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godišnji izvještaj

annual report

CENTAR ZA NENASILNU AKCIJU

CENTAR ZA NENASILNU AKCIJU - CENTRE FOR NONVIOLENT ACTION

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O CENTRU ZA NENASILNU AKCIJU

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

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

Šta želimo i čemu težimo?

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

Na koji način to želimo postići?

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

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

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

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

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Drage prijateljice, dragi prijatelji,

Pred vama je još jedan, jedanaesti godišnji izveštaj Centra za nenasilnu akciju. U njemu možete naći informacije o aktivnostima na kojima smo radili/le, o tome kako vidimo društveno-politički kontekst u kome se trudimo da delujemo, i ponešto od onoga šta planiramo da radimo u narednom periodu.

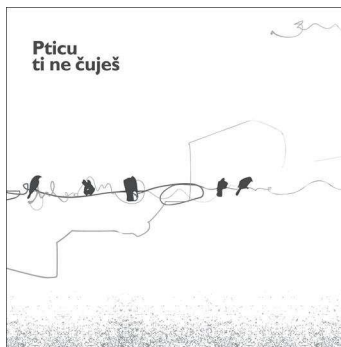
Septembra ove godine, kao i svake godine, imali/le smo redovni “CNA samit”, na kome smo pokušali/le da podelimo dileme koje imamo i donesemo važne odluke vezane za poteškoće sa kojima se suočavamo i za strategiju i pravac kojim idemo. Vodili/le smo se sveže urađenom evaluacijom našeg rada, u koju je veliki trud uložila Beatrix Schmelzle iz Berghof Research Center for Constructive Conflict Management. Koristimo ovu priliku da joj još jednom zahvalimo.

Taj proces donošenja važnih odluka nam je bio dodatno otežan neizvesnošću finansijskog opstanka CNA kao organizacije, tako da smo počeli/le s tim da napravimo manje ambiciozan radni plan za sledeću godinu. Da, počeli, ali ne i završili, s obzirom na broj i obim aktivnosti koje su pred nama. :)

Po prvi put smo ove godine imali/le iskustvo da doživimo vrlo nefer i kompetitivan odnos prema nama od strane međunarodne organizacije. To nam je jako teško palo, jer nismo tako nešto očekivali/le niti za to bili/le spremni/e, i imali/le smo veliku dilemu šta da uradimo i kako da se postavimo. Te dileme imamo još uvek, pošto odbijamo da na mirovni rad gledamo kao na “biznis” i prostor za nadmetanje između različitih organizacija i grupa. Ova situacija nam je još jednom potvrdila koliko je etika mirovnog rada zanemarena “disciplina”, i to na globalnom nivou.

I pored toga što nam je ova radna godina bila prilično naporna, ona je prvenstveno bila ispunjena brojnim susretima i saradnjama s bliskim i dragim ljudima. A to nam i te kako daje energiju i motivaciju da nastavimo. I to ojačani još jednim članom tima, Nenadom Porobićem, koji nam se pridružio u septembru :)

novosti i najave



Novi dokumentarni film "Pticu ti ne čuješ"

Ove godine je izašao i treći film iz serije "Simulirani dijalog" koji nosi naslov "Pticu ti ne čuješ." U njemu hrabri "obični ljudi", Bošnjakinje, Hrvatice, Bošnjaci i Hrvati govore o ratu i teškom nasleđu prošlosti, o mržnji i bolu, o strahovima i nadanjima. Što zamjeraju jedni drugima, čemu ih je rat naučio, kako je u prognanstvu, kako danas žive sa onima druge vjere i nacije. Ko je počeo rat?

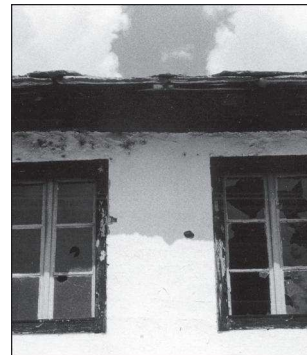
U trenutku objavljivanja ovog izveštaja, već će biti održane premijere u Mostaru, Gornjem Vakufu - Uskoplju i u Sarajevu, o kojima ćete moći čitati u narednom izveštaju.

Uskoro četvrti film iz serije "Simulirani dijalog"

Uskoro će biti okončan i rad na četvrtom dokumentarnom filmu iz serije "Simulirani dijalog" koji tematizuje odnose Albanaca/ki i Makedonaca/ki u Makedoniji. U ovom izveštaju objavljujemo kratak tekst o toku snimanja. Premijeru filma očekujemo na jesen.

Uskoro prevod knjige na engleski jezik "Ne može meni bit dobro ako je mom susjedu loše"

"Susjed" (kako je skraćeno zovemo) je zbirka intervjuva s ljudima s prostora bivše Jugoslavije - kako vide pomirenje, prošlost, odgovornost, krivicu, nacionalizam, suživot, budućnost... Objavili/le smo je 2005. godine, na bosanskom/hrvatskom/srpskom, makedonskom i albanskom, a do proleća 2009. godine će izaći iz štampe i prevod na engleski. Kao što je slučaj i sa prethodnim verzijama, i ova na engleskom će biti dostupna na našoj internet stranici.



Prikupljanje usmenih istorija sa učesnicima/ama ratova 1991-1999

Nova aktivnost koju će realizovati CNA odvijaće se od marta 2009. godine. Radiće se sa mešovitom grupom veterana/ki i aktivista/ica sa prostora bivše Jugoslavije koji će biti obučeni za prikupljanje usmenih istorija, životnih priča bivših boraca i članica njihovih porodica i familija (majki, sestara, supruga itd.). Planirano je da se do dvadeset priča objavi u publikaciji, čije je štampanje predviđeno za početak 2010. godine, koja će kasnije biti promovisana u različitim mestima bivše Jugoslavije.

Eksterna evaluacija

Eksternu evaluaciju CNA rada na promociji mira radila je Beatrix Schmelzle iz berlinskog *Berghof Research Center* uz podršku Davora Konjikušića iz zagrebačke *Documente*. Finalni izveštaj pod naslovom "Developing Linkages between Peace Education and Peace Promotion for Increased Impact in the Region of Former Yugoslavia" dostupan je na engleskom jeziku na našoj internet stranici.

Novo: Mala mirovna elektronska biblioteka

Na našu internet stranicu smo postavili "Malu mirovnu elektronsku biblioteku", koju čini veliki broj linkova na besplatne knjige i članke na internetu. Glavna motivacija da je pokrenemo bila je podrška mirovnim aktivistkinjama i aktivistima u regiji, ali i ostalim zainteresovanima. Knjige i članci su podeljeni i nekoliko sekcija, kao što su: Nenasilje / nenasilna akcija, Mir / izgradnja mira / aktivizam, Suočavanje s prošlošću / pomirenje, itd. Pokušaćemo da je što češće proširujemo, a obradovala bi nas svaka pomoć ili savet koju knjigu/članak/priručnik biste voleli da vidite u maloj biblioteci :)

Rad: "Suočavanje s prošlošću u kontekstu etnonacionalizma. Slučaj Bosne i Hercegovine, Hrvatske i Srbije"

Berghof Research Center for Constructive Conflict Management je objavio rad Ivane Franović "Suočavanje s prošlošću u kontekstu etnonacionalizma. Slučaj Bosne i Hercegovine, Hrvatske i Srbije". Taj tekst je prerađena i proširena verzija njenog magistarskog rada, a dostupan je na internetu, na Berghofovoj, ali i na našoj internet stranici. Za sada postoji samo na engleskom jeziku.

Radio emisija Most: "Traume devedesetih", Radio Slobodna Evropa

Intervju sa Adnanom Hasanbegovićem i Nenadom Vukosavljevićem u emisiji Most, voditelja Omera Karabega je dostupan na našoj internet stranici.

Regionalna Mirovna Akademija (RMA) 2009

Nakon uspešne realizacije RMA 2008, odlučeno je da se nastavi sa organizacijom ove aktivnosti. Za 2009-u godinu planirane su dve sesije sa po tri kursa tokom svake od njih. I ove godine voditelji/ce kurseva biće aktivisti/ice i teoretičari/ke iz regije i sveta. Datum održavanja naredne RMA planiran je za period 16.07. - 04.08. 2009., a sve nove informacije o ovoj aktivnosti možete pratiti na: www.mirovna-akademija.org

Priručnik za rad sa mladima

U maju 2009. godine trebalo bi da iz štampe izađe priručnik za rad sa mladima, autora/ica iz Nemačke, Palestine, Makedonije i BiH. Priručnik će se sastojati iz četiri poglavlja sa detaljnim objašnjenjem četiri različita pristupa radu sa mladima. Priručnik će biti objavljen na SHB, nemačkom, makedonskom, albanskom, arapskom i engleskom jeziku. On će biti rezultat trogodišnjeg projekta „Youth Power“.

osnovni trening iz izgradnje mira (xxviii)

Travnik / BiH, 19-29.10.2007.

Centar za nenasilnu akciju je u travničkom hotelu „Lipa“ od 19. do 29. oktobra 2007. organizovao dvadesetosmi po redu Osnovni trening iz izgradnje mira. U trenerskom timu su bili/e Sanja Deanković, Tamara Šmidling, Nedžad Horozović iz sarajevskog ureda CNA i Ana Bitoljanu iz MIRamiDA Centra, Grožnjan/Skopje.

Za ovaj trening pristigao je značajno manji broj prijava u odnosu na prosečan broj prijava za trening, čemu je možda razlog izbor mesta: Travnik zimi nije preterano privlačna opcija, sunce rano zalazi, travničke znamenitosti se ne mogu baš uživati itd, no i doba godine - kasna jesen/početak zime je period u kojem se ljudima manje putuje.

Učesnici/se su bili iz različitih regija bivše Jugoslavije - Hrvatska, Srbija, Makedonija, Bosna i Hercegovina, Kosovo. Jedna osoba iz Crne Gore je otkazala u zadnji čas, a jedna osoba je morala napustiti trening već drugi dan, tako da je ukupno bilo 18 učesnika/ca, 9 žena i 9 muškaraca. I pored raznolikosti mesta iz kojih su učesnice/i došle/i nedostajale su osobe pripadnici/e etničkih manjina iz tih regija, npr. Albanci/ke iz Makedonije, Srbi/kinje sa Kosova, ili osobe iz BiH koje žive u sredinama u kojoj su u manjini.

Time, određene teme, koliko god bile duboko obrađene, nije bilo moguće otvoriti iz pozicije manjinske „druge strane“. No, možda baš zbog tog odsustva, generalni je utisak da se većina učesnika/ca vrlo temeljno bavila pitanjem i preispitivanjem svoje odgovornosti i odgovornosti većinske grupe kojoj pripada tokom celog treninga no najvidljivije na temi suočavanje sa prošlošću. SSP je rađeno 3 radioničarska bloka, i, po mišljenju grupe a i trenerskog tima, to je bila najvažnija tema na treningu. Plenarne diskusije i lične emotivne priče oslonjene na iskustva u periodima tokom i posle ratova su dodatno zbližile i povezale grupu.

Drugi značajan momenat treninga je bio rad na osnaživanju pojedinaca/ki za izgradnju mira na svakodnevnom nivou, potaknuti percepcijom dela grupe da se izgradnja mira radi samo na nekim „višim nivoima“ ili da su to samo neke konkretne akcije i projekti.

Tako se došlo do osveščavanja da svako reagovanje na nepravdu ili na stvari koje nam se čine da nisu u redu vodi ka transformaciji društva i pomaže modeliranju istog, a to osobito važi za prepoznavanje i reagovanje na nasilja kojima svakodnevno svedočimo. Rad na ovakvom osnaživanju protekao je uglavnom bez otvorenije konstruktivne konfrontacije unutar grupe i na relaciji grupa tim koja bi doprinela razumevanju, prihvatanju i podržavanju različitosti. U grupi se pomalo uspostavio doživljaj „mi smo isto/slično mišljenici“ koji trenerski tim nije posebno propitivao procenjujući da je taj identitet potreban i značajan zbog izražene heterogenosti grupe. Iz njega su učesnici/e na izvestan način crpili snagu i ohrabrenje za razgradnju vlastitih predrasuda i za budući rad u sopstvenim sredinama.

Celokupnom radu dodatni kvalitet je dalo prisustvo dvojice učesnika bivših ratova. Aktivno sudelovanje bivših vojnika/ratnika na mirovnom treningu unosilo je drugačije perspektive i iskustva te mnogostruko obogaćivalo grupni proces na uzajamnu korist. Uz to, ova dva učesnika, budući da dolaze iz udruženja veterana obolelih od PTSP organizirali su neformalno slobodno veče gledanje dokumentarnog filma „Fantasy“ (produkcija „XY films“, Sarajevo) o njihovom udruženju. U filmu se preko ličnih priča članova udruženja tematiziraju različita pitanja vezana za rat, konflikte, kako dalje itd. kao i specifični problemi sa kojima se populacija bivših ratnika suočava, a za koje većina ljudi uglavnom ne zna. Glavni fokus filma je na problemu post-traumatskog stresnog poremećaja (PTSP) što je problem sa kojim se suočava ogroman procenat bivših ratnika, dok društvo taj problem marginalizira, prvenstveno nereagovanjem i nebrigom, uprkos tome što svi postojeći podaci i saznanja ukazuju na mnogo širi nivo ovog problema nego što uopšte možemo pojmiti.

Trening je metodološki i tematski odrađen u okviru fleksibilnog koncepta CNA treninga koji podrazumeva praćenje stalno prilagođavanje programa stvarima i temama za kojima postoji ili dominantna potreba u grupi, ili je procena trenerskog tima da se dato pitanje mora obraditi urkos mogućim otporima iz grupe (ili up-

ravo zbog njih). Na ovom treningu teme su postavljane i/ili produbljivane uglavnom u skladu sa izraženim potrebama i interesima grupe i nije bilo bežanja od teških i nezgodnih pitanja. Dogovorene satnice radionica su se poštovale što je umnogome olakšalo rad.

Trening je završen nešto ranije od planiranog, u nedelju 28.10 oko 14.30h zbog odlaska velikog broja učesnika/ka što nas navodi na zaključak da bi možda

ubuduće trebali/e i oficijalno planirati kraj treniga u nedelju u podne s obzirom na sve češću situaciju da ljudi svoje odlaske planiraju za nedelju popodne zbog mnoštva obaveza.

Učesnici i učesnice koji su ostali, kao i trenerski tim, organizirano su se družili i posetili Plave vode u nedelju popodne.

osnovni trening iz izgradnje mira (xxix)

Ulcinj / Crna Gora, 04-13.04.2008.

Osnovni trening iz izgradnje mira 29. po redu održan je od 04 do 13 aprila 2008. u hotelu Dvori Balšića u Ulcinju, Crna Gora. U trenerskom timu su bili/e Sanja Deanković i Adnan Hasanbegović iz sarajevskog ureda CNA, Helena Rill iz beogradskog ureda CNA i Ana Bitoljanu iz MIRamiDA Centra, Grožnjan/Skopje.

Treningu je prisustvovalo ukupno 18 učesnika/ca iako je postojala velika zainteresovanost. Dva mesta su ostala upražnjena pošto se dve primljene osobe nisu pojavile ne obavestivši nas prethodno da ne mogu da dođu, što nas je onemogućilo da kontaktiramo nekog sa liste za čekanje.

Učesnici/e su bili/e iz različitih regija bivše Jugoslavije i to iz Makedonije, Kosova, Srbije s Vojvodinom i, najviše, iz Bosne i Hercegovine. I pored velikog broja učesnika/ca iz BiH, zbog njihove različitosti i raznorodnosti nikakva "bosnocentričnost" nije se pojavila tokom treninga, kao ni fokusiranost na, pre svega, BiH temu. Nažalost, na ovom treningu nisu učestvovali ljudi iz Crne Gore, nije stigla niti jedna prijava, što se već ponavlja, posebno nakon formiranja Crne Gore kao samostalne države. Iz Hrvatske nam uglavnom pristiže manje prijave, a osoba koja je primljena, nije se pojavila. Posle dužeg vremena na treningu je prisustvovalo troje ljudi sa Kosova, doduše, bez pripadnika/ca srpske strane s obzirom da se ovog puta niko nije prijavio. Među učesnicima/cama je bilo osoba aktivnih u političkim partijama, medijima, prosveti, u vladinim i nevladinim organizacijama, te osoba koje su učestvovala u ratu.

Nedostatak više starijih učesnika/ca osjetio zbog različitih uvida koje različite starosne grupe prosto imaju na pr. lično sećanje na stanje i probleme u našim društvima dok su ta društva činila jedno društvo, ili u drugačijem otvaranju priče da se izgradnjom mira mogu početi baviti ili se bave vrlo različite starosne strukture itd.

Grupa je bila aktivna, sa energijom za rad tako da se većina predviđenih vežbi vremenski trajale više od uobičajeno a učesnici/ce su se bunili ako ne bi dobili reč i po više puta.

Prvi deo treninga, fokusiran na *rad na sebi*, pokazao se kao težak i zahtevan, no dosta temeljno smo odradili mnoga ključna pitanja i mehanizme koji pomažu razumijevanju nasilja. Jedna od prekretnica treninga je bila *radionica uloga polova u društvu* gde je na površinu isplivalo puno konflikata. To je ujedno otvorilo prostor za "otvoreni" rad na dolazećim temama. U diskusijama se provlačila relativizacija diskriminacije i generalno je nedostajala spremnost da se sagleda i prihvati kompleksnost rodne diskriminacije i sve njene posledice. Stoga smo se u više navrata sledećih dana vraćali ka temi o kršenju ljudskih prava koja se ne baziraju samo na diskriminacijama etničke prirode nego i na sve grupe kojima su ugrožena ljudska prava, prije svega spolne, rodne i seksualne manjine. *Tema nasilje* je isto tako ostavila jak utisak na grupu, čak je deo učesnika/ca uveće posle vežbe veliki barometar "jeste nasilje - nije nasilje" u sobi produžio rad i diskutirao na temama koje nisu bile "otvorene" za vreme radionice.



Drugi deo treninga je išao lakše, učesnici/e su bili/e prilično motivirani i pokazali spremnost za rad na društvenom nivou, različitostima, odgovornosti “svoje grupe”, građenju i važnosti identiteta itd. Ima se doživljaj da je bilo lakše raditi na nekim društvenim temama nego na sagledavanju svoje uloge i mehanizama u društvu.

Tema *suočavanja s prošlošću* je obrađena na općem nivou, praktično kao upoznavanje sa osnovnim pojmovima, pristupima i pre svega razgovorom zašto je SSP važno. Najjači utisak na učesnike/ce je ostavio dokumentarni film “Pticu ti ne čuješ” u okviru radionice suočavanje s prošlošću (SSP) tako da se do dubljeg i konkretnijeg rada na SSP i potrebe za njim došlo preko najpre emotivne a tek onda racionalne diskusije gde se stvorio prostor i poticaj za preispitivanje prethodnih stavova o (ratnoj) prošlosti, trenutačnoj situaciji u našim društvima, odgovornosti “spostvene strane” i empatiji prema onim “drugima”.

Može se reći da ono što je nedostajalo treningu je jasnija povezanost lične odgovornosti sa društvenim nivoom. Nedostajalo je jasnije prepoznavanje svakodnevnih “malih ili manjih” nasilja, nepravdi itd. i sopstvene uloge i odgovornost u svemu tome kao i jače osnaživanje učesnika/ca za akciju, kako na poslednjim radionicama, tako i kroz ceo trening.

Dosta se radilo na *uvidima u regionalni kontekst*, odnosno upoznavanje sa trenutačnim stanjem i problemima u drugim zemljama. Stekao se uvid u te probleme, diskutirali smo o nezavisnosti Kosova, stanju u Makedoniji i Vojvodini itd., a kako je na treningu učestvovalo više ljudi iz iste regije/zemlje (na pr. 2 iz Vojvodine, 3 iz Makedonije, 3 sa Kosova itd) razmenili su se i različiti pogledi na ta stanja. Uvid u stanje u regiji je prvi korak u afirmiranju važnosti regionalnog rada.

Jedna od dilema koja je ostala jeste šta s ranijim odlascima ljudi sa treninga i kako se nositi s novinom koju smo uveli na trening a to je da je vreme odlaska nedelja popodne/ponedeljak pre podne. Iako radni dan, subota sadržajno nije poslednji dan treninga nego po energiji koja je postojala kao da jeste bio. Samim tim radionica u nedelju prije podne odradila se u laganom ritmu zbog pada koncentracije pred kraj treni-

nga, manjeg broja učesnika/ka jer su neki već izjutra krenuli na put i zbog subotnje žurke koja je nekako nagovestila kraj treninga.

I pored planiranog pokušaja da izbegnemo ranije odlaske tako što smo planirali da završimo sa prepodnevnom sesijom u nedelju, 13. aprila/travnja, do neplaniranih odlazaka koji su prilično poremetili rad poslednjeg dana je ponovo došlo, te pet učesnika/ca nije učestvovalo na poslednjoj sesiji.

Treba spomenuti i jedan izuzetno *neprijatan događaj* koji je obeležio trening. U drugom delu treninga jedan učesnik se onesvestio tokom noćnog kupanja u moru i proveo noć u hitnoj službi. Srećom bez ikakvih većih posledica, ovaj događaj je ipak potresao i opteretio grupu i trenerski tim koji je morao da ulaže dodatnu energiju da usaglasi i nastavi rad na i inače teškim temama sa ovim ličnim incidentom.

Metodologija rada je na većinu učesnika/ca ostavila snažan utisak i predstavljala je “otkriće” u odnosu na načine na kojima su pre toga radili na seminarima itd. ili kako su očekivali da će se na ovom treningu raditi. Zanimljivo je primetiti da ih je zbunjivala uloga trenera/ica odnosno njihovo aktivno učestvovanje u procesu i vežbama iz lične pozicije, a ne kao nekoga/neke ko se samo izvana brine o procesu, ko ih “trenira”.

Trebalo je vremena da pojedinim učesnicama to “legne”. Kako je odmicao trening prihvatili su to da bi na kraju, u evaluaciji treninga više njih navelo da su dosta dobili i naučili baš iz takvog trenerskog učestvovanja.

Trenerski tim je radio mnogo, popodnevne i večernje evaluacije i pripreme narednih radionica trajale su satima, što je trošilo dosta energije, međutim došli/e smo da zaključka da su nam te evaluacije bile potrebne i značile i da ne vidimo kako smo mogli/e to vreme efektivno da skratimo.

Evaluacija treninga trenerskog tima iskazala je, generalno, zadovoljstvo konceptom treninga tj. postavkom, slijedom i nadopunjavanjem tema u odnosu na cilj treninga i specifičnost grupe, s napomenom da je trebalo imati na umu ipak nešto više osnaživanja učesnika/ca.

Ana Bitoljanu
Skopje, maja 2008.

napredni trening iz izgradnje mira (iii)

1. faza: Jahorina, 08-18.08.2008.
2. faza: Tivat, 06-13.10.2008.

Ove godine organizirali/e smo treći po redu program *Napredni trening iz izgradnje mira*.

U skladu s našom strategijom da smanjimo ukupan broj osnovnih treninga u toku godine iz razloga što smo

otvorili/e put za neke druge aktivnosti i metode rada na izgradnji mira, ovaj vid mirovnog obrazovanja odlučili/e smo uvrstiti svake druge godine u naš redoviti plan aktivnosti. Ta odluka je osim ovim strateškim idejama

bila vođena i željom da se radi u sklopu s postojećim kapacitetima i potrebama u regiji.

Napredni trening je svojevrsna nadgradnja i produbljivanje našeg osnovnog treninga, kojemu je krovni cilj osnaživanje konkretnog angažmana u regiji i lokalnim zajednicama, afirmacija izgradnje mira kao jednog od prioriteta građanskog djelovanja te jačanje suradnje i mirovnih veza u regionu.

Prva faza ovog treninga održana je od 8 - 18. avgusta/kolovoza na Jahorini.

Ovogodišnju grupu učesnika/ca činilo je 18 ljudi sa područja bivše Jugoslavije različitih etničkih, religijskih, profesionalnih identiteta i različitih interesa. U grupi smo imale policajca, prosvjetne radnike, novinare, NVO aktiviste/ce te osobe koje se aktivno bave politikom.

Fokus prve faze naprednog treninga bio je prije svega na suočavanju s prošlošću tako da smo radili/e na porodičnim i kolektivnim narativima, pretresali/e smo i analizirali/e pojmove i procese u društvu vezane za konstruktivno suočavanje s prošlošću kao i svoje strahove i dileme vezane za njih, pokušavali/e smo diskutirati sličnosti između patrijarhata i militarizma kao i njihova međusobna uporišta.

Za razliku od prijašnjih godina, ove godine smo na prvu fazu programa pozvale i goste trenere, tako da je Goran Božičević iz Miramida Centra iz Grožnjana osmislio i vodio cjelodnevnu radionicu na temu izgradnja mira, a bavili/e smo se i ratnom traumom i potrebom za svijesti o njoj u radu na izgradnji mira, u radionici koju su osmislili i vodili Vladan Beara i Ivan Kralj iz novosadskog Centra za ratnu traumu. Bilo nam je važno raditi na ovim temama, ali i upoznavanje učesnika/ca sa različitim pristupima i metodama u radu na izgradnji mira i suočavanju s prošlošću.

Posjetili/e smo također i Sud za ratne zločine Bosne i Hercegovine što je u svakom slučaju bila jako važna točka u promišljanju cjelokupnog procesa suočavanja s prošlošću i neizostavnog pravnog i pravosudnog dijela koji je samo jedna komponenta koja bi trebala podržavati rad u konkretnim specifičnim zajednicama na tom polju i obrnuto.

Iako je koncept bio poprilično zahtjevan, a teme

postavljene vrlo zgusnuto grupa se s tim dobro nosila.

Teme koje smo otvarali/e, analizirali/e smo ponekad sa vrlo različitih vrijednosnih ishodišta koja su proizlazila iz heterogenosti grupe, a koja su nam svakako pomagala da sagledavamo i društvene probleme iz vrlo različitih uglova i da ih pokušamo uvažiti i razumjeti.

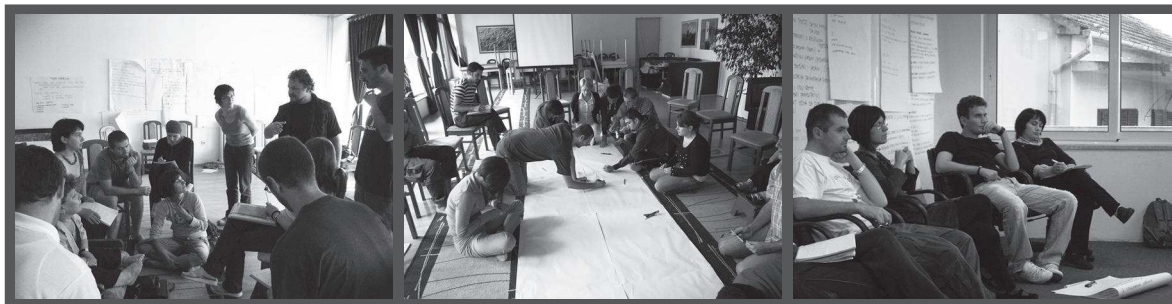
Iako se jako intenzivno radilo na analizama društvenih procesa, često su neki konflikti u grupi ostali neizrečeni, neimenovani i na njima se nije radilo, tako da je to znalo opterećivati atmosferu i rad u grupi.

Raspored je bio poprilično gust i imali/e smo mnogo gostiju trenera te se, nažalost, nismo imali/e mnogo prilike baviti grupnim procesima i konfliktima, međutim, drago nam je što smo ipak posvetili/e tome jedan od posljednjih blokova što nam je uvelike pomoglo u građenju bolje grupne atmosfere i dinamike na drugoj fazi.

Budući da smo na prvoj fazi vrlo sadržajno analizirali/e društva u kojima živimo ponekad ih vrlo kritički secirajući sa raznih aspekata, primijetile smo da postoji jaka tendencija većine ljudi u grupi da na društvene procese gledaju isključivo iz uloge posmatrača/ica, stoga smo odlučile da u drugoj fazi koncept postavimo tako da je skoro nemoguće biti puki posmatrač društvenih procesa tj. da se učesnici/e stave u ulogu aktivnih kreatora načina kako na pojedine probleme djelovati kroz razne forme nenasilnih akcija.

Ovo je bila prilika da se ljudi postave u situaciju da promišljaju na konkretnim primjerima o tome što hoće i mogu raditi, te kroz koje metode i načine, uz pomoć situacija koje smo im mi pripremile i do kojih su sami/e dolazili/e analizom određenih sredina/regija.

Drugu fazu programa smo održali/e u Tivtu, u Crnoj Gori. U grupi, na žalost, nije bilo nikoga iz Crne Gore (a moramo da primjetimo da se nakon sticanja nezavisnosti ljudi iz te regije uopće ne prijavljuju na naše programe mirovnog obrazovanja), a nismo željele da na kraju treninga ljudi iz grupe nemaju nikakvu sliku o crnogorskom društveno-političkom kontekstu. Stoga smo kao jedan od zadataka postavile malo istraživanje: o međuetničkim odnosima u Crnoj Gori, o Crnoj Gori i suočavanju s prošlošću, i o Tivtu kao lokalnoj sredi-



ni. Da bi se ta slika bolje upotpunila uvelike nam je pomogla naša dugogodišnja prijateljica i suradnica iz Podgorice Lidija Žeković svojim osvrtima i viđenjima situacije u Crnoj Gori. Ona nam je ujedno bila i gošća prvog radnog dana treninga (i jedina gošća na drugoj fazi).

Na ovoj fazi učesnici/e su uglavnom radili/e na konkretnim temama/problemima u malim fokus grupama koje su radile na analizi ili osmišljavanju djelovanja u lokalnim zajednicama (Split, Bratunac, te u nešto širem makedonskom kontekstu). Primjetna je bila gotovo nevjerojatna posvećenost i motivacija pojedinih ljudi kao i odgovornost prema nama i grupi u kojoj rade.

Tako da bi se često znalo dogoditi da se priča i radi na određenim zadacima do dugo u noć.

Posebnu notu ovom treningu u kontekstu promišljanja o djelovanju u društvu dala je i diskusija o doživljaju granice kada prestaje nenasilje i počinje nasilje odnosno o granici između nasilja i nenasilja koja je uslijedila poslije gledanja filma „4. svjetski

rat“ i koja je uvelike otvorila važno polje sagledavanja i prodrnavanja naših vlastitih pozicija u društvu kao i različitih koncepata aktivizma i puteva do društvene promjene.

Iako dosta ljudi u grupi nije imalo konkretno aktivističko iskustvo i, iz početka se činilo, neizbrušenu i jasno fokusiranu motivaciju za rad na izgradnji mira, iz zajedničke evaluacije (trenerskog tima i učesnika/ca) koja je uslijedila zadnjeg dana treninga, dalo se zaključiti da je mnogim ljudima ovaj program mnogo značio kao poticaj za daljnji rad i inspiracija za neke nove buduće aktivnosti. S druge strane nekima je bio poticajan u smislu otkrivanja i spoznaje vlastitih potencijala, ali i ograničenja za ovaj rad.

