

Mapping **Inclusive Memory** Initiatives in the Western Balkans



Colophon

A publication by PAX (www.paxforpeace.nl)

ISBN: 978-94-92487-54-4 NUR 689

October 2020

Cover photo: War veterans jointly visit Varivode/Gošić, Croatia, 2017

Photo credits: Centre for Nonviolent Action – CNA www.nenasilje.org

Lay-out: Het IJzeren Gordijn

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

PAX wishes to acknowledge the work and substantial feedback provided by Aleksandar Momirov, Ana Jankovic, Bert van der Linde, Dion van den Berg, Helmi Moret, Judith Brand, Kathelijne Schenkel, Lina Jurjevic, Maja Nenadovic, Mario Mažić, and Simone Remijnse.

Also many thanks to all those taking part in the interviews, and providing valuable feedback on the draft texts of the cases afterwards.

ABOUT PAX

PAX is a partnership between IKV (Interkerkelijk Vredesberaad - Interchurch Peace Council) and Pax Christi Netherlands. In 2007, the two organisations merged under the name IKV Pax Christi. As of 29 January 2014, the new name of the organisation is PAX.

PAX works together with committed citizens and partners to protect civilians against acts of war, to end armed violence, and to build a just peace. The central issue of our focus is “inclusiveness”: we want to promote inclusive peace and justice.

Divisive memorialization policies present obstacles to truth-telling and truth-finding, as well as to justice, reparation and structural reforms, and as such pose a challenge to peace. From 2015 onwards, PAX decided to develop a specific program focusing on Dealing with the Past in the Western Balkan region (Kosovo, Serbia, BiH, and Croatia), to better facilitate cooperation between local civil society initiatives on memorialization, and to lobby for better EU support for such inclusive processes. Aside from the Western Balkan, PAX also works on this topic in other conflict regions worldwide, such as Colombia, Iraq, Ukraine and South Sudan.

PAX

P.O. Box 19318

3501 DH Utrecht, The Netherlands

info@paxforpeace.nl

www.paxforpeace.nl

Mapping **Inclusive
Memory** Initiatives
in the Western
Balkans

Table of Contents

Executive Summary	6
Introduction	12
Framing & Contextualization	13
The Problem	16
Inclusive memorialization & memory activism	17
Section I	
Inclusive Memory Initiatives	22
‘Challenge History Summer School’	22
Center for Nonviolent Action – Work With Veterans	23
Center for Public History	25
Constructive Use of Veteran Experience – Pravi Požar	27
Dealing with the Past - platform	28
Historija, Istorija, Povijest – Lessons for Today (HIP)	29
Intercultural Education through Personal Histories / Will you say hi to me on the bus?	30
Kosovo Memory	31
Learning History that is not yet History	32
‘Lullaby for Mladenka’ theatre play	34
MemorInmotion	35
Memory Lab Europe Network	38
Model International Criminal Court Western Balkans (MICC WeB)	40
National Culture, National Torture	41
Past Continues – Shared Narratives	42
Sarajevo Film Festival - Dealing With the Past	44
School of Different Memories	45
Srebrenica exhibition	46
‘Targeting History and Memory’ WEBSITE	47
Virtual Museum of Refugees	49
War Childhood Museum - WCM	49
Youth Initiative for Human Rights Serbia – multiple initiatives	51
Youth Memories	53

Section II	
Other dealing with the past & inclusive memory initiatives, organizations and projects	56
Coalition for RECOM	56
Documenta - Center for Dealing with the Past	57
Documentation Center Kosovo	58
Forum ZFD	58
FRAMNAT	59
Humanitarian Law Center Kosovo	59
Humanitarian Law Center Serbia	60
Image of War – War Photography Museum	61
Inappropriate monuments	61
Inclusive community Commemorations	61
Joint History Project (JHP)	62
Memory TOOLS WEB Portal	62
Multi-perspective Look at the War in Kosovo	63
‘Once Upon a Time and Never Again’ Exhibition	63
Oral Histories collections	64
Oštra Nula	65
Societal Transformation and Reconciliation (star)	66
Testimony – Truth or Politics	66
This War Of Mine	67
Women in Black	67
Youth Initiative for Human Rights – Regional network	68
YU Historija	69
Obstacles & Challenges to inclusive memorialization	72
Needs	78
Conclusions	80
Recommendations	84
Annex I	
Template for Mapping Memory Initiatives	88
Annex 2	
Organizations & Initiatives interviewed for the Research	90
Annex 3	
Acronyms	92

Executive Summary

This report was compiled by the Dutch peacebuilding organization PAX, in an effort to better understand the actors and activities engaging in memory-related projects in the Western Balkans, that deal with the wars of the 90s in the region. This report covers projects that constitute inclusive memory activism, as well as those that in some way contribute or relate to generating inclusive memory through their focus on multiple narratives, multi-perspectivity or bringing together youth from multiple ethnic groups in the region. The geographical focus is primarily on Croatia, Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) and Kosovo, because this is the region PAX has been working for more than thirty years, and is most familiar with. The research is based on online information, combined with interviews.

Through this mapping we found a multitude of organizations and activities dealing with the complex and sensitive issues in Western Balkans, creating a better understanding and overview of memory work in the Western Balkans. The main findings are:

- ◆ The dominant narratives that exist in the societies of the Western Balkan countries are ever since the wars of the nineties ethnocentric and exclusive, fully in line with the ethno-nationalist agendas of almost all key parties. Projects that embody multi-perspectivity and multiple narratives generally invite antagonism and opposition by those in power in the Western Balkans.
- ◆ Yet, there are multiple inclusive initiatives, projects and organizations working in this field in the Western Balkans, approaching the past and memory/remembrance through a variety of methods and from several angles. Almost all of them are civil society-led.
- ◆ There exists a broad variety of definitions or understandings of what constitutes memory and what role it is meant to play in the country's post-conflict reconstruction, or peace-building.
- ◆ Cooperation between organizations active in the field does occur, also across borders, but not necessarily in a strategic or cumulative or progressive manner. Related to this lack of cooperation is also the occasional apparent duplication of efforts.
- ◆ The reduction in funding for civil society and peace-building projects in the Western Balkans only contributes to the sense of competition and scarcity among

the non-governmental organizations, further inhibiting cooperation and collaboration.

- ◆ In general, the civil-society driven dealing with the past and memorialization initiatives seem contained to the civil society sphere and rarely succeed to permeate the formal mainstream. The fact that these initiatives remain ad-hoc, marginalized and conditioned by foreign donors' funding begs the question of their overall sustainability.
- ◆ Some inclusive memory initiatives in the Western Balkans are deemed somewhat controversial, and provocative. With the shrinking public space, their position is getting even more difficult. Certain types of criticism can lead to delegitimization. It is therefore important to address them while planning future inclusive memory initiatives, because this may contribute to pro-active responses to those critics.
- ◆ Parallel to the increasing number of civil society-driven inclusive memory initiatives, we see an increase as well in intensity and focus of certain political elites-driven and outright exclusive memorialization initiatives. This indicates that politics of memory is 'alive and well' in the Western Balkans, and that the work of civil society organizations in this domain is likely to continue to be challenging, rather than easier as time goes by.

Furthermore this mapping listed and analyzed several obstacles and challenges for organizations working on inclusive memory in the Western Balkans.

- ◆ **Lack of support by state actors:** The main obstacle encountered by many organizations and initiatives is the lack of support by state actors. Throughout the interviews it became clear that the current divisive, nationalistic political agenda of the ruling elite is detrimental to the work of inclusive memory activism and dealing with the past. Next to ignoring inquiries for cooperation or official permissions, institutions at times took active steps to prevent such initiatives, inclusive commemorations or multiperspectivity based approaches to history education. Coupled with this problem is the governments' glorification and heroization of convicted war criminals.
- ◆ **Lack of visibility and limited outreach:** Since the states' grip over media channels is increasingly getting stronger, this only amplifies and enhances their ethnocentric remembrance approaches. This shrinking of the public space for inclusive memory initiatives also means that at times, organizations active in this field are unable to secure venues for their events, as they are perceived as anti-Serbian/Croatian/Bosniak, etc. Owing to media's lack of interest or even antagonism in inclusive memory initiatives and dealing-with-the-past civil society projects, the visibility of such projects is rather low, and as such have limited outreach and impact on the larger society.
- ◆ **Lack of funding and adequate international support:** Most organizations mentioned lack of funding as one of the key obstacles or challenges in their work. Next to the decreasing international attention for the Western Balkans and the dwindling funds is the ensuing high competition among NGOs for those remaining

funds, which makes cooperation and synergy among them less likely. An additional criticism towards foreign donors is the short-term scope of project funding that does not allow for long-term planning and more in-depth project impact that occurs after interventions over longer period of time, especially when working on Dealing With the Past issues.

- ◆ **Controversies over types of activism:** The diversity and at times stark opposition between different methodologies and approaches also explains the difficulty of cooperation among different organizations working in the seemingly same field. The research underlines the impression that within civil society there is no or little strategic discussion on the pros and cons of these different approaches.
- ◆ **Lack of Impact assessment:** There is a lack of monitoring and evaluation mechanisms and impact assessment reports. Next to the difficulty of measuring impact in projects dealing with inclusive memory and the past is at times the unreasonable expectation of donors that all projects produce quantifiable results.
- ◆ **Attention for well-being of activist and peace workers:** the challenge of mental health and self-care for peace workers, inclusive memory activists and individuals working in the dealing-with-the-past domain. Several activists experience harassment by or receive threats from authorities or the public, making them feel vulnerable and exposed.

The research also presents a number of recommendations, addressing various groups of actors. These are some of the key recommendations:

Western Balkan NGOs and activists working in this field should consider...

- ◆ Facilitating communication, critical reflection and cooperation among (inclusive) memory activists, at the local, national and regional levels – also in order to improve quality of lobby at the national, regional and international levels
- ◆ Exploring strategies to make local-level non-inclusive commemorative initiatives more inclusive, step by step
- ◆ Engaging in dialogue with the critics of inclusive memory initiatives (be it politicians, victims, media or others), seeking to diminish the polarization and promote mutual understanding
- ◆ Engaging with groups of various ages to achieve cross-generational impact (currently, many initiatives focus on youth), as well as with veteran associations in inclusive memory initiatives.
- ◆ In communication with Memory Studies, the academic community and Monitoring-Learning-Evaluation professionals, devising impact-assessment mechanisms for inclusive memory initiatives
- ◆ Instituting staff/activist wellbeing or self-care provisions, acknowledging the complexity and occasional strain inherent in this type of work.
- ◆ To work towards more structural forms of inclusive memory activism (from ad hoc to more structural), and for example look at possibilities for more permanent forms of commemoration.

Governments and Public Institutions are called upon to...

- ◆ Engage in dialogue with the promoters of inclusive memory initiatives, seeking to diminish the polarization and promote mutual understanding
- ◆ Define specific policy and budget lines for inclusive memorialization activities within national, regional and municipal budgets¹;
- ◆ Provide space for inclusive commemorative activities, remembrance gatherings and formal and non-formal educational approaches to recent past;
- ◆ Put in place protection mechanisms for organizations and individuals engaging in inclusive memory work

European Union is called upon to...

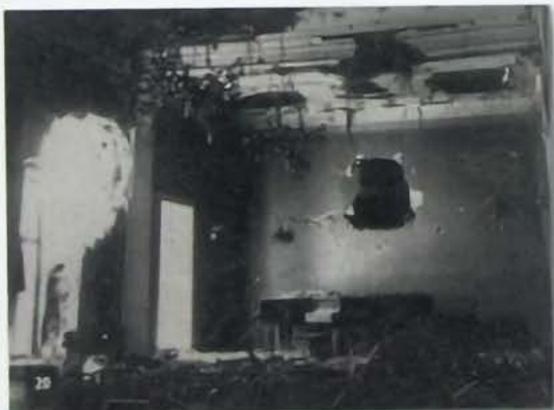
- ◆ Promote and support inclusive memory initiatives at all levels in the Western Balkans – as necessary contribution to the reconciliation that has been labelled a priority in the February 2018 Western Balkans strategy
- ◆ Promote active participation of (actors and stakeholders in) EU member state Croatia, that is still very much involve in the often non-constructive regional dynamics on commemorations and memorial sites
- ◆ Speak out more strongly against glorification of war crimes and criminals, and support and protect civil society organizations and activists who condemn this glorification and end up being target of intimidation and even physical attacks by radical nationalists.
- ◆ Pay more and explicit attention to issues related to exclusive and inclusive memory policy and initiatives within the framework of the European enlargement and integration processes

International organizations (INGOs) are called upon to...

- ◆ Genuinely partner with local NGO's and victims (groups), supporting their cause (while holding a critical view at the same time), not only bringing in an outside 'expert' view.
- ◆ Support the networking and lobbying of existing initiatives, as well as initiatives aiming at depolarization in society (dialogue between the protagonists of the inclusive and exclusive memory approaches and practices)
- ◆ Pay attention to mental health issues of those working as peace workers, inclusive memory activists and individuals working in the dealing-with-the-past domain. This work is sensitive and emotionally vexing and as such should be acknowledged as occupying a particular position within the post-conflict peacebuilding civil society landscape.

¹ PAX has experience in lobbying for this type of budgetary support in Colombian municipalities. See:

https://www.vng-international.nl/wp-content/uploads/2015/06/CityDiplomacyRole_of_Local_GovernmentsEngels.pdf



Targeting History and Memory: Exhibition at the Glipoteka in Zagreb, Croatia.
Photography: HINA



Introduction

There is a saying that when a monument is built, history stops – because the winning political elites have thereby (literally) cemented their official version of the past events that will from that point onwards be commemorated, narrated and passed on to future generations.

The Balkans inspired various notions related to division (the term ‘balkanization’ comes to mind), so the quote often misattributed to Churchill that the region “produces more history than it can consume” raises few eyebrows². Ana Milošević conveniently explains the way the region relates to (recent) history:

*“Using commemorations both as a venue and a tool, many memory entrepreneurs compete to re-enforce their own readings of the past. An indicator of this memory malaise is what I call the Balkan commemorative tour – a series of well-attended remembrance events which begin sometime in April and end in August. But the Balkan commemorative tour doesn’t just attract an ever increasing number of visitors each year. It also drives the behavior of high-ranking politicians who have “the duty” to once again derive moral and political lessons from the past. ... Rather than honoring victims, memorialization becomes little more than a vehicle for the political navigation and negotiation of different expectations of a wide variety of actors, such as the EU, the local community, victims’ associations, civil society organizations, and war veterans. For these “consumers” of memory, annual commemorations are seen as a way to measure the political pulse of a nation and its political elites, in order to detect (changed) political attitudes towards the past. Does this mean that monuments no longer serve to honor the dead, but rather stand to placate the living”?*³

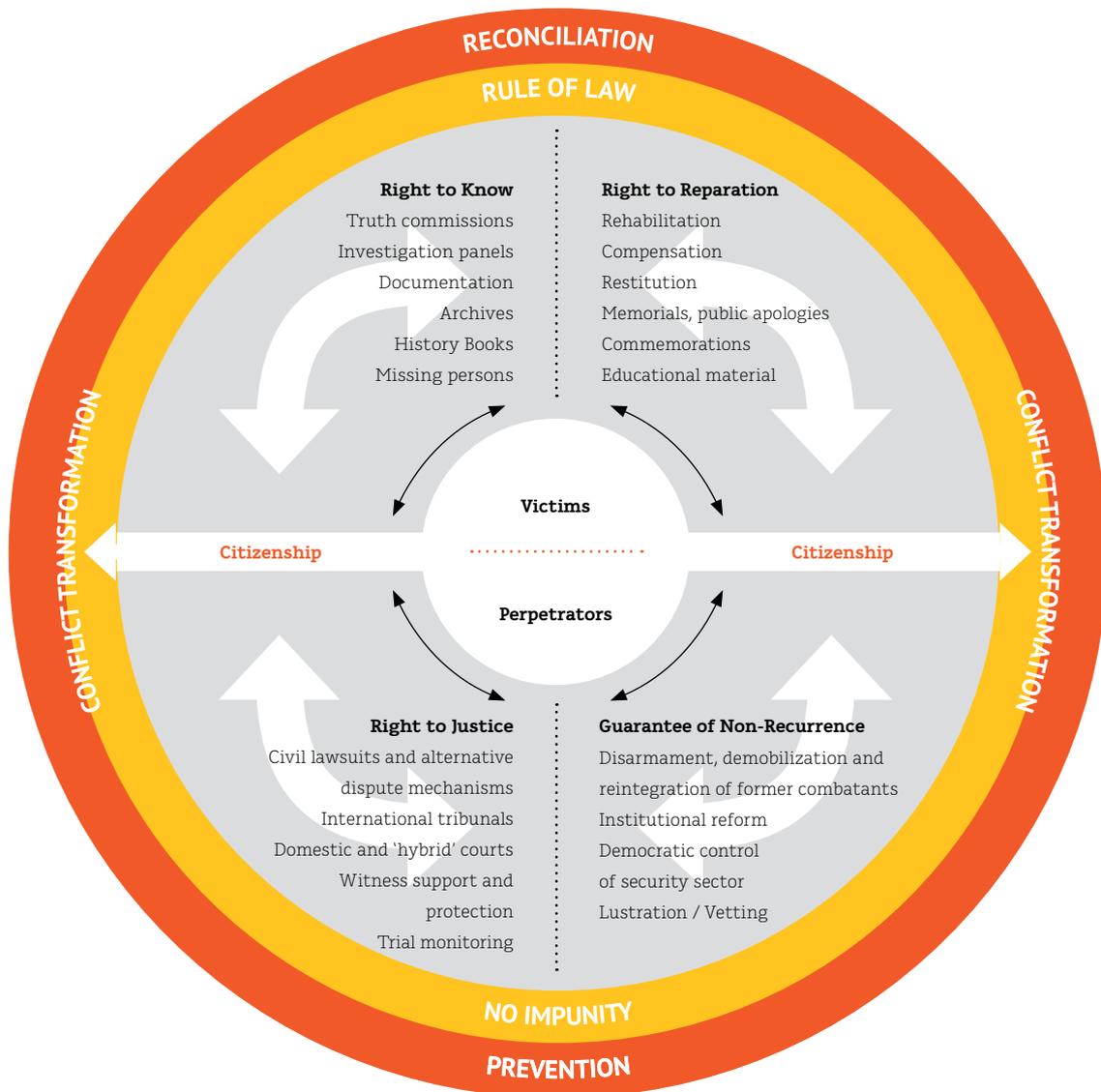
Why do we commemorate, how do we commemorate, and what is the impact of these commemorative practices? This report was written in an effort to better understand the actors and activities engaging in memory-related projects in the Western Balkans relating to the commemoration, remembrance, education and narratives on the 1990s wars of breakup of Yugoslavia.⁴ Next to this, the research also suggests recommendations on how memory initiatives can be designed and used to help people and communities heavily affected by the wars of the nineties and current nationalism.

2 See: <https://www.euroclio.eu/event/can-europe-help-balkans-consume-history/>

3 A. Milošević, “Placing All Bets on Memorials: Memory Mania Goes Balkans,” *Balkanist*, 2017. <https://balkanist.net/placing-all-bets-on-memorials-memory-mania-goes-balkans/>

4 Also, World War II history is still highly contentious in the Western Balkans, as disputes about the Holocaust (e.g. the nature of the Jasenovac concentration extermination camp) or historical revisionism (e.g. rehabilitation of World War II war criminals) are regular occurrences in the political and public domain. This also involves vandalism of World War II memorials. For that reason, some of the initiatives mentioned in the Mapping also involve organizations, or projects, that deal with countering historical revisionism or that try to shed more light on the contentious World War II history.

Conceptual Framework for dealing with the past



Source: Swisspeace/FDFA. Inspired by the Joinet/Orentlicher Principles.⁵

Framing & Contextualization

'Dealing with the past' is an over encompassing and comprehensive term that relates to multiple (scholarly and practical) paradigms. As the image above illustrates, it includes reconciliation, rule of law/ transitional justice and conflict transformation. The Dealing with the Past paradigm, being

⁵ From: 'A Conceptual Framework for Dealing with the Past: Holism in Principle and Practice', Dealing with the Past Background Paper, Swiss Peace (2012).

Available online at: http://archivesproject.swisspeace.ch/fileadmin/user_upload/archivesproject/Publications/DwP_Conceptual_Framework_October2012.pdf

quite broad of a scope for this inquiry, is nonetheless its overarching conceptual 'home', as various organizations in this field or projects and initiatives they implement use the dealing-with-the-past terminology and references. Most (but of course not all) of the initiatives described in this report fall under the 'Right to Know' (with a focus on documentation, archives and history books) and the 'Right to Reparation' categories (with a focus on memorials, commemorations and educational material).

Zooming in on the concept of commemoration, it is useful to refer to James E. Young's comment that "Memory is never shaped in a vacuum; the motives of memory are never pure." He also warns that motives behind it vary:

"There the aim of some memorials is to educate the next generation and inculcate in it a sense of shared experience and destiny, other memorials are conceived as expiations [reparations or amends] of guilt or as self-aggrandizement. ... If part of the state's aim, therefore, is to create a sense of shared values and ideals, then it will also be the state's aim to create the sense of common memory, as a foundation for unified polis [state]. Public memorials, national days of commemoration and shared calendars thus all work to create common loci around which national identity is forged."⁶

Given the importance of memory and memorialization in national identity-building, it should come as no surprise that this subject has been receiving growing attention in the past few decades. Along with the resurgence of nationalism throughout communist and socialist times, and following the end of the Cold War, memorialization and the politics of memory became an even more important aspect of the nation building processes, not only in the Western Balkans. An example of the transition from communism to democracy and the way it played out in the memorialization domain is perhaps best illustrated by the museum Memento Park in Hungary.⁷

It was an initiative of a businessman who collected various Soviet-era monuments in one place, before the new regime was able to melt them into oblivion, as was the customary practice in many countries following the regime change in the late 1980s and early 1990s in Central and Eastern Europe. This new regimes' physical re-writing of history by the erasure of Soviet-era monuments is a clear example of the importance of memorials and the role they play in defining our collective narratives, memory and perception.

As the following tables from United States Institute of Peace (USIP) study⁸ show us, memorialization is a multi-faceted concept.

6 J. E. Young, *The Texture of Memory: Holocaust Memorials and Meaning*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press (1993), as cited in: P. Hayner, "The Power of Memory and the Difficulty of Truth: Assessing Recent Experience", in: ed. M. Bleeker, *Dealing with the Past and Transitional Justice: Creating Conditions for Peace, Human Rights and the Rule of Law – Series* (2016). Words in between brackets [...] were added by the author of this report.

7 Museum website: <http://www.mementopark.hu/>

8 J. Barsalou & V. Baxter, "The Urge to Remember: The Role of Memorials in Social Reconstruction and Transitional Justice", Special USIP report, January, 2007. https://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep12524?seq=1#metadata_info_tab_contents

Functions of Memorialization

- ◆ Truth-telling or documenting specific human rights violations
- ◆ Creating a specific place for the immediate family and/or the larger society to mourn victims
- ◆ Offering symbolic reparations to honor the victims of violence and reinstate their reputations
- ◆ Symbolizing a community's or nation's commitment to values such as democracy and human rights
- ◆ Promoting reconciliation by recasting the national identity or repairing damaged relations among groups
- ◆ Encouraging civic engagement and education programs to engage the wider community in a dialogue about the past and promote discussions of a peaceful future based on coexistence
- ◆ Advancing educational purposes, including the retelling of history for future generations
- ◆ Facilitating historic preservation of a specific era in a country's or community's history

Major Forms Of Memorial Initiatives

CONSTRUCTED SITES:

- ◆ Museums and commemorative libraries
- ◆ Monuments
- ◆ Walls of names of victims
- ◆ Virtual memorials on the World Wide Web

FOUND SITES:

- ◆ Graves
- ◆ Locations of mass killings or genocide
- ◆ Former torture centers/concentration camps

ACTIVITIES:

- ◆ Anniversaries of coups, battles, or other actions related to the conflict
- ◆ Temporary exhibits
- ◆ Renaming or rededicating streets, buildings, or infrastructure
- ◆ Walking tours or parades
- ◆ Demonstrations and vigils
- ◆ Public apologies

Source: Louis Bickford, International Center for Transitional Justice

Parallel to memorialization, this report also focuses on history textbooks and teaching, as these teach the younger generations “official narratives of the founding and development of a state, and their stories play a formative role in helping construct the collective memory of a people... textbooks are used to legitimize the state—to help consolidate its identity and maintain continuity in times of rapid change and external threat.”⁹ History education in the region that was once Yugoslavia has been a sensitive area that illustrates the above quote perfectly. Arising from the war, all the new Yugoslav-successor countries embarked on the re-writing of history books, and the discussion surrounding this continues to this day.¹⁰

9 M.J. Bellino and H. H. Williams, (Re)Constructing Memory: Education, Identity, and Conflict, edited volumes series (Rotterdam: Sense Publishers), 2017.

