



D5

SCHOOL OF DEMOCRACY, CROATIA ZAGREB, 28/05/2024; 27/11/2024; 06/03/2025

1) Agenda

- **School of Democracy, Module I. Croatian victims in the 20th century**

Venue: Faculty of Humanities, Ul. Ivana Lučića 3, Zagreb, Croatia

Date: 28 of May 2024

Time: 19:00 - 21:00

Panelists and lectures:

- Lovro Kralj, Faculty of Humanities of Rijeka | *The victims of the Ustaše regime*
- Goran Hutinec, Faculty of Humanities in Zagreb | *The victims of the post-war period: the case of Bleiburg*
- Martin Previšić, Faculty of Humanities of Zagreb | *Contextualization of Goli otok*
- **School of Democracy, Module II. Perception of victims in Croatian society: monuments, textbooks and methodologies.**

Venue: Faculty of Humanities, Ul. Ivana Lučića 3, Zagreb, Croatia

Date: 27 of November 2024

Time: 19:00 - 21:00

Panelists and lectures:

- Aneta Vladimirov, Serbian National Council | *Minority policies of remembrance in 3 examples - studies for the majority*
- Miljenko Hajdarović, high-school teacher and textbook author | *The perception of victims in Croatian high-school textbooks*
- Milan Radanović, Serbian Archive in Croatia | *Establishing and recording the identity of victims of WWII (Victims of Fascism and genocide on Croatian territory)*

- **School of Democracy, Module III. The perception of trauma.**

Venue: Faculty of Humanities, Ul. Ivana Lučića 3, Zagreb, Croatia

Date: 06 of March 2025

Time: 18:00 - 20:00

Panelists and lectures:

- Tena Banjeglav, researcher at *Documenta* - Center for dealing with the past | *Oral history as a method for researching victims of WWII and the war in the 1990s*
- Boris Pavelić, journalist and author | *Media perception of trauma and victimhood*
- Dinka Čorkalo Biruški, Faculty of Humanities | *Psychological aftermath of trauma victims*

2) Signed presence list

(see attachments)

3) Presentations / Minutes

Module I

- Lovro Kralj, Faculty of Humanities of Rijeka | *The victims of the Ustaše regime*

The professor spoke about the nationality and ethnic background of all victims of the Ustaše regime in Croatia during World War II, with a particular focus on the suffering of Jews and other minorities in Croatia (Serbs, Roma, anti-fascists), as well as the suffering of women and children during the same period. Throughout the lecture, he explained how he examined and tracked the number of victims. Kralj also provided examples of (lack of) remembrance culture and the shifting of responsibility for crimes committed in the Independent State of Croatia (NDH) to external factors.

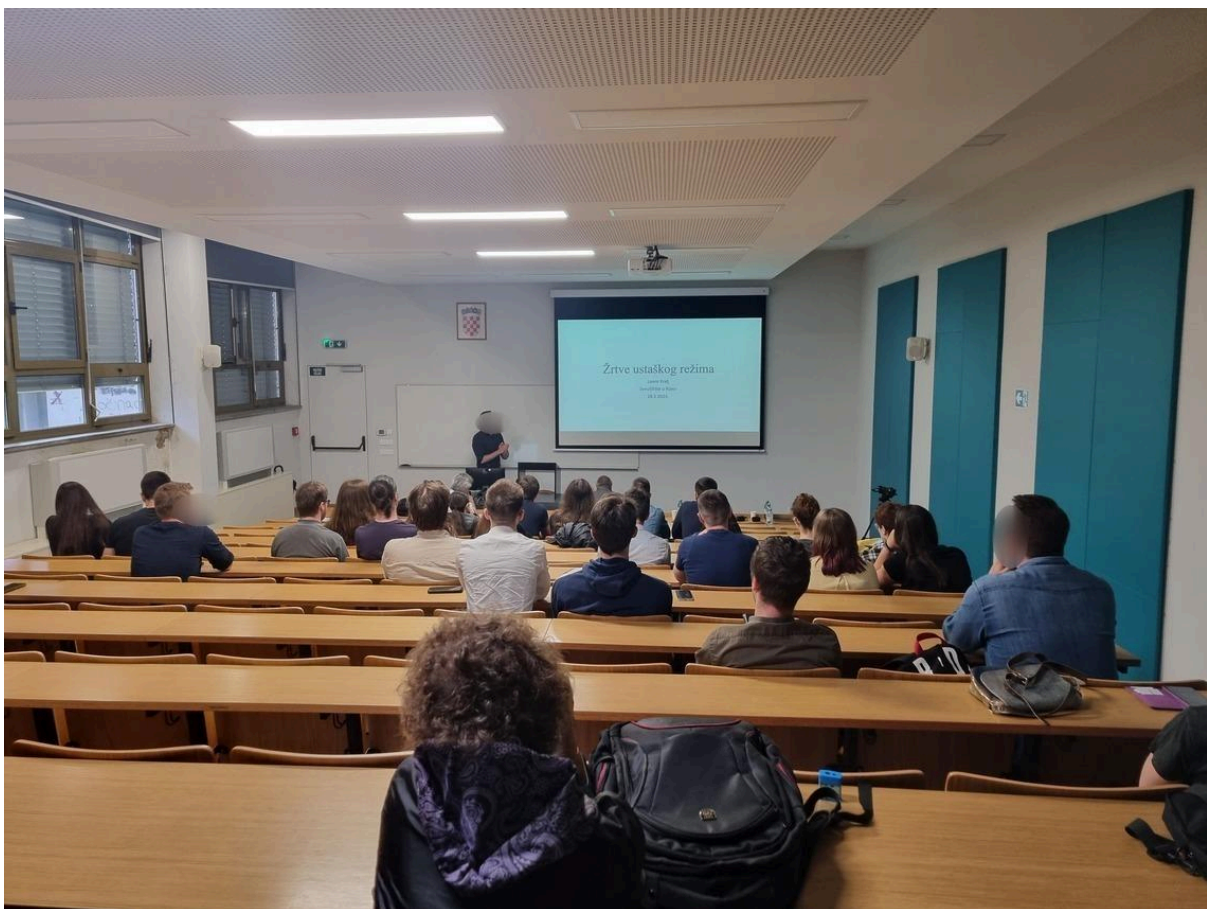
- Goran Hutinec, Faculty of Humanities in Zagreb | *The victims of the post-war period: the case of Bleiburg*