U svakom slučaju, nadamo se da ćemo s nekim ljudima ostati u kontaktu, međusobno se podržavati i nešto zajednički raditi.

Treneski tim ovog Programa bile su Tamara, Ivana i Sanja iz CNA, a program je realiziran uz financijsku podršku Austrijske Razvojne agencija (ADA).

seminar o suočavanju s prošlošću

Beograd, 18–22.11.2007.

Nakon vrednog iskustva s prošlogodišnjim seminarom o suočavanju s prošlošću, odlučili smo da ga organizujemo i ove godine. Naša želja je bila da njime ponudimo prostor ljudima aktivnim na polju suočavanja s prošlošću širom regije bivše Jugoslavije da razmene iskustva, dileme, poteškoće, pitanja, pristupe, uspehe... i eventualno nađu modus međusobne podrške. Takođe smo željeli da uključimo ljude koji nemaju iskustvo rada na procesu suočavanja s prošlošću, ali imaju visoku motivaciju da mu se posvete. Ideja je potekla iz naše želje da kreiramo prostor za razmenu s drugim grupama/ljudima, koji smo uočili da nam je potreban, između ostalog da bismo prevazišli osećaj da smo u tome ponekad sami, ali i da bismo preispri-

tali koliko neki pristupi i potezi jesu konstruktivni i koliko doprinose izgradnji mira i da bismo učili iz svojih i grešaka drugih.

Hteli smo da seminar metodološki bude raznovrstan, pa smo odlučili da pozovemo nekoliko ljudi da uzmu ulogu kreatora radionica na određene njima bliske teme.

Radionice su kreirali/e i vodili/e:

- *Gordana Čomić*, na temu “Uloga države u procesu suočavanja s prošlošću”
- *Jasna Šarčević-Janković* na temu “Kako se društvo u Srbiji nosi s ratnom prošlošću”
- *Vesna Teršelić* na temu “Proces suočavanja s prošlošću u Hrvatskoj: Iskustva Documente”



¹ Istraživanje je dostupno na web stranici documente: www.documenta.hr/dokumenti/istrazivanje.pdf

² U prava žrtava i društva u celini spadaju pravo na istinu, pravo na pravdu, pravo na obeštećenje, pravo na sećanje i garancija neponavljanja zločina.

- *Branko Todorović* na temu “Suočavanje s prošlošću: Iskustvo iz Republike Srpske”
- i *CNA tim (Adnan i Ivana)* na temu “Suočavanje s prošlošću i izgradnja mira”.

Od gostuju/gošći dobili smo značajne uvide. Vesna Teršelić nam je, između ostalog, predstavila istraživanje Documente o odnosu hrvatske javnosti prema suočavanju s prošlošću te percepciji žrtava i stradalnika rata.¹ Jedan deo radionice posvetila je pravima žrtava i društva u celini² i prenela zanimljivu diskusiju koja se vodila u Hrvatskoj oko Memorijalnog centra Jasenovac. Branko Todorović nam je, pored svog iskustva, dao bolji uvid u prepreke i poteškoće koje postoje u radu na procesu suočavanja s prošlošću u RS-u, ali i sa osvrtom na celu Bosnu i Hercegovinu. Jasna Šarčević-Janković nam je predstavila kako funkcionise Tužilaštvo za ratne zločine Republike Srbije i s kojim se poteškoćama suočava: uglavnom nedostatkom političke volje ili političkim pritiscima. Ovo su bili značajni uvidi prvenstveno iz razloga što se u javnosti mogu čuti kritike Tužilaštvu da je sporo i neefikasno, a one su često upućene na pogrešnu adresu. Radionica Gordane Čomić je bila posebno značajna zato što je većina učesnika/ca po prvi put imala priliku da o ovoj temi razgovara s potpredsednicom Skupštine Srbije (ili koje druge države). Od nje smo mogli čuti da je, što se suočavanja s prošlošću tiče, najvažniji zadatak države Srbije da uhapsi „još onu četvoricu“, a pomirenje je, kako kaže,

„važ posao“ - posao aktivista/kinja, nevladinog sektora i pojedinaca/ki. Ovom radionicom smo stekli/le bolje razumevanje kako država tretira ova pitanja, a dobili/le smo i te kakvu motivaciju da poradimo na širenju shvatanja odgovornosti za „pomirenje.“ Posebna vrednost ovih radionica je što je bilo dosta vremena za pitanja i diskusiju.

Grupa učesnika/ca je bila prilično šarolika, relativno mlada (u proseku oko 30 godina), većinom iz nevladinih organizacija, ali i studenti/kinje, ljudi iz prosvete, medija, političke stranke.

Izgleda da smo organizaciji ovog seminara pristupili previše naivno, jer se ispostavilo da se prijavio vrlo mali broj ljudi koji imaju neko iskustvo rada na ovom polju, dok je većina bila bez tog iskustva. Naš je doživljaj da su se neki od onih koje smo pozvali na seminar, a koji imaju iskustvo i te kako vredno razmene, našli čak uvređenim što nisu pozvani da vode radionicu, već “samo da učestvuju”. Tu dimenziju nismo očekivali, ali nam je dobra pouka za neki sledeći put.

Iako smo sastavili/e grupu nešto neiskusniju nego što nam je bila početna želja, odlučili smo da seminar ipak održimo, svesni da će biti nešto drugačiji nego što smo prvobitno hteli. I nismo se pokajali. Dobili smo četiri intenzivna radna dana, visoku motivaciju učesnika/ca, dugotrajne diskusije koje je bilo teško zaustaviti, vredne uvide kreatora/ki radionica i lepu osnovu za neku buduću saradnju.

trening za veterane rata

1. faza: Jahorina, 16–20.05.2008.
2. faza: Ilidža, 20–24.06.2008.

Ove godine smo napravili i šesti po redu CNA trening za učesnike ratova 1991-99. Kroz dvije faze treninga prošlo je ukupno 17 veterana iz BiH, Hrvatske i Srbije i većina učesnika su članovi veteranskih udruženja. Iako je na drugoj fazi nedostajalo nekoliko ljudi zbog opravdanih otkazivanja (njih 6), to nije previše uticalo na rad, dobru atmosferu i energiju u grupi. Ove godine su nam nedostajali ljudi iz HVO-a (Hrvatsko Vijeće Odbrane). To je bila posljedica otkazivanja ljudi koje smo pozvali, ali ostali smo u kontaktu sa udrugom HVO branitelja i nadamo se da će nam se pridružiti u aktivnostima nakon treninga o čemu postoji načelan dogovor.

Kampanja intenzivnijih posjeta lokalnim udruženjima veterana u regiji u zadnje dvije godine kao i zajedničke akcije koje smo sprovedi ove godine dosta su dobro uticale na odaziv ljudi na trening. S tim u vezi ovogodišnji trening je bio prilično kvalitetan u smislu spremnosti grupe na otvorene diskusije o ratu,

razmjene iskustava i spremnosti na međusobnu saradnju. Od samog početka postojala je spremnost i želja da se razgovara o ratnim dešavanjima i viđenjima vezanim za doživljaje, tumačenja događaja i stavove proizašle iz ratnog perioda. Takva atmosfera u grupi omogućila je trenerskom timu da već u početnoj fazi treninga potakne teme u pravcu bitnijih problema vezanim za suočavanje s prošlošću kao što su kolektivna i pojedinačna odgovornost, uloga veterana u ratu i post ratnom periodu i sl. (ovdje je bitno istaći i to da se u neformalno vrijeme treninga puno pričalo o ratu). Bila je primjetna motiviranost učesnika da učestvuju u radionicama kroz plenarne diskusije i rad u malim grupama i također se osjetilo povjerenje spram trenerskog tima u smislu prihvatanja sugestija i uvažavanja stavova. To je potrebno naglasiti s obzirom na često prisutno na veteranskim treninzima rezervisanost učesnika spram članova tima, a pogotovo spram onih koji nisu veterani.

Na momente se osjetio strah od konfrontacije i jasnijeg upućivanja kritike „drugoj strani“ za koju smatramo posebno važnom na treningu kao što je ovaj jer to doprinosi jasnijem izlasku iz uvriježenih društvenih uloga u kojim se se veterane sa svih strana doživljava kao nosioce nacionalizma i ekstremističkih politika, a ne kao grupu koja može samokritički da sagledava vlastitu poziciju u ratu i u društvu uopšte. To bi trebalo da utiče na razgradnju veoma prisutnih etničkih predrasuda i potiče na analitički pristup problemima koji usporavaju procese izgradnje povjerenja među bivšim zaraćenim stranama. Upravo taj element otvorene razmjene mišljenja i zajedničkog traganja za načinima prevazilaženja nacionalističkih tabua daje ovakvoj vrsti susreta veliki potencijal u procesu pomirenja, bilo lično bilo kolektivnog. Zbog toga smo dobar dio treninga u drugoj fazi posvetili problemu davanja i primanja kritike i komunikacije i saradnje sa neistomišljenicima.

Neke od izjava koje ilustruju diskusije o pomenutim problemima koje su se vodile na radionicama:

- *Priča je što je ja svaki dan susrećam sa ovakvim stvarima. Mogu imati stav o drugoj strani. Kako smo pojedinačno svi dobri a vamo nered? Ne propitujem se kakav sam ja, a ako hoću da budem dobar onda moram.*

- *Ako mi neko postavi domoljublje onda to znači da ja to moram da volim domovinu. Ja ne moram da volim ni društvo ni Bosnu ni Hrvatsku ako u tom društvu nešto nije u redu ali mogu da činim sve za to društvo da postane bolje.*

- *Postojao je prije rata i taj jugoslovenski nacionalizam i onda smo od te silne ljubavi sve to rascjepkali i svako je uzeo svoj dio. Nismo brinuli o strukturi ljudi koji su tu živjeli nego je samo svako uzeo ono što je htio.*

- *Nacionalizam hvala bogu ima sva slova pa se može od toga napraviti riječ cinizam. Nacionalista će reći sve o sebi prije nego što kaže i svoje ime. I ja ću znati da je on nacionalista i prije nego što mi kaže svoje ime. Taj nacionalni identitet je postao nešto što je na prvom mjestu i ljudi ga uvijek stavljaju na prvo mjesto, kao da je to nešto najvažnije. Ja bi volio da to bude negdje drugdje, negdje iza a ne prvo što kod nekoga vidim u prvom kontaktu.*

Također ovaj put je bilo prisutna motivacija u grupi da se nakon treninga nastavi sa aktivnostima vezanim za izgradnju mira. To nas posebno ohrabruje da ćemo kao i nakon prošlogodišnjeg treninga uspjeti napraviti neke zajedničke javne aktivnosti za koje smo napravili okviran akcioni plan na samom kraju treninga. Nadamo se da se stvorila dobra atmosfera da na jesen i iduće godine dogode neke od dogovorenih aktivnosti kao što je snimanje kratkih spotova sa mirovnim porukama, na primjer. Raduje nas što su svi prisutni iskazali jasnu želju da podrže i uključe se u međusobne posjete boraca te obilaske stratišta.

Generalno govoreći kod većine učesnika se osjetio priličan pomak u smislu prihvatanja i razumijevanja druge strane i spremnosti za jasnije uključivanje u mirovne aktivnosti u regiji.

Neke od izjava učesnika u evaluaciji treninga:

- *Kada sam dobio materijal imao sam neku sliku, ali to nije ni blizu ovoga. Ovo je nadmašilo moja očekivanja pre svega radionice. Čuo sam tuđa iskustva, te imam bolji uvid u sopstvene probleme, traume... borim se sa sopstvenim emocijama. I dalje smatram da nemam poredrasuda. Mnogo je šira platforma nego što sam očekivao, odsećam se ispunjenim i zadovoljnim, pun sam utisaka i impresija i biću sigurno još 5 dana okupiran time. Svačija reč utiče na mene, ali i na budućnost.*

- *Ne znam koja sam očekivanja imao. Došao sam da vidim. Prošli smo kroz teške stvari na dobar i savremen način. Sistem rada mi se sviđa, dobio sam ono što sam tražio. Bitno mi je i ono kad pijemo kafu zajedno... U meni se nešto pomera i menja i to mi je drago.*

- *Iscrpeo me je. Naše zajednice imaju više zajedničkog nego posebnosti, a uvek se ističu posebnosti i zato je teško prihvatiti...*

- *Prvi dio sam bio pun entuzijazma a sad mi je tu malo pao. Došao sam psihički nepripremljen za trening zbog nekih stvari koje su mi se dešavale prije ove faze. Što se tiče grupe jako sam zadovoljan i nadam se da ćemo biti u svi u kontaktu i nakon ovoga i da će ovo sigurno još da traje.*

- *Prvi dio mi je bio emotivniji i ne kao sam bio zadovoljniji. Tokom ovog rada na praktičnim stvarima sam se više zalagao. Ipak sam dao neki doprinos ali mislim*



da sam mogao i više. Dinamika akvarijuma mi je bila jako dobro. Svidjela mi se ta intenzivna diskusija. Rad tima: „gone li ga gone“. I ono što znam i ono što ne znam oni čupaju iz mene.

- Ja koliko sam dao dao sam. I onoliko koliko sam dao toliko je. Da sam mogao više dao bih. Koliko je bilo od mene - hvala i meni i vama. Kad smo bili na prvom dijelu tamo smo samo pričali. Sad se očekuje od mene nešto pa me malo postrah. Do sada samo ja bio samo pozivan a sada se očekuje i još nešto od mene...

Kontakti sa udruženjim i pojedincima na terenu koji ostvarujemo kroz naš rad olakšavaju pristup ovoj populaciji. Važan faktor također je to što sami veterani šire ideju izgradnje mira među svojim saborcima tako da nam kvalitet treninga iz godine u godinu raste kao i broj veterana spremnih na aktivniju ulogu u procesu pomirenja na ovim prostorima. Posebno bitno u tome je i dobra saradnja sa pojedinim veteranskim organizacijama koja čitavom konceptu omogućava efikasniju multiplikaciju i jača društveni kredibilitet same ideje veterana kao aktera izgradnje mira.

Čini se važno za dodati i to da je dobar dio grupe zastavljen od RVI (Ratnih vojnih invalida) sa veoma

teškim invaliditetima iz rata ili je lječena od težih oblika PTSP-a.

Inače RVI veće nekoliko godina organizuje turnire na prostoru BiH u sjedećoj odbojci (sport kojim se najčešće bave ljudi sa hedikepom) na kojima učestvuju klubovi sastavljeni od pripadnika vojnih formacija iz regije. Takve stvari imaju veliki značaj za uspostvu povjerenja i solidarnosti među veteranima rata bez obzira što su se do prije par godina međusobno ubijali i ranjavali. Čudi zapravo da takvi događaji nisu vidljiviji u našim sredinama jer predstavljaju izgradnju mira po sebi.

Simbolika susreta bivših neprijatelja uvijek ostavlja jak dojam i na učesnike i nas iz tima tako da se sa veteranskog treninga obično vraćamo iscrpljeni zbog napornih dana provedenih u razgovorima o bolnim temama kao što su ratno nasilje, mržnja, žrtvovanje, strahovi, porazi, pobjede,... o kojima nekad nije jednostavno ni razmišljati ali i nadahnuti u isto vrijeme jer imamo utisak da svi skupa radimo nešto jako važno za naša društva kojima su ratovi iz devedesetih ogromno breme.

rad sa veteranima

Svojim radom sa bivšim borcima želimo podvući važnost dijaloga i saradnje sa ovom grupom stanovništva, koja pored teškog ratnog iskustva, na svojim leđima često nosi i breme traumatizovanosti i marginalizacije. Ali i etiketu onih koji najčešće posežu za radikalnim, nacionalističkim govorom i delanjem. Ne slažemo se.

Želimo pokazati da su bivši borci društvena skupina koja posjeduje visok stepen i kredibiliteta i potencijala za *rad na polju izgradnje mira*. Upravo zato što su neposredno, često ne veoma surov način, iskusili rat na sopstvenoj koži.

posjete veterana i veteranskih udruženja iz regije mjestima stradanja civila i vojnika

Sarajevo, Bugojno, Prnjavor; februar-mart 2008.

Tokom II faze prošlogodišnjeg treninga za učesnike rata (30.06 - 04.07. 2007), pojavila se ideja da se organizuju međusobne posjete veterana iz različitih voj-ski i različitih veteranskih udruženja u BiH. Od samog početka je, uz spremnost svih da se priključe ovoj ideji, iskazana i spremnost da se posjetama da neki „dublji“ smisao. Odlučili smo da se tokom tih posjeta obidu i bitna mjesta iz poslednjeg rata i mjesta koja nose jaku simboliku u lokalnoj sredini. Posjetama stratištima i neobilježenim i obilježenim mjestima zločina željeli smo zajednički odati počast žrtvama, civilnim i vojnim, bez obzira na njihovu etničku i vjersku pripadnost. Takođe smo se željeli zajednički upoznati sa različitim lokalnim kontekstima i dešavanjima u toku rata.

Posjete su se desile tokom februara i marta 2008. godine i obišli smo Sarajevo, Bugojno i Prnjavor. Jezgro grupe činilo je 15 veterana iz Srbije, Hrvatske i BiH. U svakom gradu nam se priključivao određeni broj ljudi „sa strane“, uglavnom članova veteranskih udruženja. Ovo je bila i prilika da se ljudi sa poslednjeg treninga za učesnike rata upoznaju sa učesnicima sa nekih ranijih treninga, a i da se svi upoznamo sa nekim „novim“ licima spremnim da se uključe u nešto što se može nazvati „veterani u izgradnji mira“.

Domaćini u svakom gradu su nam bili veteranska udruženja, pripadnika sve tri vojske u BiH (HVO, VRS i Armija BiH). U Sarajevu „Udruženje demobilisanih boraca Armije BiH - Novi Grad“, u Bugojnu „Udruženje razvojačenih branitelja HVO-a“ i u Prnjavoru „Udruženje

demobilisanih boraca VRS-a - Prnjavor“.

Nakon početne ideje koja je iznesena na treningu, inicijativu za organizovanje ovih posjeta ipak je preuzeo CNA tim, što nije iznenađujuće s obzirom na ranija iskustva koja govore da je ovoj grupi potrebno dosta poticaja i podrške za samostalne mirovne aktivnosti. Međutim, kada je došlo do faze realizacije ideje, veterani i njihova udruženja su gotovo u potpunosti preuzeli odgovornost organizacije posjeta u svojim mjestima. Saradnjom i komunikacijom tokom posjeta smo bili jako zadovoljni. Osjećali smo brigu za goste, trud da se da se ljudi osjećaju ugodno i bezbjedno i spremnost da se ideja iskreno podrži. Unutar grupe je postojao dogovor da se odgovornost za odabir mjesta koja su posjećena u svakom gradu prepušti „domaćinima“. Različita udruženja su pokazala različite pristupe u odabiru mesta, neki sa više, neki sa manje spremnosti za kritičko sagledavanje uloge sopstvene strane u ratu, no svi sa izraženom spremnošću za razgovor sa „drugima“.

Takođe je bio dogovor i da ovaj put ne pozovemo medije jer su neki iz grupe rekli da bi se bolje osjećali tako.

Sam program posjeta pojedinim gradovima uz posjete stratištima i spomen obilježjima, uključivao je i prostor da kroz sastanke ljudi razmjenjuju doživljaje, razmišljanja i otkrića do kojih su došli tokom posjeta. Postojalo je i vrijeme za druženje i „takmičenje“ u gostoprimstvu.

Hrabrost koju su iskazali ljudi koji su učestvovali u ovim posjetama je pokazala jedan drugačiji put u suočavanju sa nasiljem i stradanjem koje su ljudi pretrpjeli tokom rata. Od ustaljene pozicije da se samo očekuje da oni „drugi“ prvi priznaju „naše“ žrtve došli smo do toga da su i žrtve drugih nešto spram čega treba iskazati ljudsko suosjećanje, i da je to put kojim će doći i toliko potrebno suosjećanje za žrtve iz vlastitog naroda. Osjećala se međusobna podrška u smislu „ako mogu oni doći kod mene mogu i ja otići kod njih“ i osjećao se dosta visok nivo međusobnog povjerenja. Ovo je bilo nešto što je ljudima omogućilo da prođu i kroz situacije koje i nisu bile baš lake. Nošenje sa strahom, suočavanje sa tumačenjima prošlosti koje bi u nekim drugim okolnostima možda doživjeli kao uvredljive, suočavanje sa procesom prispitivanja vlastitih slika i „istina“ o ratu... A bez ovih procesa, na ličnom i društvenom nivou bez obzira koliko nekad bili teški, vjerujem da nema ni suočavanja sa prošloću.

Ova grupa je pokazala da to može.

Na trenutak izlazeći iz našeg konteksta, može se steći slika koliko veliku simboličku težinu imaju ove posjete 13 godina nakon rata. Na obilježavanju šezdeset godina od iskrcavanja na Normandiju, pojavila se ideja da se pozovu i veterani koji su bili u njemačkoj vojsci. 60. godina nakon II svjetskog rata ta ideja je naišla na odbijanje od strane veterana iz Francuske.

Smatramo da se veoma snažna poruka mira i želje za ponovnom izgradnjom povjerenja može uputiti kada jedna mješovita grupa bivših boraca (Srba, Hrvata, Bošnjaka, itd.) zajednički posjeti različita mjesta stradanja, te kada svako ponaosob napravi u svom srcu i umu mjesta i za žrtve „drugih“ i osjeti istinsku empatiju koja nije omeđena etničkim i vjerskim granicama.

Nastavićemo da organizujemo slične posjete i dalje.

u saradnji sa drugim organizacijama

radionica s dan bar-onom

Berlin, Berghof Research Center, 14-15.02.2008.

Na inicijativu Berghof Research Centra i izvršne direktorice dr Martine Fischer organizovana je radionica s Danom Bar-Onom, mirovnim aktivistima/aktivistkinjama CNA, Miramide i bliskim ljudima iz Kurve Wustrow, ZFD, te iz samog Berghof Centra.

Dan Bar-On, profesor psihologije na Ben-Gurion Univerzitetu (Izrael) i ko-direktor Instituta za mirovna istraživanja na Bliskom istoku (PRIME), radio je na procesima pomirenja i dijaloga u okviru izraelsko-palestinskog konflikta, te između potomaka žrtava holokausta i potomaka nacisti. Jedno od važih postignuća odnosi se na implementiranje narativa (izraelsko-palestinski) u pojedine škole, a posebno je poznat po metodi koju je razvio - "storytelling"-u.

Na radionici smo razgovarali o individualnoj i kolektivnoj istoriji, o samoj metodi storytellinga u čemu smo se i oprobali, o dilemama i pitanjima koje su vezane za mirovni rad i povezivali iskustva na prostoru bivše Jugoslavije i izraelsko-palestinskog konflikta. Poseban deo radionice je bio posvećen narativima, njegovoj ulozi, mehanizmima i dijalogu narativa.

Teško mi je da iznesem zajednički utisak, jer je,

unutar CNA, svako doživeo radionicu na svoj način. Moj lični utisak je i dalje vrlo jak, bez obzira na vreme koje prošlo od tada. Ipak, mogu reći da smo iz radionice izašli osnaženi, inspirisani, ohrabreni. Dobili smo pogled iz nove perspektive, jer toliko uronjeni u naša zbivanja, političke i ine situacije, često nismo u stanju da pogledamo iz druge perspektive. Možda nismo došli do krajnjih odgovora, ali jesmo do novih, drugačijih i do pitanja iz drugog ugla. Imam doživljaj kao da smo dobili malo nekog novog optimizma, širinu gledanja, osećaj da se (ipak) može, podsticaj da se proba ponovo ako nešto nije išlo, da se može ostati toliko topao i čovečan i posle toliko godina rada na teškim stvarima. I dodala bih, iz svog ugla; tolika posvećenost, predanost Dana Bar-Ona ne može da te ne pomeri sa mesta gde si sada.

Sem toga, čuvši iskustvo rada na izraelsko-palestinskom konfliktu koji toliko dugo traje, koji ima korene toliko duboke, i te kako imamo šta da podelimo i šta da čujemo, pogotovo kad neko radi na tome toliki broj godina.

Žalosno je što se ni jedna od knjiga ili drugih radova

In memoriam

Dan Bar-On (1938-2008)

Sa žalošću smo primili/le vest da je profesor Dan Bar-On, profesor psihologije i direktor Instituta za istraživanje mira na Bliskom istoku (Peace Research Institute in the Middle East) preminuo 4. septembra 2008. u Tel Avivu.

Profesor Dan Bar-On je rođen u Haifi 1938. Zahvalni/e smo mu na doprinosu razvoju modela *story-telling* (model ličnih priča), koji je započeo pre nekoliko decenija radeći sa decom nacisti i žrtava Holokausta. Beskrajno cenimo njegovu posvećenost dijalogu među Izraelcima i Palestincima.

Ponosni/e smo što smo imali/le priliku upoznati ovog velikog čoveka, koji je za sobom ostavio rad od neprocenjive vrednosti za procese izgradnje mira. Koristimo i ovu priliku da izjavimo iskreno saučešće njegovim najbližima.





Dan Bar-Ona ne može naći ni na jednom od naših jezika. Stoga smo pokrenuli razgovore sa jednom od nama vrednosno bliskih izdavačkih kuća o mogućnostima objavljivanja nekog od naslova, kao što su *Tell your life story* i *Legacy of silence*.

I još nešto veoma važno, tiče se radionice, ali ne toliko njenog sadržajnog dela. Iniciranjem ove radionice i znajući da bi ovakva vrste razmene s Dan Bar-Onom nama dobrodošla, pokazalo se da podrška koju dobijamo od Berghofa, Martine, Bee, zaista je nemer-

ljiva i da puno znači... Toliko da ponekad ostanemo bez teksta.

Više informacija o ovoj radionici možete naći u posebnom i opširnom izveštaju sa radionice "Dealing with the Past in Israel-Palestine and in the Western Balkans. Story-telling in Conflict: Developing Practice and Research" koju je objavio Berghof centar (link: http://www.berghof-center.org/uploads/download/bar_on_workshop.pdf?LANG=e&id=347)

Helena Rill

trening o istorijskim i kolektivnim narativima

Novi Sad, 07-09.04.2008.

Trodnevni trening o narativima održan je u aprilu 2008. godine u prostorijama novosadskog Centra za traumu. Inicijativa za održavanje ove aktivnosti potekla je od kolega iz CRT i upućena je dugogodišnjim CNA partnerima - organizaciji MCC, sa sedištem u Sarajevu. Kolege/ice iz MCC su ovu ideju prepoznale kao vrednu priliku da našu saradnju obogatimo jednim novim aspektom - zajedničkim planiranjem i sprovođenjem treninga na temu koju smo i ranije zajednički istraživali.

Od ideje do realizacije prošlo je dva meseca. U tom periodu je tim u sastavu Randy Puljek-Shank, MCC i Tamara Šmidling, CNA (uz nesebičnu pomoć i podršku Amele Puljek-Shank, iz MCC), sproveo intenzivno istraživanje raspoložive literature, napravio selekciju korisnih tekstova i pripremio koncept treninga koji će, nadamo se, biti od koristi u budućem radu naših organizacija i partnera/ki u regiji.

Na treningu je učestvovalo 13 učesnika/ca, svi zaposleni ili volonteri/ke novosadskog Centra za traumu, što je značilo specifičnu dinamiku u grupi ljudi koji se međusobno dobro poznaju, ali i koji imaju zajednički profesionalni background (više od 80% psihologa/psihološkinja u grupi).

Utišak je tima da je trening bio izuzetno zanimljiv i intenzivan, a većina učesnika/ca sa izraženom motivacijom za rad na ovom polju. A visoka motivacija uglavnom podrazumeva i mnoštvo pitanja, što je rezultiralo jako zanimljivim diskusijama koje su i za trenerski

tim bile izazovne i predstavljale su priliku za ponovno promišljanje nekih ranije postavljenih koncepata.

Tokom tri dana treninga održane su radionice koje su tematizovale sledeća pitanja: Šta su narativi? Zašto su istorijski i kolektivni narativi bitni za rad na izgradnji mira? Koje vrste narativa postoje? Koji je odnos mita i narativa? Kako neki narativ o određenom događaju/istorijskom periodu postaje dominantan u društvu? Šta se dešava sa narativima „sa margine“? Kako se narativi menjaju i transformišu? Kako su naši grupni identiteti određeni/opisani različitim narativima? Veza narativa i traume? Kako su se različita društva nosila sa sukobljenim narativima? Koji je konstruktivan pristup tome u našem kontekstu?

Korišćeni su primeri iz Palestine/Izraela, Severne Irske, Južnoafričke Republike, Japana i SAD, ali je okosnicu diskusije činilo razmatranje „našeg“ konteksta, odnosno situacije na prostorima bivše Jugoslavije.

Upravo u vezi sa tom tačkom je i jedan od najvažnijih uvida sa ovog treninga, a on se tiče situacije u Vojvodini, tom „multietničkom i multikulturnom rajom na zemlji“ kako ga Vojvođani/ke često vole predstaviti. Utišak trenera/ice bio je da je grupi bilo mnogo lakše diskutovati o sukobljenim narativima u kontekstu BiH, Kosova, Hrvatske, nego progovoriti o tome koliko poznajemo narative naših suseda druge vere i nacije (čitaj Mađara/ica) tu, u „našem dvorištu“. Upadljivo je bilo zaoblazanje ove teme sve do poslednjeg dana

treninga, kada je nakon eksplicitnog pitanja iz trener-skog tima usledila dvosatna, veoma burna diskusija, na temu - Šta je sa mađarskim narativima, znamo li ih, postoje li uopšte u javnosti i slično.

Ništa neočekivano, reklo bi se - poznato je da je uvek najteže govoriti o problemima u sopstvenoj sredi-ni. Teško je, sa druge strane, ne naglasiti značaj da se

insistira upravo na tom nivou priče, kako bi se i nara-tiv o multikulturnoj Vojvodini mogao kritički sagledati i propitati jer izgleda da realnost (barem nekima od nas) priča jednu malo drugačiju priču čije su ključne reči međusobno nepoznavanje, strah i nepoverenje.

Tamara Šmidling

radionica o suočavanju s prošlošću s prosvjetnim radnicima/ama

Neum, 17-18.05.2008.

Na poziv naših kolega i kolegica iz NVO „Sezam“ iz Zenice, dvije članice sarajevskog tima CNA (Sanja i Tamara) osmislile su i vodile dvodnevnu radionicu o suočavanju s prošlošću s prosvjetnim radnicima/ama. Učesnici/e su zaposleni/e u osnovnim školama u oba entiteta u regionu Teslić - Tešanj.

Radionica je održana u sklopu Sezamovog višednevnog seminara, 17 i 18. maja u hotelu Sunce u Neumu.

Nakon višegodišnjeg zajedničkog rada s trenerima/ cama iz Sezama na temama vezanim za njihovo profe-sionalno usavršavanje, ovo je bio prvi put da se u grupi od četrdesetak prosvjetnih radnica/ka uopće priča o temi proteklog rata.

Veliki broj učesnika/ca ujedno nam je bio i najveća organizacijska poteškoća, stoga smo ih morali/e dijeli-ti u dvije grupe jer nije bilo moguće interaktivno raditi sa 45 ljudi.

