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Ideology, politics and war violence as sources of forced migrations

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XXIII međunarodni znanstveni simpozij

**MIGRACIJE STANOVNIŠTVA
FENOMEN IZBJEGLIŠTVA**

**18. i 19. studenoga 2016.
Zagreb**

Knjižica sažetaka

Abstracts Booklet

XXIII International Scientific Symposium

**MIGRATION OF POPULATION
THE PHENOMENON OF REFUGEEISM**

**18 and 19 November 2016
Zagreb**

XXIII međunarodni znanstveni simpozij

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XXIII International Scientific Symposium

MIGRATION OF POPULATION – THE PHENOMENON OF REFUGEEISM

18 and 19 November 2016

Zagreb

Organizatori



Bošnjačka nacionalna zajednica
za Grad Zagreb i Zagrebačku županiju
Zagreb



Institut za migracije i narodnosti
Zagreb



Fondacija Mulla Sadra
Sarajevo

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XXIII međunarodni znanstveni simpozij
MIGRACIJE STANOVNIŠTVA – FENOMEN IZBJEGLIŠTVA

18. i 19. studenoga 2016.

Islamski centar, Zagreb
Prilaz Safvet-bega Bašagića 1, Kongresna dvorana

i

Institut za migracije i narodnosti
Trg Stjepana Radića 3, Dvorana Hrvatske matice iseljenika

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XXIII International Scientific Symposium
MIGRATION OF POPULATION – THE PHENOMENON OF REFUGEEISM
18 and 19 November 2016

Islamic Center, Zagreb
Safvet beg Bašagića road 1, Congress Hall
and
Institute for Migration and Ethnic Studies
Stjepan Radić Square 3, Croatian Heritage Foundation Hall

ORGANISERS:

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for the City of Zagreb and Zagreb County, Zagreb
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UVODNA RIJEČ

Migracije stanovništva jedan su od ključnih fenomena za razumijevanje suvremenih društava. U sebi sadržavaju i aktualiziraju ekonomske, političke, geostrateške, kulturne, religijske i druge dimenzije globalizacijskih procesa. Značajni segmenti populacije ratom zahvaćenih područja migriraju u dijelove svijeta koji nisu izloženi ratnim razaranja i u kojima je ekonomska situacija stabilna, nastojeći osigurati vlastitu i obiteljsku budućnost. Na osobe koje dolaze iz drugih kultura može se gledati kao na opasnost za europski duh, ali i kao na mostove koji spajaju različite kulture. Ovim međunarodnim znanstvenim skupom želimo analizirati uzroke suvremenih migracijskih tokova potaknutih ratnim razaranja, pokušajima demokratiziranja zemalja iz kojih dolazi najveći broj migranata/izbjeglica, te geostrateškim interesima velikih sila. Zemlje u kojima se rađala ljudska civilizacija danas su zemlje pred uništenjem, ne samo naroda nego i tragova velikih kultura. Na djelu je kulturocid koji se ne može i ne smije pravdati interesima i utjecajnim sferama svjetskih sila.

Novi migracijski i izbjeglički tokovi potiču nas na interdisciplinarno promišljanje fenomena migracija koji bitno utječe na svijest europskog građanstva. Pristupi disciplina poput socijalne antropologije, filozofije, sociologije, religije, etike, politike, ekonomije i drugih pridonijet će raznolikosti razmišljanja i poticanju kvalitetne rasprave na ovom simpoziju.

Organizacijski odbor simpozija

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

Migration is one of the key phenomena for understanding contemporary societies. They contain and actualize the economic, political, geostrategic, cultural, religious and other dimensions of globalization processes. Large segments of the population in war-affected areas migrate to the parts of the world which are not exposed to war and where the economic situation is stable, trying to ensure their own and family future. People coming from other cultures can be seen as a danger to the European spirit, but also as the bridges connecting different cultures. The aim of this international scientific conference is to analyse the causes of current migration flows induced by war demolitions, by the attempts to democratize the countries which the largest number of migrants/refugees are coming from as well as by geostrategic interests of the great powers. The countries in which the human civilization was born are today countries facing annihilation, not only of nations but also of traces of great cultures. A culturcide which is happening cannot and must not be justified by the interests and spheres of influence of great powers.

New migration flows encourage us in interdisciplinary reflection on the phenomenon of migration that significantly affects the consciousness of European citizenship. The approaches of disciplines such as social anthropology, philosophy, sociology, religion, ethics, politics, economics, etc. will contribute to the diversity of thinking and encourage high-quality discussion at the conference.

Organising Committee of the Symposium

Program simpozija

Petak, 18. studenoga/novembra 2016.

Kongresna dvorana Islamskog centra

Prilaz Safvet-bega Bašagića 1, Zagreb

***17:00* Svečano otvorenje i pozdravni govori**

- dipl. ing **Dževad Jogunčić**, predsjednik Organizacijskog odbora simpozija
- prof. emer. dr. sc. **Esad Ćimić**, predsjednik Znanstvenog odbora simpozija
- dr. sc. **Marina Perić Kaselj**, v.d. ravnateljice Instituta za migracije i narodnosti
- dr. med. **Gzim Redžepi**, predsjednik Medžlisa Islamske zajednice Zagreb
- prof. dr. sc. **Akbar Eydi**, Fondacija Mulla Sadra, Sarajevo

***17:30 – 18:00* Pozvano izlaganje**

- **Hrvoje Jurić** (Filozofski fakultet Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, Znanstveni centar izvrsnosti za integrativnu bioetiku), Filozofijsko-etički aspekti izbjeglištva i migracija

***18:00 – 18:20* Pauza za kavu**

***18:20 – 19:10* Pozvano izlaganje (uz konzekutivni prijevod)**

- **Akbar Eydi** (Fondacija Mulla Sadra, Sarajevo)

Uzroci i posljedice emigracija

***19:10 – 20:40* Prvi panel (moderator Drago Župarić-Ilić)**

Fenomen prisilnih migracija – osnovna polazišta

- **Goran Bašić** (Faculty of Social Sciences, Linnaeus University, Växjö, Sweden)
- i **Zlatan Delić** (Filozofski fakultet, Univerzitet u Tuzli)

Ideologija, politika i ratno nasilje kao izvori prisilnih migracija

- **Darko Gavrilović** (Filozofski fakultet, Univerzitet Novi Sad)

Migranti i izbjeglice: izazovi savjesti moderne Europe

- **Nebojša Petrović** (Studentski centar, Univerzitet Novi Sad)

Sličnosti i razlike imigracije u Evropi tokom 20. veka sa savremenom izbegličkom krizom

- **Neža Kogovšek Šalamon** (Mirovni inštitut, Ljubljana)

„Krimigrantski“ odgovori na (tranzitnu) migraciju kroz Jugoistočnu Europu

Symposium programme

Friday, 18 November 2016

Congress Hall of the Islamic Center
Safvet beg Bašagića road 1, Zagreb

***17:00* Opening ceremony and welcome notes**

- **Dževad Jogunčić**, dipl. ing., Head of the Symposium Organising Committee
- **Esad Ćimić**, PhD, Professor Emeritus, Head of the Symposium Academic Board
- **Marina Perić Kaselj**, PhD, Acting Director of the Institute for Migration and Ethnic Studies, Zagreb
- **Gzim Redžepi**, dr. med., President of the Majlis of the Islamic Community Zagreb
- **Akbar Eydi**, PhD, Associate Professor, Mulla Sadra Foundation, Sarajevo

***17:30 – 18:00* Keynote lecture**

- **Hrvoje Jurić** (Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Zagreb, Centre of Excellence for Integrative Bioethics)

Philosophical-ethical aspects of the refugees and migrants' issues

***18:00 – 18:20* Coffee break**

***18:20 – 19:10* Keynote lecture (with consecutive translation)**

- **Akbar Eydi** (Mulla Sadra Foundation, Sarajevo)

Causes and consequences of emigration

***19:10 – 20:40* Panel 1 (moderator Drago Župarić-Ilijić)**

The phenomenon of forced migration – starting points

- **Goran Bašić** (Faculty of Social Sciences, Linnaeus University, Växjö, Sweden) and **Zlatan Delić** (Faculty of Philosophy, University of Tuzla)

Ideology, politics and war violence as sources of forced migrations

- **Darko Gavrilović** (Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Novi Sad)

Migrants and refugees: challenges of conscience of modern Europe

- **Nebojša Petrović** (Student center, University of Novi Sad)

Similarities and differences in immigration in Europe during the 20th century with contemporary refugee crisis

- **Neža Kogovšek Šalamon** (Peace Institute, Ljubljana)

"Crimigrant" responses to (transit) migration in Southeastern Europe

Subota, 19. novembra/studenoga 2016.

Institut za migracije i narodnosti
(dvorana HMI) Trg S. Radića 3, Zagreb

***9:00 – 10:30* Drugi panel (moderator Sanja Klempić Bogadi)
Migrantska kriza i tražitelji azila – diskursi i percepcija**

• **Mario Bara, Roko Mišetić i Hrvoje Štefančić**

(Hrvatsko katoličko sveučilište, Zagreb)

Tražitelji azila u migrantskoj populaciji Europske unije (2014.–2016.): prema tipologiji zemalja tražitelja azila

• **Nenad Koprivica** (Centar za demokratiju i ljudska prava, Podgorica)

Politički diskurs o migrantskoj krizi u EU i na Zapadnom Balkanu

• **Tatjana Pivac, Ivana Blešić, Tamara Lukić i Igor Stamenković**

(Prirodno-matematički fakultet, Univerzitet u Novom Sadu)

Migrantska kriza iz ugla stanovništva Srbije

• **Sead Alić** (Sveučilište Sjever, Koprivnica/Varaždin)

Odgovor Abdennour Bidaru na njegovo „Otvoreno pismo muslimanskom svijetu“

***10:30 – 10:45* Pauza za kavu**

***10:45 – 12:30* Treći panel (moderator Filip Škiljan)**

Migracije i izbjeglištvo – povijesna perspektiva

• **Tomasz Hajewski** (Državni arhiv Katowice, Poljska)

Poljski imigranti u Iranu tijekom Drugoga svjetskog rata

• **Saeid Abedpour** (Naučnoistraživački institut Ibn Sina, Sarajevo)

Iransko iskustvo sa stranim migrantima

• **Vasja Badalič** (Inštitut za kriminologiju pri Pravni fakulteti, Ljubljana)

Prisilna repatrijacija afganistanskih izbjeglica: slučaj Pakistana

• **Enes Durmišević** (Pravni fakultet, Univerzitet u Sarajevu)

Iseljavanje (hidžret) Bošnjaka u Tursku krajem XIX stoljeća – šerijatskopравни pogled bosanske uleme

• **Izet Šabotić** (Filozofski fakultet, Univerzitet u Tuzli)

Bošnjački muhadžerski pokreti i naselja u Makedoniji

Saturday, 19 November 2016
Institute for Migration and Ethnic Studies
(CHF Hall) S. Radić Square 3, Zagreb

***9:00 – 10:30* Panel 2 (moderator Sanja Klempić Bogadi)**
Migrant crisis and asylum seekers – discourses and perceptions

• **Mario Bara, Roko Mišetić and Hrvoje Štefančić**
(Croatian Catholic University, Zagreb)
Asylum seekers in the migrant population of the EU (2014–2016): according to the typology of the asylum seekers' countries

• **Nenad Koprivica** (Centre for Democracy and Human Rights, Podgorica)
Political discourse on the migrant crisis in the EU and the Western Balkans

• **Tatjana Pivac, Ivana Blešić, Tamara Lukić, and Igor Stamenković**
(University of Sciences, Novi Sad)
Migrant crisis from the perspective of the population in Serbia

• **Sead Alić** (University North, Koprivnica/Varaždin)
Reply to Abdennour Bidar to his "Open letter to the Muslim world"

***10:30 – 10:45* Coffee break**

***10:45 – 12:30* Panel 3 (moderator Filip Škiljan)**
Migration and Refugeeism – historical perspective

• **Tomasz Hajewski** (State Archive Katowice, Poland)
Polish immigrants in Iran during the Second World War

• **Saeid Abedpour** (Ibn Sina Research institute, Sarajevo)
Iran's experience with foreign migrants

• **Vasja Badalič** (Institute of Criminology at the Faculty of Law, Ljubljana)
The forced repatriation of Afghan refugees: the case of Pakistan

• **Enes Durmišević** (Faculty of Law, University of Sarajevo)
Emigration (hijrat) of Bosniaks to Turkey at the end of the 19th century – Sharia legal view of the Bosnian ulema

• **Izet Šabotić** (Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Tuzla)
Bosniak Muhajirun movements and settlements in Macedonia

Subota, 19. novembra/studenoga 2016.

