antičke“ Makedonce koji se se pojavljivali, je odgovoreno terminom „sorosoidi“ (aluzija ide na Fond Otvoreno Društvo, tj. Sorosa) kojima se obilato časte svi koji se osude javno kritikovati politiku antikvizacije i/ili dovode u pitanje „antičke korijene“ makedonske nacije. „Sorosoidi“ su također i krivi za veleizdaju jer samim činom da problematiziraju slavno antičko porijeklo nacije, oni podržavaju promenu imena države u sporu sa Grčkom, te izravno rade za grčke interese i

svetskog zagovora protiv opstanka makedonske nacije. Ovakav nivo orkestriranog javnog napada na nevladin⁸ dio civilnog društva, ja lično ne pamtim od ratne 2001. godine. Naravno, vidljivi deo procesa „antikvizacije“ su i najavljeno postavljanje grandioznog spomenika Aleksandra Velikog na centralni trg u Skoplju kao i serija preimenovanja aerodroma, autoputa, stadiona, trgova, prigodnim „antičkim“ imenima. Da bi stigli i do oficijalne verifikacije antičkog porijekla u etnogenezi Makedonaca u novoj istoriji Makedonskog naroda štampana ove godine.

Klerikarizacija društva. Religija i nacija su oduvek bili u čvrstoj simbiozi u Makedoniji. Ta se simbioza malo produbila prošle godine. Dva krupnija događaja mogu ilustrovati prošlu godinu: Vlada je, i pored svih reakcija, uvela veronauku u osnovne škole. Svećenici su nakon kratkog (jednodnevnog) kursa o metodici nastave ušli u škole i držali časove skoro pola godine, sve dok Ustavni Sud nije ukinuo odredbu proglašivši je za upad u sekularnost države. Reakcije su bile snažne i još uvek traju. Ministarstvo obrazovanja je ovih dana najavilo kako opet prema izmene zakona i pokušava vratiti religiju u škole ovog septembra drugim modalitetom. Drugi je događaj kulminirao u martu 2009. Naime, još je prošle godine Vlada obznanila kako ima nameru državnim novcem finansirati izgradnju pravoslavne crkve na centralnom trgu u Skoplju. Odluka je bila dočekaana žestokom kritikom i već viđenom podjelom na „makedonoide“ i „sorosoide“. Ono što se desilo 28. marta 2009. je bilo nešto što je uveliko potreslo javnost. Naime, grupa studenata Arhitektonskog Fakulteta iz Skoplja pod nazivom „Prva Arhi Brigada“ su uredno najavili miran protest na trgu, na lokaciji predviđenoj za izgradnju crkve. Sat vremena pre zakanog termina za protest studenata, na trgu se (kako nam je kasnije saopšteno - spontano) okupila masa od nekoliko hiljada građana koji su podržavali izgradnju crkve. U trenutak kada su se studenti približili trgu, bili su napadnuti i oterani od strane rulje. Sve to, na očigled medija i policije, koja je čak i tražila od studenata da napuste prostor (iako su oni jedini ispoštovali zakonske uvjete i uredno prijavili skup). Jedan dio tih dešavanja se može vidjeti na linku: www.youtube.com/watch?v=1wXF5X4hQoE&feature=related. Ovakvi događaji su prilično neuobičajeni za Makedoniju, te je ovo uznemirilo i duboko podjelo javnost. Poražavajuća je bila šutnja oficijalne crkve i trebalo je da se umešaju strani poslanici EU i SAD kako bi počele stizati prve mlake reakcije osude. Ono što je slijedilo samo kompletira sliku nepomirljive konfrontacije koja postoji u društvu: prekršajne prijave su pokrenute za napadače, kao i

⁷ Anonimni poster i su nekako postali naša svakodnevica. Abortus, pitanje imena države, jačanje patriotizma, neodlazak na ljetni odmor u Grčkoj... Svakih nekoliko meseci se dešavaju plakatiranja po gradovima posterima na koje niko nije potpisan.

⁸ Pravim podjelu na pro-vladino i ne-vladino civilno društvo. Pro-vladino civilno društvo se uveliko hrani državnim fondovima i sprovodi kampanje na terenu. Radi se o simbiozi partijskih, državnih i struktura raznih nevladinih organizacija.

za studente. U stvari, studenti su optuženi po nekom članu o remećenju javnog reda. U međuvremenu Vlada je, bojeći se da će joj i ova odluka da gradi verski hram budžetskim parama pasti na Ustavni Sud, odlučila da parcelu pokloni Makedonskoj pravoslavnoj crkvi, te da Crkva sama gradi hram novcem koji prikupi od donacija. A da, Islamska vjerska zajednica je zatražila da i ona obnovi Burmalí džamiju, srušenu posle Prvog Balkanskog Rata na isti trg. Cela priča još uvek traje. Moje duboko ubeđenje je da je MPC uveliko žrtvovala svoj ugled u ovu avanturu i da je morala da se drugačije postavi i da pokuša da spreči duboku vjersku netrpeljivost koja je ovakvim dešavanjima izazvana. Oni se očito ne slažu sa mnom. Bar ne oficijalno.

I sve se ovo događa u trenucima kada makedonska vlada već drugu godinu zaredom uživa najveću javnu podršku u istoriji samostalnosti države.

U međuvremenu, Grčka je objavila kako će da blokira i početak pregovora sa Evropskom Unijom ukoliko se ne pronađe rešenje za spor. Javno mišljenje je po pitanju pridruživanja EU bilo uvek u visokim procentima - za. Ali procenat drastično opada ako je uslov za to - promena imena države. Gubitak javne podrške za integraciju u EU sa prilično jakim kapacitetima makedonske države za reforme koje nisu uvjetovane integracijama je stvarno loša kombinacija.

Ovo je bio samo deo događaja koji su obelježili prošlih godinu dana. Moj je osećaj da je makedonska kritička javnost duboko u defanzivi pokušavajući da iznađe svoj prostor van crno-belog tretiranja debate u javnosti. Drugi bitan izazov je kako otvoriti prostor za teme koje su van dometa euforičnog i spektakularnog, a koje su itekako bitne za izgradnju mira u društvu i preko kojih bi se moglo malo dublje ući u srž

netrpeljivosti koje se ovako violentno manifestiraju pri svakom sukobu mišljenja koji se desi u javnosti. Treći izazov je: pronaći način da se akcije artikuliraju na dostojanstven način i time se konfrontirati drastičnom puštanju nivoa i vulgarizaciji svake javne debate.

Po mom viđenju, mir u Makedoniji stoji na dve noge: povoljan i mirni razvoj šireg regiona Balkana i odnosi između Albanaca i Makedonaca unutar Makedonije. Slobodno mogu zaključiti da se u prošloj godini nije uradilo skoro ništa što bi povoljno uticalo na bilo koji od ova dva procesa. Narod je, sasvim razumljivo, okupiran sporom oko imena sa Grčkom i očigledno očuvanje imena države vidi kao glavni prioritet. Što je sasvim razumljivo. Problem je što skoro i da ne vidi ništa drugo. A nas, još uvek čeka proces pomirenja između Albanaca i Makedonaca, čeka nas i vruće pitanje zakona o prava veterana iz rata od 2001. (koje je već imalo svoj neslavni uvod), suočavanje sa pogubnim procesom (koji je skoro pri kraju) kompletne etničke segregacije u osnovnim i srednjim školama u celoj državi, tretiranje tzv. „Haških slučajeva“ za ratne zločine, više od 700 „unutrašnje raseljenih“ lica koji žive po kolektivnim centrima evo već osmu godinu zaredom bez ikakvih šansi da se vrate u svoje domove ili da bilo kako rješe svoj problem stanovanja. Istraživanja nam pokazuju kako kontakata između Makedonaca i Albanaca skoro i da nema, kao i to da je strah od izbijanja novog rata još uvek snažan. Ekonomska kriza dolazi po svoje, privreda, koja je ionako u lošem stanju već duži period, je i oficijalno ušla u recesiju, te nas očekuje prilično nevesela jesen. Ja se samo mogu ponadati da terapija za kriznu jesen neće biti nova doza „antike“. I ne, ne mislim na rakiju „antiku“.

Boro Kitanoski (Mirovna akcija, Prilep)

srbiya

„Nije čovijek ono što misli, već ono što čini.“

Meša Selimović, „Derviš i smrt“

„Divljanje huligana neće imati političke posledice po Srbiju“, „Mladić će biti uhapšen do kraja godine“, „Održivo rešenje za Kosovo“, „Srbija plaća cenu sopstvenog licemerja“, „O ustavnosti Zakona o informisanju“, „Biće opet rata“, „Huligani hteli da napadnu švedsku ambasadu“, „Žene ubijaju iz ljubomore i posle višegodišnjeg zlostavljanja“, „Oslobadajuća presuda „za slučaj Bitići“, „Francuz i dalje kritično“....

Ovo su, nasumično, izabrani naslovi iz dnevnice štampe objavljene u Srbiji 23. septembra 2009. godine. I da ne napišem nijednu reč više, govore dovoljno.

A meni je, danima, teško da pišem. Teško mi je i da razmišljam, nekako me sustigla apatija. Još uvek

ona nije poprimila tolike razmere, da se upustim u razvlačenje dugih večernjih sati uz neki od popularnih „reality show“ programa, u kojima se produbljuju predrasude i toleriše svaka vrsta nasilja, pod izgovorom zabave za narod. I sve gore u naslovima nabrojane teme, kao da gube na značaju, jer se desetak propalih zvezda takmiči koja će od sebe da napravi veću budalu, a narod u zanosu ne zna gde će pre: da svedoči scenama seksa uživo na jednom nacionalnom kanalu, ili da okopava kukuruz jer je muškarac, glava kuće, lupio rukom o sto i poslao žene u kuhinju, na drugom televizijskom programu....

Teško mi je i da mislim na Zakon o informisanju, kojeg podržavaju oni koji bi da mediji izgledaju i pevuje kao spotovi JUL-a sa početka delovanja: sve sami cvetici i leptirići, a protiv kojeg su se oglasili i oni koji

bi, da ima pravde, odavno bili zabranjeni zbog nasilja na svojim stranicama, zbog zloupotrebe maloletnika, zbog širenja nacionalne, rasne, verske, i seksualne mržnje. Kako ne pripadam ni jednima, ni drugima, svesna sam da mora da postoji način koji bi sprečio da u Drugom dnevniku nacionalne televizije novinarka izgovori „Šiptari ne daju struju“, ali da isto tako mora da postoji i način da se spreči selektivna primena selektivnih zakona.

Pomislila sam, priznajem, u jednom trenutku, prošle subote, da je dobro što je otkazana Parada ponosa. Da će se izbeći nasilje, i da će moji prijatelji, koji su gay aktivisti, biti pošteđeni rizika od prebijanja, čime su im ultradesničari, nacionalisti, navijači i ko zna ko sve još, pretili prethodnih dana. Gorko sam odahnula... a to olakšanje koje sam osetila, bilo je, mislim, olakšanje logoraša kada se završi prozivka smrti za taj dan. Dobro je dok potraje. A izvesnost je svakako loša. Mislite da preterujem? U zemlji u kojoj prebiju devojk u autobusu gradskog prevoza i bace dimnu bombu na kraju, u zemlji u kojoj prebiju turistu Francuza koji je mirno sedeo u sred dana u centru Beograda, u zemlji u kojoj išamaraju Australijanca koji šeta tim gradom, strah od nasilja više nije preterivanje. Već, ma kako to ružno zvučalo, teška istina, i teška sudbina svih nas, koji smo danas odahnuli.

Porazno je što su nasilnici o kojima govorim starosti izmedju 17 i 19 godina. To su ona deca rođena u ratno vreme, deca odrasla pod sankcijama, sa idolima iz kriminalnog sveta koji je ovde bio popularan devedesetih. Sad ta deca ulaze u svet odraslih na jedini način na koji umeju. I za koje sada svi imaju samo reči osude. Kao da su to neka tuđa deca, neki tuđi ljudi. To su ista ona deca koja su bivala zapostavljena i prepuštena sama sebi dok su im tate mobilisane za ratove, a mame čekale u redovima za hleb i mleko. Ona deca koja su, umesto crtača (na koje su nam bile stavljene sankcije), na televiziji gledala kriminalce i njihove „crne bisere“, rasparčana tela žrtava rata, nacionalne heroje i novokomponovane kulturne i ostale zločince. Ta deca su odrasla. Zgražanje i gađenje nad onim što ta deca čine, samo je posledica. Kao što je i njihovo ponašanje posledica. Odgovornost je zajednička i niko nema prava da sa gađenjem konstatuje kako je neko drugi kriv.

Pre nekoliko dana objavljeno je istraživanje koje pokazuje kako je svaka druga žena u ovoj državi žrtva nasilja u porodici. Nasilje u porodici se još uvek ovde ne smatra krivičnim delom, ovde je uobičajeno da se deca vaspitavaju batinama, a žene „prevaspitavaju“ motkom ili pesnicom koja je iz raja izašla. Što se tumači, kako je sam Bog, vladar raja, poslao batine jačima kako bi vaspitali slabije. Mušarac ženu, ona dete, dete slabije dete. Spirala nasilja? Vrtlog nasilja! A mi svi plivamo u tom viru, ne shvatajući da nam samo glave vire i bore se za malo daha.

Ne umem da se borim sa nasiljem koje je u meni. Gutam i guram u sebe i bes i tugu i nemoć, i očekujem da će sa vremenom koje prolazi i muka koju doživljavam postati manja. A ona je sve veća. Povukla sam se u mali svet svoje porodice, ušuškala i zaštitila od sveta: ne govorim o tome kako se doživljava trudnoća i odsustvo zbog porodjaja u državi u kojoj je posao privilegija, a ne pravo, ne govorim o tome da ne postoji nikakva podrška trudnicama, porođiljama i, naročito, dojiljama, ne govorim da je na ovom parčetu sveta sramota dobiti dete na javnom mestu, ne govorim o tome da sam se samoizolovala... Ne, bilo bi previše lično. Tiče me se, nisam objektivna. I tako sam odlučila da se bavim samo odgojem dece... razmenjujući savete sa drugim mamama, na Internet forumima, bila sam najstrašnije izvedana zbog stava da decu niko ne sme da tuče. Jer, mame, valjda znaju šta je najbolje za njihovu decu. Mame tuku iz ljubavi. I to nasilje, kao i svako drugo, ima opravdanje u višem cilju: mame tuku da bi deca bila bolja, tate tuku mame da bi im zajednički život bio harmoničniji, ta deca čim malo stasaju tuku svoje drugare koji su slabiji, a kad se udruže, onda tuku devojk u autobusu za koju su pomislili da je lezbejka, ili učesnike Parade ponosa, koji nisu dovoljno strejt za njihov ukus, ili Francuza zato što nije dovoljno Srbin, ili je previše Francuz. Za svako nasilje postoji opravdanje u višem cilju. Bijem te za tvoje dobro, sutra ćeš mi biti zahvalan zbog toga... kaže tata sinu. I krug počinje da se vrti...

