

godišnji izvještaj
annual report
2010



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13th

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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.

uvodna reč

Prijateljicama i prijateljima CNA,

Na uvid, čitanje i kao podstrek za povratnu informaciju, predstavljamo godišnji izveštaj CNA za period septembar 2009 – septembar 2010. Ovo je naš trinaesti po redu godišnji izveštaj. Otprilike toliko godina smo prisutni na prostorima bivše Jugoslavije (ponekad i šire), gde se, kako reče naš kolega Adnan, „bavimo teškim stvarima“.

U te (ne baš samo teške) stvari u protekloj godini ubrojili smo: osnovne treninge; rad sa ratnim veteranima (čiji se obim i intenzitet znatno povećao); konferenciju o pomirenju; učešće na međunarodnim i domaćim seminarima i konferencijama; promovisanje našeg poslednjeg dokumentarnog filma „Isprekinata crta“; rad na izdavanju knjige „Slike tih vremena“ sa životnim pričama veterana/ki i članova/ica njihovih porodica...

Radili/e smo mnogo i žestoko. Nadamo se ne i premnogo i prežestoko, jer treba sačuvati energiju za godine koje dolaze i izazove koji nas čekaju u našim društvima, ali i unutar CNA. Jako veliki deo naše energije je i u ovoj protekloj godini bio usmeren ka konsolidaciji organizacije i nastojanjima da se bolje i pravednije strukturisemo i organizujemo. Kao rezultat toga formirana su nova tela unutar CNA – resursna i programska grupa, čiji je zadatak da način funkcionisanja i procese donošenja ključnih odluka poboljšaju i svima nam olakšaju život. Osim toga, dobar deo naših kapaciteta utrošen je na razne stvari o kojima nećete čitati u ovom izveštaju, jer se nekako smatra da se o tome ne piše, nego se to samo odraduje. Elem – pisali smo i pravili izveštaje; nastojali da namaknemo novac za aktivnosti; selili se i uređivali oba ureda; pokušavali da dobijemo automobil koji smo platili; našlo se vremena i za maštanje o novim stvarima koje bismo voleli da radimo; planirali smo nove aktivnosti; sastajali se neprekidno sa veteranskim udruženjima; održavali i ojačavali partnerstva; sastančili interno i tako dalje, i tako dalje. Burna godina, burna vremena...

I pored truda i želje, nismo se održali u istom sastavu. Kolega Nenad Porobić je napustio organizaciju i prešao na novo radno mesto. Ovom prilikom mu se iskreno zahvaljujemo na doprinosu koji je dao u organizovanju gore pobrajanih aktivnosti. Timu u Sarajevu se pridružila koleginica Jessica Žic, angažovana kao *civil peace worker* u okviru projekta koji podržava Nemačko ministarstvo za razvoj (BMZ). Njeni utisci o prvim mesecima života i rada u Sarajevu deo su ovog izveštaja.

Nadamo se da ćemo i u budućnosti uspeti da držimo korak sa društvima u kojima delujemo, te da ćemo o prestanku rada razmišljati prvenstveno onda kada ne bude više potrebe za izgradnjom mira na našim prostorima. Radimo na tome.

Do sledeće godine.
Tim CNA Sarajevo/Beograd

programi mirovnog obrazovanja

osnovni treninzi iz izgradnje mira

U prethodnih godinu dana CNA je organizovao dva desetodnevna, osnovna treninga iz izgradnje mira. Time smo uspeli da održimo ritam od dva osnovna treninga godišnje, što se poklapa sa našom strateškom odlukom od pre nekoliko godina da postupno smanjujemo broj treninga, a više kapaciteta ulažemo u osmišljavanje i sprovođenje drugih (i novih) aktivnosti. I pored toga možemo reći da osnovni treninzi ostaju kamen temeljac našeg rada i jedna od naših najprepoznatljivijih aktivnosti (uz rad sa veteranima i dokumentarne filmove).

Relevantnost CNA osnovnog treninga za region bivše Jugoslavije

Jako veliki broj prijava koje dobijemo za svaki osnovni trening (poslednji put je stiglo skoro 180 prijava) govori nam da je potreba za ovom vrstom mirovnog obrazovanja u našem regionu još uvek jako velika. U prilog tome dakako govori i situacija u svim zemljama regiona u kojima delujemo, a o kojima više možete čitati u poslednjem poglavlju ovog izveštaja. Ni u jednoj od zemalja regiona mirovno obrazovanje nije institucionalizovano, i nije deo školskog programa. Istini za volju, usvojeni su neki elementi i inkorporirani u predmete kakvo je na primer „Građansko obrazovanje“, no sistematsko i konceptualno jasno osmišljeno *mirovno* obrazovanje koje adresira neke od najozbiljnijih društveno-političkih problema naših društava još uvek je odgovornost mirovnih grupa i organizacija.

Ono što CNA osnovni treninzi iz izgradnje mira pružaju i po čemu su verovatno jedinstveni na našim prostorima jeste – *konstantnost* (organizuju se već skoro 12 godina) i jasna usmerenost i *naglasak na prekograničnu saradnju i regionalno povezivanje*. Iskustvo nam pokazuje da veliki deo motivacije za prijavljivanje ljudi na ovaj trening leži upravo u prilici koja im se ukazuje da se sretnu i rade 10 dana sa ljudima iz različitih krajeva bivše Jugoslavije. I na taj način naši osnovni treninzi daju doprinos jednoj, ovih dana dosta aktuelnoj temi i na političkoj i na društvenoj sceni, a to je pitanje – Šta je nama regija danas? Naše vrednosno usmerenje i (politički) stav po tom pitanju su jasni i o tome govori i naše insistiranje da radimo u čitavoj regiji (osim Slovenije). Za nas je ova regija skup jako povezanih i međuzavisnih konteksta, koji, uprkos svim razlikama od države do države, čine zajedničko geografsko, kulturno, ekonomsko i političko područje. Zani-

mljivo je pak analizirati šta regija znači ljudima koji u poslednje vreme pohađaju naše treninge. Za one nešto starije (grubo rečeno 35 godina i više) ta regija je i mesto sećanja, i mesto susreta, i podloga za građenje nekih (starih) identiteta. Za mlađe generacije primetno je da je to pre skup manje ili više egzotičnih mesta o kojima se malo zna osim onoga što nađe put do dnevno-političkih ili estradno-sportskih vesti. Veliki je izazov stoga tematizirati na neophodnost povezivanja, dijaloga i izgradnje dobrosusedskih odnosa, ali i suočavanja sa nasilnom prošlošću u ovom regionu, na način koji će biti primeren i shvatljiv generacijski, profesionalno i vrednosno vrlo različitim ljudima.

Kada ramišljamo o društveno-političkim problemima naših društava možemo reći da smo i na poslednjim osnovnim treninzima nastojali da u najvećoj mogućoj meri „ispratimo“ potrebe i prilagodimo koncept treninga aktuelnoj situaciji. Možemo sa ponosom reći i da smo u tome dosta uspešni, i da neki politički impulsi koje poslednjih meseci primamo od vrhova vlasti Srbije, BiH, Hrvatske¹ govore da naše fokusiranje na teme suočavanja sa prošlošću i izgradnje mira nije nikako bilo promašeno. Insistiranjem na ovim temama i njihovom jasnom teorijsko-metodološkom uokvirivanju mi šaljemo poruku gde vidimo prioritet u mirovnom radu na našim prostorima, a istovremeno se značajno distanciramo od mora drugih programa u regiji koji su fokusirani gotovo isključivo na sticanje različitih veština i samounapređivanje.

¹ U smislu otvorenijeg i konstruktivnijeg odnosa prema odgovornosti sopstvene strane za zločine i nedela iz poslednjih ratova.



Ko se prijavljuje, ko učestvuje na osnovnim treninzima?

Srž našeg pristupa mirovnom obrazovanju jeste da izgradnja mira počinje od sebe, sa ličnog nivoa, ali da se njena svrhovitost ostvaruje tek kada lične promene i spoznaje svojim aktivizmom prenesemo i na društveni nivo. Nije nevažno ni naglasiti, s obzirom na primećenu rastuću važnost „bildanja“ CV-jeva, da naš osnovni trening prednost daje aktivističkom nad akademskim iskustvom, a spremnost na (samo)preispitivanje i refleksiju vrednuje daleko više od naučenih floskula o demokratiji, toleranciji, civilnom društvu, euro-atlantskim integracijama i tako dalje. Zbog toga je on mnogo više kreiran za one koji su spremni da prodrmaju svoje stavove i vrednosti i nešto konkretno rade u svojim sredinama, nego za one kojima je potreban sertifikat o učešću da ukrasi životopis i pomogne pri traženju posla u nekoj međunarodnoj agenciji.

Sve više ratnih veterana se prijavljuje na osnovne treninge, a primetno je i jako veliko interesovanje ljudi zaposlenih u obrazovnim institucijama, kao i medijima. To nas jako raduje, posebno s obzirom na naš utisak da već neko duže vreme nevladine organizacije nisu prva adresa sa koje stiže entuzijazam, kreativnost i volja za društvenom promenom. Stoga se valja fokusirati na druge potencijale, ma kako neočekivani oni mogli izgledati (kao što je slučaj sa grupom veterana).

Geografski gledano, zanimljivo je nekoliko tendencija. Sve više kvalitetnih, originalnih prijava dobijamo iz Hrvatske, iako je pre 3-4 godine izgledalo da je intere-

sovanje tamo za naš trening potpuno zamrlo. Interes se povećava i kod ljudi iz BiH, mada još uvek jako malo Hrvata/ica iz BiH aplicira. Iz Makedonije takođe stiže dosta prijava i raduje nas što je to izašlo iz standardnih NVO-malo rad – malo turizam okvira. Kada je Srbija u pitanju interes je veliki, ali prijave liče jedna na drugu kao jaje jajetu i skoro u potpunosti odražavaju dominantan dnevno-političko-NVO jezik. I dalje imamo problem s malim brojem prijava ljudi sa Kosova i Crne Gore, mada se trudimo da treninge organizujemo u regijama/državama u koje ljudi s kosovskim pasošima mogu nesmetano putovati, pa je jedan od razloga zašto su i ova dva treninga organizirana u Crnoj Gori upravo taj. Zanimljivo je napomenuti da nam je broj prijava iz Crne Gore drastično opao od proglašenja samostalnosti te države. Svakako su sve ove tendencije povezane sa pomeranjima na političkoj sceni i bilo bi jako zanimljivo u nekom drugom tekstu pobliže analizirati tu povezanost.

I za kraj ovog uvodnog teksta o osnovnim treninzima naglasili bismo da su po dosadašnjim iskustvima i saznanjima koja imamo, osnovni treninzi odigrali važnu ulogu za mnoge ljude što se tiče osnaživanja, poticaja i podrške za prepoznavanje vlastitih kapaciteta i moći da se uključe u mnoge lokalne inicijative rada na izgradnji mira i suočavanja s prošlosti u celom regionu.

To nam daje osjećaj važnosti onoga što radimo i motivaciju da nastavimo dalje.

T.Š.

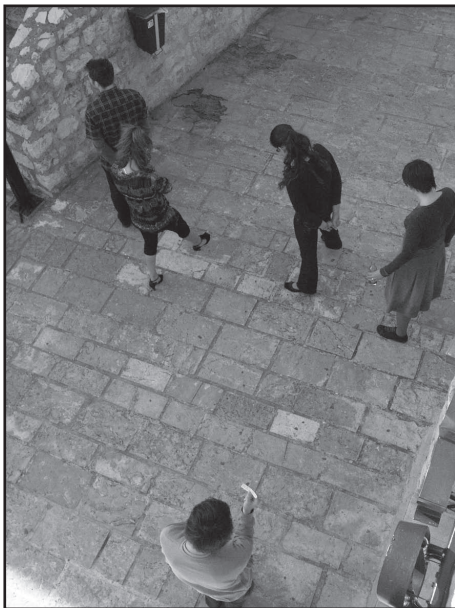
osnovni trening iz izgradnje mira u ulcinju

Ulcinj, 23. 10 – 02. 11. 2009.

Bio je ovo trideset prvi Osnovni trening iz izgradnje mira (nekada nenasilne razrade konflikta) koji je organizovan od strane CNA. U trenerskom timu su

bili/e: Helena Rill, Nedžad Horozović, Sanja Deanković i Nenad Porobić.

Osnovni treninzi su se do sada menjali tematski,



sadržajno, kombinovali smo različite teme, isto tako smo menjali i metodološki pristup temama, ali su nam suština i glavni cilj ostali isti: multiplikacija znanja, iskustava i vještina za rad na izgradnji mira, afirmacija vrednosti nenasilja, povećanje svesnosti, senzibilizacije i odgovornosti za sebe i sopstveno društvo, te osnaživanje pojedinaca/pojedinki da preduzmu aktivnu ulogu u okviru njega.

Jedna od pouka jeste izmena fokusa sa kim treba ra-

điti u okviru ovog programa. Važno je imati ljude koji imaju mogućnost multiplikacije iskustva i znanja sa treninga, što se najviše odnosi na ljude iz medija, prosvete, politike, te učesnice/ke ratova i slično, dok ljude iz nevladinih organizacija bi trebalo svesti na manji broj. Naime, mnogi/e od njih imaju znanje i iskustvo koji vrlo često nisu utemeljeni na jasnijem ličnom promišljanju, a svojim učešćem zatvaraju prostor drugim ljudima koji nemaju iskustva za duboka preispitivanja što je u kontekstu učenja na treningu jedan od osnovnih preduslova.

Imamo doživljaj, a i takav smo dobili fidbek od učesnika/ca, da je trening bio jak – otvarale su se važne teme i bez naše direktne inicijative, išlo se duboko i radilo puno, ljudi su se preispitali i "pomerali". Skoro ni za koga na treningu ne možemo reći da ne vidimo promenu ako uporedimo prvi i poslednji dan treninga, što definitivno daje nadu da se društvo može menjati ako se nađe način. Učesnici/e su pokazali motivaciju da preduzmu nešto u svojim sredinama, posebno u svojim radnim sredinama, što se najviše odnosi na ljude iz grupa koji su gore pomenuti (a posebno na ljude iz prosvete).

I za kraj jedna od izjava iz pismene evaluacije treninga: *Dobila sam veliku količinu energije da se na kvalitetniji način bavim vlastitim promišljanjem – postupaka sebe i drugih (zajednice) te da nastavim raditi na transformaciji svoje mikro sredine. Biti ću uporna i glasna, a u isto vrijeme promišljenija – prije nekog djelovanja ću se dublje preispitati i proveriti sa sobom da li to što ću napraviti jeste zaista „to“.*

H.R.

osnovni trening iz izgradnje mira u tivtu

Tivat, 19 – 29.03. 2010.

Trideset i drugi Osnovni trening iz izgradnje mira u organizaciji Centra za nenasilnu akciju održan je u Tivtu, u Crnoj Gori od 19 do 29. marta/ožujka.

Trening su vodili Helena i Nenad P. iz beogradskog i Tamara i Sanja iz sarajevskog ureda CNA.

Što se tiče koncepta ovog treninga glavni utisak nam je da smo dobro pratili potrebe u grupi i da su se teme od početka dobro nadovezivale jedne na drugu i da su tematske cjeline bile dobro zaokružene. Tome su pridonijele i neke novine koje uvodimo i nadopunjavamo u posljednjih nekoliko treninga.

U postavljanju koncepta vodili smo računa da ljudima pružimo neki jasniji konceptualni i teorijski okvir



za rad na izgradnji mira i suočavanju s prošlošću (kroz više teorijskih inputa i jasnije podcrtavanje povezanosti ličnog i društvenog nivoa djelovanja u radu na izgradnji mira, te teorijski okvir za razumijevanje različitih nivoa rada na suočavanju s prošlošću radi jasnijeg sagledavanja važnosti uloge i odgovornosti pojedinca/ke u tim procesima). Isto tako nastojali smo da ostavimo dovoljno prostora za rad na temama izgradnja mira, nenasilje i nenasilna akcija kako bi ljudi imali priliku da sami promišljaju mogućnosti djelovanja i da se kroz to osnaže i potaknu na konkretan angažman u zajednici.

U grupi je bilo puno otvorenosti i spremnosti da se radi na sebi i preispitivanju vlastitih stavova kao i spremnosti nekih ljudi da jako emotivno i duboko uđu u propitivanje sebe i vlastitih pozicija u zabetoniranim društvenim nepravdama koje postaju „normalne“ i sve manje propitivane u društvima u kojima živimo. Ono što smo detektirali je da nam je nedostajalo više rada na temi strukturnog i kulturnog nasilja u našim društvima. Kao zadatak za naredne treninge nam ostaje iznaći način kako šire i dublje obraditi tu temu.

Iako je u grupi bilo dosta ljudi aktivnih u političkim partijama, pogotovo iz Srbije, nedostajalo nam je njihovo izraženije prisustvo u procesu iz pozicije njihovog političkog opredjeljenja. Ostaje nam da osmislimo način kako da potaknemo ljude da preuzmu odgovornost za priču na tom nivou i za preispitivanje i kritiku vlastite političke opcije za stanje u društvu/društvima.

Značajan fokus treninga, osim izgradnje mira i suočavanja s prošlošću, bilo je i nenasilje i vrijednosti nenasilja, kao i oprobavanje u osmišljavanju nenasilnih akcija što je mnogim ljudima bio poticaj i ohrabrenje za promišljanje o mogućnostima djelovanja kada se vrate

u svoje sredine. Bez obzira što su ove teme obrađene u posljednja dva bloka bilo je dovoljno energije i želje za ozbiljni rad.

Bio je ovo inspirativan trening s dosta ljudi sa potencijalom za konkretan angažman u svojim društvima. Nadamo se da ćemo s mnogima od njih ostati u kontaktu i da ćemo imati priliku raditi zajedno na našim programima naprednog mirovnog obrazovanja.

S.D.





aktivnosti na polju suočavanja sa prošlošću

konferencija „susjedi, a ne neprijatelji“

Sarajevo, 22 – 26.04.2010.

Po prvi put u trinaest godina postojanja organizacije, CNA tim je organizovao regionalnu konferenciju na temu pomirenja. Ono što smo godinama propitivali, definisali, promišljali kroz brojne naše druge programe, sada je uokvireno u vidu ovog četvorodnevog dešavanja održanog u aprilu, u sarajevskom hotelu „Saraj“. Aktivnost je organizovana kao deo projekta „Izgradnja mira na Zapadnom Balkanu – od normalizacije, do pomirenja“, koji CNA realizuje u partnerstvu sa Miramida Centrom iz Grožnjana. Na neki način, ova konferencija je bila, ponešto formalniji, nastavak prošlogodišnjih „Miramidana – dana izgradnje mira“ sa sličnom tematikom.

Program konferencije ponudio je sadržinsku i metodološku raznovrsnost, ne gubeći iz vida neophodnost za jasnim fokusom i okvirom u kome razgovaramo. Tako su u okviru programa plenarnih sesija ponuđena uvodna izlaganja na teme: *Viktimizacija kao prepreka pomirenju; Uloga ratnih veterana u procesu pomirenja; Mediji i pomirenje*. Radioničarski deo bio je zamišljen kao otvoren prostor za postavljanje onih pitanja koja često preskačemo, ili ih smatramo samorazumljivima – *Što je nama regija danas; Koliko košta to što radimo; Kog su roda rat i pomirenje; Kako inicijativu za REKOM vide veterani?* Poseban segment programa konferencije bio je okrugli sto sa temom *Treba li nam pomirenje u regiji?*

Konferencija je okupila preko šezdeset učesnika/ca

iz Bosne i Hercegovine, Srbije i Hrvatske. Tako su se, verovatno po prvi put na jednom javnom događaju na ovu temu, jedni pored drugih našli bivši borci, aktivisti/ce, teoretičari/ke i istraživači/ce, novinari/ke, političari/ke. Ljudi različitih profesionalnih i životnih, pa i vrednosnih usmerenja imali su tako priliku da tokom četiri dana diskutuju i razmene svoja viđenja procesa pomirenja i suočavanja sa prošlošću na prostorima bivše Jugoslavije. Bez pritiska donošenja isforsiranih zaključaka i usaglašavanja, i bez nametnutog očekivanja za proizvođenjem takozvanih „zajedničkih konkretnih aktivnosti“, respektabilna grupa iskusnih ljudi je jednostavno *razgovarala i učila* tokom plenarnih sesija, radionica i pauza.

Glavni tematski fokus konferencije bio je proces pomirenja u bivšoj Jugoslaviji koga smo hteli da propitamo, (re)definišemo, sagledamo sa različitih aspekata. Sam pojam pomirenja kao po pravilu izaziva kontroverze, on je apstraktan, a često i previše „elastičan“. Osećajući potrebu za konkretizacijom i sistematizacijom, hteli smo potaknuti kritičko propitivanje postojećih koncepata i modela, kao i pristupa njihovih nosilaca/nositeljki. Ideja je bila da se, bez dodatne banalizacije i posezanja za receptima tipa „za nekoga sve, za svakoga ponešto“, pokušaju kritički propitati dosadašnje prakse, pa čak (posebno onda!) kada to podrazumeva i kritiku sopstvenog pristupa.

Još jedan fokus se na neki način „nametnuo“ tokom



konferencije. Radi se o ulozi i mogućem doprinosu ratnih veterana procesima pomirenja, suočavanja sa prošlošću i izgradnje mira. Iako je samo jedna sesija bila direktno posvećena ovoj temi, samo prisustvo brojnih ratnih veterana iz različitih vojski i udruženja uticalo je na to da uloga ove grupe bude stalno „na dnevnom redu“ konferencije. Time smo, ponešto neočekivano, dobili priliku za odvijanje jednog paralelnog procesa koji nije bio u glavnoj agendi konferencije. Radi se naime o procesu senzibilizacije (i ratnih veterana i aktivista/ca) – jednih na druge. Ne gajimo iluziju da se evidentno postojeći jaz time radikalno smanjio, ali ne možemo da se zadovoljimo ne nasmešimo na činjenicu da smo značajno doprineli tome da predstavnici boračke populacije postanu uobičajeni akteri ne samo ovakvih dešavanja, već i šireg procesa pomirenja.

Nakon svega, ono čime smo posebno zadovoljni jeste veliki odaziv kolega/ica iz različitih branši na naš poziv za učestvovanje na konferenciji, kao i veoma dobar odaziv predstavnika/ca medija koji su pratili

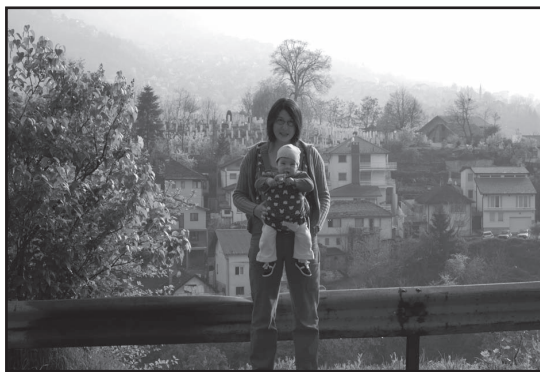


i izveštavali sa konferencije. Iako je za CNA ovo bio iskorak iz uobičajenog načina rada i, na neki način, put u nepoznato, shvatili smo da smo dorasli ovakvom zadatku jer potreba za ovom vrstom povezivanja i razmene definitivno postoji. Samo što je većina nas ili previše umorna od „beskrajne priče“ ili zabavljena sopstvenim aktivnostima i projektima. Povratna informacija koju smo dobili nakon konferencije nas ohrabruje da nastavimo u ovom pravcu, a na svima nama je da prostor između ove i neke sledeće slične konferencije ispunimo predanim i odgovornim radom na ovom polju.

Za više informacija o programu, sadržaju diskusija i izlaganja, te osvrtnu učesnika/ca na neka od ključnih pitanja, možete pogledati brošuru sa konferencije koja je dostupna na linku:

http://www.nenasilje.org/publikacije/pdf/CNA_Susjedi.a.ne.neprijatelji.pdf.

T.Š.



trening za učesnike ratova

Brčko, 11 – 15.06.2010. & Jahorina, 09 – 13.07.2010.

Trening za učesnike ratova je jedna od aktivnosti CNA u radu s veteranima. Poseban je po tome što na jednom mjestu sjede i razgovaraju ljudi koji su u bliskoj prošlosti pucali jedni na druge, gdje onaj „drugi i zli“ možda prvi put dobija ljudski karakter i oblik. Otvoreno se govori o emotivno zahtjevnim i teškim temama potičući na preispitivanje vlastite uloge i uloge svoje strane u prethodnim ratnim dešavanjima, te na preispitivanje i prepoznavanje vlastite odgovornosti koju nosimo za danas i za sutra. Smatrajući da su učesnici ratova neko ko ima i može imati veliki uticaj na naša društva, kroz trening nastojimo da potičemo učesnike na uzimanje više učešća u izgradnji pravednijeg i boljeg društva.

Osmi po redu, trening za učesnike ratova iz regije održan je u Bosni i Hercegovini. Sastojao se iz dvije faze. Prva faza održana je od 11 - 15.06.2010. godine u Brčkom, gradu koji se nalazi na sjeveru BiH i koji graniči sa Republikom Hrvatskom. Jedan od razloga da mjesto održavanja bude Brčko jeste geografska pristupačnost za dolazak ljudi iz regije. Mjesto je interesantno i po tome što su sva tri konstitutivna naroda zajedno na vlasti, pod patronatom Međunarodne zajednice. Za Brčko nas vežu i nedavne aktivnosti - posjete mjestima stradanja, gdje su nam tri veteranska udruženja (BORS, HVO i ARBiH) zajedno bili domaćini, što je zapravo realizacija ideje učesnika s prošlogodišnjeg treninga za učesnike ratova s prostora bivše Jugoslavije.

Grupu je sačinjavalo 13 učesnika. Na ovaj trening su nam se odazvali i veterani Nuštra (RH), Odžaka, Zapadnog Mostara i Gornjeg Vakufa-Uskoplja sa kojima ranije nismo ostvarili saradnju.



Trenerski tim, koji su činili Adnan Hasanbegović, Nedžad Horozović, Nenad Vukosavljević i Nermin Karačić, od osnovnih ciljeva treninga postavili su:

- Uspostavljanje dijaloga između bivših učesnika ratova sa različitih strana.
- Senzibilizaciju za drugačija viđenja i mišljenja o dešavanjima iz ratne prošlosti.
- Razvoj empatije
- Izgradnju povjerenja
- Izgradnju „platforme“ za buduće zajedničke aktivnosti.

Koncept prve faze treninga se velikim dijelom naslanjao na prošle treninge, jer smo uvidjeli da kao takav gradi povjerenje i siguran prostor među učesnicima, kao i da zadovoljava postavljene ciljeve, što je trenerski tim i konstatovao na kraju.

Neki utisak trenerskog tima nakon prve faze treninga bio je da postoji povjerenje naspram, prije svega CNA, kao i povjerenje među učesnicima, te da je izgrađen dobar prostor za drugu fazu.

Druga faza održana je na planini Jahorini pored Sarajeva od 09 - 13.07.2010. godine u hotelu Bistrica, mjestu gdje već niz godina održavamo treninge za ratne veterane i druge aktivnosti CNA.

Dva učesnika iz Srbije i jedan iz Republike Srpske koji su učestvovali na prvoj fazi treninga, ovaj put su bili spriječeni da dođu. U grupu smo pozvali pet novih veterana, od kojih su neki već učestvovali na pojedinim mirovnim aktivnostima CNA, i koji su svojim motiviranim učešćem u diskusijama doprinijeli kvalitetnijem sadržaju radionica i samog treninga.

Koncept ove druge faze, većim dijelom je baziran na promišljanju o idejama za zajedničke akcije. Prolazili smo kroz razrade tih ideja, simulirajući situacije u kojima bi se ljudi mogli naći u toku same realizacije takvih ideja, otvarajući prije svega pitanja smisla, poruke i značaja koju bi imale zajedničke aktivnosti veterana s različitih strana za naša društva i zajednice. Govoreći o mogućim poteškoćama, strahovima, našim ulogama i učešću, kao i uloga i učešća naših udruženja, dobijamo jasniju sliku o realnoj mogućnosti da se nešto takvo i uradi.

Ciljevi koje smo postavili za ovaj trening su nam ispunjeni. Utisak nam je da je sve nekako prošlo lakše i brže nego prethodnih godina i da je ovo jedan od najboljih treninga do sada. Možda postoji osjećaj da su ljudi otišli s nekim bremenom na sebi, svjesni da je težak i mučan put suočiti se sa sobom i svojom



prošlosti, ali sigurno, možda po prvi put i nekom nadom u bolju budućnost. Citat jednog od učesnika: **„Lakše mi je bilo uzeti pušku i ratovat, nego raditi na pomirenju i izgradnji mira, al' nema nam druge.“** Lako je prepoznati, čak i gledajući sa strane, da je



između ljudi, koji su prolazili CNA mirovne programe, u većini slučajeva došlo do istinskog pomirenja i da su se uspostavile neke nove veze, povjerenje i neka nova prijateljstva. Zajednički nam je izazov da te impulse sa ličnog nivoa proširimo i na nivoe naših društava.

N.K.

veteranske posjete stratištima

Zavidovići, Brčko, Modriča, Šamac - April/Maj 2010

Ove godine napravili smo treći ciklus zajedničkih posjeta ratnih veterana iz BiH, Srbije i Hrvatske stratištima i spomen obilježjima koja se odnose na rat 1992 - 1995. Grupa je bila sastavljena od učesnika treninga za veterane rata koji smo organizovali 2009. godine, uz još gostiju sa prijašnjih aktivnosti i ljudi iz lokalnih boračkih udruženja.

Posjetili smo četiri grada:

- Zavidoviće², 10 - 11.04.2010.
- Brčko³, 12 - 14.04.2010.
- Modriču⁴, 28 - 29.05.2010.
- Šamac⁵, 30 - 31.05.2010.

U svakom od gradova su nam domaćini bili lokalne boračke organizacije, sa kojima smo u prethodnom periodu pripremali i osmišljavali ove posjete. U Zavidovićima su nam domaćini bili Organizacija RVI (Ratnih Vojnih Invalida) Opštine Zavidovići, u Modriči Boračka organizacija Republike Srpske (BORS)

i Udruženje logoraša RS-a opštine Modriča, dok su nas u Šamcu ugostili BORS i Odbor RVI opštine Šamac.

Posjeta Brčkom je bila specifična pošto su nam tamo zajedno domaćini bile tri boračke organizacije



² U Zavidovićima smo obišli: Spomenik poginulim civilima i vojnicima Opštine Zavidovići u centru grada, Riđali – spomenik poginulim borcima Armije BiH, Dolina Gostovića – spomenik poginulim borcima Armije BiH, 13 kilometar – neobilježen bivši vojni kamp jedinice „El Mudžahid“ gdje su 1995. ubijeni i mučeni srpski zarobljenici.

³ U Brčkom smo obišli: Luka- za vrijeme rata logor za nesrpsko stanovništvo, Laništa – spomenik hrvatskim civilima ubijenim 1992, Selo Bukvik – neobilježeno mjesto stradanja srpskih civila (spomenik u izgradnji).

⁴ U Modriči smo obišli: spomen soba Vojske Republike Srpske – Modriča, Spomenik poginulim vojnicima RS u centru Modriče, Silos – neobilježeni logor za srpske civile.

⁵ U Šamcu smo obišli: skladište u Crkvini – neobilježeni logor za nesrpske civile, spomenik vojnicima VRS Crkvine, Spomen soba VRS Opštine Šamac, spomenici u centru grada civilima i vojnicima Opštine Šamac, Most na Bosni - linija fronta tokom rata.

zbog toga što je Distrikt Brčko jedini grad u BiH u kojem ravnopravno djeluju boračke organizacije sve tri bivše zaraćene strane. (Organizacija RVI Armije BiH – Distrikt Brčko, Hrvatski Vojni Invalidi Domovinskog Rata (HVIDRA) Ravne - Brčko i BORS – Brčko). U grupi nas je bilo oko 20 na svakoj posjeti, a uz domaćine su bili prisutni i ljudi iz veteranskih organizacija iz Tuzle, Sarajeva, Prnjavora, Zagreba, Županje, Šibenika, Vrnja, Vlasotinca i Novog Sada.

Inicijativu sa organizovanje ove aktivnosti preuzeo je CNA tim, ali nam je umnogome pomogla spremnost i motivacija ljudi iz lokalnih veteranskih organizacija da preuzmu organizaciju i zajedno sa nama vode brigu o nizu stvari koje je potrebno napraviti u toku i priprema i sprovođenja ovakvih vrsta dešavanja.

Glavni utisak sa ovih posjeta je to da je i pored napornog programa obilazaka i emotivno zahtjevnog procesa, grupa dosta dobro „iznijela“ ovu aktivnost. Provodili smo dosta vremena u razgovoru vezanom za posljedice rata u sredinama i mjestima koje smo obilazili. Evidentna je bila hrabrost lokalnih ljudi da nas odvedu i na neobilježena mjesta koja su tabu u njihovim sredinama i o kojima se još uvijek nedovoljno govori. Sastanci i razgovori nakon posjeta su bili jako emotivni i osnažujući, jer se osjetila snažna empatija za žrtve rata bez obzira sa koje strane. Na ljude je ostavljalo jak utisak samo razgledanje slika poginulih boraca i ratnih trofeja prisutnih u spomen sobama koje smo posjetili. U razgovorima nakon obilazaka mogle su se čuti jake antiratne poruke i zgroženost nad stradanjem ljudi. „Kakvi smo mi ljudi kada smo sebi dozvolili ovolike zločine?“, upitao se jedan od učesnika i tako artikulirao opšte raspoloženje koje je vladalo u grupi. Zajedničko razgledanje spomenika sa spiskovima poginulih civila i vojnika na različitim mjestima i odavanje počte ostavilo je jak dojam na sve prisutne i čini se poslalo snažnu poruku mira i ljudskog nošenja sa bremenom prošlog rata.