Kongresna dvorana Islamskog centra

***14:30 – 16:20* Četvrti panel (moderator Darko Gavrilović)**

Od tranzitnih ruta do potrebe za integracijom

• **Danica Šantić** (Geografski fakultet, Univerzitet u Beogradu, Beograd)
Srbija na Balkanskoj migracionoj ruti – šta savremeni migracioni tokovi govore o nama?

• **Danilo Trbojević** (doktorand Filozofskog fakulteta, Beograd)
Migranti u Srbiji danas: konstruisanje i preplitanje starih i novih stereotipa o „drugosti“

• **Mersiha Smailovik** (NVO Legis, Skopje)
Šta nas je naučila izbjeglička kriza kroz osobno iskustvo i rad u makedonskom nevladinom sektoru

• **Snježana Gregurović** (Institut za migracije i narodnosti, Zagreb)
Multikulturene politike kao kamen spoticanja integraciji migranata u europskim društvima?

• **Vera Klopčič** (Institut za narodnostna vprašanja, Ljubljana)
Multikulturalizam i integracija migranata u Sloveniji

***16:20 – 16:45* Pauza za kavu**

***16:45 – 18:00* Peti panel (moderator Snježana Gregurović)**
Izbjeglištvo kroz prizmu vjerskih učenja i praksi

• **Ivan Markešić** (Institut društvenih znanosti Ivo Pilar, Zagreb)
Recepcija poruka pape Franje o migrantima u crkvenoj i svjetovnoj javnosti u Republici Hrvatskoj

• **Drago Župarić-Iljić** (Institut za migracije i narodnosti, Zagreb)
“Svi smo prije svega ljudi“: odgovor vjerskih zajednica u Hrvatskoj na recentno stanje izbjeglištva

• **Marko-Antonio Brkić** (Sveučilište Hercegovina, Mostar)
Gostoljubivost kao socijalni kapital međureligijskoga dijaloga u Jugoistočnoj Europi

***18:00 – 18:30* Pauza za kavu**

***18:30 – 19:00* Završna diskusija (Dževad Jogunčić)**
Migracije, izbjeglištvo i međureligijski dijalog – koraci ka rješavanju krize?

***19:00 – 19:30* Zaključci simpozija i usvajanje dokumenta**
„(Pre)poruke sudionika simpozija Migracije stanovništva – fenomen izbjeglištva“

Saturday, 19 November 2016
Congress Hall of Islamic Center

***14:30 – 16:20* Panel 4 (moderator Darko Gavrilović)**

From transit routes to the need for integration

- **Danica Šantić** (Faculty of Geography, University of Belgrade, Belgrade)
Serbia in the Balkans migration route - what contemporary migration flows are saying about us?
- **Danilo Trbojević** (PhD candidate, Faculty of Philosophy, Belgrade)
Migrants in Serbia today: construction and interweaving of old and new stereotypes of “otherness”
- **Mersiha Smailovik** (NVO Legis, Skopje)
What refugee crisis has taught us through personal experience and through the work in the Macedonian NGO sector
- **Snježana Gregurović** (Institute for Migration and Ethnic Studies, Zagreb)
Multicultural policies in European societies: stumbling block for migrants’ integration?
- **Vera Klopčič** (Institute for Ethnic Studies, Ljubljana)
Multiculturalism and the integration of migrants in Slovenia

***16:20 – 16:45* Coffee break**

***16:45 – 18:00* Panel 5 (moderator Snježana Gregurović)**

Displacement through the prism of religious teachings and practices

- **Ivan Markešić** (Ivo Pilar Institute of Social Sciences, Zagreb)
The reception of Pope Francis’ message on migrants in church and secular public in the Republic of Croatia
- **Drago Župarić-Iljić** (Institute for Migration and Ethnic Studies, Zagreb)
“We are all human beings first of all”: response of Croatian religious communities to the recent state of refugees
- **Marko-Antonio Brkić** (Herzegovina University, Mostar)
Hospitality as a social capital of interreligious dialogue in Southeast Europe

***18:00 – 18:30* Coffee break**

***18:30 – 19:00* Final discussion (Dževad Jogunčić)**

Migration, refugeeism and interreligious dialogue - steps towards resolving the crisis?

***19:00 – 19:30* Symposium conclusions and adoption of the document**

‘Recommendations / Messages of participants of the symposium Migration Of Population – The Phenomenon Of Refugeeism’

POZVANA IZLAGANJA

izv. prof. dr. sc. **Hrvoje Jurić**

Znanstveni centar izvrsnosti za integrativnu bioetiku

Filozofski fakultet Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, Zagreb, Hrvatska

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Filozofijsko-etički aspekti izbjeglištva i migracija

Pitanje o ljudima koji su, iz ovih ili onih razloga, napustili svoj dom i traže privremeno boravište ili novi dom na nekom drugom mjestu tretira se ponajprije i ponajviše kao pravno, političko i ekonomsko pitanje. Međutim, njegovo pomnije razmatranje otkriva i druge neizostavne dimenzije, u prvom redu onu etičku. Etički aspekti individualnih i kolektivnih migracija nisu se, pak, pojavili kao tema filozofijskih rasprava tek s „izbjegličkim krizama“ u posljednjih nekoliko godina, nego se priloge za „etiku izbjeglištva i migracija“ može pronaći u cijeloj povijesti filozofije. Stoga je namjera ovog izlaganja da ponudi presjek filozofijsko-etičkih stajališta o ovoj problematici, istakne ona najznačajnija te pokaže što filozofija i etika nalažu da se čini danas u sudaru s fenomenom izbjeglištva i migracija, odnosno u susretu s izbjeglicama i migrantima.

Ključne riječi: izbjeglice, migranti, filozofija, etika, politika

KEYNOTE LECTURES

Hrvoje Jurić, PhD, Associate Professor

Centre of Excellence for Integrative Bioethics, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Zagreb, Zagreb, Croatia

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Philosophical-ethical aspects of the refugees and migrants' issues

The question about the people who, regardless of reasons, have left their homes and are seeking a refuge or a new home somewhere else is primarily and mostly treated as a legal, political, and economic question. However, a closer consideration of this issue reveals the other unavoidable dimensions of this problem, first and foremost – the ethical one. Ethical aspects of individual and collective migrations did not appear as a topic of philosophical discussions with the recent “refugee crises”; contributions to a “refugee and migrant ethics” can be found throughout the entire history of philosophy. Therefore, the aim of this presentation is to offer a review of philosophical-ethical views on these issues, to highlight the most important ones, and to present what philosophy and ethics regard as necessary demands in dealing with current phenomenon of refugees and migrants, i.e. in current encounters with refugees and migrants.

Key words: refugees, migrants, philosophy, ethics, politics

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Uzroci i posljedice emigracija

U ovom radu nastoje se dati odgovori na sljedeća pitanja: a) značenje termina emigracija (*mohājerat*) i uzroci njenog nastanka; b) dvije vrste emigracija: dobrovoljna i prinudna; c) posljedice dobrovoljne emigracije na zemlju iz koje se seli i na zemlju koja prihvata emigrante; d) je li emigracija suglasna ljudskoj prirodi ili je protivna iskonskim ljudskim željama?; e) na koji način se u sistemu prirode i Božanske mudrosti dijele bogatstva i ekonomski izvori?; f) ima li vjera opći program koji omogućava svim ljudima da se koriste prirodnim bogatstvima i privredom, ili pak vjera ova pitanja prepušta razumu da donese svoj sud, dok sama ne igra ozbiljnu ulogu u svemu tome? Ukoliko se na ova pitanja daju jasni znanstveni, logični i filozofski odgovori te ponudi jasna eksplikacija vjerskog pogleda na ova pitanja, moći ćemo, u smislu civilizacijskog i ljudskog dijaloga, na pozitivan način iskoristiti fenomen dobrovoljne emigracije, koja sama po sebi ima iznimno veliku vrijednost za napredak, evoluciju i razvoj ljudskih društava u njihovim ekonomskim, kulturnim, industrijskim i religijskim aspektima. Isto tako, uspjeh ćemo spriječiti i prisilne emigracije i osloboditi čovječanstvo ove sramotne pojave, koja nije ništa drugo do posljedica nasilja tlačitelja i prihvaćanja nasilja od strane emigranata. Ova vrsta skupova trebala bi biti na tragu spoznaje temeljnih korijena i pronalaska istinskih uzroka emigracija. Budemo li se vodili ovim motivom, tek tada ćemo moći dobrovoljnu emigraciju prihvatiti kao pojavu koja dovodi do pozitivnih promjena te evolucije i napretka društva. U tom smislu potrebno je uložiti maksimalan trud. S druge strane, bit će spriječene i prisilne emigracije koje sa sobom, naravno, nose gorke posljedice.

Ključne riječi: *mohājerat*, dobrovoljna migracija, prisilna emigracija, uzroci i posljedice emigracije, vjerski odgovor na emigraciju

KEYNOTE LECTURES

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Causes and consequences of emigration

This paper seeks to provide answers to the following questions: a) The meaning of the term emigration (*mohājerat*) and the causes of its origin, b) Two kinds of emigration: voluntary and forced, c) The consequences of voluntary emigration for the country from which one moves and for the country that accepts immigrants, d) Whether emigration is agreed to human nature or is contrary to the primordial human desires?, e) In what way are wealth and economic resources shared in the system of nature and divine wisdom?, f) Whether faith has a general program that allows all people to use natural resources and the economy, or does the faith leave these questions to reason to bring its judgment, whereas it does not play a serious role in all this? If these questions are given clear scientific, logical and philosophical answers and if clear explication of religious view on these issues is offered, we will be able, in terms of civilizational and human dialogue, to take advantage of the phenomenon of voluntary emigration in a positive way. Such emigration itself has a very high value for progress, evolution and development of human societies in their economic, cultural, industrial and religious aspects. Likewise, we will succeed in preventing forced emigration and releasing mankind from this shameful phenomenon, which is nothing else but result of the violence of the oppressor and the acceptance of violence by emigrants. This kind of meetings should be in line with the knowledge of fundamental roots and finding the true causes of emigration. If we are guided by this motive, only then we will be able to accept voluntary emigration as a phenomenon leading to positive changes as well as to evolution and progress of society. In this sense, it is necessary to invest maximum effort. On the other hand, forced emigrations, bearing bitter consequences with them, will be also prevented.

Key words: *mohājerat*, voluntary migration, forced emigration, causes and consequences of emigration, religious answers to emigration

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Ideologija, politika i ratno nasilje kao izvori prisilnih migracija

Simbolički poredak diskursa ideologije omogućava postojanje i reprodukciju nasilja. Masovni zločini nad civilima mogu postati normalizirani i široko prihvaćeni tek ako počinitelji nasilja koji vrše nasilje, i oni koji ga implicitno ili eksplicitno podržavaju, povjeruju da vršenje nasilja protiv drugih opravdava vjera u neki simbolički poredak višeg reda. Mnoge aktualne primjere opravdavanja ratnog nasilja, kao i mnoge primjere višedecenijskog negiranja, poricanja i odbacivanja svake odgovornosti za počinjeni zločin genocida, možemo pronaći u političkoj i diskurzivnoj istrajnosti same narativne strukture koja omogućava reprodukciju velikosrpske ideologije. Ta ideologija se institucionalno i medijski, pod zaštitnim znakom neoliberalizma i etno-matematičke demokracije i dalje nesmetano širi. Ta ideologija sa nesmanjenom žestinom aplicira se na „terenu“ – 20 godina nakon genocida u Srebrenici, genocida koji su u zadnjoj dekadi 20. stoljeća počinili srpska vojska i policija tokom rata protiv Republike Bosne i Hercegovine. U ovom radu polazimo od uvida da su potrebna holistička longitudinalna istraživanja globalnih i regionalnih uslova mogućnosti (ponovnog) izbivanja ratnog nasilja i genocida. Opći fokus rada je na: 1) mikrosociološkoj i simboličko-interakcionističkoj analizi značenja klanja ljudi; 2) makrosociološkoj analizi strateškog značenja silovanja i protjerivanja civila, odraslih i djece (u cilju normaliziranja prisilnih migracija i uspostavljanja tzv. „čistih kultura“ i „etnički čistih teritorija“), i 3) na potrebi refleksivnog razumijevanja detaljno obrazloženih diskurzivnih modela koji dovode, ili mogu dovesti, do produkcije i reprodukcije ratnog nasilja. Pouku našeg istraživanja, u okolnostima zabrinjavajuće eksplozije globalnih migracija, moguće je shvatiti ukoliko imamo u vidu globalni odnosno anticivilizacijski značaj ideološkoga, simboličkog i stvarnog nasilja sadržanog u nedovoljno promišljenom projektu stvaranja „etnički čistih teritorija“, naročito u kontekstu razumijevanja širih posljedica prisilnog premještanja stanovništva (tzv. „humanog preseljavanja naroda“) a što čini sastavni, ekrazitni dio, velikosrpske ideologije.

