

Centar za
nenasilnu
akciju



2011

Godišnji izveštaj
Annual Report

Centar za nenasilnu akciju
Centre for Nonviolent Action

Godišnji izveštaj Annual report 2011

Br. 14, decembar 2011. god.
No. 14, December 2011

CNA tim/team:
Adnan Hasanbegović
Ivana Franović
Katarina Milićević
Nedžad Horozović
Nenad Vukosavljević
Tamara Šmidling

CENTAR ZA NENASILNU AKCIJU

Ured u Beogradu / Office in Belgrade
Čika Ljubina 6, 11000 Beograd, Srbija
cna.beograd@nenasilje.org

Ured u Sarajevu / Office in Sarajevo
Kranjčevićeva 33, 71000 Sarajevo, Bosna i Hercegovina
cna.sarajevo@nenasilje.org

Godišnji izveštaj 2011
Annual Report 2011

Br. 14, decembar 2011. god.
No. 14, December 2011

Uredile / Editors:
Ivana Franović
Katarina Milićević

Prelom i dizajn / Layout & design:
Ivana Franović

Photos:
Nedžad Horozović
Nenad Vukosavljević
Katarina Milićević
Tamara Šmidling

Translation:
Ana Mladenović
Ćamila Kubura
Dragana Lukić-Bošnjak
Jelena Jovanović
Jovana Vuković
Milica Tustić
Miloje Grbin
Nina Vukosavljević
Sanja Lalić
Tamara Simonović

Sadržaj

Uvod. 4

LIČNI OSVRTI

Samo kandidatura je siguran posao – postbriselski komitološki osvrt na budućnost i njenu prošlost 5

Studijsko putovanje – kulture komemoracije u Nemačkoj 8
Predstavljajući nove članice CNA tima: Katarina Milićević 10

ISTRAŽIVANJE

Tišina od 60 godina. Izveštaj sa puta po Vojvodini 12

CNA PROGRAMI MIROVNOG OBRAZOVANJA

Osnovni treninzi iz izgradnje mira
Osnovni trening iz izgradnje mira (Ohrid 2010) 19
Osnovni trening iz izgradnje mira (Tivat 2011) 21

Korak dalje u izgradnji mira. Vrednosti i prakse
Ukratko o programu 23
Prvi modul: Treba li nam pomirenje? 24
Drugi modul: Preispitivanje praksi izgradnje mira 25

RAD S RATNIM VETERANIMA

Zajedničke posjete veterana rata Derventi i Brodu 28
Trening za učesnike ratova: Sjećanje na ratnu prošlost 30

PUBLIKACIJE

Promocije knjige „Slike tih vremena“ 33

U ČEMU SMO JOŠ UČESTVOVALI

MCC samit „Mirovni projekti i evaluacija“ 36
Trening u Wustrowu na temu suočavanja s prošlošću 36
Sastanak partnera i godišnja konferencija KURVE Wustrow
Civil Peace Service: „Koliko je transformaciji sukoba potreban pokret?“ 37
Trogodišnje okupljanje članova/ica i partnera austrijskog ogranka *International Fellowship for Reconciliation* 39
Trening produbljenja „Pokreni promjenu...“ 39
ACES – Akademija Centralno evropskih škola 40

KONTEKSTI U KOJIMA DELUJEMO

Komplikovano je – kontekst rada u BiH 42
... a idu izbori (Srbija) 43
Buđenje kulture prosvjedovanja (Hrvatska) 44
Crna Gora: I bi svjetlost... 46
Ne e na arno (Makedonija) 49

Contents

Introduction 54

REFLECTIONS

Only candidacy is a safe job – Post-Brussels' comitological retrospective of the future and its past 55

Commemorative Cultures Study Tour to Germany 58

Introduction of the new CNA team member: Katarina Milićević 60

RESEARCH

The 60-year silence. Report of the journey through Vojvodina 62

CNA PEACE EDUCATION PROGRAMMES

Basic training in peacebuilding
Basic training in peacebuilding (Ohrid 2010) 69
Basic training in peacebuilding (Tivat 2011) 71

Peace Indepth. Values and practices
Briefly about the programme 73
Module 1: Do we need reconciliation? 74
Module 2: Reassessing the practices of peacebuilding 75

WORK WITH WAR VETERANS

Joint visits of war veterans to Derventa and Brod 78
Training for ex-combatants: *Remembering the wartime past* 80

PUBLICATIONS

The promotions of the book: "Images of Those Times" 83

ACTIVITIES WE JOINED

MCC Summit "Peace Projects and Evaluation" 86
The Training in Wustrow on Dealing With the Past 86
KURVE Wustrow's CPS Partner Meeting and Annual Conference
"How much movement does conflict transformation need?" 87
Triennial Reunion of Members and Partners of the Austrian Branch of the International Fellowship for Reconciliation 89
The Deepening Training "Initiate Change ..." 90
ACES – Central European Schools Academy 90

CONTEXTS IN WHICH WE WORK

It is complicated - the context of work in Bosnia and Herzegovina 92
... and the elections are coming (Serbia) 93
The Awakening of the Culture of Protest (Croatia) 94
Ne e na arno. (Macedonia) 97

Drage i dragi,

Pred vama je naš četrnaesti godišnji izveštaj. Kao i obično, u njemu možete čitati šta smo sve radili i ponešto od onoga u čemu smo učestvovali u prethodnih godinu dana.

U novembru 2010. godine smo u saradnji sa ratnim veteranima organizovali zajedničke posete ratnih veterana iz regiona spomenicima i mestima stradanja u Derventi i Brodu. Dotaknuti stradanjima naših bivših komšija Nemaca nakon Drugog svetskog rata, želeli smo da nešto učinimo kako bi se o tim nepravdama više znalo, pa smo za početak napravili malo istraživanje u Vojvodini. Uradili smo i dva Osnovna treninga iz izgradnje mira. Time smo stigli do ukupno 35 Osnovnih treninga od početka našeg rada. Razvili smo novi koncept naprednog treninga, sa nazivom "Korak dalje u izgradnji mira. Vrednosti i prakse." Održali smo dva modula ovog programa, a pred nama je još treći i završni, kao i detaljna evaluacija. Zajedno sa našim saradnicima organizovali smo šest promocija knjige "Slike tih vremena. Životne priče ratnih veterana/veteranki i članova/članica njihovih porodica" koju smo objavili krajem 2010. godine. Promocije su održane u Zrenjaninu, Nišu, Zenici, Sanskom Mostu, Puli i u Umagu. Uradili smo trening za učesnike ratova sa temom sećanja na ratnu prošlost. Učestvovali smo na još nekim treninzima, skupovima, susretima i radionicama.

Radili smo i još dosta toga što nije pokriveno tekstovima u ovom godišnjem izveštaju. Jedna od većih stvari je rad na priručniku za treninge na temu suočavanja s prošlošću, koji očekujemo da će biti objavljen u prvoj polovini 2012. godine. Razmišljamo i o objavljivanju publikacije u kojoj bismo predstavili svoja dosadašnja iskustva u radu sa ratnim veteranima na izgradnji mira, a za sada ne znamo kada će ona ugledati svetlost dana.

I ove godine je došlo do izmena u sastavu našeg tima. Sa nama više nije Helena Rill, nakon skoro deset godina rada u CNA. Nedostaje nam, no želimo joj puno sreće i zadovoljstva u polju kojim odluči da se bavi. Takođe, u timu više nije ni Jessica Žic, koja nam se prošle godine pridružila kao *podrška* u okviru saradnje sa našom sestrinskom organizacijom *KURVE Wustrow*.

A imamo i lepih vesti. Naša dugogodišnja saradnica i prijateljica Katarina Milićević je postala deo CNA tima. U ovom izveštaju možete naći njen tekst o dolasku u CNA. Takođe, očekujemo da nam se početkom 2012. godine pridruži Sandra Khusrawi kao *podrška timu* u okviru projekta koji podržava Nemačko ministarstvo za razvoj (BMZ).

Već hronično patimo od nedostatka kapaciteta da uradimo sve što bismo hteli i što smatramo neophodnim. Nadamo se da ćemo za početak nadograditi kapacitete, a potom, zajedno sa vama uspeti da rad na izgradnji mira učinimo ne toliko potrebnim. Kada dođu mirnija vremena... Ipak, to nas nije omelo da za sledeću godinu pripremimo čitav niz akcija, novih i starih, o kojima ćete ubuduće čitati.

Obradovaće nas ako se javite sa povratnom informacijom, reakcijom, kritikom, idejom, ili nečim drugim što vam bude u mislima.

Srdačno vas pozdravlja
CNA tim

Samo kandidatura je siguran posao – postbriselski komitološki osvrt na budućnost i njenu prošlost

Nenad Vukosavljević

Oglasi (pristigli na CNA adresu):

Masterclass EU communication only 1800 €

Training programme of the European Training Institute

- Brussels in a day, 6 September, ~~eur500~~ -> eur 400
- New Post Lisbon Comitology, 8 September, ~~eur350~~ -> eur 280
- Master Class EU Lobbying, 9-10 September, ~~eur1750~~ -> eur 1460
- EU funding at your Fingertips, 13-14 September, ~~eur950~~ -> eur 760
- Upgrading NGO lobbying skills, 15 September, ~~eur295~~ -> eur 240
- Masterclass Communication, 27 September, ~~eur950~~ -> eur 760
- The 7 habits for Managers, 12 October, ~~eur950~~ -> eur 760

EU Funding Arena - 'How EU programs work' lecture

Working Snack – Analysis, diagnostics and refining (14-15h)

Activity Based Costing

Šta sve ne znam:

- How to identify EU Funding programmes?
- How to submit a successful project?
- How to master the techniques of project management?
- Learn how to identify and work with partners?

Turski model

Nema institucije spram koje se u meni nakupilo više gneva od Evropske Unije (EU). Nije to zato što je ova ogromna institucija zaista najgora od svega što postoji već zato što sam za razliku od brojnih drugih institucija imao vrlo velika očekivanja spram nje, koja nisu ispunjena. Verovatno je samo moja naivnost i preterani optimizam razlog razočaranja.

Sve nade u bolju budućnost su na prostoru na kojem živim i po kojem se krećem (od Makedonije do Hrvatske) vezane za perspektivu pristupanja članstvu EU. Većina ljudi srednjih godina polazi od toga da će za njihovog života taj san postati stvarnost. Sva (ne)osnovanost ovakvih nada je poprilično očigledna kada se uzmu u obzir okolnosti i problemi sa kojima su suočene Srbija, Bosna i Hercegovina, Kosovo i Makedonija. Problemi kojima su ova društva ophrvani su svi stari bar deceniju-dve i nema naznaka da bi mogli biti prevaziđeni u doglednoj budućnosti. U Bosni i Hercegovini se teret ratne prošlosti pokazao preteškim za nezrela, profilerski orijentisana politička i državna rukovodstva koja su „vodila“ zemlju. Srbija bez priznanja Kosova, a ono se neće desiti u sledećih 20 godina, može da bude kandidat za EU onoliko koliko je i Turska. Makedonija srlja u helenizaciju svoje istorije koja je smešna i dobrom delu sopstvenog stanovništva, kao prkosni odgovor na grčko insistiranje da se promeni ime i time odbrani pravo na

nasleđe Stare grčke – mogućnost dogovora je svakodnevno sve manja. Povrh svega i kada bi svi ovi problemi bili sutra rešeni među EU zemljama postoji toliko averzije i otpora tretiranju ovih zemalja kao ravnopravnih što bi članstvo donekle podrazumevalo, da je jedina sigurna perspektiva članstva ona koju ima i Turska. A čak i da toga nema, postoji nezanemerljiv broj onih kojima sadašnje stanje odgovara, po sistemu „samo kandidatura je siguran posao“, pored drugih uvek potrebnih delatnosti kao što su sahrane¹ i mirovni rad. Da ne bi bilo da sam zaboravio, Crna Gora ima problem uspešne privatizacije. Njen bivši predsednik i premijer u nekoliko mandata, zli jezici tvrde, važi i za vlasnika i kontrolora svih resursa u toj maloj zemlji. Zadatak borbe protiv korupcije koji je pred Crnom Gorom deluje smešno dokle god taj zaslužni demokrata i šampion nezavisnosti, bude na slobodi. Hrvatska premijerka, veliča i zahvaljuje se osuđenim ratnim zločincima², a javnost aplaudira, demonstrirajući kako ova, skoro pa članica EU, doživljava međunarodnu pravdu. Na Hrvatsku se ipak nikad nije gledalo kao na istočnije zemlje bivše Jugoslavije, pa nije za očekivati da ovaj skandalozni nastup donese neke ozbiljnije posledice.

Kandidati/delegati

Dok je nama kandidature, biće bačenih mrvica oko kojih ćemo se okupljati, koje će se zvati pristupni fondovi, IPA, strukturni, podrške, eksperti, lobiranja... Plivaćemo u „EU areni“ igrati se krokodila, malih i velikih riba, somova i girica, slaće nas u Brisel da se edukujemo a mi ćemo pratiti ambiciju da od ribice postanemo ribetina pa ćemo ulagati u svoje znanje *EU komunikacije*. Zna li neko od vas šta je *EU komunikacija*? Ne znate? Znači da niste bili na *Masterclass eu communication*, što bi značilo da ste ovladali vrhunskom EU komunikacijom. I dalje ne znate? Za samo 1800 € i dva dana seminara bi mogli da saznate.³ Ja ne znam ni zašto je potrebno da postoji *EU komunikacija* kada već postoji komunikacija za koju sam mislio da je univerzalna, tj. da je primenjiva i na EU. Neuk sam, priznajem!

EU komunikacija

Petnaest godina se bavim pribavljanjem sredstava za mirovni rad, kao jednom od mnogobrojnih delatnosti koje obavljam. Za to vreme sam napisao desetine i desetine projektnih predloga, opisivao šta želimo da napravimo i zašto i mogu vam reći da sam bio relativno uspešan. Potvrda toga je i opstanje organizacije sve te godine, što nikako ne treba svesti na ravan uspešnog namicanja sredstava, jer bi uspešno namicanje sredstava trebalo biti rezultat uspešnog i poštenog rada tokom dužeg niza godina. Osim desetine projektnih predloga koji su odobreni, velika sredstava iskorišćena, obračunata, opravdana, kontrolisana, ispisao sam i nekoliko stotina stranica projektnih predloga za fondove EU. Nikada nijedan projektni predlog za EU nama iz CNA nije odobren. Biće da ne znam da komuniciram sa njima, jer to pobogu nije isto kao komunicirati sa ljudima koji administiraju novac za npr nemačku, norvešku ili švajcarsku vladu, ili za neku od privatnih fondacija. Ne mogu neuki da komuniciraju sa EU, ima za to kurseva da se prođe.

Sloboda, jednakost i tenderi

U institucijama EU su svi jednaki, oni jamče ravnopravnost, svedjedno im je npr. da li imate dugačku istoriju bavljenja ljudskim pravima, prekograničnom saradnjom i izgradnjom mira ili nemate. Ako nemate, oni će vam dati novac, a podrazumeva se da se sa novcem može sve kupiti. Velika riba kupuje malu... Desilo nam se u više navrata da nas kontaktiraju velike međunarodne organizacije koje su dobile EU novac, da za njih odradimo deo posla za koji su dobili novac. Kad ih mi odbijemo oni idu dalje i traže neke očajne lokalne male organizacije koje ne postavljaju neugodna pitanja kao mi.

Inače za EU smo svi jednaki, svi imamo slobodu i pravo da upoznamo nekog političara koji će diskretno da pogura našu stvar, ili još bolje nekog iz tenderske komisije. Nema korupcije i protekcije, ne nikako. Uglavnom uvek isti dobijaju novac iz uglavnom EU zemalja, ali Bože moj, pa oni sigurno najbolje znaju da komuniciraju. Oni su verovatno prošli Masterklas EU komunikacije. Ko mi je kriv što ja nisam.

Nije bitno članstvo bitno je da postignemo njihove standarde.

Edukacija nema alternative

Razmišljam da uštedim 70 € i za rođendan počastim sebe sa edukacijom:

¹ „Samo smrt je siguran posao“ citat iz filma *Maratonci trče počasni krug*.

² Jadranka Kosor, povodom obeležavanja 16 godina od akcije „Oluja“ u avgustu 2011.

³ Jedna briselska institucija nudi ovakav kurs, a ima i konkurencije.



New Post Lisbon Comitology, 8 September, ~~eur 350~~ -> eur 280

Gorim od želje da saznam šta je komitologija.⁴ Ne mogu da nađem takvu reč u mom rečniku, a nema je ni Cambridge, te mi se čini da je izvorno euovska, tako bih rado da je nekako upotrebim, da poentiram u pravom trenutku da ostavim dobar utisak. Možda se posle toga bolje razumemo sa EU.⁵

A da mi je 760€ da mi EU fondovi budu na vrh prstiju, ne bih oklevao, odmah bih se počastio.

Zapravo razmišljam da se obratim nekom donatoru da mi plati sedmicu edukacije u Briselu, treba mi 4000 za kursice (najjeftiniji je upgrejđovanje NGO veština, samo 260€, ja insistiram da platim bar 400€) i jedno 1000 za put i boravak, i još jedno 500 za dnevnice po evropskim standardima. Tako je lepo uzdizati se duhovno – i tako profitabilno. Ako ovo čita neko od donatora, bujrum. Još ako je od EU para, to bi bilo idealno, da zatvorimo krug. Vidite valjda da ću se odlično uklopiti u Uniju, samo mi sponzor nedostaje.

Ustvari jedva čekam da ja nekom budem EU, pa da komuniciramo euovski, živim za taj dan. Prilježno štancam projektne predloge za pridruživanje i razdruživanje.

Interakcija

Nego kad već komuniciramo, zna li neko od vas čitaoca kakav je ovaj kurs koji nudi konkurencija ranije pomenutoj instituciji, a čiji su sastavni elementi:

EU Funding Arena - 'How EU programs work' lecture / ovaj mi je skroz jasan

Working Snack – *Analysis, diagnostics and refining (14-15h)* / jel ovde analiziraju užinu ili šta drugo? Mnogo su brzi, ne znam mogu li ja sve to da skontam za 1 sat.

Activity Based Costing – super zvuči, ali šta znači.

Lepo mi je

Venem kandidatski, a ujedno mi je i lepo jer nisam sam, a postoji i izvesnost da ćemo biti u tom stanju, još dugo dugo. Malo ćemo ratovati, pa se mrguditi, pa malo miriti, pa prilagođavati, pa opet ratovati.

Ma... samo izgradnja mira je siguran posao.

Bio sam u Briselu, odoh na Kavkaz

Prvih dana maja, proveo sam 5 dana u Briselu, od toga 1 dan na izletu u Haški sud za ratne zločine, a ostalo

⁴ Shvatio sam da su u Lisabonu otvorili novu poštu, ali ne znam kakve to veze ima sa komitologijom.

⁵ Našao sam komitologiju na wikipediji. Neću vam reći šta znači, edukujte se sami.

upoznavajući se sa funkcioniranjem institucija EU vezanim za podršku civilnom društvu i procesu pridruživanja EU. Posetili smo i Parlament. Bilo nas je oko 30 iz zemalja bivše Jugoslavije, uglavnom ljudi iz NVOa koje rade za ili usko sarađuju sa organizacijama Forum ZFD i Nansen Dijalog Centar, i šačica ostalih koji nisu iz te grupe a bave se poljem vezanim za izgradnju mira. U organizaciji Foruma ZFD, proveo sam 5 zanimljivih dana, imao jedinstvenu priliku izbliza videti i osetiti kako izgleda ta hidra sa hiljadu glava, kako doživljavam EU. Uprkos nakupljenim frustracijama vezanim za ulogu EU, koje ne vredi da skrivam, uvideo sam naravno da tamo rade živi ljudi sa svojim vrlinama i manama, za koje čovek u susretu može razviti simpatiju ili odbojnost.

Prijatno iznenađenje je bio vrlo visoki zvaničnik Pierre Mirrel koji se obično ne pojavljuje na tako niskorangiranim skupovima, ali je očigledno imao veliki interes za temu i grupu te nam je ukazao čast ličnim prisustvom.

Ono što je mene interesovalo da čujem jeste kako se vidi usklađenost uloga EU, koja sa jedne strane na Balkanu nastupa kao mirotvorna ideja, dok istovremeno nekoliko zemalja EU besomučno bombarduje Libiju, „zavodeći demokratiju“. Dobio sam, čini mi se, dosta iskren odgovor, „da u EU postoje raznolike politike čije usklađivanje nije uvek jednostavno“.

Susret sa osobom odgovornom za programe pomoći civilnom društvu (i druge oblike podrške vladinom i nevladinom sektoru) je za mene lično bio šokantan. Čovek je nastupio sa pozicije da smo mi „njegova deca koju on hrani“(!?) i da organizacije civilnog društva moraju tržišno funkcionirati tako da „veća riba jede manju“ i da trebamo razmišljati o tome da „danas britanske organizacije sprovode milionske projekte na Kavkazu, a naše organizacije bi to mogle mnogo jeftinije da naprave a ne čine ništa da se uključe u tu tržišnu utakmicu“.

Swako od posetilaca je za studijsko putovanje upoznavanja EU institucija dobio od EU novca, po 320,-€ dnevnicu što je bilo namenjeno dnevnoj ishrani koja nam nije bila obezbeđena. To je otprilike prosečna plata u zemljama iz kojih smo došli (izuzimajući Hrvatsku). Meni je od te sume ostala polovina. Pretpostavljam da ima jako puno ljudi kojima bi samo dnevnicu bila dovoljan motiv da se prijave na ovakvo studijsko putovanje.

Ovaj put to ipak nije bio slučaj i mislim da su ostvareni novi kontakti sa raznim ljudima iz regiona, veliki profit koji nosim sa puta – kad smo već morali da odemo u Brisel da bi se upoznali. Ko zna, ako bude pameti, možda se opet sretnemo na Kavkazu.

(12.08.2011.)

Naša koleginica Tamara je ove godine imala priliku da učestvuje u studijskom putovanju u Nemačku (19-25.06.2011.) na temu kulture sećanja koju već nekoliko godina unazad organizuje Robert Bosch Stiftung. Pred vama je njen osvrt na to iskustvo.

Studijsko putovanje – kulture komemoracije u Nemačkoj

Tamara Šmidling

*„It happened, therefore it can happen again“
Primo Levi*

Fondacija Robert Bosch već nekoliko godina organizuje studijska putovanja po Nemačkoj za grupe iz regiona bivše Jugoslavije (i šire – Zapadnog Balkana). Osnovni cilj ovih poseta je upoznati učesnike/ce sa načinima na koje nemačko društvo memorijalizuje svoju nasilnu prošlost. Kako onu vezanu za II svetski rat i, posebno, stradanje i istrebljivanje evropskih Jevreja, tako i prošlost vezanu za period nakon rata i zločine počinjene u ime i pod zastavom socijalizma u nekadašnjoj Demokratskoj Republici Nemačkoj.

Grupa od 18 učesnika/ca imala je priliku da tokom pet dana poseti različita mesta sećanja, muzeje, memorijalne centre i institucije u Berlinu, Vajmaru i Minhenu. Neka od mesta koje smo posetili su: Memorijal ubijenim Jevrejima Evrope u Berlinu (i Informacioni centar u sklopu njega), Memorijal Wansee Konferencije, ured Savezne komisije za arhive Stasi-ja, Buchenwald Memorijal, sud u Minhenu na kojem se sudilo nacističkom zločincu Johnu Demjanjuku (Ivan Mykolaiovych Demianiuk) i mnoga druga mesta, spomenike i memorijale. Na svim mestima bila je obezbeđena stručna podrška u vidu vodiča ili prezentera koji su bili na raspolaganju za pitanja i diskusiju nakon organizovane ture.



Spomenik ubijenim Jevrejima Evrope, Berlin

Posebnu pomoć pružio je Christoph Kreutzmüller, historičar sa Humboldt Univerziteta u Berlinu koji je bio na raspolažanju tokom čitavog studijskog putovanja.

Za izuzetno motivisanu grupu ovo je bila jedinstvena prilika da izbliza upoznaju mehanizme koji pokreću (ili ometaju) uspostavljanje institucionalnog sećanja na sramne događaje iz ne tako davne nemačke istorije. Gotovo svaki razgovor i diskusija koju smo imali ostavili su nas sa gomilom uvida, i ponekad nerealizovanom potrebom da i dalje diskutujemo, raspravljamo se i žučno sporimo oko stvari koje smo videli i čuli. Nažalost, sam koncept je bio vrlo gusto popunjen, pa je bio osetan nedostatak prostora za strukturiraniju razmenu i refleksiju, a time i uspostavljanje nekih veza, paralela i razilaženja nemačkog i našeg konteksta. Za učesnike/ce došle iz konteksta koji se istovremeno suočava i sa prošlošću i sa sadašnjošću tokom ove posete skoro da nije bilo bespotrebnih ili besmislenih momenata. Između prošlosti i sadašnjosti u našem kontekstu, za razliku od nemačkog, još uvek ne postoji jasna linija razgraničenja, niti neki istorijski i/ili ideolološki nulti čas koji bi označio jasan prekid sa nasiljem i početak nečega novog i suštinski drugačijeg. I u tome verovatno leži jedan od jačih izvora motivacije i zainteresovanosti ljudi iz našeg regiona za ovu tematiku.

Putovanje je pružilo još i brojne mogućnosti za dublje pronicanje u načine na koje moderna Nemačka funkcioniše, a svakako da nije izostalo ni prilike da se neposredno uverimo u moć nekih globalnih (kulturoloških? političkih?) fenomena koji poprimaju apsurdne razmere. Jedan od njih je svakako i fenomen/istina/činjenica da *history sells* (istorija prodaje). U gradu bremenitom i natopljenom istorijom kakav je zasigurno Berlin, to je verovatno vidljivije nego bilo gde drugde. Prividni tabu na trgovanje memorabilijama holokausta⁶ samo zapravo naglašava globalno etičko stanje gde je sve na prodaju, posebno artefakti novije, krvave i morbidne istorije.

Izuzetno su zanimljive protivrečnosti koje su vidljive iz odnosa nemačkog društva prema zverstvima i zločinima počinjenim u sopstveno ime. Iako bi bilo preterano reći da su prerađene sve traume i tabui iz prošlosti, ipak je vrlo vidljivo iskreno nastojanje da se institucionalno i sistemski pošalje poruka – svesni smo šta smo uradili ili podržali, ne želimo da se to zaboravi, ne želimo da se ponovi. Garantom da se to ne ponovi smatra se izgradnja i brižljivo čuvanje demokratskog sistema i baštinjenje takozvanih „evropskih vrednosti“. Istom tom sistemu ipak zastaje knedla u grlu kada treba da se očituje o, recimo, izraelsko-palestinskom sukobu, vojnim intervencijama NATO saveza diljem sveta, ili o činjenici da su se, eto, neka zverstva po poznatim, ozloglašanim obrascima dogodila pre samo koju godinu, na

⁶ Još uvek, na sreću, nije moguće na ulici kupiti umanjene makete koncentracionih logora, niti razglednice sa fotografijama izglednih zatočenika logora smrti, ili replike pisama koje su logoraši slali iz zatočeništva. Drugi oblici „prodaje“ su dakako široko zastupljeni, a i laički uvid je dovoljan da se primeti kako mesta zverstava i užasa iz prošlosti postaju jedne od najposećenijih tačaka na turističkim mapama.

koju stotinu kilometara od „raja“ EU. Da ne pominjemo utisak da je pomen nemačkih žrtava savezničkih bombardovanja, gladi, posleratnih tortura još uvek izvan dominantnog narativa i uglavnom se smatra opasnim koketiranjem sa desničarskim političkim strujanjima u toj zemlji. Kada, međutim, treba izjednačiti „dve diktature“ i o nacional-socijalističkoj i kasnijoj socijalističkoj vladavini progovoriti istim tonom, to koketiranje sa desnim anti-komunizmom više se ne čini tako strašnim.

Protivrečnosti ima još puno, kao i u mnogim drugim društvima. Iz perspektive nekoga iz bivše Jugoslavije mogu ipak reći da je institucionalna podrška koju danas u Nemačkoj uživa suočavanje i bavljenje nacističkom prošlošću nešto što naša društva još jako dugo neće doseći. Zamka u koju ljudi sa ovih prostora često upadaju je da svesno ili nesvesno odbijaju da saznaju više o mukotrpnom putu koju je Nemačka prešla u tom procesu. Značajniji pomaci na tom polju se ne dešavaju tek tako, sami od sebe, ili pukim protokom vremena. Njima obično prethode hrabra nastojanja upornih građana i političara da se prošlost tematizuje, preispita, stavi na agendu svakodnevnog političkog delovanja.

Reči Prima Levija sa početka ovog teksta nalaze se na ulazu u Informacioni centar Memorijala ubijenim Jevrejima Evrope. Izrečene od strane preživelog logoraša iz Aušvica, čoveka koji je svet zadužio briljantnim svedočenjima i refleksijama o životu u logoru i posle njega, ove reči nisu mogle biti bolje odabrane. One upozoravaju posetitelje/ice ovog Centra na krhkost zablude da će puko iznošenje na videlo strahota iz prošlosti sprečiti njihovo ponavljanje u budućnosti. U tom kontekstu one su i upozorenje čitavom jednom društvu - demokratskom, bogatom, dobro nahranjenom i još bolje odevenom – da se ne uljuljka u samozadovoljnosti i pogrešnom uverenju da je zlo zauvek sprečeno.

A šta bi bilo adekvatno upozorenje za naša društva – veliko je pitanje na koje bi se morao naći odgovor.

Predstavljanje nove članice CNA tima: Katarina Milićević

“Crv je stigao kući”

Kada sam pre nekoliko godina odlučila da odem iz novinarstva, posle zaokružene dve decenije rada u tom poslu, to nije bilo samo iz zvaničnog razloga koji sam govorila svima koji su bili znatiželjni zašto. Želja da se posvetim porodici, na način na koji mi posao u novinarstvu to nikada nije dozvoljavao je bio važan razlog, ali ne i jedini.

Zamor, grč i osećaj da ne činim pravu stvar i da je ne mogu učiniti je bio osnovni razlog. Dvadeset punih godina sam pisala, intervjujusal, radila reportaže, vesti, izveštaje, komentare – i tek su retki od njih u mom stomaku izazivali osećaj zadovoljstva. Većinom sam imala stalni grč i stalni osećaj nemoći, iako sam potpuno svesna da su mediji moć i da u njima mogu da utičem i na ono što meni lično izaziva grč.

Te, kako sam odlučila da odem iz novinarstva, kao jedne prilično umorne profesije u Srbiji (u svakom smislu umorne, bar je ja tako doživljavam) imala sam sreću da se zaposlim u javnom preduzeću, u kojem sam bila PR. Dve ugodne godine provela sam tu, ušuškane i tople, i osećaj je bio kao kad sa dugog pešačenja po zavejanoj planini uđeš u toplu brvnaru i popiješ kuvano vino. Opušteno i relaksirajuće, prosto omamljujuće.

A onda je proradio crv. Nisam bila sreća što sam izuzeta iz bilo kakvog društvenog angažovanja, što moj bes zbog nasilja u Srbiji nema kud da ispliva, što se osećam kao anestezirana: kuća-pos'o bio je tih dana hit u Srbiji, a meni je od te nemoći da na bilo šta utičem bivalo muka.

Iako jako uplašena zbog onoga što sledi – delimična razdvojenost



od porodice nekoliko dana nedeljno, nesigurnost hoću li se i kako snaći u sredini u koju dolazim, strah da su očekivanja od mene veća no što ja mogu i umem da dam, uplašenost da moja znanja i veštine nisu dovoljni... uz veliku podršku Borisa i dece i naravno, mojih roditelja koji su, iako i sami zabrinuti, uvek poštovali moje izbore, otisnula sam se.

I došla onde gde sam srcem odavno i bila.

Privilegija je u životu raditi posao koji voliš, sa ljudima koje poštuješ, na način na koji misliš da treba, sa osećajem da će tvoje mišljenje biti saslušano i uvaženo, bez hijerarhije koja ti izaziva grč i želju za takmičenjem. Osećaj da činim nešto što lagano menja narušene odnose na prostorima bivše Jugoslavije, osećaj zadovoljstva kad radionica bude jaka, prijateljstva sa ljudima, razumevanje i poštovanje svih naših različitosti, prihvaćenost mog šumadijskog identiteta i tamo gde Šumadija nekome može da znači bol i da otvara rane... govore mi da sam, iz one zavejane brvnare, nekako, (ne lako, naravno) došla kući.

Moj dolazak u CNA samo je tehnički obavljen početkom ove godine. Zapravo, u CNA sam došla kada sam poslala aplikaciju za osnovni trening, 2002. godine. Pa su usledile prve tribine, pa Trening za trenere, filmovi... Svih ovih godina meni je saradnja i druženje sa ljudima iz CNA bio izlaz iz svakodnevice, osećaj da nešto radim nešto što je društveno korisno, i što me lično ispunjava, što mi daje mogućnost da prvi put u životu 2005. odem na Kosovo, da gradim lične veze sa ljudima iz Makedonije, Bosne, Hrvatske... da stičem nove uvide i upoznajem ljude koji žele da grade mir, a često, kao ni ja sama ne znaju ni sa kim bi, ni kako, ali imaju osećaj da to treba da se radi i da mogu da grade.

PS. Tekst o dolasku sam pisala dva puta. Ponele su me emocije, koje mi i samoj nekada budu prejake. Svesna da – bez tih emocija, koje me nose, i vode, ali nekada i guše – ne bih ni bila ovde gde sada jesam, i ovakva kakva jesam, ipak sam odlučila da objavim malo faktografskiju i umereniju sliku kako sam, kada i zbog čega došla u CNA.

PPS. Ne mogu, a da se na kraju ne zahvalim svima koji su me u dolasku podržali: celom timu, što me je svih ovih godina držao budnom da mogu i trebam da budem aktivna, što su me odmah ubacili u aktivnosti koje su tekle, i što su u mene, ponekad, verovali više nego ja sama.



istraživanje

Radeći na polju suočavanja s prošlošću u regionu bivše Jugoslavije već dugi niz godina, iako smo se fokusirali na „skoriju prošlost“, na ratove devedesetih godina, neretko smo nailazili i na tabue, ćutnje i napravde starijih datuma. Time smo otkrivali, između ostalog, i šta sve ne znamo o tome šta se dogodilo sa našim bivšim komšijama Nemcima nakon Drugog svetskog rata. To nas je potaklo da napravimo malo istraživanje, a pred vama je izveštaj s našeg puta po Vojvodini koje smo napravili u novembru 2010. Nadamo se da ćemo naći načina i kapaciteta da učinimo i nešto više.

Tišina od 60 godina

Izveštaj sa puta po Vojvodini

Uvod i ideja

CNA niz godina radi na suočavanju s prošlošću – verujemo da nam nema budućnosti ukoliko ne pogledamo iza sebe i preispitamo sebe, druge, prošlost. Isto tako, a u vezi sa prethodnim, verujemo da moramo ukazati na nepravdu spram drugih kojih „više nema“ među nama kao što su npr. Bošnjaci u Republici Srpskoj, Srbi u Sarajevu, Albanci u Beogradu i tako dalje i tako dalje. Iako je naš fokus rada na ratovima devedesetih, često priče zagaze i u Drugi svetski rat, te period pre i nakon njega.

U društvu Srbije se uveliko odvijaju rasprave oko toga ko je bio dobar a ko loš, da li su četnici isto što i partizani, koji su bolji ili gori, šta su četnici a šta ravnogorci i sve tome slično. Skoro o svemu se pokreću diskusije, ali o onima koji su bili (posebno tada) deo društva – o tome se još čuti i ponegde šapuće, ali javno vrlo malo pokreće. Reč je o Nemcima koji su živeli u bivšoj Jugoslaviji. Ili, kako ih mnogi nazivaju, o Podunavskim Švabama i ponegde Folksdojčerima.⁷

Mnogi će reći – pa šta tu ima pričati, Nemci su krivi za rat, to su neki tamo, „kakvi su bili, dobro su i prošli...“, nije

⁷ Mi ćemo koristiti izraz Podunavski Nemci pošto se izraz Švaba tokom svih ovih godina koristilo najčešće pejorativno.

nam dosta naših muka, svi su žrtve, svi su krivi, ma to je bilo davno, budućnost je pred nama, itd...

Tokom novembra smo putovali po Vojvodini i istraživali kako bismo dobili što više i što verodostojnijih informacija upravo o njima, o kojima se čuti – o Nemcima sa ovih prostora koji su preživeli rat i vreme posle njega, o njihovim sudbinama i potomcima, o nepravdi učinjenoj nad njima, o ćutanju i sramu, želeći da nepravdu učinimo bar vidljivijom.

Najosnovnije informacije od kojih smo krenuli u istraživanje

Pre Drugog svetskog rata na području bivše Jugoslavije živelo je između 510.000 i 540.000 Nemaca, nema pouzdanih informacija. Danas ih ima zvanično 3.901 od čega 3.154 u Vojvodini. Nakon Drugog sv. rata stradalo je oko 67.000 civila Nemaca. Odlukom AVNOJ-a od 21. novembra 1944. odlučeno je o eksproprijaciji imovine svih građana Jugoslavije nemačkog porekla, te su Nemci kolektivno proglašeni neprijateljima nacije. Time se Nemcima u Jugoslaviji nije oduzelo njihovo jugoslovensko državljanstvo, *nego su izgubili sva građanska prava*.⁸ Od oktobra 1944. počinje se sa interniranjem Dunavskih Nemaca u logore. Do avgusta 1945. sva sela gde su živeli PN su „očišćena“. Samo oni PN koji su bili venčani s osobama drugih nacionalnosti ili oni koji su se borili na strani partizana su izuzeti ovoga.⁹

Od kraja oktobra 1944. u Banatu i od sredine novembra 1944. do juna 1945. u Bačkoj desilo se sledeće:

- Pogubljeno i pobijeno je 7.000 civila PN¹⁰ (uključujući decu, žene, starce)
- Deportacija PN u SSSR u radne kampove. Oko 2.000 ljudi je umrlo u njima zbog gladi i bolesti, ali i ubijeno.
- Oko 5.000 PN – ratnih zarobljenika je pobijeno¹¹
- Slavizacija dece PN: od 1946. hiljade dece je deportovano u jugoslovenske domove za nezbrinutu decu na re-educaciju i 'slavizaciju'. Neki od njih nisu našli ili još ne znaju svoje poreklo.¹²
- Oko 167.000 PN civila (od 195.000 PN koji su ostali u Jugoslaviji) su bili zatvoreni u kampove.¹³ Između 1944. i 1948. je oko 48.500 PN je umrlo usled egzekucija, maltretiranja, nedovoljno hrane, teškog fizičkog rada i bolesti a 35000 u Vojvodini.¹⁴

U bivšoj Jugoslaviji je postojalo oko 100 logora, najviše njih je bilo u Vojvodini. Nisu svi pootvarani i postojali u isto vreme, a isto tako, PN nisu bili internirani samo u specijalne zgrade, nego su cela sela bila korišćena kao logori. Ta sela su čuvali partizani ili milicija.

Najozloglašeniji logori su bili u Knićaninu (Banat, od 33.000 PN koji su internirani između oktobra 1945. i marta 1948. njih je skoro 11.000 pomrlo), u Gakovu (Bačka, od marta 1945. do januara 1948. 8.500 osoba je stradalo), Kruševlje (Bačka, 3.000 ljudi je stradalo od marta 1945. do januara 1948), u Sremskoj Mitrovici (Srem, 2.000 ljudi od 1945–1947), u Molinu (Banat, 3.000 ljudi od septembra 1945. do aprila 1947) i u Bačkom Jarku (7.000 PN stradalo od decembra 1944–1946).¹⁵

Sa tim informacijama smo krenuli u obilazak Sremske Mitrovice, Sombora i Gakova, Odžaka, Apatina i Subotice.

Nekoliko reči o našim posetama i obilascima

Sremska Mitrovica

Ovo je bio prvi sastanak i obilazak mesta gde su stradali Podunavski Nemci. Našli smo se sa Jovicom Stevićem. On je nekada bio sekretar lokalnog fudbalskog kluba "Radnički" koji se nalazi u delu Sremske Mitrovice koji je bio nastanjen uglavnom Nemcima. Slučajno je otkrio da se pored stadiona nalazi masovna grobnica u kojoj su sahranjivani

⁸ Jugoslovenski zakon od 31.07.1946 određuje: Eksproprijacija se odnosi na sve Nemce osim onih koji su se borili za partizane, ili su bili aktivni u pokretu oslobođenja, koji su asimilovani pre rata, zatim oni koji su venčani za Južne Slavene ili nekom drugom manjinom, nacionalnošću koja nije bili neprijatelji partizana. (Bundesministerium für Vertriebene, Flüchtlinge, und Kriegsgeschädigte 2004:103E).

⁹ Donau-deutsche Landsmannschaft in Rheinland-Pfalz e.V. 2003:74.

¹⁰ Arbeitskreis Dokumentation 1994:16.

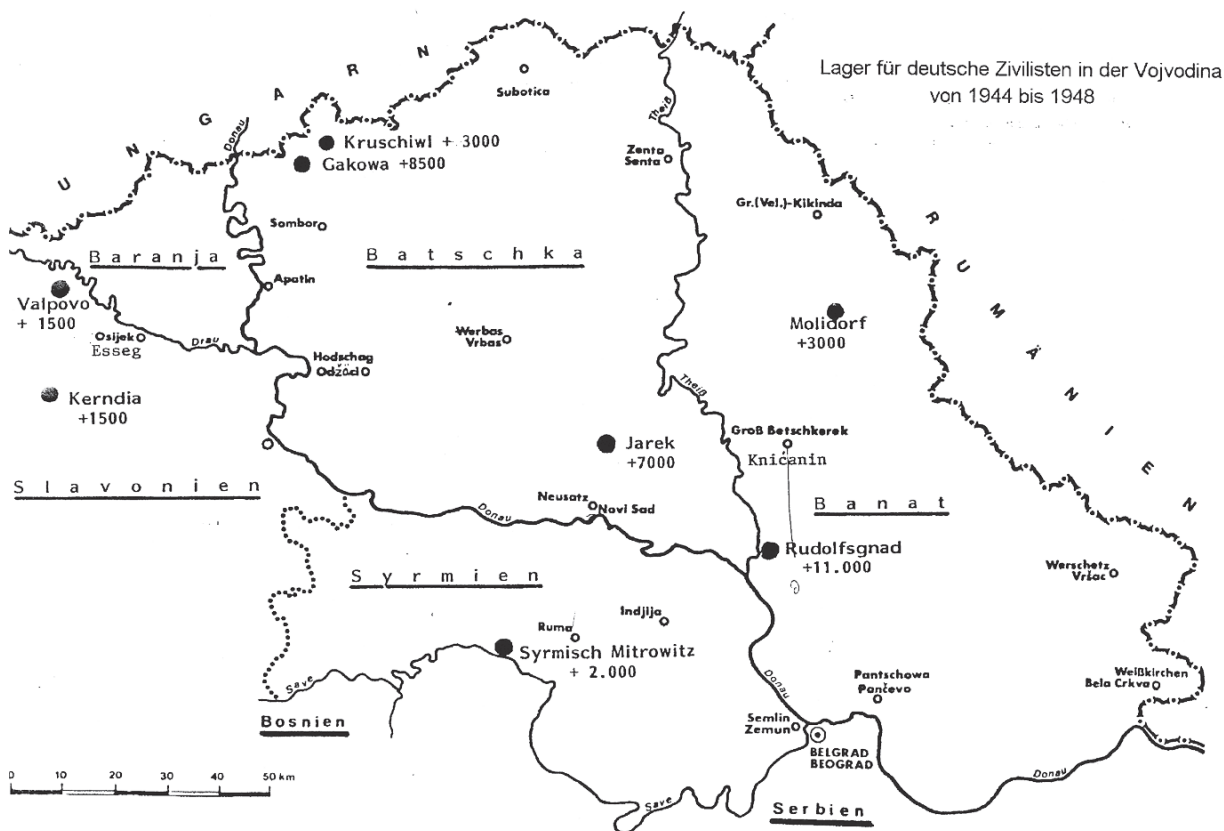
¹¹ Arbeitskreis Dokumentation 1994:16.