Speaking about the victims of the uprising, the Partisans, the People's Liberation Army of Yugoslavia (NOVJ), and the Yugoslav Army and state authorities from May 1, 1945, onwards, Goran Hutinec pointed out that the communists had gained experience from Russia. Unlike the fascists, they did not define "subhumans," but instead eliminated those who were considered obstacles on the path to a better future, with the ultimate goal of strengthening the class rather than the nation. He emphasized the position of Serbs in Croatia, who rose up to save their own lives, as any retreat from the fight would have meant certain death. He also mentioned

revenge crimes in 1941, individual cases in 1942 and 1943 (Španovica and Zrin), and the executions of prisoners of war at the end of the war. Additionally, he noted that some "domestic" prisoners were amnestied and released as early as 1945 and 1946, while German prisoners were not released until 1953.

- Martin Previšić, Faculty of Humanities of Zagreb | *Contextualization of Goli otok*

Speaking about Goli otok, Previšić emphasized the prevailing attitude toward Informbiro prisoners (IB prisoners) who were incarcerated there until the 1980s. He explained that these prisoners formed a highly diverse group, ranging from staunch Stalinists who engaged in sabotage or opposed Tito politically to those who merely told jokes or were falsely accused. He pointed out that arrests and the construction of the camp did not begin immediately after the Informbiro Resolution in late June 1948 but rather a year later. Historians believe that Stalin hoped Tito would fall, while Tito expected Stalin to calm down; however, as the conflict intensified, arrests began. In total, 15,500 people were arrested, with around 13,000 sent to Goli otok by 1956. The highest number of arrests occurred in 1949—6,246 people—but that same year, 1,298 were released, Previšić noted. He also highlighted that of the 399 recorded deaths caused by harsh living conditions and disease, about two-thirds occurred in 1951.



Module II

- Aneta Vladimirov, Serbian National Council | *Minority policies of remembrance in 3 examples - studies for the majority*

