### **CENTAR ZA NENASILNU AKCIJU**CENTRE FOR NONVIOLENT ACTION

Office in Sarajevo:

Radnička 104, 71000 Sarajevo, BiH

Tel: +387 33 267 880 Tel/fax: +387 33 212 919 cna.sarajevo@nenasilje.org www.nenasilje.org



# 6-MONTH REPORT

SEPTEMBER 2003 - FEBRUARY 2004

Centar za nenasilnu akciju (Centre for Nonviolent Action) is a non-governmental and non-profit organisation whose basic goals are peace building, the development of civil society, cross-border cooperation and promotion of nonviolence.

Our main activity is to organise and implement trainings (seminars) in nonviolent conflict transformation and to support groups and individuals who wish to do this kind of work. Through training in nonviolent conflict transformation we are aiming to develop political awareness of the training participants, and to pass on skills in nonviolent dealing with conflict. At our trainings CNA gathers people from all parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Serbia and Montenegro and Macedonia, hence giving special focus on networking, and communication between people from different areas, whose communication has been interrupted through war and supporting the process of prejudice reduction and trust building.

CNA started with its work in 1997 with Sarajevo office. Office in Belgrade started in 2001. CNA is an external branch of KURVE Wustrow.

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### 1. INTRODUCTION

Due to many commitments we've had in the previous period, we've decided to put two of our regular three-month reports together into one and it is now in front of you.

In the period that this report is referring to (September 2003 - February 2004) we implemented phase III, IV, V and VI of the Training for Trainers Program, and that was the major activity CNA Sarajevo office was working on.

Besides the basic ones, our team members were occupied with plenty of other activities by either supporting them or participating in them.

One should not forget to mention a whole bunch of «invisible», but just as important jobs such are: making financial reports, writing narrative reports, planning and designing new activities and reflecting on possible innovations or changes of the «old» activities all of which were accompanied by a handful of administrative duties. Many of these jobs that will not be mentioned in the following articles are however highly energy consuming and that is one of the main reasons that we were late with this report.

We continue to work on dealing with the past thus striving for more presence and visibility in media, so we can at least to a certain point change the existing media situation in which one cannot find an explicit peace story. That is the reason our colleague Adnan Hasanbegović appeared as a guest in a «Telering» TV show on OBN channel.

Two of our colleagues attended the conference about «Models of Dealing with the Past in Bosnia and Herzegovina» which was organised by the International Commission for Missing People (ICMP). Together with the presentation of the current projects that are related to dealing with the past, discussions at the conference referred to the initiative for founding a Commission for Truth and Reconciliation in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Participants of the conference included also direct victims of wars from all sides (members of associations of families of the missing and victims, former detainees, etc.).

Moreover this report brings information about this year's first summit of CNA team members from both our offices which was held in Belgrade, from January 13 - 16. During the summit, we made a work plan for 2004 according to which plenty of time was left for our peace education programs and the work on dealing with the past, but also for some new activities in the field of peace building (such as making documentaries and live action short films) in which we were about to make some initial steps.

Having in mind that this report covers an unusually long period of time, there are plenty of events that have happened in our region and abroad that are in our opinion worth mentioning.

First of all, there were parliamentary elections in Croatia and Serbia, both won by a right wing, nationalistic parties. In both countries parties which were responsible for eager war propaganda in the beginning of the nineties are now ether in power (in Croatia: HDZ - Croatian Democratic Union) or support the government (in Serbia: SPS - Socialistic Party of Serbia). However, the situation in these two countries may look similar, there are much more differences between them than it may seem at first. The most important is that, unlike Croatia, Serbia is rushing towards another gloomy period of political and social instability which cannot remain without consequences for the whole region.

Situation with respect to elections and post-election events in two biggest states of our region, as well as chain reaction caused by the return of the nationalistic option in power give a clear signal that it is necessary that peace work focusing on the entire region becomes one of the priorities in our societies.