¹² Donau-deutsche Landsmannschaft in Rheinland-Pfalz e.V. 2003:75.

¹³ Arbeitskreis Dokumentation 1994:4.

¹⁴ Arbeitskreis Dokumentation 1994:17.

¹⁵ Arbeitskreis Dokumentation 1994:17.



Karta: Logori za nemačke civile u Vojvodini od 1944. do 1948.

Ljudi koji su umirali u logoru u neposrednoj blizini stadiona (bivša fabrika svile - poznato među Nemcima kao stratište "Svilara"). Danas se još mogu videti zidovi zgrade tog logora i mesto gde se nalazi masovna grobnica u neposrednoj blizini. Logor je bio ograđen bodljikavom žicom, prozori su bili zazidani izuzev sićušnih otvora.

Na katoličkom groblju se nalazi još jedna masovna grobnica i odnedavno spomenik stradalim Nemcima od 1944–48. kojih, po rečima Jovice Stevića, po procenama u Sremskoj Mitrovici ima oko 2.000. Spomenik je podignut na mestu masovne grobnice, na inicijativu Jovice Stevića a u saradnji sa Nemcima iz Nemčke i Austrije. Inače u Sremskoj Mitrovici 1944. godine od 11.000 stanovnika bilo je 3.000 Nemaca. Danas ih zvanično po popisu ima 200, a nezvanično oko 1000.

Potresno je bilo videti ta mesta, pustoš sa nekoliko podignutih grobova. Na mestu gde se nalazi masovna grobnica, mogu se videti pokoji nadgrobni spomenik. Dešavalo se često da su grobnice bili nate-rani da kopaju sami Podunavski Nemci, i oni koji su prepoznali ubijene ljude, obeležili bi mesto stradanja nekom flašom ili drvetom, kako bi rođaci znali gde je stradalnik zakopan, kao što je bio slučaj sa malom Helgom čije je mesto kasnije obeleženo i malim spomenikom (vidi sliku na početku teksta).

Čitajući o logoru Svilara, našli smo reči Katarine Gajslinger, logorašice: "Jednog dana u januaru poslati smo da istovarimo šlepove na Savi. Ovaj težak posao, koji je trajao 14 dana, morao je da se obavi bosih nogu, kako je izričito naređeno... Posebno smo tokom te zime morali da stojimo napolju svakog jutra u redu. Jao bolesnima koji nisu odmah izašli. Stražari, naoružani toljagama, udarcima i šutiranjem isterivali su bespomoćnike ka izlazu. Neki su uspevali da izađu samo puzeći."¹⁶ Traudi Miler-Vlosak je čula, u decembru 1945. za vreme posete jednog čoveka u civilnom

¹⁶ Radna grupa za dokumentaciju 2004: 150 (Genocid nad nemačkom manjinom u Jugoslaviji 1944-1948).



odelu, i očitao sa političkom vlašću kako, idući uz red kreveta, pita logorskog komandanta: "Koliko još treba dok svi ne pomru? Čudi me da ih je još toliko živih."¹⁷

Sombor, Gakovo, Kruševlje

U Somboru smo posetili „Kuću pomirenja“ i udruženje „Gerhard“. Razgovarali smo o položaju Podunavskih Nemaca nekad i sad, o logorima, o beleženju sećanja, o strahu i sramu da se priča o prošlosti.

Sombor je mesto gde su bili skupljani Podunavski Nemci, neka vrsta sabirnog centra i posle toga prosleđivani u logore (deca i starci najčešće u logor Gakovo), na rad na salaše i poljoprivedna dobra. Mesto gde se sada nalazi obdanište/zabavište i autobusko stajalište još se naziva „lo-gor“. Malo ko od Somboraca, pogotovo mlađe generacije, zna zašto se to mesto naziva upravo tako. Logor se sastojao od osam baraka, u sredini dvorišta je bio kamion bez točkova, „u njega su smeštani sveštenici i učitelji, obrazovani ljudi i ošišani do glave. Povremeno su izvođeni napolje, na mesto za prozivku. Raspoređivali su ih u krug; morali su da kleknu, i tada bi stražari oko njih igrali kolo i pljuvali im na glave.“¹⁸

Gakovo, kao i Kruševlje, nalazi se blizu mađarske granice. Prvi logoraši su bili Apatinci, njih 6.000. Godine 1931. Gakovo je brojalo 2.692 stanovnika među kojima 2.370 Nemaca, dok je pred kraj 1945. u potpuno ispražnjene kuće bilo sabijeno 17.000 logoraša (po nekim izvorima oko 22.000). Tokom prvih 10 meseci pomrlo je ili ubijeno njih oko 4.500.

U Gakovu je 2004. podignut spomenik na mestu masovne grobnice. Postavljanje spomenika je inicirao Njemački nacionalni savez i Udruženje „Gerhard“, a samo postavljanje je pratilo puno pregovaranja sa lokalnim vlastima. Bilo je protivljenja spomeniku ali je na kraju postavljen, ali sa dve prazne ploče na kojima će moći da se upiše tekst koji u potpunosti odgovara događajima (ovo sada što postoji je vrsta kompromisa). Do sada nije oskrnavljen (sem jednom sa 4C). Nekada je postojala ograda između groblja i masovne grobnice sa spomenikom ali je na inicijativu jedne žene, koja je bila prisutna kada su jednom prilikom došli ljudi iz Nemačke u posetu, ta ograda skinuta. Po rečima ljudi koji su nam to pričali - ta žena je nakon razgovora sa posetiteljkom iz Njemačke rekla da je bol za umrlim jednak i da ne smije biti ograda među ljudima koji žale za svojim.

Logor Kruševlje se nalazi u relativnoj blizini Gakova, međutim, ukoliko padne kiša, teško je probiti se do njega, pošto pravog puta ni ne nema. Ovaj logor je bio posebno na zlom glasu zbog okrutnosti stražara i javnih pogubljenja koja su naređivali komandanti.

Tokom postojanja ova dva logora pokušaji bekstva su bili česti, jer je mađarska granica bila blizu. Ljudi su često bežali preko Mađarske u Nemačku, a ta putovanja su trajala nedeljama pa čak i mesecima.

¹⁷ Isto.

¹⁸ Nenad Stefanović, Jedan svet na Dunavu <http://www.drustvosns.org/nemacka%20manjina/stefanovics/jedan%20svet%20na%20dunavu.html>, str. 72.

Odžaci

Razgovarali smo i sa župnikom Jakobom Pfeiferom koji je sa nama podelio jedan delić svoje lične priče – i njegovi roditelji su bili u logoru (Kničani). Bilo im je kasnije teško pričati o svom iskustvu u logoru. O tome se najviše čutalo pred decom. Po njegovim informacijama 23.11.1944. godine kod Odžaka, na jednom polju, ubijeno je 183 osobe (tačnije 182 jer je jedna od njih preživela), zna ih se po imenu i prezimenu. Nekoliko Podunavskih Nemaca je bilo odvojeno na stranu kako bi iskopali veliku grobnicu za svoje sunarodnike, a onda su i oni pobijeni. Postoji priča da je to mesto „ukleto“ jer tu ništa ne raste. Na tom mestu biće postavljen spomenik juna 2011.

Apatin

Boris Mašić je predsednik apatinskog udruženja „Adam Berenc“. Inače Apatin je mesto gde su nemački kolonisti, koji su dolazili Dunavom u Vojvodinu, pristajali i odatle raspoređivani dalje. Pre Drugog svetskog rata u Apatinu je bilo oko 14.000 Njemaca što je bilo oko 98% stanovništva. Posedovali su, po Mašiću, 60% industrije i oko 70% vlasništva zemlje. Dalje, po njegovim rečima nemačko stanovništvo pre Drugog svetskog rata bilo je podjeljeno otprilike po pola na „zelene“ (pristalice nacional-socijalista) i „crne“ (malo starije stanovništvo više vezano uz katoličku crkvu i koji su bili protiv Hitlerove politike). Najistaknutiji u protivljenju nacional-socijalistima je bio sveštenik Adam Berenc kojeg su Mađari, pod čijom je okupacijom bio Apatin, „tolerisali“ uz povremena „uznemiravanja“. Inače „zeleni“ Nemci su uglavnom sa nemačkom vojskom nakon sloma nacizma otišli za Nemačku (njih 7.000), a ostali su uglavnom oni koji su bili protiv nacista (njih oko 7.500). Od ovih koji su ostali oko 4.500 je stradalo. Posle II svetskog rata u Apatinu je bilo oko 1.500 Nemaca. Danas tu živi zvanično 156 Njemaca (između 200-300 nezvanično).

Boris Mašić ima ličnu priču u porodici vezanu za stradanje Nemaca. Deda mu je 14.12.1944. odveden sa još 70 Njemaca u Sombor gde je mučen i na kraju ubijen a baka mu je bila u logoru u Gakovu i nekako je preživela. Sva imovina njegove porodice je oduzeta osim dve kuće u kojoj žive. Inače, zna se ko je ubio njegovog oca i taj čovek i dalje šeta Somborom. Na zgradi gde je on zajedno s drugim Nemcima ubijen podignuta je spomen ploča, ali ne na spoljašnjem zidu te zgrade koji gleda na ulicu, nego sa unutrašnje strane, u tzv. ajnfurtu (hodniku). Mašić pokušava da spasi kulturnu baštinu Nemaca (ima veliku biblioteku knjiga koje je spašavao uglavnom iz porušenih crkava od kojih je najstarija iz 1600. godine).

Po njegovim rečima u Apatinu ćemo teško naći ljude koji će biti spremni javno govoriti o stradanju Nemaca zbog straha koji još postoji u velikoj meri.

Lična priča: Jakob

Jakob je uvek imao izražen nemački identitet, ali nikad u javnosti – samo u krugu ljudi koje zna, pa počne da priča na nemačkom ili da sluša nemačku muziku. Rođen je u Apatinu 1932. godine. Nakon rata su se mnogi u Apatinu, po njegovim rečima, najviše bojali Crvenoarmejaca, ali je Jakobovo iskustvo bilo drugačije – družili su se i zajedno je s njima propužio. Međutim, kad su došli komunisti, sve se promenilo: oduzeta im je sva imovina, njegov otac je završio zajedno s drugim Nemcima u teretnom vozu za Rusiju, za Harkov; pokupili su ga na Božić 1944. Više ga nikad nije video. Mama je bila odvedena s drugim ženama u Sombor u logor. Posle nekog vremena počela je da radi po kućama u Somboru i na kraju, posle godinu i nešto dana, pobešla i vratila se u Apatin. Najpre se neko vreme još skrivala a kasnije se samo prijavila u opštinu. Ujna i ujak su završili u logoru u Gakovu, s tim što je ujak stradao, a ujna je posle toga uspela da pobjegne u Nemačku, u Ulm. Kasnije, oko '53. su joj se pridružile i Jakobova majka i sestra u Ulmu.

Jakob kaže da se zna šta se dešavalo tih godina u Apatinu, međutim ne priča se o tome kad se okupe u okviru udruženja „Adam Berenc“. Priča se na nemačkom uglavnom. Mnogo je srećan kad čuje nemačke pesme, to ga raduje. Na kraju razgovora je rekao – ništa nisi čula od mene, moje ime se nigde neće pojavljivati, je l' tako?





„Sećanje na nas“

izložba „Sećanje na nas“, koju možete pogledati u prostorijama Udruženja Nemaca „Gerhard“ sasvim je posebnog karaktera.

Ekspoziti su najvećim delom pozajmljeni ili poklonjeni

Subotica

Od Rudolfa Weissa smo dobili predstavu šta se dešavalo s Nemcima u Subotici u periodu neposredno nakon Drugog svetskog rata. I ovde postoji masovna grobnica. Tokom jednog dana, 2. 11. 1944. ubijeno je 300 Nemaca i zajedno s Mađarima i antikomunistima (preko 1.000 ljudi) su zakopani u masovnu grobnicu. Danas na tom mestu postoji spomenik, i masovna grobnica je prikladno obeležena, i to od strane Opštine Subotica a na inicijativu porodica ubijenih i tu sahranjenih. Svake godine 02.11. se organizuje komemoracija na tom mestu. Čuli smo isto tako dosta potresnih priča, kao na primer strašne priče o silovanju devojčica (Eva Bischof, 9 god) i žena. U Srpskoj Crnji u novembru 1944. oko 70 žena u jednoj noći izvršilo je samoubistvo jer im je u predvečerje dobošar „najavio“ masovno silovanje.

Za kraj...

Niko nikada nije procesuiran za to što se događalo Nemcima. Neki od počinitelja su još živi i slobodni. Utisak je i da tokom postojanja logora nije postojao organizovani sistem zataškavanja toga šta se u njima dešavalo, ali sa druge strane, o tome se nije pričalo, pa ni sada se ne priča (Ivan Ivanji je u nedeljniku NIN pisao feljton u nastavcima o položaju Podunavskih Nemaca nakon Drugog sv. rata u kojem su objavljeni razgovori s nekoliko aktera tadašnje komunističke vlasti koji su se ograđivali na sve načine od zločina. Videti od broja 2677 pa nadalje). Znaju se mesta masovnih grobnica, mada broj stradalih nije preciziran, čak i u arhivama postoje podaci o stradanjima i načinima stradanja ali sve to još nije dostupno javnosti.

I danas je jako izražen strah, pa čak i sram/stid kod ljudi (posebno kod preživelih Nemaca) da govore o tome šta su preživeli oni ili njihovi roditelji, bake i djede... Ljudi koji više ne žive u Vojvodini su verovatno spremniji na to. Čini se da je tome teško prići i iz razloga što je to stajalo duboko zakopano više od 60 godina, neki su se sramili, neki strahovali (kad su pitali jednu stariju gospođu da kaže nešto o svom iskustvu ona je rekla – "ne mogu, izgubiću penziju", a ranije je bio strah da će izgubiti platu. Neke je sramota zbog onog što im se desilo – "Zar da moj unuk sazna da su me silovali?"). Pored toga, uz činjenicu da su Podunavski Nemci morali da kriju svoj identitet, te da ga ne ispoljavaju javno, nije se ni za čuditi što postoji ta dimenzija srama što celu priču čini još težom i komplikovanijom.

Posete iz Nemačke, prvenstveno u vidu članova porodica stradalih u Vojvodini, ali i predstavnika udruženja i zvaničnika SR Nemačke, koje su od 2000. postale učestalije kao i postavljanje spomenika, na neki način utiču na to da se prepozna nepravda i žrtve učine vidljivima, ali i da se smanji tenzija prema Nemcima kod lokalnog stanovništva

(prvenstveno se tu misli na koloniste¹⁹) jer shvataju da oni ne dolaze da im uzmu njihove kuće i zemlju već da samo posete mesta rođenja i stradanja svojih.

Važno je da je Republika Srbija osnovala komisiju za utvrđivanje činjenica o zločinima u periodu 1944-1948. sa Srđanom Cvetkovićem iz Instituta za savremenu istoriju (odnosno Komisiju za tajne grobnice ubijenih posle 12. septembra 1944.), te da ovo telo deluje pod pokroviteljstvom Ministarstva pravde Republike Srbije.²⁰ Doduše, ova komisija radi i na traženju tela i Draže Mihailovića oko čega je dobar deo društva u Srbiji počeo već da se sprda ("slučaj Homen").

Sem toga, još jedna važna odluka je donesena u Skupština Vojvodine – izglasana je odluka da ne postoji kolektivna krivica koja se odnosi na nemačku populaciju u Vojvodini.²¹

Posebnu važnost, kako smo saznali od Jakoba Pfeifera, predstavlja pokretanje postupka pred Sudom u Somboru za rehabilitacije ubijenih Nemaca u okolini Odžaka i taj slučaj je trenutno na Višem sudu. Zahtev tužbe je da se stradalili ljudi proglase nevinim, ali to je još "kontroverzna" stvar jer se radi, kako je sudija rekao, o većem broju ljudi (!?). Ako se ne varamo, to je oko 40 ljudi u pitanju.

Uglavnom, svi sa kojima smo pričali tokom ovih poseta i sastanaka su izrazili spremnost da nas podrže u tematiziranju sudbina Nemaca nakon Drugog sv. rata. Misle da je potrebno i da je krajnje vreme jer svedoci uskoro neće biti živi.

I za kraj, kako prof. Zoran Žiletić kaže u predgovoru knjige Jedan svet na Dunavu Nenada Stefanovića: „Čovek se neminovno zapita šta se to događalo sa nama od 1944. do danas kad smo pristali na to da se ne samo uništava čitav jedan narod nego da se o tom uništavanju ćuti već više od pola veka.“

Nedžad Horozović, Helena Rill i Jessica Žic

Decembar 2010.

¹⁹ Kolonisti u Vojvodinu dolaze nakon usvajanja Zakona o agrarnoj reformi i kolonizaciji (donetog avgusta 1945) iz različitih krajeva: Bosne i Hercegovine, Banije, Like, Korduna, Crne Gore, Dalmacije, Sandžaka, Srbije, Makedonije, Slovenije i sa Kosova. Za kratko vreme je stiglo oko 250.000 ljudi. Organizovana kolonizacija je izvršena krajem 1945. i tokom 1946. godine, ali je doseljavanje trajalo sve do 1948. Kolonisti se se naselili u 114 vojvođanskih mesta. Prema tom Zakonu podeljeno je novim vlasnicima 668 412 ha zemlje.

²⁰ Više o ovoj komisiji na: <http://www.komisija1944.mpravde.gov.rs>.

²¹ Skupština AP Vojvodine je 28. Februara 2003. godine usvojila Rezoluciju o nepriznavanju kolektivne krivice.



cna programi mirovnog obrazovanja

Osnovni treninzi iz izgradnje mira

Osnovni trening iz izgradnje mira je sigurno naš najstariji program. Menjali smo ga, prilagođavali ga društveno-političkim okolnostima i nastavljali da ga organizujemo procenjujući da se potreba za njim ne smanjuje. U poslednjih godinu dana održali smo dva Osnovna treninga. Više informacija o njima možete naći u sledeća dva teksta.

Osnovni trening iz izgradnje mira (Ohrid 2010)

Ohrid/Makedonija, 08-18.10.2010.

Od 8-18 oktobra/listopada u Ohridu u hotelu „Klimetica“, održan je 34. Osnovni trening iz izgradnje mira.

U trenerskom timu su bili/e Nedžad Horozović i Sanja Deanković iz CNA i Ana Bitoljanu iz Miramida Centra, Grožnjan/Skopje. Zbog bolesti u porodici, četvrta članica tima nije mogla biti u trenerskom timu. Budući da nismo uspeli/e naći četvrtog/u trenera/icu jer su kontaktirane osobe imale ranije dogovorene obaveze, odlučili smo se da ovaj put osnovni trening radi troje ljudi, uz angažovanje osobe zadužene za logističku i tehničku podršku timu.

Za ovaj trening pristiglo je fascinantnih 178 prijava. Velikom broju prijava sigurno je doprinjelo i atraktivno mjesto održavanja treninga, Ohrid, no, sudeći po aplikacijama, i dobra mreža informiranja, tj. oglašavanja treninga (www.infostud.com, www.iro.hr, Facebook, interne mailing liste itd). I pokraj zadovoljstva zbog velikog interesa, 178 aplikacija je stvorilo i neke probleme, kao i dodatni posao pri samom odgovaranju na aplikacije. Trebalo je u kratkom roku pažljivo pročitati sve prijave i odabrati dvadeset, što je bilo pomalo frustrirajuće zbog mnoštva kvalitetnih aplikacija. Na kraju nas je čekao jedan od neprijatnijih zadataka - obavijestiti veliki broj ljudi da nisu primljeni/e na trening (a trebalo je preživjeti i verbalne napade poneke odbijene osobe).

Treningu je na kraju prisustvovalo 18 osoba, 2 osobe manje od planiranog. Uobičajeno kao i ranije, ljudi su otkazivali u zadnji čas ili uopće nisu javljali da ne mogu doći na trening. U svakom slučaju, šteta je da su dva mjesta ostala upražnjena i pored velikog interesa za ovaj trening.

Učesnici/e su bili/e raznovrsni/e, od osoba koje nisu angažovane u nekoj organizaciji, ali ih ove teme zanimaju, do aktivista/ica, sindikalista/ca, ratnih veterana, političara, novinara, ljudi zaposlenih u javnim institucijama, obrazovanju,



itd. Drago nam je bilo da su neki od učesnika CNA treninga za veterane pokazali spremnost i interesovanje da učestvuju na još jednom, malo drugačijem programu izgradnje mira. To nam govori i o uspostavljenom poverenju, ali i o činjenici da ratni veterani (ili bar deo njih) postaju nezaobilazni u radu na ovom polju. Pokazalo se da je, uz raznolikost prisutnih etničkih identiteta, za dublje propitivanje kompleksnosti odnosa i odgovornosti nedostajalo osoba s izraženijom artikulacijom hrvatskog i albanskog identiteta, koje bi dale poticaj drugima na dublje preispitivanje „svojih“ slika i slika „neprijatelja“ unutar vlastitih etničkih kolektiviteta.

Obradili smo niz tema: komunikacija, timski rad, donošenje odluka, razumijevanje sukoba, nasilje, percepcija, uloga roda i spola u društvu, predrasude, nacionalni identiteti, suočavanje s prošlošću, izgradnja mira itd. S nekim temama i načinom obrade smo bili/e istinski zadovoljni/e, s nekim baš i ne. Iako nam to nije centralna tema i trudimo se da ljudima bude jasno od početka da naši treninzi nisu fokusirani na vježbanje vještina nenasilne komunikacije, ovaj put nam je nedostajalo još rada na senzibilizaciji za suštinske principe nenasilne komunikacije. Taj nedostatak se prvenstveno osjetio u povremenom nerazumijevanju, od strane učesnika/ca, onoga što se dešava u procesu rada, pa su i neke intervencije trenerskog tima tumačene pod uticajem tog nerazumijevanja (tim je strog; ne dozvoljavaju se replike i slično). Zadovoljni/e smo načinom na koji smo obradili temu predrasuda i nacionalnih identiteta, jer je ta radionica ukazala na neke od osnovnih problema naših društava (mi-oni; slike neprijatelja itd.). Zadovoljni smo načinom na koji smo uspjeli/e da jasno povežemo temu uloga polova u društvu sa situacijom rata i načinom na koji ratno stanje oblikuje uloge i pozicije muškaraca i žena. Najduži i najintenzivniji tematski blok i ovoga puta odnosio se na temu Suočavanje sa prošlošću, i tokom tri radna bloka (od po 3,5 sata) uspjeli smo naći mjesta i za lične priče i za analizu naših sredina.

Na slobodan dan, većina učesnika/ka kao i trenerski tim otišli/e smo u Albaniju. Učesnici/e su posjetili Tiranu, a trenerski tim Pogradec. Blizina i laka prohodnost granice, kao i uglavnom pozitivna iskustva neće promijeniti sve predrasude koje postoje o Albaniji, ali je svakako jedno značajno i nesvakidašnje iskustvo koje može biti početak dekonstrukcije fame koja se širila (i koja još uvijek postoji) oko same zemlje. Riječima jednog učesnika „Drago mi je što sam išao, razbio sam predrasude o Albaniji. Slična je ona ovim prostorima, Tirana je jedan veliki, evropski, balkanski grad.“

Nedostatkom jednog/e trenera/ice članovi i člancice tima su imali povećani obim posla, no rad u timu nam je bio jako lijep i osnažujući. Tokom prvih dana treninga stvorili smo osjećaj nadopunjavanja i velike podrške koju smo davali jedni drugima, i to nas je pratilo do kraja rada. I pokraj dobrog iskustva sa ovog treninga, ne preporučujemo rad sa tri trenera/ice kao pravilo već samo kao moguću iznimku.

Po prvi put se Osnovni trening iz izgradnje mira održao u Makedoniji, na našu veliku radost. Skoro po pravilu, Makedonija prečesto biva zanemarena ili prekasno uključena u regionalne procese. Ovo je bio naš doprinos tome da se u mišljenju i djelovanju u regionu bivše Jugoslavije određeni dijelovi ne zanemaruju, kao i da Makedonija ne bude na rubu interesovanja i zbivanja. Primjetili/e smo da je za dosta učesnika Makedonija poprilično egzotična destinacija što nam govori o tome da i pored toga što je region gotovo potpuno otvoren, ne postoji bazično zanimanje za

ono što se dešava u drugim državama, posebno onim koje nam nisu susjedi i sa kojima nemamo nerazriješenih pitanja iz prošlosti.

Trenerski tim se u prvom dijelu treninga „borio“ sa hotelskom upravom, i to oko radne prostorije, grijanja, hrane... S obzirom da je to oduzelo dosta energije i živaca pri slijedećem odabiru novih mjesta za treninge potrebni su vrlo detaljniji dogovori.

Evaluacija treninga je pokazala zadovoljstvo učesnica/ka i još jednom potvrdila potrebu za ovakvim edukacijama. Štoviše, kako odmiče vrijeme od ratova u devedesetima, potreba za konstruktivnim nošenjem s njihovim posljedicama, ali još važnije – uzrocima, raste, a ne opada kako bi se možda očekivalo ili priželjkivalo.



A.B.

Osnovni trening iz izgradnje mira (Tivat 2011)

Tivat/Crna Gora, 11-21.03.2011.

Dvadeset učesnica-ka iz Hrvatske, Bosne i Hercegovine, Makedonije, Srbije i Kosova. Tim: Ana Bitoljanu, Katarina Milićević, Nedžad Horozović, Nenad Vukosavljević.

Tridesetpeti po redu, desetodnevni trening iz izgradnje mira u organizaciji CNA je održan u martu 2011. Skoro cela godina treninga, samo od osnovnih treninga, se sakupila od 1997. kada smo započeli sa radom.

Iako sama brojka može izazvati respekt što se toliko (u)radilo, ostaje i pitanje: Zašto već 14 godina radimo istu vrstu aktivnosti, nije li to postalo samo inertno ponavljanje nekada uspješne aktivnosti? Puno toga se promenilo od 1997, dešavali su se i novi ratovi i "normalizacije" odnosa, odrastale su nove generacije koje su rat znale iz priča njihovih roditelja i bliže okoline, ili možda još gore od toga, iz udžbenika u školama.

Istina je da smo se promenili i mi koji radimo u CNA, ali ne sasvim. Promenio se i sadržaj, jer smo uvek nastojali da ga prilagodimo aktuelnim potrebama i uključimo aktuelne društvene dileme i diskurse u same radionice.

Šta pruža Osnovni trening iz izgradnje mira i šta mi dobijamo od njega?

Krenuću od sebe samog. Nakon 7 godina ponovo sam bio u timu koji radi Osnovni trening. Izašao sam, iako preumoran, osnažen iz treninga i sretan što je novih dvadeset ljudi imalo snažno iskustvo vođenja dijaloga sa neistomišljenicima, preispitivanja ličnih stavova, borbe sa sopstvenim predrasudama, uspona i padova. Proces kroz koji smo prošli nije bio samo osnažujući već i otrežnjujući, jer zadatak gradnje mira nije nešto što ćemo lako postići vodeći se ispraznim frazama o dobrim ljudima (i obično lošim političarima i nacionalistima). Za mene lično, i dalje vrlo

aktuelno, kao i 1997, tu je i pouka da ne možemo jedni bez drugih ako želimo izaći iz spirala mržnje, nasilja, predrasuda, suprotstavljenih viđenja prošlosti, pitanja krivice i odgovornosti.

Osnovni trening pruža ljudima upravo mogućnost da dobiju uvid u međusobnu povezanost i međuzavisnost, daje šansu da postavie pitanje koja u stvarnom životu nemaju kome postaviti, jer su "oni" uvek oni kojima se ne može verovati i od kojih pretili ugrožavanje "nas".

I da, istina je da ne možemo očekivati da će iz ove grupe ljudi proizaći čitav niz aktivnosti koje grade mir. Volja sigurno postoji, ali postoje





Prepušteni su, manje više, sebi samima, međusobnoj podršci i mogućnostima promene kroz institucije/organizacije iz kojih dolaze, a u njih spadaju: ministarstvo obrazovanja - odabir istorijskih sadržaja, nevladine organizacije u etnički podeljenim gradovima, elektronski mediji, prosvetne radnice (npr veronauka), aktivisti političkih stranaka, studentski aktivisti...

Mogućnost nadgradnje takođe postoji, kroz druge programe obrazovanja koji postoje.

Nisam spreman na to da tvrdim da se mora uraditi još 350 osnovnih treninga, ali jesam spreman da i danas, 14 godina od početka, branim ovaj koncept prekograničnog susreta i intenzivnog učenja kakav je i dan danas, jer verujem da potreba za njim, nesmanjenom žestinom postoji.

Mogao bih izdvojiti momente koji su pojedinke i pojedince pomerili sa mesta, u kojima je pokazivana ljutnja, tuga ili saosećanje. Zamoliću neke ljude koji su učestvovali da to napišu umesto mene.

N.V.

Iz osvrta učesnika/ca

D.I. iz Zagreba (Hrvatska):

"...susret koji mi je bio značajan je rad sa Hrvatom iz Bosne, kada sam vrlo emotivno reagirala, postajući svjesna njegovih predrasuda prema sebi kao Hrvatici iz Hrvatske i svojih predrasuda prema njemu. Kao što sam za njega ja bila pripadnica grupe koja ga je više puta diskriminirala u Zagrebu, on je za mene kao muškarac iz, po mom mišljenju patrijarhalnije sredine, pripadao dominantnoj grupi koja je diskriminirala mene. Uz to neke njegove izjave podsjećale su me na izjave oko kojih sam se sporila sa svojim ocem. Kasnije sam od njega čula da želi bolji odnos i razgovor sa svojim ocem i to je bilo nešto što je kao ogledalo odgovaralo mojim željama.

Inace, u smislu odnosa i približavanja, razmišljala sam i o tome kako ljudi bez obzira koliko različiti se naizgled činili i koliko različita mišljenja imali i različite stvari izgovarali na neki način ogledaju upravo one stvari koje imam i sama i one se međusobno sviđaju ili bodu, već prema tome u kojoj su fazi i situaciji."

F.K. iz Struge (Makedonija)

"Primena stečenog iskustva zavisi od nas kao pojedi-

nica, da radimo na podizanju svesti ljudi da je moguće na stvari gledati na drugačiji način od one ustaljene podele na "njih" i "nas". Da je moguće da se objektivno prihvate činjenice bez lažnog partiotizma iza kojeg se sakrivaju lični interesi, omalovažavanje i diskriminacije zasnovane samo na različitoj etničkoj pripadnosti ljudi ili na tome što je neko različit.

razne druge prepreke praktične prirode, pa sve do pitanja mogućnosti rada u timu, potrebe za podrškom u vlastitoj sredini itd. Puno kockica se mora složiti da bi ostali vidljivi tragovi, pritom u trajnost promena svesti kod ljudi uopšte ne sumnjam. Konceptualno smo radu pristupili na način da smo razumevanje društvenih sukoba i njihovu povezanost sa ličnim stavovima i delovanjem stavili u prvi plan i radili na njima vrlo temeljno i korak po korak. Nismo išli na to da dajemo ideje za zajedničke akcije ili da ih potičemo da neku konkretnu odmah sprovedu. Istina je da su nam kapaciteti vrlo ograničeni da pratimo potrebe za podrškom koje se mogu javiti nakon treninga.

Zalaganje i posvećenost članova tima mi je dala poticaj i motivaciju da i ja mogu da doprinesem pozitivnim promenama (kroz rad sa decom i mladima na edukaciji za toleranciju, razvoj veština komunikacije i konstruktivnog rešavanja sukoba) u mojoj sredini i da nije uzaludno zalaganje za ravnopravnost ljudi i njihova prava bez obzira na njihov identitet."

M.D. iz Novog Sada (Srbija)

"Nebrojeno puta sam slušala i čitala o tome... kako se u ranoj hrišćanskoj crkvi (a sasvim sam sigurna da je toga bilo i u drugim zajednicama) ispovedalo čitavo društvo, tj. pojedinac pred svima... Ne znam da li zbog kruga, učesnika, trenera/ica, neusiljene atmosfere, tema, stečenog međusobnog poverenja... no čini mi se da se ni ja, a imam utisak ni ostali učesnici, ne bi dugo ustručavali da iznesemo najtanjanije i najintimnije delove iz svog života.

Ne idealizujem okolnosti koje su doprinele ovakvom mom mišljenju. Verujem da bi velika većina ljudi u regionu, ako ne i svi, formirala "krug", a ne vojne formacije samo da imaju priliku i iznad svega volju da se sretnu, govore i budu saslušani. Ono što sebi treba ponavljati kao mantru jeste da drugi nisu pretnja već uslov i neophodnost za mir u sebi i oko sebe. A CNA trening na volšeban način to i demonstrira.

...Verujem da će svi primeniti "naučeno" u stvarnosti, u većoj ili manjoj meri, svesno ili nesvesno, shodno svojim mogućnostima i okolnostima. Trening je svima dao dobar temelj, podsticaj, smernice, proširenje ili podsećanje na ranije stečeno znanje i sve što treba da sledi nakon njega stvar je intenziteta volje svakog učesnika, njegovih sposobnosti i mogućnosti...

Teško je izaći sa treninga bez osećaja "budnosti" i "svesnosti", ali je još teže u tom stanju ostati. Nadam se da ću češće u ovom stanju obitavati i makar malo doprijeti "društvenoj insomniji".

J.P. iz Skoplja (Makedonija)

"Možda je najvažnija spoznaja sa ovoga treninga za mene to da stalno i postojano ispitujem stvari i da se trudim da ih sagledam iz što više različitih uglova."

K.L. iz Kičeva (Makedonija)

"Kada mi je od CNA stigla potvrda da sam primljen na trening, a potom i lista učesnika, pitao sam se da li ćemo da obnovimo rat sa ovim ljudima na seminaru ili ne, imao sam te loše misli u glavi i pošao sam sa 80% loših osećaja na trening, a tek 20% nekih pozitivnih misli...

Sve teme su bile super, ali najjači utisak mi je ostavila jedna tema, kada smo pozicionirali izjave u vežbi "barometar" i nakon toga vodili diskusiju oko njih, to beše

tema "Makedonija je država svih Makedonaca". Slušao sam ljude kako iznose svoja mišljenja i listom su svi tu izjavu svrstavali na pol "jeste nasilje". Kada je razgovor započeo, očekivao sam različite stavove, ali nije bilo tako, svi su mislili isto ono što i ja da Makedonija treba biti država svih naroda koji u njoj žive. Bio sam iznenađen i oduševljen da svi misle da je takva izjava nasilje i da Makedonija treba biti jedna demokratska zemlja, svih naroda koji u njoj žive.

Ja sam oduvek mislio da su ljudi iz drugih balkanskih zemalja drugačiji od nas i da o nama misle da smo loš narod, ali sam na ovom seminaru shvatio i naučio da to nije tačno, da ljudi razmišljaju na pozitivan način kao i svaki narod koji se bori za pravdu tu gde živi i to me je jako impresioniralo tokom seminara. Od sada ću ja uvek biti taj koji će doprinositi tome da i drugi razumeju da su Srbi, Bosanci, Hrvati, Makedonci super ljudi, pametni, inteligentni i demokratski. Mislim da na ovakvim radionicama mnogo ljudi ima šansu da promeni svoje stavove, siguran sam u to i meni je ovaj seminar puno pomogao da nešto naučim i da to sprovodim u svakodnevnom životu."

J.J. iz Mostara (BiH)

"Na jako suptilan način približavajući lična iskustva drugih moj doživljaj sopstvene uloge žrtve krenuo je drugim tokom u odnosu na dosadašnji, koji me udaljava od samosažaljenja i osjećaja bespomoćnosti u datim situacijama kroz koje prolazim svakodnevno.

Najznačajnije za mene je svijest da nije nelogično ili luckasto konstantno propitivanje sebe. Navoditi osobe oko sebe na propitivanje jako mi je značajno iskustvo nakon ovog treninga i sa velikim iščekivanjem želim svakodnevno upotrebljavati naučene vještine."

Korak dalje u izgradnji mira. Vrednosti i prakse

Ukratko o programu

Zahvaljujući evaluacijama dosadašnjih Naprednih treninga iz izgradnje mira, razvili smo novi napredni program za ljude koji su učestvovali na nekom od naših Osnovnih treninga ili u sličnom programu. Novi program, "Korak dalje u izgradnji mira", sastoji se iz tri nezavisna modula/treninga koji sadržajno čine jednu celinu:

1. modul: "Treba li nam pomirenje? Mogućnosti, prepreke, izazovi"
2. modul: "Šta možemo, kako i zašto? Preispitivanje praksi izgradnje mira"
3. modul: "Hodanje neutabanim stazama. Izazovi u radu na izgradnji mira"

Potencijalni učesnici/ce su se mogli prijaviti na jedan, dva ili sva tri modula. Cilj nam je bio formirati šarolike grupe ljudi koji imaju visoku motivaciju za rad na izgradnji mira, a koji, kao i na našim osnovnim treninzima, dolaze iz različitih delova bivše Jugoslavije: prosvetni radnici/ce, novinari/ke, aktivisti/kinje političkih stranaka i nevladinih



organizacija, ratni veterani, itd. Ovom šarolikošću smo hteli da na jedno mesto okupimo različita iskustva i poglede na relevantna društvena pitanja. Zanimljivo je da su oni učesnici koji su aktivni u političkim strankama bili uglavnom iz nacionalnih, a ne građanskih stranaka. Takođe, jedan deo nastavnika koji su učestvovali predaje veronauku. To je doprinelo da grupe budu autentične, da izbegnemo "skup istomišljenika," i da se na teške teme koje smo obrađivali razvija dijalog na više razina, pored prekograničnih i međuetničkih, i na liniji političkih neistomišljenika, i među ljudima sa različitim vrednosnim sistemima.

Glavni cilj je bio motivisanje ljudi da rade u poljima izgradnje mira i suočavanja s prošlošću, odnosno da osnažimo one koji su već aktivni u tim poljima.

Do sada su održana dva od ovih treninga i više o njima možete pročitati u ovom izveštaju. Poslednji trening je planiran za oktobar 2011. godine.

Ovaj program je finansijski podržala Austrijska razvojna agencija (ADA), a sprovodimo ga u saradnji sa Međunarodnim društvom za pomirenje (*Internationaler Versöhnungsbund*) i *Diakonie Austria*.

Prvi modul: Treba li nam pomirenje?

Blagaj/BiH, 17-23.06.2011.

Prvi modul, „Treba li nam pomirenje? Mogućnosti, prepreke, izazovi,” održan je od 17. do 23. juna 2011. godine u Hercegovini, u malom mestu Blagaj blizu Mostara. Bilo je 18 učesnika, a glavne teme treninga bile su pomirenje i suočavanje s prošlošću.

Bilo je dobro, bilo je naporno, bilo je zanimljivo, bilo je divnih momenata, bio je izazov. Zaronili smo dosta duboko i u okviru glavnih tema bavili smo se još i nacionalnim narativima o ratovima, poricanjem u društvima i memorijalizacijom, odnosno vidovima sećanja. Pristup radu je bio više na kognitivnom, analitičkom nivou nego emotivnom, pa smo mnogo sedeli u plenumu i pričali. Iako je to bilo dosta naporno, ti plenumi sa ovako šarolikom grupom na ove teme su zlata vredni. Ljudima je bilo bitno da čuju jedni druge, pa su i sami radije birali plenum nego rad u manjim grupama.

Učesnici su bili aktivni do te mere da je svaka radionica trajala duže nego što je bilo predviđeno, jer je bilo skoro nemoguće zaustaviti diskusiju. Neko reče: "Spavaćemo kad odemo kući." Ta hiperaktivnost je, naravno, dovela do bržeg zamora ljudi, pa kako je vreme odmicalo manjkalo je elana. Međutim, to nije dovelo do lakšeg zaustavljanja diskusija pri kraju treninga ☺.

Učesnici su dobili i čitanku sa relevantnim člancima. Do sada smo ljudima uglavnom preporučivali literaturu, a sad smo prvi put radili na tekstovima u okviru radionica. Tekstovi su nam uglavnom koristili kao uvod u temu i poticaj za dalju diskusiju.

U trenerskom timu su bili Adnan, Katarina, Ivana i Nedžad.

Šta smo sve radili?

U pokušaju dekonstrukcije, razmenjivali smo nacionalne narative o ratovima. Mapirali smo šta se sve u našim društvima poriče, i ono što je očigledno, bukvalno poricanje, ali i poricanje interpretacija i implikacija. Jedna od jačih radionica je bila ona na temu "Memorijalizacija." Uvodni deo smo posvetili priči o Aušvicu kao najvećem i najpoznatijem memorijalnom centru koji predstavlja tačku identiteta za mnoge (kao inspiracija za priču poslužio nam je tekst Iana Burume iz knjige "Plata za krivicu"). Prilično smo se dotakli i načina sećanja i toga koliko je uputno sećati se i kolektivne viktimizacije koje sećanje sa sobom i te kako može da nosi. Potom smo se vratili u naš kontekst malom izložbom fotografija spomenika iz naše regije i ostatak radionice posvetili "našim" spomenicima: Kako ih doživljavamo? Kakvu poruku šalju, kakve simbole sadrže? Čemu služe? Za koga ih pravimo? Koliko doprinose sećanju na žrtve? Koliko doprinose pomirenju?... Jedva smo uspeali da završimo radionicu.



