
Sandžački odbor za zaštitu ljudskih prava i sloboda
Sandzak Committee for Protection of Human Rights and Freedoms

PRAVA MANJINA U MULTIETNIČKIM SREDINAMA U SANDŽAKU
MINORITY RIGHTS IN MULTI-ETHNIC MUNICIPALITIES IN SANDZAK

SANDŽAČKI ODBOR ZA ZAŠTITU
LJUDSKIH PRAVA I SLOBODA
SANDZAK COMMITTEE FOR PROTECTION
OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND FREEDOMS

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SREDINAMA U SANDŽAKU**

*PRIMJENA OKVIRNE KONVENCIJE I POLOŽAJ NACIONALNIH MANJINA
U MULTIETNIČKIM SREDINAMA U SANDŽAKU*

Novi Pazar, 2006.

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UVODNE NAPOMENE

Savezna Republika Jugoslavija pristupila je 11. maja 2001. Okvirnoj konvenciji za zaštitu nacionalnih manjina Savjeta Evrope. Zakonom o ratifikaciji ova konvencija je stupila na snagu 1. septembra 2001. godine. Državna zajednica Srbija i Crna Gora, kao pravni nasljednik SR Jugoslavije, preuzela je na sebe sve obaveze iz ove konvencije. Zaštita nacionalnih manjina u Srbiji i Crnoj Gori detaljnije je regulisana 2002. Zakonom o zaštiti prava i sloboda nacionalnih manjina.¹ Ovim zakonom se donekle unapređena rješenja iz Okvirne konvencije i prihvaćeni viši standardi zaštite manjinskih prava. Okvirna konvencija je od velikog značaja zbog kontrolnog mehanizma koji uvodi u vidu dvostrukog izvještavanja, ne samo od strane države, već i putem alternativnog izvještavanja od strane nevladinih organizacija.

Primjena Okvirne konvencije ima izuzetan značaj u multietničkim sredinama kakav je u cjelosti i region Sandžaka. On svakako zauzima posebno mjesto u istoriji raspada jugoslavenske državne zajednice, imajući u vidu blisku prošlost, kao i sve ono što se dešavalo na tom prostoru naročito 1991.–1995. ali i kasnije, mada su ta zbivanja (ubistva, pljačke, otmice, zlokobno topovsko-tenkovsko okruženje gradova i sela, masovna iseljavanja stanovništva, razni oblici diskriminacije, sudsko-politički procesi, masovni »informativni razgovori« itd.) bili u sjeni onoga što se tragično dešavalo u Hrvatskoj, BiH i na Kosovu.

U proljeće i ljeto 1992. gradovi i naselja u Sandžaku našli su se u zastrašujućem, potpunom tenkovsko-topovskom okruženju raznoraznih jedinica Vojske Jugoslavije. Pojedine stranke, poput radikala, otvoreno su prijetile i pozivale na čišćenje od Bošnjaka graničnih dijelova Srbije i Crne Gore prema Bosni i Hercegovini. Prije teče ponašanje vojske, demonstracija sile, svakodnevni niskobrišući letovi borbene avijacije nad gradovima i selima, razuzdanost paravojnih formacija koje su preko Sandžaka išle u Bosnu, brojni incidenti, nezaštićenost, pravna nesigurnost i krajnja neizvjesnost unijeli su veliki strah i zebnju od ponavljanja »bosanskog scenarija«, što je mnogo uticalo na masovno iseljavanje Bošnjaka put više zapadnoevropskih država.² Po gradovima Crne Gore u proljeće i ljeto 1992. vlasti će bukvalno hvatati iz-

1 »Službeni list SRJ«, br. 11/2002, Beograd 27. februar 2002.

2 U selu Ravni (MZ Bukovica — Pljevlja) od posljedica batinjanja od naoružanih lica u vojnim uniformama, umro je 16. februara 1993. Latif Bungur. Njegovi posmrtni ostaci pokopani su tek 30. oktobra 1993. na gradskom groblju u Pljevljima, jer se prije u ovo fantomsko selo nije uopšte smjelo ući. Prolaz nije bio dozvoljen čak ni Misiji KEBS-a za Sandžak. U selu Kukurovići (Priboj) ubijena su 18. februara 1993. tri lica bošnjačke nacionalnosti i zapaljeno je devet kuća. Ubi-

bjegle Bošnjake iz BiH i predavati ih na milost i nemilost srpskim vlastima u Bosni. Slično će se dogoditi i u Srbiji nakon pada Srebrenice u ljeto 1995. godine. Bošnjački narod u Sandžaku i pored svih muka i nedaća kojim je i sam, u potpunoj neizvjesnosti bio izložen, toplo je primao muhadžire koje su se kraće ili duže vrijeme zadržavale po sandžačkim gradovima.

Masovni požari i kontinuirani bombaški napadi naročito na kuće i lokale Bošnjaka u Pljevljima, kao i napadi na Bošnjake po selima Bukovice, u vrijeme strahovlade četničkog vojvode i saveznog poslanika Milike Čeka Dačevića, pokrenule novi talas iseljavanja. U sklopu sveopšteg zastrašivanja Bošnjaka u Sandžaku zbiće se otmice Bošnjaka (Mioča kod Sjeverina — 22. oktobar 1992. godine — 17 lica; Bukovica 16. februar 1993. godine — 11 lica; 27. februar 1993. Štrpci — 19 lica).³ Maratonski sudsko-politički procesi u Sandžaku tokom 1994. godine (sudenja u Novom Pazaru i Bijelom Polju) protiv dijela rukovodstva i članstva SDA Sandžaka, nakon masovnih hapšenja u ljeto 1993. i zimu 1994. godine, pod optužbom da su nasilnim putem htjeli stvoriti »državu Sandžak« imala su za cilj, pored besmislene optužnice da su htjeli ugroziti SFRJ, praćena velikom medijskom kampanjom, da politički potpuno likvidiraju i marginaliziraju ovu noseću bošnjačku stranku, a Bošnjake još više zaplaše i dezorijentišu. Uhapšeni Bošnjaci su prošli kroz veliku torturu i mučenja da bi priznali nepostojeća krivična djela. Uporedo sa ovim političkim procesima tokom 1994. nastavljene su masovne policijske akcije privođenja i premlaćivanja Bošnjaka u potrazi za oružjem, iako se znalo da je stvarnost i nemoć zvaničnih organa da im pruže bezbjednost, tjerala Bošnjake da se naoružaju radi pokušaja zaštite golog života i ljudskog dostojanstva. Više desetina hiljada ljudi je prošlo kroz policijski »tretman«, mučenje, batinjanje i ponižavanje do bestijalnosti, kroz tzv. »informativne razgovore«, naročito u opštinama Sjenica, Tutin i Novi Pazar, Prijepolje, Rožaje. Treba li reći da je policija znala i serijske brojeve pušaka koje traže. Sve je to ličilo na onu priču o »Glavi šećera« koja se prodaje više puta.⁴ Zabilježeno je također niz slu-

jeni su Bulut Huzeir, Husović Mušan i Sarač Sadeta. U pljevaljskom selu Boščinović u napadu na kombi vozilo 17. maja 1993. ranjena su četiri putnika — radnika bošnjačke nacionalnosti. Ramo Berbo iz Sjeverina je ubijen jednog avgustovskog dana 1992. dok je čekao autobus na putu Priboj — Rudo, kao i lugar Muzafer Đogo iz Bukovice 16. juna 1993. godine.

- 3 Za otete u Sjeverinu i Štrpcima sada se zna da su odmah pobijeni, iako su svojedobno, poput S. Miloševića, obećavali da će »prevrnuti zemlju da ih nađu«. Višegradski hotel »Vilina vlas« i obale Drine su mjesta čudovišnih zločina. Za ova nedjela veže se ime Milana Lukića, komandanta četničke jedinice »Osvetnik« iz Višegrada. Hapšenje nekih neposrednih aktera ovog gnusnog čina je očito dugo bilo samo u funkciji odugovlačenja i rasplinjavanja istrage. Frapantno djeluje činjenica da zbog počinjenih zločina nad Bošnjacima u protekloj deceniji skoro niko nije odgovarao, kao i da su takva nedjela nailazila mahom na ravnodušnost države ali i većinskog stanovništva. Zoran Lilić, predsjednik SRJ, krajem jula 1994. je govorio da »niko, i slovima niko nije hteo da pomogne da se dođe do jednog jedinog materijalnog dokaza« u vezi sa otmicom u stanici Štrpci i osumnjičenog Milana Lukića«. Srbija i Crna Gora su tek krajem 1996. godine, i to djelimično, priznale tragičan kraj svojih državljana. Stradali su nevini ljudi samo zbog nepoželjnih, lahko uočljivih imena u ličnim dokumentima.
- 4 Dva Bošnjaka, jedan (Murat Bašović) iz sjeničke, drugi (Fadil Osmanović) iz beranske opštine, nakon takvih poziva, izvršili su samoubistvo. Pretučena lica koja su izvadila ljekarska uvjerenja i podnijela tužbe protiv radnika SUP-a nisu dobila sudsku satisfakciju. U većini slučajeva su odlagane i još uvijek se odlažu sudske rasprave po ovim pitanjima.

čajeve maltretiranja i povređivanja Bošnjaka na odsluženju vojnog roka u jedinicama Vojske Jugoslavije.⁵ Napadima su bile izložene i džamije, islamski spomenici i groblja.⁶

Iz medijskog propagandnog arsenala u upotrebu su naročito od 1992. širom vraćeni stari pežorativi, pogrdni »nacionalni nadimci«. Od Bošnjaka je propaganda ponovo stvarala omrznete »turske« neprijatelje. Nazivanje Bošnjaka često i »Turcima« kod znatne većine nije posljedica neinformiranosti, već usađenog predubjeđenja i sasvim konkretnog stava. Sandžak i Bošnjaci u njemu, tokom vremena pune nezvjesnosti i blizine i eha sa bosanskohercegovačkih ratišta, bili su izloženi raznovrsnim nedaćama i iskušenjima. Problem Bošnjaka je izrastao zbog teritorije na kojoj žive, prostoru između Srbije i Crne Gore, kao i blizine Kosova i Bosne i Hercegovine. Sticao se dojam da je vlast nastojala da isprovocira nekakav oružani bunt Bošnjaka pa da time dobije traženo opravdanje da ga uguši svim raspoloživim sredstvima, te da broj Bošnjaka u ovom regionu, u okviru rješavanja svog državno-teritorijalnog i nacionalnog pitanja, upotrebom različitih metoda prisile i zastrašivanja svede na najmanju moguću mjeru. Iz Sandžaka su mahom išle u javnost samo informacije koje su trebale poslužiti u kreiranju i potvrđivanju već stvorene i zaživjele, stereotipne slike o Bošnjacima kao ekstremistima, fanaticima. Uporno je vršena i još se vrši zamjena termina Sandžak terminom *Raška oblast*. Novi Pazar se naziva »poturčenim Rasom«. Sinhronizovana medijska satanizacija ovog regiona imala je za cilj da prikaže da su Bošnjaci u ovom regionu »fundamentalisti«, »islamski ekstremisti«, da zagovaraju tzv. »zelenu transferzaluk«; da se pripremaju za rat, te da imaju 15.000 ljudi pod oružjem, svrstanih u brigade i bataljone. U tome su naročito prednjačile »Večernje novosti«, »Politika ekspres«, »Politika«, »Pobjeda«. Uporedo sa rasplamsavanjem rata u Bosni i Hercegovini agresivna kampanja protiv Bošnjaka je nastavljena, naročito nakon stalno isticanih vijesti da se u »bivšoj Bosni i Hercegovini«, »Alijinoj džamahiriji« najžešće bore upravo Sandžaklije, da Bosna želi da pripoji Sandžak, kako »mač islama preči Raškoj«, da se sistematski radi na planiranom muslimanskom ujedinjenju, čija je varijanta tzv. polumjesec — tj. trasa Sarajevo — Novi Pazar — Priština — Skopje — Sofija — Ankara. Masovno priviđanje naoružanih »fanatika« i »fundamentalista« iz Sandžaka svuda i na svakom koraku postala je opsesija ne samo medija već i političara. Nametanjem jednostranih informacija, teorijama o navodnoj suicidnosti Bošnjaka i stalnim, rasističkim izjavama da se sa Bošnjacima u BiH više ne može živjeti zajedno, medijski napadi su postajali sve bezob-

5 U Beranama poginuo 30. decembra 1992. vojnik Bajrović Mersudin. U Zaječaru je 16. marta 1993. vojničkim nožem zaklan Ramo Crvčanin (1974). U februaru 1995. u Valjevu je nožem izboden vojnik Mekić Elvedin iz Sjenice.

6 U oktobru 1991. godine, januaru 1992. i januaru 1993. bačena je bomba na džamiju u Pljevljima, u martu i maju 1992. izvršeni su bombaški i revolveraški napadi na džamiju u Podgorici, u avgustu 1992. pucano je na džamiju u selu Raždaginje, kod Sjenice. U aprilu 1993. je zapaljena džamija u Planjskom, u pljevaljskoj opštini. U maju 1993. od eksplozivne naprave oštećena je stara džamija u Nikšiću. U maju 1993. minirana je džamija u selu Rašćići u pljevaljskom kraju. U septembru 1993. minirana je džamija u selu Tufemili u barskoj opštini. Džamija u Beogradu napadana je više puta: u decembru 1992. godine, tokom 1993. godine, kao i u martu i aprilu 1996. godine.

zirniji, s ciljem da i Bošnjake u Sandžaku predstave kao kolektivne zavjerenike i svjetsku opasnost.⁷

Kada je, pak, ugroženo osnovno pravo, pravo na život, besmisleno je bilo govoriti o svemu drugom.⁸ Neizbježna je obaveza da se u potpunosti istraži i osvijetli udes otetih ljudi, da im se bar mjesto pogibije zna i dostojno obilježi, kazne krivci. Ne samo egzekutori, neki novi Tadići, Lukići, već i planeri, ali i advokati nasilja. U Hagu su podignute optužnice za zločine počinjene u Hrvatskoj, BiH, na Kosovu, kao i u Vojvodini. Sandžak je pri tome ponovo marginalizovan. Karla del Ponte je u intervjuu za podgorički »Monitor« istakla da se svi zločini ne mogu tretirati u Hagu, da se nacionalni sudovi moraju baviti pitanjem ratnih zločina, i da se »slučaj Štrpci« takođe mora razriješiti pred sudovima u Srbiji i Crnoj Gori. Mnogi zločini su jednostavno prepušteni zaboravu, iako bi morali biti predmet interesovanja države i sudskih organa.

Nakon Dejtonskog sporazuma, slika o Sandžaku se, pored već stereotipnih predstava o islamskoj opasnosti po svijet, donekle mijenja u sliku o regionu gdje vladaju razne obavještajne službe, šverc, nelegalna trgovina, droga, pranje novca, prostitucija, trgovina bijelim robljem i slično. I dalje se uporno podržava slika o islamu kao neprijateljskoj religiji. Julski »puč« 1997. u Novom Pazaru kada je uz pomoć policije smijenjena legalno izabrana gradska vlast pokazala je da država neće dozvoliti da Bošnjaci preuzmu ni izvršavanje ionako ograničene komunalne vlasti.⁹ SR Jugoslavija se nije dosljedno pridržavala svih domaćih ustavnih i drugih propisa kojima su bila zagarantovana jednaka prava za sve građane, bez obzira na njihovu etničku ili vjersku pripadnost, jezik ili socijalni status, kao i svih obavezujućih međunarodnih konvencija o ljudskim pravima i slobodama, što se očito nije desilo. Deklarisana prava manjina trebaju tek da se koriste u stvarnosti.

Okretanje budućnosti zahtijeva da se odgovorno i racionalno upozna i sadržaj bliske prošlosti. Zlo ima duboku istoriju. Suočavanje sa prošlošću afirmiše nove demokratske vrijednosti jer povlači jasnu liniju razgraničenja između neslobode prošlosti i demokratske budućnosti. O svemu onome šta se zbivalo u Sandžaku u proteklom periodu, pored ostalog, dokumentovano svjedoče i brojne publikacije Sandžackog odbora za zaštitu ljudskih prava i sloboda, kao i drugih nevladinih organiza-

7 Stalno je isticano da su za rat u Bosni i Hercegovini navodno bile krive Sandžaklije, da se radi o ljudima koji su došli iz Sandžaka tamo da se bore i čine zločine, iako se zapravo radi o Bošnjacima koji su se tamo davno doselili. Iznošeni su podaci iz samog vrha SRJ da se u BiH bori čak 240.000 Muslimana iz Sandžaka, iako je po zvaničnom popisu u SRJ 1991. bilo 327.000 Muslimana.

8 Policijskog terora nisu bila pošteđena ni djeca u oktobru 1993. nakon fudbalske utakmice u Novom Pazaru između domaćeg tima i FK »Prištine« koju je predvodio njen predsjednik Željko Ražnjatović Arkan. Tom prilikom je došlo do incidenata i sukoba sa pijanim i naoružanim, gostujućim navijačima. Dan nakon ove utakmice pripadnici MUP-a su izvodili srednjoškolce iz učionica, kafića, poslastičarnica, te ih maltretirali i tukli u stanici MUP-a.

9 Nakon toga uslijedile su zabrane održavanja sjednica MNVS, tribina koalicije »Lista za Sandžak«. U jesen 1997. sa beogradskog aerodroma otpočeće masovna deportacija Bošnjaka iz Sandžaka koji su ilegalno boravili u Njemačkoj, gdje su »truhom za kruhom« radili »na crno«. Vlasti SRJ im tada nisu dozvolile ulazak u zemlju.

cija (Fonda za humanitarno pravo, Helsinškog odbora za ljudska prava u Srbiji).¹⁰ Stručno fundirane publikacije pomažu da se shvati slojevito stanje na prostoru Sandžaka, analizirano iz različitih uglova (političkog, ekonomskog, kulturnog, obrazovnog itd.). Publikacije koje o ovom prostoru nastaju van njega, davale su, do sada, mahom samo okvirnu sliku, bez većeg ulaženja u složenost problema koji opterećuju ovu sredinu, čime suštinski problemi i dalje ostaju marginalizirani u odnosu na pojavne. Sandžak ima također pravo na istinu i njeno institucionalno priznavanje. On je, iz više razloga, bio i ostao nepravedno po strani, van veće pozornosti, iako su navedena dešavanja ostavila dubokog traga u svim ravnima života, naročito seoskim sredinama, u njegovim rubnim dijelovima. Tenzije su smirivanjem stanja na obližnjim kriznim žarištima (BiH, Kosovo) donekle splasnule, ali nisu nestale. To, pored ostalog pokazuju i martovski događaji 2004. na Kosovu, kao i paljenje džamija u Nišu i Beogradu. Bošnjačke političke stranke se, mahom više bave međusobnim razračunavanjima, postajući zapravo, zbog nedoraslosti, preambicioznosti i brojnih improvizacija, sve više obični pioni u rukama najvećih političkih stranaka u zemlji.

Za razliku od vladajućeg režima u Srbiji do oktobra 2000. koji je frontalno gušio sve bošnjačke zahtjeve, nova vlast u Srbiji nije nastavila sa tom praksom, ali nije htjela da prepozna prave probleme Sandžaka, niti da pomaže ovoj sredini koja vidljivo nema dovoljno demokratskog iskustva i potrebnog kadra da stane na put razvoja. Zato su »Potemkinova sela« i razne improvizacije privremenog karaktera izražene gotovo na svim nivoima. Najveći broj bošnjačkih stranaka u tim, izmijenjenim uslovima, zatečen brzinom promjena, naviknut na zabrane koje su im produžavale život na političkoj sceni, nije se snašao, niti je mogao, nastupajući u ime Bošnjaka, artikulirati svoje zahtjeve na valjan način, prebacujući i dalje svoj dio odgovornosti na režim. Politički mentalni sklop je ostao maltene isti. Prepuštajući se, nakon osvajanja vlasti u pojedinim opštinama, brojnim aferama, inkompetentnim sporovima, materijalni interes je, kod tog dijela bošnjačkih stranaka, počeo jasno dominirati nad političkim, i to na jedan vrlo grub i prepoznatljiv način. Problem već dugo nije samo u Beogradu, već i sve više u Novom Pazaru i njegovom prijetećem autizmu. Instrumentalizacija bošnjačkih političara, stihijsko osnivanje »svega i svačega« u Novom Pazaru, uz aminovanje režima, nakon 2000. ostavilo je bukvalno bez argumenata bošnjačku stranu. Rješavanje određenih problema samo na političkom nivou, bez suštinskog bavljenja samim društvom, nije dovoljno. Neosporno je bilo i ostalo teško biti višestruka manjina: zbog kritičkih promišljanja, ali i zbog pripadnosti manjinskim etničkim zajednicama. Zaštita narušenih ljudskih prava i sloboda putem institucija sistema, na osnovu dosadašnjih iskustava, ne daje pravo na preveliki optimizam. Ima više razloga za nezadovoljstvo sistematskim uređenjem manjinskog života, tačnije neobaveznošću države da omogući ostvarivanje manjinskih prava u punoj proklamovanoj mjeri. Odnos između proklamiranog i činjeničnog stanja je često u raskoraku. Ne može se čitav bošnjački svijet, sa svim svojim hroničnim problemima, u očima međunarodne zajednice i Srbije svesti samo na imena, tretman i kontroverz-

10 Opširnije vidjeti knjige iz Edicije »Plava biblioteka« u izdanju Sandžačkog odbora za zaštitu ljudskih prava i sloboda.

no djelovanje nekolicine javnih, privilegiranih ličnosti i »profesionalnih« Bošnjaka, niti samo na organizovanje amaterskih priredbi, isticanje nacionalnih simbola i prigodne programe sa vjerskim sadržajem. Velika odgovornost stoji i na reprezentativnim bošnjačkim političkim organizacijama i drugim institucijama sa nacionalnim predznakom. Legalizovanje isticanja tzv. »nacionalnih simbola« bošnjačke nacionalne zajednice je u biti, tek dio kozmetičkih promjena, bez većeg efekta. Amaterizam u kulturi, pored pogodovanja vlastima, kako su utvrdili pojedini naučnici, ne unapređuje kreativne potencijale manjinske zajednice niti kultiviše bogatijima ličnosti građana u manjinskom položaju. Ostaje veliki problem kako većinski narod doživljava manjinske zajednice: kao sopstveno bogatstvo ili kao nužno zlo ili nepotrebn trošak i balast.

Sandžački odbor za zaštitu ljudskih prava i sloboda, u saradnji sa partnerskim organizacijama (Flores — Sjenica i Građanska akcija za ljudska prava — Priboj), uz finansijsku pomoć Švedskog helsinškog komiteta za ljudska prava, organizovao je o primjeni Okvirne konvencije šest foruma. Ovi forumi su imali veoma značajno mjesto u analizi poštovanja odredbi Okvirne konvencije za zaštitu nacionalnih manjina u multietničkoj i multikulturalnoj sredini kakav je Sandžak u cjelini. Na forumima je donijeto više zaključaka i preporuka u cilju poboljšavanja opšteg stanja u domenu primjene Okvirne konvencije. Na forumima su, uz brojne goste, učestvovali predstavnici političkih partija, nevladinih organizacija, državnih institucija i institucija lokalne samouprave. Objavljujući diskusije učesnika, uz neznatna skraćivanja koja nisu narušavala osnovni smisao njihovog nastupa, organizator je želio da očuva i približi čitaocima autentične izlaganja o brojnim, vitalnim temama viđenim iz različitih uglova. Diskusije u svakom slučaju odslikavaju postojanje brojnih problema ne samo na državnom već i na lokalnom nivou, uz naglašavanje potrebe podsticaja razvoja građanske svijesti putem permanentne edukacije. Ovi skupovi su neosporno ukazali na postojanje čitavog niza sistemskih problema u Sandžaku koje treba institucionalno rješavati.

U Novom Pazaru je 7. maja 2005. održan je prvi forum: »Primjena Okvirne konvencije i položaj nacionalnih manjina u Sandžaku«. Učešće na forumu uzeli su predstavnici svih relevantnih političkih partija, nevladinih i drugih organizacije iz Sandžaka.¹¹ Učesnici foruma se nisu nisu fokusirali samo na izlaganje problema već i na njihovo rješavanje.

U Priboju je 21. maja 2005. održan drugi forum, koji je organizovao Sandžački odbor za zaštitu ljudskih prava i sloboda uz koordinaciju Građanske akcije za ljudska prava iz Priboja.¹² Forumu su prisustvovali predstavnici političkih partija, nevladinih organizacija i lokalnih medija, kao i dopisnici centralnih medija. Skupu, za razliku od skupova u Novom Pazaru i Sjenici, nije prisustvovao niko iz lokalne samouprave.

11 Jedna od pozitivnih strana skupa bila je i ta što je okupio dvije politički suprotstavljene opcije među Bošnjacima. Bilo je i predstavnika srpskih partija. Jedino se predstavnici SRS ne pojavljuju na ovakvim skupovima, odnosno ne odazivaju se pozivima.

12 Teme foruma su bile: »Problemi primjene Okvirne konvencije i Zakona o zaštiti nacionalnih manjina u pogledu službene upotrebe jezika«; »Njegovanje kulture i tradicije Bošnjaka Priboja«; »Problemi primjene Okvirne konvencije u pogledu školovanja na maternjem jeziku«.

Na skupu su učestvovali i pojedini građani pribojske opštine čija su imanja u lokalnim selima spaljena i uništena, a oni sa tih imanja protjerani. Obavijestili su prisutne da su poslali dopis Narodnoj kancelariji predsjednika Srbije i premijeru Srbije, u kome su ukazali na problem uništenih kuća i nezainteresovanost državnih organa za druge njihove probleme, prije svega za nemogućnost povratka na ognjišta. Apelovali su na sve učesnike i organizatore da im pomognu i izvrše pritisak na organe lokalne i državne vlasti da se njihovi problemi riješe.

U Sjenici je 30. juna 2005. održan treći po redu forum »Primjena Okvirne konvencije i položaj nacionalnih manjina u Sandžaku«. Učešće na ovom forumu uzeli su Esad Zornić, predsjednik opštine Sjenica, predstavnici lokalne samouprave, političkih partija, NVO, medija, Islamske vjerske zajednice i dr. Od političkih partija jedino se, iz opravdanih razloga, nisu pojavili predstavnici Narodnog pokreta Sandžaka, koji takođe učestvuje u vršenju vlasti u ovoj opštini. Skupu je prisustvovalo oko 25 učesnika. Partnerska organizacija Sandžačkom odboru bila je NVO Flores.

Četvrti po redu forum održan je u Priboju 18. novembra 2005. godine. Bilo je riječi o pravima manjina na informisanje na maternjem jeziku i problemima primjene Okvirne konvencije i Zakona o zaštiti nacionalnih manjina u pogledu zastupljenosti u organima javne vlasti.

Peti forum organizovan je 25. decembra 2005. godine u Hotelu »Borići« u Sjenici. Vođena je veoma zanimljiva diskusija o informisanju na maternjem jeziku i učešću Bošnjaka u vršenju javne vlasti. Ova sednica foruma pokazala je svu opravdanost ovog projekta u vezi sa primjenom Okvirne konvencije o zaštiti nacionalnih manjina, Konvencije o jezicima manjina, Povelje o regionalnim i manjinskim jezicima i Zakona o nacionalnim manjinama.

Šesti forum organizovan je 7. decembra 2005. u novopazarskom hotelu »Kan«. Zanimljiva i nadasve važna tema ovog foruma okupila je političare, kako sa lokalnog, tako republičkog, kao i sa nivoa državne zajednice, predstavnike EUMM-a, misije OEBS-a, vjerskih zajednica Sandžaka, NVO i sektora informisanja. Na ovom skupu je bilo 58 učesnika, što je bilo daleko iznad predviđenog broja. Ovaj skup će ostati upamćen i po tome što su se za istim stolom, diskutujući o problemima manjina, našli predstavnici različitih političkih opcija čiji je dijalog u nekim drugim okolnostima jednostavno bio nezamisliv.¹³

Uspješne sesije održanih foruma rezultirale su donošenjem čitavog niza preporuka i zaključaka za rješavanje identifikovanih problema u lokalnim sredinama. Uočen je čitav niz problema u ekonomiji, kulturi, prosvjeti, obrazovanju, komunalnoj infrastrukturi. Dat je čitav niz korisnih prijedloga o metodama prevazilaženja pojedinih problema, sve u cilju da se poboljša sveukupno stanje na ovom prostoru. S tim prijedlozima će na adekvatan način biti upoznate sve nadležne instance. Na odr-

13 Teme ovog foruma su bile: »Odnos između države i predstavnika institucija manjinskih nacionalnih zajednica«; »Raskoraci između primjene zakona i prakse«; »Informisanje na maternjem jeziku i zastupljenost u državnim medijima«; »Učešće u vršenju javne vlasti«; »Presjek stanja ljudskih prava i mehanizmi pravne zaštite«; »Iskustva drugih multietničkih sredina«; »Kulturni položaj Bošnjaka«; »Prevladavanje stereotipa i predrasuda u javnom, kulturnom i društvenom životu«.

žanim forumima je ukazano posebno postojanje niza problema iz sfere prava na službenu upotrebu jezika, obrazovanja i informisanja na maternjem jeziku, prava učešća u javnoj vlasti. Zaključci ovih foruma će biti važan korak na putu prepoznavanju problema ove sandžačke sredine, njihovom rješavanju shodno Okvirnoj konvenciji i istinskom približavanju vrijednostima civilnog društva. Jedan od često iskazanih stavova na ovim forumima bio je i taj da praksu konstruktivnih razgovora o stanju ljudskih prava i sloboda, kao i o primjeni Okvirne konvencije, treba svakako nastaviti i dalje, kao i izmijenjivati iskustva sa drugim multietničkim sredinama.

Cilj ovog Izvještaja je unapređenje položaja manjinskih nacionalnih zajednica u Sandžaku. Stavovi izrečeni na navedenim forumima ne predstavljaju nužno i stavove Sandžačkog odbora za zaštitu ljudskih prava i sloboda ili Švedskog helsinškog komiteta za ljudska prava.

Novi Pazar, januar 2006.

Semiha Kačar

IZVJEŠTAJ SA PRVOG FORUMA:

**PRIMJENA OKVIRNE KONVENCIJE I POLOŽAJ
NACIONALNIH MANJINA U SANDŽAKU**

Novi Pazar, 7. maj 2005. godine

Semiha Kačar, predsjednik Sandžačkog odbora za zaštitu ljudskih prava i sloboda, u svom uvodnom izlaganju je navela:

»Naše okupljanje jeste još jedan dokaz iskrenog nastojanja da se u našoj multi-etničkoj i multikulturalnoj sredini o svim problemima i njihovim specifičnostima kreativno razgovara, u tolerantnom duhu, u atmosferi međusobnog uvažavanja i povjerenja. Izražavam nadu da će ovaj skup i njegovi zaključci biti korak na putu ka prepoznavanju problema ove i njihovom rješavanju i približavanju vrijednostima civilnog društva. Cilj projekta *»ZAŠTITA MANJINSKIH PRAVA U MULTIETNIČKIM SREDINAMA U SANDŽAKU«* je monitoring poštovanja prava nacionalnih manjina u Srbiji — pravo na službenu upotrebu jezika i pisma, pravo na obrazovanje na maternjem jeziku i pravo na zastupljenost u vršenju vlasti. Stanje ljudskih i manjinskih prava u Srbiji pokazuje pomak u odnosu na period do 2000. godine ali diskriminacija prema manjinskim nacionalnim zajednicama i dalje je najčešći oblik kršenja ljudskih prava. Na zakonodavnom planu je takođe, napravljen pomak, pogotovo usvajanjem Zakona o pravima nacionalnih manjina, kao i ratifikovanjem Okvirne konvencije Savjeta Evrope o poštovanju prava manjinskih nacionalnih zajednica. Međutim, pri implementaciji Okvirne konvencije uočeni su brojni problemi. U nekim opštinama još uvijek nisu implementirane odredbe Konvencije o službenoj upotrebi jezika, iako je to bila obaveza na samo po međunarodnom pravu, već i po domaćem zakonodavstvu. S druge strane, država često praktično, na različite načine, opstruira primjenu Okvirne konvencije, kao što je to bio slučaj sa uvođenjem bosanskog jezika i kulture u nastavne predmete. Nastavni plan za ovaj program Ministarstvo prosvjete i sporta Republike Srbije u početku nije htjelo da prihvati, tako da predmet nije mogao da uđe u redovnu nastavu. Obrazloženje je bilo da nadležni organi Republike Srbija ne priznaju bosanski jezik, iako se na popisu stanovništva u Srbiji preko 130 hiljada ljudi izjasnilo da im je maternji jezik upravo bosanski. Sada su preduzete neke mjere u saradnji sa Nacionalnim savjetom Bošnjaka da se ovo nezavidno stanje bar donekle ispravi. Veliki problem za pripadnike manjinskih zajednica predstavlja slaba zastupljenost u organima javne vlasti. Nakon promjene režima u Srbiji u oktobru 2000., nova vlast ništa nije učinila mnogo da se ovo stanje izmijeni, tako da manjinske zajednice i danas nemaju ravnopravan tretman prilikom zapošljavanja u državnim organima. Nisu dovoljno zastupljene u institucijama koje vrše vlast. To je posebno vidljivo u pravosuđu, policiji i vojsci, gdje ima vrlo malo pripadnika manjinskih nacionalnih zajednica.

Semiha Kačar je u daljem izlaganju naglasila kako se realizacija navedenog projekta sprovodi zahvaljujući podršci Švedskog helsinškog komiteta za ljudska prava i najavila organizovanje, pored ovog, još pet foruma koji će biti održani u Sjenici, Priboju i Novom Pazaru. Partnerske organizacije Sandžačkom odboru na ovom projektu biće Centar za građansku akciju i ljudska prava iz Priboja i Flores iz Sjenice. Cilj je bio da se utvrdi stepen poštovanja prava koje, prije svega, garantuje Okvirna konvencija u opštinama gdje žive Bošnjaci. Semiha Kačar je najavila da će, na kraju, biti objavljena posebna publikacija u koja će sadržavati diskusije sa svih održanih foruma.

Mr Ramiz Crnišanin (Sandžački intelektualni krug) govorio je na temu: »Univerzalni standardi za zaštitu prava nacionalnih manjina«. Tom prilikom je rekao: »O zaštiti prava nacionalnih manjina govori se već duže vremena. Organizovan je veliki broj skupova, izašao je veliki broj knjiga, publikacija. Po broju organizovanih skupova, po broju izdatih knjiga reklo bi se da je sve u redu. Međutim, nije baš tako. U pogledu pristupa međunarodne zajednice, po pitanju zaštite prava nacionalnih manjina, odnosno kolektivnih prava pripadnika pojedinih etničkih, verskih ili jezičkih grupa, uglavnom, postoje tri gledanja. Prva varijanta posmatra nacionalne i druge manjine u pogledu šire međunarodne zajednice, međunarodnih odnosa i međunarodnog prava. Drugo shvatanje polazi iz stava da su manjine, prvenstveno ako ne isključe unutrašnje pitanje svake države, u kojoj te manjine postoje, pa je svojstveno tome dozvoljeno bilo kakvo mišljenje sa strane. Naravno da ovo shvatanje u savremenim uslovima gubi sve više podršku i legitimitet u međunarodnom pravu, ili ga na žalost još uvek ima. Treći pristup rešavanju problema nacionalnih i drugih manjina pokušava, odnosno nastoji da kombinuje prva dva gledanja, s tim što daje prednost domaćoj suverenosti, ali ostaje otvoreno ka međunarodnom pravu i međunarodnoj zajednici. Zahtevi koje različite nacionalne, etničke i druge grupe postavljaju u vezi sa svojim pravima mogu se svesti uglavnom na sledeće. Prvo to su pitanja priznavanja identiteta i individualnih prava i sloboda, kao i kolektivnih prava manjinskih zajednica. Drugo, pravo na učešće etničkih grupa u vršenju vlasti i političkom odlučivanju — deoba vlasti. Treće, zahtevima da se uspostavi kontrola nad privrednim resursima, nad područjima i na koje pretenduju da učestvuju u raspodeli društvenog bogatstva. Mnogi međunarodni pravni dokumenti i Okvirna konvencija su skoncentrisani na individualnu zaštitu prava, a ne na zaštitu kolektivnih prava nacionalnih manjina. Tako Povelja Ujedinjenih nacija u preambuli traži da uspostavimo veru u osnovna prava čoveka, u dostojanstvo i vrednost ljudske ličnosti, u ravnopravnost žena i ljudi, i nacija — velikih i malih. Opšta deklaracija o pravima čoveka propisuje da svakom pripadaju sva prava i slobode, proglašene u ovoj deklaraciji, bez ikakvih razlika u pogledu rase, pola, jezika, religije, političkog ili svakog drugog mišljenja, nacionalnog ili bilo kog drugog porekla. Međunarodni pakt o političkim i građanskim pravima u članu 27. utvrđuje u državama gde postoje nacionalne, etničke ili jezičke manjine da ne mogu biti lišene prava koja im pripadaju, da imaju u zajednici sa drugim stavovima svoj sopstveni kulturni život, da ispunjavaju sopstvenu veroispovest i obavljaju verske dužnosti i da se koriste svojim sopstvenim jezikom. Evropska Konvencija o ljudskim pravima, u članu 14. obezbeđuje uživanje



Sa I foruma u Novom Pazaru

mnogih prava i sloboda. Ova Konvencija onemogućuje diskriminaciju po bilo kom osnovu, kao što su pol, rasa, boja kože, jezik, veroispovest, političko i drugo mišljenje, nacionalno ili socijalno poreklo, imovinsko stanje. Opšta je konstatacija u naučnim i političkim krugovima da se do danas u domenu individualnih i ljudskih prava i sloboda napredovalo, ali koliko god da se postiglo na tom polju, po pitanju zaštite prava i interesa nacionalnih manjina se zaostaje, i ta pitanja nisu još dobila prave odgovore. Sam pojam nacionalne manjine nije definisan, na jednak način, te postoje

različite definicije. Postoji mišljenje da je izraz nacionalna manjina preuzak i da može biti uzrok nesporazuma, sukoba. Zato je bolje koristiti izraz etnička zajednica, manjinski narod. Okvirna konvencija o zaštiti nacionalnih manjina nije dala definiciju nacionalnih manjina, zbog toga što postoje različiti pristupi i što je bilo teško usaglasiti sve stavove, pa je ostavljeno da to nacionalna zakonodavstva rešavaju u državi gde postoje manjinske etničke zajednice«.

Vladimir Đurić, predstavnik Ministarstva za ljudska i manjinska prava Srbije i Crne Gore, u svom saopštenju pod naslovom »Aktivnost Ministarstva za ljudska i manjinska prava na primeni Okvirne konvencije i Zakona o zaštiti nacionalnih manjina«, ukazao je na nekoliko osnovnih podataka o radu ovog ministarstva, kao i o dosadašnjim aktivnostima na implementaciji Okvirne konvencije i Zakona o zaštiti prava i sloboda nacionalnih manjina: »Ministarstvo za ljudska i manjinska prava je kao državni organ formirano nakon ustavne rekonstrukcije, dakle nakon usvajanja Ustavne povelje, a određene aktivnosti su preduzimane i od strane, prethodnog ministarstva nacionalnih i etničkih zajednica, koje je bilo u sklopu Savezne vlade za vreme važenja ustava SRJ od 1992. godine. Postoji određeni kadrovski kontinuitet u radu oba ministarstva. Okvirna konvencija je ratifikovana u parlamentu SRJ 1998. godine. To je veoma čudno, jer SRJ tada nije bila članica Saveta Evrope. Tek nakon demokratskih promena u našoj zemlji izdati su ratifikacioni dokumenti, odnosno predsednik države izdao je ratifikacione dokumente, a ministar za ljudska i manjinska prava ih je deponovao kod sekretara SE, čime je Konvencija napokon stupila na snagu u SRJ. Tačan datum je 1. septembar 2001. godine. Tada je počeo da teče rok od godinu dana, nakon kog država postaje obavezna da podnese državni izveštaj o sprovođenju Okvirne konvencije. Tako je prva delatnost jednog državnog organa u vezi sa Okvirnom konvencijom bila ratifikacija u Skupštini SRJ 1998. godine, ali prve aktivnosti tek počinju 2001. godine. Međunarodno pravno gledano Okvirna konvencija stupila je na snagu 1. septembra. Ministarstvo nacionalnih i etničkih zajednica je započelo u tom periodu sa ažuriranjem i prikupljanjem podataka, i analizom izveštaja drugih država i pravljenjem metodologije kako će koncipirati taj državni izveštaj SRJ. On je podnešen u roku, 1. septembra 2002. U međuvremenu zemlja je prošla kroz ustavnu rekonstrukciju, što se odrazilo i na rad institucija, koje se bave implementacijom ovog međunarodnog dokumenta i zaštitom i ostvarivanjem manjinskih prava. Formirano je novo Ministarstvo za ljudska i manjinska prava. Ono je nastavilo da bude nadležno za poslove Okvirne konvencije. Savetodavni komitet je telo, odnosno komitet eksperata koji pomaže komitetu ministara Saveta Evropa, koje čine ministri spoljnih poslova svih zemalja članica Saveta Evrope. Komitet eksperata razmatra izveštaje i traže njihovu dopunu. To je uobičajena praksa. Zatim je usledila poseta jedne manje delegacije Savetodavnog komiteta našoj zemlji i razgovori sa predstavnicima institucija u zemlji, manjina i NVO sektora. Savetodavni komitet je izdao svoje mišljenje o primeni Okvirne konvencije u SRJ, kasnije u SCG. Država je pisala odgovor, nakon čega dolazi do sastanka Grupe za ljudska prava, jednog užeg tela, koje ima i političke dimenzije. Ono razmatra i izveštaj Savetodavnog komiteta i državni izveštaj. Mi smo učestvovali na visokom nivou na sastanku Grupe za ljudska prava i nakon toga dolazi do stava samog Saveta Evrope, odnosno Komiteta ministra-

ra. Srž aktivnosti sada se odnose na implementaciju. Ministarstvo za ljudska i manjinska prava, međutim, nije jedini državni organ zadužen za implementaciju».

Đurić je na skupu potom ukazao i na ostale institucionalne okvire zadužene za implementaciju ovog međunarodnog pravnog dokumenta: »Ministar koordinira rad sa nadležnim organima državne zajednice na implementaciji i ovog dokumenta. U Crnoj Gori nadležno je Ministarstvo za etničke i nacionalne manjine i Republički savet za nacionalne manjine, a u Srbiji Savet RS za nacionalne manjine i Skupštinski odbor za nacionalne manjine. Prvi korak koji je preduzet jeste donošenje Zakona o zaštiti prava i sloboda nacionalnih manjina, 2002. godine«. Vladimir Đurić je dalje govorio i o pravu na službenu upotrebu jezika, obrazovanju na maternjem jeziku i učešću u vršenju javne vlasti, naglasivši da ova prava garantuje Okvirna konvencija: »Odredbe Okvirne konvencije su takve da ili upućuju na domaće zakone ili dopuštaju jednu dozu diskrecije državama da one odluče kako će implementirati Okvirnu konvenciju. Na primer obezbediće koliko je to moguće u svojim zakonskim okvirima, gde je to moguće, ostavlja slobodu državi. Tako postoji odstupanje od države do države kada je primena Okvirne konvencije u pitanju. Kroz prosvetne zakone se pojavljuju pojedine odredbe koje regulišu na primer obrazovanje na maternjem jeziku ili kao fakultativnu ili kao obaveznu nastavu. Čime se zapravo implementira jedna odredba Konvencije, koja preporučuje da usvoje gde je to potrebno mere koje će preporučiti obrazovanje nacionalnih manjina na njihovom maternjem jeziku i mogućnost da uče svoj jezik. To je dakle konkretna implementacija kroz prosvetne zakone u RS i RCG. Slično je i sa upotrebom jezika i pisma, mada su neke stvari regulisane pravnim zakonom.« Đurić je naveo te razlike: »Što se tiče implementacije Okvirne konvencije kada je učešće u javnim poslovima u pitanju ovaj međunarodni dokument sadrži odredbu gde preporučuje državama članicama da preuzmu odgovarajuće mere, kako bi manjine uzele učešće u javnim poslovima. Tu ima nekoliko rešenja koja naginju ka omogućavanju učešća nacionalnim manjinama u javnom životu i javnim poslovima. To su u prvom redu odredbe u izbornom zakonodavstvu, koje kreiraju specifične izborne jedinice za pripadnike albanske nacionalne manjine. Nedavnom promenom u izbornom zakonodavstvu u RS doneta je odluka da se ukida cenzus za političke partije, koje okupljaju pripadnike nacionalne manjine. Sledeći izbori biće uz poštovanje te odredbe. Drugih pravnih mehanizama za učešće pripadnika nacionalnih manjina u vrhovnoj vlasti ima u smislu — na lokalnom nivou postoje saveti za međunacionalne odnose, ali je to opet rešenje koje nije svuda implementirano po Zakonu o lokalnoj samoupravi, a nema kolektivnih mehanizama koja garantuju pravo učešća manjina u izvršnoj vlasti. Inače, države se obično ređe odlučuju na te mere koje treba da garantuju učešće pripadnika u izvršnoj vlasti. Češće su to mere koje garantuju učešće manjina u zakonodavnoj vlasti, a ređe u izvršnoj. Okvirna konvencija preporučuje i preduzimanje mera za unapređenje pune i efektivne ravnopravnosti. Tu su preduzete određene mere za implementaciju i te odredbe, odnosno preporuke Okvirne konvencije, pre svega, kada su Romi u pitanju u oblasti prosvete« — rekao je Đurić.

Sead Biberović (Urban in — Novi Pazar) upitao je Đurića: »Nedavno smo imali posetu predstavnika Parlamentarne skupštine Saveta Evrope čiji je zadatak bio

da se utvrdi ispunjenje obaveza koje je SCG ima kada je SE u pitanju. Dokle se stiglo sa tim izveštajem?» Vladimir Đurić je odgovorio da su to izvještaji koji se tiču svih postprijemnih obaveza, ne samo u sferi manjina, i rade se na nekoliko mjeseci. U sferi ljudskih i manjinskih prava imaju još dvije stvari da se urade. To su konstituisanje državnog agenta koji treba da zastupa zemlju pred sudom u Strazburu i donošenje Povelje o evropskim i manjinskim jezicima.

Esad Džudžević, narodni poslanik i predsjednik Izvršnog odbora Bošnjačkog nacionalnog vijeća u SCG, u svom saopštenju pod naslovom »Mogućnost uspostavljanja partnerskog odnosa između države i njenih organa i predstavnika nacionalnih savjeta nacionalnih manjina« navodi: »U našem pravnom sistemu mi smo donošenjem saveznog Zakona o pravima i slobodama nacionalnih manjina 26. februara 2002. godine, dobili jedan novi pravni institut koji se zove nacionalna vijeća nacionalnih manjina. Još uvijek imamo situaciju da većina političkih aktera i predstavnika državnih organa na razumiju prava i obaveze niti države s jedne niti nacionalnih vijeća sa druge strane. I onda u praksi ima dosta nesporazuma. Ja sam već na samom početku svog mandata u Skupštini na prvu sjednicu Odbora pozvao svih 11 predsjednika nacionalnih savjeta da bi smo zajedno izvršili pritisak na Vladu da u Zakon o budžetu, koji je razmatran tih dana, unese novu poziciju u okviru koje bi se finansirala nacionalna vijeća. Sačinili smo zajedno amandman kojim sam ja tražio da se u Prijedlog zakona o budžetu unese stavka od nekih 40 miliona dinara kojom bi se finansirala osnovna djelatnost nacionalnih vijeća. Bilo je mnogo otpora uz obrazloženje da su nacionalna vijeća konstituisana na osnovu saveznog Zakona o manjinama i da je to nivo državne zajednice, a da na republičkom nivou niti ima zakona o manjinama niti ministarstvo za manjine, te prema tome republičke vlasti nemaju nekih obaveza u ovoj oblasti. Naravno mi smo ipak uspjeli da izdejstvujemo da se u Zakonu o budžetu za 2004. godinu nacionalna vijeća finansiraju iz tzv. »budžetske pozicije« za elementarne nepogode, što je to tada bio veliki uspjeh bez obzira na lošu političku poruku koju je Vlada poslala pripadnicima nacionalnih manjina samim tretiranjem njihove pozicije u Zakonu o budžetu. Kasnije smo u nekoliko navrata putem amandmana pokušali da u zakonima koji su se odnosili na obrazovanje i informisanje poboljšamo institucionalni položaj nacionalnih manjina i bolji i pravedniji odnos državnih organa prema njihovim potrebama i problemima. Nekoliko puta smo imali zajedničke sastanke u zgradi Skupštine pokušavajući da razgovaramo na temu stanja međunacionalnih odnosa i ostvarenosti ljudskih i manjinskih prava i položaja nacionalnih manjina u RS. Naravno, kad god bi se ove teme našle na dnevnom redu Odbora, bilo je opstrukcija i nedolaženja na sjednicu da se ne bi imao kvorum i to od strane poslanika SRS, SPS i donekle DSS.«

Džudžević je predočio neke primjere koji se odnose na opstrukciju rada Odbora: »Drugi nivo iskustva koje sam ja imao suočavajući se sa ovom problematikom, dakle problematikom položaja manjina u našoj zemlji, jeste potpuno drugačiji status manjina u Vojvodini i ostatku Srbije. Mi imamo nacionalne manjine u Vojvodini koje baštine tradiciju i iskustvo konzumiranja svojih prava još od vremena Marije Terezije, Titovog vremena sve do ranih devedesetih godina, i imamo iskustvo manjina u istочноj Srbiji, Preševskoj dolini i Sandžaku koje pokušavaju da uhvate korak sa onim

što imaju manjine u Vojvodini. Tu je naročito težak položaj četiri manjine koje žive u centralnoj Srbiji, tu prije svega mislim na romsku, vlašku, bugarsku i bošnjačku nacionalnu zajednicu i jedan potpuno specifičan položaj albanske nacionalne zajednice u Preševu, Medvedi i Bujanovcu.

Naravno ne bih mogao reći da nema i nekih pozitivnih pomaka u ovoj oblasti koji su doduše došli kao rezultat pritiska iznutra i iz vani, ali su ipak evidentni. Nakon donošenja saveznog Zakona o manjinama iz 2002. godine i Povelje o ljudskim i manjinskim pravima iz 2003. stvoreni su institucionalni preduslovi za kreiranje jednog novog ambijenta u kome je moguće dalje poboljšanje položaja nacionalnih manjina. Jedan od osnovnih zadataka realizacije projekta Odbora za međunacionalne odnose jeste upravo pokušaj da se da doprinos stvaranju tog jednog novog senzibiliteta Vlade u Beogradu prema problemima manjina. Tu je prije svega važna uloga medija i civilnog sektora. Mi smo danas svjedoci da Vlada gospodina Vojislava Koštunice ima jedan pristup recimo prema srpskoj manjini na Kosovu, a ne želi da taj isti pristup primjeni prema manjinama u Srbiji.

Ta Vlada je napravila jedan ozbiljan pomak osnivanjem republičkog Savjeta za nacionalne manjine u kome pored šest resornih ministara su i 12 predsjednika do sada konstituisanih nacionalnih vijeća. Time je stvoren jedan snažan mehanizam koji bi mogao, ako ima političke volje, da riješava gotovo svaki manjinski problem i ono iskustvo koje ja imama u radu ovog republičkog Savjeta je veoma pozitivno. Potrebno je da svi zajedno učinimo napor da se realizuju neka tri četiri osnovna zahtjeva koje sam ja čuo na terenu od strane skoro svih predstavnika nacionalnih manjina. To su prije svega dalje izmjene i dopune Zakona o izboru narodnih poslanika na način da se obezbijedi određena kvota za tzv. »male manjine« a što je u skladu sa članom 52. Povelje o ljudskim i manjinskim pravima i što je uostalom i međunarodna obaveza naše zemlje u skladu sa članstvom u Savjetu Evrope i OEBS-u. Druga stvar bilo bi donošenje Zakona o nacionalnim savjetima na republičkom nivou u kojem bi se na vrlo precizan način definisale nadležnosti nacionalnih vijeća u one četiri oblasti iz domena kulturne autonomije. Treća važna stvar bi bila da se formiraju Centri za obrazovanje i vaspitanje na jezicima nacionalnih manjina i Centar za informisanje na jezicima nacionalnih manjina, koji bi djelovali pri odgovarajućim resornim ministarstvima. I četvrta stvar koja je veoma važna, jeste usklađivanje postojećih zakona u republičkom zakonodavstvu, kao i pravne regulative na nižim nivoima sa zakonodavstvom i pravnim iskustvom EU«.

Bajram Omeragić, narodni poslanik u Narodnoj skupštini Republike Srbije, govorio je o zastupljenosti Bošnjaka u državnim i drugim republičkim organima: »Živimo u jednom društvu gde je doskora, do dobijanja Studije o izvodljivosti bilo jedno stanje gdje smo imali jednu vrstu prinudne demokratizacije, koja bi značila to da mnoge norme iz međunarodnog prava i dobru praksu i dobra iskustva iz demokratskih zapadnih i ostalih zemalja primjenjujemo onda kada moramo. Neku normu primijenimo tek kada treba da dobijemo od Međunarodnog fonda neki novac. Kad treba da razgovaramo sa Svjetskom bankom u Skupštini se po hitnom postupku usvaja neki zakon, i to u najkraćoj proceduri. Čak je za to na raspolaganju jedan ili u najboljem slučaju dva dana, zato što treba da nam Svjetska banka nešto udijeli. Pre-

ma tome, radi se o jednoj vrsti prinudne demokratizacije, a ne demokratizacije koja treba da promijeni neke norme. Mnoga dokumenta tako, iako, su usvojeni, ipak se ne primjenjuju. Zakon koji nije primjenljiv, ne treba se zvati zakonom. Imamo moderan Zakon o manjinama i Malu povelju, vrijedne pažnje i zaslužuju pohvale. Međutim, implementacija je problem. Imamo još jednu nesretnu okolnost jer živimo u ustavnom vakumu. Djelotvorno učešće u javnom životu je pozitivna praksa evropskih zemalja i Okvirna konvencija u određenim članovima pominje da manjine trebaju biti zastupljene u političkim, državnim i drugim institucijama kulturnog i javnog života, da bi se na taj način pospješila integracija manjina u društvene tokove, a na taj način dolazi do tolerantne i pozitivne atmosfere, gdje manjina postaje lojalna državi, koja poštuje osnovna elementarna ljudska prava», istakao je Omeragić. On je dalje rekao da je list »Politika« 2004. objavio jedan tekst u kome je naveden spisak sa imenima ljudi koji rade u Republičkoj vladi i drugim republičkim institucijama i tamo je navedeno da najuži resor ministarstava i najuže Vladine funkcije čini oko 420 ljudi. Ni jedno radno mesto u institucijama Vlade nije povjereno licu bošnjačke nacionalnosti: »Naravno da je to loša poruka. Ja sam kao narodni poslanik više puta isticao taj problem. Rečeno je da država nije zakonom obavezna da pravi proporcionalno učešće manjina u određenim institucijama. Ne postoji nijedno demokratski uređeno društvo, koje će donijeti normu koja će reći: mora u parlamentu da bude, na primjer, 15 posto Bošnjaka. U sastavu upravnih odbora javnih preduzeća i ustanova, Radio-difuznog saveta, Upravnog odbora RTS-a, upravnih odbora svih republičkih agencija nema niti jednog Bošnjaka. Ono što je od ključne važnosti — kako kaže član 4. Okvirne konvencije stav 2. — jednakost manjine. Narušen je taj princip jednakosti. Učinjeni su pomaci u pogledu Zakona o izborima narodnih poslanika, jer je za partije nacionalnih manjina ukinut cenzus, pa mogu biti zastupljene u parlamentu. Međutim, to je opet zakonodavna, a ne izvršna vlast. Prema podacima sa zadnjeg popisa, vidi se da Bošnjaci nisu adekvatno zastupljeni u policiji, u DB-u, u oficirskom kadru, vojsci, diplomatiji. U svim segmentima gdje je od izuzetne važnosti da struktura stanovništva Srbije bude preslikana i u institucijama gdje se donose važne odluke. Napravljen je pomak formiranjem Savjeta za nacionalne manjine, u kom učestvuje šest ministara i dvanaest predstavnika Nacionalnih savjeta nacionalnih manjina, gdje je ove godine donijet program za 2005. godinu. Založio sam se da se izvrši delotvorna analiza učešća manjima u javnom životu, a da se nakon toga sačini spisak mjera kako bi se korak po korak ova negativna situacija mijenjala. Predsjednik Vlade je tu izrazio neku vrstu odobravanja i prijedlog je ušao u program rada za 2005. godinu. Spor put je do ostvarenja ovog prava. I ovo je dio tog puta« — rekao je Omeragić i na kraju svog izlaganja istakao još jedan problem, a to je informisanje manjina na svom maternjem jeziku. »Od tri kanala javnog servisa nema ni minuta programa za bošnjačku manjinsku zajednicu«.

Zibija Šarenkapić (Kulturni centar »Damad«, Novi Pazar) je upitala da li ima na pomenutom spisku »Politike« imena pripadnika drugih nacionalnosti, odnosno drugih nacionalnih manjina. Bajram Omeragić je odgovorio da je vidio neka imena koja nisu klasično srpska i crnogorska. Nije vršio analizu, ali je vidio da nema ni jednog bošnjačkog imena.

Vladimir Đurić je iznio podatke o nacionalnoj strukturi zaposlenih u Ministarstvu unutrašnjih poslova RS. Po njegovim riječima 429 lica zaposlenih u MUP-u izjasnilo se kao Muslimani ili kao Bošnjaci, što čini 1,12% od ukupnog broja zaposlenih, a prema rezultatu popisa iz 2002. godine Bošnjaci čine 1,8% stanovništva u Srbiji. »To jeste manji procenat nego što bi trebao da bude, ali sa druge strane kada je rukovodeći kadar u pitanju, o čemu takođe postoji evidencija, upošljeno je 84 Muslimana-Bošnjaka, što je 1,96% od ukupnog broja rukovodećih mesta. Taj procenat je veći od procenta koji čine Bošnjaci u odnosu na druge stanovnike Srbije« — rekao je Đurić.

Suad Ljajić (Sandžačka demokratska unija, Novi Pazar) smatra da nijedna bošnjačka politička partija ili institucija ne može imati isključivo pravo na rješavanje ustavno-pravnog položaja ili ostvarivanje osnovnih ljudskih prava u Sandžaku, posebno kada su prava Bošnjaka u pitanju. Nijedna politička partija ili organizacija nema snage niti kadrova da sama te probleme riješi: »S obzirom da se ovdje govori o položaju nacionalnih manjina, iznijeću stav političke stranke koju predstavljam. Stav naše partije je da su Bošnjaci autohton narod, a ne nacionalna manjina. Bošnjaci bi trebali da zadrže svoja prava kao narod, što su i bili. Isto kao što bi i Srbi trebali da budu autohton narod u Sloveniji, BiH, Hrvatskoj i Makedoniji. Istorija je čudo, sve se mijenja. Po pisanjima nekih listova, može da se desi da i Srbi zbog nataliteta u svojoj zemlji postanu manjina. Zbog toga bi trebalo da se problem ljudskih prava univerzalno riješi«, rekao je Ljajić. Kazao je, takođe, kako je mišljenja da u Nacionalnom savjetu Bošnjaka treba da su kulturni radnici i poslenici, koji su to zaslužili radom, zalaganjem, učešćem u javnom životu: »Nacionalni savjet je Nacionalni savet Bošnjaka, a ne Bošnjačko nacionalno vijeće. Brkaju se pojmovi. Pretpostavljam da se pokušava napraviti neki kontinuitet između Bošnjačkog nacionalnog vijeća Sandžaka i Nacionalnog savjeta Bošnjaka u SCG, ali mislim da su to dva sasvim različita pojma« — ustvrdio je Ljajić. On je, takođe, predložio da narodni poslanici Omeragić i Džudžević, kao ličnosti sa legitimitetom, zatraže od svih političkih opcija donošenje konsenzusa o osnovnim principima rješavanja problema u ostvarivanju prava Bošnjaka u SCG. Ljajić je, takođe, prokomentarisao riječi Vladimira Đurića, kada je struktura zaposlenih u MUP-u Srbije u pitanju. Naglasio je da je lokalnom nivou situacija drastično drugačija. Nacionalna struktura zaposlenih u policiji ni u jednom gradu Sandžaka ne odgovara strukturi stanovništva.

Esad Džudžević je, odgovarajući Ljajiću, rekao da je Bošnjačko nacionalno vijeće formirano na osnovu zakona. Naziv nije uzet zbog kontinuiteta. U memorandumu ćirilicom piše »Nacionalni savet Bošnjaka«, a latinicom na bosanskom jeziku »Bošnjačko nacionalno vijeće«, jer se tako, zapravo, kaže na bosanskom. I njegov stav je da je izuzetno potrebno zajedničko mišljenje, odnosno konsenzus svih bošnjačkih političkih partija, NVO i udruženja sa ambicijom da zastupaju interese Bošnjaka. Naglasio je, takođe, da je već postignut konsenzus svih nacionalnih savjeta u SCG, kada je ustavna reforma u pitanju. Stav je da se u Ustav treba prepisati mala povelja, odnosno već postojeća Povelja o ljudskim i manjinskim pravima.

Miroslav Janković (Inicijativa mladih za ljudska prava) je predstavio rezultate istraživanja Inicijative, koje je sprovedeno krajem 2004. i početkom 2005. godine,

na uzorku od osam multietničkih opština: Priboj, Novi Pazar, Dimitrovgrad, Subotica, Bački Petrovac, Bujanovac, Preševo i Niš. Istraživanje se odnosilo na implementaciju Okvirne konvencije u pogledu nekih najbitnijih iz čitavog korpusa prava manjina koja garantuje ovaj međunarodni pravni dokument. To su sloboda nacionalnog izražavanja i zabrana diskriminacije i asimilacije. Po njegovim riječima nacionalni sastav stanovništva se promijenio u odnosu na period 90-ih godina. U šest od osam posmatranih gradova broj pripadnika manjina je smanjen (Priboj, Dimitrovgrad, Bački Petrovac, Subotica, Preševo i Bujanovac): »Povećan je procenat Srba u ukupnom broju stanovništva. U Nišu i Novom Pazaru etnička slika je gotovo nepromjenjena. Tokom 90-ih godina XX veka slika se menjala doseljavanjem Srba iz Hrvatske i BiH i progonom manjinskog stanovništva nasiljem, širenjem atmosfere straha, ratnim zločinima. U Dimitrovgradu još uvek postoji atmosfera straha, pa se Bugari plaše prilikom izjašnjavanja o svojoj nacionalnosti. O tome svedoči činjenica da se na popisu iz 2002. godine više od 12% građana izjasnilo kao neopredeljeno. Verska prava nacionalnih manjina u Srbiji, uglavnom, nisu ugrožena. U Dimitrovgradu Bugari nisu dozvoljeno da imaju svoju crkvu, već se služba obavlja u objektima SPC. U Nišu građani islamske veroispovesti ne mogu da obavljaju svoje verske obrede, jer je džamija spaljena 17. marta 2004. godine. Što se tiče prava informisanja na manjinskim jezicima, ustanovljeno je da u sedam od osam gradova postoje mediji na manjinskim jezicima. Na elektronskim medijima program se emituje na mađarskom, hrvatskom, bugarskom, romskom, bosanskom, i albanskom jeziku. Štampanih medija nema na bosanskom, albanskom i romskom jeziku. U vojvodanskim opštinama pokrajinska Skupština osnivačka prava nad štampanim medijima prenela je na nacionalne savete. Predstavnici nacionalnih manjina su prema istraživanju Inicijative, istakli da postoji opasnost da se elektronski mediji koji su vlasništvo lokalnih samouprava i emituju program na manjinski jezicima ugase zbog privatizacije koja treba da se sprovede do 2006. godine. Što se tiče prava na službenu upotrebu jezika, ono se ne poštuje u potpunosti ni u jednoj od posmatranih opština. Sudski i upravni jezici nisu albanski, romski i bosanski, a sudski postupci se vrlo retko vode na slovačkom i bugarskom. Table sa imenima republičkih organa i organizacija su isključivo na srpskom jeziku, u svim opštinama osim u Subotici. Opštinska administracija, uglavnom poštuje odredbu o službenoj upotrebi jezika manjine. Izuzetak je opština Priboj, gde bosanski jezik još uvek nije proglašen za zvanični, iako su ostvareni svi zakonski uslovi za to. Zakon o zaštiti prava i sloboda nacionalnih manjina propisuje obavezu lokalne samouprave da uvede u službenu upotrebu jezik kojim govori najmanje 15% stanovnika te opštine. Bosanskim jezikom u Priboju prema rezultatima popisa iz 2002. godine govori više od 15% građana. U Novom Pazaru i Dimitrovgradu jezici nacionalnih manjina se uče kao posebni predmeti dva časa nedeljno, dok se u ostalim posmatranim opštinama jezici manjina izučavaju kroz redovnu nastavu. U Priboju i Nišu takva nastava ne postoji. Nacionalne manjine nisu ravnopravno zastupljene u vršenju javne vlasti. Najveća neravnopravnost postoji u tužilaštvima i sudovima i policiji. U opštinskom sudu u Priboju od pet sudija samo je jedan Bošnjak. U opštinskim administracijama situacija je drugačija. Izuzetak je opet Priboj gde nema ni jednog Bošnjaka na rukovodećim mestima. Svi članovi Opštinskog veća su Srbi, kao i

direktori javnih preduzeća i ustanova. U Priboju i Novom Pazaru Bošnjaci nisu ravnopravno zastupljeni ni u policiji. U Preševu i Bujanovcu je ta situacija drugačija. Zaključak tog istraživanja je da se Okvirna konvencija ne poštuje u potpunosti. Svaki zakon mora da se poštuje u potpunosti, naš je stav. Ljudi koji utiču na lošu implementaciju zakona moraju snositi odgovarajuće pravne konsekvence».

Zehnija Bulić (Sandžačka demokratska unija, Novi Pazar) smatra da se nastava na bosanskom jeziku još uvijek ne odvija u većini škola na području novopazarske opštine: »Znam, jer sam profesor jezika. Bosanski jezik nije zastupljen u osnovnim školama još uvijek, ni kao izborni predmet«. On je dalje ukazao na, kako kaže, manipulaciju — vijeće, odnosno savjet. Bošnjačko nacionalno vijeće je formirano po Zakonu o zaštiti nacionalnih manjina. »Nacionalni savjeti su formirani kao savjeti. Na pečatu su dva sasvim različita naziva jedan na cirilici jedan na latinici. U pitanju su potpuno različiti pojmovi. Savjet i vijeće su dva sasvim različita pojma, kao i savjetnici i vijećnici. Još jedna razlika — Bošnjačko nacionalno vijeće Sandžaka je nekada zastupalo stav da su Bošnjaci narod, a Nacionalni savjet (kako ga sada zovu Bošnjačko nacionalno vijeće u SCG) da su manjina. Bio sam član Nacionalnog savjeta Bošnjaka zadužen za bosanski jezik i znam da se u jednom trenutku itekako zakasnilo. U maju prošle godine je održan sastanak kom su prisustvovali i predstavnici OEBS-a, Savjeta Evrope, Visokog komesarijata, i republičkog Ministarstva prosvjete i sporta. Predložena su tri načina obrazovanja na maternjem jeziku: cjelokupno obrazovanje na maternjem jeziku, dvojezično obrazovanje i bosanski jezik kao izborni predmet. U startu je napravljena greška. Savjet je izabrao najgoru soluciju. Zakasnilo se sa predajom programa za drugi razred. Tada je dogovoreno da se program preda u junu. Program za prvi razred predat je još ranije«, kazao je Bulić. On je okrivio Savjet za mnoge loše stvari po pitanju ostvarivanja prava obrazovanja na maternjem jeziku. Optužbe je na istu adresu uputio zato što, kako kaže, Savjet ne podržava kulturno stvaralaštvo, ne radi programe kulture i informisanja, ne pomaže izdavanje knjiga itd. Smatra da pri ministarstvu treba da postoji neko ko bi kontrolisao savjete i njihov rad. Po njegovim riječima, udžbenici su mogli biti mnogo kvalitetniji, da bi bili mnogo bolji da je bilo konkursa i više predloga za njih.

Zibija Šarenkapić je istakla da joj je poznato da je samo za treći razred osnovne škole bio raspisan konkurs za prijedloge udžbenika i to u »Službenom glasniku« od 3. februara 2005. godine. Nije nigde zabilježeno da se prvo prihvati program za treći, a potom za prvi razred. Nije joj poznato da li je objavljen konkurs za prvi i drugi razred. Ako jeste to je bilo poslije 3. februara, što je nezamislivo, ali ona ipak ne vjeruje da je konkursa uopšte i bilo.

Zekirija Dugopoljac (Resor za obrazovanje Opštine Novi Pazar) je konstatovao da se politizuje ono što je učinjeno na polju ostvarenja prava na obrazovanje na maternjem jeziku: »Dobili smo to pravo u onim okvirima u kojim je to Ministarstvo odobrilo — kao obavezan izborni predmet. Na upisu u prvi razred 99% bošnjačke dece se izjasnilo za ovaj izborni predmet. Da smo hteli i cjelokupno obrazovanje na bosanskom jeziku ne bi smo to mogli da sprovedemo. Traženo je da se planovi i programi urade za deset dana. Urađeno je ono što se moglo. Bosanski jezik sa elementima kulture i tradicije izučava se trenutno u školama u Novom Pazaru, Tutinu i Sjeni-

ci. Doduše, ne u svim školama. Ovo ne treba politizovati, već naći moduse, iskonstruisati takve kompromise da ovaj nivo obrazovanja utemeljimo, jer on u ovom trenutku zadovoljava naše potencijale — kadrovske, tehničke i druge. Dugopoljac tvrdi da je Ministarstvo raspisalo konkurs, i da se čitava stvar politizuje, iako tako ne treba da bude, jer kada je obrazovanje u pitanju postoje brojni problemi i oni se moraju rješavati. Škole rade u četiri smjene, broj djece u odjeljenjima je između 30 i 40. Loša situacija je čak i u predškolskim ustanovama: »Ni jedan naš projekat nije prihvaćen od strane Ministarstva, kao ni mnogi objektivni zahtevi«, rekao je Dugopoljac.

Zibija Šarenkapić je rekla da bi voljela da joj se pojasni šta znači obavezni izborni predmet. Bosanski jezik nije obavezni izborni predmet, niti to stoji u »Službenom glasniku«. Kako je istakla dovodi u sumnju stav Dugopoljca da Bošnjaci u SCG nemaju potencijale, kada je izvođenje nastave na bosanskom u pitanju. Kazala je da joj nije baš najjasnije šta znači usvojen, a šta prihvaćen program, što se više puta čulo kroz diskusije: »Kada smo kod brzine izrade programa ja se dobro sećam još u maju 2003. godine na Regionalnoj TV Novi Pazar priređena je fešta od emisije, sa učesćem publike, i tom prilikom prezentovano je pravo na obrazovanje na bosanskom jeziku. Tada je rečeno da je Ministarstvo dalo rok od samo deset dana pa mi nećemo stići da uradimo taj program. Krajem tog meseca sedela sam u Ministarstvu prosvete pored Zekirije Dugopoljca kada se govorilo o programu za prvi razred, da i Bošnjaci treba da startuju 1. septembra. Program je predat u nekakvoj formi, koja meni nije poznata. U maju 2004. nisam bila uključena, opet nije bilo vremena, pa u junu, pa u decembru ista situacija. Ono što na žalost mogu da zaključim je da imamo odličnu državu kakvi smo mi«.

Zekirija Dugopoljac je odgovorio da Šarenkapićeva politizuje situaciju i dodao: »U Beogradu je 10. juna 2003. održan sastanak kome su prisustvovali ministri Rasim Ljajić i Gaša Knežević. Tada je predloženo da svi relevantni faktori društveni i politički mogu da urade predlog nastavnih planova i programa. Niko to nije uradio osim grupa entuzijasta. Uradili smo program za prvi razred«.

Zehnija Bulić: »Urađen je komentar na reformu školstva. Nakon toga traženo je da se urade programi, ciljevi i sadržaji za bosanski jezik kao osnovni, a ne kao izborni predmet. I to je uradila jedna grupa ljudi. Ja znam da je taj posao urađen u vrijeme. Šta je nakon toga bilo, ja zaista ne znam, ali ono što je bilo do te grupe, u kojoj sam bio i ja, taj dio posla je na vrijeme odraden. Postoji kopija toga. Biljana Stojanović je prošle godine u maju rekla da imamo pravo da izmijenimo »onaj« program za I razred i time je priznala da su dobili taj program. Rečeno je samo da uradimo program za II razred. Ni jedna primjedba nije postojala za taj program za I razred. Ja samo jednu stvar stavljam na teret Nacionalnog savjeta, što nije na vrijeme urađen i program za II razred. Da je predat kada je tražila Biljana Stojanović (to je bilo za vrijeme Vlade prije ove Koštuničine) danas bismo imali dvojezično obrazovanje«.

Zekirija Dugopoljac: »Pored obaveznih predmeta imaju dva izborna obavezna predmeta. Među njima je i bosanski jezik. Djeca se kroz anketa izjašnjavaju o pohađanju ovog predmeta uz saglasnost roditelja. Anketom je utvrđeno da je 96% bošnjačke djece u Sandžaku za učenje bosanskog jezika«.

Kemal Džemić (NVO Gest) je rekao da su udžbenici fantastični imajući u vidu gdje su sve nastajali: »Nastajali su u kancelariji. Trebalo je da se okupimo u biblioteci sa profesorima književnosti iz Sandžaka i BIH, postoje vrsni metodičari. Udžbenik su trebali da napišu stručnjaci, a ne da se on improvizuje. Udžbenik je loš ali se zato može i treba nadograđivati. Ovaj udžbenik, ova čitanka nije privilegija jedne vladajuće partije, niti smije biti. Trebao se raspisati konkurs. Zbunjuju me pojedini političari, zna se na koga mislim. Imaju dvostruke standarde po pitanju jezika. U vezi sa udžbenikom postoji sijaset nejasnoća«. On je dalje predložio organizovanje posebnog Okruglog stola koji bi se usko, tematski odnosio na bosanski jezik.

Zekirija Dugopoljac: »Zašto se žurilo? Zato što nas je Ministarstvo vraćalo po dva koraka unazad, a mi smo po jedan korak išli napred, da bi Ljiljana Čolić skinula čitavu priču sa »dnevnog reda«.

Ramiz Crnišanić: »Zakon je donet još 2002. tako da je bilo vremena da se spremimo«.

Hodo Katal, autor udžbenika, govoreći na temu »Problemi primene Okvirne konvencije u pogledu školovanja na maternjem jezika« ukazao je: »Očito je da je moj jezik, moj dragi kamen, ali na žalost i kamen spoticanja. Mi Bošnjaci smo čitav vijek na sporednom koloseku, sada se polako vraćamo na glavnu traku sporazumijevanja, najprije sa sobom, pa onda i sa cijelim svijetom. Mi smo naš jezik u prošlosti stavili u pogrešnu fioku. Naša djeca pojma nemaju o nekim riječima, kojim su govorili njihovi preci. Uprkos brojnim problemima koji postoje, jezik se treba i mora čuvati. Čini mi se po diskusijama koje se vode na ovom forumu, da nismo spremni da zajedno radimo na očuvanju svog jezika«.

Zehrija Bulić je, govoreći o istoj problematici, ustvrdio da se Okvirna konvencija ne poštuje i ne primjenjuje kako treba. Naveo je konkretan primjer koji se odnosi na sam naziv jezika. Istakao je kako država ne može da određuje kako će se zvati jezik Bošnjaka. U »Prosvetnom glasniku« je ćirilnim pismom napisano da je jezik Bošnjaka — bošnjački. Vodeći se istorijskim i kulturološkim činjenicama u pitanju je bosanski jezik. Drugi segment, jeste način na koji Bošnjaci treba da organizuju obrazovanje na svom maternjem jeziku: »Nikada nas nisu pozvali da o tome zajedno razgovaramo. Stalno nas guraju po strani. Tako sami moramo da riješavamo problem iako nemamo mehanizme, prije svega zakone. Trebalo je da se organizujemo tako da ne razdvajamo učenike u školama po bilo kojoj osnovi. Mislim da bi dvojezično obrazovanje bilo najbolje. Treba da postoji zajednički program. Poslovi nacionalnih savjeta su definisani, ne treba oni da rade programe, mogu da predlažu. Trebaju se uložiti svi napor i kako bi se svoj jezik sačuvao. Ne može se sačuvati kulturološka osobenost Bošnjaka sa marginalizacijom jezika. Jer odobreno je da se bosanski izučava kao izborni predmet«.

Munir Poturak: »Imam troje djece i ne znam kako da im razjasnim nedoumice koje se odnose na jezik. Pitanje obrazovanja Bošnjaka je veoma bitno. Mora se razmišljati i šta će biti sa generacijama koje dolaze, šta će biti sa ovim i prostorom oko nas za 50 godina«. On je konstatovao da je Bošnjacima potrebna institucija, »kojoj bi se vjerovalo i koja bi uložila sve napore da riješi ovaj problem, odnosno da sa-

čuvaju identitet, posebnost i tradiciju Bošnjaka. Mora se sačuvati sve to i poštovati međunarodni standardi«.

Muhamed Đerlek je iznio stav da je veliki problem nacionalizam, koji još uvijek dominira. Takođe, siromaštvo, koje je, po njemu, imalo veliki uticaj na sve ono što se dešavalo 90-ih godina, samim tim i na poštovanje ljudskih i manjinskih prava.

Bisera Spasović (Centar za mir i pomirenje) je kazala da je brine pitanje primjene Zakona o zaštiti prava nacionalnih manjina, kada je obrazovanje na maternjem jeziku u pitanju: »Kako ga poštovati i implementirati, a ne izazvati incidentne situacije? Nama se ne nude mehanizmi od strane nadležnog ministarstva. Kada sam jednom prilikom pitala zamenika ministra prosvete da li nam nude neko drugo rešenje, prihvatljivije i bolje, bio je zatečen. A moji sugrađani su to shvatili kao da sam ja protiv uvođenja bosanskog jezika, posebno tada vodeća politička partija«.

Zibija Šarenkapić smatra da su udžbenici nekvalitetne građe, ukazujući na brojne propuste, uz komentar da je odabir pisaca trebao biti bolji.

Učesnici ovog foruma su usaglasili svoja mišljenja oko sljedećih zaključaka i preporuka:

1. I pored očitih pomaka, ima nedostataka i nedosljednosti u primjeni Konvencije i postojećeg zakona o zaštiti nacionalnih manjina, naročito u oblasti djelotvornog učešća Bošnjaka u državnim i društvenim strukturama.

2. U državnim medijima je nerijetko prisutan govor mržnje, a ne mira i tolerancije. Takođe, državni mediji, ne pridaju dovoljno pažnje tradiciji, kulturi, duhovnom životu Bošnjaka.

3. Samo u Novom Pazaru i Tutinu i Sjenici postoji bar zvanično informisanje na bosanskom jeziku, dok u drugim opštinama toga nema.

4. Iako statuti SO Novi Pazar, Tutin i Sjenica predviđaju srpski i bosanski jezik službena korespondencija i dalje se obavlja samo na srpskom jeziku. Tabla na ulazu SO Novi Pazar ispisana je ćirilicom i na srpskom je jeziku, a ista je situacija i sa tablama na kojim su ispisana imena trgova, ulica i ustanova. Problem je takođe i u usvajanju normi bosanskog jezika.

5. Ostvarivanje postavki i principa Konvencije u velikoj mjeri zavisi i od samih političkih struktura Bošnjaka i NVO koje se bave problemom manjinskih nacionalnih zajednica.

6. Nužno je među političkim strankama i svim drugim bošnjačkim faktorima postići konsenzus oko osnovnih pitanja Bošnjaka. Potrebna je i podrška i pomoć državnih organa i institucija.

7. Uvođenje bosanskog jezika u nastavu u osnovnim školama je ispolitizovano, pri čemu odgovornost snose i državni i lokalni organi.

8. Bosanski jezik je izborni, a ne redovni predmet, o čemu treba stručno razgovarati i ispitati sve mogućnosti oko njegove primjene.

9. Pojedini školski udžbenici, vezani za pitanja jezika, književnosti i istorije, nisu prilagođeni nacionalno mješovitim sredinama.

Dodatak

Lista učesnika foruma:

— Semiha Kačar, Sandžački odbor za zaštitu ljudskih prava i sloboda, Novi Pazar

- Vladimir Đurić, Ministarstvo za ljudska i manjinska prava
- Esad Džudžević, narodni poslanik i predsjednik IO BNV
- Bajram Omeragić, narodni poslanik
- Miroslav Janković, Inicijativa mladih za ljudska prava
- Zehnija Bulić, Sandžačka demokratska unija
- Ramiz Crnišanić, Sandžački intelektualni krug, Novi Pazar
- Hodo Katal, NVO »Ruka«, Tutin
- Mehmed Slezović, savezni poslanik, G 17 plus
- Munir Poturak, Sandžačka demokratska partija
- Suad Ljajić, Sandžačka demokratska unija
- Zekirija Dugopoljac, Opština Novi Pazar
- Muradija Kahrović, Muzej »Ras«, Novi Pazar
- Aida Polimac, Građanska akcija za ljudska prava
- Kemal Džemić, NVO »Gest«
- Alija Halilović, NVO »Građanski forum«, Novi Pazar
- Sadeta Zahirović, NVO »Flores«, Sjenica
- Sead Biberović, NVO »Urban in«, Novi Pazar
- Buttard Alexandre, Posmatračka misija EU — EUMM
- Muhamed Đerlek, karikaturista, Novi Pazar
- Radiša Biorac, Demokratska stranka, NVO »Pokret Golija«
- Bisera Spasović, Centar za mir i pomirenje, Sandžak
- Ibro Mehmedović, NVO »Raškin sliv«, Novi Pazar
- Hajrudin Kolašinac, NVO »Flores«, Sjenica
- Zibija Dh-Šarenkapić, Kulturni centar »Damad«, Novi Pazar
- Senada Leković, novinar, Novi Pazar
- Zoran Maksimović, Sandžački odbor za zaštitu ljudskih prava i sloboda
- Amela Aličković, Sandžački odbor za zaštitu ljudskih prava i sloboda
- Mirza Gutić, Sandžački odbor za zaštitu ljudskih prava i sloboda

Skup su pratili slijedeći mediji:

- Regionalna RTV Novi Pazar
- RTV Jedinstvo
- Radio Novi Pazar
- Radio Sto plus
- Univerzitetski radio

IZVJEŠTAJ SA DRUGOG FORUMA:

**PRIMJENA OKVIRNE KONVENCIJE I POLOŽAJ
NACIONALNIH MANJINA U SANDŽAKU**

Priboj, 21. maj 2005.

U uvodnom izlaganju **Semiha Kačar** je upoznala prisutne sa ciljevima projekta, dok je **Ramiz Crnišanin** govorio o primjeni Okvirne konvencije.

Aida Polimac, iz Građanske akcije za ljudska prava, partnerske organizacije Sandžačkog odbora na realizaciji ovog projekta, pošto je pozdravila prisutne, izrazila je žaljenje što predstavnici lokalne samouprave, iako su bili uredno i blagovremeno pozvani, ne prisustvuju skupu. Međutim, to po njenim riječima, nije veliko iznenađenje. Izrazila je nadu da će se to promijeniti, jer se radi o bitnom pitanju za lokalnu zajednicu, ali i za ulazak naše zemlje u Evropu.

Alija Sukić je istakao značaj Foruma, naglasivši da postoje veliki problemi u ostvarivanju mnogih prava manjina u Priboju. »Ja sam zvanični član Opštinske komisije koja je izvršila popis za nastradala sela u Priboju. Ima ih 12. Sva domaćinstva su protjerana, a ljudi su ostali bez ičega. Smatram da se sa ovakvih skupova i državnim organima treba uputiti poruka. Ona prava koja se ne ostvaruju nisu prava«.

Hamed Pecikoza, jedan od oštećenih građana Priboja u vrijeme progona 90-ih godina, naglasio je da su se oni obraćali više puta institucijama u Beogradu, Vladi Republike Srbije, nadležnim ministarstvima, ali odgovora nije bilo: »Obraćali smo se i Skupštini opštine i tako potrošili mnogo vremena. Samo su nas šetali od kancelarije do kancelarije. Tek prije nekih desetak dana usvojen je izvještaj od strane SO, koji se odnosi na izvršeni popis«, kazao je Pecikoza i naglasio da su se Republičkoj vladi obraćali četiri puta. On je pročitao i jedno od pisama, tačnije molbu mještana opštine Priboj, upućenu srbijanskom premijeru: »Primorani smo da Vam se obratimo kako bi nam pomogli oko rešavanja naših gorućih problema, koji se ne mogu nikako zaobići, kao što je bilo do sada. Do polovine 1992. godine mi smo mirno živeli, i radili na svojim imanjima. Te tragične godine po nas, učinjen je egzodus — progon Bošnjaka, meštana pribojskih sela — Sjeverina, Sočice, Kukurovića, Milanovića, Voskovine, Vučinića, Živinice, Medvede, Dragovića, Zaostra, Jelovika, Batkovića. Tom prilikom popaljeno je sedamdesetak kuća, a 156 je oštećeno i opljačkano, što se vidi iz zvaničnog izveštaja Opštinske komisije. Tu komisiju je prošle godine zvanično formirala opština Priboj od stručnih ljudi, koji su napravili izveštaj o činjeničnom stanju na terenu. Tada su ubijena naša 23 sugrađanina. U Sjeverinu 17 plus tri i u Kukurovićima tri. Nije se smela obilaziti imovina od 1992. godine do 2000., jer nam nije garantovana bezbednost. Uzročnici tragedije sigurno nismo mi, već neko ko je ostvarivao svoje ciljeve. Mi smo bili lojalni građani ove države«, rekao je Pecikoza citirajući jedan od četiri dopisa prosleđenih Vladi Srbije, i ponovo naglasio da

odgovora ni jednom nije bilo. »Pomoć smo dobijali od donatora, kojim smo mnogo zahvalni. To je nedovoljno, što se vidi i iz izveštaja. Sredstva za saniranje kuća prevazilaze mogućnosti opštine Priboj. S toga je od Vlade u dopisu zatraženo da i ona imenuje komisiju koja bi sagledala činjenično stanje na terenu«.

Alija Sukić je naglasio da je ovo pismo otišlo još prije dvije godine, a sada je već 13 godina kako oštećeni nisu ostvarili nikakvu pomoć. Nije čak bilo ni odgovora: »Ljudi samo traže svoje ništa tuđe. Treba zajedno ponovo da se obratimo Vladi, ali da i Sandžački odbor pošalje dopis Vladi, Skupštini, predsedniku Tadiću, to bi možda imalo uticaja. Možda raniji dopisi nisu ni stizali do pravih ruku«.

Aida Polimac je kazala da nisu samo oštećeni slali dopise relevantnim institucijama, već i predstavnici brojnih organizacija, kao i nevladinog sektora iz Sandžaka i Beograda. Međutim, kako je rekla, država jednostavno neće da se bavi tim pitanjem: »Mi možemo jedino i dalje da vršimo pritisak na državu, na način na koji to možemo, jer mi nemamo vlast, niti možemo da je nateramo da radi svoj posao. Isto tako, možemo samo da vršimo pritisak i na lokalnu samoupravu, koja neće da uvede bosanski jezik u službenu upotrebu, iako to zakon propisuje«.

Semiha Kačar je predložila da se pokrene pravni postupak, kako bi oštećeni napokon ostvarili svoja prava.

Ramiz Crnišanin je ustvrdio da je cilj ovog foruma da se građani, prije svega, upoznaju sa Okvirnom konvencijom, Zakonom o zaštiti nacionalnih manjina i Ustavnom poveljom, kao i sa pravima koja garantuju ovi dokumenti, da se treba promijeniti svijest i kod Srba i kod Bošnjaka u smislu da je potrebno pomirenje i drugačije rješavanje problema. Moraju se, kako je naglasio, i pripadnici srpskog naroda u ovom kraju zalagati da Bošnjaci iz Sjeverina i drugih sela ostvare svoja prava, jer ni oni ne mogu biti slobodni ako drugi nisu slobodni: »Verujte da se ni Srbi nisu osećali slobodno u ovom kraju devedesetih, kao ni Bošnjaci. Tako su se osećali jedino oni koji su ubijali«, rekao je Crnišanin, i dodao: »Trebamo biti svesni da se mora zajedno živeti. Moramo se svi oslobađati nacionalističke svesti. Treba se popisati sve što je uništeno i nestalo. Država mora da plati štetu kad-tad, jer ona treba da garantuje svakom građaninu pravo na ličnost, na imovinu. Iako to nije zaštitila mora da plati štetu. Treba preduzeti pravne mere. Ako se ne ostvare u okviru pravnog sistema Srbije i Crne Gore, ostvariće se kod Evropskog suda u Strazburu. Moram da kažem da u Priboju primećujem neke pozitivne korake. Prošli put kad smo ovde bili zatekli smo postere Radovana Karadžića izlepljene po Priboju, kao i ispisane grafite. Treba se oslobađati retrogradne svesti. Potrebno je vreme za to. Više od deset godina primoravani smo da razmišljamo na jedan loš način. Menjanje svesti kod naroda je jedan mukotran proces«.