Samo ćutanje i nedelanje nema opravdanje. Jer, ako ne kažem, ne vrištim, ne urlam danas ja: a ko će?

Katarina Milićević

Zahvaljujemo se
svima koji su podržali
naš rad,
finansijski ili
svojim angažovanjem

Many thanks
to all of those who are
supporting our work,
financially or
through their engagement

ABOUT CENTRE FOR NONVIOLENT ACTION

CNA's mission has been to work on the building of lasting peace in the region of the former Yugoslavia through the promotion of the cultures of nonviolence and dialogue, and through the trust building among individuals and groups, as well as constructive dealing with the past as one of the key elements of the peacebuilding.

We have been striving to achieve a society of lasting peace where the development of critical thought, taking responsibility for society and community, the encouragement to reassess one's own attitudes and the acceptance of the diversity are cherished. To achieve these social values, we apply different kinds of activism, while focusing on peace education, publishing and video production.

What do we want and what are we striving for?

With our work we want to incentivise and encourage the promotion of peace as a basic social value and ridding of the war and violence as ways to solving conflicts. Dealing with the past in the region of former

Yugoslavia has been the focus of our interests and we advocate for the definition of this process as a multilayered and complex process that includes also: the work to deconstruct the "enemy images", to build trust among people in the region of the former Yugoslavia and to establish a culture of remembrance; advocacy for promotion and development of public policies aimed at dealing with the past; the reexamination and deconstruction of nationalism, militarism and patriarchy as the ideological pillars of violence in every society. With the programmes of peace education and activities in the field of documentary production and publishing we strive to create new and strengthen the current resources for peace work in the region of the former Yugoslavia. Our desire is to create and to support the capacities focused on value-based approach to peace building, led by commitment to human rights protection and freedoms of all individuals and the values of dialogue, co-operation, social justice and solidarity among the individuals and groups.

In which way do we want to accomplish this?

By respecting the basic principle "live what you preach" as well as by creating a firm value-based foundation in our work, but also in the way the organization itself is functioning. In openness for dialogue with all those who want it and in readiness for co-operation with those with whom we share visions and values of nonviolence, culture of dialogue, constructive criticism and struggle against injustice. In the focus on regional cooperation as an important element of the lasting and sustainable peace in the region of former Yugoslavia.

In readiness to change, develop, learn and adjust ourselves to the demands of the real needs of our societies, not the demands of donors and "real-politik."

Dear friends,

Our 12th annual report is in front of you, meaning that twelve years of work are behind us. It's not little, right?

During the year that's behind us we have been working on programmes for which CNA is recognizable - peace education programmes, work with war veterans, documentary film production and publications. But, we also expanded the spectrum of our action through organizing activities with other organizations, as well as through the inclusion of other 'groups' of people into our work. You can read about it in this report.

After last year's uncertainty (whether we would lock up our offices permanently), this year we have been breathing much more easily and have kept going full speed ahead, primarily due to the fact that we managed to secure funding for both of our offices within the following three years. Yet, this does not mean that the previous year was easy. Socio-political situation in the former Yugoslavian region is far away from great, violence and uncertainty abound. Simultaneously, a lot of work awaits us within CNA as well, 'dealing' with our structure, organization, relations, matters of questioning and self-questioning. The process of growing and changing is not an easy one, it's hard and painful often enough, but, when we look back, we can say that it's a valuable one. And now, when we look back at everything that we have behind us, everything we have done up to this point, we can say that it's truly valuable. Another person is joining the CNA team in the beginning of 2010, Jessica Žic, meaning that we'll grow again, and hopefully not only in the sense of quantity.

So, until next year, when we'll report on everything new that we did, learned and how much we grew meanwhile. For closure, I would like to leave you with one of Gandhi's famous quotes which is used often enough already - *be the change you want to see in the world*. We sincerely hope that we will be able to accomplish this task.

basic training in peacebuilding

Tivat, Montenegro, March 20 – 30, 2009

The thirtieth basic training in peacebuilding was held in Tivat, Montenegro from March 20th to 30th, 2009.

The training team included Sanja and Tamara of CNA's Sarajevo office, and our new colleague Nenad P. and Helena of CNA's Belgrade office.

Nineteen participants were in the training. One seat remained vacant due to the fact that the person who had been invited did not show up. Even though we had more cancellations on short notice, we still managed to fill in almost all the places because of the good will of those on the waiting list.

We received a lot of applications (around 100) from Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Macedonia and Kosovo, but yet again, none from Montenegro. Lot of them came from Croatia, and it seems that the large number of applications from Croatia is due to the communication established through Facebook.

There were several moments and workshops/blocks that marked this training. We can highlight the workshop on violence that was in the first part of the training. This workshop stirred things up quite a bit, especially regarding the statement about Albanians and stereotypes/prejudices against that group. It upset some people who became aware of their own prejudices and understood the violence against that group. What was unusual this time was that these types of prejudices were constantly revisited and dealt with throughout the entire training. It is especially interesting, although not really a novelty, that during this particular workshop the statements which were more closely related to the war or anything ethnic at all weren't treated as often as others. In the end, they were also discussed, but the initiative for it came mostly from the training team.

We introduced another novelty regarding peacebuilding. Until now we would generally leave this theme for the end of the training, as the grand finale of everything that was done and also because it could encompass all of the themes covered in the training. However, we realised that, for example, people were

confused with relations between communication, teamwork, decision making and peacebuilding. Therefore, we introduced it in the first part of the training by relating these themes on several levels (through definitions, values, etc). It turned out great for the understanding of the training's whole context.

The distinguishing features of the second half of the training were issues related to dealing with the past: one was national identity, and the other was dealing with the past. Regarding national identity we had designed a workshop in which people had a chance to talk about their experiences in the nineties related to national identity (the exercise could have been titled war and me). This workshop was bursting with emotions and improved understanding of both each other and 'the other side'. It also created the space for people to talk about their experiences, and often about their suffering caused by national identity during the nineties.

With this workshop we went into dealing with the past and dedicated several blocks to it. One of them was left for Jasna Janković Šarčević, PR of The Office of the War Crimes Prosecutor from Belgrade, who appeared as a guest. We had never had a guest in the basic training before, so that was quite an experiment. We concluded that it was better not to bring guests to the basic training, primarily because of the dynamics, internal group processes and the needs that exist within a group. Considering her workshop, the participants were quite impressed with the film produced by The Office of the War Crimes Prosecutor and OSCE - Justice in the Region, about the Serbian reporters' visit to judicial institutions of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia in 2005/2006. The film presents some of the legal cases that were processed, as well as victims who were portrayed by their close ones, which was certainly moving. Therefore, the training team considered it important to address our own relationship towards dealing with the past: the emotions we have, dilemmas, questions, fears related to the subject in the subsequent workshop.

The group of trainees was heterogeneous, with plenty of activists amongst them who gave the entire training a special tone. We are glad that there were quite a lot of participants from minority ethnic groups, but we still lacked, for example, Croatians from Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bosniaks from Republika Srpska, or Hungarians from Vojvodina. The question which remains is how to motivate them to apply for training. On the other hand, accepting all of them would certainly exceed the planned number of participants (twenty).

The trainees were generally very reflective, giving away the impression that they were very attentive, thoughtful and re-examining. We think that this group has a potential for further work and we are willing to stay in touch and support them or work with them as much as possible.

Nonetheless, it wasn't easy to facilitate the group process, since it took a lot of time, empowerment and safe space for them to open up and discuss certain issues. Still, it was a pleasure to work with them, because of all the care and warmth they showed for each other. We tried to empower and support them.

It was nice working in the training team because we took care of each other and gave each other support. We are pleased that Nenad Porobić went through his

first trainer's experience with us.

We've had a dilemma and difficulty for quite some time regarding the last day of the training. There's time to have something done on that day, but there's an overall feeling of exhaustion, so it's really impossible, however little energy it may require. Another learning point from this training is that the training questionnaire needs to be changed and some of the questions rephrased in order to make them clearer.



work with war veterans

ex-combatant visits

Tuzla, Doboј, Brčko. December 2008

We began organizing joint visits of veterans, i.e. former members of warring armies from Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia and Croatia, in the winter of 2008. First visits were arranged in February and March of 2008 in Sarajevo, Bugojno and Prnjavor. After organizing the first round of visits and after this year's peace education program for war combatants held in May and June, we decided to organize another round of visits with a new group of war veterans motivated for the activities that contribute to peacebuilding.

The concept of visiting each town also meant going to unmarked and marked sites of casualties, with which we wished to jointly commemorate victims, both civilian and military, regardless of their ethnic and religious affiliation. We were also introduced to different local contexts and events occurring during the war. What was meaningful for this round of visits was the fact that, in these towns, we also went to sites and symbols of casualties of 'the others.' This way we tried to encourage the re-examination of one's own role as a victim and the dominant manner of relating to wartime history in most of B&H towns, a manner through which victims of the others are usually not mentioned.

This time we visited:

Tuzla⁹, December 3-5, 2008

Doboј¹⁰, December 5-7, 2008

Brčko, December 20-22, 2008

Our host in Tuzla was the veterans' association Stećak from Tuzla, and in Doboј the Committee of Disabled War Veterans of Doboј.

Although the responsibility for initiating the realization of the idea itself was handled by the CNA, the responsibility for organizing visits in their own respective towns was fully handled by the veterans and their

associations. We are pleased to point out that wherever we went guests were cared for, efforts were made to make people feel comfortable and safe, and there was willingness to sincerely support the idea itself.

We had also planned on visiting Đurđenovac in Croatia, but the people from the association that was to host the visit received threats from another local veterans' association prior to the visit and were told



that the veterans from other armies were not welcome, and that the visit will be prevented. Giving space to the people from the local community to reach the final decision, we gave up on visiting Đurđenovac this time.

Having the visit to Croatia cancelled and with everyone expecting another encounter, we decided to round up the group in Brčko. We used the gathering to talk about strategies for future situations of facing threats and obstructions by the local community, to exchange ideas for future work and to share experiences and thoughts on the importance of this and similar ac-

⁹ In Tuzla we visited: The memorial to fallen combatants of the Army of B&H; *Kapija* (the Gate, Bosnian) - the site where a mortar shell killed 72 young people on May 25, 1995, and the cemetery where they are buried; *Brčanska Malta* (a Tuzla neighborhood) where on May 15, 1992 a convoy of the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) was attacked, for which several of Tuzla's chief officers were suspected for war crimes.

¹⁰ In Doboј we visited: the Memorial room for fallen combatants of the Army of RS (Republika Srpska) from the Doboј area; the Memorial to civilian victims in Doboј; the reconstructed mosque and the Memorial to the fallen combatants of the Army of B&H in Doboј in the mosque's courtyard, where one of the most sizable battles in the Doboј area between the Armies of B&H and RS took place, and a place for which evidence exists that non-Serb nationals were taken out to form a "human shield."



tivities in the context of a constructive dealing with the past and reconciliation in the area of the former Yugoslavia.

Before and during the visits, the sense of trust building within the group allowed us to invite local media from the towns we visited, which granted us an opportunity to make the activity more visible and send out a more assertive message of peace to the public. In Dobož we were addressed by Dobož's mayor and municipal council chairman and the president of the leading combatants' association of Republika Srpska.

This sent out a very powerful message of peace and a desire to rebuild trust, given that a mixed group of ex-combatants (Serbs, Croats, Bosniaks, etc.) jointly visited different sites of casualties, and that each of them carved out a place in their hearts and minds for the victims of 'the others' as well and felt true empathy, free of ethnic and religious boundaries. If the men who were shooting at each other years ago, and who are often unjustly characterized by society as the bearers of destructive nationalist ideas, are ready for reconciliatory steps, then our societies on the whole should be ready to do the same. In a powerful symbolic way, this speaks of the fact that the development of trust is possible.

To conclude, here are some of the participants' impressions of the activity that they shared during visits:

- *I was never prejudiced, but if there was ever a distorted image about others in me, it has been corrected now. We will have, merely by coming here, animated 450 people back home, since we represent the whole association here.*

- *It was horrible for me to hear of all those victims. I have gained new friends and partners. I am richer for this experience. I have heard stories from the other side and it is a lot clearer to me what has happened. We created a more intimate atmosphere to be able to talk about the more difficult issues. I expect to continue cooperation with the CNA and all of you, and to honour the agreement. Thank you all, you were great guests.*

- *I gained people, and liberated two towns from myself, from prejudices. I felt peace without any fear, I felt comfortable. I came to Tuzla with people from 'the other side' and here I let go of my fears. I gained the motivation and the conviction that this is the right thing, however small this step may be. This is the path to getting to know what our lives are like and to gain essential knowledge of the problem itself.*

training for ex-combatants from bh, croatia and serbia

Jahorina/BH, 26-30.06.09; Šamac/BH, 31.07.-03.08.09.

The various forms of the programme under this name have been organised since 2003. This year's is the seventh, gathering fourteen participants in phase I and eleven in phase II of the training.

Our work with former combatants started in 2002 when we organized the Four Views forums, and it was soon complemented with preoperational training events during which dialogue and mutual empathy between former enemies were developed. After the forums, we organized training events/meetings for/of

former combatants expecting that they would encourage their peace engagement. When we realized that the desired independent involvement of former combatants in peacebuilding had remained an individual effort and would not become massive unless we as an organization resumed an initiative and assigned responsibilities, we decided to try to define a field of potential participation of war veterans based on our long-standing work with them and win them over to participate.

