

journalist



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Content

Events

Media on Media

Press Releases

Vacancies

Free Media Help Line

The role of truth and media in post - conflict society

By: Goran Šimić

The role of media during restoration of post-conflict society

By: Dragana Rašević

Reporting on recent war time past – distinction between the truth from lie

By: Eldin Hadžović

Media must react!

By: Aldin Arnautović

A single dimension of media reporting as an obstacle to sustainable peace

By: Dragana Erjavec

"If you slap me (with a monument) I shall turn the other return (cheek)"

By: Sudbin Musić

Editorial

Journalists' Academy – a non – institutional school for journalism students, journalists and BH media houses editors was this year held at Boracko Lake facilities and was organized by BH Journalists and financially supported by the United States of America Embassy.

"Media contribution to peace strengthening, including tolerance and stability in BiH", was the subject of this year Journalists' Academy, gathering over 50 students and participants during its first two modules, including both male and female junior journalists from all over Bosnia and Herzegovina. Academy lecturers, eminent professors, journalist and activists from BiH worked daily with participants and used their experience and knowledge gained regarding this particular subject.

Some of the subjects at the Journalists' Academy included the following subjects and topics: diversity reporting; electronic media regulations; facing the past and transitional rules in BiH; self-regulation and reporting on post-conflict societies; fair standards; balanced and objective reporting on sensitive issues regarding the war, crimes, exile issues and other kinds of human rights violations.

During the practical work sessions, students and journalists worked on analysis of media reports of public media services, private TV houses, printed and on line media houses, regarding the reporting on events occurring in recent war past events. They were also discussing about media projects contributing in mutual trust building and reconciliation in post-conflict societies as they also, during the thematic nights, were watching documentaries covering the above mentioned subjects and discussed about them. For many participants, this year Journalist' Academy was a remarkable experience and an opportunity to openly discuss about sensitive themes and issues that are often, on regional and BiH media houses, often discussed tendentiously and in a very biased way.

This E-Journalist edition shall bring part of the atmosphere during the Journalist' Academy through the interviews with students and journalists, including the articles on the above mentioned subjects and themes with the following persons: **Dragana Erjavec**, BIRN journalist and TV Justice magazine editor, **Aldin Aranutovic**, a journalists from Sarajevo, **Eldin Hadzovic**, a freelance journalist from Sarajevo, **Goran Simic**, expert in transitional justice and professor at the University of Sarajevo, School of Law in Sarajevo, **Sudbin Music**, representative of "Prijedor - 92", the association of prison camp detainees, **Dragana Rasevic**, assistant of studying program of journalism and communication studies at the Faculty of Political Studies in Banjaluka.

Adis Šušnjar, BH Journalists Association

Events

14 Jul 2016

Bosanska Posavina journalists club - opening ceremony

Bosanska Posavina journalists club was open in Brcko in front of over 20 journalists, representatives of non – governmental organizations and representatives of Brcko District Government. The hosts had, during the opening ceremony, emphasized that the newly formed BHN club shall make its contribution by engaging active journalists in the process, including various media staff, with the purpose of strengthening journalists' community and reinforcing the credibility of professional journalism.

Details

The role of truth and media in post-conflict society

By: Goran Šimić

Building the post – conflict society should not be, under ideal circumstances, difficult to achieve. Required activities that should be conducted should also be aimed towards the identification and determination of the truth, in regard with recent events, including the truth accomplishment for all those that had been di-



rectly affected by injustice, which should also include the society. This truth that would be (without any doubts, preserve facts and evidence about recent events, once it has been determined), decant into a social context and history books so no one would then be in the position to question identified, recognized and determined facts, including the manipulation with those facts. Finally, society could, based on those undisputable arguments, achieve and accomplish justice level for all victims and community, so the future could finally be set free from the fear that crimes could eventually re-occur once again. Undoubtedly, media would additionally have huge importance and significance in presenting the truth to general public, to whom they address, by cre-

Events

5 Jul 2016

2016 Journalists Academy finished

Ceremony of diploma awards for the participants of the Second Module marked the end of 2016 Journalists Academy covering the following: "Diversity Reporting – Media contribution to peace strengthening, tolerance and stability in BiH".

Two five days modules of summer educational program gathered over 50 both male and female students, male and female junior journalists from the following cities and towns in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Journalist Academy, organized by the Association of BiH Journalists, represented a non – institutional form of practical work and education, focused on an individual work and group work, aimed to acquire new journalism skills and practical experience that participants cannot accomplish and be provided with, during their formal educational process. Academy was also supported by the American people through the American embassy in Sarajevo.

Details

Related news:

- \bullet Different interpretation of history $\,$ a stumbling rock in peace establishing in BiH
- Ceremony of diploma awards marked the end of 2016 Journalists Academy
- There is absolutely nothing noble and patriotic in committing war crimes
- Documentary "Children of War to children of peace" shown during the Journalist Academy
- Journalists should avoid dehumanization of vic-
- Confronting hate politics represents the foundation of fight against hate speech

23 Jun 2016

Open dialogue about the past as the pre-condition for sustainable return

Media houses and civil society organizations should work more on releasing public history details of, above anybody else, returnees and refugees, in order to consequently create an open dialogue and discussion on war history events thus creating further an empathy amongst the public, emphasized the participants during the debate: "Responsibility and role of media houses and civil society organizations during the process of reintegration and sustainable return", held in Prijedor.

Details

17 Jun 2016

Media and CSO should take more responsibility for returnees

Media and Organizations of Civil Societies should take more responsibility for returnees and should provide more help to returnees in terms of rights acquiring, stated the participants during the debate: "Cooperation between media houses and civil society organizations – the process of return in BiH", held in Stolac. Participants had, during this workshop, emphasized that the problems of returnees were often ignored as they received no adequate support and help in their local communities.

Details

ating consequently solid foundations for long – term peace, released and liberated from conflicts and sufferings. Unfortunately, life in post – conflict communities provides completely different scenarios and circumstances.

George Orwell once wrote in his book: "He who rules the past, rules the future; he who rules the present, rules the past". In the very same chapter, Orwell actually asked himself did past actually exist and if it did, where did it exist? Did it exist in documents, did it exist in human memories and are those in possession of those documents those that held the memories? Finally, Orwell asked himself weather humans could be stopped in remembering and recalling the past memories. But what did Orwell actually try to outline here?