Raduje nas i što smo deklarativno dobili direktnu podršku lokalnih vlasti u svim mjestima. U svakom gradu su nam se pridružili predstavnici lokalne opštinske vlasti i proveli su sa nama u razgovoru po nekoliko sati. Primjećena je i čak i doza čuđenja i zatečenosti hrabrošću da zajedno na pomirenju rade bivši ratnici – pripadnici nekada suprotstavljenih vojski. Načelnici općine su inspirisani ovim susretima govorili o potrebi za pomirenjem između naroda u njihovim sredinama. Iz grupe je i pokrenuta inicijativa da se adekvatno obilježe neobilježena mjesta stradanja što su ljudi iz lokalnih vlasti prihvatili sa razumijevanjem. Ostala je dilema da li će se to i realizovati, ali je za nas



važno da smo to pomenuli kao potrebu i da je izvršen značajan pritisak na vlasti da se te vrste inicijativa pokrenu.

Nekoliko upečatljivih detalja se može izdvojiti iz cjelokupne aktivnosti:

Posjeta *13-om kilometru* u dolini Gostivića kod Zavidovića gdje su pripadnici Armije BiH - odred "El Mudžahid" držali zatvorene srpske zarobljenike i mučili ih i ubijali. Obilazeći to mjesto koje nije obilježeno, iako su neki ljudi iz struktura Armije BiH procesuirani u Haškom Tribunalu po tom pitanju, osjetio se veliki iskorak u priznavanju i suočavanju sa zločinima koje je počinila "moja" strana, bez kalkulacija. To šalje jaku poruku ljudima sa druge strane da postoji istinska želja za pomirenjem i iskreno žaljenje. Slično je i sa obilaskom skladišta u Crkvini kod Šamca gdje su za vrijeme rata bili zatvoreni ljudi nesrpske nacionalnosti i od kojih su mnogi ubijeni. Poruke žaljenja i osjećaja odgovornosti uz iskreno prepričavanje tih događaja koja smo čuli od domaćina iz Šamca daje nadu da će i na ovim prostorima kad-tad doći do katarze i prihvatanja i osude zločina koji su činjeni u „naše“ ime i u našim sredinama na očigled mnogih „običnih“ ljudi, kako samih veterana tako i onih drugih koji su o tome do sada uglavnom ćutali. Važno je napomenuti da smo u Šamcu u okviru priprema posjeta imali sastanak sa zamjenikom načelnika Opštine, koji je odležao zatvorsku kaznu za ratne zločine u trajanju od 7 godina. Sa njim smo imali dosta konstruktivan razgovor tokom kojeg je izrazio spremnost da nam da podršku da posjetimo Šamac kao i da obiđemo skladište u Crkvini. Za posredno učešće u tom zločinu on je i osuđen na kaznu zatvora pred Haškim Tribunalom.

Interesatna stvar na ovogodišnjim posjetama je što smo u Brčkom imali priliku da nas ugoste zajednički tri organizacije boraca koji su se u ratu borili jedni protiv drugih. Zanimljiv je i sam kontekst Distrikta Brčko,

kao jedne od rijetkih sredina u BiH u kojoj postoje naznake suživota bez jasne većine jednog naroda i gdje svi dijele prostor i društvenu stvarnost sa jednakih pozicija moći. Tako da sa simboličke strane posjeta Brčkom ima poseban značaj jer smo uspjeli zajedno da obidemo mjesta stradanja sva tri naroda i da o tome otvoreno razgovaramo i odamo poštu žrtvama. To nam je olakšala i činjenica da već neko vrijeme postoji dosta dobra saradnja među lokalnim organizacijama boraca i oni često zajedno nastupaju spram vlasti u borbi za svoje potrebe i prava. Mislimo da ih je ova inicijativa dodatno osnažila da ubuduće zajedno mogu i da se bave suočavanjem sa ratnom prološću na konstruktivan način. Humanizacija slike „neprijatelja“ kroz spoznaju o gubitku i patnji, zatim pijetet prema žrtvama onih „sa druge strane“, otvaraju prostor u kome su strah i neprijateljstvo značajno smanjeni. Ovakve vrste aktivnosti prilika su za neophodni društveni dijalog. Putem ovakvih susreta šaljemo jasnu poruku svim nivoima društva o potrebi za drugačijom političkom artikulacijom odnosa prema prošlosti. Ovo jesu simbolički snažne akcije koje potiču smanjivanje neprijateljstva i etničke distance. One potiču i promišljanje o političkim alternativama i olakšavaju političkim liderima da i oni sami naprave iskorake u ovom pravcu (npr. polaganje cvijeća predsjednika Josipovića i Tadića u Vukovaru, posjeta BiH od strane predsjednika Hrvatske Josipovića, itd.)

Podrškom medija smo samo djelimično zadovoljni. Iako smo poslali pozive raznim medijima u BiH odazvalo se samo nekoliko lokalnih i regionalnih TV i radio stanica i novinara/ki. Od javnih emitera odazvali su se RTRS i BHT. Želja nam je bila da prisustvo medija bude mnogo izraženije, ali očigledno je potrebno direktnije lobiranje među novinarima kada su ovakve aktivnosti u pitanju. Na žalost, izgleda da je mnogim medijima još uvijek interesantnije da prikazuju loše vijesti i nasilne incidente nego duboke i važne poruke pomirenja i istinsko odavanje počte žrtvama.

Tokom ovih posjeta snimili smo dosta video i audio



materijala i nadamo se da ćemo u narednom periodu napraviti neki vjerodostojan dokument koji imamo namjeru prikazivati u regiji na različitim medijima, ukoliko uspijemo da dopremo do njih, naravno.

Na završnom sastanku koji smo održali u Šamcu moglo se čuti veliko zadovoljstvo svih učesnika što su bili dio ove, za izgradnju mira u regiji, važne priče i jasnu želju da se nastavi sa ovakvim inicijativama.

Za kraj, evo izjave jednog od učesnika koja možda najbolje opisuje atmosferu ovih susreta i teme o kojima smo tokom njih razgovarali:

„Zahvaljujem svima u CNA što su nas okupili, kao i domaćinima na gostoprimstvu. Zahvalan sam M. što potencira obilježje na 13. kilometru pošto su tamo stradali moji zemljaci. Meni je danas bilo teško. U spomen sobi sam vidio amblem brigade koja je iz mog mjesta, amblem koji je tu stigao silom, koji je skinut s mrtvog čovjeka. Zahvaljujem se A. što je o tome progovorio. Niko nije zaslužio da bude zvjerski mučen, pa ni zarobljeni borci. O 13. kilometru sam čuo od jednog časnog doktora iz Prnjavora. To nisu mučili Muslimani, to su mučili neljudi. Nisu radili ono što je u vjeri i tradiciji muslimanskog naroda. Moj brat je bio na drugom brdu. Vidio sam da tamo ima ljudi iz raznih mjesta koji su poginuli. Ovaj rat nikom nije donio dobrog. Još jednom se zahvaljujem svima, kao i ljudima koje vidim prvi put.“
A.H.

okrugli sto „uloga i doprinos veterana u procesu pomirenja“

Gornji Vakuf /Uskoplje, 18.09.2010.

Na inicijativu Udruženja veterana Armije BiH „Goranovi“ iz Gornjeg Vakufa/Uskoplja, uz podršku CNA, povodom 21. septembra Međunarodnog dana

mira, organizovana je posjeta ovom mjestu u sklopu koje je održan okrugli sto na temu „Uloga i doprinos veterana u procesu pomirenja“. Pored toga or-

organizovan je i razgovor s mladim aktivistima/cama i voditeljima/cama Centra za mlade Gornji Vakuf/Uskoplje. Dio grupe su činili veterani rata iz BiH (FBiH i RS), Srbije i Hrvatske koji su sudjelovali na CNA treningu za učesnike ratova i članovi udruženja boraca (HVO i Armije BiH) iz Gornjeg Vakufa /Uskoplja.

Gornji Vakuf/Uskoplje je gradić u srednjoj Bosni u kojem je tokom rata (1992 - 1995.) vođen rat između Armije BiH i HVO. Grad je bio podijeljen na dva dijela i pretrpio je velika razaranja. Nakon završetka rata „zatrpane“ su linije razdvajanja i obnovljeni su objekti i infrastruktura, ali podjeljenost na bošnjački i hrvatski dio je ostala i jako je vidljiva i dan danas. Upravo zbog toga ovaj susret bivših boraca je imao za cilj da potakne dijalog među bivšim suprostavljenim stranama, kao podsticaj ostalim građanima/kama i novim generacijama na uspostavljanje dijaloga, povjerenja, tolerancije i obnovi ljudskih odnosa u tom mjestu.

Ova neformalna mješovita grupa veterana ima volju i motivaciju da učestvuje i potiče različite mirovne akcije ukazujući na to da su, kao direktni učesnici rata koji su bili na različitim stranama, s različitim nacionalnim, vjerskim i bilo kojim drugim identitetom, spremni biti od onih ljudi koji potiču na mir, pomirenje i uspostavljanje dijaloga. Na okruglom stolu koji je održan u prostorijama Skupštine opštine grada, najviše se razgovaralo o potrebi uključivanja veterana iz lokalne zajednice u saradnju sa veteranima iz regije u procese pomirenja i dijaloga. Kod lokalnih članova HVO udruga koji su prisustvovali sastanku, postojala je određena rezerva i oprez spram ovakvih ideja, ali se kroz razgovor i prijateljsku atmosferu uspjelo doći do prijedloga da je potrebno nastaviti ovakve susrete i dogovora o zajedničkoj poruci učesnika skupa povodom

međunarodnog dana mira u kojem se naglašava želja za gradnjom trajnog mira na ovim prostorima. Bitno je i napomenuti da je nekoliko članova HVO udruga otkazalo svoje učesće u ovoj aktivnosti zbog, kako je nam je rečeno, „parlamentarnih izbora i nezgodnog političkog trenutka“. To nam ukazuje prije svega da je potrebno uložiti još truda u pridobijanje povjerenja kod lokalnih veteranskih udruženja i pojedinaca za konkretnije uključivanje u ovakve aktivnosti. Ovaj susret se može gledati kao veliki korak u tome pravcu.

Poslije zajedničkog ručka i šetnje po gradu, upriličen je razgovor s mladima u Omladinskom Centru GVU. Ovaj razgovor s mladima i viđenje njihovog svakodnevnog životnog iskustva je bio veoma potreban i emotivan. Veterani iz grupe su imali neposrednu priliku da čuju iskustva mladih ljudi koji, nakon što su proživjeli rat kao djeca, imaju iskustvo odrastanja u podijeljenoj zajednici. Kao takvi, danas se nose sa raznim vidovima diskriminacije, pritisaka i strahova. Kroz ovaj razgovor, mogla se osjetiti tragedija rata i njegov transgeneracijski uticaj i posljedice na živote mladih ljudi.

Nadamo se da ćemo opet posjetiti Gornji Vakuf/Uskoplje uskoro u sličnoj postavi i nastaviti sa ovakvim inicijativama. Lokalni ljudi su nam ukazali da im je izuzetno značajno i važno organizovanje ovakvih susreta i da na ovakav način dobijaju podršku za napore u organizovanju života u njihovoj sredini.

Sam događaj je popraćen od strane HRT- a i prikazan je prilog u sklopu njihovog programa što smatramo izuzetno važnim. Na našu žalost oni su, izuzev lokalnih web portala, jedini medij koji se odazvao našem pozivu i popratio ovaj događaj.

A.H.

dokumentarni filmovi i publikacije

projekcije filma “isprekidana crta” u makedoniji

Skopje, Prilep, Kumanovo, Novembar 2009 – Januar 2010.

Tokom novembra 2009. i januara 2010. godine smo u Makedoniji organizirali tri projekcije dokumentarnog filma “Isprekidana crta” (snimanog 2008. godine) autora Nenada Vukosavljevića, u produkciji Centra za nenasilnu akciju.

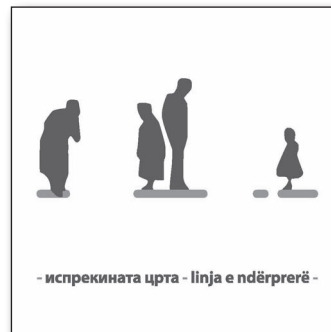
“Isprekidana crta” (“Испрекината црта” / “Linja e ndërprerë”) je četvrti film serijala simuliranih dijaloga i bavi se odnosima između Albanaca/ki i Makedonaca/ki u Makedoniji. Ovaj film sadrži intervju sa osobama čiji glasovi ne pronalaze put do javnog prostora, uspostavljajući komunikaciju među njima i podstičući otvorenije međuetničko sagledavanje bolnog iskustva konflikta iz 2001. godine, njegove uzroke i posljedice.

Planirali/e smo organizirati tri projekcije (skopsku, prilepsku i kumanovsku), ali smo tokom prvog, novembarskog, ciklusa realizirali/e skopsku (12.11.) i prilepsku (14.11.). Kumanovsku projekciju smo prvobitno otkazali/e usljed organizacionih problema. Pošto nam je važno da se projekcije organizuju zajedno s osobama koje su aktivne u lokalnim sredinama, kumanovska je na inicijativu novog lokalnog partnera, inače aktera filma i bivšeg borca Predraga Petruševskog – Binga, bila održana u januaru 2010.

Organizaciju sve tri projekcije nadgledali su i koordinisali Luan Imeri i Gordana Pirkovska Zmijanac.

Skopskoj projekciji, koja je organizirana zajedno s Međašima – prvom dječjom ambasadam na svijetu (www.childrensembassy.org.mk) i Luanom Imerijem (akterom u filmu) je prisustvovalo pedesetak osoba, od kojih su osam bili novinari/ke. U jednosatnom razgovoru s publikom (na albanskom, makedonskom i srpskom jeziku s obezbjeđenim simultanim prijevodom) koji je slijedio su sudjelovali Kadri Haxhihamza i Ana Bitoljanu (akter i akterka filma), Nenad

Vukosavljević i Gordana Pirkovska-Zmijanac koja ju je moderirala. Nakon što su izneseni motivi za učestvovanje u ovom filmu, slijedila je diskusija u kojoj su se pominjala iskustva tokom konflikta, važnost prihvatanja “drugih” i stavljanja u njihovu ulogu, tolerancija i različitost. Nekoliko osoba je izrazilo potrebu da se slični filmovi češće snimaju, kao i da se put ovoga nastavi u medijima i obrazovnim institucijama. Pošto se u publici našao i znatan broj osoba koje su aktivne u nevladinom sektoru, razmatrala se i uloga građanskog sektora u procesu pomirenja za koji se procijenilo da je još uvijek daleko i da zahtijeva mnogo više truda, kao i rada s ljudima koji su izvan tih krugova. Diskutovalo se i stvaranje uslova za povratak izbjeglih i prognanih lica kojih je još uvijek veliki broj diljem Makedonije. Na opasku višeg policijskog savjetnika (koji je najavio da će film koristiti tokom akademske obuke pripravnika/ca multietničkih jedinica makedonske policije) da se trebaju u prvi plan staviti “pozitivni” primjeri komunikacije a “negativnim” uskratiti prostor, autor filma je zaključio da se pomirenje i praštanje ne smiju forsirati, kao i da se realnost



ne bi smjela lažirati i da se moramo suočiti s onim što nas najviše boli i stvoriti prostor za iskrenu komunikaciju na konstruktivan način.

Prilepska projekcija je organizirana zajedno s lokalnim partnerima iz “Mirovne akcije”

(www.mirovnaakcija.org). U jednosatnom razgovoru s publikom su sudjelovali/e Aleksandar Markov (još jedan akter filma), Ana Bitoljanu, Luan Imeri i Nenad Vukosavljević, a moderirao ju je Goran Taleski. Posjećenost je bila na razini skopske, ali primjetno je bilo da su ovaj put prisustvovala osobe van nevladinog sektora, spremne da porazgovaraju o temama koje smatraju lično bolnim i problematičnim. Direktnosti diskusije je doprinijelo i nekoliko veterana makedonskih bezbjednosnih snaga koji su učestvovali u konfliktu. Iskazala se želja da se priča o događajima iz 2001. godine na drugačiji način od političara/ki, potreba za objelodanjivanjem zločina, kao i osjećaj zategnutosti i nesigurnosti koji hrane različite i protivrječne interpretacije konflikta. Adresirani su međuetnički odnosi i podjele, trenutni politički problemi, sukobi oko jezika, etničkih i državnih znamenja i njihovih upotreba, kao i različita viđenja Ohridskog sporazuma kojim su zaustavljene oružane borbe. Veterani su iznijeli svoja viđenja rata kao i motivacije za učešće u njemu, nezadovoljstvo državnim odnosom spram njih i ocijenili su da je film pozitivan primjer bavljenja temama koje su od suštinskog značaja za poboljšanje međuetničkih odnosa u Makedoniji i sprečavanje nasilja. Također je vidljiva bila motivacija prisutnih da traže Luanovo mišljenje o raznim temama što ukazuje na manjak svakodnevnih međuetničke komunikacije u Prilepu.

Predrag Petruševski - Bingo, makedonski veteran koji je film primio vrlo emotivno i entuzijastično, je izrazio želju da se kumanovska promocija održi u njegovoj organizaciji 15. januara 2010. u Kulturnom domu.

Publika je pokazala veliko interesovanje za ovu projekciju (prisustvovalo je oko 150 osoba, primjetan je bio znatan broj mladih, kao i veterana makedonskih bezbjednosnih snaga i nekoliko veterana albanske Oslobođilačke nacionalne armije) nakon koje je slijedio pedesetominutni razgovor na albanskom, makedonskom i srpskom jeziku s publikom, u kojem su učestvovali Goran Petruševski – Bingo, Luan Imeri, Nenad Vukosavljević uz moderaciju i konsektivni prijevod Safeta Ballazhija.

U razgovoru su sudjelovali/e: direktna žrtva konflikta, iskazujući svakodnevni bol i tugu koju osjeća za svojim mužem koji je stradao i tražeći odgovore koji bi dali smisao tom gubitku; veteran koji je zatražio oprost od svih žrtava konflikta; mirovni aktivista koji je naglasio važnost lične i kolektivne odgovornosti za zajedničko odavanje pošte svim žrtvama rata; političar ("nažalost, nije bio u mogućnosti da doprinese razrješavanju krize iz 2001. godine"), koji je tražio odgovore na pitanja

koja se otvaraju u filmu i postavljao svoja (nudeći svoje interpretacije izjava u filmu njegovog kolege političara iz druge etničke grupe); kao i osobe iz zajednice koje su izrazile frustraciju etničkim političkim podjelama i sukobima i međusobnom isključivošću različitih političkih opcija koje uvjetuju svakodnevne podjele u gradu i društvu.

Da u medijskom prostoru u Makedoniji nedostaje podsticaja za izgradnju mira putem otvaranja komunikacije o međuetničkom nasilju iz prošlosti (da li je prepoznavanje tog nedostatka znak urgentnosti?) nam je pokazala i prikazivanost filma na televizijskim stanicama. Prikazan je na dvojezičnom ALSAT-M kanalu, kao i na državnim kanalima MTV1 (makedonski jezik) i MTV2 (albanski jezik). Film je na ALSAT-M prikazan u okviru emisije u kojoj su učestvovali borci sa makedonske i albanske strane u prvom javnom dijalogu te vrste od završetka konflikta. Luan Imeri je također gostovao u gledanoj političkoj emisiji na kanalu TV5 koja se bavila tolerancijom i tokom koje su puštani inserti iz filma.

Film je imao odjeka i u veteranskim krugovima. Dan nakon pilepske projekcije se održao sastanak makedonske veteranske udruge "Dostoinstvo" čija je jedna od dvije tačke dnevnog reda bila diskusija o filmu.

Fond za otvoreno društvo u Makedoniji je za potrebe svojih tribina koje se bave budućnošću Makedonije izrazio želju da film umnoži u sto primjeraka i šalje kao resurs.

Naši partneri u Makedoniji i mi smo vrlo osnaženi produkcijom i projekcijama "Isprekidane crte". Podstaknuti smo za dalji rad, kao i za neki vid daljnje saradnje.

Citati s projekcija:

"Ja sigurno ne bih željela nikome da se ponovi, vjerujte mi. Nikome da se ne dogodi ovo. Nikome. Ja najviše želim da ova država bude stabilna. To najviše želim zato što imam dva djeteta koji trebaju da žive ovdje. To najviše želim. I nikome, nikome, da se ne desi ponovo ovo što se desilo. I, također moram da kažem, ja sam sigurna da moj muž nije ubio nikoga, moj muž je bio vozač, mehaničar. Nije s puškom pucao na frontu."

"Očigledno je čitav ovaj rad postigao jedan od ciljeva samim tim što smo se ovdje skupili da razgovaramo o ovim stvarima. Da otvoreno razgovaramo o ovj temi. Drugi cilj koji je postignut je taj što ja, kao direktni učesnik u vojnim dejstvima, sada govorim za mir. Za suživot, za poštovanje, za poštovanje razlika. Ta ideja je jedna od ideja ovog filma. Da mi, svi ljudi, počnemo da razgovaramo međusobno, da znamo ra-zlike..."

N.P.

o knjizi usmenih istorija “slike tih vremena”

Zbirka usmenih istorija učesnika/ca ratova i članova/ica njihovih porodica “Slike tih vremena” izlazi iz štampe krajem jeseni 2010. Dalje u tekstu možete da pročitate nešto više o samoj ideji i sadržini knjige.

Iz predgovora knjizi

... Ono što smo želeli ovom knjigom usmenih istorija jeste da na jednom mestu sakupimo i objavimo priče učesnika/ca ratova, ratnih veterana/ki, ali i civila, članova, a posebno članica njihovih porodica. Na ovakav koncept odlučili smo se vođeni jakim utiskom da se rat u našim društvima najčešće doživljava kao “muška” stvar, o kojoj samo muškarci – *ratnici, brani-telji* – imaju šta da kažu. Perspektiva žena koje su ratove preživele i kroz njih prošle na najrazličitije načine, po pravilu je ostajala u zapečku i po strani. Rad na ovoj knjizi potvrdio je naše staro uverenje da prikazivanje niti muške niti ženske perspektive nikada nije homogeno i jednoznačno. Kao što objavljeni intervjui pokazuju, iskustva i životne priče su različite i višeslojne. Zbog toga je nemoguće povući jasnu granicu između tih perspektiva a da se ne posegne za esencijalizmima, tako dragim patrijarhalnom načinu mišljenja gde se tačno “zna” šta ko treba da radi i šta je čija uloga. Suprotno tome, u ovoj knjizi ćete moći da pročitate i priču jedne veteranke, kao i priču muškarca koji nije nosio oružje, ali čiji je otac u ratu smrtno stradao.

Fokus ove knjige su ratovi, vođeni tokom devedes-tih godina na ovim bivšejugoslovenskim prostorima, s posebnim osvrtom na ratove od 1991. do 1995. godine. Međutim, kako su lične priče isprepletene sa kolektivnim narativima, tako su prožete i sećanjima na ratove iz ranijih, ali i kasnijih perioda... Poseban osvrt je posvećen trouglu Srbija – Bosna i Hercegovina – Hrvatska, mada se čuje odjek i drugih prostora, posebno Kosova. Drugi svetski rat se na više mesta pominje u ličnim pričama i prepliće s ratovima devedestih. Iako su ratovi fokus ove knjige, u pričama se može pročitati i kako se živelo i pre i posle rata, kako je izgledala svakodnevnica ovih ljudi i socijalni aspekt njihovih života...

Naš rad na prikupljanju usmenih istorija je na određen način nastavak onoga što su na ovom polju pre nas radile neke druge organizacije, od kojih bismo

posebno izdvojili jako vredan rad *Dokumentacionog centra Ratovi 1991-1999*. Međutim, posebnost ove knjige i našeg pristupa jeste da su intervjue sakupljali i vodili bivši ratni veterani/ke i mirovni aktivisti/kinje, predstavnici/e dve društvene grupe koje su najčešće u sukobu, uz međusobna etiketiranja, pa i otvoren prezir.

Svi razgovori su vođeni u leto/jesen 2009. nakon održane trodnevne obuke na kojoj je učestvovalo trinaest osoba – veterana/ki i aktivista/kinja. Priprema za samo intervjuisanje je bila pažljivo osmišljena i izvedena, u skladu sa standardima koji postoje na polju prikupljanja usmenih istorija. Na kraju smo dobili dvadeset intervjua od jedanaest intervjueira/ki. Svi intervjui su verno transkribovani i pohranjeni su u arhivu, a u knjizi su se našli oni, po našem mišljenju, najupečatljiviji.

Bilo je izazovno raditi na ovoj knjizi, sakupljati priče, ponekad teško odlučiti da li neku ličnu priču uvrstiti ili ne, čitati na jednom mestu kako su se ljudi nosili s ratom i njegovim posledicama. I posredno osetiti mnoge lične gubitke, bilo da se radi o gubitku nečije kuće, zdravlja, bliskih ljudi... Kako kaže jedan od govornika, Žuna: *Rat razara od vrha vlasi na glavi do malog prsta dole, duše, svega živog...* Sa druge strane iz ovih životnih priča moguće je iščitati i autentičnost, jednostavnost, brigu za druge, ljubav,

kao i mnoge druge emocije koje ne mogu a da vas ne taknu. *Lične priče i lična razumevanja su važan deo izgradnje mira*. Ova zbirka ličnih priča je naš doprinos širenju prostora za razmenu ličnih iskustava bez koga nam se, verujemo, šanse za međusobno istinsko i ljudsko razumevanje jako smanjuju.

Iako su ovo lične priče *običnih* ljudi kako kaže Aga-Pop, jedan od govornika, u svojoj priči, iz njih je moguće prepoznati i kolektivne narative prožete traumama davnije i skorije prošlosti. Iako namera ove knjige nije da pruži materijal za analizu etničkih/kolektivnih narativa ipak je od njih nemoguće pobeći i oni prožimaju i oblikuju lične priče i iskustva na sličan način na koji oblikuju i utiču na naša društva. U određenim se slučajevima ipak ta moć kolektivnog narativa potpuno izgubi pred snagom lične priče.

Nadamo se da će ova knjiga biti čitana otvorenog srca i da će priče ljudi biti tretirane sa pokušajem razumevanja umesto tako česte osude i odbacivanja.

H.R.





u saradnji sa drugim organizacijama

treća mirovna akademija

Sarajevo, 18 – 27.07.2010.

Ovog leta je Franjevački studentski dom u Sarajevu, već treći put uzastopno, postao mesto okupljanja za otprilike 60 učesnika/ca iz cele bivše Jugoslavije, kao i Nemačke, Irske, Turske, SAD, Velike Britanije. Među učesnicima/ama je ove godine bilo aktivista/ica, teoretičara/ki, novinara/ki, zaposlenih na fakultetima i školama, a jedan od tri ponuđena kursa pohađao je i poneki ratni veteran.

Kada je tim od sedmoro ljudi iz četiri organizacije (pored CNA, tu su još bie i kolege/ice iz Nansen Dijalog Centra Sarajevo, MCC ureda za jugoistočnu Evropu, Terce iz Sarajeva) pre skoro pet godina započeo planiranje ove aktivnosti, opisali smo ono što smo želeli da napravimo kao „mesto susreta“. Pomalo smo bili svesni izvesne potrošenosti tih reči, ali nas je ka njima ipak vukla potreba i osećaj da nam nekako manjka mesta susreta i mesta za refleksiju. Ako ništa drugo, nakon tri organizovane Mirovne Akademije postigli smo upravo to – da ljudi žele da dođu i susretu se, misle i kritički propituju svet u kome živimo.

Ove godine je organizacioni tim MA ponudio tri kursa (dva na SHB i jedan na engleskom jeziku):

- *Religija i nacionalizam, voditeljja **Vjekoslava Perice***
- *Razumijevanje elemenata kolektivnog nasilja i masovnih zločina i njihovih posljedica, koji su vodili **Vlasta Jalušić i Tonči Kuzmanić***
- *Memory and its role in Conflict and Conflict Transformation voditeljice **Orli Fridman***

Primljeno je do sada najviše aplikacija (blizu 180), a razlog tome je (osim činjenice da su prethodne dve bile odlična reklama) i veći trud koji je organizacioni tim uložio u promociju Treće MA. Tako su ljudi pozivani, osim uobičajenog slanja poziva na mail, i preko banera postavljenih na neke od najčitanijih alternativnih web portala u regiji, a na Kosovu, u Prištini, je upriličena i promocija ovog programa kojoj je prisustvovalo nekih pedesetak zainteresovanih.

Kursevi su, prema oceni učesnika/ca bili dosta poticajni i kvalitetni. Zamerke su se uglavnom odnosile na metodološku jednoobraznost, pa i neadekvatnost u pojedinim momentima (malo diskusija, ili previše diskusija; malo teorije ili previše teorije – u zavisnosti od ukusa i afiniteta). Dobici su, čini se, brojni. Ljudi se javljaju, misle i pišu. Ove godine je nakon Akademije pristigao najveći broj eseja (ukupno 41), a i njihov kvalitet je, u odnosu na prethodne godine, dosta porastao. Od ove godine su i voditelji/ce kurseva bili uključeni u čitanje i odabir najboljih eseja i izgleda da je to motivisalo ljude da se potrudu i svoje misli prebace „na papir“. Kao jedan od glavnih programskih izazova za ubuduće ostaje pitanje kako doći do novih potencijalnih voditelja/ica, koji su kadri da kreiraju prostor za interakciju, diskusiju i razmenu, koji se neće pretvoriti u puko ex-catedra predavanje sa 15 minuta za diskusiju, niti u *radioničarenje* u kojem su sedenje u krugu i proizvoljno deljenje ličnih iskustava samo sebi svrha. Mirovna Akademija ne nudi treninge, kao ni fakultetske seminare. Ona teži da bude tačka preseka

između teorije i prakse, mišljenja i delovanja. Prostor u kome se različite emancipatorske prakse susreću, kritikuju i udružuju.

Zahvaljujući dobroj organizaciji rada u timu, te kooperativnosti voditelja/ica i učesnika/ca organizacija je prošla bez puno stresova i panike. Izgleda da je najveći izazov u organizaciono-tehničkom smislu bio kako pronaći odgovarajući restoran gde 60-ak ljudi može jesti pristojnu hranu, za pristojan novac, u pristojnom okruženju... i u pristojnom vremenskom roku (bez čekanja od sat i po vremena). A onda i kako obezbediti da to čudo tehnike zvano internet konekcija funkcioniše tokom čitavog trajanja Akademije.

Šta dalje?

Kako bi Mirovna Akademija bila, da se izrazimo mrskim projektnim jezikom, održiva i efikasna, moralo je da dođe do velikih promena u načinu funkcionisanja i njenom statusu. Zbog toga je u avgustu ove godine registrovana **Fondacija Mirovna Akademija**, koja će već od sledeće godine pokušati da živi svojim samostalnim životom. Nismo se na to odlučili kako bi popravili brojno stanje raznoraznih NVO u zemlji Bosni i Hercegovini, već kako bismo građenjem jedne jasnije strukture udahnuli novi život ovoj inicijativi. Vrednosno i programsko usmerenje koje je zacrtano u prethodnih

skoro pet godina neće se menjati. Ono što se organizacioni tim MA nada da će se promeniti jeste izgradnja kapaciteta i bolja podela poslova koja će ostaviti više prostora za bavljenje programsko-kreativnim delom. Za sada je jedna osoba zaposlena u Fondaciji, zadužena za administrativno-birokratski deo posla. Kako će izgledati budućnost ove stare inicijative i nove organizacije ostaje da se vidi. Ono što je sigurno da motivacije i entuzijazma ne manjka. Dovoljno za nastavak. Pardon, početak.

P.S. Za sve informacije o budućnosti Mirovne Akademije posetite www.mirovna-akademija.org

T.Š.



veterani u izgradnji mira: potencijali i ograničenja

Sarajevo, 27 - 28.09.2009.

U Sarajevu je od 27 - 28.09.2009. u partnerstvu MCC (Mennonite Central Committee) ureda u Sarajevu i CNA organizovan seminar na temu: *Uloga veterana u izgradnji mira: Potencijali i ograničenja*. Pored organizatora u realizaciji ovog seminara su nam pomogli CzRT (Centar za Ratnu Traumu) iz Novog Sada (Srbija) i, kao specijalni gost, trener Carl Stauffer iz Južne Afrike, iz ureda MCC.

Učesnici/e su bili članovi/ice mirovnih organizacija iz regije i sedam veterana iz BiH, Srbije i Hrvatske. Veterani koji su učestvovali na ovom skupu su dugodišnji saradnici CNA na mirovnim aktivnostima koje organizujemo u regiji.

Osnovna ideja ovog skupa je bila razmjena različitih pristupa u radu sa veteranima na polju izgradnje mira u bivšoj Jugoslaviji i Južnoj Africi i promocija dosadašnjih aktivnosti i iskustava organizacija

i pojedinaca aktivnih na ovom polju. Također nam je bila namjera otvaranje dijaloga između veterana i mirovnih aktivista na regionalnom i međunarodnom nivou. Seminar je osmišljen kao kombinacija prezentacija, vježbi, rada u malim grupama i razgovora, kroz koje su nas vodili gost iz Južnoafričke Republike te predstavnici CNA i CzRT.

Voditelji su prezentovali svoj rad sa veteranima, te načine na koji veterani mogu biti uključeni u proces izgradnje mira.

Interesantne radionice su bile prezentacije metoda i pristupa Carla Stauffera koji već nekoliko godina radi sa veteranima iz Južne Afrike, čemu je posvećeno najviše vremena u programu. To nam je omogućilo bolji uvid u kontekst izgradnje mira u JAR i poređenje sa kontekstom naše regije o čemu su se najviše i vodile diskusije na radionicama. Također smo imali

priliku razgovarati o uticaju lokalnih kultura i njihovih specifičnosti na proces izgradnje mira i pomirenja, što se pokazalo kao inspirativna tema, posebno za veterane.