Iako je otvaranje priče o prošlosti krenulo prilično bojažljivo od strane većine učesnika/ca, lagano se kreirao prostor za otvaranje dublje i ličnije priče o temi prošlosti i nasljeđu rata koje itekako utiče na sva-kodnevni život i rad ovih ljudi (kao i svih nas).

U razgovorima o tome treba li nam suočavanje s prošlošću, što mu doprinosi, što ne, što prosvjetni rad-nici/e mogu doprinjeti u cjelokupnom procesu, bio je vidljiv jasan procjep između onih koji pod paskom nacionalnih ideologija stvaraju školske programe, te ljudskih i intimnih otpora nekih od onih koji ih trebaju provoditi, a koji/e su često suočeni/e s nedostatkom podrške kolega/ica iz istog nacionalno-školskog tabo-ra.

Drugačijih glasova ima, samo što se u javnom pros-toru ne dopušta da se čuju tako da se u ime „dobrog obrazovanja i stvaranja malih Hrvata, Bošnjaka i Srba“ razbija, kao kula od karata, ono međusobno povjere-je koje su neki ljudi godinama gradili/e. Jedan od primjera je i multietnička škola u okolini Doboja (koja je godinama funkcionirala bez segregacije i odvajanja djece), koja je ukinuta, vjerovatno u ime nekih na-

cionalnih interesa i podijeljena u dvije škole. Očito je, naime, da onima koji/e su učvrstili/e svoje pozicije u vladama kroz etnonacionalističke politike i demagogije građenje međusobnog povjerenja nije u interesu.

Ovu radionicu smatramo važnom i stoga što se otvo-rilo prostor da se međusobno čuju ljudi koji rade u pros-vjeti i koji/e misle drugačije od uniformnog, da prenesu svoja lična iskustva, priče, stavove i bojazni i da se po-lagano stvara jezgro ljudi koji jedni drugima mogu biti podrška jer dijele neke univerzalne ljudske vrijednosti koje nemaju veze s nacionalnim i nacionalističkim. Nadamo se da smo i mi pripomogle i dale svoj doprinos tome, barem na osnovu usmene evaluacije koju smo čule od učenika/ca na kraju naše radionice.

Na kraju ovog izvještaja teško je ne osvrnuti se na kontekst mjesta u kojem je seminar održan. Neum je mali hercegovački gradić, koji je ujedno i jedini bosan-sko-hercegovački izlaz na more, naseljen uglavnom hr-vatskim stanovništvom. Na zidovima i okolnim zgrada-ma hotela u kojem smo boravili/e i duž čitavog šetališta uz more zatekli/e smo ispisane nacionalističko-fašističke grafite tipa: „Ubij Baliju“, „Dragi gosti čuvajte ko-sti“, „Naci Neum“, „NDH ustaše“ te iscrtanu ustašku ikonografiju. Sve to ostavljalo je gorak okus u ustima i u zraku osjećaj da mnogi/e od nas tu nisu poželjni/e.

Slika je to sveopćeg bezumlja u kojem živimo, ovog puta s hrvatskim predznakom.

Upravo zbog toga prepoznavanje onih, koji dijele slične vrijednosti i koje to također boli te su spremni/e iskočiti iz uniformnog, taborskog načina mišljenja, za-ista ohrabruje.

Kao reakciju na eksplicitni govor mržnje ispisan po zidovima, s kolegom i kolegicom iz Sezama fotografirale smo grafite i te fotografije zajedno s protestnim pis-mom, po povratku u Sarajevo, uputile gradonačelniku i općinskoj upravi grada. Na žalost, ni nakon drugog prslijeđivanja fotografija i pisma nitko nam nije odgo-vorio niti imamo uvid je li se nešto promijenilo.

Sanja Deanković

međunarodni seminar razmene

Istanbul / Turska, 06-17.07.2008.

Pre nešto više od dve godine (u aprilu 2006.) organizovan je međunarodni seminar razmene u Bilefeldu (Nemačka). Dve članice našeg tima, Tamara i Ivana, učestvovala su na tom desetodnevnom seminaru, čiji je nastavak bila ovogodišnja razmena u Istanbulu.

Ideja je pokrenuta od strane kolega iz nemačke organizacije Umbruch iz Dortmunda, a jezgro ljudi koji su bili u Bilefeldu uzeli su učešća i ove godine, uz priključivanje nekih novih organizacija i pojedinaca/ki. Bilo je zamišljeno da se i u naredne dve godine organizuju seminari u različitim zemljama, na kojima bi iskustva iz svog rada i iz svojih okruženja delili učesnici/e iz Nemačke, Turske, Rusije, Srbije i BiH.

Ovogodišnji seminar su konceptualno osmislili i pripremili Jan Brauns i Christiane Moecker iz Umbrucha, te Tamara Šmidling iz CNA, uz podršku istraživačice Marthe Hesselmans iz Holandije, koja je bila zadužena za pripremu teorijskog inputa.

Predložena tema bila je „Nošenje sa emocijama ponosa, stida, krivice, poniženja u kontekstu trenutnih konflikata“. Predloženi koncept je stavljao akcenat na društvene kontekste iz kojih ljudi dolaze, rasvetljavanje mehanizama i različitih načina na koje naše sredine definišu odnos prema ovim emocijama, te razmenu iskustava iz našeg rada. Takođe su, u cilju što boljeg razumevanja situacije u Turskoj, organizovane studentske posete različitim grupama i organizacijama u Istanbulu.

Međutim, ono što se tokom jedanaest dana dešavalo na seminaru bilo je dosta daleko od željenog i zamišljenog toka.

Najpre, već nakon prva dva dana bilo je jasno da nije lako naći zajedničko tlo za celu grupu. To što svi vodimo treninge pokazalo se nedovoljnim za značajniju grupnu identifikaciju. Kakve treninge? Za koga? Na kojoj vrednosnoj osnovi?, samo su neka od pitanja na koje smo nudili različite odgovore, i u vezi sa kojima su postojale različite potrebe u grupi. Dalje, otvoreno je ostalo i pitanje koliko svi u grupi uopšte smatraju da su društveni i politički kontekst u kome delujemo ono

što presudno utiče na naš rad, ono što ga oblikuje ga i usmerava, ono sa čim je mirovni rad u ili u dijalogu ili u konfliktu, ali uvek u interakciji. Za neke je ta veza konteksta društvenih problema i sopstvenog rada dominantna, drugima gotovo irelevantna, jer sebe vide prvenstveno kao trenere/ice, pa tek onda aktiviste kojima je cilj suštinska društvena promena.

Zatim su polako počele da se pojavljuju „aveti iz prošlosti“ u vidu nerazjašnjenih konflikata, pa i igara moći i osećaja manipulisanosti koje su ostale u vazduhu nakon bilefeldskog seminara. Ubrzo se u grupi osećao jasan konflikt između dve koncepcije - jedne koja je bila za diskutovanje o najavljenim temama, uz isticanje da se radi o seminaru razmene, i druge, fokusirane na „unutrašnje strahove, emocije“ i sl. koja je fokus želela staviti na grupnu dinamiku i procese donošenja odluka u grupi, videvši ovaj skup prvenstveno kao trening. Osim što mi je jasno bilo da je to bio prvenstveno trening živaca, ni do danas mi nije jasno u čemu smo se to još trebali trenirati tih dana.

Kao članici tima moderatora, ostao mi je gorak ukus i osećaj nezadovoljstva načinom na koji se tim nosio sa situacijom u grupi. Smatram da smo u želji da sprečimo manipulaciju grupom od strane par osoba, propustili da napravimo odlučujući korak i da odmah na početku otvorimo jasno i eksplicitno pitanje „Kuda dalje sa ovim seminarom?“. Umesto toga imali smo situaciju u kojoj su svi bili manje-više nezadovoljni i frustrirani, i u kojoj je i rad u timu znao biti veoma bolan i stresan.

Da ne bude da baš ništa nije valjalo, treba istaći fenomenalan posao koji je napravila naša drugarica i koleginica Hilal Demir, koja je učinila da nam boravak u Istanbulu bude veoma ugodan, a na brojne organizacijske izazove odgovarala je smirenošću i maksimalnim učinkom. Prelepi pogled na Istanbul iz radne prostorije u plesnoj školi u Bejoglu-u, brodić na Bosforu, te turski čaj i kafa na fascinantnim ulicama ovog grada pomogli su nam da se lakše nosimo sa situacijom povišenog stresa.





Posebna priča su bile lokalne studijske posete koje su učesnici/e ocenili kao najveći dobitak iz ovog susreta. Zaista je dragocena bila prilika sresti se sa kurdsom organizacijom u Istanbulu, te videti i čuti iz prve ruke, od ljudi u kurdsom naselju, u kako se jezivoj situaciji nalazi ova grupa u današnjoj Turskoj. Populacija od više miliona ljudi izložena je torturi, siromaštvu i kršenju osnovnih ljudskih prava - prava na jezik, školovanje, identitet itd. Poseta redakciji jedinog jermenskog lista u Turskoj pokazala je i odnos društva prema drugoj manjinskoj grupi, koja svedena na brojku od svega 45000 ljudi više očigledno ne predstavlja opasnost, pa im se može dozvoliti da imaju novine i škole sa predmetima na svom jeziku. To što se u toj nastavi koriste udžbenici sa kraja 19. veka (!!!) takođe mnogo govori o kontekstu, ali to je već mnogo šira priča.

Ako ništa drugo, barem smo o situaciji u Turskoj dosta naučili/e, našavši se i u nekoj vrsti zbunjenosti pred pitanjem - Kako pomiriti svu tu životnost i lepotu Istanbula sa ogromnom količinom nasilja koja je odmah ispod površine, a često i na njoj? Dobili smo i odličnu priliku da pravimo poređenja nasilja u jakoj državi Turskoj, sa našim kontekstom slabih država Srbije i BiH. Nagradno pitanje bilo je - šta je gore? I ostalo je bez odgovora, naravno.

Na kraju, očigledna je bila velika i iskrena posvećenost ljudi iz Umbrucha ovoj ideji. Da li će ova ideja biti nastavljena ostaje da se vidi. Iskustvo sa prethodna dva susreta jasno je pokazalo da i ako se nastavi, ovaj posao nikada neće biti lak.

Tamara Šmidling

prva regionalna mirovna akademija

Sarajevo, 18-27.07.2008.

Faktografija

Mirovna akademija za ljude sa prostora bivše Jugoslavije nastala je kao inicijativa četiri mirovne organizacije (*Terca, Mostar/Sarajevo, Centralni savez Menonita (MCC), Nansen Dijalog Centar Sarajevo i Centar za nenasilnu akciju*), a podržana je od brojnih aktivista/ica iz našeg regiona, ali i sveta.

Aktivnost je pripremana više od *godinu i po* dana.

Tokom deset dana trajanja prve Mirovne Akademije, organizovana su *tri paralelna kursa* (svaki u trajanju od osam dana):

- **Razumijevanje društvenih i političkih elemenata kolektivnog nasilja i masovnih zločina i njihovih posljedica** (sa posebnim osvrtom na slučajeve bivše Jugoslavije i Ruande), Vlasta Jalušić i Tonči Kuzmanić, Mirovni Institut Ljubljana
- **Civiliziranje nacionalizma - pacifikacija regije**, Ugo Vlaisavljević i Faris Čengić (asistent), Univerzitet u Sarajevu
- **What Can We Learn From Peace Movements? Lessons of the Past for the Present and Future**, Brian

Phillips, Oxford Brookes University

Za učešće su se prijavile *135 osobe* iz BiH, Hrvatske, Srbije, Makedonije, Slovenije, Kosova i Crne Gore. U procesu selekcije odabrano je 62 kandidata/kandidatkinja. Njih 60 je na kraju učestvovalo na nekom od tri ponuđena kursa.

Smeštaj voditelja/ica i učesnika/ca, kao i prostori je za rad bile su obezbeđene u okviru Franjevačkog studentskog doma na Grbavici, Sarajevo.

Finansijsku podršku omogućili su: MCC, QPSW (kancelarija u Beogradu), a deo sredstava osiguran je kroz *plaćanje participacije* za učešće koja je iznosila 50 € po osobi.

Učesnici/e su bili obavezni pročitati zadatu literaturu koja im je dostavljena pre početka RMA, te učestvovati na kursu *sve vreme*. Oni/e koji su želeli da dobiju potvrdu o pohađanju RMA (tzv. sertifikat) morali su napisati esej na neku od tema obrađivanih na kursovima.

Eseji će biti dostupni na web stranici RMA www.mirovna-akademija.org

Šta smo hteli postići?

Kreirati prostor za mišljenje, razmenu, učenje o problemima ključnim za rad na izgradnji mira u regionu bivše Jugoslavije.

Ponuditi aktivistima/icama, istraživačima/cama i teoretičarima/kama priliku za naprednu mirovnu edukaciju čija uspešnost počiva na stvarnoj motivaciji za *rad na ovom polju*, a ne na dobijanju diploma i poboljšanju CV-jeva.

Poboljšati dijalog između aktivističkog i akademskog sveta, oba sa specifičnim odnosom prema drugome koji se može sažeti rečenicom „TO nama ne treba“.

Hteli/e smo još i ostvariti neke davnašnje snove, odgovoriti na lične potrebe za dodatnim znanjima i novim prostorima razmene, raditi nešto novo i zanimljivo, biti u procesu u kome se nešto rađa od praznog papira pa sve do okupljanja sedamdesetak ljudi iz čitave regije...

A šta smo postigli/e...

Po mom mišljenju postigli smo mnogo. Kako na povećanju kapaciteta ljudi u regiji da se ozbiljno uhvate u koštac sa problemima etno-nacionalizma, plemenskog nacionalizma i rasizma, raznovrsnih otpora mirovnom procesu i slično; tako i na povećanju kapaciteta da se o svemu tome prvo *misli*, pa na osnovu toga i deluje. Konkretno.

Bila je to i odlična (i odlično iskorišćena) prilika za promovisanje mirovnog rada kao istinske i nasušne potrebe naših društava, bez obzira što ona (društva) često sebe smatraju mnogo boljima nego što stvarno jesu. I nastoje da tu zablude nametnu što većem broju ljudi.

Bilo je zanimljivo pratiti dinamiku koja se uspostavljala tokom trajanja RMA, od početne zbunjenosti i

izraza lica koji su govorili „Šta nas snađe“, do kreiranja kružoka koji su tokom kafe-pauza žestoko raspravljali o temama otvorenim tokom sesija. Nepritisnuti okvirom određenim od države i sistema, mogli smo nesmetano i bez cenzure problematizirati i promišljati stvari na način koji je na našim univerzitetima opterećenim „bolonizacijom“ (i debilizacijom) nemoguće ostvariti.

O saradnji

Još je jednu stvar vredno pomenuti u ovom izveštaju, a to je saradnja. Četiri organizacije (i stalni tim od šest osoba) su na potpuno ravnopravnom nivou učestvovali u stvaranju RMA. U dugom i na momente dosta frustrirajućem procesu, trebalo je bukvalno početi od nule, doneti hiljadu odluka i misliti na milion stvari. Nije bilo malo momenata kada smo proklinjali konsenzus i „previše demokratski proces“, te prizivali nekakvog *deus ex machina* da se „iznenada pojavi i reši stvar“. Mnogo stvari smo rešavali u hodu i stihijski, bilo je i grešaka i propusta (neuspeh u namicanju dodatnih sredstava; kašnjenje sa dostavljanjem literature učesnicima/ama); te stvari koje nismo stigli da bolje osmislimo i koncipiramo (eseji i šta sa njima).

No ipak...

Evaluacija koju smo juče (29.09.08.) napravili pokazala je jasno da spremnost za dalju saradnju stoji, da je entuzijazam na visokom nivou, da smo spremni/e da čuvamo i podržavamo jedni druge i ovo što zajedno radimo. Dovoljno da nastavimo zajedno.

A koliko smo sposobni/e da učimo iz vlastitih grešaka pokazaće se već u narednih par meseci kada krećemo sa pripremama RMA za sledeću godinu.

Nazdravljaj!

Tamara Šmidling
Sarajevo, 30.09.2008.

23

miramidani – uloga ratnih veterana u izgradnji mira

Grožnjan / Hrvatska, 11-14.09.2008.

Dvije stvari su velikoj mjeri obilježile rad CNA u 2008. godini. Jedna je rad sa veteranima rata, koji je nakon sedam godina intenzivnog rada i traganja za najadekvatnijim pristupom, dobio novi kvalitet poboljšanog partnerstva i zajedničkog planiranja nekih aktivnosti sa ovom grupom. Druga je intenziviranje saradnje na različitim poljima, sa brojnim grupama i organizacijama u regiji, čemu smo tokom proteklih godinu i po dana bili dosta posvećeni/e.

Događaj koji je u septembru organizovan u Grožnjanu bio je tačka u kojoj su se obje te stvari ukrstile. Bila je to odlična prilika da jačamo saradnju koja je vezana za učešće ratnih veterana u izgradnji mira.

Aktivnost su osmislili/e i organizovali/e članovi i članice: Miramida Centra, Grožnjan; Centra za ratnu traumu, Novi Sad; Izmira, Zagreb; CNA, Sarajevo/Beograd; uz podršku Centra za mirovne studije, Zagreb i grupe mladih iz Vukovara okupljenih oko projekta „Reci

NE nasilju“ koji su svoj doprinos dali u koncipiranju sadržinskog dijela aktivnosti.

Organizovan sa minimalnim sredstvima, uz volonterski doprinos svih voditelja/ica radionica (među kojima su bili i Adnan i Nedžad iz CNA Sarajevo), ovaj susret mirovnjaka i mirovnjaka-veterana osnažio je postojeće i dao vjetra u leđa novim inicijativama koje jačaju dijalog ove dvije grupe i uključuju veterane među aktere/ke izgradnje mira.

Skupila se u Istri tih dana impozantna grupa od oko 50 osoba, uglavnom iz Hrvatske, ali i iz BiH i Srbije. Bilo je tu veterana koji su, osim ratnog, imali da ponude i svoje višegodišnje, ili višemesečno, iskustvo mirovnog rada i mirovnih aktivista/ica različitih generacija i interesovanja. Gotovo svi koji posljednjih godina rade na približavanju mirovnog rada veteranima (i obrnuto) bili su tamo. Neki su nažalost i izostali, ali to je druga priča.

Četiri radna dana bila su organizovana po principu paralelnih radionica, gdje su učesnici/e birali na čemu će učestvovati, shodno svojim afinitetima i potrebama. Ponuđene su bile sljedeće radionice i aktivnosti:

- *Ratni veterani i mirovni radnici - sličnosti i razlike*, Vladan Beara i Miloš Antić, Centar za ratnu traumu, Novi Sad
- *Reintegracija ratnih veterana i uključivanje u mirovni rad* - Goran Božičević i Ana Bitoljanu, Miramida Centar, Grožnjan
- *Mirovno obrazovanje i veterani* - Nedžad Horozović i Adnan Hasanbegović, CNA, Sarajevo
- *Manjine, tu kraj nas* - Mirjana Bilopavlović, Udruga Delfin, Pakrac
- *Rad na ratnoj traumi kao oslobađanje potencijala izgradnje mira* - Vladan Beara, CzRT, Novi Sad
- *Što je danas mirovni rad* - Goran Božičević i Ana Bitoljanu, Miramida centar, Grožnjan
- Promocija filma "Pticu ti ne čuješ" uz diskusiju i razgovor o pomirenju, suočavanju s prošlošću i nacionalnom identitetu
- *Izgradnja mira - proces koji nas svih uključuje, Kako ga približiti građanima? Kako da bude manji „elitistički“?* - Iva Zenzerović Šloser, CMS, Zagreb
- *Žene braniteljice-veteranke/nevidljivi ratnici* - Ljiljana Canjuga i Andreja Kraljević Mišić, Izmir, Zagreb

Za nas je ovo bilo fenomenalno iskustvo, prilika za kvalitetnu razmjenu, prilika da vidimo gdje smo sa ovim aspektom našeg rada, te da jasnije sagledamo gdje želimo biti u dogledno vrijeme. Posebno nam je drago da se stvari rade u saradnji, da naši različiti pristupi budu normalna stvar o kojoj se razgovara, a ne kamen spoticanja i razlog da ne radimo jedni sa drugima. Posebno zadovoljstvo nam je bilo upriličiti promociju našeg dokumentarnog filma „Pticu ti ne čuješ“ pred više od trideset prisutnih. Iako je bilo planirano da film posluži kao uvertira u diskusiju o pitanju pomirenja i suočavanja sa prošlošću, ljudi su bili dosta emotivno potreseni, neki i u suzama, tako da je razgovor poslije filma više ličio na neku vrstu emotivne evaluacije, uz jasnu poruku nama da je „film jako upečatljiv i potreosan, i da je potrebno i važno da ga vidi što više ljudi u regiji“. Tako je ova nepretenciozna „premijera“ ovog našeg filma donijela mnogo više nego što smo očekivali, a moramo primijetiti i da smo imali više publike nego na nekim ranijim promocijama naših filmova u Hrvatskoj.

I dok čekamo evaluacije učesnika/ca koje će nam dati jasniju sliku i o onome što *nije* bilo dobro, nadamo se da će Miramidani postati grožnjanska i regionalna tradicija. Mi smo svakako spremni/e podržati ovu vriednu inicijativu i u budućnosti.

okrugli sto: truth telling in kosovo. which way now?

Priština, 12.09.2008.

Tokom 2007-2008. godine nevladina organizacija *Integra* iz Prištine je sprovedla istraživanje "Attitudes towards inter-ethnic relations and truth telling in Kosovo" ("Stavovi o međuetničkim odnosima i kazivanju istine na Kosovu) koje je bilo praćeno organizovanjem Okruglog stola *Truth telling in Kosovo: Which Way Now? (Kazivanje istine na Kosovu: kojim putem sada?)*. Ove aktivnosti je podržala mirovna organizacija iz Holandije IKV Pax Christi.

U fokusu Okruglog stola bile su preporuke za *truth finding/truth telling* (traganje za istinom/kazivanje istine) na Kosovu, odnosno za formiranje Komisije o istini, i to najviše na osnovu sprovedenog istraživanja. U okviru ovog okupljanja poseban prostor je otvoren za razmenu iskustava na polju truth tellinga u okviru lokalnih zajednica. Ovom događaju su prisustvovali predstavnici/e udruženja nestalih, ratnih žrtava, organizacija za ljudska prava i mirovnih organizacija, istraživačke i pravne institucije i drugi.

Želim ovde da istaknem važnost sprovođenja ovakvog jednog istraživanja. Po mom saznanju, ovo je jedno od prvih, ako ne i prvo istraživanje tog tipa na Kosovu posle rata i dragoceno je imati ga (uskoro će se moći naći na sajtu Integre <http://www.ngo-integra.org/>). Iako je nezgodno izvlačiti neka pitanja i odgovore iz konteksta ovog istraživanja, ne mogu a da se ne osvrnem na njih s obzirom da daju neku sliku koja je bitna za rad na suočavanju s prošlošću i izgradnji mira. Evo meni par najinteresantnijih:

- Na pitanje ko bi trebalo da se angažuje na poboljšanju etničkih odnosa na Kosovu Albanci su odgovorili: Srbi sa Kosova (30,3%), zajedničkim naporima svi uključeni akteri (16,4%), dok su anketirani Srbi odgovorili: svako

individualno (25,4%), te Srbi sa Kosova i Albanci sa Kosova (24,4%).

- U okviru poglavlja *Blaming Game* piše sledeće: U post-ratnim regionima veoma je čest slučaj da ljudi pokušavaju da utvrde određeni faktor (osobu/instituciju/naciju) koji je 'kriv' za njihovu nesreću. Čak i ovo istraživanje sugerise da albanski i srpski anketirani misle da imaju "jasnu" sliku koga mogu kriviti za sve ono što su propatili u prošlosti. Najveći deo anketiranih Albancaca je odgovorilo (95,3%) da su odgovorni za njihove patnje srpski lideri, individue koje su počinile zločine 97%, te srpska nacija generalno 77,1%. Sa druge strane, anketirani Srbi drže odgovornima albanske lidere 96,6%, individue koje su počinile zločine 97,1% i albansku naciju 64,9%.

Doduše, treba uzeti u obzir da ponekad i sami ponuđeni odgovori koje anketirani mora da odabere mogu da nametnu određenu, možda nerealnu sliku, tako da, ko zna, možda situacija i nije tako crna, možda neko gleda i u svoju odgovornost... Mada, gledajući u druge sukobe s ovih prostora, *blaming game* je deo 'folklor'.

Dilema koja mi postoji u vezi s ovim skupom (ali i drugim susretima ove vrste) jeste: koliko ima smisla pričati o međuetničkim odnosima ukoliko nisu prisutni i uključeni ljudi s obe strane, odnosno i Srbi/Srkinje i Albanci/Albanke sa Kosova (Srba/kinja sa Kosova skoro i da nije bilo, koliko mi je poznato), upravo oni koji su bili deo ovog istraživanja i sukoba.

U svakom slučaju, ovo je početak. A za dalje ćemo videti. Mada, kad pogledam istraživanje, mogu samo da kažem - dug put je pred nama.

Helena Rill

hrvatska

Ovim tekstom osvrnut ću se na nekoliko meni najvažnijih događaja u Hrvatskoj u proteklih godinu dana koje doživljam kao važne u kontekstu promišljanja točaka bitnih za izgradnju mira kao i pojava u društvu koje me bole i smetaju mi.

Uprkos snažnom protivljenju Hrvatske katoličke crkve, a ispočetka i većine zastupnika HDZ-a, početkom srpnja ove godine u Hrvatskom Saboru izglasan je Zakon o suzbijanju diskriminacije koji će stupiti na snagu 1. siječnja 2009. Reklo bi se da to i nije neka velika stvar za državu koja pretendira da sebe naziva demokratskom i koja je na pragu ulaska u Europsku uniju. Čitajući tekst ovog zakona bila sam iskreno iznenađena zbog čega se digla tolika halabuka kad je to samo dokument u kojem je na jednom mjestu okupljeno kompletno antidiskriminacijsko zakonodavstvo uz navođenje još poneke nove kategorije i određivanje konkretnih ozbiljnih kazni za njegovo kršenje.

Ne bih ulazila u to jesu li hrvatska zakonodavna tijela spremna i zrela sama pokrenuti inicijativu za ovakav zakon ili je to samo povinovanje zahtjevima Europske unije, ali ovaj zakon utoliko je značajniji što je ovo jedan od velikih koraka u odvajanju države i crkve, makar formalno, koje od '90-ih godina funkcioniraju u čudnovatoj simbiozi.

Bez obzira što Zakon sadržava zabranu diskriminacije u domenama socijalne zaštite, obrazovanja, stanovanja, u pravosuđu i javnoj upravi, znanosti, sportu, kulturnom i umjetničkom stvaralštvu, na osnovu spola, rase, životne dobi, invaliditeta, religije i vjere, sudbina cijelog zakona ovisila je od dva puta, u njemu, spomenutim riječima „homoseksualne“ i „transrodne osobe“. Jer crkva se možda pobojala da će tako biti doveden u pitanje cjelokupni njen nauk i narušeno čudoređe zdravog hrvatskog bića. Na koncu je i HDZ (čija je zastupnica Jadranka Kosor bila i predlagateljica spomenutog zakona) povukao svoj amandman da se iz njega izbriše diskriminacija zasnovana na rodnom identitetu i izražavanju.

Važan je ovo korak za državu u čijem se Pravilniku o krvi i krvnim sastojcima, na primjer, propisuje da su kao davatelji krvi trajno isključene, među ostalima, i „osobe s homoseksualnim ponašanjem“ ili pak u kojoj u

cjelokupnoj sudskoj praksi nema ni jedne pravomoćne presude za diskriminaciju pripadnika nacionalnih manjina na radnom mjestu. To su samo dva od mnogobrojnih primjera demokracije na hrvatski način.

Valjda je potrebno nešto za što ćemo se uhvatiti u nadi da će razdrmati tromo hrvatsko pravosuđe u kojem su pak neki ravnopravniji od drugih, a sve pod krinkom ustava i zakona.

Branimir Glavaš, o čijoj se strahovladi i egzekucijama Srba početkom 90-ih nema više ništa novo reći, zbog „proceduralnih grešaka“ pravosuđa ponovo je „ugledni“ hrvatski saborski zastupnik; imena generala Čermak-Markač-Gotovina zvuče kao brojilica koja se povlači po hrvatskim medijima zajedno s detaljima s njihovih haaških suđenja; „heroj, a ne zločinac“ Mirko Norac uskoro se u zatvoru ženi stomatologinjom iz svog rodnog sela...

Nedostatak debate o hrvatskim ratnim zločinima u medijskom prostoru kao i suštinske, otvorene diskusije o tome što je to u hrvatskom društvu što proizvodi toliko nasilja i mržnje na nacionalnoj osnovi, okamenili su već ustaljeni narativi o nepovredivosti Domovinskog rata i nas malog, ali ponosnog i hrabrog naroda koji se suprotstavio brojno i tehnički nadmoćnijem neprijatelju.

Zbog svega toga valjda se ne treba čuditi što demoni prošlosti svako malo iskrsavaju: preko grafita s porukama s ustaškim simbolima po nekim gradovima Hrvatske (što se maltene i ne kažnjava ili se pak kazni sitnim novčanim izdacima), prebrojavanjem hrvatskih krvnih zrnca „svima onima čija imena zvuče sumljivo“, brutalnim prijetnjama jedinom hrvatskom vojniku koji je bio svjedok optužbe u „slučaju Gotovina“.

Nedavno je bila pretučena i pravobraniteljica za ravnopravnost spolova Gordana Lukač-Koritnik jer je priskočila u pomoć zagrebčanima/kama pravoslavne vjeroispovijesti na Cvjetnom trgu. Kažnjena je od strane grupe napadača jer je djelovala kao odgovorna građanka pokušavajući ukazati na govor mržnje.

Primjera ima još, a reakcije javnosti su poprilično anemične i površne u sveopćoj apatiji prividne „normalnosti“ koja kao da je sama sebi svrha i koja nas je zaglavila u međuprostoru od tuđmanove diktature

90-ih ka demokraciji koja teži EU. A zna se u Hrvatskoj što znači biti normalan/a: biti Hrvat/ica, katolik/inja, heteroseksualan/a, imati djecu i baviti se svojim poslom.

Već se davno izgubila distinkcija između ljevice i desnice, prosto je više teško razlučiti tko je tko na političkoj sceni, ime partije više ništa ne govori o ideološkim usmjerenjima i vrijednostima onih koji ih predstavljaju. Tako je na inicijativu socijaldemokratskog gradonačelnika Zagreba Milana Bandića organiziran koncert pjevača Marka Perkovića Thompsona na Dan hrvatskih branitelja bez obzira na sve kontroverze i incidente koji su se u zadnjih nekoliko godina događali na koncertima ovog pjevača uključujući i neizostavnu ustašku ikonografiju i pokliče „Ubij, ubij Srbina“. Od strane gradskih vlasti incidenti su usmeno osuđeni, policijski inspektor Josip Gašparac suspendiran je jer je protiv Thompsona podnio kaznenu prijavu zbog širenja međuetničke mržnje, napisale su se stranice i stranice novinskih članaka, Josip Gašparac je vraćen na posao, Milan Bandić je i dalje gradonačelnik Zagreba, a Thompson i dalje održava koncerte širom lijepe naše. Mada, se dogodilo i da mu je prvi put u Hrvatskoj zabranjen koncert - i to u Istri.