It has been rumoured for some time in Bosnia and Herzegovina about the initiative for the revision of the Dayton Agreement according to which competencies would be transferred from the authorities of the Republic of Srpska thus changing a status of this entity to a something similar to canton. The reactions of the authorities of Republic of Srpska were rather nervous, all of which resulted in even worse communication between the representatives of three nations in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

One may hear more and more comments amongst the public of Bosnia and Herzegovina about the arrest and punishment (or the absence of both) of war criminals Ratko Mladić and Radovan Karadžić. SFOR forces show that they are not quite up to this task, while at the same time the society of BiH refuses to seriously deal with establishment of preconditions for the situation that would not require someone from outside the country to capture and punish war criminals. As much as we agree with the opinion that war leaders of Bosnian Serbs, Radovan Karadžić and Ratko Mladić are the paradigm of the horror that happened during the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina, this problem goes much deeper and wider than that, and it will not be solved just by punishing those two.

Europe and the whole world were shocked with the recent terrorist attacks in Russia and Spain in which several hundred people died. It is interesting that violence that happens in Europe provokes different kind of reactions from the one that happens in the rest of the world on almost daily basis. That violence is often made possible exactly by the actions of the «free and democratic Western countries»... that continue their democratic, righteous mission in Iraq resulting every day in loss of many human lives.

Just as we were writing the introduction of this report, a terrible escalation of violence broke out in Kosovo. The explosion of blind nationalistic rage resulted in destruction of many human lives, churches, monasteries, including, as many people say, politics of the international community towards this region. Violence spread quickly and *undesturbed* to big cities in Serbia. As a consequence of that violence mosques were destroyed in Belgrade and Niš, but so was the unrealistic image of Serbian authorities and their alleged willingness to protect something (or someone) outside the "Serbian-ethnic".

Quite expectedly, in Bosnia it echoed with setting a fire to a church in Bugojno and with an attack on the mosque near Banja Luka ...

While we continue to make waves, hoping that we are not alone ...

### 2. MAIN ACTIVITIES

### 2.1. Phase IV of the Training for Trainers Program, *Ulcinj* 17 - 22.10.2003.

The fourth phase of this year's Training for Trainers Program was held in the «Dvori Balšića» Hotel, in Ulcinj, Montenegro, in October 2003.

Nineteen participants attended this phase of the program, while one participant from Serbia was unable to come due to some personal commitments. Iva Zenzerović from Centre for Peace Studies (Centar za mirovne studije), Zagreb, Croatia, joined the training team as a guest trainer in this phase. She facilitated workshops on writing project proposal and budget making. For us, that was also a chance to work with Iva again, after a quite some time.

The fourth phase of the expanded concept of the Training for Trainers (TfT) Program (which was introduced last year, for the first time) opens up a new segment of group work that focuses on planning concrete future activities.

Main themes of this part of TfT were the following: presenting ideas for participants' activities, forming teams that were going to carry out those activities in the future and gaining basic knowledge in project proposal writing.

Participants presented 16 ideas, 6 of which were refined in the process of forming teams. Those were the ideas for training events with various target groups around which 6 teams gathered.

The whole process of forming teams was completely left to the participants, since the intention for this advanced phase of the program was to give participants a chance to make their choice as well as to take over responsibility for further work.

Most of the people from the group expressed their dissatisfaction with the way the process of team forming was developing, but what was lacking, just like in some previous phases of the program, was a clear articulation and transparent presentation of concrete causes for dissatisfaction. The group atmosphere was heavily burdened with the feeling that too many compromises had been made, therefore it took a lot of energy (of both the training team and the participants) to achieve at least some level of satisfying work dynamics of the training.

Having in mind that this is the second TfT Program with this kind of concept, it is much easier to us to notice some limitations that such a demanding program brings along. First of all it's quite a short period of time that is left to complete a large number of demanding processes of group and team work, all done under the time pressure. Again we were under the impression that "we should have had one more working day".

The presence of the guest trainer brought some new energy and added a considerable additional quality into a very tense work of the group, thus opening new space for discussions about some of the crucial issues related to peace work. The discussion about strong points and limitations of the training (as one of possible approaches to work in the field of peace building) was especially valuable.

Since the feeling appeared that the trainings were perceived as a universal remedy for resolving all the social problems, the estimation was made that it was necessary to re-examine "what is it that we do, when we do trainings?" This simplification of the context in which we work and want to work was inspiring for both the participants and the members of the training team (we used this suitable opportunity to ask ourselves the question to which the answer often goes without saying - why trainings?).

Finally, six ideas were refined for several-day training events with various target groups (activists, educational workers, journalists, state administration employees, trade union members) that were going to take place in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia and Montenegro.