Hence, almost two years ago, some initial joint activities of war veterans from all three sides took place, exceeding the boundaries of meetings of individuals who had attended a seminar. Those were the visits to veterans' associations on all three sides, part of which were also visits to the execution sites where people



from different 'sides' had been killed: from the hosts' 'side' and the guests' 'side'.

A big step forward was made a year later. The hosts expressed their readiness to also include the execution sites for which the responsibility was on their own side. It was a very obvious way of showing respect for the victims of 'others' and an enormous step toward reconciliation, whatever that controversial term might mean. What's next? - that's what we asked ourselves while we were planning this year's work with veterans which starts with a two phased training, intensive confrontation and partial planning of future joint activities.

Even more and even harder.

Our aim is to continue the process which was started, to deepen it and make it far more visible with the new group of trainees. The group includes people who visited the execution sites, drawn in by their colleagues - former training event's participants. The new group of trainees now takes part in these intensive meetings.

I have almost concluded this report without closely reviewing the actual training and the work process.

It is important to underline that a big part of the whole effort put into training is not visible, but is still

crucial for the quality of work, because it creates preconditions for the set goals' fulfilment. Specifically, trainings' organizational preparations include, amongst other things, a series of visits to war veterans' associations, which results in the group's selection. We look for individuals who have a base in their own association, therefore additional legitimacy as well, and who are also willing to get into an honest dialogue with their former enemies.

Due to the fact that the training team has been working together for several years already, and we are so well coordinated and daring in our work with veterans, it seems to me that there's a danger of underestimating the intensity of participants' experiences when meeting former enemies.

We might have started to resemble the people we work with, in a way. Even though we are encouraged by the successful implementation of some daring ideas, most of us are left with a short fuse, seeking improvement more impatiently and have grown tired. That's the way it is when one cares for peace.

Here's how one of the participants describes his community's reactions after he returned from the training's phase I: *The reactions were great, my invalids were satisfied, they want those books of yours, they read them, ask where they are, watch the films... Even the guy from the company asked me if he should pay me the travel expenses. They are surprised that there are people who care for peace. They say "if there were only more people like that, there would be no war". My whole family says hello to all of you.*



oral histories of former combatants and their family members

After a long-standing work in the field of peace-building and dealing with the past and several years of

intensive work with groups of former combatants, we decided to use these capacities in the field of oral his-

tories' collection. Oral histories are recorded life stories of people - immediate actors, witnesses, onlookers of certain historic events, times, circumstances. They are very important for the processes of dealing with the past and peacebuilding, since they are often the only relevant source of data about all those aspects of social life that remain unrecorded and marginalised by the official historiography.

Former combatants and their family members are certainly amongst the most important direct actors of our wartime past, and their stories definitely should be told and also published.

The plan of activity regarding oral histories includes:

- Three-day long education about oral histories' collection
- Collection of people's stories in the field
- Web publication of collected stories
- Publication of selected stories

The final publication is designed to have two separate parts - one comprising of veterans' stories, and the other of the so-called 'female' voices from their families. The idea is to give the public an insight into life during the war and its aftermath from different perspective and positions of different roles, and thus influence the current situation in which the veterans (who are often traumatized) and their families are being ignored, pushed into ghettos and radicalized.

The Education - Oral Histories

Jahorina/BH, 10-13.07.2009.

The three-day long education on oral histories' collection was held in Jahorina, Bosnia and Herzegovina, in July. We formed a group of thirteen trainees, who were dedicated to the values of peacebuilding and dealing with the past. Even though three more people had been planned to join (two of them cancelled and one never showed up), it turned out that the group was big enough for this kind of work since there wasn't enough time to cover all the themes, with all the dilemmas, questions and comments people had. We think that the trainees took the education very seriously and that most of them had been sensitized for the issues regarding dealing with the past, which is not surprising if we keep in mind that many of them had already gone through some of our educational programmes, whether it was basic and advanced trainings in peacebuilding or training for former combatants.

We may say that the group was quite heterogeneous, although, generally speaking, it comprised of two groups' representatives - the veteran population's and peace activists'. These are the people who've had very different experiences. An additional uniqueness that added a special tone and experience to the whole story

was the participation of women veterans.

At times the training team had a hard time making a clear distinction between training and education, because, generally, all our educational programmes take place within training events and seminars, where sensitization is also covered. Here we set up things differently, basically aiming to train people to collect oral histories. However, there was tension between (some) peace activists and (some) veterans, which affected the work dynamics and resulted in education resembling training and work on sensitization and reduction of one's own prejudices.

The following themes were covered: what oral histories are, how they developed throughout history, phases in collecting oral histories (preparation, interviewing process, aftermath) and ethical issues - these were mostly theoretical inputs. Surely, after every block of input there was space for questions, dilemmas, comments. That part was inspirational, quite thoughtful and deep. The second part of education was related to the practical and 'technical' side: the trainees had a chance to assume both roles - to see what it is like to be the interviewer and the interviewee. The interviews were followed by an emotional exit and a part for reflection (what we thought was good, what was helpful, what bothered us and got in the way while we conducted the interview, i.e. regarding the interviewee). We also prepared an in-depth written material to make it easier for the participants to cope with a whole bunch of information when they return home.

To summarise, we are satisfied with what we have done. We totally agree with the participants' comments that there was little time and plenty of things to do/cover, i.e. that there was a need to have at least one more day of education in order to cover everything.

The next step is to collect stories - oral histories in the field and we can't wait to start reading them.



screenings of "not a bird to be heard"

Grožnjan, Gornji Vakuf/Uskoplje, Mostar, Sarajevo
November - December 2008

Between September and December of 2008 we organized five film screenings of "Not a Bird to Be Heard," the third film from the series of simulated dialogues dealing with relations between Croats and Bosniaks. In the film different people from B&H and Croatia talk about prejudices, fears, wartime experiences and issues related to interethnic relations and reconciliation.

The screening in Grožnjan, Croatia, was organised during a regional peace gathering titled "Miramidani," whose topic was the role of war veterans in peacebuilding, which CNA co-organized. In one of the sessions we arranged the film screening for about thirty participants - peace activists and war veterans from the region - followed by reviews and comments. Even though we had planned for the film to serve as an overture for a discussion on issues of reconciliation and dealing with the past, the participants were considerably emotionally shaken so the conversation following the film consisted more of an emotional evaluation, sending a clear message of how striking and moving the film was and how necessary and important it was to show it to as many people in the region as possible. Goran Božićević attended the screening with us as one of the film's protagonists.

The screenings in Gornji Vakuf/Uskoplje and Mostar were a special challenge, and the film itself was, in fact, of utmost importance for these towns since they are divided into Croat and Bosniak parts (which is the reason for choosing these screening locations). The consequences of war and ethnic divisions are still very present and visible at every step in these towns. One of the screenings' goals was to encourage and motivate the public attitude for dialogue, reconciliation and to overcome the state of distrust and hatred. We also felt that it was important to hear opinions about the film

that deals with issues close to them from the people who live in such environments.

The screening in Gornji Vakuf/Uskoplje was organized in cooperation with a local organization, the Centre for Youth (*Centar za mlade*), our long-standing partner whose activist, Jasminka Drino Kirlić, spoke after the screening as organizer and representative of the local community. The guests at this screening were Zvonko Lucić, a war veteran from Zagreb, and Samir Ahmić, an

activist from Zavidovići, who are both protagonists in the film. The screening was attended by approximately 50 people from the local community and, particularly importantly, local TV station crew which did a piece about the screening and interviewed the speakers. During the discussion which followed the film the greatest focus was on problems related to the divisions and lack of dialogue among local people. The atmosphere in the screening theatre was rather difficult and a good number of people voiced a pessimistic attitude, but the prevailing impres-

sion was that something must and could be changed regarding ethnic relations on local level and broader.

The screening in Mostar was organized in cooperation with the Youth Theatre (*Teatar mladih*) from Mostar whose leader acted as promoter and one of the film's protagonists, alongside the guest Zvonko Lucić from Zagreb. The screening was attended by approximately 30 people. The discussion following the film mostly voiced the fact that the film presented the daily lives of most citizens of Mostar and that dealing with the wartime past and dialogue was still not happening in Mostar, which showed that the divisions were still very visible and deeply rooted. In both towns, Mostar and Gornji Vakuf/Uskoplje, people's reactions to the film were positive. But we are nevertheless left with an impression that there is a certain amount of saturation



and ideas lacking from the local people regarding the ways of dealing with the difficulties of post-war divisions and distrust, which have become everyday events for them and to which they are gradually growing accustomed.

In Sarajevo we screened the film in Mediacentre for about 75 attendees and a few reporters. The guest speakers after the screening, alongside the film's author Nenad Vukosavljević, were Ivo Marković, a Franciscan priest active in the field of peacebuilding, and Dino Mustafić, theatre director and politician. The discussion following the screening mostly dealt with the nationalism in B&H presenting a great obstacle in the process of societal stabilization and the need to work out different ways of dealing with the problem, for which movies such as this one are good examples of alternative approaches.

Detailed reports from this screening were published by the Sarajevo weekly *Dani* and the news agency *Deutsche Welle*.

Lastly, as part of the festival of documentary film on human rights titled *Over the Walls*, held for the fifth year in a row in Tuzla and organized by the Bureau for

Human Rights (*Biro za ljudska prava*) from Tuzla, the film "Not a Bird to Be Heard" opened the 2008 festival. We were given the opportunity to screen the film, after a brief foreword, before a numerous audience and rep-



representatives of the local authorities who received the film quite well and recommended organized screenings for young people all over B&H.

documentary: broken line

Broken Line (Испрекината црта - Linja e ndërprerë) is the title of the documentary film on the simulated dialogue between Albanians and Macedonians, which has been finally completed one year after the filming started. The CNA crew filmed 22 interviews with the help and support of our close collaborators Gorda, Margarita, Ana, Luan, Goran, Boro, Safet, Velja, Katarina and others, in the end of March and the beginning of April, 2008.

One of the film's protagonists talks about the broken line which is a symbolic depiction of the current situation in which the awareness has been raised, to a certain degree, of the need to accept and understand the past and draw the line, that would create a basis for a new beginning in the relations between Albanian and Macedonian communities. However, the line is broken and painful things from the past that are entangled with it are being interpreted in a destructive way, hindering the attempts to have a new beginning...

From the technical point of view, this film was quite an undertaking since it was our first film with subtitles, meaning that the interpreter's help was necessary during the editing process. The film has subtitles in two

main languages: Albanian and Macedonian, and additional three: Serbian, German and English. The authors of the music used in the film are from Macedonia and Kosovo. Regarding logistics, it was a small nightmare to obtain copyright for it and that burden was completely taken over by our partners from Macedonia. We would here particularly like to thank the following organizations: Megjashi - Prva Detska Ambasada na Svetot, Skopje and Peace Action, Prilep.

What lies ahead is the presentation of the film to audience in Macedonia, which we plan to do in the fall of 2009 and communication regarding its screening on local TV stations. We want to make promotions visible in the media in several towns and maintain the presence with messages of peace as well as raise awareness of

the danger of not resolving the existing conflicts, i.e. the danger of the usage of force.

After screenings, the film will be available free of charge to regional TV stations as well as institutions, organizations and individuals who are interested.

The film's trailer in English, Serbian and Macedonian-Albanian is available at:

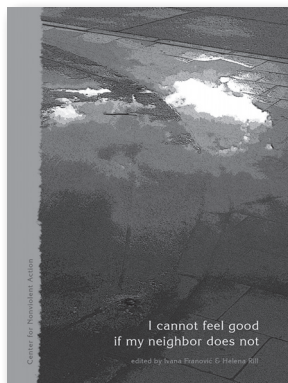


book translation:

i cannot feel good if my neighbour does not

The English Language edition, September 2009.

The English edition of the book *I Cannot Feel Good If My Neighbour Does Not* was published by CNA in Sep-



tember. Let us remind you that it's a collection of interviews with people from all over the former Yugoslavia, people of different backgrounds: age, profession, gender, ethnicity. They talk about the past, perceive the present and share their hopes, fears and wishes for the future. The book was published in January of 2006 in several languages - Serbian/ / Croatian/Bosnian, Mac-

edonian and Albanian.

The book was translated into English by Nenad Porobić. Its publication was supported by the Berghof Research Centre for Constructive Conflict Management, Berlin and German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development.

Here you can read the foreword to the book's edition in English.

foreword to the english edition

The collection of interviews entitled "I cannot feel good if my neighbor does not" was first published in the winter of 2005, in the Serbian/Croatian/Bosnian, Albanian and Macedonian languages. All those languages, present in different regions of former Yugoslavia, were "intertwined" in one publication which was, in Ivana Franović's words, to symbolize the „unbreakable linkage between human destinies in this region.“ Linkage, despite ethnic and national borders - or linkage *due to them*...

Almost five years later we decided to translate the publication into the English language and thus make it accessible to readers outside of the region. Different reasons, inclinations and feelings inspired us to make this decision.

Starting with slightly **trivial** ones - many researchers and activists outside of the region incessantly asked us what the „large orange book“ was about. Does it have to do with reconciliation? Theoretical works? Oh, I see, people's testimonies... how interesting! Then we decided that it would be easier to translate the book into English than to continually have to explain anew what is not easily explicable, or easily retold.

Through reasons related to solidarity - aware of how much the „live“ material from other contexts means to us, we wanted to make the publication accessible to the people who were interested in this topic, hoping that it would be read and utilized in the circles which work on the issues of peacebuilding, dealing with the past and reconciliation. This encompasses activist, academic and theoretical points of view.

And that's how we reached the very **activist and political reasons**.

That is... you think „everything is alright here now“? You came a few times to the region, and it's nice, right? The people are, like, nice, they know how to have fun, they're friendly, no pressure whatsoever. It's not like they crazily feel the mutual love and respect, but, it's alright, a war took place, that's probably *normal*...

You are right.

The „normalcy“ category has been the dominant discourse in this area for the last few years. Things are becoming normal. The relations are *normalizing*. The region is open (while the rest of Europe and a good part of the world are not for most of us). We can travel and visit. We can trade. We watch the same movies, we listen to the same music and read (more or less) the same books. We are meeting the EU conditions for joining at the same time, and so on, and so on... We normalized the region, we normalized our relations. We also normalized a great number of things, which we would rather not speak about since we have been „humanized“ overnight while following the international and domestic „stylists“ best advice.