It doesn't seem common sense that someone who was ruling the past could rule the future, although this does make sense and appears logical to some extent. The history of certain people is actually the history of memories travelling and transmitting from one generation to another and it often loses its original and basic meaning. Additionally, when those who (in their lives) live the truth and experienced events to whom the truth related, the situation then becomes very difficult to check in terms weather something would directly correspond with the truth or would the whole thing be considered false. Therefore, it is crucial for culture to identify recognize and determine the truth and support it with authentic evidence, facts and arguments, so the truth could thus never be questioned again when those who lived with it consequently pass away and the truth therefore becomes the past for those that follow. It is them that will follow later and they shall represent the future that Orwell was referring to. They shall be ruled by those who rule the past since they will not have the opportunity to check the truth they shall be presented with the genuine truth. They shall learn history at schools, stadiums, cinemas etc. They shall learn about the things that shall become part

of their cultural and national (ethnic) identity. They shall become part of their cultural, national, and ethnical and various identities of all kinds. They shall also, in the future, identify themselves with it, transmit this to new generations, as their own heritage, where unfortunately, many of them, shall transmit it with no critics applied whatsoever. Therefore he, who rules the past, shall indeed rule the future as well.

They are not convinced that the path they take is the right path and that the "other" path is not. Present governing officials / authorities, that is, those performing different functions could, in their own sense, fight to make the past be forgotten or to be rectified for the purpose of indoctrination of their own people with an aim that shall produce desired effects in the future.

"When those who (in their lives) live the truth and experienced events to whom the truth related, the situation then becomes very difficult to check in terms weather something would directly correspond with the truth or would the whole thing be considered false. Therefore, it is crucial for culture to identify recognize and determine the truth and support it with authentic evidence, facts and arguments, so the truth could thus never be questioned again when those who lived with it consequently pass away and the truth therefore becomes the past for those that follow"

"Although it is not difficult to determine which of the above mentioned facts are incorrect, in terms of human dignity, since human beings sometimes find difficult to accept the truth, particularly to accept the truth they openly disagree with. One thing is certain: middle way is hard to follow. People may ignore the existence of the truth and its authenticity; they may tend to convince each other and diminish and degrade themselves for higher causes as well. They may fabricate that truth, attempting to present it in a different way comparing it to what it really is, mostly because of higher political causes.

They decide whether the crimes will be processed or whether those who had committed war crimes will be pardoned so the society could turn to forthcoming future. They decide and tailor school programs. They introduce and impose new subjects in kindergartens. They finance film / movie makings. They recommend state budgets at different levels. They decide how the state officials shall spend public money. They may, indeed, rule the past with a possibility to fabricate it if necessary which does happen. The media role in this process is indeed significant and of great importance. Furthermore, Orwell stated that those who ruled the present would rule the past. At first sight, this seemingly indistinct thesis could actually be indistinct only to people that do not live in post - conflict communities. They are not faced with political attacks against "the other side". Their children do not learn that the war crime committers had come from "the other side". They are not encouraged to remember and to state with pride facts about their national or religious background. They are also not convinced that the path they take is the right path. Although it is not difficult to determine which of the above mentioned facts are incorrect, in terms of human dignity, since human beings sometimes find difficult to accept the truth, particularly to accept the truth they openly disagree with. One thing is certain: middle way is hard to follow. People may ignore the existence of the truth and its authenticity; they may tend to convince each other and diminish and degrade themselves for higher causes as well. They may fabricate that truth, attempting to present it in a different way comparing it to what it really is, mostly because of higher political causes. They incorporate the bended and distorted truth and make myths about their own people, turning that into, in words of Jung, collective selfness and col-

lective memories on their own past and their own integrity. On the other hand, people could choose completely different approach. They may choose the path which was, for instance, chosen by Germany, that, by displaying many examples, accepted the bitter truth based on who was to be blamed for starting the World War II; who formed concentration camps and gas heaters and who killed or caused death of tens of millions of innocent people around the people for their own ideas, but on the other hand managed to bow down asking many nations for forgiveness for atrocities committed during the WWII. Not asking for forgiveness, instead on the contrary insisting on memories that should warn everyone about what people are capable of doing, offering only dedication to mutual life, peace and efforts so the tragedy like this would never happen again. Ever since the war ended, huge and unsparing fight for past is continuously happening. It is the present fight that is actually happening, the fight for what had happened in the past, but also the fight for what shall be accepted as authentic in the future. Students, shows, newspapers, media, picture, photos, institutes, books, movies and films altogether represent the material that may be used in order to convince the people about the truth, and how members of "the other side" had been war criminals; how "our" victims worth more than "theirs" etc. And instead of using the opportunity of making an impact and influence the public opinion in correct way, by providing objective, fair and correct information about the truth, committers and victims, most media houses in Bosnia and Herzegovina joined the unscrupulous Orwell - based battle outlining what was or was not our past, standing along with all of those who, in Bosnia and Herzegovina, want to build the picture on events that had occurred during the most recent war, but to build the picture that would on the other hand be based on lies and deceptions.

This is surely unsafe and unstable foundation. This is for even more uncertain future.

Attendees expressions about the Second Module of 2016 Journalists' Academy



Maro Grubeša, FTV journalist

"Lecturings were interesting and lecturers very professional. I am glad that participants and attendees included people from different social communities, different places and with people with different journalism experience. All in all, this is very pragmatic experience gained and things I learnt here can be applicable in reality as well".

Milana Sitničić, student from Banja Luka

"During this Academy, I encountered people with stories that they had personally experienced and that had survived tragedies yet they still remained cooperative and appear positive as well. Knowledge I gained I shall find very beneficial for my future advancement. I strongly recommend these kind of educational forms and programs to all journalists, in order to make contribution to as objective journalism as possible".



Press Releases

15 Jul 2016

Condemning public lynch, threats and hate speech aimed against Vuk Bacanovic

Association of BiH Journalists Board of Directors and Free Media Help Line strongly condemned public lynch threats and hate speech through online media and social networks aimed against Vuk Bacanovic, a freelance journalist from Sarajevo and recent Federal Television (FTV) associate.