It was our impression that there was still a lot to do before the next phases of the Training, but there were plenty of capacities within the teams to carry out all the activities planned.

### 2.2. Phase V of the Training for Trainers Program, Oktober 2003.

During this phase of the Training for Trainers Program, six follow-up meeting were held in Sarajevo, Belgrade and Skopje.

These meetings with teams of participants were focused on the following three points: look back at team work and difficulties that emerged in the process of project proposal making (including both the draft and the budget), detailed work plan, distribution of responsibility respectively and guidelines for project proposal writing.

Participants' teams gathered around the following ideas/proposals for trainings:

Training for youth of different ethnicities in Ulcinj, Montenegro Training for educational workers in Bosnia and Herzegovina Training for educational workers from Serbia and Macedonia Training for youth from Macedonia Two regional training events in nonviolent conflict transformation

It was important to us to support participants' great motivation to work on problems they experience to be pressing in local communities, but also not to neglect the value of regional work which we try to promote and strengthen.

It was our recommendation that each team includes one person from CNA training team, to offer support to participants who were going to have their first training in the role of trainers, and also to get a clearer insight into the approach and the methods used on these trainings.

Participants' teams spent most of the time during follow-up meetings working independently, while CNA team members were available to them for various kinds of advice, suggestions and to point out to some especially important and sensitive items one may encounter while preparing and implementing training. Lot of time was dedicated to the review of the experiences of team work all the teams had had until then. The general impression was that this was certainly a step forward in comparison to the phase IV of the training. The progress was noticeable with respect to the communication within teams, readiness to tackle some difficult issues, concern for people they were working with. That was an important signal before the next phase of the Program in which the responsibilities of all the people from the group were going to increase significantly.

# 2.3. Phase VI of the Training for Trainers Program, Vogošća December 5-10, 2003.

The phase VI of the Program which took place in Vogošća, Bosnia and Herzegovina, in December 2003, represented a closure of work done in all the previous phases. It is important that participants go through that before the activities/trainings they implement on their own, so they could get a better picture of all the things trainings bring along.

Although it was time-limited and very short, this training was at the same time quite ample and informative. The first segment of the training was related to development of public presentation skills of participants' trainings and activities. Special attention was given to the way we carry the message to a wider public and to the values we promote.

The next segment was dedicated to the analysis of the group's work up to date, along with some parallel reviews of real life and values of nonviolence and what they mean to us. This analysis created some additional space for transparency and confrontation amongst people in the group which is very important not just for trainer's work, but also for the work in the field of nonviolence.

One of the most important points, not just of this phase, but also of the entire Program, is work on social context and dealing with the past. The group initiated a visit to the Cultural Centre in Vogošća where the documentary "The Last Circle-Let's Not Forget, Let's Not Repeat" was being shown. It's a documentary about the suffering of the citizens of Vogošća during the 1992-95 war in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Almost the entire group went to see the film, which was a good opportunity to experience firsthand the context and the atmosphere surrounding this kind of work. Film initiated an open discussion about personal responsibility, but also raised a question of collective responsibility for everything that was going on in this region in the nineties. The group's awareness was raised on the need for constructive dealing with even the most painful issues concerning wars, as well as participants' sensitization for the developments and problems in other societies in this region. Here are some of the participants' statements given during this workshop:

- ... But this hotel we're staying in now, was also mentioned in the film, just like the «Vilina vlas» Hotel in Višegrad (Bosnia and Herzegovina). I wonder how much we really know what was going on in this region? My motivation for this work comes from personal experience. I need to take it to the regional level, as much as I can deal with...
- Those people really had sacrifice. They know what really happened, but how much the others know?
- What was happening with human shields on the hill right across; I might have been on the other side...
- I was touched when I found out about the human shields. I expected more hatred, but they are asking their neighbours to help them find their missing. They are saying that they live on. This hotel was also mentioned; It was really hard for me

A lot of things changed and moved within the group. Participants were empowered to confront with one another in the process and to have more freedom. Their motivation for taking part in this program, as well as for peace work became clearer. There was a lot more transparency, thus enabling us to come out more openly with our own difficulties and dilemmas, while on the other hand there was still fear that some of it might hurt them.

