

## **GOING DOWN**

### **Overview of the first 100 days of the Oreskovic government**

29 April 2016

Marking the first 100 days of the new Croatian Government, Platform 112- coalition of civil society organisations working on human rights protection and democratisation - presents this report to offer its view on the Government's work.

Although the process of government formation had a declarative goal of gathering competent people with the knowledge and political will to implement reforms, after the first 100 days it became clear the only "reform" that has been systematically implemented is the one of turning Croatia into a illiberal democracy with no room for critical thinking, democratic pluralism of expression, freedom of press, respect for human rights and diversity. On the other hand, the reforms announced by the Patriotic coalition and Bridge of Independent Lists have already failed in its first attempts, as a result of constant disputes and divergence of thought among the ruling triumvirate, joined occasionally by the President.

Prime Minister Oreskovic, as well as the entire ruling coalition, avoid accepting responsibility for the work of the whole government, which is unacceptable. Legislative proposals and public policies presented to the parliament so far have been minimal and uncoordinated, which is not a surprise considering the Government functions on the basis of three diverse and still non- harmonised documents created in various phases- the response of the Patriotic coalition to the Bridge during negotiations on forming the Government, the Oreskovic presentation upon having been given the mandate to form the government and the Guidelines distributed to the Members of Parliament.

#### **Democratic regression and violations of basic human rights**

Although Croatia has been an EU member state for several years, the new government has proven that, contrary to the values proclaimed in the Constitution of the Republic of Croatia and European Union acts, it intends to put the electoral campaign promises of the Deputy Prime Minister Karamarko into practise: "Everyone can think what they want in their own room, courtyard or house, but certainly not in the public arena." Within only a few weeks the Government has seriously jeopardised basic democratic institutions, by choosing historian Zlatko Hasanbegovic for minister of culture, a known revisionist and "In the name of the family" activist, but also, with series of statements and actions, as well as failures of highest government officials to react to threats and non-democratic statements by the members of the governing coalition, brought to question civil freedoms and social pluralism. The fact that they have "given up" on the Registry of Traitors does not mean it is not being created in reality. This register is made up of critical journalists and media, civil society and independent cultural scene. The fact that over 5000 renowned cultural workers signed

the petition against the minister of culture confirms the conclusion that this government contributes to deepening of divisions in our society.

During protests against a decision made by the Council for Electronic Media voices were heard boosting national hatred and discrimination and Ustasha salute “Za dom spremni” was publicly used. The fact that Deputy Speaker of Parliament was present at the protest gave this chauvinist episode its official character. What is specifically concerning is that during and after the protest the police did not prosecute the responsible individuals for hatred speech, and none of the representatives of the executive authority condemned this outburst of hatred towards an institution of the Republic of Croatia.<sup>1</sup>

Senior executives of the national television were replaced, through non-transparent, arbitrary and politicised actions, and politicization and clericalisation of programme on this public media service for all citizens was continued.<sup>2</sup> Under the aegis of preventing the dissemination of national hatred, Croatian National Television introduced the politically imposed censorship of the satirical content.<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, after only five days of taking office, the minister of culture abolished the Committee for Non-Profit Media<sup>4</sup>, and the state budget for 2016 discontinues further financing of non-profit media as a separate category in the budget of the Ministry of Culture, with equal projections for the next two years.<sup>5</sup>

Systematic political pressures of the government towards the media seriously jeopardises freedom of expression, while suppression of the non-profit media gravely endangers recognition and integration of marginalised groups and problems they face.<sup>6</sup>

Members of the government and the governing coalition, including Deputy Prime Minister Karamarko, Minister of Culture Zlatko Hasanbegović and MP Ladislav Ilčić, have articulated basic hostility towards civil society organisations working on human rights protection and democratization, as well as freedom of civil action and association.<sup>7</sup>