Ključne riječi: ideološka dimenzija rata, simbolička dimenzija rata, institucionalna analiza, kritička analiza diskursa, fenomenologija

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Ideology, politics and war violence as sources of forced migrations

The symbolic order of discourse of ideology actually enables the existence and reproduction of violence. Mass crimes on civilians may become normalized and widely accepted if perpetrators of violence who exert violence and those who implicitly and explicitly support it believe that exertion of violence on others is justified by belief in some symbolic higher order. Many current examples of justification of war violence, as well as many examples of decades of denying accountability for committed genocide crimes, may be found in political and discursive perseverance of Greater Serbian ideology. This ideology is expanding through institutions and media, under the trademark of neoliberalism and ethnomathematic democracy – and with undiminished severity applies in the field – 20 years after the genocide in Srebrenica which was committed in the last decade of the 20th century by Serbian army and police during the war against the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. In this paper, we start from the insight that we need holistic longitudinal researches of global and regional conditions of possibility for war violence and genocide to occur (again). The general focus of the paper is on (1) microsociological and symbolic-interactional analysis of the meaning of slaughtering people; (2) macrosociological analysis of strategic meaning of rape and persecution of civilians, adults and children (with an aim to normalize forced migrations and creation of so-called “pure cultures” and “ethnically pure territories”), and (3) on need of reflective understanding of thoroughly reasoned discursive models that lead, or may lead, to production and reproduction of war violence. The moral of our research – in the circumstances of troubling explosion of global migrations – is possible to understand if we take into account the global, that is anti-civilization, meaning of ideological, symbolic and actual violence contained in inadequately thought project of creation of “ethnically pure territories”, especially in the context of understanding broader consequences of forced migrations of population (so-called “humane migrations of people”), and the one which makes up the integral part of the Greater Serbian ideology.

Keywords: Ideological dimension of the war, symbolic dimension of the war, institutional analysis, critical analysis of discourse, phenomenology

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Migranti i izbjeglice: izazovi savjesti moderne Europe

Autor će u prvom dijelu rada dati pregled nekoliko izbjegličkih i migrantskih kriza u 20. stoljeću čije iskustvo bi moglo biti putokaz za rješavanje trenutne migrantske i izbjegličke krize. Drugi dio rada biti će fokusiran na suočavanje Europe sa vlastitim političkim izazovima koji su nastali na valovima krize kao što je s jedne strane jačanje ekstremnih desničarskih stranaka i povećani broj šovinističkih reakcija pojedinih europskih država na pojavu izbjeglica u Europi, a s druge suočavanje Europske unije s opstojnošću vlastitih vrijednosti kao što su multikulturalizam i tolerancija. U posljednjem dijelu rada autor će na osnovu predočenoga predložiti moguća rješenja za krizu i otvoriti mogućnost daljnjih promišljanja na zadanu temu.

Ključne riječi: migranti, izbjeglice, kriza, mržnja, multikulturalnost, stanovništvo

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Migrants and refugees: challenges of conscience of modern Europe

In the first part of the paper the author will give an overview of several refugee and migrant crises in the 20th century whose experience could be a guidepost for solving the current migrant and refugee crisis. The second part of the paper will be focused on the confrontation of Europe with its own political challenges arising on the waves of the crisis such as the strengthening of the extreme right-wing parties and the increased number of chauvinist reactions of some European countries to the emergence of refugees in Europe on the one hand, and the confrontation of the European Union with the persistence of its own values such as multiculturalism and tolerance on the other. In the last section the author will suggest possible solutions to the crisis and open the possibility of further reflections on a given topic.

Key words: migrants, refugees, crisis, hatred, multiculturalism, population

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Sličnosti i razlike imigracije u Evropi tokom 20. veka sa savremenom izbegličkom krizom

Opsednutost i strah stanovništva Evrope i njihovih političara od imigranata nije nov istorijski fenomen. Pošto je u pojedinim državama ova pojava mnogo starija od današnje krize koja potkopava temelje Evropske unije, zanimljivo je osvrnuti se na različite oblike migracija ljudi koji su u prethodnom veku zapljuskivali bogate države starog kontinenta. Načini delovanja ovih država u datom periodu na slične nacionalne i kulturne izazove mogu pružiti dragoceno iskustvo za prevazilaženje današnjih problema. Ipak, mnogi teoretičari smatraju da su raniji useljenici, za razliku od današnjih, pripadali istom ili bliskom kulturnom području sa državama domaćinima, i da samim time ovakva metodologija nije primenljiva. Ova tvrdnja samo je naizgled tačna. Naime, početkom XX veka nacionalni identiteti stvarali su sličan ili veći jaz među narodima od današnje 'hungtintonovske' podele sveta na međusobno suprotstavljene civilizacije. Stoga autor smatra da za ovu problematiku simbioza izučavanja prošlosti i sadašnjosti može izroditi određena rešenja. Takođe, u radu je autor otvorio i dva pitanja: da li evropski političari pod integracijom podrazumevaju i asimilaciju? Možda „judeo-hrišćanski“ pogled na svet treba obogatiti i muslimanskim.

Ključne reči: imigranti, kriza, islam, integracija, Evropa, identitet, siromaštvo, rat

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Similarities and differences in immigration in Europe during the 20th century with contemporary refugee crisis

Obsession and fear of the population of Europe and their politicians of the immigrants is not a new historical phenomenon. Since this phenomenon is much older in some countries than the present crisis that undermines the foundations of the European Union, it is interesting to reflect on the different forms of population migration which splashed against the rich countries of the old continent in the previous century. Operating modes of these countries in a given period to similar national and cultural challenges can provide valuable experience to overcome the current problems. However, many scholars believe that the early immigrants, unlike today ones, belonged to the same or very close cultural area to the host countries, and therefore this methodology is not applicable. This statement is only seemingly correct. Namely, at the beginning of the 20th century national identities created a similar or even greater gap between the peoples than today's "Hungrinton's" division of the world into mutually antagonistic civilizations. Consequently, the author believes that the symbiosis between the study of the past and present can provide certain solutions. In this paper the author has also opened two questions: do European politicians also imply assimilation under integration? Maybe "Judeo-Christian" view of the world should be enriched with a Muslim one as well.

Key words: immigrants, crisis, Islam, integration, Europe, identity, poverty, war

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„Krimigrantski“ odgovori na (tranzitnu) migraciju kroz Jugoistočnu Europu

Područje Jugoistočne Europe obuhvaća raznolike zemlje koje su članice Europske unije i zemlje kandidatkinje ili potencijalne kandidatkinje za članstvo u Europskoj uniji. Sve te zemlje uskladile su ili su u procesu usklađivanja svojih nacionalnih pravnih sustava o kontroli granica, azila i povratka. U nekim aspektima taj proces ulijeva nadu osobama u migracijskim i azilnim procedurama za dobivanje azila i osiguranje viših proceduralnih standarda, ali istovremeno olakšava i uvođenje niza krimizacijskih elemenata kojih ranije nije bilo ni u jednoj od tih zemalja (postavljanje novih detencijskih centara, provođenje postupaka vraćanja/deportacije, kažnjavanje migranata za nezakoniti ulazak ili tranzit, itd.). Dakle, učinak je harmonizacije dvostruk – migrantima pruža mogućnosti, ali im stvara i ogromne teškoće pri ostanku ili tranzitu kroz te zemlje prema Sjevernoj ili Zapadnoj Europi (zbog strože granične kontrole te obavezne identifikacije i registracije migranata u tim zemljama). Razlozi za taj sve restriktivniji sustav nazvan krimigracija proi-
zlaze, s jedne strane, iz istinske zabrinutosti za nacionalnu sigurnost i isključenje, a s druge iz puke praktičnosti.

Ključne riječi: krimigracija, azil, migracija, Jugoistočna Europa, članstvo u Europskoj uniji

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”Crimmigrant” responses to (transit) migration in Southeastern Europe

Southeastern Europe is a region involving a mixture of countries that are EU member states and candidate or prospective candidate countries for the EU membership. Both groups of countries harmonized, or are in the process of harmonization of their national legal systems with the EU rules on border control, asylum and return. In some aspects this process brought prospects for obtaining asylum and secured higher procedural standards for persons involved in migration and asylum procedures, but at the same time it also facilitated introduction of a number of crimmigration elements that have not existed before in all of these countries (setting up new detention centers, carrying out return procedures/deportations, penalization of migrants for irregular entry and transit, etc.). The impact of harmonization is therefore two-fold – while it is bringing opportunities, it is also making it increasingly difficult for migrants to either stay or transit these countries in order to reach Northern or Western Europe (due to stricter border control as well as migrant identification and registration obligations of these countries). The reasons for this increasingly restrictive framework, which has been named ”crimmigration”, derive from genuine national security concerns and exclusion on the one hand to pure convenience on the other hand.

Keywords: crimmigration, asylum, migration, Southeastern Europe, EU membership

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Tražitelji azila u migrantskoj populaciji Europske unije (2014. - 2016.): prema tipologiji zemalja tražitelja azila

Zemlje podrijetla tražitelja azila prema intenzitetu vojnih sukoba mogu se podijeliti na pet kategorija: zemlje vrlo visokog, visokog, srednjeg, niskog i vrlo niskog intenziteta sukoba (uključujući i zemlje bez vojnih sukoba). Navedena kategorizacija predstavlja inverznu skalu Global peace indexa (2016). Na temelju kvantitativnih podataka UNHCR-a autori su u radu analizirali povezanost intenziteta vojnih sukoba i broja tražitelja azila iz određenih zemalja koji su u razdoblju od 2014. do 2016. podnijeli zahtjev za azilom u državama članicama Europske unije. Razdoblje 2014.- 2016. odabrano je iz razloga što je na taj način obuhvaćeno razdoblje neposredno prije naglog povećanja broja zahtjeva za azilom tijekom 2015. i razdoblje nakon toga. Uz navedeno analizirana je i frekvencija traženja azila osoba iz država podrijetla (prema predloženoj kategorizaciji intenziteta vojnih sukoba) u određitim zemljama. Rezultati analize potvrđuju da tražitelji azila preferiraju ekonomski stabilnije zemlje Europske unije. Riječ je o zemljama u kojima već postoje brojne migrantske zajednice što također utječe na odabir zemalja u kojima se podnose zahtjevi za azilom. Značajan segment populacije tražitelja azila dolazi iz država koje nisu izložene ratnim razaranjima što upućuje da se među motivima odabira zemlje podnošenja zahtjeva za azilom mogu kriti i oni ekonomske i socijalne prirode.

