

APPENDIX – Complex conceptions of Truth in the former Yugoslavia

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1 Methodology

1.1 List of research units

	Title	Issue of The Voice	Page number(s)
1	Truth has no alternative	1/2011	1-2
2	RECOM Initiative included in Enlargement Strategy and European Commission Reports	1/2011	4-5
3	Letter of Support for RECOM signed by 155 artists and intellectuals	1/2011	5-6
4	Coalition for RECOM calls for establishment of a database of the disappeared	1/2011	7-8
5	Italian students support the Initiative for RECOM and its activities	1/2011	9-10
6	Epistemic community - against "the brotherhood of crime"	1/2011	10-14
7	What others have said about RECOM	1/2011	14-15
8	The voice of victims	1/2011	15-17
9	About the Initiative for RECOM	1/2011	17-19
10	Transformation Period	2/2011	1-2
11	About RECOM, shattered illusions and peaceful co-existence in Klagenfurt	2/2011	14-15
12	About regional cooperation: twenty years since the attack on Vukovar	2/2011	16-18
13	Filip Vujanovic, President of Montenegro: Support for RECOM will accelerate "this important process"	2/2011	19-21
14	What is 'transitional justice'?	2/2011	25-26
15	Controversy between Srdja Pavlovic and Dusko Vukovic	2/2011	26-27
16	An Artist's view of the past, Dino Mustafic, November 2011	2/2011	28-29
17	A heartbreaking testimony of Smail Durakovic	2/2011	30-32
18	De-barbarization	4/2012	1-2
19	The Team of Regional Advocates of the Initiative for RECOM discuss political support	4/2012	3
20	Meeting of the Coalition for RECOM in Belgrade	4/2012	4-8
21	Maribor Branik Handball Club apologizes for its fans' hate speech	4/2012	12
22	Australia commemorates the victims of Srebrenica	4/2012	13
23	Ursa Raukar: "We must first recognize our own sins"	4/2012	14-16
24	Mate Uzinic, Bishop of Dubrovnik: I asked Orthodox believers to forgive us for the wrong we did to them	4/2012	16-17
25	The ghost of Milosevic still haunts Serbia	4/2012	18-19
26	Macedonia, 2012: See no evil, hear no evil, speak no evil	4/2012	20-21
27	The voice of victims	4/2012	24-28
28	Reconciliation as a Political Taboo	5/2012	1-2
29	Council of Europe Human Rights Commissioner supports establishment of RECOM	5/2012	4-5
30	Chief Prosecutor of ICTY Serge Brammertz supports RECOM	5/2012	7

31	Challenges to and Support for the Initiative for RECOM	5/2012	8-10
32	The battle for sustainable peace is yet to come	5/2012	10-12
33	Political prisoners in Kosovo: Huge commitments taken on for injustices	5/2012	14-15
34	Trauma instead of catharsis	5/2012	16-18
35	"We lived 60 years with these Albanians"	5/2012	26-28
36	Dealing with the past in the post-Yugoslav societies is impossible without RECOM	6/2012	1-3
37	PEN Vlaanderen calls for Establishment of RECOM	6/2012	5-7
38	Kosovo's Prime Minister pledges support to regional reconciliation process	6/2012	8-9
39	Ljubljana: Inzko commends regional cooperation among Bosnia & Herzegovina, Serbia and Croatia	6/2012	10
40	The debate over the RECOM initiative in Bosnia and Herzegovina	6/2012	15-16
41	Quo Vadis, Macedonia?	6/2012	17-19
42	Truth or Idiocy?	6/2012	19-21
43	Art Againts Denial	6/2012	22-24
44	The Countries of Former Yugoslavia and the European Union Deal with the Past	6/2012	25-26
45	Exploring Civil Society Across Borders	6/2012	27-28
46	The only way to overcome the misunderstandings is with facts	6/2012	29-31
47	The state amnestied the criminals	6/2012	34-36
48	US Ambassador to BiH: The idea of the establishment of RECOM is in keeping with the politics of reconciliation	7/2012	5
49	Visit of the Serbian Orthodox Church Delegation to Croatia Carries Historical Significance	7/2012	10-11
50	Reactions to statements from newly elected President of Serbia, Tomislav Nikolic	7/2012	12-14

2 Results

2.1 The subject positions

2.1.1 Overview of the results per research unit

Analysis questions:

1. Are people quoted/paraphrased in articles (only when specific people or organizations are mentioned)?
2. If so, what is their expressed Profession/role/identity?
3. Who is the author of the article?
4. What is his/her expressed role/profession/identity?

Note: orange text = data derived from other source than research unit

Results:

1.

- x

-Role: x

-AUTHOR: "Editors": Igor Mekina ("journalist, Slovenia" (Coalition for RECOM, 2018a) & Predrag Ivanovic ("PREDRAG IVANOVIĆ, Humanitarian Law Center, Belgrad" (Roggemann, 2012, p. 5))

-Role: (editors:) journalist (Slovenia) & NGO/CSO (Serbia)

2.

-Document European Commission 'The Enlargement Strategy and Main Challenges 2011-2012' = QUOTED

-Role: international political institution

AUTHOR: x

-Role: unspecified = RECOM member = RECOM's own perspective

3.

-Dino Mustafic (director BiH); Mirjana Karanovic (actress Serbia); Ursa Raukar (actress Croatia); Dino Merlin (musician BiH); Dusan Jovanovic (director Slovenia) = QUOTED

-5 x "artists" & (2 x Bosnian; 1x Serbian; 1x Croatian; 1x Slovenian)

-AUTHOR: x

-Role: unspecified = RECOM member = RECOM's own perspective

4.

-Zdenka Farkas (head of the Center "The Appeal"; representing "a number of non-governmental organizations"); Documenta (representing "Thirteen civil society organizations from Croatia"); Podgorica's Association of Families of the Kidnapped, Killed and Missing "Red Peony"; Safet Halilovic (Minister of Human Rights and Refugees of Bosnia and Herzegovina); Natasa Scepanovic (Chair of the Coordination of Serbian Associations of Families of Missing Persons in the Former Yugoslavia) = QUOTED

-1x NGO; 3x CSO's (1x unspecified; 1 x Croatian; 1x Montenegrin; 1x Serbian) (MAIN) & 1x Politician (BiH)

-AUTHOR: x

-Role: unspecified = RECOM member = RECOM's own perspective

5.

- "a group of students from Italy and Bosnia and Herzegovina" = MAINLY PARAPHRASED

-Students (Bosnian & Italian)

-AUTHOR: X

-Role: unspecified = RECOM member = RECOM's own perspective

6.

-Drazen Lalic (Faculty of Political Sciences, Zagreb); Christian Axboe Nielsen (Aarhus University, Denmark) & ("Department of Anthropology" (Aarhus University, 2018)), Diane F. Orentlicher (Washington College of Law, USA) & ("professor of international law" (Washington College of Law, 2018)), Eric Gordy (UCL School of Slavonic and East European Studies, Great Britain) & ("Professor of Political and Cultural Sociology" (University College London, 2018)), Florence Hartmann (journalist, France), Jasna Dragovic Soso (Goldsmiths College, University of London, Great Britain) & ("Head of Department, Senior Lecturer in International Relations" (Goldsmiths University of London, 2018)), Lazar Stojanovic (film director, Serbia), Marlies Glasius (Universtiy of Amsterdam, Netherlands) & ("Professor in International Relations at the Department of

Politics" (Universiteit van Amsterdam, 2018)), Mladen Ostojic (Queen Mary College, University of London, , Great Britain) & ("I am a political scientist" (pcdn, 2018)), Vera Krzisnik Bukic (Institute for Ethnic Studies, Slovenia) and Vladimir Petrovic (Institute for Contemporary History, Serbia); Drago Pilsel ("journalist, Croatia" (Coalition for RECOM, 2018a)); Amir Kulagic ("a survivor of Srebrenica")

= QUOTED (BUT MAINLY PARAPHRASED)

-9x Scholars ("renowned international experts") (6 x International; 1xCroatian; 1xSlovenian; 1x Serbian) & 1x Journalist (France) & 1x journalist (Croatia) & 1x Artist (Serbia) & 1x Survivor (BiH)

-AUTHOR: x

-Role: unspecified = RECOM member = RECOM's own perspective

7.

- Slobodan Snajder (writer, Zagreb, Croatia); Slobodan Uzelac (vice president Croatian government in 2009 (Human Rights House, 2018)), Miljenko Jergovic ("journalist, Croatia" (Coalition for RECOM, 2018a)); Alija Behmen (Mayor of Sarajevo) = QUOTED

- 1X Artist (writer) (Croatian); 1x journalist (Croatian); 1X Politicians (Bosnian); 1x politician (Croatian)

-AUTHOR: other media: "http://danas.net.hr/intervju-tjedna/page/2011/09/01/0075006.html," & "Jutarnji list"

-Role: 2x media/journalist

8.

-Mira Jankovic (from Bikosi, Bosnia and Herzegovina); Slavoljub Peric (from Vozuce, BiH); Amir Kulagic (Association of the Women of Srebrenica, BiH)

-Article in the section 'The Voice of Victims' → representing the role of victim 3 x (3x BiH)

-AUTHOR: x

-Role: unspecified = RECOM member = RECOM's own perspective/selections

9.

-Dragan Popovic & Miljenko Dereta ("from Civic Initiatives")

-2x CSO

-AUTHOR: Natasa Kandic (founder Humanitarian Law Center, Serbia, and coordinator of the Initiative for RECOM (European Western Balkans, 2018))

- NGO (Serbian) /RECOM coordinator

10.

-Desmond Tutu ("a Nobel laureate, renowned South African activist, and retired Anglican

Archbishop") & Nora Ahmetaj ("Nora Ahmetaj, Founder/Senior Researcher:

Nora Ahmetaj is Cofounder of the Centre for Research, Documentation and Publication (CRDP). From 2010-2012 Ahmetaj was a member of the Regional Coordination Council of Coalition for setting up the Regional Truth Commission (RECOM)": (CRDP, 2018) & "She earned a Master's degree of Philosophy in Peace and Conflict Transformation Studies from the University of Tromsø in Norway" (CRDP, 2018))

-1x truth commission expert (activist & religious leader) & 1 x scholar/NGO (Kosovar)

-AUTHOR: Igor Mekina ("journalist, Slovenia" (Coalition for RECOM, 2018a))

-Role: journalist & The Voice editor (Slovenian)

11.

-Katarina Kruhonja ("from the Center for Peace, Non-violence and Human Rights from Osijek") & Ekkehard Krippendorf (political scientist (Asbach & Schroder, 2010, p. 17)) & Valdete Idrizi ("Executive Director of Community-Building Mitrovica, Valdete Idrizi, from Kosovo") & Ulrike Hartmann ("from the Austrian Embassy in Sarajevo")

-Role: 2x CSO (1x Croatian, 1x Kosovar); 1x international scholar; 1x international politician;

-AUTHOR: Other media international: Emir Numanovic (Deutsche Welle) & Neue Kärntner Tageszeitung

-Role: 2x media/journalist

12. (PUBLIC GATHERING)

- Zeljko Sabo ("The mayor of Vukovar"); Vesna Terselic ("from Documenta"); Mirko Kovacic ("spoke about his own experiences upon returning to Vukovar in 1998"); Zarko Korac; Azem Vllasi ("lawyer, Kosovo" (Coalition for RECOM, 2018a)); Amril Kulagic ("a member of RECOM's Coordination Council"); Peter Kuzmic; Drago Pilsel ("a journalist from Zagreb"); Tin Gazivoda; Tanja Fajon ("from the European Parliament"); Koca Pavlovic ("a Montenegrin MP"); Ivo Komsic; Slobodan Uzelac; Stefica Krstic ("from the Osijek Association of Victims of Homeland War")

→ THOSE WITHOUT A FUNCTION OR PROFESSION DISCRIPTION ARE ASSUMED TO BE 'PUBLIC', SINCE THIS IS A REPORT ABOUT A PUBLIC GATHERING.

-Role: 3x politicians (1x Croatian; 1x international; 1x Montenegrin) / 2x NGO/CSO (2 x Croatian) / Public 6 x (MAIN)/ 1x RECOM member / 1x Journalist (Croatian) / 1x lawyer (Kosovo)

-AUTHOR: x

-Role: unspecified = RECOM member = RECOM's own perspective/selections

13.

- Filip Vujanovic ("President of Montenegro"); Professor Zdravko Grebo ("Law School Professor at the University of Sarajevo"); Natasa Kandic ("Executive Director of the Humanitarian Law Center"); Dinko Gruhonjic ("President Independent Journalists' Association of Vojvodina"); Dragoljub Dusko Vukovic ("journalist from Podgorica")

-1x Politician (Montenegrin) / 1x Scholar (BiH) / 1x NGO/CSO (1 x Serbian) (/ 2x Journalist (Montenegrin, Serbian)

AUTHOR: x & "website of the President of Montenegro – www.predsjednik.me –"

-Role: unspecified = RECOM member = RECOM's own perspective/selections & political actor

14.

- x

-Role: x

-AUTHOR: "In an article posted on Zeri's website, Nora Ahmetaj, Director of the Center for Researching, Documenting and Publishing (CRDP) from Kosovo, explains..." → Nora Ahmetaj is the author ("Nora Ahmetaj, Founder/Senior Researcher: Nora Ahmetaj is Cofounder of the Centre for Research, Documentation and Publication (CRDP). From 2010-2012 Ahmetaj was a member of the Regional Coordination Council of Coalition for setting up the Regional Truth Commission (RECOM)" & "She earned a Master's degree of Philosophy in Peace and Conflict Transformation Studies from the University of Tromsø in Norway" (CRDP, 2018))

-Role: Scholar (philosophy) (Kosovar)/RECOM member

15.

- x

-Role: x

-AUTHOR: Srdja Pavlovic ("teaches modern European and Balkan history at University of Alberta" (openDemocracy, 2018)); Dusko Vukovic ("journalist, Montenegro" (Coalition for RECOM, 2018a))

-Role: 1x scholar (historian) & 1x journalist/RECOM advocate (Montenegrin)

16.

- Branko Cvejic ("an actor from Serbia"); Mira Furlan ("an actress from Croatia"); Branko Baletić ("a director from Montenegro"); Shkelzen Maliqi ("a publicist from Kosovo"); Branimir Popovic ("an actor from Montenegro"); Zoran Predin ("a musician from Slovenia"); Alma Prca ("an actress from Croatia")

-6x Artist (1x Serbian; 2x Croatian; 2x Montenegrin; 1x Slovenian) / 1x journalist (=publicist) (kosovar)

-AUTHOR: "An Artist's view of the past, Dino Mustafic, November 2011" & "Theatre and film director" (& RECOM advocate (Coalition for RECOM, 2018a))

-Role: artist/RECOM advocate

17.

- Smail Durakovic ("THE VOICE OF VICTIMS")

-Role: 1x Victim (BiH)

-AUTHOR: x

-Role: unspecified = RECOM member = RECOM's own perspective/selections

18.

- x

-Role: x

-AUTHOR: Dragoljub Dusko Vukovic, ("journalist, Montenegro, member of the Regional Team of Advocates for the Initiative for RECOM")

-Role: Journalist (Montenegrin)/ RECOM advocate

19.

- x

-Role: x

-AUTHOR: x

-Role: unspecified = RECOM member = RECOM's own perspective/selections

20. "A meeting of the Coalition for RECOM"

- Mario Mazic ("from the Youth Initiative for Human Rights in Croatia"); Bekim Blakaj ("from the Humanitarian Law Center in Kosovo"); Edina Djurkovic ("from the association "Transitional Justice, Responsibility and Memory in Bosnia and Herzegovina"); Dragan Jerkovic ("from the Center for Democracy and Transitional Justice"); Lidija Franovic ("a journalist from Montenegro"); Jelena Grujic ("researchers and research team leader")& ("JELENA HAS WORKED AS A JOURNALIST AND RESEARCHER SINCE 1992, FOCUSING ON VICTIMS OF WAR AND HUMAN RIGHTS. IN THE LAST 10 YEARS, SHE HAS FOLLOWED CLOSELY AND PARTICIPATED IN RECONCILIATION PROCESSES IN THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA. SHE IS CURRENTLY EDITOR OF RECOM.LINK, A PORTAL DEDICATED TO THE RECOM INITIATIVE AND TRANSITIONAL JUSTICE" (Balkanist, 2018); Igor Mekina ("from the Slovenian Civic Link"); Daliborka Uljarevic ("from the Montenegrin Center for Civic Education"); Natasa Kandic (founder Humanitarian Law Center, Serbia, and coordinator of the Initiative for RECOM (European Western Balkans, 2018)); Dimitar Anakiev ("director and representative of the organization The Erased, from Slovenia"); Aleksandar Todorovic ("from the Civil Initiative of Activists for the Erased"); Alexandar Sasa Zekovic ("a human rights researcher from Montenegro"); Dragan Pjevac ("from the Association of the Killed and Missing – Tear"); Kushtrim Koliqi ("from Integra");

Veljko Vicevic ("a veteran from Croatia"); Sudbin Music ("from the Prijedor '92 Association of Inmates"); Andjelko Kvesic ("from the Association of Inmates of the Central Bosnian Canton"); Zoran Kosic ("from the Association of Veterans of the Wars of the 1990s from the Municipality of Kikinda,"); Marinko Djuric ("from the Association of Families of the Kidnapped and Murdered in Kosovo and Metohija"); Goran Taleski ("from the organization, Peace Action"); Mevludin Lupic ("from the Association of Families of Detained and Missing Persons of Zvornik"); Eugen Jakovcic ("from Documenta"); Professor Zarko Puhovski ("Professor of Political Philosophy, Faculty of Philosophy, Zagreb, Croatia" (Coalition for RECOM, 2018a)); Marijana Toma ("the Coordinator of the task force for drafting the mandate for the Regional Commission for establishing facts about war crimes and other violations of human rights in Yugoslavia (RECOM)" (Harriman Institute, 2018))

- 1x NGO/RECOM member (Serbia); 1x RECOM member; 1x scholar (political philosophy) (Croatia); 2x scholar (1x unspecified, 1x Montenegrin); 1x journalist (Montenegrin); 16x CSO/NGO (1x Croatia; 2x Kosovo; 4x BiH; 2x Slovenia; 1x Montenegro; 1x Serbia; 6x Unspecified) 1x veteran (Croatia)

-AUTHOR: x

-Role: unspecified = RECOM member = RECOM's own perspective/selections

21.

- the weekly Reporter ("Slovenian media"); Jalko Kacin ("Member of the EU Parliament"); Andrej Bauman (handball "club director"); Zdenka Cebasek Travnik ("The Slovenian Ombudswoman")

-Role: 1x Media (Slovenia) / 1x Professional (Slovenian) / 1x international politician / 1x regional government official

-AUTHOR: x

-Role: unspecified = RECOM member = RECOM's own perspective/selections

22.