This time, the plenary discussion was much more relaxed, and people were coming out with their own ideas, without having any fear that they weren't «OK». There was space for reflection and emotions. One could feel the heaviness in the process, but it wasn't the destructive one.

The difficulty we encountered was related to our feeling of hindered communication with the representative of the German Embassy in Sarajevo, and our impression was that there was a lack of space and confidence to clear up some difficulties and their sources. Since we care deeply about maintaining honest relations with Auswaertiges Amt and also about continually improving those relations, we were under a lot of pressure because of the situation here mentioned. The presence of the Embassy representative during one workshop in the phase VI of the program, despite our attempts to explain why it made our work difficult, seemed like a major difficulty and disregard of our work and devotion.

Documentation of the phases IV and VI entitled «Superbugarin» (65 p.) was released in December 2003.

#### 2.4. Annual Summit of CNA Team Members

This year's first CNA summit of our members from both offices was held in Belgrade, from January 13-16.

Since we are not able to organise more than two annual meetings of our complete staff, due to our other commitments, this time there was also handful of issues we wanted to deal with and that needed to be discussed.

Here are some of the points we were discussing:

- work plan in detail for the current year and the distribution of responsibility for the upcoming activities
- exchange with respect to the fundraising and financial status of both our offices
- look into the future, i.e. sketching an outline of the prospects and ways our organisation will act in the future

We made quite an ambitious work plan for 2004, in which plenty of room was left for our educational programs (basic training events, training events organised by participants of the ongoing Training for Trainers program, trainings with excombatants, etc.). The work plan includes organisation of yet another series of public forums «Four Views» in Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as starting an entire new field of work - making documentaries with a distinctive peace message.

With respect to the previous years, the novelty is that there won't be a new Training for Trainers Program this year. There are two main reasons for that: insufficient number of our basic trainings that can provide a good quality, motivated group of participants for TfT and our need to rest and catch our breath from this extremely exhausting and demanding activity that now lasts for an entire year.

With respect to the extent of our activities, a well known problem of fatigue and burn-out appeared again. This time we will try to respond to it, among other things, by taking a mini-retreat in the first half of the year. We will probably spend it together, far from the stressful atmosphere of our offices and other places where we work.

We spent most of the time at the summit, designing a long-term strategy for the future, which certainly won't be the same as the way CNA has been operating so far. The situation in which it is getting harder to provide funding for certain activities (like training events), with an increasing number of donors shifting the focus of their work from our region, demands that we carefully plan our future steps and activities, and clarify the visions of future that exist within our organisation. We made some initial steps towards that during this meeting, but there is still a lot of work to do in this area, therefore a plan was made to organise a workshop that would take place at the end of August, where we would have a chance to hear experiences of other organisations from around the world, who had already gone through some sort of «transition». Therefore we could get some new ideas about things we can do to accomplish sustainability. We agreed that we very much missed hearing experiences of other peace organisations from this region, and we took a chance to partly fill this gap by organising a networking meeting that was scheduled for March, which would gather people from the region who have been working on some kind of peace work.

Furthermore, the ideas for new activities that appeared (making documentaries and live action short films; translating and publishing books related to nonviolence and peace building, etc.) contribute to a variety and diversity of an overall image of our work, and require a thoughtful and sober planning and estimating our capacities. That is why it is especially important to us to underline that CNA is striving to be an organisation in which each of its members will have enough space to fulfil their potentials, ether within the existing or in some new activities. However, there should be a clear consistency between the new and the «old» activities, i.e. connection to the activist approach to peace building should remain a predominant value of our work.

### 3. OTHER ACTIVITIES

# 3.1. Conference «Models of Dealing with the Past in Bosnia and Herzegovina», *Ilidža 10. December 2003*.

International Commission for Missing People (ICMP) organised a one-day conference on the subject of «Models of Dealing with the Past in Bosnia and Herzegovina» in Ilidža, Bosnia and Herzegovina on December 10, Human Rights Day.

The conference gathered quite a colourful group of participants: most of them were representatives of various associations of family members of people missing in 90-ties wars in this region, associations of detainees, representatives of several NGOs from Bosnia and Herzegovina that are in different ways engaged in dealing with the past. Conference was also attended by representatives of different international organisations active in this field.