Drastic financial cuts for Foundation for Civil Society Development, as well as systematic obstruction of New Culture Foundation activities and continuous annullments of public competition for members of the Management Board, undoubtedly prove Government’s attacks against critical members of the civil society and organisations that question or criticize current social situation through cultural activity. In its crusade against several “unfit” organisations, the total system of cooperation between the state and civil society is now being crushed for ideological reasons. This system has been built for years- since 1998 and Croatian Council of Europe membership- and it has served as a model example in the context of European integration, and it was an important basis of Croatia’s international reputation.<sup>8</sup> This crushing of the system has culminated with adopting the Regulation on the Allocation of Revenue from Lottery Funds for 2016, by which allocations have dropped from 14,21% in

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<sup>1</sup><http://www.tportal.hr/vijesti/hrvatska/413664/Prosvjednici-blokirali-srediste-Zagreba-traze-pomilovanje-za-Marka-Jurica.html>

<sup>2</sup><http://www.vecernij.hr/hrvatska/smjene-na-hrt-u-razrijesen-sasa-runjic-jozo-barisic-imenovan-za-ravnatelja-programa-1066859>

<sup>3</sup><http://net.hr/danas/hrvatska/hrt-ukida-montirani-proces-uz-suludo-obrazlozenje-emisija-raspiruje-vjersku-i-nacionalnu-netrpeljivost/>

<sup>4</sup><http://faktograf.hr/2016/02/01/hasanbegovic-prestala-je-potreba-za-strucnim-povjerenstvom-za-neprofitne-medije/>

<sup>5</sup><http://www.mfin.hr/hr/drzavni-proracun-2016-godina>

<sup>6</sup><http://faktograf.hr/2016/03/10/mediji-opet-na-meti-ministra-kulture/>

<sup>7</sup><http://www.tportal.hr/vijesti/hrvatska/414174/Civilno-drustvo-je-duboko-bolesno-i-podrzava-ideologiju-SDP-a-i-HNS-a.html>

<sup>8</sup><http://www.osce.org/ukraine/76889?download=true>

2015 to 6,88%, and this happened while the matter was being discussed by the Government advisory body.<sup>9</sup> This has demonstrated Government's "understanding" of the democratic dialogue.

The highest government officials have shown no reaction on diminishing the crimes of the Ustasha state, as well as occurrences of historical revisionism, or the reaction has been in a form of empty phrase of "condemning all totalitarian regimes", by which they made fascism and antifascism equal. The consequence is an atmosphere of tacit approval by all who aspire to achieve historical rehabilitation of the Ustasha regime and relativisation of its symbolical use. However, this attitude has resulted with Jewish, Serbian and antifascist fighters organisations boycotting the official government commemoration on the occasion of 71st anniversary of Jasenovac liberation- meaning those in whose memory the commemoration is organised in the first place.<sup>10</sup> This boycott points to an insincere attitude of the Government towards the WWII victims and relativisation of antifascism.

It is disgraceful that, as a part of the official commemorative service, along with other state delegations, revisionists from the so called Croatian national platform and the so called Society for studying the tripple camp Jasenovac laid a wrath mentioning the post war victims, with the consent of the director of Jasenovac memorial and in the presence of the minister of culture.<sup>11</sup>

By constantly insisting there is only one truth of the Homeland war, the space for multi layered interpretations and different views on wartime events is being narrowed down, while by constatntly mentioning that "the only foundation of the Republic of Croatia is the Homeland war", we are questioning victory over fascism, which forms part of the Historical Foundations of the Constitution of the Republic of Croatia.

The overall impression has been amplified with the answer by the President of the Republic of Croatia to an open letter by a Serbian MP<sup>12</sup>, in which she, a person holding the position responsible for the overall democratic order, blames minorities and human rights activists for the rise of intolerance, as she claims that with their actions they "irritate" the majority. The President's answer is therefore a justification for physical violence against journalist and publicist Ante Tomić in Split, followed again by a lack of adequate reaction from the Ministry of culture. On the contrary, the Ministry of culture has informed Tomić, and all the others, that they should assume responsibility for their public statements, confirming once again that the only policy they systematically pursue is "policy of free thinking and speech within our own four walls."<sup>13</sup>

Even though considering certain public policy changes in this political and social environment is almost pointless, below we are offering a review of those policies whose content and implementation we constantly follow.