- Parliament of Australia

-Role: 1x Government international /

-AUTHOR: x

-Role: unspecified = RECOM member = RECOM's own perspective/selections

23.

-Ursa Raukar ("an actress from Zagreb")

-Role: 1x Artist (Croatian)

-AUTHOR : "Tamara Opacic, journalist, H-alter, Croatia"

-Role: journalist (Croatia)

24.

-x

-Role: x

-AUTHOR: " Bishop of Dubrovnik Mate Uzinic , about Bishop Grigorije's apology pronounced in the Week of Prayer for Christian Unity, held in Dubrovnik, on January 18, 2012. Source: Jutarnji list, February 12, 2012"

-Role: 1x Religious leader (Croatian)

25.

- "Natasa Kandic, Executive Director of the Humanitarian Law Center in Belgrade told Deutsche Welle"; "Director of the Center for Human Rights, Vojin Dimitrijevic" / "Professor Dimitrijevic" & ("To the Committee, he brought a formidable combination to every case — an open mind and a mastery of public international law. His knowledge of human rights law was soundly grounded within a confident competence in international law generally" (Oxford Scholarship Online, 2018))

-Role: 1x NGO (Serb); 1x scholar (Law)

AUTHOR: "Dinko Gruhonjic, President of the Independent Association of Journalists of Vojvodina, Team of Regional Advocates of the Initiative for RECOM"

-Role: Journalist/RECOM member (Serb)

26.

-x

-Role: x

-AUTHOR: "Biljana Vankovska, Professor of the Faculty of Philosophy in Skopje, Macedonia, member of the Team of Regional Advocates of the Initiative for RECOM"

-Role: Scholar(philosophy) (Macedonian)/RECOM advocate

27.

- "Shyhrete Berisha is one of the three survivors of the massacre of more than forty Albanian women, children and men of the Berisha family in Suva Reka"

-Role: 'survivor' (Albanian from Kosovo) (BUT ALSO SPEAKS UNDER THE HEADLINE 'THE VOICE OF VICTIMS')

-AUTHOR: "Witness statement by Shyhrete Berisha given to ICTY investigators as evidence in "Prosecutor v. Slobodan Milosevic" (ICTY, IT-02-54: Milosevic, Exhibit P00252)"

-Role: criminal justice institution

28.

- Boris Tadic ("President of Serbia")

-Role: 1x politician (Serbia)

-AUTHOR: "Dinko Gruhonjić

Author is a journalist from Novi Sad, and member of the Regional Team of Advocates of the Initiative for RECOM"

-Role: Journalist (Serbia)/RECOM advocate

29.

- "Thomas Hammarberg the Human Rights Commissioner of the Council of Europe"

-Role: 1x Politician international

-AUTHOR: "Edina Đurković, Director of the association Transitional Justice, Responsibility and Memory in Bosnia and Herzegovina" & ("The High Representative was meeting Professor Zdravko Grebo, Dino Mustafic, Dzenana Karup-Drusko and Edina Djurkovic, the public advocates of the Coalition of the Regional Commission for establishment of facts about victims and war crimes of the conflicts in the former Yugoslavia (RECOM)." (OHR, 2012))

-Role: NGO BiH/RECOM advocate

30.

- "Chief Prosecutor of ICTY Serge Brammertz"

-Role: 1x legal Professional international (ICTY)

-AUTHOR: x

-Role: unspecified = RECOM member = RECOM's own perspective/selections

31.

- "A representative of an NGO from the Republika Srpska"; "A representative of a non-governmental organization from Serbia"; "A participant from Republika Srpska"/"human rights defenders"; "A representative of an organization that brings together young people in Bosnia and Herzegovina"; "A participant from Croatia"; "a representative from Croatia"; "A human rights defender from Montenegro"; "A representative of a non-governmental organization from Macedonia"; "the Human Rights Commissioner of the Council of Europe, Thomas Hammarberg"

-Role: 3x NGO/CSO (1x BiH; 1x Serbian; 1x Macedonian); 1x Politician international; 4x 'human rights defender' (2x Croatian; 1x Montenegrin; 1x BiH)

-AUTHOR: "Jelena Grujić" ("researchers and research team leader" (20)) & ("SHE IS CURRENTLY EDITOR OF RECOM.LINK, A PORTAL DEDICATED TO THE RECOM INITIATIVE AND TRANSITIONAL JUSTICE." (Balkanist, 2018))

-Role: Scholar/RECOM editor

32.

-x

-Role: x

-AUTHOR: "Oliver Stanoeski

The author is a lecturer at the Institute for Security, Defense and Peace, at the Faculty of Philosophy, Skopje, Macedonia" & ("Mr.Stanoeski was involved in RECOM Initiative as a Local Advocate in Macedonia" (Regional Academy for Democracy, 2018))

-Role: scholar (philosophy) (Macedonian)/RECOM advocate

33.

-x

-Role: x

-AUTHOR: "Bekim Blakaj, Executive Director of the Humanitarian Law Center, Kosovo, and political prisoner 1999-2000" & ("the Coalition for RECOM" member (Centre for Civic Education, 2015))

-Role: NGO (Kosovo)/RECOM coalition member/'political prisoner' → Victim ("Former political prisoners and convicts constitute a special category of victims in Kosovo")

34.

- "Belgrade Mayor, Dragan Djilas"; "City Council Vice President, Zoran Alimpic"; "Natasa Scepanovic from the Association of Kosmet Victims"; "Milica Tomic, an artist from the Monument Group"; "Director of YIHR Maja Micic"; "The Women in Black led an informal coalition of NGOs"

-Role: 2x Politician (2x Serbian) / 3x CSO (1x Serbian; 2x unspecified) / 1x Artist (Serbian)

-AUTHOR: "Bojan Tončić" ("He has been a journalist of e-newspapers since 2007 and a journalist of the "Danas" daily since its founding" (Media Center Belgrade, 2018))

-Role: journalist

35.

- "Misko Deverdzic, from the village of Istok, Kosovo,"

-Role: Victim (Kosovar) → "THE VOICE OF VICTIMS"

-AUTHOR: x

-Role: unspecified = RECOM member = RECOM's own perspective/selections

36.

-x

-Role: x

-AUTHOR: "Nataša Kandić

Executive Director, Humanitarian Law Centre, Belgrade, Serbia, member of the Team of Regional Advocates of the Initiative for RECOM"

-Role: *NGO/CSO (Serbian)/ RECOM advocate*

37.

-x

-Role: x

-AUTHOR: David Van Reybrouck ("President PEN Vlaanderen"); Peter Vermeersch ("PEN Vlaanderen coordinator for European affairs")

-Role: *2x NGO international*

38.

- "The Prime Minister of Kosovo, Hashim Thaçi"; "Ernest Luma, spokesperson for the AAK"; "Glauk Konjufca, former Vice President of the Self-Determination party and Vice President of the Assembly"; "the President of Kosovo, Atifete Jahjaga"

-Role: *4x Politician (2x Kosovar; 2x unspecified)*

-AUTHOR: "Teuta Hoxha National Coordinator for Kosovo-REKOM Initiative"

-Role: *RECOM Member (Kosovo)*

39.

- "the High Representative of the international community in Bosnia & Herzegovina, Valentin Inzko"

-Role: *1x Politician international*

-AUTHOR: "Igor Mekina" ("*journalist, Slovenia*" (*Coalition for RECOM, 2018a*))

-Role: *1x journalist (Slovenia)*

40.

- "a representative of a non-governmental organisation in Republika Srpska" (UNSPECIFIED) & "a woman representing a non-governmental organisation from Serbia" (UNSPECIFIED)

-Role: *2 x NGO (1x BiH; 1x Serb)*

-AUTHOR: Dženana Karup Druško ("*The author is a journalist with BH DANI, a weekly magazine published in Sarajevo*") & ("*the Coalition for RECOM*" member (*Centre for Civic Education, 2015*))

-Role: *Journalist (BiH)/RECOM member*

41.

-x

-Role: x

-AUTHOR: "Biljana Vankovska

Professor of the Faculty of Philosophy in Skopje, Macedonia, member of the Team of Regional Advocates of the Initiative for RECOM"

-Role: *scholar (philosophy) (Macedonian)/RECOM advocate*

42.

-x

-Role: x

-AUTHOR: "Žarko Puhovski, professor at the Philosophy Faculty in Zagreb" & ("*the Coalition for RECOM*" member (*Centre for Civic Education, 2015*))

-Role: *Scholar (philosophy) (Croatian)/RECOM member*

43.

-x

-Role: x

-AUTHOR: "Stevan Bodroža Theatre director, Belgrade"

-Role: *Artist (Serbian)*

44.

-x

-Role: x

-AUTHOR: "Gergana Tzvetkova; Center for the Study of Democracy in Sophia" & ("*Doctor of Philosophy*" (*ResearchGate, 2018*)).

-Role: *scholar (international)*

45.

-x

-Role: x

-AUTHOR: "As human geographers, we" → "Alex Jeffrey is the Principle Investigator for the Localising International Law project and is based at the University of Cambridge, UK. Michaelina Jakala is the Research Associate for the Localising International Law project and is based at Newcastle University,"
-Role: 2x scholar international (human geographers)

46.

-“ The President of the Croatian P.E.N. Centre, Nadežda Čačinović, who is also professor of aesthetics at the Philosophy Department of the Faculty of Philosophy in Zagreb”
-Role: NGO/Scholar (PHILOSOPHY) (Croatian) /

-AUTHOR: "Igor Mekina; The author is a journalist in Slovenia and member of the Regional Team of the RECOM Initiative Advocates”

-Role: journalist (Slovenian)/ RECOM advocate

47.

-“ Marica Šeatović”

-Role: 1x Victim (Croatia) → “The voice of victims”

-AUTHOR: x

-Role: unspecified = RECOM member = RECOM’s own perspective/selections

48.

-“ the US Ambassador to Bosnia and Herzegovina, His Excellency Mr. Patrick S. Moon”

-Role: 1x Political international

-AUTHOR: “Press Release of the Initiative for RECOM, Sarajevo, May 11, 2012.”

-Role: RECOM

49.

-“ The President of Croatia, Ivo Josipović”; “Representatives of the two Churches issued a joint public statement” (“A delegation of the Serbian Orthodox Church’s Holy Assembly of Bishops led by Patriarch Irinej, paid an official visit to the Zagreb and Ljubljana Archdiocese in Croatia”); “The Centre for Religion, Policy and Social Studies in Novi Sad”

-Role: 1x Political (Croatia); 1x Religious leaders; 1x NGO (Serbia)/scholar

-AUTHOR: “Jelena Grujić” (“researchers and research team leader” (20) & (“SHE IS CURRENTLY EDITOR OF RECOM.LINK, A PORTAL DEDICATED TO THE RECOM INITIATIVE AND TRANSITIONAL JUSTICE.” (Balkanist, 2018)

-Role: scholar/RECOM advocate

50.

-“ The President of Serbia, Tomislav Nikolić”; “Serge Brammertz, the Chief Prosecutor of the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY)”; “Jelko Kacin, the European Parliament rapporteur for Serbia”; “Pia Ahrenkilde Hansen, the spokesperson for the President of the European Commission”; “Valentin Incko, the High Representative of the International Community in Bosnia and Herzegovina”; “Marc Toner, deputy spokesperson for the US State Department”; “Zlatko Lagumdžija, Bosnia and Herzegovina’s Minister of Foreign Affairs”; “Atifete Jahjaga, the President of Kosovo”; “Skender Hyseni, the former Minister of Foreign Affairs of Kosovo”; “Ivo Josipović, the President of Croatia”; “The Humanitarian Law Center and the Youth Initiative for Human Rights in Serbia”;

-Role: 9x Politician (4x International; Serbia; BiH; 2x Kosovar; Croatia) ; 1x legal professional international (ICTY) / 1x NGO Serbia

-AUTHOR: “Prepared by J.G.” → “Jelena Grujić” (“researchers and research team leader” (20) & (“SHE IS CURRENTLY EDITOR OF RECOM.LINK, A PORTAL DEDICATED TO THE RECOM INITIATIVE AND TRANSITIONAL JUSTICE.” (Balkanist, 2018)

-Role: scholar/RECOM advocate

2.1.2 Table of author codes per category

Role	Amount of codes (#)	Percentage of authors (%)
RECOM (incl. 'unspecified')	18	31.58
Journalist/media	15	26.31
Scholar	12	21.05
- History	1	
- Philosophy	6	
- Human rights researcher	3	
- Human geographer	2	
NGO/CSO member	7	12.28
Artist	2	3.51
Religious leader	1	1.75
Legal professional	1	1.75
Political actor (regional)	1	1.75
TOTAL	57	100

2.1.3 Table of quoted actor codes per category

Role	Amount of articles in which subjects are quoted (#)	Percentage of articles (%)	Amount of quoted subjects in total (#) *	Percentage of quoted subjects (%)
Political actors	17	34	33	23.57
- <i>Regional politicians/institutions</i>	10	20	20	60.60
- <i>International politicians/institutions</i>	10	20	13	39.40
NGO/CSO member	12	24	39	27.86
- <i>Victim associations</i>	4	8	11	28.21
- <i>Veteran associations</i>	1	2	1	2.56
Scholars	7	14	17	12.14
- <i>History</i>	1	2	1	5.88
- <i>Philosophy</i>	3	6	3	17.65
- <i>Political science (e.g. international relations)</i>	2	4	5	29.41
- <i>Anthropology</i>	1	2	1	5.88
- <i>Law & human rights</i>	3	6	5	29.41
- <i>sociology</i>	1	2	1	5.88
- <i>Ethnic studies</i>	1	2	1	5.88
Artists	6	12	15	10.71
Journalists/media	7	14	8	5.71
Victims	5	10	7	5.00
'Public'	1	2	6	4.29
Human rights defender	1	2	4	2.86

Legal professional	3	6	3	2.14
Religious leader	2	4	2	1.43
RECOM member	2	4	2	1.43
'veteran'	1	2	1	0.71
Professional (other) (-handball club director)	1	2	1	0.71
Students	1	2	1	0.71
'survivor'	1	2	1	0.71
TOTAL			140	100

2.2 The level of inquiry

2.2.1 Table containing data used in analysis of level of inquiry, per category

MACRO

Causes Label

-“RECOM’s Objectives: (a) **To establish [...] the political and societal circumstances that led to the commission of these acts**” (3);
-“RECOM’s Functions: [...]. **Researching the political and societal circumstances that decisively contributed to the outbreak of wars** or other forms of armed conflict as well as to the commission of war crimes and other gross violations of human rights” (4);
-“he personally is **“against determining the causes of wars and war crimes”** (9);
-“ Facts about war crimes and **the causes of war** are the goals espoused by the Coalition for RECOM” (9)
-“ If the states officially determine, as did Popovic, that **the establishment of the causes of war** is an impossible task for a regional commission, that particular task will have to be omitted from RECOM’s Statute” (9)
-“ provide a factual portrait of what happened in the former Yugoslavia in the period from 1991 to 2001, and **why**” (9);
-“Further, RECOM won’t deal with **establishing the causes** and consequences of the wars,” said Professor Grebo.” (13);
-“ **The ‘Why’** would be left to historians, sociologists and various interpreters, because the first and most important task was to determine the facts, something that made the Initiative for RECOM unique, he said.” (13);
-“ Mekina emphasized that Slovenian state authorities had not yet done anything **to identify the causes** and consequences of ‘erasing’ these people, exactly 20 years ago” (20);
-“ Even ten years after the conflict, there is still no official version of the events, **no explanation of the root causes of the armed violence**, the death-toll, or even the real actors.” (41);

Causes

Description

-“ historiography is one such discipline which **“made a major contribution to the dissolution of Yugoslavia, and [...] has done much to turn this dissolution into the war”**” (6);
-“ Public disclosure of facts about the crimes is necessary, but it is wrong to condition this process on political agreement with **the elites who to a large extent created the war.**” (15);
-“ Those who decided how the former Yugoslavia was to fall apart are **responsible**, in many different ways, **for having turned the collapse into a descent into barbarism.**” (18);
-“ A decade after **the armed conflict of 2001, which although a consequence of regional circumstances, broke out primarily because of the country’s internal weaknesses and the inefficiency of its institutional mechanisms for early warning and prevention [...]**” (32);
-“ The dissolution of the Yugoslavian party didn’t lead to the liberalisation of the public media because somebody wanted it to happen, but because nobody could prevent it any longer. **It is then that the 40 years of pent-up postwar hatred, that to that date been swept under the carpet, burst out into the public, spilled over into hate speech and, in fact, served as the prelude to war**” (42);
-“ If anything can be learnt from Yugoslavia, it is how lying about the past invites catastrophe. **Yugoslavia partly collapsed because for 45 years, it had systematically lied about the past.**” (42)
-“ **One is to simply say: war happened, it broke out, as if it were some sort of natural disaster, not committed by people, but something that bore down upon us** – a view which can today quite often be heard in Bosnia and Herzegovina, although much less in Croatia.” (42)

Consequences Label

-“ We, for whom **the war in the former Yugoslavia, with all its consequences**, has become the subject of professional research and artistic vision” (3);
-“ RECOM’s Objectives: (a) **To establish [...]the consequences of the crimes and human rights violations**” (3);
-“RECOM’s Functions: (a) [...] **describing patterns of abuses and their consequences**” (4);
-“Further, RECOM won’t deal with **establishing the causes and consequences of the wars,**” said Professor Grebo.” (13);