Najviše vremena smo posvetili temi pomirenje, od dilema koje imamo o njemu, pitanja kolektivne odgovornosti, pitanja koliko su nacionalni identiteti prepreka pomirenju, šta je uopšte pomirenje i šta će nam ono, preko međusobnog odnosa koncepata mira, istine, pravde i oprosta i njihovog značaja za pomirenje, uloge pojedinca, pojmova ličnog i političkog pomirenja do pitanja gde smo mi sami u tim procesima. Potresno je bilo, ali i za razumevanje procesa suočavanja sa prošlošću i pomirenja jako moćno, videti na jednom od papira gde su učesnici/ce pisali svoje odgovore, na pitanje "Od koga želim i trebam oprost?" stoji: "Od onih na koje sam pucao."

Imali smo i gosta predavača Ugu Vlaisavljevića, profesora sa Filozofskog fakulteta u Sarajevu, koji je održao vrlo zanimljivo i provokativno predavanje na temu "Pomirenje kao najveća potreba i najveća opasnost." Učesnici/ce su izrazili veliko zadovoljstvo ovim gostovanjem.

Ono što je išlo teže, jeste sagledati svoju ulogu u procesima izgradnje mira/pomirenja/suočavanja s prošlošću, jer se velikom broju učesnika koji nisu u nekoj organizaciji (NVO ili političkoj stranci), čini da oni sami nemaju načina da pokrenu vidljivu društvenu promenu. Stoga smo morali više da poradimo na osnaživanju nego što je to bilo prvobitno zamišljeno.

Jedna od poteškoća bilo je i očekivanje jednog dela učesnika da je ovaj trening nastavak Osnovnog treninga, odnosno da će pristup radu i način obrađivanja tema biti isti. Fokus ovog treninga je bio sadržaj, ali ne i sama grupa i procesi u njoj, kao što je to slučaj na osnovnom programu. Trenerski tim je primetio da kod jednog dela učesnika/ca postoji nespremnost na konfrontaciju sa drugima, ali i očekivanje od tima da mi vodimo računa o stvaranju prostora za sve i izlazimo u susret neizrečenim potrebama. U direktnoj vezi sa tim očekivanjem je i vidljiva niska odgovornost većine učesnika za proces zajedničkog rada.

No, kad se podvuče crta, bilo je pravo zadovoljstvo raditi ovaj trening.

I.F.

Drugi modul: Preispitivanje praksi izgradnje mira

Zrenjanin/Srbija, 29.07. – 04.08.2011.

Ove godine je CNA tim odlučio da isproba potpuno novi koncept programa naprednog mirovnog obrazovanja. Program je nazvan *Korak dalje u izgradnji mira. Vrednosti i prakse* i sastoji se iz tri odvojena modula, sa različitim temama i fokusima. Fokus drugog modula bio je praksa izgradnje mira i poticaji mirovnom aktivizmu, a zvaničan naziv treninga bio je „Šta možemo, kako i zašto? Preispitivanje praksi izgradnje mira“.

Na treningu je učestvovalo 18 učesnika/ca, iz Srbije, Hrvatske, BiH i Makedonije. Upadljivo odsustvo ljudi iz Crne Gore na osnovnim treninzima odrazilo se na nedostatak ljudi iz te države i u ovom programu. Na ovom modulu je trebalo da učestvuje i jedan učesnik sa Kosova, no nasilje koje je tih dana izbilo na severu Kosova sprečilo ga je da doputuje u Zrenjanin.



Svi učesnici ovog treninga su već učestvovali na nekom od ranije organizovanih CNA treninga, tako da im naš način rada i metodologija koju najčešće koristimo nisu bili nepoznati. Dosta njih radi u školama, ili sa decom školskog uzrasta, nekoliko ih je zaposleno u različitim medijima (HRT, Radio Rijeka) ili deluju kao slobodni novinari, neki su aktivisti lokalnih NVO, a dve osobe su zaposlene u vladinim institucijama. Već iz ovog opšteg preseka vidi se da ovoga puta nismo radile sa izrazito aktivističkom grupom, već pre sa grupom potencijalnih aktivista ili ljudi motivisanih da na neki način, u budućnosti, doprinesu pozitivnim promenama u svojim zajednicama. Njihove vrednosne, političke, svetonazorske pozicije su bile dosta različite, a to proizvodi i različite potrebe u grupnom radu, i različite vizije šta bi izgradnja mira trebalo da bude. Reklo bi se - ništa različito od bilo kog drugog rada u tako mešovitim grupama. Ono što je ovoga puta ipak bilo specifično jeste što je grupa teško artikulirala svoje vrednosne i političke razlike, a pokušaji tog artikulisanja su često rezultirali konfliktima za čiju transformaciju je postojao prilično slab kapacitet. To je svakako, uz vrlo intenzivan rad, doprinelo preovlađujućem utisku da se radilo o jednom vrlo napornom i zahtevnom treningu.

Odabir mesta

U pripremnom periodu smo aktivno tragale za mestom koje bi imalo zanimljiv lokalni kontekst, bilo dovoljno pristupačno i gde bi postojao hotel sa potrebnim uslovima za rad. Sve to smo našle u Zrenjaninu, gradu udaljenom 60-ak kilometara od Beograda, u Banatu, Vojvodina. Zrenjanin je poznat široj javnosti nekada po svom izrazito multietničkom identitetu i suživotu različitih nacionalnosti, u poslednje vreme kao mesto u čijoj okolini je uhapšen Ratko Mladić (u selu Lazarevu, gde se, gle čuda, nekada nalazio logor za vojvođanske Nemce). Kad smo već kod logora, u bližoj okolini Zrenjanina su i Stajićevo i Begejci, još dva logora, ali iz jednog drugog rata, onog sa Hrvatskom iz 1991/1992. u kome, zvanično, Srbija nije učestvovala. Kako se tokom treninga pokazalo, odabir mesta je bio pun pogodak, s obzirom da je vrlo kontroverzan lokalni kontekst dao više nego dovoljno inspiracije učesnicima za njihov praktičan rad. Po rečima jedne učesnice: „Zrenjanin mi je izgledao kao jedan lep, mali gradić, a za jedno popodne sam saznala mnogo. Došla sam u jedan, a izaći ću iz drugog grada“.

Još malo o konceptu

Osnovna ideja ovog modela bila je da osvetlimo dobre (i ne tako dobre) prakse izgradnje mira, da otvorimo jedan širi prostor prepoznavanja šta sve može biti aktivizam, reagovanje, rad na izgradnji mira, da ponudimo neke konkretne alate i znanja koji u tome mogu pomoći. Osim toga, želele smo i inovacije u programu (na tragu onoga što smo započele na naprednom treningu iz 2008. godine) koje podrazumevaju dosta konkretnih zadataka za učesnike, kao i rad na terenu, tj. kontakt sa lokalnom sredinom. Svesno smo se odlučile za koncept koji ne ostavlja previše prostora za refleksiju, bavljenje grupnim procesima, kritičko sagledavanje društava u kojima živimo... Bile smo potpuno svesne

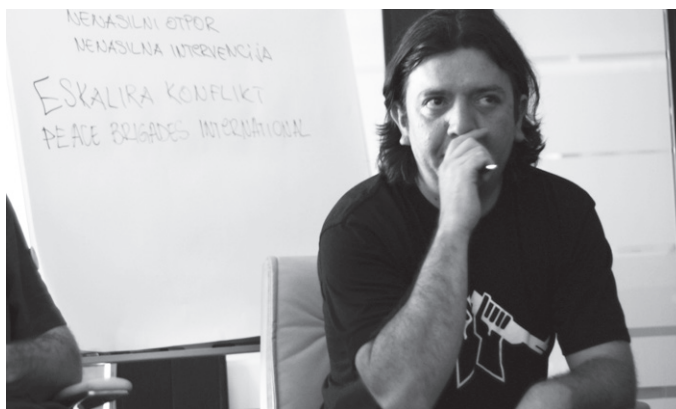
da su upravo to elementi koje naše treninge čine vrlo privlačnim velikom broju ljudi. Uprkos tome smo htele da napravimo nešto drugačije, trening gde je naglasak ne toliko na promišljanju nego na delovanju i gde se prostor za lične i grupne procese ne dobija, niti servira od strane trener-skog tima, već se mora stvoriti i brinuti za njega samostalno. Definitivno je takva postavka nekim odgovarala više, nekima manje i svakako da postoji prostor i potreba da se stvari menjaju i poboljšavaju, ali verujemo da ovo jeste jedna solidna osnova za neke buduće slične programe.

Vrhunci treninga svakako su vezani za timski i praktičan rad koji je rađen u malim grupama (po šest osoba). Oni su u nekoliko navrata imali pri-

like da se oprobavaju u konkretnim zadacima u konkretnim kontekstima (pisanje apela, peticije, poziva na javnu raspravu), a posebno su upečatljiva bila istraživanja koja su radili u malim timovima. Teme istraživanja bile su: Zrenjaninski Nemci – komšije kojih nema; Multikulturalnost u Zrenjaninu – vidljiva ili nevidljiva; Memorijalizacija – mesta sećanja vezana za Drugi svetski rat i ratove 90-ih. Sve tri grupe su u prikupljanju podataka na ove vrlo zahtevne teme koristile različite metode – ulične ankete; razgovore sa ljudima zaposlenim u relevantnim institucijama i ustanovama; analizu štampanih medija; analizu podataka sa interneta; fotografisanje i druge načine dokumentovanja prikupljenog materijala. Utisak je bio da je većini prijao rad u timovima, a problemi su se, očekivano, pojavili kada je prikupljeno trebalo sistematizovati i pripremiti najvažnije nalaze za prezentaciju. Tada su se kao poteškoće pojavili različiti stilovi rada, ali i različite političke, pa i vrednosne pozicije – šta je važno, šta treba pomenuti, na koji način treba interpretirati nalaze, koliko se možemo pouzdati u naš osećaj o stvarima, ko smo mi da o tome pitamo i pričamo, šta tačno te teme čini osetljivim i kako im treba pristupiti itd. Tako se u jednom kratkom zadatku pojavio čitav niz važnih i „velikih“ pitanja koja i inače svakodnevno prate rad na izgradnji mira, a učesnici su imali priliku i da osećaju zadovoljstvo dobro obavljenog posla, ali i drugu stranu koja znači nošenje sa dilemama i drugačijim viđenjima.

Jako je važno bilo, i od strane učesnika jako dobro ocenjeno, gostovanje Bore Kitanoskog iz Mirovne Akcije, Prilep, koji je održao radionicu o nenasilnoj direktnoj akciji. Bio je to jedan za sve nas novi i osvežavajući pogled na to kakve sve odgovore možemo pružiti na probleme koji nas žuljaju. Verujem da autorka ovih redova nije bila jedina koja je nakon te radionice osećala intenzivnu želju za direktnim, konkretnim uličnim aktivizmom koji često zaboravljamo i zapostavljamo.

I na kraju, ovaj trening nas je ostavio sa pomešanim utiscima – zadovoljstava i dilema ostalo je napretek. Jedna od glavnih dilema je koliko je moguće bilo kojim treningom napraviti aktiviste od ljudi koji to nisu. To zapravo nije ni prava dilema jer ko god radi ovaj posao zna da treninzi ne stvaraju aktiviste, već pomažu da se rasplamsaju aktivističke iskre i iskrice koje već postoje. Prava dilema je kako učiniti da se iskrice ne ugase jer je „teško, nemoguće, malo nas je“. Možda se ipak treba samo setiti onih brojnih imenovanih i neimenovanih *Rosa Parks* koje su samo snagom svoje volje i želje pokrenule mnoge stvari. I bude jasno da će vatra ipak goreti dok god je ljudi koji se ne boje i ne libe da, iako su u manjini, dižu svoj glas i reaguju na stvari koje vide kao nepravdu. Verujemo da je i ovaj trening zapalio neke iskrice koje će tome doprineti.



T.Š.



rad s ratnim veteranima

Zajedničke posjete veterana rata Derventi i Brodu

27-29.11.2010.

Od 27. do 29. novembra 2010. godine organizovali smo zajedničke veteranske posjete Derventi i Brodu na kojima smo imali susrete sa lokalnim boračkim organizacijama i u sklopu kojih smo obilazili stratišta i spomenike iz ratova '90-tih. Inicijativa za ove posjete pokrenuta je na treningu za veterane rata koji se dešavao tokom juna i jula 2010. godine. Obilaske stratišta i spomenika sa ratnim veteranima u saradnji sa veteranskim organizacijama iz regije, organizujemo već treću godinu za redom.

Grupu od dvadeset i pet ljudi, koja je učestvovala u ovoj posjeti sačinjavali su: veterani iz Bosne i Hercegovine (Tuzle, Gornjeg Vakufa, Brčkog, Odžaka, Prnjavora i Zavidovića), Hrvatske (Županja, Vinkovci) i Srbije (Novi Sad, Beograd, Vlasotinci). Ovi veterani su bili pripadnici sljedećih vojnih formacija (u toku rata): Armija BiH, Hrvatsko vijeće obrane, Hrvatska vojska, Vojska Republike Srpske, Vojska Republike Srpske Krajine i Vojska Jugoslavije. To je važan podatak jer pokazuje da su učesnici bili pripadnici svih vojski uključenih u ratove '90-tih na području BiH i Hrvatske. Tim za organizaciju ove posjete činili su Nedžad Horozović, Adnan Hasanbegović i Nermin Karačić.

U dogovoru sa lokalnim veteranima donijeli smo odluku da organizujemo zajedničku posjetu Derventi. Dvojica članova Boračke organizacije RS - Derventa učestvovali su na pomenutom treningu. Nakon nekoliko sastanaka, pojedinci iz Boračke organizacije RS - Derventa, prije svih naš dugogodišnji saradnik Spasoje Kulaga, odlučili su biti domaćini ove aktivnosti, iako je postojalo neslaganje dijela članova organizacije. Sam predsjednik organizacije je neformalno podržao ideju.

Pored Dervente, hteli smo posjetiti i susjednu opštinu Brod i njihovu boračku organizaciju, između ostalog da bismo imali priliku otići i do spomen-sobe u Brodu. BORS - Derventa još uvijek nema pripremljenu spomen-sobu²², a

²² Spomen-soba je svojevrsan muzej koju pravi lokalna boračka organizacija, u njoj je arhiva o ratnom putu lokalnih vojnih jedinica, slike poginulih, objavljene brošure i sl.

posjeta ovakve grupe spomen-sobi ima posebnu važnost za lokalne veterane. To je prilika da oni ispričaju svoj ratni put i da se sjete i pomenu poginule saborce. Pored Broda je i selo Sijekovac²³, koje je važno za srpski narod ovog kraja, ali i čitave Bosne i Hercegovine. Naime, u Sijekovcu se u martu 1992. godine desio zločin nad srpskim civilima koji su počinili pripadnici HV i HVO. U srpskom narativu, ovaj događaj se tretira kao početak rata u BiH. Boračka organizacija opštine Brod također je pristala podržati posjetu svom gradu, ugostiti nas i povesti na spomenike i mjesta stradanja na tom području.

U toku tri dana, posjetili smo: spomen-sobu u Brodu, spomen-crkvu u Sijekovcu, spomenik Vojsci Republike Srpske u centru Broda, mjesto gdje je pronađena masovna grobnica srpskih civila i zarobljenika u Derventi, Čardak-spomenik, gdje su također stradali srpski civili, i Dom JNA, koji je bio logor za srpske zarobljenike u periodu od aprila do augusta 1992. godine. Imali smo susret sa lokalnim vlastima i medijima, kao i sastanke na kojima smo razgovarali i dijelili utiske o svemu viđenom i doživljenom.

Dirnula nas je gostoljubivost Boračkog udruženja RS iz Broda koji su nas srdačno primili u prostorijama svog skromnog udruženja. Na veoma malom prostoru, u jednom trenutku se našlo mnogo ljudi i stvorila se veoma topla atmosfera.

Kao najznačajniju u nizu posjeta koje smo obavili, istaknuli bi prvo Sijekovac, kao mjesto od bitnog simboličkog značaja za međuetničko pomirenje. Smatramo veoma važnim što su bošnjački i hrvatski veterani posjetili ovo mjesto i odali poštu žrtvama, jer je to za mnoge ljude simbol sprskog stradanja u ratu. Bitan momenat u toku ove posjete je bio kada nam se pridružila starija žena koja je bila neposredni svjedok događanja i čija je porodica ubijena u Sijekovcu. Veterani su imali priliku čuti njeno neposredno svjedočenje, što je na njih ostavilo vrlo emotivan dojam.

U toku posjete Čardaku, čuli smo svjedočenje čovjeka koji je bio svjedok i žrtva dešavanja na ovom mjestu. On je naglasio da je svjestan da su i ostali narodi bili žrtve u ratu, te je ispričao svoje svjedočenje o konkretnim dešavanjima koja je doživio. Pri tome je, u jednom momentu, upotrijebio termin „ustaše“, ali se već narednog trenutka pojašnjavao da ne misli pritom na hrvatski narod, već konkretne ljude koji su njemu direktno nanijeli zlo. Neki od veterana iz grupe su kasnije izjavili da su imali smetnje u njegovoj priči i da su prepoznali generalizaciju. Ipak, prepoznali su i pretrpljeni bol koju je taj čovjek preživjeo, te imaju razumjevanja za njegovu priču.

Na mestima koje smo posjetili molitvenom šutnjom smo odavali poštu stradalima, a u Sijekovcu i Čardaku smo položili vijenac u ime naše grupe. Zajedno sa domaćinima, vijence su polagali veterani iz Hrvatske, Srbije i BiH.

Učesnici su naglašavali da im je bila veoma potresna posjeta spomen-sobi u Brodu, jer je su u njoj mogli vidjeti stotine fotografija poginulih ljudi što ne može, a da ne izazove mučninu i zgroženost nad ratnom tragedijom.

Susret sa lokalnim vlastima je bio značajan iz dva ključna razloga. Prvi je što su lokalne vlasti (načelnik opštine Milorad Simić, predsjednik Skupštine opštine Ilija Zirdum i skupštinski odbornik Fadil Pelesić) podržale ovu posjetu i ima-li otvoren dvosatni razgovor sa veteranima rata. Drugo, što je važno napomenuti, je da su predstavnici lokalnih vlasti ujedno i predstavnici sva tri konstitutivna naroda, te je pokrenut razgovor na temu povratka Hrvata u Derventu (koja je prije rata bila većinski hrvatska opština, a sada u njoj živi samo manji broj Hrvata). Politički predstavnik Hrvata u opštini Derventa, Ilija Zirdum, je istakao da mu je veoma značajno što smo pokrenuli pomenutu temu i da mu je ova posjeta bitna u kontekstu podrške Hrvatima da se vrate na svoja ognjišta.

Namjera nam je bila da posjetimo i mjesto stradanja nesrpskog stanovništva na tom području, ali informacije do kojih smo došli govorile su da nije bilo većih zločina nad bošnjačkim i hrvatskim stanovništvom. Saznali smo da na ovom području postoji spomenik hrvatskim braniteljima, ali pošto nismo uspjeli ostvariti kontakt sa lokalnom HVO udruženom (koji uglavnom žive u izbjeglištvu u Hrvatskoj), odlučili smo da ga ovaj put ne obiđemo. Na takvim mjestima bitno je imati „domaćine“ koji bi nas povelili u obilazak spomenika.

Što se tiče podrške medija, našim pozovima su



²³ Imali smo priliku obići Sijekovac u sklopu naših prvih organizovanih zajednički veteranskih posjeta 2008. godine.



se odazvali Radio RS i FTV. FTV je napravila višeminutni prilog sa intervjuima nekoliko veterana, načelnikom opštine i organizatorima. Ovaj prilog je emitovan na centralnom dnevniku.

Na kraju posjete, tokom razgovora sa učesnicima, preovladavala je emotivna potrešenost zločinima o kojima smo slušali i pričali. Veterani su suosjećali sa stradanjem ljudi iz tog kraja. Takođe, osjećala se određena doza poštiđenosti zbog ratnog nasilja kao takvog. S druge strane, kod domaćina, veterana iz srpskih udruženja se osjetila zahvalnost što su „drugi“ odali poštu žrtvama iz njihovog naroda i na taj način „priznali“ da je do zločina zaista došlo, bez tzv. relativizacije. U njihovim završnim komentarima bio je prisutan ambivalentan osjećaj u kome su veterani imali potrebu pravdati svoju „stranu u ratu“, ali su i žalili i osjećali istinsku empatiju za stradanje „drugih“. Primjer za to je kada veterani postavljaju pitanje ko su bile žrtve, da li su bile civili ili vojnici, kao da time žele umanjiti veličinu počinjenog zločina. Ipak, ovi komentari nisu bili dominantni i bilo je očigledno da je došlo do značajnog iskoraka iz nacionalističkih kutija i viktimizacije, kao najčešćeg obrasca ponašanja u postratnom okruženju.

Bitno je napomenuti da smo također planirali u istom periodu posjetiti i Mostar i Gornji Vakuf/Uskoplje, ali zbog političke situacije (izbori u BiH) i nedovoljne spremnosti lokalnih HVO udruga da učestvuju u organizaciji, do posjeta nije došlo. Planiramo opet pokušati organizovati ove posjete u 2011. godini.

Svi učesnici ovih posjeta izrazili su spremnost da nastave učestvovati i inicirati ovakve i slične aktivnosti, te su istakli svoju posvećenost aktivnostima koje doprinose pomirenju u njihovim lokalnim sredinama i u regiji.

Zahvaljujemo se svim učesnicima i gostima, a posebno domaćinima koji su se istinski potrudili oko organizacije ovih posjeta i bez čijeg truda se one ne bi desile.

A.H.

Trening za učesnike ratova: *Sjećanje na ratnu prošlost*

Šamac/BiH, 20-22.05.2011.

Za razliku od prethodnih godina, kada smo svake godine radili dvodjelni trening za nove grupe veterana iz Hrvatske, BiH i Srbije, ovaj put smo realizovali ideju da okupivši učesnike prethodnih treninga, zajedno porazgovaramo o dilemama vezanim za prošlost, prije svega u kontekstu načina sjećanja i obilježavanja ratne prošlosti iz '90-tih na našim prostorima.

Dosadašnji treninzi imali su za cilj, prije svega, građenje povjerenja i stvaranje sigurnog prostora za otvorene diskusije i konfrontacije. To nam je omogućilo da u proteklm godinama realizujemo zajedničke posjete stratištima svih strana u ratu. U toku posjeta odavana je pošta žrtvama rata i poticano je razumijevanja „neprijateljske strane“, također kao žrtve rata. Novi koncept koji smo primijenili na ovom treningu, odnosio se na propitivanje onoga sa čim smo se susretali, a to je prije svega jako prisustvo nacionalne ideologije u memorizaciji i opštoj društvenoj kulturi sjećanja.

Ovaj susret je bio i prilika da se sagledaju mogućnosti realizacije nekih od prijašnjih ideja za mirovne akcije kao što su, prije svih, zajedničko obilježavanje neobilježenih mjesta stradanja. U grupi je bilo 18 bivših boraca koji se znaju sa prethodnih aktivnosti CNA i među kojima je već postojao nivo uzajamnog poverenja koji je omogućio lakše ulaženje u tematiku treninga. Još jedna važna tema koju je uključivao novi koncept bila je cilj i svrha memorijalizacije uopšte. Cilj je bio potaknuti grupu da razmišlja o novim memorijalima neobilježenih mjesta zločina i kritičkog sagledavanja postojećih. Činjenica je da se od samog početka vrlo otvoreno krenulo razgovarati o mogućim akcijama zajedničkog obilježavanja stratišta. Veliki je iskorak i ljudska i intelektualna hrabrost krenuti prema ideji razumijevanja žrtve i dužnosti da joj se oda pošta, izvan dominantnog nacionalističko-ideološkog konteksta.

Veoma je bitno za širi kontekst izradnje mira u regiji suočavati se sa modelima i načinima sjećanja, jer oni mogu poticati transgeneracijsko produbljavanje konflikta i međuetničkih tenzija. Ovaj trening je korak na tom putu, te je ukazao na teškoće s kojima se susrećemo, na ličnoj i kolektivnoj razini, ali i na neke od načina za njihovo prevazilaženje. Snaga u ovom pokušaju iznalaženja alternativnih kultura sjećanja, nalazi se upravo u kredibilitetu veterana kao društvene grupe. Kao što su bili akteri rata i nosioci postratnih ideoloških tumačenja prošlosti, danas mogu postati akteri iznalaženja novog odnosa prema sjećanju na rat u cilju pomirenja i izgradnje mira.

Trenerski tim je s tim u vezi postavio koncept koji je zahtijevao da se prethodno temeljito propitaju razlike i dileme koje nedvojbeno postoje u grupi, naročito kada su u pitanju nacionalna i ideološka tumačenja ratnih zbivanja. Primjer je jedan od hrvatskih veterana koji je na pomen ideje izgradnje spomenika u Hrvatskoj za srpske žrtve Oluje iznio skepsu da je to moguće, sa jedne strane, ali i da li je to uopšte legitimno sa druge („...jer nisu samo Srbi stradali“). To je jedan od načina relativizacije počinjenih zločina čime se negira ravnopravnost žrtve. Inače pristup „naša su stradanja važnija od vaših“ je često tematiziran u toku treninga. Primjetne su bile poteškoće i bojazni koje su veterani iznosili o spremnosti da se u svojoj sredini pokrene nešto značajno kao što je obilježavanje tabuiziranih mjesta, jer u njima još uvijek postoje kontraverze i poricanja. Veterani su iznosili dileme koje imaju između ideala za koje su ratovali i drugačijeg pogleda na prošlost koji nosi proces izgradnje mira. Zapravo je i samim veteranima najteže konfrontirati se sa vlastitom grupom, sredinom i u širem smislu društveno prihvaćenom tumačenju prošlosti.

Ipak, sami učesnici su govorili o promjenama koje su doživjeli u toku saradnje sa Centrom za nenasilnu akciju, u smislu drugačijih shvatanja koja su imali tokom i nakon rata o onome zbog čega su ratovali i kako će njihova budućnost izgledati. Jedan od učesnika je bio direktni akter izgradnje spomenika sa izrazito nacionalističkim obilježjima u periodu neposredno nakon rata. Nakon iskustava kao što je ovaj trening, kaže da u to vrijeme nije ni razmišljao kakve poruke ovaj spomenik može poslati pripadnicima drugih naroda. Moglo bi se reći da je došlo do određenog pomaka u smislu svijesti o tome kakvu poruku šalju spomenici našem narodu, a kakvu drugima i kome su zapravo namijenjeni. Bitno je pomenuti da je bilo riječi i o tome da spomenici kroz vrijeme koje prolazi i promjene društvenog konteksta mogu da poprime i drugačija značenja i da na simboličkoj razini mogu da budu svjedoci sramote, ponosa ili jednostavni simbol perioda u kojem je pravljten.

Ovi procesi su važni, jer upravo ova društvena grupa (veterani) često aktivno učestvuje u odabiru idejnih rješenja i izgradnji spomenika. Mnogi učesnici su naglašavali da su spremni krenuti u obilježavanje stratišta koja su počinjena u ime njihovo i njihovih vojski. Zbog toga nam je namjera bila da što detaljnije i otvorenije sagledamo moguće prepreke u realizacijama samih akcija. Potrebno je jasnije ukazati na svijest da postoje različita viđenja i tumačenja događaja iz prošlosti, a iskustvo konstruktivnog nošenje sa njima može dodatno izgraditi povjerenje i sa tim u vezi



osnažiti i spremnost na saradnju. To je, u širem smislu, presudno za ne samo uspješne realizacije aktivnosti mješovite grupe bivših neprijatelja, već i jedno od temeljnih pitanja kako da se u regiji nosimo sa ogromnim bremenom nastalim kao posljedica ratova. Učesnici govore o svojoj ličnoj odgovornosti i upravo je to ono što ih najčvršće drži u ovoj priči: potreba da budu poštteni, iskreni i dobri ljudi.

Ono na čemu se još radilo i od strane tima insistiralo je da se budućim zajedničkim djelovanjima saradnjama ne pristupa površno i sa pozicije da se nešto napravi bez obzira na posljedice. Ukazivano je i od strane nekih učesnika da je vrlo važno

preispitati moguće dileme i štete koje se mogu napraviti nepromišljenim djelovanjem kada je u pitanju zajednička memorijalizacija ili radikalna kritika postojećih spomenika. Ili kako to jedan od učesnika reče: „tome pristupati kroz evoluciju, a ne revoluciju“.

Raduje nas činjenica da su učesnici vrlo dobro i relativno lako razgovarali o vrlo zahtjevnim i na momente apstraktnim temama kao što su kultura sjećanja i memorijalizacija. Ključna metodološka promjena u odnosu na protekle treninge za veterane bili su teoretski inputi, ali i analitički pristup fenomenima kao što su kolektivna sjećanja, narativi, različiti nivoi istina i sl.

Čini nam se da smo vrlo sadržajno i precizno uspjeli da kroz radionice napravimo poređenja društvenih mehanizama u ophođenju sa prošlošću u predhodnom jugoslovenskom društvu kao vrlo znakovitom i očitom ideološkom tumačenju i memorijalizaciji dešavanja iz Drugog svjetskog rata. Ta dimenzija je bila značajna jer je vrlo direktno ukazivala na sličnost današnjih obrazaca kulture sjećanja u post ratnim društvima unutar BiH, Srbije i Hrvatske.

Veterani su i sami prepoznali da su bili i da su danas akteri jednoobraznog tumačenja prošlosti, koji na druge nacionalne grupe i susjedne države gleda kao neprijatelje i uzroke „naših“ ratnih patnji i žrtava. Najjasnije se to čulo prilikom radionice gdje su se analizirali postojeći spomenici u regiji iz posljednjeg rata, kada se na vrlo očigledan način moglo vidjeti da postoje mnogi spomenici kojima ključna namjera nije odavanje pošte žrtvama rata, već nacionalističko obilježavanje teritorija i građenje jednobraznih narativa vezanih uz vjeru i nacionalni identitet. Važnost tih uvida je u tome da se pomalo počnu razotkrivati mitološka tumačenja „našeg naroda“ kao vijekovne žrtve agresivnih komšija. A to bi posredno moglo voditi prema ključnim faktorima pomirenja koje je na ovakvim susretima skoro pa „opipljivo“. Tu se prije svega misli da na sjećanje na rat kao veliku opomenu upućenu svima, a ne samo jačanje identiteta i priprema društva za nove ratove i strah od dušmana kojima smo okruženi.

Na kraju se mogla osjetiti spremnost da se ozbiljno nastavi sa planiranjem i eventualnim realizacijama planiranih akcija. Ali uz određeni oprez i uvid u ozbiljnost poduhvata kakav bi bio zajedničko postavljenje ploča žrtvama rata od strane onih koji su bili dio vojski koje su ih u svojim međusobnim „oslobađanjima“ poubijali. To bi svakako po nama imalo ogroman simbolički značaj i nadamo se dalo primjer našim društvima, zajednicama i narodima da se zgrozimo nad ljudskom destrukcijom, a ne da nastavljamo prihvatanje kulture ratovanja kao jedne od osnova naše duhovne i svjetovne prakse.

Ovaj novi koncept u radu sa veteranima, bio je izazov i za trenerski tim koji je imao zahtjevne pripreme u smislu prilagođavanja tematskih sadržaja specifičnostima i potrebama grupe. Bio je veliki izazov pronaći mjeru između osnaživanja za aktivnosti koje nadilaze postojeće društvene domete razumijevanja prošlosti i ukazivanja na ozbiljnosti i poteškoće koje takav pristup nosi.

Reakcije učesnika na ovaj trening bile su izuzetno pozitivne. Očigledno je da je ovim treningom potaknut izazovan proces koji će omogućiti kako učesnicima, tako i trenerskom timu da konkretno promišljamo i planiramo buduće aktivnosti.

A.H.





publikacije

Promocije knjige „Slike tih vremena“

Maj - Juni 2011.

Zrenjanin, Niš (Srbija); Zenica, Sanski Most (BiH); Pula, Umag (Hrvatska)

Knjigu „Slike tih vremena“ stvarali smo skoro dve godine. Svoju promociju u direktnom kontaktu sa ljudima u Srbiji, BiH i Hrvatskoj ova zbirka životnih priča ratnih veterana/ki i članova/ca njihovih porodica doživela je u proleće 2011. godine. Iako smo imali razne dileme u vezi sa odabirom najboljeg načina promocije ipak smo se odlučili za klasične promocije „oči u oči“ sa publikom i to u mestima gde nikada, ili jako dugo nismo bili prisutni/e. Delimično je takva odluka bila prouzrokovana manjkom kapaciteta u tom trenutku da osmišljamo nešto kreativnije i drugačije, a delimično i time što verujemo da je jako vredno ostvariti „živ“ kontakt sa ljudima u različitim mestima. Sve promocije su organizovane u saradnji sa lokalnim partnerima: Panonskom aktivističkom organizacijom PAOR iz Zrenjanina; Odborom za građansku inicijativu (OGI) iz Niša; NVO Sezam iz Zenice; Centrom za izgradnju mira (CIM) iz Sanskog Mosta i Miramida Centrom iz Grožnjana. Na promocijama su govorili/e jedna od urednica Helena Rill i Tamara Šmidling; neko od ljudi koji su prikupljali usmene istorije – Ivan Kralj, Marijana Stojčić, Ljiljana Canjuga, Amer Delić; neko od ljudi iz lokalne sredine i osobe koja su čitale odabrane delove iz knjige.



Promocije u Srbiji – Zrenjanin i Niš

Promocija u Zenjaninu je održana 13. maja u prostorijama Gradske biblioteke. Niška promocija upriličena je 16. maja, u prostorijama Odbora za građansku inicijativu.

Za obe promocije je bila karakteristična dosta slaba posećenost (po dvade-

setak ljudi), iako su pozivi bili distribuirani putem lokalnih medija i interneta, a oglašavali smo se i plakatima i lecima. U publici u Zrenjaninu su uglavnom bili ljudi iz lokalnih NVO-a, dok se u Nišu čak ni ta grupa nije odazvala u značajnijem broju. Zanimljivo je bilo da veterana nije bilo ni na jednoj promociji, što je prava šteta s obzirom na propuštenu priliku da se to iskustvo tematizuje na jednom javnom događaju.

Sadržinski se priča na obe promocije kretala oko potrebe za radom na pomirenju, ali su tematizovani i problemi i prepreke na tom putu. Važan polemički ton toj priči dala je Žarka Radoja, novinarka iz Beograda, koja je gostujući na promociji u Zrenjaninu naglasila da je u tom kontekstu jako važno otvoreno pričati o stvarima koje su se dogodile, i posebno o aspektu lične odgovornosti za sve što je bilo i što će biti. Ukazano je i na kontekst samog grada u kome se promocija odvijala, koji je tokom ratova 90-ih imao visok procenat mobilisanih, a u čijoj su neposrednoj okolini bila dva logora – Begejci i Stajićevo. Tribina u Nišu imala je dinamiku koja je sličnija radionici, nego javnom događaju. Posebnu težinu i vrednost toj promociji dao je ratni veteran Ivan Kralj (ujedno i jedan od ljudi koji su učestvovali u stvaranju knjige) sa svojom vrlo ličnom i vrlo iskrenom pričom. On je sa publikom podelio svoje dileme i strahove vezane za lični angažman na izgradnji mira i pomirenju, susrete sa veteranima sa drugih strana, svrsi i smislu te vrste angažmana.

Medijska praćenost promocija u Srbiji je bila skromna, ali je zaista veliki korak napravljen objavljivanjem pojedinih intervjuva na portalu E-novine. To je omogućilo velikom broju čitalaca iz regije da čitaju intervjue i razmišljaju o njima. Sudeći po komentarima, ove životne priče nikoga nisu ostavile ravnodušnim, mada su nekoga pogodile i pomerile, a neke prosto iznervirale.

Promocije u BiH – Zenica i Sanski Most

Promocija u Zenici organizovana je 26. maja u prostorijama Opće biblioteke Zenica, a ona u Sanskom Mostu 10. juna u zgradi Opštine Sanski Most.

Zenička promocija održana je na dan hapšenja Ratka Mladića što je za javnost u BiH, Srbiji i čitavom regionu svakako bila udarna vest, ne samo tog dana. I sadržinski i simbolički je to hapšenje itekako imalo veze sa poljem na kome delujemo i temom same knjige, pa je bilo nemoguće ne dotaknuti se priče o različitim dimenzijama rada na pomirenju. Kao što se moglo čuti, ljudi prisutni na zeničkoj tribini imali su vrlo podeljene emocije u vezi sa tim – uz neskriveno zadovoljstvo zbog Mladićevog hapšenja išla je strepnja zbog osećaja da je još dosta drugih dimenzija procesa suočavanja sa prošlošću nepokriveno sudskim procesima. Bilo je lepo u publici videti dosta mladih ljudi, a posebna je vrednost bila prisustvo i reakcija žene čija se priča nalazi u knjizi i koja je iznela svoju uverenost da ova vrsta rada vredi. Posebno je vredan taj rad u sredinama kakva je Zenica koja niti je mali grad, niti je udaljena od nekih komunikacijskih tokova, niti je bila posebno izložena direktnim ratnim dejstvima, a opet odaje utisak poprilično zatvorene sredine u kojoj je situacija još uvek vrlo rovit, a na kontakte sa „drugima“ se i dalje gleda sa podozrenjem.

Promocija u Sanskom Mostu je označila završetak ove naše mini-turneje po regionu. Ona je i simbolički i doslovno bila „šlag na torti“. Najpre, bilo je to prvi put da smo organizovali neki javni događaj u Bosanskoj Krajini. Ratni i poratni kontekst čitavog tog kraja prosto vapi za mirovnim radom, za javnim dijalogom, za zaceljiva-njem rana i poštenim odnosom prema prošlosti. Na putu ka Sanskom Mostu, putujući iz Istre, prošli smo pored Jasenovca, Ker-aterma, Trnopolja... U Sanskom Mostu nas je dočekala vreva, puno ljudi na ulicama, lokalni partneri koji poznaju čitav grad – i puna sala ljudi. Tokom predstavljanja knjige u opštinskoj sali je vladala tišina ispunjena emocijama, i sa puno neizrečenih pitanja. Lica u publici su bila vrlo raznolika – srednjoškolci, sredovečni, stari, pokrivene žene i urbani klinci. Nije nam odmah bila jasna težina koja se mogla osetiti na početku, ali onda nam je Vahidin, lokalni partner i moderator promocije, objasnio da to dolazi odatle što je to prvi put posle jaaako puno vremena da se neko iz Beograda direktno obraća publici. Nakon tribine nam se pridružilo desetak ljudi voljnih da nastave razgovor i druženje sa nama. Među njima je bilo i nekoliko nastavnica srednjih škola u Sanskom Mostu zainte-resovanih za prikupljanje usmenih istorija kao vid pamćenja zajednice. Ceo boravak u Sanskom Mostu bio je kratak, ali i veoma osnažujući za nas, pa se nadamo da će iznići barem neka klica iz toga što smo tog dana posejali tamo.

Promocije u Hrvatskoj – Pula i Umag

Obe „hrvatske“ promocije organizovane su u Istri. U Puli smo knjigu promovisali 06. juna u Sveučilišnoj knjižnici, a u Umagu 08. juna u Gradskoj knjižnici. Naše dosadašnje iskustvo sa organizacijama promocija u Hrvatskoj je pokazalo da nemamo baš puno izbora kada su lokalni partneri u pitanju, te da tamošnja javnost nerado otvara prostor za regionalne inicijative, posebno one koje se dotiču rata i pitanja pomirenja. Ovog puta smo planirali samo jednu promociju, i to u Istri, u partnerstvu sa starim kolegama/icama iz Miramida centra iz Grožnjana. Odlučili smo se za Umag

zbog kontakata u tamošnjoj gradskoj knjižnici gde skupina entuzijasta već nekoliko godina unazad razvija odličan program u okviru koga gostuju pisci i teoretičari iz čitavog regiona bivše Jugoslavije. Promocija u Puli je organizovana na inicijativu uposlenica Sveučilišne knjižnice u tom gradu, što je prvi takav slučaj za nas i to jako cenimo.

Za ove dve promocije karakteristična je bila relativno slaba posećenost, solidna medijska praćenost i jako dobra priča koja je vođena na samim promocijama. Osim standardnih razmatranja konteksta i potreba za ovim radom, tematizovana je i uloga životnih priča, smisao svedočenja i njegovi dometi. Ljiljana Canjuga, ratna veteranka/braniteljica iz Zagreba i jedna od intervjuerki za knjigu, svojim je izlaganjima odlično približila vrednost i važnost koju iskustvo podele ličnih priča ima za učesnike/ce rata. Na promociji u Umagu je bila prisutna grupa od 15-ak ratnih veterana iz Zagreba i Pakraca. Tako smo se uverili koliko sastav publike menja dinamiku i utiče i na kvalitet priče i na utisak sa kojim napuštamo taj događaj. Ovde se ogromna napetost mogla osetiti na samom početku, a svaka reč urednice iz Beograda revnosno je propuštana kroz čitav niz filtera. Podizanje obrva, odmahivanje glavom... ponekad klimanje glavom kao znak odobravanja... Posle uvodnih izlaganja iz publike je došlo više utisaka nego pitanja, i dosta snažnih emocija – suze, uzbuđenje...

Sve u svemu, generalni utisak nam je da je vredelo prevaljivati stotine kilometara i predstaviti knjigu ljudima



kroz kontakt „oči u oči“. Iako smo povremeno bili razočarani slabom posetom, prevladalo je zadovoljstvo zbog pozitivnih reakcija na knjigu i utiska da ona zaista potiče razmišljanje i uzburkava emocije. Sa naše web stranice knjiga je skinuta više hiljada puta, što daleko premašuje naša očekivanja i bila bi prava šteta da se ovaj rad na prikupljanju i promociji usmenih istorija ne nastavi i u budućnosti.

Na kraju, želimo da se ovim putem još jednom iskreno zahvalimo svim govornicima i govornicama na promocijama i ljudima iz lokalnih organizacija koji su nas nesebično podržali u tome.

T.Š.

u čemu smo još učestvovali

MCC samit „Mirovni projekti i evaluacija“

Sarajevo, 23-26.09.2010.

Već nekoliko godina unazad naša partnerska organizacija Mennonite Central Committee, ured u Sarajevu, organizuje redovne godišnje susrete svih njihovih partnerskih organizacija. Ove godine ja susretu prisustvovalo oko 25 ljudi iz organizacija iz BiH, Srbije, Hrvatske i Kosova, a zvanična tema skupa bila je „Mirovni projekti i evaluacija“. Na skupu je iz CNA učestvovala Tamara, iz sarajevskog ureda.