Metode koje su korištene sadržavale su dosta kreativnih i iskustvenih vježbi vezanih za aktivizam i pomirenje što su prisutni veterani i ostali učesnici/e dosta dobro prihvatili/e.

CNA tim je napravio prezentaciju svojih aktivnosti i pristupa, te uz podršku prisutnih veterana, inicirao razgovor sa učesnicima/ama o prednostima i poteškoćama uključivanja veterana u proces izgradnje mira u našoj regiji.

Važan utisak sa seminara je što je ukazao na spremnost veterana na uključivanje u specifičnije i naprednije forme mirovnog obrazovanja kao što je ova.

Također ova vrsta aktivnosti ukazuje na potrebu, mogućnost i interes za konkretnijom međunarodnom saradnjom u kontekstu veteranskog doprinosa izgradnji mira na lokalnom i globalnom nivou.

Kao nastavak ove ideje, MCC uz podršku CNA, planira da u narednoj godini pokuša organizovati susret veterana iz bivše Jugoslavije i veterana iz nekog drugog post ratnog područja u svijetu.

N.H.

napredni trening „suočavanje sa prošlošću u kontekstu izgradnje mira“

Wustrow, Nemačka, 23 - 27.11.2009.

Dugogodišnja bliska saradnja i partnerstvo sa našom sestrinskom organizacijom *Kurve Wustrow* prošlog novembra je zadobila još jednu formu. Radi se o učešću dvoje naših kolega/ica Nenada Vukosavljevića i Tamare Šmidling u sprovođenju programa Naprednih treninga koje *Kurve* organizuje svake jeseni već nekoliko godina unazad. Trenerski par iz CNA je tako osmislio i vodio petodnevni trening „Suočavanje sa prošlošću u kontekstu izgradnje mira“.

Osnovna karakteristika čitave serije naprednih treninga je u tome što su oni otvoreni za internacionalnu grupu učesnika/ka sa određenim predznanjem i iskustvom iz oblasti koje pokrivaju treninzi. Mi smo tako imali priliku da radimo sa jednom zaista malom grupom sastavljenom od sedmoro učesnika/ca, ali sa izrazitom heterogenošću ličnih i profesionalnih pozadina i usmerenja. U grupi je tako bilo ljudi iz Nepala, Burundija i Nemačke. Većina učesnika/ca iz Nemačke se pripremala za svoje volontiranje (kao *civil peace workers*) u BiH, Makedoniji i Palestini, što znači da je često tematizovana tačka tokom treninga bila i uloga tzv. *outsidera* u ovim društvima. Kada se tome doda naše dugogodišnje iskustvo u radu na prostorima bivše Jugoslavije, možemo reći da uprkos malobrojnosti, naša grupa nikako nije oskudevala u različitostima perspektiva, iskustava, a ponekad i vrednosti.

Za nas u trenerskom timu najveći izazov je bio kako naći zajednički jezik i bazu iz koje ćemo krenuti u analizu situacija u našim, tako različitim društvima.

Rad u internacionalnim grupama stalno vas podseća da nikakve proizvoljne analogije nisu dozvoljene, te da situaciju u svakom društvu morate staviti u konkretan istorijski i politički kontekst ako želite da razumete tamošnji proces suočavanja sa prošlošću. Tokom pet radnih dana potrudili smo se da stavimo akcenat na međusobnu razmenu unutar grupe i da iniciramo pitanja i diskusije koji bi što bolje osvetlili kompleksnost procesa SsP i pomirenja, i pomogle nam da uvidimo sličnosti i razlike među našim kontekstima.

Kako to obično biva, osim rada na glavnoj temi, radili smo još jako puno i na mnogim drugim nivoima – prvenstveno na praktikovanju autentičnog i iskustvenog interkulturalnog učenja (kroz, ne uvek laganu, dešifrovanje različitih komunikacijskih koda; kao i kroz borbu protiv samorazumljivosti nekih opšteprihvaćenih pojmova – istina, pravda, tranzicijska pravda). Naša namera je bila da učesnicima/ama ponudimo jedan konceptualni okvir za rad na SsP u kontekstu izgradnje mira, te da im na taj način približimo jednu specifičnu perspektivu rada na ovom polju koja je šira od standardnog „uhapsimo ratne zločince“ pristupa.

Samo mesto održavanja treninga je zanimljivo i zasluhuje da bude pomenuto. Trening je održan u kući koja pripada organizaciji *Kurve Wustrow* što zaista znači jednu specifičnu dinamiku, posebno za nas navikle da radimo po hotelima diljem bivše Jugoslavije. Ništa od atmosfere hotela ovde nećete sresti. Umesto

toga dobijate priliku da radite u jednom „domaćem“ prostoru o kome se brinete svi zajedno – sa svim njegovim dobrim i lošim stranama. Radi se o jednom posebnom aktivističkom konceptu (pa i načinu života) koji *Kurve* neguje i koji bi, po našem mišljenju, bilo dobro obogatiti nekim bližim upoznavanjem lokalnog konteksta u regiji Wendland. Kada već imate učesnike/ce iz raznih krajeva sveta, od kojih su mnogi po prvi put van svoje zemlje, vredi razmisliti kako im dodatno približiti mesto u kome provode (nemački jesenje) dane treninga. Tim pre što se ne radi o tipičnom „EU-

konzumerističkom raju“ (što je slika koju mnogi ljudi imaju o Nemačkoj), već o regionu sa višedecenijskom istorijom društvenog i aktivističkog angažmana.

U svakom slučaju, prilika da se ova vrsta saradnje nastavi, kao i da se propusti od prošle godine isprave, čeka nas već u oktobru ove godine, kada će ljudi iz CNA voditi još jedan napredni trening na istu temu. Nadamo se da će ovoga puta grupa biti brojnija, a sigurni smo da onda izazova i inspiracije neće nedostajati.

T.Š.

međunarodna konferencija - novi horizonti – povezivanje razvoja saradnje i tranzicione pravde za održivi mir

Berlin, 27 – 28. 01. 2010.

www.frient.de/en/conference2010/programme

FriEnt (radna grupa za razvoj i mir) organizovala je konferenciju u Berlinu koja je privukla mnoge donosioce odluka, naučnike/ce i praktičare/ke iz celog sveta. Zbog kreativne energije organizatora, postavljeni koncept je dopuštao mnogo više razmene i opširnije diskusije nego što se inače može doživeti na konferencijama. Budući da ja iskreno ne volim duge, dosadne „ja-radim-sjajan posao“ i „imam-sve-odgovore“ govorancije, bilo je izvanredno da su organizatori/ke bili veoma uspešni u kreiranju takvog prostora za učenje i razmenu gde važna pitanja mogu biti potaknuta i gde se verovatno mogu pronaći i neki veoma važni odgovori.

Bilo bi nemoguće izvestiti na odgovarajući način o svim važnim tačkama o kojima se govorilo, tako da evo nekih impulsa i razmišljanja koje sam pokupio i voleo bih da ih spomenem:

Izgradnja mira ne može biti stisnuta da stane u „logički okvir“ (predstavnik DFID-s, britanske razvojne agencije)

Mi (različiti akteri u ovoj oblasti) povremeno razumemo jedni druge.

Biti fleksibilan i prilagodljiv umesto strogo isplaniran, često je mnogo prikladnije u izgradnji mira.

Posledice nasilnog konflikta ne mogu se rešiti ili rešavati isključivo kroz pravosuđe.

Ojačao sam u svom otporu prema korišćenju termina „tranziciona pravda“ koji se pojavljivao prilično neprimereno i preširoko kako bi pokrio sve što se činilo da treba pokriti (i kako bi dobio proširenu svakodnevnu upotrebu, umesto pojmova „izgradnja mira“ i „suočavanje s prošlošću“).

Moje učešće je bilo u sklopu konferencijske radne grupe: *Obrazovanje i sećanje: postavljanje osnova za nove generacije.*

U okviru ove radne grupe, vodio sam radionicu pod nazivom „Složenost suočavanja s prošlošću (SSP) – na temelju iskustava na Zapadnom Balkanu“ koja se može preuzeti na:

www.frient.de/downloads/Nenad_Vukosavljevic_Paper.pdf

Čestitke FriEnt timu na njihovim postignućima i hvala za uloženu energiju.

N.V.

u čemu smo još učestvovali

međunarodna konferencija

“nonviolent livelihood struggle and global militarism: links & strategies”

Ahmedabad, Indija, 22 – 25. 01. 2010.

Konferenciju koja je održana u zapadnoj državi Indije – Gujarat organizovao je *War Resisters' International* (WRI) u saradnji sa *Gujarat Vidyapith* (Univerzitet), *Gujarat Sarvodaya Mandal* i *Smpoorna Kranti Vidyalyaya* (Institut za totalnu revoluciju).

Cela konferencija je imala jedan poseban ton zbog mesta, države, regije u kojoj se održavala i verujem da bi nekako bila drugačija da su se organizatori odlučili za neku drugu regiju.

Najpre, stići do Indije znači ne samo preći nekoliko hiljada kilometara, nego i preći neke svoje granice, sagledati svet iz drugog ugla (a svoj ostaviti sa strane koliko je to moguće), pogledati drugačije vrednosti, ne porediti i pokušati razumeti.

Sama Konferencija je bila ambiciozno postavljena s mnogo različitih (i par stotina) učesnika/ca, govornika, voditelja radionica itd. Otvorila ju je književnica i aktivistkinja Arundhati Roy, na našim prostorima uglavnom poznata po svom romanu “Bog malih stvari”. Ona je aktivistkinja kojoj je čak i život ugrožen zbog podizanja svog glasa protiv onog što država zagovara i/ili sprovodi, a, zajedno sa Ashishom Nandyjem, predstavlja jednog od ključnih kritičara globalizacije kapitalizma i militarizma.

Pored ove teme, na Konferenciji se u plenarnim sesijama predstavljao kontekst i problem iz kojeg govornik/ca dolazi i to na teme kao što su: Izmeštanje stanovništva, ‘razvoj’ i militarizam, Rudarstvo – pretnja zajednici, gorivo za rat, Nenasilni otpor lokalnih zajednica, Nenasilna borba za zemlju, Osnivanje transnacionalnih alijansi (*Displacement*, ‘*Development*’ and

Militarism, *Mining - threat to community, fuel for war*, *Nonviolent resistance from local communities*, *Nonviolent struggles for land*, *Forming transnational alliances*).

Radionice su bile raznovrsne i po pitanju tema ali i po pitanju ugla iz kojeg se govori, a radioničara/ki i govornika/ca je bilo iz npr. Ekvadora, Nemačke, Južne Koreje, Čilea, Indije, Kolumbije, Kašmira, Papua Nove Gvineje... Palo mi je napamet - toliko problema a toliko motivisanih ljudi, da i sam dobiješ injekciju motivacije. Postoji nada da je drugačiji svet (ipak) moguć, ili da bar, postoje ljudi koji u to zaista veruju.

Neke od radionica su se odnosile na izmeštanje i autohtone zajednice, vojne baze i izmeštanje; zatim Nasilje nad regionalnim identitetima, Značenje ‘rata protiv terora’ za društvene pokrete, Konstruktivni rad i samoodrživost kao nenasilni otpor, Nenasilne akcije protiv NATO-a, Pitanja mira u Zapadnoj i Centralnoj Africi, Ka nenasilju kao životnoj filozofiji: klasa, mir i ‘preobražaj’, Indija – borba za prava na zemlju, Žene i izmeštanje stanovništva uzrokovano razvojem, Nacionalizam i antifašistički pokreti itd.

Radionicu koju smo vodili Boro iz Makedonije, inače saradnik CNA, Olga iz Rusije i ja je *Nacionalizam i antifašistički pokreti*. Učesnici/e su bili/e ljudi iz različitih delova sveta s (naravno) i različitim pogledima, što je za mene lično, naviknutu na problematiku bivšejugoslovenskih prostora, jedno novo iskustvo. Međutim, interesantno je kako nacionalizam, nažalost, ima zajednički jezik svima nama koji smo bili na radionici. Poteškoća je bila najviše u tome što je bilo ljudi koji su već promišljali o ovoj problematici i bavili se njome,

a takođe je bilo onih koji tek pokušavaju da saznaju o čemu se tačno radi i kako nacionalizam izgleda na drugim mestima. Ponekad, što se i ovde pokazalo, lakše je pogledati u tuđe dvorište nego svoje.

Jedna od takođe važnih tačaka ove Konferencije je organizovani odlazak u jedan od centara (*Rural Service Centre* – nalazi se 65 km od Ahmedabada) koji je Gandhi osnovao zajedno sa svojim sledbenicima. Centar predstavlja edukativni i poljoprivredni samoodrživi sistem u ugroženom području s niskom stopom pismenosti. Nakon odlaska u taj centar ostao mi je utisak da sam zaista, iako se nalazim na Balkanu okružena mnogim problemima i zaostavštinama rata, privilegovana da živim upravo tu.

Konferenciju je zatvorio Narayan Desai, poznati indijski 'gandista', a s obzirom da je sledeći dan obeležavana godišnjica Gandijeve smrti, domaćini su organizovali marš do Gandijevog ašrama *Kochrab* gde je bilo upriličeno sećanje na taj dan.

Posebno me se dojmio odnos ljudi u Indiji prema Gandiju, s nekom vrstom obožavanja, a boraveći u Indiji i sagledavajući bolje indijski kontekst, nekako mi je postao jasan njegov značaj i važnost u prošlosti i sadašnjosti. Distanca koju imam živeći na Balkanu i potpuno drugi kontekst življenja i problema je uticala da moj odnos prema Gandiju bude potpuno drugačiji. Ne mogu da kažem da se sada znatno promenio, ali ga gledam iz skroz drugog ugla i s drugim razumevanjem.

Posle konferencije, od 27. do 29. januara, održan je savet WRI-a u okviru kojeg sam i ja izabrana, što mi je velika čast jer je prepoznat moj rad i rad CNA. Kao i sve organizacije, i WRI ima svoju dinamiku, svoje uspone i padove, ali ja se posebno divim ljudima koji su joj posvećeni (dugi niz godina) kao što su Howard, Joanne, Andreas, Javier, Jorgen i drugi. Poznanstvo sa tim i drugim ljudima mi je pomoglo da bar malo proširim i svoju perspektivu gledanja na mirovni rad, a nadam se da ću moći da pridonesem njihovom radu.

H. R.

radionica: „suočavanje s teškom prošlošću na zapadnom balkanu i u zapadnoj evropi – mogućnosti i perspektive za trans-evropsku suradnju“

Sarajevo, 02 – 04. 06. 2010.

Međunarodna radionica organizirana je od strane Francusko-njemačkog ureda za mlade *Andre Malraux Centra* iz Sarajeva i *Inicijative mladih za ljudska prava* Bosne i Hercegovine.

Radionica je održana u Sarajevu od 02 – 04. 06. 2010. Dvadeset troje učesnika/ca zaposlenih u nevladinim organizacijama, memorijalnim centrima, muzejima i istraživačkim centrima bili su iz Bosne i Hercegovine, Hrvatske, Francuske, Njemačke i Srbije. Jessica je sudjelovala kao članica CNA tima.

Krovni cilj radionice bio je da sakupi ljude sa Zapadnog Balkana i iz Zapadne Evrope koji su svojim radom uključeni u polje suočavanja s teškom prošlošću, s ciljem razmjene iskustava i iznalaženja mogućnosti za suradnju.

Konfuzija kako zvati taj susret iz ugla učesnika/ica tijekom radionice („...ova konferencija...hm...radionica...“) bila je „glavna fora“ zbog mješavine metoda koje su se koristile. Sljedeće metode su bile zastupljene: pregled konteksta povodom situacije suočavanja s teškim prošlostima na Zapadnom Balkanu i u Zapadnoj Evropi u formi predavanja, prezentacija aktivnosti na polju suočavanja s prošlošću i primjeri regionalne i

međunarodne suradnje, istraživačke ture po mjestima u Sarajevu i radionički moduli za razvijanje konkretnih akcija i suradnje.

Tijekom radionice, kompleksnost situacije i izazovi koji postoje na polju suočavanja s prošlošću posebno u slučaju Bosne i Hercegovine bili su razrađeni vrlo dobro. Da li suočavanje s prošlošću u BiH zaista znači suočavanje s prošlošću, pošto se u BiH skoro svi još uvijek moraju nositi sa posljedicama rata i postojanjem sukobljenih sjećanja? Suočavanje s prošlošću na Zapadnom Balkanu također je političko pitanje: spomenici se koriste da označe teritorij jedne strane za sjećanje na heroje i žrtve te strane, dok se trude da spriječe postavljanje spomenika žrtvama „druge“ strane. Suprotno, u Njemačkoj i Francuskoj, suočavanje s prošlošću (Prvi i Drugi svjetski rat) leži uglavnom u rukama historičara i osoblja memorijalnih centara i muzeja. Ta mjesta ne predstavljaju žrtve našeg vremena, te postoji određena vremenska distanca u odnosu na tešku prošlost. Štaviše, prijašnja „ratna neprijateljstva“ jedva da su prisutna unutar Njemačkog i Francuskog društva.

Jedna radionica bila je fokusirana na pitanje koja

vrsta trans-evropskih zajedničkih aktivnosti bi mogla biti korisna na polju suočavanja s prošlošću. Kao inicijativa za daljnju suradnju predloženo je organiziranje radionice/foruma u 2011-oj za nastavak suradnje koja je počela na ovoj radionici, uključujući druge inicijative suočavanja s prošlošću iz zemalja Evropske unije i Jugoistočne Evrope koje bi proširile grupu.

U sklopu radionice/foruma 2011, predložene su teme: očuvanja mjesta sjećanja, edukativna pitanja povezana sa spomen mjestima i senzibilizacija šire javnosti, kao teme koje bi mogle biti produbljene. Uz to, trodnevno studijsko putovanje različitim mjestima sjećanja na Zapadnom Balkanu moglo bi biti dio programa.

Radionica je održana u atmosferi uvažavanja, u duhu „učenja jednih od drugih“.

J.Ž.

reč nove članice

dolazak u cna sarajevo

Jessica Žic

Prošlo je nekoliko mjeseci od mog dolaska u Sarajevo: U međuvremenu – više se ne gubim na Baščaršiji, više se ne trzam kad netko pita „Gdje si?“ misleći da on/ona zove mene (Jessi!). Štaviše, mogu prepoznati refrene nekih sevdalinki. I čak sam se navikla na nove izvještaje o ratnim zločinima, genocidu i masovnim grobnicama...

Dolazak u CNA, gdje sam došla preko njihove partnerske organizacije KURVE Wustrow, za mene znači integraciju u tim s visokim stupnjem profesionalizma i puno iskustva. Misleći na malu mirovnu organizaciju bez hijerarhijskog uređenja, kao što je CNA, mnogi ljudi mogu zamisliti nešto kao luckaste, neorganizirane hipije. Iako se mnogo stvari događa na simpatičan i neformalan način koji se zasniva na povjerenju, shvatila sam da nepostojanje hijerarhije ne znači neimanje jasnih odgovornosti i standarda implementiranja aktivnosti. Također, iako je strukturu CNA prilično lako razumjeti, temu njihovog rada nije: kompleksna je, opterećena emocijama, s visokim stupnjem mogućih nesuglasica u društvu.

Budući da je mojim kolegama/icama potrebno da čuju samo jednu riječ da procijene u kojem smjeru ide nečiji argument, prvi izazov za mene je bio, i još uvijek jeste, čitati ko-

dove pri pomenu raznih mjesta i imena i izgraditi jasniju sliku u kojoj ću sortirati stvari koje ljudi govore i razmišljati o njihovim značenjima između redova.

Čini mi se da je slika međunarodnih mirovnih radnika/ca u BiH vrlo loša. Prema iskustvu lokalnih ljudi, stranci se često ponašaju kao oni koji dolaze sa „civiliziranog zapada“ na Balkan, bez znanja o regionalnom kontekstu, sa spremljenim rješenjima, pseudo-analizirajući situaciju i savjetujući nešto o pomirenju.

Kad me netko pita kako doživljam situaciju u Bosni, moj odgovor može zvučati banalno za ovdašnje ljude koji su preživjeli rat: skoro da nema kontakta i mnogo je nepovjerenja između religijskih/etničkih grupa i situacija je dodatno potpirena medijima i politikama. Sve izgleda da ima etničku etiketu i nije dano mnogo prostora za prevazilaženje ovih „kutija“. Ljudi se još bore sa ratnim iskustvima bez obzira što su neki od njih kognitivno odlučili da se ne suočavaju s prošlošću.

Ipak mislim da sam ja percipirana kao „strankinja“. Moj osobni interes je da podržim rad CNA na polju izgradnje trajnog mira u bivšoj Jugoslaviji pošto je moj otac iz Hrvatske i pola moje obitelji živi tamo te me to čini dijelom „te priče“. Tijekom mog volonterskog staža u Srbiji, radila sam s izbjeglicama iz Hrvatske i Bosne i ti osobni kontakti bili su mi vrlo impresivni. Kao socijalna radnica za izbjeglice u Njemačkoj bila sam suočena s njihovim pričama i često sam se pitala kakva je situacija za one koji su morali ostati bez mogućnosti da negdje odu ili s kakvom bi se situacijom morali suočiti ako se vrate u svoje zemlje poslije konflikata.

Tako da dolazak u CNA Sarajevo meni znači veliku šansu za učenje i vrlo sam sretna zbog te mogućnosti i nadam se da ću moći korisno doprinjeti misiji organizacije.



konteksti u kojima cna deluje

hrvatska

U posljednjih godinu dana, Hrvatska se i dalje batrga s ispu-
njavanjem uvjeta za nastavak pregovora za ulazak u Eu-
ropsku Uniju. Još jedna godina je na izmaku (nekoć davno,
upravo 2010-a je trebala biti godina ulaska među „europske
veličanstvene“), a poglavljima koje treba zatvoriti nikad kraja.

Bez pretenzija da ću obuhvatiti sve važne događaje koji
su obilježili ovaj period, izdvojila sam one koji su mi ostali
najupečatljiviji u proteklih godinu dana, a tiču se manje ili više
uspješnog rada na zatvaranju „pristupnih poglavlja“.

Slovenci su prestali biti nacionalni neprijatelji broj jedan, koji
koče pregovore za ulazak Hrvatske u Europsku Uniju.

Nakon što su prije nešto više od godinu dana u Trakošćanu
postignuti dogovori oko teritorijalnih granica, po svemu sudeći
nazire se i rješenje problema štediša Ljubljanske banke⁶. I na-
kon što smo gordo obranili svoj komadić hrvatske domovine
u Piranskom zaljevu, ostala su druga velika iskušenja i izazovi
za koje nam Slovenci nisu krivi, nego upravo oni koje zdušno
biramo i ukazujemo im svoje povjerenje u izbornim godinama.

Za ponovo pokretanje pregovora o ulasku u Europsku uniju
potrebno je, popularno rečeno, „završiti s poglavljima“: reforme
pravosuđa, borbe protiv korupcije i organiziranog kriminala,
procesuiranje ratnih zločina te izbjeglička i manjinska pitanja i
puna suradnja s Haškim tribunalom. Puno posla, nema šta. Uko-
liko nam ovi iz Europe u koju gledamo kao u međugorsku gospu
(jer Hrvatska je iznad svega katolička država) ne progledaju kroz
prste, teško da ćemo ikada preći u njihove redove. A to želimo i
tome težimo, tako barem kažu svi - od državnog vrha, lokalnih
političara, crkve u Hrvata, medija, pa do većine puka.

A sad krenimo s pravosuđem i novim zakonima...

U svibnju je Vlada prihvatila novi Zakon o radu (ZOR) koji je
predstavljen kao usklađivanje s europskim standardima, a čije
promjene se tiču produljenja prava iz kolektivnih ugovora. Um-
jesto da se uvedu kazne za poslodavce koji ne isplaćuju plaće
(što je bila inicijativa oporbe) ili potakne donošenje općeg
kolektivnog ugovora za sve radnike u Hrvatskoj, Vlada faktično
upućuje poziv na jednostrano raskidanje kolektivnog ugovora
i time radnike izručuje na milost i nemilost poslodavcima i
pravilnicima o radu koje oni uspostavljaju. Sindikalne udruge su

zajedno s oporbenim strankama i nevladinim
organizacijama organizirale prikupljanje po-
tpisa za referendum o ZOR-u i prikupljeno
je mnogo više od Ustavnim zakonom pro-
pisanih 10% (točnije prikupljeno je 15.95%),
ali Ustavni sud odbio je raspisivanje referen-
duma jer je Vlada povukla prijedlog zakona.
Je li se to Vlada bojala suda svojih građana jer
bi to značilo da se godinu dana ne bi mogao
donijeti zakon suprotan odluci donesenoj
na referendumu ili je ovo samo način da se
nakon nekog vremena ponovo krene u pro-
ceduru s donošenjem novog-starog Zakona
o radu s kozmetičkim izmjenama?!

Možda se rezultati reforme pravosuđa
očituju u tome što je ovu odluku Ustavni sud
donio jako brzo, u roku od mjesec dana dok
se za neka druga delikatna društvena pitanja
o kojima se trebao očitovati bezgranično
odugovlači i izbjegava. Primjerice, još se
uvijek čeka ocjena ustavnosti i zakonitosti
Zakona o pobačaju koji je podnesen ovoj
vrhovnoj instanci 1991, Zakona o umjetnoj
i medicinski potpomognutoj oplodnji (2009)
te Zakona o suradnji s Haagom (2001). Tu
se očitovanje još uvijek čeka, jer je politika
„bolje šutjeti nego dizati graju“, čini se, ipak
ispred ustavnosti i zakonitosti.

*Borba protiv korupcije i organiziranog
kriminala...*

Bivši premijer Ivo Sanader, ponovo se
vratio u saborske klupe, u velikom stilu, reklo
bi se.

Kaže „nevjerovatan razvoj događaja na-

⁶ Raspadom bivše Jugoslavije ostalo je neriješeno pitanje oko 130 000 hrvatskih štediša koji dva desetljeća pokušavaju doći do ušteđevina koje su pohranili u hrvatskim filijalama Ljubljanske banke. Ukupan dug se procjenjuje na oko 150 milijuna eura s kamatama. Do sada je bilo nepoznato tko bi trebao isplatiti taj dug – slovenska država, Nova ljubljanska banka ili netko treći.

kon mog odlaska natjerao me je da se vratim" i nakon šušura među novinarima i ostalim zastupnicima nađena mu je i saborska klupa a on se ponovo, kao medvjed, zaštitio imunitetom saborskog zastupnika.

Ponovo je zasjeo u Sabor nakon što je Hrvatska za njegove vladavine dovedena do ruba gospodarske propasti i nakon teških optužbi za korupciju i kriminal (s najpoznatijom aferom oko Hypo banke) većine direktora državnih poduzeća koji su u pritvoru, a koji su svojevremeno s njim surađivali. Ovog puta zakazali su USKOK (Ured za suzbijanje korupcije i organiziranog kriminala) i DORH (Državno odvjetništvo Republike Hrvatske) što je još jedan dokaz da pred zakonom u ovoj državi nisu svi jednaki.

Bivši potpredsjednik Sanaderove Vlade, Damir Polančec našao se na optuženičkoj klupi zbog plaćanja nepotrebne studije koja je državu koštala pola milijuna kuna. Jaka je to poruka, vidjeti bivšeg potpredsjednika Vlade na optuženičkoj klupi, samo je li to tek početak razračunavanja i borbe protiv korupcije i kriminala u vrhovima vlasti ili je Polančec žrtveni jaganjac i alibi za čitavu koruptivnu strukturu na vrhu države, ostaje da vidimo.

Dok se Vlada i državni vrh pravdaju „da nisu ništa znali“ tvornice i dalje propadaju, ljudi ostaju na ulicama, a po nekim procjenama, milijun građana i građanki Hrvatske gladuje.

Ponižene i iscrpljene radnice tekstilne tvornice Kamensko nedavno su štrajkale gladu i prosvjedovale ispred zagrebačke katedrale jer pet mjeseci nisu primile plaću za svoj rad i nemaju od čega prehraniti sebe i svoje obitelji.

Ministri ih žale, ali kako se radi o privatnoj firmi, ne mogu ništa učiniti, kažu. Ne mogu jer je Vlada odbila prihvatiti oporbeni prijedlog da se zakonski sankcionira neisplaćivanje plaća radnicima, a i zato jer se godinama tolerira neplaćanje poreza i doprinosa od strane određenih privatnika i zato što je sustav postavljen u obrani krupnog kapitala. U našoj državi jako je teško ostvariti osnovno ljudsko pravo na dostojanstveni život, a i ljudske solidarnosti nam fali s obzirom da su podršku radnicama Kamenskog pružili/e samo članovi/ice obitelji i studenti okupljeni oko *Slobodnog filozofskog*.

Ali radnice Kamenskog nisu nikakva iznimka. To je samo još jedna tužna vijest u hrvatskoj svakodnevici o posrnutim i privatizacijom uništenim tvornicama i njihovim radnicima i radnicama.

Borba građana za očuvanje pješačke zone u

Varšavskoj ulici u Zagrebu, čini se da ipak nakon mnogih akcija ipak nije urodila plodom. Opet je interes privatnog investitora *Hoto grupe* bio ispred volje građana. Sve dozvole za gradnju na javnoj površini grada su valjane i dobivene od Gradskog poglavarstva s gradonačelnikom Milanom Bandićem na čelu. Nije pomoglo ni 50 000 potpisa građana koji su prikupljeni i koji su protiv gradnje u Varšavskoj kao ni konstantni prosvjedi građana i živi zidovi oko gradilišta potaknuti od dvije udruge *Pravo na grad* i *Zelena akcija*. Sredinom srpnja policija provodi masovna hapšenja prosvjednika, stabala u Varšavskoj nema, a cijela ulica raskopana je uz snažnu asistenciju interventne policije, koja hapsi 151 osobu.

Gradnja se nastavlja, ali i akcije građana se nastavljaju, i dalje se preispituju načini na koje su pojedine dozvole pribavljene i odobrene, a Varšavska ulica postaje simbol otpora divljem kapitalizmu i prisvajanju javnih dobara i nadajmo je jaka poruka za ubuduće da građani nisu besvjesna biračka masa i da mogu i hoće iskoristiti svoja legalna prava za kontrolu odluka vlasti.

Procesuiranje ratnih zločina, izbjeglička i manjinska prava, suradnja s Haškim tribunalom...

Donesena je i umanjena presuda Branimiru Glavašu za ratne zločine ubijanja Srba u Osijeku.

Prvo mu je Vrhovni sud smanjio presudu sa deset na osam godina zatvora pravdajući to „ratnim okolnostima i padom Vukovara“. Skandalozno je o čemu se u Hrvatskoj naveliko šuti, da su Glavaševa stranka, neki pojedinci iz Osijeka i neki „poduzetnici“ iz Osijeka, skupljali pare i htjeli podmiti suce Vrhovnog suda da Glavašu ukinu presudu za „selotejp“⁷. Skandalozno je tim više što je njemu presuda zaista smanjena, a on sam izjavio je „da ako je stvarno kriv za ubojstva tih ljudi da je trebao biti osuđen na najmanje 20 godina“.

Iako je konačno prestalo negiranje zločina i objelodanjena je namjera i okrutnost, nakon svega ostaje gorak okus u ustima jer se zločini počinjeni tijekom Domovinskog rata i dalje u većini tretiraju kao nešto prepušteno samovolji pojedinaca i slučajno, a bez obzira što je trenutno na odsluženju kazne u Bosni i Hercegovini, kamo je svojevremeno pobjegao kad su krenuli procesi suđenja, Glavaš će i dalje primati saborsku mirovinu.

Presuda hrvatskim generalima Čermaku, Markaču i Gotovini očekuje se u prosincu, pri tom tužilaštvo traži kazne od 17 do 27 godina za zločine nad Srbima tijekom i nakon Oluje.

⁷ Slučaj „selotejp“ je ratni zločin kojeg su počinili pripadnici Hrvatske vojske 1991. godine u Osijeku, pod zapovjedništvom Branimira Glavaša, tadašnjeg zapovjednika obrane grada. Likvidirano je desetak osječkih Srba koji su bačeni u rijeku Dravu. Svi leševi pronađeni su zavezanih ruku i sa selotejpom zaljepljenim preko usta.

Pri tom, prosječan hrvatski građanin je zbunjen i u čudu jer „Oluja je vojno-redarstvena akcija koja nam je donijela slobodu, akcija kojom smo potisnuli „arhetipskog neprijatelja“ i uspostavili kontrolu nad svojim teritorijem“.

Čak je i predsjednik republike Ivo Josipović na prigodnom govoru u Kninu na Dan Domovinske zahvalnosti istakao: „Zbog malena dijela događaja koji nisu bili dobrodošli, često se neopravdano dovodi u pitanje cijela operacija, što je netočno i nije dobro s političkog, povijesnog i moralnog stajališta.“

Malenog dijela događaja koji nisu dobrodošli?! Taj maleni dio događaja koji nije dobrodošao imao je za posljedicu iseljenje cjelokupnog srpskog naroda iz Hrvatske! I dalje stradanja drugih ostaju nepriznata, a zločin ako i bude kažnjen, ostaje društveno neprihvaćen kao zločin.

Retorika državnog vrha dakle nije se promijenila mada se od Josipovića očekivalo više pogotovo na-

kon posjete Ahmićima⁸ koja je izazvala jak tektonski poremećaj na hrvatskoj društvenoj sceni i dala naslutiti prodrmanje svetih nacionalnih istina. Velik je korak bio posjeta Ahmićima i ovim ga ne želim umanjiti, ali opet, na početku puta ka društvenoj katarzi nakon jednog koraka naprijed, spotaknuli smo se na prvom kamenu koji nas je opet vratio tri koraka nazad. Ovakva društvena klima u konačnici koči trajno rješavanje imovinskih, statusnih i drugih prava izbjeglih Srba.

Stoga što reći za kraj?!