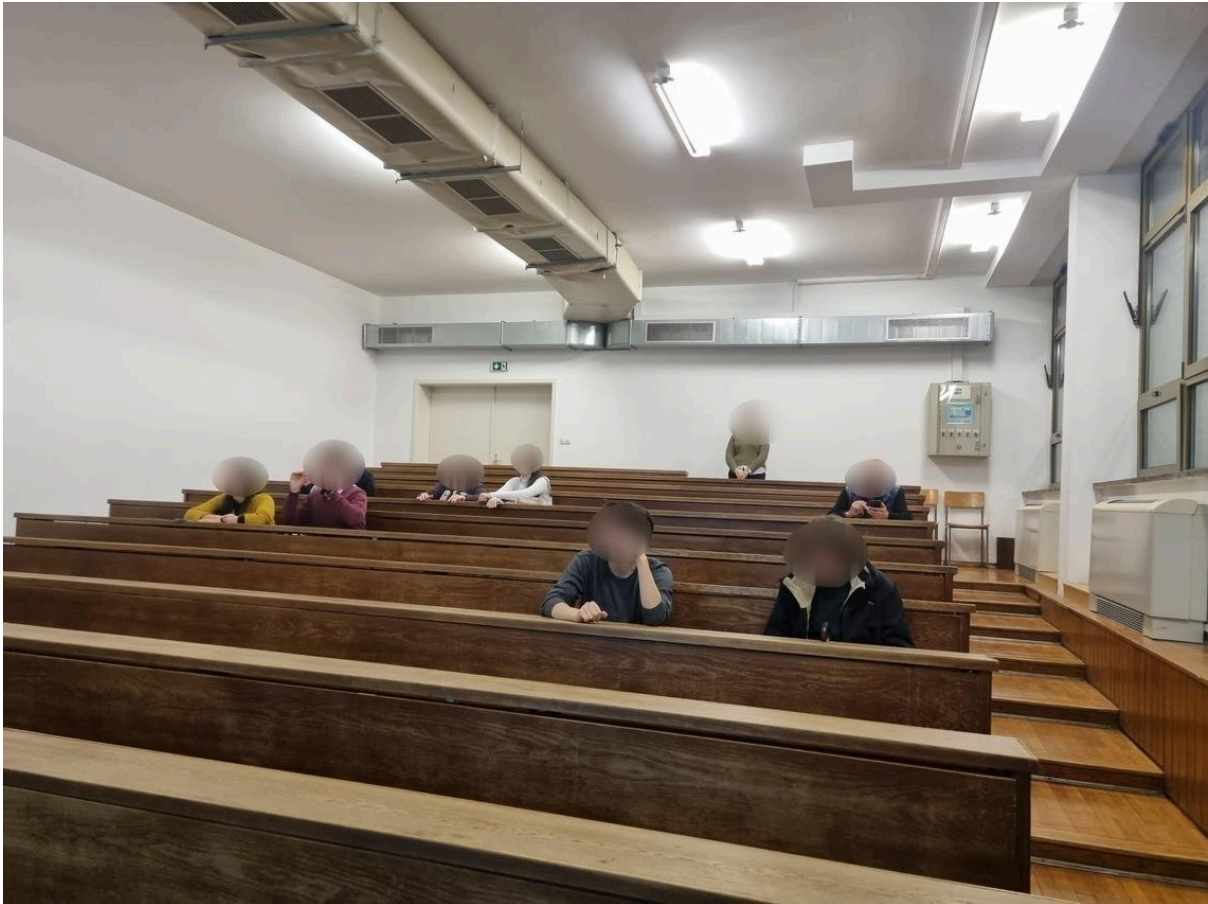
Vladimirov spoke about how the Serbian national minority and related organizations engage with and carry out activities connected to the anti-fascist legacy in Croatia, as well as the position the minority found itself in after the war of the 1990s. She focused primarily on the destruction of monumental heritage in Croatia and the efforts of the Serbian National Council and related anti-fascist organizations, as well as other organizations dedicated to human rights and civil society, to restore these monuments—both for their sentimental and artistic value. She also discussed how the restoration of these monuments is perceived in 21st-century Croatian society.

- Miljenko Hajdarović, high-school teacher and textbook author | *The perception of victims in Croatian high-school textbooks*

The professor discussed how the numbers, as well as individual cases of victims, are presented in Croatian and Serbian societies, using the example of three high school history textbooks from each country. He emphasized that the way victims are portrayed in textbooks has changed significantly since the end of World War II, through the 1990s, and up to the present day. He concluded that many publications relativize previously established historical facts while downplaying the context of the opposing side. He particularly highlighted that, in most textbooks, the status of a "victim" is reduced to dry statistics, diminishing the value of the individual who suffered as a person.

- Milan Radanović, Serbian Archive in Croatia | *Establishing and recording the identity of victims of WWII (Victims of Fascism and genocide on Croatian territory)*

The lecturer discussed the various ways in which available information and literature can be used for research work on locating and identifying victims, with a particular focus on World War II. Radanović noted that modern technology and the opening of archives, including the declassification of documents, have significantly facilitated research efforts. However, he also pointed out that many sources remain unreliable, especially since older literature sometimes presents two completely opposing views and records of the same events. Nonetheless, he emphasized that minorities in Croatia are in a relatively good position when it comes to research opportunities and encouraged young historians to make use of the available materials for this purpose.