Details

8 Jul 2016

More efficient protection for journalists required Banjaluka Journalist Club supported recommendations provided by the Ministry of Justice of Bosnia and Herzegovina, regarding the freedom of speech and media freedoms in general in BiH and their decision to make an analysis of justifiability of introducing the new criminal deeds penalties and sanctions applicable, because of the necessity for more efficient protection of journalists at work and also to keep records and evidence if such deeds are committed against journalists. Recommendations by the Ministry of Justice represented an affirmative, positive and encouraging signs, in terms of media freedoms and protection of journalists in BiH

Details

7 Jul 2016

RS Constitutional rejected the initiative for constitutional review regarding the Law on Public Order and Peace

Banjaluka Journalist Club and Transparency International BiH believe, regardless to the decision passed by the Constitutional Court of RS, that it would be necessary to advanced and make precise definition of certain provisions of the above mentioned Law, since present solutions leave too much space for interpretations and eventual misuses that may result in limiting the freedom of speech and gathering of individual persons or organizations.

Details

2 Jul 2016

Protest regarding the assault against BN TV journalist team from Bijeljina

Members of the Board of Directors of the Association of BiH Journalists and Free Media Help Line strongly condemned physical assault against the BN TV journalist team from Bijeljina which happened on Thursday, 30 June during live recording and reporting of eviction by one lady from Bijeljina from her apartment.

Details

23 Jun 2016

Protest as a response to the arresting of journalists in Turkey

BH Journalists Association and Free Media Help Line, Press Council, online media in BiH and Sarajevo Media Center strongly condemned the arresting of two journalists and human right activist in Turkey. Erol Onderoglu, Ahmet Nesin and Sebnem Korur Fincanci were arrested, detained and accused of spreading terrorist propaganda in Turkey. They were imprisoned even before the trials had commenced, only because they expressed their solidarity during the campaign against the attempts by the government to censure newspaper dedicated to Kurdish Issue.

Details

The role of media during restoration of post-conflict society

By: Dragana Rašević

Media social responsibility should represent imperative in media reporting in any community. This media role in post - conflict society, places it on even higher level. In certain societies, such as Bosnia and Herzegovina, media have independent and very important role in the process of developing stable and tolerant society, aimed for peace and coexistence. However, the question is whether media in BiH can contribute in peace and tolerance strengthening or



can they revive tensions that slow down the process of social stabilization? The answer to this question would require further analysis of media contents in BiH and this text shall not deal with it; instead this text shall attempt to provide some guidelines for better quality of comprehensive media reporting in post - conflict societies, such as Bosnian society. Basic assumption is that media reporting on diversities in BiH, war casualties and social justice, is not on a satisfactory level and should and must be advanced.

Respecting journalists' ethical codes and the principles of the genuine truth, journalists could, in their reports on war time memories and also reports on war crimes court trials, contribute in accepting and identifying such events

with focus on the forthcoming future, which again implies equality and tolerance for people. General memories are accepted, but the significance of events out of the context must not be underestimated, including unclear reconstruction and directing of actual events. Public enlightenment represents a basic pre condition for participating democracy and justice acknowledgement. Journalists' duty therefore is to accomplish such goals based on the principles of the truth during fair and correct objective reporting. Conscious journalists shall always base their reports on the actual facts that they serve the public in the first place and that their job is to serve public serving and fulfilling the interests of all people.

Reporting in post conflict society is not an easy job to do. Journalists bear great responsibility, including pressures of different kinds put upon their work (political, economic, national and ethnic). Working conditions are limited and interests of media entrepreneurs and financiers are considered priorities, as oppose to general public interests. Still, this should not be used as an excuse for journalists to perform their duties and fulfill their tasks the best way they can. It is clear that journalists often experience different ethical dilemmas particularly when it comes to post – war subjects and issues. Luis Alvin Dej¹, for such cases, recommended the use of DAO formula. DAO formula

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1 Ideas that follows the text are related to the model of moral reasoning are taken from the book L.A.Dej, Etika u medijima: primeri i kontroverze (Ethics in Media Communication; Cases and Controversies), Belgrade, Media center, Plus, 2004.

Press Releases

23 Jun 2016

A letter to members of parliament (ZD) regarding the RTV tax charge system

Association of BiH Journalists and Free Media Help Line sent a letter to the members of collegiums of the House of Representatives and to all political party clubs members, demanding the Recommendation on the amendments regarding the Law on Radio and Television System of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Recommendation was passed during the special meeting session of the House of Representatives of the Parliament of BiH on 13 June 2016. This letter is in full and available at link.

15 Jun 2016

Goran Jaksic received a public note because he deprived Mirjana Radanovic of her labor rights BH Journalists Association and Free Media Help Line directed a public warning to Goran Jaksic, director of Rec Production, a production house from Banjaluka, because he had been threatening Mirjana Radanovic, a journalist from Banjaluka, shouting that he will not pay her the money she had worked for and earned. A letter in full is available on the link.

operations even when the results and consequences are positive and affirmative. Teleological theories are completely opposite. They are based on the opinion that decisions (deriving from best and most acceptable consequences for highest number of people) are considered correct. This opinion is followed by utilitarists (Mill). Encouraging journalists for public interest is often used as an excuse for unpopular decision making and immoral means used, during rallies, protests and gatherings, processing and dissemination of media information. Journalists are often criticized for their opinions based on this theory and also criticized for relaying on unknown results and omitting to take into consideration, their duties and responsibilities towards individuals and smaller groups that may be in conflict with moral obligations towards the entire society. It is because of these reasons, irreconcilable extremes of two previous theories, during the process of moral deciding, the easiest to apply would be the virtue theory which focuses on the character. Aristotle's theory of golden midway is based on the idea that virtue acquiring represents a morality key, provides a solution that could be considered sober comparing to two end positions.

represents a model of moral reasoning which implies the following: defining the situation, analysis of situation and at the end, the decision. During the process of situation defining, it is necessary to describe the facts, identify the principles and values and raise ethical question, that is, ethical dilemma.

As part of the situation analysis, journalists should assess the opposing principles, values and take into consideration all outer factors and decide which ethical theory they should apply during the process of decision making.

The third step should be a decision, that is, decision making on how to make reports about certain situations and how to support this decision based on moral theory. In order to make decision in easier way, Day recommended taking three ethic theories based on teachings by Kant, Mill and Aristotle into consideration: deontology theory (based on duties), teleological theories (based on consequences) and theory of virtues presenting Aristotle's golden midway.

"Along with understanding and implementation of the above mentioned model of moral reasoning and questioning, journalists in post - war reporting along with all limitations and difficulties they face could at least avoid the damage deriving from their own unprofessionalism and unethical conduct. The knowledge and understating of principles and practice of journalism, acknowledge of ethics theories are requires and necessary for critical approach for analysis of the subject being examined, in-

cluding the information gained

and their selection too."