Dvodnevni rad na ovoj temi pokazao je da mnogi od nas imaju povelike frustracije po pitanju famoznih konceptata monitoringa i evaluacije. Te frustracije uglavnom dolaze iz susreta sa alatima na kojima mnogi donatori insistiraju, a koje oni koji žive i rade na izgradnji mira ili ne razumeju ili uopšte ne smatraju adekvatnim za opisivanje onoga što rade i merenja uticaja tog rada na društvo. Među tim alatima je svakako najpoznatiji čuveni *log-frame* čija se suština, u najkraćem, sastoji da se vrlo ograničenim brojem reči, unutar striktno određenih kategorija, što suvoparnijim birokratizovanim jezikom saopšti (po mogućstvu u procentima) koliko ste svojim radom doprineli da se izgradi kultura mira i nenasilja, razgrade predrasude i slike neprijatelja, te otvori put za interpersonalno i intergrupno pomirenje u vašem društvu.

Kako MCC nije jedan od donatora koji zahteva pristup evaluaciji putem tabela i procenata, njihov je pristup bio usmeren ka pozivu da zajedno razmišljamo na koji još način je moguće pratiti i evaluirati ono što radimo. Rad na tom promišljanju nije protekao bez sučeljavanja mišljenja i konceptata, kao ni bez primetne tenzije koja se

gotovo po pravilu javlja kada se otvori diskusija o osnovnim vrednosnim postavkama našeg rada. Da li radimo projekte ili programe? Da li je suština problema savladati jezik koji donator razume i koristiti se njime ili nastojati ponuditi (izboriti se za) jedan drugačiji jezik, koji je mnogo više primeren mirovnom radu? Da li naša frustracija i zasićenje dominantnim modelima evaluacije znači da smo oslobođeni od odgovornosti da tragamo za adekvatnim načinima da merimo učinak našeg rada? Ovo su samo neka od pitanja kojima smo se bavili/e tokom dva radna dana, u diskusijama koje su jasno pokazale da i unutar „mirovnjačke zajednice“ postoje vrlo različiti koncepti i shvatanja šta evaluacija jeste i šta bi trebala biti. Kao i šta je mirovni rad, i šta bi on trebao biti.

Da sumiramo, bio je to susret koji nikako nije protekao u revijalnom tonu. Radilo se mnogo i iskreno, i kako to obično biva, došlo je do prave razmene „onda kada smo je najmanje očekivali/e“.

I još jedna bitna stvar – razne razmene se organizuju, na različitim nivoima i sa različitim fokusima. I na njima se sedi u krugu, deli, promišlja, duma... Ono što za mene MCC samite čini jedinstvenim to je (retka) prilika da nakon organizovanih i strukturiranih sesija, sednem sa dragim ljudima iz Zenice, Sanskog Mosta, Sarajeva, Sesveta, Grožnjana, Novog Sada, Beograda, da naručimo kafu i na miru *izevaluiramo* svašta-nešto i prisetimo se da nas ima i da nismo sami. Što bi rekli u onoj čuvenoj TV reklami – kafe sa kolegama i prijateljima koje retko srećeš na jednom mestu – *neprocenjivo*.

T.Š.

Trening u Wustrowu na temu suočavanja s prošlošću

Wustrow/Nemačka, 04-08.10.2010.

I ove godine smo se, drugi put za redom, odazvali pozivu naše sestrinske organizacije Kurve Wustrow da radimo trening na temu suočavanja s prošlošću u okviru seta naprednih treninga koje oni organizuju. Ovaj set „Naprednih treninga iz transformacije sukoba“ se održava

jednom godišnje u Wustrowu, selu u regiji Wendland na severu Nemačke, a otvoren je za ljude iz celog sveta koji imaju neko prediskustvo sa temama treninga. Treninzi su na engleskom jeziku.

Radili smo sa malom, ali šarolikom grupom od 9

učesnika/ca koji su došli iz Sudana, Ugande, Nepala, Nemačke, Makedonije i Šri Lanke, a dve učesnice su još imale i sveže radno iskustvo u Kambodži. Iako ovakva šarolikost predstavlja pravo malo bogatstvo za međunarodnu razmenu, to je bila i jedna od najvećih prepreka za zaista napredan a interakti-van trening o suočavanju s prošlošću, s obzirom da smo dosta vremena morali da iskoristimo za osno-vno upoznavanje društveno-političkog konteksta iz koga ljudi dolaze. Bilo kakvo ubrzavanje kako bi se poradi-lo na kompleksnijim pitanjima bi bilo na štetu učenja jednih od drugih. Trenerski tim je dao sve od sebe da napravi balans između razmene, odnosno prostora za razumevanja iz kog iskustva ljudi dono-se određene pouke i produbljivanja znanja veza-nih za suočavanje s prošlošću u kontekstu izgradnje mira. A pouke, stavovi i razumevanje pojmova koji se vezuju uz suočavanje s prošlošću („pravde“, „istine“, „oprost“, „zaborava“, „pomirenja“, itd.) su se veoma razlikovali, što zbog kulturnih razlika, što zbog različitih ličnih iskustava, što zbog vremenskog okvira: kada se ta prošlost desila. Neki su decenijama udaljeni od te „prošlosti“, za neke to još uvek nije postala prošlost.

Još jednom smo podcrtali pouku da je za ovako krat-tak napredni trening bolje imati učesnike/ce iz najviše 4 regije/zemlje, ali i više učesnika/ca po regiji/zemlji zbog



moćućih različitih iskustava i doživljaja konflikta. Jedna od ideja je, takođe, da se ubuduće učesnicima unapred proslede kraći tekstovi o društveno-političkim kontekstima odakle ostali učesnici dolaze, kako bi imali priliku da se unapred informišu i time uštede razmenu osnovnih informacija na samom treningu.

Nadamo se da će naše kolegice i kolege iz Wustrowa uspeti da uvrste naše pouke u organizaciju sledećeg seta naprednih treninga i time poboljšaju jedinstven program koji nude.

Više informacija o programu, ali i organizaciji možete naći na adresi www.kurvewustrow.org.

I.F.

Sastanak partnera i godišnja konferencija KURVE Wustrow Civil Peace Service: “Koliko je transformaciji sukoba potreban pokret?”

Medingen/Nemačka, od 10-14.10.2010. i od 15-17.10.2010.

KURVE Wustrow, dugogodišnja partnerska organizacija CNA iz Nemačke, je pozvala svoje partnere iz Civil Peace Service (CPS) Programa na skup u Medingen, gradić u blizini Uelzena, u Donjoj Saksoniji. Osnovna ideja CPS partnerskog sastanka, koji je održan od 10-14. oktobra 2010. godine, bila je da omogući neposrednu i ličnu razmenu iskustava i znanja članova KURVE i njihovih partnera “na terenu”, kao i samih terenskih timova između sebe. Oko 20 partnera iz Palestine, Nepala, Šri Lanke, Makedonije, Bosne i Hercegovine i Nemačke je učestvovalo na sastanku, zajedno sa članovima KURVE Wustrow. Tamara Šmidling i Jessica Žic su učestvovala na skupu kao predstavnice CNA.

Održavanje ovakvog sastanka, izgledalo je kao neka vrsta luksuza. Moj utisak je, da smo mi, učesnici/e, uživali/e u činjenici da se ne nalazimo neposredno “unutar” našeg konteksta, već da smo izvan njega, odakle s

geografske distance imamo mogućnost da razgovaramo s kolegama iz celog sveta o iskustvima, dilemama i izazovima s kojima se suočavamo u svakodnevnom radu, što je refleksiji dalo novi kvalitet. Proces je bio koncipiran na radionicama otvorenih formi, gde su učesnici/e razmišljali o kojoj temi bi želeli da raspravljaju/e. Za mene je jedna od najinspirativnijih radionica bila ona na temu: “Kako biti nepristrasan / neutralan?”. Razgovarali/e smo o tome da li je neutralnost uopšte poželjna, i kako se nositi s činjenicom da nepristranost teško da uopšte postoji. Čak i kad smatramo da smo nepristrasni/e, možda nas okolna takvima ne doživljava (npr. nemačka vlada, koja je donator CPS programa, je istovremeno i akter u (post) konfliktnom regionu). Takođe, često nije jasno ko je u ulozi žrtve, a ko počinio, tako da uvek moramo da se preispitujemo, držeći se sopstvenih moralnih načela.

Nema sastanka bez “inputa”: kao rezultat procesa

podizanja kvaliteta koji je obavila KURVE, na osnovu upitnika koje su popunile partnerske organizacije, utvrđeno je da je neophodno poboljšanje monitoringa i evaluacije projekata. Osim sticanja dodatnih znanja o ovim tehnikama, za mene je bilo posebno zanimljivo da vidim kako drugi timovi sa terena vide svoje snage i slabosti, i što se tiče rada sa KURVE, i CPS programa u celini. Kao pozitivni aspekti, posebno su naglašeni: odnos zasnovan na partnerstvu, pristup koji se bazira na vrednostima, fleksibilnost i transparentnost organizacije, kao i budžetska sigurnost programa. No, za neke je fleksibilnost značila i slabost, i to u smislu nedovoljnih uputstava.

Osim toga, stekli/e smo uvid i u sukob sa kojim se KURVE suočava u regionu zvanom Wendland: otišli/e smo u Gorleben, gdje se nalazi privremeno skladište radioaktivnog otpada i gde je planirano takvo trajno skladištenje, u podzemnim naslagama soli. Protesti aktivista iz svih krajeva Nemačke i lokalnih pokreta otpora u Wendlandu, protiv nuklearne energije i transporta radioaktivnog materijala od La Haga do Gorlebena, sežu daleko u prošlost. Dok smo hodali/e unaokolo bilo je policije, verovatno jer je uskoro trebalo da prođe transport radioaktivnog materijala i očekivali su se "izgrednici" koji će pokušati da onemoguće transport. Otuda je atmosfera u Gorleбену bila napeta.

Na našoj turneji kroz Wendland, posetili/e smo i farmu "Krumme Eiche" u Krummaselu, gde smo bili/e upoznati/e sa lokalnim projektom, u okviru kojeg ljudi žive i rade zajedno, deleći zajednički prihod. Otprilike 6 osoba živi na imanju, koje obuhvata nekoliko zgrada, veliku baštu i šumu. Neki ljudi u "Krumme Eiche" borave u prikolicama. Kakvu su sliku o Nemačkoj, tokom tih prvih dana, mogli da steknu učesnici/e skupa, koji/e su po prvi put posetili/e tu zemlju: svugde unaokolo seoski pejzaž, vegetarijanska ishrana, ljudi koji žive u vagonima? To znači boriti se protiv stereotipa!

Na kraju partnerskog sastanka, otputovali/e smo u "metropolu" – Hamburg. Tokom alternativne ture brodom kroz luku vodič nas je obavestio o problematičnoj strani globalizacije na primeru luke u Hamburgu. Nikada ranije nisam čula da se u teretne brodove, kada pristanu u luku pušta poseban gas s ciljem da ilegalne putnike istera napolje, da bi tako bili lakše uhvaćeni. Dakle, gas se još uvek koristi u Nemačkoj!

Nakon CPS partnerskog sastanka usledila je godišnja konferencija "Koliko je transformaciji sukoba potreban pokret?", koja je bila organizovana zajedno sa proslavom 30. godišnjice KURVE Wustrow. Konferencija je održana

od 15-17. oktobra 2010. godine. Cilj konferencije bila je analiza koncepata društvenih pokreta i civilne transformacije sukoba i njihovog potencijala za postizanje promena u pravcu mira i pravde, kao i odnosa između ova dva pristupa. Konferencija je bila otvorena za javnost. Učestvovalo oko 50 učesnika/ca, uključujući i one sa CPS partnerskog sastanka.

Martina Fischer iz Berghof research centra iz Berlina, bila je uvodničarka u temu, sa akademske tačke gledišta. Paralelno su se odvijale 4 radionice partnerskih organizacija, na kojima je raspravljano o situaciji u kojoj se nalaze društveni pokret i civilna transformacija sukoba u državama/regionima iz kojih učesnici dolaze (Wendland, Kyritz-Ruppiner Heide, Palestina, Balkan). Kao predstavnica CNA, Tamara Šmidling je pripremila radionicu o Balkanu. Na radionici je učestvovala mešovita grupa od deset članova (mešovita – u smislu zemalja iz kojih ljudi dolaze). U živoj raspravi je dominirala "balkanska grupa". Na kritički način je preispitivana NVO scena na Balkanu, odnosno njihovo mišljenje o samima sebi kao oslobođenim od predrasuda, loš imidž koje imaju u društvu, uticaj novca iz inostranstva...

Naslov konferencije "Koliko je transformaciji sukoba potreban pokret?" imao je jaku referencu na istoriju KURVE Wustrow: osnovana od strane aktivista iz mirovnog i anti-nuklearnog pokreta iz osamdesetih, KURVE se razvila u organizaciju čiji je fokus danas na civilnoj transformaciji sukoba. Te dve struje, jedna koja je više aktivistička i druga od takozvanih "stručnjaka" i danas postoje unutar organizacije, i pitanje je kakvu težinu treba da ima svaka od njih. Dobili smo takođe priliku da razgovaramo sa hard-core aktivistima KURVE prve generacije, koji strasno slede svoju misiju i izabrali su alternativni koncept življenja. Uz takvu pozadinu, tema mi je bila pristupačnija i bolje sam razumela kakva je korist od rasprave o konceptima društvenih pokreta i civilnoj transformaciji sukoba. Ovi procesi i dileme mogu se preneti i na mnoge druge organizacije, a takođe i na društveni nivo. Na kraju konferencije, 30. godišnjica KURVE Wustrow je proslavljena na odgovarajući način, uz hranu, piće i klovnove za svakoga – pa čak i uz makedonsku muziku!

U novembru 2010. godine, bila sam ponovo u Sarajevu, i iz vesti na internetu saznala da ljudi iz dobre, stare KURVE ponovo demonstriraju protiv transporta radioaktivnog materijala u Gorleben – i bila sam dirnuta. (Socijalnim) pokretom *ljudi* koje poznajem.

J. Žic

Trogodišnje okupljanje članova/ica i partnera austrijskog ogranka *International Fellowship for Reconciliation*

Beč/Austrija, 05-06.11.2010.

Na poziv naših višegodišnjih partnera i kolega/ica iz austrijskog ogranka IFOR-a, dve članice CNA tima (Jessica i Tamara) učestvovala su na skupu članova/ica i partnera ove organizacije koja postoji, sa različitim ograncima širom sveta, još od 1919. godine. Ovakvi sastanci se održavaju redovno svake tri godine, a ovogodišnji je u svom programu ponudio uvodno predavanje evangelističkog teologa i publiciste Geika Müller-Fahrenholza pod nazivom „Politika pomirenja u 21. veku – izazovi i mogućnosti“, kao i tri radionice fokusirane na primere rada na pomirenju u Kolumbiji, Izraelu/Palestini i bivšoj Jugoslaviji.

Članice CNA tima su organizovale prezentaciju rada CNA i radionicu koja je bila posvećena trenutnoj situaciji u regionu bivše Jugoslavije i problemima zbog kojih je rad na izgradnji mira i pomirenju neophodan u ovom delu sveta. Koncept skupa je bio takav da nije bilo moguće učestvovati na svim radionicama već se oko 30 učesnika/ca opredeljivalo za jednu od ponuđenih radionica. Na našoj prezentaciji/radionici je bilo 11 ljudi i bilo je zaista pravo zadovoljstvo raditi sa njima. Blizina dvaju konteksta Austrije i ovog našeg, bivšejugoslovenskog, zapadnobalkanskog... za neke samo i prvenstveno *balkanskog*, svakako je doprinela tome da pitanja i doprinos učesnika/ca ove mini-radionice budu vrlo fokusirana i bitka. Zahvaljujući tome tri sata zajedničkog rada bili su prava inspiracija i za voditeljke ove radionice. Na radionici smo prikazali i kratak dokumentarni film našeg kolege Nedžada Horozovića o veteranskim posetama stratištima i mestima zločina u BiH, i to je na ljude ostavilo posebno snažan utisak.

Osim samog rada na pomenutom skupu, ovaj boravak u Beču je iskorišćen i za sastanke sa partnerima/kama iz Ifor-a i *Diakonie Auslandshilfe* sa kojima smo dogovorili detalje buduće saradnje, za koju bismo voleli da potraje duže od trenutnih zajedničkih projekata, jer je zaista vredno imati prilike za ovakve razmene i dobijanje povratne informacije o sopstvenom radu. A i osećaj

da neka partnerstva i saradnja traju godinama je zaista dobar.

Zanimljivo je bilo ispitati slike koje o našem delu sveta imaju ljudi iz Austrije koji se takođe, na različite načine i sa različitim fokusom, bave pitanjem pomirenja i mirovnog rada. Tako su prve asocijacije na bivšu Jugoslaviju koje iskrsavaju – *rat, genocid, zločini, Srebrenica, Balkan* sa jedne strane, i *lepe uspomene, letovanja, divno more*, sa druge strane. Ironija ili ne, tek teško je oteti se zapažanju da je i za mnoge bivše Jugoslovence/ke, ma kako sebe sada nazivali, prostor nekadašnje zajedničke države doživljen kao mesto ratnog i svakojakog drugog zločina i/ili kao nekakav izgubljeni raj u kome se dobro jelo, mnogo putovalo, život je bio ružičast, a more nikad plavlje.

O toj kompleksnoj vezi između jedne stare, nekada imperijalne, danas jedne od dičnih *evropskih* prestonica - Beča i dela sveta koji neki sa ponosom, neki sa gnušanjem, nazivaju Balkanom svedoče razne sitnice sa kojima se svakodnevno susrećete u ovom gradu. Osim što naš jezik čujete bukvalno na svakom koraku, prvo nam je u oči upao liberalan zakon o zabrani pušenja na javnim mestima koji podrazumeva da za one koji puše postoje posebni odeljci u svim restoranima, kafićima, te da se da bi zapalili cigaretu ne moraju smrzavati ispred lokala i prekidati konverzaciju sa prijateljima svakih 20 minuta. Mnoge su nam Bečlije to u polu-šali objašnjavale „blizinom Balkana“. Nismo hteli da im rušimo taj divan stereotip divljeg Balkana na kome su svi poroci pažljivo negovani informacijom da je u nekim zemljama našeg regiona zakon o zabrani pušenja mnogo restriktivniji od onog koji oni imaju.

Sve u svemu, bilo je to kvalitetno provedeno vreme i još više je učvrstilo naše uverenje da je dijalog između naša dva konteksta jako potreban i poticajan i to na različitim nivoima – aktivističkom, teorijskom, političkom, kulturnom.

T.Š.

Trening produbljenja „Pokreni promjenu...“

U oragnizaciji Regionalne adrese za nenasilno djelovanje – RAND iz Sesveta, od 01–05.12.2010. održan je trening produbljenja „Pokreni promjenu...“

Trening je održan u Fužinama, u Hrvatskoj i

učestvovalo je trinaest ljudi iz Hrvatske, Srbije, Bosne i Hercegovine i Makedonije, među kojima i Sanja iz sara-jevskog ureda Centra za nenasilnu akciju.

Ovaj petodnevni trening vođen je od strane RAND

tima (Ane i Otta Raffaia) i gostujuće trenerice Karmen Ratković iz organizacije „Mali korak“ iz Zagreba.

Ideja ovog treninga bila je da okupi učesnike/ce koji/e imaju iskustvo interaktivnog edukativnog rada i da zajedno rade na propitivanju osobnog ponašanja u sukobima i razvoju nenasilnog djelovanja u društvenim promjenama, te na produbljivanju svojih kapaciteta za nenasilje i upoznavanju novih načina pokretanja nenasilne komunikacije i dijaloga.

Organizatori su težili da se okupi grupa sa što više različitih identiteta i svjetonazora kako bismo zaista mogli/e i probati ono o čemu smo pričali/e tih nekoliko dana.

U lijepoj i poticajnoj atmosferi Fužinarske kuće, bilo je zaista zadovoljstvo biti dio grupe s toliko različitih vjerskih, seksualnih, etničkih i drugih identiteta kao i različitih interesa i zajednički prolaziti kroz vrlo lične procese propitivanja svojih mehanizama nošenja sa sukobima i drugačijim svjetonazorima, ne samo na radionicama nego i u slobodno vrijeme.

Nakon svega ostaje mi otvoreno pitanje koliko smo svi/e mi koji/e na različite načine radimo na društvenoj promjeni zaista spremni zaista čuti drugačije i izaći iz svoje uloge uvjerenosti u ispravnost vlastitih stavova i ponašanja.

S. Deanković

ACES – Akademija Centralno evropskih škola

Prag/Republika Češka, 29.03 – 01.04.2011.

Akademija Centralno evropskih škola ACES osnovana je 2006. godine sa osnovnim ciljem poticanja aktivnog učešća mladih i nastavnika/ca u procesu razmene i međunarodne saradnje. Svake godine ovaj program, pokrenut od strane ERSTE fondacije, omogućuje učenje i razmenu učenicima i nastavnicima iz nekoliko desetina škola iz: Austrije, Slovačke, Češke, Rumunije, Bugarske, Mađarske, Moldavije, Albanije, Srbije, Hrvatske, Bosne i Hercegovine, Makedonije, Kosova, Crne Gore i Slovenije. Program traje čitave godine i uključuje različite faze: prijavljivanje škola sa idejama za projekte međunarodne saradnje, odabir najboljih ideja, njihovo sprovođenje i evaluacija i završni događaj – Akademija tokom kojeg se biraju najuspješniji učenički projekti.

Na ovogodišnjoj Akademiji održanoj u Pragu jedna od članica tročlanog žirija koji je birao najuspješnije projekte bila je Tamara Šmidling iz sarajevskog ureda CNA. Od 45 projekata, od kojih je svaki uključio međunarodnu razmenu i prekograničnu saradnju dve ili tri škole, nagrađeno je njih pet. Kategorije koje žiri dobio od organizatora i na osnovu kojih su aktivnosti ocenjivane bile su: građanska hrabrost; rešavanje konflikta; rad u međunarodnim timovima; učešće učenika/ca; i nagrada za neki specijalni doprinos van navedenih kategorija. Kako bi i žiri, ali i svi ostali prisutni kojih je bilo oko 350, mogli da dobiju uvide u sprovedene aktivnosti organizovane su kratke prezentacije svakog projekta. Bio je to najšareniji i najlepší deo inače veoma dobro organizovanog događaja. Učenici/e su, uz podršku svojih nastavnika/ca, pokušali da na što kreativniji način predstavljaju svoje aktivnosti. Bilo je i pesme, plesa, skečeva, slikanja, stripova, a neki vrlo mladi ljudi (12-17 godina starosti) su pokazali šarm i spretnost u prezentaciji na

kojima bi im mogli pozavideti i oni koji od tog posla žive. Dakako, važno je reći, da se prezentacije nisu ocenjivale, i da se žiri zaista trudio da ne nagrađuje nečije zabavljačke i prezenterke talente već kvalitet urađenog. A to nije bio nimalo lak posao, kako zbog krhkosti i subjektivnosti prikupljenih utisaka, tako i zbog netačnosti kada bi se takmičarski duh probio u prvi plan (i to češće među nastavnicima nego među decom ©). Na kraju, nagrađeno je pet ideja, a iskreno priznanje je odati svima na učešću, motivaciji i energiji koju su uneli u ovo.

Nagrađene su sledeće aktivnosti:

„Razvijaj toleranciju, poštuju različitosti“ (*Develop tolerance, respect difference*) škola iz Subotice, Srbija i Poreča, Hrvatska. Kroz organizaciju radionica i okruglih stolova u obe lokalne zajednice tematizovani su uzroci nasilja nad „drugačijima“ u obe sredine. U aktivnosti su bili uključeni, osim učenika/ca i nastavnika/ca, još i roditelji i ljudi iz lokalnih vlasti, a organizovane su i dve uzvratne posete đaka Vojvodini i Istri.

„Glasonoš miroljubivog načina života“ (*Messengers of a peaceful way of living*) u saradnji škola iz Mrkonjić Grada, BiH i Rumunije. Koristeći se metodama interaktivnog i kreativnog rada (teatar, slikanje, poezija) učenici/e dvaju škola su kreirali priručnik sa jednostavnim alatima kako da se deca nose sa nasiljem u školi i široj sredini, te kakav je značaj nenasilja u tome.

„Za dobrobit svih generacija – neka živi medijacija“ (*For the welfare of all generations – long live the mediation!*) u saradnji dve škole iz Srbije i Crne Gore. Ovim projektom su dobrovoljci iz obe škole obučeni da se bave vršnjačkom medijacijom u svojim školama.

„Pokaži poštovanje da bi bio poštovan“ (*Show Respect to Be Respected*) – ideja dvaju škola iz Hrvatske i

Mađarske kroz koju su učenici/e pokušavali da sagledaju pitanje odnosa prema manjinama u njihovim lokalnim kontekstima.

„Spor kao sredstvo za nošenje sa konfliktom“ (*Dispute as a means to handle conflicts*) u saradnji dve škole iz Mađarske i Rumunije. Kroz ovaj projekat đaci su promovisali volonterizam i aktivno građanstvo, učestvujući u akcijama u skloništu za životinje, izbegličkom kampu, staračkom domu itd.

Treba napomenuti i izvrsnu organizaciju koju su iznele dve organizacije koje koordiniraju čitav program – *Interkulturelles Zentrum* iz Beča i *Včeli Dom* iz Bratislave. Veliki događaj koji je okupio učenike, nastavnike, osobe iz Ministarstva obrazovanja, i čitav niz drugih gostiju i

gošći ponudio je priliku za razmenu, druženje, ali i refleksiju. Posebna vrednost ovog programa je uključivanje različitih aktera u proces razvijanja i osvežavanja obrazovnog procesa. Treba očekivati daljnji njegov razvoj koji će, nadajmo se, doneti još bolje ideje i možda malo više prilike za razvoj kritičkog odnosa spram koncepata koji se često prihvataju zdravo za gotovo. Jedan od takvih koncepata je rešavanje konflikata koji prečesto šalje poruku da je njegova glavna svrha sprečiti konflikt (koji je po sebi loš) ili ga zaustaviti bez dublje analize i razumevanja njegovih uzroka i posledica.

Više o čitavom programu može se naći na <http://www.aces.or.at>

T.Š.

konteksti u kojima delujemo

Komplikovano je – kontekst rada u BiH

Može li se tekst o kontekstu rada na izgradnji mira u BiH napisati na jednoj strani? Može, što ćemo sada i pokazati. U poduhvatu da živu kompleksnost poznatu kao BiH opišemo na jednoj strani znatno nam pomaže anesteziranost njenih građana i građanki. U BiH je produženo *stanje nedešavanja* koje traje već godinama. Zaboravite na katastrofične najave socijalnih nemira, štrajkova, međunacionalnih sukoba, pa i mogućeg novog rata. Ništa od toga se neće desiti, barem ne u dogledno vreme, iako će se većina ovdašnjih ljudi složiti da je situacija u zemlji - očajna. Vrlo je bitno, međutim, tu dijagnozu ne povezati brzopleto sa očekivanjem ikakve reakcije na katastrofalnu situaciju. To se možda dešava drugde, no ne i kod nas. Ovde je ono malo preostale energije bitno sačuvati kako bi se svaki dan išlo na nikako plaćen posao koji se ne voli, ili u kladionice koje se mnogo više vole. Treba imati nešto snage i za (pseudo) kritiku vlasti (koju, formalno, nemamo više od godinu dana), a da ostane i za najvažniju stvar – da se bavimo vitalnim i inim nacionalnim interesima i branimo ih od raznih „drugih“. A kako bi se očuvala slika šaljivog Bosanca koji se sa svime sprda i protiv nedaća se brani humorom i ironijom – tu je i pljućkanje po bilo kome ko pokušava nešto da zatalasa i promeni, sve u stilu - „Taaa će oni“

I dok su „građani/ke“ anestezirani, nacionalni radnici vredno rade i sarađuju na pljačkanju svega što se opljačkati može, obavijeni gustom dimnom zavesom nacionalnih interesa, „nepomirljivih“ suprotnosti, „nespojivih“ kolektivnih identiteta. Pljačke se više ni ne sakrivaju, zašto se baviti zabašurivanjem stvari koje ionako retko koga više šokiraju i potiču na bilo kakvo reagovanje. Brdo slučajeva je dokumentovano, dokazano, objašnjeno, analizirano – i nikom ništa.

Bosanskohercegovačko društvo odbija da izađe iz rata, uprkos tome što se stalno tvrdi suprotno. Prekid sa stanjem rata znači i prekid dominacije etike po kojoj je sve dozvoljeno, a svakakve nepodopštine normalizovane. U mnogim glavama ovde je još uvek rat jer se iz rata jednostavno *odbija* izaći. Ne zbog straha od drugog (stvarnog i opipljivog u mnogim zajednicama), niti zbog rana (neupitno dubokih i bolnih), niti zbog političkih problema kakvi su majorizacija, nadglasavanje, sistemska diskriminacija, već zbog nesprenosti da se politički sazri i odgovornost uzme u svoje ruke.

Na protestu pod zvučnim imenom „Okupiraj BiH“, održanom 15. oktobra u Sarajevu, okupilo se nas jedva dve stotine. Nevelika grupa ideoloških i svakakvih drugih neistomišljenika, okupljenih oko zajedničke potrebe da se nešto menja, prošetala se tog dana trotoarima i pešačkom zonom glavnog grada. I na stranu pomalo nevešta organizacija, na stranu opravdani prigovori uvoženju ovakvog modela protesta, na stranu i nesklad između proklamovane revolucionarnosti i apela demonstrantima da ulicu prelaze na zeleno svetlo... Na stranu svi mogući ideološki i drugi prigovori i kritike... Najfascinantnija su mi tog dana bila lica ljudi koji su kolonu posmatrali iz kafića i drugih prostora – na njima niti znakova besa, niti podrške, niti radoznalosti, čak ni otvorenog podsmeha... Samo poneki zbunjeni pogled, blagi osmesi i jasna poruka – „ta ćete vi, sve je to mnogo komplikovano“. Dva dana posle toga svi mediji u BiH su objavili vest da oko 48% stanovništva BiH živi na granici siromaštva, a 18% njih spada u kategoriju izuzetno siromašnih osoba... No tim će se problemom ovo društvo verovatno pozabaviti kad se reše ona druga, mnogo „važnija“ pitanja – pitanja granica, vlasništva nad teritorijama, hegemoniziranje nacionalističkih tumačenja prošlosti i budućnosti... Posla za graditelje/ke mira tako, nažalost, još uvek ima pregršt, ali je veliko pitanje ko će taj posao hteti da radi.

I jedna priča za kraj: Sa nama je na protestu bio prijatelj, Srbin (!), sa diplomom elektro inženjera, koji je pre godinu dana odlučio da se vrati u porodičnu kuću u jednom selu u okolini Sarajeva. Tamo živi bez vode i struje jer mu otac, nezadovoljan njegovom odlukom da se vrati u Federaciju (!), ne daje papire neophodne za rešavanje komunalnih problema. Nezaposlen je, preživljava uz pomoć prijatelja, kao i komšija Bošnjaka (!) koji mu pomažu. I nije mu komplikovano toliko da bi odustao i prekinuo da živi ono u šta veruje. I on je, na sreću, deo ovog konteksta i kao istinski graditelj mira zaslužuje da bude pomenut u ovom tekstu i da ga „završi“.

Tamara Šmidling

Ako posmatram analitički period septembar 2010 – septembar 2011. u državi Srbiji se mnogo toga dogodilo. Ima i pozitivnih stvari, takoreći onih koji su sa stanovišta izgradnje mira predstavljaju možda i najveće korake učinjene u poslednjoj deceniji.

Hapšenje Ratka Mladića, pa potom i Gorana Hadžića su događaji koji su se odavno još činili nemogućim. I pored pitanja kako su dva najtraženija haška begunca uhapšena na prilično javnim mestima, te kako ih se nije moglo uhapsiti ranije, njihov odlazak u Hag predstavlja uspeh. Još uvek ostaje nepoznato ko im je pomagao, kako, da li je i na koji način u tome učestvovao državni aparat ili samo pojedinci, ali sam čin hapšenja i isporuka dovoljan je da se zabaleži kao jedan od važnijih. Pri tom, iako u delu javnosti Mladića još uvek smatraju neakvim herojem, posledica njegovog hapšenja je i ponovno otvaranje dosijea, priče o zločinima, preispitivanja odgovornosti, emitovanje dokumentarnih filmova na nacionalnim televizijama, koji su dobrom delu javnosti omogućile da na drugačiji način sagledaju događaje iz poslednjih ratova i pojedinačne uloge, ali i kolektivne, u njima.

To, naravno, nije dovoljno za ponovno slaganje kolektivnog sećanja, ali je dovoljno za početak preispitivanja, od kojeg se do sada bežalo u istoriju, mit i legendu.

U političkom smislu, u Srbiji ništa novo. Korupcija, siromaštvo, nezaposlenost, grupe koje se organizuju da bi vršile nasilje, navijačke grupe koje se organizuju da bi vršile nasilje (iako u mnogočemu podeljene, razne grupe u Srbiji se, čini se, lako organizuju kada vrše nasilje), politička nezainteresovanost da se problemi reše, demagogija umesto dela, koketiranje sa glasačkim telom, nerešena ubistva iz prošlosti, kriminal... Svetska ekonomska kriza, kao opravdanje za sve što se loše dešava, bez pokušaja jačanja mikroekonomije, i bez ozbiljnih pokušaja da se suzbije siva ekonomija, u kojoj radi gotovo milion ljudi.

Sa distance gledano, u Srbiji se sve manje dece rađa, a penzioneri su najbrojnija populacija, koja najlošije živi. Žrtve tranzicije, na kojima su stvarane političke karijere – sa objašnjenjem da je žrtva koju oni podnose gubitkom radnog posla i fabrike mala za ono što sledi – bolja budućnost za njihovu decu, danas imaju više od 50 godina i nikakvu mogućnost da se ikada više zaposle – jer posla nema ni za mlađe, obrazovanje i stručnije. Decenije su ispred tih ljudi, a oni nemaju nikakvu mogućnost da na svoj život više direktno utiču. Lekovi za umirenje su najprodavaniji medikamenti u Srbiji, koja je odavno anestezirana.

Aktivistička scena je, takoreći, ugašena. U prethodnom periodu velike organizacije ugušile su početak stvaranja malih, lokalnih organizacija sa ograničenim ciljevima, te NVO scena u Srbiji postoji u nekoliko centralnih beogradskih ulica. REKOM²⁴, kao ideja, iako načelno podržan od većine NVO i političkih partija na vlasti, sapleo se u sopstvenu strukturu i u prebrojavanje – lekcija koja se istorijski ponavlja u bivšoj Jugoslaviji. Kad se stiglo do prebrojavanja i do sabiranja ko je više, a ko manje, koga ima više, a koga manje, kome pripada više, a kome manje, ko je zaslužan više, a ko manje, ko vlada više, a ko manje – zemlja se raspala. A onda je, 20 godina kasnije, Koalicija za REKOM krenula u akciju, sa časnim ciljem, u kojoj se saplelo o svakoja prebrojavanja. Svakako, veliki zadatak pred REKOM-om tek stoji, i pored brojnih kritika koje su stizale na pojedine delove procesa, i koje se, tek u nekoj meri mogu smatrati korisnim, i podsticajnim za dalje korake.

Posle održanog Prajda 2010, ove godine je on u Srbiji otkazan. Jasno je da za godinu dana nije mnogo toga urađeno ni da se prava ove zajednice poboljšaju, ni da njihov položaj u društvu bude prihvatljiviji, te osim državnog aparata, koji ima najveću odgovornost, jedan manji deo se može pripisati i organizatorima. Direktna posledica neodržavanja parade, i javno izrečenih pretnji pripadnicima LGBT populacije, je napad na devojkicu koja je nosila majicu sa oznakom LGBT. Osećaj straha i nesigurnosti, pa i nemoći – vidljiviji je nego prošle godine u ovo doba, kada se država suprotstavila huliganima.

I onda dodemo do „najskuplje srpske reči“ – Kosovo, gde barikade i dalje pokazuju da je put do suživota i makar prividnog mira i dalje u magli kriminala, korupcije, i nedovoljne spremnosti politike i na jednoj i na drugoj strani da sedne za pregovarački sto i zajednički reši problem. Naravno, to rešenje ne može, bar ne sada, biti sveobuhvatno, trajno i konačno, ali mogu se ljudima garantovati bezbednost, i obične stvari koje život znače: dokumenata, putovanja, početak nekog oblika suživota, koji bi u vremenu koje sledi mogao da postane trajni mir.

²⁴ "Inicijativa za osnivanje Regionalne komisije (REKOM) za utvrđivanje činjenica o svim žrtvama ratnih zločina i drugih teških kršenja ljudskih prava počinjenih na teritoriji bivše SFRJ u periodu od 1991-2001."

Na Kosovu odgovornost je na vladi čiji predsjednik je pod sumnjom za ratni zločin i prodaju ljudskih organa, čiji potpredsjednik stranke je osuđen za korupciju, a ponovo je i pred sudom za ratne zločine, a svi svedoci optužbe su pobijeni pod misterioznim okolnostima, vlada čiji je prethodni predsjednik takođe optužen za ratne zločine (Haradinaj). Ta vlada je partner Zapada u "uspostavljanju pravne države na severu Kosova". Hajd' samo da zamislimo na tren, kakav bi bio odnos prema Srbiji, da se kojom nesrećom slični optuženici nalaze na čelu državne administracije?

Ta neprincipijelnost boli i podstiče osećaj nepravde, pa stoga ne čudi što je naklonost EU integracijama u Srbiji danas po prvi put ispod 50% (46).

Nema sumnje da na severu Kosova srpski kriminalci rade zajedno sa ekstremnim nacionalističkim partijama i da srpski i albanski kriminalci sarađuju, ali otkad se to vatra gasi zajedno sa piromanom?

Deklarativno, slušajući političare sa bilo koje većinske strane – sve je u najboljem redu. Država je, na rečima, spremna da zaštiti i podrži manjine. U praksi, to je daleko od приметnog, te imamo nasilje na svim osnovama.

Prognoze za 2012. su da će biti izbora, a oni sa sobom nose pojačanu dozu svakakvog nasilja, da će kriza biti još gora, a da je opravdanja sve manje. Objašnjenja, takođe. Osećaj će, predosećam – biti isti. Razočaran i anesteziran.

Katarina Milićević

Buđenje kulture prosvjedovanja

O kontekstu Hrvatske ovog puta sam odlučila pisati osvrćući se na prosvjede koji su se događali u proteklom periodu, prije svega zbog toga što mi se čini da se sve više budi kultura izlaska na ulice i ukazivanja na nepravde te artikuliranog traženja promjene. Valjda je više bilo i vrijeme da se probudimo iz usnulog čekanja da netko drugi to obavi umjesto nas.

Prethodne i ove godine Hrvatska je doživjela dosad najveću eskalaciju prosvjeda u vidu dinamike održavanja, masovnosti, različitih socijalnih grupa koje su prosvjede održavale ili podržavale te njihovog ujedinjenog djelovanja. Povodi prosvjedovanja su različiti, no njihova priroda može se podvesti pod isti krov. S jedne strane, neoliberalna politika hrvatske vlade koja se, kao i u svijetu, odlikuje općom privatizacijom (odnosno predajom društvenog vlasništva u privatne ruke moćnih poduzetnika) gotovo svih industrijskih sektora te ključnih prirodnih resursa, a sve u ime slobodnog tržišta koje bi trebalo ponuditi pravedno natjecanje i mogućnost velikog uspjeha za sve građane. Hrvatska bilježi najvišu stopu nezaposlenosti do sada, od nekih 18.2 %, a samo u posljednje dvije godine izgubljeno je 141 tisuću radnih mjesta. Oko 400.000 ljudi živi na rubu egzistencije, lišeni osnovnih ljudskih prava što je poprilično alarmantan podatak za državu od nešto više od 4 milijuna i 200 tisuća stanovnika.

Kako je to i inače slučaj, neoliberalna politika praćena je uništenjem socijalne države, odnosno smanjenjem socijalnih prava većine (prava na rad, obrazovanje, zdravstvo, mirovinu) unutar kojih su napravljeni veliki i bolni rezovi koji su opet pogodili džepove najsiromašnijih. U tom smislu prethodnu godinu obilježili su protesti obespravljenih radnika, seljaka i studenata, prosvjedi za očuvanje javnog prostora od privatizacije te opći prosvjedi protiv vladinih politika i, najnoviji, protiv kapitalističkog sustava. S druge strane, u Hrvatskoj su se i ove godine održali prosvjedi branitelja te su se dogodili nasilni neredi protiv Parade ponosa u Splitu.

Prosvjedi za radnička prava

Sve su masovniji i češći prosvjedi za radnička prava koji su veću medijsku pozornost počeli dobivati slučajem tekstilne tvornice Kamensko koja je uništena privatizacijom i nizom poslovnih malvarzacija koji su tvornicu doveli do propasti. Radnice tvornice Kamensko na ulice su izašle (prvo štrajkom glađu, a onda i prosvjedima, marševima itd.) u listopadu 2010. godine, a prosvjedi su se kontinuirano vodili do prosinca.

Prosvjedi seljaka

Ostavljani od strane države koja im ne isplaćuje subvencije za održavanje poljoprivrede proizvodnje, ostavljeni u nemilosti velikih poljoprivrednih i prehrambenih magnata koji su im nudili nedovoljne cijene za njihove poljoprivredne proizvode, seljaci su uz podršku aktivista i radnika više puta izlazili na ulicu i blokirali ceste u potrazi za svojim pravima. Rezultati su sitno povećanje otkupnih cijena proizvoda te obećanje o većim subvencijama, koje se opetovano krši.

Prosvjedi studenata

U području obrazovanja, studenti su nastavili svoju dugogodišnju kampanju za besplatno obrazovanje i protiv

velikih školarina koje su direktna posljedica neoliberalnog povlačenja države od financiranja visokog obrazovanja i prepuštanja sveučilišta tržištu tako da mora naplaćivati visoke školarine studentima. Tim činom država je praktički proglasila da obrazovanje više nije javno dobro, te da je pravo na studij dano samo onima koji si to mogu priuštiti, što je još jedna od brojnih stvari koja stvara sve veći jaz između bogatih i siromašnih.

Studenti Filozofskog fakulteta su ove godine blokirali referadu i natjerali upravu da ne naplati studentima školarine, već da traži od Vlade da ispuní svoje dano obećanje o besplatnom školstvu. Također, ove godine se aktivirao novi sindikat visokog obrazovanja koji se ujedinjeno gotovo sa svim sveučilištima i fakultetima u zemlji usprotivio novim zakonima o sveučilištima kojima se obrazovanje dodatno komercijalizirao i podredilo tržištu. Akcija je bila uspješna, veliki pritisak stvoren je štrajkom te prijetnjama rektora i dekana o obustavi nastave, te su zakoni konačno povučeni.