Consequences Description	<p>-“ Mekina emphasized that Slovenian state authorities had not yet done anything to identify the causes and consequences of ‘erasing’ these people, exactly 20 years ago” (20);</p> <p>-“nor had they done anything to eliminate the serious consequences of this massive human rights violations.”(20);</p> <p>-“What do you think of their claim that it is still too early to start taking a firm view on the facts concerning the consequences of war?” (23);</p> <p>-“They also have the right and the need, we believe, to know exactly what the consequences of those wars have been.” (37)</p> <p>-“Apart from its potential as a source of reconciliation, the Initiative for RECOM has the potential to be a fresh and authoritative source of data for the judiciary, for historical research and for factbased politics in the region, but especially for the creative moral and psychological examination of the context the people in the region emerge from and live in.” (37);</p> <p>-Representatives of the two Churches issued a joint public statement, and said that they would engage themselves in clarifying issues from the past, which “still represent an obstacle” and they called for all “church, state, and civil institutions” in the two countries to “try hard” to overcome the consequences of the war from 1990’s.” (49)</p> <p>-“More broadly, the effects of that conflict are of great importance for Europe: an illusion of a Europe that is historically beyond the possibility of war has been shattered.” (11);</p> <p>-“The violence emerges over and over again, because the bloodshed from previous armed conflicts has not been dealt with properly and thoroughly, and the facts have not been made clear” (11) → <i>about current tensions/violence</i></p> <p>-“And that is essential if we want to let go of the past and break that cycle which every now and then leads to new conflicts because the sufferings from previous armed conflicts have not been addressed” (11);</p> <p>-“ As such, we believe it is in a unique position to generate debate (as it has started to do) on the events of the past and gradually help erode the borders and divisions created by the violence of the 1990s, and the Dayton Peace Agreement, by calling on citizens to not only examine, but to collectively establish, a shared narrative of the past which is important in the process of achieving a stable peace.” (45);</p> <p>-“While RECOM cannot act as an alternative to outreach by the legal transitional justice mechanisms, it has the possibility to do something the legal transitional justice mechanisms cannot—turn focus towards the victims and foster a public debate regarding the role of violence in the 1990s conflict from a transnational perspective, all of which help with the erosion of borders and divisions created by the violence” (45);</p>
Legitimizations of violence Label	<p>-“And when a lie constructed in this way becomes the all-encompassing justification for the killing of people, in a period the majority in society still remember – which is the situation we find ourselves in, 20 years since the war began – things become even more strained,” (42)</p>
Legitimizations of violence Description	<p>-“It is hard to say whether such individuals are shocked by the fact that war crimes, they do not even hold to be crimes (but legitimate belligerent actions), are being recorded, or by the fact that the human rights of people deprived of rights are being defended” (5);</p> <p>-“to today’s ideological view of the crimes as “acts of defense” or “victory.”” (6);</p> <p>-“The delegations laid wreaths at the monument at the spot designated for a fountain, and Djilas told the reporters that this was “a monument to all civilian victims of the wars and all those who died defending their homeland of Serbia.”” (34);</p> <p>-“Alimpic said: “It is a monument to defenders, people who were invited to defend their country, who went and gave their lives for it. They deserve a monument.” (34);</p> <p>-“Thus, the idea that we’re right because “we were only defending ourselves, only counterattacking from time to time” will be endangered in public.” (42)</p>
Organizational structures Label	<p>-“ RECOM’s Functions: [...] Collecting information on places of confinement connected to the war or other form of armed conflict, individuals who were unlawfully confined, tortured or subjected to inhumane treatment” (4);</p>
Organizational structures Description	<p>-“ Smail Durakovic was in Bosnia and Herzegovina during the war, detained in the camps in Susica and Batkovic.” (17)</p> <p>-“ And they took me down to the police station where a man named Kraljevic was in charge.” (17)</p> <p>-“ The same thing happened several more times, and then they took me to a camp. Dragan Nikolic Jenki was the camp commander. In The Hague he has been sentenced to many years.” (17)</p> <p>-“ We put them in the car and my father and I drove toward Vrelo. This was the first time I went to that bloody place. Until then, or actually until they caught me, I didn’t even know it was the biggest stronghold of the KLA terrorists.” (35);</p> <p>-“ The interrogation was led by Naser Shatri, the then commander of the KLA.” (35)</p> <p>-“ Marica Šeatović: Those who committed the crime were members of the 1st Zagreb A Brigade, 4th Battalion, an active unit of the Guards” (47);</p> <p>-“ The Croatian troops were quartered in the school in Novska, in the hall and in Serb houses where there were no people, and those who came, were put-up in the sixth house away from our house.” (47);</p> <p>-“Those who committed the crime were members of the First Zagreb A Brigade, 4th battalion, an active unit of the Guards” (47)</p>
Trends/Patterns Label	<p>-“ RECOM’s Functions: (a) [...] describing patterns of abuses and their consequences” (4);</p> <p>-“Manipulation of individual victims, victim numbers and the scale of atrocities could draw the region into new clashes, and such practices must be countered with facts.” (1);</p>

Trends/Patterns
Description

- “ The universal message at each gathering was that the governments in the region must speed up the location, exhumation and identification of the missing and **stop ‘bidding up’ the number of victims** by “compiling all kinds of lists and airing false promises for professional or personal interests.”” (4)
- “ The goal is to arrive at undeniable facts: people with names, descriptions of their suffering, and finally – **the total number of victims.**” (7)
- “ The truth will communicate with the truth if the data, names, **numbers are known.**” (7)
- “ RECOM, both as an idea and in practice, has the potential to prevent political manipulation of **the number of victims** and the spinning of national myths about the conflict,” (9);
- “ that we had a problem with institutionalized interpretations of history, and that everyone remained shut in their own exclusivist interpretation, not only of the war but, what was even more problematic, of **victims’ numbers** as well.” (12)
- “ Azem Vllasi emphasized the importance of RECOM in **establishing the figures and facts about the wars and the crimes.**” (12)
- “ He said **he believed that the numbers were important**, but also stressed the importance of knowing the circumstances under which people were killed and suffered” (12)
- “ Even ten years after the conflict, there is still no official version of the events, no explanation of the root causes of the armed violence, **the death-toll**, or even the real actors.” (41);
- “ This is why **the task for transitional justice lies not in just insisting upon numbers**, but digging, literally digging from hole to hole and uncovering the remains of human destinies, attempting to tie them to names and surnames.” (42);
- “ **What we need is names of dead persons, not some national percentage, or numbers in total (which are always doubtful).**” (42);
- “ If this is achieved – as RECOM has been trying to do – everything will find its right place. **But it will not do to pluck a number first, only to seek a sufficient number of victims to justify that number.**” (42);
- “ Among the inadequately established ‘facts’ is **the number of the participants in the war.**” (46)
- “ Opening the discussion, Drazen Lalic explained the purpose of the forum and its discussion: “Every citizen with some academic background, living in a system that only looks democratic but is in fact totalitarian, must be aware of the horrific events that took place, **the murder of the prisoners of war** and other similar atrocities...”” (6);
- “ I should remind us all that **the wars were fought first with ideas, then in the newspapers, and finally with bullets and bombs.**” (7);
- “ **In 1997, 1998 and 1999, many Albanians were arrested** and, after the official end of the conflict in Kosovo (June 10, 1999), were transferred to prisons in Serbia.” (33);
- “ No one country can do it alone, if for no other reason than because **no country was the sole participant in the war: troops crossed borders, as did the refugees and the victims.**”(40)
- “ Before the publication of the report of the International Committee of the Red Cross, there were more than 2,000 missing persons; today, about 1,800 of them are still recorded as missing, although in the meantime the remains of another 400 have been found” (20)
- “ the problem of 25,671 ‘erased’ citizens in Slovenia, which is still ongoing” (20);
- “ He warned that over the past decade government bodies had come up with differing numbers for the ‘erased’: initially, the government talked about 18,305 people, but in 2009 a new number was confirmed – 25,671.” (20);
- “ But I think the legacy of the Hague Tribunal, together with persistence in pushing for a regional fact-finding mission, are a guarantee that the Balkans will never again experience the crime and the horrific drama that ended in more than 100,000 victims,” said Natasa Kandic.” (25);
- “ Believing in a bright future (once the country joins NATO or the EU) or believing that Macedonia differs from other post-Yugoslav societies (due to the low death-toll in 2001), is nothing but self-deception.” (26);
- “ a representative from Croatia said that it seemed rude to even say that the necessary facts have already been established, when there were more than 14,000 people in the region still registered as missing.” (31);
- “ Of the 2,150 ethnic Albanians who were recorded as such prisoners, at least 400 were held in detention without legal grounds.” (33);
- “ The testimonies of former detainees revealed that some of them had not been questioned, nor had any kind of indictment been issued against them. Of this number, at least 35 were minors, and were kept in custody alongside adult inmates.” (33);
- “Is the monument dedicated to the young men who deserted, half a million of them from Serbia, to whom we bow and call for a monument be dedicated to them!” said Stasa Zajovic, coordinator of the Women in Black.” (34);
- “ . A few names of those who died are known, but more than 13,000 families of forcibly disappeared persons are still searching for their loved ones.” (37);
- “ There are wounds to be healed in Kosovo, with 1,800 people still missing, the responsibly for which lies with Serbia, he said.” (38);
- “ Right now, it seems, the atmosphere in Macedonia is least favorable, although this state suffered probably the least destructive conflict with the shortest duration and lowest death-toll.” (41);

-“ But, unfortunately, the only thing special about Bosnia was that it suffered 85% of the victims of the last war” (42);
 -“ If we accept that around 120,000 people were killed in the war that took place between 1991 and 2000 in the region of the former Yugoslavia, the number is horrifying.” (42);
 -“ Yet more horrifying still, is the fact that we have to use the phrase ‘around’, that is, give or take, some ten thousand deceased – thus convincingly demonstrating how the post-war disdain for the victims almost matches that during the war.” (42);

MICRO

Individual crimes/cases Label

-“we believe that the establishment, publication and acceptance of facts on a regional level is necessary for all of us, in order to create the necessary foundations for restoring dignity to victims, to meet their needs and rights, **to determine the fate of forcibly disappeared persons**, and to prevent the horrors of our common recent past from happening again...” (1);
 -“ **RECOM’s Objectives: [...] (e) To help clarify the fate of the missing Persons**” (3);
 -“!Coalition for RECOM calls for **establishment of database of the disappeared**” (4);
 -“the Coalition for RECOM called on the governments of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Serbia, Montenegro and Kosovo **to establish a database of missing persons, classified by nationality**” (4);
 -“to give financial support for exhumations and investigations that may lead to **the discovery of mass graves**” (4);
 -“ and to strengthen the protection program for witnesses willing to **provide information about secret mass graves**” (4);
 -“Further, the Coalition for RECOM called on the governments of the region to support the establishment of RECOM, primarily because a regional commission would **contribute to a more effective resolution of the fate of the missing persons**, and the detection and discovery of secret mass graves.” (4);
 -“The universal message at each gathering was that the governments in the region must **speed up the location, exhumation and identification of the missing** and stop ‘bidding up’ the number of victims by “compiling all kinds of lists and airing false promises for professional or personal interests.”” (4);
 -“Thirteen civil society organizations from Croatia, among which was Documenta, issued a press release emphasizing “the importance and the role of the future Regional Commission – RECOM – whose method of impartial research into historical sources may be an important step toward **clarifying and disclosing the fate of the missing** and restoring the dignity of all victims” (4);
 -“Podgorica’s Association of Families of the Kidnapped, Killed and Missing, “Red Peony,” pointed out that it was “necessary **to create a missing persons database, which would contain specific and precise information about the circumstances of their disappearance**” (4);
 -“Safet Halilovic, Minister of Human Rights and Refugees of Bosnia and Herzegovina, said on the International day of the Disappeared that **resolving the fate of the missing** was a “civil and moral obligation.”” (4);
 -“Natasja Scepanovic, Chair of the Coordination of Serbian Associations of Families of Missing Persons in the Former Yugoslavia, said that “more would be achieved if the problems were depoliticized.” She called for the “opening of all archives and the **creation of a single database of missing persons**” (4);
 -“The Coordination of Associations of Families of Missing Persons in the Former Yugoslavia requested that no country in the region become a member of the European Union **until the fate of missing persons was resolved**” (4);
 -“and cooperating with competent bodies of the Parties to the Agreement **conducting the search for the Missing**” (4);
 -“ “From August 30, 2002 to August 30, 2003, **the fates of just 86 people was resolved**. This is a tragic and devastating fact,” says an open letter addressed to the Prime Minister of Croatia by a number of non-governmental organizations, which Zdenka Farkas, head of the Center “The Appeal” read in front of the Wall of Pain in Zagreb” (4);
 -“**RECOM’s Functions: (a) Collecting information on war crimes and other gross violations of human rights, providing a detailed account of the crimes and other violations**, and describing patterns of abuses and their consequences” (4);
 -“ **RECOM’s Functions: [...] (b) Collecting information pertaining to the fate of missing persons** and cooperating with competent bodies of the Parties to the Agreement **conducting the search for the Missing**” (4);
 -“ **RECOM’s Functions: [...] (c) Compiling registers of human losses** related to wars or other forms of armed conflict” (4);
 -“ **RECOM’s Functions: [...] (c) Collecting information on places of confinement connected to the war or other form of armed conflict, individuals who were unlawfully confined, tortured or subjected to inhumane treatment**” (4);
 -“the accused and **his or her specific Crime**” (6);
 -“But there is no political work of greater importance today but **to produce that big book of the dead, which would contain the names of all those killed, persecuted or displaced since 1991**, including the names of the killed killers, every single one of them.” (7);
 -“**The goal is to arrive at undeniable facts: people with names, descriptions of their suffering**, and finally – the total number of victims.” (7);
 -“**Information and names of people must be found.**” (7);
 -“The truth will communicate with the truth if **the data, names, numbers are known.**” (7);

-“I would like the truth to be known and **all those who disappeared – Serbs, Croats or Bosnians – to be found**, to be buried and to put an end to it all” (8);

-“He described the Initiative for RECOM as an effort which complemented Vukovar’s insistence on the need to have all crimes punished and **the truth about the missing persons revealed.**” (12);

-“Vesna Terselic from Documenta pointed out that **no official records of the killed and injured have been compiled yet, which would include facts about the circumstances of suffering.**” (12);

-“She added that a gathering of this kind opens the space for discussions about the Initiative for RECOM, about regional cooperation and all that we need in order **to establish the facts about all war victims**” (12);

-“He said he believed that the numbers were important, but also stressed **the importance of knowing the circumstances under which people were killed and suffered**” (12);

-“the push to accelerate **the process of identification of exhumed remains.**” (12);

-“participants agreed that **establishing the facts about war crimes and other serious violations of human rights, and establishing the fate of missing persons from the wars of 1991-2001 in the former Yugoslavia** was extremely important for the process of dealing with the past and reconciliation in the region.” (13);

-“**But symbolically, and not just symbolically, but through all available procedures, all cases of proven crimes must be processed.**” (16);

-“It is high time **to establish individual criminal responsibility for all crimes.**” (18);

-“to persuade the politicians in the region that peace-building and reconciliation are possible only if **the facts about war crimes and serious violations of human rights are established and only if a list of all victims is compiled.**” (19);

-“In the painful event on the square, which is in fact an unfinished memorial park near the Belgrade railway station, dozens of members of the public, family members of victims and refugees from associations of refugees, shouted in protest at Mayor Djilas, **asking about where the names of the victims were** and why the monument was being unveiled in the midst of the election campaign.” (34);

-“The City of Belgrade has invested 60 million dinars in the building of the monument. According to the Mayor, the Government of Serbia decided **“to construct a monument with the names of all victims.”** The city authorities began building the monument in 2007 and the former chief architect of Belgrade Djordje Bobic selected the conceptual solution for Savski Square.” (34);

-“Milica Tomic, an artist from the Monument Group, which arose from an idea **to mark the suffering, and name the victims and perpetrators of crimes**, reminds the public that the idea and the competition for the monument first appeared in 2002, „when we all believed that the events of October 2000 signalled a progressive change.” (34);

-“Other initiatives dealing with the past are all welcome and the Initiative for RECOM is not standing in their way. According to the Coalition’s proposal, the principal task of RECOM would be **the compilation of the names of the victims.**” (36);

-“**The naming of the victims of war crimes and victimised members of the armed forces** is a condition without which, dealing with the past will remain politically marginalised, regardless of the number of other [good] initiatives of non-governmental organisations.” (36);

-“**The naming of the victims and combatants (police, volunteers and members of other armed groups involved in the conflict)** contributes to the reconstruction of the human dimension of the past, narrows down the room for lies and manipulation and helps to build a culture of solidarity and compassion” (36);

-“For over a decade, since the weapons have been muted, post-Yugoslav societies have not been given a chance to cope with the heavy legacy of the war past in large part because **to date there is no clarity about the fate of a large number of those who were killed, forcibly disappeared, tortured, and persecuted during those years.**” (37);

“**A few names of those who died are known, but more than 13,000 families of forcibly disappeared persons are still searching for their loved ones.**” (37);

-“With this letter we want to give loud and strong support to the Initiative for RECOM because we believe that the establishment, publication and acceptance of facts at the regional level is necessary for all the citizens of the region, in order to create a foundation for restoring dignity to victims, to meet their needs and rights, **to determine the fate of forcibly disappeared persons**, and to prevent the horrors of the past from happening again.” (37);

-“Anyone who denies the need to set up RECOM therefore denies The Hague judgments, **the facts established about the genocide, the circumstances under which both civilians and combatants suffered...**” (40);

-“This is why the task for transitional justice lies not in just insisting upon numbers, **but digging, literally digging from hole to hole and uncovering the remains of human destinies, attempting to tie them to names and surnames.**” (42);

-“**What we need is names of dead persons**, not some national percentage, or numbers in total (which are always doubtful).” (42);

-“If this is achieved – as RECOM has been trying to do – everything will find its right place. **But it will not do to pluck a number first, only to seek a sufficient number of victims to justify that number.**” (42);

-“**We need to go from individual destiny to individual destiny, and find who the victims of war really were.**” (42);

-“The members of the delegation presented the main objective of the Regional Commission and its primary function, which is to establish the facts about human sufferings in the recent wars waged on the territory of the region and the creation of public space for **announcing all victims in the region.**” (48);