Module III

- Tena Banjeglav, researcher at *Documenta* - Center for dealing with the past | *Oral history as a method for researching victims of WWII and the war in the 1990s*

Banjeglav spoke about the methodology she personally, as well as other researchers at Documenta, use to record the historical context related to individual cases. She emphasized the importance of preserving the memory of these individuals and making oral testimonies available to researchers, as well as to the public at large. She explained that these testimonies pertain to World War II and the wars of the 1990s in Croatia, and how this research has impacted the way victims of totalitarian regimes cope with trauma. She also discussed how this information and these memories can be utilized.

- Boris Pavelić, journalist and author | *Media perception of trauma and victimhood*

Journalist and publicist B. Pavelić spoke about the position of victims, or their perception through the media during and after the tragic events surrounding them, with a particular emphasis on investigative journalism in Croatia regarding civilian victims during the 1990s. Pavelić pointed out that victims are often mystified or

demystified in the media, depending on the political context that suits different groups in a particular situation. He also mentioned that the vast majority of the media system perceives the victim as a "task," which causes the victim to lose their human aspect and distances them from public awareness and the way society relates to them.

- Dinka Čorkalo Biruški, Faculty of Humanities | *Psychological aftermath of trauma victims*

Professor Čorkalo Biruški spoke about how the trauma experienced by victims after tragedies such as war has long-term psychological consequences, such as post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), anxiety, and depression. She mentioned that these individuals often suffer from emotional numbness and difficulties in interpersonal relationships. Cognitive functions, such as memory and concentration, can be severely impaired. Although trauma can cause physical illnesses, in some cases, it leads to post-traumatic growth, where individuals develop a deeper understanding of themselves. Timely psychotherapy, social support, and pharmacological treatment are crucial for the recovery of victims, and the entire society must be involved in this process.



4) Evaluation report

The School of Democracy event, organized across three modules, provided a comprehensive exploration of historical victimhood, collective memory and the perception of trauma in Croatian society. The discussions featured academics, researchers, and experts who offered in-depth analyses of historical events and their interpretations in contemporary society.

Module I: Croatian Victims in the 20th Century

The first module focused on victims of the Ustaše regime, post-war repression, and Goli otok. The presentations highlighted:

- The ethnic composition of Ustaše regime victims, with a focus on Jews, Serbs, Roma, and anti-fascists, as well as the suffering of women and children and how Croatian society dealt and still deals with the presented issues.
- The post-war reprisals by the Yugoslav Partisans, particularly in Bleiburg and other sites, emphasizing the ideological rather than ethnic motives behind the executions.
- The contextualization of Goli otok, including the diverse backgrounds of its prisoners and the evolving historical narratives surrounding this notorious prison camp.

The session effectively demonstrated the complexity of historical victimhood and the challenges of assigning responsibility in historical discourse.

Module II: Perception of Victims in Croatian Society

The second module examined how victims are represented in monuments, textbooks, and research methodologies. The key takeaways included:

- The destruction of anti-fascist monuments in Croatia and the efforts of minority and human rights organizations to restore them.
- The representation of victims in Croatian and Serbian high school textbooks, showing how narratives have shifted over time, often distorting or relativizing historical facts, depending on what suited which side.
- The role of modern research tools in identifying victims of World War II, highlighting both the advantages of archival access and the persisting challenges of conflicting historical records.

This session provided valuable insights into memory politics and how different narratives shape societal understanding of historical events.

Module III: The Perception of Trauma

The third module addressed the psychological and media portrayal of trauma. Key discussions included:

- The use of oral history in documenting war victims, emphasizing the importance of personal testimonies.
- The media's role in shaping public perception of victimhood, exploring how narratives are constructed and disseminated.
- The psychological consequences of trauma, underscoring the lasting effects on individuals and communities.

This module brought a human dimension to the discussions, stressing the need for ethical storytelling and responsible historical interpretation.

Overall Assessment

The School of Democracy successfully fostered critical dialogue on historical memory, trauma, and the representation of victims among young people. It combined academic research with contemporary relevance, addressing both historical events and their impact on Croatian society. The event was well-received, with panelists providing diverse perspectives and thought-provoking discussions among the young people participating. On each module young people had various questions for the speakers regarding the topics in question and it brought an exchange perspective between generations.

1) Dnevni red

- **Škola demokracije, Modul I. Hrvatske žrtve u 20. stoljeću**

Mjesto: Filozofski fakultet, Ul. Ivana Lučića 3, Zagreb, Hrvatska

Datum: 28. svibnja 2024.