Ključne riječi: Europska unija, UNHCR, tražitelji azila, Global peace index

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Asylum seekers in the migrant population of the EU (2014 - 2016): according to the typology of the asylum seekers' countries

Countries of origin of asylum seekers by the intensity of military conflicts can be divided into five categories: countries with very high, high, medium, low and very low intensity of conflict (including the countries without military conflicts). The above categorization represents the inverse scale of the Global Peace Index (2016). In this paper the authors have analysed, based on the UNHCR quantitative data, the connection between the intensity of military conflicts and the number of asylum seekers from certain countries who in the period from 2014 to 2016 applied for asylum in the EU Member States. The period 2014-2016 was chosen because in this way the period just before the sudden increase in the number of asylum applications during 2015 and the period thereafter has been covered. In addition, the authors have analysed the frequency of asylum seeking persons from the countries of origin (by the proposed categorization of intensity of military conflict) in destination countries. Results of the analysis confirm that asylum seekers prefer economically stable countries in the European Union. These are the countries in which there have already been numerous migrant communities and this also affects the selection of the countries to apply for asylum. A significant part of the population of asylum seekers comes from the countries not exposed to war destructions and this indicates that the motives for choosing the country to apply for asylum may hide those of economic and social nature as well.

Key words: European Union, UNHCR, asylum seekers, Global peace index

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Politički diskurs o migrantskoj krizi u Evropskoj uniji i na Zapadnom Balkanu

Ovaj rad ima za cilj da analizira uticaj izbjegličke krize na politički diskurs zemalja u Evropskoj uniji i u zemljama „Balkanske rute“. Stoga će fokus biti stavljen na region Zapadnog Balkana, koji je dodatno suočen sa velikim brojem socijalnih, političkih i sigurnosnih pitanja u vezi sa ogromnim brojem neregistrovanih izbjeglica koji putuju kroz njihove teritorije. Zemlje, koje zbog strukturnih i finansijskih ograničenja, imaju limitirane kapacitete da se nose sa smještajem i zbrinjavanjem izbjeglica, suočene su sa dilemom da neki tražitelji azila nisu prihvaćeni u željenoj zemlji odredišta i da su vraćeni u države zapadnog Balkana. U odnosu na države članice EU, koje se graniče sa područjem zapadnog Balkana, od izuzetnog značaja je da se spriječi destabilizacija regiona u društvenim i političkim uslovima i da se očuva socijalna kohezija. Prema tome, pitanje kakve su posljedice pitanja migranata na politički sistem zemalja Zapadnog Balkana i u državama EU i članica EU u cjelini, aktuelna su i validna. U radu ćemo se osvrnuti na politički diskurs na nivou političara, kao i u široj javnosti o pitanjima migranata. Takođe će biti adresirana i pitanja o tome kako istorijska pozadina, dosadašnja iskustva, ali i odgovarajući politički kontekst utiče na ovaj diskurs. Kako i na koji način se šira javnost suočava sa migrantima i kako se percipira to iskustvo? Kako se pitanje migranata koristi i za koga, i šta se time postiže? Koji argumenti i zaključci su izvedeni u odnosu na izbjegličku krizu? Od samog početka izbjegličke krize, ova se situacija treba posmatrati na tri nivoa: na nivou EU, na regionalnom nivou (region Zapadnog Balkana) i nacionalnom nivou. Sva ova tri nivoa su važni i svi su povezani. Jedna od ključnih preporuka je kontinuirani dijalog na najvišem nivou zemalja Zapadnog Balkana, kao i usklađivanje politika i napora za utvrđivanjem donje linije i proaktivne politike u kontekstu procesa EU integracija.

Ključne riječi: politički diskurs, migrantska kriza, izbjeglice, Zapadni Balkan, Evropska unija

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Political discourse on the migrant crisis in the EU and the Western Balkans

This paper aims to analyse the impact of the refugee crisis on the political discourse of countries in the EU and in the countries of the “Balkans route”. Therefore, the focus will be placed on the Western Balkans region, which is additionally faced with a number of social, political and security issues related to the huge number of unregistered refugees who travel through their territory. The countries, that due to structural and financial constraints have limited capacity to deal with the placement and care of refugees, are faced with the dilemma that some asylum seekers have not been accepted in the country of destination have been returned to the countries of the Western Balkans. In relation to EU Member States bordering the Western Balkans, it is very important to prevent the destabilization of the region in social and political terms and to preserve social cohesion. Thus, the question of the consequences of migrants’ issues on the political system of the Western Balkans as well as on the EU countries and EU member states as a whole, are current and valid. In this paper we will look at the political discourse at the level of politicians and the general public on issues of migrants. Questions about how the historical background, previous experiences, but also the appropriate political context affect this discourse, will also be addressed. How and in what way the general public is faced with migrants and how they perceive this experience? How the issue of migrants is to be used, for whom and what it results in? What arguments and conclusions are drawn in relation to the refugee crisis? From the very beginning of the refugee crisis, this situation can be seen at three levels: at the EU level, at the regional level (Western Balkans region) and national level. All three levels are important and they are all interconnected. One of the key recommendations is a continuous dialogue at the highest level of the Western Balkans states, as well as the harmonization of policies and efforts for establishing the bottom line and pro-active policy in the context of EU integration process.

Key words: political discourse, migrant crisis, refugees, the Western Balkans, EU

IZLAGANJA U SESIJAMA – PANEL 2

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Migrantska kriza iz ugla stanovništva Srbije

Nizom protesta u zemljama Severne Afrike i Bliskog Istoka, krajem 2010. godine, započelo je Arapsko proleće. Libija, Sirija i Egipat su prošle kroz niz događajakoji su ostavili trajne posledice po ekonomiju i politiku ovih zemalja. Sukobi su uticali da milioni ljudi napuste svoje zemlje. Republika Srbija je jedna od zemalja na „balkanskoj ruti” kojom izbeglice sa Bliskog Istoka migriraju u zemlje Zapadne i Severne Evrope. Među ovim ljudima se nalaze izbeglice koje beže iz ratom razorene Sirije i severnog Iraka, ali i ekonomski migranti. Iz Sirije, iz koje je najveći broj izbeglica koji prolaze „balkanskom rutom”, u razdoblju od 2011. do maja 2016. ukupno je izbeglo više od četiri miliona ljudi. Sirijci predstavljaju najveću nacionalnu grupu koja migrira u Evropu. Polovina 2015. godine uzima se kao prelomni momenat u kom Republika Srbija počinje da beleži pojačane aktivnosti na granicama, prelazak i po više stotina migranata i izbeglica dnevno. Cilj istraživanja je ispitivanje lokalnog stanovništva iz Republike Srbije prema izbeglicama iz Sirije, kao i njihovo generalno znanje o toj zemlji. Istraživanje je sprovedeno elektronskim putem i dobijen je uzorak od 357 ispitanika. Rezultati istraživanja su pokazali da je stav ispitanika stanovnika Srbije ka migrantima iz Sirije generalno pozitivan. Takođe, za potrebe rada sproveden je dubinski intervju sa tri osobe koje su zaposlene u Komesarijatu za izbeglice i migracije u prihvatnom centru za izbeglice u Subotici u cilju dobijanja detaljnijih informacija o problemima sa kojima sa izbegla lica suočavaju.

Ključne reči: lokalno stanovništvo, migranti, Sirija, Srbija

PANEL SESSIONS – PANEL 2

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Migrant crisis from the perspective of the population in Serbia

The Arab Spring began in the countries of North Africa and the Middle East in late 2010 with a series of protests. Libya, Syria and Egypt underwent a series of events that have left lasting consequences for the economy and politics of these countries. The conflicts have affected millions of people to leave their countries. The Republic of Serbia is one of the countries on the “Balkan route” across which refugees from the Middle East migrate to the countries of Western and Northern Europe. Among these people there are refugees fleeing from war-torn Syria and northern Iraq, as well as economic migrants. The largest number of refugees passing “Balkan route” are from Syria. In the period from 2011 to May 2016 more than four million people in total fled from this country. Syrians are the biggest national group migrating into Europe. 2015 mid-year is taken as a turning point in which the Republic of Serbia started to record increased activity at the borders, and the crossing of hundreds of migrants and refugees daily. The aim of the research was to study the local population in the Republic of Serbia concerning the refugees from Syria, as well as their general knowledge about this country. The survey was conducted electronically and a sample of 357 respondents was obtained. The results showed that the attitude of the Serbian population respondents towards migrants from Syria was generally positive. Also, for the purposes of this paper, in-depth interviews with three persons employed at the Commissariat for Refugees and Migration at the reception center for refugees in Subotica was conducted in order to obtain more detailed information about the problems the refugees face.

Key words: local population, migrants, Syria, Serbia

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Odgovor Abdenmour Bidaru na njegovo „otvoreno pismo muslimanskom svijetu“

U ovom radu, koji će ovaj put imati formu odgovora na jedno otvoreno pismo (francuskog filozofa Abdenmour Bidara), govorit će se o migrantskoj krizi kao dijelu mozaika „Kadriranja islama“ od strane svjetskih sila koje imaju „monopol na nemoral i nasilje“. Riječ je o tekstu koji iz pozicije nemoći i osuđenosti običnog muslimana (koji bježi od bombi, plaćenika ili vlastitih diktatorskih režima – produžene ruke geostrateških interesa velikih sila), želi progovoriti o osudama islama od strane onog dijela islamske intelektualne stvarnosti koja je nasjela na medijsku „proizvodnju pristanka“ i sliku koju globalno odašiljaju suvremeni masovni mediji.

Ključne riječi: Abdenmour Bidar, „Kadriranje islama“, izbjeglištvo, geostrateški interesi

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Reply to Abdennour Bidar to his “open letter to the Muslim world”

This paper, in the form of the reply to an open letter (of the French philosopher Abdennour Bidar), will deal with the migrant crisis as part of the mosaic “framing Islam” by the world powers having “monopoly on immorality and violence”. It is a text which from the position of powerlessness and condemnation of an ordinary Muslim (running away from bombs, mercenaries or his own dictatorial regimes – extended hands of the great power geostrategic interests), wants to speak about condemnations of Islam by the part of Islamic intellectual reality that fell victim to deception of the media “manufacturing consent” and the image globally transmitted by contemporary mass media.

Key words: Abdennour Bidar, “framing of islam“, refugeeness, geostrategic interests

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Poljski imigranti u Iranu tijekom Drugoga svjetskog rata

Drugi svjetski rat, kao i bilo koji drugi vojni sukob, uzrokovao je masivnu migraciju civila, uključujući Poljake čiju državu su anektirali nacistička Njemačka i Sovjetski Savez nakon pakta tih dvaju država 1939. (tzv. Ribbentrop-Molotov pakt). Sovjeti su deportirali poljske stanovnike svog novostečenog teritorija u istočna područja SSSR-a: Ural, Sibir i Kazahstan. Deportirane osobe živjele su u užasnim uvjetima radeći u radnim logorima, i mnogi su umrli od umora, izgladnjivanja ili bolesti. Nakon njemačkog napada na SSSR u srpnju 1941., poljska vlada u egzilu, koju je predstavljao Wladyslaw Sikorski, i sovjetski ambasador u Ujedinjenom Kraljevstvu, Ivan Mayski, potpisali su sporazum (poznat kao Sikorsky-Mayski sporazum) koji je naložio amnestiju poljskim zatvorenicima i stvaranje poljske vojske u SSSR-u. Međutim, Sovjeti, koji su ratovali protiv Njemačke, nisu mogli pružiti dovoljno hrane i lijekova teško pothranjenim i bolesnim ljudima pa su dogovorili njihovu evakuaciju u Iran koji su nešto ranije pokorili Britanci i SSSR. Evakuacija je provedena u dva navrata. Prvi je bio 24. ožujka 1942. U sedam dana više od 30.000 vojnog osoblja i 11.000 djece napustilo je Krasnovodsk i zaputilo se morem za Pahlavi. Druga se evakuacija odvijala između kolovoza i rujna 1942. – više od 43.000 vojnika i 25.000 civila otplovalo je preko Kaspijskog jezera u Iran. Ukupni broj evakuiranih iznosio je 115.742 osobe, od kojih 78.470 vojnika i 37.272 civila. Od njih je 90% bilo poljskog podrijetla, a ostali su bili uglavnom Židovi. Važno je istaknuti kako su Iranci, iako im je zemlja bila okupirana i u teškoj ekonomskoj situaciji, napravili sve kako bi lijepo primili Poljake. Usto što su im ispunili osnovne potrebe za prehranom, medicinskom brigom i krovom nad glavom, otvorili su i škole na poljskom jeziku, udruge, dućane i pokrenuli tiskovine. Predavanje će se fokusirati na poljske izbjeglice u Iranu tokom Drugog svjetskog rata. Predočit će povijesnu pozadinu evakuacije, opisati dnevni život izbjeglica u Iranu i pokazati njihovu sudbinu nakon rata. Također će raspravljati o modernim tragovima i svjedočanstvima o migracijama, kao što je nedavno objavljena knjiga Parise Damandan „Djeca Esfahana“.