## **Gender Equality**

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<sup>9</sup><https://vlada.gov.hr/sjednice/16-telefonska-sjednica-vlade-republike-hrvatske/18872>

<sup>10</sup><http://www.tportal.hr/vijesti/hrvatska/422941/Kraus-Zbog-relativizacije-ustastva-bojkotirat-cemo-komemoraciju-u-Jasenovcu.html>

<sup>11</sup><http://www.jutarnji.hr/-stradalima-u-logoru-od-1941----1951---ravnateljica-jasenovca-ispricala-se-zbog-vijenca-hrvatske-nacionalne-platforme/1568142/>

<sup>12</sup><http://www.jutarnji.hr/predsjednica-pupovcu--da--porasla-je-nesnosljivost--ali-to-je-pocelo-prije-ove-vlade--bivsi-premijer-je-rekao--ili-mi-ili-oni---a-u-novostima-se-izrugivalo-s-hrvatskom-himnom-/1520106/>

<sup>13</sup><http://www.monitor.hr/clanci/ministarstvo-kulture-otvoreno-i-javno-poziva-na-ulicni-linc-kriticara-vlasti/164649/>

Following the initiative by the minister Bernardica Juretić, i.e. Ministry of Social Policy and Youth, there have been proposed amendments to the Law on Gender Equality.<sup>14</sup> One month long public discussion was completed in the end of May. Ombudswoman for Gender Equality was not informed about the plans of the Ministry to propose amendments to the Law. Amendments to the Law on Gender Equality should deal with overall protection of victimization, with a purpose of complete harmonization of Article 2. of the Law with Article 24. of the Directive 2006/54/EC of the European parliament and of the Council of 5 July 2006 on the implementation of the principle of equal opportunities and equal treatment of men and women in matters of employment and occupation. Furthermore, amendments to the Law should correct a “nomotechnic mistake in the Article 6, Paragraph 1 of the Law on Gender Equality, in order to avoid unnecessary repetition of the same text”. According to the opinion of the Ombudswoman, the amendments to the Law proposed by the Ministry do not head in the direction of strenghtening legal protection, which was the purpose of the European Commission recommendation that the basis for the proposed amendments, but it further complicates access to legal protection.

### **Security policies**

In the field of security policy, the Government has announced its direction towards the concept of the so called homeland security. To this day the public has not been informed on what that concept is supposed to mean, nor has the government announced the date when the new Strategy will start being created. This has caused concern among some members of the public that these policies will be heading towards militarisation of society (announcement of reintroduction of military service)<sup>15</sup> and using the military for non-military purposes. The latter became particularly evident upon adopting the legislation that allows the engagement of military forces at the state borders assisting the police forces, by which, as determined by the Information Commissioner, the legally binding procedure of consultation with the interested public was breached. This opens the question of legality of the law adopted. Adopting the state budget for 2016 this government has also failed to increase transparency of the MoD budget, by failing to show a separate amount for the work of the Military Intelligence Agency. Furthermore, the Government continues to conceal information on the number of military exports.

However, the cause of greatest concern in the field of security policy is the obvioulsy non-synchronised initiative of the President and Prime Minister who have shown great lack of responsibility in the process of replacing senior officials of the security and intelligence system-directors of the Security and Intelligence Agency (SOA) and Office of the National Security Council, which resulted in gross violations of procedure.<sup>16</sup>

Constant verbal conflicts between the Minister of Interior Orepić and Deputy Prime Minister Karamarko over staff replacements at the MoI also indicate to the possible politicization of the Ministry. To note a positive example, MoI has been open to cooperation with organisations of the civil society, and it has announced structural reforms that are supposed to enhance its efficiency, although it is yet too soon to conclude whether the announced reforms will be implemented and if they can truly enhance efficiency of the police forces.