Rada Čolović, iz pribojskog Centra za prava, smatra da se oštećenim Bošnjacima trebaju priključiti i Srbi koji traže ista prava, a to su do sada činili pojedinačno. Njih je, kako je rekla, doduše mnogo manje. Ali ih ima. U Priboju su bili ugroženi Bošnjaci, ali i neki Srbi: »Možda će kako lokalna, tako i republička vlast tako drugačije gledati na rešavanje ovog problema«, rekla je Čolovićeva iznoseći dalje određene kritike na račun predstavnika lokalne samouprave koji su više puta do sada, svojim ne dolaskom, dokazali da ih ove teme ne zanimaju.



Sa II foruma u Priboju

Faruk Dizdarević u saopštenju »Pogled na negovanje kulture i tradicije Bošnjaka Priboja« je istakao: »Kao što je znano, nosilac kulture u savremenom dobu je građanska klasa. Krajem 19. i početkom 20. veka Priboj se konstituiše kao urbana celina sa građanskom klasom koja je presudno pridonela privrednoj i kulturnoj aktivnosti sredine. Između ostalih u to vreme se u Priboj doseljavaju Hadžihamzići, Zlatanići i Sukići iz Nikšića, nešto ranije Mulaosmanovići i Zildževići iz Užica, Polimci iz Rudanskog kraja, Musabegovići i Praše iz Čajniča. Zajedno sa, takođe dose-

ljenim Borisavljevićima, Stevovićima, Melentijevićima, Roljevićima i dr. oni zasni-
vaju značajne trgovačke poslove, kupuju zemljišta, podižu kuće, otvaraju radnje i
kafane, izgrađuju hotele i menjaju dotadašnje shvatanje o poslovanju i poslovnim
odnosima, ali i način života u ovoj sredini. Domaće stanovništvo pokušavalo je da se
uklopi u tu novu atmosferu. Smail Hasanagić otvara veću trgovačku radnju proširu-
jući raniju delatnost. Dovođenjem pruge od Uvca (1906) otvaraju se novi prostori tr-
govini i kapitalu. U Priboju se osniva Trgovačka kompanija udruženog kapitala Baj-
rović — Stevović — Veselić. Hadžihamzići, Stevovići i Rustemagići postali su po-
znate trgovačke kuće sa zamašnim sumama kapitala uloženog u artikle koje su sa
ovih strana izvozili. Na kulturno-prosvetnom planu stanje je sledeće: u gradu započi-
nje sa radom Narodna škola (1888), deset godina kasnije osniva se Čitalište (Biblio-
teka), formira se Kulturno-prosvetno društvo »Sveti Sava« sa horskom, muzičkom i
dramskom sekcijom. Pomenute sekcije u pripremi programa i zabava okupljale su
građanstvo Priboja bez obzira na konfensionalnu pripadnost. Međutim, bošnjački ži-
valj varoši u ovo vreme nije imao svojih organizovanih kulturno-umetničkih društa-
va ili drugih vidova kulturnog organizovanja. Život u Priboju toga doba bio je tako
organizovan da je komunikacija između ljudi bila veoma živa i svakodnevna. U tome
je bilo nečeg veoma demokratskog: trgovci su se družili sa zanatlijama, činovnici sa
kafedžijama, ovi opet sa svima ostalima — znači bilo je veoma živo osećanje varo-
ške zajednice. Ljudi su se u tom Priboju družili. Šta je bila emancipacija kulturnog
života pribojskih Bošnjaka toga doba? Kao što je već rečeno oni nisu imali svoje or-
ganizovano kulturno društvo, ali su se okupljali po kućama i kućnim avlijama (dvo-
rištima) uz svirku, pesmu, razne igre iz šale, odlazili na teferidže po okolini (naročito
je bio glasovit teferidž u Mioču); izlazili leti na proplanke Osovnika, pogotovu kod
»Sarajevske česme«; odlazili na Banju. Jedna od omiljenih zabava imućnijih priboj-
skih Bošnjaka bila je izlazak sa konjima na jahanje. Po rasnim konjima isticale su se
porodice Hasanagića i Hadžihamzića. Takođe je bio veoma popularan i lov. Okolina
Priboja, pogotovu Crni Vrh, bila je puna raznovrsnih divljači. Interesantno je istaći da
su pojedinci lovili isključivo jednu vrstu divljači, što govori o shvatanju lova prevas-
hodno kao zabave. Tako recimo. Rustem Hasanagić, Smail-begov sin, lovio je samo
kune sa za to naročito obučanim kerovima i poslugom koja mu je pomagala u lovu.

U brojnim kafanama i reprezentativnom Hotelu Stevovića (sagrađenom 1882.
godine) priređivale su se zabave sa igrankama i lutrijom, igrao šah i bilijar, čitale se
novine. U svemu ovome, naravno, učestvovali su i Bošnjaci. Neobično važan doga-
đaj kada je u pitanju organizovana kulturna i zabavna delatnost Bošnjaka Priboja je
formiranje Kulturno-prosvjetnog društva »Gajret« u ovoj sredini, 1920. godine. Iako
je ovo društvo u principu bilo otvoreno za sve nacionalne i verske provenijencije,
njegov prevashodni zadatak je bio prosvetčivanje i emancipacija muslimanskog ži-
vlja, tj. negovanje i afirmacija njegove kulturne baštine. Prvi srednjoškolci i visoko-
školci Bošnjaci iz Priboja školovali su se zahvaljujući »Gajretovim« stipendijama.
Društvo je osnovalo Čitaonicu koja je imala solidan fond knjiga različitih sadržaja;
formirana je Dramska sekcija u čijim predstavama po prvi put uzimaju učešće mlade
Bošnjakinje, što je do tada bilo sasvim neuobičajeno; sa pozorištem se gostuje u su-
sednim gradovima Višegradu, Prijepolju, Pljevljima: počinje sa radom Gajretov

Tamburaški orkestar; priređuju se izvrsno organizovane zabave na kojima se bira »kraljica večeri«, što je za žensku bošnjačku populaciju do tada bila neviđena novost. Jednom rečju, GAJRET je u Priboju, sve do njegovog gašenja 1941. godine, odigrao nemerljivu ulogu u emancipaciji i prosvjećivanju bošnjačkog življa. Ne zanemarujuću nacionalno-političku orijentaciju ovo Društvo se, to treba istaći, zalagalo za opciju uvažavanja i tolerancije ljudi različitih vera, u periodu delikatnih međunarodnih odnosa Priboja između dva svetska rata. Nakon drugog svetskog rata počinje period ekonomskog i svakog drugog prosperiteta Priboja. Podižu se fabrike i preduzeća, osniva se niz školskih ustanova, dovršava se zgrada Doma kulture (1959), aktivno radi KUD »Budućnost«, formira se KUD »Fap«; Zehbo Pekušić, nakon angažmana u Narodnom pozorištu u Sarajevu i potom u pozorištima u Užicu i Valjevu, vraća se u Priboj i režira, glumi, peva i svira; Avda Prljaču šalju u Beograd na glumački kurs. U kulturno-umetničkim društvima i sekcijama masovno se uključuje i bošnjačka mladež. U okviru dinamičnog i veoma raznovrsnog kulturnog života Priboja afirmišu se, pored ostalih, pesnici Rasim Čel Ahmetović i Ruždija Krupa koji za svoje stihove dobijaju prestižne književne nagrade (Blažo Šćepanović, nagrada Linskih večeri poezije i dr.); Mirsah Hulić i Sabro Crnčević diplomiraju na Muzičkoj akademiji, Vernesa Berdo upisuje i završava Pozorišnu akademiju, Nail Čelović završava Likovnu akademiju na kojoj i magistrira slikarstvo, Ajdin Puteš profesor skulpture na beogradskoj Likovnoj akademiji. Navodimo ova imena jer ona pripadaju prvim mladim ljudima iz ove sredine koji se upisuju na umetničke fakultete.

Priboj se poslednjih decenija afirmisao kao živahan izdavački centar jugoslopadne Srbije. U tom periodu štampano je preko 200 naslova knjiga. Naravno, da se među autorima knjiga nalazi i niz Bošnjaka. Kultura je veoma široka oblast, a negovanje kulturne tradicije je ozbiljan i složen zadatak. Kad je Priboj u pitanju i u njemu kultura i tradicija Bošnjaka, tu predstoje dalje aktivnosti. Nešto se na tom planu do sada uradilo što može predstavljati osnovu za dalje. Neskromno ću pomenuti nekoliko naslova mojih knjiga koje idu u taj korpus. U monografiji o »Hasan-agi i njegovoj vakufnami« objavljena je (i komentarisana) pomenuta darovnica, zasad jedini dokument te vrste štampan u Srbiji. Reč je o dokumentu iz druge polovine 18. veka, ključnom podatku za razumevanje prošlosti Priboja. U knjizi iz etnomuzikologije sa naslovom »U vrtu razdraganih snaga« zapisane su lirske narodne pesme iz Priboja i Polimlja sa istraženim najstarijim tekstovima i varijantama i notiranim melodijskim zapisima. Knjiga »Gajret u Priboju« detaljno obrađuje aktivnosti pomenutog Društva u našoj sredini. Poetski zapis Rasima Čel Ahmetovića takode pripadaju korpusu naše kulturne baštine. Za sačinjavanje daljeg plana aktivnosti kada je u pitanju kultura i tradicija Bošnjaka Priboja potrebno je, smatram, formirati stručni tim ljudi koji bi prepoznao ono što je suštinsko u tome i osmislio dinamiku i načine njegove realizacije«. Dizdarević je dalje izrazio zadovoljstvo što se po prvi put tretira kultura na jednom ovakvom skupu: »Veoma mi je drago da se napokon razgovara o izuzetno bitnoj oblasti, kao što je kultura. Uopšte nije dobro što se do sada nije razgovaralo na tu temu«.

Ramiz Crnišanin smatra da je kultura osnovno ljudsko obilježje. »Mnoge zgrade i druge građevine nisu ostale, ali su ostala brojna pisma. Ovo što je napisao Faruk Dizdarević i ono što će tek napisati, kao i drugi književnici ostaće da živi mno-

go više od brojnih građevina. Zato su agresori uvek nastojali da unište duhovnost jednog naroda, kao i njegova verska i druga obeležja. Pojedini narodi su nestali baš zato što je uništena njihova kultura».

Rada Čolović je dodala: »Drago mi je da sam čula ove informacije. U Priboju dugo živim, a nisam čula ovo. Ovim se trebaju baviti mediji, jer sam sigurna da mnoge interesuje ovo, a ne znaju. Mediji treba da se bave kulturom svih koji žive u ovom kraju«.

Šukrija Ibragić (GSS) smatra da je neophodno kod građana razvijati svijest o značaju tolerancije, multikulturalnosti.

Semiha Kačar: »Mi se u prethodnom traumatičnom periodu, zaokupljeni svakodnevnim egzistencijalnim pitanjima, bukvalno strahom, borbom za fizički opstanak, nismo mogli baviti aktivnije problematikom koja se odnosila na kulturu. U protekloj deceniji masovno su kršena elementarna ljudska prava u raznim oblicima. Tek od oktobra 2000. godine napravljeni su izvjesni pomaci, ukazalo se neko svjetlo na kraju tunela, tako da sada donekle lakše dišemo. Stvorena je atmosfera i prostor da se slobodnije govori o suptilnijim temama, kao što je kultura, tolerancija, obrazovanje, zastupljenost u medijima«.

Ramiz Crnišanin: »Neki su govorili da nije važna kultura. Treba rešiti prvo status Sandžaka i status Bošnjaka. Ne može tako i ne sme biti tako«.

Šukrija Ibragić: »Kulturno stvaralaštvo može nastajati i za vreme teških situacija. Ima mnogo primera. Andrić je mnoga dela napisao za vreme rata. Ni u tim tako teškim uslovima ne može se zabraniti pojedincu da stvara. Ali objektivno da bi domet bio veći, tj. da bi delo osetio veći broj građana, potrebna je bolja ekonomska situacija. Rat je destrukcija, uništava, ali ne može ništa ljudskom duhu«.

Aida Polimac se interesovala za polje kulture koje se odnosi na medije. Pitala je koliko je na RTV Priboj zastupljeno istraživačko novinarstvo, kada je kultura u pitanju.

Branka Žarković (direktor Informativnog centra): »Materijalni, finansijski uslovi, kadrovski potencijal — je ono što je glavni problem lokalnih medija danas. Program racionalizacije i privatizacije koji dolazi, još drastičnije će se odraziti na oblast medija. Istraživačko novinarstvo generalno nije zastupljeno kod nas. Za to treba vremena. Međutim, s obzirom na broj zaposlenih u medijima i njihov položaj sigurno se nema vremena. Prate se skupovi i izveštava. Još jedan je momenat bitan. Sve više ljudi dolazi i obraća se medijima za probleme, za koje se obraćaju i NVO. Međutim, mi možemo samo signalizirati na problem, a ne i rešiti ga. Što se tiče medija mislim da nastoje da budu otvoreni i istinski servis građana. I radio i TV pribojskog Informativnog centra su pratili sva kulturna dešavanja i bili u toku kada je ta oblast u pitanju. Mediji, međutim, i ono što bi želeli da urade ne mogu jer nema finansijskih sredstava. Privatizacija će doneti velike probleme. Iskustva iz drugih zemalja su — da se posle privatizacije ostalo bez informativnog programa, bojim se da će tako biti i kod nas, iako Zakon nalaže najmanje 4 sata dnevno informativnog programa. Ne beži se od tog istraživačkog novinarstva, ali potrebno je vreme, kadrovi. Činjenica je, kada je naša struka u pitanju, da nema analitičkih priloga, članaka, osvrtata, komentara«.

Ramiz Crnišanin je predložio predstavnicima NVO u Priboju da formiraju tzv. »Građanski parlament«, kao udruženje NVO koji će imati zadatak ne da bude opozicija bilo kome, nego da pospješuje, da radi na edukaciji stanovništva, na principijelnom sprovođenju zakona, na kontroli organa vlasti. Građanski faktor bi bio važan faktor i za saradnju i za komunikaciju. Brojni problemi bi se tako uspješnije rješavali. Crnišanin je iznio i neke primjere koji se odnose na to kako bi »Građanski parlament« trebao djelovati.

Aida Polimac: »U Priboju je NVO sektor slabo razvijen. Tako mi imamo problem sa velikim brojem NVO koje postoje na papiru, a među stanovništvom postoji strah od NVO sektora. Ljudi nas pogrešno shvataju i doživljavaju. Imamo lošu saradnju sa lokalnom samoupravom. Ovo pitanje je jako bitno, oni to znaju, ali ovo je ko zna koji put da se niko od predstavnika lokalne samouprave nije pojavio na ovako bitnom skupu. Ono što smo mi uradili, kao neki pozitivan korak — nas četiri NVO smo imale sastanak sa predsjednikom opštine. Ispred SO se niko nije pojavio. Mi smo hteli da uspostavimo bolju saradnju sa lokalnom samoupravom, da predložimo šta smo radili, a šta planiramo i da vidimo gde možemo zajednički delovati. Na rečima su bili fer. Dosta toga su obećali, ali ovaj skup danas je bio prvi pravi trenutak da pokažu spremnost za saradnju. Evo, ja sada pozivam sve ostale NVO da se uključe da, pre svega, lokalna samouprava shvati neophodnost saradnje sa građanima. Oni, kao i Informativni centar moraju biti servis građana. Komentar Međunarodne krizne grupe na promociji izveštaja u Novom Pazaru o stanju ljudskih prava u Sandžaku je bio da su mediji doprineli svemu onom što se dešavalo proteklih godina. I takođe, da mediji i dalje imaju ključnu ulogu u procesima tranzicije, demokratizacije, tolerancije i poštovanja ljudskih i manjinskih prava. Ja evo pozivam ovom prilikom i medije da konačno postanu javni servis građana i da nam pomognu da krenemo ka nekom boljem životu, pre svega, da krenemo ka demokratiji«.

Zora Čelović: »Predstavnici lokalne samouprave obećali su nam saradnju. Sve je u redu, ali kad treba to da pokažu nigde ih nema. Mediji bi trebali da pokažu dobru volju. Ja razumem da su oni u teškoj situaciji što se tiče finansija i svega. Da bi NVO mogle zaista da deluju, da se za njihov rad i čuje, treba se odvojiti jedan termin za NVO sektor na radiju ili na TV. Mislim da je za to potrebna samo jedna dobra volja«.

Branka Žarković, urednica RTV Priboj, obećala je besplatan termin, samo da se NVO dogovore oko svojih nastupa. Dobra volja je uvijek tu i do sada je dosta toga urađeno, prije svega, zahvaljujući entuzijazmu ljudi: »Mi u jednom delu moramo i da se komercijalizujemo, a vi znate kakvo je tržište Priboj. Finansije su najveći problem«.

Semiha Kačar je upitala: »Kakav je odnos centralnih medija prema Priboju? Koliko imaju sluha za probleme u ovoj sredini?«

Branka Žarković: »Dopisništvo RTS-a je stacionirano u Užicu i radi u skladu sa programskom šemom TV Beograd. Primedba naše komisije za informisanost je bila da državni mediji ne prate događaje u meri u kojoj treba. Ti mediji samo povremeno plasiraju informacije iz ove opštine. Dopisnici novina kontaktiraju nas i prate događaje, koji su bitni za njih. Uglavnom su to politička i ekonomska dešavanja, a ređe kulturna ili obrazovna. Čitavo društvo nam je ispolitizovano. Za republičke me-

dije su interesantne, pre svega, one teme koje donose novac i one sa negativnom konotacijom, jer to prodaje novinu».

Rada Čolović (Centar za ljudska prava): »Ja sam bivši novinar, a sad sam aktivna u NVO sektoru. Propaganda je učinila to što je učinila. I to svi znamo. Teme koje se odnose na rad medija zaslužuju jedan poseban skup na kom bi se o tome diskutovalo. To je neophodno pre svega u Priboju. Nije korektno zamenjivati teze i svaljivati sve na ekonomsku stranu. Informativni centar u Priboju se finansira budžetski ogromnim delom, a delimično se samofinansira. Mnogo toga šta se i kako objavljuje zavisi od ljudi koji tamo rade. U Informativnom centru danas rade isti ljudi, novinari i tehničari koji rade od 1990. godine i koji su radili sve vreme devedesetih. I pišu i pričaju, ono što pričaju. Mi ih slušamo i znamo šta čujemo. Bilo je razlike u izveštavanju radija i TV od 1989. — oktobra 2001. godine, kao i od tada do nekih godinu dana unazad, kao i od tada do danas. Radnici su isti samo se čelni ljudi menjaju.« Čolovićeva je rekla da je situacija bila malo bolja u izveštavanju od promena do pre godinu dana, kada je Informativni centar u pitanju. »Od toga ko je na čelu opštine zavisi ko je na čelu te kuće. A od svega toga zavisi kako se izveštava. Ne može baš toliko ekonomska situacija da utiče na njihovo izveštavanje. Strah od privatizacije — frapirana sam prosto«, dodajući dalje: »Mi iz Centra za prava imamo iskustva i sa privatnim informativnim kućama. Imali smo mi i korektnih odnosa sa Informativnim centrom, ali kada smo plaćali za usluge. Međutim, radila sam u toj branši, to je bila i neka vrsta pomoći njima. S druge strane, privatni mediji su nam džinglove, isečke i filmove emitovali bez dinara nadoknade«.

Branka Žarković je replicirajući Čolovićevoj rekla da se ona lično ne boji privatizacije, i da se ona ne može složiti sa njenom konstatacijom — »rade isti ljudi«, dodajući: »Pa šta ćemo sada sa tim ljudima. Svi negde moraju da završe svoj radni vek«.

Sefer Merdović (SDP): »Čini mi se da je problem u našoj opštini uspostavljanje saradnje između vlasti i civilnog sektora. To ljudi iz NVO sektora najbolje znaju. Znam koliko ste ih puta zvali i da se nisu odazivali. Verovatno se neće ni odazivati, pogotovo ne na teme za njih »škakljive«. Ne vole oni ni na ove teme da raspravljaju. To je ono što ja zapažam. Ne doživljavaju NVO sektor kao ljude koji mogu da im pomognu i sa kojima mogu sarađivati. Kada je reč o ovom skupu atmosfera je odlična i tema itekako pogodena. Što se medija tiče mislim da ekonomska strana nije toliko neophodna koliko se ovde pričalo«.

Semiha Kačar je zaključila na kraju da je ovaj program Sandžačkog odbora, koji pomaže Švedski helsinški komitet za ljudska prava, opravdan, jer je bilo itekako potrebno sagledati probleme koji se odnose na implementaciju Okvirne konvencije u ovoj sredini.

Učesnici ovog foruma su usaglasili svoja mišljenja oko sljedećih zaključaka i preporuka:

1. Državni organi moraju da rasvijetle ratne zločine počinjene na teritoriji opštine Priboj tokom 90-tih godina prošlog vijeka, zločinci da se kazne, a porodice oštećenih obeštete.

2. Država je dužna da pomogne porodicama žrtava, kao i da obnovi uništena materijalna dobra.

3. Opština je dužna da spriječi sve vrste opstrukcije i osigura uslove za praktično uvođenje bosanskog jezika u ravnopravnu službenu upotrebu.

4. Škole su dužne da sprovedu anketu kako bi se roditelji bošnjačke djece izjasnili o mogućnosti uvođenja bosanskog jezika kao izbornog predmeta, a da se nakon toga bosanski jezik eventualno uvede u redovnu nastavu.

5. Treba insistirati na njegovanju kulture i tradicije Bošnjaka i u tom smislu tražiti pomoć i od lokalne samouprave i od državnih organa.

6. Na lokalnim medijima su slabo zastupljene teme koje se odnose na nacionalne manjine.

7. Većina centralnih medija i dalje širi govor mržnje i jednostranog izvještavanja i ne nudi sadržaje namijenjene nacionalnim manjinama.

Dodatak

Lista učesnika foruma:

- Semiha Kačar, Sandžački odbor za zaštitu ljudskih prava i sloboda
- Aida Polimac, Građanska akcija za ljudska prava
- Ramiz Crnišanin, Sandžački intelektualni krug
- Faruk Dizdarević, književnik
- Elza Demić, Odbornik, Sandžačka demokratska partija
- Safer Merdović, Sandžačka demokratska partija
- Šukrija Ibragić, Građanski savez Srbije
- Alija Sukuć, Opštinska popisna komisija
- Rada Čolović, Centar za ljudska prava
- Sead Čičić, Centar za ljudska prava
- Slavica Cerović, Centar za ljudska prava

- Zora Čelović, Ženska inicijativa
- Ekrem Hadžić, Helsinški odbor za ljudska prava, Sandžak
- Džemail Halilagić, Odbor za ljudska prava i humanitarnu djelatnost
- Hamed Pecikoza, Odbor za ljudska prava
- Merhunisa Hodžić, Odbor za ljudska prava
- Suljo Šarak, Odbor za ljudska prava
- Haris Zeković, Odbor za zaštitu ljudskih prava
- Zoran Maksimović, Sandžački odbor za zaštitu ljudskih prava
- Dževad Koldžić, Građanska akcija za ljudska prava
- Branka Žarković, urednik JP Informativni centar (RTV Priboj)
- Danica Gudurić, RTV Priboj, Radio Slobodna Evropa
- Mujo Bjelopoljac, novinar
- Hajrudin Muratović, građanin
- Bejtović Zećir, građanin
- Ahmet Kaltak, građanin
- Esad Hasanagić, penzioner
- Hamdija Mišorep, građanin
- Izet Uzunović, građanin
- Šerif Uzunović, građanin
- Asim Biber, raseljenik
- Dragutin Gagričić, građanin

Skup su pratili slijedeći mediji:

- RTV B-92
- Radio Slobodna Evropa
- TV Priboj
- Radio Priboj
- Regionalna RTV Novi Pazar

IZVJEŠTAJ SA TREĆEG FORUMA:

**PRIMJENA OKVIRNE KONVENCIJE I POLOŽAJ
NACIONALNIH MANJINA U SANDŽAKU**

Sjenica, 30. jun 2005.

Uvodno izlaganje imala je **Semiha Kačar**, predsjednik Sandžačkog odbora za zaštitu ljudskih prava i sloboda. Ona je prisutne upoznala sa projektom i njegovim ciljevima. **Ramiz Crnišanin** govorio je o Okvirnoj konvenciji i njenoj implementaciji na području Sandžaka.

Sadeta Zahirović je istakla problem koji se odnosi na upotrebu jezika. U ovoj sredini se, kako je rekla, govori mješovito i ekavicom i ijekavicom: »Pisana reč to ne trpi. Moramo se odlučiti. Šta treba tražiti od učitelja bosanskog? I tu se mora odrediti. Mi imamo malo ljudi koji su studirali bosanski jezik i književnost. To je, takođe, problem. Raduje informacija da će u Novom Pazaru biti otvorena i katedra za bosanski jezik. Mi u pisanju treba da se pridržavamo ijekavice. To je proces. Ekavizacija je trajala oko 50 godina. Nadamo se da će ovaj proces biti nešto kraći. Evo, sada imamo i lokalne radio i TV stanice koje koriste i jedan i drugi jezik«.

Zvanična saopštenja nekih institucija su na ijekavici, dodao je **Ramiz Crnišanin**.

Semiha Kačar je istakla da se Sjenica i Novi Pazar susreću sa istim problemom kada je službena upotreba jezika u pitanju. Opštinskim statutima predviđena je ravnopravna upotreba oba jezika, međutim, korespodencija se i dalje obavlja samo na srpskom. Sve table na ulazima javnih i drugih preduzeća i ustanova su na srpskom jeziku, nazivi ulica, trgova, kao i tabla na ulazu u opštinu.

Ramiz Crnišanin kaže da je to stvar konkretnog sprovođenja i da se za to treba-ju osigurati budžetska sredstva: »Vlada nije zainteresovana da se išta promeni po tom pitanju. Demokratija je skupa na prvi pogled, ali je još skuplja ako se ne sprovodi«.

Ramiz Hamidović iz Islamske zajednice Sandžaka je rekao da nedostaje dogovaranje. On je citirajući jedan od kur'anskih principa kazao da je Muhamed a.s. rekao da Bog neće izmijeniti situaciju jednog naroda dok taj narod ne izmijeni sebe. »Analogno tome — niko neće našu situaciju mijenjati dok mi ne izmijenimo svoj odnos prema tome. Mnogo je bilo pritisaka kroz jezik, etničku pripadnost« — istakao je Hamidović i naveo primjer jednog grada u Turskoj u kom živi između sedam i osam hiljada Sandžaklija, gdje je jezik kojim se nekada govorilo sačuvan skoro u potpunosti: »Oni su tada ponijeli sa sobom izvorni sandžački govor, a nisu bili pod pritiscima i nisu ga mijenjali. Moramo vratiti taj stari autohtoni jezik. Tada nije bilo razlika između književnog i narodnog jezika. Ne treba izmišljati jezik, već se samo treba vratiti na govor Sandžaklije od prije nekoliko decenija. Mora se obnoviti znanje i vratiti se na tradicionalni jezik, koji mora biti i književni«.

Sadeta Zahirović smatra da se samo treba usmjeriti geneza postojećeg jezika, jer svaki jezik ima svoju genezu: »Vuk Stefanović Karadžić je govorio i pisao ijekavicu. Geneza je učinila da se srpski jezik sada svodi na ekavicu. Mi posebno moramo biti kritični. Moramo kritikovati loš govor, jer nas jezik svuda predstavlja. Dosta je intelektualaca u ovom kraju koji ne znaju da se izražavaju. Moramo tražiti da se govori jasno i pravilno. Imali smo priliku da vidimo direktora jedne od srednjih škola na televiziji koji od 50 rečenica ni pet nije izgovorio pravilno«.

Ramiz Hamidović je podržao mišljenje Zahirovićeve rekavši da osnov obrazovnog sistema treba biti izučavanje jezika, jer nama dobrog i preciznog izjašnjavanja bez dobrog poznavanja jezika.

Esad Zornić (predsjednik SO Sjenica) složio se sa konstatacijom da treba krenuti od nekulture i neobrazovanja u ovim ruralnim krajevima. On je naveo nekoliko primjera gdje su mladi ljudi pokazali svoju neobrazovanost. Jedan od primjera je i djevojka koja je izabrana za najljepšu djevojku na peštarskom vašaru koja je dajući izjavu za televiziju na pitanje kako se osjeća rekla »vrlo eventualno«. Treba dobro poraditi, rekao je Zornić, na samom obrazovanju, sve ostalo je nadgradnja. Sve to je, slažem se, jedan dug proces. Poraditi na našem maternjem jeziku je proces koji zaista zahteva dugo vremena dodajući dalje da je i sam imao veliki problem sa jezikom. Studirao je u Sarajevu gdje se privikao na ijekavicu komunicirajući, ali i čitajući knjige i potrebnu literaturu. Kada se vratio naišao je na blagi otpor sredine i na komentare — gledaj pravi se važan govori sarajevski, bosanski. Tako je ponovo počeo da se prilagođava postepeno ekavici odnosno govoru sredine: »Tu famu treba razbiti, ona i dalje postoji u ovim krajevima«. Po njegovim riječima mnogi zakoni koje je ova država donijela su van pameti. Kako je rekao, najbolji primjer je zakon koji jednom čovjeku, predsjedniku opštine daje nenormalno veliku izvršnu vlast. S druge strane i njihova koncepcija ide na štetu stanovnika ove zemlje: Dobro je poznat Šešeljev porez. Ali on više nije Šešeljev porez, već aktuelne vlasti. Ako su ga prije kritikovali, zašto ga sada ne ukinu«, zapitao je Zornić. Sjenica ima, kako je istakao dalje, veliki problem jer je podijeljena između nekoliko okruga. Zapravo ona je u Zlatiborskom okrugu. Sudstvo i policija iz Novog Pazara (Raški okrug) pokrivaju teritoriju ove opštine; Zdravstveni centar je u Užicu (Zlatiborski okrug), a Šumsko gazdinstvo koje ima ingerencije nad sjeničkim šumama je u Moravičkom okrugu. O uvođenju bosanskog jezika u škole Zornić je rekao: »Bilo je jako bitno ko će napisati udžbenike za bosanski jezik i gdje će se promovisati. Da sam se ja pitao okupio bih više stručnjaka i profesora bosanskog jezika iz Novog Pazara, Sarajeva i drugih gradova, koji bi seli sa republičkim ministrom prosvjete dogovorili se i napravili knjige. Međutim, neko je htio da pišući udžbenike uđe u istoriju i pokupi političke poene. Nije se smjelo dozvoliti da bude tako«.

Ismet Mahmutović (SDA Sandžaka) se usprotivio konstatacijama nekih učesnika foruma da je bosanski jezik ispolitizovan i da ga nisu radili stručni timovi.

Sedat Vrcić (NVO Flores): »Pravo na slobodu izražavanja je osnovno ljudsko pravo. Normalno je da ćemo govoriti svi jezikom koji najbolje poznajemo. Dok se mi borimo za osnovna ljudska prava drugi zidaju fabrike. Zato se ovi problemi moraju rješavati brzo i efikasno. Vrcić je naglasio i probleme koji se odnose na službeni



Sa III foruma u Sjenici

upotrebu jezika. On je naveo i jedan mali pomak, a to je što na vratima predsednika opštine piše i na bosanskom — predsjednik.

Sadeta Zahirović je govorila o etnološkim i kulturnim posebnostima Bošnjaka u Sandžaku: »Petovekovna osmanska uprava i islamska vjera, koja je jedina, religija Bošnjaka Sandžaka učinila je specifičnom kulturu naroda ovog kraja, višedimenzionalno. Odrasila se na materijalnu kulturu, ispoljavajući karakteristike kulture Orijenta sa njenim originalnim pojedinostima. Objekti islamske arhitekture Bošnja-

ka Sandžaka, možda su, najvidljiviji specifikum kulture ovog kraja. Ništa slično minaretu ne postoji i ne vidi se na građevinama Balkana i Evrope. Islamska graditeljska umjetnost na prostoru Sandžaka, sa vidljivim uticajima orijentalnih motiva, pripada sferi ukupnog kulturnog naslijeđa Bošnjaka i njihovog dodira i recepcije vrijednosti pomenute baštine. Mnogi arhitektonski termini, opet, posebnost su, kulture Bošnjaka. Baš kao što kod pravoslavaca ne postoji minaret, kao upotrební pojam, tako se, naravno, ne javlja ni leksička potreba za ovim pojmom. Pokušala sam objasniti neraskidivu vezu duhovne i materijalne kulture Bošnjaka, koja je i ovdje kao i kod ostalih etničkih grupacija, svuda u svijetu podjednako povezana. Pa, jezik prati način života, ponašanje, rad, učenje, vjerske obrede, i sve životne radnje i pojave. Sve posebnosti kulturne i etnološke, prati jezik neminovno i uporno i ma koliko bio razumljiv drugim narodima i sunarodnicima on sa svojim kulturnim etnološkim karakteristikama pripada samo narodu koji ga je stvarao, i koji ga stvara kontinuirano i veoma, veoma uslovljeno načinu života. Vraćajući se temi, posebnosti kulture Bošnjaka Sandžaka, i istovremeno želeći da oslikam posebnosti jezika kojim govore Bošnjaci, vraćam se i primjeru koji odslikava fenomen uslovljenosti jezika sa ostalim tekovinama i načinima kulturnog djelovanja. Pomenute džamije u kojima, poput svih muslimana svijeta, i Bošnjaci Sandžaka realizuju obrede vjere, imaju svoje, svrsishodne elemente, koji pripadnici entiteta imenuju u skladu sa svojom tradicijom, mentalitetom i vjerom i jezikom, koji je samo njima svojstven dodaju grupu specifičnih bosanskih termina, na primjer: Mahvil — galerija u džamiji; Gasulhana — mjesto za obredno kupanje; Avlija — dvorište džamije, Minber — mesto sa kojeg se imam obraća; Mihrab — plato — namijenjen za imama.

Ne treba biti ekspert za jezik da bi smo znali da se ovi termini na svojim izvorima, u arapskom ili kom drugom orijentalnom jeziku izgovaraju neprepoznatljivo drugačije, i svakako pišu se, potpuno drugačije. Na ovaj način koriste ih samo Bošnjaci, i logično, to su sada bosanske riječi, baš kao što je i namaz molitva Bošnjaka, ili kao što je abdest obredno pranje i Bošnjaka muslimana. Drugi primjer, gdje po mom mišljenju možemo pratiti dijalektiku bosanskog jezika kroz etnologiju Bošnjaka, jeste običaj bošnjačke svadbe, ili po tome kako sam napravila izbor riječi, preciznije da ih nazovem kićenjem i opremanjem bošnjačke mlade. Riječi koje se koriste tom prigodom priznaćemo pravi su etnološko-kulturni raskoš maternjeg jezika Bošnjaka, na primjer: dimije: specifični odjevni predmet i riječ koja je u aktivnoj upotrebi samo kod ovog entiteta; ekluk: ukrašena izvezena podsuknja; mintan: srmom ili zlatnim koncem ukrašen jelek; duvak: tanka, crvena koprena na glavi mlade; halhale: nevjestačke narukvice; boćanka: ukrasna šnala u kosi; sehara: sanduk za nevjestinu spremu; sepet: vjerenički nakit i odjeća, dar od mladoženje; derdek: svečana soba za prvu bračnu noć, surma, kana, boščaluk, surmedanluk, i mnogi, mnogi, drugi termini dio su ove bogate riznice osobenih a sasvim jasnih i preciznih termina koji su isključivo dio jezika Bošnjaka.

Ni jedna od navedenih riječi, ne koristi se kod drugih naroda u širem okruženju Sandžaka osim kod Bošnjaka. Ne koriste ih, ni u približnoj formi drugi narodi koji su i islamske i drugih vjeroispovijesti. Za iste ili slične pojmove, koji se koriste za kićenje mlade kod Srba ili Hrvata ili Albanaca postoje sasvim drugačiji termini. No, spe-

cifičnost svadbenih običaja Bošnjaka mnoge od navedenih predmeta i ne dovodi u vezu sa svadbenim običajima drugih naroda, oni su baš kao i jezički i tradicionalni elementi materijalne kulture Bošnjaka. Ono, što nikako ne želim izostaviti ovom prilikom jeste književnost Bošnjaka Sandžaka. Ova književnost, iako u uzlaznoj liniji ni po kvalitetu, ni po kvantitetu nije još dosegla visine srpske, hrvatske ili književnosti Bošnjaka u Bosni i Hercegovini. To se, naravno da razumjeti, i da opet pokušam slikovito objasniti. Mnogo je lakše napraviti kvalitetan fudbalski tim od ponuđenih 1000 igrača nego od datih 50 talenata. Osim toga, evidentno je da je pismenost sandžačkih Bošnjaka kasnila u odnosu na pomenute narode. No, to nikako ne znači da Sandžak nema izuzetne, u svijetu čuvene i na mnoge jezike prevedene pisce. Evidentna je samo potreba da buduća vremena iznjedre mnogo više književnika ranga Ćamila Sijarića, Muhameda Abdagića, Huseina Bašića, Safeta Sijarića, Ismeta Rebronje, Murata Baltića, Rasima Ćelahmetovića, Šabana Šarenkapića, Huska Džigala.

To će se mnogo lakše postići, ako uvođenjem nastave bosanskog jezika u škole Sandžaka pored svih ostalih balkanskih i svjetskih pisaca, prezentiraju i naglase bošnjačkoj djeci dijela njihovih nacionalnih književnih autoriteta i stubova njihove kulture. Jezik kojim su do sada stvarali, i kojim će ubuduće pisati bošnjački književnici bio je i biće, samo jezik bosanski. To je jezik, koji je, ne poput tankih niti, već snažnim konopcima prožeo književnost Bošnjaka Sandžaka. Ne tendenciozno, ne sa politizirajućom namjerom, već naprosto što je i pisana riječ kao i usmjena, najjasniji odraz mentaliteta, tradicije, etnologije, nacionalne psihologije i kulture naroda iz kog potiče. Baš kao što je i usmeni ep »Ženidba Smailagić Mehe«, uveliko slavljelog »sandžačkog Homera«, Avde Međedovića oslikao vrijeme i bošnjačku stvarnost onog vremena na Sandžaku, tako je i umjetnička proza i poezija Bošnjaka davala i davaće pečate vremenu u kojem nastaje prikazujući, književnošću svakog naroda naroda genezu jezika, njenog osnovnog sredstva i stanje svijesti autora i svih njegovih savremenika. Jezik Bošnjaka Sandžaka zaslužuje, osim tzv. »priznavanja«, od strane Ministarstva prosvjete, što je formalno i obavljeno, ozbiljno i sistematsko prezentiranje na svim nivoima obrazovanja. Kod najnižeg školskog uzrasta potrebno je naći načina da se djeca informišu o književnosti Bošnjaka za njihov uzrast, i da se pripreme za učenje i dugotrajno prihvatanje njegovih nijansi i osobenosti identifikujući se sa njim, pa sve do akademskih nivoa obrazovanja, gdje će za to biti potreban ozbiljan pristup izučavanju teorije i tehnike bosanskog jezika i književnosti. Uz to, dvije su stvari koje za kraj ovog izlaganja želim poentirati, i izraziti želju za najserioznijim pristupom organizaciji nastave bosanskog jezika, koja će imati zadatak da cjelokupni opus bosanske kulture prezentira generacijama bošnjačke djece. Ono, o čemu se, naročito mora voditi računa, jeste da čitav ovaj projekat mora biti u službi dostizanja visokog cilja multikulturalnosti, tolerancije i kvalitetnog suživota svih naroda na ovim prostorima, a nikako u službi jačanja eventualne nacionalne surevnjivosti kultura.

Irfet Hadžifejzović (direktor Biblioteke): »Često se uočava u govoru miješanje ekavice i ijekavice. Međutim, moramo se svi uključiti u oživljavanje bosanskog jezika. Trebaju se formirati stručne komisije u školama. Ne može se jedan udžbenik smatrati bosanskim jezikom. Nije sramota pozvati stručne ljude sa Sarajevskog uni-

verziteta ili neke druge profesore i lingviste iz BiH, možda i odavde nekoliko stručnih ljudi. Sramota je ne odraditi posao kako treba. Drugo, kada se kroz ustanove — domove kulture, biblioteke traže neka sredstva djeluje apsurdno. Šta će nam sada kultura? Bolje da se od tih para asfaltira jedna ulica. Možda je to trenutno neophodno. Međutim griješi se, pogotovo kada se dugoročno pogleda u budućnost. Zbog jezika, njegovanja kulture i našeg opstanka potrebno je što više kulturnih manifestacija. Kada su svojedobno upitali danas rahmetli Asima Vrcića, poznatog sjeničkog kulturnog radnika, koja je razlika između srpskog i bosanskog jezika, one je rekao: »Otiđi u Rašku u neki restoran te traži — dela halve ili tuhav zemana, pa ćeš da vidiš«. Moramo se dobro pozabaviti tim problemom. Takođe, mora se insistirati da imamo više bošnjačke literature i knjiga u bibliotekama. Toga na ovim prostorima manjka. Ovdje se ne podstiču umjetnici na stvaranje. A treba i što više dovoditi književnike iz BIH«.

Sedat Vrcić naveo je nekoliko primjera u odstupanju kada je ijekavica u pitanju. On je naglasio da se na teritoriji Sjenice govori specifično. To je, kako kaže, zetsko-sjenički govor, koji negde postoji i kao registrovana forma: »Neko od struke bi trebao da se založi da zetsko-sjenički govor registruje kao narečje bosanskog jezika«, predložio Vrcić objasnivši da se radi o specifičnom govoru Bošnjaka iz tih krajeva, po kojima je to deo bosanskog jezika. »Jezik je temelj nečeg što se zove identitet. Po meni pravo na jezik je deo prava na identitet, koji niko ne sme da ospori«.

Sadeta Zahirović: »Jezik je kao sjenka, prati sve ostalo. On ne može biti ništa drugo osim dio tradicije, običaja i kulture. Vjerovatno da se ta potreba za jezikom ne bi javila da nije došlo do odvajanja jezika iz grupe srpsko-hrvatskih jezika. Kao što imamo pravo na svoju kulturu imamo i pravo na svoj jezik, koji zbilja ima mnogo svojih karakteristika. Drugi problem odnosi se na prezentovanje tog jezika. Moramo svi dati ideje. Ja sebe ne smatram nekim ekspertom, ali želim da kažem ono što sam, takođe, učila sa svojim ocem, a tiče se izučavanja srpskog jezika. Svi znamo šta se izučava kada se djeca vrate sa raspusta odmorna — narodna književnost. Tu je kosovski, pokosovski, ciklus Marka Kraljevića i drugi. To nije samo puko, već detaljno izučavanje i tako osam godina osnovne škole. Mi htjeli ne htjeli, moramo da znamo »Zidanje Skadra na Bojani«. Nismo znali za Avda Mededovića, ali smo tako znali za mnoge druge koji se izučavaju u srpskom jeziku«.

Ramiz Crnišanin je naveo primjer književnika Huseina Bašića koji je istraživao bošnjačko narodno stvaralaštvo: »Treba se više izučavati i nastojati da se deca i mladi upoznaju sa bošnjačkom narodnom književnošću«. On je posebno naglasio da Sjenica mora očuvati ono što je na polju kulture započeo rahmetli Asim Vrcić, kao što je i »Sjenički zbornik«, gde su objavljeni značajni radovi iz više različitih oblasti. Mnoge stvari na polju kulture treba podržavati, ali treba voditi računa da se radi o pravim vrednostima.

Rijad Hodžić: »Pošto je jezik jedna od mojih specijalnosti, malo me čudi da kada govorimo o jeziku pričamo samo o ijekavici. Treba da znamo da bosanski jezik ima i ikavicu koja se govori u Duvnu i Livnu. Međutim, problem je po meni što kod nas niko ne stavlja neku težnju na gramatiku. Gramatike bosanskog i srpskog se razlikuju. Ima riječi koje su u bosanskom ispravne, a u srpskom neispravne i obrnuto.

Na bosanskom se, recimo, kaže — putovi su zavejani, a na srpskom je to neispravno, kaže se — putevi su zavejani. Žalosno je da naša djeca bolje poznaju »Gorski vijenac«, nego djela naših književnika. Što se tiče porijekla riječi, kada je bosanski jezik u pitanju, dosta ima turcizama. Posebno treba obratiti pažnju na izučavanje bošnjačke književnosti, jer se tako dosta uči o kulturi, istoriji, ali i jeziku«.

Zejna Memić (G 17+): »Jezik je živ organizam. Isti je koren samo su u pitanju male nijanse. Bosansko pismo je i latinica i ćirilica, a koristi se i ekavica i ijekavica. Norme se u bosanskom jeziku razlikuju. Moje mišljenje da se trebaju izučavati obe verzije. Ono što treba definitivno da uradimo jeste da napravimo skup lingvista, koji će biti autoritet, iza kog ćemo morati da stanemo svi, kako bi se odredio nacionalni pozdrav. Nema naroda koji koristi tuđ nacionalni pozdrav. »Merhaba« je arapski pozdrav. Naš jezik je slovenskog jezičkog korena. Ako je »dobro dan« nacionalni pozdrav Srba, nemojte misliti da su manji nacionalisti Hrvati kada je jezik u pitanju. I oni kažu — »dobro dan«. Ja ne vidim ništa loše da neko ko je slovenskog jezičkog korena ne upotrebi — »dobro dan«. Treba se dogovoriti šta je nacionalni pozdrav. To pre svega treba uraditi zbog radija i televizija, kao i zbog skupova. Ne možemo mi to da uradimo. To moraju uraditi lingvisti, profesori doktori. Ni »selam« nije u duhu slovenskog jezika. Jedno je verski a drugo oficijelni pozdrav. RTS ne počinje »Dnevnik« sa »ćao« i »pomoz Bog«. Nešto što je stub jednog naroda je jezik i pozdrav. Pozdrav uvek prvo naučimo. U Sandžaku se treba raščistiti sa time«.

Ramiz Crnić se usprotivio ovakvim tezama, zastupajući drugačije stavove. Po njegovim riječima ne može ispred svega da se stavi »nacionalni« pa i ispred pozdrava.

Zejna Memić je na to replicirala: »Ni jedan Arapin neće reći »dobro dan«, pa nastaviti na arapskom jeziku«.

Učesnici ovog foruma su usaglasili svoja mišljenja oko slijedećih zaključaka i preporuka:

1. Bosanski jezik ne bi trebalo da bude izborni, već treba razmatrati i mogućnosti da on postane redovan predmet.
2. Izradu udžbenika za bosanski jezik sa elementima kulture i tradicije treba prepuštiti stručnim timovima ljudima iz BiH i SCG, kako bi se izbjegle improvizacije.
3. Udžbenici za pojedine predmete nisu prilagođeni višenacionalnom sastavu stanovništva.
4. Kada je u pitanju implementacija Okvirne konvencije problem nije samo u centralnim već i u lokalnim vlastima.
5. Treba postići konsenzus među vodećim bošnjačkim političkim partijama o mnogim pitanjima, pa i o ostvarivanju prava zagwarantovanih Okvirnom konvencijom.
6. Treba promovisati prave vrijednosti.
7. Dominira nedostatak kulturnih manifestacija, što u budućnosti treba mijenjati.
8. Na lokalnim medijima nema obrazovnih i emisija o kulturi Bošnjaka.
9. Postoji problem prezentovanja jezika.
10. Centralni mediji o multietničkim krajevima apostrofiraju samo negativne pojave. Treba raditi na prevladavanju stereotipa i predrasuda na tom polju.
11. Na centralnim medijima nema dovoljno pravih sadržaja za Bošnjake.
12. Stručnjaci treba da se mnogo više posvete suštinskim pitanjima vezanim za tradiciju, kulturu i običaje Bošnjaka.
13. Problem je i među samim Bošnjacima, jer ne čine dovoljno na ostvarivanju svojih prava, svojoj edukaciji i obrazovanju.

Dodatak

Lista učesnika foruma:

- Semiha Kačar, Sandžački odbor za zaštitu ljudskih prava i sloboda
- Sedat Vrcić, NVO »Flores«
- Ramiz Crnišanin, Sandžački intelektualni krug
- Sadeta Zahirović, NVO »Flores«
- Esad Zornić, predsjednik opštine Sjenica

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- Enisa Gilić, Ustanova kulture
 - Indira Tandirović, Ustanova kulture
 - Selma Ljajić, TV Jedinstvo
 - Sanela Buljubašić, NVO »Flores«
 - Alessia Barlisan, NVO »Flores«
 - Entezan Hadžiahmetović, Stranka za Sandžak
 - Irfet Hadžiahmetagić, direktor Biblioteke
 - Rijad Hodžić, NVO »Flores«, LDF
 - Erkin Mumdzić, MZ Sjenica
 - Ismet Mahmutović, Stranka demokratske akcije Sandžaka
 - Murat Garibović, Ustanova za sport
 - Ramiz Hamidović, Islamska zajednica Sandžaka
 - Zoran Maksimović, Sandžački odbor za zaštitu ljudskih prava
 - Emil Gracić, LDF
 - Samko Crnišanić, Sandžački intelektualni krug
 - Jasmin Biberović, Liberalno bošnjačka organizacija
 - Adnan Šmrković, Liberalno bošnjačka organizacija
 - Zejna Memić, G 17+

Skup su pratili sljedeći mediji:

- RTV Jedinstvo Novi Pazar
- Regionalna RTV Novi Pazar
- Radio Novi Pazar

IZVJEŠTAJ SA ČETVRTOG FORUMA:

**PRIMJENA OKVIRNE KONVENCIJE I POLOŽAJ
NACIONALNIH MANJINA U SANDŽAKU**

Priboj, 18. novembar 2005.

Jasmina Kruševljanin (Sandžački odbor za zaštitu ljudskih prava i sloboda) i **Aida Polimac** (Građanska akcija za ljudska prava) pozdravile su skup i upoznale prisutne sa svrhom i ciljem ovog Foruma, kao i trenutnim stanjem i rezultatima u realizovanju projekta.

O pravima manjina i pravu na informisanje na maternjem jeziku najprije je govorio **Fuad Bećirović** (književnik i novinar). On je komentarisao članove Okvirne konvencije i Zakona koje se odnose na informisanje, a zatim je analitički predočio situaciju u javnom servisu, Radio-televiziji Priboj, koja se dijelom finansira iz opštinskog budžeta. Bećirović je govorio na temu: Manjine i mediji u Priboju — pravo na informisanje na maternjem jeziku.

On je prisutne prvo podsjetio kako glasi član deveti Okvirne konvencije za zaštitu nacionalnih manjina: »Ugovornice se obavezuju da priznaju pravo svakog pripadnika nacionalne manjine na slobodu izražavanja, koja obuhvata slobodu uvjerenja i primanja i davanja informacija i ideja na manjinskom jeziku, bez ometanja od strane vlasti i bez obzira na granice. U okviru svojih pravnih sistema ugovornice će obezbijediti da pripadnici nacionalnih manjina imaju pristup sredstvima javnog informisanja bez diskriminacije«: »Dakle, prvi stav devetog člana Okvirne konvencije ne sprečava ugovornice da zatraže odobrenje, bez diskriminacije i na osnovu objektivnih kriterija za emitovanje radio i televizijskih emisija i otvaranje bioskopskih preduzeća. U nastavku pomenutog člana, u trećem stavu, se ističe da ugovornice neće ometati pripadnike nacionalnih manjina da stvaraju i koriste štampana sredstva javnog informisanja. U pravnom režimu za zvučne radio i televizijske emisije ugovornice će obezbediti, koliko god je to moguće, da pripadnici nacionalnih manjina dobijaju mogućnost stvaranja i korišćenja sopstvenih sredstava javnog informisanja. Nadalje, u okviru svojih pravnih sistema ugovornice će usvojiti odgovarajuće javnog informisanja i u cilju unapređenja tolerancije i omogućavanja kulturnog pluralizma. Prošle godine ovdje je dominirao stav da u Priboju ne postoji informisanje na bosanskom jeziku. Lokalna RTV Priboj koja se finansira iz opštinskog budžeta nema emisije na ovom jeziku, uz obrazloženje da bosanski jezik nije u zvaničnoj upotrebi. Takođe, ne postoje ni emisije koje bi se bavile informisanjem ljudi o kulturi, tradiciji ili vjeri bošnjačkog stanovništva. Na jednom od ovakvih foruma je istaknuto da je rukovodstvo RTV Priboj najavilo uvođenje programa na bosanskom jeziku, kada ga Skupština opštine proglasi zvaničnim, odnosno službenim jezikom. Kada se razmotre i analiziraju dve osnovne primjese iz ovog kratkog rimejka, neminovno se suoča-

vamo sa novom ključnom činjenicom, a ona glasi: pored Okvirne konvencije pravo na službenu upotrebu jezika izričito garantuje i Zakon o zaštiti prava i sloboda nacionalnih manjina u članu 11. u kome se kaže da je obavezna službena upotreba jezika i pisma nacionalne manjine kojim govori više od 15 % stanovništva u nekoj opštini. Bošnjačka nacionalna zajednica je ispunila taj cenzus. Po popisu stanovništva iz 2002. Bošnjaka u Priboju ima oko 22%.

Šta se odmah uočava kao pravni nonsens i političko-kulturološki fenomen? Na jednoj strani postoji pravna regulativa i izričitosti Zakona koji jasno determiniše granice prava pripadnika manjinske zajednice u lokalnoj sredini kao što je multikulturalni i multikonfesionalni Priboj, ali lokalna samouprava u ovom slučaju preuzima ingerencije zakonodavne vlasti i faktički opstruira praktičnu primenu zakonskih mogućnosti koje stoje na raspolaganju manjinskim zajednicama. To je nečuveni apsurd i paradoks. Ovakav odnos parlamentarne većine prema međunarodnom pravu predstavlja veliku blamažu za samu državu Srbiju pred evropskim stremljenjima i evropskim institucijama. Dakle, nije teško zaključiti da su zalaganja aktuelnog političko-trgovinskog saveza u Srbiji čista deklaracija. To je fikcija. To je virtuelna stvarnost. To je uistinu neiskreno fingiranje pluralne i multikulturalne demokratije. S tim u vezi, nije teško objasniti ni ponašanje rukovodstva lokalne RTV Priboj, koje je obećalo da će primeniti odredbe 9. i 10. člana Okvirne konvencije tek kada lokalni parlament odluči da prizna ratifikovano međunarodno pravo iz najšireg dijapazona ljudskih prava i sloboda. Takvo obećanje je istaknuto u zaključcima sa poslednjeg skupa ovde u Priboju. Ovde je očigledno na delu vertikalno i horizontalno suspendovanje zagarantovanih međunarodnih prava. Osnivač, odnosno lokalni parlament je za JP »Informativni centar« Priboj, na žalost, vrhunski ideal. Lokalna skupštinska većina je RTV Priboj osnivač, pravni zastupnik i nedodirljivi autoritet. Ovde nisu bitni međunarodni standardi niti međunarodni zakonski okviri. Kada ove kritičke opaske upućujem na adresu lokalne RTV stanice, to ni u kom slučaju ne znači da se od odgovornosti abolira ili amnestira nedodirljivi pribojski parlament. On je vrh ledenog brijega. To je ta piramida virtuelne stvarnosti u čijim temeljima su, na žalost ugrađeni fundamenti ksenofobičnosti, netolerancije, ruralnosti, neznanja i iracionalnog straha od duha prošlosti. Sve vas želim da podsjetim na jesen 2003. godine. Upravo ovdje u Priboju, začeta je klica potonjih trgovačkih dogovora u vrhu republičke vlasti. Eksperimenti se u Priboju uspješno nastavljaju. Priboj je tako postao opitni centar za mnogobrojne diobe plijena na najvišem nivou u državi. Ove političke opservacije su možda preoštre ali su neminovne, budući da iz ukupnog političkog miljea proističu drastične posljedice na praktičnom lokalnom terenu.

Ovom prilikom želim da ukažem na još jednu bitnu činjenicu koja u velikoj mjeri determiniše rad elektronskih medija i nacionalnih i regionalnih i lokalnih. Naime, premda su još 2002. usvojeni zakoni o radio difuziji i telekomunikacijama, ni jedna vlast u Srbiji nema namjeru da suštinski razriješi pitanje zakonitosti rada elektronskih medija i raspodelu frekvencija i dozvola za rad. Nezvanično se barata podatkom da u Srbiji program emituje više od 1200 radio i televizijskih stanica. Po tome je Srbija evropski rekorder kada je u pitanju nezakonitost rada elektronskih medija. U ovoj oblasti vlada istinski kaos i hajdučija. Premda je konstituisan Radio-difu-



Sa IV foruma u Priboju

zni savet, Vlada Srbije a potom i većinska republička skupština odlučila su da odluku o raspodjeli frekvencija i dozvola za rad, kao i proces privatizacije lokalnih medija odloži do kraja 2007. godine. Šta takav potez Vlade govori? Jasno i nedvosmisleno da ona podržava i produžava agoniju i da ne želi da riješi problem, vjerovatno zazirući od mogućnosti gubitka političkih pozicija i pada rejtinga, jer bi u suprotnom zadočila brojne oponente. Lokalnim medijima u tom slučaju ništa drugo ne ostaje nego da se svom težinom naslone na budžet opštine, jer je najlagodnije biti pod skutima po-

krovitelja. To donosi, naravno, uzajamnu spregu, te se osnivač predstavlja kao jedini ovlašćeni autoritet koji određuje sudbinu lokalnih medija i zaposlenih u njima. Tako je i u Priboju. Ovo nije pribojski specijalitet ili delikates. Ovo je pravilo ponašanja u medijski nesređenoj i haotičnoj Srbiji. Osnivač RTV Priboj, lokalni parlament, preko svog upravnog odbora zapravo sprovodi političku volju većine, a rukovodstvu ove medijske kuće ne preostaje ništa drugo nego da pokorno izvršava naloge svog političkog gazde. Ne zaboravimo, da lokalne gazde postavljaju i razrešavaju direktore lokalnih medija. Dakle, ništa ne vrijede domaće zakonodavstvo i međunarodno pravo i obaveze. Sve je u raljama trgovine, politike i politikanstva. Uprkos svima poznatoj istini da smo finansijski nezavisni mediji, oslobođeni od uticaja i pritisaka raznih tortura i mentora, mogu dostići ideale profesionalnog i odgovornog žurnalizma.

U analizi ove teme na lokalnom pribojskom terenu ne sme se ni zaobići kontinuirana inertnost i letargija koju demonstriraju predstavnici manjinske bošnjačke zajednice u Priboju. Naravno, ima i retkih izuzetaka, ali po ovom pitanju nema dugoročne strategije da se praktično dostignu zakonom dozvoljeni limiti, kada je u pitanju korpus ljudskih prava manjinskih zajednica. U ne tako davnoj praksi nezadovoljstvo bošnjačkih stranaka i pojedinih NVO uglavnom se svodila na ograničenje rukovodstva RTV Priboj da u svom javnom obraćanju koriste ijekavicu i tradicionalne izraze, kao što su dajidža, amidža. Ali, još jednom skrećem pažnju da je tu zabranu u najširem smislu stvorio ksenofobični front u okruženju koji ne priznaje postojanje bošnjačke autohtonosti, a na rukovodstvima opštine i lokalnih medija je samo da tu opštu ksenofobiju pretoče u suspenziju zakonom utvrđenih prava. Istina, od 2000. godine lokalni mediji u Priboju dva puta godišnje, prilikom obeležavanja bajramskih praznika, na svojim frekvencijama emituju specijalne emisije sa vjerskih obreda u džamiji. U pitanju su snimci sa jutarnje svetkovine kada se klanja Bajram namaz. Do 2000. to je bilo nezamislivo. Ova činjenica predstavlja značajan iskorak u medijskoj afirmaciji bogate kulturne autohtone baštine Bošnjaka. Takvih sadržaja u programu RTV Priboj nema, iz prostog razloga što oni nisu ni predviđeni programskom šemom. Kada bi ovdašnji poslenici javne riječi imali smelosti da načine korak dalje i korak više u afirmaciji istinskih kulturnih vrijednosti manjinske bošnjačke zajednice, u tom slučaju bi preuzeli istorijsku ulogu lokomotive progresa. Na taj način dali bi ogroman doprinos međunacionalnoj i vjerskoj toleranciji i spoznaji da bogatstvo različitosti u krajnjem slučaju obogaćuje i plemeni humane odnose u jednoj civilizovanoj multikulturalnoj sredini. Isto tako, mediji bi u velikoj mjeri doprinijeli uklaňanju brojnih tradicionalnih stereotipa i tabu tema, čime bi opšteprihvaćenu spoznaju o bogatstvu različitosti uspostavili kao normalnu kulturološku činjenicu u odnosima između ljudi različitih nacija i različitih vjera. No bojim se da smo u ovom trenutku još uvijek daleko od tog deklarativnog ideala, budući da strateške odluke donose politički centri moći u vladama i parlamentima u Srbiji. Na kraju, opštinska javna glasila samo pokorno izvrše nalog svog političkog i finansijskog pokrovitelja. U tome je suština brojnih fenomena u Srbiji. Ipak, neke sredine u Srbiji, kao što je Vojvodina, ostvaruju visoke evropske standarde, kada je u pitanju pravo manjina na informisanje na maternjem jeziku. Zašto to isto pravo ne mogu da koriste druge manjin-

ske zajednice u drugim dijelovima Srbije — to je pitanje na koje odgovore moraju da daju oni kojima su usta puna legalizma i deklarativne demokratije.

U nastavku analize odnosa medija i manjinske zajednice u Priboju želim da istaknem par opservacija u vezi aktuelne teme odnosa politike i javnog mnjenja. Naime, poznato je da informacija može da služi obavještavanju, kontrolisanju i manipulisanju građana, zavisno od ciljeva onih koji je saopštavaju. Komercijalizacija svih vrijednosti, uz individualizaciju politike, vodi sve većoj nejednakosti i koncentraciji bogatstva u uskom krugu elita, što je ozbiljna pretnja opstanku građanskog društvenog sistema. Moć i pohlepa se lukavo prikrivaju retorički klišetiranim obrazloženjima, površnim i neubjedljivim, da bi se proizvela zaglupljenost, pasivnost i potčinjenost javnosti. Vlasnici profita i politički centri moći iz senke oblikuju novi poredak, njegov psihološki karakter i sistem vrednosti, politička mišljenja i slobode, pretvarajući sredstva masovnih komunikacija u potrošenu robu. Mijenjaju se navike, stilovi života, način rezonovanja, svijest publike, odnos ka etici, potrebama čovjeka, kvalitet življenja, opšti kulturno-politički kontekst. Disciplinovanje javnog mnjenja postaje poseban vid političke globalizacije — ističe magistar Zoran Jevtović, autor publikacije »Javno mnjenje i politika«. U otvorenim društvima liberalne demokratije sa univerzalnim ljudskim pravima neguje se pluralističko mnjenje, ali samo prividno, jer medijski lanci istovrsnih poruka unificiraju tržište ideja, nudeći zamenu za stvarni život. Moć fiktivnog se preobražava u moć faktičkog, tako da stvarnost van medija u građanskom društvu, mada se to vešto prikriva retorikom o »nezavisnosti i objektivnosti uređivačke politike, medijskom tržištu, nezavisnom novinarstvu«. Iza mračnih zavjesa raznih interesa kriju se skriveni ubjeđivači čiji je posao izgrađivanje preovlađujućih mišljenja, koja se indukuju uz pomoć medija.

Sloboda izražavanja i sloboda mišljenja uslov su postojanja javnog mnjenja. Moralna, politička i medijska praksa menjaju se, autentičnost je sve manja na cijeni, a promjenljivost mišljenja i vjerovanja novouspostavljena vrijednost. Masovni mediji bez finansijske samostalnosti lako se instrumentalizuju, postaju segment vladajuće ideologije. Metode propagande su iste ili slične, ali zahvaljujući tehnološkim otkrićima usavršavaju se tehnike manipulisanja pomoću kojih se poruke oblikuju i šalju javnosti. Komunikacija je uvijek u pozadini tog procesa razmjene simbola. Impulsi koji se upućuju publici obično su tihi i neprimjetni, ali događaji i slike servirane putem medijskih kanala podsjećaju na informacijsku mećavu koja obasipa svakog pojedinca.

Miomir Prijović (predsjednik OO GSS Priboj) se založio za više ovakvih inicijativa, kao i za poštovanje, kako individualnih, tako i kolektivnih prava manjina, i za izričito poštovanje Zakona o zaštiti prava i sloboda nacionalnih manjina.

Milenko Milićević (predsjednik opštine Priboj) smatra da je organizovanje skupova, poput ovog foruma, od velikog značaja i to je nužno, a po njegovim rečima neophodna je saradnja nevladinih organizacija i lokalne samouprave. Osvrnuo se na stanje u RTV Priboj posle petooktobarskih promena do prošlogodišnjih izbora i rekao da je tadašnje rukovodstvo imalo potpunu slobodu u izveštavanju i da je rad lokalne medijske kuće u to vreme bio baziran na objektivnom i nepristrasnom izveštavanju.

Mujo Bjelopoljac (novinar Foneta): »Ja, Mujo Bjelopoljac, od oca Adema i majke Ifete, mogu sa ponosom reći da nikada nisam bio javno diskriminisan. Samo zbog istine i kvaliteta, koji sam kao član UNS-a nudio, uspeo sam, i trajem više od trideset godina, ne pristajući da stanem uz bilo koga i bilo koju političku opciju. Ne slažem se sa diskusijom uvodničara Fuada Bećirovića koji tvrdi sa je diskriminisan kao Bošnjak, i smenjen sa mesta direktora Informativnog centra Priboj. To nije tako, jer on je smenjen kao član SDP-a, jedne druge političke opcije u odnosu na vladajuću koaliciju u Priboju koju čine DSS, SRS, SPS, Nova Srbija i SPO. Bošnjaci i Muslimani su diskriminisani u medijima, ovde u Priboju. Nema bošnjačke kulture i tradicije na lokalnom, ali ni na republičkom nivou. Kada ste poslednji put na RTS-u čuli i videli bošnjačko kolo, sevdalinku, nešto o tradiciji Muslimana, Bošnjaka. Satanizovanje naše zajednice je bilo kolko hoćete, posebno tokom tog nesretnog rata u Bosni. Nije lako u to vreme bilo biti Musliman u Priboju, nije ni sada. Lako je to u Novom Pazaru, gde su Bošnjaci većina. Ovde se nije moglo pričati to što su u Pazaru pričali lideri bošnjačkih partija. Priboju nedostaje press centar, pa bih da odavde potekne inicijativa da se on konstituiše, i ovde u Priboju uspostavi red u oblasti informisanja. Ovo nije tema, ali moram da kažem. Naš zemljak Vlade Divac dobio je izvinjenje Generalštaba Vojske SCG, što eto nije služio vojsku, umesto da odgovara krivično. Pitam ja vas, jesmo li mi majmuni što služimo vojsku? Godinu i po dana sam služio JNA, bacio ih u ništa. Šta sa hiljadama mladića koji u strahu od rata nisu hteli u vojsku, pa ne smeju da se vrate u Sandžak? Jedan je problem zajednički i za Bošnjake i Srbe, za sve koji žive u Priboju. Zaboravljeni smo od svih vlasti. Ovde je blizu 8 000 mladih, školovanih ljudi bez posla, ima mnogo mladih penzionera, a svega par hiljada ljudi radi i prima crkavicu od plate. Više je gladnih nego sitih i sete nas se samo kad treba da idemo u zatvor ili da platimo porez. Ovo je grad koji umire na nogama. Ako mu neko ne pomogne danas, sutra će biti kasno.«

Fuad Bećirović: »Ova tema je bila zaista usko stručna. Insistirano je na razgovoru o poštovanju odredaba Okvirne konvencije i pravu na informisanju na maternjem jeziku. Međutim postalo je pravilo izgleda da se malo odstupi od teme. Sad smo dobili nekoliko opsrevacija, da se ljudi na ovom okruglom stolu bave sa mnom. Ja sam samo zamoljen od nevladinog sektora da načinim uvod, i ništa više. S druge strane, nije tema Informativni centar, stranke, odnosi stranaka i Informativnog centra. Tema je pravo i obaveza Radio-televizije Priboj da izvrši obavezu iz Okvirne konvencije. Zašto sam pomenuo samo RTV Priboj? Iz tog razloga, što ni jedan drugi medij u Priboju nema obavezu eksplicitnu, ni »Priča«, ni ostale privatne radio-televizije i mediji. Radio-televizija Priboj je javno glasilo opštine«.

Zora Čelović (NVO Ženska inicijativa — Priboj) je ustvrdila: »Mi kao Organizacija smo dosad sa medijima u Priboju imali korektne odnose, ali samo na komercijalnoj osnovi. Situacija od 2000. godine što se medija tiče u Priboju je dosta bolja, jer više nema raspirivanja međuetničke mržnje, koja je i te kako bila prisutna do 2000. Čak i u komercijalnom delu kad su u pitanju bili pozdravi i želje, pojedine reči i izrazi bošnjačkog naroda kao što su »daidža« itd. su prepravljane ili izostavljane. Međutim mediji u Priboju, konkretno RTV Priboj, imaju jako siromašan program, jer osim suvoparnih izveštaja sa retkih skupova i manifestacija u Priboju i nema dru-

gih emisija, pogotovo izostaju emisije o tradiciji i kulturi manjinskog naroda koje bi doprinele boljem međusobnom upoznavanju i razbijanju predrasuda o drugima i drugačijem. Osim komercijalne saradnje NVO u Priboju i RTV Priboj, tražimo od RTV Priboj da bar jedanput mesečno NVO Priboja dobiju »besplatan termin« na TV kako bi upoznale javnost sa svojim aktivnostima«.

Ekrem Hadžić (Sandžačka demokratska partija) je istakao problem kada su republička glasila u pitanju. Naime, kako je rekao, na republičkim sredstvima informisanja nema programa koji se bavi kulturom, istorijom i tradicijom Bošnjaka i da je situacija po tom pitanju mnogo bolja u Crnoj Gori.

Raško Kojadinović (član OO DS — Priboj) je ocenio, kao psiholog, da su mediji veoma moćno sredstvo i da smo svi svedoci koliko su oni uticali na stavove ljudi u Srbiji u vreme vladavine Slobodana Miloševića. Naglasio je da naročito u elektronskim medijima moraju raditi profesionalni i odgovorni kadrovi koji neće zloupotrebljavati svoj položaj.

Goran Otašević (vlasnik i glavni urednik lokalnog nedjeljnika »Priča«) je objasnio da je osnovao list samo zato što kao građanin nije imao pravo da svoju informaciju prenese preko lokalne RTV Priboj.

Ferzo Čelović (Sandžačka demokratska partija) se složio sa ocenama koje je Fuad Bećirović izneo u uvodnom izlaganju. Ukazao je na probleme upotrebe ijekavskog izgovora i tradicionalnih bošnjačkih izraza u programima RTV Priboj. Naglasio je da zakonske odredbe ništa ne znače ukoliko ne postoji volja vlasti i većinskog naroda za primenu tih odredbi.

Aida Polimac je ukazala: »Kolektivna prava manjina podrazumevaju da pripadnici nacionalnih manjina bilo neposredno ili preko svojih izabраних predstavnika učestvuju u procesima odlučivanja ili u pitanjima koja su u vezi sa njihovom kulturom, obrazovanjem, informisanjem i upotrebom jezika i pisma. Zakon o zaštiti prava sloboda nacionalnih manjina ceo jedan odeljak, četvrti deo posvećuje učešću u odlučivanju o pitanjima posebnosti, u vlasti i o upravi. Zakonom se predviđa osnivanje saveznog saveta za nacionalne manjine, nacionalnih saveta nacionalnih manjina, kao i saveznog fonda za nacionalne manjine. Zakon o lokalnoj samoupravi predviđa osnivanje Saveta za međunacionalne odnose u opštinama u kojima postoje nacionalne manjine u određenom procentu. Međunarodni dokumenti koji se bave učešćem manjina u vlasti su »Okvirna konvencija za zaštitu nacionalnih manjina«, Saveta Evrope, »Preporuke iz Lunda«, OEBS, a pri UN postoji radna grupa za manjina. Da bi došlo do potpunog poštovanja manjinskih prava, potrebno je preduzeti mere »afirmativne akcije«, kao i da država vodi demokratsku manjinsku politiku.

Opština Priboj — statistički podaci o učešću manjina u vlasti:

Praksa u Priboju pokazuje različit stepen efikasnosti učešća pripadnika Bošnjaka u kulturnom, socijalnom i ekonomskom životu i obavljanju javnih poslova.

Na lokalnim izborima od 21. septembra 2003. godine u Priboju vlast čine odbornici SPS, DSS, SPO-NS i SRS. Od 41 odbornika, 10 je Bošnjaka.

Od 9 direktora javnih ustanova i preduzeća nijedan nije Bošnjak.

Od 81 člana upravnih i nadzornih odbora javnih preduzeća je 8 Bošnjaka.

Predsjednik opštine, zamenik, predsjednik skupštine, sekretar, načelnik opštinske uprave nisu Bošnjaci.

Od 9 članova opštinskog veća nijedan nije Bošnjak.

Od 72 člana školskih odbora, 4 su Bošnjaci.

Od 79 zaposlenih u opštinskoj upravi, 15 su Bošnjaci.

Od 4 zaposlena u Muzeju nijedan nije Bošnjak.

Od 10 zaposlenih u Domu kulture, 6 su Bošnjaci.

Od 25 zaposlenih u Informativnom centru, 2 su Bošnjaci (jedan novinar i jedno tehničko lice).

Od 5 sudija Opštinskog suda, 1 je Bošnjak.

Od 4 sudije Suda za prekršaje je 1 Bošnjak (starešina Suda). Tužilac nije Bošnjak, a njegov zamenik nije imenovan. Direktori javnih preduzeća i ustanova koje imenuje Republika (njihovi organi u Priboju) nisu Bošnjaci. Bošnjaci u organima policije tek u posljednje vrijeme dobijaju značajnije učešće.

Ferzo Ćelović je istakao da ni jedan direktor škole nije Bošnjak i da je ta činjenica zabrinjavajuća. On je rekao da njegova stranka shvata da je Srbija u velikim problemima i da sada nije pravi trenutak da se i ovim pitanje opterećuje. Naglasio je da je SDP za ostanak Kosova u sastavu Srbije, kao i da je interes bošnjačkog naroda zajednička država Srbija i Crna Gora.

Kenan Hajdarević (OO GSS — Priboj) smatra da se članovi SDP-a ponašaju licemjerno, kao i sam ministar Rasim Ljajić i da je problem uvođenja bosanskog jezika u službenu upotrebu u opštini Priboj mogao da se riješi da se ministar Ljajić založio za to pitanje. On je dodao i da je sramota da predstavnik SDP-a, član Savjeta za međunarodne odnose glasa protiv prijedloga za izmjenu Statuta opštine za uvođenje bosanskog u službenu upotrebu.

Ekrem Hadžić je upozorio da se ne možemo baviti pitanjima manjina u Priboju, a da se ne osvrnemo na događaje iz bliske prošlosti i tražimo pravdu za žrtve. On je podsjetio da je 22 ljudi sa teritorije opštine Priboj nastradalo, da je preko 200 porodica protjerano i da su to stvari koje moraju da se riješe, a odgovorni da se kazne.

Goran Otašević je istakao važnost ovakvih događaja, ali je naglasio da je pre svega, neophodno pomoći ljudima kojima su uništene kuće da se vrate u svoje domove.

Sefer Merdović, član Sandžačke demokratske partije: »Mislim da smo u Priboju previše opterećeni temama takozvane visoke politike. U pitanju su teme, ustav Srbije i zajednička država sa Crnom Gorom, odnos političkih stranaka u skupštini, Kosovo i religiozne teme. Nacionalna televizija i velike televizijske kuće o ovim temama talambasaju svaki dan. Lokalna televizija prenosi stavove i događaje. Ono što se može zamjeriti lokalnim medijima i glasilima je nedostatak rasprava o vitalnim temama Priboja. A to su: multikulturalnost i ekonomska situacija u Priboju.

Pravo na učešće u javnoj vlasti jedno je od standarda ravnopravnosti manjina. Iako je relativno lako konstatovati poboljšanje u pogledu bezbednosti građana koji pripadaju manjinskom narodu u odnosu na period pre 2000. godine, pripadnici manjinskog naroda nisu gotovo zastupljeni u vršenju poslova javne vlasti. Čak što više u poslednjih godinu dana situacija je ovde gora nego ranije. Samo da navedem kao primer da nema ni jednog Bošnjaka u izvršnom vijeću Skupštine opštine Priboj, niti

na čelu neke ustanove ili organa vlasti. Nadamo se da će ovo biti i posebna tema u organizaciji ove NVO. Sandžačka demokratska partija je pokrenula inicijativu da se u statut Skupštine opštine bosanski jezik uvede kao ravnopravan jezik sa srpskim u skladu sa zakonom. Međutim i ova inicijativa je odbijena pod izgovorom da se čeka da takav zakon donese Skupština Srbije. Mi se ovde, međutim, nismo okupili da nam se održe politička predavanja, već da pokušamo odgovoriti na neka od ovih pitanja. Ne trebamo čekati šta će visoke vlasti rešiti, već da kao razumni ljudi vidimo šta možemo učiniti u našoj opštini, bez obzira na političku opciju kojoj pripadamo ili drugu razliku. Takođe nema tema o katastrofalnoj ekonomskoj situaciji u kojoj se Priboj nalazi kao devastirana opština, a što bi moralo biti zajednička tema i vlasti i partija i civilnih struktura. Nadam se da ćemo ubuduće o ovim temama govoriti bez animoziteta».

Rada Čolović je podsjetila na neke veoma bitne statističke podatke: »Prema poslednjem popisu stanovništva u Srbiji, čiji su zvanični rezultati objavljeni u aprilu 2002. godine, rezultati popisa u Priboju su sledeći: Ukupan broj stanovnika je 30.377, od kojih je Srba 22.523 (74,14%), Bošnjaka 5.567 (18,32%), Muslimana 1.427 (4,69%), Crnogoraca 432 (1,09%), pravoslavnih vernika je 22.866 (75,27%), a muslimana 6.997 (23,03%). Po popisu iz 1991. godine bilo je 1,55% Jugoslovena, a po popisu iz 2002. godine Jugoslovena nema. U zvaničnim institucijama opštine, u školama i javnim sredstvima informisanja koristi se isključivo srpski jezik. Sva zvanična prepiska je samo na srpskom jeziku, ćiriličnim pismom. Lični dokumenti i jave isprave su na srpskom jeziku na ćiriličnom i latiničnom pismu. Dvojezičnih tabli nema. Od drugog polugodišta učenici prvog i drugog razreda mogu da slušaju bosanski jezik sa elementima nacionalne kulture i tradicije, kao izborni predmet. Predsednik opštine, zamenik predsednika opštine, predsednik SO, zamenik predsednik SO, sekretar i načelnik Opštinske uprave nisu Bošnjaci. U ukupno devet javnih preduzeća i ustanova, koliko ih ima, nijedan direktor nije Bošnjak. Od 81-og člana upravnih i nadzornih odbora javnih preduzeća osam su Bošnjaci. Opštinsko veće čini devet članova. Ni jedan nije Bošnjak. Od 72 člana školskih odbora četiri su Bošnjaka. U Opštinskoj upravi je 79 zaposlenih, 15 su Bošnjaci. Od osam direktora osnovnih i srednjih škola ni jedan nije Bošnjak. U Muzeju ima četvoro zaposlenih među kojim nema Bošnjaka. U sportskom centru 16 zaposlenih jedan je Bošnjak, u biblioteci ni jedan. U Domu kulture od 10 zaposlenih šest su Bošnjaci. U informativnom centru ima 25 zaposlenih, od toga dva su Bošnjaka. U opštinskom sudu od 5 sudija jedna je Bošnjak. U sudu za prekršaje starešina je Bošnjak. Javni tužilac nije Bošnjak, a zamenik nije imenovan. Direktori javnih preduzeća i ustanova koje imenuje Republika su svi Srbi (EPS, Pošta, Telekom...). Demografska struktura stanovništva naše opštine je značajno drugačija u odnosu na popis iz 1991. godine. Po tom popisu u opštini Priboj je bilo 33% Muslimana i 2,1% Crnogoraca.

Goran Otašević, glavni i odgovorni urednik nedeljnika »Priča« ukazuje: »Mislili smo da je jedini normalan kriterijum za učešće u vlasti — sposoban ili ne. Da li ćemo se mi sada vraćati na ključ iz vremena pre 90-ih, pa da kažemo hajde sada neka bude ovaj, iduće godine onaj... Pa ću možda i ja jednog dana biti predsednik jedne nevladine organizacije po »ključu«. Prema tome ne vidim svrhu... Hajmo da sledeći skup

napravimo na temu položaj srpske većine u Priboju. Izgleda da nevladina organizacija koju zastupa gospođa Rada priča samo o manjinama. Ne vidim više svrhu NVO. Uopšte ne vidim razlog da se u zaključke ovog skupa stavi da nevladine organizacije trebaju da imaju besplatan termin na TV i radiju Priboj. Zašto? Ne vidim šta je nevladina organizacija uradila više, recimo, od SDP-a. Šta je više uradila, da budem malo neskroman, od »Priče«. Svi mi idemo ka jednom istom cilju — da stvorimo demokratsko društvo i da ovaj Priboj krene napred. Ja bi poručio gostima iz Novog Pazara da smo svi mi u vrlo teškoj situaciji, neko manje neko više, zavisi koliko je ko sposoban, odnosno nesposoban«.

Ferzo Ćelović: »Ja moram da kažem da je Sandžačka demokratska partija slala dopise i onoj Vladi pre i ovoj kako bi stanje u ovoj opštini bilo bolje. Sećate se vremena kada je načelnik OUP-a u Priboju trebao da bude Božović da smo direktno tada uspjeli da, između ostalog, zajedno i sa Demokratskom strankom sprečimo to postavljenje, ne što je po našem mišljenju Božović bio kriv za ono što se dešavalo na području opštine Priboj, već zato što se u to vreme nalazio na funkciji i to bi bilo neporučljivo. Sad se osniva SUP za tri opštine Proboj, Prijepolje i Novu Varoš sa centrom u Prijepolju. Priča se intenzivno, imam dojava i iz SUP-a Užice da će na mesto načelnika biti imenovan Bole Ratković. On je bio direktan objektivac u odnosu na samog Božovića. Drugo, ravnopravnost... Mi smo ovde manjina, negde smo većina, recimo, u Novom Pazaru, Sjenici i Tutinu smo većina. Sandžačka demokratska partija u Novom Pazaru, to možete proveriti na svim svojim javnim skupovima uvek se borila, govorila i ukazivala. Ne može biti samo deklarativno zalaganje za nacionalna prava i to se pravo ostvaruje upravo onako kako je uvodničar rekao da moraju u organima vlasti biti srazmerno zastupljene nacionalne manjine. Bošnjačka nacionalna manjina je u Priboju najveća. Međutim ima i Crnogoraca«.

Fahrudin Alagić, (SDP Priboj) je istakao: »Prilikom predlaganja sastava Opštinskog veća i zamenika predsednika opštine pokušano je da sastav opštinskog veća odgovara nacionalnoj strukturi opštine, ali je onemogućeno da to prođe. Napravljeno je, zapravo jedno pravno nasilje. Već je svima poznato šta se desilo. Ali jedan od uzroka, odnosno osnovni uzrok je to što nije prošlo u skupštini.

Učesnici ovog foruma su usaglasili svoja mišljenja oko slijedećih zaključaka i preporuka:

1. Na lokalnim medijima u Priboju nema upotrebe bosanskog jezika. Čak se i zvanična saopštenja bošnjačkih političkih partija koja su na ijekavici čitaju na ekavici.

2. Na lokalnim medijima (radiju i TV Priboj) nema emisija posvećenih kulturi Bošnjaka i drugim osobenostima ove manjinske nacionalne zajednice. Jedini manji pomak jeste što je za veliki islamski praznik Bajram emitovana jednočasovna emisija posvećena ovom prazniku.

3. Državni mediji ne ostavljaju prostora bošnjačkoj zajednici da se predstavi. Izuzetak su crne hronike, koje su i jedini način da se o Bošnjacima govori.

4. NVO sektor koji se bavi pitanjem Bošnjaka u Priboju i Sandžaku može preko lokalnih medija da govori o problemima ove manjinske zajednice, jedino ako za termin plati, pa je neophodno da se za te organizacije u okviru sredstava informisanja odredi besplatan prostor prezentacije njihovog rada.

5. Neophodno osnivanje Press centra u Priboju gde bi se održavale konferencije za novinare. Često se dešava da oni koji saopštavaju nešto ne znaju ko radi za koji mediji, tako bi postojala služba koja bi pozivala novinare lokalnih, ali i dopisnike centralnih medija.

6. Takođe je zaključeno da treba formirati neku »sponu« između NVO sektora i lokalne samouprave kako bi bili evidentirani svi problemi koji egzistiraju u društvu, odnosno u lokalnoj zajednici kako u većinskom tako i u manjinskom stanovništvu.

7. Na rukovodećim mjestima u lokalnoj samoupravi nema ni jednog Bošnjaka. Ista je situacija u sudstvu, policiji, školstvu. U SUP-u, kako je rečeno, upošljeno je malo Bošnjaka i to samo u saobraćajnoj policiji.

Dodatak

Lista učesnika foruma:

- Alagić Fahrudin, SDP
- Merdović Sefer, SDP
- Merdović Admir, SDP
- Zora Čelović, Ženska inicijativa, Priboj
- Radoje Raško Kojadinović, DS Priboj

- Ferzo Čelović, »IMPID« Priboj i odbornik SDP u SO Priboj
- Rada Čolović, Centar za ljudska prava Priboj
- Svetlana Papić, Ženska inicijativa
- Slavica Cerović, Centar za ljudska prava Priboj
- Kenan Hajdarević, GSS
- Miomir Prijović, GSS
- Milićević Milenko, predsjednik Opštine Priboj
- Hadžić Ekrem, Helsinški odbor Sandžaka
- Aida Polimac, Građanska akcija za ljudska prava
- Fuad Bećirović, novinar i književnik
- Jasmina Kruševljanin, Sandžački odbor za zaštitu ljudskih prava i sloboda
- Zoran Maksimović, Sandžački odbor za zaštitu ljudskih prava i sloboda
- Bjelopoljac Mujo, novinar FONET-a
- Šaljić Hamdija

Skup su pratili sljedeći mediji:

- TV Priboj
- Radio Priboj
- FONET

IZVJEŠTAJ SA PETOG FORUMA:

**PRIMJENA OKVIRNE KONVENCIJE I POLOŽAJ
NACIONALNIH MANJINA U SANDŽAKU**

Sjenica, 25. novembar 2005.

Semiha Kačar, predsjednik Sandžačkog odbora za zaštitu ljudskih prava i sloboda je, najprije, ukratko prisutne upoznala sa dotadašnjim rezultatima projekta.