Europa, evo nas iako smo u gospodarskom rasulu, ekonomski rast nam je minimalan, vanjski dug nećemo vratiti za još pet generacija, birokratski aparat nam je spor, sudstvo korumpirano, milion ljudi je na ivici gladi, nezaposlenost raste iz mjeseca u mjesec, ali bolji smo u odnosu na Srbiju, Bosnu, Crnu Goru, Makedoniju i ine... primi nas jer mi smo tvoje čedo...

Sanja Deanković

crna gora bez alternative

Na već antologijsko pitanje: „Jesi li za Mila ili Momira?“ najrjeđi, ali svakako jedan od najoriginalnijih odgovora bio je: „Jesam!“ . Osim najčešćeg i najbanalnijeg objašnjenja kojim se time samo želi izbjeći dalja rasprava, postoji i ono po kojem se iza ovakvog odgovora krije odbijanje ponuđenog izbora, nepristajanje na izbor, negiranje ponuđene alternative kao jedine moguće i presudne. O kakvom se izboru, alternativu, u Crnoj Gori radi? Najprije, izbor koji se nudi gotovo uvijek je lažan; niz alternativa između kojih se građani/ke demokratskim putem mogu slobodno opredijeliti – ne postoji. Jedino što mogu jeste – a to je ujedno i argument od strane onih od kojih lažne alternative i dolaze – da između dva zla izaberu manje. Divan izbor, dva zla, prinuđenost da se izabere zlo u svakom slučaju.

Upravo se i ovaj izvještaj može bazirati na činjenici da je u protekloj godini Crnu Goru krasio samo niz najnevjerojatnijih lažnih alternativa, na koje se, nažalost, navedeni odgovor koji bi ih *a priori* odbacivao, odgovor kojim se ne bi pristajalo na takve alternative, jako rijetko čuo. Radikalnije postavljeno, gotovo sve što se u Crnoj Gori radi od tolike je važnosti da jednostavno NEMA ALTERNATIVU.

EU bez alternative

Sve raspoložive javne i tajne snage u Crnoj Gori su

aktivirane kako bi se proces integriranja u EU uspješno i što prije završio, a taj proces naravno da nema alternativu. Pošto su sa manje ili više uspjeha, kao i iz više pokušaja, sa nešto više tajnosti nego što je to u demokratskim društvima dozvoljeno, odgovorili na Upitnik, crnogorski zvaničnici sa fanatičnom radošću iz dana u dan najavljuju **moгуćnost dobijanja statusa kandidata** za ućlanjenje u EU. Nevjerovatan uspjeh mlade crnogorske demokratije! A jedno tako veliko pitanje sa sobom mora nositi i činjenicu prema kojoj se neophodna stabilnost i sigurnost države najprije može ostvariti kroz ućlanjenje u NATO, tako da kampanja o prikljućivanju NATO alijansi sve više uzima maha. Skupština je još prošle godine odobrila odlazak crnogorskih vojnika u Avganistan, tako da se ovih dana već sprema drugi kontigent koji će da zamijeni prvi, što znaći da se već skoro godinu dana i crnogorskim životima brani revitalizacija demokratije u prijateljskom Avganistanu, a da pritom od ćlanstva u NATO ili, ne daj Bože, u EU (što se, naravno, servira u paketu) nema još ni govora. Ono što najviše brine je da, osim rijetkih usamljenih negodovanja, motivisanih najćešće niskim i sitnim politićkim poenima, organizovanje anti-NATO ili bilo kakve anti-militaristićke kampanje, u Crnoj Gori nema.

⁸ U mjestu Ahmići, u središnjoj Bosni dogodio se ratni zloćin koji su poćinili pripadnici Hrvatskog Vijeća Obrane (HVO) nad bošnjaćkim civilima, 16. travnja 1993. godine kada je ubijeno 116 osoba.

Crnogorska nacija bez alternative

Ministarstvo prosvjete i nauke Crne Gore (odnosno, novoizabrani i, prema svemu sudeći, za-samo-tu-namjeru-postavljeni ministar Stijepović) donijelo je i predložilo na usvajanje novi Zakon o obrazovanju kojim se u svim obrazovnim institucijama crnogorski jezik kao službeni jezik mora izučavati. Čini se da se kompletiranje Crne Gore, odnosno crnogorskog nacionalizma nastavlja velikim koracima: posle obnovljene nezavisnosti – **teritorija**, slijedi Zakon o obrazovanju – **jezik**, i najvjerojatnije zakon o vjeroispovjesti – **crkva**, tako da se posljednji komunistički bastion na Balkanu, uspješno, po susjedskim receptima, transformiše u **najmlađi nacionalizam** u regionu. Kao i svaki drugi, i ovaj naš mali razmaženi nacionalizam se mora hraniti mržnjom prema onom drugom, a to je u ovom trenutku prije svega srpski, „okupacioni i zavojevački“ narod u Crnoj Gori. Ljudska prava se ne mogu do kraja ispoštovati, jer zaboga – crnogorski jezik nema alternativu, tako da preko 60% građana/ki Crne Gore koji govore srpskim, preko 10% onih koji govore albanskim, kao i oni koji govore bosanskim i hrvatskim – od 1. septembra moraju učiti, suprotno Ustavu građanske CG, crnogorski jezik, kao jezik u službenoj upotrebi. Pokrenuto je niz kampanja i reagovanja od strane gotovo cjelokupne lokalne i međunarodne zajednice, i izvršeni pritisci na predsjednika države da ne potpiše predlog Zakona, ali bez uspjeha. Kao posledica svega ovoga, već se krenulo sa inicijativama od strane srpskog, hrvatskog i bošnjačkog naroda u Crnoj Gori, u kojima se zahtijeva organizovanje nastave na maternjem jeziku i to u onim opštinama gdje ovi narodi ili imaju većinu ili ih ima u znatnom broju, ali paralelno i sa inicijativama crnogorskog naroda u Srbiji za uvođenjem nastave na crnogorskom jeziku u nekim mjestima u Srbiji. Ništa neobično, rekao bi neko ko čita ovaj izvještaj, a ko ne zna da se radi o istom jeziku. Eh, taj nacionalizam uspijeva da množenjem 1 sa 0 dobije 2 i da dijeljenjem 1 sa 1 dobije 3! Možete samo naslutiti od kakvih će sve množenja, dijeljenja i rezultata, primjenom ovog Zakona, u već duboko podijeljenom crnogorskom društvu doći, a što je najgore – sa njima se kreće od malena, od prvog razreda osnovne škole.

Nasilje bez alternative

U 2010.-u godinu mnogi crnogorski radnici ušli su siromašno, bez sredstava za najelementarnije životne potrebe, u beskrajnim dugovima i bez volje za bilo čime, ali su najupečatljiviji od svih bili rudari koji su štrajkovali na svom radnom mjestu – u jami. Njihova agonija – bez hrane, vode i sunca – trajala je danima,

dok im se premijer lično nije obratio pismom i obećao im isplatu zaostalih zarada. Koliko mu se i tada, kao i uvijek, moglo vjerovati, pokazala je radikalizacija protesta, kada su rudari blokirali ulaz u rudnik, a zauzvrat dobili pendrecima po leđima i glavi – od strane vazda spremne njegove policije. Ta ista policija je nedavno u jednoj budvanskoj diskoteci izvršila „običnu“ raciju na taj način što je demolirala veći dio inventara i nasilno se ponašala prema gostima, gurajući ih, udarajući i obarajući na pod. Cio „performans“ je bio toliko autentičan, uključujući maske i puno naoružanje, da su neki Englezi i Francuzi pomislili da se u diskoteci nalazi grupa terorista, obavijena eksplozivom, pa da ih se, je li, valja riješiti. Opet, ta ista policija, gurala je, iznosila (držeći za ruke i noge) i uhapsila tridesetak stanovnika Golije (mjesto blizu granice sa BiH), koji su htjeli da mirnim protestom spriječe vojsku da u njihovom rodnom kraju uništi višak naoružanja (zanimljiv odabir lokacije: naseljeno mjesto, pritom puno flore i faune) i time zagadi predio, poznat po svojoj ekoljepoti. I tako je to... A kakvu alternativu očekivati dok god napadi građanina na političara i gradonačelnika na građanina ne znače ništa i dok god Vrhovna državna tužiteljka misli i govori da „kriminalci imaju moral i da je poštuju jer znaju da neće nikoga nepravedno optužiti“!? Oj, bezbjedna naša domovino !!

Suočavanje sa prošlošću ni kao alternativa

Slučajevi Kaluđerski Laz, logor Morinj, kao i bombardovanje Dubrovnika nastavljaju da se odvijaju po starom dobrom receptu: direktni počinioci su na optuženičkim klupama, dok se ljudi iz tadašnjeg političkog i vojnog vrha, a koji su najodgovorniji za ono što se dešavalo ni ne pominju. Od najavljivanog osnivanja dokumentacionog centra, institucije koja bi se bavila prikupljanjem dokumenata i materijala iz ratnog perioda i intenzivirala rad na suočavanju sa prošlošću – nema ništa, tako da kada se i pomene taj proces, kao da se pomene japansko-ruski rat (1904 - 1905), u kojem je Crna Gora, istina, učestvovala (na strani Rusije, naravno), ali to je bilo toliko davno i tako daleko, kao i pravedno i časno ratovanje, ali i na jednom više simboličkom nego na realnom nivou, da se svaka priča o tome smatra apsurdnom i bajkovitom.

Životni standard bez alternative

Posmatrajući spisak novih državljana Crne Gore: Šinavatra, Šarić, možda Mišković, Pamela Anderson, možda Abramović, pomisli se da se konačno plan kojim se preko visokoelitnog turizma u CG privlači ogroman strani kapital, polako ostvaruje. Međutim, ako se zna

da je za dobijanje ovog državljanstva potrebno izdvojiti pola miliona eura, kao i malo bolje pročitati biografije novih Crnogoraca i Crnogorki, jasno je o kakvom se dijelu planete zemlje radi. Naime, nekada najljepši zatvor na svijetu, sada je najbogatija tvrđava i skrovište, i to za prekookeanske bosove i narko-dilere. Slučaj Šarić, koji je srećom ipak državljanin Srbije, iako je rođen u Pljevljima i iako ima pola Crne Gore u svom vlasništvu, ostaje i dalje enigma evropskoj crnogorskoj policiji, ali i policijama regiona, dok će sprega ovog kartela svjet-

skih razmjera sa državnim strukturama ostati misterija, kako izgleda, za sva vremena. Kada se svemu doda par „sitnijih“ mafijaških obračuna koji su usred bijela dana na trgovima primorskih gradova rezultirali brutalnim ubistvima, dugo i vrijedno pripremani i izgrađivani međunarodni imidž Crne Gore, kao jedne stabilne, prosperitetne i nadasve sigurne turističke destinacije vrtoglavo raste, o čemu svjedoči „nikad bolja sezona“, pa stoga dobro nam došli – BLIZU SMO!

Radomir Radević i Kristina Bojanović

srbija: suverenitet! ali integralan, molim.

Dvije imenice, *integritet* i *suverenitet* (uz lepezu pratećih epiteta), su neprikosnoveno vladale javnim prostorom Srbije tokom ove godine. Te dvije riječi se nalaze u temeljima skupštinskih odluka, u medijskim naslovima, u izjavama zvaničnika i zvaničnica, objašnjavajući sve naše prilike i neprilike. Dovoljno je posegnuti za njima da bi se neusaglašenim zapušila usta i time utihnula diskusija. Usaglašenosti se teži, ona je sama sebi svrha i cilj, usaglašenost će nas, građane i građanke ove države, poštediti bezrazložnih muka preispitivanja ne samo koraka predvodnika današnjice, već i olakšati nošenje s bolnim tačkama iz prošlosti.

A koja dešavanja u političkoj areni bismo usaglašenošću uspjeli i uspjele amortizovati, progutati i smireno krenuti u još jedan običan dan, simulirajući normalnost?

Međunarodni sud pravde, dajući savjetodavno mišljenje o pitanju koje mu je postavljeno od strane srpskih vlasti o tome da li je Deklaracija o nezavisnosti Kosova u saglasnosti sa međunarodnim pravom, je dao potvrđan odgovor. Reakcija u Srbiji je bila vrlo burna. Tumačena je na razne načine, ali ju je dominantan diskurs svodio na, u osnovi, političku odluku. I predsjednik Tadić i ministar spoljnih poslova Jeremić su poručili da se zvanična politika neće promijeniti, kao i da Srbija nikada neće priznati nezavisnost Kosova, potvrđujući time sklonost ovdašnjih političara i političarki da apsolutistički ne određuju samo sadašnjost građana i građanki, već i njihovu budućnost. Odgovor na sporno mišljenje je bio brz, efikasan i (donekle) usaglašen. Prvobitnu Rezoluciju o Kosovu⁹, koja bi bila predata Generalnoj skupštini UN, je podržala znatna većina u Skupštini Srbije a rješavanje višedecenijskog problema je prebačeno opet na drugo polje (iz domena

Međunarodnog suda pravde u domen Savjeta bezbjednosti). U međuvremenu je izglasana Rezolucija izmijenjena u direktnim pregovorima sa zvaničnicima/ama Evropske unije i u Generalnoj Skupštini UN-a prihvaćena jednoglasno, odnosno aklamacijom. Saradnja najviših zvaničnika/ca je pozdravljena od strane međunarodnih faktora, optimistički se najavljuju nove runde pregovora između srpskih i kosovskih zvaničnika/ca uz međunarodno posredovanje. Ostaje upitno da li će se ovim pregovorima pristupiti drugačije od dosadašnjih (najavljuje se rješavanje praktičnih pitanja koja su manje bolna od pitanja statusa, za početak) i koliko će pregovaračka strategija razmatrati realne probleme tamošnjeg društva (kao što su ograničeno kretanje, siromaštvo i nezaposlenost, između ostalog) a koliko će biti odraz srednjovjekovnih nacionalnih mitova i narativa.

Najznačajniji ovogodišnji događaj u vezi s ratnim dešavanjima iz devedesetih je bilo skupštinsko usvajanje Deklaracije o Srebrenici¹⁰, petnaest godina nakon počinjenog genocida nad tamošnjim bošnjačkim stanovništvom od strane Vojske Republike Srpske pod komandom Ratka Mladića. Politički teren je pripreman dugo, uz mnogo konsultacija, da bi se obezbjedila skupštinska većina za usvajanje Deklaracije (127 od 250) nakon trinaestočasovne rasprave. Tokom pripreme Deklaracije je riječ *genocid* zamijenjena sa riječju *zločin*, a primjetno je bilo nastojanje da se naglasi da će i zločini nad srpskim stanovništvom biti tematizirani deklaracijom koja će uslijediti. Deklaracija je u regionu uglavnom ocijenjena kao pozitivan korak službene politike, a sam njen tekst¹¹ se poziva na presudu Međunarodnog suda pravde u sporu po tužbi BiH protiv Srbije i Crne Gore kojom je Srbija proglašena

⁹ http://www.b92.net/info/vesti/index.php?yyyy=2010&mm=07&dd=27&nav_id=448048

¹⁰ http://www.b92.net/info/vesti/index.php?yyyy=2010&mm=03&dd=31&nav_id=421440

¹¹ http://www.slobodnaevropa.org/content/Skupstina_Srbije_Deklaracij_Srebrenica/1998622.html

odgovornom za propust da spriječi genocid u Srebrenici kao i da kazni ili izruči Haškom tribunalu počinioce zločina, a u prvom redu Ratka Mladića. Pored jačanja neophodne političke volje koja bi konačno rezultirala u hapšenju Ratka Mladića i Gorana Hadžića, pred nama je i proces spoznavanja uloge Srbije u ratovima devedesetih godina prošlog vijeka koji bi odrazio pošten odnos prema prošlosti a koji ne bi bio isključivo rezultat pritisa i uslovljavanja međunarodne zajednice.

Posljednja mobilizacija masa nam je upriličena od strane države poslije smrti 44og patrijarha Srpske pravoslavne crkve Pavla, "skromnog" čovjeka koji je "odbijao sve svetovne počasti". Proglašena je trodnevna žalost, a mediji su veoma pomno ispratili smrt Patrijarha koji je na taj položaj došao 1990. godine, vješto izbjegavajući osvrt na ratove devedesetih i ulogu Srpske pravoslavne crkve i njenog vođe u njima.¹²

Uz sabijanje redova ide i obilježavanje, tj. definisanje teritorija. Predsjednik Tadić tako govori o sudaru kultura i civilizacija, sve zabrinut za „očuvanje našeg hrišćanskog identiteta“.¹³ Pošta Srbije naplaćuje obavezne markice za doprinos izgradnji Hrama Sv. Save u Beogradu. Donose se deklaracije o crkvenonarodnom jedinstvu i grade grandiozni krstovi (u Nišu i Kragujevcu). Kad god se zajednica (samo)definiše na osnovu etničkih, vjerskih i heteronormativnih matrica pritom ostavljajući malo prostora za priznavanje i uvažavanje drugih identiteta, nasilje prema drugima je teško spriječiti ili čak adekvatno na njega odgovoriti. Ovogodišnji primjer za ovu tezu je nasilje koje se odvijalo u Jabuci, malom mjestu kraj Pančeva. Nakon ubistva maloljetnika srpske nacionalnosti od strane maloljetnog Roma došlo je do izljeva nasilja i govora mržnje protiv romske populacije koji su trajali nekoliko dana prije nego što je policija reagovala. Velika doza straha kod Roma/kinja je još uvijek prisutna, uz poneke pozitivne pomake u rješavanju ovog problema.¹⁴ Dodatni primjeri su i fizički napadi na drugačije (primjer njemačkog turista u Beogradu, zato što je "izgledao gay"¹⁵ kao i Teofila Pančića,¹⁶ kolumnistu i pisca koji se redovno javno obračunava s raznim formama fašizma u našem društvu). Napadači su u oba slučaja ubrzo uhapšeni, što ohrabruje. Preostalo je da sud-

stvo uradi svoj posao efikasno i, bez političkih kompromisa, pošalje jasnu poruku da država ne stoji iza ovakvih napada, direktno ili indirektno, već da ih oštro sankcioniše. U Pančićevom slučaju se nada u transformaciju sudstva izjalovila. Napadačima je krivično djelo prekalifikovano a presudom su osuđeni ispod zakonskog minimuma.¹⁷

U toku ove godine je bila primjetna povećana aktivnost i brojni sastanci političkog vrha zemalja u regionu, sa kojih su poslate pozitivne i ohrabrujuće poruke našim društvima o otvaranju dijaloga i zajedničkom rješavanju kontroverznih tema (međusobne tužbe za genocid Hrvatske i Srbije, na primjer).

Primjetno je više političke volje koja se ulaže u povećanje vidljivosti problema s kojima se suočavaju seksualne manjine u Srbiji. Za razliku od prošle godine, kada je Parada ponosa bila otkazana zbog manjka političke volje da se učesnicima/ama garantuje bezbjednost, Tadić je ove godine primio delegaciju LGBT organizacija i podržao održavanje Parade ponosa, ocjenjujući je kao "civilizacijski iskorak".¹⁸ Nadajmo se da ova podrška nije samo na deklarativnom nivou i da će se Parada ponosa održati bezbjedno ove godine.

Vizna liberalizacija za Srbiju, Makedoniju i Crnu Goru je stupila na snagu 19. decembra prošle godine. Konačno dobijena sloboda kretanja nam je uljepšala praznike i olakšala disanje. Ali, ko sve može da iskoristi tu slobodu kretanja? Svjetska ekonomska kriza (koja se često koristi kao eufemizam za ratno i poratno ekonomsko urušavanje, pljačkašku tranziciju, tajkunsko enormno bogaćenje, sve veće klasne nejednakosti i uništavanje socijalnih politika) nam se našla već nekoliko puta iza leđa, uvjeravaju nas premijer i ministar ekonomije. U međuvremenu se, po diktatu Međunarodnog monetarnog fonda, smanjuju socijalna i javna izdavanja, mijenjaju i dopunjuju, tj. pooštavaju, Zakon o radu i Zakon o penzijskom i invalidskom osiguranju, a to sve dok su plate najniže u regionu¹⁹ a liste za narodne kuhinje su sve duže.²⁰

Vlada Srbije je donijela odluku o konačnoj obustavi služenja vojnog roka koja stupa na snagu 1. januara 2011. godine. Sretna Nova godina!

Nenad Porobić

¹² <http://www.dw-world.de/dw/article/0,,4896408,00.html?maca=bos-rss-bos-all-1475-rdf>

¹³ http://f1.b92.net/info/komentari.php?yyyy=2010&mm=06&dd=30&nav_id=442203

¹⁴ <http://www.pescanik.net/content/view/5430/61/>

¹⁵ http://www.slobodnaevropa.org/content/beograd_ada_ciganlija_napad_kriminal_nemci_zivanovic/2127184.html

¹⁶ <http://www.vreme.com/cms/view.php?id=942901>

¹⁷ <http://www.blic.rs/Vesti/Hronika/208485/Pancic-Ovakva-presuda-je-problem-drzave>

¹⁸ <http://www.blic.rs/Vesti/Drustvo/196240/Tadic-podrzao-odrzavanje-Parade-ponosa>

¹⁹ http://www.b92.net/biz/vesti/region.php?yyyy=2010&mm=05&dd=24&nav_id=433405

²⁰ <http://www.politika.rs/rubrike/Drustvo/Ljajic-Liste-za-narodne-kuhinje-sve-duze.lt.html>

kosovo

Ako se visoka politika posmatra iz ugla običnog građanina Kosova, može se reći da na Kosovu u poslednjih godinu dana nema nekih velikih promena: za zvanični Beograd, Kosovo je i dalje deo Srbije na osnovu UN Rezolucije 1244 usvojene juna 1999. godine po kojoj se priznaje suverenitet Srbije nad Kosovom. Za Prištinu, Kosovo je nezavisna država od februara 2008.

Pored ovakve visoke politike i činjenice da je Kosovo kao nezavisnu državu do sada priznala 71 zemlja, (ali je ostalo nepriznato od ostatka sveta izjavio bi Beograd po istom pitanju), na terenu i u praksi, životi običnih ljudi ostaju isti. Stopa nezaposlenosti od 41 procenat je ogromna. Nju će povećati i povratak romskih izbeglica iz zemalja Evrope. Izgleda da će ovaj prisilni povratak biti prvi do sada uspešni povratak na Kosovo, imajući u vidu da se od 200.000 raseljenih ne-Albanaca, do sada na svoje ognjište vratilo par hiljada. Poslednji primer je povratničko selo Žač u kome do sada dvanaest povratnika doživljava gotovo svakodnevno kamenovanje, a ne biva povređeno samo iz razloga što se kamenice svakoga puta odbiju od šatora u kojima povratnici čekaju obnovu svojih kuća. Pored svega pomenutoga da dodam da se nivo korupcije ne smanjuje, a tu je i trgovina ljudima. Problemi su brojni i o njima se diskutovalo u nekoliko navrata, ali očigledno je da su pokušaji ostali bez većih uspeha.

Ako izađemo iz ljuštore običnog čoveka i zagrebeno malo dublje u situaciju, naići ćemo na ono što je aktuelno poslednjih meseci, a biće sigurno i naredne godine imajući u vidu sporost kad se dođe do ovakvih pitanja: nakon nedavnog usvajanja Rezolucije u UN-u koja je ujedinila sve članice Evropske Unije po pitanju Kosova doći će opet do pregovora i ponovnog dijaloga između Prištine i Beograda. O čemu će se voditi pregovori, gde, kako i kada još uvek je nepoznanica. Ono što je sigurno je da dve strane imaju različite poglede gotovo na svako pitanje, tako da sedeti za istim stolom neće biti lako. Novi pregovori bi pružili mogućnost za obe strane da reše neke od problema, prevaziđu neke od prepreka i postanu jače na putu ka integracijama u Evropu. Dijalog između dve strane bi trebalo da započne već pre Nove godine. Brisel se ponudio da bude domaćin pregovora a UN da bude posmatrač. Priština želi EU i SAD kao posmatrače a Beograd bi želeo da u pregovore budu uključene i Kina i Rusija. Kako će se sastaviti kockice ostaje da se reši, ali je gotovo sigurno da će dve strane same odlučiti o tome

gde, kako, kad i ko. Oprečni stavovi postoje i u tome koji politički lideri sa obe strane treba da budu lideri pregovora, a ovoga puta međunarodna strana bi trebalo da po prvi put bude samo posmatrač i da uopšte ne učestvuje u donošenju odluka. Da li su dve strane uopšte spremne da odluke donose same?

O čemu će se pregovarati? Priština ne želi da pregovara o statusu ili o teritorijalnom integritetu. Neki od međunarodnih aktera smatraju da se ovo pitanje ne može izbeći i da je ono ključ i za rešenje ostalih tema, a neki drugi smatraju da treba započeti sa manje važnim temama a onda preći na krupnije. Pitanje koje svakako zahteva najviše pažnje posle statusa jesu severne opštine u kojima nije uspostavljena albanska vlast i u kojima posle rata nije došlo do veće promene u tom smeru, niti do bilo kakvog vida integracije Srba. Čak se šuška i o podeli na osnovu koje bi sever pripao Srbiji. Takođe se pominje i druga mogućnost, na osnovu koje bi došlo do zamene teritorije sa preševskom dolinom u kojoj većinom živi albansko stanovništvo.

Pitanje od podjednake važnosti za srpsku stranu je pitanje bezbednosti manastira i crkava Srpske pravoslavne crkve na Kosovu. Imajući u vidu rušenje objekata SPC tokom rata 1999. godine pa opet marta 2004. srpska strana će najverovatnije zahtevati ekstrateritorijalnost kao i nastavak prisustva NATO snaga oko najvažnijih objekata, iako je NATO najavio da će povući snage KFOR-a već sledeće godine.

Za Prištinu su ova dva pitanja veliki izazov i Priština bi radije pregovarala o carini, trgovini, transportu, saobraćaju i ostalim više tehničkim i lakšima pitanjima. Kao što je već jasno iz izloženoga, međunarodna zajednica će najverovatnije podržati za početak predlog da se razgovara o ovim pitanjima da bi se uspostavilo poverenje između dveju strana a da bi se nakon toga prešlo na važnija gore navedena pitanja. Do sada je na Kosovu i o Kosovu bilo raznih pregovora: o standardima pre statusa, zatim se pod pokroviteljstvom UN-a došlo do pregovora o 6 tačaka, zatim tu je i Ahtisarijev plan sproveden samo 50% za tri godine. Da bi se postigao kakav takav uspeh mora se pregovarati o svim problemima ponovo ispočetka. Ukoliko se ne rešavaju svi problem, na Kosovu ćemo i dalje imati takozvani zamrznuti konflikt.

Do sada se malo pominje da li će se razgovarati o pitanjima koja mogu da dovedu do pomirenja, kao što su pronalazak nestalih lica ili 200.000 nerešenih sudskih slučajeva. Za običnog građanina ovo je od

suštinske važnosti, jer da bismo živeli jedni pored drugih bez mržnje (prestali smo da verujemo da je zajednički život moguć pa sada sve više pominjemo komšijske odnose), moramo da rešimo ono što našu bol još uvek postavlja izvan i iznad svega.

Za običnog čoveka važnije je prehranjivati porodicu, a nekom drugom običnom čoveku drugačije etničke pripadnosti važno je imati slobodu kretanja, doći do potrebne dokumentacije na materinjem jeziku, kako očuvati identitet itd. Svima je podjednako dosadilo da se situacija ne menja i da društvo tapka u

mestu. Kosovu je važno da dobije stolicu u UN-u. Srbiji je važno da što manje zemalja prizna Kosovo. Kosovu je važno da ga što više zemalja prizna, između ostalog i zbog mogućnosti učestvovanja u sportskim svetskim i evropskim događanjima. Koliko se ovo tiče običnog građanina na Kosovu, osim što moramo priznati da sve liči na jednu beskrajnu fudbalsku utakmicu pa ne možemo reći da je bilo kada dosadno. Udarci su redovni sa obe strane a loptu predstavlja jedan prosečan običan građanin Kosova.

Gorica Šćepanović

makedonija: čekamo...

Upravo bi tako glasio najtačniji opis dešavanja u Makedoniji za proteklu godinu. Mi čekamo... nešto. Svako od nas ponaosob je u iščekivanju nečeg. U maniru najboljih vremena Jugoslovenskog „budućeg“ komunizma. Onog komunizma koji smo takođe čekali. Kao što Neo u *Matrix-u* uporno čeka onaj voz na staniци. A ne zna ni kada će doći, ni da li će uopšte doći.

No, da vidimo, šta tačno mi to sada u Makedoniji čekamo?

Čekamo da se EU i NATO urazume

I prošlu je godinu spor sa Grčkom oko imena naše države dominirao u javnom životu. Iako se ništa bitno u pregovorima koji se vode pod pokroviteljstvom UN-a nije pomerilo. Grčka strana insistira na novom imenu za opštu upotrebu (*erga-omnes*). Makedonska strana pokušava da se izbori za tzv. dvojni formulu – jedno ime u odnosima sa Grčkom, ustavno ime za međunarodnu upotrebu (potporu za svoj stav nalazi u faktu da nas je 128 država sveta već priznalo pod ustavnim imenom – Republika Makedonija). Oficijalni stavovi EU i NATO predstavnika su poprilično „rezignirani“ i jedni i drugi upućuju na bilateralne pregovore ili na proces koji se vodi pod pokroviteljstvom UN-a, što je, čini se, jedno te isto. Jer se i unutar tog procesa sve svodi na bilateralni dogovor dveju zemalja uz posredstvo medijatora. Bez obzira na međunarodno pravo. Da, i pisac ovih redova smatra kako se radi o iracionalnom konfliktu, van međunarodnih pravnih normi, ovo je konflikt između izrazito neravnopravnih strana u kome slabija strana trpi samo štete kako god da se okrene. Sadašnja Makedonska Vlada još uvek stoji na stavu da će bilo kakav mogući sporazum sa Grčkom oko promene imena države dati na javni referendum. Sudeći po javnom raspoloženju, takav referendum ima minorne šanse za „uspeh“. Što znači, ostajemo tu gde

jesmo. Čekamo. „Mi jednostavno trebamo saopštiti našim međunarodnim partnerima da mi ostajemo posvećeni vrednostima EU, ali prosto ne možemo prihvatiti ovakav diktat i na ovakav način promeniti ime države. Mi im jednostavno trebamo reći, tu smo i čekamo.“ Znači, čekamo.

Čekamo ljepše i starije barokno Skopje

Još je prošle godine Vlada bombastično najavila svoj megalomanski projekat o izgradnji novog baroknog centra Skopja, popularno nazvan „Skopje 2014“ (<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iybmt-iLysU>). Nakon prvotnih žustrih reakcija kao i fizičkih sukoba u centru grada (kada su na primer bili napadnuti studenti arhitekture - *Prva Arhi Brigada* zbog toga što su protestovali protiv vladine ideje da izgradi pravoslavni hram državnim novcem, između ostalog), stvari su nastavljene kako su i bile planirane. Centar Skopja dramatično menja lik i to traje evo već godinu dana. „Albanski skopski“ odgovor je skoro bio predstavljen u vidu projekta o trgu Skenderbeg. Neki bi rekli da umesto jednog velikog trga u centru jedinstvenog grada koji se prostire na obe obale reke Vardar, a zove se Skopje, već dobijamo dva zasebna trga obilato ukrašena sa nekoliko desetina skulptura „svojih“ nacionalnih heroja. Jedan na levom, drugi na desnom bregu Vardara. Ostatak države, je čini mi se već izabrao svoje favorite, pa se post-postmoderni slučaj barokno Skopje 2014 posmatra maltene kao fudbalska utakmica. Svako navija za svoje. Sa strane.

Čekamo da „izdajice“ ili „patrioti“ shvate da su pogriješili i da se pokaju

U prošlogodišnjem izveštaju sam pisao kako je javnost u Makedoniji polarizovana do uzavrelosti. Sada već vri. Dramatična je (koliko i stupidna) lakoća kojom

su se u javnosti ugurale podele na takozvane „patriote“ i „izdajice“ (prošle su godine aktuelni bili „sorosoidi“ i „makedonoidi“). Ovo je ujedno i tema za čiji se račun isporučuje i najveći nivo nasilja u javnosti. Jedan je TV voditelj u emisiji hladno izjavio kako izdajice i zaslužuju govor mržnje, jer se i ne može drugačije sa njima. I u laganoj šali dodao da je njihova likvidacija možda i sledeći korak. Pošto je od strane nekih aktivista optužen da javno širi govor mržnje, odmah je uputio privatnu tužbu za klevetu jer mu je povređen ugled. Postalo je normalno da za doslovce svaku temu postoje dva stava. Sve se može svesti na odnos prema očuvanju (ili izdaji) imena države i odmah se zauzima radikalno tvrd stav na tu temu. Po jedan za svaku od ove dve grupe. A, drugih grupa i nema. Bar ne u javnosti. O pojedincima/kama i da ne govorimo. Kao što nema ni srednjeg puta ili bar osnovne komunikacije između ove dve suprotstavljene strane. Interesantno je to kako kompletno identične izjave date u sličnim kontekstima mogu imati dramatično suprotna tumačenja u javnosti. Kada recimo predsednik države priča da se zalaže za razumni kompromis sa Grčkom, on je nacionalni heroj. Kada to isto kaže, recimo, predsednik opozicije on je automatski izdajica. U najmanju ruku. Naša vidljiva javnost je mnogo mudra.