Individual
crimes/cases
Description

- "RECOM has a task to clarify the fates of all victims in the region, regardless of their ethnicity."** (48)
- "Musician Dino Merlin supports the Initiative for RECOM, and believes that the commission could stop the relativization of crimes: "He who denies Srebrenica, is doing the same with regard to Jasenovac."** (3);
- "As part of the event "Adopt Srebrenica: International Cooperation for Memory – The Fifth International Week of Dialogue and Encounter," held on September 5-6, 2011"** (5);
- "Amir Kulagic, a survivor of Srebrenica, said that processes such as the Initiative for RECOM, are "the best proof that we still have the strength and courage to fight our own difficult experiences."** (6);
- "Amir Kulagic, Association of the Women of Srebrenica, Bosnia and Herzegovina,"**(8);
- "Then I said: "Just give me a piece of information so that I can find them, so that I can bury them, so that I can close this chapter of my life," so that I can go to the cemetery and tell the children who their grandfather was [...]"** (8);
- "For me as a human being, justice means finding the man or the group that killed my loved ones and asking them why they did it."** (8);
- "I would be happy if one of my neighbors – Ramo, Ibroy, Muhamed, whoever – came to me and said: "Mrs. Mira, your son and husband are here. I know for sure that they are there. Bury them with dignity." I would be grateful to him for that message for the rest of my life. My wounds would be very much alleviated. My conscience would be peaceful. I would not go to Bikosi, to the wall, to be at peace, but would instead know where they are and where everything is at rest."** (8);
- "I have never hurt a fly in my life, nor would I want to. I do not want revenge. I have ... I know the people who killed her. All of them. And who did me so much harm. But that should serve them. (Smail Durakovic)"** (10);
- "He said he believed that without a regional approach we would never know the truth about crimes, including the crimes committed in Srebrenica"** (12);
- "They started beating me. Several times I lost consciousness."** (17);
- "My wife was killed on September 13, 1992."** (17);
- "Lidija Franovic, a journalist from Montenegro, stressed that trials in the case of the expulsion of Muslims from Bukovica and the deportation of Muslim refugees had ended in acquittal."** (20);
- "a group of Slovenian fans cheered their team and abused their opponents by shouting "Knife, Wire, Srebrenica."** (21);
- "!Australia commemorates the victims of Srebrenica"** (22);
- "At its session on February 16, 2012, the Parliament of Australia adopted a resolution on Srebrenica"** (22);
- "the text of which was in agreement with the decision of the Hague Tribunal which ruled that genocide had been committed against the population of the Srebrenica enclave."** (22);
- "In their discussions of item 16 on the day's agenda, Commemorating Srebrenica parliamentarians decided that the army and Serb police had "killed more than 7,000 Bosniak Muslims when they seized Srebrenica in July 1995,""** (22);
- "Parliament concluded that the executions "were an act of genocide, committed by members of the Army of Republika Srpska in and around Srebrenica in July 13-19, 1995."** (22);
- "Shyhrete Berisha is one of the three survivors of the massacre of more than forty Albanian women, children and men of the Berisha family in Suva Reka, on March 26, 1999."** (27);
- "She testified three times before the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia about how she had lost her husband, four children and forty members of her extended family in an attack by the Serbian police."** (27);
- "The police were swearing and screaming at my husband and they were hitting him as hard as they could."** (27);
- "The tall policeman told us all to sit down and he said in Serbian, "Give us money, otherwise we will kill you and burn your house with your children."** Fatime had some money on her chest and she tried to pull some notes out but the policeman with the black gloves put his hands on her chest and grabbed all the money. I had 3000 DM on my chest and I gave it to the policeman with the black gloves because I was so scared he would want to undress me. They finally left about 6.30am to 7am." (27);
- "I heard two gunshots and Bujar's wife Flora cried out, "They just shot my Bujar!" It was worse than the movies."** (27);
- "I heard "Miscovic" say to Nexhat, "Raise your hands in the air." When he did, "Miscovic" shot him in the back three times."** (27);
- "They must have heard us speaking because they came to the door and threw something like a handgrenade into the room. I turned to look at my children. I saw my son Redon was sitting there with blood all over him and he was still holding his bottle of milk. I saw Majlinda and half her head was missing. I saw Sebahate and half her head was missing as well. I slowly touched my youngest son Redon with my feet but he was dead. From the door they were throwing something and they were precise because they were hitting the heads."** (27);
- "They hit Eron with that thing they were throwing. It hit me in the right thigh and went straight through my leg and hit Eron. Eron did not move anymore, I think he died as soon as he was hit."** (27);
- "Who are the victims for whom this monument is created: those who destroyed the city of Vukovar, those who shelled Sarajevo, those who killed in Srebrenica..."** (34);
- "As soon as they took me out of the car, they started beating me – I still suffer the consequences of it."** (35);
- "I want to know just where he is [the father]. The only one who knows is Selman, Merema's brother. Killed, alright... But I want to know where he is."** (35);

-“Kosovapress and Telegrafi both report that Ernest Luma, spokesperson for the AAK, said that this idea was rushed and reckless. Before reconciliation, Serbia should ask for forgiveness for the serious crimes and **genocide committed in Kosovo**, something that has not been done so far, Luma said.” (38);

-“Some Government officials, like Dačić, who is campaigning for the Presidency, has, in the way he behaves, shown that if he could turn back time he would preside over **the same massacres and genocide of Kosovo Albanians**.” (38);

-“They were the ones who spread the information that RECOM would deny **the genocide**, adopt a relativist approach to the wartime events, mitigate Serbia’s responsibility...” (40);

-“**Srebrenica did not only happen on July 11, 1995**. It happens every time somebody denies it, questions it or tries to ‘relativize’ this horrendous crime” (43);

-“And the artists wishing to create and thus fight against this ‘kingdom of death’, hear around them comments and questions: “Why do you address **Srebrenica**?” “Why Omarska?” “It’s too early for that.” “Aren’t you afraid that your creative work will be spun?” “See that your art does not go against the nation” and so on and so forth.” (43);

-“For me it was Vienna, a city where people putting together theatrical repertoires recognised the importance of a topic such as **Srebrenica**, its undeniable significance in a city in which Serbian, Bosnian and Croatian refugees live together again, side by side, far away from the countries they waged war in.” (43);

-“The Resolution on European Conscience and Totalitarianism (2009) reminds the reader that “**the most recent crimes against humanity and acts of genocide in Europe were still taking place in July 1995**,” and stresses that “there can be no reconciliation without remembrance.”” (44);

-“there was an ornament carved in oak, a ploughman, about a meter long; so when one of them said something, they’d hit him with it on the head. **In short, they broke their arms, cut off three of Vujić’s fingers, broke my husband’s arm and leg, that Mišo Rašković the same, in short they were all broken up.**” (47);

-“**They had stuck an anti-aircraft bullet in her genitals and that woman was raped and killed so brutally.**” (47);

-“In those first moments I **did not know who had killed them or why they were killed.**” (47);

-“There were two hearings at the Military Court in Zagreb, the perpetrators, the first accused, **the second accused who had raped and killed that lady**, they were taken in, in March 2002 and were in detention in Sisak until November.” (47);

-“To make things worse, **a month after he killed my husband**, that is on December 21st the first accused participated in another crime, in a house where a 20-year old girl, her mother, a Croat neighbour were Her mother is a Croat and her father a Serb; **he was all beaten up, stabbed** and they thought he was dead but he pulled through” (47);

-“In an interview with RTCG (the Montenegrin national broadcaster) on May 31st, 2012, Nikolić said, “There was no **genocide in Srebrenica**. A serious crime was committed in Srebrenica by some members of Serbian people, who should be identified, brought to justice, and punished.”” (50);

-“Nikolić further explained his statement about **the Srebrenica genocide** by invoking the National Assembly of the Republic of Serbia, which adopted a Srebrenica Resolution in March 2010 which condemns the “serious crime” committed against the Bosniak population in Srebrenica.” (50);

-““My position on **Srebrenica** is quite clear. It is a place where members of my people committed a horrible crime and I will never justify this. But, I also won’t go further on this issue than the conclusion reached by the National Assembly of the Republic of Serbia on this matter”, Nikolić said (Tanjug, June 8th, 2012).” (50);

-“Kacin added that the “stance of Serbian officials about this crime is very important” and said that the Council of Europe, which adopted a resolution on **the genocide in Srebrenica**, would “follow the work of the President of Serbia in the area of the reconciliation in the region with particular concern.” (50);

-“Pia Ahrenkilde Hansen, the spokesperson for the President of the European Commission, Jose Manuel Barroso, stated that the European Union shared the opinion that **genocide was committed in Srebrenica** and said that this matter would be placed on the agenda for a forthcoming meeting between Barroso and President Nikolić, together with the wider issue of “reconciliation in the region.” (50);

-“Valentin Incko, the High Representative of the International Community in Bosnia and Herzegovina, said that “denial of **the genocide in Srebrenica** [...] is unacceptable and unforgivable”, and added that “dealing with war crimes represents the first step in improving the relations in the region.”” (50);

-“Marc Toner, deputy spokesperson for the US State Department, issued a press release, which stated that “**the genocide in Srebrenica** must not be subject to personal interpretation.”” (50);

-“It advises the President of Serbia to be constructive with regard to regional issues, and emphasizes that “unfounded statements about **Srebrenica and other war crimes** do not contribute to stability and reconciliation in the region.”” (50);

-“The Humanitarian Law Center and the Youth Initiative for Human Rights in Serbia assessed that Nikolić had “caused a lot of damage to the Republic of Serbia” by his denial of **the genocide in Srebrenica** and they called for the President of Serbia to “be careful about his words in public and to bear in mind that because of his nationalistic past, he will be under the constant surveillance of non-governmental organizations, victims, neighbors, and inter governmental institutions, which are responsible for the process of Serbia joining the EU.”” (50);

Specific events Label	<p>-“ RECOM had the power, he said, to establish the basic facts about what had happened in the region. This was very important, because there was no universally accepted version of the events from the 1990s at the national level” (6);</p> <p>-“ Establishing the official truth about events, providing redress to victims, and deterring future crimes – these tasks were so difficult that they became especially frustrating to those for whom they were primarily intended” (6);</p> <p>-“ The special theme of the conference was the process of reconciliation and interpretation of the events from the recent past.” (11);</p> <p>-“ Our duty, he said, was to gather the facts about the events in this region.” (12);</p> <p>-“ The Commissioner said that the positive effects of the RECOM process were already visible – such as the general public discussion about the events of war – which, according to Hammarberg, was one of the essential elements of postwar justice.” (29);</p> <p>-“ However, a common position on the key facts of the events that took place during the wars in the 1990s must be established, he stressed” (29);</p> <p>-“ He added that there was no alternative to RECOM, in terms of a mechanism at a regional level that could offer officially accepted facts which would then be used in the region’s educational systems and which politicians would use as a basis for the interpretation of past events” (31);</p> <p>-“ Unlike the events of the past, a new phenomenon marks the recent incidents: urban violence committed on ethnic grounds.” (32);</p> <p>-“ They were the ones who spread the information that RECOM would deny the genocide, adopt a relativist approach to the wartime events, mitigate Serbia’s responsibility...” (40);</p> <p>-“ Even ten years after the conflict, there is still no official version of the events, no explanation of the root causes of the armed violence, the death-toll, or even the real actors.” (41);</p> <p>-“ The need to research the events that marked the 20th century and preserve the memory of them, intensified with the enlargement waves of 2004 and 2007.” (44);</p> <p>-“ As human geographers, we are drawn to the RECOM initiative because it is a unique movement which attempts to cross borders and seeks to challenge the people of the Former Yugoslav states to collectively establish a shared public narrative of the events of the past.” (45);</p> <p>-“ The RECOM movement is a civil society initiative which is intended to establish the truth about the events in the 1990s” (45);</p> <p>-“ As such, we believe it is in a unique position to generate debate (as it has started to do) on the events of the past and gradually help erode the borders and divisions created by the violence of the 1990s, and the Dayton Peace Agreement, by calling on citizens to not only examine, but to collectively establish, a shared narrative of the past which is important in the process of achieving a stable peace.” (45);</p> <p>-“ In other words, interpretation begins with an early arrangement of facts. It does not mean, however, that we should give up comparing discrepancies and agreements; even if we are unable to present an agreed view of the events, we at least need to know and incorporate in educational programmes the awareness that there are different interpretations.” (46);</p> <p>-“Their joint press statement emphasized their mutual agreement that it was “necessary to clarify those events for which there is still not enough understanding among the Croatian and Serbian public, as soon as possible.” (49);</p> <p>-“ The bishops who participated in the meeting said they felt that all events from the past should be investigated fairly and responsibly so that a healthy basis for life, based on truth, may be established between members of the two nations.” (49)</p>
Specific events Description	<p>-“ twenty years since the attack on Vukovar” (12);</p> <p>-“ A public gathering ‘Regional Cooperation: Twenty Years Since the Attack on Vukovar’ was held on December 8 and 9, 2011 in Vukovar.” (12);</p> <p>-“ It is not true that we, here, didn’t know about the siege of Sarajevo.” (16);</p> <p>-“ We knew what was happening in Sarajevo, but because we were constantly bombarded – though skillfully dosed – by the media about what was going on there, it was as if it wasn’t happening... until a friend of mine told me on the phone – and this was the time when you could still use phones with Sarajevo: “Is it possible that you won’t do anything? Is it really possible that you do not know what is going on here?”” (16);</p> <p>-“ And then – some ridiculed us for it later – about a hundred or a hundred and fifty of us actors, took to the main street and just sat there, and sat for several hours in silent protest. Traffic was stopped because of that in the entire city, but I don’t know if we succeeded to make anyone think about what was going on, whether we managed to make some people think about it a bit.” (16);</p> <p>-“Things began to happen on April 21... when, I believe, a Novi Sad Corps arrived to to Vlasenica. [...] In the morning, when they took Vlasenica, they ordered that all weapons be surrendered.” (17);</p> <p>-“ The city authorities meant the monument to mark the thirteenth anniversary of the NATO intervention in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.” (34);</p> <p>-“ In early March the City Council Vice President, Zoran Alimpic, a member of the ruling Democratic Party, sparked strong reactions when, in an interview with the Radio Free Europe he was asked whether the monument would be dedicated to those who had destroyed Vukovar, Dubrovnik, and who bombed Sarajevo.” (34);</p>

- “ Who are the victims for whom this monument is created: **those who destroyed the city of Vukovar, those who shelled Sarajevo**, those who killed in Srebrenica...? (34);
- “ **The war in Kosovo began in 1999. Bombing.** No one knew whether to beware of the bombing or the Albanian terrorists.” (35)
- “ For example, none of us know **when the 1991 war in Croatia began**. There are at least five dates that appear in various versions. This means that the basic facts remain open not merely to interpretation, but to ideological fantasizing.” (42);
- “ When even the date is unknown, the question of how the war had started, **how all those tanks arrived in Vukovar, Srebrenica or Mrkonjić Grad in 1995** also easily vanishes.” (42);
- “ **When Vukovar was attacked in August ‘91**, in Dubrovnik people were bathing in the sea, enjoying the lovely weather – and the lovely town.” (42);
- “ **When Dubrovnik was attacked**, in Sarajevo they sat drinking coffee,” (42);
- “ and **when Sarajevo was attacked**, everybody realised that war was more than just local violent disorder.” (42);
- “ There is also an already solidly constructed story about the Patriotic War and it is no longer analysed, although sensitive topics surface now and again, like **the events surrounding the fall of Vukovar.**” (46);
- “ **Novska was shelled.**” (47)

2.2.2 Table of amount of coded elements per category, signifying different levels of inquiry

Category	Amount of coded elements (#)	Percentage of total amount (%)
Macro	80	36.20
Causes	17	7.69
Consequences	15	6.79
Legitimization of violence	6	2.71
Organizational structure	9	4.08
Trends/Patterns	33	14.93
Micro	141	63.80
Individual crimes/cases	100	45.25
Specific events	41	18.55
TOTAL	221	100

2.2.3 Table of amount of coded elements per sub-category, signifying different 'Individual crimes or cases'

Sub-category	Amount of coded elements (#)		Percentage of total amount (%)	
Crimes/cases general	22		17.89	
Enforced disappearance	30		24.39	
killing	22		17.89	
Genocide	29		23.58	
<i>Torture</i>	6		0,05	
<i>Inhumane treatment</i>	5		0,04	
<i>Unlawful confinement</i>	1		0,01	
<i>Persecution</i>	2		0,02	
<i>Displacement</i>	1		0,01	
<i>Rape</i>	2		0,02	
Other	3	20	0,02	16.26
TOTAL	123		100	

2.2.4 Table of amount of coded elements per sub-category, signifying different 'Specific events'

Sub-category	Amount of coded elements (#)	Percentage of total amount (%)
Events general	20	48.78
'Attack on Vukovar'	7	17.01
'Siege of Sarajevo'	5	12.20
Attack on 'Dubrovnik'	2	4.88
Other (mentioned once)	7	17.01
TOTAL	41	100

2.2.5 Table of amount of coded elements per sub-category, signifying different 'Statistics'

Sub-category	Amount of coded elements (#)	Percentage of total amount (%)
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Victims	24	85.8
-victims general	7	25
-the dead	8	28.6
-the missing	5	17.9
-the erased	2	7.1
-Unlawfully detained	2	7.1
Combatants ('Participants in the war'; 'deserters')	2	7.1
General	2	7.1

2.3 Truth discourses

2.3.1 Table of amount of coded elements in total and for each sub-category, per Truth discourse

	FORENSIC	NARRATIVE	SOCIAL	RESTORATIVE	TOTAL
Total codes (#)	154	82	144	231	619
Total codes (%)	24.88	13.25	23.26	37.32	100
Total articles (#)	36	30	33	44	50
Total articles (%)	72	60	66	88	100
Concepts codes (#)	16	42	X	31	89
Concepts articles (#)	9	22	X	18	
Concepts articles (%)	18	44	X	36	
Practices codes (#)	27	26	77	54	192
Practices articles (#)	12	13	28	17	
Practices articles (%)	24	26	56	34	
Objectives codes (#)	111	14	67	146	338
Objectives articles (#)	32	10	25	38	
Objectives articles (%)	64	20	50	76	

2.3.2 Table of amount of coded elements per Forensic code

Codes	Amount of coded elements (#)	Percentage of total Forensic	Percentage of total elements discourses	Amount of articles (#)	Percentage of total articles (%)
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		elements (%)	(N=619) (%)		
<u>RELATED CONCEPTS</u>	16	10.39		7	14
Archives	3	1.95		2	4
Database	8	5.20		2	4
Information	5	3.25		4	8
<u>PRACTICES</u>	27	17.53		12	24
General references to research	13	8.98		5	10
Discovery, exhumations & identification	11	7.14		6	12
Historical research	3	1.95		3	6
<u>OBJECTIVES/RESULTS</u>	111	72.08	17.93	32	64
Establishing facts	98	63.64	15.83	28	56
Record of the past	13	8.44		8	16
TOTAL	154	100		36	72

2.3.3 Table of amount of coded elements per Restorative code

Codes	Amount of coded elements (#)	Percentage of total Restorative elements (%)	Percentage of total elements discourses (N=619) (%)	Amount of articles (#)	Percentage of total articles (%)
RELATED CONCEPTS (REPRESENTATIONS)	31	13.42		18	36
Barbarism/horror	17	7.36		9	18
Harmonious coexistence	4	1.73		4	8
Cycle of violence	4	1.73		2	4
Other labels	6	2.60		5	10
PRACTICES	54	23.38		17	34
Acknowledgement	8	3.46		7	14
Apology	8	3.46		3	6
Recognition of responsibility	6	2.59		3	6
Repentance	1	0.43		1	2
Forgiveness	13	5.63		3	6
Reparations	18	7.79		10	20
OBJECTIVES/RESULTS	146	63.20	23.59	38	76
'Imagined future' label	6	2.60		6	12
Reconciliation	64	27.71	10.34	28	56
Non-recurrence of violence	16	6.93		14	28
Heal wounds	4	1.73		2	4
Integration	2	0.87		2	4
Building trust	2	0.87		2	4
Good relations	9	3.90		5	10