We normalized hatred, inter-ethnic distrust, ethnically clean states and regions, contempt, mockery and disgust for the other and the different. We also normalized our views of the crimes and violence from our

(near) past which shows when we shrug our shoulders or turn our heads away. There is no use crying over split milk. And it's everybody's fault. Except ours.

Maybe some kind of peace-activist naivety made us believe that this book's translation into English could contribute to another understanding of development. The one stating: yes, changes occurred here, some of them positive. But, stating simultaneously: much more work is needed if we want to make those positive changes sustainable. And if we want to have something more substantial and deeper really happen. We don't need just any kind of work, we need peace work. What's necessary is action which rests on the belief that having a full fridge of Croatian products (for example) is not the same as having a lot of Croatian friends. That the *possibility* of travelling across the region is not the same as the *need* to visit some places again to meet people. That to condemn war crimes and support peace (or, more often, be against war) declaratively are not enough to really stop us from being afraid of each other and to enrich the real and mental maps of our safety zones with the toponyms from the other *side* of borders.

We wanted to remind ourselves of the people's stories of reconciliation from different parts of our region for all of the previously listed reasons. These stories were collected throughout 2004, which, from today's

perspective, seems to our *normal* region like a long-gone indication of better times.

We can only assume what the answers to the identical questions would look like today. Some of the long-lasting national dreams have been realized in the meantime (Montenegro) or partially realized (Kosovo). Some of the long-sought criminals (Gotovina, Župljanin, Karadžić) have been brought to... the Hague. Doubtlessly, that's enough to boost some people's optimism. We, however, don't share that optimism. It rather seems to us that we'll have to wait for sustainable peace, trust, justice, truth and reconciliation for much longer. At least until our societies realize that nothing sustainable or good can be built on bad foundations and poisonous „land“.

We certainly will not wait for that moment with our arms crossed. Too much blood has been spilt for us to accept that „normalcy“ for which we, by the way, pay dearly. So dearly that we, pressured by our pains, traumas, fears, debts, are not even aware of our neighbours. Not to mention the realization that, maybe, those neighbours are not good with (by) us.

This book is to reaffirm the belief that „I cannot feel good if my neighbor does not“. We hope that this contribution is not a futile one.

Tamara Šmidling
Sarajevo, February 5th, 2009

in cooperation with other organisations

people and memories talk. oral histories organized by cci

Novi Pazar /Serbia, 23-25.10.2008.

The Niš-based Committee for Civic Initiative organized a three-day training/seminar on recording memories and oral histories, as a part of the project titled People and Memories Talk. It was a part of the broader education aiming to qualify trainees for conducting interviews/oral histories in their surroundings. The training/seminar was facilitated by CNA's Tamara and Helena, Neira Nuna Čengić from Sarajevo and Milan Colić from Belgrade.

Having in mind that the seminar was attended mostly by younger people from different communities (Rudo, Priboj, Novi Pazar, Priština, Mitrovica, Niš) and mainly those who hadn't had a chance to meet people from other states (that is, from the former republics of SFRY), we tried to set up the workshop so that it offered some basic information on oral histories. Our goal was also to connect it with the past and the attitude toward it while having in mind the context people belonged to.

We covered the following themes: communication, with an emphasis on listening and empathy (as an important part of listening), the attitude toward the past (our surroundings' position regarding the past), the importance of understanding the social context in the work on oral histories, our surroundings' silence, the importance of oral histories for working on dealing with the past. A separate block was dedicated to technical and ethical questions regarding oral histories. As for conducting oral histories, interview preparations were treated separately, as well as the course of the

interview and what follows after an interview is taken. An entire block was dedicated to interview 'practice' during which the trainees were divided into couples and conducted an interview titled: *How did I and my family survive the nineties?*

That block was particularly significant since the trainees had a chance to both tell their story and hear someone else's while trying out both roles (the role of the interviewer and the interviewee). The stories were quite emotionally charged, which was something they hadn't anticipated. After the interview, the participants were instructed to write down their impressions, feelings, thoughts which they later discussed. They also shared their difficulties, dilemmas etc. and had another look at *debriefing* (a special kind of talk on where we are and how we're feeling) due to their intense emotional charge caused by the things they had said and heard.

We had to deal with some difficulties along the way. Until the very last moment, we didn't know how many people would take part, whether we would have two workshops simultaneously (with two trainers for each) or just one (with more participants), had issues with translation (there was a need for it, but it wasn't provided), etc.

It was a valuable experience for us, and it will certainly help us to organize storytelling with veterans and peace activists in July 2009 (education) and conduct interviews for the book we plan to publish in 2010.

H. R.

workshop: dealing with the past and ex-combatants

Bonn, Germany, 25-26.11.2008.

The Academy for Civilian Peace Service¹¹ in Bonn, Germany, conducts educational courses for people who are about to work as peacebuilding experts/advisors.

The education consists of many modules/workshops which are conducted by external trainers/lecturers. Participants are both Germans/West Europeans and lo-

¹¹ www.forumzfd-akademie.de/en-af/about

cals from postwar countries engaged in peacebuilding (or alike).

Supported by Stephan Clauss as a co-trainer, I (N.V. from CNA) conducted a two-day long workshop, pursuing somewhat ambitious goals and contents:

- The relevance of ex-combatants for peace processes
- Ex-combatants, the issue of so-called “spoilers” or violence-prone actors versus potentials for peace
- Logic and reasoning behind approaching the work with ex-combatants
- The issue of war criminals and the role of justice
- The relevance of shame, trauma and power
- The development of inclusive and systematic approaches
- Dealing with the past as an example of a practical approach

Clearly, only a brief introduction to the listed set of themes could be done in such a short time.

I believe that most participants reflected on their own prejudices and stereotypes regarding ex-combatants, and learned that this social group might be perceived not just as threat, but also as the group with huge peacebuilding potential.

It appears that it was a good idea that the workshop’s concept included some rethinking of the general approach, linked with the documentary film in which participants could recognise the same questions but asked in a lively and “down to earth” way.

The intention not to offer “recipes for work with ex-combatants” threatened to collide with participants’ expectations to obtain that exact thing. However, I believe that the intention was justified, since the goal is to learn which questions I must ask myself within a specific context, rather than apply models which proved useful in other contexts.

Since one of my most important messages sent to external actors is that they must act in support of local structures and not on their own, I was reminded in this workshop that locals should not undoubtedly be listened and followed. At the end of the workshop the group worked in two subgroups on a task - listing and explaining potential activities that could be done with ex-combatants. My experience tells me that suggestions made by locals were highly unrealistic (for my context) and, to a large extent, also driven by “project-guided action” rather than “needs-guided response”. Hence my basic message, which could be simplified and summarised as “locals know better,” was questioned, reminding me that this may not always be true. However, I do stick to the thought that “locals have more right to act than internationals”, whereby not forgetting that deeply sensitised external actors, in accordance to not only skilled but truly motivated and dedicated locals, can make excellent contributions to peacebuilding.

N.V.

training „narratives and intergenerational transfer of trauma“

Novi Sad /Serbia, 04-05.03.2009.

The two-day long training on historical narratives and intergenerational transfer of trauma was held in the beginning of March on the premises of the Novi Sad-based Centre for War Trauma (CfWT).

The training was designed and implemented by Amela Puljek-Shank (MCC Sarajevo) and Tamara Šmidling (CNA), for the group of about fifteen participants who were going through the educational programme for facilitators organized by CfWT.

Working with the group comprised of psychologists and ex-combatants was challenging, dynamic and highly intense. Just two work days with a packed schedule included the following topics: relation between narratives and identity and narrative and trauma; discussion of mechanisms for creating an image of the enemy and the possibilities for their deconstruction and establishment of dialogue. One of the central issues was: how do groups and their narratives give us an excuse for aid and permission to commit violence against others?

Discussions were long and ample, at times also

heated. The authenticity of the veterans’ experience prevented the discussion from ‘escaping’ to a safer territory - meaning, it becoming more abstract and theoretical. The context of Vojvodina (again) provided some earthy material for understanding the importance of opposing narratives, even when, seemingly, the situation is far from being dramatic.

The central moment of the training came when one of the facilitators shared her personal wartime experience which helped a group of trainees to step out of their position of people for whom the war had been something far away, and that hadn’t had anything to do with them. For others, that personal experience was the first chance ever to hear a personal story of someone who was only yesterday on ‘the side of the enemy’. Hence we had an unexpected opportunity to see how narratives worked on ‘live’ material as well as how they are deconstructed when ‘the other’s human side’ is met.

To conclude, this training was, amongst other

things, an excellent opportunity for this pair of trainers to further develop the concept of trainings dealing with narratives, trauma and reconciliation. The process started last year with a similar training held in the

Centre for War Trauma and this was another important step toward improving and advancing the concept we hope will have even wider implementation in the future.

T. Š.

forum: home is where the freedom lives

Linz, Austria, 19.03.2009.

Linz is Europe's capital of culture for 2009, alongside Vilnius in Lithuania. The series of various cultural manifestations organized in Linz included a series of public forums/discussions on the theme: Civil Wars in Europe in the 20th Century, part of which was dedicated to war(s) in the former Yugoslavia. A CNA representative was a guest at a forum where he talked about his experiences of peacebuilding in the postwar period. Along Mr. Kloesch, the forum's facilitator, the other speaker was Mrs. Miličević, originally from the Posavina region in Bosnia, who had come to Austria when the war broke out and now works on helping the refugees there. She spoke, at moments very movingly, about her experiences of living abroad and losing her home. She also talked about the things she tells her children now and how she tried not to disseminate hatred against other peoples.

There were about thirty people present, most of which were Austrians. Amongst several people originally from the former Yugoslavia, a representative of Bosnian immigrants' organization particularly stood out. Even before the forum, he filed a written complaint regarding the forum's subtitle which contained the term 'civil war', which was, according to him, a distortion of reality. Both before and during the forum he expressed

his dissatisfaction with the fact that none of the speakers were of Bosniak ethnicity. He compensated for this 'shortage' by making a prominent, frequent and very extensive speech which was interrupted by the audience several times, because they wanted the others to be given a chance to talk as well.

However obscure it may sound, the need to engage in dialogue between people with different backgrounds from the region of ex-Yu obviously also exists in Austria. This exhausting one-day trip to Linz was meaningful in at least two ways. On one hand, it was a step toward establishing communication with those with whom that was neither easy nor common (the diaspora of the so-called patriotic sentiment), and on the other it was important to inform those interested people in Austria about the experiences and challenges we encountered in peacebuilding in the region.

The initial contact with the organizers came upon recommendations of the Austrian peace activists who are our long-term friends and collaborators.

You can find the audio recording of the event (in German) at www.kepler-salon.at/barrierefrei/content/download/606/4921/file/Audio_civilwars5_20090319.mp3

N. V.

seminar: difficult memory places in europe

Tuzla/Srebrenica/Sarajevo, BH, 22-29.05.2009.

An interesting seminar that dealt with ways in which societies and collectives remember past events was held in Tuzla, Srebrenica and Sarajevo in May. The organizers gathered a group of 25 participants from Germany, France and Bosnia and Herzegovina, with a basic goal to address the theme of dealing with history and memory places in these three countries.

There were plenty of young people amongst the participants, students as well as those with more experience in working in the institutions that deal with the issues of collective memory and dealing with the past. Some of those institutions are the Memorial Centre of Oradour, the Dachau Concentration Camp Memorial and the Jewish Museum in Germany.

This was the third and final phase, following the first two that took place in Limoges/Oradour and Dachau in 2008.

Sanja and Tamara, two members of our team, prepared the presentation on CNA's work in the field of dealing with the past. Having in mind that the central issue of the last phase of the seminar was whether the awareness of history helped peace and socio-political engagement, we thought that the presentation of our work could help answering that question affirmatively.

The two-hour long discussion revolved around various aspects of CNA's work in this field, during which our work with former combatants, quite understandably, generated the most interest. The wider context

of our work in the region of the former Yugoslavia, especially in Bosnia and Herzegovina, was also discussed. The complexity of that work seems to be an excellent field to test some global assumptions on working on dealing with the past. Can we create responsible and just politics of memory in a deeply divided society, like the one in Bosnia and Herzegovina is today? Or are the politics going to remain exclusively ethnic in the foreseeable future?

These questions remain open after this gathering, and probably for many a future generation. However, the meeting did provide us with some inspiration for more focused work in the future in this interesting

field. We also hope we managed to inspire at least part of the group to continue with their highly relevant social engagement.

More information on the programme is available from the organizers:

Centre de la Mémoire d'Oradour
DDJS Haute-Vienne et Limousin
Jugendgästehaus Dachau
IPAK Tuzla
Centre André Malraux Sarajevo
Deutsch-Französisches Jugendwerk

T. Š.

seminar: following the trails of faith and peace

Vlašić, BH, 28-31.05.2009.

Mali koraci, the Sarajevo-based organization initiated a four-day long seminar titled „Following the Trails of Faith and Peace“ which took place in Vlašić, Bosnia and Herzegovina. The seminar's facilitators were Goran Božićević from Miramida Centre, Grožnjan, Croatia and Adnan Hasanbegović, a CNA team member.

The seminar's basic idea was to encourage peace activism among believers and analyze the potentials of Islamic and Christian (both Eastern and Western) religious traditions in the field of peacebuilding.

This was the first seminar aimed at a group of about 20 participants from Bosnia and Herzegovina with the background in Islamic tradition. The group comprised of members of various organizations, imams and teachers of religion. The concept includes two more phases. The second seminar's group would be formed out of people whose background is in Christian tradition (Eastern and Western). The third seminar would gather about 40 people, attendees of both previous seminars, so they would work together on themes related to religion and its role in the process of peacebuilding.

The seminar was designed as a combination of interactive workshops, lectures, plenary discussions and work in small groups. The following themes were covered: peacebuilding, leadership, religion and activism in workshops, as well as lectures presented by Amra Pandžo (director of „Small steps“) on the theme: *Peace Dimension of Islam*, Muhamed Jusić (theologian from Bugojno): *What do Qu'rans ayats (verses) and Muslim*

tradition say about peace? and Ugo Vlaisavljević (philosophy professor from the University of Sarajevo): *The Ethnic and Religious - Necessity or Choice*.