Ključne riječi: Drugi svjetski rat, poljske izbjeglice, Iran, evakuacija

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Polish immigrants in Iran during the Second World War

The Second World War, as well as any other military conflict, caused a massive migration of civilians, including Poles, whose country was annexed by Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union after a pact between these two countries in 1939 (the so-called Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact). The Soviets deported Polish residents from their newly acquired territory to the eastern regions of the USSR: Ural, Siberia and Kazakhstan. Deported persons lived in appalling conditions working in labor camps, and many died from exhaustion, starvation or disease. After the German attack on the Soviet Union in July 1941, the Polish government in exile, represented by Władysław Sikorski and the Soviet ambassador in the United Kingdom, John Mayski, signed an agreement (known as the Sikorski-Mayski agreement) which provided amnesty for Polish prisoners and the creation of Polish army in the USSR. However, the Soviets, who fought against Germany, were unable to provide enough food and medicine to severely malnourished and sick people, so they arranged their evacuation in Iran, which had earlier been conquered by the British and the Soviet Union. In seven days, more than 30,000 military personnel and 11,000 children left Krasnovodsk and headed by sea to Pahlavi. The second evacuation took place between August and September 1942: more than 43,000 soldiers and 25,000 civilians sailed across the Caspian Sea to Iran. The total number of evacuees amounted to 115,742 persons, of whom 78,470 soldiers and 37,272 civilians. The majority of them (90%) were of Polish origin, and the rest were mostly Jews. It is important to point out that the Iranians, although their country was occupied and in the difficult economic situation, made everything to nicely receive the Poles. Besides fulfilling their basic needs for food, medical care and shelter, they also opened schools in Polish, then associations, shops and launched press. The presentation will focus on the Polish refugees in Iran during the Second World War. It will show the historical background of evacuation, describe the daily life of refugees in Iran and depict their fate after the war. It will also discuss the modern traces and testimonies of migration, such as the recently published book by Parise Damandan "Children of Esfahan".

Key words: Second World War, Polish refugees, Iran, evacuation

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Iransko iskustvo sa stranim migrantima

Nakon propasti njemačko-sovjetskog sporazuma 1941. Staljin je, da bi spriječio napredovanje Nijemaca, zatražio pomoć od generala Władysława Andersa, izgnanoga poljskog vojnog zapovjednika koji je ranije uz Staljinovu pomoć formirao poljsku vladu u egzilu. Ta je suradnja rezultirala izlaskom vojnih snaga pod Andersovim zapovjedništvom iz Rusije preko iranskog teritorija. Ta je vojska trebala preko Irana doći u Irak i tamo se priključiti engleskim trupama, a onda, nakon obuke u Palestini, krenuti prema europskom ratištu. Njemački napad na Sovjetski Savez omogućio je Poljacima da se izbave iz Staljinovih logora. Tada više nije bilo ni spomenutoga njemačko-sovjetskog sporazuma i Poljaci su smatrani sovjetskim prijateljima. Nakon Andersovog dogovora sa sovjetskim rukovodstvom počelo je iseljavanje oko 115 tisuća Poljaka prema Iranu i dalje ka Palestini, Sjevernoj i Južnoj Africi i drugdje. Te 1941. kao i naredne godine u Iran je doselilo više od 300 tisuća Poljaka, da bi dio njih otišao u Palestinu i afričke zemlje, a više od 150 tisuća ostalo je živjeti u Iranu do kraja Drugoga svjetskog rata. U ovom radu istražujemo i analiziramo način postupanja iranskih vlasti i uopće iranskog društva prema poljskim migrantima tijekom Drugoga svjetskog rata, ali i nakon njega. Iransko iskustvo susretanja sa stranim doseljenicima ima dugu tradiciju. Iranci su odvajkada ugošćavali izbjeglice, prognanike i doseljenike iz drugih krajeva. I danas u Iranu živi više od dva milijuna izbjeglica i migranta iz Afganistana, Pakistana, Tadžikistana, Turkmenistana i drugih država. Odnos iranskog društva prema tim ljudima i sposobnost njihova prihvaćanja uvjetovani su drevnom kulturom i bogatom poviješću Irana koji je uvijek bio sigurno utočište za susjedne narode koje bi ratne i druge katastrofe nagnale na bijeg sa svojih ognjišta.

Ključne riječi: poljski migranti, Sovjetski Savez, Iran, Drugi svjetski rat

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Iran's experience with foreign migrants

After the fall of the German-Soviet agreement of 1941, Stalin, in order to prevent progression of the Germans, asked for help from General Wladyslaw Anders, exiled Polish military commander who had earlier formed the Polish government in exile with the help of Stalin. This co-operation resulted in the exit of military forces under Anders' command from Russia through the Iranian territory. This army should have come to Iraq through Iran to join the English troops there, and then, after training in Palestine, move towards a European battlefield. German attack on the Soviet Union allowed the Poles to get out of Stalin's camps. At that time the previously mentioned German-Soviet agreement did not exist any more and Poles were considered Soviet friends. After Anders' arrangement with the Soviet leadership, about 115,000 Poles started to emigrate to Iran and further to Palestine, North and South Africa and elsewhere. In 1941 and 1942 more than 300,000 Poles immigrated to Iran and some of them went to Palestine and African countries, while more than 150,000 stayed in Iran until the end of the Second World War. In this paper we examine and analyze how Iranian authorities and Iranian society in general treated Polish immigrants during the Second War and after it. The Iranian experience of meeting with foreign immigrants has a long tradition. From ancient times Iranians have entertained refugees, exiles and immigrants from other parts. Nowadays there are more than two million refugees and migrants from Afghanistan, Pakistan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and other countries in Iran. The attitude of the Iranian society towards these people and the ability of their acceptance are conditioned by the ancient culture and rich history of Iran, which has always been a safe haven for neighboring nations that were compelled to flee from their homes due to war and other disasters.

Key words: Polish immigrants, Soviet Union, Iran, World War II

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Prisilna repatrijacija afganistanskih izbjeglica: slučaj Pakistana

Nakon američke invazije na Afganistan krajem 2001. pakistanske su vlasti, uz pomoć UNHCR-a, pokrenule plan za postupnu repatrijaciju afganistanskih izbjeglica. Od 2002. do 2015. UNHCR je pružio pomoć u repatrijaciji više od 3,9 milijuna afganistanskih izbjeglica koje su boravile u Pakistanu. Taj program repatrijacije pohvaljen je kao najveći dobrovoljni program repatrijacije u povijesti UNHCR-a. Cilj je ovoga rada analizirati potisno-privlačne mjere protiv afganistanskih izbjeglica koje su provodile pakistanske vlasti nakon 11. rujna 2001. i tako pokazati da su te mjere stvorile okolnosti za nedobrovoljni povratak u Afganistan. Rad je podijeljen na pet dijelova. U prvom dijelu će se analizirati niz represivnih mjera koje su upotrijebile pakistanske snage sigurnosti kako bi prisilile afganistanske izbjeglice da se vrate u svoju zemlju porijekla. U fokusu drugog dijela rada nalazi se pravni okvir koji je afganistanskim izbjeglicama uskratilo potrebnu pravnu zaštitu prije i tijekom repatrijacije. Treći dio analizira mjere koje su potkopale materijalnu sigurnost afganistanskih izbjeglica u Pakistanu. U četvrtom dijelu autorica se usredotočuje na taktiku koju su primijenile pakistanske vlasti kako bi među pakistanskim stanovništvom potaknule negativne osjećaje prema izbjeglicama. Uzimajući u obzir sve te mjere i taktike autorica će pokazati da su one negativno utjecale na tri osnovne komponente dobrovoljnih povratka, odnosno na fizičku, pravnu i materijalnu sigurnost izbjeglica. U posljednjem petom dijelu zaključuje se da su potisno-povratne mjere koje su provele pakistanske vlasti spriječile slobodan izbor afganistanskih izbjeglica u razmišljanju da se vrate ili ne vrate u svoju zemlju porijekla. Usto autorica također želi pokazati da su te mjere prisilile afganistanske izbjeglice na repatrijaciju u uvjetima koji im nisu osigurali sigurnost i dostojanstvo.

Ključne riječi: izbjeglice Afganistanci, Pakistan, UNHCR, dobrovoljni povratak, mjere potiskivanja, nametnuti povratak

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The forced repatriation of Afghan refugees: the case of Pakistan

After the US-led invasion of Afghanistan in late 2001, the Pakistani authorities, assisted by UNHCR, initiated a plan for a phased repatriation of Afghan refugees. From 2002 to 2015, the UNHCR provided assistance in the repatriation of more than 3.9 million Afghan refugees residing in Pakistan. This repatriation program has been hailed as the largest voluntary repatriation program in UNHCR's history. The objective of this paper is to analyse push-back measures against Afghan refugees implemented by the Pakistani authorities in the post-9/11 era, and, consequently, to show that these measures created circumstances for involuntary returns to Afghanistan. The paper will be divided in five parts. In the first part, I will analyse a range of repressive measures used by Pakistani security forces so as to coerce Afghan refugees to return to their country of origin. In the second part, I will focus on the legal framework that denied Afghan refugees the necessary legal protection before and during repatriation. In the third part, I will analyse measures that undermined the material safety of Afghan refugees in Pakistan. In the fourth part, I will focus on the tactics employed by Pakistani authorities to encourage anti-refugee sentiment among the Pakistani population. By taking into consideration all these measures and tactics, I will show that they negatively impacted on the three core components of voluntary returns, that is, the physical, legal, and material safety of refugees. In the last, fifth part, I will argue that the push-back measures adopted by the Pakistani authorities prevented Afghan refugees from exercising a free choice while contemplating whether or not to return to their country of origin. In addition, I will show that these measures forced Afghan refugees to repatriate in conditions that did not ensure their safety and dignity.

Key words: Afghan refugees, Pakistan, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, "voluntary repatriations", push-back measures, imposed returns

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Iseljavanje (hidžret) Bošnjaka u Tursku krajem XIX stoljeća – šerijatskopравни pogled bosanske uleme

Austro-ugarskom okupacijom Bosne i Hercegovine 1878. godine Bošnjaci prelaze pod utjecaj za njih sasvim nove civilizacije i novog načina života. Okupacija je imala veoma velike, kako društveno-političke, tako i kulturne i vjerske posljedice za Bošnjake (muslimane). Preko islamske vjerske tradicije Bošnjaci su na „granicu” svjetova, kultura i civilizacija izgradili i specifičan društveni način života. Poremećaj kontinuiteta sa prošlošću bio je veoma radikaln, dok je budućnost bila neizvjesna i nesigurna. Islam, koji je bio važna odrednica Bošnjaka i koji im je stoljećima davao snažan osjećaj identiteta, kako sa ukupnim ummetom na čelu sa halifom, tako i sa vlastitim tлом, Bosnom, bio je marginaliziran novim načinom života koji je postao preovlađujući. Dio bosanske uleme odbio je živjeti pod vlašću kršćanskog vladara smatrajući da je to u suprotnosti sa šerijatskopравnim shvatanjima islamskih temeljnih principa. S druge strane, postojala je i ulema koja je potpuno suprotno tumačila ove probleme insistirajući na „islamskom“ znanju, tvrdeći da se Kur’ānski tekst ne može čitati i tumačiti bez uvažavanja društvenog konteksta. I drugi mnogobrojni razlozi bili su uzrokom iseljavanja Bošnjaka u Tursku. Vrlo jak motiv iseljavanja bilo je i višestoljetno iskustvo balkanskih muslimana koji su prognani s osmanskih prostora u Evropi koje su zauzele evropske kršćanske zemlje. Bošnjaci su s razlogom strahovali da i njih ne zadesi ista sudbina.