10 For a solid overview of this process, see: J. Prtoric, “Politics and Ideologies in Textbooks”, Kosovo 2.0 online platform, September 2018.

<https://kosovotwopointzero.com/en/we-learn-the-past-differently/>

The Problem

What is the relevance of memory within the larger processes of nation-building, democratization, and post-conflict peace-building processes in the Western Balkans?¹¹ The current situation of competing narratives, historical accounts and antagonistic memorialization is problematic for various reasons, as best exemplified by the situation in BiH:

“The Bosniak, Bosnian Serb and Bosnian Croat ethnonational historical narratives that are articulated in the BiH public sphere through public declarations, commemorations and history textbooks all focus on the history of their respective ethnonational groups. Each of them regularly glorifies its group’s battles and simultaneously emphasizes its victimhood, while denying the ‘dark side’ of its history and directing blame and resentment toward the other national groups. They also provide homogenous continuity narratives, representing the deeply-rooted histories of their own ethnic groups; and are all used to affirm and legitimize their respective national identities and national projects.”¹²

It is clear how these processes continue to separate the realities of people inhabiting the same geographical space, perpetuating and preserving the political divisions and posing a threat to the stability and peace in the region in the long run.

Next to the dangers of exclusivist memorialization practices and history education, there is also a debate on possible negative consequences of remembering¹³ or even too much remembering.¹⁴ Theidon for example refers to the assumption that more memorialization would lead to more justice and reconciliation as ‘the tyranny of total recall’:

“Memory is a deterrent to future human rights violations. More memory = more truth = more justice = reconciliation (I refer to this as the tyranny of total recall – the duty to remember and to narrate those memories, guided by the conviction that ‘the more we remember the better we feel,’ to ‘let’s talk about the past and thus we shall heal’).”¹⁵

She also argues that memorialization can be used for political and economic gain. Although we will not go into this topic in detail in this report, it is an important discussion to keep in mind.

In conclusion, commemorative practices, memorialization, recent history education and the way they are instrumentalized by the political elites play an essential role in the region’s present as well as its future.

11 Portals that cover this topic provide a wealth of information, see: Balkan Investigative Reporting Network (<https://birn.eu.com/>), for e.g.

<https://birn.eu.com/programmes/regional-reporting-on-transitional-justice-issues/>; the BalkanInsight (<https://balkaninsight.com/>), for e.g.

<https://balkaninsight.com/balkan-transitional-justice-home/>; or the forumZFD Balkan Perspectives magazine (http://www.dwp-balkan.org/en/blog.php?cat_id=8&type=2)

12 N. Moll, “Division and Denial and Nothing Else? Culture of History and Memory Politics in Bosnia and Herzegovina”, Culture of History Forum, April 12, 2015.

<https://www.cultures-of-history.uni-jena.de/debates/bosnia/division-and-denial-and-nothing-else-culture-of-history-and-memory-politics-in-bosnia-and-herzegovina/>

13 See for example M. Mersky (ICTJ Director of Programs) in her article: M. Mersky, “Who decides to remember or to forget?”, ICTJ, May 4, 2016.

<https://www.ictj.org/debate/article/remember-or-forget>

14 See for example D. Rieff, “The Cult of Memory: When History Does More Harm than Good”, The Guardian, 2017.

<https://www.theguardian.com/education/2016/mar/02/cult-of-memory-when-history-does-more-harm-than-good>

15 K. Theidon, Editorial Note, The International Journal of Transitional Justice, Vol. 3, 2009.

Some might say that the violent conflict, though concluded in the 1990s, has since been transferred to Wars of Memory, which leads us to the question: what types of memory initiatives are potentially beneficial and conducive to the region's reconciliation and dealing-with-the-past processes?

Inclusive memorialization & memory activism

As we have shown, commemoration activities and memorials are only a small part of the Dealing with the Past paradigm, and it is the goal of this mapping to focus on those organizations, projects and initiatives that constitute, relate to or contribute to **inclusive memorialization** or **memory activism** in the Western Balkans, with a focus on BiH, Croatia, Serbia and Kosovo.

What is the difference between *inclusive memorialization* and *memory activism*? The crux of inclusive memorialization is the attention to narratives, histories, experiences and victims that are from multiple groups, not just one's own. Since there is a close link between remembering and belonging – as remembrance traditions play an important role in the formation of national identity – framing memory practices in exclusive rather than in inclusive way strengthens and entrenches national divides. The uniqueness of inclusive initiatives that sets them apart from the common commemorative or remembrance activities is that people began commemorating and remembering events and histories that were not talked about before in their respective societies.

Mitja Velikonja in his account of memory issues pertaining to the post-Yugoslav space explains the narrative inherent in the politics of memory as well as the potential for reconciliation imbued in inclusive memory practices:

“In the politics of memory one always finds more guilt in others and what they did to us, rather than what we did to others. We are always the victims, never they. On the other hand, the memory of historical tragedies in which responsibility lies with members of one's own group having wronged others can assist in reaching a more thoughtful attitude to historical misconceptions and errors and also facilitate reconciliation with the other side. The Never Again! of memory can be equally cathartic and liberating towards the inside as it can towards the outside. Kuljić defines negative memory in the following way: “in question is the practice, which comes about only slowly and with much resistance, of creating social memory with the premise that memory can have humanistic and democratic consequences only if it also includes memory about the history of injustice and crime for which we are responsible or are at least accomplices” (2012: 223).¹⁶

In some circumstances however, the notion of *inclusive memorialisation* gets imbued with a very different connotation producing contrary effects in the form of whitewashing or averting responsibility. This is when ethnic elites controlling the state use the term to support a nationalist agenda by suggesting that ‘all sides committed heinous crimes’, as if violations were equally or proportionally distributed amongst communities (which seldom happens in violent conflict), thereby papering over inconvenient facts related to asymmetry of violence and accountability.

16 M. Velikonja, “Ways of Remembering Yugoslavia: The Yugoslav Rear-View Mirror”, YU-Historija. https://yuhistorija.com/region_txt01c3.html

The term 'memory activism' originated in the Israeli/Palestinian context to refer to activism by citizens and civil society to challenge official narratives of the conflict or past events put forth by the state. Memory activism in such a context is activist in challenging the underlying structures that maintain uneven power relations in the present and made serious human rights violations in the past, possible.¹⁷

Therefore, the goal of this report is to identify the practices that go beyond the exclusive focus of 'negative memories', and that bridge the empathy gap generating the space for multiple perspectives and experiences of loss. We use both terms in this report, also depending on how organizations define their work. Their common denominator is the peace-oriented activism and recognition of the shared humanity of experiences of suffering, trauma and individual and collective processes of coming to terms with the painful past.

THE RESEARCH PROCESS & SET UP OF THE REPORT

This report covers projects that constitute inclusive memory activism, as well as those that in some way contribute or relate to generating inclusive memory through their focus on multiple narratives, multiperspectivity or bringing together youth from multiple ethnic groups in the region.

The geographical focus is primarily on Croatia, Serbia, BiH and Kosovo, because this is the region PAX has been working for a long time, and is most familiar with. And although the focus of this report is the initiatives that work around the wars of the 1990s, in some cases also inclusive memory work on World War II is included, because of the complex connections (e.g. regarding commemoration and historical revisionism) between both periods.

The data collection process consisted of two parts: (1) initial desk research of (online) materials, reports and media reports on various initiatives fitting the description of inclusive memory activism, and (2) follow-up semi-structured and in depth interviews (via Zoom) with selected initiatives' coordinators.¹⁸ A total of 25 interviews were held. The collected data was analyzed identifying key themes, recurrent mentions and unique insights into the complex processes of inclusive memory activism and dealing with the past. In case interviews were held, the descriptions of the initiatives are of course more detailed. The research was carried out by three local researchers who live and work in the Western Balkans and who participate themselves in one or more of the initiatives described in this report. The overall research and writing process took about 6 months.

The first phase of data collection – the online research – provided a surprisingly fragmented insight: the expectation that information on key projects in this domain would be readily and extensively available proved to be overly ambitious. Furthermore, the task of identifying (inclusive) memory initiatives came with its own challenges. Why? These are some of the potential reasons why the information on these projects and initiatives has been difficult to come by:

¹⁷ See for example the work of O. Fridman: "Conflict, Memory and Memory Activism: Dealing with Difficult Pasts", in: O. Richmond, G. Visoka (eds.), *The Palgrave Encyclopedia of Peace and Conflict Studies*, February 6, 2020. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-11795-5_38-1

¹⁸ You can find the questions that guided the interviews in Annex I at the end of the report. The interview quotes used throughout this report are not verbatim quotes, but quotes taken from the translated summaries of the interviews.

- ◆ The information that was found was rather fragmented, and points to multiple (most often isolated/individual/one-off) projects;
- ◆ Cooperation between like-minded organizations and progressive building-on previously implemented projects or initiatives seems to be rare;
- ◆ Furthermore, next to online documentation of various project activities lagging behind their implementation is the general lack of data surrounding the various initiatives' impact. Seeing that the objectives of dealing-with-the-past projects can be very far-reaching and potentially unreasonably ambitious (considering the difficulty of generating a critical mass necessary for achieving this type of collective consciousness shift), it is possible that impact evaluation of these types of projects is largely absent also because of their inherent complexity;
- ◆ Dealing with the past, facing history or (inclusive) memory initiatives are topics that have the reputation of being 'difficult' or 'sensitive'. Some non-governmental organizations steer away from these topics owing to their sensitivity; many arguments against such initiatives can be heard in the mainstream (e.g. saying it was 'too early' to cover the 1990s in history classes); human rights and memory activists are often the target of political elites'/right wing (extremist) attacks for their work, further making this type of work less attractive.

Next to these, another possible cause of the insufficient information about (inclusive) memory projects is that several organizations engage in regular commemoration activities¹⁹ – but these do not seem to be a part of a bigger project or initiative. These commemorative or memory practices seem to play an integral role within these organizations' respective missions, so this is why some of the mapped summaries at the end are of organizations involved in commemorative/memory activism work rather than of a specific project.

The first section of this report provides an overview of some of the major inclusive memorialization initiatives implemented in the Western Balkans, since the wars of the 1990s. Apart from online data, also interviews were conducted with project coordinators, activists and directors of organizations. In the second section of the report, you will find a short overview of inclusive memorialization initiatives and organizations working in this field, based purely on online data. Both overviews are of course not complete, because new initiatives pop up while for example very local initiatives are not found on the internet. We also limited ourselves in time, by not including some of the older projects on inclusive memorialization, implemented shortly after the wars of the 1990s. Although these could also provide valuable insights, this is something for a follow up research.

The report finalizes with the more analytic sections on the Obstacles and Challenges to Inclusive Memorialization, Needs of those working in such initiatives, followed by conclusions and recommendations.

¹⁹ See for example the work of Orli Fridman in: "Alternative calendars and memory work in Serbia: Anti-war activism after Milošević", *Memory Studies*, April 1, 2015, 212-216. <https://doi.org/10.1177%2F1750698014558661>



National Culture, National Torture: Cultural Centre in Pilica, BiH.
Photographer: Hrvoje Polan



Section I

Inclusive Memory Initiatives

What follows is an overview of some of the projects that include memory activism, or more broadly inclusive memorialization.²⁰ The coordinators or activists of these initiatives engaged in semi-structured extensive interviews with the research team, in an effort to generate better understanding of their work, and of inclusive memory activism in the region.

'Challenge History Summer School'

The 'Challenge History Summer School' is an initiative of the Swiss Helsinki Committee and its project partners²¹, targeting open-minded students in the third grade of high school from BiH, Serbia and Kosovo. The Summer School "Challenge History" addresses the past in order to build a better future. Its aim is to encourage constructive debates on the legacies of the past among high students from the Western Balkans.

This six-day event is believed to enable its participants:

- ◆ to reflect on historical narratives, particularly those related to the recent wars in the Balkans, and to engage in a constructive dialogue on these legacies;
- ◆ to compare historical narratives and challenge preconceived ideas about the past;
- ◆ to discuss with their peers possible ways of overcoming conflicts from the past and building a common future;
- ◆ to apply the acquired knowledge in their future education and activities; and
- ◆ to network with young people from the region and have fun while learning together.

The first edition took place in Mostar in 2017. After the first edition, even though it was successful, some improvements were made. The focus of the first summer school was very clear. From the beginning, the organizers wanted to challenge shared contrasting stories, the nationalist narratives in different Balkan

²⁰ Please note that entries are mapped in alphabetical order.

²¹ The Swiss Helsinki Committee implemented this project in 2017 in close cooperation with forumZFD, Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (FES), Euroclio HIP BiH, United World College Mostar (BiH), Center for Peace and Tolerance (Kosovo), Democracy Plus (Kosovo), and Belgrade Centre for Security Policy (Serbia). In the editions of 2018 and 2019, beside forumZFD as continuous partner, new partners as the Helsinki Committee for Human Rights in Serbia and in Macedonia and CIVIC from Macedonia joint the partnership.

countries and develop critical thinking towards these phenomena in their respective countries.

The organizers created a manual after the first session with the students, where they put together all the modules and workshops described as lesson plans, so students could use it when doing follow up activities. Some of the participants wrote blogs about their experience of the summer school. So far the activity took place in BiH, Kosovo and Macedonia, and this year it was supposed to be in Serbia but it was postponed due to the COVID-19 pandemic.

The goals of the project were to implement an educational, pedagogical approach towards educating high school students in critical thinking, towards shared stories and historical narratives in their countries, but also towards their educational systems – how they are taught, how they confront their identities, but also to rebuild relations among the youth throughout the Western Balkans, ideally decreasing stereotypes and prejudices in the process.

The target group was 16-17 year old youngsters, attending a series of workshops during six days (that is believed to be more effective than a one-time experience). Participants go through a process where they become young peace activists in their local communities and where they also have the chance to become volunteers in the team after they attended one or several summer schools. Participants were reached through partners and different networks. It was a public call, but organizers had strict criteria for selection since the number of participants was limited. In the past years, there have been 100+ participants and volunteers in the summer school. If counting the follow-up activities, more than 200 users and participants took part in the project.

When talking to one of the project organizers, the main challenge expressed was that when it comes to trainings and workshops, you can propose a great methodology, you can do the best thing with the best trainers, but the question is how to evaluate and monitor the process and measure visible change and impact. This is why it is important to make efforts from the beginning and secure capacities to see what could be next steps and how follow up activities by the newly informed and skilled youngsters in critical thinking and nonviolent conflict transformation could be further supported by the project partners. And how all this could have a positive impact in the community, in school, in peers.²²

Center for Nonviolent Action – Work With Veterans

The Center for Nonviolent Action²³ (CNA) is a regional peace organization founded in 1997, with offices in Sarajevo, BiH and Belgrade, Serbia.²⁴ The mission of the Centre is “to contribute to the development of lasting peace in the former Yugoslavia by promoting a culture of non-violence and dialogue, trust-building between individuals and groups, as well as dealing constructively with the past, as one of the key elements of peacebuilding.

Dealing with the past in the former Yugoslavia is the main focus of CNA’s work. The Centre views this as a multi-layered and complex process that also entails the deconstruction of ‘enemy images’; building trust between peoples in the former Yugoslavia; establishing a culture of remembrance;

²² Interview 19, May 19 2020.

²³ Organization website: <https://nenasilje.org/en/>.

²⁴ This text is copied from the organization’s feature on Peace Insight: <https://www.peaceinsight.org/conflicts/western-balkans/peacebuilding-organisations/cna/>.

promoting and developing public policies aimed at dealing with the past; examining and deconstructing nationalism, militarism and patriarchy as ideological pillars of violence in every society. Through peace education, documentary film production and publications,²⁵ CNA strives to create new – and strengthen current – resources for peace work in the former Yugoslavia. CNA aims to create and support a value-based approach to peacebuilding, led by a commitment to human rights protection, freedom for all individuals and the values of dialogue, cooperation, social justice and solidarity amongst individuals and groups.

There have been multiple evaluations of its work done over the years, some by external evaluators and some internally.²⁶ They are overwhelmingly positive, attesting to for e.g. trainings leading to increase in knowledge and attitudinal shifts in participants. They contribute to commemoration and fostering a culture of remembrance through various exhibitions, publications and roundtable discussions, for e.g. the latest is themed 'War of Memories' (which explores the divided narratives and politics of memory in the Western Balkans).²⁷

CNA also works with war veteran associations, taking part in inclusive commemorative activities.²⁸ The project idea was born and built over the years. It started in 2002 when CNA activists thought that it would be effective to have former combatants from all sides sit and talk about their experience from the war. So they organized panel discussions in which they gathered participants from each side. Through the following years, this approach evolved, with CNA now working with war veterans from different ethnic groups, visiting commemorations and organizing workshops.

The main objective was to include veterans in peacebuilding processes since they are a very credible group to talk about it, having had the actual war experience of real horrors of the war. As one of the interviewees mentioned, "[the] veterans are well respected in their communities, and some of them were high ranking in the army during the war. People look up to them and actually listen to what they have to say. They are a good example of reconciliation, since they were fighting against each other during the war, and they are now on the same side, commemorating all the victims of the war, no matter the nationality. Another objective of this approach is to draw community attention to all the victims, from each side. It is important to commemorate all the suffering."²⁹

The work with the ex-combatants starts with searching for those interested in working to build peace. After a peacebuilding training of the veterans, CNA takes part, together with the war veterans, in two different kinds of commemorations. One is visiting the official commemorations, usually organized by local municipalities. Since the veteran group always comes as a multiethnic group, CNA always ensures an official invitation. It is important for CNA that their group's presence is wanted there and not perceived as a nuisance. In the words of one of the coordinators, "A lot of people think that what we do is great, but there are still people who do not understand the goal or are suspicious. So we want to make sure that everything is done in a respectful way, with no surprises."

25 A relevant publication for this mapping is the book titled "How to Reconcile Histories?", 2014: https://nenasilje.org/publikacije/pdf/Historije_E.pdf

26 See: <https://nenasilje.org/en/category/publications/evaluations/>

27 See: <https://nenasilje.org/category/aktivnosti/promocije/> and the website dedicated to the exhibition, book and commemorative activities involved with the "War of Memories" project. See also the initiative website: <https://kulturasjecanja.org/en/publication/> Publication listing various places of suffering and remembrance in the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina: http://nenasilje.org/publikacije/pdf/War_of_Memories.pdf

28 See: <https://nenasilje.org/en/category/activities/excomb/>

29 Interview 2, March 27 2020.

CNA also organizes panel discussions with students, during which they have a chance to ask veterans about their experience and opinion. According to an interviewee CNA receives positive feedback after these workshops, because inside students' families usually there is no room for discussion about the war at all, or it is usually a one-sided narrative. Through these workshops, youth has a chance to hear other perspectives, get a fuller picture and raise questions to ask their parents.

CNA works with war veterans in Serbia, BiH and Croatia. They would like to start working in Kosovo, but it is quite difficult to find an organization in Kosovo to partner with because most organizations do not practice this kind of activism. As one interviewee put it, "We don't feel confident enough to start the process on Kosovo without a solid local partner." However, CNA does work in Kosovo on other memory related activities.

A separate project is called 'Marking Unmarked Sites of Suffering' (ONMS³⁰), which is carried out by an informal group of activists, with the support of CNA.³¹ They visit and mark places of suffering in BiH that are still not marked as official places of suffering. This is done by placing temporary signs, and in cooperation with local organizations or local individuals because it is not always easy to access these locations. So far, more than 80 unmarked sites have been marked.³² Sometimes war veterans also support these activities. The temporary signs have the following text:

unmarked
SITE OF SUFFERING
At this site, during the past war, people were subjected to inhuman acts.
By not letting these events be forgotten, we stand in solidarity with all victims.
May it never happen again to anyone.

In terms of measuring results, CNA relies on webmetrics and their website traffic information. After each commemoration, they notice a rise in views (over 2000), and the number of visitors rises with each commemoration.

In 2019 CNA was one of the recipients of the Krunoslav Sukić Award for Promoting Peace, Nonviolence and Human Rights³³ from Croatia, for its "long standing nonviolence activities aimed at engaging individuals, special groups and veterans from all sides of the war in peace education, dialogue, cooperation and commemorations that are opening up and becoming emancipatory spaces of an inclusive culture of memory that leads to reconciliation."

Center for Public History

The Center for Public History (CPI)³⁴ in Belgrade, Serbia is a young organization, and was founded in 2018 with the aims of:

30 ONMS stands for Obilježavanje Neobilježenih Mjesta Stradanja or Marking Unmarked Sites of Suffering.

31 See for more information: <https://onms.nenasilje.org/?lang=en>

32 Also see the 2019 report "Nothing but misery. Marking unmarked sites of suffering" on this project:

http://nenasilje.org/publikacije/pdf/Nothing%20but%20misery_Marking%20unmarked%20sites%20of%20suffer.pdf

33 See: <http://krunoslav-sukic.centar-za-mir.hr/nagrada-2019/>, and: <https://nenasilje.org/en/centre-for-nonviolent-action-among-the-winners-of-the-krunoslav-sukic-award/>

34 Organization website: <http://www.cpi.rs/en>

- ◆ promoting the application of history in the service of society in order to develop critical thinking about the course of history and key issues related to understanding the present;
- ◆ empowering the development of a culture of peace and a society based on solidarity, responsibility and equality, starting from the civil interpretation of historical experiences;
- ◆ developing educational practices to address current issues in the society and reflect about the world, using a multidisciplinary approach and historiography's methodological and theoretical tools;
- ◆ fighting against historical revisionism and the rehabilitation of war criminals, Nazi and fascist collaborators and for preserving the culture of remembrance through commemorative practices and marking the killing sites.

CPI promotes the application of history in the service of the public and critical thinking about historical narratives. They do so by way of research, mapping, public guided tours, trainings, symposia, exhibitions and digital media. Their work focuses on the role of memory, and on different presentations of historical events in shaping the identity of society today. In CPI's view, the 1990s are considered a very important period in this region and everything is observed through the prism of that period. CPI does not only work on the wars of the 1990s but also on World War II.

A central program is a guided tour project titled 'Suppressed Memories'. The participants visit locations where CPI team hold presentations and encourages discussions about how different historical interpretations shape the present day. Some guided tours are dedicated to Batajnica, a military complex where the bodies of Albanian civilians killed in the Kosovo war were transported to in the 1990s by the Serbian state. They also have guided tours about for example the anti-war campaigns inside Serbia, resistance to Milošević, and the NATO bombing.

A second project 'Mapping Sites of Memory' takes place in 7 cities in Serbia. Mapping is done on two levels, one level being the official politics of memory through mapping of the monuments, and the second level being the mapping of what has been suppressed in local communities. E.g. Stajičevo, where Croatian prisoners of war and civilians were kept by Serbian authorities during the wars of the 1990s. Another important location is Leskovac, where the mapping covers the forced mobilizations that happened in the late 1990s, and the effects they had on the population at the time, as well as today. Belgrade mapping deals with the topic of Heroes of Košare, 108 young men, soldiers who were killed in Kosovo.