Workshops and lectures were quite inspirational with plenty of thorough discussions regarding the role of Muslims in social environment of the postwar Bosnia and Herzegovina and reconciliation, nationalism, social responsibility, etc. Most of the participants expressed their satisfaction with the seminar as well as wishes to participate in the following phases of the programme.

Here are some of the participants' statements taken from the seminar's evaluation:

- It was really wonderful. I wish we meet more often.
- *It is powerful to get to know smart people. I'm anxious to meet in September.*
- *This kind of gathering is literally forbidden in my surroundings. I will try to develop this in my surroundings, too.*
- *Thank you for the invitation, I've enjoyed the meeting. Can't wait for September. I'm glad I've met all of you. It will help me with my work with kids. The lack of seminars is a big problem.*
- *Everything was great in this seminar. I'm delighted with the lecturers. I've learnt a lot, integrated the previously gained knowledge. Two guest lecturers complemented each other well.*

More details on the seminar are available upon request to amrap70@gmail.com

A. H.

the second post-yugoslav peace academy

Sarajevo, 26.07 – 04.08.2009.

Organizers: MCC South-East Europe, CNA, Terca Sarajevo, Nansen Dijalog Centar Sarajevo

This summer, the Franciscan Students' Hostel in Sarajevo was once again the gathering point for the people from the region of the former Yugoslavia, Germany, United States, Northern Ireland ... Fifty of them gathered for the Second Peace Academy to attend one of the three available courses:

- *Activism Reloaded*, by Goran Božičević & Paul Stubbs
- *Memory: Remembering and Forgetting*, by Stef Jansen
- *Understanding Internal Dynamics of Societies in Conflict*, by Orli Fridman

What started last year as a daring idea with a totally uncertain future has continued to exist and develop toward establishment of one of the few continual advanced programmes of peace education in our region.

The Successes

The very fact that the organizational team has remained together for more than three years, despite having frequent disagreements and different views on certain issues, is a great success in our context. We feel that space for dialogue and cooperation within our team has been developing and reaching higher level, therefore we're glad to be able to contribute to our cooperation so it's not just an empty word.

This year we managed to offer three completely new courses and widen the circle of facilitators and collaborators with some new people who were willing to make an effort towards affirming peace work and narrowing the gap between academia and activism.

We had achieved a considerable success by managing to arouse interest among enough people, from our region and wider, to apply for the programme and take part in the process of exchange, learning and reflection. We received 80 applications which was a remarkable success, in our opinion, since we were not covering travelling expenses and we had to cancel all the promotional activities due to the lack of the previously promised funds. Fifty one persons were selected to take part in one of the three courses. Due to problems regarding finances we had to cut down the number of students from 20 to 17 per course. There was a problem again with little response from Kosovo, although we were surprised to receive quite a lot of applications from outside this region (from Ireland to Nigeria).

We are particularly pleased with the media coverage of this year's Academy. Numerous reporting crews that turned up at the PA 09 opening ceremony both

astonished us and took us by surprise. We were even more (pleasantly) surprised by the reporters' interest that didn't cease during the first four days of the activity. As a result, numerous interviews were featured in the press or on web portals, in TV news on almost all the relevant electronic media outlets, radio appearances... We hope we'll manage to collect all this material and put it on our web page, for all those who might be interested.

Since the impressions are just settling down and the evaluation of the entire process of the Peace Academy 2009 has not been done yet, we can expect that the insights into further success are to come in the form of future actions of our attendees and their increased influence on political, intellectual and cultural course of the events in our societies.

The Failures

The PA's biggest failure in 2009 has to do with our inability to provide financial support for two sessions consisting of six courses altogether, as we had previously planned. It turns out that fundraising continues to be the weakest point of the entire work on PA. We paid special attention to this issue during the preparations for this year's Academy, aiming to use the existing capacities the best we can and complement them by 'hiring' some capacities from outside. Nevertheless, our effort didn't turn out to be particularly successful due to various circumstances - world economic crisis, abrupt break of cooperation with our fundraiser, unexpected and inexplicable circumstances regarding some of our donors' responses. All of that forced us to cancel an entire three-course session. It remains highly questionable how we are going to organize fundraising in the future, because we want Peace Academy to last and it is obvious that it will not happen with such inefficient fundraising.

The Challenges and Looking Ahead

The past year was full of all kinds of different challenges.

One of the most relevant ones proved to be our intention to start the process of strategic planning for the next five years. It opened up a whole series of very important issues, related to the structure of the Academy's organizational body, visions of future, the place we want the Peace Academy to hold on the map of educational programmes in our region...

The work on organizing such an activity requires a

lot of investment, time, energy and creativity. Along with the Academy's growth and development, it is getting clear that such work cannot be done in passing. We need a different and more distinguishable organization and even more dedication, while, at the same time, numerous other commitments and activities continue to press upon us. A great challenge to create an optimal method and structure which will carry out the Peace Academy in the forthcoming period is facing us just as it is facing every organization and individual involved to clearly define what their capacities and desired role are in the whole story.

The other challenge, which is equally important, is related to defining the Peace Academy in terms of programme and methodology as an advanced peace education programme. There's a big task ahead of us to define more clearly where we want to position ourselves in this field, and what kind of transfer and gaining of knowledge we want to encourage with this programme. The phase I of the evaluation of this years' PA demonstrates that there are various apprehension/ideas of what the Academy is and what it is supposed to be, therefore we'll have to deal with these issues in more detail in September, when we evaluate the whole programme.

The reflection on PA's future profile and position was particularly inspired by the evaluation of the course titled Activism Reloaded and the insights we received from both the trainees and the facilitators. Some participants were rather dissatisfied with the course's concept and the way it was facilitated, considering that the Peace Academy courses should offer a more obvious connection between theoretical concepts and practical work and have more distinguished (and tighter) structure and focus. On the other hand, the facilitators persisted on their highly open and flexible concept, without a clearly drawn line between the 'lecturers and those who should be lectured', completely focusing on the exchange of personal experiences and insights. The tensions were quite visible and

had a rather big impact on work, the dynamics and the content. The new challenge emerged for the organizers: whether to react or not and how? We spoke to the facilitators on several occasions, in order to help courses meet what was previously defined in the document titled Methodological Frame for the Courses on which we had agreed before the PA began. Under no circumstances we wanted to intervene in the course's content and methodology, apart from what our role required from us. It was clear that there was a clash between the facilitators and more experienced persons in the group regarding the concept. It is our responsibility to define the models we want to encourage in the future, and to present them the best way we can to potential participants in order to prevent these kinds of disagreements with expectations from occurring again.

It will be a big challenge in the future to draw the interest of enough experienced persons to apply to PA. It is encouraging to see the small core of participants (10 people) who attended both programmes and whose potential we want to use for promotion of this programme in the future. It is necessary to pay special attention to the programme's promotion in Kosovo from where we received none or very small number of applications. We are aware that language is a big obstacle, however, through contacts with local organizations we'll try to bring the idea of the Peace Academy closer to local activists and theoreticians.

Hence, there are plenty of challenges as well as inspiration and enthusiasm. Certainly, inspiration and enthusiasm will have to go together with some other elements like thorough, detailed and precise planning and necessary capacity building. The reputation that the PA already enjoys as well as over a hundred attendees and a group of exceptional facilitators that contributed to its reputation, oblige us to approach the organization of this activity even more seriously, responsibly and thoughtfully. For, there's no going back ☺.

T. Š.

miramidani: peacebuilding days

„where are we going and are we going there together?“

Grožnjan, Croatia, 11-15.09.2009.

About fifty activists, theoreticians, journalists, artists, musicians and others, whose professional identities are not easily categorized or are still being formed, gathered during five September days in Grožnjan. They gathered in order to participate in a meeting regarding reconciliation, consisting of many workshops, lectures, discussions, presentations, two roundtable discussions

and an exhibit. They were drawn to it by their own curiosity and professional and, in some cases, deeply personal connection to the problem of (re)conciliation.

All of the participants brought along many questions and understandings of what reconciliation was and what it wasn't, and what it should have been. We were confused more often than strengthened by the

spectrum of the problem we dealt with, thought about or were living during those sunny and rainy days. We were left with new dilemmas more often than with answers we yearned for. The feeling that we were lonely in our own understanding of this problem sometime overshadowed the feeling of mutual understanding and common language. However, the opportunity to consider our work from more (unexpected) perspectives was valuable for its re-evaluation - and greater appreciation of it.

Like all other pioneering attempts to enrich topics with new dimensions and fields, Miramidani also took some "lame" (long plenary sessions in the afternoon) or clumsy (maybe the program was overdone?) steps, lost its focus at times ("and... What did we want with this question?"). However, above all else, Miramidani courageously opened new fields of deliberation, and without fear or pretentiousness, stepped onto some, untouched until that time, terrains (socially responsible business and reconciliation, peace journalism, hip-hop and peacebuilding, etc.) and remained a recognizable and open forum for meetings and exchange, a place for reflection and self-reflection. Miramidani also confirmed that it belonged to the group of activities which only become more important and relevant through time and the increase of the time-space distance.

Design and organization: Miramida Centre Grožnjan and CNA

Workshops, presentations and opening lectures: David Bloomfield, Vesna Kesić, Jasminka Drino-Kirlić, Brian Phillips, Vlasta Jalušić, Vladan Beara, Tihomir Ponoš, Rajko Božić, Eugen Jakovčić

Roundtable discussions (links between reconciliation and business sector, links between art and reconciliation): Vladimir Cvijanović, Goran Ješić, Igor Galo and many others

Exhibiting video and photography authors: Adela Jušić, Igor Roginek, Nenad Vukosavljević, Biljana Cincarević, Sašo Alušeovski, Davor Konjikušić and Nedžad Horozović

Topics discussed: Who should reconcile with whom?, Should they reconcile?, Reconciliation as provocation, Ethnic or ethic in reconciliation, How to reconcile after heavy wounds?

Also: What links hip-hop to peacebuilding?, Can we learn something from EXIT festival?, Is there such a thing as peace journalism?, Is the justice for victims through REKOM a catharsis or an utopia?, The divided communities' experiences and what to do with them?, etc.

The activity was supported by the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

In case you want to find out more about Miramidani, please do not hesitate to request the brochure by e-mail. We'll gladly send it to you!

T.Š.

miscellaneous

nonviolence training exchange organized by war resisters' international

Bilbao/Basque Country, 26-30.10.2008.

Nonviolence Training Exchange was held in Bilbao, organized by War Resisters' International (WRI) in co-operation with KEM-MOC (the WRI affiliate in Basque Country).

The activity's target group was trainers who conduct training events in nonviolent action and activists with previous experience in this field. For this reason the CNA team member Helena participated. The gathering's goal was the exchange of experience and knowledge, and obtaining a deeper insight into the concept and understanding of violence. The subject was also covered through sensitization from the strategic aspect as well as through development and providing support to groups which worked on nonviolence. The importance of this exchange is also reflected in activists' different contexts and various methods and experiences they use in their work.

Some of the issues that were addressed: how a training in nonviolence has been changing and adapting over the years, the role of the training in nonviolence in the movements for social change, new methods of

training in nonviolence, the challenges we encounter, conducting training events with international participants, the exchange of 'tools' and exercises.

WRI also presented their publication "Handbook for Nonviolent Campaigns" which is available on their website at www.wri-irg.org/node/3855

The participants came from all over the world (Colombia, USA, different European countries, India, etc.), from societies that were completely different from one another, as are the participants' experiences and their activist *background*. It was not only brilliant to listen to their experiences, exchange views, dilemmas, questions and challenges, but also empowering and encouraging for further work. Furthermore, it was challenging to meet personally and hear the people one knew only from books, articles or actions one had only read about.

WRI has been working on nonviolent actions for a long time. More on this organization is available on their website at www.wri-irg.org/network/about_wri.

H. R.

the meeting of qpsw and partner organizations from the region

Umag/Croatia, 15-18.02.2009.

The three-day meeting of QPSW and its partner organizations, which had been working together in the field of peacebuilding in the region of the former Yugoslavia during the past eighteen years, took place in Umag, Croatia. Those eighteen years of the Quakers' active presence in this region were marked by the noteworthy number of partnerships, projects and co-operations on the national, local and regional level, with a few dozens of organizations active in the fields of peacebuilding, human rights, peace education, dealing with the past, etc. We may say that this meeting

with about thirty activists from the organizations from Croatia, Serbia, and Bosnia and Herzegovina and Quakers' offices from Great Britain and Belgium was a recap of QPSW's activity in the region. Since the beginning of this year, QPSW no longer has offices in this region. Thus, this activity was also an attempt to anticipate new ways of cooperation and support that both Quakers and EU civil societies could offer to local organizations and initiatives.

The workshops were a space to discuss and analyze both the previous year's work and overview of the

past, current and future activities that needed to be maintained and empowered. Additionally inspirational were the exchange of memories and contemplation on a series of individual relations, activities and projects that most of the people who were present there had something to say about.

The presentations of the studies that were conducted as a part of QPSW regional projects were also interesting. The first one, titled Grassroots Peacebuilding and Enlargement, offered some suggestions regarding priorities of action in the field of peacebuilding, lobbying both on the national level within the region and on the EU level. The other presentation dealt with mechanisms and protocols related to European integrations. There was also a presentation of the study on how people from Serbia, Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina perceived the EU and the Western Balkans

countries' European future. The study was important because it indicated the local people's lack of knowledge and information as well as the prejudices about the EU and what dilemmas and difficulties awaited us in relation to it.

The meeting was important since, along with a considerable number of peace activists, it was also attended by several ex-combatants who are getting more involved in the region's peace activities.

The gathering was mostly held in a constructive and friendly atmosphere, with a dominant impression that the cooperation and contacts in the field of peacebuilding would continue.

More information about this event is available upon request sent to the following e-mail: miramida@zamir.net

A. H.

the international training: nonviolence in the context of war or armed conflict

Wustrow/Germany, 16.06.-03.07.2009.