Sedat Vrcić (NVO Flores) je govoreći o medijima ukazao: »Definitivno postoje neki pomaci. Već krajem 2000. godine u jednoj analizi stanje u medijima ocijenjeno je kao jedna latentna opasnost, gde su više registrovane pozitivne promene na državnoj televiziji, javnom servisu, dok je kao velika opasnost ocenjen veliki broj medija slabijeg dometa — elektronski mediji, mediji regionalnog i lokalnog karaktera, koji su i dalje rasadnik kiča i neukusa, ali isto tako i mediji u kojima se zadržao govor mržnje, i dosta retorike iz '90-ih. Kako se ovde u Sandžaku stvari odvijaju? Kada govorimo o medijima na nivou ovog regiona postoji trend »gašenja« štampanih glasila. Tako mi nemamo osim »Glasa islama« štampani medij ozbiljniji i kvalitetan. Mislim da u Prijepolju postoji list »Polimlje«, a u Novoj Varoši »Novovaroške novosti«, ali to nisu bošnjački listovi. Možda je to jedan otežavajući faktor razvoja. Ipak, štampani mediji imaju svoj značaj. Štampane medije čovek uzima kad hoće da prouči neku temu, ili da sagleda situaciju u jednom društvu. Imamo, dakle, taj jedan list koji možemo oceniti kao bošnjački. Mada po difoltu »Glas islama« ne možemo okarakterisati kao bošnjački. On je namenjen muslimanima, jer se bavi vjerskim aspektom. Kada su elektronski mediji u pitanju — radio stanice su, uglavnom, orijentisane na komercijalne programe i svode na tehnički minimum sve što je informativni program, valjda zbog straha zbog podeljenog mišljenja, ali i zbog straha da ne budu ugašeni ako objave nešto što se ne sviđa »onima odozgo«. Valjda je to vreme prošlo!? Svedoci smo da su skoro sve te stanice tu zbog čestitki. Zašto skoro sve? Zato što ima jedna opšte prihvaćena stanica, koja je pravo osveženje — novopazarski radio »Sto plus«, koji pokriva i teritoriju opštine Sjenica. Taj radio ima i svoj informativni program. Postoji tendencija da se sagleda i ta neka sandžačka problematika i da se o tome ljudi obaveštavaju. Na drugoj strani postoji i dobra orijentacija da se istraživački obrade neke teme. Sjenicu pokrivaju dve TV stanice — Regionalna radio-televizija i TV Jedinstvo. Jedan deo zaposlenih na Regionalnoj RTV trenutno štrajkuje, drugi deo uspeva da održi neki kontinuitet programa. Jasno nam je da je na na toj TV stanici eksponiran sukob dve političke opcije. Gde je tu neki prosečan stanovnik Žabrena, Aljinovića? Tu se opet javlja jedan problem. Kako gajiti jezik? Generalno mediji su jedno od najjačih i najdelotvornijih sredstava kojim se mogu postići svoji ciljevi. Problem je ukorenjen, kada su 40-50-ih godina dovođeni učitelji iz Šumadije. Tada je veliki broj dobrih đaka pomišljao da je anatonu i neurbano govoriti ijekavicu. U

prosveti je kroz ćirilicu i epske pesme postignuto da mnogo ljudi govori u Novom Pazaru i ovom kraju pretežno ekavicu, što ranije nije bio slučaj. U tom smislu gajenja jezika potrebne su značajne promene na postojećem. Jako dobro bi bilo da se pokrenu neki regionalni nezavisni mediji — štampani i elektronski koji će gajiti jezik i kulturu Bošnjaka. Ne mora tu biti previše politike, pre nekog našeg, koliko je moguće, analitičkog sagledavanja. Čini mi se nije se mnogo odmaklo kada su mediji u pitanju, ako uporedimo sadašnju situaciju sa istraživanjem iz 2004. godine, koje smo radili sa Freedom Housom. Na žalost imamo mi dosta slučajeva gde postoje problemi u diskriminaciji kada je posao u pitanju i učešće u vlasti. Koleginica i ja smo primljeni. Već dve godine radimo ovde u Sjenici, u Tehničkoj školi. Naravno, to je do suda stiglo, jer neko postavlja pitanje mogu li u Srbiji raditi u prosveti ljudi koji su diplomirali u Sarajevu. Ja se zbog toga već dve godine provlačim po sudu. Sve se to kuva u političkoj kuhinji. Ne može niko da me ubedi da tu nema političkog lobiranja. Čega su se dohvatili? Sarajevske diplome. Zna se još od 70-80-ih, pa i sad, u Sarajevu, uglavnom, studiraju Bošnjaci».

Semiha Kačar: »To svakako ukazuje da i dalje postoji diskriminacija kada je u pitanju obrazovanje. Koliko je meni poznato, diplome sa fakulteta sa Pala, iz Foče i nekih drugih gradova srpskog entiteta u BiH ovdje važe, a iz Sarajeva, grada sa dugom i bogatom univerzitetskom tradicijom, ili iz Tuzle, Zenice, Bihaća ne. Svi ti gradovi su u BiH. Kad je u pitanju zastupljenost Bošnjaka u Sjenici posebno u sudskim organima, prema podacima do kojih je Sandžački odbor došao tokom istraživanja, ona je jako nezadovoljavajuća. Po našim saznanjima najgora situacija je u tužilaštvu. Samo jedno lice bošnjačke nacionalnosti bilo je zapošljeno i to kao pripravnik. Mi smo to istraživanje vršili početkom ove godine. Možda je, eto, u međuvremenu i bilo nekih pomaka. Što se tiče i nekih drugih organa i institucija, takođe, je nepovoljna situacija, posebno u policiji i vojsci. To je posljedica duge diskriminatorne politike od 1992. godine. Ni sada nije puno bolja situacija. Dakle, ništa na tom polju nije urađeno. Slična situacija je, po podacima Sandžačkog odbora, i u Upravi prihoda, Pošti».

Sedat Vrcić: »Takođe, postoji jako bitna problematika koja je već u neki politički neukus otišla. Koliko znam još prije nekoliko godina je tadašnji direktor izjavio da muslimani mogu da dobiju četiri manje atraktivne specijalizacije».

Semiha Kačar: »Što se tiče Sjenice primjetan je problem neprestanog odliva kadrova. Baš mnogo ljekara specijalista je otišlo sa ovog prostora».

Sedat Vrcić: »Oko 11 ljekara je otišlo 1998. godine, devet specijalista i dva ljekara opšte prakse. Šta je našem tadašnjem direktoru poslužilo kao argument? Jednostavno, po njemu, mi ne želimo da školujemo kadrove za neke druge države».

Semiha Kačar: »Zašto je toliko stručnih ljudi otišlo? Da li se neko zapitao kakve su sve posljedice »odliva mozgova«, odlaska stručnjaka svih profila koji su itekako potrebni ovom prostoru? Treba li su se stvoriti uslovi za njihov ostanak. Moram da kažem da smo ove godine imali i dosta pritužbi na nepravilnosti prilikom prijema ljekara u radni odnos u sjeničkom domu zdravlja posebno kada su u pitanju Bošnjaci. Čak smo ispred Sandžačkog odbora slali dopise i Zdravstvenom centru u Užice. Stigao je odgovor da se nije morao raspisati konkurs za prijem radnika, što je neshvatljivo».



Sa V foruma u Sjenici

Sedat Vrcić: »Ako na nivou opštine i opštinskih ustanova ima čovjek za koga mogu u svako doba da potpišem da je kompetentan za to što radi — je direktor Ustanove za sport. On je i savezni selektor«.

Esad Zornić (predsjednik opštine Sjenica): »Ja ću vam reći moje političko, ali i moje ljudsko gledanje, na pitanja koja su pokrenuta, a koja su bitna za konačan zaključak ovog foruma. Ja se u potpunosti slažem sa velikim dijelom konstatacija koje su iznijete. Čini mi se da se mi još uvek učimo demokratiji. Koliko se učimo demo-

kratiji, toliko i vjerujemo. Mnogo smo vjerovali da će te demokratske promjene donijeti mnogo čega boljeg. Pomaci značajni nisu učinjeni. Ja lično mislim da sam dolaskom u opštinu na mjesto predsjednika napravio jedan pomak postavljanjem za svog zamjenika predstavnika srpskog dijela stanovništva. Računajući da se tako jednim poštovanjem različitosti, ako se tako mogu izraziti, može privoljeti i sam vrh države da, što bi se prostim žargonom reklo, okrene list i prema nama. Čini mi se da se to tako ne vraća. Zbog toga se slažem sa dobrim dijelom iznijetih konstatacija, ali ću dati i svoj komentar. Bilo je riječi i prije mene, reći ću i ja da su opštinske uprave napravile značajan pomak sa novim načinom organizacije, oko izbora i svega u smislu demokratičnosti, ali lično se bojim i mislim da se još uvijek opštinske uprave svode na komunalne djelatnosti. Ilustrovaću to jednim primjerom. Nisam začuđen. Ja sam predsjednik opštine, prvi čovjek Sjenice, i isto kao što ste vi kao građani izašli u grad i čuli da je postavljen predsjednik suda, tako sam i ja čuo, kao i za direktora bolnice. Ovo iskreno kažem, za moju političku sreću, na drugim mjestima koja su pod ingerencijom države, uglavnom, su osobe koje još nisu za reizbor, i još uvijek su na tim pozicijama. Ja znam da je bilo konotacije i da sam uticao na izbor i jednog i drugog i trećeg, i petog, ali vam odgovorno tvrdim i podržavam konstataciju da država tamo gdje ona ima ingerencije to radi sa vrha. Po kom principu radi sa vrha? Po nekom mom ubjeđenju ne samo u Sjenici, nego u svakom gradu postoji određeni lobi ljudi koji su stekli svoje pozicije i privilegije, da li u ovoj Vladi ili prethodnoj. Oni čuvaju svoje pozicije i podržavaju aktuelnu političku volju, bili oni predsjednici opštine ili ne bili još uvijek imaju uticaj na kadrovanja u samoj opštini. To je nešto što me nije obeshrabrilo, ali je činjenica. Ja sam o tome govorio i u Beogradu. Ponekad se i ljute što ja to stalno ponavljam, ali odgovorno tvrdim da Beograd ne vidi dalje od Obrenovca, ukoliko čovjek ne ode do gore, ukoliko ne »zakuka«, ne ponese programe, ukoliko ne zakuca na sto vrata. Da li je to preopterećenost samog administrativnog aparata, ili je to ono »ja ću biti izabran i više me ništa dalje ne interesuje?« O tome treba raspravljati, ali je činjenica da se, zaista, teško, teško prodire u te strukture. Čast izuzecima. Govorim o pojedinim ministarstvima koja su mi zaista izašla u susret. Dok veliki broj njih, danas odem sa jednom pričom, oni mi kažu predsjedniče pošaljite mi ta i ta dokumenta, sutra kad se čujemo telefonom oni ne mogu da se sjete da sam bio kod njih. Znači, to dostiže i te mjere. Nije sve tako crno. Kažem ima i slučajeva, gdje čovjek stvarno naiđe na razumijevanje i odgovor, ali to nije tema. Tema je to što sam rekao u startu. Mislim da smo još uvijek na djelatnosti. To je vrlo loše, nema ni kreativnosti u radu. Mislim da zakonska osnova, pravosuđe i uopšte zakoni dozvoljavaju ljudima da vodeći pojedine medije daju sebi slobodu da svašta urade i da ne trpe sankcije, kada je nešto, što bi se popularno reklo rupa u zakonu. Niko zakone ne čita da bi ih primjenjivao, nego da bi u njemu pronalazio promašaje i da bi se prema tome upravljao. Situacija je takva, da mnogo što-šta upravo sudski, zakonski, ne prolazi. Drugi problem jako bitan je taj koji je vezan za medije, jeste visoka doza, posebno u lokalnim medijima, neprofesionalizma. Taj neprofesionalizam dovodi do toga da ja kao predsjednik opštine mogu da napravim uticaj u nekoj televiziji da bude primljen, moj brat od tetke ili sestra od strica, bez obzira što ona ni srednju novinarsku nije završila. Recimo, završila je srednju tekstilnu, a to je aktuelna struka u našoj

opštini. To je jako dobra i čestita struka, ali nema veze sa novinarstvom. Profesionalizam u tim detaljima je zaista bitan. Sem toga politička kontrola je jedna neminovnost koju svi mi vidimo, moramo redovno o tome govorimo, jer i ona dovodi do smanjenja stepena profesionalnog delovanja bilo kog medija. Tačno je da ima mnogo reklama, ali moraju se izdržavati od nečega, odnosno zaraditi lične dohotke. Svjesni smo da i državna kuća RTS nije mogla da se održi, nego je na mala vrata uvela pretplatu. Htio ili ne htio čovjek mora da je plati, jer je prikačena na račun za struju. Šta je sa organizacijom lokalnih medija, bilo da su elektronski ili štampani u opštinama poput naše, gdje je dnevni priliv sredstava od 70–80 hiljada dinara. Ja sam juče imao poseban razgovor sa načelnikom tržišne inspekcije Zlatiborskog okruga, jer je u Sjenici javno mnjenje mišljenja da je u Sjenici veliko prisustvo inspeksijskih službi bilo kog nivoa — da li je to finansijska, sanitarna, tržišna. Sjenička privreda je stala, kao i u drugim dijelovima Republike, ali neko u Beogradu misli da bi iz Sjenice morao da bude mnogo veći priliv sredstava. I inspeksijskim kažnjavanjem usmjeravaju se sredstva prema Beogradu. Provjerio sam podatak da iz Sjenice prema Beogradu svakog mjeseca ide od 18–20 miliona dinara, a zbog sinhronizacije iz Beograda nam se vraća samo 5–6 miliona. Postoje statistički podaci koji pokazuju da u Sjenici na 3,5 porodice, računajući četvoročlanu porodicu, postoji jedna prodavnica. To su, uglavnom, porodične prodavnice. Ja kupujem kod mog rođaka. To su radnje na ivici egzistencije. Sa dnevnim prometom od 3–5 hiljada dinara. Neko nema ni hiljadu i jednostavno zbog nekog dinara poreza inspekcija ga kazni 50 hiljada dinara. On ne može mjesec dana da se oporavi. Čačak je jak, Užice takođe, pa eto da kažem i Novi Pazar je jak. Nije isto uzeti na promet od 3 hiljade, 50 hiljada, kao na 100 i više stotina evra uzeti pet hiljada. Znači, način zaštite i ova ekonomska situacija diktiraju i situaciju o kojoj danas govorimo. Uvek je bilo — najprije hljeba i muzike. To nije neko bez veze rekao, nego je to velika i životna istina. Koliko ćemo mi imati hljeba pod ovim uslovima to je pitanje, koje, kažem, povlači sva ova pitanja. Prije neki dan zbog politike preraspodjelom sredstava koja su se obezbijedila po ovom, ili onom osnovu iz vrha pušteno je 5 miliona dinara, Tutinu 3, a Sjenici 700 hiljada dinara. O čemu se radi? Načini političkog pritiska diktiraju i ovu drugu normu. Na mene su osuli paljbu prošle godine, kad sam javno reagovao, da je napravljena velika greška štampanja bukvara bosanskog jezika u Tutinu, bez dogovora sa Ministarstvom obrazovanja u Vladi i bez relevantnih faktora i ljudi sa naših prostora, lingvista i drugih koji poznaju jezik, koji bi se dogovorili oko toga. Po mom dubokom ubjeđenju oni koji su to uradili, bilo im je stalo samo da to učine prvi, kako bi se upisali u istoriju. Ja sam se prošli put složio sa efendijom Ramizom, koji je otprilike rekao, ne može se to niti uvesti dekretom niti samo knjigom nego se mora poraditi u bazi, u kući, u porodici, među članovima porodice. Očuvati sebe u kulturnom, etničkom i svakom drugom pogledu je jako bitna distanca. Navešću vam primjer. U Zakonu o školstvu lijepo piše, možda i ne citiram dobro, da državljani SCG koji su u inostranstvu i školuju se tamo u slučaju povratka svoje školovanje nastavljaju na godini na kojoj su, ili koju upisuju uz obavezno dodatno polaganje nekih predmeta. Brat moje koleginice se vratio, završio prvu godinu fakulteta u Sarajevu, platio je dosta za školarinu tamo, vratio se sa željom da nastavi školovanje u zemlji u kojoj je rođen, a onda je ovde pitan, da li je završio

prvu godinu na Palama ili u Sarajevu. Ako zakon tako kaže onda se pravi diskriminacija. Teška riječ! Ali, ako zakon tako kaže onda je zaista tako. Komentar jednog starog profesora je bio — u Sarajevu smo stranci, a u Srbiji »indijanci«. O ovoj rečenici može da se raspravlja. O čemu se zapravo radi. Mi se zajedno moramo izboriti i ovakvim forumima i javnim oglašavanjem da ne dolazimo u ovakvu situaciju. Došli smo u situaciju da se mnogo, mnogo omladine upravo zbog svih istorijskih i porodičnih veza školuje u Sarajevu. Vrlo teška situacija je za vraćanje stručnjaka u naš kraj, zbog nostrifikacija. Odgovorno tvrdim, da razlike u programu Medicinskog fakulteta u Sarajevu, koji sam studirao, i u Beogradu nije bilo. Razlika je recimo, što se u Sarajevu trosemestralno sluša anatomija, a u Beogradu dvosemestralno. Prave razliku ko da se studira u Zimbambveu. O čemu se radi? Inženjer hemije, doktor stomatologije — nekako će i napraviti nostrifikaciju, ali šta da radi armija naših momaka koji su u Sarajevu završili kriminalistiku. Ja sam taj problem aktuelizirao. Prije su postojale »kriminalističke škole« u Skoplju, kao i u Sarajevu, koja je bila priznata kod nas do početka ratnih dejstava na području Bosne. Sada više nije. Mi imamo taj problem »jednakog tretmana«. Imenima se može nabrojati koliko je ljekara Srba došlo u Sjenicu da bi dobili specijalizaciju, jer je lakše dobiti je ovdje, pa otići u Beograd, Kraljevo. U Beogradu se verifikuje da je ta specijalizacija data Sjenici. Mi smo imali stotinu pirane dve specijalizacije, dve godine«.

Zlatko Jusufović (Udruženje za djecu ometenu u razvoju): »S obzirom da radim i u zdravstvu, mogu da govorim i na tu temu. Ja bi bio srećan kada bi mogao da kažem nešto što bi svi vi, i Bošnjaci i svi normalni ljudi u ovoj državi mogli da kažu, a to je da su procesi demokratizacije išli jednim planiranim tempom i da mi sada ne postavljamo pitanje (ne)ravnopravnosti, prava, već nego da više budemo učesnici u jednom procesu u kome se kroz istinsku demokratizaciju odnosa u društvu u kome živimo, u državi u kojoj živimo stvaraju odnosi u kojima neće biti aktuelno i centralno pitanje »šta vi mislite da li je moguće živjeti zajedno, odnosno u suživotu«? U istinskim demokratskim procesima vjerovatno bi svi normalni ljudi uspostavili jedan sistem života u kome bi svi egzistirali zajedno i ne bi dolazile do izražaja te tenzije i međusobni animoziteta itd. Na nesreću, uz sve uvažavanje svega što je na tom polju učinjeno, procesi demokratizacije idu sporo, idu jako sporo na globalnom, društvenom nivou. Unosi se veliki problem u društvu svih građana, a posebno Bošnjaka u Sandžaku. Postavlja se objektivno pitanje »o čemu bi mi to trebali da razgovaramo i kako to pitanje da postavimo?« Dobro bi bilo kada bi o ovom razgovarali a da nismo stalno u poziciji da nas neko proziva, za neki separatizam. Ali imam osjećaj da su nekada u institucijama sistema stvari postavljene tako, pa umjesto da budemo snaga u jednom ukupnom demokratskom procesu, neko bi da nas postavi kao nekog protivnika, koji koči sve to pozitivno što se dešava. Zbog čega? Zbog jedne jasne činjenice da je u osnovi svih neravnopravnosti i nejednakosti ekonomska nejednakost. Sandžak u ekonomskom smislu mnogo zaostaje. Iz procesa nemanja proističu svi drugi odnosi i neravnopravnost i sve ono što se u idejnom smislu može deklarirati kao vrlo sporo, ili kao nedovoljno ostvarivanje prava Bošnjaka. Pri tome ja samo hoću da kažem ne bi ni dobro bilo, ni svima nama padalo na pamet, da mi proglasimo sebe oštećenom stranom koja nema i svojih sopstvenih slabosti. Činjenica je da i mi

moramo neke međusobne animozitete, među nama samim da uklonimo. Moramo više da smo solidarni, tolerantni. Moramo iz ove krize, koja nas dugo godina prati, da uđemo u jedan sistem odnosa u kome nećemo jedan drugog prepoznavati kroz kritiku svega negativnog što među sobom imamo, nego da izvlačimo one pozitivne ljudske osobine koje svi mi imamo i tim da osobinama gradimo zajednički koncept i budućnost. Činjenica je jedna, da ova država ne čini ni blizu onom što mora da učini i da svojim konkretnim mjerama ublaži neravnomeran ekonomski položaj i razvoj Sandžaka i drugih krajeva. Problemi u tom smislu postoje svuda ali su ovdje mnogo veći. Dok se tu nešto ozbiljne ne bude počelo činiti i dok nam se ne omogući da kroz jedno naše organizovanje i da jedna istinska, finansijska i jaka podrška izgradnji infrastrukture na ovom području. Mislim da ćemo mi stalno biti u stanju podređenosti i stalno suočeni sa osnovnim problemima iz kojih kuljaju svi drugi. I dalje se vrši jedna vrsta metropolizacije i lokalna samouprava se često svodi na aktivnosti komunalne službe».

Ramiz ef. Hamidović (Islamska zajednica Sandžaka): »Ima ona narodna »dok dijete ne zaplače, majka se ne sjeti da ga nahrani«. Izgleda da smo mi ovdje stalno osuđeni na plač, i plaćemo zbog toga što smo gladni i nikako da se nahranimo. Što se tiče problema u informisanju, ja sam htio da se nadovežem na jednu stvar, a to je TV pretplata, koja se mora silom davati, jer mi zaista pripadamo onoj siromašnoj grupi naroda. Sirotinja je uvijek u miru davala volove, a u ratu sinove. Pošto moramo da dajemo »volove« stalno onda moramo, makar da tražimo da budemo zastupljeni na toj nacionalnoj televiziji (RTS), bar, onoliko koliko smo zastupljeni u društvu i ne da budemo zastupljeni kao do sada, da nas blate i omalovažavaju. Bošnjaštvo, bosanski jezik i druge odrednice, koje su nas određivale nacionalno su na krv i nož dočekane, a prosto smo se radovali kada bi neki političar prevalio preko jezika Bošnjak».

Ibro Mehmedović (Mreža NVO): »Moram odmah da naglasim da je sudbina medija u transformaciji odnosno privatizaciji, koja treba da se završi u sljedećoj poslovnoj godini. Štampani mediji negdje do polovine sljedeće godine, a elektronski do kraja godine. I to je razlog više da se o sredstvima informisanja razgovara i da se za to itekako pripremi, kako se ono sa čime trenutno u informisanju nismo zadovoljni ne bi ponovo susretali i da se ne dogodi još gore od toga. Naime, ja ovdje nemam namjeru da forsiram nešto. Jednu vrstu medija u odnosu na drugu, jer u medijima ili novinarstvu postoji neka, najveća kolegijalnost. Novinari se ovako ogovaraju, ali preko medija nikad. Što je sasvim pozitivno. Štampani mediji imaju neku određenu prednost u odnosu na elektronske medije, jer su oni istovremeno i istorijska dokumenta, za razliku od elektronskih, oni nemaju ni garanciju svog dometa za razliku od radio i TV stanice, koje se vide i čuju do tunela u Ribariću i to se tu završava. Ja ne omalovažavam elektronske medije. Tako je, ali to je i tehnička stvar. Ja mislim da su elektronski mediji daleko atraktivniji u našoj sredini i ljudi mnogo više računa vode o tome da li će se videti na TV-u, nego da li je nešto dobro rečeno ili ne. U našem žargonu postoje neke nedoumice koje na drugim mjestima, ja mislim, ne postoje. Veliki dio prostora ustupljen je međusobnom optuživanju političara i političkim strankama, što nikome ne doprinosi. Trebalo bi prekinuti što prije sa tim. Apsurd je da sada imamo najviše novinara, a najmanje novina. Mi imamo mnogo novinara, ali nemamo ni

jedne novine. Ovo istovremeno povlači jedno pitanje nemoći da damo odgovore bilo kome, a pogotovo centralnim sredstvima informisanja koji stalno »sanjaju« o neka-kvim vehabijama, mudžahedinima, teroristima, koji se »kriju tu negde oko nas«. Mi nemamo šanse da damo odgovor. Ti mediji koji to plasiraju oni odgovore i ne prima-ju. To je sasvim relevantna stvar — da li hoće neko to da vjeruje ili ne, ali u to se u unutrašnjosti Srbije itekako vjeruje. Tamo su vehabije. Jesu vehabije! Ali još niko ni-je zabilježio da je neko od tih vehabija nešto konkretno učinio. Jeste u smislu nekog poremećaja ponašanja među vjernicima. Oni recimo klanjaju drugačije od pravih vjernika, na neki drugi način. To tako izjašnjavanje centralnih medija je u službi reži-ma. Na vreme treba razgovarati, jer je transformacija veoma bitna. Veoma malo do-nacija stranih organizacija dolazi u ove krajeve. Naime, od 2001–2004. godine u Sr-biju je došlo 980 miliona evra. Koliko je došlo za ovaj region? Tu je veliki problem. Trebalo bi predlagati više projekata. Mislim da se najviše novca daje organizacijama u Beogradu. Oni su pohvatali sve te čvorove, sva ta čvorišta inostranih donatora. Ima mnogo organizacija u kojima, uglavnom, rade bivši poslanici i ministri«.

Hajrudin Kolašinac (književnik): »Na štandu Ministarstva poljoprivrede i vodoprivrede na Sajmu u Novom Sadu sam 2003. godine dobio neku njihovu aplika-ciju, odnosno program o povraćaju sredstava, odnosno uloženog novca za kupovinu zemlje. Vraćalo se od prilike 33%. Jedan tipičan primjer diskriminacije cijelog ovog regiona. Moj amidža i ja smo uredno napisali zahtjeve i povadili sva neophodna do-kumenta, da bi smo iz Ministarstva poljoprivrede dobili odgovor da sredstva koja se vraćaju ne podliježu regionu Raške oblasti, odnosno Sandžaka. Znači sredstva se vraćaju u Centralnoj Srbiji, Šumadiji i Vojvodini. Postavlja se opšte pitanje zašto je to tako. Odgovor je bio da naša zemlja ne podleže nekom njihovom kvalitetu 5, 6, 7 i 8. klase zemlje. To uopšte nije tačno. U Šumadiji zemlja ne daje ništa više pšenice nego što daje kod nas, ako uzmemo opštu primenu đubriva i obradu zemlje. Nema šanse!

Primjetno je da se u Srbiji i Crnog Gori potiskuje u čošak pitanje informisanja Bošnjaka na njihovom maternjem jeziku. U Crnoj Gori, pošto eto, imam, prvi pro-gram crnogorske televizije, albanska nacionalna manjinska zajednica ima svoj infor-mativni blok, odnosno informativnu emisiju na svom jeziku. Bošnjaci ili Muslimani, kako se izjašnjavaju, kojih ima oko 20%, nemaju jednu jedinu sekundu na državnoj TV Crne Gore. Isti je slučaj i u Srbiji. Ja bi platio pretplatu. Ali zašto da ja platim ka-da nemam ravnopravnu zastupljenost u programu. Da li će Bošnjake državna glasila pomenuti kao teroriste. Ja za to treba da platim 300 dinara mjesečno? Ako već poten-ciramo i neka pitanja lokalnih medija, uzmimo primjer dvije lokalne stanice — Je-dinstvo i Regionalnu TV. Mislim da se ne radi samo o sukobu političkih partija, nego čak se u posljednje vrijeme eksponira sukob političara, što još više dodaje tenzije i među običnim građanima. Istupanje pojedinih političara, na Regionalnoj TV poseb-no, podsjeća na onu svađu između male djece — mama, meni je taj i taj uradio to i to. Da li neko sprečava rad pojedinih službi u Novom Pazaru ili ne za to postoje stručne kadrovske službe da to riješe. Mislim da takva pitanja ne bi trebalo, i ne bi smjela da se postavljaju pred javnost. Ne mislim da bi trebalo da se sklone od javnosti, ali ne bi trebalo na taj način da se sa tim izlazi u javnost. Mislim da je jezik osnovno oruđe

svijesti. Osporavanje jezika i izražavanja na svom maternjem jeziku, zapravo je i osporavanje identiteta jednog naroda i iznošenja svega onog što bi on želio da kaže. Dok nije određen kao jedan od službenih jezika bosanski jezik i Bošnjaci su stavljeni negdje u kraj. Ja ne znam da li u Sandžaku sada postoje formulari na dva jezika, ispisani ćirilicom i latinicom? Još uvijek ne! Mislim da je to žalosno. Mi često potenciramo pogrešna pitanja, koja bi bar za jedno dogledno vrijeme trebala da ostanu po strani«.

Rijad Hodžić (NVO Flores): »Kada je naše podneblje u pitanju, posebno mislim na Sjenicu, primjetna je diskriminacija. Pričali smo o tome kako nam se kadrovi osipaju. Podimo od toga koliko naših studenata ima neku državnu stipendiju. Bukvalno, nema niko. Imamo i studente koji imaju prosjek ocjena deset, a niko od njih nije dobio stipendiju. Možda opštinsku. To je po mom mišljenju jedan veliki problem, ako država stipendira neke studente znači da će im ona garantovati i neki posao. Međutim, kad su u pitanju studenti Bošnjaci stipendija nema. To je po mom mišljenju ne mala diskriminacija, jer naši mladi i obrazovani ljudi odlaze. Oni se znaju pomenuti samo u negativnom kontekstu, kao protivnici ove države i kao potencijalni teroristi. Međutim, ništa se ne preduzima kako bi se ti ljudi malo bolje upoznali. Primjera radi, velika diskriminacija zastupljena je i u školstvu. Jedino dobro u reformi školstva što je uvedeno je vjeronauka, i to po meni ne bi trebalo da bude fakultativni nego obavezni predmet. Što se tiče ostalih segmenata školstva i dalje tvrdim da bi trebalo da se za našu djecu uvede nešto više štiva iz bosanskog jezika, kako bi naša djeca upoznala što više svoju kulturu, a hvala Bogu kod nas u Sandžaku imamo veliki broj intelektualaca, poznatih pisaca i naučnika. Međutim, danas se malo za njih zna. Primjera radi, kod nas se više zna o Njegošu, nego o Ćamilu Sijariću. Koliko vidim jedna vlast je otišla, druga došla, doći će ih još mnogo, ali njima nije cilj da se bošnjački narod afirmiše u ovoj državi. To vidimo iz kojekakvih natpisa, ne samo iz elektronskih medija nego i iz štampe. Svakodnevno se može naći nešto što će teretiti nas Bošnjake da smo uradili nešto ili da smo ovakvi, ili onakvi. Niko od naših ljudi ne lobira, tamo gdje treba da lobira. Imali smo uvijek u vrhu makar po jednog čovjeka. Od Mustafe Džigala do Rasima Ljajića. Moram da navedem još jedan primjer. Većina ljudi odavde zna za jednog vrsnog advokata, a to je Jaska Čolović. Ona je, nakon, ne znam koliko godina, osoba koja je prva položila pravosudni ispit odjednom i za nju u našem sudu nema mjesta da radi«.

Semiha Kačar je upozorila: »Sandžak se potencira kao neko buduće krizno žarište, kao leglo terorista. To je, takođe, jedan od razloga da se Sandžak tako tretira od strane centralnih medija, baš zbog toga što nismo dovoljno zastupljeni u tim medijima i što nemamo dovoljno stručnog ali i odgovornog kadra koji bi se suprotstavio ovakvim manipulacijama. S druge strane, državi kao da odgovara i dalje da predstavi, recimo, Novi Pazar kao veoma razvijen grad, da i dalje čuti dok neki novinari iz vremena režima S. Miloševića i dalje dižu tenzije, a u stvari država na taj način pokušava da sa sebe skine odgovornost da pomogne sandžačkim opštinama. Medije ne zanima, niti predstavljaju onu višedimenzionalnu, realniju i suroviju sliku sandžačkih gradova — da su to gradovi sa najviše siromašnih, sa veoma lošom infrastrukturom, sa najnižim nivoom zdravstvene zaštite, sa evidentnim manjkom kulturnih i obrazovnih institucija, sa tehnički loše opremljenim školama u kojima je preko

40 učenika u odjeljenjima. Država na taj demagoški način, smišljenim i tempiranim medijskim idealiziranjem, pričama o navodnom bogatstvu prije svega Novog Pazara i Bošnjaka, jednostavno skida odgovornost sa sebe i predstavlja ovaj kraj, kao da ovdje ne treba da se ulaže i da ovde samo treba budnim okom paziti da slučajno nešto ne ode van kontrole«.

Sedat Vrcić: »Kad smo dobili nedavno tri mjesta u ministarstvima, to je meni bio politički neukus, trgovina, ali šta sam ja shvatio kao pozitivno... Nakon više godina čujem reč Bošnjaci, koju izgovara neki spiker iz beogradske televizije, a u novinama čitam — tri Bošnjaka u ministarstvima. Prvi put nas gledaju kao civile, kao ljude«.

Almir Mehonjić (šef kabineta predsjednika opštine Prijepolje): »Ja sam samo htio prokomentarisati onu tezu oko uvođenja vjeronauke. Ja se ne bi složio s tim. Zbog čega? Ja sam vjernik isto, ali mislim da je uvođenje vjeronauke u srbijansko društvo uvođenje Srpske pravoslavne crkve na mala vrata u škole. To se tako pokazalo u Prijepolju i drugim gradovima Sandžaka. Zbog čega? Danas je uobičajena slika da se lome slavski kolači po školama, da se sveštaju učionice itd. Mislim da je to jedna velika negativna stvar. Jedna velika greška Vlade Zorana Đinđića. S druge strane mislim da je proces integracije manjina u srbijanskom društvu, obustavljen prilikom ubistva Zorana Đinđića. Danas se mnogi čude zašto se pojavlju neonacisti, zbog čega oni dijele propagandne materijale u sred Beograda i pričaju o čistoj srpskoj krvi. Međutim, podstiču sve nas da ta teza nije daleko odmakla od teze o Srbima kao nebeskom narodu. Ta teza izašla je iz intelektualnog kruga srpskog naroda. Ako hoćete, iz Srpske akademije nauka i umjetnosti. Tu je glavni problem. Mislim da danas Srbija plaća danak jer se nije suočila sa istinom, zato što nije priznala genocid u Srebrenici, i nisu stalno prikazivane slike Račka, Štrbaca, Sjeverina itd. Postoji problem primjene zakona. Mi imamo određenu zakonsku regulativu koja... Evo recimo, Zakon o zaštiti prava i sloboda nacionalnih manjina je iznad standarda evropskog prava, ali primjena je veoma loša, a to je veoma veliki problem«.

Hazir ef. Dacić (Islamska zajednica Sandžaka): »Ja se ne bi složio sa konstatacijom da je promašaj Vlade Zorana Đinđića uvođenje vjeronauke. Stariji znaju to odlično, da je pravoslavna vjeronauka postojala još prije ovog vremena i da su se učionice osveštavale i prije zvaničnog uvođenja vjeronauke u škole. Iako je u čemu hair (korist) te vjeronauke, sa tog srpskog aspekta jeste da ta duhovna strana ublaži nacionalnu, a konkretno u tom čitavom projektu vjeronauke. Najveći hair su opet imali muslimani. To je jedinstvena šansa da se na takvim mjestima, u takvim institucijama govori i o islamu. To je prva prilika, koja je sa jedne strane bila i izazova Islamskoj zajednici da na takav način govori o vjeri«.

Semiha Kačar: »S obzirom da su se ovdje skoro svi građani izjasnili za uvođenje vjeronauke u škole, trebalo je svakako ispoštovati tu volju. S druge strane roditelji nisu tražili uvođenje vjeronauke zato što njihova djeca nemaju dovoljno znanja o tome, jer su dovoljno upućena preko mekteba o vjeri. Ovdje se radi o nečem drugom. Redovni školski programi i udžbenici nisu davali prostora da bošnjačka djeca nešto nauče o svom jeziku i kulturi, tradiciji. Jedini način da nešto o tome u to vrijeme nauče je bila vjeronauka«.

Zlatko Jusufović: »Svaku vjersku zajednicu čine ljudi, prema tome i svaka vjerska zajednica ima neki svoj koncept. Nije dobro kada u radu jedne vjerske zajednice preovlada radikalizam. Mislim da se o tome može puno razgovarati. Recimo, koja je trauma za Bošnjake ona scena »šorpion« sa svještenikom. Nije sad problem samo u tome, nego je problem sa kakvim elementom zaštite su nastupali predstavnici SPC u pokušaju da zaštite nešto što se štititi ne može. Prema tome od ljudi koji vode neku organizaciju mnogo zavisi kakva će ta organizacija da bude, a vjera kao vjera ne bi smjela da bude predmet rasprave«.

Almir Mehonjić: »Ne bi bio problem kada bi ta duhovna strana preovladala, ali je problem što je ta »duhovna strana« veličala ratne zločince. To je, dakle, problem. Takvi ljudi predaju u školama«.

Ramiz ef. Hamidović: »Svaka stvar se vidi zavisno odakle se i kako gleda. Evidentna je stvar, i to je jasno svima, kao što je lijek za svakog ko je obolio i mora se uzeti tačno, ali ako predozirate ili ne dozirate kako treba nećete imati taj efekat. Ili, recimo, penicilin — nekog ubija, nekog liječi. Zavisi od ličnosti. Prema tome i pogled prema našoj vjeri nekog će iritirati nekog neće. Jedna je neminovnost da je to trebalo da se uvede. Aktom o izbacivanju vjeronauke prestalo je 1946. održavanje časova, a 2000. godine, kako su rekli, izvršen povraćaj. To je bio nepravilan naziv — povraćaj. Vjeronauka se iz škole nikad nije izbacivala, samo je bila dobila drugačiji oblik. Imao je pravo da je predaje svako, bez namjere da bilo koga omalovažim i bilo čiju struku, ali je imao pravo bilo ko od profesora da kaže svom učeniku — Boga nema. To bi bilo kao ja sada da kažem, a da sam daltonista, kako nekom lijepo stoji neka boja. Upravo je zbog toga uvedena vjeronauka«.

Ramiz Crnišanić: »Komunistička partija je bila ateistička partija. To se nikad nije krilo. Znalo se da religija ne može da se iskoreni i zato je bila sloboda savesti i veroispovesti, a onaj ko je bio vernik mogao je da bude profesor. Moglo je da se ide u crkvu ili u džamiju. Međutim, vernici mahom nisu mogli da budu direktori, jer nisu ateisti, odnosno komunisti«.

Almir Mehonjić: »Ja sam samo rekao da je uvođenje vjeronauke, uvođenje Srpske pravoslavne crkve na mala vrata u škole. Nisam ništa govorio o Islamskoj vjerskoj zajednici, zato što je islam marginalizovan u tom smislu u odnosu na pravoslavlje. Vi ste maloprije govorili o nekim lijekovima. Dajte mi jedno ime iz SPC koje djeluje tako. Nema takvih«.

Edi Tvrtković (OO G17 PLUS): »Vi znate da je naše područje, sa Vranjem, najnerazvijeniji kraj. Svakom sistemu koji je bio na vlasti u Srbiji trebalo je neko nestabilno područje. Stalno se pominju neki teroristi. Na nama je da dokažemo da li ih ovde ima ili ne. Njima je potrebno da imaju tu službu koja će stalno da gasiti taj neki »požar«. Hoću da kažem da treba neko odavde od naših stručnjaka da jednostavno imperativno traži da dođu službe i da provere informacije da li ovde stvarno ima terorista ili ovde žive normalni ljudi. Policija koja je ovde dolazila pre rata je rekla: »Pa šta je, bre, ovo ljudi, ovde stvarno nema ništa!« Što se tiče sekularnosti ove države, nema je. Crkva je zajedno sa Srpskom akademijom nauka reprezent politike koja se vodi i ni jedna politika bez saglasnosti crkve ne može da nastupi. Prema tome ako je to baš tako onda pretpostavimo da svaka etapa ima kvantitet koji prelazi u kvalitet, a

taj jedan deo što smo mi dobili da imamo versku nauku je ustvari proizvod tog napretka. Ono što je važnije, svi ovde znamo da od ekonomske slobode zavisi svaka sloboda. Možete imati milion naših stručnjaka ovde u Sjenici, a gde će da se zaposle? Oni moraju negde da idu. Da li je neko od naših političara otišao da porazgovara sa našom dijasporom, da kaže — uložite ovde pare, uposlite naše ljude, evo vam zemlja. Ovog trenutka ne samo ovom kraju, nego i čitavoj Srbiji nema boljeg izlaza iz ove situacije od poljoprivrede, a ovaj kraj je Bogom dan za to. Ako tražimo najbržu i najbolju mogućnost da se neko uposli, ona je upravo tu. Što se tiče spremnosti svaka institucija, evo vidite naš Dom zdravlja, odmah tu vidite neku ekonomsku diskriminaciju, jer ako vi dobijete uput, odmah plaćate kartu, doručak, jer je to već trošak van Sjenice. Treba se boriti. Mi smo već dobili neke specijalizacije, recimo kožnih bolesti, koje nismo imali. Drugo, opet se ne može ljutiti na nekog specijalistu koji dođe sa strane koji mora za pola sata da pregleda preko pedeset ljudi. U tom sistemu svako bi trebao prema svojim mogućnostima da traži rešenje problema. Treba više raditi nego pričati i mnogi problemi će biti rešeni».

Zlatko Jusufović: »Mi pripadamo Zdravstvenom centru Užice, a nema autobuske linije od Sjenice do Užica. Naši osiguranici se snalaze kako i koliko mogu. Putuju »taksijem« i plaćaju mnogo. O novom zakonu o zdravstvenom osiguranju, koji je ovih dana ušao u skupštinsku proceduru i koji će za desetak dana biti usvojen niko ovdje nije konsultovan. Nigdje nije došao prijedlog, da neko nešto može da preduzme. Ako ti poslanici koje mi imamo ne povedu računa. Ukida se pravo na putne troškove na području matične filijale. Znači, mora naš osiguranik da ide za Užice, na stranu to što nema autobusa, nego sad nema pravo ni na putne troškove«.

Ibro Mehmedović: »Na mrežnoj grupi 020 čak 237 sela nema ni jedan fiksni telefon. Samo dva sela u Novom Pazaru imaju asfaltni put do centra sela, a 93 sela ima na području novopazarske opštine. Od 213 je, čak, 93 neasfaltiranih ulica u Novom Pazaru. Ni jedan političar nije prevaleo ove podatke preko jezika. Imamo dislociranu Upravu za Elektroprivredu itd. Zdravstveni centra u Novom Pazaru nije regionalni, pa često ljudi iz Tutina moraju da putuju do Kraljeva. To je čista diskriminacija. Nemamo kancelariju za privatizaciju, ona je u Kraljevu, zato je ovdje situacija u privredi takva kakva jeste, posebno kada je privatizacija u pitanju. I vojni odsijek odavde je dislociran. Predsjednik opštine sada, pak, govori da je Novi Pazar dobio više za šest mjeseci od Velje Ilića nego od 1945. do sada«.

Učesnici ovog foruma su usaglasili svoja mišljenja oko slijedećih zaključaka i preporuka:

1. Zvanično su od Vlade i drugih institucija, mada, to još nije regulisano Ustavom i Zakonom, priznati nacionalna posebnost i identitet Bošnjaka. U službenoj komunikaciji se, kao i u većem dijelu štampe upotrebljava naziv Bošnjak.

2. Formiran je Nacionalni savjet Bošnjaka koji djeluje u Državnoj zajednici SCG i u tom pogledu nema ozbiljnijih teškoća.

3. Otvorene su visokoškolske ustanove. Međutim, još uvijek je prisutno nasljeđe iz prošlosti; u udžbenicima osnovnih i srednjih škola gradivo je skoro ostalo skoro isto, samo su izbačeni direktni, pežorativni izrazi. Bošnjačka djeca, kao ni djeca drugih nacionalnosti ne mogu ništa naučiti iz tih udžbenika o svojoj nacionalnoj kulturi, istoriji, jeziku i tradiciji.

4. U nekim opštinama (Novi Pazar, Tutin i Sjenica) uveden je bosanski jezik, kao službeni jezik.

5. Iako još uvijek ima ekscesa, ipak je, stepen slobode, sigurnosti života i imovine, veći nego ranije.

6. Prisutna je tendencija Srpske pravoslavne crkve, da se nametne kao državna religija. U tome dobija podršku nekih struktura kao što je Vojska Srbije i Crne Gore i druge. (primjer prenošenja krstova po sandžačkim brdima)

7. Forum je ukazao na vidnu nerazvijenost i dalje ekonomsko zaostajanje Sandžaka, što je u svojoj analizi konstatovala i Međunarodna krizna grupa.

8. Nužno je da Vlada Republike Srbije i ostali državni organi pristupe osnivanju institucija za ubrzavanje sveopšteg razvoja ovog područja. U tom smislu je potrebna daleko veća aktivnost lokalnih faktora: opštinske samouprave, NVO, privrednih asocijacija i građana bez obzira na političku i nacionalnu pripadnost.

9. Ministarstvo prosvjete i sporta, kao i drugi državni organi treba da preduzmu mjere kako bi se otklonili problemi u vezi nostrifikacije diploma sa Sarajevskog i drugih univerziteta; još uvijek se vrši diskriminacija Bošnjaka koji su završili studije u Federaciji BiH. Probleme ove vrste nemaju studenti sa teritorije Republike Srpske.

10. Takođe je vidan problem koji se odnosi na ostvarivanje prava učenika vjerskih škola, pa i Medrese, koji su neosigurani. Njihovi roditelji ne primaju dječiji doatak. Zatraženo je da se njihova prava izjednače sa pravima ostalih učenika.

11. Potrebno je veće, aktivnije učešće Bošnjaka, naročito inteligencije u razvijanju aktivnosti na svim poljima, posebno prema pojavama koje se javljaju u odnosu na položaj Bošnjaka.

12. Na skupovima je ukazano na veoma nezadovoljavajuću zastupljenost Bošnjaka u republičkim institucijama i pravosuđu, policiji i vojsci. Nema ni jednog sudije Vrhovnog suda iz redova Bošnjaka, kao ni zamjenika Republičkog javnog tužioca.

13. Još uvijek nije riješen problem ishrane Bošnjaka u vojsci SCG.

14. U sredstvima informisanja, u izdavačkoj djelatnosti postoji obilje antiislamske literature, sa uvijek prisutnom konotacijom da se to odnosi na Bošnjake.

15. Državni mediji ne izvještavaju dovoljno o problemima Bošnjaka i Sandžaka i ne tretiraju njihovu kulturu, tradiciju i istoriju, a često izvještavaju pogrešno i senzacionalistički.

16. U pogledu daljeg tretmana Sandžaka i rješavanja njegovog položaja, predloženo je da se srbijanski dio Sandžaka tretira kao jedno područje, da se ne cijepa, već da se od njega formira Novopazarski okrug, koji je postojao do 1948. godine, a da se u crnogorskom dijelu Sandžaka formira Bjelopolski okrug.

17. Skup ukazuje na neravnomernost poreskog opterećenja, naročito malih samostalnih radnji i zanatlija.

18. Predloženo je i da se pokrene časopis za kulturu, istoriju i tradiciju Bošnjaka, ali i časopis koji bi se bavio savremenim temama iz života i političke prakse.

Dodatak

Lista učesnika foruma:

- Esad Zornić, predsjednik opštine Sjenica
- Semiha Kačar, predsjednik Sandžačkog odbora za zaštitu ljudskih prava
- Sedat Vrcić, predsjednik NVO Flores
- Ramiz Crnišanin, Sandžački intelektualni krug
- Melisa Abdulahović, NVO Flores
- Emina Abdulahović, NVO Flores
- Faiz Hamidović, OO Socijal-demokratske partije
- Irfet Hadžifejzović, OO Socijal-demokratske partije
- Džemila Hodžić, NVO Flores
- Sanela Buljubašić, NVO Flores
- Fevzija Hodžić, odbornik SDP (Sandžačka demokratska partija) u SO Sjenica
- Zlatko Jusufović, Udruženje za pomoć deci ometenoj u razvoju
- Ibro Mehmedović, Mreža NVO »Zajedno do uspeha«
- Hajrudin Kolašinac, NVO Flores
- Albinot Maloku, Kosovo
- Edi Tvrtković, OO G17 plus
- Ramiz ef. Hamidović, Islamska zajednica, Sjenica
- Hazir Dacić, Islamska zajednica, Sjenica
- Almir Mehonjić, Sandžačka demokratska partija

-
- Kenan Tatarević, SDP, Prijepolje
 - Rijad Hodžić, NVO Flores
 - Zoran Maksimović, Sandžački odbor za zaštitu ljudskih prava i sloboda
 - Selma Ljajić, RTV Jedinstvo
 - Edib Honić, Regionalna TV i Radio »Sto plus«

Skup su pratili sljedeći mediji:

- RTV »Jedinstvo«
- RTV Novi Pazar
- Radio »Sto plus«

IZVJEŠTAJ SA ŠESTOG FORUMA:

**PRIMJENA OKVIRNE KONVENCIJE I POLOŽAJ
NACIONALNIH MANJINA U SANDŽAKU**

Novi Pazar, 7. decembar 2005.

Semiha Kačar, Sandžački odbor za zaštitu ljudskih prava i sloboda, u svom uvodnom izlaganju je istakla:

»Veliko mi je zadovoljstvo i čast da Vas, u ime Sandžačkog odbora za zaštitu ljudskih prava i sloboda, mogu pozdraviti i zaželiti Vam prijatan boravak u Novom Pazaru, kao i uspješan i konstruktivan rad na VI Forumu o primjeni Okvirne konvencije i položaju manjinskih nacionalnih zajednica u multietničkim sredinama. Prethodne, veoma uspješne sesije ovog foruma održane u Novom Pazaru, Sjenici i Tutinu, rezultirale su donošenjem niza preporuka i zaključaka za rješavanje identifikovanih problema u ovim sredinama. Uočen je čitav niz problema u ekonomiji, kulturi, prosvjeti, obrazovanju, komunalnoj infrastrukturi. U situacijama u kojim nemamo dovoljno svog stručnog potencijala neophodno je angažiranje provjerenih stručnjaka sa strane. Dat je čitav niz korisnih prijedloga o metodama prevazilaženja pojedinih problema, sve u cilju da se poboljša sveukupno stanje na ovom prostoru. Mi ćemo s tim prijedlozima na adekvatan način blagovremeno upoznati sve one nadležne instance koje mogu pomoći na tom polju. Svjedoci smo također postojanja čitavog niza problema u našoj sredini koji mogu imati neželjene posljedice po ukupno stanje (»govor mržnje« u medijima, incidenti na sportskim susretima, ispisivanje nacionalističkih parola i grafita, pojedine neodmjerene izjave političara i slično). Na takve pojave moramo blagovremeno reagovati kako bi se izbjegle neželjene komplikacije i mogući rast tenzija. Iskustva pokazuju da zato moramo biti budni i obazrivi. Ovaj značajni skup, koji Sandžački odbor organizuje uz podršku Švedskog helsinškog komiteta, okupio je ponovo veliki broj predstavnika javnog i političkog života ove sredine, predstavnike nevladinih organizacija i medija. I ovo naše okupljanje jeste još jedna potvrda iskrenog nastojanja da se o svim problemima i specifičnostima kreativno i konstruktivno razgovara u tolerantnom duhu, u atmosferi međusobnog uvažavanja i povjerenja. Izražavam nadu da će ovaj skup i njegovi zaključci biti važan korak na putu prepoznavanju problema ove multietničke i multikonfesionalne sredine, njihovom rješavanju i istinskom približavanju vrijednostima civilnog društva. U tom smislu još jednom želim da svima poželim uspješan rad.

Nakon uvodne riječi **Semihe Kačar**, kojom su prisutni u najkraćem upoznati sa presekom serije već održanih foruma, pročitani su zaključci i preporuke sa istih, kao uvod u sadržaje i tok završne sesije.

Aleksandra Šanjević je, ispred Građanskih inicijativa, izlaganjem na temu »Odnos države i predstavnika institucija manjinskih zajednica« nastojala da istakne

propuste države u odnosu na manjine, ali se osvrnula i na sve što je do sada urađeno da se njihov položaj promeni na bolje. Kao bitan element izmene postojećeg položaja manjinskih etničkih zajednica istakla je Nacionalne savete, kojima se moraju pružiti bolji uslovi za rad, jer su tek 2004. počeli dobijati sredstva iz državnog budžeta. Do tada su finansirani iz donacija, po principu snalažljivosti. Pomak u finansijskom smislu jeste, kako je rekla, povećanje sredstava predviđenih za Nacionalne savete u 2006. godini za 30 procenata u odnosu na prošlu godinu. Samim donošenjem Zakona o zaštiti prava i sloboda nacionalnih manjina, februara 2002. Srbija i Crna Gora, tada SR Jugoslavija, pokazuje dobru volju da reši pitanje manjina, ali je to tek početak ovog procesa, jer je reč o krovnom zakonu. Potreban je niz drugih uredbi koji regulišu manjinska pitanja pojedinačno. Detaljnije tretiranje prava nacionalnih manjina trebalo bi da budu u nadležnosti entiteta u okviru SCG:

»U želji da što sadržajnije odgovorim na ovako definisanu temu, a imajući u vidu vreme koje je na raspolaganju, svoje izlaganje ću fokusirati na pitanje Nacionalnih saveta nacionalnih manjina i odnosu države prema ovim predstavničkim telima manjinskih zajednica. Treba međutim jasno naznačiti da se ova tema ne iscrpljuje samo kroz odnos prema Nacionalnim savetima već da ima i druge aspekte. Položaj Nacionalnih saveta se međutim nameće kao najznačajnije pitanje u ovom kontekstu. Uostalom, o važnosti ovog pitanja svedoči i činjenica da su Nacionalni saveti sve od njihovog osnivanja na vrhu »top liste« manjinskih pitanja.

Na početku bih podsetila da je Skupština SR Jugoslavije u februaru 2002. usvojila Zakon o zaštiti prava i sloboda nacionalnih manjina. Donošenje ovakvog Zakona je imalo višestruk značaj. Osim nesumnjivo velikog značaja koji ovaj Zakon ima u procesu regulisanja prava i položaja nacionalnih manjina, on je takođe imao i veliki, neposredni politički značaj. Govorio je naime o volji novih, demokratskih vlasti da suštinski, i u skladu sa međunarodnim standardima pristupe regulisanju položaja nacionalnih manjina, a takođe i o njihovom razumevanju da je nakon petooktobarskih promena, pitanje regulisanja prava i položaja nacionalnih manjina jedno od prioriternih zadataka nove vlasti koje će biti i važno merilo njene stvarne demokratskosti. I to kako na »domaćoj sceni«, tako i od strane međunarodne zajednice. I zaista, Zakon je dočekan i komentaran uglavnom sa pohvalama, uz konstatacije da su njegove odredbe u skladu sa međunarodnim standardima u ovoj oblasti.

Jedna od novina ovog Zakona koja je privukla posebnu pažnju javnosti, je uvođenje instituta Nacionalnih saveta nacionalnih manjina kao svojevrsnih predstavničkih tela manjinskih nacionalnih zajednica. Iako za nas nov, ovaj institut, u različitim oblicima ali po suštini, odn. ideji isti ili veoma sličan, postoji u drugim zemljama u našem okruženju. Tako je naš zakonodavac ipak imao više modela i iskustava koje je mogao koristiti u definisanju uloge, položaja i drugih važnih pitanja koja se tiču Nacionalnih saveta.

Ono što se međutim ubrzo u praksi pokazalo kao problem, a što ni do danas nije na adekvatan način rešeno, je činjenica da je Zakon složenoj problematici Nacionalnih saveta posvetio samo dva člana. Član 19 Zakona naime, predviđa da pripadnici nacionalnih manjina mogu izabrati svoj Nacionalni savet radi ostvarivanja prava na samoupravu u oblasti upotrebe jezika i pisma, obrazovanja, informisanja i kulture. U



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nastavku, ovaj član na najopštiji način govori o nadležnostima i načinu finansiranja Saveta. Što se načina izbora Nacionalnih saveta tiče, istim članom je predviđeno da će se izborna pravila za izbor Saveta regulisati Zakonom a do tada je pitanje izbora Saveta definisano članom 24 Zakona. Zakonom je dakle uveden institut Nacionalnih saveta na način koji je tražio neizostavno donošenje dodatnih propisa kojima bi se detaljno uredila pitanja bitna za izbor i funkcionisanje Saveta. Način kako je država odgovorila na ovu očiglednu potrebu i nužnost tokom protekle skoro četiri godine od

donošenja Zakona, baca na žalost senku na potez uvođenja Saveta koji je sam po sebi uglavnom pozdravljen uz odobravanje i podršku. Takođe otvara sumnju u autentične i dobre namere države da na što delotvorniji način obezbedi manjinama uživanje prava na samoupravu koje se upravo ostvaruje kroz instituciju Nacionalnih saveta. Kako su dakle Nacionalni saveti zaživeli u praksi i koliko odgovaraju onome što je (pretpostavljamo) bila namera Zakonodavca?

Kada su izbori Nacionalnih saveta u pitanju, do danas nije donesen poseban zakon koji bi regulisao ovu materiju, a čije donošenje je, podsećamo, izričito predviđeno članom 19. Pomenuti član 24 Zakona predviđa posredan način izbora članova Saveta i to preko elektorskih skupština. Ovaj član bliže određuje i pitanje ko mogu biti elektori, dok je način formiranja elektorskih skupština za izbor nacionalnih saveta nacionalnih manjina, kao i način izbora članova nacionalnih saveta dodatno uređen Pravilnikom o načinu rada skupštine elektora za izbor nacionalnih saveta. Predviđeni način izbora je u praksi izazvao velike probleme. I to ne samo u samoj izbornoj proceduri što je u slučaju pojedinih saveta već dovelo do ozbiljnih problema prilikom izbora, već je od ovoga još značajnija činjenica da predviđeni izborni sistem nije obezbedio potrebnu reprezentativnost u sastavu Saveta. Saveti bi naime na što adekvatniji način trebali da odražavaju pluralnost jedne manjinske zajednice čime bi u najvećem stepenu odgovorili interesima manjinske zajednice koju predstavljaju. Upravo suprotno tome, predviđenim načinom izbora je omogućeno da oni budu monopolistička tela političkih elita pojedinih manjinskih zajednica i njihova produžena ruka. Ovo se u praksi desilo pre svega sa Savetima najvećih i najuticajnijih manjina sa najjačom političkom artikulacijom. Mislimo dakako na mađarski i bošnjački nacionalni savet koji su po svom sastavu bez izuzetka izraz jedne političke opcije. Jasno je da ovo predstavlja zloupotrebu ideje saveta i da postoje drugi načini izbora koji bi bili adekvatniji.

Izabrane i konstituisane Savete su međutim u praksi očekivali novi problemi. Oni se tiču nadležnosti Saveta te mehanizama koji Savetima stoje na raspolaganju za vršenje ovih nadležnosti. Ovo je, kako je već pomenuto, Zakonom regulisano na najopštiji način. Kako nikakvi dodatni, detaljniji propisi nisu usledili, to je nakon formiranja saveta mnogo vremena izgubljeno u lutanju odnosno traženju i ispitivanju mogućnosti delotvornog angažmana. Ne preterujemo ako kažemo da su Saveti radili kako se koji »snalazio«. Ovo je naravno bolje pošlo za rukom savetima većih manjina koji su koristeći svoj politički uticaj uspevali da se izbore za svoju poziciju i da nametnu pojedina rešenja. Naravno da tako važno pitanje kao što je pitanje nadležnosti Saveta nije smelo i ne sme biti pitanje snalaženja ili odnosa političkih snaga.

Neadekvatna regulacija pitanja izbora i nadležnosti Nacionalnih saveta je izazvala kontinuirane reakcije, što je svakako uticalo na to da su nadležni organi konačno, tokom 2005. godine započeli proces izrade nacrtu Zakona koji bi regulisao ova pitanja. U tom cilju su formirana radna tela koja rade na pripremi rešenja za pojedine oblasti nadležnosti Saveta. Na žalost, ponovo smo svedoci neadekvatnog odnosa države prema ovom pitanju. Iako se zna da je 2006. godina izborna godina za pojedine Savete te bi bilo nužno da se novi sastav bira po drugačijim pravilima, formirana radna tela su se sastala samo jednom, dok su u isto vreme predstavnici nadležnih

državnih organa javno obećavali da će se ovaj zakon doneti do nove godine što se nije desilo. Takođe možemo reći da se proces izrade nacrtu ovog zakona odvija potpuno netransparentno čak i u odnosu na članove nacionalnih saveta, iako su oni (opet nedovoljno i neadekvatno) zastupljeni u sastavu radnih grupa koje bi trebalo da pripremaju nacrt zakonskog teksta. Još jedno izuzetno važno pitanje o kome govori jedan stav člana 19 Zakona, je pitanje finansiranja Saveta. Jasno je da bez garantovanih i obezbeđenih finansijskih sredstava, saveti ne mogu imati ni elementarne uslove za svoj rad. Iako Zakon predviđa da će se oni finansirati iz budžeta i donacija čime je već stvorena obaveza države, Saveti su tek posle velikog pritiska, prva sredstva od države dobili nakon više od godinu dana od usvajanja ovog Zakona. Posle ovoga se finansiranje Saveta svake godine ponešto popravljala, pre svega u smislu viših iznosa, ali se prvi put 2005. godine finansiranju pristupilo planski, pa su i nacionalni saveti učestvovali u procesu planiranja potrebnih sredstava. Pitanje finansiranja Saveta zahteva uspostavljanje jasnog i stalnog mehanizma kako bi se Savetima omogućilo da na jedan strateški i dugoročan način planiraju svoj rad.

Nabrojali smo tek najvidljivije probleme u funkcionisanju Nacionalnih saveta koji rečitije govore o odnosu države prema ovim institucijama pa i manjinskom pitanju uopšte. Ovu sliku bismo mogli da dopunimo i drugim primerima. Za ovu priliku i ograničeno vreme kojim raspolažemo, samo ću nabrojati neke aktuelne činjenice koje utiču na položaj manjina u našoj zemlji. Kada je institucionalni okvir u pitanju, pre svega moramo reći da je Zakonom predviđeno formiranje Saveznog saveta za nacionalne manjine — danas je to nivo državne zajednice. Ovo telo nikad nije formirano. Umesto toga, (tek) u jesen 2004. je formiran republički savet nacionalnih saveta nacionalnih manjina. Svakako treba pozdraviti osnivanje ovog tela kojim predsedava predsednik Vlade Republike Srbije i u čijem su sastavu predstavnici svih nacionalnih saveta kao i šest republičkih Ministarstava čiji je resor od interesa za predstavnike manjina. Utoliko pre što je ovo jedino telo na nivou Republike Srbije (Vojvodina ima pokrajinski sekretarijat koji se bavi ovim pitanjem) u čijoj nadležnosti je da se bavi pitanjem nacionalnih manjina. Ipak, moramo konstatovati da je ovo telo formirano nakon zaoštavanja međuetničkih odnosa u Vojvodini tokom 2004. godine i internacionalizacije ovog problema, što je, čini se, u tom trenutku bio izraz dobre volje države da preduzme korak ka poboljšanju položaja manjina. Takođe, ono je formirano uredbom Vlade što svakako devastira njegov značaj i uticaj.

Član 20 Zakona je predvideo osnivanje Saveznog fonda za podsticanje društvenog, ekonomskog, kulturnog i opšteg razvoja nacionalnih manjina. Ovaj Fond do danas nije formiran. Pored pomenute potrebe za donošenjem zakona koji će regulisati način izbora i nadležnosti Nacionalnih saveta, potrebno je takođe i donošenje zakona koji bi na celovit, sveobuhvatan način regulisao položaj manjina na nivou republike Srbije. U Srbiji takav propis ne postoji. Zakon o kome smo govorili je donet na nivou državne zajednice (odnosno tada savezne države), a prioritete oblasti u kojima manjine ostvaruju svoju samoupravu su sve u nadležnosti republike. Takođe, sa izuzetkom bošnjačkog nacionalnog saveta, u čijem sastavu se nalaze i predstavnici bošnjačke manjine iz Crne Gore, u sastavu svih do sada formiranih Saveta, su isključivo predstavnici manjina iz Srbije. Takođe, u nizu važećih propisa Republike Srbije

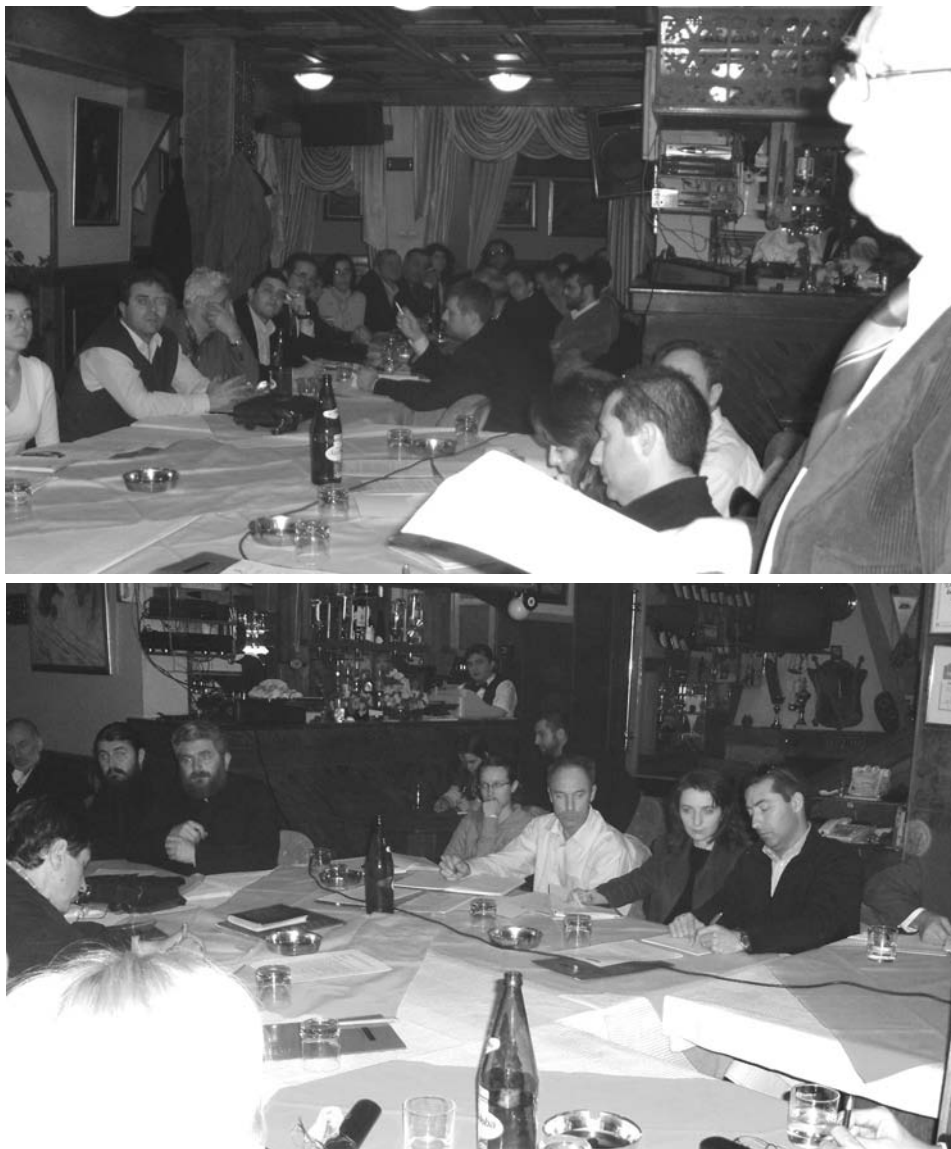
se nalazi poneki član koji reguliše neko pitanje od značaja za manjine. Tako je stvoren priličan pravni haos u kome je teško snaći se, a pojedini propisi su između sebe neusklađeni. Sve ovo ukazuje na potrebu donošenja republičkog zakonodavstva u ovoj oblasti. Ovde svakako treba imati u vidu i neizvesnu sudbinu državne zajednice. I kao što govorimo o potrebi donošenja obuhvatne zakonske regulative u odnosu na manjinsko pitanje, tako konstatujemo i odsustvo jedne konzistentne državne strategije u odnosu na ovo pitanje. U mnoštvu problema sa kojima je naše društvo suočeno, izgradnja strategije koja bi vodila dugoročnom i adekvatnom rešavanju položaja nacionalnih manjina nije prepoznata kao prioritetni zadatak. Zbog toga se u praksi rešenja traše ad hoc, uglavnom tek kada se pojavi problem i često pod pritiskom koji dolazi od strane međunarodne zajednice.

Na kraju, svakako moram naznačiti da sam se fokusirala na neke probleme koji bi drugačijim odnosom države mogli biti u velikoj meri prevaziđeni. Bilo bi pogrešno iz toga izvući zaključak da se u odnosu države prema manjinama u najširem smislu pa i u odnosu na institucije manjinskih zajednica ništa nije promenilo i da nema pozitivnih pomaka, inicijativa i tendencija. Nesumnjivo je da se pitanju manjina posvećuje pažnja i svakako možemo govoriti o jednom pozitivnom trendu u kome država ulaže određene napore ka poboljšanju položaja manjina. Smatram da je utoliko pre važno da se ukaže na očigledne nedostatke koji bi i mogli i morali biti prevaziđeni, a na dobrobit svih građana ove zemlje.

Esad Džudžević republički poslanik i predsednik IO BNV u SCG, je ukazujući na problem ostvarivanja prava Bošnjaka u državnoj zajednici, precizirao ovo kao njenu međunarodno-pravnu obavezu:

»Ja ću pokušati svakako, da ukratko, predstavim koji su problemi u ostvarivanju manjinskih prava bošnjačke nacionalne zajednice u Srbiji, i rekao bih par rečenica oko problema ostvarivanja manjinskih prava u Crnoj Gori. To nikad ne mogu da izbegnem, kao jedan vrlo važan aspekt, i koji nije, karakterističan da kažem za nijednu manjinsku zajednicu u Srbiji i Crnoj Gori. Dakle, nije to problem za Mađare, ni za Rusine, ni za Slovence, ni za Rumune, niti za druge manjine. Mi uvek kad govorimo o ostvarivanju prava bošnjačke nacionalne zajednice, moramo uzeti, dakle, teritoriju Republike Crne Gore, jer jednostavno, ostvarivanje naših prava se realizuje, da tako kažem, u jednom još uvijek, da kažem fakultativno, jednom međunarodno-pravnom subjektu koji se zove Srbija i Crna Gora. I dakle, sve obaveze koje proističu između ostalog i iz Okvirne konvencije, odgovorna je, odnosno da je međunarodna obaveza države koja se zove Srbija i Crna Gora, a ne Srbije. Prema tome, ali kažem sa još jednom poentom, da jednostavno nekih devedeset hiljada, ili da kažem 92.800 pripadnika Bošnjaka živi u Crnoj Gori. Prema tome, to je prosto jedan aspekt koji se ne može zaobići u ovakvom jednom osvrtu na ovu temu.

Naravno, ja često govorim, pre nego što se pređe na jedan osvrt na ostvarivanje prava bošnjačke nacionalne zajednice, o nekim dilemama koje takođe nisu, rekao bih karakteristične za druge manjinske zajednice, a koje se moraju ovdje pomenuti. Dakle, pored ovog aspekta koji sam već rekao jeste jedan koji se još provlači kod nekih bošnjačkih političkih partija, udruženja, jeste dilema da li su Bošnjaci, odnosno bošnjačka nacionalna zajednica narod ili nacionalna manjina, dakle računajući opet



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na definicije koje postoje u međunarodnom pravu. Ovo prvo zalaganje je rekao bih, veoma manjinsko, dakle da su Bošnjaci konstitutivni narod, idući onom logikom da su u bivšoj SFR Jugoslaviji imali taj status konstitutivnog naroda, ali bez i jednog elementa kulturne autonomije. Dakle, to je bilo deklarativno pravo, i priznato pod jednim vrlo nesrećnim terminom, pod vijerskim terminom. I naravno, tu se postavlja, ako su nacionalna manjina, a Okvirna konvencija izričito govori o stranama ugovornicama, znači da je rezultat konzumiranja manjinskih prava zapravo ugovori

između države u kojoj manjina živi i njene matice. Ovdje se takođe postavlja jedno karakteristično pitanje, a koja je onda matična država Bošnjaka u Srbiji? Da li je to Bosna i Hercegovina, da li ta država ima dovoljno kapaciteta da odgovori, hajde da kažemo jednom terminu, nadanju i očekivanju Bošnjaka u Srbiji, da oni jednostavno na tom emotivnom, kulturološkom planu imaju osjećaj da je Bosna i Hercegovina njihova matična država, e sad je pitanje kapaciteta da se u tom smislu odgovori.

Imamo još dva ograničavajuća faktora, u smislu konzumiranja ovih manjinskih prava, to su jedno nasleđe koje postoji — u smislu osporavanja nacionalnog identiteta Bošnjaka, koje se provlači kroz čitavo XX stoljeće, ono je veoma karakteristično i manifestno na popisima stanovništva, od '48. preko '53., '62. '81. i tako dalje. To je nešto što je stalno opterećivalo identitet ove manjinske populacije, i imamo jedno negativno nasleđe iz perioda devedesetih godina, prije svega misli se na period od '92. do '95. godine, da još uvek neke, mučne stvari nisu na pravi način od strane države objašnjene, da ne kažem procesuirane mnoge stvari. Kad govorimo o ovoj temi, svi asociramo uglavnom na te tri otmice koje su se desile u ovom periodu 1992–1995., dakle otmica u Štrpcima, Sjeverinu, i ono što se dešavalo u Bukovici, u pljevaljskoj opštini, i naravno, poznati politički proces, dvadeset četvorici Bošnjaka, koji nakon 13 godina još uvek nije završen na bilo koji način. Ono što je važno, ove četiri, pet oblasti o kojima govorimo, koje predstavljaju tu jednu klasičnu korpu manjinskih prava na osnovu svih međunarodno pravnih dokumenata i Okvirne konvencije, pored Okvirne konvencije najvažniji dokument koji postoji jeste evropska Povelja o regionalnim i manjinskim jezicima, čiji su instrumenti kao što znate predati u Strazbur, ona još uvijek nije ratifikovana.

Što se tiče prvog segmenta, službene upotrebe jezika i pisma, ona se na neki način, najmanji mogući način realizuje u ove tri opštine — Novi Pazar, Tutin i Sjenica. U opštinskim statutima je unešeno da je bosanski jezik u ravnopravnoj upotrebi sa srpskim jezikom i ćirilичnim pismom, ali je to na žalost zbog jednog, ne malog kapaciteta lokalnih samouprava, tiče se naravno finansijskog aspekta, to pravo je na žalost još uvijek samo deklarativno. Ono je unešeno u statute ove tri opštine, ali je u najmanjoj mogućoj mjeri realizovan. Kao što znate tiče se dakle isticanja dvojezičnih znakova, od saobraćajnih znakova, pa do vođenja upravnog i sudskog postupka. Ovo je pravo jedino djelimično realizovano u tutinskoj opštini, u novopazarskoj i sjeničkoj ovo pravo je samo unešeno u Statut kao jedna deklaracija. Nije realizovano, nije implementirano ni na koji način u praksi. I naravno, problem je da to bude u skladu sa zakonom gdje imamo pravo, prijevoljska i pribojska opština. Još uvek lokalne samouprave tamo ne poštuju Zakon i ne unose ovu odredbu u svoje lokalne statute, mada su to izričito obavezni, ne samo po Zakonu o manjinama, nego i po Zakonu o lokalnoj samoupravi, gde se izričito govori da ona nacionalna zajednica koja ima 15%, na nivou lokalne zajednice, dakle opštine, da je ta lokalna zajednica, opština po automatizmu obavezna da jezik te manjine unese u Statut, i naravno, sve ono što nakon toga slijedi. To u Prijepolju i Priboju još uvek, nažalost, nije slučaj.

I naravno, vraćamo se jednoj prastaroj temi, koja je prisutna još od usvajanja Zakona o pravu i slobodi nacionalnih manjina, od pre 6. februara, a to je manjkavost tog Zakona, da on jednostavno u svom tekstu ne sadrži sankcije, ne sadrži kaznene

odredbe za onoga ko ne poštuje. I prema tome, recimo, ova stvar sa Prijepoljem i Pribojem nikoga ne uzbuđuje, i niko nije pozvan da reaguje. Ja ću vas samo kratko podsjetiti, bio sam savezni poslanik u tom zadnjem parlamentu jugoslovenskom, i imao sam amandman koji je tražio unošenje čitavog odeljka tog Zakona, koji bi sadržao kaznene odredbe, odnosno sankcije. I naravno to je u parlamentu tada odbijeno, ali se mi od tada stalno suočavamo sa tim problemom. Dakle, ko odgovara ako ne poštuje odredbe ovog Zakona? Deklarativno niko, osim ako se ne pozove na neke druge zakone, krivične zakone ili slično. To je jedna velika manjkavost tog Zakona, jednostavno on se u našoj javnosti još uvek doživljavao, u parlamentu, u vladinim krugovima, u akademskim krugovima, kao jedno moralno načelo, jer znate da je on konsenzusom usvojen u saveznom parlamentu. Niko nije bio protiv, ali on kao moralno načelo postoji, znači, pravna norma koja nema sankciju, ona je zapravo moralna norma. I to je onda, kažem, bilo kako je bilo, ali smatram da je neophodno u daljem životu tog Zakona koji je ocijenjen od međunarodnih institucija i domaće javnosti kao jedan sjajan zakonski tekst, da jednostavno i praksa će dovesti do toga da će on morati biti u tom segmentu mijenjan. Dakle, da se unesu kaznene odredbe u taj Zakon.

Drugi segment u ostvarivanju prava bošnjačke nacionalne zajednice u Srbiji, jeste obrazovanje, i ono je na samom početku. Od drugog polugodišta prošle školske godine, Bošnjaci su počeli da uživaju ovo svoje pravo, doduše, na nivou izbornog nastavnog predmeta. Maternji jezik sa elementima nacionalne kulture u I i II razredu, i već ove školske godine to se dešava i u III razredu, i nadamo se da će taj koncept biti realizovan, odnosno operacionalizovan u daljoj razradi koncepta, u svim uzrastima u osnovnoj i srednjoj školi, i ono što je važno, projekat Nacionalnog vijeća, odobren od ovog već pominjanog republičkog Saveta za nacionalne manjine jeste osnivanje državnog pedagoškog fakulteta u Novom Pazaru, koji bi imao u svom sastavu jedinstvenu studijsku grupu, koja bi se zvala Studijska grupa za bosanski i srpski jezik, gde bi studenti završavali i sticali znanja iz obe književnosti, i srpske i bošnjačke, i na taj način bili obučeni da mogu da predaju i bosanski i srpski jezik u osnovnoj i srednjoj školi, a da bi studenti koji bi slušali to na kraju svog studija odlučivali o tome da li će na njihovim diplomama pisati da su oni profesori bosanskog ili srpskog, ili istovremeno oba jezika i obe književnosti. Smatram da je to veoma važan jedan projekat koji će biti odlučujući mehanizam za samoodrživost koncepta obrazovanja bošnjačke nacionalne zajednice u Srbiji.

I naravno, ovde se srećemo takođe sa problemom da Bošnjačko nacionalno vijeće ne može da implementira ovaj koncept obrazovanja u nijednoj drugoj opštini, osim u Novom Pazaru, Tutinu i Sjenici i što se tiče ova dva segmenta — službene upotrebe jezika i pisma i obrazovanja, jednostavno, ta prava staju na granicama ove tri opštine. Mislim da je to, ne samo loša stvar, nego i elementarno jedno nepoštovanje, najmanje četiri-pet zakona, ne samo Zakona o manjinama, ne samo Povelje o ljudskim i manjinskim pravima, ne samo Zakona o lokalnoj samoupravi nego i Zakona o osnovama sistema obrazovanja i vaspitanja, Zakona o osnovnoj školi, što je nedopustivo.

Što se tiče sledećeg segmenta, to je informisanje, ja često kad govorim o ovoj temi, insistiram na javnom servisu, koji se zove RTS, i koji će de iure, i de facto od

aprila sledeće godine postati javni servis, koji ćemo mi kao građani finansirati, i još uvek na tom javnom servisu, RTS-u nemamo emisija o manjinama, o njihovoj kulturi, tradiciji, o njihovom ukupnom društvenom životu, i vi stičete utisak, slušajući ne samo RTS, nego uglavnom beogradske medije, da jednostavno u našoj državi postoje doduše neke manjine, ali izveštavanje o njihovom društvenom životu, o njihovom postojanju je samo na ivici incidenta. Kada se nešto desi u Subotici, kada se nešto desi u Somboru, u Novom Pazaru i Preševu, onda imate izveštavanje medija o tom događaju. Ja insistiram i ta jedna ideja, idejni projekat, takođe dobila je zeleno svetlo od republičkog Savjeta za nacionalne manjine, a tiče se projekta da se na javnom servisu uvedu emisije koje će govoriti na jeziku većinskog naroda o nacionalnim manjinama. I naravno, ono što je drugi segment veoma važan, jeste da se uspostave emisije na jezicima nacionalnih manjina, gdje će se pripadnici nacionalnih manjina na svom jeziku informisati na javnom servisu, ali je meni pod jedan da se na srpskom jeziku formira jedna redakcija koja će informisati o ukupnom društvenom životu nacionalnih manjina. Smatram da su ta dva segmenta veoma važna za stvaranje jednog multi-etničkog, tolerantnog ambijenta, jer uglavnom se ljudi plaše nečega što je nepoznato. Smatramo da na javnom servisu, to je i obaveza javnog servisa, ovih milion i dvesta pedeset hiljada građana, koji su nesrpske nacionalnosti, takođe su, ne samo građani ove države, nego i finansiraju egzistiranje tog javnog servisa.

Četvrti segment, zaštita kulturne baštine, mi ovde imamo činjenicu da Vlada ima selektivan pristup u zaštiti kulturne baštine dvije nacionalne zajednice koje žive u Sandžaku, dakle da imamo jedan pristup očuvanju, restauraciji i konzervaciji i daljem unapređenju kulturne baštine srpsko-pravoslavne tradicije, na jedan način, a na apsolutno drugačiji i neprihvatljiv način imamo pristup očuvanju i svemu što sam rekao, baštine bošnjačko islamske tradicije koja postoji ne samo u Novom Pazaru, nego u čitavom našem regionu. I kažem, imamo jedan neprihvatljiv, selektivan pristup Vlade ovom problemu. Naravno, Bošnjačko nacionalno vijeće je na samom svom konstituisanju podnijeto Ministarstvu kulture čitav prioritet, odnosno listu najprioritetnijih kulturno istorijskih objekata koji traže hitnu rekonstrukciju i konzervaciju. Nažalost, prije svega toga da pomenem, prvi na toj listi je Gazi Husebegov hamam u Novom Pazaru, nažalost, još uvijek nemamo pomake u tom smislu.

Što se tiče petog segmenta, koji je veoma važan za pripadnike svih manjina, pa u ovom slučaju i bošnjačke nacionalne zajednice jeste učešće u javnom životu države. Ovdje je prepušteno još uvijek nemamo senzibilitet vlasti prema ovom problemu, on je rezultat uglavnom međunarodnog pritiska ili rasprava i rezolucija koje donose međunarodne rezolucije prije svega Parlamentarna skupština savijeta Evrope i Evropski parlament koji je reagovao u nekoliko navrata, kad se tiče gušenja prava manjina, prije svega u Vojvodini, i ovo je prepušteno, da tako kažem naporu, mogućnosti demografskog i političkog kapaciteta pojedinih manjina da ostvare neka svoja prava u smislu djelotvornog učešća u javnom životu. U prošlom sazivu smo imali primjer mađarske nacionalne zajednice koja je učestvovala u parlamentu. Njen predstavnik je bio potpredsednik Republičke vlade, a u ovom sazivu imamo da predstavnici bošnjačke nacionalne zajednice participiraju dakle u republičkom parlamentu, i u zadnje vrijeme participiraju u nekim vladinim institucijama, ali to nije re-



Sa VI foruma u Novom Pazaru

zultat odnosa, pristupa Vlade prema ovom problemu, da se omogući konzumiranje ovog prava u skladu sa članom 50 Povelje o ljudskim i manjinskim pravima nego je rezultat političkog pritiska i kapaciteta ili napora određene manjinske zajednice. Ja mogu da kažem da je primer bošnjačke nacionalne zajednice u tom smislu veoma interesantan, dakle da je ta zajednica u saradnji, odnosno u kolektivnom sporazumu sa jednom velikom demokratskom, državotvornom strankom, u ovom slučaju Demokratskom strankom, ušla u parlament, i da je nakon izvesnog vremena, kada je osjetila

da je djelotvornije i efikasnije njeno funkcionisanje kao nezavisnih poslanika, učinila taj problem što se odvojila od te koalicije i pristupila vladinoj koaliciji, na način, odnosno u trenutku kad je osetila da ova Vlada, doktora Koštunice, može, ima političke volje i kapaciteta da uvede našu državu na jedan brži, intenzivniji način u evroatlanske integracije, u onom trenutku kad je ta Vlada dobila pozitivnu Studiju izvodljivosti. To je bio ključni momenat da se nas dvojica opredijelimo za podršku takvoj jednoj politici. Jer jednostavno, smatramo ono što je činjenica, ne samo za bošnjačku nacionalnu zajednicu, nego za sve manjine jeste da brzina evroatlanskih integracija odgovara, po prirodi stvari, svakoj nacionalnoj manjini.

Ono što bih želio da kažem na samom kraju, jeste da smatram da je veoma važno nekih četiri, pet stvari, u smislu uspešnosti ostvarivanja manjinskih prava svake nacionalne zajednice, to je prije svega, izmena i dopuna Zakona o izboru narodnih poslanika, na način da se omogući takozvanim »malim« manjinama, odnosno svim ostalim manjinama pored bošnjačke i mađarske, da imaju garantovana mjesta u parlamentu. Tu imamo teorijske dobre formule i imamo ogromno iskustvo iz nama susjednih država, u ovom slučaju da pomenem samo Hrvatsku i Mađarsku, i smatramo da je veoma pozitivan bio korak u onom trenutku, u martu prošle godine, kada je ova Vlada ukinula cenzus za pripadnike, odnosno stranke ili koalicije nacionalnih manjina, ali to je omogućilo direktan ulazak u parlament samo dvijema velikim manjinama — bošnjačkoj i mađarskoj, a da sve ostale manjine nemaju dovoljno kapaciteta da uđu same u parlament. Smatramo da bi na taj način, izmjenama i dopunama Zakona o izboru narodnih poslanika bilo omogućeno, ja sam čak i amandmanom tad, u martu prošle godine tražio da se garantuje nekih 25 mjesta za pripadnike nacionalnih manjina, onda sam dobio kritike da to nije moguće bez promjene republičkog Ustava, što je bila jedna velika neistina i demagogija, jednostavno, Ustav ne reguliše strukturu onih 250 mjesta u parlamentu, on govori jednostavno samo o broju. Prema tome, to je moglo i tad da se učini, ali nije, to ćemo morati vjerovatno učiniti u sklopu budućih ustavnih reformi. Druga stvar koja je veoma važna, o čemu je gospodica Aleksandra govorila jeste donošenje ovog ključnog zakona na republičkom nivou, Zakona o nadležnostima nacionalnih saveta, gdje će jednostavno, ono što je zakonodavac inače obavezao donošenjem saveznog Zakona o pravima i slobodama nacionalnih manjina, dakle da spusti, ne samo Savet, nego i Zakon na republički nivo. Zakon o kojem govorimo je okvirni, na nivou državne zajednice, obavezan je po ustavnoj Povelji, da se ta materija spusti na nivo republike, odnosno država članica. To je učinjeno 8. oktobra prošle godine, djelimično, formiranjem Saveta Republike Srbije za nacionalne manjine, ostalo je da se ta stvar spusti i na onaj drugi institut koji je predviđen Zakonom, a to je Fond za nacionalne manjine, i mogu slobodno da kažem da je konsenzus kod svih nacionalnih savjeta za formiranjem fonda, gdje bi se iz tog finansirali projekti nacionalnih manjina, ovo o čemu je takođe gospodica Aleksandra govorila jeste problem finansiranja. On je još uvijek, nažalost, na nivou nevladine organizacije. Mi smo ušli ove godine u republički budžet, nešto bolji tretman je nego što smo bili onda kao elementarna nepogoda iz budžetske rezerve, sada je to budžetska rezerva ministra finansija. Nacionalni savjeti u ovogodišnjem državnom budžetu će se finansirati iz fonda s kojim raspolaže ministar finansija, tu su pored nacionalnih

savjeta, još Savjet rezervnih vojnih starešina, i Nacionalni savet. To je još uvek neprihvatljiv tretman i pozicija, mi smo uvek tražili da to bude posebna pozicija, i ono što je još bolje jeste donošenje Zakona o osnivanju republičkog fonda za nacionalne manjine, gde bi se iz tog formirali svi projekti koji se tiču ovih četiri, pet oblasti koje su važne za svaku manjinu.

Naravno, donošenje Zakona o nadležnosti nacionalnih savjeta je takođe jedna obaveza koja bi dakle, ja znam šta su se suočavali onda oko priče o finansiranju, svi su onda govorili republički funkcioneri da to nije republička obaveza. Kakve mi imamo veze sa finansiranjem nacionalnih saveta, to je institucija, odnosno institut državne zajednice. Dakle i tu dilemu bi trebali na taj način da riješimo. I naravno četvrta stvar koja je važna jeste ustavna reforma, donošenje ustava Republike Srbije. Ja mogu samo da kažem da iz naše svakodnevne koordinacije rada nacionalnih saveta, mi se svakog mjeseca jednom susretnemo i dogovorimo neke generalne stvari koje su jedan zajednički imenilac interesa svih nacionalnih savjeta, u ovom slučaju je stav, da budući republički Ustav mora sadržati najmanje kompletan tekst Povelje o ljudskim i manjinskim pravima i da bi unošenje tog teksta u Ustav bio minimum koji bi zadovoljio interese svih nacionalnih manjina koje postoje u našoj državi. Ne bi se smjelo ići ispod tog standarda, to je standard i Zakona o kojem govorimo, i Povelje o ljudskim i manjinskim pravima koja je iste težine jer je doneta na isti način.