A last CPI project is a comic book called 'History of Resistance', which is meant to inform schoolchildren and will be distributed among youth centers and school libraries. The first one will be dedicated to Neda Božinović, an anti-fascist born in 1917. She was a member of the anti-fascist women's front, and the founder of Women in Black,³⁵ and thus one of the leaders of the anti-war resistance in the 1990s. The project will start once COVID-19 lockdown ends.

³⁵ Short description of the Women in Black organization and their work can be found in the second section of this report.

Constructive Use of Veteran Experience – Pravi Požar

Pravi Požar³⁶ (meaning: Real Fire) is a veterans' association from Derвента, BiH, that gathers veterans from all the three armies active in the 1990s conflicts in Bosnia-Herzegovina. It is important to note that Pravi Požar is not a part of any official government led veterans' associations. They function more as an NGO and their mission is to provide psychosocial support to veterans and have an open dialogue with society, especially youth. After receiving training by the psychologists affiliated with the Novi Sad-based Center for War Trauma³⁷ in the Constructive Use of Veteran Experience [‘Konstruktivna Upotreba Veteranskog Iskustva’] (KUVI) program,³⁸ veterans take part in facilitated dialogue sessions with youth. The overall goal of these meetings with youth is the prevention of violence among youth, demystification and portrayal of the true image of war, breaking stereotypes about war as something positive or good, and putting forward a peace-oriented critical reflection of veterans of their own personal wartime experiences.

The association exists since 2011 and it has cooperated with various other organizations, and taken part in youth meetings within the scope of other projects. The organization evolved from a project carried out by Pax Christi in Germany. As part of the exit strategy, they founded an association which had regional peace as its goal.

Their original aim was to work with war veterans who experienced war trauma and were suffering from PTSD. Dialogues with youth were subsequently added. They wanted to address the taboo subject of trauma in society, resulting from the war. As our interviewee told us, “It is ok to visit the dentist when you have a toothache, but it is not considered normal to visit a psychiatrist when you are suffering from PTSD or dealing with trauma.”³⁹

Through the work with youth, it became obvious just how trauma transferred from the veteran to their whole family. Pravi Požar facilitators saw this also reflected in the students' questions, for example about the mood swings of their own parents. A common prejudice they encountered in these discussions with youth is the expectation that veterans would glorify war. The veterans would surprise the youth by telling them the opposite: the experience of a common man who went to war healthy, and came back a broken man.

These youth workshops are sometimes initiated by schools or NGOs, who invite the veterans to come, and sometimes they are organized by Pravi Požar themselves.

The activities of dialogues with youth are ongoing, and they have plans to educate another group of veterans for dialogues with young people in the coming year. They are also working on a website which they hope to complete by the end of the year. In terms of results, 350+ veterans took part in their support groups, some of which are still active. In terms of the work with young people, to this day they have conducted 70+ workshops throughout BiH.

³⁶ They do not seem to have (an active) website, but they do have a Facebook page: <https://www.facebook.com/udruzenje.pravipozar>

³⁷ Organization Facebook page: <https://www.facebook.com/Centar-za-Ratnu-Traumu-War-Trauma-Center-213977228619840/>

³⁸ More about the program: <https://www.slobodnaevropa.org/a/konstruktivna-upotreba-veteranskog-iskustva/25431332.html>

³⁹ Interview 15, May 20 2020.

Dealing with the Past - platform

The website 'Dealing with the Past'⁴⁰ is a regional resource platform collecting information about various organizations, individuals, initiatives and projects implemented in the Western Balkans region in the field of dealing with the past, conflict prevention and peacebuilding. The website is initiated and maintained by the forumZFD offices in the Western Balkans in four languages.

The website was built in 2015 and continues to be updated with new content. The original objective behind its creation was to map organizations and initiatives that are important for the topic of dealing with the past and to create a platform for people who normally don't have the opportunity to express their opinion about topics regarding dealing with the past. ForumZFD also wanted to facilitate the search for materials that are relevant for education and research of the topic. Beneficiaries of this resource platform are NGOs, members of governmental institutions involved in the process of DWP as well as academia, civil society, artistic society, journalists, youth and all other stakeholders interested in this topic.

The website's Actors page is the most comprehensive one, listing multiple organizations active in the aforementioned fields in the Western Balkans. While individual actors are mentioned, there doesn't seem to be a database of civil society activists, artists, professionals who would use this platform to interact with other likeminded individuals or seek out potential collaborators. The platform, once created, was strategically promoted in the region, through banners and advertisements placed on various portals. Although the online English library is not that extensive, it was viewed 460 times (between January and June 2020). For the overall website, there were 14.318 unique users and 37068 page views between January 1st and September 16, 2020.

There are two other important resources on the website, aside from the Actors page. There is the Column page and the magazine Balkan.Perspectives. The Column section was started in 2017, as a regional online platform for open and constructive reflection on topics related to Dealing With the Past in the Western Balkans. There is formal cooperation with several partners who promote the website on their web pages. There are also media partners (tacno.net and ImpulsPortal.net from BiH) who directly contribute to the platform with content. Until now 172 columns were written by different authors from the region.

Balkan.Perspectives is a regional magazine focused on Dealing With the Past in the Western Balkans. It is also a joint production from the four forumZFD offices in the Western Balkans, in four languages. From 2015 onwards, 14 editions of the magazine were produced.⁴¹ In 2020 it became a fully online magazine. By offering a plurality of perspectives on DWP topics from across the region, the magazine aims to challenge stereotypes and ethno-centric narratives, encourage critical thinking and wider debate, and strengthen constructive approaches to dealing with the recent past. Every number has a specific overarching topic, for example *Memorialization continues to unify and divide us*, *How to deal with the past in the digital age* & *What history do we teach? What history do we learn?*

⁴⁰ Initiative website: www.dwp-balkan.org/en/

⁴¹ The magazines can be found at: http://www.dwp-balkan.org/en/bp.php?cat_id=6&text_id=25

Historija, Istorija, Povijest – Lessons for Today (HIP)

The 'Historija, Istorija, Povijest – Lessons for Today'⁴² project was implemented from 2014 – 2017 by the Anne Frank House⁴³ (the Netherlands), in cooperation with local partner organizations Croatian Education and Development Network for the Evolution of Communication – HERMES⁴⁴ (Croatia), Humanity in Action (Bosnia-Herzegovina), Youth Educational Forum (Northern Macedonia) and Open Communication (Serbia). The project was a joint creation of HERMES and Anne Frank House, born after successful implementation of an EIDHR grant through which Anne Frank - History for Today traveling exhibition was brought to Croatia. After this success, HERMES and Anne Frank House applied for additional EU funding in order to replicate some of the results of the EIDHR grant in Croatia, in other countries of the Western Balkans (Serbia, Bosnia, Macedonia). Using HERMES' network of partner organizations (from the MICCWeB project), the partner consortium applied for the grant for HIP project with Anne Frank House as main applicant, and was successful in securing it in 2014. As our interviewee explained, the partners were joined in the belief that, "dialogue about our common past in the region is the only way of going forward and creating a future that is free of nationalism, hatred, difficult legacy of the 1990s conflicts and World War II. We believe in multiperspectivity, and in fostering conversations with people one disagrees with, people with differing views and perspectives - because without these encounters, we are operating in echo-chambers, and this is deeply harmful and destructive."⁴⁵

In terms of results, the HIP project has noted the following:

- ◆ All project educational materials translated and available in all the project languages (Albanian, English, Bosnian, Croatian, Macedonian, Serbian);
- ◆ Exhibitions:
 - ◆ 30 peer guide trainers trained;
 - ◆ 47 exhibition venues;
 - ◆ 475 peer guides trained;
 - ◆ 70 333 exhibition visitors attending the guided exhibitions;
- ◆ Memory Walk:
 - ◆ 10 new Memory Walk short films created;
 - ◆ 1 Memory Walk Teacher Manual created;
 - ◆ 32 Memory Walk trainers trained;
 - ◆ 309 Memory Walks and ensuing discussion workshops held in 80 towns in 4 countries, with 6435 students attending;
- ◆ Educational material:
 - ◆ 3 x 7 local panels produced on local history of Second World War and the 1990s conflicts, accompanying 3 traveling exhibitions;
 - ◆ 31 lesson plans in recent history produced;
 - ◆ 150 teachers attending the 3 regional Teacher Training Seminars.

⁴² Project website: www.historijaistorijapovijest.org. An extensive evaluation report is available from the project coordinators after signing a non-disclosure agreement (due to privacy concerns for information therein, as the report contains signature sheets of participants of various activities).

⁴³ Anne Frank House, www.annefrank.org.

⁴⁴ Croatian Education and Development Network for the Evolution of Communication – HERMES, www.hermes.hr

⁴⁵ Interview 24, May 28 2020.

The target groups involved in the project were history experts and teachers involved in the production of educational materials, teachers attending the regional teacher training seminars, high school students acting as peer guides in the exhibition or students making the Memory Walk⁴⁶ short films. The final beneficiaries of the project were the students taking part in the activities based on the educational materials and methodologies developed throughout the project. Regarding impact assessment, monitoring and evaluation has been implemented throughout the project and its various activities. All of the key activities were evaluated using both quantitative (survey evaluation) and qualitative (interviews, personal reflection feedbacks, follow ups, testimonials) methods. Results were positive, and concrete project objectives were met and sometimes even surpassed (in terms of the geographical coverage/reach of the project, as well as the number of activities and beneficiaries). Memory Walk discussion workshops in particular were evaluated for their effectiveness, with 6435 students filling out survey questionnaires after the workshops: results point to high student engagement, increased interest in the topics of history, memory and monuments, and very positive evaluation of the innovative pedagogical tool.

Intercultural Education through Personal Histories / Will you say hi to me on the bus?

The project 'Will you say hi to me on the bus?' was implemented from 2012 – 2014 by the Nansen Dialogue Centre from Osijek (NDC Osijek)⁴⁷, in partnership with Fade In production from Zagreb, with the cooperation of the cities of Vukovar and Beli Manastir as well as the high schools from both cities. The project focusses on the exploration of personal narratives and histories. Originally the project focused on high school students interviewing their parents and exploring their family trees, thus learning about their own identity, as well as learning about migration and the identity of the multiethnic community in which they live. In partnership with Fade In, a NGO and production company with years of experience in socially engaged films they choose documentary film as the medium.

The project is based on Nansen's previous activities in Vukovar and surrounding region where they worked with primary schools - mainly through implementation of intercultural programs. Through this work they started to explore the role of personal histories in intercultural education and started a project in partnership with the Center for Youth Work⁴⁸ in Novi Sad in 2011. The project was called 'Hands across the border- identity and cultural heritage of the Danube region'⁴⁹, in which they worked with high school and university students in a similar manner as the project with Fade In⁵⁰. The medium of choice for this first project was photography.

The objective of the project was to promote cultural differences and to strengthen collaboration among youths of all ethnicities, through education and film. Various activities were organized, such as seminars

46 Read more about the concept and practice of this interactive educational tool in: L. Boerhout & B. van Driel, "Memory walk: an interaction oriented project to interrogate contested histories," *Intercultural Education*, 2013, 24:3, 211-221. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14675986.2013.799804>

47 Project website: www.nansen-dialogue.net/ndcosijek

48 See: <https://www.facebook.com/CentarZaOmladinskiRad/>

49 See more information on this project in the document: "Intercultural Education through the Prism of Personal Histories", NDC Osijek & Fade In. It can be found at: <https://drive.google.com/file/d/0Bz3qYH9UBaWcNlplVlTtN1dkRTg/view>

50 See: <http://www.fadein.hr/>

and workshops, with participants being Serb and Croat high school students from eastern Croatia.⁵¹ Sometimes (in Vukovar more so than in Beli Manastir, students attend classes separately, the Croats receiving classes in Croatian language and the Serbs in Serbian. The goal of these workshops was to raise awareness of internal mechanisms and resistance caused by the community and heritage, opening an opportunity for dialogue and strengthening and encouraging young people to act. Through providing youth with the basic knowledge and skills in the field of documentary filmmaking, the participants were also able to make a documentary movie. Next to the documentary film, the project also resulted in the creation of the handbook 'Intercultural Education through the Prism of Personal Histories'⁵².

During the project's implementation, it turned out to be a challenge to keep the youngsters connected to the project. At the beginning of the project 30 high school students participated, but many of them eventually dropped out and by the end of the project there were 13 participants left. In the words of the interviewee, "for a long time we were wondering if we should have changed our approach (reduce the number of workshops, change the content etc.) and whether that would have encouraged them to continue their participation, but now I would say that the number would have gotten reduced no matter what we did. We were working with participants of an age group whose interest is difficult to anticipate."⁵³

At the end of the project, a psychologist conducted an evaluation, which showed that some participants had been surprised by its content. They had expected shorter video workshops, but in fact they were exploring their history and identities.⁵⁴ Some of the participants admitted that they probably would not have dared to sign up for the project if they had known exactly what to expect.

Those who stayed involved until the end of the project were quite happy with the result. They had several screenings in Croatia that were well visited and covered by the media, like the screening in Vukovar in Cinestar with more than 200 people, followed by a lively discussion with the audience. There were also screenings in Zagreb, Beli Manastir and Osijek. The film is still being used today (as well as the manual), both by NDC Osijek, but also by other NGOs in Croatia and region. The film is not freely available on the internet, but a link to the film can be requested through the NDC in Osijek.

Kosovo Memory

'Kosovo Memory' is a project implemented in partnership between Integra, forumZFD Kosovo, Alter Habitus - Institute for Studies in Culture and Society, and the University Program for Gender Studies and Research, University of Prishtina.⁵⁵ The idea behind the project was based on the need for a centralized platform to fill the missing gaps in the current official historical narrative of Kosovo and to have the opportunity to promote history, memory, and cultural heritage amongst the Kosovar population, especially youth, but also among policymakers, textbook writers, scholars, researchers and social critics. 'Kosovo Memory' includes 100 institutions, memory landscapes; public spaces and cultural heritage sites.⁵⁶

51 Students came from Vukovar, Tompojevci, Markušica, Bršadin, Dalj, Jagodnjak, Borovo, Sotin and Beli Manastir.

52 The manual can be found on the NDC Osijek website: <https://drive.google.com/file/d/0Bz3qYH9UBaWcNlplVEltN1dkRTg/view>

53 Interview 6, April 8 2020.

54 Possibly this was one of the reasons contributing to the high number of drop outs from the project.

55 Project website: <http://kosovomemory.org/>

56 See for example the publication on Kosovo memory heritage: http://kosovomemory.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/10/KOSOVO_MEMORY_WEB.pdf and the publication "Living with memories of the missing", <http://kosovomemory.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/06/Final-ENG-web.pdf>.

Integra, which is the main force behind the Kosovo Memory project, is an organization working with war legacy, and dealing with the post-war transitional justice. They are not exclusively focused on memorialization, but consider themselves to be quite vocal and critical when it comes to policies towards memorialization in Kosovo. The Kosovo Memory project aims to fight the instrumentalization of memorialization for political and nationalist gains.⁵⁷

As the Kosovo Memory project website states, “memories in the aftermath of armed conflicts remain highly contested. They become politically utilized, while a critical engagement with such memories becomes essential to building democratic and inclusive society. As a result of the political exploitation of memory and the construction of it, a dominant master narrative is developed, which marginalizes and silences diverse civilian memories and multi-perspectivity of it. The one-dimensional culture of remembrance has co-opted the educational sector and become taken-for-granted by the country’s youth, while contested and distant memory heritage is left to neglect and to the fate of time.”⁵⁸

The main objective of the project is to establish a culture of remembrance that is based on evidence, rather than political propaganda, (which has been the case so far) by researching on Kosovo memory heritage and mainstreaming it using the advantage of innovation and technology. It also introduces an alternative methodological frame that engages various disciplines (historical research, informatics, and technology) to deliver accurate and non-fictional historical data. As one interviewee puts it “we have to advance the way we treat our memory (..) and oppose the current way that memory is treated. Hopefully, our way will become mainstream one day.”⁵⁹

Learning History that is not yet History

The project ‘Learning History that is not yet History’⁶⁰ was implemented by EuroClio⁶¹, in cooperation with partners Dokumenta, Hipmont⁶², EuroClio HIP BiH, Association for Social History⁶³ – EuroClio Serbia and the Association for the Education and Promotion of Human Rights.⁶⁴ The project was implemented in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, Montenegro and Serbia in 2016 – 2017, and in 2019 it received the Global Pluralism Award.⁶⁵

EuroClio is the biggest organization in Europe gathering history teachers/educators and experts from the field of social/humanitarian science who are working with the difficult topics on observant, responsive and multiperspective, inclusive way of history education. As the project website states,

57 See for example, M. Sylva “Personal commemoration in the face of public oblivion”, *Balkan Perspectives*, issue 11, June 2019, 11-19. http://www.dwp-balkan.org/en/blog_one.php?cat_id=8&text_id=109

58 Source: <http://kosovomemory.org/about/> It is an interesting read, but as with some other project descriptions, it seems very ambitious and quite (academically) analytical, in a way that it makes it hard for the project activities to live up to the (ambitious) description.

59 Interview 1, April 8 2020

60 Project website: <http://devedesete.net/>

61 European Association of History Educators. Organization website: <https://www.euroclio.eu/>

62 Association of History Teachers of Montenegro.

63 The Serbian History Teachers Association.

64 In the second phase of the project (website development) the Croatian History Teachers’ Association also joined the project.

65 Information about the award: <https://award.pluralism.ca/2019-2/learning-history-that-is-not-yet-history/>

the history of the recent wars, conducted during the 1990s in the territory of the former Yugoslavia, is a fairly sensitive and controversial issue in all countries of the Western Balkans. In some countries, these topics have been introduced in lessons, and in others only partially or not at all. This is a period that is remembered in different and often very contradictory and mutually exclusive ways. While some believe that precisely for that reason, this period of history has not yet become the past that should be studied, EuroClio, in cooperation with its partners, launched a project focusing on the question of how to study the topics of wars of Yugoslavia's dissolution in schools.

The project was preceded by two other projects: 'History that Connects' and 'History in Action'.⁶⁶ They were initiatives that brought together history experts who explored topics related to pre-World War II and 1945-1990 Yugoslavia. Logical follow up was 'Learning history that is not yet history' that is dealing with the 1990's wars. In the words of one of the project coordinators, "In the beginning, we weren't sure what we were going to do. We had an idea about creating lesson plans, workshops, etc., but as we were discussing and making plans for the project activities, our ambitions became much bigger. At the end of the project we had the website, which was actually the base of educational materials, with more than 100 different materials for the repository [website]".⁶⁷ The repository was just one of the results of the project. History experts from the region also wrote the document 'How to understand the history that is not passing/Kako razumijeti prošlost koja ne prolazi' - recommendations for teachers for responsible teaching about the wars of Yugoslavia. The third product of the project was the workshop 'Wars in pictures/Ratovi u slikama', created by Bojana Dujković Blagojević (BiH) and Nataša Kostić (RS) – a pedagogical tool about teaching war conflicts in the area former Yugoslavia.

The objective of the project was to raise awareness on remembrance, common history and values, by stimulating debate, reflection and development of networks. The target groups were both students and teachers.

In Serbia the project was approved by the Ministry of Education (MoE) and their program was included in the teacher professional development program, which is a list of possible trainings offered to Serbian teachers, approved by the MoE.⁶⁸ It is not an obligatory training. However, this approval was important for the dissemination of the project. Through teacher training seminars in Serbia more than 400 teachers and about 80 history students were included, while in BiH 90 teachers participated in professional development workshops⁶⁹ and 30 history students participated in the program on the University of Sarajevo. In Croatia, 30 teachers participated in the teacher trainings seminar. The project was also presented during meetings of history teachers of the Istrian County, and to NGOs and journalists from Croatia and the region at the SENSE press workshop in Pula 2018.⁷⁰

66 <https://www.euroclio.eu/project/history-that-connects/> & <https://www.euroclio.eu/project/history-action-planning-future>. These projects resulted in several joint teaching materials such as 'Ordinary people in an Extraordinary Country' (<https://www.euroclio.eu/resource/ordinary-people-in-an-extraordinary-country-2/>), and 'Once Upon a Time...We Lived Together' (<https://www.euroclio.eu/resource/29666/>)

67 Materials created during other projects and initiatives were collected on EuroClio's *devedesete* website: www.devedesete.net. In this database (or repository), users can find: teaching materials, historical sources, databases of historical sources, literature, websites, projects and initiatives of relevant organizations, museum exhibitions, documentaries and feature films.

68 Interview 4, March 28 2020.

69 For example EUROCLIO HIP BIH implemented the project 'War(s) in the classroom' where material from the 'Learning History that is not yet History' project was used for a professional development of history educators. <http://cliohipbih.ba/portfolio/wars-of-the-90/>

70 <https://sensecentar.org/index.php/activities/skillful-research-reliable-reporting>

'Lullaby for Mladenka' theatre play

The theatre play 'Uspavanka za Mladenku'⁷¹ (Lullaby for Mladenka) is a play based on the war crime committed in the village of Grabovica (BiH) in September 1993. The crime was committed by the members of the Bosniak Army against Croat civilians, the youngest of which was 4 year old Mladenka Zadro. The story was put on stage by the Mostar Youth Theatre⁷² under the direction of Sead Đulić.⁷³

In terms of the motivation behind the initiative, the interviewee explains:

"During the last war I felt I was in danger, so I decided to "hide" in a uniform. It happened that members of "my" army came from Sarajevo and committed a crime on my territory, killing 33 civilians and one soldier who opposed it. When something like that happens it burdens you if you think about it at all. I shared it with a group of young people I work with and told them I would love to make performance based on that story, if they are interested. Half of them did not know about the village or the crime that took place there. I gave them the basic information, gave them 15 days to do research and ask questions to parents, friends, acquaintances, to google ... and when we met, we shared what we found out. Conclusion of the first meeting was to do more research and later decide if that story is material for theater. Honestly, we were afraid, we were on guard. The play did not suit those who manipulate the victims, but also those who protect crimes of their own people."⁷⁴

The goal behind producing the theatre play was to dust off some topics that people refuse to talk about and start the process of dealing with past events that affect us today. The goal was also to "clean up in front of our doorstep" – meaning, the aim was to address the crimes committed by the members of our own ethnic group, our army.

The play was shown mostly in BiH (Mostar, Banja Luka, Trebinje, Žepče, Sarajevo), but also in Kotor in Montenegro. Visits were arranged and planned for Zagreb, but were postponed due to the Covid-19 pandemic. When the project kicked off, it was unclear who the main target group would be. However, along the way it became clear that especially young people showed interest, and so far more than 3000 visitors saw the play. Two (groups of) visitors are worth mentioning. One was the president of the regional HVIDRA (Croatian Disabled Homeland War Veterans' Association), who after the performance said in front of the entire audience that he hoped that Croatian artists will make a similar performance about Ahmići.⁷⁵ Another interesting audience were the 30 veterans of the HVO (Croatian Defense Council), HV (Croatian Army), the Serbian army, and the Armed Forces, who worked together with and were invited by CNA (see the description on inclusive memorialization work of CNA in this report) to visit the performance. The next day they went to the commemoration in Grabovica.