As a member of the Centre for Nonviolent Action's Belgrade team, I took part in the international training titled "Nonviolence in the Context of War or Armed Conflict" organized by the CNA's sister organization KURVE, Wustrow, Germany. The training was held at the organization's main office from June 16 to July 3, 2009. The training was attended by sixteen peace activists from Germany, Sudan, Palestine, South African Republic, Nepal, Columbia, Malaysia, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka and Nigeria, most of whom had had previous experience of peacebuilding work in their local surroundings.

The training's goal was to advance the skills of non-violent conflict transformation in the context of war or armed conflict. The training covered following themes: principles of nonviolence, nonviolent direct action and nonviolent intervention; understanding conflicts and conflict transformation; political analysis, strategy and working on reconciliation in war-torn societies; tracking and reporting violations of human rights, working on promotion of human rights; dealing with stress, fear and traumatic experiences; decision-making based on consensus and team work; cultural and gender sensitization.

The activity was workshop-based, with the participants' high level of engagement. The covered themes were firstly considered from the standpoint of personal experience, followed by reflections. Not everyone in the group was equally heard. Some of the participants did not use that space due to an inadequate command

of English, which was a working language. The remaining question for me is whether it's more important for everyone to have an excellent command of English (some of the aforementioned countries are still under the cape of brutal, centuries-long colonialism) or the principle of solidary inclusiveness for the sake of empowerment of the people who work under extremely difficult war conditions (Sri Lanka and Palestine), even at the price of hindered work, poor communication at times and misunderstandings?

Several workshops left a strong impression on me. The most striking was the two-day workshop that covered nonviolent direct action, an in-depth review of the consensus reaching process in practise (decision making on the group's participation in a nonviolent direct action which underlined the importance of personal responsibility for global warming, with an emphasis on exaggerated and irresponsible use of cars). The workshop based on the idea of "*Do No Harm*," which examines the problems that occur when the help of international organizations results in reinforcement of divisions between parties in conflict, was also stimulating. Mary B. Anderson, the author of the book with the same title, offers some possible alternatives.

The trainees also had a chance to present their local contexts as well as their contribution to struggle for changes within it. Those presentations, as well as hanging out with the group in the informal time gave me enough time to disconnect from my political day-to-day reality and from some images of the rest of the

world, created by the most powerful media, primarily for the sake of their own interests.

Getting to know the German context, especially the ways in which the German society deals with the experience of the World War II and the existing attitude toward minorities were very important for me. The societies which have wartime experience and criminal past go through similar processes where only the several decades worth of a scope can represent the reference framework for success (or failure). However, time related frameworks, like river beds, tame the flood of

social processes in one of two directions - towards systemic and systematic recovery or the metastasis of the criminal ideas and politics.

Even though the training and its main theme - non-violence in the context of war or armed conflict - with its title doesn't correspond to the current context in which the Centre for Nonviolent Action works, I think that the main impression I came back with - that *non-violence* is an option that should never be neglected - is something that needs to be carefully nurtured.

N.P.

coalition for recom

Although it's not news, it seems important to write a few words about The Coalition for RECOM (Regional Commission for Truth-seeking and Truth-telling About War Crimes), primarily for those who might not have had a chance to hear about it.

The initiative was undertaken by regional NGOs: The Humanitarian Law Centre, Belgrade, Documenta, Croatia and the Research and Documentation Centre, Sarajevo, as early as 2006. The Coalition was officially formed at the meeting in Priština in October 2008. It was joined by a relevant number of NGOs, as well as individuals and some victims' and veterans' associations. The first assembly of the Coalition members was held in Podgorica, Montenegro, in May 2009.

The mission of the coalition is to advocate the establishment of the Regional Commission for Truth-seeking and Truth-telling About War Crimes and other Serious Violations of Human Rights in the region of the former Yugoslavia, which will be established by consenting states formed from the former SFRY.

Dozens of regional and national level consultations have been held so far, where representatives of dif-

ferent social groups have participated. They discussed mechanisms for establishing the facts about war crimes, and, furthermore, what kind of commission was needed for the region of the former SFRY and what its mandate should have been. The consultation process should be completed by the end of 2010 through gathering one million signatures of citizens' support. The Coalition for RECOM will make a proposal of the Commission's model and will submit it to the parliaments of the regional countries.

There are plenty of critics and criticisms of this coalition, from the criticism of the initiative itself, to the criticism of the strategy, to the criticism of the carriers of the process. However, no matter whether the initiative will manage to achieve its mission or not, its great value lies in the very beginning of the process and the organizing of public dialogues in which various interest groups have taken part. Hence, that kind of a process should be supported.

You can find more about RECOM at www.korekom.org.

I.F.

bosnia and herzegovina – the production of assassinate identities¹²

„As long as an individual's place in society goes on depending on his belonging to some community or another we are perpetuating a perverse state of affairs that can only deepen divisions (...) The only reasonable and decent policy is to work to ensure that every citizen is treated as a fully-fledged member of society, whatever his affiliations“

Amin Maalouf

Another year with no good news from the Bosnian - Herzegovinian state/country. The previous twelve months brought neither relief nor any major progress to whatever segment of political and social life. On the contrary, my personal feeling, both human and professional, tells me that for the past fifteen years the situation has never been more difficult. The dangerous absence of any kind of constructive political solution for the 'Bosnian case' along with the alarming resilience of the politics of hate and division leave little room for optimism. There's almost no space at all for an opinion that doesn't fit into already installed categories of what is ethnic, religious or 'cultural'. Moreover, the terror of the aforementioned, petrified and once-for-all predefined categories, takes its toll on daily basis which is the reason why this society is becoming less and less desirable place for living for thousands of educated young people who flee it without looking back. No need to point out how difficult life is for the hundreds of thousands of impoverished and deprived workers, pensioners and the unemployed.

No matter what we call the processes we consider priorities in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the majority agrees that it is extremely difficult to reach a positive social change in the state where principles of rule of the ethnic principle and the accompanying discrimination are inscribed in all institutions. From the Constitu-

tion, through the Parliament(s), to the educational system. Human and civil rights are subdued to the utmost principle of 'belonging to an ethnic group' which is an inexhaustible reservoir of both questionable privileges and discrimination.

The following overview is just a tiny fragment of what we've been 'treated' to in the previous period.

Europe is far away?!

Starting from January 1st of next year, the citizens of this sad state who weren't lucky enough to get their hands on some other passport (mainly Croatian or Serbian), will remain on the other side of the *cor-don sanitaire* made by the European Union, which is certainly never called that. For, it seems, it is neither 'civilized nor in accordance with European values'. In other words, citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina will still be unable to travel without visa to most of European countries, like the citizens of Kosovo and Albania. Considering that the authorities of Bosnia and Herzegovina did not meet the criteria for abolishment of the visa regime, people will keep on queuing while young people will continue to watch 'the abroad' on TV. Incompetence, idleness and arrogance of local politicians will be paid for by those who keep on voting for them, year in and year out. Perhaps once they will punish them for it? Let's hope so. Fair enough? Only at the surface.

I do not wish to pardon local institutions, in any way, of their huge responsibility for idleness and incompetence, but I have to point out that I find this EU decision bad and, long term, dangerous for both Bosnia and Herzegovina and the whole region's stability. This decision shows that Bosnia and Herzegovina is (for the most part) treated as a functional state. Unfortunately, due to enormous internal divisions and extreme

¹² I use the expression of Amin Maalouf, whose book „Violence and the Need to Belong: In the Name of Identity“ (*Les identités meurtrières*) explains very well the problem of collective identities and mechanisms that turn 'ordinary and good' people into murderers and criminals when they suspect their tribe/group is being threatened. I think that the process of production of 'assassinate identities' is exactly what's going on in today's B-H, while the constantly opposing voices who offer clear alternative are both sparse and feeble.

obstruction, masked by the alleged protection of 'vital national interests', this is not the case. Furthermore, it demonstrates a total lack of understanding for the complex and highly sensitive position of Bosnia and Herzegovina when it comes to interethnic and multilateral relations. Finally, it demonstrates, over and over again, the European administration's impotence to think outside the narrow, administrative and bureaucratic scope regarding Bosnia.

Immediately after the decision was announced in Brussels, all of a sudden two discourses intensified in the public space of Bosnia and Herzegovina. According to the first one, the main reason for such a decision is the well known ancient, anti Islamic European sentiment. In line with it, the European Islamophobia had been proved long time ago, and now it is merely confirmed that there is no place for 'us' (Bosnians, Turks, Albanians - in one word European Muslims) in Europe. Considering that the argument of Islamophobia became the Islamic Community's favourite shield against any kind of criticism, however justified it may be, it becomes even clearer how difficult it is going to be to deconstruct this alibi after the EU's decision. The second discourse, which is potentially even more malignant for this society, additionally victimizes Bosniak people and treats the decision as another one in the series of historic injustices against this group. According to this narrative, now it's time for the post-war insults that avoid the executioners and unerringly hit the victims, after the enormous agony and suffering endured in the 1992-1995 war, after indolence and weak reaction of the international community to genocide and ethnic cleansing that had been going on undisturbed for years.

Judge for yourself how much potential such a sentiment carries for a constructive approach to finding a political solution for Bosnia and Herzegovina, for a sober analysis of the local politician's idleness strengthening of both the pro-European sentiment and enthusiasm for work.

The Misery of Denial, the Misery of Hate

The division of Bosnia and Herzegovina is not a novelty just as it is no news that each of the three constituent peoples of this state, year after year, continue to define their collective allegiance to nation by mythomaniac and selective interpretations of both recent and ancient history. These interpretations, expectedly, leave out the violence and the injustice committed by 'our' group, while demonising the other and perceiving it only as an enemy.

However, what is new in comparison to some years ago is the astoundingly widened space for insolent denial and relativisation of the crimes from the past - the path that was 'courageously' pioneered by the lead-

ing politicians of Republika Srpska headed by Milorad Dodik, the prime minister of this entity.

This politician had come into power a few years ago, as a long-wished alternative to the Serbian Democratic Party. After a while, he concentrated an enormous power in his hands, gained the control over the local media, almost completely disciplined the civil sector and gave his historic contribution to hatred and intolerance in the region. An inquisitive reader would easily search the Internet to find some statements from his opulent collection. Considering the political position he occupies, the meaning and seriousness of those statements can easily annul the results of the long-lasting enduring peace work in five minutes. For the sake of this article, I'll quote only those statements of his about the dirty Sarajevo, i.e. Teheran, unsuitability of Muslim (sic!) judges who cannot rule in the case of 'us in Republika Srpska' and the last one according to which the crimes at the Tuzla's Kapija and the Markale Market in Sarajevo were '**staged** in order to isolate Serbia and Serbs in this region'.

Therefore, the door was widely open for any potential mean perversion and interpretation of the crimes committed in Bosnia and Herzegovina and wider, regardless of its perpetrators. It's an unambiguous green light given to the process of production of '*assassinate identities*' that has been smouldering alarmingly in this society, anyway - so that it unstoppably inflames and breaks out. None of the three (constitutive) parties lack the kindling wood to instigate the flames and we need to take this very seriously, the sooner the better.

The Misery of 'Moral Beacons'

Typically, in the times of crisis, intellectual and ethical mire and dregs come to surface. When ethics is nowhere to be found whereas moral relativism has occupied the entire public space, all kind of leaders show up, to take their presumably mute and blind flock through the darkness and cast away the clouds of confusing times. There's no shortage of those in Bosnia and Herzegovina neither, and the majority of them happen to exist in religious communities. Those 'moral beacons' do not shy away from preaching to the others (non-believers, misfits, those immoral ones) every once in a while, although they themselves couple with criminals and gangsters.

The most powerful of them is certainly Mustafa ef. Cerić, leader of the Islamic Community in Bosnia and Herzegovina, often called the most powerful Bosniak politician. He is by no means squeamish of such a title, nor does he mind being friends with people who belong to the criminal-national-patriotic milieu.

There's a long list of his statements delivered from the position of moral superiority that encourages nationalism and, at the same time, relativizes criminal

actions of some of his friends and collaborators. Anyway, one particular case which is known as '*Gluha Bukovica*', demonstrates how far one can go in defending one's dubious *moralizing* position.

Gluha Bukovica is a small village in central Bosnia where parents of several underage girls reported sexual abuse of their daughters by the local imam Rešad Omerhodžić who was teaching religious education to the children. The case was soon exposed in the media. Wishing to protect their children, the desperate parents were willing to speak out publicly about the appalling events. What followed was their 'excommunication' by the 'suitable' community members, the reporters' crews were attacked when they tried to report about the events and the Islamic Community stood by the imam, who was transferred from the parish only after his conviction¹³! Nonetheless, the support of the Islamic Community's leadership was never denied to him. Mr. Cerić reacted to these acts of pedophilia in a truly outrageous manner: without uttering a single undisputable word of condemnation, without clearly expressing sympathy for neither the traumatized girls nor their families. He went to the village, literally interrogated one of the girls by asking her how the priest had touched her knees and what expression of his face had been while at it and finally stated that those who accused officials of IC so easily neither knew nor understood the Bosnian village!!! No need to comment any further.

Almost at the same time, another bastion of 'moral beacons' - The University of Sarajevo, treated the public to the so-called 'sex scandal in Law School' as the tabloids called it. What lies behind that vulgar name is actually a serious case of corruption and sexual abuse of the female students by Fuad Saltaga, Bajro Golić and Zdravko Lučić, three distinguished professors of University's Department in Tuzla. The most terrifying aspect of the case was the silence of both the Law school and the University, and almost total absence of any kind of reaction of the so-called academic public. One cannot help but fear while thinking of all the other issues that the Academy should react to, which it stubbornly fails to do...

The logical question that arises is who has the integrity and credibility to react in these or similar cases? Whose voice can be heard far enough in the country in which one's name and family name, family tree and blood count decisively influence the perception of one's words? It is obviously not the case with dreamy intellectuals or the lethargic civil sector. Clearly, it's tragic that it's up to the journalists' of the free-thinking media, who are up to their eyeballs in debts anyway and under political pressures or up to a few activists, always the same ones. Who's going to react? The question is addressed to all of us...

What else?