Mi ustvari čekamo da se javnost konačno pojavi javno

Šta to znači? Našu su javnost kidnapovale političke elite i instalirale *ad-hoc* organizacije koje su spremne simulirati sve što treba, gde god treba. Grupe građana često demonstriraju ispred kancelarija opozicije. (Šta li traže od opozicije? Da nestane?). Druge grupe građana svaki javni autentični izraz nezadovoljstva uguravaju u dnevno-politički diskurs kao da je to pitanje života ili smrti. (Čak i kada su zahtevi dugoročni. Zašto?). Malo se autentičnih organizacija uspelo održati. Sada vred

spomenuti nezavisnu studentsku (konačno!) udrugu *Slobodni Indeks* kao jednu od tih. I sve bi ovo bilo u nekakvom redu da je društvena angažiranost otvoreno i iskreno promovirana i prihvaćena kao normalna politička aktivnost. Ali mi živimo u društvu koje je sasvim lagano kompletni prostor politike, u cijeloj širini shvaćanja te reči, ostavilo isključivo političkim partijama. To je njihov ekskluzivni prostor. „Fuj, politika, to je prljavo, nečasno.“ „Mi smo nepolitički aktivisti“ su samo neke od izjava koje se često čuju. I onda se svi izbezume kada se nečije javno zalaganje podudara ili suprotstavlja sa ustoličenim i jedinim nosiocima politike – političkim partijama.

A, da, u najnovijem izveštaju „Reportera bez granica“, u pogledu slobode medija Makedonija je rangirana na 68 mesto od 178 rangiranih. Pad je dramatičan imajući u vidu da smo tek prošle godine bili rangirani na 34 mjestu (a prethodne na 42). To su isti oni mediji koji odlučuju koji će od predstavnika gorespomenute „javnosti“ dobiti prostor u eteru da promovira svoje ideje i da utiče na diskurs. Nema se šta reći više.

I na kraju, mi još uvek čekamo da se završi svetska ekonomska kriza

Ustvari, budimo iskreni, to možda baš i ne čekamo. Jer, čime bismo onda pravdali da 31,5% stanovništva živi u siromaštvu i da je skoro 30% građana oficijalno nezaposleno? A mi se u međuvremenu tako silno sukobljavamo, i mrzimo jedni druge, i pretimo jedni drugima, i... za sva druga pitanja.

P.S. Ova silna čekanja su očito uticala i na mene. I ja sam dugo čekao da se ovaj tekst nekako magično sam napiše. Imao sam najbolje izgovore. Izvinjavam se zbog toga dragim prijateljima/cama iz CNA koji su me strpljivo čekali. Na kraju sam ipak morao, razumljivo je li, sam sjesti za kompjuter.

Boro Kitanoski

bosna i hercegovina: dostojanstveno u mestu

Za početak ovogodišnjeg teksta o kontekstu rada i života u BiH jedna dobra vest: Bosna i Hercegovina još uvek postoji. Bosna je još uvek živa. Kljakava – ali živa. Uprkos, kako onima mnogima koji joj žele brzu i sigurnu propast, tako i onima koji joj se kunu u večnu ljubav. Među prvima je, u žestokoj konkurenciji, svakako najistaknutiji i u protekloj godini bio Milorad Dodik, bivši premijer i novoizabrani predsednik „Srpske“ (u

prevodu: predsednik BiH entiteta poznatog pod imenom Republika Srpska). Među drugima, takođe brojnim i u svojoj ljubavi neobuzdanima, poseban utisak ostavio je Željko Komšić, novi-stari član predsjedništva BiH iz reda hrvatskog naroda, inače izabran većinskom voljom Bošnjaka/inja, (i „ostalnih“). Tako se na primeru BiH možemo ponovo uveriti da ljubav ubija skoro podjednako efikasno kao i mržnja. A kada to imamo u vidu

moguće je razumeti zašto u rečenici kojom počinje ovaj tekst nema nimalo ironije. No kako bi se bolje razumeo kontekst ovih reči potrebno je napraviti mali pregled šta je to sve država BiH, kao i njeno društvo, preživela u prethodnih 12-ak meseci.

Početkom oktobra 2010. godine, država BiH, i njeni građani i građanke preko leđa su preturili još jedne opšte izbore. I ovi su, kao i većina prethodnih, komentarisani kao „sudbonosni, ključni, presudni“. Reč „promene“ čula se čak češće nego „konstitutivnost i integritet“, ali ipak nešto ređe nego čuveno „dostojanstvo“. U političkoj areni nedeljama pred izbore nadmetali su se grlati predstavnici mnogobrojnih političkih partija sve zastupajući i do zadnje kapi (tude) krvi braneći – dostojanstvo (čoveka, radnika, Srbina, Hrvata, Bošnjaka). Isključivi muški rod u prethodnoj rečenici je više nego nameran. Žena je u toj kampanji (na bilbordima i listama) bilo taman toliko da se zaradi uzdržana pohvala od strane činovnika/ca neke međunarodne agencije koja se bavi nadgledanjem (po naški: monitoringom) rodne ravnopravnosti. Onima koji nisu toliko zabavljeni brojkama, procenima i formom bilo je jasno da je ovo još jedna u nizu „ozbiljnih igara za mudre muške glave“. Osim dakle lidera političkih stranaka, u javnom prostoru su bili zastupljeni i akteri/ke civilne scene, kao i mnogobrojne javne ličnosti koji su odreda pozivali/e na izlazak na izbore, zauzimanje stava i – promene. Autorka ovog teksta, još uvek bez BiH državljanstva, a time i bez prava glasa, bila je svesna da na cinizam nema prava. No autorka ovog teksta nije mogla ni tada, a ni sada da se „opasulji“ niti da shvati o kakvom to dostojanstvu, a niti promenama trube ovi mnogouvaženi članovi/ce našeg društva.

Osnovnog ljudskog dostojanstva ovde naime nema ni na mapi, a promene su tako daleko jednostavno zato što ne postoje politički relevantni niti građanski osvešteni nosioci promena. Zbog toga se i „promene“ postignute ovim izborima čine nekako, u najmanju ruku nedovoljnima i neadekvatnima. Šta zapravo imamo kao rezultate ovih izbora?

Ubedljivu pobedu Dodikovog SNSD-a u svim izbornim jedinicama u RS, uključujući i pobedu njihovog kandidata na izborima za srpskog člana Predsjedništva BiH, kao i ubedljivu pobedu Milorada Dodika na izborima za predsednika RS. Shodno tome iz ovog BH entiteta možemo očekivati nastavak politike maksimalno usklađene sa nadahnutom opaskom njihovog lidera: „Republika Srpska zauvek, a BiH dokle mora! Istorijski nas uči da ništa nije nepromenljivo, pa tako ni postojanje BiH“. Takođe jako ubedljivu pobedu ostvario

je HDZ BiH, u svim izbornim jedinicama sa većinskim hrvatskim stanovništvom. Uspeh je pomućen ogromnom frustracijom Hrvata u BiH zbog nemoći da izaberu „svoje“ kandidate za hrvatskog člana Predsjedništva. Praktično jedina promena u rasporedu političkih snaga desila se tamo gde je u većini bošnjačko stanovništvo. Poraz je doživela Stranka za BiH Harisa Silajdžića (i njegova tvrdoglava i dijalogu nesklona politika), a veliki (mada relativan) uspeh ostvarile su SDP i SDA, čiji su kandidati pobedili i u trci za hrvatskog (Komšić), odnosno bošnjačkog (Izetbegović) člana Predsjedništva.

Već isto izborno veće pažljivijim posmatračima postalo je jasno da nas posle ovih izbora čekaju velike komplikacije sa formiranjem vlada i post-izbornih koalicija, ali i žešći sudari i konfrontacije po pitanju budućeg uređenja i teritorijalnog ustrojstva BiH kao države. Dragan Čović, lider HDZ-a najavljuje konačnu borbu za treći entitet u BiH, a Milorad Dodik bahato poručuje da uživa u tome kad je drčan i kad podriva BiH kao državu. Iz „uzdanice promena“ SDP-a poručuju da ne bude li njihov predsednik Zlatko Lagumdžija izabran za člника Vijeća ministara BiH oni će Federaciju BiH ekonomski i politički urediti po uzoru na nekadašnju Zapadnu Nemačku, koja će Republiku Srpsku progutati politički, ekonomski i moralno, baš kao što je nekada Istočna Nemačka bila progutana!

Promene? Kako da ne. Etniciziranost bosansko-hercegovačkog društva vidljiva je nego ikada ranije, kao što je i vidljiv nedostatak pozitivnih političkih projekata i vizija koje bi mogle da se etnicizaciji suprotstave. Prvo socijalni, pa tek onda politički fenomen poznat pod imenom „Željko Komšić“ samo govori u prilog tvrdnji da prava i pozitivna politička alternativa još uvek ne stanuje ovde. Iako je nemali broj onih koji će njegov (neverovatan) uspeh na izborima tumačiti upravo kao izigravanje etničkog principa, potpisnica ovih redova smatra da se radi o nezreloj i dugoročno gledano, pogubnoj strategiji koja iza paravana „građanskosti“ zapravo demonstrira zakon jačeg tj. brojnijeg.

Zbog tih, i mnogih drugih fenomena bosansko-hercegovačkog sociopolitičkog života, najzanimljivije stvari za analizu zapravo su izmeštene izvan pukih rezultata izbora. Pitanje je kada će se ovo društvo moći suočiti sa činjenicom da još uvek boravi u predpolitičkom stanju, gde su maglovite i namerno nedefinisane kategorije etnonacionalnog vokabulara dominantne nad političkim programima i jasnim ideološkim opredeljenjima. A takvo stanje prouzrokuje bednu (ekonomski, moralno i politički) situaciju iz koje je teško nazreti izlaz. Imajući to u vidu nije teško razumeti kako je moguće da prve dve političke par-

tije koje jasno kažu da jedna sa drugom NEĆE NIKAKO sarađivati budu upravo dve najmoćnije partije sa predznakom „socijal-demokratski“. To nam takođe pomaže i da razumemo zašto oni koji se diče svojom socijal-demokratskošću sve više liče na socijaliste jednog drugog kova. One nacional(ne)-socijaliste. No, kao što vidimo, na ovim prostorima iz istorije učimo vrlo selektivno.

I dok se ovaj tekst privodi kraju, još jednom da se vratim na reč „dostojanstvo“. Radi se sigurno o jednoj od najizlizanijih reči, čija je zloupotreba zajednička i totalitarnim i tranzicijskim i tzv. demokratskim sistemima. Svima su puna usta građanskog, nacionalnog, rasnog, verskog itd. dostojanstva. Kako to izgleda na primeru BiH?

Radničko dostojanstvo – brane ga svim silama, mnogobrojni ministri/ice, kriminalizovani tajkuni, poslodavci i ini. Poslednji izraziti primer branjenja radničkog dostojanstva dogodio se pre koji dan u Jablanici. Na grupu radnika koji su štrajkovali u krugu fabrike pušteno je 300-ak specijalaca koji su intervenisali sa sve suzavcem i policijskim psima. Epilog – trideset povređenih radnika i priznanje Ministarstva unutrašnjih poslova da je nasilni upad u krug fabrike bio protivzakonit.

Novinarsko dostojanstvo – varira u zavisnosti od vrste i kvaliteta novinara/ki. Oni skloniji istraživanju i postavljanju neugodnih pitanja imaju manje prava na dostojanstvo. Njima se nekažnjeno mogu upućivati poruke – da zaslužuju metak u čelo, da bi trebalo da dožive infarkt i slično. Inače, BiH je na 47. mestu²¹ po

slobodi medija, sa tendencijom pogoršavanja tog stanja.

Dostojanstvo onih kojima je potrebna lekarska pomoć – puno se polaže na to, ali znate kako je – svetska ekonomska kriza, nema se. Samo bi zlobnici mogli da pomisle da sa tim neke veze imaju nepotizam i korupcija (tu smo, uzgred, na 93. mestu). I dok čekamo da prođe svetska ekonomska kriza (i da prestanu da nas maltretiraju svi redom) pa da malo sredimo bolnice i zdravstvo – tu je jaran iz dalekog Maroka. Mekki Torabi leči i isceljuje dodirima i vodom. A hiljade i hiljade ljudi se već danim tiskaju ispred olimpijske dvorane Zetra kako bi sebi priuštili neku nadu i kakav-takav zdravstveni tretman.

Sve u svemu, problema je u ovoj zemlji mnogo. Za mnoge od njih kao da se očekuje da će se sami od sebe rešiti čim uđemo u EU. Kažu desiće se i to, već 2020 i neke (samo da ne bude hidžretske). No, ne veruju svi više u tu sliku zamamne i svetle budućnosti koja BiH čeka unutar EU. Sve je jasnije da se ovde opasno tapka u mestu i da unutrašnja nesposobnost BiH kao države da se nosi sa sistemskim i strukturalnim ograničenjima i problemima sve više iritira, umesto da zadobije podršku na međunarodnoj sceni. Ukoliko sami *građani/ke* ove zemlje uskoro ne počnu da deluju u skladu sa tom odrednicom, ova će zemlja još dugo vremena favoriti u mraku unutrašnjih trvenja i antagonizama koji prete da eskaliraju na vrlo ružan način. I krajnje *nedostojanstveno*.

Tamara Šmidling

²¹ Godišnji izveštaj Reportera bez granica (RSF), koji se objavljuje redovno od 2002. godine.

iz ličnog ugla

“buđenje”

Ono što mi se počelo događati prilikom susreta sa veteranima i obilascima stratišta po ovoj našoj “nesretnoj” zemlji, imalo je za mene neki osjećaj “buđenja” u odnosu na stanje koje sam proživljavao u prvih par godina poslije rata, kada sam imao priliku da se sretmem s ljudima “s one strane”, nebitno da li smo se poznavali od prije ili ne.

Značilo je to govoriti o stvarima i temama koje su do skora, po mom viđenju, bile smatrane “tabuiziranim”. Ljudi se uglavnom više trude više da se pridržavaju nepisanog pravila, tačnije kodeksa ponašanja, koji nam ne dozvoljava da druge pitamo za stvari za koje sami ne bismo voljeli da budemo pitani, pa se više vremena provede razgovarajući o političkim i privrednim prilikama, i o tome kako su mnogi iskoristili to zlo vrijeme i okoristili se njime, nego što se pita i razgovara o grobnicama, silovanjima, smaknućima, klanjima, logorima i tako dalje u nedogled, pa ako hoćete i o nekim svjetlim primjerima humanosti i plemenitosti iz proteklog ratnog perioda.

Osjetio sam to “buđenje” na način da mogu da govorim otvoreno o svim ratnim zbivanjima i ulogama ljudi u njima, normalno sa svojom percepcijom i subjektivno, i osjetio sam da se “gard” spušta lagano i kod drugih i sve više smo ljudi, a sve manje se krijemo iza “naši i vaši”, i tražimo svoje pozicije u proteklim zbivanjima, pa i vlastitu odgovornost.

Ne treba ni da spominjem da je CNA popalila dobar dio tih prekidača u našim glavama i isprovocirala naše podobro oštećene vijuge da krenu u novom smjeru, ne da devastiraju i ruše, već da grade neke nove, neću reći mostove, već obale na koje treba postaviti temelje tih mostova koji treba da se podignu.

Sav taj proces koji se odvijao kod mene vjerovatno je bio u dobroj mjeri prepoznatljiv kod drugih, čim sam došao u priliku da se od mene traži, da tako kažem - usluga.

U toku posjete veterana Zavidovićima, po izlasku iz Spomen sobe, obratio mi se Lj., vidno uzbuđen. Očekiv'o sam tu navalu emocija kod njega, jer brigada iz njegovog kraja imala je ogromne gubitke na zavidovićkom ratištu i soba je bila ispunjena zarobljenim “trofejima” na kojima su bile oznake te jedinice. On mi je i počeo govoriti o tome, i kako ga je to pogodilo, jer dosta poznanika i prijatelja mu je ovdje izginulo, a dosta ih se još uvijek vode kao nestali. Uglavnom, zamolio je, ako nije problem, da uskoro on i par nekih njegovih prijatelja dođu u Zavidoviće i da im se omogući obilazak Spomen sobe.

S obzirom da je Spomen soba u prostorijama RVI Zavidovića i kod njih se nalazi ključ od te prostorije, konsultovao sam se sa A. i dobio sam odgovor da nema nikakvih problema, samo da se par dana unaprijed najave, upravo zbog uzimanja ključa.

Tako sam i prenjeo informaciju Lj. i sa takvim dogovorom smo se i razišli.

Nakon možda nepunih mjesec dana, Lj. me je kontaktirao i najavio dolazak. Ja sam izvršio sve predradnje i očekivao ih. Međutim, to jutro kada je trebalo da krenu, nešto se desilo, mislim da je u pitanju bio smrtni slučaj, tako da me je obavijestio da neće doći.

Prošlo je od tada više od mjesec dana kada me je ponovo nazvao i najavio se.

Opet sam sve pripremio, obavijestio A. i M. i čekali smo sigurno dva sata, ali opet nazva i reče da sa autom nešto nije u redu i da ne mogu doći taj dan.

Kada je sutradan nazv'o i rek'o da su krenuli, uzeo sam to sa rezervom i mislio da će opet za sat nešto iskrsnut'. M. je bio na poslu, a A. je imao neke svoje obaveze i rekao je da može kratko biti s nama. Ja sam iz firme otišao u prostorije RVI i tamo u društvu predsjednika i sekretara organizacije proveo sat vremena čekajući. Znali su da neko od Srba dolazi u posjet, ali nisu otvarali tu temu. I A. je bio tu i trudio se da malo dovede u red prostoriju Spomen sobe.

Ubrzo sam dobio poziv od Lj. i on mi reče kako su parkirani ispred zgrade. Izašao sam ispred i ugledao ga, i s njim dvojicu nepoznatih, tako da me je to donekle iznenadilo, jer očekiv'o sam da će doći sa nekim kolegama iz svoje boračke organizacije, a koje sam ja

imao priliku da upoznam prilikom posjete Prnjavoru. Upoznali smo se i ako se dobro sjećam, mislim da je jednom ime P, a drugom B. Vidio sam da nose "oficirske" torbice i foto aparate. Pomislio sam: "Jebo te Lj., koga si ovo doveo!". Nisam baš u njima vidio ljude koji su eto, došli nešto da vide i evociraju uspomene. Bio sam u tom trenutku ljut na Lj. što me nije obavijestio unaprijed o tome ko će doći, al' možda se bojao da ću ga u tom slučaju odbiti.

P. je upitao hoće li moći oni da uđu i pogledaju Spomen sobu. Rek'o sam im da i jesmo iz tog razloga tu i pozvao ih unutra.

A. se pozdravio s njima i izvinio se što mora da ide. Uveo sam ih kod predsjednika RVI u kancelariju i čovjek ih je ljubazno primio, izrazio dobrodošlicu i rekao ljudski, da ako šta može da učini neka se slobodno obrate i neka se osjećaju komotno.

Za to vrijeme kod mene u glavi je vladala konfuzija. Hiljade pitanja se roje, traži se odgovor ko su, jesu li kakvi "bezbjednjaci", šta ih stvarno zanima. Jedino što me je ohrabrivalo je to što sam i ja kod njih prepozn'o znakove nekakve nelagode.

"Zvono tišine" stajalo je nad nama dok nismo ušli u Spomen sobu i na nekin način se izolovali nas četvorica. Tad i poče neka priča i jedan reče da je iz nekog mjesta kod Banja Luke, a drugi čini mi se iz Sr-bca, ali nisam siguran. Upitaše smiju li da fotografišu, ja onako nevoljko rekoh da smiju, a u sebi mislim koji će im to klinac, za čiju arhivu.

Tek onda se Lj. uključi i reče, ako sam dobro skont'o, da jedan od njih traga za ocem, a drugi za bratom, koji su nestali na ovim prostorima. Možda ružno zvuči, ali meni je tada laknulo. Bilo mi je potrebno da znam svrhu njihovog dolaska, a znao sam da su dolazile jedinice i iz tih mjesta.

Nisam htio da im ubijam nadu, ali rekao sam da od dokumentacije koja se nalazi ovdje sve je sto posto već obrađeno, da su ti podaci već proslijeđeni nadležnim službama, a da oni slobodno izvole i pregledaju sve što ih interesuje.

Tako je i bilo, pregledali su sve zaplijenjene vojne knjižice, lične karte, vozačke dozvole, ratne dnevnike i slikali su dokumente od pojedinaca koje su prepoznali, ili za koje su znali da su iz njihovih krajeva. Ja sam se u početku malo trz'o, jer puno se "rovarilo", a nisam ni ja tu baš kao kod svoje kuće, međutim potrudio sam se da ljudima omogućim da provjere baš sve. Nažalost, nisu našli nikakve podatke o svojim, ali drago im je bilo što su imali priliku da pogledaju i potraže.

Oni su svoj dio posla završili i ostatak vremena proveli smo u razgledanju ostalih eksponata iz

Spomen sobe. Pitali su, ja što sam znao odgovarao sam i tumačio. Vidio sam sjetu na njihovim licima, kao što se vidi kod svakog normalnog čovjeka kad vidi sva ta imena i slike poginulih. Pogotovo je to izraženo kod ljudi koji su izgubili bližnje.

Izašli smo, pozdravili se sa ljudima iz RVI, zahvalili se na gostoprimstvu i stali na parking da popušimo po jednu. Bili su izuzetno zadovoljni, kažu da nisu očekivali ovakav prijem, ali Lj. im je rekao da poznavajući mene nije ni sumnj'o u to. Pozdravili smo se, oni se uputiše kućama, a ja na pos'o i "dumanje".

I opet da se vratim na ono "buđenje" sa početka priče. Da mi se ovako nešto desilo prije toga, da sam pod nekim okolnostima došao u sličnu situaciju da na ovaj način treba nešto da uradim, ne bih izdržao. Potrošio bih se i rastrglo bi me na komade, jer bih razmišlj'o o tome da li ikakav izraz dobre volje da činim prema ljudima koji su dio nečega što je htjelo da i mene i moje uništi, da li su ti "njihovi" poginuli bili krvoloci ili tek nesretni vojnici, da li su bili tobdžije koji s osmjehom gađaju škole i vrtiće ili prisilno mobilisani ljudi sa zdravstvenim problemima, koji nemaju pare da kupe komisiju.

Šta će reći moja sredina i "dokazane patriote"? Hoće li me proglasiti za izdajnika i optužiti da zbog para izdajem tekovine? Hoću li postati gori i omraženiji od onih koji su klali u moje ime? Hoće li mi dopustiti da skrnavam Spomen sobu branitelja, dovodeći neke "četnike"? I mogu još da nabrajam šizofrena pitanja, koja bi mi se, siguran sam, vrtila po glavi i izjedala me.

Ali, hvala Bogu, nije tako. Ja sam dočekao svoje svjetlo na kraju tunela i mogu bistrer glave i bez prigovora savjesti da učinim svaki gest ili da pomognem, ako sam u prilici, svakom ljudskom biću koga je ranio ovaj rat i čiju žrtvu ne prepoznajem po imenu, nego po boli koja je ostala poslije nje.

*Amer Delić, veteran Armije BiH
Novembar 2010.*

veliko hvala svima vama koji nam pružate podršku

ABOUT THE 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."

foreword to

Friends of CNA,

We present you CNA's annual report, September 2009 - September 2010, for perusal, reading and as an incentive for feedback. This is our thirteenth annual report. That's about as long as we have been present in the region of former Yugoslavia (and sometimes elsewhere), where "we deal with difficult matters", as our colleague Adnan said.

In the past year, those matters (and not just difficult ones) included: basic training events, work with war veterans (amount and intensity of which has increased significantly); conference on reconciliation, participation in international and local seminars and conferences; promotion of our latest documentary "Intermittent Line"; work on release of the book "Images of Those Times" of life stories of veterans and their family members...

We worked hard and we worked a lot. Hopefully, not too much or too hard, because energy should be preserved for the years ahead of us and the challenges that await us in our societies, but within CNA, too. In the past year, a great deal of our energy was invested again into consolidation of the organization and intentions to structure and organize ourselves better and more just. As a result, two new bodies within CNA were formed – the resource and programmatic groups, whose task is to improve the mode of operation and key decision making processes thus making all our lives easier. Apart from that, we used a great deal of our capacities on various things that you will find in this report because it is somehow regarded as something one does not write about, but actually does it. Anyway - we made and wrote reports, tried to provide funding, moved office and renovated both of them, tried to get the car we had paid for, there was some time and imagination left for thinking about some new things we'd like to do; we planned some new activities; we were meeting continuously with veterans' associations, maintained and strengthened partnerships; kept having internal meetings and so on and so forth. Turbulent year, turbulent times...

Despite our best efforts and intentions, we did not stay together. Our colleague Nenad Porobić left the organization and took a new job. We use this opportunity to thank him sincerely for all his efforts in organizing the aforementioned activities. Sarajevo team was joined by Jessica Žic, our colleague who is hired as a *civil peace worker*, on the project supported by the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development of Germany (BMZ). Her impressions of the first few months of life and work in Sarajevo are included in this report.

We hope that in the future we will also be able to keep up with the societies in which we are active, and that we will think about the end of our work primarily when there's no longer any need for peace building in our region. We're working on it.

Till next year
CNA Sarajevo / Belgrade Team

peace education programmes

basic trainings in peacebuilding

In the past year, CNA organized two ten-day, basic trainings in peacebuilding. Thus we managed to maintain the pace of two basic training events per year, which coincides with our strategic decision that we had made some years ago to gradually reduce the number of training events, and invest more capacities into designing and implementing other (also new) activities. However, we can say that basic training events will remain a cornerstone of our work and one of our most recognizable activities (along with the work with veterans and documentaries).

Relevance of CNA's Basic Training for the Region of Former Yugoslavia

A huge number of applications we receive for each basic training (last time we got nearly 180 applications) tells us that the need for this type of peace education in our region is still very large. That is confirmed by the situation in all the countries of our region in which we are active, more of which you can find in the last chapter of this report. In none of the countries of the region *peace* education is institutionalized, nor is it the part of the curriculum. To tell the truth, some elements are adopted and incorporated into subjects such as for example "civic education", but systematic and clearly conceptually designed peace education that addresses some of the most serious socio-political problems of our societies is still responsibility of peace groups and organizations.

The thing that CNA basic trainings in peacebuilding offer and what makes them probably unique in our region is - *consistency* (they have been organized for almost 12 years) and a clear focus and *emphasis on cross-border cooperation and regional networking*. Our experience proves that a large part of the motivation people have to apply for this training lies in the opportunity to meet and work for 10 days with people from different parts of former Yugoslavia. That is another way our basic training events contribute to a current, ongoing discussion on political and social scene and that is the question: What is the region for us today? Our value orientation and the (political) position on this issue are clear and confirmed by our insistence to work in the entire region (except in Slovenia). For us, this region is an assemblage of highly interconnected and interdependent contexts, which, despite all the existing differ-

ences amongst the countries, form a common geographical, cultural, economic and political sphere. However, it is interesting to analyze what the region means to the people who have attended our training events recently. For those slightly older (roughly over 35), this region is also a site of remembrance, a meeting point and a basis for the construction of some (old) identities. For younger generations it is obviously a set of more or less exotic places about which little is known except for daily political or celebrity/sport related news. Therefore it is a major challenge to thematize the necessity of linkage, dialogue and building of good neighbourly relations, but also of dealing with the violent past in this region, in a way that would be appropriate and comprehensible to people who differ greatly in a generational, professional and value sense.

When we think about socio-political problems of our societies we can say that at our latest training events we also sought to relate to the needs and adjust the training concept to the current situation. We can proudly say that we've done it quite successfully, and that some political impulses that we have been receiving from the highest authorities of Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina or Croatia¹ show that our focus on dealing with the past and peacebuilding certainly was not amiss. By insisting on these issues and their clear theoretical and methodological framing we send a message regarding where we see priority in peace work in our region, while notably distancing ourselves

¹ In terms of more open and constructive attitude towards the responsibility of one's own side for the crimes and misdeeds of the past wars.

from the bunch of other programmes in the region that are focused almost exclusively on gaining various skills and self-improvement.

Who applies, who participates at the basic training events?

The core of our approach to peace education is that peacebuilding begins with oneself, from a personal level; but that its purposefulness is achieved only when personal changes and knowledge are transferred onto a social level as well, by way of activism. It is not irrelevant to emphasize given the evident growing importance of inflating one's CV, that our basic training gives priority to activist over academic experience, while it values readiness for self re-examination and reflection far more than learned phrases about democracy, tolerance, civil society, Euro-Atlantic integrations, and so on. Therefore, it is far more designed for those willing to shake up their positions and values and do some actual work in their communities, then for those who need a certificate of participation to decorate their resume and help them find a job in an international agency.

More war veterans apply to basic training events, and it's also noticeable that there's a huge interest amongst people working in educational institutions and media. We are really glad about it, especially considering our impression that for quite some time NGOs have not been the first address from which arrive enthusiasm, creativity and the willingness to undertake a social change. Therefore, one should focus on other resources, no matter how unexpected they may seem (as is the case with a group of veterans).

Geographically speaking, there are several interesting trends. We receive an increasing number of

good, original applications from Croatia, even though 3-4 years ago it seemed that the interest for our training there completely abated. The interest is increasing amongst people in Bosnia and Herzegovina, although still very few Croatians from Bosnia and Herzegovina apply. A lot of applications come from Macedonia too and we are thrilled that they do not fall into the standard NGO cliché 'work a little – travel a little'. When it comes to Serbia, there's a lot of interest, but the applications are as like as two peas and almost fully reflect the dominant daily political NGO language. We still have a problem with a small number of applications from Kosovo and Montenegro, although we try to organize training events in the regions / states to which people with passports of Kosovo can travel freely, and that is one of the reasons why these two training events were organized in Montenegro. It is interesting to note that the number of applications from Montenegro dropped dramatically since the country had declared its independence. Certainly all of these tendencies have to do with shifts in the political arena and it would be very interesting to analyze this connection more closely in some other article.

At the end of this introductory piece on basic training events, we wish to emphasize that judging by the experience and knowledge that we have gained up to date, basic training events played an important role for many people in terms of their empowerment, incentives and support in recognition of their own capacities and powers to take part in many local initiatives of work on peacebuilding and dealing with the past in the entire region.

This gives us a sense of importance regarding what we do and motivation to continue.

T.Š.

basic training in peacebuilding, ulcinj

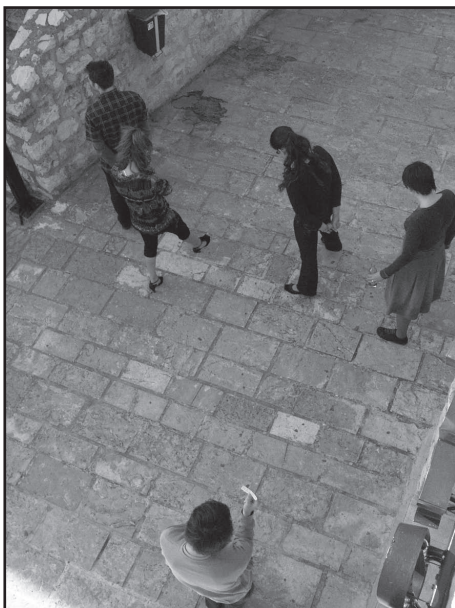
Ulcinj, Montenegro, 23 October - 2 November 2009

This was the 31st Basic training in peacebuilding (nonviolent conflict transformation) organised by CNA. The training team included Helena Rill, Nedžad Horozović, Sanja Deanković from CNA and Nenad Porobić.

Basic training events have evolved with respect to both their topic and content. We combined various themes as well as changed the methodological approach to them, but the essence and the main goal

have remained the same: the multiplication of knowledge, experience and skills regarding work on peacebuilding, the promotion of the values of nonviolence, rising the awareness, sensitization and responsibility for both oneself and one's society, and the empowerment of individuals to take an active role in it.

One of the learning points was to re-focus regarding the people with whom we work in this programme. It is important to have people who are able to multi-



ply experience and knowledge gained in the training, which is most often the case with people in the media, education, politics and ex-combatants, etc. while there should be fewer people from non-governmental organizations. In fact, many of them have knowledge and experience that very often aren't based on clear

personal reflection, and their participation reduces the space for other participants who are not experienced in in-depth re-examination, which is one of the basic preconditions in the context of learning in training.

We perceived the training as intense, and that was the feedback we received from the participants – important topics were discussed even without our direct incentive, the work was deep and copious, the people re-examined themselves and moved further. There's hardly a person that we didn't notice undergoing a change, when we compared the first and the last day of the training, which definitely gives hope that society can change if the right way is found. Participants demonstrated motivation to do something in their communities, particularly in their workplaces, which is mostly the case with people pertaining to groups abovementioned (that is especially so for those who work in education).

Finally, here is one of the statements from the written evaluation of the training: *I've got a lot of energy to reflect on my own in a great way – upon both my own actions and those of others (community) and to continue working on the transformation of my micro-environment. I will be persistent and loud, but at the same time more reasoned - before any action I will further re-examine and check with myself whether what I do is really "it".*

H.R.

basic training in peacebuilding, tivat

Tivat, Montenegro, March 19 – 29, 2010

The thirty-second basic training in peacebuilding, organized by the Centre for Nonviolent Action was held in Tivat, Montenegro from 19 to 29 March, 2010. The training was facilitated by Helena and Nenad P. of our Belgrade office and Tamara and Sanja of CNA's Sarajevo office.

Regarding the concept of the training our main impression is that we followed the group's needs quite well and that the topics complemented one another from the very beginning with well rounded thematic units. That was also the result of some innovations and supplements we have been introducing at the last few training events.

While setting the concept we were careful to offer more defined conceptual and theoretical framework for the work on peacebuilding and dealing with the

past (through a number of theoretical inputs and by clearly underlining the connection between personal





and social level of activity in the work on peacebuilding, and theoretical framework for understanding the different levels of work on dealing with the past in order to clearly perceive the importance of the role and responsibilities of an individual in these processes).

We also strived to leave enough space for work on peacebuilding, nonviolence and nonviolent action so that the people would get a chance to reflect on their own about the possibilities to act and thus become empowered and encouraged to get involved concretely in their communities.

There was plenty of openness and willingness for personal work and re-examination of one's own attitudes within the group. Some people were ready for deep emotional exploration of themselves and their own position within petrified social injustices that are becoming "normal" and are less and less re-examined in the society we live in.