71 Press release for the play: <https://www.bljesak.info/kultura/kazaliste/u-mostaru-veceras-predstava-uspavanka-za-mladenku/285043>

72 Mostar Youth Theater, <http://mostartm.weebly.com/>

73 See for an interview with Sead Đulić: N. Bacic, "Bosnia and Herzegovina's Grabovica massacre: The Soldiers Who Couldn't Forget", *BalkanInsight*, September 9, 2020. <https://balkaninsight.com/2020/09/09/bosnia-and-herzegovinas-grabovica-massacre-the-soldiers-who-couldnt-forget/>

74 Interview 16, April 28 2020.

75 See for more information on the Ahmići massacre: A. Sorguc & A. Vladislavjevic, "Bosnia Marks Anniversary of Ahmici Village Mass Killings", *BalkanInsight*, April 16, 2019. <https://balkaninsight.com/2019/04/16/bosnia-marks-anniversary-of-ahmici-village-mass-killings/>

MemorInmotion

The 'MemorInMotion' project is the result of cooperation between forumZFD, Anne Frank House (AFH), YIHR BiH, Humanity in Action, EuroClio-HIP BiH, Peace Network BiH, and Pax Christi Aachen. When AFH and forumZFD exchanged their experiences with working on the topic of memory, they realized they both used different approaches. AFH's project was called Memory Walk⁷⁶, and used innovative educational film workshop that encouraged youth to critically reflect on memorials in their living environment. ForumZFD also worked with youth and monuments, but used different educational tools, such as exhibition and animation movies. The two organizations decided to work together and combine the different approaches into one pedagogical tool.

The 'MemorInmotion Pedagogical tool on Culture of Remembrance' toolkit⁷⁷, produced by forumZFD was developed in 2013-2014 by university professors, teachers, pedagogues, (art) historians, artists and activists and is available in English, German, BCS⁷⁸, Albanian and Macedonian.

The toolkit consists of:

- ◆ seven thematic Modules on Culture of Remembrance;
- ◆ eleven Lesson Plans for pupils and higher education participants, as well as with young people active in youth, nongovernmental cultural and educational organizations;
- ◆ two Essays;
- ◆ a DVD with audio-visual, didactical material (seven short animated films and a documentary called MONuMENTImotion);⁷⁹
- ◆ 27 didactic cards (for the activities with workshop participants) including pictures of monuments and memorial complex sites in the Western Balkans area;
- ◆ a Catalogue on monuments in the Western Balkans, titled 'MONuMENTI'; authors' biographies;
- ◆ a selection of relevant resource material for training on Culture of Remembrance.

In the words of project organizers, 'MemorInmotion' is a toolkit for trainers, teachers, educators, youth workers and students on constructive culture of remembrance, identities, multi perspective history teaching and dealing with the past.

76. Young participants are trained to conduct research on monuments and explore the relevance of the monuments for themselves and their community in present-day society. See: www.annefrank.org/en/education/product/59/memory-walk/

77 The MemorInmotion toolkit can be found here: https://www.salto-youth.net/downloads/toolbox_tool_download-file-1750/memorinmotion.pdf

78 Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian.

79 See: http://www.dwp-balkan.org/en/library.php?cat_id=5&text_id=15



КЕН

МЈЕСТО СТРА

НА ОВОМ МЈЕСТУ СУ, У ПРОТЕКЛОМ РАТУ, НАД
НЕ ПРЕПУШТАЈУЋИ ТЕ ДОГАЂАЈЕ ЗАБОРАВУ, СО
ДА СЕ НИКАДА И НИКОМ

НЕОБИЛЈЕЖЕН

МЈЕСТО СТРА

НА ОВОМ МЈЕСТУ СУ, У ПРОТЕКЛОМ РАТУ, НАД
НЕ ПРЕПУШТАЈУЋИ ТЕ ДОГАЂАЈЕ ЗАБОРАВУ, С
ДА СЕ НИКАДА И НИКОМ

О
РАДАЊА

ЉУДИМА ВРШЕНА НЕЉУДСКА ДЈЕЛА
ЛИДАРИШЕМО СЕ СА СВИМ ЖРТВАМА
МЕ НЕ ПОНОВИ

О
АДАНЈА

О ЛЈУДИМА ВРШЕНА НЕЛЈУДСКА ДЈЕЛА
ОЛИДАРИШЕМО СЕ СА СВИМ ЖРТВАМА
ИЕ НЕ ПОНОВИ

The overall aim of the project was to:

- ◆ encourage a critical stance towards the process of memorialisation, e.g. through contextualizing the politics of memory and becoming aware of the difficulties of monument building, and the contested meanings of the monuments;
- ◆ increase awareness about the young peoples' roles and responsibilities in the process of memorialization;
- ◆ promote inclusive reflection on the past, present and future, in a constructive dialogue across countries;
- ◆ contribute to establish trust between individuals and communities of different backgrounds in order to restore dialogue and rebuild peaceful relationships;
- ◆ actively engage young people to create a space for constructive dialogue and confrontation between different perceptions and sharing new perspectives beyond the dominant public discourse and the various boundaries that exist in each society.⁸⁰

In terms of impact evaluation, there is a report online from 2015⁸¹ that concludes that the tool was well-received by the teachers and students, which is indicated by solid evaluation scores (dissemination workshops and train-the-trainers activities with teachers receiving an average of 3,60/4,00, while the use and usability of the materials in the classroom was evaluated with an average of 4,00/5,00 grade). The Tool was (and still is) used throughout Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia, Kosovo, Serbia, Germany. More than 300 teachers were trained in its use. The evaluation report further shows that at least 30 institutions including schools were using the tool.

Since its first edition in 2014, and after the first evaluation, a second improved edition of "MemorInmotion" integrating new suggestions and lessons learnt provided by the teachers, has been released and today (in 2020) it is still used and promoted in various trainings and workshops.

Memory Lab Europe Network

Memory Lab Europe⁸² is an ongoing initiative in the Western Balkans and other parts of Europe, which started in 2010. It has been created by YIHR BiH, Documenta (Croatia), the French-German Youth Office (FGYO) and the Centre Malraux Sarajevo. Memory Lab provides a platform for exchange, cooperation and critical understanding of history and remembrance in Europe. It connects institutions, organizations, and persons working on memory sites and remembrance education especially in the Western Balkans and in Western Europe.

Memory lab describes itself as an informal network, and not as an NGO or organization. It started off as an inclusive Trans-European approach connecting Western and South-Eastern Europe. Its starting point was the observation that many people across Europe were not familiar with the

⁸⁰ As written by project organizers, see: www.salto-youth.net/tools/toolbox/tool/memorinmotion-pedagogical-tool-on-culture-of-remembrance.2241/

⁸¹ Full text of the evaluation report available online: www.mreza-mira.net/wp-content/uploads/MemorInmotion_the_pedagogical_tool.pdf

⁸² Project website: www.memorylab-europe.eu/

concepts and practices of memory activism and memory work in other parts of Europe. The idea was born to try and create a sort of inclusive and differentiating memory culture within Europe. Organizations and initiatives from Western Europe and from South Eastern Europe who didn't know each other - learned about each other through their participation in the Memory Lab, and also within these regions, like for example organizations from BiH, Serbia and Kosovo who met for the first time. The approach of Memory Lab is to develop constructive and inclusive memory approaches where different memories can come together and can enter into a constructive dialogue. In 2020, the network celebrates its 10th anniversary.

The aims of the platform (and, stemming from it, activities) as listed on the website are:

- ◆ *Connecting.* Memory Lab brings together initiatives in the field of dealing with difficult pasts from different countries of Western/Central Europe and South Eastern Europe.
- ◆ *Exploring.* Memory Lab explores memorialization processes through the visit to memory sites with the actors in the field, survivors and museum professionals.
- ◆ *Exchanging.* Memory Lab establishes long-term dialogue and cooperation in order to facilitate contact, the exchange of experiences and a mutual learning. It enables the questioning of different interpretations and perspectives on memory as well as it analyses and makes more explicit the choices made in memorializing difficult pasts.
- ◆ *Empowering.* Memory Lab strengthens constructive dealing-with-the-past-approaches as part of civic education, democracy- and peacebuilding. It aims to contribute to cooperation and understanding processes in South-Eastern Europe and in Europe in general, as well as to the integration of the Western Balkans into a common European civil society and memory space through developing and carrying out of common activities in the field of memorialization.

The methodology based on study trips, workshops and joint projects is believed to create an interactive environment for mutual learning through the sharing of experiences and practices for its participants. The platform also offers tools, expertise and content for remembrance activities. It contributes to overcome existing gaps of knowledge, to strengthen constructive dealing with the difficult past and to develop a shared memory space in Europe. The target group are memory activists, history educators, historians, curators, academics and other professionals who focus on practical aspects of history and remembrance in their work.

One of the key results of the network was the development of common projects, and contribution to the development of a European memory space, which is inclusive and where the South Eastern European actors have an equal place as Western actors. Until now, more than 200 persons and organizations have been involved through the annual trips⁸³, and more than 80 collaborative memory activities have taken place.⁸⁴

83 The annual study trips went, amongst others, to Albania, Spain, Serbia, Belgium, Kosovo, Macedonia, Germany, France, Croatia, BiH. See for more information: <http://www.memorylab-europe.eu/workshops>

84 [You can find an overview of the activities on: www.memorylab-europe.eu/activities](http://www.memorylab-europe.eu/activities)

Model International Criminal Court Western Balkans (MICC WeB)

Model International Criminal Court (MICC)⁸⁵ is a Kreisau Initiative⁸⁶ project that has been running for 15 years. It is a simulation of trials before the ICC for high-school and university students from all over the world.

MICC Western Balkans (MICC WeB)⁸⁷ was launched in 2013 as a cooperation between three organizations from the Western Balkans (BiH, Croatia and Serbia). The 6-day MICC WeB sessions are preparation and simulation of war crime trials, with mixed student teams playing the role of prosecution, defense, judges and press in different trials (from Nuremberg, Rwanda and Yugoslavia). Building on intergroup contact theory, and applying critical pedagogy methods to the topic of difficult recent history topics (war crimes, crimes against humanity, genocide), this educational program uses historical human rights education to expose students to topics they would otherwise not be exposed to in the formal educational system.

As the project is ongoing, the implementing organizations prefer to refer to it as an 'educational program' rather than a 'project' (which has a tendency to have one-off, limited time scope association). While the implementing partner organization from BiH has over time changed from the original partner Humanity in Action, to the current Mreža Zapadnog Balkana – Western Balkans Network (WEB)⁸⁸, the Croatian partner organization Croatian Education and Development Network for the Evolution of Communication - HERMES⁸⁹ and the Serbian partner organization Open Communication – OK⁹⁰ remained on board from the start.

Some of the MICC WeB key objectives, since its kick off to this day, have been:

- ◆ Making young people sensitive to human rights and their protection, by teaching mechanisms of protection: the equality of all people before the law, the principle of individual responsibility for violations of rights, the right to a free and fair trial, the meaning of tolerance in liberal societies governed by the rule of law;
- ◆ Deconstructing social stereotypes and prejudices through critical assessment: students exchange views with each other and learn what happens when beliefs are questioned and challenged;
- ◆ Emphasizing the commonalities of former Yugoslavia ethnic groups/cultures - by using integrative measures and multinational teams, project inspires uninhibited conversation and facilitates understanding among participants;

85 Project website: <http://www.model-icc.org/>

86 Kreisau Initiative was founded in 1994 to preserve the memory of the Kreisau district and the resistance against Hitler, especially in the Franconia area.

Organization website: www.kreisau.de/

87 Project website: currently under construction, soon: www.miccweb.org

88 Website is under construction. The organization was born from former participants, alumni, and trainers active in the MICC WeB educational program.

89 Organization website: <http://www.hermes-communication.hr/en/> (soon to be: www.hermes.hr),

90 Organization website: <http://ok.org.rs/>.

- ◆ Opening up discussion on difficult subjects from the region's recent history, empowering participants to become mediators and agents of change through dialogue, debates and discussions in schools, universities, families and communities.

The types of activities that take place during a 6-day MICC WeB session are workshops, educational activities and court trial simulations. The intervention methodologies applied are based on critical pedagogy, coupled with Positive Youth Development (PYD)⁹¹ methods, simulation and role-play activities as edutainment, and critical reflection based on Bohmian dialogue.⁹² The main results of the educational program so far have been:

- ◆ 14 regional sessions with high school students = 548 participants (462 high school students + 86 teachers);
- ◆ 3 regional sessions with university students = 91 participants;
- ◆ 3 international/global sessions in Krzywowa, Poland with high school students and teachers from BiH, Croatia, Serbia = 60 participants

Through extensive evaluation of the 6-day-sessions, organizers have witnessed repeated self-reports of broadening of students' horizons, destruction of previously held stereotypes, higher awareness of contemporary human rights (problems) and an overall interest and willingness to engage in further regional projects. In terms of official impact evaluation, MICC WeB impact analysis consists of collected and processed participation (self-) assessment evaluation surveys, trainer and teacher participant observation impressions, students' personal testimonials, and anecdotal (social media, personal communication) follow ups with the participant cohorts, over time. Using a mix of qualitative and quantitative methodologies, the results of the evaluation and impact assessment have been remarkably consistent, over time. Participant testimonials recurrently conclude that the MICC WeB session attendance was a "transformative experience" for them, one in which the educational content, as well as meeting peers from neighboring countries/different ethnic or religious backgrounds enhanced their understanding about the 1990s conflicts, and empowered them to reject divisive political nationalism.⁹³

National Culture, National Torture

This project revolves around the book titled 'Killing Culture' with accompanying photo exhibition, by photographer Hrvoje Polan⁹⁴, and authors and journalists Viktor Ivančić and Nemanja Stjepanović. The exhibition was produced by forumZFD Belgrade and PAX Netherlands.⁹⁵

91 For more information on PYD, see: <https://youth.gov/youth-topics/positive-youth-development>

92 For more information, see: <https://www.bohmdialogue.org/>

93 The data gathered through the quantitative evaluation surveys confirms this, as all the MICC WeB sessions have received an outstanding general impression grade by the participants, in the range between 4.87 - 5.00 (on a scale where 1=poor, 5=excellent). Multiple impact evaluation reports are available upon request.

94 Hrvoje Polan died in 2019, while the book and exhibition were being finished. <https://balkaninsight.com/2019/04/02/croatian-journalists-mourn-veteran-photographer-hrvoje-polan/>.

95 The exhibition traveled to Belgrade, Novi Sad, Sarajevo, Rijeka, Prijedor, Šibenik, Podgorica and The Hague. Some of the exhibition photos can be seen in the article: A. Vladislavljevic, "Croatian Journalists Mourn Veteran Photographer, Hrvoje Polan", *BalkanInsight*, April 2, 2019.

ForumZFD in partnership with 'Four Faces of Omarska'⁹⁶ and with a group of activists from Belgrade used to visit commemorations in Trnopolje and Omarska. During one such visit the director of the forumZFD Belgrade office, Nataša Govedarica, met Hrvoje Polan, a photographer. A year later, Viktor Ivančić presented Hrvoje's idea to work on Yugoslav Centers for Culture that became execution sites during the war. Trnopolj is one of those places. The concentration camp in Trnopolj was partly inside the Cultural Center. Hrvoje thought it bizarre that something that was built to bring culture closer to the citizens of Yugoslavia, was turned into a concentration camp or an execution site. From that Trnopolj story, other buildings that had a similar history were researched and photographed. Viktor Ivančić was asked to write the text, because he had written about ethnic cleansing in relation with cultural cleansing. A total of 24 buildings were photographed. According to the photographer, it was a challenge to take photos of these often ordinary, ugly buildings and make a story out of it. A third element of the book, aside of the photographs and the essay, was added by Nemanja Stjepanovic who wrote a detailed factography about each site and the crimes that occurred. He used only facts that were proven before national and international courts. Through these detailed descriptions patterns of the organized and planned criminal projects by all sides were revealed. The book was one of the recipients of the Croatian Krunoslav Sukić Award 2020 in the category 'Book of the Year 2019', for Promoting Peace, Nonviolence and Human Rights.⁹⁷

This project lives on without active efforts in keeping it alive. 1000 copies of the book were printed in BHS and 500 copies in English, and it was launched in Serbia, Croatia, BiH, Montenegro and The Hague (Netherlands). Copies were donated to the Museum of Yugoslavia. The basic dissemination strategy was through live promotions and exhibitions. The authors, who are popular, drew in rooms full of people. More than 1500 people took part in the book promotion events. Copies was also donated to libraries in the region. There was also media attention, for example by BIRN, N1, Vreme and Novi list.

Past Continues – Shared Narratives

The 'Past Continues – Shared Narratives'⁹⁸ project was originally developed by Mario Mažić, the founder of YIHR Croatia, during his Fellowship at the Columbia University in 2012. It was launched with the kick-off conference 'Bring Your Own History' that took place in Belgrade in March 2018. The overall project was implemented by the Youth Initiative for Human Rights⁹⁹ organizations from Croatia, Serbia, BiH, Kosovo and Montenegro.

YIHR focusses on those memory initiatives that are usually met with denial and relativization. YIHR promotes the message that all victims deserve respect, and it therefor focusses to promote respect for those victims who are not given respect by society. This often means standing up for the 'other', or the 'minority'.

⁹⁶ "Four faces of Omarska is an ongoing ongoing art project questioning the strategies of production of the memorial from the position of those whose experience and knowledge has been subjugated, excluded and disqualified and which is not part of public remembrance and public history." See the working group Facebook group: www.facebook.com/pg/FourFacesofOmarska/about/

⁹⁷ <https://www.forumzfd.de/en/forumzfd-serbia-wins-peace-prize> & <http://krunoslav-sukic.centar-za-mir.hr/nagrada-2018/>

⁹⁸ Project website: <https://pastcontinues.org/>

⁹⁹ Implementing organizations: <https://www.yihr.org/> (national offices and contact information available on sub-pages).

Building on YIHR's regional exchange programs, the ambition was to provide youth with an opportunity to learn about other perspectives on the 1990s war in a very practical way - from their peers, by visiting sites of atrocities and violations, by focusing on researching and drafting victims-focused narratives, by engaging in dialogue exactly there where it is difficult and emotional - to understand that this is our social reality that we have to engage with in order to come to terms with the past and create a space for reconciliation.

Past Continues - Shared Narratives was conceived as an 18-months project that tackles the existence of different and often conflicting narratives about the 1990s war in Western Balkans, which are nurtured within the ethnic and national groups and communities and which cause profoundly divided communities that teach different histories and disable the effective dealing with the past processes. The implementation of this project was also meant to contribute to regional reconciliation through meetings between young people and encouraging communication and stimulate a structural debate on the topics from their common past often interpreted through different and conflicting narratives.

The project aims at reaching the following objectives:

- ◆ to enable a group of youth from former-Yugoslav countries to challenge dominant narratives through learning from fact-based documentation and primary sources;
- ◆ to engage a group of young people in discussions and work on development of shared narratives about recent violent conflicts and thus contribute to the development of a critical approach to nationalist narratives;
- ◆ to publish a compilation of shared narratives developed by youth about recent conflicts in former Yugoslavia;
- ◆ to instigate a public discussion about the dominant political and historical narratives through promotion of the documentary film and discussions about the topic.

The project's target group were 120 young people (mostly university students) from Croatia, BiH, Kosovo, Serbia and Montenegro. The key project activities were:

- ◆ An initial seminar and training was held which was symbolically titled 'BYOH: bring-your- own-history'. The participants came from 5 different countries and brought with them the history books they have studied from in elementary and high school. They also brought community- and/or education-specific knowledge and conceived ideas of the recent violent history. At this seminar, all of the existing dominant narratives were presented. Participants presented in groups as they were taught during their education. The presentations were focused on specific events from recent history so that the comparison between different narratives was possible and the differences were evident.
- ◆ At the end of the initial seminar and training, participants were divided into groups based on their interest and country they came from. There were a total of 6 groups with up to 10 subgroups. A group was formed for each of the bilateral narratives as follows: (i) BiH – Serbia, (ii) BiH – Montenegro, (iii) BiH – Croatia, (iv)

Croatia – Serbia, (v) Croatia – Montenegro and (vi) Kosovo – Serbia¹⁰⁰. A seminar was organized for each of the groups to discuss their tasks in the future period as well as the specific topics they would be focusing on. Apart from the seminars, study-visits were organized for each of the groups to areas where crimes were committed in the conflict where the groups conducted field research.

- ◆ During their work in this stage of the project, groups met regularly to share and exchange as well as to discuss potential problems and disagreements that arose. It was also a possibility for the project team to monitor the group work.
- ◆ In the lead-up to the Writer's Retreat, and during the Retreat in Samobor, Croatia, the most active participants wrote and contributed to drafting dominant narratives on given topics, as well as shared narratives on those same events.

In terms of results, the collective works of the most active participants are currently in the process of being published as a 'Shared Narratives' book (translated into all official regional languages and English). The volume contains current dominant narratives on a selected set of controversial topics (events of the 1990s wars), as well as attempted shared narratives of these topics. The book is scheduled to be published towards the end 2020 and to be presented to the wider public in a series of book launches in the WB region.

One of the facilitators of the project mentioned that at the start of the project, she did not think that it would be possible to actually publish a book in which shared narratives would be written by the youngsters. But due to the relationships that developed between the youngsters and the trust that these youngsters with the help of the facilitators were able to build, more was possible than expected.

Sarajevo Film Festival - Dealing With the Past

As the website suggests, The Sarajevo Film Festival's (SFF) Dealing with the Past program¹⁰¹ intends to start dialogue on the subject through specially selected screenings, as well as through the systematic collection of stories, documents and memories that will unveil many aspects of the past from different vantage points – whether imbued primarily with pain or riddled with nostalgia. It is from this open source that filmmakers and cinema experts will draw inspiration, and from which they will weave stories for larger audiences with all the urgency and power that cinema offers. With this in mind, SFF organizers believe that Dealing with the Past can lead to cinema that achieves its ultimate, perhaps noblest aim – cinema that opens a door to genuine empathy, to peacebuilding in its truest sense. The audiences are targeted through outreach in co-operation with youth initiatives, local and regional NGOs, and media representatives.

The program Dealing with the Past has three segments. One is showing movies during the Festival, and after the festival across the Western Balkan region. The second segment is True Stories Market.

100 Subgroups were smaller groups of participants tackling a single controversial divided-narrative issue and exploring the dominant narratives, as well as arriving together to a shared narrative on that single topic.

101 Program website: www.sff.ba/en/page/dealing-with-the-past Information copied from the website.

During the year the SFF works with organizations that work on researching, documenting, and archiving war stories from the 1990s and from Second World War. SFF created a platform for organizations to present these stories to movie professionals in order to inspire them and give them the idea to make a movie out of these stories. According to one interviewee: “Usually, 5 stories are chosen/selected. Then we have an open call for the movie directors to develop one of these stories into a movie. In the end, the Festival is promoting these films in the region. The third segment is the work with young people. We bring together young people from the Western Balkans and have them participate in the workshops after the movie screening.”¹⁰² One of the topic of those workshops was ‘Coping mechanisms of the second generation’. The need for a discussion with the new generation can be found in the words RYCO’s Secretary General Mr Đuro Blanuša after attending one of the discussions. He stated that “the accumulated sense of social exclusion by young people have a potential to transform into violence in the Western Balkans”, but that projects such as the SSF show that there are creative ways for young people to connect, be mobile and to have a better dialogue in the region.¹⁰³

As the interviewee explained, the Film Festival director, Mirsad Purvat, came up with the idea for the DWP project five years ago, and it has taken place since on annual basis. Now we have the second generation of movie directors who work on subjects like this. These people were kids during the war and they started to criticize the concept of collective responsibility that surfaced as a common method of addressing the past.” In the words of one interviewee,

“We realized early on that these young authors had amazing ideas, but did not stand a chance. They were not supported by big film centers, and even in the unlikely case of them landing money to make these movies, the projects would have flopped owing to the opposition of certain groups (e.g. war veterans). We knew we had to give them a chance, so we launched this program to provide a context for these movies to be born. We know from experience that NGO and movie sectors are not connected, and that we could play the role of being the bridge between them.”¹⁰⁴

More than 100.000 visitors visit the Sarajevo Film Festival each year, and the festival has regional significance. The Dealing with the Past movies are promoted through SFF cooperation with 25+ NGOs in the region.