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<sup>14</sup><http://www.libela.org/sa-stavom/7255-predlozene-izmjene-zakona-o-ravnopravnosti-spolova-koje-ne-podrzava-pravobranite/>

<sup>15</sup><http://www.slobodnadalmacija.hr/novosti/hrvatska/clanak/id/303344/vladajuca-koalicija-zeli-ponovno-uesti-obavezan-vojni-rok>

<sup>16</sup><http://dnevnik.hr/vijesti/hrvatska/tihomir-oreskovic-potpisao-razriesenje-dragana-lozancica-2---431186.html>

## **Refugee crisis**

In the last three months we have seen significant changes in migration and refugee policies, going in the direction of greater restrictiveness, militarisation and criminalisation of people and solidarity, and it seems that these are the exact strategic directions of the Government. We have witnessed closing of the so called Balkan route, with significant consequences towards security of travel for refugees, as well as the EU- Turkey agreement, which goes against provisions of the International Law and EU directives. We fear that this decision will stimulate people smuggling. With regards to moral and political responsibility that the Republic of Croatia has for refugees, we welcome MoI's efforts to begin reallocating refugees to Croatia, but we do not see sufficient dedication of the Ministry of Social Policy and Youth, Ministry of Science, Education and Sports, as well as other responsible bodies in that process. It is therefore of crucial importance to adopt the Migration Strategy 2016-2018 that would, among other, clearly define integration policies of the Republic of Croatia with respect to refugees who will come as a result of relocation, resettlement, or regular seeking of international protection.

For the past few months, in the Winter reception and transit center in Slavonski Brod, people of all age, nationality and country of origin were being kept in various sections under strict police supervision, they were forcefully retained, detained and systematically frightened under the circumstances of complete uncertainty. Independent observers, media, as well as a vast majority of volunteers had no access to sectors where people were forcefully retained, although that practise did change by the end of its operation. Some of the people who was not detained in the Slavonski Brod camp found themselves on the streets of Zagreb, on the main Railway station to be precise, while trying to leave the Republic of Croatia, in accordance with the police ruling. Even though these people were also entitled to accommodation, food and satisfaction of other basic needs, and despite their video footages and photographs, this has not happened. By transferring the last refugees from the Winter reception and transit center to the Reception center for asylum seekers Porin and Reception center for foreigners Ježevo (which is a de facto detention and deportation center), refugees were given better quality accommodation, but this raises the freedom of movement question of those located in the Ježevo center.

## **Education**

The scheduled curricular reform that began in 2015 has encountered opposition among educational institutions and contradictory messages by the leading politicians.<sup>17</sup> Programme guidelines of the Government with emphasised priorities in the educational field contained a formulation "to stop the process of the curricular reform", which has been reversed after reactions of schools, educational institutions and civil society organisations. Expert discussions are underway, which are to finish on 1 May, and will be followed by a public discussions. Both discussions are supposed to define a decision on introducing educational processes focused on learning outcomes (as opposed to current curriculum), as well as on models of introduction. However, even though government officials and minister Šustar keep repeating that the curricular reform is going on, various indicators speak otherwise. Besides the announced delay of the experimental implementation for the fall of next year (2017/2018), funds for curricular reform have not been secured through European social fund, nor are there sufficient funds within the state budget. Equally so, administrative and legal support of the Ministry of Science, Education and Sports to curricular reform has not been secured, as well as the

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<sup>17</sup><http://www.novolist.hr/Vijesti/Hrvatska/Boris-Jokic-U-zemlji-punoj-crnila-kurikularna-reforma-cini-se-kao-bolja-perspektiva>

support to further education and specialisation of teachers on behalf of the Agency for Education and Teacher Training. Further support to Expert working group has also been brought in question, just as well as the support for the implementation of Strategy of Science, Education and Technology.