Nema više ni Ferala. Ugasila se jedina novina u javnom prostoru koja je pružala suštinske promišljene kritike hrvatske stvarnosti i mnogim ljudima davala nadu da postoje oni/e koji/e su spremni/e javno progovoriti protiv nepravde i fašizma. Ugasio se jer više nije mogao mimo zahtjeva tržišta, ali ono što je

žalosno jeste da je izgleda preteglja priča o stečenim nekretninama i lošim karakteristikama njegovih urednika/ca u odnosu na ono čega je Feral bio simbol svih ovih godina...

Opozicija čitavom ovom mainstream mišljenju poneki su ljudi iz civilnog društva koje se baš i ne sluša niti im se pridaje velika pažnja u javnosti, obično su okarakterizirani/e kao neprijatelji/ce, strani plaćenici/e i oni koji su „protiv sistema“, mada da nije bilo njihovog rada i inicijativa mnoga nasilja i nepravde bi ostali nerasvijetljeni, a vjerovatno bi i tekst zakona sa početka ovog teksta drugačije izgledao.

Ne preostaje nam dakle mnogo nego da uložimo napor u propitivanje ove „žabokrećine normalnosti“ u kojoj živimo, pouzdamo se malo više u našu snagu pojedinki/ca i dignemo glas protiv onih koji teže da ovo stanje ostane „normalno“ i pružimo malo više podrške onima koji/e trpe nepravdu po bilo kojem osnovu ili joj se pak suprotstavljaju jer nam zaista fali više međusobne solidarnosti i spremnosti na kritiku i samokritiku da bismo izgradili bolje društvo. Ja se nadam da je moguće, možda će zakon s početka teksta omogućiti da se osjećamo zaštićenije i sigurnije, ostalo ovisi o nama... ili ćemo pak držati u pripravnosti crveno-bijele kockaste dresove i čekati priliku da nam srca zakucaju kao jedno dok budimo hrvatske reprezentacije i pretvaramo se u jedno nacionalno biće, zatvarajući oči za sve ostalo...

Sanja Deanković

amplitude u srbiji, iliti: zračenje

Ponekad se pitam kako je moguće, ako živite u Srbiji, kao uostalom i u cijeloj regiji, da zdrav razum isprati sve društveno-političke amplitude koje se zgusnu u samo jednu godinu i koje u principu idu u minus, a tek retko koja zađe u pozitivnu zonu. Život ovde teško može biti dosadan, jer ako niste baš u situaciji da se borite za puko preživljavanje kao veliki broj ljudi (što pretpostavljam da važi i za druge zemlje u neprekidnoj “tranziciji”), a imate iole političke svesti, savesti ili senzibiliteta za društvene procese, onda vam preti raspon od bar čira na želucu do ozbiljne apatije i depresije. Nije čudo da je samo prošle godine prodato više od osam miliona kutija lekova za smirenje na recept, a pretpostavlja se da se bez recepta kupi i do tri puta više.¹

Ovde ću pokušati da napravim pregled kojim smo sve to društveno-političkim zračenjima bili izloženi u poslednjih godinu dana.

Stanje u društvu naj slikovitije opisuje sve ono što

se dešavalo oktobra prošle godine nakon najave skupa neonacista.

Elem, neonacisti koji se okupljaju oko takozvanog “Nacionalnog stroja”² (od ranije poznatog “bezbednosnim službama”) i njima bratska udruženja iz zemlje i sveta, najaviše marš za 7. oktobar 2007. u Novom Sadu, valjda da proslave Himlerov rođendan, a sve pod plaštom srbskog patriotizma. Kako se policija duže vreme premišljala šta joj je činiti, najavljen je i antifašistički skup na taj dan u znak protesta. Policija jeste zabranila neonacistički skup, a nekoliko stotina savesnih građana/ki se okupilo u centru Novog Sada i nakon kraćeg antifašističkog mitinga pošlo u protestnu šetnju. Sve je vrvelo od policije, ali je uprkos tome grupa neonacista (onih što im je marš zabranjen) krenula da baca kamenje i pirotehnička sredstva na kolonu. Pikanterije vezane za ovaj događaj su: a) neonacisti vrše napad iz dvorišta Doma Vojske (gađajući kolonu preko ograde); i b) policija koja obezbeđuje

¹ Vesti B92, 14.04.2008.

² Skraćeno NS, pod čim pristalice uglavnom podrazumevaju nacional-socijalizam.

antifašistički skup je licem okrenuta prema tom skupu, kao da opasnost vreba odatle, a ne od mogućih napada na skup.³ I ovo bi verovatno bio marginalan događaj, kao što je neonacizam ipak marginalna pojava, da se u javnosti nije digla prašina oko toga i da velika većina komentatora događaja nije stvar relativizovala tvrdnjama kako su i jedni i drugi: ekstremni. (To se moglo čuti posebno sutradan sa skupštinske govornice, a trajalo je satima.) Hoće reći neonacisti i antifašisti su ista ekstremna (a pretpostavimo onda i neželjena) pojava za ovo mirno srpsko društvo. I upravo ovaj pristup najbolje oslikava stanje u kome se naše društvo već dugi niz godina nalazi. I upravo zbog rasprostranjenosti takvog pristupa mi ne pravimo skoro ni korak dalje od onog započetog 5. oktobra pre osam godina.

A od tog 5. oktobra do danas mi kao da smo se nalazili u neprekidnim predizbornim kampanjama, pošto smo skoro svake godine imali nekakve izbore ili bar referendum. Početkom ove imali smo prvo predsedničke izbore na kojima je jedva izgubio radikal Nikolić, a potom u maju lokalne i vanredne parlamentare izbore. Pošto niko nije sam mogao da formira vladu, narednih nekoliko meseci smo čekali šta će se dogoditi, odnosno ko će se pokazati kao bolji trgovac. I onda se dogodilo ono što nismo mogli ni da zamislimo onog 5. oktobra: Demokratska stranka i Socijalistička partija Srbije su oformile koaliciju i formirale vladu. A ako se dobro sećam, u toku tog velikog udvaranja, predsednik DS-a je čak pozvao na pomirenje među ovim strankama i izjavio da "svako ima svoju bol", odnosno da su i DS i SPS imale nesreću da izgube svoje predsednike.⁴ Ta ljubav se verovatno ne bi rodila da su najjači lideri tih stranaka, izraziti protivnici, danas među živima: jedan je umro prirodnom smrću u Ševeningenu, optužen za ratne zločine i čekajući (nikad donetu) presudu, drugi je, ne zaboravimo, ubijen usred bela dana u centru Beograda ispred zgrade vlade vršeći funkciju premijera ove države. A to je i te kako bitna razlika.

Najlepša vest povodom sklepanja te vlade jeste da nam je razvlašćen dugogodišnji prvo predsednik, a onda premijer, onaj koga Srđa Popović s razlogom naziva "trojanskim konjem,"⁵ onaj koji je gurao klipove u točkove skoro svim pokušajima korenitijih reformi, koji je godinama štitio Miloševićeve poslušnike uhlebljene po raznim "bezbednosnim službama" i sličnim udobnim pozicijama: Koštunica Vojislav. Pre nego što ga je raz-

vlastilo, još početkom godine, uspeo je da nam priredi moleban za Kosovo, kao reakciju na proglašenje nezavisnosti istog, koji se završio opštim haosom, neredima i pljačkom po Beogradu. Zanimljivo, policija nije imala ovlašćenje da ovo spreči.

A od te priče o Kosovu, čini se, još dugo se nećemo oporaviti. Ne od pomenutih nereda i pljačke, već od nepresušnog goriva za podgrevanje nacionalizma i etnocentrizma kojih imamo za izvoz. A čisto sumnjam da će se ista pomeriti u pozitivnom smeru u tim srpsko-albanskim odnosima, dok god ne dođe do nekakvog dogovora između samih "strana," bez uplitanja onih kojima je sila legitimo sredstvo za vaspostavljanje demokratije po belom svetu.

S tim u vezi, još jedan od udara na srpsku javnost bila je aprilska oslobađajuća presuda zločincu Haradinaju u Hagu. I što reče Dejan Anastasijević "verovatno nijedna sudska presuda nije izazvala toliko protesta, ogorčenja, pa i čistog besa u Srbiji,"⁶ i to ni dva meseca od "otimanja Kosova." A poslednji udar, na koji javnost i nije nešto reagovala, verovatno već iscrpljena i preumorna od tih zavrzlama, iako su se političke elite trudile da je trgnu povicima o "bratskoj izdaji" i o "nožu u leđa," jeste skorašnje priznavanje Kosova od strane Crne Gore i Makedonije i to baš u trenutku medijskog delirijuma o međunarodnoj pobjedi "koju smo izvojevali." No, pošto sam i ja umorna od te priče o Kosovu, nemam ni volje ni snage da joj posvetim više pažnje, jer smo je, što jednom reče Petar Luković, imali i za doručak i za ručak i za večeru. Bukvalno.

Tek malo nakon formiranja ove najnovije vlade, u kojoj SPS-ovci sede kao potpredsednici, ministri policije, prosvete i infrastrukture, čini se da je ceo svet šokirala vest da je uhapšen, glavom i bradom, Radovan Karadžić. Dok je velika većina bila ubeđena da mu se nikad u trag neće ući, taj zločinac je "tihovao"⁷ tu na Novom Beogradu, vozio se gradskim prevozom, čak i na javnim tribinama i predavanjima učestvovao, a možda se i na promocijama svojih knjiga u Beogradu pojavljivao, kojih je pravoslavno tihujući čitavo tuce napisao. Mnoge je unesrećilo to što im je ispred nosa umaklo 5 miliona dolara. Neke je nešto drugo unesrećilo, pa se eno, i dan danas, okupljaju na beogradskom Trgu Republike, sve u žalosti zbog hapšenja ovog zločinca odgovornog za smrt i upropaštavanje života desetini hiljada ljudi (a najverovatnije nekoliko miliona), ali

³ Miloš Vasić je napisao odličan tekst povodom toga: „Krv (‘i čast’) u prisustvu vlasti,“ *Vreme* br. 875, 11.10.2007.

⁴ A pre koji dan, tačnije 18.10.2008. Boris Tadić (u ime DS) i Ivica Dačić (u ime SPS) potpisaoše „Deklaraciju o političkom pomirenju i zajedničkoj odgovornosti za ostvarivanje vizije Srbije kao demokratske, slobodne, celovite, ekonomski i kulturno razvijene i socijalno pravedne zemlje.“

⁵ Srđa Popović u *Peščaniku*, *Radio B92*, 13.06.2008.

⁶ Dejan Anastasijević, *Vreme* br. 901, 10.04.2008.

⁷ Za sport zvani "tihovanje" je većina građanskog sveta saznala tek nakon hapšenja pomenutog. A on nema nikakve veze sa etničkim čišćenjima, vaspostavljanjem etničkih granica i tome slično, što bi mnogi automatski povezali sa novim stanovnikom Ševeningena, već se ispostavilo da je to neka pravoslavna meditacija, da se ovako laički izrazim.

toliki ih je broj da prolaznici čak i ne primete da su tu. Ono što je mene neopisivo iznerviralo jeste kako su se ponašali mediji, domaći, ali i međunarodni. Elem, danima smo mogli da slušamo kako se taj majstorski prerusio i sve nas za nos vukao, u koju je kafanu išao, šta je voleo da pije, kakav je jogurt nabavljao i zdravu hranu jeo, da li je imao ljubavnicu, i da li je njegova žena znala za to... Pravi holivudski triler tu u našem komšiluku. A taj triler je potpuno prekrrio užase za koje je taj zločinac odgovoran. Jer, šta li, bolje je javnosti puštati vesti koje će ih zabaviti, nego tu istu javnost podsetiti šta to uporno pokušava da porekne ili zaboravi.

Čini mi se da će se agonija nastaviti, jer ono što nam sledi je odbrana tog u Hagu, koji će se, kao i njegova braća, sam braniti. Oni koji su iole pratili suđenje Miloševiću, a posebno Šešelju, svesni su kakav je to cirkus. A taj cirkus se među mladim (i ne tako mladim) patrijotama prati kao utakmica između "nas" i "njih", sve računajući "golove koje smo im zavalili." Uzgred, ako propustite koji od prenosa suđenju Šešelju, možete ga nabaviti od tih istih patrijota koji razmenjuju snimke po internetu. Pretpostavljam da će tako biti i s ovim novim stanovnikom Ševeningena.

Nego, da se vratim na poricanje. Ta tradicija se uporno nastavlja, a posebno je izražena svakog jula na dan obeležavanja zločina u Srebrenici, odnosno susjednom Bratuncu. Za neupućene, ovi poricatelji konstantno licitiraju brojem žrtava, poričući "bošnjačke" i podcrtavajući "srpske." Na primer zloglasni Kurir je

ovog jula objavio izjavu izvesnog Milivoja Ivaniševića, koji je valjda bio član senata RS-a, a koji tvrdi da u Srebrenici nije bilo civilnih žrtava jer je "do 2005. pronađeno samo jedno žensko telo." Pri tom on okupljanje u Potočarima naziva "balom vampira" jer "to su isti oni koji su popalili na stotine srpskih sela i pobili na hiljade srpskih civila... E, sad dolaze njihovi saborci da se poklone, da im odaju priznanje za zločine i da se zakunu da će nastaviti sa zverstvima."⁸ 'Ajde što nikakve sudske presude i komisije ovakvim mišljenjima neće stati na put, nego neće stati ni medijima koji će bez problema ponuditi ovakvima medijski prostor. A jedan deo javnosti će te ne-argumente oberučke i dalje prihvatati, jer je to mnogo lakše nego nositi se sa osećajem u najmanju ruku stida, ako ne odgovornosti ili krivice.

Verovatno bi bilo nepravedno da završim ovaj pregled a da ne pomenem srpski, a posebno beogradski ovogodišnji ponos i diku: Evroviziju koja je prilično uspešno i gledano organizovana u prestonici. Ovde je bosanski izvođač bio apsolutni favorit. A ono što je mene radovalo jeste reklama za njegov album koja se danima vrtela po radiju, sa apelom: „Spremi se za akciju: podrži komšiju!“ Eto, naidoh i na koju pozitivnu amplitudu.

Tako vam je to u zemlji čije stanovnike čak i Ustav deli na „Srbe“ i „građane.“ Kao da jedno i drugo ne može zajedno.

*Ivana Franović
Oktobar 2008.*

o kontekstu mirovnog rada u sarajevu ili „bolje biti fašista nego peder“

Tekst koji je pred vama predstavlja vrlo ličan, vrlo pristrasan i vrlo subjektivan pogled na trenutno „stanje duha“, ne toliko u čitavoj BiH, koliko u njenom glavnom gradu Sarajevu. Takvim odabirom nipošto ne želim poslati poruku da je Sarajevo reprezentativno za čitavu zemlju, niti da je jedino važno šta se u Sarajevu zbiva. Još manje time želim reći da je Sarajevo bitno drugačije, ili nedajbože bolje, od ostatka BiH, barem po problemima koji ovde postoje. Jedina mi je namera govoriti o onome što najbolje poznajem, onome što mi je najbližije i u ovom trenutku najrelevantnije. A pažljivo oko i um umeće da iz priče o glavnom gradu iščitaju i širi kontekst Bosne i Hercegovine. A verovatno i šire.

Da se odlučim baš za pisanje o Sarajevu potaknuli su me događaji u vezi sa pokušajem održavanja prvog Queer Festivala u (mom?) gradu, toj čaršiji planetarno poznatoj po „izuzetno visokom stepenu tolerancije i

multikulturalnosti“. Ova poslednja se najčešće ilustruje poznatom (i priglasnom) rečenicom o „crkvi, katedrali i džamiji - jednoj pored druge, u samom centru grada“. Baš tako. Multikulturalnost Sarajeva je od one vrste kakvu sanjaju i u praksu sprovode verske elite koje su zasele po crkvama i džamijama. A za njima i političari/ke zaseli po mnogobrojnim vladama i parlamentima, koji svoju nekompetentnost, nesposobnost, glupost i nepismenost naplaćuju „najsкупljim platama“ u regionu (3000 eura mesečno su prosečna mesečna primanja poslanika/ca Parlamenta BiH). A ta vizija tolerancije i multikulturalnosti osim fraza o međunacionalnoj i međuverskoj *trpeljivosti*, naročito nakon što se uspostavi situacija gde je jasno ko je gornji (većina), a ko donji (manjina), ne trpi ništa što je makar malo drugačije od formule „čovjek=vera + nacija“. Pa bili to praktikanti joge, komunisti, pripadnici Hare Krišna ili različitih sub-kulturnih grupacija. A

⁸ Kurir, 11.07.2008.

o mrskim nam „pederima i lezbačama“, da upotrebim terminologiju izvesnih tzv. novinara/ki, da ne govorimo. Upravo je odnos prema ljudima koji pripadaju LG-BTTIQ populaciji pokazao da je ta razvikana sarajevska multikulturalnost zapravo samo druge lice užasavajuće *istosti*, monokulturalnosti u kojoj su sve naše navodne razlike samo dimna zavesa za nesposobnost i nemanje želje da se *misli*, te da se *misli drugačije* od kičerskih nacionalno-versko-estradno-kapitalističkih kategorija.

Tako je jedno kulturno dešavanje postalo tačka ukrštanja različitih fašističkih strujanja i napada sa različitih pozicija društvenog spektra (od doktorica medicine, preko političara, do novokomponovanih i starokomponovanih (njih posebno) vernika/ca. I navijača i ostale „pijane mladeži“ koja je u našim društvima na neki volšeban način na kraju uvek najodgovornija za činjenje nasilja kojeg se poštteni ljudi, kao, stide. Pitanje Queer Festivala je takođe preko noći postalo političko pitanje *par excellence*, uprkos tome što se ono htelo svesti na tzv. *moralni* problem. Dovoljno je bilo da par štampanih medija (Dnevni Avaz, Saff, Press) donesu bombastične napise kojima se u centar pažnje smešta navodno najavljeno „paradiranje homoseksualaca po Sarajevu u vreme Ramazana“, pa da ustane „kuka i motika“, u odbranu nacionalnih i verskih osećaja. Odjednom je pitanje „Ko to smiješta Bošnjacima?“ postalo centralno, a paralelno sa bavljenjem tim pitanjem od *vitalnog nacionalnog značaja*, organizatorice festivala su izložene javnom linču, pretnjama nasiljem i smrću, diskriminaciji na svakom koraku i slično. Odjednom je homofobija postala faktor oko koga su se mogli ujediniti profesionalni Srbi/kinje, Hrvati/ce i Bošnjaci/kinje, inače nesposobni da se slože oko bilo čega drugog. Nekako ni arhi-neprijatelji četnici više nisu izgledali toliko *četnički*, i sa velikim uvažavanjem pominjana je njihova reakcija na gej paradu u Beogradu u junu 2001. - tako *muška*, tako *odlučna*¹. Homofobija je tako postala tačka u kojoj debilna pesmica nekog sarajevskog pop-bendića „Isti smo mi Hercegovci i Bosanci“ dobija svoje pravo značenje. Vala isti smo, isti u sva tri fabrička modela - muslimanskom, katoličkom i pravoslavnom.

Naizgled se glavna bitka vodila na internet forumima, koji su pravo lice intelektualne i duhovne bede našeg vremena i najbolja potvrda teze o „nestanku javnog čoveka“. Zaštićeni anonimnošću i gomilom

istomišljenika/ca, oslobođeni od bilo kakve odgovornosti, mnogi/e su pohrlili da iznose svoje pretnje „bosanskom oDpadu“, da prete polivanjem benzinom i paljenjem bolesnih homoseksualnih tela, odsecanjem glava i vađenjem creva. I sve to radi odbrane vere i svetog meseca Ramazana. Aferim.

Za to vreme su stvarni akteri naše duhovne bede verski poglavari (u ovom slučaju poglavari Islamske zajednice), političari, javne ličnosti, gnevni ratni veterani (takođe bez imena i prezimena), ali i neki iz tzv. civilnog društva, nastojali ili da izraze svoje neslaganje sa organizovanjem Festivala (šifra: mora li privatno postati javno, pa ni mi heteroseksualni ne paradiramo!) ili da celu situaciju relativizuju (šifra: svako ima prava na svoja ljudska prava, ali ovde su obe strane preterale!).

Naposletku, pretnje su se obistinile i na ulicama Sarajeva je 24. septembra došlo do nasilja i premlaćivanja učesnika/ca i podržavalaca/teljki Queer Festivala. Organizatorice su najpre najavile zatvaranje Festivala za javnost, a nakon što su ozbiljne pretnje i dalje stizale, Festival je prekinut. Sarajevo je odbranjeno od bolesti! Sarajevo je opet *čisto i zdravo*! Neće nama nekakve *Svetlane i Bobe*² da organizuju provokatorske, k'o fol, umetničke festivale!

E sad, šta nam sve ovo govori o današnjem Sarajevu?

Najpre, organizatorice su, po sudu javnosti, napravile fatalnu grešku - nisu se konsultovale sa verskim kalendarima. Kakve to veze ima u državi koja je Ustavom definisana kao sekularna? O tome se mora ozbiljno misliti i diskutovati. Sme li se neko više usuditi da organizuje umetnički festival u doba verskih praznika? Hoćemo li u budućnosti morati tražiti dozvole od reisa, patrijarha i nadbiskupa za bilo koje javno delovanje? I gde se može postaviti granica u svemu tome?

Dalje, zašto je deklarativno multikulturalnom, a dokazano monokulturnom Sarajevu važno što se neko zove *Boba ili Svetlana*? Da li bi takva „uvreda vere“ lakše pala da je počinjena od strane *Džemile i Amile*³? Otkud teranja „nazad u Beograd“ i „m'rš u Srbiju“, otkud rovanjenja i onanisanja nad nečijim poreklom i imenom? I na ovo je potrebno dati ozbiljan i promišljen odgovor, a ne mahati oveštanim parolama tipa „Ma to govore papci, a mi smo raja što sluša EKV“.

Oteralo je posleratno Sarajevo mnoge, a privuklo

¹ 30. juna 2001. godine u Beogradu je trebalo da se desi prva Parada ponosa lezbejske, gej, biseksualne, transrodne populacije. Povorka je trebalo da se okupi na Trgu Republike i krene u šetnju do Studentskog Kulturnog Centra, gde je bio planiran celodnevni program. Međutim, više stotina navijača, članova ekstremno desničarskih i ekstremno nacionalističkih organizacija, predvođeni nekim sveštenicima SPC, i uz prećutni blagoslov policije, teškim fizičkim nasiljem sprečili su učesnike/ce Parade da uopšte pridu Trgu Republike. Tačan broj brutalno pretučenih učesnika/ca Parade nije poznat, a do danas za to niko nije krivično odgovarao.

² Imena organizatorica, članica Udruženja Q iz Sarajeva. Imena upadljivo nebošnjačka i nemuslimanska, te stoga problematična.

³ Dva tipična ženska muslimanska/bošnjačka imena, nasumice i bez ikakve skrivene ili zadnje namere izabrana.

slabo koga. Godinama uljuljkivano u imidž grada-žrtve, u pogubno verovanje da će na konto istinskih i groznih patnji tokom opsade 92-95. grad večno zadobijati simpatije i razumevanje, Sarajevo (ili bar jedan njegov deo) sada se sa teškim mamurlukom budi iz tog sna.

I šta vidi? Oronulu prestonicu, gotovo bez ikakvog kulturnog života, mahalu u kojoj caruju nepismenost i prosečnost, sa četiri knjižare, dva kina i tri pozorišta. Mogu videti grad koji se trudi da ide ukorak jedino sa tajkunsko-kapitalističkim merilima po kojima broj kvadrata šoping centara i poslovnih zgrada čine jedini relevantan parametar za (p)ostajanje gradom. Nije onda čudno što su se *umetnička* dešavanja našla na meti, i što je *umetnička* provokacija bauk koga se ovo društvo plaši. Pa zar ne znaju već i vrapci na grani da umetnost odavno već ne treba više da provocira nego da se prodaje i uljuljuje. Džamija/crkva i šoping centar - šta poštenom čoveku više treba, posebno nakon što je namakao za život uz pomoć 101. kredita u zadnje tri godine.

Sve je više onih koji svoje knjige, članke i kolumne pišu sa nekih drugih adresa u svetu. A umesto njih tu su momci sa dugačkim bradama i skraćenim pantalonama, radikalno-islamska verzija komisija za mo-

ralno-političku podobnost koji prostor za sebe i svoje nakaradne *političke vizije* mudro osvajaju, nošeni vetrom opšte ignorancije, apatije i duhovne lenjosti ovog grada i zemlje. I nema veze što se životni stil 90% ovdašnjih ljudi ne uklapa u tu viziju, čini mi se da preovladava mišljenje „nema veze neka nama „braće“, treba neko i pedere tući“. Upravo je tu Sarajevo dostiglo najnižu tačku svog propadanja. Pustili smo da takvi budu „udarna pesnica“, odnosno da deluju u ime velike većine društva. I sad nema nazad. Prirodno pitanje koje se nameće je - ko je sledeći?

Intelektualnog i ljudskog poštenja radi, treba naglasiti da je u svemu ovome bilo i onih koji su se usprotivili, koji su svoje kapacitet i kredibilitet usmerili u dizanje glasa protiv nasilja i diskriminacije. I njima, posebno redakciji magazina „Dani“, svaka čast. Da li je to dovoljno za *grad* Sarajevo videćemo. Možda već u sledeću subotu (04.10.) kada će biti organizovani građanski protesti protiv nasilja, ili u nedelju (05.10.) kada se organizuju lokalni izbori u celoj BiH.... Slaba vajda, ali videćemo...

Tamara Šmidling
Sarajevo, 01.10.2008.

makedonija od oktobra 2007 do oktobra 2008

Proteklu godinu definitivno je obeležio makedonsko-grčki spor oko imena Republike Makedonije. Svi ostali događaji su se našli u senci tih pokušaja da se navodno nađe konačno rešenja dugogodišnjeg spora. Raznim pregovorima, dogovorima, otvorenim i manje otvorenim svađama, bazično se ništa nije postiglo, a dalja podela i raslojavanje makedonskog društva je posledica takvog rezultata. No, krenimo redom...

U oktobru 2007 poginuo je pevač Toše Proeski. Smrt nekog pevača, koliko kod tragična bila, obično ne zauzima značajno mesto, niti snažnije utiče/oslikava političko, ekonomsko ili duhovno stanje u nekoj zemlji. Međutim, vrlo brzo postaje jasno da je on za Makedoniju bio više od samo pevača. Povodom njegove smrti proglašen je dan žalosti, a sam Proeski postaje važan za tumačenje nekih pojava u godini koja sledi. Na izvestan način on je predstavljao mogućnost ostvarenja nekog sna: od siromašnog rodnog mesta do balkanske megazvezde koja pri tom ostaje skromna osoba kakva je i bila i koja se predano bavi humanitarnim radom na prostoru bivše Jugoslavije, ne deleći ljude ni po kakvom principu, a posebno ne po nacionalnom. Zbog toga, u tom procesu tugovanja javio se nekakav osećaj zajedništva, nešto što građani/ke Makedonije nisu dugo dugo osetili, kako unutar samog društva tako i u regiji. Dalje, ljudi i organizacije koje se bave

humanitarnim i volonterskim radom u Makedoniji direktno povezuju tragičnu smrt Proeskog sa povećanim brojem humanitarnih akcija i volonterskog rada u protekloj godini, što za inače inertnu Makedoniju nije mala stvar. Druga strana medalje je, da je njegova smrt nažalost često korištena da potvrdi teorije „proklete i napaćene Makedonije“, gde „ništa zdravo i dobro ne može da zaživi“, jer „neke mračne i više sile vladaju Makedonijom“ itd. Tako, kad se prihvate sve ove teorije prosečnom građaninu/ki Makedonije ne preostaje ništa drugo nego da se pomiri sa sudbinom onoga koji se ništa ne pita i koji naravno onda ne može ništa ni da promeni (a političke strukture se dodatno pobrinu da se ovakva percepcija održi). Uloga žrtve ponovo se javila u domaćem folkloru, delom svakako i kao odgovor na potrebu ljudi da nađu nekakvo opravdanje za osećaj beznačajne zaglavljenosti u 17 godina dugom tranzicijskom procesu.

Zbog makedonsko-grčkog spora sa imenom, u drugi plan su došli makedonsko-albanski odnosi i problemi. Posle dugogodišnjeg raspravljanja argumentima i ne-argumentima činilo se da je Makedonija konačno nadomak rešenja. Važan deo tog rešenja je bila i očekivana i sigurna pozivnica za punopravno članstvo u NATO savezu koja se očekivala na samitu održanom u Bukureštu u aprilu mesecu. Zbog protivljenja Grčke

koja je stavila veto, donesena je odluka da NATO u punopravno članstvo primi Hrvatsku i Albaniju, no ne i Makedoniju. Usledila je rasprava da se Makedoniji ipak ponudi "uslovno članstvo" koje bi moguće smirilo duhove u Makedoniji, no doneta je krajnja odluka da se za sada neće pozvati Makedonija iako će se poziv „bivšoj jugoslovenskoj republici Makedoniji” uputiti što pre, čim se postigne obostrano prihvatljivo rešenje za ime države. Vest o izostanku poziva u NATO izazvala je ogromno razočaranje i ogorčenje kao i snažan osećaj nepravde jer se smatralo da je Makedonija ispunila sve uslove za članstvo, da je učinjeno sve što je trebalo kada su u pitanju reforme, učesće vojnika u misijama itd., ali da su građani ove zemlje kažnjeni zato što su Makedonci/ke i tako se javno izjašnjavaju.

Politički analitičari smatraju da gubitak izgleda da uskoro postane član NATO i EU, za Makedoniju znači neizvesnu budućnost. Prevedeno na jezik "običnih" ljudi, proteklih meseci sve se češće mogao čuti strah vezan za postojanje Makedonije, za njeno puko opstajanje kao države.

Posle NATO samita drastično se pogoršavaju godinama i onako krhki i loši makedonsko-grčki odnosi. Sledeći val međusobnih optuživanja i prebacivanja, a građani Makedonije doživljavaju razne neprijatne situacije u Grčkoj, na pr. na benzinskoj pumpi odbijaju da natoče gorivo jer je reč o automobili makedonskih registarskih tablica, makedonska aviokompanija ne može da sleti na grčke aerodrome zbog MK oznaka, na ulazu u Grčku policija traži da vlasnici automobila odlepe nalepnicu koja označava odakle dolaze, vozači kamiona su u više navrata maltretirani itd. U Makedoniji se razvija jako antigričko raspoloženje, makedonski nacionalizam jača, pojavljuju se inicijative za ignorisanje, negiranje i apstiniranje od svega što ima veze sa Grčkom. Kolike dimenzije je to poprimilo govore i pokušaji bojkota grčkih firmi koje rade u Makedoniji, a koje ujedno zapošljavaju makedonske građane/ke, plaćaju doprinose makedonskoj državi i koji su na kraju krajeva od makedonske vlade dobili dozvolu za ulaganje svog kapitala. Grčka, kao najveće letnje odredište velikog broja makedonskih građana/ki tako je ove godine drastično manje bila posećena, iako oni koji su ipak rešili da tamo letuju svedoče da nikakvih provokacija niti problema nisu imali, kao i da su ljudi koji se bave turizmom u Grčkoj zabrinuti kako će se taj spor odraziti na njihov rad i egzistenciju. Kako god, Makedonci/ke koji su letovali u Grčkoj o tome govore u pola glasa zbog mogućih optužbi da su izdajnici.