School of Different Memories

The project ‘School of Different Memories’ [Škola Drugačijih Sjećanja] is implemented by Youth Initiative for Human Rights BiH. It has been implemented since 2014, with a summer school taking place every year. The target group of the project are young people born in between 1990 – 1999. The emphasis of the summer school is on multiple narratives of various individuals with diverse experiences during the conflict.¹⁰⁵ The participating youth comes from Serbia, BiH, Croatia, Macedonia and Montenegro. The goal of the summer school is to analyse war narratives, as well as narratives about particular war crimes, and for the participants to interview contemporary

102 Interview 11, May 11 2020.

103 In Youth Eyes: RYCO Brings Youth to Sarajevo Film Festival. <https://www.rycowb.org/?p=6397>

104 Interview 11, May 11 2020.

105 This video documentary outlines the 2018 edition of the summer school, including interviews with participants: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PPVc-0XMhdw>

witnesses, victims, soldiers. The participants from year to year attest to the general lack of attention in their own communities towards 'the other side of the story'.¹⁰⁶

There are currently two editions – one in Stolac (BiH) and one in Eastern BiH. So far, 6 summer schools in Stolac and 3 schools in Eastern BiH were organized. It is a seven-day educational program for young people, 18 to 25 years old. A group of about 20 participants visit places of mass crimes that took place in those regions during World War II and the wars in the 1990s in BiH. The central gathering place for the school edition in Herzegovina is the city of Stolac, where ethnic cleansing took place in the 1990s wars, but it is also a significant place because it is ethnically mixed and has a rich cultural and historical heritage of Islamic and Catholic communities living side by side. Around Stolac, the youth visit various places of suffering, like the Radimlja necropolis of tombstones; the Čavkarica Cave where Muslims were killed in World War II; the village of Prebilovci where Serbs were killed during the World War II, and in the last war the HVO destroyed a church they had built in memory of the victims of the World War II; Monastery in Široki Brijeg; the village of Kruševo near Mostar; the village of Grabovica etc. Youth talked to survivors as well as for example camp guards, so that different perspectives were included.

In the School in Eastern BiH, participants visit Gornje Podrinje, Goražde, Višegrad, Foča. They do not visit Srebrenica because this already is a dominant narrative in the BiH and this 'School of different narratives' is meant especially to find missing pieces of the 'history puzzle' by focussing on narratives and stories that are not being told or not widely known.

The project is ongoing, but since forumZFD ended its cooperation with YIHR BiH, there is a lack of clarity on the project's direction or future.

A lesson learned was that the project should have introduced psychological support, because the organizers often did not know how to deal with the catharsis some of the participants went through. The topics the school covers are difficult and youth often go through emotional processes for which the organizers are not professionally trained.

Srebrenica exhibition

This initiative revolves around the exhibition 'Srebrenica Genocide – the failure of the international community' which focuses on the story of the conflict in BiH from its start in 1992 until 1995.¹⁰⁷ The exhibition opened in February 2017 and was the product of cooperation between the Potočari Memorial Center (PMC), Memorial Centre Kamp Westerbork¹⁰⁸ (a former transit camp during World War II in the Netherlands) and PAX.¹⁰⁹ PAX was the main applicant and the other two were subcontractors, but it was an equal partnership.

106 See an article about the 2017 summer school edition: <https://www.klix.ba/vijesti/bih/skola-drugacijih-sjecanja-u-hercegovini-suocavanje-sa-prosloscu-temelj-je-za-dijalog-o-buducnosti/170826009>

107 Information for this summary is drawn from the article written by S. Remijnse and I. Baanders, "Negotiating narratives – the case of Srebrenica" (January 2019) & the article written by D. van den Berg and M. Hoondert, "The Srebrenica Exhibition". *Oriati Socio-Legal Series*, Vol. 10, issue 3 (2020), 544-526. <https://doi.org/10.35295/olsl.iisl/0000-0000-0000-1110>

108 As a transit camp, Kamp Westerbork had a lot of experience in setting up exhibitions in contested places.

109 More information about the exhibition opening as well as about the content of the display can be found on the PMC website: <https://www.potocarimc.org/index.php/component/k2/item/134-stalna-postavka-srebrenicki-genocid-neuspjeh-medunarodne-zajednice>

The initiative came from the survivors themselves, in particular from Hasan Nuhanovic. He had this idea for a permanent exhibition at the memorial site on the genocide in Srebrenica. There were many consultations during several years, with victims organizations, Dutchbat veterans, the Dutch Ministry of Defense and many other actors involved. The final approval from the donor, the Dutch embassy in BiH, came in 2014.

The aim of the permanent exhibition creators was to tell the story of the Srebrenica genocide at that particular site. The project was inclusive in a sense that it included both the voices and perspectives of the victims and widows associations as well as those of the former Dutchbat soldiers. However it was not possible to include the voices of the Serbs. This was a bridge too far for the victims. Thus the exhibition concentrated on gathering perspectives of different stakeholders involved, and facilitating the sensitive balance of different testimonies and stories to be included in the final, permanent display. Owing to the complexity and multiplicity of actors involved (e.g. 3 Dutchbat-origin associations, multiple victims associations, etc.), it was preferred to focus the exhibition on individual narratives, rather than on collective ones.

The result of this initiative is the permanent exhibition display in the Potočari Memorial Center. The exhibition is open to the public, both groups and individual visitors, and some of the PMC staff members (some of them survivors of the genocide in Srebrenica) were also trained as guides. An evaluation was conducted through cooperation with the universities of Tilburg and Nijmegen (Netherlands), consisting of a survey of 377 exhibition visitors from 18 countries. The results of the evaluation point to substantial positive impact on the visitors, both in terms of their knowledge gained/awareness raised as result of visiting the exhibition, but also in terms of motivating the visitors to work on prevention of human rights violations in the future. Given that the bulk of the visitors are young people (pupils and students) who evaluated the exhibition visiting experience very positively, it can also be concluded that the exhibition also has substantial educational impact on visitors.

In 2019, an estimated 100.000 visitors have seen the exhibition.

'Targeting History and Memory' WEBSITE

The initiative 'Targeting History and Memory Website',¹¹⁰ revolves around a website that provides information (in form of texts, videos, photographs and legislative documents) on the destruction of various sites of cultural heritage during the 1990s dissolution of Yugoslavia. Implemented by the SENSE – Transitional Justice Center¹¹¹, the initiative draws on the court cases from the ICTY dealing with crimes against cultural and religious property. It sheds light and raises awareness about the fact that the "the massive intentional destruction of cultural and religious property in BiH, Croatia and Kosovo during the 1991–1999 Wars of Yugoslav Succession was the greatest destruction of cultural heritage in Europe since World War II. The devastation – which took place almost entirely during violent campaigns of ethnic cleansing waged against civilians in an attempt to create ethnically homogenous territories – was one of the defining features of the conflicts."¹¹² The project involved

110 Initiative website: <http://heritage.sense-agency.com/>

111 Organization website: <https://sensecenter.org/index.php/activities>

112 As stated on the project website.

871 citizens, from BiH, Croatia, Kosovo, Macedonia, Montenegro, the Netherlands, Serbia, United Kingdom, and the United States of America. 13 events have been carried out within this project, such as presentations, 5 exhibitions, 2 seminars and workshops, and 1 study trip.

SENSE used to be a journalist agency that reported on cases that appeared before the ICTY. During the ICTY court cases they founded the NGO SENSE (Center for Transitional Justice), where all the data that the agency had collected over time, were stored and used for new projects. From the ICTY archive, they started to create interactive materials. These materials are accessible through the website, and can be used in future projects. In the words of our interviewee,

“We created the narrative and based on that narrative we created the traveling exhibition¹¹³. It took us between six months and a year to collect, select, and organize all the data and documentation and fit it into the form of the website. It was impossible to cover every monument or building that was destroyed during the war, we decided to include several characteristic examples that could tell the story. ...Then there was a period of promotion and presentation. We had presentations in several countries across the region (Serbia, BiH, Croatia, and Montenegro). After that, we created the exhibition that had similar documentation and stories but was fulfilled with the monuments from The Second World War. Those monuments are still being destroyed because of anticommunism.”¹¹⁴

The SENSE method revolves around conserving the facts from ICTY procedures and stories told through facts alone, without any kind of interpretation, so that those facts can be used later for educating young generations. The aim of is to acquaint the public with how crimes against cultural, historical, and religious heritage committed during the wars in the 90s in Croatia, BiH, and Kosovo were investigated, reconstructed, and processed at the ICTY in The Hague. The aim of the traveling exhibition was similar - to inform the public about destroyed cultural heritage and trust-building initiatives. Participating artists, students, historians, art historians, and photographers engaged in dialogue about dealing with the difficult legacy of destroyed cultural heritage. The question of processing crimes against the destroyed cultural heritage during the war was put back on the agenda via media coverage. An additional dimension of the project came in the form of a workshop and a seminar for history teachers, whose aim was to help and motivate history teachers to find suitable methods of teaching about the importance of cultural and religious heritage and about the destruction of cultural heritage as an attack on people and their fundamental rights. The workshop was organized for the participating history teachers in cooperation with The European Association of History Educators (EuroClio).

No specific evaluation of the results were carried out, because that would have taken a lot of time, and they did not have the capacity to do detailed monitoring. The interviewee said they needed to think this through for future activities.¹¹⁵ It was also said that an alternative way of working would be through art and education, because it could be easier to reach groups that are more difficult to reach through their traditional channels.

113 See <https://www.europanostra.org/events/exhibition-targeting-monuments-targeting-history-memory/> for more information on this traveling exhibition.

114 Interview 12, May 12 2020.

115 Interview 12, May 12 2020.

Virtual Museum of Refugees

The Virtual Museum of Refugees¹¹⁶ is a project initiated by the YIHR Kosovo.¹¹⁷ One of the main pillars of YIHR's work is dealing with the past and transitional justice, with a specific focus on collective memory. The Virtual Museum was launched in 2018, and aims to collect stories, personal stories of people who have been refugees during the war in Kosovo, either fleeing their homes to leave the country or being internally displaced during that time. You can find stories from all communities living in Kosovo, including Serbs and Roma. According to one of the interviewees,

“We always try to also have a gender balance in whatever we do. So also in terms of ethnicity, also in terms of gender identities, we also try to include LGBTQ community, young people, and children; because we always feel that these marginalized communities in our society they're in most of the cases in the margin of our collective memory. So we really try to broaden the space for them in order to hear their stories, to listen to their voices. And, to provide the space, a safe space for them to share their experiences and to validate and give authenticity to their experiences. So our approach is definitely based on inclusiveness and on, on different levels, on different identities.”¹¹⁸

All the interviews are audio and transcribed in three languages - Serbian, Albanian, and English. The plan is by the end of 2020 to have 40 more interviews/stories in the museum.

The next collection of stories will be about people who were children during the war in Kosovo. They are currently organizing workshops on storytelling and the importance of Dealing with the Past for people between 16-30. Next to involving young people, also their parents and families are included in the interview process, to share their stories and contribute their memories. The main objective of the Virtual Museum is to enhance collective memory in Kosovo in an inclusive, unbiased manner, and to provide a public, safe space for people to share their personal stories. It's also to demilitarize collective memory in Kosovo because, when people talk about the war, almost all stories relate to heroes, especially military heroes. You can see that in the memorials all around the country. They occupy the official narrative. The Virtual Museum wants to create a space for everyone to share their very personal stories and try to unburden them of the traumas they've been hiding inside their minds for 20 years now.

War Childhood Museum - WCM

Jasminko Halilovic started to collect childhood war memories from the people of Sarajevo as he was writing a book with memories of children who lived in besieged Sarajevo. He posted an online call in which he asked people who were children during the siege the following question: 'What is war childhood for you?' By limiting the answers to 160 characters, he hoped to include as many short recollections as possible. This resulted in the book he edited and published in 2013. In 2015, Jasminko Halilovic and Amina Kravac further developed the idea to create a War Childhood Museum. With the help of young professionals from several disciplines they developed a

¹¹⁶ Project website: <http://museumofrefugees-ks.org/>

¹¹⁷ Organization website: <http://yihc-ks.org/>

¹¹⁸ Interview 13, April 21. 2020.

methodology for creating the collection of the future museum, after which they started collecting the first memorabilia and oral history testimonies. The actual museum was opened in 2017.

As the museum's website states, "Rising from the crowd-sourced book War Childhood and championing the principles and practices of social entrepreneurship, the independent, youth-led War Childhood Museum has garnered recognition as the world's only museum focused exclusively on childhoods that have been affected by war. Through its unique platform, the WCM is able to tackle trauma at an individual level for both participants, whose personal stories and objects comprise the museum's collection, and visitors – ultimately contributing to greater understanding for society on whole. Today, the WCM operates in Lebanon, Ukraine, and the United States – becoming an international platform that gives voice to current and former war children."¹¹⁹

The mission of the WCM is to document and digitize materials related to growing up in the war, and to present the archived materials throughout various media channels in order to educate a broad audience about this experience. It aims to help individuals overcome past traumatic experiences and prevent traumatization of others, and at the same time advance mutual understanding at the collective level.

The main objective is to document personal experiences of everyday life of children in wartime. To hear their stories, insights, and experiences, all of whom are valuable. Aside from the permanent exhibition at the museum and various traveling exhibitions, the museum also conducts research, organizes educational activities¹²⁰ (on building peace, learning about individual responsibility and children rights), and connects with local communities through reading and drawing with children and other activities that work towards inclusivity.

The WCM also works on current issues concerning children's experiences during war or as refugees, for example while working with Caritas Italy and Serbia on documenting experiences from the refugee children that are currently in asylum centers in Bogovadja and Krnjaca. There are also plans with YIHR Serbia to organize an exhibition in Belgrade, which would be an opportunity for those who were children in the 1990s in Belgrade to tell their stories, for instance about the times of the NATO bombing.

There is still a bit of resistance to the work of the museum. For example, there was no exhibition in Banja Luka (BiH – Republika Srpska), even though the WCM tried to organize one. As one of the interviewees explained,

"With the help of the OSCE mission to BiH, we had a meeting with the minister of education of Republika Srpska in order to obtain permission to work with primary and secondary school students from this entity. Prior to the meeting we provided the ministry with all the materials we would be using while working with students. However the response was negative with an explanation: "projects about the war, coming from Sarajevo is still a no-go area".¹²¹

119 Organization website: <https://warchildhood.org/museum/>

120 Yearly, more than 5000 children from all over BiH participate in Museum's educational activities.

121 Addition to interview 3, April 10 2020.

“So we don’t have schools from Republika Srpska visiting. However, we managed to reach out to some of the students from RS through the collaboration with the Association of High School Students that operates in all parts of BiH. We had several successful peacebuilding workshops at the Museum’s premises, hosting children from both entities at the same time.”¹²²

At the TripAdvisor website, the WMC is the first on the list of attractions to visit in Sarajevo. Yearly the WMC welcomes about 15.000 visitors.

Youth Initiative for Human Rights Serbia – multiple initiatives

Owing to the presence of multiple initiatives that fit the criteria for inclusive memory activism and dealing with the past, this case will focus on various activities carried out by YIHR – Serbia, rather than focusing on one particular project. Examples of types of initiatives that YIHR-Serbia organizes or takes part in:

- ◆ YIHR is a part of the coalition for RECOM¹²³ in which the memorialization is an integral part;
- ◆ YIHR organizes joint events (protests, commemorative activities, signatures collection for petitions, etc.) with the Humanitarian Law Center and Women in Black, as well as with forumZFD;
- ◆ Protests against the rehabilitation and glorification of convicted war criminals;
- ◆ Activities countering the denial of the Srebrenica Genocide (organizing visits, commemorations, public awareness-raising actions);
- ◆ Organizing commemorative events in cooperation with other regional YIHR offices;
- ◆ Youth exchanges and study trips in the region;
- ◆ Cultural exchange festivals, e.g. Mirëdita, dobar dan!¹²⁴ (with colleagues from Kosovo);

The key target group of YIHR’s work are young people (15 – 30 years). The mission of YIHR is to educate young people in the region about the war history. YIHR also advocates on this topic towards state authorities and public institutions in the region, as well as international institutions that have an impact on the Western Balkans, such as EU institutions.

122 Interview 3, April 10 2020.

123 RECOM stands for 'Regional Commission Tasked with Establishing the Facts about All Victims of War Crimes and Other Serious Human Rights Violations Committed on the Territory of the Former Yugoslavia from 1 January 1991 to 31 December 2001.' See website: <https://www.recom.link/about-recom/what-is-recom/>

124 <https://mireditadobardan.com/en/home/>

Regarding dissemination methods – there have been changes in YIHR approach over time. For example, YIHR used to launch campaigns, organize student exchanges, where they spoke about individual crimes, remembrance culture in a certain region, such as Sandzak (Serbia), Kosovo, and parts of BiH. They currently also work through online activities (e.g. educational website on the events of 1990s in Serbia)¹²⁵ to show young people what actually happened during that war.

More than 10.000 people participated in various programs of the YIHR regional network (encompassing the offices in Serbia, Croatia, BiH, Kosovo and Montenegro). YIHR Serbia also published 15 different publications in the last 16 years relating to the topic of inclusive memorialization.¹²⁶ Although there is no information on the impact of the work of YIHR Serbia on the website available, it is clear that their work is deemed important, as they received the prestigious Vaclav Havel Human Rights Prize from the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe in 2019.¹²⁷

YIHR expressed concern about recent developments, both within civil society as well as in the shrinking space for NGO activism:

“There is a problem with activism – NGOs are bureaucratizing and there is not much space left for activism. Activism still exists, but it is not spreading to new organizations...it seems like it is suffocating at the moment. For example, YIHR was well known for specific public appearances, for which it was usually attacked or punished by the state authorities. So in that way, activism is declining - the operating space is narrowed. The problem with the [formal] culture of remembrance is bad transfer of knowledge [as it is often biased, one sided and politicized]. There are also new regimes of truth, especially in Serbia. For example, there is legislation about war memorials. According to this legislation, the war was a defensive war, not a consequence of warmongering politics.”¹²⁸

Our approach now is to educate young people, and that gives us hope that these young people would be ready to react if something happens in a society. When we consider the fact that society, in general, is numbed (in the sense of political and social activism), each active person means a lot.”¹²⁹

125 See website: warinserbia.rs

126 You can find the publications on: <http://yihhr.hr/en/publications/>

127 See on the Vaclav Havel prize: M. Stojanovic, “Europe Recognises Balkan Anti-War Activism is Important”, *BalkanInsight*, September 9, 2019. <https://balkaninsight.com/2019/09/13/europe-recognises-balkan-anti-war-activism-is-important/>

128 This is also the case in Croatia, where people are not supposed to speak out against the Homeland War. See for a discussion on proposed changes in the Croatian Penal Code: S. Milekic, “Croatian Law Should Penalise Attacks on War, Judge Says”, *BalkanInsight*, March 20, 2015. <https://balkaninsight.com/2015/03/20/croatian-judge-advocates-legal-definition-of-1990s-war/>.

129 Interview 7, April 30 2020.

Youth Memories

The project ‘Youth Memories’¹³⁰ was implemented by the YIHR - Croatia as a part of YouthLINC (Linking Innovators who Network for Change)¹³¹, a regional youth reconciliation initiative launched by Internews in BiH and the YIHR offices in the Western Balkans in 2013. It finished in 2016. The project’s goal was to decrease intolerance and discrimination among youth in the region (youth from Serbia, BiH, Croatia, Macedonia, Montenegro and Kosovo participated) through creation of a long-lasting, vibrant on- and offline community network of multi-ethnic youth across the borders in the region.

According to information on the YIHR Croatia website, the project ‘Youth Memories’ aimed to initiate a process of exchanging personal memories and opinions on recent history among youth from Western Balkans. Monuments alone cannot deliver any message from the past, but the memorials from the time of Yugoslavia have the potential to illuminate the events of the past independent of the conflicting memories of nationalistic narratives.’ Documentary footage filmed during the meeting of the youth memorialisation project ‘Youth Memories’ in Belgrade in April 2015 is an insight into the types of activities held within this project.¹³²

The project focused on including young people in the process of memorialization (visiting monuments near to where they lived and research about them, also looking into demolished monuments), to encourage them to do research about the facts, to foster cross border cooperation between them, to learn about forgotten historical events, and develop a critical approach to mainstream history in the region.

YIHR prepared 25-30 field reports, which were written by young people visiting certain memorials and doing research about this specific site. Then they would review each other’s research, and comment on it. YIHR also organized 2-3 study trips per year. It was always a similar combination of visiting, talking with the victims, and then a public event. On a national level, there were panel discussions or presentations. The project website, where all the information of the visits and discussions was stored, had circa 5000 views in a year. Unfortunately, this website and all its content was lost due to a hacking attack.

Regarding this loss, one interviewee explained:

*“on the one hand, the project was great because young people had autonomy and could choose content and form, but on the other hand, the problem was that they could upload those materials themselves, without sending it first to the coordinator. The content they created was great, but the problem was that there was no central data collection. Many people had the password, so someone’s email was hacked and they managed to bring down the whole website, causing the loss of much of the data. Lesson learned was to always have a backup of the data”.*¹³³

130 See initiative website: <http://yihc.hr/en/youth-memories/>

131 See for more information on YouthLINC: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=m9raePt6eU8> & <https://internews.org/updates/balkan-youth-tackle-discrimination-and-intolerance-through-innovation-labs>

132 See for footage: <https://vimeo.com/128070327>

133 Interview 8, April 23 2020.



Srebrenica Exhibition: Dutch veterans visiting the exhibition.

Photographer: Sake Elzinga commissioned by Herinneringscentrum Kamp Westerbork



Section II

Other dealing with the past & inclusive memory initiatives, organizations and projects

This section contains information about different dealing-with-the-past and inclusive memory initiatives, projects, and organizations active in this domain – whose information was gathered solely through desk and internet research. For some of these initiatives, efforts were made to include them in the more comprehensive mapping, but due to lack of response at the time of data gathering, additional interviews could not be conducted. They are included to provide an insight of the variety of both projects, as well as organizations active in this field across the Western Balkans. However, due to the desk research nature of the data that follows, the descriptions are short and basic without further information on these project’s specific objectives, results and impact.

(in alphabetical order)

Coalition for RECOM

The acronym RECOM stands for the Regional Commission Tasked with Establishing the Facts about All Victims of War Crimes and Other Serious Human Rights Violations Committed on the Territory of the Former Yugoslavia from 1 January 1991 to 31 December 2001. RECOM is to be an official, intergovernmental commission to be jointly established by the successors of the former SFRY¹³⁴. According to the RECOM website, “the task of RECOM is to establish the facts about all the war crimes and other serious war-related human rights violations; to list all war-related victims, and to determine the circumstances of their death; to collect data on places of detention, on persons who were unlawfully detained, subjected to torture and inhuman treatment, and to draw up their comprehensive inventory; to collect data on the fate of the missing, as well as to organize public hearings of victims’ testimonies and the testimonies of other persons concerning war-related atrocities. The Regional Commission is to be independent of its founders and funded by donations.”¹³⁵

¹³⁴ Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

¹³⁵ See initiative website: <https://www.recom.link/>

The Coalition for RECOM is a network of civil society organizations (CSOs) from post-Yugoslav countries which advocate for the **actual establishment** of RECOM. It was formed on 28 October 2008 in Pristina, Kosovo, within the Fourth Forum for Transitional Justice in post-Yugoslav Countries, by the decision of the 100 organizations and associations that took part in the forum – NGOs dealing with human rights, youth organizations, associations of families of missing persons and associations of former detainees. Since then, the Coalition for RECOM has brought together 2,050 such organizations and individuals – all of them advocating the idea that countries formed in the territory of the former Yugoslavia should create a Regional Commission with the task of establishing the facts about what happened in the recent past.¹³⁶ However the materialization of RECOM has encountered many difficulties, such as political ill will by many governments in the Western Balkans.¹³⁷

In 2014 hopes to revive RECOM gained momentum, because the Berlin Process was set up by German Chancellor Angela Merkel. This is “an initiative aimed at stepping up regional cooperation in the Western Balkans and aiding the integration of these countries into the European Union”.¹³⁸ The explicit goals of this process are to resolve outstanding bilateral and internal issues, achieve reconciliation within and between societies in the region and to enhance economic cooperation and lay the foundations for sustainable growth.¹³⁹ Unfortunately also the Berlin Process did not yet lead to any advances in the RECOM process for the Western Balkans.¹⁴⁰ In December 2019, the 9th Assembly Session of the Coalition for RECOM took the initiative to restructure the initiative of RECOM, focusing on restoring the dignity of victims and documenting war crimes.¹⁴¹

Documenta - Center for Dealing with the Past

Documenta – Centre for Dealing with the Past¹⁴² based in Zagreb, Croatia is an organization founded in 2004 by the Centre for Peace, Non-Violence and Human Rights Osijek, the Centre for Peace Studies, the Civic Committee for Human Rights and the Croatian Helsinki Committee. The organization was formed with the aim of fostering fact-based dialogue relating to the war.