### **Foreign policy**

In the field of foreign policy, we have noted greater coherence with the Office of the President of the Republic of Croatia, and a shift towards the so called Višegrad group. What is disturbing is the fact that during bilateral and multilateral meetings of minister Kovač with representatives of Hungary and Poland, and more widely, the President with representatives of Macedonia, Croatian officials do not express concern for the state of the rule of law and human rights within these countries. It is unacceptable that during the visit of president Erdogan, representatives of government institutions did not mention, even diplomatically, grave breaches of human rights of refugees and citizens of Turkey, as well as serious problems with the political control of the judiciary. This points to conclusion that Croatian foreign policy does not consider quality of human rights protection and democracy in countries with which it builds diplomatic relations, and by doing so, it gives legitimacy to these governments to continue with human rights violations and derogations of the rule of law. On the other hand, Croatia is blocking the opening of Chapter 23 between Serbia and the EU<sup>18</sup>, justifying it specifically by lack of democratic standards. It is clear this is not Croatia's principled position, but the abuse of Serbia's negotiation process to resolve bilateral issues (and not pointing out Serbia's democratic deficits, such as questions of its media freedoms), which is in breach of parliamentary Declaration on Promoting European Integration in Southeast Europe<sup>19</sup> from 2011. Finally, we express our concern towards drastic decrease of budget funds for the work of MFEA in the field of international development cooperation, whose budget line has been decreased from 12.5 million HRK to only 1,5 million.<sup>20</sup> This sends a clear signal that Croatia does not plan to use the mechanisms of international developmental cooperation in its foreign policy, which have now become an almost dominant characteristic of modern foreign policies and are also one of the accession obligations of the Republic of Croatia towards the EU.

### **Socio- economic policies**

Socio- economic policies show no visible signs of main structural reforms promised in the pre-election period, and they are crucial for modernisation of the Croatian economy and generating employment, which is the basis for realisation of socio-economic rights of all citizens. Announcements and pre-election promises of public administration reform and territorial restructuring do not have clear political support, which continues to open space for inefficiency and clientelism. The adopted 2016 Budget<sup>21</sup> is in reality very similar to the former one, but entirely opposite to pre-election promises, the budget shows decreased allocations for key sectors such as education, which reminds us of the fact that increasing the science and education budget was one of the crucial demands of the Bridge towards the Patriotic coalition and Croatia grows coalition.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>18</sup><http://m.tportal.hr/vijesti/423371/Hrvatska-zaustavila-put-Srbije-u-EU.html>

<sup>19</sup>[http://narodne-novine.nn.hr/clanci/sluzbeni/2011\\_10\\_121\\_2379.html](http://narodne-novine.nn.hr/clanci/sluzbeni/2011_10_121_2379.html)

<sup>20</sup><http://www.mvep.hr/files/file/2016/160421-proracun-mvep-za-2016-godinu-s-projekcijama-za-2017-i-2018-godinu.pdf>

<sup>21</sup>[http://narodne-novine.nn.hr/clanci/sluzbeni/2016\\_03\\_26\\_776.html](http://narodne-novine.nn.hr/clanci/sluzbeni/2016_03_26_776.html)

<sup>22</sup><http://www.h-alter.org/vijesti/izborna-obecanje-ludom-radovanje-sto-se-od-preizbornih-obecanja-nalazi-u-proracunu>

The Government proclaims budget deficit as a crucial matter of its budget policy, but it is clear that this budget cut will be paid exclusively by the citizens through decreasing the volume and quality of public services, while options of cutting revenues through increasing the administrative efficiency, improving the management of public procurement, or indeed, increasing revenues through an extensive tax reform, which would secure a more just distribution of tax burdens between the rich and the poor, has been set aside.

It is concerning that austerity measures are not being realised through promised structural reforms, but by decreasing investments into people, which is considered to be the basis of Croatian economic and social development. Furthermore, changes in the healthcare sector, such as increasing the supplementary health insurance premium, introducing the so called additional health insurance for the more affluent individuals, or paying for emergency medical aid<sup>23</sup> have been additional signals that investing into people is not among this government's priorities, as these measures will jeopardise the most vulnerable part of population- the older and the poor. These changes are an indication that Croatia is heading towards commercialisation of the healthcare sector. In a country with demographic, epidemiologic and economic characteristics like Croatia, this would inevitably lead to considerable decrease of the right to medical care and equality of access to the public healthcare. Besides that, the National Reform programme<sup>24</sup> in the area of healthcare reenvisioned allocations and reorganisation of work of some non- medical functions, such as laundry, cleaning of non-medical surfaces, maintenance and other technical and supporting services: this can actually be seen as the new attempt of "outsourcing" these services in the healthcare sector, which has proven to be inefficient and counterproductive in other countries. As a way of reminder, unions have gathered over 600 000 signatures against outsourcing supporting services in the state and public sectors during the term of the former government.<sup>25</sup> The announced amendments to the retirement policy<sup>26</sup> only confirm this government has decided to implement neoliberal policies instead of strengthening the social state and development through increasing the quality of life of its citizens. While accepting the fact Croatia does have a serious problem with sustainability of its pension system, we need to express our disappointment that instead of policies aimed at increasing employment and managing migrations with a goal of altering the worker- retiree ratio, this sector is also moving towards cutting the existent rights of workers and citizens.