Regional cooperation	18	7.79		9	18
European integration	15	6.49		8	16
Christian unity	1	0.43		1	2
Restoring victim's dignity	9	3.90		7	14
TOTAL	231	100		44	88

2.3.4 Table of amount of coded elements per Social code

Codes	Amount of coded elements (#)	Percentage of total Social elements (%)	Percentage of total elements discourses (N=619) (%)	Amount of articles (#)	Percentage of total articles (%)
<u>PRACTICES</u>	77	53.47	12.44	28	56
Public hearings	14	9.72		11	22
Outreach	17	11.81		11	22
Dialogue	28	19.44	4.52	15	30
Participation	5	3.47		5	10
Education	13	9.03		6	12
<u>OBJECTIVES</u>	67	46.53		25	50
<u>regarding past</u>	43			19	38
'Collective memory'	10	6.94		5	10
Awareness	8	5.56		8	16
Psychological reversal	7	4.86		4	8
Acceptance of facts	4	2.78		3	6
Public legitimacy	13	9.02		7	14
Emotional reaction	1	0.69		1	2
<u>regarding relations</u>	24			13	26
Mutual understanding	9	6.25		7	14
Compassion	5	3.47		5	10
Respect	4	2.78		4	8
Solidarity	3	2.08		3	6
Shared values	2	1.39		1	2
Openness	1	0.69		1	2
TOTAL	144	100		33	66

2.3.5 Table of amount of coded elements per Narrative code

Codes	Amount of coded elements (#)	Percentage of total Restorative elements (%)	Amount of articles (#)	Percentage of total articles (%)
<u>RELATED CONCEPTS</u>	42	51.22	22	44

Trauma	4	4.88	4	8
Experience	6	7.32	3	6
Suffering	15	18.29	11	22
Emotions	7	8.54	6	12
Memory	11	13.41	7	14
<u>PRACTICES</u>	26	31.71	13	26
Testimony	10	12.20	7	14
Truth-telling	5	6.10	4	8
Platform for victims	1	1.22	1	2
'Voice of..'	10	12.20	9	18
<u>OBJECTIVES/RESULTS</u>	14	17.07	10	20
Moving on	1	1.22	1	2
Recovery	1	1.22	1	2
Individual healing	2	2.44	2	4
Catharsis	3	3.66	3	6
Remembrance	6	7.32	4	8
<u>NARRATIVE</u>	82	100	30	60

2.3.6 Table containing data used in analysis of Forensic discourse, per theme

Main purpose	-“RECOM will be a platform for the victims, an extra-judicial mechanism designed to compile a record of the past based on facts, an opportunity to hear from all sides in the conflict”(1)
RECOM	<p>-“Hence, the success of the Initiative for RECOM will be measured not only by whether the ultimate goal has been achieved, but also by assessing the path taken to achieve it. By and large, this path is becoming part of the ultimate goal – uncovering the facts and finding out the truth. The knowledge of what really happened is a prerequisite for everything that comes later: reconciliation and cooperation, building new and better relations among the peoples and nations in our region. Because there is no alternative to the truth.” (1)</p> <p>-“(a) To establish the facts about war crimes and other gross violations of human rights committed on the territory of the former SFRJ in the period from January 1, 1991 until December 31, 2001, the political and societal circumstances that led to the commission of these acts, and the consequences of the crimes and human rights violations;” (3)</p> <p>-“As always, for truth and justice to make their way to us, we must face up to the past. That is the task of RECOM, or more precisely – of the future Regional Commission for establishing the facts about war crimes in the former Yugoslavia.” (7)</p> <p>-“Theorists and practitioners who deal with the transition of the successor states of the former Yugoslavia believe that RECOM can overcome the objective limitations of criminal trials (long duration, insufficient capacities of the court systems, old age, sickness and death of witnesses and victims) and provide a factual portrait of what happened in the former Yugoslavia in the period from 1991 to 2001, and why.” (9)</p> <p>-“Facts about war crimes and the causes of war are the goals espoused by the Coalition for RECOM.”(9)</p> <p>-“It is only “when victims, criminals and members of society come together to find a solution, that the results can be transformative.”</p> <p>It is precisely such a transformation that the Initiative for RECOM aims to bring as an independent fact-finding commission on war crimes and serious violations of human rights.” (10)</p> <p>-“ She added that a gathering of this kind opens the space for discussions about the Initiative for RECOM, about regional cooperation and all that we need in order to establish the facts about all war victims,” (12)</p> <p>-“ At a press conference following the meeting with President Vujanovic, Professor Zdravko Grebo said that the Initiative for the Regional Commission for the establishment of facts about the victims of the wars in the former Yugoslavia (RECOM) had no aspiration whatsoever to become a judicial</p>

institution" (13)

-“ When a public hearing of victims was organized as part of the Third Regional Forum on the mechanisms for establishing the facts about the war crimes in the former Yugoslavia, he shared with participants his memories of the days that forever changed his life.” (17)

-“ (Public hearing of victims, the Third Regional Forum on the mechanisms for establishing the facts about the war crimes in the former Yugoslavia, February 11-12, 2008, Belgrade)” (17)

--“It is therefore important that decision-makers in the countries of the former Yugoslavia take the offer of their support for the idea of creating an independent commission (RECOM), whose task will be to collect the facts for the story of our common fall into barbarism this task, not primarily as a political duty, but as their human duty.” (18)

-“Natasia Kandic, however, believes that the legacy of the ICTY is very important for Serbia and for the entire region, and that it can be utilized, among other things, through the Initiative for the establishment of the Regional Commission for establishing the facts about the victims of the wars in the former Yugoslavia (RECOM). “The legacy of the facts, findings and conclusions that will remain after the Hague Tribunal closes its doors is huge and valuable, and it will always be disturbing for both institutions and the public. And that is the most powerful weapon in dealing with the past. This will not be easy because after it received wide political support, some politicians saw in RECOM a threat to their power. But I think the legacy of the Hague Tribunal, together with persistence in pushing for a regional fact-finding mission, are a guarantee that the Balkans will never again experience the crime and the horrific drama that ended in more than 100,000 victims,” said Natasia Kandic.” (25)

-““The regional approach to the process of attaining justice and establishing the facts in the former Yugoslavia is very important, and the establishment of a Regional Commission for Truth and Reconciliation could be an important means of achieving that goal,” said Thomas Hammarberg, the Human Rights Commissioner of the Council of Europe, at “ (29)

-“PEN Vlaanderen, the Dutch-speaking Belgian centre of PEN International, called on the Presidents of all countries in the former Yugoslavia to do everything in their power to establish a regional commission for the establishment of the facts about war crimes and other serious human rights violations committed in the former Yugoslavia (RECOM).” (37)

-“Your Excellencies, Presidents and Members of Presidency of Bosnia and Herzegovina, PEN Vlaanderen wants to express support for the initiative for the founding of the Regional Commission for establishing the facts about war crimes and other serious human rights violations in the former Yugoslavia (RECOM).” (37)

-“Why are some individuals and organisations in Bosnia and Herzegovina afraid of a regional commission to establish the facts about the crimes committed during the wars in the territory of the former Yugoslavia, or rather in Bosnia and Herzegovina?” (40)

-“The members of the delegation presented the main objective of the Regional Commission and its primary function, which is to establish the facts about human sufferings in the recent wars waged on the territory of the region and the creation of public space for announcing all victims in the region.” (48)

-“Not only do I support, but I also signed the petition for RECOM! Information and names of people must be found. This does not mean that we will necessarily agree on the truth. I should remind us all that the wars were fought first with ideas, then in the newspapers, and finally with bullets and bombs. And everyone had his own truth. But the differences among these truths will be diminished, at the expense of innocent victims, if we manage to show the facts before we attempt to interpret them” (7)

-“The Initiative for RECOM is indeed a political action, and one of highest importance. This is why the Croatian media are so consistently silent about it, so that the whole thing can be somehow overturned and killed. But there is no political work of greater importance today but to produce that big book of the dead, which would contain the names of all those killed, persecuted or displaced since 1991, including the names of the killed killers, every single one

Interpretation
and truth

of them. [...] The idea of RECOM is not [...] an attempt to arrive at one undeniable truth. The goal is to arrive at undeniable facts: people with names, descriptions of their suffering, and finally – the total number of victims. This is both the least and the most one can do for the victims at the end of any war, and yet this has never been done here.” (7)

-“And

what kind of truth will be drawn from these facts, and what kind of history will have been written on the basis of them, that is indeed less important. [...] The truth will communicate with the truth if the data, names, numbers are known.” (7)

-“ **Zarko Korac** said that a reconciliation process did take place, especially after the Second World War, and that experiences of it differed greatly. He personally supported the Initiative for RECOM because he believed that it was extremely important to collect the facts and interpret them, and to punish the perpetrators. He pointed out that the reconciliation process was inherently asymmetrical (as it does not concern all parts of the region equally), that we had a problem with institutionalized interpretations of history, and that everyone remained shut in their own exclusivist interpretation, not only of the war but, what was even more problematic, of victims’ numbers as well.” (12)

-“ **Shkelzen Maliqi**, a publicist from Kosovo: The truth is a little easier to reach – it can be investigated, facts can be determined – but justice... ” (16)

-“ But it

is no less necessary to tell the true story of our barbarism.

And not just any story, but the one whose structure will be composed of irrefutable facts rather than the impressions of heated emotions, unintentional and intentional lies, old and newly emerging legends and myths.

In this true story, victims should be the focus, because highlighting barbarity through the suffering and the fate of victims will help communities to experience more intensely the dark historical period through which they lived, and it will help them make quicker progress towards a rediscovery of humanity and self-healing.” (18)

-“Nationalist politicians don’t like to see the facts established and don’t like any such ‘return to the past’ They are in favor of the following logic instead: ‘Enough of the past, let’s turn to the future’. And if they have to talk about the recent past, they talk about it in terms of their own ‘truth’.” (28)

-“Speaking about the benefits

of RECOM, he stressed the importance of a common narrative in the region and of achieving consensus on the key facts, and he welcomed RECOM’s exclusive focus on the process of establishing the facts. He added that in his opinion, such consensus did not preclude respect for and understanding of the different versions of the truth, which every ethnic group held, because that too was one of the aspects of reconciliation. However, a common position on the key facts of the events that took place during the wars in the 1990s must be established, he stressed.” (29)

-“He added that there was

no alternative to RECOM, in terms of a mechanism at a regional level that could offer officially accepted facts which would then be used in the region’s educational systems and which politicians would use as a basis for the interpretation of past events.” (31)

-“Yugoslavia partly collapsed because for 45 years, it had systematically lied about the past. This is why, even today, we are still in the dark about the elementary facts of World War II, not to mention the war of the 90’s. For example, none of us know when the 1991 war in Croatia began. There are at least five dates that appear in various versions. This means that the basic facts remain open not merely to interpretation, but to ideological fantasizing.” (42)

-“This still won’t help those people who live in the fantasy world , where ‘our guys were right, they were wrong’. Today, we hear from all sides that ‘there was murder, pillaging, and crimes committed by our side, but they were sporadic, it wasn’t systemic’. This gets repeated over and over again.

This circle can be broken with the aid of a) facts and b) meaningful interpretation (in the sense of the wider truth).” (42)

-“The President of the Croatian P.E.N. Centre, Nadežda Čačinović, who is also professor of aesthetics at the Philosophy Department of the Faculty of Philosophy in Zagreb spoke to us about the reconciliation process in the Balkans, the importance of making a distinction between the interpretations of the recent past and the establishment of irrefutable facts and the activities of

Manipulation and denial

P.E.N. as a non-governmental organisation which promotes fundamental human rights.” (46)

-“We can probably agree that different opinions about our recent past are often based on falsehoods. What do you think about the problem of establishing the facts?”

It sounds almost too simple when I say that the facts must and can be found. One can, perhaps, say that invitations to remember, not to forget, are occasionally misused in order to perpetuate the divisions but fact-finding, finding the truth is the only way to put different approaches, different points of departure and interests ‘face to face’ and begin to overcome misunderstandings. There is no room for relativist approaches; all we need is to be aware of how complex the process of fact-finding is.” (46)

-“In Croatia and other newly-emerged states on the territory of the former Yugoslavia, there are different, often opposing interpretations of the recent past. Can one draw a boundary between the irrefutable historical facts and different interpretations of historical facts?”

As a rule, the historical facts are organised in a coherent story, that all too often is called a narrative today. In other words, interpretation begins with an early arrangement of facts. It does not mean, however, that we should give up comparing discrepancies and agreements; even if we are unable to present an agreed view of the events, we at least need to know and incorporate in educational programmes the awareness that there are different interpretations. It is perhaps not possible to harmonise text-books in the region but one can request that attention be drawn to different interpretations and, first and foremost, ‘facts’ must come from credible sources.” (46)

-“In that light, how do you assess the Initiative to set up RECOM, a special commission which would establish irrefutable facts about war crimes and grave violations of human rights in the recent past on the territory of the former Yugoslavia?” (46)

-“If the region does not deal with the past, forgetting the past and the recurrence of conflict represents a real danger. Manipulation of individual victims, victim numbers and the scale of atrocities could draw the region into new clashes, and such practices must be countered with facts.” (1)

-“You mentioned nationalism and small but powerful groups which manipulate the facts in different ways. What do you think of their claim that it is still too early to start taking a firm view on the facts concerning the consequences of war?”

It can never be too early, it may be just be too late. The sooner we begin to clear away, the sooner we will enter a phase of peaceful and reasoned discussion, and that is the basis on which the final confrontation with the past should play out. I have often heard that we should start by recognizing our own mistakes, but in the end it always turns out that the other side should do it first. It has always been important to me to work on what is wrong with me or in my environment, and it is for the other side to decide what they will do in their own environment.” (23)

-“On top of this, there is no organized, systematic mechanism for the victims to seek and obtain fair reparation; and the lack of reliable facts about the victims is continually used for political manipulation, nationalist promotion, hatred and intolerance.” (37)

-“The Initiative for the founding of the Regional Commission for establishing the facts about war crimes and other serious human rights violations in the former Yugoslavia (RECOM) was launched so that the facts about victims would finally be identified and accepted by all parties and cannot be denied anymore.” (37)

-“One would expect such a reaction from politicians but, apart from those who supported the initiative officially, there was very little reaction, even though some of them have been in power for years on the back of endless manipulation of the facts and victims.” (40)

-“The

Coalition for RECOM has never belittled these other initiatives and has offered its cooperation to anyone who could help to finally establish the facts about what went on during the wars. No one country can do it alone, if for no other reason than because no country was the sole participant in the war: troops crossed borders, as did the refugees and the victims. Anyone who denies the need to set up RECOM therefore denies The Hague judgments, the facts established about the genocide, the circumstances under which both civilians and combatants suffered...” (40)

-“Yugoslavia partly collapsed because for 45 years, it had systematically lied about the past. This is why, even today, we are still in the dark about the elementary facts of World War II, not to mention the war of the 90’s. For example, none of us know when the 1991 war in Croatia began. There are at least five dates that appear in various versions. This means that the basic facts remain open not merely to interpretation, but to ideological fantasizing.” (42)

-“This still won’t help those people who live in the fantasy world , where ‘our guys were right, they were wrong’. Today, we hear from all sides that ‘there was murder, pillaging, and crimes committed by our side, but they were sporadic, it wasn’t systemic’. This gets repeated over and over again.

This circle can be broken with the aid of a) facts and b) meaningful interpretation (in the sense of the wider truth).” (42)

-“But this will still not help, unless an essential psychological reversal takes place; many people have an emotionally underpinned nationalistic – or patriotic – psychological blockade in place (our people are right), and, as we know, emotions cannot be countered with facts.” (42)

-“Whilst the problem is how to breach the emotional blockade in people, before that, a cognitive blockade (ignorance of facts) must be broken through, and hopefully in parallel with this, there will be a rebellion by the new generations, not against the head of state, but against Dad and Mum – which is much more difficult” (42)

-“!The only way to overcome the misunderstandings is with facts” (46)

-“We can probably agree that different opinions about our recent past are often based on falsehoods. What do you think about the problem of establishing the facts?

It sounds almost too simple when I say that the facts must and can be found. One can, perhaps, say that invitations to remember, not to forget, are occasionally misused in order to perpetuate the divisions but fact-finding, finding the truth is the only way to put different approaches, different points of departure and interests ‘face to face’ and begin to overcome misunderstandings. There is no room for relativist approaches; all we need is to be aware of how complex the process of fact-finding is.” (46)

-“What examples do you have where inadequately established ‘facts’ remain a salient problem in Croatia?

Indubitably, another problem involves even established facts, which are often glossed over in silence, because they are at odds with the interpretation of the recent past, according to which Croatia was only the victim of aggression. Among the inadequately established ‘facts’ is the number of the participants in the war.” (46)

-““The process of overcoming the past represents a painful and long-lasting process, which begins with dealing with historical facts that one cannot run away from, which cannot be denied and which must not be forgotten in order to avoid a long-lasting spiral of crimes and conflicts.” (49)

-““With this letter we want to give loud and strong support to the Initiative for RECOM, because we believe that the establishment, publication and acceptance of facts on a regional level is necessary for all of us, in order to create the necessary foundations for restoring dignity to victims, to meet their needs and rights, to determine the fate of forcibly disappeared persons, and to prevent the horrors of our common recent past from happening again...” (1)

-“Hence, the success of the Initiative for RECOM will be measured not only by whether the ultimate goal has been achieved, but also by assessing the path taken to achieve it. By and large, this path is becoming part of the ultimate goal – uncovering the facts and finding out the truth. The knowledge of what really happened is a prerequisite for everything that comes later: reconciliation and cooperation, building new and better relations among the peoples and nations in our region. Because there is no alternative to the truth.” (1)

-“Vera Krzisnik Bukic said she saw RECOM as “the necessary reaction of civil society to the sphere of arbitrary policy.” As a historian, she approached the issue of reconciliation through the example of the Cazin uprising, the revolt of peasants against Communist terror in 1950. These events were taboo until 1991, when a large study presented the facts about the rebellion to the public. RECOM should do the same: presenting as many indisputable facts as possible would set the basis for a just resolution of the problem.” (6)

-“Further, there is no better way to prevent a future war from breaking out than with the facts of the past wars.” (7)

-“ The special theme of the conference was the process of reconciliation and interpretation of the events from the recent past. Katarina Kruhonja from the Center for Peace, Non-

violence and Human Rights from Osijek, introduced the visitors and conference participants to the RECOM Initiative, which, as she explained, was a unique opportunity to finally break the chain of violence. The violence emerges over and over again, because the bloodshed from previous armed conflicts has not been dealt with properly and thoroughly, and the facts have not

been made clear.” (11)

-“ At the meeting, participants agreed that establishing the facts about war crimes and other serious violations of human rights, and establishing the fate of missing persons from the wars of 1991-2001 in the former Yugoslavia was extremely important for the process of dealing with the past and reconciliation in the region.” (13)

-“ Theatre and film director Dino Mustafic used the form of a short documentary film to translate his personal memories and thoughts about renowned actors, directors, writers and publicists from the region and the importance of facts and reconciliation to their creativity. “ (16)

-“Those who are

now in a position to make decisions in the independent states, the successors to the former country, are obliged to work on the process of de-barbarization by restoring the civilized order of law, justice and ethics in their own societies, but also in the relationships between their societies and others.