Želio bih na samom kraju još da kažem oko načina izbora nacionalnih savjeta, što je takođe pomenuto kao jedna važna tema. Naime, stav Bošnjačkog nacionalnog vijeća je da nacionalni saveti treba da se biraju na direktan način, formiranjem manjinskih spiskova, ali mogu veoma iskreno i direktno da kažem da smo u tom smislu veoma usamljeni, da svih drugih 12 nacionalnih saveta imaju drugačiji stav. Da zadržavanjem elektorskog načina izbora, možda bi bio razuman, racionalan kompromis da se budući zakon koji će regulisati tu materiju, sadrži obe alternative, dakle, manjine koje imaju kapaciteta da idu za ovim načinom, dakle direktnim izborom, formiranjem manjinskih biračkih spiskova, a da one manjine koje nemaju dovoljno kapaciteta zadrže alternativu, odnosno sadašnji, elektorski način izbora nacionalnih savjeta.

I naravno, ne mogu da izbjegnem na samom kraju jednu rečenicu, kritike koje doživljavaju bošnjački i mađarski nacionalni savjeti zbog svog usko stranačkog, jednostranačkog sastava, to je jednostavno bio izbor samih aktera u tome. Neke stranke su, što se tiče učestvovanja u elektorskoj skupštini kod izbora Bošnjačkog nacionalnog saveta nisu učestvovala u samoj elektorskoj skupštini. Tim su uskratili svoje pravo da učestvuju u tom Savjetu, što kažem, nije apsolutno dobra stvar, i jednostavno metod za koji se mi zalažemo, direktan izbor, omogućio ne samo političkim strankama, udruženjima, nego i nezavisnim, javnim intelektualcima, ekspertima iz pojedine nacionalne zajednice. Uistinu, to bi bio najpravedniji način izbora, a činjenice da izgradnjom naše države, kao države pravno uređene, koja će iz vladavine prava biti ključni vrijednosni sistem, da će jednostavno doći do toga da će sastavi nacionalnih vijeća odnosno saveta sve više odražavati jednu ekspertsku strukturu i sve manje uticaj i učešće političkih stranaka. Mislim da je to jedan cilj kojem treba ukupno da težimo«.

Ramiz Crnišanin je govorio na temu: Raskoraci između primjene zakona i prakse:

»Danas imam zadatak da kažem nekoliko riječi u vezi sa raskorakom onoga što je u zakonima i drugim propisima zapisano i onoga što se u stvarnosti događa. U pravu se to naziva razlika između normativnog i stvarnog. Nikada i ni u jednoj državi, nije vladao potpuni sklad između onoga što u zakonima piše i stvarnim zbivanjima u životu. To je moglo bi se reći opšte poznata činjenica. Zakoni nisu nepromenjivi, oni su većinom ljudska tvorevina i kao takvi su uvijek rezultat odnosa političkih snaga koje se nalaze u zakonodavnom tijelu, bez obzira kako se ono zvalo: skupština, sabor, sejm, parlament, kneset ili kongres. Samo zakoni u svetim knjigama: Bibliji, Kur'anu Talmudu i drugim su formalno nepromenjivi, jer oni nisu ljudska tvorevina već bože riječi. Međutim, nijedan zakonodavac nije toliko inventivan da propiše takve zakone u kojima će za sva vremena i sve sredine predvidjeti sve manifestacije života koje će se ispoljavati u ljudskom društvu i prirodi i koji će uticati na interakcije među ljudima. To je prihvatila i praksa vjerskih zajednica pa su proširile izvore božjih zapovijesti van svetih knjiga. Tako na primjer, šerijatsko pravo prihvata kao izvore prava pored ajeta iz Kur'ana još: hadis, Kijas i Idžmu.

Isto tako valja znati da u ljudskom društvu ne vladaju samo pravila propisana od države, tj. zakoni. Veoma značajnu ulogu u tom pogledu igraju norme: morala, običaja i norme mnogobrojnog društvenih institucija. Zašto ovo ističem? Prije svega da se shvati da prava pojedinih društvenih grupa: klasa, slojeva, naroda, pripadnika vjerskih zajednica, određenih polova, starosnih struktura, profesionalnih asocijacija, urbanih ili ruralnih naselja, kao i pripadnika raznih manjina pa i nacionalnih manjina ne zavise samo od onoga što je o njihovim pravima zapisano u zakonima, već od sveukupne društveno-političke klime i odnosa koji vladaju u društvu, od stanja i razvijenosti sredine u kojoj žive pojedine društvene grupe i drugih faktora. Ovo, isto tako, potvrđuje nas nego skoro u čitavom svijetu. Ovih dana bili smo svjedoci događaja u Francuskoj, gdje je neravnomjeran položaj manjina doveo do eskalacije nasilja u njenim najvećim gradovima. Ako se prati situacija onda se vidi da sličnih situacija ima svuda po svijetu, od Iraka do Čečenije, od sjevera do juga Evrope, Afrike i Amerike. To je zbog toga što u današnjem svijetu nema čistih etničkih država. Od preko dvije stotine država, koliko ih ima u svijetu, samo je desetak, uslovno rečeno, jednonacionalnih. Ako bi se položaj manjina cijenio prema broju međunarodnih i domaćih pravnih akata kojima se regulišu njihova prava i slobode onda bi se moglo zaključiti da je taj položaj veoma dobar i stabilan. Međutim, baš zbog činjenice o kojoj sam govorio, da se normativno i stvarno razlikuju, stanje još uvijek ne može da se ocijeni kao zadovoljavajuće. Pored Univerzalne deklaracije o pravima čovjeka, međunarodnih paktova o političkim i ekonomskim pravima, evropskih konvencija, povelja, protokola i deklaracija, brojnih zakona i drugih propisa pojedinih država donetih na osnovu međunarodnih dokumenata još se lome mnoga koplja oko ostvarivanja njihovih odredaba. Neosporni je da značajan pomak u pogledu zaštite nacionalnih manjina predstavljaju i sva ova dokumenta koja sam gore naveo. Do pred Drugi svjetski rat nacionalne manjine su mahom smatrane remetilačkim faktorom pa su se međunarodni i domaćim propisi uglavnom donosili više radi zaštite većinskih naroda od separatizma i destruktivnosti manjina. Takva ideologija je vladala i u vrijeme SFRJ naročito u predrankovićevsko vrijeme, kada su manjine tretirane kao izvori i saradnici

stranih špijunaža i drugih djelatnosti u korist inostranih službi. Pa i kod nas je skoro izašla knjiga nekog policajca koja na taj način tretira manjine. Da bi se odredbe Okvirne konvencije o zaštiti nacionalnih manjina, koja je prvi obvezujući međunarodni pravni akt, zatim odredbe Povelje o regionalnim manjinskim jezicima, drugih međunarodnih pravnih dokumenata, Zakona o pravima i zaštiti nacionalnih manjina provodile u dijelo, potrebno je da se u Državnoj zajednici Srbija i Crna Gora kao i u obe članice te zajednice koreniti promijeni društvena klima i svijest velikog broja građana koja sada još uvijek manjine smatra za nešto tuđe na tijelu većinskog naroda. Nažalost, pojave koje nisu sporadične i slučajne ukazuju da avet nacionalizma prekriva znatan dio neba nad nama. Ne treba mnogo da se to ilustruje. Tribina na Pravnom fakultetu u Beogradu, organizovana povodom desetogodišnjice genocida u Srebrenici, divljanje neonacista u Novom Sadu, stradanje romske djece, Skindhensi, izlivi nacionalizma i šovinizma na sportskim priredbama, oživljavanje i rehabilitacija kvislinga, izjave o tome da muslimani smrde na loj, negiranje Bošnjaka, kao nacije, negiranje postojanja Sandžaka i drugi ukazuju da oni koji odlučujuće utiču na formiranje javnog mnjenja i dalje truju narod govorom mržnje. Naravno sve se to pravda slobodom govora i ispoljavanja svoga mišljenja, kao da u tome nema granica«.

Semiha Kačar je govorila o rezultatima i pomacima koji su učinjeni u pogledu ostvarivanja i primjene Okvirne konvencije o pravima i zaštiti nacionalnih manjina, te, između ostalog, podsjetila: »Do sada je više nevladinih organizacija i drugih institucija vršilo razne analize i istraživanja u pogledu ostvarivanja prava manjina a posebno Bošnjaka u Sandžaku. O tome postoje dosta brojni podaci i izvještaji: Fonda za humanitarno pravo, Međunarodne krizne grupe, Helsinškog, Sandžačkog odbora za zaštitu ljudskih prava i sloboda, Sandžačkog intelektualnog kruga i drugih u kojima uz taksativno nabrojana sva kršenja tih prava, policijska nasilja, politički procesi i druge vrste neravnopravnog tretmana Bošnjaka«.

Munir Poturak, potpredsjednik SDP-a: »Ne želim da na osnovu mog političkog angažmana danas ovde iznosim stavove, ali hteo bih da se osvrnem da dosadašnje izlaganje, da svoja razmišljanja vodim u tom pravcu i da sebi pojasnim neke stvari. Pre svega, stiče se utisak da se dosta uradilo u pravcu zaštite nacionalnih manjina, da su se mnoge stvari definisale. Ono što je evidentno u našoj državi, i pre svega gospodin Ramiz Crnišanić je pomenuo da osnovni elementi funkcionisanja ove države nisu na zadovoljavajućem nivou. Čak imamo utisak da se to nekad dramatično odražava po stanovništvo ove države. Na drugoj strani, stiče se utisak, da ono što je zakonom određeno od tih institucija da su totalno neorganizovane i to iz dva razloga. Jedan razlog jeste sam ambijent države u kojem prosto nema prostora, i nema se vremena da se reše problemi nacionalnih manjina. Reaguje se po Ad Hoc principu, od incidenta do incidenta, od pritiska do pritiska. Jedinstveni primeri su takvi, u zadnje vreme u Vojvodini. Kad god je trenutak incidenta, od najmanjih do najozbiljnijih tad se reaguje od strane države bez obzira da li je to institucionalno rešeno, da li postoji za to zakon. Znači, namera je samo da se trenutno neka situacija ugasi, spreči.

Druga strana te medalje jeste — prosto se navodi da sve te nacionalne manjine i institucije pokušavaju da internacionalizuju stvar ili problem, i onda se opet vlada organizuje i pokušava da ih reši. Ono što je doneto u smislu zakona o zaštiti nacional-

nih manjina uređeno je i poznato mnogo ranije. Svi ti problemi ne dešavaju se samo kod nas, nego su unazad dvesta godina rešavani kroz mnoge propise. Evropske države imaju takođe sve te probleme ali su izgrađeni mehanizmi tom Okvirnom konvencijom, pa sad ako hoćemo da približimo novonastalim državama Istočne Evrope... Rešeno je to dosta brže, da kažem efikasnije u Hrvatskoj, Mađarskoj i Rumuniji. Poznato je da su tamo mnogo dublje, više spuštene propisi u tom smislu da je to bukvalno. Takozvani nacionalni saveti, saveti samouprava, manjina spuštene su do nivoa grada, opštine, mesne samouprave kako bi se što efikasnije reagovalo na određene probleme ili kako da se preduprede ti problemi. Šta je za nas neophodno? Neophodno je da nacionalni saveti budu odraz stanovništva odnosno, neću samo da kažem političke strukture. Mislim da politika ne mora samo da bude mehanizam rešavanja problema nacionalnih manjina, etničkih zajednica nego da su u prvom planu možda kulturni sadržaji, nešto što je pozitivno u jednom narodu, a to ne mora samo da bude reprezent politička ličnost. Mislim da danas daleko više u ovoj državi i u sastavu nacionalnih manjina odražavaju ličnosti koje svojim ličnim angažovanjem, svojim uspehom, kroz svoj posao, aktivnost pokazuju jednu naciju. I u suštini mi danas kad pogledamo globalizaciju sveta, stičemo utisak da je to prosto jedna ista stvar, jedni isti ljudi, zato što ih prosto isti principi ekonomskog sadržaja pogađaju i tretiraju, a odvajaju se samo na osnovu tradicije i kulture, onog što je njihova osobenost, posebnost. I u tom pravcu, hoću da kažem, da postoji među Bošnjacima ličnosti, ljudi koji su se izdigli, da kažem, opšteg nivoa građana, Bošnjaka u nivou i književnosti i kulture i sporta i da na taj način takve ličnosti ustvari trebaju da reprezentuju Bošnjake i da ohrabre ljude da u tom pravcu prosto mogu da pokrenu mehanizme i da spreče neke stvari. Šta samo sve to znači. Ono što čujemo od jednog nacionalnog saveta u smislu problematike, ne mora da znači za druge nacionalne savete. U ovih šest, odnosno sa današnjim forumom pokazuje se živa aktivnost odbora za zaštitu ljudskih prava. Pobrojani su bukvalno niz elemenata koji se mogu svrstati u tri ili četiri osnovna problema. Nijedna pozitivna stvar nije izražena, a mi, mislim stvarno, imamo izrazito dobrih stvari, pre svega ono što sve institucije u ovoj državi trebaju da znaju, da shvate, da je svo vreme ovih petnaest godina unazad u svom ovom haosu bivše države, bivše Jugoslavije, sačuvan mir, zaštićeni su narodi i dobri osnovi su stvoreni za jednu neverovatno brzu ekspanziju i ekonomsku jednu multietničku dobru saradnju. Ako to nacionalni saveti ne vide i ne iskoriste kao dobar temelj onda će nam se dešavati i navijačke strasti, onda će nam se dešavati incidenti u Vojvodini, onda će nam se dešavati razni grafiti i ona ćemo prosto od situacije do situacije to, ovaj, reagovat' a to će mediji pratit' i dalje će medijski, sa strane ljudi posmatrat kao manjine u ovoj državi nešto što nije dobro ili jednostavno kao zlo. Nacionalni saveti moraju da se spuste mnogo dublje, da imaju svoja predstavništva u svakom gradu, jer svaki grad opet ima svoju posebnost, bez obzira na broj tih ljudi, i ono što je važno, što sam hteo da vam pomenem kao drugi faktor jeste finansiranje. Ako je finansiranje uredbom regulisano, to jeste pomak, ali nije dovoljno. Ono što je gospodin Slezović pomenuo da je ovo podrumski danas, jeste odraz cele te situacije i sigurno da je ovaj forum imao više para našao bi možda mesta, a Nacionalni savet Bošnjaka bi mogao da obezbedi i prostor, da se ne koristi samo kao salonsko mesto za prezentaciju političke

elite jedne partije i da tamo mesto bude za sve institucije Bošnjaka, gde mogu da iskažu organizovanost, svoje namere, svoje zadatke da tamo bude mesto spuštено od saveznog nivoa preko republičkog, do jedne institucije na nivou lokalne samouprave. Lokalne samouprave preuzimaju ključni faktor zaštite nacionalnih manjina, ključni faktor finansiranja i ključni faktor boljeg života građana. Još samo da napomenem, gospodine Džudževiću, vi znate, kad je prvi put bila organizovana Elektorska skupština, da je dan pre toga, i u nekoliko susreta, poziva upućivan poziv na dogovor oko sastava elektorske skupštine, da je dan pre toga organizovan jedan skup gde je upućeno pismo elektorskoj skupštini, gde je bilo 13 potpisnika političkih partija, NVO, i drugih institucija, među kojima je bio i ovaj odbor za zaštitu ljudskih prava, da se ta skupština, ili pomeri, ili da se nađe način kako da se prikaže volja ili struktura svih institucija koje će na najbolji način prezentovati Nacionalni savet Bošnjaka. U tom kontekstu, ja vas pozivam, kao elitnog čoveka u ovom savetu, da se što pre raspišu izbori na nivou elektorske skupštine, odnosno Nacionalnog saveta i da se ne zaboravi da Nacionalni savet ne funkcioniše od osmog oktobra, nego da funkcioniše od devedesete godine, formiranjem BNV, i svi ovi elementi i svi problemi daleko su bili izraženiji, i više se na njima radilo, možda onih pet-šest godina prvih, nego što se to sada radi iako ima mnogo više i boljih uslova za ovo«.

Esad Džudžević, republički poslanik, potpredsjednik IO BNV:

»Ja neću da polemišem sa gospodinom Poturkom, činjenica jeste, i ja to uvijek kažem sa žaljenjem, da njegova stranka, dakle SDP nije učestvovala prilikom konstituisanja prve elektorske skupštine. Bilo je par susreta, razgovora, tema, onda su jednostavno, iz neobjašnjivih razloga rekli da nije vrijeme. Da vas podsjetim, pored grčke nacionalne manjine mi smo zadnja manjina koja je formirala ovo tijelo manjinske samouprave. Znači, bili smo i tad zadnji, i veoma u tome kasnili. Što se tiče vanredne elektorske skupštine, ja sam stalno govorio da je to uvijek poželjan, dakle legitiman zahtijev svih političkih stranaka, udruženja i pojedinaca koji smatraju da nisu na dovoljan način reprezentovane u tom tijelu. Raspisivana je skupština, dvaput odlagana, vjerovatno očekujemo da će to biti veoma uskoro. I želim još dvije stvari samo da kažem, dakle BNV u SCG nema mnogo sličnosti sa onim što je radilo Bošnjačko nacionalno vijeće Sandžaka kroz vrijeme. To je bila, dakle, jedna vaninstitucionalna forma, koja je išla ka tome, da problem Bošnjaka u onom teškom vremenu, dakle u vrijeme Miloševićevog režima na neki način internacionalizuje i upozna domaću i međunarodnu javnost sa onim što se dešava. Bošnjačko nacionalno vijeće u Srbiji i Crnoj Gori je nešto apsolutno drugo, što govori ovih 4–5 segmenata koje ima prava u skladu sa zakonom i međunarodnim standardima. Zaista mi je žao što organizator nije izrazio želju da ovaj razgovor vodimo u prostorijama Vijeća, koje nisu podrumske poput ove, i veoma su, čini mi se, adekvatne prirode za ovakav razgovor, i ja mogu da pozovem sa radošću, da svaki budući susret, razgovor na bilo koju temu, održimo u tim prostorijama«.

Aleksandra Šanjević, koordinator Građanskih inicijativa, Beograd: »Budući da sam čula primedbu, da smo svi uglavnom govorili u negativnoj konotaciji o onome što je do sada učinjeno u oblasti prava i položaja nacionalnih manjina, ja bih htela da kažem, budući da sam i sama često u situaciji da organizujem ovakve skupove, nekako uvek želim da ispoštujem vreme. Pa za to kratko vreme koje mi je po progra-

mu dato, činilo mi se da je važnije da imamo jedan konstruktivni, ali kritički osvrt zato da bi smo mogli da svi zajedno poradimo na tome, što evidentno jeste još uvek nedovršen posao a takođe da ima mesta i u diskusiji, vidim ovde sa zadovoljstvom predstavnika države, da ispriča ono što je pozitivno a što nije malo urađeno do sada. No, ono što je pozitivno nekako svi živimo, a ono na čemu još treba da se radi, mislim da je važnije da se na to osvrnemo».

Sabina Talović — NVO »Otvoreni centar«, Pljevlja: »Nemam namjeru da diskutujem mnogo i opširno, ali ono na šta ću da se osvrnem jeste da nisam političar, mada mi je drago što se danas ovdje čuje jako puno i političkih stavova. I možda samo da se osvrnem kratko na situaciju u Crnoj Gori, na teritoriji odakle ja dolazim, i o trenutnom položaju nacionalnih manjina u Sandžaku, i ono što je meni jako važno na odnos države, političara i političkih partija prema nacionalnim manjinama. Osjećam se i pozvana i prozvana. Priča se o kontekstu SCG, priča se o konstitutivnosti, nekoj vrsti ili težnji nacionalnih manjina da budu konstitutivni dio crnogorskih građana. Ovdje sam čula rečenicu da je jako važno istaći da je sačuvan mir. I to je ono sa čim ću ja početi, a sa čim se potpuno ne slažem.

Za mene nije mir samo odsustvo rata, i na prostorima odakle ja dolazim, u proteklom periodu nije bio sačuvan mir. Vi znate da se u opštini Pljevlja desila Bukovica, da je to najdrastičnije kršenje manjinskih ljudskih prava koje je trajalo u kontinuitetu da ne kažem od 1941. ili 1942. ali od 1992. do 1995. i traje i danas. To kršenje prava ljudi iz Bukovice traje i danas, krši ga država koja je svojim projektom prvo njih poharala, pohapsila, pobila, raselila i danas ih koristi samo i isključivo kao instrumente, kao glasače. Ono što je trenutno situacija u Pljevljima i Crnoj Gori jeste svojevrsno podvlačenje crte, kretanje u referendum, u formiranje nezavisne suverene Crne Gore i nesuočavanje sa prošlošću, i nesuočavanje sa hipotekama bez kojih, ja smatram, nema budućnosti, nikakve države, ni samostalne Crne Gore ni SCG ni bilo koje, znači na sceni je potpuno poricanje, čak i institucionalno poricanje prošlosti. Tu sam samo htjela da se osvrnem na izlaganje gospodina Džudževića i na jednu rečenicu koju je rekao gospodin Poturak koja me je zaboljela prosto i fizički: da je sačuvan mir. U Crnoj Gori nije bio sačuvan mir jer za mene nije bilo odsustva rata. Ako imamo situaciju da u maju ove godine, centrom grada Pljevalja bajrače četničkim zastavama, uz psovanje turskih ustaških i kojekakvih majki, svih samo ne srpskih, i da niko ne reaguje osim policije ali samo u okviru remećenja javnog reda i mira. Ako zaboravimo odluke skupštine Pljevlja, odluke lokalnog parlamenta Pljevalja, da u slučaju priče o referendumu i raspisivanju referendumu imamo samoinicijativu i pripajanje Srbiji. Ako zaboravimo deportacije Bošnjaka izbjeglica koje jesu krenule iz Pljevalja, ako zaboravimo period kada su svako veče u Pljevljima gorele radnje samo isključivo zato što su vlasnici građani bošnjačke nacionalnosti, ako zaboravimo 8. i 9. mart 1993. godine gdje sam i ja lično bila izbačena iz svoje kuće od strane svog školskog druga samo zato što sam Bošnjakinja. Ne mislim da je to sačuvan mir. Neću pričati o Dubrovniku, neću pričati o dobrovoljcima, neću pričati o vinkendašima koje sam ja svakodnevno gledala kako idu na različita ratišta u okruženju, ali desiti se Bukovica na teritoriji opštine Pljevlja i Crne Gore koja nije ratovala, a pričati o čuvanju mira je meni u najmanju ruku ironično».

Munir Poturak: »Ako mogu da kažem, nije stvar replike, ne bi trebali da izvlačimo iz konteksta neke stvari. Meni je žao što je situacija u Pljevljima sad takva i u Crnoj Gori sa Bošnjacima. Niste me dobro shvatili. Riječ je o nacionalnom savjetu i institucijama Bošnjaka, gdje njihova neorganizovanost doprinosi ovim pojavama, da je tu organizovanost neophodno svesti na takav nivo da može da ubrza stvari. Moram da gledam, ne samo nas, nego i druge manjine, od devedesetih, sve ove pojave gdje smo imali priliku da se organizujemo, i da sve te probleme ako treba, da dođe i do internacionalizacije, pa tek onda, kad smo mi vidjeli kakvi su to mehanizmi u Bujanovcu, Preševu i Vojvodini. Vlada nam svaki dan šalje signale, ali mi to ne koristimo«.

Amer Halilović, potpredsjednik BNV u Crnoj Gori: »Počecu sa nečim što me obradovalo kad sam otvorio ovaj protokol, i video tamo ime Šefka Crnovršanina, koji je ombudsman. Obradovao sam se, jer sam mislio da će on doći. Nego, jedan dan bi njemu bilo malo da priča o pravima odnosno zaštiti manjina, jer ona se gore ne poštuje, niti ima ikakav zakonski okvir da bi se moglo to ostvarivati, da bi on imao mnogo dana i časova da priča o tome. Ja ću u potpunosti da podržim diskusiju moje prethodnice. Nije se desila samo Bukovica, desio se i Kaluđerski Laz, desio se i Besnik. To je sve na teritoriji opštine Rožaje. Ova deportacija Bošnjaka, ja reč deportacija izbjegavam, ti ljudi nisu deportovani, ti ljudi su osuđeni na smrt, i prebačeni tamo na izvršenje smrtnih kazni, odnosno na klanje. Deportacija može biti i sasvim nešto drugo. Da bi prekrila aktuelna vlast to što treba da da nekome što mu pripada, jer to nije ni milosrđe ni volja, politička volja nekog ko se nalazi na vlasti, oni pribjegavaju sasvim nekim drugim metodama, pričama o referendumu, o ugroženosti Crne Gore i tako dalje. U suštini, aktuelna vlast Crne Gore, koja potencira pitanje referenduma i osamostaljenja Crne Gore, pod plaštom građanske države čini sve da stvori jednu nacionalnu državu. Kad se već počinje zahuktavati ta predreferendumska kampanja gore, ako premijer države kaže da nećemo se pogađati sa manjinama jer one za nas nisu važne, onda ja postavljam sebi pitanje i svim manjinama koje žive u Crnoj Gori, šta ih tek očekuje u toj nezavisnoj državi, u kojoj će on bit taj ustoličeni vladar, kad već neće bar da udostoji da kaže »pa hajde bar da porazgovaramo sa njima«, nego kaže kratko, nećemo se pogađati sa manjinama.

Ja ću se osvrnuti, kako to imam običaj da kažem, ne znam da li je to gruba riječ, na krađu koju su izvršili u zvaničnom popisu koji je bio 2003. godine. Mi smo kao predstavnici BNV-a, morali tri puta da interвениšemo kod OSCE-a, kod republičkog Zavoda za statistiku, zbog uočenih problema i manjkavosti. Konkretno ću pričati o jeziku, taj bosanski jezik nigdje nije bio stavljen u nekakvoj klasifikaciji tamo, nego je bio stavljen pod »ostale«. To su neki, ostali jezici, a samo je, radi vaše informacije, 14.500 ljudi napisalo da im je to maternji jezik. Tek nakon naših intervencija, došlo je do ubacivanja u zvaničnu statistiku, međutim pedagoško-prosvjetni savjet koji je usvajao te školske programe, uvrstio je taj maternji jezik, i u zagradi stavio — srpski, crnogorski, albanski i bošnjački. Ali, ovo je bošnjački bitno zato što to nije nigdje međunarodno priznat i verifikovan jezik, a bosanski jeste, pa im to malo zasmetalo, pa ga nema ni tamo. Dakle, oni kažu možete se vi odlučiti — maternji jezik, međutim, ja sutra ili moje dijete kad završi tu školu, njemu neće moć da piše bosanski, zato

što nije zakonit. To je ta jedna stvar. O metodama pritiska na tom popisu, ne bih baš mnogo, iako bih imao dosta da kažem, imamo i analizu popisa, ali ću vam samo reći, da je prema našoj statistici, i onoj iz 1991. godine, gdje smo imali nametnuto ime — Muslimani. Nas je u Crnoj Gori bilo između 18 i 20%. Toliko nas i sad ima, međutim, zvanično-statistički, oni su to podijelili tako fino, raskomadali u toj predpopisnoj kampanji koju je vodila aktuelna vlast, pa je sad ispalo da su to četiri naroda od tog jednog. Ima nekih, blizu 65.000 Bošnjaka, blizu 25.000 Muslimana, pa oko 20.000, nešto više Crnogoraca islamske vjere, pa ima jedan mali broj Srba islamske vjere. I sve su to tako fino raskomadali i uzeli su, ovaj je možda mnogo interesantan podatak i za ovu predreferendumsku kampanju, jer se vodi kampanja ko ima pravo glasa. Aktuelna vlast navodi činjenicu da pravo glasa imaju građani, a sad govorim konkretno za Bošnjake. Po zvaničnoj statistici koja je objavljena, u Crnoj Gori ima 9,6% Bošnjaka, a van Crne Gore skoro 3%. Znači, oni su popisani, toliko ih ima, ali nisu ušli u zvanični statistički izveštaj.

U vrijeme predizborne kampanje, tadašnji čelnici aktuelne vlasti su govorili: »ništa nam vi ne prebacujte za Bukovicu, mi ćemo građanima iz Bukovice, koji su odseljeni i koji su prognani omogućiti da dođu da glasaju«, a onda: »pa i neka idu tamo odakle su došli«. Mnogo je bolje bilo da kažu »mi ćemo građanima Bukovice«, kad ih je neka vlast prognala, a oni kažu da nijesu učesnici u tome, a zna se ko je sve učestvov'o, i da nemaju oni alibi od svega toga, »mi ćemo im omogućiti da se vrate, da žive tu na svoja ognjišta«. A ne samo, dodate vi, glasajte za nas i onda idite. Tako da je to bila jedna mnogo prljava kampanja u predpopisu. U Rožajama negdje zvanično ima oko 28.000 popisanih građana, tu je negde oko 23.500, jer 5.500 je van. Vidite, 400 se u Rožajama izjasnilo da su Crnogorci, 900 Srbi, ostalo su sve Muslimani, Bošnjaci. Četiri i po hiljade se izjasnilo da govori crnogorski jezik. To je bila ta jedna prefinjena kampanja — kad već ne možemo da ih odvratimo da su Bošnjaci, hajde bar ovo, neka im je maternji jezik crnogorski. Tako da to su nekakve stvari, da ne pričam o usvajanju nacionalnih simbola, sve pod plaštom — građanska država. Dešavaju se neki ekscesi oko tih simbola, koji nisu prihvaćeni, onda je došlo do skidanja konkretno nekih grbova koje su postavili u sve učionice. Ti su grbovi skinuti, i u Podgorici, i u Beranima i u Andrijevići, desilo se da su skinuti i u Petnicu, ali to tu nije prošlo nekažnjeno. Tu je povrijeđena i autonomnost škole. Inspektori MUP-a su došli u školu i saslušali tri učenika, dva tek punoljetna i jednog maloljetnika, bez prisustva i roditelja i pedagoga, i razrednog starešine i direktora. Pa je malo bilo to što su u školu, nego su ih povelili u Centar bezbjednosti i zadržali ih 48 sati. U suštini, toliko se mogu ostvarivati naša prava. Kratko rečeno, mi sad niti možemo niti imamo ikakav okvir niti ikakvo kolektivno pravo gore, jedino eto, fala Bogu, ne mogu još to da nam zabrane da nas sunce grije i da udišemo ovaj vazduh«.

Nikola Dimitrievski — savjetnik ministra za ljudska i manjinska prava:

»Dame i gospodo, čast mi je što prisustvujem jednom ovakvom skupu, dozvolite mi također da vas pozdravim u ime Ministarstva za ljudska i manjinska prava Srbije i Crne Gore i ministra, gospodina Ljajića, i da vam poželim pre svega puno uspeha u ovom radu, sa željom da kao rezultat ovog vašeg rada izađu neke konkretne smernice i konkretni predlozi, na koji način u daljem radu ministarstvo i ostale insti-

tucije države pomognu da se pitanje nacionalnih manjina tretira na jedan pravi način, onako kako odgovara svim nacionalnim manjinama u ovoj državi.

Pitanje implementacije Okvirne konvencije o zaštiti nacionalnih manjina je izuzetno značajno pitanje, ali ja pitanje samih ostvarivanja prava nacionalnih manjina ne bih ni u kom slučaju delio od pitanja međunacionalnih odnosa. To je izuzetno značajna stvar jer jednoj sredini u kojoj atmosfera, kako je danas neko rekao, nije ratna, ali definitivno nije mir, mogli bi smo reći da postoji neka vrsta »ne-mira«, neka vrsta netolerancije između nacionalnih manjina i naroda većine. Da bi smo mogli o tome da razgovaramo mnogo konkretnije, moramo pre svega da se vratimo i da analiziramo, da vidimo šta su uzroci ove pojave. Da li smo mi dotakli sve te uzroke, i da li smo pokušali da sve te uzroke eliminišemo, kako bi smo mogli na pravi način da idemo dalje. Da vidimo gde je uloga države u svemu tome i gde je uloga onog drugog elementa koji možemo nazvati trećim sektorom ili civilnim sektorom ovog društva, jer civilni sektor jednog društva ima definitivno najznačajniju ulogu u stvaranju atmosfere u kojoj se određene zakonske regulative mogu ispoštovati. Ja ću ovde taksativno nabrojati nekih dvadesetak stvari, koje po meni jesu uzrok netrpeljivosti, koje na ovim teritorijama danas vladaju u odnosu između nacionalnih manjina. Neću ih elaborirati, ostaviću svakom od vas da razmišlja o njima i da vidi koliko je mogućnost svakoga od nas da utičemo da se te stvari promene. Znači, do svih ovih situacija dovele su sledeće stvari: pojava nacionalnih političkih partija, i to u kom smislu. Ne u tom smislu da je postojanje višepartijskog sistema loše, nego nacionalne političke partije u borbi za pridobijanje što većeg broja birača, veoma često pribegavaju merama koje, u cilju objašnjavanja tim svojim biračima da su oni pravi zaštitnici njihovih prava, pribegavaju i nekim merama koje nisu popularne i pritom dovode do širenja određenih nacionalnih netrpeljivosti. Pod dva, porast svih vrsta nacionalizama na teritoriji bivše SFRJ, raspad SFRJ, ratovi u SFRJ, stres kao posledica svih tih ratova, poremećaj sistema vrednosti, promena moralnih načela, odnosno potreba da se ljudi bore za običan ljudski opstanak, agresije u društvu, poremećaj u porodičnom vaspitanju, policija i njena uloga tokom '90-ih godina prošlog veka, selektivna primena zakona u tom periodu. Gubljenje vere u institucije i mehanizam države, sankcije i nemogućnost putovanja, definitivno, socijalno-ekonomska situacija u devedesetim, ali i danas, besperspektivnost mlade generacije, poistovećivanje sa pogrešnim idolima, sumnjičavost većinskog srpskog naroda zbog pretrpljenih gubitaka tokom devedesetih godina, kako ljudskih, materijalnih pa i teritorijalnih, pojava teorije zavere i mržnje koja je dosta raširena među narodima, strah manjinskih zajednica koji se pretvara u nepoverenje i netrpeljivost prema većinskoj zajednici, preosetljivost manjinskog naroda izazvana nepoverenjem, radikalizacija srpskog, ali i svih drugih korpusa u zemlji, nepostojanje svesti o pripadnosti državi — što je u nekim nacionalnim zajednicama naročito izraženo, a zatim i jedan element koji može, i koji je u zadnje vreme znao da izazove dosta tenzija, a to su mediji koji su praktično nekritički znali da informišu o pojedinim pojavama, izazivajući pritom i reakcije sa strane, bez zvaničnih i bitnih potreba. Pitanje je sada koja je uloga države u svemu ovome, šta država treba da uradi i šta je uradila. Ja bih mogao samo da kažem da je gospodin Slezović taksativno nabrojao gomilu zakona koje je država donela u cilju zaštite prava na-

cionalnih manjina, ali i u cilju promovisanja prava nacionalnih manjina. Znači, država je sa svoje strane učinila jedan korak, i napravila je, tako da kažem, prostor u okviru koga su nacionalne manjine mogle i mogu da ostvare svoja prava u skladu sa evropskim i svetskim standardima. Ja bih se pritom zadržao samo na osnivanju nacionalnih saveta nacionalnih manjina, kao jednog od najznačajnijih stubova koji treba da omoguće nacionalnim manjinama da one iskažu svoje osobenosti, da zaštite svoj jezik, svoju tradiciju, veru i svoj korpus. U čemu je poenta kada su u pitanju nacionalni saveti? Moramo pre svega da posmatramo dvostruku ulogu, jer nacionalni saveti, su s jedne strane institucionalizacija odnosa nacionalnih manjina i države, a sa druge strane, institucionalizacija odnosa nacionalnih manjina i većinskog naroda, jer po prirodi stvari u svim institucijama države, većinski narod preovladava, definitivno. Znači, i taj segment u odnosima moramo da zapazimo.

I pri tom, šta je najvažnije? Ti nacionalni saveti, ovakvi kakvi jesu, formirani, imaju svoju ulogu, definitivno. Još uvek nadležnosti njihove nisu do kraja izražene, ali nadamo se da će Zakonom o nadležnostima i to biti jednostavno prevaziđeno. Ti nacionalni saveti ne funkcionišu na onaj način na koji bi smo mi hteli da funkcionišu. U ostvarivanju, odnosno u stvaranju nacionalnih saveta došlo je do situacije da su se određene političke grupacije, kao što je gospodin Džudžević rekao, uselile u nacionalne savete, i nacionalni saveti su postali, ajd' da kažem monopartijski, ideološki, uslovno rečeno ideološki stožer nekih nacionalnih odnosno nekih političkih ideja. To je negativna strana, ali ona druga, negativnija strana je upravo u tome što ona suprotna, gubitnička, uslovno rečeno, strana negira pravo tog nacionalnog saveta da bude legitimni predstavnik nacionalne grupe, odnosno nacionalne manjine u odnosu na vlast. Taj segment moramo prevazići. Naravno, postojanje ovih nacionalnih saveta je nova stvar za nas i proći će vreme dok se to ne reguliše na jedan pravi način. Ali definitivno, i sigurno, nacionalni saveti moraju i nacionalni saveti će biti osnovni nosilac svih pokretačkih snaga nacionalnih manjina na ovoj teritoriji. Oni to moraju biti. A da bi mogli to da budu, oni moraju da imaju pre svega kapacitete da to i odrade. Znači, pri tome, nacionalne manjine moraju da vode računa o tome koga i na koji način biraju da bude njihov zastupnik. To je, mogu reći izuzetno značajno i sa stanovišta toga da država, odnosno većinski narod je konačno shvatio da samo manjinski narod može o sebi na pravi način da vodi računa, i na pravi način da zaštiti sve ono što se tiče njega, njegove kulture, tradicije i informisanosti, dakle onih segmenata o kojima nacionalni saveti danas vode računa. I još jedno, što je po meni izuzetno značajno. Pomenuo sam atmosferu u kojoj u kojoj se određene stvari dešavaju. Atmosfera je najznačajnija stvar. Atmosferu čine poruke. Poruke koje manjine šalju većini su značajne. Poruke koje većina šalje manjini su takođe značajne. Značajno je vreme u kome se to dešava. Jedna poruka može da bude negativna, posle nekog vremena može da bude pozitivna. Znači moramo biti pre svega tolerantni jedni prema drugima, u koliko želimo da na ovim prostorima ostvarimo uslove za dalji napredak i za ulazak u Evropu i samim tim u svet«.

Rade Vukosav: »Ja bih gospodinu samo rekao da se Jugoslavija nije raspala, nego se razbila zbog promjene granica. Ako vi postavljate pitanje konfederacije, Srbi će postaviti pitanje granica, i reaguju tako. Drugo, nacionalne manjine će se odnositi prema državi onako kako ih ta država tretira«.

Ishak Slezović, urednik novopazarskog radija »Sto plus« govorio je na temu: »Medijska situacija u Srbiji sa posebnim osvrtom na Sandžak«:

»Dame i gospodo, pozdravljam vas. Mene je organizator ovog skupa zamolio da napravim jedan kratak pregled stanja medija u Sandžaku i u našoj republici. Ja ću se potruditi da vam utrošim što manje vremena, s obzirom na poremećen tajming i vaš i moj, i ne zamerite mi što ću u početku ove kratke analize morati da se vratim malo u doba Miloševića, jer je na području ovog multietničkog Sandžaka, i po raštrkanim medijskim selima, kao jedini izvor informisanja koriste elektronske medije. Bivše vlasti nisu dozvoljavale prodor nezavisnih medija, nastojeći da održe informativni »mrak«, tako da je u medijskom smislu, godinama sistematski zapostavljano. Područje Sandžaka je u medijskom smislu godinama sistematski zapostavljano. Reč je o oblasti sa multietničkim stanovništvom u kojoj bivše vlasti nisu dozvoljavale prodor nezavisnih medija, nastojeći da održe »informativni mrak«. Situacija nije bitnije izmijenjena ni nakon promene vlasti u Beogradu. Izuzev nekoliko gradova (Novi Pazar, Raška, Sjenica i Tutin), u Sandžaku se nalaze uglavnom raštrkana planinska sela koja kao jedini izvor informisanja koriste elektronske medije. Ovde je do pre par godina postojala samo jedna radio-stanica sa profilisanim informativnim programom. To je Radio Novi Pazar, koji je u državnom vlasništvu. Taj radio je u proteklim godinama pomno pratio aktivnosti vladajućih stranaka u Srbiji, a nakon političkih promena u zemlji usredsredio se na praćenje aktivnosti novih vlasti, odnosno stranaka Demokratske opozicije Srbije.

Jedina promena koja se, posle demokratskih promena, desila u ovom radiju je njegov povratak pod ingerencije lokalne samouprave. Reč je, dakle, o programu koji se i dalje pravi pod dominantnim uticajem političara i koji, u osnovi, ne zadovoljava potrebe lokalnog stanovništva. Ipak, čak i takav, ovaj radio je u velikim problemima. Radio Novi Pazar, najstariji elektronski medij u gradu, prestao je da emituje program pošto je zbog dugova isključen sa mreže, izjavio je 30. novembra 2005. vršilac dužnosti direktora novopazarskog Javnog preduzeća za informisanje Zenib Biberović. On je konferenciji za novinare rekao da Radio Novi Pazar za struju duguje 620.000 dinara. »Pošto nam iz opštinskog budžeta nisu dostavljena sredstva, nismo bili u situaciji da platimo struju«, rekao je Biberović i dodao da ne zna kada će dug biti izmiren i da će se obratiti nadležnima da prebace sredstva za izmirenje duga. »Ukoliko ne nađemo na razumevanje, potražićemo pomoć od Ministarstva za kulturu i medije«, rekao je on, napominjući da deo radnika Javnog preduzeća za informisanje Novi Pazar, koje obuhvata Radio Novi Pazar i Regionalnu televiziju, više od mesec dana štrajkuje ispred prostorija televizije. »Oni i dalje zahtevaju isplatu šest zaostalih plata, povećanje ličnog dohotka za 50 odsto i smenu vršioca dužnosti direktora, ali jedino predsednik novopazarske opštine Sulejman Ugljanin može da im isplati zaostale plate«, rekao je Biberović, koji štrajkačima ne dozvoljava ulazak u prostorije televizije.

Ovde postoji još i desetak stanica, čiji se programi zasnivaju na emitovanju plaćenih poruka i oglasa lokalnog stanovništva i firmi. Sve te radio stanice su bile angažovane u predizbornoj kampanji bivšeg režima, a sada nisu bitno promenile program, osim što su neke od njih u program uvrstile reemitovanje stranih stanica kao što su Dojče Vele, Glas Amerike i Slobodna Evropa. U Sjenici i Tutinu postoje po

dve radio stanice (Amaro, Alfa, NT i Radio Sole) i nijedan štampani medij. Njihovi programski sadržaji se zasnivaju na željama slušalaca. Kadar i u ovim stanicama je priučen i bez posebnih znanja o novinarstvu. Vlasnici i urednici su, uglavnom, mali privrednici bliski prethodnom režimu. Očigledno je da su sve ovdašnje »nezavisne« stanice dobile dozvole za rad tek nakon detaljne provere od strane prethodnog režima da kadrovski i tehnički neće biti u stanju da kreiraju moderan, nezavisan i profesionalan radio ili televizijski program.

Televizijske stanice u Novom Pazaru i okolnim gradovima imaju manje-više sličnu programsku šemu. Posle demokratskih promena u zemlji televizijske stanice su uglavnom tražile nove mentore u vlastima i brzo se »prestrojile u skladu sa vremenom«. Da političari i dalje imaju najjači uticaj na uređivačku politiku, najbolji primer je Regionalna televizija, koja je do poslednjih lokalnih izbora protežirala koaliciju Lista za Sandžak, a sada to isto čini za skupštinsku većinu predvođenu Sandžačkom demokratskom partijom. S druge strane predsednik opštine i koalicija Lista za Sandžak Sulejman Ugljanin ima direktnu kontrolu nad delom programa čačanske TV Galaksija, koja se od nedavno vidi u Novom Pazaru.

U kakvoj situaciji se mediji i novinari u Novom Pazaru i trenutno nalaze govori i činjenica da je umalo došlo do tuče u vezi toga koja ekipa može a koja ne može da prati rad Skupštine opštine. Sednica novopazarske skupštine od decembra 2005. održana je bez prisustva novinara, koji su »zamoljeni« da izadu. Svi novinari su morali da izadu napolje, pošto je televizijska ekipa Informativne službe Opštine Novi Pazar odbila nalog predsednika Skupštine Azema Hajdarevića da napusti salu SO. Odbornici su na prethodnoj sednici doneli odluku da Informativnoj službi zabrani praćenje sednica Skupštine »sve dok predsednik opštine Sulejman Ugljanin ne dozvoli Regionalnoj televiziji da prati njegove aktivnosti«. Predsednik skupštine Hajdarević je naložio svim novinarima da izadu, a zatim na sednicu pozvao sve osim ekipu Informativne službe. Služba obezbeđenja novopazarske opštine je, međutim, novinarima saopštilo da, »ukoliko ne mogu sve prisutne ekipe«, ne može ni jedna da uđe u salu. Posle ubeđivanja koji novinari mogu, a koji ne mogu da prisustvuju sednici, sve ekipe su se udaljile uz konstataciju »da ne treba da čekaju ili traže od bilo koga da im omogući praćenje rada SO«. TV »Jedinstvo« koja je prednjačila u anatemisanju opozicije i glorifikovanju SPS i JUL-a preko noći je, koristeći se podrškom pojedinih političara, postala članica Asocijacije nezavisnih elektronskih medija (ANEM). RTV Raška je formirana uoči izbora 2000. godine. Okosnica je Televizija Most, poznata i kao TV »Gorica«. Nastala je pod direktnim uticajem visokog funkcionera SPS Gorice Gajević i ove partije. Ova stanica je i danas pod kontrolom SPS-a jer većinu u SO Raška ima ova partija.

Na lokalnom, odnosno regionalnom nivou, štampani mediji su svedeni na »Glas islama« — mesečnik koji izdaje IZ Sandžaka. Novinari koji su u prethodnih desetak godina vodili borbu protiv totalitarnog režima i slobodu štampe, sada se nalaze u još težoj situaciji. Masovan prelazak uglavnom julovskih kadrova u SDP, ali i SDA, rezultirao je blaćenjem novinara koji zadržavaju nezavisan status i ukazuju na »preletače«. Dojučerašnje opozicione stranke, u čijim redovima je sve više ljudi koji su bili odani režimu Slobodana Miloševića, zatvaraju oči pred sve grubljim napadima na nezavisne novinare i medije.

Da su nezavisni novinari i mediji u sve težoj situaciji potvrđuju i saopštenja NUNS-a i UNS-a u kojima se navodi da se »novinarima preti, naročito u unutrašnjosti«. Svi lokalni mediji su otvoreni samo za informacije i stavove »ako dolaze iz sopstvenog tabora«. Sve što nije pod kontrolom urednika tih stanica ili listova »je njihovo — dakle, neprijateljsko«.

Agencija Beta, Slobodna Evropa, B92 i Dojče Vele i dalje imaju nepristrastan pristup Sandžaku, ali je problem u tome što tako velike medijske kuće ne mogu posvetiti pažnju kao što bi to mogle lokalne i regionalne stanice. Haotično stanje u medijskom prostoru Srbije naročito je vidljivo u području uz srpsko-crnogorsku granicu, gde se radio i TV stanice trude da zaposednu što više frekvencija u lokalnu i »osvoje« što više prostora u susednoj republici. Dok u Srbiji Savet za radiodifuziju još uvek ne može da zavede red, najmanje iznenađenje na koje možete naići u Sandžaku je da slušajući jednu radio čujete i program druge stanice. Kao primer navešću radio »Sto plus«, koji je mesecima ometan od strane jedne ovdašnje radio stanice, koja je bez dozvole zaposela još jednu frekvenciju. Na frekvenciji ovog radija slušaoci u Tutinu često čuju neku tamošnju radio stanicu, jer se njihov predajnik »povremeno kvari, ili nekome jednostavno padne na pamet da malo guši konkurenciju«.

Prema oceni Sindikata »Nezavisnost«, haotično stanje u medijskom prostoru odgovara jedino političkim partijama i lokalnim finansijskim moćnicima, koji preko brojnih medija utiču na javno mnjenje i propagiraju svoje stavove«. Zakon o radiodifuziji, koji je usvojen još 2003. godine, zbog kašnjenja izbora članova Saveta za radio difuziju, još uvek nije primenljiv u praksi. Predsednik Saveta Republičke radiodifuzne agencije (RRA) Nenad Cekić izjavio je 7. novembra da u etru u Srbiji vlada haos i najavio da je transformacija Radiotelevizije Srbije (RTS) u radiodifuzni servis prioritet u radu Saveta. Cekić je rekao da transformacija RTS-a treba da bude završena do aprila 2006. i dodao da je to realan rok, koji može da se poštuje. Cekić je rekao da je prioritet Saveta RRA i raspodela nacionalnih komercijalnih frekvencija kojih će biti najviše pet. On je ponovio da u Srbiji ima ukupno 755 radio i TV emitera. Pomoćnik ministra za telekomunikacije Srbije Dragomir Vasiljević je potvrdio da je problem međusobnog ometanja prisutan u čitavoj Srbiji, dodajući da se kako tako od ometanja zaštite stanice sa dozvolom za rad.

Neprimenjivanje zakona odgovara mnogobrojnim vlasnicima ovdašnjih medija koji ne plaćaju predviđene dažbine, porez i autorska prava. Većina novinara, voditelja i tehničkog osoblja koji godinama rade nemaju ni dan radnog staža. Nedavno je Republički inspektor za rad Dušan Ilić obišao lokalne medije na ovom prostoru i uverio se da dosta radnika »radi na crno«. Ukupan broj angažovanih radnika u svim medijskim kućama u Tutinu, Raški i Novom Pazaru je 192, od tog broja 147 ima potpisan ugovor o radu, a razlika je broj radnika koji nije angažovan u skladu sa zakonom«, rekao je Ilić.

U opštini Prijepolje postoje tri medijske kuće, jedna opštinska i dve privatne. Vršilac dužnosti urednika radio Polimlja iz Prijepolja Mirjana Tešević je rekla da su oni pre izvesnog vremena imali problema sa jednom privatnom radio stanicom iz ovog grada. »Vlasnik te stanice je prekinuo emitovanje našeg programa dok su majstori postavljali njegov predajnik. Ovaj slučaj je na sudu, i mi se nadamo da će jav-

nost uskoro saznati epilog«, rekla Teševićeva. Ona takođe očekuje da se će uskoro početi da se primenjuje Zakon o elektronskim medijima, jer se na ovom području čuju i neke stanice iz Crne Gore. Ona je dodala da se kolege iz Priboja i Nove Varoši takođe žale na ometanja signala, kao i da svi željno očekuju zavođenje reda.

Područje Sandžaka je veoma interesantno, jer se on geografski prostire jednim delom u Srbiji a drugim u Crnoj Gori, gde je oformljena Agencija za radiodifuziju. U srbijanskom delu regije čuju se mnoge crnogorske stanice, tako da se mnogi pitaju kako će to biti regulisano zakonom. Da li će zakon zabraniti prekogranično emitovanje programa ostaje da se vidi. Glavni i odgovorni urednik radio Rožaja Zečo Tutić je rekao da najveća ometanja ova stanica ima od strane kosovskih medijskih kuća. »Ranije je bilo ometanja i od ovdašnjih crnogorskih radio stanica, ali nakon prošlogodišnjeg donošenja seta zakonskih mera u našoj republici jedino trenutno imamo problema sa kosovskim radio stanicama«, rekao je Tutić.«

Almir Mehonić, SDP Prijepolje, govorio je na temu: Prava manjina na lokalnom nivou:

»Da bi se sagledala prava situacija u Prijepolju danas, sigurno je da treba znati situaciju prije dolaska prve demokratske vlasti. U Prijepolju je 5. oktobar kasnio pet godina, jer su socijalisti ostali na vlasti i posle svrgavanja Miloševića. To im je omogućio većinski izborni sistem za izbor odbornika. Socijalisti su krojili izborne jedinice, tako da su Srbi u velikom broju izbornih jedinica bili u većini, rezultat toga je bila apsolutna vlast SPS-a u opštinskom parlamentu. Radilo se po sistemu da je npr. 800 birača gdje vjećinski žive Bošnjaci birali jednog odbornika, a izborna jedinica sa npr. Oko 200 birača većinski nastanjena Srbima birala isto jednog odbornika. To je ustvari značilo da je srpski glas i do četiri puta bio vredniji od bošnjačkog.

SPS je od uvođenja višestranačkog sistema, pa sve do zadnjih lokalnih izbora bila na vlasti u Prijepolju. Prijepoljsko društvo, pogotovo Bošnjaci su platili veliki ceh zbog svega toga. Prijepolje je bilo itekako pogođeno dešavanjima u BiH, kroz Prijepolje je prošlo 14.000 izbeglica, od 19 oteatih putnika iz voza u Štrpcima, devet putnika je iz Prijepolja, za vrijeme rata u BiH bilo je pucanja na džamije, policija je vršila prebijanja bošnjačkog stanovništva. Nažalost moramo da konstatujemo da i danas ti isti policajci rade na svojim radnim mjestima, čak su neki unapređeni kao da ništa loše nisu uradili. Neki direktori preduzeća su iskoristili strah Bošnjaka od ponovne erupcije nacionalizma tokom Nato bombardovanja i one Bošnjake koji su napustili svoja radna mjesta na nekoliko mjeseci ili hefti i otišli u BiH, otpustili sa posla. Imam informacije da su svi ljudi koji su slično postupili po Srbiji vraćeni na posao, sa Bošnjacima iz Prijepolja to nije slučaj.

Malo je reći da se SPS-ova vlast ponašala diskriminatorski prema Bošnjacima. Ustvari ona se ponašala kao da skoro pola stanovnika Prijepolja, odnosno Bošnjaka ne postoji. Navešću samo nekoliko primjera za ovu tvrdnju, a pri tom neću govoriti o uvođenju bosanskog jezika u službenu upotrebu, pitanje grba Prijepolja koji ne tretira Bošnjake kao da nikada nisu živjeli u ovoj opštini, jer na ova prava nisu spremne ni danas većina srpskih demokratskih stranaka, a da ne govorim o zatvaranju ulice Dušana Tomaševića Čirka zbog izgradnje Eparhije Mileševske, odnosno pretvaranja bivšeg zatvora u kome su prebijani Bošnjaci u dvor Eparhije Mileševske i da ne go-

vorim oko izmišljanja terorista, laži oko napada na sveštenike i navodnog kamenovanja dvora itd.

Za početak kao mjerilo zastupljenosti Bošnjaka u organima lokalne samouprave uzećemo direktorska mjesta koja određuje lokalna skupština. Od osam preduzeća i ustanova koji su korisnici budžeta, bivša SPS-ova vlast je postavila svih osam direktora iz reda srpskog naroda. To je proizvelo apsolutnu neravnopravnost pri zapošljavanju, gdje su direktori srpske nacionalnosti zapošljavali svoje rođake, prijatelje, partijske drugove opet Srbe, pa tako danas imamo apsolutnu nacionalnu neravnotežu u pomenutim preduzećima. Evo samo nekoliko primjera:

U opštinskoj upravi od 80 zaposlenih, ima samo 10 Bošnjaka;

u Domu kulture od 22 zaposlena, samo je dva Bošnjaka;

u lokalnoj Direkciji za izgradnju puteva nema zaposlen niti jedan Bošnjak;

u Muzeju isto nema nijednog zaposlenog Bošnjaka.

Sve je ovo proizvelo i druge vrste diskriminacije kroz lošu putnu mrežu u selima gdje je većinsko bošnjačko stanovništvo, kroz potpunu nezastupljenost kulturnim sadržajima iz bošnjačke kulturne baštine, nebriga za spomenike islamske kulture i druge spomenike iz bošnjačke tradicije. U Prijepolju postoji nekoliko nekropola bogumilskih stećaka koje apsolutno niko nije zaštitio, a po svojoj vrijednosti i izgledu su sigurno rijedak kulturni spomenik, zatim vrlo rijetke kuće turske arhitekture koje su ugrožene i samo je pitanje dana kada će se same od sebe urušiti. Slična je situacija i sa državnim institucijama. U policiji je zapošljeno od 10–15% Bošnjaka, a u sudu samo je jedan sudija Bošnjak. U tužilaštvu nema ni jedan. Bošnjaci su jedino u većini u Zavodu za zapošljavanje.

Sada možete zamisliti na kakav problem nailazi nova lokalna vlast, jer ne može povećati broj zaposlenih lica bošnjačke nacionalnosti. Traži se sa najvećih nivoa vlasti, smanjivanje 10% broja zaposlenih u organima državne uprave. Mislim da bi ovdje država morala imati suptilniji pristup u ovakvim sredinama kada je riječ o primjeni ovih odredaba i sagledanju problema da bi se uključila u u njihovo rješavanje. Ja moram da naglasim taj ogromni raskorak između zakonske regulative i prakse, odnosno stvarnosti, nedostatka mehanizama za implemtaciju zakona. Ovdje se može postaviti logično pitanje, kako su uopšte Bošnjaci opstali a da se nisu u mnogo većem broju iselili. Odgovor leži u velikom broju privatnih preduzetnika Bošnjaka, koji su bili brana potpunog egzodusa Bošnjaka ovog kraja. Suprotan primjer Prijepolja je Priboj gdje je broj iseljenih Bošnjaka mnogo veći nego u Prijepolju. Mahnito vrijeme i štetočinska vlast nanijeli su neprocjenjive posljedice Bošnjacima Prijepolja, a time i samom Prijepolju. Ovu opštinu su vodili šovinisti više od decenije i trebaće godine i godine da ne kažem decenije da se posljedice totalitarnog režima izliječe. I pored ovakvog naslijeđenog stanja ono što je uradila nova lokalna vlast je za svaku pohvalu, zaštita imamo pozitivne potvrde od relevantnih institucija. Za uporedbu ćemo uzeti ponovo direktorska mjesta preduzeća i ustanova koja su pri lokalnoj samoupravi. Od osam direktora sada su tri direktora bošnjačke nacionalnosti, pored toga bošnjačka nacionalna manjinska zajednica ima svoje predstavnike na najvećim funkcijama lokalne samouprave: predsjednika Opštine, potpredsjednika Opštine, načelnika Opštinske uprave, sekretara Skupštine opštine. Takođe je u saradnji sa

OEBS-om jedan broj Bošnjaka primljen u program koji je namijenjen pripadnicima manjina. S ponosom ističem da je Skupština opštine donijela odluku za izgradnju spomen obilježja otetim putnicima u Štrpcima i ovo će biti prvi spomenik bošnjačkim žrtvama na području SCG. Posao oko izgradnje spomen obilježja je priveden kraju, utvrđena je lokacija i konkursom izabrano idejno rješenje spomenika i vrlo brzo očekujemo otkrivanje spomenika. Prvi put je ove godine uručena jednokratna novčana pomoć porodicama otetih i u saradnji Sandžačkog odbora, lokalne samouprave i NVO iz Beograda (Fonda za humanitarno pravo i Inicijativa mladih za ljudska prava) je prvi put organizovana tribina povodom 12 godina od otmice.

Skupština je donijela zaključak da na nekoj od narednih zasjedanja donese preporuku o vraćanju Bošnjaka na posao kojima je prekinut radni odnos za vrijeme Nato bombardovanja. Takođe da napomenem da je predsjednik opštine Prijepolje, Nedžad Turković imao razgovor sa načelnikom Sekretarijata unutrašnjih poslova formiranog za Prijepolje, Priboj, Novu Varoš sa sjedištem u Prijepolju oko ravnopravnog učešća Bošnjaka u strukturi policije i dobijeni su pozitivni signali i obećanja. Na decembarskom zasjedanju SO, znači za nekoliko dana donijeće se odluka oko promjene statuta Opštine i uvođenja u ravnopravnu službenu upotrebu bosanskog jezika i latiničnog pisma.

Naglašavam da je usvojena Strategija održivog razvoja za opštinu Prijepolje u saradnji sa UNDP-om, i to je prva usvojena strategija na nivou Republike. Ovo su konkretni primjeri napretka, da ne govorim o pozitivnijoj klimi u odnosu na prethodni period. Međutim naglasiću da mi očekujemo od države da se aktivnije uključi u rješavanje problema koji nisu u nadležnost lokalne samouprave, ili su u nadležnost, ali postoje političke ucjene«.

Semiha Kačar je govorila na temu: Presjek stanja ljudskih prava i sloboda:

»Multietničke sredine, poput Sandžaka, su, u uslovima u kojima egzistira državna zajednica Srbije i Crne Gore, jedan od barometara opšteg stanja, prostor na kome se manifestiraju raskoraci između zakona i svakodnevnog života. Činjenica je da se nakon oktobra 2000. u Srbiji dešavaju, mada veoma sporo, značajne promjene. Rekla bi, međutim, da se one osjećaju mnogo više u većim sredinama, nego u gradovima poput Novog Pazara, Sjenice ili Tutina. O razbacanim selima po Sandžaku da i ne govorim. Razlozi zato su duboki, pritisnuti prošlošću ali i sadašnjim prilikama. Iskustva koja smo imali sa donošenjem zakona o nacionalnim manjinama, urađenom na tadašnjem saveznom nivou, praćena medijskom pompom, pokazala su međutim, postojanje indicija da se ti zakoni više donose pod međunarodnim pritiskom, a mnogo manje sa iskrenom željom državnih vlasti da unaprijede ljudska prava i istinski osiguraju zaštitu i afirmaciju manjinskih zajednica. Slučaj Roma to dovoljno pokazuje. O njima se neprestano govori, pokreću se mnoge akcije, ali se u njihovom životu malo toga promijenilo.

Državni organi imaju svoj dio odgovornosti. Pitanja kadrovske strukture, nacionalne izbalansiranosti, predugi sudski procesi i zastarevanje sudskih postupaka (posebno kada su u pitanju žrtve policijske torture i diskriminacije), položaj vojnika u jedinicama Vojske SCG, prijeteće kriminalne pojave koje se uočavaju u Sandžaku (droga, kriminal, prostitucija a kojima su izloženi mladi i neiskusni ljudi — sve su to

pitanja koja zaslužuju širu elaboraciju. Promjena Miloševićevog režima u Srbiji nije ujedno značila i potpuni prekid policijskog nasilja i grubog prekoračenja službene dužnosti. Sandžački odbor i dalje bilježi slučajeve u kojima policija pokazuje svu svoju brutalnost.

Sandžačkom odboru su se u proteklom periodu za pomoć obraćala lica različite nacionalnosti koja žive na ovom prostoru (Bošnjaci, Srbi, Romi). Takođe, i dalje je posjedovanje NP automobilske registracije čest motiv zaustavljanja i kontrolisanja na putu. Ja ću još jednom podsjetiti da nisu svi problemi isti u Novom Pazaru ili Priboju, i da pritom treba imati iznijansiran odnos. Mislim da su zbog aktualizacije Novog Pazara, Priboj i Prijepolje zapostavljeni, i da treba prekinuti sa takvim pristupom. U ovim opštinama nema značajnih pomaka kada je u pitanju primjena Okvirne konvencije. Ima indicija da je učešće bošnjačkih predstavnika u lokalnim organima vlasti uslovljeno nizom kompromisa na koje moraju pristati. To je slučaj u nekoliko sandžačkih opština. U pribojskom kraju ljudima treba napraviti kuće, osigurati imovinsku i materijalnu sigurnost. U Novom Pazaru postoji druga vrsta problema. Malo govorimo o Bošnjacima u Novoj Varoši. Oni kao da su, zbog svoje malenkosti, jednostavno zaboravljeni. Seobe ka Bosni, bolje rečeno ka Sarajevu, traju i dalje iz Priboja, Prijepolja. Iz Novog Pazara, Sjenice, Tutina, odlaze Srbi, ali i Bošnjaci. To su složene teme koje se ne mogu prećutkivati. Mnogi su problemi zajednički, iako oni nerijetko dobijaju isključivu nacionalnu formu.

Zabrinutost u Sandžaku i za Sandžak je doista opravdana, imajući u vidu sveopšte stanje, prisilne reducirane potrebe, kao i sve izraženiju, tešku privrednu krizu koja se manifestira u svim ravnicama života, njegovo sve još očitije zaostajanje u odnosu na druge dijelove zemlje. Potpuno je pogrešno sticati sliku o Sandžaku samo na osnovu Novog Pazara. Treba vidjeti i opustjela sandžačka sela, manje gradove koji ekonomski, u tišini, sve više zamiru. Izvjestan privremeni »privredni bum« Novog Pazara je, kao što se i pokazalo, bio više rezultat djelovanja sive ekonomije nego planskog razvoja. To pokazuje i sve izraženije zamiranje novopazarske »male privrede«. Državni mediji, međutim, i dalje svjesno govore o daljem privrednom »bumu« Novog Pazara, čime se zapravo skida odgovornost sa države da mu pomogne. Danas, bilo kakvo poređenje infrastrukture u Novom Pazaru, Sjenici ili Tutinu, sa opštinama u susjedstvu poput Raške, Kraljeva, Čačka ili Užica i tamošnjim investicijama, daje frapantne, porazne rezultate.

Mediji po potrebi uvijek apostrofiraju Sandžak kao novo, moguće krizno žarište, otkrivaju potencijalne teroriste i slično. Mnogi novinari iz Miloševićevog vremena ponovo dižu tenzije. Posljedice razorne propagande biće dugotrajne, kao i mnoge tekovine režima Slobodana Miloševića. Primjera radi, o Novom Pazaru se govori kao o jednom od najbogatijih gradova u zemlji, gradu sa najskupljim lokalima, placevima, ali se pritom ne želi vidjeti niti predstaviti i druga, tamnija i realnija strana priče: da je to urbanistički potpuno razoren grad, grad pun sirotinje, propalih fabrika, izuzetno loše infrastrukture, siromašne putne mreže, krajnje nezavidnih uslova zdravstvene zaštite, nejakih kulturnih institucija, škola koje udarnički rade u tri smjene, sa po 40 učenika u razredu, bezperspektivi mladih ljudi koji završavaju srednje škole i fakultete. O Tutinu ili Sjenici da se i ne govori. Sandžak je i prije ras-

pada Jugoslavije, slovio kao jedna od najzapostavljanih oblasti u toj državi. Mislim da se političkom i marketinškom retorikom prekrivaju i marginaliziraju njegovi suštinski problemi: nerazvijenost i besperspektivnost. To je inače i na hiljade ljudi odvelo i odvodi sa ovog prostora. Raseljeni Sandžak je mnogo brojniji od onog pravog.

Dosadašnja iskustva pokazuju da dio odgovornosti snose i lokalni organi vlasti, tako da pitanje odnosa države i manjinskih zajednica iziskuje veoma suptilan odnos. Naime, pokazalo se, na primjeru tri opštine (Novi Pazar, Sjenica, Tutin) da, bez obzira što su bošnjačke političke stranke formirale svoju vlast, zahvaljujući demokratskim izbornim pobjedama, da ni one same nisu dovoljno spremne niti kadrovski osposobljene da artikuliraju sve sve zahtjeve zajednice u čije ime govore. Improvizacijama se maskiraju suštinske potrebe. Država je toga više nego svjesna, ali se u to ne miješa. Na primjeru formiranja vlasti, pisanju udžbenika, rada nacionalnog savjeta pokazala se znatna nespremnost, nekompetentnost, nedostatak stručnog potencijala, što brojne probleme nije riješilo već relativizovalo ili jednostavno razvodnilo. Zato treba istaći još jednom da ne postoji odgovornost, mada ona nije simetrična, samo na jednoj strani.

Praksa koja je postojala u vrijeme režima Slobodana Miloševića da je za sve kriva država, jednostavno ne može više da se održi. Predstavnici bošnjačkih stranaka i institucija moraju da prihvate svoj, ne mali dio odgovornosti, a ne da se kao da se ništa nije promijenilo, stalno obrušavaju na državu, i svoju nesposobnost tumače smetnjama i zabranama države. Primjera radi, bojim se da onaj famozni udžbenik bosanskog jezika ne može da nam služi za čast i ugled. Incidenti koji se dešavaju na lokalnom nivou pokazuju da je naslijeđe prošlosti i dalje prisutno. Svjedoci smo također postojanja čitavog niza problema u našoj sredini koji mogu imati neželjene posljedice po ukupno stanje (»govor mržnje« u medijima, incidenti na sportskim susretima, ispisivanje nacionalističkih parola i grafita, pojedine neodmjerene izjave političara i slično). Na takve pojave moramo blagovremeno reagovati kako bi se izbjegle neželjene komplikacije i mogući rast tenzija. Iskustva pokazuju da zato moramo biti budni i obazrivi. Brojne predrasude i stereotipi opstaju. To se teško mijenja. Sve te činjenice treba imati u vidu kada se govori o ovom prostoru, i svemu onome šta se dešavalo u poslednjoj deceniji XX stoljeća. Mnogo toga se od strane vlasti, kada su u pitanju oštećeni Bošnjaci prepušta zaboravu i poricanju.

Na kraju, želim istaći da ostaje kao neriješen problem raskoraka između zakona i stvarnog života. To nije novost. I u doba S. Miloševića, kada se govorilo da manjinske zajednice uživaju sva prava, na osnovu širokih zakona, sve je bilo drugačije. Slična stvar je i danas. Zato je, neophodno, neprestano intervenisanje međunarodne zajednice u primjeni usvojenih zakona. U protivnom, ostaje utisak da se zakoni samo formalno donose, a da i oni na koje se taj zakon odnosi, o tome ne znaju skoro ništa. I tu se krug zatvara, sve do donošenja nekog novog zakona i njegovog svečanog promovisanja pred televizijskim kamerama i odabranim predstavnicima manjinskih zajednica. Mi ćemo, kao i u slučaju sa zaključcima i preporukama sa prve sesije nastaviti da upoznajemo i ukazujemo svim nadležnim na brojne probleme ove sredine i na načine za njihovo prevazilaženje. Naravno, niko ne očekuje brze promjene, ali to je jedan od puteva da se konačno približimo evropskim standardima u kojima se stalno govori, ali se malo radi da se oni istinski primjene«.

Janoš Orosz, Pokrajinski sekretarijat za propise, upravu i nacionalne manjine — Novi Sad, govorio je na temu: »Iskustva drugih multietničkih sredina«:

»Suprotno najavi da ću pričati samo o službenoj upotrebi jezika na teritoriji Vojvodine, mislim da bi bilo zgodnije, više bi se uklopilo u koncepciju foruma da se dotaknem i ostalih oblasti ostvarivanja prava nacionalnih manjina, ali ću upravo zbog toga biti kratak i bukvalno samo telegrafski da vas upoznam sa stanjima u svim oblastima vezanim za prava nacionalnih manjina. Za razliku od ovde izrečenih stvari gde su uglavnom izrečeni problemi, ja ću početi sa jednom optimističnom, jednom pozitivnom konstatacijom vezanom za Vojvodinu. Mislim da je položaj nacionalnih manjina u Vojvodini dobar, doduše veoma je teško nadoknaditi sve one gubitke koji su se desili u zadnjih petnaestak godina, koji su ustvari izazvani centralizacijom i od-uzimanjem zakonodavnog prava, zakonodavne vlasti Vojvodine, kada je sve prešlo u jedinstveno regulisanje na celoj teritoriji republike. U oblasti obrazovanja u Vojvodini se osnovno školsko obrazovanje se izvodi, sem srpskog, na pet jezika — mađarskom, slovačkom, rumunskom, rusinskom i hrvatskom od 2002. godine, znači sad je stasala prva generacija učenika u četvrtim razredima, znači nižim razredima osnovne škole. Srednješkolno obrazovanje se izvodi na istim ovim jezicima, potpuno obrazovanje, sa izuzetkom hrvatskog da kažem nema još generacija koje bi to upisale. Prijemni ispiti za srednje škole se mogu polagati, po izboru učenika naravno, na njihovim maternjim jezicima. Pokrajinskom odlukom je odlučeno da se prijemni ispiti na fakultetima polažu na jeziku na kojem su učenici završili srednju školu. Tu ću još samo pomenuti dve odluke koje je donela pokrajinska skupština, jedna se odnosi na upis romskih studenata u okviru afirmativne akcije. Romskim studentima koji polažu ispit a recimo zbog određene kvote ne uđu, ne bi mogli da se upišu, radi se proširenje liste i omogućuje se njihovo upisivanje, time doprinoseći poboljšavanju njihovog, inače lošeg položaja. Isto tako pokrajinsko izvršno veće daje stipendiju svake godine, nije to veliki broj studenata ali polovina od svih stipendista mora da pripada nacionalnoj manjini, a među njima jedan obavezno mora da bude romske nacionalnosti. U oblasti informisanja skupština Vojvodine je bila osnivač listova listova na manjinskim jezicima mađarskom, slovačkom, rumunskom, rusinskom, hrvatskom i romskom jeziku. Pre godinu dana ona je ta osnivačka prava prenela na nacionalne savete, pošavši od toga da nacionalni saveti najbolje znaju šta interesuje određenu zajednicu i da će sa time doprineti kvalitetu informisanja na manjinskim jezicima. Radio i televizija Novi Sad emituju program na ovim pomenutim jezicima plus na ukrajinskom jeziku. Da, ustvari zamislio sam ovo izlaganje da ne bude samo sve pozitivno nego i da u oblastima koje budem pomenuo da kažem i gde su problemi. Sada ću se vratiti na obrazovanje nemojte mi zameriti. Problemi su udžbenici. Radi se o prevedenim udžbenicima, prevodi su često jako loši. Doduše sad je dozvoljen uvoz udžbenika i korišćenje udžbenika iz uvoza na osnovu odobrenja ministarstva, ali se dešava da ta odobrenja kasno stižu već kad nastavna godina počne i onda ne možete da koristite te udžbenike. No ipak je učinjen pomak samim tim da postoji ta mogućnost. Najveći problem ipak predstavlja nedostatak nastavnog kadra, jer u nižim razredima osnovne škole manje više ide kako treba, već kad počinje predmetna nastava iz stručnih predmeta evidentno je pomankanje stručnih nastavnika koji su

spremni da izvode nastavu na maternjem jeziku učenika. Problem je još izraženiji u srednjim školama tako da umesto nastave na maternjem jeziku imamo dvojezičnu nastavu gde učenici, pogotovu u stručnim školama, češće više predmeta slušaju na srpskom nego na svom maternjem jeziku. Što se zastupljenosti pripadnika nacionalnih manjina tiče mi već dve tri godine pratimo kretanje zapravo nacionalni sastav zaposlenih. Što se skupštine AP tiče, odgovara zastupljenosti manjina u ukupnom broju stanovnika. Kod članova izvršnog veća takođe. U opštinama generalno gledajući manje više održava zastupljenost u ukupnom broju stanovnika. Tamo gde su problemi pod jedan je policija, sudovi i tužilaštvo. Znači rad se o onim organima gde se ne radi o neposrednim izborima kao kod skupštine već gde ljudi po nekoj inerciji ulaze i dolaze, već gde se radi o nekim drugim kriterijumima zapošljavanja. Što se službene upotrebe jezika tiče, ta oblast je regulisana Zakonom o upotrebi službenog jezika i pisama republike Srbije 1991. zatim Zakonom o zaštiti prava i sloboda nacionalnih manjina iz 2002. godine i našom Poveljom o zaštiti ljudskim, manjinskim pravima i građanskim slobodama iz 2003. One su donete upravo ovim redom ali njihov pravni značaj je upravo obrnut. Znači, najjača je Povelja, pa Zakon, i na kraju srbijanski Zakon o službenoj upotrebi jezika, što se nekad gubi iz vida, pogotovo u slučajevima kad dođe do kolizije, svi ti zakoni, zapravo ovi propisi sadrže kontradiktorna rešenja, prilikom tumačenja pojedinih pitanja, i prilikom tumačenja obično dolazi do tumačenja koje najčešće ide na štetu i na uštrb nacionalnih manjina. U svakom slučaju učinjen je pomak na bolje, donošenjem zakona, nazvaću ga saveznim Zakonom, kao i donošenjem Povelje, koji su raščistili neke do tad postojeće dileme oko službene upotrebe jezika. Ovom bih još dodao tri odluke pokrajinske skupštine vezane za ovo pitanje. To je odluka o bližem utvrđivanju pojedinih pitanja o službenoj upotrebi jezika manjina u autonomnoj pokrajini Vojvodini, odluka o ispitu stranih jezika i jezika nacionalnih manjina za zaposlene u organima uprave, kao i odluku o izdavanju višjejezičkog izvoda iz matičnih knjiga. Znači da jezik nacionalnih manjina mora da bude u službenoj upotrebi, ako predstavnici manjina dostignu 15%, kao što je utvrđeno ovim saveznim zakonom. Vojvodanske opštine, ni jedna od njih nije morala da menja statut, zato što svaka koja ima manjina na svojoj teritoriji je već ranije svojim statutima predvidela, čak i uz manju procentualnu zastupljenost stanovništva, službenu upotrebu manjinskih jezika. Tu imamo jako široku lepezu, recimo u Bačkoj Topoli, slovačko i rusinsko stanovništvo ne čini ni jedan posto stanovništva, a ipak su njihovi jezici, pored srpskog i mađarskog u službenoj upotrebi. Ima i drugih primera, negativnih, na primer u opštini Apatin, gde je mađarsko stanovništvo činilo 14, 15%, nepunih 15%, mađarski jezik nije bio u službenoj upotrebi. Još jedna važna stvar, da savezni zakon upotrebljava termin »ravnopravna upotreba«. Mislim da treba razlikovati istovremenu upotrebu, koji se termin koristi u zakonu o službenoj upotrebi jezika, jer istovremena podrazumeva paralelnu — znači većinski i jezik nacionalnih manjina. Ravnopravna po meni podrazumeva alternativnu — ili srpski ili manjinski. I jedno i drugo je ravnopravno, taj termin je bio korišćen i u pokrajinskom Zakonu o službenoj upotrebi manjinskih jezika iz '74. godine. Sada, kako se ovaj zakon pojavio, u nekim su se opštinama pozivali na tu granicu od 15 % zastupljenosti manjina, i brže bolje pohitali da ukinu manjinske jezike ako pripadnici manjine nisu

dostigli taj procenat učešća. To je primer u opštini Šid, gde su hteli da promene statut, u smislu da brišu službenu upotrebu rusinskog i slovačkog jezika. Na intervenciju našeg sekretarijata, uz podršku dva Nacionalna saveta, rusinskog i slovačkog, taj postupak je zaustavljen i jezici su ostali u upotrebi, u skladu da garantovanjem stečenih prava i onom izričitom odredbom u članu 11 Zakona o zaštiti prava i sloboda manjina, da jezik manjina ostaje u službenoj upotrebi, ako je u momentu stupanja na snagu bio u službenoj upotrebi. Što se tiče postupaka na jezicima, to su bile toliko uobičajene stvari da se i upravnosudski postupci na teritoriji Vojvodine vodili na manjinskim jezicima, međutim sad je došlo do drastičnog pada broja takvih postupaka. Konkretno, upravni postupak u Adi je recimo, za dve godine vođen samo jedan na mađarskom, u Bečeju osam, sudski postupak u Bačkoj Topoli jedan, u Zrenjaninu dva, recimo u Kanjiži nijedan postupak. Razlozi su mnogobrojni. Zapravo na teritorijama izvan severno-bačkih opština, gde živi koncentrisano mađarsko stanovništvo, takve mogućnosti su daleko manje. Znači tamo još ima neke mogućnosti, u drugim sredinama su šanse daleko manje, zbog pomankanja stručnog kadra, nedostatka sudija ali i zbog činjenice da pripadnici manjina retko insistiraju na upotrebi svog jezika, posebno na područjima gde ne predstavljaju većinsko stanovništvo. Znači praktično je iščezla nekadašnja praksa vođenja postupaka na jezicima manjina. Isto važi i za priznavanje isprava na manjinskim jezicima, što je sad i zakonska obaveza, ali, bogami, pripadnici manjina često nailaze na probleme ako žele neki izvod da dobiju na njihovom jeziku, ako žele da njihovo ime u originalu bude upisano u isprave, mada, kažem, takva zakonska obaveza postoji. Što se tiče ispisivanja naziva naseljenih mesta, tabli, obaveštenja, uličnih tabli, tabli sa nazivima trgova, prema Zakonu o službenoj upotrebi jezika, to je obaveza opštine koja je utvrdila službenu upotrebu jezika na njenoj teritoriji, i tu ima dosta šarenila. Sam zakon je predvideo da se geografski nazivi i nazivi sadržajni u tim nazivima ne mogu menjati drugim nazivima, pa je praktično isključila upotrebu tradicionalnih naziva, tradicionalnih toponima. To pitanje je opet definitivno otklonjeno saveznim zakonom, gde je pokrajina poverila Nacionalnim savetima da provere nazive naseljenih mesta. To je učinjeno, i polako dolazi do postavljanja tih pravih tabli. Kod ulica i trgova je katastrofalno stanje, to nije u redu. I samo još jedna stvar, da se mora nešto menjati u Zakonu o lokalnoj samoupravi, naime, finansiranje opština. Opština koja u službenoj upotrebi ima samo jedan jezik, dobija isto toliko para koliko i opština koja ima u službenoj upotrebi više jezika. Dvojezičnost košta, i time bi se moglo doći i dobiti bolji rezultati».

Fatmir Hasani — Odbor za ljudska prava — Bujanovac:

»Činjenica da se i danas bavimo ovim problemima je jasan pokazatelj nedostatka političke volje, poštovanja domaćeg prava i međunarodnih ratifikovanih konvencija. Polazeći od principa da u periodu prelaska sa diktature na demokratiju, moramo da se obračunamo sa starom, represivnom prošlošću i novom neefikasnom vlašću koja reši do negde problem samo tada kad problem uzima maha. Pa stoga ono malo što smo mi postigli u preševskoj dolini, je rezultat internacionaliziranog problema. Znači kad ne postoji dobra volja državne vlasti, onda mora da se ide na metodu podizanja problema na nivo gde ga svi vide i moraju ga malo pokriti, da ne eskalira. Ja ću navesti dva primera.

Vi znate dobro da u Preševskoj dolini, u opštinama Preševo, Bujanovac i Medveđa, 2000. i 2001. znači godinu dana, se odvijao jedan mali rat, ili puškaranje, samo da bi smo postigli neka prava i da bi smo dobili opštinsku vlast u opštini Bujanovac. Znači, preko 30 žrtava, oko 100 ranjenih, drugo, maltretiranje, samo da bi smo dobili neka prava osnovna, i da bi smo održali fer izbore za opštinsku vlast. Znači mi nismo trpeli tu nepravdu gde 61% po statistici u opštini Bujanovac ima Albanaca, 28% Srba, i 10 % Roma, uvek su Srbi u toj opštini imali vlast i nisu nam dali ni jedna prava. Mi smo do 2000. bili otpisani, i fabrike su bile jednonacionalne, i sud i opština i tako dalje. A hoću da kažem, da bi ova država rešavala neki problem, mi tamo i ne znamo za druge, moramo da pravimo velike probleme, da bi država rešila do negde neki problem. Navešću još jedan problem, ja sam trebao kao direktor osnovne škole, da stavljam katance u mojoj školi da bi isterao čak srednje škole iz srednje škole, i da bi se oni vratili u svoje stare barake, gde je '96. godine prinudno ušla vojska Jugoslavije, vrativši se iz Makedonije, i kad sam pravio taj veliki problem, kad su tri dana daci ostali bez nastave i bez škole. Zvao me je ministar i rekao »Da li si ti normalan, to nije privatna svojina«, a ja sam mu rekao: »Ja sam mnogo normalan i mene to boli. Ja sam neki faktor u mojoj opštini i hoću da rešavam ovaj problem. Gospodine ministre, da li ste vi za bolje školstvo, — da. Onda ja to radim, i posle i država i međunarodna zajednica su brzo našli i pare da renovišu stare barake i oni su se vratili u svoje barake. Toliko«.

Mehmed Slezović, poslanik G17+ plus u Skupštini SCG i potpredsjednik Odbora za manjinska i ljudska prava, govorio je na temu: »Kulturni položaj Bošnjaka«:

»Poštovani učesnici okruglog stola, pre nego što iznesem nekoliko stavova povodom kulturnog položaja Bošnjaka, predstavio bih se u smislu svoje dvostruke uloge, prvo kao poslanika G 17 plus u skupštini Srbije i Crne Gore i potpredsednika Odbora za ljudska i manjinska prava, ali i čoveka zainteresovanog po ovoj temi po vokaciji svog profesionalnog i intelektualnog angažmana i rada, kao stvaraoca-umetnika, dakle, osećam se pozvanim i obaveznim da o ovome govorim u svoje lično ime.

Ako bi se bacio površan pogled na zakonodavni tretman manjinskih zajednica, moglo bi se videti da postoji obimna zakonodavna materija koja reguliše pitanja manjina, kako na unutrašnjim tako i na međunarodnim okvirima manjinskih prava. Pomenio bih Povelju o ljudskim i manjinskim pravima i građanskim slobodama Srbije i Crne Gore, Zakon o zaštiti prava i sloboda nacionalnih manjina, Prosvetni zakon Republike Srbije, Zakon o udžbenicima i nastavnim sredstvima, Zakon o službenoj upotrebi jezika i pisma, Zakon o radio difuziji Republike Srbije, Zakon o izmenama i dopunama Zakona o izboru narodnih poslanika Republike Srbije, a od međunarodnih okvira tu je pre svega Okvirna konvencija za zaštitu nacionalnih manjina Saveta Evrope, kao i bilateralni sporazumi o zaštiti nacionalnih manjina. Nažalost ovih dana nije ratifikovana Evropska Povelja o manjinskim i regionalnim jezicima. Ovim zakonima garantuju se individualna i kolektivna prava, sa tim da kolektivna prava podrazumevaju da pripadnici nacionalnih manjina neposredno ili preko svojih izabranih predstavnika učestvuju u procesu odlučivanja, ili odlučuju o pojedinim pitanjima koja su vezana za njihovu kulturu, obrazovanje, informisanje i upotrebu jezika i pisma u skladu sa zakonom. Okvirna konvencija je u tom pogledu obavezujući međunarod-

ni dokument i sigurno izraz visoke civilizacijske svesti o potrebi zaštite prava pripadnika svake nacionalne manjine na nacionalni kulturni, verski, jezički identitet kao i druge okolnosti koje su u službi očuvanja tih osobenosti. Konstatuje se da su ovi standardi na nivou, i da čak prednjače međunarodnoj regulativi. Istina, primetna je klima dobre volje i shvaćene obaveze da se ovim zahtevima udovolji. No, ovo je samo jedan aspekt naše problematike. U praksi se, uprkos svemu, suočavamo sa činjenicama da se u svom realnom životu nacionalne manjine suočavaju sa permanentnim problemima. Rezolucija o zaštiti multietičnosti u Vojvodini, usvojene u Evropskom parlamentu, otvaranje vlašskog pitanja u Istočnoj Srbiji, opominju da je ovde reč o jednoj živoj materiji, i da interakcije između većine i manjine ne prestaju biti u fokusu pažnje političke javnosti, sa tim što ovo nisu više prioritarna pitanja države ka njenom putu ka evropskim integracijama. Stiče se utisak da je glavni deo posla već obavljen. No da li je tako?

Ja bih sada pokušao odgovoriti na ovo pitanje sa tačke koja dodiruje politiku, kulturu i istorijsku sudbinu Bošnjaka u Sandžaku, pa bi se direktno osvrnuo na Okvirnu konvenciju o kojoj je danas reč. Na jednoj od sednica Odbora za ljudska i manjinska prava, ministar je ocenio da je Konvencija jedan od vrlo niskih mehanizama za zaštitu manjinskih prava, da su naši standardi daleko veći i da, ukoliko bi mehanizmi kod nas bili samo na nivou Konvencije, mi bi smo zapravo imali svakodnevno neke rezolucije u Evropskom parlamentu. Recimo da je to tako. Ali ako upitamo da li se Konvencija striktno poštuje u Sandžaku, odgovor bi nedvosmisleno bio »Ne«. Ako bi se zapitali hoće li to biti razlog nekoj novoj rezoluciji, odgovor bi opet po svoj prilici bio ne. Sve ovo dovodi nas do pitanja u čemu je onda problem i suština, i da li je cela stvar nekako pogrešno postavljena?

1. Definicija kojom se određuje nacionalna manjina u Zakonu o zaštiti prava i sloboda nacionalnih manjina je vrlo široka. Kvalitativno, ona izjednačava etničke grupe sa narodom, pa primenjeno na Bošnjake Sandžaka, biva merodavna samo u kontekstu kvantiteta, broja kojim se Bošnjaci Sandžaka tretiraju kao manjina u Srbiji. Istina vrlo značajno, ali se ista stvar relativizuje u Crnoj Gori, tamo su Bošnjaci na nivou potencijalne konstitutivnosti, sa značajnim procentom u udelu ukupnog stanovništva, iako je njihov broj u odnosu na onaj u Srbiji znatno manji.

2. Sa druge strane čak u okviru političkih subjekata Bošnjaka u Sandžaku, ne postoji politički konsenzus (iako se ovo pitanje može činiti potpuno bespredmetnim) da li su manjina ili narod. Pri tome, ovde nije reč o kvantitativnom već pre svega o pitanju političke vizure sopstvenog sagledavanja, na relaciji lokalno, regionalno i opšte ili državno. Ovo ima svoje konsekvence kako na polju kulture tako i politike. Osmotrimo za trenutak ovo pitanje iz drugog ugla.