Vrijeme: 19:00 - 21:00

Panelisti i predavanja:

Lovro Kralj, Filozofski fakultet u Rijeci | *Žrtve ustaškog režima*

Goran Hutinec, Filozofski fakultet u Zagrebu | *Žrtve poslijeratnog razdoblja: slučaj Bleiburga*

Martin Previšić, Filozofski fakultet u Zagrebu | *Kontekstualizacija Golog otoka*

- **Škola demokracije, Modul II. Percepcija žrtava u hrvatskom društvu: spomenici, udžbenici i metodologije**

Mjesto: Filozofski fakultet, Ul. Ivana Lučića 3, Zagreb, Hrvatska

Datum: 27. studenoga 2024.

Vrijeme: 19:00 - 21:00

Panelisti i predavanja:

Aneta Vladimirov, Srpsko narodno vijeće | *Politike sjećanja manjina kroz tri primjera – studije za većinu*

Miljenko Hajdarović, srednjoškolski profesor i autor udžbenika | *Percepcija žrtava u hrvatskim srednjoškolskim udžbenicima*

Milan Radanović, Srpski arhiv u Hrvatskoj | *Utvrđivanje i evidentiranje identiteta žrtava Drugog svjetskog rata (Žrtve fašizma i genocida na teritoriju Hrvatske)*

- **Škola demokracije, Modul III. Percepcija traume**

Mjesto: Filozofski fakultet, Ul. Ivana Lučića 3, Zagreb, Hrvatska

Datum: 6. ožujka 2025.

Vrijeme: 18:00 - 20:00

Panelisti i predavanja:

Tena Banjeglav, istraživačica u Documenti - Centru za suočavanje s prošlošću | *Usmena povijest kao metoda istraživanja žrtava Drugog svjetskog rata i rata 1990-ih*

Boris Pavelić, novinar i autor | *Medijska percepcija traume i viktimizacije*

Dinka Čorkalo Biruški, Filozofski fakultet | *Psihološke posljedice trauma kod žrtava*

2) Potpisna lista prisutnih

(vidi priloge)

3) Prezentacije / Zapisnici

Modul I

- Lovro Kralj, Filozofski fakultet u Rijeci | *Žrtve ustaškog režima*

Profesor je pričao o nacionalnosti i etničkoj pripadnosti sviju žrtava ustaškog režima u Hrvatskoj za vrijeme Drugog svjetskog rata te ponajviše o stradavanju Židova i ostalih manjina u Hrvatskoj (Srbi, Romi, antifašisti), kao i o stradavanju žena i djece tijekom istog razdoblja. Kroz predavanje je naveo i na koje načine sagledavao i pratio broj žrtava. Kralj je naveo primjere (ne)kulture sjećanja i delegiranja odgovornosti za zločine počinjene u NDH na vanjske faktore.

- Goran Hutinec, Filozofski fakultet u Zagrebu | *Žrtve poslijeratnog razdoblja: slučaj Bleiburga*

Govoreći o žrtvama ustanika, partizana i NOVJ, odnosno Jugoslavenske armije i državnih organa od 1. svibnja 1945. Goran Hutinec naveo je da su komunisti imali iskustva iz Rusije i da, za razliku od fašista, nisu definirali podljude, nego su iz puta u bolju budućnost eliminirali one koji predstavljaju smetnju iz konačni cilj ojačavanja klase a ne nacije. Naglasio je položaj Srba u Hrvatskoj koji su se digli da spase gole živote i kojima bi svako odustajanje od borbe značilo smrt. Spomenuo je osvetničke zločine 1941., pojedinačne slučajeve 1942. i 1943. (Španovica i Zrin), te likvidacije ratnih zarobljenika na kraju rata. Naveo je i da je dio "domaćih" zarobljenika amnestiran i pušten već 1945. i 1946. dok su njemački zarobljenici pušteni tek 1953.

- Martin Previšić, Filozofski fakultet u Zagrebu | *Kontekstualizacija Golog otoka*

Govoreći o Golom otoku, Previšić je naglasio kako je do 80-ih vladao stav prema informbiroovcima (IB-ovci) koji su bili zatvoreni na Golom otoku. Naveo je da su oni činili vrlo raznoliku skupinu, od uvjerenih staljinista koji su pravili diverzije ili se politički suprotstavljali Titu do onih koji su pričali viceve ili jednostavno bili lažno

optuženi. Spomenuo je kako hapšenja i gradnja logora nisu počeli odmah nakon Rezolucije Informiroa krajem lipnja 1948. već godinu dana kasnije. Povjesničari smatraju da se Staljin nadao da će Tito pasti, Tito da će se Staljin smiriti, ali je sukob bio sve oštiji, pa su krenula hapšenja. Ukupno je bilo 15 500 uhapšenih, od kojih je oko 13 000 do 1956. završilo na Golom otoku. najviše uhapšenih bilo je 1949. – 6 246, ali je te godine bilo i 1 298 puštenih, rekao je Previšić i naglasio da je od ukupno 399 stradalih, zbog posljedica teškog života i bolesti, oko dvije trećine stradalo 1951. godine.