Along with understanding and implementation of the above mentioned model of moral reasoning and questioning, journalists in post - war reporting along with all limitations and difficulties they face could at least avoid the damage deriving from their own unprofessionalism and unethical conduct. The knowledge and understating of principles and practice of journalism, acknowledge of ethics theories are requires and necessary for critical approach for analysis of the subject being examined, including the information gained and their selection too. This means that journalists should, at any time given, be aware of media social role and ethical principles upon which journalism is based, with the purpose of raising critical public awareness and better understanding of media contents.

Deontology theory representa-

tives (Kant) believed that deci-

sions should be made based upon

the rules that can universally be

applied, thus at the same time

respecting the dignity of people.

This theory is based on duties and

does not approve any unethical

Attendees expressions about the Second Module of 2016 Journalists' Academy



Jasmina Maslić, student from Živinice

"The Academy for young male and female journalists represented a new and affirmative experience in terms of both, lecturers and participants on one hand, and mutual cooperation, interaction and curiosity of young male and female journalists on the other hand. I shall definitely apply for other associated educational programs organized by BiH Journalists since long life learning process is crucial for an individual development, in this case crucial for journalists."

Dario Handanagić, journalism student from Banja Luka

"This was the first time for me to attend and participate in this particular form of educational and I also consider this an excellent opportutniy, especially for me as young journalists, it acquires new skill and to learned from older and more successful colleagues."



Media on Media

12 Jul 2016

Recommendation for RTV tax fee charging system through electricity

Committee for transport and communications of the House of Representatives of the Parliamentary Assembly of BiH, supported the Recommendations for the amendments regarding the Law on Public Radio and television System of Bosnia and Herzegovina, suggested and recommended by Amir Fazlic and Mirsad Djonlagic, both MP's. Momcilo Novakovic, the chairman of the Committee, outlined, after the meeting session, that we got a completely new model of RTV tax fee charging, after passing the above mentioned amendments. According to him, RTV Tax fees should be charged through electricity bills, if the law is legally passed in both Houses.

9 Jul 2016 RTRS change of duties

"Poor management of RTRS created the state in which the inter human relationships have been violated at the moment, often changes of duties and inadequate editing staff in this media house, producing all together the viewership decline and this poor management may lead this house into bankruptcy as well". These were the words posted on <u>Istinito</u>. ba, a local web site teve.ba, BNTV, Slobodan Vaskovic, a blogger both posted texts / articles regarding the crisis striking this public broadcaster (RTRS).

BAM 12.0 million for the PBS service digitalization

Council of Ministers of BiH, during their meeting session held on 7 July 2016, brought the Decision on using generated extra /additional financial incomes over expenses by the Communication Regulatory Agency of BiH, defined until 31 December 2014 amounting BAM 14.252.087.00. Pursuant to this decision, BAM 12.0 million shall be directed for the Digitalization Project of public RTV services in BiH and BAM 1.452.087.00 shall be aimed for the development and advancement of communication and broadcasting sector in BiH.

14 Jun 2016

"Invisible Europe": Media view about European integration in BiH" - presentation of research / survey results at the Banjaluka Journalist Club

Banjaluka Journalist Club, as part of the Association of BiH Journalists, presented research / survey results regarding Invisible Europe": Media view about European integration in BiH" with Lejla Turcilo and Belma Buljubasic as the authors of this work, published by Heinrich Boll Stiftung BiH

Research/Survey was conducted based on a sample analyzed, including 179 articles published and posted in certain media houses and online media web sites that analyzed topics and issues in relation with European path of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Details

Reporting on recent war time past

Distinction between the truth from lie

By: Eldin Hadžović

History of journalism, particularly the history dealing with conflicts and war, contains a number of dishonest, tendentious and biased reporting. Driven by the old saying "all is fair in love and war", a quote from the book



title by John Lyly, a 16th Century English poet, dramaturge and politician, thousand lies were produced whose goal was to implement pre - planned war plans, pauperizations of public opinion, justification of their own actions and obliterating committed war crimes. "Journalists" often served political elite or war machinery, thus "contributing" the goals of these machineries as the stakes in this process always included human lives that under such circumstances had been considered as mere statistics.

Under the war circumstances, it is extremely difficult to distinct propaganda from quality reporting as this is even more difficult during the post – war period. Twenty one years passed since the end of the Bosnian war and completely new generations grew up with no possibility to receive quality information about the past war times, so they were therefore forced to seek answers from sources at newsagent shops, television channels and internet sources as well. This is where they encounter an army of propaganda followers serving the unaccomplished war goals, fighters for "ethnic and national issues", keepers of the ""right - faith" opinions and creators of new reality, deriving from the nationalistic discourse which in the nineties and at the dawn of the 20th century produced genocide, detainee camps, expulsions, massive rapes and over one hundred thousands of killed people.

Bosnia and Herzegovina is no exception in this sense; instead it is rather a rule. At the beginning of the World War I, media in Great Britain provided many reports about massive atrocities committed by the German troops and history of modern propaganda still remembers and recalls the term "raping Belgium". During these turbulent times, one could read in British tabloids about unthinkable slaughters and massive raping of Belgian nuns, that, after they had been violated, were nailed to church entry doors. Although it is a historical fact that Prussian soldiers indeed committed horrible crimes and atrocities against civilians in Belgium - in 1914 alone they killed over 6 000 Belgians and by the end of the WWI this number increased to 27 300 killed with over 62 000 persons who had died due to a lack of food and shelter – tabloids instead decided to post and publish explicit illustrations and descriptions of terrible mutilation and mass raping of Belgian nuns. It has been proved that, amongst the victims of German soldiers, there were many children, women and civilians, however, it has also been confirmed that stories about nuns being nailed were a complete fiction. It is believed today that propaganda machinery was aimed to mobilize the people for fight against Austro – Hungarian empire, but after the lies provided by propaganda followers had been revealed, it became harder to prove crimes that did indeed occur, despite the photos provided with German soldiers on them shooting at woman and children. Revisionists shall today gladly quote the case of Belgian nuns as final evidence that all stories about war crimes and atrocities committed by the German soldiers during the WWI were actually massive lies.