Po pitanju promene imena makedonsko društvo se podelilo na više delova iako se svi slažu da je grčka politika vrlo represivna i nedemokratska. Etnički Makedonci se dele uglavnom na one koji čvrsto veruju da nikako ne sme doći do promene imena jer je to usko vezano za sam identitet Makedonaca i Makedonki i one kojima

je već dosta dugogodišnje agonije, koji bi želeli da se spor reši i po cenu promene imena, i da se konačno sve snage usmere u revitaliziranje ekonomije, promene viznog režima itd. Za etničke Albance, sa obzirom da je samo ime države Makedonije prisvojeno od etničkih Makedonaca, pretpostavilo bi se da budu priklonjeniji drugoj varijanti, no u protekloj godini po pitanju spora sa imenom pokazali su preko svojih političkih partija puno više konstruktivnosti i državotvorne svesti od makedonskih političkih partija, koje umesto da se suoče sa neuspesima u vođenju spoljne politike narodu uporno dokazuju ko je "veći Makedonac," a od toga niko nikakve koristi nema.

U senci makedonsko-grčkih odnosa, ili možda baš zbog toga makedonsko-albanski odnosi su tokom godine bili prilično relaksirani. Ako izuzmemo već standardna politička i međupartijska loptanja nekih većih tenzija među narodom nije bilo. Ništa bitno nije se promenilo, niti rešilo, velika većina Makedonaca/ki i Albanaca/ki i dalje žive u svojim odvojenim zajednicama. Međutim da je situacija, iako mirna, daleko od dobre ukazuju i dešavanja na predvremenim parlamentarnim izborima održanim 1 juna. Tokom glasanja došlo je do više incidenata između pristalica dve najveće albanske partije - jedna osoba je ubijena a više ih je ranjeno. Budući da su se ovi krvavi incidenti dešavali u tzv. albanskim opštinama ili delovima grada, između etničkih Albanaca, dosta etničkih Makedonaca je u tome našlo čak nekakvu satisfakciju jer je eto "svet uspeo da vidi kakvi su u stvari Albanci u Makedoniji, isti oni koje međunarodna zajednica već dugo godina podržava na štetu Makedonaca". Ostaje otvoreno kada će nam nasilje postati neprihvatljivo, bez razlike dešava li se između Makedonaca i Albanaca ili unutar samih zajednica i kada će postati važno da izborni procesi u Makedoniji proteknu u mirnoj atmosferi bez razlike o kojoj opštini je reč.. No, možda za početak ipak možemo biti zadovoljni ovim smanjenjem međuetničkih tenzija posle dugo godina konstantne napetosti.

Od proglašenja nezavisnosti Kosova, u Makedoniji se spekulira kada će i kako Makedonija priznati Kosovo iako je bilo jasno da je to samo pitanje vremena. Umesto da takva odluka bude doneta i argumentirana državnim interesima, Makedonija je napokon priznala Kosovo samo dan posle donete odluke Generalne skupštine UN da se Međunarodni sud pravde izjasni o legalnosti otcepljenja Kosova, čime se čini da je odabrala najgori mogući termin. Nejasno je zašto je do priznanja baš sada došlo, uz nezavršeni proces demarkacije granice i otvorenim pitanjem hoće li Kosovo priznati Makedoniju pod njenim ustavnim imenom. Takva odluka u ovom trenutku negativno utiče na makedonsko-srpske odnose, i smatra se da je to moglo bezbolnije proći prije nekoliko meseci u paketu sa priznavanjem drugih država. Isto tako, znatno ranijim priznavanjem Kosova

mogli su se steći dodatni povoljniji uslovi za dogovore sa kosovskim vlastima. Percepcija priznanja Kosova sada je - da je došlo do ucene i pritiska od strane albanskih partija u Makedoniji, regionalnih pritisaka i, pre svega, nametanja i uslovljavanja velikih svetskih sila. Etnički Albanci su pozdravili priznavanje dok se veliki deo građana, etničkih Makedonaca ponovo osetio izignorisan i prinuđen da se povinuje međunarodnim diktatima pri čemu je najblaži komentar da se radi o dobroj odluci donesenoj u pogrešnom trenutku, preko potpunog razočarenja u konzistentnost i realnu moć makedonske spoljne politike pa sve do optuživanja da je po ko zna koji put Makedonija prinuđena da čuti, poslušati i savije kičmu.

U protekloj godini, isto tako, donešeni su razni zakoni, između ostalog od toga gde i kako može da se pravi ajvar, preko zakona za javnu čistoću, do zabrane kretanja zaprežnim vozilima u gradu itd., i pristupilo se njihovom revnosnom primenjivanju. Samo po sebi donošenje ovih zakona bi trebalo da bude pozitivno

ono što smeta je da se čini da se nije razmišljalo o korenima pojava i problema koje se želi sankcionisati, na pr. zašto se posle dužeg vremena ponovo pojavila ekspanzija zaprežnih kola na ulicama ako prihvatimo tezu da standard građana u Makedoniji nije drastično opao, šta više da polako raste? I još, da li od svega što ne funkcioniše u državi je dobro početi sređivanje stanja baš primenom ovih zakona. Inače, prosečna plata u Makedoniji iznosi oko 250 eura, poskupela je cena parnog grejanja i struje a nova poskupljena slede.

Sve u svemu godina koja nije donela ništa bitno dobro. Opšti dojam je da su ljudi generalno umorni, u nemogućnosti da reše svakodnevne brige, bez vere da politički može nešto da se reši, umorni od objašnjavanja sebi i drugima, od ubeđivanja sebe i drugih da, eto, ta tranziciji traje već 17 godina, ali doći će bolji dani.

*Za CNA,
Ana Bitoljanu
Miramida Centar,
Oktobar 2008, Skopje*

crna gora

Premijer. Tekuća godina se u Crnoj Gori ne razlikuje mnogo od prošle po pitanju političke, ekonomske i socijalne situacije. Na prvom mjestu nužno je pomenuti povlačenje Željka Šturanovića sa premijerske pozicije, koju ponovo zauzima Milo Đukanović, time napravivši „veliki povratak“ i priredivši građanima/kama Crne Gore još jedan deja-vu. Po mnogima poslednji komunistički lider u Evropi se na ovaj način učvrstio i na prvoj poziciji što se tiče dužine vladanja - evo već 20 godina. Njegov povratak je utoliko interesantan i intrigantan što je navedeni gospodin, iako željan odmora od politike (jer je ostvario svoj najveći cilj - obnavljanje državnosti), ponovo uplivao (ako se uopšte može reći da je i na trenutak isplivao) u istu, uprkos tome (ili upravo zbog toga) što se nalazi pod istragom od strane italijanskog pravosuđa zbog, već dobro poznate umiješanosti u šverc cigaretama. Osim toga, premijer nije sjedio skrštenih ruku, već je osnovao Univerzitet Donja Gorica (UDG), koji je, uz prisustvo brojnih zvanica iz javnog života, te uz bogat koktel i izvođenje himne univerziteta, svečano otvoren u septembru. Pored privatnog univerziteta suvlasnik je ili kako se to sada kaže akcionar u tri različite milionske firme, koje su naravno po njegovom stupanju na vlast prepisane nekom drugom, jer komisija za konflikt interesa savjesno obavlja svoju dužnost.

Jezik. Rad novootvorenog odsjeka na Univerzitetu Crne Gore - odsjeka za crnogorski jezik je i dalje pod velom tajni, jer su prostorije istog, par dana nakon

prijema bruća, zaključane. Očigledno da tim ljudi koji radi na standardizaciji gramatike tog jezika, te obezbjeđivanu literature za studente, još uvijek nije uspio da riješi taj teški zadatak. Ostajući u duhu crnogorskog jezika, interesantno i ironično je pomenuti ispit koji se polaže kako bi se uspjelo obezbijediti crnogorsko državljanstvo. Naime, ispitna pitanja, predložena u vidu testa, izazvala su raznovrsne reakcije javnosti, jer su se na neki način „podsmijavala“ postojećem jeziku, kojim se, bez obzira na to kako se ljudi izjašnjavali, u Crnoj Gori govori. Primjer pitanja sa testa: „Krompir se stavlja u d()ak“ (upisati slovo koje nedostaje). Da situacija bude ironičnija većina ljudi koja je morala polagati i koja je i uspješno položila „test državljanstva“, jeste rođena i godinama živi u Crnoj Gori.

Crkva. Protekle godine bili smo svjedoci/kinje jurišanja na Cetinjski manastir od strane pripadnika CPC i pokušaja prisvajanja hramova, dok su se ove godine u tom smislu strasti malo tišale, mada napetosti i dalje ima u vidu prijetnji predstavnik CPC za odnose sa javnošću koji govore o tome da im se kad-tad mora vratiti „ono što je njihovo“. Incident vrijedan pomena jeste onaj koji se zbio u selu nadomak Nikšića, kada je mitropolit CPC sa sveštenstvom došao da postavi i osvešta temelj buduće crkve, u čemu su ih pokušali spriječiti žitelji dva sela, postavivši barikadu vlastitim tijelima. Tom prilikom je došlo do sukoba sa policijom i privedeno 65 ljudi, od kojih su neki zadobili tjelesne povrede. Naravno po nemilom događaju, uslijedile su

međusobne optužbe sa obje strane i to poprilično ozbiljne, ali se u neki dalji, recimo sudski postupak, nije do sada upuštalo.

Turizam. Uprkos dugotrajnim pripremama, uljepšavanjima crnogorske obale, izgradnji velikog broja objekata, što od strane ruskih, što od strane domaćih državljana, ovogodišnja turistička sezona se može ocijeniti propalom, premda je u domaćim medijima uglavnom saopštavana suprotna informacija. U svakom slučaju, činjenica je da Crna Gora pretenduje postati prestižna turistička destinacija, dostupna samo visokoplatežnim turistima, a zatvorena za vlastite građane/ke. Ono što je interesantno i neobično jeste izmjena reljefa Crne Gore, naročito u primorskim predjelima i to zarad izgradnje luksuznih objekata (npr. uobičajena slika ove godine bila je rušenje cijelog brda da bi se izgradilo elitno turističko naselje). Neisplativost ove sezone će, međutim, ostati u sjenci nastupa svezjetskih zvijezda na plaži Jaz - Lenny Kravitz i Madonna, za koje se uspjelo izdvojiti više od desetak miliona eura iz još uvijek ne sasvim poznatih izvora.

Suočavanje s prošlošću nastavlja da biva daleka, čak nedostižna i vjerovatno nikad dočekana budućnost. Proces koji su istina, započeti, a koji se tiču optužnica protiv ljudi iz Morinja (za vrijeme Dubrovačkog ratišta Morinj je bio logor u kome su držani hrvatski zatvorenici) ostaju dobro skriveni od javnosti i najvjerovatnije će se završiti optužbama protiv direktnih izvršioaca

zločina, dok će nalogodavci i inspiratori ostati tajna, tačnije javna tajna. zakonska riješenja, poput zakona o lustraciji i sličnih, ostaju u domenu naučne fantasike.

Priznanje Kosova. "Najnovija i najveća CG sramota," "plaćanje mafijaških dugova," "pritisak od strane međunarodne zajednice," "zrela politička odluka," "jasno sagledavanje realnosti," "real politika," "politika koja prati nacionalne interese," itd. samo su neke od stvari koji se danas povodom CG priznavanja Kosova mogu čuti, doduše sa različitih strana. I jedna i druga strana u CG (podijeljenost na strane u ovim trenucima dostiže zenit i vrlo je zaoštrena) ovaj događaj smatraju jednim od najpresudnijih u novijoj CG istoriji, pa se prema tome protestni skup ispred zgrade skupštine, koji je završen sukobom između policije i demonstranata (dijela demonstranata) i u kojima je povrijeđeno 34 ljudi uz znatnu materijalnu štetu samo je dio poprilično napete atmosfere koja u vlada CG. Nakon što se od premijera CG nije dobio odgovor na pitanja o razlozima za priznavanje Kosova, kao ni potvrda da će se odluka povući s obzirom da ogromna većina građana CG nije bila za tu odluku, a da s obzirom na to da od referenduma ili raspisivanja vanrednih parlamentarnih izbora po svemu sudeći nema ništa, opozicija najavila da neće učestvovati u radu parlamenta već da nastavlja svoj nenasilni otpor.

Radomir Radević i Kristina Bojanović

iz ličnog ugla

riječ novog člana

Zašto pomirenje, zašto nenasilje, zašto izgradnja mira u baš ovom dijelu svijeta i, konačno, zašto CNA su samo neka od pitanja na koje ću pokušati, u kratkim crtama, odgovoriti u ovom tekstu.

Nakon jedanaest godina izbjavanja s ovih prostora i boravka na nekom drugom kontinentu u stanju "negdje između azila i egzila" sam se pojavio u jednom od bivših mi gradova, vraćajući se na početak jedne od mnogih krivudavih linija po prvi put u životu. Bio sam preplavljen emotivnim šokom koji je bio mješavina svega lijepoga za čim sam čeznuo i svega ružnoga čega sam se grozio i od čega sam dugo vremena bježao. Balkanski ratovi su, za mene, trajali punih petnaest godina. Činovi brutalnog, ratnog nasilja su se smjenjivali jedan za drugim tokom prve tri godine i prije mog odlaska, a kada je ponestalo realnih u blizini, imaginarni i udaljeni su ih zamijenili nesmanjenom žestinom. Sukobi za mene, daleko na drugom kontinentu, nisu prestali sve do povratka. Delirično sam proputovao svim gradovima koje sam još smatrao svojim, prelazeći granice čiji je značaj estetski sveden na crveno-bijele plastične horizontale/vertikale koje omeđuju blatnjava kukuruzna polja i glatke, široke rijeke. Jedan od razloga, vjerovatno i najjači, za moj povratak je bila upravo potreba za tim činom ličnog pomirenja, za onim trenutkom lucidnosti kada smognemo snage da se oprostimo od ljudi i događaja koje nas drže okovane u emotivnom ropstvu, koji nas prisiljavaju da živimo svaki novi dan ponovo započinjući nedovršene krugove iz prethodnog.

Po povratku sa svakog od tih putovanja, jedno pitanje mi je bilo sve važnije: "I, šta ćeš sada s tim?" Delirijum se pripitomio, riješenost i snaga su mi se vratili praćeni preklapanjem stečenih asocijativnih mreža koje me je načinilo vrlo osjetljivim prema mnogim vrstama kolektivnog i individualnog nasilja. Borba je ponovo počela, ali s ključnom razlikom da sam ovog puta svjestan cilja. Postao sam apsolutno navučen na taj ispunjujući osjećaj zanosa koji se javlja u osobama koje daju sve od sebe da svaki dan učine barem mali korak naprijed. Mislim da smo svi sposobni da osjetimo

kada nazadujemo i da, u tim trenucima, to sami bismo.

Takođe sam osjetio snažnu potrebu za saveznicima.

Nisam ni slutio da će obavještenje u "Danasu" o promociji knjige "Ne može meni bit dobro ako je mom susjedu loše" koju je izdao Centar za nenasilnu akciju biti uvod u novu, konkretnu etapu u životu. Ukratko, došao sam na promociju i upoznao se sa Adnanom, Ivanom i Nenadom s kojima sam dugo pričao te večeri. Diskutovali smo mnoge teme, ali se srž svih njih mogla svesti na razmatranje ne samo ključnih problema koji podrivaju naša društva, već i praktičnih akcija kojima daju njihov doprinos ozdravljenju. Koji su to problemi? Nasilje, neodgovornost, ratno naslijeđe, militarizam, etnonacionalizam, klerikalizam, patrijarhalizam, homofobija, i još mnogi drugi. Svi bi se mogli svesti pod termin "Nasilje prema Drugom/Drugoј." A rješenja? Dijalog, izgradnja mira, kritike, samokritike, povjerenja i kulture nenasilja, suočavanje s prošlošću, preispitivanje sopstvenih stavova, mirovno obrazovanje, borba protiv nepravde.

Poslije tog susreta stvari su se odvijale svojim jednim prirodnim tokom - CNA ekipa mi je pružila iskreno prijateljstvo, podršku kao i podsticaj za dalje razmišljanje. Učestvovao sam na njihovom Bazičnom treningu iz izgradnje mira, kao i na Seminaru iz suočavanja s prošlošću. Naučio sam mnogo toga ali sam prvenstveno postao svjesniji svih zamki u koje upadam svakodnevno a koje bi se mogle najjednostavnije opisati kao popuštanje pred nasiljem i imitacija istog u nedostatku promišljenosti i svijesti o mogućim alternativama.

Počastvovan sam, ponosan i zahvalan da mi se pružila prilika da živim (veliki dio ovog iskustva se ne može svesti pod konotaciju "rada") sa ovakvom grupom izuzetnih individua - sa Adnanom, Helenom, Ivanom, Nedžadom, Nenadom, Sanjom i Tamarom. Pred širinom i dubinom njihovih iskustava i trudom koji su uložili u naše društvo osjećam žaljenje što do

¹ Hvala gospodskom drugu ili drugarskom gospodinu Predragu Matvejeviću, takođe rođenom u osunčanom gradu na obali Neretve, na ovom terminu

mog uključenja nije došlo ranije ali i uvjerenje da ću uspjeti pripomoći koliko god je u mojoj moći. Takođe znam da će mi svaki dan proveden s njima predstavljati neprocjenjivo iskustvo.

A kad se za nekoliko decenija, svi zajedno, skupimo jedne blage ljetne večeri u nekoj mirnoj bašti, kad uz piće preostali pušači zapale cigare (u slučaju da nije

ekstremno kažnjivo) i ako osjetimo da nam iza leđa pulsira društvo koje njeguje trajni i održivi mir, nadam se da ćemo prepoznati da smo i mi tome u određenoj mjeri doprinijeli. A ako se ta večer nikad ne obistini, znaćemo da smo barem pokušali.

Nenad Porobić

snimanje filma u makedoniji

Krajem marta i početkom aprila ekipa iz CNA sa saradnicima je snimala novi dokumentarni film u Makedoniji koji za temu ima odnose ljudi različitog etničkog porekla u Makedoniji, a pre svega onih albanskog i makedonskog porekla.

Snimljeno je 22 intervjua uz pomoć i podršku naše mreže bliskih saradnika koji čine jezgro tima angažovanog na osmišljavanju i pravljenju ovog dokumentarca.

Osim sakupljenog umora, naš boravak tamo je proporačen i oscilacijama osećaja od straha, bola i beznađa do radosti i nade. Iako se na Balkanu uglavnom prigovara onima koji susednu zemlju osećaju kao svoju, ja ću priznati da i Makedoniju osećam kao svoj prirodni prostor za koji sam vezan, i to pre svega zbog dobrih i poštenih ljudi koji tamo žive i koji su moji prijatelji i prijateljice. Ne mogu a da se ne postidim neminovne misli koja mi se pojavila a koja glasi "Hvala Bogu što kod mene kući (u Beogradu) nije ovako loše".

Mržnja i strah vladaju i čini mi se da je u Makedoniji najteže onima koji ne mrze.

Razgovarali smo sa ljudima koji su učestvovali u ratu sa obe strane i pored svog nakupljenog jeda i bola, jasno se raspoznaje spremnost da se isto ponovi ukoliko ih političke elite ponovo dovedu pred svršen čin. Videli smo gde žive izbeglice koje sedmu godinu izbjavaju van svojih domova i ne smeju da se vrate u svoja sela. Bili smo u tim selima u kojima je prisustvo policije neželjeno a zidove krase UCK grafiti i vijore se isključivo albanske zastave. Na pitanje zašto se njihove ranije komšije ne vraćaju čuli smo i "To je njihov prob-

lem, mogu slobodno da se vrate" ili "Da mene država izdržava, da mi daje hranu i plaća struju ne bih se ni ja vraćao". A izbeglice žive u groznim uslovima. Samo deo toga je i snimljen.

Da ne bi sve bilo crno, sreli smo se i razgovarali i sa ljudima koji prepoznaju zlo nasilja i mržnje i koji žude za mirom i spremni su da se bore za njega. Ipak njihove inicijative ostaju samo kap u moru u zemlji u kojoj je segregacija po etničkoj liniji sprovedena vrlo marljivo, a komunikacija između pre svega dve zavađene etničke zajednice (mada ima i puno drugih uhvaćenih između dve vatre) svedena na minimum.

Ljudi se boje da otvoreno razgovaraju. Tako nam je na pitanje kako je bilo za vreme sukoba iz 2001 jedna nepismena seljanka iz okoline Prilepa rekla kako je sve bilo „ubavo“ (lepo), a na pitanje kako je bilo u samom selu rekla kako nije bila u selu uopšte. „Pa gde ste bili?“ usledilo je pitanje, „Bili smo u planinama spavali na otvorenom...“. Većina seljana je iz sela izbegla plašeci se linča naoružane rulje koja je u jednom trenutku organizovano krenula ka ovom usamljenom albanskom selu...

Koliko će nam poći za rukom da ovu atmosferu prenesemo i odabranim delovima intervjua potaknemo ljude na razmišljanje, imaćete priliku da vidite kada film bude završen. Za svaki uspeh, ogromnu zaslugu će i imati ljudi iz Makedonije koji su nam pomogli: Gorde, Margarita, Ana, Luan, Ali, Goran, Boro, Blerim, i svi ostali koji su svojim delićem angažmana pomogli.

Nenad Vukosavljević



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

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

ABOUT CENTRE FOR NONVIOLENT ACTION

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

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

What do we want and what are we striving for?

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

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

In which way do we want to accomplish this?

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

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

Dear friends,

What you have in front of you is another (or the eleventh) Center for Nonviolent Action Annual Report. In it you can find the information regarding activities we have been working on, our views on the sociopolitical contexts within which we strive to act and some of our plans for the following period.

Like usual, we held the regular “CNA Summit” in September of last year. During it we tried to share dilemmas we had and make important decisions regarding the difficulties we were facing, strategy and the direction in which we were going. We were guided by the freshly completed evaluation of our work, the result of Beatrix Schmelzle’s (Berghof Research Center for Constructive Conflict Management) great effort. We are using this chance to thank her once again.

The important decision making process was additionally impeded by the uncertainty of the CNA’s financial survival, so we started off with making a less ambitious work plan for the following year. Yes, that’s how we started, but we obviously didn’t stick to it all the way through, if we consider the number and extent of activities which are ahead of us. :)

Last year has provided us with our first-time experience of very unfair and competitive attitude toward us by a foreign international organization. That was very hard on us since we hadn’t expected it nor had we been prepared for it. We had a big dilemma regarding what was to be done and how to position ourselves. We still have those dilemmas since we refuse to view peacebuilding as «business» and space for competition between different organizations and groups. This situation has confirmed once again how much the peacebuilding ethics was a neglected “discipline,” globally.

Although past year was pretty hard work wise, it was primarily filled with numerous meetings and cases of cooperation with the people who were close and dear to us. That very much energizes and motivates us to keep going, strengthened by another team member, Nenad Porobić, who joined us in September. :)

news and announcements



New documentary "Not a Bird to be Heard"

The third film in the series "Simulated Dialogue" has been completed this year, entitled "Not a Bird to be Heard." In it, brave "ordinary people," Bosniaks and Croats, talk about the war and heavy burdens of the past, hatred and pain, fears and hopes. What does each hold against other, what has the war taught them, how is it in exile, how do they live with the people of another faith and nationality nowadays? Who started the war?

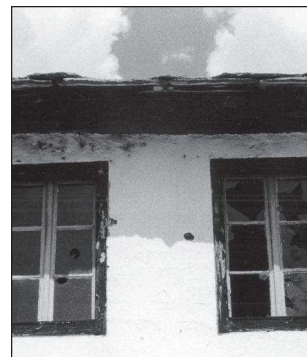
When this Report is published, the film's promotional viewings will have been organized in Mostar, Gornji Vakuf - Uskoplje and Sarajevo. You will be able to read about them in our next Report.

Soon: 4th film in the series "Simulated Dialogue"

The fourth documentary film in the "Simulated Dialogue" series is to be completed soon. Its topic is the relations between Albanians and Macedonians in Macedonia. This Report contains a brief description of its filming, while its premiere is expected in the spring.

Soon: translation into English of the book "I cannot feel good if my neighbour does not"

The "Neighbour" (what we call it shortly) is a collection of interviews with the people from the former Yugoslavian region - what's their view of reconciliation, the past, responsibility, guilt, nationalism, coexistence, the future... We published it in 2005 in Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian, Macedonian and Albanian languages. Its translation into English will be published by this spring. Just like its previous versions, the English one will also be posted on our website.



The collection of oral histories with the 1991-1999 wartime participants

The new activity to be realized by the CNA will start in March 2009. We will work with a mixed group of veterans and activists from the former Yugoslavian region who will be trained to collect oral histories, life stories of ex-combatants and their family members (mothers, sisters, wives, etc.). The planned publication will comprise of up to twenty stories (it should be published at the beginning of 2010). It will be promoted later in different parts of the former Yugoslavia.

Eexternal evaluation

External evaluation of CNA peace promotion work was done by Beatrix Schmelzle from *Berghof Research Center* (Berlin) with the support of Davor Konjikušić from *Documenta* (Zagreb). Final report with the title “Developing Linkages between Peace Education and Peace Promotion for Increased Impact in the Region of Former Yugoslavia” is available on our web site: www.nenasilje.org.

New: Small peace library

We have posted the “Small Peace Library” on our website. It comprises of many links to free books and Internet articles. The main motivation behind the library’s initiation is to support the peace activists in the region, but also anyone else who might be interested. Books and articles are divided into a few sections, like Nonviolence/ Nonviolent Action, Peace / Peacebuilding / Activism, Dealing with the Past / Reconciliation, etc. We’ll try to expand it as often as possible. We would also be very glad to receive any help or advice on which book/article/ manual you would like to see as a part of our small library :)

Paper: “Dealing with the Past in the Context of Ethnonationalism. The case of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia and Serbia”

Berghof Research Centre for Constructive Conflict Management has published Ivana Franović’s paper “Dealing with the Past in the Context of Ethnonationalism. The Case of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia and Serbia.” The text is the modified and expanded version of her Master’s Thesis, and is available on the Internet, both on Berghof’s and our website.

Radio programme Most: “The 1990s Traumas”, Radio Free Europe

The interview with Adnan Hasanbegović and Nenad Vukosavljević hosted by Omer Karabeg in the radio programme Most can be downloaded from our website (only B/C/S language).

Regional Peace Academy (RPA) 2009

After the RPA 2008 was successfully realized, it was decided to proceed with this activity’s organization. The RPA 2009 will have two sessions, each one comprising of three courses. The course leaders are, again, activists and theoreticians from the region and beyond. The next RPA is planned to start on July 16th and end on August 4th, 2009. All of the information about and updates on this activity you can follow at www.mirovna-akademija.org

The Youth Work Manual

The Youth Work Manual should be published in May, 2009. Its authors are from Germany, Palestine, Macedonia and Bosnia-Herzegovina. The Manual will comprise of four chapters containing detailed explanations on four different approaches to youth work. It will be published in Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian, German, Macedonian, Albanian, Arabic and English languages. The Manual is the result of the three-year long “Youth Power” project.

basic training in peacebuilding (xxviii)

Travnik / BH, 19-29.10.2007.

Centre for Nonviolent Action organized its 28th Basic Training in Peacebuilding, that took place in the "Lipa" Hotel, in the town of Travnik, Bosnia and Herzegovina, from October 19 to 29, 2007. The members of the training team were: Sanja Deankovic, Tamara Smidling and Nedžad Horozovic of CNA's Sarajevo office and Ana Bitoljanu, of MIRamIDA Centre, Groznanj/Skopje.

We received considerably smaller number of applications for this training, in comparison to the average number we receive. It might be due to the fact that we had chosen to hold the training in Travnik, which is not particularly attractive in the winter - it gets dark rather early and one cannot enjoy sight-seeing, etc. It's also the time of year (late autumn/beginning of winter) when people are not so keen on travelling.

Participants came from different regions of former Yugoslavia: Croatia, Serbia, Macedonia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Kosovo. One person from Montenegro cancelled at the last minute while the other had to leave the training after only two days, so eventually there were 18 trainees altogether, 9 male and 9 female. Even though they came from different towns, we still didn't have members of some ethnic minorities from these regions, like for example: Albanians from Macedonia, Serbs from Kosovo, as well as people from Bosnia and Herzegovina who live in communities where their ethnic group is a minority.

Hence, certain themes, however deeply we had covered them, could not have been covered from the minority position of the "other side". Anyway, perhaps that was exactly why most trainees dealt with the issue of their personal responsibility and the responsibility of the majority group they belong to, and were re-examining their views thoroughly throughout the entire training. It was the most obvious while we were covering dealing with the past. Three workshops were dedicated to dealing with the past, and in the view of both the group and the training team, it was the most important theme of the training. Plenary discussions and emotional personal stories, with reference to the

experiences gathered in the period during and after the wars, additionally brought the group together and they bonded.

The other important moment on the training was work on empowering individuals for peacebuilding on everyday level, initiated by the perception of one part of the group that peacebuilding is something that's done on some "higher level" and that it only means some concrete actions and projects. Therefore, we reached the point of realisation that every reaction to injustice or things that doesn't seem right, leads to the transformation of society and helps remodel it. That is particularly the case with identifying and reacting to violence that we witness on daily basis. The work on empowering for these issues was done without any open, constructive confrontation within the group or with the training team that would have added up to understanding, accepting and supporting differences. The group tended to adopt the type of attitude that "we are all same/like minded people" and the training team did not especially challenge that, because we estimated that it was necessary and important for them to do so because of the groups' distinguished heterogeneity. That's where the trainees draw strength and encouragement in a certain way to work on reduction of their own prejudices and for future work in their communities.

The work gained an additional quality because of the presence of two former combatants. Active participation of former soldiers/combatants on peace training added some different perspectives and experiences and enriched the group process in many ways and to mutual benefit. Besides, the two trainees who came from the association of veterans with post-traumatic stress disorder, organized an informal evening gathering where they showed a documentary called «Fantasy» (produced by „XY films“, Sarajevo) about their veterans' association. The film depicts personal stories of the members of the association, thus thematizing different issues regarding war, conflicts, what to do now, etc., as well as some specific problems that former

combatants deal with, while most people know nothing about it. It focuses on post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSP) which is a problem that an enormous number of former combatants are facing, while the society is pushing it to the margin, primarily by doing nothing and being indifferent to it, despite the fact that all the available data and findings indicate that the problem is far bigger than we can even grasp.

With respect to the methodology and themes, the training was done within the CNA's flexible concept which means that the programme was being closely followed and adjusted to the issues and themes that either the group needed or the training team estimated that needed to be covered, despite eventual opposition from the group (or for that reason, exactly).