Modul II

- Aneta Vladimirov, Srpsko narodno vijeće | *Politike sjećanja manjina kroz tri primjera – studije za većinu*

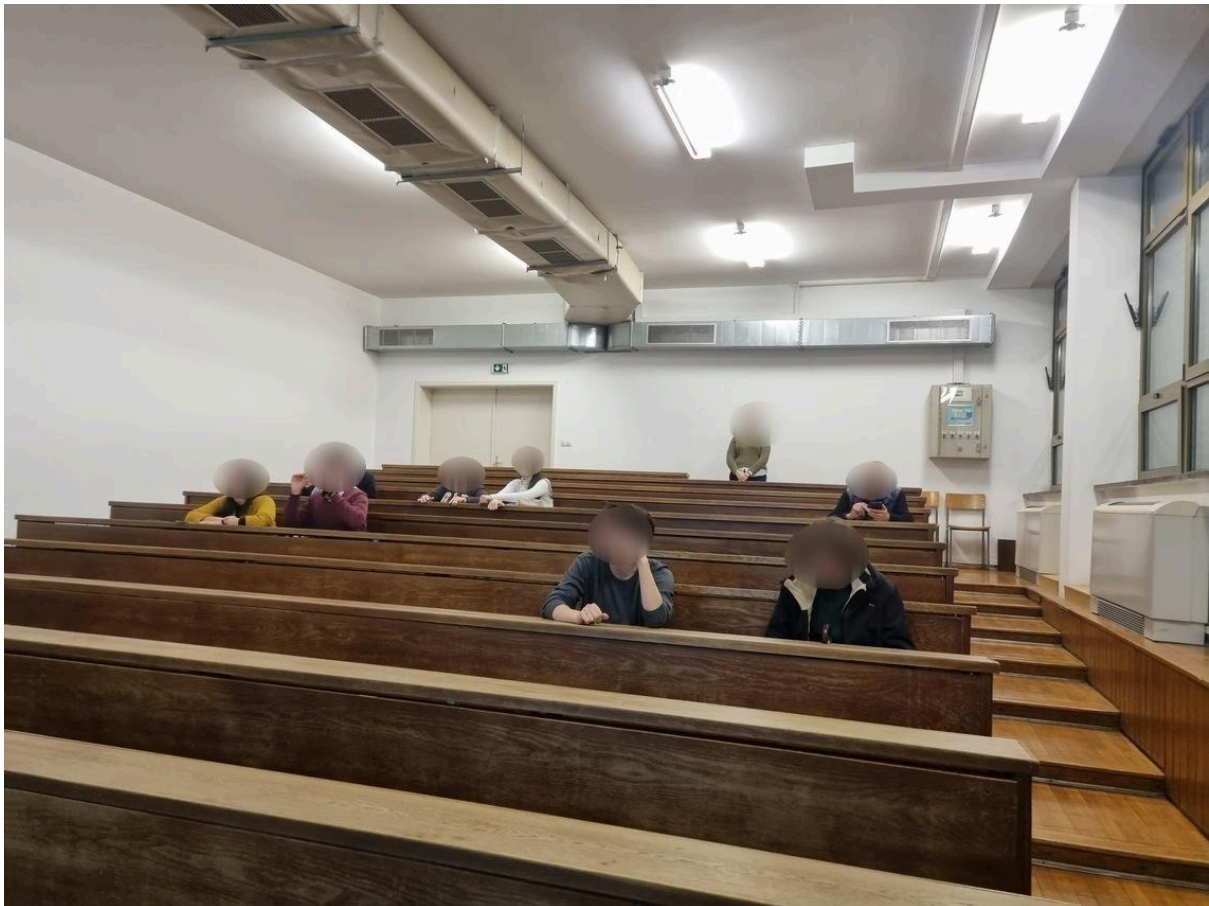
Vladimirov je govorila na koji se način srpska nacionalna manjina i srodne organizacije odnose i na koji način sprovode aktivnosti povezane s antifašističkim nasljeđem u Hrvatskoj, kao i poziciji u kojoj se manjina našla nakon rata 1990-ih. Najviše se fokusirala na uništenje spomeničke baštine na području Hrvatske, kao i na napore Srpskog Narodnog Vijeća i srodnih antifašističkih organizacija te drugih organizacija što se bave zaštitom ljudskih prava i civilnog društva da se spomenici obnove, što zbog njihove sentimentalne, a što zbog umjetničke vrijednosti. Govorila je i na koji način se obnova tih spomenika percipira u hrvatskom društvu 21. stoljeća.