We noticed there wasn't enough work on the theme of structural and cultural violence in our societies. That's the task we should resolve for the following training events: to find a way to tackle the subject in a wider and deeper sense.

Although the group had many political activists, especially from Serbia, we missed their prominent presence in the work process from the standpoint of their political affiliation. We must come up with a way to encourage people to take responsibility for the discussion at that level and for re-examination and criticism of their own political agenda for the situation in society / societies.

An important focus of the training, besides peacebuilding and dealing with the past, was nonviolence and the values of nonviolence, as well as exploring how to design nonviolent activities. For many people

that was an incentive and encouragement to reflect on the possibilities of action once they return to their communities. Regardless of the fact that these topics were covered in the last two blocks, there was still enough energy and willingness for serious work.

This was an inspiring training with a lot of people who have potential to get really involved in their societies. We do hope to stay in touch with many of them and have a chance to work together on our advanced peace education programmes.

S.D.





dealing with the past: activities

conference „neighbours, not enemies“

Sarajevo, April 22 – 26, 2010

For the first time in thirteen years of our existence, the CNA team organized a regional conference on reconciliation. What we have re-examined, defined, debated through many of our other programmes for years, is now framed in the form of a four-day event that was held in Sarajevo's Saraj Hotel, in April. The activity was organized as a part of the project named "Peace Building in the Western Balkans - From Normalization, To Reconciliation" which CNA has been implementing in partnership with Miramida Centre, Grožnjan, Croatia. In a way, the conference was somewhat formal follow-up to the last years' "Miramidays – Days of Peacebuilding" on the similar theme.

The programme of the conference offered a thematic and methodological diversity, without losing sight of the need for a clear focus and framework of the discussion. Therefore, the following introductory presentations were offered as a part of the plenary sessions' programme: *Victimization as an obstacle to reconciliation; Role of veterans in the reconciliation process, Media and reconciliation*. The workshop part was intended as an open space for asking questions that are often overlooked, or considered self-explanatory – *What is our region for us now? How much does it cost what we do? What is the gender of war and reconciliation? How is REKOM initiative perceived by the war veterans?* Special segment of the conference's programme was dedicated to a round table on the theme:

Do we need reconciliation in the region?

The conference brought together over sixty participants from Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia and Croatia. Hence, it was probably the first time ex-combatants, activists, theorists and researchers, journalists and politicians found themselves alongside each other at a public event on this topic. Therefore, during four days people of different professional, living as well as value orientation had a chance to discuss together and exchange their views on the reconciliation process and dealing with the past in the region of former Yugoslavia. Without pressure to reach forced conclusions and agreements, and without imposed expectation to produce a so-called "joint concrete actions", respectable group of experienced people simply *talked and learnt* during the plenary sessions, workshops and breaks.

The main thematic focus of the conference was a process of reconciliation in the former Yugoslavia which we wanted to examine, (re)define, and perceive from different angles. The very notion of reconciliation typically causes controversy. It is both abstract, and often too "flexible". In need of concretism and systematization, we wanted to encourage critical examination of the existing concepts and models, as well as the approaches their exponents have. The idea was to try to critically re-examine current practices, even if it involves criticism of one's own approach (and especially then!), without additional banality and reaching for the



recipes like "everything for some, something for all".

Another focus somehow imposed itself during the conference. It was the role and possible contribution of war veterans to the reconciliation processes, dealing with the past and peacebuilding. Even though only one session was devoted to this issue directly, the very presence of numerous veterans from various armies and organizations resulted in the fact that the role of this group was constantly on the conference's agenda. Therefore we were somewhat unexpectedly given the opportunity to conduct a parallel process that was not part of the conference's main agenda. Namely, it was the process of sensitization (of both veterans and activists) of ones to the others. We do not delude ourselves that the obvious existing gap was therefore radically reduced, but we can not but chuckle to the fact that we have considerably contributed to the fact that the representatives of veteran population become regular participants, not only of these type of events, but also of the wider process of reconciliation.

Finally, we are particularly pleased with the large turnout of our colleagues from different areas to our

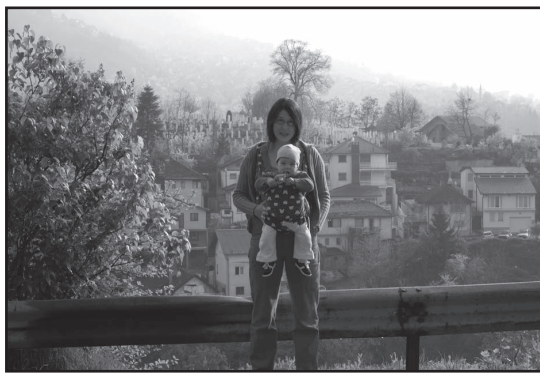


invitation to participate at the conference, and a very good response from media representatives who covered the conference and reported from it. Although this was a step away from the usual procedure for CNA and a journey into the unknown in a certain way, we realized that we were up to such a task because the need for this type of networking and sharing definitely exists. It's only that most of us are either too tired of "endless talking" or too busy with their own activities and projects. The feedback we received after the conference encourages us to continue in this direction, and it's up to all of us to fill the space between this one and some next similar conference with dedicated and responsible work in this field.

For more information on the programme, content of discussions and presentations, and participants' review of some key questions, conference's booklet is available on the following link (available only in BHS languages):

http://www.nenasilje.org/publikacije/pdf/CNA_Susjedi.a.ne.neprijatelji.pdf

T.Š.



ex-combatants training

Brčko, June 11 – 15, 2010 & Jahorina, July 09 – 13, 2010

Training for ex-combatants is one of the activities of CNA's work with war veterans. It is special because people who were not so long ago shooting at each, now sit together and talk, and the "other one, the evil" perhaps for the first time becomes personified in some human character and shape. Emotionally challenging and difficult issues are discussed openly thus encouraging re-examination of one's own role and the role of one's side for the past wars and re-examination and identification of one's own responsibility for today and tomorrow. Believing that the combatants are people who have and can have major impact on our societies, through training we try to encourage participants to be more active in building a more just and better society.

The eighth training for combatants from the region was held in Bosnia and Herzegovina. It consisted of two phases. The first one was held in a northern Bosnia and Herzegovina's town of Brčko, on the border with Croatia, from June 11 to 15, 2010. One of the reasons for choosing Brčko is its geographical accessibility to people from the region. The place is also interesting for the fact that all three constituent peoples of Bosnia and Herzegovina share the power in the district, under the patronage of the international community. Our ties with Brčko have also to do with some recent activities - visits to the sites of casualties, where all three veterans' associations (of Republika Srpska, the Croatian Defence Council and the Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina) were together our hosts, which was in fact the implementation of the idea of the trainees who had attended the last year's training for combatant of wars

in the region of former Yugoslavia.

The group comprised of 13 trainees. This training was attended by veterans from Nuštar (Republic of Croatia), Odžak, Zapadni Mostar and Gornji Vakuf/Uskoplje who responded to our invitation and with whom we hadn't had prior cooperation.

The training team, which included Adnan Hasanbegović, Nedžad Horozović, Nenad Vukosavljević and Nermin Karačić, set out the following basic objectives of the training:

- Establishment of dialogue between former combatants from different warring sides.
- Sensitization for different views and opinions about events from the wartime past.
- Development of empathy
- Trust building
- Building of a "platform" for future joint activities.

The concept of the phase one of the training was largely leaning on the previous training events, because we realized that they provided trust building and a safe space for the participants, as well as enabled us to meet the objectives which the training team acknowledged in the end.

After the phase one the training team had the impression that the trust was established, primarily in CNA, as well as trust amongst the trainees, therefore a good space was created for the phase two to ensue.

The phase two was held in the Bistrica Hotel, in Jahorina, nearby Sarajevo, from July 9 to 13, 2010 where we have been holding our training events for veterans and other activities of CNA, for years already.

Two participants from Serbia and one from Republika Srpska who had attended the phase one of training, were unable to come. We invited five new veterans, some of which had already participated in some other CNA's peacebuilding activities. Their motivated contribution to the discussions resulted in a better quality of workshops and the training itself.

The concept of the phase two was for most part based on reflecting ideas for joint actions. We went through the elaboration of these ideas, simulating the situations in which people could found themselves during their actual implementation, primarily opening up the issues of meaning, message and significance that those joint activities of veterans from different sides might have for our societies and communities.





Speaking about the possible difficulties and fears, our roles and participation, and the role and participation of our associations, we got a clearer picture of the real chances for something like that to be done.

The goals that we had set for this training were fulfilled. The impression is that everything went somehow more easily and quickly than in previous years and this one has been one of the best training events so far. Perhaps there is a sense that in the end people left somehow burdened, aware how difficult and arduous it was to confront oneself and one's past, but



surely, perhaps for the first time, with some hope for a better future. Here is the quote of a trainee: ***"It was easier to take arms and fight, then to work on reconciliation and peacebuilding, but there is no other way."*** It is easy to recognize, even watching from the side, that amongst the people who passed through CNA peace programmes, in most cases true reconciliation was achieved and some new ties, trust and friendships were established. We share a common challenge to extend those impulses from a personal level to the levels of our societies.

N.K.

war veterans visited sites of atrocities

Zavidovići, Brčko, Modriča, Šamac - April/May 2010

This year we have organised the third cycle of joint visits by war veterans from B&H, Serbia and Croatia to sites of atrocities and memorials related to the 1992 – 1995 war. The group was comprised of participants of the war veteran training, which we organised in 2009, as well as of additional guests from former activities and people from local war veteran associations.

This year we have visited four towns:

Zavidovići², 10 – 11/04/2010

Brčko³, 12 – 14/04/2010

Modriča⁴, 28 – 29/05/2010

Šamac⁵, 30 – 31/05/2010



² In Zavidovići we visited: Memorial to civil and military casualties of Zavidovići Municipality located in downtown, Riđali – memorial for killed soldiers of B&H Army, Dolina Gostovića – memorial for killed soldiers of B&H Army, 13th Kilometer – unmarked former military camp of „El Mujaheed“ unit, where Serb prisoners were killed and tortured in 1995.

³ In Brčko we visited: Luka – war-time camp for non-Serbs, Laništa – memorial for Croatian civil casualties killed in 1992, Bukvik Village – unmarked site of Serb civil casualties (memorial under construction).

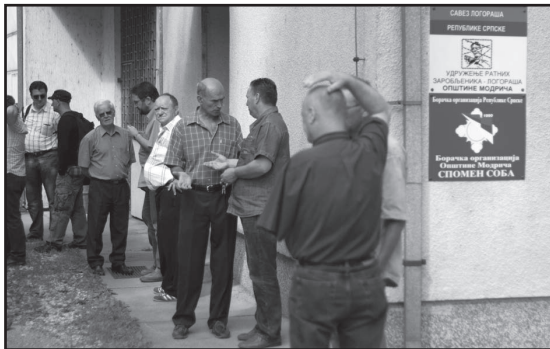
⁴ In Modriča we visited: memorial room of RS (Republika Srpska) Army – Modriča, memorial for killed RS soldiers located in Modriča downtown, Silos – unmarked camp for Serb civilians.

⁵ In Šamac we visited: Crkvina warehouse – unmarked camp for non-Serb civilians, memorial for soldiers of RS Army in Crkvina, memorial room of RS Army in Šamac, memorials in Šamac downtown for civil and military casualties, Bridge over Bosnia River – war-time front-line.

In each of these towns, our hosts were local war veteran organisations, which we were preparing and designing such visits with in the previous period. In Zavidovići our host was the Organisation of Disabled War Veterans of Zavidovići Municipality, in Modriča War Veteran Organisation of RS (Republika Srpska) and Association of Camp Prisoners of RS, Modriča, while in Šamac our hosts were War Veteran Organisation and Committee of Disabled War Veterans of Šamac.

The visit to Brčko was a special one, as there our hosts were three War Veteran Organisations together, since Brčko District is the only town in B&H where War Veteran Organisations of the three former parties at war are equally present and active - Organisation of Disabled War Veterans of B&H Army, Brčko District, Disabled Veterans of the Croatian War of Independence Ravne, Brčko and War Veteran Organisation of RS, Brčko. In each visit, there were 20 of us approximately, while apart from hosts, there were people from Veteran Organisations of Tuzla, Sarajevo, Prnjavor, Zagreb, Županja, Šibenik, Vranje, Vlasotince and Novi Sad.

Organising this activity was initiated by the CNA Team, but willingness and motivation of people from local war veteran organisations to take over the activity organising and to take care together with us of about many things, which had to be done while preparing and implementing this type of activities, was very helpful.



The main impression from these visits was that despite of the demanding visit program and emotionally challenging process, the group „bore“ this activity very well. We spent a lot of time in discussions relating to war consequences in the communities and places we visited. Courage of local people was obvious, when they took us also to unmarked sites, which were considered as taboo in their environment and which were spoken about insufficiently. Meetings and discussions, which followed the visits, were very emotional and empowering, because great empathy was felt for

war victims regardless of which side they were from. People were affected deeply just by looking at photos of killed soldiers and their medals displayed in the memorial rooms we visited. During discussions after visits, serious anti-war messages were articulated, as well as shock because of human casualties. „What kind of humans are we to allow such large-scale crime?“, one of the participants asked himself, which reflected general mood prevailing in the group. Visiting memorials together and looking at the lists of killed civilians and soldiers in various places and paying tribute impressed deeply all people present and seemed to have sent powerful message of peace and human bearing of the burden of the recent war.

We were also glad because we received direct declarative support from local authorities in all these places. In every town, representatives of local municipality government joined us and spent a few hours in conversation with us. We even noticed a kind of wondering and surprise by the courage of having former warriors from once opposed armies involved in peace-building efforts. Inspired by such meetings, municipality mayors spoke about much needed reconciliation between nationalities in their communities. An initiative was launched by the group to have all unmarked sites of casualties adequately marked, which was accepted by representatives of local authorities with understanding. A dilemma remained as to whether this initiative would be realised, but it was important for us to have mentioned it as a necessity and to have put pressure to authorities for such initiatives to be implemented.

A few striking details may be singled out from the overall activity:

The visit to *the 13th kilometer* in Gostivica valley off Zavidovići, where „El Mujaheed“ unit of B&H Army was keeping, torturing and killing Serb prisoners. By visiting this site, which has not been marked, despite of the fact that some officers of B&H Army were prosecuted by ICTY for these crimes, a great progress has been felt in recognising and facing crimes made by „one's own“ side, without any calculations. This has sent a powerful message to people from the other side that there is an honest wish for reconciliation and sincere regret.

The similar situation has been created by the visit to Crkvina warehouse off Šamac, where non-Serbs were imprisoned during the war and many of them were killed. Messages of regret and feelings of responsibility with honest recounting of the events, which we have heard from our hosts in Šamac, have provide hope that eventually there will be a catharsis with accepting and condemning crimes committed in

„our“ name and in our communities in front of many „common“ people, both war veterans themselves and those others who have mainly been silent about it so far. It is important to mention that in Šamac, during preparations for the visit, we had a meeting with the Municipality Deputy Mayor, who had been imprisoned for 7 years for war crimes. We had quite constructive discussions with him, during which he expressed his willingness to support us in visiting Šamac, as well as Crkvina warehouse. He had been sentenced to prison for indirect participation in that crime by the Hague Tribunal.

It is interesting that this year in Brčko we have had an opportunity to be hosted by three war veteran organisations together, which were fighting against each other during the war. The general context of Brčko District is also interesting, as this is a rare community in B&H where there are indications of co-existence without clear majority of one nationality and where all share a common space and social reality from equal positions of power. Therefore, from a symbolic point of view, the visit to Brčko is especially significant since we have managed to visit together the sites of casualties of all three peoples as well as to speak about it openly and to pay tribute to victims. It has been helpful to know that for quite some time now there is good cooperation between local war veteran organisations and that they often act together toward authorities in the fight for their rights and needs. In our opinion, this initiative has further empowered them to deal with and face their war past in a constructive way in future. Humanisation of the image of the „enemy“ through understanding of their loss and suffering, as well as piety for victims of the „other side“ create atmosphere in which fear and hostility are significantly reduced. This kind of activity is an opportunity for necessary social dialogue. Through such meetings, we send a clear message to all levels of society about the need for a different kind of political articulation of the relationship to the past. These are symbolically powerful actions, which encourage decreasing of hostilities and ethnic distance. They also encourage thinking about political alternatives and make it easier for political leaders to take personally a step forward in this direction (for example laying flowers by Presidents Josipović and Tadić in Vukovar, visit to B&H by Croatian President Josipović, etc.)

We are only partially satisfied by media coverage. Although we have sent invitations to various media in B&H, only few local and regional TV and radio stations and journalists have responded. Among public broadcasters, RTRS and BHT have responded. It has



been our wish to have much greater media coverage, but it is obviously necessary to lobby more directly among journalists when such activities are in question. Unfortunately, it seems that many media still consider it more interesting to show bad news and violent incidents, rather than deep and significant messages of reconciliation and sincere tribute paying to victims.

During these visits, we have recorded a lot of video and audio material and we hope to be able soon to make an authentic document for the purpose of broadcasting by various media in the region, if we manage to get through to them at all.

At the closing meeting, held in Šamac, great satisfaction has been expressed by all participants of this important peacebuilding story in the region, as well as a clear wish to continue with such initiatives.

To conclude, we bring the statement of a participant, as one of the best descriptions of the atmosphere from the meetings and topics we have discussed.

- I would like to thank all from CNA for bringing us together, as well as to our hosts for their welcome. I am grateful to M. for insisting on marking the 13th Kilometer, because my countrymen suffered there. This has been difficult for me today. In the memorial room, I have seen the emblem of the brigade from my village, the emblem which got there by force, which was taken off from a dead man. I would like to thank A. for talking about it. No one deserves to be tortured brutally, including prisoners of war. I have heard about the 13th Kilometer site from an honourable medical doctor of Prnjavor. Those who tortured were not Muslims, but unhumans. They were not doing what was inherent in the religion and tradition of Muslim people. My brother was on another hill. I have seen that there also were people from various places who were killed. This war has brought nothing good to anyone. I would like once again to thank everyone, including people whom I see for the first time now.

A.H.

roundtable “the role and contribution of war veterans to reconciliation process”

Gornji Vakuf/Uskoplje, Bosnia and Herzegovina, September 18, 2010

The Association of Veterans (of the Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina) of Gornji Vakuf / Uskoplje, “Gorano-vi”, organized a visit to this town, as a collaborative initiative with CNA in honour of the International Day of Peace, September 21. Part of the event was a roundtable on “*The Role and Contribution of Veterans to Reconciliation Process*”. In addition to that, there was a discussion with young activists and facilitators of the Youth Centre Gornji Vakuf-Uskoplje. Part of the group comprised of war veterans from Bosnia and Herzegovina (Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Republika Srpska), Serbia and Croatia who had attended CNA's training for ex-combatants and members of veterans' associations (Croatian Defence Council and the Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina) from Gornji Vakuf / Uskoplje.

Gornji Vakuf / Uskoplje is a small town in central Bosnia, where the Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatian Defence Council fought during the war (1992 - 1995). The town was divided into two parts and suffered huge destruction. After the war, the dividing lines were “buried”, buildings and infrastructure restored, but the division into Bosniak and Croatian part has remained and is actually visible to this day. That's the reason this meeting of former combatants was aimed at encouraging dialogue between the former conflicting parties, as an incentive to other citizens and new generations to re-establish dialogue, trust, tolerance and restoration of human relations in this town.

This informal mixed group of veterans is willing and motivated to participate in and encourage various peace actions, demonstrating that as direct participants in the war, who were on different sides and have different national, religious or any other identity are willing to be the ones who will encourage peace, reconciliation and establishment of dialogue. The most discussed topic at the round table which was held at the Town's Municipal Assembly was the need to include veterans from the local community into collaboration with the veterans from the region as a part of the process of reconciliation and dialogue.

Local members of the Croatian Defence Council's Associations who attended the meeting had a certain amount of reserve and caution towards such ideas, but the dialogue and friendly atmosphere resulted in the proposal that it was necessary to continue with these meetings and a joint message concerning the International Day of Peace was agreed emphasizing a desire to act toward building a lasting peace in the region. It is important to underline that several members of the Croatian Defence Council Associations cancelled their participation in this activity due to, as we were told, the parliamentary elections and an untimely political moment. It tells us first of all that is necessary to put even more effort into gaining the trust of local veterans' associations and individuals for a concrete involvement in such activities. This meeting can be viewed as a major step in that direction.

After a joint lunch and a walk around the town, there was a discussion with youngsters at the Youth Centre GUV. This discussion with the youth and their view of their daily life experience was very moving and emotional. The veterans of the group had an immediate chance to hear the experiences of young people who are growing up in a divided community, after having experienced war as children. Now they deal with various types of discrimination, pressures and anxieties. Through this conversation, one could feel the tragedy of war and its trans-generational impact and consequences it has on the lives of young people.

We hope to visit Gornji Vakuf/Uskoplje again with a similar line-up and continue with initiatives like these. Local people have shown us that organization of such meetings is extremely significant and important to them and that in this way they gain support for their efforts in organizing life in their community.

The event was covered and broadcast by Croatian Radio Television which we find extremely important. Unfortunately, except for the local web portal, it was the only media outlet that responded to our invitation to cover the event.

A.H.

documentaries and publications

the film screening of “intermittent line” in macedonia

Skopje, Prilep, Kumanovo: November 2009 – January 2010

In November 2009 and January 2010, we organized three film screenings of the documentary “Intermittent Line” in Macedonia (shot in 2008), which was directed by Nenad Vukosavljević and produced by Centre for Nonviolent Action.

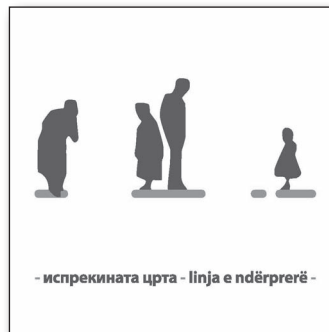
“Intermittent Line” (Испрекината црта / Linja e ndërprerë) is the fourth film in the simulated dialogues series dealing with relations between Albanians and Macedonians in Macedonia. This film contains interviews with persons, whose voices do not make their way into the public space, thus establishing communication between them and encouraging a more open inter-ethnic understanding of the painful experience of conflict that occurred in 2001, and its causes and consequences.

We had planned to organize three screenings (in Skopje, Prilep and Kumanovo), but ended up having two as a part of the November cycle - in Skopje (on November 12) and Prilep (on November 14). The one in Kumanovo was originally cancelled due to some organizational problems. Since it is important to us to organize the screenings together with people who are active in local communities, the screening in Kumanovo was held on the initiative of our new local partner and film’s protagonist and former combatant, Predrag Bingo Petruševski, in January 2010.

The organization of all three screenings was supervised and coordinated by Luan Imeri and Gordana Pirkovska Zmijanac.

The screening in Skopje which was organized with Međaši – the First Children’s Embassy in the world (www.childrensembassy.org.mk/) and Luan Imeri (film’s protagonist) was attended by about fifty people, eight of which were reporters.

The screening was followed by an hour-long discussion that Kadri Haxhihamza, Ana Bitoljanu (both protagonists of the film) and Nenad Vukosavljević had with the audience (in Albanian, Macedonian and Serbian, with simultaneous interpretation) which was moderated by Gordana Pirkovska Zmijanac. After the motives for taking part in the film were disclosed, the discussion followed. It revolved around experiences related to the conflict, the importance of accepting the “other” and walking in their shoes, tolerance and diversity. Several people expressed their need for similar films to be made more often, and for this one to make its way into media and educational institutions. Since there was a significant number of people active in the NGO sector in the audience, the discussion revolved around the role of the civic sector in the reconciliation process which didn’t make too much of a progress and the need for much more effort to be invested into work with people outside these circles. Establishing preconditions for the return of a considerable number of refugees and displaced people all over Macedonia, was also discussed.



Senior police adviser (who announced that he would use the film in an academic training of the multiethnic Macedonian police units) commented that examples of “positive” communication should be given a priority over the “neg-

ative" ones which should be banned from the public space. In response to it, the author of the film concluded that reconciliation and forgiveness should not be forced upon, and that reality should not be faked and furthermore that we need to face the most painful things and make space for honest communication in a constructive way.

The screening in Prilep was organized together with our local partners from the "Peace Action" (www.mirovnaakcija.org/). Aleksandar Markov (another protagonist of the film), Ana Bitoljanu, Luan Imeri and Nenad Vukosavljević took part in an hour-long conversation with the audience which was moderated by Goran Taleski. The attendance was the same as in Skopje, but it was noticeable that people who do not belong to the NGO sector came too and they were willing to talk about topics they found personally painful and challenging. The presence of several veterans of the Macedonian security forces who had participated in the conflict resulted in the direct discussion. A desire to talk about the events of 2001 in a different way than politicians tend to do was expressed along with the need for the crimes to be disclosed and a feeling of tension and insecurity fed by various and contradictory interpretations of the conflict. The interethnic relations and divisions, current political problems, conflicts over the language, ethnic and state symbols and their use were also addressed as well as different views of the Ohrid Agreement that had suspended the armed conflict. The veterans expressed their views of the war and their motivation to participate in it, dissatisfaction with the government's attitude towards them and conceded that the film was a positive example of dealing with issues that were essential for improving inter-ethnic relations in Macedonia and prevention of violence. It was also obvious that those in attendance at the screening wanted to seek Luan's opinion on various topics, which indicated to a lack of daily inter-ethnic communication in Prilep.

Macedonian veteran Predrag Bingo Petruševski, who reacted very emotionally and enthusiastically to the film expressed his desire to organize a promotion at the Culture House in Kumanovo, on January 15, 2010.

The audience demonstrated huge interest for this screening (attended by about 150 people, significant number of which were young people and veterans of the Macedonian security forces, with several veterans of the Albanian National Liberation Army) which was followed by a 50-minute long discussion in Albanian, Macedonian and Serbian between Goran Bingo

Petruševski, Luan Imeri, Nenad Vukosavljević and the audience, with moderating and consecutive translation provided by Safet Ballazhi.

The discussion included a direct victim of the conflict who expressed her everyday pain and sorrow for the killing of her husband, and who was seeking answers that would make sense of that loss; a veteran who asked all the victims of the conflict for forgiveness; peace activist who stressed the importance of personal and collective responsibility for a joint tribute to all the victims of the war, a politician (*"unfortunately was not able to contribute to resolving the 2001 crisis"*), who sought answers to the questions that the film addressed and asked some on his own (offering his interpretation of the statements that his fellow politicians from the other ethnic group gave in the film) as well as people from the community who expressed their frustration with the ethno-political divisions and conflicts, and mutual exclusiveness of different political options that cause everyday divisions in the city and society.

The fact that the media space of Macedonia lacks incentives for peacebuilding through communication on inter-ethnic violence from the past (is the recognition of that shortage a sign of urgency?) was proved by the airing of the film on TV stations. It was broadcast on bilingual ALSAT-M channel and the state-owned MTV1 (in Macedonian) and MTV2 (in Albanian). The film was broadcast on ALSAT-M as a part of the show that gathered Macedonian and Albanian combatants in the first public dialogue of this kind since the end of the conflict. Luan Imeri also appeared in a popular political show on channel TV5 about tolerance, during which excerpts from the film were aired.

The film made quite a splash amongst veterans. The day after the screening in Prilep Macedonian veterans' association "Dostoinstvo" had its session during which the discussion about the film was one of the two items on the agenda.

The Foundation Open Society Institute – Macedonia asked to make a hundred copies of the film and use it as a resource in their forums about the future of Macedonia.

Our partners in Macedonia and we feel highly empowered by the production and screenings of the "Intermittent Line". We are encouraged for further work, as well as for some form of further cooperation.

Quotes from the screening:

"I certainly would not want it to happen again to anybody, trust me. This should happen to no one. No one. The thing I want the most is for this country to be stable. Mostly because I have two children who should

live here. That's what I want the most. And I don't want what has happened to happen again to anyone, anyone. I also have to say, I am sure that my husband did not kill anyone, my husband was a driver, a mechanic. He did not shoot at the frontline".

"Obviously, this whole effort has achieved one of its goals simply because we are gathered here to talk

about these things. To talk about this topic openly. Another objective that has been fulfilled is that I, as a direct participant in military operations, am now speaking in favour of peace. In favour of coexistence, of respect, respect for differences. That idea is one of the ideas of this film. So that we, all the people, start talking to each other, knowing the differences..."

N.P.

about the oral histories book "images of those times"

The collection of oral histories of combatants and their family members "Images of Those Times" should be released in the autumn of 2010. In this article you can find more about the idea and the content of the book.

From the Foreword

... ... What we wanted with this book of oral histories was to collect in one place and publish the stories of combatants, war veterans, but also civilians, male and particularly female members of their families. We chose this concept, guided by a strong impression that in our societies war is in most cases perceived as a "male's" issue, of which only men - *combatants, defenders* - have something to say. The perspective of women, who have survived wars and lived through them in different ways, typically remains in the background or sidelined. The work on this book has confirmed our belief that showing male and female perspective is neither homogeneous nor unambiguous. As the published interviews show, experiences and life stories are diverse and multi-layered. It is therefore impossible to draw a clear line between these perspectives without reaching for essentialism, so close to the patriarchal way of thinking, inside of which one "knows" exactly who should do what and whose role it is. On the contrary, in this book you can read both the story of a veteran woman, and the story of a man who did not carry arms, but whose father had been killed in the war.

The focus of this book is on the wars, waged in the nineties in this former Yugoslav region, with a particular reference to the 1991-1995 wars. However, since personal stories are interwoven with collective narra-

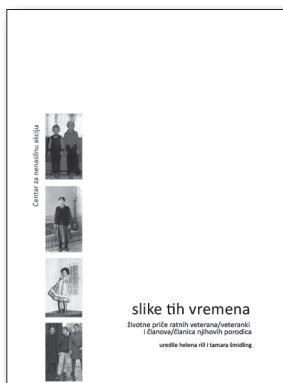
tives, they are also imbued with the memories of the wars of the past, and more recent periods ... Special attention was devoted to the triangle of Serbia - Bosnia and Herzegovina - Croatia, although the echo of other areas, especially that of Kosovo can be heard. The World War II is mentioned in personal histories on a few occasions and is interwoven with the wars of the nineties. Although wars are the focus of this book, in one story one can read about how people lived before and after the war, what their everyday life and social aspect of their lives were like...

Our work on collecting oral histories is in a way a continuation of what some other organizations had been doing in this field before us, one of which is the *Documentation Centre Wars 1991-1999* whose incredibly valuable work we find worth mentioning. However, the distinctiveness of this book and our approach lies in the fact that stories were collected and conducted by former war veterans and peace activists, representatives of two social groups that are often in conflict that is accompanied with labelling each other or even overt contempt.

All the interviews were conducted in the summer / fall of 2009, after a three-day training which was attended by thirteen people - veterans and activists. The preparations for the actual interview

were carefully designed and carried out, in accordance with the present standards in the field of collecting oral histories. Finally we got twenty interviews from eleven interviewers. All the interviews were accurately transcribed and stored in an archive while the most impressive ones in our opinion were published in this book.

It was challenging to work on this book, collecting stories and sometimes having difficulties deciding



whether to include a personal story or not, reading in one place how people were coping with the war and its consequences and furthermore, indirectly sharing many personal losses, whether it was someone's home, health, their loved ones ... According to Žuna, one of those who spoke: *"The war destroys everything from the top of every single hair of one's head down to the little toe, soul, just everything"*... On the other hand, these life stories also bring authenticity, simplicity, caring for others, love, and plenty of other emotions that can not but touch you. *Personal stories and personal understanding are important parts of peacebuilding*. This collection of personal stories is our contribution to widening the space needed for sharing personal experiences, without which we believe, the chances of genuine mutual and human understanding would be tremendously reduced.

Although these are personal stories of *ordinary* people, according to Aga-Pop, one of the speakers, one can also recognize from them collective narratives imbued with the traumas of both distant and recent past. Although this book is not intended to provide material for the analysis of ethnic / collective narratives, it is still impossible to escape them and they permeate and shape personal stories and experiences in a similar way to that in which they shape and influence our society. In certain cases, however, the power of the collective narrative completely disappears as opposed to the power of personal story.

We hope that this book will be read with an open heart and the stories of people will be approached with an intention of understanding them, instead of condemning and rejecting them, which is frequently the case.

H. R.

in cooperation with other organisations



the third peace academy

Sarajevo, July 18 – 27, 2010

Last summer, the Franciscan Student Dormitory in Sarajevo, for the third consecutive year, became a gathering place for about 60 participants from all over former Yugoslavia and also from Germany, Ireland, Turkey, USA, UK. Among this year's participants were activists, theorists, journalists, employees of colleges and schools and a few veterans who attended one of the three courses offered.

When the team of seven people from four different organizations (besides CNA, there were colleagues from Nansen Dialogue Centre Sarajevo, MCC South East Europe office and Terca, Sarajevo) nearly five years ago started to plan this activity, we described what we wanted to create as a "meeting place". We were a little aware that those words were somewhat overused, but what was driving us towards them were a need and a feeling that somehow we had lacked a place to meet and reflect. For one thing, after three Peace Academies we organized that's what we have achieved exactly - that people want to come and meet up, think critically and examine the world we live in.

In 2010, the organizing team of PA offered three courses (two in Serbian/Croatian/Bosnian language and one in English):

- *Religion and nationalism, **Vjekoslav Perica***
- *Understanding elements of collective violence and mass crimes and its consequences, **Vlasta Jalušić and Tonči Kuzmanić***
- *Memory and its role in Conflict and Conflict Transformation, **Orly Friedman***

We have received the biggest number of applications so far (nearly 180), and the reason for this lies (apart from the fact that the previous two academies provided excellent publicity) also in a bigger effort that the organizing team invested into the promotion of the Third Peace Academy. Hence, besides the usual invitations sent via email, people were invited through banners placed on some of the most popular alternative web portals in the region while the promotion of this programme in Priština, Kosovo, was attended by around fifty people.