The themes were chosen and/or deepened mostly with respect to the group's expressed needs and interests. There wasn't any avoiding difficult and sensitive issues. The work was much easier because everyone respected the working schedule we had agreed on.

The training ended on Sunday, October 28 at about 2:30 PM, which was a little earlier than we had planned, due to the fact that a lot of trainees had to leave early. It made us rethink this issue for the future. Perhaps we shall plan to officially end a training at noon, on Sunday, since recently we've had more people leaving on Sunday afternoon due to their own busyness.

The remaining trainees and the training team hang out together and visited the Blue Waters vacation point on Sunday afternoon.

basic training in peacebuilding (xxix)

Ulcinj / Montenegro, 04-13.04.2008.

The 29th basic training in peacebuilding was held in the Dvori Balšića Hotel in Ulcinj, Montenegro, from April 4th to 13th, 2008. The members of the training team were Sanja Deanković and Adnan Hasanbegović (CNA Sarajevo office), Helena Rill (CNA Belgrade office) and Ana Bitoljanu (MIRamiDA Centre, Grožnjan/Skopje).

The training was attended by 18 participants, despite great interest in it. Two persons failed to show up without any prior notice thus preventing us from getting in touch with someone on the waiting list. Therefore, there were two people less than planned.

The participants came from different regions of former Yugoslavia: Macedonia, Kosovo, Serbia (including Vojvodina), while most of them were from Bosnia and Herzegovina. All the same, due to their diversity and heterogeneity that the training was neither „Bosnian-centric“ nor was it primarily focused on Bosnian themes. Unfortunately, no one from Montenegro attended this training. We received no applications from Montenegro, which had happened before, especially since the Montenegrin declaration of independ-

ence. We usually receive fewer applications from Croatia and, also, the person who had been invited did not show up. After some time, three people from Kosovo participated, none of whom, however, were from the Serbian side, since none had applied. The group consisted of political activists, former combatants and people who work in the media, education, governmental institutions and NGOs.

The lack of older trainees was evident. Different age groups have different insights into issues like personal memories of the situations and problems our societies were experiencing while being parts of the same country. This vacuum was also noticeable during the introduction to the discussion about all of different age groups which can start working/work on peacebuilding.

The group was active and energetic, therefore most of the exercises took more time than planned. The trainees protested if they didn't get to speak several times during each exercise.

The first part of the training, which focused on *personal development*, proved to be hard and demand-



ing. Nevertheless, we thoroughly covered many key issues and mechanisms that help us understand violence. One of the training's turning points was the *workshop on gender* during which many conflicts resurfaced. At the same time, the workshop created space for an unequivocal work with the following themes. On and off during the discussions the relativisation of discrimination would be voiced. Overall, the will to apprehend and accept the complexity of gender-based discrimination and all its consequences lacked. Therefore, we returned to those violations of human rights that are not only based on ethnic discrimination but also on discrimination against all groups whose human rights are denied (primarily sexual and gender minorities') several times in the following days. The topic *violence* had quite a strong impact on the group so a number of trainees continued the discussion about the themes that were not discussed during the workshop (the exercise called big barometer: „violence - not violence“).

The training's second part ran more easily. The participants were quite motivated and willing to work on social aspects, differences, “their own group's” responsibility, the importance and establishment of one's identity etc. One might think that it was easier to work on certain social issues then to consider one's own mechanisms and social role.

Dealing with the past was covered generally, as an introduction to some basic concepts and approaches and, chiefly, through the discussion about its importance. Our documentary „Not a Bird to Be Heard“ left the strongest impression on the trainees within this workshop. As a result of it, more profound and concrete work on this theme was done through the discussion which was firstly emotional and then rational, during which space was created to re-examine previous opinions about the (wartime) past, our societies' current situations, “one's own side's” responsibility and empathy for the “others”.

One might say that the training lacked a more apparent connection between personal and social responsibilities. What was missing was a clear recognition of “small/smaller” daily acts of violence, injustice and alike, as well as one's own role in and responsibility for them and the stronger empowerment of participants for action. That can be said for both the last few workshops and the rest of the training.

Lot of effort was put into gaining insights of regional contexts, that is, into learning about the current situation and problems in other countries. The trainees became aware of these problems and discussed the independence of Kosovo, situations in Macedonia and Vojvodina, etc. Given that the training was attended by several people from the same region/country (for example there were two people from Vojvodina, three from Macedonia, three from Kosovo, etc.) they exchanged their different views. Insight into the regional

situation is the first step towards affirmation of the regional work's importance.

One of the remaining dilemmas is related to the trainees' early departure. How to deal with the novelty we introduced with respect to the time of departure (Sunday afternoon/Monday morning). Even though it was not the last working day, Saturday felt like it was, not because of the working schedule but because of the energy. Thus, the Sunday morning workshop was finished at a slower pace due to the lapse of concentration at the end of the training, fewer remaining participants (since some had already left) and the Saturday night party (which somehow indicated the end of the training).

Even though we planned to avoid early departures by scheduling the last workshop for Sunday morning, April 13th, some people still left earlier, therefore five were missing from the last workshop.

We should also mention a *disquieting event* that happened at the training. During the second half of the training a participant lost consciousness during night swimming and had to spend the night at the emergency unit. Luckily, he didn't suffer any consequences but the event still upset and burdened both the group and the training team, which had to make additional efforts to continue working on difficult.

The work **methodology** left a strong impression on most trainees and was a „revelation“ in comparison to both the way they had previously worked at other seminars and their expectations of this seminar. It is interesting to notice that they were confused with the trainers' role and how the trainers participated actively in both the process and exercises from a personal perspective, instead of just facilitating the process from the outside, i.e. „training them“.

It took time for some participants to get accustomed to the methodology. Throughout the training their acceptance of it grew, so much so that in the end several stated that they had gained and had learnt a lot because of this kind of trainers' participation.

The training team worked a lot. The afternoon and evening evaluations and preparations of the subsequent workshops took hours and required a lot of energy. However, we concluded that we needed them and that we could not really make them any shorter yet efficient.

The evaluation of the training team expressed our general satisfaction with the training's concept, that is, the set up, the sequence and the way themes were complementing each other with respect to the training's goal and the group's specific qualities, with the remark that there should have been more empowerment of the participants.

Ana Bitoljanu
Skopje, May 2008

advanced training in peacebuilding (iii)

phase 1: Jahorina / BH, 08-18.08.2008.

phase 2: Tivat / Montenegro, 06-13.10.2008.

This year we organized the third Advanced Training in Peacebuilding.

According to our strategy of reducing the number of annual basic training events in order to introduce some other activities and methods of peacebuilding work, we decided to include this form of peace education into our regular timetable every other year. Besides strategy, the decision was guided by the desire to work within the existing regional capacities and needs.

The advanced training is a specific kind of an upgrade and deepening of our basic training, whose goal is to empower the concrete engagement within the region and local communities, to promote peace building as one of the priorities of civil action and to strengthen the regional cooperation and peace network.

Its phase I was held from August 8 - 18, in Jahorina, Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The group consisted of 18 people from the region of former Yugoslavia, with different ethnic, religious and professional backgrounds and interests. Among the trainees was a policeman, teachers, journalists, NGO activists and people who are active in politics.

The first phase was primarily focused on dealing with the past. Therefore, we worked on familial and collective narratives, went through some social concepts and processes related to constructive dealing with the past and analyzed them, and considered the fears and dilemmas related to them. We tried to discuss the similarities between the patriarchy and militarism and their mutual strongholds.

Unlike previously, this year we invited some guest trainers to phase I. Goran Božičević of Miramida Centre, Grožnjan, Croatia had designed and held a one-day workshop on peace building, and Vladan Beara and Ivan Kralj of Novi Sad's Centre for War Trauma had prepared and facilitated the workshop on war trauma and the need to remain aware of it while working in peacebuilding. It was important to work on these issues as

well as to introduce participants to various approaches to and methods of peacebuilding work and dealing with the past.

We also visited the Section for War Crimes in the Court of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which was an important point of reflection upon the entire process of dealing with the past and its indispensable legal and judiciary part which is just one element of support for working in specific communities and vice versa.

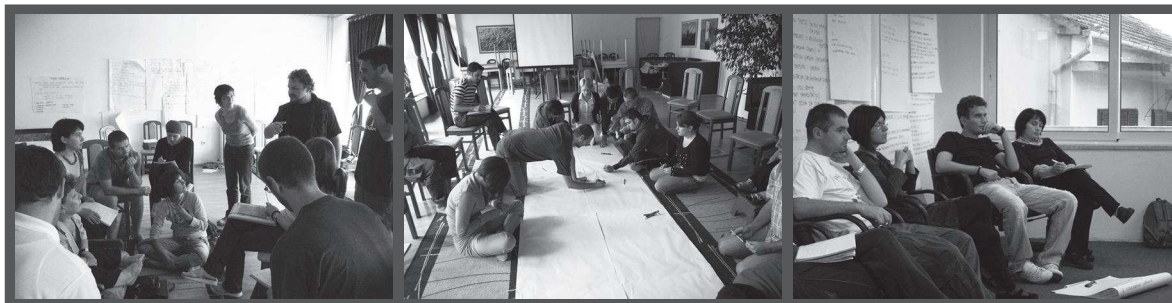
Despite a rather demanding concept and the density of the material, the group dealt with it quite well.

The themes we tackled were sometimes analyzed from very different points of view with respect to the underlying values which was a result of the group's heterogeneity. It certainly helped us get a scope of social problems, respect them and understand them.

Although intensive work was pursued while analyzing social processes, the group conflicts often remained undisclosed, unmentioned and unprocessed, which burdened the atmosphere and group work.

The work schedule was quite demanding, with a lot of guest trainers, thus we didn't have much chance to deal with group processes and conflicts, unfortunately; however, we're glad that we dedicated one of the last blocks to it which resulted in achieving better atmosphere and group dynamics during phase II.

Since we analyzed our societies quite thoroughly during phase I, sometimes dissecting them very critically and from different points of view, we noticed that most trainees tended to consider social processes from the position of an observer solely. Therefore, in phase II we decided to set up the concept in such a way so that the possibility of merely observing social processes is almost excluded. The trainees were assigned roles of active creators of various forms of nonviolent action regarding certain issues. It was an opportunity to place the participants into situations in which they could reflect on concrete examples of what they wanted and



could do, by using certain methods and ways, either in situations we had prepared or those they came up with through analysis of certain areas/regions.

The second phase of the training programme was held in Tivat, Montenegro. Unfortunately, none of the trainees came from Montenegro (and we must notice that people from this region haven't applied to our peace education programmes at all since independence was declared) and we didn't want them to leave the training without having an idea of the Montenegrin socio-political context. Therefore, one of their tasks was to conduct a small scale research regarding one of the following themes: interethnic relations in Montenegro, Montenegro and dealing with the past and Tivat as a local community. In order to complete the picture, our long-term friend and collaborator Lidija Zeković from Podgorica helped us with her views and reflections on the situation in Montenegro. She was our guest the first day of the training (and the only guest during this phase of the programme).

During this phase, the participants mostly worked on concrete themes/problems in small focus groups, either analyzing or designing activities in local communities (Split, Bratunac, and a somewhat wider Macedonian context). One could notice almost an unbelievable dedication and motivation some people demonstrated as well as their responsibility towards us and the group they worked with.

Therefore, it happened more than once that discussions and work continued until very late at night.

In the context of reflecting on social activism, the discussion of perceptions of the border where nonviolence stops and violence begins, or the line between the nonviolence and violence, was the landmark of this training. It followed the screening of the film entitled The 4th World War and opened up the important theme of re-evaluating and shaking up our own standpoints and different concepts of activism and different ways to achieve social change.

Although it seemed in the beginning that not that many participants had concrete activist experience or perfected and clearly focused motivation for peace-building work, the final evaluation (of both the training team and the participants) suggested that this programme meant a lot to many trainees in terms of an incentive for further work and inspiration for new, future activities. On the other hand, others found it encouraging with respect to discovery and realization of their own potentials and limitations for this work.

In any case, we hope to stay in touch with some of the participants by supporting each other or working together.

The training team for this programme included Tamara, Ivana and Sanja of CNA, while the financial support was provided by the Austrian Development Agency (ADA).

seminar on dealing with the past

Belgrade / Serbia, 18-22.11.2007.

After a valuable experience we had gained from the last year's seminar on dealing with the past, we decided to organize it this year as well. We wanted to offer some space to people active in the field of dealing with the past all throughout the region of former Yugoslavia to exchange experiences, dilemmas, difficulties, questions, approaches, success... and eventually find a mode to support each other. Furthermore, we wanted to include people who do not have experi-

ence of work in the process of dealing with the past, but are highly motivated, to get them involved. The idea originated from our desire to create space for an exchange with other groups/individuals that we had realized we needed, to overcome an occasional feeling of loneliness as well as to re-examine how constructive were some approaches and steps and how much they helped peace building, and to learn from our own and other people's mistakes.



In terms of methodology, we wanted to have a diverse seminar; therefore, we called several people to create workshops on the themes they felt close to.

The workshops were designed and facilitated by:

- *Gordana Čomić* - "The role of state in the process of dealing with the past"
- *Jasna Šarčević-Janković* - "How does the society of Serbia deal with the wartime past"
- *Vesna Teršelič* - "The process of dealing with the past in Croatia: Experiences of Documenta"
- *Branko Todorović* - "Dealing with the past: Experience of the Republic of Srpska"
- *CNA team* (Adnan and Ivana) - "Dealing with the past and peacebuilding".

We gained important insights from our guests. Vesna Teršelič presented, among other things, the survey of Documenta on the Croatian public's standpoint towards dealing with the past and perception of victims and sufferers of war.¹ She dedicated part of the workshop to rights of both the victims and society as a whole² and presented an interesting discussion that had taken place in Croatia regarding the Jasenovac Memorial Centre. Branko Todorović offered his experience and a better insight into obstacles and difficulties regarding work on the process of dealing with the past in the Republic of Srpska, with an overview of entire Bosnia and Herzegovina. Jasna Šarčević-Janković presented the way that the Office of the War Crimes Prosecutor of the Republic of Serbia works and the difficulties which they encounter - mostly due to lack of willingness on the political level and political pressures. These were important insights, primarily since the Office of the War Crimes Prosecutor was publicly criticized for being too slow and inefficient, but the criticism should have been addressed elsewhere. The

workshop conducted by Gordana Čomić was especially important, since most participants had never before had a chance to discuss the issue with the Vice Speaker of Serbian Parliament (or any state parliament, actually). She said that, as far as dealing with the past was concerned, Serbia's most important task was the arrest of "the remaining four," while reconciliation was "our job" - meaning activists', the nongovernmental sector's and individuals'. The workshop gave us a better understanding of the way these issues were treated by the state, and we certainly became additionally motivated to work on the wider acceptance of understanding who's responsible for 'reconciliation'. The workshops gained additional quality with plenty of time devoted to questions and discussions.

The participants' group was quite diverse, relatively young (the average age was 30), and consisted of NGO activists mostly, as well as students, people who work in education, media, political parties' activists.

It seems that we tackled this seminar's organization rather naively, since it turned out that only a few people with the experience of working in this field applied, whilst most of them were inexperienced. We thought that some of those whom we had invited to the seminar with an experience worth of exchange were even offended for not being called to conduct a workshop but to "merely participate." It's not something we expected, but that's a good lesson for some other event.

Even though we put together a group which was more inexperienced than we had previously planned, we decided to go on with the seminar, aware that it would turn out differently than intended, and we didn't regret it. It was four days of intensive work, highly motivated participants, long, never-ending discussions, valuable insights from the workshop authors and a fine basis for some future cooperation.

training for war veterans

phase 1: Jahorina/BH, 16-20.05.2008.

Phase 2: Ilidža/BH, 20-24.06.2008.

This year we organized the sixth CNA's Training for Combatants of 1991-99 Wars. The two-phase training gathered 17 veterans from Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia and Serbia, who were mostly members of veterans' associations. Even though six people were missing in phase two (excused absences), the quality of work, good atmosphere and group energy weren't affected too much. This time no one came from the Croatian Defence Council (CDC) since the people we

had invited cancelled. However, we remained in contact with the Association of the CDC defenders and hope that they will join our post-training activities as we generally agreed.

During the last two years we have been visiting local veterans' associations and campaigning vigorously. Along with the joint activities we had implemented earlier this year, our efforts provided good turnout at the training. The training was good, considering the

¹ The survey is available on the Documenta's website: www.documenta.hr

² Both victims and the society as a whole have the right to truth, justice, compensation, remembrance and guarantees that the crimes will not be repeated.

group's willingness to discuss war openly, engage in co-operation and exchange experiences. Eagerness and desire to talk about wartime experiences, interpretations of events and attitudes that resulted from the wartime period existed from the beginning. Such an atmosphere in the group allowed the training team to develop themes related to important problems related to dealing with the past, such as collective and individual responsibility, the veterans' role in the wartime and post-war periods, etc., early on during the event (it's important to point out that the war was discussed frequently during breaks, also). The trainees' motivation to participate in plenary discussions and work in small groups was noticeable. One could also sense the trust they had in the training team apropos of acceptance of suggestions and respect for standpoints. This needs to be underlined since the trainees at training events for veterans often tend to be reserved towards members of the training team, especially towards those who are not veterans themselves.

At times, fear of both the confrontation and the open criticism addressed to „the other side“ could be sensed. This issue is of utmost importance for this type of training since it helps veterans step out of the rigid social roles that portray them as promoters of nationalistic and extremist politics instead of a group capable of critically re-evaluating their own social and wartime roles. This capability should have a reductive impact on strong, widely accepted, ethnicity-based prejudices and inspire the analytical approach to problems that are decelerating the trust building processes between belligerent sides. The very element of open exchange of thoughts and joint search for ways to overcome nationalistic taboos is what gives this kind of meetings a great potential in the reconciliation process, on both personal and collective levels. That is why we dedicated a good amount of time during the training's second phase to issues like addressing and accepting criticism, communication and cooperation with non like-minded people.

Statements, which were given during training, illustrate the discussions of the aforementioned issues:

- *I encounter the things we talk about every day. I can*

have an opinion about the other side. How come we are all good individually and there's all this mess? I don't ask myself what I'm like, but if I want to be good I'll have to do that.

- *If someone says 'patriotism', it means that I must love my country. I don't have to love the society, Bosnia or Croatia if something is wrong with the society, but I can do everything for it in order to make it better.*

- *Before the war there was this Yugoslav nationalism and then, because of all that love, we broke it into pieces and everybody took some. We didn't care about the structure of people who had lived there, everyone simply took what they wanted.*

- *Thank God that nationalism has all the letters required to spell cynicism.¹ A nationalist will say everything about himself/herself before they even say their name. I will know that he/she is a nationalist before they introduce themselves. National identity has become something that comes first and people always put it in the first place, as if it were the most important thing. I would prefer it to be somewhere in the back instead of the first thing I notice about a person when we meet.*

Additionally, the group was motivated to continue with the peace building activities after the training. This is particularly encouraging for us regarding our aim of organizing some joint public activities just as we did last year when we drafted an action plan at the end of the training. We hope that we managed to create a good atmosphere so that, in the fall of this and throughout next year, we can implement some of the activities we had agreed upon (e.g., filming short video clips sending the message of peace). We are glad that all those who were present expressed their distinctive desire to support and participate in visits to mass graves and other combatants'.

Generally speaking, most participants made a noticeable progress regarding their acceptance and understanding of the other side and willingness to pursue a more elaborate engagement in regional peace activities.

The participants' statements given during the train-



¹ „Nacionalizam“ and „cinizam“ in Serbian/Croatian/Bosnian

ing evaluation follow:

- *When I received the materials I got the picture, but it's nothing close to this. This has surpassed all of my expectations, firstly the workshops. I heard the experiences of others therefore I have a better insight into my own problems, traumas ... I'm dealing with my own emotions. I still think that I do not have any prejudices. It is a far wider platform than I expected, I feel fulfilled and satisfied, full of sensations and impressions and I'm sure I'll be like this for the next five days. Everyone's words made an impact on me, but they affect the future, too.*

- *I don't know what my expectations were. I came here to see. We went through some tough things in a good and modern way. I like the work method and I got what I was asking for. When we have coffee together, that's also important to me ...Something is moving and changing inside of me, and I'm glad about it.*

- *I'm worn out. Our communities have more things in common than differences. Still, those differences are always underlined and that's why it's difficult to accept ...*

- *At first, I was very enthusiastic, and now I feel down a bit. I came to the training psychologically unprepared due to some things that had happened to me before this phase. I'm very satisfied with the group and hope we'll remain in touch afterwards. This will last for a long time, I'm sure.*

- *Part one was more emotional and I was, somehow, more satisfied with it. I tried harder while we were working on practical things. Still, I did my share, but I do think that I could have done more. I liked the dynamics of the fishbowl². I liked the intensity of the discussion. The work of the team - they never stop, man! Whether it's something that I know or don't, they pull it off.*

- *I gave what I could. That's it. I would have given more if I had been able to. For as much as I did - I thank both you and myself. During the first part we just talked. Some things are expected from me now,*

and I feel kind of scared. Until now I was just invited, and now there are more expectations...

Our contacts with associations and individuals on the grass-root level make it easier for us to approach this population. Another important fact is that veterans spread the idea of peace building amongst their fellow combatants which increases both the quality of training and the number of veterans willing to get involved more actively in the process of the regional reconciliation. This effort's important result is also the good cooperation we have established with certain veterans' organizations. That cooperation increases the concept multiplication's efficiency and strengthens the social credibility of the idea of veterans as peace building participants.

It is important to add that many participants were either severely disabled veterans or persons treated for stronger forms of the posttraumatic stress disorder. One of the trainees was a disabled veteran who had been organizing tournaments in sitting volleyball in Bosnia and Herzegovina (the most common sport for people with handicap), where the competing clubs consist of former soldiers. These types of events are very important for the establishment of trust and solidarity between veterans who had been, just a few years earlier, shooting at and killing one another. It's surprising that such events aren't shown more often because they embody peace building as such.

The symbolism of the former enemies' meeting always makes a strong impression on both the participants and the team members, therefore we usually leave the veteran training events exhausted because of all those long days spent talking about painful issues like wartime violence, hatred, sacrifice, fears, defeats, victories ... that are sometimes not easy to think about. At the same time, however, we feel inspired because it gives us the impression that we all do something extremely important for our societies that carry a huge burden of the nineties' wars.

² Type of exercise.

work with war veterans

Through our work with former combatants we want to emphasize the importance of both dialogue and cooperation with this segment of population, which often carries the burden of traumatisa-tion and marginalization along with having the harrowing war experience. Furthermore, they are labelled as those who are quick to resort to the radical, nationalistic vocabulary and actions. We disagree with the aforementioned.

We want to show that former combatants are a highly credible social group with the potential for work in the field of peacebuilding since they experienced the war firsthand, often very brutally.

visits of veterans and veterans' associations to atrocity sites from the 1991-1995 wars

Sarajevo, Bugojno, Prnjavor - BH; February-March 2008

During the second phase of last year's training for combatants (held from June 30 to July 7, 2007), the idea to organize mutual visits to different B&H veterans' associations, pertaining to different once warring armies, was put forward. Everyone was willing to partake and find a deeper meaning in these visits from the beginning. We decided to visit the wartime locations of importance and those regarded as powerful symbols in local communities. By visiting atrocity sites and war crime locations (both marked and unmarked) we wanted to jointly pay tribute to civilian and military victims, regardless of their ethnic or religious background. We also wanted to become aware, side by side, of different local contexts and wartime events.

The visits were conducted in February and March of 2008. We visited Sarajevo, Bugojno and Prnjavor (all in Bosnia and Herzegovina). The group's core consisted of fifteen veterans from Serbia, Croatia and B&H. A number of people joined us in each town, mostly the members of veterans' associations. This was a chance for the trainees from the previous training for combatants to meet the participants of earlier training events and, also, for all of us to meet new faces ready to get involved in what we can call "veterans in peacebuilding".

The local hosts were veterans' associations whose members were in all three armies in Bosnia and Herzegovina (the Croatian Defence Council, the Army of the Republic of Srpska and the Army of B&H). The hosts

were the Association of Demobilised Combatants of the Army of B&H in Sarajevo, the Association of the Demobilised Defenders of the Croatian Defence Council in Bugojno and the Association of the Demobilised Combatants of the Army of the Republic of Srpska in Prnjavor.

After the initial idea had emerged at the training, the CNA team took over the initiative to organize the visits, which is not surprising having in mind the previous experiences with this group which needed a lot of encouragement and support for independent peace activities. Nevertheless, when the idea was about to be implemented, the veterans and their associations almost completely took over the responsibility for the visits' organization. We were very satisfied with cooperation and communication during the visits. We could see that they cared about the guests, laboured to make the people feel both comfortable and safe, and expressed their willingness to support the idea wholeheartedly. The group agreed to hand over the responsibility of choosing the visits' locations to the hosts. Different associations demonstrated different approaches when selecting the locations, with more or less willingness to critically evaluate the role their side had played in the war. However, all of them showed a notable readiness to talk with the "others".

We also agreed not to invite the media during these visits, since some people expressed that it would make them feel better.

Visits to towns , atrocity sites and memorial centres gave the participants the time to meet people and exchange experiences, thoughts and realizations they had. The participants also got together frequently and “competed” in hospitality.

The participants’ courage marked a different path to dealing with violence and torment which they suffered during the war. Starting from the habitual position where the “other” was expected to acknowledge “our” victims first, we arrived to the situation where the “others’” victims were also the ones we should empathize with. The latter situation signifies the guideline to the necessary empathy for the victims of one’s own people. One could sense the mutual support expressed as “if they could come to me, I can go to them, also” as well as a lot of trust in each other. The previous enabled the participants to go through some situations that weren’t so easy. Dealing with fear, dealing with the re-examination process of the interpretations of the past which could have been experienced as insulting in another situation, dealing with the re-evaluation

process of one’s own images and “truths” regarding the war... I believe that there’s no dealing with the past without these processes which occur on both personal and social levels, regardless of their difficulties. This group showed that they could do it.

If we step out from our context, one could get an impression of the visits’ great symbolism, thirteen years after the war ended. The idea to invite the German veterans to the 60th anniversary of the Normandy invasion failed since the French veterans turned it down. Sixty one years after World War II ended.

We think that a very powerful message of peace and desire to rebuild trust can be sent when a mixed group of former combatants (Serbs, Croats, Bosniaks, etc.) jointly visits different places of suffering, when everyone makes place in their hearts and minds for the victims of “others’” and feels true empathy which is not limited by ethnic or religious borders.

We will continue to organize similar visits in the future.

in cooperation
with other
organisations

workshop with dan bar-on

Berlin, Berghof Research Center, 14-15.02.2008.

The Berghof Research Centre and their executive director Martina Fischer, PhD, had initiated a workshop that gathered Dan Bar-On, peace activists of CNA and Miramida Centre, some persons close to Kurve, Wustrow, Germany, and those from the Berghof Centre.

Dan Bar-On, a psychology professor at the Ben-Gurion University and the co-director of the Peace Research Institute in the Middle East (PRIME), worked on the processes of reconciliation and dialogue within the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, as well as those between the descendants of both the holocaust victims and the Nazis. One of his important achievements regards the implementation of narratives (Israeli-Palestinian) in certain schools, and he is well known for developing the method called “storytelling”.

During the workshop we discussed individual and collective histories, the actual method of storytelling that we tried ourselves and dilemmas and questions regarding peace work. We also related experiences of work in the region of former Yugoslavia and within the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Part of the workshop was

dedicated to narratives, their role, mechanisms and the dialogue of narrative.

I find it hard to express a shared impression, because each of us in CNA experienced the workshop differently. My personal impression has remained very strong, regardless of the time that has passed since the event. However, I can say that we left the workshop empowered, inspired and encouraged. We gained a new perspective, since having been immersed in the events here, political situation etc., we were often unable to look at it from a different point of view. We might not arrive to final answers, but we did reach some new and different ones and we had a chance to ask questions from a different angle. I’ve got the impression that we gained a new optimism, broadened our views, and got the feeling that things could (still) happen along with an impulse to try again if things hadn’t worked out and that one could still remain warm and human after having worked for so long with such complicated issues. I would also add that Dan Bar-On’s dedication and zeal just have to move you from where you stand.

In memoriam

Dan Bar-On (1938–2008)

We received with sadness the news of Prof. Dan Bar-On (professor of psychology and co-director of the Peace Research Institute in the Middle East) passing away on September 4th, 2008, in Tel Aviv.

Prof. Dan Bar-On was born in Haifa in 1938. We are grateful for his contributions to the story-telling model’s development, which he initiated a few decades ago by working with the Nazis’ and Holocaust victims’ children. We respect most deeply his devotion to the Israeli-Palestinian dialogue.

We are proud of having had a chance to meet this great man who left behind a pricelessly valuable body of work for peacebuilding processes. We are also using this chance to express our sincere condolences to the people who were closest to him.





Additionally, having heard about the experience of working on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict that goes on for such a long time and has such deep roots, I can conclude that we certainly have a lot to share and listen, especially from someone who has been working on it for such a long time.

It is sad that none of Dan Bar-On's books or works are available in any of our languages. Therefore, we started the talks with one of the publishing houses that we are close to about the possibility of publishing some of his works, like *Tell Your Life Story* and *Legacy of Silence*.

Another very important thing about the workshop doesn't have so much to do with its content. The or-

ganization this workshop, knowing how much this kind of exchange with Dan Bar-On would mean to us, showed us once again how immeasurable is the support that we receive from the Berghof Centre and Martina and Bea. It means so much to us ... So much that it sometimes leaves us speechless.

More information about the workshop is available in a thorough report of the Berghof Centre on "Dealing with the Past in Israel-Palestine and in the Western Balkans. Story-telling in Conflict: Developing Practice and Research" (link: http://www.berghof-center.org/uploads/download/bar_on_workshop.pdf?LANG=e&id=347)

Helena Rill

training on historical and collective narratives

Novi Sad / Serbia, 07-09.04.2008.

The three-day training on narratives was held in April 2008 at the Centre for Trauma (CFT) in Novi Sad, Vojvodina. Our colleagues in CFT contacted CNA's long-term partners, the Mennonite Central Committee (MCC), Sarajevo with the initiative to organize this activity. The colleagues in MCC recognized the idea as a valuable opportunity to enrich our cooperation with a new aspect - joint planning and implementation of the training on the theme that we had previously researched together.

It took two months to implement the idea. During that time the training team made of Randy Puljek-Shank of MCC and Tamara Šmidling of CNA (with a generous help and support of MCC's Amela Puljek-Shank) conducted an intensive research of the available material, chose some useful articles and prepared the concept of the training that would, hopefully, be useful to our organizations and regional partners in their future work.

There were 13 trainees, all of whom were either CFT staff or volunteers, which resulted in specific group dynamics since they had known each other quite well and had had the same professional background (more than 80% of them were psychologists).

The team's impression is that the training was extremely interesting, intensive and with the majority of participants who were highly motivated for work in this field. High motivation mostly means a huge number of questions, which resulted in very interesting discussions that challenged the training team and gave them an opportunity to reflect on some previously established concepts.