3. Manjinski status obično asocira na činjenicu nekog zagubljenog dela naroda u rasejanju, nošenog vetrovima istorije koji biva odvojen od svoje matice. Da li je ovo slučaj sa Bošnjacima iz Sandžaka? Odgovor je i Da i Ne. Da, jer Sandžak jeste bio u sastavu Bosanskog pašaluka sve do Austrougarske okupacije Bosne, ali nikad nije bio prosti, marginalni deo tog pašaluka, bez vlastitog osećanja za sopstvenu celinu. Stoga se od osmanskih vlasti tretirao kao poseban deo sa svojim obeležjima. Iako administrativno deo Bosne, on je istovremeno deo ogromnog carstva sa vrlo defini-

sanim položajem i geostrateškom ulogom u njemu. Već od Berlinskog kongresa, upućen na sopstvenu sudbinu i razvoj, zagubljen između Istambula, Sarajeva ili bilo koje predstonice u okruženju, suštinski sam, metafizički samo na jednoj vetrometini, Sandžak će ne sa manjom neizvesnosti čekati na svoju neposrednu budućnost, koja će samo potvrđivati njegov istorijski udes. Ova predstava budi teška osećanja, ali je istinita. Brojne migracije prema Turskoj ne mogu se ničim opozvati. Ova činjenica bitna je za razumevanje političkog i kulturnog samosagledavanja Bošnjaka Sandžaka koje može imati uticaja na budućnost. Ovime se želi ukazati na nekoliko stvari bitnih za razumevanje problematike o kojoj je reč.

a) Bošnjaci su u dubokoj prošlosti (početak 17. veka) ostvarili zreo nacionalni identitet sa svešću da proishodi iz istih korena sa narodima sa kojima zajednički živi.

b) Ovaj identitet Sandžačkih Bošnjaka, neraskidiv je od prostora izgrađene kulturne fizionomije i osobenosti.

c) Ovaj kulturno istorijski identitet nastao je na osnovi multipolarnosti, na humusu u koji je svoje substrate ugradilo više kultura, etnosa i civilizacija koje su ovuda prolazile, ostajale, nestajale ili se održavale.

d) Iako zaokružena istorijska regija, Sandžak nije bio u poziciji da odlučuje o svojoj sudbini, tako da se o njemu odlučivalo mimo volje njegovih predstavnika. Pitanja vezana za njegov status, sudbinu i položaj ostala su otvorena i išla su na uštrb njegovih stvarnih interesa. Stoga je nemoguće adekvatno pristupiti kulturnoj problematici bilo kojeg naroda koji živi u Sandžaku, mimo integralnog pristupa samoj regiji. Za Sandžačke Bošnjake ovo naročito važi, jer je primarni element njihove identifikacije Sandžak kao kulturni i istorijski okvir. Činjenica je da danas Bošnjaci, ne svojom voljom, žive odvojeno u dve države, Srbiji i Crnoj Gori, sa izgledima da ove države postanu nezavisne, stavlja ih u permanentni kontekst samoodređivanja i otpora prema statusu nacionalne manjine, iako im taj status, paradoksalno, bar u Srbiji garantuje neka kolektivna prava. On ih takođe stavlja u poziciju da preispitaju svoju iskonsku povezanost sa prostorom, i ova činjenica sve više pritiska njihovu političku svest, u njihovoj objektivnoj političkoj nemoći pred procesima individualizacije dva državna entiteta u kojima podeljeni žive. Ova činjenica ima svoje političke i kulturne posledice.

Političke posledice govore u prilog činjenici, da u Srbiji od nekadašnjeg konstitutivnog naroda, oni postaju manjina, koja u praksi još nije ostvarila set svojih manjinskih prava. Kulturno, manjina se nužno usmerava prema matici, u ovom slučaju Bosni, kao kulturnom ishodištu. Što se Crne Gore tiče, Bošnjaci, u uslovima potencijalne građanske države streme konstitutivnosti i u tom pogledu spremni su na razne oblike ponašanja, koji ne idu u prilog njihove jezičke, kulturne i nacionalne izdiferenciranosti u korist integrišućeg, nadnacionalnog crnogorstva. Međutim, kako je izvesno pretpostaviti da će dalji tokovi ići u pravcu profilisanja imenovanju nacionalnih manjina (primera radi, Crna Gora je spremna priznati kao manjinske jezike samo albanski i romski), nužno će se otvoriti pitanje Bošnjaka u Crnoj Gori, bilo kao manjine, bilo kao konstituenta.

Bilo koji od ovih statusa neće moći da prekine prirodnu težnju delova istog naroda za prirodnim vezama, ali može biti od značaja kako i u kojoj meri će oblikovati

sandžačku celovitost kao jedinstvenog kulturnog i duhovnog prostora. U kulturnom pogledu, manjine teško da mogu biti deo main stream-a nacionalnih kultura većinskog naroda. U najboljem slučaju, u sinfonijskim orkestrima nacionalnih kultura mogu biti po neka uspešna violina, ali ne solo violina — ona koja vodi orkestar. To znači da manjinska kultura može biti eventualno neki sekundarni, lokalni, periferni, manjinski tok, ili pak egzemplarni, egzotični, folklorni kuriozitet.

Kultura Bošnjaka Sandžaka po svojoj genezi i dometima narodnog duha, nika-da nije bila na nivou folklornog kurioziteta. Pomenimo, primera radi, celu plejadu pevača, priči, i ep »Ženidba Smailagić Meha«, kao dokaz visokog domena etničke samosvesti pretočene u narodni duh i stvaralaštvo. Ali, zbog naročitih političkih i kulturnih prilika, kojima je Sandžak bio izložen, Bošnjaci ovde nisu prošli kroz one procese borbi za kulturnom i prosvetnom samoupravom, razne oblike nacionalnog preporoda, kojima su bili izloženi u Bosni i Hercegovini. Istinski nacionalni preporod doživeli su tek u jednom kratkom periodu socijalističke Jugoslavije, i to sa sedamdesetim godinama, da bi već '90. donele jednu skroz drugačiju klimu. Pa i tada, iako priznati, versko ime »Musliman« govorio je o političkoj, nacionalnoj i kulturnoj podvali kojoj su bili izloženi, što će kroz rat u Bosni imati svojevrсни i stravični epilog.

Dakle, postojale su objektivne nemogućnosti da se postigne nivo sazrele, moderne i ostvarene nacionalne kulture, premda, objektivno to nije bilo moguće ni očekivati jer se epicentar kulturnog dešavanja odvijao u Bosni, sa značajnim kulturnim centrom — Sarajevom. Sandžak je na svim marginama, sa ostvarenim visokim profesionalnim dometima pojedinaca i potpunom provincijalnom kulturnom atmosferom na terenu. Zato i nije bilo mogućnosti da se tu profilise jedan paralelni nacionalni tok kulture. No, da li je to u Sandžaku i sada moguće?

Po mom skromnom mišljenju, to nije moguće ni sada. Sandžak svoju punu afirmaciju može postići isključivo na platformi multikulturalizma, gde se u prvoj fazi postiže i ostvaruje taj koncept kroz realizaciju nacionalnih i kulturnih posebnosti Bošnjaka, a potom kroz interkulturalizam, koji podrazumeva međusobni uticaj i interakciju postojećih kulturnih entiteta i slojeva. U tom smislu, sada, više možemo govoriti o predispozicijama, nego li o ostvarenim mogućnostima. Kao višenacionalna, multikonfesionalna, interkulturalna, prekogranična regija, jedna moderna evropska regija u evropskim državama Srbiji i Crnoj Gori, u ujedinjenoj Evropi, Sandžak može prevladati današnje antagonizme, pa i one koji zbunjuju nacionalnu svest Bošnjaka u pogledu svog statusa između konstitutivnog naroda, konstitutivne nacionalne manjine, verske grupe ili neidentifikovanog i neimenovanog remetilačkog faktora, kakvim su dugo bili tretirani i satanizovani, samo zato što postoji na tom prostoru i unosi strah da on može biti samo prologomena raznim transferzalama koje još uvek opterećuju nečiju svest. Ovo takode važi i za one koji ga vide celovitog, kako u granicama Srbije, ili takode Crne Gore.

Prema postojećoj zakonodavnoj materiji Bošnjaci se usmeravaju prema statusu nacionalne manjine i to je put da potvrde svoje kulturne, nacionalne osobenosti i vrednosti. Ova odrednica je ipak uzana, što se njihovog poimanja i doživljavanja sebe na ovom prostoru tiče, i može biti prevladana jedno integracijom, punom i nedvosmislenom u tkivo država u kojim žive, kao svojevrsnog kulturnog konstituenta, dok

regija Sandžak može odigrati značajnu ulogu prostora koji veže za okružene regije sa kojima se dodiruje, ali je pritom važno da se i sam konstituiše kao regija sa formalnim obeležjima. U toj viziji budućnosti ostaje puno toga da se uradi na ravnopravnosti kroz ideju multikulturalnog suživota, ali ravnopravnog ekonomskog tretmana ove regije sa drugima i njegovih žitelja u svemu. Sve ovo podrazumeva svojevrsnu procesualnost.

Dakle, Okvirna konvencija je zaživela u Novom Pazaru, Sjenici i Tutinu, tamo gde su Bošnjaci apsolutna većina, ali ne i u Prijepolju i Priboju gde su manjina. Za Sandžak je to veliki korak, ali još uvek samo prvi korak. Da postoji drugi tretman ovog dela Sandžaka ne treba posebno napominjati. Blizina bosanske granice i nedavni rat, još uvek opterećuju svest. Dosada puno toga pozitivnog nije registrovano. Registruje se samo dalje ekonomsko propadanje tog dela praćeno nepoverenjem prema Bošnjacima, i nespremnost da se odgovori zahtevima dokumenta o kojem je reč. Ali biće da je za to potrebno vreme i nećije neograničeno strpljenje. Po mnogo čemu se o tim stvarima detaljno govorilo. Ono što može biti predmet razmišljanja je sve više ekonomsko propadanje cele ove regije i njeno tonjenje u svojevrsni izolacionizam i geto. Konkretizacija o stanju kulturnih prilika, pokazala bi da kulturno ovaj prostor zaostaje u svakom pogledu, bez obzira na jednu svetlu viziju koja se ovde može ostvariti. O svemu tome je i ranije bilo reči ali se o svemu može nastaviti današnji dijalog. Zahvaljujem se na vašoj pažnji i razumevanju».

Pavel Domonji, Helsinški odbor za ljudska prava u Srbiji je govorio na temu: »Prevladavanje stereotipa u javnom i kulturnom životu«:

»Organizator ovog skupa zamolio me je da kažem nekoliko reči o stereotipima i predrasudama. Želio bih na početku istaći jednu stvar — organizator skupa je, imajući u vidu srbijansku stvarnost, imao dobre razloge da stereotipe i predrasude učini predmetom rasprave na ovom okruglom stolu. Podsetiću vas da su, tokom minule godine, u najvećem broju incidenata u Vojvodini učestvovali mladi ljudi. Članovi Helsinškog odbora Srbije rade, zajedno sa pokrajinskim ombudsmanom, sa vojvođanskim srednjoškolcima i mogu, na temelju tog rada, reći da su stavovi mladih ljudi u velikoj meri oblikovani pod uticajem stereotipa i predrasuda.

Kao što vam je poznato, problem sa predrasudama, kada je o njima reč, nije formalno logične prirode. Kada bi to bio slučaj onda bi i akumulacija znanja i razvoj nauke jednostavno vodili nestajanju predrasuda, a to, kako vidimo, nije slučaj. Za predrasude se još kaže da imaju vezu sa lenjim mišljenjem. Neki sud se, dakle, uzima zdravo za gotovo, bez ikakvog napora da se preispita i podvrgne kritičkom ispitivanju i valorizaciji.

No, uzroci predrasuda se ne nalaze samo u manjkavosti naše logike i našeg obrazovanja. Problem je, ipak, malo komplikovaniji. Rudi Supek je u jednoj od svojih knjiga zapisao da predrasude olakšavaju našu orijentaciju u stvarnosti. Život je kratak a zahtevi da mu se prilagodimo suviše veliki i složeni, tako da nemamo uvek vremena da se bavimo našim neznanjem, da podrobno ispitujemo sve ono što smo ranije čuli ili usvojili. Ne možemo uvek, jer nemamo uvek ni volje, ni vremena, ni snage ni moći da preispitujemo stavove, predstave i slike o drugima koje smo u toku svoje socijalizacije usvojili. Jednostavno ih preuzimamo i idemo dalje. Predra-

sude je, dakle, nemoguće iskoreniti. Veliki deo svoje energije i vitalnosti predrasude i stereotipi crpe iz funkcije koju obavljaju u društvu. Predrasudama i stereotipima se ne izriče samo jedan isuviše generalizovan i netačan sud, nego se njima povlači granica između »nas« i »njih«. Povlačeći ovu granicu mi, prvo, doprinosimo homogenizaciji i podstičemo koheziju unutar naše grupe, drugo slabimo međugrupnu komunikaciju i solidarnost. Predrasude i stereotipi su pogodno sredstvo kako za izazivanje, tako i za pravdanje nasilja. Osim toga, predrasude i stereotipi služe i za pomeranje sukoba sa, recimo, ekonomskih uzroka problema na neku, po pravilu, nemoćnu društvenu grupu koja služi kao žrtveni jarac i prema kojoj se nasilje ne samo toleriše, nego i podstiče. Tipičan primer za to su Jevreji 30 godina u Nemačkoj kada su nacisti ekonomske nedaće i frustracije objašnjavali jevrejskom zaverom i krivicom.

Sledeća važna stvar zato što vrše određenu funkciju u društvu predrasude i stereotipi se, uz pomoć različitih propagandnih aparata, namerno i ciljano proizvode. Veliku ulogu u kreiranju predrasuda i stereotipa imaju intelektualci i neke od najgorih predrasuda proizveli su, recimo, srpski intelektualci — na primer, stereotipe o Srbima — kao zaklanom narodu, o Kosovu kao najskupljoj srpskoj reči, o Jasenovcu kao najvećem srpskom gradu pod zemljom, itd. Intelektualci, naravno, nemaju samo veliku ulogu u proizvodnji stereotipa, nego i u širenju nacionalizma. Nacionalizam se služi stereotipima i predrasudama kako bi pokrenuo mase. Međutim, nemaju sve predrasude isti aktivistički potencijal, niti su sve predrasude i stereotipi u podjednakoj meri štetni. Najopasnije su etničke, nacionalne i rasne predrasuda. Zašto? Zato što imaju veliku pokretačku snagu, pokreću snažne emocije i veliki broj ljudi na akciju i sukobe. Predrasude i stereotipe je, dakle, moguće veoma uspešno kapitalizovati. Na kraju, želeo bih da odgovorim na pitanje: Kakve politike posežu za predrasudama? Odgovor na ovo pitanje je veoma kratak i glasi: autoritarne politike. Autoritarnim politikama nije potrebno nikakvo preispitivanje, nije im potrebna nikakva debata i javnost, nikakvi prosvetitelji i punoletni građani. Razgovor o predrasudama i stereotipima je, dakle, u suštini razgovor o građaninu i njegovim (demokratskim) kapacitetima.

Suad Ljajić — član predsedništva Sandžačke demokratske unije i predstavnik Narodnog pokreta Sandžaka i Sandžačke alternative, reagovao je ne neka izlaganja: »Trudiću se da budem kratak. Da podsetim da sam predstavnik tri partije danas — Narodnog pokreta Sandžaka, Sandžačke alternative i Sandžačke demokratske unije. Prvo, u dosadašnjim izlaganjima sam primetio dve stvari a to je da ono po pitanju stanja ljudskih prava, apsolutno se slažem sa svim primedbama, i jedan od problema koji ovde nije istaknut, a to je problem asimilacije, a danas se mogao čuti na vrlo, vrlo jasnom nivou, jer je većina Bošnjaka pričala čistom ekavicom. Na primedbu gospođe Semihe Kačar da lokalne vlasti se nisu snašle, i da nemaju kapaciteta da rade svoj posao, ja bih isto da vas podsetim da sam privatni preduzetnik. Znači da bih ja radio, ja sam neko vreme morao da prođem školovanja pa stažiranja po nekim firmama, da bih došao do ovog nivoa. Znači, logično je da oni nemaju dovoljno iskustva u radu. Zašto? Zato što su živeli, zato što smo mi Bošnjaci živeli pedeset godina, ili već šezdeset ako računamo Miloševićevu vladavinu, u jednopartijskom sistemu, gde je bio jedan sistem vladavine, i nemojte da se čudite da je ovde, i kao što reče go-

spodin Slezović o medijima. Znači samo promena vlasti ne menja sistem rada, nego samo podržava tu vladajuću garnituru. I treća stvar koju bih voleo da napomenem i drago mi je što je tu gospođa iz Pljevalja. Ovde u ovim razgovorima, kad pričamo o Sandžaku, potencira se uglavnom srbijanski deo Sandžaka, i nemojte mi zamerit ako sam pogrešno shvatio ali nisam čuo da neko pominje Novu Varoš, a Nova Varoš je pravi primer delovanja većinskog naroda na Bošnjake. Samo da vas podsetim, jeste da je naporno, svi pričamo o istoriji ali 90% prema 10% je bio 1939–1940. odnos stanovništva u korist Bošnjaka, sad to ne prelazi 5%. Pet ili šest, možda čak i 4, ako grešim ispravite me. Cifre su relevantne. Druga stvar koja je ovde bitna, kad pričamo o ciframa, statistika je čudo. Može da se vodi kao Bošnjak neko ko je lojalan režimu, ko je lojalan vladajućoj stranci. Kao i gospodin Domonji što je rekao, ovo je period tranzicije, i za očekivati je ta snalaženja, za očekivati je da bivše strukture pokušavaju da svoje ljude iz svojih političkih opcija ili razmišljanja dovedu na vlast, pa onda da ih prikazuju u onom statističkom pogledu kao pripadnike manjina. Naravno, svako od nas ima pravo da iskazuje svoje mišljenje i svoju političku pripadnost. No, ove tri stranke su pre jedno dvadesetak dana sačinile, tačnije 15. novembra na sastanku održanom u Novom Pazaru, doneo neke polazne osnove i principe rješavanja statusa Sandžaka i položaj Bošnjaka u Srbiji i Crnoj Gori.

U vremenu kada se moraju riješiti statusi naroda na prostorima bivše SFRJ, a posebno u državnoj zajednici, Srbiji i Crnoj Gori. Tri bošnjačke političke partije, SA, NPS, SDU, uz pomoć NVO, uglednih intelektualaca i velikog broja građana, donijele su polazne osnove i principe rješavanja statusa Sandžaka i položaja Bošnjaka u Srbiji i Crnoj Gori. Status bošnjačkog naroda i položaj Sandžaka u Srbiji i Crnoj Gori je zapostavljen od strane nadležnih državnih organa i institucija, te bošnjačkih partija koje participiraju u vlasti republika i državne zajednice, koje svojim ponašanjem i djelovanjem nanose direktnu štetu bošnjačkom narodu. Ove godine, institucija Evropske unije je donela rezoluciju o kršenju prava Mađara u Vojvodini. Naravno, Bošnjaci i Sandžak nisu pomenuti, iako se nad Bošnjacima u Sandžaku sistematski vrši asimilacija, kršenje ljudskih prava, teror i zločin. SRJ, kao pravni naslednik SFRJ, što je režim Miloševića već potencirao, nastala je u uslovima euforije, nacionalizma, posebno velikosrpskog, pa izlaganjem gospođe iz Pljevalja i velikocrnogorskog, uz ignorisanje državne konstitutivnosti Bošnjaka. Da podsetim, jednom stečeno pravo se ne oduzima. Srbija i Crna Gora je pravni naslednik SRJ, te ju je neophodno administrativno i teritorijalno preurediti, i od nje stvoriti demokratsku zajednicu ravnopravnih naroda. Administrativno i teritorijalno preuređenje Srbije i Crne Gore je nezaobilazan uslov njenog opstanka i demokratskog razvoja te je tome treba pristupiti bez odlaganja. Neprihvatljivo je da o sudbini zajedničke države odlučuju samo dva naroda, Srbi i Crnogorci, a da Bošnjaci budu diskvalifikovan i zloupotrebjen. Skrivanje iza ustavnih rešenja, posebno se odnosi na Ustav iz 1992, da je SRJ Beogradanska država je za Bošnjake u Sandžaku neprihvatljivo. Ustavna povelja kasnije o zajednici SCG, nije definisala ove odnose. U rešavanju statusa Sandžaka treba se rukovoditi voljom građana Sandžaka, izraženom na referendumu o autonomiji Sandžaka, 1991. godine. Radi pravednog rešenja statusa Sandžaka i ustavnog položaja Bošnjaka, tri pomenute bošnjačke partije su usvojile sljedeće polazne osnove i

principe: Bošnjaci u Sandžaku su autohton i konstitutivan narod, tražimo ravnopravno učešće bošnjačkog naroda u procesu donošenja novog Ustava, uz uslov da njihovi stavovi budu uvaženi, a ne samo prisutni. Sandžak treba osloviti kao cijelovitu teritorijalno političku jedinicu u Srbiji i Crnoj Gori. Ukoliko dođe do razdvajanja Srbije i Crne Gore, građani Sandžaka će na referendumu odlučiti u kojoj državi će biti cijelovit Sandžak. Zahtijevamo uspostavljanje odnosa sa Bosnom i Hercegovinom, na istim osnovama i principima, koje ostvaruju Srbi iz Bosne i Hercegovine sa Srbijom i Crnom Gorom. Neophodno je obnoviti rad BNV, kao najvećeg političkog predstavničkog organa Bošnjaka u Sandžaku. Ovde bih dodao samo da je, za nas Nacionalni savet bi u tom Vijeću, možda bio samo sektor za kulturu i tradiciju.

Narodni pokret Sandžaka, Sandžačka alternativa, Sandžačka demokratska unija, NVO koje su podržale ovaj sporazum i ugledni intelektualci, pozivaju sve strukture u Sandžaku i Srbiji i Crnoj Gori, sve političke partije i udruženja građana, da podrže ove polazne osnove i principe, sa uvjerenjem da na taj način doprinose stvaranju boljih uslova sebi, i generacijama koje dolaze. Pozivamo sve republičke i državne organe, institucije da shvate nepobitnu realnost i prihvate predložene principe, stavove i opredjeljenja bošnjačkog naroda izraženog na referendumu. Pozivamo i tražimo od međunarodnih institucija da u potpunosti prihvate principe, stavove i opredjeljenja bošnjačkog naroda u Sandžaku i Srbiji i Crnoj Gori, jer je to jedini način da se na civilizovan, demokratski i konstruktivan način riješi status bošnjačkog naroda i Sandžaka. Ovi skupovi su kvalitetni i strašno raduju, ali mislim da ovde se priča i o manjinama, a iz priloženog vidite da mi stvarno ne smatramo da smo manjina, jer živimo isto toliko u ovoj državi koliko i svi ostali narodi, i mislim da u buduću bi trebalo organizovati malo sastanke i na ovu temu«.

Rade Vukosav: »Što se tiče školstva u Vojvodini, to je gospodin Orosz izložio, ja ovdje imam i tabelu čak, o jezicima i o školama, koliko ih ima i kako je organizovano, mogu samo da kažem da je za manjinske jezike deficitaran nastavnički kadar. Ima ih i koji ne poznaju dobro jezik. Nije samo u pitanju poznavanja jezika, nego i istorije i tradicije i umjetnosti i tako dalje, udžbenici isto tako. E, sada postavljam pitanje kako se osjećaju nacionalne manjine u Vojvodini, kad već petnaest godina, po zidovima u svakoj ulici stoje grafiti i parole: »Srbija Srbima«, »Mađari, napolje«, »Smrt Mađarima«, »Smrt Jevrejima«, »Pravoslavlje ili život«. To država ne progoni, a Vojvodina nema ingerencije, nema svoje sudstvo, svoju policiju, a Beograd je daleko. Drugo, država podržava, tretira, odobrava prećutno radikalske priče da je Srbija do Karlobaga, Ogulina, Karlovaca i Virovitice. Od toga radikali ne odustaju, i njihov list se zove »Velika Srbija«. To izaziva mržnju prema svim Srbima van granica Srbije, izaziva mržnju i prema Srbiji, od strane naših susjeda. Dobro znamo kad je Šešelj kazao pre početka ovog rata, 1989–1990., ne znam ni ja, pred kamerama televizijskim, što Hrvati gledaju, »Svi Srbi u Hrvatskoj su moji organizovani četnici, svi su naoružani«. A nisu bili. Odmah je naložio na vatru, a on je mislio da će se Hrvati potpuno zaplašiti od toga. Prema tome, Srbe smo mi upropastili, odavde. Nazivi naših organa u Srbiji, organa i institucija — sve je, kaže se, srpsko — srpska skupština, srpska Vlada, srpski ministar, pa nacionalne manjine pitaju: »ovo je država Srbija, ja sam građanin Republike Srbije, a gdje sam ja tu ako je tu samo srpsko a nije srbijan-

sko«. To potiče od Karadorđevića, jer Obrenovići su vodili srbijansku politiku. Kada su došli Karadorđevići oni su počeli voditi srpsku politiku, znači gdje god ima Srba, to je Srbija, gdje god ima srpskih grobova, to je Srbija i tako dalje. I od toga ne odustaju. Ja mislim, i po jezičkim zakonima, pridev »srbijanski« odgovara jednoj državi, a ne »srpski«. To je prošireno i na Bosnu i Hercegovinu, tako da u Republici Srpskoj, sve što je bilo bosansko, toponim, sve je to brisano. Sve je sada srpsko. Pa ljudi, ne možemo mi tako. Uzmimo anglističku crkvu, ona se stalno kamenuje, razbijaju, napadaju, pišu na njihovim zidovima, kažu ona služe sotonu i tako dalje. Zašto SPC ne reaguje protiv toga? U svakoj demokratskoj državi, crkva je odvojena od države. Drugo, svakome je dozvoljeno da ide u koju hoće crkvu, ili da ne ide ni u jednu, ili u džamiju. Zašto se dozvoljava tako nešto. To se bruka ova jadna Srbija, toliko izbrukana od nacionalista pred svijetom i pred Bogom. Ja nisam pobožan, ali svih deset božjih zapovijesti je pogaženo«.

Ramiz Crnić smatra kako niko ne osporava Bošnjacima da su narod: »Ali molim vas lepo, Srbi su bili narod u Hrvatskoj, sad su manjina, u Makedoniji su manjina, kao i u Mađarskoj i drugo. Promenili su se odnosi, postali su manjina, a to znači da nisu narod. Drugo, pitanje Sandžaka, Sandžak je, evo o tome je govorio i Slezović, teritorija *sui generis*, radi se ne o Sandžaku kao turskoj reči i tako dalje, nego o Novopazarskom sandžaku, koji je formiran 1878. godine, pominje se na Berlinskom kongresu, i kao takav opstaje i postoji u svim diplomatskim prepiskama i knjigama. Ne postoji Raška oblast. Ona je postojala kao teritorijalna organizacija od 1922. do 1929. godine, sa sedištem u Čačku, a kad su formirane banovine, ukinuta je. Raška država je postojala, država Raške i Zete koja se prostirala od Podgorice, od Crne Gore, od mora do ova-mo. Na stranu to što je država feudalna, ne može da se nazove narodna. Negiranje Sandžaka, u stvari je negiranje Bošnjaka. I hoće da nas podele, onaj ko priča — Raška oblast, e to je Srbin, ako priča — Sandžak, to je Bošnjak. Nemojmo to da dopustimo«.

Džemail Halilagić, predsjednik Odbora za ljudska prava iz Priboja: »Htio bih da uporedim stanje ljudskih prava u Priboju, u odnosu na Okvirnu konvenciju za zaštitu nacionalnih manjina. Prema članu 3, koji govori o slobodi nacionalnog opredjeljivanja i izjašnjavanja, na popisu stanovništva izvršenom u aprilu 2002. godine, građani su prvi put dobili priliku da se izjasne kao Bošnjaci. Iako se smatra da je to bio najslobodniji popis do sada, odabir popisivača nije bio prilagođen nacionalnom sastavu stanovništva. Zabilježeni su slučajevi sugerisanja sa se Bošnjaci izjasne kao Muslimani, a da se kao maternji jezik opredijele za srpski. Petina Bošnjaka u Priboju se izjasnila kao Muslimani, 77% se izjasnilo da govori bosanskim jezikom. Rezultati popisa ne odgovaraju stanju na terenu, jer ukupno popisanih, što Bošnjaka što Muslimana ima oko 24%. Realna slika stanja je da Bošnjaka u Priboju u odnosu na cjelokupno stanovništvo, nema više od 15%. Porodice su popisivale i one svoje članove koji se već deset godina nalaze u egzilu. To se manifestovalo i na referendumu o izjašnjavanju o uvođenju mjesnog samodoprinosu, kada referendum nije uspio, a čelnici lokalne samouprave su priznali da je jedan od razloga neuspjeha, taj što birački spiskovi nisu usklađeni sa stanjem na terenu, odnosno priznali su da se veliki broj glasača ne nalazi u Priboju. Prema popisu, 82% građana su biračko tijelo što je neprijemljivo za druge sredine. Prema popisu stanovništva iz 1991. godine, Bošnjaka, ta-

da Muslimana u Priboju je bilo 33%. Sa onim Muslimanima koji su se opredjelili kao Jugosloveni bilo ih je oko 37%. Smanjenje broja bošnjačkih građana u Priboju je posljedica državnog terora u posljednjoj deceniji dvadesetog vijeka.

Član 4 koji govori o ravnopravnosti i jednakoj zakonskoj zaštiti, u Priboju se ne primjenjuje. Priboj je karakterističan po tome što je jedina opština u Srbiji koja ima izbjeglo i raseljeno stanovništvo među sopstvenim građanima, njihove kuće i imanja, o tome je već govorila Semiha Kačar, ali nikad nije dosta priče o tome. Ne mogu Bošnjaci da se vrate svojim selima kućama i imanjima jer država to sprječava stimulativnim akcijama. Najsvježiji primjer je trajno oduzimanje lovačke puške jedinom povratniku u selu Kukuroviće. Puška nije upotrebljavana posljednjih petnaest godina, predstavljala je porodičnu vrijednost, i kao sredstvo odbrane od upada divljih zvijeri u selo, kojih u zadnje vrijeme ima dosta. Država i lokalna samouprava nisu učinili ništa što bi bio podsticaj prognanicima da se vrate u ranija prebivališta. Neki od vlasnika imanja plaćaju porez na imovinu koju ne mogu da koriste posljednjih trinaest godina. Oni koji ne plaćaju ne mogu da ovjere poljoprivrednu zdravstvenu knjižicu, što znači da im je ugroženo i pravo na zdravstvenu zaštitu. Za zločine nad Bošnjacima i za njihov progon niko u Priboju nije krivično gonjen. Krivica je države što Haški tribunal jedino nije zainteresovan za zločin u Sjeverinu, Štrpcima, Kukurovićima i Bukovici. U Priboju je više hiljada Bošnjaka ostalo bez posla jer su zbog straha za život napuštali preduzeća, a sudskim odlukama je samo mali broj, privilegovanih, vraćen na posao. Pomoć koju država pruža prognanim Srbima sa Kosova i Srbima koji su izgubili imovinu u elementarnim nepogodama, uskraćuje se prognanim Bošnjacima u Priboju. To je akt diskriminacije. Odbor za zaštitu ljudskih prava i humanitarnu djelatnost je uputi više prepiski državnim organima, zahtijevajući ispravljanje nepravdi. Vlada Zorana Živkovića je 2003. na kolegijumu raspravljala o ovim zahtjevima i uslijedila su obećanja da će država reagovati u skladu sa Ustavom i zakonom, ali se to do danas nije dogodilo. Član 5 govori o kulturi, očuvanju identiteta i uzdržavanju od asimilacije. U Priboju nema bošnjačkih kulturnih institucija niti kulturnih sadržaja i tradicije bošnjačkog naroda. Identitet Bošnjaka se gubi kroz obrazovni sistem i nametanjem pravoslavne duhovnosti. Ima slučajeva da se djeci predškolskog uzrasta zabranjuje da članove svoje uže i šire porodice oslovljavaju tradicionalnim nazivima, da se u školama nameće duh pravoslavlja, da bošnjačko dijete dobije jedinicu ako ne zna da izrecituje »Oče naš« i slično. U Priboju je u posljednje dvije godine ispoljen duh netolerancije i nespremnosti za dijalog na temu suočavanja sa prošlošću. Na brojnim skupovima koje organizuju NVO, na temu o ljudskim pravima zabilježen je rijedak odziv predstavnika lokalne vlasti i političkih stranaka, dok je učešće policije i vjerskih zajednica potpuno izostalo. Član 8 tretira slobodu vjerskog organizovanja i izražavanja vjerskih uvjerenja. Sloboda vjerskog izražavanja u Priboju nije ugrožena, ali sloboda organizovanja jeste. Muslimani Priboja već petnaest godina sa više peticija traže da se odobri lokacija da grade džamiju u novom Priboju koji je jedini grad u Sandžaku bez džamije. Da podsetim, zemljište na kome je izgrađen grad i fabrika automobila je nacionalizovano i konfiskovano zemljište čiji su vlasnici bili Bošnjaci. Ni jedan urbanistički plan nije predvideo ovu lokaciju, svi zahtjevi vijernika su ignorisani. Dvadeset prvog septembra

2004. godine, lokalni parlament je jednoglasno donio odluku da se gradnja džamije odobri. Čelnici lokalne samouprave, neki bošnjački političari i neke NVO, ovaj momenat eksploatišu kao izuzetan demokratski čin. Međutim niko danas u Priboju ne može odgovoriti, hoće li džamije biti, gde će je biti, i kada. Lokacija za njenu gradnju nije određena generalnim urbanističkim planom već posebnom skupštinskom odlukom. Lokacija koju je odredila odbornička skupština je najveće poniženje za Muslimane u Priboju, jer je njena gradnja predviđena pored samog izliva gradskih fekalija u rijeku Lim, gdje se u ljetnjim mjesecima, pri visokim temperaturama, slučajni prolaznici moraju držati za nos, zbog nesnosnog smrada. Povrh svega, zemljište nije opštinsko, što će dodatno iskomplikovati pravnu proceduru legalizacije lokacije. Da cinizam bude veći, generalni urbanistički plan je na sajmu projekata u Srbiji proglašen najboljim. Da cinizam bude još veći, u sred grada je izgrađena pravoslavna crkva, na hodžinoj zemlji, gdje su Muslimani prvobitno tražili gradnju džamije ali je taj zahtjev opština odbila 1994. godine. Samo dvijesta metara od crkve preko Lima nalazi se crkveno zemljište, ali je Eparhija mileševska na to mesto pobola drveni krst i to mjesto proglasila svetom srpskom zemljom. Član 9. pristup sredstvima javnog informisanja. U Priboju nema informisanja na bosanskom jeziku, niti na lokalnoj RTV ima sadržaja iz bošnjačke tradicije i kulture na bosanskom jeziku. Od 17 novinara, u javnom preduzeću Informativni centar, nijedan nije Bošnjak. O aktuelnim zbivanjima o životu Bošnjaka u drugim dijelovima Sandžaka, Pribojci se najčešće informišu iz emisije »Šta radite, bre« na RTS-u jer nema drugog izvora informisanja. Član 10 — bosanski jezik nije u primjeni u Priboju u lokalnoj samoupravi, na sudovima ili državnim ustanovama. Evidentiran je jedan zahtev koalicije Lista za Sandžak, i Odbora za zaštitu ljudskih prava i humanitarnu djelatnost, da se u lokalnoj samoupravi uvede u službenu upotrebu bosanski jezik. Savjet za međunacionalne odnose koji je formiran neposredno prije toga, je razmatrao ovaj zahtjev, ali je zahtjev jednoglasno odbijen, nažalost uz glasanje i jedinog bošnjačkog člana jedne bošnjačke političke partije u opštinskom parlamentu. Član 11., 12., 13. i 14., u Priboju se uopšte ne primjenjuju. Član 15 omogućava prava na efikasno učešće pripadnika nacionalnih manjina u kulturnom, socijalnom i ekonomskom životu i javnim poslovima. U Priboju je ovo stanje gore od onog u vrijeme režima S. Miloševića, kada su četiri Bošnjaka zauzimali direktorske funkcije. Sada nema nijednog. Nijedan Bošnjak nije član opštinskog vijeća, samo jedan sudija opštinskog suda je Bošnjak. Nijedna rukovodeća funkcija koju imenuje republika nije dodijeljena Bošnjacima. Primijetno je značajnije učešće Bošnjaka u policiji, ali je to još uvijek daleko od proporcionalne zastupljenosti. Član 16. predviđa uzdržavanje od mjera koje mijenjaju odnos stanovništva. Demografska slika Priboja je promijenjena u posljednjih petnaest godina, bošnjačka populacija je više nego prepolovljena. Većina preostalih Bošnjaka koncentrisana je u gradskom jezgri, jer je u oko dvadeset naselja koja gravitiraju ka granici sa Bosnom i Hercegovinom, život onemogućen. Iseljavanje Bošnjaka i dalje traje, prodaju se kuće i stanovi i po vantržišnoj cijeni. Bošnjaci odlaze zbog ekonomske bezperspektivnosti i diskriminacije pri zapošljavanju«.

Radiša Biorac — OO Demokratske stranke, Novi Pazar: »Ja bih pošao od one narodne da je za istinu pravi trenutak, a dodao bih, i svako mesto je pravo mesto. U

informisanju u Novom Pazaru, a verovatno i šire, ja ne mogu da razumem neke stvari. Evo daću dva primera za opštinu Novi Pazar. Sećam se nekih saopštenja na televiziji »Jedinstvo«, koja sam želeo da proverim i ja ne znam kako mediji mogu da objave tako saopštenja koja nisu potpisana, niti imenom niti potpisom. Eto, i to se dešava. Recimo, pre dva-tri meseca je bilo saopštenje jedno u »Danas-u«, od nekih nevladinih organizacija iz Novog Pazara, gde sam ja probao da dobijem makar broj faksa sa kojeg je poslato, i zvao sam nekoliko puta redakciju »Danas-a«, ali nisam mogao dobiti ni broj faksa, a kamoli ko ga je potpisao i poslao. Dalje, neke informacije o kršenju Zakona o dostupnosti informacijama. Mi imamo recimo predsednika opštine Novog Pazara, gde sam ja neki put tražio da nas primi, da nam da odgovore na neka pitanja. Znae šta sam dobio kao odgovor? Odgovori nisu bitni ali je potpisano samo sa »kabinet predsednika opštine«, bez imena, bez prezimena. Ajd' ti sad tuži ili prekršajno goni nekoga kad ne znaš, fantomska organizacija, ja nisam čuo da to postoji. Toliko o informisanju. Hteo bih malo o ljudskim pravima uopšte, malo o meni kao Pazarcu, nešto o nama Pazarcima a bogami i malo šire. Pomenuli su tu razni gosti, mislim da je gospodin Slezović pomenuo nešto o moralnoj dekadenciji, slažem se, i drugi su spomenuli šta se s nama sve u ovom gradu dešava, od prostitucije, trgovine, belim robljem, droge i tako dalje i tako dalje. Puno je tu i neinformisanosti građana u ovom vremenu tranzicije, tu su možda i krivi mediji, ne postoji to istraživačko novinarstvo. Korupcija i kriminal da ne pričamo, mi zadnje dve tri godine kao sindikati stalno apostrofiramo opštinsko i okružno javno tužilaštvo u Novom Pazaru. SUP Novi Pazar i privredni sud u Kraljevu, za ono što smo pre neki dan u anketi izašli kao grad u Srbiji sa najvećim brojem nezaposlenosti sa 39,68%, urušene institucije. Da ne pričam, svi znamo, Novi Pazar davi stečaj, i to znate, da ne pričamo. Beda, siromaštvo i glad kao podloga za dalju dezorijentaciju. Nepostojanje strateških planova razvoja opštine i regiona, republike i tako dalje. Zaboravio sam da kažem da sam danas ovde kao predstavnik udruženih sindikata Novog Pazara i regionalni poverenik asocijacije slobodnih i nezavisnih sindikata. Treba nam znači saradnja sa nevladinim organizacijama jer se razna čudesa u ovoj tranziciji dešavaju. Ja ću reći samo jedan konkretan slučaj. Prozivam te ljude zato što su ne direktori nego direktorčići raznih naših društvenih i ostalih firmi. Čega sve tu nema. Ako se neko pobuni ili najavi štrajk, tu su tuče radnika, polivanje u »Čistoći« vodom radnika noću u septembru, oktobru mesecu, odlazak u jedan čas noću kući sa doduše nepotpisanim ali otkucanim rešenjima o otkazu sa posla. Da ne verujete u kojem gradu živimo, da direktorčići ili šefići kad se neko pobuni, ženi kaže — imaš lepe noge, šta ti to treba, bolje da podeš sa mnom tu i tu. Zato nam treba zajednički rad sa nevladinim organizacijama za zaštitu ljudskih prava i prava uopšte. Izgleda da smo mislili da će neka od ovih pitanja biti rešena sama po sebi posle 5. oktobra ili da će nam bar većinu rešiti političke stranke. Ali pošto očigledno nisu niti mogu, moraćemo kao pripadnici civilnog društva da ih dalje rešavamo i da zajedno radimo na setu velikih pitanja. Završio bih, izgleda da imamo svega osim organizacije, kakvi smo, mislim na bar polovinu stanovništva Srbije, dobro je da uopšte imamo kakvu-takvu državu«.

Muzafer-Mujo Bogućanin — OO Demokratske stranke, Novi Pazar: »Ovde smo imali nekoliko predstavnika vlasti, to jest, aktivnih učesnika u donošenju zako-

na, odluka i tako dalje, mislim na republički parlament i Vladu a pripadnici su i nacionalnih manjina, konkretno Bošnjaci. Shodno toj činjenici očekujemo da u narednom periodu opravdaju participaciju u vlasti konkretnim potezima, i na kraju kao dokaz da nisu prišli vladajućoj većini samo radi komada vlasti nego radi konkretnih stvari. Da ne bude na kraju da se pravdaju da su pokušavali nešto a nisu uspjeli. I da iskoristim ovu priliku da kažem, da se Demokratska stranka jasno zalaže da na ovakvim skupovima bude što manje priče i predavanja o istoriji i geografiji, a da se jednom već počne pričati o konkretnim stvarima, predlozima, odlukama i zaključcima, kao o predlozima o načinu rešavanja problema. I da na ovakvim skupovima, kao preduslov svih uslova bude ekonomski razvoj Sandžaka, i da upravo ta strategija manjka, ne samo Pazaru, nego i šire. A znamo svi, nadam se, da bez rešavanja ekonomskih problema, ne mogu brzo i efikasno da se reše niti bilo koji drugi problemi. I na samom kraju imam i konkretan predlog, a to je da kao završni dokument današnjeg skupa usvojimo ekspoziciju našeg domaćina, gospode Semihe Kačar, kao realan prikaz opšteg stanja u Novom Pazaru i šire».

Džanko Suljević, predsjednik Centra za prava Roma, Novi Pazar: »Ja sam prvi put na ovakvom jednom velikom skupu: S obzirom da sam predstavnik nevladine organizacije Centar za prava Roma Sandžaka, želeo bih da se zahvalim svim ljudima koji su pokrenuli ili pomenuli ovde pitanje Roma. To je započeto dekadom Roma koja će se završiti 2015. godine. Mi Romi smo najugroženija nacija u ovoj državi. Mi smo pokrenuli neke akcije sa skupštinom opštine, evo već šesti mesec, ništa se po tome ne preduzima. Neki projekti su odradjeni, ali ipak, naša romska populacija živi u nenormalnim uslovima. To su mostovi, ulice, kartonska naselja, nazivam ih kartonskim kućama, po tuđim kućama povratnika koji su došli iz inostranstva. Među tim ljudima koji nemaju nikakve uslove za život, nesrećnim slučajem se našla i moja porodica, koja živi i dan danas ispod mosta. Ima još jedna porodica, to je Isenović, doseljena sa Kosova, koja i danas živi pod mostom. S tim u vezi sam hteo da dodam problem školstva, školovanja, obrazovanja. Nijedan Rom u opštini Novi Pazar nema završenu srednju školu, a kamo li šta drugo. Da problem bude još veći, 90%, ako ne i više romske populacije, nema čak ni osnovnu školu. I šta dalje da se priča, šta da se kaže, šta ovaj narod da očekuje, čemu da se nada. Hoće li još jednu zimu dočekati ispod mostova, i da dočekamo nemile događaje koji su se desili, možda unazad dvije, tri godine, gdje su deca raseljenih lica s Kosova, na Batnjiku su živeli, poznato je to naselje kartonsko, umirala od hladnoće, neurednog življenja, prljavštine. Oni nisu prljavi zato što su hteli, nego zato što nisu mogli. I još jednom bih se zahvalio na ovom pozivu koji mi je upućen da učestvujem na ovako značajnom skupu, a dalje da kažem da ću dostaviti u pismenoj formi, gospođi Semihi Kačar, o položaju i životu Roma, u Novom Pazaru i široj okolini».

Džemail Halilagić: »Ja sam nešto skoro zaboravio da kažem, a reći ću to usred Novog Pazara, mada se mnogima to možda neće svidjeti. Bošnjaci u Pibiju nisu ugroženi samo od države, i od većinskog srpskog stanovništva, nego na žalost, i od samih Bošnjaka. Političke stranke i razne druge organizacije, kojima su usta puna Sandžaka, njih jedino zanima prostor Novog Pazara, Sjenice i Tutina. Mnoge nevladine organizacije i političke partije imaju nekakav sandžački predznak, međutim,

njihova aktivnost se proteže negde iznad Zlatara, do iza Tutina. Znači, taj prostor u zapadnom dijelu Sandžaka gde su Prijepolje, Priboj, Nova Varoš i Pljevlja, to dođe kao dijaspora. Te stranke se sjete Priboja i Prijepolja jedino kada dođu izbori ne bi li dobili neku političku podršku. Ja mogu da kažem i moram da priznam, jedina institucija koja permanentno od 1992. tretira cijelo područje Sandžaka, to je zaista jedino Sandžački odbor za zaštitu ljudskih prava i sloboda, uz izuzetak, još, možda je dijeli-mično pomagala koalicija Lista za Sandžak i humanitarno društvo »Merhamet«. Svi drugi koji sebe tretiraju kao sandžačke političke partije, one to nisu jer je njihovo in-teresto područje samo Novi Pazar, Tutin i Sjenica«.

Mehmed Slezović: »Pošto se bližimo kraju, ja ću da podsetim na neke reči ko-je su se već ovde čule, a to je da zapravo ceo set koji se bavi ovom materijom, zapra-vo nema jednu zakonsko-posledičnu obavezujuću formu, sem Okvirne konvencije, koja je međunarodni dokument. Ja sam pitanje Bošnjaka u Priboju i Prijepolju posta-vio i prošle godine na Odboru, pre neki dan je bila zamišljena jedna sednica sa posla-ničkim pitanjima, ali je ona odložena jer ministri nisu došli, i hoću da kažem da zai-sta postoji problem da se ta pitanja nametnu u skupštini i da se tim institucionalnim putem utiče na jedno njihovo rešavanje. Sad bi da organizatora pozovem da pitanja koja smo danas pretresli ovde dođu do odgovarajućih tela, kako već ovaj zakon pred-vida i da se na taj način zaista utiče, na stvari koje ovde čulo se, dobijaju i alarmantna obeležja, pre svega u onom delu Crne Gore koji se graniči sa Bosnom. Nažalost, žao mi je što to moram da kažem, ali predstavnici parlamenta iz Crne Gore ne postavljaju ta pitanja, tako da ovo može da bude jedini način, da sve ono što se čulo danas ode do mesta gde treba da ode, da se čuje, i kao neka povratna informacija, obavezujuća za-vrši na terenu gde ljudi imaju probleme, zato uostalom i mi organizujemo sve ove se-sije. Da ovo ne ostane samo na papiru, jedan prazni razgovor među nama, gde se me-đusobno prozivamo, nešto kažemo, pametujemo i tako dalje. Dakle, red je da se sve ovo završi kako treba«.

Amer Halilović: »Sama pojava da svi pozvani iz Crne Gore na ovoj sesiji, a ja imam informaciju ko je pozvan, nisu došli ovdje, znači da oni nemaju argumenata da dođu tu ili ih je nešto sramota. Bio sam odsutan, zvali su me iz radija »Sto plus« da malo uživo komuniciramo sa nekim iz Crne Gore, pa su zvali sve predstavnike DPS-a, i oni kao, »ne možemo mi«, pa onda drugi predstavnici, pa treći. Tek sve na-šao tamo neki iz SDP-a, da bi mogao, iz Bijeloga Polja negdje. Znači ni tu, čak ni preko slušalice neće. Mislim da aktuelna vlast vrši jednu permanentnu diskriminaci-ju bošnjačkog naroda u Crnoj Gori, i to sa svih aspekata. Dakle, od osporavanja jezi-ka, a to je po meni kad nekom uzmeš jezik, srozao si ga, do ostalih stvari, pa da izu-zmemo sad političko, od čega se živi. Najzaostaliji dio Crne Gore je ta sjeverna Crna Gora ili južni Sandžak. Da bi stvar bila još katastrofalnija, najzaostaliji grad u Crnoj Gori je Rožaje, a najcrnogorskiji. Nije to slučajno urađeno, tada se mnogo lakše ma-nipuliše sa narodom. Naši »predstavnici iz građanskih stanaka«, jer Crna Gora čini sve da napravi, pod onim izgovorom građanska država, oni se plaho udomili, imaju plaho dobre i stanove i plate i u Podgorici, i odraduju posao za vlast. Kaže po neko neće vas narod, evo kako prolazite na izborima. Ali sama činjenica da na zadnjim iz-borima je, na primjer, Crna Gora brojila oko 22.000 policajaca, mala Crna Gora, on-

da je jasna stvar, ta je policija kontrolisana, zna se odakle i laka stvar. Dvadesetidvije hiljade puta četiri glasa, moraju, to je 100.000 plus direktori, kumovi, prijatelji, rođaci, to je tih 140.000–150.000 glasova koje ima ova aktuelna vlast. Šta se to tamo dešava, šta je sa Bukovicom, deportacijama, opštinom Petnjica. Ovo u prilog gospodinu Slezoviću, dva glasa nije prošlo da Petnjica dobije opštinu, i to na žalost, protiv toga su glasali i poslanici koji su rođeni u Petnjici. Nažalost, to je bila katastrofa, blago rečeno, katastrofa. Zašto je 12.000 ljudi iz tog petnjičkog kraja koji broji do 15.000 ljudi van, zašto je luksemburška vlada, gdje su oni skoncentrisani, mi to stalno potenciramo, odobrila sredstva za razvoj konkretno mljekare u Petnici, da se razvije malo to, ta ista mljekara se prebacuje u Berane i stacionira pored već postojeće mljekare. Preko 5.000 ljudi je van, rekao sam i prije, više od 40.000 Bošnjaka je van, oni samo eto tako, pošalju im avione kad trebaju glasati, ali ih potom ne vraćaju. To je samo karta u jednom smjeru. Završiš glasanje, a onda, za povratnu kartu, kako se snađeš. Još jednu stvar htio bih da konkretno predložim, da dam sugestiju onima koji rukovode ovim forumom — da neki naredni, ovakav skup, bude održan negdje na prostorima Crne Gore. Ima medija koji će to da objave, da se pozove ne samo nevladin sektor, nego da se pozovu i ljudi iz aktuelne vlasti, političari i NVO sektor. A nisam slučajno rekao ono da je gospodin Crnovršanin smio da dođe, šta je dobio pritužbi, trebalo bi mu, pa ja mislim do sljedeće Nove godine za to. Oni izbjegavaju, ali stanje je ovako jer puna su im usta neke demokratije, nečeg-ovamo-onamo, ali od toga nema ništa. Sad ide jedan proces sudski, koji vodi gospodin Prelević, jedan divan advokat kome se ja divim. On zastupa porodice deportovanih, odnosno ubijenih Bošnjaka i zaista je njega veliko zadovoljstvo slušati, kako on to radi i sa kakvim posljedicama se sreće tamo. Sud prekida, pa neće pa hoće, nema od toga ništa. Dakle, oni samo gledaju tako mali prostor, malo ljudi, osiromašeno, i onda lako kontrolisati, jer ako na primjer gospodin Medojević, koji se i deklarativno zalaže i za nezavisnost i u svakom momentu može da kupi 100.000 glasova. Predložio bih da se jedan ovakav skup sa ovoliko i još više ljudi organizuje na prostoru Crne Gore. Najlakše nam je tu u Rožaje, Bijelo Polje, Pljevlja, možemo i u Podgoricu, pa neka ljudi čuju neka se suoče mišljenja, neka dođu da porazgovaraju, pa nije strahoba vidjeti nekoga i uplašiti se toga«.

Sabina Talović: »Činjenica je da je gospodin Slezović izneo suštinu, pa se gospodin Halilović nadovezao. Moj problem jesu ti ljudi, ti Bošnjaci koji nas predstavljaju. Vi ste potpuno u pravu gospodine Slezoviću, kad kažete da ti ljudi ne postavljaju pitanja tamo gdje treba da ih postavljaju. Oni i jesu naš problem, zato što kad odu na veću stolicu, zaboravljaju da su Bošnjaci, ne samo da zaboravljaju nego to čak i kažu. Što se tiče gospodina Jusufa Kalamperovića, i njegovih ingerencija, one su kao moje, vjerujte, ništa se ne pita koliko pitam li se ja u tom ministarstvu. Ti ljudi nama i jesu problem. Najveći problem su ljudi koji su političari, a naš korpus je naš problem. Danas mi pričamo više o nekim drugim stvarima. Ali dosta foruma bi trebalo da organizujemo, da pričamo između sebe, kolika je naša krivica i koliko smo mi problem sami sebi«.

Učesnici ovog foruma su usaglasili svoja mišljenja oko slijedećih zaključaka i preporuka:

Učesnici okruglog stola »OKVIRNA KONVENCIJA I POLOŽAJ NACIONALNIH MANJINA U MULTIETNIČKIM SREDINAMA«, svjesni činjenice da je poštovanje ljudskih i manjinskih prava važan preduslov izgradnje demokratskog pluralističkog društva u državnoj zajednici Srbija i Crna Gora, i njenog uključivanja u procese evropskih integracija, pozdravljaju svaki korak usmjeren u pravcu unapređenja položaja nacionalnih manjina. Mjere koje su do sada preduzete moraju biti, po mišljenju učesnika skupa, unapređene daljom izgradnjom unutrašnjeg manjinskog zakonodavstva, ratifikacijom relevantnih međunarodnih dokumenata i njihovom što potpunijom implementacijom.

Ukazujući na brojne probleme koji otežavaju ostvarivanje manjinskih prava — poput siromaštva, nasilja, duboko ukorenjenih predrasuda, diskriminacije i podzastupljenosti pripadnika manjina u organima uprave i sudstva, učesnici okruglog stola su pokazali spremnost da u dijalogu sa vlastima učestvuju u kreiranju, kako poželjnog društvenog ambijenta, tako i adekvatnog političkog, pravnog i kulturnog okvira, u kome etnička raznolikost neće voditi sukobima, nego obogaćivanju svih članova društva.

U istinski pluralističkom i demokratskom društvu, u kome se poštuje etnička, kulturna, jezička i vjerska različitost, veoma je važna uloga medija. Po mišljenju prisutnih, mediji ne prepoznaju značaj manjinskog pitanja, niti svojim sadržajima doprinose uzajamnom uvažavanju i toleranciji. Poseban problem je što se mediji ne tretiraju kao sredstva slobodne javnosti, nego kao sredstva ostvarivanja užih, partikularnih interesa određenih centara moći.

Čvrsto uvjereni da je perspektiva Srbije i Crne Gore u procesima evropskih integracija, akteri okruglog stola smatraju da pripadnici manjinskih zajednica mogu doprineti efikasnosti tih procesa.

Učesnici okruglog stola ističu da se rješavanje manjinskih pitanja i njihov ekonomski, kulturni i svaki drugi razvoj mora ostvariti kroz regionalni pristup, dosljednu decentralizaciju i razne vidove integrativne politike.

Učesnici skupa »Okvirna konvencija i položaj nacionalnih manjina u multietničkim sredinama«, pozdravljaju prijedlog da Sandžački odbor za zaštitu ljudskih prava i sloboda organizuje, u cilju postizanja konsenzusa oko minimuma bošnjačkih interesa, sličan skup i na teritoriji Crne Gore.

Na kraju je predloženo da se izveštaj Sandžačkog odbora: *Presjek stanja ljudskih prava i sloboda u Sandžaku*, zbog objektivnosti i sveobuhvatnosti, proslijedi kao cirkularno pismo svim političkim strankama, NVO organizacijama, medijima, privrednicima i relevantnim institucijama, kako bi isti raspolagali kvalitetnim podacima.

Dodatak

Lista učesnika foruma:

PENNA, EUMM
 Andrijana Milošević, EUMM
 Alberto Alvarez, EUMM
 L. Moosberg, EUMM
 Tomislav Milenković, Srpska pravoslavna crkva
 Boško Klisarić, Srpska pravoslavna crkva
 Efendija Fahir, Islamska zajednica
 Admir ef. Muratović, Islamska zajednica
 Fahrudin Smailović, »Glas islama«
 Refik Sadiković, »Glas islama«
 Emir Požega, Građanska akcija za ljudska prava
 Dževad Koldžić, Građanska akcija za ljudska prava
 Mirfat Tahirović, SDA Sandžaka
 Mehmed Slezović, G 17+, poslanik u Sk. SCG
 Azra Fazlić, Predsednik SO Tutin
 Amer Halović, BNV u SCG
 Džemail Halilagić, Odbor za zaštitu ljudskih prava i humanitarnu delatnost
 Mersiha Zilkić, SDA Sandžaka
 Radiša Biorac, ASNS, DS
 Nikola Dimitrievski, Ministarstvo za ljudska i manjinska prava
 Arvid Kapidžić, Liberalno demokratska partija (LDP)
 Milena Isaković, OEBS
 Anna Maria Lesano, OEBS
 Giuseppe Lucctese, OEBS
 Sava Popović, advokat Centra za ljudska prava, Podgorica
 Sabina Talović, Otvoreni centar, Pljevlja
 Semiha Kačar, Sandžački odbor za zaštitu ljudskih prava
 Janos Orosz, Pokrajinski sekretarijat za propise upravu i nacionalne manjine,
 Novi Sad
 Aleksandra Šanjević, Građanske inicijative, Beograd
 Ramiz Crnišanin, SIK, Novi Pazar
 Fatmir Hasani, Udruženje povratnika reintegracija
 Poturak Munir, Sandžačka demokratska partija
 Ibro Mehmedović, Mreža NVO »Zajedno do uspeha«

Džanko Suljević, Centar za prava Roma
Mehonjić Almir, Kabinet predsjednika opštine Prijepolje
Pavel Domonji, Helsinški odbor za ljudska prava u Srbiji
Jelena Ilić, Radio »Univerzitet«
Hodo Katal, NVO »Ruka«, Tutin
Biljana Dumić, RTS
Esad Džudžević, BNV-SCG
Sadeta Zahirović, »Flores«, Sjenica
Ahmedin Škrijelj, predstavnik opštine Novi Pazar i Liste za Sandžak
Ademović Safet, Stranka za Sandžak
Mujo Bogućanin, Demokratska stranka
Jasmina Kruševljanin, Sandžački odbor za zaštitu ljudskih prava
Ljajić Suad, Sandžačka demokratska unija
Tarik Imamović, Sandžačka alternativa
Ishak Slezović, Radio sto plus
Edib Honić, RTV Novi Pazar
Timka Ramčić, Radio sto plus
Sedat Vrcić, »Flores«, Sjenica
Hajrudin Kolašinac, »Flores«, Sjenica
Dazdarević Hajrudin, Sandžački odbor za zaštitu ljudskih prava
Rade Vukosav, Sandžački odbor za zaštitu ljudskih prava, saradnik iz Novog
Sada
Zoran Maksimović, Sandžački odbor za zaštitu ljudskih prava

Skup su pratili sljedeći mediji:

- Dopisništvo RTS-a
- RTV Novi Pazar
- Radio »Sto plus«
- Dojče Vele
- Universa radio
- List »Glas islama«

POŠTOVANJE PRAVA IZ OKVIRNE KONVENCIJE U SANDŽAKU: NALAZI I PREPORUKE¹⁴

Region Sandžaka je tokom čitave posljednje decenije XX stoljeća bio prostor pojačanih napetosti koje su ostavile dubokog traga u svim ravnama društvenog života. Blizina dva krizna žarišta (BiH i Kosova) takođe je imala posljedica. Sve ono što se u proteklom periodu dešavalo na ovom prostoru: ubistva, pljačke, otmice, politički procesi, iseljavanja, razni oblici institucionalne i vaninstitucionalne diskriminacije nije davalo nade za neku perspektivu. Nedefiniran status Bošnjaka u SRJ, stalno isticanje da više nema zajedničkog života u BiH, nije ostavljalo prostora za nadu da je to onda ostvarljivo u SRJ, zatim SCG, ili možda i moguće ali pod posebnim uslovima. Brojni, sistemski problemi nisu riješeni ni u postdejtonskom periodu. Određeni krizni momenti pogoduju za porive kojima trebaju povoljni uslovi da budu instrumentalizirani. U izvjesnim incidentnim situacijama na lokalnom nivou pojavljuju se problemi koji, sem asociranja na blisku prošlost, pokazuju da mogu narasti do stanja kada ih je teško kontrolisati i obuzdavati. Takvi problemi se mogu naći na sportskim priredbama, u međunacionalnim i međuvjerskim odnosima, izbornopropagandnim kampanjama, političkim sukobima unutar pripadnika jedne etničke zajednice. Konflikti i sukobi su moćni generatori predrasuda i stereotipa. Velika nevolja sa nacionalnim stereotipima je njihova nepromjenljivost. Put prevazilaženja posljedica razorne propagande, etničkih stereotipa i predrasuda, imajući u vidu ranija negativna iskustva, biće veoma mukotrpan. Prave alternative još uvijek mogu postojati samo uz međunarodnu podršku. Okvirnu konvenciju nije dovoljno samo formalno i deklarativno prihvatiti bez njene istinske implementacije u stvarnosti. To će svakako biti dug proces.

Teško nasljeđe prošlosti, bremenito brojnim neriješenim problemima, otežava ukupno stanje u Sandžaku. Ne može se potpuno obnoviti povjerenje ukoliko se institucionalno ne utvrdi istina o masovnim i drastičnim kršenjima ljudskih prava i sloboda u posljednjoj deceniji XX stoljeća. Pošto se radi o multietničkom prostoru sa nedovoljno razvijenim institucijama građanskog društva i orijentacije, bez dovoljno snažnih i uticajnijih nevladinih organizacija, nužno je povezivanje tzv. nevladinog

14 Rezime su, nakon analize održanih foruma i svih predloženih stavova, uradili saradnici Sandžačkog odbora za zaštitu ljudskih prava i sloboda.

sektora i njegovo koordinirano djelovanje ne samo u konfliktnim situacijama, već i u preventivi, uzimajući u obzir sva dosadašnja iskustva i saznanja o mogućim žarištima, njihovom nadziranju i kontroli, insistiranju na pravnom sankcioniranju počinio- ca krivičnih djela koja posebno remete međunacionalne i međuvjerske odnose, te otkrivanju njihove pozadine. Nadgledanje primjene Okvirne konvencije treba biti jedan od prioriteta u radu nevladinih organizacija. Sandžački prostor, u sadašnjim okolnostima, mora biti neprestano pod moćnom lupom lokalnih nevladinih organizacija, ali i onih koji djeluju u većim centrima, kao i međunarodnih nevladinih organizacija. Pravovremeno djelovanje i nepristrasno pristup onemogućavaju manipulaciju i instrumentalizaciju u različite svrhe, koje mogu imati velike posljedice. Nužno je pritom reafirmirati i propagirati sve one dugovječne vrijednosti i prednosti ove sredine koje su u protekloj deceniji bile sticajem niza faktora bile potisnute, ustupajući mjesto distanci i određenom nepovjerenju. Pozitivna iskustva tradicionalnog zajedničkog življenja i koegzistencije svakako zaslužuju da se još više istaknu na svim nivoima.

Nužno je preventivno djelovanje i ukazivanje na potencijalne probleme koji bi mogli dovesti do neželjenih situacija, ali i nepristrasno, objektivno uključivanje u razrješavanje već uočenih problema. Intelktualna scena još uvijek pati od nezrelosti, odsustva samokritike, prisustva ideološke i nacionalne magle, bez pravih, konstruktivnih rješenja za većinu pitanja. Neophodno je donijeti Zakon o zaštiti manjina na nivou Republike Srbije koji bi konkretizovao manjinska prava, kao i precizan zakon o nacionalnim savjetima, imajući u vidu dosadašnja problematična iskustva, koji bi preciznije regulisao pitanje izbora i nadležnosti ovih tijela. Obnova povjerenja građana u državne institucije biće odgovoran i težak zadatak odgovornih. Iskustva pokazuju da krize na Kosovu i u BiH imaju redovno svoj eho u Sandžaku. Mir u njegovom okruženju svakako utiče i na ukupno stanje u njemu. Nužno je identificiranje uzroka potencijalno kriznih žarišta u lokalnim sredinama po Sandžaku, njihovo lociranje i preventivno obuzdavanje. Ti problemi se, što potvrđuju dosadašnja iskustva, mogu pojaviti u radu lokalnih organa vlasti, političkih stranaka, radu vjerskih institucija, školskim programima, radu medijskih kuća na lokalnom ali i državnom nivou. Incidente nije dovoljno samo osuditi, već ih treba objasniti, iz njih izvući određene pouke kako bi se sveli na najmanju moguću mjeru.

Zabrinutost u Sandžaku i za Sandžak je doista opravdana, s obzirom na sveopšte stanje, prisilne reducirane potrebe, kao i sve izraženiju, tešku privrednu krizu koja se manifestira u svim ravnima života, njegovo sve još očitije zaostajanje u odnosu na druge dijelove zemlje. Potpuno je pogrešno sticati sliku o Sandžaku samo na osnovu Novog Pazara. Treba vidjeti i opustjela sandžačka sela, manje gradove koji ekonomski, u tišini, sve više zamiru. Izvjestan privremeni »privredni bum« Novog Pazara je, kao što se i pokazalo, bio više rezultat djelovanja sive ekonomije nego planskog razvoja. To pokazuje i sve izraženije zmiranje novopazarske »male privrede«. Državni mediji, međutim, i dalje uporno govore o daljem privrednom »bumu« Novog Pazara, čime se zapravo skida odgovornost sa države da mu pomogne. Danas, bilo kakvo poređenje infrastrukture u Novom Pazaru, Sjenici ili Tutinu, sa opštinama u obližnjem susjedstvu poput Raške, Kraljeva, Čačka ili Užica i tamo-

šnjim investicijama, daje frapantne, porazne rezultate. Iseljavanje iz Sandžaka u BiH i dalje se nastavlja. Oni koji su davno otišli kao radnici u zapadnoevropske zemlje teško da će se vratiti. Tamo već raste treća, izgubljena generacija Sandžaklija.

Zbog onoga što se naročito dešavalo i dešava u Novom Pazaru, kao i u Sjenici i Tutinu, bilo bi neophodno da se fokusiraju ne samo politički, već i svi drugi problemi koji pritiskaju ove opštine (ekonomski, kulturni, prosvjetni itd.), da se istakne da je centar mnogih problema upravo u Novom Pazaru i da se, uz neophodnu pomoć eksperata, upravo u njemu moraju i rješavati. To, pored ostalog, kada su u pitanju Bošnjaci i njihovi predstavnici, kao i svi oni, koji po raznim osnovama, govore u njihovo ime, znači da se moraju preispitati i preuzeti svoj dio odgovornosti, koji doista nije mali, za sve ovo što se danas dešava u Novom Pazaru, ali i u Sandžaku. Bošnjake u Sandžaku očekuje neminovno »spuštanje na zemlju«, temeljito preispitivanje i suočavanje sa vremenom, sa iluzijama koje svakodnevno nestaju. Sandžak, kao sastavni dio ove države i ovog društva ne smije ostati na daljim marginama. Bošnjačka intelektualna elita mora biti mnogo više zainteresovana za istinsku primjenu Okvirne konvencije, prije svega, kada je riječ o očuvanju vjere, jezika, tradicije i kulturnog nasljeđa. Kultura Bošnjaka se ne može čuvati i razvijati na amaterski način. Svim njenim aspektima moraju se baviti profesionalne institucije koje tek treba formirati. Država mora mnogo više pomoći kako bi se prevazišao amaterizam u kulturi, kako bi se unaprijedili kreativni potencijali bošnjačke zajednice.

Iznuđeni »manjinski« zakoni, donijeti pod pritiskom međunarodne zajednice, su skrojeni tako da, bez obzira na svu pompu koja ih prati, jednostavno ne funkcionišu. Njihovu implementaciju prati čitav niz problema koje je nemoguće riješiti u kratkom vremenskom roku. Demokratski i intelektualni potencijali Sandžaka su, bez obzira na sve propagandne floskule i samoreklamiranja, još uvijek skromni i nedovoljni. Zato im je neophodna stručna i kvalitetna pomoć i inicijativa sa strane. Bošnjačke političke stranke i druge institucije u Sandžaku, predvođene sujetnim i autoritarnim liderima, čudnih i čestih političkih preobražaja i iracionalnih zaokreta, izniklim mahom na istoj ali mentalno prevaziđenoj matrici, više se bave međusobnim razračunavanjima, lovom na lokalne »izdajnike« i »sumnjiva lica«, postajući zapravo, zbog nedoraslosti, manjka odgovornosti, nedosljednosti, nekompetentnosti i preambicioznosti, brojnih improvizacija, sve više obični, instrumentalizirani pioni u rukama najvećih političkih stranaka u Srbiji i Crnoj Gori, kao i izazov, prema ukazanoj potrebi, za atake brojnih medija i raznorodne insinuacije i manipulacije. Treba se suočiti sa realnim činjenicama, sa opasnostima od autoritarnih lidera, »pečat-institucija«, organiziranja besplodnih skupova i manifestacija. To nije nimalo jednostavno imajući u vidu dugo, otvoreno utrkivanje u »dodvoravanje« vlastima u Beogradu i Podgorici, kome se još ne vidi kraj.

U odnosima između lokalne i centralne vlasti treba obratiti pažnju, s obzirom na dosadašnja iskustva, te dati stručni i kreativni doprinos aktivnostima za reformu policije, vojske i pravosuđa. Istovremeno treba insistirati na sprovođenju mjera Zakona o pravima i zaštiti manjina u pogledu adekvatne, izbalansirane nacionalne zastupljenosti u svim strukturama vlasti. Na lokalnom nivou treba stalno upozoravati da se obične skupštinske odluke ne donose običnim preglasavanjem, već da se osigu-

ra minimum konsenzusa koji neće remetiti, prije svega, nacionalne odnose. Neophodne su primjene mjera tzv. pozitivne diskriminacije ne samo na lokalnom, već i na državnom nivou. Također treba organizovati što više skupova sa multietničkim karakterom učesnika na kojima bi se razgovaralo o modalitetima rješavanja markiranih problema i utvrđivanju osnovnog konsenzusa, o dosljednoj i potpunoj primjeni Okvirne konvencije.

Nužna su sistematska terenska istraživanja u pogledu stepena tolerancije ne samo između pripadnika različitih etničkih zajednica, već i između pripadnika različitih političkih stranaka unutar jednog naroda. Na pojave izolacije ne smije se odgovarati mjerama samoizolacije. Unutar terenskih istraživanja treba vršiti određene ankete o pojedinim pitanjima od značaja za sredinu. Istovremeno treba raditi i na organizovanju javnih tribina, okruglih stolova, seminara, uz učešće meritornih stručnjaka sa strane, radi nužne edukacije ljudi iz političkog, kulturnog i sportskog života, lokalne samouprave. Posebna pažnja bila bi posvećena medijskom, širem predstavljanju ovog regiona, prevazilaženju stereotipnih slika i predrasuda koje ga već dugo prate i imaju znatnog uticaja u široj javnosti, što nije jednostavan i kratkoročan zadatak. Naročito bi bilo važno da se radi na otklanjanju svih onih sumnji i nepoznanica koje se vežu za ovu sredinu, a koje utiču na formiranje javnog mnjenja i odnos šire zajednice prema njoj. Državni organi moraju mnogo ozbiljnije prihvatati i razmatrati izvještaje i dopise nevladinih organizacija iz Sandžaka nego što je to do sada bio slučaj.

Objavljene publikacije bi imale za cilj da ukažu na korjene uočenih problema ali i da ponude rješenja za njihovo otklanjanje i prevazilaženje. Publikacije treba i da afirmišu rad nevladinih organizacija, da utiču na porast povjerenja građanstva u njih i snagu njihovog uticaja. Samo konkretni, opipljivi rezultati vode u tom smjeru, kao i insistiranje na podsticaju razvoja građanske svijesti putem edukacije. Rješavanje određenih problema samo na političkom nivou, bez suštinskog bavljenja samim društvom, nije dovoljno. Djelatna, slobodna i kritička javnost temeljno je načelo i uporište demokratskog sistema. Dug je put do samosvjesnog građanina koji ima razvijenu kritičku svijest.

Neophodne su akcije na daljoj razmjeni iskustava i saradnji nevladinih organizacija u Sandžaku sa srodnim nevladinim organizacijama iz Beograda (Fond za humanitarno pravo, Helsinški odbor, JUKOM, Centar za ljudska prava) i Podgorice (Helsinški odbor), kao i sa onim nevladinim organizacijama koje djeluju u multietničkim i multikonfesionalnim sredinama. Pravovremeno angažovanje, imajući u vidu ranija iskustva i metode, u razrješavanju potencijalnih problema, suprotstavljanje raznovrsnim manipulacijama, upoznavanje svih nadležnih institucija sa postignutim saznanjima, uticaće na opšte stanje u regionu. Istodobno na prevenciji problema treba djelovati i preko medijskih nastupa, tribina i drugih akcija koje bi imale za cilj rješavanje mogućih konfliktnih situacija. Također, neophodno je suprotstavljanje brojnim improvizacijama i akcijama koje samo formalno dotiču suštinske probleme ove sredine. To znači, prije svega, »uozbiljavanje« rada brojnih nevladinih lokalnih organizacija i prelazak sa forme na suštinu problema, odnosno ukazivanje samo na posljedice a ne i uzroke. Zadatak je postepena izgradnja savremenog civilnog društva, uz permanentnu edukaciju, u kome će sve etničke zajednice živjeti u miru i slozi, po-

štujući i imajući puno povjerenje u institucije pravne države i mehanizme koji trebaju dugoročno osigurati ličnu, imovinsku sigurnost i sva prava bez obzira na vjersku, nacionalnu ili političku pripadnost.

Nužno je reafirmirati i propagirati sve one dugovječne vrijednosti i prednosti ove sredine koje su u protekloj deceniji bile sticajem niza faktora bile potisnute, ustupajući mjesto distanci i određenom nepovjerenju. Pozitivna iskustva tradicionalnog zajedničkog življenja i koegzistencije svakako zaslužuju da se još više afirmiraju. Izgradnja civilnog društva, uz permanentnu edukaciju, u kome će sve etničke zajednice živjeti u miru i slozi, poštujući i imajući puno povjerenje u institucije pravne države i mehanizme koji trebaju dugoročno osigurati ličnu, imovinsku sigurnost i sva prava bez obzira na vjersku, nacionalnu ili političku pripadnost. Razvoj demokratije i demokratskih institucija sredstvo je za prevazilaženje i likvidiranje nacionalizama i drugih opasnih oblika podjela.

Okvirna konvencija nudi veliku, demokratsku priliku manjinskim etničkim zajednicama, nakon svega čemu su bile izložene u prethodnom periodu. Na njima je zato svakako i veliki dio odgovornosti da li će uspjeti da prepoznaju svoje probleme i pronađu institucionalna rješenja za njihovo prevazilaženje, računajući svakako kako su pritom i državne strukture konačno istinski voljne da ispoštuju odredbe Okvirne konvencije.

**SANDZAK COMMITTEE FOR PROTECTION
OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND FREEDOMS**

**MINORITY RIGHTS IN MULTI-ETHNIC
MUNICIPALITIES OF SANDZAK**

***APPLICATION OF THE GENERAL CONVENTION
AND THE STATUS OF NATIONAL MINORITIES IN SANDZAK***

Novi Pazar, 2006

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

Federal Republic of Yugoslavia joined the General Convention for protection of national minorities of the Council of Europe on 11th May 2001. By the Law on Ratification this convention came into the force on September 1st 2001. The federal community Serbia and Montenegro, as a legal heir of FRY overtake all the obligations from this convention. Protection of national minorities in Serbia and Montenegro was regulated in more details in 2002 by the Law on Protection of Rights and Freedoms on national minorities.¹ This law improved proposals from the General Convention to some extent and helped accepting higher standards of protection of minority rights. The General Convention is of great importance for control mechanism it introduced in the form of double reporting, not only by the state, but also by the alternative reports coming from NGOs.

Application of the General Convention is very important in multiethnic areas like Sandzak is. It certainly has a special place in the history of separation of Yugoslav Federal Community, bearing in mind our recent past, as well as all the events taking place here, particularly 1991–1995 and later, although those events (murders, robberies, abductions, an evil cannon-tanks suuounding of towns and villages, mass emigrations, various forms of discrimination, court-political processes, mass »informative talks«, etc.) had been in the shadow of tragic events in Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and in Kosovo.

In the spring and summer of 1992, towns and suburbs in Sandzak were in a frightening, complete tanks-cannon surrounding by different units of the Army of Yugoslavia. Some parties, like radicals, were threatening and calling on clearing from Bosnjaks bordering parts of Serbia and Montenegro towards Bosnia. Threatening behaviour by the Army, demonstration of force, everyday low flights of military aviation over the towns and villages, unrestrained paramilitary formations going to Bosnia through Sandzak, many incidents, legal insecurity and an ultimate uncertainty produced great fear and anxiety of repeating »Bosnian scenario«, what influenced mass emigrations of Bosnjaks towards West European countries.² In the spring and sum-

1 »Official newspaper of FRY«, No. 11/2002. Belgrade, 27th February 2002.

2 In the village Ravni (Mukovica — Pljevlja) Latif Bungar died from the consequences of beating by armed people in military uniforms, on February 16th 1993. His remains were burried only on October 30th 1993. on the Municipal Cemetery in Pljevlja, since that phantom village mustn't be entered at all. Even KEBS mission for Sandzak wasn't allowed to enter it. In the village Kukurovici (Priboj), 3 persons of Bosnjak nationalities were killed on February 18th 1993. and 9 houses

mer of 1992, the authorities were literally catching refugees for Bosnia handing them over Serbian authority's mercy in Bosnia. The same situation was going on in Serbia after fall of Srebrenica in the summer of 1995. Bosnjak population in Sandzak, apart from all the troubles and problems that was exposed to, warmly accepted refugees staying for longer or shorter time in Sandzak towns. Mass fires and continual bomb attacks particularly on Bosnjaks' houses and shops in Pljevlja, as well as attacking Bosnjaks in the villages of Bukovica, in the time of tyrannical regime of chetnic duke and federal representative Milika Ceka Dacevic, will start new wave of emigrations. Within an overall frightening of Bosnjaks in Sandzak there were abductions of Bosnjaks (Mioca near Sjeverin — 22th October 1992 — 17 people; Bukovica — 16th February — 11 people; 27th February 1993 Strpci — 19 people),³ marathon court-political processes in Sandzak during 1994 (Trials in Novi Pazar and Bijelo Polje) against a part of leaders and members of SDA Sandzak, after mass arrests in the summer of 1993 and winter 1994. with an accusation that they intended to create »the state Sandzak« by force, had aim, besides a non sense indicment they wanted to imperil SFRY, was followed by great media campaign to eliminate and marginalize this main Bosnjak political party and frighten and disorientate Bosnjaks. Arrested Bosnjaks experienced big tortures in order to admit nonexistent crimes. Along with these political processes during 1994, there were continued mass police actions of arresting and beating Bosnjaks looking for weapons, although it had been known the reality and weakness of the state organs to provide them security made Bosnjaks to arm themselves for protection of lives and human dignity. More dosens thousand people passed police »treatment«, especially in Sjenica, Tutin and Novi Pazar, Prijepolje, Rozaje. Is it necessary to say that police even knew serial nubers of the rifles they were looking for? It all looked like that story of »sugar head« which is being sold more than once.⁴

were burnt. The killed persons were: Bulut Huzeir, Husovic Musan and Sarac Sadeta. In the Pljevlja village Boscinovici in attacking a delivery van on May 17th 1993. there were wounded 4 passengers-workers of Bosnjak nationalities. Ramo Berbo from Sjeverin was killed in August in 1992. while he was waiting for the bus on the way Priboj — Rudo, as well as a forester Muzafer Djogo from Bukovica on June 16th 1993.

- 3 The kidnapped in Sjeverin and Strpci are known to have been killed immediately, although it was promised, like by S. Milosevic, they will »move earth to find them«. Visegrad hotel »Vilina vlas« and the banks of the Drina River are the places of horrible crimes. Such crimes were realated to the name of Milan Lukic, commander of a chetnic unit »Osvetnik« (Avenger) from Visegrad. Arresting some of the actors of that horrible act was only in the function of postponing and prolonging of an investigation. The fact that nobody was sentenced for the crimes over Bosnjaks in the last decade is really striking, as well as such crimes were welcomed with indifference by the state and majority population. Zoran Lalic, the president of FRY, by the end of July in 1994. said that »nobody wanted to help in finding out any material proof« regarding the abduction at the station of strpce and suspected Milan Lukic«. Serbia and Montenegro only by the ned of 1996, partly, admitted a tragic end of its citizens. Innocent people died just for unwanted, easily noticed names in personal cards identity.
- 4 Two Bosnjaks, one (Murat Basovic) from Sjenica and the other (Fadil Osmanovic) from Berane communes, after such invitations committed suicides. The beaten people who got medical examinations and brought charges against the workers of the Police haven't got the court satisfaction. In most cases they were postponed and are still being postponed.

There were also many cases of mistreating and hurting Bosnjaks performing military service in the units of Yugoslav Army.⁵

Attacks involved even mosques, Islamic monuments and cemeteries.⁶

From media propaganda arsenal, particularly during 1992, old pejoratives »national nicknames« were brought back into the use. Bosnjaks were characterized again odious »Turkish« enemies. Calling Bosnjaks »Turks« with the majority is not a consequence of lack of information, but a rooted prejudice and a totally concrete attitude. Sandzak and Bosnjaks in it, during the time of total uncertainty and closeness and echo of Bosnian battlefields, had been exposed to various troubles and temptations. The problem of Bosnjaks grew for the territory they settle, an area between Serbia and Montenegro, as well as nearby Kosovo and Bosnia and Herzegovina. One could get an impression the authorities tried to provoke an armed protest by Bosnjaks in order to get demanded justification to stop it with all available means and in that way the number of Bosnjaks in this region, by various forms of frightening and torture, reduce to the least possible quantity. From Sandzak mainly went information aimed at creation and confirmation of an already created, stereotype picture on Bosnjaks like extremists and fanatics. There is a persistent change of terms Sandzak with the term Raska oblast (Raska field). Novi Pazar is called »Turkized Ras«. A synchronical media satanization of this region aimed at showing that Bosnjaks in this region are »fundamentalists«, »Islamic extremists«, they support so called »green transfersal«, they are preparing for the war, they have 15.000 armed people, divided into brigades and battalions. The leading media were: »Vecernje novosti«, »Poltika ekspres«, »Politika« and »Pobjeda«. Paralelly with breaking out the war in Bosnia, an aggressive campaign against Bosnjaks was continued, especially after permanently repeated news that in »former Bosnia and Herzegovina«, »Alija's dzamahiria« the main warriors are just Sandzak people, that Bosnia wants to join Sandzak, that »Sword of Islam is threatening Raska«, that there is a systematic work on planned uniting of Muslims, which variant is so called half-moon, i.e. the road Sarajevo — Novi Pazar — Pristina — Skopje — Sofija — Ankara. Mass illusion of armed »fanatics« and »fundamentalists« from Sandzak became an obsession not only of media but politicians, as well. By intruding one-sided information, by theories on a supposed suicidal nature of Bosnjaks and by permanent, racial announcements that it is impossible to live together with Bosnjaks in Bosnia any longer, media attacks were

5 In Berane soldier Bajrovic Mersudin died on December 1992. In Zajecar Ramo Cvrcanin (1974) was slaughtered by military knife on March 1993. In February 1995. in Valjevo soldier Mekic Elvedin from Sjenica was slaughtered by knife, too.

6 In October 1991., in January 1992. and in January 1993. there was thrown a bomb on the mosque in Pljevlja, in March and in May 1992. there were made bomb attacks on the mosque in Podgorica, in August 1992. the mosque in the village Razdaginja, near Sjenica was shot. In April 1993. the mosque in Planjsko, in the commune of Pljevlja, was burnt. In May 1993. there was damaged the old mosque in Niksic by an explosive device. In May 1993. the mosque in the village Rascici in the Pljevlja area was mined. In September 1993. the mosque in the village Tufemila in the commune of Bar was mined. The mosque in Belgrade has been attacked several times: in December 1992., during 1993., as well as in March and April 1996.

becoming more and more unscrupulous, with an aim to represent Bosnjaks in Sandzak as collective conspirators and the world danger.⁷

When an elementary right, right on life, is in danger, there is no sense to talk about anything else.⁸ It is an unavoidable obligation to examine and enlighten misfortune of the kidnapped people, at least to know their place of death and to sentence the culprits. Not only executors, some new Tadic's, Lukic's, but also planners and lawyers of violence. In Hague there were brought indictments for crimes being committed in Croatia, Bosnia, in Kosovo and Vojvodina. Sandzak was completely marginalized. Carla del Ponte in an interview for Podgorica »Monitor« stressed that all the crimes can't be treated in Hague, that national courts must deal with the problem of war crimes, and that »case Strpci« must also be resolved at the courts of Serbia and Montenegro. Many crimes have simply been forgotten, although they must be the subject of interest of the state and courts.

After Dayton agreement, the picture on Sandzak, besides already mentioned stereotype pictures on Islam danger for the world, somehow changed into the picture on the region where various intelligence agencies lead: smuggling, illegal trade, drugs, washing money, prostitution, trafficking, etc. It is still persistently supported the picture on Islam as an enemy religion. July »putsch« 1997 in Novi Pazar when by the police help there was overthrown a legally elected municipal power showed the state won't allow Bosnjaks to overtake execution of already restricted communal power.⁹ FRY hasn't consistently respected all domestic and other regulations guaranteeing equal rights to all the citizens, regardless their ethnic or religious affiliations, language or social status, as well as all obligatory International conventions on human rights and freedoms. Declared minority rights should be used in reality.

Turning to the future requires a responsible and rational knowledge on the past. An evil has had a deep history. Facing the past affirms new democratic values since it draws a clear line between unfree past and democratic future. Everything that had happened in Sandzak, besides the rest, was recorded and witnessed by numerous publications of Sandzak Committee for Protection of Human Rights and Freedoms, as well as the ones by other organizations (Humanitarian Law Fund, Helsinki Committee for Human Rights in Serbia).¹⁰

7 Even children were not excluded from the police terror in October 1993, after football match in Novi Pazar between a domestic team and Football Club »Pristina«, being led by its president Zeljko Raznjatovic Arkan. That time there was an incident and conflict with drunk and armed guest rooters. The day after the match police was picking Secondary school students from classrooms and cafes, mistreating and beating them in the police station.

8 After that the meetings of MNVS were prohibited, as well as the tribune of coalition: »List for Sandzak«. In autumn 1997 from Belgrade airport there began a mass deportation of Bosnjaks from sandzak, who illegally stayed in Germany, working on »black« for survival. The authorities of FRY didn't allow them to enter the country.

9 After that there followed prohibitions of the meetings of MNVS, the tribune of the coalition »List for Sandzak« was also prohibited. In the autumn 1997, from the Belgrade airport there started mass deportations of Bosnjaks from Sandzak who had been staying illegally in Germany, where they »shifted for themselves« and worked »on black«. The FRY authorities didn't allow to enter the country.

10 For more information see the books from edition »Plava biblioteka« being published by Sandzak Committee for Protection of Human Rights and Freedoms.

Professionally funded publications help understand stratified situation in Sandzak, analysed from various angles (political, economic, cultural, educational etc.). Publications about this area emerging elsewhere, were giving, up to now, mainly, only frame picture, without deeper entering the complexity of problems burdening this area, what essential problems still puts on the margins in comparison with current ones. Sandzak also has right on truth and its institutional recognition. For many reasons it stayed aside, out of public, although the mentioned events left deep traces on all the segments of life, especially in villages, in its border parts. By calming down the situation in nearby battlefields (Bosnia, Kosovo) tensions here also calmed down, but didn't disappear. It was reflected by March events 2004 in Kosovo, as well as burning mosques in Nis and Belgrade. Bosnjak political parties deal more with mutual disputes, becoming in fact, for immaturity, too many ambitions and numerous improvisations, more and more simple pawns in the hands of the biggest political parties in the country.