In order to prevent this article from going into dozens of pages, we'll stop here and only vaguely mention the extremely difficult economic situation (the big crisis has been going on for years here), the disastrous position of the workers and pensioners, lack of any social solidarity ('they should keep the strike off the side of the road, instead of stopping the traffic'), deflating feeling of basic safety on the streets of major cities, show business and political vulgarity we're literally drowning in...

With all these things, it's not easy at all to keep one's motivation for peace work in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Too many things are de-motivating and frightening, there are too little visible results or progress. Like the entire society, peacebuilding here is moving at a snail's pace - one step forward, two steps back. What remains as a driving force is a pure defiance and a firm belief that, wherever we are, it is always worth fighting for a society and institutions that do not discriminate against or spill gasoline onto the ground we walk on - however impossible or unequal that struggle may seem. Our bread and butter are more action, less shallowness, lot more willingness for discussion and dialogue and lot less moralizing coming from comfortable, secure positions, whether they are the positions of politicians, religious leaders or representatives of civil society.

Tamara Šmidling

croatia

Nothing fundamentally new has happened in Croatia within the last year, except that the talks on the Croatian accession to EU were slowed down due to a bunch of internal and international problems with Slovenia. That is why the wax mask of the most or-

ganized state in the region has slowly melted down to make some processes and phenomena in the Croatian society slightly more visible.

The Republic of Croatia is a secular state. Or so it prescribes the article 41 of the Constitution of the RC,

¹³ Rešad Omerhodžić was found guilty by the Municipal Court in Travnik and sentenced to 18 months in prison for sexually abusing a minor.

whose first paragraph states: All religious communities are equal regarding law and are separated from the state.

The real life seems to slightly collide with the previous sentence, since dogmas and teachings of the Catholic Church penetrated almost every pore of public and political life and are now affecting people's lives in a manner more obvious than ever before.

Croatia has recently adopted a very conservative law on artificial insemination. Although the amends of the law were pompously announced, the most controversial part regarding access to insemination remains the same, which means that only married couples and those who can prove that they have been living in cohabitation for at least three years have the right to it. Furthermore, according to biology textbooks approved by the Ministry of Education and Sport, an abortion is a murder of a human being and may endanger woman's health. According to the Catechism textbook, same-sex relations are both immoral and a wrong form of sexuality. Special preferences for obtaining a mortgage are given to young married couples while reproduction of the church dogma is frequently reflected in the judicial system through interpretations of men's violence against women, which often remains unsanctioned.

Those are only some of the situations that demonstrate how the Christian dogma is becoming politically fixed and is influencing the lives of all the citizens of Croatia, regardless of their different identities and standpoints.

Those, who are quite a few, who rebelled against it and called upon the constitutional stipulations of separation between church and state mainly got a chance to say what they wanted, but since social dialogue does not exist, they are left with no comment, marginalized and things go on as they did. Every time someone invokes the constitutional stipulation on separation between church and state, even if that person is Stjepan Mesić, the President of the Republic, who had recently asked for removal of religious symbols and crucifixes from public space, they are met with stern criticism from conservative politicians and the ruling circles of the Catholic Church, appealing to the Catholic tradition and 'higher values', as if they were major and utmost state interests.

Bishops feel that it's their duty to suggest what the next president of the republic should be like, as was the case of Bishop Štambuk who delivered a public sermon on the occasion of the Croatian Martyrs' Day in which he stated that the next Croatian president should, however, be Catholic. Seemingly, it means that he will also be a good man, a wise and resolute politician. The former prime minister is also a Catholic, several of his family members are priests and nuns, yet he did resign from his post amid the political crisis

without a clear explanation, thus leaving the country in a lurch.

As division between the rich and the poor is becoming ever so obvious, every day we witness strikes of those who have not been paid for months, which is another legacy of the privatization and bad economic policies shaped by those 'humble Catholics'. The Catholic church was granted about 350 million kuna from the state budget, while the implementation of the social and health care reforms are heading toward the situation in which people will no longer be able to provide neither dignified life nor dignified health care. Now, that's very Christian in a Catholic state...

It is sad that the highest chances of survival in the Croatian monoculture have those who fit the two very narrow identity features - those of being Croats and Catholics. Preferably they shouldn't rock the boat too much or re-question things either.

Željko Kerum, a businessman and an entrepreneur and the new mayor of Split, the second biggest city in Croatia, also declared himself a Croat and a Catholic. Those identities obviously grant him plenty of rights. Several months into his term, it's difficult not to notice that things are upside down: the city and its property serve to the mayor instead the other way around.

Appearing as a guest in a talk show on the state-owned TV, he recently said that he would not welcome Serbian businessmen because they had never done any good and further added that neither had Montenegrins, as well as that there was no chance he would accept a son-in-law who was Serbian.

Furthermore, he says that one must know one's place in this country.

There it is, Kerum has only publicly uttered what many people in Croatia think, and although his statements were met with sharp criticism from some Croatian politicians, as well as persons from the civil society, it is absurd that the County Attorney's Office did not press charges against him on account of advocating and spreading ethnic hatred. How is the ethnic hatred spread then, and based on which criteria is it defined?

Approximately at the same time, another verdict was pronounced and made public. In 2003, Neva Tolle, coordinator of the Autonomous Women's House appeared as a guest in a TV show and called a man who was found guilty (the verdict wasn't valid) of domestic violence an 'abuser'. Following a process that lasted for six years, The Council of the County court, made of three female judges, found her guilty of slander.

Is this the message we send - that's how those willing to publicly speak out about domestic violence, which is traditionally supposed to stay inside the four walls, end up? I guess this is not perceived as dangerous social phenomena in our society, just like Kerum's

statements are not perceived as hate speech.

Given that we did call those very same Serbs to visit the coast and save this year's tourist season, in this time of recession. An occasional black eye, broken headlights or scratched car paint have all become part of the folklore, for they seem to deserve it. It's like Kerum says - one should know one's place in this country.

Relations with Serbs in our beautiful fatherland have worn thin anyway, and the handful of them that had returned after the war, we forgot long ago. It's good that they are in minority hence they won't make any trouble.

We shall not be able to talk about radical change of the society as long as we speak about improving relations with 'others' merely declaratively, and the law is not upheld equally against everyone, and the entire system cannot guarantee it.

I find it important to mention here the students' blockade that spread from the Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities in Zagreb, to the majority of faculties throughout Croatia. The initiative was launched by the Independent Students' Initiative for Right to Free

Schooling for All. They were first to start the public discussion on forgotten social values - social justice and equal rights for all, regardless of the social strata they belonged to. The initiative was supported by some professors, the civil society, unions and numerous other public persons, although Mr. Primorac, the Minister for Education, characterised it as rebellion of students who were instrumentalized by some political options. I guess it's not expected that anybody gets directly involved in shaping their own destiny in our society.

Although the students' blockade ended after 34 days, the students haven't won their rights so far and the Independent Students' Initiative for Right to Free Schooling remains active. It keeps rocking the boat and we hope that it will not stop, because it seems that in order to change things it's necessary to have a constant, organized pressure from below.

It is up to all of us who constitute the Croatian society to demonstrate that it is neither the best nor the safest thing to use our rights to be silent, to put up with and feel self-pity...

Sanja Deanković

macedonia

„Only The Future Is Certain Here. The Past Changes With Every New Administration.“

Last year we in Macedonia felt the true power of a stupefying truism of the Romanian saying that is in the title of this article. That's another year which was dominated by the dispute between Macedonia and Greece over the name of the country. Following the Greek veto to Macedonia's admission to NATO, the conflict metastasized within the Macedonian society and reached a truly frightening dimension. An obvious fiasco of the Macedonian diplomacy at the NATO summit in Bucharest soon turned into a political spectacle at home. It seems that what followed was a chain of events that radically changed the Macedonian public discourse, going from bad to worse. The process known as 'ancientization' was already advancing in a well-known manner which we had previously seen in some other Balkan countries in the mid-nineties. The government monopolized the media space with their five or ten-minute video clips advertising various government campaigns. I shall try to list only a few of them that the Macedonian public was abundantly supplied with, via all media, ten times a day. I shall also give examples of some of the events caused by these campaigns, in order to depict their effects more vividly:

The Third Child Campaign - This campaign was

aimed only at the Macedonian ethnic community, insisting on the thesis that the Macedonian ethnicity is declining and in jeopardy. The authorities went even further by adopting legal exemptions for mothers, who received financial compensation for each newborn baby, increased for every next child. If a mother was to have a fourth child, she might as well retire at the expense of the state, receiving quite a satisfactory income. The message addressed to all impoverished Macedonian women was both clear and terrifying: no need to study or build a career, just keep bearing children and the state will look after you. (Of course) the law was enforced only in those communities where the population growth rate was under the randomly chosen 2.1‰. And look! All the municipalities that the law targeted were predominantly populated with ethnic Macedonians. A few months later, this legal discrimination was repealed by the Constitutional Court. However, not all of the law was revoked. In my opinion, the Constitutional Court managed to see only ethnic, but not gender discrimination as well. The law is now applied throughout the entire state.

Along with The Third Child Campaign, the *Anti-abortion campaign* was also launched. It was waged under the same veil of fear of 'disappearance' of the nation. It was based on blatant lies regarding the number of abortions and how they were carried out

and the accusations varying from religious sermons against murder to those referring to a lack of patriotism. After a strong public resistance against the campaign, for it had reached the social strata outside activist or publicly visible spectrum, it faded out with the Prime Minister's apology stating that it wasn't the government intention to banish abortion (which is entirely available and free of charge in Macedonia) but to raise awareness on dangers it might cause instead. It's almost as if it were a campaign on reproductive health! Furthermore, the campaign was launched at the time when the number of abortions was declining. It remains unclear who headed the campaign even though the government did adopt the procurement of the campaign on raising awareness about consequences of abortion. Furthermore, once in every few months, our cities wake up to find themselves plastered with thousands of anonymous anti-abortion posters. Which-ever structure is behind it, it obviously has rather large finances and organized staff at disposal in almost all our towns.¹⁴

The campaign on strengthening the national awareness: You are Macedonia - This campaign was also aimed exclusively at the Macedonian ethnic community. The campaign 'courageously' introduced two elements into treatment of ethnicity: militarism and antiquity. The video clips were quite picturesque: Alexander the Great is reproaching one of his generals, advising him that it is not very smart to attack an overpowering enemy; the state flag which is being torn apart at the sight of the guy who didn't stand up to the sound of the national anthem... However, that was only the beginning. In the beginning of 2009, God spoke to us via state television. Yes, yes, God himself. In a ten-minute video clip titled the Macedonian prayer (www.youtube.com/watch?v=PZJ62MGF7xI) God is speaking to modern-day Macedonians in an attempt to explain them that Macedonoids were the first white people on planet earth! (One of three that God had created.) After an adverse public reaction, the video was taken off the air, but its life continues on the Internet. Various quasi-scientific theories on ethnogenesis of the Macedonian people that were being discussed on social margins for years have become dominant, overnight. The main penetration occurred with a forceful introduction of ancient elements into the modern understanding of a nation. The need was simply explained by Pasko Kuzman, the director of the Cultural Heritage Protection Department, with the following words: If we don't prove the ethnogenesis, dating from the ancient times

all the way to the present, we cannot claim the right to the name 'Macedonia'. Of course, everything was instrumentalized in the name of the new state priority. All kinds of silly theories backed with dubious arguments were elaborated in the media on daily basis. As a response to the term *Macedonoids* which was used in the Macedonian Prayer video and soon became a mocking name for new, 'ancient' Macedonians, the term *sorosoids* (alluding to the Open Society Fund and its founder George Soros) was coined and used for all those who dared to publicly criticize the politics of antiquization and/or question the 'ancient roots' of the Macedonian nation. *Sorosoids* were also to blame for high treason because the very act of questioning the glorious ancient origins of the nation meant that they supported the change of the name in the dispute with Greece and acted directly in favour of Greek interests while the world had conspired against the survival of the Macedonian nation. I cannot remember any such orchestrated public attack on the nongovernmental¹⁵ segment of the civil society since 2001. The visible part of the process of 'antiquization' is of course the erection of the grandiose monument dedicated to Alexander the Great on the Skopje's central square, as well as the renaming of airports, motorways, sport stadiums and squares and giving them suitable 'ancient' names. So much so that we've come to the official verification of the ancient origin of the Macedonian ethnogenesis which was published this year.

Clericalization of society - Religion and nation have always existed together in firm symbiosis in Macedonia. This symbiosis became little deeper last year. Two important events that occurred last year demonstrate it. Despite all the opposing reactions, the government introduced catechism into primary schools. The priests went to schools and started teaching after attending only a short (one-day) course on teaching methods. The Constitutional Court abolished the paragraph of the law as an intrusion upon secular state. It has provoked strong and continuous reactions. The Ministry of Education announced recently that they were preparing to revise the law in order to reintroduce religion into the schools through some another method. The other incident escalated in March 2009. Last year, the government announced its intention to finance the construction of a new Orthodox church on the Skopje's central city square with state funds. The decision met with fierce criticism and previously established division of Macedonoids and sorosoids deepened. An event that happened on March 28, 2009 came as a great shock

¹⁴ Anonymous posters have somehow become quite ordinary. Abortion, issue of the state's name, strengthening of patriotism, not going to Greece for summer holidays... once every few months our towns end up covered with anonymous billboards.

¹⁵ I make a distinction between progovernmental and nongovernmental civil society. Progovernmental civil society is considerably sustained on state funds and conducts filed campaigns. It's a symbiosis made out of party, state and various nongovernmental organizations' structures..

for the public. The group of students from Skopje's Architectural Faculty, called The First Archi Brigade, announced their peaceful protest rally at the site of the future Orthodox church. An hour before the rally several thousand citizens gathered on the square to support the construction of the church (spontaneously - as we were later informed). The mob attacked the students when they approached the square and drove them away. All of that happened in front of the media and the police, which even asked the students to leave the site (despite the fact that they were the only ones who obeyed the law and registered their gathering with the police). The event can be seen at the following link: www.youtube.com/watch?v=1wXFsX4hQoE&feature=related. This kind of an event is rather odd for Macedonia; therefore, the public became both upset and deeply divided. The silence of church officials was astounding. It took an intervention from EU and USA MPs, for some weak acts of criticism to appear. What followed entirely depicts irreconcilable social confrontation: the charges were brought for misdemeanour against both the attackers and the students. Actually, the students were charged with disorderly conduct. In the meantime, the government decided to give the building plot to the Macedonian Orthodox Church to build the church and finance it with the money collected from donations, out of fear that the Constitutional Court might annul government's decision to fund the religious temple with budget resources. Oh yes, the Islamic Religious Community also asked for the money to restore the Burmalı Mosque which was destroyed after the World War I, on the same square. The whole thing continues. I'm deeply convinced that, by embarking on this adventure, the MOC jeopardized its reputation dreadfully and that it should have taken a different stand by trying to prevent deep religious intolerance created through these events. Obviously, they don't agree with me. At least not officially.