Pravo na javni prostor

U vidu prava na javni prostor veliku ulogu prethodnih nekoliko, pa i posljednje godine, imala je inicijativa za obranu jedne od glavnih ulica u Zagrebu, Varšavke. (Dijelovi Varšavske ulice predani su privatnom poduzetniku koji je od javnog prostora napravio privatnu garažu i shopping centar.) Kampanje za obranu javnog prostora polučile su uspjeh utoliko što su uključile velik broj građana te osvijetlile važnost te teme, a istovremeno je pitanje borbe za javni prostor preneseno na druge gradove, u Splitu se trenutno bore za očuvanje Marjana²⁵, u Dubrovniku Srđa²⁶, a u cijeloj Hrvatskoj se vodi borba protiv izgradnje golf terena na javnim površinama.

Prosvjedi nezadovoljnih građana

Najveći prosvjedi ove godine dogodili su se od veljače do travnja kad je nekoliko tisuća građana marširalo ulicama Zagreba u ukupno 18 prosvjeda. Masovni prosvjedi održali su se i u drugim gradovima (Split, Rijeka, Osijek...). Prosvjedima je izražavano opće nezadovoljstvo politikom vlade, tražila se smjena vlasti, ali tijekom vremena artikulirane su i druge ideje, poput antikapitalističkih parola, zahtjevi protiv privatizacije, zahtjevi za slobodnim i neovisnim javnim medijima te zahtjevi za direktnom demokracijom kao jedinom mogućom demokracijom. U protestima su sudjelovale razne socijalne skupine (radnici, studenti, branitelji itd.) te se konstantno odvijala i borba između lijevo i desno orijentiranih građana i skupina. Prosvjedi nisu rezultirali daljnjim ujedinjenem građana, no učinjen je velik iskorak u plasiranju dotad u mainstreamu neprisutnih tema, izrazilo se opće nezadovoljstvo politikom vlade, koja ne čini dobro ni lijevima ni desnima, te se dogodio velik pomak u organiziranom građanskom neposluhu (prosvjedi nisu imali vođe, građani su zauzimali zagrebačke ulice, odlazilo se prosvjedovati pred državnu televiziju, prosvjedi su se održavali nenasilno itd.).

Wall Street

U većim gradovima Hrvatske održani su prosvjedi na valu velikih svjetskih prosvjeda protiv kapitalističkog sustava i za direktnu demokraciju (tzv. Wall Street protesti) te je postignuta veća razina artikulacije po pitanju prepoznavanja problema kapitalističkog sustava.

Na zagrebačkom prosvjedu prvi put je održan narodni plenum, odnosno direktno demokratsko tijelo odlučivanja, na kojem su svi građani imali jednako pravo glasa i odlučivanja. Tu su artikulirane i ideje na razini države, pogotovo potrebe zaštite socijalnih prava i javnih dobara. Najavljeni su i novi prosvjedi i plenum te ostaje vidjeti kako će se stvari dalje razvijati.

Prosvjedi branitelja

Važno je spomenuti i ovogodišnje prosvjede branitelja kojima su se pridruživali građani i mahom desno orijentirane grupacije.

Lako bi se širokom analizom politike vlasti došlo do toga da je, umjesto na poboljšanje socijalnog blagostanja građana, svoju moć održavala ustrajanjem na nacionalističkim politikama uvjeravanja građana u očuvanje tobožnjeg hrvatstva i svih stavki koje s tim dolaze u paketu (vjere, nacionalne tradicije).

Prosvjedi branitelja dogodili su se nakon osuđujuće nepravomoćne presude generalima Gotovini, Čermaku i Markaču za organizirani zločinački poduhvat tijekom vojno-redarstvene akcije Oluja. U prosvjedima je sudjelovalo nekoliko tisuća branitelja kojima su se priključili građani i održani su u više gradova. Iako je početna pozicija bilo izražavanje protesta jer je presuda generalima doživljena kao osuda čitavog Domovinskog rata kao zločinačkog, a samim time i hrvatskog naroda, srž problema bila su neriješena ratna pitanja i manjak osviještenosti velikog dijela

²⁵ Park šuma Marjan najveći je javni prostor u Splitu, godinama izložen bespravnoj gradnji i betoniranju, te problemima neadekvatnog održavanja.

²⁶ Srđ je brdo iznad Dubrovnika, također javna površina, a kroz inicijativu: „Srđ je naš” građani su se pobunili protiv divlje apartmanizacije pod izlikom gradnje golf igrališta.

građana o pitanju ratnih zločina, što je planirana i kontinuirana politika vlade koja takva pitanja sustavno zanemaruje kako bi se održala za poticanje nacionalističkih tenzija. Na prosvjedima su bili izraženi, doduše u nešto manjoj mjeri nego prije, govori mržnje prema Srbima, antologijskim neprijateljima koji su kao as koji se potegne iz rukava da bi se suzbilo izbijanje žešćih socijalnih nemira.

Pitanje rata i pitanje obespravljenih branitelja koje vlast upotrebljava kao sigurno biračko tijelo i dalje nije riješeno, ratni zločini se zataškavaju, a trenutno predizborna kampanja HDZ-a bazira se ponovno na reanimaciji kulta ličnosti Franje Tuđmana i potezanjem nacionalističkih govora koji ponovno proizvode atmosferu straha i mržnje prema Srbima, te je stoga moguće da će ubrzo opet doći do dizanja nacionalističkih tenzija i sličnih prosvjeda. Jer, potreban nam je stari-novi neprijatelj kako bi se odmakla pažnja od katastrofalnog stanja u društvu čije je temelje sagradila upravo ta politika HDZ-a sa Franjom Tuđmanom na čelu. Podsjetimo, bivšem premijeru Ivi Sanaderu (također iz redova HDZ-a), oko kojega se na proteklim izborima gradio kult ličnosti, sudi se na Županijskom sudu u Zagrebu za ratno profiterstvo i primanje mita.

Pride u Splitu

Politika vlade također je zanemarivala pitanje ostalih manjina, a ove godine to je posebno izraženo na prosvjedu LGBTIQ zajednice, Split Prideu. Nedovoljno osvještavanje o pitanjima seksualnih manjina, ignoriranje tih manjina od strane države i nedonošenje institucionalnih mehanizama zaštite, pozicioniranje države kao neutralog promatrača, a ne kao aktivnog zaštitnika ljudskih prava, dovelo je do nasilja na Split Prideu gdje su sudionici Pridea bili napadnuti od strane nekoliko tisuća prosvjednika, pri čemu je u potpunosti zakazala policija koja je praktički dopustila linčovanje onih koji su sudjelovali u paradi.

Trenutno se u Hrvatskoj vodi predizborna kampanja, a sve stranke praktički podržavaju isti program, po obične građane, štetnih socijalnih i gospodarskih politika (osim što tobože lijevo orijentirane stranke imaju blaži, no i dalje ignorirajući, nastup prema manjinama), te se može očekivati da će u budućnosti doći do daljnje eksalacije prosvjeda, a aktualna politika i dalje svoje uporište traži i maže oči građanima skorašnjim ulaskom u Evropsku Uniju, a ne bude li bolje u EU, već će se naći neki vanjski ili unutrašnji neprijatelj na koga će se svaliti krivica i skrenuti pažnja s aktualnih problema sive hrvatske svakodnevce.

Ali dok ne prihvatimo da se za promjenu i socijanu pravdu možemo izboriti jedino ako je zajednički počnemo stvarati neovisno o identitetskim i inim odrednicama, mi svi građani, ona se neće ni desiti. Nadajmo se da je ovo buđenje kulture prosvjedovanja i međusobne solidarnosti dobar početak...

Sanja Deanković

Crna Gora: I bi svjetlost...

Nedavno je Gordana Đurović, nekadašnja ministarka sad već pokojnog resora za evropske integracije, a sadašnja profesorica na Ekonomskom fakultetu i članica Odbora direktora Hipo alpe Adria banke, izjavila da je Crna Gora bila i ostala svetionik regiona. U državi paradoksa, čuda, licemjerja i jednoulja, kakva je Crna Gora, ovakav stav više nikome ne djeluje kao šala ili pošalica; naprotiv, kad nam zapara uši i oči nešto što ima iole veze sa svjetlošću, samo na tren zastanemo, na sekundu se zamislimo, i više se ne pitamo jesu li ovi ljudi normalni, već jednostavno zdravo za gotovo prihvatimo ispade tog tipa i skoro i da sami počnemo vjerovati u područja imaginarnog, željenog, neistinitog i nesuvislog. A pojam svjetlosti, uzet u svom filozofskom, političkom, društvenom, geografskom značenju često se vezuje za Crnu Goru, što zbog davnošnjeg motiva čojstva i junaštva, što zbog njenih čudesnih prirodnih ljepota, ali posebno zbog i od Njegoševog vremena, kad je on svojom *Lučom* pokušao ponuditi odgovore na misterije svijeta i čovjeka, ni ne sluteći da će taj motiv savremene političke (i ostale) ovdašnje strukture nedvosmisleno i bez stida vući po prašini ove, ne samo moralno nego i sveobuhvatno uzev, polu-države koju naseljavamo, ali u kojoj ne živimo. Kad sam već kod loze Petrovića, nije zgoreg pomenuti da danas, kad smo fino zagazili u sva ona polja koja tako moćno zvuče – demokratija, ljudska prava, sloboda, ravnopravnost (nažalost, samo nominalno) – mi zapravo nismo mrđnuli iz perioda kralja Nikole. Preciznije rečeno, Gospodara. U to vrijeme su se u njegovom dvoru okupljali predstavnici crnogorskih plemena i zajedno s Gospodarom rješavali bitna pitanja; u to vrijeme je Crna Gora bila dužna stranim silama; u to vrijeme je Srbija slala neke provokacije (dok nam danas već „ozbiljno prijeti”); u to vrijeme se dijelilo ordenje za najbolje ulizivanje Gospodaru i slične „podvige”. Itd., itd.

Naš svetionik, da se ponovo đurovićevski izrazimo, danas bivstvuje kao i onda, samo su se plemena malo „modifikovala“ – sada nisu usko, toponimski, po brdu, selu i prezimenu postavljena – već imamo opštije nazive a ljute neprijatelje, Crnogorce (žargonski: Dukljani, Montenegri) i Srbe (žargonski: Posrbice, Okupatori), a ordenje je dobilo moderniji izgled. No, Gospodar (naravno, ne Nikola, počivši, neka mu je laka zemlja), uprkos iznenadnom odlasku s gospodarskog trona, a koji je izazvao mnogobrojne infarkte i suze, ostade – i to najsvirepije – da vlada iz sjenke.

Na mjesto Mila Đukanovića došao je mlađahni i živahni Igor Lukšić, koji je, kao i prethodnik mu, sve ostavio bez daha svojom harizmatičnošću, mladošću, posvećenošću, ambicijom, osjećajnošću i svim ostalim epitetima za koje se hvata oduvijek posrnulo crnogorsko društvo. Ono što ga razlikuje od prethodnika je nešto bolji uspjeh tokom školovanja, koje je zaokružio sticanjem titule doktora ekonomskih nauka, te poetski talenat, koji se ovaplotio u zbirci ironičnog naslova, *Knjiga smijeha*, čije je drugo izdanje objavljeno neposredno nakon što je stupio na tron. Njegovi studentski stihovi, razmišljanja u kojima je vidan uticaj rock muzike (a što mu je donijelo stotine prijatelja na Facebooku), naišli su na oduševljenje ovdajšnje javnosti, a glasačko tijelo je pohrlilo da svoje kućne biblioteke obogati primjerkom narečene zbirke, po cijeni od 9,8 eura. I bi Igor. I svi se oduševiše. I zablista Vlada. I odobrovolji se nevladin sektor. I bi kompromis – sa svakim. I bi svjetlost. Pardon, svetionik.

A svetionik nam je nešto u posljednje vrijeme previše zakazao. Ili smo mi zaslijepljeni od radosti i blagostanja, ili otupljeni dugogodišnjim vjerovanjem da neće i ne može biti bolje. Ili, naprosto, naš svetionik, vazda poseban, baca na ljude crne snopove svjetlosti. Hajde onda da i to malo ispitamo, da vidimo što se čini po Montenegro...

Prvi snop: Obasjani dugotrajnom i mukotrpnom propagandom sa svih strana, koja se odnosila na popis stanovništva, sproveden u aprilu, a koja je vrvila od zastrašivanja, ucjena, nestrpljenja, nacionalno-religiozno-jezičkih tirada, potezanja metafizike identiteta, bilborda i reklama od čije bi se kreativnosti i domišljatosti zastidjeli i najveći predstavnici pop-arta itd, nekako smo izvukli žive glave i dočekali dugoželjeni rezultat, koji nas je „iznenadio“ povećanjem broja Crnogoraca i smanjenjem broja Srba u CG. I bi dobro. I bi uspješna misija. I bi olakšanje. Okupatori polako napuštaju ovo sveto mjesto. Tek što to završismo (srećom, bez ljudskih žrtava), „napade“ nas druga „muka“: većinska nacija Crnogorci, a većinski jezik srpski! I bi to idealan prostor i vrijeme da se oglase svi, ponajviše političari. Mučili su se, kukavci, danima kako da naslove već naslovljeni jezik, kako da promijene nepromjenljivo, kako da zabašure sve ono što nas čeka. Siktali su, podgrijavali strasti, urgirali da roditelji ne šalju djecu u školu, opominjali, prijetili, dozivali u pomoć visoke evropske adrese, ujedali se oko adekvatnog interpunkcijskog znaka, no sve uzalud. Mislili smo – otpoče rat, nagrdismo se međusobno. Apokaliptično stanje, jad živi i čemer. Nakon višednevnog ucjenjivanja (o, brzo li se identiteti zaborave), te rigoroznog biranja između kose crte, tirea i tačke-zareza, došlo se do „dubokoumnog“ rješenja: jezik će se zvati crnogorski-srpski, bošnjački, hrvatski. Teško da ćete igdje naići na sličan model. Naravno, bez ikakvog konsultovanja sa stručnjacima iz oblasti lingvistike (koji su tokom tih dana davali izjave medijima, ali kao da nisu) i bez poštovanja volje građana Crne Gore, grupica nadobudnih političara definisa nam jezik. Obasjani, kao i uvijek, imaćemo djecu-poliglote. Građanski orijentisanu, rekoše. Nema udžbenika iz kojeg bi se gorenavedni jezik mogao izučavati, nema tog bukvara koji bi u sebe inkorporirao njegove osnove. Ova neoprostiva obmana, koja je dodatno unijela razdor među prijatelje, komšije, rođake, školarce, (bizarno) se naziva i maternjim – skraćeno, „privatno i korektno“, kako drugi ne bi na prvu loptu saznali „ko smo“. I ne bi logos. Ode to ne može.

Drugi snop: Obasjani diplomom magistra nauka, koju je prije nekoliko dana stekao direktor Uprave policije, Veselin Veljović, jedna zaista groteskna ličnost, skoro da zaboravismo njegove čuvene izjave povodom nekoliko nedavnih spaljivanja vozila dnevnog lista Vijesti – da su to „izolovani slučajevi“ i da će policija učiniti sve da otkrije počinioce. Naravno, ništa nije učinjeno po tom pitanju, baš kao ni što nije otkriveno ko je prošle godine prijetio urednicima navedenih dnevnih novina. Ni ostali slučajevi ne mrdaju s mrtve tačke. Za ovog čovjeka i njemu nadređene, recimo, organizovani kriminal ne postoji. On samo prođe kroz Crnu Goru, ali se ne zadržava. Sjajno, nema šta. Vazda blagoslovena kraljevina Crna Gora. I bi odbrana magistarskog. I ne bi šanse da publika postavi ijedno pitanje. Ko zna, možda prvi crnogorski policajac, sada već ozbiljan naučnik, napusti policiju, kao prekvalifikovan i u potpunosti se posveti nauci, naravno, uz prethodno dopuštenje Gospodara (ali onog prvog i jedinog kojem se klanja). Pravna sfera bi zasigurno mnogo dobila dolaskom jednog ovakvog stručnjaka, jer poznato je da su predstavnici crnogorske policije, ali bog'me i sudstva, doajeni u toj oblasti, vjerna Justicijina deca. A propos toga, ne smijemo propustiti da nas obasja i treći snop svjetlosti, koleginica dotičnog pravника, nekada Vrhovna državna tužiteljka, sada predsjednica Vrhovnog suda, Vesna Medenica. U svom dobro poznatom stilu, bahato i ne trepnuvši, nedavno je novinare nazvala govнарima, nakon što su je propitivali o neefikasnosti sudova i nekim skandaloznim brljotinama koje je napravilo par sudija u Podgorici, a koji još uvijek nisu suspendovani. Prva dama pravosuđa, kako je vole nazvati šaljivdžije, podignutim kažiprstom desne ruke prijetila je nekolicini novinara i izuzetno povišenim tonom ih nazvala nekompetentnim i nezalicama. Suvišno je

pominjati da nikakve sankcije nisu preduzete povodom takvog ponašanja i da se sve završilo na par novinskih napisa i TV-priloga. Za neke se čak to nije ni desilo. I bi (to) prst pravde.

Četvrti snop: Prvog oktobra navršilo se dvadeset godina od devetomjesečne opsade grada Dubrovnika koju je započela JNA, u čijem sastavu je najviše bilo vojnika i dobrovoljaca iz Crne Gore i Ministarstva unutrašnjih poslova CG. Ovaj „rat za mir“ je podržala većina tada punoljetnog građanstva, vođena poznatom porukom sa državnog vrha: „Pohod na Dubrovnik je svrsishodan i svako suprotno stanovište je izdajničko.“ Do danas Crna Gora nije završila proces koji je neophodan za suočavanje sa prošlošću i pokušaj izgradnje trajnog mira na ovim prostorima. Bez zakona o lustraciji, sa fingiranim suđenjima i urušavanjem dostojanstva žrtava i svjedoka, te pokrenutim postupcima koji se završavaju oslobađajućim presudama (kao što je, na primjer, slučaj sa Bukovicom) čini se sve da se zaboravi crnogorska sramota i zamagli suština tadašnjeg/sadašnjeg režima. Ovaj sumorni „jubilej“ politička elita, umjesto da obilježi barem sjećanjem na svoja zlodjela, proslavila je koncertom Tereze Kesovije u Crnogorskom narodnom pozorišu; umjetnice iz Dubrovnika, čiju su kuću spalili Crnogorci, a njen veš prodavali na pijaci. Ovaj bizarni koncert, pod pokroviteljstvom Ministarstva kulture, samo za odabrane (svega 75 karata je bilo namijenjeno običnim smrtnicima) osvijetlio nam je sjećanja, zaslijepio defileom licemjera, no i ponovo ocrnio obraz. „Prijatelji stari, gdje ste“, pjevušila je Tereza, koja kaza da je oprostila i zaboravila i da moramo krenuti dalje. Ovi „naši“ – ništa, ni da se sjete stihova Vita Nikolića, prije dvije decenije napisanih: „A šta tebe čeka, Gospodine Grade, u ovoj noći bratske krvomutnje, dok krvnici mirno svoj posao rade...? Ne daj Bože da se steknu moje slutnje.“ I bi poricanje zločinjenja. I bi muzika. Al' zakaza Gospodar. Njegova prefinjena muzička sklonost je usmjerena i odveć vjerna Slavici Ćukteraš.

Peti snop: Možda svjetlost Crne Gore, možda ljubav prema njoj, njenim sportistima, manekenkama, turističkim atrakcijama, tržnim centrima i ostalim blagodeticima učini da zaboravimo na glad. Možda nas lučonosna država, kraljevina, uspije ubijediti da nismo podanici, da su svakodnevni štrajkovi radnika duž cijele CG tek prolazni performansi. Da su njihove noći ispred zgrade Vlade, blokiranja pruge, osvitanja na ulicama, neuzimanje vode i hrane posljedica neiscrpnog smisla za humor. Da nisu slomljeni, zaduženi i rastrgnuti životom koji je izgubio svaki smisao. Da ne mole za ono što su zaradili. Da nisu izmanipulisani i izdani. Da su nevjerovatna povećanja cijena, smanjenja plata i otpuštanja radnika samo posljedica famozne ekonomske krize kroz koju i mi moramo proći. Da prosvjetni radnici nisu najponiženiji sloj društva. Da se zdravstvo raspada jer medicinsko osoblje ne umije da barata modernim uređajima. Da žene ne dobijaju otkaz kad saopšte poslodavcu da su u drugom stanju. Opšti društveni, ekonomski, politički i kulturološki kolaps – a to je već odavno oprobano i dobro razvijen način – kontinuirano se zamagluje neakvim sporednim stvarima (svojstvenim ljudima koji raspolažu s vrlo malo svijesti, ali su zato uhljebljeni u kič i svakovrsnu površnost i neznanje), kao što su dolasci svjetskih glumačkih i sportskih zvijezda u CG, festivali kojima je cilj da se ljudi dobro najedu i napiju, jedva punoljetna Podgoričanka koja je Berlusconijska vjerenica, dopada li se predsjedniku Vujanoviću naša himna i autor iste, i slične gnusote. U međuvremenu se zbio jedan skromni studentski protest ispred Skupštine, na kojem je bilo najmanje studenata. Oni su već posebna priča. Da neko ima lošije uslove studiranja, u svakom pogledu, a da više čuti i manje zna, i da je zadovoljniji sveukupnom stvarnošću – takvo čudo nećete naći na ovome svijetu. Stalno se pitam šta to ovdje treba da se dogodi da se napokon ukine ovaj strah, ova tjeskoba koju ljudi osjećaju, ova muka koju svakodnevno žive, iako često neće da priznaju, ova bijeda koja ih je naučila da je paradajz u frižideru dovoljan za ugodan život, ovo ubjeđenje da im vlast i privatnici daju novac a ne da ga oni sami zarađuju... Kad se područje realnog poistovjećuje sa turskom i indijskom serijom, kad se čini sve da se znanje i duh prognaju iz društva, kad je poremećen svaki odnos sa drugima i samim sobom, kad se raskida suživot, kad se otuđujemo, kad tzv. nezavisni intelektualci i umjetnici, koji sebe nazivaju pacifistima i filantropima, šalju fašističke poruke i pišu tekstove koji vrve od govora mržnje, kad se između građanskog i nacionalističkog stavlja znak jednakosti, kada se povijest razlikuje od jedne do druge TV-stanice, shodno želji urednika, onda je to gotovo bezizlazno stanje, jačine cunamija koji kao od šale može da potopi svetionik.

Istraživanje koje je nedavno sprovedeno pokazalo je da je znatno smanjen procenat građana Crne Gore koji vjeruju u EU i NATO. A baš tih dana Gospodar u zavijenoj formi izreče nekakvu skepsu na račun integracija. Odjednom, ka' grom iz vedra neba. Zanimljivo, nema šta. Pošto ne treba biti mnogo pametan pa zaključiti da nas tamo ionako ne bi primili, on, biser, požurio da zablista izjavom da možda i ne treba žuriti u tu veliku, srećnu porodicu. Zna Gospodar – ili On ili Evropa. Ovdje – moćan, nedodirljiv, za većinu čak svet; tamo – vjerovatno gdje mu je i mjesto, u ne-slobodi, na način na koji odredi neki tamošnji Zevs. Za NATO smo pak ozbiljna kandidatkinja – em smo se dokazali u Avganistanu, em smo čak napravili prvi crnogorski pištolj i automatsku pušku. Primjerke je prvi pred kamerama isprobao ministar odbrane, naglasivši da smo se oduvijek dičili oružjem i vješto baratali njime, te da se nada da će pripadnici vojske i policije uspješno koristiti ove savremene modele (!?) Ponijet tim „moćnim“ osjećajem i ponosan što sad i mi imamo

čime da pariramo ne samo na tržištu oružja, već i kad se s nekim nađemo licem-u-lice, odnosno oružjem-u-oružje (što je jedna plemenita disciplina), zaboravio je da ispita šta je prije dva mjeseca bilo uzrok stravičnog pada vojnog helikoptera, kojom prilikom su poginula tri pripadnika Vojske CG.

Rado bih vas pozvala u goste, ali se plašim da ne oslijepite. Količina svjetlosti, i u fizičkom i u simboličkom pogledu, koja bi vas ovdje dočekala, izmiče svakoj fizičkoj, astrofizičkoj i filozofskoj teoriji. Ne dâ se opisati. Ona živi i blagodejstvuje. Kao u pjesmi „Oj, svijetla majska zoro.“ Samo odabrani je mogu svakodnevno iskustvovati. A ako se ipak osmjelite da krenete k nama, gledajte samo da niste Srbin, gej, žena, Rom, osoba s invaliditetom, intelektualac. Oni ne prolaze dobro, neki čak ni kao turisti.

Crveno-žutu zastavu u ruke, novi pištolj za pâs, dva slova pride na nepca – pa da čitamo *Knjigu smijeha*. Jer samo nam smijeh treba pod okriljem svetionika. Ušuškani, uhljebljeni i bezhljebnji. I bi svjetlost. Grobna, doduše, ali naša.

Kristina Bojanović

Ne e na arno.

Verujem da bi vam ovim rečima odgovorio svaki iskreni građanin Makedonije na pitanje: Šta ima u Makedoniji? Nije dobro, a i neće na dobro izaći.

U prošloj godini je u Makedoniji izbio pravi pravcati medijski rat. Stanje u medijima je ionako bilo prilično loše i to se vuklo godinama. Ogroman je broj medija prisutan, svi pod velikim pritiscima političkih ambicija svojih vlasnika (čak i suprotno zakonu, koji zabranjuje da su vlasnici medija u isto vreme i rukovodioci političkih stranaka) i pod pritiskom opšteg ambijenta u kome skoro pa i ne postoje prava zaposlenih, niti sindikati. Ključnu ulogu je ipak odigrala Vlada koja se u jednom trenutku rešila odlučno umešati i na duži rok eliminisati opozicijske medije. Pritisak na glavnu opozicionu televiziju A1 je počeo još prošle godine, a obuhvatao je javne preporuke od strane premijera narodu da ne ne veruje vestima koje ta stanica proizvodi i čak saopštenje na sajtu Ministarstva unutrašnjih poslova u kojem se pozivaju građani da tuže A1 televiziju. Na kraju je policija zajedno sa poreskom upravom u zimu 2010. upala u prostorije televizije. Nakon nekoliko meseci borbe i rada televizije sa blokiranim računom, stanica je konačno zatvorena oduzimanjem licence za rad u julu 2011., odmah posle prevremenih parlamentarnih izbora (na kojima je vlast još jednom potvrdila svoju veliku popularnost). Četiri rukovodioca televizije, uključujući i vlasnika, su i dan danas u pritvoru, a optužba se odnosi na utaju poreza od više miliona evra. A1 je bila ne samo najveća privatna televizija u državi, već i godinama za redom televizija koja je uživala najveće poverenje građana. Pored nje, iste vlasnike su imala i tri dnevna lista (od kojih je jedan na albanskom jeziku) koji su, takođe, prestali da izlaze. Definitivno je ostala povećana rupa u javnom informisanju koju neće biti lako popuniti kvalitetom koji je posebno taj kanal nosio. Iskreni utisak bi bio da su svi (mediji) finansijski „prljavi“ i da se u ovom slučaju primenila selektivna pravda. I nije jedini.

U prošloj se godini jasno se videla i „korist“ od uvođenja spora sa Grčkom oko imena zemlje kao teme unutrašnje politike. Mogu otvoreno reći da se obilato koristi kao oružje za političku likvidaciju. Koja god da je tema, može se uvek okrenuti na stav oko imena. Tolika je fiksacija naroda na tu temu. Mnogo emocija, malo diskusije i niko nikog ne sluša. Kako to izgleda objasniće vic: Organizovala se ekspedicija na Južni pol u sastavu 3 naučnika: Amerikanac, Francuz i Makedonac. Po povratku, Amerikanac napisao knjigu – „Brendiranje pingvina i njihovo značenje za rešavanje ekonomske krize.“ Francuz – „Ljubavni život pingvina.“ Makedonac – „Uloga pingvina u sporu oko imena Makedonije.“

Podela društva na „patriote“ i „izdajice“ je svakodnevna, surova i na kraju, mnogo tužna, uz redovne pozive na linč. U realnosti, ništa se nije pomaklo u razgovorima između Makedonije i Grčke, niti će u skorije vreme.

Starije i lepše barokno Skoplje nastavlja da se gradi punom parom. Vlada nije nikad saopštila tačnu sumu, ali se procenjuje da sve to košta više od 200 miliona eura. U par navrata nam se i pokazalo koliko su međuetnički odnosi krhki i koliko se toga trpa pod tepih. Glavni slučaj je bio sukob na tvrđavi Kale u Skoplju gde se kao deo projekta Skoplje 2014. gradio, ni-riba-ni-djevojka, čudni hibrid muzej-crkva pod kapom Ministarstva za kulturu. Elem, lokalni Albanci, među kojima je bilo političara, jedne su noći došli i porušili sagrađeno, pa je par dana posle toga izbila masovna tuča među navijačima na istoj lokaciji. Pretnje o novim sukobima su trajale još neko vreme. Rezultat? Cela Skopska tvrđava je proglašena opasnom zonom i zatvorena za posete. Bilo je još nekoliko „urbanih“ masovnih tuča na etničkoj osnovi i ne samo to. Posle hibernacije i kompletne dominacije konflikta sa Grčkom, ove godine se opet

otvaraju izazovi zajedničkog života Makedonaca i Albanaca i breme ćutanja o neslaganjima koji realno postoje. Na kraju, popis stanovništva je propao i provladini mediji su požurili da nas obaveste kako je to zbog toga što je premijer hrabro zaustavio pokušaj lažiranja. Naravno da su za to predviđene stroge kazne i ubrzani postupak. Naravno da niko neće ni otići blizu suda. Naravno da je sve uvijeno maglom i tako će i ostati. Novi popis nije zakazan.

Još dva slučaja, koji možda najplastičnije opisuju tužnu realnost makedonske države u 21. veku:

Prvi slučaj. Ubistvo Martina Neškovskog. Na samu večer Parlamentarnih izbora, na proslavi povodom pobe-
de VMRO DPMNE na glavnom trgu u Skopje, policijski specijalac je golim rukama ubio Martina Neškovskog, dvadesetdvogodišnjeg mladića koji je otišao da proslavi pobjedu. Njegov greh je navodno bio pokušaj da se popne na binu i lično čestita premijeru. Telo je zatim ostavljeno redovnim policajcima, a specijalac je otišao. Slučaj ubistva je videlo više ljudi. Sve je puklo sledećeg dana na socijalnoj mreži Twitter. Pojavili su se svedoci ubistva koji su se pitali zašto nema ovog slučaja u medijima. Slučaj se nije pojavio čak ni u dnevnom policijskom biltenu u kome se navode i obijanja trafika, a kamoli ubistva. Grupa ljudi se preko Tvitera u roku od 2 sata organizovala oko hashtaga *#protestiram* i izašla na proteste. Portparol policije je još tvrdio da ne zna za takav slučaj, iako se kasnije ispostavilo da je ekipa iz MVR bila ranije prisutna na obdukciji tela gde je jasno utvrđeno da je smrt nastupila nasilno. Ubica se tek sledeći dan uveče sam prijavio policiji. Bukvalno smo uhvatili MVR kako laže i pokušava sakriti ubistvo, a kasnije i umešanost više kolega u hijerarhiji ministarstva u prikrivanju slučaja. U međuvremenu je organizovana kampanja, jedno vreme se svaki dan protestovalo čak u više gradova države. Svaki dan u 6! Možete pogledatu punu arhivu protesta na sajtu: <http://justiceformartin.blogspot.com/>. I umesto jasnog odgovora od strane vlasti i demonstracije bespogovorne odgovornosti da se pravda istera do kraja, počele su najprljavije kampanje diskreditacije demonstiranata koje sam ja lično ikada video u Makedoniji. Te su demonstranti bili plaćenici opozicije, te Grčke, te Soroša... Čak je prošao i izuzetno ogavan (i neuspešan) pokušaj kontra-protesta. Mladi ljudi su zaokruživani crvenim na vestima televizija i prikazivani kao tobože organizovani provokatori, trenirani u Beogradu (od Otpora?) i plaćeni od Soroša i svakakve budalaštine. Familiji ubijenog Martina su dolazili u posetu ljudi koji su im govorili da sede kući i da čute o slučaju. Uzgred, oni dva dana nisu ni znali da im je sin ubijen, jer se navodno nije znalo ni ime ubijenog momka. Rezultat je da je i dan danas jedino ubica u pritvoru i nikakva se druga odgovornost za pokušaj prikrivanja ne priznaje, a ministarka policije je i posle izbora na istom mestu. Protesti su bili istinski impresivni, posebno broj koji je nekad stizao i do nekoliko hiljada. Uvek su bili ne-nasilni i ni jednom nije bilo nasilnih incidenata. U smislu strategija, tu se mnogo prelomilo i baš je isplivalo neiskustvo ljudi da se snađu u vrlo komplikovanoj situaciji podmetanja i kontrakampanje. Ali to zahteva analizu samu za sebe, koju neću u ovom tekstu. No, *#protestiram* je ideja koja još živi i predstavlja iskru nade da će sledeći put biti sve jasnije još na početku, a i sve lakše onima koji će se opet odvažiti da se suprotstave nepravdi.

Drugi slučaj je tzv. amnestija haških slučajeva koja se desila u julu 2011. Naime, Haški Tribunal je Makedoniji u 2004. godini vratio četiri slučaja ratnih zločina uz dogovor da njih preuzme lokano pravosuđe. Čak je učestvovao i u obukama za tužilaštvo i sudije kako bi se mogli nositi sa ovim slučajevima. Pošto Haški tribunal nije ni otvorio ove slučajeve, nego ih samo vratio, navodno nema odgovornost da prati šta se događa sa njima. Ti slučajevi su od tada bili korišćeni jedino kao alat za disciplinovanje partije naslednice UCK, DUI kada god to zatreba od strane makedonskog partnera u vlasti. Jedva je jedan od njih stigao na sud. Posle izbora, DUI je stavila kao uslov za učešće u novoj vladi da se preko instrumenta „autentičnog tumačenja“ zakona o amnestiji (koji je donesen odmah posle rata 2001.) ti slučajevi amnestiraju. Tako i bi, Parlament je to većinskom snagom izglasao. I mi smo sada u jednoj krajnje nelogičnoj situaciji. Parlament je izglasao amnestiju za potencijalne slučajeve ratnih zločina. Pa kako je to moguće?! Ne znam. Sada, jedino Ustavni sud ima snagu da ukine zakon, ali evo već 3 meseca, Ustavni sud ne zaseda. Ova amnestija direktno koči proces suočavanja sa prošlošću tako što nagoveštava politiku zaborava. Nema individualne odgovornosti, ostaju na snazi nacionalistički suprotstavljeni narativi koji pričaju o zlodelima naroda, a ne pojedinaca. Ostaju emocije, umesto pokušaj da se unese procedura i da sistem dobije bar nekakav kredibilitet kao neutralan i svevažeći faktor. Bilo je vrlo malo i vrlo slabih javnih reakcija na ovaj slučaj. Razmišljao sam zašto je to tako. Mislim da ljudi neće da otvaraju konflikte u sredini u kojoj se osećaju nebezbedni. A današnja Makedonija podređena sujetama i interesima koji su naoružani strašnom propagandnom mašinerijom ne uliva poverenje u bezbednost okruženja. I jasno je da interes da se zaborave nepravde rata mogu imati samo oni kojih se to ne tiče i kriminalci. Niko drugi.

Zrak nade u ovom kontekstu je bilo širenje Inicijative za REKOM na Makedoniju. U više navrata sam se uverio da je regionalna kontekstualizacija pitanja ratnog nasleđa vrlo korisna za Makedoniju i stvari čini puno lakšim. No to mora biti praćeno lokalnim radom, a osim par inicijativa, to i te kako nedostaje.

Završicu ovo moje javljanje jednim modernim, makedonskim, tipično 21-vekovnim događajem. (Nije ajvar, iako je i on ispao dobar ove godine.) Sinoć je iz kabineta premijera najavljeno kako će on učestvovati na Fejsbuk video čatu

na kome će odgovarati na pitanja građana na temu uticaj krize eura na makedonsku ekonomiju, ili nešto slično. Naravno, hiljade ljudi se našlo na njegovoj stranici, mnogo njih sa svojim ličnim problemima, pa zapošljavanje, partizacija državne uprave, zdravstvo, školstvo, mnogo i mnogo blagoslova i zahvalnosti za hrabro vođenje države... Pogledao sam malo i ulovio jedno pitanje:

„Gospodine premijeru, ako neki Makedonac predloži promenu imena „BJRM“ u „Republika Prelepa i Bogata Makedonija“, da li bi on bio patriota ili izdajnik?“

Stvarno... Voleo bih čuti odgovor.

Boro Kitanoski

Annual Report 2011

(English version)

Dear all,

You are reading our fourteenth annual report. As usual, in it you can read about all the things we did and some of the things we took part in during the past year.

In November 2010 we organized, in collaboration with war veterans, joint visits of war veterans from the region to the monuments and places of atrocities in Derventa and Brod. Touched by the post-WWII sufferings of our former German neighbours, we wanted to do something in order to make these injustices better known, so for the beginning we did a small research in Vojvodina. We also did two Basic Trainings in Peacebuilding. With that, we have reached a total of 35 Basic Trainings since the beginning of our work. We developed a new concept of advanced training, titled "Peace Indepth. Values and Practices". We held two modules of this program, and ahead of us is still the third and the final one, as well as a detailed evaluation. Together with our associates, we organized six promotions of the book "Pictures of Those Times. Life Stories of War Veterans and Members of Their Families", which we published in late 2010. The promotions were held in Zrenjanin, Niš (Serbia), Zenica, Sanski Most (BH), Pula and Umag (Croatia). We conducted training for ex-combatants on remembrance culture. We also participated in some other trainings, gatherings, meetings and workshops.

We did many other things which are not covered by the texts in this annual report. One of the greatest items is the work on a manual for the trainings on dealing with the past, which we expect to have published in the first half of 2012. We are also thinking of releasing a publication in which we would present our experience gained while working with war veterans on peace building, but for now we don't know when it will see daylight.

There were changes in the composition of our team this year as well. Helena Rill is no longer with us, after almost ten years of work in CNA. We miss her, but we wish her lots of happiness and joy in the field she decides to work in. Also, Jessica Zic, who joined us last year as a support within the framework of cooperation with our sister organization KURVE Wustrow, is not on our team any more.

And we also have good news. Our long-term associate and friend Katarina Milićević became a part of the CNA team. You can find her text about her joining the CNA in this report. Also, we are expecting Sandra Khusrawi to join us in the beginning of 2012 as a support to the team, within the framework of a project supported by the German Ministry of Development (BMZ).

We are already chronically suffering from the lack of capacity to do all the things we would like to do and that we consider necessary. For the beginning, we hope to upgrade our capacity and later, together with you, succeed to make work on peacebuilding not that necessary. When more peaceful times come... Still, that did not stop us from preparing a whole range of actions for the next year, new and old, of which you will read in the future.

We will be delighted if you come back to us with a feedback, reaction, criticism, idea or anything else that comes on your mind.

Kind regards,
CNA team

Only candidacy is a safe job – Post-Brussels' comitological retrospective of the future and its past

Nenad Vukosavljević

Ads received through email at CNA:

Masterclass EU communication only 1800 €

Training programme of the European Training Institute

- Brussels in a day, 6 September, ~~eur500~~ -> eur 400
- New Post Lisbon Comitology, 8 September, ~~eur350~~ -> eur 280
- Master Class EU Lobbying, 9-10 September, ~~eur1750~~ -> eur 1460
- EU funding at your Fingertips, 13-14 September, ~~eur950~~ -> eur 760
- Upgrading NGO lobbying skills, 15 September, ~~eur295~~ -> eur 240
- Masterclass Communication, 27 September, ~~eur950~~ -> eur 760
- The 7 habits for Managers, 12 October, ~~eur950~~ -> eur 760

EU Funding Arena - 'How EU programs work' lecture

Working Snack – Analysis, diagnostics and refining (14-15h)

Activity Based Costing

What I don't know anything about:

- How to identify EU Funding programmes?
- How to submit a successful project?
- How to master the techniques of project management?
- Learn how to identify and work with partners?

The Turkish model

There is no other institution which I hold that much anger towards, as for the European Union (EU). It is not so because this huge institution is really the worst of all, but because, in contrast to many others, I had great expectations from it, which remained unfulfilled. Probably, it is only me; my naive and great expectations might be the reason of disappointment. In the area where I live and work, (between Macedonia and Croatia), hopes of better future are interlinked with the perspective of joining the EU. Most middle-age people think this dream will come true during their life-time. (In)Adequacy of such hopes is pretty obvious if circumstances and problems facing Serbia, BH, Kosovo and Macedonia are considered. The problems these societies are faced with are at least decades old and there is not any sign whatsoever they could be overcome in near future. The weight of the past war in BH has shown itself as a too heavy burden for immature, profit oriented political and state authorities that use to lead the country.

Without recognition of Kosovo, which is unlikely to happen in the next twenty years, Serbia can be as much EU member-state candidate, as it is the case with Turkey. Macedonia pursues hellenisation of own history which is not taken serious even by it's own citizens, as childish reaction to the Greek persistent demands for the name change ,thus

defending the sole right to Old Hellenic heritage. The chance of a dispute settlement remains bleak. After all, even if all listed problems would be resolved, there is so much opposition and resistance in the EU in regards to accession of West Balkan countries and treatment of them as equal partners, that the only certain perspective of accession is that of Turkey. Even if I was all wrong, there are strong forces which prosper in current status. So, beside funerals and peace work being seemingly always needed services,²⁷ "accessing EU" tends to become as needed. To avoid risk of neglecting, Montenegro is facing a problem of overly successful privatization. Its former President and Prime Minister in several mandates, as wagging tongues state, holds a position of the lord and master, owner and controller of all resources in that small country. Fighting corruption seems a vain attempt while the mentioned commendable democrat and independence champion is out and loose. Croatian Prime Minister glorifies and thanks convicted war criminals,²⁸ the public applauds, which demonstrates how Croatia, almost a member of the EU, sees the international justice. However, the EU has never seen Croatia in the same light as other Eastern countries of former Yugoslavia, and it is not to be expected that this scandalous public appearance would have any serious consequences.

Candidates/delegates

While there are the candidatures, there will be crumbs that fall from the table over for us to gather, and these (crumbs) are called the accession assistance funds or IPA, supports, experts, lobbying...We shall swim in the pool of „EU Arena“, and play along, play a draw, play straight, play cat and mouse, and finally, we will fall for an ambition to grow from a small to a big fish, so we shall invest into attaining the skill of *EU Communication*. Does anybody know what this *EU Communication* stands for? You don't?! That only means you have not attended the *Master class EU Communication* training. If you had, you would have mastered the top EU communication skills. You still don't follow? Well, if you invest only €1800, and two days of your time, you will know what this means.²⁹ I don't know the reason why there is an *EU Communication* training, when there is a communication for which I thought being universal, i.e. adoptable and practiced even in the EU. Ah, how ignorant of me! Please, forgive me!