Restoring this order, and the time that it will take, will depend on the way the story of barbarism is told. It is therefore important that decision-makers in the countries of the former Yugoslavia take the offer of their support for the idea of creating an independent commission (RECOM), whose task will be to collect the facts for the story of our common fall into barbarism this task, not primarily as a political duty, but as their human duty.” (18)

-“The task of public advocacy is to persuade the politicians in the region that peace-building and reconciliation are possible only if the facts about war crimes and serious violations of human rights are established and only if a list of all victims is compiled. “ (19)

-“Natasia Kandic, however, believes that the legacy of the ICTY is very important for Serbia and for the entire region, and that it can be utilized, among other things, through the Initiative for the establishment of the Regional Commission for establishing the facts about the victims of the wars in the former Yugoslavia (RECOM). “The legacy of the facts, findings and conclusions that will remain after the Hague Tribunal closes its doors is huge and valuable, and it will always be disturbing for both institutions and the public. And that is the most powerful weapon in dealing with the past. This will not be easy because after it received wide political support, some politicians saw in RECOM a threat to their power. But I think the legacy of the Hague Tribunal, together with persistence in pushing for a regional fact-finding mission, are a guarantee that the Balkans will never again experience the crime and the horrific drama that ended in more than 100,000 victims,” said Natasia Kandic.” (25)

-“Bosnia and Herzegovina is still thwarted by its own internal problems, so it turns out that none of the politicians in that state has enough time to deal with reconciliation, even if the topic is in fact crucial to the future of the country. One gets the impression that it is actually in the interest of some politicians from Bosnia and Herzegovina that the facts about past wars are never established, so that they can continue to govern indefinitely, in the same manner that led to the wars.” (28)

-““We welcome every initiative in the region aimed at establishing the facts about the crimes committed in the 1990s, whose mission is to promote reconciliation.” (30)

-“With this letter we want to give loud and strong support to the Initiative for RECOM because we believe that the establishment, publication and acceptance of facts at the regional level is necessary for all the citizens of the region, in order to create a foundation for restoring dignity to victims, to meet their needs and rights, to determine the fate of forcibly disappeared persons, and to prevent the horrors of the past from happening again” (37)

-““The process of overcoming the past represents a painful and long-lasting process, which begins with dealing with historical facts that one cannot run away from, which cannot be denied and which must not be forgotten in order to avoid a long-lasting spiral of crimes and conflicts.” (49)

LINK TO COLLECTIVE MEMORY:

-“Speaking about the benefits

of RECOM, he stressed the importance of a common narrative in the region and of achieving consensus on the key facts, and he welcomed RECOM’s exclusive focus on the process of establishing the facts. He added that in his opinion, such consensus did not preclude respect for and understanding of the different versions of the truth, which every ethnic group held, because that too was one of the aspects of reconciliation. However, a common position on the key facts of the events that took place during the wars in the 1990s must be established, he stressed.” (29)

Link to EDUCATION (SOCIAL)

Social
discourses

-“Florence Hartmann started from the view that the process of international justice would always remain incomplete unless the “historical narratives of groups involved in the conflict” were changed, and this could be done through education. Article 45 of RECOM’s Draft Statute proposes “the mechanisms which will help integrate the established facts into the educational systems” in the region.” (6)

-“In addition to the question of RECOM, Hammarberg also emphasized the necessity of a history curriculum based on objective facts, improvement of the witness protection system and the system of legal regulation of war crimes prosecutions, as well as the realization of the rights of war victims and their families to reparation.” (29)

-“He added that there was no alternative to RECOM, in terms of a mechanism at a regional level that could offer officially accepted facts which would then be used in the region’s educational systems and which politicians would use as a basis for the interpretation of past events.” (31)

--“In Croatia and other newly-emerged states on the territory of the former Yugoslavia, there are different, often opposing interpretations of the recent past. Can one draw a boundary between the irrefutable historical facts and different interpretations of historical facts? As a rule, the historical facts are organised in a coherent story, that all too often is called a narrative today. In other words, interpretation begins with an early arrangement of facts. It does not mean, however, that we should give up comparing discrepancies and agreements; even if we are unable to present an agreed view of the events, we at least need to know and incorporate in educational programmes the awareness that there are different interpretations. It is perhaps not possible to harmonise text-books in the region but one can request that attention be drawn to different interpretations and, first and foremost, ‘facts’ must come from credible sources.” (46)

OUTREACH:

-“Before transitional justice mechanisms, such as RECOM, begin to affect the educational system, the media should publish the facts instead of hiding the atrocities that caused so much suffering.” (6)

-“Like our colleagues in the countries of the former Yugoslavia, we believe that citizens of these countries have the need and the right to know all the facts about the war crimes and other massive human rights violations committed during the wars of the 1990s.” (37)

ACCEPTANCE:

-“The Initiative for the founding of the Regional Commission for establishing the facts about war crimes and other serious human rights violations in the former Yugoslavia (RECOM) was launched so that the facts about victims would finally be identified and accepted by all parties and cannot be denied anymore. (37)

2.3.7 Table containing data used in analysis of Narrative discourse, per theme

Dealing with the past as painful but necessary

-“ Zoran Predin, a musician from Slovenia: Truth is painful because everyone has his own truth, and would like to experience it in his own way. Two different people with different opinions have different versions of the truth. It’s hard to be objective in this regard and to say what some general truth should be.” (16) → [LINK TO TRUTH](#)

-“ The discussion of truth as a social ideal almost necessarily has to start with a renowned, cynical, and yet largely truthful dictum by George Bernard Shaw, that polite society is “as corrupt as the absence of honesty can make it”. Since we avoid the truth in order to reduce conflict, every society lives on a whole series of ‘useful lies’. This becomes further complicated in postwar periods, since far more profound emotions are at work, there is a larger

number of people whose feelings are hurt, and therefore the question logically arises of why the truth matters to us, why turn back towards the past, wouldn't it be better to forget everything that has happened – since remembrance (and organised remembrance in particular) re-opens old wounds and causes so many new ones.” (42)

-“The process of overcoming the past represents a painful and long-lasting process, which begins with dealing with historical facts that one cannot run away from, which cannot be denied and which must not be forgotten in order to avoid a long-lasting spiral of crimes and conflicts.” (49)

-“Branko Cvejic, an actor from Serbia: Of course, we all tend to suppress some memories: as if something that happened never really happened... It is not true that we, here, didn't know about the siege of Sarajevo. We knew what was happening in Sarajevo, but because we were constantly bombarded – though skillfully dosed – by the media about what was going on there, it was as if it wasn't happening...” (16)

-“!Trauma instead of catharsis

Monument to Victims and Defenders of the Homeland in Belgrade caused numerous controversies in Serbia” (34)

-“Under the pretext of the alleged success story not a single political actor shows any willingness to tackle the painful issue of the inherited traumas from 2001, let alone the older ones. The ruling principle of the virtual peace reads ‘do not rock the boat’. Even ten years after the conflict, there is still no official version of the events, no explanation of the root causes of the armed violence, the death-toll, or even the real actors. Under such circumstances, it is no wonder that each ethnic community, in addition to the burgeoning ethnocentrism, cherishes a narrative of its own: the Macedonians mostly perceive themselves as victims and losers, while the ethnic Albanians are triumphant about the military and political victory.” (41) (CONTEXT MACEDONIA) → LINKED TO COMP NAR

-“Amir Kulagic, a survivor of Srebrenica, said that processes such as the Initiative for RECOM, are “the best proof that we still have the strength and courage to fight our own difficult experiences.”” (6)

-“How will people who have been traumatized by war and serious human rights violations regain confidence in their fellow citizens and state institutions? Can people forget and overcome a violent past filled with so much suffering and build a shared and peaceful future? (14)

MEMORY AS SOCIAL PRIORITY/THE FATE OF MEMORY/REMEMBRANCE

-“In addition, ! The Voice disseminates the voice of victims. Every issue brings testimonies of victims, opinions, of those who help victims secure their rights, opinion pieces, interviews and testimonies of those for whom responsibility, the need for truth, reconciliation and memory are social priorities.” (1)

-“We, for whom the war in the former Yugoslavia, with all its consequences, has become the subject of professional research and artistic vision, an event for reflection and concern about the fate of memory and truth, ask you to do everything in your power to enable the Initiative for RECOM to come to life and to begin its operation, the artists and intellectuals wrote.” (3)

-“As part of the event “Adopt Srebrenica: International Cooperation for Memory – The Fifth International Week of Dialogue and Encounter,” held on September 5-6, 2011, the organization “Amica” from Tuzla and the Alexander Langer Foundation from Bolzano jointly organized a meeting of a group of students from Italy and Bosnia and Herzegovina with HLC employees and associates.” (5)

-“The need to research the events that marked the 20th century and preserve the memory of them, intensified with the enlargement waves of 2004 and 2007. Each new Member State was bringing into this wider community its own memories, its own struggles, and its own unanswered questions. And, with regard to transitional justice, it was ultimately carrying its own burden. But noted intellectuals and activists saw in this diversity of backgrounds nothing else but an opportunity for sharing experience in dealing with past trauma. Initiatives and statements in this direction proliferate at the highest European level. The

Platform for victims

Stockholm Programme of 2009, talks of the EU as an “area of shared values” and stresses that the memory of crimes committed by totalitarian regimes should be “a collective memory, shared and promoted...” (44)

-“On a more practical level, European funding is provided for awareness-raising and memory preservation.” (44)

-“Milica Tomic, an artist from the Monument Group, which arose from an idea to mark the suffering, and name the victims and perpetrators of crimes, reminds the public that the idea and the competition for the monument first appeared in 2002, „when we all believed that the events of October 2000 signalled a progressive change. “ (34)

-“The Initiative for the founding of the Regional Commission for establishing the facts about war crimes and other serious human rights violations in the former Yugoslavia (RECOM) was launched so that the facts about victims would finally be identified and accepted by all parties and cannot be denied anymore. This is an opportunity for public and governments alike to recognize the injustices done to the victims, to hear finally the voice of survivors and families of victims, to allow them to publicly express their suffering, to hear them directly and not through mediators, and to show them compassion and solidarity instead of concealment and humiliation.” (37) [USED IN TRADITIONAL SENSE OF TRUTH-TELLING](#)

-“ !A heartbreaking testimony of Smail Durakovic

Public hearings of victims are an essential mechanism and one of the main goals for future RECOM. Public testimony brings into focus and public attention the often forgotten victims (rather than perpetrators) and thus, through their life narratives, victims and their relatives witnesses and condemn the crimes.” (17) [LINK TO SOCIAL, BUT ALSO WITNESSING AND CONDEMNING CRIMES!](#)

-“In addition, ! The Voice disseminates the voice of victims. Every issue brings testimonies of victims, opinions, of those who help victims secure their rights, opinion pieces, interviews and testimonies of those for whom responsibility, the need for truth, reconciliation and memory are social priorities.” (1)

-“THE VOICE OF VICTIMS” (8) [3 TESTIMONIES ABOUT MISSING FAMILY MEMBERS](#)

-“THE VOICE OF VICTIMS

!A heartbreaking testimony of Smail Durakovic” (17) (IN CONTEXT OF: Smail Durakovic was in Bosnia and Herzegovina during the war, detained in the camps in Susica and Batkovic. When a public hearing of victims was organized as part of the Third Regional Forum on the mechanisms for establishing the facts about the war crimes in the former Yugoslavia, he shared with participants his memories of the days that forever changed his life. Below is an excerpt from his heartbreaking story.) [TESTIMONY ABOUT DETENTION](#)

-“!The Voice of Victims

Shyhrete Berisha is one of the three survivors of the massacre of more than forty Albanian women, children and men of the Berisha family in Suva Reka, on March 26, 1999. She testified three times before the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia about how she had lost her husband, four children and forty members of her extended family in an attack by the Serbian police.” (27) [TESTIMONY ABOUT KILLED FAMILY MEMBERS](#)

-“THE VOICE OF VICTIMS

!„We lived 60 years with these Albanians.”

Misko Deverdzic, from the village of Istok, Kosovo, lost his father Rados, and, to this day remains haunted by guilt.” (35)

-“Individualization of guilt is something that few keep in mind. The most reasonable voice comes from the victims’ families, who even in moments of mourning, have preserved sound mind and the ability to differentiate between good and evil, between the individual and the ethnic group.” (41)

-“THE VOICE OF THE VICTIMS

!The state amnestied the criminals

Marica Šeatović: Those who committed the crime were members of the 1st Zagreb A Brigade, 4th Battalion, an active unit of the Guards” (47) (IN CONTEXT OF: “In those first moments I did not know who had killed them or why they were killed. There were two hearings at the Military Court in Zagreb, the perpetrators, the first accused, the second accused who had raped and killed that lady, they were taken in, in March 2002 and were in detention in Sisak until November. In September the Amnesty Law was adopted and they were amnestied accordingly, those two first accused. To make things worse, a month after he killed my husband,

Social discourse

that is on December 21st the first accused participated in another crime”) ➡ TESTIMONY PRIMARILY FOCUSED ON KILLING, INDICATES THAT THERE IS LITTLE ROOM FOR OTHER VICTIMS)

-“This was wrong,

she said because there were other initiatives also addressing reconciliation and truth-telling. The Coalition for RECOM has never belittled these other initiatives and has offered its cooperation to anyone who could help to finally establish the facts about what went on during the wars.” (40)

-“When I went to my village, I saw a neighbor, and he asked: “Do tell me the truth, as man to man.” Which is to say – let’s forget, if what happened can be forgotten. Then I said: “Just give me a piece of information so that I can find them, so that I can bury them, so that I can close this chapter of my life,” so that I can go to the cemetery and tell the children who their grandfather was [...]” (8):

-“RECOM will be a platform for the victims, an extra-judicial mechanism designed to compile a record of the past based on facts, an opportunity to hear from all sides in the conflict.” (1)

-“ The most reasonable voice is that of the victims’ families; even in the moments of heart-rending grief they distinguish between right and wrong, the individual and the ethnicity.” (41)

-“ Amril Kulagic, a member of RECOM’s Coordination Council, stressed that the process of dealing with the past helped him not to hate ‘the other’ and ‘different’ because, when he heard that others had had similar experiences of suffering, he could share with them his pain and his feelings” (12) ➡ ALSO LINK TO OTHER PURPOSE OF TRUTH TELLING

-“Smail Durakovic was in Bosnia and Herzegovina during the war, detained in the camps in Susica and Batkovic. When a public hearing of victims

was organized as part of the Third Regional Forum on the mechanisms for establishing the facts about the war crimes in the former

Yugoslavia, he shared with participants his memories of the days that forever changed his life.

Below is an excerpt from his heartbreaking story.” (17) ➡ SHARING MEMORIES

-“The need to research the events that marked the 20th century and preserve the memory of them, intensified with the enlargement waves of 2004 and 2007. Each new Member State was bringing into this wider community its own memories, its own struggles, and its own unanswered questions. And, with regard to transitional justice, it was ultimately carrying its own burden.

But noted intellectuals and activists saw in this diversity of backgrounds nothing else but an opportunity for sharing experience in dealing with past trauma. Initiatives and statements in this direction proliferate at the highest European level. The

Stockholm Programme of 2009, talks of the EU as an “area of shared values” and stresses that the memory of crimes committed by totalitarian regimes should be “a collective memory, shared and promoted...” (44)

-“How will people who have been traumatized by war and serious human rights violations regain confidence in their fellow citizens and state institutions? Can people forget and overcome a violent past filled with so much suffering and build a shared and peaceful future? On a theoretical level, there is a conflict between the retributive or penal

concept of justice on the one hand, and the restorative or corrective concept of justice on the other. Legal experts argue that a victim finds peace only when the offender is appropriately

punished, or when they are convicted for the misdeed he committed. But from an emotional and psychosocial standpoint, the victim does not find peace through the criminal conviction of the perpetrator. The victim or survivor finds peace only when their pain and suffering are publicly accepted and recognized, when the victim’s dignity is restored either by compensation from the perpetrator (the right to reparation), or with an apology, which is also known as symbolic reparation. Restorative justice strives to emphasize and correct the damage resulting from criminal conduct. When victims, perpetrators and members of society come together to find a solution, the results can be transformative.” (14) ➡ FORGETTING & ACKNOWLEDGEMENT (COUNTERS ASSUMPTION THAT TELLING EQUALS HEALING)

-“In this true story, victims should be the focus, because highlighting barbarity through the suffering and the fate of victims will help communities to experience more intensely the dark historical period through which they lived, and it will help them make quicker progress

towards a rediscovery of humanity and self-healing.” (18) → FOCUS ON PUBLIC

-“The Slovenian Ombudswoman Zdenka Cebasek Travnik warned that Slovenia would not avoid similar incidents in the future if it continued to react too mildly. She stated that “the use of the sufferings of a whole nation in hostile speech is the most hideous thing that could happen in a public place.” “ (21)

-“But if the idea of reconciliation was to come to life in the region, the people must receive the information about the war from someone they trust more than they trust the ICTY and national courts. Political institutions and the media were not trusted. Citizens believed victims first of all, those individuals whom they saw as similar to themselves. They wanted to hear “personal stories,” to gain an insight into other people’s feelings.” (6) → LINK TO SOCIAL

-“We need this commission to build relationships in the region on a different basis, but also because such commission would be the start of a multilateral partnership based on recognition and appreciation of openness and respect. We cannot to live a lie, one must hear the voice of victims, so that victims and their families are given back their dignity, so that, plain and simple, the dignity of man is restored. The denial of a crime is not permissible. The denial of a crime is no better than participating in the crime.” (7) → LINK TO RESTORATIVE & COMP NAR

-“ !A heartbreaking testimony of Smail Durakovic

Public hearings of victims are an essential mechanism and one of the main goals for future RECOM. Public testimony brings into focus and public attention the often forgotten victims (rather than perpetrators) and thus, through their life narratives, victims and their relatives witnesses and condemn the crimes.” (17) → LINK TO SOCIAL, BUT ALSO WITNESSING AND CONDEMNING CRIMES!