Dislike the ruling regime in Serbia until October 2000. which was crushing all Bosnjak demands, new authorities in Serbia didn't continue that practice, but also it didn't want to recognize the real problems of Sandzak, or help this area that is visibly without enough democratic experience and necessary personnel to start the way of development. That's why »Potemkin's villages« and different improvisations of short characters are almost on all the levels. The biggest number of Bosnjak parties in that, changed conditions, being afraid by the speed of changes, got used to prohibitions prolonging their lives on the political stages, couldn't manage, representing Bosnjak population, to articulate all the demands in an appropriate way, shifting a part of responsibility to the regime. Political mental structure remained almost the same. After conquerring power in some towns, by leaving themselves to numerous affairs and incompetent conflicts material interst with that part of Bosnjak parties began to dominate over political one, in a very severe and recognazable manner. The problem hasn't been only in Belgrade for a longer time, but more more in Novi Pazar and its threatening autism. Instrumentalization of Bosnjak politicians, elemental establishing of »all and everything« in Novi Pazar, supported by the regime, after 2000 left the Bosnjak party with no argument. Solving certain problems only on the political level, without an essential dealing with the very society, is not enough. It is hard to have been and still be a multiple minority: for critical thinkings out, but also for the belonging to the minority ethnic communites. Protection of broken human rights and freedoms by the system institutions, according to previous experience, doesn't encourage big optimism. There are many reasons for dissatisfaction with systematic regulation of minority life, i.e. with no obligation of the state to enable implementation of minority rights in the full proclaimed measure. Relation between proclaimed and real situation is often in a clash. All the Bosnjak population, with its all chronical problems in eyes of International Community and Serbia can't be restricted only to names, treatment and contraversial actions by a few privileged people and »professional« Bosnjaks, or only to organizing amateur performances, pointing national symbols and programmes with religious contents. A great responsibility belongs to the representative Bosnjak political organizations and other institutions with national fe-

atures. Legalization of raising so called »national symbols« of Bosnjak national community is in essence only a part of cosmetic changes, with no greater effect. Amateurism in culture, besides being appropriate to the authorities, as some experts found out, doesn't improve creative potentials of a national community or cultivates citizens personalities in the minority position. There is a big problem how majority nation sees minority communities: as its wealth or a necessary evil or an unnecessary cost and ballast.

Sandzak Committee for Protection of Human Rights and Freedoms, in cooperation with partners organizations (Flores from Sjenica and Civil Action for Human Rights — Priboj), with the financial support by Swedish Helsinki Committee for Human Rights organized 6 forums regarding application of the General Convention. These forums had important place in an analysis of respect of the regulations of General Convention in the sense of protection of national minorities in multiethnic and multiconfessional areas, like Sandzak is in the wholeness. Several conclusions and recommendations had been made at the forums in the aim of improving the general situation in the domain of General Convention application. The forums were attended, besides many guests, by the representatives of political parties, NGOs, state institutions and local administrations institutions. By publishing participants' discussions, with shortages that didn't change the point of their original speeches, the organizer wanted to keep and make close to the readers authentic speeches on many, vital issues, seen from various angles. Anyway, the discussions reflect existence of many problems, not only on the state, but on the local levels, too, emphasizing the need for encouraging the development of civil consciousness by a permanent education. These meetings pointed to the whole series of systematic problems in Sandzak that should be institutionally solved.

The first forum »Application of the General Convention and the Status of National Minorities in Sandzak« was held in Novi Pazar, on May 7th 2005. The forum was participated the representatives of all the relevant political parties, NGOs and other organizations from Sandzak.¹¹ The forum participants focused not only on speeches about problems, but also to their solutions.

In Priboj there was held the second forum on 21st May 2005, being organized by Sandzak Committee for Protection of Human Rights and Freedoms, with coordination of Civil Action for Human Rights from Priboj.¹² The forum was attended by the representatives of political parties, NGOs, and local media, as well as the reporters of central media. The meeting, dislike the ones in Novi Pazar and Sjenica, wasn't attended by anyone from the local administration. The meeting was also participated

11 One of the positive features of the meeting was that got together 2 politically opposed options among Bosnjaks. There were also representatives of Serbian parties. Only representatives of Serbian Radical Party don't attend such meetings, i.e. decline the invitations.

12 The topics of the forum were: »The problems in application of the General Convention and Law on protection of national minorities regarding the official use of language«, »Cherishing culture and tradition of Priboj Bosnjaks«, »The problems of application of General Convention regarding education in mother tongue«.

by the citizens whose land in the local villages had been burnt and destroyed, and they had been expelled from the own land.

They informed the participants about sending a letter to the Public Office of the president of Serbia and to the Prime Minister of Serbia, in which they pointed to the problem of burnt houses and lack of interest of the state organs in their other problems, first of all, impossibility of coming back to the hearth. They appealed on all the participants to help them make pressure on the local and state organs of authorities to solve their problems.

The third forum »Application of the General Convention and the Status of National Minorities in Sandzak« was held in Sjenica, on June 30th 2005. This forum was participated by Esas Zornic, a mayor of Sjenica, representatives of the local administration, political parties, NGOs, media, Islam religious community, etc. From the political parties only representatives of National Movement of Sandzak, also taking part in the executive power in this town didn't appear, for an excused absence. There were 25 participants. The partner organization of the Sandzak Committee was Flores, an NGO.

The fourth forum was held in Priboj, on 18th November 2005. There was talk about the rights of minorities on information in mother tongue and about the problems of application of General Convention and the Law on protection of national minorities regarding their participation in the organs of public power.

The fifth forum was held at the hotel »Borici«, in Sjenica on 25th December 2005. There was led a very interesting discussion about information in mother tongue and about participation of Bosnjaks in the executive power. This meeting showed all justification of this project regarding application of the General Convention about protection of national minorities, application of minority languages, Charter on regional and minority languages and the Law on national minorities.

The sixth forum was held in the Novi Pazar hotel »Cannes« on 7th December 2005. Interesting and important topic of this forum gathered politicians both from the local and republic levels of the state community, representatives EUMM, OEBS mission, religious communities of Sandzak, NGOs and the informing sector. There were 58 participants, what was far beyond the planned number. This meeting will be remembered also for that, that at the same table, discussing the problems of minorities, there were representatives of different political options whose dialogue, in some other circumstances, would be impossible.¹³

Successful sessions of the forums resulted in making the whole series of recommendations and conclusions for solving the identified problems in the local areas. The whole set of problems was noticed in economics, culture, education, communal infrastructure. There were given many useful proposals on the methods of overcoming

13 The topics of the forum were: »Relation between the state and representatives of institutions of national minority communities«; »Clashes between application of law and practice«; »Informing in mother tongue and participation in the state media«; »Participation in performing the public power«; »A review of the state of human rights and mechanisms of legal protection«; »Experience of other multiethnic areas«; »Cultural status of Bosnjaks«; »Overcoming stereotypes and prejudices in public, cultural and social life«.

ing of some problems, all in the aim of improving an overall situation in this area. All responsible instances will be met with those proposals in appropriate ways. The existence of the problems in the sphere of the right on official use of language, education and information in mother tongue, the right on participation in the public power was especially stressed at the held forums. The conclusions of the forums will be an important step on the way to recognition of these problems of this Sandzak area, their solution in accordance with the General Convention and true coming closer to the values of civil society. One of frequently stated attitudes at these forums was that that practice of constructive talks on the state of human rights and freedoms, as well as on application of the General Convention, should be continued and experience should be exchanged with other multiethnic areas.

The aim of this Report is improvement of the status of minority national communities in Sandzak. The attitudes said at the forums don't represent necessarily the attitudes of Sandzak Committee for Protection of Human Rights and Freedoms or Swedish Helsinki Committee for Human Rights.

Novi Pazar, January 2006.

Semiha Kačar

THE REPORT FROM THE FIRST FORUM:

**APPLICATION OF THE GENERAL CONVENTION
AND THE STATUS OF NATIONAL MINORITIES
IN SANDZAK**

Novi Pazar, 7th May 2005.

Semiha Kačar, a president of Sandzak Committee for Protection of Human Rights and Freedoms, in her introductory speech said:

»Our gathering is one more proof of a sincere effort to talk in a creative way, in the spirit of tolerance, in the atmosphere of mutual respect and confidence about the problems of our multiethnic and multicultural area. I hope this meeting and its conclusions will be a step ahead towards recognition of the problems and their solutions and getting closer to the values of civil society. The aim of the project »PROTECTION OF MINORITY RIGHTS IN MULTIETHNIC AREAS IN SANDZAK« is monitoring of respect of national minorities rights in Serbia — right on official use of language and alphabet, right on education in mother tongue and the right on participation in the power performance. The state of human and minority rights in Serbia show some progress in comparison with the time up to 2000, but discrimination towards minority national communities is still the most frequent form human rights violation. On the legislative plan there was also made some progress, especially by adopting the Law on the rights of national minorities, as well as by ratification of the General Convention of the Council of Europe on respect of the rights of minority national communities. But in implementation of the General Convention there were noticed many problems. In some communes there haven't been implemented the regulations of the Convention about official use of language, yet, although it was an obligation in domestic laws, too. On the other hand, the state practically in different ways disturbs implementation of the General Convention, as it was the case with introducing Bosnian language and culture in school subjects. Curriculum for this programme hadn't been accepted by the Ministry of Education and sport of the Republic of Serbia at the beginning, so that the subject couldn't be taught in the regular lessons. The explanation was that responsible organs of the Republic of Serbia don't recognize Bosnian language, although at the registration of population in Serbia more than 130.000 people said their mother tongue was Bosnian. In cooperation with the National Council of Bosnjaks there had been taken some measures for improving such an unenviable state, at least a little. The big problem for the members of minority communities is low participation in the public power organs. After change of the regime in Serbia in October 2000 new authorities hadn't done much in the sense of changing such a situation, so that minority communities still don't have an equal treatment in employing with the state organs. They don't have enough participation in the institutions performing the power. It is especially visible in the administration of

justice, police and army, where there are very few members of minority national communities.

Semiha Kacar further stressed that realisation of the mentioned project is being done due to the support of Swedish Helsinki Committee for Human Rights and announced organizing, apart from this one, 5 more forums that are to be held in Sjenica, Priboj and Novi Pazar. Partner organizations to the Sandzak Committee in this project will be Center for Civil Action and Human Rights from Priboj and Flores from Sjenica. The aim was to find out the level of respect of rights, which have been, first of all, guaranteed by the General Convention in the communes where Bosnjaks live. Semiha Kacar said, at the end, there will be published a special publication containing discussions from all the held forums.

M.A. Ramiz Crnisanin (Sandzak Intellectual Circle) talked about: »Universal standards for protection of national minorities' rights«. On that occasion he said: »Protection of rights of national minorities has been discussed for a long time. There was organized a big number of meetings, many books and publications were written. Judging on the number of organized meetings and written books it could be said everything is all right. But it is not like that. Regarding approach to the International Community, regarding the problem of protection of rights of national minorities, i.e. collective rights of the members of certain ethnic, religious or language groups, there are mainly 3 approaches. The first variant observes national and other minorities within a broader International community, International relations and International Law. The second approach raises from the point that minorities, particularly if it doesn't exclude internal affairs of any state with such minorities, allow any other opinion by anybody else. Of course, such an opinion in modern world loses support and legitimacy in the International Law, but unfortunately it still exists. The third approach to solution of the problems of national minorities tends to combine the first two approaches, giving a priority to domestic sovereignty, but remains open to the International community, too. The demands that various national, ethnic and other groups put regarding their own rights and freedoms can be reduced to the following: First, they are the matters of recognition of identity and individual rights and freedoms, as well as of collective rights of the members of national minorities. The questions that national minorities ask regarding their rights are mainly as follows: First, these are the matters of recognition of identity and individual rights and freedoms, as well as collective rights of minority communities. Secondly, the right on participation of ethnic groups in performing power and political making decisions — division of power. Third, demands for establishing control over economic resources. Many International and legal documents and General Convention are concentrated on individual protection of rights, and not on the collective rights of national minorities. The Charter of the United Nations in a preamble asks for establishing belief in elementary human rights, in dignity and value of human personality, in equality between men and women, equality between nations — big and small. General declaration on human rights says that all rights and freedoms belong to anyone, regardless differences in race, language, religion, political or any other thought, national or any other origins. International pact on political and civil rights in the article 27 confirms in the

states with national, ethnic or language minorities they can't be deprived from the rights belonging to them, they can have their own cultural lives, to perform their own religions and worship, as well as to use their own language. European Convention on human rights, in the article 14 provides enjoying many rights and freedoms. This Convention makes impossible discrimination in any sense, like gender, race, skin colour, language, political and other beliefs, national or social origin, property. There is a general statement in scientific and political circles there has been some progress in the domain of individual and human rights and freedoms, but no matter how much was achieved in that field, in the field of protection of rights and freedoms of national minorities one is lagging behind, and these questions haven't still got answers. The very term national minority hasn't been defined yet in a universal way, so that there are various definitions. There is an opinion that expression national minority is too narrow and may be the cause of misunderstandings and conflicts. That's why it is better to use terms ethnic community, minority nation. General Convention on protection of national minorities hasn't given a definition of national minorities, because there are different approaches and it was difficult to coordinate all the attitudes, so it was left to national legislatures to solve it in the states with minority ethnic communities«.

Vladimir Đurić, a representative of the Ministry for human and minority rights in his announcement »The activity of the Ministry for human and minority rights« pointed to several basic data about the work of the Ministry for human and minority rights, as well as about the previous activities regarding the implementation of the General Convention and the Law on Protection of rights and freedoms of national minorities. The Ministry for human and minority rights was formed as a state organ after the Constitution reconstruction, so after acceptance of the Constitution Charter, and some activities had been taken by the previous Ministry of national and ethnic communities, that had been within the Federal Government during the validity of the SRJ Constitution from 1992. There is still a certain personnel continuation in the work of both ministries, since the Minister is the same person and there are also many people that used to work in the Ministry of national and ethnic communities still working in the Ministry for human and minority rights. The General Convention was ratified in the Parliament of FRY in 1998. It is very strange, since FRY hadn't been a member of the Council of Europe that time. Only after democratic changes in our country the ratified documents were issued, i.e. the president of the country issued them and the Minister for human and minority rights verified them with the secretary of the Council of Europe, what denoted the Convention's final coming into the force. The explicit date was September 1st 2001. Then a year deadline became valid, after which the country is obliged to read a state report on the implementation of the General Convention. That way the first activity of the state organ regarding the General Convention implementation was its ratification in the Parliament of FRY in 1998, but the first activities started only in 2001.

From the International legal point of view the General Convention came into force on the 1st September. That time the Ministry of national and ethnic communities started collecting and updating the data and the analysis of other countries reports,

as well as building of methodology for making concepts for the state report of FRY. It was given within the deadline, on September 1st 2002. In the meantime the country passed through Constitution reconstruction, what reflected on the work of institutions dealing with implementation of this International document and with protection and implementation of minority rights.

There was formed a new Ministry for human and minority rights. It continued to be in charge for the work of General Convention.

Advisory Committee is a body, i.e. a committee of experts helping the Committee of the ministers of the Council of Europe, consisted of the ministers of foreign affairs of all the countries, members of the Council of Europe. The Expert Committee discusses reports and asks for their supplement. It is usual practice. Then there had been a visit of a smaller delegation of Advisory Committee to our country and talks to the representatives of the state institutions, minorities and NGO sector. The Advisory Committee issued its opinion about implementation of the General Convention in FRY, later in SCG. The country wrote a response, after which there was a meeting of Group for minority rights, of a smaller organ having also some political dimensions. It also discusses the report of the Advisory Committee and the state report. We took part in the meeting of the Group for human rights, on a high-level, and then there was an attitude of the very Council of Europe, i.e. the Ministers Committee. The core of the activities refers to the implementation. But, Ministry for human and minority rights is not the only state organ which is in charge of the implementation.

Djuric also pointed to the other institutional organs being in charge of implementation of this International legal document: «The minister coordinates the work with the responsible organs of the state community regarding implementation of the document. In Montenegro Ministry for ethnical and national minorities and the Republic Council for national minorities are in charge, while in Serbia that role belongs to the Council of the Republic of Serbia and the Parliament board for national minorities. The first undertaken step was passing the Law on protection of rights and freedoms of national minorities, in 2002».

Vladimir Djuric continued his speech referring to the right on official use of language, education in mother tongue and participation in performing the public power, stressing that these rights are being guaranteed by the General Convention: »The regulations of the General Convention either direct to the domestic laws or allow a dose of discrecy to the states regarding the way of General Convention implementation. For example, it will provide as much as possible a free choice to a state, within its legal frames. So there are a few deviations from a state to state regarding the implementation of the General Convention. Through laws on education there are some regulations determining for example education in mother tongue, either like optional or compulsory lessons, what in fact means implementation of one regulation of the Convention, recommending them to adopt the measures, where necessary, for education of national minorities in their mother languages, as well as giving the possibility of learning their own languages. So, it is a concrete implementation via educational laws in RS and Republic Montenegro. The similar situation is regarding use of lan-

guage and alphabet, although some aspects had been regulated by legal laws». Djuric cited those things.

»Implementation of the General Convention regarding participation in public affairs, this International document recommends to the states to take some measures in order to make possible participation of the national minorities in the public life and public matters. There are some solutions that could make it possible. These are, first of all, regulations in the laws on elections, creating specific election units for the members of Albanian national minority. By a recent change in the laws on elections in the RS there was made a decision for cancelling of census for the political parties gathering the members of a national minority. Next elections will respect that regulation.

Some other mechanisms for participation of national minorities in the top power exist in the sense — on the local level there are councils for inter-ethnic relations, but it is again a solution that hasn't been everywhere implemented according to the law guaranteeing the right of participation of national minorities in the executive power. States usually very seldom choose those measures which guarantee participation of the minorities in the executive power. They are more often measures guaranteeing participation in juridical, rather than executive power. The General Convention recommends also undertaking measures for improvement of full and effective equality. There were also taken some measures regarding implementation of that regulation, i.e. recommendation of the General Convention, first of all, regarding Romes in the field of education« said Djuric.

Sead Biberovic (Urban In) asked: »We have had recently a visit by the representatives of Parliament Assembly of the Council of Europe, which task was to find out about fulfilling obligations of SCG regarding Council of Europe. How much was there achieved with that report?«

Vladimir Djuric answered they are reports relating to all the obligations, and only ones regarding to the minorities, and work on them takes several months. In the field of human and minority rights we have two more things to fulfill and then we are close to fulfill them. They are establishing agent who should represent our country before the court in Strasbourg and making Chart on European and Minority Languages.

Esad Dzudzevic, a representative and president of Executive Board of Bosniak National Council in SCG, in his announcement »Possibility of establishing a partnership relation between the state and its organs and representatives of national councils of national minorities« cites: »In our legal system, by passing Federal Law on rights and freedoms of national minorities 26th February 2002., we got a new legal institute named National Councils of National Minorities. We still have a situation that most political actors and representatives of the state organs don't understand rights and obligations either of the state or of national councils. So, in practice there are many misunderstandings. At the very beginning of my mandate in the Parliament I invited all 11 presidents of national councils to the first session of the Board, in order to make a common pressure to the Government to involve a new position in the Law on budget, which was discussed those days, within which the national councils would be financed. We made an amendment together, looking for involving a pa-

ragraph of 40 million dinars for financing of national councils into Proposal of Law of budget. There was much resistance, with an explanation that national councils were formed according to the Federal law on minorities and that was a level of the state community, but on the Republic level there isn't either any law on minorities or Ministry for minorities, so that Republic authorities have no obligations in this field. Of course, we managed to get financing of national minorities from so called budget position for natural disasters to be involved into the Law on budget for 2004, what was a big success regardless bad political message sent by the Government to the members of national minorities by the very treating of their positions in the Law on budget. Later on we tried many times by amendments to improve institutional position of national minorities regarding education and informing in the laws on education, as well as a better and more just relation of the state organs towards their needs and problems.

Several times we used to have joint meetings in the building of Parliament, trying to talk about position of inter ethnic relations and implemented human and minority rights and about the status of national minorities in the Republic of Serbia. Of course, whenever these topics were on the agenda of the Board, there were obstructions and absences from the meeting in order not to have quorum, and all of that was done by the representatives of SRS, SPS and a little by DSS.« Dzudzevic gave some examples illustrating the Board work obstructions.

»Another level of experience that I used to have facing these problems was a completely different status of minorities in Vojvodina and the rest of Serbia. We have national minorities in Vojvodina cherishing their tradition and rights since Maria Terezija times, Tito time up to early nineties, and we have experiences of minorities in Southern Serbia, Presevo Valley and Sandzak who are trying to keep up with what minorities in Vojvodina have.

4 minorities, living in the Central Serbia have particularly difficult status. They are Rome, Vlasi, Bulgarians and Bosnjak national communities and there is also a very specific status of Albanian national community in Presevo, Medvedja and Bujanovac.

Of course I couldn't say there are no positive changes in this field, which, to be honest, resulted from the external and internal pressures, but are still evident. After passing Federal Law on Minorities in 2002 and Charter on human and minority rights from 2003 there were created institutional preconditions for creating a new ambient in which further improvements of the status of national minorities are possible.

One of the basic tasks of implementation of the project of the Board for Inter ethnic relations is the very attempt to give its contribution to creating that new sensibility of the Central Government in Belgrade to the problems of national minorities. Roles of media and civil sector are important here. We are today witnesses that the Government of Mr. Kostunica has a certain approach to Serbian minority in Kosovo, but it doesn't want to apply the same approach to the minorities in Serbia.

Kostunica's Government made a serious progress by establishing Republic Council for National Minorities, where besides 6 resource ministers there are 12 presidents up to now created national councils. By that there was formed a strong mech-

anism which could be, if there was political will, solve almost every minority problem, and experience that I have in the work of this Council is very positive one.

All of us must make an effort to implement 3–4 elementary requests that I had heard at the terrain by almost all representatives of the national minorities. The requests are particularly further supplements and changes of the Law on National Minorities in a way to provide a certain quota for so called »small minorities«, and that get alongs with the article 52 of the Charter on human and minority rights, what is also an international obligation of our country in accordance with the membership in the Council of Europe and OEBS.

The second thing would be making Law on National Councils on the Republic level, where very precisely would be defined responsibilities of national councils in those 4 fields from the domain of cultural autonomy.

The third important thing would be formation of Centres for Education in languages of national minorities and of Centre for Information in languages of national minorities, which would operate within appropriate resource ministries.

The fourth thing would be making harmony of the existing laws in Republic legislature, as well as a legal regulation on the lower levels with legislature and legal experience of European Union.», said Dzudzevic.

Bajram Omeragic, a representative, talked about: »The number of Bosnjaks in the state and other organs«:

»We live in a society that until recently, until getting **Study on Feasibility** was a state where we had had a kind of forced democratization, which would mean that many norms from the International Law and a good practice and good experience from the democratic countries are implemented only when we have to. Some norm we apply only when we should get some money from International Fund. When we should talk to the World Bank, in our Parliament a certain law is adopted urgently and in the shortest procedure. Even one or two days are enough for that, because the World Bank should give us something. So, there is a kind of forced democratization and not a democratization that should change some norms.

That way, many documents, although been adopted, are not applied. The law that is not applicable shouldn't be called law. We have a modern Law on minorities and Small Charter, worth of attention and deserving praise. However, the problem is implementation. We have one more bad luck — we live in the Constitution vacuum.

A productive participation in the public life is a positive practice of European countries and the General Convention in some articles mentions that minorities should be present in political, state and other institutions of cultural and public life, in order to improve the integration of minorities into the social flows, and in that way a tolerant and positive atmosphere is being created, where a minority is loyal to a state which respects elementary human rights«, said Omeragic.

He said that the magazine »Politika« last year published a text with the names of people working in the Republic Government and other Republic institutions, and there was said the narrowest resource of ministries and the narrowest Government functions involve 420 people. No job in the Government institutions was given to a person of Bosnjak nationality.

»Of course, it is a bad message. As a representative I emphasized that problem several times. It was said the state wasn't legally obliged to make a proportional participation of minorities in some institutions. There is not any democratic society that will bring the norm to say that in Parliament must be, for example, 15% Bosnjaks. Within managing boards of public enterprises and institutions, Radio-difusion Council, MB of RTS, MB of all Republic agencies there is none Bosnjak. What is of a key importance – as cited in the article 4 of the General Convention, paragraph 2 — equality of minorities. That principle of equality was broken. There was made some progress regarding Law on elections of representatives, because for the parties of national minorities there was abolished census, so they can participate in the Parliament. But it is still a legislative and executive power. According to the data from the latest registration of population could be seen that Bosnjaks are not present adequately in the police, in the State Security, in the officers personnel, army, diplomacy... in all the segments where of utmost importance is the structure of the population of Serbia to be copied and in the institutions for making important decisions. By formation of the Council for national minorities, participated by 6 ministers and 12 presidents of National Council of national minorities there was made some progress and this year there was made a programme for 2005. I made an effort to make a productive analysis of participation of minorities in the public life, and after that to make a list of measures in order to change this negative situation step by step. The Prime Minister in a way approved it, and the proposal is in the programme for 2005. The way of imlemenation of this right is very slow. This is also a part of that way«, said Omeragic, and at the end of his speech he emphasized one more problem, and that was informing of minorities in their mother tongues. Out of three channels of public service there is not any minute of programme for Bosnjak national minority.

Zibija Sarenkapic (Cultural Centre DamaD) asked if there were any names of some other nationalities, i.e. of national minorities on the list that »Politika« published. **Bajro Omeragic** answered there were some names that hadn't been classically Serbian and Montenegrin. He didn't make analysis, but he hadn't seen any Bosnjak name.

Vladimir Djuric gave some data on national structure of the employees in the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Serbia. According to him, 429 people employed in the Police are Muslims or Bosnjaks, what makes 1.12% out of the total number of employees, and according to the registration of population from 2002. Bosnjaks make 1.8% of the population in Serbia. »It is a smaller percenatage than it should be, but on the other hand, regarding the ruling personnel there are 84 Muslims-Bosnjaks, what makes 1.96% out of total number of the ruling positions. That percentage is bigger than the one Bosnjaks make in comparison with other population of Serbia« said Djuric.

Suad Ljajic (Sandzak Democratic Union) thinks that no Bosnjak political party or institution can't have an exclusive right on solution of Constitutional-Legal status or implementation of elementary human rights in Sandzak, especially regarding Bosnjaks rights. No Bosnjak political party or organization has, either force or personnel to solve these problems by it self. »Since we are talking here about the sta-

tus of national minorities I am going to express the political attitude of the party I represent. The attitude of our party is that Bosnjaks are a native nation and not a national minority. Bosnjaks should keep their rights as a nation, like they used to be. It is the same with Serbs in Slovenia, Croatia or Macedonia who should be a homogeneous nation. History is a miracle. It changes everything. According to some magazines reports it may happen that Serbs for the problem of birthrate may become a minority in their own country. That's why the problem of human rights should be solved in a universal way» said Ljajic. He also said National Council of Bosnjaks should consist of cultural workers who deserved it by their work, efforts, participation in the public life... »National Council is a council and not the Bosnjak National Council. The terms are being confused, but I consider them two completely different terms« said Lajic. He also suggested to Omeragic and Dzudzevic, as the men with the most legitimacy, to ask from all the political options bringing a consensus about basic principles of solving the problems and implementation of the rights of Bosnjaks in SCG. Suad Lajic also made some comments on Vladimir Djuric's speech about the structure of employees in the Police of Serbia. He stressed that on the local level the situation is drastically different. National structure of employees in the Police doesn't get along with the population structure in no Sandzak town.

Esad Dzudzevic (a representative) said, responding to Ljajic, that Bosnjak National Council was formed according to the Law. The title wasn't taken for its continuity. In the Memorandum it was written in Cyrillic »National Council of Bosnjaks« (Nacionalni savet Bosnjaka), and in Latin alphabet in Bosnian language »Bosnjak National Council« (Bosnjacko nacionalno Vijeće) for it is called like that in Bosnian.

He also thinks it is necessary a joint attitude, i.e. consensus of all Bosnjak political parties and NGOs and associations with the ambition to represent Bosnjaks.

He stressed there has already been achieved a consensus of all the national councils in SCG regarding Constitution reform. The attitude is that the Small Charter should be rewritten into the Constitution, i.e. the existing Charter on Human and Minority Rights.

Miroslav Jankovic, Youth Initiative for Human Rights (The status of minorities in Serbia):

In his speech Jankovic represented a research of the Initiative that was performed by the end of 2004 and beginning of 2005 on the samples of 8 multiethnic communes, and they were — Priboj, Novi Pazar, Dimitrovgrad, Subotica, Backi Petrovac, Bujanovac, Presevo and Nis. The research referred to the the General Convention implementation in some aspects of implementation of the minority rights being guaranteed by this International legal document. They were freedom of national affiliation and prohibition of discrimination and assimilation. According to him the national structure of population changed in comparison with the period of nineties. In the 6 of 8 towns the number of minorities decreased. (Subotica, Backi Petrovac, Bujanovac, Presevo, Priboj and Dimitrovgrad). »The percentage of Serbs in the total population was increased. In Nis and Novi Pazar ethnical picture remained almost the same. During 90ies the structure of population was changing by immigrations of Serbs from Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina and by exile of minority population by vi-

olence, spreading of atmosphere of fear, war crimes...In Dimitrovgrad there is still a fear, so that Bulgarians are afraid to express freely their national affiliation. As a proof can be used the fact that in the registration of population from 2002 more than 12% of the citizens were undefined. Religious rights of national minorities in Serbia are not usually in danger. In Dimitrovgrad Bulgarians are not allowed to have their own church but they worship in the objects of Serbian Orthodox Church. In Nis the citizens of Muslim religion can't worship since the only mosque was burnt on March 17th in 2004. Regarding the right on information in minority languages we found out in 7 out of 8 towns there were media in minority languages. On electronic media the programme is broadcasted in Hungarian, Croatian, Bulgarian, Roma, Bosnian and Albanian languages. The printed media there are not in Bosnian, Albanian and Roma languages. In Vojvodina communes the Province Parliament moved establishing rights on printed media to the National councils. The representatives of national minorities said that there is a danger that electronic media in the property of local administrations broadcasting the programmes in the minority languages to be closed for privatisation that should be done by 2006 regarding the right on an official use of language, it hasn't been completely respected in no out of 8 observed towns. Court and administration languages are not Albanian, Roma or Bosnian and the court processes are very seldom being led in Slovak or Bulgarian languages. The tables with names of the Republic organs and organizations are mostly in Serbian language in all the towns except Subotica. The Municipal administration mainly respects the regulation of the official use of the minority language. The exception is Priboj, where Bosnian language hasn't still been proclaimed an official language, although the law conditions had been already fulfilled. The law on protection of rights and freedoms of national minorities issues an obligation of a local administration to introduce into an official use a language being spoken by at least 15% of the population of that commune. Bosnian language in Priboj is spoken by more than 15% of population according to the registration of population in 2002. In Novi Pazar and Dimitrovgrad the languages of national minorities are being taught as the separate subject twice a week, while in other towns the minority languages are being taught through regular lessons. In Priboj and Nis such lessons don't exist. National minorities don't participate equally in performing of public power. The biggest inequality is in Prosecutor's offices, Courts and Police. In the Municipal Court in Priboj only one judge is Bosniak of out of 5 judges. In the municipal administration the situation is different. Priboj is an exception again, with none Bosniak on the leading positions. All the members of the Municipal Council are Serbs, as well as the directors of public enterprises and institutions. In Priboj and Novi Pazar Bosniaks don't equally participate in the Police. In Presevo and Bujanovac the situation is different. The conclusion of this research was the General Convention is not being respected in the whole. Our attitude is that every law must be thoroughly respected. The people being responsible for the laws implementation must take some legal consequences«.

Zehniya Bulic (Sandzak Democratic Union) thinks the teaching in Bosnian language hasn't been performed in most schools at the territory of Novi Pazar commune: »I know that for I am a teacher of language. Bosnian language is not being ta-

ught in Primary schoola even as an optional subject«. He pointed out, as he said, manipulation — Council, i.e. Association. Bosnian National Council was formed according to Law on Protection of National Minorities. »National councils were formed as boards. There are two completely different terms, on the stamps, one in Cyrillic and one in Latin alphabet. Council and Board are completely different terms, like aldermen and councillors. There is one more difference — Bosnjak National Council of Sandzak used to support the attitude Bosnjaks are a nation, and National Council (as it is now called Bosnjak National Council in SCG) considered them a minority. I used to be a member of the National Council of Bosnjaks being responsible for Bosnian language and I know in a moment it was late. In May last year there was held a meeting where were also representatives of OEBS, Council of Europe, High Commissariat and the Republic Ministry of Education and sports. There were suggested three ways of education in mother language: the whole educational process in mother language, bilingual education and Bosnian language as an optional subject. There was made a mistake at the very beginning. The Council chose the worst solution. Giving the programmes for the second grade was late. That time we agreed about delivering programme in June. The programme for the first grade had been delivered before«, said Bulic. He blamed the Council for many bad things regarding implementation of the right on education in mother language. He sent accusations to the same address for, as he said, the Council doesn't support cultural creations, doesn't make the programmes from culture and information, it doesn't help publishing books, etc. He thinks there must be somebody within the Ministry who would control councils and their activities. According to him, the books could be of a much better quality, it would be better if there had been more open competitions and more suggestions for them.

Zibija Sarenkapic said she had knowledge that only for the third grade of Primary school there was an open competition for the proposal for the school book and that in »Official newspaper« of 3rd February 2005. Nowhere was recorded to adopt programmes for the third grade, and then for the first and second ones. If there had been it was after February 3rd, what was inconceivable, but she still believed there hadn't been any competition.

Zekirija Dugopoljac (Field of Education of the commune of Novi Pazar) said what has been done in the field of implementation of the right on education in mother tongue is being politized: «We have got that right within frames being approved by the Ministry — as a compulsory optional subject. At the enrolling in the first grade of Primary school 99% of Bosnjak children chose this subject as an optional subject. If we wanted the whole education in Bosnian language we couldn't do it. They asked of us to make curriculum in 10 days. We have done what could be done. Bosnian language with elements of culture and tradition is currently being taught in the schools of Novi Pazar, Tutin and Sjenica, but not in all schools. That shouldn't be politized, but rather find models, construct such compromises to establish this level of education, since this moment it fits our potentials — personnel, technical and others. Dugopoljac claims that the Ministry opened the competition, and the whole thing is being politized, although it shouldn't be like that, since regarding education there are many

problems that must be solved. Schools work in 4 shifts, with 30-40 students in a class. A bad situation is even in the kindergartens: »No our project had been accepted by the Ministry, and so hadn't been our numerous requirements« said Dugopoljac.

Zibija Sarenkapić said she would like to get an explanation what compulsory, optional subject means, and it hadn't been cited in the »Official newspapers«. She said she doubted the attitude of Dugopoljac that Bosnjaks in SCG had no potentials regarding implementation of teaching process in Bosnian language. She said she didn't understand well what meant adopted and what accepted programme, what she had heard many times through discussions: »Speaking about speed of making programme I can remember very well the special TV programme on Regional TV Novi Pazar, with participation of an audience, too, and that time it had been presented the right on education in Bosnian language. That time it had been said the Ministry determined deadline of only 10 days and we couldn't manage to make the programme. By the end of that month I was sitting in the Ministry next to Zekirija Dugopoljac, when there was speech about the programme for the first grade, that Bosnjaks should start from September 1st, too. The programme was given in the form unknown to me in May 2003. I wasn't involved, again there wasn't time, then in June and December we had the same situation. What I can say as a conclusion is, unfortunately, we have an excellent state in comparison with us«.

Zekirija Dugopoljac answered that Mrs Sarenkapić politized the situation and added: »In Belgrade there was held a meeting, being also participated by ministers Rasim Ljajic and Gaso Knezevic on June 10th 2003. That time it had been said all the relevant social and political factors can make a draft of teaching curriculum. Nobody except enthusiasts did it. We made programme for the first grade«.

Zehrija Bulić: »There was made a comment on reform of education. After that we were asked to make programmes, objectives and contents for Bosnian language as an elementary, not optional subject. It was done by a group of people. I know that job was done on time. What happened after, I really don't know, but regarding that group's job, I was a part of that, that part of job was done on time. There is a copy of it. Biljana Stojanović said in May last year that we have right to change »that« programme for the first grade, what was the recognition of that programme. We were said to make programme only for II grade. There were no remarks about that programme for the first grade. Only one remark can be directed to the National Council and it is why the programme for II grade hasn't been done on time. If it was given when Biljana Stojanović asked (in the time of Government before Kostunica's one) we would have a bilingual education«.

Zekirija Dugopoljac: »Besides compulsory subjects there are two optional subjects. Bosnian language is one of them. Children, through questionnaires give their agreements about attending this subject, with their parents' signatures. By the questionnaire there was found out that 96% of Bosnjak children in Sandzak accepted to learn Bosnian language«.

Kemal Dzemic (NGO Gest) said that books were fantastic, having in mind the circumstances in which they had been created; »They were being made in the office. We should gather in the library with literature professors from Sandzak and Bosnia

and Herzegovina. The books should be written by experts, and not to be improvised. The book is bad, but it should and must be annexed. This book, the textbook is not a privilege of leading party, neither it mustn't be. An open competition should have been done. I am confused by some politicians, it is evident who. They have double standards about language. Regarding the school book there are many unclear things». He suggested organizing a special Round table, particularly referring to Bosnian language.

Zekirija Dugopoljac: »Why did we hurry? Because the Ministry got us back two steps behind, and we were going one step ahead, and Ljiljana Colic took off the whole story from »agenda«.

Ramiz Crnisanin: »The law was passed in 2002, so we had enough time to get ready«.

Hodo Katal, the author of the book, speaking on the topic; »Problems about application of General Convention regarding education in mother tongue« stressed; »Obviously my language is my precious stone, but unfortunately it is also a stumbling block. We, Bosnjaks have always been on the secondary road, now we are slowly coming back to the main road of communication, first with ourselves, and then with the whole world. In the past we put our language in the wrong drawer. Our children have no idea about meanings of some words that their ancestors used. In spite of many problems the language should and must be cherished. It seems we are not ready to work together on it«.

Zehniya Bulic speaking about the same problems said General Convention is not being respected in an appropriate way. He gave a concrete example referring to the very name of language. He stressed the state can't determine the name of the language of Bosnjaks. In »Official newspaper« was written in Cyrillic alphabet that the language of Bosnjaks is Bosnjak. In »Educational newspapers« there was written in Cyrillic that the language of Bosnjaks is Bosnjak. Following historical and cultural facts that language is Bosnian. The other segment is the way that Bosnjaks should organize education in their mother language: »We have never been invited to talk about it together. They have always put us aside, so we must solve the problem by ourselves, although we have no mechanisms, first of all, laws. We should have organized it in the way not to separate students at schools on any base. I believe bilingual education would be best. There should be a common programme. The National Councils jobs are defined, they are not supposed to do the programme, and they can just give proposals. We should give our best in order to keep our language. Bosnjak cultural features can't be kept with marginalization of language, since Bosnian language has been approved to be learned like an optional subject«.

Munir Poturak: I've got three children and I can't explain them confusions regarding language. The problem of education of Bosnjaks is very important. We must think about future generations and what will happen with this area in 50 years«. He said Bosnjaks need an institution, »that would be trusted and that would make all the efforts to solve this problem, i.e. to keep identity, tradition and unique features of Bosnjaks. All of that must be kept, together with following International standards.

Muhamed Djerlek presented an attitude the big problem is nationalism that is still dominant. Another problem is poverty, that influenced all that was going on during the 90-ies, so did respect of human and minority rights.

Bisera Spasovic (Centre for peace and reconciliation) said she is worried about the problem of application of the Law on protection of rights of national minorities, regarding education in mother language: »How can it be respected and applied without causing some incidental situations? We are being offered mechanisms by the Ministries in charge. When I had asked the deputy of the minister of education if they had any better solutions, more acceptable and better ones, he was astonished. My fellow townsmen and especially the leading party understood it as I had been against introducing Bosnian language into schools.

Zibija Sarenkapic thinks school books don't have quality contents, pointing at many omissions.

The forum participants agreed about the following conclusions and recommendations:

— Apart from an obvious progress, there are many lacks and inconsistencies in application of the Convention and the existing Law on the protection of national minorities, particularly in the field of and active participation of Bosnjaks in the state and social structures.

— In the state media there is very often a speech of hatred, and not the speech of peace and tolerance. The state media don't pay much attention to tradition, culture, intellectual life of Bosnjaks.

— Only in Novi Pazar, Sjenica and Tutin there is official information in Bosnian language, but not in other communes.

— Although the statutes of the Municipalities of Novi Pazar, Sjenica and Tutin recognize Serbian and Bosnian languages, official correspondence is still being done only in Serbian. The table at the entrance of the Municipality of N. Pazar has been written in Cyrillic alphabet, and the same case is with the names of streets, squares and institutions. There is also a problem in adoption of the norms of Bosnian language.

— Implementation of the points and principles of the Convention much depend on the very political structures of Bosnjaks and NGOs dealing with the problems of minority national communities.

— It is necessary to achieve a consensus among political parties and all other Bosnjaks factors regarding the elementary problems of Bosnjaks. Support and help by the state organs and institutions is necessary.

— Introducing Bosnian language into Primary schools has been politized, and responsibility belongs to the state and local organs.

— Bosnian language is an optional, not compulsory subject, what should be professionally discussed, with examination of all the possibilities regarding its application.

— Some school subjects, related to the matters of language, literature and history, hasn't been adjusted to nationally mixed areas.

Addition

The list of the forum participants:

— Semiha Kačar, Sandzak Committee for Protection of Human Rights and Freedoms, Novi Pazar

- Vladimir Đurić, Ministry for Human and Minority rights
- Esad Džudžević, a representative and the president of EB BNV
- Bajram Omeragić, a representataive
- Miroslav Janković, Youth Initiative for Human Rights
- Zehnija Bulić, Sandzak Democratic Union
- Ramiz Crnišanin, Sandzak Intellectual Circle, Novi Pazar
- Hodo Katal, NGO »Ruka« (Hand), Tutin
- Mehmed Slezović, federal representative, G 17 plus
- Munir Poturak, Sandzak Democratic Party
- Suad Ljajić, Sandzak Democratic Union
- Zekirija Dugopoljac, Municipality of Novi Pazar
- Muradija Kahrović, Museum »Ras«, Novi Pazar
- Aida Polimac, Civil Action for Human Rights
- Kemal Džemić, NGO »Gest«
- Alija Halilović, NGO »Civic forum«, Novi Pazar
- Sadeta Zahirović, NGO »Flores«, Sjenica
- Sead Biberović, NGO »Urban in«, Novi Pazar
- Buttard Alexandre, Observers mission EU — EUMM
- Muhamed Đerlek, caricaturist, Novi Pazar
- Radiša Biorac, Democratic Party, NGO »Pokret Golija«
- Bisera Spasović, Centre for Peace and Reconciliation, Sandžak
- Ibro Mehmedović, NGO »Raška's basin«, Novi Pazar
- Hajrudin Kolašinac, NGO »Flores«, Sjenica
- Zibija Dh-Šarenkapić, Cultural Centre »DamaD«, Novi Pazar
- Senada Leković, a journalist, Novi Pazar
- Zoran Maksimović, Sandzak Committee for Protection of Human Rights and Freedoms
- Amela Aličković, Sandzak Committee for Protection of Human Rights and Freedoms
- Mirza Gutić, Sandzak Committee for Protection of Human Rights and Freedoms

The meeting was covered by the following media houses:

- Regional RTV Novi Pazar
- RTV Jedinstvo
- Radio Novi Pazar
- Radio Sto plus
- University radio

THE REPORT FROM THE SECOND FORUM:

**THE APPLICATION OF THE GENERAL
CONVENTION AND THE STATUS OF NATIONAL
MINORITIES IN SANDZAK**

Priboj, 21st May 2005.

In an introduction **Semiha Kacar** informed the participants about the project objectives, while **Ramiz Crnisanin** talked about the application of the General Convention.

Aida Polimac, from Civic Action for Human Rights, a partner organization of the Sandzak Committee in this project, after greeting the participants, expressed her regret for the absence of the representatives of the local administration, although they had been regularly invited. But according to her that wasn't a big surprise. She hopes it will change, since the problem is very important to the local community, but also for our country to enter Europe.

Alija Sukic emphasized the importance of the Forums, pointing out there are many problems in implementation of many minority rights in Priboj. »I am an official member of the Municipal commission that made registration of the destroyed villages in Priboj. There are 12 of them. All the families had been expelled, and the people had nothing. I think that a message should be sent to the state from such meetings. The rights that are not being implemented are not rights«.

Hamed Pecikoza, one of the damaged citizens of Priboj in the time of persecution in the 90-ies, emphasized they have been addressing the institutions in Belgrade many times and the Government of the Republic of Serbia, responsible ministries, but there was no answer: »We also addressed the Municipality and wasted a lot of time. They were taking us from office to office. Only ten days ago the Municipality adopted the report regarding the registration«, said Pecikoza and stressed that they addressed the Republic Government 4 times. He read one of the letters sent to the Serbian Prime Minister; »We must address you to help us with the solution of our urgent problems, that can't be avoided, like it had been before. Until the middle of 1992 we have lived and worked peacefully. That tragic year for us, there was committed exodus on us-persecution of Bosnjaks, local residents of the Priboj villages — Sjeverin, Socica, Kukurovici, Milanovici, Voskovina, Zivinice, Medvedja, Dragovici, Zaostro, Jelovik, and Batkovici. That time there were burnt about 70 houses, and 156 houses were damaged and robbed, what could be seen in the official report of the Municipal commission. That commission was officially formed by the Municipality of Priboj last year, by the experts, who made a report on the factual state of many minority rights in Priboj. That time there were killed 23 our fellow townsmen, in Sjeverin 17 plus 3 in Kukurovici. Our property mustn't be visited from 1992 until 2000, since we hadn't been guaranteed security. The actors of the tragedy, for sure, are not

we, but someone who was implementing his aims. We were loyal citizens to this state», said Pecikoza, citing one of the four letters sent to the Government of Serbia, and again stressed there was no answer. »We were getting aid from donors, and we are very thankful. It was insufficient, what is confirmed by the report. The budget necessary for houses sanitation exceeds the Municipality Priboj possibilities. That's why we asked from the Government to make a commission for examination of the real situation at the terrain«.

Alija Sukic stressed that letter was sent two years ago, and 13 years passed and the damaged haven't got any aids. There was no answer. »The people just look for their own property, not anyone's else. We should together address the Government, but Sandzak Committee should also send a letter to the Government, to the Parliament, president Tadic... it might have some influence. Perhaps the previous letters haven't reached the right addresses«.

Aida Polimac said the damaged people were not the only ones sending letters to the relevant institutions, but also representatives of numerous organizations and NGO sector from Sandzak and Belgrade were doing the same. We can also make pressure on the local administration, which refuses introducing Bosnian language into official use, although it is issued by the law«.

Semiha Kacar suggested starting a new legal process, so that the damaged could eventually implement their rights.

Ramiz Crnisanin claimed the aim of this forum is to inform the citizens about General Convention, the Law on protection of national minorities and Constitutional Charter, as well as about the rights being guaranteed by these documents. Both Serbs and Bosnjaks should change their consciousness in terms of necessary reconciliation and another ways of solving the problems. As he stressed, the members of Serbian people must also make efforts, so that Bosnjaks from Sjeverin and other villages could implement their rights, since they can't feel free if others are not free: »Believe me that Serbs didn't feel free in this area in the 90-ies, like Bosnjaks, as well. Only killers felt like that« said Crnisanin and added: »We must be aware we must live together. We all must set free from nationalistic consciousness. Everything that has been destroyed and burnt must be registered. The state must pay for it, sooner or later, since it should guarantee to each citizen the right on personality and property. It didn't protect it, so it must pay for it. The legal measures should be overtaken. If they can't be implemented within the legal system of Serbia and Montenegro, they will be implemented with the European Court in Strasbourg. I have to say I notice some positive changes in Priboj. The last time we were here, we saw the posters of Radovan Karadzic, all around Priboj, as well as graphites. One should set free from retrograd consciousness. It takes time. For more than 10 years we have been fostered to think in a bad way. Changing people's consciousness is a terribly hard process«.

Rada Colovic, form the Priboj Centre for Rights, thinks that damaged Bosnjaks should be joined by Serbs, asking for the same rights. Up to now there were only a few individual cases. To be honest, there are less Serbs who need it. But there are some. In Priboj Bosnjaks were in danger, but Serbs as well: »Maybe both republic and local authorities will have a different view of solving this problem«, said Mrs

Colovic, expressing further some criticisms about the representatives of the local administration, proving their lack of interest in these matters by their absence.

Faruk Dizdarevic in his announcement: »A view of cherishing culture and tradition of Priboj Bosnjaks« cited: »As it has been known, the bearer of culture in modern times is civil class. By the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries Priboj has been constructed like an urban totality with civic class, mostly contributed to industrial and cultural activities of the area. Besides the others, that time Priboj was settled by the Hadzihamzics, the Zlatanics, and the Sukics from Niksic, a little bit earlier by the Mulaosmanovics and the Zildevics from Uzice, the Polimacs from Rudjan area, the Musabegovics and the Prasas from Cajnice. Together with the settled the Borisavljevics, the Stevovics, the Milentijevucs, the Roljevics and others they founded Trade Company of the joint capital Bajrovic — Stevovic — Veselicic. The Hadzihamzics, the Stevovics and the Rustemagics became famous trade companies with huge ammounts of capital invested in articles being exported everywhere. On the cultural-educational plan the situation is as follows: National School begins to work in the town (1888), ten years later there was founded Library, Cultural-educational association »St. Sava« with choir, music and drama sections. The mentioned sections gathered the citizens of Priboj in preparing programmes and dance parties, regardless their confessional affiliations.

The life in Priboj that time was so well organized that communication among people was very lively and everyday. There was something very democratic about it: merchants fraternized with handicraftsmen, clerks with coffee-house keepers, these with everybody else — it means that sense of town togetherness was very alive. People were in familiar intercourse in that Priboj. What was the emancipation of cultural lives of Bosniac people from Priboj at that time? As it was already mentioned, they had no organized cultural association, but they gathered in houses and courtyards with music, songs, different comical games, they went to excursions in neighborhood (especially popular was an excursion in Mioch); at summertime they used to visit clearings of Osovnik, particularly at »The Sarajevo tap«; they went to Banja. One of the most favourite recreations of the Priboj richer Bosniacs was going out for a horse-ride. Families the Hasanagics and the Hadzihamzics were very well-known of their full-blooded horses. Hunting was also very popular. Priboj surroundings especially Crni Vrh, was full of various wild animals. It is interesting to emphasize that individuals hunted just one kind of wild animal which shows they considered hunting for entertainment only. For example, Rustem Hasanagic, Smail-bey's son, used to hunt martens with special trained dogs and servants who helped him to chase.

In many coffee-houses and representative The Stevovic Hotel (built in 1882) were arranged parties with dancing and lottery, chess and billiards were played, newspapers was read. Of course, Bosniacs participate in all of these activities. Very important event regarding organized cultural and entertaining activities of the Priboj Bosniacs was forming of Cultural-educational association »Gajret« in this area, in 1920. Although this association was open for all national and religious provenances, its first assignment was education and emancipation of Muslim population i.e. cultivation and affirmation of their cultural inheritance. The first pupils of secondary

schools and the first students of Bosniacs from Priboj were educated thanks to scholarships of »Gajret«. The Association founded the Reading Room which owned solid fond of various contents books; Dramatic section was formed and many young Bosniac-women took part in it for the first time which was completely uncommon until then; they gave guest performances in neighboring towns Visegrad, Prijepolje, Pljevlja: Gajret's Tamburitza orchestra started to work; highly organized parties were arranged with choosing »the queen of the night«, which was astonishing news for the female bosniac population. In a word, in Priboj, »Gajret« played immeasurable role in emancipation and education of bosniac population until the moment of its suspension in 1941. Without disregarding national-political orientation, this Association, it should be emphasized, supported the option of respectation and tolerance among people of different religions, at the period of delicate international relationships in Priboj between the two World Wars. After the World War II the time of economic and every other prosperity starts. Factories and firms are raised, schools are founded, the building of Culture Centre is finished (1959), CAA »Buducnost« is active, CAA »FAP« is formed; Zehbo Pekusic, after the engagements at National Theatre of Sarajevo and then in theatres of Uzice and Valjevo, returns to Priboj and directs, acts, sings and plays; Avdo Prljaca is sent to Belgrade for an acting course. Bosniac youngsters join Cultural-artistic associations and sections in masses. Within dynamic and varying cultural life in Priboj, many poets affirmed themselves like Rasim Celahmetovic and Ruzdija Krupa who won prestige awards for their poems (Blazo Scepanovic, the Lim nights of poetry award e.t.c.); Mirsah Hulic and Sabro Crncevic graduated on the Music Academy, Vernesa Berdo entered and finished the Drama Academy, Nail Celovic finished the Art Academy and later magistrated painting, Ajdin Putes, professor of sculpture at the Art Academy in Beograd. These names are mentioned because they belong to the first young men who registered at art faculties.

Last decades Priboj affirmed as publishing centre of south-western Serbia. At that time more than 200 titles have been published. Of course, among the authors are lots of Bosniacs. Culture is a very wide field, and to cherish cultural tradition is serious and complex assignment. Regarding Priboj and culture and tradition of Bosniacs further activities are approaching. Something already done at this plan represents a base to move on. I'll immodestly mention several titles of my books that belong to this corpus. In monography about »Hasan-aga and his vakufnama« is published (and annotated) mentioned gift, for now the unique document of the kind printed in Serbia. It is about the document from the second half of 18. century, vital data for understanding the Priboj history. In the book of ethno-musicology with the title »In the garden of cheerful strengths« there had been written lyrical folk songs from Priboj and Polimlje with researched the oldest texts and variants and noted melody records. The book »Gajret in Priboj« treated the activities of the association in details. Poet records of Rasim Celahmetovic belong to the corps of our cultural inheritance, too. In order to make a future activities plan regarding culture and tradition of Priboj Bosnjaks it is necessary to form an expert team to recognize the essence and design dynamics and ways of its realisation«. Dizdarevic expressed his pleasure for culture is being treated at such a

meeting for the first time: »I am very glad we eventually discuss an extremely important field like culture. It is not good for it hasn't been discussed previously at all«.

Ramiz Crnisanin thinks culture is an elementary human feature: »Many buildings hadn't remained, but many letters had. What Faruk Dizdarevic has written and what he will write, together with other writers, will be living longer than any building. That's why aggressors have always been trying to destroy intellect of a nation, as well as its religious and other features. Some nations disappeared just for their culture had been destroyed«.

Rada Colovic added: »I am glad for hearing these informations. I have lived in Priboj for a long time and I haven't heard that. Media should deal with it, for I am sure many people are interested in hearing this, but they know nothing about it. Media should treat the culture of all the people living here«.

Sukrija Ibragic (GSS) thinks it is necessary to develop the consciousness of the citizens about importance of tolerance and multiculturalism.

Semiha Kacar: »In the previous traumatic period, occupied with everyday existential matters, fear, struggle for physical survival, we hadn't been able to deal more actively with the matters of culture. In the last decade human rights were massively violated in various ways. Only since October 2000 there has been made some progress, the light appeared at the end of a tunnel, and we breathe more easily. There was created an atmosphere and space for conversations about more subtle issues like culture, tolerance, education, participation in media«.

Ramiz Crnišanić: »Some people were saying culture wasn't important. The status of Sandžak and the status of Bosnjaks should be solved first. It mustn't and needn't be like that«.

Šukrija Ibragić: »Cultural creations may occur even in difficult situations. There are many examples of that. Andrić wrote many novels during the war. You can't prevent an individual to work even in such circumstances. But objectively, for achieving better results in a work, i.e., for distributing it among a bigger number of citizens, a better economic situation is needed. War is destruction. It destroys everything but it can't destroy human intellect«.

Aida Polimac was interested in the field of culture relating to media. She asked in what quantity research journalism is present on the RTV Priboj regarding culture.

Branka Žarković (director of Informative Centre): »Material, financial conditions, personnel capacities — are the main problems of the local media today. The programme of rationalisation and coming privatisation will even more drastically influence the field of media. Research journalism generally doesn't exist with us. It takes time. But, considering the number of workers in media and their status there is not time. Meetings are being covered and broadcasted. There is one more important moment. More and more people address media for the same problems they address NGOs. But we can't only record the problem without solving it. Regarding media I think they are trying to be an open citizens' service. Both Radio and TV of the Priboj Informative Centre were covering all the cultural events and other segments of culture. But media couldn't do what they want for the lack of finances. Privatisation will bring many problems. The experience from other countries show disappearance of

informative programmes after the process of privatisation. I am afraid we will have the same situation, although the Law orders at least 4 hours of informative programme a day. Nobody runs away from the research journalism, but it takes time and personnel. The fact is there are no analytical suggestions, articles, turns, comments regarding our occupation«.

Ramiz Crnišanin suggested to the Priboj NGOs representatives to form so called »Civic Parliament«, as an association of NGOs, which task would be not to be an opposition to anyone, but to stimulate, to work on education of the population, on consistent performance of laws, on controlling the power organs. Civic factor would be an important factor both in cooperation and in communication. Numerous problems would be solved more successfully that way. Crnisanin gave some examples relating to the right way of operating »Civic Parliament«.

Aida Polimac: »NGO sector in Priboj is not sufficiently developed. We have many NGOs existing only on the paper, and the population is afraid of NG sector. We are misunderstood and misseen. We have a bad cooperation with the local autonomy. This matter is very important, they know that, but nevertheless this is not the first time for the representatives of the local autonomy to be absent from such important meetings. What we have done as a positive step — 4 NGOs had a meeting with the mayor. Nobody from the Municipal Assembly appeared. We wanted to establish a better cooperation with the local autonomy, to inform them about what we have done and what we are planning to do and to find out the fields of possible mutual actions. Verbally they were correct. They promised a lot of things, but this meeting was the right moment for them to show readiness for cooperation. I am inviting now all other NGOs to involve into, first of all, an activity aimed at persuading the local autonomy about necessity of cooperation with the citizens. They, as well as Informative Centre, must be the service for citizens. The comment of the International Crisis Group at the promotion of the report about the status of human rights in Sandzak held in Novi Pazar was media contributed to everything that had happened during the previous years. Media have key role in the processes of transition, democratization, tolerance and obeying human and minority rights. I appeal on media to become finally a public service of citizens and help us moving to a better life, first of all, to democracy«.

Zora Čelović: »The representatives of the local autonomy promised us cooperation. Everything is all right, but when they should show that they disappear. Media should show good will. I understand they are in bad financial situation. If they want to operate well, their work to be known, one should determine a term on radio or TV for NG sector. I think only a good will is necessary for that«.

Branka Žarković, an editor of RTV Priboj, promised a free term to NGOs. They should just agree about their presentations. There is a good will, and much has been done due to enthusiasm of people: »In one part we must commercialize ourselves, and you know what market Priboj is. Financies are the biggest problem«.

Semiha Kačar asked: »What is the realtion of central media to Priboj? How much they listen to the problems of this area?«

Branka Žarković: »Branch office of RTS is located in Uzice and works in accordance with the programme scheme of TV Belgrade. The remark of our Commis-

sion for information was the state media don't cover events sufficiently. Those media send information from this commune only from time to time. The newspaper journalists contact us and cover events of importance to them. They are mainly political and economic events and more seldom cultural or educational ones. The whole society is politized. Republic media are mostly interested in the issues making money and those ones with negative connotations, since it sells a newspaper«.

Rada Čolović (Centre for Human Rights): »I am an ex journalist and now I am active in NG sector. Propagand did what it did. Everybody knows that. Matters related to media deserve a special meeting to be discussed. It is necessary first of all in Priboj. It is not fair to change the theses and shift everything to economics. Informative Centre in Priboj is being mostly financed by the state budget, and partly self-financing. What and how is being reported depends on people working there. The same people, journalists and technicians who have worked in the Informative Centre since 1990 still work here. There were differences in reports of radio and TV from 1989 to October 2001. The workers are the same, only directors change«. Mrs Colovic said considering the Informative Centre the situation in reporting has been a little bit better since democratic changes to until a year ago: »Who is a head of the Informative Centre depends on who is a mayor. And the ways of reporting depend on all of that. Economic situation can't have such a big influence on reporting. Fear of privatisation — I am simply shocked«, adding: »We from the Centre for rights also have experience with private informative stations. We used to have correct relations with Informative Centre, but only when we were paying for services. But I used to work in that branch and it was a kind of aid to them. On the other hand, private media displayed our jingles, inserts and films free of charge«.

Branka Žarković in her retort to Mrs Colovic said she wasn't afraid of privatisation and she couldn't agree with her statement »the same people work«, adding: »What are we going to do with those people now. Everybody must complete his working age somewhere«.

Sefer Merdović (SDP): »It looks like the problem in our commune is establishing cooperation between authorities and the civil sector. People from NGOs know that best. I know how many times you had been inviting them, they didn't respond, particularly to the »ticklish« issues. They don't like to discuss these issues, too. That's what I noticed. They don't see NG sector as people who could help them and who could they cooperate with. Considering this meeting the atmosphere is excellent and the choice of topics is appropriate. Considering media I don't think economic side is as much necessary as it has been said here«.

Semiha Kačar concluded at the end the programme of Sandzak Committee, being supported by Swedish Helsinki Committee for Human Rights is justified, since it has been necessary a lot to review the problems about implementation of the General Convention in this area.

The participants of this forum agreed about the following conclusions and recommendations:

1. The state organs must enlighten war crimes committed at the territory of the commune of Priboj during the 90-ies, the culprits must be punished, and the damaged's families must be compensated.

2. The state is obliged to help to the families of the damaged people, as well as to reconstruct their destroyed material properties.

3. The Municipality is obliged to prevent all the obstructions and provide conditions for practical introducing of Bosnian language into an equal official use.

4. The schools are obliged to do the questionnaire, so that the Bosnjak children's parents could come out for introducing Bosnian language as an optional subject, and after that for possible switching it to a compulsory subject.

5. One should insist on cherishing culture and tradition of Bosnjaks, and in that sense to ask for an aid from the local administration and the state organs.

6. On the local media there are very few topics relating to the national minorities.

7. Most central media still spread the speech of hatred and one-sided reports, not offering the programmes intended to the national minorities.

Addition

The list of the forum participants:

— Semiha Kačar, Sandzak Committee for the Protection of Human Rights and Freedoms

— Aida Polimac, Civic Action for Human Rights

— Ramiz Crnišanin, Sandzak Intellectual Circle

— Faruk Dizdarević, a writer

— Elza Demić, a board member, Sandzak Democratic Party

— Safer Merdović, Sandzak Democratic Union

— Šukrija Ibragić, Civic Union of Serbia

— Alija Sukuć, Municipal register commission

— Rada Čolović, Centre for Human Rights

— Sead Čičić, Centre for Human Rights

— Slavica Cerović, Centre for Human Rights

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- Zora Čelović, Women's Initiative
 - Ekrem Hadžić, Helsinki Committee for Human Rights
 - Džemail Halilagić, the Committee for Human Rights and Humanitarian Work
 - Hamed Pecikoza, Committee for Human Rights
 - Merhunisa Hodžić, Committee for Human Rights
 - Suljo Šarak, Committee for Human Rights
 - Haris Zeković, Committee for Protection of Human Rights
 - Zoran Maksimović, Sandzak Committee for Protection of Human Rights and Freedoms
 - Dževad Koldžić, Civic Action for Human Rights
 - Branka Žarković, an editor JP Informative Centre (RTV Priboj)
 - Danica Gudurić, RTV Priboj, Radio Free Europe
 - Mujo Bjelopoljac, a journalist
 - Hajrudin Muratović, a citizen
 - Bejtović Zećir, a citizen
 - Ahmet Kaltak, a citizen
 - Esad Hasanagić, a retired man
 - Hamdija Mišorep, a citizen
 - Izet Uzunović, a citizen
 - Šerif Uzunović, a citizen
 - Asim Biber, a displaced man
 - Dragutin Gagričić, a citizen

The meeting was covered by the following media:

- RTV B-92
- Radio Free Europe
- TV Priboj
- Radio Priboj
- Regional RTV Novi Pazar

THE THIRD FORUM REPORT:

**THE APPLICATION OF THE GENERAL
CONVENTION AND THE STATUS OF NATIONAL
MINORITIES IN SANDZAK**

Sjenica, 30th June 2005.

An introductory speech was done by **Semiha Kacar**, the president of Sandzak Committee for Protection of Human Rights and Freedoms. She informed the participants about the project and its objectives. **Ramiz Crnisanin** talked about the General Convention and its implementation in the area of Sandzak.

Sadeta Zahirovic was talking about the problem with the use of language. In this area, as she said, people use both ekavian and iekavian dialects; »A written word can't stand it. We must decide. What must be asked from Bosnian teachers? It also must be defined. We have few people who studied Bosnian language and literature. It is also a problem. Positive information is establishing of the department of Bosnian language and literature. In written language we should use iekavian dialect. Ekavian dialect has been used for 50 years. We hope this process will take less time. We have local radio and TV stations using both dialects«.

Ramiz Crnisanin added that the official announcements of some institutions are in iekavian dialect.

Semiha Kacar said Sjenica and Novi Pazar face the same problem regarding official use of language. By the Municipal statutes there was determined an equal use of both languages, but correspondence is still being done only in Serbian.

Ramiz Crnisanin said it is the problem of a concrete implementation and the budget must be provided for that: »The Government isn't interested in changing anything about this problem. Democracy is an expensive thing at the first sights, but it is even more expensive if not performed«.

Ramiz Hamidovic from the Islam Community of Sandzak said agreeing lacks. He, citing one of Qor'an principles, said that Muhammed a.s. said God won't change the situation of a nation unless that nation changes itself. »According to that — nobody won't change our situation until we change our relation to it. There have been many pressures through language, ethnic affiliation« — said Hamidovic and gave an example of a city in Turkey with between 7 and 8.000 residents from Sandzak, where the language that had been used once was kept almost thoroughly: »They brought with them an original Bosnian language and they haven't been pressured to change it. We must get back that old original language. That time there hadn't been any differences between the standard language and the folks language. A language shouldn't be designed, but we only must get back to the language of Sandzak people a few decades ago. Knowledge must be revised and we must get back to the traditional language that also must be standard.

Sadeta Zahirovic thinks the only thing we should do is to direct genesis of the current language, since every language has its genesis: »Vuk Stefanovic Karadzic used to speak and write in iekavian dialect. Genesis transformed Serbian language into ekavian dialect. We must be critical. We must criticize bad speech, since it represents us everywhere. We must insist on clear and regular speaking. We had a chance to watch on TV one of the directors of Secondary school, whose out of 50 spoken sentences only 5 were regularly said«.

Ramiz Hamidovic supported Mrs Zahirovic's opinion, saying the base of educational system must be learning language, because we are not able to express ourselves precisely and clearly without well knowledge of language.

Esad Zornic (the president of the Municipality of Sjenica) agreed about the statement that the starting point must be lack of culture and low education in these rural areas. He gave many examples where young people showed their lack of education. One of the examples is a girl that was chosen the queen of beauty at the Pester fair, who giving an announcement for TV, the question how she felt, she answered »very possibly«. We should work a lot on the very education, said Zornic; everything else is just a building up. I know it is a long process. Work on our mother tongue is a process taking a lot of time, saying he himself had many problems with language. He studied in Sarajevo where he adopted iekavian dialect through communication and by reading various books. When he got back he faced a light resistance by his environment and the comments — look, he shows off himself, he speaks the Sarajevo, Bosnian language. So that he start getting used to ekavian dialect, i.e. to the speech of his area: »That rumor must be broken, it still exists in this area«. According to his words, many laws being passed by the state are nonsense. An example is the law giving an extremely huge executive power to one man, mayor. On the other hand, their conception goes to the damage of this state resident's. All of us knows about Seselj's tax. But it isn't Seselj's tax any longer, but the state one. If they criticized it previously, why wouldn't they cancel it now«, asked Zornic. Speaking further he said Sjenica had a big problem, since it has been divided among many districts. In fact it belongs to the Zlatibor District. Judiciary and police from Novi Pazar (Raska District) cover the territory of this commune; Medical Centre is in Uzice (Zlatibor District), and the Forestry is located in Moravicki District. Regarding introducing Bosnian language into schools Zornic said: »It was very important who would write the books for Bosnian language as well as the place of its promotion. If I was asked I would invite the experts and Bosnian language teachers from Novi Pazar, Sarajevo and other cities, that would meet the Republic minister of Education, agree and make books. But, somebody wanted to enter the history and pick up political points. It mustn't have been allowed«.

Ismet Mahmutovic (SDA Sandzak) opposed the statements by some participants that Bosnian language has been politized and it hasn't been done by expert teams.

Sedat Vrcic, (NGO Flores): »The right on speech is elementary human rights. It is normal to all of us to use the language we know best. While we are struggling for elementary human rights the others are building factories. That's why these problems must be solved efficiently and fast. Vrcic pointed the problems regarding the of-

ficial use of language. He cited a small progress, and that was the label on the door of the mayor written in Bosnian — Predsjednik (President).

Sadeta Zahirovic talked about ethnological and cultural features of Bosnjaks in Sandzak: »5 century Turkish rule and Islam religion, that is the only religion of Sandzak Bosnjaks, made the culture of this nation specific, multidimensional. It affected material culture in the form of Oriental culture with its original features. The objects of Islamic architecture of Sandzak Bosnjaks are probably the most visible specific features of the culture of this area. There is nothing similar to minaret and it can't be seen on any buildings of Balkans and Europe. Islamic building art in Sandzak belongs to the sphere of an overall inheritance of Bosnjaks and their touch and reception of values of the mentioned inheritance. Many architecture terms are still specific for Bosnjaks culture. As minaret doesn't exist with Orthodox Serbs as a realia, so that there is no lexical need for this term. I tried to explain an unbreakable relation between intellectual and material culture of Bosnjaks, which is, as elsewhere, connected. A language follows the life style, behaviour, order, learning, worshipping, all the life actions and appearances. All the cultural and ethnological specific features are folloed by language, and ni matter how much it is understandable to other nations and cultures it belongs only to the nation participating in its creation. Coming back to the topic, specific features of culture of Sandzak Bosnjaks, and at the same time wishing to illustrate it, I am coming back to the example describing phenomenon of connections of language with all other creations and ways of cultural work. The mosques where Sandzak Bosnjaks worship, like all other Muslims in the world, have their own appropriate elements, being named by the entity members in accordance with their tradition, mentality, religion and language, specific only for them. They also add a group of specific Bosnian terms, for example: Mahvil — a gallery in the mosque; Gasulhana — place for worship bathing; Avlija — mosque yard; Minber — a place where imam stands; Mihrab — a plateau for imam.

One shouldn't be a language expert to know that these terms with their sources, in Arabian or any other Oriental language, are being pronounced unrecognizably different, and are written different as well. But only Bosnjaks use them in this way, and logically, they are now Bosnian words, like namaz is a prayer of Bosnjaks, or like abdest is a worship wash of Bosnjak Muslims. Another example, where, in my opinion, we can follow dialectics of Bosnian language through ethnology of Bosnjaks, is the custom of Bosnjak wedding party, or dressing up and preparation of a Bosnjak bride. The words used in that occasion are the real ethnological-cultural luxury of mother tongue, for example, dimije: specific clothes and term that has been in an active use only with this entity; ekluk: a decorated embroidered underskirt; mintan: by silver or gold thread decorated sleeveless jacket; duvak: a thin, red veil on a bride's head; hala-hale: a bride's bracelets; boocanka: a decoratid hair pin; sehara: a box for a bride's clothes; sepet: engagement jewels and clothes, a present from a bridegroom; djerdek: a special room for the first marriage night, surma, kana, boscaluk, surmedaluk and many, many other terms are the part of this treasure of specific, and totally clear and precise terms which are particularly part of the language of Bosnjaks.

None of the mentioned words is being used with other nations in our broader neighbourhood, except with Bosnjaks. They are not used even by the other nations of Islam and other religions. For the same or similar terms, being used in preparing of a bride with Serbs, Croats or Albanians completely different words are used. But the specific characteristics of wedding customs with Bosnjaks don't relate many of the mentioned things with the customs of other nations. They belong, just as language and traditional elements, to the material culture of Bosnjaks.

What I don't want to avoid is the literature of Sandzak Bosnjaks. This literature, although in the scale of progress, hasn't reached the quality of Serbian, Croat or literature of Bosnjaks in Bosnia and Herzegovina. It is, of course, understandable, but I will try to illustrate it. It is much easier to make a quality football team out of 1000 offered players, than out of 50 talented ones. Apart from that, it is evident that literacy of Sandzak Bosnjaks has been late in comparison with the mentioned nations. But, it doesn't mean Sandzak has extremely, famous all around the world and very often translated, writers. It is evident there is a need for many more writers of the rank of Camil Sijaric, Muhamed Abdagic, Husein Basic, Safet Sijaric, Ismet Rebronja, Murat Baltic, Rasim Celahmetovic, Saban Sarenkapic, Husko Dzigal.

It would be much easier achieved if, with introducing Bosnian language into schools of Sandzak, besides the other Balkans and world writers, the works of national literature authors were introduced, too. The language used in previous creations, and that will be used in the future work has been and will be only Bosnian language. It is the language that, not like thin threads, but rather like strong ropes, permeated the literature of Sandzak Bosnjaks. Not biased, not with a politized intention, but simply because the written word, like the oral one, is the clearest reflection of a mentality, tradition, ethnology, national psychology and the culture of a nation. Just like an oral epos »Marriaging of Smailagic Meho«, by a famous »Sandzak Homer«, Avdo Medjedovic painted the time and reality of that time in Sandzak, so the poetry and prose of Bosnjaks have been giving, still give and will be giving the stamps to the time they appear, showing by the literature of each nation, genesis of a language, its basic means and the state of consciousness of an author and all his contemporaries. The language of Bosnjaks deserves, besides so called »recognition« by the Ministry of Education, what formally has been done, to be seriously and systematically presented on all the levels of education. With the lowest school grades it is necessary to find a way of informing children about the literature of Bosnjaks, appropriate to their level, in order to prepare them for further learning and a long-term acceptance of its shades, identifying with it, up to the academic levels of education, where there would be necessary a serious approach to study of theory and technique of Bosnian language and literature. I have two things to emphasize at the end of this speech and express a wish for the most serious approach of organizing the teaching of Bosnian language that will have a task to present the Bosnjak children a whole opus of Bosnian culture. What especially must be taken into consideration is that the whole project must serve reaching a high goal of multiculturality, tolerance and quality mutual life of all the nations in this area, and not only to serve strengthening of possible envy of cultures.

Irfet Hadzifejzovic (director of the library): »Very often it can be noticed mixing of ekavian and iekavian dialects. But, we all must involve in revival of Bosnian language. There should be formed professional commissions in schools. One book can't be considered Bosnian language. It is not a shame to invite experts from the Sarajevo University or some other professors and linguists from Bosnia, maybe from here. It is a shame to do a job bad. Second, when through institutions — houses of culture, libraries, one asks for some financies it seems absurdly. What do we need culture for? It is better to asphalt one street of that money. Maybe it is necessary right now. But it is wrong in the sense of long-term looking into the future. We need more cultural manifestations for language, cherishing our culture and for our existence. When late Asim Vrcic a famous Sjenica cultural worker was asked what was the difference between Serbian and Bosnian languages, he answered: »Go to Raska to a restaurant and look for — a piece of halva or tuhav zeman, and you will see«. We must seriously deal with this problem. We also must insist to have more Bosnjak literature and books in the libraries. We lack it here. Artists are not being inspired to create here. And we also should take more writers from Bosnia and Herzegovina«.

Sedat Vrcic gave a few examples on exception regarding iekavian dialect. He said people at the territory of Sjenica speak specific dialect. It is Zeta-Sjenica speech that somewhere exists as a registered form: »An expert should try to register Zeta-Sjenica speech as a dialect of Bosnian language«, suggested Vrcic, explaining that it is a specific speech of Bosnjaks from those areas, which makes it a part of Bosnian language. »Language is a basement of something that is called identity. The right on language is a part of right on identity, that mustn't be denied by anyone«.

Sadeta Zahirovic: »Language is like a shadow, it follows all the rest. It can't be anything else but a part of tradition, customs and culture. Probably the need for language wouldn't appear if there wasn't separation of the language from Serbo-Croatian languages. As we have right on our culture we also have right on our language, that really have many characteristics. The other problem is about presentation of the language. We all must give some ideas. I don't consider myself an expert, but I want to say what I have learned with my father and is related to studying of Serbian language. All of know what children read after the holidays — national literature. There is Kosovo, Post Kosovo cycles, Marko Kraljevic cycle and others. It is not just poor, but detailed study, and it is like that for 8 years of Primary school. Wishing that, or not, we must know: »Building of Skadar on the Bojana River«. We haven't known about Avdo Medjedovic, but we have known many others being studied in Serbian language«.

Ramiz Crnisanin gave an example of writer Husein Basic, who was exploring Bosnjak national literature: »We must study and help children and youth learn about Bosnjak national literature«. He especially stressed that Sjenica must keep what in the field of culture was begun by late Asim Vrcic, particularly »Sjenica Code«, where more important works from various fields were published. Many things in the field of culture must be supported, but we must take care of the true values.

Rijad Hodzic: Since language is one of my specialties, I am a little bit wondered that we are talking only about iekavian dialect. We also should know Bosnian

language has ikavian dialect, spoken in Duvno and Livno. But, in my opinion, the problem is that nobody stresses grammar. Grammar of Bosnian and Serbian languages differs. There are some words regular in Bosnian, but irregular in Serbian language and vice versa. For example in Bosnian it is said — putovi su zavejani, and in Serbian it is not regular, it is said — putevi su zavejani. It is sad that our children know better »Gorski vijenac« than the works of our writers. Regarding the origin of words, in Bosnian language there are many Turkish words. One should particularly pay attention to studying Bosnjak literature, since it is a way of learning about culture, history and language as well«.

Zejna Memic (G 17+): »Language is living organism. The root is the same, but there are only some shadows. Bosnian alphabet is both Cyrillic and Latin, and both ekavian and iekavian. Only norms in Bosnian language differ. My opinion is that both versions should be studied. What we should do is to make a group of linguists, who will be an authority, which we all can follow in order to determine our national greeting. There is no nation using somebody else's greeting. »Merhaba« is an Arabian greeting. Our language is of Slavic language root. If »Good afternoon« is a national greeting of Serbs, don't think Croats are less nationalists regarding language. They also say »Good afternoon«. I don't see anything bad if someone of Slavic language root doesn't use »Good afternoon«. We must agree about the national greeting. It must be done, first of all, for radio and television, and for the meetings, as well. We can't do it. It must be done linguists, professors and doctors. »Selam« is not in the spirit of Slavic language. One thing is religious, and another thing is an official greeting. RTS doesn't begin its »News« with »Cao« and »Pomoz Bog«. Something that is pillar of a nation is also a greeting. Greeting is something we learn first. It must be cleared in Sandzak«.

Ramiz Crnisanin opposed these points, supporting different attitudes. According to him, »national« can't be put before every word, and so as before the greeting.

Zejna Memic retorted: »No Arabian will say »Good afternoon«, and then go on speaking Arabian«.

The participants of this forum agreed about the following conclusions and recommendations:

1. Bosnian language shouldn't be an optional subject, but there must be examined possibilities of switching it into a regular(compulsory) subject.
2. Making school book of Bosnian language with elements of culture and tradition should be left to the professional teams from Bosnia and Herzegovina and SCG, in order to avoid improvisations.
3. Some school books are not adjusted to multinational composition of population.
4. Regarding implementation of the General convention is not only in central but also in the local news.
5. There should be achieved consensus among leading Bosnjak political parties about many problems, and about implementation of the rights guaranteed by the General convention.
6. True values should be promoted.
7. Cultural manifestations lack, and programmes about the culture of Bosnjaks as well.
8. Central media emphasize only negative things regarding multiethnic areas. We should work on overcoming stereotypes and prejudices in that field.
9. There are no educational and programmes about the culture of Bosnjaks.
10. Central media don't offer enough legal programmes for Bosnjaks.
11. There is a problem of language presentation.
12. The experts should deal with the essential matters regarding tradition, culture and customs of Bosnjaks.
13. There is a problem among very Bosnjaks, since they don't work enough on implementation of their own rights and their education.

Addition

The list of the forum participants:

- Semiha Kačar, Sandzak Committee for Protection of Human Rights and Freedoms
- Sedat Vrcić, NGO »Flores«

- Ramiz Crnišanin, Sandzak Intellectual Circle
- Sadeta Zahirović, NGO »Flores«
- Esad Zornić, mayor of Sjenica
- Enisa Gilić, Institution of Culture
- Indira Tandirović, Institution of Culture
- Selma Ljajić, TV Jedinstvo
- Sanela Buljubašić, NGO »Flores«
- Alessia Barlisan, NGO »Flores«
- Entezan Hadžiahmetović, Party for Sandzak
- Irfet Hadžiahmetagić, director of the library
- Rijad Hodžić, NGO »Flores«, LDF
- Erkin Mumdžić, LC Sjenica
- Ismet Mahmutović, Party of Democratic Action Sandzak
- Murat Garibović, Institution for Sports
- Ramiz Hamidović, Islam Community of Sandzak
- Zoran Maksimović, Sandzak Committee for Protection of Human Rights and Freedoms
- Emil Gracić, LDF
- Samko Crnišanin, Sandzak Intellectual Circle
- Jasmin Biberović, Liberal Bosnjak Organization
- Adnan Šmrković, Liberal Bosnjak Organization
- Zejna Memić, G 17+

The meeting was covered by the following media:

- RTV Jedinstvo Novi Pazar
- Regional RTV Novi Pazar
- Radio Novi Pazar

THE FOURTH FORUM REPORT:

**THE APPLICATION OF THE GENERAL
CONVENTION AND THE STATUS OF NATIONAL
MINORITIES IN SANDZAK**

Priboj, 18th November 2005.

Jasmina Krusevljanin (Sandzak Committee for Protection of Human Rights and Freedoms) and **Aida Polimac** (Civic action for human rights) greeted the participants and informed them about purpose and aim of this forum, as well as with the current state and results in this project implementation.

Fuad Becirovic (a writer and a journalist) talked about the rights of minorities and about the right on information in mother languages. He talked about the articles of the General Convention and about the Law regarding information, and then analytically presented the situation in the public service, Radio-Television Priboj, partly being financed from the municipal budget.

He spoke on the topic: Minorities and media in Priboj — right on information in mother tongue.

Becirovic first reminded the participants of the 9th article of the General Convention for protection of national minorities. »The contractors are obliged to admit the right of every member of a national minority on the freedom of speech, involving the freedom of belief and accepting and offering information and ideas in the minority language, without interruptions by the authority's regardless limits. Within their legal systems the contractors will provide to the national minorities an access to the means of information without any discrimination.

So, the first paragraph of the 9th article of the General Convention doesn't prevent the contractors to look for permit, without any discrimination and according to the objective criteria, for broadcasting the radio and TV programmes and founding cinema companies. In the third paragraph of the same article there was cited that the contractors won't disturb the members of national minorities to create and use printed media of public information. In the legal regime for sound radio and television programmes the contractors will provide, as much as possible, the members of national minorities to get the possibility of creating and use of their own means of public information. Further, within their legal systems the contractors will adopt the appropriate features of public information in the aim of improving tolerance and making possible cultural pluralism.

Last year the dominant attitude here was that in Priboj there isn't informing in mother tongue. The local RTV Priboj that is financed from the municipal budget doesn't have the programmes in this language, with an explanation that Bosnian language isn't used here as an official language. There are not any programmes that would deal with the informing of people about culture, tradition or religion of Bosnjak pop-

ulation. At one of these forums there has been said that the management of RTV Priboj announced introducing programme in Bosnian language, when the Municipality claims it an official language.

When two basic premises from this brief remake are analysed we face a new key fact, and that is: besides the General Convention the right on official use of language was also explicitly guaranteed by the Law on protection of rights and freedoms of national minorities in the article 11 where there was cited that an official language is a language spoken by at least 15% of population of a town. Bosniak national community fulfilled that census. According to the registration from 2002 there are about 22% of Bosnjaks in Priboj.

What is immediately being noticed as a nonsense and political-cultural phenomenon On one side there is a legal regulation and explicitness of the Law clearly determining limits of rights of the members of national minorities in a local community, like multicultural and multiconfessional Priboj is, but the local administration in this case overtakes a role of legislative authorities and in fact obstruct a practical application of the law possibilities being offered to the minority communities. It is an unheard absurd and paradox.

Such a relation of a Parliament majority to the International Law is a big shame to the very state of Serbia before European efforts and European institutions. So it isn't hard to conclude, that the efforts of an actual political-trade union in Serbia is just a declaration.

It is a fiction. It is a virtual reality. It is indeed an dishonest use of plural and multicultural democracy.

In relation with that it isn't hard to explain the behaviour of the management of the local RTV Priboj, that promised to apply regulations of 9th and 10th articles of the General Convention only when the local Parliament decides to admit a ratified International Law from the broadest aspect of human rights and freedoms. Such a promise was cited in the conclusions from the last meeting in Priboj. It is obviously a vertical and horizontal suspend of guaranteed International rights. The founder, i.e. the local parliament is unfortunately a top ideal to the public enterprise »Informativni Centar« (Information Centre). The local Parliament majority is RTV Priboj — founder, legal representative and untouchable authority. International standards or International Laws are not of importance here. When I direct all these criticisms to the address of RTV it doesn't mean in any sense that the local Parliament is absolved from its responsibility. It is the top of an iceberg. It is that pyramid of virtual reality in which basement there were embodied fundamentals of xenophobia, intolerance, rurality, ignorance and irrational fear of a spirit from the past. I want to remind all of you of autumn 2003. Here in Priboj there were established the last trade agreements in the top of the Republic authorities. The experiments in Priboj are successfully being continued. In such a way Priboj became an experiment centre for multiple trophy partition at the highest level of the state. These political observations are maybe too sharp, but are unavoidable, since the total political milieu results in drastic consequences at the practical local terrain.

This time I want to stress one more important fact that determines a lot of work of electronic media, as well as national and regional. Well, although even in 2002 there

were adopted laws on radio diffusion and telecommunications, no power in Serbia has a serious intention to solve the matter of work legitimacy of electronic media and share of frequencies and working permits. There is informal information that in Serbia there are 1200 radio and TV stations. Serbia is European recorder in illegal work of electronic media. There is a real chaos in this field. Although there was formed Radio-Diffusion Council, the Government of Serbia and then majority Republic Parliament decided to postpone the decision on giving frequencies and work permits until the end of 2007. What such a Government action talks? It is very clearly and unambiguously it supports and prolongs the agony and it doesn't want to solve the problem, probably for the fear of possible loss of political positions and decreasing of renown, because on the contrary it would get numerous rivals. The local media has no other choice than to lean on the municipal budget, since it is most pleasant under the tutor's skirt. It brings of course mutual team, so the founder is the only authorised authority determining the destiny of the local media and their employees. The same situation is in Priboj. It is not a Priboj speciality. It is a codex of behaviour in media chaotic Serbia. The founder of RTV Priboj, local parliament through its managing board performs in fact the political will of majority, and the management of this media house has no other choice than to perform orders of their political boss. Don't forget that local bosses appoint and dismiss directors of local media. So domestic and International law and obligations have no influence. Everything is in the domain of trade, politics and cheap politics in spite of a well-known truth that only financially independent media, free from the influence and pressures of various tortures and tutors, can achieve the ideals of a professional and responsible journalism.

In the analysis of this topic on the local Priboj terrain there mustn't be bypassed a continual inertia and letargy being demonstrated by the representatives of minority Bosnjak community in Priboj. Of course, there are a few exceptions, but regarding this matter there isn't any long-term strategy for practical achievement of by law allowed limits regarding the human rights of minority communities. In a recent practice dissatisfaction of Bosnjak parties and some NGOs mainly referred to the limitations of RTV Priboj leaders to use jekavian dialect and traditional terms, like uncle (*dajidza*, *amidza*) in their public speeches. But, once more I want to pay attention to the fact that this prohibition was created by a xenophobia front in a surrounding that doesn't admit the existence of Bosnjak nativity, and it is up to the directors of the local administration and media to transform that general xenophobia into suspension of, by the law confirmed, rights. Indeed, since 2002, local media in Priboj twice a year, for celebration of two Bajram holidays, have broadcasted special programmes about worships in the mosque. They are the records from the Morning Prayer. Until 2002 such a thing was impossible. Such a fact is an important step ahead in the media affirmation of a rich cultural and native tradition of Bosnjaks. Such programmes are not present in RTV Priboj for the simple reason they haven't been scheduled. If the cultural workers here were brave enough to take a step more regarding affirmation of true, cultural values of minority Bosnjak community, they could take a historical role of the train of progress. In such a way they would give a huge contribution to interethnic and religious tolerance and to the knowledge that the wealth of varieties ulti-

mately enriches human relations in a civilized and multicultural area. Media could also contribute to removing numerous traditional stereotypes and taboos, as well as establishing an attitude that richness of varieties is a normal cultural fact in relations among the people of different nations and different religions. I am afraid we are so far from that declarative ideal, since the strategic decisions are being made by the political centres of power in Governments and Parliaments in Serbia. At the end municipal media only perform their political and financial tutors' orders. That is an essence of numerous phenomena in Serbia. But some areas in Serbia, like Vojvodina, realise high European standards regarding the right on information in mother languages. Why can't the same right be used in other parts of Serbia — it is a question that must be answered by those who only speak about legalism and declarative democracy.