National Reform Programme also announces introduction of "property and/or income census" (it seems that the government has not yet decided on the kind of census which has significant differences and consequences in its application), starting with child benefits.

Almost all pre-election promises by the Patriotic coalition that went in the direction of increasing the quality of life have been taken out of the 2016 budget, and out of the budget projections for 2017 and 2018: decreasing the VAT rate (general rate) from 25% to 23%, increasing pensions to 60% of salary during their mandate, 5% increase in childbirth allowances and 1000 euros per every newborn, which once again proves that all parties who pretend to take over executive power should also offer

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<sup>23</sup> <http://vijesti.hrt.hr/328645/hoce-li-poskupjeti-dopunsko-osiguranje>

<sup>24</sup> <https://vlada.gov.hr/sjednice/17-sjednica-vlade-republike-hrvatske-18896/18896>

<sup>25</sup> <http://vijesti.hrt.hr/249351/sindikati-o-rezultatima-prikupljanja-potpisa-protiv-outsourcinga>

<sup>26</sup> <http://www.slobodnadalmacija.hr/novosti/hrvatska/clanak/id/310808/sa-67-godina-u-mirovinu-od-2028-porez-na-imovinu-za-dvije-godine>

their budget projections, as it is the only realistic instrument for assessing the feasibility of the campaign programmes.

The government has not organised public discussion on the reform package (National Reform Programme) that will be presented to the European Commission in the end of April; we believe that the practise of initial discussions on crucial economic and social reforms with external stakeholders, and not the citizens of the Republic of Croatia is extremely detrimental for creating confidence into political institutions and public participation in decision making, which reduces citizens to voting objects who become political actors exclusively during campaigns, when they are openly offered programmes for which it is known in advance nobody will even try to implement them.

We are wondering how many people would vote for a programme of this government had the campaign posters contained the following: we will decrease the education and culture budget, we will decrease certain social benefits, we will introduce property census for childbirth allowances, we will give up on overall territorial division reform and reform of public administration, we will increase retirement age and decrease the number of professions with accelerated retirement plans, we will introduce “higher standards” into the public healthcare system for those who can afford better and faster service, we will increase the supplementary health insurance premiums for 30%, we will increase the highest participating amount in healthcare expenses for those who do not have supplementary health insurance from 2000 to 3000 kuna, we will decrease the total number of hospital beds for acute care for 772 beds, and resolve the question of decreasing the burden for emergency assistance in a way to penalise the “unjustified” use of the service?

### **Combating corruption**

The policy of combating corruption has not been emphasised as a priority of the current government. It is extremely disturbing that the State’s Attorney Office has received a decreased budget by ⅓, despite its public appeal over lack of funds and poor working conditions. These cuts can and probably will result in drastic decrease in rates of corruption investigations, as well as other criminal offenses of particular importance for the democratic order, such as war crimes and hate crimes investigations.

Public announcements of abolishing the so called tax prosecutor’s office<sup>27</sup>, which was founded on after the recommendation of the European Commission, is yet another argument for concluding this government is not dedicated towards fight against corruption. Tax prosecutor’s office is an extremely important specialised body for tracking and discovering financial criminal, and it serves as support to the work of the State Attorney’s Office of the Republic of Croatia in matters of sensitive financial investigations conducted before initiating formal proceedings.