All of this is happening at the same time when the Macedonian government enjoys the strongest public support ever since the country became independent, for a second consecutive year.

In the meantime, Greece announced that it would block the beginning of talks with the European Union unless the dispute was resolved. Public polls have always showed high percentage of those in favour of the EU accession. However, the percentage drops drastically if it's preconditioned with the change of the country's name. The loss of public support for the integration into the EU and Macedonian state's rather

poor capacities for reforms that are not required for integration really make a bad combination.

These were just some of the events that stood out in the last year. I feel that critically inclined Macedonian public is in deep defence, whilst trying to find some space outside black-and-white public debate. The other important challenge has to do with creating space to discuss issues that are neither euphoric nor spectacular, nonetheless very important for peace-building and getting a deeper insight into intolerance that breaks out so violently every time there's a public conflict of opinions. The third challenge has to do with finding a dignified manner to articulate actions thus confronting drastic degradation and vulgarization of all public debates.

In my view, peace in Macedonia stands on two feet: favourable and peaceful development of the wider Balkan region and relations between Albanians and Macedonians within Macedonia. Without any hesitation, I can conclude that almost nothing was done last year to influence any of these processes in a positive way. Quite understandably, people are preoccupied with the dispute with Greece over the name of the country, and preserving that name is perceived as the main priority. And this is quite reasonable. The problem is that hardly anything else gets noticed. However, we still need to start a reconciliatory process between Albanians and Macedonians; there's a burning issue of the Veterans' Rights Law of the 2001 War (which was introduced already in an embarrassing way); dealing with the malignant process of total ethnic segregation in primary and secondary schools throughout the country (which is almost over now); treatment of the so-called 'Hague cases' of war crimes; more than 700 internally displaced persons who have been living in collective centres for eight years now without either a slightest chance of returning to their homes or resolving their problems in some other way. Surveys show that there's almost no contact between Macedonians and Albanians, as well as that there's great fear of another war breaking out. The economic crisis is taking its toll, the economy which has been suffering for quite some time, has officially entered recession; therefore we're expecting a rather gloomy fall. All I can hope for is that the therapy for the crisis will not be another dose of 'antiquity'. And by that, I don't mean the 'antique' brandy.

Boro Kitanoski
The Peace Action, Prilep

montenegro

Year after year, it's getting more difficult to write a report on Montenegro, because it's almost impossible to avoid constant repetition of same things and descriptions of same phenomena. If, by any chance, one was to wake up from deep coma after sleeping for twenty years in some scientific experiment (most are still in some kind of hibernation) to find themselves in Montenegro, the only new things that they would encounter would be several bridges in Podgorica, a couple of luxury hotels and shopping malls and a few grey hairs of our same old Prime Minister's mane. Currently, all public eyes are on the economic crisis, which is an excuse for a series of bad decisions and lack of action of the Montenegrin authorities regarding various important issues.

When it comes to reporting the election results, the only novelty is that the ruling coalition (it's been the same for two decades already) won almost 70% of votes - an election result which is unheard of in the Balkans in recent times. The series of scandals in which the old/new prime minister has been involved (from the charges brought up in Bari, Italy, for organizing cigarette smuggling, through his ties with organized crime and friendship with Cane Subotić and others from the Interpol's most-wanted list, to numerous international organizations reporting on the high level of corruption, organized crime, etc.) didn't seem to be enough for a change to happen. On the contrary, the more scandals and accusations, the better the election results, which only indicates to the fact that the power of a small circle of people in Montenegro continues to grow. With it, tolerance should grow also, and, even more importantly, so should responsibility. Nonetheless, quite the opposite thing happens - powerful people do not hesitate to demonstrate their power in most obvious ways. In one such incident Miodir Mugoša, the mayor of Podgorica, accompanied by his son (employee of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the third secretary of the Embassy of Montenegro in Washington - what a coincidence!) attacked a photographer and the deputy editor of the *Vijesti* daily when they tried to take a picture of one of mayor's cars that was illegally parked. On that occasion the father and son inflicted both minor as well as serious injuries to the reporters. The reaction of the media community, opposition parties, NGOs, journalists and the *Vijesti* daily, soon followed. However, it seems that the law doesn't apply to all in Montenegro, since the State Prosecutor pressed charges against Mugoša junior and the editor of *Vijesti*, but no charges were brought against the mayor of the capital, so far (there are some faint indications that he might be stripped of his immunity, but it is still hearsay). The man in question, of course, defends himself with counter-accusations,

stating that he, his son and his driver were actually the victims of the attack...

Report on a newly-formed government of Montenegro features the same prime minister and the same old ministers, but also the return of Svetozar Marović, who is following his friend's (Prime Minister) footsteps - with his 'great return' to the political stage. The vice-president of the government made sure everything looked like some Latin soap opera with the 'grandiose' wedding party he organized for his son in hotel Splendid. In this time of crisis several of his prominent friends from show business (Ceca Ražnatović, Haris Džinović, Ana Bekuta, Severina) appeared as guests at the wedding bash that cost, according to some media reports, about 500.000 €.

On the way to European and NATO integrations and in between the visit of Pamela Anderson (set to revitalize the Montenegrin economy) and Silvio Berlusconi (set to revitalize the Montenegrin Electric Enterprise), Montenegro received the EU questionnaire which was the first true test of Montenegro's capacities to enter the family of European states. Along with it, the pro-NATO campaign is under way. The parliament (the ruling majority) approved the mission of Montenegrin soldiers to Afghanistan, thus leading Montenegro to one step away from joining NATO. The most worrisome thing is that, apart from only a few lonely complaints, there is neither an organized anti-NATO campaign nor any kind of anti-militaristic campaign in Montenegro.

A truly interesting issue at this moment is a shameful recapitalization (according to many) of the Montenegrin Electric Enterprise. An Italian company was given precedence in this process despite the considerably lower offer they made (with respect to that, isn't it symptomatic that the Italian Prime Minister came for a visit, only some time ago?), which resulted in damages to minority stakeholders in the amount of around 50 million €. The situation with other Montenegrin companies (Podgorica Aluminium Plant, Bauxite Mines Nikšić, Dairy Plant ...) isn't any better - thousands of workers are still on strike, but in vain.

The Ministry of education and science of Montenegro has recently approved the new Montenegrin orthography, which was made by the experts who are neither from Montenegro nor are they linguists, due to the disagreements within the Commission for Language Standardisation. That fact provoked extreme reactions from both the adversaries of the Montenegrin language and the Commission for Language Standardisation. Thanks to the rule that says: 'write as you speak', two new letters (š and ž) were introduced into Montenegrin language which is based on the linguistics and grammar of the Serbian language. There are numerous, regular

polemics going on in favour and against this language. On one hand there's an opinion that this creation serves to ridicule the Serbian language, furthermore to create Montenegrin identity forcefully, while, on the other hand, these are the attempts to officially establish the new language by way of developing the youngest branch of slavistics - montenegristics as a mere reflection of the actual situation.

The big news in the field of dealing with the past is that the Parliament of Montenegro adopted the UN Declaration condemning all crimes committed in the wars on the territory of the former Yugoslavia, with Srebrenica as a symbol of all these crimes where the biggest massacre since World War II took place. The opposition did not vote for the Declaration, requiring the adoption of the Declaration on crimes committed during and immediately after World War II before that, suspecting that the adoption of the Declaration wasn't an act of dealing with the past but an attempt of DPS to avoid responsibility and turn it over to the Serbian regime. According to these demands, the long-standing requests for the Law on Lustration are being rejected with resignation because they would directly affect people in the forefronts of power.

serbia

*„A Man Is Not What He Thinks but What He Does“
Meša Selimović, “Death and the Dervish”*

Hooligan's barbarism will not cause political consequences for Serbia; Mladić will be arrested by the end of this year; Sustainable solution for Kosovo; Serbia pays the price of its own hypocrisy; About the constitutionality of the Information Law; There will be war again; Hooligans wanted to attack the Swedish Embassy; Women kill out of jealousy and after long-term abuse; Acquittal verdict in the Bitići case; Frenchman still in critical condition....

These are the headlines that were randomly chosen from Serbian dailies, on September 23, 2009. Even if I didn't write another word, they would say enough.

For days I find it hard to write. I find it hard to think, I feel somehow overwhelmed with apathy. I still haven't reached the stage where I hang in front of a TV and spend an entire evening watching some popular reality show, the kind in which prejudices are being deepened and all kinds of violence tolerated, on the pretext of entertainment for the people. It seems that all of the aforementioned themes become less important due to ten failed celebrities competing which one is going to make a bigger fool of oneself. Delirious people don't know what to do first: watch live sex on one of national channels or cultivate corn, because the

The Kaluđerski Laz case continues, but nothing happens in the process against the guards in the Morinj camp (the place where Croatian war prisoners were tortured). The direct perpetrators stand accused while people who were part of the political and army leadership at that time are not even mentioned. The latest news says that the international warrants were issued for individuals who had directly taken part in the deportation of 79 Muslims from Herceg Novi. All of those persons for whom the warrants were issued reside on the territory of the Republic of Serbia, while some of them have Serbian citizenship, which apparently impedes their extradition to Montenegro because they can only be extradited to the Hague Tribunal according to the Serbian law.

It was announced that the Documentation Centre was going to be formed, following the model of other documentation centres of '90-'99 wars from this region. Its task is going to be collecting and storing information on all the victims and combatants of the wars in Bosnia, Croatia and Kosovo who are (were) the citizens of Montenegro, which is a positive step in the process of dealing with the past.

Kristina Bojanović & Radomir Radević

paterfamilias played it hard and sent the women to the kitchen on the other TV channel....

I've find it hard to even think about the Information Law, which is supported by those who would like the media to resemble and sound like YUL's (Yugoslav United Left) video clips when they were just beginning: nothing but flowers and butterflies. Those who voiced their opposition should have been banned long time ago if there was any justice at all, for all the violence they propagate, for the abuse of minorities and spreading of ethnic, religious and sexual hatred. Since I don't belong to neither of them, I'm aware that there must be some way to stop the reporter from saying things like 'Šiptars won't give the electricity' in national TV's primetime news. Furthermore, there must be some way to stop selective implementation of selective laws.

I admit that last Saturday it crossed my mind that cancelling the Gay Pride was actually a good thing. It would avoid violence; my gay activist friends would be spared from the risk of being beaten up, as they were threatened by ultraconservatives, nationalists, football fans and whoever else. I was relieved with bitterness ... but the relief I felt was the same as the relief of a detainee after the death roll call. It's good as long as it lasts. The certainty is, of course, bad. Do you think I'm exaggerating? In the country where a girl gets beaten

up in public transport and a smoke bomb is thrown in afterwards, where a French tourist gets beaten up while peacefully sitting in a downtown Belgrade cafe in the middle of the day, where an Australian tourist is slapped while taking a stroll - fearing violence is not overreacting here. It is, however hideous it may sound, the ugly truth and bad fate for all of us who have exhaled with relief.

It is devastating that the bullies I write about are aged between 17 and 19. They are the children of war. They were growing up during sanctions with idols which belonged to the criminal milieu popular here in the nineties. Now those kids enter the adults' world the only way they know. All that anyone can say to them is to blame them. As if they were somebody else's kids, some strange people. Those are the same kids who were neglected and left on their own while their dads were mobilised to go to wars and their moms were queuing to buy groceries. Instead of cartoons (which were under sanctions of the international community, those kids watched criminals and TV shows that glorified them), mutilated bodies of victims of war, national heroes, newcomer-cultural and other criminals. Those kids have grown up. Disgust and revulsion over what they are doing is simply a consequence, just as their behaviour is. The responsibility is common, and no one has the right to conclude in disgust that it's someone else's fault.

According to the research published some days ago, every other woman in this state is the victim of domestic violence. Domestic violence is still not considered a crime here. It is common to bring up children with beating and re-train women with a stick or a fist - 'the stick is the surest peacemaker'. According to that interpretation, God itself, the ruler of the paradise, sent sticks to the mighty to educate the weak. Therefore, a man beats a woman; she beats a child who beats another, weaker child. The spiral of violence? The whirlpool of violence! And we are all swimming in this pool,

not realising that we barely keep our heads above the water whilst trying to catch some breath.

I cannot fight the violence inside of me. I keep swallowing the anger, sorrow and helplessness expecting that the anguish I experience will diminish in time. Yet, it is growing bigger. I have retreated into the small world that is my family, tucked myself in and protected myself against the world: I'm not speaking about the perception of giving birth and maternal leave in this state where having a job is a privilege instead of a right, I'm not speaking about the nonexistent support to pregnant women, new mothers or especially mothers who are breastfeeding. I'm not saying that it's an embarrassment to breastfeed a child in public in this part of the world, that I have isolated myself... No, that would be far too personal. It does concern me, though, I'm not objective. Therefore, I decided only to raise children... While exchanging advice with other moms on Internet forums, I was insulted in the most horrible way for advocating that no one should be allowed to smack children. For, mothers seem to know what's best for their children. Moms beat them out of love. That kind of violence, like all others, is justified with a higher cause: moms beat up children to make them better, dads beat up moms to make their life together more harmonious, when they grow up the kids beat up their weaker pals, and when they are united they beat up a girl in a bus who they think might be a lesbian, or people in the Gay Pride who aren't straight enough for their liking, or the Frenchman for not being Serbian enough, or for being too French. Each act of violence is excused with some higher aim. I beat you for your own good; you'll thank me in the future for it ...- says a dad to his son. And the circle goes on...

Keeping quiet and not acting cannot be justified. Because, if I don't say it, yell about it, roar about it today, who will?

Katarina Milićević