I also want to underline a few observations regarding to the actual relation between politics and public opinion. Well, it is known that information can be used in informing, controlling and manipulating the citizens, depending on the aims of those sending it. Commercialisation of all the values, with individualisation of politics, leads to bigger and bigger inequality and concentration of wealth in the narrow circles of elites, what is a serious threat to survival of a civil social system. Power and greed are skillfully hidden by rhetoric, cliché explanations, superficial and unconvincing, in order to produce stultify, inertia and submission to the public. The profit owners and political power centres from shadow form a new system, its psychological character and system of value, political attitudes and freedoms, transforming media into worn out goods. Habits, styles of life, the way of thinking, public awareness, relations to ethics, needs of people, a general cultural-political context are changing. Disciplining public opinion becomes a specific form of political globalization — says M.A. Zoran Jevtovic, the author of publication *PUBLIC OPINION AND POLITICS*. In open societies of liberal democracy with universal human rights pluralistic opinion is being cherished, but just illusory, since media chains of the same kind messages unify ideas market, offering a substitute for real life. The power of fiction transforms into the power of real. Behind the dark curtains of different interests there are hidden convancers whose job is building up prevailing opinions, being induced by media.

Freedom of speech and freedom of opinion are conditions for existence of public opinion. Moral, political and media practices are changing, authenticity is less and less appreciated and unstable opinions and beliefs a new-established value.

Mass media, without financial dependence, are easily instrumentalized; they become a segment of ruling ideology. Propagand methods are the same, but due to technological discoveries techniques of manipulation are being improved and used for modelling and sending messages to the public. The impulses sent to the audience are silent and imperceptible. There is always communication behind that process of symbols exchange. Events and pictures sent via TV channels remind of an information blizzard falling into each individual.

Miomir Prijić (the president of OO GSS Priboj) supported more such initiatives, as well as respect of individual and collective minority rights, and strict respect of the Law on protection of rights and freedoms of national minorities.

Milenko Milicevic (the mayor of Priboj) thinks organizing meetings like this forum is of great importance, and it is necessary, and according to him the cooperation of NGOs and the local administration is necessary. He turned to the situation in RTV Priboj after 5th October changes until the last year elections and said that the leaders had total freedom in reporting, and the work of that media that time was based on objective and unbiased broadcasting.

Mujo Bjelopoljac (Fonet journalist): »I, Mujo Bjelopoljac, of father Adem and mother Ifeta, can say with a proud that I have never been discriminated in the public. Just for truth and quality, that I as a member of UNS was offering, I managed to last more than 30 years, not allowing myself to support anyone or any political option. I don't agree with the discussion of Fuad Becirovic who claimed he was discriminated as Bosnjak, and overthrown from the position of the director of Informative Centre Priboj. It is not like that, since he was overthrown like a member of SDP, another political option opposing the ruling coalition consisted of DSS, SRS, SPS, Nova Srbija and SPO. Bosnjaks and Muslims are discriminated in media, here in Priboj. There is not Bosnjak tradition and culture on the local, but also on the Republic levels. When did you last hear and see Bosnian dance on RTS, or love song, something about tradition of Muslims, Bosnjaks. Satanization of our community has existed so much, especially during that bad war in Bosnia. It wasn't easy to be Muslim in Priboj that time; it isn't easy even now. It is easy in Novi Pazar with major Bosnjak population. What leaders in Novi Pazar might say mustn't be said here. Priboj lacks Press Centre, so I would like to start an initiation for its constitution and for establishing an order in the field of information. It is not a topic, but I have to say it. Our compatriot Vlade Divac got an apology from the general staff of the army of SCG because he hadn't done the military service, instead of being prosecuted by the criminal law. I am asking you if we, performing military service are monkeys. I did it for a year and a half. What to do with thousands of young boys who, being afraid of the war, escaped military service, and mustn't get back to Sandzak? There is one problem common to both Bosnjaks and Serbs, to the all living in Priboj. We have been forgotten by the authorities. There are around 8.000 of young, educated people without jobs here, but there are many young retired people, and only a couple thousands of people working and earning poor salaries. There are more starving than satiated people, and we are remembered only when we should go to prison or to pay a tax. This is a town dying on its feet. If it is not helped today it will be late tomorrow«.

Fuad Becirovic: This topic was really strictly professional. It was insisted on respect of the regulations of the General Convention and the right on information in mother tongue. But it seems as a rule to deviate a little bit of the topic. We got some observations here, that people here are dealing more with me. I was asked by the NGO sector to make an introduction, and that was all. On the other hand, Informative Centre and parties and their interaction are not a topic. The topic is the right and obligation of Radio-TV Priboj to respect the General Convention. Why did I mention only RTV Priboj? For the reason that any other media, »Priga« (Story), or some other private radio — TV stations have that obligation. RTV Priboj is a public organ of the Municipality«.

Zora Celovic (NGO Women's Initiative Priboj) claimed: »We, as an organization have had correct relations with media in Priboj, but only on the commercial base. Regarding media the situation is much better in comparison with the period up to 2000. There isn't inspiring interethnic hatred any longer, that existed up to 2000. Even in the commercial part, in the programmes with sending regards and congratulations, certain expressions that are particularly words of Bosnjak population, like »daidza« (Bosnjak term for uncle) were corrected or omitted. But media in Priboj, especially RTV Priboj, have very poor programmes, since, apart from the reports from rare meetings and manifestations, there are not some other programmes, especially the ones about the culture and tradition of the minority people, that could contribute to better mutual knowing each other and breaking prejudices about others and different. Except commercial cooperation between NGOs and RTV Priboj, we ask from RTV Priboj to give, at least once a month, »free programme« to NGOs in order to meet the public with their activities«.

Ekrem Hadzic (Sandzak Democratic Party) talked about the problem of the Republic newspapers. Well, he said on the Republic media there are not any programmes dealing with the culture, history and tradition of Bosnjaks and the situation is much better in Montenegro regarding that problem.

Rasko Kojadinovic (a member of MB DS — Priboj) estimated, as a psychologist, that media is a very powerful device, and we are the witnesses how much they influenced the people's attitudes in Serbia during Milosevic rule. He stressed that especially electronic media must have professional and responsible people who wouldn't misuse their positions.

Goran Otasevic (owner and the main editor of the local weekly »Priga«) explained he had founded the magazine because as a citizen he hadn't had the right to transfer his information via local RTV Priboj.

Ferzo Celovic (Sandzak Democratic Party) agreed with the introductory points of Fuad Becirovic. He pointed out the problems of use of iekavian dialect and traditional Bosnjak expressions in the programmes of RTV Priboj. He emphasized the law regulations mean nothing if the authorities and majority population have no will to implement those regulations.

Aida Polimac said: »Collective minority rights consider that members of national minorities, directly or through their representatives, participate in the processes of making decisions about the problems related to their culture, education, information and the use of language and alphabet. The Law on the Protection of National Minorities Rights dedicates the whole section to the participation in making decisions about the specific matters, in the power and administration. The Law determines establishing Federal Council for the national minorities, National Councils of national minorities and the Federal Funds for national minorities. The Law on local administration plans establishing the Council for interethnic relations in the communes with the certain percentage of minorities. International documents dealing with the participation of minorities in the power are »General Convention for the Protection of National Minorities«, »Council of Europe«, »Recommendations from Lund«, OEBS, and within the UN there is a working group for minorities. In order to achieve the full

respect of minority rights, it is necessary to overtake the measures of »affirmative action«, and the state should have democratic minority policy.

The commune of Priboj — statistical data on the participation of minorities in the power:

The practice in Priboj shows various levels of efficiency of participation of Bosnjaks in cultural, social and economic life and in the public work.

On the local elections, of 21st Septemeber 2003 the power in Priboj has been consisted of the board members of: SPS, DSS, SPO-NS and SRS. Out of 41 members, 10 are Bosnjaks.

Out of 9 directors of the public institutions and enterprises there is no Bosnjak.

Out of 81 members of administrative and monitoring boards of public enterprises 8 are Bosnjaks

The mayors, deputy, president of Parliament, secretary, head of municipal administration are not Bosnjaks.

Out of 9 members of the municipal council none is Bosnjak.

Out of 72 members of the school boards 4 are Bosnjaks.

Out of 79 employed in the municipal administration 15 are Bosnjaks.

Out of 4 employed in the Museum there is no Bosnjak.

Out of 10 employed in the House of Culture, 6 are Bosnjaks.

Out of 25 employed in the Informative Centre, 2 are Bosnjaks (one journalist and one technical person).

Out of 5 judges of the Municipal Court, 1 is Bosnjak.

Out of 4 judges of the Court of torts 1 is Bosnjak (the head of thge court). Prosecutor is not Bosnjak, and his deputy hasn't been appointed. Directors of public enterprises and institutions, being appointed by the Republic, are not Bosnjaks. Bosnjaks in the police organs only recently have started getting a more important participation.

Ferzo Celovic emphasized that no director of school is Bosnjak, and that fact is worrying. He said his party understands Serbia has big problems and it is not the right time to deal with this matter, too. He stressed that SDP supports remaining Kosovo within Serbia, and the interest of Bosnjaks is a joint state of Serbia and Montenegro.

Kenan Hajdarevic (MB GSS — Priboj) thinks that members of SDP are hypocrites, and Minister Ljajic Rasim, as well, and that the problem of introducing Bosnian language into an official use in the commune of Priboj could be solved if minister Ljajic supported that issue. He added it is a shame that representative of SDP, a member of the Council for international relations votes against proposal for change of the Statute of municipality for introducing Bosnian into an official use.

Ekrem Hadzic warned we can't deal with the problems of minorities in Priboj, not turning back to the events from the close past and look for justice for the victims. He reminded that 22 people from the territory of Priboj died, more than 200 families were expeled and those problems must be solved and the culprits must be punished.

Goran Otasevic underlined the importance of such meetings, but he stressed priority job is to help the people to reconstruct their houses and return to their homes.

Sefer Merdovic, a member of SDP: »I think we are too much burdened with high policy in Priboj. We talk about Constitution of Serbia, a joint state with Montenegro, relations among political parties in the Parliament, Kosovo and religious issues. National television and big TV houses discuss these topics every day. The local TV broadcasts the attitudes and events. What can be criticized about local media is lack of discussions about vital matters of Priboj, and they are multiculturalism and economic situation in Priboj.

The right on participation in the public power is one of the standards of equality of minorities. Although it is easy to state the progress regarding security of citizens belonging to the minority nation in comparison with 2000, members of minority nation don't participate in the work of public affairs. The situation has been even worse during the last year. I will just give an example: there is no Bosnjak in the Executive Board of the Parliament of Priboj. I hope it will be the topic for discussion in organization of this NGO. Sandzak Democratic Party started up an initiative to introduce Bosnian language into an equal use with Serbian language in the Statute of the Municipality. But we are not here to be held political lectures, but to try to answer some of these questions. We shouldn't wait for the highest power to do something, but as reasonable beings try to do as much as possible in our commune, regardless political option we belong to, or any other difference. There are not any topics about an awful economic situation in Priboj, as a devastated commune, and that must be a mutual topic of the authorities, parties and civil structures. I hope we will discuss these topics in the future without any animosity.

Rada Colovic cited certain very important statistical data: »According to the last registration of population in Serbia, which official results were published in April, 2002. the results in Priboj are as follows: The total population: 30.337, Serbs — 22.523 (74.14%), Bosnjaks — 5.567 (18.32%), Muslims 1.427 (4.69%), Montenegrins 432 (1.09%), Orthodox believers — 22.866 (75.27%), Muslims — 6.997 (23.03%). According to the registration of 1991 there were 1.55% Yugoslavs, and according to the registration of 2002 there were no Yugoslavs. In the official institutions of the Municipality, in schools and public media Serbian language is mostly used. Personal documents are in Serbian in Cyrillic and Latin alphabet. There are no bilingual tables. From the second semester pupils of first and second grades can learn Bosnian language with elements of national culture and tradition, as an optional subject.

The mayor, the deputy, the president of Parliament, his deputy, secretary and the head of Municipal administration are not Bosnjaks. In 9 public institutions and enterprises no director is Bosnjak. Out of 81 members of administrative and monitoring boards, 8 are Bosnjaks. The Municipal Board consists of 9 people. Nobody is Bosnjak. Out of 72 members of the school boards 4 are Bosnjaks. There are 79 workers in the Municipal administration, 15 are Bosnjaks. Out of 8 directors of primary and secondary schools none is Bosnjak. In the Museum there are 4 workers and none is Bosnjak. Out of 10 employed in the House of Culture, 6 are Bosnjaks.

Out of 25 employed in the Informative Centre, 2 are Bosnjaks (one journalist and one technical person).

Out of 5 judges of the Municipal Court, 1 is Bosnjak.

Out of 4 judges of the Court of torts 1 is Bosnjak (the head of the court). Prosecutor is not Bosnjak, and his deputy hasn't been appointed. Directors of public enterprises and institutions, being appointed by the Republic, are all Serbs (EPS, Post, Telekom...). Demographic composition of our commune is significantly different in comparison with the registration of 1991. According to this registration in the commune of Priboj there were 33% of Muslims and 2.1% Montenegrins.

Goran Otasevic, an editor in chief of the weekly »Prica« says: »I believe the only normal criteria for participation in power are — capable or not. Shall we return to the key before the 90-ies and say let now be this one, next year that one... Maybe I will be the president of some NGO on some »key«. So, I can't see the point... Let's organize the next meeting with the topic of the status of Serbian majority in Priboj. It seems the organization being represented by Mrs Colovic is interested only in minorities. I can't see the purpose of NGOs any longer. I can't see the point to cite as one of the conclusions of this meeting NGOs should have a free programme on Radio and TV Priboj. Why? I don't see a NGO did something better and more than for example SDP. All of us want to follow one goal — to create a democratic society and to move Priboj ahead. I would tell to the guests from Novi Pazar we are in a very bad position, more or less, depending on how much someone is capable or incapable«.

Ferzo Celovic: »I have to say SDP used to send letters to the previous and current Governments in order to improve the situation in the commune. Do you remember when Bozovic should become a head of OUP in Priboj, and we managed to prevent it, not because Bozovic had been guilty for the events in Priboj, but because he had had another function that time, so it wouldn't be desirable. Right now SUP is being established for the three communes — Priboj, Prijepolje and Nova Varos with the head office in Prijepolje. There is an intensive talk that the head of Police will be Bole Ratkovic. He was an objective person comparing with Bozovic. Second, equality... We are here minority, in Novi Pazar, Sjenica and Tutin we are majority. Sandzak Democratic Party in Novi Pazar has always been struggling, speaking and pining. There can not be only a declarative struggle for national rights, and that right is being implemented the way that editorial writer said, i.e. national minority must have an equal participation in the power organs. Bosnjak national minority is the biggest one in Priboj. But there are a few Montenegrins«.

Fahrudin Alagic, (SDP Priboj) pointed out: »In proposing the composition of the Municipal Board and the deputy of the mayor, it has been tried to make a composition adjusted to the national structure of the commune, but it was made impossible. There was committed a legal violence. Everybody knows what had happened. But the main reason is it hadn't been passed in the Parliament.«

The participants of this Forum agreed about the following conclusions and recommendations:

1. On the local media in Priboj there is not use of Bosnian language. Even official announcements of the political parties are written in iekavian dialect and are read in ekavian.

2. On the local media (Radio and TV Priboj) have no programmes dedicated to the culture of Bosnjaks and to some other features of this minority national community. The only progress is broadcasting an hour programme for the Muslim holiday Bajram.

3. The state media don't leave any space to the Bosnjak community to introduce itself. Exceptions are black chronicles, which are the only occasions for Bosnjaks to be mentioned.

4. NGO sector dealing with the matters of Bosnjaks in Priboj can speak about these problems on the local media only if it pays, so that it is necessary to provide a free programme for those organizations within the media.

5. It is necessary to found Press Centre in Priboj for holding press conferences. It happens very often that announcers don't know who works for which media. This way there would be a service to invite the journalists of the local, but correspondents of central media, as well.

6. It was also concluded there should be created a »link« between NGO sector and the local administration in order to record all the problems existing in the society, i.e. in the local community, both with majority and minority populations.

7. The leading positions in the local administration don't belong to any Bosnjak. The same situation is in education, police, and judiciary. There are only few Bosnjaks working in the Police, and only in the traffic branch.

Addition

The list of the forum participants:

- Alagić Fahrudin, Sandzak Democratic Party (SDP)
- Merdović Sefer, SDP
- Merdović Admir, SDP
- Zora Čelović, Women's Initiative, Priboj

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- Radoje Raško Kojadinović, DS Priboj
 - Ferzo Čelović, »IMPID« Priboj and board member Priboj
 - Rada Čolović, Centre for Human Rights Priboj
 - Svetlana Papić, Women's Initiative
 - Slavica Cerović, Centre for Human Rights Priboj
 - Kenan Hajdarević, Civic Union of Serbia
 - Miomir Prijović, Civic Union of Serbia
 - Milićević Milenko, mayor of Priboj
 - Hadžić Ekrem, Helsinki Committee for Human Rights
 - Aida Polimac, Civic Action for Human Rights
 - Fuad Bećirović, journalist-writer
 - Jasmina Kruševljanin, Sandzak Committee for Protection of Human Rights and Freedoms
 - Zoran Maksimović, Sandzak Committee for Protection of Human Rights and Freedoms
 - Bjelopoljac Mujo, journalist FONET
 - Šaljić Hamdija

The meeting was covered by the following media:

- TV Priboj
- Radio Priboj
- FONET

THE FIFTH FORUM REPORT:

**THE APPLICATION OF THE GENERAL
CONVENTION AND THE STATUS OF NATIONAL
MINORITIES IN SANDZAK**

Sjenica, 25th November 2005.

Semiha Kačar, the president of the Sandzak Committee for Protection of Human Rights and Freedoms informed the participants about the previous project results.

Sedat Vrcic (NGO Flores) speaking about media said: »There is certainly some progress. By the end of 2002 in an analysis the state of media was estimated like a latent danger, where positive changes were recorded more on the state TV, public service, while big number of media of lower range was estimated as a great danger — electronic media, media of regional and local character, which are still the sources of bad taste and trash, but also the media that retained speech of hatred and rhetoric from the 90-ies. What is going on in Sandzak? When we are speaking about media on the level of this region there is a trend of »turning off« of the newspapers. Apart from »Voice of Islam« we don't have any other serious and quality newspaper. I think in Prijepolje there is the magazine »Polimlje«, and in Nova Varos »Nova Varos news«, but they are not Bosnjak magazines. Perhaps it is hindering factor of development. Nevertheless, printed media are important. The printed media are used when someone wants to elaborate a certain topic, or to examine the situation in a society. So, we have that one magazine that can be called Bosnjak, although »The Voice of Islam« can't be characterized as Bosnjak. It is aimed at Muslims, since it deals with religious aspect. Regarding electronic media — radio stations mostly focus on the commercial programmes, reducing informative programme to the technical minimum, probably being afraid of different attitudes, but also for the fear of possible »turning off« in the case of broadcasting something that »ones high above« don't like. Probably such times passed!? We are witnesses that almost all the stations exist only for regards and congratulations. Why almost all? Because there is a Novi Pazar station that is a real refreshment — »Sto plus«, which covers the territory of Sjenica, as well. That radio has its informative programme. There is trend to examine Sandzak problems and inform people about that. On the other hand, there is a good orientation to elaborate some topics professionally. Sjenica is covered by the two TV stations — Regional Radio-TV and TV Jedinstvo. One part of the workers on regional TV is in strike, another part is trying to keep the programme continuity. It is obvious the conflict of two opposite options is reflected through that. Where is there an average resident of Zabren, Aljinovic? There is again one problem. How to cherish the language? Generally, media are one of the most powerful and most effective devices for achieving one's goals. The problem is rooted. When in the 40-ies and 50-ies the teachers from

Sumadija were bringing there many students were thinking it wasn't urban to speak iekavian dialect. In education system through Cyrillic and epic poetry there was achieved that many people in Novi Pazar used mainly ekavian dialect, what hasn't been before. In terms of cherishing the language, important changes are needed. It would be good to initiate some regional independent media — printed and electronic ones, which will be cherishing language and culture of Bosnjaks. There needn't be too much politics, in our analytical opinion. It seems to me there hasn't been made any bigger progress regarding media, if we compare the current situation with the research from 2004 that we did with Freedom House. Unfortunately we have many cases of discrimination about jobs and participation in the power. I and my colleague got jobs in Sjenica in Technical School. Of course, the problem reached the court, since somebody asked the question could people who graduated in Sarajevo work in education field in Serbia. That's why I have been at the court for 2 years. All of that is being boiled in the political kitchen. Nobody can persuade me there isn't political lobbying. What is their argument? Sarajevo diploma. It is well known that since 70-ies — 80-ies Bosnjaks mainly have been studying in Sarajevo«.

Semiha Kacar: »No doubt it shows there is still discrimination in education. As far as I know diplomas from Pale, or from Foca and from some other cities of Serbian entity in Bosnia are valid here, while Sarajevo diplomas, a city with long and rich University tradition, or ones from Tuzla, Zenica, Bihac are not recognized here. Participation of Bosnjaks in the court organs in Sjenica is not satisfactory, according to the research of Sandzak Committee. The worst situation is in the Prosecutor's Office. Only one person of Bosnjak nationality was employed there, and he was a law clerk. We were doing the research at the beginning of this year. Perhaps there has been some progress in the meantime. Considering some other organs and institutions, the situation is also bad, especially in the police and army. That is the consequence of a long discriminatory politics since 1992. So, nothing has been done about it. The similar situation is in the Revenue Administration, Post Office, etc«.

Sedat Vrcic: »There is one more important problem showing a big political lack of taste. A few years ago the director of the Medical centre said Muslims could get 4 less attractive specialisations«.

Semiha Kacar: »Sjenica has a visible problem of brain drain. Many doctors, specialists left this area«.

Sedat Vrcic: »About 11 doctors left in 1998; two specialists and two General practitioners. What did that director use as an argument? Simply, in his opinion, we don't want to educate people for other countries«.

Semiha Kacar: »Why have so many professionals left? Has anyone asked himself what were the consequences of brain drain, the experts of all the profiles who are needed a lot to this area? Conditions for their staying should have been made. I have to say this year we had many complaints about employing of doctors in the Sjenica Medical House, especially regarding Bosnjaks. On behalf of the Sandzak Committee we sent letters to the Medical Centre in Uzice. The respond was the open competition for employing doctors shouldn't be done, what was not understandable«.

Sedat Vrcic: »The only man on the level of the commune and its institutions that is competent in his job is the director of the Institution for Sports. He is also a federal selector«.

Esad Zornic (mayor of Sjenica): »I will give you my both political and moral views of the initiated issues, and that are important for the final conclusion of this forum. I agree with a great deal of the statements being said here. It looks like we still learn democracy. The much we learn democracy the much we believe. We believed democratic changes would bring many better things. Significant progress hasn't been made. I myself made a certain progress since I appointed for a deputy of mayor representative of Serbian part of population. That way I was thinking that by respect of differences we can influence the state to do the same with us. It looks like the respond is not the same. That's why I agree with most statements here, but I will also make my own comment. I have to say municipal administrations made some progress with a new way of organization, about elections and all the rest referring to democracy, but I am afraid the municipal administrations are still reduced only to communal jobs. I will illustrate it with an example. No wonder. I am a mayor, the first man of Sjenica, and just as you, like the citizens, went out and heard about appointing the president of the court, the same way I was informed about appointing the director of the Hospital. I say it sincerely, in my political luck, some other institutions that are on the state ingerention, have directors who are not for reelection yet, and they are still on those positions. I know there were some connotations I influenced appointing the first, the second, the fifth director, but I claim the state does it from the very top wherever it has ingerentions. What principle does the state do it? In my opinion, not only in Sjenica, but in any town, there are some lobbying people, who gained positions and privileges, in this or that Government. They keep their positions supporting the current political will, whether they are mayors, or not, they still can influence personnel in the very Municipality. It didn't discouraged me, but it is the fact. I spoke about it in Belgrade. They are sometimes angry for my permanent repeating these things, but I claim Belgrade can't see further from Obrenovac, unless one »cries«, takes the programmes, unless one knocks on hundred doors. Is it overloading of the administrative organ, or it is »I will be appointed and nothing else is of my interest?« It should be discussed, but the fact is it is very difficult to reach these structures. Exceptions are honored. I am talking about some ministries that really accepted me. But some of them tell me to leave certain documents, and when I phone them they can't remember I was there. So, even such things are possible. But everything isn't that black. There are few cases of finding understanding and respond, but it isn't the topic. The topic is the one I cited at the beginning. I think we are still on the topic of work. I think that the base of law, judiciary and laws in general, allow some people leading some media to have a certain freedom in doing anything, for the so called law hole, not being exposed to any sanctions. Nobody reads laws to learn, but to find failures and behave in accordance with them. Another problem related to media is a high dose of unprofessionalism in media, especially in the local ones. That lack of professionalism produced the situation where, for example, I as a mayor could influence some TV house to employ my cousin, regardless he hasn't completed at least the sec-

ondary journalist schhol. He completed for example secondary textile school. It is a good occupation, but it has nothing to do with journalism. Professionalism in these details is very important. Apart from that, political control is an unavoidable reality. We must discuss it permanently, since it causes decreasing the level of professionalism of any media. It is true they have many commercials, but they must survive, i.e. earn their salaries. We are aware that the state RTS couldn't provide finances and it introduced a tax. Wishing it or not, one must pay it, since it is attached to the electricity bill. What about organization of the local media, electronic or printed ones, in the towns like ours, where daily income is 70–80 thousand dinars. Yesterday I spoke to the head of market inspection of the Zlatibor District, since the public opinion in Sjenica is there are too many inspections of all the levels — is it financial, market or sanitary. Sjenica industry died, like in some other parts of the Republic, but someone in Belgrade thinks more money could be taken from Sjenica. The money of inspection penalties go to Belgrade. I checked the information that from Sjenica 18–20 million dinars go to Belgrade every month, and for synchronization, only 5–6 millions dinars return to Sjenica from Belgrade. There are statistical data that there is one shop per 3.5 families (4 members) in Sjenica. They are mainly family shops. I do my shopping at my cousin's shop. They are the shops at the edge of existence with a daily income of 3–5000 dinars. Some don't have even a thousand, and inspection gives them penalty of 50.000 dinars. The owner can't recover in a month. Cacak is strong, Uzice as well, to say Novi Pazar, too. It is not the same to pay penalty of 50.000 dinars with an income of 3.000 and pay 5.000 for the income of 1 or more hundred euro. It means the way of protection and this economic situation dictate the situation we are talking about. There has always been bread and music. It hasn't been said just like that, but it is a big truth. How much bread will we have in these conditions is the base for all other matters. A few days ago, for some splitting of finances Tutin got 3 million dinars and Sjenica 700.000 from the top of the state. What is the problem? I was criticized last year when I reacted in public saying a big mistake has been made by printing Elementary reading book of Bosnian language in Tutin, without an agreement with the Ministry of education and with relevant people from here, linguists and other language experts, in order to agree about it. In my opinion the people who did it just wanted to be the first in order to enter the history. Last time I agreed with imam Ramiz, who said it couldn't be introduced only by decree or by book, but we should work in the very base, at home, in the family. Keeping oneself within cultural, ethnical and any other sense is a very important thing. I will give you an example. In the Law on Education it is clearly cited that the residents of SCG who are abroad and attend those schools there, in the case of return, they continue their education from the grade they are. My colleague's brother came back, he completed the first year of the Faculty in Sarajevo, he paid tuition there and came back with a wish to continue his education in his mother country. He was asked if he completed the first year in Pale or Sarajevo. If the Law says so it is discrimination. Hard word! But if it is like that in the Law then it is really like that. One professor's comment was: »In Sarajevo we are strangers, and in Serbia we are Indians«. This sentence could be discussed. What's the matter in fact? We must fight together to avoid

such situations. We have the situation that many young people, just for all historical and family relationships, educate in Sarajevo. A very bad situation for our experts to come back is for nostrifications. I claim that there was no difference in the programme of Medical faculties, which I studied, in Sarajevo and in Belgrade. The difference is, for example, listening to the lectures of anatomy lasts for three semesters in Sarajevo and in Belgrade 2 semesters. They make differences as it is word about studying in Zimbabwe. What is the point? Chemistry engineer or a dentist may somehow nostrificate their diplomas, but what to do with the ones who completed Criminology in Sarajevo? I made this problem actual. There were »criminology schools« in Skopje, as well as in Sarajevo, which had been recognized in our country until breaking out the war in Bosnia. Now they are not recognized. We have the problem of equal treatment. There are many doctors Serbs coming to Sjenica, since it is much easier to get specialisation here than in Belgrade or Kraljevo. In Belgrade it is recorded the specialisation is given to Sjenica. We had two stopped specialisations, two years«.

Zlatko Jusufovic (Association for the disabled children): »Since I work in the field of medicine I can talk about it. I would be happy if I could say something that all of you could say, and that is the democratization processes went on with a planned tempo, and now we don't ask about (in)equality of rights, but to participate more in the process, in which through the true democratization of relations of the society we live in, in the country we live in, create conditions where there wouldn't be the central question »What do you think, is it possible to live together, i.e. is mutual life possible?« In the true democratic processes probably all the normal people would establish a system of life where everybody would exist together, and there wouldn't be the tensions and mutual animosities. Unfortunately, with respect of everything done in that field, the democratization processes go slowly on the global, social levels. There is a big problem of all the citizens, especially Bosnjaks in Sandzak. There is an objective question; »What should we talk about and how to ask the question?« It would be good to talk about it, not being persistently blamed for some separatism. But I feel the things in the institutions have been put that way, that instead of being a force in an overall democratic process we are considered rivals, breaking all positive things. What for? For a clear fact that in the base of all inequalities is economic difference. In economic sense Sandzak is lagging behind a lot. Poverty causes all other relations and inequality, as well, and all that can be called very slowly or insufficient implementation of the rights of Bosnjaks. I just want to say it wouldn't be good to claim ourselves the damaged party, that has its own weaknesses. The fact is that we must remove some animosities ourselves. We must be more solidar, more tolerant. We must shift from this long crisis into a system of relations where we won't recognize each other through a criticism of all negatives, but through pulling all positive human features, using those features for building the mutual concept and future. The fact is the state does not do what it must do, and with its concrete measures to smooth an unequal economic position and development of Sandzak and other areas. Such problems are everywhere, but they are much bigger here. Unless a serious work is started here, and unless we are enabled to establish infrastructure in this area by our organizing, and by true financial and strong support, we will be subordinated and faced to el-

ementary problems, which are the sources of all the others. There is still a kind of metropolization here and the local administration is reduced to the communal service«.

Ramiz Ef. Hamidovic (Islam Community of Sandzak): »There is saying: »unless a child is crying his mother won't feed him«. It seems we are constantly punished with crying here, and we are crying for being hungry, and they don't feed us. Regarding the problem of information I would add one thing, and that is the TV tax that must be paid by force. We belong to the poor category of population. The poor people have always given oxen in the peace and sons in the wartime. Since we must give »oxen«, we must ask for the possibility to be presented on the national RTS, at least in an equal percentage with our participation in the society, and not only, like previously, to be criticised and humiliated. Bosnjaks, Bosnian language and other terms denoting us nationally were met with a knife and we were happy when a politician at least pronounced the word Bosnjak«.

Ibro Mehmedovic (NGO Network): »I have to emphasize the destiny of media is in transformation, i.e. privatisation, which should be completed in the next business year. Printed media should be privatised by the middle of the next year, and electronic ones by the end of the year. It is one more reason to talk about media and to be prepared for that, in order to avoid the things we are not satisfied with right now, and to prevent possible worse things. I don't have an intention to force anything. Printed media have some advantages in comparison with electronic ones, since they are at the same time historical documents, despite electronic ones, they don't have the guarantee of their ranges, despite radio and TV stations that can be heard and seen as far as the tunel in Ribarice, and that's the end. I don't minimize electronic media. It is the technical thing. I think electronic media are more attractive in our area, and people are more concerned about if they would be seen on TV, than if they said something wrong. In our slang there are some dilemmas. A great part of space is being given to mutual accusations of politicians and political parties, what is not good to anyone. It should be stopped immediately. The absurd is we now have most journalists, and least newspapers. We have many journalists and no newspapers. It causes the question of inability to answer to anyone, especially to the central media, who always dream about some vehabs, terrorists, mudzahedins, who »are hiding somewhere around«. We have no chance to respond. The media broadcasting that are not interested in response. It is totally relevant thing — if somebody believes it or not, but in the provinces of Serbia it is much believed. Vehabs are there! They are vehabs! But nobody recorded some vehab did something concrete. Yes, they did in the form of disorder of behaviour among believers. They perform namaz in a different way. Such broadcasting is in the service of regime. We should talk on time, since the transformation is necessary. Very few donations from the foreign organizations come to these areas. Well, since 2001–2004. 980 million euro entered Serbia. How much did this region get? That's the problem. More projects should be proposed. I think most money is given to the organizations in Belgrade. They caught the sources of all the foreign donors. There are many organizations where former ministers and representatives work«.

Hajrudin Kolasinac (a writer): »At the exhibit of the Ministry of Agriculture and Water at the Novi Sad fair in 2003. I got its application, i.e. the programme for re-

turning money, i.e. the invested money for land purchase. Approximately 33% should be returned. It is an example of discrimination of the whole region. My uncle and I collected all the necessary documentation, and the respond of the Ministry was the money returned doesn't refer to the region Raska district, i.e. Sandzak. It means the money is being returned to the central Serbia, Sumadija and Vojvodina. There is a general question why it is like that. The answer was our land doesn't meet their criteria of quality 5, 6, 7 or 8th class of land. That's not true. The Sumadija land doesn't give more wheat than our land. No way!

It is visible that in Serbia and Montenegro the problem of information of Bosnjaks in their mother language is being put in the corner. In Montenegro on the first channel of Montenegrin TV Albanian national minority community has its informative block, i.e. an informative programme in Albanian. Bosnjaks (there are 20% of them) have no second of programme on the state TV of Montenegro. The same is in Serbia. I would pay the tax, but why should I do it if I don't have an equal participation in the programme. Will Bosnjaks be mentioned on the TV as terrorists? I should pay 300 dinars a month for that? If we are talking about the problem of local media, let's take the examples of the 2 local stations — Jedinstvo and Regional TV. I think it isn't only about the conflict among political parties, it is rather a conflict among politicians, what creates tension among the citizens. Some politicians' presentations on the Regional TV remind of quarrels of small children — mum, this one or that one did something bad to me. Does someone make impossible work of some services in Novi Pazar, or not should be found out by the professional personnel services. Such questions mustn't and shouldn't be asked in the public. I don't think they should be hidden of the public, but they shouldn't be presented that way. I think a language is the main device of consciousness. Opposing language and speech in mother language is in fact denying an identity of a nation and preventing expressing of everything that nation would like to say. Before it has been denoted one of the official languages Bosnian language and Bosnjaks had been put aside. I don't know if there are bilingual forms in Sandzak, written in both Cyrillic and Latin alphabets. Not yet! It is sad. We often deal with wrong matters that should stay, at least for some time, peripheral».

Rijad Hodzic (NGO Flores): »Regarding our area, especially Sjenica, discrimination is visible. We talked about braindrain. Let's start from the point how many our students have the state scholarships — Literally none. We have students with an average mark — ten and none of them got some scholarship. Maybe some did, municipal one. It is a big problem, since if the state gives a scholarship to a student it means he is guaranteed some job. But regarding Bosnjak students there are no scholarships. It is, in my opinion, not a small discrimination, since young and educated people leave the country. They are being mentioned only in a negative context, as the rivals of the state and potential terrorists. But nothing has been done to meet those people better. There is a great discrimination in education. The only good thing in the education reform is introducing religious education into schools, and it shouldn't be an optional but compulsory subject. Regarding other segments of education I still claim more texts from Bosnian language should be introduced for our children, so that the children could become familiar with their culture. We have many intellectuals, fa-

mous writers and scientists. But they are not well known. For example, people know more about P. P. Njegos than about Camil Sijaric. One power has gone, another one came, many others will come, but their aim is not affirmation of Bosnjak nation in this state. It could be seen from many writings, not only in electronic media but in the newspaper, too. Every day you can find something blaming Bosnjaks. No our man lobs where it is necessary. We have always had at least one man in the top power, from Mustafa Dzigal to Rasim Lajic. I have to say one more example. Most people here know an excellent attorney, and that is Jasna Colovic. She is the first person to have passed qualifying examination for judges at once, and there is no room for her to work at our court«.

Semiha Kacar warned: »Sandzak is called a future crisis focus, as the home of terrorists. This is also one of the reasons for Sandzak to be treated like that by the central media, just because we are not presented enough in that media and because we don't have enough professional responsible personnel to oppose these manipulations. On the other hand the interest of the state is to present Novi Pazar as a developed city, to keep silent, while some people from Milosevic's regime still raise tensions, and in fact the state tries to get free from the responsibility to help the Sandzak towns. Media is not interested in multidimensional, more realistic and more severe picture of Sandzak towns — that they are the towns with most poor people, with bad infrastructure, with the lowest rate of medical care, with an evident lack of cultural and educational institutions, with technically poor equipment of schools, with more than 40 students in a class. The state, by this demagogic, designed and scheduled media idealization, by the stories about the wealth of Novi Pazar and Bosnjaks, simply takes off its responsibility presenting this area as the one that doesn't need any investments, being careful to avoid any possible losing control«.

Sedat Vrcic: »When we got recently 3 rooms in Ministries, it was a political lack of taste, trade, but I realised it positive... After many years I hear the word Bosnjaks, being pronounced by a speaker from Belgrade television, and in the newspaper I read — three Bosnjaks in ministries. For the first time we have been considered citizens, people«.

Almir Mehonjic (chief of the cabinet of Prijepolje mayor): »I just wanted to make a comment about introducing religious education. I don't support it. Why? I am a believer, too, but I think introducing religious education into Serbian society is in fact introducing Serbian Orthodox Church underhandedly into schools. It was like that in Prijepolje and some other towns of Sandzak. Why? A usual picture today is eating Slava cake at schools, or blessing classrooms, etc. I think it is a big negative thing. It is a big mistake of Zoran Djindjic's Government. On the other hand, I think the process of integration of minorities in the Serbian society was stopped after assassination of Zoran Djindjic. Many people today wonder for appearance of neoNazis, why the propagand materials are distributed in the very Belgrade and there is the speech about pure Serbian blood. But they just proof to all of us that this point hasn't gone so far from the thesis on Serbs as a heaven nation. That thesis was made by the intellectual circle of Serbian nation, or to be more precise from the Serbian Academy of Science and Arts. I think Serbia today pays the penalty because it didn't face the

truth, it didn't admit the genocide in Srebrenica, it didn't display the scenes of Racak, Strpci, Sjeverin, etc. There is a problem of law application. We have a certain law regulation that... For example, the Law on the protection of human rights and freedoms of national minorities is above the standards of the European law, but its application is very bad.«

Hazir Ef. Dacic (Islam community of Sandzak): »I wouldn't agree with the statement that introducing religious education was a failure of Zoran Djindjic's Government. The older people know very well that Orthodox religious education has existed a long time ago and the classrooms were being blessed even before an official introducing of religious education into schools. The use of that religious education from the Serbian point of view is that spiritual part will get milder national one, and concretely in the whole project of religious education. Muslims had the most use of that. It is a unique occasion that at such places and in such institutions we can talk about religion. It was the first opportunity that in a way was a challenge to The Islamic Community to talk about religion in that way«.

Semiha Kacar: »Since almost all citizens accepted introducing religious education into schools that should be respected. On the other hand, parents haven't asked for religious education because their children don't have enough knowledge about it. They gained that knowledge in the religious education in the mosques. That's not the point. Regular teaching programmes haven't given enough space to Bosniak children to learn something about their language, culture, and tradition. The only way to find out something about it that time was religious education«.

Zlatko Jusufovic: »Every religious community consists of people, so that every religious community has its concept. Radicalism prevailing in the work of a certain religious community is not a good thing. I think much could be said about it. For example, how big trauma for Bosniaks is the scene of »scorpio« with a priest. The problem is not only in that. The problem is what element of protection was used by the representatives of Serbian Orthodox Church to protect something that can't be protected. So, the quality of any organization depends on the people leading it, and religion as religion mustn't be the subject of dispute«.

Almir Mehonjic: »There wouldn't be the problem if that intellectual side prevailed, but the problem is that »intellectual side« glorifies war criminals. So, that's the problem. Such people are teachers at schools«.

Ramiz Ef. Hamidovic: »Every matter is seen depending on the way of looking. That thing is evident and it is clear to everybody, just as a medicine for a sick man must be taken according to prescription, but if you use more or less dose there won't any good effect. Or, let's say, penicilin — someone is killed by it, another one is cured. It depends on an organism. So, the view on our religion will irritate some people, but won't irritate the others. There is one truth it should have been introduced. By the Act of cancelling religious education in 1946 religious lectures were stopped, and, as it has been said, in 2000 there was made return. It was an irregular term — return. Religious education has never been cancelled at schools, it just got another form. Everybody could teach it, I have no intention to minimize anybody, but every teacher had right to say to his student — There is no God. It would be the

same as if I was a daltonist and told somebody it suited him well. Just for that reason religious education was introduced«.

Ramiz Crnisanin: »Communist party was the atheistic one. It has never been hidden. They have known religion couldn't be uprooted, and that's why there was freedom of consciousness and religion, and one who had been a believer he could be a teacher. One could go to church or mosque. But believers couldn't have been directors since they were not atheists, i.e. communists«.

Almir Mehonjic: »I said only that introducing religious education is introducing Serbian Orthodox Church underhandedly into schools. I haven't mentioned Islamic religious community, since Islam is marginalized in comparison with Orthodox religion. You talked about some medicines. Give me one name from SOC having such positive effect. There are no such people«.

Edi Tvrtkovic (MB G17 PLUS): »You know that our area, together with Vranje, is the least developed area. Each system that had power in Serbia needed some unstable region. Some terrorists are always being mentioned. It is up to us to prove their existence here. They need a service that will always extinguish that »fire«. I want to say that we from here should ask for some experts to come here and check the information if there are really some terrorist here, or they are normal people. The police coming here before the war said: »What's this, there is really nothing here!«. Regarding secularity of this state it doesn't exist. The Church is, together with Serbian Academy of Science, a representative of the leading politics here, and no policy without the Church's agreement can't operate. So, if it is really like that, let's suppose every stage has some quantity that is being transformed into quality, and that one part that we got having religious education is a product of that progress. What is most important, everybody here knows that any freedom depends on economic freedom. You may have million of experts in Sjenica, but will they work? They must go somewhere. Has any our politician talked to our diaspora, to say — invest the money here, employ our people, we will give you land. This moment, not only this area, but the whole Serbia has no better solution than agriculture, and this area has been created just for that. If we look for the fastest and best possibility to employ someone, it is here. Regarding institutions you can immediately see some discrimination, in our hospital, since if you get a recommendation you have to pay for tickets, food, since it is a cost out of Sjenica — One should struggle. We have already got some specialisations, for example skin diseases, that we didn't use to have. Then, you can't be angry with a specialist who comes to Sjenica from another town, who must examine more than 50 people in half an hour. Everybody, according to his possibilities, should be trying to find some solutions. One should work harder, rather than talk, and many problems will be solved«.

Zlatko Jusufovic: »We belong to Medical Centre Uzice, and there is no bus from Sjenica to Uzice. Our insured manage themselves. They travel »by taxi« and pay a lot. The new law on health insurance that has entered the Parliament procedure these days, and will be adopted in ten days nobody here had been consulted. If the representatives that we have don't take care about it, the right on travel expenditures at the area of head department will be cancelled. It means our insured must

travel to Uzice, no matter there is no bus, he now doesn't have the right even on travel expanses«.

Ibro Mehmedovic: »In the telephone network group 020, 237 villages have no fixed telephone line. Only two villages in Novi Pazar have asphalted road to the village centre, and there are 93 villages in Novi Pazar commune. No politician mentioned that. We have dislocated Electro industry, etc. Medical centre in Novi Pazar is not the regional one, so that very often people from Tutin must travel to Kraljevo. This is a pure discrimination. We don't have an office for privatisation, it is in Kraljevo, and that's why the situation here is like this, especially regarding privatisation process. Military office is also dislocated. The mayor says Novi Pazar got from Velja Ilic more than from 1945 up to now«.

The participants of this forum agreed about the following conclusions and recommendations:

1. Originality and identity of Bosnjaks are officially, although it hasn't been regulated by the Constitution and Law yet, recognized by the Government and other institutions. In the official communication and in the newspaper the name Bosnjak is used.
2. There was formed National Council of Bosnjaks operating in the state community SCG, without serious difficulties in that sense.
3. High school institutions were founded. But inheritance from the past still exists; in the school books of primary and secondary school the content remained almost the same, only direct pejorative expressions were thrown away. Bosnjak children, together with the children of other nationalities, can't learn anything from these books about their national culture, history, language and tradition.
4. In some communes (Novi Pazar, Tutin and Sjenica) there was introduced Bosnian language as an official language.
5. Although there are still some incidents, the level of freedom, security of life and property is higher than before.
6. There is a trend of Serbian Orthodox Church to intrude itself as the state religion. It is supported by some structures, like the Army of Serbia and Montenegro (an example of bringing crosses on the Sandzak hills).
7. The Forum stressed a visibly undeveloped area of Sandzak and its economic lagging behind, what had been cited by International Crisis Group in its analysis.
8. It is necessary the Government of the Republic of Serbia and other state organs to start establishing institutions for fastening an overall development of this area. In that sense much bigger activity of the local factors is needed: municipal administration, NGOs, economic associations and citizens, regardless their political and national affiliations.
9. The Ministry of Education and Sport, together with some other organs, should take measures regarding nostrifications of diplomas from Sarajevo and other universities; there is still discrimination of Bosnjaks who completed faculties in Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The students from the territory of Republika Srpska don't have such problems.
10. A visible problem is also implementation of the rights of religious schools students, even of Medresa, who are not insured. Their parents don't receive children's income. They were asked to have the same rights like the other students.

11. A bigger, more active participation of Bosnjaks, especially intellectuals, in development of activities in all segments, particularly the ones related with the status of Bosnjaks, is necessary.

12. It was emphasized an unsatisfactory participation of Bosnjaks in the Republic institutions and judiciary, police and army. There is no judge of the Supreme Court who is Bosnjak, as well as no deputy of the Republic Prosecutor.

13. The problem of food for Bosnjaks in the army hasn't been solved yet.

14. In media, in the publishing work there are a lot of antiislam books, with permanent connotations it always refer to Bosnjaks.

15. The state media don't give very many coverages of the problems of Bosnjaks and Sandzak, not treating their culture, tradition and history, with very often wrong reports and sensationalisticly.

16. Regarding further treatment of Sandzak and solving its status, Serbian part of Sandzak was suggested to be treated like an area, not to be separated, but to form Novi Pazar district out of that, that had existed since 1948 and to form Bijelo Polje District in the Montenegrin part of Sandzak.

17. The participants show inequality of the taxes, especially of private shops and handicrafts.

18. It was suggested starting up a magazine for culture, history and tradition of Bosnjaks, but also a magazine dealing with the modern themes from life and political practice.

Addition

The list of the forum participants:

Esad Zornić, a mayor of Sjenica
 Semiha Kačar, the president of the Sandzak Committee for Protection of Human Rights and Freedoms
 Sedat Vrcić, president of NGO Flores
 Ramiz Crnišanić, Sandzak Intellectual Circle
 Melisa Abdulahović, NGO Flores
 Emina Abdulahović, NGO Flores
 Faiz Hamidović, MB Social-Democratic Party
 Irfet Hadžifejzović, MB Social-Democratic Party
 Džemila Hodžić, NGO Flores
 Sanela Buljubašić, NGO Flores
 Fevzija Hodžić, a board member of SDP (Sandzak Democratic Party) Sjenica
 Zlatko Jusufović, Association for disabled children
 Ibro Mehmedović, Network NGOs »Together to success«
 Hajrudin Kolašinac, NGO Flores
 Albinot Maloku, Kosovo
 Edi Tvrtković, MB G17 plus
 Ramiz Ef. Hamidović, Islamic Community, Sjenica

Hazir Dacić, Islamic Community, Sjenica

Almir Mehonjić, Sandzak Democratic Party

Kenan Tatarević, SDP, Prijepolje

Rijad Hodžić — NGO Flores

Zoran Maksimović, Sandzak Committee for Protection of Human Rights and
Freedoms

Selma Ljajić, RTV Jedinstvo

Edib Honic, RTV Regional TV and Radio »Sto plus«

The forum was covered by the following media:

Regional RTV Novi Pazar

RTV Jedinstvo

Radio »Sto plus«

THE SIXTH FORUM REPORT:

**THE APPLICATION OF THE GENERAL
CONVENTION AND THE STATUS OF NATIONAL
MINORITIES IN SANDZAK**

Novi Pazar, 7th December 2005.

Semiha Kacar, Sandzak Committee for Protection of Human Rights and Freedoms, in her introductory speech said:

»On behalf of Sandzak Committee I am very pleased to greet you and wish a pleasant staying in Novi Pazar, as well as successful work in the VI forum about the application of the General Convention and the status of national minorities in multiethnic areas. The previous, very successful sessions, held in Novi Pazar, Sjenica and Tutin resulted in bringing many recommendations and conclusions about solving the identified problems in economics, culture, education, communal infrastructure. In the situations where we don't have enough professional personnel it is necessary to engage ones from other areas. There was given a series of suggestions about methods of solving some problems, in the aim of improvement of an overall situation in this area. All the instances in charge will be informed about these suggestions in order to help us in this field. We are also witnesses of many problems in our area that can result in unwanted consequences for the whole situation (»hatred of speech« in media, incidents at the sport terrains, nationalistic slogans and graffiti, some inappropriate statements by politicians, etc.). We must react on such events in order to avoid bad consequences and raise of tensions. The experience shows we must be awoken and careful. This important meeting, being organized by Sandzak Committee, with the support of Swedish Helsinki Committee, gathered many representatives of cultural and public life of this area, and the representatives of NGOs and media. Our meeting is a confirmation of an honest effort to discuss all the problems in a creative and constructive way, in the spirit of tolerance, in the atmosphere of mutual respect and confidence. I hope this meeting and its conclusions will be an important step towards recognition of problems of this multiethnic and multiconfessional area, solving them and getting closer to the values of civic society. In that sense, once more, I want to wish you a successful work.

After Semiha Kacar's introductory speech aimed at informing the participants with the previous forums, there were read conclusions and recommendations of the same ones, as well as an introduction into the programmes and the flow of closing sessions.

Aleksandra Sanjevic (Civic Initiatives) by her speech about »Relation of the state and the representatives of the institutions of minority communities, tried to cite the failures of the state in the relation to minorities, but also turned to everything has been done in changing their status for better. As an important element of that change

she emphasized National Councils, which must be given better working conditions, since only in 2004 they started getting the money from the state budget. Before that they had been financed by donors. The progress in terms of finances is increasing for National councils in 2006 for 30% in comparison with the last year.

By passing the Law on protection of rights and freedoms of national minorities, in February 2002 Serbia and Montenegro, at that time Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, showed a good will to solve the problem of minorities, but it is only the beginning of that process, since it is a sheltered law. Many other regulations, regulating minority's rights individually are needed. Treatment of the national minorities rights in more details should be in charge of entities within SCG«.

The relation between the state and the representatives of the institutions of national minorities.

Regarding the time I have to respond so defined topic, I will focus my speech to the matter of National councils of national minorities and relation of the state to these representative organs of minority communities. But I should stress the topic can't be totally processed only through the relation to National councils but through many other aspects. The status of National councils simply intrudes as the most important matter in this context. Their importance is also confirmed by the fact that National councils are from the very beginning of their establishing on the top list of minority matters.

At the very beginning I would remind you of passing the Law on protection rights and freedoms of national minorities, being adopted by the Parliament of FRY in 2002. Passing such a law had a multiple importance. Besides the importance for regulating rights and freedoms of national minorities, it also had a great political significance. Well it was about the will of new, democratic authorities to start regulation of the status of national minorities according to International standards, as well as about their understanding that after October 5th democratic changes, the matter of regulation of rights and freedoms of minorities is one of priority tasks of new authorities that will be the measure of their true democracy, both on the domestic and International Community stages. Indeed, the Law was welcomed and praised, with the comments its regulations are according to the International standards in this field.

One of the new things of the Law was introducing Institute of National councils of national minorities as a kind of representative organs of minority national communities. Although to us new this law in various forms, but essentially does the same or very similar to one exist in other countries in our surrounding. So our legislator had more models and experience that he could use in defining the role, status and many other important matters regarding National Councils.

But what in reality emerged as a problem, and hasn't been solved yet, was the fact that the Law referred to the complex problems of National councils only in two articles. Article 19 of the Law says the members of national minorities can choose their own National council for implementation of the right on autonomy in the fields of use alphabet and language, education, information and culture. Then this law talks about responsibilities and financing of the Councils. Regarding the ways of elections of National councils, the same article says election rules for the Councils will be regulated by the Law, and until then this matter is defined by the article 24 of the Law.

Well, by the Law there were introduced Institute of National councils in the way lloked for unavoidable passing additional regulations that would arrange matters important to the election and financing of the Councils. The way that the state answered this obvious necessity during the last four years, unfortunately throws shadow on the action of introducing the Councils, which itself was approved and supported. It also raises doubt in authentic and good intentions of the state to provide to minorities in the most effective way the right on autonomy, which is being implemented through the institution of National councils. How are the National councils functioning in practice and how much are in accordance with the Legislator's intention?

Regarding election of National councils there hasn't been passed a particular law to regulate this matter, and its passing was explicitly determined by the article 19. The mentioned article 24 of the Law determines indirect way of elections of the members of councils through elector's assemblies. This article explains who can be electors, while the way of formation of electors assemblies for election of National councils of national minorities, as well as the ways of election of members of National councils additionally regulated by the Rule Book on the way of work of assembly for election of national councils.

The planned way of elections made many problems in practice, and not only in the elections procedure. More important fact is that the planned election system hasn't still provided a necessary representation in the structure of the Councils. Councils should reflect in the most adequate ways plurality of a minority community in order to respond as much as possible to the needs of the community they represent. On the contrary, by this way of election there was made a possibility to be monopoly organs of political elites of some minority communities. In practice it happened first to the Councils of the biggest and most influential minorities with the strongest political articulation. We particularly think of Hungarian and Bosniak national councils which are in their structures an expression of a political party. It is clear that it is misuse of the ideas of councils and there are some other ways of elections that would be more appropriate.

The elected and constituted councils were faced with many problems in reality. They were about responsibilities of the Councils and mechanisms available for performance of that duty. That was, as we have mentioned before, arranged by the Law in the most general way. As no extra, more detailed regulations hadn't been passed, after formation of councils there was much wasted time in loitering and looking for the possibilities of an effective operating. We don't exaggerate if we say the Councils functioned as they »managed«. Bigger minorities did it better, of course, which using their political influence succeeded to struggle for their status and intrude some solutions. Of course such an important matter mustn't be the subject of finding out or of relation of political strength.

An inadequate regulation of the problems of elections and responsibilities of National councils caused continual reactions, what influenced the organs in charge to begin the process of making draft of the Law to regulate these matters during 2005. In that aim there were formed work bodies working in preparation of the solutions for some fields of competence of the Councils. Unfortunately, we are again the

witnesses of inadequate relation of the state to this matter. Although it is known that 2006 is an election year for some councils, and it would be necessary the new structure to be elected according to different rules, the formed work bodies gathered only once, while at the same time the representatives of competent state organs promised in public that law will be passed by the New year, what hadn't happened. We can also say the process of the draft of the Law goes in an unnoticed way even to the members of National councils, although they participate in the working groups preparing the draft of the Law text.

One more very important matter described by the article 19 is the matter of financing of the Councils. It is understandable that without guaranteed and provided finances councils can't have even elementary conditions for their work. Although the Law cites they will be financed from the budget and donations Councils got the first finances from the state only a year after adoption of the Law. After that the financing of the Council was getting better and better, in the sense of bigger amounts, but only in 2005 financing was approached planned, so that the National councils participated in the process of planning necessary means. The matter of financing of the Councils requires establishing a clear and permanent mechanism in order to enable Councils to plan their work in a strategic and a long-term way.

We counted only the most visible problems in the National Councils functioning which talk more about the relation of the state to these institutions and to minority problems in general. This picture could be completed with many other instances. For this occasion and the limited time we have, I will count only the most actual facts influencing the status of minorities in our country. Regarding an institutional frame, we must say that the Law determined formation of the Federal council for national minorities — today it is the level of the state community. This body has never been formed. Instead, only in autumn 2004 there was formed Republic council of national councils of national minorities. Anyway one should praise formation of this organ being chaired by the president of the Government of Serbia, consisted of the representatives of all the national councils, as well as 6 Republic ministries, which field is of interest of the minority representatives. It is the only organ on the level of the Republic of Serbia which competence is dealing with the matters of national minorities. However, we must say this organ was formed after intensifying interethnic relations in Vojvodina during 2004 and after internationalization of this problem, what was an act of the state good will to take a step towards improving the status of minorities. It was formed by a Government regulation what devastates its importance and influence.

The article 20 of the Law determined establishing Federal Fund for inspiring social, economic, cultural and general development of national minorities. This fund hasn't been formed up to now.

Besides the mentioned need for passing the law that would regulate the way of elections and competences of National councils, it is also necessary passing the laws that would in a thorough, overall way regulate the status of minorities on the level of the Republic of Serbia. In Serbia there is no such a regulation. The Law we spoke about was passed on the level of the state community, and priority fields in which the minorities implement their autonomy are all in the competence of Republic. Also,

with an exception of Bosnjak minority from Montenegro consisted of the representatives of Bosnjak minority from Montenegro, all other councils are mainly consisted from the minority representatives from Serbia. In the series of valid regulations of the Republic of Serbia there are few articles arranging some important problems of minorities. So, that way there was created a legal chaos, where it is hard to find out oneself, and some regulations don't get along with each other. All of that shows the necessity of passing Republic legislature in this field. Attention should also be paid to uncertain destiny of the state community.

As we are talking about the necessity of passing an overall law regulation regarding the minority's problems, we are also citing the absence of a consistent state strategy with this matter. In many problems that our society is faced, building up a strategy leading to a long-term and adequate solution of problems of minorities wasn't recognized as a task of priority. That's why in practice solutions are looked for ad hoc, mainly when the problem appears or under the pressure of the International community.

At the end I have to stress I focused on some problems that could be solved by a different relation of the state. It would be wrong to make a conclusion that nothing has changed regarding relation of the state to the institutions of minority communities and there was no progress. No doubt the problem of minorities is treated with an attention and we can talk about a positive trend where the state makes some efforts directed to improvement of the status of minorities. That's why I think we should point to some disadvantages that could be overcome, and for good of all the citizens of our country.

Esad Dzudzevic, a Republic representative and the president of EB BNV in SCG, emphasizing the problem of implementation of the rights of Bosnjaks in the state community, precised that as its Internationally-legal obligation:

»I will certainly try to present the problems about implementation of the minority rights of Bosnjak national community in Serbia, and I would say a few sentences about minority rights in Montenegro. I can never avoid it, as a very important aspect, which is not characteristic for any minority community in Serbia and Montenegro. It is not the problem for Hungarians, Rusins, Slovaks or Rumunians, or for some other minorities. Whenever we talk about implementation of the rights of Bosnjak national minorities we must take the territory of the Republic of Montenegro, since, simply, implementation of our rights is still being done, to say, in an optionally International-legal subject called Serbia and Montenegro. So, all the obligations resulting from, besides the rest, the General Convention belong to the state called Serbia and Montenegro, and not only Serbia. About 92.800 members of Bosnjaks live in Montenegro. So, it is an aspect that can't be neglected in such a turn to the topic.

Of course, I often speak, before I shift to implementation of the rights of Bosnjak national community, about dilemmas, that are still not characteristic for other minority communications and must be mentioned here. Well, besides this aspect that I have already said, there is one more still existing with some Bosnjak political parties, associations, is the dilemma are Bosnjaks, i.e. Bosnjak national community, a nation or a national minority, leaning again on the definitions being given by the Interna-

tional Law. The first effort is, to say, very minority, that Bosnjaks are constitutive nation, following the logics that in the former SFRY they had had the status of a constitutive nation, but with no element of cultural autonomy. So, it had been a declarative right, recognized under very bad term, religious term, of course. And, if they are a minority, and the General Convention strictly talks about parties contractors, it means the result of enjoying minority rights is in fact a contract between the state where a minority lives and its mother country. There is a very characteristic question here, what is the mother country of Bosnjaks in Serbia? Is it Bosnia and Herzegovina, does that country have enough capacity to respond, let's say, to one term, hope and expectation of Bosnjaks in Serbia, so that on the emotional, cultural plan they could have a feeling that Bosnia is their mother country. Now it is up to capacity to give an answer in that sense.

We have two more restrictive factors regarding enjoying these minority rights. These are one inheritance existing in the sense of denying Bosnjak national identity, lasting for the whole XX century, it is very characteristic in all the registrations of population, since 1948 in '53, '62, '81 and so on. It is something that has always been overloading the identity of this minority population. We also have a negative inheritance from the period of the 90-ies, first of all period from 1992–1995., that many difficult things hasn't been explained by the state yet, not to say haven't been processed. Speaking about it, we usually make associations with the three abductions that happened in that period, an abduction in Strpce, Sjeverin and the events in Bukovica, in the commune of Pljevlja, and of course, a well known political process for 24 Bosnjaks, that, 13 years later, hasn't been finished yet in any way. What is important, these 4, 5 areas we are talking about, representing a classical branch of minority rights according to all the International legal documents and the General Convention, the most important document is the European Charter on regional and minority languages, which instruments, as you know, have been sent to Strasbourg, hasn't still been ratified.

Regarding the first segment, an official use of language and alphabet, it is, in a way, the least possible one, being realised in theses 3 communes — Novi Pazar, Tutin and Sjenica. It was cited in the Municipal statutes that Bosnian language has an equal use with Serbian language and cyrillic, but for regrettable, it is just for one, not small capacities of the local administrations, of course regarding financial aspect, that right is still only declarative. That right was put in the statutes of the three Municipalities, but it has been realised in the least possible quantity. As you know it is about displaying bilingual signs, from the traffic signs to the administrative and court processes. This right has been only partially realised in the Tutin commune, in Novi Pazar and Sjenica this right had just been put into the Statut as a declaration. It hasn't been realised, it hasn't been implemented in any way in the practice. And it is the problem for that to be in accordance with the law where we have the right. In Prijeplje and Priboj the local administrations don't respect the Law, don't bring this regulation into their Statutes, although it is a strict obligation, not only in accordance with the Law on minorities, but in accordance with the Law on the local administration, where it was cited clearly that the national community having 15% of popula-

tion on the level of the commune, that local community is obliged to introduce the language of that minority into its Statute, and all the rest following that. Unfortunately, in Prijeplje and Priboj it is not like that.

We are coming back to an ancient theme, existing since adoption of the Law on the rights and freedoms of national minorities, before 6th February, and that is the disadvantages of that Law that it simply doesn't contain in its text sanctions, i.e. the penalties to those not respecting it. So, according to that fact the whole situation with Priboj and Prijepolje excites nobody, and nobody was called on to react. I will just briefly remind you. I was a federal representative in that last Yugoslav parliament. I had an amendment asking for introducing a whole chapter of that Law, containing the penalty regulations, i.e. sanctions. It had been rejected in the Parliament, but since then we have been facing that problem. So, who is responsible if doesn't respect this Law regulations? Declaratively nobody, unless one uses some other laws criminal one for instance. It is a great disadvantage of this Law. In the Parliament, in the Government circles, in academic circles it has been seen as a moral norm. And then happened what had happened. But, by the International institutions and domestic public it had been evaluated as an excellent law text, so that the practice must cause its change in this segment. It means introducing penalty regulations into the Law.

The second segment in implementation of the rights of Bosnjak national minority in Serbia is education, and it is at the very beginning. Since the 2nd semester of the last school year Bosnjaks started enjoying this right, on the level of an optional subject — Mother tongue with the elements of national culture in the I and II grades, and this year it happens with the III grade, too, so we hope that concept will be realised, i.e. operationalized in further programmes of all the ages in Primary and Secondary school. What is important is that the project of the National Council, approved by already mentioned Republic Council for National Minorities, is foundation of the state Faculty of Pedagogy in Novi Pazar, that would contain a unique study group, to be called Study group for Bosnian and Serbian languages, where the students could gain knowledge about both languages, and at the end of their studies they would decide if in their diplomas would be written — teachers of Bosnian or Serbian, or teachers of both languages. I think it is a very important project that would be a determining mechanism for self-sustainability of the concept of education of Bosnjak national minority in Serbia.

We face the problem that Bosnjak National Council can't implement this concept of education in any other town, except Novi Pazar, Sjenica and Tutin, and regarding these 2 segments — official use of language and alphabet and education, this right ceases at the borders of these 3 communes. It is not just a bad thing, but an elementary disregard of at least 4–5 laws, not only the Law on minorities, not only the Charter on Human and Minority Rights, not only the Law on the local administration, but disregard the Law on Education, the Law on Primary school, what is inadmissibly.

Regarding the next segment, informing, whenever I discuss this topic I insist on a public service named RTS, that will *de iure* and *de facto* become a public service in April next year, that will be financed by us citizens. But in that public service,

RTS, we have no programmes about minorities, their culture, and tradition and about their whole social lives. So, listening to not only RTS, but mainly Belgrade media, you get an impression there are some minorities in our country, but they are mentioned in media only on the edge of incidents. When something happens in Sombor, in Novi Pazar and Presevo, you listen to the reports about those events. I insist, and that one idea, an ideal project got the green light from the Republic Council for National Minorities, and it is about the project of public service is supposed to involve the programmes speaking about national minorities in the language of majority. And, it is very important to found the programmes in languages of national minorities, where the members of national minorities could be informed in their mother tongue in the public service, but for me, the most important thing is to form an editorial staff responsible for information about an overall social life of national minorities. I think those 2 segments are very important for creating one multiethnic, tolerant ambient, since the people are mostly afraid of the things unknown to them. The public service is obliged to involve 1.250.000 citizens that are not of Serbian nationality, too, since they are not only the citizens of this country, but participate in financing that public service as well.

The fourth segment is cultural inheritance protection. We have the information that the Government has a selective approach to the protection of cultural inheritance of the 2 national communities living in Sandzak. One approach is keeping, reconstructing, conserving and improving cultural inheritance of Serbian-Orthodox tradition, and a completely opposite approach is to the inheritance of Bosniak Islamic tradition, being present not only in Novi Pazar, but in the whole region. We have an adaptable Government approach to this problem. Bosniak National Council at the very beginning of its constitution gave the whole list of the most priority cultural-historical objects, requiring an urgent reconstruction and conservation to the Ministry of Culture. The first object on that list is Gazi Husrevbeg Hamam (Turkish bathhouse) in Novi Pazar. Unfortunately there is still no progress in that point.

Regarding the fifth segment, which is very important to the members of all minorities, to Bosniak minority as well, is participation in the public life of the state. We still don't have sensibility of the power towards this problem, it is mainly the result of International pressures or disputes and resolutions being passed by the International resolutions, first of all, the Parliament Assembly of the Council of Europe and the European Parliament, which reacted several times about the problem of denying rights of minorities, first of all in Vojvodina. In the last Session of Parliament we had an example of Hungarian national community which participated in the Parliament. Its president was the vice president of the Republic Government, and in this Session the representatives of Bosniak National Community participate in the Republic Parliament, and since recently they participate in some Government institutions. But it is not the result of relations, approach of the Government to this problem to enable enjoying this right in accordance with the 50 article of the Charter on Human and Minority Rights, but rather the result of political pressure and capacity or effort of a certain minority community. I can say the example of Bosniak national community is very interesting in that sense, that is that community in cooperation, i.e. in the collec-

tive agreement with a big state party, Democratic Party, entered Parliament. After some time when it felt its more efficient operation could be done through individual representatives it left that coalition and joined Government coalition, that is, in the moment when it found out that this Government, Kostunica's one, had political will and capacity to lead our country in a more intensive way to Euro Atlantic integrations, at the moment when that Government got a positive Study on feasibility. It was a key moment for 2 of us to decide about supporting such a policy, for the simple reason that, not only for Bosnjak national community, but for all minorities, the best thing is a fast Euro Atlantic integration.

At the very end I would like to say four or five things connected with the successfulness of implementation of the rights of each national minority. It is, first of all, change and supplement of the Law on election of representatives, in a way to enable so called »small« minorities having guaranteed seats in the Parliament. We have theoretically good formulas and a huge experience from the neighbouring countries, to mention only Croatia and Hungary, and we think a very positive was the step in March last year, when this Government cancelled the census for the parties and coalitions of national minorities, but that enabled direct entering the Parliament only two big minorities — Bosnjak and Hungarian ones, and all other minorities didn't have enough capacities to participate in the Parliament. We think by changes and supplements of the Law on election of representatives would be possible, I asked that by an amendment, too, for 25 representatives of national minorities to enter the Parliament. I was criticized it couldn't be possible without changing the Republic Constitution, what had been a big lie and demagogy. Simply, the Constitution doesn't determine the structure of the 250 seats in the Parliament, it talks only about the number. So, it could had been done that time, but it couldn't. We would probably do it within the future Constitutional reforms. Another thing that is also very important and that Aleksandra talked about is passing this key Law on the Republic level — the Law on competence of the national councils, what the legislator has already determined by passing the Federal Law on the rights and freedoms of all the national minorities. So, not only the council but the Law, as well, must be lowered to the Republic level. The Law we are talking about is general one, on the level of the state community, and according to the Constitutional Charter that matter should be lowered to the Republic level, that is, to the level of the republics members. It was partially done on October 8th last year by formation of the Council of the Republic of Serbia for national minorities. It left to lower it to another institute, being defined by the Law, and that is the National Minorities Fund, and I can freely say the consensus with all the national councils for fund formation, from which would be financed the national minorities projects is the problem of financing. Unfortunately, it is still on the level of NGOs. We were included in the Republic budget this year. We have a little bit better treatment now, in comparison with the time we had been an elemental disease in the reserve budget. Now it is a budget reserve of the Ministry of finances. National councils in this year budget will be financed from the fund belonging to the Minister of finances. Apart from the national councils there are the Council of reserve army heads and the National Council. Such position and treatment are still unacceptable. We have al-

ways asked for a special position, and the better is passing the Law on establishing the Republic Fund for National Minorities, from which all the project regarding these 4–5 fields being important to every minority would be formed. Of course, passing the Law on competence of national councils is also an obligation. I know that Republic leaders used to say that time it hadn't been a Republic obligation. What have we got to do with financing of national councils? This is an institution, i.e. the institute of the state community. Well, that dilemma should be solved in that way. The fourth matter of importance is Constitutional reform, passing the Law of the Republic of Serbia. I can say from our everyday coordination of the activities of national councils that we have meetings once a month, agreeing about some general things that are common to all the national councils. Right now there is an attitude that the future Republic Constitution must contain at least complete text of the Charter on Human and Minority Rights, and that involving this text into the Constitution would be a minimum to satisfy the interests of all the national minorities in our country. One mustn't go under that standard and the Law we are talking about, as well as under the Charter on Human and Minority Rights that is of the same importance.

At the very end I would say a couple words about the way of election of national councils, what has already mentioned as an important topic. The attitude of Bosnjak National Council is that national councils should be elected in a direct way, by formation of minority lists, but I can also say we are lonely in that sense, that all other 12 national councils have different attitudes. Keeping elector's way of elections maybe a rational compromise would be the future law could contain both alternatives. It means the minorities having capacities could follow the direct election, by formation of minority lists, while the minorities not having enough capacities could keep the alternative of elector's way of National Councils elections.

I can't avoid sentence: the criticisms Bosnjak and Hungarian national councils endure for their limited, one-sided structures, simply, would be the choice of the very actors in it. Some parties, regarding participation in the Electors assembly didn't participate in the very Electors Assembly. That way they cancelled their own right to participate in the Council, what is not an absolutely good thing and the model we support. The direct election could involve not only political parties and associations, but independent, public intellectuals and experts from a certain national community. That way would be the most just one, and the fact is that our country, as a legally structured one, will produce out of the rule of law some key value systems. National councils will more and more reflect an expert structure and less and less influence and participation of political parties. I think that is an aim that everybody should gravitate to.

Ramiz Crnisanin, Sandzak Intellectual Circle talked about: Clashes between application of law and practice:

I have a task to say a couple of words about clash between what was cited in the laws and other regulations and what happen in reality. In the law science it is called the difference between a normative and real. In no country has ever been a complete harmony between the written laws and real events. It is a well-known fact.

Laws are not unchangable; they are mainly human creations and are always the result of relation of political forces in the legislature organs, regardless its name: As-

sembly, Parliament, fair or congress. Only laws in holy books: Bible, Qor'an or Talmud are unchangable since they are not the human creatures but God's words.

But no legislator is so much inventive to write such laws that will for all times and all areas predict all the manifestations of life that will be expressed in the society and influence their interactions.

It was accepted by the practice of religious communities which spreaded the sources of God's orders beyond holy books. For example, Muslim religious law accepts for the sources of law, besides sentences from Qor'an, also Hadith, Kijas and Idzma.

It is worth of knowing that in human society governs not only rules issued by a state, i.e. the laws. Important roles in that sense belong to norms: moral, custom and the norms of numerous social institutions. Why do I emphasize that? First of all in order to explain that rights of certain social groups: classes, nations, members of religious communities, genders, ages, professional associations and national minorities depend not only on what has been written by laws, but on an overall social-political climate and relations in society, on the level of development of the area where certain social groups live. It is like that all around the world. These days we were witnesses of events in France, where unequal status of minorities caused escalations of violence in its biggest cities. The similar situations are found all around the world, from Iraq to Checenia, from the north to the south of Europe, Africa and America. That's because there are not ethnically clean countries. Out of 200 countries in the world only a dozen is of one nation.

If the status of minorities was estimated according to the number of International and domestic law acts regulating their rights and freedoms, it could be concluded that status is very good and stable. But, just for the fact I have discussed, the status can't still be evaluated like satisfactory one. Apart from the Universal Declaration on human rights, International treaties, European conventions, charters, protocols, declarations, numerous laws there are still many disputes regarding their implementation.

Miss Semiha Kacar talked about results and progress made in the sense of General Convention application and about the protection of national minorities, so I wouldn't talk about it, but I will cite just a few facts:

No doubt a great progress regarding protection of national minorities is achieved by all the documents I have already counted above. Until beginning of the World War Second national minorities have been characterized as a disturbing factor, so that International and domestic regulations had mainly been passed for the protection of a majority nation from separations and destructiveness of minorities. Such an ideology was ruling one in the period of Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, especially in pre Rankovic time, when minorities were treated the sources of foreign spies and other actions on the benefit of foreign services. In our country there is a book treating minorities in that way being recently published by a policeman.

Up to now many NGOs and other institutions from Belgrade and here have made various analysis and examinations regarding implementation of the rights of minorities, especially Bosnjaks in Sandzak, and there are many data and reports about

it: Humanitarian Law Fund, Helsinki Committee for Human Rights in Serbia, International Crisis Group, Helsinki Sandzak Committee for Protection of Human Rights and Freedoms, Sandzak Intellectual Circle and others which explicitly cite all violations of human rights, police violence, political processes and other forms of an unequal treatment of Bosnjaks, so there is no need for repeating.

In order to perform the regulations of General Convention on protection of national minorities, that is the first obligatory legal act, then of the Charter on regional and minority languages, other International legal documents, Law on rights and protection of national minorities, in practice, it is necessary to change social climate and consciousness of a big number of citizens in Serbia and Montenegro, who look at minorities like at something strange on the bodies of majority nation. For regrettable events that are not by accident show that the spirit of nationalism covers a great part of sky over us. It shouldn't be much illustrated.

The tribune at the Law Faculty in Belgrade, being organized for 10 years of Srebrenica genocide, neonazis in Novi Sad, killing of Rome children, skinheads, nationalism and chovinism at the sport terrains, revival and rehabilitation of quislings, statements that Muslims smell in fat, ignoring Bosnjaks as a nation and existing Sandzak and some others show that those influencing formation of public opinion still spread hatred among the people. Of course, all of that is justified by the freedom of speech and expressing one's opinion, as if it hasn't had its limit.

Semiha Kacar talked about results and progress in sense of implementation and application of the General Convention on Rights and Freedoms of National Minorities, and reminded of: »Up to now many NGOs and other institutions have made various questionnaires and examinations regarding implementation of the rights of national minorities, particularly of Bosnjaks in Sandzak. There are numerous data and reports about it: Humanitarian Fund Law, International Crisis Group, Helsinki Committee, and Sandzak Committee for Protection of Human Rights and Freedoms, Sandzak Intellectual Circle reports, where all the violations of human rights, police violence, political processes and other forms of unequal treatment of Bosnjaks had been cited.

Munir Poturak, vice president of SDP: »I don't want to express the attitudes based on my political engagement, but I would like to turn to the previous speeches, to lead my thoughts to that direction and make some things clearer to myself. First of all, one gets an impression there has been done much about protection of national minorities, that many things had been defined. What is evident in our country, and what Mr. Crnisanin mentioned is the elements of function of this country are not on a satisfactory level. We have an impression it sometimes dramatically affects this country population. On the other hand, there is an impression that, what had been determined by those institutions according to the Law, they are completely unorganized, for 2 reasons. One reason is the very ambient of the state without enough space and time to solve the problems of national minorities. It is being reacted on the principle of ad hoc, from an incident to incident, from a pressure to a pressure. Such unique examples have been recently found in Vojvodina. Whenever an incident happens, from a small to the most serious one, the state reacts, no matter if it was institutionally arran-

ged, if there is a Law regulating it. So, the intention is only to react now to prevent a certain event.

Another side of medal is — It has been simply said that all the national minorities and institutions try to internationalize a problem or a matter, and then the Government organizes itself trying to solve it. What has been passed in the sense of Law on protection of national minorities had been arranged and known much earlier. All those problems don't occur only with us, but they have been solved two centuries ago, through many regulations. European countries have those problems, too, but by the General Convention there had been created mechanisms, so if we want to get closer to the countries of Eastern Europe... In Croatia, Hungary and Rumunia it was solved much faster and more effectively. The regulations there had been lowered so much, so they are literal in fact. So called national councils, administration councils of minorities were lowered to the level of a city, commune, local autonomy for the reason of more efficient reacting to some problems, or to prevent such problems. What do we need? National councils should be the reflection of citizens, i.e. not the reflection of certain political structures. I think politics needn't be just a mechanism of solving the national minorities and ethnic communities problems, but it maybe should focus on the cultural programmes, something that is positive with a certain nation, and its representative needn't be only a politician. I think that today national minorities are being reflected more by certain people, who, by their own enagements, their success, through their work and activities in fact show a nation. And when we take a look of the world globalization, we get an impression it is simply the same thing, the same people, because they are being affected by the same principles of economic programmes, and they are different only in tradition and culture, something that is specific only to them. In that sense I want to say within Bosnjaks there are individuals, people, who rose up above the general level of a citizen. These Bosnjaks are eminent in the fields of culture and literature, in the field of sport, and as such, these individuals should represent Bosnjaks and encourage the people to start some mechanisms on that base, in order to prevent some unwanted events. What it means itself? What we hear from one national council as a problem needn't be necessarily a problem to some other national councils. None positive thing has been pointed out, but I think there are many, extremely good ones. First of all, all the institutions in the country should bear on mind that, during the last 15 years in all the chaos of the former SFRY, there has been kept peace here, population has been protected and there were created good conditions for an unbelievable, fast expansion and a good economic cooperation. If the national councils can't see it and use it, we will have again cheering passions, incidents in Vojvodina, different graphites, and our reactions will be restricted to from a situation to a situation, while media will be covering those incidents, influencing the people to see the national minorities as something that is not good in this country, or something very bad. National councils must get down, much deeper, to have their departments in every town, since every town is specific, regardless the number of population. What is very important and what I intended to mention as a second factor is financing. If the financing was structured by a regulation, it is a progress, but it isn't enough. What Mr Slezovic said, it is basement today, is a re-

flection of the whole situation, and for sure, if this forum had more money it would find an appropriate space, and the National Council of Bosnjaks could provide the space, in order to avoid using its premises just as a saloon for presentation of political elite of one party. On the contrary it should be a place for all the institutions of Bosnjaks, where they can express their organizing, their intentions, and their tasks. The seat there should be lowered from the federal level through Republic one to an institution on the level of the local administration. The local administrations take the key factor of financing and the key factor of better lives of citizens. Mr Dzudzevic, I just want to mention, and you know when there was organized Electors Assembly for the first time, the day before, there had been organized a meeting where there was sent a letter to the Electors Assembly, where there had been 13 signers of the political parties, NGOs, and other institutions, among which there was this Committee for Protection of Human Rights, with a demand to postpone the Assembly or find out a way to show will or structure of all the institutions presenting the National Council of Bosnjaks. In that context, I am inviting you, as an elite man in this Council, to organize elections on the level of Electors Assembly, that is, the National Council, and not to forget that the National Council hasn't been operating since 1990., by formation of BNVS, and all these elements and these problems are much more visible, and they have been treated more in the first 5–6 years, than now, although today there are more and better conditions for it.

Esad Dzudzevic, Republic representative, vice president of EB BNV:

»I don't want to polemicize to Mr Poturak, but the fact is, and I always say it with regret, that his party, SDP, didn't participate in constitution of the first Electors Assembly. It attended a few meetings, talks, topics, and then they simply said it hadn't been the right time. Just to remind you, next to the Greek national minority we are the last minority that hadn't formed this body of the minority autonomy. So, even then we were the last ones, being late in that, too. Regarding a special Electors Assembly, I have always talked it was a desirable, legitimate demand of all the political parties, associations and individuals, thinking they were not enough represented in that organ. The Assembly was scheduled, two times it was postponed. We are expecting it will be scheduled soon. I want to say two more things. BNV in SCG has nothing to do with what Bosnjak National Council of Sandzak used to do that time. It was an uninstitutional form, gravitating to that, in a way, to internationalize the problems of Bosnjaks in the time of Milosevic's regime, to inform the International and domestic public about what had been going on here. Bosnjak National Council in SCG is something completely different, what is being confirmed by these 4–5 segments in accordance with the Law and International standards. I am really sorry for the organizer hadn't expressed a wish to do such a conversation in the premises of the Council, that are not basement, like this one, and are very adequate for such conversations. I would be glad to invite you to organize any future meeting in those premises«.

Aleksandra Sanjevic, Civic Initiatives coordinator, Belgrade: »Since I have heard a remark that almost all of us have spoken in the negative connotation about what had been done up to now in the field of rights and the status of national minorities, I would say, since I am very often in the position of organizer of such meetings,

I've been always trying to keep on time. So, in such a short time I had been given according to the programme, I thought the most important thing to us was to have a constructive, but critical approach, that all of us could work on it, what has been a still an unfinished job. I am pleased to see here a representative of the state, he could say what is positive, and what hadn't been done insufficiently up to now. But what is positive is somehow normal, and what we should work on more, in my opinion, is something more important to turn to«.

Sabina Talovic, NGO — »Open Centre«, Pljevlja: »My intention is not to discuss a lot and long, but what I want to stress is that I am not a politician, although I am happy for hearing a lot of political views here. I would just mention, in short, the situation in Montenegro, where I come from, and the current status of national minorities in Sandzak, and, what is very important to me, the relation of the state, politicians and political parties towards national minorities. I feel both invited and called the roll. There is a speech on the SCG context, about constitutiveness, a certain gravity of national minorities to be constitutive part of Montenegro citizens. I have heard the sentence it is very important to stress peace had been kept here. I will begin with that, but I can't agree with that completely.

For me peace is not only absence of war, and in the area I come from, peace hadn't been kept. You know in the commune of Pljevlje where Bukovica happened; it is the most drastical violation of minority rights that has been an ongoing process, not to say since 1941 or 1942, but since 1992–1995 and still lasts. The violation of Bukovica population rights is being done today; it is being violated by the state, which on the base of its project, first robbed them, arrested, murdered, displaced and today uses them just as an instrument, as voters. What is current in Montenegro is a kind of underlining, moving to a referendum, to formation of an independent sovereign Montenegro, avoiding facing the past and avoiding facing the mortgages, without which, I think, there is no future, no state, nor independent Montenegro or SCG. So, there is a complete denying, even an institutional denying the past. I just wanted to turn to the speech of Mr Dzudzevic and to one sentence of Mr Poturak speech, which hurts me, both emotionally and physically: peace had been kept. In Montenegro peace hadn't been kept, since there hadn't been an absence of the war. If we have a situation that in May this year crowds were carrying chetnic flags, with swearing at Turkish, ustasha and all other mothers, except Serb, and nobody had reacted, besides police, but only within disturbing public peace and order, if we forget about the decisions of the Pljevlja Assembly, decisions by the local Pljevlja Parliament that in the case of referendum we have a self-initiative and joining Serbia, if we forget about the deportation of Bošnjaks refugees that set out from Pljevlja, if we forget the shops in Pljevlja were burnt every night, because their owners were Bosnjaks, if we forget 8th and 9th March 1993., when I myself was thrown out from my house by my school friend, just because I was Bosnjak, I don't think it is a kept peace. I won't talk about Dubrovnik, about volunteers, about the weekend-warriors, going to different neighbouring theaters of operations, but an event of Bukovica at the territory of the commune of Pljevlja in Montenegro, that wasn't in the war, and talk about keeping the peace, in my opinion, is at least ironic«.

Munir Poturak: »If I may say, it is not the matter of a retort, but we shouldn't make conclusions out of the context. I am sorry for the situation in Pljevlja is now like that, as well as with Bosnjaks in Montenegro. You haven't understood me well. It was about the National Council and the institutions of Bosnjaks, where their lack of organizing themselves contributes to such situations, that that lack should be reduced to such a level that it can make things faster. I must take into consideration not only us, but some other minorities as well, since the 90-ies until our chance to organize ourselves, and, if necessary, to internationalize all those problems, and only then when we found out what mechanisms had been in Bujanovac, Presevo and Vojvodina the Government has sent us the signals, but we don't utilize them«.

Amer Halilovic, a vice president of BNC in Montenegro: »I will begin with something made me happy when I opened the protocol seeing the name of Sefko Crnovrsanin, who is an ombudsman. I was happy thinking he would be here. But, one day wouldn't be enough to him to talk about the rights, i.e., protection of national minorities, since the rights are not being respected, nor there is any legal rule for their implementation, so that his speech about it would take many hours and days. I will completely agree with the discussion of the last speaker. Not only Bukovica happened, but there happened Kaludjerski laz, there happened Besnikj. All of that was at the territory of the commune of Rozaje. This deportation of Bosnjaks, I usually avoid the term deportation, those people hadn't been deported, they had been sentenced to death and deported there to execution of the death sentence, that is, slaughtering. Deportation could be a completely different thing. In order to avoid offering something belonging to somebody, that is not either mercy or a will, the state uses some other methods, stories on referendum, Montenegro in danger, etc. In fact, the current authorities of Montenegro, stressing the matter of referendum and independence of Montenegro, under the shelter of a civic state does its best to create a one-nation state. When the pre-referendum campaign starts, if the Prime Minister says we won't bargain with minorities, since they are not important to us, I ask myself and all the minorities living in Montenegro, what could they expect in that independent state, where there will be appointed a ruler, when at least he won't say: »Let's talk to them«, but says, we won't bargain with minorities.

I will turn to, as I usually say, stealing in the last registration of population in 2003. As the representatives of BNC, three times we had to intervene with the OSCE, Republic Bureau for Statistics for the noticed problems and lacks. I will particularly talk about language. Bosnian language hasn't been put into any classification on the list, but only under the item of »the rest«. These are some other languages, so that only 14.500 people declared Bosnian their mother tongue. Only after our interventions they put it into an official statistics. But educational-pedagogic council that was adopting the school programmes involved that mother language, and put in brackets — Serbian, Montenegrin, Albanian and Bosnjak. This »Bosnjak« is important since it is not internationally recognized language, and Bosnian is. They minded that and it wasn't there. Well, they say, you can decide — mother language, but when I or my child completes this school, Bosnian couldn't be written into his certificate, since it is not a legitimate language. That is one thing. I wouldn't talk much about the

methods of pressure at the registration, although I have a lot to say. We have a registration analyse, but I will tell you that, according our statistics and the one of 1991 where we had an intruded name — Muslims. There were between 18–20% of us in Montenegro. There is the same number of us now, but officially-statistically, they splitted it fine and made into pieces in the pre-registrational campaign, being led by the current authorities, so now there are 4 nations made out of one. There are about 65.000 Bosnjaks, 25.000 Muslims, 20.000 or a little bit more Montenegrins of Islam religion, and a small number of Serbs of Islam religion. The current authorities say the right to vote belongs to citizens; I am talking precisely about Bosnjaks. According to the official statistics that was published, in Montenegro there are 9.6% Bosnjaks, and outside almost 3%. So, it means they had been registered, it is the fact, but they hadn't been put into the official statistical report.