Additionally, most measures from the Action plan following the Strategy for combating corruption have not been implemented. The anti-corruption policy should be, along with public administration reform, territorial division reform and civic education reform, the basis of the proclaimed reforms.

### **Civilian war casualties**

Neither the Government plans, nor the budget envisages recognition of suffering of all civilian victims of war and adopting the legal regulation related to rights of direct and indirect victims of war, victims of torture and rights of relatives of those disappeared, dead or murdered. After adopting the *Act on*

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<sup>27</sup> <http://m.tportal.hr/vijesti/424447/Most-je-protiv-ukidanja-poreznog-USKOK-a.html>

*the Rights of Victims of Sexual Violence during the Military Aggression against Republic of Croatia in the Homeland*<sup>28</sup> last year, the announced amendments to the *Act on protection of military and civilian war invalids*<sup>29</sup> are no longer mentioned.

### **Environment and Sustainable Development**

Environmental policy is one of the policies of the new government where we can see positive changes, but considering their series of inconsistencies, it is too soon to make assessments. However, within its key guidelines, the government has temporarily prohibited the construction of thermal power plants and the current project of exploration and exploitation of hydrocarbons in the Adriatic sea, which has partially satisfied the environmental groups. They have further requested complete abolition of fossil fuel projects, but the Government has not responded.

Various ministers expressed different views on these projects. For example, minister of environment Dobrović has stated that the new energy strategy cannot contain plans for Plomin C construction<sup>30</sup>, while minister of entrepreneurship and crafts Horvat has been convincing the public that the government has not given up neither on Plomin C, nor on Adriatic drilling.<sup>31</sup>

The shift in the waste management sector has also been positive, with minister Dobrović openly advocating separate collection of recyclables and being against construction of waste incinerators<sup>32</sup>. However, despite announcing the moratorium on constructing regional centers for mixed waste, harmful environmental activities in certain regional centers have not been stopped - waste from various parts of Croatia is being taken there, which harms the environment, while their directors announce construction of plants that will prepare this waste for incineration.

### **Instead of conclusion**

Platform 112 expresses its deep concern for government actions that jeopardise the achieved level of democracy and human rights protection, and we demand for them to urgently and unconditionally reverse the policies that erode democratic institutions, destroy social state as well as jeopardise media freedoms, obstruct freedoms of civil association, cultural creativity and critical civil society. Furthermore, we demand for it to stop reintroducing revisionism and to publicly condemn and adequately sanction all pro-fascist movements within society, whereby replacing minister Hasanbegović should be the first, but certainly not the last step.

If it continues going down this road, this government will take Croatia on a path of defect, illiberal democracy or even open authoritarianism - for which they do not have a mandate by the Croatian voters. Democracy is not the majority governing the minority, but a system that protects all citizens and defends the rights of all minorities; a system in which the freedom of an individual stops where rights of another person begin; system in which individuals and groups have the right to critical expression in the public arena. This is what the voters have opted for.

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<sup>28</sup>[http://narodne-novine.nn.hr/clanci/sluzbeni/2015\\_09\\_97\\_1888.html](http://narodne-novine.nn.hr/clanci/sluzbeni/2015_09_97_1888.html)

<sup>29</sup>[http://narodne-novine.nn.hr/clanci/sluzbeni/2003\\_06\\_103\\_1367.html](http://narodne-novine.nn.hr/clanci/sluzbeni/2003_06_103_1367.html)

<sup>30</sup><http://www.vijesti.rtl.hr/novosti/hrvatska/1927040/dobrovic-za-ocekivati-je-da-ce-nova-energetska-strategija-odustati-od-izgradnje-te-na-ugljen-plomin-c/>

<sup>31</sup><http://ipress.rtl.hr/hrvatska/ministar-horvat-vlada-se-nije-odrekla-plomina-c-43046.html>

<sup>32</sup><http://www.tportal.hr/vijesti/hrvatska/424760/Dobrovic-Umjesto-spaljivanja-otpad-cemo-reciklirati.html>