During World War II, first media house to release and post the truth facts about Auschwitz atrocities was British Daily Telegraph. Robert Fisk, The Independent famous journalist stated once that the news – and today we know this is the truth – about one of the biggest death factories, was released and posted as tiny little sticker on Daily Telegraph front page. First proof about Holocaust, according to Fisk, biggest crime against humanity in modern history, was suspiciously seen by many, rather than considered as credible and reliable information. "Allied Forces saw this as their own benefit, since they wanted to bomb and destroy German cities and towns, rather than destroy extinction camps", wrote Fisk. Propaganda had therefore attempted to serve "higher political goals", hiding information about Holocaust, instead of reporting about actual and real events. There is also no need to mention that Holocaust deniers used those first, shy reports on concentration camps as "crucial evidence" confirming that the whole story about systematic and industrial extinction of Jews was by far exaggerated.

In November 2011, I, along with Zvezdana Vukojevic, my female colleague, posted a story about the destiny of Hava Muhic and her still born bay that had, in the middle of Srebrenica Genocide been taken away from the hands of misfortunate mother and buried her in mass grave along with five other bodies. The story was posted in HP/DeTijd, Holland monthly magazine. The story was, along with influential magazine where it had been posted, transferred by forty media houses in the Netherlands, including tens of media houses from former Yugoslavia. After seventeen years of investigation, the girl was finally discovered in a mass grave nearby Srebrenica and her body was buried in Potocari Memorial Complex on 11 July 2013. This was at the same time the only mass grave made by the Dutch soldiers, not the Serb forces. Anatolia press agency posted a story on the "youngest victim of genocide" using the case of this baby "allegedly" murdered in genocide, although Hava and Dutch soldiers that had already buried the baby, confirmed much earlier that the baby was not murdered, but it was instead still born (born dead). Obviously, to Anatolia Agency, the Srebrenica Genocide was not terrifying enough as it was, so the story about baby being killed was simply made up although it has become clear that the case was fabricated. After I reacted and denied this lie, the propaganda machinery counterstrike emerged, this time from the positions of "higher goals" Serb nationalism. "A lie has no legs", was the headline emerging from Press RS with associated attached article outlining that Srebrenica Genocide is not a fact and the term itself had quotation marks on it and the entire case was used as "evidence" that the Genocide actually never took place and

"Under the war circumstances, it is extremely difficult to distinct propaganda from quality reporting as this is even more difficult during the post – war period. Twenty one years passed since the end of the Bosnian war and completely new generations grew up with no possibility to receive quality information about the past war times, so they were therefore forced to seek answers from sources at newsagent shops, television channels and internet sources as well. This is where they encounter an army of propaganda followers serving the unaccomplished war goals, fighters for "ethnic and national issues", keepers of the ""right - faith" opinions and creators of new reality, deriving from the nationalistic discourse which in the nineties and at the dawn of the 20th century produced genocide, detainee camps, expulsions, massive rapes and over one hundred thousands of killed people."

that the whole issue was fabricate by Turkish press agency. There is no need to outline that the story was also transferred by many Serb media houses using it as an example of "propaganda about Srebrenica genocide".

Instead of conclusion we shall just quote our own denials directed to Press RS which were naturally lost in many comments following the article itself: "Scrupulous lies by Anatolia journalists, just as your morbid manipulations, shall not change the fact that Mladic's "heroes" committed genocide in Srebrenica. Have no doubt that questioning the genocide in Srebrenica made me terrified just as I was terrified by lies imposed by others that attempt to impose political background to Srebrenica genocide or simply make benefits out of this tragedy. Lies are simply lies and nobody will make any profit by placing them. With absolutely no respect, I salute you Eldin Hadzovic".

Attendees expressions about the Second Module of 2016 Journalists' Academy



Jovan Bašević, student from Sarajevo

"According to last year experience, I applied for this year Academy 2016, since this academy is an excellent ooportunity providing all participants with useful to learn something new in their journalism career. I also liked very much the subject analysis, quality lecturers, thematic nights and socializing. This education is also an ideal goal and for practical knowledge."

Tamara Trajkovski, student from Mostar

"I considered this an excellent opportunity for all students, including students of law school, journalism students and young / junior journalists as well. I am glad I (once again) took part in this year Academy program. We learnt a lot from lecturers and participants. I have never been making reports regarding the subject issue and I shall hope that if I find myself in a situation, I shall do and complete my /task professionally".



Media must react!

By: Aldin Arnautović

"Media "in BiH suffer from the very same disease as the rest of the BiH society suffers. This includes nationalism, corruption, average work, amateurism, ideologies followed, unprofessionalism, nepotism, injustice and everything that imposes pressure upon the daily life in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Media reflects their consumers, that is, us, including media contents they present us with and reflect

the way they (media) are made, which, once again is courtesy of the public as well. Media also reflects the characters of their editors, entrepreneurs but also their staff and employees and this concerns not only the technique and equipment used, but also concerns the content being presented. Therefore, I am convinced that the amount of media contribution to the society is equal to the amount of an individual person's contribution to that society with this individual person being ready and capable of doing the same thing for that society as well.

Recent past and media preparations for wars in former Yugoslavia proved that media houses, as far as the social destruction is concerned, may unfortunately be very effective. I consider a huge mistake the fact that the Hague War Crimes Tribunal never judged any journalists – agitators and also believe that should these court proceedings had occurred, it would have contributed in the development of the Balkan journalism in general.

Media crimes that, for the period of several years by spreading the fear, mythology and hate, had been committed by "our colleagues" from the early 90's, resulted in an irreversible changes of destinies of a significant number of people being involved in war conflicts.

Could "media" then, in terms of a common sense, be able to make their contribution thus producing encouraging social changes? I believe that they could, under certain conditions and if they could be lead by the ideals of social and professional values although these ideals, in real world, do not represent the basis upon which these media houses work,

therefore the above mentioned opinion should be considered utopia, rather than reality. Shortly, this is how I see the answer to this, rather epic question including projects, round tables, conferences involving representatives of media houses and associated communities in BiH.

I believe that media houses, classified as certain wide category, which include persons or organizations that may create, produce and conduct informative, educational or entertaining contents, would never get any worse that the world they work or exist in. In other words, if we don't like the reflection of a mirror, we can't blame the mirror, can we?

I deliberately put quotation marks on noun "media" since I attempt to deny its meaning. I still find difficult to reach what exactly does the term media in BiH represent at present. The category itself is simply wide in its meaning, in order to be defined precisely so it is therefore also incorrect to be used as such. To whom does the term "media" refer in public communication? It usually refers to a particular media house or person whose name the speaker refuses to mention. If media means all persons and organizations producing, creating and representing different content, then the term is once again much wider than we could imagine.