EU Communication

In the last fifteen years, I have been fundraising for peacebuilding, that being one of many tasks of mine. For the time, I have written dozens of project proposals, describing in them our intentions and what we wish to achieve and why, and I can say, I was fairly successful. Confirmation of the efforts presents itself in the sustainable organisation, which is not only about fundraising, because a successful fundraising is supposed to be seen as the result of a successful and honest work throughout many years of effort. Apart from the already mentioned and approved project-proposals, huge funds were utilized, calculated, justified, and controlled, I have also written hundreds of pages of project proposals to the EU, which have never been approved. It must be up to me, not being trained and skilled to communicate with the EU, because for goods sake, it is not the same to communicate with people from German, Norwegian or Swiss administration or any other private foundation as with them. The Illiterate and ignorant are not eligible to communicate with the EU; there are courses for them to attend and get educated, before they initiate to kick against the prick and interfere the divine right.

Freedom, equality, and tenders

In the EU, everybody is equal, the equality is guaranteed, regardless of you (not) having long history of fighting for human rights, cross-border cooperation, or peacebuilding. If short of it (record of action), they will provide for you. It is implicit that money makes the mare to go. Big fish eat the little...It happened, and not once, that big international organizations contacted us to provide for certain activities, to pay us with bits of money they got within their EU projects, and when we rejected "cooperation", they went away, looking for desperate smaller, local organizations which did not pose any awkward questions, like we did.

Clearly, for the EU, we are all equal; we have the freedom and right to nose about for a politician, or even better, a member of the tender committee, who will discreetly see our "matter" through. No, there is no corruption, no protection-no, no way!

Mostly one and the same always get the funds from the EU member countries, but hey, - they know how to communicate! They probably attended Master class EU communication training. Alas, I have nobody but myself to

²⁷ „Only death is a safe job“ - a quote from *The Marathon Family* movie.

²⁸ Jadranka Kosor, apropos the 16th anniversary of the „Storm“, military action, August, 2011.

²⁹ An institution located in Brussels offers a course, and not without competitors to sneeze at.



blame for not attending the seminar. Not the membership but to meet the standards set by them is the key.

I am thinking of saving € 70 for my birthday, and get myself a treat by attending:

- *New Post Lisbon Comitology*, 8 September, 350€ – now only 280€.

I am agog to find out what *comitology*³⁰ stands for. In my dictionary, I can not find a word neither can I find it in a Cambridge one, so I think it is perhaps of the EU origin. I would love to be on it, to strike the right note with it, to hit the bull's eyes with it, to rock potential audience in the aisles, so that later we might understand each other better (me and the EU).³¹ If I had €760 and my hands in the EU funds, I would not hesitate; I would treat my self straight away. Actually, I am thinking of addressing a donor to pay a week for me in Brussels, to get educated at courses for which I would need €4000: the cheapest course is on upgrading my NGO skills, and costs €260, but I insist to pay minimum €400, plus roughly €100 for travel costs and accommodation, in addition to per diem in amount of €500, in accordance with the EU standards. It would be so rewarding to uplift to higher spiritual heights, and so lucrative. If by a sheer luck, a donor happens to read this, please, bring it on! To round the circle off, it would be ideal, if the money is from the EU funds. You see, I will perfectly fit into the Union, I just need a donor. Actually, I can hardly wait to act as someone's EU and to talk the EU language. I live for it. Diligently, I stamp out project proposals for accessions and dissolutions.

Interaction

Talking about communication, does anybody of you-readers know about these courses offered by the competing institution, named as follows:

- "EU funding arena- How EU programs work? – A lecture – I fully understand this!
- "Working Snack! – Analysis, diagnosis and refining (14-15:00)"- what is being analyzed in here, a quick snack or something else? They are pretty fast; how could possibly I understand this in an hour?
- "Activity Based Costing" - Captivating! - But, I'm still bewildered what it means.

I am just fine!

I pine away, but hey, care killed the cat, I am happy not to be the only one, and there is still this certainty that we will remain in such a state for a long, long time. We might be at war a bit, frown a bit, adjust a bit, and again, war, fight. After all, only peace building is a prosperous job.

³⁰ I understood, a new postoffice has been opened, but what I dont understad is how it is related to comitology?!

³¹ I found "comitology" on Wikipedia. I will not tell you what it means. Find out for your self and educate yourself.

Brussels- I've been there! Off to Caucasus now!

Out of the first-five-days visit in Brussels, I spent a day in the International Criminal Tribunal in the Hague, while the rest, four days, I was introduced to the roles and functions of the EU institutions in a support of civil society and the process of accession. We visited the Parliament too. There were thirty of us, visitors from the former Yugoslavia, mostly people from the NGO sector who work or closely cooperate with the Forum ZFD, and Nansen Dialogue Centre, and a small number of the others - peace makers. The Forum ZFD organized the visit which I entirely enjoyed, having an exceptional opportunity to see and feel how this wanton beast, the EU hydra, looks like up close. Despite my accumulated frustrations regarding its role and functions, which were too obvious too hide, I gained insight showing me genuine people working there, people with all their shortcomings and virtues, whom, once met, a person one may like or feel the opposite.

A pleasant surprise, definitely, was the high representative, Mr. Pierre Mirrel, who usually does not pay visits to such a low-profile gatherings like ours, but who obviously had an interest in the theme and the group and did us an honour of personal appearance. I was interested to hear how the roles and functions of the EU are assembled in controversial whole, as in the Balkans, EU presents itself as a peacebuilding idea, while at the same time, few EU countries run amok bombarding campaigns on Libya, - enforcing democracy. It seems that I got a pretty honest answer: "There are various politics which are not always simple and easy to harmonize." For me personally, meeting a person responsible for programs to support civil society (in addition to other sorts of assistance to the governments and NGOs) was shocking. We were addressed as "his children he provides for", (!?) besides (being told) that civil society groups / organizations must function as the market economy following a rule by which "the big fish eat the little" and that we should not forget how nowadays "British organizations realize programs in the Caucasus worth millions, while our organisations, (those from the Balkans) could do the same much cheaper, but still they do nothing to join in the market rat race".

Every visitor, who undertook this trip to the EU institutions and see the way they function, received €320 per diem, for meal allowances, approximately an amount of an average monthly salary in the countries we come from (Croatia excused). Out of the total sum, I managed to save the half. I guess that would be a motive good enough for many people to apply for a study visit like this only to get that much money. However, it was not the case with this group, and I see new contacts with people from the region a huge profit from the study visit to Brussels. Who knows, if wise and smart as whip, we might meet again in the Caucasus.

(12.08.2011.)

This year, our colleague Tamara had an opportunity to participate in a study tour dealing with the culture of remembrance in Germany, which is organized for the past couple of years by Robert Bosch Stiftung. You are reading her reflection of that experience.

Commemorative Cultures Study Tour to Germany

Tamara Šmidling

*„It happened, therefore it can happen again“
Primo Levi*

For several years already Robert Bosch foundation organizes study tours to Germany for groups from the region of former Yugoslavia (and further – the West Balkans). The primary goal of these visits is to introduce the participants with the ways in which the German society memorializes its violent past. The one related to the WWII and, specifically, the suffering and extermination of the European Jews, as well as the past relating to the post-war period and the crimes committed in the name of and under the flag of socialism within the former Democratic Republic of Germany.

During the five days, a group of 18 participants had an opportunity to visit various places of remembrance, museums, memorial centres and institutions in Berlin, Weimar and Munchen. Some of the places we visited were the following: the Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe in Berlin (and the Information Centre within it), the Memorial of the Wannsee Conference, the office of the Federal Commissioner for the Stasi Archives, Buchenwald Memorial, the



Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe, Berlin

court in Munchen in which the Nazi villain John Demjanjuk (Ivan Mykolaiovych Demianiuk) was tried at and many other places, monuments and memorials. Professional support was secured at all the places in the form of guides or presenters which were at our disposal for questions and discussions after the organized tour. Special support was offered by Christoph Kreutzmüller, a historian from the Humboldt University in Berlin, who was at our disposal during the whole study trip.

For the highly motivated group, this was a unique opportunity to get closely familiarized with the mechanisms which drive (or interfere with) the establishment of the institutional memory of the not so distant German past. Almost every conversation and discussion we had left us with a lot of insight, and sometimes an unrealized need to keep discussing, arguing and fiercely disputing about the things we had seen and heard. Unfortunately, the concept itself was very tightly filled up, so there was a visible lack of space for a more structured exchange and reflection, and thus also the establishment of some relationships, parallels and divergences of the German and our context. For the participants coming from a context which is simultaneously dealing with the past and the present, there were almost no unnecessary or meaningless moments during this visit. Our context, unlike the German, does not have a clear line of demarcation between the past and the present, or a historical and/or ideological ground zero which would mark a clear break with the violence and a beginning of something new and essentially different. Probably this is where lays one of the stronger sources of motivation and interest for this topic for people coming from our region.

The tour also offered numerous opportunities for gaining deeper insight into the ways in which modern Germany is functioning, and we surely did not lack opportunity to get immediately convinced in the power of some global (cultural? political?) phenomena which are taking absurd proportions. One of those is surely the phenomena/truth/fact that *history sells*. In a city as abundant and soaked with history, as Berlin surely is, that is probably more visible than anywhere else. The apparent taboo on the trade with the memorabilia of the holocaust³² actually just emphasizes the global ethical condition where everything is for sale, especially the artefacts of the newer, bloody and morbid history.

The contradictions visible from the relation of the German society towards the atrocities and crimes committed in their own name are particularly interesting. Although it would be exaggerated to say that all the traumas and taboos have been processed, honest endeavour to institutionally and systematically send a message is very visible – we are aware what we had done or supported, we don't want it to be forgotten, we don't want it to be repeated. The con-

³² Luckily, it is still not possible to buy miniature models of concentration camps, nor the postcards with the photographs of starved inmates of the death camps, or the replicas of the letters that the inmates were sending from detention. Other/Different forms of "sales" are widely deployed, and a laic insight is sufficient to notice how the places of atrocities and horrors from the past are becoming one the most visited spots on the tourist maps.

struction and careful protection of the democratic system and the European values, and transforming the so called “European values” into heritage, are seen as a guarantee that it will not to happen again. That same system swallows a lump when it needs to declare its stance on, let’s say, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, military NATO interventions around the world, or on the fact that, well, some atrocities had occurred according to well known notorious models just some years ago, some hundreds of kilometres from the EU “paradise”. Let’s not mention the impression that the mentioning of the German victims of allied bombing, hunger, post-war tortures is still out of the dominant narrative and is mostly considered dangerous flirting with the right-wing political streams in that country. When, however, it is necessary to equalize the “two dictatorships” and speak out on both the national-socialistic and the latter socialist rule in the same tone, that flirting with the right-wing anti-communism does not seem that appalling.

There are many more contradictions, like in many other societies. From the perspective of someone from former Yugoslavia, I can still say that the institutional support enjoyed for facing of and dealing with the Nazi past in Germany today is something that our societies will not reach for a long time. The trap in which people from this region often fall into is to consciously or unconsciously refuse to find out more about the arduous path that Germany has undergone during that process. More significant steps in that area do not happen just like that, on their own, or due to the pure passage of time. They are usually preceded by the persistent efforts of citizens and politicians to thematize the past, reassess it, place it on the agenda of the everyday political acting.

The words of Primo Levi, at the beginning of this text, are found on the entrance of the Informative Centre of the Memorial of the Murdered Jews of Europe. Spoken out by a survived inmate from Auschwitz, a man who indebted the world with his brilliant testimonies and reflections on the life in the camp and after it, these words could not have been chosen better. They warn the visitors of this centre of the fragility of the delusion that the pure bringing to light of the horrors of the past will prevent their reoccurrence in the future. Within that context they serve as a warning to a whole society – democratic, rich, well-fed and even better dressed – not to become lulled in self-complacency and a wrongful conviction that the evil is forever prevented.

And what would make an adequate warning for our societies – is a big question for which an answer needs to be found.

Introduction of the new CNA team member: Katarina Milićević

“The worm has turned”

A few years ago I decided to quit journalism. It was a decision which, after two whole decades in the business, was based on more than the official response I used to give everyone who would ask the “why” question. One important rationale was the desire to commit to my family life, in ways which the nature of the job left little room for. However, that was not the only reason.

The exhaustion, frustration and the feeling of doing the wrong thing, without knowing how to do the right one, were the main reasons. I spent full twenty years writing articles, conducting interviews, reporting, working on the news, bulletins and commentaries. Still, only on a few rare occasions, would these tasks give me a sense of accomplishment.

Most of the time, I was under strain, having a constant feeling of helplessness. I felt this way despite being fully aware of the media power and, of the fact that, being a part of it, gave me an opportunity to find the roots of my discontent.

Hence, having decided to leave my job in journalism, a tiresome profession in Serbia (and when I say “tiresome”, I mean that in every sense of the word), I was lucky enough to obtain a position in a publicly-owned corporation, at the department of Public Relations. I spent two enjoyable years, safe and comfortable, at this company. It was like having a cup of mulled wine in a warm cabin, after a long hike through a snow-clad mountain. It was cosy and relaxing, like a genuine feeling of serenity.

But then, the worm has turned. Not being committed to a single social cause, and being unable to find an outlet



for my anger at the Serbian culture of violence, made me miserable. I felt as if I was anesthetized. Back then, Serbia used to glorify the rut of a daily routine, but all that powerlessness made me sick.

The prospect of being, in a way, separated from my family for several days every week, was daunting. I had insecurities about fitting in to a new environment, and felt the fear of expectations exceeding my abilities. However, I relied on the tremendous support from Boris and the children. My sources of strength were also my parents, who had nothing but endless support for every choice I have ever made. Thus, my journey began.

And I reached a place where my heart has always had its home.

Doing a job you love is a privilege. It means being able to work with respectable people, doing what you think is right and knowing that your opinion matters, and all of that without the punishing and competitive hierarchical system. And how I know I reached the right place? There isn't a single answer. Rather, it is something I feel about the slow process of repairing the damaged relations among the people of the Former Yugoslavia. It's something I can almost touch, when, after a successful workshop, a sense of fulfilment permeates my whole being. I look for the answer in the friendships and the acceptance, and I find it when I see people treat each other with respect, in the face of all the differences. The answer lies in the ability to embrace my Šumadija identity, even when, for another person, Šumadija is a gaping wound. And now I see it. It wasn't easy, but somehow, from that log-cabin, and through a snowstorm - I reached

home.

My arrival at the CNA was officially announced at the beginning of the current year. In fact, I first joined the CNA in 2002, when I sent my application for the Basic Training. What came next were first panel discussions, then Training for Trainers, films... For me, working and making friends with the CNA people all these years have been a relief from the monotony of everyday life. I find joy in this job, because it gives me the opportunities such as, visiting Kosovo for the first time in 2005, or building relationships with people from Macedonia, Bosnia, Croatia... I get to adopt new insights, and meet other peacebuilders. These people are often, much like myself, confused about where to turn, but they never stop believing in the hard work, and the cause they are fighting for.

PS. I wrote my text about coming to the CNA twice. My emotions got the best of me...they're sometimes simply too intense to deal with. However, I know that without the emotions, I wouldn't be where I am now, so I decided anyway to give a more factual and balanced account of my decision and the reasons for joining the CNA.

PPS. In the end, I have to express my deepest gratitude to everyone who supported me upon my arrival- the entire CNA team, for never letting me forget that I can, and should be, actively engaged. I give my thanks to them, because they included me, there and then, in every activity and, sometimes, they believed in me more than I believed in myself.



research

While working in the area of dealing with the past within the region of former Yugoslavia for several years already, and despite the fact that we were focused on the “recent past”, that is, the wars of the 1990s, we would often encounter taboos, silence and injustice dating far more back in the past. We have discovered in this way, among other things, all those things that we don’t know regarding what had happened with our former German neighbours after the WWII. This has induced us to conduct a small research, and in front of you lays the report on our journey through Vojvodina in November 2010. We hope that we will find a way and the capacity to do even more than this.

The 60-year silence

Report of the journey through Vojvodina

CNA has been working on dealing with the past for several years now – we believe that we have no future unless we look back and question ourselves, the others and the past itself. Also, with regards to that, we believe we must point out the injustice done to those who are “no longer present” among us, such as Bosniaks in Republika Srpska, Serbs in Sarajevo, Albanians in Belgrade, etc. Even though our work is focused on the wars of the 1990s, the stories often go back as far as the WWII, as well as the period before and after it.

There is an ongoing discussion within the Serbian society on who was good and who bad, if the Chetniks are the same as the Partisans, which are better and which worse, what are the Chetniks and what are Ravnogorci, and similar. Discussion is being conducted about various issues, but there is one group one keeps silent about or whispers, which were (especially back then) a part of the society –very little has been said in public. We are talking about the Germans who had lived in the former Yugoslavia. Or, as they are popularly referred to, the “Podunavske Švabe” or the “Folksdeutschers”.³³

Many will say: “Well, what is there to say?”, “The Germans are to blame for the war”, “Those are just some there...”,

³³ We will be using the term ‘Danube Germans’ as the term ‘Schwab’ was used derogatively throughout all these years.

“Considering how they were, they ended up just fine”, “as if we don’t have enough of our own worries”, “all are victims and all are guilty”, “that was a long time ago, the future is ahead of us”, etc.

Throughout November we had travelled around Vojvodina and were conducting a research in order to obtain as much accurate information as possible about them in particular, about those of whom people remain silent – about the Germans from these areas who survived the war and the period after it, about their destinies and descendants, the injustice done to them, about the silence and the shame, wishing to make the injustice at least a bit more visible.

The basic information with which we embarked on our research

Between 510.000 and 540.000 thousands of Germans were living within the territory of the former Yugoslavia prior to the WWII, accurate information is unavailable. Today there is officially 3.901 of them, out of which 3.154 are in Vojvodina. Around 67.000 civilian Germans perished after the WWII. According to the AVNOJ decision brought on the 21st November 1944, all the property of Yugoslav citizens of German origin was to be expropriated, and the Germans were collectively denounced as national enemies. Thus, they were not denied their citizenship, *but rather their civil rights*.³⁴ From October 1944 the Danube Germans were interned into detention camps. By August 1945, all the villages in which the Danube Germans had lived were “cleansed”. Only those DGs who were married to persons of other nationality or those who had fought on the side of the Partisans were exempted from this.³⁵

Since the end of October 1944 in Banat, and since mid-November 1944 in Bačka, until June 1945, the following occurred:

- 7.000 civilian DGs (including women, children and the elderly) were executed and murdered.³⁶
- Deportation of the DGs to labour camps in the USSR. Around 2.000 persons died in them due to hunger and diseases, but were also murdered.
- Around 5.000 DG war prisoners were murdered.³⁷
- Slavisation of children of the PGs: since 1946 thousands of children were deported into Yugoslav homes for abandoned children for re-education and “slavisation”. Some of them still have not found, or still don’t know, their origins.³⁸
- Around 167.000 DG civilians (out of 195.000 DGs that had remained in Yugoslavia) were imprisoned in camps.³⁹ In the period between 1944 and 1948, around 48.500 DGs, out of which 35.000 in Vojvodina, died as a result of executions, maltreatment, malnutrition, heavy physical labour and disease.⁴⁰

There were around 100 camps within the former Yugoslavia, most of them were in Vojvodina. They were not all set up and run at the same time, and also, the DGs were not only interned into special buildings, but the whole villages were being used as camps. Those villages were guarded by the Partisans or the police.

The most notorious camps were those in Kničanin (Banat, out of 33.000 DGs interned between October 1945 and March 1948, almost 11.000 died), Gakovo (Bačka, 8.500 persons died from March 1945 to January 1948), Kruševlje (Bačka, 3.000 persons died from March 1945 until January 1948), in Sremska Mitrovica (Srem, 2.000 persons from 1945-1947), in Molin (Banat, 3.000 persons from September 1945 until April 1947) and in Bački Jarak (7.000 DGs perished from December 1944-1946).⁴¹

With this information we embarked on a tour of Sremska Mitrovica, Sombor, Gakovo, Odžaci, Apatin and Subotica.

A few words about our visits and tours

³⁴ The Yugoslav law of the 31st July 1946 determines: the expropriation concerns all Germans, apart from those who fought for the Partisans, or were active in the liberation movement, who were assimilated prior to the war, then those who were married to the South Slovenes or to another minority, nationality that was not an enemy of the Partisans. (Bundesministerium für Vertriebene, Flüchtlinge, und Kriegsgeschädigte 2004:103E).

³⁵ Donaudeutsche Landsmannschaft in Rheinland-Pfalz e.V. 2003:74.

³⁶ Arbeitskreis Dokumentation 1994: 16.

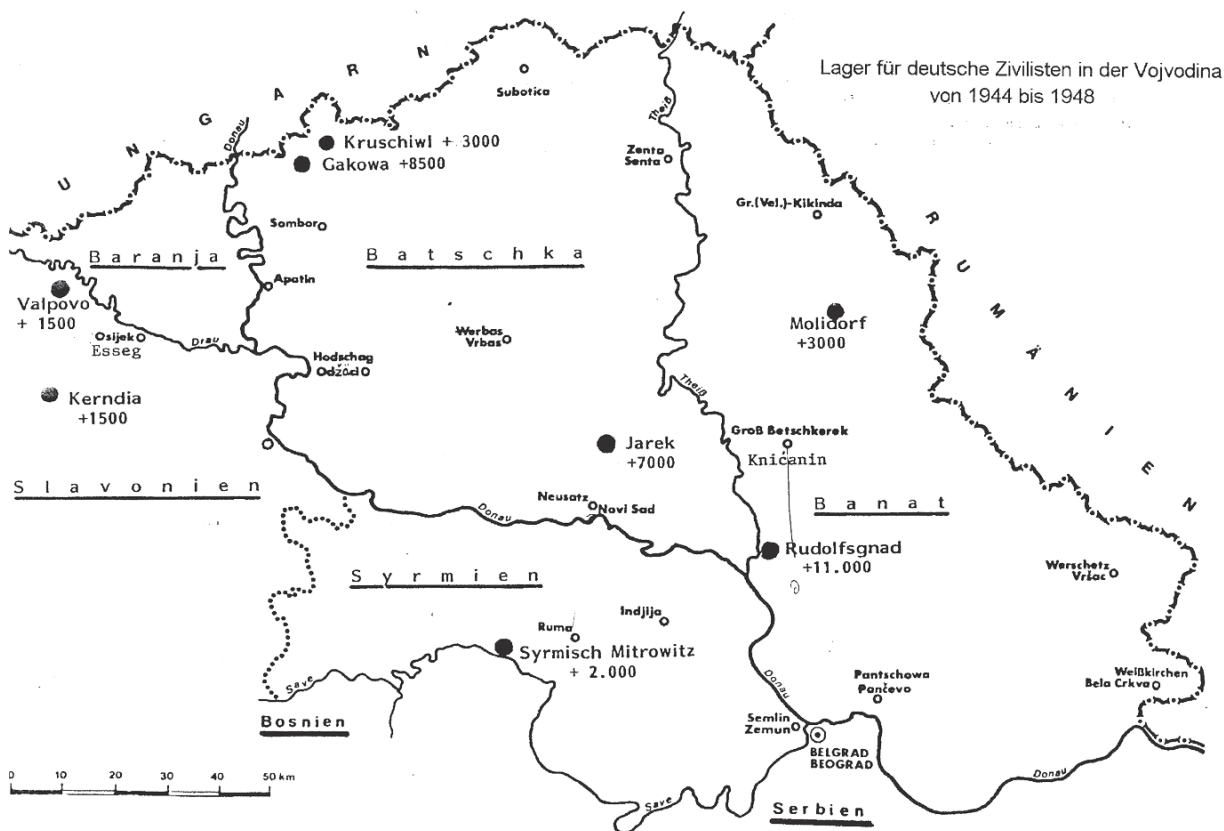
³⁷ Arbeitskreis Dokumentation 1994:16.

³⁸ Donaudeutsche Landsmannschaft in Rheinland-Pfalz e.V. 2003:75.

³⁹ Arbeitskreis Dokumentation 1994:4.

⁴⁰ Arbeitskreis Dokumentation 1994:17.

⁴¹ Arbeitskreis Dokumentation 1994:17.



Map: Camps for German civilians in Vojvodina between 1944 and 1948.

Sremska Mitrovica

This was the first meeting and the tour of the place where the Danube Germans were killed. We met Jovica Stević. He used to be the secretary of the local football club "Radnički" which is located in the part of Sremska Mitrovica which had been mostly inhabited by Germans. He had found out by accident that there is a mass grave right next to the stadium, in which people dying in the camp in immediate vicinity of it were buried (the former silk factory, known amongst the Germans as the scaffold "Svilara"). The walls of the building of that camp and the place of the mass grave in its immediate vicinity can still be seen today. The camp was fenced with a barbwire, the windows were walled up, except for the tiny holes.

There is another mass grave on the Catholic cemetery, and from recently also a monument to the Germans killed from 1944-1948 who are, according to Jovica Stević, estimated to number around 2.000. The monument was erected on the site of the mass grave, due to an initiative by Jovica Stević, and in collaboration with the Germans from Germany and Austria. By the way, out of 11.000 residents of Sremska Mitrovica in 1944, 3.000 were Germans. Today, according to the official census, there is 200 of them, but unofficially they are around 1.000.

It was moving to see those places, a havoc with a few erected grave stones. At the site of the mass grave, one can see a few tombstones. It had often occurred that the Danube Germans were being made to dig out the graves themselves, and those who had recognized the murdered persons would mark the place of the burial place with a bottle or a piece of wood, so that the relatives would know where the victim was buried, as was the case with little Helga whose spot was latter marked with a small monument (see the picture at the beginning of the text).

While reading about the Svilara camp, we encountered the words of Katarina Gaislinger, an inmate: "One day in January we were sent to unload the tow boats on the Sava River. This hard work, which lasted 14 days, had to be done



with bare feet, as it was expressly ordered... This winter specifically, we had to stand outside every morning in a line. 'Woe' to the sick who would not come out immediately. The guards, armed with wooden sticks, would force the helpless ones towards the exit with hits and kicks. Some would manage to get outside only by crawling.⁴² In December 1945, during a visit of a man in a civilian suit and with obvious political power, Traudi Miller-Vlosak heard him asking the camp commander while walking along a line of beds: "How much longer until they all die? I am surprised that so many are still alive."⁴³

Sombor, Gakovo, Kruševlje

In Sombor, we have visited the "House of Reconciliation" and the "Gerhard" association. We spoke about the past and current position of the Danube Germans, about the camps, about the recording of the memories, about the fear and shame of talking about the past.

Sombor is the place where Danube Germans were collected into, a sort of a collection point, from where they were sent off to camps (children and the elderly most commonly to the Gakovo camp), to work on farms and agricultural land. The place where now stand a kindergarten and a bus stop is still referred to as "the camp". Not many residents of Sombor, especially those of younger generations, know why that place is called particularly that. The camp consisted of eight barracks, in the middle of the yard was a truck without wheels, "in it were put priests and teachers, educated people, with their hair completely cut off. Every once in a while they would be taken outside, to the place for the roll-call. They were being assembled in a circle; they had to kneel, and then the guards would dance a traditional dance "kolo" around them and spit on their heads".⁴⁴

Gakovo, the same as Kruševlje, is located near the Hungarian border. The first camp prisoners were Apatin residents, around 6.000 of them. In 1931, Gakovo had numbered 2 692 residents among which 2 370 were Germans, while towards the end of 1945, 17.000 inmates were compressed into the emptied houses (22.000 according to some accounts). During the first 10 months 4.500 of them had died or were killed.

A monument was erected on the site of the mass grave in Gakovo in 2004. The monument was set up by the German national council and the "Gerhard association", and the set-up itself was accompanied by extensive negotiations with the local authorities. There were objections to the monument but it was eventually erected, but with two empty plates on which it will be possible to write the text which is completely in line with the events (this that currently exists is a kind of a compromise). So far, it hasn't been desecrated (except once with 4C). There used to be a fence between the graveyard and the mass grave with the monument, but it was removed on the initiative of a woman who was

⁴² Working group for documentation 2004:150 (Genocide against the German minority in Yugoslavia 1944-1948).

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ Nenad Stefanović, Jedan svet na Dunavu <http://www.drustvosns.org/nemacka%20manjina/stefanovics/jedan%20svet%20na%20dunavu.html>, p. 72.

present at an occasion when people from Germany came to visit. According to the people who told us about this, that woman, after having a conversation with a visitor from Germany, said that the pain for the dead is equal and there should not be a fence between people who mourn their own.

The Kruševlje camp is located relatively close to Gakovo; however, in the event of rain, it is difficult to reach it as there is no real road. This camp was notorious for the cruelty of the guards and the public executions that were being ordered by the commanders.

The attempts to escape from these two camps were common during the period of their existence as the Hungarian border is near. People often escaped to Germany through Hungary, and those journeys would last for weeks and even months.

Odžaci

We have spoken to the pastor Jacob Pfeifer who shared with us a small part of his personal story – his parents were in a camp as well (Knićani). They found it difficult afterwards to talk about their experiences from the camp. This has been kept silent before the children. According to his information, 183 persons were killed in a field near Odžaci (182 actually, as one had survived) on the 23rd of November 1944, and they are known by their names and surnames. Several Danube Germans were set aside in order to dig a big grave for their compatriots, and then they were killed as well. There is a story of this place being “cursed” as nothing grows there. A monument will be erected on this site in June 2011.

Apatin

Boris Mašić is the President of the Apatin society “Adam Berenc”. Apatin was the place where the German colonists, coming to Vojvodina via the Danube, were arriving and from there were deployed further. Prior to the WWII there were about 14.000 Germans in Apatin, comprising around 98% of the population. Further, according to his words, the German pre-WWII population was divided to approximately to one half being the “green” ones (supporters of the national-socialists) and the other half “black” (slightly older population, more connected to the Church and against Hitler’s politics). The most outstanding in his opposition to the national-socialists was the priest Adam Berenc, who was tolerated by the Hungarians under who’s occupation was Apatin, with only occasional “harassment”. After collapse of Nazism, the “green” Germans mostly left for Germany together with the German army (7.000 of them), and the majority of those who stayed were against the Nazis (around 7.500 of them). Out of these that had remained, around 4.500 got killed. There was around 1.500 Germans in Apatin after the WWII. Officially 156 Germans reside here today (between 200-300 unofficially).



Boris Mašić has a personal story in his family, related to the suffering of the Germans. On the 14th of December 1944, his grandfather was taken to Sombor, along with 70 other Germans, where he was tortured and subsequently killed, and his grandmother was in the Gakovo camp and had somehow managed to survive. All the property of his family was confiscated, except the two houses in which they live. It is well known who killed his father, and that man is still walking free around Sombor. A commemorative plate has been placed on the building in which he was murdered together with other Germans, however not on its outer wall which is facing the street, but on the inside one in the so called “einfort”(corridor). Mašić is trying to preserve the cultural heritage of the Germans (he has a big library with books that he has been rescuing, mostly from ruined churches, out of which the oldest dates back to the year 1600). According to him, we will have a difficulty finding people in Apatin who will be ready to speak about the sufferings of the Germans because of the fear that still widely exists.



„Sećanje na nas“

izložba „Sećanje na nas“, koju možete pogledati u prostorijama Udruženja Nemaca „Gerhard“ sasvim je posebnog karaktera.

Ekspoziti su najvećim delom pozajmljeni ili poklonjeni

A personal story: Jacob

Jacob has always had a distinctively German identity, but never in public – only within the circle of the people he knows well, so he would start speaking in German or would listen to German music. He was born in Apatin in 1932. After the war, according to his words, many people in Apatin mostly feared the Red Army soldiers, but Jacob's experience was different – they were hanging out together and he started smoking with them. But when the communists came, everything changed: their property was confiscated, his father ended up on a cargo train headed for Russia, together with the other Germans, for Kharkov; they picked him up on Christmas 1944. Jacob never saw him again. Mum was taken to Sombor to the camp with together with other women. After some time she started working in the houses in Sombor and eventually, after more than a year, she escaped and had returned to Apatin. Initially, she had hidden for a while and later she just registered herself in the municipality. His aunt and uncle ended up in the Gakovo camp, the uncle died and the aunt had managed to escape to Germany, to Ulm. Later, around '53, she was joined in Ulm by Jacob's mother and sister.

Jacob says that it is known what was happening in Apatin during those years, however, they do not talk about that when they gather within the framework of the "Adam Berenc" society. It is mostly spoken in German. He is very happy when he hears German songs, it makes him happy. In the end of the conversation he said "you have not heard anything from me, my name will not be showing up anywhere, right?"

Subotica

We have gained an insight in what was happening to the Germans in Subotica after the WWII from Rudolph Weiss. There exists a mass grave here as well. On 2nd of November 1944, in a single day, 300 Germans were killed and, together with Hungarians and anti-communists (over 1 000 persons) were buried in mass grave. There exists a monument on that spot today, and the mass grave is appropriately marked by the Municipality of Subotica, as a result of the initiative of the families of the murdered and there buried. A commemoration takes place there every year, on the 2nd of November. We have also heard a lot of moving stories, such as the terrible stories of the raping of young girls (Eva Bischof, 9) and women. In Srpska Crnja, in November 1944, approximately 70 women committed suicide in a single night because the previous evening the drummer had announced a mass rape.

For the end...

No one was ever persecuted for what had been happening to the Germans. Some of the perpetrators are still alive and free. There is an impression that there was no organized system of covering-up of what had been going on inside of the camps even at the time of their operation, but on the other hand, that was never spoken of, as is not talked

about even today (Ivan Ivanji wrote a feuilleton in continuations in the NIN weekly dealing with the position of the Danube Germans after the WWII, in which conversations with several members of the local communist authorities of that time, who were in all possible ways publicly denouncing the crimes, were published. Look from the number 2677 and further). The locations of the mass graves are known, although the number of those murdered is not precise, and the archives hold the information of the sufferings and the ways of suffering, but all that is still not available to the public.

There is still today a strong sense of fear, and even shame, among the people (especially among the survived Germans) to speak of what they have survived, or their parents, grandparents... Those who no longer live in Vojvodina are probably more ready for that. It seems that this issue is hard to approach as it stood deeply buried for over 60 years, some felt ashamed, some feared (when they asked an elderly lady to day something about her experience, she said "I can't, I will loose my pension", and before she used to be afraid she would loose her salary. Some felt ashamed of what had happened to them – "Should my grandson find out I was raped?"). Apart from that, considering the fact that the Danube Germans needed to hide their identity and not express it publicly, it is no wonder that this dimension of shame, that makes the story even more difficult and complicated, exists.

Visits from Germany, primarily of the family members of those who died in Vojvodina, but also of the representatives of societies and officials from the FR Germany which became frequent since 2000, as well as the erection of monuments, are in some ways influencing the recognition of injustice and are making the victims more visible, but they also decrease the tension towards the Germans among the local population (it is primarily meant the colonists⁴⁵) as they get to understand that they are not coming to take away their houses and land, but rather to visit the places of birth and death of their own.

It is important that the Republic of Serbia has founded a commission for determining the facts about the crimes of the period between 1944-1948 with Srđan Cvetković from the Institute for Contemporary History (that is, the Secret Graves Commission of those murdered after 12th of September 1944), and that this body acts under the auspices of the Ministry of Justice of the Republic of Serbia.⁴⁶ However, this commission also works on the finding of the body of Draža Mihajlović, an issue which a significant part of the Serbian society started ridiculing ("the Homen case"⁴⁷).

Apart from that, another important decision has been brought by the Parliament of Vojvodina – a decision has been made that there is no collective guilt that refers to the German population of Vojvodina.⁴⁸

As we found out from Jacob Pfeifer, the initiation of the case before the Court in Sombor for rehabilitation of the murdered Germans around Odžaci, is of special importance, and that case currently sits at the Higher Court.

The demanding claim is to pronounce innocent those two had died, but that is still a "controversial" matter as it concerns, as the judge put it, a greater number of people (!?). If we are not mistaken, it is about 40 people in question.

Anyways, all those we spoke to during these visits and meetings have expressed their readiness to support us in raising the issue of destinies of the Germans after the WWII. They think it necessary and about time, as the witnesses soon won't be alive.

For the end, as professor Zoran Žiletić says in the preface of the book "A People on the Danube" by Nenad Stefanović: "One inevitably wanders what has been happening to us since 1944 up to now, when we have accepted that not only an eradication of the whole nation is done, but that we remain silent about it for more than half a century."

Nedžad Horozović, Helena Rill & Jessica Žic

December 2010

⁴⁵ The colonists came to Vojvodina after the adoption of the Law on the Agrarian Reform and Colonization (brought in August 1945) from different regions: Bosnia and Herzegovina, Banija, Lika, Kordun, Montenegro, Dalmatia, Sandžak, Serbia, Macedonia, Slovenia and Kosovo. Around 250 000 people arrived in a short time. Organized colonization was conducted in the end of 1945 and during 1946, but the immigration continued until 1948. The colonists had inhabited 114 places in Vojvodina. According to that law, the new owners have been granted 668 412 ha of land.

⁴⁶ More about this commission at: <http://www.komisija1944.mpravde.gov.rs>.

⁴⁷ Homen is the name of the state secretary exposed in media regarding the case of Draža Mihajlović's grave search (reference by N.V.)

⁴⁸ The Parliament of the AP Vojvodina has adopted a Resolution on the unrecognizing of the collective guilt on the 28th of February 2003.



cna peace education programmes

Basic training in peacebuilding

Basic training in peacebuilding is surely our oldest programme. We have changed it, adapted it to the social and political circumstances and continued to organise it, estimating that the need for it has not decreased.

In the past year, we have held two basic trainings. More information on them can be found in the following two texts.

Basic training in peacebuilding (Ohrid 2010)

Ohrid/Macedonia, 08-18.10.2010.

The 34th Basic Training in Peace Building was held in Ohrid, in "Klimetica" hotel, from 8th until 18th October. The training team consisted of Nedžad Horozović and Sanja Deanković from CNA and Ana Bitoljanu from Miramida Centre from Grožnjan/Skopje. The fourth member of the team could not attend due to private emergency situation. Since we could not find anybody for the position of fourth member in the team (other persons we contacted were already preoccupied), we made a decision to roll the training with only three members of the team and a person in charge of logistics and technical support.

We were fascinated by the number of applications arrived. Great number of applicants was certainly due to the fact that Ohrid is attractive location and because of good information network and advertising via popular regional websites (www.infostud.com, www.iro.hr), Facebook and intern mailing lists. Although we were glad to see such interest, a number of 178 applications gave us a lot of work. We had to read them all carefully in a very short period of time, choose only twenty and inform the rest that they are not admitted. Choosing the right applicants was a bit frustrating because there were a great number of quality applications. We have been even faced with some unpleasant verbal assaults from the omitted applicants. Similar to some earlier cases, some applicants cancelled their admittance in the last minute, or just did not show up. Final outcome was 18 persons attending our training, two persons less than planned. We regret that two places remained omitted, concerning such interest for this particular training.

There was a diverse section of participants, ranging from interested individuals who have no connection to any formal organizations, to individuals engaged in public sector, education and social activism, union representatives,

war veterans, politicians and journalists. We were glad to see that a number of them showed a significant interest for participation in another, different CNA programs in peacebuilding. It is also good that some war veterans are becoming regular participants in this field. It indicates that we have made some progress in building trustful relationships. Beside the represented ethnic diversity in the group, we still lacked individuals with a stronger articulation of Croatian and Albanian identity, which was much needed for a more detailed inspection of complexity of relationships and responsibilities. Such individuals could encourage other participants to make a deeper reconsideration the "self" and the "enemy" images within their ethnic collectives.

There were a lot of themes enrolled within the program: communication, decision making and understanding of conflicts, violence, perception, gender roles in society, prejudice, national identities, dealing with the past and peacebuilding. We are fully satisfied with the enrollment of majority of the themes, but there were also a couple of problematic ones. Even if it isn't our main focus, and we try to explain to every participant that the training isn't about the skill for nonviolent communication, it could still have been useful that we have done some more work on sensitization for essential principles of nonviolent communication.

This deficiency could be noticed in occasional participant's incomprehension of some basic processes during the training and because of that, some interventions of the team members were misjudged ("the team is harsh", "we do not get the opportunity to replicate" and similar). We were satisfied with the enrolment of the themes of national identities and prejudice, especially because those workshops indicated some basic problems of regional societies ("us" and "them" perspectives, "enemy" images etc.). We were also pleased with the way we succeeded to define the connection between general gender roles in society and the situation of war and the ways in which the state of war produces and reformulates the positions and roles of men and women. The longest and the most intensive theme block was, as usual, the one concerned with the subject of Dealing with the Past. In the three separate working sets (each lasting for three and a half hour), we made enough space for individual experiences and analysis of the region.

On the day envisaged for free activities, most of the participants, as well as the team trainers, took a trip to the Republic of Albania. Participants visited Tirana and the team trainers went to Pogradec. We are aware that it is not possible to erase all prejudice attributed to Albania, even with the fact that the state border is near and easy to pass, and the fact that the participants had only positive experiences during the trip. Yet, the trip tour was certainly an extraordinary and significant experience. It could intact the deconstruction of earlier negative narratives on Albania, which unfortunately still exist. In regard of this issue, one of the participants was explaining: "I am glad to come here. I have overcome some prejudices toward Albania. It is not so different from the rest of the region and Tirana is a big, European, Balkan city."

Although we were missing a fourth team member, all of us enjoyed the work and were enthusiastic, beside the fact that we had to work harder than usual. We don't think that working with just three trainers could be a standard set of organization, yet in special occasions it is possible to do all the work effectively in such way. From the very first day, to the end of the program, we were complementary and helpful to each other. For the first few days the training team had many problems with the hotel management concerning the working utilities, accommodation and food service. Such things should be arranged much earlier and more carefully in the future.

We are glad that The Basic Training in Peace Building was held in Macedonia for the first time. It almost became a rule that The Republic of Macedonia is delayed or neglected in regional processes. This was our contribution in opinion making and activity in the region of Former Yugoslavia toward a change of such situation and moving away



Macedonia from the edge of interest and events. We also noticed that Macedonia was an exotic destination for many participants, which tells us that, beside the fact that the region is now generally open for circulation and travel, there is no specific interest for social and cultural processes in other states (especially ones which are not direct neighbors and between whom there were no problems in the past).

Evaluation of the training showed a significant satisfaction of participants and confirmed existing need and urgency for trainings of such kind. We conclude that, as time keeps passing



since the wars in nineties, there is a growing need for constructive approaches to their causes, consequences and their legacy. Such need is not in a decline, as one may expect or wish.

A.B.