-“ Smail Durakovic was in Bosnia and Herzegovina during the war, detained in the camps in Susica and Batkovic. When a public hearing of victims was organized as part of the Third Regional Forum on the mechanisms for establishing the facts about the war crimes in the former Yugoslavia, he shared with participants his memories of the days that forever changed his life. Below is an excerpt from his heartbreaking story.” (17) → LINK TO SOCIAL

-“ From the public testimony of victims, held at the Third Regional Forum for the establishment of the facts about war crimes in the former Yugoslavia, organized by Documenta, the Humanitarian Law Center and the Center for Research and Documentation, on February 11-12, 2008 in Belgrade.)” (35) → LINK TO SOCIAL

-“ Public testimony of victims, The Fourth Regional Forum for Transitional Justice, Priština/ Prishtinë, Kosovo, October 28-29, 2008” (47) → LINK TO SOCIAL

-“During our last collective descent into barbarism and over the long period that we resided in it, many people suffered, many innocent people were killed and terrible crimes were committed. This is why now it takes so much conscious effort to return a sense of security, self-respect and compassion to the people.” (18)

2.3.8 Table containing data used in analysis of Social discourse, per theme

Issues in the public sphere	-“RECOM is necessary because objective obstacles limit the process of establishing the truth about the past. The trials before the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia, and those before national courts in the region, have failed to initiate a broader public debate about war crimes. In the region, trials are not even perceived as a legitimate tool in establishing the full truth about the crimes.” (1)
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-“The strict interpretation of the amnesty law by the parliamentary majority enabled the remaining war crimes court cases, to be closed. This decision became the foundation on which the current government rests, as well as the foundation of the stability of Macedonian political system in general, given its consociational form. The general public remained silent with hardly any public response to this development. The issue of dealing with the past had never been high on the public agenda, but has now been completely removed from it, by a single political decree.” (26) → PROBLEM STATEMENT, NO PUBLIC DIALOGUE

-“In this imaginary reconciliation, the political elites refuse to see that ethnic divisions have only deepened from 2001 onwards, while the frustrations have been left untreated. Political correctness in public discourse is a special form of self-censorship, and it seems as though the public sphere in Macedonia has disciplined and perfected its hypocrisy under the watchful eye of international observers. When a society reaches boiling point, the first thing to erupt from the surface is uncensored hate speech. Reporters and other participants in the public debate often do not even recognize the cultural and symbolic violence, or resort to justifying it by alleged freedom of artistic expression. Those in power practice the so-called ‘ostrich-strategy’, defining excesses as ‘isolated incidents’. The culture of impunity is widespread. Under such circumstances, the opposition is trying to profit at all costs, sometimes even by adding fuel to the fire.” (26)

-“Historically speaking, not only are there no examples of critical dissent and more organized protest, but the dominant form of dealing with the past is in fact a specific (and traditional) form of reconciliation through forgetfulness, which political parties misuse as a strategy for dealing with other public issues as well. Macedonia needs an honest and open discussion between its segregated communities as well as to find out the truth about the fate of the victims of 2001.” (26)

-“**Milica Tomic**, an artist from the Monument Group, which arose from an idea to mark the suffering, and name the victims and perpetrators of crimes, reminds the public that the idea and the competition for the monument first appeared in 2002, „when we all believed that the events of October 2000 signalled a progressive change. Instead of its becoming part of the public discourse, the idea was removed from the agenda and offered instead to war veterans, invalids and associations of victims’ families, who, although they were unfairly grouped together, belong to the majority of Serbia. A monument was offered to them which was meant to compensate for their loss and to include them in a project which was doomed from the very beginning,” Milica Tomic told !Voice.” (34)

-“Can we take it that the struggle for the freedom of speech in democratic societies is a thing of the past or is it that the circumstances and forms of that struggle have changed? It is in no way a thing of the past; **the room for public debate and deliberations, without which democratic decision-making is a pretty meaningless procedure, has been drastically reduced by the commercialisation and sensationalization of the media**, even where it is no longer affected by direct political intervention. **The desire to participate in political processes is on the wane**, different forms of populism are emerging. Of course, there are also some new forms of protest...” (46)

--“**Florence Hartmann** started from the view that the process of international justice would always remain incomplete unless the “historical narratives of groups involved in the conflict” were changed, and this could be done through education. Article 45 of RECOM’s Draft Statute proposes “the mechanisms which will help integrate the established facts into the educational systems” in the region. However, such proposals took time, she said; **meanwhile, the post-war generations are being shaped by conflicting narratives and “systems where historical education and transitional justice are not part of the same sphere.” So far, instead of meeting the needs for justice, democratization and reconciliation, education had been emphasizing the differences between nations in the region.** “The reform of history requires a lot of time – this has always been the case and always will be,” She added. **Before transitional justice mechanisms, such as RECOM, begin to affect the educational system, the media should publish the facts instead of hiding the atrocities that caused so much suffering.”** (6)

-“In our talks with civil society organisations and various other stakeholders it has become clear that questions of forgiveness, truth, or reconciliation are not the overall goal of international and local justice mechanisms. **Nor, it is proving, have these international and local justice mechanisms properly engaged with and educated the public on important issues such criminal**

code usage and sentencing measures when establishing guilt in war crimes cases. RECOM has the opportunity to educate and provoke discussion, where the legal pursuit of justice has sometimes left society, victims and other groups confused. While RECOM cannot act as an alternative to outreach by the legal transitional justice mechanisms, it has the possibility to do something the legal transitional justice mechanisms cannot—turn focus towards the victims and foster a public debate regarding the role of violence in the 1990s conflict from a transnational perspective, all of which help with the erosion of borders and divisions created by the violence and conflict. In turning the focus on victims and fostering public debate, the RECOM initiative has the possibility to aid the destabilisation of nationalist discourses of statehood and belonging within the region which could ultimately lead to a longer-lasting public dialogue.” (45) → COMP NAR

-“**He also pointed out the failure of the ICTY’s**

Outreach Program to explain the judicial procedure to the public in the region, and its failure to justify the court’s rulings, something, which, he said, would have prevented local political manipulation of the Court’s verdicts.” (29)

-“On its 10th anniversary the consociational (power-sharing) model of political co-existence between the two major ethnic communities (Macedonian and ethnic Albanian) there are a persuasive number of indicators that ethnic divisions are not only constitutionalized and institutionalized but have even deepened the existing cleavages in society.

The coalition-formation and the consequent negotiations between the ethnic leaders and a lack of transparency often reduces politics to bargaining and mutual blackmailing, and all that under permanent international monitoring, de facto resulted in the elimination of any civic initiative and citizens’ participation.” (41)

-““RECOM had the power, he said, to establish the basic facts about what had happened in the region. **This was very important, because there was no universally accepted version of the events from the 1990s at the national level.”** (6)

-“ In meantime, new generations have grown up in an atmosphere where there is a lower level of mutual understanding than that when their parents were growing up. Destruction of the fabric of society is a silent but ongoing process that creates parallel worlds, which never meet unless there are matter of the utmost importance. In addition, the media space is divided along language barriers; each electoral process, by default, consists of two separate cycles as political parties address only their own (ethnically defined) electorate. To make things worse, the societal divisions become territorialized as voluntary re-settlements take place more often.” (41)

-“**Jasna Dragovic Soso** pointed out that in the former Yugoslavia the political climate was finally changing, and that it was finally time for some initiatives that failed in the past. But there was still no public debate in the region about the crimes committed in the recent past. Even when something very important happened, such as the arrest of Mladic, the debate consisted of re-hashed arguments from the 1990s. RECOM had the power, he said, to establish the basic facts about what had happened in the region. This was very important, because there was no universally accepted version of the events from the 1990s at the national level.” (6)

PUBLIC HEARINGS:

-“ RECOM will be a platform for the victims, an extra-judicial mechanism designed to compile a record of the past based on facts, an opportunity to hear from all sides in the conflict.” (1)

-“ (e) Holding public hearings of victims and other persons about war crimes and gross violations of human rights;” (4) (RECOM’s Functions)

-“ Zarko from Srebrenica, however, was optimistic: public testimony, which would be an integral part of RECOM, would have a positive effect because it would create a strong emotional reaction, which would effectively make the audience aware of the sheer horror of the crimes.” (5)

-“ But if the idea of reconciliation was to come to life in the region, the people must receive the information about the war from someone they trust more than they trust the ICTY and national courts. Political institutions and the media were not trusted. Citizens believed victims first of all, those individuals whom they saw as similar to themselves. They wanted to hear “personal stories,” to gain an insight into other people’s feelings.” (6)

Importance of
social
practices

-“ We cannot to live a lie, one must hear the voice of victims, so that victims and their families are given back their dignity, so that, plain and simple, the dignity of man is restored. The denial of a crime is not permissible. The denial of a crime is no better than participating in the crime.” (7)

-“ Public hearings of victims are an essential mechanism and one of the main goals for future RECOM. Public testimony brings into focus and public attention the often forgotten victims (rather than perpetrators) and thus, through their life narratives, victims and their relatives witnesses and condemn the crimes.”” (17)

-“The Initiative for the founding of the Regional Commission for establishing the facts about war crimes and other serious human rights violations in the former Yugoslavia (RECOM) was launched so that the facts about victims would finally be identified and **accepted by all parties and cannot be denied anymore**. This is an opportunity for public and governments alike to recognize the injustices done to the victims, **to hear finally the voice of survivors and families of victims, to allow them to publicly express their suffering, to hear them directly and not through mediators, and to show them compassion and solidarity instead of concealment and humiliation.**” (37)

DIALOGUE:

-“A representative of a non-governmental organization from Serbia agreed that the request to create the Commission should not be submitted to any government in the region: the Initiative for RECOM had already made a major contribution, by opening up public debate about the recent past, but further investment in this initiative was likely to fail, she said.” (31)

-“Therefore, the creation of a regional commission for the former Yugoslavia is essential not only for the victims, but also to combat historical revisionism and **improve social dialogue**. And the latter can only be ‘of use’ to former Yugoslav countries on their path to the EU, which recently has devoted more efforts to dealing with the past than ever.” (44)

-“The Centre for Religion called for representatives of the Serbian Orthodox Church and the Croatian Catholic Church to continue the restoration of their dialogue” (49)

-““The process of overcoming the past represents a painful and long-lasting process, which begins with dealing with historical facts that one cannot run away from, which cannot be denied and which must not be forgotten in order to avoid a long-lasting spiral of crimes and conflicts. [...] That is why the issue of reconciliation between the two nations linked by historical and cultural ties must be followed by **a strong and dynamic ecumenical dialogue** between the two sister churches”, the organization’s statement concluded.” (49)

-“**Direct communication – dialogue, opportunity and ability to express oneself, reversal of roles as a route to understanding – these, according to Ekkehard Krippendorf, are the general and most important remedies on the road to peace.** Fortunately, no one talks about the ‘culture of war’ any longer. Having learned, through experience, that we cannot make any progress by way of intellect only, and that (to paraphrase Schiller) the way to the head must be opened through the heart, we must, according to Krippendorf, **try to understand the reality of the ‘other side,’ because role reversal is a means for accepting the past.**” (11)

-“Executive Director of Community-Building Mitrovica, **Valdete Idrizi**, from Kosovo (where the situation is once again rather sensitive), advised Europe to take the conflicts of the 1990s as an important lesson: **“Let’s talk about them in order not to make the same mistake again.”** Her peace mission taught her that the way to understand something was to listen.” (11)

-“You mentioned nationalism and small but powerful groups which manipulate the facts in different ways. What do you think of their claim that it is still too early to start taking a firm view on the facts concerning the consequences of war?

It can never be too early, it may be just be too late. **The sooner we begin to clear away, the sooner we will enter a phase of peaceful and reasoned discussion, and that is the basis on which the final confrontation with the past should play out.** I have often heard that we should **start by recognizing our own mistakes**, but in the end it always turns out that the other side should do it first. It has always been important to me to work on what is wrong with me or in my environment, and it is for the other side to decide what they will do in their own environment.” (23)

-“The Commissioner said that the positive effects of the RECOM process were already

visible – such as the general public discussion about the events of war – which, according to Hammarberg, was one of the essential elements of postwar justice.” (29)

-“In our talks with civil society organisations and various other stakeholders it has become clear that questions of forgiveness, truth, or reconciliation are not the overall goal of international and local justice mechanisms. **Nor, it is proving, have these international and local justice mechanisms properly engaged with and educated the public** on important issues such criminal code usage and sentencing measures when establishing guilt in war crimes cases. **RECOM has the opportunity to educate and provoke discussion**, where the legal pursuit of justice has sometimes left society, victims and other groups confused. While RECOM cannot act as an alternative to outreach by the legal transitional justice mechanisms, it has the possibility to do something the legal transitional justice mechanisms cannot—**turn focus towards the victims and foster a public debate regarding the role of violence in the 1990s conflict from a transnational perspective, all of which help with the erosion of borders and divisions created by the violence and conflict. In turning the focus on victims and fostering public debate, the RECOM initiative has the possibility to aid the destabilisation of nationalist discourses of statehood and belonging within the region which could ultimately lead to a longer-lasting public dialogue.**” (45) → COMP NAR

-“The RECOM movement is a civil society initiative which is intended to establish the truth about the events in the 1990s and also to complement the work of the other transitional justice mechanisms such as the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY), the State Court of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and other courts hearing war crimes cases in the states of the Former Yugoslavia. As such, we believe it is in a unique position to **generate debate** (as it has started to do) on the events of the past and gradually **help erode the borders and divisions created by the violence of the 1990s**, and the Dayton Peace Agreement, **by calling on citizens to not only examine, but to collectively establish, a shared narrative of the past which is important in the process of achieving a stable peace.**” (45) → LINKS DIALOGUE TO COLLECTIVE MEMORY

COLLECTIVE MEMORY:

-“ And without underestimating the importance of the Euro or the single market, here I focus on another aspect of integration – **the promotion of shared values and shared memories.** It is in this context that I discuss the Coalition for RECOM and the urgent need for a regional truth commission for the former Yugoslavia.” (44)

-“ Initiatives and statements in this direction proliferate at the highest European level. The Stockholm Programme of 2009, talks of the EU as an “area of shared values” and stresses that the memory of crimes committed by totalitarian regimes should be “**a collective memory, shared and promoted...**” (44)

-“ As human geographers, we are drawn to the RECOM initiative because it is a unique movement which attempts to cross borders and seeks to challenge the people of the Former Yugoslav states **to collectively establish a shared public narrative of the events of the past.**” (45)

-“Speaking about the benefits of RECOM, he stressed the importance of a common narrative in the region and of achieving **consensus on the key facts**, and he welcomed RECOM’s exclusive focus on the process of establishing the facts. He added that in his opinion, such consensus did not preclude respect for and understanding of the different versions of the truth, which every ethnic group held, because that too was one of the aspects of reconciliation. However, a common position on the key facts of the events that took place during the wars in the 1990s must be established, he stressed.” (29)

EDUCATION:

-“He added that there was no alternative to RECOM, in terms of a mechanism at a regional level that could offer officially accepted facts which would then be used in the region’s educational systems and which politicians would use as a basis for the interpretation of past events.” (31)

-“In that light, how do you assess the Initiative to set up RECOM, a special commission which

would establish irrefutable facts about war crimes and grave violations of human rights in the recent past on the territory of the former Yugoslavia?

I fully support the Initiative and I hope it will meet with the necessary support. This support must come from high profile individuals, institutions must embrace their obligations, there must be good media coverage and many other things, including **getting through to the educational system.**" (46)

-“In addition to the question of RECOM, Hammarberg also emphasized **the necessity of a history curriculum based on objective facts**, improvement of the witness protection system and the system of legal regulation of war crimes prosecutions, as well as the realization of the rights of war victims and their families to reparation.” (29)

-“Florence Hartmann started from the view that the process of international justice would always remain incomplete unless the “historical narratives of groups involved in the conflict” were changed, and this could be done through education. Article 45 of RECOM’s Draft Statute proposes “the mechanisms which will help integrate the established facts into the educational systems” in the region. However, such proposals took time, she said; meanwhile, the post-war generations are being shaped by conflicting narratives and “systems where historical education and transitional justice are not part of the same sphere.” So far, instead of meeting the needs for justice, democratization and reconciliation, education had been emphasizing the differences between nations in the region. “The reform of history requires a lot of time – this has always been the case and always will be,” She added. Before transitional justice mechanisms, such as RECOM, begin to affect the educational system, the media should publish the facts instead of hiding the atrocities that caused so much suffering.” (6)

-“In Croatia and other newly-emerged states on the territory of the former Yugoslavia, there are different, often opposing interpretations of the recent past. Can one draw a boundary between the irrefutable historical facts and different interpretations of historical facts?

As a rule, the historical facts are organised in a coherent story, that all too often is called a narrative today. In other words, interpretation begins with an early arrangement of facts. **It does not mean, however, that we should give up comparing discrepancies and agreements; even if we are unable to present an agreed view of the events, we at least need to know and incorporate in educational programmes the awareness that there are different interpretations. It is perhaps not possible to harmonise text-books in the region but one can request that attention be drawn to different interpretations and, first and foremost, ‘facts’ must come from credible sources.**” (46)

-“**Ivo Komsic** asked about the way to **legitimize** everything that the Draft Statute of RECOM promotes. State institutions, non-governmental organizations, the media, The Hague Tribunal, religious organizations, and above all, the family, as a **place of education** in the microenvironment – all these social segments must deal with the past, he said. This is most difficult to achieve in the family, because families raise their children within different truth discourses. He proposed the formation of an informal parliamentary group which would deal with these issues, because that way any actions would receive **public attention and legitimacy**. Religious institutions and different congregations, must also be approached since there were, he believed, individuals within various church organizations who would be willing to take part in this dialogue.” (12)

OUTREACH:

-“(g) **Compiling, publishing, and presenting its Final Report in a manner that will facilitate broad access to the Report “ (4) (RECOM’s Functions)**

-“A truth commission is a mechanism that can lead to genuine investigation and **reporting** on the periods in the recent past when the most serious crimes were committed.” (14)

-“**Public disclosure of facts** about the crimes is necessary, but it is wrong to condition this process on political agreement with the elites who to a large extent created the war.” (15)

-“RECOM’s task is to collect and **publish the facts** about war crimes and all other human rights violations.” (15)

-““With this letter we want to give loud and strong support to the Initiative for RECOM, because we believe that the establishment, publication and acceptance of facts on a regional level is necessary for all of us, in order to create the necessary foundations

for restoring dignity to victims, to meet their needs and rights, to determine the fate of forcibly disappeared persons, and to prevent the horrors of our common recent past from happening again... " (1) → RESTORATIVE DISCOURSE

-“Responding to further

arguments that the region already had recourse to the facts established in the courts and that the problem was not the absence of facts but absence of their disclosure, a representative from Croatia said that it seemed rude to even say that the necessary facts have already been established, when there were more than 14,000 people in the region still registered as missing.” (31)

-“The research

project is looking at civil society, alongside transitional justice in BiH by examining how new courts and judicial processes **establish their legitimacy within local communities through public outreach activities**. These initiatives may include public seminars, online archives of testimony or networks of civil society organisations. In our early findings we are learning that such activities are essential, if not core, to the establishment of post-war truth and justice.” (45)

-“Would it be better to discuss these issues in the narrow circle

of individual communities, i.e. in individual states or would

the clarification of these issues be more successful within a broader framework, through the cooperation of several states in the region and with the support of an international commission?