According to the trainees' assessment, the courses were quite stimulating and reached a high level. The objections were mainly related to methodological uniformity and even inadequacy at certain moments (either not enough or too much discussion, either not enough theory or too much theory - depending on one's liking and preferences). The gains are, as it seems, numerous. People stay in touch, think and write. This time we have received the biggest number of essays (a total of 41) after the Academy and their quality has significantly increased, in comparison to the previous years. Starting with this year, the lecturers were involved with reading and the selection of best essays which seemed to motivate people to make an effort and write down their thoughts. One of the main programmatic challenges for the future is related to finding new potential lecturers, able to create space for interaction, discussion and exchange, that will turn neither into a mere ex-cathedra lecture with 15 min-

utes left for discussion, nor into workshop with a sole aim of sitting in a circle and randomly sharing personal experiences for the sake of it. Peace Academy neither offers training events nor college courses. It aims to be a point of intersection between theory and practice, reflection and action. It's a space inside of which different emancipating practices meet, criticize and join together.

Thanks to a good teamwork organization and cooperativeness of lecturers and participants, the organization went on without too much stress or panic. It seems that the biggest challenge in the organizational and technical sense was how to find a suitable restaurant where about 60 people can eat decent food, for decent money in a decent environment ... and within a decent time frame (without waiting for an hour and a half). Furthermore, how to ensure that the wonder of technology known as the Internet operates throughout the duration of the Academy.

What's next?

In order to make the Peace Academy sustainable and effective, (in terms of detestable language of project management) big changes needed to take place in the way it was operated and in its status. Therefore, last August the **Foundation of Peace Academy** was registered. Starting from next year it will try to live its own independent life. We did not decide on it so there would be even more NGOs in Bosnia and Herzegovina, but in order to breath a new life into this

initiative by building a more comprehensible structure for it. Its value and programmatic orientation that was honed nearly five years ago will not be changed. The organizing team hopes the change in PA would lead to capacity building and better distribution of tasks that will leave more time for dealing with the programmatic and creative work. For now, the Foundation has one employee who is in charge of administrative work. How will the future of this old initiative and new organization look like, remains to be seen. What is certain is that there's no shortage of motivation and enthusiasm. That's enough to continue. Sorry, to begin with.

PS For more information on the Future of Peace Academy please visit www.mirovna-akademija.org

T.Š.



veterans in peacebuilding: potentials and limitations

Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, September 27 - 28, 2009

From September 27 – 28, 2009, a seminar on the theme: *The Role of Veterans in Peacebuilding: Potentials and Limitations* was held as a result of partnership between MCC (Mennonite Central Committee) Sarajevo office and CNA, in Sarajevo. Along with the organizers, the implementation of this seminar was helped by the Centre for War Trauma from Novi Sad, Serbia and our special guest - trainer Carl Stauffer, from the MCC office in South Africa.

The participants were the members of the organizations from the region (Centre for War Trauma, Mennonite Central Committee, CNA and Trauma Centre, Sarajevo) and seven veterans from Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia and Croatia. The veterans who took part

at this meeting are long term collaborators of CNA on peace activities we have organized in the region. The basic idea of this meeting was an exchange of various approaches to work with veterans in the field of peace building in the former Yugoslavia and South Africa and the promotion of the activities and experiences up to date of the organizations and individuals active in this field. Our intention was also to start a dialogue between veterans and peace activists at the regional and international level. The seminar was designed as a combination of presentations, exercises, work in small groups and discussions, through which our guest from South Africa and representatives of CNA and Centre for War Trauma were taking us.

The facilitators presented their work with veterans, and the ways in which veterans could be involved in the process of peacebuilding.

The interesting workshops were those where Carl Stauffer, who has been working with veterans from South Africa for several years already, presented his method and approach and most of the time in the programme was devoted to it. That allowed us to get a better insight into the context of peacebuilding in South African Republic and to compare it with the context of our region which was the most discussed topic in the workshops. We also had the opportunity to talk about the impact of local cultures and their specificity with respect to the process of peacebuilding and reconciliation, which proved to be an inspiring topic, especially for veterans.

Methods that were used included a lot of creative and empirical exercises related to activism and reconciliation which was quite well received by the present

veterans and other participants.

CNA team made a presentation of their activities and approaches, and with the support of veterans, initiated a conversation about the advantages and difficulties of involvement of veterans in the peacebuilding process in our region.

An important impression from the seminar was veterans' willingness to get involved with more specific and advanced forms of peace education, such as this one.

This type of activity also indicates that there's a need, ability and interest in a more concrete international cooperation in the context of veterans' contribution to peacebuilding at both local and global level.

As a continuation of this idea, for next year, MCC plans to try to arrange a meeting of veterans from the former Yugoslavia and veterans from some other post war area in the world, with the support of CNA.

N.H.

advanced training “dealing with the past in the context of peacebuilding”

Wustrow, Germany, November 23 – 27, 2009

Our close long-term cooperation and partnership with Kurve Wustrow - our sister organization was materialised last November in yet another way. Our colleagues Nenad Vukosavljević and Tamara Šmidling participated in the implementation of the advanced training programme that Kurve has been organizing every fall, for the past several years. The CNA's training pair designed and facilitated a five-day training on “Dealing with the Past in the Context of Peacebuilding.”

The main characteristic of the whole series of the advanced training events is that they are open to an international group of participants who possess certain prior knowledge and experience in areas covered by the training. Hence, we had an opportunity to work with a really small group, consisting of seven participants, with a distinct diverseness of both personal and professional backgrounds and orientations. The group included people from Nepal, Burundi and Germany. Most participants from Germany were preparing for volunteering (as civil peace workers) in Bosnia, Macedonia and Palestine, which means that the role of so called “outsiders” in these societies was frequently

thematized in these training events. In addition to that, there's our long-term experience of work in the region of former Yugoslavia, so we can say that despite the small size, our group certainly did not lack diversity of perspectives, experiences, and sometimes even values.

For us in the training team, the biggest challenge was finding a common language and base from which we were to start analysing the situation in our mutually diverse societies. Working in international groups keeps reminding you that no arbitrary analogies are allowed, and that the situation in every society must be put in a concrete historical and political context in order to understand the local process of dealing with the past. During the five working days we tried to put emphasis on mutual exchange within the group and to initiate questions and discussions that would shed more light on the complexity of the process of dealing with the past and reconciliation in order to help us recognize the similarities and differences between our contexts.

As it is usually the case, besides working on the main theme, we did a lot more on many other levels - primarily on practicing authentic and experiential

intercultural learning (by way of decrypting different communication codes, which wasn't always easy; as well as by fighting against self-intelligibility of some generally accepted notions like truth, justice or transitional justice). Our intention was to offer a conceptual framework for work on dealing with the past *in the context of peacebuilding* to the participants and therefore familiarize them with a specific perspective of work in this field that is wider than the standard "arrest war criminals" approach.

The actual venue where the training took place is an interesting one and deserves to be mentioned here. It is a house that belongs to Kurve Wustrow, and it really brings specific dynamics, especially to us who have been accustomed to working in hotels all over the former Yugoslavia. Nothing of the atmosphere of a hotel can be found there. Instead, you get a chance to work in a "domestic" environment that we all took care of - with all its strengths and weaknesses. It is a unique

activist concept (even lifestyle) that Kurve cultivates that we think should be enriched by an introduction to the local context of Wendland region. Since you have participants from all over the world, many of whom find themselves abroad for the first time in their lives, it is worth considering how to additionally introduce them to the place where they spend their (autumnal) training days. All the more so, since that is not your typical "EU-consumerist paradise" (which is the image that many people have of Germany), but the region with several decades long history of social and activist engagement.

In any case, this October brings the chance to continue this kind of cooperation, as well as correct some of last year's oversights, with CNA members facilitating another advanced training on the same topic. We hope this time the group will be bigger, hence surely there will be no shortage of challenges and inspiration.

T.Š.

international conference *new horizons*.

Linking Development Cooperation and Transitional Justice for Sustainable Peace

Berlin, January 27 – 28, 2010

www.frient.de/en/conference2010/programme

The FriEnt (Working Group on Development and Peace) conference held in Berlin attracted many decision-makers, scientists and practitioners from around the world. Due to creative energy of the organizers, the concept applied allowed much more exchange and in-depth discussions than one usually experiences at conferences. Since I truly dislike long, I-do-great-work-and-have-all-the-answers kind of boring speeches, it was remarkable that organizers have vastly succeeded in creating such learning and exchange space where important questions could be raised and probably also some very important answers could be found.

It would be impossible to report appropriately on learning points, so here are some of the impulses and thoughts I have picked up and would like to mention:

Peacebuilding cannot be squeezed to fit "logical framework". (representative of DFID, British development agency)

We (various actors in this field) occasionally understand each other.

Being flexible and adaptive instead of rigidly planning, is often more appropriate in peacework.

Aftermath of violent conflict can not be settled or resolved solely through judiciary.

I was strengthened in my resistance towards using the term "transitional justice" which appears rather inappropriate and overstretched to cover all it is meant to cover (and gets expanded daily towards the terms "peacebuilding" and "dealing with the past")

My participation was within the conference Working Group: *Education and Remembrance: Laying the Ground for new Generations*

I have conducted a workshop within this working group, titled *"Complexity of Dealing with the Past (DwP) - Based on experiences in Western Balkans"*, download http://www.frient.de/downloads/Nenad_Vukosavljevic_Paper.pdf

Congratulations to FriEnt team on their achievements and thanks for the energy invested.

N.V.

activities we joined

international conference

“nonviolent livelihood struggle and global militarism: links & strategies”

Ahmedabad, India, January 22–25, 2010

The conference which was organized by the *War Resisters' International* (WRI) in collaboration with *Gujarat Vidyapith* (University), *Gujarat Sarvodaya Mandal* and *Smpoorna Kranti Vidyalaya* (Institute of Total Revolution) was held in the Western Indian state of Gujarat.

The whole conference had a special quality to it due to the place, country and region in which it took place and I believe that it would have somehow been different if the organizers had chosen some other region.

Firstly, in order to reach India, one has not only to travel for several thousand miles, but also to cross some personal borders, look at the world from another point of view (and leave their own aside, as much as possible), observe some different values, not comparing all the while but trying to understand.

The conference was prepared with great ambition and gathered many participants, speakers, workshop facilitators etc. (few hundred of them, actually). It was opened by Arundhati Roy, an author and activist, in this region mostly known for her novel “The God of Small Things”. She is an activist whose life is threatened because she raised her voice against some standpoints and/or actions of the state (of India). Together with Ashish Nandyi, she is one of the key critics of globalization, capitalism and militarism.

In addition to this topic, in the Conference's plenary sessions, speakers were presenting the contexts of their origin and the problems related to it, such as: *Displacement*, *'Development' and militarism*, *Mining - threat to community*, *Fuel for war*, *Nonviolent resistance from local communities*, *Nonviolent struggles for land*, *Forming trans-national alliances*.

The workshops were diverse regarding both the subject matter and the point of view of the speakers,

and the workshop participants and speakers came from countries like Ecuador, Germany, South Korea, Chile, India, Colombia, Kashmir, Papua New Guinea ... What crossed my mind was that there were all these problems and so many motivated people, enough to give you, too, a shot of motivation. There's a hope that a different world is (still) possible, or at least that there are people who really believe in it.

Some of the workshops were related to the displacement of the indigenous communities, military bases and displacement, furthermore: Violence against regional identities; Meaning of 'war on terror' to social movements; Constructive work and self-sustainability as nonviolent resistance; Nonviolent actions against NATO; The question of peace in West and Central Africa; Towards nonviolence as a philosophy of life: class, peace, and' transformation'; India - the struggle for land rights; Women and population displacement caused by development; Nationalism and anti-fascist movements and so on.

Together with Boro, CNA's colleague from Macedonia and Olga from Russia, I facilitated a workshop on *Nationalism and anti-fascist movements*. Participants were people from different parts of the world, and, of course, with different views, which was quite a new experience for me (being used to the problems of the region of former Yugoslavia). It is interesting though how nationalism, unfortunately, speaks a common language to all of us who were in the workshop. The difficulty of the workshop lied in the fact that there were people who had already reflected on these issues and dealt with them, and also those who were only just trying to find out what exactly it was about and what nationalism looked like elsewhere. Sometimes, as it was the case here, it is easier to look at someone else's yard rather than one's own.

Yet another important point of this Conference was an organized trip to one of the centres (Rural Service Centre, situated 65 km away from Ahmedabad) that Gandhi had founded with his followers. The Centre is an educational and agricultural self-sustained system in the affected area with low literacy rates. After the visit to the Centre I had an impression that even though I live in the Balkans, which is burdened with numerous problems and the legacy of the war, I am still privileged because of living here.

The conference was closed by Narayan Desai, a prominent Indian follower of Gandhi. Since the following day an anniversary of Gandhi's death was commemorated, the hosts organized a march to Gandhi's ashram, Kochrab in which a memorial service was held.

I was especially impressed by the attitude of people in India towards Gandhi with some kind of worship for him. After having been India and being able to get a better insight into the Indian context, somehow I un-

derstood his importance and the meaning it had in the past and has today. The distance I have since I live in the Balkans and in a completely different context of living and problems has resulted in me having a totally different attitude towards Gandhi. I can not say that it has changed very much, but I do see him from a completely different point of view and with different understanding.

After the conference, from January 27 to 29, WRI hold a council session in which I was elected. It was a great honour because it meant that both my work and the work of CNA were recognized. Like all organizations, WRI has their own dynamics, their ups and downs, but I especially admire people who have been dedicated to it (for a number of years) like Howard, Joanne, Andreas, Javier, Jorgen and others. Knowing those and some other people helped me to broaden my perspective on peace work at least a little bit, and I hope to be able to contribute to their work.

H.R.

workshop: „dealing with difficult pasts in the western balkans and western europe – possibilities and perspectives for trans-european cooperation“

Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, June 02 – 04, 2010

The international workshop „Dealing with difficult pasts in the Western Balkans and Western Europe – possibilities and perspectives for trans-European cooperation“ was organized by the French-German Youth Office, the André Malraux Centre in Sarajevo and the Youth Initiative for Human Rights Bosnia-Herzegovina. The workshop took place in Sarajevo 02. - 04. 06. 2010. The 23 participants, working in NGOs, memorial sites, museums and research-centres, came from Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, France, Germany and Serbia. Jessica participated in the name of CNA.

The overall goal of the workshop was to bring together professionals from Western Balkans and Western Europe who are involved in the field of dealing with difficult pasts in order to exchange experiences and to examine possibilities for cooperation.

The confusion about how to call the meeting from the site of the participants during the workshop („....this conference... – ahm- ... workshop....“) was the „running gag“ , due to the mix of methods which were used: Context overviews regarding the situation of Dealing with difficult pasts in the Western Balkans and Western Europe in form of lectures, presentations of activities in the field of Dealing with the past and examples

of regional and international cooperation, exploration tours of sites in Sarajevo and workshop-moduls on developing concrete actions for cooperation.

During the workshop the complexity of the situation and the challenges which exist in the field of dealing with the past especially in the case of Bosnia-Herzegovina was worked out very well. Does dealing with the past in BiH really mean dealing with **the past**, since in BiH nearly everybody still has to cope with the after effects of war, and conflicting memories exist? Dealing with the past in the Western Balkans is also a political issue: monuments are used to mark one's own territory, to remember one's own heroes and victims, while trying to prevent the establishment of monuments for the victims of the „other“ side. In contrast, in Germany and France dealing with the past is handled more with professional distance.

As an initiative for further cooperation the organization of a workshop/forum in 2011 was proposed, including a 3- day study trip to different memory sites in the Western Balkans before the workshop.

The workshop was held in a respectful atmosphere, in a spirit of „learning from each other“.

J.Ž.

word of a new team member

coming to cna sarajevo

Jessica Žic

In the meantime, some months have passed since my arrival in Sarajevo:

I do not get lost in Bascarsija anymore, and I do not jerk when somebody asks „Gde si?“, thinking that he/she is calling me (Jessi!). Moreover, I can recognize the refrains of some sevdalinke. And I have even gotten used to news reports about war crimes, genocide and mass graves...

Coming to CNA, sent by its German partner organization, KURVE Wustrow, means integrating in a team with a high degree of professionalism and a lot of experience. Thinking about a small peace organization without hierarchies like CNA, many people may imagine something like a crazy, non-organized crew of Hippies. But, also if a lot of things are going on in a sympathetic, non-formal, trust-based way, I realized that having no hierarchies does not mean not to have clear responsibilities and standards of planning and implementing activities. Also, if the structure of CNA is quite easy to understand, the subject of its work is not: It is complex, loaded with emotions, with a high risk of misunderstandings.

Since my colleagues only have to hear one word to know in which direction somebody's argumentation is going, the first challenge for me was – and still is – to read the codes when places or names are mentioned, and to build up a kind

of raster in my mind to be able to sort out the things people say, and reflecting about their meaning between the lines.

To me it seems like the image of Internationals in BiH is very bad, according to the experience of the locals, that Internationals often behave like coming from the “civilized west” to the Balkans, without knowing about the context of the region, with prepared solutions, pseudo-analyzing the situation, telling something about reconciliation.

Being asked how I experience the situation in Bosnia, the answer may sound banal for the people here who survived the war: there are hardly no contacts and a lot of mistrust between the religious/ethnic groups, and this situation is fueled by media and politics. Everything seems to have an ethnic label, and not much space is given in society to overcome these clusters. People are still struggling with war experiences, also if some of them cognitively decide not to deal with the past.

Nevertheless I think I am perceived as an „International“, it is also my personal interest to support the work of CNA in the field of building lasting peace in former Yugoslavia, since my father comes from Croatia and half of my family lives there, being part of „that story“. During my internship in Serbia I was working with refugees, coming from Croatia and Bosnia, and the personal contacts were very impressing for me. As a social worker for refugees in Germany, being confronted with their stories, I often asked myself what is the situation like for those who had to stay, not being able to flee. Or which situation they would have to face if they returned to their countries after the conflict.

So, coming to CNA Sarajevo means a great chance for me to learn, I am very happy about that possibility, and I hope I can usefully contribute to the organization's mission.



contexts in which cna works

croatia

In the past year, Croatia has been struggling to meet the conditions needed to continue the negotiations for accession to the European Union. Another year is almost over (once upon a time, 2010 was supposed to be the year of joining the “magnificent Europeans”), yet there is no end to the chapters that ought to be closed.

Without pretension to cover all the important events that have marked this period, I singled out those most memorable ones of the past year that had to do with more or less successful work on closing the “accession chapters”.

Slovenes have ceased to be our national enemy No 1, which hampers the negotiations for Croatian accession to the European Union.

Little over a year ago, the agreement on the border dispute between Slovenia and Croatia was settled in the Trakošćan castle. It seems there might also be a solution to the problem of Croatian clients’ savings deposits in Ljubljanska Banka⁶. Now that we’ve proudly defended our piece of Croatian homeland in the Piran Bay, other great temptations and challenges have remained. They have nothing to do with Slovenes, but rather with those we keenly keep on electing and putting our trust into year after year.

In order to restart the negotiations on joining the European Union it is necessary, to put it simply, “to complete some chapters” of judicial reform, fight against the corruption and organized crime, processing war crimes, refugees’ and minorities’ issues and full cooperation with ICTY. And that’s a lot of work, no doubt about it. Unless those from Europe to whom we look as if they were the Virgin of Medjugorje (because Croatia is above all a Catholic state) don’t turn a blind eye, it’s unlikely we shall ever join their ranks. And that’s what we want and what we strive to, or at least everyone says so: state leadership, local politicians, Croat Church, media and most people.

Now, let’s start with the judiciary and the new laws ...

In May, the Government adopted a new Labour Act (LA), which was presented as being in compliance with European standards, changes of which are related to the extension of

collective bargaining rights. Rather than imposing penalties to employers who do not pay salaries to their employees (which was the initiative of the opposition) or encouraging the adoption of the general collective agreement for all employees in Croatia, the Government in fact calls upon a unilateral termination of the collective agreement thus handing over the employees to the mercy of the employers and their work bylaws. Trade unions, together with opposition parties and nongovernmental organizations organized signing of a petition in favour of the referendum on the LA. Lot more than statutory 10% (more precisely: 15.95%) was collected; however the Constitutional Court rejected the referendum because the Government had withdrawn the bill. Was the Government afraid of its citizens’ judgement because it would mean that the law contrary to the decision taken at the referendum could not be adopted for another year or is it just a way to restart the procedure of the adoption of the new/ old Labour Act, this time with only skin-deep changes?

Perhaps the results of the judicial reform are reflected in the fact that this time the decision of the Constitutional Court was reached very quickly – it took only a month, while the decisions on some other sensitive social issues are being dragged on and avoided endlessly. For example, the reviews of constitutionality and legality regarding the Abortion law which was submitted to this

⁶ After the disintegration of former Yugoslavia a problem of about 130 000 Croatian clients whose savings deposits were kept in Croatian branch of Ljubljanska banka has remained unresolved to this day. For two decades they have been trying to regain their deposits, with the total debt estimated to about 150 million € including interests. Until now, it has been unclear who should pay the debt – the state of Slovenia, Nova Ljubljanska banka (legal successor of Ljubljanska banka) or some third party.

instance in 1991, the Law on artificial and medically assisted insemination (2009) and the Law on Cooperation with The Hague (2001) are still pending. In these cases the decisions are still awaited because politics known as "better to be silent than to make fuss" seems to take precedence over constitutionality and legality.

The fight against corruption and organized crime...

Ivo Sanader, the former Prime Minister, returned to the Parliament, and in style, some would say.

He says: "some amazing developments in the aftermath of my departure forced me to come back". After some rumble amongst the reporters and MPs, a seat was found for him and he was once again protected by parliamentary immunity, like an endangered species.

He took his seat in the Parliament again, after Croatia was brought to the brink of economic ruin under his rule and after serious charges for corruption and crime were brought against most of the CEOs of state owned companies who are now in custody, but were once his associates (the most infamous scandal was the one in connection with Hypo Bank). This time it was USKOK (The Bureau for Combating of Corruption and Organized Crime) and DORH (State Attorney's Office of the Republic of Croatia) who failed, which is yet another proof that the law does not apply equally to all in this country.

Damir Polančec, former Deputy Prime Minister in Sanader's Government, stands accused for paying the unnecessary expert study, which cost the state half a million kunas. It sends a strong message to see the former Deputy Prime Minister standing in the dock. However, it remains to be seen whether it is only the beginning of the confrontation and fight against corruption and crime on the highest level or Polančec is the scapegoat and an alibi for the whole structure of corruption at the top of the administration?

While the Government and state leadership plead ignorance, factories go bankrupt, people are left destitute, and according to some estimates, about a million citizens of Croatia are starving.

Humiliated and exhausted workers of Kamensko textile factory recently went on hunger strike and protested in front of Zagreb Cathedral because they have not been paid for five months and cannot support themselves or their families.

The ministers offer their sympathy, but since the company in question is privately owned, they say they cannot do anything. They can do nothing because the Government refused to accept the opposition proposal to persecute not paying wages to workers but also

because certain businessmen have evaded paying for health care and pension benefits and taxes for years and the system protects big business. It is very difficult to exercise a basic human right to a dignified life in our country and we also lack human solidarity given that the support to the Kamensko workers came only from their family members and students gathered around the web portal Slobodni filozofski.

Kamensko's workers are no exception. It's just another sad news from day to day life in Croatia about troubled factories ruined by privatisation and their employees.

It seems that after numerous rallies, the citizens protests to preserve the Varšavska Street pedestrian zone in downtown Zagreb failed. The interest of private investors' Hoto group, took precedence over the citizens' will. All building permits for erecting construction on the city's public lots were valid and issued by the City Council with Mayor Milan Bandić at its helm. Even though 50 000 people signed the petition against the construction in Varšavska Street and the protests of citizens initiated by two NGOs: the Right to the City and Green Action forming a human shields around the construction site continued, it was all in vain. Mid-July, police carried out mass arrests of protesters, there were no more trees in Varšavska Street, and the whole street was dug out with the strong assistance of riot police, which arrested 151 persons.

The construction continues, as well as the citizens' protests while the procedures of obtaining and approving certain building permits are being re-examined. The Varšavska Street has become a symbol of resistance against wild capitalism and encroachment of public goods, and hopefully a strong message for the future: citizens are not a mere unconscious voting crowd; they can and will exercise their legal right to control government decisions.

The prosecution of war crimes, refugee and minority rights, cooperation with the Hague Tribunal...

The sentence to Branimir Glavaš for the war crime of killing Serbs in Osijek was reduced. At first, the Supreme Court reduced the sentence from ten to eight years of imprisonment due to "circumstances of war and the fall of Vukovar", as it was explained. Croatia makes no mention of the outrageous behaviour of people in the Croatian Democratic Assembly of Slavonija and Baranja (political party Glavaš had founded) and some individuals and "entrepreneurs" from Osijek who organized fundraising in order to bribe the judges of the Supreme Court so they would abolish Glavaš in

the “Duct Tape Case”.⁷ It’s scandalous even more so since his sentence was actually reduced, and he said that “if I was really guilty for the killing of these people I should be sentenced to at least 20 years”.

Although the denial of the crimes have finally stopped and the intent and cruelty were disclosed after all, what remains is a bitter taste in one’s mouth because the crimes committed during the Homeland War are still treated as something left to the arbitrary will of individuals and rather accidental. Regardless of the fact that Glavaš is currently serving time in Bosnia and Herzegovina, where he once ran away when his trial was reopened, he will continue to receive his parliamentary pension.

The sentence in the process to Croatian generals Ivan Čermak, Mladen Markač and Ante Gotovina is expected to be delivered in December. The Prosecution’s Office asked they be sentenced to 17-27 years for crimes committed against Serbs during and in the aftermath of the Operation Storm.

At the same time, the average Croatian citizen is confused and wonders why that is so, because “the Operation Storm was a military-police operation that brought us freedom, the action in which we pushed away our “arch enemy” and regained control over our territory.”

Celebrating the Homeland Gratitude Day in Knin, The President of the Republic Ivo Josipović stated: “Because of the small portion of the events that were not welcome, the entire operation is often being unfairly

questioned which is incorrect and not right from a political, historical and moral standpoint”.

A small portion of the events that was not welcome?! That small portion of the events that was not welcome resulted in the exile of the entire Serbian people from Croatia! The suffering of others still goes unrecognized, and even if a crime is punished, it will remain socially unaccepted as a crime.

Hence, the rhetoric of the state leadership has not changed although more was expected from Ivo Josipović, especially after his visit to Ahmići⁸ that caused a huge, tectonic shift on the Croatian social scene and offered a glimpse of the shake up of nation’s sacred truths. The visit to Ahmići was a big step, and I do not want to diminish it, but yet again, at the beginning of the road leading to social catharsis, after making one step ahead, we stumbled on the first rock that set us three steps aback. Such a social climate ultimately hinders lasting solution of the rights of Serbs regarding their property, status etc.

Hence, what to say in the end?

Here we are Europe, even though we are in an economic chaos, with a minimum of economic growth and a foreign debt that we will not repay for another 5 generations, our administration is slow, judicial system is corrupted, there’s a million people on the verge of starvation, the unemployment is rising monthly; but we are better than Serbia, Bosnia, Montenegro, Macedonia and others... so, take us in because we’re yours...

Sanja Deanković

montenegro without alternative

The least common, but certainly one of the most original answers to the already legendary question: “Do you support Milo (Đukanović) or Momir (Bulatović)?” would be: I do! Apart from the most frequent and dull explanation of that answer (that it only serves to circumvent further discussion) there is another one, according to which, it means a refusal to accept what’s been offered, non-compliance with the choice, negation of the alternative presented as the only possible and essential. What kind of choice or alternative is it about, in Montenegro? Firstly, the choice being offered is almost always false; the range of al-

ternatives amongst which citizens can choose freely in a democratic way does not exist. The only thing they can do is choose lesser of two evils, and that is at the same time the argument of those who supply us with these false alternatives. Wonderful choice that is – being forced to choose an evil, in any case.

This report, too, can be based on the fact that in the past year, Montenegro was characterized by nothing but a series of most incredible false alternatives, which were unfortunately, rarely answered with aforementioned answer – the one that would dismiss them in advance, refusing to accept that kind of alternative.

⁷ The “Duct Tape Case” is a war crime committed by the members of the Croatian Army in Osijek, in 1991, under the command of Branimir Glavaš, then commander of the town’s defence. About a dozen Serbs from Osijek were eliminated and thrown into the Drava River. All the corpses were found with their hands tied down and gagged with duct tape.

⁸ On April 16, 1993 the members of the Croatian Defence Council (HVO) committed a war crime in the village of Ahmići, in central Bosnia killing 116 people.

To put it more drastically, almost everything that is being done in Montenegro is of such utmost importance that it simply HAS NO ALTERNATIVE.

EU Without Alternative

All available public and secret forces of Montenegro have been activated in order to complete EU integration process successfully and as soon as possible, while the process itself, of course, has no alternative. After having responded to the questionnaire with more or less success, in the process that took several attempts to finish and with more secrecy than it is allowed in a democratic society, Montenegrin officials keep announcing with fanatical joy the **possibility of receiving EU candidate status** day in day out. What an amazing success of young Montenegrin democracy! An issue as big as that, must bring along the fact that the needed stability and security of the state can primarily be obtained through NATO membership, therefore the campaign to join NATO is progressing rapidly. Last year the Parliament approved of the deployment of Montenegrin soldiers in Afghanistan, therefore these days, another contingent is getting ready to replace them. This means that the revitalization of democracy in friendly Afghanistan has been defended with Montenegrin lives as well, for almost a year now, while there's no mentioning of neither NATO nor God forbid EU membership (surely the two are being sold together). The most worrying is that except for the few lonely outcries, indented to score some low and petty political points, there is no single organized anti-NATO or anti-militarist campaign in Montenegro whatsoever.

Montenegrin Nation With No Alternative

Ministry of Education and Science of Montenegro (i.e. Slavoljub Stijepović, newly elected minister who is, by all accounts, appointed just for that purpose) has drafted and proposed the adoption of a new Education Act according to which Montenegrin language must be studied as an official language in all educational institutions. It appears that the completion of Montenegro, i.e. of Montenegrin nationalism is under way, full steam ahead: after the restoration of independence - the **territory**, followed by the Education Act - the **language**, and most likely the law on **religion** - the Church, therefore the last communist stronghold in the Balkans, is being successfully transformed into **the youngest nationalism** in the region, following its neighbours' recipes. Just like any other, our spoilt little nationalism must be fed with hatred toward the other and at this moment that is the Serbian "occupying and

conquering" people in Montenegro. For God's sake, human rights can not be respected completely, because Montenegrin language has no alternative, hence over 60% of the citizens of Montenegro who speak Serbian, over 10% of those who speak Albanian as well as those who speak Bosnian and Croatian - as of September 1st must learn Montenegrin as the official language, contrary to the Constitution of Montenegro. The series of campaigns and reactions that came from almost the entire local and international community were initiated and the president was put under pressure not to sign the bill, but in vain. As a consequence, in the name of Serbian, Croatian and Bosniak peoples in Montenegro, initiatives were launched to allow school curriculum in native languages in the municipalities where those nations are either majority or make up large percentage of population. Corresponding initiatives were pushed through by Montenegrins in Serbia to allow curriculum in Montenegrin language in some places in Serbia. Nothing unusual - might comment the reader of this report in case they do not know that it's the same language. Ah, with nationalism 1 times 0 is equal to 2, and 1 divided by 1 is equal to 3! One can only imagine the kind of multiplication, division and results the implementation of this law will provoke in already deeply divided society. The worst thing is that it all starts from an early age - from the first grade of primary school.

Violence without Alternative

Many workers of Montenegro commenced the year 2010, impoverished, without resources to cater to their basic needs, in endless debts and lethargic when it comes to just about anything. The most striking of all were, however the miners who went on strike at their workplace - underground. Their agony - without food, water or daylight - lasted for days, until the Prime Minister addressed them, in a personal letter promising they would get their unpaid wages. The radicalization of the protest showed how trustworthy he was. The miners blocked the entrance to the mine and got beaten up by his dutifully loyal police. Those are the same police forces that raided a disco in a coastal town of Budva, demolishing its interiors and behaving violently towards the guests, pushing them around, punching and knocking them down. The "performance" with the policemen wearing masks and being fully armed was so authentic, that some English and French guests concluded there must have been a terrorist group carrying explosives in the disco and the police were to get rid of them. Again, the very same police pushed,

carried out (by pulling their legs and arms), and arrested about thirty residents of Golija (near the border with Bosnia and Herzegovina), who wanted to protest peacefully and prevent the Army from destroying the surplus weapons in their village (an interesting choice of location: populated place, with rich flora and fauna) and from polluting the countryside well known for its ecological-beauty. That's the way it goes ... What kind of alternative one is to expect as long as an attack of a citizen against a politician and a major against a citizen doesn't mean a thing and the State Attorney says that "criminals have morals and respect her because they know she will not wrongly accuse anyone"? Oh, our safe homeland!

Dealing With the Past Note Even As an Alternative

The Kaluđerski Laz case, the Morinj camp case, the bombing of Dubrovnik continue to unravel based on a good old recipe: only the direct perpetrators stand accused, while those who were part of the political and army leadership at that time and the most responsible for what was happening don't even get to be mentioned. The announced founding of the Documentation Centre, an institution that would collect documents and materials of the wartime and intensify work on dealing with the past is not going to happen. When the process (of dealing with the past) is mentioned it seems as if it were the Japanese-Russian war (1904 - 1905), in which Montenegro did take part (on the Russian side, of course), but it was so long ago and so far away, just as was fair and honourable warfare although

more on a symbolic than real level, that every discussion about it seems rather absurd and fairylike.