The first part of the conference was dedicated to presentation of the existing models of dealing with the past, part of which was also a presentation of CNA's project. In the second part, there was plenty of time for debate, which was at some moments quite tempestuous and bitter.

One of the issues that caused most controversy was the discussion about the new initiative for founding a Commission for Truth and Reconciliation in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Representatives of the associations of victims of war stated that the initiatives that were being brought without their involvement, didn't have any credibility at all, and that those matters should be dealt mostly by people who had been chosen by the direct victims of war.

If we leave aside all the tones and details of the debate, what remains as a main impression is a discouraging perception of NGOs amongst the population that was most directly affected by the war. Unfortunately, there was no chance for a more extended review of such perception nor for the discussion amongst NGO representatives about such a catastrophic image they have. The domestic NGOs are perceived as some kind of social parasites whose leaders' major and sole motivation for their engagement is material welfare and personal promotion.

Thus emerged one of the key questions related to the work on dealing with the past, and that is the one about the level of credibility and legitimacy for public work in the society one wishes to engage. This conference at least pointed out that it is important those two categories remain at the top of the priority list when it comes to the area of peace building and dealing with the past.

On the other hand, what remains open is a question who or what gives us that legitimacy and the fact that this question wasn't opened was the biggest

disadvantage of the conference (which is understandable since it was a one-day event).

It is also worth to mention the impression we had about people from the associations of victims of war and their lack of willingness and sensitization in certain situations to look for allies amongst other and different organisations and individuals. It is difficult to make a qualitative step forward if we accept the attitude that only the direct victims of wars have moral and every other right to work on the problem of dealing with the past. Such an attempt of monopolisation is just as unconstructive as the one that comes from the elitist academic circles.

# 3.2. Telering TV Show on OBN TV Channel, Sarajevo October 30, 2003.

On October 30, Adnan Hasanbegović, member of CNA Sarajevo team, appeared in «Telering» TV show which is broadcast live Thursdays, on OBN TV channel.

The show was entitled «Living together and peace building in Bosnia and Herzegovina», hosting other guests besides our colleague: Romeo Zelenika from Mostar and Dušan Šehovac from Sarajevo. idea for the show came out primarily as a reaction to the public forums called four Views, organised by CNA in Banja Luka and Zenica, Bosnia and Herzegovina, in the spring of 2003.

Lack of ideas and a rather vague concept were noticeable during the entire 60 minutes of this TV show and resulted in uninspired questions from the show's host and answers that often sounded shallow and like a cliché, since there wasn't enough time for more serious re-examination of some problems.

Thus an opportunity was missed to use this prime time TV show on one of the highest rated stations in BiH for a really powerful promotion of peace ideas and approaches. The questions and reactions from the viewers also indicate that there's a great need for public treatment of these issues, but it is also evident that the public is fed up with such a superficial approach that leaves little space for stepping out of some common places like the one that «it is possible to live together, but it's the politicians' fault that it's not happening».

Finally, the interest to dedicate some media space to the issues of peace building is certainly encouraging, but it is necessary to develop that interest with some serious and constructive reflection and gaining sensitization for the situation of unstable peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

### 3.3. Seminar on Gender Equity in Development Projects, Sarajevo 27 - 28. 12. 2003.

On December 27 and 28, a seminar on the theme of *Gender Equity in Development Projects* was organised by Norwegian People's Aid. The seminar gathered 17 representatives of nongovernmental organisations from Bosnia and Herzegovina, amongst whom was CNA's Nedžad Horozović. The aim of the seminar was introduction to the gender roles, as well as presentation of the GEA approach - *Gender and Empowerment Impact Assessment*. It's a method that enables an assessment and measurement of influence of a certain project or activity on the change of socially imposed gender roles.

As it was expressed during the workshops, the program was somewhat unadjusted to the group, because although it treated the matters of discrimination of women, it didn't include the relationship between gender roles, what generates those roles and what is their consequence. There was a strong feeling that additional work is needed on rising awareness and sensitization for gender inequity with people who consider themselves NGO activists and who deal with the matters of women's rights, gender equity, human rights ....

The *GEA* evaluation method which was presented at the seminar seems like a useful instrument for each phase of the project analysis including planning, with some necessary adjustment and improvement.