Documenta encourages the process of dealing with the past, documenting and investigating prewar, wartime and postwar events as well as working with civil society organizations and government institutions, and similar centers abroad. Documenta’s programs consist of:

1. Promotion of public dialogue on dealing with the past, as well as public and judicial initiatives related to the documenting of facts on war crimes
2. Documenting and collecting of materials on war-related events, personal memories of war and work of human rights organizations

¹³⁶ More about the Coalition and its members: <https://www.recom.link/about-recom/what-is-the-coalition-for-recom/>

¹³⁷ See: N. Stjepanović “Who (doesn’t) need RECOM?”, *European Western Balkans*, June 22, 2018. <https://europeanwesternbalkans.com/2018/06/22/doesnt-need-recom/>

¹³⁸ For more information, see: <https://berlinprocess.info/>

¹³⁹ See: <https://berlinprocess.info/establishment-recom-important-region/>

¹⁴⁰ See: T. Ungur & M. Stappers, “How the Balkan Summit Failed on Truth and Justice”, *BalkanInsight*, July 16, 2017. <https://balkaninsight.com/2018/07/16/how-the-balkans-summit-failed-on-truth-and-justice-07-13-2018/>

¹⁴¹ See: <https://www.recom.link/coalition-for-recom-takes-charge-of-creating-list-of-war-victims-on-the-territory-of-the-former-yugoslavia/>

¹⁴² Organization website: <https://www.documenta.hr/hr/naslovnica.html>

3. Improving judicial practices and standards, through monitoring court trials for war crimes, reporting on court trials in the Republic of Croatia and the region and advocacy to improve the witness support system.

One example of its projects is the ‘Documenting Human Losses in Croatia during the War 1991 - 1995.’¹⁴³ According to the website, the main motive behind the project is the need to prevent political and ideological manipulations of the number of war victims in Croatia. Documenta focusses more on documentation (data collection and gathering on war-related events) and monitoring (war crime trials), rather than on the field of commemoration, memorialization or remembrance. However, its researchers have gathered a lot of testimonies and established facts that are invaluable in dealing-with-the-past and inclusive memory work.

Documentation Center Kosovo

The Documentation Center Kosovo (DCK)¹⁴⁴ – a project by the Humanitarian Law Center (HLC) Kosovo was established in 2017: a space located in the very center of the city, in the municipal library, where everyone and in particular the youth can seek information about transitional justice and dealing with the past. For example high school students from Kosovo and international students visit the DCK, receiving lectures on transitional justice and visiting the exhibition ‘Once upon a time and never again’.¹⁴⁵ They also organize a cycle of public lectures called ‘Today, 20 years ago’, during which attention is given to specific war related events.¹⁴⁶ The DCK features a video exhibition on court (ICTY) established facts about the war, two temporary exhibitions promoting reconciliation through art, and a collection of reports and data about selected aspects of transitional justice. The DCK is to become a central part of HLC Kosovo’s outreach and information activities, and a place to gather court-established facts providing the opportunity for a collective memory based on facts in Kosovo.

Forum ZFD

Forum Ziviler Friedensdienst (forumZFD) was founded in 1996 in Germany in response to the wars in the former Yugoslavia. Today forumZFD has multiple programs in different conflict-affected parts of the world, while in the Western Balkans they implement activities and projects through offices in Belgrade, Pristina, Skopje and Sarajevo. Organized in regional working groups, forumZFD works on peaceful conflict transformation throughout the region, focusing on Dealing with the Past and informal and formal peace education. According to the website, their goal is “fostering a culture of remembrance that promotes peace by encouraging model alternatives to the official politics of memory, nationalist narratives and glorification of war and by transforming victim identities and militarized images of masculinity and gender roles in a way that has an effect not only in protected spaces, but also in a public (visible) manner.” ForumZFD works actively and in close cooperation with local partners both on national and regional levels (civil society

143 Initiative website: <https://www.documenta.hr/hr/dokumentiranje-ljudskih-gubitaka.html>

144 See website: <http://www.hlc-kosovo.org/projects/documentation-centre-kosovo/>

145 <https://www.hlc-kosovo.org/high-school-students-visited-dck/>

146 See for example: <https://www.hlc-kosovo.org/today-20-years-ago-the-rogovo-case/> & <https://www.hlc-kosovo.org/today-20-years-ago-the-case-of-bala-family/>

organisations, artists, media representatives, academics (especially historians), and state institutions (museums, schools, universities and municipal administrations).¹⁴⁷

Several initiatives and projects of forumZFD feature in this mapping as the organization is a relevant contributor to inclusive memory activism in the Western Balkans.

FRAMNAT

'Framing the Nation and Collective Identity in Croatia: Political Rituals and the Cultural Memory of Twentieth Century Traumas' (FRAMNAT) is a project (2014 – 2018) which focuses on young scholars who share the goal of developing innovative methodologies for cultural memory research and cognitive linguistics analysis.¹⁴⁸ It was financed by the Croatian Science Foundation. Activities included for example workshops on the digital study cultural memory, and discourse analysis of national elites, media and Croatian society on the wars in the 20th century, especially World War II and the wars of the 1990s in Croatia. The focus of the research is on seven commemorations: Jasenovac (April), Bleiburg (May), Brezovica and Jazovka (June), Srb (July), Knin (August) and Vukovar (November). On the website you can find video material, interview transcripts, news articles and media information, for each commemorations.¹⁴⁹ Its long term goal is to set up a Cultural Memory Research Center.

As the FRAMNAT project coordinator states in an interview, "Political elites, religious leaders, intellectuals, and the media all have a responsibility to offer society a policy of cultural memory that is inclusive and strengthens liberal democracy, and not one which offers a xenophobic narrative based on one-sided victimization."¹⁵⁰

Humanitarian Law Center Kosovo

The Humanitarian Law Center (HLC) Kosovo¹⁵¹ was established in 1997, as a branch office of the Humanitarian Law Center (Serbia). It operates as an independent organization since 2011. The work of the organization focuses on helping establish the rule of law in Kosovo as well as on contributing to transitional justice. The HLC documented human rights violations in Kosovo before and during the conflict. It now monitors judicial procedures relating to those same cases. The organization also uses non-formal education to introduce high school and university students to the topic of transitional justice.¹⁵²

147 See the Western Balkans sub-page: <https://www.forumzfd.de/en/western-balkans#t-about>

148 Project website: <http://framnat.eu/?lang=en>

149 See for example the page on the Vukovar commemoration: <http://framnat.eu/vukovar-framnat/>

150 See interview with Vjeran Pavlaković in: M. Abram, "Commemorative practices, European memory, processes of victimization: an interview with Vjeran Pavlaković, Associate Professor at the Department of Cultural Studies at the University of Rijeka", *Osservatori balcani e caucasio Transeuropa*, June 12, 2017. <https://www.balcanicaucaso.org/eng/Areas/Balkans/Yugoslav-wars-militarization-of-memory-180195>

151 Website: www.hlc-kosovo.org

152 More information of the various projects can be found here: www.hlc-kosovo.org/projects/

An important project was ‘Kosovo Memory Book’¹⁵³, which was implemented by the Humanitarian Law Centers in Kosovo and Serbia. As the project website states, the “Kosovo Memory Book is a monument to the victims of war crimes (civilians, the wounded and prisoners of war), persons killed in battle (soldiers) and those who were forcibly disappeared in Kosovo in the period January 1998 – December 2000 during the armed conflict between the Serbian police and the Yugoslav Army on the one hand, and the Kosovo Liberation Army on the other. This monument is alive yet indestructible. It calls everyone to pause in front of it, to read each name and find out who these people were and how they died. It urges people to remember people. In time, when the data on the fate of those who are still missing are finally obtained, with information about secret mass graves and new evidence of crimes and victims, the Kosovo Memory Book will have become the most reliable witness to our recent past. The researchers and historians of the war crimes were given factual material from several independent sources, which they could check by names, locations and events. For the first time in the history of the Balkans, figures are replaced with names. This will prevent manipulation, minimization or exaggeration. Each story in the book corresponds to the life of the person it refers to.”¹⁵⁴ On the webpage you can find the different chapters of the Kosovo Memory Book, including lists of people killed, missing and disappeared between 1998 and 2000 and indices of places of murder or places where missing people were last seen. There seems to be no activity on the website since 2015.

Humanitarian Law Center Serbia

The Humanitarian Law Center (HLC)¹⁵⁵ was established in 1992 as a human rights NGO that aims to document human rights violations perpetrated on a massive scale across former Yugoslavia. HLC has worked on documenting war crimes and human rights abuses and supporting victims and their families fight for justice. HLC documentation has been used in judicial cases at the ICTY. The organization was active in Kosovo during the conflict between Serbia and Kosovo and has focused on transitional justice ever since. They have represented more than 1000 victims of human rights violations and war crimes in civil proceedings for compensation at courts in Serbia.

They have three main areas of work:

- ◆ Documentation – the HLC archive stores more than three million files related to the armed conflicts in the territory of the former Yugoslavia.
- ◆ Justice – legal representation of victims of war crimes before Serbian courts, monitoring of all war crimes trials held in Serbia, policy research and advocacy for judicial and institutional reform
- ◆ Memory – commemoration of victims through various initiatives, including public debates, documentary films and digital memory activism on social media and through other digital memory practices.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵³ Project website: <http://www.kosovskaknjigapamcenja.org/>

¹⁵⁴ See: <http://www.kosovskaknjigapamcenja.org/>

¹⁵⁵ Organization website: <http://www.hlc-rdc.org>

¹⁵⁶ Some of these outputs can be found on their YouTube and have English subtitles: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ahnx6F_VYk&feature=emb_logo

The HLC publications are well researched, and have a way of uncovering hidden histories and narratives that have been drowned out and expelled from the dominant discourses about the war and from the collective memory. An example of that is the recently (2019) published Dossier on the Forcible Mobilization of Refugees.¹⁵⁷

Image of War – War Photography Museum

The ‘Image of War – War photography museum’¹⁵⁸ is an independently-run museum in Zagreb that opened in 2018. It is a cross-generational collaboration seeking to tell different narratives and invite reflection on the war in Croatia (1991-95). Citizens are invited to contribute materials to the museum, and these photographs then hang alongside the work of world-renowned photographers. The museum’s “War belongs in a museum” motto carries a strong anti-war message.¹⁵⁹

Inappropriate monuments

The initiative ‘Inappropriate Monuments’¹⁶⁰ is a regional online platform for the protection of anti-fascist heritage. These are citizens trying to preserve cultural heritage that is deemed inappropriate in the current political climate in Croatia.

Inclusive community Commemorations

An example of an inclusive commemoration organized by the community themselves, and not by NGOs or other outside actors, is the 2019 commemoration of the crimes in Grabovica, where veterans from all armies – most notably, also from Armija BiH (the perpetrator of the crime in question) – attended the event.¹⁶¹

From personal information about the Grabovica commemoration (as recounted by someone who both attended the commemoration, and is a victim-survivor of the commemorated crime), having Armija BiH representatives there was unnerving, but also cathartic. Along with the video testimony of the Armija BiH General about those crimes,¹⁶² it is easily felt in what way these types of inclusive memory initiatives hold an immense reconciliation impact power and fuel for effective dealing with the past.

Additional initiatives for commemorating war crimes victims involve citizen memorial plaques

157 See dossier: http://www.hlc-rdc.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/11/Dossier_Forcible_Mobilisation_of_Refugees.pdf

158 Organization website: <http://imageofwar.hr/>

159 Read more about the museum in an interview with its founder Danilo Gregoric: A. Vladislavljevic, “Zagreb War Photo Museum Sparks Emotional Response”, *BalkanInsight*, January 3, 2019. <https://balkaninsight.com/2019/01/03/zagreb-war-photo-museum-sparks-emotional-response-12-21-2018/>

160 Initiative website: <https://inappropriatemonuments.org/en/>

161 See an account of the commemoration on the CNA website: <https://nenasilje.org/ratni-veterani-iz-regiona-na-komemoraciji-u-grabovici-ubijanje-civila-se-ne-moze-opravdati/>, as well as English-language commentary about it: <https://nenasilje.org/en/easy-notes-for-difficult-commemorations/>

162 See: <http://m.pogled.ba/clanak/video-general-abih-o-pokolju-u-grabovici-nikakav-deterdzent-nas-ne-moze-oprati/150123>

(referred to by Reuters as 'guerilla memorials')¹⁶³ in Konjic, Foča and Bugojno¹⁶⁴ (later removed by authorities). In Žepče a monument to all civilian victims of the war was built.¹⁶⁵ The memorial was built as a result of efforts of the Žepče Association of Civilian War Victims and its construction was supported by the local municipal authorities. It is also worth mentioning the community of Jajce, where several initiatives arose to jointly commemorate the victims of the wars of the 1990s.¹⁶⁶

Joint History Project (JHP)

The 'Joint History' project was implemented from 1999 – 2016 by the Center for Democracy and Reconciliation in Southeast Europe (CDRSEE).¹⁶⁷ The project made an effort to change the way history is taught in schools across the Balkans. The founders - historians, diplomats, philanthropists -- felt very strongly that to reach real reconciliation in the region, you have to reach the grass roots, the youth. The JHP aimed to revise ethnocentric school history lessons, but also to encourage critical thinking and debate, celebrate diversity and recognize shared suffering and achievements among the peoples in Western Balkans/Southeast Europe. The project has been centered on creating history teaching materials for teachers (source books) that convey multiple perspectives of the same events, and on ensuring that these materials be put to use across the region. Some teacher workshops were organized to introduce the teaching materials, but there is no information on its use in schools.

The first set of published workbooks consisted of four volumes, translated into 11 languages, and these volumes cover the events and history from the Ottoman Empire to the Second World War. The second set of materials (two books) was produced in 2016 and using the same methodology, covers the Cold War and the transition in Southeast Europe up until 2008, thus including the Wars of the 1990s.¹⁶⁸ The last two volumes exist in English, Serbian and Albanian, and it is announced that the translation to other languages is forthcoming.

Memory TOOLS WEB Portal

This initiative by the Bosnia-Herzegovina History Teachers Association EuroClio HIP BiH¹⁶⁹ consists of a web-portal¹⁷⁰ that aims to connect actors in the Western Balkans and other parts of

163 See: D. Sito-Sucic, "Bosnian activists erect 'guerilla memorials' to war crimes victims", *Reuters World News*, October 26, 2013.

<https://www.reuters.com/article/uk-bosnia-memorials/bosnian-activists-erect-guerrilla-memorials-to-war-crimes-victims-idUKBRE99P03120131026>

164 See: M. Malagić, "Memorial Plaques in Foča, Konjic and Bugojno for War Crimes Victims Removed by Police", *Independent Balkan News Agency*, October 10, 2013.

<https://balkan.eu.com/memorial-plaques-foca-konjic-bugojno-war-crimes-victims-removed-police/>

165 See: <https://www.osce.org/mission-to-bosnia-and-herzegovina/399494>

166 See for more information on the cooperation among the different ethnic groups in the towns of Jajce and Žepče: "UN, OSCE representatives visit Fojnica, Jajce and Žepče on a joint visit", *Fena News*, October 14 2019. <https://www.fena.news/bih/un-osce-representatives-visit-fojnica-jajce-and-zepce-on-a-joint-visit/> & <https://nenasilje.org/en/war-veterans-in-jajce-we-need-to-honour-all-victims/>

167 Center for Democracy and Reconciliation in Southeast Europe (CDRSEE). See their Facebook page (last entry from November 2018): https://www.facebook.com/cdrsee/?ref=page_internal. The website <https://cdrsee.org> was not working when this research was finalized.

168 For the last volume that includes the wars of Yugoslavia's dissolution, see: https://www.academia.edu/29881655/wars_divisions_integration_1990_2008_teaching_contemporary_southeast_european_history

169 Organization website: <http://cliohipbih.ba/>

170 Web portal address: <http://memorytools.cliohipbih.ba/>

the world, to provide pedagogical materials and exchanges on best practices for formal and non-formal education on the topic of culture of remembrance.¹⁷¹

According to the website, the platform's "interactive design allows a platform for feedback, exchange of information and experience and for further developing and improving existing and implemented educational material. Teachers, professors, educators will thus have easy and immediate access to relevant information and material they can apply in their classes/groups/ environment. Experience and feedback from peers shall encourage educators and teachers to use the provided tools and information and engage in new approaches to dealing with the past and multi-perspective history education."

The platform in its current form was meant as a temporary website, until the partner organization had finished its own site. This unfortunately has not happened until now, making the site a work-in-progress. The platform's design as it is now is not interactive, nor is there a forum for communication exchange. It is also not clear until to what extent teachers (who are stated as its primary audience) are applying it in their classroom work. There is a repository of links to various projects previously implemented in the domain of culture of remembrance.

Multi-perspective Look at the War in Kosovo

The website 'Multi-Perspective Look at the War in Kosovo'¹⁷² was set up in 2017 and is an initiative of the Kosovo NGO New Perspektiva.¹⁷³ The website's caption is "Kosovo's history from a multi-perspective approach" and you can find 23 historical topics, which are each viewed from three different narratives; an Albanian, a Serbian and a third (usually international) narratives. 7 of these 23 topics are related to the war in the 1990s. The sources of these mapped narratives are history textbooks and academic historical accounts (thus showing in what way they, too, are strongly susceptible to (nationalist) bias). For each of the topics you can find the links to the sources on the basis of which the different narratives are written. You can also find training recent training material on multi perspective history teaching.¹⁷⁴ The aim of the website is to enable teaching history from a multi perspective approach, focusing on teachers and students.¹⁷⁵

'Once Upon a Time and Never Again' Exhibition

The exhibition 'Once Upon a Time and Never Again'¹⁷⁶ which was shown between May 2019 and May 2020 in Hivzi Sylejmani library in Pristina, commemorates the missing and killed children

171 Next to the EuroClio HIP BiH, YIHR BiH, forumZFD, Humanity in Action BiH, Mreža za Izgradnju Mira and Pax Christi Aachen also participate in the project.

172 See an example of presented narratives: <http://multi-perspektiva.com/en/war-in-kosovo-1998-1999-2/#1545653310838-834f4501-407f>

173 Organization website: <https://www.new-perspektiva.com/sq/ballina/>

174 <http://multi-perspektiva.com/en/methodology/#1584351071614-6efb7f2-6219>

175 More information on the initiative can be found in an interview with Joanna Hanson, Director of the NGO New Perspektiva: http://www.dwp-balkan.org/en/news.php?cat_id=4&text_id=438.

176 Articles regarding the exhibition: B. Begisholli and V. Fana, "Kosovo Exhibition Remembers Children Killed in War", *BalkanInsight*, May 14, 2019. www.balkaninsight.com/2019/05/14/kosovo-exhibition-remembers-children-killed-in-war/ and: V. Fana, "Children killed in the Kosovo War commemorated at new exhibition",

PrishtinaInsight, May 14, 2019. <https://prishtinainsight.com/children-killed-in-the-kosovo-war-commemorated-at-new-exhibition/>

from the war in Kosovo. The project is implemented by the HLC Kosovo and the exhibition was displayed at the Documentation Centre of Kosovo (DCK). A total of 1,133 killed or missing children are commemorated in the exhibition, including both Albanian and non-Albanian children of which some are from the Serbian community. During the opening of the exhibition, parents came together and shared their stories.¹⁷⁷ Personal items on display like school bags, toys, photos and short stories evoke memories of the children killed. As the state has not prioritized the memorialization of victims many parents were eager to participate as this was the first time something was being done to publicly remember their children.

Oral Histories collections

Multiple initiatives, both large and small, collect personal testimonies in the form of oral histories from contemporary witnesses and victims of the 1990s conflicts in former Yugoslavia.

For example the 'Oral History in Bosnia and Herzegovina – Unveiling Personal Memories of War and Detention' initiative¹⁷⁸ consists of 100 testimonies from citizens of BiH from various social layers and regions about their personal experiences during the World War II and the recent 1991 – 1995 war. The video recordings are made available to the public through an online interview platform that is freely accessible and can be searched with a broad variety of keywords. The overall objective of this project is to stimulate social and individual processes of "dealing with the past".

Similarly, Documenta – Center for Dealing with the Past also has its own 'Unveiling Personal Memories of War and Detention'¹⁷⁹ oral history archive which consists of more than 450 recordings of personal memories of people currently living in Croatia, collected between 2010 and 2014 with the use of oral history method. After this date no new oral histories seem to have been added to the online archive. It is still accessible though.

Another initiative is called 'I want to be Heard', carried out by Integra and forumZFD. It is a book that contains the stories of women survivors of torture in Kosovo of both ethnicities, and was published in 2017.¹⁸⁰

There is also the online FAMA Collection, which is one of the biggest multimedia projects on the Siege of Sarajevo in BiH (1992-1996). As a virtual Bank of Knowledge, it aims to bridge a digital divide between the Culture of Remembrance and the Real-Time Quest for knowledge. The website contains recorded video testimonies, and other data such as photographs, animations, drawings, maps etcetera. However not all information seems to be accessible anymore, and links do not always function.¹⁸¹

177 The full article regarding the exhibition opening and follow up plans you can find on: www.dwp-balkan.org/en/news.php?cat_id=4&text_id=546

178 Initiative website: <http://www.bosnianmemories.org/>

179 Initiative website: <http://www.croatianmemories.org/en/video-search/>

180 See report: <http://kosovomemory.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/10/I-want-to-be-heard-Eng.pdf>

181 Initiative website: <http://www.famacollection.org/eng/fama-collection/oral-history/index.html>

The Kosovo Oral History Initiative¹⁸² is a collective of researchers from different generations, and nationalities. Its mission is to record life stories on video that intersect with the broader history of Kosovo and the world's events. The initiative started in 2012 through a collaboration between the Kosova Women's Network (Pristina) and The New School for Public Engagement (New York City). Women researchers and activists from Pristina and New York came together to discuss how they could rescue the voices and experiences of people that Kosovo's official histories had condemned to amnesia. They wanted to go beyond the narratives of victimization and the straitjacket of group thinking by recovering the individual's entire life history.¹⁸³

Their first project focused on stories of Albanian women, whose roles in times of war and peace have often been side-lined, if not entirely forgotten. The interviews were filmed and transcribed in Albanian, English, and Serbian, and collected and archived on a website. In 2015, the Oral History Initiative became a fully independent organization and began to develop projects with broader research themes.