The Standard Of Living without Alternative

Looking at the list of new citizens of Montenegro (Thaksin Shinavatra, Darko Šarić, possibly Miroslav Mišković, Pamela Anderson, maybe Roman Abramovich) one might think that the plan to attract huge foreign investments via high-end tourism is gradually being achieved. However, once we know that it costs half a million € to get the citizenship of this country and when we read carefully the biographies of the new Montenegrins, it becomes quite clear what part of the world we are in. Namely, once the most beautiful prison in the world is now the richest fortress and hide-out for overseas bosses and drug dealers. The case of Darko Šarić, fortunately a Serbian citizen, although born in Pljevlja, who now owns half of Montenegro, still remains an enigma for both European and Montenegrin police, as well as police forces of the region, while the pairing of his worldwide cartel with the state structures will remain a mystery, as it seems, forever. When we add a few "minor" mafia shootouts that took place on the squares of coastal towns in broad daylight resulting in brutal murders, long and diligently prepared and created international image of Montenegro as a stable, prosperous and above all safe tourist destination is dizzily rising, and is confirmed by the tourist season which has "never been better". Therefore, welcome - WE ARE CLOSE!

Radomir Radević; Kristina Bojanović

serbia: sovereignty! but integral, please.

Two nouns: integrity and sovereignty (with a range of accompanying epithets), have been reigning supreme in the public space of Serbia this year. These two words lie in the foundations of parliamentary decisions, media headlines and officials' statements, explaining all our circumstances and predicaments. It's enough to reach for them to shout down the incompatibles and silence the discussion. Conformity is pursued – it is a purpose and an end in itself. Conformity will spare us (the citizens of this state) of reasonless suffering caused by re-examination of not only our today's leaders' steps, but it will also alleviate dealing with the painful issues from the past.

And what ongoing events of the political arena

could we now manage to depreciate and swallow, starting calmly yet another ordinary day, while simulating normalcy?

The International Court of Justice delivered its advisory opinion on the request of Serbia's authorities on whether the declaration of independence of Kosovo was in accordance with international law – and affirmed it was. The reaction in Serbia was quite tempestuous. The ruling was interpreted in various ways, but the dominant discourse came down to it being a political decision. Both President Tadić and Foreign Minister Jeremić said that the official policy would not change and that Serbia would never recognize Kosovo's independence, thus reaffirming the tendency

of local politicians to determine not only the present, but also the future of their citizens, in an absolutist manner. The response to the controversial opinion was quick, efficient and (somewhat) coherent. The original Resolution on Kosovo⁹, which was to be submitted to the UN General Assembly, was supported by a significant majority of the Serbian Parliament, while the solution to the decades-old problem was once again transferred to another place (from the scope of the International Court of Justice to the one of the Security Council). In the meantime, the previously accepted Resolution was amended in the direct talks with the European Union officials and adopted by the UN General Assembly unanimously. The cooperation of highest officials has been welcomed by international actors and the new rounds of negotiations between Serbian and Kosovo officials, with international mediation, were optimistically announced. It remains uncertain whether this time around the negotiations will be approached differently (it was announced that the practical, less painful issues than the one on status would be resolved first) and whether negotiating strategy would take into account real problems of Kosovo society (like restrictions on movement, poverty and unemployment, among others) or they would reflect medieval national myths and narratives.

This year's most important event regarding the wartime events from the nineties was the adoption of the Declaration on Srebrenica¹⁰ by the Parliament of Serbia, fifteen years after the Army of Republika Srpska under the command of Ratko Mladić committed the genocide against the local Bosniak population. The political ground was being prepared long in advance in numerous consultations, to ensure the parliamentary majority for the Declaration (127 of 250), which was adopted after thirteen-hour debate. During the preparation of the Declaration the word *genocide* was replaced with the word *crime*, with noticeable insistence that the crimes against the Serbian population would be addressed in the following declaration. In the region, the Declaration was received as a positive step of the official policy, while its content¹¹ refers to the ruling of the International Court of Justice in the lawsuit of Bosnia and Herzegovina against Serbia and Montenegro that ruled Serbia was responsible for both failing

to prevent the genocide in Srebrenica and to punish or extradite perpetrators to the Hague tribunal, referring primarily to Ratko Mladić. In addition to strengthening the needed political will, which would eventually result in the arrest of Ratko Mladić and Goran Hadžić, we are facing a process of recognition of Serbia's role in the wars of the nineties that would reflect an honest attitude towards the past, instead of it being exclusively the result of pressures and stipulations of international community.

The last state-organized mobilization of the masses was arranged following the death of Pavle, the 44th Patriarch of the Serbian Orthodox Church - a "humble" man who "refused all worldly honours". A three-day mourning was declared and the media scrupulously covered the death of Patriarch who assumed his position in 1990, skilfully avoiding to address the nineties wars and the role of the Serbian Orthodox Church and its leaders in them.¹²

Along with closing one's ranks goes marking, i.e. defining the territory. Hence President Tadić speaks about the clash of cultures and civilizations, all the while sharing concern for "the preservation of our Christian identity".¹³ The Serbian Mail charges for mandatory stamps whose proceedings go to the fund to build the Temple of Saint Sava in Belgrade. The declarations on religious and national unity are being adopted and grandiose crosses are being erected (in Niš and Kragujevac). When a community define itself on the basis of ethnic, religious and hetero-normative matrices, leaving a little room for the recognition and respect of other identities, it is difficult to prevent or adequately respond to the violence toward the others. This year's example for this kind of approach is the violence that occurred in Jabuka, a small village near Pančevo. After the killing of a Serbian minor by an underage Roma, an outburst of violence and hate speech against the Roma population erupted and lasted for several days before the police intervention. There's still a great deal of fear among Roma people, with occasional positive steps towards resolving this problem.¹⁴ There are more such examples - like violent attacks against those who are *different* (German tourist in Belgrade was attacked, because he "looked gay"¹⁵ and Teofil Pančić¹⁶, a newspaper columnist and author, who

⁹ http://www.b92.net/info/vesti/index.php?yyyy=2010&mm=07&dd=27&nav_id=448048

¹⁰ http://www.b92.net/info/vesti/index.php?yyyy=2010&mm=03&dd=31&nav_id=421440

¹¹ http://www.slobodnaevropa.org/content/Skupstina_Srbije_Deklaracij_Srebrenica/1998622.html

¹² <http://www.dw-world.de/dw/article/0,4896408,00.html?maca=bos-rss-bos-all-1475-rdf>

¹³ http://f1.b92.net/info/komentari.php?yyyy=2010&mm=06&dd=30&nav_id=442203

¹⁴ <http://www.pescanik.net/content/view/5430/61/>

¹⁵ http://www.slobodnaevropa.org/content/beograd_ada_ciganlija_napad_kriminal_nemci_zivanovic/2127184.html

¹⁶ <http://www.vreme.com/cms/view.php?id=942901>

publicly condemns all forms of fascism in our society, on regular basis). In both cases the assailants were arrested shortly afterwards, which is encouraging. Now it is up to the judiciary to do their job effectively and without political compromise, and send a clear message that the state will not support such attacks, neither directly nor indirectly, but will severely sanction it. In the case of Pančić, all hopes that the transformation will occur have failed. The charges were re-qualified and the assailants were sentenced below the statutory minimum.¹⁷

In the course of this year there was a noticeable increase of activity and a number of meetings of political leaders in the region, resulting in positive and encouraging messages that were sent out to our societies about starting the dialogue and jointly resolving some controversial issues (mutual charges of genocide between Croatia and Serbia, for example).

There's noticeably more political will that is being invested in increasing visibility of problems of sexual minorities in Serbia. Unlike last year, when the Gay Pride was cancelled due to a lack of political will to guarantee safety for the participants, this year the President received the delegation of LGBT organizations and supported the parade, describing it as "a

civilizing step forward"¹⁸. Let's hope that this support is not only declaratory, and that the Gay Pride will be held safely this year.

Visa-free regime for Serbia, Macedonia and Montenegro came into force on December 19 last year. The freedom of movement we have finally got made our holidays nice and made it easier to breathe. However, who are the ones who can take advantage of this freedom of movement? According to the Prime Minister and the Minister of Economy, we've come out of the world economic crisis (which is often used as a euphemism for war and post-war economic collapse, plundering transition, enormous accumulation of wealth by the tycoons, increased class inequality and destruction of social policies) several times already. In the meantime, following the orders of the International Monetary Fund, the welfare and public spending is being cut, the Labour Law and the Pension and Disability Law are being altered and amended, i.e. tightened all the while we have the lowest wages in the region¹⁹ and the list of soup kitchens is getting longer.²⁰

The Serbian government adopted the decision to finally abolish the military service, starting January 1st 2011. Happy New Year!

Nenad Porobić

kosovo

When high politics is viewed from the standpoint of an ordinary citizen of Kosovo, one can declare that there were no major changes in the last year: for the administration in Belgrade, Kosovo remains a part of Serbia, under the UN Resolution 1244 adopted in June 1999, which reaffirmed sovereignty of Serbia over Kosovo. For Priština, Kosovo has been an independent state as of February 2008.

Beside the high politics and the fact that until now 71 countries have recognized Kosovo as an independent state, (although rest of the world didn't – as the administration in Belgrade would underline regarding this matter), practically, on the ground the lives of ordinary people have remained the same. The unemployment rate is raging 41 %. It will further grow with the return of Roma refugees from the European countries. It seems that this forced return to Kosovo will be the first "successful" one, having in mind that only a few

thousand displaced non-Albanians returned to their homes out of a total 200.000. The latest example is a returnee village of Žač where twelve returnees are being stoned on almost daily basis. They are not being hurt by the stones only for they are still living in tents, while waiting for their houses to be rebuilt. On top of everything aforementioned I should add that the level of corruption has not been reduced, and then there's human trafficking. There are a number of problems that are being discussed repeatedly, but obviously without major success.

If we step out of the shell of an ordinary man and scratch the surface little deeper, we shall come across the hot topic as of recently. It will surely continue to be so next year, too, having in mind how slowly these issues resolve: after the recent adoption of the UN Resolution that united all members of the European Union on the issue of Kosovo, the dialogue and ne-

¹⁷ <http://www.blic.rs/Vesti/Hronika/208485/Pancic-Ovakva-presuda-je-problem-drzave>

¹⁸ <http://www.blic.rs/Vesti/Drustvo/196240/Tadic-podrzao-odravanje-Parade-ponosa>

¹⁹ http://www.b92.net/biz/vesti/region.php?yyyy=2010&mm=05&dd=24&nav_id=433405

²⁰ <http://www.politika.rs/rubrike/Drustvo/Ljajic-Liste-za-narodne-kuhinje-sve-duze.It.html>

gotiations between Priština and Belgrade will reopen. What will be negotiated, where, how and when remains unknown. What is certain is that the two sides have different views on almost every issue; therefore sitting together at the same table won't be easy. The new negotiations would provide an opportunity for either side to resolve some of the problems, overcome some of the obstacles and strengthen their position on the way to integration into the European Union. The dialogue between the two sides should start before the New Year. Brussels has offered to host the negotiations and the UN to be an observer. Priština wants the EU and U.S. to be observers while Belgrade would like China and Russia to be involved in the talks. How the pieces will come together remains to be resolved, but it is almost certain that the two sides will decide on their own regarding: where, how, when and who. There are opposing views even on who should lead the negotiations on both sides, but this time the international community should for the first time be a mere observer without taking part in decision making whatsoever. Are the two sides even ready to make their own decisions?

What are they going to negotiate? Priština does not want to negotiate neither the status nor the territorial integrity. A number of international actors believe that this questions can not be avoided and that they are the key to the solution of other issues as well, while some others think that the negotiations should start with less important topics and then move on to bigger ones. Besides the status, the issue that certainly requires the utmost attention is the one of northern municipalities in which Albanian administration was not established. No major change occurred there after the war, nor was there any kind of integration of Serbs. It is rumoured that another option might be the division, with the north of Kosovo becoming a part of Serbia. Another alternative that is being mentioned is a territorial exchange with the mostly Albanian-populated Preševo valley.

For the Serbian side it is just as important to preserve monasteries and churches of the Serbian Orthodox Church in Kosovo. Having in mind that the property of the SOC was demolished during the 1999 war and again in March 2004 Serbian side will most likely require extra-territorial status and the continued presence of NATO forces on the sites of its most important buildings, although NATO has announced it will withdraw KFOR troops as soon as next year.

Those two issues represent a huge challenge for Priština and they would rather negotiate customs,

trade, transport, traffic and other easier and rather technical matters. It is clear from the above-mentioned that for a start, the international community is likely to support the proposal to discuss those issues in order to establish trust between two parties and further move on to the aforementioned, more important issues. So far, we've had different negotiations in and about Kosovo: standards before status, UN-sponsored negotiations on six-point plan and then there is the Martti Ahtisaari's plan of which only 50% was implemented over the course of three years. In order to achieve even the slightest success, all problems must be negotiated again from the beginning. Unless all the problems are dealt with, we shall continue to have so-called frozen conflict in Kosovo.

There's almost no mentioning whether the questions leading to reconciliation are to be discussed or not, like for instance: finding the missing persons or 200,000 pending court cases. Those are the crucial issues for an ordinary citizen, because in order to live without hate, next to each other (we've stopped believing that the coexistence is possible, therefore we now tend to talk about neighbourly relations more and more) we must resolve the things that keep our pain outside and above anything else.

For some ordinary person the most important thing is to provide for their family, while for the other of different ethnicity it is the freedom of movement, obtaining the documents in their native language or preserving their identity etc. Everyone is just as fed up with the fact that there's no change and the society is spinning its wheels. For Kosovo, the important thing is to become a member of the UN. For Serbia, the important thing is that fewer countries recognize Kosovo. For Kosovo, it is important to get recognized by as many countries as possible, amongst other things because it means taking part in European and world sport competitions. What does an ordinary citizen care for all this, except that we must admit that it all looks like an endless football match; therefore we cannot complain that we're bored at any point. Both sides are throwing punches on regular basis while an ordinary citizen of Kosovo gets to be a football.

Gorica Šćepanović

macedonia: we are waiting for...

That would be the most accurate description of what has been going on in Macedonia for the past year. We are waiting for ... something. Every one of us is expecting something. Like during the best of times of Yugoslav "future" communism. The same communism we had been waiting for, too. Just as Matrix's Neo stubbornly waits for the train at the station. Even though he doesn't know when it's coming, or if it's coming at all.

Nonetheless, let's see what exactly we are now waiting for in Macedonia.

We are waiting for the EU and NATO to come to their senses

The dispute with Greece over the name of our country was dominating the public life in the past year, too, although there were no major changes in the negotiations held under UN auspices. Greek side has insisted on a new name for general use (*erga omnes*). Macedonian side is trying to win so-called double formula - one name in relations with Greece and the constitutional name for international use (this position is supported by the fact that 128 countries have already recognized the constitutional name - Republic of Macedonia). Official views of the EU and NATO representatives were quite resigned - both referred to either bilateral negotiations or the process conducted under the auspices of the UN, which seems to be the same, because within that process it all comes down to bilateral agreement between the two countries, settled by mediators. Regardless of the international law. Yes, the author of this article also sees it as an irrational conflict, outside the international legal frame. It is the conflict between two exceedingly unequal parties in which the weaker party only suffers damages. It's a no win situation. The present Macedonian government is still on the view that any possible agreement with Greece over name change be put to a public referendum. Judging by the public mood, such referendum has a minor chance of "success." Which means, we remain where we are. We are waiting. "We just need to tell our international partners that we remain committed to the values of the EU, but simply cannot accept such a dictate and change the name of the country in this way. We simply need to tell them that, we are here and waiting". So, we're waiting.

We are waiting for even more beautiful and old, baroque Skopje

Last year the Government bombastically announced its megalomaniac project to build a new baroque downtown city of Skopje, called "Skopje 2014" (<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iybmt-iLysU>). After the initial fiery reactions and violent confrontations in downtown Skopje (on which occasion the group of architecture students called The First Archi Brigade was assaulted for protesting against the government's idea to build an Orthodox church, among other things, with the public money), things continued as planned. For almost a year now downtown Skopje has been undergoing a dramatic change. An "Albanian answer" in Skopje has been recently presented in the form of Skenderbeg Square project. Some would say that instead of one large square in the centre of the united city named Skopje, that lies on both banks of the Vardar River, we are about to get two separate squares profusely decorated with dozens of sculptures of "one's own" national heroes - one on the left and the other on the right hill of Vardar. It seems that the rest of the country has already chosen their favourites; hence the post-modern case of baroque Skopje 2014 is being observed almost as if it were a football match. Everyone is cheering their own, from aside.

We are waiting for either "traitors" or "patriots" to realize that they were wrong and repent

In my last year's report I wrote that the Macedonian public was polarized to the point of effervescence. Now, it's boiling already. It is just as dramatic as it is stupid how easily the public became divided into so-called "patriots" and "traitors" (last year it was all about "sorosoids" and "makedonoids"). At the same time, this is the issue that is accompanied by the highest level of violence in public. A TV presenter emotionlessly declared on the air that the traitors do deserve hate speech, because there is no other way of dealing with them. He also added joking light-heartedly that elimination may be the next step. Since some activists accused him of spreading hate speech in public, he sued them for libel for having his reputation tarnished. It has become quite normal to have two positions for virtually every issue. Anything can be reduced to an attitude towards the preservation (or betrayal) of the name of the state and radically tough stance on the subject is immediately taken. One for each of the two groups. Yet, no other group exists, at least not in public, let alone individuals. Just as there is no middle way or at least basic communication between the

two opposing sides. It is interesting that completely identical statements made in similar contexts can have dramatically opposite explanation in public. For example, when the president says he's in favour of a reasonable compromise with Greece, he is a national hero. When the opposition leader says the same thing, he automatically becomes a traitor, at the very least. Our visible public is so wise.

We are actually waiting for the public to finally appear in public

What does that mean? Our public was kidnapped by the political elites that installed ad-hoc organizations willing to simulate whatever, wherever needed. The groups of citizens often hold protests outside the offices of the opposition. (What do they want from the opposition? To disappear?). Other groups of citizens push every authentic public expression of protest into the daily political discourse as if it were a matter of life or death. (Even when it refers to the long-term demands. Why?). There are few authentic organizations that have managed to endure. It's worth mentioning here the independent student association (finally!) called Free Index, as one of those. All this would be somehow OK if social engagement was openly and honestly promoted and accepted as normal political activity. However, we live in a society that gradually left the entire space of politics, in the widest meaning of that word, solely to political parties. It is their exclusive area. "Phew politics, it's dirty, disgraceful." "We are non-political activists" are just some of the announce-

ments that are often heard. And then everyone freaks out when someone's public advocacy either matches or defies exclusively enthroned protagonists of politics - political parties.

Oh yes, in the new report of "Reporters without Borders", in terms of press freedom Macedonia is ranked 68th out of 178 countries. It dropped dramatically considering that only last year we were ranked 34th (and the year before that 42nd). These are the same media outlets that decide what representatives of the aforementioned "public" are going to be given a chance to promote their ideas and influence the discourse. There is nothing more to be said about it.

Finally, we are still waiting for to the global economic crisis to end

Actually, to be honest, we might really not wait for that. Because, how else could we justify the fact that 31,5% of the population lives in poverty and that nearly 30% of citizens are officially unemployed? And in the meantime we continue to engage in fiery conflicts, hate and threaten each other ... for all other issues.

P.S. All this long waiting has obviously influenced me, too. I have long waited for this article to somehow magically write itself. I had the best excuses. I apologize for that to my dear friends in CNA, who waited patiently. In the end, understandably, it was me who had to sit at the computer.

Boro Kitanoski

bosnia and herzegovina: spinning the wheels with dignity

There's one good news at the beginning of this year's article on the context of work and life in Bosnia and Herzegovina: Bosnia and Herzegovina still exists. Bosnia is still alive. Lame, but alive. Despite both those who wish its imminent and inevitable doom and those who pledge undying love for it. Among the former ones, despite fierce competition, the most prominent was Milorad Dodik, former prime minister and president-elect of "Srpska" (translated: the President of the entity of Bosnia and Herzegovina, known as the Republika Srpska). Amongst the latter, also numerous ones and rampant in their love, particularly impressing was Željko Komšić, new-old member of the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina and representative of Croatian people, who was elected by the majority of Bosniaks (and "others"). Hence, we can once

again see for ourselves on the example of Bosnia and Herzegovina that love kills nearly as efficiently as hatred. And when we bear that in mind, it is possible to understand why there's not a shred of irony in the sentence that this article begins with. However, in order to better understand the context of these words it is necessary to make a small review of all the things the state of Bosnia and Herzegovina and its society have been through for the past 12 months.

In early October 2010, the state of Bosnia and Herzegovina and its citizens went through another general elections. Like most previous ones, these, too, were viewed as "critical, fundamental, crucial" ones. The word "changes" was heard even more often than "constituentness and integrity", but still not as often as the famous "dignity." Weeks before the elections, loud

representatives of numerous political parties were competing in the political arena, advocating and defending the dignity (of a man, a worker, a Serb, a Croat, a Bosniak) to the last drop of (other people's) blood. The exclusively masculine gender in the previous sentence is more than intentional. The presence of women in the campaign (on billboards and lists) was barely big enough to earn a subdued praise from the restrained officials of some international agency in charge of monitoring gender equality. To those who were not so preoccupied with numbers, percentages and form it was clear that this was another in a series of "serious games for wise men." So, other than the leaders of political parties, public space was filled with actors of the civil scene and numerous public figures who called upon going to the polls, taking a stand and changes. The author of this article, yet without the citizenship of Bosnia and Herzegovina and therefore without the right to vote, was aware that she had no right to be cynical. However, the author of this article could not then, nor can it now realize and understand what kind of dignity or changes these highly-esteemed members of our society are talking about.

There's not a trace of basic human dignity here whereas changes are so far away simply because there are no relevant political or civically aware change agents. This is why the "changes" achieved by these elections seem somehow insufficient and inadequate, to say the least. What do we really have as a result of these elections?

There's a landslide victory of Dodik's Independent Union of Social Democrats (SNSD) in all constituencies of Republika Srpska, including the victory of their candidate in the elections for the Serbian member of the Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and an overwhelming victory of Milorad Dodik in RS presidential elections. Consequently, from this entity of Bosnia and Herzegovina, we can expect the continuation of the policy which is fully in line with their leader's inspiring note: "Republika Srpska forever, and Bosnia and Herzegovina as long as we have to! History teaches us that nothing is irretrievable, and so is the existence of Bosnia and Herzegovina". Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ) of Bosnia and Herzegovina won a very convincing victory in all the constituencies with Croat majority. That success was overshadowed with a huge frustration of Croats in Bosnia and Herzegovina due to their inability to choose "their own" candidate for the Croatian member of the Presidency. Practically the only change in the disposition of political forces took place in areas with Bosniak majority. The Party for Bosnia and

Herzegovina of Haris Slajdžić (with its stubborn policy, disinclined towards dialogue) suffered losses. The Social Democratic Party (SDP) and the Party of Democratic Action (SDA), whose candidates won in the race for Croatian (Komšić) and Bosniak (Izetbegović) member of the Presidency achieved big (although relative) success.

As soon as the election evening, it was obvious to the careful observers that major complications would ensue regarding forming a government and post-election coalitions, as well as tough clashes and confrontations on the issue of future organization and territorial structure of the state of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Dragan Čović, leader of HDZ, announces the final battle for the third entity in Bosnia and Herzegovina while Milorad Dodik arrogantly declares that he enjoys being defiant and undermining the state of Bosnia and Herzegovian. From so called "hope for change" - SDP comes a following statement: unless Zlatko Lagumdžija (their President) is elected as a leader of the Council of Ministers of Bosnia and Herzegovina, they will organize the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina economically and politically similar to former West Germany, which would then swallow Republika Srpska politically, economically and morally, just as it was once the case with East Germany!

Changes? Right. Ethnicization of the society of Bosnia and Herzegovina is more evident than ever, just as there is an apparent lack of positive political projects and visions that could challenge ethnicization. Primarily social but also political phenomenon known as "Željko Komšić" only supports the claim that true and positive political alternative still does not live here. Although there's a significant number of those who will interpret his (incredible) success in the elections as a way of circumventing the ethnic principle, the author of this article consider it to be an immature and disastrously harmful strategy in the long run, which really demonstrates that the rule of the stronger, i.e. more numerous lies behind the mask of "civility".

Because of these and other phenomena of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian socio-political life, the most interesting things to analyze are in fact those beyond the mere scope of the election results. The question is when this society will be able to face the fact that it still resides in pre-political state, where vague and deliberately undefined categories of ethno-national vocabulary are dominant over political agendas and clear ideological orientations. This condition causes miserable situation (in economic, moral and political sense)

inside of which it is difficult to find a way out. With that in mind it is not difficult to understand how it is possible that the first two political parties that made clear that they would BY NO MEANS WORK TOGETHER were the strongest ones with social-democratic prefix. It also helps us understand why those who boast with their social-democracy increasingly resemble to the other kind of socialists – the national socialists. However, as we can see, in this region we learn from history in a very selective manner.

I'm about the finish this article but let me get back once again to the word "dignity". It is certainly one of the most over-used words the abuse of which is common to both totalitarian and so-called transitional, i.e. democratic systems. Everyone's throwing the bull talking about civil, ethnic, racial, religious, etc. dignity. What does it look like on the example of Bosnia and Herzegovina?

Workers' dignity – various ministers, criminalized tycoons, employers and others go all out in defending it. The last apparent example of workers dignity being defended occurred some days ago in Jablanica. The group of workers who were on strike at the factory site were attacked by 300-strong special forces who intervened with tear gas and police dogs. As a result, thirty workers were injured and the Ministry of Internal Affairs admitted that the violent raid on the factory was against the law.

Dignity of press - varies depending on the type and quality of journalists. Those more inclined to research and asking unpleasant questions have less right to dignity. Those who send them the kind of messages that they deserve a bullet in the head, or should get a heart attack and so on – go unpunished. By the way,

Bosnia and Herzegovina is ranked 47th in the World-wide Press Freedom Index List²¹, and the situations is deteriorating.

The dignity of those in need of medical help - a lot is being done, but you know how it is – world economic crisis, money is tight. Only the cynics might think that the nepotism and corruption have something to do with it (by the way, we are ranked 93rd in Corruption Perceptions Index). While we are waiting for the world economic crisis to end (and for all of them to stop harassing us) so that we can fix our hospitals and health-care – there's Mekki Torabi, our Moroccan buddy. Mekki Torabi cures and heals with his touch and water. Thousands of people keep queuing in front of Zetra Olympic Hall for days for some hope and some kind of medical treatment.

All in all, there are plenty of problems in this country. Many of them are expected to be resolved by themselves the moment we join EU. They say that will happen as soon as 2020 or so (it better not be by the Hijra calendar). However, not everyone believes in the image of enticing and bright future that awaits Bosnia and Herzegovina upon joining EU. It is becoming ever more apparent that we are spinning our wheels perilously and that internal incapacity of the state of Bosnia and Herzegovina in dealing with its systematic and structural limitations and problems tends to irritate more and more rather than win support on the international scene. Unless the *citizens* of this country start acting in accordance with that guideline soon, the country is going to vegetate in the darkness of internal tensions and antagonisms that are threatening to escalate in a very ugly way, for a long time. And rather *undignified*, too.

Tamara Šmidling

²¹ The annual report of Reporters without Borders (RSF), which is published regularly since 2002.

‘awakening’

What started to happen to me at the meetings with veterans and visits to the execution sites in this unfortunate country of ours, had a certain feel of ‘awakening’ to it, in comparison to what I had been going through in the first few years after the war, when I had the chance to meet with people ‘from the other side’, whether we had known each other before or not.

What it meant was to talk about issues and topics that were until recently considered a taboo, in my view. People mostly try to go by an unwritten rule, or more precisely, a code of conduct, that does not allow us to ask the others about the things we would not like to be asked, therefore more time is spent talking about political and economic situation, and how many people took advantage of this evil times and benefited from them, then asking or talking about mass graves, rapes, executions, slaughter, camps and so on and so forth, or even about some brilliant examples of humanity and nobility of the last war.

I felt this awakening in such a way that I could talk candidly about everything what was going on in the war and about people’s roles in it, normally with my own perception and subjectivity. I also felt that that the other people’s ‘defence’ was slowly coming down, too. We were becoming more and more humans and were less hiding behind “ours and yours”, and were looking for our own positions regarding the past events, including our own responsibility.

No need to mention that CNA switched on a good deal of those switches in our heads and provoked our badly damaged brains to move into a new direction, not to devastate or destroy, but to build some new, I wouldn’t say bridges, but shores onto which the foundations of those bridges that are to be erected, should be laid.

The entire process that was going on inside of me was probably quite recognizable with others too, as soon as I was in a position to be asked a favour, so to say.

During the veterans’ visit to Zavidovići, after leaving the Memorial Room, Lj. approached me, visibly

from a personal point of view

agitated. I did expect the rush of emotions from him because the Brigade from his area had had some huge losses on the frontline around Zavidovići and the room was full of “trophy” that bore the insignia of that unit. He also started to talk to me about it, and how it had struck him, because he had lost a lot of friends and acquaintances there, and a lot of them were still missing. Basically, he asked me, if it wasn’t a problem, for him and few of his friends to come to Zavidovići to visit the Memorial Room.

Since the Memorial Room is at the premises of the Disabled War Veterans of Zavidovići and they have the key to it, I consulted A. and I was told that there was no problem, and that all it took was a few days notice, to take the key.

I passed the information on to Lj. and after having agreed on it, we parted.

Maybe less than a month later, Lj. got in touch and announced his arrival. I did everything in advance and was expecting them. However, the morning they were supposed to come something happened, I think someone died, and he informed me that they wouldn’t come.

More than a month passed since then, when he called again and said he was coming.

I prepared everything once again, informed A. and M. and we waited for what must have been two hours when he called again and said that there was something wrong with the car and they could not come that day.

When he called the following day and said they were on their way I took it with a pinch of salt, thinking something would come up again. M. was at work, and A. had something to do on his own and said that he could be with us for just a little while. I went to the Disabled War Veterans’ premises from work and spent an hour there with the president and the secretary of the organization, waiting. They knew some Serbs were

coming to visit, but did not open the subject. A. was also there, trying to tidy things up in the Memorial Room.

Soon I got a call from Lj. and he said they were parked outside the building.

I got out and saw him, and the two men I didn't know before, so I was somewhat taken by surprise, because I had expected that he would come with some colleagues from his veterans' organization that I had had the chance to meet during the visit to Prnjavor.

We met and if I remember correctly, I think that one was named P., and the other B. I saw they were carrying officers' purses and cameras. I thought "Fuck Lj., who did you bring along!" They did not seem to me as people who came to see something and evoke some memories. At that moment, I was angry with Lj., for not telling me in advance who was coming. Perhaps he was afraid that in that case I would turn him down.

P. asked whether they could enter the Memorial Room to see it. I told them that was what we were there for and invited them in.

A. said goodbye to them and apologized because he had to go. I brought them into the office of the President of Disabled War Veterans' Association and he received them nicely, welcomed them and said compassionately that if there was anything he could do they should come to him and that they should feel at home.

All that time, I felt confused. Thousands of questions were brimming in my mind, I was looking for answers: who were they, did they belong to some security forces, what were they really interested in? The only thing that encouraged me was that I recognized some signs of their discomfort, too.

Some sort of bell of silence had come down upon us before we entered the Memorial Room and somehow isolated ourselves. Then we started talking and one of them said he was from some place near Banja Luka, and the other one was from Srbac as it seemed, but I'm not sure. They asked whether they could take photos, and I agreed reluctantly, but I was thinking to myself: why the heck they wanted it, whose archives did they need it for?

Then Lj. stepped in and said, if I understood well, that one of them was searching for his father and the other for his brother, who had both disappeared in this area. It may sound bad, but I felt relieved then. I needed to know the purpose of their visit, and I knew that units from their region had been here.

I did not want to dash their hopes, but I said that all the documents that were stored there were one hun-

dred percent processed and that the data had been already forwarded to the authorities in charge but that they were free to look at anything they wanted.

That's exactly how it was, they reviewed all the confiscated military id cards, personal id cards, drivers' licenses, war diaries and took pictures of the documents that belonged to the individuals they had known or those they knew were from their region. I was initially little uncomfortable because there was a lot of poking around, and I'm not really at home with it, but I went out of my way to make it possible they check everything. Unfortunately, they did not find any information on their loved ones, but they were glad they had the chance to look and see.

When they were done with their part, we spent the rest of the time looking around the other exhibits in the Memorial Room. They asked and I answered as I could and explained. I saw melancholy in their faces, just like with any normal person when they saw all those names and pictures of the killed. This is particularly the case with the people who have lost their loved ones.

We went out, said goodbye to the people from the Disabled War Veterans' Association, thanked them for their hospitality and stopped at the parking lot for a smoke.

They were very pleased and said they did not expect such reception, but Lj. had told them he never doubted it, having known me.

We said goodbye, they went home, and I got back to work and back to my thoughts.

Anyway, let me get back to the 'awakening' from the beginning of this story. If something like this had happened to me before, if I had been under some circumstances in a similar situation and had to do something in the same way, I would not have made it. I'd be a rack, it would tear me apart to think whether any such expression of good will towards people who were a part of something that wanted to destroy me and my own, whether "theirs" who had been killed were some butchers or just unfortunate plain soldiers, whether they were the gunners who shot schools and kindergartens with a smile, or forcibly mobilized people with health problems, who did not have any money to bribe the authorities to let them off the hook.

What will people from my community and those 'verified patriots' say? Will I be labelled a traitor and accused of betraying the legacy for money? Will I become worse and more hated than those who slaughtered on my behalf? Will they let me desecrate the Veterans Memorial Room by bringing some "Chetniks"

into it? I can go on and on with such schizophrenic questions, I'd surely keep thinking about it and that would torture me.

But thank God, that is not the case. I have seen my light at the end of the tunnel and I can do whatever and help if I get a chance to every human being, hurt by this war, whose sacrifice I do not recognize by their name, but by the pain it left, with my head clear and without my conscience objecting.

*Amer Delić,
veteran of Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina
November 2010*

many thanks to all of you who give us support