Does this mean that media shall, under the same umbrella and on shoulder – to – shoulder basis, stand along with tabloids and public services? Are all web sites media as well? Is posting on social networks seen by enormous number of people considered media activity as well?

Considering that our media system accepted the concept of media "race" between public and private media houses, I personally consider this as an important fact in relation with the answer to the question on how much could media houses do in terms of social changes. Different regulatory standards also refer to these two different media financing models in BiH.

In my opinion, the fundamental difference between private and public media services is the fact that public service is legally obliged to justify its existence and name as well. Private media houses are obliged to obey common rules of the game, while public services are obliged to serve direct interests of their viewers. In media field in BiH, public services have been taken away by the pirates, ages ago. This was so long ago that we even forgot that they used to be public media houses once upon a time.

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On the other hand, if the help in social development is to derive from private media houses, it then becomes obvious that it could not be possible to happen. At the end, private media houses do not exist so they could do what public services are obliged to do. Such encouraging engagements could of course be initiated by the editors or managers of private media houses, but, as oppose to public services, private media houses are not legally obliged to do that."

Vacancies

Open contest for journalism works covering the following subject: "Adult education in Bosnia and Herzegovina"

Two prizes are to be awarded and all journalists from Bosnia and Herzegovina are encouraged to apply and submit their investigation stories on how laws on adult education may produce best impact in terms of employment increase in BiH. First prize is BAM 2.500.00 and second prize is BAM 1.500.00. Journalists from BiH working at any media house are encouraged to apply, including newspapers and magazines, news agencies, radio, television, internet web sites).

Evaluation jury shall take into consideration all submitted journalism works posted between 15 May and 19 September 2016.

Details

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Therefore, we come to the third group; so called non-profit media houses that usually focus of socially important issues and make such contents easily accessible and available for other media houses or available to general public. During the time of pompously announced and later on, failed media reforms in BiH led by the International Community, someone had decided to, instead of developing the existing media, insist on forming new media houses whose primary task would include creating and producing program contents only. Bearing in mind that most of these projected media did not have a channel for placing the content outside, the boomerang of such poor and inadequate decision often returned in form of media rejection to, in front of the regulating body, take the responsibility and broadcast such contents.

Finally and as far as I am concerned, the term "media" shall lose its full meaning for as long as there is insufficient media community ready and willing to address biggest challenges this particular trade and profession

faces currently, including the education and skills of journalists, their labor and human rights as well. In fact, we, at this very moment do not even have reliable information or statistic fact on how many people in BiH are engaged with journalism at present.

Shortly, "media" may be able to help, but they have to stay focused on their own problems or became subject based media working under the order of certain interests groups doing this for money, clicks, connections and power.

Still, once the noun media regain its original meaning, when public media houses return to the public and dignity return to journalism, I am certain that media treatment (based on the truth, followed by good journalism, love and trust) shall not be without any effects.

A single dimension of media reporting as an obstacle to sustainable peace

By: Dragana Erjavec

More than twenty years since the end of war, the regional reconciliation is often questioned and doubted, while, at the same time, the mutual trust in our societies still remains one of the most important social tasks to be accomplished. Media role and its impact on society and individuals is huge, thus, media representatives must, by all means, accept the responsibility for avanything they present to the public. Still talking about media and their role.

sibility for everything they present to the public. Still, talking about media and their role in developing peace seems impossible without taking into consideration mutual and interpersonal media impact and society in general.

Namely, the content that media provide the public with is always closely bound and tied with material and spiritual development of the entire society, while, at the same time, the way the media operate can always reveal political, economic and cultural level of that society as well.

Through history, we witnessed media producing and agitating worst possible cases of committed crimes against humanity. However, their role after the war had ended was rather significant in terms of searching for the truth and reconciliation, as well as for creating the public mindset where victims would be shown respect. Apart from releasing determined and confirmed facts, media may have rectified and amended mistakes made in the past, related to hate spreading and agitating animosities by providing correct and duly information. Besides, information providing about suffering of other / opposite side ethnic groups also represents a significant step forward for the development of general empathy in our societies. My opinion is that it is in fact the problem of most media houses in former Yugoslavia countries was the fact that they had provided information about the suffering of one ethnic group only (the one they belonged to) which resulted in hate spreading amongst different ethnic groups and communities.

After the war, regional media houses encountered a great challenge and the most important challenge of



all was – telling the truth. Perhaps, the role of media in this segment presented vast significance, particularly when it comes to crimes committed by "their own people", but not neglecting the suffering of "other / opposite people". Only by this way we can expect certain satisfaction but also gain trust by victims from this particular region.

Public education may be considered as one of the most important tasks today, (when we speak about the role and impact by media in our society). We must not forget that media shapes and influences new generations and their opinions about the recent war events and because of this and because of generations that had been listening about war conflict times from their parents or were taught through false and incorrect history books, media should bear heavy burden of truthful reporting about war conflicts in former Yugoslavia territory.

Despite affirmative moves and steps taken in media in this region, in comparison with reporting from the 90's, I must say that propaganda, hate speech, violence aimed against journalists and media control, altogether still represent main obstacles to peace which at the end proves that we still haven't learnt our history lessons.

Unfortunately, most media houses in BiH are ethnically biased, therefore they often provide news and information for their own ethnic group responding and replying thus to their enquiries and their political attitudes.

Some media often encourage religious and ethnic hate, incorrect and inappropriate reporting which results in negative process of mutual life and tolerance amongst people of different religious and ethnic background, but also has negative impact on reintegration process and sustainable return.

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Also, let' not forget the fact that the work by journalists and some media houses is quite limited mostly by political factors, so the freedom of speech and information is often followed by the problem of inadequate professional standards.

The view of printed and electronic media houses in the region makes all of us concerned, and we can additionally notice something that reached unprofessionalism and something that, as far as significant number of people is concerned, including myself instigates vast rage.

Once again, quasi facts or incorrect information are being provided and some use certain political lobbies as well. Unfortunately, I believe that media houses should be held responsible for difficult situation that BiH society is in, with social diversities being strongly outlined and apparent, and also with fear being present, including hate and mistrust as well.

Media professionalism is still required and necessary. More responsibility is required, including independence comparing to social centers of power, such as (for instance) political or religious groups that still significantly create particular editing policies of certain media houses.

We still need journalism that does not only deal with facts and statistics, but also deals with moral and ethical issues, which represents responsible journalism for which we, as professional journalists, may be held responsible.