The workshops thematized the following issues: What are narratives? Why are historical and collective narratives important for peace building work? What types of narratives exist? What is the relation between a myth and a narrative? How does a narrative depicting a certain event/historic period become dominant in a society? What happens with the "marginal" narratives? How do the narratives change and transform themselves? How are our group identities defined/described by various narratives? What is the relation between a narrative and trauma? How did different societies deal with confronted narratives? What is the constructive way to approach this issue within our context?

The examples of Palestine/Israel, Northern Ireland, South African Republic, Japan and USA were used, although the discussion was focused on „our“ context,

i.e. the situation in the region of former Yugoslavia.

One of the most important insights from this training is related to this issue and it has to do with the situation in Vojvodina, the so-called „multiethnic and multicultural heaven on earth“ as people from Vojvodina often describe it. This trainer got the impression that it was far easier to discuss confronted narratives in the context of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo or Croatia than to talk about our knowledge of our own neighbours' narratives, who pertain to different religion or ethnicity (That is, Hungarians. It was noticeable that this theme was being avoided until the very last day when the training team asked explicitly: What

do we do with Hungarian narratives? Do we know them? Do they exist in public at all, etc? A heated two-hour long discussion followed.)

It's not unexpected, one might say - since it's always the hardest to talk about problems in our own community. On the other hand, one has to emphasize how important it is to insist on such a discussion in order to critically review and re-examine the narrative of the multicultural Vojvodina, because it seems that the reality (at least for some of us) is somewhat different - and can be described with the terms such as: lack of knowledge about each other, fear and mistrust.

Tamara Šmidling

the workshop on dealing with the past with teachers

Neum / Bosnia and Herzegovina, 17-18.05.2008.

Sanja and Tamara, two members of the CNA Sarajevo team designed and implemented a two-day workshop on dealing with the past with teachers, responding to an invitation from the Zenica-based NGO „Sezam“. The trainees were teachers who work in both entities' primary schools in the Teslić - Tešanj region.

The workshop was held in the Neum's Sunce Hotel on May 17th and 18th as a part of a longer seminar organized by Sezam.

This was the first time that the war was discussed within a group of about 40 teachers after a few years long cooperation with Sezam's trainers in their professional development.

The biggest organizational difficulty was the number of participants. Therefore, we had to divide them into two groups because interactive work was impossible in a group of 45 people.

Even though the discussion about the past started rather timidly, little by little more profound and personal conversation developed on the theme regarding the past and the war's - something that surely affected those people's daily life and work (as well as our own, too).

The discussions about whether we need dealing with the past or not, what benefits to it and what does not, what teachers can do to advance the whole process and alike showed an obvious gap between those who created school curriculum under the veil of national ideologies on one side and the intimate, human resistance felt by some of those who were supposed to implement that curriculum. The latter often experience the lack of support from their colleagues from the same ethnic-school tribe.

Different voices do exist, but they are not allowed

to be heard in public, therefore the trust that some people have been working on for years is being destroyed for the sake of "good education and creation of little Croats, Bosniaks and Serbs". One example is a multi-ethnic school near the town of Dobož which had been functioning for years without segregation and division of pupils but was abolished and divided into two schools instead, probably in the name of certain national interests. It is obvious that those who secured their positions in governments by supporting the ethno-nationalistic politics and demagoguery do not consider that building mutual trust is in their best interest.

We believe that this workshop is important because it created space for people who work in education and do not share the unanimous views to hear each other, share their personal experiences, stories, standpoints and fears and slowly start creating a core of people who can offer support to each other because they share some universal human values that have nothing to do with the national and nationalistic ones. We hope we helped a little by boosting this exchange, based on what the participants expressed in the oral evaluation at the end of the workshop.

To end this report, it's hard not to look back at the context of the town in which the seminar took place. Neum is a small town in Herzegovina and the only coastal town in Bosnia and Herzegovina, mostly populated with Croats. On the hotel's and nearby buildings' walls, as well as all along the sea pier, we saw nationalistic and fascist graffiti like 'Kill Baliya', 'Dear guests, be careful', 'Nazi Neum', 'NDH Ustashi' and Ustashi symbols. It leaves a bitter taste in the mouth and a feeling that many of us were unwanted there.

It was a picture of an overall madness in which we

live, this time with the Croatian precursor.

That's why it is truly encouraging to recognize those who share similar values, feel hurt by the situation and are willing to jump out of the unanimous, tribal way of thinking,

As a reaction to explicit hate speech, together with two colleagues from Sezam, we took pictures of the

graffiti and sent the photos attached to a letter of protest to the mayor and town's authorities upon returning to Sarajevo. Unfortunately, even though we sent the letter and the photos twice, we received no reply so we have no idea if anything has changed.

Sanja Deanković

international exchange seminar

Istanbul / Turkey, 06-17.07.2008.

More than two years ago, in April 2006, an international exchange seminar was held in Bielefeld, Germany. Tamara and Ivana, two members of our team, had taken part in the ten-day seminar that was continued this year in Istanbul.

Our German colleagues from the Dortmund-based organization Umbruch came up with this idea. The core participants who had been in Bielefeld also participated in this year's seminar with the addition of some new organizations and individuals. The intention was to hold seminars in different countries where the participants from Germany, Turkey, Russia, Serbia and Bosnia and Herzegovina could exchange their work experiences from their communities.

The concept of this year's seminar was designed and prepared by Jan Brauns and Christiane Moecker of Umbruch and Tamara Šmidling of CNA, with the support of Martha Hesselmanns, a researcher from the Netherlands, who was in charge of the theoretic input.

The proposed theme was 'Dealing with the emotions of pride, shame, guilt and humiliation in the context of current conflicts'. The proposed concept put emphasis on social contexts which people came from, revealing mechanisms and different ways our communities define the attitude towards these emotions as well as exchange of experiences gathered in our work. The seminar also included study visits to various groups and organizations in Istanbul, aiming to help us understand the situation in Turkey better.

However, what was going on during those eleven days of seminar was quite far from what had been in-

tended and planned to happen.

Firstly, it was clear after the first two days that it would not be easy to find a common ground for the entire group. The fact that all of us conduct training events proved insufficient for a stronger group identification. What kind of training events? For whom? Based on what values? - these are just some of the questions that we answered differently and regarding which there were different needs within the group. Furthermore, it remained unanswered whether all participants considered social and political context in which we act crucially influential to our work, something that shapes it and directs it, something that peace work is either in dialogue or in conflict with, but always in interaction with it. For some, the connection between the context of social problems and their own work was dominant, for others it was almost irrelevant because they saw themselves primarily as trainers and only then as activists for whom the objective was an essential social change.

Then the „ghosts from the past“ slowly started to resurface, unleashing unclear conflicts, even power plays and feelings of manipulation that had remained hanging in the air after the Bielefeld seminar. Soon, there was an obvious conflict within the group between two concepts: on one hand, there were those who wanted to discuss the previously announced themes, while emphasizing that the seminar was only about exchange. The others were focused on „internal fears, emotions, etc.“ and tried to concentrate on the group's dynamics and the processes of decision making within the group,





perceiving the gathering primarily as a training. Apart from the fact that this training was primarily about training one's nerves, I still haven't realised what it was that we were supposed to train ourselves for during in those days.

As a member of the moderating team, I still have a bitter taste of dissatisfaction in my mouth about the way that the team handled the situation. I think that, by wanting to prevent few people from manipulating the rest of the group, we failed to make a crucial step and ask clearly and explicitly: "Where do we go with this seminar?" at the very beginning. Instead, we had the situation in which everyone was more or less unsatisfied and frustrated and the teamwork was very painful and stressful.

It's not that all was bad. I should say that our friend and colleague Hilal Demir did a phenomenal job of making our stay in Istanbul very pleasant while responding to plenty of organizational challenges with calmness and maximum efficiency. The magnificent view from the room where we worked at the dance school in Beyoglu, small boat ride on Bosporus, and Turkish tea and coffee that we were having on the fascinating streets of that town helped us cope more easily with highly stressful situations.

According to the participants, the biggest benefits of this meeting were the study trips. The opportunity to meet people from the Kurdish organization in Istanbul and hear firsthand from the residents of Kurdish quarter about the horrendous position of this group in

Turkey was really valuable. Population of a few million is subjected to torture, poverty and violation of basic human rights - the right to their language, schools, identity, etc. Our visit to the editorial of the only Armenian newspaper in Turkey showed us the Turkish society's attitude towards the other minority group, which obviously does not represent any danger since it has been reduced to only 45000 people, therefore is allowed to have a newspaper and schools where their own language is taught. The fact that the books which are used for education were published in the 19th century (!!!) also tells a lot about the context, but that's another story.

At least we learnt a lot about Turkey, even though we were somewhat confused with the following question: How is it possible to reconcile the vitality and beauty of Istanbul with an enormous amount of violence that is right under the surface, and, even more, often quite obviously? We had an excellent chance to compare violence in the strong state such as Turkey as opposed to the contexts of weak states like Serbia and Bosnia and Herzegovina. The question is - which are worse? It remained unanswered, of course.

Finally, it was obvious that the people from Umbruch were highly and truly dedicated to this idea. We shall see if it will be continued. The experience gathered during the previous two meetings shows us that it will never be easy, even if it continues.

Tamara Šmidling

the first regional peace academy

Sarajevo, 18-27.07.2008.

Facts:

The Peace Academy for people from the region of former Yugoslavia is a result of the initiative launched by four peace organizations (*Terca, Mostar/Sarajevo, Mennonite Central Committee (MCC), Nansen Dialogue Centre Sarajevo and Centre for Nonviolent Action*), and was supported by numerous activists from both the

region and abroad.

It took more than *a year and a half* to prepare the event.

During the Peace Academy (ten-day event), three parallel courses were held, lasting eight days each:

- *Understanding Social and Political Elements of Collective Violence and Mass Crimes (cases of Yugoslavia*

and Rwanda), Vlasta Jalušić and Tonči Kuzmanić, Peace Institute, Ljubljana, Slovenia

- *Civilizing Nationalism - Regional Pacification*, Ugo Vlaisavljević and Faris Čengić (assistant), University of Sarajevo

- *What Can We Learn From Peace Movements? Lessons of the Past for the Present and Future*, Brian Phillips, Oxford Brookes University

There were 135 applicants from Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Serbia, Macedonia, Slovenia, Kosovo and Montenegro, 62 of which were selected to participate. In the end, 60 took part in one of the three courses which were offered.

The facilitators and participants were accommodated at the premises of the Franciscan Student Dormitory complex in Grbavica, Sarajevo.

Financial support was provided by MCC, Quaker Peace & Social Witness (QPSW) Belgrade office, while part of the funding provided the trainees themselves by paying the 50 € participation fee.

The trainees were obliged to read the assigned material, which had been distributed prior to the course, and attend the entire course. Those who wanted to receive the RPA attendance certificate had to write an essay on any of the themes their course had covered.

The essays will be available on RPA website (www.mirovna-akademija.org).

What did we want to accomplish?

We wanted to create space for reflection on, exchange of and learning about problems essential for peacebuilding in the region of former Yugoslavia.

Furthermore, we wanted to offer activists, researchers and theorists an opportunity for advanced peace education, whose success is based on true motivation for *work in this field*, instead of desire to obtain certificates and improve one's CV.

Also, we wanted to improve the dialogue between activist and academic worlds, both of which have a peculiar attitude towards one another which can be summarized as „we don't need THAT“.

We also wanted to achieve some of our lifelong dreams, respond to personal needs for additional knowledge and new space for exchange, work on something new and interesting, participate in the whole process during which something is being born - starting with a blank paper to a gathering of seventy people from the entire region...

And what is it that we've accomplished?

In my opinion, we have done a lot regarding the local people's capacity building for tackling the problems of ethno-nationalism, tribal nationalism and rac-

ism, various types of resistance to the peace process. Also regarding the capacity building, we did plenty that would enable people to *think* about it first, and then act, based on it. Act concretely, that is.

It was also a brilliant opportunity (and brilliantly taken, too) to promote peace work as a true and basic need of all our societies, regardless of the fact that they often consider themselves much better than they really are, and try to impose such misconception onto as many people as possible.

It was important to follow the dynamics that were being established during the course of the RPA, from initial confusion that was written all over people's faces that spelled „what's going on?“ to the formation of circles within which heated discussions continued after the working sessions had ended. Away from the pressure exerted by either state or the system, we were able to define problems and reflect on things, undisturbed and uncensored, in a way that is impossible to achieve at our universities burdened with the process of reforms and “dull-ification”.

About Cooperation

Another thing is worth mentioning in this report. I think about the cooperation of four organizations (and a permanent team of six people) which participated on equal basis in creating the RPA. In this long and occasionally frustrating process we had to start from scratch, make thousands of decisions and think of million things. There were more than a few moments when we ranted about the consensus and „too much democracy in the process“, and called on a *deus ex machina* to „suddenly appear and resolve everything“. We dealt with many issues along the way and often unsystematically, made some mistakes and omissions (failure to provide additional grants, delay in the materials' distribution to the trainees); there were things we didn't have time to think through and set them up better (essays and what to do with them).

Anyway...

The evaluation we did yesterday, September 29, 2008, showed clearly that there was willingness for further cooperation, that there was tremendous enthusiasm, that we were ready to take care and support each other and what we do together. Moreover, that there's enough of it going around in order to continue what we do.

Within the next couple of months, when we start preparing for the next years' RPA, we shall see how capable we are to learn from our own mistakes.

Cheers!

Tamara Šmidling
Sarajevo, September 30, 2008

miramidani – the role of war veterans in peacebuilding

Grožnjan / Croatia, 11-14.09.2008.

Two themes were dominant in CNA's activities during 2008. The first theme was the work with veterans which gained a new quality of improved partnership and some activities' joint planning after seven years long intensive effort and search for an adequate approach. The other theme is the intensified cooperation in various fields with numerous regional groups and organizations which we dedicated ourselves to for the past year and a half.

The event in Grožnjan was the point at which both of these themes met. It was an excellent opportunity to strengthen our cooperation regarding the veterans' participation in peace building.

The event was designed and organized by members of the following organizations: Miramida Centre, Grožnjan, Croatia; Centre for War Trauma, Novi Sad, Serbia; Izmir, Zagreb, Croatia; CNA, Sarajevo/Beograd. Support with this event's conceptualization was provided by Centre for Peace Studies, Zagreb, Croatia and group of young people from Vukovar, Croatia gathered around the project „Say NO to Violence”. This meeting of peace activists and peace activists/veterans which was organized with minimal funding while the facilitators (amongst which were Adnan and Nedžad of CNA Sarajevo) volunteered, empowered the existing and induced some new initiatives that strengthen the dialogue between these two groups, thus including the veterans amongst peace building actors.

An impressive group of about fifty people gathered, most of them from Croatia, but also from Bosnia and Herzegovina and Serbia. The participants comprised of veterans who had been working for several years/months on peace building as well as peace activists of different age and interests. Almost all people who had been working on bringing peace work closer to veterans (and vice versa) were present, except for a few exceptions, but that's another story.

The four-day event was organized as simultaneous workshops which the attendants chose according to their interests and needs. The following workshops and activities were offered:

- *War veterans and peace workers - similarities and differences*, Vladan Beara and Miloš Antić, Centre for War Trauma, Novi Sad, Serbia
- *Reintegration of veterans and their inclusion into peace work* - Goran Božičević and Ana Bitoljanu, Miramida Centre, Grožnjan, Croatia
- *Peace education and veterans* - Nedžad Horozović

and Adnan Hasanbegović, CNA, Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina

- *Minorities, here next to us* - Mirjana Bilopavlović, Delfin Association, Pakrac, Croatia
- *Working on war trauma as a way of releasing potential for peace building* - Vladan Beara, Centre for War Trauma, Novi Sad, Serbia
- *What is peace work today?* - Goran Božičević and Ana Bitoljanu, Miramida Centre, Grožnjan, Croatia
- Projection of the documentary film “Not a Bird To Be Heard,” followed by discussion about reconciliation, dealing with the past and ethnic identity
- *Peace building - the process that includes all of us - How to bring it closer to citizens? How to make it less elitist?* - Iva Zenzerović Šloser, Centre for Peace Studies, Zagreb, Croatia
- Women defenders-veterans/invisible combatants - Ljiljana Canjuga and Andreja Kraljević Mišić, Izmir, Zagreb, Croatia

It was a phenomenal experience for us, an opportunity for high-quality exchange and a chance to see where we stand regarding this aspect of our work, as well as where we want to be in the near future. We are particularly glad to see the cooperation and that our different approaches are something normal we can discuss, instead of a stumbling block and the reason not to work together. We were especially pleased to organize a showing of our documentary film „Not a Bird To Be Heard“ which was attended by more than thirty people. Even though the film was supposed to be an introduction to the discussion about reconciliation and dealing with the past, people were highly distressed afterwards, some were even in tears, therefore the discussion that followed was more of an emotional evaluation, with a clear message that „the film made a strong impact and was very touching, and that it is important for as many people as possible to see it regionally“. Hence, this unpretentious „premiere“ of the film was far more rewarding than we had expected, and we must add that the audience was bigger than it was at some of the previous showings in Croatia.

While we're waiting for the participants' evaluations that will give us a more concrete picture of what was not good, we hope that Miramidani becomes both Grožnjan's and regional tradition. We are certainly willing to support this valuable initiative in the future.

miscellaneous

round table: truth telling in kosovo. which way now?

Pristina, 12.09.2008.

In 2007 and 2008, *Integra*, a Priština-based NGO, conducted a survey entitled “Attitudes On Inter-Ethnic Relations And Truth Telling In Kosovo” which was followed by the round table entitled “Truth Telling In Kosovo: Which Way Now?” The activities were supported by the Dutch peace organization *IKV Pax Christi*.

The round table focused on recommendations for truth finding/truth telling in Kosovo, establishment of the Commission on Truth, and was based primarily on the conducted survey. Part of the meeting was dedicated particularly to the exchange of experiences which relate to truth telling within local communities. The event was attended by representatives from associations of missing persons, victims of war, human rights and peace organizations, research and legal institutions and others.

I want to emphasize the importance of conducting such a survey. As far as I know, this is one of the first surveys, or even the first one of this kind, done in Kosovo after the war and it is very valuable (it will soon be available on the *Integra*’s website: <http://www.ngo-integra.org/>). However inappropriate it may be to draw questions and answers out of the survey’s context, I cannot help but consider them since they depict a situation important for dealing with the past and peace building. Here are some of the most interesting ones, in my opinion:

- When asked who should get involved in improving the inter-ethnic relations in Kosovo, Albanians replied: Kosovo Serbs (30,3%), all of the actors involved in mutual effort (16,4%), while Serbs who participated gave the following answers: everyone individually (25,4%) and Kosovo Serbs and Kosovo Albanians (24,4%).
- The chapter entitled “Blaming Game” states the

following: It is very common for post-war regions that people try to determine a certain factor (person/institution/nation) which is to ‘blamed’ for their misfortune. This survey also suggests that Albanian and Serbian interviewees think that they have a clear picture of those whom they can blame for all the things they suffered in the past. The majority of Albanians canvassed (95,3%) responded that Serbian leaders bore responsibility for their suffering, 97 % blamed the individuals who had committed crimes, while 77,1% blamed the Serbian nation in general. On the other hand, Serbs who were canvassed considered the Albanian leaders to be responsible (96,6%), 97,1% blamed the individuals who had committed crimes while 64,9% placed the blame on the Albanian nation.

However, one should take into account that the answers offered in a survey may sometime present a certain unrealistic picture. Therefore, the situation might not be so gloomy and there could be someone who is considering their own responsibility ... Although, having in mind other conflicts that happened in this region, the blaming game has become a part of the ‘folklore’.

My dilemma regarding this meeting (as well as others of this kind) is whether it makes sense to talk about inter-ethnic relations unless people of both sides are present and included, that is, both Serbs and Albanians from Kosovo because they were the conflicting parties surveyed. (As far as I know, there were almost no Serbs from Kosovo present).

In any case, this was only the beginning. We’ll see how it goes. However, if I consider the survey’s results, I can only say that there’s a long way ahead of us.

Helena Rill

political and social context

croatia

This article considers some of the most important events that happened in Croatia within the past year which I find essential within the context of reflection on the issues important for peace building as well as social phenomena that bother and hurt me.

In spite of the strong opposition from the Croatian Catholic Church, and the majority of the Croatian Democratic Union MPs in the beginning, the Croatian Parliament ratified the Anti-discrimination Law, which will go into effect on January 1, 2009. One could say that this is not such a big deal for a country that aspires to call itself democratic and is about to join the European Union. I read the bill and was truly surprised by all that fuss, since it's simply a document that gathers complete anti-discriminatory legislature in one place whilst introducing some new categories and defining concrete, serious punishments for its violation.

I do not wish to speculate whether the Croatian legislative bodies were ready and mature to initiate such a law or they merely obeyed the EU request. However, this law represents, at least formally, an important step in the separation of church and state, which have been functioning in an awkward symbiosis since the nineties.

Regardless of the fact that the law prohibits discrimination based on sex, race, age, disability, religion and faith in the domains of social welfare, education, housing, justice and public administration, science, sport, cultural and artistic creation, the destiny of the entire law depended on two words ("heterosexual" and "transgender individuals"), which were mentioned twice in it. Perhaps the church feared that its entire teachings would be questioned and the virtue of a healthy Croatian being would be violated. Finally, the Croatian Democratic Union (whose MP, Jadranka Kosor, was the author of the bill) withdrew the amendment which would remove from the bill discrimination based on gender identity and expression.

It's an important step for the state whose By-law on Blood and Blood Components prohibits the "persons with homosexual behaviour," among others, to give blood and whose judicial system has not yet reached a single judgement in cases of discrimination against

affiliates of ethnic minorities at workplace. These are just two out of many examples of democracy - the Croatian way.

It seems that we need something to hold onto in hope that it will stir up the lethargic Croatian judiciary that allows some to be more equal than the others, all of which is masked with the Constitution and the law.

Due to "procedural errors" of the judiciary, Branimir Glavaš, the infamous executor of Serbs from the beginning of the nineties, has become a "respected" Croatian MP; the Croatian media relentlessly cover war crime trials of the Croatian generals Čermak, Markač and Gotovina in the Hague Tribunal, providing all of the accompanying details; Mirko "A Hero, Not a Criminal" Norac is about to marry a dentist from his hometown, while serving a jail sentence...

The lack of either the debate on Croatian war crimes in the media or a critical, honest discussion about what it is about the Croatian society that produces so much ethnically inspired violence and hatred was solidified by the common narratives on the inviolability of the Homeland war and us - a small, but proud and courageous people who had stood up to the outnumbering and overpowering enemy.

Due to all these reasons, I guess that we should not be surprised when demons from the past reappear every once in a while: Ustashi graffiti in some Croatian towns (which go either without prosecution or with petty fines); counting the Croatian blood cells of all those "whose names sound suspicious"; vicious threats addressed to the only Croatian soldier who was a prosecution witness in the lawsuit against general Gotovina.

Not long ago, the public defender of gender equality, Gordana Lukač-Koritnik, was beaten up when she rushed to help the citizens of Zagreb, who were Orthodox Christians, at the city's Flower Square. She was punished by a group of attackers because she acted as a responsible citizen trying to point out hate speech.

There are plenty of examples that provoke rather anaemic and superficial public reactions, within a pandemic apathy of ostensible „normality“ that seems to be self-purposeful and keeps us stuck in-between the

dictatorship of the Tudman's nineties and the democracy that EU aspires to. Anyway, everyone knows what it means to be normal in Croatia: it means to be a Croat, a Catholic, a heterosexual, to have children and mind one's own business.

The distinction between the left and the right was blurred long time ago and it's difficult to tell who's who on the political scene. Name of a party doesn't tell anything about its ideology and values of those who represent them. Hence, the mayor of Zagreb, a social-democrat Milan Bandić, initiated a concert of Marko Perković Thompson to commemorate the Day of Croatian Defenders, regardless of all the controversies and incidents that had happened in the past few years at that person's concerts, including the unavoidable Ustashi artefacts and the calls to "Kill a Serb." The city authorities verbally condemned those incidents, the police inspector Josip Gašparac was suspended because he had brought a suit against Thompson for instigating ethnic hatred, endless newspaper articles were written, Josip Gašparac was sent back to work, Milan Bandić is still a mayor of Zagreb, while Thompson keeps playing gigs all across our beautiful country. However, for the first time, he was banned from performing - in Istria, of all places.

The Feral Tribune no longer exists. The only newspaper that offered essentially studious criticism of reality and offered hope that there were those willing to talk publicly against injustice and fascism, disappeared. It faded out because it could not stand against the laws of the market anymore, but the sad truth is

that the story about the amassed real estates and bad characters of its editors seems to overshadow all of the things that Feral had been standing for throughout all these years...

The opposition to the aforementioned mainstream opinions present certain people from civil society, who are neither listened to nor paid too much attention to in the public. They are usually characterized as enemies, foreign minions and those who are "against the system," although, if it weren't for them and their work and initiatives, many acts of violence and injustice would remain undisclosed and it's likely that the Anti-discrimination Law which was mentioned in the beginning of this article would look differently.

We don't have much choice but to make additional effort to re-examine these "still waters of normality" in which we live, have more trust in our power as individuals and raise our voice against those who tend to keep things "normal," and offer a bit more support to those who either suffer injustice on whatever basis or stand up to it, because we truly lack more solidarity and willingness to accept criticism and self-criticism in order to build a better society. I hope this is possible. Perhaps the aforementioned law will make it possible for us to feel more protected and safe, while the rest is up to us... or we will keep our red and white chequered jerseys within our grasp, waiting for our hearts to beat like one while we're cheering up for our national team, unified into one national being, eyes shut to everything else...

Sanja Deanković

the amplitudes in serbia, i.e. radiation

I sometimes wonder whether it is possible for one to live in Serbia (or anywhere in the entire region, if you will) and make sense of all the socio-political amplitudes that condense within a year. Most of them are negative and positive ones are much less frequent. Life can hardly get dull here so, if you're not fighting for bare survival like so many people are (which, I suppose, applies also to other countries that are in the process of indefinite "transition") and possess at least some political awareness, consciousness or sensibility for social processes - you are in danger of suffering from all kinds of diseases, whether it's ulcer, serious apathy or depression, to name just a few. No wonder that more than eight million boxes of tranquilizers were prescribed last year only, while up to three times as much is believed to have been sold without prescription.¹

Herein I'll try to make an overview of all kinds of

socio-political radiation we have been exposed to during the past year.

What happened last October after the announcement of the neo-Nazi gathering depicts most vividly the social situation.

Anyway, the neo-Nazis who gather around the so-called "National Alignment"² organization (well known by the law enforcement agencies), along with other similar organizations from both this country and all over the world, announced that they were going to march on October 7, 2007 in Novi Sad, presumably to celebrate Himmler's birthday under a veil of Serbian patriotism. Since it was taking ages for the police to think of what to do, an anti-fascist protest gathering was also announced for that day. Police had banned the neo-Nazis gathering, but several hundred conscientious citizens gathered up in downtown Novi Sad and held a short anti-fascist demonstration followed

¹ B92 News, April 14th, 2008.

² NA, considered national-socialist by their supporters.

by a protest walk. The street was teeming with police, however, the neo-Nazis, whose march had been banned, started to throw rocks and firecrackers at the protesters. A few more curiosities related to this event: the neo-Nazis attacked from the forecourt of the Army House (by throwing rocks across the fence) while the police, which was there to secure the event, was facing the gathering as if that's where the danger was coming from, instead from those who were attacking it.³ This also would have probably been a marginal event, like neo-Nazism is after all, if it weren't for the fuss it created in the public with most commentators relativizing the event by claiming that both sides were extremist (that claim was repeated over and over again during the parliamentary debate the following day). It was supposed to mean that both the neo-Nazis and the anti-fascists are the same kind of an extreme occurrence in the peaceful Serbian society (thus also unwanted, let's suppose). That kind of approach illustrates best the situation in which our society has been existing for quite a few years now. It's exactly the kind of widespread approach that prevents us from going any further than where we were on October 5th, eight years ago.

Since October 5th, 2000, we seem to have been living a perpetual election campaign, since some kind of elections or referendums were held almost every year. The first event of the year was the presidential election, in which the Radical's candidate T. Nikolić lost by a small margin. The local and early parliamentary elections followed. No party was able to form the government so we waited for the next couple of months to see what was going to happen and who was going to close a better deal. Back on October the 5th, 2000, no one could have imagined what would follow: the coalition between the Democratic Party and the Socialist Party of Serbia (SPS), forming the government. As far as I recall, the Democratic Party president even called upon reconciliation between these two parties stating that "they each have their pain" during the courting, meaning that both the Democratic Party and the Socialist Party of Serbia had tragically lost their respective party chiefs.⁴ They would probably not have fallen in love with each other if their leaders were alive: one of them had died from natural causes in the Scheveningen prison, waiting for the verdict to be reached in the judicial process for war crimes while the other had been killed in broad daylight in downtown Belgrade right in

front of the Government building while occupying the position of the Prime minister. Which makes all the difference in the world.

The best thing about this government being slapped together is the fact that the man who had been first the president, and then the prime minister for a long time, stepped away from power. It's Vojislav Koštunica, the man whom Srđa Popović, with good reasons, refers to as a "Trojan horse"⁵ and the one who had been obstructing all of the attempts to push through more fundamental reforms while protecting the lackeys of Milošević who are still safely embedded in various "law enforcement agencies" and similar comfortable positions. Before he was ousted, he had managed to organize a prayer for Kosovo earlier this year as a reaction to the province's declaration of independence. The prayer ended up in chaos, riots and pillaging in Belgrade. Interestingly enough, police department did not have the authority to prevent it.

It seems that we will not recover from this whole Kosovo issue for quite some time. I don't mean the riots and the pillaging by that, but an inexhaustible fuel that heats up nationalism and ethnocentrism that we seem to have in abundance. I doubt that anything will change for the better in relations between Serbs and Albanians, unless some sort of an agreement between two sides is achieved, without the interference of those who install democracy throughout the world by enforcing it.

With regards to it, the fact that Ramush Haradinaj was acquitted in the Hague Tribunal in April, came as quite a blow to the Serbian public. Dejan Anastasijević, journalist of the *Vreme* newsmagazine, commented that "there was probably no other verdict that caused such protests, bitterness and pure rage in Serbia"⁶ and it all happened after a mere two months since "Kosovo was taken away". The last blow, which did not cause too much of a public reactions due to an overall tiredness and exhaustion with the subject, was the Montenegrin and Macedonian recognition of Kosovo. The lack of the public reaction was certainly not due to the political elite's attempts to point out the "brotherly treason" and "backstabbing," all of which happened at the moment of complete media frenzy over the "international victory we had won." Since I'm also tired from this whole Kosovo issue I cannot dedicate any more attention to it, because we had it for breakfast, lunch and dinner, as Petar Luković put it once. Literally.

³ Reporter Miloš Vasić wrote an excellent article about this event: „Blood (and 'Honour') in the presence of the authorities," *Vreme* No 875, October 11th, 2007.