- Miljenko Hajdarović, srednjoškolski profesor i autor udžbenika | *Percepcija žrtava u hrvatskim srednjoškolskim udžbenicima*

Profesor je govorio na koji način se prikazuju brojevi, ali i pojedinačni slučajevi žrtava u hrvatskom i srpskom društvu, na primjeru tri srednjoškolska udžbenika iz povijesti iz svake zemlje. Naglasio je kako se i način na koji se žrtve prikazuju u udžbenicima jako mijenjao od završetka Drugog svjetskog rata, preko 1990-ih pa sve do današnjeg dana te je zaključio kako mnoge publikacije relativiziraju otprije poznate povijesne činjenice, a umanjuju kontekst neke druge strane. Posebno je istaknuo kako je u većini udžbenika status „žrtve“ sveden na suhoparne brojke, dok se umanjuje vrijednost čovjeka koji je stradao kao individualce.

- Milan Radanović, Srpski arhiv u Hrvatskoj | *Utvrdjivanje i evidentiranje identiteta žrtava Drugog svjetskog rata (Žrtve fašizma i genocida na teritoriju Hrvatske)*

Predavač je govorio na koje sve načine je moguće koristiti dostupne informacije i literaturu u svrhu istraživačkog rada po pitanju pronalazaka i identificiranja žrtava, s posebnim naglaskom na Drugi svjetski rat. Radanović je napomenuo kako je moderna tehnologija i otvaranje arhiva, odnosno klasificiranih podataka uvelike omogućilo i olakšalo istraživački posao, ali da i dalje mnoge informacije nisu pouzdane, pogotovo jer se u starijoj literaturi za iste događaje ponekad bilježe dva potpuno suprotna mišljenja i zapisa o istim događajima. Ali naveo je kako je manjina u Hrvatskoj u dobrom položaju što se tiče istraživačkog rada te je pozvao sve mlade povjesničare da se služe dostupnim materijalima u tu svrhu.



Modul III

- Tena Banjeglav, istraživačica u Documenti - Centru za suočavanje s prošlošću | *Usmena povijest kao metoda istraživanja žrtava Drugog svjetskog rata i rata 1990-ih*

Banjeglav je govorila o metodologiji kojom se ona osobno, ali i ostali istraživači u Documenti koriste kako bi zabilježili povijesni kontekst koji se odnosi na individualne slučajeve i kako je važno sačuvati sjećanje na te ljude i učiniti oralne zapise dostupnima za istraživače, ali i za građanstvo u cjelini. Govorila je da se ti zapisi odnose na Drugi svjetski rat i na ratove devedesetih godina na području Hrvatske te kako je to istraživanje imalo utjecaj na nošenje s traumama od strane žrtava totalitarnih režima te na koji način se te informacije i sjećanja mogu upotrijebiti.

- Boris Pavelić, novinar i autor | *Medijska percepcija traume i viktimizacije*

Novinar i publicist B. Pavelić govorio je o poziciji žrtava, odnosno njihovoj percepciji kroz medije tijekom i nakon završetka tragičnih događaja koji su ih okruživali, s posebnim naglaskom na istraživačko novinarstvo u Hrvatskoj u odnosu na civilne žrtve tijekom 1990-ih. Pavelić je naveo kako se žrtve u medijima često mistificira, odnosno demistificira, ovisno o političkom kontekstu koji odgovara različitim skupinama u određenom kontekstu. Naveo je i da velika većina medijskog sustava

žrtvu percipira kao „zadatak“, čime i sama žrtva gubi aspekt humanosti i time se udaljava od svijesti opće publike i načina na koji se društvo odnosi prema njima.

- Dinka Čorkalo Biruški, Filozofski fakultet | *Psihološke posljedice trauma kod žrtava*

Profesorica Čorkalo Biruški govorila je kako traume koje žrtve doživljavaju nakon tragedija poput rata imaju dugoročne psihološke posljedice, poput posttraumatskog stresnog poremećaja, anksioznosti i depresije. Navela je kako te osobe često pate od emocionalne otupljenosti i poteškoća u međuljudskim odnosima. Kognitivne funkcije, poput pamćenja i koncentracije, mogu biti ozbiljno narušene. Iako trauma može izazvati fizičke bolesti, u nekim slučajevima dovodi i do posttraumatskog rasta, gdje pojedinci razvijaju dublje razumijevanje sebe. Pravovremena psihoterapija, socijalna podrška i farmakološka terapija ključni su za oporavak žrtava i u to mora biti uključeno cijelo društvo.