Ključne riječi: šerijat(sko) pravo, hidžret, iseljavanje, ulema, Bosna

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Emigration (hijrat) of Bosniaks to Turkey at the end of the 19th century Sharia legal view of the Bosnian ulema

By Austro-Hungarian occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1878, Bosniaks came under the influence of a completely new civilization and a new way of life. The occupation has had very large socio-political as well as cultural and religious consequences for Bosniaks (Muslims). Through the Islamic religious tradition, the Bosniaks built a specific social way of life on the “border” of worlds, cultures and civilizations. Disruption of continuity with the past was very radical, and the future was uncertain and insecure. Islam, which was an important determinant of Bosniaks and which gave them a strong sense of identity for centuries, as with the total Ummah led by Khalifa, as well as from their own soil, Bosnia, was marginalized by a new way of life that has prevailed. Part of the Bosnian ulema refused to live under the rule of the Christian ruler, considering it contrary to the Sharia and legal understandings of the Islamic fundamental principles. On the other hand, there was the ulema that interpreted these problems completely contrary by insisting on “Islamic” knowledge, claiming that the Qur’anic text can not be read and interpreted without taking into account the social context. However, numerous other reasons caused the emigration of Bosniaks to Turkey. A very strong emigration motive was centuries-long experience of the Balkan Muslims who had been expelled from the Ottoman territory in Europe which was then taken by European Christian countries. Bosniaks feared with good reason that they would not suffer the same fate.

Key words: Sharia law, hijrat, emigration, ulema Bosnia

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Bošnjački muhadžerski pokreti i naselja u Makedoniji

Nakon što je odlukama Berlinskog kongresa Austro-Ugarska dobila pravo okupacije Bosne i Hercegovine, te nakon što su Srbija i Crna Gora oružjem pripojile do tada jedinstveni Novopazarski sandžak, došlo je do migracionog egzodusa bošnjačkog stanovništva s ovih prostora. Bitno stanište bošnjačkog muhadžerluka bio je prostor Makedonije. Iseljavanje Bošnjaka odvijalo se u nekoliko valova, a počelo je nakon okupacije, kada je bošnjačko stanovništvo iskazalo nezadovoljstvo dolaskom novog gospodara, pa je počelo iseljavati iz Bosne i Hercegovine. Putevi su vodili preko Kosovskog vilajeta i Makedonije, u kojoj se u periodu od 1875. do 1881. godine našao veliki broj muhadžira iz Bosne i Hercegovine, Bugarske i novoprijojenih krajeva Srbije i Crne Gore. Iseljavanje Bošnjaka sa područja Bosne i Hercegovine i Sandžaka bilo je izraženo nakon aneksije Bosne i Hercegovine (1908.) i u vrijeme balkanskih ratova (1912.-1913.). Egzodus Bošnjaka s početka 20. stoljeća nastavljen je u vrijeme monarhističke i socijalističke Jugoslavije. To predstavlja jednu od najtežih epizoda u neizvjesnom muhadžirskom pokretu, koji je zahvatio cjelokupnu islamsku populaciju na Balkanu, gdje je prostor Makedonije bio zamišljen kao privremeno stanište, ali je spletom historijskih okolnosti postao njihovo trajno stanište. Posljedice bošnjačkih muhadžerskih pokreta bile su ogromne. Oni su dramatično promijenili geografsku, političku i etničku strukturu čitavog Balkana. Brojni društveni, politički i drugi procesi učinili su da je danas enklavna bošnjačka zajednica u Makedoniji dezorijentirana i prepuštena laganoj asimilaciji, bez značajnije povezanosti sa svojom maticom Bosnom i Hercegovinom.

Ključne riječi: Bosna i Hercegovina, Bošnjaci, iseljavanja, muhadžerluk, Makedonija

PANEL SESSIONS – PANEL 3

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Bosniak Muhajirun movements and settlements in Macedonia

After the decisions of the Berlin Congress, Austria-Hungary received the right to the occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and after Serbia and Montenegro annexed by that time a unique Sanjak of Novi Pazar by arms, there has been a migration exodus of Bosniak population from these areas. The main residence of Bosniak emigrants was the territory of Macedonia. The emigration of Bosniaks took place in several waves, and started after the occupation, when the Bosniak population expressed dissatisfaction with the arrival of a new master and started to emigrate from Bosnia and Herzegovina. The roads led through the Kosovo Vilayet and Macedonia, where, according to some data, there were vast numbers of Muhajirun from Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria and newly annexed parts of Serbia and Montenegro in the period from 1875 to 1881. There was a significant emigration of Bosniaks from Bosnia and Herzegovina and Sanjak after the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (1908) and during the Balkan wars (1912-1913). The exodus of Bosniaks from the early 20th century continued during the monarchist and the socialist Yugoslavia. It is one of the most difficult episodes in the uncertain Muhajirun movement that spread to the entire Islamic population in the Balkans, with the territory of Macedonia designed as a temporary residence, but the historical circumstances turned it into their permanent residence. The consequences of Bosniak Muhajirun movements were huge. They have dramatically changed the geographical, political and ethnic structure of the entire Balkans. Many social, political and other processes have made today's Bosniak enclave community in Macedonia disoriented and left to slow assimilation, with no significant connection with its Bosnia and Herzegovina homeland.

Key words: Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bosniaks, emigration, Macedonia

IZLAGANJA U SESIJAMA – PANEL 4

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Srbija na Balkanskoj migracionoj ruti – šta savremeni migracioni tokovi govore o nama?

Sa pojavom velikog broja migranata 2015. godine, koji su se, u najvećem broju, iz ratom zahvaćenih područja Bliskog istoka, uputili preko Balkana ka državama Evropske unije, nametnula su se brojna pitanja: da li smo svedoci globalne migracione krize, masovne seobe naroda, zašto ove puteve zovemo putevima očajnika? da li se ova migraciona kriza razlikuje od dosadašnjih? da li je ovo najveća izbeglička kriza od Drugog svetskog rata? U poslednjih godinu dana česta tema diskusija su bile i moguće promene pravaca migracija, uticaj ovih migracionih kretanja na demografsku kartu Evrope, kao i mogućnost i potreba sagledavanja savremenih migracionih tokova kao važnog resursa ili problema. Srbija se suočava sa brojnim izazovima u regulisanju migracionih tokova, od unutrašnjih preseljavanja, preko iseljavanja visokoobrazovanih lica, rešavanja statusa izbeglica i raseljenih lica iz 90-ih godina XX veka, do savremenih tokova tražilaca azila. Tokom 2015.godine gotovo 700.000 lica je prošlo kroz Srbiju, pretežno iz Sirije, Avganistana i Iraka. Uloga Srbije kao tranzitne države označena je veoma pozitivno, a u rešavanje ovog pitanja, pored brojnih vladinih i nevladinih organizacija, uključile su se i mnoge humanitarne organizacije. Ovde naglašavamo humanitarnu organizaciju „Čovekoljublje“ pri Srpskoj pravoslavnoj crkvi, koja svakodnevno u svim prihvatnim centrima u Srbiji obezbeđuje obroke za migrante. Stoga i jeste zvaničan stav države Srbije da su ovo ljudi u nevolji, kojima treba na sve načine pomoći. Zbog zatvaranja Balkanske migracione rute 9. 3. 2016. godine, na teritoriji Srbije se nalazi oko 5.000 tzv. „zaglavljenih“ migranata. Stoga je od suštinske važnosti da države Evropske unije zauzmu jedinstven stav i predlože zajedničko rešenje, koje bi uključivalo zajedničke mere i aktivnosti u cilju adekvatnog i efikasnog odgovora na savremene migracione izazove.

Ključne reči: izbeglice, migranti, Balkan, Srbija

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Serbia in the Balkans migration route - what contemporary migration flows are saying about us?

With the emergence of large numbers of migrants in 2015, the majority of whom headed from war-torn areas of the Middle East across the Balkans to the European Union countries, a number of questions have been imposed: Are we witnessing a global migration crisis, mass migration, why these paths are called roads of the desperate? Whether or not this migration crisis is different from the previous one? Is this the biggest refugee crisis since World War II? In the past year, a common topic of discussion were the possible changes in migration routes, the impact of these migrations on the demographic map of Europe, as well as the possibility and necessity of considering contemporary migration flows an important resource or problem. Serbia faces a number of challenges in migration flows regulation, from internal displacement through brain drain, resolving the status of refugees and displacedes from the 1990s to the current flows of asylum seekers. During 2015 almost 700,000 persons passed through Serbia, mostly from Syria, Afghanistan and Iraq. The role of Serbia as a transit country has been rated very positively and, in addition to a number of governmental and non-governmental organizations, many humanitarian organizations joined in solving this issue. Here we would like to emphasize the humanitarian organization “Philanthropy” at the Serbian Orthodox Church, which on a daily basis provides meals for migrants in all detention centers in Serbia. Hence the official position of the state of Serbia that these are people in need who should be given aid in every way. Due to the closure of the Balkans migration route on 9 March 2016, about 5,000 so-called “stuck” migrants have found themselves at the territory of Serbia. It is therefore essential for the European Union countries to take a common stand and propose a joint solution, which would include joint measures and activities necessary for the proper and effective response to contemporary migration challenges.

Key words: refugees, migrants, the Balkans, Serbia

IZLAGANJA U SESIJAMA – PANEL 4

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Migranti u Srbiji danas: konstruisanje i preplitanje starih i novih stereotipa o „drugosti“

„Balkan“ kao geografska, politička i simbolička oblast, vekovima je bio raskrsnica između civilizacija, Istoka i Zapada te svetova. Malo je koji deo Evrope bio tako specifično drugačiji u odnosu na ostatak kontinenta kao sama granica, margina „Okcidenta“. Srbija je jedna od zemalja koja je vekovima bila poprište kulturnih preplitanja i mešanja. „Drugost“ kao specifičan odraz odnosa prema nepoznatom, opasnom ili prosto drugačijem vrlo je bitan motiv za razumevanje načina na koji je Balkan doživljavan, ali i na način na koji se unutar ovog prostora govori o drugima. Moje izlaganje je posledica planiranja terensko-teorijskog istraživanja koje bi za objekat imalo upravo predstave koje društvo u Srbiji ima prema savremenim „strancima“, „drugima“, u ovom slučaju migrantima iz zemalja Bliskog istoka, poput Sirije, Afganistana, Irana itd. Izlaganje uključuje rezultate preliminarnih istraživanja, dok sveobuhvatno istraživanje tek sledi. Kada govorimo o predstavama i „drugosti“ misli se na pluralizam različitih ideja o tome ko su ti „oni“ a ko smo to „mi“, te iz toga dalje konstruišu nove slike drugih, ali i naše reakcije i akcije na tu „drugost“. U izlaganju ću se dotaći odnosa starih slika ili stereotipa o Bliskom istoku, te kulturnim predstavama koje društvo u Srbiji gaji, ali i uticaja faktora novijeg datuma poput npr. iskustva građanskih ratova na Balkanu, američke propagande uperene protiv bliskoistočnih država, politike Evrope prema migrantima i Balkanu, ali i uloge srpske državne politike i medija u stvaranju slike o migrantima. Kao što ćemo videti, naša percepcija o „drugosti“, u ovom slučaju migrantima, ima direktne posledice na način na koji se društvo ili bar delovi društva odnose prema ovim ljudima. Cilj ovog izlaganja jeste da ukaže na povezanost promena socio-političkog konteksta, odnosa lokalnog i globalnog, kao i preplitanja starih i novih slika „drugosti“ na koncipiranje i odnos prema „strancu“ ili pak različitim kategorijama „stranaca“.