These oral archives have the *potential* to contribute to inclusive memory – but only insofar as they are actively used. In terms of impact evaluation – it is unclear how many individuals accessed and viewed those videos, with what purpose, and whether they were used for educational purposes. It would be relevant to consider follow-up projects and initiatives that would be based on (increasing) active use of these collected oral history archives, and on their strategic dissemination.¹⁸⁴

A last initiative we want to mention is the project *Bosnian Memories*, carried out between 2011 and 2013 by a consortium consisting of CIN (Center of Investigative Reporting in Sarajevo), the University of Sarajevo, two Dutch universities and a Dutch data archiving organization (DANS).¹⁸⁵ It was funded by the Dutch embassy in Sarajevo. In this project 100 citizens from BiH, from different regions and layers of society were interviewed on video regarding their experiences during World War II and the wars in the 1990s. The aim of the project was to stimulate individual and collective processes of Dealing with the Past, and the expectation was that the project would contribute to mutual understanding of the consequences of war for all inhabitants of BiH. However, although the website is online and information on the project and how to search the database is readily available, it seems there are no links anymore to the actual interviews. It is unclear what happened to the interviews and whether they are accessible through other websites or databases.

Oštra Nula

Citizen association 'Oštra Nula'¹⁸⁶ (Hard Zero) from Banja Luka (BiH - Republika Srpska)

182 Initiative website: <https://oralhistorykosovo.org>.

183 See for an interview with one of the initiators of the project.: M. Ristic, "Telling the Human Story of Kosovo Life", *BalkanInsight*, March 9, 2015. <https://balkaninsight.com/2015/03/09/telling-the-human-story-of-kosovo-life/>

184 For e.g. HERMES (Croatia) is currently implementing a US-embassy funded project in cooperation with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, connecting the USHMM Oral History Archive containing contemporary witness testimonies of the Holocaust in Croatia – with history teachers from Croatia, who will be using the archive to design several lesson plans which they will then implement in the classrooms.

185 Initiative website: <http://www.bosnianmemories.org/> At the time of publication of this report, the actual interviews could not be accessed online, because the information was being transferred to a platform that was better accessible.

186 Organization website: <https://ostranula.org>.

has two areas of activism: social justice and culture of memory. They hold youth workshops through non-formal education outside the formal school system – most likely because they would not be given access to schools in the RS owing to their activist background. The organization was founded in 2009. One of their activities, the ‘Culture of Memory’ workshops for youth, analyzes textbooks and introduces youth to the monument for children victims of Prijedor.¹⁸⁷

Oštra Nula also started the project ‘Društvena Istorija Banjaluke’ (Oral history Banja Luka), together with forumZFD. The aim of this project is to create an online digital platform with; “all the information that enables us to offer different memories of this city and/or to compare the dominant narrative. The goal of this archive of testimonies is to become an important reference tool for all those who are interested in the universal topic of war and peace, transition, the past, and future of this city, academic, public life, activist or art-wise, for “if we want a social change, it should start where the society is”¹⁸⁸

Societal Transformation and Reconciliation (star)

The project ‘Societal Transformation and Reconciliation’ (STaR)¹⁸⁹ was initiated in 2018 in BiH and scheduled to last until 2020. It is implemented by the Karuna Center for Peacebuilding¹⁹⁰, in cooperation with the Center for Peacebuilding (CIM)¹⁹¹, PRONI Center for Youth Development, YIHR and Mali Koraci (Small Steps). The overall aim of the project is “to create a social fabric of people dedicated to reconciliation.” The project focuses on 10 project sites throughout both entities of the country: Federation of BiH, and Republika Srpska.

The project’s target group are youth, though activities with the broader community will also take place. The overall objectives and goals of the project are to create a safe space in which people can meet, get to know each other and possibly understand each other and one another’s perspectives. To build relationships with people of different backgrounds, and begin dealing with and healing from the past. The activities of the project included training 20 facilitators from the partner organizations for subsequent facilitation and dialogue work, organizing Peace Camps for youth on “the lasting effects of historical violence” and subsequent Peace Caravans through both entities, during which the youth interview veterans, victims and local leadership.

Testimony – Truth or Politics

The project ‘Testimony – truth or politics’¹⁹² seeks to gather individual testimonies as a way of countering official divisive narratives regarding the Yugoslav armed conflict. Envisioned as a democratization of historical narrative building, the project includes participants in the wars as

187 For more information see: <https://srpskainfo.com/multi-cas-kulture-sjecanja-nauciti-mlade-u-bih-da-grade-humanije-drustvo/>

188 Project website: <https://društvenaistorijabl.info/en/> See for more information: <https://www.forumzfd.de/en/digital-platform-oral-history-banja-luka-presented>

189 Information about the project: <http://unvocim.net/eng/activities/current-activities/star-project/>

190 Organization website: <https://www.karunacenter.org/> It was founded in 1994 in the US. They facilitate peacebuilding processes in conflict regions worldwide – including dialogue, trauma-sensitive peacebuilding, and peace leadership development.

191 Organization website: <http://unvocim.net/eng/about-us/>

192 Project summary: www.czkd.org/en/cycle/testimony/ & <https://svedocanstvo-imenovatoratom.org/index.php/en/about>

well as anti-war activists. The projects stated goal is to provide an alternative to the nationalistic manipulative narratives that affect younger generations that have not lived through the war. This plurality of testimonies is exhibited through artistic research, exhibitions (shown in Sarajevo, Belgrade, Italy, Austria) and conferences.¹⁹³ The project was implemented between 2016 and 2018 by the Center for Cultural Decontamination (CZKD)¹⁹⁴ in Belgrade in collaboration with a number of universities and organisations from the region. It was funded by the Ministry of Culture and information (RS), EFC and the Regional Cooperation Council.

The project was based on the results of a previous project 'Naming IT War' which ran from 2012-2014 (funded by EIDHR, MATRA and NED), during which time over 200 audio interviews¹⁹⁵ were conducted with war participants and anti-war activists. The interviews were used to create a series of 12 radio programmes in 2015 (funded by BTDF). And the audio material was used in audio artwork, which were made during the most recent project phase 'Testimony – truth or politics'.

This War Of Mine

One academic case study of gamers mediating and discussing war memories in online groups formed around a YouTube videos of 'This War of Mine',¹⁹⁶ which is a single-player survival game inspired by the siege of Sarajevo and the Warsaw uprising (World War II).¹⁹⁷ The study of gamers' comments uncovered the potential of such tools to inspire recognition of others, sharing of personal memories and stories, and in general a raised awareness. Recently the Polish government (the game was designed by a Polish company) decided to put the game on the school reading lists¹⁹⁸ Although it is not strictly a Western Balkan initiative, the fact that it involves a war game, with the possibility to reach other audiences merits attention.

Women in Black

'Žene u crnom'¹⁹⁹ is a feminist, antimilitarist activist organization from Serbia that has from its beginnings in 1991 worked on non-violent resistance to militarism, war, sexism and nationalism visible in the public domain. According to their website, they have organized around 1000 peaceful actions on the street (protests, performances, campaigns), and some of these actions have been implemented in the 'Confronting the Past' domain, where they protested and campaigned:

- ◆ Against the denial of the criminal past;
- ◆ Through street action protests and performances (e.g. collecting signatures for petitions and legislative initiatives; protesting against war and conscription, etc.);

193 Conference announcement and invitation: <https://www.czkd.org/en/2018/04/conference-testimony-commemoration-wellbeing/>

194 Organization website: <https://www.czkd.org/en/>

195 You can find the audio files on YouTube: <https://www.youtube.com/playlist?list=PL566bt-QVD-9twrpeQsb6ykwlo8TbSgQ4>

196 See: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cYAF1GoNvas>

197 S. de Smale, "Memory in the margins: The connecting and colliding of vernacular war memories," *Media, War & Conflict*, 2019.

198 D. Tilles, "Poland puts computer game 'This War of Mine' on school reading list", *Notes from Poland*, June 18, 2020. <https://notesfrompoland.com/2020/06/18/poland-puts-computer-game-this-war-of-mine-on-school-reading-list/>

199 Organization website: <http://zeneucnom.org/>

- ◆ Demanding truth about war crimes and demanding responsibility (individual, criminal, moral, political and collective responsibility);
- ◆ Visiting ‘difficult’ places;
- ◆ Visiting places where crimes occurred in our name;
- ◆ Remembering and marking important dates in the history of nonviolent opposition in Serbia, the war, and the criminal politics of the Serbian regime;
- ◆ Educational activities through seminars and workshops, recording victims’ testimonies and memories in an alternative history.

According to their website, Women in Black have “demanded a permanent confrontation with the past”, including accountability for war and war crimes, as well as confrontation with both the moral and political collective responsibility through street actions, appeals, petitions, attendance at commemorations, conferences. Through their work in the public domain, and most specifically through street protests, Women in Black have organized numerous memory activism initiatives²⁰⁰ that have confronted and often angered the Serbian public about the role of Serbia in the wars of the 1990s.

Youth Initiative for Human Rights – Regional network

The regional network Youth Initiative for Human Rights (YIHR)²⁰¹, with offices in Belgrade, Zagreb, Sarajevo, Prishtina and Podgorica Cworks in building connections between young people across the Balkans, from different ethnic groups, regions and countries, to enhance the participation of young people in the transitional justice process, work together for human rights and to build links that will prevent the re-emergence of the ethnic conflict that devastated the region for so many years. YIHR also arranges exchange visits between young people from Bosnia-Herzegovina, Serbia and Kosovo.

“The aim is to create an open-minded generation of young people who are used to collaborating with those from neighbouring areas. The goal [...] is to foster a culture of dialogue and mutual cooperation among persons from Bosnia-Herzegovina, Serbia and Kosovo, [...] who will be willing to work and cooperate with their neighbours in the region, contributing to the creation of a more peaceful and stable political situation in the region.”²⁰²

While from the outside the YIHR appears as a regional network, with streamlined activities and aligned strategies in respective national organizations, a brief look at the national organizations’

200 See for example: M. Stojanovic, “Serbian Activists Commemorate Vukovar Anniversary in Belgrade”, *BalkanInsight*, November 19, 2019. <https://balkaninsight.com/2019/11/19/serbian-activists-commemorate-vukovar-anniversary-in-belgrade/>

201 Regional website with links to respective national organizations: <https://www.yihr.org/>

202 Information taken from YIHR description on Peace Insight: <https://www.peaceinsight.org/conflicts/western-balkans/peacebuilding-organisations/youth-initiative-for-human-rights-yihr/>

websites shows that – while similar – they have differing missions and approaches in their work. The Serbian²⁰³ and Croatian²⁰⁴ organizations have the most clearly communicated missions and visions on their respective sites, while the BiH and Montenegrin websites seem to be less clear and up to date. Likewise, the Serbian and Croatian branches seem to have a more activist profile, with frequent advocacy-inspired open letters, press conferences and public actions warning the Serbian and Croatian public about various instances of (political elites’) denial of war crimes, etc. The other three national organizations seem to have a more low-key position in their respective countries, less focused on confronting the mainstream population with (unpleasant and often little known) facts from the 1990s conflicts and more neutrally oriented towards “engaging youth in thinking critically about society and to get involved in changing it.”²⁰⁵

Owing to these differences in approaches, the various YIHRs are perceived differently in their respective national contexts: Croatian and Serbian organizations have a more controversial profile, owing to their public advocacy and condemnation of certain political wrongdoings, while Bosnian, Kosovo and Montenegro organizations are less known by the public. Serbian and Croatian organizations seem to have a consensus on holding own political elites to account and demanding transparency regarding their own side’s criminal activities during the 1990s conflicts, while the remaining three YIHRs have, as far as we know, not made similar public efforts to match those of their colleagues in Serbia and Croatia.

YU Historija

‘YU Historija’²⁰⁶ is an ongoing 3 year project (2019-2021) funded by the German government and implemented by the HLC in Serbia. The project is also supported by the German Embassy in Serbia. It is a collaboration of 50 different authors and is a follow up to a previous project called ‘YU-Historia.’²⁰⁷ The projects aims to contribute to regional normalization and the building of a fact-based culture of memory by spreading multi-perspective historical accounts and empowering younger, educated generations in promoting reconciliation, democratization and modernization on the entire post-Yugoslav territory. The methodology is to provide a source of information that is an alternative to the historical narratives currently being used to continue the regional war through the culture of memory. New generations in the region do not have (access to) proper sources of information regarding their common history. The project seeks to provide one. Activities consist, among others, of summer schools, conferences at history departments of universities, and the publication of multi-perspective historical accounts of the wars of the 1990s. The material is accessible to the bilingual website, which has more than 10.000 visitors a day (according to the website).

203 See: <http://www.yihr.rs/bhs/o-nama/>

204 See: <http://yihr.hr/hr/vizija/>

205 For e.g. mission statement of YIHR BiH: <http://yihr.ba/o-nama/>

206 Project website: <http://www.yuistorija.com>

207 The previous project resulted in this multi-perspective history publication called “Yugoslavia from a Historical Perspective”. <http://www.yuistorija.com/doc/yugoslavia%20from%20a%20historical%20perspective.pdf>



War veterans jointly pay their respect to victims in Briševo and Zecovi, near Prijedor.

Photography: Centre for Nonviolent Action, CNA www.nenasilje.org



Obstacles & Challenges to inclusive memorialization

This paragraph is based on the experiences of PAX working with inclusive memory initiatives, as well as on the 25 interviews we have held in the first half of 2020. When asked to open up about obstacles and challenges that they experienced in their work, most interviewees shared instances and stories illustrating the kinds of problems they face in their projects' implementation.

LACK OF SUPPORT BY STATE ACTORS

The *divisive, nationalistic political agenda* of the ruling elites was the recurring impediment to inclusive memory activism that was mentioned throughout the interviews. Related to this point was the *absence of cooperation with state institutions* (government, ministries, municipalities), as they were generally painted as resistant to dealing-with-the-past or inclusive memory initiatives. Next to ignoring inquiries for cooperation or official permissions, institutions at times took active steps to prevent such initiatives, inclusive commemorations or multiperspectivity-based approaches to history education (for example, by banning certain NGOs from accessing schools). In the instances in which individual civil servants expressed support for peacebuilding or reconciliation-oriented projects, as one interviewee put it, “they lacked the courage to push it through the [bureaucracy] system.”²⁰⁸

Related is the fact that the civil society sector in the Western Balkans generally is *not prone to cooperate with politicians and state actors*. In fact, even though there is the lament that politicians are part of the problem, some activists point to the paradox of avoiding interacting with politicians because “we are critical of them, their corruption, scandals, attitudes, behavior. But at the same time, I have to find allies among them... I have to learn how to communicate with them, since they don't know anything about my sphere of action, and I know nothing about theirs. But I won't do anything,

208 Interview 5, April 4 2020.

because I am disgusted by them. But that kind of thinking is harming me, rather than helping me.”²⁰⁹ Given that **the dominant narratives** that exist in the societies of the Western Balkan countries **are ethnocentric**, projects that embody multi-perspectivity and multiple narratives generally invite antagonism and opposition by those in power in the Western Balkans. If the initiatives in question are art-based, they face further marginalization owing to the fact that the cultural sector in general is underappreciated.²¹⁰ Coupled with this problem is the governments’ denial-based tendency to engage, now even more than five or ten years ago, with **glorification and heroization of convicted war criminals**,²¹¹ i.e. the perpetrators. Consequently, states are believed to have reserved the monopoly over remembrance and commemoration for themselves, and, as one activist put it, “other initiatives are considered unwelcome children of democracy, whose space for spreading their message is actively limited and curtailed.”²¹²

LACK OF VISIBILITY AND LIMITED OUTREACH

The reaction by state actors coincides with lack of public appreciation of inclusive memory initiatives. Since the states’ grip over media channels is increasingly getting stronger, this only amplifies and enhances their ethnocentric remembrance approaches.²¹³

This **shrinking of the public space** for inclusive memory initiatives also means that at times, organizations active in this field are unable to secure venues for their events, as they are perceived as anti-Serbian/Croatian/Bosniak, etc. Owing to media’s lack of interest (or worse, antagonism) in inclusive memory initiatives and dealing-with-the-past civil society projects, the visibility of such projects is rather low, and as such have limited outreach and impact on the larger society.

When taking into account how (politically, emotionally) charged these topics are, it is no surprise that some organizations cited a **wall or conspiracy of silence** as a key challenge in their work. Individual and collective traumatization during the war leaves extensive scars, and openly facing that history through discussions, art, monuments or meetings with ‘others’ from the (former) enemy group is avoided by many in society.

When working with **younger generations** that were born after the war, this conspiracy of silence is often present in their homes (because their parents do talk about this period for example) and their knowledge about the recent history is non-existent, or highly fragmented and/or (ethnocentrically) simplistic. On the other side of this coin lies the **intergenerational memory** or trans-generational trauma in the case of youth whose families have transmitted their own personal (traumatic) experiences, and the resulting prejudices. This also means that in some cases, getting the parental consent for their children’s participation in regional youth projects is rather complex and the most

²⁰⁹ Interview 10, May 7 2020.

²¹⁰ See for a discussion on the role of art in healing the different articles in Balkan Perspectives, “Building Bridges with Imagination and Emotion: Can Art Heal?”, issue 10, November 2018. https://issuu.com/dwp-balkan/docs/bp_en

²¹¹ See for example: F. Rudic, “Serbian Defense Ministry Publishes War Criminal’s Book”, *BalkanInsight*, October 24, 2018. <https://balkaninsight.com/2018/10/24/serbia-defense-ministry-published-war-criminal-s-book-10-24-2018/>

²¹² Interview 7, April 30 2020.

²¹³ See the following article on media freedom in the Western Balkans: M. Zivanovic, “Media Freedom Vanishing in Some Balkan States, Report Warns”, *BalkanInsight*, April 18, 2019. <https://balkaninsight.com/2019/04/18/media-freedom-vanishing-in-some-balkan-states-report-warns/>

common result is that the youth who get to participate in such initiatives come from moderate (rather than conservative or nationalistic) homes – which may create the **self-selection bias issue of preaching to the choir**.

Furthermore, as some projects based on regional school-exchange have experienced – the fact that the topic of dealing with the past is frowned upon by government and mainstream society leads to the fact that **regional cooperation among schools is not widely supported**. As one interviewee put it, “There’s a higher likelihood that a school will have an exchange program and ongoing cooperation with a school in Germany, or France, than with a school from a neighboring country from the region.”²¹⁴

LACK OF FUNDING AND ADEQUATE INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT

Unsurprisingly, most organizations mentioned **lack of funding** as one of the key obstacles or challenges in their work. Next to the **decreasing international attention for the Western Balkans and the dwindling funds** is the ensuing **high competition among NGOs** for those remaining funds, which makes cooperation and synergy among them less likely. This rivalry is blamed for scarce cooperation among organizations active in the same dealing-with-the-past field, even though cooperation and pooling of energies and resources would seem logical. An additional criticism towards foreign donors is the **short-term scope of project funding** that does not allow for long-term planning and more in-depth project impact that occurs after interventions over longer period of time, especially when working on Dealing With the Past issues.

Related to the funding issue is the issue of the **influence of international actors in the Western Balkans**. As one interviewee put it,

“What bothers me is that we have a reversible process within the NGO sector in Bosnia. Lots of money has been invested in building the NGO sector and big funds have been allocated to associations to build capacity and structure within their organizations. In recent years a reverse process is happening. Big international organizations are taking big grants and regrouping that money for local organizations that are now working for much less money than before. We work with very sensitive material and we are aware of the local framework and capabilities, and it is really unpleasant when some non-Balkan organizations, who find the topic of the wars in the Balkans very interesting, consider themselves relevant and competent to teach us how to teach about sensitive topics. At the end they just muddy the water and leave.”²¹⁵

Next to this, there is the **absence of Croatia in many funding possibilities**, as Croatia is part of the EU since 2013 and is increasingly excluded from the definition of ‘Western Balkans’ and consequently, from funding programs aimed for the region.. However, for reconciliation and inclusive memory projects in the Western Balkan, the participation of youth (and other groups) from Croatia is necessary, in order to include their stories and experiences and provide the necessary counterweight and inspiration to participants from other countries).

²¹⁴ Interview 25, May 29, 2020.

²¹⁵ Interview 4, March 28 2020.

CONTROVERSIES OVER TYPES OF ACTIVISM

To get involved in inclusive memory initiatives and deal with a lot of negative reactions is not easy. In many cases, we see that civil society organizations with a track-record in activism take the lead. Yet, for several interviewees **the activist nature of inclusive memory initiatives** and dealing with the past projects, constituted a major obstacle. According to them, some organizations have developed visibility (and some would say, notoriety) by employing what some perceive as unapologetic controversy in their approach, be it street actions or protests, or artistic performances. This means that their work has been met with strong and consistent **criticism from the political elites and the media** channels owned by these same political elites, generating negative press, accusations and knee-jerk response of further denial of war crimes and responsibility for the 1990s conflicts. Some interlocutors told us that they regularly receive **hate mail and threats**, also complaining that the NGOs active in this field are often accused of being 'traitors' and 'foreign mercenaries'. These accusations are seen as threatening and diminishing NGOs legitimacy and credibility.

The more controversial or advocacy-oriented inclusive memory initiatives fed some interviewee's **concern that some of these approaches are too confrontational, or counterproductive**. Moreover, there's a fear that they make the work of NGOs working in the dealing-with-the-past field more difficult. To quote one interviewee,

“Dealing with the past is difficult enough without making it adversarial, confrontational, controversial and conflict-seeking - and the main obstacle in our work is the fact that due to some other organizations' approaches, we feel we need to operate 'under the radar', as though what we are doing is somehow problematic - while in fact the dealing with the past and inclusive memory work has the potential for societal healing, digesting the past, and moving on to reclaim the present, and the future.”²¹⁶

The **diversity and at times stark opposition between different methodologies and approaches** also explains the difficulty of cooperation among different organizations working in the seemingly same field. The research underlines the impression that within civil society there is no or little strategic discussion on the pros and cons of these different approaches.

LACK OF IMPACT ASSESSMENT

Another dimension that represents an obstacle and a challenge is that of monitoring and impact evaluation. As you might have observed while reading through the various initiatives in this report, is the absence of information on their impact. There is a **lack of monitoring and evaluation mechanisms and impact assessment reports**. Next to **the difficulty of measuring impact in projects dealing with inclusive memory and the past** is at times the unreasonable expectation of donors that all projects produce quantifiable results. As explained by one interviewee, “Reconciliation is a process that takes a long time and is hard to measure.”²¹⁷ The same person expressed understanding for the fact that there are many other problems in society whose intervention results are quantifiable and

²¹⁶ Interview 24, May 28 2020.

²¹⁷ Interview 11, May 11 2020.

that merit (foreign) funding, pointing out the *far-from-priority position* among donors of inclusive memory and dealing with the past work.

ATTENTION FOR WELL-BEING OF ACTIVISTS AND PEACE WORKERS

Finally, given the special nature of this type of work, we need to mention the challenge of *mental health and self-care* for peace workers, inclusive memory activists and individuals working in the dealing-with-the-past domain. Several activists experience harassment by or receive threats from authorities or the public, making them feel vulnerable and exposed.²¹⁸ Another issue is the sensitive work of, for e.g. veteran testimonies which requires them to confront their war-time traumas and harness their potential for inspirational peace advocacy. Given the aforementioned conspiracy of silence, this means that when opening up dialogues and discussions on sensitive events or topics from the past also runs the danger of triggering some participants and having to deal with emotional outbursts and their impact on the group. This work is sensitive and emotionally vexing and as such should be acknowledged as occupying a particular position within the post-conflict peacebuilding civil society landscape. Attention for mental health issues from the side of the international community and donors, but also from the side of the NGOs themselves seems to be needed.