Basic training in peacebuilding (Tivat 2011)

Tivat/Montenegro, 11-21.03.2011.

There were twenty participants from Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia, Serbia and Kosovo. The team consisted of: Ana Bitoljanu, Katarina Milićević, Nedžad Horozović, Nenad Vukosavljević.

The thirty-fifth ten-day training in peacebuilding organised by CNA was held in March 2011. Since 1997, when we started with it, summed up days of basic trainings could make up almost a whole year of the training.

Although the number itself can cause respect for the quantity of work, there is a remaining question: why have we been doing the same activity for 14 years and hasn't it become an inert repeating of the activity that used to be successful? A lot has changed since 1997 – new wars happened, as well as 'normalisations' of the relations; new generations arrived who learned about wars from the tales of their parents and their immediate surrounding, or even worse, from the school books.

The truth is that we in CNA have also changed, but not completely. The content has changed, too, because we have always tried to adapt it to the current needs and to include the most relevant burning social issues and discourses in the workshops themselves.

What does the basic training in peacebuilding offer and what do we get from it?

I will start from myself. After 7 years, I was again in the team which conducted the basic training. Although exhausted, I came out of the training empowered and happy, because 20 new people had a powerful experience full of liftings and downfalls in the process of a dialogue with unlikeminded ones, questioning their own opinions, struggling with their own prejudices. The process we went through was not only empowering, but also sobering, because the task of peacebuilding is not something to be easily accomplished by exchanging superficial phrases of "good people on all sides" (and usually bad politicians and nationalists). For me personally, there is a lesson, as relevant as in 1997, that we cannot ourselves get out of the spiral of hatred, violence, prejudices, the opposing views of the past, the issues of guilt and responsibility. We need those from the other side to achieve this.

The Basic training offers the opportunity to get an insight into mutual connection and interdependency, gives the people a chance to ask questions they do not have an opportunity to ask in real life, because "they" are always those who cannot be trusted and who threaten "us".

And yes, it is true we cannot expect a whole series of peacebuilding activities will originate from this group of people. There is definitely a will, but there are also different obstacles of practical nature, such as the ability to work in a



mutual support and within space for change in institutions/organisations they came from, which are: the Ministry for Education – history section, non-governmental organisations in ethnically divided towns, electronic media, teachers (i.e. religion), political parties' activists, student activists...

There is also the possibility to build on this, through other existing educational programmes.

I am not ready to claim we must hold additional 350 basic trainings, but today, 14 years later, I am still ready to defend this concept of a cross border meeting and intensive learning, as it is to this day, because I believe the need for it is still unabated.

I could recall moments that moved individuals, in which anger, sorrow or compassion were shown. I will ask some people that participated to write it instead of me.

N.V.

Excerpts of participants reviews

D. I. from Zagreb (Croatia):

"...the meeting that was important for me, was to be working with a Croat from Bosnia, when I reacted very emotionally, becoming aware of his prejudices against me as a Croat from Croatia and my prejudices against him. As for him I was a member of the group that discriminated against him more than once in Zagreb, for me, he, as a man from a patriarchal environment in my opinion, belonged to a dominant group that discriminated against me. Apart from that, some of his statements reminded me of the statements I argued about with my father. Later, I heard from him he wanted a better relationship and conversation with his father and that was something that mirrored my wishes.

Apart from that, in the sense of relationships and rapprochement, I have been thinking about how people, no matter how different they seem, how different opinions they have and how different things they say, mirror exactly those things I myself have and they like or dislike each other, depending on the phase and situation they are in."

F. K. from Struga (Macedonia)

"The application of the acquired experience depends

on us, individuals, to work on raising awareness of people that it is possible to look at things differently, avoiding the usual divisions on "them" and "us". It is possible to accept the facts objectively, without fake patriotism behind which the personal interests are hidden, without disdain and discrimination based on ethnicity or difference.

Devotion and dedication of the team members gave me the support and motivation that I myself can contribute to positive changes (through the work with children and youth on education for tolerance, development of communication skills and nonviolent conflict resolution) in my environment and that commitment to the goal of human equality and their rights, regardless of their identity, is not in vain."

M. D. from Novi Sad (Serbia)

"On numerous occasions, I have listened and read about how in the early Christian church (and I am sure this also happened in other communities) a whole community confessed, that is, an individual confessed in front of the all others... I don't know if it was because of the circle, participants, trainers, relaxed atmosphere, themes, mutual trust, but it seems to me neither I nor the other participants would hesitate to expose the finest and the most intimate parts of our lives. I do not

idealise the circumstances that contributed to forming this opinion of mine. I believe the majority of the people in the region, if not all of them, would form a "circle" and not military formations if only they had a chance and, above all, a will to meet, speak and be listened to. What should be repeated as a mantra is that the others are not a threat, but a condition and necessity for peace in oneself and around oneself. CNA training demonstrates this in a fantastic way.

...I believe all of us will apply what we "learnt" more or less, consciously or unconsciously, in line with our abilities and circumstances. The training gave all of us a good basis, stimulus, directions, extension and reminder of the knowledge previously acquired and all that should follow is a matter of each participant's will, her abilities and opportunities... It is hard to leave the training without the feeling of being "awake" and "conscious", but it is even harder to remain in that state. I hope I will more often be in this state and contribute to the "social insomnia" at least a bit."

J. P. from Skopje (Macedonia)

"Maybe the most important insight from this training is that I should constantly and steadily question things and try to look at them from different angles."

K. L. from Kičevo (Macedonia)

"When I received the confirmation from CNA that I am invited to the training, and when I saw the list of the participants, I asked myself whether we would start the war again or not, I had bad thoughts and I started my journey to the training with 80 % of negative and only 20 percent of positive feelings...

All the themes were great, but the strongest impression for me carried the theme in the "barometer" activity, when we positioned the statements and later discussed

them, and it was the theme "Macedonia is the state of all Macedonians". I listened to the people stating their opinions and all of them marked this statement as 'violent'. When the conversation started, I expected different opinions, but this was not the case, everybody had the same opinion as I did – Macedonia should be the state of all peoples that live in it. I was surprised and delighted that everybody thought this statement was violent and that Macedonia should be a democratic state of all the nationalities living in it.

I had always thought the people from the other Balkan countries were different from us and thought we were a bad people, but in this seminar I realised and learnt it was not correct, that people thought in a positive way, just like any nation fighting for justice in the place they live in and this strongly impressed me during the seminar. From now on, I will always be the one contributing to the understanding that Serbs, Bosnians, Croats and Macedonians are great people, smart, intelligent, and democratic. I think in the workshops such as these a lot of people have the opportunity to change their attitudes and this seminar helped me a lot to learn something and use it in every day life."

J. J. from Mostar (Bosnia and Herzegovina)

"Bringing closer to me the personal experiences of the others in a very subtle way, my perception of my own victim role has changed me and took me away from self-pity and the feeling of helplessness in the situations I constantly found myself in.

The most important for me is the awareness, that it is not illogical or 'wacky' to constantly question oneself. Making people around question themselves is a very important experience for me after this training and I can't wait to constantly use the acquired skills."

Peace Indepth. Values and practices

Briefly about the programme

By virtue of evaluations of past Advanced Trainings in Peacebuilding, we have developed new advanced programme for people who participated in one of our Basic trainings or in a similar programme. New programme, "Peace Indepth. Values and practices", consists of three independent modules/trainings which together make up the whole set:

- Module 1: "Do we need reconciliation? Possibilities, obstacles, challenges"
- Module 2: "What can we do, how and why? Review of peacebuilding practices"
- Module 3: "Stepping unbeaten ways. Challenges in the peacebuilding work"



Potential participants were able to apply for one, two or all three modules. Our goal was to form variegated groups of people, who have high motivation to work on peacebuilding, and who, as in our basic trainings, come from different parts of former Yugoslavia: teachers, journalists, political parties and non-governmental organizations activists, war veterans, etc. This was done for the purpose of gathering different experiences and opinions about relevant social matters in one place. Interestingly, participants from political parties were mainly from national not civic-liberal parties. Also, a number of teachers who participated teach religion. This contributed to authenticity of the groups and hence we avoided creating the dialogue of “the converted ones” and instead of it a multilevel dialogue: cross-border and inter-ethnic, beyond political differences and between people with different value systems was present.

Main goal was to motivate people to work in the field of peacebuilding and dealing with the past, and to strengthen those who are already active in those fields.

Two of these trainings were held so far, and you can read more about them in this report. The last training is planned for October 2011.

This programme was financially supported by *Austrian Development Agency* (ADA), and is conducted in cooperation with *International Fellowship of Reconciliation* (Internationaler Versöhnungsbund) and *Diakonie Austria*.

Module 1: Do we need reconciliation?

Blagaj/BiH, 17-23.06.2011.

First module, „Do we need reconciliation? Possibilities, obstacles, challenges,” was held in the period from 17 to 23 June 2011 in Herzegovina, in the small town of Blagaj near Mostar. There were 18 participants present, and main subjects of the training were reconciliation and dealing with the past.

It was good, it was hard, it was interesting, there were some beautiful moments, it was a challenge. We have dived quiet deep and within main subjects we have also discussed national narratives on war, denial in societies and memorialisation, namely aspects of memorising. Approach to work was more on cognitive, analytic level than on emotional one, so we sat a lot in a plenum and talked. Although it was very hard, plenary discussions on such topics with such colourful group are gold worth. People were very interested in hearing each other and they themselves rather chose plenary over work in smaller groups.

Participants were so active that each workshop lasted longer than planned, because it was almost impossible to stop a discussion. Someone said: “We will sleep when we get home”. This hyperactivity, of course, led to faster fatigue in people, and as time passed by there was a lack of enthusiasm present. However, this did not led to easier ending of discussions near the end of training ☺.

Participants were also given a reader with relevant articles. Up till now practise was to recommend certain literature to people, but this was the first time we worked on texts within workshops. We mainly used texts as introduction

to a topic and incentive for further discussion.

Trainer's team consisted of Adnan, Katarina, Ivana and Nedžad.

What have we worked on?

In the attempt of deconstruction, we have exchanged national narratives on wars. We have mapped everything that has been denied in our societies, and what is obvious, literal denial, but also denial of interpretations and implications. One of very meaningful workshops dealt with "Memorialisation". Introduction was dedicated to Auschwitz as the biggest and best known memorial centre which represents point of identity for many people (Ian Buruma's text from the book "The Wages for Guilt" served as an inspiration for discussion). We have significantly touched topic of the way we remember and how appropriate is to remember the collective victimization which memory itself, can very much carry along. Subsequently we've returned to our context with small exhibitions of photographs of monuments from our region and dedicated the rest of workshop to "our" monuments: How do we experience them? What kind of message do they send, what kind of symbols do they contain? What is their purpose? Who are they built for? How much do they contribute to memory of the victims? How much do they contribute to reconciliation?... We barely succeeded in closing the workshop.



Largest portion of time was dedicated to the topic of reconciliation, from dilemmas we have about it, questions of collective responsibility, of national identities representing (or not) an obstacle for reconciliation, what reconciliation actually is, and whether we need it, through interdependence of concepts of peace, truth, justice and forgiveness and their significance in reconciliation, role of an individual, concepts of personal and political reconciliation, to matters of where do we see ourselves in those processes. It was distressing, but, for the understanding of process of facing the past and reconciliation, also very powerful to see on one of the paper where participants wrote their thoughts, on the question "Whom do I need and wish forgiveness from?" stood the answer: "From those I shot at."

We also had a guest lecturer Ugo Vlaisavljević, professor at Faculty of Philosophy in Sarajevo, who held a very interesting and provocative lecture on the topic "Reconciliation as the biggest need and the biggest danger." Participants expressed great satisfaction with this guest.

Matter that was more difficult to deal with was to perceive own role in processes of peacebuilding/reconciliation/dealing with the past, because great number of participants who are not a part of some organization (NGO of political party) are of the opinion that they themselves do not have the ways to initiate a visible social change. Therefore, we had to work more on empowering than it was initially planned.

One of the difficulties we faced, was that certain part of participants expected this training to be a sequel of the Basic training, i.e. that approach to work and methods would be the same. Focus of this training was the content, but not the group itself and processes within the same, as it was the case at the basic programme. Training team noticed with one part of participants that there existed unwillingness to confront others, but also expectation from the team to ensure space for everyone and to meet unspoken needs. There is a direct connection between that expectation and noticeably low responsibility of the majority of participants towards the process of mutual work.

But, when we draw the line, it was a real pleasure to conduct this training.

I.F.

Module 2: Reassessing the practices of peacebuilding

Zrenjanin/Serbia, 29.07. – 04.08.2011.

This year, the Centre for Nonviolent Action (CNA) team decided to try a completely new concept of the advanced peace education programme. It was named "Peace In-depth. Values and Practices" and consists of three separate modules, with different themes and foci. The focus of the second module was the peacebuilding practice and stimuli to peace activism, and the official title of the training was "What can we do, how and why can we do that? Reassessing



the practices of peacebuilding”.

There were 18 participants from Serbia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Macedonia. A conspicuous absence of the people from Montenegro from the basic trainings reflected in the lack of them in this programme, too. A participant from Kosovo was supposed to take part in the training, but the violence that started in the north of Kosovo at that time prevented him from travelling to Zrenjanin.

All training participants had already taken part in a training organised by CNA before, so our way of work and the methodology we use were not unknown to them. Quite a few of them work in schools or with school children, a few work in different media (Croatian TV, Radio Rijeka) or are free lance journalists, some are local NGO activists and two persons are employed by the government institutions. This cross section already shows this time we did not work with a distinctively activist group, but with a group of potential activists or people motivated to contribute somehow to positive changes in their communities in the future. Their value based, political and differences in beliefs, produced different needs in group work and different visions what peacebuilding should be. One would say it was not different than any other work in such mixed groups. What after all was specific is the difficulty the group had in articulating their value and political differences. The attempts to articulate them often resulted in the conflicts with a considerably weak transformation capacity. This, along with a very intensive work, contributed to the prevailing impression the training was demanding and strenuous.

The choice of the location

In the preparatory period, we actively looked for a place with an interesting local context, accessible enough and with a hotel offering the necessary working conditions. We found all these in Zrenjanin, a town located 60 km away from Belgrade, in Banat, Vojvodina. Zrenjanin used to be known to the wider audience as the place with a distinctly multiethnic identity and coexistence of different nationalities. Lately, it is known as the place near which Ratko Mladic was arrested (in the village Lazarevo, where, miraculously, there used to be a concentration camp for Vojvodina Germans after the WWII). Speaking about concentration camps – in the vicinity of Zrenjanin, there are Stajićevo and Begejci, two more concentration camps, but from a different war, the one with Croatia from 1991/1992, in which Serbia officially did not participate. As it turned out during the training, the choice of the location was the bull's eye, as the extremely controversial local context gave more than enough inspiration to the participants for their practical work. One of the participants said: “Zrenjanin seemed to me a small, beautiful town, but in an afternoon I found out a lot. I came to one, but will leave another town.”

A bit more about the concept

The basic idea of this module was to shed light on good (and not so good) peacebuilding practices, to open a wider space of recognising all the possible forms of activism, reacting, and working on peacebuilding, as well as to offer some concrete tools and knowledge that can be helpful with that. Besides, we wanted innovations in the pro-

gramme (following the trail of what we started in the advanced training in 2008), which mean a lot of concrete tasks for the participants and the field work, that is, the contact with the local environment. We consciously opted for the concept which does not leave too much space for the reflection, dealing with group processes, critical appraisal of the societies we live in... We were fully aware these were the elements that make our trainings appealing to a lot of people. In spite of it, we wanted to create something different, a training where the emphasis is not so much on reflection, but on action and where one does not get the space for the personal and group processes and is not offered the space by the trainers' team, but must create it and take care of it individually. This setting definitely suited some more than the others and there certainly is the space and need to change and improve things, but we believe this is a solid basis for some similar future programmes.



The peaks of the training are certainly linked to the team and practical work in small groups (consisting of 6 people). On several occasions, they had the opportunity to try concrete tasks in concrete contexts (writing appeals, petitions, invitations to a public discussion), the most impressive being the research they did in small teams. The research themes were: Zrenjanin Germans – the Neighbours that are Gone; Multiculturalism in Zrenjanin – Visible and Invisible; Memorialisation – Places of Remembrance of the Second World War and the 90's Wars. All of the three groups, while collecting the data related to these very demanding themes, used different methods – surveys done in the streets; conversations with the people employed by the relevant institutions; the analysis of the printed media; the analysis of the data obtained from the internet; taking photographs and other ways of documenting the collected material. The impression was the majority liked the team work and the problems expectably arose when the collected data was supposed to be systematised and the most important findings prepared for the presentation. Then, different styles of work and even different political and value positions caused difficulties – what is important, what should be mentioned, how should the findings be interpreted, how much can we rely on our feeling of the things, are we allowed to ask and talk about it, what exactly makes these themes sensitive and how should they be approached? Thus, in a short task, the whole series of important and “big” questions, usually accompanying peacebuilding, arose, and the participants had the opportunity to feel the pleasure of the job finished well, as well as to see the other side, which means dealing with dilemmas and different views.

The visit of Boro Kitanoski from *Peace Action* (Prilep, Macedonia) was very important and evaluated positively by the participants. He ran a workshop on nonviolent, direct action. For all of us, it was a new, refreshing view on all the possible answers to the problems ‘pinching’ us. I believe the author of these lines was not the only person that felt an intensive desire for a direct, concrete street activism we often forget and neglect.

In the end, this training left us with mixed impressions – pleasures and dilemmas galore. One of the main dilemmas is how it is possible to turn people that are not activists into – activists. This is actually not a real dilemma, because anyone doing this job knows trainings do not produce activists, but help strike the sparks of activism that already exist within people. The real dilemma is how to keep the sparks ‘on fire’, as “it is hard, impossible, there are only few of us”. Maybe one should simply remember those named and unnamed *Rosa Parks* who started many things only by the strength of their will and wish. There will be fire as long as there are people who are not afraid and do not restrain from raising their voices and reacting to the things they see as injustice, in spite of being the minority. We believe this training lit some sparks that will contribute to this.

T.Š.



work with war veterans

Joint visits of war veterans to Derventa and Brod

27-29.11.2010.

From the 27th to 29th of November 2010, we had organized joint veteran visits to Derventa and Brod, where we had meetings with the local veteran organizations and within which we visited atrocity sites and monuments from the wars of the 90's. The initiative for these visits was launched at the training for war veterans that took place during June and July 2010. We are organizing visits to atrocity sites and monuments with war veterans, in cooperation with the veteran organizations from the region, for the third consecutive year now.

A group of twenty-five persons that took part in this visit consisted of: veterans from Bosnia and Herzegovina (Tuzla, Gornji Vakuf, Brčko, Odžaci, Prnjavor and Zavidovići), Croatia (Županja, Vinkovci) and Serbia (Novi Sad, Belgrade, Vlasotince). These veterans were members of the following military formations (during the war): Army of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatian Defence Council, Croatian Army, Army of Republika Srpska, Republic of Serbian Krajina Army, and the Yugoslav Army. This is an important piece of information because it shows that the participants were members of all armies involved in the wars of the 90's in the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia. The team for organization of this visit consisted of Nedžad Horozović, Adnan Hasanbegović and Nermin Karačić.

In consultation with the local veterans, we brought a decision to organize a joint visit to Derventa. Two members of the Veteran's Organization RS – Derventa took part in the aforementioned training. After a couple of meetings, individuals from the Veteran's Organization RS – Derventa, before all our long-time associate Spasoje Kulaga, decided to be the hosts of this activity, despite partial resistance within their native war-veteran association. The president of the organization himself had informally supported the idea.

Apart from Derventa, we also wanted to visit the neighbouring municipality of Brod and their veteran's organization, among other things to also have an opportunity to go to the memorial room⁴⁹ in Brod. VORS (BORS-war veteran

⁴⁹ A Memorial room is a unique kind of a museum made by the local veterans, in it is the archive of the war path of the local military units, pictures of those killed published brochures, etc.

association of Republika Srpska) – Derвента still does not have a prepared memorial room, and the visit of this kind of a group to the memorial room has a special importance for the local veterans. It is an opportunity for them to tell of their war path and remember and mention their fallen comrades. Next to Brod there is also the village of Sijekovac⁵⁰, which is important for the Serb people from this area, but also the whole of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Namely, in Sijekovac, in March 1922, a crime against Serb civilians was committed by the members of the Ca (Croatian Army) and the CDC (Croat Defence Council). The Veteran's Organization of Brod municipality agreed as well to support the visit to their town, host us and take us to the monuments and atrocity sites in that area.

During the three days we visited: the memorial room in Brod, memorial church in Sijekovac, monument to Army of Republika Srpska in the centre of Brod, the place where a mass grave of Serb civilians and war prisoners in Derвента was found, the Čardak-monument, where Serb civilians also suffered, and the house of the YPA, which was a camp for the Serb detainees in the period from April to August 1992. We had encounters with the local authorities and the media, as well as meetings at which we talked and shared impressions of all seen and experienced. We were touched by the hospitality of Veteran's association RS from Brod that had warmly welcomed us in the premises of their humble association. At some point a lot of people found themselves in a small place and a very warm atmosphere was created.

As the most important in the series of visits we conducted, we would first highlight Sijekovac as a place of important symbolic significance for inter-ethnic reconciliation. We consider the fact that Bosnian and Croatian veterans visited this place and paid respect to the victims very important, because for many people it is the symbol of Serb suffering in the war. An important moment during the course of this visit was when we were joined by an older woman who was a direct witness of the events and whose family was killed in Sijekovac. The veterans had the opportunity to hear her immediate testimony, which made a very emotional impression on them.

During the visit to Čardak we heard a testimony of a man who was a witness and a victim of the events of this place. He emphasized that he is aware that other peoples as well were victims of war, and then he told us his testimony of concrete events he experienced. At some point he used the term 'ustashe', but already in the next moment he was making it clear that he does not mean by it the Croat people, but rather the concrete persons that harmed him directly. Some of the veterans from the group later said that they minded some of the thing in his story and that they had recognized generalization. Still, they also recognized the pain suffered by that man, so they have understanding for his story.

At the places we visited, we paid respect to the victims with prayerful silence, and in Sijekovac and Čardak we laid a wreath in the name of our group. Veterans from Croatia, Serbia and Bosnia and Herzegovina laid the wreaths together with the hosts. The participants kept stressing that the visit to the memorial room in Brod was very emotional because in it they could see hundreds of photographs of killed persons, a thing that is impossible not to cause nausea and disgust over the war tragedy.

The encounter with the local authorities was significant because of two key reasons. The first is that the local authorities (the Mayor Milorad Simić, the Municipal Assembly President Ilija Zirdum and the member of the assembly Fadil Pelesić) supported this visit and had an open two-hour conversation with the war veterans. Second, which is very important to mention, is that the representatives of the local authorities are simultaneously representatives of all three constitutive peoples, and that the conversation was initiated about the return of Croats to Derвента (which was a predominantly Croat municipality prior to the war, and now there is only a small number of Croats living in it). The political representative of Croats in the Derвента municipality, Ilija Zidrum, pointed out that it is of great importance to him that we initiated the aforementioned topic, and that this visit is important to him in the context of a support to Croats to return to their homes.

We also intended to visit atrocity sites of non-Serb population in that area, but the information we obtained showed that there were no greater crimes over Bosniak and Croat population. We found out that there is a monument to the Croatian 'defenders' in this area, but as we did not manage to establish contact with the local CAD association (who's members mostly live in exile in Croatia), we decided not to visit it this time. It is important to have 'hosts' in this kind of places that would take us to the tour of the monument.

With regards to the media support, our calls were responded by the Radio RS and FTV. FTV made a several-minute long report with the interviews with several veterans, the Mayor of the municipality and the organizers. This report was broadcasted during the primetime news programme.

Emotional distress with the crimes we heard and spoke of were dominant during the conversation with the par-

⁵⁰ We had an opportunity to visit Sijekovac within the framework of our first organized joint visits in 2008.



ticipants at the end of the visit. The veterans empathized with the suffering of the people from that area. Also, a certain dose of shame could be sensed because of the violence as such. On the other hand, a gratefulness could be felt with the hosts, the veterans from the Serb associations, because the 'others' paid respect to the victims of their people and in that way 'admitted' that the crime had really occurred, without the so called 'relativization'. In their final comments an ambivalent feeling was present in which the veterans had the need to justify their 'side in the war', but they also regretted and felt genuine empathy for the suffering of the 'others'. An example of that is when the veterans pose the question of who the victims were, whether they were civilians or soldiers, as if with it they wish to decrease the grandeur of the crime committed. Still, these comments were not dominant, and it was obvious that there was a significant step forward out of the nationalistic boxes and victimization as the most common pattern of behaviour in the post-war surrounding.

It is important to mention that we also planned to visit Mostar and Gornji Vakuf/Uskoplje during the same period, but due to the political situation (elections in Bosnia and Herzegovina) and insufficient readiness of the local CAD associations to participate in this action, the visits never took place. We are planning to try again to organize these visits in 2011.

All the participants of these visits expressed a readiness to continue to participate and initiate this kind and similar activities, and they stressed their commitment to activities that contribute to reconciliation in their local environments and the region.

We are thanking all participants and guests, and especially the hosts who really worked hard in organizing these visits and without their effort these would not take place.

A.H.

Training for ex-combatants: *Remembering the wartime past*

Šamac/BH, 20-22.05.2011.

Unlike the previous years, when every year we did a two-part training for the new groups of veterans from Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Serbia, this time we carried out the idea to, by gathering the participants of previous trainings, jointly discuss dilemmas related to the past, primarily within the context of the manner of remembering and materializing remembrance of the wartime past of the '90s in our region.

The trainings up to now aimed primarily at building trust and creating a safe space for open discussions and confrontations. This enabled us to carry out joint visits to the atrocity sites of all parties to the war over the past years. During the visits, respect was paid to victims of war, and understanding of "the enemy side", also having war victims to claim, has been stimulated. The new concept we applied in this training was related to questioning of what we kept

encountering during visits, which is, above all, a strong presence of national ideology in memorialization and overall social culture of remembrance.

This meeting was also an opportunity for considering possibilities of realization of some of the previous ideas for peace actions such as, the joint marking of unmarked atrocity places. There were 18 former fighters in the group who knew each other from previous CNA activities, and among whom already existed a level of mutual trust that enabled easier entry into the training focus. Another important topic included by the new concept was the aim and purpose of memorialization in the first place. The goal was to stimulate the group to think of new memorials of unmarked crime scenes and critical evaluation of the existing ones. The fact is that there was open discussion about possible actions for joint marking of atrocity sites from the very beginning. It is a huge step forward and a human and intellectual bravery to head towards the idea of understanding the victim and the obligation to pay it respect outside the dominant nationalistic and ideological context.

For the wider context of peacebuilding in the region, it is very important to deal with the models and ways of remembrance, as they can stimulate trans-generational deepening of the conflict and inter-ethnic tensions. This training is a step on that path, therefore it pointed to the difficulties we encounter on a personal and collective level, but also to some of the ways to overcome them. The strength of this attempt of finding alternative cultures of remembrance is to be found precisely in the credibility of the veterans as a social group. Just as they were actors of the war and carriers of the post-war ideological interpretations of the past, today they can become actors of finding a new relation towards remembering the war with the aim of reconciliation and peacebuilding.

In this regards, the training team set up a concept that demanded a prior detailed investigation of differences and dilemmas that undisputedly exist within the group, especially in the matter of national and ideological interpretations of the war events. An example of this is one of the Croat veterans who, at the mention of the idea of erecting a monument for the Serbian victims of the military action "Storm", put forward twofold scepticism, in regard to whether it is generally viable, and secondly whether it is legitimate ("...because not only Serbs suffered"). That is one of the ways of relativization of crimes committed by which the equality of the victim is negated. It should be mentioned that the approach "our sufferings are more important than yours" was often thematized during the training. Visible difficulties and fears were being put forward by the veterans regarding the readiness to initiate something significant such as marking of the tabooed places in their own environment, because controversies and denial still exist inside of them. The veterans put forward dilemmas they are having between the ideals they fought for and a different outlook on the past, brought by the peacebuilding process. Actually, it is most difficult for the veterans themselves to confront their own group, environment and, in a wider sense, socially accepted interpretation of the past.

Still, the participants themselves spoke about the changes they experienced during their collaboration with the Centre for Nonviolent Action, in the sense of different understanding they had during and after the war of what they fought for, and what will their future will look like. One of the participants was a direct actor in the setting up of a monument with extremely nationalistic features in the period right after the war. After experiences made at this training, he said that at that time he did not even think what kind of messages may this monument send to the members of other nations. It could be said that there is a certain advance in the sense of the awareness of what kind of message is being sent by the monuments to our people, and what to others, and who are they actually designed for? It is important to note that there was mention of the fact that the monuments may assume different meanings over time

and due to changes of the social context, and they may, on a symbolic level, be witnesses of shame, pride or a simple symbol of the period in which they were made.

These processes are important, because precisely this social group (the war-veterans) often actively participates in the selection of the conceptual design and the construction of the monuments. Many of the participants were stressing that they are willing to start marking the places of atrocities committed in their name and that of their armies. That is why it was our intention to look at potential obstacles in the realization of actions themselves as detailed and open as pos-



sible. There are rather opposed views and interpretations of recent past at former enemy sides, but an experience constructive handling of these differences may support build trust and strengthen the will for cooperation. It is a lesson that we learned which we tried to pass on. In a wider sense, that is crucial not only for successful realization of activities of a mixed group of former enemies, but also a respond to one of the basic questions: how to deal with a huge burden that emerged as a consequence of wars in this region. The participants speak of their personal responsibility, and that is exactly what keeps them in this story: the need to be fair, honest and good people.

Additional point the training team has insisted upon was to beware and not approach the future joint actions and cooperation superficially, and disregard possible negative consequences. It was also pointed out by some of the participants that it is very important to reassess potential dilemmas and damages that may be created by thoughtless actions while dealing with joint memorialization or a radical critique of the existing monuments. Or as one of the participants put it: "To approach it through evolution, not revolution".

We are happy for the fact that the participants spoke very good and relatively easy about very demanding and at some points abstract topics such as the culture of remembrance and memorialization. The crucial methodological change in comparison to previous trainings for veterans were theoretical inputs, but also analytical approach to phenomena such as collective memory, narratives, differing levels of truths, etc.

It seems that we managed to make very substantial and precise comparisons through workshops about the social mechanisms for dealing with the past, on the examples from former Yugoslav society which practiced obviously ideological interpretation and memorialization of the events from the WWII. That dimension was significant because it very directly pointed to the similarities of today's patterns of culture of remembrance in post-war societies within Bosnia-Herzegovina, Serbia and Croatia.

The veterans themselves recognized that they were and still are today actors of one-sided interpretation of the past, that perceive other national groups and neighbouring states as enemies and causes of "our" war sufferings and victims. This was most clearly heard during a workshop in which the existing monuments from the last war in the region were analyzed, when it became obvious that there are many monuments whose main intention is not paying respect to victims, but rather nationalistic marking of territories and construction of one-sided narratives connected to religion and national identity. The importance of these observations is to start revealing mythological interpretations of "our nation" as the centuries-old victims of our aggressive neighbours. This could exactly be guided according to the key factors of reconciliation that are almost "tangible" at this kind of gatherings. It is primarily meant here that the memory of war as a big warning to all, nor only strengthening of identities and preparation of the society for new wars and fear of enemies which surround us.

In the end, one could sense the will and preparedness to seriously continue with the planning of future joint actions. But with a sense of caution and insight in the seriousness of an action such as the joint setting up of commemorative points to the victims of wars on behalf of those who were a part of the armies that murdered them in the course of their mutual "liberations". Should it come to realization, we believe that it would surely have a huge symbolic meaning and we hope would give example to our societies, communities and peoples to condemn human destruction, and decline accepting the culture of warfare as one of the foundations of our spiritual and secular practice.



This new concept in the work with the veterans was a challenge for the training team that undertook demanding preparations in the sense of adaptation of thematic contents to specific needs of the group. It was a great challenge to find a balance between an empowerment for actions which transcend existing social range of understanding the past, and intent to stress how serious and difficult such approach is.

Participants' feedback to this training was extremely positive. It is obvious that this training stimulated a challenging process that will enable the participants, as well as the training team, to concretely think through and plan future activities.

A.H.



publications

The promotions of the book: “Images of Those Times”

May - June 2011

Zrenjanin, Niš (Serbia); Zenica, Sanski Most (BH); Pula, Umag (Croatia)

It took us almost two years to produce the book *“Images of Those Times”*. It is composed as a collection of life stories of war veterans and their families. The book was ready to be promoted in a direct contact with the people of Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia in the spring of 2011. We had some dilemma about the best locations and the way we were going to arrange the promotions. Finally, we decided to make a classic “face to face” promotion set, either in places where we have never been before, or in places we have not visited for a long time. Such decision was made partially because of a lack of capacity to organize something more creative or outstanding in that particular moment, and partially because we believe it is important to create a vivid contact with the people from different localities. All the promotions were organized in cooperation with our local partners: “Panonian Activist Organization - PAOR” from Zrenjanin, *Committee for Civic Initiative (OGI)* from Niš; NGO “Sezam” from Zenica; “Centre for Peacebuilding” (CIM) from Sanski Most and “Miramida Centre” from Grožnjan. People addressing to the audience of the promotions were some of the editors of the book (Helena Rill and Tamara Šmidling), some of the collectors of the oral histories (Ivan Kralj, Marijana Stojčić, Ljiljana Canjuga, Amer Delić) and some of the local people who were doing the public reading of selected parts.



Promotions in Serbia: Zrenjanin and Niš

The promotion in Zrenjanin was held on May 13th in the rooms of *The City Library*. The second promotion happened in Niš, on May 16th, in the rooms of

The Committee for Civic Initiative.

Both promotions had low attendance, although the event was advertised via internet, local media, posters and flyers. The audience in Zrenjanin mainly consisted from the members of the local NGOs, but in Niš even they missed to show up in a significant number. It is interesting that there was not a single war veteran in the audience on neither of the promotions, which is a lost opportunity to include their experiences in public dialogue.

The subject the story on both of promotions was about the need for constructive work toward reconciliation and about obstacles on its way. An important issue was raised by a journalist from Belgrade, Žarka Radoja. As a guest of our event in Zrenjanin, she has emphasized, that it is very important to talk openly about the things that happened, especially through the aspect of personal responsibility in the past, as well as in present times. The local context of the city of Zrenjanin is also important: Zrenjanin had a very high percentage of mobilized people in the wars of nineties and there were also two detention camps for war prisoners nearby: Begejci and Stajićevo. In Niš, the session had a dynamic that is more characteristic for a workshop than a public event. A certain weight and value to this promotion was added by a war veteran Ivan Kralj, with his very personal and honest story (he also participated in the creation of the book). He has shared his dilemmas and fears about his personal engagement in peacebuilding and reconciliation. He talked about his experiences in meeting war veterans from the opposite sides, about the goals and the meanings of his engagement.

Media coverage of the promotions in Serbia was very modest, but an independent web portal “*E-novine*” made a great contribution by publishing some of the interviews from the book. They made it possible for many readers from the region to read them and to think about them. According to the readers’ comments, no one was indifferent to the life stories: some were touched and moved by them, and yet, some just felt irritated.

Promotions in Bosnia and Herzegovina: Zenica and Sanski Most

Promotion in Zenica was organized on May 26th in the rooms of *General Library* in Zenica. The second promotion was in Sanski Most, on June 10th in the building of *Sanski Most Municipality*.

It occurred that Ratko Mladić was arrested on the very day of our promotion in Zenica. It was top news for a few days for the public in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia and the rest of the region. That arrest was symbolically and contextually connected with the area of our work and the theme of our book. It was impossible to not to mention it in the context of different dimensions of work toward conciliation. We have witnessed divided emotions among the audience in Zenica about the arrest: there was some concern, caused by the feeling that many dimensions of *dealing with the past* are not covered by the trials, along with obvious satisfaction that Mladić was arrested.

It was very nice to see many young people in the audience and there was a special value in the presence and reactions of a woman whose story is presented in our book. She has expressed her assurance that the engagement in these processes is valuable. It is very important to be active in communities such as Zenica. It is not a small city, it is not far away from communication flows, nor it was intensively exposed to direct effects of war, but it still gives an impression of a fairly closed community, with a situation which is quite unstable and where contacts with others are still considered with a suspicion.

The promotion in Sanski Most was the end of our mini-tour in the region. In certain way, symbolically, it was “the cherry on top”. It was for the first time that we organized a public event in Bosnian Krajina. War and postwar context



of this region simply cries out for public dialogue, dealing with the past and peacebuilding, so that the wounds can gradually heal. On our road to Sanski Most, moving away from Istria, we were passing by Jasenovac, Keraterm, Trnopolje...⁵¹ There was tumult and many people on the streets when we arrived to Sanski Most. We had local partners with good knowledge of the city – and a promotion hall full of people. There was silence sodden with emotions and unsaid questions during the promotion of the book in the City Hall. We saw many different faces in the audience – highschool kids, middle-aged and old people, veiled women, urban youth, etc. We

couldn't understand the apparent heaviness in the air at the beginning, but Vahidin, our local partner and moderator of the promotion, explained us that it was due to the fact that this was the first time after many years that someone from Belgrade was directly speaking to the public. After the session, there were somewhat ten people who wanted to join us for some more conversation and socializing. There were a few secondary school teachers among them who were interested to take part in further gathering of oral histories, as a mode of memory of community. Our staying in Sanski Most was short, but very encouraging and we hope that someday something good grows out from the sprouts we have sowed.

Promotions in Croatia – Pula and Umag

Both of the Croatian promotions were held in Istria. The book was promoted in Pula, in the *University Library* on 6th of June and on June 8th, in Umag, in the rooms of the *City Library*. Our previous experiences in organizing events in Croatia have shown that the local community is rarely opened for regional initiatives (especially ones concerning the war and reconciliation) and that we don't have a wide range of choice when it comes to turning to local partners.

We have planned originally only one promotion in Istria, in a partnership with our old friends from *Miramida Centre* from Grožnjan. Promotion in Pula was organized after an invitation sent by the University Library in that city, which was an honour we appreciated very much. We have decided to organize the second promotion in Umag, because of our contacts with the group of enthusiasts from the local City Library. They have been organizing an excellent program for many years now, which includes many authors and theoreticians from the whole region of former Yugoslavia.

Both of the sessions had solid media coverage, but still were relatively sparsely visited. Besides that, there were some quality conversations on both of them, with standard themes about the context and the needs for the work such as ours and subjects such as roles of life stories and meanings and ranges of witnessing.

Ljiljana Canjuga, war veteran/defender from Zagreb and one of the interviewers for the book, made an excellent introduction. She has emphasized the value and importance of the experience of sharing personal war histories with other people who participated in war. There were about 15 war veterans from Zagreb and Pakrac on the promotion in Umag. It has assured us that the composition of the audience is essential for the dynamics and the quality of dialogue and how it affects our general impressions. There was a great tension at the beginning of the promotion and every single word from our editor from Belgrade was zealously listened and slipped through various "filters": eyebrow lifting, waving the head with approval and disapproval... There were much more impressions expressed than questions asked after the introductory presentation, and there were many strong emotions, excitement and tears.

After everything, our general impression is that it was worth travelling for hundreds of kilometres to represent the book to people via face to face contact. We were occasionally disappointed with the bad attendance, but satisfaction prevailed every time we saw positive reactions to the book, the turbulence of emotions and the reflections it was causing. *"Images of Those Times"* counts several thousand downloads from our web site, which is far more than we could ever expect. It would be a real shame if our work on gathering and promotion of oral histories somehow stops in the future.

At the end, we would like to express our honest gratitude to the speakers at the promotions for once more, as well as to people from local organizations who gave us their unselfish support.

T.Š.

⁵¹ Concentration camps from WWII and the last war.

activities we joined

MCC Summit “Peace Projects and Evaluation”

Sarajevo, 23-26.09.2010.

Over the past several years, our partner organization, the Mennonite Central Committee's Sarajevo office have been organizing regular annual meetings with their partner organizations. This year, the meeting was attended by approximately 25 people, coming from organizations in BH, Serbia, Croatia and Kosovo, with the official topic of the meeting being: “Peace Projects and Evaluation.” The event was attended by Tamara of CNA Sarajevo office.

The two-day work on this subject demonstrated that many of us have rather huge frustrations regarding the infamous concepts of monitoring and evaluation. Those frustrations stem mainly from encounters with the tools many donors insist upon, while those who live and work in peacebuilding either do not understand them or do not consider them suitable for describing what they do and for measuring the impact of their own work on society. The most renowned of these tools is certainly the infamous *log-frame*, essence of which is, in short: imparting (preferably in terms of percentages) how much you have contributed to building the culture of peace and nonviolence, dissolving the prejudice and the image of the enemy and paving the path towards interpersonal and intergroup reconciliation, in the society you live in, whilst using a very limited number of words, within strictly determined categories, in as arid and bureaucratic language as possible.

Since MCC is not one of the donors who demand the approach to evaluation by way of tables and percentages, their approach was aimed towards an appeal to us all to reflect on the ways in which we can follow and evaluate what we do. The work on the reflection neither passed without confrontation of opinions and concepts, nor without noticeable tension that almost always oc-

curs when the discussion revolves around basic value principles of our work. Are we working on projects or programmes? Is the essence of the problem in mastering the language that the donors understand and using it or trying to offer (and eventually winning that battle) for a different kind of language, which is much more appropriate for peace work? Does our frustration and weariness with dominant models of evaluation mean that we are released from the responsibility to search for appropriate ways of measuring the impact of our work? These are just some of the issues we were dealing with during two days of work, in the discussions that clearly demonstrated that there were very different concepts and ideas within the “peace community” regarding: what evaluation is and what it should be. As well as on: what peace work is, and what it should be.

In sum, it was the kind of a meeting whose prevailing tone was by no means entertaining. It was all about hard, honest work and a genuine exchange that occurred, as it usually happens, “when we least expected it”.

And one more important thing - various kinds of exchanges are being organized, at different levels and with different focus. Those are also the places where one sits in a circle, shares, reflects, contemplates... What makes MCC summits unique for me is a (rare) opportunity to have some organized and structured sessions and afterwards sit down with dear ones from Zenica, Sanski Most, Sarajevo, Sesvete, Grožnjan, Novi Sad, Belgrade, have some coffee and *evaluate* all kinds of stuff, remembering that there's quite a few of us and that we're not alone. To paraphrase the popular TV commercial – coffee with colleagues and friends, whom you can rarely meet in one place - *priceless*.

T.Š.

The Training in Wustrow on Dealing With the Past

Wustrow/Germany, 04-08.10.2010.

This year, for the second consecutive time, we responded at the invitation of our sister organization

Kurve Wustrow, to conduct a training on dealing with the past, which is part of the set of advanced training

events that they had been organizing. This set of "Advanced Training Events in Conflict Transformation" takes place in Wustrow, a village in the Wendland region of northern Germany, once a year. It is open for people from all over the world who have some previous experience in training's topics. The training events are held in English.