Ključne riječi: Beograd, mediji, migranti, drugost, stranac

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Migrants in Serbia today: construction and interweaving of old and new stereotypes of “otherness”

“Balkan” as a geographical, political and symbolic power, has for centuries been a crossroads between civilizations, between East and West as well as between worlds. Hardly any other part of Europe was as specifically different in relation to the rest of the continent as the border itself, margin of “the Occident”. Serbia is one of the countries that has been the scene of cultural interweaving and mixing for centuries. “Otherness” as a specific reflection of the attitude towards the unknown, dangerous or simply different represents a very important motif for understanding the way in which the Balkan has been perceived, but also the way in which one speaks about others within this space. My presentation is the result of planning fieldwork and theoretical research whose object would be perceptions of Serbian society towards modern “strangers”, “others,” in this case towards migrants from countries in the Middle East, such as Syria, Afghanistan, Iran and so on. The presentation includes results of preliminary research, while comprehensive research is yet to come. When we talk about perceptions and “otherness”, one means the plurality of various ideas about who are these “they” and who are “we”, and then use them to construct new images of others, but also our reactions and actions towards this “otherness”. The presentation will also address the relationship of old images or stereotypes about the Middle East, as well as cultural conceptions by the society in Serbia, but also the impact of more recent factors such as, for example, experience of civil wars in the Balkans, the US propaganda against Middle Eastern countries, European policies towards migrants and the Balkans as well as the role of Serbian state politics and the media in creating the image of migrants. As it will be seen, our perception about “otherness”, in this case about migrants, has direct consequences on the way in which society, or at least parts of society, treat these people. The aim of this presentation is to show the relations between the changes of socio-political context, relationships between the local and the global, as well as the interweaving of old and new pictures of “otherness” on the design and relationship to the “foreigner” or different categories of “foreigners”.

Key words: Belgrade, media, otherness, foreigner

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Šta nas je naučila izbjeglička kriza kroz osobno iskustvo i rad u makedonskom nevladinom sektoru

Izbjeglička kriza u Makedoniji je prisutna od 2014. godine, kada veliki broj aktivista na terenu svjedoči velikoj snazi izbjeglica, koje politički akteri i brojni stručnjaci vrlo često promatraju samo kao brojeve, ili kroz prizmu etikete „izbjeglice“. No ti su ljudi puno više od toga, oni su majke, kćerke, očevi i sinovi; oni su zemljoradnici, učitelji, doktori, inženjeri, ali prije svega, svatko je od njih pojedinačno ljudsko biće, oni koji su preživjeli, koji su opstali. S obzirom na činjenicu kako je velikoj većini od njih oduzeta domovina, država i mjesto uobičajenog boravka, tokom izbjegličke krize u Makedoniji mogli smo svjedočiti njihovoj velikoj ranjivosti i potrebitosti. Ali s druge strane svjedočili smo i njihovim upečatljivim životnim pričama, njihovoj impresivnoj želji za opstankom i sigurnošću, želji koja svjedoči njihovu snagu, ustrajnost i pored toga što su se suočavali sa ogromnim gubicima. Makedonija je po prvi put, u modernoj historiji, postala dio važnih globalnih zbivanja i pokreta koji ne samo da utječu na Balkan i Evropsku Uniju, nego i na svjetsku zajednicu u cjelini. Ona je neočekivano postala ključna komponenta takozvane ‘Balkanske rute’, tranzitne rute kojom putuju migranti kako bi stigli u zemlje poput Austrije ili Njemačke, kako bi tamo zatražili azil. Ovaj specifičan geopolitički položaj, nametnut je državi kao važna, odnosno krucijalna uloga u migrantskom fenomenu, ali k tomu neugodna, jer kako se čini, to implicira ‘obranu’ nacionalnih granica od ilegalnih prelazaka iz Grčke, koja je član Evropske Unije i koja je članica Šengenskog sustava. Činjenicu kako se više od 3000 izbjeglica utopilo na obalama najbogatijeg kontinenta na svijetu, mnogi posmatraju kao puko utapanje ljudi, brojeva, no to možemo posmatrati i kao ‘utapanje humanosti’. Zaključujem kako ne smijemo dopustiti da s ovom krizom izgubimo humanost, da je utopimo, da je ostavimo iza ograde, niti da humanost pati u čekanju na dugotrajne procedure za odobrenje azila.

Ključne riječi: izbjeglička kriza, Makedonija, Balkanska ruta, Šengenski sustav, humanost

PANEL SESSIONS – PANEL 4

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What refugee crisis has taught us through personal experience and through the work in the Macedonian NGO sector

The refugee crisis in Macedonia has been present since 2014, when large numbers of the activists in the field witnessed great strength of refugees who were often viewed by political actors and many experts only as numbers or through the prism of the label “refugees”. But these people are much more than that, they are mothers, daughters, fathers and sons; they are farmers, teachers, doctors, engineers, but above all, every one of them is an individual human being, and they are primarily those who have survived, who managed to stay alive. In view of the fact that the vast majority of them stripped homeland, country and place of habitual residence, during the refugee crisis in Macedonia we were able to witness their great vulnerability and neediness. But, on the other hand, we witnessed their impressive life stories, their strong desire for survival and security, the desire witnessing their strength and perseverance despite the fact that they were faced with huge losses. For the first time in modern history Macedonia has become part of important global events and movements that affect not only the Balkans and the European Union, but also the world community as a whole. It has unexpectedly become a key component of the so-called Balkans route, a transit route by which migrants travel to reach countries such as Austria or Germany, in order to seek asylum. This specific geopolitical position, imposed on the country as an important or crucial role respectively in the migration phenomenon, but moreover disadvantageous, because, as it seems, this implies a “defense” of national borders from illegal crossings from Greece, which is a member of the European Union and the Schengen system. The fact that more than 3,000 refugees have drowned on the banks of the richest continent in the world, many people view as mere drowning people and numbers, but it might be seen as a “drowning (of) humanity”. I conclude that we cannot allow losing humanity with this crisis, to drown it or leave it behind fences or that humanity suffers in waiting for time-consuming procedures for granting asylum.

Key words: refugees, Macedonia, humanity, Balkans route, activism

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Multikulturene politike kao kamen spoticanja integraciji migranata u europskim društvima?

Migracijski, a posebno izbjeglički tokovi potaknuli su akceleraciju kulturnih i etničkih različitosti te tako postavili nove izazove za multikulturene politike kojima se u nekim europskim zemljama nastoji regulirati i priznati pravo kulturnih/etničkih skupina na različitost te ih se želi integrirati u društva primitka. Dok se sve do 2010. multikulturene politike smatralo itekako „živima“ i rijetko ih se kritiziralo, te godine lideri triju najmoćnijih država u Europi (Njemačke, Francuske i Velike Britanije) multikulturene politike proglašavaju neuspješnima i smatraju ih odgovornima za slabe integracijske učinke (pojedinih) migrantskih skupina. Te politike odjednom postaju sporne i pripisuju im se brojne manjkavosti kao što su primjerice stvaranje paralelnih društava unutar zemalja primateljica migranata, društvena segregacija migrantskih skupina, ograničavanje autonomije pojedinca, narušavanje načela jednakosti, ugrožavanje prava žena itd. Nakon ustanovljenog neuspjeha u integraciji migranata, u nekim zapadnoeuropskim zemljama zamjećuje se pomak od kolektivnoga k individualnom pristupu prema kojemu se multikulturene politike nastoji nadomjestiti „građanskom integracijom“. Dolazi i do promjena u javnom diskursu koji se umjesto slavljenja različitosti počinje fokusirati na prepoznavanje društvenih tenzija i potreba da se one spriječe. Etnička i kulturna različitost tako se sve više počinje prikazivati kao društveno i političko pitanje. Premda je vrlo vjerojatno da će se etnička i kulturna diversifikacija u europskim društvima bez sumnje nastaviti, nije posve sigurno hoće li multikulturene politike kakve poznajemo biti najbolji način reguliranja i institucionaliziranja prava na različitost novih migrantskih skupina te njihova uključivanja u društva primitka. Mogu li europska liberalna društva pronaći bolji model od multikulturenog u integraciji kulturno različitih skupina, pitanje je na koje tek treba odgovoriti.

Ključne riječi: multikulturene politike, integracija migranata, migranti, kulturna različitost, europska društva

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Multicultural policies in European societies: stumbling block for migrants' integration?

International migration in general and refugee migration in particular have encouraged cultural and ethnic diversity in European societies by setting new challenges for multicultural policies in European states which recognize ethnic/cultural minorities and tend to integrate them into host societies. Until 2010 the multicultural policies were considered very much alive and they were rarely criticized. After that, the leaders of the three most powerful European countries (Germany, France and Great Britain), declared failure of multicultural policies considering them responsible for the poor integration outcomes of certain immigrants' groups. These policies have suddenly been accused as controversial by attributing them a number of shortcomings such as the creation of parallel societies within the host country, social segregation of migrant groups, restriction of individual autonomy, violation of the principle of equality, women's rights violation and so on. After the established failure in migrant integration, some Western European countries have made a shift from collective to individual approach, according to which efforts have been made to replace multicultural policies by policy of "civic integration". A change in the public discourse can also be noted – instead of celebrating diversity it begins to focus on the identification of social tensions and the need to prevent them. Ethnic and cultural diversity increasingly begins to be seen as a social and political issue. Although the ethnic and cultural diversification in European societies will continue with no doubt, it is not quite sure whether the multicultural policy as we know it could be the best way to regulate and institutionalize rights to diversity of new migrant groups and their integration into host societies. Whether European liberal societies can find a more appropriate and effective model than the multicultural one for the integration of culturally diverse groups, is a question which still needs to be answered.

Key words: multicultural policies migrant integration, migrants, cultural diversity, European societies

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Multikulturalizam i integracija migranata u Sloveniji

Izazovi različitih tumačenja pojma multikulturalnosti prisutni su u društvenom životu Slovenije sve od osnivanja samostalne države. U samom konceptu državnosti prevladavao je etnički pristup kao kohezivni element cjelokupnog organiziranja i političkog djelovanja. Mada je u demografskom smislu Slovenija višetetnička i raznolika zajednica, na planu izražavanja etničkih karakteristika u javnom životu dolazilo je do velikih razlika u akademskim i stručnim raspravama kao i u praksi. U radu razmatramo opće karakteristike politike integracije migranata u Sloveniji. Tematika obuhvaća strateške dokumente za uključivanje i uređivanje statusa migranata s područja nekadašnje zajedničke države, strategiju i programe za integraciju migranata i izbjeglica iz trećih zemalja koji su u Sloveniji zatražili azil u proteklih decenijama te politiku prema izbjeglicama iz ratom zahvaćenih područja koji su u Sloveniju došli u najnovije vrijeme. Poslije ulaska u Europsku uniju 2004., Slovenija je svoju pravnu regulativu na području migracija i azilne politike prilagodila europskom pravu. Nadležna ministarstva sufinancirala su provođenje projekata i programa za integraciju migranata i azilanata uz financijsku pomoć iz europskih strukturnih fondova. Mnogi od tih projekata doveli su do pozitivnih rezultata i poticali uključivanje migranata u društvo, tako da ih možemo ocijeniti kao primjere dobre prakse integracije migranata. U novije vrijeme, u jeku izbjegličke krize koju mnogi nazivaju najvećom humanitarnom katastrofom Europe, Slovenija dijeli sudbinu mnogih europskih država koje traže načine za sprečavanje nelegalnih ulazaka u zemlju i čak nehumano protjeruju migrante sa svog teritorija. Pritom je nemoguće integrirati tako veliki broj migranata pa su ciljevi ove ad hoc politike prije svega kontrola nad migracijama. Slovenija se i fizički ogradila pred valom izbjeglica postavljanjem žičane ograde na granicama, a slovensko društvo ponovno se suočilo s predrasudama i ksenofobijom u zemlji, usprkos tome što je za većinu izbjeglica Slovenija samo tranzitna točka jer žele nastaviti put prema drugim zemljama zapadne Europe. Prema podacima Ministarstva unutarnjih poslova Slovenije iz rujna 2016., samo su 952 osobe, što je 0,2% od svih izbjeglica koje su od 2015. došle u Sloveniju, zatražilo azil u Sloveniji.