4) Izvještaj o evaluaciji

Događaj Škola demokracije, organiziran kroz tri modula, pružio je sveobuhvatan pregled povijesne žrtve, kolektivnog pamćenja i percepcije trauma u hrvatskom društvu. Rasprave su uključivale akademike, istraživače i stručnjake koji su ponudili dubinske analize povijesnih događaja i njihovih interpretacija u suvremenom društvu.

Modul I: Hrvatski žrtve u 20. stoljeću

Prvi modul fokusirao se na žrtve ustaškog režima, poslijeratnu represiju i Goli otok. Prezentacije su naglasile:

- Etničku strukturu žrtava ustaškog režima, s naglaskom na Židove, Srbe, Rome i antifašiste, kao i patnje žena i djece te kako se hrvatsko društvo nosilo i još uvijek nosi s ovim pitanjima.
- Poslijeratne odmazde jugoslavenskih partizana, osobito u Bleiburgu i drugim mjestima, s naglaskom na ideološke, a ne etničke motive iza egzekucija.
- Kontekstualizaciju Golog otoka, uključujući raznolike pozadine njegovih zatvorenika i razvijajuće povijesne narative koji okružuju ovaj poznati logor.
- Sesija je učinkovito pokazala složenost povijesne žrtve i izazove pri dodjeljivanju odgovornosti u povijesnom diskursu.

Modul II: Percepcija žrtava u hrvatskom društvu

Drugi modul ispitivao je kako se žrtve predstavljaju na spomenicima, u udžbenicima i istraživačkim metodologijama. Ključne spoznaje uključuju:

- Uništavanje antifašističkih spomenika u Hrvatskoj i napore manjinskih i ljudskopravaških organizacija da ih obnove.
- Predstavljanje žrtava u hrvatskim i srpskim srednjoškolskim udžbenicima, pokazujući kako su se narativi mijenjali tijekom vremena, često iskrivljujući ili relativizirajući povijesne činjenice, ovisno o tome što je odgovaralo kojoj strani.
- Ulogu modernih istraživačkih alata u identificiranju žrtava Drugog svjetskog rata, ističući kako prednosti pristupa arhivama, tako i trajne izazove u sukobljenim povijesnim zapisima.
- Ova sesija pružila je vrijedne uvide u politiku pamćenja i kako različiti narativi oblikuju društveno razumijevanje povijesnih događaja.

Modul III: Percepcija traume

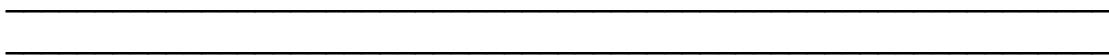
Treći modul bavio se psihološkim i medijskim prikazom trauma. Ključne rasprave uključivale su:

- Upotrebu usmene povijesti u dokumentiranju ratnih žrtava, naglašavajući važnost osobnih svjedočanstava.

- Ulogu medija u oblikovanju javne percepcije žrtvovanja, istražujući kako se konstruiraju i šire narativi.
- Psihološke posljedice traume, naglašavajući trajne učinke na pojedince i zajednice.
- Ovaj modul donio je ljudsku dimenziju u rasprave, ističući potrebu za etičkim pripovijedanjem i odgovornom povijesnom interpretacijom.

Sveukupna procjena

Škola demokracije uspješno je potaknula kritički dijalog o povijesnom pamćenju, traumi i predstavljanju žrtava među mladima. Kombinirala je akademska istraživanja s suvremenom relevantnošću, baveći se kako povijesnim događajima, tako i njihovim utjecajem na hrvatsko društvo. Događaj je bio dobro prihvaćen, a panelisti su pružili različite perspektive i potaknuli izazovne rasprave među mladima koji su sudjelovali. Na svakom modulu mladi su postavljali različita pitanja govornicima vezana uz teme, što je dovelo do razmjene perspektiva između generacija.



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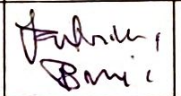
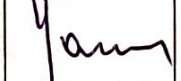






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Modul 1 – Škola demokracije u Hrvatskoj

Zagreb, 28. svibnja 2024. godine

Potpisna lista

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Modul 2 – Škola demokracije u Hrvatskoj

Zagreb, 27. studenog 2024. godine

Potpisna lista

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Modul 3 – Škola demokracije u Hrvatskoj

Zagreb, 06. ožujka 2025. godine

Potpisna lista

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