We worked with a small but diverse group of 9 participants who came from Sudan, Uganda, Nepal, Germany, Macedonia and Sri Lanka, while two participants were fresh from working in Cambodia. Even though this kind of diversity represents a small fortune in terms of international exchange, it was also one of the biggest obstacles to a truly advanced interactive training on dealing with the past, since we had to spend a lot of time getting to know the basics of the socio-political contexts those people had come from. Any rush for the sake of covering more complex issues would have happened at the expense of learning from each other. The training team gave their best to create a balance between the exchange, i.e. space for understanding the experiences that the people draw certain learning points from and deepening the knowledge related to dealing with the past in the context of peacebuilding. Learning points, stands and understanding of the terms associated with dealing with the past ("justice," "truth," "forgiveness," "forgetting," "reconciliation", etc..) differed a lot, partly due to cultural differences, different personal experiences and the time frame (when did the past occur). Some people were decades away from the "past", while for some it has not become past yet.



Once again we underlined that for such a short advanced training it was better to have trainees from no more than 4 regions, with several of them coming from the same region, because of possible different experiences and discernment of conflict they might have. One of the ideas we also have is to provide trainees with short articles on socio-political contexts that other trainees come from in advance, so they could get information ahead of the event and therefore save some exchange of basic information in the training.

We hope that our colleagues from Wustrow will manage to incorporate our learning points into the organization of the following set of advanced training events and thereby improve a unique programme that they have offered.

More information about the programme and the organization is available at www.kurvewustrow.org.

I.F.

KURVE Wustrow's CPS Partner Meeting and Annual Conference "How much movement does conflict transformation need?"

Medingen/Germany, 10-14.10.2010, 15-17.10.2010.

KURVE Wustrow, CNA's long-standing partner-organization in Germany, invited its partners from the Civil Peace Service (CPS)-Programme to come to Medingen, a small town close to Uelzen in Lower Saxony. The leading idea of the CPS Partner meeting which took place from October 10th to 14th 2010 was to enable direct and personal exchange of experiences and knowledge between the members of KURVE and their partners "on the field", as well as between the field-teams themselves. About 20 partners from Palestine, Nepal, Sri Lanka, Macedonia, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Germany participated

at the meeting, together with the staff from KURVE Wustrow. Tamara Smidling and Jessica Zic were attending the gathering for CNA.

To have such a meeting, seemed to be a kind of luxury. My impression was, that we, the participants, were enjoying the fact not to be "in" our contexts directly, but outside, with geographical distance, which can offer another quality of reflection, and to have the possibility to speak about our experiences, the dilemmas we have and challenges we face in our day-to-day work with colleagues from all over the world. This process was

promoted through the open format of the workshops, where the participants thought about a topic they would like to discuss. One of the most inspiring workshop was for me "How to be impartial/neutral?": We discussed if neutrality is desirable at all, and how to deal with the fact that impartiality hardly exists. And still, if we think we are impartial, maybe our surrounding does us not perceive as being so, e.g. if the German government who is the donator of the CPS programme is an actor in the (post-) conflict region. Moreover, there are often no clear victim- and perpetrator-roles existing, so we always have to question ourselves, sticking to our moral values.

No meeting without "input": as a result of the process of Quality Development done by the side of KURVE on the basis of questionnaires filled out by the partner organizations, the improvement of Monitoring and Evaluation in the projects was found to be necessary. Besides of getting more knowledge about these techniques, it was especially interesting for me to see where the other field teams see the strengths and weaknesses regarding the work with KURVE and the CPS programme in general. As positive aspects especially the partner-based relationship, the value-based approach, flexibility and transparency of the organization as well as the budget security of the programme were mentioned. But, for some means flexibility also a weak point, in the meaning of too little guidance.

Moreover, we got an impression of the conflict KURVE faces in the region called Wendland: We went to Gorleben, where an interim storage for radioactive waste is situated and a long-term storage in the salt-dome under the ground is planned. Protests of activists from all over Germany and of the local resistance movement against nuclear energy and the castor transports from La Hague to Gorleben have a long history in Wendland. The police was present as we walked around, probably because of the soon coming castor transports and the expected "troublemakers" who will try to hinder the transport. Hence, the atmosphere in Gorleben was tensed.

On our tour through the Wendland, we also visited the farm-stead "Krumme Eiche" in Krummasel, where we were introduced to a community project, where people live and work together, sharing their income. About 6 persons are living on the grounds, which includes many buildings, a big garden and forest as well. Some of the people in "Krumme Eiche" are staying in trailers. What picture about Germany the participants who are the first time visiting the country could have built up during the first days - countryside all over, vegetarian food, people living in wagons? This means struggling with stereotypes!

At the end of the partner meeting, we were travelling

to the "metropolis" Hamburg. During an alternative harbor-boat-tour the guide informed us about the problematic side of globalization on the example of the harbor in Hamburg. I never heard before that cargo ships when landing at the harbor are filled with a special gas with the purpose that hiding stowaways flee outside, so they can be caught easily. So, gas is still in use in Germany!

The CPS partner meeting was followed by the annual conference "How much movement does conflict transformation need?", which was combined with the celebration of the 30th Anniversary of KURVE Wustrow. The conference took place from October 15th to 17th 2010. To analyze the concepts of social movement and civil conflict transformation and their potential to achieve a change towards peace and justice, as well as the relation between the two approaches was the overall goal of the conference. The conference was open to the public. About 50 participants were attending the conference, the participants of the CPS partner meeting included.

Martina Fischer from the Berghof research center in Berlin gave us an introduction to the topic from an academic point of view. Moreover, workshops from 4 partner organizations parallel took place where the situation of social movement and civil conflict transformation in their countries/region (Wendland, Kyritz-Ruppiner Heide, Palestine, the Balkans) was discussed. Tamara Šmidling offered the workshop for the Balkans in the name of CNA. A mixed group – in the sense of countries – of 10 people was attending the workshop. The lively discussion was dominated by the "Balkan-group". The NGO-scene in the Balkans was critically questioned, e.g. their self understanding as being free of prejudices, their bad image in the society, the influence of foreign money...

The title of the conference "How much movement does conflict transformation need?" was strongly related to the history of KURVE Wustrow: Founded by activists from the peace and anti-nuclear movement in 1980, KURVE developed to an organization which focuses nowadays on civil conflict transformation. These 2 streams, the more activist one and the one of so-called "experts" are nowadays existing in the organization and the question is what weight they should they have within its work. We also got the chance to speak with KURVE's first generation, "hard-core activists" with alternative living concepts, following their mission passionately. With that background, the topic became more accessible for me and I better understood the usefulness of discussing the concepts of social movement and civil conflict transformation. These processes and dilemmas are transferable to many organizations – and to the level of societies as well. At the end of the conference, the 30th Anniversary of KURVE Wustrow was celebrated properly,

food, drinks and clowns for everyone – even Macedonian music!

In November 2010, back in Sarajevo, as I saw on a news-website the people from good old KURVE demon-

strating against the castor-transport to Gorleben – I was moved. By the (social) movement. Of people I know.

J. Žić

Triennial Reunion of Members and Partners of the Austrian Branch of the International Fellowship for Reconciliation

Vienna/Austria, 05-06.11.2010.

At the invitation of our long-term partners and colleagues in the Austrian branch of IFOR, two members of the CNA team (Jessica and Tamara) took part at the meeting of members and partners of this organization which had been established in 1919, and now has various branches all over the world. These meetings are held regularly every three years. Programme of this year's meeting offered a keynote lecture of the evangelical theologian and publicists Geiko Müller-Fahrenholz entitled "Politics of Reconciliation in the 21 Century - Challenges and Opportunities", as well as three workshops focused on case studies of work on reconciliation in Colombia, Israel / Palestine and former Yugoslavia.

CNA team members organized a presentation of work of CNA and the workshop dedicated to the current situation in the region of former Yugoslavia and the problems that are making the work on peacebuilding and reconciliation necessary, in this part of the world. The concept of the meeting made it impossible to attend all the workshops hence about 30 participants opted for one of the workshops offered. There were 11 people at our presentation / workshop and it was a real pleasure to work with them. The proximity of two contexts, the Austrian and our own, ex-Yugoslav or Western-Balkan context (or according to some people: only and primarily *Balkan* context) definitely resulted in questions and input of the participants of this mini-workshop being very focused and sharp. Thanks to that, three hours of joint work were quite inspirational for the workshop's facilitators. During the workshop we screened a short documentary made by our colleague Nedžad Horžović about the visits veterans had made to crime sites in BH, which left an especially strong impression on people.

In addition to the work on the abovementioned meeting, while in Vienna we used an opportunity to meet with our partners in *IFOR* and *Diakonie Auslandshilfe*, with whom we agreed details of future cooperation, which we would like to continue after the end of our current joint projects, because we regard this kind of exchange and receiving feedback of one's own work

truly valuable. And it really feels good to know that some partnerships and cooperation last for years.

It was interesting to examine how those people in Austria who are also involved in reconciliation and peace work, in various ways and with different focus, see our part of the world. Therefore, the first associations with the former Yugoslavia that come to mind are - *war, genocide, crimes, Srebrenica, the Balkans* on the one hand, and *nice memories, summer, beautiful sea*, on the other. Ironically or not, it is difficult to escape the perception that many former Yugoslavs, no matter how they call themselves now, perceive the region of once common country both as a place where war crimes and all sorts of other crimes occurred and / or some sort of lost paradise where people used to eat well, travel a lot, life was rose-coloured and the sea ever so blue.

The complex relationship between Vienna – once an old, imperial centre and today one of the glorious *European* capitals and the part of the world that some proudly call the Balkans (while the others do it with loathing) is reflected by various dribblets one comes across in this city, on daily basis. In addition to the fact that our language can be heard literally on every corner, we first noticed that the anti-smoking ban in public places was quite liberal and it meant that there were special sections in all restaurants and cafés, therefore one didn't have to freeze outside or interrupt a conversation with friends every 20 minutes in order to light a cigarette. Many Viennese explained half-joking that it had to do with the "proximity of the Balkans". We did not want to deprive them of their stereotype of the wild Balkans where all vices are carefully cultivated by informing them that anti-smoking law is far more strict in some countries in our region, than the one they have.

All in all, we spend some quality time there and additionally confirmed our belief that the dialogue between our two contexts is highly needed and stimulating, on both activist, theoretical, political and cultural level.

T.Š.

The Deepening Training “Initiate Change ...”

RAND (Regional Address for Nonviolent Action), based in Sesvete, Croatia, organized the deepening training entitled: “Initiate Change ...”, which took place in Fužine, Croatia from December 1 - 5, 2010, and was attended by thirteen people from Croatia, Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Macedonia, including Sanja of Centre for Nonviolent Action Sarajevo office.

The five-day training was facilitated by RAND team (Ana and Otto Raffai) and Karmen Ratković of Zagreb based organization “Small Step”, as the guest trainer.

The training aimed to gather participants with the experience of interactive educational work and bring them together to work on reflection of personal conduct in conflicts and development of nonviolent action in the circumstances of social changes, and to deepen their capacities for nonviolence and introduce them to new ways of initiating nonviolent communication and dialogue.

The organizers have sought to assemble a group with

as many different identities and worldviews as possible so we really could try out what we were talking about during those few days.

In a beautiful and stimulating atmosphere of the Fužine house, it was truly a pleasure to be a part of the group of people with so many different religious, sexual, ethnic and other identities and different interests and to go through very personal process of reexamination of personal mechanisms with which we deal with conflicts and different worldviews, not only in workshops but during informal time as well.

In the end, there's an open question regarding how much we, who work on social change in various ways, are truly willing to hear something different and step out of our own convictions and righteousness of our own stands and conduct.

S. Deanković

ACES – Central European Schools Academy

Prague/Czech Republic, 29.03 – 01.04.2011.

Central European Schools Academy - ACES was founded in 2006, and its basic goal was to encourage active participation in exchange process and international cooperation of the youth and teachers. Every year this program, initiated by ERSTE Foundation, enables learning and student / teacher exchange between a few dozen schools from Austria, Slovakia, the Czech Republic, Romania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Moldavia, Albania, Serbia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia, Kosovo, Montenegro and Slovenia. The program lasts throughout the year and includes different phases: application of schools with their ideas for international cooperation, selection of best ideas, their implementation and evaluation and a closing event – an Academy during which the most successful student projects are chosen.

One of the three judges who chose the most successful projects was Tamara Šmidling from the Sarajevo CNA office. Five projects out of 45 were awarded, and each of them included international and cross-border cooperation between two or three schools. The organizers gave the judges the following categories which were the basis for project evaluation, and they were: civil courage, conflict resolution, work in international teams, students' participation, and an award for a special contribution beyond predesigned categories. To enable the judges and the 350 people present to gain insight into

the activities, each project was introduced. That was the most colourful and the nicest part of this very well organized event. The students, supported by their teachers, tried to present their activities in the most creative manner possible. There was singing, dancing, sketches, painting, comic books, but also some very young people (aged between 12 and 17) showed a certain charm and skill during their presentation that even professionals would envy. Certainly, it is important to say that the presentations were not evaluated, and that the judges really tried to award the quality of the project and not the entertaining and presentation skills of the students. That was by no means an easy task due to the fragility and subjectivity of the impressions, but also because of a slight discomfort when competitiveness took over (more commonly between teachers and not the children ☺). In the end, five ideas were awarded, and a heartfelt acknowledgement was given to all participants for their motivation and energy.

The following activities were awarded:

“Develop tolerance, respect difference” by schools from Subotica, Serbia and Poreč, Croatia. Organized workshops and round tables in both local communities showed the causes of violence against “different people” in both environments. Activities included, apart from students and teachers, parents and people from local

governments. Parts of the project were also reciprocal student trips to Vojvodina and Istria.

"Messengers of a peaceful way of living" – cooperation of schools from Mrkonjić Grad, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Romania. Implementing the methods of interactive and creative work (theatre, painting, poetry), the students from these two schools created a manual containing simple tools which help children deal with the problem of violence in schools and their wider environment, and what is the significance of nonviolence in this process.

"For the welfare of all generations – long live the mediation!" – cooperation of two schools from Serbia and Montenegro. Volunteers from both schools were trained for peer mediation in their respective schools.

"Show Respect to Be Respected" – idea of two schools from Croatia and Hungary. Students tried to perceive the issue concerning the relations toward minorities within their local contexts.

"Dispute as a means to handle conflicts" – cooperation of two schools from Hungary and Romania. Students promoted the idea of volunteerism and active civic involvement by taking part in activities in animal shelters,

refugee camp, nursing home, etc.

Last, but not the least, everything was well organized thanks to two organizations which coordinate the entire program – Interkulturelles Zentrum from Vienna and Včeli Dom from Bratislava. This great event, which gathered students, teachers, representatives from the Ministry of education and an array of other guests, offered an opportunity for exchange, company and reflection. Special merit of this program is the involvement of various actors into the development and revitalization of the education process. Its further development is to be expected, and one can hope that it will bring about even better ideas and more chances for the development of critical relations in relation to concepts which are often taken for granted. One of those concepts is conflict resolution which too often relays the message that its main purpose is to prevent conflict (which in itself is bad) or that it should be stopped without in-depth analysis and understanding of its causes and consequences.

You can find more about the program at <http://www.aces.or.at>

T.Š.

contexts in which we work

It is complicated - the context of work in Bosnia and Herzegovina

Can a text that presents the context of building peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina be written on one page only? Yes it can, and we are about to prove it. In an attempt to explain the whole complexity of Bosnia and Herzegovina in one page, the sedativeness of its citizens is rather helpful. *Inertness* has been well ingrained in Bosnia and Herzegovina for years now. Forget about catastrophic announcements of social unrest, strikes and international conflicts, or even about the possibility of a new war. None of the aforementioned is going to happen, at least not soon, although the majority of people living here would agree that the situation in the country is desperate. It is very important not to jump into conclusions from such a diagnosis, by thinking that we should expect any sort of reaction to this catastrophic situation. Reactions might happen elsewhere, but not here. With us, it is important that what little energy we have left is conserved to allow people to operate on an everyday level- to go to their underpaid jobs that they don't like or, preferably and gladly to the next bookmaker's. Of course, we should preserve some energy for the (pseudo) criticism of the government (which is awaited to be formed for more than a year), and, most importantly, just enough for dealing with vital national and other interests and defending them from the 'others'. And in order to preserve the picture of the light-headed Bosnian joking with everything and everyone, and who uses humour and irony to defend himself from hardship, there comes an offensive attitude towards mortification of anyone who tries to make a move and change something, in a 'as if they can do something' way.

And while citizens are apathetic, national workers work hard and collaborate on robbing anything that can be robbed, wrapped in a thick smoke curtain of national interests, 'irreconcilable' opposites, 'incompatible' collective identities. Theft is not being hidden anymore; why waste time on hiding if it does not shock anyone anymore and when one needn't worry that someone would react to it. Numerous cases of corruption have been documented, proven or explained, analysed, and nothing happened after that.

Bosnian society refuses to come out of the war, in spite of opposite being claimed. Stopping the war means stopping the domination of that kind of ethic that allows everything and thanks to which, all kinds of injustices are normalised. Inside many heads around here the war is still going on because people have been *refusing* to come out of it. The reason of it is not fear of the other community (although widely real and present), nor is it the number of war wounds (undoubtedly deep and painful). It is not even because of many political problems such as majoritarianism, outvoting or systematic discrimination, but because people are not ready to ripen politically and take responsibility into their own hands.

In a protest strikingly named 'Occupy Bosnia and Herzegovina' that took place on the 15th of October in Sarajevo, fewer than 200 of us showed up. A fairly small group of people with different ideological views but with the same need to make a change, took a walk on the pavements and along pedestrian zones of the capital that day. And if we overlook slightly inept organisation, justified complaints about those kinds of protests, disharmony between a proclaimed revolution and the appeal to the protesters not to cross the street before the green light appears.... if we forget all the possible ideological and other complaints and critics... the most fascinating thing I found that day were the faces of the people who were watching the protest from the numerous coffee shops and other places- there were no signs of anger, nor support or curiosity, not even of open ridicule... just a couple of confused, gentle smiles here and there and an obvious message- 'Like you are going to achieve anything... it's all way too complicated.' Two days later, media in Bosnia and Herzegovina announced that about 48% of people in the country live on the brink of poverty and 18% are categorised as very poor. But that is the problem of our society to be dealt with only when and if, more important issues are solved- the question of borders, territorial possessions, opposed nationalistic interpretation of both past and the future.... Unfortunately, there is plenty of work for 'peace builders', but the question, who is going to be willing to do that job remains open.

To conclude, a story. There was a friend of ours at the protest, a Serb. He is an electrical engineer who decided to return to his family house, in a village near Sarajevo about a year ago. He lives there without running water or electric-

ity because his father, unhappy with his decision to go back to Federation(!), doesn't want to give him the necessary papers for solving utility problems. Unemployed, he manages to survive with help from his Bosniak(!) friends and neighbours. He doesn't find it too complicated to give up and stop living for the cause he believes in. Fortunately, he is also a part of this situation and, as a true peacebuilder, he deserves to be mentioned, and to close this text.

Tamara Šmidling

... and the elections are coming (Serbia)

If analysed, a lot has happened in the state of Serbia in the period between September 2010 and September 2011. There are also positive things, the ones which so to say represent, from the standpoint of peace, perhaps the biggest steps taken in the last decade.

The arrests of Ratko Mladić and Goran Hadžić are events that have long seemed impossible. Regardless of the question how the two most wanted Hague fugitives were arrested on fairly public places and how is it that they could not be arrested sooner, their departure to Hague represents a success. It still remains unknown who helped them, how, whether and in what way did the state administration participate in that, or was it only the individuals, but the very acts of apprehension and extradition are enough to be noted as important. Also, even though Mladić is still considered as some kind of a hero with parts of public, the consequences of his arrest are also talks and reopening of files on war-crimes, questioning responsibilities, broadcasting documentaries on national television, which have enabled a big part of the public to view, in a different way, the events from recent wars and the individual, as well as the collective roles in them.

That is of course not enough for the reassembly of collective memory, but it is enough for the beginning of re-evaluation, instead of usual history, myth and legend.

In the political sense, there is nothing new in Serbia. Corruption, poverty, unemployment, groups organized to practice violence, sports hooligan groups organized to do violence (even though divided among many issues, many groups in Serbia are, it seems, easily organized when they are doing violence), political indifference to solving problems, demagoguery instead of action, flirting with the election body, unsolved murders from the past, crime... World economic crisis as an excuse for everything bad that is happening, without an attempt to strengthen the micro economy and without any serious attempt to reduce the grey economy, which almost a million people depend on.

As if it were not enough, less and less children are being born in Serbia and the pensioners are the most numerous population, with lowest living standard. While politicians made careers in transition times, demanding sacrifices from citizens, those who sacrificed are by now 50 years of age and without job or perspective. Their children, even if educated are equally unemployed. With lives ahead of them, they feel incapable to steer their own lives. Tranquilizers are the most sold medication in Serbia, which has long ago been anesthetized.

The activist scene is, so to say, extinguished. During the previous period the big organizations have smothered the creation of small, local organizations with limited goals, so the NGO scene in Serbia exists in several central Belgrade streets. REKOM⁵² as an idea, even although initially supported by the majority of NGO and political parties in power, has tripped over its own structure and into recount – a lesson which has historically been repeated in the former Yugoslavia. When discussion reached the point of counting who is more, and who is less, who has more, and who has less, to whom belongs more, and to whom less, who has the credit for more, and who for less, who is in power more, and who is less – the country fell apart. And then 20 years later, the REKOM coalition has moved into action with an honourable goal, when they tripped over all sorts of counting. Certainly, a great assignment for REKOM is still to come, beside the numerous criticisms arriving on certain parts of the process, which can, only up to a certain point, be considered useful and encouraging for further steps.

After the Gay Pride that has taken place in 2010, this year it has been cancelled. It is clear that in year's time not much has been done, neither to improve the rights of this community, nor to make their place in society more acceptable, so apart from the state administration, which has the most responsibility, a smaller part can be blamed on the organizers as well. Direct consequence of the parade not taking place and the publicly issued threats to the members

⁵² Initiative for the establishment of a Regional Commission (REKOM) tasked with establishing the facts about all victims of war crimes and other serious human rights violations committed on the territory of the former Yugoslavia in the period from 1991-2001.

of LGBT population is the vicious attack on the girl wearing a T-shirt with a LGBT sign. The sense of fear and insecurity, even powerlessness is more visible than this time last year, when the country stood up to hooligans.

And then we reach the 'most expensive Serbian word' – Kosovo, where the barricades still display that the road to cohabitation and even an ostensible peace, is still in the mist of crime, corruption and insufficient political willingness on both sides to sit down to the negotiating table and solve the problem together. Of course that solution cannot, at least for now, be comprehensive, permanent and final, but safety and the ordinary every day things can be guaranteed to people: valid documents, freedom of travel, the beginning of some form of cohabitation, could evolve into lasting peace.

In Kosovo the responsibility lays on a government whose president is under suspicion of war crime and trade of human organs, whose vice-president is convicted of corruption and is again in front of the court for war crimes, and all the witnesses have been killed under mysterious circumstances, the government whose previous president has also been accused for war crimes (Haradinaj). That government is partners with the West in 'the establishing of a legal state on the north of Kosovo'. Let's think for a moment, what would the relations towards Serbia be, if due to some misfortune, accused of similar crimes were to head the state administration?

The lack of principles hurts and encourages the sense of injustice, so it is no wonder that the sympathy towards EU integration in Serbia is today for the first time under 50% (46).

There is no doubt that on the north of Kosovo Serbian criminals are working together with the extremist nationalistic parties and that Serbian and Albanian criminals are cooperating, but when did fire-makers become a part of the fire-brigade?

Declaratory, listening to the politicians of any majority side – everything is in best order. The country is, so they say, willing to protect and support the minorities. In reality, that is far from noticeable, so we have violence on every basis.

The prognosis for the 2012 is that there will be elections - and they bring along an increased amount of all kinds of violence, that the crisis will get worse, and that there is less and less excuses. Explanations, too. The feeling, I have a hunch – will be the same. Disappointed and anesthetized.

Katarina Milićević

The Awakening of the Culture of Protest (Croatia)

This time I've decided to write about the Croatian context in reference to the recent protests, primarily because it seems to me that the culture of taking to the streets, pointing out to injustice and an articulate seeking for change is awakening. I guess it was about time we wake up from the state of sleep and stop awaiting for someone else to do it for us.

Both previous and this year, Croatia has experienced the biggest escalation of protests so far in terms of the dynamics of their occurrence, massive attendance, diverse social groups that were either holding the protests or supporting them and their unified actions. The protests were triggered by various causes. Nevertheless, their nature can be subsumed under the same umbrella. On the one hand, it's the neoliberal policy of the Croatian government, which is characterized by broad privatization of almost all industrial sectors and key natural resources (i.e. handing over public property into the hands of powerful businessmen), like in the rest of the world, all in the name of free market, which is supposed to offer citizens fair competition and a chance of achieving big success. Croatia has recorded the highest unemployment rate of 18.2% so far, while 141.000 jobs were lost only in the last two years. Around 400.000 people live at the edge of existence, deprived of basic human rights which is rather an alarming fact for the country with the population of little over 4.200.000.

As it's usually the case, neoliberal policies were accompanied by the destruction of the welfare state, i.e. reduction of social rights of majority (right to work, education, health care, retirement) part of which were huge and painful cuts that once again hit the wallets of the poorest. In that sense, the previous year was marked with the protests of disenfranchised workers, farmers and students, the protests in support of preserving public space from privatization, general protests against government policies and – the latest one – those against the capitalist system. On the other hand, this year there were also veterans' protests as well as violent riots against the Gay Pride, that took place in Split.

Protests for Workers' Rights

The protests for workers' rights that are gaining attendance and frequency started to attract more media attention

with the case of Kamensko textile factory which had been ruined by privatization and the series of business wrongdoings that eventually led to its bankruptcy. Kamensko factory workers took to the streets in October 2010 (first with the hunger strike, and later on with demonstrations, marches, etc.) and the protests continued until December.

The Farmers' Protests

The farmers, to whom the state did not pay up the subsidies for maintaining the level of agricultural production, thus leaving them at the mercy of large agricultural and food tycoons who offer them low prices for their agricultural produce, have repeatedly taken to the streets with the support of activists and workers, blocking roads and demanding their rights. The results were a tiny increase in cash-in prices of produce and the promises of higher subsidies, which are broken over and over.

The Student Protests

In the field of education, students have continued their long-term campaign for free education and against high tuition fees that are a direct consequence of neoliberal retreat of the state from financing high education and handing over the universities to the market, hence high tuition fees must be paid by the students. As a result of it, the state has virtually declared education is no longer public good, therefore the right to high education is given only to those who can afford it, which is just another one of many things that create a growing gap between rich and poor.

This year, Faculty of Philosophy students blocked the registrar and forced the administration to not charge students with tuition fees, but to demand that the government fulfil its promise about free education, instead. Furthermore, this year a new high education union that gathers almost all universities and colleges in the country has become active, opposing the new bill on universities, according to which education is further commercialized and subjected to the market. The activity was a success and a lot of pressure was created by the strike, while the chancellor and the dean threatened to suspend classes, so the bill was finally withdrawn.

The Right to Public Space

When it comes to the right to public space, the initiative to defend Varšavka Street, one of Zagreb's main streets, played a big role in the past several years as well as last year. (Parts of Varšavka Street were given to a businessman who turned the public space into a private garage and a shopping centre.) The campaigns in defence of public space achieved success in including a large number of citizens, and shedding some light onto the importance of that subject while at the same time the issue of the struggle for public space was spread out to other cities. At the moment the struggle is being fought in Split for the preservation of Marjan⁵³, in Dubrovnik for the preservation of Srđ⁵⁴, and all over Croatia there's an ongoing struggle against turning the public areas into golf courses.

The Protests of Disgruntled Citizens

This year's biggest demonstrations took place from February to April when thousands of citizens marched through the streets of Zagreb in a total of 18 protests. The mass protests were held in other cities (Split, Rijeka, Osijek ...). The protests expressed an overall dissatisfaction with the government policy, demands were made for shift in power, but in the course of time other ideas were articulated, too, like: anti-capitalist slogans, claims against privatization, the requests in favour of free and independent public media and public requests for direct democracy as the only viable democracy. The protests were attended by various social groups (workers, students, veterans, etc.) hence there was an ongoing struggle between right-wing and left-wing groups and citizens. The protests did not result in further unification of the citizens, however a big step forward was made in introducing the topics that had previously been absent from the mainstream. An overall dissatisfaction with the government policy was expressed – the government that does no good for either left or right. A huge leap forward occurred regarding civil disobedience (the protests did not have leaders, the citizens occupied the street of Zagreb, demonstrations were held in front of the state-owned TV, the protests were nonviolent, etc.).

Wall Street

The protest that were held in bigger cities in Croatia echoed those big protests against the capitalist system and in support of direct democracy (so called Wall Street protests) that swept the world. They resulted in an increased

⁵³ Marjan Forest Park is the largest public space in Split, which has been exposed to illegal building and construction and the problems of inadequate maintenance, for years.

⁵⁴ Srđ is a hill situated above the city of Dubrovnik, which is a public area, too. The citizens protested against illegal construction of apartments on the pretext of building a golf course, under the slogan: "Srđ is ours".

articulation in terms of recognition of problems of the capitalist system.

The national plenary session, i.e. the direct democratic decisive body was held for the first time at the protest in Zagreb, where all the citizens had equal rights to vote and participate in decision-making. The ideas regarding the need to protect social rights and public goods were articulated at the state level. More protests and another plenary gathering were announced, but it remains to be seen how things will develop in the future.

Protests of Veterans

It is important to mention this year's protests of veterans that were joined by the citizens and mostly right-wing groups.

A broad analysis of the government policy would easily demonstrate that instead of improving citizens' welfare, the government maintained its power by persisting on nationalistic politics of persuading the citizens that the alleged "croatness" and other accompanying items that go with it (religion, national tradition) were being preserved.

Veterans' protests occurred after the non-final guilty verdict to generals Gotovina, Čermak and Marka

for organized criminal enterprise during police military "Operation Storm". The demonstrations which were attended by thousands of veterans and joined by citizens took place in several cities. Even though initially they were about expressing the protest against the ruling to the generals that was perceived as the condemnation of the entire Homeland war as a criminal one, and therefore the Croatian people as well, the core of the problem were the unresolved issues of war and lack of awareness amongst many citizens regarding the issues of war crimes. That is a deliberate, continuous government policy that systematically ignores such issues in order to survive on stirring nationalistic tensions. The protests were brimming, albeit to a lesser extent than before, with hate speech against Serbs, that seem to be the archenemies that one pulls like an ace up one's sleeve in order to suppress the outbreak of big social unrest.

The matters of war and the disenfranchised veterans used by the authorities as a safe electorate is still not resolved, the war crimes are being covered up, while the current election campaign of the Croat Democratic Union (CDU) is once again based on resuscitation of the personality cult of Franjo Tuđman and the nationalistic rhetoric that reproduces the atmosphere of fear and hatred towards the Serbs, therefore it is possible that nationalistic tensions and similar protests will soon rise again. That is since we need the old/new enemy in order to draw the attention off the disastrous situation in the society whose foundation were built on exactly the same politics of the CDU with Franjo Tuđman at its helm. Let's not forget that former Prime Minister Ivo Sanader (also from the ranks of the CDU), whose personality cult rose at the previous elections, is on trial at the Zagreb County Court for war profiteering and bribery.⁵⁵

Gay Pride in Split

The government policy has neglected the question of other minorities, too, and this year it was particularly obvious at the protest of LGBTIQ community, at the Split Pride. Inadequate awareness-rising on the issues of sexual minorities, disregard of these minorities by the state and the lack of institutional mechanisms for protection, the position of the state as a neutral observer, instead of an active protector of human rights, have all resulted in violence that occurred at Split Pride when participants were attacked by several thousand demonstrators. The police forces totally failed, virtually allowing the lynching of those who took part at the parade.

Currently, the election campaign is under way in Croatia, with practically all political parties supporting the same programme (except that allegedly left-wing parties have a milder, nonetheless ignoring approach towards minorities) and its harmful social and economic policies concerning the ordinary citizens. Hence, one can expect further escalation of protests in the future while current stance remains rooted in the accession to the EU throwing dust into the eyes of the citizens. If things don't get better once we're in EU, some external or internal enemy will be discovered to take all the blame and distract us from the existing problems of a dreary everyday life in Croatia.

Nevertheless, until we accept that we – all of us, citizens – can achieve change and social justice only by building them together, regardless of our identity or other characteristics, they will never come true. Let us hope that the awakening of the culture of protest and mutual solidarity is a good start...

Sanja Deanković

⁵⁵ Former Croatian Prime Minister Ivo Sanader stands accused of war profiteering, i.e. receiving 3.6 million kuna in commission from Austrian Hypo Bank, which had given a loan to Croatia during the war. He is also accused of corruption charges in the amount of 10 million € for relinquishing management rights over INA oil company to Hungarian MOL.

Ne e na arno. (Macedonia)

I believe these are the words you would hear from every honest citizen of Macedonia if you asked them – “What’s going on in your country?” It doesn’t look good, and it won’t end well.

Last year, a bona fide media war broke out in Macedonia. The media had been in a rather poor state, and nothing changed for years. There is a large number of different types of media, and all of them feel the pressure of their owners’ political ambitions (despite the law, which states that the media owners cannot simultaneously be political party leaders). Also, the pressure is exerted by the prevailing climate, where employee rights and labour unions are, virtually non-existent. Nevertheless, the government played the key role when they categorically decided to intervene, and eliminate the pro-opposition media. The main opposition TV station, A1, was the first to be targeted last year, when the Prime Minister publicly advised people not to trust the news broadcast by A1. In addition, the Ministry of Internal Affairs posted an official statement on their website, which enticed all citizens to file lawsuits against A1. Finally, in winter 2010, the police, together with members of the Public Revenue Office, broke into the TV station headquarters. For several months, the television continued to operate with a blocked bank-account. However, in July 2011, the station had its work permit revoked, and was closed down. This happened immediately following the early parliamentary elections (which once again confirmed the government’s popularity). Today, four A1 chairmen, including the owner, are in prison, having been charged with tax evasion worth millions of euros. A1 used to be, not only the biggest privately-owned television station in the country, but also, the most trusted broadcaster among the people of Macedonia. Besides A1, same owners held three other daily newspapers (one of which was in Albanian), and all three are no longer being published. What is certain is that the field of public information has been left with a great void, one which will be difficult to fill with the quality level characteristic of A1. A genuine impression is, that all forms of media are financially “dirty”, and that this case was an example of selective justice. And it was not an isolated one.

The “benefit” of including the dispute about country’s name with Greece, in internal politics, was evident last year. I can openly state that, this issue has been used extensively as a weapon of choice for political defamation. Whatever the argument is about, one can always twist it to the issue of dispute with Greece. That’s how fixated people are on this issue. What we end up with is, a lot of emotions, bad communication, and people listening only to their own voice. A joke can illustrate this more vividly – “Three scientists, an American, a Frenchman and a Macedonian, were sent on an expedition to the South Pole. Once they returned, the American wrote a book, ‘The Ranking of Penguins and Their Role in Solving the Economic Crisis’. The Frenchman called his book ‘The Penguin Love Life’. Finally, the Macedonian published his work, and named it ‘The Role of Penguins in the Macedonia Name Dispute’.

Dividing people into “patriots” and “traitors” is an everyday phenomenon. Still, it is a cruel practice, and given the ever-present lynch mob mentality, ultimately very sad. In reality, no progress has been made in Macedonia-Greece negotiations, and most likely, won’t be made any time soon.

The numerous construction works of the more ancient, antique and baroque-looking Skopje town are continuing. Government is not revealing the full costs, but it is estimated that the total sum exceeds 200 million euros. On a number of occasions, we witnessed the fragility of multi-ethnic relations, and the practice of keeping things under the carpet. The deciding incident took place on the Kale Fortress in Skopje. At the time, the fortress was the building site of the Ministry of Culture’s brainchild - Skopje 2014, a nebulous, odd museum-church hybrid. Anyhow, one night local Albanians, politicians included, came and demolished the entire construction. A few days later, a mass fight broke out between football fans on the same location. For a while, the possibility of further violence escalation was a major threat. The result? The entire Skopje Fortress was declared a hazardous zone, and closed for visitors. Several other “urban” ethnic mass fights broke out, and it didn’t end there. This year, after a period of hibernation and primacy in conflict with Greece, we are finally faced with the challenges of the co-existence between Macedonian people and the Albanians. Therefore, the wall of silence, built around the existing disagreements, has to be torn down. And to top it all off, the census fiasco was promptly explained by the pro-government media, claiming it was all just a part of the Prime Minister’s brave plan to prevent data forgery. Normally, such offence would receive an immediate charge and a speedy judicial process. It goes without saying, that there will be no aftermath at court. So, everything remains shrouded in mystery. Nothing is going to change. The new census date has not been set yet.

I’d like to mention two more incidents, which starkly illustrate the sad reality of the 21st century Macedonia:

The first incident. The murder of Martin Neskovski. On the day of the Parliamentary Elections, as the city was celebrating the victory of VMRO DPMNE on the Skopje’s main square, a member of the special police force killed a

young celebrator - twenty-year old Martin Neskovski, with his bare hands. Allegedly, Martin's attempted to climb the stage and congratulate the Prime Minister in person. Afterwards, his body was left with the regular police officers, and the perpetrator left the scene. The murder was witnessed by several bystanders. The following day, the news spread like wild fire via Twitter. The witnesses started to speak out, enquiring about the lack of media coverage concerning the case. There was no mention of it in the daily police newsletter, where one could typically find reports on petty burglaries, let alone murder cases. In a matter of hours, a group of Twitter users, organized around the hashtag *#protestiram*, came together and lead the protest. The Police spokesperson was still denying his knowledge of the murder. Nevertheless, the whole truth emerged later when it was revealed that the Ministry of Internal Affairs personnel were present during the autopsy, which confirmed violent death. It was not until the end of the next day that the killer turned himself in. The Ministry was literally caught red-handed, trying initially to cover up the murder, and later to even hide any involvement of the high-ranking ministers in the very process of the cover-up. Meanwhile, a campaign was organized and for a period of time, daily protests were held at every major town. Every day at 6 o'clock! The entire archive of the protests is available at <http://justiceformartin.blogspot.com/>. However, instead of a direct government response to the justice-seeking demonstrations, a series of dirty campaigns, the worst I had ever seen in Macedonia, were launched against the demonstrators. Some claimed that the protesters were mercenaries hired by - the oppositions, Greece, George Soros... Even an extremely crude (and failed) attempt at a counter-protest was made. The young people were put on the spot, with the media portraying them as organized inciters, trained in Belgrade (by Otpor?), financed by Soros, and all kinds of other nonsense. The victim's family would receive visits from people who told them to stay low and remain silent about the case. By the way, the parents learned about their son's death two days after he was murdered, because supposedly, the victim couldn't be identified. In the aftermath, besides the killer's arrest, no other responsibility for the cover-ups was taken. Also, the Minister of Internal Affairs of Macedonia still holds her position, in her second mandate. The protests were truly impressive, particularly the number of those participating, which would sometimes number several thousands. The demonstrations were peaceful at all times, and no violent incidents were reported. Strategically speaking, it was hard, since the lack of experience put people at an unfavourable position where they didn't know how to react to medial defamation attempts and counter-campaigns. Though, that is an entirely different topic, and demands an in-depth analysis of a different kind, which will not be dealt with in this text. Nevertheless, *#protestiram* is an idea which is still alive and well. It represents a glimpse of hope for a brighter future, where the truth will be known from the very start, and the path cleared for those brave enough to fight injustice.

The second incident concerns the so-called Hague cases amnesty of the July 2011. Namely, the Hague Tribunal abandoned four war crimes cases in 2004, and allowed the indictments to be brought against the jurisdiction of the local courts. The Hague even took part in the training process of the judges and prosecutors, so that they could tackle these cases more efficiently. Since the Hague Tribunal simply sent the indictments back without handling them, the Court is allegedly free of any responsibility when it comes to their involvement in the legal process. Ever since, the cases were merely an instrument of the Macedonian government partner, whenever the successor parties UCK, DUI needed some disciplining. Only one of the cases barely reached the court. After the elections, DUI imposed a condition of government employment, which stated that these cases had to be granted amnesty, based on the post-war amnesty law and its instrument of "authentic interpretation". And that is exactly what happened - the proposition was passed after receiving majority of votes in the Parliament. So we now find ourselves in a rather illogical situation. The Parliament adopted the proposition which grants amnesty for potential war crimes cases. How is that even possible?! I don't know. Only the Supreme Court has the power to repeal the law, but it has been three months now, since the Supreme Court has not held a session. This amnesty is directly thwarting the process of dealing with the past, and instead, suggests a politics of forgetting and impunity. There is no individual responsibility, only the nationalist narratives remain to tell the story of a nation's crimes, not those of a person. What is left are the emotions, instead of attempts to enforce a procedure and give the system some credibility by making it nonpartisan and independent. There have been very few public reactions to this case. I've been trying to figure out why is that so. I believe people are reluctant to start dealing with conflicts in an environment where they feel unsafe. Yet, Macedonia of today, shadowed by its rulers vanity and propaganda-fuelled personal interests, is hardly a synonym for safety. So, it is obvious that the only people who can benefit from forgetting injustices of war, are those who are unaffected by it, and criminals. Nobody else.

In this context, the admittance of Macedonia in the REKOM Initiative was a flicker of hope. On more than one occasion, putting the question of war legacy in the regional context was very beneficial for Macedonia, and it made

things much easier. However, work on a local scale is essential, and except for several initiatives, that is precisely what we lack.

I will end my text with an account of a modern Macedonian affair, typical of the 21st century. (It's not about ajvar, even though it turned out to be rather delicious this year.) Last night, the Prime Minister's cabinet made an announcement. Apparently, the Prime Minister himself will take part in a Facebook chat, answering questions about the Euro crisis and its influence on Macedonian economy, or something along those lines. Naturally, thousands of people flooded his Facebook page. Many of them asking about solutions to their own personal problems, some concerned about employment, the involvement of parties in the administration, health care and educational system. All of this followed by hundreds upon hundreds of blessings, and expressions of gratitude for the Prime Minister's brave leadership. I browsed around a little, and stumbled upon one question:

"Mr Prime Minister, if a Macedonian citizen would suggest changing the name "FYROM" into "The Beautiful and Rich Republic of Macedonia"⁵⁶, would he be considered a patriot or a traitor?"

Really...I would love to know the answer.

Boro Kitanoski

⁵⁶ Same local abbreviation of FYROM.

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

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