We seem to have forgotten that, during the war and even today, there are many cases and examples of mutual life and tolerance amongst people. Some people were, still are and always will be humans above anything else. Those who loved their neighbors and who did not allow any political or media propaganda to change their opinion about their neighbors or influence them to commit a crime are still good people no matter what.

It is time that we journalists should identify and recognize those people. They understand the term responsibility; they can identify courage and will not be influenced by politics or sensational journalism, It is time that we learn that any man can be a good or bad person, but good and responsible journalist cannot be a bad person! Let's be human and let's strike all challenges that regional media houses have still not overcome yet.

"If you slap me (with a monument) I shall turn the other return (cheek)"

By: Sudbin Musić

Religious burial of 127 identified victims of genocide were buried in Srebrenica on July 11 2016. On the same day, Suvad Ramic, a returnee to Prijedor also died. One of the headlines on RTRS on the same day (July 11) almost the entire day included the footage and news about H.O., Bosniak woman that was caught on camera scrubbing her carpets on the stone of memorial

(monument ("Susnjari" in Sanski Most. This monument was part of memorial center dedicated to Serb civilian victims of Ustasha terror during World War II. Few photos and information, apart from marking the day, clearly and undoubtedly pointed out about the crisis in most vulnerable and sensitive proofs regarding the reintegration of BiH society and the state, including the process of facing the most recent past.

Two decades of pause

The genocide committed against Bosniaks in Srebrenica and Zepa, enclaves under the protection of UN, resulted in culmination of the situation in BiH and the region and it also turned a new page of the international Community politics in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Soon, the end of war followed with the signature of all parties involved and this marked one of the most complex peace agreements in the history of fighting, namely, Dayton Peace Agreement. Nothing in the Balkan region ever remained the same from that moment, but one could think that the dimension of evil committed over civilian population in the heart of Europe, at the end of XX century, resulted in such way so that in terms of planetary attitude, nothing shall ever be the same. At the end of 1995, it was almost impossible to imagine that anyone would even dare to return to the place where they used to live before the war and from where they were driven out by the use of force. A female returnee to Prijedor (her identity confirmed with the author of this text, initials M.H) stated that, once they heard that the war was finished, they burst into tears and cried. Soon after that, they, once again, started crying, this time because they were sad and disappointed because of the fact that the entire Prijedor municipality (Prijedor was before 1992 municipality, and today it has a status of a city) remained within the territory of Republic of Srpska Entity. "Back then, this information meant that this town was allocated to Karadzic", claimed M.H and she added that for the period of next few days her phone was ringing constantly in Germany, where she had previously sought refuge, because her surviving family members rung her saying goodbye to her as they decided to run and seek life elsewhere, that is, in other countries around the world, including America, Canada or Australia. Her family members, who managed to survive, still decided to return to Bosnia; first to Sanski Most and as of year 2000 (in summer), they decided to return to their partially renovated ho

Memories

They say that side roadside memorials standing along many channels, digs and inlets, bridges and crossroads throughout Bosnian roads, make more impact and are more effective than any speed road signs. Hence their building is tolerated as a result of over one hundred road accidents per year. However, there are absolutely no signs or memorials reminding that 102 boys and girls from Prijedor were killed in 1992. Memory loss is certainly a symptom of a disease. Collective and general memory loss is again a very dangerous issue. Very few people are concerned about this memory loss issue.

Almost everyone forgot about the document concerning the Strategy of Transitional Justice in BiH 2012 – 2016 (not to mention that this strategy document was very close from not even being contemplated at all), because the document itself was put away and probably ended in the draw in some office at the Parliamentary Assembly premises. Its implementation definitively makes no sense anymore. Collective and general memories are still bounded by Entity borders inside BiH, bounded by the separation lines of military forces during the war or by the memories in little micro spaces of environments for returnee communities throughout BiH, that resemble apartheid before anything else. Along with many other things, the return also has taken place in BiH.

Memories revive along with the return of life

With return to devastated houses, the returnees have brought their memories as well. Memories of pre – war happiness were found among preserved things and items found in their devastated houses or family photo albums which they had somehow managed to keep. M.H. a returnee showed us the favorite ashtray of her killed husband, found in ashes of their family house. Memories reviving the war tragedy had been marked along with the burial of identified victims which had first, and before anybody else, decided to return to Prijedor. With the process of discovering the victims buried in mass graves, their identification and proper burial, the new stage in preserving the collective consciousness in BiH, particularly with the returnees, has began. As oppose to Bosniaks, the return would for ethnic Serbs, during the initial period of first years of peace, mean the betrayal of their own nation. Croatia provided shelter to most returnees and refugees by building small settlements of epic names, such as Bobanovo, meant the delay for the return of ethnic Croats in long terms. Similar and identical settlements were built throughout the entire territory of smaller BiH Entity for displaced Serbs and Serb refugee, that would eventually mean and resemble the same as described above (Croat refugees). Frankly speaking, many Bosniaks, particularly those from the eastern part of Bosnia, found their haven and new homes in Sarajevo Canton or Tuzla Canton territory. Well paved and rutted path has been completed, for one of the most sightless process of the dissolution and disintegration of our society, including the state with such a horrible war time history.

Monuments / memorials - "You slap me (with a monument) I shall turn the other return (cheek)"

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The return is still considered as purely Bosniak issue. The fact that the largest returnee settlement in BiH is actually a Serb returnee settlement village called Krnjeusa in the municipality of Bosanski Petrovac, confirms that the above mentioned thesis is incorrect. Unfortunately, very few officials actually take care and are concerned about Serb returnees either. Even the highly ranked Serb Orthodox Church officials, whose official seat in Bihac – Petrovac eparchy is operating and working illegally, in terms of the law provisions.

With the return of first Bosniaks in RS, new monuments and memorials to fallen Serb soldiers began to emerge. One of those include the memorial to fallen Serb soldiers in the facilities of former concentration detainee camp (Trnopolje), including the memorial in the same local community (Trnopolje) in which ethnic Bosniaks made up the majority of population, best outlines and displays the collective consciousness in this part of the country. Worst possible forms of torture and displacing took place in this particular part of the country. It is worth of mentioning that pictures, photos and recording of horror from Trnopolje concentration defainee camp contributed the initiative of establishing the International War Crime Tribunal for former Yugoslavia territory. Bosniaks framed their rights to memories on parcels / land under the Islamic Society control in BiH, mostly deep into returnee ambience and environments, far away from the sights of local communities and other citizens living nearby and these memory frames are in fact graves of identified victims. In the meantime, complete area around Prijedor and other cities and towns of smaller BiH entity has become the area where official Serb governing authorities have control of collective memories, (in terms of institutional anniversaries and marking the war time atrocities), including the influence of Serb associations of war veterans, families of fallen soldiers and missing civilians. One of many monuments and memorials is also located in the facilities of high school center, the biggest and largest centre in the region west of Banjaluka. The fact that the official Serb governing authorizes in Srebrenica, on July 13, opened Memorial (monument) in front of the Elementary Court of Srebrenica, a monument dedicated to fallen Serb victims of Srebrenica, confirms that Prijedor in not an exception in this sense.