In the time of pre-election campaign, that time leaders of the actual power used to say: »Don't blame us for Bukovica, we will make possibility to the citizens from Bukovica who emigrated to come here and vote«, and then: »and after that they can go where they had come from«. It would be better if they said: »We will make possibility to the citizens of Bukovica«, when some authorities expelled them, and they say they hadn't participated in it, and it has been known who took part in it, and they don't have an alibi »to return to live in their homes«. So it was a very wicked campaign before the registration. In Rozaje there are officially 28.000 registered residents, about 23.500 are here, and 5.500 are abroad. 400 people in Rozaje declared themselves Montenegrins, 900 Serbs, and the rest are Muslims, Bosnjaks. 4.500 people declared to speak Montenegrin. It was that sophisticated campaign — when we can't force them not to be Bosnjaks, let's make Montenegrin their mother language. No need to mention national symbols under the shelter of civic state. There are some incidents about those symbols that hadn't been accepted, and they removed some coat of arms from the classrooms. They had been removed in Podgorica, Berane and Andrijevica, in Petnica, too, but it wasn't unpunished. The autonomy of school was broken there. Inspectors of MUP came to school and interrogated 3 students, 2 adults and one underage, without parents and a pedagogue, and a head-teacher and the director of school. They took them to the Security centre, keeping them there for 48 hours. In general, our rights can be implemented in that quantity. In short, we don't have any frame, or any collective right there, only, thanks God, they can't prohibit the sun to warm us and the air to breathe«.

Nikola Dimitrievski a councillor of the minister for human and minority rights:

»Ladies and gentlemen, I am honored to attend such a meeting. Let me greet you on behalf of the Ministry for Human and Minority Rights of Serbia and Montenegro and on behalf of Minister Mr Ljajic. First of all I wish you successful work today which result will give some concrete ways and suggestions in what ways Ministries and other state institutions could help the matter of national minorities to be treated appropriately, in the way adequate to all the national minorities in the country. The problem of implementation of the General Convention on protection of national minorities is an extremely important matter, but I wouldn't separate the very matter of implementation of the rights of national minorities and the matter of International

relations. That matter is very important since one area with an atmosphere, as somebody said today, that is not war, but without peace, one could say there is a kind of »non-peace«, a kind of intolerance among national minorities and the majority nation. In order to talk more concretely, we must, first of all, get back to an analysis and found out the causes of such situation. Have we touched all those reasons, and have we tried to eliminate them? Let's see the role of the state in the whole situation, and let's see the role of another element that could be named the third sector of the society, since civil sector of a society has the most important role in creating an atmosphere in which certain law regulations could be obeyed. I will cite about twenty things that are, in my opinion, the causes of intolerance, ruling at this territory in the relations among national minorities. I won't elaborate them, I will leave it to you to think about them and find out the potential possibilities of each of us to influence the change of those things. So, all these situations have been caused by the following: Emerging national political parties. In what sense? Not in the sense that multiparty system is bad, but national political parties struggling to get as many voters as possible, very often use measures which, in the aim of explaining their voters they are protectors of their rights, are not popular and cause spreading certain national intolerance. Second, increasing all kinds of nationalisms at the territory of the former SFRY, separation of SFRY, wars in SFRY, stress as a consequence of all the wars, value system collapse, change of moral norms, i.e. people's need to struggle for survival, aggression in the society, collapse of family education, police and its role during the 90-ies of the last century, selective application of the Law in that period. Losing faith in institutions and mechanisms of the state, sanctions and impossibility to travel, definitely, social-economic situation in the 90-ies, but today, as well, lack of perspectives for the youth generations, identifying with wrong idols, suspicion of the majority Serbian population for endured losses during the 90-ies, human, material and territorial, as well, the theory of conspiracy and hatred spreaded among nations, fear of the minority communities that transforms into mistrust and intolerance towards the majority community, overly sensitiveness of minority nations being caused by mistrust, radicalization of Serbian, but all other corps in the country, lack of consciousness of belonging to a state, what is very noticable with some national communities, then an element that could, and that was able to cause many tensions recently, and that is media, which used to inform the public with the lack of criticism, causing reactions with no need. The question is what is the role of the state in all of that, what the state should do and what has it done. I could say Mr Slezovic cited by name all the laws the state passed in the aim of protection of the rights of national minorities, but in the aim of promotion of the rights of national minorities. So, the state itself made a step, and it created, to say, the space within national minorities could and can implement their rights, in accordance with European and world standards. I would keep on formation of the national councils of national minorities, as one of the most important pillars that should enable national minorities express their specific features, to protect their languages, their tradition, religion and their corps. What's the point regarding national councils? First of all, we must observe the double role, since national councils are, in a way, institutionalization of the relations between national minorities and the

state, and on the other hand, institutionalization of the relations between national minorities and the majority nation, since, logically, in the entire state institutions majority nation prevails. So, we must take care of that segment, too.

What is the most important? The national councils have their roles, definitely. Their competences haven't been expressed thoroughly yet, but we hope that the Law on competences will regulate it. The national councils don't operate the way we would like them to. In fact, in formation of the national councils we had a situation that certain political groups, as Mr Dzudzevic said, settled national councils, and national councils became monoparty, ideological pillars of some national, i.e. political ideas. It is a negative side, but another, more negative side is that the opposite, losing party, denies the right of the national council to be a legitimate representative of a national group, that is, a national minority in relation to the authority. That segment must be overcome. Of course, existence of the national councils is a new thing to us, and it will take time to be regulated in the right way. But it is sure, national councils must be the basic carriers of all the driving forces of the national minorities at this territory. They must be like that. In order to be like that, national councils must have certain capacities. It means national minorities must be careful who and how to choose to be their representative. It is also important from the point of view that the state, i.e., the majority nation finally realised that only a minority nation can take care of itself the right way, and protect in the right way everything important to it, its culture, tradition and informing, well, all the segments that national councils must take care of today. I mentioned the atmosphere in which certain things happen. Atmosphere is the most important thing. Atmosphere consists of messages. The messages being sent by the minorities to the majority are important. The time is also important. A certain message may be negative, but at some other time it may be positive. So, it means, we must be tolerant to each other if we want to make conditions for further progress and joining Europe, i.e., the world«.

Rade Vukosav: »I would only say to Mr Dimitrievski Yugoslavia didn't separate, but it was broken, for changes of boundaries. If you ask about confederation Serbs will ask about borders and react like that. Secondly, national minorities will relate to the state the way they are treated by the state«.

Ishak Slezović, an editor of Novi Pazar radio »Sto plus« was talking about: »Media situation in Serbia, with special review to Sandzak«:

»Ladies and gentlemen, I want to greet you. I was asked by the meeting organizer to make a short review of the state of media in Sandzak and our republic. I will try to be short as much as possible for the disturbed timing, both mine and yours, and don't blame me for coming back to the time of Milosevic at the very beginning of my speech. The reason for that is that at the territory of this multiethnic Sandzak and in the remote villages the only source of information is electronic media. The former authorities didn't allow emission of independent media, trying to keep informative «darkness», so in terms of media, this area has been neglected systematically for years. The situation hasn't been changed a lot after change of authorities in Belgrade. A few years ago there was only one radio station with a profiled informative programme. It is Radio Novi Pazar, belonging to the state. That radio has been covering

the work of ruling parties in Serbia for years, and after political changes in the country it shifted to covering the activities of the new authorities, i.e., the parties of Democratic opposition of Serbia.

The only change happened in this radio after democratic changes is its return to the ingerention of the local autonomy. So, we are talking about the programme being still created under a dominant influence of politicians, which basically, doesn't satisfy the needs of the local population.

Nevertheless, even such, this radio has big problems. Radio Novi Pazar, the oldest electronic media in the town, ceased broadcasting its programme because of debts it was excluded from the network, said the acting director of Novi Pazar public agency for information Zenib Biberovic on 30th November 2005. At the press conference he said Radio Novi Pazar's debt for electricity is 620.000 dinars. »Since we haven't got the money from the Municipal budget, we couldn't pay the electricity«, said Biberovic and added he didn't know when the debt would be paid and that he would ask of the organs in charge to transfer that money. »If we don't find an understanding we will ask for help of the Ministry for Culture and Media«, he said, and added that a part of the workers of Public Service for Information Novi Pazar has been in strike for more than a month. »They are still requiring payment of 6 outstanding salaries, increasing salaries 50% and change of the acting director, but only the mayor of Novi Pazar, Sulejman Ugljanin can pay them the outstanding salaries«, said Biberovic, who doesn't allow the strikers to enter the premises of Television House.

There are ten more stations which programmes are based on broadcasting paid messages and advertisements of the local population and firms. All those radio stations used to be engaged in pre-election campaigns of the former regime, and even now they haven't changed their programmes a lot, except some of them included re-broadcasting of foreign stations, like Deutsche Welle, Voice of America, Free Europe. In Sjenica and Tutin there are two radio stations (Amaro, Alfa, NT and Radio Sole) and no printed media. Their programmes are based on the listeners' greetings. The personnel of these stations are hastily trained, without particular journalism knowledge. The owners and editors are mainly entrepreneurs, being close to the former regime. Obviously, all these »independent« stations got working licences only after detailed checks by the previous regime that technically and personally couldn't create modern, independent and professional work or TV programme.

TV stations in Novi Pazar and surrounding towns have more or less similar programme scheme. After democratic changes in the country TV stations mainly asked for new mentors in the authorities, and very quickly they »transformed in accordance with time«. The best example that politicians still influence editorial policy is Regional TV, that until the last local elections it supported coalition List for Sandzak, and now it is doing the same for the Parliament majority being led by Sandzak Democratic Party. On the other hand the mayor and coalition of List for Sandzak Sulejman Ugljanin has a direct control over a part of the programme of Cacak TV Galaxy, which has been recently seen in Novi Pazar.

The situation of media and journalists in Novi Pazar right now is best illustrated by an example of a fight between the TV teams about which team can and which

one can't cover the work of the Municipal Assembly. The meeting of Novi Pazar Assembly of 20th December was held without presence of journalists who had been »asked« to go out. All the journalists must leave it, since the TV team of the Informative Service of the Municipality of Novi Pazar rejected an order of the president of the Municipal Assembly Azem Hajdarevic to leave the hall of the Municipality. The board members made a decision to prohibit to the Informative Service covering sessions of the Assembly »unless the mayor Sulejman Ugljanin allows Regional TV covering his activities«. The president of Assembly, Azem Hajdarevic ordered all the journalists to leave the hall, and then invited all, except the team of Informative Service to enter. The Security Service of Novi Pazar Municipality said to journalists that »if all the teams can't enter the hall, than any of them can't«. After bargaining what journalists could, and what ones couldn't attend the session, all the teams had been removed, with the statement they shouldn't have waited or asked of anyone to allow them covering the session. TV Jedinstvo, a leading station in anathematizing opposition and glorifying SPS and JUL, overnight, with the support of some politicians, became a member of Association of Independent Electronic Media (ANEM). RTV Raska was formed before elections of 2000. The pillar is TV MOST (Bridge), being known also as TV Gorica. It was formed under direct influence of the high functioner of SPS Gorica Gajevic and this party. This station is still under SPS control, since in the Raska Assembly this party has majority.

On the local, i.e. regional level, the printed media are reduced to »Voice of Islam«, a monthly magazine being published by Islam Community of Sandzak. The journalists who were struggling against totalitarian regime for the last ten years are now in an even worse position. Massive shifts of mainly JUL personnel into SDP, and SDA as well, resulted in besmirching journalists declared as independent ones and who point at »shifters«. Up to yesterday opposition parties, with more and more people who used to be faithful to Slobodan Milosevic regime, close their eyes before more and more rough attacks of independent journalists and media.

More and more difficult situation of independent journalists is being confirmed by the announcements of NUNS and UNS, citing »journalist are being threatened, especially in the smaller towns«. All the local media are open only to information and attitudes »coming from an own camp«. Anything else that is not under these stations' editors »is theirs-meaning enemy's«.

Agency Beta, Free Europe, B92 and Deutsche Welle still have an unbiased approach to Sandzak, but the problem is that such big media houses can't pay enough attention as local and regional stations could. Chaotic situation in media of Serbia is especially noticable in the area along Serbian-Montenegrin border, where radio and TV stations try to occupy as many frequencies as possible in the local area and conquer as much space as possible in the neighbouring Republic. While in Serbia Council for radiodifusion can't still establish an order, the least surprise you could encounter in Sandzak is, listening to one radio station you can hear the programme of another one. As an example I will cite radio »Sto plus«, which has been interrupted for months by a local station, that without a licence occupied one more frequency. On the frequency of this radio listeners in Tutin sometimes hear some other station, since their trans-

mitter »sometimes is getting out of order, or someone gets an idea of turning off the competition«.

According to estimation of the Trade Union »Nezavisnost« (Independence) a chaotic state in media space is convenient only to political parties and the local financial bosses, who, via many media, influence the public opinion and propagandize their attitudes. The Law on Radiodifusion, adopted in 2003, for late election of the members of the Council for radiodifusion isn't still applicable in practice. The president of the Council for Radiodifusion Agency (RRA) Nenad Cekic said on 7th November that in the ether in Serbia there is a chaos and announced the transformation of RTS should be completed by April 2006., adding, it is a reasonable deadline that could be obeyed. Cekic said the priority of RRA is division of national commercial frequencies, and there will be maximally 5 of them. He repeated there are 755 radio and TV stations in Serbia. The assistant of Minister for telecommunications of Serbia Dragomir Vasiljevic confirmed the problem of mutual disturbances is evident in whole Serbia, adding it can be prevented by issuing working licences. Lack of application of laws suits well to the owners of these media, who don't pay the necessary taxes and copyrights. Most journalists, speakers and technical staff working for years haven't had a day of recorded length of service. Dusan Ilic, a Republic minister for work has recently visited local media in this area, and found out many workers work »in black«. The total number of engaged workers in all media houses in Tutin, Raska and Novi Pazar is 192. 147 of them have signed contracts, and the rest don't work in accordance with Law«, said Ilic.

In the commune of Prijepolje there are 3 media houses, one municipal and 2 private ones. The acting editor of Radio Polimlje from Prijepolje, Mirjana Tesevic, said they had a problem with a private radio station from this town. »The owner of that station stopped broadcasting our programme while an installer was installing his transmitter. This case is at the court and we hope the public will hear an epilogue soon«, said Mrs Tesevic. She also expects a soon application of the Law on electronic media, since in this area we can hear some stations from Montenegro. She added colleagues from Priboj and Nova Varos complain about disturbing signals, too, and all of us can hardly wait for establishing an order.

The region of Sandzak is very interesting, since geographically one part of it belongs to Serbia and another one to Montenegro, where there had been formed Agency for radiodifusion. In the Serbian part of the region many Montenegrin stations are being heard, so that many people ask themselves if it will be regulated by the Law. It stays open if the Law will prohibit crossborder broadcasting. Editor of Radio Rozaje Zeco Tutic said most disturbances of this station are coming from Kosovo media houses. »Previously there have been disturbances by Montenegrin stations, but after passing a set of law measures in our Republic we have problems only with Kosovo radio stations«, Tutic said«.

Almir Mehonic, SDP Prijepolje talked about: the rights of minorities on the local level:

»In order to examine the real situation in Prijepolje today, you must know something about the situation before appearance of the first democratic power. In Prije-

polje 5th October has been late for 5 years, since socialists retained the power even after overthrowing of Milosevic. It was enabled by the majority system for election of board members. Socialists used to create election units, so that Serbs had been in a great number of election units in majority, and the result was an absolute power of SPS in the Municipal assembly. The system of work was: 800 voters with major Bosnjak population choose one member, and election unit with approximately 200 voters of Serbian population also chooses one member. In fact it meant one Serbian vote was four times more valuable than Bosnjak one.

Since introducing multiparty system until the last local elections SPS had power in Prijepolje. Prijepolje society, especially Bosnjaks, paid a lot for all of that. Prijepolje had been affected by the events in Bosnia. About 14.000 refugees passed through Prijepolje, beginning with the 19 kidnapped passengers from the train in Strpce, 9 passengers were from Prijepolje. During the war in Bosnia mosques had been attacked, police had beaten Bosnjak people. Unfortunately we must say even today those policemen work at the same places, even some of them were promoted as if they hadn't done anything bad. Some directors used the fear of Bosnjaks of a new eruption of nationalism during NATO bombing and Bosnjaks who had left their jobs for a few months, going to Bosnia, had been dismissed from work. I have information that the people who did the same in Serbia were returned to work. Bosnjak from Prijepolje hadn't been.

It is not enough to say SPS authorities showed discrimination towards Bosnjaks. In fact, its behaviour seemed like almost a half of Prijepolje population, i.e., Bosnjaks, doesn't exist at all. I will give a few examples confirming what I have said, and I won't speak about introducing Bosnian language into an official use, the matter of coat of arms of Prijepolje that doesn't treat Bosnjaks at all, as if they have never lived here. There was also closing the street Dusan Tomasevic Cirak for building Eparchy Milesevska, i.e. transforming the former prison into the Eparchy Milesevska, not to talk about fictions of terrorists, lies about attacking priests, and throwing stones on the palace, etc.

At the beginning, as a measure of participation of Bosnjaks in the organs of the local autonomy we will take directors positions being determined by the local Parliament. Out of 8 enterprises and institutions, users of budget, ex SPS power appointed all the 8 directors out of Serbian population. It created an absolute inequality in the process of employment, where directors of Serbian nationality used to employ their cousins, friends, party friends, Serbs of course, so that today we have an absolute disbalance in the mentioned enterprises. Here are just a few examples:

In the Municipal administration there are only 10 Bosnjaks, out of 80 employed;

In the House of Culture out of 22 workers, only 2 are Bosnjaks;

In the local Direction for roads no Bosnjak is employed;

In the Museum there is no Bosnjak employed;

All that produced some other forms of discrimination through bad road network in the villages with major Bosnjak population, through total lack of cultural programmes from Bosnjak cultural inheritance, lack of care of Islam cultural and ot-

her monuments. In Prijepolje there are a few necropolises of Bogomil tombstones being protected by nobody. For their value they are rare cultural monuments, then very rare houses of Turkish architecture which are in danger and seem to be destroyed themselves every moment. The similar situation is with the state institutions. 10–15% of Bosnjaks are employed with the police, and at the court only one judge is Bosnjak. In the Prosecutor's Office there is no Bosnjak. Bosnjaks are in majority only in the Employment Bureau.

You can imagine the problems new local authorities encounter since it can't increase the number of employed Bosnjaks. From the highest authority levels there has been asked for decreasing 10% employed in the organs of the state administration. I think the state should have a more subtle approach in such areas regarding the application of these regulations and elaboration of the problems, in order to involve it self into their solutions. I have to stress a huge clash between the law regulation and practice, i.e., reality, lack of mechanisms for laws implementation. A logical question can be asked: How could Bosnjaks succeed to survive at all, not emigrating in bigger number? The answer is a big number of private entrepreneurs Bosnjaks, who had been a barrier of the total exodus of Bosnjaks here. An opposite example is Priboj, with more emigrated people than from Prijepolje. A crazy time and harmful authorities made enormous damage to Bosnjaks of Prijepolje and to the very Prijepolje as well. This commune had been led by chauvinists for more than one decade, and it will take years and years, not to say decades, to cure the consequences of totalitarian regime. Apart from such an inheritance, what new authorities have done should be praised, and it was confirmed by all the relevant institutions. For an illustration we will take examples of directors' positions in the enterprises and institutions within the local autonomy. Out of eight directors only three are of Bosnjak nationality. Apart from that Bosnjak national minority community has its representatives at the highest positions of the local autonomy: the mayor, the vice president of the Municipality, the head of the Municipal administration, the secretary of the Municipal Assembly. In cooperation with OEBS a number of Bosnjaks was involved into the programme aimed at the national minorities. I am proud to say that the Municipal Assembly made a decision for building monuments to the kidnapped passengers in Strpce and it will be the first monument to Bosnjak victims at the territory of SCG. The work about building these monuments is coming to an end, the location was determined and according to an open competition there had been chosen an ideal solution of the monument and very quickly we are expecting the ceremony of opening the monument. This year, for the first time there was given a financial aid to the families of the abducted and in cooperation with the Sandzak Committee, local autonomy and NGOs from Belgrade (Humanitarian Law Fund, Youth Initiative for Human Rights) for the first time there was organized a tribunal for 12 years of abduction.

The Assembly made a decision on making recommendations at some of the future sessions about returning Bosnjaks, who lost their jobs during NATO bombing. I would also mention that the mayor of Prijepolje Nedžad Turković had a talk to the head of the Secretariat of Internal Affairs, formed for Prijepolje, Priboj, and Nova Varos with the head office in Prijepolje, about an equal participation of Bosnjaks in

the structure of police, and there had been got some positive signals and promises. At the December session of the Municipal Assembly there will be made a decision about change of the Statute of Municipality and introducing Bosnian language and Latin alphabet into an official use.

I am emphasizing there had been adopted the Strategy of sustainable development for the commune of Prijepolje in cooperation with UNDP, and that was the first adopted strategy on the level of Republic. These are concrete examples of a progress, not to talk about more positive climate in comparison with the previous period of time. But I will emphasize we are expecting from the state a more active involvement into solving the problems which are not within the competence of the local autonomy, or are within that competence, but there are political blackmails«.

Semiha Kačar, Sandzak Committee for protection of human rights and freedoms, spoke about: Review of the status of human rights and freedoms:

Multiethnic areas, like Sandzak, in the conditions in which Serbia and Montenegro exist, are one of barometers of the general situation, a space where clashes between laws and everyday life are manifested. The fact is that after October 2000 in Serbia, although very slowly, important changes are taking place. I would say they are more visible in bigger cities than in the towns like Novi Pazar, Sjenica or Tutin. There is no need to talk about remote villages in Sandzak. The reasons for that are deep, pressured with the past as well as with current circumstances. The experience we had with passing the Law on national minorities, done on the Federal level that time, followed with media pomp, showed indications that those laws are being passed under the International pressures, and less with a sincere wish of the state authorities to improve human rights and provide true protection and affirmation of minority communities. The case of Romes is illustrative enough. They are persistantly subject of talks, of starting many actions, but little has changed in their lives.

The state organs have their part of responsibility. The problems of personnel structure, national balance, too long court processes and expiring of court processes (especially the ones referring to the victims of torture and discrimination), the status of soldiers in the Army of SCG, threatening criminal acts in Sandzak (drugs, crime, prostitution, etc.), that especially young people are exposed to — are all the matters deserving a broader elaboration. Change of Milosevic regime in Serbia hasn't meant a total break of the police violence and severe exceeding of professional duties. Sandzak Committee still records the cases where police shows all its brutal behaviour.

Sandzak Committee has been addressed for help by the people of different nationalities living in this area (Bosnjaks, Roma, and Serbs).

Possessing NP registration plates is also a frequent motive of stopping and mistreating drivers on the road.

I will remind you that all the problems are not the same in Novi Pazar or Priboj, and there should be applied a shaded approach. I think that for actualization of Novi Pazar, Priboj and Prijepolje are neglected, and one should stop such an approach. There isn't any significant progress regarding implementation of the General Convention in these towns. There are some indications that participation of Bosnjaks representatives in the local organs of power is restricted by a series of compromises they

should accept. Several Sandzak towns are in the same position. In Priboj area one should build houses for people, secure property and material security. In Novi Pazar there are different kinds of problems. We talk little about Bosnjaks in Nova Varos. They seem to be neglected probably for small percentage there. Migrations towards Bosnia, or better to say, to Sarajevo, are still happening from Priboj and Prijepolje. These are complex matters that can't be suppressed. Many problems are mutual, although very often they get extremely national form.

Concern in Sandzak and for Sandzak is really justified, having in mind an overall situation, forced reduced struggle, as well as more and more visible, hard economic crisis being manifested in all aspects of life, its more and more visible lagging behind other parts of country. It is wrong to make picture about Sandzak only on the sample of Novi Pazar. One should see desolated Sandzak villages, smaller towns which economically more and more disappear. A certain temporary »economic boom« of Novi Pazar, was more the result of operation of grey economy than of a planned development. It shows more and more visible dying of Novi Pazar »small economy«. The state media keep talking about further economic »boom« of Novi Pazar, what in fact takes off responsibility of the state to help it. Today, any comparison of infrastructure in Novi Pazar, Sjenica or Tutin, with the towns in neighbourhood, like Raska, Kraljevo, Cacak or Uzice and their investments, gives terrible, defeating results.

Media for certain needs always emphasize Sandzak as a new, potential crisis focus, find out potential terrorists etc. For example, Novi Pazar is said to be one of the richest towns in the country, a town with most expensive shops, land for building, but another, darker side of the story hasn't been seen: that it is completely destroyed town from the urbanistic point of view, a poor town, a town with many destroyed factories, with bad infrastructure, bad road network, bad medical protection conditions, weak cultural institutions, schools working in 3 shifts, with 40 students in a class, young people completing faculties with no perspective. Tutin and Sjenica shouldn't be even mentioned. Even before separation of Yugoslavia Sandzak had been one of the least developed areas in the country. I think that political and marketing rhetoric hides and marginalize its essential problems: undevelopment and no perspective. It has led and still has been leading many people from this area. Displaced Sandzak is more numerous than this one.

Previous experience show that part of responsibility belongs to the local authorities, so that the matter of relation between the state and minority communities requires a more subtle approach. Well, on the samples of 3 towns there was showed that, regardless the fact Bosnjak political parties had formed their authority, due to democratic election victory, they themselves are not ready enough and personally capable of articulating all the demands of the community they represent. Improvisations are used for masking essential needs. The state is more than aware of that, but it doesn't interfere.

The examples of formation of authorities, writing school books, work of National Council showed great unreadiness, incompetence, lack of experts, what hadn't solved the existing problems, but rather relativized them. That's why there should be stressed the fact that there is not responsibility, although it is not symmetrical but rather one-sided.

The practice existed in the time of Slobodan Milosevic regime that the state is guilty for everything, can't be maintained any longer. The representatives of Bosnjak political parties and institutions must accept their, not small part of responsibility, and stop pretending nothing has changed and attack the state and their own unfitness explain by obstacles and prohibitions of the state. For example, I am afraid the notorious book of Bosnian language can't be considered us an honour.

Incidents on the local level show that inheritance from the past still exists.

We are also witnesses of the whole series of problems in our area that could have unwanted consequences on the whole situation (speech of hatred in media, incidents at the sport terrains, writing down nationalistic slogans and graphites, some eggerated statements by politicians, etc.) We must react on time in order to avoid unwanted complications and a possible tension growing. Experience shows we must be awaken and careful.

Numerous prejudices and stereotypes survive. It is hard to change. All those facts should be borne on mind in speaking about this area and about everything that has been going on in the last decade of XX century. Many things refarding Bosnjaks are being forgotten and denied by the authorities.

At the end I want to say it again: The problem of clash between laws and reality remains. It is not any news. Even in the time of Milosevic's regime, when minority communities had been said to enjoy all the rights, according to broad laws, everything was different. The similar situation is today. That's why a permanent interventions in application of the passed laws is necessary by the International Community. On the contrary, there still reamins an impression that laws are being passed only pro forma and even legislators know nothing about them. The cyrcle is closed there until passing some new law and its solemn promotion before TV cameras and certain representatives of minority communities.

We will, as in the case of conclusions and recommendations from the first meeting, continue to inform and point to numerous problems of this area and the ways of overcoming them to all the people in charge. Of course, nobody expects fast changes, but it is one of the ways for us to approach closer to European standards, that everybody talks about, but there is so little work on their implementation.

Janos Orosz, Province Secretariat for rules, administration and national minorities — Novi Sad, talked about: »Experience of other multiethnic areas«.

»Despite an announcement that I will be talking only about an official use of language at the territory of Vojvodina, I think it would be better, it would be more appropriate for the conception of the forum to touch some other fields of implementation of national minorities rights, but just for that reason I will be short and inform you just briefly about the status in all the fields regarding the rights of national minorities. In distinction from the previous speakers who mainly cited problems I will start my speech with an optimistic, positive statement related to Vojvodina. I think the status of national minorities in Vojvodina is good, although it is hard to compensate all the losts that happened during the last 15 years, being caused by centralization and taking away the legislative right of Vojvodina, when everything was moved into a uni-

que regulation at the whole territory of the Republic. In the field of education in Vojvodina Primary school teaching has been performed, except Serbian, into five languages — Hungarian, Slovak, Rumunian, Rusin and Croatian since 2002, which means the first class of students is the fourth grade, the lower grades of Primary School. Secondary school education is being performed into the same languages. Complete education, with an exception of Croatian, still doesn't have generations to enroll it. Enrolling exams for Secondary schools could be passed, according to the choice of students, in their mother languages. The Province decision was the University enrolling exams are being passed in languages that the students completed Secondary school in. I will also mention two more decisions being made by the Province Parliament. One refers to enrolling faculties by the Roma students within an affirmative action. Roma students passing the exam, and let's say for a certain quota they can't enroll, get a spreaded list and a possibility for enrolling, contributing that way to improvement of their bad status. The Province Executive Council gives a scholarship to students every year, not to a big number of students, but half of them must belong to a national minority, with a compulsory part of Rome nationality. In the field of information the Parliament of Vojvodina was a founder of the magazines in minority languages. A year ago it transmitted the copyrights to the national councils, beginning with the fact that national councils would know best about the interests of a certain community and will contribute that way to a better quality information in minority languages. Radio and TV Novi Sad have programmes in all the mentioned languages plus Ukraina language. I designed this speech to be not only about positive things, but to mention the problems where they exist, as well. I will return to education. The problem is school books. The books are usually translated, but translation is very bad. Import of books and using them is allowed now in accordance with the Ministry decision, but those decisions usually come late, at the very beginning of a school year, and then you can't use them. But the very possibility is a progress. The biggest problem is lack of teaching staff. In the lower grades of Primary school it goes well more or less, but when teaching of technical subjects begins the lack of teachers becomes evident. The problem is even more visible in Secondary schools, where students, instead of lessons in their mother tongue have in fact bilingual lessons, especially in professional schools, where they have more subjects in Serbian than in their mother language. Regarding participation of the members of national minorities we have been examined the national structure of the employed for two years. Regarding the Parliament of AP participation of minorities gets along with the total number of residents. The same situation is with the members of Executive Council. Where there are some problems they are usually in the Police, Court and Prosecutor's Office. So, the problems are within the organs where there are not direct elections like with the Parliament, but people come and go according to some inertia and being employed on some other criteria. Regarding official use of language, that field was regulated by the Law on use of the official language and alphabet of the Republic of Serbia 1991, then by the Law on Protection of the Rights and Freedoms of National Minorities of 2002 and by our Charter on Protection of Human, Minority and Civil Freedoms of 2003 They had been passed by this order, but their legal value is vice versa. So, the

most important is the Charter, then the Law, and at the end Serbian Law on the official use of language, what is sometimes being forgotten, especially in the cases of collision. All these laws, regulations, have contradictory solutions in interpretation of some matters. Whenever there is an interpretation of the law it is usually on damage of national minorities. Anyway there was made some progress for better by passing the Law, Federal Law, and by passing the Charter which made clear dilemmas about the official use of language. I would add three more decisions by the Province Parliament regarding this matter. That is the decision about making closer distinctions regarding the official use of minority languages in the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina, decision about foreign languages and minority languages exams for the employed with the organs of administration, and the decision about issuing bilingual certificates from vital statistics books. You know the languages of national minorities must be official if the representatives of minorities reach 15%, as it has been determined by this Federal Law. No Vojvodina Municipality had to change its Statute, because each of them, having a minority at its territory, has already determined by the Statute an official use of minority languages. We have there a wide range here, for example in Backa Topola, Slovak and Rusin population don't make even 1% of the population, but their languages, next to Serbian and Hungarian ones, are in the official use. There are some other examples, negative ones, for example in the commune of Apatin, where Hungarian population made 14, 15%, Hungarian language hadn't been in the official use. One more thing is the Federal law uses term »an equal use«. I think we should make distinctions between simultaneous use, which term is being used in the Law on official use of language, since simultaneous means parallel—it means both majority and minority languages. In my opinion equal means an alternative — either Serbian or minority. Both languages are equal. That term was used in the Province Law on an official use of minority languages of 1974. Now, by emerging this Law in some communes they used the limit of 15% of minorities participation and hurried to cancel minority languages where the minorities didn't reach that percentage of participation. Such an example is in the commune of Sid where they wanted to change the Statute in terms of cancelling official use of Rusin and Slovak languages. With intervention of our secretariat, with the support two National councils, Rusin and Slovak ones, that process had been stopped and the languages retained the official uses, in accordance that by guaranteeing the gained rights and by the strict regulation in the article 11 of the Law on Protection of Rights and Freedoms of minorities, minority languages are retaining the official uses if at the moment of coming into the force that language had been in an official use. Regarding processes in languages, both administrative and court processes at the territory of Vojvodina are being led in minority languages. But now the number of such cases drastically decreased. Concretely, the administrative process in Ada has been led for two years only in Hungarian, in Becej eight, court process in Backa Topola one, in Zrenjanin two, in Kanjiza none. The reasons are numerous. In fact at the territories out of North-Backa communes, where concentrated Hungarian population lives such possibilities are less. It means there are still some chances, while in some other areas the possibilities are visibly less for lack of the trained personnel, lack of judges, but also for the fact

the members of a minority very seldom insist on using their language, especially in the areas where they are not a majority population. In other words, the practice of leading processes in minority languages practically disappeared. The same problem is with recognition of identity documents in minority languages, although it is now a legal obligation. The members of minorities very often encounter problems asking for a certificate in their language, if they want their names to be written originally, although, as I have said, it is an obligation. Regarding the tables with the names of places, announcement tables, tables with the names of squares, according to the Law on official use of language, it is a Municipality obligation, but there are still some irregularities there. The very Law confirms geographic names can't be replaced with some other names, so it excludes the use of traditional names, traditional toponyms. That matter was definitely removed by the Federal Law, where the Province left to the National councils to check the names of settled places. It has been done and putting the right tables has already begun. With the streets and squares the situation is awful, it is not all right. And just one more thing: Something must be changed in the Law on local autonomy, i.e., financing of communes. A commune having only one language gets the same amount as the commune having more official languages. Bilingual society costs and better results could be drawn from that«.

Fatmir Hasani — Committee for Human Rights, Bujanovac:

»The very fact of dealing with these problems is a clear sign of lack of political will, obeying domestic Law and International ratified conventions. We must start from the principle that in the period of shifting from a dictatorship to democracy we must fight with an old, repressive past and with new inefficient power, which solves the problem only when it gets a critical point. That's why what we, in Presevo valley, have achieved is the result of internationalization of the problem. So, when there is not a good will of the state authorities one must use the method of raising the problem to the level seen by anyone. I will give two examples.

As you know in Presevo valley, in the towns of Presevo, Bujanovac and Medvedja from 2000–2001., so, for a year, there has been led a small war, or rifle fire, in order to achieve some rights and to get Municipal power in the commune of Bujanovac. It meant 30 victims, about 100 injured, much mistreating just to get some elementary rights and to have correct elections for the Municipal power. We used to live in such an injustice where, according to the statistics, in the commune of Bujanovac there are 61% of Albanians, 28% of Serbs and 10% of Romes, and the power has always belonged to Serbs, but we had no rights. Until 2000 we have been written off. The factories, court and Municipality were mononational. I want to say we must make big problems if want the state to solve some of them. I will talk about one more problem as a director of a Primary school I should lock my school to prevent the students of a Secondary school to enter and to return to their old barracks, being entered by the Army of Yugoslavia in 1996 on the way back from Macedonia. So I made a problem and the students missed the lessons for three days. I was called by the minister who told me: »Are you normal, it is not a private property?« I told him: »I am normal and it hurts me much. I am a factor in my commune and I want to solve the problem. Mr Minister, do you want a better education?« — »Yes« — »That's what I am

doing». After that both International community and the state found some money, the barracks had been reconstructed and the students returned to them».

Mehmed Slezovic, a G17 representative in the Parliament of SCG and vice president of the Committee for Minority and Human Rights: Cultural status of Bosnjaks.

Dear participants of the round table, before I give a few attitudes regarding the status of Bosnjaks, I would introduce myself in terms of my double role, first as a representative of G17 plus in the Parliament of SCG and a vice president of the Committee for Human and Minority Rights, but also as a man interested in this matter for vocation of my professional and intellectual work, as a creator-artist, I feel invited and obliged to talk about it on behalf of myself.

If we take a brief look of legislative treatment of minority communities, it could be seen there is a huge legislature material regulating matters of minorities, both in internal and International frames of minority rights. I would mention the Charter on human and minority rights and civil freedoms of Serbia and Montenegro, the Law on protection of rights and freedoms of national minorities, Law on education of the Republic of Serbia, Law on school books and teaching aids, Law on official use of alphabet and language, Law on Radio-difusion of the Republic of Serbia, Law on changes and supplements of the Law on election of representatives of the Republic of Serbia, and regarding International fields there is, first of all, The General Convention for protection of national minorities of the Council of Europe, as well as bilateral agreements about protection of national minorities.

Unfortunately, these days European Charter on minority and regional languages wasn't ratified. By these laws individual and collective rights are guaranteed, with the notice that collective rights mean the members of national minorities directly or through the elected representatives participate in the process of making decisions, or decide about some matters regarding their culture, education, information or use of language and alphabet in accordance with the law. The General Convention is an obligatory document in that sense and certainly an expression of high civilisation awareness on the necessity of protection national minorities' rights on national, religious, cultural, language identity as well as some other circumstances serving the cherishing of those features. These standards are said to be on the level and they are even more progressive than International regulation. Indeed, there can be noticed a climate of good will and recognized obligation to meet these requirements. But it is just an aspect of our problems. In practice, despite all, we face the facts that in their real lives minorities have permanent problems. Resolution on protection of multiethnicity in Vojvodina, adopted in the European Parliament, opening the question of Vlasi in Southern Serbia remind that it is an alive materia, and that interactions between majority and minority don't cease to be in focus of attention of political public, with that these are not any longer priority matters of the state towards its way to European integrations. One gets an impression that the main part of job has been done. But is it like that?

I would try now to answer this question from the point touching politics, culture and historical fate of Bosnjaks in Sandzak, so that I would directly discuss the General Convention.

At one of the meetings of the Committee for Human and Minority Rights the Minster evaluated the Convention as one of very low mechanisms for protection of minority rights, that our standards are higher and that, if the mechanisms were only on the level of Convention, we would have in fact every day some resolutions in the European Parliament. Let's say it is true. But if we ask is the Convention strictly respected in Sandzak, the answer would be unambiguously NO. If we ask will it be a reason for some new resolution the answer is again NO. All that creates a question what is the problem and essence then and if the whole thing was put wrong?

1. The definition determining national minority in the Law on protection of rights and freedoms of national minorities is very broad. By quality, it equals all ethnic groups with nations, so that being applied to Bosnjaks in Sandzak it is valid only in quantitative context, i.e. the number that Bosnjaks of Sandzak are being treated minority in Serbia. Indeed very important, but the same thing is relativised in Montenegro, where Bosnjaks are on the level of potential Constitutionality, with an important percentage in the participation of the whole population, although their number is less in comparison with Bosnjaks in Serbia.

2. On the other hand, even within the frame of political subjects of Bosnjaks in Sandzak, there is no political consensus whether they are minority or a nation. The matter is not quantitative but it is rather a matter of political view of own observation on the relation local, regional, or general or state. This has its consequences in the field of culture and politics. Let's look at this matter from another corner.

3. Minority status usually makes association to the lost part of a nation in fury, carried on the wings of history being separated from its mother nation. Is it the case with Bosnjaks from Sandzak? The answer is both YES and NO. Yes, because Sandzak was in the structure of Bosanski pashadom until Austrohungarian occupation of Bosnia, but it has never been a simple marginalized part of that pashadom, without a feeling for its own wholeness. It was treated by the Otoman authorities a specific part with its features. Although in administrative sense it was a part of Bosnia, it was at the same time a part of huge empire with precisely defined position and geostrategic role in it. From the time of Berlin Congress, directed to its own destiny and development, lost between Sarajevo, Istanbul or any other capital in neighbourhood, essentially alone at a draft, Sandzak will wait for its near future with uncertainty, that will only confirm its historical misfortune. This performance is hard but true. Numerous migrations toward Turkey can't be wiped out in any way. This fact is important for understanding political and cultural selfobservation of Bosnjaks of Sandzak that may have an influence on the future. By this I want to underline several things of importance for understanding the matter we are talking about.

a) Bosnjaks in the past (17. century) realised a mature national identity with an awareness they originates from the same roots with the nations they live together.

b) This identity of Bosnjaks of Sandzak is unbreakable from the space of built cultural physiognomy and specific features.

c) This cultural-historical identity appeared on the base of multipolarity, on the ground where their traces left many cultures, ethnicities and civilisations passing here, staying, disappearing or remaining.

d) Although a circled historical region, Sandzak hadn't been in the position to make decisions about its fate, so that others used to make decisions about it, independently of will of its representatives. The matters regarding its status, fate and position left open going against its real interests. That's why it is impossible to approach cultural matters of any nation living in Sandzak in an adequate way, apart from an integral approach to the very region. It especially refers to Sandzak Bosnjaks, since the primary element of their identification is Sandzak as a cultural and historical frame. The fact is that Bosnjaks today not in their own will live in two separate countries, Serbia and Montenegro, and these countries seem to become independent. That fact puts them into a permanent context of self-determination and resistance against the status of a national minority, although such a status, at least in Serbia, provides those few collective rights. It also makes them examining their original connections with the area, and this fact more and more makes pressure on their political awareness, in their real inability before the processes of individualization of the two entities they live in. This fact has its political and cultural consequences.

Political consequences support the fact, that in Serbia of once constitutive nation, they become minority, that in practice hasn't realised a set of their minority rights. Culturally, a minority is logically directed to its mother country, in this case to Bosnia, as a cultural point of departure. Regarding Montenegro, Bosnjaks in the conditions of potential civil country, they tend to be a constitutive nation, so in order to achieve this they are ready for various forms of behaviour, that are not good to their language, cultural and national differentiation on the benefit of an integrating, overnational Montenegrity. But, as it is certain supposing that the further flows will go on in the direction of profiling of naming national minorities (for instance, Montenegro is ready to admit minority languages only Albanian and Roma), the matter of Bosnjaks in Montenegro will be necessarily open, either as a minority or a nation.

Any of the two statuses can't break a natural trend of the parts of the same nation for natural connections, but it may be of importance how and how much it will model Sandzak wholeness as a unique cultural and spiritual area.

In cultural sense it is hard for minorities to be a part of the main stream of national cultures of the majority nation. In the best case, in symphonia orchestra of national cultures there may be few successful violins, but not the solo-violin leading the orchestra. That means that minority culture may be a secondary, local, minority flow or an exemplary, exotic, folklore curiosity.

The culture of Bosnjaks, with its genesis and the achievements of folk mind has never been on the level of a folklore curiosity. There is a pleiad of singers, stories and an epic poem »Wedding of Smailagic Meho«, as a proof of high domain of ethnical self-awareness transformed into folk mind and creativity. But for specific political and cultural circumstances that Sandzak has been exposed to, Bosnjaks here haven't passed through those processes of struggle for cultural and educational autonomy, various forms of national renaissance that they had had in Bosnia. The true national renaissance they had in a short period of socialist Yugoslavia, in the 70-ies, in order to experience a completely different climate even in 1990. Even then, although reco-

gnized, a religious name »Muslim« talked about political, national and cultural deceit, what had its horrible epilogue in the Bosnia war.

Well, there were objective inabilities to achieve the level of a mature, modern and realised national culture, although, objectively, it couldn't be really expected, since the epicenter of cultural events was in Bosnia, with an important cultural centre Sarajevo. Sandzak is on all margins, with high professional ranges of individuals and and a thoroughly provincial cultural atmosphere at the terrain. That's why there hasn't been any possibilities for profiling a paralel national cultural flow.

But, is it possible in Sandzak even today?

In my opinion it isn't possible even today. Sandzak can achieve its full affirmation mainly on the pad of multiculturalism, where at the first stage that concept is being achieved through realisation of national and cultural specific features of Bosnjaks, and then through interculturalism, that means mutual influence and interaction of the existing cultural entities. In that sense we can talk more about predispositions than about real possibilities.

As multinational, multiconfessional, intercultural, cross border region, one modern European region in the European countries Serbia and Montenegro, in the United Europe, Sandzak can overcome actual antagonisms, even those confusing national awareness of Bosnjaks regarding their status between constitutive nation, constitutive national minority, religious group or an unidentified and unnamed disturbing factor, as they had been treated just for the fear in this area they can be a prolonged transfersal still burdening ones' minds. It also refers to the ones seeing it as a whole both in the borders of Serbia or Montenegro.

According to the existing laws Bosnjaks are being directed to the status of a national minority and that is the way to confirm their cultural, national features and value. Such a determination is still narrow regarding their understanding of themselves in this area, and can be overcome only by integration, full and unambiguous, into the fabric of this state, while region Sandzak may act an important role of the area making links with the bordering regions. But it is important then for Sandzak to be structured a region itself with its formal features. In the vision of future there is so much to do on equality through idea of multicultural mutual life, but an equal economic treatment of this region with other ones. All of this needs some processing.

So, the General Convention works in Novi Pazar, Sjenica and Tutin with an absolute Bosnjak majority, but not in Prijeplje and Priboj where they are minority. It is a great step for Sandzak, but still only the first one. There is no need to say there is adifferent treatment of this part of Sandzak. Nearby Bosnian border and recent war still burden minds. Up to now many positive things haven't been registered. Only further economic destroying of that part being followed by mistrust to Bosnjaks is being registered. But it seems a lot of time is needed here, as well as much patience.

These matters were discussed in details. What could be a subject of thinking is bigger and bigger economic collapse of the whole region and its sinking into a kind of isolationism and ghetto. Concretisation on the state of culture would show that culturally this area is far behind in any sense, regardless a bright vision that can be achieved here. All of this had already been discussed and could be continued through todays' dilaogue.

Thank you for your attention and understanding.

Pavel Domonji, Helsinki Committee for Human Rights in Serbia talked on the topic: Overcoming stereotypes in public and cultural life.

The organizer of the meeting asked me to say a few words about stereotypes and prejudices. I would like to stress one point at the very beginning — the organizer of the meeting, having on mind Serbian reality, had good reasons to make stereotypes and prejudices the subject of the discussion at this round table. I will remind you that during the last year in most incidents in Vojvodina the main actors were young people. The members of Helsinki Committee of Serbia work, together with a province ombudsman, with Vojvodina Secondary school students and I can say on the base of that work the attitudes of young people have been formed under the influence of stereotypes and prejudices.

As you know, the problem of prejudices is not of formal logic nature. If it was than the accumulation of knowledge and development of science would logically lead to disappearing of prejudices, but as we can see, it is not like that. Prejudices are still said to be connected with idle thinking. It means a certain opinion is taken literally, without any effort to be revised and put into critical examination and valorization.

But the causes of prejudices are not only in the lack of our logics and our education. The problem is still a little bit more complicated. Rudi Supek in one of his books wrote that prejudices make easier our orientation in reality. Life is short and demands to adapt to it are too big and complex, so that we don't always have time to deal with our ignorance, to examine in details what we have learned or heard before. We can't do it always, because we don't have will, time or strength or power to review our views, pictures and attitudes about the others that we have already gained during our socialisation. We simply take over them and go on. Prejudices are impossible to be uprooted.

Big part of its energy and vitality prejudices and stereotypes take from the function they perform in the society. Prejudices and stereotypes are not only used to express too generalized and false judgement, but they are used for underlying the border between «us» and «them». Underlying this border we contribute to homogenisation and inspire cohesion within our group, and secondly, we weaken inter group communication and solidarity. Prejudices and stereotypes are appropriate means for making and justification of violence. Apart from that, they are used for moving the conflicts from, let's say, economic causes of problems to some, as a rule, helpless social group serving as a victim, and to which violence is not only tolerated, but encouraged. Typical example of that are Jews in the 30ies in Germany, when the Nazis used to explain economic problems and frustrations by Jewish fault and conspiracy.

The next important thing, because they perform a certain function in a society, prejudices and stereotypes are, with help of various propagand machines, deliberately produced. An important role in creation of them belongs to intellectuals — for example stereotypes on Serbs like slaughtered nation, on Kosovo as the most expensive Serbian word, on Jasenovac as the biggest Serbian city underground, etc. Intellectuals of course have important roles not only in producing stereotypes, but also in spreading nationalism. Nationalism uses stereotypes and prejudices in order to move crowds. But all the prejudices don't have the same activation potentials and are not

equally harmful. The most dangerous ones are ethnical, national and racial prejudices. Why? Because they have great driving force, they drive strong emotions and big number of people to an action and conflicts.

Well, prejudices and stereotypes can be successfully capitalized. At the end I would like to answer the question; what policies use prejudices? The answer is very short and it is: authoritative policies. Authoritative policies don't need any revisions, they need no debates or public, no educated and adult citizens. Discussion about prejudices and stereotypes is actually discussion about a citizen and his (democratic) capacities.

Suad Ljajic, a member of chairmanship of Sandzak Democratic Union and the representative of National Movement of Sandzak and Sandzak Alternative made comments on some speeches: »I will try to be short. I just want to remind you I am the representative of 3 political parties today — National Movement of Sandzak, Sandzak Alternative and Sandzak Democratic Union. Considering the speeches I have heard I noticed two things: first, I completely agree with the cited problems about the status of human rights, but I also want to point at one problem that hasn't been stressed here and that is the problem of assimilation. Even today you could hear almost all the speakers, Bosnjaks, using ekavian dialect. The remark of Mrs Semiha Kacar that the local authorities couldn't manage themselves, not having enough capacities to do their jobs was right, but I would like to remind you I am also a private entrepreneur. It means, before I started to work I had had to pass education, to serve various internships in many firms in order to reach this level. So, logically they haven't had enough work experience. Why? Because they, together with all of us, used to live 50 or 60 years, if we count Milosevic's regime, too, in a one-party system, with one system of rule. The very power overthrowing doesn't mean the change of the system of work, but only supporting that ruling structure. The third thing I want to mention, I am glad for lady from Pljevlja is here, is that in almost all the speeches we insist on Serbian part of Sandzak. If I may notice I haven't heard anybody mentioning Nova Varos, and it is the right example of affection of majority population on Bosnjaks. It is difficult to talk about history but I have to remind you that 90% to 10% was on the benefit of Bosnjaks in 1939–1940., and now percentage of Bosnjaks doesn't exceed 5%. Figures are relevant. Statistics is also very important when we are talking about figures. Somebody can be recorded as Bosnjak if he is loyal to a ruling party. As Mr Domonji said, it is understandable that the former structures try to give power to their political friends, showing them in terms of statistics as the members of minorities. Of course anyone has right to express freely his opinion or political affiliation. These three political parties made some starting points and principles of solving the status of Sandzak and the status of Bosnjaks in Serbia and Montenegro at the meeting held in Novi Pazar on 15th November.

In the time when the status of the nations in the areas of former SFRY, particularly in SCG, must be solved, the three Bosnjak political parties SA, NPS, SDU with support of NGOs, eminent intellectuals and many citizens made the starting points and principles of solving the status of Bosnjaks in Serbia and Montenegro. The status of Bosnjak population and the status of Sandzak in Serbia and Montenegro are completely neglected by the state organs and institutions and by Bosnjak parties participating in the power of Republics and the state community, that with their behaviour

and activities they produce direct damage to Bosnjak population. This year European Union passed a resolution on violation of the rights of Hungarians in Vojvodina. Bosnjaks and Sandzak haven't been mentioned at all, although they are enduring systematic assimilation, violation of human rights, terror and crime. SRY, as a legal heir of SFRY emerged in the atmosphere of euphoria, nationalisms, especially Serbian nationalism, and according to the speech of a lady from Pljevlja, Montenegrin nationalism, too, with ignoring state constitutiveness of Bosnjaks. Once given right is not taken away. Serbia and Montenegro is a legal heir of FRY, so it is necessary to be administratively and territorially rearranged and create out of it a democratic community of equal nations. Administrative and territorial rearranging Serbia and Montenegro is an unavoidable condition of its survival and democratic development, so it must be done with no hesitation. It is unacceptable the fate of a state to be determined by only two nations: Serbs and Montenegrins, and Bosnjaks to be disqualified and misused. Hiding behind Constitution solutions particularly refers to the Constitution of 1992, that FRY is a Belgrade state for Bosnjaks is unacceptable for Sandzak Bosnjaks. The Constitution Charter on SCG later hasn't defined these relations. In solving the status of Sandzak the will of residents of Sandzak, expressed at the referendum on Sandzak autonomy in 1991 should be taken into consideration. For just solution of the status of Sandzak and constitutional status of Sandzak the three Bosnjak political parties adopted the following points and principles:

Bosnjaks in Sandzak are autochthonous and constitutive nation, so we are looking for an equal participation of Bosnjaks in the process of passing a new Constitution, with the condition their views to be respected and not only expressed. Sandzak should be an entire territorial political unit in Serbia and Montenegro. If there is a separation between Serbia and Montenegro, the citizens of Sandzak will decide at referendum in which country complete Sandzak will be. We require establishing relations with Bosnia and Herzegovina on the same bases and principles that Serbs in Bosnia and Herzegovina have with Serbia and Montenegro. The work of BNC, as the highest political representative organ of Bosnjaks in Sandzak.

National Movement of Sandzak, Sandzak Alternative, Sandzak Democratic Union, NGOs and eminent intellectuals who supported this agreement appeal to all the structures in Sandzak, Serbia and Montenegro, all the political parties and associations of citizens to support these starting points and principles, being persuaded they contribute to creating better conditions to themselves and the future generations as well. We invite all the Republic and state organs and institutions to realize the reality and accept those attitudes and determinations of Bosnjak population at the referendum, since it is the only way of solving the status of Bosnjak population in Sandzak and in Serbia and Montenegro in a civilized, democratic and constructive way. Such meetings are quality and I am glad for them, but I think we speak only about minorities here, while from these speeches you can see we don't consider ourselves minority, since we have lived in this country as long as all the other nations. I think one should organize more meetings on this topic in the future«.

Rade Vukosav: »Regarding education in Vojvodina, Mr Orosz has already talked about it, I have a table of languages and schools, how many of them are there, who they had been organized by, etc. I can say there is lack of teaching staff for mino-

rity languages. Some of them even don't know the language well. It is not enough to know only the language, but to know about history, tradition, art, etc. The same problem is with school books. I ask a question how national minorities in Vojvodina have felt about slogans and graphites: »Serbia to Serbs«, »Hungarians out«, »Death to Hungarians«, and »Death to Jews«, »Orthodoxy or life«. The state doesn't punish it, and Vojvodina has no ingerentions, doesn't have its judiciary, police and Belgrade is far away. Then, the state support, treats, approves radical stories that Serbia spreads from Serbia to Karlobag, Ogulin, Karlovci and Virovitica. Radicals don't give up of that and their magazine is »Velika Serbia« (Gtreat Serbia). It provokes hatred towards all the Serbs out of the borders of Serbia. It causes hatred to Serbia by our neighbours. Everybody knows about Seselj's public announcement before TV cameras, being watched by Croats, before the war, in 1989–1990.: »All Serbs in Croatia are my organized chetnics, and all of them are armed«. They hadn't been armed. He lighted the fire thinking to frighten Croats. So, we destroyed Serbs. The names of our organs and institutions in Serbia are Serbian — everything is Serbian — Serbian Parliament, Serbian Government, Serbian minister. The national minorites ask themselves; »If this is the state of Serbia, I am the resident of the Republic of Serbia, and where is my place there if everything is only Serbian and not Serbian proper«. It originated from the Karadjordjevics, since the Obrenovics have led Serbian proper policy. When the Karađordjevics started leading Serbian politics in the style of — wherever there are Serbian graves it is Serbia, etc. They don't give up. I think according to the language laws, an adjective »Serbian proper« fits to one country, and not »Serbian«. It was spread to Bosnia and Herzegovina, so that in Republika Srpska everything had been Bosnian it was written away. Everything is Serbian now. We can't do that way. Let's take Anglican Church as an example. It has always been attacked, broken, its walls have been written with graphites, etc. Why Serbian Orthodox Church doesn't react? In any democratic country the Church is separated from the state. Then, anybody is allowed to go to church or mosque he wants, or not to go to any. Why something like that is being allowed. Poor Serbia is being disgraced; it has been disgraced by nationalists before the world and before God. I am not a believer, but all ten God's orders were broken«.

Ramiz Crnišanin thinks that nobody denies Bosnjaks as a nation: »Serbs have been a nation in Croatia and now they are minority; in Macedonia they are minority, in Hungary as well. Relations have changed; they have become a minority, what means they are not a nation. Secondly, the matter of Sandzak. Sandzak is a territory *Sui generis*, Sandzak is not only a Turkish word. It is Novi Pazar Sandzak, formed in 1878, it was mentioned at the Berlin Congress, and as such it has survived and existed in all the diplomatic letters and books. Raska oblast doesn't exist. It existed as a territorial organization from 1922 until 1929, with the centre in Cacak, and when the regional unit ruled by a ban was formed, it was abolished. Raska state used to exist. The state of Raska and Zeta spread from Podgorica, from the seaside to here. Although the state is feudal it can't be called national. Denying Sandzak is in fact denying Bosnjaks. They want to separate us. The one using the term Raska oblast is Serb, and if uses the term Sandzak he is Bosnjak. Don't let it happen«.

Džemail Halilagić, a chairman of the Committee for Human Rights from Priboj: »I would like to compare the status of human rights in Priboj in relation to the

General Convention for Protection of National Minorities. According to the article 3, talking about the freedom of national affiliation and declaration at the registration of population done in April 2002, the citizens for the first time got a chance to declare themselves as Bosnjaks. Although it was the freest registration up to now, choice of the people doing that hadn't been adapted to the national structure of population. There were recorded the cases of fostering Bosnjaks to declare themselves as Muslims, and the mother language Serbian. One fifth of Bosnjaks in Priboj declared themselves Muslims, 77% declared for speaking Bosnian language. The results of registration don't get along with the situation at the terrain, since there are 24% of registered either Bosnjaks or Muslims. The real situation is that there are no more than 15% of Bosnjaks in Priboj. Some families wrote down the members that have been exiled for 10 or more years. It was also manifested at the referendum about introducing local voluntary tax. When the referendum didn't succeed, the leaders of Municipality admitted one of the reasons was the registration lists hadn't been adapted to the situation at the terrain, i.e., a big number of voters haven't been in Priboj that time. According to the registration, 82% of residents are voters' body, what is not characteristic for other areas. According to the registration of population of 1991 there were 33% of Bosnjaks, Muslims in Priboj. Together with Muslims declared as Yugoslavs there were 37%. Decreasing the number of Bosnjak residents in Priboj is a consequence of the state terror in the last decade of the 20th century.

The article 4 talking about equality and an equal law protection is not being implemented. Priboj is characteristic for being the only commune in Serbia having refugees and displaced people among its own residents. Smiha Kacar has already talked about it, but it is never enough. Bosnjaks can't return to their villages, homes and land, since the state prevents it with its distimulating actions. The newest example is a permanent taking a rifle of a returnee from the village Kukurovic. The rifle hasn't been used for the last 15 years, it was a family treasure and a device for protection of wild animals. The state and the local autonomy haven't done anything to stimulate the expelled people to come back. Some of the owners pay taxes for the property they haven't been able to use for the last thirteen years. Those who don't pay it can't get stamp on their medical cards, what means their right oh health protection is also in danger. For crimes over Bosnjaks nobody in Priboj has been criminally prosecuted. It is state's fault for Hague Tribunal is not interested only in crimes in Sjeverin, Strpci, Kukurovici and Bukovica. Several thosands of people in Priboj lost their jobs, leaving them for fear for their own lives, and by court decisions only few of them had been returned to work. The aid being given by the state to the persecuted Serbs from Kosovo and Serbs who lost their property in elemental diseases is not valid for Bosnjaks in Priboj. This is an act of discrimination. Committee for Protection of Human Rights and Humanitarian work sent several letters to the state organs, demanding correction of injustice. The Government of Zoran Zivkovic discussed those demands at the board of directors in 2003 and there were some promises the state will react in accordance with the Constitution and laws, but it hasn't happened up to now. The article 5 talks about culture, cherishing identity and preventing assimilation. There are no Bosnjak cultural institutions or cultural programmes and tradition of Bosnjak po-

pulation. The identity of Bosnjaks is being lost through educational system and by intruding Orthodox religion. There are cases the children of pre-school age are prohibited to use traditional expressions for the members of their narrow and broad families, Orthodox religion is being intruded in schools, Bosnjak child gets a bad mark if he can't recite »the Lord's prayer«. Two years ago there was expressed a spirit of intolerance and unreadiness for dialogue about facing the past. At many meetings being organized by NGOs about human rights there were few representatives of the local power and political parties, while police and religious communities representatives were absent. The article 8 treats freedom of religious organizing and expressing religious views. The freedom of religious expressing is not in danger in Priboj, but the freedom of organizing is. Muslims of Priboj have been asking for a licence for building a mosque for more than 15 years in new Priboj that is the only town in Sandzak with no mosque. The land where the town had been built with the cars factory has been nationalized and confiscated the land which owners were Bosnjaks. No urbanistic plan determined this location; all the demands of believers were ignored. The local Parliament made a decision about building a mosque on 21st September in 2004. The leaders of the local autonomy, some Bosnjak politicians and some NGOs exploit this moment as an extraordinary democratic act. But nobody in Priboj can't answer if there will be a mosque and when. The location for it hasn't been determined by general urbanistic plan, but by a particular Assembly decision. The location being determined by the Assembly members is the biggest humiliation for Muslims in Priboj, since its building was determined at the place near the very flow of feces into the Lim River, where in the summertime, for high temperatures people must close their noses for an unbearable smell. The land doesn't belong to the Municipality, what will make an additional complication in the legal procedure of legalization of the location. The biggest cinism is that the project was claimed the best one at the project fair in Serbia. In the centre of the town there has been built an Orthodox church on the Muslim priest's land, where Muslims had been looking for a place to build a mosque, but their demand was rejected in 1994. Only 200 meters further of the church, across the Lim, there is the church land, but Eparchy Milesevska put a wooden cross there, claiming the place Holy Serbian Land. The article 9 is availability of the mass information devices. In Priboj there is not information in Bosnian language. At the local RTV there are not any programmes about Bosnjak tradition and culture. There is no Bosnjak. There are 17 reporters in the public enterprise Informative Centre, none is Bosnjak. Priboj Bosnjaks get information about lives and actual events of Bosnjaks in Sandzak from the programme »What are you doing« at RTS, since there isn't any other source of information. Article 10 — Bosnian language is not applied in the local autonomy of Priboj, at the courts or state institutions. A demand of coalition List for Sandzak and Committee for Protection of Human Rights and Humanitarian Work is recorded. The demand is about introducing Bosnian language into an official use. The council for interethnic relations, formed a little before that, discussed then demand, but it was rejected unanimously, unfortunately, with voting of the only member of one Bosnjak political party in the Municipal Parliament. Articles 11, 12, 13, and 14 are not being applied in Priboj at all. The article 15 provides the right on an ef-

ficient participation of members of national minorities in cultural, social and economic and public affairs. The current situation in Priboj is even worse than than the one of Milosevic's regime, when 4 Bosnjaks used to have directors positions.

Now there is none. No Bosnjak is a member of the Municipal Council, only one judge of the Municipal Court is Bosnjak. No leading function being given by the Republic hasn't been given to Bosnjaks. A noticeable is increased participation of Bosnjaks in the police, but it is still far away from the proportional participation. Article 16 determines giving up the measures changing proportion of population. Demographic picture of Priboj has been changed during the last 15 years. Bosnjak population was reduced to less than a half. Most Bosnjaks who stayed are concentrated in the centre of the town, since in about twenty settlements gravitating to the border with Bosnia and Herzegovina life is impossible. Emigrations of Bosnjaks still occur; houses and flats are being sold at low prices. Bosnjaks leave for lack of economic perspectives and for discrimination in employment.

Radiša Biorac — MB of Democratic Party, Novi Pazar: »I would start with a saying it is time for truth, and added, any place is the right place. Regarding information in Novi Pazar and further I can't understand some things. I will give you two examples for Novi Pazar. I remember some announcements on the TV »Jedinstvo«, that I wanted to check, since it is not clear how media can broadcast announcements that are not signed by names. Well, it happens. For example, a few months ago there was an announcement in »Danas«, by some NGOs from Novi Pazar. I tried to get at least fax number of sender, I called »danas« several times, but I couldn't get either fax number or the name of the sender. There are cases of breaking Law on information. I asked of our mayor to receive us and answer some our questions. Do you know the answer I got? Answers are not important. They were signed »Cabinet of the mayor«, with no name, no surname. How can you prosecute somebody you don't know. It is a phantom organization. I haven't heard something like that has happened anywhere. That's all about information. I would like to continue about human rights, about myself as a resident of Novi Pazar, about us, residents of Novi Pazar. Many guests have mentioned what is going on with us, I think Mr Slezovic talked about moral decadence. The others also mentioned what happens to us, beginning with prostitution, trafficking, drugs, etc. Citizens are not informed in this time of transition. Maybe it is fault of media, there is not exploring journalism here. Corruption and crime are enormous. For the last two-three years we, as trade unions, have emphasized Municipal and District Prosecutor's Office in Novi Pazar. Secretariat of Internal Affairs Novi Pazar and Commercial Court in Kraljevo gave the data about Novi Pazar with the highest rate of unemployment, with 36% of destroyed institutions. Everybody knows that. Novi Pazar is being loaded with bankruptcies. Misery, poverty and starving are base for further disorientation. There is a lack of strategic development plans for the town, region, republic, etc. I forgot to say I am here as a representative of joint trade unions of Novi Pazar and as a regional agent of the Association of free and autonomous trade unions. We need cooperation with NGOs, since many strange things happen in this transition. I will talk about one concrete case. I invite those people, not for they are directors, but small directors of various public and other enterpri-

ses. There is everything there. If somebody protests, or announces a strike the workers are beaten, workers of »Cistoca« were watered at night in September and October, some of the workers went home at 1 at night with unsigned decisions about dismissing from work. You can't believe where we live. Those small directors or chiefs use to say to a woman — you have nice legs, you are better to go with me here and there. That's why we need a mutual work with NGOs for protection of human rights and rights in general. It looks like we have thought the problems would be solved by themselves after October 5th, or they would be solved by political parties. But as they obviously hadn't been or couldn't be solved, we will have to, as the members of civil society, solve them and work together in many of them. I would close my speech. It looks like we have everything except organization. But in comparison with at least half of population of Serbia it is good we have any state«.

Muzafer-Mujo Bogućanin, MB of Democratic Party, Novi Pazar: »We have had several representatives of authorities here, i.e., active participants in passing laws, decisions, etc., I think of Republic Parliament and the Government, that are at the same time members of national minorities, concretely Bosnjaks. In accordance with that fact we are expecting them to justify their participation in authorities with their concrete actions, and as a proof they hadn't joined the ruling majority just for the power, but for some concrete reasons, suggestions, decisions and conclusions. We don't want them to justify themselves for not achieving any progress at the end. I would suggest the main topic of such meetings to be economic development of Sandzak. That strategy lacks, not only to Novi Pazar, but broader. Everybody knows, without solving economic problems any other problems can be solved fast and efficiently. At the very end of this meeting I would have a concrete proposal, and that is to adopt the summary of our hostess Semiha Kacar as a closing document, as a real image of the general situation in Novi Pazar and broader«.

Džanko Suljević, a president of the Centre for rights of Roma, Novi Pazar: »For the first time I attend such a big meeting. Since I am a representative of NGO »centre for rights of Roma of Sandzak«, I would like to thank to all the people started or mentioned the problems of Roma. It was begun with the decade of Roma that is to be finished in 2015. We, Roma are a nation in the biggest danger in this country. We started some actions with the Municipality 6 months ago and nothing has been done about it yet. Some projects were implemented, but still our Roma population lives in unnormal conditions. Our houses are bridges, streets, cartoon settlements, I call them cartoon houses, in the houses of returnees from abroad. Among those people living in unnormal conditions there is also my family, still living under the bridge. There is one more family, the Isenovics, immigrants from Kosovo, also living under the bridge. I would like to add the problem of education. No Roma in the commune of Novi Pazar has at least completed Secondary school. 90% of Roma population haven't completed even Primary school. And what can we say more about hopes and expectations of this nation. Will they wait for one more winter under the bridges? Will we have some more unwanted events like we had two, three years ago, when children were dying of cold, hunger and living in a dirty place? They are not dirty for they wanted that, but they couldn't the other way. I would like to thank to Mrs Kacar who invited

me to participate in such an important meeting and I will deliver her a written documentation about the status of Roma in Novi Pazar and broader«.

Džemail Halilagić: »I have forgotten to say something and I will say it in the very centre of Novi Pazar, although many people won't like it. Bosnjaks in Priboj haven't been in danger only by the state and by the major population, but by the very Bosnjaks, too. Political parties and various organizations, which mouths are full of Sandzak, are only interested in the areas of Novi Pazar, Sjenica and Tutin. Many NGOs and political parties have some Sandzak insignia, but their activities spread somewhere above Zlatar, up to behind Tutin. It means the space in the Western part of Sandzak where Prijepolje, Priboj, Nova Varos and Pljevlja are like a diaspora. Those parties remember Priboj and Prijepolje only in the time of elections in order to get some political support. I can say and I must admit the only institution permanently treating the whole area of Sandzak since 1992 is Sandzak Committee for Protection of Human Rights and Freedoms, together with maybe two more exceptions of coalition List for Sandzak and Humanitarian Association »Merhamet«. All the rest treating themselves Sandzak political parties are not that, because their field of interest are only Novi Pazar, Tutin and Sjenica«.

Mehmed Slezović: »Since we are coming to an end I will remind you of something you have already heard, that is in fact the whole set dealing with these matters. It doesn't have a law-consequence form, except the General Convention that is an International document. I opened the problem of Priboj and Prijepolje at the Board meeting last year. A few days ago there was designed a session with representatives' questions, but it was postponed for the absence of ministers. I want to say there is really a problem to intrude these questions in the Parliament and to use that institutional way to influence their solutions. I would ask the organizer to deliver the matters we discussed here today to the competent organs, as it had been determined by the Law, so that that way one can influence solving them. These are matters getting alarming features, first of all, in the part of Montenegro bordering Bosnia. Unfortunately, the representatives of Montenegrin Parliament don't ask these questions, so it may be the only way to get some feedback from the place the questions should be sent to, and not to stay at the places where people have problems. That is the reason of organizing such meetings. This shouldn't stay only on the paper, it shouldn't be just a talk among us, where we say something, criticize each other, etc. So, it should be finished in the right way«.

Amer Halilović: »The very fact that all the invited from Montenegro are not here, and I have information who had been invited, means they have no arguments or they are ashamed of something. I was absent, I was called by radio »Sto plus« to chat live with someone from Montenegro, so they called all the representatives of DPS, who »couldn't speak«, then the second, third representatives. Only in Bijelo Polje they found the one from SDP who could speak. So, they didn't want to speak even by telephone. I think the current authority does a permanent discrimination of Bosnjak population in Montenegro, in all the aspects. It ranges from denying language, and in my opinion it is the worst kind of humiliation, to some other things, not counting political, but essential ones. The least developed part of Montenegro is North Montene-

gro or South Sandzak. The most undeveloped town in Montenegro is Rozaje, and the most Montenegrin one. It hasn't been done by an accident. It is the easiest way of manipulating people. Our »representatives from civic parties«, since Montenegro does its best to create so called civic state, settled down well, having good flats and good salaries in Podgorica, doing the job for the authorities. Some say, the people don't want you; look at your election results. But the very fact at the last elections Montenegro had 22.000 policemen, small Montenegro makes things clear. The police are controlled. 22.000 multiple 4 votes it is 100.000 votes, plus directors, friends, cousins and here are 140.000–150.000 votes that the current authorities have. What happens there, what is about Bukovica, deportations, the commune of Petnjica? This is an addition to Mr Slezovic's speech. Two votes missed to Petnjica to get a commune, and, unfortunately, the representatives born in Petnjica voted against it. It was a catastrophe. Why are 12.000 of people from Petnjica which has 15.000, abroad? Why has the Luxembourg Government, where they have been concentrated, approved finances for development of dairy store in Petnjica? After a short time that dairy store was moved to Berane and stationed next to the existing dairy store. More than 5.000 people are abroad; more than 40.000 Bosnjaks are abroad. They are sent planes to be picked up to vote, and then they are sent back. It is one-way ticket. I would give one more suggestion to the organizers of this forum — to organize a future meeting in the area of Montenegro. There are media to cover that. You should invite not only NGO sector, but the people from the current authorities, politicians and NGO sector. I didn't say it by accident that Mr Crnovrsanin might come, how many complaints he had got. The situation is like that because their mouths are full of democracy, but there is nothing of it. There is an ongoing court process, being led by Mr Prelevic, a nice attorney that I adore. He represents the families of the deported, i.e., killed Bosnjaks and it is a pleasure listening to him, the method of his work and what he encounters there. The court stops the process, there is nothing? Well, they look only at that small area, few people, poor ones that are easily controlled. It is confirmed by Mr Medojevic who can buy 100.000 votes any moment. I would suggest such a meeting to be organized with more people in the area of Montenegro. It can be organized in Rozaje, Bijelo Polje, Pljevlja or Podgorica. People should hear other opinions and talk. It is not dangerous to see somebody and get afraid«.

Sabina Talović: »The fact is that Mr Slezovic said the essence, and Mr Halilovic just added some things. My problem is those people, Bosnjaks representing us. You are right Mr Slezovic saying the people don't ask questions at the right place. They are our problem, since when they get a higher position they forget they are Bosnjaks, and not only forget but they say so. Regarding Mr Jusuf Kalamperovic and his competences they are just like mine. He is asked for nothing in that Ministry. Those people are our problem. The biggest problem is politicians, and our corps is our problem. We are speaking today about some other problems, but we should organize many forums to talk to each other, what is our fault and how much we are the problem to ourselves«.

The participants of this forum agreed about the following conclusions and recommendations:

The participants of the round table »THE GENERAL CONVENTION AND THE STATUS OF NATIONAL MINORITIES IN MULTIETHNIC AREAS«, being aware of the fact that obeying human and minority rights is an important precondition of building up a democratic, pluralistic society in the state community of Serbia and Montenegro and its involvement into the processes of European integrations, support any step directed towards improvement of the status of national minorities. The measures being taken up to now must be, in the participants' opinions, improved by further building of internal minority legislature, ratification of relevant International documents and by their, as much as possible, complete implementation.

Showing numerous problems hindering implementation of the minority rights — like poverty, violence, deeply rooted prejudices, discrimination and lack of participation of national minorities in the organs of administration and courts, the participants of the round table showed readiness to talk to the authorities and participate in creating a desirable social ambient as well as an adequate political, legal and cultural frame, in which ethnic varieties won't cause conflicts, but enriching all the members of the society.

In a true pluralistic and democratic society, where ethnic, cultural, language and religious differences are respected; a very important role belongs to media. In the participants' opinions media don't recognize the importance of minority problems, nor do they contribute by their programmes to mutual respect and tolerance. A particular problem is that media are not treated the means of free public, but the means of implementation of narrow, particular interests of certain centres of power.

Firmly believing that perspective of Serbia and Montenegro is in the process of European integrations, the actors of the round table think the members of minority communities could contribute to these processes efficiency.

The participants of the round table emphasize solving minority problems and their economic, cultural and any other development must be implemented through a regional approach, a consistent decentralization and various forms of integrative politics.

The participants of the meeting »General Convention and the status of minorities in multiethnic communities« support suggestion of Sandzak Committee for Protection of Human Rights and Freedoms to organize, in the aim of achieving consen-

sus about minimum of Bosnjak interests, a similar meeting at the territory of Montenegro, too. At the end there was suggested the report of Sandzak Committee: *A review of the status of human rights and freedoms in Sandzak*, for its objectiveness and wholeness to be forwarded as a circular letter to all the political parties, NGOs, media, entrepreneurs and relevant institutions in order to have quality data.

Addition

The list of the forum participants:

PENNA, EUMM
 Andrijana Milošević, EUMM
 Alberto Alvarez, EUMM
 L. Moosberg, EUMM
 Tomislav Milenković, Serbian Orthodox Church
 Boško Klisarić, Serbian Orthodox Church
 Efendija Fahir, Islam Community
 Admir Ef. Muratović, Islam Community
 Fahrudin Smailović, »Voice of Islam«
 Refik Sadiković, »Voice of Islam«
 Emir Požega, Civic Action for Human Rights
 Dževad Koldžić, Civic action for Human Rights
 Mirfat Tahirović, SDA Sandžak
 Mehmed Slezović, G 17+, a representative in the Parliament of SCG
 Azra Fazlić, President of the Municipal Assembly, Tutin
 Amer Halović, BNV in SCG
 Džemail Halilagić, Committee for Protection of Human Rights and Humanitarian work
 Mersiha Zilkić, SDA Sandžak
 Radiša Biorac, ASNS, DS
 Nikola Dimitrievski, Ministry for Human and Minority Rights
 Arvid Kapidžić, Liberal democratic party (LDP)
 Milena Isaković, OEBS
 Anna Maria Lesano, OEBS
 Giuseppe Lucctese, OEBS
 Sava Popović, an attorney of the Centre for Human Rights, Podgorica
 Sabina Talović, Open Centre, Pljevlja
 Semiha Kačar, Sandzak Committee for Protection of Human Rights and Freedoms
 Janos Orosz, the Province secretariat for regulations, administration and national minorities, Novi Sad
 Aleksandra Šanjević, Civic Initiatives, Belgrade
 Ramiz Crnišanin, SIC, Novi Pazar
 Fatmir Hasani, Association of returnees »Reintegration«
 Poturak Munir, Sandžak Democratic Party

Ibro Mehmedović, Network NGOs »Together to success«
Džanko Suljević, Centre for rights of Romes
Mehonjić Almir, Cabinet of the mayor of Prijepolje
Pavel Domonji, Helsinki Committee for Human Rights in Serbia
Jelena Ilić, Radio »University«
Hodo Katal, NGO »Ruka« (Hand), Tutin
Biljana Dumić, RTS
Esad Džudžević, BNV-SCG
Sadeta Zahirović, »Flores«, Sjenica
Ahmedin Škrijelj, a representative of the Municipality of Novi Pazar and the coalition List for Sandzak
Ademović Safet, Party for Sandzak
Mujo Bogučanin, Democratic Party
Jasmina Kruševljanin, Sandzak Committee for Protection of Human Rights
Ljajić Suad, Sandzak Democratic Union
Tarik Imamović, Sandzak Alternative
Ishak Slezović, Radio sto plus
Edib Honić, RTV Novi Pazar
Timka Ramčić, Radio sto plus
Sedat Vrcić, »Flores«, Sjenica
Hajrudin Kolašinac, »Flores«, Sjenica
Dazdarević Hajrudin, Sandzak Committee for Protection of Human Rights
Rade Vukosav, Sandzak Committee for Protection of Human Rights, a collaborator from Novi Sad
Zoran Maksimović, Sandzak Committee for Protection of Human Rights

The forum was covered by:

RTS
Regional RTV Novi Pazar
Radio »Sto plus«
Radio »Deutsche Welle«
Magazine »Voice of Islam«
University radio

OBEYING RIGHTS FROM THE GENERAL CONVENTION IN SANDZAK: FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS¹⁴

The region of Sandzak during the last decade of the 20th century was an area of increased tensions that left traces in all the segments of social life. Closeness of the two crisis focuses (Bosnia and Kosovo) had also some consequences. Everything that was going on here: murders, robberies, abductions, political processes, immigrations, various forms of institutional and non-institutional discrimination didn't offer any hope for any perspective. Non-defined status of Bosnjaks in FRY, permanent announcements there hadn't been mutual life in Bosnia and Herzegovina any longer, didn't leave any hope for thinking it was really possible in FRY, than maybe SCG, but under some special circumstances. Many systematic problems hadn't been solved in the post-Dayton period. Certain crisis moments suit certain impulses needing appropriate conditions to be instrumentalized. In some incidental situations on the local level emerge problems which, except associations on the near past, show they can increase to the level of hard control. Such problems may be found at the sports events, in interethnic and interreligious relations, election-propagand campaigns, and political conflicts within the members of a certain ethnic community. Conflicts are powerful generators of prejudices and stereotypes. The big problem with national stereotypes is their impossibility to be changed. The way of overcoming consequences of destroying propagand, ethnic stereotypes and prejudices, having in mind previous negative experience, will be very hard. The right alternatives could exist only with International support. The General Convention is not enough to be accepted formally and declaratively without its true implementation. It will be a long process.

Hard inheritance of the past, loaded with many unsolved problems, makes difficult overall situation in Sandzak. You can't renew confidence unless institutions find out the truth about mass and drastic violations of human rights and freedoms in the last decade of the 20th century. Since it is a multiethnic area with insufficiently developed institutions of civil society and orientation, without sufficiently strong and influential NGOs, it is necessary to make connections within NG sector and coordinated work not only in conflict situations, but in preventive ones, taking care

14 The summary was done after the analysis of the held forums by the collaborators of Sandzak Committee for Protection of Human Rights and Freedoms

about all previous experience and knowledge about potential crisis focuses, their monitoring and control, insisting on the legal sanctions of the culprits of criminal acts, which especially disturb interethnic and interreligious relations, finding out their backgrounds. Monitoring of General Convention application should be one of the priority tasks of NGOs. Sandzak area in current circumstances must be permanently under magnifying glass of the local NGOs, but of the ones operating in bigger centres as well, and of International NGOs, too. Timely actions and an objective approach make impossible manipulation and instrumentalization that may have huge consequences. It is necessary to reaffirm and propagandize all the long-term values and advantages of this area that had been forgotten in the last decade for many reasons, giving space to distance and mistrust. Positive experience of mutual life and coexistence deserve to be stressed at all levels. It is necessary to act in advance and point out potential problems that could possibly lead to unwanted situations, but an objective involvement into solution of already noticed problems is also needed. Intellectual stage still suffers from immaturity, lack of self-criticism, presence of ideological and national fog, without the right, constructive solutions for many problems. It is necessary to pass the Law on Protection of Minorities on the level of the Republic of Serbia that would make concrete minority rights, as well as the right Law on national councils, bearing in mind previous problematic experience, that would regulate the manner of elections and competence of this organ. Renewing confidence of citizens in the state institutions will be a responsible and difficult task of the people in charge. Experience shows crisis in Kosovo and Bosnia and Herzegovina has its echo in Sandzak. Peace in its surrounding for sure influences an overall situation in it. It is necessary to identify causes of potential crisis focuses in the local areas of Sandzak, to locate them and prevent them timely. Such problems may occur in the work of the local authorities organs, political parties, and religious institutions, teaching programmes, in the work of media on the local and state levels. It is not enough only to condemn incidents. You should explain them and find out some points in order to reduce them to the least possible measure.

Concern in Sandzak and for Sandzak is really justified, having in mind an overall situation, forced reduced struggle, as well as more and more visible, hard economic crisis being manifested in all aspects of life, its more and more visible lagging behind other parts of country. It is wrong to make picture about Sandzak only on the sample of Novi Pazar. One should see desolated Sandzak villages, smaller towns which economically more and more disappear. A certain temporary »economic boom« of Novi Pazar, was more the result of operation of grey economy than of a planned development. It shows more and more visible dying of Novi Pazar »small economy«. The state media keep talking about further economic »boom« of Novi Pazar, what in fact takes off responsibility of the state to help it. Today, any comparison of infrastructure in Novi Pazar, Sjenica or Tutin, with the towns in neighbourhood, like Raska, Kraljevo, Cacak or Uzice and their investments, gives terrible, defeating results. There are still emigrations from Sandzak to Bosnia and Herzegovina. The people who went to the West-European countries won't return for sure. The third, lost generation of Sandzak children grow up there.

For all that had happened in Novi Pazar, Sjenica and Tutin it would be necessary to focus not only political, but all other problems disturbing these towns (economic, cultural, educational, etc) to stress the centre of many problems in the very Novi Pazar, and that, with the help of experts, they must be solved here. It refers to Bosnjaks and their representatives, as well as, to all speaking on behalf of them, who must take responsibilities for anything happening in Novi Pazar and in Sandzak. Bosnjaks in Sandzak must unavoidably »put down to the ground«, detailed examination and facing the time, the disappearing illusions. Sandzak, as a structural part of this country and this state, mustn't stay any longer on the margins. Bosnjak intellectual elite must be much more interested in the true application of the General Convention, first of all, in the field of cherishing the language, religion, tradition and its cultural inheritance. The culture of Bosnjaks can't be cherished in an amateur way. Professional institutions that are to be formed must deal with all its aspects. The state must help more in order to overcome amateurism in the field of culture, in order to improve creative potentials of Bosnjak community.

Forced »minority« laws, being passed under the pressure of International community, had been created that, in spite of all the pomp following them, don't work. Their implementation is being followed by a series of problems that are impossible to be solved in a short time. Democratic and intellectual potentials of Sandzak are, regardless all the propagand self-advertising, still modest and insufficient. That's why they need professional and quality help and initiative from the other side. Bosnjak political parties and other institutions in Sandzak, being led by the conceited, authoritarian leaders, with strange and frequent political transformations and irrational turns, born mainly in the same, but an old-fashioned, mother town, deal more with mutual disputes, hunting the local »traitors« and »suspicious persons«, becoming in fact, for immaturity, lack of responsibility, incompetence and too many ambitions, numerous improvisations, more and more common, instrumentalized pawns in the hands of the biggest political parties in Serbia and Montenegro, as well as a challenge, depending on a circumstance, for attacks of many media and various insinuations and manipulations. We should face the real facts, the dangers of authoritarian leaders, »stamp institutions«, organizing sterile meetings and manifestations. It is not simple having in mind an obvious competition in ingratiating oneself to the authorities in Belgrade and Podgorica, which end can't be seen yet.

In the relations between local and central authorities one should pay more attention, considering previous experience, to give professional and creative contribution to the activities relating to reforms of the police, army and judiciary. At the same time we must insist on performing the measures of the Law on rights and protection of minorities in terms of adequate, balanced national participation in all the structures of power. On the local level we must permanently warn that the assembly decisions shouldn't be made by the simple votes majority, but to ensure a minimum consensus that won't disturb national relations. It is necessary to apply the methods of so called positive discrimination not only on the local but on the state levels, as well. There should be organized more meetings of multiethnic characters

of participants where they should talk about models of solving the marked problems and establishing a basic consensus about consistent and thorough application of the General Convention.

Systematic terrain examinations are necessary in terms of level of tolerance, not only among the members of different ethnic communities, but among the members of different political parties within a certain nation. Isolation mustn't be answered by self-isolation. Within terrain researches there should be done certain questionnaires about some problems of importance to an area. There should be organized public tribunals, round tables, seminars, with participation of the meritory experts from other areas for a necessary education of people from the political, cultural and sport fields of the local autonomy. A special attention would be paid to media presenting of this region, overcoming stereotyped images and prejudices following it for a long time and having an important influence in the wide public, what is not a simple and short-term task. It would be particularly important to work on removing all doubts and unknown things about this area which influence formation of the public opinion and a relation of a broader community to it. The state organs must accept and elaborate reports and letters of NGOs from Sandzak more seriously than they used to.

The published publications would have aims to point at the roots of the discovered problems, but also to offer solutions for removing and overcoming them. The publications should affirm the work of NGOs, influence increase of citizen's confidence in them and strength of their influences. Only concrete, visible results lead to this direction, as well as to insisting on stimulating development of civic consciousness by educations. Solving certain problems just on the political level, without essential dealing with the very society is not enough. Working, free and critical public is the main principle and pillar of democratic system. Way to self-conscious citizen with developed critical consciousness is long.

We need the actions for further experience exchanges and cooperation of NGOs from Sandzak with similar organizations from Belgrade (Humanitarian Law Fund, Helsinki Committee, YUKOM, Centre for human rights) and from Podgorica (Helsinki Committee), as well as with those NGOs operating in multiethnic and multiconfessional areas.

Timely actions, bearing in mind previous experience and methods, in the direction of solving potential problems, opposing various manipulations, informing all the competent institutions about our findings will influence the general situation in the region. At the same time media presentations, tribunals and other activities should be used for prevention of the problems and solving possible conflict situations. It is also necessary to oppose numerous improvisations and actions touching just formally essential problems of this area. First of all it means »getting serious« work of many local NGOs and shifting from form to the essence of a problem, i.e., pointing at not only consequence but to the causes as well. The task is a gradual building of a modern civil society, with permanent education, where all ethnic communities will be living in peace and harmony, respecting and having full confidence in the institutions of the legal state and mechanisms which in long-term sho-

uld ensure individual, property security and all the rights regardless religious, national or political affiliations. Development of democracy and democratic institutions is a device for overcoming and eliminating nationalisms and other forms of dangerous separations.

The General Convention offers a great, democratic opportunity to minority ethnic communities after all bad circumstances they had been exposed to in the previous time. That's why minorities have a big part of responsibility in succeeding to recognize their problems and find institutional solutions to overcome them, accounting, of course, that the state structures are eventually willing to obey the regulations of the General Convention truly.

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