Cooperation is the purpose of the enterprise; we could probably find here and there individuals who are free of prejudice in their assessments and do their historiographic work in line with the highest standards, **but additional legitimacy is necessary. We are not talking about an individual achievement but about something that comes out of cooperation, the openness in the discovery, and trust being born.**” (46)

AWARENESS:

-“On a more practical level, European funding is provided for **awareness-raising** and memory preservation. However, the EU can only facilitate the process of dealing with the past. It can create a framework, offer funding, and **promote dialogue** and exchange of best practice.” (44)

-“ Their joint press statement emphasized their

mutual agreement that it was “necessary to

clarify those events for which there is still not

enough understanding among the Croatian

and Serbian public, as soon as possible”. ” (49)

-“ What role should public figures play in all this?

I do not want to pick out any names, but I think that people who work in the public sphere have a duty to respond and raise the awareness of the community they live and work in, and that such talk is absolutely necessary. We live in a country where silence has ruled for decades, and we can say that the previous system is to blame, but I regret that the academic community has not made a move yet, although it has the kind of authority that carries with it certain duties and responsibilities. I hope this silence will soon be broken because that’s the only thing that can save our morality, which has turned to ashes in this country.” (23)

2.3.9 Table containing data used in analysis of Restorative discourse, per theme

Reconciliation
as a social
process

-“ The Voice disseminates the voice of victims. Every issue brings

testimonies of victims, opinions, of those who help victims secure their rights, opinion pieces, interviews and testimonies of those for whom responsibility, the need for truth, reconciliation and memory are social priorities.” (1)

-“RECOM, both as an idea and in practice, has the potential to prevent political manipulation of the number of victims and the spinning of national myths about the conflict, and it has the power to allow this region to finally begin a social, rather than petty political reconciliation process.” (9)

-“Peace initiatives such as RECOM, which allow dealing with the past and work towards reconciliation that transcends nations and countries, are carried out by individuals in civil society so that the pursuit of justice is not stifled by politicians and their individual interests” (11) → ALSO CIVIL/SOCIAL PROCESS RATHER THAN POLITICAL (THIS

CONCEPTION OF RECONCILIATION EXPLAINS THE INITIATIVE'S FOCUS ON PUBLIC DIALOGUE, SINCE RECONCILIATION SHOULD BE BORN BETWEEN PEOPLE RATHER THAN GOVERNMENT

-“There was also the problem of seeing reconciliation as

the goal of transitional justice: “First we need to say who should be reconciled with whom. Is it a reconciliation on a personal level? Is it on the level of ethnicity or society?” Reconciliation involves both recognition of the crime and an apology for it. But reconciliation must be preceded by trust “between people, between communities and then at the level of society” he said.” (6)

-“Peter Kuzmic expressed regret about the low level of support for the Initiative for RECOM in Croatia during the support signatures campaign. He believed that one of the reasons for this failure was the insufficient involvement of religious communities in the process of reconciliation. He highlighted a bad practice by which the suppression and cover-ups, one's own violence becomes sacred, making the punishment of perpetrators and compassion with the victims from the other side, impossible.” (12)

-“In this imaginary reconciliation, the political elites refuse to see that ethnic divisions have only deepened from 2001 onwards, while the frustrations have been left untreated.” (26)

-“Historically speaking, not only are there no examples of critical dissent and more organized protest, but the dominant form of dealing with the past is in fact a specific (and traditional) form of reconciliation through forgetfulness, which political parties misuse as a strategy for dealing with other public issues as well. Macedonia needs an honest and open discussion between its segregated communities as well as to find out the truth about the fate of the victims of 2001.” (26)

-“Speaking about the benefits of RECOM, he stressed the importance of a common narrative in the region and of achieving consensus on the key facts, and he welcomed RECOM's exclusive focus on the process of establishing the facts. He added that in his opinion, such consensus did not preclude respect for and understanding of the different versions of the truth, which every ethnic group held, because that too was one of the aspects of reconciliation.” (29)

-“A delegation of the Serbian Orthodox Church's Holy Assembly of Bishops led by Patriarch Irinej, paid an official visit to the Zagreb and Ljubljana Archdiocese in Croatia from June 8th to June 10th, 2012. This was the first visit of this, the highest ranking delegation of the Serbian Orthodox Church, since the Croatian state won independence and one which, according to the experts, represents the start of a new phase in the relationship between the two largest branches of Christianity in the region of the former Yugoslavia, and sends a strong message of reconciliation and cooperation between the two nations.” (49) → RECONCILIATION BETWEEN NATIONS

-“So far, instead of meeting the needs for justice, democratization and reconciliation, education had been emphasizing the differences between nations in the region. “The reform of history requires a lot of time – this has always been the case and always will be,” She added. Before transitional justice mechanisms, such as RECOM, begin to affect the educational system, the media should publish the facts instead of hiding the atrocities that caused so much suffering.” (6)

-“Moreover seen through the prism of post-conflict stabilization, the fragility of peace in Macedonia has become increasingly apparent. The June parliamentary elections produced something that would seem unthinkable in the majority of postconflict societies . The government, composed of the parties representing the majority of citizens of ‘conflicting’ ethnic communities, promoted ‘total reconciliation’. Interestingly, today's ruling party (VMRO-DPMNE) is precisely the one that used to refuse any dialogue with ethnic Albanian rebels, while its current coalition partner (DUI) was created by demobilized National Liberation Army members in 2001” (26)

-“That is why the issue of reconciliation between the two nations linked by historical and cultural ties must be followed by a strong and dynamic ecumenical dialogue between the two sister churches”, the organization's statement concluded.” (49)

-“US Ambassador to BiH: The idea of the establishment of RECOM is in keeping with the politics of reconciliation” (48)

-“Respect for victims must, of course, be expressed, and murderers must be identified and punished, but it is wrong to end the story of reconciliation there. To determine whether, and to

Reconciliation
as a political
process

what extent, the political elite, including that in Montenegro, to which Mr. Vujanovic belongs, contributed to the crimes, is an integral part of reconciliation. This is not the usurpation of the courts' jurisdiction, but a recognition of how the complexity of Yugoslavia's disintegration, and the expression of the moral imperative that culprits be publicly denounced and identified. To compartmentalize the process of reconciliation in the way suggested by Professor Grebo and other 'public advocates' reveals a poorly disguised political compromise with the war elites. RECOM's task should be to establish the truth so that different interpretations of the war in our region are avoided. Once the truth about the crimes gets transferred to the much-desired 'political level', it will cease to be a part of the reconciliation process and will instead become part of the efforts to abolish the responsibility of the political elite." (15) → TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION'

-“Kosovo's Prime Minister pledges support to regional reconciliation process

The Prime Minister of Kosovo, Hashim Thaçi, once again offered his support for the establishment of a truth and reconciliation commission that would, as he said, seek to heal the wounds of the conflicts in the region. In an interview with the Associated Press, Thaçi gave his support to the establishment of a commission during an official visit in the United States in April. Thaçi said that had been discussing the idea of a truth and reconciliation commission for Kosovo that would seek to heal the wounds of the region's conflicts. "I think we need it," the Prime Minister told the AP. Thaçi said that the only way to achieve reconciliation was to integrate Serbs living in the north with the rest of Kosovo." (38)

-“The opposition said Thaçi's comments about the establishment of a truth and reconciliation commission were a sign of the government's policy failure. Kosovapress and Telegrafi both report that Ernest Luma, spokesperson for the AAK, said that this idea was rushed and reckless. Before reconciliation, Serbia should ask for forgiveness for the serious crimes and genocide committed in Kosovo, something that has not been done so far, Luma said. "The crimes were committed by the Serbian regime and the Serbian State against the people in Kosovo. The representatives of that regime should seek forgiveness and they must be the ones to take the first step in such an initiative", Luma added." (38) → BEFORE RECONCILIATION CAN HAPPEN, FORGIVENESS IS NECESSARY

-“Glauk Konjufca, former Vice President of the Self-Determination party and Vice President of the Assembly, suggested that the basis for reconciliation must be justice. There are wounds to be healed in Kosovo, with 1,800 people still missing, the responsibly for which lies with Serbia, he said. "At the moment Serbia is similar to Serbia during the Milosevic era, neither recognizing Kosovo nor showing any regret for the harm it has done. Some Government officials, like Dačić, who is campaigning for the Presidency, has, in the way he behaves, shown that if he could turn back time he would preside over the same massacres and genocide of Kosovo Albanians. We can talk about reconciliation only after all the war criminals are punished and reparations are made to victims. A reconciliation process conducted only for show could be very harmful." Kosovo and its people could not be reconciled with Serbia unless Serbia was held to account for the harm it had caused, he said." (38)

-“Inzko is optimistic regarding the future of B&H, which is, he said, "a proof of the successful mediation of the international community."

The High Representative pointed out that cooperation between Bosnia & Herzegovina, Serbia and Croatia had not existed twenty years ago and added that regional reconciliation of the peoples of these countries was be of utmost importance for improved future cooperation." (39)

-“Serge Brammertz, the Chief Prosecutor of the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY), said that Nikolić's statement stood "in opposition to the legal and factual findings of the ICTY and the International Court of Justice" and said that "such rhetoric is a step backwards, aggravates the victims' suffering and threatens the fragile process of reconciliation in the former Yugoslavia". (50) (REGARDING DENIAL THAT GENOCIDE TOOK PLACE IN SREBRENICA, BY SERBIAN PRESIDENT)

-“Marc Toner, deputy spokesperson for the US State Department, issued a press release, which stated that "the genocide in Srebrenica must not be subject to personal interpretation." It advises the President of Serbia to be constructive with regard to regional issues, and

emphasizes that “unfounded statements about Srebrenica and other war crimes do not contribute to stability and reconciliation in the region.”” (50)

-“Jelko Kacin, the European Parliament rapporteur for Serbia, stated that Nikolić’s statement “may give rise for some concern, but every state official, who has just taken up a new position should be given some time to prove himself with his deeds”. Kacin added that the “stance of Serbian officials about this crime is very important” and said that the Council of Europe, which adopted a resolution on the genocide in Srebrenica, would “follow the work of the President of Serbia in the area of the reconciliation in the region with particular concern.” (50) → RECONCILIATION AS A POLITICAL PROCESS

-“Pia Ahrenkilde Hansen, the spokesperson for the President of the European Commission, Jose Manuel Barroso, stated that the European Union shared the opinion that genocide was committed in Srebrenica and said that this matter would be placed on the agenda for a forthcoming meeting between Barroso and President Nikolić, together with the wider issue of “reconciliation in the region.” (50)

-“Zlatko Lagumdžija, Bosnia and Herzegovina’s Minister of Foreign Affairs, stated that Nikolić’s statements “do not contribute to good relations in the region, the process of reconciliation and the process of building trust.” He added that he strongly condemned them.” (50)

-“!Reconciliation as a Political Taboo

Following a number of declarations of support for the Initiative for RECOM, the voices of the Presidents of Serbia and Croatia, Boris Tadic and Ivo Josipovic, have gone silent on the subject. The meetings between the two presidents, who at one point met so frequently that we almost thought they had become best friends, have become less frequent too. Obviously, the theme of reconciliation is no longer a political priority for either of them. Through his meetings with Tadic, Josipovic positioned himself against the then government led by the HDZ. Tadic assessed that one should not “overdo” reconciliation, because “balance” should be established with the so-called patriotic opposition.” (28)

-“Bosnia and Herzegovina is still thwarted by its own internal problems, so it turns out that none of the politicians in that state has enough time to deal with reconciliation, even if the topic is in fact crucial to the future of the country. One gets the impression that it is actually in the interest of some politicians from Bosnia and Herzegovina that the facts about past wars are never established, so that they can continue to govern indefinitely, in the same manner that led to the wars.” (28)

RELATION TO EU (INTEGRATION):

-“ Section 2.3 of The Enlargement Strategy, entitled “Strengthening regional cooperation and reconciliation in the Western Balkans,” specifies that the European Commission is closely monitoring these activities, as they are essential for the stability and membership of the European Union. “The initiatives initiated by non-governmental organizations and civil society, such as.. the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (RECOM)... play an important role in enhancing reconciliation beyond governments among the citizens of the region,” says the document.” (2)

-“The Initiative for RECOM boasts respectable international support as well: it has been included in the important Enlargement Strategy of the European Commission, which notes that the Commission, as indicated in section 2.3 of the document, carefully monitors activities like the Initiative for RECOM that enhance regional cooperation and reconciliation, since they are essential for the stability and European integration.” (10)

-“Reconciliation in the region “is possible and must be possible” and is of great importance to the progress of the region and the security of the EU, the High Representative of the international community in Bosnia & Herzegovina, Valentin Inzko said on a visit to Ljubljana.” (39)

RELATION TO REGIONAL COOPERATION:

-“ Section 1.3 of the report on Serbia, titled “Regional issues and international obligations,” notes the importance of regional cooperation and good neighborly relations. The report makes a positive assessment of Serbia’s “support [for] the RECOM initiative on reconciliation.”” (2)

-“To achieve reconciliation,

Reconciliation and truth

cooperation, progress, and to be free from fear, the truth is a prerequisite.” (10)

–“The Initiative for RECOM boasts respectable international support as well: it has been included in the important Enlargement Strategy of the European Commission, which notes that the Commission, as indicated in section 2.3 of the document, carefully monitors activities like the Initiative for RECOM that enhance regional cooperation and reconciliation, since they are essential for the stability and European integration.” (10)

–“Additionally, confronted with the request of the international community to establish regional cooperation, the leading politicians in the region agreed that joining the victims together could lead to reconciliation which they, notably the Presidents of Croatia and Serbia, had been advocating since 2010.” (36)

–“Inzko is optimistic regarding the future of B&H, which is, he said, “a proof of the successful mediation of the international community.”

The High Representative pointed out that cooperation between Bosnia & Herzegovina, Serbia and Croatia had not existed twenty years ago and added that regional reconciliation of the peoples of these countries was of utmost importance for improved future cooperation.” (39)

RELATION TO TRUTH GENERAL:

–“ By

and large, this path is becoming part of the ultimate goal – uncovering the facts and finding out the truth. The knowledge of what really happened is a prerequisite for everything that comes later: reconciliation and cooperation, building new and better relations among the peoples and nations in our region. Because there is no alternative to the truth.” (1)

–“To achieve reconciliation, cooperation, progress, and to be free from fear, the truth is a prerequisite.” (10)

–“All this because of the most important goal, stated at the beginning of the text – to transform our societies by way of the truth, and thus create conditions to live together in peace again. This, ultimately, leads to reconciliation.” (10)

–“The special theme of the conference was the process of reconciliation and interpretation of the events from the recent past.” (11)

–“Respect for victims must, of course, be expressed, and murderers must be identified and punished, but it is wrong to end the story of reconciliation there. To determine whether, and to what extent, the political elite, including that in Montenegro, to which Mr. Vujanovic belongs, contributed to the crimes, is an integral part of reconciliation. This is not the usurpation of the courts’ jurisdiction, but a recognition of how the complexity of Yugoslavia’s disintegration, and the expression of the moral imperative that culprits be publicly denounced and identified . To compartmentalize the process of reconciliation in the way suggested by Professor Grebo and other ‘public advocates’ reveals a poorly disguised political compromise with the war elites. RECOM’s task should be to establish the truth so that different interpretations of the war in our region are avoided. Once the truth about the crimes gets transferred to the much-desired ‘political level’, it will cease to be a part of the reconciliation process and will instead become part of the efforts to abolish the responsibility of the political elite.” (15) → as opposed to respecting different versions of truth, which is promoted by recom advocates. Respecting different versions relates to political compromise?? At least shows that RECOM wants to satisfy everyone!

–“Historically speaking, not only are there no examples of critical dissent and more organized protest, but the dominant form of dealing with the past is in fact a specific (and traditional) form of reconciliation through forgetfulness, which political parties misuse as a strategy for dealing with other public issues as well. Macedonia needs an honest and open discussion between its segregated communities as well as to find out the truth about the fate of the victims of 2001.” (26)

–“She warned that the RECOM process had monopolized the process of reconciliation in the region, as donors set aside money exclusively for that project, which she said was not good, because there were other initiatives dealing with reconciliation and truth.” (31)

RELATION TO FORENSIC TRUTH:

- “As a historian, she approached the issue of reconciliation through the example of the Cazin uprising, the revolt of peasants against Communist terror in 1950. These events were taboo until 1991, when a large study presented the facts about the rebellion to the public. RECOM should do the same: presenting as many indisputable facts as possible would set the basis for a just resolution of the problem.” (6)
- “At the meeting, participants agreed that establishing the facts about war crimes and other serious violations of human rights, and establishing the fate of missing persons from the wars of 1991-2001 in the former Yugoslavia was extremely important for the process of dealing with the past and reconciliation in the region.” (13)
- “Theatre and film director Dino Mustafic used the form of a short documentary film to translate his personal memories and thoughts about renowned actors, directors, writers and publicists from the region and the importance of facts and reconciliation to their creativity. The film was produced by the Coalition for RECOM. Below are some of their thoughts transcribed from the film.” (16)
- “The task of public advocacy is to persuade the politicians in the region that peace-building and reconciliation are possible only if the facts about war crimes and serious violations of human rights are established and only if a list of all victims is compiled.” (19)
- “Bosnia and Herzegovina is still thwarted by its own internal problems, so it turns out that none of the politicians in that state has enough time to deal with reconciliation, even if the topic is in fact crucial to the future of the country. One gets the impression that it is actually in the interest of some politicians from Bosnia and Herzegovina that the facts about past wars are never established, so that they can continue to govern indefinitely, in the same manner that led to the wars.” (28)
- “We welcome every initiative in the region aimed at establishing the facts about the crimes committed in the 1990s, whose mission is to promote reconciliation.” (30)
- “PEN Vlaanderen, the Dutch-speaking Belgian centre of PEN International, called on the Presidents of all countries in the former Yugoslavia to do everything in their power to establish a regional commission for the establishment of the facts about war crimes and other serious human rights violations committed in the former Yugoslavia (RECOM). The Flemish branch of PEN sent a strongly worded letter of support to the Initiative for RECOM because, as it stated in the letter to the Presidents, this initiative has strong potential to be a source for reconciliation in the region.” (37)

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