Ključne riječi: multikulturalizam, integracija, migracije, Slovenija, azilna politika

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Multiculturalism and the integration of migrants in Slovenia

The challenges of different interpretations of the concept of multiculturalism have been present in the social life of Slovenia since the establishment of an independent state. The ethnic approach as a cohesive element of the entire organization and political action has prevailed in the very concept of statehood. Although Slovenia is a multi-ethnic and diverse community in demographic sense, there have been great differences in academic and professional discussions as well in practice in terms of expressing ethnic characteristics in public life. This paper discusses the general characteristics of the migrant integration policy in Slovenia. The themes include strategic documents for the inclusion and regulating the status of migrants from the territory of the former common state, strategy and programmes for the integration of migrants and refugees from third countries who have applied for asylum in Slovenia in the past decades and policy towards refugees from war-torn areas who have come to Slovenia in the most recent time. After joining the EU in 2004, Slovenia has adapted its legal regulations in the area of migration and asylum policy to European law. The relevant ministries co-financed the implementation of projects and programmes for the integration of migrants and asylum seekers with financial assistance from the European Structural Fund. Many of these projects have obtained positive results and encouraged the inclusion of migrants into society; accordingly, they can be evaluated as examples of good practice of migrant integration. More recently, at the height of the refugee crisis, which many call the greatest humanitarian catastrophe of Europe, Slovenia shares the fate of many European countries which are looking for ways to prevent illegal entries into the country and even inhumanely expel migrants from their territory. Since it is impossible to integrate such a large number of migrants, the aim of this ad hoc policy is control over migration in the first place. Slovenia has physically distanced itself from the wave of refugees by placing wire fences at the borders, and the Slovenian society is again faced with prejudice and xenophobia in the country, despite the fact that for most refugees Slovenia is only a transit point because they want to continue to other Western European countries. According to the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Slovenia from September 2016, only 952 persons or 0.2% of all refugees having come to Slovenia in 2015, have sought asylum in this country.

Key words: multiculturalism, integration, migration, Slovenia, asylum policy

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Recepcija poruka pape Franje o migrantima u crkvenoj i svjetovnoj javnosti u Republici Hrvatskoj

Strah od siromašnih i nenaoružanih prognanika i izbjeglica koji zbog situacije u svojim matičnim zemljama Azije i Afrike u valovima stižu u Europu toliko je narastao da pojedine europske zemlje na svojim granicama postavljaju žičane ograde i na njih šalju policiju i vojsku s dugim cijevima. Jedna između njih mogla bi uskoro biti i Republika Hrvatska. S druge strane, papa Franjo kao rijetko koji poglavar, svejedno je li riječ o vjerskim ili svjetovnim institucijama, zagovara čovječnost i dostojanstvo svakoga čovjeka, pa tako i čovječnost i dostojanstvo izbjeglih i prognanih osoba bez obzira na njihovu boju kože, civilizacijsku, kulturnu, religijsku ili nacionalnu pripadnost. Međutim, njegovi pozivi upućeni vjerskim, ali i državnim poglavarima kako u Europi tako i u svijetu, da ne prestanu primati izbjegle i prognane osobe, ne nailaze na plodno tlo. Čak ni u vlastitoj Crkvi. No, mnogi ta njegova nastojanja oko prognanih i izbjeglih vide kao jednu osobno i kršćanski odvažnu i hrabru, ali zbog europske sebičnosti uzaludnu borbu protiv vjetrenjača. Hrvatska, kao tobožnje *antemurale christianitatis* i kao zemlja u kojoj su više od 87 posto građana katolici – od kojih su mnogi tijekom Domovinskoga rata (1991–1995) iskusili progonstvo i izbjeglištvo – trebala bi barem na crkvenoj razini slijediti Papine poruke. No, je li baš tako? Autor se stoga u ovome članku bavi odnosom ne samo hrvatskih crkvenih nego i državnih vlasti prema Papinim pozivima da se pomogne prognanim i ratom unesrećenim ljudima.

Ključne riječi: migranti, papa Franjo, Katolička crkva u Republici Hrvatskoj, Vlada Republike Hrvatske, Crveni križ Republike Hrvatske, Caritas Hrvatske biskupske konferencije

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The reception of Pope Francis' message on migrants in church and secular public in the Republic of Croatia

Fear of poor and unarmed expellees and refugees arriving to Europe in waves, due to the situation in their home countries in Asia and Africa, has grown to such extent that some European countries build wire fences on their borders, and send police and army with rifles there. The Republic of Croatia could soon be one of them. On the other hand, Pope Francis, as hardly any other head, no difference whether religious or secular institutions are involved, advocates for humanity and dignity of every individual, accordingly the humanity and dignity of refugees and expellees, regardless of their skin colour, civilizational, religious or national affiliation. However, his calls to both religious and state heads in Europe and in the world alike not to cease to receive refugees and expellees do not encounter the fertile soil. Even in his own Church. Still, many people consider his efforts regarding refugees and expellees a personal and Christian daring and brave, but futile fight against windmills due to European selfishness. Croatia, as alleged *antemurale christianitatis* and as a country where more than 87% of citizens are Catholics – many of whom experienced persecution and exile during the War of Independence (1991–1995) – should, at least at the church level, follow Pope's messages. But, is it really so? Therefore, in this paper the author deals with the relationship not only of Croatian Church but also of state authorities towards the Pope's calls to help the exiled and war-injured people.

Key words: migrants, Pope Francis, Catholic Church in the Republic of Croatia, Government of the Republic of Croatia, Croatian Red Cross, Caritas of the Croatian Bishop Conference

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„Svi smo prije svega ljudi“: odgovor vjerskih zajednica u Hrvatskoj na recentno stanje izbjeglištva

U svjetlu nedavnih političkih događaja vezanih uz potpisivanje i implementaciju sporazuma Europska unija - Turska europsko tlo više nije mjesto dobrodošlice za izbjeglice i druge prisilne migrante. EU je u ožujku 2016. odlučila implementirati mjere zatvaranja humanitarnog koridora duž cijele Istočnomediteranske i Balkanske rute. Tomu su prethodile sekuritizacijske mjere etničkog profiliranja i selekcije te mjere detencije, readmisije i deportacije izbjeglica i drugih ne-dobrovoljnih migranata kao populacije „neželjenih useljenika“ na europskom tlu. Tijekom sedam mjeseci u kojima je i hrvatski teritorij bio područje tranzita za mnoge izbjeglice i druge prisilne migrante, u rad prihvatnih tranzitnih centara od početka su bile uključene brojne nacionalne i međunarodne organizacije civilnog društva, ali jednako tako i vjerske zajednice te karitativno-humanitarne organizacije. U radu se analiziraju aktualni trendovi i tokovi prisilnih migracija u Hrvatskoj, vezani uz dolazak izbjeglica i drugih migranata u situaciji recentne humanitarne krize od ljeta 2015. do danas, bazirajući se na desk-study istraživanju te na izravnim uvidima s terena metodom promatranja sa sudjelovanjem. No fokus je izlaganja na kritičkoj analizi modela i praksi koje su vjersko-karitativne organizacije obavljale u sklopu rada prihvatnih tranzitnih centara, kao i na sadašnjim i budućim praksama prema onima koji borave u Hrvatskoj u statusu osoba pod zaštitom ili u traženju zaštite. Kroz odrađene intervjue s predstavnicima vjersko-karitativnih organizacija prezentiramo njihovo viđenje i odgovore na ovu „krizu“ te opisujemo i analiziramo njihove logističke i organizacijske kapacitete kao i izazove u daljnjem radu s izbjeglicama. Osim humanitarnog i sigurnosnog pristupa i diskursa na tu temu rad nastoji otvoriti prostor za promišljanje više uključujućeg i za izbjeglice osnažujućeg modela integracije u društvo, modela u kojemu, uz druge državne i civilne aktere, vjerske zajednice i vjersko-karitativne organizacije imaju neizostavnu ulogu.

Ključne riječi: vjerske zajednice, solidarnost, izbjeglice, Hrvatska, humanitarne prakse

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“We are all human beings first of all”: response of Croatian religious communities to the recent state of refugees

In the context of recent political events related to the signing and implementation of the EU-Turkey agreement, European soil is no longer a welcoming place for refugees and other forced migrants. In March 2016 EU decided to implement measures of closing humanitarian corridor along the Eastern Mediterranean and the Balkan route. This was preceded by securitization measures of ethnic profiling and selection as well as the acts of detention, repatriation and deportation of refugees and other irregular migrants perceived to be a part of “undesirable immigrants’ population” on European territory. During seven months in which the Croatian territory was a transit area for many refugees and other forced migrants, numerous national and international civil society organizations, but religious communities and charitable and humanitarian organizations have been involved in the work of reception transit centers from the beginning. This paper analyses the current trends and flows related to forced migration through Croatia, to the arrival of refugees and other migrants in a situation of recent humanitarian crisis from the summer of 2015 until today, based on a desk study research and direct insights from the field by the method of participant observation. However, the focus is on the critical analysis of models and practices performed by religious and charitable organizations as part of the work in reception centers, as well as on the current and future practices for the refugees staying in Croatia in the status of a person under protection or in search of protection. Through interviews with representatives of religious and charitable organizations we present their views and answers to this “crisis” and describe and analyse their logistical and organizational capacities as well as challenges in the future work with refugees. In addition to humanitarian and security approach and discourse on this subject, this paper seeks to open up the space to think about more inclusive and for refugees more empowering model of integration into society, a model in which, along with other state and civil actors, religious communities and religious and charitable organizations would have an indispensable role.

Keywords: religious communities, solidarity, refugees, Croatia, humanitarian practice

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Gostoljubivost kao socijalni kapital međureligijskoga dijaloga u Jugoistočnoj Europi

Migracije, sociološki gledano, kompleksan su fenomen, koji kao rijetko koji u suvremenome dobu bitno utječe na društvene promjene, kako na promjene karaktera društva, tako i na unutar društvene odnose, institucionalne, interpersonalne i one unutar socijalnih makro- i mikrostrukture. Religijski sustavi, poglavito oni koji su dominantno zastupljeni u zemljama Jugoistočne Europe, kroz stoljećima življene i društveno zastupljene tradicije, imaju snažno iskustvo migracijskih utjecaja na dinamične društvene promjene, a različiti akteri su u ključnim momentima takvih procesa, nerijetko označavanima kao „migrantska kriza“, postupali tako da su snažili temelje međureligijskoga dijaloga, ili pak svojim postupcima pridonosili društvenim nemirima, koji su, u konačnici, ponovno proizvodili ekonomske i političke migracije. Gostoljubivost, s neskrivenim teološkim i duhovnim izvorštima, etičkim zasadama i društvenim konzekvencama, stoljećima je ukorijenjena u javnu kulturu većine zajednica na području Jugoistočne Europe, ali rezultanta društvenoga razvitka, koja se ogleda primjerice u procesima individualizacije, jačanja socijalne distance i suvremenih globalizacijskih kretanja, kao da je načelo gostoljubivosti podredila njegovu moralnome antipodu, naime, načelu utilitarnosti. Suvremene poruke vjerskih poglavara, čak i unutar jedne iste religijske tradicije, da se načelo gostoljubivosti revalorizira u javnome prostoru, umnogome nisu ujednačene, a slične inicijative, koje su usmjerene prema migrantima i dolaze iz različitih centara, na području Jugoistoka Europe različito su prihvaćene i (zlo)upotrebljavane.

Ključne riječi: migracije, gostoljubivost, socijalni kapital, međureligijski dijalog, Jugoistočna Europa

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Hospitality as a social capital of interreligious dialogue in Southeast Europe

Migration, sociologically speaking, is a complex phenomenon, which like hardly any other in the modern age significantly affects social changes: changes of the character of society as well as the intra-community relations - institutional, interpersonal and those within the social macro- and microstructure. The religious systems, especially those predominantly represented in the countries of Southeast Europe through the centuries lived and socially represented tradition, have strong experience of migration impact on the dynamic of social change. At the same time, the different actors in key moments of such processes, often marked as “migrant crisis”, acted so as to strengthen the foundations of inter-religious dialogue, or their actions contributed to social unrest, which, ultimately, again produced economic and political migration. Hospitality, with its obvious theological and spiritual sources, ethical foundations and social consequences, has been rooted in the public culture of the majority community in Southeast Europe for centuries. Yet, it looks as if the outcome of social development, which is reflected, for instance, in the processes of individuation, increasing social distance and contemporary globalization trends, subordinated the principle of hospitality to its moral antipode, namely, the principle of utilitarianism. Contemporary messages of religious leaders, even within the same religious tradition, that the principle of hospitality is revalued in the public space, are not uniform in many ways, while similar initiatives, aimed at migrants and coming from different centers, have been differently accepted and (mis)used in the area of Southeast Europe.

Key words: migration, hospitality, social capital, inter-religious dialogue, Southeast Europe

BILJEŠKE / NOTES