We and the international community

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Bakir Izetbegovic's visit to "Kazani", not analyzing the background and motifs of this visit and its details, seemed for the moment, as certain advancement, regardless to what it looked like in the eyes of the general public and audience at least from Prijedor point of view and its perspective. If nothing, this visit at least revived the hope as far as this rather sensitive issue is concerned; leaving us to hope that we just may be able to solve problems on our own. International community in BiH still plays the key role in creation of our everyday lives. The question is what kind of a role it is. It is impossible to think that, during the first period of war, the problem of facing the past was not considered more intensively and with more attention. In that period, at least from present point of view, it was appropriate time for that. The role of OHR, at this specific period, could have been crucial. It is hard to even believe that public addressing, again from today's perspective, namely the speech delivered by Dragan Cavic on 22 June 2004, would ever reappear, including the establishing of the Com-

speech delivered by Dragan Cavic on 22 June 2004, would ever reappear, including the establishing of the Commission for Srebrenica. A year later, the pioneer attempt of surviving camp detainees for the building of memorial center in the facilities of most horrible concentration detainee camp after the World War II in Europe, namely Omarska concentration camp, failed. Today, former concentration camp "Omarska" is private property of world famous steel mine manufacturer Arcellor Mittal Steel company, majority shareholder and owner of Zenica Steel Manufactures and biggest sponsor of London Summer Olympic games in London in 2012, also being involved with British government. Still, through the work and role in PIC through the work and role by Valentin Inzko, High Representative in BiH. Until 2012, the victims of Prijedor attrocities, gathered through few associations, managed to overcome themselves in order to make a maximum effort in terms of preserving the memory of the tragedy they had gone through; tragedy similar to Srebrenica tragedy. Along with them, Serb victims intensified the story on Serb civilians being killed as well. In places where return took place, the dialogue was initiated too, regardless to how loud and difficult this dialogue appeared to be. But, from 2012 the dialogue commenced although with low intensity, mostly due to the lack of support by the High Representative and international community whose support to Prijedor associations was never sufficient enough. Even today, Prijedor victims associations are not supported effectively, despite obvious discrimination taking place. International community has during the last period in BiH, demonstrated its inability to manage this issues, obviously due to diversities amongst many European Union countries expressing different attitudes about this issue. By tolerating the discrimination, they just showed their real face and the crisis they have been experiencing, so Brexit results came as no surprise if one applied a common sense here.

Free Media Help Line

Actual cases:

Valerija Ćorić, Dnevni list Mostar: Vesna Milas, Municipal Court of Mostar clerk, pressed charges against Valerija Ćorić- Dnevni list Mostar, female journalist, Dario Lukic, chief-in-editor and Dnevni list Mostar, media house. She pressed charges against them because of whole lines of articles/texts appearing in Dnevni list Mostar and published and posted by our female colleague Coric. BHJA and FMHL monitor this case taking place at Konjic Municipal Court.

Sejo Bajraktarević, Federal television: Sejo Bajraktarević, FTV music designer began a hunger strike on 12 June 2016because his last monthly wages were reduced.

Miljan Kovač, Impuls web site: Genuine Serb Democratic Party", community council of Gradiska, issued a release responding to Miljan Kovac article / text titled "Ink clear Source", posted in Impuls web site on 22 June 2016.

Do we have time?

The number of identified victims is decreasing including the returnees. Additionally, their political power also diminished. Difficult economic situation in the state and permanent discrimination to which they have been exposed, made the youth returnee population abandon and leave their homeland for good, while the number of elder population is slowly decreasing with every Muslim religious burial or burial taking place. The time has today become the hardest enemy to returnee communities. Three hours after the burial of identified victims of Srebrenica genocide, Camil Durakovic, Srebrenica municipality mayor posted a photo of abandoned graveyard in Potocari, on his face book profile. Suvad Ramic's house, after he had passed away, was left deserted. It is just one of many returnee houses that remained empty with the death of its inhabitants. These houses consequently become pilgrimage places and some kind of museums of family memories and most authentic memorials of time and space that we all together share. They become places that are visited on weekends or during holidays so the remaining survived members could revive memories about young and happy days of their lives before the war, including their childhood memories, family happiness, but also collective happiness as well. This applies to all three ethnic groups in BiH. Durakovic alone has openly shown his sorrow with deserted graveyard in Potocari, just as M.H has shown sorrow has her children. Priority list of news to RTRS editing office clearly outlined the collective consciousness about time and space in this part of BiH.

Bosniak female person who had been scrubbing her carpet on the memorial stone in Susnjar memorial complex has deserved to be openly criticized for what she did, but her action represented more than just mere warning about the time that we live in and about the forthcoming future. She found suitable place to do this, rather hard female job, in the country where literacy rate is critical by all means. Additionally, she didn't seem to think deeply about this particular site or its significance. There are not many people that can remember World War II and its significance, at least not in terms of institutional anniversaries.

The number of Serbs in Sanski Most is decreasing just as the number of Bosniaks in Prijedor is decreasing, since both groups had been left to take care of themselves from the beginning, thus being left alone. M.H, a female returnee, kept repeating this fact at the same time not hiding her sorrow and fear from the forthcoming future an uncertainty; hence her initials in this text. The return was obviously not considered seriously as the key of reintegration for the community, society and state.

Is return sustainable at all? Are we closer to reach this critical moment when those being most insistent decide to leave and abandon and what things, questions and issues will become senseless from this specific moment? We still may have time, but this time is surely running out. The number of questions and issues that required answers for too long time is increasing every day and this marks the challenge, but also outlines the responsibility of BiH governing official authorities and civil society officials to finally strike this issue and take it into most serious consideration. Otherwise, we may encounter difficult and uncertain times that may be marked by some new female carpet scrubbers, scrubbing their carpets on monuments that are yet to be build over graveyards of the most tragically part of our recent history.

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