²¹⁸ See for example: M. Zivanovic, "Serbian Youth Initiative Chief Blames State for Attacks", *BalkanInsight*, February 1, 2017. <https://balkaninsight.com/2017/02/01/mitic-we-are-not-scared-because-of-threats-01-31-2017/>

Needs

In some ways, this section is the other side of the coin of the previous paragraph that examined obstacles and challenges facing organizations active in the field of inclusive memory. When asked “What are some of your biggest needs for support for continuing to implement these kinds of projects?”, these were some of the most reoccurring responses from the interviewed participants:

MORE AND LONG-TERM FINANCING & CAPACITY BUILDING

- ◆ Unsurprisingly, most organizations focused on financial needs and lack of stable financial support that would allow for quality planning and implementation of more comprehensive, longer-period spanning projects;
- ◆ Some organizations pointed out that it would be beneficial if donors and foundations were more open-minded towards providing a continuation of financial support to existing projects with proven-impact approaches and methods (as the tendency of donors leans towards supporting ‘brand new’ and ‘innovative’ projects);
- ◆ In terms of internal capacity building, some interviewees expressed a need for training and skills enhancement, particularly in the fields of:
 - ◆ Lobbying and advocacy (towards national governments, EU and international donors), adapted to the unique context and focus of reconciliation, inclusive memorialization, dealing with the past;
 - ◆ How to devise and implement tactics and strategies in cooperating with the decision makers, incl. how to negotiate with national and international politicians (and turn them into allies);
 - ◆ Designing monitoring, evaluation, researching and learning mechanisms suited to dealing with the past projects, in order to improve NGOs’ impact assessment and reporting mechanisms, as well as in-house knowledge management.

IMPROVEMENT OF COMMUNICATION AND NETWORKING

- ◆ The need for open dialogue on the strategic choices between NGO’s, but also between NGO’s and others (such as authorities, wider public, etc).
- ◆ Institutional support in the form of creation of common platforms, networking channels and meetings for organizations active in the domain of dealing with the past to enhance, join and thus amplify their messages;

- ◆ Assistance in international and local networking with the purpose of enhancing the organizations', initiatives' and projects' visibility and exposure. Several organizations expressed their inability (lack of time, capacity, know-how) of self-promotion, of working methodologies, impact – and characterized this as an omission they need help with.

OVERCOMING THE HESITATION AND BLOCKADES AT THE LEVEL OF GOVERNMENT ACTORS AND THE MEDIA

- ◆ Support of governmental and public institutions (e.g. ministries) for the work in inclusive memory and dealing with the past. Some organizations pointed to receiving prestigious international awards for their work, while being completely ignored by their own countries' leadership. Aside from the basic political elites' acknowledgement that would make their work easier, as one interviewee put it, "if you cannot help, at least don't aggravate the situation."
- ◆ Formal educational systems' support for peace education initiatives and those bringing together youth and schools from the region, including acknowledgement and support for teachers who commit to and engage in such projects (because currently, those teachers are more likely to get disciplined, rather than rewarded for their efforts);
- ◆ Following the previous point, several organizations expressed the need for positive (collaborative, professional, sympathetic) media support, as the current mainstream media is often sensationalist, controversy-generating and undermines the underlying trust-building processes;
- ◆ An overarching expressed need for the countries of the Western Balkans (i.e. the political elites) that would have a massive impact on the region's dealing with the past is to start, further or in some cases finalize processes of transitional justice and to come to an agreement on indictments, verdicts, and travel restrictions. As one veteran-turned-peace activist explained, their work is currently more difficult because some of them are afraid of crossing the border (for inclusive memory, peace activism) as they fear arrest or being detained by the police.
- ◆ Few interviewees called for an end to nationalist politics, and the need for the state "to say it was genocide, and must not happen to anyone ever again."

Conclusions

Dealing with the past is by no means a simple endeavor, as we can see from a myriad of Western, established democracies' examples. Perhaps the only country to have dedicated itself intentionally, with commitment and responsibility, to the commemoration of own past wrongdoings, as well as to history education focused on drawing the lessons of its dangers – is Germany. Looking elsewhere, the United States of America, Australia, United Kingdom, Canada, France, Belgium, the Netherlands – are largely lagging behind in their own exploration of their country's and ancestors' role and profits stemming from the slave trade, slavery, colonization, occupation and treatment of indigenous populations (first nations), etc.

Facing history, dealing with the past, owning up to one's own nation's/country's/ethnic group's wrongdoing and crimes – is far from easy. As a rule, history is written by the winners, and it is no coincidence that winner-authored historical accounts tend to skip over the less-flattering, unheroic uglier episodes. This report, mapping various projects, initiatives and organizations active in the field of inclusive memory activism and dealing with the past has revealed the complexity, sensitivity and breadth/depth of the activities taking place in the Western Balkans. Together, they seek to contribute to conflict transformation and reconciliation in the region – from various angles and through diverse approaches.

This mapping of initiatives, projects and organizations whose work touches upon inclusive memory activism in the Western Balkans region has revealed **the following observations:**

- ◆ There are multiple inclusive initiatives, projects and organizations working in this field in the Western Balkans, ***approaching the past and memory/remembrance through a variety of methods and from several angles:***
 - ◆ Some memory initiatives focus on **commemoration** through various activities e.g. building/creating monuments and spaces of commemoration, conducting commemorations through activism, art, theatre (Srebrenica exhibition; Grabovica, Bijeljina, Prijedor commemorations; Žene u Crnom commemorative actions, CNA's work, etc.), but aside from these smaller, individual-level commemorations, *large-scale (national or regional) inclusive memorialization initiatives are lacking.*
 - ◆ Some are focused on bringing youth together from different ethnic groups in **non-formal education projects dealing with peace education, civic education, human rights education** (MICC WeB project, HIP project) in which politics of memory, historical narratives and remembrance practices are discussed;
 - ◆ Some are focusing on **creating multiperspectivity-based history education materials** to be disseminated through the formal educational system that cover the sensitive subject of the 1990s wars of Yugoslavia's

- ◆ dissolution (Joint History Project, EuroClio, HIP project, YU historija);
- ◆ Some are focused on **bringing youth together from different ethnic groups** in an effort to explore and confront difficult episodes of the 1990s conflicts, and its most contentious events (Shared Narratives; School of Different Memories);
- ◆ Some initiatives are **experts-focused and bring together practitioners** from organizations that work in the dealing with the past domain (Memory Lab Europe, YU-Historija);
- ◆ Some are **focused on documentation, fact-finding, oral history** acquisition (Dokumenta, Coalition for RECOM, Kosovo Memory Book);
- ◆ **Memory and its (de)construction** is a central topic in several initiatives and projects (Memory Walk as part of HIP project, Different Memories project, Shared Narratives, Memory Lab Europe, etc.).

This is just a brief overview of the questions and factors that memory activists need to take into account when engaging in initiatives around commemoration and memorialization.

- ◆ There exists a broad variety of **definition or understandings** of what constitutes memory and what role it is meant to play in the country's post-conflict reconstruction, or peace-building. Whose stories are we meant to focus on; which narratives deserve our attention, and which are the ones that ought to be left behind?
- ◆ **Cooperation** between organizations active in the field does occur, also across borders, but not necessarily in a strategic or cumulative/progressive manner. It is for example unclear how/why some partnerships come into being, and why some others that may seem natural from the outside – do not);
- ◆ Related to this lack of cooperation is also the occasional apparent duplication of efforts (a good example is the large number of projects and organizations in Kosovo dealing with the subject of memory and oral history)²¹⁹;
- ◆ The reduction in funding for civil society and peace-building projects in the Western Balkans only contributes to the **sense of competition and scarcity** among the non-governmental organizations, further inhibiting cooperation and collaboration tendencies;
- ◆ In general, the civil-society driven dealing with the past and memorialization initiatives seem contained to the civil society sphere and rarely (if ever) succeed to permeate the formal mainstream (educational system and broader public sphere). The fact that these initiatives remain ad-hoc, marginalized and conditioned by foreign donors' funding begs the question of their **overall sustainability**;

²¹⁹ For more information about memorialization issues in Kosovo, see: http://recom.link/wp-content/uploads/2015/10/Postwar_Memorialisation_and_Dealing_with_the_Past_in_the_Republic_of_Kosovo.pdf

- ◆ Some of the criticism²²⁰ on ‘transitional justice entrepreneurs and the production of victims’ is worth examining. Although the criticism relates specifically to the case of South Africa, it may hold warnings for ‘*memory entrepreneurs*’ active in the Western Balkans. Transitional justice initiatives should be tailor made and context specific, and should not be implemented in a mechanistic, universalistic way. What is the purpose of memory initiatives, and who (e.g. citizens, NGOs, governments) initiates this process? Are the victims actively engaged in the production and reproduction of memory, or are they treated as passive participants or observers? What are the implications or consequences of human rights or memory activists (professionals) speaking about or speaking for victims and their memories within the public domain? Is this empowering or disempowering to the victims’ sense of agency? What are the power imbalances and differentials between the NGO professionals and the ‘ordinary folk’ on whose behalf memory and commemoration practices are being designed and constructed? When the participation of victims is not well organized, memory and human rights activists will be more susceptible to criticism from political elites, or right wing circles.

- ◆ It is important to take these critiques into account, because currently some inclusive memory initiatives in the Western Balkans are deemed controversial, and provocative.²²¹ With the shrinking public space, their position is getting even more difficult. Certain types of criticism can lead to delegitimization. It is therefore important to consider these potential criticisms, because addressing them while planning future inclusive memory initiatives may contribute to pre-emptive response to those critics. How can larger groups of individuals or groups be involved in generating inclusive memory initiatives? In what way can civil society organizations, artists, veteran associations and governmental institutions work together in addressing the collective memories of loss and trauma?

- ◆ Parallel to the civil society-driven memory initiatives, we can witness an increase in intensity and focus of certain political elites-driven and outright **exclusive memorialization initiatives** (e.g. the way Republic of Serbia and BiH’s Republika Srpska commemorate Operation Storm [Oluja] expulsion of ethnic Serbs from Croatia; the increase in controversy and commemorative instances surrounding the World War II Holocaust (e.g. Jasenovac) and post-World War II (e.g. Bleiburg)²²² commemorations in Croatia, etc.). This indicates that politics of memory is ‘alive and well’ in the Western Balkans, and that the work of civil society organizations in this domain is likely to continue to be challenging, rather than easier as time goes by.

220 T. Madlingozi, “On Transitional Justice Entrepreneurs and the Production of Victims”, *Journal of Human Rights Practice*, Vol 2 Number 2 (July 2010) 208–228. <https://doi.org/10.1093/jhuman/huq005>

221 See for example: F. Rudic, “Serbian Activists Sue Ruling Party over Protest Clash”, *BalkanInsight*, January 24, 2018. <https://balkaninsight.com/2018/01/24/hearing-delayed-in-the-process-against-serbia-s-progressives-01-24-2018/>

222 For more on the role of Bleiburg in Croatian historical memory (and politics), see: P. Kosto, “Bleiburg: The Creation of a National Martyrology”, *Europe-Asia Studies*, Vol. 62, No. 7, (September 2010), 1153–1174. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09668136.2010.497024>



HIP project: Peer guide training in Kratovo.
Photography: HIP

Recommendations

Bearing all of the aforementioned observations in mind, these are some recommendations for key stakeholders involved in Western Balkans' inclusive memory initiatives and dealing with the past.

Western Balkan NGOs and activists working in this field should consider...

- ◆ Facilitating communication, critical reflection and cooperation among (inclusive) memory activists at local, national and regional levels, in order to reduce duplication of efforts, increase the impact and reach of their respective activities, innovate, inspire new collaborations and to improve quality of lobby at the national, regional and international levels;
- ◆ Exploring strategies to make local-level non-inclusive commemorative initiatives more inclusive, step by step. Through connecting and bringing together individual from former opposing (ethnic, religious) groups – initiatives might become (more) inclusive. Civil society actors might play an important role in being the bridge between such initiatives and connections;
- ◆ Engaging in dialogue with the critics of inclusive memory initiatives (be it politicians, victims, media or others), seeking to diminish the polarization and promote mutual understanding;
- ◆ Engaging with groups of various ages to achieve cross-generational impact (currently, many initiatives focus on youth), as well as with veteran associations in inclusive memory initiatives. The question of inter-generational solidarity in the matter of inclusive memory and dealing with the past is all the more important when considering that...
 - ◆ Primary and secondary trauma as result of the 1990s wars interplay in complex ways, and providing the possibility for dialogue and exchange about these events may also generate opportunities for family healing;
 - ◆ Family oral history, personal accounts and narratives of the 1990s directly shape youth perceptions of the war, as well as any perceptions, stereotypes and biases they might hold about people from different ethnic groups. Intergenerational inclusive memory and dealing with the past initiatives may open an avenue of discontinuing this cycle of inheritance of distrust and hatred;

- ◆ In communication with Memory Studies, the academic community and Monitoring-Learning-Evaluation professionals, devising impact-assessment mechanisms for inclusive memory initiatives and their influence on specific target groups and on indirect beneficiaries i.e. wider public;
- ◆ Instituting staff/activist wellbeing or self-care provisions, acknowledging the complexity and occasional strain inherent in this type of work;
- ◆ To work towards more structural forms of inclusive memory activism (from ad hoc to more structural), and for example look at possibilities for more permanent forms of commemoration;
- ◆ Develop and include a media or communications strategy in projects, to reach a wider audience (outside capitals, outside of the 'usual suspects'). In what way can more media outlets be 'recruited' into becoming allies of civil society-initiated inclusive memory initiatives? In what way could the existing media outlets that already focus on dealing with the past and inclusive memory initiatives (e.g. BIRN) permeate its own preaching-to-the-choir bubble and reach wider audiences?;
- ◆ Finding a way of further disseminating and implementing *existing* historical databases, multiperspectivity-based educational materials or oral history archives, in order to reach a wider public and to apply those materials in a way that fosters the growth of inclusive commemorative practices and perspectives;
- ◆ Encouraging the bridging of the gap between memory activists and civil society representatives on the one hand and their critics (be it politicians, victims or others) on the other hand, seeking to diminish the polarization divide and to find ways of cooperation on commemorative and remembrance activities;
- ◆ Further implementing art-based (inclusive) memory initiatives as potential source of both inspiration and material for wider dissemination and outreach;²²³
- ◆ Further investigating different methodologies and practices in evaluation of impact of (inclusive) memory initiatives, to see whether there are any particular challenges or obstacles to determining this type of impact and whether unique impact assessment tools could be developed for these types of initiatives in particular;
- ◆ Exploring the potential, sustainability and impact-amplification opportunities that exist in cooperation with like-minded NGOs or activists working in the same field. For example, one NGO working in schools and with history teachers could create a project making active use of one of the oral history archives organized by another NGO?;
- ◆ Improving cooperation of NGOs regarding lobby at national and international levels.

223 See for a discussion on the role of art in healing: Balkan Perspectives, "Building Bridges with Imagination and Emotion: Can Art Heal?," issue 10, November 2018: https://issuu.com/dwp-balkan/docs/bp_en

Governments and Public Institutions are called upon to...

- ◆ Engage in dialogue with the promoters of inclusive memory initiatives, seeking to diminish the polarization and promote mutual understanding;
- ◆ Provide attention, funding, official endorsement and support of projects, initiatives and organizations that are contributing to societal healing, peace and reconciliation of different groups in society through their inclusive approaches;
- ◆ Define specific policy and budget lines for inclusive memorialization activities within national, regional and municipal budgets;²²⁴
- ◆ Provide space for inclusive commemorative activities, remembrance gatherings and formal and non-formal educational approaches to recent past;
- ◆ Put in place protection mechanisms for organizations and individuals engaging in inclusive memory work and receiving threats and hate speech attacks in return.

European Union is called upon to ...

- ◆ Promote and support inclusive memory initiatives at all levels in the Western Balkans – as necessary contribution to the reconciliation that has been labelled a priority in the February 2018 Western Balkans strategy;
- ◆ Promote active participation of (actors and stakeholders in) EU member state Croatia, that is still very much involve in the often non-constructive regional dynamics on commemorations and memorial sites;
- ◆ Speak out more strongly against glorification of war crimes and criminals, and support and protect civil society organizations and activists who condemn this glorification and end up being target of intimidation and even physical attacks by radical nationalists;
- ◆ Pay more and explicit attention to issues related to exclusive and inclusive memory policy and initiatives within the framework of the European enlargement and integration processes.

International organizations (INGOs) are called upon to ...

- ◆ Genuinely partner with local NGO's and victims (groups), supporting their cause (while holding a critical view at the same time), not only bringing in an outside 'expert' view;

224 PAX has experience in lobbying for this type of budgetary support in Colombian municipalities. See: https://www.vng-international.nl/wp-content/uploads/2015/06/CityDiplomacyRole_of_Local_GovernmentsEngels.pdf

- ◆ Support the networking and lobbying of existing initiatives, as well as initiatives aiming at depolarization in society (dialogue between the protagonists of the inclusive and exclusive memory approaches and practices);
- ◆ Pay attention to mental health issues of those working as peace workers, inclusive memory activists and individuals working in the dealing-with-the-past domain. This work is sensitive and emotionally vexing and as such should be acknowledged as occupying a particular position within the post-conflict peacebuilding civil society landscape.

Annex I

Template for Mapping Memory Initiatives

INCLUDED INFORMATION CATEGORIES IN THE INTERVIEWS:

1. Name of the project
2. Implementing organizations (main implementer & partners)
3. What is your organization's approach to inclusive memory activism, or to fostering an inclusive culture of memory?
4. Can you tell us more about the background of your project - how did it come to life? (Whose idea was it, when was it born, etc.)
5. Is the project still ongoing, or is it concluded?
6. What are/were the project's objectives? (Intervention methodology/methodologies, theory of change?)
7. What were the key activities conducted/implemented within the project?
8. What was the project's geographic scope (how many municipalities/countries involved)?
9. What was the project's key target group? What were your key outreach and dissemination methods?
10. What were the project's results? (in terms of participants, visitors, publications, online visitors/views, etc.) - Impact evaluation (M&E design/parameters; results i.e. report – if available)
11. (for projects that are completed) Looking back, with the benefit of hindsight, is there anything you would have done differently in the project? (changed approach, methodology, etc.)
12. In your opinion, what are some of the main obstacles you face in your work when it comes to inclusive memorialization/inclusive projects dealing with the past in the Western Balkans?
13. What are some of your biggest needs for support for continuing to implement these kinds of projects (e.g. specific in-house capacity? funding? local media access? political elites participation?)
14. Special remarks (miscellaneous findings) & future plans (relevant comments provided during the interview that fall outside of the scope of the questions)

Note: these were the information categories included in the mapping, though for several initiatives, not all information could be obtained.

Annex 2

Organizations & Initiatives
interviewed for the Research²²⁵

²²⁵ In order of interviews conducted.

Organization	Website organization	Email	Interview number
Integra	ngo-integra.org	info@ngo-integra.org	1
Center for Nonviolent Action - Belgrade	nenasilje.org	cna.beograd@nenasilje.org	2
War Childhood Museum	warchildhood.org	info@warchildhood.org	3
European Association of History Educators – EuroClio	www.EuroClio.eu/	secretariat@euroclio.eu	4
Center for Public History	www.cpi.rs/	centerzaprimenjenuistoriju@gmail.com	5
Nansen Center for Dialogue	www.ndcosijek.hr/	ndcosijek@nansen-dialogue.net	6
Youth Initiative for Human Rights / YIHR - Serbia	yih.rs	office@yih.rs	7
Youth Initiative for Human Rights / YIHR -Croatia	http://yih.hr/en/	croatia@yih.rs	8
Center for Nonviolent Action – Sarajevo	www.nenasilje.org	cna.sarajevo@nenasilje.org	9
Forum ZFD – Serbia	www.westernbalkans.forumZFD.org	westernbalkans@forumZFD.de	10
Sarajevo Film Festival	sff.ba	masa.markovic@sff.ba	11
SENSE – Transitional Justice Center	sensecenter.org	info@sensecenter.org	12
Youth Initiative for Human Rights – Kosovo	yih-ks.org	ksoffice@yih.rs	13
Memory Lab Europe	www.memorylab-europe.eu	memory@memorylab-europe.eu	14
Pravi Požar	www.facebook.com/udruzenje.pravipozar	Contact via facebook	15
Mostar Youth Theatre	www.mostartm.weebly.com	mteatarm@bih.net.ba	16
ForumZFD	https://www.forumzfd.de/en/western-balkans	ontakt@forumZFD.de	17, 18, 19, 20
PAX	www.paxforpeace.nl	info@paxforpeace.nl	21
Euroclio HiP – Bosnia and Herzegovina	http://cliohipbih.ba/	cliohipbih@gmail.com	22
Youth Initiative for Human Rights – Croatia	yih.hr	croatia@yih.rs	23
HERMES	www.hermes.hr	hermes.communiaction@gmail.com	24
Open Communication	www.ok.org.rs	jankovic@ok.org.rs	25

Annex 3

Acronyms

AFH	Anne Frank House
BCS	Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian
BHS	Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian language (Bosanski -Hrvatski-Srpski)
BiH	Bosna i Hercegovina (Bosnia and Herzegovina)
BIRN	Balkan Investigative Reporting Network
BTD	Balkan Trust for Democracy
CDRSEE	Center for Democracy and Reconciliation in Southeast Europe
CIM	Center for Peacebuilding (Centar za Izgradnju Mira)
CIN	Center of Investigative Reporting in Sarajevo
CNA	The Center for Nonviolent Action
CPI	Center for Public History (Centar za Primenjenu Istoriju)
CSO	Civil Society Organisation
CZKD	Center for Cultural Decontamination (Centar Za Kulturnu Dekontaminaciju)
DANS	Data Archiving and Network Services
DCK	Documentation Center Kosovo
DWP	Dealing With the Past
EIDHR	European Instrument for Democracy and Human Rights
EU	European Union
EuroClio	European Association of History Educators
FGYO	French-German Youth Office
forumZFD	Forum Ziviler Friedensdienst e.V.
FRAMNAT	Framing the Nation and Collective Identity in Croatia: Political Rituals and the Cultural Memory of Twentieth Century Traumas
HERMES	Croatian Education and Development Network for the Evolution of Communication (Hrvatska Edukacijska i Razvojna Mreža za Evoluciju Sporazumijevanja)
HIP	Lessons for Today (Historija, Istorija, Povijest)
HLC	Humanitarian Law Center
HVIDRA	Croatian Disabled Homeland War Veterans' Association (Udruga Hrvatskih Vojnih Invalida iz Domovinskog Rata)
HV	Croatian Army (Hrvatska Vojska)
HVO	Croatian Defence Council (Hrvatsko Vijeće Obrane)
ICC	International Criminal Court
ICTY	International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia
IKV	Interkerkelijk Vredesberaad (Interchurch Peace Council)
INGO	International Non-Governmental Organisation
JHP	Joint History Project
MATRA	Maatschappelijke Transformatie (Societal Transformation)
MICC WeB	Model International Criminal Court Western Balkans
MoE	Ministry of Education

NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NED	National Endowment for Democracy
NDC	Nansen Dialogue Centre
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
ONMS	Marking Unmarked Sites of Suffering (Obilježavanje Neobilježenih Mjesta Stradanja)
PMC	Potočari Memorial Center
PTSD	Post Traumatic Stress Disorder
PYD	Positive Youth Development
RECOM	Regional Commission Tasked with Establishing the Facts about All Victims of War Crimes and Other Serious Human Rights Violations Committed on the Territory of the Former Yugoslavia
RS	Republika Srpska
RYCO	Regional Youth Cooperation Office
SFF	Sarajevo Film Festival
SFRY	Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia
STaR	Societal Transformation and Reconciliation
USIP	United States Institute of Peace
WCM	War Childhood Museum
YIHR	Youth Initiative for Human Rights



Memory mapping Kosovo #2: Survivors and victims of rape-in-war, memorialization, and art (forumZFD Kosovo, Alter Habitus, Program for Gender Studies and Research, 2015).

Photographer: Korab Krasniqi





Sint Jacobsstraat 12
3511 BS Utrecht
The Netherlands

www.paxforpeace.nl
info@paxforpeace.nl
+31 (0)30 233 33 46

P.O. Box 19318
3501 DH Utrecht
The Netherlands