⁴ Just few days ago, on October 18, 2008, Boris Tadić (in the name of the Democratic Party) and Ivica Dačić (in the name of the Socialist Party of Serbia) signed the „Declaration on political reconciliation and common responsibility for creating a vision of Serbia as a democratic, free, integral, economically and culturally developed and socially just country."

⁵ Srđa Popović in *Peščanik*, *Radio B92*, June 13, 2008.

⁶ Dejan Anastasijević, *Vreme* No 901, April 10, 2008.

Not long after the new government was formed, with the SPS cadre occupying the positions of the Vice Prime Minister and the Minister of interior affairs, education and infrastructure, it seems that the whole world was shocked with the news of the Radovan Karadžić's arrest. While the majority was convinced that he would never be found, the criminal was *living quietly*⁷ in New Belgrade, riding the public transportation, giving lectures and participating at public forums and, perhaps, even attending promotions of his own books which he had managed to write whilst living a quiet life of an Orthodox believer. Many were deeply saddened because they didn't get their hands on the five million dollars of reward money. Others were saddened by something else, thus they have been gathering on the Square of the Republic in Belgrade to mourn the arrest of this criminal who is responsible for death and ruin of tens of thousands of people (few millions, more probably). However, there's just a few of them protesting so the passers-by hardly even notice them. I was utterly upset by the media's treatment of this event, both domestically and internationally. For days, they kept informing us how he had walked around disguised and making fools of us, what pub he had been frequenting, what he had liked to drink, what kind of yoghurt and health food he had preferred, if he had had an affair and if his wife had known about it ... It's a real Hollywood thriller in our own neighbourhood that totally overshadowed all of the horrors he is responsible for. It seems that it is better to run the entertaining news for the public than to remind it of the things it persistently tries to deny or forget.

It seems that the agony will continue because we are still to see his defence in the Hague Tribunal. He is going to defend himself, just like his brothers did. Those who at least partially watched the Milošević's trial, or particularly Šešelj's, know what kind of a circus the trials are. The young (and not so young) patriots are watching the circus as if it were some kind of a football match between "us" and "them" where "the goals we scored" are being carefully tracked. By the way, if you miss some sessions of the Šešelj's trial you can get them from the patriots who exchange the

recorded videos on the Internet. I assume that's how it's going to be with the new tenant in Scheveningen as well.

Nevertheless, let me return to denial, the tradition which is persistently being upheld. It is especially noticeable every July, when the crimes committed in Srebrenica and nearby Bratunac are commemorated. For those who do not know, the people who deny it constantly bid the number of victims, denying the "Bosniak" and emphasizing the "Serbian" victims. The notorious Belgrade daily *Kurir* published the statement of a certain Milivoje Ivanišević, presumably the member of the Republic of Srpska's Senate, which claimed that there weren't any civilian victims in Srebrenica since "only one female corpse was found until 2005". He calls the gathering in Potočari "the vampires' ball" because "those very same people burned hundreds of Serbian villages and killed thousands of Serbian civilians... Now their fellow combatants come to salute them, pay tribute and pledge that they will continue to commit atrocities."⁸ It's one thing that no verdict or a committee will ever end this type of thinking, but they also won't stop the media from giving space to such people. A part of the public will eagerly accept these kinds of non-arguments because that is so much easier than to deal, at least, with the feelings of shame, not to mention the responsibility and the guilt.

It would probably be quite unjust to end this overview without mentioning this year's Eurovision Song Contest, the pride and joy of Serbia and, especially, Belgrade. It was quite a successfully organized event. The absolute favourite was the Bosnian artist. I was really glad to hear the radio commercial advertising his album with the following slogan: „Get ready for action: Support the neighbour!“ So, I found also a positive amplitude.

That's how it goes in the country where even the Constitution divides the people who live in it into „Serbs“ and „citizens“. As if both could not go together.

Ivana Franović
Oktober 2008

⁷ Most of us have heard about so-called 'quiet life' (or 'tihovanje' in Serbian, although quite archaic language) for the first time after the person in question had been arrested. The term has nothing to do with ethnic cleansing, the establishment of ethnic borders etc., which people automatically associate with the new tenant of the Scheveningen prison. Those seem to be some kind of Orthodox meditation, to put it laicly.

⁸ *Kurir*, July 11, 2008.

on the context of peace work in sarajevo or „better a fascist than a faggot“

The following article is a very personal, biased and subjective view of the current „state of the affairs“, not so much in the entire Bosnia and Herzegovina as in its capital - Sarajevo. It means neither that Sarajevo represents the whole country nor that what happens here in Sarajevo is the only thing that matters. Moreover, my intention is not to state that things are essentially different in Sarajevo, or God forbid, better than in the rest of B&H, at least regarding the problems here. I only intend to discuss the things I know best, those that are closest to me and most relevant at this moment. Those who are careful enough will be able to get the wider context of Bosnia and Herzegovina from this story about Sarajevo and, possibly, a wider picture as well.

I have decided to write about Sarajevo because of what had happened to the attempt of holding the first Queer Festival in (my?) city - the town globally known for „an exceptionally high level of tolerance and multiculturalism“. The latter is most frequently described with the well-known (and quite stupid) phrase depicting „a church, a cathedral and a mosque - existing one next to another, in the very town's centre.“ Exactly. That's the kind of multiculturalism dreamt of and practiced by the religious elites which occupy churches and mosques. They do it together with the politicians who grabbed their spots in various governments and parliaments while being paid highest regional salaries (average monthly proceeds of an MP in B&H is 3000 €) for their incompetence, impotence, stupidity and illiteracy. This vision of tolerance and multiculturalism does not tolerate anything even slightly different from the formula „man = faith + nation“, except for the phrases about inter-ethnic and inter-religious *bearing*, especially since it has become clear who's on top (the majority) and who's at the bottom (the minority). No matter whether it is about people who practice yoga, communists, worshippers of Hare Krishna or members of different subcultural groups. Not even to mention those repulsive „faggots and dykes“- to use names that certain so-called journalists used. The attitude towards people who are part of the LGBTTIQ population showed that Sarajevo's legendary multiculturalism is just another side of the coin of horrifying *sameness*, of monoculturalism in which all our alleged differences

are hidden behind a folding-screen of impotency and the lack of willingness *to think*, and *to think different* than in terms of corny ethnic-religious-showbiz-capitalistic categories.

Therefore, a cultural event became a crossing point for various fascistic currents and attacks that were launched from different positions of the social spectrum (including MDs, politicians and both the newly converted and, particularly, the old believers). Among them are also football fans and the rest of the „drunken youth“ who are, in a charming kind of way, in the end always responsible for committing acts of violence in our societies, those acts that honest people are, like, ashamed of. Overnight, the Queer Festival issue has become a political issue *par excellence*, in spite of attempts to reduce it to a so-called problem of *morality*. All it took was several declamatory newspaper articles (Dnevni Avaz, Saff, Press), which focused on the alleged „homosexuals' parade in Sarajevo during the Ramadan holiday,“ for everyone to take up arms and defend their ethnic and religious feelings. All of a sudden the question „who's playing a prank with Bosniaks?“ has come into the centre of attention. Beside dealing with this issue of *critical national importance*, the festival's organizers were subjected to public lynchings, violence and death threats, discrimination on every corner, etc. Suddenly, homophobia has become a factor around which all those professional Serbs, Croats and Bosniaks united, despite the fact that they are unable to agree on pretty much anything else. Not even the Chetniks, the archenemies, looked the same any more, while their reactions to the Belgrade Gay Pride from June 2001 were commented with great respect: the reactions were so *manly*, so *uncompromising*¹. Homophobia gave a true meaning to a certain Sarajevo pop band's „We are the same - Herzegovinians and Bosniaks“. We surely are the same, it's just that we come in three different pre-packaged models - Muslim, Catholic and Orthodox.

Seemingly, the biggest battle took place in internet forums which showed the true face of our current intellectual and spiritual misery and confirmed the „disappearance of the public person“. Protected by anonymity and a bunch of like-minded companions, absolved from any responsibility whatsoever, many rushed to launch

¹ On June 30th, 2001 the first Gay Pride of lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender individuals was organized in Belgrade. The procession was supposed to gather on the Republic Square and march to the Students' Cultural Centre, where the programme was to take place. However, several hundreds football fans, members of extreme rightist and nationalistic organizations, led by some priests of the Serbian Orthodox Church, with a tacit blessing from the police, prevented the participants of the Parade to even arrive to the Republic Square. The exact number of people who were brutally beaten up remains unknown, and no charges have been pressed against the perpetrators.

their threats against the „Bosnian junk“, to threaten with dousing with gasoline and torching the sick, homosexual bodies, decapitating and spilling their guts out. All of it that in the name of religion's defence and the Holly month of Ramadan. Bravo!

In the meantime, our moral misery's true actors - religious dignitaries (in this case the Islamic community's leaders), politicians, public figures, enraged veterans (also anonymous), as well as some who belong to the so-called civil society, either tried to express their disagreement with the Festival's organization (under the following pretext: should what's private become public, we, heterosexuals, do not organize parades!) or relativized the whole thing (everyone's entitled to their human rights, but both sides crossed the line here!).

Finally, the threats came true on September 24th. Violence was committed when Queer Festival's participants and supporters were beaten up on the Sarajevo streets. At first the organizers announced that the Festival was going to be closed for public, but since the threats didn't cease, the event was cancelled altogether. Sarajevo was successfully defended from the sickness! Sarajevo had become *clean* and *healthy* again! Neither *Svetlana* nor *Boba*² will provoke us by organizing make-believe art festivals!

What does it all tell us about Sarajevo currently, huh?

Firstly, according to the public, the organizers made a fatal mistake - they did not check the religious calendar. What does that have to do with the constitutionally established secular state? One should seriously think about it and discuss it. Can anyone ever organize an art festival simultaneously with celebrations of religious holidays? Should we ask ulemas, patriarchs and archbishops for permits to organize any kind of public activities? Where do we draw the line?

Furthermore, why does it matter if your name is *Boba* or *Svetlana* in an allegedly multicultural but evidently monocultural town of Sarajevo? Would it be easier if such „slurs against faith“ were coming from *Jamila* and *Amila*?³ How come people are being expelled „back to Belgrade“ and told to „get the hell back to Serbia“? Why are people being harassed and assaulted because of their names and where they come from? These questions require serious and deliberate answers, instead of trite phrases like „it's the rednecks who say that, we're cool and we listen to cool music“.

The post-war Sarajevo drove many people away while attracting very few. For years it has been lulled with the victim's image and a dangerous belief that

the truly horrendous suffering during the 92-95 siege earned it sympathy and understanding forever. The time has come and Sarajevo is (or at least a part of it) waking up from this dream feeling terribly hung over.

So, what is it seeing? A decrepit capital with hardly any cultural life at all, a small town where illiteracy and mediocrity reign, four bookstores, two cinemas and three theatres. It's the town that tries to keep up only with the tycoon-capitalistic criteria according to which the only parameter for a town to become and remain that is the number of new shopping malls' and business offices' square meters. No wonder *art* shows were targeted and that the *artistic provocation* is considered to be the society's bogeyman. Everyone should know by now that art has long ceased to provoke but, instead, that it should be sold and used to lull us. What else would an honest man need but a mosque/church and a shopping mall, especially since he managed to make ends meet by taking out the loan number 101 within the past three years?

More and more people write their books, articles and columns while living in other parts of the world. In their place the guys with long beards and shortened pants, a radical Islamized version of the committees for moral and political correctness that existed in former Yugoslavia, sagely gain space for themselves and their own twisted *political visions* carried by the winds of this town's and this country's omnipresent ignorance, apathy and spiritual indolence. It makes no difference that 90% of people's lifestyles do not fit into this vision because it seems to me that the prevailing opinion can be summed up as „who cares, they're „brothers“, someone's got to beat up those faggots“. That is exactly where Sarajevo has reached the lowest point of its degeneration. We have allowed them to become the striking fist and act in the name of the society's huge majority. Now, there's no turning back. The question is- who's next?

For the sake of intellectual and human honesty, I want to underline that there were those who stood up, who dedicated their capacities and credibility to raise the voice against violence and discrimination. They, and especially the editorial staff of the „Dani“ weekly magazine deserve all the credit. We'll see if that is enough for Sarajevo. Perhaps even next Saturday (October 4th) when civil protests against violence will take place, or Sunday (October 5th) when the local B&H elections will be held.... Hope dies last...

Tamara Šmidling
Sarajevo, October 1st, 2008

² Names of the organizers who are members of the Q Association, Sarajevo. Their names are conspicuously non-Bosniak and Non-Muslim, therefore problematic.

³ Two typical Muslim/Bosniak female names, chosen randomly without any hidden agenda or bad intentions.

macedonia – from october 2007 to october 2008

Without a doubt, the past year was marked with the dispute between Macedonia and Greece over the name of the Republic of Macedonia. All of the other events were overshadowed by the attempts to find the alleged final solution to this long-term dispute. Nothing was achieved through various negotiations, agreements and, more or less, open quarrels whose consequence is further division and stratification of the Macedonian society. However, let's start from the beginning...

The Macedonian singer Toše Proeski died in October 2007. The death of an artist, however tragic, usually isn't of such an importance, nor does it influence/reflect the country's political, economic or spiritual moment. Nevertheless, soon enough it had become clear that he was more than just an artist in Macedonia. A national day of mourning was declared, and he became an important figure for the interpretation of some phenomena in the upcoming year. In a certain way, his life was a dream come true: from a poor little hometown to the status of a Balkan megastar, remaining a modest person dedicated to charity work in the region of former Yugoslavia, never discriminating people, especially not based on their ethnicity. That's why a certain feeling of closeness emerged during the mourning process. The closeness was something that the citizens of Macedonia hadn't felt for a long time, both within the Macedonian society and in the region. Furthermore, the individuals and the organizations who and which are involved in the humanitarian and voluntary work in Macedonia ascribe the increased number of charity events, voluntary work and activities during the past year to his tragic death, which is not a trivial thing for such a lethargic country like Macedonia. On the other hand, his death was often used to confirm the theories about "the damned and suffering Macedonia," where „nothing healthy nor good can live long," because „Macedonia is ruled by some dark and mighty forces" etc. So, once these theories are accepted, the average citizen of Macedonia doesn't have much choice but to resign to the fate of a person who neither influences things nor can change them (whilst the political structures make additional efforts to reinforce such a perception). The role of the victim reappears in the domestic folklore, partly due to the people's need to justify their own feeling of hopelessness while being caught up in a 17 years long transitional process.

Due to the dispute between Macedonia and Greece over the Macedonia's name, the relations and problems between Macedonians and Albanians were pushed aside. After a long discussion during which both arguments and non-arguments were used, it seemed that Macedonia was on the verge of a solution. The important part of the solution was the expected and unerring

invitation to full NATO membership that was due at the NATO's April summit in Bucharest, Romania. Greece opposed the decision and vetoed the invitation, NATO accepted Croatia and Albania to full membership, while Macedonia was left out. The possibility of "provisional membership" was discussed in order to possibly calm the reaction in Macedonia, but the final decision was that the "former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia" would be invited as soon as possible once the solution regarding its is acceptable for both states. The news about the no-go regarding the NATO membership caused a huge disappointment and anger, along with a strong feeling of injustice, because it was believed that Macedonia had met all the requirements for membership regarding reforms, participation of soldiers in foreign missions etc., but that the citizens of this country were being punished simply because they were Macedonians and because they publicly expressed it.

The political analysts believe that the lack of prospects regarding the Macedonia's impending membership in NATO and EU means the uncertain future for the country. For the "ordinary" people it means the reignited fears for Macedonia's existence, for its mere survival.

After the NATO summit, the relations between Macedonia and Greece that had been already very bad and fragile deteriorated drastically. What followed was a stream of mutual accusations and reproaches. In the meantime, the citizens of Macedonia experienced various difficulties in Greece, such as being refused service at the gas station because of their Macedonian registration plates, planes were refused the landing permit because they bore an MK sign, drivers were being asked to remove the stickers that indicated where they came from, truck drivers were harassed. An anti-Greek sentiment is on the rise in Macedonia, the Macedonian nationalism is getting stronger and there are initiatives to ignore, negate and abstain from all things Greek. Attempts were launched to boycott the Greek companies which are doing business in Macedonia and employing Macedonian citizens while paying taxes to the Macedonian state which had allowed them to invest their money in this country, all of which testifies that things are getting out of proportion. Greece had been the most popular summer destination for great many citizens of Macedonia but this year the number of visits drastically decreased, although those who went there, despite everything, confirmed that they encountered neither provocations nor problems and that the Greeks employed in tourist business worried over the outcome of the dispute and its consequences on their work and survival. Anyway, those Macedonians who went to Greece this summer are keeping it quiet because they

might end up being accused of treason.

Regarding the name change, the Macedonian society has split into several parts even though everyone agrees that the Greek politics is very repressive and antidemocratic. Ethnic Macedonians firmly believe that the name mustn't be changed because it's tightly related to the identity of Macedonians, while those who are fed up with this long lasting agony wish to resolve the dispute even by changing the name so the country could move on towards revitalization of the economy, change of the visa regime, etc. Ethnic Albanians are believed to be in favour of the second solution since the name of the state is borrowed from ethnic Macedonians. However, regarding this dispute, they demonstrated the far more constructive approach and the state-forming awareness than the Macedonian political parties, which stubbornly stick to the futile practice of proving "who's the better Macedonian" instead of facing their own foreign political failures.

The relations between Macedonians and Albanians were quite relaxed in the past year, as opposed to the relations between Macedonia and Greece, or, perhaps, because of it. Apart from the usual political and party games, there weren't any major tensions amongst people. Nothing major has neither changed nor been resolved and the large majority of Macedonians and Albanians continue to live within their own separate communities. However calm, the situation is still far from being good, which is indicated by the events surrounding the early parliamentary elections held on June 1st. There were several clashes between the followers of two biggest Albanian parties. One person was killed and several were wounded. Since these violent incidents took place in so-called Albanian municipalities, or Albanian quarters, and occurred between ethnic Albanians, many ethnic Macedonians found some kind of comfort in it because "the world could finally see what the Albanians in Macedonia were really like, the same ones who had been supported by the international community at the expense of Macedonians all along." It is unclear when violence will become unacceptable, no matter whether it occurs between Macedonians and Albanians or within their respective communities, and when it will become important to have a peaceful election process in Macedonia, regardless of the municipality in which the election is taking place... However, for the beginning we might feel satisfied with a decrease in interethnic tensions after long years of constant strain.

Since the proclamation of the independence of Kosovo there have been speculations about the Macedonian recognition of Kosovo, even though it was, obviously, just a matter of time. Instead of making the decision and justifying it with state's interests, the decision was reached only a day after the UN General

Assembly had decided that the International Court of Justice would rule on the legality of Kosovo's separation, so the decision seemed to come at the worst possible moment. It is unclear why it happened in that particular moment, considering the unfinished border demarcation process and the open issue regarding Kosovo's recognition of Macedonia under its constitutional name. Such a decision has negatively impacted the relations between Serbia and Macedonia at this moment and it is believed that it would have been much less painful a few months ago, when some other countries had also recognized Kosovo. An earlier decision could have provided additional favourable conditions for the agreements with the authorities of Kosovo. The perception of Kosovo's recognition is that it was done as the result of blackmailing and pressure from the Albanian parties in Macedonia, regional pressures and primarily due to the intrusion and conditioning of foreign powers. Ethnic Albanians greeted the recognition while the majority of citizens, ethnic Macedonians, once again felt ignored and forced to comply with international orders. The comments range from mild, stating that it was a good decision but its timing was wrong, those expressing the complete disappointment with the Macedonian foreign policy's incoherence and real power, all the way to the allegations that Macedonia was again forced to be quiet, obey and give in.

During the past year various laws were adopted, some of which handle the preparation of *ajvar*, public sanitation and restrictions on the animal-drawn vehicles' participation in city traffic, etc. Their strict implementation has begun. The adoption of these laws is, of course, a positive thing, but it's irritating that not much thought was given to the causes of problems and phenomena that are meant to be sanctioned by them. For example: why is there an expansion of the animal-drawn vehicles in the streets if we accept the claims that the Macedonian citizens' standard of living has not fallen drastically, but that it is even rising slowly? Furthermore, is it a good idea to start regulating this country's problems by implementing those particular laws? The average salary in Macedonia is about 250 €, the costs of utilities have risen already while other prices are about to be increased as well.

Finally, it's a year that has brought no good. There's an overall impression that people are tired, unable to resolve their everyday problems, lacking faith that a political solution is somewhere out there, tired of both explaining it to themselves and to others, and of convincing themselves and others, that better days follow even though the transition has been going on for 17 years.

For CNA,
Ana Bitoljanu, Miramida Centre,
October 2008, Skopje

montenegro

Prime Minister. This year's political, economic and social situation in Montenegro isn't much different from last year's. Firstly, one should mention that Prime Minister Željko Šturanović resigned. He was replaced by Milo Đukanović who made a great comeback providing another *déjà vu* experience to the Montenegrin citizens. The last European communist leader, according to many, consolidated his number one position when it comes to longevity of being in power (it has been 20 years already). Although wishing to retreat after having reached his ultimate goal - the restoration of statehood, the gentleman in question has returned to politics (if he ever did leave it in the first place) in spite (or just because) of an Italian prosecutor's investigation which links him to tobacco smuggling. Anyway, the Prime Minister didn't just sit back but went on to establish the University of Donja Gorica (UDG) which formally opened its doors in September with a lavish cocktail party studded with public figures along to the tune of the university's hymn. In addition to the private university he is a co-owner, or as they say now stockholder, of three companies, each of them worth millions. After the re-inauguration he withdrew from those companies since the Committee for Conflict of Interest fulfills its duty rather scrupulously.

Language. The newly opened Department's of Montenegrin language work at the University of Montenegro has remained under the veil of darkness, and its premises are still locked even though freshmen students were admitted to the university. It's obvious that the team which is working on that language's grammar standardisation and study materials' preparation still hasn't managed to resolve the difficult task. To proceed with the Montenegrin language, it is both interesting and ironic to mention the exam which is obligatory for Montenegrin citizenship. The test, which provoked various public reactions, contains questions that somehow ridicule the existing language which people speak no matter what ethnicity they claim as theirs. Here's an example from the test: „Potato goes into a b_g (fill in the missing letter).” It's even more ironic if we consider that most people who have to take the exam and pass the „citizenship test“ were born and have been living in Montenegro for years.

Religion. Last year we witnessed the attack on Cetinje monastery by affiliates of the Montenegrin Orthodox Church (MOC) in an attempt to seize it. This year's enthusiasm has somewhat deflated, although the tension is sustained by the MOC PR's threats stating that „what belonged to them“ would have to be returned sooner or later. One should mention the incident that

happened in the Nikšić area where residents of two nearby villages tried to prevent the MOC archbishop, accompanied by some priests, from laying the new church building's foundations and giving his blessing its construction. The villagers formed barricades with their own bodies. Sixty five people were arrested during clashes with the police. Some were injured, too. Both sides exchanged rather serious accusations after the incident, but no charges have been pressed so far.

Tourism. Despite long preparations, “fixing up” of the Montenegrin coastline and many new facilities which have been built by either Russian or domestic investors, this year's tourist season is doomed, although local media report quite the opposite. In any case, the fact is that Montenegro aspires to be a prestigious tourist resort, available only to upper-class tourists, yet closed for its own citizens. It is interesting and strange to see how the Montenegrin landscape is being transformed, especially in the coastal area, to accommodate luxury facilities (this year it was normal to bring down an entire hill in order to erect an elite tourist complex). This season's poor economic performance remains in the shadow of big concerts performed by international stars like Lenny Kravitz and Madonna on the Jaz beach. More than ten million euros were spent on it, although we don't quite know where the money came from.

Dealing with the past continues to be distant, even unattainable and quite possibly never of a to be achieved future. The processes against people of Morinj (camp where Croatian prisoners from the front line near Dubrovnik were detained) are ongoing away from the public's eye and, very likely, only the perpetrators will be prosecuted while who's responsible for giving orders and planning the whole thing will remain a secret (a public secret, that is). New laws, like the one regarding lustration and some others, remain only in the domain of science fiction.

Recognition of Kosovo. “Montenegro's the latest and the biggest disgrace,” “paying off mafia debts,” “pressure from the international community,” “mature political decision,” “clear perception of reality,” “realpolitik,” “politics in accordance to national interests,” etc. - these are only some of the different sides' reactions to Montenegrin recognition of Kosovo. Both sides (the division is reaching its peak at this moment, the tension is ongoing) consider the event to be one of the most important in recent history of Montenegro. The protest rally, which was staged in front of the parliament building, ended in clashes with the police,

in which some of the protestors participated. Thirtys four people were injured and considerable damage was done to property. That's only a part of a rather tense atmosphere in Montenegro. Since the Prime minister did not disclose the reasons for Kosovo's recognition nor did he confirm that the decision would be revoked even though huge majority of Montenegro's citizens is

opposed to it, the opposition announced they would abstain from parliaments work, but would continue the nonviolent resistance since there are no prospects for either the referendum or the new parliamentary elections.

Radomir Radević & Kristina Bojanović

the words of a new team member

Why reconciliation? Why nonviolence? Why peacebuilding in this part of the world? And finally, why CNA? - these are only some of the questions that I will try to briefly answer in this article.

Having been away from this region for eleven years while I was living on another continent, in the state „between asylum and exile”¹ I turned up in one of my former cities, returning to the beginning of one of many winding lines for the first time in my life. An emotional shock, which was a mixture of all the beautiful things I longed for and all the bad things I loathed and was running away from for a long time, overwhelmed me. For me, the Balkan wars raged for entire fifteen years. The acts of brutal, wartime violence had been replacing one another during the first three years before I left. When the real ones disappeared they were replaced by imaginary, distant ones of the same intensity. Even though I was far away, on another continent, these conflicts never ceased until I returned. I travelled through all the cities I still considered mine, deliriously, crossing the borders that were aesthetically reduced to red and white, horizontal and vertical plastic lines that marked the borders between muddy cornfields and smooth, wide rivers. One of the reasons, and, most likely, the biggest one, for my return was the need for personal reconciliation, for that lucid moment when we are able to say goodbye to people and events that hold us in chains of emotional slavery and force us to go through each new day restarting the unfinished circles from the previous.

After each one of these trips I asked myself what was I going to do with it, then, and this question grew more important every time. The delirium was tamed, determination and strength came back along with the overlapping of the acquired associative networks that made me extra sensitive to many types of collective and individual violence. I started to fight again, but this time it was essentially different - this time I knew what my goal was. I was absolutely hooked onto this satisfying feeling of exaltation that people feel when they do their best to make at least a small step forward

daily. I believe that all of us are capable of sensing the moments we start moving backward, and I believe that is the choice we make ourselves.

I also felt a strong need for allies.

I had no idea that the notice published in „Danas” daily about the promotion of the CNA’s book “I Cannot Feel Well If My Neighbour Does Not” was going to be an introduction into the next stage of my life. I came to the promotion and met Adnan, Ivana and Nenad, with whom I had a long conversation that evening. We discussed many issues, the essence of which could be reduced to the review of not just the critical problems which undermined our societies, but the discussion of practical actions which could contribute to their recovery. What are the problems? Violence, irresponsibility, war heritage, militarism, ethnonationalism, clericalism, patriarchy, homophobia and many others. All of them may amount to „Violence against the Other.” What about the solutions? Dialogue, peacebuilding, criticism, self-criticism, trust and culture of nonviolence, dealing with the past, re-evaluation of one’s own attitudes, peace education, fight against injustice.

After the meeting events unfolded naturally - the CNA team offered me a true friendship, support and stimulus for further reflection. I took part in their basic peace building training and the seminar on dealing with the past. I learnt a lot but primarily I had become more aware of all the traps I fell into each day, that I can simply describe as giving in to violence and emulating it due to lack of thought and awareness about the possible alternatives.

I am honoured, proud and grateful to be given a chance to live (most of this experience cannot be reduced just to „work”) with such a group of exquisite individuals - Adnan, Helena, Ivana, Nedžad, Nenad, Sanja and Tamara. I feel sorry that I haven’t joined them before when I see how wide and deep their experiences are and all the effort they have invested in our society, but I’m convinced that I’ll manage to help them as much as I can. I also know that every day spent with them will be an invaluable experience for me.

¹ I thank Mr. Predrag Matvejević, who was also born in the sunny town of Mostar, on the coast of the Neretva river, for this term.

And when we all get together one day, a few decades from now, on a tender night, in a quiet garden, and the remaining smokers light their cigarettes (in case it's not extremely punishable) and feel, behind our backs, a thriving society that cherishes lasting and

sustainable peace, I hope that we will recognize that we will have contributed to it to a certain amount as well. But, in case this never happens, we will still know that, at least, we will have tried.

Nenad Porobić

filming in macedonia

In the end of March and the beginning of April, we, a CNA crew, together with our associates filmed a new documentary in Macedonia. The documentary's topic is the relations between peoples of different ethnic background, primarily those of Albanian and Macedonian origin.

We filmed twenty-two interviews altogether with the help and support of our closely knit network of associates who made the core of the team which engaged in creation and production of this documentary.

Aside from the fatigue we felt, our stay in Macedonia had its ups and downs - we felt fear, pain, desperation, joy, hope. Even though people in the Balkans are not welcomed to have feelings for a neighbouring country as if it were their own, I admit that I do feel that way about Macedonia - I feel it to be my natural space to which I belong, primarily because of the good and honest people who live there and happen to be my friends. I cannot but be ashamed of what I thought while I stayed there: "Thank God it's not as bad back home (in Belgrade) as it is here".

Hatred and fear reign in Macedonia and it seems to me that it's the hardest for those who do not hate.

We spoke with people from both sides who had participated in the war. Despite all the resentment and pain, one could easily tell that there would be willingness to repeat what had happened in the past, if only the political elites presented people with a fait accompli. We saw the refugees who had been exiled from their homes for seven years and afraid of returning to their villages. We visited those villages where police presence was unwanted, and the walls we decorated with UCK (Kosovo Liberation Army) graffiti and exclusively Albanian flags. When we asked the villagers

why their neighbours hadn't returned, they replied: "It's their problem, they are free to return" or "If I were on welfare, with food and electricity bills paid by the state, I wouldn't come back either". The refugees live in horrendous conditions. We filmed only a part of that.

Not everything was gloomy, though. We met and talked to the people who recognized the evil of violence and hatred, who longed for peace and were willing to fight for it. However, their initiatives remain a drop in the bucket in the country where ethnical segregation was implemented diligently and the communication between two quarrelling ethnic communities (and others caught up in-between) was minimal.

People are afraid to talk openly. When asked how it was during the 2001 conflict, an illiterate villager from the outskirts of Prilep told us that everything had been "nice". When we asked how it was in the village, she said that she wasn't there at all. "Where were you, then?" - we asked. She replied that they were in the mountains, sleeping out in the open... Most of the villagers fled the village, scared of a lynching since the armed mob got organized at one point and took off to this remote Albanian community...

When the film is done you'll be able to see how well we managed to portray the atmosphere and how we would like inspire people to think about all that through watching selected parts of the interviews. The huge credits for any success go to the people from Macedonia who helped us: Gorde, Margarita, Ana, Luan, Ali, Goran, Boro, Blerim, and all the others who gave their small contribution.

Nenad Vukosavljević