### 4. WORK PLAN

#### 4.1. CNA work plan for 2004.

#### Training for Trainers 2003/04, Phases VII and VIII

Two last phases of the *Training for Trainers in Nonviolent Conflict Transformation Programme (TfT)* which started in July 2003, have been foreseen to take place in 2004. Within the phase VII, which will last for about five months, participants of the programme with the support of CNA team will implement the activities designed during the previous phases of this programme. This is one of the key points of the entire training because its goal is implementation in practice of all the things that were worked on so far, as well as empowerment and networking of participants for their further work, i.e. work on multiplication that is one of our priorities.

Here are the dates and the themes of the trainings that will be organised by participants of the programme:

- 1. March 19–25, 2004 Training in nonviolent conflict transformation for educational workers of Bosnia and Herzegovina,
- 2. March 19–25, 2004 Peace building in the areas of former Yugoslavia affected by war through education and empowerment in the field of nonviolent conflict transformation,
- 3. March 26–April 1, 2004 Training in nonviolent conflict transformation on regional level.
- 4. April 17–22, 2004 Together against discrimination for youth of Ulcini unicipality.
- 5. April 25– May 1, 2004 Training in nonviolent conflict transformation for youth of Macedonia.
- 6. May 6-12, 2004 Training in nonviolent conflict transformation for educational workers from Serbia and Macedonia.

The eighth, last phase of the TfT programme will be held from May 21–25, 2004. It foresees joint evaluation of all the phases of the Training for Trainers Programme as a whole, as well as discussions about participant's future plans, and the kind of support they need from CNA and from each other. Some time will be dedicated to discussions about networking and cooperation between participants (and CNA) and continuation of their work on peace building.

#### **Basic Trainings in Nonviolent Conflict Transformation**

During 2004, we plan to organise five *Basic Trainings in Nonviolent Conflict Transformation*:

- 1. From February 20-March 1, 2004, in Tivat / Montenegro
- 2. From April 16-26, 2004, in Ulcinj / Montenegro
- 3. From July 9-19, 2004
- 4. From October 1-11, 2004
- 5. From November 19-29, 2004

### Networking Meeting on the Theme «Approaches to Work in the Field of Peace Building and Nonvilent Conflict Transformation in the Region»

After December's meeting on the theme of «Dealing with the Past», we will organise the second one from the series of three foreseen networking meetings, from March 5-11. The theme of the meeting will be «Approaches to Work in the Field of Peace Building and Nonviolent Conflict Transformation in the Region».

Meeting will gather people who deal with peace education in the region. This meeting should offer some space for the analysis of work and various approaches in the field of nonviolent conflict transformation and peace building on regional level, for discussion and exchange. The idea is to exchange experiences up to date, as well as views, dilemmas, difficulties and successes we've had, through the discussion and mutual reflection and to try to initiate critical review of some of the practices in this field, present in our region, so far.

### **Work on Dealing With the Past**

«Dealing with the Past» programme which we have been working on for the past two years will continue in 2004. After 11 public forums that we've organised, in Serbia, Montenegro and Bosnia and Herzegovina, we will organise another three in Bosnia and Herzegovina, entitled «Four views; From the Past HOW I FOUND MYSELF IN WAR Towards the Future HOW TO REACH SUSTAINABLE PEACE?» with ex-combatants from Croatia, Serbia and Bosnia and Herzegovina. We find this programme, which demands our great engagement and a lot of thought, to be extremely important for work on peace building in the region. Public forums will be held in October and November 2004 in three towns of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The exact dates and places where forums will take place will be agreed after CNA Sarajevo office explores all the possibilities. As a part of the «Dealing With the Past» Programme we will organize a training (in two phases) for ex-combatants of wars (in the period from 1990-1995) from Serbia, Montenegro, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia that will be held from June 18-25, 2004 and from July 23-26, 2004. This programme (training and a follow-up meeting) aims to open communication between people who fought on different sides, to empower them to work on peace building processes and to stimulate cooperation, but also to prepare one group of participants for participation in public forums which are going to take place in Bosnia and Herzegovina, by the end of the

We also plan to complete a documentary movie about ex-combatants and people from their environment this year. We started the work on collecting material (interviews) in June last year.

CNA will very much welcome feedback, suggestions, questions and criticism concerning this report and our general work.

Your thinking along helps us!

Thank you.

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